# GUIDE TO THE NP12 WINNEBAGO FILE

/The Winnebago, or "people of the filthy water" as the name signifies in the Sauk and Fox languages, were also called Puants by the French and Stinkards by the English. Other alternate names were: Aweatsiwaenhronon (a form of the Huron name), Banabeouiks, Bay Indians, Hoti' hshi' rû'nû (a Huron name meaning "afraid of sticking in the mire"), Hotanka (a Dakota name), Hotcangara (their own name meaning "people of the big or real speech"), and Nipegon. Their earliest location was on the south side of Green Bay extending inland as far as Lake Winnebago, but during the eighteenth century they extended their villages up the Fox River, eventually reaching the Wisconsin and Rock Rivers. The Winnebago speak a Siouan dialect. (For a brief cultural summary of Winnebago ethnography, see J. R. Swanton, Indian Tribes of North America, BBAE, 145, pp. 258-259).

The NP12 Winnebago file consists of ten sources, all in English, although 1: Radin was originally transcribed partly in Winnebago and later translated into English. This source, which is the basic one for this file, gives a very complete ethnography of the Winnebago. Some of the information given in chapter 16 of this source dealing with life history material in relation to the Peyote Cult is reproduced almost verbatim in source 7: Radin the autobiography of Crashing Thunder. Sources 2: Radin and 3: Michelson are concerned with the social

GUIDE TO THE NP12 WINNEBAGO FILE (cont.)

organization and political structure of the Winnebago. 4: Smith presents a few bits of ethnographic information supplementing that found in 1: Radin. Data on religious and ceremonial activities of the Winnebago will be found in 5: McKern in which a war-bundle ceremony is described, as well as associated beliefs and customs, and in 9: Morgan in which the Medicine Dance is described as it existed in the early days of Indian-White relations. Two comparatively recent studies on cultural change in Winnebago society may be found in 6: Oestreich, in which the author describes individual attitudes toward culture change, types of culture change, and culture change and cultural stability, and in 10: Radin in which the attempt is made to show how three marked characteristics of Winnebago civilization--the conservation of old cultural elements, the receptivity to new ideas, and the capacity for making new integrations--interact with one another to create new cultural patterns in the Winnebago milieu. Of the two remaining sources, 7: Radin presents an autobiography of a Winnebago Indian, Crashing Thunder, in which the researcher will find many interesting insights on Winnebago personality development and individual religious experience,

GUIDE TO THE NP12 WINNEBAGO FILE (cont.)

while 8: Lurie deals with the position of the Winnebago Berdache in the society. The Peyote Cult is discussed frequently in these sources and receives special attention in sources 1: Radin, 4: Smith and 7: Radin.

Although this file probably covers most aspects of Winnebago ethnography quite well, it is lacking in time depth. For example, 1: Radin, the basic source for this file deals with the period of 1908-1913, while the most recent studies in this file 8:Lurie and 6: Oestreich are limited to the periods of 1945-1950 and 1943 respectively. The remaining sources in this file range from 1859 to 1928. This file could be further improved by adding more recent material.

No significant marking decisions have been made for this file with the exception of using category 616 for the dual division of the Winnebago tribe, referred to frequently in the text as phratries. /

Processed in 1962-1965

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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173 The other tribes of the second "migration" have semihistorical legends telling of their separation from the Winnebago. Major Bean told Maximilian that an Oto chief had informed him that originally the Winnebago inhabited the lakes and that they subsequently migrated to the Southwest, presumably in pursuit of buffalo. At Green Bay they divided, the Winnebago remaining there while the others continued their journey.

Dorsey was informed by Iowa chiefs[3] that "their people and the Oto, Missouri, Omaha, and Ponca 'once formed part of the Winnebago nation.' According to the traditions of these tribes, at an early period they came with the Winnebago from their prisean home north of the Great Lakes, but that the Winnebago stopped on the shore of a great lake (Lake Michigan), attracted by the abundant fish."

●101 When the Winnebago were first discovered they were entirely surrounded by Central Algonquian tribes. To the north of them lay the Menominee on the shore of Green Bay, to the southeast the Miami, to the south and southwest the Sauk and Fox, and to the west the Ojibwa. The nearest of their kindred were in southern Iowa, western Wisconsin, and eastern Minnesota. Under these circum-
[177] stances it is not strange that the Winnebago show marked evidence of Central Algonquian influence (fig. 1).

174 At what time the Winnebago were isolated from their Siouan kindred it is impossible to state. We doubt, however, whether this occurred before the sixteenth century. The Central Algonquian tribes in this region are clearly intruders. The Ojibwa came from the northeast and the Fox, Miami, etc., from the south and the southeast. It seems clear, to judge from the number of effigy mounds found in the territory occupied by the Fox and Miami, that the Winnebago had lived there for a considerable length of time before they were pushed westward and northwestward by these tribes. When the Menominee arrived, and from what direction, it is difficult to determine. On purely linguistic grounds, judging from the close relationship of Menominee to Fox, we might assume that they, like the Fox and the Miami, entered Wisconsin from the south. In that case they might either be interpreted as representing the northernmost extension of the same migration which carried the Miami northward along the shore of Lake Michigan or as representing a prior invasion along the same route. If the latter assumption is correct, they may have arrived in Wisconsin before the Winnebago. One point seems
[648] to confirm the thesis of their priority, namely, that they were never at war with the Winnebago, and it hardly seems possible that, had

[3] Handbook of Amer. Indn., Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 30, part 1, p. 412, Washington, 1907.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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they forced their way through the country occupied by the Winnebago, war would not have occurred. 174 [648]

The Winnebago call themselves *Hotcangara*, which has been variously interpreted as "people of the parent speech" by James Owen Dorsey and as "big fish people" by other observers. Dorsey's explanation, which is the one most generally accepted, is most certainly wrong, and represents an interpretation read into the word to make it fit the legends which claimed that the dialect was the most archaic of all the Siouan languages. It is true that *ho* may mean "speech," but *tcunk* can only mean one thing, and that is "big, real." It is found with a number of animal names, such as *kteunk*, "turtle," and *cuntcunk*, "wolf." It corresponds strictly to the Dakotan *tank*, "large." *Ho* means "fish" in Winnebago. The name Winnebago, as is well known, is of Algonquian origin. 101 [114] [192]

The Winnebago were first encountered by white men in 1634, when Jean Nicolet visited them as agent for Governor Champlain. Where he encountered them is not definitely known. The Winnebago as a rule claim that it was at Green Bay. Some discussion has arisen of late years on this question. No contemporary narrative of the event exists, nor have the Winnebago any clearly marked legend that might be interpreted as referring to it. 175

An excellent description of their history has been given by P. V. Lawson [1] and from this we will quote at some length, selecting those periods that are of greatest importance in the history of the tribe and which can be illustrated by semihistórical legends still known to the Winnebago.

Much of our knowledge of the early history of the Winnebago is derived from Baqueville de la Potherie's Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale. A good deal of his information was obtained from Nicholas Perrot. For the period covering the years 1640–1660 we have the following information: [2]

> A few years ago, they numbered possibly 150 warriors. These savages have no mutual fellow-feeling; they have caused their own ruin, and have been obliged to divide their own forces. They are naturally very impatient of control, and very passionate; a little matter excites them; and they are great braggarts. They are, however, well-built, and are brave soldiers, who do not know what danger is; and they are subtle and crafty in war. Although they are convinced that their ancestors drew upon themselves the enmity of all the surrounding Nations, they cannot be humble. Their women are extremely laborious; they are neat in their houses, but very disgusting about their food. [162] [181] [52] [461] [264]

[1] The Winnebago tribe, in Wisconsin Archæologist, vol. 6, no. 3, Milwaukee, 1907.
[2] Quoted in Lawson's paper, p. 62.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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The tradi- 101 [173]
tions speak only of Green Bay as their original habitat. On the other shore of Green Bay were the Menominee, who likewise have no recollection of having lived anywhere else. To the northeast, along Door Peninsula, were the Potawatomi, unquestionably intruders, who had come by way of Mackinaw. To the southwest lay the Sauk and Fox, the closely related Kickapoo, and the enigmatic Mascoutin. Finally,

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FIG. 2.—MAP OF WISCONSIN, SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF CIRCULAR MOUNDS.

to the south lay the Miami. Such seems to have been the distribution of the tribes around Green Bay and Lake Michigan at the first advent of the whites. Within 50 years of the landing of Nicollet the places were entirely shifted. Winnebago villages are found scattered 167
all along the Fox River and Lake Winnebago, the Sauk and Fox and 131
Kickapoo are on their way farther south, and the Potawatomi are in possession of the southern shore of Green Bay and the western shore of Lake Michigan. Later still we find the Winnebago extending all

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
NP12 Winnebago NP12



# CULTURAL CHANGE AMONG THE WISCONSIN WINNEBAGO

Nancy Oestreich

## Introduction

121 Cultural change is one of the outstanding factors in the life
178 of the Winnebago today. It is important to mention at the outset, however, that the following article does not purport to trace the long history of cultural change among the Winnebago, nor does it have any claim as a complete analysis; but, because of space limitations, it will serve merely as a passing observation of cultural change in a particular Indian group.
[114] The study is based primarily on observation of one small group of Winnebago during a period of five weeks. None the less, these data seem to comprise a fairly, though far from completely representative sample with which to work.

101 The Indians observed were family groups from almost all
121 of the Winnebago communities scattered throughout the central part of the state. Our group, consisting of some 45 families, was predominately one of Wisconsin Winnebago, but also included three Winnebago families from Nebraska and one family each of the Chippewa, Menomini and Potawatomi tribes. The presence of these minorities within the larger group of Wisconsin Winnebago offered an interesting study of inter-land and intra-tribal contrasts.

121 The Wisconsin Winnebago prefer to live more or less in-
619 dependently in their native territory, Wisconsin, rather than join their friends and relatives on the Winnebago reservation
[657] located, by a whim of the government, in Nebraska. There
[574] is, however, a constant exchange of visits between the two groups.

221 In Wisconsin many of the Winnebago earn a living in the winter by trapping for the fur market, and in the summer by following various Wisconsin crops. The harvesting begins in the spring with the strawberry season, and ends in the fall with the gathering of cranberries.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



*c.* Four lodges once left the main tribe at Prairie du Chien or MacGregor, Wisconsin, and never returned. This happened after all the other tribes had leagued together against the Winnebago. The reason these four lodges left the Winnebago was because they were afraid that war might break out again. Some people believe that the Oto

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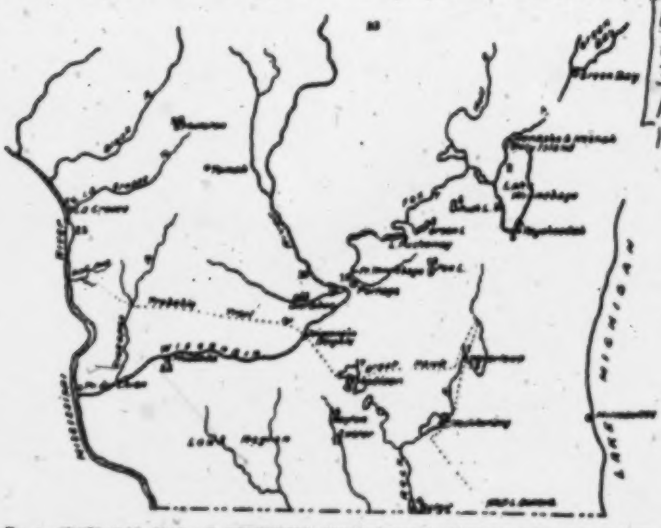

FIG. 1. SECTIONAL MAP OF WISCONSIN, GIVING THE LOCATIONS OF SOME OF THE OLD VILLAGES.

EXPLANATION OF MAP.

[The numbers on the map indicate the locations of some of the Wisconsin Winnebago villages.]

1. Duck Island village, 1831-1833.
2. Perkins's village, 1797-1833.
3. Black Wolf's village, 1829.
4. Snicker's village, 1816.
5. Sarrortoni's village, 1780.
6. Rush Lake village.
7. Yellow Thunder's village, 1829-32.
8. Sarrel's village, 1827.
9. Old Gray-headed Decorah's village, 1795.
10. Big Fox's village, 1832.
11. Waterton's village.
12. Iron Walker's village.
13. Little Priest's village, 1832.
Whirling Thunder's village, 1836.
14. Karraymarion's village, 1832.
15. Spotted Arm's village.
16. Dayton village.
17. White Crow's village, 1832.
18. Cheoikeka's village, 1816.
White Cat's village, 1832.
19. Old Gray-headed Decorah's village, 1795-1836.
20. Yellow Thunder's party.
21. Karraymanoo's village, 1833-42.
22. Sarrel's village, 1827.
23. Washington Decorah's village 1832.
24. Buzzard Decorah's village, 1797.
One-eyed Decorah's village, 1832.
25. Little Decorah's village, 1837.
26. Big Hawk's village, Pike Lake.

are this lost branch, for they speak the same language with but few differences and use many old words that the Winnebago employed long ago but have now given up.

*d.* Some lodges left the tribe never to return. Some say there were four, others give different numbers (of long lodges). Some say only one lodge. My uncle used to say that there were four. "I think that it is believed that they went to the east," he said.

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NP12 Winnebago NP12



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FIG. 1. SECTIONAL MAP OF WISCONSIN, GIVING THE LOCATIONS OF SOME OF THE OLD VILLAGES.

EXPLANATION OF MAP.

[The numbers on the map indicate the location of some of the Wisconsin Winnebago villages.]

1. Duck Island village, 1834-1852.
2. Prairie village, 1787-1833.
3. Black Wolf's village, 1820.
4. Sunker's village, 1816.
5. Karramanee's village, 1780.
6. Rush Lake village.
7. Yellow Thunder's village, 1828-32.
8. Sacred's village, 1827.
9. Old Gray-headed Decorah's village, 1789.
10. Big Fox's village, 1832.
11. Waterloo's village.
12. Iron Walker's village.
13. Little Priest's village, 1832.
Whirling Thunder's village, 1836.
14. Karramanee's village, 1832.
15. Spotted Arm's village.
16. Dayton village.
17. Whitetoe's village, 1832.
18. Chaska's village, 1816.
Whitetoe's village, 1832.
19. Old Gray-headed Decorah's village, 1780-1836.
20. Yellow Thunder's party.
21. Karramanee's village, 1833-42.
22. Sacred's village, 1827.
23. Washington Decorah's village 1832.
24. Buzzard Decorah's village, 1787.
Disguised Decorah's village, 1832.
25. Little Decorah's village, 1837.
26. Big Hawk's village, Pike Lake.

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*d.* Some lodges left the tribe never to return. Some say there were four, others give different numbers (of long lodges). Some say only one lodge. My uncle used to say that there were four. "I think that it is believed that they went to the east," he said.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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"My son, we first originated in human form at Bad Lake (*de-cicik*).[a] From four buffalo spirits who are there, did we originate. The youngest one was clever and from him did we originate. The buffaloes asked one another what they were to do, and they then began to exert their powers, and the youngest one obtained the knowledge that there was to be a gathering of all the animals. So they all landed at a place called Red Banks. So it is said. And to the elk was given the charge of the seating arrangements. 614 539 776

"Thus did we originate. And then they counciled with one another as to how they should travel along the road of life. And as they arrived at Red Banks, each one would ask the other to do some work. And there they made a sacred (covenant)—that they would never fail to grant one another's requests. Likewise they agreed that when they died they would bury one another. The Buffalo clan and the Water-spirit clan were to bury one another, and they were to ask one another to work." [764]

CLAN SONGS

614 533

*Song 1*

Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.

*Song 2*

This earth you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

*Song 3*

This day you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

"My son, here is some more information that one in your position should seek. This should be the second thing to ask for: 'What should one say when one gives a feast?' This you should ask for, and you should boil food for the informant and then you will be taught the proper speeches. Afterwards, when anyone boils food (i. e., gives a winter feast) a kettle should first be put on for Earthmaker and one should ask him for life; that the people may live to be strong and good. Include tobacco in your offering, for although Earthmaker made the tobacco he will not take any of it of his own accord. Not until it is offered to him by humans will he take it. 867 [782] [276]

[a] The name *de-cicik* is applied to-day to Lake Michigan. However, our informant in this case applied it to Devils Lake in Sauk County, Wis. [103]

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12



tribe over the large area once occupied in Wisconsin. That the 4,000 odd individuals composing the tribe at the advent of the whites lived together is extremely doubtful. The nature of the woodland of Wisconsin and the fairly extensive territory over which they (Winnebago) were found scattered not long after Nicollet's first visit are facts that practically exclude such a hypothesis. The myth that speaks of a village that at one time was so long that those living at one end did not know what was transpiring at the other, contains too many literary touches to justify its use as an historical document. 174 616 [161] [173]

The question of village groups is of considerable importance, because there may have been, cutting across the gentle organization, another smaller, perhaps looser social unit, that of "band" or village setting off (to the minds of the people) one group against another. Systematic questioning has elicited from various individuals the information, also corroborated by historical records, that the villages were generally known according to geographical location or were descriptive of the haunts of certain animals. Even to-day the group scattered over the Nebraska Winnebago reservation are commonly known under similar designations. There we find, for instance, the following names: *kozo-atcira*, "those living on the peninsula"; or *k'ąhą'tcira*, "those living below," i.e., in the timber; *niwą'hatcira*, "those living near the dirty water"; *hątcxedegominanągera*, "where big bear settles," etc. If we may, then, suppose this to have been a customary association, we may quite properly ask whether the name of the village had any influence on the social organization, whether there is even a hint at a genetic relation between these two types of group names. The only hint of such a relation is the fact that formerly *honi* "band" seems to have been used instead of *hokik'aradjera;* that an archaic name of the Wolf clan, *regoni* or *degoni*, may mean Lake-band; and that the villages all had geographical names. All of which, however, is, I realize, hardly sufficient evidence. 174 621 174 621 103

No satisfactory demonstration has as yet been made indicating that the clan organization was ever associated with an historically simple social structure, whereas quite a number of reasons lead us to suspect that it was in all cases preceded by other 174 614

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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174 and in content. The difference between it and a society
575 like the night-spirit dance lies in the fact that although the
614 five principal participants must have specific blessings (bundles),
796 they must at the same time belong to the clan. To what extent a member of one clan who has obtained a bundle from some other clan-spirit can take part in the specific clan feast of the latter, it is difficult to determine, but in the buffalo feast, assuming that this is unquestionably the real Buffalo clan feast, and there seems to be little doubt of it, any person who has obtained a bundle from the buffalo can participate, although the leader must always belong to the Buffalo clan. This example may be taken as an indication of the historical origin of these feasts, namely, that they are really religious societies in which the influence of the clan has restricted the number of individuals who are ordinarily supposed to occupy the five places of honour. That this restrictive influence of the clan was caused by the identity of the clan animal with the guardian spirit, there can be little doubt.

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### Phonetic Key.

a, as in German *Mann*.
e, as in French *été*.
ɛ, as in English *men*.
i, as in English *pique*.
ɪ, as in English *pin*.
o, as in English *note*.
ɔ, as in German *voll*.
u, as in English *food*.
ʊ, as in English *put*.
ə, obscure vowel like *a* of English *idea*.
ˌ, denotes nasalization of vowel.
ŋ, *ng* of English *sing*.
θ, *n* pronounced with tip of tongue against upper teeth.
γ, voiced guttural spirant, g of North German *sagen*.
ʿ, denotes aspiration.
·, denotes that preceding vowel is long.
ˈ, denotes main stress.

10:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1945
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## II. Winnebago Civilization and the Medicine Rite

### 1. INTRODUCTORY

The Winnebago are a Siouan-speaking people belonging to a group of tribes that are today spread from Wisconsin to Montana and from Oklahoma to Saskatchewan and Alberta. At the time of the discovery of America some members of this stock extended as far south 105



[pp. 1-48 not processed]

10:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1945
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105 as southern Louisiana and as far east as Virginia and South Carolina. Then, however, their northern and western extension had taken them no farther than North Dakota.

Apart from the Winnebago, the best known members of this far-flung stock are the Dakota, Omaha, Osage, Iowa and Oto.

With negligible exceptions, the civilization of all these tribes was essentially the same and many of its traits were shared by other tribes contiguous to the Siouan, speaking distinct languages such as the Pawnee, Arikara, Creek, Choctaw, etc. All were agricultural, possessed, by and large, the same general type of social organization, religion, mythology and ritualism. The center of this civilization lay presumably, somewhere along the lower Mississippi from which it must have spread north, east and west along its main affluents, the Arkansas, Missouri and Ohio, rivers. I, for one, am of the opinion that not a few of its distinctive characteristics, particularly in religion, ritualism and mythology, it owes to influences that came ultimately from Mexico, possibly no earlier than the twelfth century A.D.

Although the Winnebago were first encountered by the French far to the north, at Green Bay in northeastern Wisconsin, completely cut off from their nearest kinsmen, the Iowa and Oto, they belong definitely further south and west, probably in eastern Iowa.

To understand Winnebago civilization and, incidentally, the history and significance of the Medicine Rite, it is necessary to keep in mind two historical facts, first, that the Winnebago belong to the highly complex widespread general civilization we have just mentioned and, secondly, that they were completely cut off from this civilization by simpler tribes with whom they were almost continuously at war. As a result of this peculiar situation they were able to keep much of their older culture intact, particularly their whole social, religious and ritualistic systems. Entirely uninfluenced by these simpler tribes they did not remain but what they borrowed was not important. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries they were at times drawn into more intimate contact with some of these tribes, during the intervals when they were not fighting them, and it is from one of them, the Fox, that they probably

adopted the specific shooting ritual today practiced in the Medicine Rite. 105

It is just this contrast between the manner in which the basic older structure remained intact and yet new elements were freely adopted that is so characteristic of the Winnebago civilization. The explanation for their ability to do both these things lies in the fact that, like the Iroquois and Navajo, they have always quickly transformed and reinterpreted the influences which they absorbed from the outside. We shall shortly see how the history and analysis of the Medicine Rite illustrates all these three tendencies, the marked conservatism of old patterns, the receptivity to new ideas and the capacity for making new integrations. Before turning to this history, it will be best, first, to give a brief sketch of the Winnebago civilization as a whole, particularly those phases of the social organization, religion, ritualism and mythology, which can throw light on the Medicine Rite.

## 2. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Winnebago social organization contains two structural patterns 105
characteristic of many North American Indian tribes, first, the divi- 614
sion of the tribe into two halves and, second, the clan. Every clan 616
belongs to either one or the other of these two halves or phratries, called respectively, those-from-above or upper people and those-from-the-earth or lower people.

The phratries possess, or rather possessed at one time, a number of distinctive and fundamental functions, lay and religious. Marriage within the same phratry, for instance, was forbidden. Each phratry had different burial customs. In the ceremonial lacrosse game one was always pitted against the other.

Nowhere were these contrasting duties and functions more funda- 105
mental, however, than in the political-social realm. In the upper 614
phratry are centered, in the person of the tribal chief, all the peace 616
and humanitarian functions of the tribe. He is selected from the clan 622
generally regarded as the most important one in the tribe, the

105 thunderbird. He is the representative of peace, par excellence. He
614 cannot go to war or have anything to do with the many war cere-
616 monies of the tribe. Be it remembered that victory on the warpath is
622 the highest honor a Winnebago can attain. He must succour the needy and plead for clemency in all cases of infractions of tribal law and custom, even in case of murder. His lodge is a sacred asylum and
[778] absolutely inviolate. Not only is a prisoner of war safe if he manages to take refuge there, but even a dog, about to be sacrificed, must be spared, should he manage to run into it. Naturally all the other male members of the thunderbird clan as well as all the male members of the other clans in the upper phratry, go on the warpath and seek prestige through war. But, after all, this warfare is waged against people who have no status within the tribe. Acquiescence in it does not constitute approval of violence nor is it regarded as a resort to violence. And it is this condemnation of violence for which the tribal chief and his phratry stands.

105 In contrast to this is the attitude of the chief of the lower division,
614 who always belongs to the bear clan. In him are centered pre-
616 eminently the police, the disciplinary and the war functions. He and
622 his associates police and guard the village, inflict punishment for
625 transgressions of law and custom, take charge of the whole tribe when it is on a communal warpath or engaged in hunting, etc. It is in the official lodge of the bear chief that prisoners are confined before being killed and it is in the same lodge where the sacred warbundles are stored and guarded against contamination.

105 We are dealing here with a very old and persistent classification
616 of the two opposing forces in society and one which reflects the
622 answer to a question asked repeatedly, namely, how are we to meet
182 the two aspects of life and of reality with which we are being con-
577 tinually confronted, the protective, constructive and positive, and the repelling, destructive and negative? Winnebago thinkers seemed to have been particularly fond of posing this problem.

It is not strange then, that they should have felt the contrast between the functions of the two phratries to lie, fundamentally, in their attitude toward evil. For the tribal chief evil was to be warded off before it came and always by passive methods. If that did not

succeed and evil was already upon the tribe, then his attention was directed toward alleviating the suffering caused by it and toward preventing any violence that might come in its wake. His function was to be protective and constructive. As one Winnebago told me, 'The chief of the tribe is like a motherbird feeding its young ones.'

The chief of the lower division, by contrast, went out to meet evil, attacked it ferociously when encountered, and paid little attention to the violent mood it developed among the defender-assailants. The important thing was to attack, fight and gain the victory.

The two opposing approaches to the problem can best be illustrated by the attitudes of the two chiefs toward sickness and murder. The tribal chief meets the first by giving a feast of conciliation and making direct appeals to Earthmaker. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, immediately starts in pursuit of it. With his assistants he makes the circuit of the village four times to look for its cause. He is on the warpath and should a dog cross his path, he is immediately killed. Then he pays a visit to the sick people, dances before them and lays his hands upon them.

If a murder has been committed, the tribal chief not only intercedes for the life of the murderer but actually, if need be, offers to take the place of the malefactor. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, seizes the murderer and conducts him to the family of the murdered person to be punished.

The objects associated with the two chiefs are typical and symbolical of their activities. For the first it is the peace-pipe, the emblem of conciliation and humility; for the second, a curiously formed baton, the emblem of punishment and pain, with which, when need be, he strikes those who transgress.

The recognition of these two aspects of social life and reality, contradictory, colliding, complementary, had its counterpart in the Winnebago analysis of human nature. There too, they insisted, good and evil, the spiritual and the material, the sacred and the profane, seemed forever at strife and forever striving for reconciliation, neutralization or fusion. This philosophy, we shall now see, is reflected, particularly, in mythology, religion and ritualism.

10:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1945
NP12 Winnebago NP12

## 3. MYTHOLOGY

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Running through the whole of Winnebago mythology-literature, is the distinction between two types of narrative, the *worak* and the *waikā*. The first, literally translated, means *what-is-recounted*, and the second *what-is-sacred*. The *worak* belongs to the realm of what is regarded as true and humanly possible and attainable, as pertaining to the present workaday world as we know it. The hero must be a human being and the plot must end tragically. The *waikā*, on the other hand, belongs to the past that is irretrievably gone, to the realm of things no longer possible or attainable by man. It pertains to the world of spirits and deities, to the world of wish fulfillment. The hero must be a divine personage and immortal and the end can never be tragic. A *waikā* can become a *worak* by the simple device of bringing the plot into relationship with the contemporary human scene. The divine being has then become, for the time being, a human one. But there is no tragic *dénouement*. A *worak*, however, can never become a *waikā*.

As an example of the change from *waikā* to *worak*, let me take the cycle concerning the favorite heroes of the Winnebago, the Twins. Their adventures constitute real happenings and not, what one might have supposed far-off divine events, for one simple reason, namely, their resting-place is on earth and they, and this resting-place, have actually been seen by the fathers of present-day Indians.

It seems to have been one of the persistent endeavors of those Winnebago who reflected on such matters, to emphasize not only the distinctions mentioned above but, likewise, for them to link together the various adventures of their more important heroes into reasonably well-integrated epics, each one possessing its own developmental scheme. There are four such major cycles, that of Trickster, that of Hare, that of the battles of the good deities against the evil ones, and that of the Twins.

The theme of the Trickster epic is the unconscious, yet purposive, evolution of the hero from a grotesque, chaotic figure knowing neither good nor evil, to one with the lineaments of man. He symbolizes the gradual evolution from irresponsibility to responsibility.

Where Trickster stops Hare begins. He is a combination of a trickster and a culture-hero. His benefactions, for instance, are all accidental. But from the start, he possesses the lineaments of a human being and his orientation is toward man. He is no longer the supreme egoist that Trickster was. At the end of his adventures the earth has been transformed into a place where human beings can live and operate. 105 538 773

It is the function of the heroes of the third cycle to prevent this order which Hare has established from being again disrupted and returning to chaos. The function of the Twins is to continue the struggles of the heroes of the third cycle and to attempt to stabilize this order for all time.

Now although the theme of all these epics is the struggle against chaos and the introduction of order, each [illegible] at heroes of the last three epics, attempts to disrup[illegible] himself established. Hare brings death into th[illegible] walks, one of the heroes of the third cycle, killa[illegible] sarily and the Twins kill one of the deities wh[illegible] in place. In the case of the Twins it is important to [illegible] fact that, as we shall see, their attack on the world order is the result of exuberance of energy which is, in itself, constructive.

This same theme of the necessity for intelligent order and the establishment of stability runs, like a guiding thread, through the Origin Myth given on pages 17 ff. and pages 252 ff. There, the first problem of Earthmaker after he has, so to say, given himself a fixed orientation in the universe at large and brought about order within himself, is to stop the earth he has created from continuing its ceaseless motion. This he achieves by anchoring it at the four cardinal points and then weighing it down by means of vegetation and mountains. The anchorage, significantly enough, is brought about by pinning the island-earth down by four waterspirits and four snakes. Now [825] snakes are the specifically sacred animals of the Winnebago, the intermediaries between the deities and man. Waterspirits, on the other [776] hand, are, essentially, the most productively evil and dangerous of all the deities for man, fascinating him, confusing him, and placing in his hands the means for his own destruction and the destruction

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105 538 773 [776] of his fellowmen. By giving to the waterspirits the positive and constructive function of helping to stop the earth from spinning around and then holding it in place, part of their primary and ancient danger has thus been neutralized. Yet it can, at best—in fact, it must—only be neutralized. To destroy it completely would be equivalent to saying that man has ceased to err, overcome all temptation and become one of the deities. Such a condition, the Winnebago insist, neither the deities nor man desire.

According to the esoteric view, the ambivalent but fundamentally evil and disruptive nature of the blessings of the waterspirit have never ceased. It is one of the subtle and symbolic features of the final adventure of the Twins, namely, the destruction of one of the waterspirits, the anchorers of the earth, that they are, after all, only doing in a human fashion what Earthmaker himself found it necessary to do, prevent the waterspirits from harming man. They kill the waterspirit and feed on its body. They do not understand that disruption and disintegration represent one half of the process of living and can, at best, be neutralized and delayed, never eliminated and destroyed. It is the symbol for motion and change without which life not only ceases to exist but is indeed inconceivable. Earthmaker, of course, recognizes this and he must, therefore, put a stop to the activities of the Twins and he punishes them. Their punishment is a symbol for the error they have committed. They became fixed, motionless and permanent, both of them traits that, according to Winnebago beliefs, are forms of death. In the puberty vision-quest one of the signs that foreshadows death is to dream of rocks or stones.

I cannot think of a closer parallel to what has here happened to the waterspirits than that of the transformation, in the Oresteia of Aeschylus, of the Furies into beneficent creatures.

But to continue with the Origin Myth. Having created order within himself and established it for the stage on which man is to play, Earthmaker proceeds to create the first beings who are to people the universe, the spirits and deities. To each one he assigns a fixed and specific amount of power, to some more, to some less. In a nature religion like that of the Winnebago, this is, of course, only another way of giving the objects and forces of nature their

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various attributes. A definite gradation of power is thus established with no one spirit possessing powers even measurably comparable to those which Earthmaker has reserved for himself.

This principle of gradation and subordination is part of the order that Earthmaker is represented as introducing into the universe so that it can advantageously function. The instant it is changed there is danger and the threat of disruption. This is the theme of the first part of the Twin cycle, for instance. The plot is clear. The hero, one of the eight great Winnebago deities, Morning Star, has been decapitated by his enemy, a waterspirit. The body of the hero still remains alive and is being taken care of by his sister. The waterspirit, by keeping the head of Morning Star, has added the latter's power to his own. So formidable is this combination of powers that none of the deities, individually or in combination, are a match for him now. In fact only Earthmaker is his equal. Here is a threat of the first magnitude to the order ordained by Earthmaker and it must be met lest destruction overtake the world. Manifestly, the only manner of coping with the situation is to find some hero who can conquer the waterspirit, deprive him of the head of Morning Star and restore it to its owner.

But where is such a hero to be found? Nowhere. Consequently he must be newly created. This can be accomplished either by Earthmaker creating him directly as he has already done others or by his being born of some spirit. The days of special creation, however, are over. He must, therefore, be born as all creatures are now born, divine or human. But how can it be arranged that the hero, so born, has the requisite powers to achieve victory? The answer must be by such a hero being endowed for the task with enough power by all the deities, including Earthmaker.

This is accordingly done and these powers which will make its possessor greater than all the deities in existence and the equal of Earthmaker are delivered to the Sun with instructions that he impregnate the sister of Morning Star. The children born of Sun and the sister of Morning Star, who is herself a deity, are the Twins. They vanquish the waterspirit and restore the head of their uncle to his body. Thus the original order ordained by Earthmaker has been

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reestablished. Earthmaker, however, faced with the necessity of reestablishing it, has laid the seeds for further disruption by contravening the basic principle of limited and graded powers. The danger entering in such an act makes itself felt immediately; for the Twins, after completing their proper mission of destroying whatever evil spirits still exist on earth, or at least neutralizing them, destroy, as we have seen, one of the foundations of the earth. They do so in conformity with the Winnebago realistic conception that the possession of power necessitates its exercise.

Earthmaker, however, has no powers, within himself, to stop them. If, in the end, he does succeed, it is by a device which, on first blush, must strike us as puerile yet which is actually quite profound. He frightens them. The unafraid are made to be afraid, something that comes from within themselves. They try to hide and seek shelter, without success because, of course, they cannot hide from themselves. Finally, in desperation, they flee for protection to Earthmaker. This is, of course, what he is seeking. The moment they are in his possession and have come as suppliants, he has gained contact with them and thereby attained ascendancy over them. He can then speak to them and point out the nature of their transgression as well as its dangers. They recognize both and acquiesce cheerfully in the punishment meted out. Thus, for the time being, order and responsibility have again been reestablished in their rights.

We have so far dealt with the problem of order and disorder in its general, cosmological aspects. We must now take it up in its relation to man.

It is only after the spirits and deities have been created and endowed with the powers they are to have that Earthmaker, according to the Origin Myth, creates man. As the Winnebago say this happened at the end of Earthmaker's thoughts. Man is thus in the position of the orphan of Winnebago story: he possesses nothing. Earthmaker has nothing to give him. Accordingly, man is both weak and defenseless.

This depiction of man as completely unprovided for the vicissitudes of life, has a number of important implications. First of all, it is a well-recognized literary device, indeed almost a *cliché*, to have

the last and least qualified of the personages in a myth or tale, become the true hero. Secondly, it is the cardinal ethical principle of the Winnebago that the lowly shall be raised to high estate. That is the reward for humility. Thirdly, a hero or a virtuous man must show a development, must bring about order within himself. We have seen that hold true for Trickster, for Hare and for Earthmaker himself.

In both versions of the Origin Myth, man is projected naked into an atmosphere over which he has no control whatsoever and where he is immediately attacked by evil spirits. This is in flat contradiction with the accounts of his original state in the exoteric myths. There he is almost immediately placed in possession of tobacco, the intermediary between man and the deities, as well as of flint, corn, etc.

If this is not mentioned in the Origin Myth that is because he is not to save himself or receive the wherewithal of life through the accidental benefactions of culture-heroes. On the contrary, he is to be in dire straits and saved. Earthmaker is represented as withholding tobacco from the spirits in order to present it to man and as endowing these same spirits with an overpowering craving for it. In short, it is to be the mechanism for an exchange between man and the deities. He will give them tobacco; they will give him powers to meet life and overcome obstacles. Yet the deities cannot, by themselves, save him. They are at strife with one another. This can only be done by Earthmaker. For this purpose he dispatches the great primordial culture-heroes, Trickster, Bladder, Turtle and Hare to the earth.

This is a completely new role for all three. Naturally they do not succeed. They cannot be saviours. Their antecedents are against them. Trickster is the supreme egoist, the chaotic buffoon hero, a kind of Priapus, without any sense of responsibility and without purpose as far as man is concerned. His most positive contribution is to point out the stupidity, the cupidity, the vanities and foibles of creatures. He cannot help anyone. With man he has never had any connection. Turtle is not much better. He is the embodiment of cowardice, braggadocio and unabashed sensualism. The best he can do is to participate in warfare and, then, never as a hero.

105 538 773 If Hare succeeds, it is because all his antecedents fit him better for the task. In the original Hare cycle he is born of a human woman and brought up by grandmother Earth herself. Although, at the beginning, his benefactions to mankind are all accidental, they do, at the end, give man the complete quota of his needs. It was comparatively easy to transform him into a hero without blemish. His one fault is demanding too much for man.

It is at this point that the problem of order versus disorder again presents itself. Not content with destroying evil on earth Hare demands immortality for his uncles and his nieces. Thus, like the Twins, he disrupts the world order through excess of constructive powers. But the difference between the Twins and Hare is that the former do it out of a kind of power drive while Hare does it in the supposed interests of man.

According to the story Hare, of course, fails. So obstinately, however, does he refuse to accept the inevitable that Earthmaker consents to an apparent revision of the world order in one respect. He will grant man the possibility of transcending death, by means of successive reincarnations, on condition that he agrees to face life and its vicissitudes in accordance with a specific ethical code. This is, of course, the theme of the Medicine Rite. For man, then, an exception to the law of birth, growth and death is permitted to this extent—he can repeat the cycle of birth, growth and decay an indefinite number of times.

But it is naturally in religion and ritualism that we must expect to find the best illustrations of the basic principles we have so far discussed in connection with social organization and mythology and to these we shall now turn.

## 4. RELIGION

105 121 771 Because of the highly complex character of Winnebago religion I shall confine myself primarily to an analysis of the nature of the powers the spirits and deities are supposed to possess, the relationship postulated between them and man, and the requests man makes

to them. To understand properly these three problems we must, at the outset, try to distinguish between the layman's and the priest's conception, between the exoteric and the esoteric viewpoint although, to be sure, the two are never mutually exclusive.

For the ordinary man, the lay Winnebago, the primary powers of the vast majority of the deities have always inhered in the deities themselves. They are their own possessions and have not been bestowed upon them from without. Moreover these powers relate to the actual natural functions these deities perform. The prayers of man to the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Night-spirits, the Thunderbirds, etc. are, primarily, that they continue their functions and do not deviate from them. But man recognizes that they also have secondary functions, that, for instance, the sun, the morning and evenings stars, the thunderbirds, the night-spirits, all possess the power to give man long life and victory on the warpath; that the grizzly bear spirits have curative powers to bestow upon him and the waterspirits have special powers in connection with death-dealing medicines, etc. This socialization of the spirits and deities brings them that much closer to man. By bringing them this much closer to man they are deprived, however, of something of their independence and freedom of action. They have now become more specifically oriented toward mankind than toward their functioning in the universe at large. This change in orientation did not come about mechanically or accidentally. It represents the priest-thinker's conception, his attempt to establish linkages and meaningful relationships between men and the world of spirits. This attempt, from the nature of things, can never completely succeed for the simple reason that the primary functions of most of the nature gods—and they are the important ones—cannot be eliminated, must, in fact, not be eliminated. In the case, however, of animal deities, their older primary functions can be attenuated to a very marked extent and deities can be developed who never possessed functions other than those we have designated as secondary, that is, deities who function only in relation to man.

Since the nature gods, however, were the great gods, they served as patterns for all the others and the marked split in their orienta-

105 tion became, more or less, the characteristic of all spirits and deities.
771 The older condition, where the god concerned himself with his pri-
776 mary functioning and where relations to man were strictly neutral, was set off against his later condition where he was specifically enmeshed in man and man in him. These older deities—the waterspirits, for instance, belong here—never bestowed upon man either good or evil blessings. Like the waterspirits, they gave man the materials out of which he could prepare his own good or evil. That, I think, was always the lay point of view. Manifestly this led at times, to extreme individualism and clearly did not make for organization. The priest-thinker in seeking to bring more order into the various functions of the deities introduced new evaluations and new distinctions. For example, the earlier functioning of most of the deities was now interpreted as essentially evil or at least of no positive relation to man. In their later status, on the contrary, they generously brought man good blessings and they themselves became beneficent and friendly deities.

This socialization of the deities was entirely the work of the priest-thinkers. It succeeded completely, only in the case of Earthmaker and in their masterpiece, the Medicine Rite. In all other instances the lay interpretation was still largely dominant: man could never be certain what he would receive from the spirit to whom he was praying and making offerings, nor feel that he could always guard himself adequately against the dangers inherent in the approach to the supernatural. This uncertainty was expressed in a number of ways. One of them is very typical for the Winnebago. Every youth, during his puberty vision-quest, was warned by his elders against accepting too generous a gift of power from the deities. This was the matter-of-fact parent's euphemistic way of saying, 'Do not let them deceive you or work evil upon you.' The thinker, of course, interpreted this in an entirely different fashion. For him, a faster who accepted more from the gods than he could fulfill was the victim of his own overreaching and lack of that sense of proportion which, alone, can save man from destruction.

This recognition, then, of the ambivalent or, at least, veiled nature of the deity's attitude toward him is something that man must learn to accept and which he must also learn to meet in such fashion that

the spirit or deity will be constrained, willingly or otherwise, to grant him his request. How can this be done? The answer will depend upon who is speaking, a Winnebago layman or a Winnebago priest-thinker. The layman's view is embodied in the myth of the origin and function of tobacco. There the deities are mechanically constrained to give the powers they possess to any human being who comes with an offering of tobacco. Here the human suppliant theoretically determines what he is to receive and how he is to employ it. In actual practice, of course, the situation is never so simple even in the case of the most matter-of-fact individual or the most matter-of-fact deity. Both are swayed by contradictory and conflicting emotions. Man wishes a maximum of power but is held back from making the maximum request for fear that it will be too dangerous for him to do so. The deities wish to be sustained by the tobacco for which they have an almost uncontrolled craving but dread the loss of power it entails. As a result man is prone to ask too little or too much and the deities to give too little or too much. Both lead to disorder and result in evil.

To restore order in such a situation where, on the one hand, you are dealing with human nature with its ceaseless changes, its impermanence and its inability to foresee the future and the consequences of its demands and, on the other, with divine nature, with its unchangeability, its permanence and its foreknowledge, was a problem of extreme difficulty and delicacy. The added fact that, according to the universally accepted Winnebago belief, the spirits and deities depended for their happiness and much of their functioning upon the sustenance they obtained from man, further complicated it. The problem, of course, existed primarily for the priest-thinker.

To a large degree it was of the latter's own making. To the matter-of-fact man, the man of action, the relationship between the deities and man was, as has already been pointed out, direct, mechanical and constraining for both. It was but an extension of the theory of exchange of goods which prevailed on earth between men, to the world of spirits. That theory of exchange insisted that the receiver of a gift should always make a return gift of greater value than that which he had received. Of the spirits who had so much, man could

105 771 776 at least, demand an equal exchange. The crux of the question then was, who is to evaluate the human gift? The answer of the matter-of-fact man was both, the spirits and man. For that reason, he contended, risk and danger must always inhere in the human-god relationship and there was little that could be done about it except to take every precaution one could. This must be accepted. Such was life. Suffering and tragedy loomed large there and the relationship between the deities and man was part of it. The gods could, at best, only help man to keep his balance and maintain his sense of proportion. It had always been a human problem and always would remain one. A whole class of literature, the worak, dealt with this theme. The picture it painted was not too optimistic.

105 771 776 812 It was the priest-thinker who was the optimist. He attempted a time-honored solution of philosophers, that of giving man some of the attributes of divinity, in other words, a greater sense of fixity and security, a greater degree of permanence, and some possibility of foreknowledge.

Winnebago philosophers seem to have attacked this problem repeatedly and suggested a number of solutions. According to one theory, gods and men had been equal in the beginning. At that time all existent beings could transform themselves at will into the one or the other *ad infinitum*. When, however, the world was to take its present shape, all the beings had to transform themselves permanently into the one or the other, into gods or into human beings.

105 771 775 Thus, at one time, man had actually partaken of the divine. This was, of course, only divinity in retrospect, and was not of great importance in developing divine stature for man now. Winnebago thinkers, instead, fell back upon two universally accepted folkloristic beliefs, that in the immortality of the soul and that in reincarnation. The first, however, implied a complete and irretrievable separation from the earth and human beings. To be of any value in the task of developing divine traits for man, the soul, the permanent component of man which left him at death had to be bound, in some way, to the earth. This could best be done by reinterpreting the nature of death. This was done by having it merely imply no loss of personal consciousness at all but simply a temporary stumbling.

There existed an unbroken continuum. No more, however, could be done in the way of reinterpretation. The philosopher could not do away with the palpable fact that the body of a deceased person remained motionless and decayed. The ghost, conscious though he remained and fully aware of what was going on around him, was unable to establish contact with the living or they with him and he always remained jealous of the living and not too kindly disposed to them. The continuum predicated was, consequently, reduced to a mere shadow. 105 771 775

With the belief in reincarnation, the priest-thinker could do much more. Here a kind of continuum already existed. The priest-thinker had merely to develop the concept of a continuing consciousness. Thus the first attribute of divinity, permanence, was on its way to accomplishment. This permanence was further enhanced and fixed by having an individual born again into the very same family and reliving, in every detail, his previous existence.

In the myth giving the origin of the Four Nights' Wake over the body of the dead, this is the main and insistent theme. Thus the second attribute of divinity, unchangeability, was on its way to accomplishment. The two other traits of divinity, foreknowledge and omnipresence, presented greater difficulties for their attainment. The latter, however, was not of great significance in the Winnebago concept of divinity. The former was. Here the belief in reincarnation offered little help. Recourse had therefore to be made to shamanistic practices and magic proper where both beliefs were quite common. On the whole the Winnebago priest-thinker, particularly in his greatest triumph, the Medicine Rite, eschewed magical practices and that is why little really is ever said about foretelling events. Yet it is significant that the very first story in the Medicine Rite and the one which purports to be the account of how the Rite was begun by a man, makes this foreknowledge of the future, the basic gift that a prospective member received. How fundamental it remained is proved by the fact that when the Peyote Cult was introduced among the Winnebago, the two gifts the peyote bestowed were the foretelling of the future and the ability to transport oneself anywhere by mere thought. 105 771 [795]

105 771 776 The priest-thinker thus contended that man could be made to approximate to the deities by simply manipulating powers and attributes which some individuals, at least, already possessed. Was it, however, wise to leave it to the individual himself to attempt this approximation? There had always been individuals in the community who essayed it but the net results of their attempts had spelled misfortune for them and misfortune for the community. They were generally the practitioners of evil magic, the poisoners. The Medicine Rite is replete with stories about them. Apparently, then, this was not a matter to be left to the discretion of an individual or for that matter to human beings at all. Man was to be educated to divinity by the deities themselves. For this purpose both were to be transformed into more disciplined, more responsible, more ethical and more profoundly realistic beings. Just as in the attainment of the goods of life, so now in the attainment of the benefits flowing from divinity, he was to face the problem bravely and realistically and endure stoically and understandingly the hardships and sufferings involved. In short, divinity had to be achieved. It could not be thrust upon one. The deities, likewise, had to be educated and be made to realize that nothing was due them as such and that they could expect no sustenance from man unless their own way of life was organized and ethically ordered and unless their blessings were given in good faith and in gratitude.

105 771 776 538 The poet-philosophers composed many a worak to bring out just these points. To give an example. A child is fasting and refuses one gift after another from the deities. Perturbed, they turn to the father and ask him to discover what the boy wants that has not already been granted him. In answer to his father's question, the boy says he does not wish to die. Neither the entreaties of the father or the spirits avail. And so the boy must die although he is rewarded by being transformed into a pine tree.

Now this is actually a completely transformed version of a well-known story, *The Child Who Fasted Too Long*. In the original version he dies because he has overreached himself. In such stories the spirits are neutral, that is, where they are not actually inciting

the young faster to overreach and destroy himself. Thus we see along what lines the reinterpretations of the priest-thinker were made. 105 771

This was the theory that the priest-thinker tried to impress upon his fellowmen in order to introduce a greater sense of confidence and security in the relationship between man and the deities. Because of the very high demands it made upon the worshipper, it remained largely a philosophical-ethical ideal and the fairly sharp line of demarcation between human beings and the spirits continued in force as the popular theory. Some there were who even insisted that it was, not only the courageous, but the morally justifiable thing to do, to coerce the deities into acquiescing in man's demands. That was the proper way to meet divinity, to challenge the gods, accept what they granted and, then, to attempt to fulfill the conditions imposed even if they meant death. Few individuals in the community, for instance, had greater prestige than the few who had secured a blessing from the much dreaded deity, *Disease-giver*. He had two faces, one dealing life and the other death. No suppliant knew which side would be turned toward him when he made his offerings, at noon, in the full blaze of day, contrary to what held for all the other deities, namely, that they must be approached at night. 776 [538] [554] [782]

This, of course, is the warrior's creed and, in a civilization like that of the Winnebago where the highest ambition as a man was to achieve distinction on the warpath, it naturally was very important. Yet to this, the chief of the tribe might well retort: such courage and such risks have their moral justification only when one is fighting the enemy or avenging the death of a kinsman. They are inapplicable when approaching a god. The taking of great risks concerns not only oneself but the whole community and must be subject to the sanctions of the community. A person must be carefully and properly educated before he dare take them. To exhibit fearlessness and heroic courage is, in itself, no virtue. Indeed, in the wrong place or on the wrong occasion, they can and do lead to death and destruction. 105 771 577

And so, in the realm of religion as in that of social organization and mythology, the problem to be faced is depicted as being the same. How are we to resolve the differences between the 'earth' interpre- 105 771

105 771 tation with its insistence upon warding off evil by force and obtaining good by force, and the 'sky' interpretation, with its emphasis on conciliation and appeasement and its attempts at the resolution of the opposites? The rituals take up the same question.

## 5. RITUALISM

105 575 571 796 There are two fundamental types of ritualistic organization among the Winnebago, those based on clan membership and those based on blessings from the same spirits. In other words, the bond is either a social one, membership in the same clan, or a spiritual one, a common religious experience. The clan rituals have one major extension, a ceremony where those members of each clan who are the guardians of the warbundle of that particular clan, gather together in a feast for all the main deities. At this ceremony they ask for the renewal of the powers of these warbundles and for the promise of success on the warpath. Set off, apparently, from these two types of ritual there is a third, the Medicine Rite, with but one example, where membership is based upon personal conduct and achievement other than war and where, usually, one can only enter when there is a vacancy caused by death. In those cases where a person became a member through personal achievement he was, in the old days, generally, a man in middle age because of the rigorous and difficult entrance requirements. When taking the place of a deceased member a person could, however, even be under twenty.

An individual is consequently either born with the right of membership in a ceremony, like the clan feasts and the warbundle feasts, or he has to achieve it, as in the ritual societies based on blessings from the same spirits and the Medicine Rite.

The clan feasts which are in honor of the ancestral clan animals need not detain us here. Nor do we have to dwell upon the ritual societies based on common supernatural experiences. For membership in the latter there are really no requirements except willingness to endure the comparatively light hardships of fasting. The spirits or deities rarely, if ever, failed to grant the suppliant a vision. Formerly,

so many Winnebago informed me, the most sacred and important 105
of the ritual societies of this type was the Night-spirit one. It was 575
practically gone when I first visited the tribe in 1909. In none of 796
these rituals was there any control of membership or insistence upon 571
a special code of conduct either before or after admission.

The warbundle ceremonies require a few words. Each perform- 105
ance is divided into two parts, the first presided over by the Thunder- 721
bird spirits and the second by the Night-spirits. However, all the 796
great spirits of the Winnebago pantheon have their place in it and, to all, offerings are made. Although in the eyes of the Winnebago, the warbundle ritual is devoted entirely to the glorification of war, it is interesting and significant to see that, besides the great patrons of war, the Thunderbird spirits, Night-spirits, Sun, Morning Star, Evening Star, Disease-giver, Eagle, Black Hawk, specific peace deities like Earthmaker, Earth, Moon and Water are also included and, at times, even the hero-deities, Trickster, Turtle and Hare. From this we can infer that even in a ceremony devoted preeminently to the enhancement of the importance of the warrior and of warfare, deities symbolizing peace and the antithesis of violence and force, could not be entirely left out. Admittedly their inclusion had little effect upon the one and insistent prayer of the participants, war. Even Earthmaker is represented as bestowing success on the warpath, something completely new. Yet the mere fact that Earthmaker was included did act as a reminder that the pursuit of war was not everything.

The warbundle rituals represent the classic and most complete expression of the war spirit, the glorification of the viewpoint of the chief of the lower division of the tribe, namely, that one goes out to combat evil, militantly and with violence. In fact, you must pre-enact the enemy's attack, your method of coping with it, and the manner in which the enemy is to be defeated and overwhelmed. Even orgies, where all self-control is abandoned, are permitted, some- [786]
thing that was always abhorrent to the normal Winnebago and greatly dreaded. The remark made to me by the Indian who translated the text, relative to such orgies is quite illuminating here. 'It is good to have one Indian work himself into a paroxysm of enthusiasm but it must never be more than one!'

●105 796 575 771 But to come now to the Medicine Rite. It is only superficially that its organization is really unique, for both in the snake clan feast and in the Night-spirit ritual society there are four positions just as in the Medicine Rite. The resemblances between the latter two are, in fact, so marked that we can well understand why some Winnebago regarded the Night-spirit society as the model for the Medicine Rite. In a sense it is true that the Medicine Rite could be interpreted as the society of those who have been blessed by Earthmaker. Yet, in spite of these similarities, it was regarded as something *sui generis*. What is, then, the specific character of its organization that gives it this unique position in the Winnebago ritualistic system?

The answer is simple—two traits, the method of admission and the fact that a large part of the tribe belongs to it. While the size of the membership at the beginning of the nineteenth century was unquestionably larger than a hundred years before, still it must always have been very large. Moreover, there were no restrictions as to sex. Compared to any of the other ceremonies, the Medicine Rite thus stood out as a completely democratic organization where, theoretically, the only requirement was membership in the tribe.

This uniqueness in certain fundamental traits of its organization was matched by its purpose and much of its content. Its avowed purpose was, not only, to ensure man a long and happy life on earth but to ensure his return to it after death. Of course all ceremonies were concerned with the first of these two purposes. And the belief in reincarnation had always, as we have pointed out, been well-known and accepted. The uniqueness lay in the method of attaining it. That method had two parts, a magical-symbolical and an ethical-philosophical. Admission to the Rite entailed being shot and 'killed' by a missile and coming to life again. This is the magical-symbolical part. The ethical-philosophical part consisted in strict adherence to a high code of behavior laid down for you and enforced by the older members of the Rite. Only by adherence to it can you surmount death.

Yet admission is only a preliminary to your real task. It only sets your feet, so to speak, in the proper road. You must steel yourself to being shot and 'killed' innumerable times and you must obtain

mastery over death by shooting and 'killing' others innumerable times, so that death, when it finally comes, will be as familiar to you as life. Then, when full of years, you actually die, the passage from life to death will become a mere incident and, being born again will, for yourself, constitute no break with your former existence. 105 575 796 771

It is quite clear that we are dealing here with the vision of a poet-philosopher and this will become more evident when we recognize the original nature and meaning of the shooting ritual. Shooting missiles into a person was an old and well-recognized shamanistic device. The missiles were generally animal claws and they were meant to kill. Your only protection was to provide yourself with magical counter measures or, to obtain some specific blessing from a spirit. That you could convert what was meant to be a death-dealing missile into a life-giving one by leading a virtuous life was something new when applied, for instance, on the grand scale to be seen in the reinterpretation of the myth of the *Journey to Spiritland* as found in the Medicine Rite (cf. pages 257 ff.). To express it, required a particular language, with new extensions of meaning for words and in which metaphor, symbolism and mysticism ruled supreme, in short, the language of a poet and a philosopher. Myths were reinterpreted in an entirely new fashion and put to entirely new uses. To understand and comprehend it a special and difficult kind of education and training was needed.

Yet, in spite of its esoteric character, one thing was never forgotten, that the ceremony was to serve concrete purposes. It was not the vision of a Road of Perfection to be rewarded by eternal peace and happiness in heaven but, on the contrary, the vision of a Road of Perfection which was to be rewarded by a return to earth and to the vicissitudes of living. It was life that was to be faced, with all its imperfections, trials, and with all the comedies and tragedies that often played such havoc with ideals of perfection.

Indeed the imperfections of life intruded themselves into the poet-philosopher's vision, despite his attempts to exclude them. It was impossible, for instance, for individuals to forget that they were not only members of the Medicine Rite but, likewise, warriors and often shaman. Thunder, as the idealists might well do against the presence

105 575 771 796 of shamanistic practices in the Rite, they could never quite exclude them and the only answer they possessed was to condemn them and show how they led to dishonor, death and destruction.

This interweaving of the concrete and the symbolic and mystical led to a double, at times even a triple, set of significances for every action and word and which, occasionally, reached incredible heights of complication, intricacy and subtlety.

105 174 796 Since no other ceremony resembles the Medicine Rite in the respects just mentioned, we may well stop and ask ourselves what could have led to its creation? What is the cultural meaning of this new mode of expression, this new type of reinterpretation of ancient beliefs and attitudes? Allowing for the natural creative impulses of our Winnebago poet-philosophers, it is not unreasonable to suspect that some particular circumstance or circumstances must have called them forth.

Ordinarily, any attempt to determine such a matter among the American Indians, in the absence of an authentic historic record, would mean mere speculation. Fortunately this does not hold true for the case in point. There are indications within the text of the Rite itself and some historical evidence which proves pretty conclusively that, in its present form, the Medicine Rite is a development late in Winnebago history and after the coming of the French in 1632. We can, in fact, date it more precisely. The otterskin pouch and the shell used in the shooting ceremony come from the *midewiwin* ceremony of the Ojibwa. The Winnebago obtained them from the Fox and this could not possibly have been before 1680-1690.

Now, the Winnebago between 1650-1900 were passing through a very serious crisis. Their numbers had been seriously decimated by ferocious struggles between them and the Illinois and Fox and by the diseases introduced by the Europeans. The influence of the French, as well as the new conditions resulting from French encroachment, were playing havoc with the old order of things. Nor must we underrate the influence of the French missionaries.

[182] That a new type of ceremony should have appeared among the Winnebago just then cannot be ascribed to mere chance. It must bear some relation to the crisis. The moment we put the two to-

gether much that would otherwise remain inexplicable about the Medicine Rite becomes clear—its nostalgia for the past, the idealistic and idyllic setting, the absence of any reference to war, the insistent condemnation of shamanistic practices. We can then see it for what it is, the attempt of the priest-poet-philosopher to meet the new and hitherto unknown threats to the old way of life by demonstrating, first, what merit and virtue inhered in the Winnebago civilization of the past and, secondly, by showing how it could be recovered and safeguarded against all outside attacks. The creators of this ritual-drama were concerned only with the description of the Road of Perfection, a road that was to lead the Winnebago back to the past and then forward again. Only if we fully realize that we are not dealing here simply with the inward vision of some poet-philosopher but with the spiritual crisis of a people will we be able to explain the burning intensity that animates the participants.

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But, let us forget for the moment the fact that the Medicine Rite is of late appearance in Winnebago history and let us forget the crisis that gave it birth and try to assign it its proper place in Winnebago thought.

We saw before how the warrior ideal received its glorification in the warbundle ceremonies. Nothing comparable to such a eulogy of war and of the warrior's viewpoint existed for the other half of Winnebago life, for the arts of peace. Indications that it was attempted are innumerable but these attempts seem never to have succeeded to any marked degree.

And so the Winnebago, apparently, had to wait until late in their history, until a crisis of major proportions was threatening to disrupt their whole culture, before the ideal which had always been expressed in the symbol of the chief of the tribe could find its full and adequate expression in the present Medicine Rite. That this expression came so late in their history must not obscure the fact that it represents part of a very old struggle between two aspects of Winnebago life that had always been seeking a resolution. It is not only in Winnebago history that a philosophical-ethical ideal has received its highest expression in the midst of a social-economic crisis, as I need hardly point out.

105 174 182 796 Whether, before the coming of the Whites, other crises of equal intensity had ever threatened the security of Winnebago life we do not, of course, know. What we do know, however, is that before Winnebago civilization finally broke up and disintegrated completely, about twenty years ago, a religion of a new type essayed the same task that the Medicine Rite had undertaken and developed a ritual of considerable beauty with a quality all its own. I am, of course, referring to the Peyote Cult.

## 6. THE HISTORY OF THE MEDICINE RITE

105 796 174 The Medicine Rite is clearly the product of a long development. For proof of this we have not only direct historical evidence but fairly convincing internal evidence. I have already called attention to the fact that the otterskin pouch, the shell and, in fact, much of the whole present shooting ritual stems originally from the *midewiwin* ceremony of the Ojibwa. We know that they are the originators of it and that it spread from them to the Pottawattomie, Menominee and Fox and then to the eastern Dakota and Iowa. The eastern Dakota already had it in 1765. The Winnebago were brought into contact with it by the Fox and the Iowa. We must assume that this could not possibly have been earlier than 1690 and, far more likely, it was later, anywhere between 1710 and 1730. To judge from its present form and content, nothing else was borrowed than the shooting ritual and its appurtenances, apart from a number of songs, at least, from the linguistically and culturally distinct Fox. More was probably borrowed from the linguistically and culturally closely related Iowa.

Two introductory narratives (pages 92 f. and 94 f.)[1] profess to tell how some of the pouches were obtained but they can hardly be accepted as too accurate. In so far as any credence can be placed on what they say, it would appear that they were presented to two Winnebago, whose names are given. No mention, however, is made by the givers of these gifts, one an Iowa and the other a Fox Indian, of their be-

[1] [not processed. -Analyst]

longing to the *midewiwin*. Nor do the two Winnebago say anything 105
about their having been incorporated into a ceremony of their own. 796
Yet some connection there must once have been between these 174
gifts and the beginnings of our Medicine Rite, for otherwise there would have been no conceivable reason for their inclusion.

Since everything else in the Medicine Rite of today, apart from the shooting ritual, is so completely different from the Ojibwa and Menominee *midewiwin*, the only two we know reasonably well, we must assume either that a new ceremony was created then and there with the shooting ritual as its nucleus or that the shooting ritual was incorporated into an older Winnebago ceremony. All the evidence at our disposal points to the latter alternative. We have also to assume that this older ceremony contained shamanistic practices of the type that were characteristic of the Night-spirits' Rite.

That it was not the Night-spirits' Rite itself upon which the 105
Ojibwa shooting ritual was grafted, of that there can be little doubt. 171
Fortunately, we have a clue from a very unexpected source, the 174
Pawnee. These Indians have a ceremony called *The Ceremony of* 796
*the Medicine Men*, where we find the following remarkable resemblances to the Medicine Rite: a shooting ritual which causes the individuals shot to fall prostrate to the ground as if dead and then rise again; the conception that the framework of the lodge consists of snakes; a figure called the sacred woman; the importance of Turtle; a membership possessing occult powers strictly guarded and kept secret from the outside world; a highly elaborate symbolism, etc. Chance must be ruled out here. The only thing we have to decide is how the Winnebago happen to possess a ceremony so similar to that of the distant Pawnee with whom they had practically no contact. Direct borrowing is out of the question.

To me there seems to be only one possible explanation, namely, that the Winnebago and the Pawnee, the Winnebago to a smaller extent, were members of that larger civilization which we mentioned before and which had its roots in Mexico, and of which the Pawnee have preserved the essential traits whereas the Winnebago have preserved only vague memories of it and some special survivals.

Assuming then that the older ceremony upon which the Ojibwa

105 171 174 796 shooting ritual, plus its appurtenances, the otterskin pouch and the shell, were grafted, was in content very much like the present *Pawnee Ceremony of the Medicine Men* and, organizationally, like the Night-spirits Society; let us see now what changes were necessary to have this older ceremony approximate to the present Medicine Rite.

105 174 796 First, of course, the meaning of the missile shot into the individual being initiated and into the members of the Rite had to be reinterpreted and its overt shamanistic implications removed. The stimulus for that unquestionably came from the Ojibwa shooting ritual. The linkage of the shooting ritual with the doctrine of reincarnation is, however, something entirely new.

The second transformation came about when the Tear-Pouring ritual was grafted upon this older rite. This last named ritual, apparently, was part of the very elaborate ceremonies connected with the dead although, today, it is not found in the official Four Nights' Wake. What is, however, found there is the myth of the *Journey to Spiritland* which has been taken over *in toto* into the Medicine Rite and subjected to a complete and fundamental reinterpretation. I feel that it is the linkage of these elements from the funeral rites with the older form of the Medicine Rite that brought about its basic transformation and gave us the Rite of today, with its stress on reincarnation and on the doctrine of the Road.

The third new trait requiring an explanation is the role of Earthmaker. He is a very old Winnebago deity and was evidently regarded as the supreme deity before the coming of the Europeans. He seems, in fact, to be the counterpart of the well-known Pawnee supreme deity *Tirawa*. Nevertheless, the influence of Christianity in, at least, unifying his characteristics and functions and accentuating his supremacy over the other deities, as well as the theory that he is the creator of all things, must not be excluded. The association of the two crossed lines with him cannot be accidental, even although the symbol itself is very old and is more specifically connected with the cardinal points.

There is, besides, some semihistorical evidence for indirect Christian influence. In a narrative purporting to be an account of the origin of a well-known French half-breed family among the Winne-

bago, named Decora, a statement is made that the son of the French founder of the family by the daughter of the tribal chief, introduced the figure of Earthmaker into the Medicine Rite. Such an individual would, indeed, have been the ideal person to have done just this. According to the narrative, he was taken, while still a very young child, to France and brought up there for a number of years. He was still only a boy when his excessive homesickness forced his father to send him back to Wisconsin and there he was rigorously subjected to the old Winnebago education for youths. 105 174 796

Thus he was almost made to order to symbolize the meeting of the two civilizations and to become one of individuals best qualified to understand the nature of the crisis threatening his people and the need for a new religious and philosophical synthesis to surmount it, at least, spiritually . . .

It is in some such fashion that we must visualize the growth and development of the Medicine Rite. Only if we bear in mind the various strands that have gone into its making and only, when we realize that in its final integrated form, it is a work of art sprung out of the poignant needs of a people facing a soul-trying ordeal, only then, can it be properly understood, evaluated and appreciated.

[pp. 78 ff. not processed]

1: Radin, Paul. The Winnebago Tribe. Thirty-Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 35-560. Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1923.

58 illustrations; 38 text figures; index

Yale: A52.040. 37. cop. 1

[This work, which is the primary source on the Winnebago for this file, is a meticulously executed piece of ethnographic writing by a well-known professional anthropologist specialized in the field of American Indian studies. This source was compiled by the author during the years 1908-1913 while working for the Bureau of American Ethnology and on private expeditions, and was originally recorded as much as possible in the Winnebago language, which was later translated into English. The researcher will notice that each of the chapters contained in this work, with the exception of those on archaeology, history, and material culture, is divided into two parts, the data, and a discussion thereof. All aspects of Winnebago ethnography are covered in this source, with three exceptions--mythology, art and music. The reason for this exclusion is explained in the preface on page 47. Of

1: Radin, Paul.

special interest in this source is chapter 17 dealing with the clan war-bundle ceremonies, pp. 427-560, which presents the native text and word-for-word translation of the minute details of the various ceremonies. In general coverage the following aspects of Winnebago ethnography are presented: culture history, archaeology, material culture, social, burial and funeral customs, warfare and the tribal council, education, social organization, shamanism and medical practices, religion, clans (history, organization and dances), and the Peyote Cult.

It is interesting to note that some of the life history material to be found in this work, especially in regard to chapter 16--the Peyote Cult, may be found reproduced almost verbatim in source number 7 of this file, the autobiography of Crashing Thunder. --Analyst]

Field date: 1908-1913
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnólogist-5
Processed in 1963

2: Radin, Paul. The Social Organization of the Winnebago Indians, An Interpretation. Canada Department of Mines, Geological Survey, Museum Bulletin No. 10, Anthropological Series, No. 5. Ottawa: Government Printing Office, 1915.

Pp. 40, introduction, phonetic key.

Yale: SE4 38 10

/This source presents an interpretive analysis of Winnebago social organization based in part on the twofold division of the tribe and the further division of these halves into clans. Abundant information is presented on the distribution of this form of social organization among other neighboring tribes, and the historical, functional and traditional basis for this organization as inferred from other types of ethnographic evidence. Clan organization is well covered, as is the role of the clan in the socio-political complex, the socio-ceremonial complex, and the influence of the

2: Radin, Paul.

clan on ceremonial organization. --Analyst/

Field Date: 1908-1913
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1964

3: Michelson, Truman. Some Notes on Winnebago Social and Political Organization. American Anthropologist, n.s., Vol. 37, pp. 446-449. Menasha: American Anthropological Association, 1935.

HRAF Copy

/The author of this article points out that despite the many accounts of Winnebago social organization that have appeared in print, the data appearing in a little known travel book by Caleb Atwater have been consistently overlooked. A quotation from this book is then presented, which gives some interesting data on Winnebago "tribes" (clans), chiefs, the grand national council, military organization, and a special occupational category in the society termed the "dividers", members of whom had the task of dividing gifts equally among the people. The source concludes with some additional notes on the reconstruction of the presence of certain clans in the past as derived from personal Winnebago names appearing in treaties between the Winnebago and the United States--Analyst/

Field Date: no date
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1964

4: Smith, Huron H. Among the Winnebago. Year Book of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Vol. 8, pp. 76-82. Milwaukee, 1929.

Yale: S9 191 8.

/This source consists of a few brief notes on Winnebago ethnography gathered by the author, then Curator of Botany at the Milwaukee Public Museum, during the summer of 1928 while he was engaged in a study of the use of native plants by the Winnebago. Data presented pertain to names and naming, location of the Winnebago, the Peyote cult, the medicine lodge and its adherents, and native phonology./

Field date: 1928
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Natural Scientist-5
Processed in 1964

5: McKern, Waldo C. A Winnebago War-Bundle Ceremony. Year Book of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Vol. 8, pp. 146-155. Milwaukee, 1929.

Yale: S9 191 8.

/This source consists of an account of a Winnebago war-bundle ceremony given by the Thunderbird Clan at Wisconsin Rapids in October, 1927. The author of this paper, at the time Associate Curator of Anthropology at the Milwaukee Public Museum, was invited to attend the ceremony, and it is his detailed observations of the events that took place that comprise the text of this source. In addition to details of the ceremony itself, information is also presented on the medicine lodge, the making of the sacred fire, the war-bundle and its contents, feasting at the ceremony, musical instruments used, ritual smoking, and the buffalo dance which followed the ceremony./

Field date: 1927
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1964

6: Oestreich, Nancy. Cultural Change among the Wisconsin Winnebago. Wisconsin Archeologist, n.s., Vol. 25, pp. 119-125. Milwaukee: Wisconsin Archeological Society, 1944.

Yale: C52 255 II.24-25.

/The material for this paper was gathered by the author during the cherry picking season in Wisconsin, from early July to the middle of August 1944. During this period the author attempted to record instances of social change taking place within a small group of Wisconsin Winnebago, numbering in all about 45 families. The author discusses individual attitudes within the changing society, types of cultural change, and cultural change and cultural stability. A few brief notes are also added on the wartime adjustment of the Winnebago to conditions existing during World War II./

Field date: ca. 1943-1944
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1964-5

7: Radin, Paul, (editor). Crashing Thunder: The Autobiography of an American Indian. New York and London: D. Appleton and Company, 1926.

Pp. xxviii, 203.

Yale: C62.120

[This autobiography is valuable as an individual life history, both for a study of personality and for the effects of acculturation on the individual. More than half the book concerns the early life of Crashing Thunder. Here he deals with the importance of the "vision quest," the ethical ideals of Winnebago culture, and includes descriptions of rituals and texts of myths and stories. He ends with an account of his conversion to the Peyote Cult. Crashing Thunder's early quest for a vision and later conversion supply useful information on individual religious experience. --Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1912
Analyst: Joan Steffens

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1963

8: Lurie, Nancy Oestreich. Winnebago Berdache. American Anthropologist, Vol. 55, pp. 708-712. Menasha: American Anthropological Association, 1953.

HRAF Copy

/This source shows how the role of the Winnebago berdache was still in evidence at the close of the 19th century, and how some of the cultural traits inherent in this particular role had parallels to those appearing among some of the Plains Siouan tribes. The data were gathered in most part from native informants, and provide information on the special position in the society played by the berdache, his status, special clothing, and receiving the "call" to become a berdache. The author points out that in the case of a true berdache, the person retains a position of honor and respect in the society, but when he was forced to adopt the role (e.g., as a prisoner of war, or for some offense against society, as desertion in battle), without the blessing given by the Moon, he was dishonored and disgraced--Analyst/

Field Date: 1945-1950
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1964

9: Morgan, Lewis Henry. The Indian Journals 1859-62, pp. 60-61 and 210. Ann Arbor: the University of Michigan Press, 1959.

Yale: CE 78 .W5 .M6

/ This source is basically a study of the Winnebago Medicine Dance ceremony as it existed in the early days of Indian-White relations. The author's white informant, Judge Williams, formerly a district judge in both Kansas and Iowa, was closely associated with the Indians for twenty five years. In addition to the details of the ceremony, information is also given on Winnebago burial customs which again the informant had witnessed, and on native curative practices. -- Analyst/

Field Date: 1859
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1963

10: Radin, Paul. The Road of Life and Death: A Ritual Drama of the American Indians. Foreword by Mark Van Doren. The Bollingen Series, 5. New York: Pantheon Books Inc., 1945.

Pp. xvi, 345; notes.

Yale: C54 500.

/Only pp. 49-77 have been processed./

/This selection, entitled "II. Winnebago Civilization and the Medicine Rite," has been abstracted from the author's work listed above, and attempts to show how three marked characteristics of Winnebago civilization--the conservatism of old cultural elements, the receptivity to new ideas, and the capacity for making new integrations--all interact with one another to create new cultural patterns in the Winnebago milieu. The illustration used to demonstrate these interacting processes is the evolution of the Medicine Rite. As background orientation to his study the author provides some limited data on social organization, religion, ritualism, and mythology./

Field date: 1908-1913 Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Analyst: John Beierle Processed in 1965

Radin, Paul. Winnebago Culture as Described by Themselves. The Origin Myth of the Medicine Rite: Three Versions, The Historical Origins of the Medicine Rite. International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. 16, No. 1, Supplement (Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics, Memoir 3; Special Publications of the Bollingen Foundation, No. 2). Baltimore: Waverly Press, Inc., 1950.

Pp. 78.

Yale: F10 In6 3.

/This source has not been processed for the Winnebago File, since all the material here is contained in other sources processed for the file. /

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



who were with them, and delivered to them two others. But the Fox refused to be satisfied unless they also delivered to them four of their own number. This proposal the Winnebago considered an insult, and the siege was resumed. After the fighting had continued for about six weeks, Capt. Marin with five Frenchmen and thirty-four Menominee, came to the assistance of the besieged. When the treachery of the Winnebago in giving up several of their comrades to the Fox became known to the Menominee it required all Marin's powers of persuasion to prevent their deserting from his small command and leaving the besieged to their fate. After four days of fighting with the relief party under Marin it was discovered that the Fox had raised the siege by decamping, in the night. Thus were the Winnebago, who had in the meantime been reduced by famine to the eating of boiled bear skins, delivered from the enemy. Marin's force thereupon retired, the Winnebago accompanying him to Green Bay, "where they established themselves in a fort." 175 648

For a more detailed account of the same events see Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XVII, 88-100. The Winnebago have preserved a clear recollection of these stirring events in the semi-historical tale known as *Tcap'o'sgaga*. [113]

THE TALE OF TCAP'O'SGAGA[5]

In the early days of their existence the Winnebago were a successful people. They all fasted and were blessed by the spirits. It is for that reason that they were powerful and were called *Hotagaru*. 173

At one time a Fox Indian, whose nation was about to be destroyed by its enemies, came to these much-feared Winnebago and said, "Brothers, I have come to you for aid."

The Winnebago lived on one side of the lake[6] and the Fox on the other and (because of the appeal) the former made friends of the latter, it is said, and the chiefs presented the pipe to one another. When chiefs exchange pipes with one another a very sacred bond is established. Thus many Winnebago and Foxes became friends, and Winnebago men married Fox women and Fox men married Winnebago women. 173 648

There was once a very famous warrior among the Winnebago whose crops were molested by the Foxes. *Tcap'o'sgaga's wife*[7] thereupon said to him, "Why don't you take them (the marauders) to task?" Then *Tcap'o'sgaga* went to the Foxes and said, "Boys, all the watermelons are yours when they are ripe, if you desire to eat them." "All right," they answered.

On the morning after the second night *Tcap'o'sgaga's* wife woke up very early and went out to inspect the crops. Again they had been disturbed, so she immediately went back exclaiming, "How terrible: The largest and best of *Tcap'o'sgaga's* crops have been

[5] This has also been published by me with the accompanying Winnebago text in the Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society, 1914, pp. 192-207, Madison, 1915.

[6] Probably at the junction of the Fox River with Lake Winnebago.

[7] This name means White-fire eat.

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12



838 the formal role of berdache for men was observed within the memory of people born since 1885, at least in Wisconsin. Of particular interest is the fact that the Winnebago utilized the same characteristics of dress and behavior for two entirely different purposes. In the case of a true berdache, the person held an [554] honored and respected position in the society, while a man who was forced to take on a female role without benefit of a blessing by the moon was disgraced and dishonored.

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Wissler, Clark 1912 Societies and Ceremonial Associations in the Oglala Division of the Teton-Dakota Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History XI pt. 1: 1-99.

9: Morgan E-5 (1859) 1959 NP12 Winnebago NP12

115 97. Joseph Williams, born in Pennsylvania in 1801, served as associate justice in Iowa Territory and state. In 1857 he was appointed associate justice of Kansas Territory by President Buchanan; he served until 1861. He made his home in Ft. Scott; died in 1870. For an account of some of Williams' activities in Kansas in the fall of 1859 and 1860, see *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1915–18*, XIV, 205–6, 230; *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1901–02*, VII, 402.

[113]

796 575 98. This is probably one of the earliest accounts of the Winnebago Medicine Dance, performed by a secret society in summer only. Its purpose is to prolong life and to cultivate certain nonmartial virtues. The Winnebago Medicine Dance is closely related to the Algonquian Midéwiwin, to the Dakota "Mystery Dance," and to the Omaha "Pebble Ceremony." See "The Ritual and Significance of the Winnebago Medicine Dance," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XXIV (1911): 149–208, and *The Winnebago Tribe* (Bureau of American Ethnology, 37th Annual Report, 1923), both by Dr. Paul Radin; see also "Winnebago," in *Handbook of American Indians*, edited by Hodge.

[171]

[113]

[P-210]
[pp. 211-233 not processed]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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they forced their way through the country occupied by the Winnebago, war would not have occurred. 174 [648]

The Winnebago call themselves *Hotcangara*, which has been variously interpreted as "people of the parent speech" by James Owen Dorsey and as "big fish people" by other observers. Dorsey's explanation, which is the one most generally accepted, is most certainly wrong, and represents an interpretation read into the word to make it fit the legends which claimed that the dialect was the most archaic of all the Siouan languages. It is true that *ho* may mean "speech," but *teunk* can only mean one thing, and that is "big, real." It is found with a number of animal names, such as *keteunk*, "turtle," and *ceniteunk*, "wolf." It corresponds strictly to the Dakotan *tank*, "large." *Ho* means "fish" in Winnebago. The name Winnebago, as is well known, is of Algonquian origin. 101 [114] [192]

The Winnebago were first encountered by white men in 1634, when Jean Nicolet visited them as agent for Governor Champlain. Where he encountered them is not definitely known. The Winnebago as a rule claim that it was at Green Bay. Some discussion has arisen of late years on this question. No contemporary narrative of the event exists, nor have the Winnebago any clearly marked legend that might be interpreted as referring to it. 175

An excellent description of their history has been given by P. V. Lawson [5] and from this we will quote at some length, selecting those periods that are of greatest importance in the history of the tribe and which can be illustrated by semihistorical legends still known to the Winnebago.

Much of our knowledge of the early history of the Winnebago is derived from Baqueville de la Potherie's Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale. A good deal of his information was obtained from Nicholas Perrot. For the period covering the years 1640–1660 we have the following information: [6]

> A few years ago, they numbered possibly 150 warriors. These savages have no mutual fellow-feeling; they have caused their own ruin, and have been obliged to divide their own forces. They are naturally very impatient of control, and very passionate; a little matter excites them; and they are great braggarts. They are, however, well-built, and are brave soldiers, who do not know what danger is; and they are subtle and crafty in war. Although they are convinced that their ancestors drew upon themselves the enmity of all the surrounding Nations, they cannot be humble. Their women are extremely laborious; they are neat in their houses, but very disgusting about their food. [162] [181] [152] [461] [264]

[5] The Winnebago tribe, in Wisconsin Archæologist, vol. 4, no. 3, Milwaukee, 1907.
[6] Quoted in Lawson's paper, p. 93.

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and died and therefore they (the Winnebago) have passed here.' 173
Likewise, if you build a fire, always cover up the embers, for if you 648
should throw away any into the water (you would be detected)."

Then they went away in boats and returned to the lake. When they came to the narrow place where the main body of water lies there they went ahead along the left branch. Now this is all of this.

After a while the tribes came to see the Frenchman, for it was about the time fixed, and they said, "How have you been getting along?" Then he said, "Children, you know what kind of people the Winnebago are. We watched them very closely, but they got away, in what direction I do not even know. In the morning they were gone. I believe they went downstream, although I haven't even hunted for them upstream."

Well, all these different tribes looked for the Winnebago, for they wished to trail them and kill them. Now, although the Frenchman had expressly forbidden them, sure enough (the Foxes) found a fish that had been speared. "They've come past here," they said. However, when they came to the fork of the stream they didn't know which way (the Winnebago) had gone, but they noticed embers in the water. "They've gone by here." As it was impossible to go to the end of the stream in boats, all the half-breed Foxes got out (and walked). Soon they saw the oval lodges. "There they are," they said. For that reason the Foxes carefully looked them over and watched them. They inquired about them and found out that they had passed by.

The road (trail) was visible, so they chased them. Soon a cold autumn spell overtook them and they (the enemy) gave up the chase and returned home.

We will not follow the course of Winnebago history through all 114
its vicissitudes from their defeat by the Foxes to the British and 175
American occupancy, but only indicate important facts. An important local event was the coming of the Frenchman Decora among them and his marriage to the daughter of the chief of the tribe. An account of this has been preserved by the Decora family, although it is clearly mixed up with what we believe is an account of the first contact of the Winnebago with the French.

### HOW THE WINNEBAGO FIRST CAME INTO CONTACT WITH THE FRENCH AND THE ORIGIN OF THE DECORA FAMILY

The Winnebago originated at a place called Red Banks (Green 173
Bay, Wis.) (pl. 1). They had no tools to work with at that time. All they had were bows and arrows and a fire-starter. They had no iron, and if they saw a stone that was naturally sharpened in any way it was considered sacred and they offered tobacco for it. They had [276]
tobacco from the beginning. It was their most valued possession.

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172 tion. The Winnebago themselves claimed that the reason lodges were built upon mounds was because they could thus shed water most easily.

The conical mounds were unquestionably used for purposes of burial. Whether, however, they were always constructed with that particular object in view may be seriously doubted, for in some cases the burials seem to represent clear evidences of being intrusive in character. A few Indians insisted that some of the conical mounds were used as platforms from which to address an audience; that some were "stations" in the game of lacrosse, and that some were bases of lodges.

The composite type of mound, characterized by the union of a conical and a linear or by the union of a number of each, was interpreted by the Winnebago questioned as lodge bases connected with one another, the conical mound being the base of the lodge and the "linear" acting as a sort of connecting passageway.

[14] We mentioned before that Mr. Stout maintains the view that the linear are in reality conventionalized effigy mounds. Our main objection to such an interpretation would be that conventionalization is a method of artistic expression exceedingly rare among the Winnebago. Had it been common it would certainly have been found in use in their bead and quill work or in their woven bags. There is a possibility that some of the linears may be either very crudely constructed effigy mounds or that they may represent effigy mounds that have been changed through the influences of weather and general climatic conditions, as well as, to a smaller extent, by human hands, factors that have been neglected altogether too much in this connection, especially in the interpretation of what appear to be anomalies. From this point of view, it would be suggestive to compare some of the so-called "turtle" effigies with the water-spirit or "panther" type, on the one hand, and with the linears on the other. It is perhaps such "transitional" forms that have led Mr. Stout to postulate that all linears are effigies.

Summing up, we might say that the linears may be either effigies, in part representing a snake, or they may be, in part, altered or mutilated or crude effigies; or they may be the bases of lodges. We have the authority of a number of Indians that some are snake effigies. The interpretation that some are altered or mutilated has never been confirmed by the Indians themselves. Finally, that some of them are the bases of lodges is the statement of a large number of Indians, but it must await further evidence before it can be accepted.

That some of the mounds found in the Winnebago territory antedate, in part, the coming of the whites, and can consequently be regarded as constituting an archeological problem, there can hardly be any doubt. Nevertheless, many of them have been erected since

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Nicollet's time, some even within the recollection of Winnebago still 172
living. All were unquestionably erected by the Winnebago, and since there is no reason for believing that this tribe entered Wisconsin many centuries before the first appearance of Europeans in America, it is quite erroneous to state, as Mr. Stout does, that the evidence at [114]
hand justifies us in dividing the occupancy of Wisconsin into two principal periods, the effigy mound-building era and the time that has elapsed since that period.

The use of copper by the Winnebago prior to their contact with Europeans is another of the rather baffling questions connected with Winnebago archeology. There are references to its use in the myth [173
of the Twins, but the sections of the myth where it is mentioned 177]
show marked evidences of European influence and can hardly be accepted as reflecting the original mode of life of the Winnebago. Copper is found in a number of mounds, but we have no way of determining whether these mounds are pre-Columbian or not.

In all likelihood, almost all the copper found in Wisconsin comes [316]
from the original copper workings at Isle Royale, Keweenaw, Ontonagon, and elsewhere, in the Lake Superior district. "A provisional description of the territory in which the greatest number of such artifacts have been recovered up to the present time may be given as extending from about the middle of Milwaukee County, northward along the west shore of Lake Michigan to Door County, thence westward to the Wisconsin River or slightly beyond, thence southward along this stream to Dane County and eastward to Milwaukee County, the starting point. Embraced within this territory are the extensive lake shore village sites, from which thousands of articles have already been recovered, and certain well-known sites in Green Lake and adjoining counties, the Rush Lake and similarly productive regions."[11]

The region thus described embraces the Winnebago territory and that subsequently occupied by the Central Algonquian tribes. It does not follow the line of Winnebago migrations farther than the Wisconsin River to the west or farther than the southern boundary of Dane County to the south or southwest. As far as the writer knows no one has ever been able to obtain any information from the Winnebago that would in any manner connect them with the authorship of the copper implements found associated with their old village sites. All Indians questioned denied that their ancestors had ever [177]
used copper before the arrival of the early French traders. For the Winnebago, it seems to the writer, the problem connected with the occurrence of copper implements is not whether the Winnebago made them, but how they came to obtain them. The solution of this problem would be immensely facilitated if we had accurate knowledge

[11] Brown, in The Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 2, no. 2, p. 58.

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It might be said that all recollection of the making of wooden vessels could easily have been lost in the last century or two and that therefore too much weight should not be given to present ignorance of the subject. There are a number of reasons, however, why ignorance in this particular case might be significant. First, many indications point to workmanship of a low order among the Winnebago in the manufacture of artifacts; second, there are many suggestions of two cultural strata in this tribe; third, while the Winnebago in Wisconsin still use wooden vessels, many of them claim that these were introduced; and fourth, all the informants who gave this information were old people. If the author were to hazard an hypothesis, it would be the following: In very early times few objects were fashioned out of wood, but gradually contact with the Menominee led to the introduction of many wooden vessels, and finally the acquisition of European axes, knives, and other implements made it possible to manufacture such vessels in large numbers. A similar explanation was offered by an Indian with regard to the use of dugouts.

Besides wood as a material for dishes and spoons of various kinds and sizes, shells were utilized, while sticks served as knives.

All informants agree that neither bone nor stone were used in the manufacture of utensils.

For cooking, clay pots were used. These vessels, most of which were very large, with round bottoms, always hung over the fire. The material used in their manufacture was blue clay found at Green Bay, on or near the site of St. Paul, Minn., mixed with shell shards, glue from sturgeon vetrebræ, and the gelatinous substance in the horns of the deer. The addition of these ingredients greatly increased the cohesiveness of the clay. The material was either molded with the hands or in holes of the desired shape dug in the ground and lined with leaves. Finally, the vessels were dried over a slow fire in small kilns constructed for the purpose. None of the clay vessels were provided with handles. Some were ornamented with geometric patterns. The irregular incised designs on some Winnebago vessels are the impressions of grass blades with which the mold was lined.[1]

*Fire making.*—In former times fire was always made by means of a simple fire drill. This method is still used for ceremonial occasions.

*Tanning.*—The author never witnessed the process of tanning. The description obtained agrees exactly with that of Mr. A. Skinner here quoted.[2]

After the skin has been removed, the hair is scraped from it. During this process the skin is hung over an obliquely inclined log, one end of which has been smoothed

[1] One informant gave a description of pottery making in which a wheel was used, but as no other Winnebago corroborated this statement the author is convinced that it is inaccurate.

[2] Anthr. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist. pt. iv, pt. ii, pp. 305-306.

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PART II

# CHAPTER VIII

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—GENERAL DISCUSSION

We are justified in assuming that the twofold division of the Winnebago and the southern Siouan tribes, Dhegiha and Teiwere, had a common historical origin. Our identification is based upon the existence in these three tribal units of specific similarities apart from those of social organization. Positive proof that the type of social organization is historically identical among these tribes is not, however, forthcoming. This will become even more apparent when we consider the twofold division from the point of view of the names they bear, the subdivisions within them, and their specific functions.

According to our informants, the twofold organization among the Dhegiha and Teiwere only existed upon specific occasions, when the tribe was on the tribal hunt. We are in complete ignorance as to whether in olden times this arrangement was reflected in the village, but we know that whether it was or not, the twofold division was present in a very definite manner in the consciousness of the people themselves; that is, every individual definitely knew to which one of the two divisions he belonged and that certain names and functions were associated with them. The moment, however, that we stop to analyze these names, functions, etc., we realize at once that to-day they connote different ideas in the different tribes under discussion. The names of the divisions seem particularly significant in this connection. Among the Omaha they are known as Ictacunda and Hanga, probably connoting Sky people and Leaders; among the Ponca, as Wajaje and Teiju, Earth and Thunder; among the Kansa, as Yata and Ietunga, Right side and Left side; among the Osage as Teiju and Hanga, Peace and War side. The names for the Kwapa, Oto, Missouri, and Iowa are not known. It will be seen at a glance that the terms Teiju and Ictacunda are identical, and it will also be noticed by reference to the monographs of J. O. Dorsey and Miss Alice C. Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, that these names as well as the name Hanga are names of subdivisions within these divisions. Were these names first used to designate the two divisions or the subdivisions? There seems to be no reason for believing that the

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171 names were first applied to the larger divisions, whereas a number of
174 facts speak strongly in favor of the reverse. In no case, for instance,
114 can it be shown that the two divisions, per se, have any functions
614 except that of regulating marriage. The various political and ceremonial functions displayed pertain to the subdivisions composing them. Owing to the massing together of a number of such functions on each side, we often obtain the impression that these belong to the larger unit, as such. And indeed this may be said to be true at the present time, in so far as the functions of one subdivision have become identified with the larger unit. All that we wish to point out here is that the names of the two divisions may be different, and that they may connote different ideas in the different divisions of an historically related culture, due to specific historical development within each. Among the Dhegiha there seem to be a number of reasons for assuming that the present names of the two divisions are not the historically primary ones.

It is far more difficult to discuss the names of the subdivisions or "gentes" within the two larger divisions. From a comparative point of view it must be regarded as significant that the names of the subdivisions within the Teiwere tribes tally almost exactly with those of the Winnebago and that those of the Dhegiha tribes tally with the names of many of the two latter, although they possess, in addition, a large number not found among them. The Teiwere and Winnebago have animal appellations for their clans, the Dhegiha have animal appellations plus a type of designation descriptive of animal taboo. Which of the two types is the older it is difficult to say. This fact might be noted, however, that the animal names have, to a large extent, been forgotten and that the descriptive taboo appellations have not; that in a number of cases there is some reason for believing that these animal appellations have been reinterpreted and in other cases replaced by nonanimal designations; that the origin myths of these divisions always explain why a certain animal is associated with a subdivision, and rarely the origin of the taboo name; and lastly, that the majority of personal names are strictly comparable to the clan names of the Winnebago and the Teiwere. On the other hand, the descriptive taboo type of name is found frequently among the band appellations of the Plains Indians, with whom the Omaha had come into intimate contact and by whom they had been influenced along definite lines of ceremonial and social development. For these reasons we would like to suggest that the animal appellations are historically primary and that the taboo type became subsequently popular and spread over the whole tribe. Examples of changes in the names of subdivisions are by no means isolated. The Winnebago exhibit a tendency to substitute names indicative of the function of a clan for the old animal names—and this

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has gone so far that a large number of individuals would probably deny to-day that the Hawk and the Warrior clan are one and the same. Again, among the Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw we find Sun and Star clans, and, if we were to imagine that for some reason or another the latter type of name became popular, it might here become dominant within a comparatively short time.

Like a twofold division, the clan may connote a number of different things to the minds of the Indians. The Omaha apparently used the term *onuroggthoⁿ*, which means literally "place-of-habitation-of-those-related," *gthoⁿ* being the possessive-reflexive pronoun. It would thus seem to coincide with a geographical unit. The Quapaw use the term *enikuciga*, evidently meaning "people"; the Kansa, the term *wayumida*, "those-who-sing-together"; the Osage, the term *prda*, "fireplace"; and the Winnebago, the term *hokik'a'radjera*, "those-related-to-one-another." The remarks made about the specific names of the twofold divisions apply here. There is no reason for assuming that these are historically primary. A possible historical hint that they are not will be mentioned later.

The twofold division apparently regulates nothing but marriage. It has at the present time no other function, per se. Nevertheless, a number of ethnologists, and for that matter Indians themselves, speak of the functions of the two sides. If we consider the Omaha "circle," we notice that practically all the ceremonial functions are on one side; that among the Osage "war" and "peace" functions are found on both sides; and that, as a matter of fact, the functions of war and peace apparently relate to a certain reciprocal relation existing between the two divisions. Indeed, there is no reason to justify the use of these terms. Among the Iowa, J. O. Dorsey quotes Hamilton to the effect that the regulation of the hunt and other tribal affairs was in the hands of one "phratry" during the autumn and winter, and in that of the other in spring and summer. It is, however, doubtful whether this was the case. Among the Winnebago, as we shall see, the functions of war and peace were grouped together on one side, the functions of the other side being confined to those relating to the policing and regulation of the hunt. But the only fact of importance to us here is not whether there appears a balancing of functions connected with the social organization, but whether the Indian thinks there is; and here the consensus of opinion favors the view that no Omaha would, for example, suppose that the Hangacenu division, as such, was the custodian of the real pipes of peace. This belonged to the Inkesabe gens, and there is not a shred of evidence to support the view that it was delegated to that clan by the larger unit. The same reasoning applies to the Hanga clan. That the importance of the possessions of the latter clan played an important part in the associations of the Omaha, even to the extent

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171 of impressing its name upon the whole division, we do not doubt
174 for a moment. Other reasons may have led to the designation of the other half by the name of one of its component clans.

114 Similarly, among the Ponca, the Wajaje half corresponds to the
614 Wajaje clan, the keepers of the sacred pipe; and among the Osage, the Teiju and the Hanga divisions of one side, and the Wajaje divisions of the other, correspond to the clans with the same name that are associated with important ceremonial-political functions. On the other hand, we have the fact that among the Kansa the names of the two large divisions are distinct from any of the clans in those divisions, and the same is true for the Teiju division of the Ponca. If we correlate this last fact with the apparent absence of any association of important ceremonial or political functions with specific clans, the suggestion might be permitted that no incentive existed in the minds of these people for the clan becoming identified with the larger divisions. Among the Winnebago the names for the divisions are quite different from those of the clans composing them, but at the present time the fact that the clan in each division has definite functions and powers has reacted on the interpretation of the social organization, and it is quite customary to refer to one half as *hunk* or "chiefs," and to the other as *manap'e* or "soldiers," although the latter is not common.

In short, we have a right to see, in all the facts mentioned, indications of a possible historical development whose characteristics seem to lie in the identification of the name and function of an important clan with that of a much larger division.

[182] The Winnebago social organization has long since broken down, but its details are still so well preserved in the minds of the older men, and particularly in the literature of the tribe, that no difficulty was experienced in reconstructing it. This reconstruction, however, does not enable us to determine the relation of the clan and dichotomous division to the distribution of the tribe over the large area once occupied in Wisconsin. That the 4,000-odd individuals composing the tribe at the advent of the whites lived together is extermely doubtful. The nature of the woodlands of Wisconsin and the fairly extensive territory over which the Winnebago were found scattered not long after Nicolet's first visit are facts that practically exclude such a hypothesis. The myth that speaks of a village that at one time was so long that those living at one end did not know what was transpiring at the other contains too many literary touches to justify its use as an historical document.

114 The question, therefore, of village groups is of considerable impor-
621 tance, because there may have been, cutting across the general organization, another smaller, perhaps looser social unit, that of "band" or village, setting off one group against another. Systematic question-

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systematic questioning has elicited from various individuals the information, also corroborated by historical records, that the villages were generally known according to geographical location or according to names descriptive of the haunts of certain animals. Even to-day the group scattered over the Nebraska Winnebago reservation are commonly known by similar designations. There we find, for instance, the following names: *kozo-ateira*, "those living on the peninsula"; or *k'uha'teira*, "those living below", i. e., in the timber; *niwa'hateira*, "those living near the dirty water"; *hpte x'dgominangera*, "where big bear settles," etc. If we may then suppose this to have been a customary association, we may quite properly ask whether the name of the village had any influence on the social organization; whether there is even a hint at a genetic relation between these two types of group names. All that can be said is the fact that formerly *honi*, "band," seems to have been used instead of *hokik'aradjera* for clan; that an archaic name of the Wolf clan, *regoni* or *degoni*, may mean Lake band; and that the villages all had geographical names. All of which, however, is, I realize, hardly sufficient evidence.

No satisfactory demonstration has as yet been made indicating that the clan organization was ever associated with an historically simple social structure, whereas quite a number of reasons lead us to suspect that it was in all cases preceded by other types of organization. In North America there is quite considerable evidence tending to show that the village group organization often preceded in many places the clan, and for that reason the facts brought out above may be of more than casual significance. That a system of clan names different from that now in use existed is borne out by the archaic names for the Bear and Wolf clans. That another system was making headway against the animal-name type of change, namely, the substitution for animal designation, with correlated associations of descent or connection with an animal ancestor, of designations indicative of the functions of the clan. If the association of the social unit with a common animal ancestor was preceded by an association of a social unit with geographical location, we would then be able to demonstrate what is so rare in ethnology—the historical succession of types of naming.

### The Twofold Grouping

The Winnebago are divided into divisions, one known as the *waggeregi hewa*, "those who are above," the other as the *manegi hewa*, "those who are on earth." Descent was reckoned in the paternal line. But these appellations refer to the animals after whom the clans are named, the term *waggeregi* covering the birds, the term *manegi*, land and water animals. So firmly has the idea of division of animal forms become associated with the two divisions

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616 ceremonial connections: first, in the organization of the village;
614 second, in the arrangement of the clans while on the warpath; third, as the basis of organization at the "chief" feast; and lastly, as the basis of organization of the ceremonial lacrosse game.

616 According to the majority of the older people, when the old social
614 organization was still intact, each village was divided into two halves
621 by an imaginary line running due northwest and southeast, the *waggeregi* clans dwelling in one half, with the chief's lodge in the south, and the *manegi* clans dwelling in the other half, with the bear or soldier lodge in the north (fig. 33). Although this arrangement has now become almost legendary, it was corroborated by many of the older people. To what extent every village was organized on this basis it is impossible to state. When this question was

FIG. 33.—Plan of village according to Thunderbird, of the Thunderbird clan.

directly put to individuals, the answer was always in the affirmative. Quite a number of old individuals, however, denied vigorously that such had ever been the organization of the village, and claimed instead that the lodges of the Chief and the Soldier (Bear) clan were in the center of the village (fig. 34).

[115] In looking over the clan affiliations of the informants, we noticed, however, that the first arrangement was always given by members of the bird clans, and the second arrangement by members of the
[114] Bear clan and generally also by others on the *manegi* side. This fact, of course, makes the decision as to the relationship of these two types of village organization quite difficult. There can be no
[582] question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital relations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in different villages.

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10. *ire*, buffalo.
11. *ke*, fish.
12. *wak'a*ⁿ, snake.

Another list was obtained in which only 10 clans were mentioned, the Fish and the Snake being omitted. The clans omitted are, however, regarded by all as of recent origin.

There are two older lists of Winnebago clans obtained by Morgan[3] and Dorsey.[4] Morgan gives the following clans: 614 114

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wolf. | Eagle. | Snake. |
| Bear. | Elk. | Thunder. |
| Buffalo. | Deer. | |

Dorsey's list is more complete, although owing to the fact that he did not know of the existence of the twofold division, he classes the four Bird clans as subclans of one larger Bird clan. His list differs from the author's only in the absence of the Fish clan and in the fact that he was still able to obtain two archaic names for the Wolf and Bear clans. Dorsey's list follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wolf. | Bird. | Buffalo. |
| Bear. | *a*. Eagle. | Deer. |
| Elk. | *b*. Pigeon. | Water-monster. |
| Snake. | *c*. Hawk. | |
| | *d*. Thunderbird. | |

Foster gives a grouping of the clans according to the fauna.[5] His list hardly was intended as an enumeration of the clans. According to Foster, we have the following grouping:

I. Thunderbird family or invisible Thunderbird people.
II. The air family, the visible Thunderbird people.
III. The land or quadruped family.
IV. The water family.

An interesting variant of the names of the Thunderbird and Warrior clans was given by one informant. He called the Thunderbird the good thunders, and the Warrior the bad thunders. This is strikingly reminiscent of the Menominee and was perhaps borrowed from them. 614 [115 177]

The main differences in the above lists are the order of the clans, the position of the Wolf clan, the presence of a general Bird clan called *wanjik* by Dorsey, the double names for the Wolf and Bear clans, and the absence of a Fish and Warrior clan in Dorsey's and of a Hawk clan in the list obtained by the author.

The position of the Wolf clan, in spite of Morgan's and Dorsey's agreement, does not belong in the place assigned to it by them. In all probability their main informant was a member of this clan who wished to give his clan a greater importance than properly belonged

[3] Ancient Society, p. 167.
[4] Siouan Sociology. Fifteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn, pp. 240-241.
[5] Quoted in J. O. Dorsey's MSS. of Winnebago clan names (R. A. E.).

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614 to it. There is no doubt but that in older times the Wolf clan played a far greater part in the affairs of the tribe than it does to-day, but that it ever was the principal clan of the tribe is out of the question.

614 114 With regard to Dorsey's postulation of a Bird (*wanink*) clan, all that can be said is that the author obtained nothing confirmatory of it. It is just possible that Dorsey, who apparently did not know of the existence of the two phratries, misinterpreted a popular grouping of the four clans of the upper phratry, as representing a fundamental division. Historically it may, indeed, be true that the four clans of the upper phratry represent the subdivision of one clan.

The archaic names for the Wolf and Bear clans can not be translated with any degree of certainty any longer. It is barely possible that *degoni* means "lake band" and *teonank* means "blue back." Whether these are simply a second set of names, or whether they represent an historically older set, it is impossible to say to-day. The probabilities are that they are terms of respect.

The absence of the Warrior clan in Dorsey's list and the presence of a Hawk clan is rather interesting, for it shows that only 25 years ago the bird name for this clan was still in use. The Warrior and Hawk clans are identical, the latter being, however, the appellation that is preferred to-day.

In addition to the names given above, some of the clans have names indicative of respect, such as *hunge* for the Water-spirit, *haga* for the male members of the Bear clan, and *warowina* for the female members. It is also possible that the names *degoni* and *teonank*, mentioned by Dorsey for the Wolf and Bear clans, were terms of respect.

### RECKONING OF DESCENT

614 Descent is patrilineal and a man's name generally belongs to his father's clan. Formerly there never was an exception to the rule that the name must belong to the father's clan, but of recent years [582] the Winnebago have become very lax in this particular. The irregularities in the giving of names were due to two causes—first, the intermarriage of Winnebago women with white men or with Indians of other tribes where the clan organization was either unknown or where descent was matrilineal, and, secondly, to the fact that the wife's parents were often in a better position to pay for the naming feast than the parents of the father. When a Winnebago woman marries a man who either has no clan or who reckons descent in the mother's line, the children are always considered as belonging to the mother's clan. This, however, lasts for only one generation. As a result the male children of such a marriage perpetuate the clan of the mother, although they transmit it thereafter in the male line.

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Another irregularity that has grown up within recent times is the occasional transmission of the clan war-bundle in the female line. In olden times it could only be transmitted in the male line, so as to prevent its passing out of the clan. It was, however, not always passed to the eldest son, but to that one who, by his actions and the interest he manifested in learning the legends and songs pertaining to the ceremony, showed himself capable of properly providing for the bundle. Now it happened occasionally that a man either possessed no son or that his son did not show sufficient interest in all that pertained to the bundle. In such a case the father had the alternative of giving it to some near relative in the male line, and if there were none of either giving it to some distant relative in the male line or the son of his sister or daughter. This, of course, happened very rarely, and in all probability the female line would eventually have to return it to the clan to which it originally belonged. 614 778 428

We have described these two instances of transmission in the female line in some detail in order to show how simply they can be explained without the intervention of any theory that the Winnebago reckoned descent in the female line originally. Such a claim has been made by Morgan and reiterated by Frazer. It seems to be based on the fact that Carver found the daughter of a Winnebago chief, known to the whites as Glory-of-the-Morning, and her children occupying an exceptional position among the tribe, or at least among the division of the Winnebago living at the upper end of Lake Winnebago, Wis. Her position and that of her children, one of whom has become well known in Winnabago legends, *Thap'ogaga*, was, however, due to the fact that she married a Frenchman named Decora. She was not the chieftainess of the tribe nor were any of her children, strictly speaking, chiefs of the tribe. In any case her position had nothing to do with female descent and at best but illustrates what we have said before about the clan to which children of such a union belong. 611 114

## INDIVIDUAL NAMES

Before turning to the specific study of each clan a few words must be said about the individual names. From a purely descriptive point of view the names can be arranged in nine classes: 614

I. Color.
II. Physiological characteristics.
III. Social functions.
IV. Animal and plant forms.
V. Animal characteristics.
VI. Natural phenomena.
VII. Quality.
VIII. Episodes of a legendary character.
IX. Personal achievement.

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the origin myths. Part of the oral data is merely a reflex of the origin myths, but part is not. The value of this "unwritten" material lies in the fact that it represents the popular, exoteric attitude, the attitude that, on the whole, is not the result of conscious rationalization, and that this exoteric view may very likely have been the basis for the priestly esoteric interpretation. 614 825 [114]

The prevalent conception of the relationship of the individual to his clan animal is that of descent from an animal transformed at the origin of the present human race into human beings. This view is expressed in some of the origin myths and the general statements of individuals. Direct descent from an animal was never postulated. The definition of the term "animal" is, however, very difficult. The Indians themselves seem to make a distinction between the animal of to-day and the animal of the heroic age. The main characteristics of the animal of the latter was his power of transformation into human form and vice versa. Although the animals have lost this to-day, they are nevertheless descended from this animal. The human beings are, however, descended from precisely the same "animals," so that it might be well to bear in mind that descent from the transformed animal does not mean descent from the animal of to-day. This view is more systematically expressed in some places. According to one miscellaneous myth, the existing human beings and animals were descended from the same being, who once possessed infinite powers of transformation now into human and now into animal shape. At one time, presumably the beginning of our present creation, these "beings" either consciously or unconsciously exhausted all their "transforming" power, and the form into which they changed themselves, human or animal, remained fixed for all time. The existing animals have never succeeded in regaining their power of transformation. Among human beings this power has only been vouchsafed to those few who have obtained it as a special gift from some spirit. Even then, however, it is ludicrously incomplete as compared with the same powers of primordial "beings." This conception of the animal-human archetype must not be regarded as at all flavoring of a philosophy developed after contact with Europeans. The error that has always been committed in discussions upon the nature of descent from the animal lies in confusing our concept of animal species with the term "animal" as used by primitive people, and in the lack of discrimination between the possible connotations of that same term, as applied to animals of to-day and as applied to those animals that were brought into intimate contact with the clan ancestor. [773]

There is no reason for regarding the specific descent from the totem as a development of this older Winnebago idea of the origin

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# CHAPTER IX

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—SPECIFIC CLANS

### The Thunderbird Clan

#### INTRODUCTION

The Thunderbird clan was unquestionably the most important of 614
all the Winnebago clans. In numbers it seems to have equaled the three other clans of its phratry, and, since the upper phratry had about as many individuals as the lower phratry, the Thunderbird clan must have comprised about one-fourth of the entire tribe. How are we to explain this? Historical data are, of course, missing, so that any explanation reached is entirely hypothetical, but still it seems justifiable to hazard some interpretation. The most plausible hypothesis is to assume that the Winnebago were originally [174]
organized on a village basis and that the largest of these villages and the earliest to adopt the clan organization were those that took the thunderbird as their totem.

In the origin myths, the origin of the Thunderbird clan is always 614
given as Green Bay, and in contradistinction to the accounts of 773
other clans, the ancestors of the clan are supposed to have originated at Green Bay and not to have traveled there from some other place. How much credence is to be given to such a localization it is hard to say, but assuredly it should not be dismissed as entirely worthless.

The origin myths of the Thunderbird clan possess some inter- 614
esting features which deserve a few words of comment. In the 773.
first version we have an account of the creation of the world which 114
is almost identical with that given in the origin myth of the Medicine Dance (p. 350). None of the other clan origin myths contain it. How are we to explain this? As a secondary accretion or as an original and archaic feature? On internal evidence we suspect that it is a secondary accretion and that the original version began with the second paragraph. There seems to be no intelligible reason for having Earthmaker create two sets of individuals. If we suppose that the original version began with the second paragraph and that the general account of the creation was subsequently added, we would have a satisfactory explanation of this feature. Only one of the three versions obtained contains this general ac-

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614 count of creation, and thus we have another reason for doubting
773 its age.

614 There are other indications of an assimilation with the general origin myth in our versions, such as the absence of animals on the earth and the ascription of certain geographical features to the activity of the thunderbirds. Throughout, however, we are always confronted with the possibility that we may be dealing with an old village origin myth. There seems to be no doubt but that the episode of the origin of death, so distinct from that given in the general origin myth, is archaic. Other features, on the other hand, like the description of the origin of fire, are clearly reflections of certain possessions always associated with the Thunderbird clan.

A perusal of the following versions and the versions of the other clan origin myths indicates clearly how personal the accounts are. The members of the Thunderbird clan, as we shall subsequently show for the members of the other clans too, make claims of power and importance for their clans that are hardly justified by what we know of their actual power. As sources of information, therefore, we must be extremely cautious in our use of these origin myths.

Before leaving this subject it might be well to point out the number of different explanations given in these myths of the relations of the members of the clan to their eponymous clan ancestor. If a Winnebago were asked what this relation was he would answer offhand that the members of the different clans were descended from certain spirit-thunderbirds who were transformed into human beings at Green Bay.

In the first version the ancestors of the Thunderbird clan are created by Earthmaker and brought down to earth by the four spirit-thunderbirds the first Earthmaker had created. They are apparently human beings and not heroic birds, as most of the members of the clan assure you. To complicate the situation we have even the mention of the fact that the second set of people who came to visit them were members of the Thunderbird clan.

In the second version we have the customary identification of the ancestors of this clan with birds. At the end of this version we have the distinct statement, which is, however, clearly not part of the myth but an explanation by the informant, that the members of the clan call themselves thunderbirds because they, like the true thunderbirds, caused a drizzling rain and fog when they went about.

It is only in the myth of the origin of the Warrior clan that we have what can be interpreted as an account identical with that given offhand by the Winnebago. Here we are told that the warriors or hawks when they entered the lodge at Green Bay began to look different and that their feathers were worn off.

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From these facts it is quite clear that, as far as the Thunderbird clan is concerned, the prevailing belief as to the relation of the members of the clan to the clan ancestor is but feebly substantiated by the origin myths. 614 773 114

As mentioned before, the chief of the tribe was selected from the Thunderbird clan, although the selection was apparently restricted to certain families. The functions of the chief of the tribe were connected with peace. He could not lead a war party, although, according to some, he could accompany one. His lodge stood either in the center of the village or at the south end, according to which of the two descriptions one cares to accept, and contained a sacred fireplace, around which only members of the Thunderbird clan could sit. This lodge was an asylum for all wrongdoers. No one could be killed there, and a prisoner who succeeded in making his escape to it was spared. Even a dog destined for a sacrifice at the war-bundle feast was freed if he took refuge in it. The Thunderbird chief always acted as intercessor between wrongdoers and their avengers. Even in so extreme a case as the murder of a clansman, he would always attempt a reconciliation by which the life of the murderer might be spared. If necessary, the chief would mortify himself, and with skewers inserted in his back have himself led through the village to the home of the nearest kinspeople of the murdered person. 614 622 [778] [682 304]

The chief seems to have had some other miscellaneous functions, the most important of which was, perhaps, his right to prevent an unauthorized war party to depart from the village. If he, as an older man and guardian of peace and the best interests of the tribe, felt that a war party was taking too many risks, he would take his pipe and place it across the path of the one contemplating an unwarranted expedition, and thus signify his disapproval. If then the war party chose to go, any mishap was directly chargeable to the leader who disobeyed. Should anyone be killed, the leader was regarded almost in the same light as a willful murderer, and the kinsmen of the deceased warrior could demand redress. 622 721 [686]

Our main informant for the Thunderbird clan summarized the functions as follows: 622 614

The chief is chosen from one of the "greater" Thunderbird clans[1] and must be a man of well-balanced temper, not easily provoked, and of good habits. The one sacred object he possesses is his pipe. He must be a peacemaker and love all the people in the tribe, the little children included. [156]

If he saw a man, woman, or child passing by, he was to call them in and give them food to eat, for they were his brothers and sisters. All the relatives he has are to look after his peacemaking and keep him well supplied, for he was supposed to give away things constantly. If any person came to borrow some object from him, he would tell [431]

[1] He divided the Thunderbird clans into two groups, the real Thunderbird and the Warrior clans. This latter he indeed was identified with the thunderbirds who caused the rain and who were quite different from the other thunderbirds.

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Facial paintings of these two clans, it is claimed, were the same as those for the Thunderbird clan (pl. 46). This was denied by others. 302 614

According to one informant the Pigeon clan was borrowed from another tribe. [177]

CLAN NAMES

WAKHEK' HIN'IN'A'HANERA (THE HEN CLAN)*

Ahnghiñewinga.....Young bird that shoots its first feathers as it flaps its wings.
Ahnnip'ewinga.....Spreads her wings (said of a young bird just learning to fly).
Ahnnnip'ega.....He who hits the ground with his wings (refers to a cloud).
Ahnp'ahiga.....Sharp wing (said of a thunderhead).
Ahnpewinga.....Transparently clear wings.*
Ahnre-ega.....He who raises his wings (i. e., the wings of a cloud).
Ahnsek'a.....Strikes his wings.*
Ahnwewga.....Long wings (as a far-extended cloud, clouds being the plumage of the thunderbirds).
Ahnwgwinga.....White wing.
Ahnwwinga.....Green wing.
Ahnwwwinga.....Sour wing.
Ahnhjinhiga.....He who sets the prairie grass on fire suddenly (i. e., the lightning).
Ondjega.....He who kindles the (fire?).*
Hadjaw.....She who has been seen.
Hadjaw-ewinga.....Difficult to be seen.
Ha'p' hik'inahiga.....He who misses the day.
Ha'p'ek' gawinga.....Owl returning hither.
Ha'pirek'a.....New day.
Hirdja Kinwadjinga.....Hawk-face.
Hirwawpewinga.....Eagle woman.
Hirwawpenga.....Black eagle.
Hirwawpinga.....Green hawk.
Hirwinga.....Green tail.
Hirirwajaiga.....Forked-tailed hawk.
Haha'p'gega.....Returning light.
Haha'hanahiga.....Walks in the light.
Haha'pdjik'ega.....Light that comes hither regularly.
Haha'pdjikewga.....Light flashes suddenly.

* The following list of names is based partly upon the manuscripts of Winnebago personal names prepared by the late Mr. J. O. Dorsey, and now in the possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology. This list has been revised and the phonetics of the Winnebago names corrected and transcribed by the author, but the English renderings of the names here have left as Mr. Dorsey obtained them, as the author obtained practically the same translations. Many of the names were obtained independently by the author. Dorsey's list is for 47 the amalgamation of two lists, that obtained by Dr. Foster and his own. He subsequently revised Foster's list, but in those names of the latter's list for which he could not obtain any translation he appended Foster's initials. [114]

* Dorsey has "white" wings, adding "as in a transparent fleecy cloud." However, the word *pewe*, which is the full form for *pew*, means "clear," and is generally used to describing water in a bowl. The interpretation of this and many other names as referring to clouds necessarily and not to the simple characteristics of the wings of the thunderbirds, is not obtained frequently to-day, but there seems to be sufficient for believing that it was not customary a generation or two ago. For a discussion of the meaning of this custom in general see the introduction to the section on social organization.

* Dorsey's rendering "cold wings" is most certainly incorrect.

* Foster translates "misty" and Dorsey "smoke," but our reason to doubt a fire, literally to cause the blue flame that appears just as the flame start up.

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614 in power, as they had changed themselves twice. There they crossed
539 the tracks of the Wolf clan, and they said, "Our friends have gone
776 by." Then they went and sat opposite the Wolf people. The Wolf and Bear clans must bury one another.

The 10 men left their father and mother across the ocean.

The Bears should paint their faces with charcoal from burnt basswood and red paint. The face should be painted red and black alternately crosswise in stripes, or black on the upper half and red on the mouth and chin. Women are painted with red markings on each cheek and with charcoal markings in the center of the cheek.

THIRD VERSION

Informant, member of the Bear clan: It is supposed that Earthmaker ordered a meeting of all the animals to take place at Green Bay, and that the Soldiers (another name for the Bear clan) were also to attend.

In the beginning Earthmaker created all things in the form of animals, but at this gathering they (the originators of the various clans!) were to become human. When all was in readiness to start, it was decided that the families of those animals who were to become the ancestors of the Winnebago clans were each to send one representative, and that the one who was thus chosen, accompanied by his wife, was to become transformed on that occasion. Of the soldiers (i. e., the bears) the youngest was sent. He had three brothers, of whom the eldest had black hair, the second dark red hair, and the third blue or green hair. They were the chiefs of the villages from which they had started.[16] Only the youngest, however, was sent to the earth to attend the meeting. When he emerged at a place to the north of Green Bay he came from out the earth. When they emerged (the bear and his wife) it was a very fine day. As they were coming they heard voices in the distance saying, "The soldiers are coming." As they started to walk their footprints seemed imprinted with the blue of the sky—i. e., with daylight. A name has originated from this fact (Ho*homexine, "He-who-walks-with-the-day"). As his wife was with him, he immediately started to hunt. (It seems that by this time the bear had some followers, for some would from time to time ask whether they were going to eat, and he would answer yes and tell them to hunt for food.)

When the youngest of the brothers started, the brothers who remained behind told him "to remember them" with regard to tobacco, red feathers, and food, and therefore after he had started he told some of his followers to go ahead and bring food of such and such a kind, so that when he arrived at certain camping places these sent

[114]

[16] It must be remembered that all this is taking place in the heavens, in the spirit abode of the bears. The color translations are only approximate.

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as desirous of being killed and eaten by man is, however, but another way of saying that the food animals were killed and eaten, and were secondarily and weakly brought into the general religious life, because everything was seen through a religious vista. It is by no means certain that this was always the case, and there seem to be innumerable indications in the myths that there was a time when the securing of the food animals was not connected with religion as such. 776 782 771 825

Just as the securing of food animals is to-day connected with certain spirits, so are the various activities of man during his life. But characteristically it is not a generalized conception of life, but life as consisting of a prescribed number of years, with so many war honors, so much wealth, so much food consumed, so many children, etc. The spirits are exhorted to give to every man his allotted number of years, food, etc. These are apparently his by right, and if he dies before his time the ghost of the deceased is asked to beg the spirits to distribute among his relatives the "unused" years, food, etc. So here, too, we have a clear example of the explanation of purely materialistic conception of life in terms of religion. 771 782 776

It will be best to discuss the main features of Winnebago religion under the following heads: 771

I. The religious concepts:
   1. The concept of supernatural power.
   2. The concept and nature of the spirits.
   3. The power and localization of the spirits.

II: 1. The twofold interpretation of the relation of the spirits to man.
   2. The guardian spirits.
   3. Personal religious experiences.

III. Methods of bringing the spirits into relation with man:
   1. Fasting.
   2. Mental concentration.
   4. Offerings and sacrifices.
   5. Prayers.

IV. The folkloristic concepts:
   1. The concept of evil.
   2. The concept of disease.
   3. The concepts of death, after-life, and reincarnation.
   4. The concept of the soul.

V. The cosmological ideas.

### The Concept of Supernatural Power[1]

The Winnebago have no such belief in a "magic power" as Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt and Mr. W. Jones would have us believe exists among [114]

[1] For a general discussion of this concept in North America, cf. my paper on the "Religion of the North American Indians," Journal of American Folklore, vol. 27, no. 104, pp. 335-351.

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T71 the Iroquois and Fox.[1] In the article mentioned above we have
[114] given our reasons for believing that these ethnologists were mistaken in their interpretation.

T76 In the Winnebago language the four words most commonly used
192 in speaking of the spirits are *wak'a*, *wak'a'ndja*, *xop*, and *waxop'i'ni*. *Wak'a* seems exactly equivalent to our word "sacred," while *wak'a'ndja*, which is identical with the Omaha word *wakonda*, means thunderbird. In all likelihood it originally meant "he who is sacred" or something like that. It has nothing to do with the word "thunder," which is *k'oire* in Winnebago. The word *wak'a* also means snake, for the snake is a holy animal among the Winnebago, the messenger of the spirits. The word *xop*, identical with the Omaha *xube*, is more difficult to define. It means sacred and awe-inspiring and seems to be associated, in the eyes of the Winnebago, with the intensely emotional aspects of religion, where self is completely forgotten. Those ceremonies, in which the performers work
[786] themselves into a frenzy of excitement and dance naked, are always referred to as *xop*. The word *waxop'i'ni* is clearly a noun compounded of the indefinite prefix *wa-* and the suffix *-ni*, which possibly is an old agentive nominalizer, or, more probably, an old stem meaning "man." It occurs also in the word *manka'ni*, medicine-man. In other words it means "he who" or "that which is holy." *Waxop'i'ni* is the only Winnebago word for spirit. Both the words *wak'andja* and *waxop'i'ni* are very definite terms referring to individualized spirits.

T76 As to the use of the adjectives *wak'a* and *xop*, there seems to be
T71 little mystery about them. They are used much as our words
192 "holy" and "sacred." Anything in any way connected with the spirits is either *wak'a* or *xop*. If a Winnebago were to come across some unusually shaped object he might offer tobacco to it, and upon being questioned he would undoubtedly say that the object is *wak'a*. What is it that he means by *wak'a*? From my experience in the field he simply means that it is "sacred," and if pressed for a more definite answer he would probably say that it has the power of

[1] According to Mr. Hewitt, *orenda* is a "magic power which was assumed . . . to be inherent in every body . . . and in every personified attribute, property, or activity . . . This hypothetic principle was conceived to be immaterial, occult, impersonal, mysterious in mode of action . . . The possession of orenda . . . is the distinctive characteristic of all the gods, and these gods in earlier time were all the bodies and beings of nature in any manner affecting the weal or woe of man." (Article "Orenda" in the Handbook of American Indians, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, pt. 2.) According to W. Jones, the mana "is an unsystematic belief in a cosmic, mysterious property, which is believed to be existing everywhere in nature . . . The conception of this something wavers between that of a commonplace property, that of a mobile, invisible substance, and that of a latent transferable energy: . . . this substance, property, or energy is conceived as being widely diffused amongst natural objects and human beings . . . the presence of it is promptly assigned as the explanation of any unusual power or efficacy which any object or person is found to possess: . . . It is a distinct and rather abstract conception of a diffused, all-pervasive, invisible, manipulable, and transferable life-energy, or universal force . . . (Finally) all success, strength, or prosperity is conceived to depend upon the possession of (this force)."—"The Algonkin Manitou" (Journal of American Folklore, vol. 18, no. LXX, pp. 182-188, 1905).

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bestowing blessings upon him in other words, of acting like a spirit, 776
a *waxop'i'ni*. That is why he offers tobacco to it. We would be 771
inclined to say that the individual finding such an object has created 192
a new spirit. Such a new spirit may be forever confined to the particular family to which the individual belongs. It might die with him, or, on the other hand, it might acquire great importance and popularity and become a tribal spirit. What seems to have happened, in the vast majority of cases, however, among the Winnebago, is that owing to the marked development of the spirit-deities and cosmogonic myths, such "sacred" objects were interpreted as being either some manifestation of a spirit, some transformation which he had assumed, or as inhabited by a spirit.

The reason why, in our opinion, so many ethnologists have apparently misinterpreted the nature of *wak'a*ᵃ is due to the fact that 771
when something that, from the European viewpoint, is immaterial 114
and inanimate, like vapor, light, movement, etc., is called *wak'a*ᵃ, then it seems difficult for them to imagine that it can be so except by virtue of some intimate connection with a definite spirit, and if that can not be demonstrated, then the only solution left is to fall back upon the "magic power" idea. By doing this they clearly show that for them the test of individualization is corporeality of a fairly definite kind, dependent mainly upon visual sensations. This brings us to a fundamental problem, not only for Winnebago religion, but for North American religion in general.

### The Concept and Nature of the Spirits

Those Indians who have never spent any time thinking upon the 776
nature of spirits can not truly be said to have any concept of their 124
nature, whether vague or definite. They simply repeat what they have heard from the more religiously inclined. An answer prompted by a moment's consideration, as is often the case when an ethnologist interrogates them, does not necessarily reflect the current view of the subject, nor, for that matter, even the same Indian's belief after he has given the matter some thought. Many Winnebago, with whom the author was fairly well acquainted, refused to answer certain questions offhand and asked for time to reflect about them. It seems justified, when we are studying a subject like religion, to ask for information from those who have, in all probability, formulated the beliefs the shamans. It is from them that we must strive to learn whether the spirits are conceived of as anthropomorphic, theromorphic, dream-phantasms, or indefinite entities in general.

In trying to discover this the author found, not only that he was asking a leading question, but that he was asking an unnecessary question. It was soon quite clear that the Winnebago did not

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825 776 787 blessing last. Should your descendants perform the feasts in my honor well, I will bless them with life and victory on the warpath. Whenever you offer me tobacco I will smoke it. If you put on a kettle of food for me I will be thankful to you. When you put this [84] kettle of food on the fire and offer me tobacco see to it that you keep away menstruating women . . ."

HOW THE DAUGHTER OF MANK'EREXKA REFUSED A BLESSING FROM DISEASE-GIVER [*]

787 159 776 The daughter of Mank'erexka was fasting. She was his third daughter. She decided to fast during the summer. In her fast she was told that she was blessed and that on the following day a big deer would come across the waters for her to eat. Then she went to her father and said, "Father, I have been told to eat a big deer, and that to-morrow very early in the morning it will come out of the water." "It is good, my daughter. That deer has been given to you by the spirits and you may eat it."

Early the next morning a big deer came across the waters. "Let it be," the people said (to her). "As soon as it comes near we will chase it." So they got into a boat and chased it. Then they killed it and gave it to some other person instead of the young woman. "My daughter, what are you going to do? Are you going to eat the deer?" "No, father, if I were to eat the deer I would have killed it myself. But you people have killed it, so I will not eat any of it."

Then she rubbed some charcoal on her face and went to the place of fasting and said, "What you (the spirits) gave me others have taken away and eaten." Early in the morning she looked around toward the water. She was very weak, for she had not eaten for a long time. Nine days she fasted. She was saying to herself, "As soon as I see a deer I will tell the others and call my father." In the morning she went out in search of the deer. She was so weak that she could hardly crawl along. But she managed to reach the edge of the waters and, as she looked across, she saw a deer coming. So she immediately went to her father and told him. He got up immediately and, taking a spear, jumped into a boat, pursued, and speared it. Then the girl said, "Now I will eat." So they called her uncles, [782] Wolf and Elk.[*] When they came she put tobacco in their hands and said, "My uncles, I have offered tobacco to the different spirits and asked them to bless me. Now I am about to eat and I would

[*] The rest of the story is a description of a bear feast and how, in spite of the warning of the spirit-bear two menstruating women took part in the feast; how, thereupon, two bears suddenly appeared and killed them, and how for that reason the bear feast was given up.

[114] [*] This account has been cast in a literary mold, but there is no doubt that it represents a real fasting experience. It is included here principally because it contains a number of extremely interesting features.

[*] These are the names of individuals.

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575 the Buffalo clan feast, the society of those who have been blessed by
796 the buffaloes, and the society of those who wear buffalo headdresses; the last apparently of Sioux origin.

The medicine dance has been described by the author in some detail,[1] and a general description will be found on page 350.

796 Of the semipermanent societies, the *hok'ize'ra* dance is given after
727 every successful war party by those four individuals who have counted coup. It has only a temporary existence, for it ceases to be an organization as soon as each individual performance is over. Its main purpose seems to be the desire to transfer to the victor, from the skulls or the scalps of the slain enemies obtained on that particular warpath, the valor and prowess for which the slain person was noted.

527 In addition to the above ceremonies there were a number of pleasure and miscellaneous dances that are described on page 379.

796 There were apparently a number of very important feasts connected
278 with certain medicines, the principal one of which was the Black Earth Medicine feast; but unfortunately no account of this was obtained, owing to lack of time.

## Ceremonies Associated With the Clans

### THE CLAN FEASTS

#### THE THUNDERBIRD CLAN OR CHIEF FEAST

796 *Introduction.*—The chief feast, or, as it may more properly be
614 called, the feast of the bird clans, is generally given once a year, sometimes in late spring. It was also given on certain other occasions for specific purposes. At the present time it is given by the members of the Thunderbird clan and the prevalence of the appellation "chief feast" would seem to indicate that it was at all times the feast of the Thunderbird clan. We ought then to expect to find clan feasts of the other members of the *waggregi* division, namely, of the Warrior, Eagle, and Pigeon clans. No such feasts are given to-day, however, and the members of these latter three clans always speak of the chief or bird feast as their specific clan feast. As such it is also regarded by the members of the *ma'nregi* division.

In the total absence of historical data it is quite useless to speculate about the significance of one feast sufficing for four clans, where in strict analogy to the feasts of the other clans we would expect to find one for each clan; yet the idea that naturally presents itself is that we are in reality dealing with one clan that has become split up into four subclans. Such a view has been expressed by J. O. Dorsey,[2]
[114] but the data upon which he based his opinion seem to us highly

[1] The Ritual and Significance of the Winnebago Medicine Dance, Journal of American Folklore, vol. XXIV, No. XCII, 1911.

[2] Siouan Sociology, 15th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 351.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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unsatisfactory. Apparently his statement is based upon the occurrence of four mythical ancestors. The similarity of the Winnebago social organization with that of the Dhegiha and Tciwere branches of the Siouan family, in which subclans seem to be found, appears to have influenced Dorsey considerably in making this assumption. 796 614 [114]

It is true that in their account of origins the Warrior clan speak of themselves as having sprung from the second of the birds mentioned in the origin myth of the Thunderbird clan and this statement permits us to infer that the other two clans bear a similar relationship to those four ancestral birds who, according to legend, alit on a tree near Red Banks. But this is, of course, merely a mythical account, and the data imbedded in the clan myths must be used with the greatest caution in so far as they can be expected to throw any light on early conditions of social organization.

All that we can say now is that the chief feast will have to be considered as belonging to all the four bird clans. But this is not to be interpreted to mean that an amalgamation of four historically distinct feasts has taken place, nor that, on the other hand, the four clans were originally subdivisions of one unit.

*The Chief feast.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:[a] The chief of the tribe is at the head of all the different bands and groups of people that exist among the Winnebago. As chief he has full charge of them. All the others are, so to say, his attendants and servants. When his people wish anything they go to him and ask him to obtain a blessing for them. Thus all the members of the tribe, the children as well as the mature men, go to him, and to help them the chief gives the feast known as the chief feast. He sacrifices to Earthmaker, and all who are present offer up some little gift in thankfulness, as this is a thing of supreme sacredness. All those who are present—the children, the women, the middle-aged, and the old men—in fact, whosoever attends the feast, see to it that they eat some of the food distributed. 796 622

As this feast is given in honor of their chief, all the members of the tribe, but most particularly the members of the Bird clan, prepare large offerings, so that there should be abundant food to eat. They bring all kinds of food—different kinds of meat, different kinds of vegetables, all manner of berries—in short, all sorts of edibles. These are to be offered to the spirits, and by means of these offerings they expect that their life will be filled with all that is good. It is to obtain these blessings that the feast is given. [614] [782]

When his people get sick, when it appears that an epidemic is likely, then the chief also gives the chief feast. It is for the purpose [755]

[a] Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain a full and detailed account of this feast. As in type, however, all the clan feasts are identical, this deficiency can be made up in part by comparing it with those feasts like the snake, bear, and buffalo that have been obtained in considerable detail.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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are finished then it will be time for us to eat." Warriors who are sitting within the lodge, we send forth our greetings to you." (War-bundle song.) 796x 539x

Then a man sitting opposite the seat of the host gets up and speaks.

*First guest's address to the young people.*—"War-bundle owners, young men, those who are the proxies of spirits, are about to use a song for you and start a dance in your behalf; and when they do it, get up and try to obtain war powers by dancing. Women, you should also try to obtain war powers for your brothers by dancing. Now we are not able to obtain (the number of men) that our ancestors used to obtain in the beginning. Then, if in a speech they asked for them, as many men as there were around would immediately begin to dance. Not one of them would remain in his seat. Young women, they used to act in that way in order to obtain life also. All night they would dance and not a single one would tire of it. We encourage you to do thus; that is why I am saying this. That the obtaining of life may be easy, is the reason they told us this. Because I believe it (likewise) is the reason I am telling it to you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you all."

*Host's second speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are sitting here, I greet you all.

"Our grandfathers knew that one of a different tribe[a] had had a vision and obtained material for use (in life). They tried to obtain it and (finally) asked him to pity them. The medicine was called hinuŋgwā'ronj.[b] They made the heart of the man of this other tribe (Hit'e'nuąk'e) sad.[c] (He had obtained it in the following manner): A woman fasted[d] and one of the Water-spirits whom the Creator had placed there for all eternity, a Water-spirit for keeping (the earth) quiet,[e] blessed her with the power he had been placed in charge of. The Water-spirit had himself die and the woman there 796x 539x 787 [776] [789]

[a] Literally, "had nervousness" in reference to the fast-eating contest that takes place during the feast.

[b] This is not a Winnebago tale.

[c] My interpreter could not translate the name of this medicine into English. He thought that it might mean "wicked woman medicine," but this is extremely doubtful.

[d] I. e., at the idea of parting with it. What tribe is meant by "Hit'e'nuąk'e," it has been impossible to find out. The word, I believe, means "those whom we can speak with" in reference to the fact that their language was intelligible to the Winnebago. I was definitely assured that neither the Otoe, Iowa, or Missouri were meant. I have sometimes surmised that the Winnebago may be referring to the Mandan, whose language, from the little I have seen of it, is surprisingly close to that of the former. All that the older Winnebago could tell me about the Hit'e'nuąk'e was the fact that many years ago they had been in contact with a tribe speaking a language similar to their own. [114]

[e] Literally, "to blind oneself to death," the ritualistic expression for fasting.

[f] He is referring to one of the four beings whom Earthmaker had placed at the four ends of the world to prevent it from moving continually, as related in the origin myth of the Medicine Dance and of the Thunder-bird clan.

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935
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# SOME NOTES ON WINNEBAGO SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION[1]

*By* TRUMAN MICHELSON

114 THE easily accessible accounts of Winnebago social organization are Morgan's Ancient Society,[2] J. O. Dorsey's Siouan Sociology,[3] the article *Winnebago* in the Handbook of American Indians, initialed by James Owen Dorsey and Paul Radin,[4] and Paul Radin's The Clan Organization of the Winnebago,[5] his Winnebago Tribe,[6] and lastly his The Social Organization of the Winnebago Indians, An Interpretation.[7]

None of these authors apparently were aware that a number of important statements on this and kindred topics are to be found in Caleb Atwater's Remarks made on a Tour to Prairie du Chien; thence to Washington City, in 1829.[8] I quote from this as follows.

614 Carrymaunee (walking turtle) a Winnebago chief carries a large Tortoise, fully
[532] extended, and beautifully painted, perfect in all its limbs, on his back as he marches onward at the head of the turtle tribe. In the same manner, Snakeskin marches at the head of the snake tribe, with the skin of a large snake tied around his neck. In fine, every tribe has its standard bearer, with appropriate emblems (p. 87).

Their form of government is aristocratical, and the whole structure of their society is equally so. The Winnebagoes are divided into seven tribes, or bands, some of these are named after animals, such as the Turtle tribe, the Snake tribe, wolf tribe, &c., and others are named after inanimate things, as the Thunder tribe. These tribes dwell in different places, in towns or villages; in each one of
622 which, there are two Civil Chiefs, who govern that town—for instance Du Corri and Winneshiek are at the head of the government, of the Le Croix village situated near the Mississippi river, on its eastern bank, 80 miles north of Prairie Du Chien. So of all the other tribes, each one of which, has its town or seat of government, and is governed by its two civil chiefs. The civil government of the Winnebagoes, is in
[623] the hands of fourteen civil Chiefs, and when they are assembled in one council, it is the grand national council.

[1] Printed by permission of the Smithsonian Institution.

[2] Page 157.

[3] Fifteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 240–41.

[4] Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, 30, Pt. 2, pp. 958–61.

[5] American Anthropologist, Vol. 12, 1910, pp. 209–19.

[6] Thirty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 181 *et seq.*

[7] Museum Bulletin, Canada Department of Mines, Geological Survey, No. 10 (Anthropological Series, No. 5).

[8] Published by Isaac N. Whiting, Columbus, Ohio, 1831. I have not seen the edition (of the same date) published by Jenkins and Glover. Atwater's The Indians of the Northwest, etc., Columbus, 1850, apparently has the same contents and pagination as his Remarks which I have seen. So we may presume that the 1831 edition (which I have not seen) of his The Indians of the Northwest is the same also. "The Writings of Caleb Atwater" (Columbus, 1833) has apparently disappeared from the Library of Congress. The proofsheets have been verified by consulting the 1850 edition, differences in capitalization being ignored.

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554 ries into a family below her's in dignity. The pride originating in birth, is as deeply
562 seated in the hearts of those who are nobly descended, among the natives of the
582 Northwest, as it is among the petty princes of Germany.

625 It is customary for the chiefs to appoint two soldiers, in each village to keep order in it, and they faithfully do so (p. 100).

431 In each tribe, some one man acts as a divider, by order of the civil chiefs, and by general consent. Whenever we made the men any presents, of pipes, paints,
624 tobacco, or any thing else, the self same men, if Winnebagoes were the Indians receiving the presents, appeared, took charge of the property, and divided it in the most equitable manner, among all present at the time. They reserved nothing for themselves, generally, but held up their empty hands to show their disinterestedness.

[171] If the Sauks and Foxes received presents, two men, one for each tribe, acted as dividers, and the same individuals always performed the same duty (pp. 100–101).

554 . . . "The rolling Thunder," "the Yellow Thunder," "the Distant Thunder," &c., are individuals among the Winnebagoes, who possess great weight of char-
551 acter; and that tribe to which belong men, who stand high on their roll of fame, for
614 their distinguished valor in War, for their consummate prudence, experience and wisdom in the national councils, is emphatically called, "the thunder tribe" (p. 124).

114 There are other items appurtenant to Winnebago ethnology in Atwater's work; some to that of the Sauks and Foxes; some to tribes of the upper Mississippi valley in general: there are some acute statements regarding the chronology of the populating of America.

171 A "turtle" gens does not occur in the lists of Morgan, Dorsey, and Radin, and Radin specifically denies that there is such a Winnebago gens. He also
174 states that almost all informants claimed that the Snake and Fish clans
614 (gentes) were recent to the tribe. However, as special names "go with" [114] fixed gentes, by examining the lists of the signers of the treaties between the [648] Winnebago and the United States, it becomes clear that a member of the Snake gens signed the treaty of August 19th, 1825 as well as the treaty of [551] August 25th, 1828. And a Snake clan exists among the Ponca, Iowa, Oto-Missouri, Quapaw, as well as some non-Siouan tribes.[10] Also it may be observed that among the Osage and Quapaw we have a Fish clan (used rather loosely). So too "Turtle" as the name of a gens (sub-gens) among the Siouan tribes Omaha, Kansa, Quapaw, and Osage,[11] and elsewhere. [551] And Carrymaunee (Karamanu, etc.), "Walking Turtle,"[12] signed more

[10] See the important theoretical discussion by Lowie in American Anthropologist, Vol. 36, 1934, pp. 327–28; cf. also Radin, the Winnebago Tribe, p. 182; Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe (Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology), pp. 38, 39.

[11] Among the Omaha and Osage "the turtle carriers or bearers" and "Turtle-carriers" respectively; "Carries-a-turtle-on-his-back" among the Kansa: observe that according to the above Carrymaunee "carried" a large painted tortoise on his back.

[12] The phonetic restoration is presumably Kéramani; mani means "to walk," as can be seen from old vocabularies, etc., as well as the personal names given by Radin in his The Winnebago Tribe and the Winnebago text by Radin in the Siouan sketch in Handbook of Ameri-

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935
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than one treaty with the United States. Similarly the lists of signers of the 171
treaties of June 3rd, 1816, August 19th, 1825, etc., between the Winnebago 174
and the United States indicate the existence of gentes not in the published
lists, but which have analogues among other Siouan tribes. I feel certain 614
that a study of the names of the signers of treaties between United States [648]
and such Siouan tribes as have distinctive clan-names (and similar non-Siouan tribes) would yield valuable results. And a study of the personal names of such tribes in older writers would also pay. In this connection I may say that from Atwater's book, using this technique, it can be readily determined that the Eagle and Elk gentes were in existence among the Winnebago in addition to those specifically mentioned by him. The treaties furnish a few others, e.g., Earth, Sky. In this connection I may say that it is clear from the names of the signers of the treaty of May 13th, 1816 that at least the following Sauk gentes were in existence: Sturgeon, Eagle, Thunder, Bear, Swan, Wolf, Fox, Partridge, Sea. It is not without interest to note that all these save Partridge and Fox are on Forsyth's list of 1827.[18] If we count Partridge as the equivalent of Grouse, all occur in Jones' list printed in the Handbook of American Indians in the article *Sauk*. Sturgeon, Swan, and Partridge are not in Skinner's list. Sturgeon, Eagle, Sea (= Great Water), Bear, Thunder, Partridge (= Pheasant), Wolf, and Fox occur in Galland's list. Wolf, Bear, Eagle, Sturgeon, Fox, Sea, and Thunder occur in Morgan's list. If we pool M. R. Harrington's two lists we find Thunder, Fox, Wolf, Bear, Swan, Sturgeon, Eagle on them. A knowledge of the names on the tribal rolls from the earliest times would doubtless shed much light on the subject.

It should be mentioned that Radin argues for a priority of village groups, 174
but states that according to all informants each Winnebago village was in-
habited by members of various clans, and that in no case did a village 621
merely include members of the same clan. Observe the contradiction with 614
Atwater's data. 114

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can Indian Languages (Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, 40, Pt. 1). There are equivalents in several Siouan languages. In the Siouan sketch Radin gives kec'ûˈñgegā as a personal [551]
name, "the tortoise," and ke'c'ûˈñgera as "you, tortoise," and in note 38 of the Winnebago text we are told that ke'c'ûñk or kec'ûˈñgē is a large species of turtles, and that kē also means "turtle." La Flesche gives ke (in my transcription) as the Osage for "turtle, tortoise, terrapin," but Dorsay gives k'e (in my transcription) for both Osage and Quapaw, but ke (in my transcription) for Omaha; k'eya, "tortoise," is given by Deloria for Dakota. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the formation of personal names in Winnebago to be positive whether ra is the pronoun "thou" (vocative; see notes 39 and 46 to Radin's Winnebago text) or whether kera may be an archaic correspondent to Dakota k'eya with the recognized shift of y to r.

[18] They are in his Fox list.

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12

[p.76]

# AMONG THE WINNEBAGO

By Huron H. Smith*

114 During the summer of 1928, the writer made a study of the Winnebago Indians, in line with his former ethnobotanical studies of other Indians of Wisconsin. After having worked with four tribes who were all of Algonkian stock, it was interesting to encounter these people who are related to the Sioux. The four tribes previously studied were the Menomini, Meskwaki, Ojibwe, and Potawatomi. The first two are the subjects of Nos. 1 and 2 of Volume IV of the bulletin of this museum, while the publications on the latter two are in preparation.

While all of the Algonkian languages are different from one another, they are at least similar enough to enable the student to grasp the likeness in a short time. In fact, Potawatomi is quite similar to Ojibwe, a sort of an abbreviated Ojibwe, as it were. Some of the medicinal words evidently point to a common origin, for exactly the same name is sometimes used for a plant by all four tribes. A careful study of Indian plant names reveals those unnamed plants that came into their region within historic times, as non-native or adventive species. The use of plants is a vital topic among Indians, and their plant lore is handed down from generation to generation. Most of our Wisconsin adventive plants have come into the State in the last hundred years, and a goodly proportion of these in the last forty years. Indians are not apt to take the white man's word for the medicinal use of the adventive plant, so that their lack of an Indian name for the plant in question, is sure evidence that it is a new comer. When we consider how long it must have taken these people to acquire their medicinal knowledge, doubtless by the old process of "trial and error," we wonder how many more centuries must elapse before they learn the uses of adventive species.

192 177 The Winnebago are particularly zealous in giving everything Winnebago names, if possible, and should there be some conspicuous attribute to an adventive plant, it will probably have a name in their language. Questioning will bring out the reason for the name and also whether or not they know a use for the plant. They have regular words for tea

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4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP 12 Winnebago NP 12



and coffee, which were, of course, unknown to them before the coming of the White Man. Other tribes in Wisconsin have made no attempt to set up their own words for these, but call them by their English names as nearly as they can pronounce them. This trait of the Winnebago is often amusing. For example the watermelon was unknown to them until about seventy-five years ago. The first recipient of a watermelon among them considered it a pumpkin, cut it up into small pieces, and boiled it in a pot. The resultant product was scarcely edible, so led to the appellation of "wicawasukela"—"a pumpkin that did'nt get ripe." But later, they discovered that the whites ate them just as they were; and upon trying this they discovered their merit, and have been very fond of them ever since. But the first name stuck, and it is thus called to this day. 192 177

While we had met Winnebago before this summer, we had never attempted to discourse at length on their uses of plants. In 1923, we first met Frank Smith, "makiwika," with his wife who was making baskets, in Minocqua where we admired her art. Every year since we have seen Frank at some Indian pow-wow or other. During the "Pageant of Progress," in Milwaukee, July, 1926, Frank and his new Ojibwe wife were at the Indian Village on the lake front, with Mr. H. L. Mumm, of Wausau, demonstrating Indian arts and crafts. There, too, we met two other Winnebago workers, Jim Henniger and his wife, although the Indians in the village proper were all full-blooded Ojibwe from Lac Court Oreilles, Wisconsin. The museum is also fortunate in having the friendship of Ulysses A. White, of Wisconsin Rapids, who was formerly employed in Milwaukee. Mr. White is a pure blooded Winnebago, as is his wife, a quite uncommon occurrence in these times of inter-tribal marriages. He introduced to the Museum, John Bear, of Wisconsin Rapids, another old Winnebago Indian, through whom Mr. W. C. McKern, Associate Curator of Anthropology, of the Museum, has been able to collect some interesting ancient Winnebago stories. Mr. Bear spent the entire winter of 1927-1928 at the Museum, and was helped in his work by Mr. White. All of this preliminary work was the subject of several conferences between the writer and Mr. McKern at which we became acquainted with the linguistics of the Winnebago and listed the plant names used in the various stories. 114 115 [582]

The first trip of the summer was to Trempealeau, where the Museum was conducting archeological investigations which the writer, as President of the Wisconsin Archeological Society, wished to see. Furthermore Mr. McKern had written that there were Winnebago Indians in Trempealeau. These proved to be a family living in the old brewery at the edge of the village, but they were from Winnebago, Nebraska, and were not familiar with the Wisconsin plants. The field party, however, interested us for a week. The Museum camp was established in Perrot State Park, on the banks of the Trempealeau River near its 114 126

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114 junction with the Mississippi. Dr. Evan D. Pierce, of Trempealeau,
126 who was in charge of the park, was much interested in the native flora as well as in archeology, and we made a collection of ninety species then in bloom. Mr. Towne L. Miller, of Fairwater, Wisconsin, Honorary Curator of Archeology of the Museum collected the plants of the region throughout the season, for the Department of Botany.

The Winnebago Indians are found today scattered over the central
131 part of Wisconsin, principally in Marquette, Waushara, Portage, Sauk,
361 Juneau, Adams, Marathon, Wood, Clark, Jackson, and Monroe counties. Wood County with permanent settlements at Arpin, Vesper, Pittsville, Walker, Elm Lake, Dexterville, and Babcock contains the largest number, about 750. Along the Hemlock River, not far from Pittsville, are found other large settlements of farming Winnebago. In other counties good-sized settlements are located at Neillsville, Wittenberg, Wyeville, Black River Falls, Hatfield, and Tomah. Their Indian agency and school are located at the last mentioned city.

114 Our chief location during the summer was at A. White's farm, on the Walker Road, six and a half miles south of Wisconsin Rapids.
123 When we arrived, Mr. White was at Kilbourn where many of the Winnebago camp during the tourist season, making baskets and bead work, and taking part in dances and entertainments. Jim Henniger and his wife, our pageant friends, were there, caring for her father, Dave Dekorah, a prominent man in the medicine lodge, who was sick. He afterwards died and was buried in their community graveyard, with Indian ceremony. The Whites made us welcome and we pitched our tent in a grove of white pines not far from their spring. There were
115 several other Winnebago Indians near at hand, including Henry Dick,
795 from Briggsville. Henry is important in the medicine society and im-
184 mediately made friends with us and started to teach us the Winne-
276 bago language. He was especially bitter against the peyote cult, which many Winnebago have embraced, declaring that peyote was worse than whiskey, because a man drunk on whiskey, would be sober the next morning and able to go to work, whereas with peyote, he became "crazy", and would not work for four or five days while under its influence. He further said that the peyote cult worshippers never possess anything, but live on their industrious neighbors who belong to the medicine lodge. These medicine lodge Indians raise potatoes, corn, beans, carrots, hay, grain, hogs and chickens, according to Henry, and would not let their own people starve, but did not like the shiftlessness of the peyote worshippers. He wished he could see the President of the United States to tell him not to let any Indian have peyote. He
276 thinks bad days are coming to the peyote-eating Indians. A few years
435 ago, this cactus drug, most of which comes from Texas, sold for $4.00 a thousand buttons, but the current prices in 1928 were $25 per thou-
795 sand of number one size; $30.00 per thousand for number two size; and

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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[p. 146]

# A WINNEBAGO WAR-BUNDLE CEREMONY

By W. C. McKern*

182 The primitive religious ceremonies of the Winnebago Indians are
796 not destined long to survive. Not only is the new generation forgetting or deliberately neglecting the traditions of the old order, due to the
[177 growing influence of encroaching white civilization, but the conversion of many of the older members of the tribe to the Peyote faith has
276] thinned the ranks of the Medicine Lodge to a marked extent. Many
795 of those responsible for introducing this new Christian cult among the Winnebago are still alive. Its unabated ascendency in the favor of the Indians is proportionate to the decline of ancient religious practices.

114 However, meetings of the old order still are held, and are in some
796 measure successful, due largely to the fact that many of the Peyote

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914 796 people attend as a matter of courtesy, or to keep peace in the family. It was my good fortune to attend such a meeting, a war-bundle ceremony, in October, 1927. Mr. A. White, whose Indian name is *Teas-*
[795 778 614] *tcu-he-de-ga* (Big Wave), figure 120, is custodian of the war-bundle of the Thunderbird clan of the Wisconsin Rapids band of Winnebago. Word came to me through his son-in-law, Mr. U. S. White of Milwaukee, that a war-bundle feast would be held shortly, and that I was specially invited to attend.

As Mr. White and his family also wished to make the trip, we drafted a Museum car into service and joined forces. In addition to Mr. White and his wife and two children, Mr. Alton Fisher was persuaded, without much difficulty, to join me in representing the Department of Anthropology.

We arrived at Wisconsin Rapids late at night, and were up early on the following morning and on our way to the site selected for the
[574] ceremony. Upon arriving at his home, we were courteously received by the custodian of the bundle, and privileged to meet his family and many others who were in the midst of preparations for the feast.

796 The regular war bundle ceremony of the Thunderbird clan is a feast and dance given in honor of various spirits, chiefly the Thunderbirds,
[776 614] who are the spiritual directors of war, and the Night Spirits. It is held in an oblong wigwam shaped like the medicine lodge of the Winnebago and neighboring Algonkin groups, figure 121, and similarly con-
[346] structed of a frame-work of bent poles covered with birch bark or mats, or more recently with canvas or other cloth. Big Wave had directed the construction of the lodge for this particular ceremony in an area immediately adjoining his dwelling lodge, figure 122. The single door was placed at the end of the lodge, facing east.

[252] The lodge was small, made so to accommodate the limited number expected to attend, and consequently it was decided to cook the feast over outside fires, an irregular, though not unusual procedure. Therefore, only a single fire was built in the lodge, centrally situated at the
796 eastern end not more than three paces from the door. Since the fire was to be new, sacred fire, the ceremonial fire-making equipment from
372 the war bundle was employed. This consisted of a flat, rectangular
778 base of oak, nearly perforated in many places with charred drill holes, and a drilling element of softer wood. Big Wave himself officiated in the fire making, figure 123. Kneeling, he placed the basepiece between his knees, with tinder conveniently near. Then one end of the drill was fitted into one of the holes in the base, and the shaft was rapidly rotated between his hands. Soon smoke curled up from the point of friction. The bits of glowing wood dust so produced were quickly applied to the tinder and carefully blown to a small flame. Then light kindling was applied, followed by heavier sticks until the fire was be-

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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796 from the sacred fire. When the pipe was well lit, the waiter carried
276 it to the next man, and so on, passing clockwise about the lodge. Each man puffed several times at the pipe before passing it on. The women
[562] were excluded from participating in this ceremony, as were the leader and his three musicians. The waiters did not actually participate in any part of the entire ceremony, other than in their official capacity.

Before the next song was started, the head waiter carefully cleaned out the pipe, refilled it and placed it again over the bundle. All the tobacco cleaned from the bowl was disposed of in the sacred fire.

This same procedure, from speech to pipe, was repeated four times, although each group of songs was different.

796 Two men were now selected, one representing that group of clans comprising the upper world phratry, the other the lower world phratry.
615 They seated themselves in the center of the lodge with a wooden bowl
264 between them. In this bowl were placed the two portions of meat from the pots suspended from the lodge ceiling. At a given signal, each began to devour his allotted share of the meat as rapidly as possible. The phratry whose side wins in this eating contest will have good luck when next it takes the warpath.

796 The leader then told the dream experience of the original bundle holder and said a few words thanking all for their participation. One
787 of the waiters then proceeded to replace the contents of the bundle, roll it up, tie it and place it against the wall just back of the leader.

796 It was now time for the war-bundle feast, which consisted solely of meat boiled with a few beans. Each pot had been dedicated to a cer-
574 tain spirit or order of spirits, but since these were not materially present to do proper justice to the occasion, the honored guests had to represent them in receiving and disposing of the food. One pot was placed before each of these leaders, and the contents were distributed under his direction to the men of his party. Other meat was supplied for the women and children of the group which he represented. The chief honored guest received the pot dedicated to Creator. On such occasions, one must eat all that is set before him, since the food is consecrated.

574 It should be noted here that Mr. Fisher has certain marked tastes in food. He is not particularly fond of meat of any kind, dislikes beef
● 114 particularly and dislikes boiled beef the most of all. His predicament can well be imagined, therefore, when a large portion of boiled beef was placed before him with the understanding that none must be wasted. Fortunately, one may broadcast a call for outside help on such occasions without trespassing against the rules of the ceremony. Very piteously, then, did Fisher make his plea to me. Knowing that the night spirit dance with a vegetable feast was to follow, he promised to eat the greater share of the vegetables apportioned to us if I would agree to do double duty on the meat. Out of the kindness of my heart, and also because I prefer boiled beef to boiled dried squash, I agreed to do this. Nor did

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12



I permit him to forget his bargain when the squash was served later in the day. 574 114

Big Wave did not participate in the feast, nor did he smoke ceremoniously or otherwise during the entire performance. 796 During the feast he sang several songs without drum. 574 These were his war-bundle songs, obtained in a dream by the original owner of the bundle and descending to his successors.

The bones from the feast were gathered up by the waiters and placed in a single vessel. Tobacco was added to the bones, and the vessel taken out to a place where no people were in view and where no dogs could [782] molest the contents. This was a sacrifice to Disease Giver.

After the meat had been entirely consumed, the leader announced 796 that they would now have night spirit dancing. An old bow and four arrows were brought out and planted in the floor to stand erect in a row just west of the fireplace, where the war-bundle had formerly been displayed. Big Wave appointed one to lead the dance. The dancers aligned themselves in single file on the south side of the lodge, facing west, and were led by the dance leader carrying the bow and arrows and blowing a reed whistle, followed by the other dancers. The singers began singing and the dancers circled several times about the lodge counter-clockwise. With short pauses between, several songs and dances were so executed. When the set of songs was finished, the bowl of [574] tobacco dedicated to the use of the guests was then given by one of the waiters to the most honored guest. The head waiter lifted the stove shovel containing the remains of the burned cedar leaves and poured the contents in the fire. Then the singing was resumed and they danced once more about the fire, joyously.

When the singing stopped, the leader for this dance returned the whistle to Big Wave, and the latter, as soon as all were again seated, addressed his guests. He said that this was the way they worshipped the spirits of their fathers. He thanked those participating for their assistance in the singing and dancing and solicited their further help. So they should enjoy health, long life and success. Everyone responded [201] with a series of confirmative "O's". The feast of boiled squash was now served. It was the duty of the waiters to eat any scraps left by [261] the feasters, since food uneaten is considered an affront to the spirits to whom the food is dedicated.

The ceremonies described above were followed by a buffalo dance. It seems that the spirit of the buffalo was especially noted for his speed in running, and could imbue his devotees with his skill. Inasmuch as [825] speed in running was of prime importance in primitive warfare, where [726] the desired procedure was to come quickly upon the enemy, strike decisively and disappear from the scene, the buffalo dance is considered [535] an altogether proper adjunct to the war-bundle ceremony, and regularly follows in.

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
NP12 Winnebago NP12



# CULTURAL CHANGE AMONG THE WISCONSIN WINNEBAGO

Nancy Oestreich

## Introduction

121 178 Cultural change is one of the outstanding factors in the life of the Winnebago today. It is important to mention at the outset, however, that the following article does not purport to trace the long history of cultural change among the Winnebago, nor does it have any claim as a complete analysis; but, because of space limitations, it will serve merely as a passing observation of cultural change in a particular Indian group. [114] The study is based primarily on observation of one small group of Winnebago during a period of five weeks. None the less, these data seem to comprise a fairly, though far from completely representative sample with which to work.

101 121 The Indians observed were family groups from almost all of the Winnebago communities scattered throughout the central part of the state. Our group, consisting of some 45 families, was predominately one of Wisconsin Winnebago, but also included three Winnebago families from Nebraska and one family each of the Chippewa, Menomini and Potawatomi tribes. The presence of these minorities within the larger group of Wisconsin Winnebago offered an interesting study of inter-land and intra-tribal contrasts.

121 619 [657] [574] The Wisconsin Winnebago prefer to live more or less independently in their native territory, Wisconsin, rather than join their friends and relatives on the Winnebago reservation located, by a whim of the government, in Nebraska. There is, however, a constant exchange of visits between the two groups.

221 In Wisconsin many of the Winnebago earn a living in the winter by trapping for the fur market, and in the summer by following various Wisconsin crops. The harvesting begins in the spring with the strawberry season, and ends in the fall with the gathering of cranberries.

It was during the 1944 cherry season, a period extending from the early part of July to the middle of August, that the bulk of material was collected for this paper. 114

### Attitudes Within the Changing Society

Opinions vary of course with Indians, according to the amount of education they have had, their native intelligence, or their personal interests. Furthermore, the contrast in attitudes between the older and the younger generations is a most significant feature. 178 182 561

It would be impossible to put age limits on the terms "older" and "younger," but an age between 45 and 50 seems to be the dividing line. One might also have to add a third classification: those individuals who grew up in the situation of the younger group, but upon reaching greater maturity tend toward the opinions of the older people.

The young people, through contact with the older generation, or by taking part in tourist-trade ceremonials, are apt to know the old dances and songs, but seem to feel that these things are pointless or merely a means of making a living. They have been living in an unstable, changing society since birth and follow along in the uncertain Indian-white pattern of culture with no particular ambitions or interests in what it may eventually produce in their own futures.

The young people from Nebraska contrasted strongly with those of Wisconsin in this respect, being generally more progressive and better educated; but it would be unreasonable to infer that this is a typical difference between the Wisconsin and Nebraska Winnebago since the representation of the Nebraska Indians in our group was so small. [184]

Many of the older people, on the other hand, can remember when the Winnebago retained enough of their original culture to have a fairly complete and working social organization. They blame all the misfortunes of the tribe on the young people, who according to the old people, do just as they please in matters of morals, ethics and religion, and they furthermore have no respect for the opinions of the older mem-

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## *PREFACE*

For most individuals the American Indian still possesses a tremendous appeal, an appeal which, in a manner, constitutes one of the great obstacles to our properly understanding him. It has been that way since the days of the discovery of the continent. Then it was the gold and the pearls that exercised a magical fascination; to-day it is the belief that somehow, in some way, the Indians are still living in that delightful half-Arcadian condition of simplicity after which so many souls still yearn, particularly those individuals who dwell in the city. Nothing is gained by calling these people sentimentalists. We should always remember that from the time Spanish chroniclers began writing their accounts of El Dorado and the quaint peoples with the still quainter customs who dwelt there, the Indian has been a symbol for youth and freedom of expression, for freedom from the shackles of civilized constraint. Like Siegfried he knew the language of the birds and patted Nature kindly on the back. A vast literature has grown up on this symbolism of the Indian, particularly in France.

It seems almost sacrilege to trifle with this vision or to question it, and the first result of a so-called scientific inquiry is bound to leave a very bad sensation of



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7; Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



114 121 nightmare. That is, of course, the terrible price all sentimentalists must pay for the undiluted pleasure they have had of rocking themselves into a fictitious bliss from which they are to be rudely and unceremoniously awakened. Yet this seems to me exceedingly bad sportsmanship, to say the least, and an exceedingly erroneous conception of romance. There is, in fact, infinitely more romance—if it is romance we are seeking, and most of us are—in trying to obtain an approximately accurate account of what this Indian of our childhood imagination actually is, how he thinks, feels, reacts, adapts himself to the varying conditions of life, than in rehearsing all the scenes of Chateaubriand and Cooper.

But having set ourselves this task of discovering what the real Indian is like, we are immediately surrounded by difficulties. One of the greatest drawbacks in the study of a primitive people is, in fact, the difficulty of obtaining an inside view of their culture from their own lips and by their own initiative. Let no investigator flatter himself: a native informant is at best interested in merely satisfying the demands of the investigator. The limitations thus imposed as regards the nature and the extent of the knowledge obtained are still further increased by the circumstances in which the knowledge is generally imparted, circumstances of a nature tending to destroy practically all the subjective values associated with the particular ritual, myth, etc., that is being narrated.

How can this fundamental defect be remedied?

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## *Preface*

There is only one way—to have a native himself give the account in his own mother tongue. The problem then resolves itself into finding the native. That is the task I set myself and through a piece of good luck I succeeded in accomplishing it. As the manner of its accomplishment is an interesting and illuminating story in itself, I hope I shall be excused for telling it in some detail.

In the year 1909 I commenced field investigations among the Winnebago Indians living on the Nebraska side of the Missouri River, about twenty-five miles south of Sioux City, Iowa. These Indians had the reputation of being fairly conservative. Perhaps the fact that a Presbyterian mission had in seventeen years succeeded in converting only one family, and a family which then unkindly died without leaving issue, may bear this out.

Among these Indians there lived a family named Blow Snake, consisting of a father and a fair number of children all grown up. Two of these were men quite well known in the tribe for a variety of reasons. These two became my principal informants. They had lived the most exciting of lives, for to the usual round of adventures that fall to the lot of most Indians of that region now, they had added a murder and a conversion, the murder first and the conversion afterwards. The older of the two seemed to be by far the more gifted. His memory was simply prodigious. He recounted to me a ceremony which took him two months, working practically six hours a day, to tell

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



and within forty-eight hours the whole manuscript was done. 124

It is this manuscript translated literally that is here presented. No changes of any kind have been introduced. Certain things, however, that Crashing Thunder had told me on previous occasions, which, for that reason, he merely mentions in the autobiography proper, I have inserted in their proper places. Everything in this manuscript comes directly from him and was told in the original and in the first person. It is needless for me to insist that I in no way influenced him either directly or indirectly in any way. 128

Some years ago the autobiography proper was published with annotations as an ethnological document in the University of California Series in American Archæology and Ethnology under the title "The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian" (Volume XVI, Number 7). I gratefully acknowledge the generosity of the authorities of the University Press in permitting this reissue for a wider audience, in part retranslated and considerably enlarged by the additions mentioned above. 114

P. R.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## *INTRODUCTION*

THE common-sense man, the man in the street, has always been good-naturedly skeptical of the academically trained scholar, particularly when the latter chose to discuss the subject of man and his moods and to make generalizations concerning phases of life and thought that, from the very nature of the case, he could only remotely understand. The glamour that for so long a time hung about the educated man and his unlimited capacity for understanding everything has slowly but surely evaporated in the last generation. We are all now quite willing to admit that the economist and the sociologist, the psychologist and the historian are capable of making—and do frequently make—the most ludicrous and appalling mistakes as soon as they find themselves compelled to deal with man himself in all his vagaries, his inconsistencies, and his lack of direction. Perhaps it is this more than any other single factor that has led to the popular characterization of history as a pleasant, amiable, but wholly imaginative record of man as he never existed. We can fill our libraries and public archives with as many details as we wish and yet in no way improve on the situation or alter the fundamental distortion and ludicrousness of the average presentation of history. The real man, man as

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



he actually is, will never be revealed to us in this manner.

There is nothing new in this criticism. Most of us have always suspected that such was the case, and have, as a corrective, instinctively sought refuge in the letters and autobiographies of men of their time. But letters and autobiographies written by citizens of such complicated civilizations as are those of our own time, in their turn, represent most frequently, conscious or at best unconscious distortions of the people who wrote them. Our notions of convention and propriety effectually bar any true revelation. No man who regards his thoughts, feelings, and actions of sufficient importance for him to note them down in a diary or an autobiography, ever admits to himself or to the world for whom he is writing that his life has not been a unified whole or that it did not gradually lead to a proper and early heralded climax. Can any one picture to himself a man, in our civilization, writing an autobiography in which he frankly admitted that his life had ended in an anticlimax or that he had throughout been but a reed driven the way the wind listeth? And yet many of us, be it confessed, are so driven, even some of those who write autobiographies.

The value and significance of the autobiography that follows does not simply lie in the fact that it is a document absolutely unique of its kind—the only account that has ever been obtained from a so-called "primitive" man—but in the fact that this particular individual took his task literally and attempted to give an abso-

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## §1. *Early Childhood*

Father and mother had four children and after I was born. An uncle of my mother named White Cloud spoke to her before I was born and told her, "You are about to give birth to a child who will not be an ordinary individual." These were the words he addressed to her. It was then that my mother gave birth to me. As soon as I was born, indeed as I was being washed—as my neck was being washed—I laughed out loudly. [159*] [551] [787] [844]

I have been told[1] that I was a good-tempered child.

During childhood my father told me to fast and I obeyed him. Throughout the winter, every morning, I would get up very early, crush charcoal, and then blacken my face with it. As soon as the sun rose would I go outside and there gazing steadily at the sun, make my prayer to the spirits, crying.[2] [787]

[1] Whenever the writer refers to events that happened before his time or before he could remember things, he always uses the quotative, "It is said." [114] [195]

[2] This refers to the custom of fasting of which many examples will be found later on. Among the Winnebago and many culturally related tribes, every person, male and female, was expected, between the ages of five and twelve, to seek communion with some supernatural spirit and the spirit so obtained was supposed to grant the suppliant certain powers and in general preside over his destinies throughout life. The proper manner of approaching this ordeal was to blacken one's face with charcoal and retire at night to some semi-deserted place at some distance from the house and there pray- [716]

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12

# Winnebago Berdache

*By* NANCY OESTREICH LURIE

THE following account draws attention to the fact that the berdache role was still evident in Winnebago culture until close to the turn of the century, and adds somewhat to the data of certain clear cultural parallels between this Woodland Siouan group and such Plains Siouan tribes as the Omaha, Oto, Iowa and Ponca. The description is not complete and certain points are equivocal. Thus, all of the available ethnographic documentation will be presented so that anyone intending to use the information will be able to assess its value. The description given here agrees, Dr. Raul Radin said in a conversation, with his unpublished Winnebago data.

During the course of general field investigations conducted from time to time during the years 1945 to 1947, it was apparent that Winnebago informants in Wisconsin tended to be reticent to discuss the matter of the berdache. Their embarrassment may indicate that knowledge of the subject was withheld. However, even where excellent rapport existed and individuals became sufficiently interested in the topic to question people who might not speak directly to an ethnographer, some details remain uncertain. Furthermore, while the last berdache died somewhat over fifty years ago, the picture is confused by the former tendency of Winnebago culture to invest given forms of traits with opposite meanings and functions when used under different circumstances. At the present time, the recollections of many informants reveal that they know only half of the total function of given forms, or that they attempt to synthesize features which now appear as contradictory.

While it was noted in 1950 that the Nebraska Winnebago were quite willing to speak of matters that in Wisconsin are still considered sacred or as things to be kept secret from whites, the Nebraska Winnebago simply knew less about older traditions.

It was agreed generally that the berdache was a man who had taken on this role because he had been directed to do so by the moon, a female spirit, at the time of his vision quest. The berdache dressed as a woman, performed women's tasks better than any normal woman could perform them, and had the ability to foretell future events. However, not all Winnebago prophets were berdaches. One informant mentioned that berdaches sometimes married other men, but no data were obtained concerning the attitude of the society toward the husband of a berdache. Most informants felt that the berdache was at one time a highly honored and respected person, but that the Winnebago had become ashamed of the custom because the white people thought it was amusing or evil. By the time the last known berdache attempted to fulfill the role, his brothers threatened to kill him if he "put on the skirt." This berdache then affected a combination of male and female clothing, fearing that he would die if he did not at least attempt to follow the directions given him in his vision of the moon.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

# CHAPTER V

## BURIAL AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

764 There appear to have been two distinct methods of burial among the Winnebago—simple inhumation and platform burial. Within recent times, owing to the influence of their Algonquian neighbors, [177] platform burial has entirely disappeared and inhumation alone is practiced. It has even become customary to erect a typical Algonquian burial-hut over the grave (see pl. 54, b).

[615] When the old culture was still intact inhumation was definitely associated with the lower phratry and platform burial with the upper phratry. Whether this marked difference in burial customs was merely another example of that specialization in function so characteristic of these two divisions of the tribe, or whether it was due to distinct historical origins, it is difficult to determine. I am, however, inclined to regard the latter interpretation as by far the most probable.

[614 184] All the customs are described in full detail in the various accounts that follow and in Chapters VII and VIII. Each clan seems to have had a few details peculiar to itself, but, in the main, the rights were identical. They may briefly be divided into the following sections:

1. Preparation of the body for burial. 2. Rites in the house of the deceased, consisting mainly of speeches of consolation to the bereaved. 3. Speeches addressed to the deceased and the narration of the myth of the journey to spirit land. 4. Rites at the grave. 5. The recounting of war exploits by specially invited warriors, at the grave. 6. The elaborate four nights wake at the home of the deceased.

### Description of Funeral Customs and Wake

[115 644] Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:[1] When an individual dies his relatives get some one to bury him and the chief mourner will also invite some person to talk to the corpse before it is buried. The person addressing the dead man or woman tells the deceased how he is to go (to spirit land) and what he is to do on the way there. The body is then dressed by the person who is going to bury it. All the relatives come to the lodge and the deceased is dressed in his best clothes; beads are put around his neck, bracelets on his wrist, rings

[1] This description is a generalized one.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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765 "They told me to follow the four steps that would be imprinted with blue marks,
539 grandmother." "Well, grandson, you are young but you are wise. It is good. I will now boil some food for you."

775 Thus she will speak to you and then put a kettle on the fire and boil some rice for you. If you eat it you will have a headache. Then she will say, "Grandson, you have a headache, let me cup it for you." Then she will break open your skull and take out your brains and you will forget all about your people on earth and where you came from. You will not worry about your relatives. You will become like a holy spirit. Your thoughts will not go as far as the earth, as there will be nothing carnal about you.

Now the rice that the old woman will boil will really be lice. For that reason you will be finished with everything evil. Then you will go on stepping in the four footsteps mentioned before and that were imprinted with blue earth. You are to take the four steps because the road will fork there. All your relatives (who died before you) will be there. As you journey on you will come to a fire running across the earth from one end to the other. There will be a bridge across it but it will be difficult to cross because it is continually swinging. However, you will be able to cross it safely, for you have all the guides about whom the warriors spoke to you. They will take you over and take care of you.

Well, we have told you a good road (to take). If anyone tells a falsehood in speaking of the spirit road, you will fall off the bridge and be burned. However (you need not worry) for you will pass over safely. As you proceed from that place the spirits will come to meet you and take you to the village where the chief lives. There you will give him the tobacco and ask for those objects of which we spoke to you, the same you asked of the old woman. There you will meet all the relatives that died before you. They will be living in a large lodge. This you must enter. Ho-o-o, ha-a-a.

764 GENERALIZED DESCRIPTION OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS AND WAKE

[115 614] Informant, member of Bear clan. When a person died a member of his friend (*kitenkdro*) clan was immediately sent for, who took charge of the body and of all the funeral arrangements. The overseer dressed the deceased in his best clothes and all his finery, for it was said that he was going on a long journey. Then some clansman painted the dead man's face with the clan markings and delivered a speech to the corpse. When he concluded the clan songs were sung and the body was carried to the grave. All the mourners marched in single file. After the body had been buried or placed on a scaffold, as the case might be, a post was placed at the head of the grave, and the warriors among the mourners counted their coups and drew representations of their victories on the posts. [775] The purpose of the warriors in counting coups at the grave was to put at the disposal of the deceased the spirits of all the enemies they had killed, and also to give him additional strength for overcoming the obstacles on the road to the spirit land. Food was placed on the little shelf in front of the window of the grave-house, to be used by the spirit during the four days that he hovered around this earth before departing on his journey. Then a light was lighted and finally, toward evening, all departed for their homes, returning as they had come, in single file,

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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721 When a man went on a warpath for the sake of glory he generally led a large party and all sorts of special arrangements were made, because then a war leader was necessary and volunteers were always needed. It is believed that the same holds true for larger war parties.

In discussing the essential requisite for a successful war party we have stated that a special blessing was necessary for this purpose. There is, however, one noteworthy exception to this rule, if we are [614 to accept the statements of members of the upper phratry—all mem- 615] bers of the Warrior clan may go on a warpath without fasting and without receiving a blessing. This statement was vigorously denied by members of the lower phratry.

727 When a war party returns, a very interesting ceremony takes place. At some distance from the village a victorious war party sends a messenger ahead to tell all those at home that the war party has been unsuccessful and that all have been killed, and that those at home should put on mourning. Secretly, however, the leader tells someone to look for a pole for the Victory dance, and shortly after all the preparations for mourning have been made the victorious warriors rush into the village. Before entering the village that warrior who [555] has counted first coup is offered a pipe, from which he always takes a few puffs. The same pipe is then handed to the one who counted coup second, and so on, until the fourth man is reached. Then the prizes (*wuizew*) are given to the victors, who afterwards give them to their sisters. The scalps are not taken into the village, but are left outside, and warriors who have remained at home rush out to count coup upon them. Then the scalps are carried around the village four times.

555 The widely-known Plains custom of "counting coup" is also 726 practiced among the Winnebago. The individual who strikes the dead body of the enemy first obtains the first honor, the one striking it second the second honor, the one striking it third the third honor, and the one who actually killed the enemy obtaining the fourth and least important honor.

721 The following are descriptions given in the words of the informants:

[115] *Description of war customs and the manner of conducting a war party.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

When a man is ready to go on the warpath, he looks around for as many men as he wishes to take along and then gives a feast. At the feast he fixes the time at which the war party is to start. The man giving the feast (i. e., the leader of the war party) would get up and tell those present that he intended going on a warpath and give his reason; then he would say that whoever so desired could come along.

Many went along. Indeed, there was quite a crowd. The first stopping place (*hipiyera*) was always near the outskirts of the village. There the leader appointed four men to go after food and wood for the fire. During their absence two camping places would be arranged, one on each side of the war leader. As soon as the four men returned with the food the attendants skinned and prepared the animals for

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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727 etc. Then the war leader would secretly tell some one to select a stake (for the Victory Dance) and after a short time all the members of the war party would rush in and march around the entire village striking the scalps that they had tied to sticks. Then they would all go to the place where the stake had been put up and there they would distribute the war prizes to the sisters of the men who had won them and the women would walk around proudly with the prizes around their necks. Then, in the daytime 701 they would dance the Victory Dance and in the evening they would dance the 721 Hok'izere Dance for four nights.

[115] *Description of a war party.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

[787] If a man wishes to go on the warpath he must fast and be blessed by the spirits in a specific manner. If a man is thus blessed, he gives a feast and announces his intention of leading a war party. The chief always has a representative at such a feast (a member of the Buffalo clan), and as soon as it is over this man goes to the former and reports [622] to him. If the chief thinks that the blessing is insufficient and might cause the death of many men he takes the war leader's pipe and lays it across his path and the war leader is then compelled to abandon his undertaking. This action on the part of the chief is sacred and must be accepted as final. The war leader dare not step across the pipe. Should the chief, however, act do this, then the war leader knew that there was no objection. Usually some members of every clan go along, but especially members of the Thunderbird, Warrior, and Bear clans.

The action of the war leader is controlled by many rules. He must be the one who has fasted and been blessed with all that is essential for conducting a war party. He must have his food provided for him by the spirits, know the exact location of the enemy, their numbers, and their sex.

726 After the war party has traveled for about four days, the men offer tobacco to the 701 leader and he tells them where he is going, the number of the enemy, etc. If, after that, any of the members of the war party do not approve of the undertaking then they place a pipe across his path and the war leader is compelled to return. If nothing is said, then all is well. The war leader always goes ahead of his party and his attendants behind him, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever the chief stops his attendants run to his side, take his war bundle and place it in front of him. Then the leader sits down, neither turning to the right nor to the left but looking straight ahead. The attendants get two poles and place them on each side of him, bend the ends over to form an arch, on each side of which are placed small oak sticks arranged in a row. Under this structure the war leader stays. Here he sleeps and is [614] fed by his attendants. No one is permitted to go ahead of this improvised structure. On each side of him two fireplaces are placed, two for the Upper clans and two for the Lower clans. If the war party is traveling westward the two fireplaces on the north side belong to the Lower clans and the two on the south side to the Upper clans. If a man is going on a warpath for the first time, he stays in the rear of the party and has a little fire of his own. He remains in the rear in this way until the battle begins. Then he joins the others.

A member of the Warrior clan is selected by the war leader to act as guard and he goes back and forth behind him encouraging the men and telling them not to steal away alone or go too far ahead of the party, since that always results in the loss of life. It is for this reason that it is not considered correct for a man to try and steal away and perhaps obtain a war honor in this selfish manner. Whenever the war leader stops he tells his companions what they must do in order to obtain food, all this information having been provided for in his blessing. If he tells some one to go to a certain place and kill a deer, he is certain to find a deer at the place specified. Whenever the war leader gets up and steps over his war bundle the attendants come and place his war [782] bundle on his back and he then proceeds on his march, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever he comes to a river he takes some of the tobacco which is

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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616 ceremonial connections: first, in the organization of the village;
614 second, in the arrangement of the clans while on the warpath; third, as the basis of organization at the "chief" feast; and lastly, as the basis of organization of the ceremonial lacrosse game.

616 According to the majority of the older people, when the old social
614 organization was still intact, each village was divided into two halves
621 by an imaginary line running due northwest and southeast, the *waggeregi* clans dwelling in one half, with the chief's lodge in the south, and the *manegi* clans dwelling in the other half, with the bear or soldier lodge in the north (fig. 33). Although this arrangement has now become almost legendary, it was corroborated by many of the older people. To what extent every village was organized on this basis it is impossible to state. When this question was

FIG. 33.—Plan of village according to Thunderhead, of the Thunderbird clan.

directly put to individuals, the answer was always in the affirmative. Quite a number of old individuals, however, denied vigorously that such had ever been the organization of the village, and claimed instead that the lodges of the Chief and the Soldier (Bear) clan were in the center of the village (fig. 34).

[116] In looking over the clan affiliations of the informants, we noticed, however, that the first arrangement was always given by members of the bird clans, and the second arrangement by members of the
[114] Bear clan and generally also by others on the *manegi* side. This fact, of course, makes the decision as to the relationship of these two types of village organization quite difficult. There can be no
[582] question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital relations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in different villages.

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10. *ire*, buffalo.
11. *ke*, fish.
12. *wak'e*[a], snake.

Another list was obtained in which only 10 clans were mentioned, the Fish and the Snake being omitted. The clans omitted are, however, regarded by all as of recent origin.

There are two older lists of Winnebago clans obtained by Morgan[3] and Dorsey.[4] Morgan gives the following clans: 614 114

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wolf. | Eagle. | Snake. |
| Bear. | Elk. | Thunder. |
| Buffalo. | Deer. | |

Dorsey's list is more complete, although owing to the fact that he did not know of the existence of the twofold division, he classes the four Bird clans as subclans of one larger Bird clan. His list differs from the author's only in the absence of the Fish clan and in the fact that he was still able to obtain two archaic names for the Wolf and Bear clans. Dorsey's list follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wolf. | Bird. | Buffalo. |
| Bear. | *a*. Eagle. | Deer. |
| Elk. | *b*. Pigeon. | Water-monster. |
| Snake. | *c*. Hawk. | |
| | *d*. Thunderbird. | |

Foster gives a grouping of the clans according to the fauna.[5] His list hardly was intended as an enumeration of the clans. According to Foster, we have the following grouping:

I. Thunderbird family or invisible Thunderbird people.
II. The air family, the visible Thunderbird people.
III. The land or quadruped family.
IV. The water family.

An interesting variant of the names of the Thunderbird and Warrior clans was given by one informant. He called the Thunderbird the good thunders, and the Warrior the bad thunders. This is strikingly reminiscent of the Menominee and was perhaps borrowed from them. 614 [115 177]

The main differences in the above lists are the order of the clans, the position of the Wolf clan, the presence of a general Bird clan called *wawipi* by Dorsey, the double names for the Wolf and Bear clans, and the absence of a Fish and Warrior clan in Dorsey's and of a Hawk clan in the list obtained by the author.

The position of the Wolf clan, in spite of Morgan's and Dorsey's agreement, does not belong in the place assigned to it by them. In all probability their main informant was a member of this clan who wished to give his clan a greater importance than properly belonged

[3] Ancient Society, p. 167.
[4] Siouan Sociology. Fifteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 502-541.
[5] Quoted in J. O. Dorsey's MSS. of Winnebago clan names (R. A. E.).

## *Preface*

There is only one way—to have a native himself give the account in his own mother tongue. The problem then resolves itself into finding the native. That is the task I set myself and through a piece of good luck I succeeded in accomplishing it. As the manner of its accomplishment is an interesting and illuminating story in itself, I hope I shall be excused for telling it in some detail. 114 121

In the year 1909 I commenced field investigations among the Winnebago Indians living on the Nebraska side of the Missouri River, about twenty-five miles south of Sioux City, Iowa. These Indians had the reputation of being fairly conservative. Perhaps the fact that a Presbyterian mission had in seventeen years succeeded in converting only one family, and a family which then unkindly died without leaving issue, may bear this out. 114 [131] 992 [81]

Among these Indians there lived a family named Blow Snake, consisting of a father and a fair number of children all grown up. Two of these were men quite well known in the tribe for a variety of reasons. These two became my principal informants. They had lived the most exciting of lives, for to the usual round of adventures that fall to the lot of most Indians of that region now, they had added a murder and a conversion, the murder first and the conversion afterwards. The older of the two seemed to be by far the more gifted. His memory was simply prodigious. He recounted to me a ceremony which took him two months, working practically six hours a day, to tell 124 [115]

9: Morgan E-5 (1859) 1959 NP12 Winnebago NP12

[*Winnebago*] *Medicine Dance*

115 I met Judge Williams[97] this evening and listened among other things to a very fine description of a medicine dance among the Winnebagoes. He is District Judge of Kansas, and has held the same office in Iowa and been with the Indians for 25 years. He superintended the removal of the Sauks and Foxes etc.

He was invited by the Winnebagoes as a compliment to attend a medicine dance, or the Spirit Dance.[98] This is a religious organization which the Judge likens to our church. They initiate with forms and ceremonies each neophyte, and at that time go through with their high religious performances. The Judge says they have mesmerism

796
575
[787]

[P. 60(A)]
[pp. 1-59 not processed]
97 A 98 A [see category 116 - p210. Analyst]

764 the Judge asked what this meant they told
775 him that it was for the spirit to pass through in going out and in.

771 He never found among them during the long period of his intercourse any evidence of sun worship, and thinks it fell far short of that in which I agree with him.

115 This morning I had a further conversation with Judge Walker, who is a regular medicine man of the Wyandottes. He says
776 the name of the Spirit of Medicine among
171 the Wyandottes is Mon-ane-tow, who is the same as the Manitou of the Ojibways etc. That this spirit of Medicine is a good spirit etc. He says that the initiations described
796 by Judge Williams are in the presence only
575 of medicine men and women. The people of the tribe are not allowed to be present. That both men and women are members, and are regularly initiated before they can become members. That no oath of secrecy is required, as the Indian knows nothing about oaths, but they initiate on the honor of the man and of the woman, choosing such only as are known to be of good character for integrity. That the Society and its pro-
[755] ceedings are secret, except these ceremonies which medicine men perform on patients for their cure.

796 Walker says that these ceremonies pro-
575 ceed upon the idea that a violent shock of the nervous system, which prostrates it en-
828 tirely will also prostrate or relax the hold of
158 the disease. They know by experience that by fasting and steaming they so arouse and excite a well person as to produce a shock which will throw him to the earth. This is done at the ceremony of initiation which Judge Williams described. It is done by nervous excitement, and Indian faith in these ceremonies, and is repeated over every initiate as a proof of the possession by medicine men of this marvellous power. He

[P61(A)]

9: Morgan E-5 (1859) 1959 NP12 Winnebago NP12

115 97. Joseph Williams, born in Pennsylvania in 1801, served as associate justice in Iowa Territory and state. In 1857 he was appointed associate justice of Kansas Territory by President Buchanan; he served until 1861. He made his home in Ft. Scott; died in 1870. For an account of some of Williams' activities in Kansas in the fall of 1859 and 1860, see *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1915–18*, XIV, 205–6, 230; *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1901–02*, VII, 402.

[113]

796 575 98. This is probably one of the earliest accounts of the Winnebago Medicine Dance, performed by a secret society in summer only. Its purpose is to prolong life and to cultivate certain nonmartial virtues. The Winnebago Medicine Dance is closely related to the Algonquian Midéwiwin, to the Dakota "Mystery Dance," and to the Omaha "Pebble Ceremony." See "The Ritual and Significance of the Winnebago Medicine Dance," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XXIV (1911): 149–208, and *The Winnebago Tribe* (Bureau of American Ethnology, 37th Annual Report, 1923), both by Dr. Paul Radin; see also "Winnebago," in *Handbook of American Indians*, edited by Hodge.

[171]

[113]

[P-210]
[pp. 211-233 not processed]

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



and coffee, which were, of course, unknown to them before the coming of the White Man. Other tribes in Wisconsin have made no attempt to set up their own words for these, but call them by their English names as nearly as they can pronounce them. This trait of the Winnebago is often amusing. For example the watermelon was unknown to them until about seventy-five years ago. The first recipient of a watermelon among them considered it a pumpkin, cut it up into small pieces, and boiled it in a pot. The resultant product was scarcely edible, so led to the appellation of "wicawasukela"—"a pumpkin that did'nt get ripe." But later, they discovered that the whites ate them just as they were; and upon trying this they discovered their merit, and have been very fond of them ever since. But the first name stuck, and it is thus called to this day. 192 177

While we had met Winnebago before this summer, we had never attempted to discourse at length on their uses of plants. In 1923, we first met Frank Smith, "makiwika," with his wife who was making baskets, in Minocqua where we admired her art. Every year since we have seen Frank at some Indian pow-wow or other. During the "Pageant of Progress," in Milwaukee, July, 1926, Frank and his new Ojibwe wife were at the Indian Village on the lake front, with Mr. H. L. Mumm, of Wausau, demonstrating Indian arts and crafts. There, too, we met two other Winnebago workers, Jim Henniger and his wife, although the Indians in the village proper were all full-blooded Ojibwe from Lac Court Oreilles, Wisconsin. The museum is also fortunate in having the friendship of Ulysses A. White, of Wisconsin Rapids, who was formerly employed in Milwaukee. Mr. White is a pure blooded Winnebago, as is his wife, a quite uncommon occurrence in these times of inter-tribal marriages. He introduced to the Museum, John Bear, of Wisconsin Rapids, another old Winnebago Indian, through whom Mr. W. C. McKern, Associate Curator of Anthropology, of the Museum, has been able to collect some interesting ancient Winnebago stories. Mr. Bear spent the entire winter of 1927-1928 at the Museum, and was helped in his work by Mr. White. All of this preliminary work was the subject of several conferences between the writer and Mr. McKern at which we became acquainted with the linguistics of the Winnebago and listed the plant names used in the various stories. 114 115 [582]

The first trip of the summer was to Trempealeau, where the Museum was conducting archeological investigations which the writer, as President of the Wisconsin Archeological Society, wished to see. Furthermore Mr. McKern had written that there were Winnebago Indians in Trempealeau. These proved to be a family living in the old brewery at the edge of the village, but they were from Winnebago, Nebraska, and were not familiar with the Wisconsin plants. The field party, however, interested us for a week. The Museum camp was established in Perrot State Park, on the banks of the Trempealeau River near its 114 126

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



114 junction with the Mississippi. Dr. Evan D. Pierce, of Trempealeau,
126 who was in charge of the park, was much interested in the native flora as well as in archeology, and we made a collection of ninety species then in bloom. Mr. Towne L. Miller, of Fairwater, Wisconsin, Honorary Curator of Archeology of the Museum collected the plants of the region throughout the season, for the Department of Botany.

The Winnebago Indians are found today scattered over the central
131 part of Wisconsin, principally in Marquette, Waushara, Portage, Sauk,
361 Juneau, Adams, Marathon, Wood, Clark, Jackson, and Monroe counties. Wood County with permanent settlements in Arpin, Vesper, Pittsville, Walker, Elm Lake, Dexterville, and Babcock, contains the largest number, about 750. Along the Hemlock River, not far from Pittsville, are found other large settlements of farming Winnebago. In other counties good-sized settlements are located at Neillsville, Wittenberg, Wyeville, Black River Falls, Hatfield, and Tomah. Their Indian agency and school are located at the last mentioned city.

114 Our chief location during the summer was at A. White's farm, on
the Walker Road, six and a half miles south of Wisconsin Rapids.
123 When we arrived, Mr. White was at Kilbourn where many of the Winnebago camp during the tourist season, making baskets and bead work, and taking part in dances and entertainments. Jim Henniger and his wife, our pageant friends, were there, caring for her father, Dave Dekorah, a prominent man in the medicine lodge, who was sick. He afterwards died and was buried in their community graveyard, with Indian ceremony. The Whites made us welcome and we pitched our tent in a grove of white pines not far from their spring. There were
115 several other Winnebago Indians near at hand, including Henry Dick,
795 from Briggsville. Henry is important in the medicine society and im-
184 mediately made friends with us and started to teach us the Winne-
276 bago language. He was especially bitter against the peyote cult, which many Winnebago have embraced, declaring that peyote was worse than whiskey, because a man drunk on whiskey, would be sober the next morning and able to go to work, whereas with peyote, he became "crazy", and would not work for four or five days while under its influence. He further said that the peyote cult worshippers never possess anything, but live on their industrious neighbors who belong to the medicine lodge. These medicine lodge Indians raise potatoes, corn, beans, carrots, hay, grain, hogs and chickens, according to Henry, and would not let their own people starve, but did not like the shiftlessness of the peyote worshippers. He wished he could see the President of the United States to tell him not to let any Indian have peyote. He thinks bad days are coming to the peyote-eating Indians. A few years
276 ago, this cactus drug, most of which comes from Texas, sold for $4.00
435 a thousand buttons, but the current prices in 1928 were $25 per thou-
795 sand of number one size; $30.00 per thousand for number two size; and

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THIRTY-SEVENTH
ANNUAL REPORT OF THE

# BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

1915-1916

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1923

[Title Page]

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# THE WINNEBAGO TRIBE

BY

PAUL RADIN

I:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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## PREFACE

The information included in this volume was obtained during the years 1908–1913 while employed by the Bureau of American Ethnology and on private expeditions. In all cases wherever it was possible the author tried to obtain his information in Winnebago, although the English version is printed here. Owing to the fact that the Winnebago have for some time been accustomed to the use of a syllabic alphabet borrowed from the Sauk and Fox, it was a comparatively easy task to induce them to write down their mythology and, at times, their ceremonies, and then have an interpreter translate them. As the author has a fair command of Winnebago grammar, he was able to control these translations and thus insure their approximate accuracy. On account of the importance of having as accurate a record of the ceremonies as possible, those few ceremonies that were obtained in syllabic text were subsequently taken down in phonetic text.

It has been the aim of the author to separate as definitely as possible his own comments from the actual data obtained, and for that reason every chapter, with the exception of those on history, archeology, and material culture, is divided into two parts, a discussion of the data and the data itself.

Certain subjects, such as mythology, art, and music, have been entirely omitted. In order to discuss the second a comparative study of woodland art and design would have been necessary, which would have entailed a prolonged study at different museums; and to discuss the latter, specific training and knowledge were demanded, which the author does not possess.

The following monograph does not claim to be a comparative study, but simply an intensive an investigation as the time spent allowed, of an unusually interesting tribe, made under exceptionally propitious conditions. It is principally the raw material that is presented here. Throughout the work, the Indian has been allowed to tell the facts in his own way. For that reason no attempt has been made to change the English, except when it was ungrammatical or unintelligible. This will explain the simple and at times poor English of the accounts.

The work ends rather abruptly because the section on mythology and the general conclusion have been reserved for special treatment.

In conclusion, the author wishes to thank all those Winnebago who helped him since he first came among them. In particular does



[P. 46 is blank]

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he wish to thank his interpreter, Oliver Lamere, of Winnebago, Nebraska, without whom this work could hardly have been completed, and his three main informants, Jasper Blowsnake and Sam Carley, both of Black River Falls, Wisconsin, and John Rave, of Winnebago, Nebraska.

To Prof. Franz Boas he is under especial obligations for directing him to the Winnebago, for the methods of research inculcated in him at Columbia University, and particularly for impressing upon him the necessity of obtaining as much information as possible in text.

His thanks are also due to the following individual and institutions: To Mr. C. Brown, of Madison, Wis., for a number of illustrations previously published in the Wisconsin Archeologist, and to the American Museum of Natural History, the Peabody Museum, and the Milwaukee Public Museum for numerous photographs of objects in their collections.

[122] His brother, Dr. Max Radin, he wishes to thank for financing his first visit to the Winnebago in 1908.

The manuscript was finished in 1913.

PAUL RADIN.

SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO, *May 11, 1916.*

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# THE WINNEBAGO TRIBE

## Part I

## CHAPTER I

### HISTORY

#### General Remarks

At what time the Winnebago entered Wisconsin it is impossible to say. It seems quite reasonable to suppose that they came from the east. If we are right in assuming that they are the builders of the effigy mounds, then we are justified in assigning a certain significance to the distribution of the latter. One of the interesting points of this distribution is that many are found along the shore of Lake Michigan and northward to Two Rivers, that some are found in Rock County, and that they gradually decrease in number as one proceeds north. This would lead us to assume that the Winnebago entered Wisconsin from the south, probably from the southeast. We ought, then, to find effigy mounds in Illinois and, in general, on the route of their probable journey from the east. This is not the case, and it is very difficult to account for their absence unless we assume that all traces of them have disappeared; that the Winnebago first developed their mound-building habit after they had reached Wisconsin; or that the mounds in Illinois are their work (and that of kindred tribes), and finally that the type of mound developed along different lines after they had definitely settled in Wisconsin. It is also possible that since the effigy mounds are undoubtedly closely associated with the clan organization this type of social organization was adopted by the Winnebago only after they entered Wisconsin. 172 174 [131]

There can be no doubt but that the Winnebago and the closely related tribes like the Missouri, Oto, and Iowa represented the second of the Siouan migrations westward. There were probably four of these migrations, as O. F. Will and H. J. Spinden claim, succeeding each other as follows: 174

1. Mandan, Hidatsa, Crow.
2. Iowa, Oto, Missouri, Winnebago.

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174 3. Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kansa, Quapaw.

4. Dakota, Assiniboin.[1]

The linguistic grouping seems to bear out this theory with the [197] exception of the Mandan, who are far more closely related to the Winnebago and their kindred than to the Hidatsa. It seems likewise strange that the Hidatsa and Crow, on the one hand, and the Dakota and Assiniboin, on the other, belonging to the first and fourth "migrations," should nevertheless speak dialects that are closely related. One might have expected that Dakota would be more like Omaha and its group.

173 The Winnebago themselves have no traditions telling of their migrations from the east. The majority of the people questioned asserted that the tribe had originated at Green Bay. This is, however, merely the origin myth of the Thunderbird clan, which apparently has displaced other origin accounts. While, in a few instances, other places were mentioned, the localities to which they referred were all in Wisconsin. There may be some significance in the origin legends of some of the clans which claim that they came from over the sea (the lake), but it is utterly impossible to determine whether we are here dealing with a myth pure and simple or with a vague memory of some historical happening.

The Winnebago have, however, some recollection of their separation from their kindred Siouan tribes. The accounts collected are short and fragmentary, but this may be due largely to the fact that no systematic attempt was made by the author to obtain detailed information on this point. The following fragmentary accounts will give some idea of the value of these recollections.

*a*. In the early days the Winnebago often went out hunting after they had finished hoeing their corn and other crops. During one of these travels they killed an elk and every lodge received a piece of the animal except one lodge in which a man, his wife, and six daughters with their husbands lived. Thinking that they were disliked by the rest of the tribe, these remained behind the next day when the others continued their journey. They have never been heard from since. It is said that the Quapaws do not know where they come from and we think that they may be descended from this family.

*b*. When the Winnebago lived on Lake Michigan the tribe was so large that each clan had its own chief and a general chief presided over the whole tribe. After a while it became so hard to obtain food that a band of Winnebago went south. They never returned. These are now in the Southwest. Some of them are the Missouri and some the Iowa. Band after band kept moving away until only one was left—the present Winnebago.

[1] The Mandan, Papers of the Peabody Museum. Vol. iii, no. 4, pp. 87-88, Cambridge, 1908.

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*c.* Four lodges once left the main tribe at Prairie du Chien or MacGregor, Wisconsin, and never returned. This happened after all the other tribes had leagued together against the Winnebago. The reason these four lodges left the Winnebago was because they were afraid that war might break out again. Some people believe that the Oto

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FIG. 1.—SECTIONAL MAP OF WISCONSIN, GIVING THE LOCATIONS OF SOME OF THE OLD VILLAGES.

EXPLANATION OF MAP.

[The numbers on the map indicate the locations of some of the Winnebago Winnebago villages.]

1. Doty Island village, 1834-1922.
2. Prairie village, 1797-1833.
3. Black Wolf village, 1828.
4. Kawker village, 1818.
5. Karrorhon village, 1798.
6. Rock Lake village.
7. Yellow Thunder village, 1829-32.
8. Sacred village, 1827.
9. Old Gray-headed Decorah village, 1795.
10. Big Fox village, 1832.
11. Waterloo village.
12. Iron Walker village.
13. Little Priest village, 1832.
Whirling Thunder village, 1836.
14. Karrymonee's village, 1832.
15. Spotted Arm village.
16. Dayton village.
17. White Crow village, 1832.
18. Chonkera village, 1816.
White Oak village, 1832.
19. Old Gray-headed Decorah village, 1795-1836.
20. Yellow Thunder village.
21. Karrymonee's village, 1829-32.
22. Sacred village, 1827.
23. Washington Decorah village 1832.
24. Buzzard Decorah village, 1797.
One-eyed Decorah village, 1832.
25. Little Decorah village, 1837.
26. Big Hawk village, Pike Lake.

are this last branch, for they speak the same language with but few differences and use many old words that the Winnebago employed long ago but have now given up.

*d.* Some lodges left the tribe never to return. Some say there were four, others give different numbers (of long lodges). Some say only one lodge. My uncle used to say that there were four. "I think that it is believed that they went to the east," he said.

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173 The other tribes of the second "migration" have semihistorical legends telling of their separation from the Winnebago. Major Bean told Maximilian that an Oto chief had informed him that originally the Winnebago inhabited the lakes and that they subsequently migrated to the Southwest, presumably in pursuit of buffalo. At Green Bay they divided, the Winnebago remaining there while the others continued their journey.

Dorsey was informed by Iowa chiefs[1] that "their people and the Oto, Missouri, Omaha, and Ponca 'once formed part of the Winnebago nation.' According to the traditions of these tribes, at an early period they came with the Winnebago from their primeval home north of the Great Lakes, but that the Winnebago stopped on the shore of a great lake (Lake Michigan), attracted by the abundant fish."

1C4 When the Winnebago were first discovered they were entirely surrounded by Central Algonquian tribes. To the north of them lay the Menominee on the shore of Green Bay, to the southeast the Miami, to the south and southwest the Sauk and Fox, and to the west the Ojibwa. The nearest of their kindred were in southern Iowa, western Wisconsin, and eastern Minnesota. Under these circumstances it is not strange that the Winnebago show marked evidence [177] of Central Algonquian influence (fig. 1).

174 At what time the Winnebago were isolated from their Siouan kindred it is impossible to state. We doubt, however, whether this occurred before the sixteenth century. The Central Algonquian tribes in this region are clearly intruders. The Ojibwa came from the northeast and the Fox, Miami, etc., from the south and the southeast. It seems clear, to judge from the number of effigy mounds found in the territory occupied by the Fox and Miami, that the Winnebago had lived there for a considerable length of time before they were pushed westward and northwestward by these tribes. When the Menominee arrived, and from what direction, it is difficult to determine. On purely linguistic grounds, judging from the close relationship of Menominee to Fox, we might assume that they, like the Fox and the Miami, entered Wisconsin from the south. In that case they might either be interpreted as representing the northernmost extension of the same migration which carried the Miami northward along the shore of Lake Michigan or as representing a prior invasion along the same route. If the latter assumption is correct, they may have arrived in Wisconsin before the Winnebago. One point seems [648] to confirm the thesis of their priority, namely, that they were never at war with the Winnebago, and it hardly seems possible that, had

[1] Handbook of Amer. Indians, Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 30, part 1, p. 618, Washington, 1907.

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they forced their way through the country occupied by the Winnebago, war would not have occurred. 174 [648]

The Winnebago call themselves *Hotcangara*, which has been variously interpreted as "people of the parent speech" by James Owen Dorsey and as "big fish people" by other observers. Dorsey's explanation, which is the one most generally accepted, is most certainly wrong, and represents an interpretation read into the word to make it fit the legends which claimed that the dialect was the most archaic of all the Siouan languages. It is true that *ho* may mean "speech," but *tcanga* can only mean one thing, and that is "big, real." It is found with a number of animal names, such as *kitcanga*, "turtle," and *cuŭtcanga*, "wolf." It corresponds strictly to the Dakotan *tanka*, "large." *Ho* means "fish" in Winnebago. The name Winnebago, as is well known, is of Algonquian origin. 101 [114] [192]

The Winnebago were first encountered by white men in 1634, when Jean Nicolet visited them as agent for Governor Champlain. Where he encountered them is not definitely known. The Winnebago as a rule claim that it was at Green Bay. Some discussion has arisen of late years on this question. No contemporary narrative of the event exists, nor have the Winnebago any clearly marked legend that might be interpreted as referring to it. 175

An excellent description of their history has been given by P. V. Lawson [5] and from this we will quote at some length, selecting those periods that are of greatest importance in the history of the tribe and which can be illustrated by semihistorical legends still known to the Winnebago.

Much of our knowledge of the early history of the Winnebago is derived from Bacqueville de la Potherie's Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale. A good deal of his information was obtained from Nicholas Perrot. For the period covering the years 1640-1660 we have the following information: [6]

> A few years ago, they numbered possibly 180 warriors. These savages have no mutual fellow-feeling; they have caused their own ruin, and have been obliged to divide their own forces. They are naturally very impatient of control, and very passionate; a little matter excites them; and they are great braggarts. They are, however, well-built, and are brave soldiers, who do not know what danger is; and they are subtle and crafty in war. Although they are convinced that their successes draw upon themselves the enmity of all the surrounding Nations, they cannot be humble. Their women are extremely laborious; they are neat in their houses, but very disgusting about their food. [162] [181] [152] [461] [264]

[5] The Winnebago tribe, in Wisconsin Archaeologist, vol. 6, no. 3, Milwaukee, 1907.
[6] Quoted in Lawson's paper, p. 68.

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175 Perrot also gives an account of the relentless war waged against them:

[839 This nation was a populous one, very redoubtable and spared no one; they violated
266 all the laws of nature; they were Sodomites, and even had intercourse with beasts.
648] If a stranger came among them, he was cooked in their kettles. The Malhominis (Menominees) were the only tribes who maintained relations with them; they did not dare even to complain of their tyranny.

Lawson goes on to say:

175 So aggressive were the Winnebago that although their only arms "were stone
648 hatchets and knives," they declared war on all the other tribes. Envoys sent to them by the Ottawa were eaten, which cruel deed so incensed the surrounding tribes that they formed an alliance and sent frequent war expeditions against the common enemy; and greatly harassed them. As a result of disagreements among themselves and the continued troublesome activities of the allied tribes, civil wars broke out
[669 among the Winnebago. For better protection against the tribes they were finally
162 forced "to unite all their forces in one village, where they numbered four or five
104 thousand men," but an epidemic occurred which soon reduced their number to 1,500.
731] "Despite all these misfortunes, they sent a party of 500 warriors against the Outagamis (Fox), who dwelt on the other shore of the lake; but all these men perished, while making that journey, by a tempest that arose."

We suppose that this disaster occurred on Little Lake Butte des Morts, as it has been stated that the Winnebago resided on an island, which we suppose was Doty Island. The Winnebago being now greatly reduced by despair and famine, the other tribes were moved to pity by their condition and ceased to make war, and the Illinois sent 500 men, including "50 of the most prominent persons in their nation," to carry to them a supply of provisions. These the Winnebago received "with the utmost gratitude;" but at the same time meditated sacrificing the Illinois to the shades of their dead. A large cabin was erected to lodge their guests, and arrangements made for a dance in their honor. While the Illinois were dancing their bowstrings were
[26 cut, and the Winnebago "flung themselves upon the Illinois, massacred them, not sparing one man, and made a general feast of their flesh."

Reproaching themselves for this dastardly deed, and fearing the vengeance of the allied tribes when it should become known to them, the Winnebago "resolved to abandon the place which they were occupying," and "took refuge on an island, which has since been swept away by ice floes." There they considered themselves safe, as the Illinois did not use canoes. The Illinois, finding that their people did not return, investigated the place and found only their bones. In order to allow a proper period for mourning for the dead:

"They deferred hostilities until the second year, when they assembled a large body of men from all Nations who were interested in the undertaking; and they set out in the winter season, in order not to fall therein. Having reached the Island over the ice, they found only the cabins in which there still remained some fire, the Puans (Winnebago) had gone to their Hunt on the day before, and were travelling in a body, that they might not, in an emergency, be surprised by the Illinois."

They followed the hunters in the dead of winter, coming up to them on the sixth day and attacking their camp.

"So vigorous was their attack that they killed, wounded, or made prisoners all the Puans, except a few who escaped, and who reached the Malhominis' village, but severely wounded by arrows."

He [Perrot] again refers to these traditional events as those of "the ancestors" of the tribe as he knew them, and which we judge to refer to ancestors of the Winnebago

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of possibly the year 1660. There is no record to say how many years before, though it was doubtless several score, for 50 years before La Potherie published his history Allouez had told the same story of the destruction of the Winnebago by the Illinois: 175 648

"About 30 years ago all the people of this nation were killed or taken captive by the Tintouark with the exception of a single man, who escaped, shot through the body with an arrow."

This would place the event in about the year 1640.

He adds that when the captives were permitted to return to their homes this one was made a "Captain of his Nation," as having never been a slave. Shea commenting on this disastrous defeat of the Winnebago says, "If this strange event took place at all, we must ascribe it to an earlier date than 1639 (1634), when visited by Nicolet, who "found them prosperous, and we can hardly suppose a tribe almost annihilated and then restored to its former numbers in 30 years." . . . Nicolet, it will be remembered, was sent to this then unknown region for the purpose of "making peace" between the Winnebago and the Hurons. As the Winnebago were strong enough to command that attention from Governor Champlain, Doctor Shea is quite correct in supposing the Winnebago to have been "a prosperous tribe" in 1634. The events mentioned in the foregoing accounts are not historical, but traditional, for assuredly they did not take place after the coming of Nicolet, as he was followed by other white men in such short periods as to make it impossible for the occurrence of these stirring events to go unrecorded by others.

Charlevoix visited the tribe in 1720, and though a historian of note in old Canada, records the occurrence as history, though we have shown it to have taken place, if at all, more than a century before he went among them. He possibly got the story from the records of Allouez, made a half century before, though it may have been a riverside or cabin story heard by him at the time of his visit to this frontier of New France. He says:

"The Ouinagras, who are commonly called Puans, formerly lived on the shore of the bay . . . but they were attacked by the Illinois, who slew great numbers of them; the rest took refuge on the river of the Outagamis (Fox River), which empties into the end of the bay. They settled upon the shore of a sort of lake (Lake Winnebago)." [131]

Charlevoix . . . adds another disaster not mentioned by the other old writers. In this same narrative he records that "sometime after" the Winnebago had settled on Lake Winnebago:

"They undertook to revenge the defeat which they had suffered from the Illinois. Six hundred of their best men embarked to seek their enemy; but while they were crossing Lake Michigan they were surprised by a furious gale, which caused them all to perish."[4] [131]

The Winnebago still tell of these events and practically in the same words as Perrot obtained them, as can be learned from the following versions obtained in 1910. 173

*a.* When the Winnebago first originated, they were holy and clever. They were equal to the spirits. In those days there lived a Winnebago who could fly like a bird, one who could fly as far as four days' journey from the village. There was another Winnebago who could scent anything as far away as four days' journey from the village. Then there was one man who could talk with the trees. They told him many things. Finally there was one who could transform himself into a buffalo. On account of these four men, it was

[4] Op. cit., pp. [illegible].

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173 quite impossible for an enemy to approach near the village without the knowledge of the Winnebago, for he who could scent well would scent them, he who could fly far would see them, and he who could converse with trees would be informed of their approach. The one who could transform himself into a buffalo always bore the brunt of the fighting. He would transform himself into a buffalo whenever he got angry. In consequence the Winnebago were feared by all. They could do what they pleased with the other tribes. If the other tribes did not make war on them, they would make war on the other tribes.

One day he who could transform himself into a buffalo had the sensation which generally preceded a battle. So he told the other three. Then the one who could fly went out to make a reconnoissance of the country around them, but returned without having seen anything; then the one who could scent well, scented all around, but likewise could find nothing; then the tree-converser asked the trees and they also told him that they knew of nothing. In spite of it all, however, the buffalo-man said that he still had the premonition of something happening. Then he who could fly again went out, this time going to a distance four days' journey from the village, but he saw nothing. Each time that he went out, however, he noticed a pile of rocks in a hollow near their village. When he returned he said to the people, "Over there, there is a pile of rocks which I never noticed before. I wonder what it can be!" Then the buffalo-man said again, "I really feel that I am going to fight. Look out for yourselves therefore." However, they told him that he was worrying himself unnecessarily, that he ought to go to sleep.

However, the buffalo-man stayed awake all that night, and just as he had anticipated, the whole village was surrounded by enemies in the morning. The other three men were at once awakened and the one who could fly made a rush at the enemy, but was killed. Then the one who could scent well made a rush at the enemy, but he, too, was killed. Up to this time the latter had been absolutely invulnerable. Then the one who could converse with trees made a rush, but he, too, was killed. Thus all three were killed. Then the people said to Buffalo-man, whose real name was Long-Wing, "O Long-Wing, your people are being destroyed! Do you try and accomplish something." Then Long-Wing answered, "*Ho!*" and, making a rush for the enemy, killed four of them, the holiest of their warriors. Then the enemy gave the signal for stopping the battle, which is "*Ou.*" This signal is held to be sacred both among the Winnebago and other tribes. There the battle ended.

The Winnebago felt terrible about the loss of their three warriors. The rocks that the one who could fly had seen in the hollow were the enemy. The name of the one who could fly well was Short-Wing;

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that of the keen scenter was White-Dog; and that of the tree converser was Buffalo. 173

Shortly after this battle a band of visitors from another tribe came over to Long-Wing's lodge, which had been pointed out to them as the lodge of the chief. The visitors entered it. In the meantime the Winnebago held a hurried council and decided to kill these visitors to avenge the death of their three warriors, whose kin they were still lamenting. It was decided to scald the visitors to death with hot water. The roofs of the lodges, which were gable-lodges, could easily be opened.

When everything was in readiness they called their chief out and closed the entrances firmly. The chief, however, begged them not to kill the visitors in his lodge (for it was holy). The Winnebago, however, paid no attention to him, and as they had already taken the weapons from the strangers, they poured hot water through the roof upon their heads. They killed all except two, who succeeded in making their escape through the roof. One of these changed himself into a turkey and flew away and the other got to the roof and kept jumping from one roof to the other until he came to the end of the village, where he succeeded in making his escape. However, the Winnebago noticed his shell neck ornament which had twisted around to the back of his neck and one of them threw a stone hammer at him and killed him. In reality, therefore, only one man escaped.

After they had brought the last body back to the village the chief told them that they had not acted rightly, for they had killed people in his (the chief's) lodge, and that from then on the lodge was to remain as a warrior's lodge.

That same night an owl came to the top of the lodge and hooted, saying, "The Winnebago will have bad luck." Then the Winnebago asked, "What can be the matter with us?" The chief interpreted the owl's meaning and told them that it meant that from that time on the Winnebago would lose their power.

Shortly after all these things happened the Winnebago were attacked by a disease that turned their bodies yellow and many died of this sickness.

*b.* When the Winnebago were in trouble because all the other tribes had leagued against them, they were living at a place near Red Banks. The enemy had shut off all the water and the only way they could get any was to tie their pack straps to their pails and let down these pails in a deep canyon. However, this was also discovered after a while and the enemy cut the pack straps.

So terrible were their straits that they finally spread their blankets on the ground and offered tobacco to their medicine men and asked

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173 them to make it rain. Then, after the rain had fallen, they wrung out their blankets and drank the water.

All this time the men of the tribe were being killed off. After a while they began to kill the male children too. Whenever they saw a child they raised up its dress and if it was a male child, they killed it. However, there was a young mother who had a boy, and fearing that if the enemy discovered him they would kill him, she tied a string to the end of the child's penis and pulled the string back under its legs so that the child was given the appearance of a girl. From this woman and her child all the pure blood Winnebago living to-day are descended.

The war against the Winnebago was ended by a young Winnebago chief painting himself blue and surrendering himself to the other tribes.

175 648 The most important events of Winnebago history during the eighteenth century were the various alliances into which they were drawn with and against the Fox Indians in the wars that the French waged against this brave tribe. The Winnebago at first allied themselves with the Fox, but afterwards joined the French. This alliance was destined to bring upon them a great disaster. Lawson describes this period in their history as follows.[1]

In pursuance of their policy to combine all the tribes against the Fox, the French in some manner won over the Winnebago, their former friends and allies. Thus we learn that in the autumn of 1729 word was brought to Quebec of an attack by the Winnebago, Ottawa, and Menominee on a Fox village, in which there were killed 100 Fox warriors and 70 women and children. Among the killed of the assaulting party were four Winnebago. . . . Another account gives this assault as on a party of Fox returning from a buffalo hunt, and as made by Ottawa, Chippewa, Menominee, and Winnebago. The Fox village contained 80 men, all of whom were killed or burned except three. The allied Indians burned the cabins and also killed 300 women and children. This probably occurred in the winter of 1729, as the reports are of the date of May 6, 1730.

The Winnebago having broken with their neighbors and friends, the Fox, by this treacherous and unprovoked slaughter, were now in terror for the consequences of their miserable acts. Further attempts against the Fox tribes having been projected from Quebec by the fall of 1729, Sieur Captain Marin appeared at the old French fort at La Baye (Green Bay), and repaired its fallen roofs. He had with him ten Frenchmen. On September 10th the Winnebago returned from their hunt and went to Marin to assure him that they still remained faithful to the French, at the same time presenting him with three slaves. They were rewarded with gifts of powder, bullets, hatchets, guns, and knives. Having ascertained that the Fox were not in their own country, the Winnebago took their families and camped on Dendo Island in the Fox River, adjoining their former location on Doty Island. Very soon thereafter the Fox and Sauk returned and surprised and killed some Winnebago fishermen. Then began a long siege of the Winnebago through the erection by the Fox on the Doty Island waterside of two forts to command the water in all directions.

In order to compensate the Fox for the loss of two of their number through treachery, and procure a cessation of hostilities, the Winnebago decapitated two Menominee

[1] Op. cit., pp. 86-87.

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who were with them, and delivered to them two others. But the Fox refused to be satisfied unless they also deli...ed to them four of their own number. This proposal the Winnebago ...ndered an insult, and the siege was resumed. After the fighting had continued for about six weeks, Capt. Marin with five Frenchmen and thirty-four Menominee, came to the assistance of the besieged. When the treachery of the Winnebago in giving up several of their comrades to the Fox became known to the Menominee it required all Marin's powers of persuasion to prevent their deserting from his small command and leaving the besieged to their fate. After four days of fighting with the relief party under Marin it was discovered that the Fox had raised the siege by decamping in the night. Thus were the Winnebago, who had in the meantime been reduced by famine to the eating of boiled bear skins, delivered from the enemy. Marin's force thereupon retired, the Winnebago accompanying him to Green Bay, "where they established themselves in a fort." 175 648

For a more detailed account of the same events see Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XVII, 88-100. The Winnebago have preserved a clear recollection of these stirring events in the semi-historical tale known as *Tcap'o'sgaga*. [113]

### THE TALE OF TCAP'O'SGAGA[9]

In the early days of their existence the Winnebago were a successful people. They all fasted and were blessed by the spirits. It is for that reason that they were powerful and were called *Hotangara*. 173

At one time a Fox Indian, whose nation was about to be destroyed by its enemies, came to these much-feared Winnebago and said, "Brothers, I have come to you for aid."

The Winnebago lived on one side of the lake[9] and the Fox on the other and (because of the appeal) the former made friends of the latter, it is said, and the chiefs presented the pipe to one another. When chiefs exchange pipes with one another a very sacred bond is established. Thus many Winnebago and Foxes became friends, and Winnebago men married Fox women and Fox men married Winnebago women. 173 648

There was once a very famous warrior among the Winnebago whose crops were molested by the Foxes. *Tcap'o'sgaga's* wife[10] thereupon said to him, "Why don't you take them (the marauders) to task?" Then *Tcap'o'sgaga* went to the Foxes and said, "Boys, all the watermelons are yours when they are ripe, if you desire to eat them." "All right," they answered.

On the morning after the second night *Tcap'o'sgaga's* wife woke up very early and went out to inspect the crops. Again they had been disturbed, so she immediately went back exclaiming, "How terrible: The largest and best of *Tcap'o'sgaga's* crops have been

[9] This tale also been published by me with the accompanying Winnebago text in the Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society, 1914, pp. 195-207, Madison, 1915.
[9] Probably at the junction of the Fox River with Lake Winnebago.
[10] This name means White-throat.

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648 damaged. Indeed, you (*Teap'o'sgaga*) should have forbidden them." Then *Teap'o'sgaga* went over and forbad them.

Early in the morning after the third night the old woman again woke up and went to inspect the crops. Again they had damaged almost everything. "The nicest of *Teap'o'sgaga's* crops they have destroyed. He should have forbidden them. Why indeed did you not forbid it! They have utterly destroyed your crops." Then *Teap'o'sgaga* got up and said, "I will go and forbid them." So he went over to the Foxes and said, "Leave my crops alone, I told you. Instead of that you have destroyed them. If again to-night you dare do this, as I am a man who thinks (of revenge), beware. Dare do it again (and take the consequences)," he said.

One of the wicked ones among the Foxes who was doing this said, "O pshaw: He acts as though he were the only man (i. e., great warrior) in creation."

The next morning *Teap'o'sgaga* himself got up early and went to inspect his crops, and indeed they had been utterly destroyed. What had been left (from previous depredations) had now been utterly ruined, and even the vines had been torn up. *Teap'o'sgaga* felt grieved and said, "Have my attendants go and call my war-bundle bearer."[11] They went and called him and when he (and others) had arrived (they asked), "What are we to do?" *Teap'o'sgaga* said, "Put on the food." Then they prepared the food.[12] When the food had been cooked they went to invite as the feasters the most important (of the people). When the feasters finished, then he said, "I am going on the warpath. At the end of the path I see my enemy. I am going to have the pleasure of killing the ten men that my grandfathers (the spirits), who are in control of war, obtained for me. For ten chiefs I am going."

Near the door he indicated what would be the first stopping place. Then he placed the war-bundle across the entrance and jumped over it.[13] Then he put the war-bundle on his back and walked toward his boat, his attendants accompanying him. They had hardly pushed off when they were greeted by a "Here! here!" Then they saw a very long boat filled with chiefs, all of whom were dressed in their best finery; their faces painted blue and medals around their necks.[14] They (the Winnebago) permitted the boat to pass and then when it was exactly alongside of them, they shot the occupants and tipped the boat over. Soon after, a strong wind arose and all the people in the village started out to give chase (to the enemy).[15]

[11] The youths who carry the war-bundle on the warpath. They are generally the nephews of the war leaders.

[12] For the war-bundle or winter feast which is always given before a war party starts.

[13] It was always customary for the leader to do this.

[14] The boat contained the Fox chiefs who had come to make reparation for the damage inflicted upon *Teap'o'sgaga's* crops.

[15] I. e., started on a tribal warpath.

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The Foxes in their village said, "Say, I believe the chiefs have been killed. This is a time of war. *Teap'o'sgaga* has been angered. When *Teap'o'sgaga* gets very angry he generally does what he threatens." Then the bad Foxes said, "Perhaps they are eating the objects we donated".[18]

"The Foxes will not be coming back for some time" (the Winnebago said). (The Foxes) at the same time had gathered together and discussed the fate of the chiefs who had gone to give themselves up (to the Winnebago) and had never returned. "Very likely they are not alive any more," they said.

*Teap'o'sgaga* returned to the Winnebago village after he killed (the chiefs) and then started for the smaller of the two villages in which the Foxes lived. It was at the smaller village that the lake was narrowest. Toward this one he was going, he said.

He had again planned a war-party. All those within the village who were likely to show any skill in killing men prepared themselves for (attacking) the smaller village. They started at dawn, and they reached the smaller village at night and ferried themselves across. By dawn all had crossed and the village was surrounded. As soon as it was broad daylight they gave the war-whoop in four different places. Then they rushed on to the small village and destroyed it completely. Then they burned up the houses and went home.

When they got home everyone was happy. They danced the victory dance and at night they had the *Hak'ize're* dance. So happy were the Winnebago.

Although they thought they had killed all in the smaller village, one young girl who was lying on top of a small cliff, near where they crossed, fasting, had not been killed. Now the Foxes were living also in a large village right across the lake from the Winnebago. To this place the young woman who had not been killed went, and when she got to the big Fox village she told them the news, namely, "The Winnebago have completely destroyed us, I believe. Some of them (the enemy) I partially recognized. Go and see, however, whether they were Winnebago, for (if it was they) the lodges will be found burned to the ground, that being their custom when they go on a war-path."

Then the older Foxes went and when they returned, spies announced, "Yes, they were Winnebago, for the lodges have been burned down. It is true that the chiefs who had gone to make peace have been killed." Then the Foxes went into mourning for them. "There are many of the Winnebago and we will not be able to fight them," said the Foxes. Indeed the Foxes were afraid. Although a Fox disliked a Winnebago not one could he kill.

[18] I. e., the chiefs who went to make peace.

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173 All the Foxes went into mourning.

648 Ten Winnebago youths proud of their tattoos had been out (in the woods) before these troubles began. As they were returning they said to the one who was their leader, "Let us go around the large village and court women." "Only if you go around the small village will you escape unharmed," said the leader. "We will go by the large village even if all of us are killed by the spirits," they said. "Well, let us go by way of the small village," the war leader said to them. "If you are afraid, as you say, you may go alone by way of the smaller village; we, however, will go by the way of the large village." The leader, however, refused and also went by way of the large village. That they would die, he knew very well, but nevertheless he accompanied them to the edge of the big village. When they got there (they said), "Let us paint ourselves."

Then they painted themselves, and as they were painting themselves an old man in deep mourning appeared and said, "Are you returning from your travels? Stay with us, for our men are giving a feast. I will tell them to come after you."

Then he went away and soon a young man came (and said), "You are invited. Come right along." "Men, you have seen that all are in mourning. Once more, let me tell you something. In the feast in which you are now to take part, do not lend your knives to anyone. Hold your knife ready," he told them. "All right," said they.

Then they entered the lodge and when all were in they (the Foxes) made room for them and they sat down. Then the host arose and spoke and pointed to a place that was nearest him, for the leader. Then toward another place he pointed for the second and thus each one (Winnebago) received a seat. With each Winnebago were placed several Foxes, making eight in all.

[534] Then the host spoke, "As I rise, I will blow upon my flute and have a song started. I am anxious to have them start a song," he said. Then he rose and blew his flute and as soon as the song was started the Winnebago were seized. It was a long time before they could seize the war leader, but the others had lent their knives and were consequently seized easily. The war leader killed many, but finally his knife broke and he was seized. Then they bound him and prepared the torture. Ten posts they stuck in the ground. Then the war leader said, "I told you of this, but you doubted me. Here we are going to die."

Then the youths came after them and they began torturing them. They applied firebrands to them. They burnt them in those places where they would suffer most. Then the war leader said, "Well, my boys, we are now courting women."

Thus they burned them to death and destroyed them utterly.

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The Foxes now offered tobacco to many different tribes, giving them beautifully decorated pipes. They desired to annihilate the Winnebago. All the different peoples liked this because they hated the Winnebago. They made their plans carefully, but even then they could not defeat (the Winnebago) in battle. They (the Winnebago) always kept on moving back as the others tried to overcome them. The Winnebago were driven into the water. They crossed to an island, taking with them the women and children. Here they lived in lodges and ate the crops as they stayed there. All summer they were besieged on this island, as the enemy hoped to destroy them.

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One night a man wearing a black skin robe inside out, said, "This they are going to do to you, we heard. So far only the fleetest have come. Soon the slower ones will come, peeling basswood bark as they go along with which to bind the people. If some are still alive we can then take them home bound."

*Tcap'o'sgaga* felt sad and said, "He will die, the one who said that." Then he shot at him and tumbled him down. The one who had said this was sitting on top of a tree.

One day (the Foxes) said, "Turn over to us those Menominee who have married into your tribe. We are longing for some Menominee soup. If you give these (men) to us we will let up on you." The two Menominee among the Winnebago were great warriors and it was for them that (the Foxes) were asking. These Menominee talked to one another and the one who spoke first said, "It is a hard thing to be a son-in-law in a tribe not your own, my father used to say to me. Whenever the members of the tribe are in difficulties and they wish to save themselves, they turn (their attention to the strangers among them)." "Thus it is" (said the other), "but they may sacrifice me." "My friend, I feel the same way about it just as my father told me. I spoke to you because I thought that you might dread it."

Then the Winnebago gave the Menominee away, but the Foxes did not let up on them.

After a while the Menominee came to the aid of the Winnebago, but the Foxes said, "Wait a little; let us speak to you first." The Menominee listened and the Foxes told them, "The Winnebago are not to be pitied. There are two Menominee who had married among them and they handed them over to us. In this way we again drank Menominee soup. For this reason am I speaking to you. You may help them now, if you wish to, now that I have told you."

The Menominee had come to help the Winnebago, but now that the two Menominee had been handed over to the Foxes they turned back.

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173 *Tcap'o'sgaga* had been offered tobacco. "Well," he said, "I will
48 try it." At night he started out and jumped into the water. Across there were enemies, so he turned himself into a goose. In the middle of the lake, a lone goose suddenly squawked. Those across shouted, "*Tcap'o'sgaga* is over there." "Yes," was the answer. Then he went around the shallow water and crossed over, and as he sat there bathing some one went by. They said to him, "Are you cooling yourself off with water?" "Yes," he answered.

Then he got himself ready and went to the French and when he arrived among them he said, "Father, different tribes banded together are trying to destroy us." "My child, go home, for I will come to-morrow."

When *Tcap'o'sgaga* returned he went around the other tribes. He went across the island. When he was home he said to the Winnebago, "Our father is going to come." All therefore expected that their father would come. Soon after the French ship came in sight. The other tribes went toward the boat as it came in sight. The Winnebago saw them go toward it. The Winnebago were frightened as they saw the other people go toward the boat, thinking that the French might take part against them.

Then the other tribes spoke to the French. "Father, you know very well that the Winnebago are bad people. Just as a big dog jumps on to a small dog and would like to kill it, so the Winnebago used to do to us. Let us therefore reduce them to ashes." The Frenchman agreed with them and said, "You have spoken the truth and I will help you. I will let you go on (if you wish) but the result will be simply that you will reduce everything to ashes. This is what will happen if you continue. You know that the Winnebago gets very resourceful when he starves. That is his nature and therefore I will take him home with me and fatten him up for you. But you must do what I now tell you. From whatever different places you come, go back to them. If you don't do it, as long as I live, never will I sell any ammunition to you. If you do not let up on the Winnebago, I will give them ammunition and lend them my own men." "All right," said they.

Then they scattered and the women and children were taken into the boat. The men who could walk fast, walked. As soon as he had brought them back near the fort he gave them food with which to sustain themselves. When they were strong enough he bade them flee and gave them good guns and as much food as they could carry in their boats. Coffee, sugar, bread, and all kinds of food he provided for them and he said, "Children, as you're about to flee (remember this). Never hunt fish with a spear. You might thus let a fish escape and if it dies later on and (the enemy) hook a dead fish and inspect it, they will say, 'This fish was speared and got away

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and died and therefore they (the Winnebago) have passed here.' 173
Likewise, if you build a fire, always cover up the embers, for if you 648
should throw away any into the water (you would be detected)."

Then they went away in boats and returned to the lake. When they came to the narrow place where the main body of water lies there they went ahead along the left branch. Now this is all of this.

After a while the tribes came to see the Frenchman, for it was about the time fixed, and they said, "How have you been getting along?" Then he said, "Children, you know what kind of people the Winnebago are. We watched them very closely, but they got away, in what direction I do not even know. In the morning they were gone. I believe they went downstream, although I haven't even hunted for them upstream."

Well, all these different tribes looked for the Winnebago, for they wished to trail them and kill them. Now, although the Frenchman had expressly forbidden them, sure enough (the Foxes) found a fish that had been speared. "They've come past here," they said. However, when they came to the fork of the stream they didn't know which way (the Winnebago) had gone, but they noticed embers in the water. "They've gone by here." As it was impossible to go to the end of the stream in boats, all the half-breed Foxes got out (and walked). Soon they saw the oval lodges. "There they are," they said. For that reason the Foxes carefully looked them over and watched them. They inquired about them and found out that they had passed by.

The road (trail) was visible, so they chased them. Soon a cold autumn spell overtook them and they (the enemy) gave up the chase and returned home.

We will not follow the course of Winnebago history through all 114
its vicissitudes from their defeat by the Foxes to the British and 175
American occupancy, but only indicate important facts. An important local event was the coming of the Frenchman Decora among them and his marriage to the daughter of the chief of the tribe. An account of this has been preserved by the Decora family, although it is clearly mixed up with what we believe is an account of the first contact of the Winnebago with the French.

## HOW THE WINNEBAGO FIRST CAME INTO CONTACT WITH THE FRENCH AND THE ORIGIN OF THE DECORA FAMILY

The Winnebago originated at a place called Red Banks (Green 173
Bay, Wis.) (pl. 1). They had no tools to work with at that time. All they had were bows and arrows and a fire-starter. They had no iron, and if they saw a stone that was naturally sharpened in any way it was considered sacred and they offered tobacco for it. They had [276]
tobacco from the beginning. It was their most valued possession.

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173 They fasted and became holy. The greatest honor was to be a
[183] brave man, and for that reason they did nothing but go to war. They were prepared for war at all times. They tried to obtain war honors. They wished to go to war all the time and kill many enemies. If a person fasted and went without food for a long time, gave offerings of tobacco often, and was then blessed by the spirits, then it would be very hard to kill such a person in battle. The people knew that such powers could be obtained, and that is why they did these things all the time.

[702] They gave many feasts. When a person gives a feast, then he offers the spirits tobacco and asks in return that their weapons be sharper than those of their enemies (i. e., that he kill an enemy and escape unharmed). That is why they used to give so many feasts, that they might be victorious in war. They make offerings to the war spirits, and if these then bless them they will become great warriors. They desired greatly to obtain these blessings.

173 Tobacco is the greatest possession they have. After Earthmaker
276 created all things he created man. Man was the last of the created objects. Those created before were spirits, and he put them all in charge of something. Even the smallest insects are able to foresee things four days ahead. The human beings were the least of all Earthmaker's creations. They were put in charge of nothing, and they could not even foresee one day ahead. They were the last created and they were the poorest. Then Earthmaker created a weed with a pleasant odor and all the spirits wanted it. Some were almost certain that it would be given to them. They would each think to themselves, "I am going to be put in charge of that, for I am one of the greatest spirits in the world." Then the Creator said, "To all of you (spirits) I have given something valuable. Now you all like this weed and I myself like it. Now this is the way it is going to be used." Then he took one of the leaves and mashed it up. Then making a pipe he smoked it and the odor was pleasant to smell. All of the spirits longed for it. Then he gave each one of them a puff. "Now, whatever (the human beings) ask from me and for which they offer tobacco, I will not be able to refuse it. I myself will not be in control of this weed. If they give me a pipeful of this and make a request I will not be able to refuse it. This weed will be called tobacco. The human beings are the only ones of my creation who are poor. I did not give them anything, so therefore this will be their foremost possession and from them we will have to obtain it. If a human being gives a pipeful and makes a request we will always grant it." Thus spoke Earthmaker.

For that reason the human beings are in control of tobacco; it is their natural possession. This is the story that was handed down to us. The Winnebago made war and made many offerings of tobacco. It is said that the Winnebago were the bravest of all the Indians.

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A. RED BANKS, NEAR GREEN BAY, WIS., LEGENDARY ORIGIN PLACE OF THE WINNEBAGO

B. RED BANKS, NEAR GREEN BAY, WIS.

[Facing p. 66 (A)]

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b. FOUR LEGS, CHIEF OF THE WINNEBAGO VILLAGE ON DOTY ISLAND, 1827

(From Lewis's Aboriginal Portfolio)

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a. BLACK WOLF, CHIEF OF THE WINNEBAGO VILLAGE AT BLACK WOLF POINT, LAKE WINNEBAGO, 1827

(From Lewis's Aboriginal Portfolio)

[Facing p. 66(B)]

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JASPER BLOWSNAKE

[Facing p. 66 (c)]

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JOHN FISHER

[Facing p. 66 (b)]

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A JAMES PINE

A JOHN RAVE AND FAMILY

[Facing p. 66 (E)]

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a. JOHN FIREMAN
(Front view)

b. JOHN FIREMAN
(Profile view)

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c. WHITEBREAST

d. JOHN RAYMOND

[Facing p. 66 (F)]

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A YOUNG WINNEBAGO WOMAN AND DAUGHTER

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A OLD WINNEBAGO AND DAUGHTER

[Facing p. 66 (G)]

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a. GRAY HAIR

b. RED WING

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c. JAMES RICEHILL

d. ALBERT HENSLEY (Front view)

WINNEBAGO TYPES

[Facing p.66 (H)]

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They say that the tobacco was given to them directly and that Earthmaker loves the Winnebago more than any other race. For that reason they were very clever. Now this is what the old men have said and handed down to us. 173 276

Once something appeared in the middle of the lake (Green Bay). They were the French; they were the first to come to the Winnebago. The ship came nearer and the Winnebago went to the edge of the lake with offerings of tobacco and white deerskins. There they stood. When the French were about to come ashore they fired their guns off in the air as a salute to the Indians. The Indians said, "They are thunderbirds." They had never heard the report of a gun before that time and that is why they thought they were thunderbirds. 173 276 648 177

Then the French landed their boats and came ashore and extended their hands to the Winnebago, and the Indians put tobacco in their hands. The French, of course, wanted to shake hands with the Indians. They did not know what tobacco was, and therefore did not know what to do with it. Some of the Winnebago poured tobacco on their heads, asking them for victory in war. The French tried to speak to them, but they could not, of course, make themselves understood. After a while they discovered that they were without tools, so they taught the Indians how to use an ax and chop a tree down. The Indians, however, were afraid of it, because they thought that the ax was holy. Then the French taught the Indians how to use guns, but they held aloof for a long time through fear, thinking that all these things were holy.

Suddenly a Frenchman saw an old man smoking and poured water on him. They knew nothing about smoking or tobacco. After a while they got more accustomed to one another. The Indians learned how to shoot the guns and began trading objects for axes. They would give furs and things of that nature for the guns, knives, and axes of the whites. They still considered them holy, however. Finally they learned how to handle guns quite well and they liked them very much. They would even build fires at night so that they might try their guns, for they could not wait for the day, they were so impatient. When they were out of ammunition they would go to the traders and tell their people that they would soon return. By this time they had learned to make themselves understood by various signs. [439]

The second time they went to visit the French they took with them all the various articles that they possessed. There the French taught them how to sew, how to use an ax, and how to use a knife. Then the leader of the whites took a liking to a Winnebago girl, the daughter of the chief, and he asked her parents for permission to marry her. They told him that her two brothers had the right to give her away in marriage. So he asked them and they consented. 173 648 [177]

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173 Then he married her. He lived there and worked for the Indians
48 and stayed with them for many years and he taught them the use of many tools. He went home every once in a while and his wife went with him, but he always came back again. After a while a son was born to him and then another. When the boys were somewhat grown up he decided to take his oldest son with him to his country and bring him up in such a way that he would not be in danger, as was the case here in the woods. The Indians consented to it and they agreed that the mother was to bring up the youngest child.

So he took his oldest boy home with him and when he got home he went to live with his parents, as he had not been married in his own country. He was a leader of men. The boy was with him all the time and everyone took a great liking to him. People would come to see him and bring him presents. They gave him many toys. However, in spite of all, he got homesick and he would cry every night until he fell asleep. He cried all the time and would not eat. After a while the people thought it best to bring him back to his home, as they were afraid that he would get sick and die. Before long they brought him back. The father said: "My sons are men and they can remain here and grow up among you. You are to bring them up in your own way and they are to live just as you do."

The Indians made them fast. One morning the oldest one got up very early and did not go out fasting. His older uncle, seeing him try to eat some corn, took it away from him and, taking a piece of charcoal, mashed it, rubbed it over his face, and threw him out of doors. He went out into the wilderness and hid himself in a secret place. Afterwards the people searched for him everywhere, but they could not find him. Then the people told the uncle that he had done wrong in throwing the boy out. The latter was sorry, but there was nothing to be done any more. In reality the uncle was afraid of the boy's father. They looked everywhere but could not find him.

After a full month the boy came home and brought with him a circle of wood (i. e., a drum). He told the people that this is what he had received in a dream, and that it was not to be used in war; that it was something with which to obtain life. He said that if a feast was made to it, this feast would be one to Earthmaker, as Earthmaker had blessed him and told him to put his life in the service of the Winnebago.

From this man they received many benefits. He was called to take the foremost part in everything. They called him the Frenchman, his younger brother being called *Teap'o'sgaga*, White-throat. And as they said, so it has always been. A person with French blood has always been the chief. Only they could accomplish anything among the whites. At the present time there is no clan as numerous

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as the descendants of that family and the object that he said was 173
sacred (the drum) is indeed sacred. It is powerful to the present 648
day. His descendants are the most intelligent of all the people and they are becoming more intelligent all the time. What they did was the best that could be done. The ways of the white man are the best. This is the way they were brought up.

This is the end of the history of the Decoras.

One of the interesting developments resulting from the Indian con- 792
tact with the whites has been the appearance of prophets. In almost [177]
all cases these prophets were concerned with attempts to so adapt the life of their fellow-Indians to the new conditions that they would be better able to cope with the invaders who were sweeping all before them. Whether prophets sprang up only in response to the peculiar conditions resulting from the presence of the whites it is impossible to say, but there seems no reason to believe that such had always been the case. It is quite possible that conditions similar to those developing from the occupancy of America by Europeans had occurred in pre-Columbian times when one tribe was hard pressed by another.

The Winnebago seem to have had their share of prophets, and seem likewise to have been influenced by some of the great prophets of other tribes, like the Shawnee prophet. An interesting account of what he told the Winnebago has been preserved and we will give it at length.

One of the suggestive things about the following account is the way in which the informant, who is evidently a devout Peyote follower, [794]
connects the teachings of the Shawnee prophet with the modern Peyote movement, thus evincing a remarkable feeling for historical continuity.

### WHAT THE SHAWNEE PROPHET TOLD THE WINNEBAGO

Now this is what the Winnebago heard from the Shawnee prophet; 792
this is what he said, it is said, by those who heard him: 173

"Let the people give up the customs they are now observing and I will give them new ones." This is what he said.

Some of the Winnebago did this and threw away their war bundles. But he had meant their bad customs. Some also threw away their good medicines. At last they decided to go over to where he was. A man named Smoke-Walker led a number of young men over. "We will walk as the thunderbirds do," said the leader. Then a great and holy man called Dog-Head said that he also was going along. He was then an old man. The leader said, "You had better not come along for we are going to walk as the thunderbirds do, and for that reason I wish only young men." But Dog-Head said, "I am going

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792 173 along nevertheless, and whenever you wish to walk like the thunder-birds and walk above the earth, then I can turn back. I will go along."

There were eleven who went along. When they got to the place where the Shawnee prophet was staying they found all the other tribes (represented) there except the Winnebago.

Then the prophet said, "It is good, my younger brothers." He called the Winnebago younger brothers. "There are many tribes here, but I wanted to see you here especially. It is good you have come. I want to talk to you, but it is impossible (because I can not speak your language)." Now the old man who had come along against the wishes of the chief could speak any Indian language, so the leader said to Dog-Head, "Older brother, you used to speak almost any language; can you still do it?" Then Dog-Head said, "My younger brother, I can understand what he is saying, but I don't know whether I could talk the language myself. I may or may not be able to speak it (enough to make myself understood). I don't know." Then the leader said, "It is good, older brother. Try to talk to him, and whatever you do will be better than nothing." Then Dog-Head said to the Shawnee prophet, "I can understand what you are saying, but I am afraid to talk to you because I don't know whether I could make myself clear to you." The prophet thanked him and said, "It is good. I want to talk to you Winnebago."

Then they had a long conversation and this is what he said, "Younger brothers, we are not doing the right thing and that is why we are not getting along very well in life."

792 787 173 At that time they (the other tribes) were having their night dances, so the Winnebago moved over to them. There they heard the prophet speak. He said that he had been sent by the Creator because the Indians were wandering away from their old customs. For that reason the Creator had sent him to tell them of it. He at first forgot all about it, for the devil misrepresented things to him and he believed him. The devil had told him that he would go to heaven and that he could not be killed. He had told him that he had given him a holy belt. He was a bad person. Whenever he got angry he would throw his belt down on the ground and it would change into a yellow rattlesnake and rattle. When he did this the rest of the people were afraid of him. He was very mean when drunk. They were afraid of him, not only on account of his belt, which he could turn into a yellow rattlesnake, but also because of the fact that he was very strong. If, when he was drunk, a number of people jumped on him, afterwards he would find out about it and hit them. If they would resist he would kill them.

It was utterly impossible for him to be killed. He was unkind to the women. They would go with him not because they liked him

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but because they were afraid of him. It was a dangerous thing to say anything about him. Whenever he wished to drink he would take some person's valuables and buy drink with it. These are the things he did. The Creator had sent him on a mission to the earth, but the devil had misled him. 792 787 173

On one occasion (when he was drunk) quite a number of people jumped on him and nearly killed him. When he awoke the next morning he asked his wife who had done it and she told him. "Well, they will hear of me soon. However, I want to go and take a bath first and cool off and then take my revenge, when I get back." When he was in bathing a man came to him and said, "They have told me to come after you, so let us go." Then he went back with him and he took him to the place from which he had originally started. Then the Creator said, "How are you getting on with the work which you were to do?" Then he remembered what he had been doing. Then the Creator said, "Is it for this that I created you?" Then he took his mouth and showed it to him and he saw that it was crooked and sticking out in all directions. Then he took his understanding (and showing it to him), he said, "Did I create you thus?" Then he looked into his ears and they were crooked and ragged. Thus he made him see all his bad characteristics and his evil mind. Then he took out his heart and showed it to him. It was all furrowed up and bad to look upon. "Did I create you thus?" said the Creator.

"Now, then, you will do better the next time," and he sent him back. This time, however, he (the prophet) did not come here to get revenge. He came to tell of the mysteries, but no one would believe him. "He is just getting crazier all the time," they said of him. Then he told all to gather in one place and he promised to say nothing but the truth. Then he made a small flat war club, cleared a piece of ground and laid it there. Then he said to those assembled, "If anyone can lift this, then I will not say it (i. e., talk about my mission)."

Now he (the prophet) was one of triplets. The third one was teased a good deal and one day he said, "I am getting tired of this teasing and am going home." Then he died. They had been teasing him about his head, which was very narrow. There were thus two left. The brother who was left was a powerful man. Bullets could not penetrate him, and indeed it was impossible to kill him in any way. It was this brother who had told him not to talk (about his mission). Then the prophet said to him, "Well, if you can lift this war club I will not speak about it any more." Then he tried to lift the little war club and failed. After that the brother made no more remarks about it.

Then he had them make a long lodge and they were told to go after a number of bears. As many as he told them to get, that many

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792 they would bring home with them. Thus they knew that he was
787 telling the truth. All the people in the country listened to him and
173 what he prophesied came true, so they believed him holy.

One day they told him that the whites were coming. After a short time they said, "They are still coming. There are very many of them." The lookouts were always watching and they saw them coming. Then the prophet said, "When they come, listen to them, and when they sleep we will attend to them." Now the whites had come; they had to cut through the roads to come. When they were near one of their number came over to ask where they could camp and they were told to camp right there. In the night, when they were asleep, they shot at them. They were half asleep and they ran away without their weapons. A tribe of Indians was just then going down the stream and these shot at the whites, too. Then they turned back and the commander had the bugle blow and called them to themselves. Then they took their guns and fought. Many Indians were killed. The one who had led the Winnebago over was killed in this battle.

Then his son started back home. His name was Small-Snake. As they were returning, unprepared for danger, a boat came down the stream and passed very close to them. The women (he was the only man among them) cried out. He was without any ammunition except two shots. Just as he got ready to shoot they were recognized. The people in the boat were not Americans but Frenchmen and they were very hungry. Thus they were saved, and the Frenchmen gave them plenty of ammunition. Then they passed safely on.

The Indians had scattered in every direction and no one knew who was alive. Then Dog-Head blessed them with a powerful medicine that he possessed. "My son (he was addressing Small-Snake), if I were to induce you to join the Medicine Dance, why that honor would perish with your death. Now they say that a man named Large-Walker had a vision in which he was blessed by a loon. The loon blessed him, saying, 'Large-Walker, I also bless you with this (medicine). When I work for the chief and when I sweep his lodge, I sweep all the bad things outside. It will be the same with this medicine. If a person partakes of something bad, he will not die, no matter how bad it is, but, on the contrary, he will live. Now when you wish to use this medicine, pour some tobacco for me and I will smoke it.' Then he looked at the loon and the loon had something growing out of his back. That is what he was referring to. Then the loon said again, 'When you want to dig it, don't dig it right away (i. e., without performing the proper rites). You must offer a white feather, a white deerskin, red feathers, and tobacco. Then you can dig it. If you make these offerings, you will never fail in

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anything. With this I bless you (this herb), and no one else in the world will know it.'" 792 787

This is what Dog-Head told Small-Snake: "As long as your posterity lasts, so long can you use this medicine. If I had given you clothes, when they were worn out, that would be the end of them. Your father spoke to me in your behalf and that is why I am giving you this medicine." Dog-Head told the truth, for even to the present day this medicine is being used. It is a purgative and a valuable medicine. 173

When the Winnebago returned the possessor of the medicine was careless and placed it in a hole in a cliff. When he came back for it it could not be found. He looked all over for it but it was apparently gone. Then they said, "We should not have done this. We should look before acting." Indeed, nowhere did they ever find it afterwards.

Now, it is four generations since the Shawnee prophet prophesied, and from that time there have been many prophets among us, as he is said to have told the people. Many have prophesied, but none have told anything that seemed reasonable. The Shawnee prophet was good, but those who have come after him have prophesied so that people might praise them, or just for the sake of talking. 792 787

It is said that the Shawnee prophet said that there would come a time when a woman would prophesy and that she should be immediately killed. The end of the world would be near then. Then he is said to have said that a little boy would prophesy and that one was to give ear to what he said.

The Peyote people claim that their ceremony is the fulfillment of this prophesy and that it is true. The Shawnee prophet had said that there would be springs of water in front of the people's lodges and it is so at the present time, for the water is at our very doors. His prophesy was correct and he told the truth. Then he said that trees would travel and this is happening to-day, for trees are loaded into trains and are carried all around the country. He told the truth and he knew what was going to happen. He said that one day we would be able to write our own language and we are doing that to-day, for we have a Bible in Winnebago and we are able to write to one another in our own language. All these things he was able to foretell four generations ago. [794]

A Winnebago by the name of Noise-Thunder had also prophesied that we would be able to write our own language. One thing that he said, however, was not correct. He said that the bad thing that has come upon us will make us forget our own ways. He meant that we should not take up with the white man's ways. "Don't do [77]

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792 it, for if you do, we will all die." Now, he was mistaken in that.
787 "The Creator has given two plates and they are getting empty. He gave the men a plate for them to fill and the women a plate for them to fill. The women's plate is empty." He meant that the Creator
[462] had made men to hunt and the women to dig the soil and raise vegetables, and that the latter were not doing it. That is what he meant by saying that their plates were empty. Noise-Thunder insisted that this was the white man's fault; he thought that we were being weakened by the white man's food. Quite a number of people believed him. "The birds eat what was provided for them to eat, game and vegetables, and the whites eat what was provided for them. Why should we not eat what was provided for us?" He was right, but then the Creator also created the food that the whites are eating. We are now getting accustomed to it and are getting stronger on this food.

[161] The Winnebago were decreasing in number, so the Creator gave them a medicine which would enable them to get accustomed to the white man's food; that, also, they might know the Creator and that he is the true bread and food. This they found out by using this medicine. They are going into it deeper and deeper all the time, they who had been lost, and this has all been accomplished by the medicine (the peyote).

The following notes were also obtained concerning other prophets:

"There was a prophet among the Winnebago recently named George Wilkinson. He claimed that he was the Trickster; that there were two worlds; that he had been to the first and that he was now on the second. After a while he was to return to *ma'una* (Earth-maker). He told all the Winnebago to plant their tobacco and cornfields again. (This is what he was ordered to say.) He said that the power of the war bundles was entirely exhausted, but that it could be restored if a person were to fast for four days. When the spirits addressed him by name they called him "He-Who-Stands-Blue." This happened fifteen years ago.

"Thundercloud claims to be the Hare."

Another man named Xuga prophesied the same, led them on a warpath, and lost a lot of people.

[668] The most important religious revival of the last century among the Winnebago is the Peyote or Mescal religion. It is described in detail on page 388.

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## Winnebago Names of Other Tribes and Peoples

At the present time the Winnebago appears to have names only for the following tribes and peoples:

Omaha, Oma$^{n}$ha$^{n}$.
Sioux, Ca$^{n}$ha$^{n}$.
Oto, Wadjokdjadja.
Iowa, Waxote.
Pawnee, Pani.
Menominee, Kayi.
Fox, Wacereka.
Sauk, Zagi.
Potawatomi, Warax.
Ojibway, Regatci.
Kickapoo, Jakdjanagi.
Osage, Wo$^{n}$ac.
French, Djimoxgenena.
Germans, Dayori.
English, Zagana$^{n}$c.
Irish, Hit$^{c}$e waracicik.
Whites in general, Ma$^{n}$hi xedera.

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# CHAPTER II

## WINNEBAGO ARCHEOLOGY

### General Problems

172 One of the most interesting and important features of the area occupied by the Winnebago is the large number of earth mounds found. That these mounds were made by the Winnebago or the Sioux there seems to be little doubt. The participation of the Sioux in the construction of these earth mounds seems, however, to have been confined entirely to the so-called linear and conical types. The effigy mounds seem to have been the work of the Winnebago exclusively[1] (figs. 2, 3).

The first really serious study of the Wisconsin mounds was made by I. A. Lapham in 1850, and his work must be considered of considerable importance still, by reason of the admirable plats of mounds long since leveled. The next discussion is found in Cyrus Thomas's Report on the Mound Explorations,[2] but he makes no attempt to explain them. Our first accurate knowledge dates from the inception of the Wisconsin Archeologist in 1901. Any attempt to study the archeology of Wisconsin will necessarily have to be based on material there published. An extremely useful and suggestive summary of the data has been made by A. B. Stout. This little pamphlet and that on the Koshkonong region[3] by the same author are of prime importance in the study of Winnebago archeology.

In order to understand the archeology of this region clearly it will be best to say a few words about the regions which were the early habitations of the Winnebago and the tribes that were their immediate neighbors.

[131] The Winnebago, when first found, were inhabiting the southern shore of Green Bay, Wis. Whether, at this time, they already extended farther south and west, it is impossible to say. The tradi-

[1] Cf. Radin, "Some Aspects of Winnebago Archeology," Amer. Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 13, no. 4, 1911. Prof. Dixon in his article on "Some Aspects of North American Archeology," Amer. Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 15, no. 4, 1913, accepts this conclusion. "The connection of the effigy mounds of Wisconsin and the adjacent area with the Winnebago or other Siouan tribes seems now reasonably certain, and one might therefore naturally regard the Serpent mound and the few others of this effigy type in the Ohio Valley as due also to tribes of the same stock," p. 581.

[2] Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 67-69, Washington, 1894.

[3] "Prehistoric Earthworks in Wisconsin," Ohio Archeological and Historical Quarterly, vol. 22, no. 1, Columbus, 1911; and "The Archeology of the Lake Koshkonong Region," Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 7, no. 3, 1908.

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The tradi- 101
tions speak only of Green Bay as their original habitat. On the other [173]
shore of Green Bay were the Menominee, who likewise have no recollection of having lived anywhere else. To the northeast, along Door Peninsula, were the Potawatomi, unquestionably intruders, who had come by way of Mackinaw. To the southwest lay the Sauk and Fox, the closely related Kickapoo, and the enigmatic Mascoutin. Finally,

[172]

FIG. 2.—MAP OF WISCONSIN, SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF CIRCULAR MOUNDS.

to the south lay the Miami. Such seems to have been the distribution of the tribes around Green Bay and Lake Michigan at the first advent of the whites. Within 50 years of the landing of Nicollet the 167
places were entirely shifted. Winnebago villages are found scattered 131
all along the Fox River and Lake Winnebago, the Sauk and Fox and Kickapoo are on their way farther south, and the Potawatomi are in possession of the southern shore of Green Bay and the western shore of Lake Michigan. Later still we find the Winnebago extending all

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167 along the Wisconsin River and west of it to the Mississippi, and, at the
131 same time, occupying the territory south of Lake Winnebago through the region of the Four Lakes, the shores of Lake Koshkonong and farther down along the Rock River into Illinois. Their eastern boundary was determined by the Potawatomi.

172 Let us return now to the distribution of the mounds. Of the three kinds of mounds found in Wisconsin, the conical and oval ones are the

FIG 2.—MAP OF WISCONSIN, SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF EFFIGY MOUNDS.

commonest, and they are met with in practically every county of the State in which records have been made. They have also been found in Minnesota. The so-called effigy mounds, on the other hand, have never been found north of a line drawn through the southern boundary of Lincoln County. They have, however, been found in every area which the Winnebago occupied at one time or another,

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with the exception of the eastern shore of Green Bay and the Fox River. At the same time they have been discovered in fairly large numbers in the counties of Sheboygan, Ozaukee, Washington, Waukesha, Racine, and Kenosha, which, as far as our historical information extends, had never been occupied by the Winnebago. Flint arrow points and pottery shards are found throughout the entire State. The distribution of copper implements has not yet been thoroughly investigated, but the present status of our knowledge has been ably discussed by Charles E. Brown.[1] To judge from the papers of Brown, implements of copper are found pretty generally distributed over the State, although certain objects seem to be found in greater abundance in some places than in others. 172

There are three types of mounds in Wisconsin and the territory immediately adjacent to it—the effigy, the linear, and the intaglio. All of these have been subjected to a variety of explanations at the hands of archeologists, from Lapham's time to our own. The cardinal error in all their attempts at explanation has perhaps been the assumption that the mounds were necessarily of great antiquity. For a long time it was not considered likely that the present inhabitants of the region, the Winnebago or their ancestors, had had anything to do with their erection. As soon, however, as systematic inquiries had been made among living Winnebago it was discovered that not only were they able to give more or less reasonable explanations of the uses of most of the mounds, but a number of the older people claimed to have distinct recollections of the erection of some of them. In obtaining notes on social organization the writer was told incidentally that it had been customary not very long ago to erect near the habitation of each clan an effigy of their clan animal. Subsequently, upon a more systematic inquiry, it was discovered that not only were such effigy mounds erected near clan habitations, but also on every plantation owned by a certain clan. In other words, these effigy mounds were, to all intents and purposes, property marks. [423 Similar effigies are found in the porcupine quillwork, on the war bundles, and on the woven bags still used by the Winnebago in Wisconsin. 531] This interpretation has been so fully corroborated that there can no longer be any possible doubt about it. The age of the mounds thus diminishes considerably. Of course some may have been erected long ago, but it is quite evident that the effigy mounds found near the Mississippi must have been erected during the eighteenth century, as the Winnebago did not reach this region before that time.

In connection with the effigy mounds two things need explanation—namely, why there are no mounds of this type near Red Banks, Green Bay, and why there are so many directly south of this region along

[1] "The Native Copper Implements of Wisconsin," in Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 3, no. 2; and "The Native Copper Ornaments of Wisconsin," ibid., vol. 3, no. 3, 1904.

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172 the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, a territory in which the Winnebago have no recollection of ever having lived. The first question is very difficult to answer. There is always the possibility that some mounds may yet be discovered and again it is possible that all have been leveled considerably. The apparent persistency with which the Winnebago held to the custom of mound building during their forced migration since the eighteenth century, even when they lived in [174] places for only a short time, and the absence of any mounds in their legendary home, suggest the possibility that they never lived permanently near Green Bay.[5] This inference has not been drawn from a study of the archeological but from a study of the historical sources, by Mr. P. V. Lawson.[6] In this paper the writer tries to prove that all the old sources point to Doty Island situated in Fox River, at the foot of Lake Winnebago, as the place where Nicollet first met the Winnebago. Whatever the merits of the case may be, it is certain that, according to the Winnebago themselves, their original home was Green Bay. Into this tradition many legendary details have, of course, been woven, and it seems to us that the presumption of evidence favors Green Bay, although the complete absence of what seems to have been such a characteristic feature of Winnebago culture as effigy mounds suggests a possibility that the Green Bay settlement represented just the northernmost extension of the tribe. The large settlements found along Lake Winnebago so soon after Nicollet's landing make it reasonably certain that the Winnebago had been there before his arrival in Wisconsin.

We will also have to assume that the Winnebago erected the effigy mounds along the western shore of Lake Michigan, in an area that, since the coming of the whites, has been occupied successively by the Miami and Potawatomi. This would indicate that the Winnebago [174] originally came in a compact mass from the south. They, however, have no recollection of this fact and it must indeed have taken place a long time ago. This is, of course, only an hypothesis.

172 The effigy mounds are unquestionably supposed to represent the 178 eponymous clan animals of the Winnebago. It seems, however, as if three clan animals were never represented—namely, the wolf, the buffalo, and the fish. It is possible that the mound found near the asylum grounds at Madison, Wis., is intended to represent a wolf, but, even if this could be established, it would not explain the apparent absence of any more examples of one of the most important Winnebago clans.

[5] The absence of any mention of them in early records has no significance, for even in the nineteenth century, in regions where it seems incredible that they should have escaped notice, no mention is ever made of them by travelers.

[6] "The Habitat of the Winnebago," in the Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1908. Mr. A. C. Neville in a previous paper published in the Proceedings of 1906, sought to establish the thesis of a Green Bay home from the same data.

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There are a large number of effigies that, for want of a better name, most Wisconsin archeologists have called "turtle" mounds. No explanations can be offered of these peculiar effigies unless they are attempts to picture fish or are altered water-spirit mounds. The Winnebago had no turtle clan, but the turtle plays an important part in their mythology. 172 825 [614]

Perhaps the most peculiar effigy mounds are the famous "Man" mounds, of which only two examples are in existence, and the so-called "intaglios." Good descriptions of both types have been given.[1] 172

The two "Man" mounds have generally been regarded as inexplicable or connected with some prehistoric rite, and it seemed useless to attempt any explanation. As there seemed to be no reason why these mounds might not fall into the same category as the clan mounds, the writer took the opportunity of inquiring about them among the older Winnebago. A number of the people asked knew nothing about them, but, fortunately, two very old members of the tribe interpreted them, as soon as they were described, as representations of the Warrior or Hawk clan. As this clan belonged to the Bird phratry, no one had ever looked for any but bird emblems. [614 615]

No information has been obtained from living Winnebago that could throw any light on the "intaglio" mounds. We wish, however, to hazard a suggestion as to their possible meaning. "The intaglio effigies," to quote Mr. Brown, "may be described as being the reverse of the ordinary effigy mounds. They are excavated out of the soil instead of erected upon it, the earth removed from the shallow excavation being heaped up with care along the edges, giving form and prominence to the animal shapes depicted."[2] The Winnebago frequently placed symbols referring to water deities under water, and, as 10 of the 12 intaglios that have been described belong unquestionably to the Water-spirit clan, it may have been customary to keep these "intaglios" filled with water. The discovery of two supposedly Bear "intaglios" militates against this suggestion. However, according to the Bear clan legends, the ancestors of that clan came from the water, as did likewise those of the Wolf and Buffalo clans. [776 614] [614]

We now come to the most unsatisfactory problem of our area—namely, the nature and significance of the linear mounds. The various types have been best described by Mr. A. B. Stout and we will do best to quote him *in extenso:*

> The principal classes of linear mounds are as follows:
>
> The pure linear type is a straight wall-like mound of uniform width and height. They are usually about 2½ feet in height and from 10 to 20 feet in width. Some are as

[1] "The Preservation of the Man Mound," in vol. 7, no. 4, of the Wisconsin Archeologist, and "The Intaglio Mounds of Wisconsin," in vol 9, no. 1, of the same journal; both papers by C. Brown.

[2] Cf. Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 9, no. 1, p. 5.

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172 short that they approach the oval and platform mound types, while the longest are over 900 feet in length.

The straight pointed linear is usually of considerable length and differs from the pure linear as given above in having one end tapering to a long drawn out point. . . .

Club-shaped linears are frequently found . . . and kidney-shaped linears are not wanting. . . .

The various linear types described above are sometimes modified by an enlargement at one end. . . . This ranges from a low, flattened enlargement to a rounded, well built conical mound. Various projections or appendages to some of the linear forms . . . give figures that shade toward effigies proper. These types of linear mounds are mingled in the mound groups as shown in the various group plats.

Besides the types already discussed there are peculiar combinations and composite mounds which do not admit of any rational explanation.[3]

Many explanations have been given by investigators and, for that matter, by Indians themselves, of the significance of these linear mounds. Not only is it necessary to account for the peculiar and manifold shapes, but for the equally strange combinations into which they have entered. With regard to the latter type, Mr. Stout refuses even to suggest an interpretation. He, however, takes a determined stand with regard to the linear mounds proper and interprets them as having been constructed for the purpose of symbolizing inanimate things, and consequently as really conventionalized effigies. This seems to him the only satisfactory explanation. "It is evident," he says, "that there are intermediate or transitional forms between the linears and the pure effigy types with which they are mingled."[4] He admits the existence of linear mounds extending westward into Minnesota and Manitoba, far beyond the limits of the effigy type, but he does not believe it necessary either to regard these latter as effigies or to change his interpretation of the significance of the former. Mr. Stout's interpretation is indeed a purely arbitrary one. Whereas his identification of the effigy mounds was based upon information obtained directly from some Winnebago Indians, that of the linear is based upon what he thought was the necessity of the case.

Inquiries made among the Winnebago of Wisconsin by the writer brought out the fact that the Indians were unanimous in claiming their forefathers as the authors of the mounds, but they were not at all unanimous as to their significance. By far the largest number of individuals, however, insisted that these linears were defensive works behind which they dodged during battle. These must not be confused with anything in the nature of breastworks or fortifications. The Indians claimed that these mounds ought to be found in great [648] numbers along Lake Koshkonong, because it was there that a terrific struggle had once been waged by the Winnebago against one of

[3] Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly, Vol. XX, no. 1, Jan., 1911, pp. 32-33.
[4] Ibid., pp. 36-38.

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their hereditary enemies. As a matter of fact, according to Mr. Stout, in the small area of 31 square miles around the lake, no less than 481 linear mounds have been found, and, if we take into consideration the fact that but 50 miles to the northwest, in the Sauk County area, 734 were found, we have within a radius of 231 square miles an enormous number of linear mounds. Whether, however, this has anything to do with the statements of the Indians mentioned above is very doubtful. When the writer called the Indians' attention to the fact that structures that were so low could hardly serve as an adequate protection against arrows they retorted by saying that the Indians did not stand up when attacked but lay stretched on the ground behind the mounds. [172 [248]]

The same two areas that yielded such a large number of linear mounds were also rich in effigy and conical mounds, containing 225 of the former and 646 of the latter. The conclusion is thus forced upon us that we have here the seat of a large number of Winnebago settlements. The linear mounds may therefore be said to be characteristic features of certain villages. A similarly large number of linear mounds seems to exist in Crawford County, according to the investigations of Lapham. It is possible that a continuation of thorough and systematic studies like those made by Mr. Stout in Sauk County and Lake Koshkonong will bring to light many such linear mound areas closely associated with village sites. [361]

With regard to the Winnebago interpretation given above it might be said that we know of numerous battles that occurred both along Lake Koshkonong and the Mississippi, and that it would require no manipulation of the facts to accept the Indians' explanation. It might, nevertheless, justifiably be asked why these peculiar shapes? They can hardly have had any importance in warfare.

As opposed to the view advanced above, various interpretations have been given at different times. Peet regarded the linear mounds as game drives, but this explanation seems to have been quite arbitrary. At least we know of no facts that were brought forth in its defense.

Although the interpretation that we were here dealing with defensive structures was by far the most common, two other explanations were obtained, one to the effect that the linear mounds were the bases of lodges and the other that some, at least, were snake effigies. It is impossible to say anything about the latter contention, although there may be more in it than is suspected. The other explanation, even though they had a special name for the projections that are often found at one end of the linears (natri, or wood houses), must be accepted with caution. The enormous length of some of the linears hardly seems to support such an assump-

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



172 tion. The Winnebago themselves claimed that the reason lodges were built upon mounds was because they could thus shed water most easily.

The conical mounds were unquestionably used for purposes of burial. Whether, however, they were always constructed with that particular object in view may be seriously doubted, for in some cases the burials seem to represent clear evidences of being intrusive in character. A few Indians insisted that some of the conical mounds were used as platforms from which to address an audience; that some were "stations" in the game of lacrosse, and that some were bases of lodges.

The composite type of mound, characterized by the union of a conical and a linear or by the union of a number of each, was interpreted by the Winnebago questioned as lodge bases connected with one another, the conical mound being the base of the lodge and the "linear" acting as a sort of connecting passageway.

[18] We mentioned before that Mr. Stout maintains the view that the linear are in reality conventionalized effigy mounds. Our main objection to such an interpretation would be that conventionalization is a method of artistic expression exceedingly rare among the Winnebago. Had it been common it would certainly have been found in use in their bead and quill work or in their woven bags. There is a possibility that some of the linears may be either very crudely constructed effigy mounds or that they may represent effigy mounds that have been changed through the influences of weather and general climatic conditions, as well as, to a smaller extent, by human hands, factors that have been neglected altogether too much in this connection, especially in the interpretation of what appear to be anomalies. From this point of view, it would be suggestive to compare some of the so-called "turtle" effigies with the water-spirit or "panther" type, on the one hand, and with the linears on the other. It is perhaps such "transitional" forms that have led Mr. Stout to postulate that all linears are effigies.

Summing up, we might say that the linears may be either effigies, in part representing a snake, or they may be, in part, altered or mutilated or crude effigies; or they may be the bases of lodges. We have the authority of a number of Indians that some are snake effigies. The interpretation that some are altered or mutilated has never been confirmed by the Indians themselves. Finally, that some of them are the bases of lodges is the statement of a large number of Indians, but it must await further evidence before it can be accepted.

That some of the mounds found in the Winnebago territory antedate, in part, the coming of the whites, and can consequently be regarded as constituting an archeological problem, there can hardly be any doubt. Nevertheless, many of them have been erected since

i:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



Nicollet's time, some even within the recollection of Winnebago still 172
living. All were unquestionably erected by the Winnebago, and since there is no reason for believing that this tribe entered Wisconsin many centuries before the first appearance of Europeans in America, it is quite erroneous to state, as Mr. Stout does, that the evidence at [114]
hand justifies us in dividing the occupancy of Wisconsin into two principal periods, the effigy mound-building era and the time that has elapsed since that period.

The use of copper by the Winnebago prior to their contact with Europeans is another of the rather baffling questions connected with Winnebago archeology. There are references to its use in the myth [173
of the Twins, but the sections of the myth where it is mentioned 177]
show marked evidences of European influence and can hardly be accepted as reflecting the original mode of life of the Winnebago. Copper is found in a number of mounds, but we have no way of determining whether these mounds are pre-Columbian or not.

In all likelihood, almost all the copper found in Wisconsin comes [316]
from the original copper workings at Isle Royale, Keweenaw, Ontonagon, and elsewhere, in the Lake Superior district. "A provisional description of the territory in which the greatest number of such artifacts have been recovered up to the present time may be given as extending from about the middle of Milwaukee County, northward along the west shore of Lake Michigan to Door County, thence westward to the Wisconsin River or slightly beyond, thence southward along this stream to Dane County and eastward to Milwaukee County, the starting point. Embraced within this territory are the extensive lake shore village sites, from which thousands of articles have already been recovered, and certain well-known sites in Green Lake and adjoining counties, the Rush Lake and similarly productive regions."[8]

The region thus described embraces the Winnebago territory and that subsequently occupied by the Central Algonquian tribes. It does not follow the line of Winnebago migrations farther than the Wisconsin River to the west or farther than the southern boundary of Dane County to the south or southwest. As far as the writer knows no one has ever been able to obtain any information from the Winnebago that would in any manner connect them with the authorship of the copper implements found associated with their old village sites. All Indians questioned denied that their ancestors had ever [177]
used copper before the arrival of the early French traders. For the Winnebago, it seems to the writer, the problem connected with the occurrence of copper implements is not whether the Winnebago made them, but how they came to obtain them. The solution of this problem would be immensely facilitated if we had accurate knowledge

[8] Brown, in the Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 3, no. 2, p. 88.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



172 of the distribution of copper among the Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo, and if we were in a position to tell whether or not these tribes had copper before their arrival in Wisconsin. We might then be in a better position to decide whether the Winnebago obtained their copper from these tribes or from some northern tribe, presumably the Potawatomi or Menominee. It is generally supposed that they actually did obtain their copper implements through the intermediation of these two last-mentioned tribes, although there is no really conclusive evidence for it. That opportunities for their transmission through the Menominee or Potawatomi were plentiful is unquestioned, and the only problem is whether the systematic exchange was not conditioned by the appearance of the white traders.

The last problem connected with Winnebago archeology is the authorship of the numerous flint arrowheads. They are found all over Wisconsin, in every nook and corner of Winnebago territory, in every stage of manufacture, and yet the Winnebago of to-day regard them as having been made by some other tribe. The most common explanation of their origin is the legendary one that they were made by worms. In the few cases where the old men were of [173 825 776] a different opinion, the writer was assured that they were the "bones" of the water-spirits, and consequently holy. Numerous myths speak of them in connection with the water-spirit. The Indians admit that they had at times used them as arrow points, but insist that in every case they were found in the earth; that in fact people were generally blessed with them. Mr. Skinner informs me that the Menominee, on the other hand, remember very well how they were made. Among the Winnebago, until recently, three kinds of arrow points were in use: one, properly not an arrow point at all but simply a sharpened arrow, the second consisting of sharpened portions of pieces of antlers, and the third consisting of a turtle claw that had been softened and straightened. It has generally been maintained that the presence of regular "quarries" absolutely clinched the hypothesis of a Winnebago origin for the flint arrow points, but it seems to us that we would first have to prove that in every case where such quarries are found no tribe but the Winnebago had ever occupied that territory, because had any Algonquian tribe been there they might be held as much responsible for these quarries as the Winnebago. That they were not used within the recollection of the oldest men among the Winnebago there can be no doubt, because this question was repeatedly put to them, with negative results.

It seems best, therefore, to attach some significance to current belief as to the origin of the flint arrow points and to assume for the present that they were either the work of the prehistoric ancestors of the Winnebago or that of some tribe that had occupied the terri-

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



tory before them; or—but this is extremely unlikely—that they were all of Algonquian origin. 172

### Implements of Stone and Other Materials

As pointed out before, we ought not to expect to find much strictly archeological data relating to the Winnebago in their Wisconsin habitat. As, however, they probably reached this habitat before the discovery of America, some of the archeological finds may easily go back that far. Unfortunately we have no way of determining, even approximately, the age of the artifacts.

We will now confine ourselves to a description of the more important types of artifacts and remains found on old Winnebago sites without going into the question of their respective age.

Implements and utensils were made of stone, clay, shell, bone, wood, antlers, and turtle claws (pl. 10). According to information obtained from the present Winnebago, which is supported by the testimony of the myths and tales, but few objects were made of stone. The most important of these was the stone hatchet. It may even be questioned whether the Winnebago originally made these, for they are given a supernatural origin by those few Winnebago who mentioned their existence, and it has been the author's experience that objects to which a supernatural origin is ascribed are generally either of recent origin or have been borrowed. None of the myths or tales even mention their existence. Nevertheless a large number of stone implements, most of them presumably stone hatchets, has been found at Doty Island, near Menasha, Wis. (pl. 11), which had at one time been one of their principal village sites. It is quite probable that the Winnebago obtained most of these from the neighboring Algonquian tribes who were well known for their skill in working stone. [411 324] [439]

### Copper Implements

The Winnebago are known to have used copper implements in fairly great abundance, the only question being whether they were the original makers of these objects. We do not think they were, and base our opinion on the answers given by present-day Indians and the total absence of their mention in the myths. Both iron and presumably copper are mentioned in certain myths, but these passages are clearly of European origin. 172 325 [177]

Practically all of our knowledge of the nature and distribution of copper objects in Wisconsin has been conveniently summarized in Mr. C. E. Brown's paper entitled "The native copper implements of Wisconsin,"[75] and all that we mention here is taken from this little monograph.

[75] The Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 5, no. 2.

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172 Following Brown's classification, we note the following copper ob-
412 jects in Wisconsin: Axes or hatchets (the most common), chisels,
325 "spuds," gouges, spikes, spatulas, knives, spear and arrow points, harpoon points, pikes and punches, awls and drills, spikes, needles, and fishhooks.

The most important types of axes were the following: Those oblong in outline, with edges nearly parallel; those with straight edges and tapering, widest toward the cutting edge and becoming narrower toward the head. The head itself may be either flattened, rounded, or roundly pointed. This is the most common type found. The third type, according to Brown, resembles the second, "with the exception that the margin at the edges is slightly but distinctly elevated, thus giving a slightly depressed or concave surface in the center and from end to end on one or both broad faces of the ax. In some examples this margin is fully one-half inch in width at or near the middle."[14]

Three principal types of chisels were found: Those broadest at the cutting edge, with edges tapering gradually from this cutting edge to the head; those of nearly uniform width with straight parallel edges; and those with a more or less prominent median ridge.

According to Brown there can be no doubt as to their use. "It probably included the hollowing out of wooden canoes, troughs, and vessels . . ."[14]

Knives are quite common, there being two principal types—one with a straight back and oblique, curved, or straight cutting edge; and another distinguished from the latter by a greater breadth of its broad curved blade and terminating in a broadly rounded point.

Spear and arrow points are found in great profusion and fall into many types: The leaf-shaped, the stemmed and flat, the ridged, the beveled, the eyed, the notched, the toothed, the spatula-shaped, the short-stemmed, the barbed or pronged, the conical, the rolled socketed, and the ridged socketed.

## Earthworks and Mounds

172 *Aztalan.*—Apart from the mounds there is one very famous earthwork in Wisconsin called Aztalan (pl. 12) which has for many decades puzzled archeologists. We will not enter into any of the numerous explanations given at different times by observers, but will confine ourselves exclusively to quoting the rather clear description given by Mr. G. A. West:[15]

The inclosure and associated earthworks at Aztalan, on the Crawfish River in Jefferson County, have long been considered among the most interesting and important

[14] The Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 3, no. 2, p. 61.
[15] Ibid., p. 63.
[16] "The Indian antiquities of Wisconsin antiquities," Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 6, no. 4, pp. [illegible].

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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H2
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a. JOHN BAPTISTE

b. HUGH HUNTER

c. LEVI ST. CYR

d. ALBERT HENSLEY (Profile view)

WINNEBAGO TYPES

[Facing p. 88(A)]

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WINNEBAGO BONE IMPLEMENTS

(From Wisconsin Archeologist)

[Facing p. 88(B)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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FOUR LEGS' VILLAGE ON DOTY ISLAND, 1830
(From Waubun)

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[Facing p. 88(c)]

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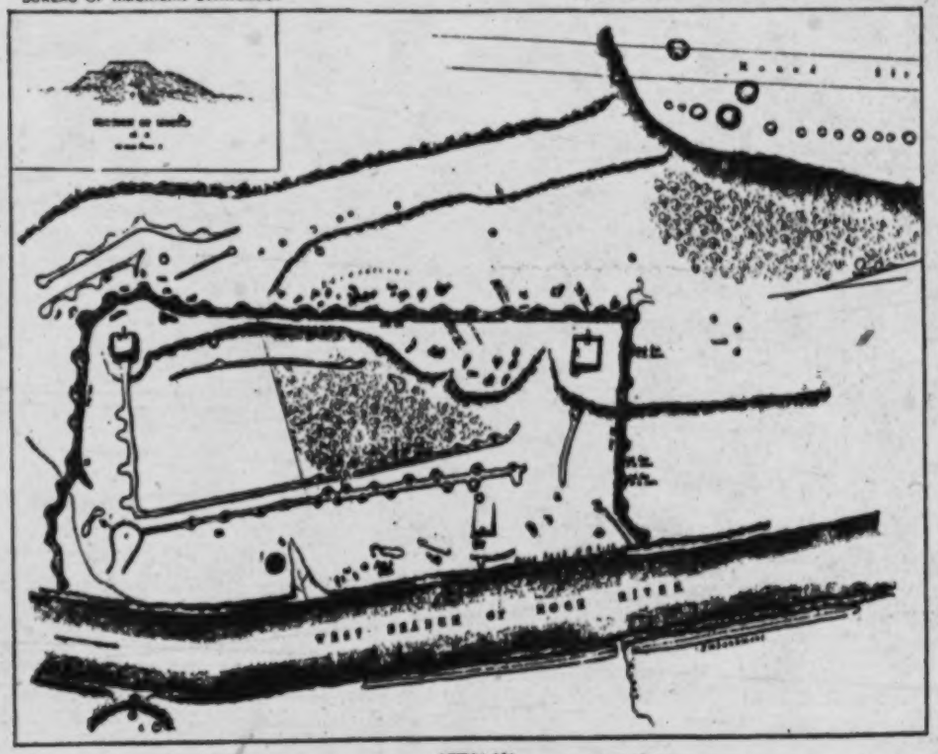


AITALAN
(After Lapham)

[Facing p. 88(D)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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of the aboriginal monuments of Wisconsin. The inclosure was first noticed by the government surveyor. In 1837 a hasty survey was made by N. F. Hyer, who afterwards published a brief description. . . . In 1850 Lapham made a careful survey of Aztalan. . . and in 1855 published a description illustrated with several fine plates and figures in his "Antiquities of Wisconsin." . . .

This interesting inclosure, now almost obliterated by many years of cultivation, may be briefly described as being in the shape of an irregular parallelogram, lacking one of the long sides which is supplied by the bank of the Crawfish which forms its eastern boundary. It is reported to contain 17½ acres of land. The length of the north wall Lapham gives as 631, the west as 1,419, and the south as 700 feet. The width is given as about 22 feet and the height at from 1 to 5 feet. Along the outer edge of its entire length, at somewhat regular distances, were rounded projections which have been frequently referred to as "buttresses or bastions," but which Lapham determined "were never designed for either of the purposes indicated by these names."

"The distance from one to another varies from 61 to 95 feet, scarcely any two of them being exactly alike. Their mean distance apart is 82 feet. On the north wall and on most of the west wall they have the same height as the connecting ridge and at a little distance resemble a simple row of mounds.

"On the inner wall, opposite many of these mounds (projections), is a slight depression or sinus; possibly the remains of a sloping way by which the wall was ascended from within the inclosure."—Lapham, Antiquities, 43.

Within the wall at the northwest corner of the inclosure was a rectangular truncated pyramidal mound, its level top measuring 60 by 65 feet. At its southeast corner was a sloping ascent. At the southwest corner, also within the wall, was a square, truncated mound, the level area on its top being 53 feet wide on the west side, it being originally in all probability a square of this size. Lapham's figure shows the sides of the mound rising in two terraces to the top. There appeared to be a sloping way leading down from its top toward the east. It was the highest earthwork within the wall, which it overlooked. These two mounds he judged to have been the probable foundations of buildings or of other structures of perishable materials. From the eastern side of the last-mentioned mound a line of wall with a number of projections similar to those on the wall of the inclosure extended about two-thirds of the way to the river, where it angled and proceeded in a northwesterly direction, being broken near its middle to within about 250 feet of the north wall. Beginning near the angle and on the east side of and paralleling this wall for its entire length was a second line of wall with projections distributed at various distances along its sides.

Within the inclosure were also a number of excavations, conical mounds, embankments, and other earthworks, some of which our present knowledge enables us to identify as very probably effigy or emblematic mounds.

Opposite the southwestern angle of the wall of the inclosure were several embankments also with projections along their sides. Scattered at intervals along the entire front of the west wall were a considerable number of excavations irregular in outline and of different sizes from which some of the earth used in the construction of the wall was most probably taken.

A short distance west of these, and also extending along the front of the wall, is a long mound of the familiar tapering effigy type, an irregular line of conical mounds, and a single linear mound. Several hundred feet northwest of the inclosure on the higher ground was a double line of 60 or more conical mounds of different sizes, extending from west of the present Aztalan road across the road and in a general northerly direction into the present village of Aztalan. A small number of the more prominent of these can still be seen along the road.

On the east bank of the Crawfish opposite the inclosure were two long earthen embankments and a group of conical mounds. The larger of the two embankments

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

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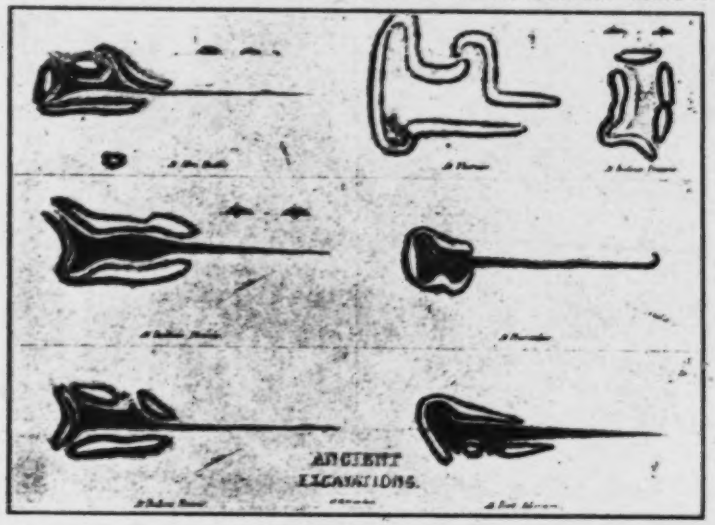


WISCONSIN INTAGLIOS

(After Lapham)

[Facing p. 90 (■)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



172 Lapham's plat shows to have been about 660 feet in length and probably 18 feet in width.

### Intaglio Mounds

The intaglio mounds (pl. 13) are clearly the reverse of effigy mounds. They were discovered by Lapham 60 years or more ago and since that time no others have been found. Lapham himself located nine of them, all associated with earthworks, at Milwaukee, Pewaukee, Theresa, and Fort Atkinson. At about the same time

Fig. 4.—Effigy mounds (panther or water-spirit type). Forks of the Manitowoc River, Calumet County, Wis.

Mr. W. H. Canfield located two near the earthworks at Baraboo. Those found by Lapham are undoubtedly intended to represent what most Wisconsin archeologists call the "panther," but which the Winnebago call the water-spirit (*wakdjera*) (fig. 4), while those found by Canfield are probably intended to represent the bear (fig. 5).

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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a. BURIAL IN A MOUND AT BORCHER'S BEACH

(From Wisconsin Archeologist)

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b. CONICAL MOUND, CUTLER PARK, WAUKESHA, WIS.

[Facing p. 91]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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The Fort Atkinson intaglio is the only one now in existence. 172 "Its greatest depth (at the middle of the body) is slightly over 2 feet. The great tail of the animal reaches to within about 25 feet of a fine large conical burial mound."[14]

## Conical Mounds

These are found all over the territory once occupied by the Winnebago, but we know definitely that the Central Algonquian tribes also erected them. In the following section we will describe but one group of these mounds found on territory formerly inhabited by the Winnebago and which was never, or only for a very short time, occupied by other tribes (pl. 14).

Fig. 5.—Bear effigy mound, Madison, Wis.

This interesting group was located in Angelo Township, Juneau County, and is known as Mound Prairie, West Group (Fig. 6). Twelve mounds are preserved there with the following dimensions:

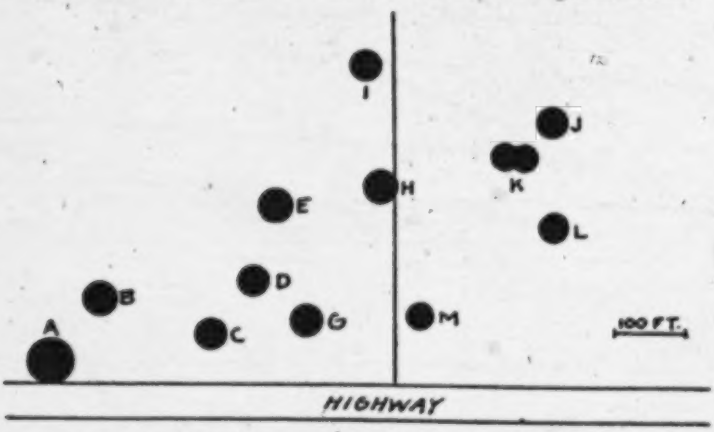


Fig. 6.—Burial mounds, Upper Baraboo Valley, Wis.

| | |
|---|---|
| A 53 feet in diameter. | H 46 feet in diameter. |
| B 48 feet in diameter. | I 45 feet in diameter. |
| C 48 feet in diameter. | J 42 feet in diameter. |
| D 45 feet in diameter. | K 65 by 30 feet. |
| E 44 feet in diameter. | L 46 feet in diameter. |
| G 48 feet in diameter. | M 38 feet in diameter. |

[14] C. E. Brown, "The Intaglio Mounds of Wisconsin," Wisconsin Archæologist, vol. 9, no. 1, p. 9.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



172 As a rule, whenever the conical mounds represent the work of the Winnebago they are always found accompanied by linear and effigy mounds. At Lake Koshkonong, out of a total of 481 mounds 309 are conical. A similar proportion is found in other groups. Little has ever been found in them except burials and there seems little doubt that the vast majority of them were always used for this purpose. (Pls. 15–17; fig. 7.)

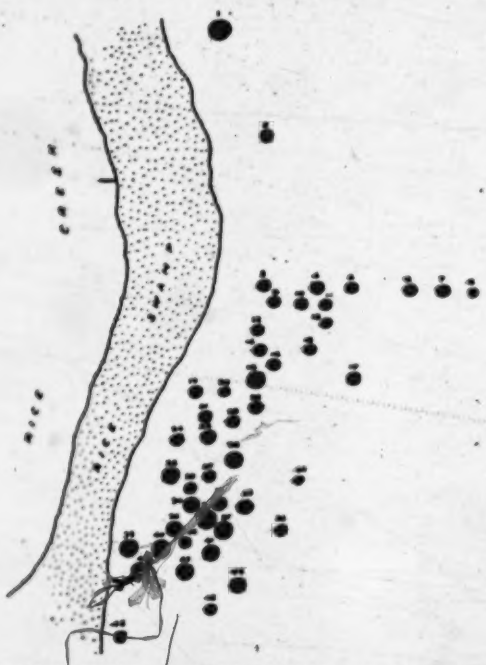

FIG. 7.—BURIAL MOUNDS IN A GROUP AT RICE LAKE, RUSK COUNTY, WIS.

In a number of places conical mounds are joined to linear mounds or to other structures, often producing irregular figures. Mr. A. B. Stout classifies them as belonging in general to three types. The commonest of these combinations are those called by Mr. Stout the dumb-bell and tadpole type (fig. 8).

## LINEAR MOUNDS

Linear mounds, like conical mounds, are found all over the territory once occupied by the Winnebago. What purpose they could have served is not definitely known, although the modern Winnebago

[Text continues on p. 98.—Analyst]

A SERIES OF BURIAL MOUNDS

(Artalan, Jefferson County)

[Facing p. 92 (A)]

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1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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STONE CHAMBER IN BURIAL MOUND, BUFFALO LAKE, MARQUETTE COUNTY, WIS.
(From Wisconsin Archeologist)

[Facing p. 92 (8)]

ZAHN MOUND, CALUMET COUNTY, WIS.

(From Wisconsin Archæologist)

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[Facing p. 92(c)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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a. LODGE MADE OF REED MATTING

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b. LODGE MADE OF BARK WITH COVERING OF REED MATTING

[301]

c. LODGE MADE OF BARK

[Facing p. 92(D)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



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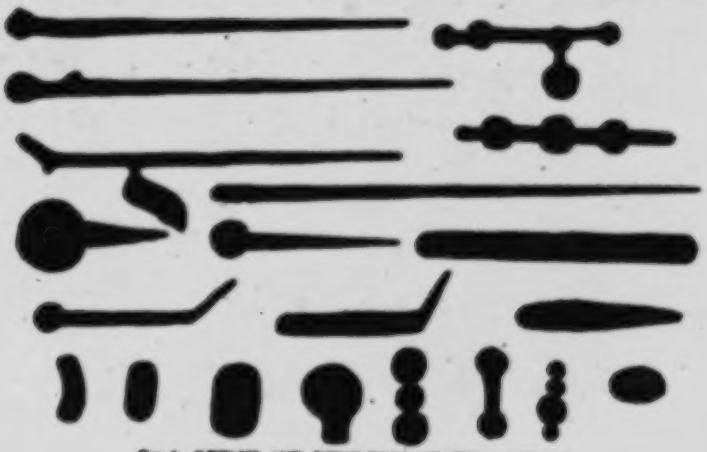

FIG. 8.—EFFIGY AND DUMB-BELL-SHAPED MOUNDS.

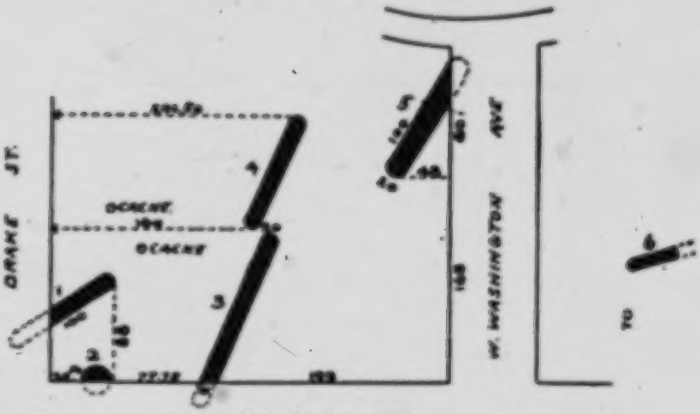


FIG. 9.—LINEAR MOUNDS AT MADISON, WIS.

FIG. 10.—LINEAR MOUNDS, CLYDE TOWNSHIP, IOWA COUNTY, WIS.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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FIG. 11.—EFFIGY AND LINEAR MOUNDS, FISHTAKA, WAUKESHA COUNTY, WIS.

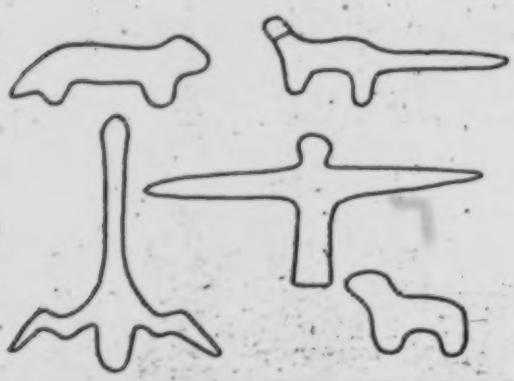

FIG. 12.—EFFIGY MOUNDS IN THE WINGRA GROUP, MADISON, WIS.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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FIG. 13.—BIRD EFFIGY MOUNDS.

FIG. 14.—MAN MOUND, GREENFIELD TOWNSHIP, SAUK COUNTY, WIS.

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FIG. 15.—TYPES OF MAMMAL EFFIGY MOUNDS.

FIG. 16.—TYPES OF SO-CALLED TURTLE EFFIGY MOUNDS.

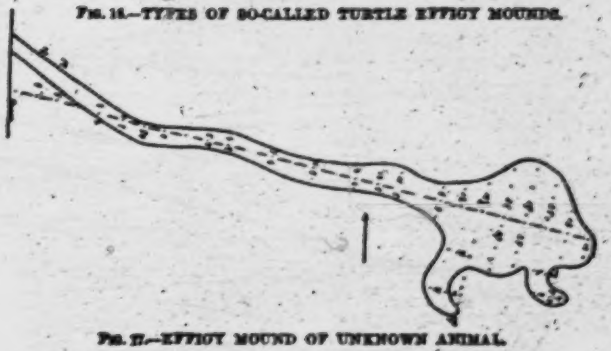

FIG. 17.—EFFIGY MOUND OF UNKNOWN ANIMAL.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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FIG. 12.—LA VALLE MAN MOUND, SAUK COUNTY, WIS.

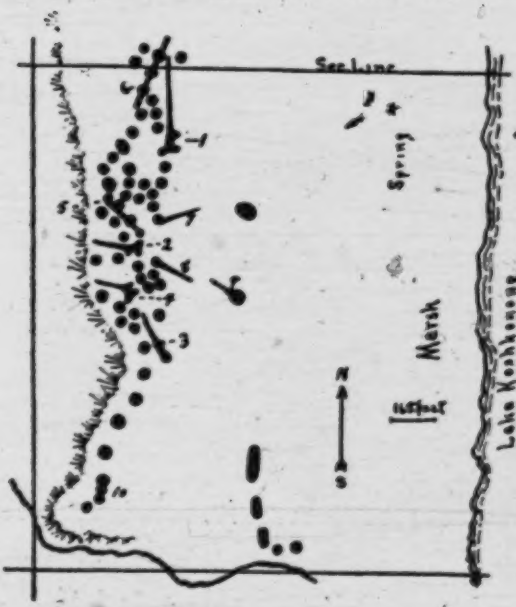


FIG. 13.—GROUP OF MOUNDS OF DIFFERENT TYPES, LAKE KOSHKONONG, WIS.

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172 seem to be practically unanimous in explaining them as either the base of lodges or as defenses (figs. 9, 10, 11).

### Effigy Mounds

Effigy mounds (figs. 4, 5, 11–18) are discussed at some length in the following pages. The following types are found: The bird, the bear, the panther or water-spirit, the deer (uncommon), the wolf (uncommon), the turtle, and the so-called man. The commonest by far are the bird, bear, and water-spirit, and this [614] would seem to corroborate the statements of living Winnebago that these mounds represent the clan effigies, for these three clans were by far the most important and numerous in the tribe. Certain of the clans are apparently not represented, particularly the elk, the buffalo, the snake, and the fish, while but isolated examples of two fairly important clans, the wolf and the deer, are found. If the so-called turtle mounds (fig. 16) were really intended to represent that animal, we would have the only instance of a large number of mounds that can not possibly be connected with the Winnebago clans, for the tribe never had a Turtle clan. However, these mounds may not really have been intended to represent turtles. On the other hand, it is not absolutely necessary to believe that the effigy mounds represented only clan animals. It is possible that some were erected for religious purposes.

Owing to the fact that so many effigy mounds have been destroyed in the last two or three centuries, it is quite impossible to be certain of the distribution of specific types. Even those still in existence have not all been carefully noted and described. Until this is done, no even approximately definitive conclusions can be drawn as to the reasons for the prevalence of certain types in one area and others in other areas. To give some idea of their distribution, however, we will describe briefly their distribution in those sections of Wisconsin that have been fairly thoroughly studied:

*Lake Mendota.*—Two types of bird, bear, water-spirit, and the very rare effigy of a frog.

*Lake Koshkonong.*—Two types of bird, water-spirit, frog? mink? and an unknown mammal.

*Fond du Lac.*—Water-spirit, one type of bird, turtle.

*Lake Waubesa.*—Water-spirit, three types of bird, bear, turtle, and lynx.

*Turtle Creek, Rock County.*—Water-spirit, turtle.

*Winnebago County.*—Water-spirit, bear, bird.

*Lake Winnebago.*—Water-spirit, turtle, three types of bird, and bear.

*Manitowoc County.*—Bird, water-spirit, turtle.

*Sauk County.*—One type of bird, bear, mink, water-spirit.

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In general it may be said that effigies of the bird type are found /172 over the entire region in which effigies are found, although certain types seem to have a restricted range—the bear type, westward from Lake Waubesa to Sauk County and probably beyond: the water-spirit, over the entire region from Milwaukee to Madison and as far north as Gills Landing in Waupaca County: the goose, at Lake [171]

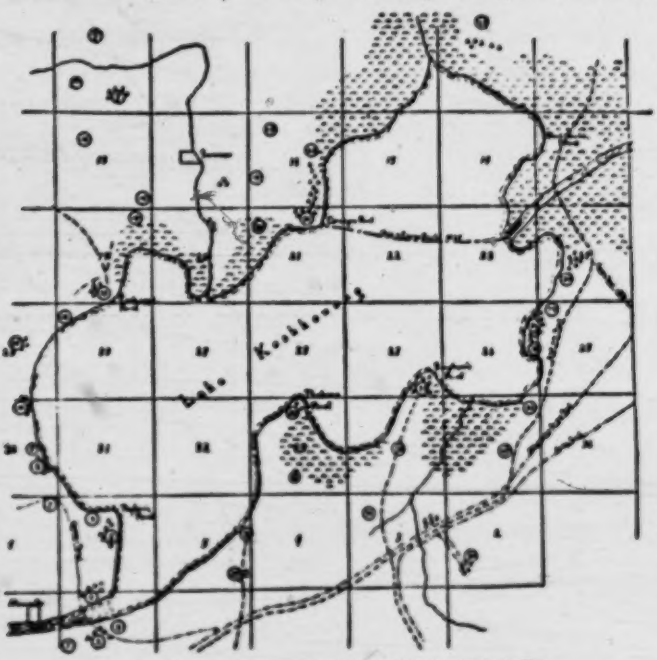


FIG. 20.—ARCHEOLOGIC MAP OF LAKE KOSHKONONG.

INDEX TO MAP.

1. Cooch shell cache, 1862.
2. Black Hawk's camp, 1832.
3. Ogden group.
4. Rock River group and village site.
5. Tay-o-ho-dah group and village site.
6. Taylor House group.
7. Fulton group.
8. Koshkonong group and village site.
9. John Sun group.
10. Koe Springs group and village site.
11. North group.
12. Rufus Blackman group.
13. Le Juillier group and village site.
14. Goldthorpe burials.
15. Wanzer Garden beds.
16. Kanellos group.
17. o-ho-ee, Koshkonong Creek mounds and village site.
18. Cooch shell cache, 1867.
19. Deaves group.
20. Shaubra group.
21. Cawajun mounds and White Crow's village.
22. Lake Bay mounds and garden beds.
23. Alipster group and White Oak's village.
24. Man Eater's village.
25 and 25. Gen. Atkinson group.
26. Howard group and Kowaskum's camp.
27. Fort Hunter's Point mound and cemetery.
28. Lombard group.
29. Haight's Creek group.
30. Atkinson's camp.
31. Indian cemetery.
32 and 33. Ira Bingham group and village site.
34 and 35. Tiblown Point village site and cemetery.
36. French trader's cabin site.
37. Camp site and cemetery.
38. Black Hawk's island camp site.

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172 Waubesa and the upper Madison lakes; the lynx type, at Lake Waubesa, as far east as Lake Koshkonong, and as far west as Devils Lake in Sauk County.

### Description of Lake Koshkonong Mounds

In order to give an idea of what a carefully planned survey of a particular region has yielded we will quote Mr. A. B. Stout's summary of his work at Lake Koshkonong (figs. 19, 20):[19]

A total of 481 mounds are here noted. This does not include the mounds entirely destroyed at Thiebeau Point, the Koshkonong Groups, and the Kumlien Group. There are 157 mounds on the east side and 324 on the west side of the lake. There are still well preserved 304 mounds. There is a total of 309 conical mounds of which 233 are on the west side, but of the 42 effigies 21 are on the east side of the lake.

In most cases the grouping as given is in no wise arbitrary. All the large and important groups are composed of mounds rather compactly arranged. Groups 3, 4, 6, 11, and 17 are more or less scattered and are considered as groups chiefly for convenience in description.

The largest group is the Koshkonong Group of 78 mounds. Next in rank are the General Atkinson Group of 73, the Nos Springs Group of 64, the Hoard Group of 36, the Le Sellier Group of 29, the Kumlien Group of 28, the Altpeter Group of 28, and the Rufus Bingham Group of 21. In these 8 well-defined groups are found 357 of the total of 481 mounds.

All of these mounds are found in an area of 42 square miles, of which 13 are covered with water and at least 5 more occupied by swamp and marsh lands.

#### THE CONICAL MOUNDS

As previously stated, this type is the most abundant. Most are low, many are no more than 2 feet in height. In fact, there are but 23 that are 4 or more feet in height. The largest of the conical mounds are as follows: . . . 60 by 12 feet in diameter; . . . 75 by 10; . . . 45 by 8; . . . 54 by 7; . . . 63 by 6.

. . . Some conical mounds are built with edges overlapping, forming a sort of chain of mounds. There is some evidence of superimposed mounds. . . .

Nearly all the conical mounds have been opened in a more or less desultory manner. The few clues at hand as to the results of such digging confirm the opinion that this type of mound was built for burial purposes.

It will be noted . . . that several mounds are oval in outline. Two others are pear-shaped . . . with the larger end built considerably higher. The oval type appears to grade into the short linear. This may be noted in the General Atkinson and Altpeter groups.

#### COMBINATIONS OF CONICAL AND LINEAR FORMS

*The dumb-bell form.*—Two mounds of the Altpeter Group are of this form . . . In these the ends are decidedly conical and may possibly be superimposed upon the ends of short linear mounds.

*The tadpole type.*—This type of mound consists of a more or less pronounced conical mound from which extends a straight pointed linear portion that varies in length . . . In No. 4 of the Koshkonong Group the conical part is 40 by 6 with the linear part comparatively low and short. In other cases . . . the conical part is wide and flattened. In still other cases the linear part is quite long . . .

*Irregular forms.*—Nos. 5 and 6 of the Nos Springs Group are unusual combinations of conical and linear mounds. The conical mounds are in some cases several feet

[19] "The Archæology of the Lake Koshkonong Region," by A. B. Stout and H. L. Stevens, Wisconsin Archæologist, vol. 7, no. 2, 1908.

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higher than the adjoining linear part. The surface examination made at the time of this survey gave the opinion that the conical mounds had been built upon the linear parts possibly at a later period. 172

LINEAR MOUNDS

*The pure linear type.*—This type is shown in . . . [fig. 8]. The mounds thus classed are straight and uniform in height and width. Some are so short as to almost approach the oval form.

*The straight pointed linear type.*—This form is shown in . . . [fig. 8] and is usually of great length, widest at one end and tapering to a point at the other . . . Twelve of this type are found. The longest measures 675 and the shortest 120 feet.

*The angular linear type.*—In group 9, No. 3 . . . [fig. 8] there is this peculiar type which is so abundant along the Wisconsin River in Sauk County.

*The club-shaped linear type.*—This form is shown in . . . [fig. 8] and is a slight variation of the pure linear type. There are three of this class.

*The curved linear type.*—This is a linear form having a slight kidney or crescent shape. There are but two mounds of this type at Lake Koshkonong.

In the Altpeter Group are three linear-like mounds that might be classed as effigies. No. 1 [fig. 8] is much like the "mink" type. No. 3 bears some resemblance to the same type, and No. 2 to the "tadpole" type. In the latter, however, the head end is but little higher than the adjoining linear part and bulges slightly more on one side.

EFFIGIES

The forms and sizes of the various effigies can be best understood by a study of the [various illustrations] . . . Not including the three mounds just mentioned or any of the "tadpole" type, there are 42 mounds that are plainly effigies. Three of these are nearly destroyed; the others are well preserved.

BIRD EFFIGIES

. . . All of these lie on the east side of the lake in two closely associated groups. There are six such effigies in the General Atkinson Group and four in the Heard Group.

But two have the wings at right angles to the body and both of these are low and flattened with heavy broad bodies in marked contrast to splendid mounds of this class in other parts of the State.

Of the class having the wings extremely drooped . . . there are five. Nos. 28 and 29 in the Heard Group have a conical-like breast, while those of the General Atkinson Group have the surface of the body nearly level. The two small bird effigies close to the Lake View Hotel . . . have a conical breast and wings half drooping.

MAMMAL EFFIGIES

All of the mounds shown in . . . [fig. 15] represent the animal as lying on one side with the fore limbs and the hind limbs united. It will be seen that there are several splendid examples of the "panther" type.

Nos. 4 and 31 are of similar form, but represent the animal with the tail raised. These two are on opposite sides of the lake and are the only effigies of this precise character.

Of the "mink" type there is an example in the Le Sellier Group.

Mound No. 1 of the Draves Group and the effigy in the Taylor House Group are the only ones of their class existing at the lake.

Of all the forms and types to be found in this region the mound shown in . . . [fig. 17] is perhaps the most . . . complicated, and it will be interesting to learn if there exists elsewhere in the State a mound of similar form.

TURTLE AND ALLIED FORMS

There are seven short . . . and two . . . long-tailed "turtle" effigies in this region.

Mound No. 69 of the Atkinson Group differs from the "turtle" effigy in profile as well as in outline. The head is considerably higher than the part midway between

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172 the hind limbs. No. 36 of the Heard Group is similar, but has a truncated tail. Mound No. 61 shows still another departure in outline. . . . The four mounds just mentioned have no duplicates in the area. All the mounds shown in . . . [fig. 16] are similar in that the animal is represented from a dorsal view . . .

THE GROUPING

A study of the various groups shows that there was no uniform plan in their construction. In general they occupy prominent elevations near the lake. There is a rather promiscuous mingling of types and arrangement of mounds which suggests that a group is the result of several or many years of continuous building during which mounds were added as desired and simply grouped to suit the immediate topography.[28]

*Stone*

| | |
|---|---|
| Arrow and spearpoints. | Knives. |
| Perforators and scrapers. | Grooved axes and hammers. |
| Hammerstones. | Celts, numerous, many broken. |
| Clubheads. | Pipes and fragments of pipes (of catlinite, steatite, limestone, sandstone, etc.), |
| Grinding and polishing stones. | Sawed pieces of catlinite. |
| Gorgets. | Flint spalls, chips, flakes, fragments, nodules, and rejects. |
| Plummets. | Burned stones from fireplaces. |
| Discoidals. | |
| Stone balls. | |

*Copper*

| | |
|---|---|
| Spearpoints. | Earring. |
| Awls. | Fishhook. |
| Bracts. | Chisel. |
| Rolled copper arrowpoints. | Knives. |
| Beads. | Rings. |

*Pottery*

| | |
|---|---|
| Pipe, broken, and fragments of others. | Potsherds, shell, sand and quartz tempered. |
| Pottery disks. | |

*Bone and shell*

| | |
|---|---|
| Bone beads, several styles. | "Jewel stones" from sheepshead perch. |
| Bone awl. | Jawbones of pickerel. |
| Columella of large sea shell. | Carapace of mud turtle. |
| Valves of fresh-water clamshells. | Shell beads, disk-shaped and cylindrical styles. |
| Bones of various birds and animals. | Shell gorget. |

## THE MAN MOUND

What probably constitutes the most interesting type of mound found in Wisconsin is the so-called Man mound, two examples of which are known, both from Sauk County, one from Greenfield Township and the other known as the La Valle Man mound. The second of these has long been obliterated, but is known to us from a plat made by Mr. Canfield in 1872 (figs. 14, 18.)

Lapham[29] described the Greenfield township Man mound as follows:

The figure is no less than 214 feet in length, the head 30 feet long, the body 108, and the legs 84. The head lies toward the south and the movement [of the body] is west-

[28] The following will give an idea of the material collected from one village site in this region. The village site is known as the White Crow site. The information is taken from the Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 7, no. 2, p. 55.

[29] Quoted by Brown in Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 7, no. 4, p. 168.

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ward. All of the lines of this most singular effigy are curved gracefully, and much care has been bestowed upon its construction. The head is ornamented with two projections, or horns, giving a comical expression to the whole figure. [fig. 14.]

## Miscellaneous Structures

*Stone chambers.*—These are found in a number of places and were apparently always used for burial. According to the present Winnebago, chiefs were often buried in them (pl. 16).

*Garden beds* (fig. 21). These were first described by Lapham. According to him[29] they were "low, broad, parallel ridges, as if corn had been planted in drills. They average 4 feet in width, 25 of them having been counted in the space of a hundred feet, and the depth of the walk between them is about 6 inches."

FIG. 21. WISCONSIN GARDEN BEDS.

Mr. C. E. Brown also found some which he has described in[30] his paper on "Wisconsin Garden Beds:"

To the southwest . . . was a remnant of a fourth plot of beds with 11 rows. Their direction was northeast and southwest, and their length then about 52 feet, a portion having been obliterated by the plow. On another plot of ground, lying to the west of that upon which all of the above described are situated, occurred a fifth plot of beds, having a northeast and southwest direction. The rows numbered 12 and were about 48 feet long. A sixth plot of beds, running north and south, numbered 28 rows, each about 84 feet long. Its dimensions were about the same as those of the first plot.

In summing up, Mr. Brown says:[31]

In concluding an examination of the evidence now available upon the subject of the age of the Wisconsin garden beds it may be stated that examples have now been located in 16 different localities in the State. The area in which these occur may be described as being bounded by Green Bay on the north and Racine County on the south, and extending from Lake Michigan westward to the Fox-Wisconsin waterway. In nearly every instance where garden beds are closely associated with mounds there is good reason to believe that their origin and age is identical. Like the mounds, most garden beds are prehistoric, but some were constructed in early historic times. Their association in some instances with plots of cornhills indicates that in these cases these two features of our archeology are also contemporaneous.

[29] Antiquities of Wisconsin. Smithsonian Cont. to Knowledge, vol. vii, p. 10, 1855.
[30] Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 3, no. 3, p. 102.
[31] Ibid., pp. 104-105.

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# CHAPTER III

## MATERIAL CULTURE

### Habitations

34 In former times the Winnebago seem to have had eight types of lodges: The round lodge (*tci p'drap'â'rate*), the long lodge (*tci se'rête*), the tipi, the grass lodge, the gable lodge (*na"haitci p'â'rap'-arate*), the platform lodge, the ceremonial lodge, and the sweat lodge. Of the round lodge and the long lodge there are three varieties—one made entirely of bark (pl. 18, *c*); another made entirely of reed mattings (pl. 18, *a*); and still another of bark with a roof covering of reed matting (pl. 18, *b*). The round and long lodges of all [343] three types are occasionally seen even now, rarely as habitations, however, but as storehouses (pl. 19). Gable lodges are no longer found among the Winnebago, but the writer has been informed that a few still exist among the Sauk and Fox living near Tama, Iowa.

343 The round and the long bark lodges are constructed in a very simple manner. These are built of poles of ironwood (*teutrê'na*) driven into the ground, bent over and lashed to other poles which meet them from the opposite direction. The poles are tied together with basswood bark (*hi"cke'runte*). The same material is used in attaching to these poles the cedar bark that forms the walls of the lodge. The walls are supported on the inside by a varying number of poles (*teicu' curutra"p*) attached to the corresponding poles of the other side. In many cases a series of transverse poles (*teicu' na"jipl'ere*) are inserted beneath the exterior vertical poles. These can be seen in plate 18, *a*, *b*, *c*. The bark roofs are incased in frames made of irregularly distributed vertical poles with generally one transverse pole (pl. 18, *a*, *b*, *c*). If the roofs are of reed matting two or three of the external poles have poles attached to them which are arched across the matting (pl. 18 *a*, *b*, *c*). The reed matting lodges, as a rule, have no external vertical poles and only two transverse poles each, one on the outside and one on the inside (pl. 19, *c*).

[177] Although considered of Winnebago origin by many Indians, these bark and reed matting lodges are in all probability of Central Algonquian origin. They are easily constructed and for that reason were generally used for temporary purposes in the olden times. Accord-

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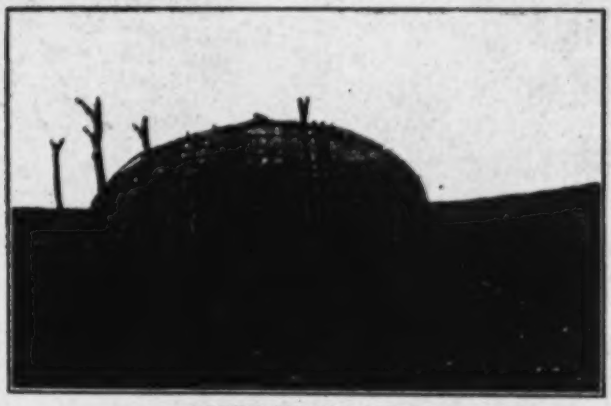

a. LODGE MADE OF BARK

b. MODERN LODGE WITH CANVAS COVERING

c. LODGE MADE OF REED MATTING

[Facing p. 104 (A)]

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142
291
531
302
301





[576]

A. WINNEBAGO IN FULL DRESS

B. THOMAS MALLORY

[Facing p. 104 (B)]

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a. WINNEBAGO WOMEN, SHOWING MODERN DRESS

b. WINNEBAGO WOMEN IN OLD-STYLE SILK APPLIQUÉ DRESSES

142
291
301
302
531

[Facing p. 104 (c)]

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142
241
301
302

A. YOUNG CHILD IN MODERN DRESS



142
241
531
301
302

A. YOUNG BOY IN FULL WARRIOR'S COSTUME

[facing p. 104 (D)]

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Accord-
ing to the oldest informants, the earliest type of lodge used by the 342
Winnebago was the ten-fire gable lodge, of which there were two types, rectangular in form, one built on a platform and the other on the ground. Poles of cedar, forked at the top, formed the sides. Through the forks transverse poles were laid to which the gable roof was attached. Three poles (*na'ji'k'ere*) were arranged in the center of the lodge for the better support of the roof. Beds were placed [513] along both of the long sides on a platform raised 2 feet (*kazs'te*). Frequently a platform 4 to 5 feet high was erected in the rear of the lodge and partitioned off. Here the favorite child of the family lived when he was fasting. In front of the lodge a spot was always kept carefully cleared (*nowazi'nera*). There were two doorways to the lodge. Often the entrances were shaded with boughs. According to some informants, this was only done for the chief's lodge. According to another description of the gable lodge, there were only two centra poles, one at each entrance; these were always painted blue to symbolize the day (fig. 22, *b*).

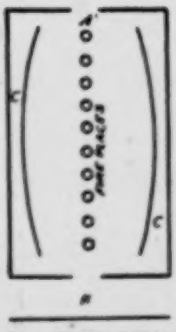


FIG. 22.—*a*, CROSS-SECTION OF ROUND LODGE, *b*, CROSS-SECTION OF GABLE LODGE.

As far as can be learned at the present time, the platform lodges were merely gable lodges on platforms. What purpose the platform served is now difficult to determine, but most Winnebago questioned said that it was provided as a protection against the dampness of the ground and insects.

The ceremonial lodge was merely a large, long bark lodge. The grass lodge seems to have been a roughly constructed round lodge with a covering of grass instead of bark. The sweat lodge was a round bark lodge having a framework of four poles. The tipi was of a simple type provided with a three-pole framework. 345 343

All the evidence obtained points to the fact that lodges of these types were used synchronously. According to the 34 361
myths and the oldest informants, in ancient times a village occupied for a considerable period consisted entirely of gable lodges, but these seem to have given way to the round and long type, probably borrowed from the Central Algonquians. The gable type seems to have held its own, [177] however, among the more western villages of the Winnebago. The round bark lodges were used in winter and the reed matting lodges in 342

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342 spring and summer. In the spring those who still lived in bark lodges covered the roofs with reed matting, as that material shed water more effectually than bark. The tipi was generally used on the hunt, the grass lodge merely for a shelter overnight.

[462] All the duties connected with the construction of the lodge belonged to the woman. These duties do not seem to have been re-

[886] stricted to any special class of women except in the construction of ceremonial lodges, in which only women who had passed their climacteric could participate.

## Clothing and Adornment

291 In discussing the personal adornment of men it must be remembered that in former times each costume generally had special significance and could be worn only on certain occasions. Moreover,

Fig. 22.—Pattern of men's buckskin leggings.

Fig. 24.—Pattern of women's buckskin shirt.

certain articles of dress, as arm bands and garters, could be worn only by certain people. The significance of most of the items comprising a man's costume, as well as the proper occasion for wearing them, has long been forgotten and today everything relating to dress and adornment is hopelessly confused. Illustrations of the various articles of apparel will be found in plates 20–23; figures 23–26.

The men's clothing is thus described by Skinner:[1]

> The men's garments obtained in Wisconsin consisted of leggings of ribbon-worked cloth, or of plain bearhide. . . . Some of the latter are made skin-tight, with a broad flap fringed at the edge. The decorated flap of the cloth and the fringe of the bearskin are worn outside. Some are made by folding over a rectangular piece of leather and holding the sides together by means of thongs passing through from side to side, their ends serving in lieu of a fringe. Some little boys' leggings are skin-tight and fringed only at the top. The chest is of three pieces, a strip of plain, cheap material to cover the genitals, supported at each end by a belt, and two beaded breech-cloth

[1] In "Notes Concerning New Collections," Anthr. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. IV, part II, pp. [illegible].

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flaps falling over the front and rear, and sometimes merely two ornamented flaps tying on like aprons fore and aft and not passing between the legs at all. Shirts of cloth or buckskin are beaded about the collar, over the shoulders, and down the front over the chest, where the head opening is. Buckskin shirts are often fringed at the junctures of the sleeves with the trunk at the shoulders, as well as along the seams of the sleeves. Beaded garters are worn outside the leggings below the knees, and beaded, or German silver, arm bands may be seen. 291

The shirt worn by the women in former times seems to have been similar except as to length to that worn by the man, but the leg-

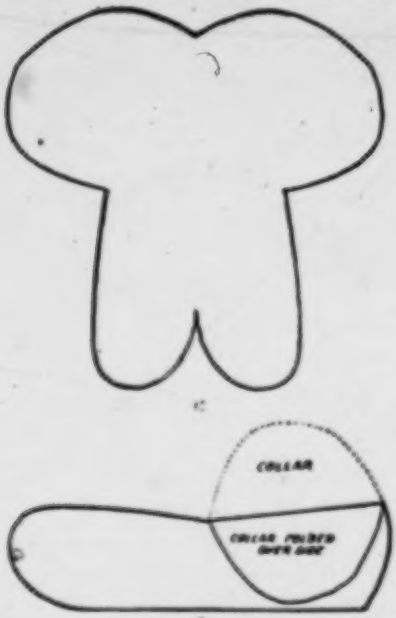


FIG. 23.—PATTERN OF MEN'S MOCCASIN.

gings were characteristically different. These consisted of a straight piece of buckskin folded around itself so as to leave no free flap. The upper part had a cuff. There was no flap at the bottom falling over the moccasin, as in the case of men's leggings (figs. 23, 24).

The shirt is a single piece of broadcloth, the ends of which are handsomely ribbon-worked in applique on the outer side. The garment is wrapped around the body, the ends meeting in front, bringing the ribbon-worked horizontal bands together, the opening being in front. The upper part of the garment is folded outward over the woven belt which confines it. A curious shirtwaist, short and beribboned, is worn outside the belt. A shawl or blanket of broadcloth, handsomely ribboned, completes

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291 the costume. This is worn not over the head, but the shoulders. . . . It may be observed that in the photographs which date back a number of years, the waists worn by the women are very much longer than those now in vogue, falling almost to the hips.

There is a marked difference between the moccasins worn by men and those worn by women (pls. 24, 25). The former are cut out as shown in figure 25, *a*, *b*. When folded, they have the shape

FIG. 26. PATTERN OF WOMEN'S MOCCASIN.

shown in figure 25, *b*. There are two seams, one in front and one in the back. The women's moccasins are cut in much the same manner, but they have a large flap falling over the front (fig. 26, *a*, *b*). The string used in fastening the moccasins to the feet is always attached to the rear end (fig. 25, *a*, *b*).[3]

*Hats.*—As a rule no head coverings of any kind were worn, but in winter, according to the author's Wisconsin informants, the head was protected by a hoodlike covering.

[3] Excellent illustrations of Winnebago moccasins may be found also in Astor, Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. iv, pt. ii, p. 301.

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a. GROUP OF WINNEBAGO IN OLD-STYLE COSTUMES

b. WINNEBAGO FAMILY

[Facing p. 108 (A)]

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a b c d e

DECORATED MOCCASINS

a. Men's moccasin with partial quill decoration. b, c. Men's moccasin with beaded Algonquian decoration. d. Women's moccasin with beaded Winnebago decoration. e. Women's moccasin with silk appliqué work.

[Facing p. 108 (2)]

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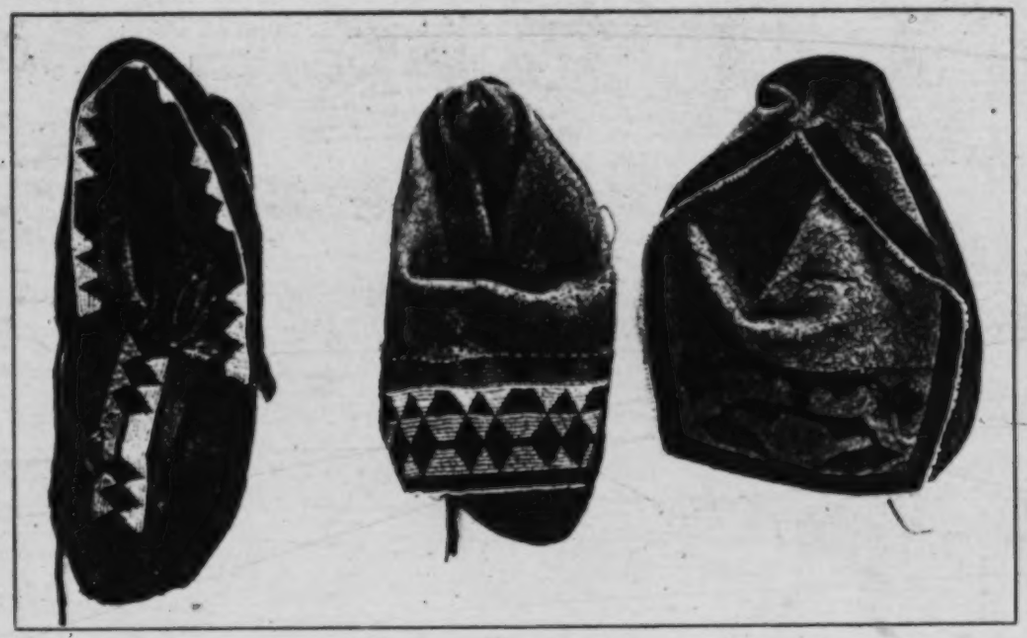

a b c

DECORATED MOCCASINS

a. Men's moccasin with beaded Winnebago decoration, b. Women's moccasin with beaded Winnebago decoration, c. Women's moccasin with silk appliqué work.

[Facing p. 108 (c)]

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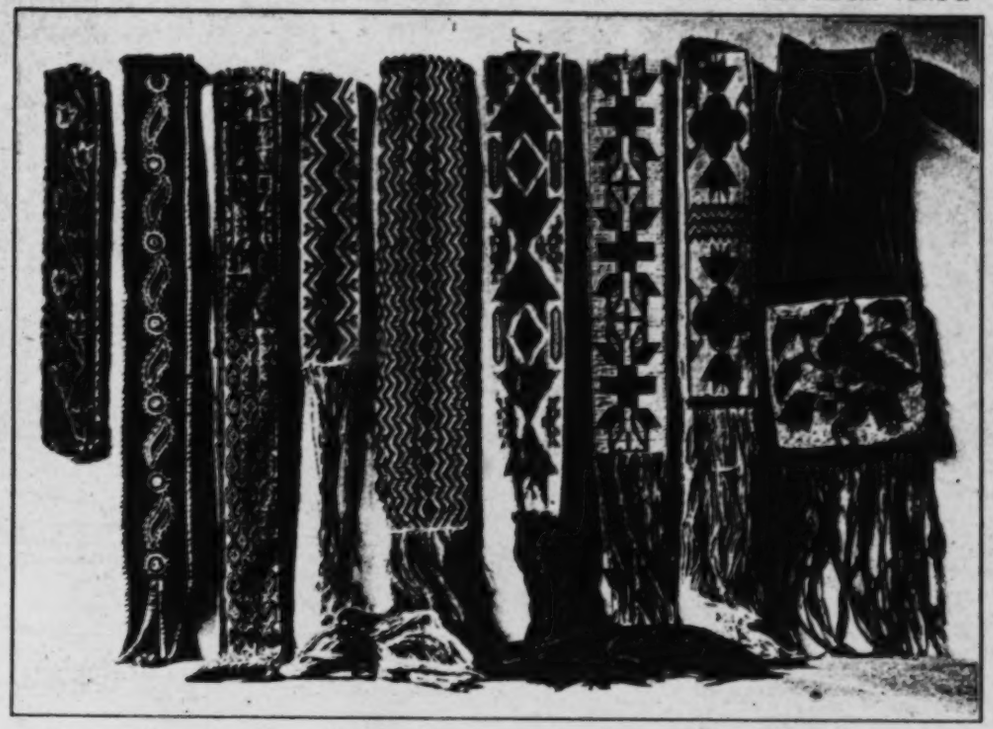
[29]

a. WINNEBAGO, SHOWING MODERN HEADGEAR

b. WINNEBAGO WITH DEER-TAIL HEADDRESS

[Facing p. 103 (D)]



a b c d e f g h i

BEADED BELTS

(c, d, e, f show old Winnebago patterns)

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RI 531

[Facing p. 108 (n)]

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WOMAN'S HAIR ORNAMENTS AND SMALL BEADED BAG

[Facing p. 108 (F)]

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BEADED ARTICLES OF MODERN TYPE

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[Facing p. 108 (a)]

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MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

a. Birch-bark receptacle.
b. Frame for stringing beads.
c. Staff with personal markings.
d. Wooden flute.
e. Catlinite pipe.
f. Gourd rattle.

[Facing p. 108 (H)]

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*Method of wearing the hair.*—In former times the men wore their hair in two long braids, although some seem to have affected the Sauk and Fox roach. The scalp along the parting of the hair was always painted, the color varying with individuals. There is no indication of any distinctions in the method of wearing the hair among the various clans as found among the Osage. 302 [177]

A variety of coiffures exist among the Winnebago women at the present day and the assumption that these are all recent is unwarranted. It seems probable that in the old days the hair was usually worn in one braid, which on festive occasions was inclosed in a case. This consisted of two parts—a rectangular piece of broadcloth beaded, and long strips of beaded work (pl. 28).

*Earrings and bracelets.*—At the present time earrings are fashioned either of 10-cent pieces strung together or of various ornaments of German silver. Strings of beads also are worn occasionally. Bracelets now are made generally of German silver, while in former times beaded or quillwork buckskin was used. 301 [178]

*Arm bands and necklaces.*—Arm bands are made either of German silver or beaded work. The necklaces consist of long strings of various articles, as modern wampum, seeds, and elk teeth.

Belts, as well as cross belts, are now either beaded or woven, but formerly they were always woven from buffalo hair. Shell gorgets are generally of the type shown in plates 22, 24, 26, b. Tight collars are now made of beaded work. Bandoliers consist of long sashes with bags attached; both sash and bag are always gorgeously beaded. The bandoliers are worn in three ways, with the bag hanging on the right side, on the left side, or in front. Often the same individual wears two or three bandoliers. Garters are now made of beaded work; formerly these were generally made of the skins of various animals, preferably the polecat (pls. 27, 28, 29, 30, b). 293

*Headdress and taildress.*—The Winnebago headdress has been well described by Skinner (op. cit., p. 203), as follows: 301 237

> The typical headdress is a roach or comb-like ornament woven from deer's hair and generally dyed red. A curved bone, somewhat like an elongate isosceles triangle in shape, spread out this roach and was attached near the front to another tubular bone in which an eagle feather was inserted. Often the latter was ornamented with dyed horse hair and rattlesnake rattles. . . . The whole was fastened on the crown of the head slightly back of the forehead. It was usually pinned to the hair, the scalplock serving to hold it on.

A taildress, consisting of the tail of some animal, was worn only at certain dances, particularly the Horucka.

## Hunting

In their original habitat hunting was the most important means of subsistence of the Winnebago. Practically all game available was 224

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224 hunted, very few animals being tabooed. So far as the author
[784] knows, the following animals only were not eaten: Skunk, mink,
[262] marten, otter, horse, the weasel, gophers of all kinds, crows (northern ravens?), and eagles.

411 *Bow.*—The bow and arrow and traps were used in hunting. The bow is of a very simple type, having ends more or less pointed by rubbing them on stones. In former times the bowstring was made of sinew.

*Arrows.*—There were five types of arrows, distinguished both by the nature of the arrowhead and by their use: *Ma*ⁿ p'a*ɛ*ɛ'dera*, bird arrow; *ma'ⁿsuste p'a''uⁿ*, rabbit, or small mammal, arrow; *maⁿ k'teɢak caka'k'ere*, deer and large mammal arrow; *maiⁿ sa'ra*, or *maiⁿsa'k'ere*, used in battle; and the *maⁿ p'a'ⁿuna*, also used in battle. The first two and the last were made entirely of wood, generally hickory, the last being merely a pointed stick. The third and the fourth were the only ones that had separate heads attached. The
[237] head of the third was, as the name implies, a turtle claw, and that of the fourth a fragment of flint. The Winnebago have no recollection of ever having made flint arrowheads and claim that those they used were found in the ground (pl. 31).

224 *Traps.*—One of the principal traps consisted of a heavy timber supported very slightly by an upright, to which a piece of wood was attached bearing bait at the end. No sooner does the animal—wolf, bear, fox, or raccoon—touch the bait than the heavy timber falls upon his head, killing him instantly. Another trap commonly used for rabbits may be described thus: The head of a post is hollowed out to receive the knob-shaped end of a long pliable piece of wood that fits into it very lightly. To the latter is attached a noose, so arranged that it draws away the knob-shaped head at the slightest touch. The rabbit must put his head into the noose in order to get at the bait; in so doing he invariably moves the lever, which springs back, jerking him into the air and strangling him.

For trapping deer a very ingenious method is used. Taking advantage of the animal's habit of following repeatedly the same trail, the hunter at some point of a deer trail piles across it a mass of brush to a height of about 4 feet. Behind this he plants a pointed stake so that it can not be seen by the animal. On encountering the obstruction the deer leaps over it and is impaled on the stake.

Knowledge of the habits of beavers and otters is utilized in the following way: Many of these animals live along winding creeks, and in proceeding from one place to another, instead of following all the meanderings of the streams, they cut across the land. The Winnebago hunter digs deep holes in these cut-offs and covers them with hay. Into these the animals fall and are unable to get out.

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*The bear hunt.*—Bears were hunted by individuals or by the tribe. Before a man started on a bear hunt he went through the following ceremony, known as *wanaᵃice're*, literally "concentration of the mind." He either built a special lodge or used his own for the ceremony. A kettle containing food was placed on the fireplace; this was intended for the particular bear the man wished to kill. The food generally consisted of corn or dried fruit; tobacco and red feathers also were offered, the former in small bark vessels. All these offerings were made not only as sacrifices to the bear but in order to make the feast as tempting as possible. When everything was in readiness, the host rubbed two sticks having rough surfaces against each other, called *sai'ᵃcaraz* or *sai'ᵃwaidjo'k'ere*. The host never ate. He continued his singing and rubbing until he attracted the attention of the bear, as indicated by the appearance of a little streak of flame passing from the fire toward the gifts he brought for him. 224 796 782

The same ceremony was performed before starting on a deer or a raccoon hunt. In addition to this ceremony, individuals always used the special hunting medicines that they obtained during their fasts. This was frequently chewed and then rubbed into the arrow (nowadays into the gun).[9] [789]

There is a time of the year called *hiruci'e*, when bear break hickory or oak branches for the nuts or the acorns. It seems they are then very easy to approach. If a man killed a bear he would always refer to it in terms of respect. 224 [825]

The tribal bear hunt always took place in summer. As enemies were generally encountered on the way a winter or war feast was always given before the party started. This had nothing to do, however, with the hunt proper. Following is a fairly close translation of an account of a Winnebago bear hunt and buffalo hunt secured by the author: [721 527]

*Description of a bear hunt.*—When the Winnebago went on the bear hunt they always traveled in large numbers. They would always be able to find bears in the groves of red timber-oak, and it would be very easy to kill them. Nevertheless the old people considered it a very dangerous affair, especially if the hunters came upon breeding bear. If anyone killed a breeding bear he would cause very much trouble. The male bear would get very angry and chase the man who had done the killing, and if it ever happened that he was out of ammunition, the man surely would be killed. The bear would jump upon him and tear him to pieces. It is said that when bears kill a human being they always eat him. Another way of getting at the bears was to clear away the ground for them. It is very easy to kill them then. This generally takes place at the time of the year when the acorns fall to the ground. The bears gather in the cleared spaces and lie down there. They lie in the timber under the trees. They look like black objects in the distance. It is customary to shoot at them from some distance, but care is always taken not to shoot all of them, nor to shoot when the wind was with them, for then they would scent the hunters 224 825

[9] Numerous descriptions of the *wanaᵃice're* are given in the Sun Tribalmer cycle.

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224 825 or hear the noise and run away. For this reason the hunters are very careful about these two things—namely, the number of bears shot and the direction of the wind. The method of hunting bears when the acorns fall and they come to the open or cleared spaces is known as the *hiwi'r* method. When the bears eat acorns then only is it easy to find them and kill them without much effort.

224 [721 648] *Description of a buffalo hunt.*—Whenever the Winnebago went buffalo hunting, they always went in large numbers, for the people used to say that on a buffalo hunt, they are likely to encounter their enemies and a fight might take place. It is even said that some people went purposely for the fighting. They generally went together with the *Homowa* (Missouri ?), Wazekreen, Iowa, and *Wadjobdjadjera*, the Otto. Many women accompanied them. It is said that they could always tell where the buffalo were by the dust they encountered, for the dust raised by the trampling of the buffalo rose high in the air. They would always start out for the buffalo early in the morning on fast horses and try to ride up along the right side of the female buffalo, for they only killed the bulls afterward. They shot the buffalo with bow and arrows. When riding horseback, the bow is always drawn back with the right hand. The reason they try to kill the female buffalo first is because they always run away while the bulls do not.

While hunting the buffalo they were always bound to meet some of their enemies and a fight would ensue, so that when they returned, they would bring back not only [727] buffalo but also scalps, and immediately after their return the Victory Dance would be celebrated.

224 721 A different account of a buffalo hunt was obtained from another informant (*J. H.*):[4]

[342] Whenever we go on a buffalo hunt we camp in a circle, with the soldiers in front. They always carried long poles to be used in the construction of tipis. [This statement was made by a number of persons whose information was generally accurate. As [237 372] they were bound for the open prairie where there was a scarcity of wood, buffalo manure was always carried for fuel.]

As soon as the chief decided to go on a hunt he gave a feast [war feast] to which he invited everyone. This was generally in June. As soon as the feast was over a hunting council was held. Then the chief appointed public criers who went around the [203] village announcing the time for starting, etc. Then all went to the lodge of the chief of the Bear clan. There the ten best warriors were selected, who were to go ahead of the main body and reconnoiter for both buffalo and enemies. These started immediately and if they returned with the news that they had found many buffalo and enemy at the same time, fights frequently took place. Ten warriors always went ahead and the old warriors generally stayed in the rear behind the women in order to protect them better. As soon as they came to the place where the buffalo were seen they followed their trail and killed them. The flesh was cut up into large chunks, which were afterwards dried on the grass. Then when they had enough they all returned home, observing, of course, the same order of march as when they started. When they reached their home they gave another war feast at which all thanked the spirits for their successful return.

223 [762] *Pigeon hunt.*—The pigeons are "chief"[5] birds and they would be hunted whenever the chief decided to give the chief feast. The entire tribe was always invited to participate in the meal served, so that many pigeons were needed. The pigeons generally make their nests near human habitations. Sometimes there would be 20

[4] As his grandfather was a Dakota, *J. H.* may have confused in his account Dakota customs with those of the Winnebago. Apart from this consideration, it should be said that *J. H.* was an exceedingly unreliable informant.

[825 614] [5] They are called "chief" birds because the pigeon belongs to the same division as does the Thunderbird, or Chief, clan.

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in one tree, but a really large tree would hold even more. The pigeons were hunted 223
in the following manner: Long poles were taken and the pigeons poked out of their
nests. In this manner many would be killed very easily in one day. They are [252]
then either broiled or steeped, when they have a delicious taste. Often it is unnecessary to hunt for them after a storm because large quantities die from exposure to inclement weather.

*Method of slaughtering animals.*—According to most of the author's 252
informants, all larger animals were opened by making two long in- 224
cisions, one on each side of the chest. This information may be accepted as correct with respect to the bear, but there is less certainty as to other large animals. There are two considerations, however, which seem to make the question of agreement among informants of secondary importance: First, the considerable differences in this and kindred matters among the settlements of the Winnebago, due to the large extent of territory they inhabited and the diverse influences potent at various places; and secondly, the fact that the distribution of food was entirely a matter of courtesy between individuals, so that considerable variation in custom was both possible and probable.

According to one informant the man who killed an animal had the 224
least to say about its distribution and generally got the poorest share. 425
This unquestionably does not give a very accurate impression of the custom, because subsequent questioning brought out clearly the fact that the manner of distribution depended entirely on the number of individuals present at the killing of the animal, and also on the age of these individuals and their social standing. Remembering that there is no "typical" division which an Indian thinks of in the abstract, but that he always has in mind particular instances of distribution, in order to ascertain definite rules it would obviously be necessary to obtain an adequate number of representative cases in which all the possibilities based on the factors of age, number, and social standing would be duly considered.

From another individual the following information was obtained: When two people went hunting the man who killed the animal received the head, breast, feet, lungs, and heart; his companion, the hide and the rest of the animal. A feast was given afterwards, however, at which the bravest warrior received all that was properly the share of the man who killed the animal. When four went out, the eldest always got the hide; he was granted also the right to apportion the animal. This last instance seems significant in view of the fact that at the tribal hunt the rights of the individual who killed the animal were subservient to many other rights, as those pertaining to seniority and social standing, and suggests that only when one or two individuals took the rather great risks of hunting by themselves was actual killing of the animal deemed of predominating importance in the apportionment.

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224 *Regulation of the tribal hunt.*—It can not be said that there were
[721] many special regulations during the tribal hunt. The rules applying to the regulation of war parties held here too. (For a description of these, see p. 156.)

Individuals were strictly prohibited from taking the initiative except by permission. For instance, a man was not allowed to proceed beyond a certain point, or shoot before a certain time; in short, not to do anything by which he might endanger his own life, the safety of his companions, or the success of the hunt, such as scaring away the animals or causing them to stampede.

625 It is during the tribal hunts that the power of the Bear clan is at
224 its height. For this reason it may perhaps be most appropriate to
614 include here a description* of these powers, although this really
484 belongs in the section on Social Organization:

Whenever the Winnebago are on their tribal hunt or whenever they move from one place to another, the soldiers (i. e., the Bear people) take the lead. Whenever they decide to stop at some place, the leader of the Bear people places his stick in the ground and the other soldiers do the same. The line of sticks is a slanting one. The main tribe follows behind at some distance and always camps a little behind them. None of the members of the tribe dare pass ahead of these sticks. If, for instance, during the fall move the tribe were passing through a country in which much game abounded, and if after the tribe had stopped at a certain place anyone should take it upon himself to go ahead and kill game on his own initiative, and he
[686] was discovered, the soldiers would go to his camp and burn it and everything it contained, destroy any supplies he had, and break his dishes. They would spare only his life and the lives of his family. If he resisted he would get a severe whipping. If even after that he resisted them and took his gun and attempted to shoot, the soldiers would not do anything but stand ready. But the moment he made an attempt to shoot, they would kill him and nothing would be said of the matter, for they would be putting into effect the law of the tribe. If, on the other hand, the man submitted to the action of the soldiers and apologized they would make him a better lodge and would give him more and better things than those they had taken away.

## Fishing and Agriculture

226 *Fishing.*—In former times fishing seems to have been done exclusively by spearing or by shooting. The spear (woc') consisted of a long stick provided with a bone or a horn point. Spearing was done preferably at night with the aid of torches made of pine pitch. In shooting fish a long arrowlike stick (ma^wuxleizlai) with a pointed end, whittled and frayed at the base like the ceremonial staff of the Bear clan, was discharged from an ordinary bow.

227 The most commonly used trap for fishing was a triangular weir loaded with a stone at its base and placed at the head of a waterfall caused by artificial damming of a stream.

784 Very few fish were taboo, the principal ones being the dogfish
226 and the eel.

* By Theodor Cloud.

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*Names of the principal trees, etc.*

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ṇagowk'a'wa, reds-wood.
na^ije, moss.
wax cuic, cedar (red cedar).
hatra^na, ironwood.
witri, flat curved reed used for lodges.
ṇa, round reed used for mats.
hi^rgi', basswood.
wazi, pine in general.
wazi pazu, white cedar.
wargi', poplar.
tra^ tra'wa, birch.
trage, walnut.
pa^ dja'gu, hickory.
hazu'ka, butternut.
na^ ṇa'ṇk', maple.
ruyi, willow.
rak, ash.
trargo'gu, oak.
maṇk'a'rak, elm.
hukaign, hazel.
na^ p'a'gu, cherry.
na^ ho'rgi, lea-cherry.
keya', cottonwood.

*Names of the principal vegetables and fruits*

tuwa'hera, a water root.
wokuṇ'gura, root called "owl" root.
ho^r'kboi'dja, pea vine.
dowa, a sort of artichoke.
pa^kai, root found in lowlands.
ha^p'ak, chokecherries.
k'a^tc, plum.
ko^ crabapple.
tuwa'^wa^, fruit of a tree similar to crab-apple tree.
hazi'ratrga, raspberry.
handa'manḇera, blackberry.
hanlinṇk', blueberries.
hawdjok', strawberry.
hap'a'nap'anazge, gooseberry.
hoicuṇka', cranberry.
k'a^tc hi^rak, peaches (fuzzy plums).
ko^ carotc, apple (long and round apple).
wak'a^rotcawa, wild currant (snake's navel).
dokr'wahi, prairie turnip.
ho^a'ṇk, bean.
ho^ṇaṇk' na^di, climbing bean.
ho^a'ṇk' mink, nonclimbing bean.
na^hi^tc, milkweed.

*Animals and parts of animals whose flesh is not eaten*

192
136
262

waṇkruṇk, dogfish.
djadja'ṇka'k, mink.
dorc'na^k, otter.
ho wak'a^, owl (holy fish).
k'ayi, crow (really northern raven).
trazro'p, eagle.
weasel.
marten.
no entrails (a'djwṇṇ).
gopher.
bear.

*Agriculture.*—In the old days the Winnebago always raised in their permanent villages at least corn, squash, and beans. As the villages consisted practically of a group of families belonging to different clans, each clan apparently living by itself, the question of clan ownership of these fields was hardly considered. (This statement is made because some Winnebago spoke of clan ownership.) What actually occurred was, in the opinion of the author, as follows: Each group of families being segregated according to clan, it happened that certain family groups had fields in common. This must have happened rather frequently, for there seems to have been a tendency—although this can not be said with certainty owing to the meagerness of reliable information—for related families to hold together in these settlements. In general, however, each family owned and cultivated its own field.

241
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423
[62]

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241 [778] In the middle of the field was usually placed an earthen representation of the clan animal. As to how squash and beans were planted, no reliable information is available. The corn was planted in small circular mounds which, to judge from those near Madison, Wis., were arranged in remarkably straight rows.

[442 177] The author is unable to say what type of implements was used, as the Winnebago have been using those of European manufacture for many years and have no recollection of any other kind.

If anyone had more corn planted than he could take care of he
241 gave a feast, to which he invited all who had hoes. At this feast
527 dried corn was used. On this occasion the people sacrificed tobacco
782 to their hoes, so that they might not cut themselves with these implements or have other accidents. Then they all joined in helping their host cultivate his corn.

249 In addition to the above-mentioned patches, most Winnebago had small fields of tobacco, which were regarded as very sacred. The tobacco grown on these was used only for sacrificial purposes. Sacred gourds also were planted in these fields.

222 *Berry picking.*—From the earliest times the Winnebago were known for their bountiful supply of berries. Every fall parties of men, women, and children went out to pick cranberries and whortleberries.

222 *Customs when berries are ripening.*—If a man has a son whom he
787 loves very much, he has him fast as soon as the berries and other things begin to ripen. If this boy dreams of something good, then he (the father) gives a feast with the newly ripened food and the boy eats. If the boy does not dream of anything good after four days, the father makes him eat and has him try again.

222 *Rice gathering.*—In common with the Central Algonquian tribes, with whom they have come in contact, especially the Menominee, the Winnebago spent a number of weeks every year gathering wild rice. The following description of the manner in which this is done is taken from a newspaper article published by Prof. A. E. Jenks of the University of Minnesota:

> Fox River from its source to Lake Winnebago was for hundreds of years a very productive field for this aquatic cereal, and along this river the Winnebago lived in plenty and peace with several wild rice eating tribes of the Algonkin stock. Probably a few families still gather their annual crop in that old domain; but most of the wild rice which the tribe now gathers is obtained in the sloughs of the Mississippi River near Lacrosse, Wis., and on the Iowa side of that river
>
> The Winnebago gather the grain by running their canoes into the tall standing stalks before the grain is ripe. A stick is held in each hand of the harvester, one being used to draw the standing stalks over the edge of the canoe, while the other one is employed in tapping or striking the heads of the stalks, thus knocking the grain out of the fruit head into the canoe. After the canoe is full it is taken to the shore and emptied.

252 *Preparation of foods.*—Meats were prepared by broiling, in three
262 ways—on stakes, over a rack, or under hot ashes. Only the ribs

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and the breast of most animals were considered good portions, but the head of the deer was included. Other portions were eaten, however. For infants the deer's tail was considered a delicacy. Now, when they eat meat provided by the white man, rib roast of beef is the favorite meat of the Winnebago. 252 262 [354] [177]

The Winnebago were very fond of soups of all descriptions. Most of these were meat soups with the addition of vegetables or berries.

Most time was, however, spent in the preparation of vegetable foods, especially in the preparation of wild rice and corn. For the preparation of rice I will again quote Professor Jenks's article:

> At this stage of the harvest when the Winnebago gather the wild rice, the kernel is very like a long oat and has a tenacious hull, which must be removed before the grain can be eaten. The necessity of removing this hull and the unripe condition of the grain make it necessary to dry it artificially. This is usually done by spreading the kernels yet inclosed in the hull upon a rack of lattice work, under which a slow fire is kept burning. The grain is cured and the hull made brittle by the heat and smoke. The next process is the thrashing. The Winnebago thrashes the grain by the use of a most primitive flail. He spreads a blanket, rush mat, or deerskin on the ground, upon which he puts the new cured grain. Along three sides of the blanket he erects a screen of similar material. At the open side of this screen the man squats on his knees, and beats the grain with a straight stick in each hand, thus releasing it from the hull. When it has been thrashed the woman gathers up the contents of the blanket and winnows the mass by letting it fall from a vessel held high in the air upon a blanket or mat laid on the earth; the wind blows away the chaff from the falling grain and leaves the clean kernels.

The Winnebago distinguished a number of different kinds of corn, the principal ones being *wahi'sereie*, yellow-stalked; *Mirarakona*, sweet corn; and *warue'teke*, red-colored corn. The cornstalk was called *wahu'*, the corn proper, *witca'ⁿwuⁿs*, and the cob, *wosu'k'*. The corn is pounded on a rack (*waick'*) and then shelled, the grain falling through the rack and the cobs remaining on top. After being shelled the corn is steamed. Then the stones necessary for cooking it are gathered and the corn is picked. When this is finished, a hole is dug in the ground and red-hot stones are put in. Over this the husks are put and upon these the corn; then another layer of husks, etc. The top always is covered with husks. Four holes are made through the husks, into which four pails of water are poured and the whole is covered with a thick layer of earth and the corn left there overnight. The next morning it will be entirely cooked. 252 [243] [137]

In shelling, the outer part of an oyster shell is used. When the shelling is over the corn is spread out and dried. [237 412]

Squash is prepared as follows: After the skin has been removed the squash is cut into slices and the seeds taken out; the slices of squash are then put on poles to dry. The dried squash is called *hotca'ⁿwuⁿdawus*. There are two varieties of this vegetable—*witca'ⁿwuⁿ*, Hubbard squash, and *witca'ⁿwanaik*, small-kernel squash.

Fruit was dried, but by what process the author has not learned. [251]

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252 262 In addition to the vegetable foods above referred to, the following may be mentioned: *Teera'pera*, a plant growing in the water, the root of which was eaten boiled with meat; *wokniykra* and *hu^ainik hoi'dja*, awl plant and peavine, respectively, of which only the roots were eaten; and finally the *dora*, wild potato, a favorite dish. The skin was peeled off; then the potato was dried in the sun and afterwards boiled. *Na^apa'k^i*, chokecherries, were eaten raw. *P'apkzi'* and *ma^ahi'nte*, a lowland weed, and the milkweed, respectively, were also utilized. Of the former, the boiled root was eaten; of the latter, the boiled head. Small quantities of food which required grinding were put into a squirrel hide from which the hairs had been removed, and were pounded with a stone. A mill consisting of a dug-out trunk with handles attached was also used.

251 415 *Preservation of food.*—In former times meat was hung on long racks for preservation. Corn was cached (*wozr'*). Dried berries were kept in bags woven from vegetable fibers. These bags were always covered with designs, mostly of geometric patterns, although [531 422] realistic designs, as elk, deer, thunderbirds, and water spirits, all unquestionably property marks, were frequently used. There were two types of bags, that closely woven (*p'a^a*) (pls. 32–36), just mentioned, and matting bags with fairly large openings in the meshwork (pl. 37). Food stored away at home was generally placed in a part of the lodge reserved for the purpose.

262 *A Winnebago menu.*—To give an idea of the favorite dishes of the Winnebago, the names of several mentioned in one of the myths are here appended: Small dried corn boiled with bear's ribs; jerked meat with bear's fat; deer's fat; deer's grease frozen in a hole in the ground; dried corn boiled with fruit; deer-loin soup.

412 415 *Cooking and eating utensils* (pl. 38).—With regard to the kind of cooking and eating utensils used in the old days there exists even among the Indians themselves considerable difference of opinion. According to some, their ancestors never used wooden utensils, mills, spoons, and plates, but utilized shells of various kinds or other natural objects suitable to their needs. Others state, on the contrary, that, in early times, in addition to such natural objects, wooden vessels of many kinds were fashioned from maple knots. These are said to have been burned out, a very tedious process, or even to have been cut out with adzes. It is quite impossible to decide this question now. Wooden implements and utensils in great variety are, of course, found among the Winnebago at the present time, but these are supposed by many to have been introduced by the neighboring Algonquian tribes and by early French traders. The main contention of the present-day [177] Winnebago is, however, that their ancestors could never have made this woodenware without the aid of European implements, burning out being a tedious and unsatisfactory method.

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BOW AND BIRD ARROW

THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT PLATE 31

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

[Facing p. 118(A)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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WOVEN BAGS WITH OLD DESIGNS

[Facing p. 118 (B)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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WOVEN BAGS

a. Deer and thunderbird designs b. Thunderbird design

[Facing p. 118 (c)]

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VARIETIES OF WOVEN BAGS

[Facing p. 118 (D)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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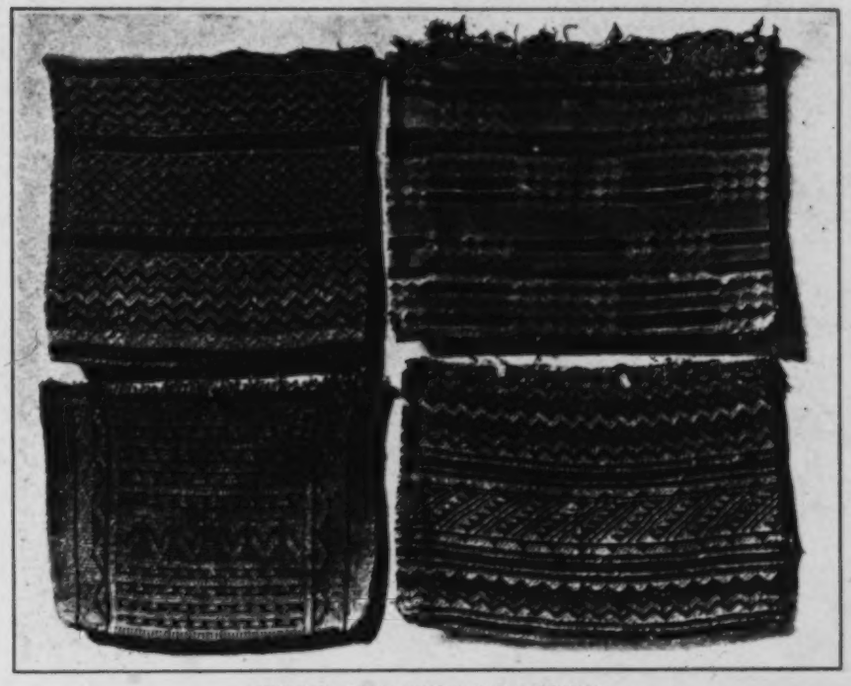

WOVEN BAGS WITH OLD DESIGNS

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[Facing p. 118 (E)]

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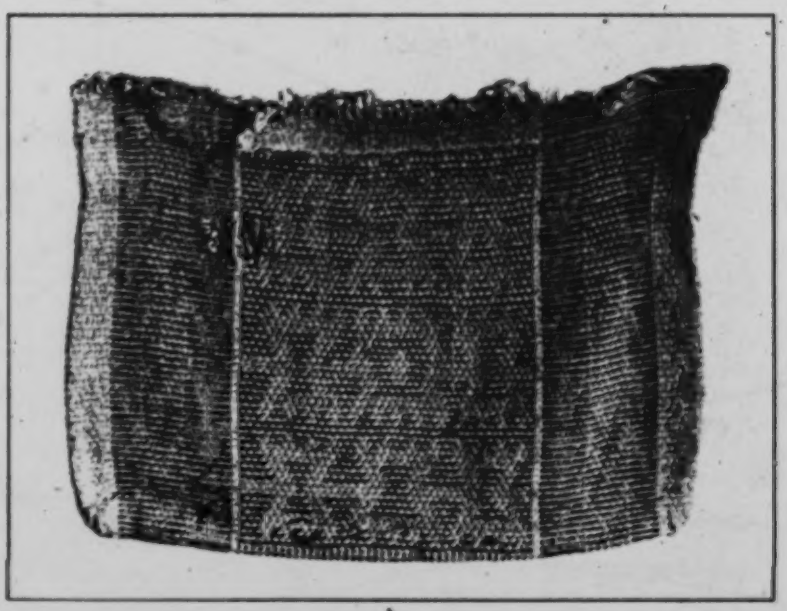

WOVEN BAGS
(Peabody Museum)

[Facing p. 118 (F)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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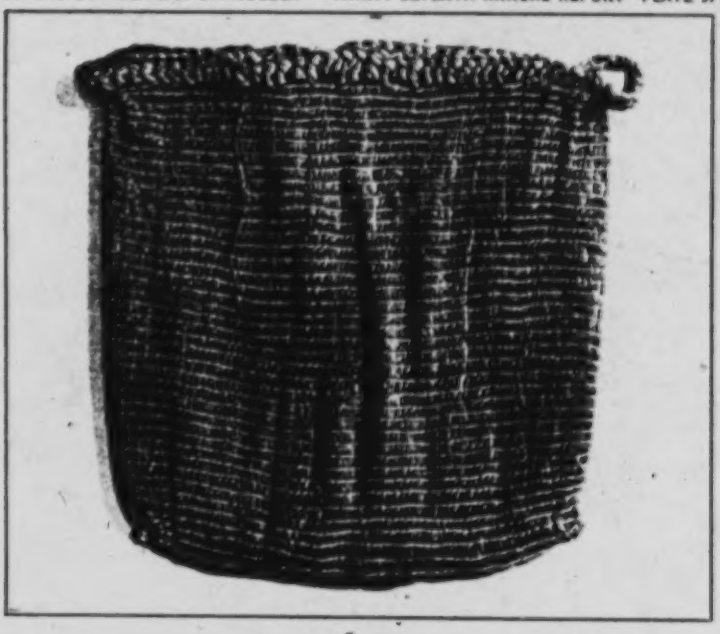

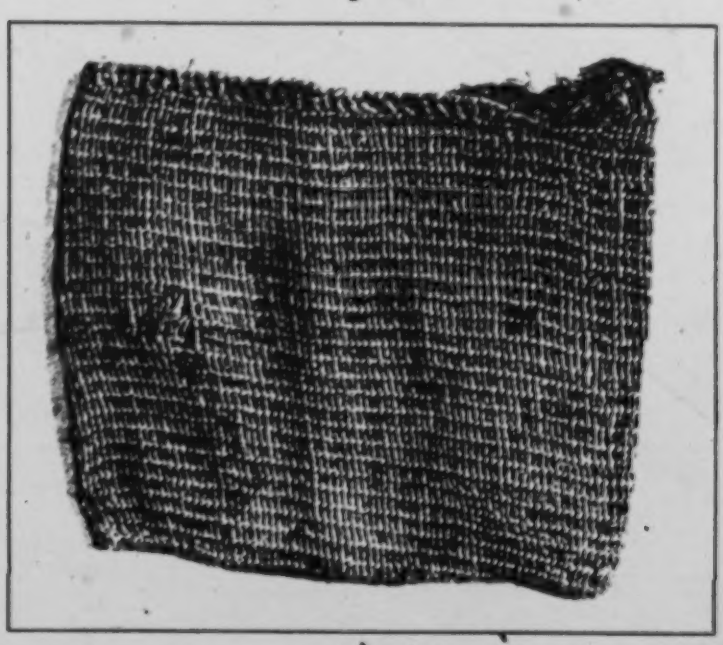

OPENWORK WOVEN BAGS
(Peabody Museum)

[Facing p. 118(a)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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a. WOODEN DISHES

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b. WOODEN SPOONS

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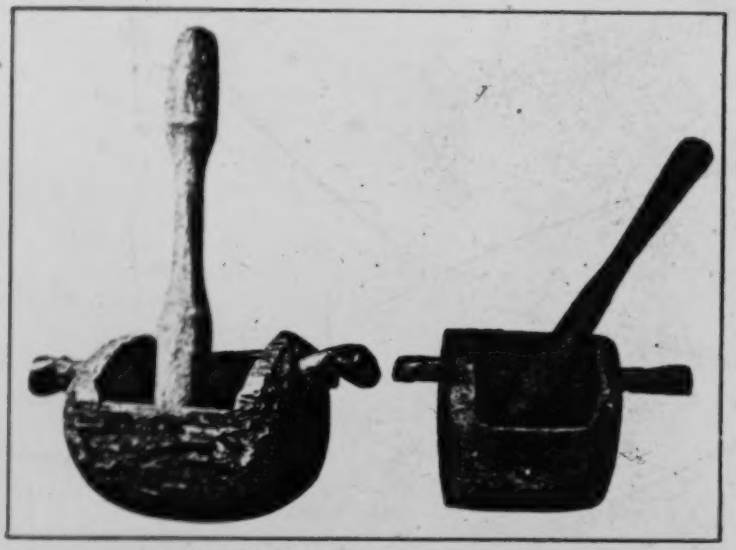

c. WOODEN MORTARS AND PESTLES

[Facing p. 118 (H)]

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It might be said that all recollection of the making of wooden vessels could easily have been lost in the last century or two and that therefore too much weight should not be given to present ignorance of the subject. There are a number of reasons, however, why ignorance in this particular case might be significant. First, many indications point to workmanship of a low order among the Winnebago in the manufacture of artifacts; second, there are many suggestions of two cultural strata in this tribe; third, while the Winnebago in Wisconsin still use wooden vessels, many of them claim that these were introduced; and fourth, all the informants who gave this information were old people. If the author were to hazard an hypothesis, it would be the following: In very early times few objects were fashioned out of wood, but gradually contact with the Menominee led to the introduction of many wooden vessels, and finally the acquisition of European axes, knives, and other implements made it possible to manufacture such vessels in large numbers. A similar explanation was offered by an Indian with regard to the use of dugouts.

415 [323] [177] 174 415 177

Besides wood as a material for dishes and spoons of various kinds and sizes, shells were utilized, while sticks served as knives.

321 412

All informants agree that neither bone nor stone were used in the manufacture of utensils.

For cooking, clay pots were used. These vessels, most of which were very large, with round bottoms, always hung over the fire. The material used in their manufacture was blue clay found at Green Bay, on or near the site of St. Paul, Minn., mixed with shell shards, glue from sturgeon vetrebræ, and the gelatinous substance in the horns of the deer. The addition of these ingredients greatly increased the cohesiveness of the clay. The material was either molded with the hands or in holes of the desired shape dug in the ground and lined with leaves. Finally, the vessels were dried over a slow fire in small kilns constructed for the purpose. None of the clay vessels were provided with handles. Some were ornamented with geometric patterns. The irregular incised designs on some Winnebago vessels are the impressions of grass blades with which the mold was lined.[1]

323 [415] 252] [531]

*Fire making.*—In former times fire was always made by means of a simple fire drill. This method is still used for ceremonial occasions.

372

*Tanning.*—The author never witnessed the process of tanning. The description obtained agrees exactly with that of Mr. A. Skinner here quoted:[2]

281

After the skin has been removed, the hair is scraped from it. During this process the skin is hung over an obliquely inclined leg, one end of which has been smoothed

[1] One informant gave a description of pottery making in which a wheel was used, but as no other Winnebago corroborated this statement the author is convinced that it is inaccurate. [414]

[2] Anthr. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist. pt. vi, pt. ii, pp. 202-203.

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281 off on the upper surface. The beaming tool is then grasped in both hands and pushed away from the user against the grain of the hair over the skin where it lies on the smoothed surface of the stick or log. This process is the same as that followed by the 281 Northern Ojibway and Eastern Cree. The next step is to stretch the skin on a square, 412 upright frame. A fleshing tool is then brought to bear, although the beamer is often made to answer this purpose. When the skin has been fleshed, it is soaked in a mixture of deer's brains and water. No grease is added. This preparation is kept in liquid form in a pail and lasts some time. After remaining in the brain fluid for a time, the skin is taken out and thoroughly washed. Then it is taken by the tanner—

[463]

who is always a woman—and dried. While the skin is drying, it is rubbed with a wooden spatula to make it flexible. It is now ready for the last step—smoking. For this process it is first sewed up into a cylindrical shape, and the upper end is tied together to form a bag. By this closed upper end it is then suspended over a shallow hole from a stick driven obliquely into the ground at an angle of about 45 degrees. In the hole a fire is built with dried wood. The open lower edge of the skin bag is pegged or fastened to the ground about the edge of the hole.

## Games and Amusements

526

Lacrosse was the favorite game of the Winnebago. This was generally played on ceremonial occasions. Whenever played, the two divisions of the tribe, the Waŋgxro'gi and the Maŋe'gi, were pitted against each other. There were two kinds of lacrosse, one played by men and the other played by women; these differed in a number of particulars.

526 462

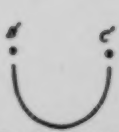


FIG. 27.—Men's lacrosse. A, Goal; B, B', Goal posts of waŋgxro' side; C, C', Goal posts of maŋegi side; D, Mound from which ball is thrown.

*Men's lacrosse.*—The men's game was called *tcabonino'ŋugis hik'isik'*. There were either 12 or 22 men on each side, placed in the following manner: Two, one of each side, stood in front of the arched sapling which constituted one of the goals (*wak'a'rani*); these were called *wois'iŋgra*. There were, of course, two goals, each about 10 feet high, one at each end of the field. About midway between the goals a small mound was made from which the ball was thrown. Ten or twenty men, as the case may be, covered the ground between the mound and the two men stationed at each *wak'a'rani*. The lacrosse stick was called *trabonadu'gis*, and the ball used either *tci-oko'nõkra* or *waⁿiⁿi'ⁿpa*. The object of the game was to put the ball through the goal four times. At the beginning of the game the ball was thrown straight into the air from the mound. (For plan of the game, see fig. 27.)

526 *Ceremonial lacrosse.*—The following description of a ceremonial lacrosse game was given by a member of the Bear clan:

The Waŋgxro'gi and the Maŋe'gi people were to play lacrosse. So the Waŋgxro'gi took an invitation stick and attached some tobacco to it and sent it to the Maŋe'gi people. Thus they fixed a day for the contest. The contest was to be in four days. In the meantime both sides were to get ready, for some might be without balls or sticks, etc. Then the Waŋgxro'gi said, "We are the foster and will therefore go and

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look for food." When they returned the leader of the Waŋgure'ɡi said again, "We are the fleeter and will therefore win from our opponents. In addition to that we are holy and for that reason we will be strengthened in the coming contest." Then the leader of the Maqo'ɡi said, "I will first pour tobacco and then I will arise with the blessing of life which was bestowed upon me and through which I know my men will be strengthened." Then they arranged the goals, i. e., the *wak'a'rani*, and arranged for the points. Then they took an emetic and went into a vapor-bath in order to strengthen themselves. The goals were now standing far apart from each other. Then the people who were to play gathered on the field and two men from each side began to tell their war exploits. First, one of the Waŋgure'ɡi men told how he had cut off an enemy's head; how proud his sisters had been at receiving the gifts and how they had danced in the Victory Dance. "With such a man you will have to play," he shouted to those on the other side. Then a man from the Maqo'ɡi side said, "I also am a brave man. I did with the enemy as I pleased. Once when an enemy had been killed between the firing lines, I rushed for him and in the midst of bullets I cut off his head. With such a man you will have to fight," he shouted to those on the other side. Then he gave a whoop and the ball was thrown into the air and they began to play lacrosse. Those who first succeeded in putting the ball through the *wak'a'rani* four times would be declared the winners. All day they played and in the evening they stopped. Lacrosse was the favorite game among the Winnebago. This is all. 526 [783]

*Women's lacrosse.*—The women's game was called *naiyaca'radji wak'isik'*. Ten women took part on each side; they all stood in front of the goal, which consisted merely of a line drawn on the surface of the ground, called *wak'a'rani* as in the men's game. The lacrosse stick (*icabenopa*) was straight. The "ball" consisted of two balls tied together by a string (*naiyaca'radji'u' ua'i'ina*). This was put into play by being thrown from a point midway between the goals straight up into the air. The side that hit over the goal four times won. 526 462

*Football.*—Football was played by men. The *wak'a'rani* was merely a line drawn on the surface of the ground. The 16 or 20 men who took part on each side arranged themselves in front of either *wak'a'rani*. The ball used was a fairly large one made of deer's hair, covered with hide from the same animal. It was put in play in the middle of the field and the side that kicked the ball over the goal four times won the game. 526 [462]

*Hit-the-tree game* (*tcihonnoqis nai'djd hap'a-na'i*).—This consisted merely of a test of marksmanship. A tree (*na' hadjina*) about 8 feet high and 8 inches in diameter was selected and the one who hit it from a certain distance received a prize. Any number of people could participate.

*The kicking game.*—This was a very rough sport in which men only took part. Two men took turns in kicking each other as hard as they could, the one who held out the longer being the winner. [462]

*The moccasin game.*—One of the favorite games of the Winnebago. Five men took positions directly opposite their five opponents. Between the two rows of players, in front of each man was a recep- 524

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5214 tacle, generally a moccasin, in which a small object was secreted. The sides in turn guessed in which moccasin it was secreted. The guesser pointed in turn with a long stick to each moccasin, all the time carefully scrutinizing the expression on the face of each man whose moccasin he touched. The bystanders and the other players on his side meanwhile sang songs and made all sorts of remarks and allusions in an attempt to catch off his guard the man in whose moccasin the object was secreted, so that he might disclose the fact by some gesture or expression. The person guessing had the right to touch each moccasin without forfeiting his chance. As soon as he wished to guess he overturned with his stick the moccasin in which he thought the object was hidden. The seriousness with which a player scrutinized his opponents is well shown in plate 39.

[462] *Women's dice game.*—The women's dice game (*k'anau*) was played with either bone or wooden dice. Eight of these are used. After being shaken, they are allowed to fall into a wooden bowl. The dice are white on one side and black or blue on the other. One of the dice has a mark on each side. The count is as follows: 1 dark, 7 white, count 2; 2 dark, 6 white, 1; all dark, 0 white, 4; 3 dark, 5 white, 0; 4 dark, 4 white, 0; marked dice dark, 7 white, 10; marked dice white, 7 dark, 10; marked dice white, 1 other white, the rest dark, 2; all dice white, 4; 2 white, 6 dark, 1; 1 white, 7 dark, 2.

[237] The side gaining all the counters, which consist of small sticks, wins.

*Cup-and-ball game.*—"A cup-and-ball game is composed of eight worked phalangeal bones of the Virginia deer (*Odocoileus virginiana*).

[171] It differs from those seen by the writer among the Cree and Ojibway in that the topmost phalangeal unit of the game as played among those people does not have the joint removed, whereas in the Winnebago specimens all the bones are cut into conical form. The top is generally surmounted by a bunch of leather thongs with many perforations. The striking pin is of bone. The count is one for each unit, five for catching the tails or thongs at the top, and the same if all the units are caught together, which occasionally happens. The bottom unit nearest the striking pin has four small perforations set at equal distances about the lower edge. Above these holes are two, three, four, and six dots, respectively, cut in the bone. The count gained by catching this bone through any one of the holes varies according to the number of these dots. The striking pin may be of bone or wood. Sometimes these games are stained with dye or paint. The string and pins are short, so that the game is much more difficult and clumsy than in the Cree and Ojibway forms."[9]

[9] A. Skinner, op. cit., pp. [illegible].

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MOCCASIN GAME

[Facing p. 122 (A)]

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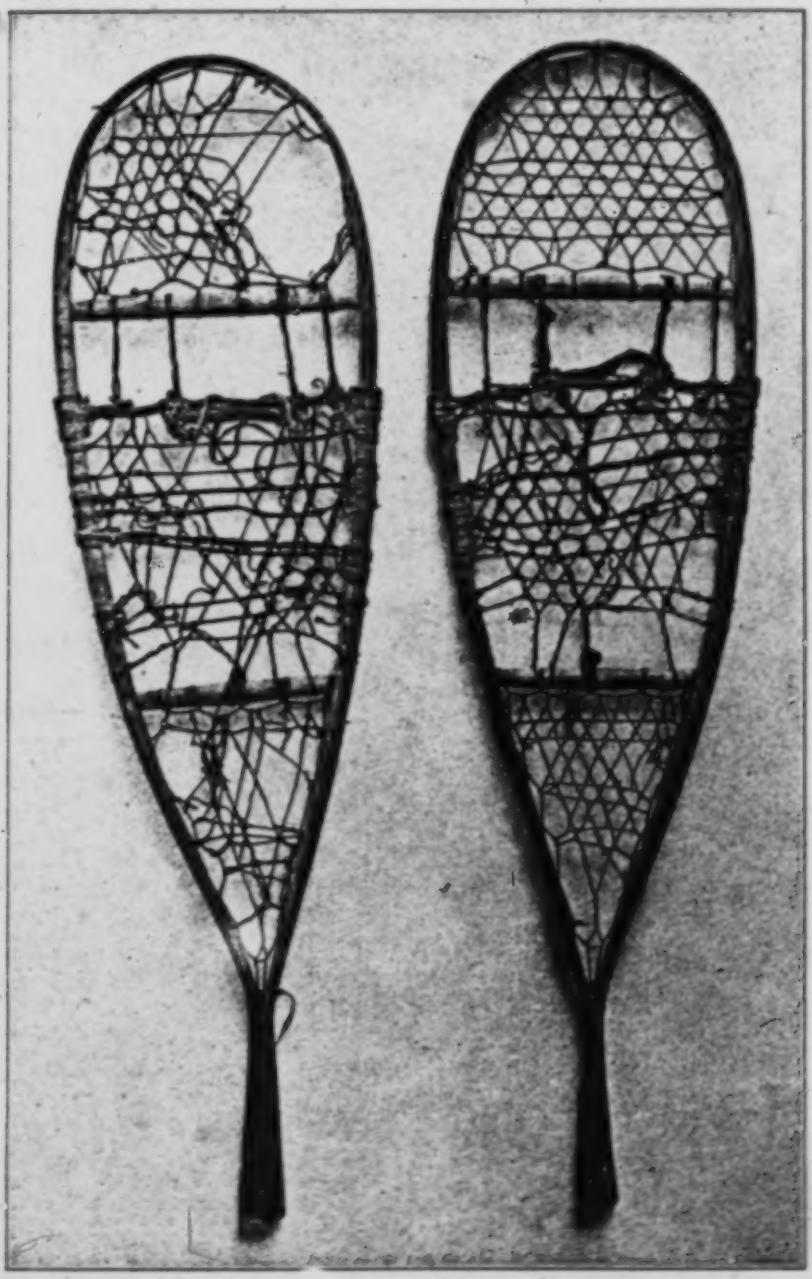

SNOWSHOES

[ cing p. 122(8)]

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*Tree game.*—Two trees are selected about 20 feet apart, one having a branch about 15 feet from the ground. A number of people stand ready at the side of this tree and the one whose turn it is to play tries to hit the branch. When he succeeds in doing so all run toward the other tree. As soon as the player gets the ball he tries to hit the runners. If successful in this before the others have reached the tree he wins; otherwise they are "safe" and he must try again. The Winnebago called this game *hahi'bidjikr'u*. 526

## Travel and Transportation

*Canoes and dugouts.*—All the boats found in the early days in the territory originally inhabited by the Winnebago were dugouts, yet a number of the tribe questioned denied positively that boats of this kind were in common use before the coming of the whites. According to these informants, in former times the Winnebago always had their home in a birch country, and had at hand, therefore, the requisite material for making canoes; moreover, birch-bark canoes were much easier to construct than dugouts, for which logs had to be hollowed by burning—a process that might consume weeks. Only when the whites introduced the ax and the knife did it become practicable to make dugouts. These implements became available at the time of the southern migration of the tribe into a region where birch bark was scarce, and one result of the change was the substitution of the dugout for the canoe. The validity of this explanation is supported by the same line of argument as in the case of the wooden vessels. 501 [412 177 167]

*Snowshoes.*—The snowshoes of the Winnebago were similar to those used by the Menominee, with this difference, that the two pieces of wood forming the "handle," instead of being tied together for their whole length, as among the latter, were left unfastened for about 5 inches at the end. This difference is immediately detected (pl. 40) by the present-day Winnebago, who can easily identify, by the feature mentioned, snowshoes belonging to the tribe. 481 [171]

## Musical Instruments

The musical instruments of the Winnebago seem to have been restricted to the flute, drum, and gourd. The flute was made of red cedar and usually had a range of five or six notes; it was used at many ceremonies, and especially by young men when courting. The drum consisted of a framework (in later days a wooden pail or a barrel served the purpose), over which a skin was drawn very tight. A small quantity of water was always kept in the drum so that the skin could be wet as often as necessary. Rattles consisted of dried gourds filled, in olden times, with seeds, in more modern times with buckshot (pl. 30, *d, f*). 534

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## Divisions of Time

192 805 184 The Winnebago reckoned time from the beginning of each new month (*wira*). There are slight differences in the names of the months between the Nebraska and the Wisconsin branch of the tribe, as appear below:

*Nebraska*—

1. Hundjwi'ra, month when the bears are born.
2. Hûndjwiro-a'gɛnina, last bear month.
3. Wâk'ek' iru'x', raccoon-breeding month.
4. Hoi'doginâ'na, fish become visible (because of the ice clearing away).
5. Mai$^{n}$ da'wus, month that dries the earth.
6. Mank'era, dig-the-earth month (when the crops are sowed).
7. Wixo'tcera, the month that makes them gray (the month when the tassels of corn appear and the fields look gray).
8. Wida'djox, when the roasted ears of corn burst.
9. Wiza'zek'e, name of a bird that appears this month.
10. Pea'mai$^{n}$na'xora, when the deer paws the earth; or Hu$^{n}$-wai$^{n}$jukɛra, when the elks shout, or whistle.
11. Tcaik'i'ruxe, deer-breeding month.
12. Tca'hewakcu', when the deer shed their horns.

*Wisconsin*—

1. Hu'ndjwi teonina, first bear month.
2. Hu'ndjwiro-a'gɛnina, last bear month.
3. Wâk'g'k'iruxewi'ra, raccoon-breeding month.
4. Hoi'doginâna, fish becoming visible.
5. Mai$^{n}$da'wus, drying-of-the-earth month.
6. Mank'e'ra, digging month.
7. Mai$^{n}$ɲa! 'u$^{n}$ɲa, cultivating month.
8. Wixo'tcerera, tasseling month.
9. Hu$^{n}$ waiju'kɛra, elk-whistling month.
10. Tco'mai$^{n}$na'xora, when the deer paw the earth.
11. Tcaik'iru'xira, deer-breeding month.
12. Tcahe'yakcu'na, when the deer shed their horns.

805 221 According to a member of the Bear clan, the following were the activities throughout the year. The accounts given of these activities differed in certain details, depending upon the clan connection of the informant, because he naturally associated some months with specific activities of his clan, such as clan feasts.

1. Members of the Bear clan give their feast.
2. Month in which the various Winter Feasts are given.
3. Month in which people hunt.
4. Month in which people begin to fish.

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5. Month in which people hunt deer. At this time deer are very tame and frequent the streams. 865 221

6. Month in which people plant corn, squash, and beans.

7. Month in which people hunt deer. At this season deer are very fat. The hunters return to their homes at the beginning of the eighth month.

8. Month in which people dry corn and store it away.

9. Month in which people tie the rice stems into bundles and go through them with their canoes.

10. Month in which the people go on their fall move and hunt the larger animals.

11. Month in which the people go on their fall move and dry their meat.

12. Month in which the people return to their winter quarters.

From this calendar of activities it is apparent that the longest period the Winnebago remained at home continuously was three months, the twelfth, first, and second. They were at home also throughout the sixth and eighth months. Whether they were in their villages at intervals during the fourth and fifth months is hard to determine. It is probable that the fishing or hunting trips consumed a considerable portion of, if not the entire, month. During the ninth, tenth, and eleventh months the Winnebago were undoubtedly away from their villages all the time. 221

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# CHAPTER IV

## GENERAL SOCIAL CUSTOMS

843 *Birth.*—During pregnancy a woman had to observe carefully certain restrictions. She was not allowed to roam the woods alone for fear of meeting snakes or other animals, the sight of which was believed to forebode ill luck to a pregnant woman. She was not permitted to have dogs or cats around her nor to sleep during the day. Every morning during her pregnancy she had to take a cold bath. Among the restrictions may have been food taboos, but no information on this phase of the subject was obtained.

844 When the time for delivery came, it was the custom for the woman to occupy a small lodge erected especially for her use. None of her male relatives were permitted to be present and her husband was not even permitted to stay at home. He was supposed to travel continually until the child was born, in the belief that by his movements he would help his wife in her delivery. According to one informant the husband had to hunt game, the supposition being that this procedure on his part would cause his wife to have enough milk for the child. This traveling of the husband was called, therefore, "Looking-for-milk." It was considered improper for a woman to cry out during labor pains, and by doing so she subjected herself to the [854] jests of her elder female relatives. The cradle-board was always made before the child was born (pls. 41, *c*, 42, *a*).

The positions commonly assumed by women in delivery may be described thus: Supported by the arms, which were passed over a pole held in the crotches of two forked sticks driven into the ground; suspended between two stakes; or flat on the back.

The infant's navel string was cut off and sewed into a small bag, which was attached to the head of the cradle-board.

844 607 On the birth of a child the sisters of the husband were supposed to show his wife especial marks of courtesy. They always gave her valuable gifts, such as goods or a pony. They were glad that he had offspring, the people said, and even permitted their brother's wife [431] to give the presents received from them to her own relatives. The presentation of these gifts was called "Cradling-the-infant." Gifts 844 were presented also to the wife's brothers.

562 527 Some time after the birth of a child, if a boy, the father always gave a feast to Earthmaker and thanked him.

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a. WINNEBAGO AND DAUGHTER

b. OLD WINNEBAGO WOMAN

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c. WOMAN AND CHILD, SHOWING CRADLE-BOARD

d. WOMAN AND CHILD, SHOWING METHOD OF CARRYING INFANT

[Facing p. 126 (A)]

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a. INFANT WITH ORNAMENTED CRADLE-BOARD

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b. GROUP OF WINNEBAGO

[Facing p. 126 (8)]

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*Names.*—A newborn child received a birth name immediately. 551
There were six such names for male children and six for female children, which were given according to the order of birth:

| *Male* | *Female* |
|---|---|
| 1. K'u'nu. | 1. Hi'nu. |
| 2. He'nu. | 2. Wi'ka. |
| 3. Ha'ga. | 3. Akai'a (generally pronounced Akai). |
| 4. Na'qxi. | 4. Hi'nuqk'. |
| 5. Naqxixô'nu. | 5. A'kaigaxô'nu. |
| 6. Naqxixonu'nink'a. | 6. A'kaigaxônu'nink'a. |

The meanings of these names are unknown to the present Winnebago, who reject the idea that they ever had any meaning apart from indicating the order of birth. Originally, of course, these names had meanings, but at the present time they resemble no other Winnebago names and baffle all attempts at interpretation. This is not surprising, because they represent in all probability archaic names which undoubtedly have been considerably modified through long- [171]
continued use. The Dakota have a similar set of names but only four in number. The two additional names among the Winnebago indicate by their form that they have been derived from one of the other four. In this connection it is interesting to note that the fifth of the male names is, as one might expect, merely the fourth name of the series with the addition of a diminutive suffix, whereas the fifth of the female names is the third of that series with a like addition. The sixth name of each series is formed by adding another diminutive suffix to the fifth name.

A few words may not be out of place here with regard to the 551
relation of the male to the female series, and to the possible interpre- 562
tation of two of the female names. He'nu[1] of the male and Hi'nu of 193
the female series, it will be noted, differ only in the first vowel. A similar phenomenon is found in such relationship terms as *hi'nîpk*, male child of elder brother, and *hi'ĉnupk'*, female child of elder brother. Remembering that in those Siouan languages which distinguish between female and male oral stops the difference often consists merely in the change of a vowel, this difference between He'nu and Hi'nu may be suggestive. The name K'u'nu may be connected with *k'u'nîpk*, "a grandmother," in which *k'u* is unquestionably the stem, meaning probably "old." In the female series there is a possible relationship between Hi'nu and Hi'nuqk', as *k'* seems to be a very common ending in relationship terms. Hi'nuqk' itself is identical with the word for "woman" and it seems hard to imagine that it is not the same, especially since it is also found as the relationship term for [60]
female child of younger brother.

[1] He'nu is also the name for a man's elder sister.

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551 On first thought it might be imagined that the application of the same name to so many people would cause great confusion. As a matter of fact, however, in a village of, say, 20 families, there could have been a maximum of only 40 having the same name. Taking into account deaths and departures, the number was greatly diminished. Moreover, as in general only relations or close friends were [602 609] addressed in this way, strangers commonly being addressed by their nicknames, the seeming danger of confusion is almost entirely obviated. In those cases, however, in which confusion might result a nickname, or sometimes a clan name, was added to the birth name when speaking of an individual.

553 614 *Naming feast.*—The clan name was generally bestowed on a child at a special feast held for the purpose or at any feast that happened to be given within a reasonable time after its birth. The bestowal of the clan name was not infrequently delayed by a father's inability to gather the requisite amount of food to be presented to the old man who was to select the name. Occasionally it even happened that a father under such conditions permitted the relatives of his wife to bestow a name on a child, which of course was a name from its mother's clan. The author has personal knowledge of a case in which the first child of a man had a name belonging to his mother's clan while the other children had names belonging to their father's clan. When questioned, the man said that at the time of the birth of his eldest child he was too poor to pay for the honor of having his child receive a name and that he had allowed his wife's relatives to give it a name. When his other children were born, however, as he was in better condition financially he had been able to name them in the usual way. Although a child, irrespective of his individual name, always belonged to his father's clan, there seemed to exist a feeling that a person having a name not taken from his own clan [554] was more or less incomplete. A person possessing no clan name was regarded as having low social standing.

[597] When a child was adopted it retained its former birth name and clan name.

601 *Relationship terms.*—The system of relationship terms used by the Winnebago is as follows:[1]

### Male Terms of Address

Teok'a', p. and m. grandfather (direct address).
Hi'teok'ą, p. and m. grandfather and father-in-law.
K'u'nıŋk'a, p. and m. grandmother (direct address).
Hik'ärok'e, p. and m. grandmother and mother-in-law.
Dja'dji, father (direct address).

[1] Abbreviations: p., paternal; m., maternal; br., brother; sr., sister.

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Hi-a'ntc, father.
Na'ni, mother (direct address).
Hi-u'ni, mother.
Hi'ni, elder brother (direct address!).
Ni'ni, elder br. (?).
Hi'sunk', or Hiaûnkêdji", younger br.
Hi'nu, elder sr.
Wai'tcke, younger sr.: or Teûûgûa'k' (obsolete) (direct address!).
Hiwangê', wife of elder br.
Hiwangê', wife of younger br.
Hitca'", husband of elder sr.
Hitca'", husband of younger sr.
Hi'ntnk', son of elder br.
Hi'ntnk', son of younger br.
Hi'nûnk', daughter of elder br.
Hi'nûnk', daughter of younger br.
Hi'nûnktce'k', wife of son of elder br.
Hi'nûnktce'k', wife of son of younger br.
Hitcû"ckê', son of elder sr.
Hitcû"ckê', son of younger sr.
Hitcû"jônk', daughter of elder sr.
Hitcû"jônk', daughter of younger sr.
Hinûnktce'k', wife of son of elder sr.
Hinûnktce'k', wife of son of younger sr.
Wadoho'tci, husband of daughter of elder br.
Wadoho'tci, husband of daughter of younger br.
Wadoho'tci, husband of daughter of elder sr.
Wadoho'tci, husband of daughter of younger sr.
Ntngia'k', son (no longer in common use) (direct address).
Hintnk', son.
Hirakewa", stepson.
Hitca'xa", stepdaughter.
Nûngûâk', daughter (no longer in common use) (direct address).
Hinûnk', daughter.
Hinûnktce'k', wife of son.
Watoho'tci, husband of daughter.
Hitcû"ckê', son of son.
Hitcû"ckê, son of daughter.
Hitcû"jô'nk', daughter of daughter.
Hitcû"jônk', daughter of son.
Hinûnktce'k', wife of grandson
Wadohto'ci, husband of grand-daughter.
Hinûnga's, p. br.
Hi-uni'ntnk', wife of p. br.

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60/ Hi'ni, Hisû'ŋk', older and younger sons of p. br., respectively.
Hi'nu, waitekê', older and younger daughters of p. br., respectively.
Hinûŋktce'k', wives of sons of p. br.
Watoho'tci, husbands of daughters of p. br.
Hiniŋk', sons of sons of p. br.
Hinûŋk', daughters of sons of p. br.
Hitcû'ᵃwiᵃ, p. sr.
Hitca'ᵃ, husband of p. sr.
Hitcûᵃcko', sons of p. sr.
Hitcûᵃjo'ŋk', daughters of p. sr.
Hinûŋktce'k', wives of sons of p. sr.
Wadoho'tci, husbands of daughters of p. sr.
Hitcûᵃckê, sons of sons of p. sr.
Hitcû'ᵃjô'ŋk', daughters of sons of p. sr.
Hide'k', m. br.
Hitcû'ᵃwiᵃ, wife of m. br.
Hide'kentŋk', sons of m. br.
Hidcû'ᵃwiᵃ, daughters of m. br.
Hitcûᵃckê', sons of sons of m. br.
Hitcûᵃjô'ŋk', daughters of sons of m. br.
Hitcû'ᵃwiᵃ, wives of sons of m. br.
Hitca'ᵃ, husbands of daughters of m. br.
Hi-uni'nŋk', m. sr.
Hinûŋga[illegible], husband of m. sr.
Hi'ni, Hisû'nk, older and younger sons of m. sr., respectively.
Hi'niŋk, male children of male children of m. sr.
Hi'nûŋk, female children of male children of m. sr.
Hinu, waitekê, daughters of m. sr., respectively.
Hinûŋktce'k', wives of sons of m. sr.
Wadoho'tci, husbands of daughters of m. sr.
Teido', elder br.
Hitcûᵃckê', children of br.
Hitcûᵃjôŋk', daughters of br.
Hiciga'ᵃ, wife of br.
Hisû'ŋk', younger br.
Hitcôŋk', younger sr.
Hi'nu, elder sr.
Hicikᵃe', husband of sr.
Hint'ŋk', sons of sr.
Hinûŋk', daughters of sr.
Hiciga'ᵃ, wives of sons of br.
Hicikᵃe', husbands of daughters of br.
Hinûŋktce'k', wives of children of sr.
Wadoho'tci, husbands of daughters of sr.
Hicikᵃe', husband of father's sr.

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Hiko'nô, husband.
Hitca'ⁿ, brother of wife.
Hitca'ⁿwiⁿ, wife.
Hiwange', sister of wife.

After one's grandchild's generation the children of a man whom one called either Hi'niŋk' or Hitcûⁿckê', or of a woman whom one called either Hi'nûŋk' or Hitcûⁿjô'ŋk', were all called Hitcûⁿckê' or Hitcûⁿjô'ŋk'.

A special term, Wotcû'ⁿwoŋk', was used by parents-in-law when addressing each other. [606]

It will be noticed that, taking self as the starting point, the distinction between forms—one series to be used in speaking of a person and the other in directly addressing one's own blood relative has been developed for only grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, son, and daughter. It is probable that in former times brother and sister also were included in this double series. [602 603]

### Female Terms of Address

As compared with the distinction between male and female terms of address found among other Siouan tribes, that existing among the Winnebago is very weak and there seems to be no indication that it ever was much stronger, although caution must be observed in drawing inferences as to past relationship terms, since it is a well-known fact that they have a tendency to disappear. At the present time there are only four terms used among the Winnebago by women specifically; *tcito*, elder brother; *hitcê'ŋk'*, younger sister; *hiciga'ⁿ*, wife of brother; and *hicil'ⁿe'*, husband of sister.

A cursory examination shows that the following forms are linguistically related:

| | |
|---|---|
| hini. | hinu. |
| hinûŋk'. | hinuŋk. |
| hicikê'. | hiciga'ⁿ. |
| hitcûⁿckê'. | hitcûⁿjô'ŋk' (tcuⁿ—gû'ak, obsolete) hitcû'ⁿwiⁿ. |
| hitcâⁿ. | hitcaⁿwiⁿ. |
| hitcû'ŋk'. | |
| hitcak'â'ro (friend). | |

It is clear that we are dealing here with a change of terminal vowel (from i to u; from e to a; from a to u), indicative of sex. In the form *hitcuⁿwiⁿ*, *wiⁿ* is undoubtedly identical with *-wiⁿ*, meaning "female," found with all animal female names. Terminal *k'*, *k'e*, *gu*, is a suffix that may be related to the termination *k'e* found with so many animal names. We may perhaps say, then, that we have here only three stems, *hini*, *hicil'*, and *hitcûⁿ*. For a complete list of stems used in relationship terms there must now be added to these the following: *Hik'â'ro—k'â hitcak—k'â'*, *hi-a'nic hi-a'ni*, *hitâ'ŋ—k'*, *wotc—k'â'*, *hinûŋda*, *hide—k'* *hiwan—gâ'*, *tcitô*, 601 193

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601 193 *wadohétri*, and *hinû'nk'-teek'*. Hinûnga's might be said to be divided into *hinuŋ* and *gas*, but there is no reason to assume that such a division of the word is justifiable, and for that reason it has not been included in the enumeration of *hinû'n-k'* stems. The form *tcido*, elder brother, spoken by females, is baffling, all the more so if we assume that there never was a form for "younger brother" used by women.

601 Let us now separate the terms applied to relatives through marriage from those applied to blood relatives.

| Blood relatives | Relatives through marriage | Blood relatives | Relatives through marriage |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hini | Hirik'é | Waite-k'é' | Hitcu'ⁿ |
| Hitcû'ⁿcké' | Hicigu'ⁿ | Hinûnga's | Hi-uni'niŋk' |
| Hik'ée-k'é' | Hitcû'ⁿwi' | Hiki'-k', hikkasi'ŋk' | Hinûnga's |
| Hitcu-k'é' | | Tcikki' | |
| Hi-a'nte | Wadohe'tri | Hitcû'ⁿwi' | |
| Hi-u'ni; hi-uini'ŋk | Hiwanga' | Hiniŋk' | |
| Hicû'ŋ-k' | Hinuŋk'tee'k' | | |

Three terms are applied sometimes to blood relatives and sometimes to relatives through marriage: *Hitcû'ⁿwi*, *hi-uni'niŋk'*, and *hinûnga's*. It is the author's belief that in all these cases the terms have been applied to relatives through marriage on account of the extremely close relationship the husbands of *hitcu'ⁿwi* and *hi-uni'niŋk'* and the wives of *hinûnga's* bear to one's parents; that it is really an act of courtesy toward people whose children are in one case (*hitcû'ⁿwi'* and *hi-uni'niŋk'*) regarded as one's brothers and sisters and in the other case as the same as one's sister's children. There never was the slightest confusion as to the position held by the wife of one's father's brother (*hi-uni'niŋk'*), or one's mother's brother's wife, or the husband of one's mother's sister; nor is there the slightest indication that they ever were considered as identical with any blood relatives who bore the same name.

The foregoing list contains twenty-two terms of relationship applied by the Winnebago to all relatives, blood or otherwise, for five generations—one's own father's, grandfather's, son's, and grandson's. The two tables following show first, how these terms were distributed over the five generations, and second, to how many people of these five generations the same name was applied.

| Generation | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Grandfather's | Hitcek'é' | Hi'k'teek'é' |
| 2. Father's | Hi-a'nte, hide'k' | Hi-u'ni, hi-uniŋk' |
| | Hinuŋga's, hitcu'ⁿ | Hitcû'ⁿwi' |
| 3. One's own | Hini, hicû'ŋk' | Hinu, waitcké', hinûŋk' tee'k' |
| | Hitcû'ⁿcké', hidoho-Niŋk', hitcu'ⁿ, Wadohe'tri, hirikée | Hitcû'ⁿjó'ŋk', hitcû'ⁿwi', Hiwanga', hicigu'ⁿ |
| 4. Son's | Hiniŋk', hitcû'ⁿcké', Hini, hicû'ŋk', Wadohe'tri | Hinû'ŋk', hinûŋk' tee'k', Hitcu'ⁿ jó'ŋk', hinu, Waitcké' |

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| Generation | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| 5. Grandson's | Hitcû°ckê', hinîŋk', | Hitcû°jô'ŋk', hinûŋk', |
| 6. Great-grandson's | Hitcû°ckê', hinîŋk', (Hitcû°jô'ŋk') | Hitcû°jô'ŋk', hinûŋk', (Hitcû°ckê') |
| 7. Great-great-grandson's | (Hitcû°jô'ŋk') | (Hitcû°ckê') |

For the first three generations no term is repeated except *hitcû'°wi°*; for the fourth generation eight terms are repeated and two terms are added, *hiniŋk'* and *hi'nûŋk'*. After that all the terms are repeated and no new terms are added. Only three sets of terms are repeated for more than two generations—*hitcû°ckê'*, *hitcû°jô'ŋk hiauŋk'tce'k*, *wadoko'tci*, and *hi'niŋk'*, *hi'nûŋk'*. After the fifth generation only one set of terms is used.

*Distribution of all relationship terms*[5] *occurring more than once.*—

Hi-uni'niŋk', wife of p. br.; m. sr.

Hi'ni, elder br.; son of p. br.; son of m. sr.

Hinûŋk', younger br.; son of p. br.; son of m. sr.

Hi'nu, elder sr.; daughter of p. br.; daughter of m. sr.

Waitekê', younger sr.; daughter of p. br.; daughter of m. sr.

Hi'niŋk', son of elder br.; son of sr. (sister speaking).

Hi'nûŋk', daughter of elder br.; daughter of sr.

Hitcû°ckê', son of elder br.; son of daughter and son; son of br.; son of p. sr.

Hitcû°jô'ŋk', daughter of elder br.; daughter of daughter and son; daughter of p. sr.; daughter of br.

Hitcû'°wi°, p. sr.; daughter of m. br.; wife of son of m. sr.

Hitca'°, husbands of sisters; husband of p. sr.; husband of daughter of m. sr.

Hiciga'°, wife of br.; wife of son of br.

Hicik'e', husband of p. sr.; husband of daughter of br.

## Joking Relationship[6]

A man was not permitted to take even the slightest liberties with any of his near relatives or with his mother-in-law or his father-in-law, but a curious exception to this rule was permitted for his father's sister's children (*hitcû°ckê'* and *hitcû°jô'ŋk'*); his mother's brother's children (*hitcû°ckê'* and *hitcû°jô'ŋk'*); his mother's brothers (*hide'k'*); and his sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law. In the two cases last named not only was a man permitted to joke with those relatives but he was supposed to do so whenever he had an opportunity. Under no circumstances were any of these individuals supposed to take offense. This relationship was of course reciprocal. If a person 602

[5] A more specific study of these relationship terms is reserved for a special article on Human Relationship Terms.

[6] The joking relationship was discovered among the Winnebago by the author. Since then it has been found to exist among the Crows and the Omaha, etc.

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attempted liberties with people who did not belong in the category of the "joking relationship" they would stop him immediately, saying, "What joking relation am I to you" (*Djagu' nipk' idajūcgadja*)!

It is impossible to determine the significance of the "joking relationship." Two points of interest may be referred to, however: First, that it existed between a person and such close relatives as the children of his father's sister and his mother's brothers and their children, on the one hand, and his relatives by marriage only, as his brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, on the other; and second, that his mother's brother was at the same time a person with whom he was on particularly intimate terms. With regard to the first point, the author suggests the following explanation: Both groups just mentioned had this in common—they did not belong to the man's clan and with the exception of their mother's brother they did not belong to any individuals but those of their own generation. Now we know [512] that the prohibition of marriage into a man's mother's clan extended only to members of her generation and that theoretically, at least, he could marry her brother's children. In the same way the children of a man's father's sister, belonging as they did to the side into which he had to marry and not belonging to the generation of his father, belonged also to the group into which he theoretically might marry. The author has never heard any Winnebago state that a man may not marry any of the individuals included in the "joking relationship," with the exception of his sister-in-law, but he feels certain that such marriage would be considered improper, although equally certain that it would not be regarded as incest, as would be the case if a person were to marry the son of his mother's sister or of his father's brother. The suggestion is offered, therefore, that the "joking relationship" implies, first, close relationship of individuals who have different clan membership, and, second, perhaps, the possibility of marriage. If there is any explanation for the existence of the relationship between a man and his mother's brother I feel that it is probably to be sought in the first of these suggestions. The second is really advanced merely to suggest some reason for the grouping together of blood relations with relations by marriage.

The "joking relationship" is very peculiar from the point of view of a European, and for that reason it is perhaps likely that we exaggerate its importance. In actual practice joking was probably indulged in only during the first moments after meeting, except by the habitual punster. An important psychological factor may have been the opportunity for relaxation it afforded an individual who was constantly surrounded by close relatives in intercourse with whom he had to observe at all times strict rules of propriety.

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### Mother-in-law and Father-in-law Taboo

In former times the mother-in-law and father-in-law taboo was in full force. No man was allowed to talk directly to his mother-in-law or to look at her, and the same rule held with regard to the attitude of a woman toward her father-in-law. Even accidental meetings of these relatives, as on the road, were attended with great embarrassment. The author never learned of any way in which either the mother-in-law or the father-in-law taboo could be relaxed even temporarily, much less done away with entirely. 606

### Puberty Customs

From the age of five, children, male and female, were taught the customs of their ancestors in a series of talks always delivered by an elderly male relative, perhaps the father. The specific training differed, of course, for boys and girls and for individuals. Personal training ceased at the age of puberty, when all, both boys and girls, were sent out to fast. For boys this fasting constituted the only puberty rite. After their faces had been blackened with charcoal they were sent to some neighboring hill with the injunction not to return till dawn. Gradually they would be sent out for two, then three, nights; if after that trial they were not blessed they would be advised either to desist entirely or exhorted to fast until they were blessed, no matter how long the time required to secure the desired result. While fasting the boys and girls used the following formula: 867 881 785 787

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Waxop' inixjiwina | hina'djire na$^{n}$djo'jo | wahadjex. | [539 |
| Spirits | am I likely to be blessed? | that is why I am praying. | 782] |

One old Indian informed the author that in former times the young boys and girls were offered either bread or charcoal for their fast. If they took the charcoal, well and good; but if they took the bread, they were unceremoniously kicked out of the house and the charcoal was thrown after them. From the other statements of this informant one might gather that the young boys and girls generally took the bread, because, he said, after they had been kicked out, they would always resolve to go to the wilderness (in that way running the risk of being captured or killed by an enemy), in order to spite their parents. My informant was of the opinion that the parents purposely treated their children roughly, so that they might feel all the more miserable while fasting and thus pray all the more intensely.

A faster is always told to be careful as to what kind of spirits bless him, as he might be blessed by a bad spirit. Therefore a faster's blessings are always reviewed by the elders. J.'s old grandmother used to call the children in at dusk, as the evil spirits are around then. [776]

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881 All boys do not seem to have approached the ordeal of fasting with
785 the proper religious feeling. One instance in particular showed any-
787 thing but a reverent attitude; this is so amusing that it is here given in the exact words of the Indian:

When I was a young boy, my folks made me fast together with a boy named Hodudjeka. We were supposed to go to the hills and cry until the spirits blessed us. However, whenever we looked at each other and at our charcoal-blackened faces we could not refrain from bursting out laughing. Whenever we made up our minds to cry, something or other would induce us to look at each other and the laughing would begin all over again. When the time for our return to the house came, we didn't present the slightest indication of having cried, so we took some saliva and made long streaks on our faces.

Young girls and women are also encouraged to fast to obtain the war honors.

881 *Menstrual lodges.*—Fasting at puberty by girls was inseparably con-
785 nected with their retirement to menstrual lodges. Sometimes there was only one girl in each menstrual lodge, sometimes there were as many as three. From the time of her first menstrual flow to her climacteric a woman retired to a menstrual lodge every month for
841 a few days. An excellent account of Winnebago customs in this respect was obtained in a text from a male informant, and, although somewhat discursive, it is given in full here:

As soon as a woman begins to have her menstrual flow she has to retire to a menstrual lodge and to be careful never to come in contact with any sacred objects. If she did, these objects would all lose their power. Everything that is holy would immediately lose its power if a menstruating woman came near it. A holy woman or a holy man or even a holy child would be affected by the proximity of a menstruating woman. Their holy condition would immediately disappear. In a similar way, if food were served to a sick person from the same dish used for a menstruating woman the sick person would become far more sick.

The food for a menstruating person is always cooked separately. Special dishes are used and special fireplaces are made.

If a person possessed any medicines, they would lose all their power if a menstruating woman came in contact with them. If any person should enter a menstrual lodge, in after life, whenever he fasted, he would not be blessed by any spirit. However, there is one thing that a menstruating woman is afraid of, and that is the
[778] war bundle. These war bundles are kept in cedar [leaves?] mixed with medicine to prevent danger from just such a source. If a menstruating woman comes near a war bundle, her flow would increase and never cease, and after a while she would die,[1] and only if the owner of the war bundle personally attends to her can she be cured. For that reason whenever a war-bundle feast is being given a woman is very careful, and even if it is a few days before her menstrual flow she will not go.

[1] This explains what puzzled the author for some time—namely, the fact that although contact with a menstruating woman destroyed the efficacy of everything holy, in the case of the war bundle the reverse was true and the woman was destroyed. Many of the Indians who spoke of this matter also seemed to believe it was the war bundle that killed the woman. From this account, however, it is perfectly clear that it is not the war bundle at all that killed the woman, but the poison in which the war bundle was wrapped. The war bundle is therefore no exception to the general rule, and it is only on account of the serious consequences that would accrue to so many people from any impairment of its power, and the care taken to prevent this by surrounding it with special medicines, that it often outwardly an exception in the final effects of contact with a menstruating woman.

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The menstrual lodge is never far from the lodge in which she lives. Indeed, it is within speaking distance, so that the occupants of her parents' lodge can hear her. All the utensils she uses are very small. The women stay from 4 to 10 days in the menstrual lodge. The older women stay out the shorter time because they are over it sooner. 841 343

It is said that if the young girls have any lovers they always come to the menstrual lodge at night. This is therefore the time for wooing. It is said that the girls cohabit with their lovers in these menstrual lodges. These girls who have parents are attended by watchers, so that no unworthy men may visit them. They are especially guarded against ugly men, who are very likely to have love medicines. However, generally it is of no avail to struggle against such men, for they are invincible. [584 836] [832]

The women always take their blankets with them when they go to a menstrual lodge, for they never lie down but remain in a sitting posture, wrapped in their blankets. The women are always watched, so that when their menstrual flow comes everything is in readiness and lodge poles are placed around them and a lodge erected above their heads just about large enough to fit their body. They are not permitted to look upon the daylight nor upon any individual. If they were to look out during the day the weather would become very bad, and if they were to look at the blue sky it would become cloudy and rain. If they looked at anyone that person would become unfortunate. For four days they do not eat or drink anything; not even water do they drink. They fast all the time. Not even their own body do they touch with their hands. If they ever have any need of touching their bodies they use a stick. If they were to use their hands in touching their own body their house would be attacked with fever. If they were to scratch their hands their hands would ache. After the fourth day they bathe in sight of their home. Then they return to their homes and eat. (This, of course, holds only for those whose menstrual flow comes in four days.) If any women have to stay longer than four days they have to fast for that entire period. They always fast during this period and often some spirits blow them. When a woman who has stayed in the menstrual lodge for 10 days is ready to return to her lodge, she bathes herself and puts on an entirely new suit of clothes. Then her house is purified with red-cedar leaves and all the sacred bundles and medicines removed. Only then can she enter her parents' lodge. As soon as she returns to her parents' lodge after her first menstrual flow she is regarded as ready to be wooed and married. 841 [821]

Thus the teacher of our customs, the Hare, has willed it. At a feast all the young girls nearing the age of puberty will be absent, but the old women, who have passed their climacteric, sit right next to the men, because they are considered the same as men as they have no menstrual flow any more. [831 581] [825 886]

If the Winnebago can be said to be afraid of any one thing it may be said it is this—the menstrual flow of women—for even the spirits die of its effects.

If the above account may be taken as a fairly accurate description of the customs connected with the menstrual lodge as they existed in former times, then one point must be regarded as of great interest, namely, that the women permitted their lovers to meet them there. So far as is known to the author, among other tribes having menstrual lodges it would have been considered a crime for any man to come near them. According to our informant the women were indeed guarded while they were in the menstrual lodges, but not so much to protect them against the intrusion of all men, as against the intrusion of unworthy men. From other information obtained, how- 831 841 [831]

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From other information obtained how-
584 ever, it appears that women were married to these same lovers after
584 the former left the menstrual lodge, so that the presence of men in these lodges may be taken either as a part of the wooing or as one of the methods of marriage. Some theorists may be inclined to look on this feature of the practices connected with the menstrual lodge as a survival of a "women's house." To those the fact may be emphasized that it is only a few times in the life of a woman that such a feature exists, because she is married shortly after leaving the lodge.[6]

## MARRIAGE.

582 Girls were usually married as soon as they reached marriageable age, and the same was probably true of men. In most cases marriage was arranged by the parents of the young people, and it rarely
584 happened that the latter refused to abide by the decision—a fact that seems to have been due not so much to implicit obedience as to the wise precautions taken by the parents in mating their children. If, however, the young people absolutely refused to abide by their parents' choice, the latter always yielded. In former times children were betrothed to each other at an early age. At the betrothal presents were exchanged between the parents of the prospective bride and groom. The girl was said to be *dokere'ns*.

595 Generally a man took but one wife, although he was permitted to marry more than one if he wished. In polygamous marriages the second wife was usually a niece or a sister of the first wife. According to a very reliable informant it was the wife herself who often induced her husband to marry her own niece. This she did if she noticed that he was getting tired of her or losing his interest in her.[7]

585 There was no ceremony connected with marriage. As soon as the customary presents were exchanged, the man came to the woman's lodge and the marriage was consummated.

A man generally lived with his parents-in-law during the first two years after his marriage. During these two years he was practically
591 the servant of his father-in-law, hunting, fishing, and performing
[585] minor services for him. Many Winnebago interpreted these enforced services of a son-in-law as part of his marriage obligations toward his father-in-law. After the first two years he returned to

[6] Were it not for the fact that his informant in this case was exceedingly reliable the writer would be inclined to regard with suspicion the statement as to the use of the menstrual lodge as a rendezvous for lovers. It seems, however, that the very fact that the informant shows no great acquaintance of the matters would have prevented him from attributing to men intimacy with women at this time had there been any doubt in his mind on the subject. Nevertheless his statement on the point under discussion seems peculiar and the writer would not be surprised if he had exaggerated greatly the number of men willing to have the bad luck and weakness incident on contact with women during the menstrual period.

[7] As one of my informants said, "A man can marry a woman and her niece. If the man is not steady and goes around with other women, it is customary for the wife to call her niece, and she would marry her aunt's husband. This is done to steady the man. In this way one or the other will always be with him. The same is true of sisters."

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his father's lodge, where his seat had always been kept for him. 591
With his own folks he stayed as long as he wished, leaving it generally as soon as he decided to live alone—a decision that was usually reached as soon as he had one child or a number of children. However, he did not always build his own lodge, especially in the olden times, when it was customary for those Winnebago who lived in permanent villages to occupy the long gable-roofed lodges, that frequently were large enough to house as many as 40 people. In such cases a man and his family generally alternated between his parents-in-law and his own parents.

## Adoption

Adoption of individuals was quite frequent in former times. As 597
far as the writer knows, however, it always took the form of replacing of a deceased child by some other child physically resembling the one lost. I do not know whether there were any additional considerations if the child adopted happened to be a prisoner. As the name for adoption (*wunayo'rek'inegk*) indicates, it is closely connected with the common belief in reincarnation, meaning either the [775]
exchange of one spirit for another or the replacing of the spirit. A special feast could be given for adoption or it could be done at one of the regular feasts. As the child adopted was often the "friend" (*hiteak'd'ro*) of the deceased and in any case had parents living, presents were always given to his parents.

Perhaps a better idea of the nature of adoption can be obtained from the following few words of an informant:

When a child dies, then the father mourns for many years, and if during that time he happens to meet a child that resembles his dead child he asks to be allowed to adopt him. The parents of the child can hardly object to such a request.[9] [765]

[9] There is no doubt in my mind that quite a number of parents believe that such a person is really their reincarnated child.

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# CHAPTER V

## BURIAL AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

764 There appear to have been two distinct methods of burial among the Winnebago—simple inhumation and platform burial. Within recent times, owing to the influence of their Algonquian neighbors, [177] platform burial has entirely disappeared and inhumation alone is practiced. It has even become customary to erect a typical Algonquian burial-hut over the grave (see pl. 64, b).

[615] When the old culture was still intact inhumation was definitely associated with the lower phratry and platform burial with the upper phratry. Whether this marked difference in burial customs was merely another example of that specialization in function so characteristic of these two divisions of the tribe, or whether it was due to distinct historical origins, it is difficult to determine. I am, however, inclined to regard the latter interpretation as by far the most probable.

[614 184] All the customs are described in full detail in the various accounts that follow and in Chapters VII and VIII. Each clan seems to have had a few details peculiar to itself, but, in the main, the rights were identical. They may briefly be divided into the following sections:

1. Preparation of the body for burial. 2. Rites in the house of the deceased, consisting mainly of speeches of consolation to the bereaved. 3. Speeches addressed to the deceased and the narration of the myth of the journey to spirit land. 4. Rites at the grave. 5. The recounting of war exploits by specially invited warriors, at the grave. 6. The elaborate four nights wake at the home of the deceased.

### Description of Funeral Customs and Wake

[115 614] Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:[1] When an individual dies his relatives get some one to bury him and the chief mourner will also invite some person to talk to the corpse before it is buried. The person addressing the dead man or woman tells the deceased how he is to go (to spirit land) and what he is to do on the way there. The body is then dressed by the person who is going to bury it. All the relatives come to the lodge and the deceased is dressed in his best clothes; beads are put around his neck, bracelets on his wrist, rings

[1] This description is a generalized one.

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on his fingers, and earrings in his ears. The body is then put in the 764
casket.

By the time this is all finished the gravediggers have about completed their work. Then the mourners blacken their faces with [-65]
charcoal and the corpse is taken up by the man to whom this duty is delegated. The mourners follow behind, weeping. Thus they proceed to the grave. When they get there the corpse is laid in the grave. Then the chief mourner steps across the center of the grave and the others do the same. When they start back, they are told under no circumstance to turn around and look in the direction of the grave.

The grave is then filled in.

Then the overseer goes around to the various people in the village 765
and invites them all to come to (the wake). The brave men and warriors are especially welcomed.

The mourners prepare food and when the sun goes down the chief mourner takes a stick made of hard wood and lights it and carries it to the grave, placing it at the east end. It is supposed to be still burning when placed there. After this is done (the man returns) and the overseer gets everything in readiness for the feast. When all is ready the chief mourner speaks as follows:

All my relatives who are sitting here, I greet you. I have done nothing of any con- 765
sequence which could justify you to come here and honor me, yet being relatives of 539
mine, you have (in the kindness of your hearts) come to comfort me. I have prepared 775
cooked food and boiled water for my child (the dead person), and tobacco is also handy, all of which the attendant when he is ready will pass around to all and give to whomsoever he pleases. That is why I am greeting you.

Then the attendant takes the water and tobacco and gives it to the one who is to speak to the soul of the departed person. This one then rises and greets all those present and speaks as follows:

To-night we are greeting you not for the sake of jollification, but because we are afflicted (with grief). Now, it is the custom to speak to the soul of the departed. It is a sacred action, yet even I, they tell me, can do it, provided no worthier person can be found. They[1] even tell me that my words will not cause the spirit of the departed to lose his way in his journey (to spirit land).[2] For that reason I will speak to the departed and say the best I can. I greet you all.

Then he takes some tobacco in one hand and passing it behind him through the lodge says:

Here it is, the tobacco. I am certain that you, O ghost, are not very far away, that in fact you are standing right in back of me, waiting for me to reach you the pipe and tobacco, that you might take it along with you, that likewise, you are waiting for your food to take on your journey. However, four nights you will have to remain here.

[1] This and what follows is the customary ceremonial modesty.

[2] It is believed that if the chief speaker makes a mistake or an aspersion while thus addressing the spirit of the deceased, the latter will lose his way in his journey to spirit land.

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765 539 775 Now here are these things, and in return we ask you to act as mediator between the spirits and us. You have made us long for you, and therefore do you see to it that all these things that belonged to you and that you would have enjoyed had you lived longer—such as victories on the warpath, earthly possessions, and life—that all these you leave behind for us to enjoy. This do you ask for as you travel along. This also I ask of you, do not cause us to follow you soon; do not cause your brothers any fear. I have now lit the pipe for you.

Then the pipe is passed on to all those present. After that he drinks a little water and passes it around again. It is only after the pipe and water have passed all the way around that the people begin to eat. When the meal is over, the attendant takes the pipe and some tobacco and places it before a warrior and tells him to talk to the spirit and tell him the route to take.

Then the warrior rises and speaks as follows:

Ho, I greet you all. We are not greeting one another because we are happy (as in the case of an ordinary feast), but because it is the custom to do it. Now I will tell the soul of the departed one the route to take and the care he must observe in his journey. I shall tell them (the ghosts) over whom I have control to guide him safely to his destination. I will not exaggerate when I relate my war exploits, but tell only those things that really happened to me. It has been said that if, in talking, I tell falsehoods the spirit of the departed would stumble on the road.* Ho, therefore, I will tell only the truth, and I will tell the chief of the spirits to guide our dead one safely over all the obstacles. Now I am not going to speak of anybody else's exploits, but only of my own. Only those over whom I have control will I put at the disposal of our dead one to guide him. The spirit-tobacco, the spirit-food and fire, they will carry for him, and they will lead him by the hand until he reaches his destination. I greet you all.

765 539 Then he begins an account of his war exploits. He tells all that he did in detail. Sometimes the account of a war exploit would last two to three hours. When he is through, the people retire for the night.

For three nights they do this and every evening they place a burning ember at the grave. This is supposed to be taken by the spirit of the dead man on his journey.

The fourth night they invite all the brave men in the neighborhood and everybody else. They prepare plenty of food, and the relatives of the mourners bring objects for the mourning games and try to comfort the mourners as best they can. The fourth night, likewise, they place a burning ember at the grave of the dead man.

As soon as the attendant prepares the food the chief mourner gets up and speaks as follows:

I greet you all. I know that I am not performing any great action in greeting you,* but I was in trouble, and all my relatives have come to comfort me. I feel strengthened by their actions. You all have asked me to live (not to succumb to my sorrows),

* It is believed that a warrior is in control of the spirits of all the people he has killed. His function at the wake is to put these spirits at the disposal of the dead man, to guide him, and to take care of him.

* I. e., if I were a great man and this were a necessity of rejoicing, then a greeting would mean something. This is another example of conventional modesty.

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and I shall try to overcome my grief and sorrow. I will not forget all the good you have done for me. You have been a comfort to me and you have helped me in many things. Now this is the last night, and I am glad that it is a good night for the warriors to relate their experiences. If they should say anything funny I hope that you will not hold back your laughter. I, too, will laugh with you. You are free to make all the noise you care to, for I will feel all the better if you do it. This is what I want you to remember. I greet you all who are present here. 765 539

Then the one who is to address the spirit speaks:

I greet you all. We have come to this (wake) for a purpose, much as we would wish that the occasion for it had never happened. Now I will tell the spirit of the departed the route he is to take, nor will I, by my words, cause him to go astray. On an occasion like this not everyone can talk to spirits (spirits of departed people); not everyone can do it. My grandfather obtained the right to speak to them and handed it down to my father, and he in turn gave it to me. Now I will tell the spirit of the departed the right road to take and I will not cause him to stumble. I shall breathe upon the spirit of the departed, and I wish all those present to do the same. It is said that for those who do not make this sound it is a sign that they will die soon. Now all of you say it. 765 539 775

Then he says "*ha-a*" and "*ha-a*," and all join with him in repeating it.

Then he speaks again (addressing the spirit of the departed):

I suppose you are not far away, that indeed you are right behind me. Here is the tobacco and here is the pipe which you must keep in front of you as you go along. Here also is the fire and the food which your relatives have prepared for your journey. In the morning when the sun rises you are to start. You will not have gone very far before you come to a wide road. That is the road you must take. As you go along you will notice something on your road. Take your war club and strike it and throw it behind you. Then go on without looking back. As you go farther you will again come across (some obstacle). Strike it and throw it behind you and do not look back. Farther on you will come across some animals, and these also you must strike and throw behind you. Then go on and do not look back. The objects you throw behind you will come to those relatives whom you have left behind you on earth. They will represent victory in war, riches, and animals for food. When you have gone but a short distance from the last place where you threw objects behind, you will come to a round lodge and there you will find an old woman. She is the one who is to give you further information. She will ask you, "Grandson, what is your name?" This you must tell her. Then (you must say), "Grandmother, when I was about to start from the earth I was given the following objects with which I was to act as mediator between you and the human beings (i. e., the pipe, tobacco, and food)." Then you must put the stem of the pipe in the old woman's mouth and say, "Grandmother, I have made all my relatives lonesome, my parents, my brothers, and all the others. I would therefore like to have them obtain victory in war and honors. That was my desire as I left them downhearted upon the earth. I would that they could have all that life which I left behind me on earth.[9] This is what they asked. This likewise they asked me, that they should not have to travel on this road for some time to come. They also asked to be blessed with those things that people are accustomed to have on earth. All this they wanted me to ask of you when I started from the earth.

[9] The deceased had apparently died young, and what he desires is that the difference between his years and the normal length of life be distributed among his relatives. He means not only the actual years but also whatever he would have accomplished in those years.

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765 "They told me to follow the four steps that would be imprinted with blue marks,
539 grandmother." "Well, grandson, you are young but you are wise. It is good. I will
775 now boil some food for you."

Then she will speak to you and then put a kettle on the fire and boil some rice for you. If you eat it you will have a headache. Then she will say, "Grandson, you have a headache, let me cup it for you." Then she will break open your skull and take out your brains and you will forget all about your people on earth and where you came from. You will not worry about your relatives. You will become like a holy spirit. Your thoughts will not go as far as the earth, as there will be nothing carnal about you.

Now the rice that the old woman will boil will really be lice. For that reason you will be finished with everything evil. Then you will go on stepping in the four footsteps mentioned before and that were imprinted with blue earth. You are to take the four steps because the road will fork there. All your relatives (who died before you) will be there. As you journey on you will come to a fire running across the earth from one end to the other. There will be a bridge across it but it will be difficult to cross because it is continually swinging. However, you will be able to cross it safely, for you have all the guides about whom the warriors spoke to you. They will take you over and take care of you.

Well, we have told you a good road (to take). If anyone tells a falsehood in speaking of the spirit road, you will fall off the bridge and be burned. However (you need not worry) for you will pass over safely. As you proceed from that place the spirits will come to meet you and take you to the village where the chief lives. There you will give him the tobacco and ask for those objects of which we spoke to you, the same you asked of the old woman. There you will meet all the relatives that died before you. They will be living in a large lodge. This you must enter. Ho-o-o, ha-a-a.

764 GENERALIZED DESCRIPTION OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS AND WAKE

[115 614] Informant, member of Bear clan. When a person died a member of his friend (*hitcahdro*) clan was immediately sent for, who took charge of the body and of all the funeral arrangements. The overseer dressed the deceased in his best clothes and all his finery, for it was said that he was going on a long journey. Then some clansman painted the dead man's face with the clan markings and delivered a speech to the corpse. When he concluded the clan songs were sung and the body was carried to the grave. All the mourners marched in single file. After the body had been buried or placed on a scaffold, as the case might be, a post was placed at the head of the grave, and the warriors among the mourners counted their coups and drew repre-
[775] sentations of their victories on the posts. The purpose of the warriors in counting coups at the grave was to put at the disposal of the deceased the spirits of all the enemies they had killed, and also to give him additional strength for overcoming the obstacles on the road to the spirit land. Food was placed on the little shelf in front of the window of the grave-house, to be used by the spirit during the four days that he hovered around this earth before departing on his journey. Then a light was lighted and finally, toward evening, all departed for their homes, returning as they had come, in single file,

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and being very careful not to look back toward the grave after they had first started. 764

The same evening the four nights' wake began. The overseer, who was in full charge, had everything prepared. Before the wake formally commenced the chief mourner made a short speech. Then the overseer lighted a pipe and passed it around to all, who took a puff each and returned it to him. Then sweetened water was passed around, of which all partook. The feast followed. Taking on a plate a small portion of all the food to be eaten, the overseer threw it outside for the spirit of the deceased. In the case of a nursling the mother added a small quantity of milk from her breast to the other food on the plate. After the feast the chief mourner made another speech, explaining why the rites were performed and how they had been handed down for many generations. He concluded by thanking the people for all they had done for him. 765 [776] [782]

There was always an abundance of tobacco at a wake. Most of it was given to the warriors, a number of whom were invited, for they played a very important rôle on such an occasion. It was believed that every warrior was in control of the spirit of an enemy he had slain and he was supposed always to be willing to put the spirit at the service of any member of his tribe who had just died, if the proper offerings were made. At the proper time tobacco was given to the warrior, who, rising, narrated his war exploits, at the conclusion of which he ordered the spirit of the enemy he had slain to take charge of the deceased. Then tobacco was given to another warrior, who followed the same procedure, which was continued until midnight. Then most of the people departed to their homes, but some stayed overnight in the lodge in which the wake was held. [431] [276] [775]

The proceedings of the second and third nights of the wake were exactly the same as those of the first, but somewhat longer. The beginning of the ceremony on the fourth night was the same as on the three preceding nights; after a while, however, it deviated in the following manner.

J. F., rising, tells the spirit of the departed the road he is to take in his journey to spirit land, the obstacles he is to meet, and how he is to overcome them. After he has finished the warriors begin to tell some more war exploits, and this continues generally until 3 o'clock in the morning, depending entirely upon the amount of gifts given to the warriors. The gifts generally consist either of 12 pieces of calico each 3 yards, or of beads, or of 12 quarter dollars. The warriors always gamble for these gifts and play the favorite game of the deceased. If a man had died they generally play moccasins; if a woman, *ka*ᵊ*su*. When all the presents have been exhausted, then the relatives of the deceased comb the [775] [431] [525] [524]

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765 mourner's hair, give him presents, and tell him that he is now free to cease mourning and to marry if he wishes.

In former times the period of mourning is supposed to have lasted four years.

[302] When a person is in mourning he always cuts his hair short and does not comb his hair. In former times people often mutilated themselves by cutting off either entire fingers or finger joints.

[304] The overseer always takes all the belongings of the deceased, but he must give the latter's relatives an equal amount of new material.

## Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(first version)

764 184 614 Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the clan dies they send after a man of the Thunderbird clan who is to speak to the corpse, paint it, and give him a war club to take along with him (to the land of the spirits). Then they go after a man from the [615] lower phratry to bury him, for these clans (of the lower phratry) belong on earth and they have the right to dig into the ground and bury people.

When the one who is to be the general overseer arrives and arranges everything, he prepares the corpse, putting a sack of tobacco in one hand and a war club in the other. Then he paints him. He paints the forehead with a red and a black mark and paints the lower part of the face to the end of the nose with scattered dots. He paints the jaw red and he makes a red mark across the mouth and the throat. Then he speaks as follows:

You have departed at this (young) age. You have taken your relatives by surprise and have left them a long part of your life (i. e., you have lived but a small part of your apportioned share of years). As you go to spirit land, you will find on the [775 539] road many feathers, many good plants, and many good kinds of clay, scattered around, the blue clay, the red clay, and the white clay. You will also find the sweet-smelling plants and good life. For all these things do you ask. If anything comes across your path, throw it behind you without looking around. In four days you will depart and objects with which to mediate between us and the spirits will soon be furnished you. For four nights your people will tell you what to do and when they hear you singing on the road they will know that it is you. There (in spirit land) you will go to live and the songs that I will sing you will sing as you travel on your road.

Then he sings (the four clan songs).

When the gravediggers are finished they take the body and carry it to the grave, the mourners following. They take the body to the grave and there lower it.

## Death and Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(second version)

Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan dies, the clansmen discuss what is to be done for the spirit

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764
of the deceased. Then they go and call the leader of their band 184
and he comes and addresses the body as follows: 614

You are about to leave all your relatives. They will remain on earth, objects of pity to all. You will proceed on your road, turning to your left after you start until you come to him who is in charge of the spirits. Whenever you see him, the following 764
request do we wish you to make of him, namely, that he bestow upon us all that 184
you fell short of in your life on this earth. The means of offering, the tobacco, which 614
Earthmaker gave us, we have given you some to take along. As you go along the road you will come to a place where the road branches off. Do not turn to the right, 539
for that road leads to the bad spirits. Turn to the left and soon you will come to a 775
guard. Point your pipe at him and he will be thankful. This man will have a complete suit of clothes and he will look terror-inspiring. He will smoke with you and then you may speak to him as follows: "Grandfather, before I left the earth, the people told me to ask you to point out to me which road I should travel in." Then he will tell you and you will pass ahead and after a while you will come to a fire-girdle. The man who is in charge of it will have a complete suit of clothes just like the first man. Point the stem of your pipe toward him and he will be very thankful and smoke with you. Then make your request, namely, to be permitted to pass, and he will grant it. As you go along after that you will come to a round lodge in which you will find an old woman. Point your pipe at her and she will be thankful and smoke it, and then ask her to let you pass and she will permit you to go ahead. Your hair will now be white but you will not be unconscious. On the contrary, you will have complete possession of all your senses. Then you will come to where he who is in control of spirits sits. Go to him and point your pipe toward him. Then when he is smoking it, ask him to show you the road to Earthmaker, our father, and he will point it out to you. Then you must proceed until you come to Earthmaker. When you get to him, point the stem of your pipe toward him and, if he takes it and smokes it, then you must say, "Earthmaker, my father, you know very well what kind of a life I have led." And he will answer, "You have done well, my son."

The informant then skips to the opening night of the four nights' 765
wake. The address to the spirit that follows is probably delivered 184
by the chief mourner before the formal opening of the wake. 614

*Address to the spirit.*[1]—"Ha ho-o-o-o, I want you to listen, you who have become 539
like a spirit. You have made those of your relatives who remained behind on earth 775
miserable and lonely. They have given you much food to take along with you and they have given you a pipe and some tobacco so that you may offer them to the spirits you meet on your road and make some requests of them. The first request that they wish you to make is to ask the spirits to distribute to your clan all the successful warpaths which would have fallen to your share had you lived your normal quota of years; and that all the food, etc., that you have not used be bestowed upon those whom you left behind on earth. The last request you should make of those on the road is to pray that a long time may elapse before any of your relatives traverse this road.

Now follows a description of the obstacles to be met on the road.

When you reach Earthmaker, offer him your pipe, and if he accepts it speak to him as follows: "Grandfather, as I was leaving the earth my relatives asked me to request of you humbly that you bestow upon the clansmen that I left behind me all that I would have accomplished had I lived longer. Now this is what I wished to ask of you, grandfather." Thus you should speak: "Ha ho-o-o-o."

[1] Spirit here is wanap'tsi, spirit, deity, not napyiski', ghost, noncorporeal embodiment. What is meant is that the deceased has become like one of the spirits, in that he lives, enjoys consciousness, etc., without at the same time having any corporeal existence.

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765 Then all the other people answer *ho-ho-o-o-o*. Now someone lights
184 a pipe and passes it around so that everyone can take a puff. All
614 take a puff, children and women as well as men. After that water
715 is passed around. Then all eat. A little portion of everything served is put aside and thrown out for the spirit to eat. Then a warrior, the person who has charge of the wake, speaks:

[539] I greet you all. I first wish to pour some of the tobacco that you have offered me for our grandfather who is in control of war-giving powers. (Probably the Thunder-birds are meant.) I will tell the spirit as carefully as I can all that I know about the road he must travel. My father impressed upon me very earnestly the need of being very truthful in speaking to the spirit of one recently deceased, for if I were a bad man I would cause the spirit to stumble. For that reason I always feel that I ought not to speak very much whenever I am called upon to talk.

Then a warrior was called upon to tell of his war exploits. He told as accurately as it was possible how he had killed a man, broken his collar bone, and then flayed him; how he had then chopped and cut up his body and mutilated him in such a way that he could not be identified; and how finally he had stolen his dogs. All night he spoke in this strain. He went on to tell how he had killed and utterly destroyed an entire village so that no one was left to tell of the massacre. All night he told of his war exploits. Thus they lighted the road for the spirit (i. e., held the Four Nights' Wake).

The second and third nights were just the same as the first, only that different warriors spoke and different war exploits were told. They are very proud of their war exploits and they would try to tell of their bravest deeds, those that had been most dangerous and which had required the greatest heroism. When the mourners listen to the narrative of such an exploit they become strengthened. All those people on whom the warrior had counted first coup and all those whom he had killed would carry the light for the spirit of the deceased. Those on whom he had counted second coup were commanded to clear the road, and a woman whom the warrior had captured was ordered to carry along the food. The ceremonies of the fourth night are the same as those of the first three nights.

### Death and Funeral Customs of the Bear Clan[1]

764
184 Informant, member of the clan. Mr. J. M. died in June, 1911. In
614 accordance with the old Winnebago customs, the first individual to
[763] be notified of the death was Mr. J. F., a member of the Wolf clan. To Mr. F. fell the lot of taking charge of all the funeral rites—dressing the deceased, laying his body in the casket, burying him, and, finally, conducting the elaborate funeral wake.

[1] This is practically a reprint of "Description of a Winnebago Funeral," by Lowie and Radin, Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. 15, no. 3, 1913.

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One of Mr. F.'s most important duties was to invite the warriors to extend invitations to all those who wish to participate in the feast. After the body has been buried the overseer goes to the home of the deceased and takes away all those things with which the deceased had been in daily contact. 764 184 614

In addition to F., another man was sent for, Mr. A. W., also a member of the Bear clan. He went through the Bear clan ceremony, which was as follows: When the deceased was fully dressed, just before he was to be laid in the casket, A. W. walked up to him and, taking some paint from a little bundle he carried, he painted a red mark across his forehead, then a black one immediately below this one, and finally daubed the whole chin red. When he was through with this preliminary work he addressed those present as follows:

You relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. This ceremony is not anything that we have originated ourselves, but it was known to be the proper thing to do by our ancestors. It is for that reason that I have made the markings upon the face of my son in order that he may be recognized by his relatives in spirit land; and I have also given him the material with which he may talk, i. e., tobacco, that with it he may entreat the spirits to bestow all those years that he fell short of upon his relatives still living. [539]

Now, it is said that the members of the Bear clan hold death as a blessing and not as anything to mourn about. I do not mean that I do not feel sorry for the children of the deceased and that I rejoice in his death, but it is the belief of the members of the Bear clan that the same happiness comes to them at death that comes to us during life when a bear is killed and brought to the village for food.

For now, indeed, my son will walk in a road that has been cleared of all obstacles and his claws will be sharp, and his teeth will be sharp, and nothing, indeed, will cross his path. And in this, his walk to the spirit land, may he tread down upon us the life that he has fallen short of on this earth. And he will walk just as the original Bear clansmen walked when they originated and when they approached the earth. And now I will sing him the songs that they sang as they came on earth, so that he may take them along with him on his journey to the spirit land. It is said that there is no other place besides this prepared for us in the hereafter.

Then he sang the four clan songs.

When the songs had been sung, it was just about noon and, as dinner was ready, we all sat down and A. W. filled a pipe and when he was ready to smoke it began to speak again to the following effect:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. It is good that this many of you have come here, and it is said that the soul of the deceased remains hovering around about this place four days and that we should partake of food with him for that period. It is for that reason that we act in this way. And it is good that this many of you have come here and have helped us out with food and dress. [539]

He then mentioned the things that had been given by different individuals. Then he lit a pipe and took a few puffs and sent it around to all the others in the lodge. Then a pitcher of water was passed around from which we all took a sip.

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764 During the morning Mrs. R. came in and combed the hair of the
184 deceased's wife and gave her some presents, telling her at the same
614 time that she hoped that she would dry her tears as a sign of appre-
539 ciation of the gifts. Another person came in in the morning bring-
ing a pair of leggings and a blanket for the deceased. He also brought the casket. While the body of the deceased was being prepared this same person spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. If my nephews will come here and sit near me, I will talk to them.

Then the sons of the deceased came and sat near their mother and sisters and the man continued:

My sister, it is said that it is best for a person not to weep; and that a widow should not mourn too much, for then the people would make fun of her; as well as for the fact that having children she must for their sake look forward to life and live for them. And it is also said that we should keep up this mourning for at least four years. Now there is nothing amusing about what I am going to say (although it may sound so)—namely, that we should not cry on such an occasion as to-day, but, on the contrary, keep up a good spirit. I do not mean that I am glad that my brother-in-law is dead. But if you were to weep some one might come in and say that it behooves you more to show him your teeth than your tears. They mean that you should smile.

And again it is said that one should not cry, for when a body is laid in the ground there is no more hope of its ever returning to this earth again. My nephew, the one that had been advising you in your daily affairs, is gone and you are left alone to look after yourself, your little brothers, and your mother; and therefore I want you all to love one another and remember your mother

While we were eating C. P. came in and spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. It is good that you all have come here and are comforting this house of mourning. It is good that J. H. has brought a casket and clothing for the deceased and food for the wake. And indeed he has also promised a hog for the feast. I know that he did not do this in order to have some one speak of it in public, but how can I refrain from expressing my thanks? My brother also came with the intention of furnishing some of these things, but inasmuch as
[431] J. H. has furnished them beforehand he placed ten dollars in the hands of the wife of the deceased. He did not, however, tell her for what purpose he gave her the money and I therefore take the liberty of telling her that the gift is meant for anything that she may desire to buy. Now, my relatives, this is no time for happiness, but I am glad, nevertheless, that so many have come and I am thankful for what you have done. I greet you all.

Then the casket was put in the spring wagon and taken to the Winnebago Cemetery. When we got there the casket was lowered into the grave. When this was over, A. W. spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. This many of you have followed my son to his last resting place. Further than this place he will not walk in this life. Truly this many of you have felt sorry for him. All the rites that were taught me in this connection I have already performed. I have given the deceased the emblem (i. e., the whittled stick known as *nemanirinirini*) and the material to talk with (the tobacco), so that he may plead for us, his relatives, when he gets to the end of the
[775] journey, that we may live the life he fell short of upon this earth, and that he may

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tread firmly upon us as he walks to the spirit land. All that I know I have said before. I was taught nothing that I was to do or say at this place except that we should step over the grave just as our forefathers did when they originated. They were holy and they entered this life on a perfect day just as this day to-day, and, inasmuch as they were holy, all the ground that they touched was holy. It is for that reason that we should step over the grave. 765 184 614 539 [775]

Then we stepped over the grave. After that we went to our homes.

The same evening the wake began. When all the invited guests had arrived and were seated, the feast was spread before them. Then A. W. spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. It is good that this many of you have come to-night. You know that we are not creating any new ceremony, but are simply following up what our forefathers have learned to be true and good. And, as it is said that we should not weep aloud, therefore you will not hear any of us making any utterings of sorrow. And even though we weep silently should anyone come to us we will look upon them smiling. We therefore beg of you, should you find us happy in mood, not to think the worse of us. And now I am ready to turn over the tobacco and water to J. F. Thus I express my thanks to you all that are present.

Then J. F. took the tobacco and water and spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. It is good that so many of you have come to our humble affair and, as our ancestors said that this was the proper way to do, so I am glad that it was given to me to handle the corpse, as I am certain that I will be strengthened by it. I will now pass the tobacco to Mr. X. He is a brave man and he will light the pipe and pass the water before we eat and after supper he will tell the deceased a route to the spirit land. Now I thank you and I greet you.

Then the brave man took the tobacco and filled the pipe and after taking a few puffs from it, passed it to the left and it thus went round, each person taking a puff from the pipe and a sip from the pitcher of water. Then the feast began. When it was over and all the dishes were cleared away, and everyone was properly seated, then the brave man greeted them again:

Relatives, I greet you. As we are not creating anything new, and as our ancestors knew it to be good, and as it is said that if anyone exaggerates a story in a case like this it will cause the soul to stumble, therefore I will tell my war exploits to my relative (the deceased) exactly as I remember them. I greet you all.

He then proceeded to tell his war exploits. When he had finished he again spoke as follows:

Relatives that are present, I greet you. As I said before, I do not wish to cause the soul of my recently deceased relative to stumble and I have tried to tell my story as accurately as I could. It is said that the souls of the ones killed in a battle are at the mercy of the victor, and I therefore command the souls of the ones I have killed to lead and guide my relative safely through the spirit land. I greet you all. [775]

He then passed the tobacco to another brave man present who in his turn greeted those present and related his war exploits. After two warriors had told their war exploits they stopped for the night, 765 184 614

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765 to continue on the second night. The second and third nights were
184 the same as the first. About the evening of the fourth night, when
614 all the people invited were present, A. W. spoke in the same strain as on the first night, and when he had finished he passed the management of the feast to J. F. The latter then passed it to F. F. now lit the pipe and passed it around, together with the water. Then all partook of the feast. After supper A. W. reported all the donations that were made to them, naming each giver and the amount of the gift and thanking them and praising them for their generous gifts. Then F. told the following story:

THE JOURNEY OF THE SOUL TO SPIRIT LAND*

539 Ho! Ha! Are you all ready? I am going to speak about the four nights during
775 which you listened to your relatives and to the words they had to say. I am placing
765 the sacrificial tobacco in the rear part of the lodge for you. As you go home do not look back. Before you are far away you will come to a lodge. You may enter this lodge. A door faces the rising sun and a door faces the setting sun. As you enter you will find a woman on your right. Go and sit down opposite her. Then your great-grandmother will say to you, "My great-grandchild, what did they say to you when you were leaving, when your life was over?" "My great-grandmother, as I listened to my beloved relatives they said very little indeed. They said that I was breaking their hearts (in leaving them), and that they hoped that none would follow me soon. Then they asked me to make four requests:

"First. I was to ask for life, that the flames from the lodge fire might go straight upward. Yet they were satisfied if at my departure the flames swayed to and fro.

"Second. Whatever fruit had been predestined for me and that I did not taste, my relatives should hereafter not be deprived of.

"Third. They also mentioned nuts, all manner of herbs, all serviceable hides and skins, all medicinal roots and grasses. They commanded me to make a request for all things that exist in the earth.

"Fourth. That if anyone has a friend his weapon might have a keen edge on one side. Now, my great-grandmother, this is the number of requests they commanded me to make."

"My great-grandchild, although you are young, you are wise. My great-grandchild, my lodge is a place where all who enter must pass an examination. Earthmaker looks upon it as a keen-edged instrument. No clouds of ill omen ever pass over it. Now, my grandchild, as to those four requests you put to me, it shall be as you say. The nuts and herbs you have requested shall be given you. There will be nothing of that food predestined for you that your relatives will not taste. The hides and skins, the grasses they will possess in plenty. And if they have friends their weapons will be keen on one side. All that they have requested through you shall be given them. Here is the food set before you in this wooden bowl."

Then you are to answer to her, "My grandmother, this was what my relatives longed for. These are the things I was to leave behind me for those on earth."

Now, be sure that you only take a taste and push the dish away from you. For then the old woman will say, "My great-grandchild, all that you have left behind you in that dish represents the vegetable kingdom on this earth. Many who are older than you have eaten all that I gave them, my great-grandchild. You have a wise head on young shoulders. All that you have left in the dish shall grow on the face of the earth. Earthmaker is waiting for you in great expectation. There is the door to

*Obtained from Harry Cloud.

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the setting sun. On your way stands the lodge of Hereega'nina, and his fire. Those 539
who have come (the souls of brave men) from the land of the souls to take you back 775
will touch you. There the road will branch off toward your right and you will see the 765
footprints of the day on the blue sky before you. These footprints represent the footprints of those who have passed into life again. Step into the places where they have stepped and plant your feet into their footprints, but be careful you do not miss any. Before you have gone very far, you will come into a forest of wa'ko'ja* broken by open prairies here and there. Here, in this beautiful country, these souls whose duty it is to gather other souls will come to meet you. Walking on each side of you they will take you safely home. As you enter the lodge of the Earthmaker you must hand to him the sacrificial offerings. Here the inquiry that took place in the first lodge will be repeated and answered in the same manner. Then he will say to you, "All that your grandmother has told you is true. Your relatives are waiting for you in great expectation. Your home is waiting for you. Itedow will be facing the mid-day sun. Here you will find your relatives gathered. Inasmuch, then, as our ruler will nod assent and express his approval by word of mouth, so shall we now do the same."

At this word all those assembled at the wake shout, *Ho-ho!*

Then a warrior told his war experiences and after thanking the 765
people passed the tobacco to the next warrior, who in turn related 184
his war experiences. 614

The amount of gifts was then figured out and they tried to arrange matters so that the warriors were through with their stories about midnight. At midnight games were played with the donations as [431]
prizes. The gifts generally consisted of twelve 3-yard pieces of calico or money equal to that amount of calico; twelve strings of beads, etc. These were the gifts used as prizes. Other donations of food were made for the four nights' feast. A. W was in charge of the games and he likewise designated what games were to be [524]
played. As they generally play the games the deceased was fond of so in this case they played the moccasin game and cards. After the donations were exhausted and the games finished a brave man was called upon to give a war whoop in thankfulness for the sun, and also to all the spirits above and below. Then A. W. greeted and thanked the guests again for coming, and the wake was over.

In olden times the widow was supposed to continue single for 768
four years. She is strongly admonished, nevertheless, not to continue in low spirits, and to consider herself free to act in any way that will make her happy. She is told to play games or dance, or in fact do anything that will make her forget her sorrow, and she is told that no one will hold her conduct against her as disrespectful to the deceased. As this admonition is given to her by the sister or aunt of the deceased's husband, the only people who could properly reproach her—namely, the members of her husband's clan—it has all the more weight. The prohibition of weeping is further strengthened by the fact that it is customary to say that any woman who weeps too profusely at the death of her husband is in reality thinking, in

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768 the midst of her tears, of the one she is going to marry next. The people will then tell one another not to put themselves out too much as the widow will soon forget her mourning and show no respect to the memory of the dead, but instead look after her own pleasures.

### Funeral Customs of the Buffalo Clan

764 Told by a member of the clan.[10] If a Buffalo clan man dies some
184 members of his clan who are called upon would speak as follows:
614
539 To-day when you ceased to breathe we were aware of it. Therefore relatives who are present, I greet you. Here my brother's life has ended, and for the last time I will talk to him about the road he is to take.

Ha"ha, my brother, the place at which we originated was called Bad Lake. There were four buffaloes there and from the youngest one are we descended. They lived holy lives, and we hope you will walk in their path. That you may strike everything (you meet on your journey) you must take along with you a war club. You shall walk armed with sharp teeth; and it will be impossible for bad spirits to walk back and forth across your path. And your sight shall be holy as you walk.

Then the speaker painted the face of the deceased. On the right side of his forehead he painted a rainbow with blue and red paint. After that he sang the clan songs. When he was through singing, a member of the Water-spirit clan spoke as follows:

Relatives, I greet you. When one of you passes away and you ask me to work, I am always willing to be of service. And I shall do it all the more willingly now because I am certain that I shall obtain some of the years that the deceased left "unlived." I do it with that belief, and furthermore I pray that no bad animals abuse the deceased on his journey. It is said that one cheers the soul of the dead in thinking thus. Therefore I do it and also that I myself may be strengthened thereby. I came back willingly when I was asked to work and I am doing this so that no bad animals should abuse the soul of the deceased.

Then one of the callers would talk to the mourners, saying as follows:

Relatives, I greet you. To-day one of your relatives has disappeared. You must, however, keep up your courage and not cry, for Earthmaker above has ordained that we should disappear. If a piece of earth caves in, it disappears, and when a rock crumbles it is disappearing. Thus, it is said, it must be.

### Origin Myth of the Four Nights' Wake

534 Two friends went out to cut arrow-sticks, and were surprised by a
765 war party and killed. When they were shot they thought they had stumbled and went right on (in the spirit). After the enemy had killed the first one they chased the second one and killed him, and so their bodies lay apart. Then the war party left and the two spirits started to follow them. Soon they came to where their bodies were lying. Then they said, "Let us follow the enemy a little." Soon they caught up to the war party and one of the spirits pushed one of the

[10] This account is quite fragmentary and was obtained in connection with the clan myth. It is given here on account of the speeches.

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men on the back of his head. He immediately became paralyzed from the touch. Then they pushed another man and he could not walk. So they laughed and turned back in order to return to their home. 539 765

They had not yet learned that they were dead. One went to his camp and told his wife that he was hungry but she paid no attention to him. The other had the same experience. Then each man started to go to the other man's lodge and they met midway. The first man said, "I came back hungry and asked for food, but they would not give me any, so I thought that I would go to your place." The second one said the same thing. Then they said, "Let us lie down a while." Just then the people began to cry, for they had brought back the bodies of the two dead men. Then one of the men said, "My friend, we have been killed." The other one began to cry.

So the people gathered together and had a meal. One of the ghosts said, "We must try and get something from the meal that they are having, for the people said, 'We are giving this meal in honor of the departed.'" Then the other friend said, "Now we are going to eat, for they are cooking for us."

These two were born again and told about this, and that is how we know it. This is the origin of the Four Nights' Wake. It is claimed that the spirits of the spirit land have a four nights' feast before they start.

## Grave-post Marks

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(Drawings by Indians)

(Fig. 20)

Warrior has been on the warpath (homani'na).
Warrior was a leader of a warpath (sak'i').
Warrior was a helper on a warpath (wagixô'na) (rek'i').
Warrior counted one of the three coup (wa'ngomank).
Warrior had made a captive (wangini).
Warrior had killed a horse on the warpath or stolen one from the enemy.
If a person had killed a man and cut off his head, he is allowed to paint the top (upper part!) of the grave-post red.

Fig. 20. Grave-post marks: 1, Has been on the warpath; 2, has been leader on warpath; 3, has been helper on warpath; 4, has counted one of the coup; 5, has made a captive; 6, has killed horse on warpath or stolen one from enemy; 7, has killed a man and cut off his head.

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# CHAPTER VI

## WARFARE AND THE COUNCIL LODGE

### Warfare

721 War was one of the most important elements in the life of the
[183] Winnebago. The life of the warrior was the ideal toward which all
men strove. It not only satisfied certain emotional needs but it
[554] was so inextricably interwoven with social standing in the com-
munity and with individual prestige that Winnebago life is unthink-
able without it. It is not surprising, then, that the prayer for
[782] success on the warpath was the most important prayer that men
offered up to the spirits and that it was reechoed in almost all the
ceremonies. (Pls. 43, 44, 45.)

An element of culture fraught with so much significance to the individual and the social group was bound to be surrounded by innumerable customs, regulations, and restrictions. It was a life that was at stake every time an individual went on the warpath, and remembering the value of each life to a small community, it is not to be wondered at if there is a definite attempt on the part of the social group to restrict individual activity in this particular regard. An individual might go on the warpath either alone or in company with a few people, but the community, in the person of the chief, insisted that he show some warrant for his action. If no warrant of
[626] any kind could be given, he subjected himself to the only restrictive
measures the chief and the community could adopt, disapproval,
jeers, and temporary loss of social standing and prestige. So much,
as far as his own person was concerned. If his action jeopardized
the life or lives of other members of the tribe he had then to face
[686] the relatives of these people, just as any individual who had com-
mitted some wrong. It is hardly likely that many men would willingly run any risks of unnecessarily antagonizing their fellow tribesmen when the proper means of preparing for the warpath was open to all. A careful perusal of the system of education given on page 166 makes it clear that a sufficiently large number of methods for obtaining consent to lead a party were given, and that it was possible for every male individual to go on the warpath frequently if he so desired. Certain requirements were, however, necessary. It was not left to each individual to decide for himself
[622] whether he possessed these, but the final decision always lay in the
hands of the chief.

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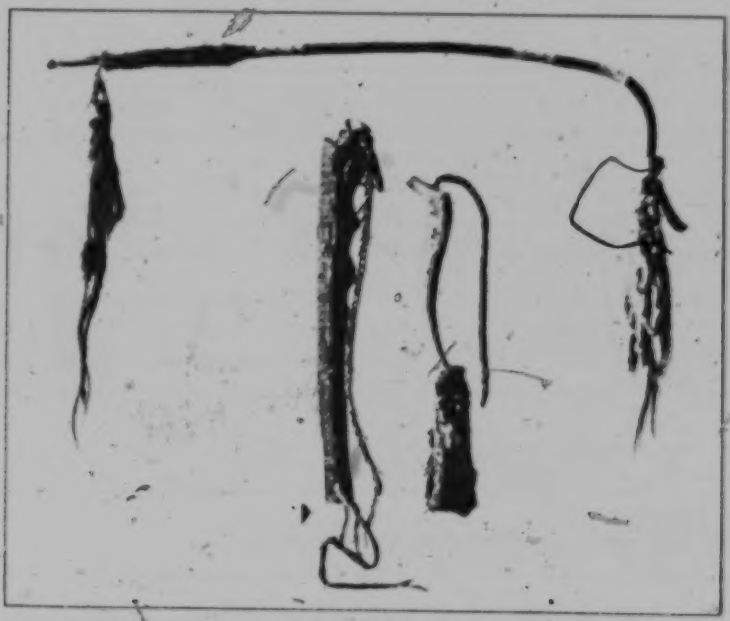
a. WAR CLUBS OF THE UPPER DIVISION



b. WHIPS

[Facing p. 156 (A)]

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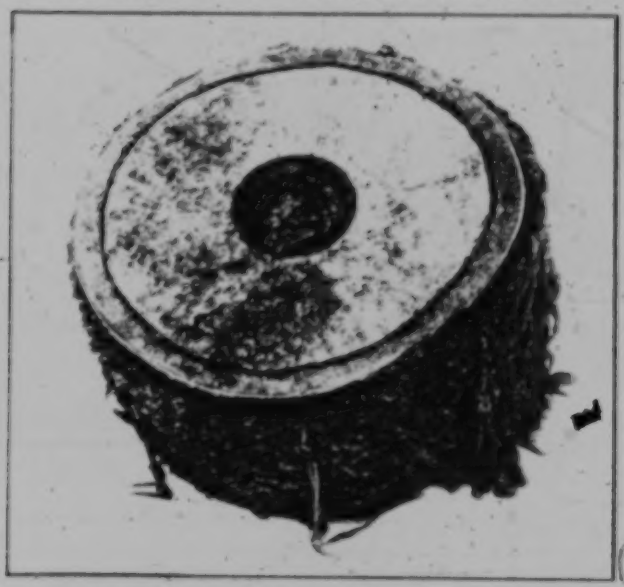

DRUMS

[Facing p. 156 (8)]

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WAR CLUBS

A, A, Ulsterdiscus. B, Ulsterdiscus.

[facing p. 156 (c)]

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Any man who has been specially blessed with war powers may go on the warpath. Such a man must not merely be blessed with those general war powers that individuals obtain during their puberty fast, but must likewise be blessed with a definite enemy to kill or capture, as the case may be, immediately before he starts out. In practice this meant that whenever a person wished to go on the warpath he fasted in order to obtain the necessary guarantees of success. An account of the powers granted by the spirit or spirits was then placed before the chief and if, in his opinion, they justified the undertaking, the man was permitted to go. If they were insufficient the chief expressed his disapproval and the contemplated undertaking had either to be given up or the man would be compelled to fast again for increased powers. There were a number of men who were unable to obtain the requisite powers. To them one of two alternatives was left open: they might either purchase sufficient powers to go on a warpath or they might volunteer to join a large warpath. A volunteer needed no special blessing. If he had one, it would certainly benefit him, but it was not necessary except as an additional precaution, for the leader of the war party (*dotcaʼhuṇkw*) was supposed to be blessed specifically with every element necessary for a successful undertaking. As the Winnebago express it, he was blessed "with a complete road." In a war leader's blessing, everything must be provided—sufficient food, a definite number of enemies to kill, the exact place where they are to be killed, the exact time when they are to be killed, the exact manner in which they are to be killed, the exact manner in which the participants are to return to their homes, the safe return of all participants, and an infinite number of other minor points. As a volunteer went at the request of another man, the latter, and not he, took upon himself entire responsibility and the chief dealt directly with him. The chief would, in such a case, be particularly careful to see that every life that was risked was amply safeguarded. Otherwise the war party would not be permitted to start.

A man may go on the warpath for two reasons: either to revenge a slain relative or in a general way because he thinks he has received sufficient power and wishes to obtain glory. If the incentive was revenge, he might pursue one of two methods. He might go to the shaman with offerings of tobacco and presents and tell him about the death of his relative and his desire for revenge; or he might take the matter in his own hand, fast, and after having stealthily prepared for the necessities of the warpath inform a friend and steal out with him in the middle of the night. Were he to take the first method, it would be the shaman who would fast and who would afterwards lead the party, taking along with him as many men as would follow him.

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721 When a man went on a warpath for the sake of glory he generally led a large party and all sorts of special arrangements were made, because then a war leader was necessary and volunteers were always needed. It is believed that the same holds true for larger war parties.

In discussing the essential requisite for a successful war party we have stated that a special blessing was necessary for this purpose. There is, however, one noteworthy exception to this rule, if we are [614] to accept the statements of members of the upper phratry—all mem- 615] bers of the Warrior clan may go on a warpath without fasting and without receiving a blessing. This statement was vigorously denied by members of the lower phratry.

727 When a war party returns, a very interesting ceremony takes place. At some distance from the village a victorious war party sends a messenger ahead to tell all those at home that the war party has been unsuccessful and that all have been killed, and that those at home should put on mourning. Secretly, however, the leader tells someone to look for a pole for the Victory dance, and shortly after all the preparations for mourning have been made the victorious warriors rush into the village. Before entering the village that warrior who [535] has counted first coup is offered a pipe, from which he always takes a few puffs. The same pipe is then handed to the one who counted coup second, and so on, until the fourth man is reached. Then the prizes (*waiirey*) are given to the victors, who afterwards give them to their sisters. The scalps are not taken into the village, but are left outside, and warriors who have remained at home rush out to count coup upon them.[1] Then the scalps are carried around the village four times.

555 The widely-known Plains custom of "counting coup" is also 726 practiced among the Winnebago. The individual who strikes the dead body of the enemy first obtains the first honor, the one striking it second the second honor, the one striking it third the third honor, and the one who actually killed the enemy obtaining the fourth and least important honor.

721 The following are descriptions given in the words of the informants:

[115] *Description of war customs and the manner of conducting a war party.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

When a man is ready to go on the warpath, he looks around for as many men as he wishes to take along and then gives a feast. At the feast he fixes the time at which the war party is to start. The man giving the feast (i. e., the leader of the war party) would get up and tell those present that he intended going on a warpath and give his reason; then he would say that whoever so desired could come along.

Many went along. Indeed, there was quite a crowd. The first stopping place (*hipiyere*) was always near the outskirts of the village. There the leader appointed four men to go after food and wood for the fire. During their absence two camping places would be arranged, one on each side of the war leader. As soon as the four men returned with the food the attendants skinned and prepared the animals for

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eating. Then the war leader asked for food, and it was brought to him. Now the 721
female relatives of the men came to the camp, bringing with them moccasins for the journey. After that the chief asked some man to tell stories and some to take care of the fireplace, while two brave warriors were put in charge of the camp. Toward morning a number of warriors who had not been asked to join this particular war party might stray in (*hotcu'ggitte*).

Before the war leader enters the *higiyara* he places his war bundle crosswise in front of the entrance of the *higiyara* and sings some songs. When he is finished, his attendants place the war bundle on his back, and only then does he really enter the *higiyara*, followed by all the other members of the war party.[1]

When they approached the place where they expected to find the enemy, two dis- 726
tinguished warriors were appointed to reconnoiter, and they proceeded ahead of the war party until they saw the enemy. Then they returned to the camp and reported to the war leader. From that time on they would practice their various individual powers (*wawxa'p nayhgigire'jê*).[2]

When the two warriors sent out to reconnoiter return, the attendant offers them the pipe that he had prepared for the war leader. They smoke it and say, "Those whom we are after are entirely unaware of our presence." Then the members of the war party would thank them for their information. All would now start out against 726
the enemy. When near the enemy, they practice their powers again and paint 782
themselves with their war paints. To those spirits who have bestowed blessings upon the various members of the war party offerings are now made. Especially to the spirits who are in control of war powers are offerings made. To them they also pray for life and for war honors in the coming encounter. They even offer tobacco to those spirits from whom they have not received blessings, asking them for aid because of their careful observance of all the customs and precepts they were taught. Some offered tobacco to a medicine they possessed and asked the medicine to remember them in the coming encounter. Others boiled water (for a spirit) and asked him to assist them in obtaining a war honor, while others again offered tobacco to their war bundles and prayed that the powers contained therein might be strong and that they might kill some of the enemy and obtain war honors. All prayed that the enemy might not kill them and that they might finally return home safe. Those who had no supernatural powers to fall back upon would get frightened at such a time and they would say, "Alas! how will I fare! I should have fasted. I should have given feasts. I should have offered good medicines to the spirits and fasted until I was blessed, so that I, too, might now have some powerful medicine to use. Had I fasted and obtained a blessing from the spirits who are in control of war powers, had I given feasts, this all would have been a source of strength to me now and I would know positively whether or not I am going to be killed in the coming encounter."

When everything is in readiness the war leader rises and appoints four warriors to 726
give the war whoop. Then, as soon as the war whoop has been given, they would rush upon the enemy, imitating as they ran the sounds of the spirits who had blessed [555]
them. The first four to kill and count coup obtained the corresponding four war honors. Those who captured a man also obtained war honors. Beside these principal ones there were minor war honors. Those who obtained no honors at all would return home crying. After they had killed all those in the village of the enemy they would burn it to the ground and then start for their homes in the best of spirits.

When they were near their home they sent a messenger ahead to inform their rela- 727
tives to put on mourning, for all those who had started out on the warpath had been killed; that he who had in reality obtained the first war honor had been killed first,

[1] *Higiyara* is the special arrangement of the camp used on individual warpaths.

[2] When a war party has located the enemy, they prepare for the attack and run about, practicing their individual magical powers. "The war-club running" (*wawxa'p nayhgigire'jê*) referred to in the practice of running about in preparation for the attack upon the enemy so that they may not get tired out too easily. [789]

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727 etc. Then the war leader would secretly tell some one to select a stake (for the Victory Dance) and after a short time all the members of the war party would rush in and march around the entire village striking the scalps that they had tied to sticks. Then they would all go to the place where the stake had been put up and there they would distribute the war prizes to the sisters of the men who had won them and the women would walk around proudly with the prizes around their necks. Then, in the daytime 701 they would dance the Victory Dance and in the evening they would dance the 721 Hok'ixere Dance for four nights.

[115] *Description of a war party.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

[787] If a man wishes to go on the warpath he must fast and be blessed by the spirits in a specific manner. If a man is thus blessed, he gives a feast and announces his intention of leading a war party. The chief always has a representative at such a feast (a member of the Buffalo clan), and as soon as it is over this man goes to the former and reports [622] to him. If the chief thinks that the blessing is insufficient and might cause the death of many men he takes the war leader's pipe and lays it across his path and the war leader is then compelled to abandon his undertaking. This action on the part of the chief is sacred and must be accepted as final. The war leader dare not step across the pipe. Should the chief, however, not do this, then the war leader knew that there was no objection. Usually some members of every clan go along, but especially members of the Thunderbird, Warrior, and Bear clans.

The action of the war leader is controlled by many rules. He must be the one who has fasted and been blessed with all that is essential for conducting a war party. He must have his food provided for him by the spirits, know the exact location of the enemy, their numbers, and their sex.

726 After the war party has traveled for about four days, the men offer tobacco to the 701 leader and he tells them where he is going, the number of the enemy, etc. If, after that, any of the members of the war party do not approve of the undertaking then they place a pipe across his path and the war leader is compelled to return. If nothing is said, then all is well. The war leader always goes ahead of his party and his attendants behind him, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever the chief stops his attendants run to his side, take his war bundle and place it in front of him. Then the leader sits down, neither turning to the right nor to the left but looking straight ahead. The attendants get two poles and place them on each side of him, bend the ends over to form an arch, on each side of which are placed small oak sticks arranged in a row. Under this structure the war leader stays. Here he sleeps and is [614] fed by his attendants. No one is permitted to go ahead of this improvised structure. On each side of him two fireplaces are placed, two for the Upper clans and two for the Lower clans. If the war party is traveling westward the two fireplaces on the north side belong to the Lower clans and the two on the south side to the Upper clans. If a man is going on a warpath for the first time, he stays in the rear of the party and has a little fire of his own. He remains in the rear in this way until the battle begins. Then he joins the others.

A member of the Warrior clan is selected by the war leader to act as guard and he goes back and forth behind him encouraging the men and telling them not to steal away alone or go too far ahead of the party, since that always results in the loss of life. It is for this reason that it is not considered correct for a man to try and steal away and perhaps obtain a war honor in this selfish manner. Whenever the war leader stops he tells his companions what they must do in order to obtain food, all this information having been provided for in his blessing. If he tells some one to go to a certain place and kill a deer, he is certain to find a deer at the place specified. Whenever the war leader gets up and steps over his war bundle the attendants come and place his war bundle on his back and he then proceeds on his march, followed by the other members [782] of the party. Whenever he comes to a river he takes some of the tobacco which is

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always kept on hand and offers it to the spirit who controls this particular war party. 726 701
The others do the same. Then he would cross the river. Whenever he drank any water the others would also do so, and if he refrained so would the others. If at any [782] time during the night when they are camping the war leader should wake up and sing same songs, be they grizzly bear, black root paint, or night songs, all those others who [533] know similar songs would likewise begin to sing.

*Miscellaneous war customs.* There were, in former times, many 726
miscellaneous customs connected with warfare, most of which have now been forgotten. However, in myths and accounts of war parties a number of them are still mentioned.

When a war party surprised a lodge, all the occupants were killed or captured and the poles that were spliced together to form the arches were released so that they sprang back to either side and assumed a vertical position.

When a war party surprised a lodge in which there were children they generally killed them, cut off their heads, pried open their [727] mouths so as to give them the appearance of laughing, and then placed the heads on their bodies again and arranged them against the door, so that when their father came home he would find them greeting him as usual. A brave warrior would never flinch at such a sight, but would prepare a meal as usual and speak to the children as if they were alive and offer them something to eat. Only then would he bury them. Immediately after they had been buried he would go on the warpath to revenge them.

Frequently the skulls of slain enemies are used as lodge weights and 727
their skin is taken off and used as mats, door-flaps, etc.

*War honors.*—"It is the ideal of every Winnebago youth," says an 726
informant, "to kill an enemy in full sight of his friends and thus to [183] gain for himself a headdress and an eagle feather." Most deeds considered valorous, according to Winnebago ideas, have associated with 554
them certain insignia which are always worn in public, giving evidence to all that so-and-so has performed such and such a valorous deed.

These insignia consist of the following:

*Headdress and feather.*—Denote that an individual has scalped and killed a man and torn off his scalp still bleeding. He is entitled to a red headdress and eagle feather. This also includes the man who has counted first coup (*sarintgwahi'na*).

*Red headdress.*—If he has killed the enemy and not scalped him (*teank'nte wak'e'rd.*)

*Eagle feather.*—Worn by one who has counted second coup.

*Hanging eagle feather.*—Worn by one who has counted third coup.

*Eagle feather stuck crosswise in hair.*—Worn by one who has counted fourth coup.

*Waggirusgite.*—Consists of a rope worn around the neck. It is worn by the leader of that warpath who has captured an enemy.

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*Ü'ąkerē.*—Arm band worn by the person who did the actual capturing. If two enemies are captured he can wear an arm band on each arm.

*Red-dyed eagle feather.*—A red-dyed eagle feather worn by a war leader who has brought a captured enemy to camp and tortured him with embers.

*Ankle-band of skunk or polecat.*—An ankle-band of the skin of a skunk or polecat worn by one who has seen an enemy dead on the battle field and kicked him. If he does it for the second time, he may wear skunk skins on both legs below the knee. If the leader does it he is allowed to use an otter skin.

*Rope tied to belt.*—A rope of any desirable length tied to a belt may be worn by an individual who has succeeded in either capturing or killing an enemy's horse. At a dance no one would dare step on it. If an individual does not want to wear this, he may in its place wear a rope around his body.

*Legs painted white.*—An individual who has been on the warpath in winter may paint his legs white, from the knee down.

*Gun painted red.*—An individual who has killed an enemy with a gun may carry this gun at a dance and paint it red.

*Spear.*—If a person kills an enemy with a spear, he may carry this and tie to it any symbol (eagle feather, etc.) that he has gained.

*Koke'rehą.*—An individual who was a well-known warrior and had fought in front of his comrades, and one whom the enemy respected, was entitled to a long stick with eagle feathers. At a dance he had the privilege of dancing with the stick in front of his comrades.

*Hand on face.*—Any warrior making all four coups, who did not care to wear a dress, might paint a man's hand in black upon his face.

*Raven's skin around neck.*—If an individual captured more than one woman in war, he was entitled to wear a raven skin around his neck.

*Body painted yellow and wounded spot red.*—If a man had been wounded on the warpath, he had the right at a dance to paint his body yellow and the wounded spots red, with red streaks running from the wounds.

*Otter skin around knee and nąggiśo.*—A great warrior, one who has gained all the war honors, can, if he does not wish to wear his separate insignia, wear instead an otter skin attached below the knee, whose ends are not quite united. He may also wear a *nąggiśo* consisting of a stick, whittled and painted red, in his hair.

Valorous deeds are also perpetuated on the grave posts when the warriors who have accompanied the corpse to the grave count coup and draw a picture symbolizing their particular deed on the post. It should therefore be remembered that the markings on these posts do not refer at all to the valorous deeds of the deceased but to those of warriors who happened to count coup at the grave.

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## The Council Lodge

*The clan in the council lodge.*—There is one place where the clan finds representation as a political unit, and that is the council lodge. No unanimity seems to exist with regard to the positions of the various clans in the council lodge, but here again the position of those clans with specific governmental functions seems to be far more stable than that of the others. The clans are generally so seated as always to be opposite their "friend" clan, from which fact a clan frequently calls its friend "my opposite." It is, however, interesting to note that this seating does not hold for two friend groups, the Water-spirit-Buffalo and Elk-Deer. The Water-spirit clan occupies a high position in the council lodge, apparently quite out of proportion to its present importance in the social organization of the tribe, but in consonance with its former importance. 614 623

*Councils.*—No important undertaking was ever attempted without the holding of a council. On such occasions the principal members of each clan would assemble in a long lodge and discuss in great detail. Nothing comparable to a vote that might express the desire of those assembled was taken, but the opinions of those present were always presented in their speeches. As a rule the chief, or some person especially interested in definite matter, led the discussion. Owing to the complete absence of specific examples of councils it is very difficult to obtain a very clear idea of their working. The numerous councils relating to treaties with the whites are of very little interest or significance in this connection.

There was unquestionably a regular order of entering and seating in the council lodge. What this order was it is impossible to determine now, for the statements made by different informants were contradictory. Since, however, the contradictions in the seating arrangements seemed to be correlated with different clan membership the discrepancies may be due, not to lack of knowledge but to actual differences. A few examples of the seating arrangements follow (figs. 29–32):

*Description of order of entering the council lodge.*—Informant, member of Bear clan. The Buffalo clan would always be the last to enter the council lodge because the members remained outside making announcements until all the others had entered. The members of the Thunderbird clan enter first, making a circuit of the lodge before taking their seats. The members of the Warrior clan followed and took their seats just opposite those of the Thunderbird clan. Then the Water-spirit clan follows, and then come the rest as indicated in the diagram. This is the only place where the Bear clan is not in control of the arrangements. 614 623 554

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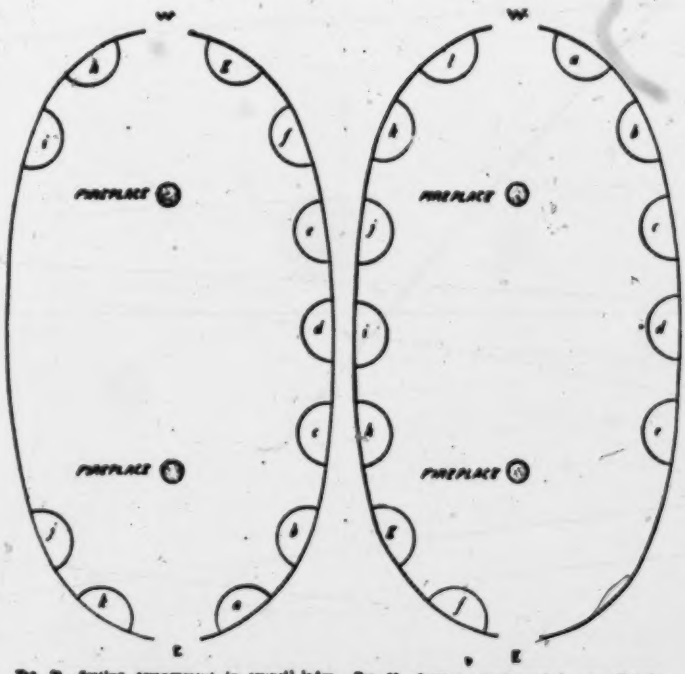


FIG. 29.—Seating arrangement in council lodge according to Thunderbird clan: *d*, Warrior clan; *b*, Water-spirit clan; *c*, Deer clan; *d*, Elk clan; *e*, Pigeon clan; *f*, Wolf clan; *g*, Bear clan; *h*, Snake clan; *i*, Buffalo clan; *j*, Eagle clan; *k*, Thunderbird clan. (The order of importance is from *b*-*a*.)

FIG. 30.—Seating arrangement in council lodge according to Bear clan: *a*, Thunderbird clan; *b*, Bear clan; *c*, Wolf clan; *d*, Pigeon clan; *e*, Eagle clan; *f*, Snake clan; *g*, Fish clan; *h*, Elk clan; *i*, Buffalo clan; *j*, Deer clan; *k*, Water-spirit clan; *l*, Warrior clan.

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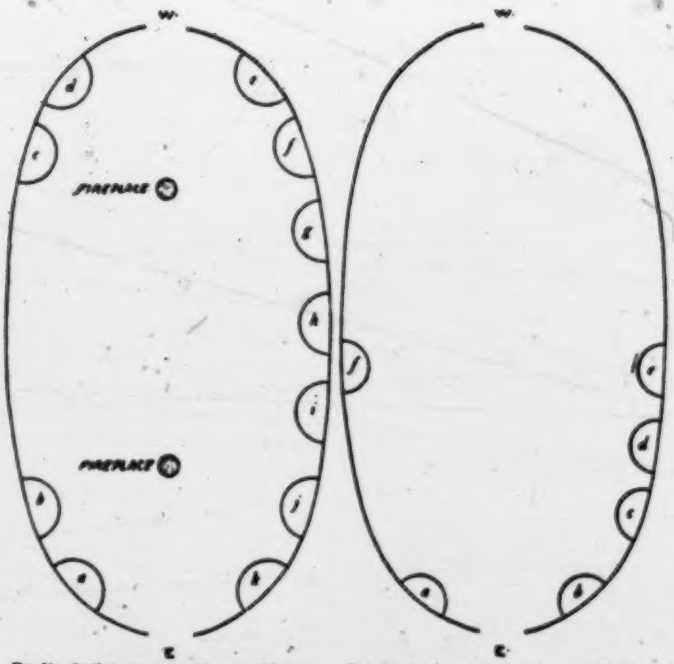


FIG. 21.—Seating arrangement in council lodge according to Thunderbird clan: a, Thunderbird clan; j, Eagle clan; i, Buffalo clan; h, Snake clan; g, Bear clan; f, Wolf clan; e, Pigeon clan; d, Elk clan; c, Deer clan; b, Water-spirit clan; a, Warrior clan.

FIG. 22.—Seating arrangement in council lodge according to Wolf clan: a, Thunderbird clan; b, Eagle clan; c, Buffalo clan; d, Water-spirit clan; e, Bear clan; f, Wolf clan.

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# CHAPTER VII

## SYSTEM OF EDUCATION[1]

871 The Winnebago seem to have had a more or less formal system of instruction. This consisted of a series of precepts on different aspects of life, such as the duty of fasting, of being a warrior, of behavior to one's parents and relatives, how to treat one's wife and women in general, how to bring up children, how to behave to strangers, etc. These formal teachings were called *hok'i'ku*[2], which means "precepts" or "teachings." Doubtless those obtained do not constitute all the different types existing, but they seem fairly representative.

### My Father's Teaching to His Sons and Daughters

#### SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION TO SON

867 My son, when you grow up you should see to it that you are of
776 some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in which you
787 can begin to be of any aid to them, and that is to fast. So, my son, see to it that you fast. Our grandfather, the fire, who stands at all times in the center of our dwelling, sends forth all kinds of blessings.[3] Be sure that you make an attempt to obtain his blessings.

My son, do you remember to have our grandfathers, the war chiefs, bless you. See to it that they pity you.[3] Some day when you go on the warpath their blessings will enable you to have specific foreknowledge of all that will happen to you on that occasion. This will likewise enable you to accomplish what you desire without the danger of anything interfering with your plans. Without the slightest trouble you will then be able to obtain the prizes of war. Without any trouble

[1] This chapter was originally intended for special publication and the notes prepared for it then have been retained.

[372] [2] The fire (*p'ra*) is regarded as a spirit by the Winnebago. As a spirit he possesses many gifts that are of use to human beings in their sojourn on earth, and in order to obtain them, mortals must make offerings of tobacco to him. He may also appear to them during their fastings and bless them with a number of powers. In addition to his other powers, it is believed that he is the messenger of Earthmaker and the other spirits and that he transmits both the messages, as well as the offerings that mortals make to them, by means of the smoke that rises upward. The old man speaks of the fire first, because being always around them it is a comparatively easy task to make offerings to it.

[3] This is the regular expression used for blessing. The idea seems to be that through fasting and crying you are to put yourself in a "pitiable" condition and that then the spirits, seeing your state, will pity you and grant you what you have asked. The word "grandfathers" is used in the sense of ancestral spirits, the thunderbirds, who are regarded as the dispensers of war power, not only by members of this clan but by all Winnebago.

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you will be able to obtain these and in addition glory and the war 867
honors.[4] If, in truth, you thirst yourself to death,[5] our grandfathers 776
who are in control of wars—to whom all the war powers that exist in 787
this world belong—they will assuredly bless you.

My son, if you do not wear out your feet through ceaseless activity (in fasting), if you do not blacken your face for fasting, it will be all in vain that you inflict sufferings upon yourself. Blessings are not obtained through mere desire alone; they are not obtained without making the proper sacrifices or without putting yourself time and again in proper mental condition. Indeed, my son, they are not to be obtained without effort on your part. So see to it that, of all those spirits whom Earthmaker created, one at least has pity upon you and blesses you. Whatever such a spirit says to you that will unquestionably happen.

Now, my son, if you do not obtain a spirit to strengthen you, you will not amount to anything in the estimation of your fellowmen. They will show you little respect. Perhaps they will make fun of you.

Do not die in the village. It is not good to die there. Whenever a [761]
person is grown up that is what is told him. Nor is it good, my son, to let women journey ahead of you from amidst the village. It is not good thus to let women die before you.[6] Therefore, in order to prevent this, our ancestors encouraged another to fast. Some day you will travel in a difficult road; there will be some crisis in your life, and then when it is too late you will begin to reproach yourself for not having fasted at the proper time. So that you may not have occasion to blame yourself at such a time I counsel you to fast. If you do not obtain a blessing when the other women are dividing the war prizes brought home from the warpath by their brothers, [593
your sisters will stand aside envying them. If, however, you are 727]
blessed by the spirits in control of war power, and if you then return victorious, how proud your sisters will be to receive the war honors and wear them around their necks and participate with them in the victory dance! And in this way your sisters likewise will be strengthened by your war deeds. You will keep well, in health.

My son, it will indeed be good if you obtain war powers, but our 867
ancestors say it is difficult. Especially difficult is it to be leader on 787

[4] There are four war honors, the highest going to the Indian who first touches a dead enemy, the second belonging to the one who kills him, and the last two to those who touch him second and third. The war prizes generally consisted of necklaces of wampum which were given to those who had obtained the first war honors. The victor also would be given the privilege of first smoking the pipe on his return to his home. The prize of the wampum necklace was always given by the victor to his elder sisters. [554]

[5] That is, fast.

[6] That is, obtain war power so that you can go on the warpath and prevent yourself from dying in the village or have women die before you.

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867 787 the warpath.[7] So they say. If you do not become an individual warranted to lead a war party, yet mistaking yourself for one although really an ordinary warrior, you "throw away a man," your act will [686 be considered most disgraceful. A mourner might harm you in 627] revenge for the fact that you have caused him to mourn, and burn you with embers. Your people will all be sad, both on account of your disgrace and on account of the pain inflicted upon you.

787 My son, not with the blessing of one of the spirits merely, nor with 867 the blessing of twenty, for that matter, can you go on the warpath. 776 You must have the blessing of all the spirits above the earth, and of all those on the earth, and of all those who are pierced through the earth;[9] of all those under the earth; of all those who are under the water; of all those that are on the sides of the earth, i. e., all the four winds; of the Disease-giver;[8] of the Sun; of the Daylight;[10] of the Moon; of the Earth; and of all those who are in control of war powers—with the blessings of all these deities must you be provided before you can lead a successful war party.

867 554 My son, if you cast off dress[11] men will be benefited by your deeds. You will be an aid to all your people. If your people honor you, it will be good. And they will like you even the more if you obtain a

721 787 701 686 [622

[7] Among the Winnebago any individual who has been blessed with the necessary powers to lead a warpath may do so, but it is absolutely essential that his blessing directing him be of such a nature that every possible contingency is included therein. Such complete blessings are, of course, not common nor can they be obtained except through unusual exertions. If you are blessed with just the ordinary or incomplete war powers and you nevertheless undertake to lead a war party, you may either be defeated or perhaps only partially successful, and, what is worse, you may lose some of the warriors who started with you. Your recklessness has thus caused the death of some of your fellow tribesmen. It is understood that every warrior before starting on the warpath turn his "blessing" over to the chief of the tribe for examination, and if the chief considers it complete the warrior is not held responsible for the lack of success or loss of life. If the chief does not consider an individual's blessing sufficient to justify the object he has in view and forbids the warrior to go, and if the latter nevertheless goes, or grants the case he does not even submit his "blessing" to the chief for scrutiny, and speaks out, then he is held directly responsible for any mishap on the warpath. The relatives of any individual thus killed may hold the war leader responsible and demand compensation; or, as is indicated by B. a few lines later, a mourner (i. e., one who has been placed in mourning by the criminal foolhardiness of the war leader) might attack, perhaps kill him, without being held guilty of any crime. It must of course be understood that such occurrences would seldom take place. We must, however, remember throughout these "teachings" that one of the objects of the old men was to draw the most alluring pictures of the rewards that would fall to the lot of those who followed in the footsteps of their ancestors, and, on the other hand, to draw the most lurid pictures of the wretchedness that befell those who deviated, no matter in what details, from the customs sanctioned by age.

773 776 [9] According to the Winnebago creation myth, when Earthmaker, the creator of the earth, first came to consciousness and began creating life the earth on which we now live was in continual motion, and nothing that the former could do seemed to be able to stop it. From above he threw down grass, trees, etc., but all was of no avail. Finally he hit upon the happy expedient of pinning the earth down at the four corners by means of four enormous snakes, or, as some say, by means of four mythical animals known as water spirits. It is to these that the old man is referring here. According to the story, even these were of no avail, and it was only when he finally placed four mythical beings known as "Island Weights" at the four corners that our planet stopped spinning. These "Island Weights" seem to be identical with the spirits of the four cardinal points, but they are not to be confused with the four winds mentioned later.

776 [8] A deity conceived of as dealing out life-giving powers from one half of his body and death-giving powers from the other half. He is also supposed to disseminate disease. Disease-giver is a literal translation of the Winnebago word, but this probably does not convey the exact meaning. There seems to be no 822 parallel to this peculiar deity among the other Siouan tribes or among the Algonquian.

[10] Daylight or light is conceived of as something different and distinct from the sun.

735 [11] That is, if you give away things frequently, especially to your people.

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limb.[12] They will indeed like you very much if you obtain a limb, 867
or, even better, two or three. If you do thus, wherever people boil 554
an animal with a head [13] you will always be able to eat.

If on account of your bravery you are permitted to tell of your 867
war exploits during the Four Nights' Wake for the benefit of the 765
soul of the deceased, do not try to add to your glory by exaggerat- 554
ing any exploit, for by so doing you will cause the soul to stumble on its journey to the spirit land.[14] If you do this and add an untruth to the account of your war exploit, you will die soon after. The war spirits always hear you. Tell a little less. The old men say it is wise.

My son, it is good to die in war. If you die in war, your soul will 867
not be unconscious. You will have complete disposal of your soul 721
and it will always be happy.[15] If you should ever desire to return 775
to this earth and live here again, you will be able to do so. A second life as a human being you may live, or, if you prefer, as an inhabitant of the air (a bird) you may live, or you may roam the earth as an animal. Thus it is to him who dies in battle.

My son, fast for an honorable place among your fellowmen. Fast, 867
so that when you are married you may have plenty of food; that 785
you may be happy and that you may not have to worry about your 787
children. If in your fastings you have a vision of your future home, the members of your family will be lacking in nothing during their life. Fast for the food that you may need. If you fast a sufficiently large number of times, when in after life you have children and they cry for food you will be able to offer a piece of deer or moose meat without any difficulty. Your children will never be hungry.

[12] That is, a war honor, but more specifically if you "count coup" first. The honor of killing an enemy [555]
and the three honors associated with first touching his dead body are always spoken of as "the four limbs of the body."

[13] That is, wherever people give a Winter Feast. At this feast a deer, head and all, is served to the [527
invited guests. The head may only be eaten by brave warriors. 262]

[14] At the death of a chieftain an elaborate wake takes place. To this wake, as the principal participants, 765
three or four warriors who have counted "coup" are always invited. It is believed that the souls of all the enemies one has killed become the slaves of the victor and he may command them to do his bidding at any time. If the victor tells his exploit and then commands the conquered soul to take care of the recently departed person in whose honor the wake is being given, the soul of the conquered enemy will be of considerable aid in overcoming the obstacles that are supposed to infest the path between this earth and the land of the spirits. These can not be overcome by the merits of the individual alone. If, however, a warrior becomes vainglorious, the soul of the recently departed individual will fall into the abyss of fire which surrounds one of the heavenly earths through which he must pass. That is what is meant by "stumbling." 775

[15] It must be remembered that the Winnebago believe that all that constitutes "life," "consciousness," 774
continues to exist after death, the only difference being that in the former case an envelope, the body, is present and, in the latter case, it is not. Winnebago philosophy does not concern itself with what happens 775
when a soul becomes "unconscious" at death, which would, of course, be the case with all those who do not die in battle; but it does insist that to him who dies on the warpath the moment of death does not even deprive of consciousness. He goes right on living, as if he were still an inhabitant of this earth, the only difference being that the corporeal envelope has fallen off his soul and that, although he can and hears human beings, he himself is not visible nor his voice audible.

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867 My son, never abuse your wife. The women are sacred. If you
593 abuse your wife and make her life miserable, you will die early.
562 Our grandmother, the earth, is a woman, and in mistreating your
776 wife you will be mistreating her. Most assuredly will you be abusing our grandmother if you act thus. And as it is she that is taking care of us you will really be killing yourself by such behavior.

867 My son, when you keep house, should anyone enter your house,
574 no matter who it is, be sure to offer him whatever you have in the house. Any food that you withhold at such a time will most assuredly become a source of death to you. If you are stingy about giving food the people will kill you on this account. They will poison you. If you hear of a traveler who is visiting your people and you wish to see him, prepare your table for him and have him sent for. In this manner you will be acting correctly. It is always good to act correctly and do good, the old people used to say.

867 If you see an old, helpless person, help him with whatever you
888 possess. Should you happen to possess a home and you take him there, he might suddenly say abusive things about you during the middle of the meal. You will be strengthened by such words. This same traveler may, on the contrary, give you something that
[778] he carries under his arms and which he treasures very highly. If it is an object without a stem,[16] keep it to protect your house. If you thus keep it within your house, your home will never be molested by any bad spirits. Nothing will be able to enter your house unexpectedly. Thus you will live. Witches, instead of entering your house, will pass around it. If, in addition to possessing this medi-
867 cine, you also fast, your people will be benefited by it greatly.
773 Earthmaker made spirits up above and some he made to live on this earth; and again some he made to live under the water and
776 some to live in the water; and all these he put in charge of something. Even the small animals that move about this earth the creator put in charge of some power. Thus he created them. Afterwards he created us human beings and as he had exhausted all the powers to be disposed of we were not in control of anything. Then he made a weed and placed it in our charge. And he said that no matter how powerful are the spirits that exist they would not be able to take this weed from us without giving something in return.
[276] He himself, Earthmaker, would not be able to demand it for nothing. So he spoke. This weed was the tobacco plant. Earthmaker said that if we would offer a pipeful of tobacco to him, whatever we should ask of him he would immediately grant. Not only he, but all the
[782] spirits created, longed to have some of this tobacco. It is for this reason that when we fast and cry piteously for some spirit to take pity on us, if we give them tobacco they will bless us with those

[16] A plant without a stem, presumably some root, used for warding off danger.

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 867

powers that the creator gave them. So it will be. Earthmaker made it thus. 773 776

My son, you must fast. If you breathe upon sick people,[17] I mean if you are blessed with that kind of power, you will be able to restore people to health. You will be of help to your people. If you can, in addition, draw out the pain from within the body of an individual, you will indeed be a help to your people. They will respect you. You will not even have to work for all your necessities, for those whom you treat will cheerfully support you as long as you live. If you should die, your name will be held in great respect and people will frequently talk about you. Ah, that man he had indeed great power! 867 756

My son, if you are not able to fast,[18] try at least to obtain some plants that are powerful. There are people who know the qualities of the different plants, who have been blessed by the spirits with this knowledge. It is pitiable enough that you could obtain nothing through fasting, so ask those that are in possession of these plants at least to have pity upon you. If they have pity upon you, they will bless you with one of the plants they possess, and you will thus have something to help you in life and to encourage you. One plant will not be enough. Of all the plants that cover the earth and lie like a fringe of hair upon the body of our grandmother, try and obtain knowledge of these, that you may be strengthened in life. Then you will have reason to feel encouraged. A real medicine man has even more justification for feeling encouraged than an ordinary one, because such a one has been blessed with life by the Water-spirits. If, therefore, you wish to obtain the real powers of curing people, so that you will have the power of making them arise from their sick beds, you must long and patiently wait and labor. If, however, you obtain the true powers—that is, if you obtain blessings from the Water-spirits—then some day, when your children are in need of medicine, you will not have to go and look for a medicine man, but you will only have to look into your medicine bundle. Whatever trouble your children have you will be able to cure it. Should anything be the matter with the people of your tribe they will call upon you. You can then open your medicine bundle and the individual who is wanting in life will be benefited from the stock of medicines 867 787 756

[17] Sickness is due to the presence of some object within the body. Illness may therefore only be cured if this object is extracted. This is generally accomplished by the shaman sucking it out through a bone tube. Among the Winnebago the shaman before applying the tube squirts some water upon the afflicted person and breathes upon him. This is what the "breathing" refers to. [753 755]

[18] Not everyone who fasts is blessed with power. For those who are thus unable to obtain blessings directly from the spirits there is only one method of protection against evils left—the purchase of plants with magical properties from those who have been blessed with them. These can be obtained by any individual no matter how unsuccessful he has been in obtaining blessings through personal fasting. All that is needed is sufficient riches for purchasing them. Of course it goes without saying that those who have been blessed with power may and do also provide themselves with these medicines. [1125]

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867 787 that are in your possession. You will indeed never be embarrassed.
756 You will know just wherein his ailment lies. As you have obtained your power with great effort, therefore what you say will be so. If you say he will live, he will live. If the relatives of the patient make you good payments, you may perform what you are accustomed to in your treatment of people. Then you can ask your medicine to put forth its strength for you and it will do so. If you make good
[782] offerings of tobacco to the plants and if you make feasts in their honor, if, indeed, you make much of your medicine, if you talk to it as though it were a human being, then when you ask it to put forth its strength it will do so. The payments that you receive you can take with a good conscience and your children will wear them and will be strengthened thereby. So be very diligent in the care you bestow upon them. The medicines were placed here by Earthmaker for a good purpose. We are to use them to heal ourselves. For that purpose Earthmaker gave them to us. If anyone tries to obtain the life sustainers—that is, the medicines—and inflicts suffering upon
[776] himself in order to obtain them, our grandmother will know about it. So whatever you spend upon it, be it in labor or in goods, she will know about it. All that you gave in obtaining your medicines she will know. They will be returned to you. The people will thus be providing themselves with something for the future. The people always look forward to the future and for all possible happenings they will have some medicine provided. You must try to obtain some of the medicines that most people possess. If you want
867 paint-medicine, make yourself pitiable. If your paint-medicine
789 overcomes your enemy and you keep it in your home, you will never
756 be wanting in wealth. The most valued possessions of the people will be given to you. The people will love you and the paint-medicine will be the cause of it. Whatever you receive will be in consequence of the possession of the paint-medicine. The paint-medicine
[776] is made of the blood of the Water-spirits, and therefore it is holy. People used to fast and thirst themselves to death and a Water-spirit would appear to them and bestow his blessings upon them. Whatever he told them would come true. The Earthmaker put the
867 Water-spirit in charge of these things so that he would bless the
789 people with them. That was his purpose.

Some people who wished to find good medicines obtained the
[525 race medicine. Try and learn of it. Others had gambling medicine,
224] and still others again had hunting medicine. There are medicines for very purpose.

[832] There is a courting medicine and a medicine to prevent married people from wishing to separate, and there is a medicine for making one rich.

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If one wishes to make a person crazy, there is a medicine for that purpose. 867 754

If some one had made another one sad at heart and he wished to revenge himself, he would use a medicine that would make that person crazy. Thus he would poison him.

If a person wished to marry a certain girl and she did not want him, he would poison her with a medicine that would make her become a harlot. All the men would fall in love with her by reason of the medicine he gave her. 867 584 832

If they wished a man to be continually running after a woman, they had a medicine for that purpose. All these medicines they possessed. You can obtain any of them you like if you ask for them in the proper way. 867 832

Some people have knowledge of plants that will cause a person to sleep all the time. Others again have medicines that will cause them to stay awake all the time. Some know how to overcome the viciousness of dogs that watch over women by means of medicines; some again have medicines that will make people single them out even in crowds. If this person uses his medicine in a crowd of people, the one on whom it is used will consider him a great man no matter how many there should be in the crowd. Some have a medicine to be used for preventing an individual from getting tired. Others have a medicine to be used when they have dog contests. 867 789

Whatever they did, for that they would have medicines.

Whenever they plant a field they protect it with medicine tied on to a stick. No one will then go through that field without suffering for it. If you did not have that protection, people could go through your field whenever they wished. In short, try to obtain as many medicines as you possibly can, for you will need them all. People should always look out for themselves so that they may learn what is necessary to make life comfortable and happy. If you try to obtain the knowledge of those things you will get along in life well. You will need nothing; and whenever you need a certain medicine, instead of being compelled to buy it, you will have it in your own possession. If you act in this manner and keep on fasting you will never be caught offguard during your life. If you have a home, it will always look nice and you will be lacking in nothing. So, do what I tell you and you will never regret it in after life. Try and learn the way in which your ancestors lived and follow in their footsteps. 867 789 787

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867 787 If you thus travel in the road of the good people, it will be good and other people will not consider your life a source of amusement.[*]

If you can not obtain a blessing from the spirits try also to have some good plant take pity on you. This I am telling you and if you do not do it, you will suffer for it. All that I am saying will be of great benefit to you if you pay heed to me, for (you will need 867 medicines for) whatever you do in life, if you are not fortunate 789 enough to obtain blessings from the spirits. If you are ever on the 726 warpath, you will need medicine in order to escape being hit or in order to prevent yourself from getting exhausted or from feeling famished. If you manage to be fortunate in all these things you may be certain that the medicines have caused it.

867 My son, help yourself as you go along life's path, for this earth has 577 many narrow passages and you can never tell when you will come to one. If, however, you have something with which to strengthen yourself you will come safely through the passages you meet.

Let every one think you a desirable person to know. Associate with people. If you act in this manner, every one will like you. (You will live) a contented life. Never do anything wrong to your children. Whatever your children ask you to do, do not hesitate to do it for them. If you act thus people will say you are good-natured. If you ever lose a friend by death and if you have riches cover[**] the expenses of the funeral of the deceased. Help the mourners to feed the people at the wake. If you act thus you will be acting well. Then you will be truly a helper of the people and they will know you as such. Indeed, all of them will know you. For the good you do, all will love you.

867 My son, do not become a gambler. You might, it is true, become 525 rich, but in spite of your wealth all your children will die. No gambler ever had children. It is an affair of the bad spirits entirely. Now if you do all that I have told you, you will unquestionably lead a happy and contented life.

867 Thus would the old people speak to a child whom they loved very much, that he might obtain the means of warding off what is not good. Anyone who acted contrary to these teachings would have himself to blame for the consequences.

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[*] This dislike of being made fun of, or of being the laughing stock, plays an important rôle among the Winnebago. It is not at all comparable to the same feeling as found at the present day among civilized people of Western Europe, for it is infinitely deeper and closely associated with social ostracism. The dependency caused by being made fun of, would frequently drive a person away from home or lead him to embark on any undertaking that would bring death. Owing to the social consequences coming in its train, a man would consequently do most anything in his power to ward it off. Correlated with this negative aspect of the use of "fun-poking," there is a positive one. There are certain relatives who have the privilege of making fun of or playing practical jokes on you. This "joking-relationship" exists among many tribes in America, but the relatives between whom it is permitted differ in every case. Among the Winnebago it exists between uncles and nieces and nephews and between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

[**] That is, buy the funeral apparel for the deceased.

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If you ever get married, my son, do not make an idol of your wife. 867
The more you worship her, the more will she want to be worshipped. 562
Thus the old people said. They warned the young men against the 581
example of those men who always hearken to what the women say, 593
who are the slaves of women. Often they would speak in the following manner: "You have had many warnings, but it may happen that some day you will not pay any attention to them. Then, when they call upon you to take part in the Winter Feast you may perhaps refuse to go. When a war party is leaving you may listen to the voice of your wife and not join them. Thus you will be as one who has been brought up as a woman.[21] Men of every description do what is demanded of them, you alone do not act as a man [558] should. You never perform a man's deed. If you were to go to a Winter Feast, you would be handed a lean piece of meat.[22] Why should you subject yourself to the danger of being made fun of? A real brave man, when he goes to a Winter Feast, will receive a deer's head, while you will only receive a lean piece of meat. That is all they will give you to eat. It will stick in your throat."[23]

My son, if you keep on listening to your wife, after a while she will never let you go to any feast at all. All your relatives will scold you and your own sisters will think little of you. They will say to one another, "Let us not ever go over to see him. He is of no help to anyone." Finally, when you have become a real slave to your wife, she might tell you to hit your own relatives, and you would do it. For these reasons, my son, I warn you against the words of women. Steel yourself against them. For if you do not do so you will find yourself different from other men. It is not good to be enslaved by a woman.

My son, this also I will tell you. Women can never be watched. If you try to watch them you will merely show your jealousy and your female relatives will also be jealous. After a while you will become so jealous of your wife that she will leave you and run away. First, you worshipped her above everything else, then you became jealous and watched her all the time, and the result will be that she will run away from you. You yourself will be to blame for this. You thought too much of a woman and in worshipping her you humbled yourself, and as a consequence she has been taken away from you. You are making the woman suffer and making her feel unhappy. All the other women will know of this, and no one will want to marry you again. Everyone will consider you a very bad man.

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[21] He may mean a hermaph, but it is far more probable that he merely means to call him a woman, an insult sufficiently great.

[22] A man who has distinguished himself as a warrior is always invited to eat the head of the animal, offered at the Winter Feast. There next in distinction are given the fat pieces of meat, and the lean pieces—to the Winnebago, the poorest—are given to those who are of no importance. [554 262]

[23] I. e., the meat will stick in your throat, because you will feel so much ashamed of yourself.

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867 My son, whenever people go on the warpath go along with them.
721 It is good to die on the warpath. You may perhaps say so, because you are unhappy that your wife has left you. My son, not for such reasons, however, must you go on the warpath. You will be merely throwing away a human life. If you want to go on the warpath, do so because you feel that you are courageous enough, not because you are unhappy at the loss of your wife. If you go on the warpath you will enjoy yourself. Do not go, however, unless you have fasted,
[785] and unless you have fasted for that particular warpath. If you have not fasted and attempt nevertheless to go on the warpath, a bullet will surely seek you out and kill you. This is what will happen to you if you do not fast.

[593 If you exert yourself in fasting you will assuredly perform some brave war exploit. You must tell your sisters and sister's children
[604] and your mother's sisters all about your exploit. Remember, also,
605] that the keepers of the war-bundles can give you good advice in all that pertains to war. For their deeds they will be given a good dish of meat.[34] This they will give you to eat.

Of such things did my ancestors speak, and I would wish you to do as they did. That is why I am telling you all these things. I myself never asked for any of this instruction, but my father did. All human beings ought to ask for it. Never let anybody be in a position to puzzle you in regard to what is right. Ask for this instruction, my son, for it is not an ordinary thing. In the olden
867 times if a person loved his child very much, he would only give him instruction after he had begun fasting all day for the first time. When a young boy has just matured, those who have been preaching to him always ask him one question, namely, whether he had begun
[881] to fast. And this the young boy must always answer truthfully, for if he has begun his fast the instruction would stop. The old men do not preach to men, but only to boys.

881 (What follows is apparently an illustration of how a young man
887 asks his instructor for information of how to conduct himself in life.)
867 The young man will go to an old man and say, "Grandfather, I would like to know how I am to conduct myself in life. Bless me and if you can really give me any information, do so." Then the old man was very thankful and said, "It is good; you speak correctly." Now the one who was asking something of the old man had taken very good care of the old man's body and had led a good life. He had no scars of any kind; that is, he had never done anything shameful. The young man brought all sorts of food and placed it in the lodge of the old man. Then he also brought him a fine horse. Only then did he ask him again about the life that his ancestors had led, and what kind of a life he ought to live. He asked

[34] I. e., you will be given a position at the Winter Feast and offered some of the choice pieces of meat.

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him what the old people do when they give a child a name, and 881
what they say. All these things the old man told him. "It is good," 887
he said, "for you to know these things so that if anyone comes to 867
you and asks you for information you will be able to tell them something and will not have to behave like a fool. If you are asked to give a little child a name, this little child will really be a means of increasing your power. That is why you ought to give a feast for it and smoke the child's tobacco. You must also give the child a name for his dog. Give him the name Yellow-Tree for a male dog. The name Yellow-Tree is given for the following reason. When the Thunderbirds strike at a tree it looks yellow. Just as leaves wither so do trees wither when the Thunderbirds strike them. They then begin to rot and become very much discolored. That is why they give a dog this name. If you ever have to give a dog-name for a female child call it She-Who-Stays-In-Her-Own-Place. This is all that I wish to tell you."

SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION TO DAUGHTER

This is the way the old men used to speak to the little girls: 867
My daughter, as you go along the path of life, always listen to 593
your parents. Do not permit your mother to work. Attend to your father's wants. All the work in the house belongs to you. Never be idle. Chop the wood, carry it home, look after the vegetables and gather them, and cook the food. When in the spring [462]
of the year you move back to your permanent settlements, plant your fields immediately. Never get lazy. Earthmaker created you [221]
for these tasks.

When you have your menses, do not ask those in your lodge to give you any food, but leave the lodge and fast and do not begin [841]
eating again until you return to your own lodge. Thus will you help yourself. If you always fast, when you marry, even if your husband had amounted to nothing before, he will become an excel- [785]
lent hunter. It will be on account of your fasting that he will have changed so much. You will never fail in anything and you will always be well and happy. If, on the contrary, you do not do as I tell you—that is, if you do not fast—when you marry he will become very weak, and this will be due to you. Finally he will get very sick.

My daughter, do not use medicine. If you marry a man and 867
place medicine on his head he will become very weak and will not 593
amount to anything. It may be that you do not want to have your 832
husband leave you and this may induce you to use medicine to keep him. Do not do that, however, for it is not good. You will be ruining a man. It is the same as killing him. Do not do it, for it is forbidden. If you marry a man and you want to be certain of always retaining him, work for him. With work you will always

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867 be able to retain your hold on men. If you do your work to the
593 satisfaction of your husband, he will never leave you. I say again,
832 it is not proper to use medicine. Above all, do not use medicine until you have passed your youth. You will otherwise merely make yourself weak. You will lead a weak life. It may even happen that you will cause yourself to become foolish.

[581] Do not use a medicine in order to marry. If you marry remain faithful to your husband. Do not act as though you are married to a number of men at the same time. Lead a chaste life. If you do not listen to what I am telling you and you are unfaithful to your
[626] husband, all the men will jeer at you. They will say whatever they wish to (and no one will interfere). Every man will treat you as though he were on the "joking relationship" with you. If you do not listen to me, therefore, you will injure yourself.

867 Thus the old people used to talk to one another. Thus they would
584 warn one another against certain actions. They used to instruct the young girls as they grew up (just as I am doing to you now). That is why I am telling of these things now.

My daughter, as you grow older and grow up to be a young woman, the young men will begin to court you. Never strike a man, my
[683] daughter. It is forbidden. If you dislike a man very much, tell him gently to go away. If you do not do this and instead strike him, remember that it frequently happens that men know of medicines; or if they themselves have none they may know from whom to
[754] get them. If you make a man feel bad by striking him, he may use this medicine and cause you to run away with him and become a bad woman. It is for this reason that the old men used to warn the young girls not to strike the men who are courting them, but whom they dislike. Pray with all your heart that you do not become such a woman.

867 Do not act haughtily to your husband. Whatever he tells you
593 to do, do it. Kindness will be returned to you if you obey your husband, for he will treat you in the same manner.

858 If you ever have a child, do not strike it. In the olden times when a child misbehaved the parents did not strike it, but they made it fast. When a child gets hungry, he will soon see the error of his ways. If you hit a child, you will be merely knocking the
[861] wickedness into him. Women should likewise never scold the children because children are merely made wicked by scoldings. If your husband scolds the children, do not take their part, for that will merely make them bad. In the same way, if a stranger makes your children cry, do not say anything to the stranger in the presence of the children, nor take their part in his presence. If you wish to prevent a stranger from scolding your children, keep them home and teach them how to behave by setting them a good example. Do not imagine that you do the best for your children by

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taking their part, or that you love them if you talk merely about 867
loving them. Show them that you love them by your actions. 593
Let them see that you are generous with donations. In such ac- 858
tions they will see your good work and then they will be able to judge for themselves whether your actions equal your words.

My daughter, do not show your love for other children so that strangers notice it. You may, of course, love other children, but love them with a different love from that which you bestow on your own children. The children of other people are different from your own children, and if you were to take them to some other place after you had been lavishing so much love upon them they would not act as your children would under the same circumstances. You can always depend upon your own children. They are of your own body. Love them, therefore. This is what our ancestors taught us to do.

If a wife has no real interest in her husband's welfare and posses- 867
sions she will be to him no more than any other woman, and the 593
world will ridicule her. If, on the other hand, you pay more attention to your husband than to your parents, your parents will leave you. Let your husband likewise take care of your parents, for they depend on him. Your parents were instrumental in getting you your husband, so remember that they expect some recompense for it, as likewise for the fact that they raised you.

My daughter, the old people used to teach us never to hurt the [602
feelings of our relatives. If you hurt their feelings, you will cause 606
your brothers-in-law to feel ashamed of themselves. Do not ever 837]
wish for any other man but your husband. It is enough to have one husband. Do not let anyone have the right to call you a prostitute.

Do not hit your relatives at any time. For if you did that or if 867
you were on bad terms with one of them, it may chance that he will 602
die, and then the people will say that you are glad that he is dead. Then, indeed, you will feel sad at heart and you will think to yourself, "What can I best do" (to make up for my conduct). Even if you were to give a Medicine Dance in his honor or donate gifts for the Four Nights' Wake, many people will still say, "She used to be partial and jealous when he was alive. Now that he is dead she loves him. Why does she act this way? She is wasting her wealth. (She really does not love him and therefore), and she ought not to spend so much money upon him now." Then, indeed, my daughter, will your heart ache; then, indeed, will you get angry. That is why the old people would tell their children to love one another. If you love a person and that person dies, then you will have a right to mourn for him, and everyone will think that your mourning is [765]
sincere. Not only will your own relatives love you, but everyone else will love you likewise. If, then, in the course of your life you

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867 come to a crisis of some kind, all these people will turn their hearts
602 toward you.

My daughter, all that I am trying to tell you relates to your behavior (when you grow up). In your own home the women all understand the work belonging to the household and that relating to camping and hunting. If you understand these and afterwards visit your husband's relatives, you will know what to do and not find yourself in a dilemma from which you can not extricate yourself. When you visit your husband's people do not go around with a haughty air or act as if you considered yourself far above them. Try to get them to like you. If they like you, they will place you in charge of the camp you happen to be visiting. If you are good-
[606] natured, you will be placed in charge of the home at which you happen to be visiting. Then your parents-in-law will tell your husband that their daughter-in-law is acting nicely to them.

SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION TO CHILDREN

867 Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan: I still keep up the old system of teaching my children at the camp fire. In the morning I wake them up early and start to teach them as follows:

My children, as you travel along life's road never harm anyone, nor cause anyone to feel sad. On the contrary, if at any time you can make a person happy, do so. If at any time you meet a woman in the wilderness (i. e., away from your village), and if you are alone and no one can see you, do not scare her or harm her, but turn off to the right and let her pass. Then you will be less tempted to molest her.

My children, if you meet anyone on the road, even though it is only a child, speak a cheering word before you pass on. Fast as much as you can, so that when you grow up you can benefit your fellowmen. If you ever get married you must not sit around your
[602] lodge near your wife, but try and get game for your wife's people. So fast that you may be prepared for your life.

[593] My daughters, if at any time you get married, never let your husband ask for a thing twice. Do it as soon as he asks you. If your husband's folks ever ask their children for something when you are present, assume that they had asked it of you. If there is anything to be done, do not wait till you are asked to do it, but do it immediately. If you act in this way, then they will say that your parents taught you well.

My son, if you find nothing else to do, take an ax and chop down a tree. It will become useful some day. Then take a gun and go out hunting and try to get game for your family.

As soon as I see that the children are showing signs of restlessness then I stop immediately.

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PART II

# CHAPTER VIII

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—GENERAL DISCUSSION

We are justified in assuming that the twofold division of the Winnebago and the southern Siouan tribes, Dhegiha and Teiwere, had a common historical origin. Our identification is based upon the existence in these three tribal units of specific similarities apart from those of social organization. Positive proof that the type of social organization is historically identical among these tribes is not, however, forthcoming. This will become even more apparent when we consider the twofold division from the point of view of the names they bear, the subdivisions within them, and their specific functions.

According to our informants, the twofold organization among the Dhegiha and Teiwere only existed upon specific occasions, when the tribe was on the tribal hunt. We are in complete ignorance as to whether in olden times this arrangement was reflected in the village, but we know that whether it was or not, the twofold division was present in a very definite manner in the consciousness of the people themselves; that is, every individual definitely knew to which one of the two divisions he belonged and that certain names and functions were associated with them. The moment, however, that we stop to analyze these names, functions, etc., we realize at once that to-day they connote different ideas in the different tribes under discussion. The names of the divisions seem particularly significant in this connection. Among the Omaha they are known as Ictacunda and Hanga, probably connoting Sky people and Leaders; among the Ponca, as Wajaje and Teiju, Earth and Thunder; among the Kansa, as Yata and Ietunga, Right side and Left side; among the Osage as Teiju and Hanga, Peace and War side. The names for the Kwapa, Oto, Missouri, and Iowa are not known. It will be seen at a glance that the terms Teiju and Ictacunda are identical, and it will also be noticed by reference to the monographs of J. O. Dorsey and Miss Alice C. Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, that these names as well as the name Hanga are names of subdivisions within these divisions. Were these names first used to designate the two divisions or the subdivisions? There seems to be no reason for believing that the

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171 names were first applied to the larger divisions, whereas a number of
174 facts speak strongly in favor of the reverse. In no case, for instance,
114 can it be shown that the two divisions, per se, have any functions
614 except that of regulating marriage. The various political and ceremonial functions displayed pertain to the subdivisions composing them. Owing to the massing together of a number of such functions on each side, we often obtain the impression that these belong to the larger unit, as such. And indeed this may be said to be true at the present time, in so far as the functions of one subdivision have become identified with the larger unit. All that we wish to point out here is that the names of the two divisions may be different, and that they may connote different ideas in the different divisions of an historically related culture, due to specific historical development within each. Among the Dhegiha there seem to be a number of reasons for assuming that the present names of the two divisions are not the historically primary ones.

It is far more difficult to discuss the names of the subdivisions or "gentes" within the two larger divisions. From a comparative point of view it must be regarded as significant that the names of the subdivisions within the Teiwere tribes tally almost exactly with those of the Winnebago and that those of the Dhegiha tribes tally with the names of many of the two latter, although they possess, in addition, a large number not found among them. The Teiwere and Winnebago have animal appellations for their clans, the Dhegiha have animal appellations plus a type of designation descriptive of animal taboo. Which of the two types is the older it is difficult to say. This fact might be noted, however, that the animal names have, to a large extent, been forgotten and that the descriptive taboo appellations have not; that in a number of cases there is some reason for believing that these animal appellations have been reinterpreted and in other cases replaced by nonanimal designations; that the origin myths of these divisions always explain why a certain animal is associated with a subdivision, and rarely the origin of the taboo name; and lastly, that the majority of personal names are strictly comparable to the clan names of the Winnebago and the Teiwere. On the other hand, the descriptive taboo type of name is found frequently among the band appellations of the Plains Indians, with whom the Omaha had come into intimate contact and by whom they had been influenced along definite lines of ceremonial and social development. For these reasons we would like to suggest that the animal appellations are historically primary and that the taboo type became subsequently popular and spread over the whole tribe. Examples of changes in the names of subdivisions are by no means isolated. The Winnebago exhibit a tendency to substitute names indicative of the function of a clan for the old animal names—and this

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has gone so far that a large number of individuals would probably deny to-day that the Hawk and the Warrior clan are one and the same. Again, among the Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw we find Sun and Star clans, and, if we were to imagine that for some reason or another the latter type of name became popular, it might here become dominant within a comparatively short time. 171 174 184 614

Like a twofold division, the clan may connote a number of different things to the minds of the Indians. The Omaha apparently used the term *tonwoggthoⁿ*, which means literally "place-of-habitation-of-those-related," *gthoⁿ* being the possessive-reflexive pronoun. It would thus seem to coincide with a geographical unit. The Quapaw use the term *enikuciga*, evidently meaning "people"; the Kansa, the term *wayumida*, "those-who-sing-together"; the Osage, the term *peda*, "fireplace"; and the Winnebago, the term *hokik'a'radjera*, "those-related-to-one-another." The remarks made about the specific names of the twofold divisions apply here. There is no reason for assuming that these are historically primary. A possible historical hint that they are not will be mentioned later.

The twofold division apparently regulates nothing but marriage. [532] It has at the present time no other function, per se. Nevertheless, a number of ethnologists, and for that matter Indians themselves, speak of the functions of the two sides. If we consider the Omaha "circle," we notice that practically all the ceremonial functions are on one side; that among the Osage "war" and "peace" functions are found on both sides; and that, as a matter of fact, the functions of war and peace apparently relate to a certain reciprocal relation existing between the two divisions. Indeed, there is no reason to justify the use of these terms. Among the Iowa, J. O. Dorsey quotes Hamilton to the effect that the regulation of the hunt and other tribal affairs was in the hands of one "phratry" during the autumn and winter, and in that of the other in spring and summer. It is, however, doubtful whether this was the case. Among the Winnebago, as we shall see, the functions of war and peace were grouped together on one side, the functions of the other side being confined to those relating to the policing and regulation of the hunt. But the only fact of importance to us here is not whether there appears a balancing of functions connected with the social organization, but whether the Indian thinks there is; and here the consensus of opinion favors the view that no Omaha would, for example, suppose that the Hangacenu division, as such, was the custodian of the real pipes of peace. This belonged to the Inkesabe gens, and there is not a shred of evidence to support the view that it was delegated to that clan by the larger unit. The same reasoning applies to the Hanga clan. That the importance of the possessions of the latter clan played an important part in the associations of the Omaha, even to the extent

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171 of impressing its name upon the whole division, we do not doubt
174 for a moment. Other reasons may have led to the designation of the other half by the name of one of its component clans.

114 Similarly, among the Ponca, the Wajaje half corresponds to the
614 Wajaje clan, the keepers of the sacred pipe; and among the Osage, the Teiju and the Hanga divisions of one side, and the Wajaje divisions of the other, correspond to the clans with the same name that are associated with important ceremonial-political functions. On the other hand, we have the fact that among the Kansa the names of the two large divisions are distinct from any of the clans in those divisions, and the same is true for the Teiju division of the Ponca. If we correlate this last fact with the apparent absence of any association of important ceremonial or political functions with specific clans, the suggestion might be permitted that no incentive existed in the minds of these people for the clan becoming identified with the larger divisions. Among the Winnebago the names for the divisions are quite different from those of the clans composing them, but at the present time the fact that the clan in each division has definite functions and powers has reacted on the interpretation of the social organization, and it is quite customary to refer to one half as *hunk* or "chiefs," and to the other as *manap'e* or "soldiers," although the latter is not common.

In short, we have a right to see, in all the facts mentioned, indications of a possible historical development whose characteristics seem to lie in the identification of the name and function of an important clan with that of a much larger division.

[182] The Winnebago social organization has long since broken down, but its details are still so well preserved in the minds of the older men, and particularly in the literature of the tribe, that no difficulty was experienced in reconstructing it. This reconstruction, however, does not enable us to determine the relation of the clan and dichotomous division to the distribution of the tribe over the large area once occupied in Wisconsin. That the 4,000-odd individuals composing the tribe at the advent of the whites lived together is extermely doubtful. The nature of the woodlands of Wisconsin and the fairly extensive territory over which the Winnebago were found scattered not long after Nicolet's first visit are facts that practically exclude such a hypothesis. The myth that speaks of a village that at one time was so long that those living at one end did not know what was transpiring at the other contains too many literary touches to justify its use as an historical document.

114 The question, therefore, of village groups is of considerable impor-
621 tance, because there may have been, cutting across the general organization, another smaller, perhaps looser social unit, that of "band" or village, setting off one group against another. Systematic question-

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systematic question

ing has elicited from various individuals the information, also corroborated by historical records, that the villages were generally known according to geographical location or according to names descriptive of the haunts of certain animals. Even to-day the group scattered over the Nebraska Winnebago reservation are commonly known by similar designations. There we find, for instance, the following names: *kozo-ateira*, "those living on the peninsula"; or *k'uha'teira*, "those living below", i. e., in the timber; *niru'hateira*, "those living near the dirty water"; *hąte x'dgominangera*, "where big bear settles," etc. If we may then suppose this to have been a customary association, we may quite properly ask whether the name of the village had any influence on the social organization; whether there is even a hint at a genetic relation between these two types of group names. All that can be said is the fact that formerly *honi*, "band," seems to have been used instead of *hokik'aradjera* for clan; that an archaic name of the Wolf clan, *regoni* or *degoni*, may mean Lake band; and that the villages all had geographical names. All of which, however, is, I realize, hardly sufficient evidence.

No satisfactory demonstration has as yet been made indicating that the clan organization was ever associated with an historically simple social structure, whereas quite a number of reasons lead us to suspect that it was in all cases preceded by other types of organization. In North America there is quite considerable evidence tending to show that the village group organization often preceded in many places the clan, and for that reason the facts brought out above may be of more than casual significance. That a system of clan names different from that now in use existed is borne out by the archaic names for the Bear and Wolf clans. That another system was making headway against the animal-name type of change, namely, the substitution for animal designation, with correlated associations of descent or connection with an animal ancestor, of designations indicative of the functions of the clan. If the association of the social unit with a common animal ancestor was preceded by an association of a social unit with geographical location, we would then be able to demonstrate what is so rare in ethnology—the historical succession of types of naming.

### The Twofold Grouping

The Winnebago are divided into divisions, one known as the *waggeregi herera*, "those who are above," the other as the *manegi herera*, "those who are on earth." Descent was reckoned in the paternal line. But these appellations refer to the animals after whom the clans are named, the term *waggeregi* covering the birds, the term *manegi*, land and water animals. So firmly has the idea of division of animal forms become associated with the two divisions

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616 that, as mentioned before, were a new clan introduced now among the Winnebago its position would depend exclusively upon the nature of the animal associated with it. As similar reasons dictate clan
614 groupings among some of the Central Algonquian tribes, a few words
825 concerning this type of association will not be amiss. The groupings of the fauna into a distinct number of categories is extremely common in North America. Among the Winnebago, a number of other Siouan, and Central Algonquian tribes, there was a fivefold classification; earth animals, sky animals, empyrean animals, aquatic animals, and subaquatic animals. Among the Winnebago the thunderbird belongs to the empyrean; the eagle, hawk, and pigeon, to the sky; the bear and wolf, to the earth; the fish, to the water; and the water-spirit, below the water. This religio-mythological conception has unquestionably received a certain amount of sympathetic elaboration at the hands of shamans, and particularly at the hands of the
[196] leaders of such ceremonies as the Winter Feast, the Clan Feast, and the Clan Wake, as well as at the hands of those who had in their keeping the clan origin myths.

The characteristics of the thunderbird, eagle, bear, and water-spirit as clan animals, and as animals connected with a division of fauna, are also related to the general conception of these animals per se. The eagle and hawk are birds of prey; the thunderbird is generally a deity granting long life, and associated with peace, although his connection with war is also common. Similarly, the bear is supposed to have a "soldier" nature, and the water-spirit is intimately associated with rites pertaining to crossing streams, calming the sea, and ownership of water property. This correlation unquestionably indicates an influence of the religio-mythological conception of the animal upon the social group with which it is associated. How far this can go is abundantly attested by the names and behavior of the *waggeregi* and *manegi* divisions.

On the other hand, we may legitimately ask what influence the two divisions had in molding the attributes of these animals, or upon the behavior of the groups with which their name was associated. The functions of a warrior may have determined, as they certainly have accentuated, the "warrior" characteristics of the eagle and hawk, nor is there any easily intelligible reason why the thunderbird should be associated with peace. From our knowledge
[174] of the social organization of other Siouan tribes, the political functions of the clan seem to be the characteristic feature of the organization, and this being the case, the possibility of associations of warlike and peaceful attributes with animals may as much be ascribed to the influence of the social unit as vice versa. With regard to such functions as the exogamy of the two divisions or that of the clans, or of the reciprocal burial relationship of the *waggeregi* and

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*manegi* divisions, we, of course, know that the characteristics of the 614
animal in question have nothing to do with the matter. We must 825
then realize that we are dealing with reciprocal influences—of the religio-mythical conception of animals on the one hand, and of political functions of social units on the other. In some cases, such as the specific associations with the water-spirit, it is probable that the religio-mythological conception of the animal is dominant. The association of the thunderbird with fire has likewise not been due to any activity of the social unit; and thus examples might be multiplied. In this connection, the fact that animals with whom a multitude of associations have already been established are subsequently associated with social units is fundamental. From this point of view, the animal names of social organization are intrusive features, and we will consequently expect to find historical adjustments. This, we think, is what has taken place here. The animal name with its religio-mythological conceptions was a remarkably strong unit, and as a result reciprocal influences took place. Although the religio-mythological influence must thus have been marked, it appears to have changed none of the marital and other functions of the two divisions nor the political functions of the clans. What it did change, and change fundamentally, was the interpretation of the social organization.

### Functions of the Twofold Division

The only function that the *waggeregi* and *manegi* divisions seem 616
to have had was the regulation of marriage. A *waggeregi* man 582
had to marry a *manegi* woman, and vice versa. The only other
function was, according to some informants, reciprocal burial. [764]
Here the religio-mythological interpretations seem in part to have determined this relation, for a *manegi* man buried a *waggeregi* man because, as a "land division," it pertained to him to place a corpse in the earth. This, however, seems to be a doubtful function, for earth burial seems in olden times to have been characteristic only 616
of the *manegi* division, the *waggeregi* clans employing scaffold burial. 614
In addition, the burial relation was one of the many reciprocal duties of the "friend-clan," and if it was ever postulated of the *waggeregi* and *manegi*, this was likely due to the fact that the "friendship" relation seems also to have existed between two clans belonging to the two different divisions. According to one myth, however, the four clans of the *waggeregi* paired off as "friends" with four clans of the *manegi*. This would then be practically equivalent to saying that the *manegi* buried the *waggeregi*.

Thus far we have spoken only of the socio-political functions. The two divisions, however, play a part in a number of social and

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616 ceremonial connections: first, in the organization of the village;
614 second, in the arrangement of the clans while on the warpath; third, as the basis of organization at the "chief" feast; and lastly, as the basis of organization of the ceremonial lacrosse game.

616 According to the majority of the older people, when the old social
614 organization was still intact, each village was divided into two halves
621 by an imaginary line running due northwest and southeast, the *waggeregi* clans dwelling in one half, with the chief's lodge in the south, and the *manegi* clans dwelling in the other half, with the bear or soldier lodge in the north (fig. 33). Although this arrangement has now become almost legendary, it was corroborated by many of the older people. To what extent every village was organized on this basis it is impossible to state. When this question was

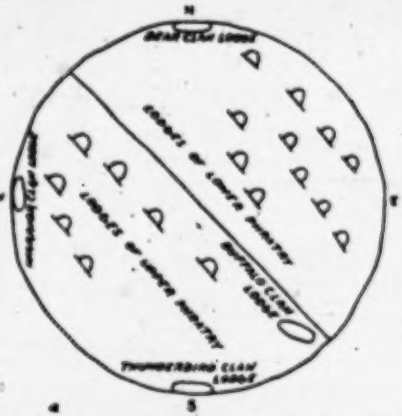


FIG. 33.—Plan of village according to Thunderhead, of the Thunderbird clan.

directly put to individuals, the answer was always in the affirmative. Quite a number of old individuals, however, denied vigorously that such had ever been the organization of the village, and claimed instead that the lodges of the Chief and the Soldier (Bear) clan were in the center of the village (fig. 34).

[115] In looking over the clan affiliations of the informants, we noticed, however, that the first arrangement was always given by members of the bird clans, and the second arrangement by members of the Bear clan and generally also by others on the *manegi* side. This
[114] fact, of course, makes the decision as to the relationship of these two types of village organization quite difficult. There can be no
[582] question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital relations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in different villages.

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of specific clans in different villages. When on the warpath the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fireplaces, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, can not be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Tciwere. In the subsequent discussion of the clan we will touch on this subject again.

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fireplaces when on the warpath, each division having two fireplaces,

FIG. 34. Plan of village according to John Rave, of Bear clan. *A*, Lodge of chief of tribe (Thunderbird clan). *B*, Lodge of chief of Bear clan. *C*, Lodge of Warrior clan. *D*, Lodge of Buffalo clan.

whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. When going west, for instance, the two fireplaces for the *waggerregi* are on the south, and the two for the *manegi* on the north side. However, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the division exists.

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the chief feast (*hwąk wohą*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name *hwąk wohą* would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Hwąk* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the *waggerregi* division.

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616 As the basis of organization in a game, the twofold division finds
526 expression in ceremonial lacrosse. There the *waŋgeregi* are always
pitted against the *manegi*. A well-known myth is associated with
[173] this arrangement, according to which the animal ancestors of the
*waŋgeregi* and *manegi* decided their respective rank by playing a
game in which they were organized on this basis. The *waŋgeregi*
won and for that reason the chiefs of the tribe have been selected
from this division. A division into two halves when playing cere-
monial lacrosse is characteristic not only of the Winnebago but of
[171] the Omaha, Menominee, Sauk, Fox, and other tribes. Among the
former two, these sides are identical with the two aforementioned
political divisions of the tribe, but among the latter two, where no
such division exists, the tribe seems to divide itself into two halves
merely on this occasion.

616 Up to the present we have treated the two divisions as social units
614 per se, but now, before entering on the discussion of the clans, it
may be well to point out the fact that the *waŋgeregi* people are some-
times spoken of as the Bird clan (*waniŋk hokik'aradjera*), and that the
four clans composing this side are so intimately related, and their
clan origin myths so similar, that the assumption of the four clans
representing one clan that subsequently split up into a number of
divisions is not outside the realm of historical possibility. This is,
however, quite immaterial, for whether we have one bird clan op-
posed to eight other animal clans is of little consequence, for his-
torically it is not the bird clan that is opposing the other clans, but
one social unit, the division, set off against another. The numerical
equality that exists between these two sides, in spite of the dis-
parity in the number of clans, is perhaps another confirmation of
the fundamental character of the twofold structure.

## Clan Organization

614 There are 12 clans among the Winnebago with the following names

A. *Waŋgeregi herera* (those who are above):[1]

1. *wakandja*, thunderbird.
2. *wonaγire waŋkcik*, war-people.
3. *teazop*, eagle.
4. *ruteqa*, pigeon (extinct).

B. *manegi herera* (those who are on earth):

5. *hunte*, bear.
6. *euŋkteuŋk'*, wolf.
7. *waktcezi*, water spirit.
8. *tea*, deer.
9. *hu^wea^a*, elk.

[1] All the clans of the upper phratry are also called akabeara, "Those-with-wings." This name is found in ceremonies.

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10. *ice*, buffalo.
11. *ho*, fish.
12. *wak'a*[n], snake.

Another list was obtained in which only 10 clans were mentioned, the Fish and the Snake being omitted. The clans omitted are, however, regarded by all as of recent origin.

There are two older lists of Winnebago clans obtained by Morgan[2] and Dorsey.[3] Morgan gives the following clans: 614 114

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wolf. | Eagle. | Snake. |
| Bear. | Elk. | Thunder. |
| Buffalo. | Deer. | |

Dorsey's list is more complete, although owing to the fact that he did not know of the existence of the twofold division, he classes the four Bird clans as subclans of one larger Bird clan. His list differs from the author's only in the absence of the Fish clan and in the fact that he was still able to obtain two archaic names for the Wolf and Bear clans. Dorsey's list follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wolf. | Bird. | Buffalo. |
| Bear. | *a*. Eagle. | Deer. |
| Elk. | *b*. Pigeon. | Water-monster. |
| Snake. | *c*. Hawk. | |
| | *d*. Thunderbird. | |

Foster gives a grouping of the clans according to the fauna.[4] His list hardly was intended as an enumeration of the clans. According to Foster, we have the following grouping:

I. Thunderbird family or invisible Thunderbird people.
II. The air family, the visible Thunderbird people.
III. The land or quadruped family.
IV. The water family.

An interesting variant of the names of the Thunderbird and Warrior clans was given by one informant. He called the Thunderbird the good thunders, and the Warrior the bad thunders. This is strikingly reminiscent of the Menominee and was perhaps borrowed from them. 614 [115 177]

The main differences in the above lists are the order of the clans, the position of the Wolf clan, the presence of a general Bird clan called *wunjk* by Dorsey, the double names for the Wolf and Bear clans, and the absence of a Fish and Warrior clan in Dorsey's and of a Hawk clan in the list obtained by the author.

The position of the Wolf clan, in spite of Morgan's and Dorsey's agreement, does not belong in the place assigned to it by them. In all probability their main informant was a member of this clan who wished to give his clan a greater importance than properly belonged

[2] Ancient Society, p. 167.
[3] Siouan Sociology. Fifteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn, pp. 205-241.
[4] Quoted in J. O. Dorsey's MSS. of Winnebago clan names (B. A. E.).

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614 to it. There is no doubt but that in older times the Wolf clan played a far greater part in the affairs of the tribe than it does to-day, but that it ever was the principal clan of the tribe is out of the question.

614 114 With regard to Dorsey's postulation of a Bird (*wonipk*) clan, all that can be said is that the author obtained nothing confirmatory of it. It is just possible that Dorsey, who apparently did not know of the existence of the two phratries, misinterpreted a popular grouping of the four clans of the upper phratry, as representing a fundamental division. Historically it may, indeed, be true that the four clans of the upper phratry represent the subdivision of one clan.

The archaic names for the Wolf and Bear clans can not be translated with any degree of certainty any longer. It is barely possible that *degoni* means "lake band" and *teonank* means "blue back." Whether these are simply a second set of names, or whether they represent an historically older set, it is impossible to say to-day. The probabilities are that they are terms of respect.

The absence of the Warrior clan in Dorsey's list and the presence of a Hawk clan is rather interesting, for it shows that only 25 years ago the bird name for this clan was still in use. The Warrior and Hawk clans are identical, the latter being, however, the appellation that is preferred to-day.

In addition to the names given above, some of the clans have names indicative of respect, such as *hunge* for the Water-spirit, *huga* for the male members of the Bear clan, and *warowina* for the female members. It is also possible that the names *degoni* and *teonank*, mentioned by Dorsey for the Wolf and Bear clans, were terms of respect.

### RECKONING OF DESCENT

614 Descent is patrilineal and a man's name generally belongs to his father's clan. Formerly there never was an exception to the rule that the name must belong to the father's clan, but of recent years [582] the Winnebago have become very lax in this particular. The irregularities in the giving of names were due to two causes—first, the intermarriage of Winnebago women with white men or with Indians of other tribes where the clan organization was either unknown or where descent was matrilineal, and, secondly, to the fact that the wife's parents were often in a better position to pay for the naming feast than the parents of the father. When a Winnebago woman marries a man who either has no clan or who reckons descent in the mother's line, the children are always considered as belonging to the mother's clan. This, however, lasts for only one generation. As a result the male children of such a marriage perpetuate the clan of the mother, although they transmit it thereafter in the male line.

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Another irregularity that has grown up within recent times is the occasional transmission of the clan war-bundle in the female line. In olden times it could only be transmitted in the male line, so as to prevent its passing out of the clan. It was, however, not always passed to the eldest son, but to that one who, by his actions and the interest he manifested in learning the legends and songs pertaining to the ceremony, showed himself capable of properly providing for the bundle. Now it happened occasionally that a man either possessed no son or that his son did not show sufficient interest in all that pertained to the bundle. In such a case the father had the alternative of giving it to some near relative in the male line, and if there were none of either giving it to some distant relative in the male line or the son of his sister or daughter. This, of course, happened very rarely, and in all probability the female line would eventually have to return it to the clan to which it originally belonged. 614 778 428

We have described these two instances of transmission in the female line in some detail in order to show how simply they can be explained without the intervention of any theory that the Winnebago reckoned descent in the female line originally. Such a claim has been made by Morgan and reiterated by Frazer. It seems to be based on the fact that Carver found the daughter of a Winnebago chief, known to the whites as Glory-of-the-Morning, and her children occupying an exceptional position among the tribe, or at least among the division of the Winnebago living at the upper end of Lake Winnebago, Wis. Her position and that of her children, one of whom has become well known in Winnabago legends, *Tcap'eqaqa*, was, however, due to the fact that she married a Frenchman named Decora. She was not the chieftainess of the tribe nor were any of her children, strictly speaking, chiefs of the tribe. In any case her position had nothing to do with female descent and at best but illustrates what we have said before about the clan to which children of such a union belong. 611 114

## INDIVIDUAL NAMES

Before turning to the specific study of each clan a few words must be said about the individual names. From a purely descriptive point of view the names can be arranged in nine classes: 614

I. Color.
II. Physiological characteristics.
III. Social functions.
IV. Animal and plant forms.
V. Animal characteristics.
VI. Natural phenomena.
VII. Quality.
VIII. Episodes of a legendary character.
IX. Personal achievement.

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614 According to the majority of our informants only one of these classifications seems to be generally present in the minds of the Winnebago to-day—that commemorating incidents relating to the origin of each clan. Thus, for instance, because the first thunder-bird alit on a tree the name *He-who-alights-on-a-tree* is given; because a wave swept over the shore as the wolf arrived at Green Bay the name *Wave* is given, etc. However, the most representative names of this type are *Gives-forth-fruit-as-he-walks*, *Makes-the-day-tremble*, *He-who-comes-singing*, *Judge-of-the-contest*, etc. The vast majority of the names, although many of them can doubtless be interpreted as referring to incidents that occurred during the various origins of the clan, clearly belong to the first seven divisions mentioned above. Yet the Winnebago interpret them all in terms of category VIII.

As an example of the Winnebago viewpoint let me give the following:[1]

614 773 Four men [the clan eponymous ancestors] Earth-Maker sent here from above; and when they came, all their various characteristics were used for making proper names. Thus at the present day, the characteristics of the thunder-birds, all of their actions, are used as proper names. (At the beginning), four men came from above. And from that fact there is a name, He-who-comes-from-Above. . . From above, four men Earth-Maker sent down. And since they came like spirits, there is a name, *Spirit-Man*. . . And as there was a drizzling fog when the four men came from above, so there are names, *Walking-in-Mist*, *Comes-in-Mist*, and a woman they would call, *Drizzling-Rain-Woman*. It is said that when they first came to Dérék, they alit upon some brushes, and bent them down; and from this fact there is a name, *She-who-bends-the-Brushes*. On the limb of an oak-tree that stood there, they alit; and they bent it down as they alit on its branches. From this there is a name, *She-who-bends-the-Branches-down*. And since they alit on the tree, there is a name, *He-who-alights-on-a-Tree*; . . . and from the tree itself there is the name, *Oak-Woman*. . . And because they stepped from the oak-tree to the ground, . . . there is a name, *He-who-alights-on-the-Ground*. . . And since they came with the thunder-birds, there is a name, *Thunder-bird* . . . and *White-Thunder-bird* . . . and *Black-Thunder-bird* . . . And since the thunder-birds thunder, there is a name, *He-who-thunders* . . . And since they make the noise *tréwé*, people are called *He-who-makes-Tréwé* . . . When the thunder-birds walk, rain accompanies them; and from this fact we have a name, *He-who-walks-with-Rain* . . . And since the thunder-birds come walking, we have a name, *Walking-Thunder*; and since the thunder-birds walk with a mighty tread when they start out, there is a name, *He-who-comes walking-with-a-Mighty-Tread*; . . . and since the earth shakes when they commence walking, there is a name, *He-who-shakes-the-earth-with-force* . . . And since there is always wind and hail when the thunder-birds come, we have a name, *He-who-comes-with-Wind-and-Hail*. Now, since one of the thunder-birds came first, there is a name, *He-who-walks-First*; and since one of them was the leader, therefore, there is the name *Thunder-bird-Leader* . . . Now since the thunder-birds flash (their eyes) in every direction, so we have the name *Flashes-in-every-Direction* . . . Now, we don't see the thunder-birds, but we see their flashes only; and thus there is a female name, *Only-a-flash-of-Lightning-Woman*; and since the thunder-birds (flash) streaks of lightning, there is a name, *Streak-of-Lightning*; and since cloudiness is caused by the thunder-birds

[1] "Personal Reminiscences of a Winnebago Indian," by P. Radin, Journal of American Folklore, vol. 26, no. 101, pp. 293-302.

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walking in the clouds, there is a name, *He-who-walks-in-the-Clouds*. Now since the thunder-birds have long wings, there is a name, *He-who-has-Long-Wings* . . . Now when the thunder-birds come, they come with terrible thunder-crashes, it is said; and as many people as there are on this earth, . . . and as many plants as there are on the earth, indeed, everything, the earth itself, they deluge with rain, and thunder-crashes (are heard); for all this they have a name; they call him *Wawaijdanga*. 614 T13

The point at issue in this interpretation of names is, can we accept it as historically primary? We do not think so, for the following reasons: A large number of the names are clearly descriptive of animal habits, others express the influence of social organization, and others refer to personal achievements, etc. Secondly, the interpretation is of too specific a nature to be regarded as one that could possibly have dictated an original system of naming; and, thirdly, in spite of its prevalence, other systems of interpretation are present. As a matter of fact in the above quotation, our informant distinctly mentions the fact that the characteristics of thunderbirds were used for names, although he insists that the names referred specifically to the ancestors of the Thunderbird clan. According to J. O. Dorsey the interpretations obtained by him were largely symbolical. He makes no mention of the interpretation obtained by the author, although this may be due to the fact that he was but imperfectly acquainted with Winnebago ethnology. It seems best, therefore, to regard the ancestor-episode type of name as but one, perhaps the last, that developed among the Winnebago.[8] 614

### ATTITUDE TOWARD CLAN ANIMALS

When the animal names became associated with the social groups they were accompanied by the specific associations clustering around these animals. These associations were probably of the same type, if not indeed identical with those grouped around the animals as guardian spirits. The clan animals are among the principal guardian spirits to-day, and we must expect to find an explanation of the attitude toward them as clan animals in the attitude exhibited toward the guardian spirit. To a certain extent it would be quite correct to say that the guardian became the clan animal. This does not, however, mean, in the slightest degree, that the guardian spirit of the individual became the clan animal, but merely that the concept of the guardian spirit became associated with a local group. 614 825 776

The guardian spirit is at the present time conceived of as an immaterial being in control of an animal species. The attitude toward this spirit is a purely religious one, and exhibits a marked absence of taboo of any kind. It is an open question whether a vision must be attested by obtaining some part of the animal "embodiment" of

[8] For fuller discussion cf. P. Radin, The Social Organization of the Winnebago Indians, Museum Bulletin 36, Anthropological Series 5, Geological Survey of Canada, 1916.

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614 the spirit, but there is no doubt that every vision is symbolized by
825 a special gift from the "spirit." The guardian spirit unit may
776 thus be said to consist of a special religious attitude plus a symbol.

The attitude toward the clan animal differs from that toward the guardian spirit in this characteristic respect, that more emphasis is laid upon identification with the animal itself than with the "spirit." As far as could be determined, the clan animal is the thunderbird with his characteristics of lightning and thunder, of the bear who likes honey and raisins, etc. The animal is engraved as clan symbol [423] and used as a property mark, and he is brought into intimate contact with the group by the postulation of descent. Naturally, descent is not from the "spirit" animal but from the living animal species. Nevertheless the clan animal has, at the same time, retained its place as a guardian spirit, and in a most suggestive way, for the blessing of a clan animal is more easily obtained by a member of the clan than by an outsider. The clan animal is, in short, a clan protector.

In this change of attitude two considerations seem pertinent: first, the possibility of the "spirit" of the guardian spirit being a product of the esoteric elaboration connected with religious societies, and that its apparent absence in the clan animal represents an exoteric conception; secondly, under the influence of the social functions of the clan, an originally strong religious conception of the clan animal gave place to an identification with the animal species itself. It might be objected that there is no inherent correlation between social organization and animal species as contrasted with spirit animals. It seems certain, however, that descent could only be reckoned from the animal, and as long as descent is postulated it must be from the animal. With regard to the historical priority of the "spirit" conception, little can be definitely said except that the systematization it has undergone suggests the influence of esoteric societies, and that the visions obtained during fasting appear to speak of the guardian "spirit" as an animal. On general psychological considerations we are inclined to believe in the contrast of the material and spiritual conception of the animal as a real fact, although it would be hazardous to say whether one or the other lies at the basis of the attitude of the individual toward his clan animal.

### RELATIONSHIP TO CLAN ANIMALS

614 The question of descent from the animal brings us to the con-
825 sideration of the whole intricate relationship of the individual to the clan animal, a subject that has played so prominent a part in discussions of totemism. There are two distinct sources for the de-
[124 174] termination of this relationship—data obtained in reply to direct questioning, and that contained in some miscellaneous myths and in the origin myths.

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the origin myths. Part of the oral data is merely a reflex of the origin myths, but part is not. The value of this "unwritten" material lies in the fact that it represents the popular, exoteric attitude, the attitude that, on the whole, is not the result of conscious rationalization, and that this exoteric view may very likely have been the basis for the priestly esoteric interpretation. 614 825 [114]

The prevalent conception of the relationship of the individual to his clan animal is that of descent from an animal transformed at the origin of the present human race into human beings. This view is expressed in some of the origin myths and the general statements of individuals. Direct descent from an animal was never postulated. The definition of the term "animal" is, however, very difficult. The Indians themselves seem to make a distinction between the animal of to-day and the animal of the heroic age. The main characteristics of the animal of the latter was his power of transformation into human form and vice versa. Although the animals have lost this to-day, they are nevertheless descended from this animal. The human beings are, however, descended from precisely the same "animals," so that it might be well to bear in mind that descent from the transformed animal does not mean descent from the animal of to-day. This view is more systematically expressed in some places. According to one miscellaneous myth, the existing human beings and animals were descended from the same being, who once possessed infinite powers of transformation now into human and now into animal shape. At one time, presumably the beginning of our present creation, these "beings" either consciously or unconsciously exhausted all their "transforming" power, and the form into which they changed themselves, human or animal, remained fixed for all time. The existing animals have never succeeded in regaining their power of transformation. Among human beings this power has only been vouchsafed to those few who have obtained it as a special gift from some spirit. Even then, however, it is ludicrously incomplete as compared with the same powers of primordial "beings." This conception of the animal-human archetype must not be regarded as at all flavoring of a philosophy developed after contact with Europeans. The error that has always been committed in discussions upon the nature of descent from the animal lies in confusing our concept of animal species with the term "animal" as used by primitive people, and in the lack of discrimination between the possible connotations of that same term, as applied to animals of to-day and as applied to those animals that were brought into intimate contact with the clan ancestor. [113]

There is no reason for regarding the specific descent from the totem as a development of this older Winnebago idea of the origin

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614 of human and animal forms. The latter conception is entirely a
825 religious one, the former merely an extension of the genealogical tendency prevalent in many types of social organization. Instead of being simply descended from an individual in a given social unit, the bond of membership within this unit has been strengthened by the postulation of blood relationship to the clan animal. The idea of descent may thus be looked upon as one of the elements necessary for the stability of a political unit and may be far older than its
614 specific extension to those clan animals. A very illuminating ex-
825 ample of a case in point can be selected from the history of the war bundle in the Thunderbird clan. This bundle, like the others, was
778 obtained as a gift from the thunderbird in his capacity as a guardian spirit. The ceremony connected with it has, however, been markedly influenced by the clan organization and as a result we find descent
[776] from the thunderbird and night-spirit, the two most important spirits in the ceremony, postulated of the original owner of the war bundle. The same tendency is exhibited in the numerous stories of the relation of an individual of the heroic age to a village. Here
[773] the individual, generally a transformed guardian spirit or animal, comes to the aid of the people in their struggle against cannibals, defeats the latter and marries into the village, becoming thus the eponymous ancestor of the subsequent village group.

614 At the same time no strong correlation apparently exists between a totemic organization and the extension of descent to include the clan animal, this seemingly being a peculiarity of certain cultures only. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest coast, among the
[771] Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves, in addition to the above, we find the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact of its members imitating the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reasons at all for the name, while in others an animal is killed, becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, and the group takes its name from the fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation.

## THE CLAN TIE

614 In intimate relation with the attitude toward the clan animal is the
602 conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the tie between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal.
[582] Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as is

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shown by the very word for clan (*hokik'aradjera*). This concept of blood relationship was extended to the mother's clan generation. As we have pointed out, there is no reason for assuming that blood relationship is the primary explanation. The number of explanations for exogamy existing between one clan and another, and between the clans of one side as opposed to those of another, indicate clearly how readily interpretations of this phenomenon change. The Bear does not marry into the Wolf clan because they are friends (*hitcak'ore*), and does not marry into the Buffalo clan because it belongs to the same side, or no reason at all is assigned. Before the question of the clan tie can be thoroughly understood, the kind of blood relationship that is here meant must be more carefully defined. This is not a very general but a very definite notion, and may be said to extend not beyond four generations, in fact not beyond the direct knowledge of some living individual. This will be brought out more clearly by the following tables, based on actual genealogies:

| | |
|---|---|
| (F) Thunderbird—Bear (M) 1. | or: |
| (F) Bear—Eagle (M) 2. | (F) Thunderbird—Bear (M) 1. |
| (F) Eagle—Wolf (M) 3. | (M) Bear—Eagle (F) 2. |
| (F) Wolf—Thunderbird (M) 4. | (M) Bear—Thunderbird (F) 3. |
| (M) Thunderbird—Bear (F) 5. | |

All these marriages are permitted. In the first case a man marries into his maternal grandmother's maternal grandfather's clan; and in the second, a man marries into his paternal grandmother's clan. We will consequently have to consider blood relationship as extending only to four, sometimes three, generations, and have to regard the statement of blood relationship as the tie binding the members of the clan together as purely fictitious and secondary. That, nevertheless, this fictitious tie called forth the same feeling as that of real relationship, there is abundant evidence to show, and that it was of considerable importance in the development of the Winnebago clan-unit is borne out by the fact that the clan was called "those-who-are-relatives-to-one-another."

### CLAN FUNCTIONS

The association of political functions with definite social units is a common phenomenon in most cultures where a tendency toward socialization exists. It is strictly comparable to the association of ceremonial and religious functions with ceremonial units. In this connection, the difference between an association with a group unit and an association with an individual is of fundamental importance. Is the former, for instance, merely an extension of the latter? This only individual history can demonstrate. Such a genetic relationship between the two depends probably as much upon the nature of the

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614 political function as upon anything else. The exact time when this
182 socialization took place is of no great import here. Among the Winnebago, for instance, some individuals claim that the functions of the public crier were inherent in the Buffalo clan, while others
614 insist that any person who had counted coup four times was eligible
203 for the office. Now, in this case not only is it possible but it is
182 extremely probable that the office of public crier was originally con-
554 nected with an individual, and that subsequently it became associated with the Buffalo clan, probably by reason of a certain relationship existing between this clan and the Chief clan. It must, of course, be remembered that a grouping had already taken place, because the requirement of having counted coup four times made a large number of warriors potentially public criers. Its association with membership in the Buffalo clan represented, on the one hand, a restriction of the number of individuals, and on the other hand, the addition of another qualification. Historically, then, the qualification of membership in the clan supplanted the other qualifications, at least in the eyes of a number of individuals. What has been said of the development of the functions of the Buffalo may also be generally applied to the Warrior or Hawk clan.

614 Political functions may, however, become connected with a group
182 unit without the individual playing any rôle either in directing or in developing it. The functions of preserving peace and of acting as intermediary, that among the Winnebago are connected with the Thunderbird clan, and the police and disciplinary functions connected with the Bear clan, may represent such types of association. In the absence of historical data, no demonstration can be made. It will, however, be shown later that association of ceremonial-religious functions with a social unit has actually occurred. That the police and disciplinary functions of the Bear clan developed from functions of individuals, on the basis of requirements similar to those of the public crier, is quite improbable, and no indication of that exists. Similarly the functions of the Thunderbird clan do not lend themselves readily to such an interpretation. But even should we accept the necessity for the priority of the one over the other types of association, we must still insist that psychologically the functions are in each case associated with a group unit.

Four of the Winnebago clans have specific political functions the details of which are discussed elsewhere. The Thunderbird, the chief clan, and in addition to the fact that the chief of the tribe is
[622] selected from it, has important functions connected with the preservation of peace; the Warrior clan has functions connected with war; the Bear clan, those relating to policing and discipline, both within the village and while on the hunt, etc.; and the Buffalo clan, those relating to the office of public crier and intermediary between the

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chief and his people. The Wolf, Water-spirit, and Elk clans seem also to have possessed minor political-social functions. Thus the Wolf people are regarded as "minor" soldiers; the Water-spirit people are connected with the passage of streams, etc.; and the Elk are connected with the care of the fireplaces while on the hunt and warpath. This accounts for seven of the twelve clans, and it thus seems as if the association of political functions with clans was a type that had found great favor among the Winnebago, and was perhaps being extended to every clan. Among the Dhegiha, associations of ceremonial functions with social units seem to have found corresponding favor, while among the Central Algonquian neither type prevailed.

Marked political and ceremonial functions of the clan are thus the distinguishing characteristics of the Siouan social organization and have given an entirely different color to clan structure there.

### THE RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIP OF THE CLANS

We have seen that one of the bonds between the clans was the fact of belonging to the same side. But there is a special bond between certain clans known as "friendship" relation (*hitcak'ore*). This always subsists between two, although it seems occasionally to have been extended to three or four clans. Most informants gave these groups in such a manner that the "friendship" relation was not postulated between clans belonging to different divisions. One individual postulated them just on this basis, i. e., Thunderbird-Bear, Warrior-Wolf, etc. There can, however, be no doubt that the prevalent arrangement is: Thunderbird-Warrior; Eagle-Pigeon; Bear-Wolf; Buffalo-Water-spirit; Elk-Deer; Snake-Fish. Most informants did not claim any pairing for the Snake, while some associated it in a threefold grouping with the Buffalo and Water-spirit. The four clans of the *Waggeregi* are generally united in a fourfold group of "friend clan," although some divide them into Thunderbird-Warrior and Eagle-Pigeon.

Under the term "friend clan" is included the idea of mutual service. This becomes especially marked on two occasions: first, when a member of one clan visits his "friend clan," and second, when an injustice has been done a member of the "friend clan." On the former occasion every possible privilege is extended to him, even to his occupying the seat and bed of the host. There is no indication of "wife-borrowing," however. On the latter occasion, the "friend clan" will seek to revenge the injustice just as if the wrong had been done one of its own members. The respect shown by one clan to its "friend clan" is again apparent at the naming-feast. There he may be called upon to give the dog names for an individual of the clan with which he is associated, and, at times, to lend one of his clan names to the latter.

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614 572 The relation of *hitcak'oro* or "friend clan" is thus strictly analogous to that which exists between two individuals who are *hitcak'oro* to each other. It is one of the characteristic traits of Siouan culture that two individuals often form a strong, inextricable friendship. Not only are they always together but the death of one on the war-path involves that of the other. The same intimate relationship [604] seems to exist between an uncle (*hidek'*) and his nephew (*hitcycge*). There is, however, one fundamental difference between such relation as that existing between *hidek'* and *hitcycge*, the members of the family group, and the members of the same clan, on the one hand, and clan *hitcak'oro*, on the other. In the former there is the bond of blood, real or fictitious; in the latter, only that of mutual service. On the other hand, while the *hidek'-hitcycge* relation, the individual *hitcak'oro* and the clan *hitcak'oro* all may be of different historical origin, they are psychologically the same. The postulation of even a fictitious blood bond between the different individual *hitcak'oro* and the clan *hitcak'oro* is not unheard of. For the *hitcak'oro* relation of individuals this is always possible, for if one individual dies, his *hitcak'oro* is generally adopted to fill his place. On the other hand, the myths seem to indicate that no blood bond was regarded as existing between them, for they generally married each other's sisters.

What historical relation the clan *hitcak'oro* bears to the individual *hitcak'oro* relation, it is impossible to state, but the remarks made before are pertinent here, and no genetic relationship need be postulated.

### THE SPECIFIC POSSESSIONS OF THE CLAN

614 778 Among the Omaha a number of clans have in their possession certain objects around which not merely the clan but also the tribal reverence is centered. Historically, we believe that these were originally possessions of an individual clan, which subsequently became identified with the entire tribe. Among the Winnebago nothing remotely comparable to these clan possessions exists, and the few specific objects possessed by the clan have never become of real tribal significance.

The specific material possessions of the clan consist of certain war bundles, one in each clan; and two crooks in the possession of the Bear clan. There also exist war clubs, of which there are two types, one found among the *waggeregi*, the other among the *manegi* divisions. In connection with the clan bundles there are certain ceremonials known as clan-bundle or war-bundle feasts, popularly as Winter Feasts. The distribution of the clan bundle differentiates [771] these from the specific possessions of the Omaha clans, and suggests a hint as to their historical associations. To all intents and purposes, as their individual history shows, these bundles are merely

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gifts from one spirit, the thunderbird, and a secondarily associated night-spirit (*hąhe*). The Winter Feast might thus be interpreted as a society of those who have obtained blessings from the thunderbird. The bundle remains in the possession of a certain family, however, and cannot pass out of the clan. The war bundle may therefore be said to be primarily the personal possession of a family which has become associated with all the members of the clan to such an extent that it is almost regarded as a clan possession.

In the possession of the two crooks by the Bear clan we have an example of specific clan property. The crooks are in the nature of emblems and are used on the warpath to indicate the extreme line of advance. They are thus of tribal significance. When not in use they are kept in the lodge of the Bear clan.

### IMMATERIAL POSSESSIONS OF THE CLAN

Although there are no specific material possessions, each clan has certain "immaterial" possessions. They all have the added connotation of sacredness. For the Bird clans, it is the possession of fire; for the Bear, the doorway of his lodge; for the Wolf and Water-spirit, water. They were not obtained for all the clans. We indicated before that these "possessions" may have been primarily connected with the animals associated with the clan, upon which an additional socio-religious interpretation has been superimposed. The whole subject is, however, closely related to that of clan etiquette, for which, of course, no explanations can be given now.

### THE CLAN MARKS OF IDENTIFICATION

As if more fully to set off the social unit of the clan, there have come to be associated with it definite marks of identification, such as symbols, property marks, facial decorations, and songs.

The symbols of only two clans were obtained, although a number of other clans seem to have possessed them. These were the war club (*namątee*) of the Thunderbird clan and the peculiarly whittled stick (*namazinizini*) of the Bear clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan died a miniature war club was buried with him. Whether the *namazinizini* was buried with a member of a Bear clan we do not know.

The property mark consisted of the effigy of the clan animal, and was woven on such objects as bags, tobacco pouches, etc. It was also frequently engraved on wooden objects. Its most peculiar uses, however, were the emblematic earthen effigy mounds, in the shape of the clan animal, which were erected near the habitation of each clan in the village and in the center of clan squash fields, cornfields, etc.

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614 533 Associated with every clan was also four clan songs. These were supposed to be the four songs sung by the ancestors of each clan when they came to this earth. They were always sung on the death of an individual, and were supposed to serve as a mark of identification in the journey of the soul to the land of the spirits. The use of these [761] songs was so intimately associated with death that when some hardened offender, let us say, some individual who had killed a [621] member of the tribe and who refused to make atonement of any kind, was pursued, he defiantly sang his clan songs.

614 [302] As a last element in the clan complex may be mentioned the specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

We have now completed the discussion of clan organization. As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary association that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that it had grown around a strong social-political unit.

### INFLUENCE OF THE CLAN UPON CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

614 575 Perhaps the most characteristic trait of Winnebago culture is the existence of two strong socialized units, that of the clan and that of the secret society. Historically both are old, and even if we are of the opinion that the clan is historically younger, the political unit upon which it is superimposed is probably an ultimate historical fact. From the earliest times one would have supposed reciprocal influences to have occurred repeatedly. The nature of these influences, in so far as they are not conditioned by chance, would depend upon the respective center of gravity in either unit. It is evident that for the clan the organization was of paramount importance, and that the addition of cultural associations probably tended to strengthen its stability in this respect. On the other hand, the absence of political or governmental functions in the religious societies, and the clustering of the most multitudinous religious and shamanistic ideas within them, rendered the emotional unit of the latter the center from which influences would radiate. At the same time, the ceremonial unit of organization seems to have been so firmly fixed that any influence of the clan unit of organization upon it does not seem likely. As a matter of fact, in the typical schematic, religious society like the Medicine Dance, the Grizzly-Bear Dance, and Night-Spirit Dance, no influence is perceptible. However, these religious societies may be regarded as presenting no possible points of contact. Where, however, the bond of union is supernatural communication with a guardian spirit who subsequently became the clan animal, an obvious point of contact is given, and this brings to mind a very suggestive

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fact of Winnebago culture, namely, that there are, strictly speaking, 614
no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. 575
There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in
many respects, are absolutely identical with the religious societies, [796]
and which furnish, it seems to us, an example of just those two kinds
of influence that we wished to point out, one radiating from the clan
as an organization, the other from the entire clan unit.

In the Winter Feasts the unit of organization is the clan. Gen- 614
erally all the clans were represented in the person of the owner of 796
each specific clan war bundle. The order of invitation was traditionally fixed, but it seems that in a number of cases the "friend" clan always had the position of honor. The war-bundle owner was not, however, supposed to represent the clan at all, but the spirits to whom offerings were being made. In every case, although the participants were supposed to represent a fairly large number of animals, the main blessings that were contained in the war bundle [782
were from the thunderbird and night-spirit and the main offerings 776]
were indeed made to them. There seem thus to have been two separate ceremonies involved, one to the thunderbird and the other to the night-spirits.

The question arising with regard to the clan basis of these ceremonial organizations is whether we are to imagine that the ceremonial unit of organization was displaced by the clan unit, or whether we are to suppose that the ceremony is of comparatively recent origin, let us say at least long after the clan organization had been perfected, and that a number of things combined to determine the acceptance of the clan as a unit of organization, as opposed to the traditional ceremonial one. To the foregoing we must also add the fact that the Winter Feast seems to be related to similar ceremonies of the Central Algonquian, whose influence on the Winnebago must [171]
first be determined. If, then, we are not in a position at present to suggest the course of development, there can be no doubt that the content of the ceremony is strictly comparable to that of the religious societies, and that there are hints that the ceremonial unit of organization had begun to assert itself. If this could be definitely established, it would indicate that the clan basis of organization is historically primary.

The clan unit of organization is found in no other Winnebago ceremony, although the specific clan feasts show marked influences radiating from the clan unit. The clan feast is a typical ceremonial complex, both in type of organization and in content. The difference between it and a society like that of the night-spirit lies in the fact that although the five principal participants must have specific blessings (bundles), they must at the same time belong to the clan. To what extent a member of one clan who has obtained a bundle

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614 from some other clan spirit can take part in the specific clan feast
796 of the latter it is difficult to determine, but in the buffalo feast, assuming that this is unquestionably the real Buffalo clan feast, any person who has obtained a bundle from the buffalo can participate, although the leader must always belong to the Buffalo clan. This example may be taken as an indication of the historical origin of these feasts, namely, that they are really religious societies in which the influence of the clan has restricted the number of individuals who are ordinarily supposed to occupy the five places of honor. That this restrictive influence of the clan was caused by the identity of the clan animal with the guardian spirit there can be little doubt.

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# CHAPTER IX

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—SPECIFIC CLANS

### The Thunderbird Clan

#### INTRODUCTION

The Thunderbird clan was unquestionably the most important of 614
all the Winnebago clans. In numbers it seems to have equaled the three other clans of its phratry, and, since the upper phratry had about as many individuals as the lower phratry, the Thunderbird clan must have comprised about one-fourth of the entire tribe. How are we to explain this? Historical data are, of course, missing, so that any explanation reached is entirely hypothetical, but still it seems justifiable to hazard some interpretation. The most plausible hypothesis is to assume that the Winnebago were originally [174]
organized on a village basis and that the largest of these villages and the earliest to adopt the clan organization were those that took the thunderbird as their totem.

In the origin myths, the origin of the Thunderbird clan is always 614
given as Green Bay, and in contradistinction to the accounts of 773
other clans, the ancestors of the clan are supposed to have originated at Green Bay and not to have traveled there from some other place. How much credence is to be given to such a localization it is hard to say, but assuredly it should not be dismissed as entirely worthless.

The origin myths of the Thunderbird clan possess some inter- 614
esting features which deserve a few words of comment. In the 773.
first version we have an account of the creation of the world which 114
is almost identical with that given in the origin myth of the Medicine Dance (p. 350). None of the other clan origin myths contain it. How are we to explain this? As a secondary accretion or as an original and archaic feature? On internal evidence we suspect that it is a secondary accretion and that the original version began with the second paragraph. There seems to be no intelligible reason for having Earthmaker create two sets of individuals. If we suppose that the original version began with the second paragraph and that the general account of the creation was subsequently added, we would have a satisfactory explanation of this feature. Only one of the three versions obtained contains this general ac-

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614 count of creation, and thus we have another reason for doubting
773 its age.
114 There are other indications of an assimilation with the general origin myth in our versions, such as the absence of animals on the earth and the ascription of certain geographical features to the activity of the thunderbirds. Throughout, however, we are always confronted with the possibility that we may be dealing with an old village origin myth. There seems to be no doubt but that the episode of the origin of death, so distinct from that given in the general origin myth, is archaic. Other features, on the other hand, like the description of the origin of fire, are clearly reflections of certain possessions always associated with the Thunderbird clan.

A perusal of the following versions and the versions of the other clan origin myths indicates clearly how personal the accounts are. The members of the Thunderbird clan, as we shall subsequently show for the members of the other clans too, make claims of power and importance for their clans that are hardly justified by what we know of their actual power. As sources of information, therefore, we must be extremely cautious in our use of these origin myths.

Before leaving this subject it might be well to point out the number of different explanations given in these myths of the relations of the members of the clan to their eponymous clan ancestor. If a Winnebago were asked what this relation was he would answer offhand that the members of the different clans were descended from certain spirit-thunderbirds who were transformed into human beings at Green Bay.

In the first version the ancestors of the Thunderbird clan are created by Earthmaker and brought down to earth by the four spirit-thunderbirds the first Earthmaker had created. They are apparently human beings and not heroic birds, as most of the members of the clan assure you. To complicate the situation we have even the mention of the fact that the second set of people who came to visit them were members of the Thunderbird clan.

In the second version we have the customary identification of the ancestors of this clan with birds. At the end of this version we have the distinct statement, which is, however, clearly not part of the myth but an explanation by the informant, that the members of the clan call themselves thunderbirds because they, like the true thunderbirds, caused a drizzling rain and fog when they went about.

It is only in the myth of the origin of the Warrior clan that we have what can be interpreted as an account identical with that given offhand by the Winnebago. Here we are told that the warriors or hawks when they entered the lodge at Green Bay began to look different and that their feathers were worn off.

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From these facts it is quite clear that, as far as the Thunderbird clan is concerned, the prevailing belief as to the relation of the members of the clan to the clan ancestor is but feebly substantiated by the origin myths. 614 773 114

As mentioned before, the chief of the tribe was selected from the Thunderbird clan, although the selection was apparently restricted to certain families. The functions of the chief of the tribe were connected with peace. He could not lead a war party, although, according to some, he could accompany one. His lodge stood either in the center of the village or at the south end, according to which of the two descriptions one cares to accept, and contained a sacred fireplace, around which only members of the Thunderbird clan could sit. This lodge was an asylum for all wrongdoers. No one could be killed there, and a prisoner who succeeded in making his escape to it was spared. Even a dog destined for a sacrifice at the war-bundle feast was freed if he took refuge in it. The Thunderbird chief always acted as intercessor between wrongdoers and their avengers. Even in so extreme a case as the murder of a clansman, he would always attempt a reconciliation by which the life of the murderer might be spared. If necessary, the chief would mortify himself, and with skewers inserted in his back have himself led through the village to the home of the nearest kinspeople of the murdered person. 614 622 [778] [682 304]

The chief seems to have had some other miscellaneous functions, the most important of which was, perhaps, his right to prevent an unauthorized war party to depart from the village. If he, as an older man and guardian of peace and the best interests of the tribe, felt that a war party was taking too many risks, he would take his pipe and place it across the path of the one contemplating an unwarranted expedition and thus signify his disapproval. If then the war party chose to go, any mishap was directly chargeable to the leader who disobeyed. Should anyone be killed, the leader was regarded almost in the same light as a willful murderer, and the kinsmen of the deceased warrior could demand redress. 622 721 [686]

Our main informant for the Thunderbird clan summarized the functions as follows: 622 614

The chief is chosen from one of the "greater" Thunderbird clans[1] and must be a man of well-balanced temper, not easily provoked, and of good habits. The one sacred object he possesses is his pipe. He must be a peacemaker and love all the people in the tribe, the little children included. [156]

If he saw a man, woman, or child passing by, he was to call them in and give them food to eat, for they were his brothers and sisters. All the relatives he has are to look after his possessions and keep him well supplied, for he was supposed to give away things constantly. If any person came to borrow some object from him, he would tell [231]

[1] He divided the Thunderbird clan into two groups, the real Thunderbird and the Warrior clans. This latter he indeed was identical with the thunderbirds who caused the rain and who were quite different from the other thunderbirds.

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622 614 the man that, since he was without this particular thing, to keep it and use it for all time.

[203 624 623] The public crier, a member of the Buffalo clan, was supposed to report to the chief early every morning and receive instructions. The crier would then go all around the village making the chief's desires known.

The chief had a representative at every council, generally his brother.

The chief of the village is a peacemaker, and if two members of the tribe ever get into difficulties (i. e., quarrel) he is supposed to intervene. If in a quarrel a person should be killed, the chief would go to the murderer and tell the latter to permit himself to be tied up—i. e., to give himself up to the relatives of the murdered man. If [682] the murderer consents to do so, then his arms are tied behind him and the chief walks in front of him carrying his sacred pipe. Thus they would go to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives. When they get there the chief would extend the stem of the pipe toward them. They might refuse to accept the pipe thus extended, but if any member of the family, even if it be a small child, were to take a puff from it, then the murderer would be forgiven and turned free.

This is the capacity of a Winnebago chief.

622 614 682 Another description of the chief's rôle as intercessor for a murderer is as follows:

When the Thunderbird chief wishes to save a murderer they take one of their own chiefs, one who is well beloved, paint his back blue, and put skewers in his back, to which they tie cords. Thus he is taken to the lodge of the murdered person's relatives. The chief, when he gets there, holds his pipe of tobacco in both hands. Should the relatives not wish to accept the peace offering they close the door in his face. Then he returns.

614 778 [411] The Thunderbird clan possessed a type of war club called a bald-headed war club, which was sacred to this clan alone, and a miniature of which was always buried with a dead body. The only other possessions were the clan war bundles. The Winnebago often speak as though each clan had but one of these palladiums, but there seems to be little doubt but that there were at least two and probably more in each clan. These war bundles must be regarded as the common possession of the clan at the present time, for they can not be alienated from the clan.[1] For all practical purposes, however, they are the private property of certain individuals or families.

614 372 Fire was considered a sacred possession of the Thunderbird clan. As mentioned before, an individual was supposed never to ask for a firebrand from the fire of any member of the clan and was never permitted to sit near such a fireplace. If, nevertheless, anyone should be immodest enough to ask for one of these objects, he would be refused, but he would be permitted to ask for any conceivable thing else. The following incident will serve as an example of the 685 definite way in which this peculiar custom works. An old Winne-

[1] This point was very forcibly impressed upon the author when he tried to obtain the war bundle of a man who had become a member of the Peyote cult. The man was perfectly willing to part with it, but after repeated requests to those who happened to possess it at that particular time, he admitted that it belonged to the clan, although they could not have taken it away from him had he remained a believer in the old faith.

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An old Winne-
bago told the author that long ago a young man wanted to marry a 614
girl belonging to his phratry and refused to listen to the entreaties 615
of his father and mother. Finally the father, in desperation, went 582
over to the lodge of a man belonging to one of the clans into which 778
the young man could marry and asked for one of the sacred possessions. It was, of course, refused, and when the man was asked what other requests he wished to make, he asked that the host's daughter be allowed to marry his son. This was, of course, granted, and thus the boy was compelled to marry into the proper phratry.

One Winnebago interpreted the custom in an entirely different 614
way. Exactly how much importance is to be attached to this 372
explanation it is hard to say. According to this informant, the 689
insult lay not in going to the fireplace or taking a firebrand, but in asking for it. The insult apparently consists in not taking it for granted that anyone entering the lodge was permitted to do what [576]
he wished. In other words, his asking was a breach of etiquette.

The typical method of burial in the Thunderbird clan was scaffold burial. It has long since been discontinued.

The burial customs seem to have been the same for all the clans. 614
It may, however, be that in former times there were slight differences. 764
For instance, in the first version of the Thunderbird clan [184]
origin myth the statement is made that the branch of a tree was placed at the grave and a small stick, painted red, attached to it. The author has no recollection of ever hearing the same statement made in connection with any other of the clans.

There are four songs associated with the Thunderbird clan. 614
These are supposed to have been sung by the clan ancestors when [533]
they came to this earth, and are now always sung when a member of the clan dies, and on a few other occasions.

According to one informant, members of the Elk, Warrior, Deer, and Buffalo clans acted as servants to the Thunderbird clan on [554]
various occasions. The same informant also claimed that the Warrior clansmen took specific orders from the Thunderbird clansmen when on the warpath.

According to another informant, Thunderbird marks at death are a half circle on the forehead, made with charcoal. The proper [765]
marking is, however, that shown in plate 46.

Two dog names used in the Thunderbird clan are obtained—*pi"nkirutcga; ka-iwakitca"ga.*

The only feast specifically connected with the Thunderbird clan was the so-called chief feast, of which a description will be found on [796]
page 318. One of the divisions of the war-bundle feast is often considered as sacred to the thunderbird, but this is always the deity [776]
thunderbird, not the ancestor of the clan.

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## CLAN MYTHS AND NAMES

### ORIGIN MYTH (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)[3]

539 614 776 In the beginning, Earthmaker was sitting in space when he came to consciousness, and there was nothing else anywhere.[4] He began to think of what he should do, and finally he began to cry and tears began to flow from his eyes and fall down below him. After a while he looked down below him and saw something bright. The bright objects were hidden tears that had flowed below and formed the present waters. When the tears flowed below they became the seas as they are now. Earthmaker began to think again. He thought, "It is thus, if I wish anything; it will become as I wish, just as my tears have become seas." Thus he thought. So he wished for light and it became light. Then he thought, "It is as I have supposed; the things that I wished for have come into existence as I desired." Then he again thought and wished for the earth, and this earth came into existence. Earthmaker looked on the earth and he liked it, but it was not quiet. It moved about as do the waves of the sea. Then he made the trees and he saw that they were good, but they did not make the earth quiet. Then he made the grass to grow, but still the earth was not yet quiet. Then he made the rocks and stones, but still the earth was not quiet. However, it was nearly quiet. Then he made the four directions (cardinal points) and the four winds. On the four corners of the earth he placed them as great and powerful people, to act as island weights. Yet the earth was not quiet. Then he made four large beings and threw them down toward the earth, and they pierced through the earth with their heads eastward. They were snakes. Then the earth became very still and quiet. Then he looked upon the earth and he saw that it was good. Then he thought again of how things came into existence just as he desired. Then he first began to talk. He said, "As things are just as I wish them, I shall make one being in my own likeness." So he took a piece of clay (earth) and made it like himself. Then he talked to what he had created, but it did not answer. He looked upon it and saw that it had no mind or thought. So he made a mind for it. Again he talked to it, but it did not answer. So he looked upon it again and saw that it had no tongue. Then he made it a tongue. Then he talked to it again, but it did not answer. So he looked upon it again and saw that it had no soul. So he made it a soul. He talked to it again, and it very nearly said something. But it did not make itself intelligible. So Earthmaker breathed into its mouth and talked to it, and it answered.

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[3] Told in connection with the origin of the Thunderbird myth.

[4] This myth is reprinted from Radin, Winnebago tales, Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. XXII, no LXXIV, 1909. It has apparently been somewhat influenced by the Bible.

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As the newly created being was in his own likeness, Earthmaker felt quite proud of him, so he made three more just like him. He made them powerful so that they might watch over the earth. These first four he made chiefs of the Thunderbirds. And he thought, "Some will I make to live upon the earth of those I have created." So he made four more beings in his own likeness. Just like the others he made them. They were brothers—Kunuga, Henanga, Hagaga, and Nanyiga. He talked to them and said, "Look down upon the earth." So saying, he opened the heavens in front of where they sat and there they saw the earth (spread out below them). He told them that they were to go down there to live. "And this I shall send with you," he added, and he gave them a plant. "I myself shall not have any power to take this from you, as I have given it to you; but when of your own free will you make me an offering of some of it, I shall gladly accept it and give you what you ask. This shall you hold foremost in your lives." It was a tobacco plant that he had given them. He said, also, "All the spirits that I create will not be able to take this from you unless you desire to give it, by calling upon them during fasts and offering it to them. Thus only can the spirits get any of it. And this also I send with you that you may use it in life. When you offer anything it shall be your mediator. It shall take care of you through life. It shall stand in the center of your dwellings and it shall be your grandfather." Thus he spoke to them. What he meant was the fire. And then he gave them the earth to live upon.

So the four Thunder spirits brought the four brothers down to the earth. The oldest one, Kunuga, said, while on their way down, "Brother, when we get to the earth and the first child is born to me I shall call him *Chief-of-the-Thunders*, if it be a boy." On they came down toward the earth. When they got near the earth it began to get very dark. Then the second brother said, "Brother, when we get to the earth and a child is born to me, if it is a girl it shall be called *Dark*." They came to a place called Within Lake[8] at Red Banks, a lake near Green Bay. On an oak tree south of the lake is the place where they alighted. The branch they alighted on bent down from their weight. Then said the third brother to his brothers, "The first daughter born to me shall be called *She-who-weighs-the-tree-down-woman*." Then they alighted on the earth, but the Thunder spirits did not touch the earth. Then said the fourth and last brother to his brothers, "Brothers, the first son that is born to me shall be called *He-who-alights-on-the-earth*." The first thing they did on earth was to start their fire.

Then Earthmaker looked down upon them and saw that he had not prepared any food for them, so he made the animals that they

[8] This lake is probably Green Bay itself.

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539 614 776 might have something to eat. The oldest brother said, "What are we going to eat!" Then the youngest two took the bow and arrows that Earthmaker had given them and started toward the east. Not long after the third brother came into view with a young deer on his back and the youngest brother also came with a young deer about 2 years old on his back. The deer that were killed, and those that killed them, were also brothers. They were very much delighted that they had obtained food. Then said they, "Let us give our grandfather the first taste." Saying thus, they cut off the ends of the tongues and the heart and threw them into the fire with some fat. The first people to call on them were the War clan people. They came from the west. Then came four others. They were the thunders. Thus they were called the youngest brothers. Then came those of the earth. Then came those of the Deer clan. Then those of the Snake clan. Then came those of the Elk clan. Then came those of the Bear clan. Then came those of the Fish clan. Then came those of the Water-spirit clan and all the other clans that exist. Then there appeared on the lake a very white bird swan they called it. And after that, all the other water birds that exist came. And they named them in the order of their coming until the lake was quite full. Then the people began to dress the deer meat. Suddenly something came and alighted on the deer meat. "What is that!" they said. Then said Kunuga, the eldest brother, "It is a wasp, and the first dog that I possess, if it is black, *Wasp* I shall call it." Thus he spoke. "And as the wasp scented and knew of the deer dressing so shall the dog be toward other animals, and wherever the dog is, and animals are in the windward, he shall scent them." They made a feast with the deer for Earthmaker and threw tobacco into the fire and offered it to him. And to the other clans they showed how fire was to be made and gave them some, "For," they said, "each of you must now make fire for yourselves, as we shall not always lend you some." There the people made their home. It was just the time of the year when the grass comes as far as the knee.

One day they reported that something very strange was near the camp; but they said to themselves, "We will leave it alone." In a little while it moved nearer. Thus it moved toward the camp and soon it began to eat deer bones. They allowed it to become one of their clans and took it into their house. It was the dog or wolf. They killed one and made a feast to Earthmaker, telling him all about what they had done.

In the beginning the Thunder clansmen were as powerful as the Thunder spirits themselves. It was the Thunder people who made the ravines and the valleys. While wandering around the earth the Thunder people struck the earth with their clubs and made dents in [554] the hills. That is the reason that the upper clans are chiefs of all the others and that the least of all are the dog people. So it was.

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One day the oldest of the brothers lay down and did not rise again, 539
and he did not breathe and he became cold. "What is the matter 614
with our oldest brother?" the three others said. Four days they 776
waited for him, but still he did not arise. So the second brother was asked by his youngest brother what the trouble was; but he did not know anything about it and told him to ask his third brother; but this one did not know either. Then the two older brothers asked the youngest one, but he did not know either. Then they began to mourn for him, not knowing what to do or think. They fasted and blackened their faces, as we do now when we are in mourning. They made a platform and laid him on it. When the snow fell knee-deep the three brothers filled their pipe and went toward the place of the coming of daylight—the east. There they came to the first being that Earthmaker had placed in the east, the *Island-weight*, as he was called. They came to him weeping and went into his tent, turning the stem of the pipe in his mouth. They said, "Grandfather, our brother Kunuga has fallen and is not able to rise again. Earthmaker made you great and endowed you with all knowledge, and thus you know all things." He answered and said, "My dear grandsons, I am sorry, but I do not know anything about it; but as you have started to find out I would refer you to the one ahead of me (the north). Perhaps he can tell you."

So, weeping, they started for the next one. When they got there and told him their troubles, he told them he could not help them; "but," he said, "perhaps the one ahead of me knows." So they started for the third one (the west), but from him likewise they could learn nothing. He also referred them to the one ahead (the south). When they reached the fourth and last one, they entered the lodge, and behold there sat the three to whom they had gone before. Here they asked the last one for help, and not only he but the other three also answered them: "Grandsons, thus Earthmaker has willed it. Your brother will not rise again. He will be with you no more in this world, and as long as this world lasts so will it be with human beings. Whenever one reaches the age of death one shall die, and those that wish to live long will have to attain that age by good actions. Thus they will live long. Into your bodies Earthmaker has placed part of himself. That will return to him if you do the proper things. This world will come to an end sometime. Your brother shall keep a village in the west for all the souls of your clan, and there he shall be in full charge of all of you, and when this world is ended your brother shall take all the souls back to Earthmaker—at least all those who have acted properly. Thus it is. Now you may go home and bury your brother in the proper manner." The Thunder people thanked the four spirits and left the tent. When they got home they took their brother's body,

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539 614 776 dressed him in his best clothes, and painted his face. Then they told him where he was to go and buried him with his head toward the west and with his war club. They placed the branch of a tree at his grave, and painted a little stick red and tied it to the tree, so that nothing should cross his path on his journey to the spirit abode. If any object or animal should cross his path on that journey, he must strike it with his club and throw it behind him, so that those relatives he had left behind on earth might derive blessings in war and attain long life. He must have his pipe and food along with him on his journey, and thus the things that he throws behind him will be a blessing for those still remaining on earth. Also the life he leaves behind him (i. e., the years that, had he lived to a normal age, are still due him) and the victories that he might have gained, all these he is to give to his relatives. The riches he might have had or, in fact, anything that he could possibly have had, he is asked to give to these relatives. Then they will not feel so unhappy and lonesome.

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

In the beginning four brothers started from above and came toward this world. They came to a country called (*ni jahe*, cliff place?), and there they alighted on a tree. From there they started around the world, going from left to right.* The first time they went around they went through space, but the second time they went along this earth, at a place called *derok* (Within Lake). There they built lodges for themselves. While doing this the oldest suddenly became quiet, as if stricken. Finally, he asked the second brother what he should do, and the second brother said to him, "You are the oldest and ought to know what to do. How can I, who am younger, know anything? Perhaps the third-born brother might know." So he asked the third-born, but he said, "You are the older and ought to know. How can I, being the younger, know? Perhaps the youngest brother will know." So they asked that one and he said, "Yes, I know something." The thing about which they did not know anything was the making of the fire. The younger one, saying he knew something, took a piece of an oak tree and began twisting it until it began to smoke, and then the fire started. Then he placed it on the ground. After the fire began to blaze and seemed well started they finished building their lodge. From that time on whenever they saw anything new the brothers would give it a name. Animals and all the things that exist were thus named. And then they were to prepare a meal, and the second brother reached out his hand and produced the food that they wanted (i. e., he seemingly reached out from where he was seated and brought in deer's meat, etc.). Not having

* The customary manner of passing around a lodge. Supposed to be comparable to the path of the sun.

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any cooking utensils they broiled their meat on sharp sticks. Then the oldest one began making utensils for cooking. He took clay and slippery elm bark, mixed them together, and made a pot out of it, which was then heated over a fire.

Within Lake was their main stopping place during their wanderings. Now the members of the other clans began gathering at this place and all the other clans got to this place and obtained their fire from the Thunderers. From that time on they also began intermarrying. The rule was that the upper clansmen married the women of the lower clans and vice versa. The oldest one of the brothers made friends with the Water-spirit clan and the second brother made friends with the Bear clan. The reason why the upper clans and the lower clans intermarried was to prevent their marrying their own relatives. The second brother is the ancestor of the War clan people.

The Thunderers do not say that they were descended from the Thunderbirds, but they claim that in wandering about there was always a drizzling rain and fog which they caused and on account of the similarity of this to the actions of the Thunderbirds they called themselves the Thunderers.[1]

From the gathering at Green Bay the clan names originated. The names were taken from incidents of their journey to this place. The older brother kept on naming everything; the different parts of our body; the different parts of animals, etc. When he finished, he suddenly stopped breathing and died. His death occurred at dawn. The brothers did not know that he had died. For a long time they waited for him to come to life again, but he never came to life again. Thus death originated. His body died, but his spirit traveled west toward the setting of the sun, making a road for all who were to come after him. He was the chief of the village of the spirits.

THIRD VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN—FRAGMENTARY)[2]

"Well, my younger brother, what shall we speak of? Let us speak of the Winnebagoes. You are right. Of them we will speak. What shall we eat? If we see an animal let us eat him. I will go and look. See I have brought a deer. We will eat him." So they built a fire and broiled that deer. They cooked it and then ate it. Then they heard something. They listened and two persons came into the tent. They took a seat opposite. "Ha, ha, you that sit opposite, what relation will you be to me?" "What relation should I be to you?" "You shall be my chief." "Listen, some are saying

[1] The word Thunderers is the same as Thunderbirds. One and the same being is meant.

[2] This element seems to begin after the Thunderbirds have reached Green Bay and are sitting in the lodge waiting for the other clans to arrive.

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539 614 776 something. Ha ha, our friends have come. Sit opposite (those opposite said). As long as we live we will attend to the fire for you." "Listen, our friends, they are speaking." "Ha, ha, sit opposite me" (a new clan has entered). They sat down. "You Water-spirit clan, what relation, my friend, will you be to me?" "What relation shall I be to you? You will be my chief." "Good. Now listen, a dog is howling. Let us wait for him." So the Thunderbirds waited for him. "Let us call him." "Ha, ha, my friend, we wish to teach the two-legged walkers something. As we say so will the Winnebagoes ever be." Again the Thunderbirds spoke, "Listen, some one has said something. Two people have come. We will call them the Buffalo clan."

## The Warrior Clan

### Introduction

614 There are not many members of this clan left, although it seems to have been quite important in the old days, to judge from the number of effigy mounds all over Wisconsin. There seems little doubt but that those bird effigies with unsplit tail are supposed to represent this clan.

Only one version of the origin myth was obtained. There is little to be said about it except that it mentions the fact that it was customary to have names for dogs. One statement seems to point toward cannibalism. As was pointed out in the preceding discussion, there is a boastful claim that they were chiefs. [552 266]

614 178 Although, at the present time, this clan is known only as the wonayire ke'ɔ̄rak (fear-inspiring men), its older name was hawk, and as such it was still known to J. O. Dorsey. When the present name began to be popular, it is impossible to say, but we feel confident that it has been in partial use for a considerable length of time. The change is quite in line with the rather common habit of referring to the Thunderbird clan as the chief clan and the Bear clan as the soldier clan. In other words, we have a name indicative of the functions of a clan superseding the older animal name. It is only in the case of the Warrior clan, however, that this substitution has been complete.

614 There is no indication in the myth that the Warrior clan was ever localized. A number of informants stated that the clan was but a division of a general bird phratry. In version 2 of the Thunderbird clan origin myth it is stated that the second of the two brothers was the ancestor of the Warrior clan. Dorsey, as we have seen, obtained the same information.

[361] The Warrior clan seems to have had a lodge in the northwest corner of the village. In this lodge they claimed that prisoners were

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In this lodge they claimed that prisoners were 614
confined and certain tribal regalia deposited. The informants were 727
not, however, at all clear about these facts, some even denying that there was a Warrior lodge and insisting that prisoners were confined in the Bear or Soldier lodge.

According to one informant the Warrior and Bear clans could give 614
each other orders that had to be obeyed.

The members of the Warrior clan claimed that all the members of the clan were warriors and did not have to fast in order to obtain the right of starting out on a war party. This was vigorously denied [785] by the members of the other clans, who referred to this claim with derision. There seems, however, to be no reason for questioning the fact that the clan had a special lodge and that it was intimately connected with war functions. Exactly what these were it is quite impossible to state, as they have not been exercised for a very long time.

The first two clan songs are given on page 220. The clan facial decoration, used only at burial, and which were supposed to be [302] marks of recognition in the spirit land, are as follows: A red line alternating with a black and another red line across the forehead, and a red line around the mouth. One informant claimed that only the three marks on the forehead were necessary, and that in times of war blood was used for the red marks (pl. 46).

According to an informant of the Thunderbird clan, the Warrior clan functions were as follows:

> The Warrior clan's position in the tribe is that of general warrior. He can kill an enemy at any time without breaking any of the rules of the tribe. Every other clansman who wishes to go on the warpath must fast and be blessed by the spirits [721] with specific blessings before he can do this.

There may have been a special feast associated with the Warrior clan, but the author never heard of it. The clan possessed a number [778] of war bundles.

### ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

In the beginning, Earthmaker made four men. Then he sent 614
them to the earth. Within Lake, there, they landed and they alit 539
on the branch of a tree. There were four branches and each one alit 776
on one branch. And then on the earth they jumped and started walking toward the east. There they erected a camping place. There they started the fire. It was the principal fire. Then they started to look for food, but they were unable to find any. So the second brother was sent, but he was not able to get any animal, but he brought a man. Because he brought it, for that reason, the first male child we have shall be called *He-who-eats-humans*. Then the second one, him whom they called the warrior, was sent. Thus it

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614 was. And then all of them went toward the chief's lodge. They
539 walked as chiefs, all four of them. The four of them went there.
776 The chief's lodge was an oval lodge, and there they entered.

The Snake clansman was the one appointed to get the food. He went after the food. It was an Eagle-people feast. Two fish the Snake clansman brought, and with these the Eagle chief gave a feast. The Deer clan acted as attendants. Thus they ate the fish. And when they were finished with the eating, on either side, they left the head and the tail of the fish. This they left of their meal. "And if we have a dog we will call him *Leaves-fish-on-both-ends*," they said. Then they sat down. As they were sitting some one peeped in. It was the dog. Only his nose he stuck in. Then they said, "Whose nose does it look like?" So the chief spoke. "If we ever have a dog and if we wish to keep it permanently, *Whose-nose-does-it-look-like*, we will call it.

Then all of a sudden their bodies began to be different and their feathers began to look as if they were worn off. They were about to enter the chief's lodge. Then the chief passed the fire to the Deer clan and when they were through the lodge was purified with
[783] the incense of smoking cedar leaves. Then again into the very long lodge they entered. This was at Red Banks. Then the upper people taught the lower people the things to make them good. Thus Earth-maker ordained everything, and as he ordered, so it was. That is the way they were. Holy they were. And all (of my clan?) lived as chiefs. This is all that I was taught.

CLAN SONGS

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*First song*

The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.

*Second song*

The fire they started.
The fire they started.
The fire they started.
The fire they started.

## Eagle and Pigeon Clans

614 No information was obtained about either of these clans. The Pigeon clan has been extinct for some time and only a few survivors of the Eagle clan are left. Neither of these clans seems ever
[778 to have been of great importance. They had war bundles and an
796] Eagle feast is mentioned.

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Facial paintings of these two clans, it is claimed, were the same as those for the Thunderbird clan (pl. 46). This was denied by others. 302 614

According to one informant the Pigeon clan was borrowed from another tribe. [177]

CLAN NAMES

WANINK' HIK'IK'A'RAIJERA (THE BIRD CLAN)[9]

Ahugidjinewinga.....Young bird that sheds its first feathers as it flaps its wings.
Ahugip'arawinga.....Spreads her wings (said of a young bird just learning to fly).
Ahumanip'aga.....He who hits the ground with his wings (refers to a cloud).
Ahup'ahiga.....Sharp wing (said of a thundercloud).
Ahuperewinga.....Transparently clear wings.[10]
Ahuru-anga.....He who raises his wings (i. e., the edges of a cloud).
Ahusak'a.....Strikes his wings.[11]
Ahusereiga.....Long wings (as a far-extended cloud, clouds being the plumage of the thunderbirds).
Ahusgawinga.....White wing.
Ahutcowinga.....Green wing.
Ahusururewinga.....Slow wing.
Adedjirahiga.....He who sets the prairie grass on fire suddenly (i. e., the lightning).
Codjega.....He who kindles the (fire?).[12]
Hadjare.....She who has been seen.
Hadjatcexiwinga.....Difficult to be seen.
Ha"p' hik'inohiga.....He who misses the day.
Ha"p'ok' guwinga.....Owl returning hither.
Ha"pirek'a.....New day.
Hirdja Kereradjanga.....Hawk-face.
Hitcaxcepewinga.....Eagle woman.
Hitcaxcepeapga.....Black eagle.
Hitcaxcepiraga.....Green hawk.
Hiwetcega.....Green tail.
Hiwitrajaghaga.....Forked-tailed hawk.
Haha"p'gaga.....Returning light.
Haha"hanaiwinga.....Walks in the light.
Haha"pdjik'aga.....Light that comes hither regularly.
Haha"pdjikaraga.....Light flashes suddenly.

[9] The following list of names is based partly upon the manuscripts of Winnebago personal names prepared by the late Mr. J. O. Dorsey, and now in the possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology. This list has been revised and the phonetics of the Winnebago names corrected and transcribed by the author, but the English renderings of the names have been left as Mr. Dorsey obtained them, as the author obtained practically the same translations. Many of the names were obtained independently by the author. Dorsey's list is thus the amalgamation of two lists, that obtained by Dr. Foster and his own. He subsequently revised Foster's list, but to those names of the latter's list for which he could not obtain any translation he appended Foster's initials. [44]

[10] Dorsey has "this" wings, adding "as is a transparent fleecy cloud." However, the word *perre*, which is the full form for *per*, means "clear," and is generally used in describing water in a bowl. The interpretation of this and many other names as referring to clouds necessarily and not to the simple characteristics of the wings of the thunderbirds, is not obtained frequently to-day, but there seems to be no reason for believing that it was not customary a generation or two ago. For a discussion of the meaning of the names in general see the introduction to the section on social organization.

[11] Dorsey's rendering "stiff wings" is most certainly incorrect.

[12] Foster translates "misty" and Dorsey "smoke," but *ode* means to kindle a fire, literally to cause the blue flame that appears just as the fire-mass start up.

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614 Hokorohiga.....He who makes a noise by dragging something.
551 Hopiuga.....Good voice.
Horutreciga.....He who has eaten fish.
Hotru^ti^wiuga.....Audible voice.
Hotru^tru^wiuga.....Fishes in several places.
Hunk' nank'awairega.....Chief whom they are afraid of.
Idjanikwahiga.....He who makes them shriek with fright.
Jibinik'a.....Short person (common to all clans).
K'ayihitcank'a.....Changing crow.
K'ayijink'aga.....Yellowish crow.
K'ayinu^p'aga.....Two crows.
Ki'sahungewiuga.....Fighting chief.
Ma^cdja^ixga^wiuga.....Makes an effort in moving.
Ma^cu^p'i^wiuga.....Beautiful quill feather.
Ma^cu^sapga.....Black quill feathers.
Ma^cu^sgawiuga.....White quill feather.
Ma^cu^tcowiuga.....Green quill feather.
Ma^hinu^p'aga.....Two knives.
Manihiniadjega.....Strong walker.
Ma^omanik'a.....Walking storm.
Mank'ikuntrga.....He who shakes the earth by striking.
Na^ma^tce K'uruga.....He who has taken his war-club.
Ma^ma^tcemank'ik'awairega.....He of whose war-club they are afraid.
Ma^a^cotrga.....He who raises a dust on the earth.
Ma^mankuntrga.....He who makes the earth shake by walking.
Manzek'iga.....He who dries the ground.
Ma^uziwiuga.....Yellow arrow point.
Ma^diadjehimaniga.....He who walks on the wind.
Mantcguna^ciga.....Breaks a bow with his feet.
Manzicuicga.....Red cloud.
Manzik'ok'iwaharutcga.....Overlapping clouds.
Manzik'ucina^jink'a.....He who stands beyond the sky.
Manzik'ucina^jink'a.....Sky reached standing.
Manzip'aawiuga.....Cloud-point.
Manzipi^wiuga.....Beautiful cloud.
Manzirukanaga^.....Master of the clouds.
Manzisapga.....Black cloud.
Manzitcopga.....Four clouds.
Manziwiwak'andjank'a.....Sacred cloud.
Maindjatcinank'a.....He who sits having come hither to the earth.
Ma^odjangwiuga.....Coming back near the ground.
Nanzikewahiga.....He who scares some one.
Na^iawagicicga.....He who breaks a treetop by hitting it.
Na^iawarutcga.....He who eats a treetop.
Na^najojopk'aga.....Swallow.
Na^odji^wiuga.....He who strikes a tree.
Nanzekiga.....Withered tree (blasted by lightning).
Na^wa^hoga.....He who comes singing.
Nank'awairega.....He whom they fear to see.
Nijuga.....Rain man.
Nijumanlwiuga.....Walking rain.
Nijuxotrga.....Gray rain.
Nipcha^phiga.....He who makes the water shine.
Nizihutcgwiuga.....Drizzling woman.

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Notra*pga.....Lightning in the tree.
Nuwank k'iriga.....He who comes back running.
P"etra*ruhiga.....Crane rib.
P"etrawinga.....Crane woman.
P"etrga.....Fire person.
Xora cutrewinga.....Red bald eagle.
Xora hunga.....Bald eagle chief.
Xorap'aga.....Bald eagle head.
Rac tra*t'i*winga.....Audible name.
Rok'uhuhiga.....South wind.
Rutrgeainh'a.....Little pigeon.
Sakowarutrga.....He who eats raw flesh.
Sa*djamaninga.....Grizzled walking person.
Si-ek'uruspinga.....Leaves good footprints.
Sinewatrga.....Tail.
Tratrga.....Wind person.
Tremirajireka.....He who is the first one named.
Tra*phak'irutrewinga.....Lightning crossing itself.
Tra*pjigewinga.....Lightens again.
Dja*pwarana*tra*t'i*winga.Lightning visible only once.
Dja*phak'iwarega.....Forked lightning.
Dja*pherega.....He who is? lightning.
Dja*phaniwinga.....He who makes? or accompanies? lightning.
Dja*phik'iegnga.....He who makes? moving lightning.
Dja*pguhiga.....Lightning that returns.
Dja*iwewinga.....Lightning that goes.
Dja*pdjaga.....Standing lightning.
Dja*pdjikewinga.....Lightning that flashes suddenly.
Dja*pkra*kranga.....Zigzag lightning or lightning circling and recoiling.
Tra*t'i*minank'a.....Sitting in sight.
Tracoha*phiga.....Lightens the highland marsh.
Tri-oha*phiga.....He who lightens up the lodge.
Triwaijega.....He who makes one abandon lodge and flee.
T'a eninank'a.....Kept aflying?
T'a*guhiwinga.....He who returns flying.
Wahek'aga.....The marksman.
Wak'andja hadjagip'iwinga.Thunderbird that likes to be seen.
Wak'andja ciriga.....Bad Thunderbird.
Wak'andja yôgiwinga.....Thunder queen.
Wak'andjagiponiga.....Young Thunderbird waiting.
Wak'andjaga.....Thunderbird.
Wak'andja giw'iexga.....Thunderbird whirling.
Wak'andjagew'iega.....Thunderbird returning.
Wak'andjan'iegra'iek'a....Very small Thunderbird.
Wak'andjap'inga.....Good Thunderbird.
Wak'andjaxega.....Yellowish Thunderbird.
Wak'andjaxigehiga.....Thunderbird returning smoke.
Wak'andjaxunuga.....Thunderbird small.
Wak'andjaxepga.....Black Thunderbird.
Wak'andjatreniw'iega.....First Thunderbird.
Wak'andja trega.....Green Thunderbird.
Waktc'emaniw'iega.....He who walks killing.
Wani-ak'axiga.....Crow hankering for flesh.
Wan'ak'tra*w'iega.....Changing bird.

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614 Wap'akonaŋk'maniga.....The great dreadful one that walks.
551 Warutcxiga.....He who makes (the grass) rusty-yellow by eating.
Waŋhimaniga.....Walking hail.
Waiirukonaga.....Judge of the contest.
Waziks.....Pine.
Waŋgerutcga.....Man eater.
Wip'amaŋkerew'iga.....Rainbow.
Wiragorgew'iga.....Star woman.
W'iŋyanaŋga.....He who pens up ducks.
Wonaŋjirehuga.....Warrior chief.
Wodji^guhiga.....He who returns and strikes.
Wodi^w'iga.....She who strikes.[19]
Kozmaniga.....Walking and making the sound of *koz'*.
Ahu-awiga.....Raise her wing.
Ahutco.....Blue wing.
Na^gedjawiga.....Real tree woman.
Maŋxiscga.....Black cloud.
Maŋxiscxcdcga.....Big white cloud.
Ahu-ijiga.....Short winged.
K'oratcoeŋga.....Black sky (means properly the firmament).
Koredjô^eŋga.....Black hawk.
Maŋxirusga.....He who makes the clouds have rays before them.
P^etcda-shiga.....Fire starter.
P^etckeraga.....Has fireplace.
Hok'awas.....Darkness.
Nûŋik'iumaniga.....Hails as he walked.
Tcoraminaŋk'a.....Bite blue.
Hunŋit'aga.....Speaks as a chief.
Nocxcga.....Scratches tree.
Na^nawahigaga.....He who brings up a stick in his mouth.
Ma^hodja^ŋga.....He who flashes on the earth.
Hana^djadjairewiga.....Seen by all.
Waŋgedjaraga.....Belongs to the upper regions.
Maŋxixcrxcrutcga.....Looks at the clouds.
Ma^cunginaga.....Flapping and shaking his feathers.
Ahugiciniwiga.....Shining wings.
Hoyeniga.....Young swan.
Maŋk'uhodja^ŋga.....Flashes under the earth.
Warudjaraga.....Comes making a noise.
Waŋgedjahuga.....He who comes from above.
Na^i^nek'iga.....Lone tree.
Waŋgwazopaiga.....Holy man.
Ximaniga.....Walking in mist.
Xiguga.....Comes in mist.
Xawi^ana^nogiga.....Bends the brush.
Tcacgogaga.....Oak tree.
Na^naŋgaga.....Bends the tree down.
Na^djidjaga.....Comes on the tree.
Ma^djidjaga.....Comes on the ground.
K'oaihaga.....He who thunders.
Tciwi^djherahiga.....Makes *tciwi^* in coming.
Wak'aadjamaniga.....Thunder walker.
Ma^edja^maniga.....Mightily walking.

[19] This ends Dorsey's list of Bird clan names. Those following were collected by the author.

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Mąągikuntcąą.....Shakes the earth.
Teninąąniąą.....Walks first.
Djeᵊpdjirehiąą.....Streak of lightning.
Mąąxiwąąniąą.....He who walks in the cloud.
Ahu-kuretcąą.....Long wings.

## The Bear Clan

### INTRODUCTION

Seven versions of the Bear clan origin myth were obtained, so that for this clan, at least, a fairly intensive study of the variations and their significance can be made. Perhaps the most interesting fact to point out is the apparent existence of two recognized versions, one called the minor or false and the other the true. The complete version was only told when the interrogator had paid enough.[11] The minor version is not at all concerned with the origin of the Bear clan but appears to be largely an account of the origin of the reciprocal relations of the Bear and Wolf clans. The second is the real origin myth. The version obtained does not, however, seem complete.

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The typical origin myths (excluding the fifth version) are of two types, those that speak of Earthmaker creating the ancestors of the clan and those that do not mention his name. Undoubtedly those versions that do not mention Earthmaker's name are the older. Those that speak of Earthmaker show clearly the influence of the general origin myth and of shamanistic systematization. This is particularly apparent in the sixth version, which was told in connection with the bear feast.

The subject matter of the myths relates to the manner in which the bears came to the great gathering at Green Bay, the older versions having them originate from the water and the later versions having them created by Earthmaker and sent to the earth. In the former they are distinctly heroic animals and in the latter vague spirit animals. The nature of the relation of these animals to the present clansmen is not clearly stated in the myths, and there is not the slightest mention of the present current belief on the subject. The myths seem almost entirely concerned with the question of the origin of the disciplinary functions of the clan and of its relationship to the Wolf and a few of the other clans.

It is difficult to explain the remarkable differences in the various versions. Comparing them with versions of the clan origin myths of the other clans, it seems likely that the short accounts represent the more archaic versions and the longer accounts those versions that

[11] My informant said, "If a person asked me about the origin of Ho (i. e., of my clan) and did not give me enough gifts or make enough offerings, I would tell him the minor version. [But until he gave me all that was necessary would I tell him the true account.]"

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614 have been subjected to literary and shamanistic remodeling. Only
173 the shorter accounts show in their subject matter and presentation certain affinities to the origin myths of the other clans, the longer ones being entirely different. Another cause for these marked differences may lie in the circumstance that since the longer accounts were associated with semi-esoteric ceremonies, the war-bundle feasts, they were known to but few individuals in the clan, whereas the shorter legends could be learned by anyone who chose to pay for
614 them. To this must also be added the fact that presumably some of the accounts current were based on hearsay knowledge.

[554] The Bear clan was, next to the Thunderbird clan, the most im-
[361] portant in the tribe. Its lodge was either in the center of the village, opposite that of the Thunderbird clan, or at the extreme end, depending upon the scheme of village organization accepted as
[727] correct. In it were confined the prisoners of war and the insignia of office possessed by the clan, such as the so-called standards, really crooks, and the so-called *namazinirini*. Some individuals also claimed
[513 that unmarried men were allowed to sleep in the lodge, although they
345] were not clear as to whether they did this in order to guard the prisoners confined there or simply used it as a club house.

The clan songs are given on page 235. The same songs are used
[533] when gathering the clansmen together to select soldiers.

Apart from the war bundle or war bundles, the Bear clan possessed
614 three insignia—a war club of a definite shape, the curiously whittled
778 baton of authority called *namazinirini*, and the crooks used in battle called *hoke'reus*. Whenever the clan was exercising any of its functions the leader would always hold in his hands the *namazinirini*.

The functions of the clan were probably the most important in the tribe and were entirely disciplinary. The author obtained the following description from an old Winnebago:

614 The Bear clansmen are the soldiers or sergeants-at-arms of the tribe. They have
625 complete control of everything concerning discipline. Whenever the Winnebago are traveling or moving (i. e., on their various seasonal moves), the Bear clansmen lead, and wherever they decide to stop, there the leader would put his stick in the ground and the other Bear clansmen would do the same, arranging them all in a row pointing toward the direction in which they were going. The main body of the tribe would follow at a certain distance. No member of the tribe would dare pass ahead of the row of sticks. If, for instance, the tribe was on the fall move and traveling toward a country in which there was plenty of game, should any individual go back and around the sticks in order to kill game on his own account, the soldiers (Bear clansmen) would, as soon as he was detected, go over to his lodge and burn it up with all its contents and break all his dishes. The only thing they would spare would be his life and that of the other members of his family. If the one who had transgressed the rules made any attempt at resistance he would be severely whipped. If he refused to submit to this and took up his fire arms to fight, the soldiers would stand there calmly, but the moment he made an attempt to shoot they would kill him. In such a case nothing would be said either by the rest of the tribe or his relatives about

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the matter. If, on the other hand, he submitted to whatever punishment the Bear clansmen inflicted on him without resistance and apologized to them, then they would build him a new lodge and supply it with better goods than those which they had been compelled to destroy. 614 625

This is the way in which the soldiers act when they are on duty. They never jest and their word is a command. If it is not immediately obeyed, their next move is to punish. For that reason one generally listens to them and their commands. When they are not on duty they are the same as other people. Different members of the tribe are on duty at different times, for the leader changes them about frequently.

If a field of rice is found in some swamp or lake the Bear clan people are informed and they go over and keep watch over it and give every person an equal chance at picking it. If a person sneaks away and takes advantage of the others, the Bear clan people punish him. [222 262] [685]

The Bear clansmen guard the village almost all the time. When a council is held they guard the council lodge, and when a person is tried for some crime, particularly that of murder, a trial which generally takes place in the Thunderbird clan lodge, then they carefully guard this lodge, lest the prisoner try to escape or his relatives or confederates try to rescue him. [623 692] 682

Certain actions and remarks are not permitted in the Bear clan lodge. They are the following: 614 625 784

To peep into the lodge.

To make the remark that they live in a nice lodge.

To sit in the doorway.

To give a deep sigh or snort inside the lodge.

Should any person do one of these forbidden things, the Bear clansmen would be compelled to give the most valued thing in the lodge to the offender.

If a man seduced a woman, he was brought to the lodge of the Bear clan and severely whipped. If the soldier whipped him too severely, he in turn was whipped. 614 625 684

If a murderer was brought to the Bear clan lodge and the chief of the tribe asked that the man be freed, the rest of the tribe would beg the relatives of the murdered man to relent; but if the murderer was turned over to the soldiers, they would take him to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives and let one of them kill him. [622] 682

According to one informant, the Deer clansmen acted as servants to the Bear clan. 614

The Bear and the Wolf clans are friends, and although, as we indicated on page 201, each clan is paired off with another, the relationship of the Bear and Wolf clans is particularly intimate. It was even claimed that a Bear clansman would revenge the death of a Wolf clansman. For no other clans did the author hear this statement made. The women are addressed by the men and by each other as "my opposite," referring unquestionably to the positions in the council lodge. [551]

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the council lodge. According to another informant, the Bear clan is the Deer's friend, and therefore they bury one another.

Burial, as was the case for all members of the lower phratry, was in the ground. Opinions varied as to what clan was supposed to bury a Bear man, some people claiming that it would have to belong to the upper phratry, others that it was incumbent upon the Wolf clan. It seems that the latter custom is the one followed at the present time and one which is considered old, to judge from the account of an actual funeral (cf. p. 148). The body was always buried with a miniature Bear clan war bundle. According to one informant, a bow and arrows were occasionally placed in the hands of the corpse, in addition to some tobacco. According to another informant, the facial marks were charcoal across the forehead and red marks under the lip in direct imitation of the bear.

The facial decoration for the corpse consisted of two parallel marks across the forehead, the upper one red and the lower one black, and the painting of the entire chin red (pl. 46). The red paint on the chin was interpreted as a smile, for the Bear clansmen were supposed to greet death with a smile, as they were returning to their clan ancestors. The statement was also made that Bear clansmen should not mourn the death of any of their comrades.

There is a specific Bear clan feast at which no one is permitted to laugh or talk, nor is anyone allowed to make any noise while drinking soup. The feasters must eat with their left hand.

One of the most interesting of the ceremonies associated with the Bear clan is the so-called bear or soldier dance (*manuᵃpe waci*). It was described to the author as follows:

> When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village the people go to the chief and say "Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!" And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks as follows: "My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease." Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of these participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well.

It is quite clear that this "healing" function of the clan is intimately associated with the powers supposed to be bestowed upon individuals by Bear spirits. In fact, we are really dealing with a society possessing the power of healing diseases in which membership, however, is restricted to members of the Bear clan.

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The following dog names were obtained: 614

A black dog with yellow eyebrows and breast is called *hesiga'ruyega*, 231
Opens-beehives; black female dog, *hotekihiga*, Picks-acorns; black 552
dog with white around the neck, *hote hagawanuga*, Runs-for-acorns. The chief also had the privilege of calling a dog *noruruga*, to show his superiority over the other members of the Bear clan. From another informant the following were obtained: *Teapiracotega*, Eats-everything-except-hide; *teahoruweka*, Pulls-out-deer-liver.

### ORIGIN MYTHS

#### FIRST VERSION [1]

Informant, member of the clan: In the beginning a bear came 614
walking on the ocean. When he got to the shore he flew off as a 539
raven and alit on the shore. The first being he saw was a Dog clans- 776
man. Then he entered the lodge and sat opposite him. That is

FIG. 35.—Diagram of Bear lodge.

why they call one another friends, or "he who sits opposite me." From the fact that he flew off as a raven we have a name (*kazijigaga*). The lodge had four doors, one on each end and one on each side (fig. 35). They landed at Green Bay, where a great gathering was held of all the clans. The other Bear clansmen claim that it was water foam that flew from the water, and it is from that fact that they obtained so much life. The fact that he (the bear) changed himself twice is the reason for his greatness among his fellow clansmen. Originally it was the fourth born who was sent from across the ocean.

#### SECOND VERSION

Informant, father of above: In the beginning 10 brothers started from across the ocean to the great clan meeting. When they got near, four waves came ashore and a raven flew from the waves, but when it alit (on land) it was a bear that walked. They were the greatest

[1] There are as many versions of the origin of the Bear clan that I think it best to give all I obtained. They are all discussed on p. 233.

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614 in power, as they had changed themselves twice. There they crossed
539 the tracks of the Wolf clan, and they said, "Our friends have gone
776 by." Then they went and sat opposite the Wolf people. The Wolf and Bear clans must bury one another.

The 10 men left their father and mother across the ocean.

The Bears should paint their faces with charcoal from burnt basswood and red paint. The face should be painted red and black alternately crosswise in stripes, or black on the upper half and red on the mouth and chin. Women are painted with red markings on each cheek and with charcoal markings in the center of the cheek.

THIRD VERSION

Informant, member of the Bear clan: It is supposed that Earthmaker ordered a meeting of all the animals to take place at Green Bay, and that the Soldiers (another name for the Bear clan) were also to attend.

In the beginning Earthmaker created all things in the form of animals, but at this gathering they (the originators of the various clans?) were to become human. When all was in readiness to start, it was decided that the families of those animals who were to become the ancestors of the Winnebago clans were each to send one representative, and that the one who was thus chosen, accompanied by his wife, was to become transformed on that occasion. Of the soldiers (i. e., the bears) the youngest was sent. He had three brothers, of whom the eldest had black hair, the second dark red hair, and the third blue or green hair. They were the chiefs of the villages from which they had started.[18] Only the youngest, however, was sent to the earth to attend the meeting. When he emerged at a place to the north of Green Bay he came from out the earth. When they emerged (the bear and his wife) it was a very fine day. As they were coming they heard voices in the distance saying, "The soldiers are coming." As they started to walk their footprints seemed imprinted with the blue of the sky—i. e., with daylight. A name has originated from this fact (*Aa*tamanina*, "He-who-walks-with-the-day"). As his wife was with him, he immediately started to hunt. (It seems that by this time the bear had some followers, for some would from time to time ask whether they were going to eat, and he would answer yes and tell them to hunt for food.)

When the youngest of the brothers started, the brothers who remained behind told him "to remember them" with regard to tobacco, red feathers, and food, and therefore after he had started he told some of his followers to go ahead and bring food of such and such a kind, so that when he arrived at certain camping places those sent

[114] [18] It must be remembered that all this is taking place in the heavens, in the spirit abode of the bears. The other translations are only apparently so.

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ahead would be there before him ready with the food. After the first meal they started out again, and soon they came across the track of a member of some other clan, and they said, "Our friend has gone by." The latter clan had also said in coming, "Our friend must have come by." Then they came to the place where a large lodge had been constructed. When all were inside, the animal-beings wished to start a camp fire, and they called upon all those present to start it; but no one except the Thunderbirds could do it, so they made the Thunderbirds chiefs of the tribe. As, however, they were to have a number of chiefs, they called upon the Water-spirits to be chiefs of the lower division. Of the third division, the soldiers were to be the chiefs. The latter were to be in charge of discipline. That is the origin of the Bear or Soldier clan.

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FOURTH VERSION

Informant, member of the clan [so-called "true" version]: Earthmaker made all things, and then he created man and woman, and he placed them in the south. He gave them charge of some of the day or life. All the creatures on the earth and all the birds of the air he was in charge of. He was going to start up from below and walk toward the north. All the creatures went with him. He walked forth with all the creatures. When he arrived on earth all the other clans had already gathered at one place. When he arrived they said, "Our soldiers have come. Make room for them." So it was said. And he said to them, "The things Earthmaker created me for, those I will do. Therefore, wherever you live or wherever you gather together I will look after your village; even to the edge of the clearing, that far I will make it sacred for you; and if you are ever overcome by sickness and you ask me to arise and help you, your sickness will leave you. And while he spoke of his power for four days the weather had been good, and no wind blew from any direction. The soldier was thus in charge of affairs. And as he spoke thus all birds with sharp claws flew above him in a circle.

On the fourth day all the clans left for their respective homes. Now even to this day he, the bear, is still in charge of the people.

FIFTH VERSION

Informant, same as of fourth version [so-called "minor" version]: In the south, where he emerged and came upon our earth, there was a spring which gave forth white water. When he was about to come out, the hill in which he was confined shook and the spring shook also. He was not the first to come out, for his attendants preceded him. Then he came out. There were 11 men. The oldest one told him to go and look around at the fields. He sent out four to look at the fields (the raspberries and all other fruits). The

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614 acorns and nuts they called beans. The four that emerged soon
539 came upon the footprints of human beings.
776 And then they returned from the fields where they had been searching for food. "Oh, my; oh, my," they said, "over there we came across the foorprints of human beings." So they spoke. "Go again," he said, "go around a larger circle." So they went farther than before, and there they saw the people who had made the footprints. "Our friends are going about here," said the ones who had made the footprints and who were wolves. "Never shall we disobey one another's word, my friends," said the bear. And the wolf answered, "It shall be so."

[627] If one of the Bear clansmen had been killed and it was reported to the Wolf clan, the latter would revenge him. The Bear clan would act similarly. Then the bear said to the wolf, "My friend, whenever you die I shall put you away so that your soul may not be bothered by bad insects." And the wolf answered, "My friend, it shall be so, and when you die I will likewise put you away so that the bad spirits may not abuse your soul." Then they parted, after shaking each other's hands. The bears returned to their home in the south. The next time they came, it was to stay. They scattered themselves all over the earth, seeking newly ripened fruit of all kinds. In this manner they are still living on earth.

SIXTH VERSION [1]

Informant, member of the clan: Earthmaker made us and as he created us thus the story has come down. The story of our creation is told as follows:

"Get ready. We will converse together over this affair." So spoke the one in the south. He was but one of those whom Earthmaker had created. There were four brothers. The name of the oldest one was Black Person, that of the second Red Person. (Indeed he was very red.) The third one was called Blue Person, and the fourth one White Person.

"Younger brother, how is it going to be? I (the oldest), who am speaking, not fitted do I feel myself for the task. My temperament is indeed not fitted for the task. Perhaps you might have something to tell them. Try, therefore, to say something to them. They are about to have a gathering and it is time to start. Try to say something to them." "Older brother, the truth do you speak. I also feel even as you have said; I am not fitted for it. I really don't consider myself equal to the task. My younger brother only is the one fitted for it. He is clever. Our younger brother, he only must be the one." "The truth you have spoken, my brother. Our youngest brother only is fitted for the task. The announcement of the gathering has already been made, so let us council over it imme-

[1] Told as the origin myth of the Bear Dept.

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diately. Let us get ready. Our younger brother, he is patient and strong-minded. On the earth he must go and we will remain here. To take care of the home we will remain here. Whatever he says it shall be so. In that wise will we think. Earthmaker has ordained that the gathering shall take place and that we are to live our lives there (on earth). Our younger brother he will go and live on the earth. As he is about to go to the earth, we will ask him to remember us.

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"Younger brother, when you arrive on earth, whatever offerings you obtain, send them back to us as you walk along. When you start out you will appear with life. This you will take with you. This will be your task. Be careful that you perform everything correctly. When you arrive there, it will be necessary to give names to the human beings and to their dogs.

"Younger brother, when you start out toward the earth you will be holy. And when you are on earth and your first boy is born, call him He-who-is-very-black, and call the second one (*wajiga*) Brown-bear, the third one Blue-bear, and the fourth one White-bear. And if girls are born to you, call the first one Night-walking-woman, the second one Daylight-as-she-walks, the third one She-who-thrusts-herself-within-a-lodge, and the fourth one Visible-footprint-woman. And if your daughters have dogs which they wish to keep let them give them the following names (*wadogega*, untranslatable): Dog-pair, Third-born-girl, and Red-female-dog. Thus let it be."

When they (the bears) started, those at the gathering place listened: "Our soldiers have started; their whoops are audible." When the bear came on earth, he came across some tracks. "Our friends have gone by," he said. Finally the bears (man and woman) arrived at the gathering place; there they found all the clans assembled. The Water-spirit was the first one to come; then came the birds and then the bears. When all were assembled, they began to construct a large lodge. When it was finished, the one who had arrived first, the Water-spirit, was addressed by some of the other people. "Our chief, how are we going to make fire? Had you not better start?" "True you speak, but I do not know how. I am unable. Let some one else try it." But they all regretted and declined, saying they did not know how. So it was decided that he who made a fire would be chief. All thereupon tried, but only the Thunderbird succeeded. So he became the chief and the others all thanked him. Then the fire was distributed and all the clan fireplaces were made. Thus it was at the creation council. Now all things were finished and arranged. The Thunderbirds were the rulers of the village. The other people measured their acts by him. When the chief said do so and so, they would obey. Then the chief went out to look for food for himself and for his people, and they began to bring back

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food in the form of their relatives—i. e., in the form of the animals after whom they were named. Then the Bear people made a rule that they were to have a feast at which offerings would be made to their clan animal. And it was for him that they placed a shallow kettle at the feast. This is all.

SEVENTH VERSION

Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

At a large spring sat a male bear. He looked upon his body and it was very blue. It was even bluer than the blue of the sky. As the blue from the sky illuminated, so he was. He sat as though he was part of the day. He was a chief and his name was Blue-chief. Toward one side he looked and there stood twelve men. Then the earth began to quake and something came out from the spring. Because something had come out from under the earth that is why the earth quaked. Blue-bear named him Earth-shaker. Then the earth began to quake again and now it was worse than before and Blue-chief named the one who emerged Earth-quaker. And then for the third time the earth began to tremble, even much more than before. So much did it tremble that the day itself trembled; and those that were not solidly attached to the earth came to the top and all manner of fruit was scattered over the earth. When he came out Blue-chief named him Gives-forth-fruit-as-he-walks. And again for the fourth time the earth began to roar and tremble and even the day trembled. Then one came out. So he was named, Makes-the-day-tremble. Thus they were all named as they came out. Then Blue-bear was told by Earthmaker, "This is all that remains to be done; your friends are waiting for you." There Blue-bear talked with Earthmaker, the latter telling him what he was to do. Then they started to the place where all the other clans were gathering, at Red Banks. As they came, all the leaves that had rough edges became human and all the trees that had prickers became human, and all the birds that had sharp claws and were able to claw anything, they became human, and the snakes that had sharp fangs became human. [illegible] they went. Those of the air went in the air and those of the earth went on the earth, and nothing could cross their path. Even the earth trembled as they walked.

When they got to the gathering place they were told that seats were reserved for their friends (meaning them). But, said Blue-bear, "We did not come for that purpose, so we will not sit down. We were intended for something else by Earthmaker. As long as this world exists we will take care of you within the confines of your villages. We will not permit any evil spirits to enter these confines. The seats you offered us will remain as they are, so that if at any time the clans are gathered again our place will be reserved. Then the

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crowd dispersed and went home. Blue-bear said that he would go home but that the rest were to live on this earth and that they would be the soldiers of this earth. That is the origin of the Bear clan.

When a bear is killed on earth, the Bear clansmen do not mind it, but they laugh and feel good. When one of the Bear clan dies, they say, "Don't cry, for he has gone home." Then they paint his jaws red to give him the appearance of laughing.

When a bear is killed on earth the spirit returns to Blue-bear, and so it is with the Bear clansmen. This is the story of the Bear clan.

All the birds, trees, snakes, and everything of its kind have soldiers. [825] The sharp-clawed birds are soldiers of the birds and all the snakes that have fangs and all the trees that have prickers are soldiers of their kind. All the animals and living things of the earth have soldiers among them. The ugliest tempered ones of their kind are soldiers of whatever class they belong to. Oftentimes when a person gets angry on earth they would say, "The soldier; it is because he has a soldier nature." (Whoever has the power of hurting one of his fellow-beings and does it has a soldier nature.) This is the story of the Soldier clan.

If they had said in the beginning, "This or that clan will never do anything wrong," then the rest of the clans would never have done so. The Soldier clan opens the way for anyone, of any clan, at any time, to take up his soldier nature.

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CLAN SONGS

*Song 1*

Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.

*Song 2*

Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.

*Song 3*

Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?

*Song 4*

Who can be above?
Who can be above?
Who can be above?
Who can be above?

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## CLAN NAMES

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### HUNDJ HIK'IE'ARAIHERA (BEAR CLAN)[10]

Hagedja winaqk'a.....Sitting opposite.
Awamengs.....He who is shot in.
Ongep'ahigs.....The one with black claws.
Ci'nank'a.....Coarse-grained fat.
Regu'i'nergs.....He who is covered.
Hahi-atriwings.....Dwelling on a hillside.
Hak'iridjewings.....Comes back.
Hak'iratcowings.....Crosses each other.
Hashoniwings.....Hunts for berries.
Ha'heoratcowings.....Travels by night.
Ha'hewings.....Night.
Ha'honiqk'a.....Small day.
Ha'pemaigs.....He who walks by day.
Himaniwarutcgs.....He who eats as he walks.
Hinigubegs.....His little one who is returning.
Hinuqk'hadjaigs.....He who saw a woman.
Hinuqk' ioek'iminaqk'a...Woman sitting alone.
Hinuqk' djepgs.....Four women.
Hodihugs.....He who comes climbing a tree.
Hundjhaengs.....Black bear who is coming.
Hundjgs.....The bear.
Hundjxedegs.....The big bear.
Hundjaunugs.....Small bear.
Hungatcak'iriga.....He who has come back to see the children.
Hungit'ngs.....Prophet.
Hunkorehigs.....He who is the chief's flesh.
Hunk'eaigs.....He who is made chief.
Iaek'ina'jigs.....He who stands alone.
Iaek'iminaqk'a.....He who sits alone.
Ginewaminaqk'a.....He who sits quiet.
Maqk'angs.....Dirt.
Maniwarutcgs.....He who eats as he walks.
Ma'ek'ipiwings.....She for whom the land is large enough.
Ma'nitcigs.....Iron lodge.
Ma'nana'pigs.....Iron necklace.
Ma'nam'wings.....Whitish metal.
Ma'nawings.....Metal woman.
Ma'cgedanigs.....Three notches.
Ma'na'ha'pewings.....She who throws out the dirt with her paws.
Mana'pegs.....Soldier.
Ma'p'ednehigs.....Earth thrown up yellow.
Ma'retca'wings.....Straight earth woman.
Ma'nerehegs.....Land cut in strips.
Ma'nc-kedjajirpgs.....Grizzly bear with striped eyes.
Ma'ncegs.....Grizzly bear.
Ma'wahanetcgs.....Shakes the ground by his weight.
Matciwings.....She who dwells in the ground.
Na'cgadjewings.....She who plays on a tree.
Na'nete'ii'nepwings.....Black root.

[10] The following names are from the Dorsey manuscript.

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Na^nunk'iwings.....Bends a tree by pulling.
Na^na^ashigs.....He who makes a tree whitish by scratching off the bark.
Na^tegepings.....Good heart.
Na^tcyireziwings.....She whose heart is difficult.
Na^tcujiwings.....Yellowish red hair.
Nextcuxigs.....Breaks up a tree into small pieces.
Noruxgs.....Scrapes a tree.
Hok'awasseniwings.....Who walks in darkness.
Hok'awasseninangk'a.....He who sits in darkness.
Reziwak'anicangk'a.....Holy tongue.
Roha^minangk'a.....Many sitting.
Ši-ages.....Foot good to the taste.
Tciwojugs.....Fills the lodge.
Tcugs.....Ladle.
Trugigs.....Spoon.
Wajigs.....Yellowish-red bear.
Wak'ixana^p'ings.....He who has a white spot under his throat.
Wamanigs.....Walks on the snow.
Wamanuk'ags.....He who steals habitually.
Wamankegags.....With a white breast.
Wan^himanigs.....He who walks on melting snow.
Wawanmak'angs.....Vermilion.
Wank'ana^awings.....Puns up a male.
Wank'hok'ink'a.....Half a man.
Woindjhirigs.....Laughing at his antics.
Wohinkashirgs.....He at whom they laugh.[19]
Mai^nukoangs.....In charge of land.
Teonanke hunk'a.....First chief.
Septengs.....Real black.
Na^ijudjewings.....Red hair.
Mana^p'a hunk'a.....Soldier chief.
Hok'iwaigu^wings.....She who retraces her steps.
Morudjewings.....Earth wanderer.
Ma^nunank'a^ himinank'a.....Sits as the earth alone.
Monings.....Hunts about the earth.
Ana^tcu^aedigs.....Big armful.
Watcuginiwings.....Goes ahead of them (common to all clans).
Ma^man'wings.....Walks on the earth.
Mangewings.....Earth coming woman.
Hotcangit'ags.....Speaks Winnebago.
Ha^p'anangs.....Walks with the strength of day.
Ha^hominangs.....Sits in the day.
Teoraminank'a.....Sits blue.
Hunujanangs.....Small bear.
Ha^tirukoangs.....In charge of day.
Moratca^wings.....Goes around the earth.
Motciwings.....Lives in the earth.
Tci-ona^tcigs.....Lives in the earth permanently.
Ni-ona^jigs.....Stands on the water.

[19] The following names were obtained by the author.

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## The Wolf Clan

### INTRODUCTION

614 173 Three versions of the origin myth of this clan were obtained. The second is the most interesting, for it gives the popular account of descent from the clan animal-ancestor, although it claims that he, in turn, was created by Earthmaker. One other important characteristic is the statement that the original clan ancestor married a human being and that from them the present members of the clan trace their descent. A similar type of descent is mentioned in a number of myths that can best be interpreted as village origin myths. The ownership of war bundles has also at times been linked up with descent from some spirit.

614 Very little is known at the present time about the functions of the Wolf clan. It is quite clear, however, that the clan once possessed powers of considerable importance. From the fact that the Wolf people are still occasionally called "minor soldiers" and that they are so closely linked with the Bear clansmen it is likely that their functions were similar in nature to those of the Bear people. They probably assisted the latter.

[823] Water was sacred to the Wolf clan as it also was to the Water-spirit clan. A person was not allowed to tell a Wolf clansman that he looked like a wolf nor allowed to sit on a log in a Wolf clan lodge. [682] If a man kills a Wolf clansman accidentally and then sits on the log in a Wolf lodge, he has to be freed.

According to one informant, the Wolf clan at one time possessed four sticks, which they would use and with which they kept time while the drum was beaten.

[582] According to one informant, the Wolf clansmen were the only people who were allowed to intermarry.

The Wolf clansmen give a feast when a Bear child is born, to show respect for their friend. They give the child a name of their own clan.

[796] The Wolf feast is held in the spring of the year, when the ice melts from the creeks and everything begins to grow. At the feast the [262 252] clan origin myth is told and the members of the other clans are allowed to hear it. The food used is boiled rice.

### ORIGIN MYTHS

#### FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 539 776 [823] In the beginning the Wolf clan people came from the water. Therefore their bodies are of water—i. e., their sacred possession is water. There were four male wolves and four female wolves, and as they came up from the sea and swam toward the shore, one after the other, they caused waves to go before them. Therefore one of

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their clan names is *Wave*. They first appeared as wolves and later on they became humans. After swimming to the shore they lay on their backs to dry themselves; and that also is a name, a female name, *She-who-spreads-herself-out-to-dry*, and another name is *He-who-comes-up-first*. When they became human they built themselves a lodge and lived in it, but they had no fire. Then the Thunders came down and alit on a big oak tree that stood near their lodge. At first the Thunders were afraid of the Wolf people and they would not enter their lodge. That is why we have a name *He-who-is-afraid*. They asked the Thunders to come into their lodge and they had great difficulty in persuading them. After they entered the Wolf lodge they wanted to go home again immediately, but the Wolf clan people asked them to stay over for four days. From that fact a name has originated, *One-who-is-waited-for-by-the-Thunders*. The Thunders stayed, but not in the lodge of the Wolf people. They built themselves one just outside their door. Then they built a fire in it. After the four days were over the Thunders went home. [614 539 776 551]

When a Wolf clansman dies the relatives paint his forehead blue (pl. 46) and the soul of the deceased is supposed to go west, and it never looks back as it goes on its journey, as this would be an indication of its longing for something in this world, and it should not do that. When the soul gets to the spirit home the relatives already there would ask the newcomer, "What did our relatives say when you were about to come?" And the deceased would answer, "They said that they would not come for some time." [764 775]

The food that is prepared at the four nights' wake is supposed to last them forever.

This is the end of the story of the creation.

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

All people claim to have come from some animal, and all are supposed to come from Earthmaker.

Four married wolves had a lodge in the middle of the ocean. They had four children. The wolves all had children. One of them had 10, and the youngest one of these 10 is the one that came to this earth. When they came to this island, the first thing they saw was the footprint of the bear, and they said, "Our friend has gone by." There (at the place of gathering) they saw human beings and they liked their ways. Therefore they went home again and asked to come to earth and live with the human beings, and they were given permission to do so. Therefore the two (man and wife) came here again the second time. When they were about to come everything was calm, and there were no waves on the ocean. They started out swimming, and they caused two waves to go before them. When they came to the humans they both got married. When they came to this land

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614 they sang songs, but I do not know them. I was not taught them.
534 Finally children were born to both of them, and they gave them
776 names. They called one of them *Wave* on account of the wave coming before them on their starting out. Because the four original
[551] wolves in the middle of the ocean had four different colors, therefore they have names *White Wolf*, *Green Hair*, *Gray Wolf*, and *Black Wolf*. When the clan began to get larger they taught their children these names.

When a large number of different clansmen are traveling and they have to cross some large stream and the wind is high, they call upon some Wolf clansman to calm the wind. This clan holds the water
[823] very sacred. They do not even die in the water.

It was at this first meeting that they made friends with the Bear clan. Therefore these two clans love one another.

THIRD VERSION—TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN (FRAGMENTARY)

The original wolf brothers appeared from the bottom of the ocean. When they got to the top of the water they started for the shore singing. When they got to the shore they saw footprints of bears who had just gone by. They said, "Our friends have just gone by." That is why they are the friends of the Bear clan. They were going to the meeting place. There a black hawk was gathering together all the different clans. Finally he finished and he said, "It is done." When he said this a wolf howled. They had forgotten him. They said, "We have forgotten him. Let some one go after him." So some one went after him . . .

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CLAN SONGS

*First song*

This body of mine that I am walking.
This body of mine that I am walking.
This body of mine that I am walking.
On the earth I am speaking.

*Second song*

This body of mine that I am walking.
This body of mine that I am walking.
This body of mine that I am walking.
In the water am I speaking.

CLAN NAMES

cēgwcēgē' HE'E'ARANDERA (WOLF CLAN)*

614 Cēgwcēshdēn.....Hunting dog.
551 Cēgēcesh'a.....Wolf.
Ragwēwīnga.....Wolf (archaic name).

* The following names are from the Dorsey file.

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Hiedjaagaga.....White-faced.
Hiedjadjopga.....Four-eyed.
Hi'p'winga.....Good-haired.
Hi'tcoga.....Blue-furred.
Hominank'a.....She who sits bowling.
Manidjopga.....Four walking.
Manank'oga.....Throws up the earth (with his hind legs).
Ma'ok'acutraminank'a.....He who sits on the tree banks.
Niedjahuga.....Coming from the water.
Niedjawanik'riga.....He who brings them back from the water.
P'otcoga.....Green forehead.
P'o-oggga.....He who has a white forehead
P'ô'zakaga.....Big sand person.
Xo-ocraminank'a.....He who sits on a bare hill.
Xo-onik'a.....He who dwells in a hill.
Xo-oratrega.....He who travels to the hill.
Sintcoga.....Bushy tail.
Tcarawiga.....He who holds a deer in his mouth.
Trasirawiga.....He who carries deer-feet in his mouth.
Tconankehûnga.....Chief wolf.
Tconankehcowinga.....First wolf.
Tconiminank'a.....Sits as a leader.
Wanuniniga.....He from whom nothing is hidden.
Warawainega.....He who carries something in his mouth.
Warawaiguga.....Comes back with something in his mouth.
Waruzewinga.....She who chases.
Wirap'oga.....He who lies in wait for them.

## The Water-Spirit Clan 614

### INTRODUCTION

A rather poor version of the Water-spirit clan was obtained. It is, however, one of the few clan origin myths that contains the definite statement that the clan ancestors changed into human beings when they gathered at Green Bay. [173]

The functions of the Water-spirit clan were, in former times, exceedingly important. Almost all the informants were agreed that a chief was selected from that clan, but the exact nature of this chieftainship is not clear. One informant, himself a member of the Bear clan, said that the Water-spirit clan was the chief of the lower phratry; that the clans were arranged in three groups, one over which the Thunderbird clan ruled; another over which the Water-spirit clan ruled; and a third over which the Bear clan ruled. He insisted, however, that just as the Thunderbird clan rules over the whole tribe in a general way, so the Water-spirit clan ruled over the clans of the lower phratry. Other informants claimed that the Water-spirit clan originally ruled over the entire tribe and that its place was subsequently usurped by the Thunderbird clan. It might be best to regard the function of the Water-spirit clan as akin but subsidiary to that of the Thunderbird clan. [622] [554]

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614 [764] Members of the clan were buried by members of the Thunderbird clan.

[823 576] Water was sacred to the Water-spirits. It was considered an insult for a stranger to peep into a pail standing in one of their lodges. One informant explained the custom as follows:

"If one enters a Water-spirit clan lodge and looks into a pail and there should be no water in it, the person will turn away and this action of his will be construed as begging. It would be proper to take a drink of water if some were there."

[302] A round spot is painted with blue clay on the forehead of a Water-spirit man (pl. 46).

The Water-spirit feast is held in the fall and spring. Cracked or ground corn is used. Water-spirit people partake before anyone else at this feast.

### ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 539 776 In the beginning, when the clans began to form, the Bird clans came upon the earth first and alit upon an oak tree at Red Banks; and when they alit upon the oak tree they became human as we are now. Then the Water-spirit clan was to appear at Within Lake; and the waters began to whirl around in the lake and all the bad things that inhabited the waters began to appear. Just before the Water-spirits appeared some burned embers came up from the waters and the whirling became faster and deeper. As all the great things began to appear it always seemed as if the Water-spirits were the next to appear, but not until the last did they come up. Thereupon the waters began to quiet down. Then a white Water-spirit appeared with its horns curved toward each other, and when it came upon the earth it became human and walked. Then the other clans said, "Now, then, this is the chief. This is all that we have been waiting for. Now we shall divide ourselves" (into groups). Then they started for the lodge of the Thunderbird clan and entered it. There they named one another and divided one another into clans and there they counciled with one another.

### CLAN NAMES

WAKUCEI HIK'IK'ARAINERA (WATER-SPIRIT CLAN)

614 551
Ho-adaja'jank'a.....Shining horns.
Hena'pga.....Two horns.
Hap'i'winga.....Handsome horn.
Hentcank'a.....Five-horned.
Hedjapga.....Four-horned.
Mank'a'ojuga.....He who plants medicines.
Mank'a'hodja'pga.....He who looks at medicines.
Ma'hainip'i'winga.....Good cold spring.

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Ma^n'jiwings.....Yellowish-red earth (refers to deposits from iron springs).
Ma^nunp'ngs.....Second earth person.
Ni-ecgadjewings.....She who plays on the water.
Ni amanjwings.....She who walks on the water.
Ni-a^p'^^wings.....She who makes water good.
Ni-a^lagewings.....Still water.
Niranags.....Stream person.
Nihugs.....He who discharges water.
Ni-ot'a^pwings.....She who jumps into the water.
Nidjobegs.....Four streams.
Niwak'itcags.....Selects (?) water.
Wakdjeicirik's.....Bad Water-spirit.
Wakdjeihungs.....Chief of the Water-spirits.
Wakdjeimanigs.....Walking Water-spirit.
Wakdjeizip'ings.....Good Water-spirit.
Wakdjeizia^wings.....White Water-spirit.
Hep'ings.....Good horn.
Wadjxedegs.....Big boat.
Hip'ahigs.....Sharp tooth.
Rabewings.....Beaverskin woman.
Rabewings.....Beaver.
Hejipgs.....Short horn.

## The Buffalo Clan

### INTRODUCTION

The first version of the origin myth of the Buffalo clan is of considerable interest because it gives us an idea of the manner in which a myth had to be bought. It is one of the few origin myths that gives a precise location for the origin of a particular clan. What lake is meant by *de cirik* it is impossible to say. Considerable importance should be attached, however, to the fact that their place of origin differed from that of most of the other clans, because it may indicate that the people who came to be known under the name Buffalo joined the tribe after the other clans. 614 173

The Buffalo clansmen seem to have had the function of acting as the public criers and in general of being an intermediary between the chief and the tribe. This, however, has been denied by some informants, one of them a member of the clan. Their lodge was at the southeast corner of the village. Some informants deny that they had a special lodge, however. [624 203] [361]

The Buffalo and Water-spirit clans are friends and are supposed to bury each other's members. [764]

### ORIGIN MYTH*

Informant, member of the clan: "Listen, my grandson. Those who originated from the buffaloes and the way in which they origi- 614 173 539

* The following myth is given in the precise manner in which the individual who told it to me obtained the information from one of the old men who was privileged to narrate it. Unfortunately it was impossible to obtain any other clan origin myth in the same way.

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614 nated, they have heretofore told one another thus. This it is.
173 Whenever one asked about it, they would tell him, but they would
539 never tell him unless he brought some present. Even when they
[431] had a child whom they loved very much (and for whom they were accustomed to do everything), even to such a one they would not tell it unless he brought them gifts. Thus they would not even say the least thing about the story of their origin merely because they loved some one. It is really essential to make a gift. And if some one came, carrying a gift, the old man would ask him what he wanted and what he would like to know, as this was not the only thing gifts were made for. Then he would announce his desire. However, he would not be told in public but when he was alone. Then the old man who had the right to tell the origin myth would announce subsequently at some feast that he had told so-and-so the story of the origin of their clan and that if anyone wished to be told of the same he should in the future, when he himself had died, go to this
[367] young man and ask him in the proper way. Remember, he would add, that before everything else it is the duty of an individual to try and learn of the origin of his clan.

"Father,[a] this I give you, a full suit of clothes. This I am giving you." "Thanks, my son. What do you wish? What do you wish to hear?" "Father, what did we originate from?" "My son, you have done well. My son, he who makes the most gifts obtains life therewith." "Well, then, father, you need not tell me now, but later, when I have made a sufficient number of gifts, then you may tell me." "My son, you have spoken well and if you do as you say, you will travel unharmed along the road of life." "Father, these also I give you, some beads and a blanket." "Thanks, my son, it is good. Now, my son, what I told you was true. I did not tell it to you because I coveted anything of yours, but truly because it is true—this, that we must make a sufficient number of presents.
[431] Whoever does as you have done will obtain the possibility of a good life for himself." "Now again, father, I give you these gifts. There is enough food for you in it." "My son, you have done well, very well indeed, for the life that I am to give you is holy; and as you know, even if one was loved very much they would not tell him this merely because they loved him, as it is holy." "Father, this I give you as a gift, a horse, as I desire to know what we originated from." "Now, then, my son, you have done well. This is what I meant when I said it is holy. Therefore, my son, you have done well. Come and sit down here. Listen very carefully so that if afterwards anyone should ask you for this story you will be able to tell it well."

[a] He is now proceeding to give the dialogue that passed between the old man and himself when he brought the presents.

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"My son, we first originated in human form at Bad Lake (*de cicik*).* From four buffalo spirits who are there, did we originate. 614 539 The youngest one was clever and from him did we originate. The 776 buffaloes asked one another what they were to do, and they then began to exert their powers, and the youngest one obtained the knowledge that there was to be a gathering of all the animals. So they all landed at a place called Red Banks. So it is said. And to the elk was given the charge of the seating arrangements.

"Thus did we originate. And then they counciled with one another as to how they should travel along the road of life. And as they arrived at Red Banks, each one would ask the other to do some work. And there they made a sacred (covenant)—that they would never fail to grant one another's requests. Likewise they agreed that when they died they would bury one another. The Buffalo clan and [764] the Water-spirit clan were to bury one another, and they were to ask one another to work."

CLAN SONGS

614
533

*Song 1*

Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.

*Song 2*

This earth you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

*Song 3*

This day you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

"My son, here is some more information that one in your position 867 should seek. This should be the second thing to ask for: 'What should one say when one gives a feast?' This you should ask for, and you should boil food for the informant and then you will be taught the proper speeches. Afterwards, when anyone boils food (i. e., gives a winter feast) a kettle should first be put on for Earth- [183] maker and one should ask him for life; that the people may live to be strong and good. Include tobacco in your offering, for although Earthmaker made the tobacco he will not take any of it of his own [276] accord. Not until it is offered to him by humans will he take it.

* The name *de cicik* is applied to-day to Lake Michigan. However, our informant in this case applied it to Devils Lake in Sauk County, Wis. [103]

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867 782 276 Thus he made the tobacco so that humans may ask life with it, and he will grant them their desires. This is all."

### CLAN NAMES

#### TCE HIN'IN'ARADJERA (BUFFALO CLAN)

614 551
Moratcega.....He who travels the land.
Tcanimaniwinga.....She who walks ahead.
Tcenighsiga.....Suckling buffalo calf.
Tcega.....Buffalo.
Tcep'anu'pga.....Two buffalo heads.
Tcetca'iwinga.....First buffalo.
Tcedojenigh'a.....Buffalo yearling.
Tcedonigh'a.....Young buffalo bull.
Tcewinxedega.....Big female buffalo.
Wirukanangs.....He who is in control.
Hohekmaniga?.....Shaggy walker.
Tcehatcowinga.....Buffalo hide blue.
Maggihuntcga.....Shakes the earth by striking.
Tcep'aga.....Buffalo head.
Manok'aruhiga.....Kicking up the earth.

## THE DEER CLAN

### INTRODUCTION

614 173 The first version of the origin myth of the Deer clan is in part like that of version 6 of the Bear clan origin myth and in part like that of version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth. It is the only myth that shares with version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth the account of the origin of death.

614 The Deer clan does not seem to have had any important functions, although in myth 1, it is stated that they claimed a "partial" chieftainship, whatever that may mean.

[577] It was considered an insult to tell a member of this clan that he resembled a deer.

[302] The facial painting is the same as that used for the Elk clan. (Pl. 46.)

[326 761] The Deer clan people tell one another not to sing their clan song very loudly, and also not to make any sudden movement of their limbs, for each movement might cause the death of a human being. For the same reason they are told not to weep too loudly, as each deer's limb is a symbol of one of the four directions. When, therefore, a Deer clansman moves a limb too hard when he is weeping over the decease of a member of his clan, he might be "putting some human being in the earth," and the wind would blow hard.

[532] The dog names obtained were *vankcigohoniga* and *na'natcpiega*.

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## ORIGIN MYTHS

### FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

This is the origin story of the Deer people. In the beginning a 614
black deer accompanied by an elk appeared in the center of the 539
earth, and they went in the direction of the east. There they were 776
going. Then the black deer said, "My dear younger brother, I am heavy on account of my excessive fatness, go you alone and I will remain here." So he remained there and did not go; and then to the center of the earth, to the place from which they started, he returned. Then he came back to the earth, and again they asked him. Four times they asked. There the necklace of money ornaments he recognized, the black deer did.[24] Thus the Deer clan beat them, and therefore they have the name *Black-Deer-chief*. As they [551]
went so they returned again. Again the necklace made of money he (the black deer)[25] recognized. The earth they went around. Then again the black deer went to the east. It was a large one who went ahead, and as he was going along, to his astonishment, they reached the place from which they had started.

"My younger brother," said Black-deer, "you try to do it."[26] And the second-born went ahead and the others followed, and again they were drawn back to the place from which they started. Then the third-born went first and the others followed and the same thing happened. Then they told the fourth-born to go first, and he went in front and suddenly he struck his horn, the one on the right, upon the earth, and, behold, grass suddenly appeared. It was a very white bud that he had caused to appear. Then he struck his left horn on the earth, and he made a tree appear and the fruit of this tree was meant to be eaten. Then they ate the fruit of the tree. The top of the tree there they ate. Thus they said. And they
call a woman even to-day *She-who-eats-the-top-of-the-tree*. And then [551]
they began to walk and the earth trembled from their walking. Toward the east side they went. From this fact they have a name, *He-who-shakes-the-earth*. And again as some of the brothers were small they have the name *Small-deer*. They also have the name *Walking-leader*. And they also have names *She-who-comes-back* and *He-who-comes-back*, because in the beginning they always came back to the place from which they started. Whatever actions they went through, from these they derived their names.

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[24] The thought is not quite clear here, due to the fact that something has probably been omitted by the narrator.

[25] There seems to be a contest between the deer and the elk as to who would be able to see the "money-necklace" first. Under the term "money-necklace" they evidently mean the medallions distributed by the American Government to those whom they recognized as chiefs. The recognition of the "money-necklace" is evidently going to decide the chieftainship between the deer and the elk. [554 301]

[26] Some power is evidently drawing them back to the place from which they started.

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[823]
[789]
[551]



The four cardinal points and the winds that are there, they are in control of. If on a very nice day a deer's voice is heard, that day will become bad, and if on a very bad day a deer's voice is heard, that day will become nice. The deer people are those who are in control of the weather. And they also have a name, *He-who-plays-with-the-winds*, and a woman is called *She-who-goes-with-the-wind*. The deer would always sit with the wind back of them. Thus they roamed all over the earth. Not one place on this earth did they miss.

Once, when they had come home, their eldest brother suddenly fell down (dead). "What is the matter?" they said. And the second-born said, "Our oldest brother is not saying anything. I don't know what the matter is." And then they asked their youngest brother and he said, "Our oldest brother is dead. That is the way Earthmaker arranged things." And then he talked to the dead brother and he said, "Earthmaker has made a place for you to go to now that you are dead. You have not attained a large share of life and you have left us who remain on the earth in a pitiable condition. But now that you are going home I want to ask you something. Those years that are still coming to you, distribute among your relatives. This I beg of you. And this is the second request: May the warpaths that you did not go on (by reason of your death), may the war honors that you did not obtain, may all these things be distributed among us. This I ask of you, my dear brother. And this is the third request: May the food that you did not eat, the nuts, the sweet fruits, etc., all that you liked on earth, may it all be distributed among us. This is what I ask of you. And this is the fourth request, my dear older brother: May all the wearing apparel that belonged to you as well as all the materials that you stored in back of your tent, never to be touched by you, but may we who are left behind use it all. This I ask of you. Wherever you are going, may these requests of those whom you left here behind on earth be before you."

Then the younger brother took some red paint and he said, "Brother, I am going to paint you. Thus they will recognize you at home. That is the way we will always do it hereafter. Those who are to live after us will paint us in the same way. Now this is the manner of painting. The forehead and the corners of the eye are to be painted in black and red streaks, respectively, and the chin and the front part of the throat are to be painted red." Then he dug a grave. Then they buried him. Then they sang the songs and when they were finished with this, they traveled around the earth and came to the gathering place of the clans. When they came to that place they were people—i. e., human beings. They lived their own life just as they had as deers. All the incidents of their traveling as well as all the characteristics of deers were used in the names

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FACIAL BURIAL MARKS

[Facing P. 248 (A)

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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782
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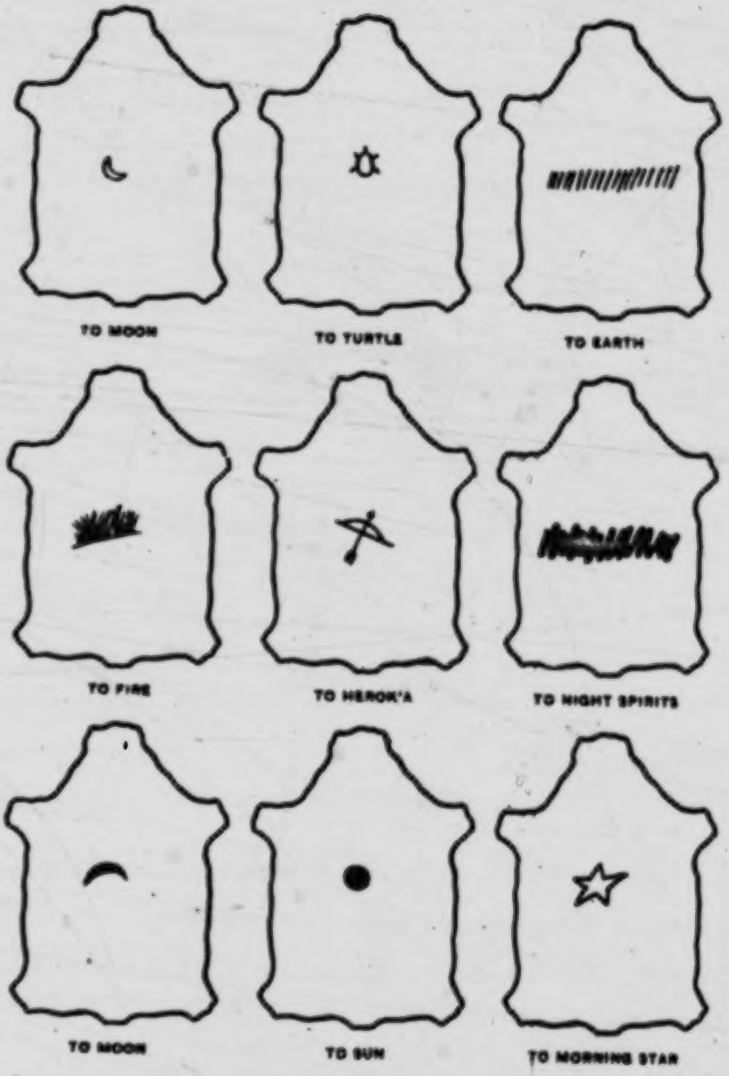


BUCKSKIN OFFERINGS

[Facing p. 248 (B)]

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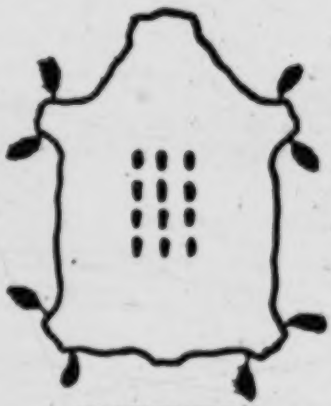
776



FOR DISEASE GIVER

FOR EARTHMAKER

FOR NIGHT SPIRITS

FOR THUNDERBIRD

SUCCESSIN OFFERINGS.

[Facing p. 248 in)]

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they gave one another. Thus they have the names *White-hair*, *Fast-one*, *Little-white-teeth*, *Diffident-one*, *Horn*, *Pronged-horn*, etc.; and for dogs they have names also. That is the way the deer people lived in the beginning at Red Banks, Within Lake. Bands of people gathered together there, and all the clans that exist now originated there. 539 776 614

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

The Deer clan people came up at the beginning of the earth. Only one is spoken of as appearing at the beginning. He started forth but returned again that he might look for a companion. For that reason a name exists in the tribe, *He-who-comes-back*, and another is *He-who-appears-first*. After they had appeared on earth the deer blew on the original fire, which was only smoldering, and made it blaze up. For that reason they claim a partial chieftainship. The first one that appeared had a chief's medal around his neck. [551]

CLAN SONG. 614 533

I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions
I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.

CLAN NAMES

WA HE'IE'ARAHJERA (DEER CLAN) 614 551

Tcaspháqk'a.....Black deer chief.
Wagisona'p'i'ga.....Wears shells around neck.
Tcanhakra'p'i'wings.....Deer vagina.
Hank'imgra'ergs.....Appears in the middle of earth
Tcaxcuiwhgs.....First deer woman.

## The Elk Clan

INTRODUCTION

In the Elk clan origin myth we find the clear statement that Earth-maker created the ancestors of the clan, and that they were human beings. The myth resembles a village origin myth more than it does a clan origin myth. 614 [773 776]

The Elk clan seems to have had certain functions relative to the distribution of fire through the village and in camp. It was never a very large clan.

The Elk people claim half of the fire, and thus half of the chieftainship. They never hold fire toward any one. [372]

Elks are buried by the Snake, Water-spirit, and Eagle clans, although the first has the preference. [622] [764]

White clay is used in painting the dead.

According to another informant, the facial painting consisted of white and blue dots on the face (pl. 46). [302]

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### ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 539 776 Earthmaker created all human beings. When he was about to create them, then he thought it would be good to see something moving. So he made a man and he was very good. But Earthmaker thought he ought to have company, so he made a woman. Then he thought to himself, "How should they know one another." So some one came to life through the water and this one was an animal. He made a village in the west for the human beings, and he thought about it and then he thought he would ask the humans what they would like to live through (i. e., become reincarnated), and they said the elk, because the elk never committed any crime. The humans were not to commit any crime. So the four elks started for the meeting place at Green Bay, Red Banks. They had up to that time supposed that they were the only living things, but Earthmaker let the oldest of the elks know of the existence of the other clans. So there they came and lived as Winnebagos. Thus it is said. This is all that they ever tell.

### CLAN NAMES

614 551 HU"WA" HIK'IK'ARAIJERA (ELK CLAN)

Rohe"[illegible]nlwiągą.....Many walking.
Rek'ihumanlwiągą.....She who walks with the wind.
Teatchiruzewiągą.....She who pursues the wind.

### SNAKE AND FISH CLANS

614 No information of any consequence was obtained about these two clans. Almost all the informants claimed that they were recent additions to the tribe. Only a very few survivors of either clan are still living.

### CLAN NAMES

WAK'A" HIK'IK'ARAIJERA (SNAKE CLAN)

614 551 Hąąkcimąk'a.....Lying snake.
Hip'ahiąą.....He who has sharp teeth.
Hirodiągą.....She who has attained her full growth.
K'ik'urudiwiągą.....She who crawls.
K'irixminąąk'a.....Sits coiled up.
Gisewek'inąąk'a.....Sits quiet in her (home).
Hokciąą.....High snake.

HO HIK'IK'ARAIJERA (FISH CLAN)

Ho-apcudjewiągą.....Red fish scale woman.

### CLAN AFFILIATIONS NOT OBTAINED

Ha"hogewiągą.....East woman.
Hąąkminąąk'a.....Sitting chief.

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K'ik'ansintgs.....Licks herself.
Mank'uhorsdjegs.....Roams under the earth.
Manhorowings.....
Kdomaings.....Sits solidly attached.
Mank'urudjewings.....Her earth she spreads out.
Triganmanigs.....Walks as a white house.
Sinihimaniwings.....Cold walking woman.
Ha^nagugs.....Coming white.
Wank'insk'igs.....Lone man.
Waruts^zonunigs.....Small attendant.
Hominankpings.....Sits good as she comes.
Na^nawahigugs.....He who brings something in his mouth.
K'inhiyungiwings.....Fighting princess.
Mugingomingank'a.....Lies in the middle of the earth.
Waxurutsmanewings.....Moves along as she walks.
Wanktrogs.....Green man.
Hihina^pgs.....Comes out.
P'ink'ik'ungs.....Fixes himself.

## Clan Names

### FIRST FOUR GIVEN IN EACH CLAN

Although it has been discontinued for some time, the Winnebago claim that in former times it was customary to assign definite names to the first four children born in each clan. In all probability this custom extended not only to the fourth but even to the sixth child, as lists were obtained that gave six names. This would correspond to the fixed number of birth names. No significance need be attached to the exact number, as it was intended beyond any doubt to cover the number of children generally born within one family. Within these limits, then, the names were fixed, at least theoretically.

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First four names of Thunderbird clan; informant, member of clan:

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First. Nanonk'a.....Bending bough of tree.
Second. Nodja^pgs.....Lighting the tree.
Nai^nwagicigs.....Broken tree top.
Hana^tranxgungs.....All heard it.

First four names of Thunderbird clan; informant, member of Warrior clan:

First. Hop'ings.....Good one.
Second. Warudjaxirigs.....Makes noise as he comes?
Third. Wak'andjamanigs.....Thunder walker.
Wak'andjahungs.....Thunder chief.

Informant, member of Thunderbird clan:

First. Wak'andjahungs.....Thunder chief (male).
Second. Ma^djidjegs.....He who alights on the earth (male).
First. Hok'awaa wings.....Darkness (female).
Second. Na^nangewings.....Bends (weighs) the tree down (female).

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Informant, member of Elk clan:

First. Wak'andja ampa.....Black thunderbird.
Second. Wak'andja-tcega.....Green thunderbird.
Third. Wak'andja ogaga.....White thunderbird.
Fourth. Wak'andja cutega.....Red thunderbird.

Names of Warrior clan; informant, member of the clan:

First. Wonayire wankik'a.....Warrior man (male).
or Nanxedega.....Big tree (male).
Second. Na'i'nak'iga.....Lone tree (male).
Third. Ma'edja'managa.....Walks nightly (male).
Fourth. Wonayirega.....War (male).
Fifth. I'eteda-ehiga.....Fire-starter (male).
Sixth. Hôgamanaga.....Chief walker (male).
First. Ahugiriniwinga.....Shining wings (female).
Second. Ahutcowinga.....Blue wing (female).
Third. K'iashiyungiwinga.....Fighting princess (female).
Fourth. Ahup'i'winga.....Good wing (female).
Fifth. Nijamaniwinga.....Rain walker (female).

First four names of Eagle clan; informant, member of Warrior clan:

First. Nank'iridjega.....Returns to the tree.
Second. Ahunak'a.....Strikes his wings.
Third. Trazcephunk'a.....Eagle chief.
Fourth. Trazcepa'nunk'a.....Small eagle.

Bear clan; informant, member of the clan:

First. Tcunankhunk'a.....Bear chief (male).
Second. ?.....? (male).
Third. Wak'iana'p'inga.....He who has white spot under his throat (male).
Fourth. Hundjnedega.....Big bear (male).
Fifth. Hinoiega.....(Male).
Sixth. Nacozuga.....Scrapes a tree (male).
First. Hok'iwaigu'winga.....Retraces her footsteps (female).
Second. Tcunankstrowinga.....Blue bear (female).
Third. Na'cgadjewinga.....Plays on wood (female).
Fourth. Aagawawinga.....Delirious bear (female).
Fifth. Hundj hinunk'a.....Female bear (female).
Sixth. Sikw'i'winga.....Visible footprints (female).

Bear clan; informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:

Mainxga'higa.....Shakes the earth.
Wakunkuntega.....Makes (it) quake.
Hashtwonimanaga.....Gives forth fruit as he walks.
Ha'higa'higa.....Makes the day tremble.

Bear clan; informant, member of the clan:

First. Mank'inkhomisank'a.....He who sits in the middle of the earth.
Second. Hokew'u'nainaniga.....He who carries the sledge.
Third. Ha'hidja'dja'higa.....Makes the day tremble(?).
Fourth. Nai'nwahickega.....Breaks the tree tops.

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**Wolf clan; informant, member of Bear clan:**

First. Hi'tcega.....Blue hair.
Second. Keratcega.....Blue sky.
Third. Cuñktcunk' aterga.....Gray wolf.
Fourth. Cuñktcunk' ąpąga.....White wolf.

**Wolf clan; informant, member of Thunderbird clan:**

First. Cunktcunk' aterga.....Gray wolf.
Second. Cunktcunk' ąpąga.....Black wolf.
Third. Cunktcunk' ąpąga.....White wolf.
Fourth. Cunktcunk' cutega?.....Red wolf(?)

**Wolf clan; informant, member of the clan:**

First. Cunktcunk' ąpąga.....White wolf.
Second. Cunktcunk' aterga.....Gray wolf.
Third. Hi'tcega.....Green hair.
Fourth. Cuñktcunk' ąpąga.....Black wolf.

**Water-spirit clan; informant, member of Eagle clan:**

First. Wakdjaxi ąpąga.....White water-spirit.
Second. Wakdjaxi pinga.....Good water-spirit.
Third. Wakdjaxi tenga.....Green water-spirit.
Fourth. Wakdjaxi ąpąga.....Black water-spirit.

**Elk clan; informant, member of the clan:**

First. Hu'wanga.....The elk.
Second. Hanatcga.....Prong-horned.
Third. Hu'wąnąpąga.....Black elk.
Fourth. Hi'ąpąga.....White hair.

**Deer clan; informant, member of Elk clan.**

First. Tenga.....The deer.
Second. Ten'Pank'iga.....Lone deer.
Third. Tenąpąga.....White deer.
Fourth. Tenąpąga.....Black deer.

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# CHAPTER X

## SHAMANISTIC AND MEDICINAL PRACTICES

### Introduction

756 The shamanistic and medicinal practices of the Winnebago differ
[171] in no respect from those found all over the woodland area and there is consequently no need for discussing them at length. The stories told about *Midjistegs* and old Lincoln are the famous tricks and sleight-of-hand performances known all over America. There does not seem to be as much said about the conjuring lodge as is the case among the Ojibwa. This apparently is identical with the Winnebago *wareka'na*, "exerting one's powers." The lack of specific information relating to this subject obtained by the author may, however, be due to accident.

278 The Winnebago make a fourfold classification of their medicines:
754 Those that affect a person by direct administration; those that affect him by their odor, like love and racing medicines; those that affect
[787] him at a distance; and those that are shot at an individual. Most of the medicines are obtained by fasting, although they can also be bought. The most important of these medicines are those called the stench-earth medicine (see p. 250) and the black-earth medicine.

[782] Medicine may be used in a number of ways, but principally as offerings or as means of killing animals or men. It is often chewed.
[789] In order to make arrows or guns unerring, medicine is frequently rubbed upon them.

754 Sympathetic magic is of course well known. The procedure is the common one. A picture of the man to be harmed is drawn on the ground and shot at, stabbed, etc. The man is then certain to die a short time after, in the same manner as the figure has been mutilated.

There are two general magical ceremonies. *Waruka'na*, to know something by exerting one's powers; *wana'terre*, to hypnotize in the distance. (For description of latter, see p. 111.)

787 *Example of waruka'na.*—J.'s older brother and a friend had failed to return home and so J.'s grandfather went to a man called C. English and, offering him some tobacco, asked him to find out something about his son—i. e., to exert his powers. English did so and told the old man that they were camping and making sugar and that if

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the old man went to a certain place he would find them. He went and found it was so. 787

TALES CONCERNING MIDJISTEGA

Recently the Potawatomi were going on the warpath and a number of other tribes were going along with them. As they were making their preparations they spent the evenings exhibiting the various powers they possessed and which they had obtained during their 'asts. 648 789 796 726

One day Robert Lincoln's father heard that a Winnebago was going to come and give a grizzly bear dance. Old Lincoln and a few other Potawatomi decided to go over and watch him. When they arrived at the lodge they were told that the name of the Winnebago was *Midjistega*. They were also told that this *Midjistega* was going to make some gunpowder (in a magical manner). When they heard this, the Potawatomi said that if he could make his teeth protrude from his mouth he might be able to make gunpowder, but that otherwise he could not. 791

In the middle of the lodge where this performance was to be held there was a wooden dish filled with charcoal near which *Midjistega* was sitting. He had beautiful hair and he had marks made by white clay in the corners of his eyes and mouth. When the singers in the lodge began to sing for him he ran around the lodge on all fours, four times. Then he took up the dish of charcoal and shook it. While doing this he made a noise like a grizzly bear. Then his teeth began to protrude. When he had gone around the lodge four times the charcoal turned into gunpowder. Then he took a handful of it and threw it into the fire and it exploded. The members of the different tribes present took some of it and put it in their war-bundles. It is only a short time ago that a Winnebago war-bundle that was supposed to have some of this gunpowder was stolen. It belonged to a man named Buchanan.

Old man Lincoln had never seen any Winnebago before this, but he could understand their language and he interpreted all that *Midjistega* said. The Potawatomi around him asked whether he had learned the language from some of his Winnebago relatives but he said he had not.

After showing that he could make gunpowder in this way, *Midjistega* made some plug tobacco. He cut the bark of some walnut trees into the shape of plug chewing tobacco and put it in a white deerskin on top of which was placed a piece of real plug tobacco. Then *Midjistega* said, "Now since I have made gunpowder I will also make some plug tobacco." Then he took the bundle and danced around the lodge with it and by the time he had danced around the lodge the third time the odor of tobacco became very

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648 strong. After he had danced around for the fourth time he opened
789 up his package and there was the tobacco. Then he spoke to the
796 people, "You people of different tribes, the one that is dancing
726 with me will obtain the first war-honor on the warpath that you
791 are planning now, for I am giving him that honor and that power."

After this he told them that he would make them some paint, as they seemed to be short of it then. He took a wooden dish and filled it full of ashes and covered it up with a white deerskin. Then he danced around the lodge. As he was dancing around for the third time, old Lincoln thought he noticed yellow-colored paint. The fourth time he danced around, the paint turned into a red color. When, finally, *Midjistega* took the cover off, there was red paint of a very fine quality. Then the members of the different tribes distributed it among one another.

After this he made some axes. He molded some clay into the shape of axes and put them into a deerskin. On top of this bundle he put a real metal ax. Then taking this bundle he started to dance around the lodge. As he went around the lodge the third time, old Lincoln thought he noticed something shining. After he had gone around the fourth time he took the cover off and there were some real axes. They were all new and bright.

Then he decided to make some hoes, and then some awls. All of these he made of clay. Then he made some needles of deer hair. Then, noticing some boys playing with some basswood bark, he asked them to give him some, and out of it he made ribbons of four different colors, blue, white, red, and black.

Then he said, "As I have made almost everything, I will now try and make some whisky. If I fail there will be no harm done anyhow." Old Lincoln told his people what *Midjistega* was saying. Then they placed a new pail full of water before him. He took a flute and began to dance around the lodge. After he had made the first circuit of the lodge he held the flute near the pail, almost sticking it into the water. The second time he approached the pail he stuck the flute into the water just a little bit. The third time he came near it he stuck the flute into the water and stirred it around. By that time Old Lincoln could smell the odor of whisky pretty strongly. Then *Midjistega* went around the lodge for the fourth time and finally stirred the water with his flute for a long time, and taking a drink from the pail said, "It is whisky." Then he passed it around and everyone present took a drink. Old Lincoln, however, did not touch it. Then his father told him to drink it, as it was holy and had been made by a spirit. Then Old Lincoln drank some, and, sure enough, it was whisky, although it was colorless.

726 After that, all the people went on a warpath. However, the per-
555 son to whom *Midjistega* had promised the first war honor only obtained

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the second one, Old Lincoln himself obtaining the first. The first war honor was a quantity of wampum beads and the second a wampum belt. Both the one who got the second prize and Old Lincoln brought back with them an enemy's head.

From that time on *Midjistega* stayed with the Winnebago and he and Old Lincoln became great friends, living together, one of the reasons being that Old Lincoln could understand Winnebago.

One day they ran short of corn meal, so they decided to go and trade some furs for corn meal. They had plenty of furs because they spent most of their time hunting. When they got to the trader's store *Midjistega* said, "Say, trader, the boys have been out of paint for some time and you ought to give them some." "No, *Midjistega*, I can't do that." Then *Midjistega* again said, "Well, the paint boxes are small and aren't of much value anyhow, and you ought to make them a present of some. However, I always knew you were very stingy." Then the trader said, "My business is to trade you my wares for your furs and I will not give you any paint for nothing." Then *Midjistega* said, "If I had some flour I could make some paint myself. However, I am short of flour, too." Then the trader said, "*Midjistega*, you can not do it, for even the whites do not know how to make paint (in that way), so how could you, who are only an Indian, do it?" Thus they spoke to and fro and finally the trader said, "*Midjistega*, I will bet you my store against your furs that if I give you some flour you can not make paint out of it. If I win you are to give me your furs, and if you win I will give you my store." Then the bet was agreed upon.

Then a lodge was prepared and *Midjistega's* drum and flute were carried into it. Then the trader had some flour carried over to the lodge and it was poured into a dish. The trader, suspecting that there might be some trick, stirred up the flour thoroughly. He satisfied himself that there was nothing at the bottom of the dish. *Midjistega*, in the meantime, painted the corners of his mouth and eyes with ashes and then the singers sang for him. Then he handed the flute over to Old Lincoln and told him to blow it for him every now and then. The trader sat near the entrance of the lodge with his employees. Then *Midjistega* jumped up and ran all around the lodge on all fours. Then he took the dish with the flour and shaking it, began to dance around the lodge with it. After he had danced around for the third time it suddenly turned into a yellow color, and Old Lincoln noticed the change in the expression on the trader's face. As he went around for the fourth time it suddenly changed to a red color. When he got back to his starting place it was quite red and was an excellent quality of paint. Then he said, "Well, trader, I have won your store," and the trader answered, "You have won my store. I did not think that an Indian could do it." Then *Mid-*

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Then Midjistega said, "I can also make some sugar. If you don't believe it, give me some more flour." However, the trader said, "There is no need of your proving it: I believe you now." However, he sent one of his employees after some more flour and out of this *Midjistega* made some maple sugar. He made it in the following way. He sprinkled some water on the flour and said, "This shall be the size of pheasants' dung." Then it formed into little round lumps. Then the trader said, "*Midjistega*, my store is worth several times the value of your furs, and you have made me a poor man. However, I wish to ask you for one thing—this sugar—so that I can eat some of it once in a while." Then *Midjistega* gave it to him. *Midjistega* and his friend carried the contents of the store home. They had to make several trips. All the people at home got a blanket.

Then the trader said, "*Midjistega*, there is not a white man living who would believe that you can do this and if, therefore, I ever call on you to do it again, I hope that you will come with your friends (and do it). This is the only way I can ever win any of my money back again." However, no one ever heard of the trader after that.

*Midjistega* also made all the different varieties of corn at the Potawatomi meeting.

Old Lincoln had always heard of the remarkable power the Winnebago were supposed to possess in these matters but he had never actually witnessed any exhibition of it until he saw *Midjistega* perform (these tricks).

A man named Young Rogue, a brother of Robert Lincoln, could roll up a piece of clay about the size of a marble and then roll it on the ground and it would change into a toad and jump away. He was also able to shoot a blade of grass right into a log.

### Lincoln's Grandfather

Lincoln's grandfather was the leader of the medicine dance and every time any relation of his died he would tell the daughters of his relative to stop their crying and that he would avenge the death of their father and kill four people. Shortly after he said this the four whom he had picked out died.

If there was a man with great wealth in the tribe he would make a wooden snake and send it toward the man. Immediately after this it always happened that the rich man would be bitten by a snake. The latter would then send for the medicine man and give him all that he possessed. Then the former would ask him, "When do you want to get well?" If the sick man said "In three to four days," the medicine man would say, "You must like to suffer."

For this reason the children of Lincoln's grandfather always had plenty of wealth.

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The Crow (i. e., Menominee) Indians knew what a wonderful man he was and whenever he went to visit them they gave him many presents. He would be invited to a feast as soon as he arrived. 648 791

On one occasion when they had a feast in a lodge (in his honor) one of the Menominee marked the ground in front of him and dared Lincoln's grandfather to come over, saying that if he did he would injure him. When the Winnebago crossed the mark he was pushed in all directions and finally shoved into a pit, bruising himself a great deal. When he came out, the old man said, "You have probably never heard of me. To-morrow noon, soldiers will hit you." Then the Menominee asked, "If soldiers hit me, what will be the result?" "You will die." Then the Menominee said, "You have nothing to do with my life," and made a jump at him. 754

The Menominee who had been told that he was going to die said the next morning to his nephew, "Nephew, let us go to the lake and look around. I can't forget what the old man told me yesterday." So they took their spears for fishing and went out. While they were on the lake they saw a deer drinking at the edge of the water. The man took a shot at the deer, and the deer ran back into the timber. The man and his nephew pursued it. After a while the man gave a yell and then all was quiet. The nephew went over to the place and there the man was found dead. At his side a very large snake, with hair on its back, was standing.

The next morning one could hear the mourning songs all over the woods. Then they went to look for the Winnebago, for they believed that it was his fault. They told him not to worry about it and gave him a horse to appease him. The day after they all had left the camp, the Winnebago pointed to some hawks that were circling around and told the Menominee to watch the foremost one. Then he pointed his finger at that one and made a sound with his mouth and the bird fell down dead. This Winnebago had the power to do this to all birds. He always told the Winnebago not to eat these birds because they were not good. [765 533] [789]

### The Uses of the Stench-Earth Medicine[1]

There once was a man who had consumption and who knew that he was going to die soon. His relatives were about to move him to some other place and so he told them just to build him a separate lodge and leave him alone—that he wanted to die there. He asked them likewise not to come back to see him. They obeyed him and left him to die alone. 763 [164]

One day he decided to go out into the wilderness and die there. He went to the top of a hill and lay down. He noticed many birds

[1] This is the literal translation. What plant is meant the writer was not able to determine.

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763 of prey hovering around the hill and he felt certain that they were
there so that they could devour him as soon as he was dead. How-
825 ever, the birds told him they had come to cure not to devour him.
755 Many carnivorous birds and many wolves were there. The turtle
756 also came because he was the owner of some medicines.

Then the animals who had gathered on the hill began to doctor him. The raven began first. He ejaculated *e-he-al e-he-al* gave him some medicine and began to exert his powers until he felt better. Then the wolf began. He walked around ejaculating certain sounds and spitting medicine on him. The man became much better. He was almost completely restored to health. Then the turtle began to exert his powers, ejaculating at the same time *ahil ahil ahil ahil* and walking around the man and giving him some boiled medicine to drink. Now he was almost entirely cured. Finally a black hawk began to doctor the man. He put some medicine on the place where the man's pains seemed to be situated and he was immediately cured. Then all those who had cured him said, "Human! In a similar way you shall cure your fellowmen." They then gave him as much medicine as he would need. The raven gave him his "medicine chest," consisting of a flute and a gourd. With these things he blessed him. He also gave him a song which he was to sing. Then the wolf gave him his medicine chest, consisting of a gourd and a flute, and told him that he would not fail to cure any sick person he treated and that if the sick people offered the proper amount of tobacco, red eagle feathers, and food, no matter how serious their disease was he would be able to cure it. Then he told the man that Earthmaker had placed him in charge of these things and that he in turn would bless him with them for all eternity. As long as any of his posterity was left they would enjoy the benefit of these blessings.

825 And this is true, for even to the present day his descendants use
756 this medicine.

Then Black Hawk said, "I, also, bless you. Earthmaker placed me
[782] in charge of some medicines and with these I bless you. If you are
careful in offering tobacco and food to these medicines they will always help you to the utmost of their power. Whatever you ask they will accomplish for you. They will be able to understand you. So, if anyone is sick, you will be able to help him. In this way I bless you. If you are ever in any difficulty, think of me and I will help you." (What he meant is that if he ever was in any difficulty, he should think of the medicines with which Black Hawk had blessed him, and that that would be the same as if he thought of him.)

Then the Buffalo said, "My grandson, Earthmaker placed me in charge of certain medicines. Why should you then wish to die? Your condition is 'pitiable,' and therefore I want to bless you.

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All these spirits whom Earthmaker made with his own hands were placed in charge of certain things. All these spirits have had compassion upon you. All those whom Earthmaker created as holy have blessed you. Earthmaker has placed me in charge of certain medicines and I am so completely in control of these that I can do what I please with them. There exist no beings either on the earth or under the earth whom I can not cure. With all these do I bless you. All your previous blessings were from spirits who live either on earth or in the heavens. The medicinal plants I bless you with are called Buffalo medicines. The other medicines are called 'stench-earth medicines.' As long as you and your descendants live these medicines will be efficacious. The owners of the stench-earth medicines they will be called. In this manner I bless you." 825 756

Then the hitcara said, "I bless you with those things that Earthmaker placed me in charge of. I was created by Earthmaker. Medicines, grass, trees, and bushes (for use in the making of medicines), with these I bless you. I bless you with my utterance. With my mouth, I bless you. If a human is suffering and places tobacco in your hands, then you may mention my name and pour a pipeful of tobacco into the fire. I will grant whatever you request. All the medicinal plants with which I bless you shall belong to you and your descendants as long as the earth endures. Your children can use them, and they will protect them. If any part of their body is weak from disease they can heal themselves with them. Many things will you gain through these medicines. You may also eat them. Humans! you have dreamed, not only for yourself but for all your descendants. As long as this earth endures, so long will your descendants use these medicines with which I have blessed you. In this way I bless you."

Then the wildcat said, "Grandson, Earthmaker placed me in control of medicines also. I bless you. The other spirits have blessed you with certain medicines, and to these I now add my own. I can not tell you anything about the heavenly blessings. The spirits above have already bestowed these upon you. I will, however, tell you this: There is nothing either upon this earth or under it that I can not accomplish. I bless you with the power to do the same. With the blessings I give you, you will be able to accomplish anything you wish whenever you put these medicines to use. If a person were dying, and his relatives offered tobacco and food to you, you would be able to cure him. When you use my name, concentrate your mind upon me, and offer me tobacco. If I smoke the tobacco you will then know that your request has been granted. All the medical plants that I am giving to you, all the herbs that I am blessing you with, to all these, make an offering of tobacco. Whatever you ask they will grant you. All the animals that tread upon the air, all those [755]

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756 on the earth, have medicines that you are to use on earth. Whatever you say on earth it will be so. You have been blessed with all the things that are on and under the earth."

All the fowls and insects of the air, all the beings that have wings, blessed him and gave him medicines, which he was to mix with other medicines. He was told to make use of all the insects of the earth and air, some of which we never see. All those who live on earth, all the fishes in the water, and all the different kinds of water-spirits blessed him with medicines. He was blessed with, and told to use as medicines, all those plants that live in the water. He was blessed with the leech, one of the animals that lives in the water, and he was to use it in medicine mixing. They say that it is good to mix the leech with other medicines to relieve pain. He was blessed with all the trees, that we see to-day, which he was to use as medicines. Their bark, leaves, and roots are considered very good for such purposes. He was blessed also with all the small undergrowth, whose leaves, bark, inner bark, blossoms, and roots he was to use for medicine. He was blessed with all the weeds, and he was to use their heads and leaves for medicine, but their roots were to be used for other purposes.

Thus all the different kinds of plants that grow on this earth blessed him. The earth also blessed him and said to him, "Grandson, as the other spirits are blessing you, I, also, will bless you. Earthmaker has placed me here, and I therefore bless you with all plants that grow upon me, and all the trees and weeds and animals that exist on this earth, and lastly, with life and myself (i. e., earth). You may use me, and especially the blue clay that you derive from me, for medicines. Should you use as medicine all these things with which I have blessed you, especially if you use me, as medicine, you will be able to accomplish all that you attempt.

"If a person who is sick offers you tobacco (i. e., asks you to cure him), remember that I also would like to smoke and that it is for that reason that I have blessed you." [1]

[826] Birds, especially eagles, are used in the making of medicines. The entire body of a raven, including the heart and brains, are used, and also the following snakes: The gray snake, the black snake, the blue snake, the yellow snake, the bull snake, and the snake that breaks itself in two. The rattlesnake is used in a mixture given to women when in labor. If a woman hurts herself during pregnancy and kills the child within her womb, she can be made to deliver the embryo if she uses the medicine mentioned above.

[844 278 845]

[1] According to general belief the spirits are supposed to have entered into a sort of "bargain" with the human beings by which they were to bestow their blessings upon them in exchange for tobacco, bark-skin, and feathers. Of course, it must be understood that individuals must have the necessary requirements, such as a certain attitude of mind, fasting, etc., before their offering of tobacco has any meaning to the spirits.

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Toads are used, but only for poison medicines. The quail's heart 825
is used for the same purpose. If a person is killed outright, his heart 756
is used as a medicine, as the human heart is regarded as having great 826
efficacy in such medicines. It is used in war, for compelling people to give you presents, and for courting women. The bear likewise is used for a variety of purposes. Its liver is especially powerful. It is rubbed over the body whenever in pain. It is often used by women who have injured themselves in childbirth, or in the form of tonics, poultices, and emetic; or for toothaches, bathing sore eyes, ear- [757]
aches, headaches; as snuff, as a physic, for burns, strictures, boils, hemorrhages, injections in the rectum, consumption, measles, dysentery, chills, nosebleed, pains in the stomach, and headaches caused by poisoning.

Sometimes a woman would take a hair of her husband and stick 832
it into some bad medicine. In such a case he would never leave her for he would become very much enamored of her. If ever she went away, he would miss her very much. However, he always had a headache. Finally he would get sick and lose his appetite and then his eyesight. That is why it is forbidden to use this medicine, although some still do it.

Many Winnebago are blind, because there is a medicine that 754
causes blindness. If one person offends another who possesses such a medicine, the latter would cause the offender to become blind.

The Winnebago have medicines for every purpose; for courting, [832]
for becoming rich, for obtaining good looks, etc. Even if a person is very holy, these poisoners can poison him. If a man was a good hunter or if he was wise and good, these bad shamans would poison him. If an individual was a great medicine man and these bad shamans got jealous, they would poison him. Indeed, only if a person was poor and lowly would they like him. Such a man they would never poison for they had no reason for being jealous of him. A bad shaman is always treated with the greatest respect and honor, because he kills many people.

A warrior is also greatly respected and flattered. It is the Indian's 554
greatest desire to become a warrior. All desire that, and they also 156
wish to become great medicine men and bad shamans. [756]

This is the way they prepare and use their courting medicines. 832
The courting medicine known to me is a plant of apparently two 778
varieties, one of which has a blue blossom and the other no blossom at all. Otherwise they are alike. The one with the blue blossom is the male and the one without the blossom is the female. When I go out to dig this plant, I do not dig for these two specimens unless I can find them growing together closely. Even then I do not dig any two [824]
specimens unless the male is found growing on the east side. For that reason it is very hard to find them. As soon as I find two that

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832 fulfill all the conditions I dig them out and mix them together with
278 their own roots. Then I take the blossom of the male and mix it together with the center leaf of the female flower. After that both are ground together thoroughly. Then I go to the woman I wish to court and, at night, when she is asleep, I touch first any part of her body, then a place not far from her heart, and finally the top of her head with this mixture. Finally I make her smell it. I then wake her up and go home. The girl will wonder who had touched her and she will think a good deal about the incident and never forget it. The next time I see her she will like me and she will do whatever I ask of her. The medicine would be working. If I did not see her for a long time, she would get lonesome, and the only thing that would cure her would be to marry me.

There is another medicine which I am now going to describe. When it first sprouts, which is in the spring, it is quite white. This must be taken and dried. Then one must chew it and go near the woman with whom one desires to talk. Approach her on the side from which the wind is blowing so that she can smell the medicine. As soon as she smells it, even although the man chewing it is one whom she has hitherto disliked, she will get to like him. This is the way in which the medicine works.

755 A man who was blessed was told of all these things. He cured all
[752] diseases. If a person had been shot and one blessed with the stench-earth medicine was called, he could be cured. In the same manner, if one is stabbed in what would generally be considered a fatal way and if a man blessed with stench-earth was called in time he would save him. The same cure is effected in cases of broken arms and of
[752] patients who are on the point of death. It is for this reason that those blessed with the stench-earth medicines are always praised, and that the people say "They surely are in charge of life; for their blessings really come from the spirits, just as they claim."[1]

756 [The "stench-earth" medicine men could undoubtedly cure the
[754] sick, but they also used it to poison people. The courting medicine was a poison medicine, and therefore it was not good. These people cured the body, but they killed the soul. It would have been much better had they saved their souls. They were really working for the devil. It is from him that they got all the bad medicines. Whenever they were offended, they would go and get poisons to kill the
754 774 offender. Thus the devil[2] was really causing them to kill their own souls and the souls of those they poisoned. It is the same with all

[1] The following portion in brackets is the comment of our informant, who is a member of the Peyote cult.

[2] Although he really means the Christian devil many of the traits of the old Winnebago deity Hare-go'ninu, the chief of the bad spirits, are clearly discernible.

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the other medicines, like the courting medicine, etc. The Indians 754
were destroying their own souls. So Earthmaker decided to give 774
them a new medicine. We have now all broken away from the old things. We have broken away from the devil and are earning our salvation through Earthmaker. For this reason I am thankful both for my sake and that of my people.]

This is a medicine that is good for consumption, for stomach 757
trouble, for a cold, for a sore throat, and for general illnesses. It 278
consists of the following ingredients:

1. Waraxa'dax hoske'rera, English unknown.
2. Waraxa'dax ma$^{n}$ŋap'a'rara, English unknown.
3. Enai'$^{n}$teox maŋk'a'$^{n}$na, English unknown.
4. Nicu'tcera, red water.
5. Maŋk'a'$^{n}$skaka, white medicine.
6. Maŋk'a'$^{n}$ niyetco'tcera, medicine of the water.
7. Ci'xuk'uniŋa, English unknown.
8. Maŋk'a$^{n}$ŋe'xeda, English unknown.

If a woman has any trouble with her womb this medicine will cure her immediately. She must not, however, drink it, but inject it. It makes no difference how severe her illness is, this medicine will always effect a cure. This man was blessed with the knowledge of its efficacy.

This is another medicine:

1. Maŋk'a$^{n}$ manup'ara'ra, medicine that spreads over the ground.
2. Xa$^{n}$wiwingi'ckera, medicine to tie with.
3. Maŋk'a'$^{n}$ p'orop'orora, round medicine.
4. Hap'o'skra, English unknown.
5. Maŋk'a'$^{n}$ kere'xera, sweet flag.
6. Na$^{n}$p'aca'k'onaŋk' hura, English unknown.
7. Hunte p'istara, bear liver.

This is all ground together and mixed with water. When thoroughly mixed it is put into a bladder and injected by means of a wing bone.

This is a medicine for diarrhea:

1. K'etcû'ŋk'sire teo'ra, English unknown.
2. Aseni ho-ap hodô'p'iricera, curled sumac leaves.
3. Maŋk'a'ni tetco'tcera, medicine of the water.
4. Waraxadax skaka', English unknown.
5. Na$^{n}$da'nicura, maple sugar.

These are all ground together into a fine powder and sweetened with maple sugar. Otherwise no one would take it, for it does not taste good. It is called hasawañ'kemañk'.

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757 This is medicine used by women when their menstrual flow is not
278 very good:
841
1. Teemanank'e, English unknown.
2. Wazi p'ara'ske abera, pine with flat leaves (?).
3. Wacutci'abera, red cedar leaves.
4. Mank'a p'orop'oro abera, round medicine leaves.

All four of these ingredients are ground, mixed together, and then mixed with water. They are then drunk by any woman having trouble with her menstrual flow. After she has taken it she makes knots in the belt and ties it around her waist. As many knots as she makes that many days will it take her to get well. She also smokes herself with cedar leaves.

757 The next medicine that I wish to speak of is compounded as follows:
278
1. K'ewaxgu'ᵊuᵊera, scent of a toad.
2. Waninkru'te na'ntekera, heart of a red bird.
3. Hactee'kera, strawberries.
4. Wankeik na'ntekera, human heart.
5. Xawiᵊjaᵊ, a plant.

278 If this medicine were mixed with whisky and given to any person,
[754] the latter would surely die within a year. The frog that is used in this medicine becomes alive in the stomach of the person who drinks it and kills him. If he took the same medicine and mixed it with
[832] paint and then rubbed it over his face, all who looked at him would take a liking to him and give him presents, and the women would fall in love with him and want to marry him. The reason that the women become smitten is because they can not resist the sight of a ripe strawberry. The human heart in the mixture is the object that makes the medicine so powerful, and the red bird heart strengthens it.
[826] Whenever these two, the human heart and the heart of the red bird, are used in medicines, the medicine is always remarkably efficacious.

832 If a woman makes fun of you and you feel hurt about it and want to revenge yourself, get one of her hairs and dip the root into this medicine and then tie it up. Hang the medicine bag in the woods and whenever the wind blows the woman will get lonesome for you and her head will ache. Finally she will get crazy. She will never cease talking about you. This is one of the medicines this man was blessed with. Some of them die from the effects of it. It is not a good thing, but the Winnebago thought that it was a very great thing. (Now that they know the Creator, they know that it is bad.)

755 Here is another medicine that we have, and it is prepared in the
278 following way: Four trees of a certain species are peeled near the roots lying on the east side. Then the second bark is also peeled. Then these are taken and boiled together with a square-stemmed weed. The whole mixture is used to induce vomiting. This vomiting would rid a person of a spell cast upon him which was preventing

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him from killing game. In the particular case mentioned above the spell was the following: A man killed a deer, and a pregnant woman ate a piece of the intestine. From that time on the man was unable to kill any more deer. 755 278 [224 843]

The above medicine is used to break the spell of ill luck in hunting caused by the following actions: If a man cohabits with a widow, or if one who is a widower eats together with another person, or if he smokes out of the same pipe as another person. Not only would the medicine free him from his ill luck in hunting, but it would give him good luck in cards and speed in running. [589]

Here is an astringent medicine. It is compounded of a mixture of the "clear" medicine and the "plant that spreads itself on the ground." It is used for the following purposes. As an application for swellings, for illness after childbirth, and for general sores and eruptions of the skin. In case of illness after childbirth it is injected. For sores, etc., it is taken internally. 757 278 [844]

Here is another medicine, called bladder medicine. It is made of the roots of a certain weed. These roots are boiled and then drunk. If one is troubled with stricture, the drinking of this medicine will enable him to pass water immediately. The same medicine is used to alleviate a toothache and to stop too profuse a menstrual flow. [841]

Now this is another medicine. It is made of the leaves of a certain plant. These leaves are rolled up and then drunk down with water. The medicine is used for all stomach complaints.

Here is another medicine used for diarrhea and dysentery. It is made from the roots of a plant that has many thorns and beautiful white blossoms. The roots are scraped and the scrapings boiled and gulped down. At least a pint of this concoction must be taken. It can also be used as a mouth wash for those troubled with sore mouths.

We have another medicine used to rid a person of superfluous bile. This acts as a strong physic and not only cures a person of his indisposition but also gives him a great appetite.

Here is another medicine. It is called the medicine for burns. It consists of the leaves of a certain weed that is dried. If anyone has a burn, he chews some of this dried weed and then applies it to the burn. [752]

Here is also a medicine for private diseases, compounded of the following:

1. Doxcu'tekera hara, red willow bark.
2. Ma'sixu'tekeda hara, English unknown.
3. Nap'a'hira hara, sharp tree.

These barks are pulverized and mixed together with skunk oil.

The next medicine I am going to describe is used in poisoning. It is called small-part-of-a-black-root-tree. It is used for many pur- 754 278

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754 278 poses. If, for instance, I wish a person to become blind or if I dislike him or were jealous of him because he was better off than myself, I would do the following: I would get a small part of a black root and pulverize it. Then I would mix it with ghost snuff and put it into my medicine bag. When I am ready to shoot the person I shake my bag and make the medicine fly out, and it would enter his eyes and make them sore. Soon he would become blind. I also use this medicine when I go on the warpath. I wrap it in a piece of buckskin and wear it around my neck. As long as I wear it in this manner I will never be shot.

This medicine is also used as a poultice. If a man has a pain anywhere, he makes four incisions in his body at that place, with the point of a knife, and applies the medicine.

754 [788] Here is another medicine. It is kept in a large bundle. It is used in the following way: At a medicine dance a person may put an eagle feather on the nose of an otter-skin bag and then open the bundle containing his medicine and bring the medicine in contact with the nose of the otter-skin bag. The individual then enters the medicine-dance lodge. He makes note of the place where the person whom he dislikes is sitting. After a while he gets up and makes a circuit of the lodge four times and shoots at this person. He sees to it that one of the feathers attached to the otter-skin bag lodges just where he wishes it. Either he wishes to kill the man outright or to make him suffer for a long time. Should the victim die, the man who does the shooting must be very careful for he might easily injure himself. He must know, for instance, exactly when his victim is going to die and then as soon as he is dead he must open his medicine bundle and let the feather return, which it does as soon as the person at whom it was shot is dead. A black hawk is then heard in the distance. As soon as it approaches the man utters curious sounds and the feather alights right in the medicine bundle. When the feather returns, however, it is always black, though when it started it was red. One might imagine that there had been two distinct feathers.

If the man who shot the feather does not know when his victim dies and consequently does not make the necessary preparations for opening his medicine bundle, such as imitating the cry of a black hawk, or if, worse still, he is asleep, the feather will land upon him and he would likewise die.

This same medicine is also used for the following purpose: If a person offends you and you wish to take revenge by killing him, take your medicine bundle and whenever you come across the footprints of your prospective victim then open your medicine bundle and take out a striped feather from it and sing a song. When you are finished, make certain sounds and stab the footprints. You can

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arrange to have your victim die immediately, or, if you wish, to 734
have him suffer for a long time, by becoming paralyzed.

This same medicine is used in a similar way in times of scarcity of food. The people offer a shaman tobacco and he would do the following: He would take his medicine bundle and walk till he came to the footprints of a bear. Then he would follow the tracks of the bear till he came to his lair. Here he would open his medicine bag, dip the striped feather in the medicine, and sing for some time. When he has finished he makes certain sounds and stabs the bear's footprints. Wherever the bear happened to be at that time, he would not be able to walk, and the people would soon overtake him. For that reason this medicine is valued very highly.

This medicine is also used when one desires something belonging to another. All that is necessary to do in such a case is to use the songs accompanying the medicine. Then all the things one has coveted would immediately be brought. For this reason they thought a good deal of this medicine.

If ever anyone uses it in gambling, he will win. [525]

If again he casts his thoughts upon women, then the power of this medicine would go in their direction, and he will lose while gambling. All the women will, however, like him. He can marry whomsoever he wishes. The same thing will occur when a woman uses this medicine. If she casts her thoughts upon men, she will become foolishly enamored of them. For that reason the old people used to forbid women to use it.

This medicine bundle is also used on the warpath. If a man uses 778
it upon himself and rushes upon the enemy, all those who are in 726
front of him will suddenly find themselves unable to move. A 789
person who goes on a warpath, after he has carefully applied the medicine to himself, is invulnerable. It is impossible to kill him, for no bullets can penetrate his body.

This medicine was likewise used in hunting for bear, and deer 778
could easily be killed with it. Even those who are not accustomed 224
to hunting could kill game easily if they used it.

Many of the medicines mentioned above were obtained from the 756
man who was blessed with the stench-earth medicine. Everyone believed that the cures effected by him with this medicine were real. They believed that this medicine could cure them, and, indeed, it did cure them. It was this man, too, who originated the stench-earth medicine feast. It is a very sacred feast, considered more 756
sacred than any other feast among the Winnebago. When the 796
feast is given, an entire deer is boiled and cut into pieces much larger than any one person could eat. Nevertheless the host orders those whom he has invited to leave nothing upon the plate. Should [264]
any guest leave anything upon his plate, the host would give him a

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756 small pieces of a root and tell him to chew and eat it. This the guest
796 would have to do, and from that time he would never know when
[264] he had had enough to eat. He would never get satiated. Whenever the man who had been blessed gave the least personally, no one was ever known to leave anything upon his plate. While eating the guests kept time. They never shook their plates, for if anyone did so the others would immediately give him whatever remained on their plates. They would assume that anyone who shook his plate was the possessor of the stench-earth himself and that he intended to eat up these extra portions with the aid of this medicine. If, however, the shaking was done unintentionally and he failed to eat up the extra portions placed on his plate, then he would make a noise like a raven, and those who wished to help him consume this food would also cry like the raven, approach him, and flap their arms as the birds do their wings. Then all would eat.

When the man who obtained these blessings died, he left all these medicines that he had been the first one to use to another person. With the medicines he of course left all the songs. All that he used to do when he doctored a sick person he bequeathed to his successor. The last man who had these medicines was not a holy man but he knew all their uses and for that reason he was considered a powerful and holy man. To-day only the poison medicines are remembered; the good medicines are all gone.

This is the end.

### How an Indian Shaman Cures His Patients[1]

756 "I came from above and I am holy. This is my second life on
775 earth. Many years before my present existence, I lived on this
539 earth. At that time everyone seemed to be on the warpath. I also was a warrior, a brave man. Once when I was on the warpath I was killed. It seemed to me, however, as if I had merely stumbled. I rose and went right ahead until I reached my home. At home I found my wife and children, but they would not look at me. Then I spoke to my wife but she seemed to be quite unaware of my presence. 'What can be the matter,' I thought to myself, 'that they pay no attention to me and that they do not even answer when I speak to them.' All at once it occurred to me that I might, in reality, be dead. So I immediately started out for the place where I had presumably been killed and surely enough, there I saw my body. Then I knew positively that I had been killed. I tried to return to the place where I had lived as a human being but for four years I was unsuccessful.

[825] "At one time I became transformed into a fish. However, the life of the fish is much worse than ours. They are very frequently

[1] The shaman is represented as in the lodge of the patient and as speaking to him and his relatives

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in lack of food. They are nevertheless very happy beings and have many dances.[a] [825]

"At another time I became transformed into a little bird. When the weather is good the life of the birds is very pleasant. But when it is cold they are compelled to undergo many hardships on account of the weather as well as on account of lack of food. When it was very cold I used to go to the camp of some people who were living in the neighborhood and try to steal some meat from their racks. A little boy used to stand near these racks and we were very much afraid of him because he carried something in his hands with which he shot and which made a dreadful noise. Whenever he shot it we would all fly away. What the boy was using was a bow and arrow. At night we slept in a hollow tree. If I entered the tree first and the others came in behind me I would be almost squeezed to death. If, on the other hand, I waited until the last I would sometimes have to stay outside and when the weather was cold I might have frozen to death.

"At another time I became a buffalo. The cold weather and the [825] food did not worry me much then, but as buffaloes, we would always have to be on the alert for hunters.

"From my buffalo existence I was permitted to go to my higher spirit-home, from which I originally came. The one in charge of that spirit-home is my grandfather. I asked him for permission to return to this earth again. At first he refused, but then after I had asked him for the fourth time, he consented. He said to me, 'Grandson, you had better fast before you go and if any of the spirits take pity upon you (i. e., bless you), you may go and live in peace upon earth.' So I fasted for four years and all the spirits above, even to [772] the fourth heaven,[b] approved of my coming. They blessed me. Then I fasted 10 days more and then 20 and then 30. Finally all the spirits blessed me, even those under the earth. When I was ready to come to this earth, the spirits gathered together in a council-lodge and 'counciled' about me. All the spirits were present. They told me that I would never fail in anything that I wished to do. Then they decided to make a trial of my powers. They placed an invulnerable spirit-grizzly bear at one end of the lodge and sang the songs that I was to use when I returned to earth. Then I walked around the lodge holding a live coal in the palm of my hand and danced around the fireplace saying *wuki-!* and striking the hand containing the coal with my other hand. The invulnerable bear fell forward prone upon the ground and a black substance flowed

[a] This is commonly postulated of both the life of the fishes and that of the snakes.

[b] He is probably referring to the four earths, although it is, of course, possible that there were four heavens. However, I never obtained the slightest indication of such a belief. [772]

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from his mouth. Then they said to me, 'You have killed him. Even so great a spirit as this you have been able to kill. Indeed, nothing will ever be able to cross your path.' Then they took the 'bear' I had killed and cut him into small pieces with a knife, piled these in the center of the lodge, and covered them with some dark material. 'Now,' they said, 'you must again try your powers.' I asked them for the articles that I would have to use and they gave me a flute and a gourd. Then I made myself holy. All those who had blessed me were present. I walked around the object that lay piled up in the center of the lodge and breathed upon it. This I did for the second time and all those within the lodge breathed together with me. Four times I did this and then the spirit-grizzly bear got up and walked away in the shape of a human being. 'It is good,' they said. 'He has restored him to life again. Surely he is holy.' After a while they said to me again, 'Just as you have done here, will you always do below. Whenever you wish to, you will be able to kill a person or restore him to life. Most assuredly you have been blessed.'

"Then they placed a black stone in the shamans' lodge that stood above. There again they made a trial of my powers. There I blew four times on the stone and I blew a hole through it. For that reason, if any person has a pain and he lets me blow upon it, I can blow it away. It makes no difference what kind of a pain it is. My breath was made holy by the spirits.

"The spirits on the earth and those under the earth also gave me a trial of my powers. They placed an old rotten log before me. I breathed upon it four times, and spat water upon it and it got up in the shape of a human being and walked away.

"My ability to spit water upon the people whom I am treating I received from an eel, from the chief among the eels, one who lives in the center and in the deepest part of the ocean. He is absolutely white and he is the one who blessed me. Whenever I spit water it is inexhaustible, because it comes from him, the eel.

"Then I came to this earth again. They, the spirits, all gave me advice before I left them. When I came upon this earth I entered a lodge and there I was born again. As I said, I thought that I was entering a lodge, but in reality I was entering my mother's womb. Even in my prenatal existence, I never lost consciousness. Then I grew up and fasted again and again, and all those spirits who had blessed me before sent me their blessings again. I can dictate to all the spirits that exist. Whatever I say will come to pass. The [782] tobacco you (the patients) offer me is not to be used by myself. It is really intended for the spirits.

"Spirits, a person is sick and he offers me tobacco. I am on earth to accept it and to try to cure him.

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"'You will live (this is addressed to the patient), so help yourself as much as you can and try to make yourself strong. Now as I offer this tobacco to the spirits you must listen, and if you know that I am telling the truth, you will be strengthened by it.'" 755 782 776 539

(What follows is the shaman's offering of tobacco to the spirits.)

"*Ha* ho!* Here is the tobacco, Fire. You promised me that if I offered you tobacco you would grant me whatever request I made. Now I am placing tobacco on your head as you told me to, when I fasted for four days and you blessed me. I am sending you the plea of a human being who is ill. He wishes to live. This tobacco is for you and I pray that the one who is ill be restored to health within four days.

"To you too, Buffalo, I offer tobacco. A person who is ill is offering tobacco to you and asking you to restore him to health. So add that power which I obtained from you at the time I fasted for six days and you sent your spirits after me who took me to your lodge which lies in the center of this earth and which is absolutely white. There you blessed me, you Buffaloes, of four different colors. Those blessings that you bestowed upon me then, I ask of you now. The power of breathing with which you blessed me, I am in need of now. Add your power to mine, as you promised. The people have given me plenty of tobacco for you.

"To you, Grizzly-bear, I also offered tobacco. At a place called Pointed Hill lives a spirit who is in charge of a ceremonial lodge and to this all the other grizzly-bears belong. You all blessed me and you said that I would be able to kill whomsoever I wished, and that at the same time I would be able to restore any person to life. Now, I have a chance to enable a person to live and I wish to aid him. So here is some tobacco for you. You took my spirit to your home after I had fasted for ten days and you blessed me there. The powers with which you blessed me there I ask of you now. Here is some tobacco, grandfathers, that the people are offering to you.

"To you, the Chief of the Eels, you who live in the center of the ocean, I offer tobacco. You blessed me after I had fasted for eight days. With your power of breathing and with your inexhaustible supply of water, you blessed me. You told me that I could use my blessing whenever I tried to cure a patient. You told me that I could use all the water in the ocean, and you blessed me with all the things that are in the water. A person has come to me and asked me for life; and as I wish him to live, I am addressing you. When I spit upon the patient may the power of my saliva be the same as yours. Therefore I offer you tobacco; here it is.

"To you, the Turtle, you who are in charge of a shaman lodge, you who blessed me after I had fasted seven days and carried my spirit to your home, where I found many birds of prey (literally, birds

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755 with sharp claws). There you blessed me and you told me that
782 should, at any time, any human being have a pain I would be able
776 to drive it out of him. For that reason you called me One-who-
539 drives-out-pains. Now before me is a person with a bad pain and I wish to take it out of him. That is what the spirits told me when they blessed me, before I came down to earth. Therefore I am going to heal him. Here is the tobacco.

"To you, who are in charge of the snake lodge, you who are perfectly white, Rattlesnake, I pray. You blessed me with your rattles to wrap around my gourd and you told me after I had fasted for four days that you could help me. You said that I would never fail in anything that I attempted. So now, when I offer you tobacco and shake my gourd, may my patient live and may life (an additional number of years) be opened to him. That is what you promised me, grandfather.

"I greet you, too, Night Spirits. You blessed me after I had fasted for nine days, and you took my spirit to your village which lies in the east, where you gave me your flutes which you told me were holy. You made my flute holy likewise. For these I ask you now, for you know that I am speaking the truth. A sick person has come to me and has asked me to cure him; and because I want him to live I am speaking to you. You promised to accept my tobacco at all times; here it is.

"To you, Disease-giver, I offer tobacco. After I had fasted two days you let me know that you were the one who gives diseases and that if I desired to heal anyone it would be easy for me to do so were I blessed by you. So, Disease-giver, I am offering you tobacco, and I ask that this sick person who has come to me be restored to health again as you promised when you bestowed your blessing upon me.

"To you, Thunderbirds, I offer tobacco too. When you blessed me you said that you would help me whenever I needed you. A person has come to me and asked me to cure him, and as I want him to live, I wish to remind you of your promise. Grandfathers, here is some tobacco.

"To you, the Sun, I offer tobacco too; here it is. You blessed me after I had fasted for five days and you told me that you would come to my aid whenever I had something difficult to do. Now, someone has come to me and pleaded for life, and he has brought good offerings of tobacco to me because he knows that you have blessed me.

"To you, grandmother, the Moon, I also offer tobacco. You blessed me and said that whenever I needed your power you would aid me. A person has come to me and asked for life, and I therefore call upon you to help me with your power as you promised. Grandmother, here is some tobacco.

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"To you, grandmother, the Earth, I too offer tobacco. You 755
blessed me and promised to help me whenever I needed you. You 782
said that I could use all the best herbs that grow upon you, and that 776
I would always be able to effect cures with them. Those herbs I ask 539
of you now, and I ask you to help me cure this sick person. Make my medicine powerful, grandmother.

"To you, Chief of the Spirits, I offer tobacco. You who blessed me and said that you would help me. I offer you tobacco and ask you to let this sick person live, and if his spirit is about to depart, I ask you to prevent it.

"I offer tobacco to all of you who have blessed me."

Then the shaman blew upon his flute, breathed upon the sick man and sang four times. Then he walked around the lodge and spat water upon the patient. After this he sang four times and stopped. The spirits would now let him know whether the patient was to live or die.

In this manner a shaman treats his patients for four days, and after that takes his offerings and goes away. If the sick person happens to recover, the shaman would tell him that he would never be sick again.

### Thundercloud's Fasting Experience

Then he (Thundercloud) told of his fasting experience. "At 756
the very beginning, those above taught me (the following). A 776
doctor's village existed there; and all the various spirits that lived up in the clouds came after me, and instructed me in what I was to do. In the beginning they taught me, and did the following for me. 'Human, let us try it,' they said to me. There, in the middle of the lodge, lay a dead, rottening log, almost completely covered with weeds. There they tried to make me treat (the sick person). Then once he breathed, and all those that were in the lodge also breathed; then the second time he breathed, and all breathed with him; then for the third time he breathed; and then for the fourth time he breathed. As a young man he, the dead log, arose and walked away. After the fourth breathing, he arose and walked away. 'Human, very holy he is,' they said to me.

"There, from the middle of the ocean, they (the spirits) came after me, for there, in the middle of the ocean, is a shamans' village. There they blessed me—as many (spirits) as there are in the middle of the ocean—they all blessed me. There they made me try my power. As many waves as there are, all of them as large as the ocean, they asked me to blow upon; and as I blew upon them, everything became (as quiet) as (water) in a small saucer. So it became. Then I blew for the third time, and again it was that way. The fourth time they made the ocean choppy, and had (the waves) piled

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756 one upon the other; and they told me to blow again and show my power.
776 And I blew, and the ocean, mighty as it was, became quiet again.

" 'This, human, is the way you will have to do,' they said to me. 'Not anything will there be that you can't accomplish. Whatever illness all (the people) may have, you will be able to cure it,' they told me. All those who are on earth (the spirits) blessed me. 'If any human being who has suffered, pours tobacco for you, then, whatever you demand, that we will do for you,' they said to me. At Blue-Clay-Bank (St. Paul) there is one who is a dancing grizzly-bear (spirit), and there they came and blessed me. If ever I should meet with some great trouble, they would help me, they said. I should pour as much tobacco as I think (necessary) for them, and they will smoke it, they told me. Songs they gave to me; and the power of beholding them, a holy thing, they permitted me, they told me; and their claws, which are holy, they gave to me, they told me. Then the grizzly-bears danced, performing while they danced. Their abdomen they would tear open, and making themselves holy, they would then heal themselves. Then they did it again, and shot bear-claws at each other, and they were badly choking with blood. Then they made themselves holy, and cured themselves. Now, again, they did the following: they made a front paw disappear in the dirt, and after a while they pulled out a prairie-turnip. Then, again, they grabbed a hold of a small plum tree that stood there, and breathed upon it, and shook it, and many plums began to fall.

"Then all sorts of 'shells' they gave. 'All of this, human, we bless you with; and if you do (what we desire), you will obtain (what you desire),' they said. Then he sang, and breathed (upon me), and squirted some water on my chest. 'Very true this is; very holy it is, I believe,' he said. 'You will get well,' he said to me."

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# CHAPTER XI

## RELIGION

### Introduction

We know that in all religions there are two factors to be considered—a specific feeling and certain beliefs, conceptions, customs, and acts associated with that feeling; that the belief most inextricably connected with that religious feeling is the one in spirits more powerful than man and controlling everything in life which he values. 771

The beliefs themselves play an important part with all people, but the importance of the specific feeling varies with each individual. A perusal of the fasting experiences (see pp. 293–308) will make this quite clear. It is because we do not separate the actions and testimony of the religious man from that of the intermittently religious and the nonreligious man that most presentations of the subject are so confused and vague. It is, of course, extremely difficult to obtain the real attitude of the intermittently religious and the nonreligious man, because it is the religious individual and leader who gives form to the expressions which religion assumes in ceremony and prayer. Yet we must recognize that there is a difference and that it is often this difference that accounts for certain contradictions in the information obtained. The one place where it is possible, at least among the Winnebago, to obtain some idea of the emotional make-up and attitude of the intermittently religious man, is the fasting ordeal, and from a comparison of these experiences it is quite clear that a sufficiently large number of people were not able to obtain that thrill which they had been taught to expect. It is also clear that the shamans and religious leaders recognized this fact and provided for it by advising such people to buy the requisite protection against the trials and misfortunes of life, or as they put it, "the crises or narrow places of life." Such a person would certainly not be regarded as one of the leaders of the tribe. 787

The ideal that the parent held before the eyes of his children is quite eloquently put in the system of instructions (see p. 168). 867 787

My son, when you grow up, you should try to be of some benefit to your followers. There is only one way in which this can be done, and that is to fast . . . If you thirst to death, the spirits who are in control of wars will bless you . . . But, my son, if you do not fast repeatedly it will be all in vain that you inflict sufferings upon your-

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867
787 self. Blessings are not obtained except by making the proper offerings to the spirits and by putting yourself, time and again, in the proper mental condition . . . If you do not obtain a spirit to strengthen you, you will amount to nothing in the estimation of your followers, and they will show you little respect . . . My son, as you travel along life's path, you will find many narrow passages (i. e., crises), and you can never tell when you will come to them. Try to anticipate them, so that you will be endowed with sufficient strength (by obtaining powers from the spirits) to pass safely through these narrow passages.

771 Among the Winnebago religion is definitely connected with the preservation of life values. It is not a phenomenon distinct from mundane life, but one of the most important means of maintaining social ideals. What these are can be gleaned from practically every prayer; they are success, happiness, and long life. The vast majority of investigators are often surprised at the intense religious life which, among the North American Indians, exists side by side with an intense realism and with a clear understanding and appreciation of the materialistic basis of life. The explanation, to judge from the Winnebago data, is simple enough. The Indian does not interpret life in terms of religion, but religion in terms of life. In other words, he exalts the world around him and the multifarious desires and necessities of the day, so that they appear to him bathed in a religious thrill. At least that is what the devoutly religious man does and most of the religious data presented in this volume emanates from him. Still we are convinced that for the vast majority of Winnebago, in other words, for the intermittently religious, there are many moments in life and many actions which are seen through this pleasurable religious thrill.

224
796 Every Winnebago will admit that to perform the *wunetce're* ceremony (p. 111) and, on the following day, to agree to start at a certain hour, would not necessarily result in killing a bear. The bear tracks are to be followed and a person is to persevere until the bear is captured, in spite of the fact that the *wunetce're* ceremony is supposed to insure the capture of the animal.

726
787 Or again let us take the following example. No man can hope to go on a warpath and kill an enemy unless he is authorized to do so by a definite blessing received during fasting. If we were to accept this statement as such, we might be led to believe that the Winnebago were willing to risk their young men on so dangerous an undertaking as a warpath, on the sole strength of a fasting experience. It does not stand to reason that they would, and a careful inquiry into the subject has shown that they never did. What actually happened was that the prospective war leader translated into religious terms the exact conditions and requirements of every particular war party. That is why the chief of the tribe and the shamans insisted that only such a person who had been blessed with the most specific kind of knowledge, such as the number of men he must take

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along, the amount of food required, the number of moccasins necessary, the number and strength of the enemy, where he was to meet them, etc.—that only such a man might start on a warpath. If an individual failed to give the proper assurances and guarantees to the chief, his expedition was not countenanced. If, nevertheless, he went, any mishap was directly chargeable to him. 726 737

In other words, we are dealing here with a more or less fixed way of describing the mundane happenings of life. The terminology is religious, but does that mean that there is always a religious feeling attached to it? That is the crucial question to determine. We believe that the religious element in such a happening depends upon the religious susceptibility of the individual concerned. It is quite possible that a devoutly religious man may think of the religious aspect of a rite or action more than one who is but indifferently religious, but he will never for one moment forget that the questions involved here are of a purely human nature. The most that can be said of the religious element of the two particular cases mentioned above is that they will spur the person on. Perhaps it is the realization that such is the case that often prompts the more matter-of-fact individuals to lay such stress on fasting preparatory to starting on a warpath. There, indeed, seems to have been a matter-of-fact movement in the tribe, for the members of the Warrior clan claimed that they could dispense with the fasting, and that mere membership in that particular clan gave them the right to go on a warpath whenever they wished to. This we know was vigorously denied by other individuals. 771 [614 787]

The Winnebago has no disinterested, unselfish love for the spirit or deity to whom he prays, except in so far as every man is likely to develop such an attitude at some crisis or when his mind is fixed intently on the attainment of some personal advantage. Then, naturally enough, the spirits who are to bestow these blessings are addressed in the most laudatory terms. To show how intimately these spirits are bound up with the worldly affairs of man and how little they mean to him apart from this we have but to point out that, for the vast majority of Winnebago, the spirits' freedom of action is conceived of as definitely restricted. There seems to be a purely mechanical relation of cause and effect between the offerings of men and their acceptance by the spirits. The latter are not free to reject them except in theory. Was it not ordained by Earthmaker, when the earth was created, that in return for tobacco the spirits were to bestow blessings on man? So every Winnebago believes. The religious leaders insisted that only when the proper offerings were made in the proper way would the spirits bestow their blessings. But after all is said and done, the chances that the proper conditions would not be fulfilled were negligible And we doubt whether this 776 782 771

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776 rather high conception was shared by all the Winnebago. Our
782 impression is that many Winnebago believed the offering would
771 be mechanically followed by the blessing. Take, for instance, the following example: A middle-aged Winnebago while hunting was suddenly surprised by the enemy. He succeeded in making his escape into a cave. All hope of final delivery seemed to be gone, for the enemy stationed themselves before the entrance. Now this man had never been blessed in his youth and knew little about the proper procedure to observe when making offerings to the spirits. In this terrible crisis he turned instinctively to the spirits. He took some tobacco and put some in the different nooks of the cave, and said: "Spirits, whoever you are, and wherever you are, it is said that you love tobacco and that in return for it you bless people. Here is some tobacco, and I ask that I may return to my people." There was, as far as we know, no promise made that in return he would make further offerings to them or that he would thereafter love them and honor them. He escaped and unquestionably believed that it was due to the intervention of the spirits, but the spirits were, quite clearly, constrained to act because they had received tobacco.

There can be little doubt that many Winnebago felt as this man did. We find an expression of the same attitude in a myth. The Winnebago are represented as making offerings to the buffalo spirits, and the smoke is ascending to the home of these spirits through a hole in the sky. The younger buffalos can not resist the temptation of approaching the opening to catch a few whiffs of their favorite tobacco. They are thereupon warned by the older buffalos not to go too close, for the tobacco fumes might tempt them too strongly; and should they succumb to the temptation and accept the offerings, they would then have to appear on earth and be killed by man.
776 As might have been expected, there is in the relation of the spirits
782 to man something similar to the securing of the food animal by some
771 such ceremony as the *wana'kere*. The spirits are dazzled, hypnotized
823 by the offerings, and accept.

In the second of the examples given above we were dealing with a food animal—the buffalo. If there is any plausibility in the explanation we advanced before that the Winnebago interprets religion in terms of life, the relation of the spirits to the food supply ought to show it. Now, it is characteristic of the Winnebago religion that the great generalized spirit deities, like Earthmaker, Sun, Moon, etc., have little to do with the securing of specific kinds of food. As a rule, some generalized spirit-animal presides over the various species of animals, and he gladly permits the animals to appear on earth to be killed by man when the proper offerings are made. This seems to have been a secondary interpretation, however, developed probably
[756] under the influence of the shamans as a substitute for the purely mechanical attitude mentioned above. To picture the food animals

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as desirous of being killed and eaten by man is, however, but another way of saying that the food animals were killed and eaten, and were secondarily and weakly brought into the general religious life, because everything was seen through a religious vista. It is by no means certain that this was always the case; and there seem to be innumerable indications in the myths that there was a time when the securing of the food animals was not connected with religion as such.

Just as the securing of food animals is to-day connected with certain spirits, so are the various activities of man during his life. But characteristically it is not a generalized conception of life, but life as consisting of a prescribed number of years, with so many war honors, so much wealth, so much food consumed, so many children, etc. The spirits are exhorted to give to every man his allotted number of years, food, etc. These are apparently his by right, and if he dies before his time the ghost of the deceased is asked to beg the spirits to distribute among his relatives the "unused" years, food, etc. So here, too, we have a clear example of the explanation of purely materialistic conception of life in terms of religion.

It will be best to discuss the main features of Winnebago religion under the following heads:

I. The religious concepts:
   1. The concept of supernatural power.
   2. The concept and nature of the spirits.
   3. The power and localization of the spirits.

II: 1. The twofold interpretation of the relation of the spirits to man.
   2. The guardian spirits.
   3. Personal religious experiences.

III. Methods of bringing the spirits into relation with man:
   1. Fasting.
   2. Mental concentration.
   4. Offerings and sacrifices.
   5. Prayers.

IV. The folkloristic concepts:
   1. The concept of evil.
   2. The concept of disease.
   3. The concepts of death, after-life, and reincarnation.
   4. The concept of the soul.

V. The cosmological ideas.

### The Concept of Supernatural Power[1]

The Winnebago have no such belief in a "magic power" as Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt and Mr. W. Jones would have us believe exists among [114]

[1] For a general discussion of this concept in North America cf. my paper on the "Religion of the North American Indians," Journal of American Folklore, vol. 27, no. 105, pp. 244-261.

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T71 the Iroquois and Fox.[3] In the article mentioned above we have
[114] given our reasons for believing that these ethnologists were mistaken in their interpretation.

T76 In the Winnebago language the four words most commonly used
192 in speaking of the spirits are *wak'a*ⁿ, *wak'a'ndja*, *zop*, and *wazop'i'ni*. *Wak'a*ⁿ seems exactly equivalent to our word "sacred," while *wak'a'ndja*, which is identical with the Omaha word *wakonda*, means thunderbird. In all likelihood it originally meant "he who is sacred" or something like that. It has nothing to do with the word "thunder," which is *ł*ᵃ*eire* in Winnebago. The word *wak'a*ⁿ also means snake, for the snake is a holy animal among the Winnebago, the messenger of the spirits. The word *zop*, identical with the Omaha *zube*, is more difficult to define. It means sacred and awe-inspiring and seems to be associated, in the eyes of the Winnebago, with the intensely emotional aspects of religion, where self is completely forgotten. Those ceremonies, in which the performers work
[786] themselves into a frenzy of excitement and dance naked, are always referred to as *zo p*. The word *wazop'i'ni* is clearly a noun compounded of the indefinite prefix *wa-* and the suffix *-ni*, which possibly is an old agentive nominalizer, or, more probably, an old stem meaning "man." It occurs also in the word *manka'ni*, medicine-man. In other words it means "he who" or "that which is holy." *Wazop'i'ni* is the only Winnebago word for spirit. Both the words *wak'andja* and *wazop'i'ni* are very definite terms referring to individualized spirits.

T76 As to the use of the adjectives *wak'a*ⁿ and *zop*, there seems to be
T71 little mystery about them. They are used much as our words
192 "holy" and "sacred." Anything in any way connected with the spirits is either *wak'a*ⁿ or *zop*. If a Winnebago were to come across some unusually shaped object he might offer tobacco to it, and upon being questioned he would undoubtedly say that the object is *wak'a*ⁿ. What is it that he means by *wak'a*ⁿ? From my experience in the field he simply means that it is "sacred," and if pressed for a more definite answer he would probably say that it has the power of

[3] According to Mr. Hewitt, orenda is a "magic power which was assumed . . . to be inherent in every body . . . and in every personified attribute, property, or activity . . . This hypothetic principle was conceived to be immaterial, occult, impersonal, mysterious in mode of action . . . The possession of orenda . . . is the distinctive characteristic of all the gods, and these gods in earlier time were all the bodies and beings of nature in any manner affecting the weal or woe of man." (Article "Orenda" in the Handbook of American Indians, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, pt. 2.) According to W. James, the mana "is an unsystematic belief in a cosmic, supernatural property, which is believed to be existing everywhere in nature . . . The conception of this something waver between that of a commonplace property, that of a mobile, invisible substance, and that of a latent transferable energy: . . . this substance, property, or energy is conceived as being widely diffused amongst natural objects and human beings . . . the presence of it is promptly assigned as the explanation of any unusual power or efficacy which any object or person is found to possess: . . . It is a distinct and rather abstract conception of a diffused, all-pervasive, invisible, manipulable, and transferable life-energy, or universal force . . . (Finally) all success, strength, or prosperity is conceived to depend upon the possession of (this force)."—"The Algonkin Manitou" (Journal of American Folklore, vol. 18, no. LXX, pp. 102-109, 1905).

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bestowing blessings upon him in other words, of acting like a spirit, 776
a wazep'i'ni. That is why he offers tobacco to it. We would be 771
inclined to say that the individual finding such an object has created 192
a new spirit. Such a new spirit may be forever confined to the particular family to which the individual belongs. It might die with him, or, on the other hand, it might acquire great importance and popularity and become a tribal spirit. What seems to have happened, in the vast majority of cases, however, among the Winnebago, is that owing to the marked development of the spirit-deities and cosmogonic myths, such "sacred" objects were interpreted as being either some manifestation of a spirit, some transformation which he had assumed, or as inhabited by a spirit.

The reason why, in our opinion, so many ethnologists have ap- 771
parently misinterpreted the nature of *wak'a°* is due to the fact that 114
when something that, from the European viewpoint, is immaterial and inanimate, like vapor, light, movement, etc., is called *wak'a°*, then it seems difficult for them to imagine that it can be so except by virtue of some intimate connection with a definite spirit, and if that can not be demonstrated, then the only solution left is to fall back upon the "magic power" idea. By doing this they clearly show that for them the test of individualization is corporeality of a fairly definite kind, dependent mainly upon visual sensations. This brings us to a fundamental problem, not only for Winnebago religion, but for North American religion in general.

### The Concept and Nature of the Spirits

Those Indians who have never spent any time thinking upon the 776
nature of spirits can not truly be said to have any concept of their 124
nature, whether vague or definite. They simply repeat what they have heard from the more religiously inclined. An answer prompted by a moment's consideration, as is often the case when an ethnologist interrogates them, does not necessarily reflect the current view of the subject, nor, for that matter, even the same Indian's belief after he has given the matter some thought. Many Winnebago, with whom the author was fairly well acquainted, refused to answer certain questions offhand and asked for time to reflect about them. It seems justified, when we are studying a subject like religion, to ask for information from those who have, in all probability, formulated the beliefs the shamans. It is from them that we must strive to learn whether the spirits are conceived of as anthropomorphic, theromorphic, dream-phantasms, or indefinite entities in general.

In trying to discover this the author found, not only that he was asking a leading question, but that he was asking an unnecessary question. It was soon quite clear that the Winnebago did not

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[124] base their test of the existence of a spirit on the presence or absence of corporeality; in other words, upon such sense perceptions as sight and hearing. It is because we Europeans do insist that the presence or absence of corporeality is the test of reality or unreality that we have been led to make the classification into personal and impersonal. But the Winnebago apparently does not insist that existence depends upon sense perceptions alone. He claims that what is thought of, what is felt, and what is spoken, in fact, anything that is brought before his consciousness, is a sufficient indication of its existence and it is the question of the existence and reality of these spirits in which he is interested. The question of their corporeality is of comparative unimportance and most of the questions connected with the personal or impersonal nature of the spirits do not exist.

It is clear that if comparatively little stress has been laid by the Winnebago on the personality of the spirits, it will be difficult to define them precisely except by their names, by their attributes, and by the nature of the blessings which they bestow on man. What seems to stand out most prominently in the attitude of the Winnebago toward their spirits is the intense belief in the reality of their existence, which is due first to what might be called the "emotional authority" for their existence, and secondly, to the fact that the life values of man are intensely real and the spirits are theoretically in control of these life values.

To the average Winnebago the world is peopled by an indefinite number of spirits who manifest their existence in many ways, being either visible, audible, felt emotionally, or manifesting themselves by some sign or result. From a certain point of view, all the spirits demonstrate their existence by the result, by the fact that the blessings they bestow upon man enable him to be successful, and this holds just as much for the spirit who manifests himself in the most intangible, emotional manner as for that one who is visible to man.

In all those areas where a well-developed ritualistic organization exists a fairly large number of theromorphic and anthropomorphic spirits is found. In many cases these are real deities. This is true for the Winnebago. Exactly how definite and distinct this theromorphic and anthropomorphic nature of the spirits is will depend largely on the individual history that the spirit has undergone. Where tricksters and animal heroes have become spirits or deities their theromorphic nature is marked. Other deities, like Earthmaker, Disease-giver, the Thunderbirds, etc., have become markedly anthropomorphic, owing to the reinterpretations and remodeling of the shamans. Often enough the reinterpretations are not thorough and we find deities of an apparently mixed type.

Those who care to get a detailed description of the various deities of the Winnebago should read the various prayers found in such

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ceremonies as the war-bundle feasts, buffalo dance, sore-eye dance, 776
etc. We will enumerate but a few of them here.

The principal deities of the Winnebago are: Earthmaker, Sun, Moon, Earth, Morning Star, Disease-giver, Thunderbird, Water-spirit, etc.

*Earthmaker.* He is known to the Winnebago under three names: *Ma'una*, earthmaker; *waja'gu'zera*, he-who-makes-something; and *wazopa'ni zedera*, the great spirit. Of these the last is the most archaic, which might imply that originally Earthmaker was merely the great spirit. In the hands of the shamans, to whom the development and elaboration of the great Winnebago ceremonies like the medicine dance and the war-bundle feasts were due, he became [756] almost a true monotheistic deity, benevolent but unapproachable. In the older myths, like the trickster and hero cycles (cf. for instance, the *wak'djuk'aga* and hare cycle), he is hardly mentioned except as a clear afterthought. In another cycle, like that of the twins, where he is definitely mentioned, he is treated like a spirit similar to the other spirits, although superior to them, but in no way resembling the benevolent deity that we find in the origin myth of the medicine dance (p. 350). How and when this development took place, and whether the introduction of Christianity had anything to do with it, it is difficult to say. All indications seem to be overwhelmingly against the latter assumption, although it can not be entirely dismissed. As we have indicated in a previous paper,[8] there appears to have been a well-developed pre-Columbian belief in a good and bad spirit among the woodland Indians. The Winnebago shared in this belief and Earthmaker developed his present position through the displacement of the chief bad spirit called *Herecgunina*.

The older conception of Earthmaker seems to crop out also in the [787] occasional attempts of individuals to obtain blessings from him. (Cf. the tale of Wegi'ceka, p. 291.)

Little can be learned as to the actual appearance of Earthmaker. In the origin myth of the medicine dance he is described as though he were clearly anthropomorphic. The symbol associated with him [796 in the war-bundle feasts, the cross, is unquestionably supposed to 823] represent the four cardinal points.

Earthmaker is not supposed to bestow any definite blessings on man. He is, in a general way, expected to give them life. There is but little real worship of him because he is far removed from man and is supposed to come into relation with them only through his intermediaries, the spirits. According to the cosmological myths he

[8] The Religion of the North American Indians, Journ. Am. Folklore, vol. 27, no. 106.

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[776] created everything with the definite purpose of benefiting mankind in contrast to the creative acts of the old Trickster. It is very instructive to notice how he gradually usurped the place formerly held by the older spirit-deities and clan ancestors. In the clan origin myths there are a number of versions where he directs certain spirit animals, the ancestors of the clan, to go down to earth, while in other apparently older versions nothing is said of him.

*Sun.* The sun is known to the Winnebago generally as *ha*hwira*, orb of day, and ceremonially as *ha*horadjara*, day-wanderer. He does not occupy to-day the position he formerly held. There are a number of indications that seem to point to the fact that his worship diminished when that of Earthmaker began to assert itself. Many of his functions and powers were likewise taken over by the Thunder-birds, who, although they distinctly belong to the older strata of Winnebago beliefs, have yet assumed their present importance apparently in connection with the development of the Earthmaker belief.

[773] The sun is occasionally spoken of in myths, but rarely as a culture hero. In only one myth collected was he the hero of the myth. There he appears as the husband of the moon and as an anthropomorphic being who possesses an all-powerful disk (the sun).

[782] Offerings are frequently made to him, but he rarely blesses an individual. In other words, he is not a true guardian spirit. He only blesses men and upon them he always confers success in war.

*Moon.* The moon, like the sun, probably formerly occupied a more important place in the Winnebago pantheon. She is a female deity and blesses women, although, like the sun, she is not a true guardian spirit.

*Earth.*—Earth, like the moon, is a female deity. She is one of the oldest deities of the Winnebago and appears as the grandmother in some of the oldest myth cycles, like that of the hare. Offerings are [782] made to her at the various ceremonies, particularly at the medicine dance and the war-bundle feasts. She never appears as a guardian spirit.

[756] The earth is one of the deities who has received considerable reinterpretation at the hands of the shamans. In the myths she is a purely folk-mythological figure in no way interested in furthering the welfare of mankind. On the contrary, she is spoken of as the sister of those bad spirits who are bent on destroying the human race. Her rôle as a beneficent deity probably developed in connection with that of the hare, her grandchild, according to the old folklore notions, transformed when he became associated with the founding of the medicine dance or its older Winnebago predecessor from a typical trickster to an heroic animal deity.

*Morning Star.*—This is one of the spirits belonging to the older strata of Winnebago beliefs, who apparently was not displaced by

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the newer deities. He is both a great deity and a guardian spirit. 776
That he developed out of the indefinite "folklore-spirits" is abundantly attested by the rôle he plays in the myths.

Morning Star is preeminently associated with war.

*Disease-giver.*—This is but an approximate translation of his name in Winnebago, which is *hoc'e'u' wakira*. He is a very peculiar figure, being described as an anthropomorphic figure, dealing out death from one side of his body and life from the other. He is preeminently a guardian spirit who only appears to the bravest and holiest fasters. His specific blessings seem to be connected with war [726 755] and the curing of disease.

He appears in none of the myths and in but few of the ceremonies. He plays a very important rôle in the war-bundle feasts.

It is rather difficult to explain his origin. He seems hardly to be a deity of the people and can best be understood, it seems, if we regard him as largely a construction of the shaman. Certain of his characteristics may have been borrowed from some neighboring tribe.

*Thunderbird.*—Thunderbird is another of the older folkloristic conceptions that has been remodeled and reinterpreted by the shamans. He might be said to be the most popular of Winnebago deities. He is found everywhere—in the oldest myths, the clan origin myths, and the newest myths; he is a clan ancestor, a popular guardian spirit, and a popular deity. In contradistinction to practically all of the other deities, he is regarded as easily approachable by man.

To the popular mind he is distinctly theromorphic in form, causing lightning by the flashes of his eyes and thunder by the flapping of his wings. In some of the versions of the clan origin myth we still find this conception. In the hands of the shamans he became an anthropomorphic deity, characterized by baldness and the wearing [756] of bay wreathes. Something of the older conception still clings to him, however, for he frequently acts as a bird and the flashing of his eyes still causes lightning. His baldness itself is an archaic feature, because the Thunderbird originally was supposed to be a kind of eagle.

Many representations of the Thunderbird can be found on various articles and in the effigy mounds.

He blesses men with practically everything, but particularly with [726] victory on the warpath.

*Water-spirit.*—The meaning of the Winnebago word for this deity, *wak'tezi*, is unknown. The translation "Water-spirit" does not claim to have anything to do with the real meaning of the word, but it was preferred by the Winnebago because this deity is always pictured as a water monster.

He is one of the older folkloristic conceptions and has not been [756] very greatly reinterpreted by the shamans. The Thunderbird is sup-

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T76 posed to be at eternal enmity with him, and for that reason he is regarded by most of the Winnebago as a sort of a mixed deity, partly evil and partly good, but always to be feared and capable of bestowing great blessings on man. Owing to the fact that he has become [614] identified as the clan ancestor of one of the most important Winnebago clans, he has undergone a partial rehabilitation.

The Water-spirit is an important figure in the older myths, and in them seems to be identified with the bad spirits. The attitude of the Winnebago toward him is full of inconsistencies. He is evil, yet his [778] "bones" are the most prized possessions of man on account of the remarkable power with which they are endowed. He is an evil spirit, yet according to an apparently old myth (the Traveler) one of the Water-spirits is the spirit deity in control of the earth.

In addition to these marked anthropomorphic and theromorphic spirit deities, the Winnebago, as mentioned before, have a large number of vague spirits, like fire, light, etc., and a legion of animal spirits. The latter show some interesting transitions extending all the way from purely nonspirit heroic animals to distinct spirits, conceived of as animal in shape but noncorporeal. In many cases it is, of course, [825] quite impossible to say how marked the "spirit" nature of the animal is, because it often depends on who is looking at it. To the ordinary nonreligious Winnebago the hare is mainly an heroic animal; to the religious Winnebago or a member of the medicine dance he is a spirit-animal or even a spirit-deity. In the same way different conceptions are held about the nature of the animal clan ancestors, some thinking of them as heroic animals and others as generalized noncorporeal spirit-animals and spirit-deities. Wherever guardian spirits are animals they also become noncorporeal spirit-animals. One of the reasons given by the Winnebago for the fact that the different guardian spirit-animals do not object to the killing of animals of their own species is because, in killing a bear a Winnebago is not killing his guardian spirit, the bear, for the latter is a generalized spirit-bear in control of all the bears who appear on earth.

In a number of cases it is not at all difficult to trace the development of a trickster hero, an anthropomorphic hero, or an heroic animal, into a spirit to whom offerings are made. Thus, for instance, [782] kettles and often buckskins are offered to *wak'djvgk'a'gu*, hare, and the twins, at the war-bundle feasts.

### The Power and Localization of the Spirits

According to the Winnebago, spirits possess the power of bestowing upon man all those things that are of socio-economic value to him. These may vary from such very important economic things as rain

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or success on the warpath to the most insignificant trifles. Practically any spirit, no matter how indefinitely conceived, can bestow generalized blessings. On the whole, however, these powers are conceived of as being in the hands of a comparatively small number, and the same powers are frequently possessed by different spirits. This will become clear after a careful perusal of the fasting experiences. 776

As to the prevalence of the belief in the localization of spirits, not only among the Winnebago but over all North America, there can no longer be any doubt. Among the Winnebago there are as many spirits as there are lakes, hills, rivers, etc., and all these are looked upon from two points of view, first as the bestowers of certain blessings and, secondly, as the protectors of their own precincts. In the first case they are generally identical with the guardian spirits. In the second case they are simply vague, indistinct spirits to whom offerings are made for temporary protection. So when a Winnebago crossed a river or lake he poured tobacco into the water as a recompense for trespassing, and uttered the prayer that no storms should arise or that he should not come to grief. [171] [782]

As to whether the spirits here are the lakes, rivers, hills, etc., or some being inhabiting them, the answer is, unquestionably the latter.

### The Twofold Interpretation of the Relation of the Spirits to Man

We mentioned before (p. 270) that the interpretation of the relationship between the spirits and man was largely mechanical, blessings being secured apparently independent of any volition on the part of the spirits, for if the Winnebago make the requisite offerings to the Thunderbirds they must accept them and bestow on the suppliant the powers they possess. While this interpretation was undoubtedly the popular one, the shamans tried to develop another explanation—what might be called a "contract" theory. The spirits possessed the various powers without which man could achieve only a modicum of success; and man possessed tobacco, corn, eagle feathers, buckskin, etc. His principal possession, however, was tobacco, and this had been given him directly by Earthmaker. The contract was definite and distinct: man was to give the spirits tobacco, etc.; and the spirits were to give man the powers they controlled. Accompanying this change of interpretation, there was a difference of attitude, the principal characteristic of which was a heightened religious feeling. This change of interpretation is clearly shown in the concept of the guardian spirit. [756]

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THE GUARDIAN SPIRITS

776 In the concept of the guardian spirits we have a mixture of both the "mechanical" and the "contract" theories. The guardian spirits themselves are, to our mind, but the transformed localized spirits; in other words, the *genii loci*. They are supposed to protect the individual to whom they appear in the same way as the *genii loci* protected their precinct. While theoretically every Winnebago could have his own guardian spirit, there seems to have been a marked [428 424] tendency for certain guardian spirits to be inherited. This was so, not because there was any distinct development of the idea of inheritance, but because certain definite powers were associated with the spirits, like success in hunting, fishing, etc. In terms of everyday life this simply meant that a good hunter would try to make his sons and near relatives good hunters; in religious terminology it meant that a son was blessed by the same guardian spirit as the father. (Cf. the fasting experience on p. 293.)

The following fasting experiences will show clearly what powers are supposed to be possessed by the various guardian spirits. The attitude with which the faster approaches the ordeal clearly varies from that of childish playfulness to one of considerable religious intensity, always remembering that we are dealing with boys and girls before the adolescent stage. Perhaps the best way of putting it would be to say that we are dealing with a stereotyped expression of life, reading as follows: "I am a successful hunter; I am a prominent warrior, etc.; and I am told that I have become such because I have done what my elders told me, have practiced these professions diligently, and made offerings to the spirits." Such a formula might be put in the mouth of the youthful faster, but it meant nothing until it was interpreted much later in terms of each man's experience in life.

[787] The youth's fasting experience is carefully tested by the elders, and if found wanting in any respect the youth has either to try again or give up.

The guardian spirit is not supposed to be in permanent attendance upon man. It is only when he is needed, in the crises of life, that he is brought into relation with man; and it is quite characteristic of the markedly materialistic basis of the belief that the spirit is only called into aid for the particular needs of the case.

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## Personal Religious Experiences[4]

### HOW WEGI'CEKA TRIED TO SEE EARTHMAKER[5]

Once there was a Winnebago whose name was Wegi'ceka. As soon as he was grown up his father begged him to fast. The old man told his son that Earthmaker, when he created this earth, made many good spirits and that he put each one of them in control of powers with which they could bless human beings. Some he placed in control of war powers. If these spirits bless an individual, he will always be victorious on the warpath. Earthmaker told the human beings to fast for these powers and then they would be rich and powerful. Now, my son, if Earthmaker has put all these spirits in charge of something, he himself must be in charge of much more power. Thus the old man reasoned and the son thought the same. So he tried to "dream" of Earthmaker. "I wonder what sort of blessings Earthmaker bestows on people," he thought to himself.

None of the spirits blessed Wegi'ceka during his fastings. He was always thinking of Earthmaker and asking him to bless him. Wegi'ceka made himself extremely "pitiable" and wept. He could not stop. "Perhaps I will be able to see Earthmaker if I weep," he thought to himself. "Indeed, if Earthmaker does not bless me I will die during my fast."

He fasted continuously without stopping. Verily, he fasted for Earthmaker. First he fasted for 4 nights, and then for 6 nights, and then for 8 nights, for 10, and finally for 12 nights. Yet he received no blessing of any kind. After fasting 12 nights he stopped and ate something. He kept fasting on until he had grown to be a fully developed man. Then he stopped and married and, accompanied by his wife, he moved away from his village to some uninhabited place. There he lived alone with his wife. There again he fasted and his wife helped him. As before, he tried to have Earthmaker bestow a blessing upon him. This time he made up

[4] Some religious experiences belonging to Winnebagoes well known to the tribe have been cast in a literary form and handed down from one generation to another. The literary mold in which they have been cast does not in the least interfere with their value as excellent examples of personal experiences, and for that reason I will include one of them here.

[5] Earthmaker is supposed never to bless any human being, but there are a number of accounts of individuals who tried without success, nevertheless, to have him bless them. What the people, however, missed by lack of success was not so much a total lack of success as an incomplete blessing. So, for instance, Wegi'ceka does really receive a case as a blessing from Earthmaker, and he has the right to call upon him afterwards in the same way as he calls upon other "guardian spirits." Earthmaker does not, however, appear to him in the way an ordinary spirit would—that is, he neither appears to him as a man nor in the form of a voice conferring some blessing, but as a flash of light.

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776 his mind once and for all that if Earthmaker did not bless him he
787 would die during his fast. "It is true," he said to himself, "that no
539 one has ever heard of anyone being blessed by Earthmaker, but nevertheless I will either obtain a blessing from him or die in the attempt."

As time passed on his wife gave birth to a male child. Then the man said, "We will offer up our son to Earthmaker," and the woman consented. So they sacrificed their son to Earthmaker. Then they placed the body of the child on a scaffold and wept bitterly. "Surely," he said to himself, "Earthmaker will bless us to-night." And indeed during the night he came to him. Wegi'ceka felt positive that it was he. He wore a soldier's uniform and a cocked hat and he was pleasing to the sight. Wegi'ceka looked and wondered whether it was really Earthmaker. Then this person took a step forward toward Wegi'ceka. "Indeed it must be," he thought. Then he took another step in his direction and uttered something. Wegi'ceka looked and saw that it was not Earthmaker but a pigeon. The spirits had fooled him. His heart ached, but, undaunted, he again fasted, and after a while Earthmaker seemed to come to him and say, "Man, I bless you. For a long time you have wept and made yourself pitiable. I am indeed Earthmaker." When Wegi'ceka looked again he beheld something pleasing to the sight and he liked it. The clothing the man wore was pleasing and Wegi'ceka now felt certain that this person was Earthmaker. He looked at him again and it seemed to him as if Earthmaker was getting smaller and smaller, and as he looked for the fourth time he saw that he had been looking at a little bird all the time. Then his heart ached all the more, and he cried even more bitterly than before. Then for the third time Earthmaker blessed him and spoke to him. "You have tried to 'dream' of Earthmaker and you have worried yourself to death. Behold, I am Earthmaker and I will bless you and you will never be in want of anything. You will be able to understand the language spoken by strange tribes and you will never be wanting in the goods of life." Then he looked up for the first time, but when he saw the individual who had spoken to him he thought that there was something wrong. Soon he saw that the one who had spoken to him was a bird.

Then for the last time he tried to "dream" of Earthmaker. He did not eat anything and positively resolved to die if Earthmaker did not appear to him. He felt bad, for he thought that all the bad birds (spirits) were laughing at him.

He fasted, and soon Earthmaker, far above, heard his voice and said, "Wegi'ceka, you are weeping bitterly. For your sake, I will come to the earth." Then Earthmaker told Wegi'ceka that when he (Wegi'ceka) looked at him he would see a ray of light extending from

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above far down to his camp. That far it would reach. "Only thus, 776
Wegi'ceka, can you see me. What you ask of me (to see me face to 787
face) I can not grant you. But, nevertheless, you may tell (your 539
fellowmen) that you saw me." Thus he spoke to him. He did not bless him with war powers. Only with life did he bless him.

Then Wegi'ceka tried to draw a picture of the flash of light extending from the heavens to his camp, just as he had seen it, upon a cane. To that cane he sacrificed. The descendants of Wegi'ceka are using cane even to the present day.

ACCOUNT OF J.'S FASTING

When I reached the age of puberty my father called me aside and 159
told me to fast. He told me that it was his fervent wish that I should 787
begin to fast, so that I might become holy and invincible and invul- 867
nerable in war. I would become like one of those Winnebagoes of whom stories are told. In future generations the people would speak of me often. For these reasons he wished me to fast. He assured me that if I fasted I would really be holy and that nothing on this earth would be able to harm me. I would also live a very long life, he told me. I would be able to treat the sick and cure them. That holy I would be, he told me. If I acted in this way, my father told me, no person would dare to make fun of me and they would always be careful of the manner in which they addressed me, both because they respected me and because they were afraid of incurring my enmity. For these reasons my father counseled me to fast and to continue fasting from the late fall until spring. During that time I should fast without stopping. In the spring, however, I was to stop, because many bad spirits are about at that time and they might deceive me. If he thought that I was not doing enough fasting he would urge me on with words, saying, "My son, fast, because if you receive knowledge of anything (i. e., if you have been blessed repeatedly), nothing will be able to harm you. You will live long; and I want you to live long." In this way my father used to speak to me and in this way he used to plead with me in a piteous manner. "Remember," he used to say to me repeatedly, "that if you do not fast none of the spirits will bless you."

There was a hill near our place called the Place-where-they-keep- 159
weapons. This hill was very high and it looked steep and rocky. 787
It must have been a very holy place. There my father had lived 776
(when he was blessed by the spirits). Within this hill lived the spirits that we call Those-who-cry-like-babies.[1] These spirits were supposed to have arrows and bows. There were supposed to be twenty of them in this hill. My father had control of these spirits.

[1] These spirits are the same as those generally known as the Hawk's, or Thunder-birds.

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159 If he (my father) blessed a man he would do as follows: He would
789 take his bow and arrows and, holding them in both of his hands,
776 take the man around the hill and then into the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There he and the man he wished to bless let their breath pass into the middle of the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There stood a stone pillar and upon this stone pillar, at about arm's length, he drew the pictures of different animals. My father had only one arrow, but that arrow was a holy one. Then my father danced around the stone pillar and sang some songs, and when he was finished he began to breathe upon the stone pillar; and, walking around it, he shot it. When he looked at it, he saw that the stone had turned into a deer with large horns. This deer fell dead at his feet. He repeated this a number of times and the little spirits who were following him breathed with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you wish to kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done here. Then
[782] offer tobacco to us and you will be able to obtain whatever you wish."

159 "Now, my son, I want you to be able to do as I do. I want you
867 to be able to kill deer whenever you wish, and at any particular time." My father was a very good hunter and I wanted to be very much like him. I knew that what he was saying was true and that it would be good to follow his advice. I was also told that if I traveled around the hill where these spirits lived, then all earthly things would agree with me and that I would be the gainer thereby. If I did this, they told me, then I would never suffer any pains in my body and I would never be troubled in any way.

159 And this they told me about the ghost village—that when I go
787 there I will be able to steal a costly shawl from the spirits and be
775 able to escape with it; that then all the inhabitants of the ghost village would chase me, but that they would not be able to overtake me and would be compelled to turn back as soon as I reached the earth. In this ghost village there are no grown-up children.[1]

Now, all that I have spoken of, I dreamed. I really dreamed that I was stealing a costly shawl and that I would have plenty of them all the time. I dreamed that I would obtain ten or even more
787 shawls in one year and that I would not have to pay anything for
159 them. What the spirits meant by shawls was supplies. However,
785 all this took place before I ate the peyote. Since then I know that these things were not true, and that what I must depend upon is not supernatural power, but myself, and my own endeavors. Super-
[783] natural powers do not come from anywhere. They do not exist at all. The blessings I had received were not holy and I am not holy.

[1] He is evidently referring to the spirit home of the Herd'n, or Those-who-are-like-bears.

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This I know now. The whole thing is untrue. Therefore I stopped 159 787
using these supernatural powers some time ago.[a]

The old people made me fast so that I might obtain blessings, and that I might lead a life similar to that led by my ancestors. My father asked me to fast so that I might be of some help to my fellow-men as I grew up. It is through fasting that individuals obtain the [756]
power of curing disease and restoring a person to health again.

Spirits from above also came to me. They took me to the spirit- 159
shaman village. As the shamans gathered around me they said that 756
the blessing would be very difficult to give me. Then the shaman 775
sitting far in front made himself holy and breathed upon me (i. e., performed the actions of a shaman when treating a patient). When he was finished, then he began to sing and all those in the lodge began to breathe, helping him. Then the second shaman made himself holy and began to breathe and sing. In this way four of them made themselves holy. They were showing me what to do when I came back to earth. If a person on earth is sick (this is what they meant), and is in an almost hopeless condition where no one else could cure him, then they would call for me and offer me tobacco with which I was to sacrifice to the spirits who had taught me.

Indeed I am holy. If a man is sick I can restore him to health. 156
That is what I used to think. I really (had it been true) should 756
have felt it, for I labored earnestly and honestly to be a holy person. 156
Yet in spite of all my exertions I was very unfortunate. I had married twice and both of my wives and all my children died. Indeed, how could I ever consider myself a holy man (i. e., if I couldn't even cure my own wife and children of what value were my "supernatural powers")? For a long time I knew that, at least I should have known it.[a] (I was not holy.) Then I ate the peyote and now I really see myself as I am. Indeed I am not holy. My body [795]
is without a soul. I thought myself holy. So I have stopped the practice of the shaman.

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[a] The informant had become a convert to the Peyote belief only a short time before he wrote down this account of his feeling, and it is interesting to see that, although he no longer believes in the efficacy of the supernatural powers, he still believes that they exist. Two years after this, however, the same informant explained them, as all the other members of the Peyote cult explain them, simply, as delusions, either caused by the abnormal condition of the youth while fasting or as causes of the devil.

[a] In the words "I should have known it" are contained, up the essential change of attitude between the Peyote Winnebagos and the other Winnebagos. The latter, too, had observed the apparent failure of the supernatural powers on many occasions, but instead of attributing them to any deterioration of efficacy in the "powers," attributed them, on the contrary, to a lack of something in the individual trying to use the "power," in order as they thought about it at all. But the essential difference between the two sides, the other one and the Peyote, lies not so much in the logical conclusions their adherents have drawn from the failure of the "supernatural powers" to behave as they were expected to, as in the fact that the Peyote people make the failure of the "power" the subject of discussion and the old Winnebagos accept the whole concept of "supernatural power" as such, and do not permit it to rise into their consciousness. [182]

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B.'S FASTING.

(B. WAS A MEMBER OF THE BEAR CLAN)

159 787 776 There was a village near Big Lake (Lake Winnebago), and at this village the upper people and the earth people played lacrosse.[a] The Bear was the chief clan of the lower people, and those representing that side in the game defeated the representatives of the other side by sheer strength. Then one of the upper people said, "What effeminate fellows those Bear people are. They are very strong, but it would be much better if instead of being so strong in playing lacrosse they were strong when on the warpath." Thus he spoke. Then one of the Bear people (the one whose fasting is about to be described) felt very much grieved and went out into the wilderness to fast. His desire was to be blessed by those spirits who are in control of war, and in his longing to be blessed by them he cried bitterly. Soon he heard some one saying, "Do not cry any more, we have come after you from above. The spirits have blessed you. You are going to be taken to the lodge of your friends." When the young man got there he saw four men. They were called cannibals, and they were brothers. "Our friends have blessed you and we also bless you," said the four spirits. These four spirits were catfish. Then some white crane spirits said, "Our friends have blessed you. With spears they have blessed you. Indeed, for good reason was your heart sad (i. e., did you make yourself suffer while fasting). With victory on the warpath do we bless you. Here is your bundle. Here also are your spears and your bow and arrows. This bundle you must use when you go on the warpath. Here also are some songs to use when you start out and when you return. With these songs I bless you. Here they are:

[533] SONGS

Ho'ne k'ⁿkar'dja'e'dja nahi'jā?
Where they gathered, there did you go?
K'ke' hitcah'ke' ha'gisewi'e.
Well, my friend, shout at it for him.

[789] "When the enemy is close upon you and aim their guns at you, if you sing these songs they will not be able to hit you. If you sing these songs then, those who gave you a name will honor you.[b] Thus 776 756 we bless you. With life also we bless you."

ARATCGE'KA'S FASTING[c]

159 787 [526] Aratcge'ka, Left-handed-one, went out to fast. "A spirit I wish to bless me. I am fasting because I was told to do so. A shaman

[a] In playing lacrosse the upper and lower divisions were always pitted against one another.

[b] The sense is not quite clear here, but it is believed that he means that by singing one of these songs he will be victorious and be able to count coup or distinguish himself in some such way, and thus be worthy of being honored by his elders.

[c] This account of a fasting has been cut in a Hartery textbk. It evidently relates to the fasting experience of a well-known man.

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I would like to be. I would like to be able to treat people the way 776
he does, and I have for that reason blackened my face and fasted for 756
eight days." Then I was blessed, and they (the messengers of the 159
spirits) came after me. Up above, to a shaman spirit-lodge they 787
took me. There I saw the chief, and he said to me, "What you desire, what you are thirsting yourself to death for, that you are to be blessed with. For that reason these people have brought you here. Here you are to give an exhibition of your powers. I am the one who has caused you to be brought here (i. e., blessed you), I am the ruler of this village and I sent for you to give you the following powers:

"If ever an Indian is sick, even if he is so sick that he is practically dead, I give you the power of restoring him to life. Now you are to show your powers. Here is a log so rotten and decayed that it is practically falling apart.[10] Upon this you are to exert your power and show that you have been blessed. This is what the spirits meant when they blessed you." Then he walked around the log, breathed upon it, and spat water upon it, and it became human. Then he walked around it again and again spat water upon it, and it began to move. Then for the third time he spat water upon it and walked around it and it began to groan. Then he walked around it for the fourth time, and again spat water upon the log, and it got up and walked away. He had restored the log to life. Then the spirit said to him, "Man, with this power you are blessed. That for which you longed, that for which you fasted, you are blessed with. Giving-humans-life, thus the people will call you."

Then all the spirits who are above said as follows: "Brother-in-law,[11] that you may live I am telling you this story."

In the wilderness I went, and there near an oval hill I sat down and wept. Below the hill lay a round lake and there I saw the rising dew coming in a fog. This first spread itself out over us, and then, in turn, shrank and became small. All this time I sat there weeping. There was something moving in the lake, but although I was looking in that direction I did not see anything. They (evidently the spirits) were sneaking up on me. Two (flames of) fire suddenly burst forth extending from above to the lake. Then a report like

[10] This log is supposed to represent a human being in a similar condition—that is, practically on the verge of dissolution.

[11] The account is suddenly interrupted here to tell the listener why Aranige'ka is telling the story of his fasting. The personal religious experiences were very sacred and rarely told even to near relatives. As far as I know, they were only told before death or when a person was very ill, as in the present case. The purpose seems to have been to transfer the benefits of the blessing to the sick person and save him in much the same way as is done when an accredited shaman goes through his entire performance. Of course, Aranige'ka's blessing related directly to the curing of disease. But evidently it was believed that blessings connected with other powers were equally efficacious. [753]

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756 that of a gun sounded. The two (spirits) were causing it. Suddenly
159 a great noise was heard. I kept right on crying, for I was trying
787 to be blessed. I sat there with staring eyes looking at the spirits.
776 "I must be receiving a blessing," I thought. I continued crying and after a short time it began to rain very much. "How is this," I thought to myself, "only a little time before it was so nice and now it is raining." Yet in spite of the rain no water seemed to fall upon me. "How is it," I thought, "here it is raining and yet no rain is falling upon me." Then I looked above and I saw that it was very cloudy; yet straight above me in a direct line the sky was blue. This blue spot was like a round object covering me as though it were an umbrella. The Thunderbirds were blessing me. With the blue sky, they were blessing me. Soon the noise stopped, and when I looked above I saw four (men) standing with packs upon their backs. These (the spirits) killed. Then they blessed me with the power of killing. They spoke to me and said, "Stop your crying. What you have longed for and fasted for, with that we have blessed you. Just as these four men have been killed, so you will be able to kill people. But you will also be able to restore them to life again. Upon your body now we will make a mark and those whom you wish to bless will be given an opportunity of selecting life for themselves,[18] so that, even when a person be practically dead he will be restored to health. What is above you, the blue sky, that we place on one of your fingers,[19] and with that we bless you. If the patient picks the finger with the mark upon it, he will live."

The Thunderbirds were the spirits speaking to me. They had spears and little war-clubs in their hands and (wreaths) made of flat cedar leaves upon their heads. Thus did four Thunderbirds bless me.

"Well, brother-in-law, I want you to live and I want you to pick life for yourself—i. e., pick the finger with the blue mark upon it. Do it carefully and do not attempt it when you are tired. Here are my four fingers and one of them has the blue sky upon it (i. e., the blue mark that betokens life). If you choose that, you will certainly live. You are the second person (to whom I have offered my fingers). Now do not miss it, for if you miss it you will surely die. Be careful, then, in picking it."

[155] Then the brother-in-law picked the little finger and Aratega'ka said, "Brother-in-law, it is good. You will live." Then he turned his little finger around and there a circular blue mark was visible.

ACCOUNT OF X.'S FASTING

159 The spirits can bless you with everything. My father used to
787 tell me how much he loved me and how much he wished me to fast.

[18] That is, a sick person will have to guess at the part of the body that has been blessed by the Thunderbirds, and if he guesses correctly he will become well.

[19] That is, we will place a mark made with blue clay upon your finger.

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He wanted me to fast all the time. I would therefore, to please him, 159 787
fast off and on through the winter. The longest I ever fasted at any one time was six days. I was blessed by a yellow snake who lived near Medway, Wis. It was at that place that I fasted one 159
winter. The spirit-snake that lives there blessed me with life and 787
the right to draw bad blood from sick people (i. e., "cup blood"). 776
These blessings are truly efficacious, but after they have been handed 756
down to the next generation they lose their power (unless renewed). That same winter, not long before the beginning of spring, I fasted again for four days and early on the morning of the fourth day as I was walking along a ravine, crying and putting myself in a "pitiable condition," so that the spirits might take pity upon me, some one came to meet me. Up to this time, in spite of all my exertions and fastings, I had not been blessed by any of the spirits. The one who was coming toward me was walking very fast and when I stopped to look at him I saw that he was a man. His entire body was painted red and he wore an eagle feather on his head and garters around his legs. When he came near to me he said: "Human, I bless you. You may now go home and eat (i. e., break your fast). Every day I will bring the blessing of life to you. This also (I wish to tell you), if you think of me when you are in any difficulty, you will pass through it safely. The sick you will be able to heal through the blessing I give you. I am the Sun. Even if a day is cloudy, then know that I am keeping life for you beyond the clouds."

### HOW Y. FASTED AND WAS BLESSED WITH A WAR-BUNDLE [a]

Our war-bundle is eight generations old. In the beginning my 614
clansmen had no war-bundles. Whenever they had war, they had 778
nothing from which to receive strength. The only powerful possession they had was fire. That was the only thing they carried when on the warpath. Soon they discovered that other clans had war-bundles and that they received them by fasting for them. So 787
K'ereg u°'sak'a started to fast for one. He fasted from early 778
autumn until summer and he received a blessing. Then he went to his father and told him, "Father, you told me to fast. Let us now go and see with what I have been blessed." So the old man accompanied his son.[b] When the old man got there he found a snake dried and dressed up and standing in an upright position. The snake had long hairs on its back, scattered here and there. The father on seeing it said, "My son, this is really too great. If you accept this and carry it with you on the warpath, you will not leave any human beings alive (i. e., you will always want to go on the

[a] This is the account of the origin of a war-bundle claimed to be eight generations old.
[b] Evidently the spirit had told him to go to a certain place and that there he would find certain objects, namely, the material objects with which he had been blessed.

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787 778 warpath)." The son therefore refused it, and went out to fast
again. Then the spirits blessed him again and again he went to
[776] his father and asked to accompany him to the wilderness and see
what blessings he had obtained. When they came to the wilder-
ness[*] they found two wild cats (already stuffed) standing there
and facing in opposite directions. Then the old man told his son
again not to accept this blessing because it would be too powerful,[*]
but the young man said, "This is the last blessing that I am going
to get," and accepted it.

(What follows was obtained at a later time from the same informant and relating to the same blessing.)

The first blessing K'erex'u°'sak'a received was from the Thunderbirds. They dropped a flute and two feathers from heaven. But these he refused. The second blessing was also from the Thunderbirds. This time they told him to go to a certain place where he could see them himself. He went there and found four men sitting there broiling meat. They gave him a piece of meat. It was only when he fasted for the fourth time that he was blessed with a war-bundle.

WHAT O. OBTAINED IN HIS FAST

159 I never fasted much. I only fasted three times and I don't believe
776 that I ever fasted for more than two days at a time. However, I
787 never was blessed with anything (i. e., any object). I knew, how-
ever, that I came from the home of the Thunderbirds (i. e., that I was
[775] a reincarnated Thunderbird). My spirit father and mother[*] were
Thunderbirds. The Thunderbirds are beings whose glance can
penetrate any object. For that reason I also can do it. For
instance, I have seen a man through a tree. This I did once during a
thunderstorm when a man had sought shelter behind a tree.

[*] Whenever the word "wilderness" is used all that is meant is an uninhabited place far away from the village.

[*] By "too powerful" the old man means that the boats, offerings, etc., that would be necessary for so
great a blessing would be quite beyond the means or the ability of the young man. It is to be remembered
[782] that the bestowal of a blessing does not in itself insure its efficacy, but that this can only be assured if the
proper offerings and the proper emotional attitude accompany its subsequent use. Evidently the old
man did not feel that the young fellow would be equal to the task. I have been told by many of the older
Winnebagoes that when the old system was still intact the older people always made it a point to were
[786] impressure youths against taking upon themselves responsibilities that they might possibly not be able
to fulfill, a very excellent device, it seems to me, for not multiplying the chance of failures and consequently
the necessity of explaining them. However, one need not believe that this was the reason for this caution.

[*] He says "spirit father and mother" because when he lived with the Thunderbirds he was, of course, a
spirit. It is quite impossible to determine whether he means that he was a human being who was living
[776] among the spirits as a spirit, or whether he was a spirit who had desired to be once reincarnated as a human
775] being. Originally, of course, there were no human beings, but only spirits, of whom a portion became
permanently transformed into human beings. However, even very powerful shamans never claim more
than three reincarnations, so that he can obviously not be referring to this primitive condition and is either
referring to the fact that he is a Thunderbird residing temporarily on this earth, or—and this would be the
more common form—a human being who lived for some time as a Thunderbird and then returned to earth.
In the latter case one would expect him to obtain great blessings in his fast, and the fact that he did not
and had nevertheless such great powers suggests that he is really a reincarnated Thunderbird.

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When I was ready to go down among the human beings (i. e., when I became reincarnated) I was given the power to overcome my enemies in battle. And this I have actually done. All the Thunderbirds have small war-clubs. I also had one when I came. Whenever I went on the warpath I made myself a war-club and used that only in battle. I believe that I was invulnerable. Whenever I got tired of living among human beings I knew I could return to the Thunderbirds. I thought I knew all this and that I had these powers. For that reason when I ate peyote I still held on to these beliefs for a long time, thinking that when I returned to the Thunderbirds inasmuch as they are above it would be the same as going to everlasting life, as the Peyote people said. Finally, one night, at a peyote meeting, in thinking over these things, I resolved to give them up. I could, nevertheless, not bring myself to do it. Then the peyote began to strangle me;[*] at least I thought so.

159 776 787 726 [795]

I also had the power of causing or stopping rain. All that I had to do was to offer tobacco to the Thunderbirds and make my request.

[789 782]

HOW A BEAR BLESSED A MAN[**]

Once a band of Winnebagoes used to give a feast to the bears. A bear had blessed one of their number with life and victory on the warpath.

825 776 787

It was a spirit-bear that had blessed him. The man was fasting and the spirit blessed him and said, "Human, I bless you. In war you will be able to do as you wish (i. e., you will be able to kill an enemy whenever you desire). The first time you go on the warpath you will come back with the fourth war honor; the second time you go on a warpath you will return with the third war honor; the third time you will return with the second war honor; and the fourth time you will return with the first war honor and receive the first prize, which you are to give to your sister." This is what the man "dreamed." He believed it and was happy. Then the spirit-bear said again, "Human, I said that I blessed you and I really mean it. Earthmaker created me and gave me control of many things. Human, I bless you. As many years as Earthmaker bestowed upon you, that number I also bless you with. You will reach the limit of the years that were granted you. With my body I also bless you. Whenever you are hungry and wish to kill a bear, pour a pipeful of tobacco for me. If then you go out hunting, you will be successful. Don't abuse the bears. I am the chief of the bears. I bless you. Never before have I blessed a human being, as long as I have lived here. As long as your descendants live on this earth, so long will this

[224 782]

[*] According to the Peyote people, if a member does not wish to do or tell something that he ought to, the peyote begins to strangle him and he finds no relief until he tells what is on his mind. [795]

[**] This is really the "origin myth" of a bear feast.

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776 blessing last. Should your descendants perform the feasts in my
787 honor well, I will bless them with life and victory on the warpath. Whenever you offer me tobacco I will smoke it. If you put on a kettle of food for me I will be thankful to you. When you put this
[84] kettle of food on the fire and offer me tobacco see to it that you keep away menstruating women . . ."[24]

HOW THE DAUGHTER OF MANK'EREXKA REFUSED A BLESSING FROM DISEASE-GIVER[25]

787 The daughter of Mank'erexka was fasting. She was his third
159 daughter. She decided to fast during the summer. In her fast she
776 was told that she was blessed and that on the following day a big deer would come across the waters for her to eat. Then she went to her father and said, "Father, I have been told to eat a big deer, and that to-morrow very early in the morning it will come out of the water." "It is good, my daughter. That deer has been given to you by the spirits and you may eat it."

Early the next morning a big deer came across the waters. "Let it be," the people said (to her). "As soon as it comes near we will chase it." So they got into a boat and chased it. Then they killed it and gave it to some other person instead of the young woman. "My daughter, what are you going to do? Are you going to eat the deer?" "No, father, if I were to eat the deer I would have killed it myself. But you people have killed it, so I will not eat any of it."

Then she rubbed some charcoal on her face and went to the place of fasting and said, "What you (the spirits) gave me others have taken away and eaten." Early in the morning she looked around toward the water. She was very weak, for she had not eaten for a long time. Nine days she fasted. She was saying to herself, "As soon as I see a deer I will tell the others and call my father." In the morning she went out in search of the deer. She was so weak that she could hardly crawl along. But she managed to reach the edge of the waters and, as she looked across, she saw a deer coming. So she immediately went to her father and told him. He got up immediately and, taking a spear, jumped into a boat, pursued, and speared it. Then the girl said, "Now I will eat." So they called her uncles,
[782] Wolf and Elk.[26] When they came she put tobacco in their hands and said, "My uncles, I have offered tobacco to the different spirits and asked them to bless me. Now I am about to eat and I would

[24] The rest of the story is a description of a bear feast and how, in spite of the warning of the spirit-bear two menstruating women took part in the feast; how, thereupon, two bears suddenly appeared and killed them, and how for that reason the bear feast was given up.

[114] [25] This account has been cast in a literary mold, but there is no doubt that it represents a real fasting experience. It is included here principally because it contains a number of extremely interesting features.

[26] These are the names of individuals.

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like to have you put some food in your mouths."[27] "My niece, it is good. You have indeed made yourself 'pitiable.' You have thirsted yourself to death and I, too, pity you. If any spirit has blessed you, he has done so with good reason. I, too, once thirsted myself to death and the spirits blessed me with life. With this life, my niece, I also bless you. I will gladly partake of your feast." Thus spoke Wolf. Then Elk said, "My niece, I, too, was told to fast; and in my fast the spirits blessed me with the power of having complete control over all my actions. This dream (i. e., the blessings I obtained) I now give to you.[28] With these blessings you will be able to live as you desire. I will now gladly partake of your food."

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When they were through eating, she also ate, and then they all went home. After a while her father said to her, "My daughter, I am going to ask you a question. It is said that those who have been blessed might tell their dreams if they were asked." "All right," said the daughter, "I will tell you. Eight days I fasted and then the spirits blessed me. They told me that if at the end of four days I should place offerings south of the place known as the Big Eddy and situated down the stream the powers with which I had been blessed would be shown to me. The one who blessed me was the chief of the Wak'ai'teĢ', the spirits who live in the earth. He said that Earthmaker had created him and given him great power; that he had placed him in charge of 'life.' In four days he told me, 'I will appear to you. The day on which I appear to you will be a perfect day. Whatever you wish to make for yourself, you may do. You will never be in want of anything, for you can make implements for yourself out of my body. With these I bless you, for you

[27] The feast referred to here is the feast called Ha'-laginante Wada-ilwanage or hater's feast. It is given whenever a man or woman who has been blessed is about to break his fast. At this feast it is customary, according to custom, for the father to narrate his blessing. However, these feasts have now been discontinued for so long a time that it is extremely difficult to obtain any accurate information.

[28] The transference of certain blessings is very common, but, to my knowledge, it is rarely done in this manner. As a rule if a person was unable to obtain blessings, he sought to offset this handicap in life by purchasing supernatural powers from some of his more successful fellow-men. However, these powers seem to be connected almost exclusively with medicines. That blessings such as these bestowed upon individuals during their fast, such as long life, invulnerability, hunting powers, etc., were transferred, does not seem probable, although it is, of course, possible. The writer was told of a number of cases where this seemed to have been the case, but on closer study it was conclusively shown that no real transference had taken place, but that in these instances where a person had said, "I transfer this and that dream to you," the transference had no validity unless the individual to whom the dream had been transferred actually fasted and obtained the same dream. An individual would in such a case always be careful to select as his "dream-heir" one who would in all likelihood obtain the same dream. It is only in this sense that one might actually speak of a transference. In these instances where a man is blessed with supernatural powers that are to extend to all his patrilly there what is really meant, namely, an infinite repetition of the same blessing, one that has, however, become so certain within definite limits that it might be considered automatic.

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787 have made yourself suffer very much" and my heart has been rent
159 with pity for you. I bless you, therefore, with life, and this you
776 may transmit to your descendants.' All this, father, the spirit said to me." "My daughter, it is not good. These spirits are trying to deceive you. Do not accept it. They will never bestow upon you what they have promised." "All right, father, but let me at least give them the offerings of deerskin, red feathers, and tobacco. I will not accept these blessings, for you forbid it."

Then after four days she took her offerings to the place where she was to meet the spirit and told him that her father had forbidden her to accept the blessing. "'You are not a good spirit,' he said." "He is right, for one side of my body is not good but the other is," answered the spirit. "That is the way in[a] which Earthmaker created me." Thus the wak'ai[b]teu[c] spoke.[b] Then the woman looked toward the lake and she saw a tree standing in the water. The spirit climbed upon this tree and wrapped himself around it. Then he took a tooth and shot the tree and knocked it down." "This is what you would have been able to do," said the spirit. "The people would have respected you very much. You would have been able to cure weak or nervous people. But you did not listen to what I told you. You refused it."

### FASTING EXPERIENCE

(INFORMANT, CLAN UNKNOWN)

A man fasted and was finally blessed. When he was to be blessed a spirit came after him. He came from the south. "Human," he said, "I was told to come after you." Then the man looked at him and he saw that it was a man speaking to him. So he went along with him. He did not go far before he came to a village and in the middle of this village he saw a long lodge. There he was taken and there he was blessed. The one that was in charge of the village blessed him first.

"I bless you with victory in wars. Whenever you go on the war-path and when you are about to make the rush, do not forget me.
[726 If you pour some tobacco for me and then fight, the enemy will not
782] be able to kill you. I am in charge of wars."

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[a] When people are blessed by the Water-spirits they make medicines from the bones of the spirits. They are also supposed to make what the Winnebagoes call "implements." What is actually meant by this term it is very difficult to state precisely. But it seems that they meant sharpened bones, etc., used in connection with the administration of magical medicines in painting the body, and in connection with shamanistic practices of all sorts. It is not common for other spirits beside the Water-spirits to bless an individual with the use of "his bones," but this is occasionally met with. In the trickster cycle the trickster, in one of his escapades, is squeezed into the skull of an elk, and he persuades the people that he is an elk-spirit and blesses them and permits them to use his bones.

[b] This characteristic would seem to identify the wak'ai'teu with the thunder-giver, although it is possible that a number of Winnebago deities had such characteristics.

[c] This is a symbolistic representation of the powers she was given.

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So he spoke to him. "Thus will your life be. Look at yourself." 787
So he looked at himself and his hair was very white. As one who 159
had attained a full life he saw himself. "All that are within this 776
lodge bless you," the spirit continued. "You have come to the Buffalo village." This he was told, so he looked at the lodge full of people. And those whom he had seen up to that time as human beings now were buffaloes.

"Human, they bless you is why they went after you. Human, if anyone is weighted with life and a reasonable amount of tobacco is given, such a one would be able to do the following":

A dead man was placed in the middle of the lodge, and all of 787
those in the lodge tried their power, but none succeeded in restoring 159
him to life. At last the spirits let the man try it. So he tried. 776
When he arose, all those in the lodge began to make sounds and 756
when he began to exert his powers he sang buffalo songs. When he was through with these songs, he walked toward the dead man, in the middle of the lodge. He blew on him once, then again and again. Now the man began to open his eyes. Then he blew on him for the fourth time, and he caused him to rise.

"Human, you have overcome all of us," said the buffalo chief. "Human, thus shall you ever do to people. If anyone is sick and the proper offerings are made to you, send some tobacco to our council lodge and I will remember you. You must send all the [782]
tobacco that is offered to you. I will remember it. This council lodge is given to you and to your posterity as long as it lasts. As long as the earth lasts that long your posterity will have occasions on which to pour tobacco. Whatever blessing they ask, we will bestow upon them while we smoke their tobacco. As many as are the kettles that they offer to us, we will never accept one without giving them a blessing. We are in control of wars; the Earthmaker has given us control of them, and if you ask for it we will give it to you. And if you ask for life we will bestow that blessing upon you and accept your offerings."

They also blessed him with plants for medicine. This is the way they did it. Each of the spirits caused him to see a plant and to [278]
know the purposes to which it could be put. They told him to make offerings to the plants whenever he gave a feast, so that the plants [782]
would become more powerful. They also blessed him with a drum. "This you must beat when you give a feast and it will tell us your [534]
wants. We will understand the drum. We will make your drum holy for you, and you must treat it as such," they told him. "You must keep it holy. Whenever you are on the warpath you must take it with you and it will help you. Human, your enemies you will [726]
overcome; your weapons only will be sharp if your posterity will never give up this ceremony." So they spoke to him. "Whenever 080

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159 So they spoke to him. "Whenever
787 you give this ceremony, no matter what blessing you ask, we will
776 bestow it upon you, when you offer tobacco. A flute you must also
[534 keep holy. You must make it yourself, so that it remains sacred."
[778 They also told him to make a war bundle. The Buffalo chief told
825] him this. So he made one out of a buffalo head and a buffalo tail. These he made sacred so that people might offer tobacco to them. This was done long ago and yet they still do it.

Then they told him that four differently colored buffaloes would bless him—a white one, a black one, a red one, and a yellow one.

After a while he was blessed the second time. This time the spirits came after him from above and took him to the home of a spirit buffalo. This is the one that blessed him.

"Earthmaker has placed me here," said the spirit, "and he has
[726 given me control of many things. Grandson, I bless you. I am in
782] control of war power, and if you ever go on the warpath don't forget me. If you pour a pipeful of tobacco for me before you go into battle, the enemy will only be able to shoot your shadow." Thus he spoke to him. "I will take your body, and in that way it will only be your shadow that the enemy will try to shoot with all their strength. You will be without a body, and how then can they hit you, being without a body?" This is what the spirit told him. So, therefore, whenever he went on the warpath it was impossible to kill him. For the spirit had said, "I am also in control of life and I will give you your life back, that you may control it. The spirits
[796 have given you a tobacco-pouring feast and whenever you give it,
782] remember that I wish to smoke also. When you pour tobacco for me I will grant you whatever you ask. If you ask for war, or if you ask for life, I will accept your tobacco. As long as this earth lasts I will smoke your tobacco and accept the kettle of food that you place on the fire for me."

Thus he spoke to him. The man, however, still kept on fasting, and finally the spirits came for him again. There in the middle of the earth lived a buffalo-ghost. There he went and the buffalo-ghost said to him: "I also bless you. You were given counsel and I who am a buffalo also counsel you. I am in control of many things. Earthmaker placed me here to live and he put me in control of many things. Human, look at me," he said. The man looked at him. Then he saw that his body was covered with flattened bullets. "Thus you will be," said the ghost to him. "It will be impossible to kill you, and you will attain to old age, and when you get tired of living you may do as you please. I give you the privilege of controlling yourself." Then he gave him a song and he caused him to see a war prize, a wampum. After a while he spoke to him as follows:

"I also will always smoke at your feast, and if a kettle is ever put on the fire for me, I will be thankful to you. Whatever the people

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ask of me I will always take it into consideration. If they ask for 159
war or if they ask for life, remember that I have been given control 787
of these things." Thus spoke the buffalo-ghost. There he received 776
all the things with which he was blessed.

In the course of his life he made use of all his blessings. His first 159
victory occurred when he went on the warpath for the first time. 787
He had joined a war party and a fight occurred toward the evening 776
of the same day. As he was walking along he suddenly saw a gun 726
directed against him at close range. He jumped right and left and in that way escaped being shot. Then the enemy tried to capture the one who had been blessed by the buffalo, holding him tightly by the arm. But he struck the enemy twice against an object and tore his stomach open. Then he walked away. As he was going he thought to himself, "Why did I not kill him outright?" So he went back with the intention of doing this, but as he approached the man the latter directed a gun against him. Thinking, however, that it was not loaded, he did not dodge, and he was shot. His breast was filled with shot and he was killed. But he did not remain dead long. He soon came to consciousness and sat up, uttering sounds like a buffalo.

Then he remembered that a buffalo ghost had blessed him. He had indeed said to him, "When you are about to fight do not forget me." He remembered this, so he exerted his power. All the blood that was in his stomach he vomited forth and felt better. Just then one of his relatives came along and asked him, "How have you been getting along?" and he answered, "I have killed one. There lies his body. Take his scalp for me." "All right," said his relative, and did what he had been told, and brought it to him, saying, "Here it is." A [727]
horse was there also, and this the relative likewise led away and started back to (the camp). When he met the war leader, the latter asked him, "How have you been making out?" He answered, "I give you these trophies," and handed the leader the scalp and the horse. "Ah, it is good," he said, and put a wampum belt on him. Then the war leader sang a song and started to run, and the buffalo-blessed one reminded himself of his blessing and went back also. He was all shot to pieces. But he did not die, for he had been blessed with power, so how could he die? The buffalo ghost he had seen with flattened bullets in his belt had fulfilled his promise, and the wampum belt that he had seen in his fasting had now become true.

He went to many wars after this, but he was never harmed. He [756]
doctored many people and caused them to have more life. After a while he made a war bundle consisting of a flute that he had con- [778]
structed himself, a buffalo tail, and a buffalo head. Then he made offerings to them. These many things he made sacred. Since then buffalo feasts have been given.

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J. R.'S FASTING EXPERIENCE

159 78 I fasted all the time. We moved back to a place where all the leaders used to give their feasts. Near the place where we lived there were three lakes and a black hawk's nest. Right near the tree where the nest was located they built a lodge and the war-bundle that we possessed was placed in the lodge. We were to pass the night there, my older brother and myself. It was said that if anyone [756] fasted at such a place for four nights he would always be blessed with victory and the power to cure the sick. All the spirits would bless him.

159 787 776 "The first night spent there one imagined himself surrounded by spirits whose whisperings were heard outside of the lodge," they said. The spirits would even whistle. I would be frightened and nervous, and if I remained there I would be molested by large monsters, fearful to look upon. Even (the bravest) might be frightened, I was told. Should I, however, get through that night, I would on the following night be molested by ghosts whom I would hear speaking outside. They would say things that might cause me to run away. Toward morning they would even take my blanket away from me. They would grab hold of me and drive me out of the lodge, and they would not stop until the sun rose. If I was able to endure the third night, on the fourth night I would really be addressed by spirits, it was said, who would bless me, saying, "I bless you. We had turned you over to the (monsters, etc.) and that is why they approached you, but you overcame them and now they will not be able to take you away. Now you may go home, for with victory and long life we bless you and also with the power of healing the sick. Nor shall you lack wealth (literally, 'people's possessions'). So go home and eat, for a large war-party is soon to fall upon you and as soon as the sun rises in the morning they will give the war whoop, and if you do not go home now they will kill you."

Thus the spirits would speak to me. However, if I did not do the bidding of this particular spirit, then another one would address me and say very much the same thing. So the spirits would speak until the break of day, and just before sunrise a man in warrior's regalia would come and peep in. He would be a scout. Then I would surely think a war party had come upon me, I was told.

Then another spirit would come and say, "Well, grandson, I have taken pity upon you and I bless you with all the good things that the earth holds. Go home now, for the war-party is about to rush upon you." And if I then went home, as soon as the sun rose the war-whoop would be given. The members of the war-party would give the war-whoop all at the same time. They would rush upon me and capture me and after the fourth one had counted coup, then

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they would say, "Now then, grandson, this we did to teach you. 159
Thus you shall act. You have completed your fasting." Thus they 787
would talk to me, I was told. This war-party was composed entirely 776
of spirits, I was told, spirits from the heavens and from the earth; indeed, all the spirits that exist would be there. These would all bless me. They also told me that it would be a very difficult thing to accomplish this particular fasting.

So there I fasted, at the black hawk's nest where a lodge had been built for me. The first night I stayed there I wondered when things would happen; but nothing took place. The second night, rather late in the night, my father came and opened the war-bundle and taking a gourd out, began to sing. I stood beside him without any clothing on me except the breech-clout, and holding tobacco in each hand I uttered my cry to the spirits as my father sang. He sang war-bundle songs and he wept as he sang. I also wept as I uttered my cry to the spirits. When he was finished he told me some sacred stories, and then went home.

When I found myself alone I began to think that something ought to happen to me soon, yet nothing occurred, so I had to pass another day there. On the third night I was still there. My father visited me again and we repeated what we had done the night before. In the morning, just before sunrise, I uttered my cry to the spirits. The fourth night found me still there. Again my father came and we did the same things, but in spite of it all, I experienced nothing unusual. Soon another day dawned upon us. That morning I told my elder brother that I had been blessed by spirits and that I was going home to eat. However, I was not telling the truth. I was hungry and I also knew that on the following night we were going to have a feast and that I would have to utter my cry to the spirits again. I dreaded that. So I went home. When I got there I told my people the story I had told my brother; that I had been blessed and that the spirits had told me to eat. I was not speaking the truth, yet they gave me the food that is carefully prepared for those who have been blessed. Just then my older brother came home and they objected to his return, for he had not been blessed. However, he took some food and ate it.

That night we gave our feast. There, however, our pride received a fall, for although it was supposedly given in our honor, we were placed on one side (of the main participants). After the kettles of food had been put on twice, it became daylight.

### HOW A MAN DEFIED DISEASE-GIVER

Once a man said, "Why do you always make offerings and feasts 776
to the Disease-giver? What benefit has he ever been to you that 787
you do it? If I were ever to see him, I would kick him off the earth. The only thing he can give you is disease."

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776 In the fall of the year in which the man said this the people, as
787 usual, went out hunting and the man got lost and was forced to camp out in the wilderness overnight. So he built a fire and sat alongside of it. Suddenly he saw a man coming toward him. As soon as the stranger came up to him he took a seat on the opposite side of the fireplace. Then the stranger said, "I am the one whom you threatened to kick off this earth whenever you met him. You, furthermore, boasted that I could not kill you." Then he pointed his finger in a line with the man's heart. But the man remained seated near the fireplace without moving. Then he did this again, yet the man still remained in his former position. Then the third time he did it and said, "In the center of the heart." The man, however, remained seated just as before. Then the stranger exclaimed, "Who are you anyhow?" and pointed his finger at him. But the man did not move. Then the stranger (Disease-giver) pleaded with the man to die so that it might not be said that he had failed in the "mission" for which he had been created. He promised the man that if he would oblige him and die he could come back to earth again within four days. Finally the man consented. He went home and told his folks that he was going to a certain place to
787 die for the space of four days and that they should, under no con-
776 ditions, go to see him there, for in that case he would surely die. Then he dressed himself in his best clothes and went to the place where he was to meet Disease-giver. (He rested his head against a tree and died.) However, on the third day his wife could not resist the desire to see him, so she went to the place where her husband was leaning against the tree. Then he really died. After his death a red spot was visible upon his forehead.*

### Methods of Bringing the Spirits into Relation with Man

785 *Fasting.*—Fasting has been discussed before. There are two things to be remembered in connection with it—first, that it is a method of superinducing a religious feeling; and, secondly, that this religious feeling in turn is bound up with the desire for preserving and perpetuating socio-economic life values. Among the Winnebago the desirability of the conditions superinduced by fasting lay not so much in the emotional pleasure it gave, although this is not to be underestimated, as in the belief which the shamans had developed, that such a state was essential for placing people in a position enabling them to overcome certain crises in life, which it was reasonable to believe might take place.

787 *Mental concentration.*—To the religiously inclined Winnebago the
153 efficacy of a blessing, of a ceremony, etc., depended upon what they

* This is not supposed to be a myth but the real experience of a man named James Smith.

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called "concentrating one's mind" upon the spirits, upon the details 787
of the ritual, or upon the precise purpose to be accomplished. All 153
other thoughts were to be rigidly excluded, they believed. This was the insistent admonition of the Winnebago elders to the youth who was fasting. He was to center his mind completely on the spirits, for his blessing would be in direct proportion to the power of concentration he was capable of. The Winnebago believed that the relation between man and the spirits was established by this concentration and that no manner of care in ritualistic detail could take its place. Very frequently failure on a warpath or lack of efficacy of a ritual was attributed to the fact that the Indian or Indians had been lacking in [154]
the intensity of their "concentration."

*Offerings and sacrifices.*—The theory of offering and sacrifice held 782
by the Winnebago has been discussed before. To the important 776
deities offerings were made at the great ceremonies. These offerings consisted of tobacco preeminently, buckskins, and whatever the particular spirit was supposed to like. The animal spirits were given their favorite foods—honey to the bear, for instance. Dogs were offered to Disease-giver at the war-bundle feasts. Whether human sacrifices ever existed it is difficult to say. In the tale of *Wegi'ceka* a child is offered to Earthmaker, and there is reason to believe that this may represent a survival of human sacrifice.

Tobacco could be offered at any time and was so offered to the various *genii loci* whenever an individual passed their precincts.

*Prayers.*—For examples of prayers reference must be made to the descriptions of the ceremonies. Among the Winnebago, and doubtless everywhere else, the objects of the prayer are always the socio-economic life values. What in these values is stressed depends upon the ambitions of the individual, and consequently it happens that individuals may pray for abstract blessings or ideal objects, although this is rare. Prayers are undoubtedly always accompanied by a religious feeling when made by the religious man, but frequently become mere formulas in the hands of the lay Indian.

## The Folkloristic Concepts

*The concept of evil.*—It is extremely difficult to understand exactly 776
what the Winnebago concept of evil is. They undoubtedly postu- [812]
late the existence of evil and they have theoretically a host of evil spirits, the *wazop i'ni cicik*. Youths will be warned not to fast at certain times and children will carefully be kept at home after dark for fear of the evil spirits. Yet in spite of all this, no even fairly definite idea of what these evil spirits are and what they look like can be obtained. One almost gets the impression that the notion of evil spirits belongs to an older strata of Winnebago beliefs and that what we find to-day

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776 is but a faint survival of former times. The older myths are full of references to the evil spirits, and the cosmological myths represent [773] the world as infested with evil spirits who are on the point of exterminating the human race until the culture heroes come to the rescue. It would almost seem as if, from a purely matter-of-fact point of view, these early culture heroes had destroyed all the evil spirits. Certainly they are not regarded as of great consequence, for if they were we ought to find a certain number of prayers addressed to them asking them not to harm anyone. They seem to be mere bogies, personifications of fear, and that is perhaps why they are so intimately connected with darkness.

812 At the present time the vast majority of Winnebago ascribe evil, in so far as they explain it at all, to three causes: either to some [688 failure on their part to perform a rite in the prescribed way, to 782] the fact that they have not invoked the spirits for protection (i. e., attempted to pass through life without the aid of the spirits), or to the evil machinations of other men. Often one derives the impression that they accept evil and do not try to explain it. It seems to be a trait characteristic of the Winnebago, and perhaps characteristic of other North American tribes, that explanations are developed for the positive aspects of things. Certainly it would require some thought on the part of a Winnebago to explain why a war party that had, in the opinion of the chief, all the necessary requirements for victory, should nevertheless be defeated. He would doubtless find some reason, after a while, but it would be an afterthought and would probably vary from individual to individual. In some cases lack of success would be ascribed to the fact that an individual had been misled by an evil spirit, but this is clearly a secondary explanation because the individual, when questioned, would admit that he had no way of telling whether this was so until he had failed in something. We base this statement on an actual instance.

776 There is some evidence to show that there may have originally existed among the Winnebago a belief that the spirits were neither good nor bad; that they could be either at different times. In two notable instances, that of Disease-giver and Water-spirit, this is true at the present time. The former deity is the only one to whom prayers are addressed beseeching him not to present to man his death-dealing side.

In the myths we find a definite incarnation of evil in the case of [192] a spirit called *Herecgu'nina*. The meaning of this word as given by a Winnebago, and which seems to be justified, is "he whose existence is doubtful." If this is an old Winnebago word it would confirm the view advanced above, that the Winnebago were not very much concerned about the evil spirits. There is, however, a possibility [77] that *Herecgu'nina* is, in part, a post-Columbian development due

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to Christian influence. The one place where he plays an important 776
rôle, the myth of the twins, shows definite indications of European 177
influence. The only thing that militates against such an assumption is the fact that there does not seem to be any particular reason why the existence of a chief evil spirit should have been doubted, even if we were to grant that Christian influence extended the belief. The French of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had a very definite idea of the devil and made it a point to tell the Indians that all their former habits were due to deceptions the devil had practiced upon them. To-day such an answer is the first that a Christianized Winnebago or a member of the new Peyote cult will give an ethnologist. Perhaps, after all, it is a very old Winnebago conception, a confirmation of the view promulgated before, that in former times the Winnebago had a very definite conception of evil spirits taking an active part in the affairs of man to his detriment. The figure of 776
*Hereegu'nina* is well defined and it would be ridiculous, in our 756
opinion, to believe that the shamans would have done anything to develop it. We have clear indications of what the shamans were trying to do with this conception. They were attempting to bring it into some relation with the concept of Earthmaker, a beneficent All-Father, and to do so they were even willing to claim that *Hereegu'nina* was the first attempt of Earthmaker to create a spirit; that Earthmaker was dissatisfied with his work and threw it away; that then *Hereegu'nina* watched Earthmaker create spirits and imitated him, the evil spirits representing these imitations. The shamans, we should expect, would have done all in their power to lessen the importance of *Hereegu'nina*, even to deny his existence, and, in this connection, it may be of significance that one Winnebago interpreted his name to mean, "He-who-seems-to-exist-but-who-does-not."

Whatever the case may be, this much is clear, that in the twin myth he is represented as a deity as powerful as Earthmaker, whom [773]
Earthmaker can not destroy; upon whom the twins play jokes but whom they cannot really harm.

*The concept of disease.*—Disease is rarely ascribed to the spirits. 753
Like lack of success, it is regarded as a fact of existence, and when 776
it is explained it is believed to be due either to the carelessness of man in trying to pass through life without the aid of the spirits or to the evil machinations of other men.

The deity known as Disease-giver is the one exception to the rule that the Winnebago spirits do not directly cause disease, for he is sometimes described as scattering death broadcast over the earth.

*The concepts of death, after-life, and reincarnation.*—Death is rarely, 761
if ever, ascribed to the spirits. It likewise is a fact of existence and, 776

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761 when explained, is laid at the door of some evil man. Death at old
776 age is clearly taken for granted. Where explanations are advanced,
[754] they are always for the deaths of individuals before their time, or at least before what the Winnebago consider their time.

761 The Winnebago look at death in two ways—as being, first, a different kind of consciousness from that possessed in life, and, secondly, as being a cessation of certain kinds of intercourse between individuals. Death is regarded as a "stumbling," after which the individual goes right on as if nothing had happened. He does not know he is dead until he sees his body. The individual is divested of all his corporeal investment and desires. In the myth of the journey of the soul to spirit land the ghost is not entirely a spirit until the old woman
[775] whom he meets brains him, thus, by destroying the seat of consciousness, depriving him of all corporeality and carnal desires. The ghost then becomes a spirit, in some cases of the same type as the true spirits.

761 Although the Winnebago know that after death they will never see
775 people again, they do not feel that all kinds of intercourse have ceased. The deceased may appear to a living individual in dreams or visions; he may talk to him or make his presence felt in a multitude of ways; and since, as we pointed out before, the test of existence is the consciousness of some kind of contact, such intercourse may be of a very intense type.

This lack of a feeling of discontinuity between the living and the dead is emphasized by the Winnebago concept of after-life and reincarnation.

775 After-life is but life on earth, only idealized. Everything is provided. All carnal desires have been done away with and men and women spend their time in one long round of enjoyment and bliss. Something of the fear of ghosts lingers here, however, for when living individuals try to reach spirit land—and a number of such instances are mentioned in the myths, particularly in the origin myth of the Ghost dance—these spirits are likely to be harmful.

By the belief in reincarnation the Winnebago entirely bridge the gulf between life and death. In other words, we seem to have a cycle consisting of life (consciousness), after-life (unconsciousness from a corporeal viewpoint), and life (reincarnation). To live again is the greatest desire of the Winnebago, and practically every secret society holds this out as the lure to the outsider. If you join the Medicine Lodge you will become reincarnated, they say, and the other ritualistic organizations make the same claim. But not only by joining an organization is it possible to be reincarnated; if you live an upright life, if you die on the battlefield, reincarnation also awaits you.

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The author was fortunate enough to obtain an account by a well-known Winnebago shaman of his various reincarnations. 159

*T. C.'s account of his two reincarnations.*—I once lived in a party that numbered about 20 camps. When I had grown up to be a lad, although one not large enough to handle a gun, a war party attacked us and killed us all. I did not know, however, that I had been killed. I thought that I was running about as usual until I saw a heap of bodies on the ground and mine among them. No one was there to bury us, so there we lay and rotted. 775 539

I (i. e., my ghost) was taken to the place where the sun sets (the west). There I lived with an old couple. This place (spirit land) is an excellent place and the people have the best of times. If you desire to go anywhere, all that you have to do is to wish yourself there and you reach it. While at that place I thought I would come back to earth again, and the old man with whom I was staying said to me, "My son, did you not speak about wanting to go to the earth again?" I had, as a matter of fact, only thought of it, yet he knew what I wanted. Then he said to me, "You can go, but you must ask the chief first."

Then I went and told the chief of the village of my desire, and he said to me, "You may go and obtain your revenge (upon the people who killed your relatives and you)."

Then I was brought down to earth. I did not enter a woman's womb, but I was taken into a room. There I remained, conscious at all times. One day I heard the noise of little children outside and some other sounds, so I thought I would go outside. Then it seemed to me that I went through a door, but I was really being born again from a woman's womb. As I walked out I was struck with the sudden rush of cold air and I began to cry.

At that place I was brought up and I was taught to fast a great deal. Afterwards I did nothing but go to war, and I certainly took revenge for the death of myself and my relatives, that being the purpose for which I had come to earth.

There I lived until I died of old age. All at once my bones became unjointed, my ribs fell in, and I died the second time. I felt no more pain at death, then, than I had felt the first time.

This time I was buried in the manner used at that time. I was wrapped in a blanket and then laid in the grave. Sticks were placed in the grave first. There in the grave I rotted. I watched the people as they buried me.

As I was lying there, some one said to me, "Come, let us go away." So then we went toward the setting of the sun. There we came to a village where we met all the dead. I was told that I would have to stop there for four nights, but in reality I stayed there four years. The people enjoy themselves there. They have all sorts of dances

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775 of a lively kind all the time. From that place we went up to the
539 place where Earthmaker lived and there I saw him and talked to him, face to face, even as I am talking to you now. I saw the spirits too, and, indeed, I was like one of them.

From that place I came to this earth again for the third time, and here I am. I am going through the same that I knew before.

774 *The concept of the soul.* This concept is not clearly developed as a
775 separate entity among the Winnebago on account of their strong belief in reincarnation. Their notion of the soul is merged in that of the noncorporeal ghost who eventually comes to earth again.

## The Cosmological Ideas

772 The cosmological ideas are of two types: those that are clearly of
773 a folkloristic origin and those that have been developed by shamanistic reinterpretations. To the former class belong all the creative acts of the tricksters and culture heroes, like *Wak'djapk'ago* and Hare, and to the latter the systematic creation of the world by Earthmaker.

What is probably the oldest form of the Winnebago cosmological notions is that concerned with the general destruction of the bad spirits by Hare and by such spirits as the Thunderbirds, Morning Star, etc., and the removal of obstacles. Often the present characteristics of the earth are formed accidentally, as, for instance, the origin of the valleys, mountains, and lakes, as given in the myth of "Holy One." Even in the thoroughly remodeled general origin myth, Earthmaker is not conceived of as having purposely created the world.

772 The Winnebago believed that there were four worlds, one beneath the other, presided over, respectively, by Earthmaker, Trickster (*Wak'djapk'ago*), Turtle, and Hare. Hare rules over the world on which man lives. There seems to be some confusion as to who rules over the last earth, because it is also definitely stated that Traveler (a Water-spirit) is in control of it.

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PART III

# CHAPTER XII

## CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

### INTRODUCTION

The Winnebago had four types of ceremonies: clan ceremonies, 796
in which only members of the clan could participate; religious societies, for which only people who had obtained blessings from the same spirits were eligible; the Medicine Dance, in which only initiated individuals could take part; and a semipermanent organization like the *hak'ize're* dance, in which only individuals who were returning from a war party and had counted coup could participate. In this grouping we do not include ordinary feasts, such as the feasts connected with different medicines and the pleasure dances.

Every clan seems to have had a clan war-bundle feast (often called 796
winter feast) and also a specific clan feast. We have reason to suspect 614
that the war-bundle feasts were originally private feasts given by 778
the owner of a war bundle. Then as the war bundles became of great importance to the clan to which the owners belonged, they were after a while regarded as clan possessions. But even at the present time, while many would contend that the war bundle belonged to the clan as such and could not be alienated, everyone realizes that it is the property, whether held in trust or not, of a certain individual, and that he can, up to a certain point, do what he wishes with it. For a detailed analysis of a winter or war-bundle feast see page 427.

The clan feasts were specific feasts at which offerings were made to 796
the clan animal. A good description of one is that of the Snake 614
clan on page 325. [723]

Perhaps the most characteristic ceremonies of the Winnebago were
those of secret societies in which membership was dependent upon
blessings from one and the same spirit. There were at least four of 575
these—the society of those who have been blessed by the night spirits, 796
the society of those who have been blessed by the buffaloes, the society [776]
of those who have been blessed by ghosts, and the society of those
who have been blessed by grizzly bears.

In order to prevent any misunderstanding with regard to the buffalo societies, it might be well to point out that there were three of them—

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575 the Buffalo clan feast, the society of those who have been blessed by
796 the buffaloes, and the society of those who wear buffalo headdresses; the last apparently of Sioux origin.

The medicine dance has been described by the author in some detail,[1] and a general description will be found on page 350.

796 Of the semipermanent societies, the *hok'ize're* dance is given after
727 every successful war party by those four individuals who have counted coup. It has only a temporary existence, for it ceases to be an organization as soon as each individual performance is over. Its main purpose seems to be the desire to transfer to the victor, from the skulls or the scalps of the slain enemies obtained on that particular warpath, the valor and prowess for which the slain person was noted.

527 In addition to the above ceremonies there were a number of pleasure and miscellaneous dances that are described on page 379.

796 There were apparently a number of very important feasts connected
278 with certain medicines, the principal one of which was the Black Earth Medicine feast; but unfortunately no account of this was obtained, owing to lack of time.

## Ceremonies Associated With the Clans

### THE CLAN FEASTS

#### THE THUNDERBIRD CLAN OR CHIEF FEAST

796 *Introduction.*—The chief feast, or, as it may more properly be
614 called, the feast of the bird clans, is generally given once a year, sometimes in late spring. It was also given on certain other occasions for specific purposes. At the present time it is given by the members of the Thunderbird clan and the prevalence of the appellation "chief feast" would seem to indicate that it was at all times the feast of the Thunderbird clan. We ought then to expect to find clan feasts of the other members of the *wagerogi* division, namely, of the Warrior, Eagle, and Pigeon clans. No such feasts are given to-day, however, and the members of these latter three clans always speak of the chief or bird feast as their specific clan feast. As such it is also regarded by the members of the *ma'nagi* division.

In the total absence of historical data it is quite useless to speculate about the significance of one feast sufficing for four clans, where in strict analogy to the feasts of the other clans we would expect to find one for each clan; yet the idea that naturally presents itself is that we are in reality dealing with one clan that has become split up
[114] into four subclans. Such a view has been expressed by J. O. Dorsey,[2] but the data upon which he based his opinion seem to us highly

[1] The Ritual and Significance of the Winnebago Medicine Dance, Journal of American Folklore, Vol. XXV, No. XCII, 1911.

[2] Siouan Sociology, 15th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 241.

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unsatisfactory. Apparently his statement is based upon the occurrence of four mythical ancestors. The similarity of the Winnebago social organization with that of the Dhegiha and Teiwere branches of the Siouan family, in which subclans seem to be found, appears to have influenced Dorsey considerably in making this assumption. 796 614 [114]

It is true that in their account of origins the Warrior clan speak of themselves as having sprung from the second of the birds mentioned in the origin myth of the Thunderbird clan and this statement permits us to infer that the other two clans bear a similar relationship to those four ancestral birds who, according to legend, alit on a tree near Red Banks. But this is, of course, merely a mythical account, and the data imbedded in the clan myths must be used with the greatest caution in so far as they can be expected to throw any light on early conditions of social organization.

All that we can say now is that the chief feast will have to be considered as belonging to all the four bird clans. But this is not to be interpreted to mean that an amalgamation of four historically distinct feasts has taken place, nor that, on the other hand, the four clans were originally subdivisions of one unit.

*The Chief feast.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:[4] The chief of the tribe is at the head of all the different bands and groups of people that exist among the Winnebago. As chief he has full charge of them. All the others are, so to say, his attendants and servants. When his people wish anything they go to him and ask him to obtain a blessing for them. Thus all the members of the tribe, the children as well as the mature men, go to him, and to help them the chief gives the feast known as the chief feast. He sacrifices to Earthmaker, and all who are present offer up some little gift in thankfulness, as this is a thing of supreme sacredness. All those who are present—the children, the women, the middle-aged, and the old men—in fact, whosoever attends the feast, see to it that they eat some of the food distributed. 796 622

As this feast is given in honor of their chief, all the members of the tribe, but most particularly the members of the Bird clan, prepare large offerings, so that there should be abundant food to eat. They bring all kinds of food—different kinds of meat, different kinds of vegetables, all manner of berries—in short, all sorts of edibles. These are to be offered to the spirits, and by means of these offerings they expect that their life will be filled with all that is good. It is to obtain these blessings that the feast is given. [614] [782]

When his people get sick, when it appears that an epidemic is likely, then the chief also gives the chief feast. It is for the purpose [755]

[4] Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain a full and detailed account of this feast. As in type, however, all the clan feasts are identical, this deficiency can be made up in part by comparing it with those feasts like the snake, bear, and buffalo that have been obtained in considerable detail.

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796
622 of stopping the spread of the sickness, whatever it may be, and for repairing the ravages caused thereby. For this the feasters pray "May our people recover and thrive," they say. "May they never get sick." Then they make all those present offer up tobacco. As [782] each one offers tobacco Earthmaker is aware of it and accepts. Thereby do we live and become strengthened. If Earthmaker smokes the tobacco offered him he will give life in return. The people offer tobacco that they may obtain life.

[614] They call the Thunderbird people chiefs, and it is from among
622 their ranks that they select the chief of the tribe.[8]

It is the duty of the chief to ward off all evils. This is one of their missions in life. They preach only what is good.

"Chief," they used to say to him, "try to do something for your people. Try to accomplish something difficult for them. Try to accomplish something difficult for your village. If you accomplish such a thing for the benefit of your people they will look up to you and respect you. Have pity on your people and love them. If a man is very poor, help him. Give him and his family food. Whatever they ask, give it to them. If your people get into trouble with one another, take your pipe and, walking in front, die for them, if necessary. From actions like these they will know that you are really their chief. There, in front of them, with your pipe in your hands, you will be lying on the ground, dead.

"If your people are about to sacrifice a dog and he gets loose and runs into your tent, you must let them have something in place of this dog for their feast. Do not let them kill the dog in your lodge. This would be sacrilegious. Grant the dog his life. Similarly, if an individual who has murdered a person escapes and takes refuge in your lodge, give him his life. Use all the wealth you have and give it to him, that he may employ it to make peace with the relatives of the person he has killed. Help these people who are in need. Do not think of your wealth. When that is gone you will get some more. Do your duty. Do not pass anyone unnoticed, not even a child. If people have come and asked you for something, do not let them go away without attempting to do something for them. You are a chief. Do some good for your people. In that way you will show that you are a chief. 'Our chief,' they will all call you. The children that see you will call you chief. Whoever talks to you will call you chief. If you are good to your people, they will show their respect by being bashful in your presence. If you are not good to them they will not think you a chief and they will not be bashful in your presence. So, at all times, do as a chief ought to do. Be good-natured to all the people and in this way you will show that

[8] What follows is a typical speech delivered by a member of the Thunderbird clan.

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you are indeed a chief. And then even the people of other tribes 622
will say that such and such people have a good chief."

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The Indians always cele- 796
brated in summer. It was a season of rejoicing because the chief 622
fed the tribe. It somewhat symbolized a mother bird feeding her young ones. The Thunderbird clan is in charge of the tribe, [614]
and when the chief feeds the tribe all rejoice and the standard is raised.

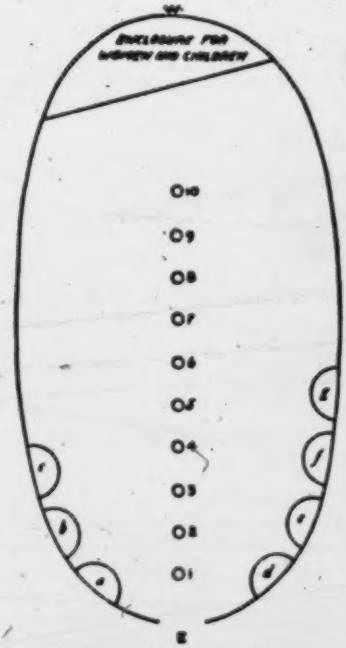


FIG. 38. Plan of Bear clan war-bundle feast as given by John Rave. a, Host. b, Relatives of host. c, Warrior clan. d, Wolf clan. e, Thunderbird clan. f, Kaqle clan. g, Buffalo clan. h, Burkskin for earthmaker. i, Burkskin for turtle. j, Burkskin for thunderbird. k, Burkskin for man. l, Burkskin for moon. m, Burkskin for morning star. n, Burkskin for earth. o, Burkskin for fire. p, Burkskin for heroes. q, Burkskin for night spirits.

THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (FIRST VERSION)

Two versions of the Bear clan 614
feast (fig. 38) were obtained, for- 796
tunately both from a man and a 782
woman. The feast was generally given during the month called *Hundjwi'ra* (i. e., bear month), corresponding roughly to our [805]
January.

Informant, member of the clan (female): The host tells his sister's son, or, if he should not happen to have any, a member of the Wolf clan, to build a long lodge. This attendant then fills kettles either with blueberries or raspberries or any other fruit that the bears are fond of, and places them on the fireplace. Sometimes dried corn is also brought.

The participants enter the lodge at dusk. The host precedes the invited guests. In entering they proceed in a direction contrary to the hands of the clock. The host always sits at the southeast end of the lodge and the guests occupy seats next to him, proceeding from the southeast to the northwest.

When all are seated the host rises and addresses his guests as follows:

"Members of my clan who are seated here, I greet you all. To those from whom I have sprung I make these offerings of tobacco [537]
and this headdress (i. e., red feathers). I was told by my ancestors that if I did this I would obtain for myself, for my relatives, and for

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614 796 782 the members of my clan, sufficient blessings to guide us all safely through life, and to make our lives pleasant. I will not tell the [537] origin myth (of our clan) because it is sacred and it must not be told without the proper ceremony, for the telling would then injure an individual. Besides there are many clans beside our own represented here and it is not proper that these should hear it."

614 796 He then speaks of the four ancestral bear-beings who were created in the beginning.

When the feast is ready one of the Wolf clansmen gives four soldier whoops. Then the fire is allowed to die out, and as soon as the lodge is in complete darkness the feasters begin to eat. Before [533] eating, the host sings four songs. These are the clan songs and are only sung at these feasts or on the occasion of the death of a clansman.

Those who partake of food at the feast may be members of any clan except the Bear clan. The members of the latter clan do not eat at their own feast.

[264 415] Everyone attending must bring his own wooden spoon and must use it with his left hand. There are four wooden dishes in which the food is served. These are arranged in the lodge in a certain manner.

The guests sit around these dishes and eat with their own spoons.

[805] The feast is given in the first bear month. Some one generally watches the moon and as soon as the new moon is visible the feast begins. The feathers and the tobacco to be offered are placed in four little troughs made of basswood bark, each about 1 foot long. These are then placed on the south side of the fireplace.

When the meal is over the attendant or Wolf clansman generally says a few words of thanks to the host and then the host in turn thanks those who have participated and tells them that the feast is now over. All now pass out, the one next to the host leaving first and the rest in succession, the host himself remaining until the end.

[778 782] When the feast is over the tobacco and the feathers are taken away from the lodge and carried in a southern direction to a place (under a tree) that has been especially cleared and sanctified. Any person may thereafter go there, offer tobacco, and ask for long life.

614 796 537 782 Informant, member of the clan (male): "Well, soldiers, your moon is about to appear. It is good. So come forth, for it is at this time that the spirits asked to be remembered. Let us send, on this occasion, to the place at which we all originated, whatever we possess of wealth. This is what the spirits asked of old. Let us therefore put the kettle on and prepare the feast.

"This is the way in which we prepare the feast. I offer only one small kettle. Here is my offering. I pray that what I offer may suffice and bring enough blessings from the spirits to include all the

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Indians who exist and especially those who are present at this feast. 614
For that reason do we deliver these speeches. We were told that 796
at the place where we originated our ancestors now remain, regard- 537
ing it as their home. There they expectantly await us. So our 782
ancestors spoke. Our offering at this feast is intended for that purpose. Let us pour tobacco for them. Let us place at the edge of the fire the four bark receptacles. Now listen to me for I am going to pour tobacco.

(He now addresses the four original clan beings.)

"On the north side, Earthmaker created you. Four brothers he placed there (you being one of them). And when one of them started for the earth those remaining asked to be remembered at this feast. These are the objects they asked to be given as offerings—tobacco, feathers, and boiled food. Earthmaker gave you that kind of life-giving material. We, in turn, ask you for this, so that when you take our offerings you will grant us what we ask. Here they are, the offerings with which you wished to be remembered. The spirits promised to give them. We are praying now not only for our own, but for all the clans. Our life will be strengthened, it was said. These words that I am telling you now, they used. We must act very cautiously in this, they said.

"If you place a portion of boiled food away as an offering, you must use it only in that particular place. Do not do otherwise. This way only is the correct way to do it."

Then he spoke to the attendant and said, "Are you ready? Go and get all these people who are to eat. They must bring their spoons with them."

Then the attendant brought the people into the lodge and put some food in their plates.

"Place the people around the plate and let them be seated," the host said. "Now turn the fire down and get ready. Hold your spoons in your left hand, for with that only are you allowed to eat. None of you must talk nor laugh. You must do what I tell you. Before the meal begins let us sing. Let us do it now." (They then sing the four clan songs.) 614

"Thus they have told us. That way it was at the place where we 796
began life.

"Now the meal is over. We have had a minor council. We have acted correctly. It is good that you who are present have come at our request. You have eaten very well, and we thank you for it. This is what those from whom we originated told us to do. This council-feast they pleaded for. 'We should act very cautiously, they said. That you have done. It is good that you have eaten for our benefit. Now is about time for us to finish. I greet you all."

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THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (SECOND VERSION)

614 796 Informant, member of Bear clan: As soon as the first bear month is visible they have their feast. They do not use meat but products [805] of the earth. The feast is held at night, never in the daytime. The people always save up food some time before giving the feast. The [825] favorite dishes of the bear are sugar and blueberries. When they can not obtain these they use other vegetables. Indeed, any product of the earth is all right.

When they prepare to give the feast they get the food ready and have some tobacco on hand. On the first day of the first bear month they put on the fire some kettles with dried corn mixed with fruit and others containing green corn. The latter is boiled. They also have [203] ground sugar. When these are ready the feast attendant goes around the village to invite the people. When all have entered the lodge and taken their proper seats, then the host rises and addresses them:

614 796 537 "All my relatives who are seated here, I greet you. It is not through blessings of our own that we can always make offerings of tobacco. My grandfather was blessed by a spirit called Black Fur, a spirit who is in command of all the other spirits. This spirit told us that we could perform the ceremony in this way. It is for that reason we have made an effort to heat water for him.[8] The first request we make is that if we ever go on the warpath, we may conquer. Our grandfather was also blessed with life by the bear spirit[7] and he told him that he would grant him and his posterity whatever they asked. [782] We shall therefore send to this spirit a pipeful of tobacco, two kettles full of food, and some tree sap.[9] So much will we send him, accompanied by an offering of tobacco.

"As soon as the attendant gets everything ready the feasting will begin."

Then the attendant puts food in every plate, and when he has finished the host speaks again.

"Relatives, it is said that when the plates are supplied to you [264] filled with food, then you should begin to eat. Do not, however, use your right hands in eating."

The host tells the feasters to use their left hands in eating, and they obey him. Before starting to eat all the fires are put out and the people eat in the dark.

614 796 In the spring of the year this feast is given again. Twice a year it is given.

The feast[9] was always given with some choice dried corn that had been put away for this event. Once when it was time to give the [841] feast in the first bear month, the two daughters of the man who was

[8] Boil soup and prepare food in general.
[7] Black Fur is apparently a ceremonial expression for bear.
[9] Ceremonial name for maple sugar.
[9] What follows is an account of why this particular feast was discontinued.

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to give it had their menses and were fasting. When the feast was 614
about to be held there was no food and their mother gave the girls 796
some of the sacred food and the unclean girls boiled it and ate it. 841

The following spring when the girls were out helping their mother tan some hide a bear approached them and tried to kill the girls. The old woman fought the bear off as best she could, but he paid no attention to her and tried to get at the girls. Finally he killed the girls. Then the old woman attacked the bear and finally threw him down and killed him, using her tanning stick as a weapon.

Now this bear was not an ordinary bear such as live on this earth, but his body was covered with blue clay. He had come out of a [776
spring of water shortly before he came to this place. The girls had 688]
eaten sacred food when they were unclean, and that is why this bear came and killed them.

Since then that particular band has stopped giving this bear feast.

### THE SNAKE CLAN FEAST

When a person wishes to give a snake feast, four chickens must be 796
obtained. The nephew of the feast giver is then told to prepare these 614
chickens and make the general preparations.

The feast is given in the fall, just as the snakes are supposed to go into their winter quarters and close their doors. The winter is [825]
their night, and then they go to sleep.

Shortly before the feast begins the host takes out a bundle containing four snake skins—a yellow-snake skin, a rattlesnake skin, a blow-snake skin, and a bull-snake skin. In honor of these he gives his feast and makes his offerings.

As the fall of the year is to the snakes the same as our evening, the Winnebago give this feast in their honor then, in much the same way as we have our supper before retiring for the night. The snake skins are representatives of the first four snakes Earthmaker made and [773]
which he pierced through the earth in the direction of the east. The snake skins are kept to represent the four original snake-beings and to keep evil away from homes. That is why offerings are made to them. Four men only are invited to this feast (as main participants), and they must each eat a chicken.

The host himself opens the door for the snakes. In front of him, next to the fireplace, he makes four holes in the ground, thus opening the door for them. There he likewise places tobacco for them. First he pours tobacco in the fire, for the fire is the mediator be- [782]
tween the people and the spirit. The fire tells the spirit the wishes of the people and is, in general, in charge of the members of the tribe. For that reason they always pour tobacco upon it. 796

Now the host rises and speaks. "Grandfather (fire), you who 614
stand in the center of the lodge, I offer you tobacco, for you are the 537
interpreter (between the spirits and human beings), and I know that 372

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614 537 you will deliver the requests I address to our grandfather-who-crawls
[372] (the snake), just as I have said them. I offer you tobacco.

"To you likewise, grandfathers, you whom Earthmaker created first and placed within the earth; you whom Earthmaker placed in control of abundance of life and whose war clubs were made heavy, so that nothing could miss them; to you we offer these things. Whatever you can give us, we ask of you in return. Here are our offerings [782] of food, tobacco, and eagle feathers. We place them here at your door. We ask that you bless us with victory in war. We know that the weapons you carry make you invulnerable, and we wish likewise to be invulnerable. You never fail to obtain what you desire with your clubs, and we ask that the same power be bestowed upon us. As the years pass may the blessing we obtain increase in power. When you look out upon the world life emanates from your eyes. May this life be given to our posterity. As we strut about in the short number of days allotted to us may you keep out of our path, so that we may not be frightened. Yet should we cross any of your paths may we be strengthened thereby. It is said that you are the grass, and that is why we ask you to bless us. Bless us because you are in possession of the life which we desire. For these reasons do we offer you tobacco, feathers, and food."

796 Then the host poured tobacco into the four holes that he had made
614 in the ground and placed feathers there. Then he took a little food
[782] from each of the kettles and poured it into the four holes. After that he greased the heads of the snake skins which were lying before him with kettle grease and poured tobacco on the heads of the snakes. He asked all his relatives to offer tobacco likewise and he put tobacco into the holes again and poured some upon the heads of the snakes.

When those invited have arrived, someone who is a good speaker sits near the entrance, while another good speaker sits near the farthest end. After all have entered, the leader of the four participants makes the circuit of the fireplace four times. He then sits down, and the host greets each one in turn, as follows:

796 "I greet you all. It is good. How could I say aught but that it
614 is good? I am a poor worthless fellow, yet you have remembered
537 me. It is good. You did not look upon my unworthiness and think within your hearts he is a worthless fellow, but you thought of the spirits, and therefore you came to sit with me so that I might see your face. It is good. I have obtained four chickens, and the attendant is now cooking them. I suppose he has cooked them by this time, and we will soon be able to eat them.

"I am attempting to cook water for the beings first created, so that we might be blessed with victory in war, and with life. That is what we are asking and what we would like to obtain from them before they (the spirits) retire for the night. It is our desire to be blessed year in, year out.

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"Your plates will be filled soon, so let me greet you again, you (humans) who are taking the place of the spirits. All you who are present I greet." 796 614 537

The attendant now takes the kettles from the fire and takes the plate of the first of those sitting in the row. Then he takes the sharp stick that he holds in his hand, sticks it through one of the four chickens, and puts it in the plate of the first man. He passes the plate around the kettle four times, going from right to left, and finally he places it before the feaster. The feaster then says, "I thank you all," and the attendant passes on to the next one, and so in succession until he comes to the last person. Then the one first invited rises and says, "All those present, the host and the three other guests, do I greet." Then the speaker addresses the one sitting next to him, who greets him in return. In the same way he greets the third and the fourth one. Then he speaks as follows:

"It is good. Who would not be thankful for this? The host and his relatives present here are praying for life and victory, to the four greatest spirits Earthmaker ever made, to those spirits whom he pierced through the earth so that it might hold together. All the snakes whom we see on the earth are ruled by these four. From them have they asked blessings. The first human beings on earth saw these spirits face to face and, we are told, they used them for protection. These we see before us as the host has laid them out. We are told that blessings can be obtained by the use of these snakes.

"I am indeed not a fit person to be invited to such a gathering as this, but the host has kindly overlooked my faults. My grandfather fasted and thirsted himself to death and he was blessed and his spirit taken to a spirit-home. That is what happened to my grandfather, for he told me this himself. The place where he was blessed was at Red Banks at a place where a creek flows into the sea (Green Bay). At the fork of this creek there was a hill lying east and west. It is there that the yellow snake-chief lives. To the home of this snake-chief my grandfather was taken. This snake was at this place gathering tobacco for all the spirits. There my grandfather was even blessed with their bodies. For this reason I always pour tobacco for them. And I have been given to understand that the spirits do not overlook the least fault (in the performance of the feast). They are always in our midst just as even the grass and the dust represent snakes. They know everything, they say. It is not safe to cross their path. As, however, the host is now making an offering to them, should we cross their path now it would even strengthen us. It is good. These clubs are heavy and they will not fail to strike everything within their reach. The host has asked for that power so that he might have victory (in war). They, the spirits, also have life to dispose of and that we ask of them also, giving them these offerings of tobacco, feathers, and food. [787] [782]

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796 feathers, and food. They will bless us I am certain, for I am told
614 that they even know our thoughts and wishes (before we express
537 them), and are willing to grant them if we pour tobacco while making
[782] them. However, to-day we have done more. We have openly made a great offering to them. How could any spirit fail to see such an offering? For that reason (I know) they will surely bless us. And the blessings asked for the posterity will surely be granted. I feel that when I go home and talk to my children afterwards, they will be strengthened by the fact that I have taken part in the feast. All who are present, I greet. You, the host, I also greet. I greet you all."

Then the second one invited rises and speaks. He thanks the host for the privilege of having been invited and encourages him and assures every one that they will surely be blessed, telling them why they should be blessed.

Then the third one rises and says approximately the same as his predecessor. He also tells how his grandfather was blessed by the snakes, etc.

Then the fourth one speaks, telling what the snakes do and that he himself was a member of the Snake clan and was consequently descended from the snakes. Inasmuch as he had partaken of the feast, all who were present would surely be blessed by the snakes. He assured them that what they asked would surely be granted. Then he greeted them and concluded.

After that, all the four participants greet each other in turn again and when this is over they sit down and begin the feast. Each person must eat a chicken apiece. They must not leave anything on the plate, for it is a sacred feast. After they have eaten the chicken they are given soup to drink.

When the feast is over the host throws cedar branches into the fire and the plates and the spoons are held over the smoke in order to purify them. The host then rises and says:

"You, the first invited, and you, the second invited, etc., I greet you all. It is good that you have come and occupied seats at my request and I am grateful to you for it. Even were that all the blessing I was to receive, it would (be enough). But you have assured me that I would receive the blessings I longed for. You truly encouraged me. You told me of your grandfathers' blessings, so that I feel positive that I am blessed, for your grandfathers' blessings were surely great and I am sure everything could be obtained with them. Surely your grandfathers' blessings were equal to those of the spirits. It is good that you have indeed partaken of my feast. This must be what the older people said: 'Your life is (naturally) weak and you can only be strengthened by the counsel and advice of brave men.' Truly you have counciled with me and given me enough to live on. I thank you for the speeches you have delivered, for it is life to me. It is good. I greet you all."

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# CHAPTER XIII

## RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES BASED ON BLESSINGS FROM SPIRITS

### Society of Those Who Have Received Blessings From the Night Spirits

Informant, member of Thunderbird clan: Once a man went hunting so that he might be able to get the game with which to give a feast. All of those who were to participate in the feast went along with him. After they had killed some deer they built a lodge. Then all the other feast-givers came into the lodge, bringing something toward the feast, as well as the tobacco which they were to offer. Some brought other things, even dogs, as their contribution to the feast. The dogs would be killed, singed, then boiled, and prepared in the same way as the deer. The meat would then be mixed with dry corn. The attendants, who were generally the nephews of the feast-givers, would look after the boiling of the food. Every time they gave a feast they selected these nephews to do the cooking and the general work connected with this ceremony. 796 539 575 [252] 575 796 604 539

The nephew who acts as attendant accompanies a feast-giver on the warpath, where likewise he has to endure a great deal. Should his uncle be killed, it is his duty to be killed likewise and not to return home. [726]

He acted in this way because of his love for his uncle. The attendants do all the work whenever their uncles give a feast. They also arrange for the place where the feast is to be held; make the four invitation sticks; blacken them with charcoal and decorate them at the ends with fine and fluffy white eagle feathers. Then they prepare a bundle of tobacco containing about a pipeful. After these preparations have been made one of the nephews goes around the village and presents the invitation sticks to every individual who had been blessed by the Night Spirits. These are called the night-blessed children. The night-blessed children thanked the messengers and assured them that they now felt they were obtaining life. Then those to whom the invitation stick had been presented go around asking their relatives to accompany them to the feast. There the guest and his relatives would meet at the appointed time. All those who received invitation sticks do the same. [203]

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539 The host at the same time puts himself in readiness to receive the guests.

[534] The two drums to be used are placed in the proper position with tobacco on top as an offering. The two gourds to be used are arranged in the same way, with offerings of tobacco on top. These four articles are placed in a row in front of the host, who pours tobacco upon them again and asks them for life.

[782] The host now rises and speaks as follows (first, however, offering tobacco to the fire, and telling the people of his own band how he had obtained his blessing, and from what source it had come):

796 "Grandfathers, when you blessed my grandfather with life you
776 promised that as often as we would boil food for you and offer you a
539 pipeful of tobacco, you would smoke it. So it has been said. Boiled
575 water from an animal whom you considered the same as our own body, and spirit food he extended to you, as well as a pipeful of tobacco. This we also are sending you. And what could we ask of you in return but war! That it may be directed toward us, we pray you. Grandfathers, you who are called Happy Nights, when you blessed our grandfather you blessed him with endless war. So it has been said. That is what we ask for, that as you blessed our grandfather, so you bless us. We ask for the same things. You, likewise, grandfather, you who are called The-one-with-rounded-wood, when you blessed my grandfather you blessed him with life. That is what he said, and you asked him in return to make offerings of tobacco. Here is the tobacco. This night we are going to ask life of you. We desire that you give us and all who will be here to-night, life. As many people as will be seated here, we ask life for all of them."

Then all who are present rise and, holding tobacco in each hand, walk around the lodge, pouring tobacco on the drums and the [782] gourds, and some of it into the fire. They pour tobacco into the fire for the Night Spirits. For the Beings-with-rounded-wood they offer tobacco by pouring it upon the drums. The offering is made both to the drums and to the gourds directly. The tobacco bundles tied to the invitation sticks are offered to the four cardinal points and the four specially invited guests smoke this tobacco, because they are supposed to represent the four cardinal points. Behind the respective invited guests are placed two women, next to the wall, so that they might lead in the dance. When the invited guests come to the feast these women remain outside until the starting songs have been begun.

[533] The host sings these songs first and when he has finished the first invited guest enters the lodge, ejaculating peculiar sounds (that are probably meant as greetings). Continuing these sounds, he walks around the lodge until he comes to the place from which he has started. There he stops and speaks. "You who obtain life, you

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that council, relatives, all who are seated here, I greet you. It is 796
good that you have taken pity upon me. All those that I have 776
along with me, my relatives, you have caused them to think that 539
they were to obtain life; that a great life was to come to us through 575
you. And all this you have done when we were leading worthless lives. It is good. If such an invitation were to be extended to people when they are sick and weakly, it would heal them; it would overcome their illness, it is said. It is good. When I think that our sick people will get well by reason of this feast, I am thankful. Up to the present our children have all been sickly, but from now on we will have no cause to worry. I am thankful. The principal tree of the night-soldiers, standing in front of their doorway and which is in full bloom, has not a dead leaf upon it, not one that has dried. It is beautiful to look upon. They obtained it for us and caused it to come down to us, and we feel grateful. It will strengthen our families. This lodge that we have entered is like the first lodge (the night-soldiers' lodge); and just as we were strengthened by it, so will we surely be strengthened by entering this lodge to-day. In the night-soldiers' lodge fine white feathers are scattered all over the ground, ankle deep, it is said. As we are about to go over the past, we certainly will be strengthened thereby. The lodge of the night-soldiers was fair to behold from the inside, we are told. We will consider ourselves blest with life to-day, even although we are not children of the night-blessed ones, and even although we will not be able to conduct ourselves as it is meet. We will, however, do what we can in order to obtain life. You children of the night-blessed ones, who are seated around here, I greet you."

Then he sings the entrance songs and walks around the lodge. [533]
His singing is generally finished at about the time that he has made the complete circuit of the lodge. Then he starts around the lodge again uttering the peculiar sounds mentioned before, until he comes to the seat of the host. There he stops and makes a circle in the air (with his hand) and addresses him as follows:

"I greet you. A great day has come to me and all my relatives have tasted thereof in the hope that they might thereby be strengthened. I have also brought along with me a pipeful of tobacco to be given to you, that we may all be strengthened. So it is said. It is for that reason that I am acting thus and am greeting you."

With these words he concluded and walked to the place that had been assigned him in the lodge, opposite the host and, still standing, he said the following: "Children of the night-blessed spirits who are seated here around me, I greet you all. The councilor, I mean the host, has seen fit to give me and my relatives a seat. We will sit in it so that we may be strengthened thereby. We will now take our seats, but before that let me send forth my greetings to all."

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796 Then the second invited guest enters. He utters the same sounds
776 as his predecessors and makes the circuit of the lodge. When he
539 reaches the place from which he started he stops and addresses the
575 host as follows:

"Councilor, you who obtain life, relatives who are seated here, I greet you all, and your seats do I greet likewise. You that are seated in the first place, I greet you, too. All you children of the night-blest spirits who are in this lodge, I greet you. It is good that you wish me to live; that I am here. I am not a child of a night blest one, that this invitation should have been extended to me, but you probably knew the nature of my life and that is why, I suppose, you extended this honor to me. My relatives are even greater weaklings in the properties and goods of life than I am. That happens to be our manner of life. It is good. Henceforth we shall be stronger as we journey through life. Our men, women, and children shall all live in peace. As many of us as are living to-day, that many shall continue to live (on account of my participation in this ceremony). I am thankful.

"Of all the spirits that exist, these truly are in control of most life. So it is said of the Night Spirits. This is a great thing. These spirits have given us the occasion for a great conciling. Many of us are not able to take part in it, especially the one now speaking. The songs that have been used by our fathers we will not be able to sing, but whatever we say I know will be acceptable to you, children of the night-blest spirits. I send forth greetings to you all."

Then he sang an entrance song, and after he had made the circuit of the lodge, he sang another one. Then he went around the lodge again making his strange utterances, until he came in front of the host. Here he made a circle (with his hand) and stopped. Then he greeted the host as follows:

"A great day has come upon us, both upon me and upon all of my relatives. We all have tasted thereof so that we might live thereby. We have all brought you a pipeful of tobacco, just as we were told. It is said that we would thus strengthen one another, and that is why we have done it. I greet you all."

Then he went to his seat, the second one in the lodge, and sat down. Then all the members of his band sat down, each sending forth a greeting as they took their seats. When they were all seated the third man invited prepared to enter.

The third one invited now entered, uttering strange sounds, and made the circuit of the lodge, when he paused and addressed the host as follows:

"Councilors, life-obtainers, relatives who are seated in your respective seats, I greet you all. Here I have been blessed, although I am not worthy of it. My grandfather, and my father, too, once said to

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me, 'Some day when there is a dearth of people, some night-blest one will take pity on you. Submit to it.' Thus he spoke to me and what he referred to was this feast. These feasts are all sacred, but this is the most sacred one. That is what he used to tell me. It is not to be trifled with, even in respect to the rituals within the lodge. Never should one cross the lodge directly. If you trifle with this rule you will bring sorrow upon yourselves. The so-called night-soldiers are not to be trifled with. So he told me. The so-called night-soldiers, like soldiers on this earth, are stern. Truly they are stern, said my father. If we were to slight one of them we would most assuredly be punished for it, and punishment by them means death. So he spoke to me. But, said he, 'if, on the other hand, any one attends to all that pertains to this ceremony it will be a means of obtaining life. It will be a good thing to do, and one would thereby obtain a good life. Therefore, I have always looked upon the Night dance with awe, for it is a very holy thing.' So spoke my father. For that reason, consequently, whenever my father gave a Night feast he would encourage us to pay careful attention to it, and that is why I have always tried to do so. Remember, however, that I am not a child of the night-blest ones, and that, therefore, I have very little to say. However, I will start a song, which will be a greeting to this lodge, and I will sing it as I am passing around the lodge. Children of the night-blest ones, who are seated here, I greet you."

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Then he sang an entrance song, first at the west end of the lodge and then near the position occupied by the host. When he had finished the circuit of the lodge he went around again, making the accustomed peculiar utterances, until he came in front of the host. There he stopped and addressed the host as follows:

"I greet you. You have caused this day to come upon me and all my relatives. We have all tasted thereof and we have all felt ourselves in connection with life. We are thankful. We have thought of this blessing of life in connection with ourselves. I greet you."

Then he walks to the place assigned to him in the west end of the tent and sits down. The other members of his band do the same, one after the other, greeting the people in the lodge at the same time.

When they are all seated the fourth one comes in. He repeats the utterances of the former guests and then starts around the lodge until he reaches the entrance. There he stops and addresses the host:

"Councilors and life-obtainers, I greet your seats. I likewise greet you, host. You who are seated in the north and you who are seated in the west, your seats I greet. Children of the night-blessed spirits who are within this lodge, all of you I greet. It is good. As far as I understand this Night ceremony is considered a life-giving one. The so-called happy Night Spirits alone are in control of most of life. So I was told, and that is why this ceremony is called a life-giving

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796 one. If I participated in this ceremony, I would be able to call it life,
776 I was told. But I did not pay any attention to it. They told me it
539 was good and that I would at the same time be making offerings to
575 Those-with-the-rounded-wood, and that thus I would be able to make use of all the plants that these spirits control, so that I would never be embarrassed when I wished to use them. I have caused people
[824] who were ill to become well by means of this ceremony. All of the plants that these spirits control are good ones, and it is easy to obtain life with them. In this ceremony we may also obtain life by dancing. But we must dance earnestly. The leaders of this ceremony have held council over everything, and yet they have selected us for a seat of honor, so that we might greet them in this lodge and that we might be able to use this song while greeting them. You children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you all."

Then he sang an entrance song, and when he finished he repeated the utterances used in entering and gradually made the circuit of the lodge singing. When he was through singing, he again continued the utterances until he came to the place of the host, where he made the circle (with his hands) and stopped. Then he addressed the host as follows:

"I greet you. You wish me to live, and therefore caused a great day to come upon me and upon all my relatives. We have all received a taste of it, and we have all thought of ourselves in connection with life. We are also bringing you a pipeful of tobacco, so that we may strengthen one another. That is what we thought and that is why we are doing it. I greet you."

Then he walked around the lodge until he came to his seat. There he stopped and addressed his seat as follows:

"Seat that is reserved for me and for my relatives, we are about to sit in you; we will do it, and we will think that our lives have been helped thereby. I greet you." Thus he spoke and sat down. Then all the other members of his band sat down one by one.

When they were all seated the lodge was full. Then the host rose and spoke as follows:

"You who are seated in the first position, I greet you; you who are seated in the north position, I greet you; you who are seated in the west position, I greet you; and you who are seated at the end of the
539 road, I greet you. Children of the night-blessed ones who are here, I
796 greet you. My father and my grandfather spoke to me of this cere-
776 mony, and they told me it was good. They told me that the one
787 who first obtained it was named 'Little Red Turtle.' He fasted and
575 was blessed by those whom he called the Beings-with-round-wood. By these was he blessed at the noon hour, and he was taught what to do. There they taught him all. At a place where the stars
[825] touched land they caused it to become night, and there they blessed

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him and taught him how to make four circles and also certain songs. 539
Since then this ceremony has been performed. He was really blessed, 796
and he was told exactly how everything should be performed. So it is 776
said. As he was very fond of the Night feast, he spoke in its behalf, 787
and told of all the medicines that were associated with it and of 575
the use to which they could be put. I myself know that these medicines are good to live on. If anyone uses them he will receive benefits therefrom and his children will receive life. I know that they are good. I would not have you think that I am one of those blessed by the Night Spirits because I say this. But I know that all the medicines of which I have personal charge and to which I make offerings of tobacco, for whom I boiled food, always make the individual to whom I offer them the better for it, provided that I do everything correctly. I was told to do this, and that is why I do it. I am now going to sing some songs audibly, and all these songs will be songs about medicines. I know that we will cause you to fan your faces (from perspiration brought on by making you work too hard), but forgive us for it. Children o' the night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you, and to take the place of their sister whom they always place ahead of them so we also will have our sisters lead the dance for us."

Two women now rise and stand side by side in front of the men and 796
hold, one in each hand, the invitation sticks that had been returned. 575
These two women lead in the dance. The men who shake the gourds 539
stand with their backs to the women, facing the drummers. All sing together and all the dancers have partners at their sides. It is a very interesting dance. Then all get up and start around the lodge, making strange utterances. When they have made the complete circuit of the lodge they stop and sing. When they finish this song they start around the lodge again, repeating the utterances. They stop at the west end of the tent, where they sing again. They thus sing at both ends of the lodge. They use all the songs they intend to. When the last song is over the individual who has sung it makes four circles and then takes the drum, gourd, tobacco, etc., and places them in front of the guest who occupies the first seat of honor. Then all sit down. Then the east leader rises and speaks as follows:[10]

"Councilors and life-obtainers, relatives who are seated here, I send you all greetings; and to you who are on the north side, and you who are on the west side, and you who are at the end of the road, your seats I greet. Our host has passed over to me the means of our meditation, the instruments through which we ask life. This instrument for asking life is the foremost thing we possess, so the old people said. We are thankful for it. We know that Earthmaker

[10] From now on we will use the terms East Leader, North Leader, West Leader, and South Leader to designate, respectively, the first, second, third, and fourth guests in the order of their invitation.

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575 did not put us in charge of anything, and that for that reason the
539 tobacco we received is our greatest and foremost thing. So the old people said. We were told that we should use it to ask for life. This must have been what they meant. This, the instrument with which to ask life, is, I feel sure, sufficient to attract them and they will surely take notice of it. We may also follow him who is taking the place of the spirits, and we will consider all those who are in the lodge blest. Those whom we call Nights have been offered tobacco, and the same has been offered to the four cardinal points, and to all the life-giving plants. To this many tobacco has been offered. It will strengthen us. This is what we call imitating the spirits, and that is why we are doing it. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you all. The song we will now start is a pipe-lighting song."

When he finished singing he greeted all those in the lodge and then he lit his pipe. Then he took a number of puffs. First he inhaled some smoke and blew it toward the east, then toward the north, then toward the west, then toward the south. Then he passed
[782] it around and all smoked, except the host, who is not permitted to do so. Then the east leader spoke again as follows:

"Night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you. The instrument with which to ask life I will now place here, and if any of you want to fill your pipes you may do so."

Then the leader of the north band rose and spoke as follows:

"Councilors and life-obtainers, you who sit in the direction where the day comes from, you who sit on the other side, in the west, and you who sit at the end of the road, your seats I all greet. We, too, have been anxious to obtain the instrument whereby we ask life, and therefore we fill a pipe for ourselves. I greet you."

Then the leader of the south band rose and said as follows:

"If the leader of the north band has finished his greeting, I also would very much like to have the instrument with which we ask life brought to me. We will immediately go and fill a pipe. I am speaking now because I wish to tell you what I intend to do. I greet you."

The leader of the north band did not pass the pipe that he had filled all around the lodge, but merely passed it to the members of his band. Only they smoked from it. In the same way the leaders of the other bands, with the exception of the host's band, passed the pipe only to members of their individual band. Only the host passed his pipe all around the lodge. When the smoking was over the leader of the east band rose and greeted everyone. Then he spoke as follows:

[787 "Our grandfathers used to carry on this ceremony, I have been
776 told. They told me that if at any time the giver of this ceremony

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can not find enough people to invite he would take pity on me. This is what I should say, my father told me. In the direction from which the day comes, there where the Nights are, live the night-soldiers, who blessed my grandfather and who made him try his powers in the middle of the ocean—there where it is deepest. They placed a round object of wood before him, and the night-soldiers said that they would not take it away, and that every time my grandfather tried to seize it he would not miss. 'You have done well, human, you have won,' they said to him. For this reason it was considered an instrument of war, he told me. If you do your utmost in offering tobacco, it will be an instrument of war, he said.

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And he also said the following: "All the plants with which I have been blessed are useful and a person can receive life through them if he takes good care of them. These plants can be very powerful and some of them can even be used in playing jokes, we are told. But we have never used any of them in such a manner, for if we did our plants would surely lose their strength. I have been told that should I frequently use any of my plants for the purpose of playing jokes and then for the purpose of curing a sick person, they would have no power at all. If, however, I never used them in jokes my medicine would always be powerful. Therefore I have never used them in that manner. Nor have I ever poisoned anyone with them. I never considered myself great or used a Night's trick-medicine or used fire, although I was told I could do so. This I never did. When I use one of the plants I like to have it do its work. I am saying this, although I am not a child of the night-blest ones. It is now about time to permit our sisters to get hold of the 'chief sticks' and to permit them to sit here and sing together with us."

The women are then permitted to take two sticks apiece and sing wherever they are sitting. As soon as the men sing the women join in.

"This is the way to do, I was told, and that is why I am doing it. Children of the night-blessed ones, who are seated here in this lodge, I send you all greeting."

When he is through with his starting song he stands up and speaks to them again, as follows:

"Night-blest ones who are within this lodge, I greet you. I was not invited to take this seat because I was a wise man. I do not for a moment imagine that, but it was done in order to help me obtain life. We will now rise and go forth and we will brush against your faces, but you must take pity on us. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you. We will not remain seated here but we will rise and go forth in order to obtain the round stick. That is why I am making this announcement to you. I greet you."

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They then rise and make four circuits of the lodge, first stopping at the first seat, then at the second, then at the third, and lastly at the fourth. When they get back to their starting place they sing dancing songs, first stopping at the west end of the lodge and then at the entrance. This they repeat. By this time all the songs they had intended using have been sung, so they make four circuits of the lodge and then, taking the drum, gourd, etc., place it in front of the north band. When the dancers are all seated the leader of the north band rises, and greeting everyone speaks as follows:

"I was not pitied because I was a child of the night-blest ones, my father told me. Yet if I performed my duties aright I would be able to make the proper speeches when called upon, I was told. That I have been pitied now is due to the fact that these people here wished to have me obtain life. Certainly my invitation to this ceremony has made me think of life, as my father used to tell me. I do not for a moment imagine that they invited me because I was a great man. Nevertheless my father told me to say that it was good; and that if I really meant all that I said, my life would certainly be strengthened thereby. My father knew how to perform this ceremony correctly, but I am not able to do so. Although I was told it was a good thing, nevertheless I was not able to pour tobacco. Those whom we call the Ones-with-the-rounded-wood are in charge of very much life and they are holy. This affair is not a thing to be trifled with, my father told me. Yet in spite of this we will sing some songs, even though we know that we will not be able to sing them as they have been sung heretofore. Perhaps, however, you will be kind enough to be satisfied with whatever we do. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you."

Then he sang the starting song, and when he was finished he rose again and, greeting all, spoke as follows:

"When Those-with-the-rounded-wood start to walk their sisters are placed in front of them. Our sisters we will now place in front of us, so that thereby they may be blest with life and hold the principal sticks and staffs. We will use the toys so that we may be strengthened thereby, we think, and that is why I greet you."

Then they permit the women to lead the procession. These women walk in front, side by side, and are followed by the ones carrying the gourds, who dance with their backs toward them. Then come the drummers and the feast-givers, and after these, all those who desire to join in. They walk around the lodge making strange utterances. Four times do they make the circuit of the lodge and then they come and stop at the east end, where they sing. When they are through here they start around the lodge again and stop at the west end and sing. Then they start again, making the same strange utterances as before, until they come to the east end of the

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lodge, where they sing once more. When they have in this manner 796
sung all the songs that they wish to use the leader of the north 575
band makes the four circles as before and brings the tobacco, gourds, 539
etc., to the west band. Then they all take their seats. Now the leader of the west band rises and speaks as follows:

"Councilors, life-obtainers, relatives, to you all who are seated here, I send forth my greetings. You who occupy the first seat, you who occupy the north seat, and you who occupy the seat at the end of the road, I greet. I do not mean to say anything of consequence. I was taught this ceremony, but I do not know anything about it. However, I always honored it, for I was told that it was a good thing. Indeed, I knew it, but I could never perform it well. I was told that if I performed it well I would obtain life thereby, just as others have done. Well, some of you are able to do it. It is a very great council feast. How, indeed, can the spirits ignore what you have done for them to-day? If they acknowledge it, we who are representing the directions will receive blessings through the host who is giving the feast. That is what I mean. When we hold our mediators (that is, the drums, tobacco, etc.) we will be strengthened thereby. So with this in our minds, let us take and hold them. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you."

Then he sang the starting song, and when he had finished he rose and spoke again.

"Councilors, I send you greetings, as well as to you who sit in the first seat, to you who sit in the north, and to you who sit at the end of the road. It is said that when the night-soldiers come they walk over the entire extent of the earth. When they blessed my grandfather they blessed him with life. So he used to say of himself. We will now plead for these powers in our songs. We will place our sisters in front and follow them. That is what I wanted to announce to you. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you."

Then they made the complete circuit of the lodge until they came to the place where they had been sitting. There they made a circle. Then they made another circuit of the lodge and stopped in front of the south position and made a circle. Here they made another circuit of the lodge and stopped at the east end and made a circle. Then they made the last circuit of the lodge and stopped in front of the north band and made a circle. By this time all the songs that they were to use had been sung. The leader now made four circuits and brought the gourds, drum, tobacco, etc., in front of the south band. All now took their seats and when they were seated the leader of the south band arose and spoke as follows:

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796 "Councilors, life-obtainers, I greet you. You who sit in the
575 first seat, you who sit in the north, and you who sit in the west, I
539 greet. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated within this lodge, I greet you all. It is good that to-night you have tried to imitate your grandfathers, that you have tried to take the place of the spirits. You have said enough with which to obtain life. But I am more unfortunate. I can never do what my ancestors did or say what they said, and for that reason I suppose my talk will be quite worthless. I was told that if at any time I should be pitied, not to talk foolishly about this ceremony. If I am a bad man I will act foolishly in this affair, I was told.

"My grandfather was blessed by those whom we call the night-soldiers, who blessed him with certain utterances. As many blackbirds as there are, that many appeared to him as Night Spirits. Our utterances will be an imitation of those he received when he was blessed. We can only guess at these.

"We were told that when we hold the mediators we will be strengthened by them. Night-blessed spirits who are seated here, I greet you."

Then he began the starting songs, and when these were finished he rose and spoke again.

"Councilors, life-obtainers, I greet your seats. You who sit in the east, you who sit in the north, and you who sit in the west, I greet you all. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you. Those whom we call night-soldiers treated their sisters as holy and placed them in front. In imitation of these soldiers we will now put our sisters in front, so that we may be strengthened thereby. I wish to announce that we now place the women at the head of our procession. Let us all come together, so that we may be strengthened. That is our desire and that is what we are pleading for. I greet you."

When they are ready to begin the dancing songs all rise and form in line, having the women lead them. Then the men with the gourds, their backs turned to the women, follow, then the drummers. Then all those join who feel so inclined. When they have finished all the songs they intend to use they bring back the drum, gourd, etc., to the middle of the lodge and stop dancing. Then they return to their seats and then the leader rises and says:

"Councilors, relatives who are seated here, I greet you. You who are seated in the first seat, you who sit in the north, and you who sit in the west, night-blest ones who are within this lodge, I greet you all. Whenever a night-blessed child holds council, when he is invited to a feast and is given the position at the end of the road, the intention of the feast-giver is to enable him to obtain life. So they told me, and that is what they meant. Most assuredly have they caused me to think of life. When I hold the mediators in my

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hand I am holding life, and when I pass them on to the others, to my relatives and to my sisters, I am passing on life to all of them. In this way were we made to think of life. I will not detain you any longer. All that I wish to say is that I am thankful. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you." 796 575 539

Then he sat down and the host rose and spoke as follows:

"You who sit in the east, you who sit in the north, you who sit in the west, and you who sit at the end of the road, I greet you all. It is good. This is what I wanted but have not been able to say. You, however, told it all in my place. It is good. Of all things this is the foremost, it is said. The instruments with which to ask life you have placed before me. That alone is enough to live on and that you have done for me. It is good. Your forefathers dreamed just as the spirits did, and how they obtained life, all of that you have told me to-night. It is good. You have said enough to obtain life. It is good. I say this because I am thankful. If you do anything, do it in the right way, I was told. I understand this ceremony, but nevertheless what I have done is the best I could do. I will now place the food before you. I am an old man, but I have always performed this affair just as I have performed it to-day, and, although I know that I have not done it in the right way, yet it was my turn to do it, and I did it. I am an old man, and for that reason I am not able to procure meat anywhere. My relatives helped me and that is why I have been able to do it. Here are four kettles of hot water. I will place them in the center of the lodge for you. The one in the east and the one in the north and the one in the west and the one at the end of the road; each one may have it. Children of the night-blessed ones, all who are seated here, to all do I send greeting."

Then the leader of the east band rose and said: "Councilors, I greet you. You who sit over there in the north, you who sit in the west, and you who sit at the end of the road, I greet you all. Children of the night-blessed ones who are in this lodge, I greet you. We are all to arise soon and that is why I announce this."

Then the leader of the north band rose and said: "We also will rise, as it is our turn. We greet you all."

Then the leader of the west band rose and said: "The time has come for us to rise. I and my relatives will now rise. We greet you all."

Then the leader of the south band rose and said: "Councilors, I greet you. I greet all who have been blessed by the Night Spirits, each one in turn. We are now going to rise."

Then the leader of the east band said again: "Councilors, I greet you. We will now greet the hot water and I will use a song."

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796 Then the leader of the north band said: "I also will start a song.
575 I greet you."
539 Then the leader of the west band said: "I also will start a song. I greet you."

Then the leader of the south band said: "I also will start a song. I greet you."

Then the leader of the east band sang a song, and the other leaders sang their songs. Each band sang its own songs, not paying any attention to the songs of the others. Each band sang different songs. This they do in order to drown the voices of the others. Should one band overcome the other, it means that that particular band would be blessed with victory in war. What they were really saying is that their songs were more powerful than the others, and that their grandfathers' songs were the holiest. Then they all danced around the lodge, single file, and made their exit from the lodge. While they were dancing, the host sat still singing and beating his drum. They carry their kettles outside. Wherever they wish to eat, there they go and dance around the kettle of food first. Then they eat their meal. They dance in different bands.

796 The ceremony finishes with this feast. It is customary, however,
575 for the one who has been given the seat of honor, that is, the east
[554] seat, to give a feast immediately afterwards. Then the one who has been invited first would do the same thing, so that all four would in this manner give dances in rotation. For this reason it generally took five nights before the ceremony was over. During those five nights no one could sleep. It is from this fact that the word, "Sore-eye Dance," which is the general term used for this ceremony, originated. If a person does not sleep for five nights, his eyes generally get sore, and that is why they call this ceremony the "Sore-eye Dance."

796 Sometimes they perform night-spirit tricks. These would be of
789 the following nature: A kettle is put on to boil and some individual
575 fishes out a piece of meat bare-handed without getting burned. At other times they shoot a hole into a drum covering, using a wild-cat claw as a missile. Then they immediately mend it.

When a man is very bad they shoot him with an object and kill him. They used to be very much afraid of such people. Sometimes they take a handful of live coals and embers from the fire, put them into their mouth and then spit them out without getting burned. It is for this reason that they are called holy. Sometimes they take burnt portions of a tree that had been struck by lightning, put them in the fire, and then when they are red hot take them out again and put them in their mouths without extinguishing them. They then spit them out, and it would look like lightning. Or they would shoot one another with cold charcoal. This is all that I know.

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Once a medicine-dance man and a night-blessed man became jealous and the medicine-dance man said that he would play tricks on the night-blessed man. The night-blessed man said he was quite willing to have a contest. So the two came and sat opposite each other and began their contest. Whatever the medicine-dance man did the night-blessed man did too, but always a little better. The medicine-dance man was defeated, so from that time on the medicine-dance men are afraid of the former. The medicine-dance men shot the night-blessed men with claws, but they could not kill them. Therefore they were afraid of them. The night-blessed men could kill the medicine-dance men at pleasure. The medicine-dance men were inferior. That is all. 756 575 578 [754]

## Society of Those Who Have Been Blessed By the Herok'a

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The feast of those who have been blessed by the Herok'a is given at any time of the year. Anyone may be invited. The feast is held in a long lodge and is generally given by a number of members at the same time (or by all). Each person brings a deer and his bow and arrows. The bows and arrows are painted different colors, depending upon the color (paint) with which the individual has been blessed. The bows are all stuck in the ground between the first two fireplaces and the arrows in a row just behind them. 796 575

During the ceremony and feast the members all sing the songs with which they have been blessed. The ceremony is held before the feast and is conducted by one of the members of the society. He leads, holding a bow in one hand. The others follow, holding arrows in their hands. Only men are permitted to dance. There are certain songs, to the accompaniment of which women are permitted to dance. But the women must have passed their climacteric.

They do not use gourd rattles as at the other dances. Instead a number of deer hoofs are strung together and used in place of them. (They do not eat with their hands or with the ordinary sticks) but use instead forked sticks, whittled down at one end. The leader wears a headdress to which a horn is attached, and paints his body with the same color as his arrows. Whoever leads the dance carries a flute, which he plays before and after each song. Those following him hit their mouth with the palm of their hands and whoop. [534]

When the dance is over, each one of the feasters takes his plate and dances out."

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* This account of the Herok'a Society is unfortunately merely fragmentary, but from a few additional notes obtained there seems to be little doubt that it represents the same type of organization as the other religious fraternities.

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## Society of Those Who Have Been Blessed By the Buffalo Spirits

796 575 539 Informant, member of the Bear clan: "Come, it is the time for giving the Buffalo Feast," said my father, "so tell the attendants to get ready; and you, third-born, if you see anyone, tell him about the feast that we are going to give."

So I went to Fire-starter and said, "Nephew, my father is about to give a feast, and he wants his attendants to get ready. You are to go over to his lodge and get a few more attendants to help you. We also will get ready right away." Then I greeted him and he said, "All right, I will go and get some to help me." I returned to my father and told him what I had done. He told me to go and inform those who were to take part in the feast that they were to bring food. This I likewise did and returned with the information that they would all do as desired.

Now the attendants arrived and asked what was expected of them. They were told to haul the wood and cut the poles to be used in building the lodge, prepare the fireplaces, and put the kettles on the fire. After that they were to go and tell the young women to get the food ready. When the drum was fixed and the food prepared, then the feast would begin, they were told.

"Well, Green-hair, my nephew, it is about time for you to go down toward the timber and invite the people. You, my nephew, Fire-starter, may go to those who possess war bundles and invite them. Go especially to Strikes-the-earth-with-his-wings and tell him that he must come immediately. When you come back, Green-hair, get the earth mound (*ma*wasup'ururu*) ready. Construct two of them in the lodge. Then place upon them all the things that we are going to use in the dance."

The drum, the flute, the buffalo tails, the buffalo heads were all painted and placed there.

Then the feasters arrived. He-who-strikes-with-his-wings was to sit opposite Fleet-one. When all had entered and were seated Hodja'noka arose and spoke:

"War-bundle owners, all you who have been blessed by the buffalo-spirits and are seated here, you who are taking the place of the spirits and giving counsel like them, I thank you and greet you all. You are taking the place of the spirits. Just as we ask for long life from the spirits, so do we ask the same of you. Relatives, I know I am going to tire you all out, but do not take it amiss. What we long for, aid us in obtaining. Life is what I wish.

"What I am doing now I did not originate, for my ancestor [787] Hodja'noka was the one blessed by the buffalo-spirits. When he was a child he was blessed by them and they gave him a certain

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plant and blessed him with long life and with victorious warpaths. He asked to be remembered by Hodja'noka in his offerings. The buffalo-spirit told him that if he would pour tobacco for him, and give feasts and make offerings of eagle feathers, the blessings he had given him would last forever.

"All these blessings were handed down to my father. These I also was taught. This life do we pray for and we have asked you all to come and help us. We thank you for it. As soon as the attendants are finished with the preparation of the food then we will eat. Our servants may perhaps burn their hands while preparing the food, but they will obtain life by so doing. Those who possess war bundles are always told to help one another and I know that you have come here for that reason. Life I am seeking and that is why I am giving this feast. Help me, all you owners of bundles who are present here. I will now sing some of the songs that Hodja'noka taught us. You who have obtained blessings, I greet you."

Then he sang the following songs:

*Song 1*

Nangura homa'ni hiwiłé. (Repeat.)
In the road walk let him do.

*Song 2*

Hodja'noka hamani'winé. (Repeat.)
Hodjanoka Walk by.

*Song 3*

Kára Hodja'noka hamani'winé.
Say, Hodjanoka Walk by.

*Dancing song*

Hodja'noka trawawi're. (Repeat.)
Hodjanoka go toward.
Erehu'ne. (Repeat twice.) Wiga'ré. (Repeat twice.)
It is coming say to them.

As soon as Hodja'noka finished his songs, then all the objects (drum, gourds, etc.) were passed to He-who-strikes-the-earth-with-his-wings, and he rose and spoke:

"Brother-in-law, councilors, relatives, all who are seated here, I greet you. You who have been blessed with bundles, I greet likewise. You are taking the place of the spirits. It is good. We are trying to encourage one another and we have come to help you. We have brought you food for the feast. We also are desirous of obtaining long life and that is why we have brought our offerings, for we know the buffalo-spirits will accept them, as they are very tempting. You who are taking the place of the spirits, I greet you."

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796 Then he sings some songs and dances and passes the drum, etc.,
575 to the next guest and so it, in turn, is passed on until the fourth invited guest is reached. Then the drum is replaced in the center of the lodge.[18]

[182] Informant, unknown clan:[19] Buffalo feasts are given in spring, in fall, and in midwinter. No meat is offered, but only vegetables. The buffaloes said that maple sugar is their favorite food, so when this feast is given they always have some maple sugar along with the other things. The buffalo feast always takes place in a long lodge. The attendants make the lodge and boil all the food. When the kettles have been placed on the fire those giving the feast enter. The earth mound is now constructed and tobacco offered to it. All those giving the feast pour tobacco on the earth mound, asking for victory in war. When this is finished they sing buffalo songs, starting with the initial songs. When they are ready to sing the dancing songs the feast-giver rises and speaks as follows:

"The dancing songs that we are about to sing we use because we believe that our offering will thus be accepted. It is generally the custom to do this."

He now calls on some one to lead in the dance. This individual is always taken from the Buffalo clan. He comes forward, placing the buffalo head on his own head and carrying the buffalo tail attached to himself. He leads in all the dances, the others following him. A plate of maple sugar is placed at the buffalo mound. When he approaches the buffalo mound he makes a noise like a buffalo, sticks his tongue to the plate of sugar, and licks up some of it. Those following do the same. This they do without even holding the dish, just as buffaloes eat. When they finish their dancing they pass the drum on to another person, and when it has made the circuit of the lodge they eat. Each person has his own dish. Then the leader in the dance is told that the dish of wild rice standing in the center of the lodge is meant for him, and that he can invite whomsoever he likes to help him. When all in the lodge are ready they start eating all at the same time. When those in the center of the lodge get through and the dish is empty it is thrown over their heads, and they do not stop this until the dish has been turned upside down. While they are engaged in doing this they bellow like buffaloes. They are not allowed to use their hands in turning the dish over. They must do it with their heads, for it is a sacred thing and that is the way the buffaloes used to do it. When they are all through eating the feast-giver sings a dancing song and all those within the lodge rise, take their plates, and dance out of the lodge.

[18] In this account it is not quite clear whether the drum is merely passed to the four principal guests or to all. At the buffalo dance witnessed by the writer in the summer of 1908 it was passed only to the four principal guests. This was also corroborated by a number of informants.

[19] The origin myth of this feast is given on page 302.

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*Description of buffalo dance and its origin.*—Informant, member of Bear clan: The buffalo dance can be given by anybody who has been blessed by the buffalo spirits. In the beginning the Winnebago had animal forms, and they could obtain all the power they wanted, but since they left that stage of life they can obtain power only by fasting. John's buffalo feast is of recent origin. It originated with his grandfather. 796 575 [787]

A long lodge is prepared and in the center there is a pile of loose dirt. John's grandfather's name was Hodjanaga, Young-man-just-maturing. In fasting he found out that he was blessed with powers to cure the sick and be victorious in battle. While fasting, the spirits told him that he would receive what he was longing for. They told him that he would know what to do, for they would come after him. Soon they came after him and took him into camp (i. e., spirit country). When he got there, he saw an old man and a child, and he was told that it was on account of the child that he had been brought there; that the child had heard his prayers while fasting and had blessed him. Then they showed him a certain herb and told him, "This is what we give you. It will give you strength in running. Use it in time of war, and use it also as medicine for life. I have blessed you and given you what you desired and do you, in turn, make me a dog feast and give me red feathers, tobacco, and food." Then they taught him the songs and gave him a buffalo tail and a flute. 796 575 787

No invitation sticks are used. They go around and invite those whom they want. 796 575

When the grasses are well developed, then the Buffalo clan people make a feast to their life or clan; also in midwinter, for that is the time when all the spirits awaken from their night's sleep and turn over on the other side. [903]

## Society of Those Who Have Been Blessed By the Grizzly Bear

Informant, member of Bear clan: The grizzly-bear dance was given by those who had been blessed during their fasting by the grizzly bear. Women were never so blessed, and for that reason they never could participate in the dance. Different people received different blessings. We were blessed with two grizzly-bear heads, grizzly-bear hides, and paws. In the lodge constructed for the dance was placed a mound of earth called ma"warap'uru. The ma"warap'uru is supposed to represent a bear's cave, the four points of the cross representing the entrances to the cave and the four lines running to the center, the paths along which the grizzly bear travels when he scents a man. The place in the middle is supposed to be the habitation of the bear himself. Tobacco and red feathers are placed both in the center and at the four points. 796 575 787 [562] [782]

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796 575 [787] in the center and at the four points. Only people who had been blessed by the grizzly bear were permitted to sing and dance. The dancing itself took place both around the lodge and around the ma*warap'uru. The dancers are supposed to imitate the motions and the cries of the grizzly bear. Sometimes they whirl themselves round and round, like a grizzly bear, but their principal motion consists in stretching out their hands. In this position they will take tobacco from the ma*warap'uru and eat it. They believe that they are representing the bears when they do this.

The dancers are selected by the one giving the dance. Those taking part vie with each other in exhibiting the powers with which they have been blessed, because in this way those present could see who possessed the greatest powers.

The purpose of the dance was to thank the grizzly bears for the blessings they had bestowed upon the people. (However, there seemed to be many other special occasions for which the dance was performed.)

If sick people are present at the dance they are told to put some tobacco on the ma*warap'uru and ask for life.

There is a description of the grizzly-bear dance in the account of Little Priest's life which it might be well to append here in view of the brevity of the above description.

796 755 575 "Little Priest had been wounded in so many places that he was practically dead. He was, of course, entirely unconscious when his relatives arrived. They decided to perform the grizzly-bear dance for him. He himself had been blessed by the grizzly bears when he was young.

"The dance was to be given at the lodge of an Indian named Good Soldier. They carried Little Priest to the lodge in a blanket, so that they could sing for him and permit him to show the powers he possessed. He was unable to move on account of the wounds and the bruises he had gotten. The man who sang for him at that time was South-Wind. There were all in all ten Indians, entirely naked, except for their breechclouts. Little Priest had told South-Wind that he was a grizzly bear and that he could heal himself (no matter how badly he had been wounded).

"As soon as the songs and dancing commenced Little Priest began to move his little fingers. Soon he was able to move his arm as far as his forearm, and gradually he regained the power of moving the entire arm. Finally he sat up and began to keep time on the drum. Then he tried to stand on his feet, but owing to his weakness it was only with the greatest difficulty that he could straighten out his body. Finally he stood erect. Then he started to walk around the lodge very slowly. The second circuit he made more easily, and by the time he had made the fourth circuit he was dancing just as the

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other dancers were with all his strength restored. Then he walked to the ma"warup'uru, took some earth, rubbed it on his wounds, and they were healed immediately. There was only one wound that he could not heal, which was situated on a part of his back that he could not reach with his hands." 796 755 575

He sang many songs while dancing. These songs were the ones that the spirits had taught him when they blessed him.

GRIZZLY BEAR SONGS

1

Newine'na newine'na ha"ptra"nê. [533
I am he, I am he, the day it is I. 539]

2

Ha'na"nixgu"ne'k'tce hiniogsi'rê nink'tca'i"nixkara djanôgge'grê.
That you would be listened to you were told by the children as many as there are.

3

Ma"cô'ja" ho'dadjohi'rora.
The grizzly bear was starting to roam.

4

Wa'wonatca"ôi" nihe'ka.
Shouting you can hear him.
Ho'naica"ôi" nihe'ka.
His voice you can hear.

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# CHAPTER XIV

## THE MEDICINE DANCE

(Pls. 48, 50)

### Origin Myth

TB What it was our father sat on when he came to consciousness is uncertain. Then his tears flowed and he began to cry. Not long did he think. He saw nothing and nothing was there anywhere. He took something from the seat on which he was sitting and made a portion of our earth.

Then he sent the earth below him. From where he sat and as he looked at his own creation, it became similar to our earth. However, nothing grew upon it and it was entirely without a covering. It had not become quiet but was spinning around.

Suddenly he thought, "If I do this, it will become quiet." Then he made a covering (hair) for it. He took a weed from his seat to make grass for the earth and earthward he sent it. That he did and then looked at his own creation. It was not quiet but still kept on turning. "This way I will do again," he thought. He took a tree and toward the earth he sent it and again looked at his creation, but still it kept spinning around. Then he sent four men, brothers, and placed one in the east, one in the west, one in the south, and one in the north, and again looked at his creation. It was, however, still spinning around. "Perhaps it will become quiet in the following way," he thought. So he made four of what are called water-spirits and below the earth he placed them, and for that reason they are called island-weights. Then he scattered a female spirit over the earth, by which stones are meant. Finally he looked at his creation and he saw that the earth had become quiet.

He had sent the stones clear through the earth, throughout its extent, and only the heads remained uncovered. He looked at his creation and saw that it had become quiet. No clouds appeared anywhere, the light of day appearing motionless, and the vibrations of heat seemed to be like spider webs going past, floating.

All the birds that were to roam over the sky, all the quadrupeds that were to be on this earth and those called subterranean animals, he placed in houses that he had made for them and scattered here and there. Then he made all those insects that were destined to live on the earth. Finally, at the end of his thinking he made us,

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a. EXTERIOR OF MEDICINE DANCE LODGE

346
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b. INTERIOR OF MEDICINE DANCE LODGE

[Facing p. 350 (A)]

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a. EXTERIOR OF MEDICINE DANCE LODGE

353
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516

b. INTERIOR OF MEDICINE DANCE LODGE

[Facing p. 350 (B)]

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the human beings. However, we were not even equal in strength to 773
a fly. We were the weakest of all. Then he looked at what he had created and he liked it and sat filled with happy thoughts.

He was proud of us and gazed again on what he had created. He 773
had, however, not made the human beings equal in strength to the 776
others and they were on the point of being destroyed. Then he formed a human being, like ourselves, and when he had finished him, he named him the Foolish-One. "Foolish-One, to the earth you are to go. Weakly (pitiable), in every respect, I made the human beings. I made them as my last thought. Now this creation of mine, they, the evil spirits, are likely to injure, so do you, O Foolish-One, go and put things in order."

Then he sent him to the earth, but when he came on earth he did not do what he had been told. He went around the earth and accomplished nothing. (As useless) as a child crawling on all fours he was. He really amounted to nothing. Though sent by Earthmaker, he amounted to nothing. He did no good and injured the creation of Earthmaker, so Earthmaker took him back and had him sit at the right of his own seat.

Then he made another (man) and when he was finished called him the Turtle. "The two-legged walkers (human beings) whom I created as the last of my thoughts, (evil spirits) are about to exterminate Do you go and put the earth in order." Turtle went and (took along) a knife that he had been given. When he came on earth he led people on the warpath, but he did not look after the (welfare) of (Earthmaker's) creation. Earthmaker therefore took back the second man, too, and placed him on his left side.

Then he made a third (man), and when he finished him, he named him Bladder, and said, "You are to go to the earth. As my last thought, I created the two-legged walkers and they were pitiful in every way. They are now about to be exterminated and you are to rescue them. Try with all your strength."

When he came on earth he made a long lodge and created twenty men. That many younger brothers he had. Then they all started to go around this entire island and all the younger brothers were killed. Thus he failed in his mission. The work his father had sent him to do, he failed in, so (Earthmaker) took him back and placed him on his left side.

Then he made a fourth (man) and when he finished he named him He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings.

Then he made the last one, Hare, his body just like ours. "You are the last one I am going to create, so try with all your strength, Hare, try." He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings, the fourth one, failed. He therefore took him back. Hare was the last that Earthmaker, our father, wished to create. He (had created) him entirely by the force of his thoughts.

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773 "Hare, what I am doing, you also will be able to accomplish.
776 Try with all your power. If (the evil spirits) injure my creation, it will not be good on earth, life will not be good." Thus he encouraged him; thus he spoke to him. "Try and overcome these (evil spirits)."

So Hare was sent to the earth, and when he came on earth he said to himself, "My brothers acted in a (certain) way and failed." Hare had come up to a certain oval lodge and from this (same) house came a young woman with a little pail. She was going toward the river. "Now they (Foolish-One, etc.), were not able to do (what I am going to do)," he said. There he entered the body of the young woman in order to become a human being. There he sat in the abdomen (of the young woman), yet he heard their (human being's) cry.

He heard them crying. "My father sent me to give them advice, and here, for so very long a time, I have been sitting." Crying, shrieking, he heard them (the human beings). "So long have I been sitting here that (the evil spirits) will in the end destroy them." Seven months had he been waiting when he spoke thus. Finally, when the proper time had elapsed, he went out through an opening. Not four days after, the woman died.

He always left the house in which they lived, at night, and would roam around. Whenever he walked inside the house he would reflect much light. As soon as daylight appeared he became quiet, it is said. As soon as the sun went down, he went out. He traveled all around the earth, for its entire extent, and just before sunrise returned and became quiet. Throughout the day he sat thinking of all the work he was to do.

For the third time he again started out, at sunset, and traveled over half the extent of the earth, and all the bad spirits that were growing wild he put an end to. "Not again will they (the bad spirits) live; not for a second time will they kill any of my uncles or aunts." Just before daylight appeared, he went toward the house, and as he approached it, his heart felt good. Then he entered the house and all day he sat there wrapped in thought.

When the sun went down he went out and over to the very edge of the earth, as large as it is, he roamed, and all the bad spirits that exist he killed. Just about daylight he went up into the heavens and bang! he pursued all the bad birds that were living there and driving them together in the west, he killed them all. Very early in the morning he went to the house thinking pleasant thoughts. "The work my father sent me to do I have accomplished. The life of my uncles and aunts will now be like mine, from now on." Thus he thought as he entered the house.

"Well, Grandmother, the work my father sent me to do, I have accomplished. He sent me to look after his creation and all that I have accomplished. My uncles' and aunts' lives will hereafter be the

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same as my own." "But, Grandson, how can your uncles' lives be the same as yours? It is not so. The (world) is as our father created it. Not different can it be made." "The old woman must be related to them and therefore does not like it that I killed (the evil spirits)." "No, Grandson, our father has ordained thay my body (the earth) should fall in two. Lest they should cause a shortage in food (by overpopulation) he ordained that there should be death, otherwise they would crowd each other too much on earth. So, therefore, he arranged that they have a place to die." 775 776

Hare didn't like it. "Surely, Grandmother does not like it because she was related to them. She is taking their (evil spirits) part." Thus he thought. "No, Grandson, that is not so. Your heart, at present, feels sore. Your uncles and aunts will obtain enough of life; they will live to a normal old age," she told him. "Now, Grandson, get up. Your uncles and aunts will follow you. Try with all your strength (to do what I am going to tell you). You are a man, so do not look back."

Around (the earth) they started. "Not to look back," grandmother said. "I wonder why she said it." Thus he thought. So he looked back just the least bit to his left. The place he had started from caved in instantaneously. "O my! O my! A man I thought you were, a person of prominence, and I had encouraged you very much. But now, Grandson, decay, death can, in no way, be taken back." That is what she meant, it is said.

Around (the earth) they went and to the edge of the fire (that encircles the earth) they traveled, it is said. They united it (the fire) so that they (the uncles and aunts) would attain old age, so she said.

"To look back, she forbade me. But I have already made up my mind (as to the immortality of my uncles and aunts). When they become like me, then only will I be happy. Such is my thought." Then he went out and there, where the sun rises, to the east, he went and entered the house. Opposite the occupants he sat himself. What he had come for (the occupants) knew, it is said. "Well, Hare, there is nothing I can say to you. If the one ahead has anything he wishes to say to you, he will undoubtedly do so." Then he (Hare) greeted him and went out.

Toward the west he traveled. Even then not any (other) thought he had. "I can do it," he thought on the way. When he arrived at the house he entered and sat himself opposite the (occupant). "Hare, what you have come for, I know, I believe, but I will not tell you anything. The one ahead, he it is that can tell you, he it is." So he (Hare) saluted him and went out.

Toward the house of the fourth one, in the south, he went and entered, and sat himself opposite (the occupant). "Hare, what you

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773 have come for, I know, but if even those ahead could not say any-
776 thing to you, how can I, the very last, say anything!"

Then he saluted him and went out in the same way that he went in. He started for his house and came there crying, it is said. "My aunts and uncles must not die!" "To all things death will come," he thought. Then he cast his thoughts upon the precipices and they began to fall, to crumble. Upon the rocks he cast his thoughts and they crumbled. Under the earth he cast his thoughts and all beings that were living under the earth stopped moving and their limbs stiffened (in death).

Up above also he cast his thoughts and the birds began to fall down (dead).

Then when he entered the house he took his blanket and wrapping himself in it, lay down crying, it is said. "Not the entire earth will suffice for us," he thought, "and in some places there will not even be enough earth."

After a while the news reached our father. "To utterly destroy us they will try" (the people were saying). That Hare was not feeling well, was the news that reached him. Then he (Earthmaker) said to the first man he had created, "Hare is not feeling well and you are to go after him." Toward the earth he came. "Hare, I have come here to fetch you." But he did not answer him and he did not even move his blanket. So the man (Foolish-One) returned. Then he (Earthmaker) said to the second one, "Hare you are to go after and bring him back here. Try very hard to (accomplish) it, for he is not feeling well." When he arrived there (he said), "Hare, I have come after you to take you back." But Hare did not even (answer). When he returned, he said, "Hare did not say anything." (Then to the third one he said), "Hare you are to go after, for he is not feeling well." When he came (to where Hare was, he said), "Hare, I have come after you, to take you home." But Hare did not even answer him. Hare was indeed not feeling well.

Then he (Earthmaker) told the fourth one, "You are to go after Hare. Be sure and bring him. Be sure and bring him. Try with all your strength." "No matter how hard it is, I will bring him" (said the fourth one). He started out and when he came to Hare (he said), "Indeed, for a very long time has your heart been sad, Hare. But let us go home now. Get up!" Then he took him back, it is said, to Earthmaker he took him. But not to Earthmaker's house did he take him, but to that opposite where the chief of the Thunderbirds lived. At his side, there they placed him. In front of the Thunderbird chief's (house) there was a mound and also a little war club painted red on one side. Thunderbird chief took the little war club and holding it lightly, shook it gently. So great

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was the noise (it made) that Hare got frightened and almost ran out, it is said. Then they freed him from the sad thoughts he had had on earth and restored his spirits. 773 776

Soon after that they took him to Earthmaker and (when) he had come there (Earthmaker said), "Hare, your heart must have been very sad. Indeed, for your uncles it was, that your heart felt sad. Now that their lives may be benefited, a holy teaching you are to take back to them. "Here, look at it," he said, and pointed toward the south. There a long lodge stood (revealed). At this he looked and there were old people with hair all white. "Thus your uncles and aunts will be. They will make very much noise (in this ceremony). Now look down! Some help is to be given them. Not one bad spirit will I put there." Then he (Earthmaker) pointed in that direction and said, "You are to go back there (to earth) and put this (ceremony) before them. Not alone are you to do it, but with the aid of your own friends, Foolish-One, Turtle, Bladder, and He-who-wears-beads-as-earrings." These he meant. "Your grandmother (the earth) will help you and if one of your uncles and aunts performs everything properly he will have more than one life. I will always keep the door (through which he may return to earth) open to him. When he becomes reincarnated he can live wherever he wishes. He can return (to the earth) as a human being or he can join the different bands of spirits, or finally he can become (a being) below the earth." All this he (Earthmaker) did for us.

Then Hare returned to the earth and to his grandmother. "What I have tried to obtain for my uncles and aunts, that now I have brought back with me." "Grandson, how was it possible for you to make them immortal like ourselves? As the world was created, so must it remain." "Grandmother, I say that my uncles will choose their lives for themselves, and grandmother, you are to help me." "All right, grandson, it is good," she said, thanking him. "When the time comes, my friend the Foolish-One will come," he thought. Then he struck his drum and started the songs. All of a sudden, Foolish-One came in. "That you would come, my friend, I thought, and thus you have come." "Indeed, my friend, I knew your thoughts and, for that reason, I came." Then they went out together and outside of the village they sat and discussed what they were to do. This is what they were doing. All day they discussed on the outskirts of the village. When they came to the house they entered it and sat down. "My friend Turtle will come," he (Hare) thought. Then Turtle did come. "My friend, I knew you would come, and for that reason, you have come." "Yes, indeed, your thought I knew, and for that reason I have come." Soon Bladder came. He (Hare) thought he would come and for that reason he came. Then Hare centered his thoughts on He-who-wears-beads-as-earrings, and he also came.

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773 776 Their grandmother listened to them quietly, but she could not understand them. Then (after a while) Hare said, "Grandmother, what I have been trying to obtain for my uncles I have succeeded (in accomplishing). You are now going to hear of it. Come here toward the fireplace and sit down and you will hear of it. (I know) that you are anxious to help them, Grandmother." "Indeed, grandson, it is good," she said, and got up. Then she took her work and sat down near the five of them and laid her hands upon their heads. In front of her nephew, Hare, she placed her work. "If you get this for them (i. e., the medicine dance) your uncles will live well. This way they are to do forever," she said. In front of him she put her work and said, "For this thing, indeed, I thank our father." Thus she said and went back and sat down. "Grandson, what the nature of my help for you was to be, you asked? Well, look at me, grandson. For your uncles and your aunts, our father had me bring the following. I have for them that with which they will always be able to ask for life." Then she opened that part of her body where her heart was situated and very green leaves were to be seen, like an ear in shape. It was as white as a blossom. Then she opened her breast on the right side and said, "Grandson, look at me." Then unexpectedly corn was visible. "For your uncles and aunts, our father let me bring corn." A stalk became visible whose leaves were very green and whose tassels were white. These were the ears of corn that we were to eat.

Then the five of them got up and Hare said, "Our grandmother, let us greet." So they walked up and laid their hands upon her head. Then they greeted her and went around again. "It is good, grandmother, this is what I meant when I said you were to help them. You were going to help us, grandmother," I said. "You may now fix your breast."

Then he went out, proceeding toward the east, and when he got there he stopped. Then he turned toward the west. Grandmother closed her breast and entered the house. "Well, grandson, I have done it." "It is good, grandmother," said Hare. Then he went out, and when he got to the door he stopped there and thought, "This is the way it will be." And where he stood, eight yellow female snakes he threw. They became the side-poles of the lodge. Their heads he turned toward the east, and their tails he turned toward the west. The strings he used with which to tie them were rattlesnakes. The doorway was made of a black female and a male snake, the latter placed at the right. At the rear end of the house, in the west, he also made doors of blue female snakes. Then he took a reed-grass, which he had brought with him, under whose covering we were to live, and threw it over the lodge and the lodge was wrapped in it entirely. Then he took another piece of reed-

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grass and inside the house, at the right side, he threw it and it became 773
white mats spread out. Then he threw a bear-skin hide in the house 776
on the right side, and it extended along the length of the lodge. Then he made a white deer-hide extend along the entire length of the lodge, on the right side. A door he made of a real living mountain lion. This he did in order to prevent bad spirits from entering. At the door, on the west side, he placed a buffalo bull, and when this all was completed, he looked inside the lodge and then he heard these animals bellowing and roaring, it is said. Inside of the lodge, it was light.

Then he started for the lodge, first going for his friends. "Well, my friends, I am through; the house I have finished. Grandmother, stand up, for we are going to follow." He walked behind and when they came to the door, the fear-inspiring lion snapped his teeth, as he stood there. Then they went in and walked around the lodge until they came to the place where they had entered and they sat down. Then Hare sent a number of public criers, a bear and a wolf, to traverse the entire length of the earth. Along with them were sent the winged messengers, the common crow and the shrieking crow.

When the animals that had started first returned, their bodies were old and devoid of hair, and they supported themselves on staffs. When the birds who had gone returned, their wings were worn out, their eyebrows lapped over their eyes, and they looked very old indeed. They came in front of Hare's seat and said to him, "Your uncles and aunts, when they speak of you, will speak of you forever in praise. We have placed many life-giving objects within the lodge." "Well, my friends, it is good. This is what I meant. I thank you in the name of my uncles and aunts."

Then all the messengers who had been above on the earth, etc., all of them came. The four very first men he had created also came. They all stood at the door ready to enter. The oldest one started in, but he turned back, being afraid of the animals within. Three of them were afraid and therefore failed to enter. Then the youngest opened the door for them and led them in. After he entered, they, in turn, walked around the lodge, and when they got to the door, Hare placed the eldest one there and said, "My elder brother, this is your seat, the east one." Then he walked around again and at the north end he stopped and made the second one sit down. Then he walked around and, stopping in the west, made the third one sit there. Then, finally, he put the fourth one in the south seat, and went to his own seat and sat down.

Now all the other spirits began to enter the lodge. Then the first people came in and four were made to sit in the east and four were made to sit with each of the four seats. The people were of the

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The people were of the
773 776 [614] Bird clan, the Bear clan, the Wolf clan, and the Snake clan. The fourth one was the one they were to teach, to initiate.

Then Hare got up and spoke as follows: "My friends, I have had you come together, for my uncles and aunts had been living a most pitiable life. You are to teach them the life they are to live and which they are to hand down from generation to generation. That is what I ask of you. What I want, you have heard. I leave everything to be done and said by those in the east."

Then he, the one in the east, arose and spoke, "Our friends, the uncles and aunts of the Hare, we are to teach the meaning of life, so that they may hand it down from one generation to the other. Only today, for the first time, have we discussed this thing for them. Life (all that life consists of—wealth, honor, and happiness) they shall have from now on." The four of them said, "What the one ahead said (we say)." When they finished, they returned.

Now Hare got up again and said, "My friends, that is what I wished for my uncles and aunts. This council-lodge I made for them, and as long as they follow the precepts taught in the creation-lodge they will be invulnerable. For that reason this seat has been made for them, that whosoever desires may sit therein."

All day long the spirits taught him, and when the sun was on the treetops, when it was time to stop, the spirits dispersed, taking with them as they went half the light within the lodge. They rubbed against the door-poles as they went out. They pushed them in deeply so they would not fall.

Then Hare spoke, "Grandmother, I will be sitting ready for any one of my uncles and aunts who will perform this ceremony that we have taught them well. With tears my uncles and aunts will come to me and my heart will feel sore. I will go above and sit down and if any person performs this ceremony that we taught him well, then he will be as I am, if you will but look at me, grandmother. Look at my body, grandmother." And behold, like a very small boy he was. "If any one repeats what we have done here, this is the way he will appear."

"Look at me," Hare said for the second time; "Look at me!" There he stood a full-grown man. Then, for the third time, he said, "Grandmother, look at me." There he stood a man in middle age; his hair was interspersed half-and-half with gray. Then she looked at him for the fourth time, and his hair was covered as if by a swan (i. e., it was all white), and he leaned tremblingly on his staff, standing in the east. "Well, grandmother, if any of my uncles and aunts performs this ceremony properly this way they will live."

"It is good, grandson. However, not only your uncles but your aunts, likewise, will be that way if any of the latter performs the ceremony properly. "Look at me," she said, and when he looked at

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her, there stood a very young woman, her hair like a shawl. "It is good, grandmother, and I thank you in the name of my aunts. Then for the second time she said, "Look at me." He looked at her and there stood a woman in middle age, her hair almost gray. "Well, grandmother, it is good, that is what I meant." Then for the fourth time she said, "Grandson, look at me." He looked at her. Her hair was entirely dried up, in the nape of her neck there was a hollow, and like a duck looking at the sun, she appeared. Her chin, like a wooden poker, burnt short, there she stood trembling. "Well, grandmother, this is what I meant when I said that you were to help me. My uncles and aunts that is what I wished for them, and I thank you." 773 776

## Organization of the Bands

The medicine dance of the Winnebago consists of five bands. A sixth band is temporarily formed whenever the ceremony is given in honor of a deceased member. 796 621

For purposes of description it will be best to divide each band into three parts—the leader, his two assistants, and the rest of the band. Leadership depends upon a thorough knowledge of the ceremony and its complete esoteric significance, which is in the possession of only a few individuals in each band. This knowledge can be obtained solely by purchase and religious qualifications. These religious qualifications, to which might be added moral as well, play little part at the present day, but there can be no doubt that they were essential in the past. The leader likewise often possessed other characteristics, such as those of warrior and shaman.

The two assistants were generally men who had purchased sufficient information and privileges to entitle them to help the leader in certain details of the ceremony. The drummers, rattle holders, dancers, etc., were always recruited from their ranks. Eventually they might become the leaders. Those who were neither leaders nor assistants possessed a knowledge varying from that of elementary information, required for admission, to that entitling them to the position of assistant.

There is a priority of position in the lodge, depending on priority of invitation. The band invited first occupies the east position; that invited second, the north; that invited third, the west; and that invited fourth, the south. The east is the position of highest honor; the south, that of the lowest. Between the bands there exists an order of invitation based on tradition, the exact nature of which is unknown. According to one informant, if one band invited another, the latter in turn would be obliged to give it the position of honor; but as there are five bands, this can apply only to special cases. Whatever may be the order, it is certain that each band has ample occasion to occupy all five positions. [554]

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756 There are two ways in which a man can join the medicine dance. He may simply apply for admission to any of the five leaders, or he may take the place of a deceased relative. In the former case, if his payment is satisfactory, and he has the other qualifications, he is accepted. In the other case, his relatives decide to have him take the place of a deceased relative. This latter form of candidacy is by far the more common. At the present day initiation requires the payment of about $300 or $400, in the form of goods and tobacco. Of this, a portion is given to the leader of the ancestor host's band during the four nights' preparation, and the rest to the leaders of the other four bands during the ceremony proper.

Exactly how much information an individual obtains on entering can not be determined. Much depends on the amount of the payment. The minimum knowledge would amount to an acquaintance with the bare externals of the ceremony, its general significance, and such knowledge of the legendary origin of the lodge as a single recital could give. The new member is not initiated into the symbolism of the ritualistic myths, and consequently a large portion of the same must be unintelligible to him. What he obtains is practically only the right to hold the otter-skin bag and to use it in a certain way. He may not take part in any of the forms of dancing or singing, nor may he even shoot at will. He very rarely remains in this condition long, but takes the first opportunity to purchase additional knowledge and privileges.

There are three kinds of members—mature men, women, and children. The privileges of women differ from those of the men, in that the women do not have to take the sweat bath, may never become assistants, and are allowed to dance only in a certain way. In other respects they have the same privileges as men. In practice there are certain privileges that women never have, but this is due to the fact that either they do not care for them or they are not in a position to buy them. Children belong to a quite different category. Although they possess an otter skin, they have not even the power of making it effective. There does not seem to be any evidence indicating that women were ever excluded from membership.

621 *Prescribed duties of the bands.*—The duties of the host, called
756 the ancestor-host, are as follows:

1. To rehearse the songs and rituals with his band four nights previous to the ceremony proper. At this rehearsal the candidate is always present and is instructed in the ceremony.

[202] 2. To send out invitation sticks and tobacco to the leaders of the other four bands. The messengers are always his sisters' sons.

3. To begin the four nights' ceremony preceding the ceremony proper.

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4. To receive the leaders and assistants of the other four bands before the sweat-lodge ritual, and to begin the same. 621 756

5. To begin the ceremony proper.

6. To take part in the main portion of the ceremony proper:

(a) To welcome the four bands.

(b) To lead the candidate to the secret brush and instruct him in certain precepts.

(c) To act as preceptor of the candidate before he is shot with the sacred shell.

(d) To turn the candidate over to the charge of the leaders of the east and north bands.

(e) To relate certain of the myths.

(f) To deliver specific speeches and to perform the actions that constitute the basic ritual of the ceremony proper. This will be discussed later.

The east is known as Those-who-sit-first, Where-the-day-comes-from, Where-the-sun-rises. All these terms are used frequently. The duties of the leader are:

1. To assist the ancestor host in passing upon the eligibility of a candidate.

2. To take part in the following portions of the ceremony proper:

(a) Accompanied by his two assistants, to take part in the brush ritual.

(b) To take charge of the candidate after he has been handed over to him by the ancestor host.

(c) To shoot the sacred shell into the candidate's body.

(d) To relate certain of the myths.

(e) To perform the basic ritual.

The north band is known as Where-the-cold-comes-from. The leader has the same duties as those of the east leader. The myths recited are of course different.

The west band is known as Where-the-sun-goes-down. The leader has the duty of reciting certain myths and performing the basic ritual.

The south band is known as He-who-sits-at-the-end-of-the-road or Where-the-sun-straightens. The duties of the leader are the same as those of the leader of the west band, except that the myths he recites are different.

The distribution of the gifts to the different bands is as follows: The leader of the east band receives one-half of the number of blankets, the upper half of the new suit worn by the candidate, and one-quarter of the food. 621 756 #31

The leader of the north band receives one-half of the blankets, the lower half of the suit, the moccasins, and one-quarter of the food.

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621 The leaders of the west and south bands receive each 3½ yards
756 of calico and a fourth of the food.

431 The ancestor host receives various gifts of food and tobacco from the leaders of the other bands. He receives his payment from the candidate before the ceremony proper.

756 The candidate is present at the four nights' ceremony of the an-
796 cestor host's band, preliminary to the ceremony proper. At the latter ceremony he sits to the right of the ancestor host's band. He is not dressed in his new suit until after the secret ceremonies in the brush.

302 There are facial decorations distinctive of the different bands:
621 The host's band and the candidate paint a blue circle on each cheek, but its significance is unknown to the writer.

The regalia used are simple and few. They consist of eagle, hawk, squirrel, beaver, and otter-skin bags (pls. 51–53), a drum, gourd rattles, and invitation sticks. The otter-skin bags are always beaded and contain the sacred shell and various medicines. A few red feathers are always inserted in the mouth of the otter-skin bag. The gourds contain buckshot at the present time and are painted with blue finger marks.

*Division of the ceremony.*—The medicine dance is divided into five well-marked parts. The first part (I) consists of the two nights' preparation preceding the sending out of the invitation sticks. This takes place at the home of the ancestor host in the presence of the members of his band and the candidate. The second part (II) consists of the four nights' preparation preceding the sweat-lodge ritual. Each band has its own four nights' preparation, although that of the ancestor host begins before the others. The third part (III) consists of the rites held in a sweat lodge, specially constructed for this purpose near the medicine lodge, on the morning after the four nights' preparation. The participants are the ancestor host, the leaders of the east, west, north, and south bands, each with his two assistants, and the candidate. The fourth part (IV) consists of the ceremony proper, which in turn must be divided into the night ceremony (*a*) and the day ceremony (*b*). The fifth part (V) consists of the rites held in the brush, at which the secrets of the society are imparted to the candidate. Special guards are placed on all sides of the brush to prevent the intrusion of outsiders. The participants,
[625] besides the candidate, are the ancestor host, the leaders of the east and north bands, each with his two assistants, and all other individuals who have bought the privilege of attending. These ceremonies take place at dawn preceding the day ceremony.

Two feasts and one intermission interrupt the main ceremony. The feasts always take place at the end of the ritual of the east
[621] band—i. e., generally at noon and at midnight. The intermission

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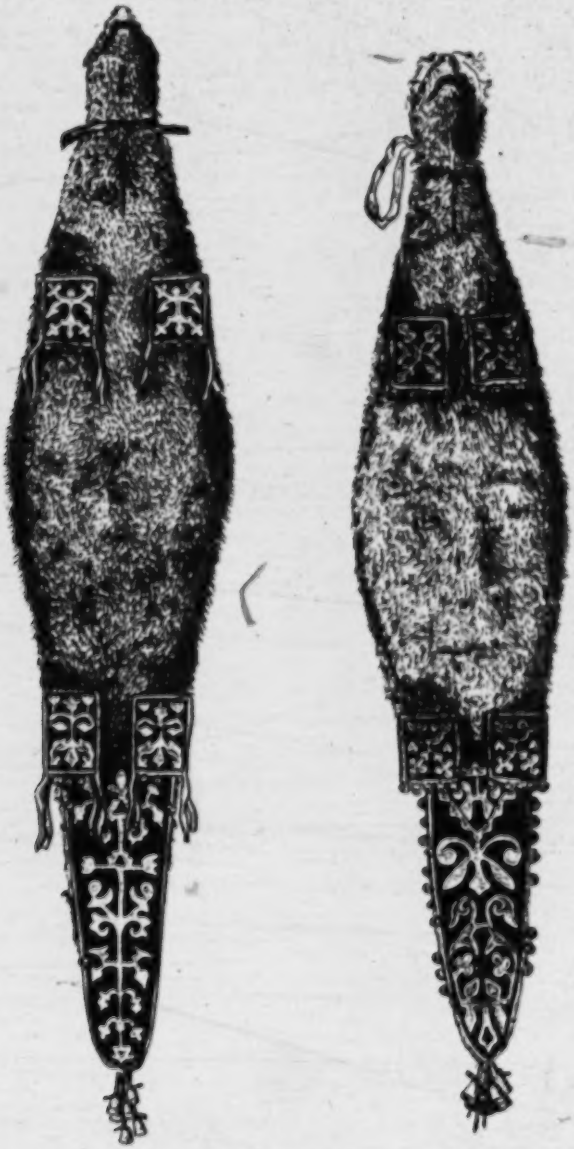

OTTER-SKIN MEDICINE POUCHES USED AT MEDICINE DANCE

[Facing p. 362 (A)]

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POUCHES OF ANIMAL SKINS USED AT MEDICINE DANCE

[Facing p. 362 (B)]

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SKIN POUCHES AND FEATHER FANS USED AT MEDICINE DANCE

[Facing p. 362 (c)]

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generally lasts from dawn preceding the day ceremony until 7 or 8 a. m. The intermission begins as soon as the drum and gourds have been returned to the ancestor host and ends as soon as the people return from the brush ritual. 756 796

The first and second parts are concerned entirely with a recital of certain ritualistic myths and a rehearsal of the songs and the specific ritual of each band used during the remaining parts.

*Types and component elements of the ceremony.*—For purposes of greater clarity, the speeches, songs, and types of action will be carefully differentiated and referred to by some designation characterizing their essential traits. These speeches, songs, and types of action together form combinations which may be regarded as units, and they will therefore also be referred to by some designation characteristic of their function.

1. Types of speeches. (1) Salutations: No formal salutation is used during Parts I and II, the individuals being addressed by their relationship terms. In Parts III, IV and V the salutations are invariably the same. The ancestor host and his band are addressed as follows: "The-one-occupying-the-seat-of-a-relative (deceased) and you-who-sit-with-him, do I salute." The east is addressed, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-sun-rises"; the north, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-cold-comes-from"; the west, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-sun-straightens," or (preferably) "You-who-represent-the-end-of-the-road." 756 796 537 576

The appellations of the bands, as before stated, refer to the creation myth and the four guardian spirits whom Hare visited for the purpose of inquiring into the necessity and meaning of death. Hare was compelled to travel around the earth, which is conceived of as an island, and received no answer until he came to the spirit at the end of the road. In the dramatic performance of the medicine dance the lodge typifies the earth and the four bands and their leaders typify the four spirits. The ancestor host's band typifies the ancestor of the Winnebago. 773 756 796 621 [772]

(2) Speeches: Under this head will be treated (*a*) speeches of welcome; (*b*) speeches of acceptation; (*c*) speeches of presentation; (*d*) speeches explanatory of the significance of the ritual; and (*e*) speeches of admonition, addressed exclusively to the candidate. This does not exhaust all. There are many others, generally short, that can hardly be classified. In their content, as well as in the order of their succession, the speeches must follow a traditionally determined sequence. In practice this is certainly not always true, but to the mind of the Winnebago these speeches appear as old as the ceremony. It is their firm belief that any departure from the accepted type will interfere with the efficacy of the ceremony. 796 537 756

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796 (a) Speeches of welcome: When the leader of the east band enters
756 after the ancestor host has begun the ceremony (IV, b), he addresses
537 the latter as follows: "It was good of you to condescend to invite me
576 to this dance. I am a poor pitiable man and you believed me to be a medicine man. However, I know you will show me the true manner of living, which I thought I possessed, but which I in reality did not." In this strain he continues, weaving into his speech references to the ritual connected with his band and offering thanks for the beautiful weather (should it be a clear day). In concluding he thanks all again, and informs them that he will sing a song. With slight alterations the leaders of the other bands address the ancestor host similarly. The ancestor host's answer of welcome is as follows: "Whatever I desired you have done for me. All night have you stayed with me and by your presence helped me in the proper performance of this ceremony. I am ready with a dancing song, and when I have finished and sit down I shall pass to you tobacco and other means of blessing (the gourds and the drum). All who are present do I greet."

(b) Speeches of acceptation: After the ancestor host has been presented with food he thanks the donors as follows: "You have had pity on me. You have been good to me and have given me to the full whatever I desired. You have filled my heart with the blessing of thankfulness. In return I give you a blessing. Here is some food for you. It is not anything special, nor is it as much as it ought to be, and I know you will remain hungry. It was prepared for the spirits of the four quarters (whom you represent), but it is lacking in all those qualities which would have made it acceptable to them. Such as it is, however, may its presentation be a means of blessing to you."

796 (c) Speech of presentation: East presents the food to the ancestor
756 host with the following words: "I have not very much to tell you,
537 because I am too poor, but our ancestors told us to give you food. This little that I give is all that I can, being a person of so little importance."

(d) Explanatory speeches: These are of so specific a nature that no single one can be considered typical.

(e) Speeches of admonition: "Nephew, now I shall tell you the path you must walk, the life you must lead. This is the life Hare obtained for us. This is the only kind of life—this that our ancestors followed. Listen to me. If you will always help yourself, then you
[867] will attain to the right life. Never do anything wrong. Never steal, never tell an untruth, and never fight. If you meet a woman on the left side of the road, turn to the right. Never accost her nor speak familiarly with a person whom you are not permitted thus to address. If you do all these things, then you will be acting correctly. This is what I desire of you."

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2. Types of songs: The songs may be divided into two groups - 796
(1) Those that are sung in connection with myths and after the 756
speeches of a more general nature, and (2) those that are sung to 533
accompany definite and specific actions. These latter can therefore be most conveniently divided into (*a*) minor dance songs, (*b*) major dance songs, (*c*) initial songs, (*d*) terminal songs, (*e*) leading songs, and (*f*) shooting songs. The medicine men distinguish only between four kinds of songs major and minor dance, terminal, and shooting songs. Each has a different rhythm and music. For purposes of description, however, the above division is more convenient.

3. Types of action (1) Blessing: Either hand is held outstretched, 756
palm downward, and moved horizontally through the air. It is 788
always used when entering and leaving the lodge and on any occasion where an individual has to pass from one part of the lodge to another.

It is always rendered as "blessing" by the Indians, and they particularly insist upon the fact that the "blessing" was not conveyed by any words used in connection with the action, but by the action itself. Each person who is thus passed answers with a long-drawn-out "*ho—o—o*" and with an obeisance of the head.

A modification of the above is the "blessing of the head," which consists of a simple laying of the hand upon the head, both the giver and the recipient keeping their eyes fixed upon the ground, the recipient slightly bending his head. A few mumbled words accompany this action.

(2) Direction of walking in the lodge: Individuals always walk con- 756
trary to the hands of the clock. A person in the east hand must 796
make the entire circuit of the lodge in order to pass out. In only 823
exceptional cases can this rule of passing be broken, and that is when an old and especially privileged member crosses from his seat to that directly opposite him during the shooting ceremony. I was given to understand that this was an extremely expensive privilege.

4. Types of ritual: Parts III, IV, and V can be so analyzed that 796
they fall into a fairly well-defined number of units, consisting of 756
speeches, songs, and movements. These units are nine in number. Artificial distinctions have been avoided in this division, as far as possible. The units are (1) entrance ritual; (2) exit ritual; (3) fire ritual; (4) presentation-of-food ritual; (5) shooting ritual; (6) initiation ritual; (7) sweat-lodge ritual; (8) smoking ritual; (9) basic ritual.

Of these, (3), (5), (7), (8), and (9) are found in Part III; all except (7) and (6) in Part IV (*a*); and all except (7) in Part IV (*b*). (5) does not actually occur in Part III, but is described in detail in the myth related there. The order in which we will discuss these ceremonial units is not the order in which they follow one another in the ritual. Some are interwoven with one another. Both these factors will, however, be considered in the description of the entire ritual, following the description of each ceremonial unit.

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756 776 (1) Entrance ritual: The band enters the tent, makes one complete circuit, and stops. The leader now delivers a short speech, followed by a song. The band then continues to the west end, where another speech is delivered and another song sung. After this the band continues again, and stops at the east end, where the leader talks and sings. Now all sit down. After a short pause the leader again rises and walking over to the ancestor host, talks to him, gives him some tobacco, and returns to his seat. Each band entering repeats the same ritual. This applies, however, only to Part IV (*a*) and (*b*).

(2) Exit ritual (Part IV (*a*) and (*b*)): The east leader rises and speaks, followed by north, west, and south. Each one then speaks again and, all singing, all walk toward the entrance in such a way that the south, north, and west bands make complete circuits of the lodge, thus enabling the east band to precede them. Near the entrance all stop singing and say "*wa-hi-hi-hi*" four times and pass out. This exit ceremony differs slightly in the two divisions of IV.

(3) Fire ritual, Part III: The ancestor host rises and goes to the leaders of the four other bands individually; and after he has blessed them they respond; then all rise, make four circuits of the lodge, and sit down again. The leader of the east band now rises, holding in his hand the invitation sticks and some tobacco, delivers a speech, then goes to the fireplace and kindles the new fire.

[782 276] (8) Smoking ritual: The leader of the east band pours tobacco into the fire, first at the east, and then at the north, west, and south corners. He then lights his pipe, puffs first toward the east, then toward the north, west, and south, after which he passes his pipe to the leader of the north band, who takes a few whiffs and in turn passes it around to the next member of the lodge. When the pipe has made the complete circuit it is placed in front of the fireplace. In the meantime the ancestor host has returned to his seat, and after a short pause, rises, speaks, and sings again. This smoking ceremony occurs after each entrance ceremony, IV (*a*) and (*b*), and before both feasts of IV (*a*) and (*b*).

*Presentation-of-food ritual* (Part IV, *a* and *b*).—The leader of the east band rises and brings meat, berries, wild potatoes, etc., to the ancestor host, delivering a minor speech at the same time. Each of the other leaders repeats the same ceremony. When all have finished, the ancestor host rises and thanks them.

(5) General shooting ritual (Part IV, *a* and *b*): The leaders of the east, north, west, and south bands, holding their otter skins in their hands, rise and, accompanied by three men, make a complete circuit of the lodge. They first speak in undertones to these three men, giving them directions. At each end the leader of the east band speaks, and then, singing, walks toward the west end, saying "*yoho*—

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*o—oya—a*" three times, and ending with a long-drawn-out "*yo—ho*." At the west end both he and the leader of the south band speak. Then chanting "*yo—ho*" again, they all walk toward the east end. Here the leader of the east band speaks twice. All now place their otter skins on the ground in front of them, and east speaks again. At the conclusion of his speech, all kneel in front of the otter skins and cough, at which the sacred shell drops from their mouths upon the otter skins. They thereupon pick it up, and holding the shell in one hand and the otter skins in the other, make a circuit of the lodge four times, increasing their speed each time, and singing. All this time the shell is held in full view of the spectators, on the outstretched palm of the right hand. As they near the east end of the lodge, at the end of the fourth circuit, standing in front of the ancestor host's band, they supposedly swallow the shell, and fall down, instantaneously, head foremost, as if dead. Finally they come to, and coughing up the shell they put it into their otter-skin bags, and then making the circuit of the tent, shoot four members of the ancestor host's band, four of the east, four of the north, two of the west, and two of the south band. Each person as he is shot falls prostrate upon the ground, but recovering after a few moments, joins those making the circuit of the tent. Each leader now takes his drum and gourds to the fireplace. Then the general shooting commences. Each person possessing the right shoots one individual, until all the members have been shot. As each person is shot he falls to the ground, feigns unconsciousness, and then slowly recovers. The slowness or speed of his recovery depends exclusively upon the privileges he possesses and the number of years he has belonged to the society. As soon as each person shot recovers he falls in line immediately after the last one shot. While all are thus walking around a half dozen people at the fireplace sing shooting songs to the accompaniment of drums and gourds. The amount of noise at this point is quite considerable.

(6) Initiation ritual (Part IV, *b*): All the members of the ancestor host's band and the candidate make one circuit of the lodge, taking their otter skins with them. As they pass around they gently touch the heads of the members with the mouth of the otter skin, saying "*Yoho—o—o*", to which the members respond with "*Ho—o—o*." After the circuit, all return to their seats, with the exception of the candidate, who remains at the east end in front of the fireplace. After a pause the ancestor host joins the latter and delivers a speech of the admonition type. The candidate first faces the south and then the north. During the speech the ancestor host touches him on his head and on his chest and makes him face first south and then north. When the speech is over the ancestor host sings and takes the candidate to the west end of the tent.

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756 The tent is now prepared for the initiation proper. Two long
796 strips of calico are stretched from the west to the east end of the lodge. They are about a foot and a half wide and are separated from each other by the fireplace. At the west end a much shorter strip of the same material is stretched along the width of the lodge across the two long strips. Upon this the candidate is placed. When these preparations are completed the ancestor host arises and going to each of the four leaders speaks to them in an undertone. He then returns to his seat. The leaders of the east and north bands now arise and make the complete circuit of the lodge. First the former and then the latter speaks. Then the former speaks twice. After that the leader of the north band delivers another speech and, together with his partner, walks to the west end of the lodge, where the candidate is kneeling. The two leaders here speak again. Both now take their sacred shells, swallow them, and walk to the east end (pls. 52, 53).

Here they speak again and hold their otter skins in readiness for the shooting, but first jerk them forward twice toward the four cardinal points, saying "*dje-ha-hi, dje-ha-hi,*" and concluding with "*e-ho-ho-ho.*" Standing upon the two calico strips in a slightly bent position and holding the otter skin tightly in their hands, they now run rapidly toward the reclining form of the candidate, making loud threatening sounds in a quavering voice, and strike his body twice with the mouth of the otter skin, emitting two short sounds as of an animal who has succeeded in capturing his prey. The candidate falls prostrate to the ground instantaneously. He is immediately covered with a blanket upon which are placed the otter skins of the two leaders. A number of people especially privileged now gather around the covered figure, dance, sing, and shout to the accompaniment of the shouts of the other members of the society, all of whom seem in a frenzy of excitement. When the noise has somewhat abated the blanket is removed and the figure of the candidate is shown, still apparently unconscious. He comes to slowly and finally succeeds in raising himself and sitting up. He then coughs violently, and the shell which has apparently been shot through his body falls out of his mouth. After this his recovery is rapid. He is then undressed and the finery and new buckskin suit, moccasins, etc., are distributed to those to whom it is customary to give them. He now returns to his seat, to the right of the ancestor host's band, where some female relative, generally his mother, dresses him in an ordinary suit.

(7) Sweat-lodge ritual (Part III): The east leader rises and with his two assistants makes the circuit of the sweat lodge, while the north, west, and south leaders each with two assistants join him. At the east end the leader makes four steps with his right foot, each

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time saying, "*Wa-hi-hi.*" He then makes the circuit of the lodge four times. After the third circuit he goes directly to the heating stone, "in defiance of the rule," as he himself says, but with the hope that through this defiance he will gain additional strength. After he has made the fourth circuit he seizes the two entrance lodge poles and, shaking them gently, shouts "*e-ho-ho-ho.*" All now sit down. The ancestor host now takes four sticks and smears them with a special kind of greenish clay and hands them to the leader of the east band. The latter seizes them and holds them tightly with both hands. By this action he is supposed to obtain strength. The sticks are then passed in rotation to the leaders of the north, west, and south bands, all of whom repeat the same ceremony.

(9) Basic ritual (Part IV, *a* and *b*): This ritual is that upon which the ritual for the ceremony proper (Part IV, *a* and *b*) is built. In a certain sense it may be justifiable to consider all the above ritualistic complexes with the exception of the entrance and exit rituals as parts of this basic ritual. The important religious function of the medicine dance is the "passing" of the blessing, consisting of speeches, songs, and the blessings, going from one hand to the other, for the greater benefit of both the host and his guests. These blessings are symbolized by the drum, the gourds, the songs, the speeches, and the specific actions in which each hand participates. The ceremony begins when the ancestor host delivers his first speech and ends when drum and gourds are returned to him. All that takes place between the ancestor host's first speech up to the time that the drum and gourds are placed before the members of the east hand constitutes the unit that I have called the basic ritual. Into it are thrust as intrusive elements other rituals, so that it is at times extremely difficult to discern the basic ritual itself. But it is there and remains intact, for as soon as an intrusive ritual is finished it is taken up and continued to the end. Such a ritual as the general shooting or the initiation, or such myths as the origin myth, require hours; and yet as soon as they are over the basic ceremony continues from the point where it has been interrupted.

The east leader rises, speaks, then sits down, and, together with the other members of his band, sings a song (initial song). When this is finished he rises and speaks again, sits down, and commences a song called the minor dancing song. While he and a few others are singing, drumming, and using the gourd rattles, other members of his band, as well as members of the other bands who so desire, and who have bought the privilege, come to his seat and join in the dancing. When this is over he and a few others, either from his own or from some other band, go to the fireplace, where the leader delivers a speech, and begin the major dancing songs, in which the privileged members participate. After this the drum is tied to one of the

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756 privileged members, generally the one who has been drumming,
796 and the circuit is made twice, the leader and his two assistants at the head, followed by the other members of his band. Two stops are made at the west and two at the east end, where songs, called completion songs, are sung. Then the circuit is made four times, all chanting "*Wo-hé-hi*," slowly at first, then faster, the speed of the walking corresponding to that of the chanting. Then with a final strong "*e—ho—ho*" drum and gourds are deposited in front of the next band. All now return to their seats, where before sitting down the leaders deliver a short speech.

This basic ritual is repeated by each band in the manner described. As it is so often broken up by the intrusion of other rituals it will be best to divide it into four parts. These parts are never broken up. Whenever intrusive elements occur, they either precede or follow.

The first part consists of all that takes place between the first speech of the leader and the completion of the initial song. The speech referred to is the one that follows the smoking ritual, which may, on the whole, be reckoned as belonging to the introductory ritual, such as the entrance ritual. The second part consists of all that transpires between the second speech and the conclusion of the minor dancing song. The third part consists of all that happens between the speech at the fireplace and the completion of the major dancing songs. The fourth part includes everything between the completion of the major dancing songs and the last speech the leader makes, after he has passed the drum and gourds to the next band.

The most bewildering intrusion is that which follows the second part. Before the leader and his assistants go to the fireplace the elaborate general shooting ritual takes place. After the specially designated men of each band have been shot, those privileged proceed to the fireplace. Here they sing the shooting songs until the ritual is over. The first set of drummers and gourd rattle holders are often relieved by a second set. It is only when the shooting songs have been completed that the leader and his assistants proceed to the fireplace to begin the third portion of the basic ritual.

Ceremony as a whole: As stated before, there are certain speeches and types of action that can not be fitted into the above description. This is especially true of myths; and these, with the exception of the content of the myth, will now be considered in connection with the description of the entire ritual as related to me by B. The ceremony begins with an account of the manner in which B. was induced to join the society. Upon his acceptance and payment of the required amount of material, the ceremony began.

The first two nights consisted of an informal salutation, two explanatory speeches, and four myths, the latter in no way connected with any part of the medicine dance. The last three myths

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dealt with the legendary account of the origin of the Winnebago medicine dance and its dissemination among the tribes. 756 796

At sunset the leader of the band to which the candidate has applied for admission gathers together the members of his band and all retire to a little lodge near his home, in order to begin the four nights' preparation. What actually takes place during these four nights is not as stereotyped as the other rituals connected with the medicine dance. There is a general rehearsal of songs, speeches, and other elements of the ceremony. The speeches are not actually rehearsals of those to be delivered during the ceremony proper, but refer to the purpose of the medicine dance much in the same way as do some of the speeches in the ceremony proper. A large number of miscellaneous myths are likewise related. The candidate who is present in the lodge of his future ancestor host is likewise instructed in as many things as an uninitiated member is allowed to know. This instruction consists in the teaching of certain myths and types of action.

On the morning after the last of the four nights the candidate is given some sacrifical tobacco and told to go in search of a stone for the sweat bath. He selects a stone that he can carry on his back easily. Before picking it up he pours tobacco on it. As soon as the stone is brought to the lodge of the host it is heated. The candidate is now dispatched for some oak branches, four pieces of oak wood about 2½ feet in length, and some grass. The grass is used for improvised seats; the oak wood for the four construction poles of the sweat lodge. They are placed in the east, north, west, and south points, respectively. It is not permitted to trim the tops of the oak wood. When all the bands have gathered near the medicine lodge and retired to their improvised lodges, the ancestor host and the candidate go to the lodge of the east leader, that is, to the lodge of the band first invited, and greet him by touching his head with their hands.

He answers with "*Ho—o—o.*" The leader of the first band rises and, accompanied by his two assistants, goes to the sweat lodge. The ancestor host then goes to the lodges of the other bands and greets the leaders in a similar manner. After the leader and assistants of the band last invited have entered the sweat lodge the ancestor host, the candidate, and his assistants enter, and the ceremony is begun.

After the ceremonial salutation and an introductory speech the ancestor host, as the leader of the band giving the medicine dance may now be called, rises, and taking his invitation stick and some tobacco, approaches the leader of each band, and blessing him, thanks him for coming, assuring him at the same time to how great a degree his presence will contribute toward the success of the performance of the ritual. He then returns to his seat. The leaders thank him in turn. Now follow the fire and smoking ritual, which in turn are

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796 followed by twelve speeches of a general and explanatory character. Then comes the "strengthening" ritual, and immediately after two exceedingly long myths, describing the initiation of the first man into the secrets of the lodge, as well as the symbolic meaning of the shoot-
[515] ing ritual. All now undress and take a sweat bath. Female candidates are excluded. A number of short speeches follow, and the whole concludes with the exit ritual.

[534] The drum and gourds are used to accompany the songs. The basic ritual is perhaps present to a certain extent. The writer, however, was not permitted to witness the ritual, and for this reason the procedure seemed somewhat hazy to him.

When the ritual and the sweat baths are over there is a slight pause. The candidate, the ancestor host, and his band enter the medicine lodge, and after taking their seats sing a few songs. When the last song is concluded the other bands enter in the order of their invitation. Now comes the entrance ritual, followed by the smoking ritual. Thereupon the ancestor host rises and delivers the opening speech of the basic ritual. The ancestor host does not go through the entire basic ritual at this time, because he is not permitted to begin the shooting ritual. Soon after the beginning of the basic ritual by the ancestor host, generally after the second speech, gourds and drums are passed to the leader of the east band. This one rises and begins the basic ritual, which he interrupts at the end of the second part, in order to begin the general shooting ritual. When that is finished he continues the third and fourth parts of the basic ritual. Then drum and gourds are passed to the north band. Its leader now in turn begins his basic ritual, but stops after the second part, where the presentation-of-food and the smoking rituals intervene. It is now about midnight, and the feast is given. As soon as the feast is finished and the lodge has been cleared of food and eating utensils, the leader of the north band continues up to the third and fourth parts of the basic ritual. The leaders of the west and south bands perform the basic rituals without any interruption, except, of course, that of the general shooting ritual between the second and third parts. The drum and gourds have now reached the ancestor host, who goes through the third and fourth parts of the basic ritual. There is, however, some doubt as to whether this is always done. Then follows the exit ritual and all pass out to rest for a few hours.

A short time preceding dawn the candidate and the leaders of the east and north bands and the ancestor host, each with two assistants and all other members who are privileged to do so, leave the lodge and walk to the brush where the candidate is to be initiated into the mysteries of the sacred shell and the shooting. Each band must have one or more of its members present at this ritual. When they are near the place set aside for the secret ritual the order of marching,

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which up to this time has been of no consequence, changes into that of single file, the leader of the east band leading. When they have arrived at the proper place, all stop. The east leader now informs those present that he is going to make a road for the candidate symbolical of the path of life, which forms the basis of the sweat bath and medicine dance. Singing, he circles the spot four times. At the end of the fourth circuit he stops and all turn around and face east. The leader of the north band has also the right to go through this ritual, but he does not always do it. Repeating the ceremony is, in all probability, connected with extra expense. All now sit down and the specific rites of the brush ritual begin.

The ancestor host rises and, taking the candidate with him, goes to the leader of the east band and speaks to him. Then he and the candidate return to their seats. The east leader now relates to the candidate a portion of the story of the journey to the land of the spirits and to the lodge of Earthmaker. When this is finished the two leaders teach the candidate how to go through the actions incidental to the shooting, the swallowing of the shell, and the recovery from its effects. When they think that he is sufficiently adept in all these actions they dress him in his new suit, put on a new pair of moccasins, decorate him with finery, and return to the medicine lodge.

The rites generally last until about 8 in the morning, so that when those who have participated in the brush ritual are returning the other members of the medicine dance are also about ready to begin the day ceremony, the principal one of the entire medicine dance. The ancestor host again precedes the other leaders in entering the lodge. Then follows the entrance ritual. During this ritual the drum is struck four times at stated intervals. The smoking ritual now follows. When it is concluded the ancestor host rises to begin the basic ritual, which is interrupted at the end of the second part. Gourds and drum are passed to the east band, whose basic ritual is also interrupted at the end of the second part. Now follows first the initiation of the candidate into the medicine dance and then the general shooting ritual. When the east leader has concluded, drum and gourds are passed to the north band, whose basic ritual is not interrupted as on the preceding day. At the conclusion of the basic ritual of the north band the food-presentation ritual follows, then the smoking ritual, and finally the feast. After the feast the leader of the west band narrates the origin myth of the medicine dance, which is continued by the leader of the south band. The presents are then distributed. After this, the basic ritual is continued by the leader of the west band, followed by that of the south band, and finally the drum and gourds go to the fireplace. The exit ritual now begins, and at about sunset the entire ceremony of the medicine dance is over.

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756 On the whole, it must be said that the main difference between
796 (a) and (b) of Part IV, setting aside the initiation, lies simply in the number of myths told and the greater length of the speeches.

PERSONAL ACCOUNTS OF INITIATION

159 1. J. B.'s account: I was about 13 years and over when they told me
756 that they would make me a member of the medicine dance. I liked it very much. Some people do not like it at all when they are asked to join the medicine dance. I, however, liked it very much. The medicine dance I am going to join, they told me. Very much did my parents desire me to do it. If I wished to live a holy life, that is what I should do, they told me.

Then, when everything was in readiness for my initiation, we moved on to the village where the ceremony was to take place. At night they were to sing at the medicine dance, and they, my relatives, were to join in the singing with them. There they also preached to me. They told me that this rite, the medicine dance, was a good thing. I did not even then think that those who were to initiate me into the medicine dance would kill me when they shot at me, as was the popular belief.

Never had there been such a life, they said, as the one I was going to live, now that I was about to join the medicine dance. Never at any time would I have thought of such a life. Those who were about to make me join the medicine dance told me that the Indians, when they hear of it, will expect me to do great things, that they will speak well of me, and like me. That is all I can now think of concerning that matter.

Now, those who are about to make me join the medicine dance are preparing to show me the shells, and for this purpose they are taking me into the brush. There they, the elders, preached to me. I was not the least bit frightened when, after this, they prepared to shoot me with the sacred shell. Indeed, I was not the least bit worried about it, nor did I think to myself, "I wonder how it is going to be!" Then those who already belonged to the medicine dance, those whom I had dreamed of all this time, shot me. When they shot me I didn't die. That thought was in my mind; but when they shot me, as a matter of fact, I didn't even lose consciousness. Almost immediately I knew how to do it (i. e., to shoot). They liked it very much. Everything they told me to do I did immediately, nor was I backward about anything. The shaman liked it. Never had anyone learned as quickly as I had, they were saying. "That augurs well for him," they say. I thought then that the medicine dance was true.

When we returned from the brush I entered the lodge. Not in any direction did I look, not once did I speak, not once did I move around, not once did I change my position. Just as they told me

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to sit, that way I remained sitting. As many Indians as were gathered in the lodge, all of them, I failed to notice. Not once did I, by chance, permit my glance to wander from side to side. I was doing everything exactly as I was told. The shaman liked it. 159 756

Whenever thereafter a medicine dance was given I attended it. Whenever I went in at night I remained there until it was all over, not going out once. And during the day ceremony not once did I permit my glance to wander outside. Never did I permit myself to lie down from fatigue; nor did I permit my glances to wander outside, because there was much noise there, or because some people were doing funny things. Not even within the lodge did I glance. Indeed, I never allowed my glances to wander in any direction. All the holy things I was told to do, I did. This is a holy ceremony, and I was bashful in its presence.

If at any time any of my leaders in the medicine dance wished to give the ceremony I would stay in his house together with those who had been invited. I would do all the work for him, sing the medicine dance songs, etc. All the different things he was supposed to do, all that I would do for him.

When his wife cooked, I carried the water for her, I made the fire, and helped her with the dishes. All the work she liked to have done in the house, I did for her.

All the clothes I possessed I gave to him. Money I gave to him, and the food he needed I procured for him. Whenever he gave a feast, in addition to what he cooked, I would put a special pail of food on the fire for him. When he ate it he was thankful.

"My son, what do you think I possess, that you are doing all this for me?" But I continued; and when I killed a medium-sized buck I made a feast in his honor, and all the clothing he needed, I gave him. Then I also gave him a costly repeating rifle, the one I used in hunting. All these things I offered him. Then I gave him an eagle, so that he could make a medicine pouch out of it. Money I also gave him, and gourds. Thus I acted, feasting him and offering him gifts all the time. I worked for him all the time.

One day he said to me, "My son, you have been treating me very well. Even my own brothers never treated me the way you have been doing. I thank you. All my relations hate you, but don't pay any attention to them. You are from a different family and I am teaching you various things (that belong to them), they say. They want me to stop instructing you. My father left the medicine dance for me to take care of. I am in complete control of it. Not one of these people, my kindred, has ever done anything for me in their lives. My ancestors said that you are my relative for what you have done. I can not teach my relatives the details of this ceremony, as I would have done had they acted correctly. My knowledge of this ceremony belongs to you, for you have paid for it. My remote

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159 ancestors told their descendants, as it has passed down from mouth
756 to mouth to us, that whosoever pays careful attention to all that pertains to this ceremony, that whosoever has a good memory, he is the one to whom it should be taught. Thus they spoke.

"My son, you alone have been good to me," he said. "This ceremony you will learn. Our son, He-who-stands-on-a-cloud, and you have been kind to me. Both of you will live a long life. Never divide this ceremony in two. Never keep anything separate, but do, the two of you, counsel about everything. If one of you knows anything, tell it to the other. Two people are necessary to make the ceremony truly efficacious for either one. Never dislike one another.

"My younger brother, you are going to be a chief. No one else pays attention to this ceremony. You alone are doing it. If at any time I should leave your presence, when I am about to go I know that you, oh my son and brother, I will leave behind me, peacefully traveling along. Thus I will think as I am about to depart. Thus my ancestors told me."

Thus in trying to obtain information I made myself pitiable. I tried to be blessed. I performed all kinds of work. Even woman's work I did. Thus I kept myself in a pitiable condition, and for that reason my brother-in-law blessed me. He blessed me with the ceremony of his ancestors. He told it to no one else but to me; and if anyone else, at the present time, narrates the ceremony as told by our band, he is not telling you the truth. Up to the present time this ceremony was an Indian ceremony, and not a second time will I tell it to a member of the white race.

This ceremony molded me. I paid the most careful attention to it; I worshiped it in the best way I knew how. I was careful about everything in my life. I never drank. A holy life it was that I sought and most earnestly did I pray that I might live over again. That is what I yearned for. If I do everything that this ceremony enjoins upon me well, I will return to Earthmaker, they told me. This is what I wished. I was doing well as a medicine man and everyone loved me. This ceremony was made with love.

I knew all the songs. Indeed, the leader of the dance would make me sing the songs for him. As many medicine men as there were, they all liked me. I was not overbearing, but modestly did I comport myself right along. All the medicine men told me that I was doing very well, and they offered thanks in my behalf.

2. J. C.'s account of how he came to join the medicine dance: This
[113] is how it was. A grandmother of mine was the cause of it. She said that the Creator's son * was called the Hare; that he came on earth and brought life, she said. She said that whoever did this would live well, that their souls would always return to the place where the

* J. C. is a prominent member of the Peyote cult and, in common with other members of this cult, he has identified the Hare with Christ.

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Creator sits. The first thing that they did to me was this: They took me to a lodge at night; there they talked and sang. Then the second night the tobacco bundles were made; then the great old medicine men were given tobacco. After this came the four nights' preparation. Then came the great medicine dance. Then they went after those that were going to join, one at a time. They, the medicine men, were repeating what the Hare had done. When the Hare came on earth he performed certain actions, and that is what they were repeating now. Hare had visited the different spirits, it is said, looking for a means of life, it is said. The old medicine men possessed the good tidings that Hare had brought to this earth. That is what the people desired of Hare, it is said. 159 756

When they entered, the first person to whom tobacco had been given, i. e., the one first invited, entered first. Then the others followed in turn. Then he talked; then the one who initiated me expressed his thanks, saying, "You medicine men, this affair the Hare has given you, you are repeating in order to bless us. For that reason you have come. We ask you to give to this person whom we are about to initiate the life you have obtained for us. We ask that the newly initiated one travel along that road."

Then the first person spoke, and after that they all ate. When he was through they heated a stone. After that they all entered in regular order and I was asked to go in with them. Thus I entered the sweat-bath lodge. When I was inside they told me that the stone which they had heated was a spirit. "The life that he brought I should ask for," they told me. After that we went out again.

At night we entered again. Then at about 2 o'clock they took me out to the brush. Not until then was I to learn what the medicine men really did. When we got to the brush they made me sit down and the man who was initiating me turned me over to the others. He said, "I turn him over to you. Whatever the elders have taught you, that we desire you to tell him." When he finished the first one began to talk, saying, "It is good that you are such a person. Earthmaker must have willed it so. In the olden times if a person wanted to join the medicine lodge he could not do it until he was quite old." Then he continued preaching to me. When Earthmaker first came into the world and what happened after that, how he created all things: that he told me. He told me that Earthmaker created four worlds, in each of which he placed men and women; that the heavens we see represent the last man he created and the earth we are living on the last woman he created. Then he told how *Hereguninc* was created. The story is as follows: Earthmaker created man, whom he wished to put at the head of the world, but he did not make one of his legs quite right. Then he threw him down to the earth because when Earthmaker made anything wrong 159 756 881 868 [773]

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159 he never did it over again. *Hareguninc* lived on earth from that
756 time on, and it is said that he also created things. Indeed, it is said
881 that he was almost the equal of the Earthmaker. He made the people
868 very miserable. Then Earthmaker sent four of his sons (to save the
773 people). Hare alone, of all the four, accomplished what he had been sent out for. All the rest failed. Hare obtained life for the people upon this earth.

Then the man told how the medicine lodge had been founded: how all the spirits upon the earth and all those under the earth and all those above the earth gathered together. They brought life with them. Then the medicine bags began to come. First came the eagle. He came from above. Next came the hawk, and then the squirrel, etc. The otter was the last one. Then the old man stopped talking to me and another person began to admonish me. He told me how I was to conduct myself. Then he spoke to me of the medicine-lodge road (i. e., of life) and what happens after life.

159 The first thing that I would meet on the road would be bad birds
756 making a lot of noise. "Do not look at them," he told me. They
868 would let fly at me bad-smelling saliva and phlegm, but I was not
775 to turn around, he said. Then the road would become thickly covered with thorn bushes. It would seem almost impossible to untangle them. I was, however, not to pay any attention to them, he told me. On the road, fires would send their sparks toward me, but I was to pay no attention to them. After a while I would lose one of my relatives, but I was to keep right on. I was not to get angry nor to give up, and after a while the road would become thickly covered with poplars growing on each side. Then the hair on my temples would become gray. This is what would happen to me, he told me, if I paid close attention to this ceremony. After a while it would become foggy—i. e., my eyesight would grow dim. Then I would come to a hill, one of four hills. When I came to the last hill there I would see red cedar trees. This is what would happen to me if I paid close attention to this ceremony, he told me. My soul would return to Earthmaker and I would then be allowed to come back to this earth if I wanted to.

159 Then they gave me the object with which they shot themselves—
756 the shell. They shot me. After that they made me try to do it,
776 and when I was able to shoot well, we all came back. It was now
881 daylight. Now they put clothes on themselves and arose. Those who were initiating me then spread upon the ground the things which had been brought. Then the leader spoke. He told me that he would put me on the medicine-dance road. Then they sat me down there and shot me. Then the clothes that I had on were taken off and I was given other clothes. I was now told that I was standing on the medicine-dance road. After that they danced all day. In the evening they stopped. Now this is what I did; this is all I can say. I greet you, my friends.

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# CHAPTER XV

## MISCELLANEOUS DANCES

### The Hok'ixe're Dance.

Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan: This is the way in which people used to bring scalps to one another. When a man returns from the warpath with a scalp he leaves it outside of the village and the warriors run out with their clubs and strike it and count coup (just as on the battlefield). As they count coup they call out their names. Then they are told what ceremonial dress they are to wear. They then send a messenger to the person to whom the scalp is to be presented to tell him to select a pole (for the victory dance). He thanks them and says, "It is good." Then the warriors who are returning arrange themselves in a circle around this pole and dance around it. He who has obtained the first war honor leads. 727 [555]

The one to whom they present the scalp thanks the spirits who are in control of war powers and then raising his hand prays to the Sun. Then he sings a song and when that is finished sits down, beats the drum, and sings a dancing song, while the others dance. [782]

Then the owner of the scalp, turning toward the spirits who are in control of war, gives the victory whoop four times. After each whoop all the other people in the lodge strike their mouths with their hands and yell. After the victory whoops have been given all dance the victory dance. [201]

Then the man who has received the scalp lets his sisters, his aunts, and his nieces select the war presents which are always bestowed upon them. With these tied around their necks they dance. Toward evening they finish the victory dance and then all enter the (dancing) lodge. He to whom the scalp is given is the host and he sits down first. Then comes the donor and then in a row the four who have counted coup. [431]

The ceremony begins with songs sung by the host. He first sings two war-bundle songs (*waruza'p na"wa"*) and then two night songs (*ha"k' na"wa"*). When these are finished the meal is eaten. Before eating, all the animal heads are placed in front of the donor of the scalp and he selects those men with whom he wishes to share them. 727 796

Then the host rises and says, "War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you all. Our warrior (the donor) will eat together with

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727 our grandfather, the scalp, who is standing in the center of the lodge.
796 Place a plate for the scalp and bring it to that brave man." Then the brave warriors eat the head, and when that is finished the servants distribute meat and food to those present who have not taken part in the head eating. While they are eating the host blows on
[534] his flute and sings some songs until the eating is over. Then he rises and speaks again:

727 "All you who are present to give us counsel and who sit here in
796 the place of others, I greet you. For the warriors who would counsel
537 with us repeatedly and for the sacred speeches of our fathers do we ask. In this ceremony to-day we will select as many war-bundle owners as are present to eat together with our grandfather, who is standing in the center of our lodge (the scalp). And if they select me to eat with the scalp, poor and pitiable as I am, it would be good.

"Should sickness suddenly come upon a village all those who are sick may take part in this ceremony. For our grandfather, who stands in the middle of the lodge, is no weakling, and when they take hold of him they are obtaining supernatural powers, it is said. We are trying to trample upon the soul (*wanagzi'rak*) (of the scalp). If we trample upon it, all the goods of life that were still coming to him when he was killed will be transferred to us. As many as are going to take part in this dance to-night should try to make the soul of our grandfather (the scalp) more amenable to our prayers. So all you women and men see to it that you dance with all your strength. Do not take this matter lightly, for we obtain life thereby, we were told.

"Councilors of the different clans who are seated here with us, I greet you all."

727 Then they sang *hok'ixe're* songs and danced the *hok'ixe're* dance.
796 All night they danced. They did not stop for a moment. Thus they tried to conquer the soul of their grandfather (scalp). They danced till early in the morning and then just as the sun appeared they carried the drum outside of the lodge to the victory post and danced the victory dance. As soon as the sun was high in the heavens they stopped. Then they went to sleep.

*The second day.*—Just before the sun was setting they all came and danced the victory dance again. Then the host got ready to furnish the meal again. All his female relatives who had received presents took charge of the preparation of the food, which the servants had previously obtained. As soon as the victory dance was over they entered the dancing lodge. Then the host spoke, and when he finished he sang four songs, and as soon as these were finished they all got ready to eat. Then the host said that he would give the heads of the animals to the donor and that the latter might select those warriors whom he wished to have as partners in the

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head eating. Then the donor selected his partners. The host then began to sing. The scalp was taken down from the post and placed in a dish near the door. The soul of the scalp still remained within it, so they tried again to make it less powerful and to conquer it, for they knew that if they succeeded in conquering it all the life that was still coming to the possessor of the scalp at his death would be obtained for themselves. Then the dancers and the feasters, indeed all who had counted coup, tried to obtain some of the dead enemy's residuary life. All tried to add some new life to their own. 727 796 [774]

When the meal was over, then the host offered tobacco to the spirits, and all those present prayed for war to the spirits to whom offerings had been made. They asked that if it be their good fortune to kill a number of people on the warpath, when they returned home they would be as thankful as they are now. All these warriors who were taking part in this dance liked it very much. [782]

Then the host struck the drum that had been placed in front of him and sang. When he finished, he had the drum placed in front of the man who had counted first coup. Then this man sang and the drum was passed to the next man, and so on until each man had sung. After all had sung and spoken the men and women together danced around the lodge. The woman who had received the presents led the dance, carrying the scalp. The people believed that the scalp was dancing with them. All night they danced the *kok'-ka'ra* dance without resting at any time, and when the sun appeared they took the drum outside to the post and danced the victory dance. Then when the sun was high in the heavens they stopped and went to sleep. In the evening when the sun was low they danced the victory dance again, and then when it was pretty dark, singing slow songs, they slowly entered the lodge again. Then they made a circuit of the lodge and placed the drum in the middle of the lodge.

The feast was now ready. All that they were to eat—deer, bear, dog—were placed in front of the feasters. Food was brought to the donor and all those who were sitting together with him, as well as all those who had counted coup and all the women who had received presents. Head eating is holy, and if one eats part of the head it is thought that it will help him greatly. [263] [264]

Then the host rose and spoke as follows:

"The servants who are carrying the food around here will probably not have enough to go around, but you must remember that not the men but the women are furnishing the food. Although it is little, I hope you will eat it. We will now sing four songs." Then he sang two war-bundle songs and two night songs. Before they ate the host rose and spoke, "This is a small feast and we will try to give food to our grandfather (some spirit) who is in charge of this

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727 ceremony. All who are going to partake in the head eating will
796 sit together with the donor. A warrior will eat together with the scalp. This is all I have to say."

Then the feasters who were selected to take part in the head eating went toward the warrior and ate with him. This warrior (the donor) held a long stick in his hands with which he danced, after he had partaken of the head together with his friends. After he had finished dancing, he walked to the center of the lodge and stuck the stick in the ground and (sat there), eating alone with the scalp. Then all the feasters ate again, and when they were finished the host sang a number of songs and passed (the drum) to the donor, who sang whatever songs he desired; either war-bundle songs, night songs, buffalo songs, or sore-eye dance songs. When the songs were over, all danced. Then the drum was passed to the one who had counted coup first and he spoke as follows:

"The spirits blessed our grandfather and taught him many speeches for this occasion. These we will try to repeat to-day. Even if we do not repeat them correctly, the Night Spirits will not take such a mistake amiss, we were told. Indeed, if I only knew one thing (a song or a speech) they would bless me. We wish to trample upon the soul of our friend (the scalp) and if you, my friends, do the same and repeat the holy speeches of your grandfathers, we will surely accomplish our purpose. Life we wish to obtain, so let us start our songs. That is what I wanted to tell you. Now let us beat the drum and sing. I greet you all."

Then the drum and tobacco were taken to the one who had counted coup second. He spoke as follows:

"The songs and speeches that my grandfather used, those I, too, will use. I, too, desire to trample upon the soul of our friend (the scalp). Life I desire, and I will therefore start up some songs. I can not do what my ancestors did, but I will do the little I know. I greet you all."

Then the drum and tobacco were passed to the one who had counted coup third, and he spoke as follows:

"What our grandfather said, that I am trying to say now. I do not know any songs or speeches, however. I did not listen to what my parents told me, so now when I might have asked the spirits for many things, I can not do it. I do not know what to say and my eyes fill with tears at my discomfiture. But I have myself to blame for it. Now I will start up some songs. I greet you all."

Then they brought the drum to the one who had been fourth to count coup and placed tobacco in his hands. Then he spoke as follows:

"It is good. Those in the east have given me tobacco and I will now offer it to the spirits in their behalf. You have helped to trample

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upon the soul of our friend (the scalp) and you have tried to gain 727
additional life. I also desire life. Our ancestors were equal to the 796
spirits in their power and they asked each other to help one another in obtaining life. I will try to ask for that which you have asked. I greet you all."

Then all the war-bundle owners in the lodge greeted each other, and the drum was passed around until every one in the lodge had sung. Then they danced the *hok'izs're* dance until early dawn and when the sun was about to appear they took the drum to the post and danced the victory dance until the sun was high in the heavens. Then they went to sleep. All day they slept, and toward evening of the fourth night, when the sun was low, they began the victory dance again. When it was dark they entered the lodge and placed the drum in the center. Then the attendants put dog meat in the [262] kettles. When all was in readiness and all the feasters had entered the lodge the host offered tobacco to the spirits for whom food was being prepared and spoke as follows:

"After we have sung four songs the meal will be ready to be served. The attendants, it is true, have not cooked very much and it will doubtless not be enough for all, but I think that there will be a little portion for every one. When I have finished the four songs, then the donor for whom this ceremony is being given will select the people who are to eat with him. Then the attendants will distribute the portions of meat, in addition to the heads, and then we will all start to eat."

Then all ate. The donor after first eating with his friends ate alone with the scalp. Then some of the men arose and gave thanks. Finally the host rose again and said, "Whatever little it was in my power to do, I tried to do. All have tried to help me. It is really good. I am really unable to say what I wanted, but it is good. As the drum passes around, may it be of some help to every one."

Then the drum is passed to the one who had first counted coup. He sings and then it is passed to the other three who counted coup, who likewise sing. From them it is passed to all the other people in the lodge who have not sung yet. Then all dance the *hok'izs're* dance and toward dawn the drum is taken outside to the post and the victory dance is given. If the donor had lost a child the others [765] now wipe off his tears and tell him not to cry any more; and they make the mourner feel joyful again. When it became (full) daylight they danced the victory dance and walked four times around the pole. Then they went to the grave of the child that had died and danced the victory dance there and stuck the scalp in the ground, for the soul of the child. There it would wither and the father would feel happy. This is the end.

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### The Herucka Dance

535 The *Herucka* is a social dance and is frequently given when visitors
574 from other tribes are present, presents being given on this occasion. Men and women take part in it and are generally dressed in their best clothes. A few customs that were noticed at a performance in 1908 might be mentioned here.

If a man drops anything during the dance he himself may not pick it up. Only a warrior who has been wounded has the right to do so. The object dropped is returned to the owner, who, however, must always give it to his sister or niece.

It is at times customary for a man to dress himself in rags and beg for food, etc. He generally represents himself as an extremely poor man and pictures his destitution in a manner best calculated to
[525] amuse everyone.

Wagers of horses are very commonly made at this dance.

The dances indulged in are mainly victory dances and the songs
[533] known as *Herucka* songs are always victory songs. Many borrowed songs are sung at this dance.

A large drum is always used, around which sometimes as many as
[534] 10 drummers sit. The drum consists of an ordinary tub over which skin has been tightly drawn. It is supported by two carved sticks, to which it is firmly attached, so that the bottom is about a foot from the ground. It is painted in the following manner: Two rather
[531] narrow lines of paint across the center of the drum, one blue and the other green. The portion of the drum next to the yellow line is painted blue, and that next to the blue line red. No meanings for the colors were obtained.

### Watconahe'ewe Feast
(AFRAID-TO-EAT-GREENS-FEAST)

241 Informant, member of Beaver clan: Just about roasting-ear month
785 people would commence to fast and continue until the green corn is
262 ripe enough to be eaten. They fast so that all the plants may strengthen the tribe.

The fast generally takes place in a special lodge, from under which all the grass has been cut, for the faster must not come in contact with anything that is green. When the fasting is over a feast is given at which all those present eat "greens" for the first time.

### The Captive's Death Dance

727 Before putting a captive to death it is customary to tie his arms
535 behind him in such a manner that his hands have a little freedom. Then they put a gourd in his right hand and a lance in his left hand

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and permit him to dance and sing. This is called the *wagenigke-i*[a] dance."[a] 727 535

"So then the turtle was told to dance his death dance—i. e., *wagenigke-i*[a] dance. Both of his arms were tied behind above the elbows. Only thus was he permitted to walk. His wrists were tied in front, so that he could not stretch out his arms. His ankles were tied in such a way that he could not take any long steps. He carried a gourd in one hand and a sacred object in the other, and with these he danced up and down the village, performing his death dance and singing and shaking his gourd. Many people came to see him. He stopped and changed his song, singing, "O death, O death! You young women come here to see me. I am anxious for death."

. . .

(It seems that it is customary to grant any wish the captive makes while dancing this dance.)

### The Farewell Dance

When a person is about to go on the warpath he goes around the village dancing and asking for volunteers to accompany him. New volunteers join him as he dances and sings. When the dancing is over these volunteers tell the people how their forefathers encouraged them to go on the warpath, etc. 535 721

At the beginning and end of each song they strike their mouths with their hands and give a whoop.

FAREWELL SONGS 533 539

I 535 721

Hi'ské waje'ji yare'na[a] de'ire[a] wa'ghónangre waje[a] ana'ngere; hi'ske
Truth he speaks I hope, war leaders, what he says, truth

waje'ji yare'na[a].
he tells I hope.

II

Cuqkana'ngere je'ske hidanegkik'Pna detrû'ghera wagan'ninge: je'ske
Those dogs like I think of myself war leader a man I am: Thus

hidanegkik'Pna.
I think of myself.

(I. e., I don't value my life any more than that of a dog.)

III

Jige' ya'ragani'na[a] waja[a] a'Pp'anal'na detre'ghera; jige' yare'na[a].
Again I desire it something a long time war leader; again I desire

(I. e., it is a long time since I have been on the warpath.)

IV

Ga ai'mske zawa'nighteane'na[a] detre[a] waghanrûske zawa'nighteanena[a]
Even that they my will disappear war leader even he will disappear.

(I. e., I don't value my life any more than the war-leader does.)

[a] The following description of this dance, contained in one of the versions of the myth, "Turtle on the warpath," is no doubt fairly accurate.

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## The Soldier's Dance

796 614 Informant, member of the Bear or Soldier clan:[24] The object of performing the soldier dance (fig. 27) is to strengthen the members of the Bear clan. They dance with the emblem of the Bear clan, the whittled stick (*namaxi'nirini*), in their hands. The dance is also given whenever a council in which tribal affairs are discussed is held. On such an occasion the men take their drums to the council lodge and dance there, followed by the women.

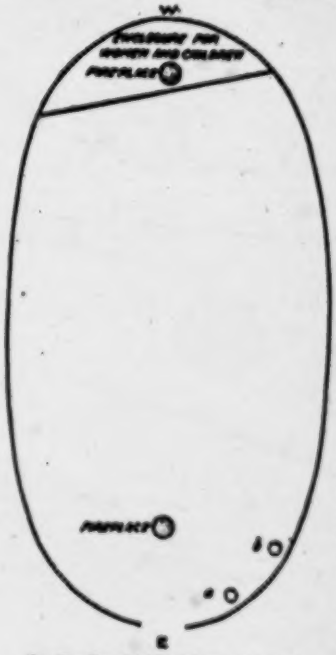


Fig. 27.—Plan of Soldiers' dance. a, Leader. E, Assistant.

The principal leader—i. e., the chief of the Bear clan (*ma'nanp'e ha'ygera*)—appoints a person who is in charge of the ceremony (*ma'nanp'e hak'o'hiduk'ôno'na*).

The ceremony begins with the chief of the clan marching around the village with some followers and stopping here and there to dance and give the soldier whoop. The members of the Bear clan are supposed to be strengthened by the blessings of all the animals who have claws. Should anyone be sick in the village, this strength of theirs would be sufficient to cure them. Then they return to their lodge and are put in control of the entire village.

As soon as the time for the dance is at hand the soldiers give their whoops and an old warrior is selected to tell of his war exploits. He always makes it a point to tell of some exploit that seemed at first foolhardy—how he tried to do something that generally meant death, but how he succeeded by reason of his fearlessness. It is with such a heart, he tells them, that they must dance the soldier's dance. Then they all dance and sing. When they are finished, they let the women dance.

[24] Throughout this work soldier is used to denote something quite different from the word warrior. The Soldier clan is the Bear clan, and the Warrior clan is the Hawk or the War-people clan.

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The soldier dance is a hop up and down with both feet and in no 796
particular order, anywhere around the singers. It is held in the 614
open air. [535]

SOLDIER DANCE SONGS

I 796

Manaap'ᵊ'ra ma'jiᵊwinâ. 614
Soldiers get up.

II 533

Waja"nija' ireraigi'ji ma'jiᵊ'a"dijâ. 539
Something difficult get ready.
(I. e., whenever there is anything difficult to do you must get ready.)

III

Manaap'ᵊ'ra newina'na" hu'nagiredra.
Soldiers I am he whom they spoke of.

IV

Manaap'ᵊ'ra hi'ja" wina'na".
Soldier one I am.
(I. e., I am a soldier, and if there is anything to do I'll do it.)

## Ceremony of Uangeru

(BRIDING CEREMONY)

A dummy is made of grass and dressed with whatever objects the 735
maker wants to get. If he wants a horse he puts a bridle crosswise [532]
around the body of the dummy; if he wants clothes, he dresses him
up in Indian clothes. Then the man places this dummy anywhere
near a gathering, or where he expects a gathering to take place. He
sits near it. As soon as any warrior sees the dummy he goes over
to it and either kicks or strikes the man who made it, giving him at
the same time one of the objects he wanted. Any person may do
the same. They may not stop kicking the man until some warrior
who had at some time or another cut up an enemy in war cuts up
the dummy. Then all stop, and as soon as his bruises permitted him,
the man would get up and pick up the gifts brought to him.

## Feast to Buffalo Tail

A grandfather of mine called Cokeboka fasted at Neceda, Wis. 787
There he was blessed by a young buffalo bull calf belonging to a herd.
The calf said, as the herd went by, "Father, keep going in the road;
mother, keep going in the road." He meant a warpath instead of
the road they were going in. The man was to go on a warpath, from
which he would return victorious.

They used to make offerings to this tail alone, apart from the war [782
bundle. The braided grass was to be used for smoking. The feast 778]
is given in spring after the grass grows up, and in midwinter. Ground 527
corn is boiled in making the feast.

## Kikre Waci and Tobokona"k Dances

There is a pleasure dance called *kikre waci* and a dance called 535
*tobokona"k* (wearing buffalo headdresses). The latter is of Sioux 177
origin.

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622
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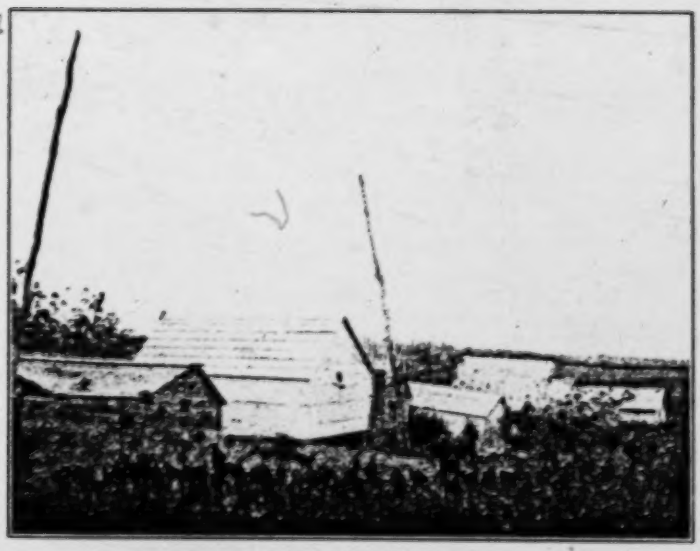
a. PEYOTE LEADERS

764



b. BURIAL HUTS

[Facing p. 388]

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# CHAPTER XVI

## THE PEYOTE CULT

### General Description

794 Owing to the great importance of one of the modern cults found among the Winnebago, the so-called Mescal or Peyote, it will be discussed here in some detail. Not only is this cult of great prominence in the life of the modern Winnebago, but as its inception and progress can be followed out in considerable detail it is of great significance for the study of their religion.

[346] The ceremony is generally held in a building called by the Peyote worshipers a church, although it frequently takes place in the open also. In the early days of its organization as many meetings as possible were held. In 1910 there was a tendency to restrict the number and to have them generally take place on Saturday night. In 1913, after the first enthusiasm of the new converts had died out, the author was informed that the meetings were rarely held more than once a week. Around Christmas and beginning with July a series of meetings was held, lasting from a week to 10 days, as a rule. The Christmas meetings were not prominent in 1910, but the July ones seem to have been held from the beginning. They represent, of course, merely a substitution for the older pagan ceremonies and games that were held about that time.

796 In the early days the ceremony was opened by a prayer from the
794 founder, and this was followed by an introductory speech. There-
[533] upon the leader sang a Peyote song, to the accompaniment of a drum. Then another speech was delivered, and when it was finished the drum and other regalia were passed to the man to the right. This man, in turn, delivered a speech and sang a song, and when he was finished, passed the regalia to the third man, who subsequently passed it to the fourth one. The fourth man, when he was finished, returned it to the leader. In this way the regalia passed from one person to another throughout the night. It not infrequently happens that one of these four gets tired and gives up his place temporarily to some other member of the cult. At intervals they stopped to eat
[276] or drink peyote. At about midnight the peyote, as a rule, begins to affect some people. These generally arise and deliver self-accusatory
[153] speeches, and make more or less formal confessions, after which they go around shaking hands with everyone and asking forgiveness.

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a. OLIVER LAMERE

b. JOHN RAVE

[Facing p. 389]

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In 1910 the cult already had a rather definite organization. There was, at every performance, one leader (pl. 54, *a*) and four principal participants. John Rave (pls. 5, *b*; 55, *b*), the Winnebago who introduced the peyote, was always the leader whenever he was present. On other occasions leadership devolved upon some older member. The four other principal participants changed from meeting to meeting, although there was a tendency to ask certain individuals whenever it was possible. The ritualistic unit, in short, is a very definite one, consisting of a number of speeches and songs and in the passing of the regalia from one to the other of the four participants. 794 [796]

During the early hours of the evening, before the peyote has begun to have any appreciable effect, a number of apparently intrusive features are found. These, for the most part, consist of speeches by people in the audience and the reading and explanation of parts of the Bible. After the peyote has begun to have an appreciable effect, however, the ceremony consists exclusively of a repetition of the ritualistic unit and confessions. [276] [783]

There is an initiation consisting of a baptism, always performed by John Rave. It is of a very simple nature. Rave dips his fingers in a peyote infusion and then passes them over the forehead of the new member, muttering at the same time the following prayer: [788]

"God, his holiness."

This is what the Winnebago words mean, although some of the younger members who have been strongly permeated with Christian teachings translate the prayer into, "God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." [177]

Whenever the ceremony is performed in the open a fireplace in the shape of a horseshoe is made. At one end of this fireplace is placed a very small mound of earth, called by Rave "Mount Sinai," and in front of this a cross is traced in the earth. Upon the small earth mound are placed the two "chief" peyote, the Bible and the staff. The latter, called by Rave the shepherd's crook, is always covered with beadwork, and generally has a number of evenly cut tufts of deer hair on the end and at intervals along its length. The sacred peyote, known as *kupke* (i. e., "chief") are exceptionally large and beautiful specimens. They are regarded by a number of people, certainly by Rave, with undisguised veneration. 794 788

In addition to the above, there is found a large eagle feather fan, a small drum, and a peculiar small type of rattle. To my knowledge, this type was unknown among the Winnebago before its introduction by the peyote eaters.

### John Rave's Account of the Peyote Cult and of His Conversion 159

During 1893–94 I was in Oklahoma with peyote eaters. 794

In the middle of the night we were to eat peyote. We ate it and 276
I also did. It was the middle of the night when I got frightened, for 786

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159 a live thing seemed to have entered me. "Why did I do it?" I thought
794 to myself. I should not have done it, for right at the beginning I
276 have harmed myself. Indeed, I should not have done it. I am sure
786 it will injure me. The best thing will be for me to vomit it up. Well, now, I will try it. After a few attempts I gave up. I thought to myself, "Well, now you have done it. You have been going around trying everything and now you have done something that has harmed you. What is it? It seems to be alive and moving around in my stomach. If only some of my own people were here! That would have been better. Now no one will know what has happened to me. I have killed myself."

Just then the object was about to come out. It seemed almost out and I put out my hand to feel it, but then it went back again. "O, my, I should never have done it from the beginning. Never again will I do it. I am surely going to die."

As we continued it became day and we laughed. Before that I had been unable to laugh.

The following night we were to eat peyote again. I thought to myself, "Last night it almost harmed me." "Well, let us do it again," they said. "All right, I'll do it." So there we ate seven peyote apiece.

Suddenly I saw a big snake. I was very much frightened. Then another one came crawling over me. "My God! where are these coming from?" There at my back there seemed to be something. So I looked around and I saw a snake about to swallow me entirely. It had legs and arms and a long tail. The end of this tail was like a spear. "O, my God! I am surely going to die now," I thought. Then I looked again in another direction and I saw a man with horns and long claws and with a spear in his hand. He jumped for me and I threw myself on the ground. He missed me. Then I looked back and this time he started back, but it seemed to me that he was directing his spear at me. Again I threw myself on the ground and he missed me. There seemed to be no possible escape for me. Then suddenly it occurred to me, "Perhaps it is this peyote that is doing this thing to me?" "Help me, O medicine, help me! It is you who are doing this and you are holy! It is not these frightful visions that are causing this. I should have known that you were doing it. Help me!" Then my suffering stopped. "As long as the earth shall last, that long will I make use of you, O medicine!"

This had lasted a night and a day. For a whole night I had not slept at all.

Then we breakfasted. Then I said, when we were through, "Let us eat peyote again to-night." That evening I ate eight peyote.

In the middle of the night I saw God. To God living up above, our Father, I prayed. "Have mercy upon me! Give me knowledge

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that I may not say and do evil things. To you, O God, I am trying to 159
pray. Do thou, O Son of God, help me, too. This religion, let me 794
know. Help me, O medicine, grandfather, help me! Let me know 276
this religion!" Thus I spoke and sat very quiet. And then I beheld 786
the morning star and it was good to look upon. The light was good to look upon. I had been frightened during the night but now I was happy. Now as the light appeared, it seemed to me that nothing would be invisible to me. I seemed to see everything clearly. Then I thought of my home and as I looked around, there I saw the house in which I lived far away among the Winnebago, quite close to me. There at the window I saw my children playing. Then I saw a man going to my house carrying a jug of whisky. Then he gave them something to drink and the one that had brought the whisky got drunk and bothered my people. Finally he ran away. "So, that is what they are doing," I thought to myself. Then I beheld my wife come and stand outside of the door, wearing a red blanket. She was thinking of going to the flagpole and was wondering which road she should take. "If I take this road I am likely to meet some people, but if I take the other road, I am not likely to meet anyone."

Indeed, it is good. They are all well—my brother, my sister, my father, my mother. I felt very good indeed. O medicine, grandfather, most assuredly you are holy! All that is connected with you, that I would like to know and that I would like to understand. Help me! I give myself up to you entirely!

For three days and three nights I had been eating medicine, and for three days and three nights I had not slept. Throughout all the years that I had lived on earth, I now realized that I had never known anything holy. Now, for the first time, I knew it. Would that some of the Winnebagoes might also know it!

Many years ago I had been sick and it looked as if this illness 159
were going to kill me. I tried all the Indian doctors and then I 794
tried all of the white man's medicines, but they were of no avail. 276
"I am doomed. I wonder whether I will be alive next year." Such 755
were the thoughts that came to me. As soon as I ate the peyote, however, I got over my sickness. After that I was not sick again. My wife had suffered from the same disease, and I told her that if she ate this medicine it would surely cure her. But she was afraid, although she had never seen it before. She knew that I used it, but nevertheless she was afraid of it. Her sickness was getting worse and worse and one day I said to her, "You are sick. It is going to be very difficult, but try this medicine anyhow. It will ease you." Finally she ate it. I had told her to eat it and then to wash herself and comb her hair and she would get well, and now she is well. Then I painted her face and took my gourd and began singing very much. Then I stopped. "Indeed, you are right,"

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she said, "for now I am well." From that day on to the present time she has been well. Now she is very happy.

Black Water-spirit at about that time was having a hemorrhage and I wanted him to eat the peyote. "Well, I am not going to live anyhow," he said. "Well, eat this medicine soon then and you will get cured." Consumptives never were cured before this and now for the first time one was cured. Black Water-spirit is living to-day and is very well.

There was a man named Walking-Priest and he was very fond of whisky; he chewed and he smoked and he gambled. He was very fond of women. He did everything that was bad. Then I gave him some of the peyote and he ate it and he gave up all the bad things he was doing. He had had a very dangerous disease and had even had murder in his heart. But to-day he is living a good life. That is his desire.

Whoever has any bad thoughts, if he will eat this peyote he will abandon all his bad habits. It is a cure for everything bad.

To-day the Indians say that only God is holy. One of the Winnebagoes has told me, "Really, the life that I led was a very bad one. Never again will I do it. This medicine is good and I will always use it." John Harrison and Squeaking-Wings were prominent members of the medicine dance; they thought much of themselves as did all the members of the medicine dance. They knew everything connected with this medicine dance. Both of them were gamblers and were rich because they had won very much in gambling. Their parents had acquired great possessions by giving medicines to the people. They were rich and they believed that they had a right to be selfish with their possessions. Then they ate peyote and ever since that time they have been followers of this medicine. They were really very ill and now they have been cured of it. Now if there are any men that might be taken as examples of the peyote, it is these three. Even if a man were blind and only heard about them he would realize that if any medicine were good, it is this medicine. It is a cure for all evil. Before, I had thought that I knew something but I really knew nothing. It is only now that I have real knowledge. In my former life I was like one blind and deaf. My heart ached when I thought of what I had been doing. Never again will I do it. This medicine alone is holy and has made me good and has rid me of all evil. The one whom they call God has given me this. That I know positively. Let them all come here; men and women; let them bring with them all that they desire; let them bring with them their diseases. If they come here they will get well. This is all true; it is all true. Bring whatever desires you possess along with you and then come and eat or drink this medicine. This is life, the only life. Then you will learn

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something about yourself, so come. Even if you are not told anything about yourself, nevertheless you will learn something of yourself. Come with your disease, for this medicine will cure it. Whatever you have, come and eat this medicine and you will have true knowledge once and for all. Learn of this medicine yourself through actual experience. 755 159 794 276

If you just hear about it you are not likely to try it. If you desire real knowledge about it try it yourself, for then you will learn of things that you had never known before. In no other way will you ever be happy. I know that all sorts of excuses will run through your mind for not partaking of it, but if you wish to learn of something good, try this. Perhaps you will think to yourself that it will be too difficult and this will seem an excuse to you for not trying it. But why should you act thus? If you partake of it, even if you feel some uncertainty about its accomplishing all the good that has been said of it, I know that you will say to yourself, "Well, this life is good enough." After you have taken it for the first time, it will seem as if they are digging a grave for you, that you are about to die; and you will not want to take it again. "It is bad," you will think to yourself. You will believe that you are going to die and you will want to know what is going to happen to you. The coffin will be set before you and then you will see your body. If you wish to inquire further about where you are going then you will learn something you have not known. Two roads there are, one leading to a hole in the earth and the other extending up above. You will learn something that you had not known before. Of the two roads, one is dark and the other is light. You must choose one of those while you are alive and so must you decide whether you wish to continue in your evil ways or whether you will abandon them. These are the two roads. The Peyote people see them. They claim that only if you weep and repent will you be able to obtain knowledge. Do not, as I said before, listen to others talking about it, but try the medicine yourself. That is the only way to find out. No other medicine can accomplish what this has done. If, therefore, you make use of it, you will live. After they have eaten peyote people throw aside all the (evil) ceremonies that they were accustomed to perform before. Only by eating the peyote will you learn what is truly holy. That is what I am trying to learn myself.

It is now 23 years since I first ate peyote, and I am still doing it (1912). Before that my heart was filled with murderous thoughts. I wanted to kill my brother and my sister. It seemed to me that my heart would not feel good until I killed one of them. All my thoughts were fixed on the warpath. This is all I thought of. Now

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159 Now I know that it was because the evil spirit possessed me that I felt that
755 way. I was suffering from a disease. I even desired to kill myself;
794 I did not care to live. That feeling, too, was caused by this evil
276 spirit living within me. Then I ate this medicine and everything
[753] changed. The brother and sister I wanted to kill before I became attached to and I wanted them to live. The medicine had accomplished this.

### O. L.'s Description of the Peyote Cult

(Pl. 55, e)

159 John Rave belongs to the Bear clan, the members of which had
614 the functions of what might be called sergeants-at-arms. He and
[692 his ancestors used to be in charge of the *manupeti* (i. e., the ser-
681] geants-at-arms lodge), to which all malefactors would be brought for punishment.

159 Rave, although he belonged to this highly respected class of people,
794 was a bad man. He roamed from place to place. He has participated in all the ceremonies of the Winnebago, the medicine dance alone excepted. He had been married many times. Up to 1901 he was a heavy drinker. In that year he went to Oklahoma and while there ate the peyote. He then returned to the Winnebago and tried to introduce it among them, but none with the exception of a few
[77] relatives would have anything to do with it. This did not in any way discourage him, however, and he continued using the peyote, now and then getting a few converts.

159 There was not very much religion connected with it in the beginning
794 and the reason people drank it was on account of the peculiar effects
177 it had upon them. Nevertheless these Peyote people preached good things and gradually lost all desire for intoxicating drinks or for participating in the old Winnebago ceremonies. Then Rave began to do away with the old Indian customs. About four or five years ago the membership in the Peyote religion began to increase, for many people now noticed that those connected with the Peyote cult were the only people in the tribe leading a Christian life.

At this time the Bible was introduced by a young man named Albert Hensley (pls. 8, *d*; 9, *d*). He, too, had been a bad person, although he had been educated at Carlisle. Like Rave, he was a heavy drinker and fond of wandering.

During the last few years our members have increased so fast that now almost half the tribe belong to our religion. We all make efforts to lead a Christian life and we are succeeding very well.

794 We use the New Testament, especially the Revelations.

796 Our meetings take place at any time. We gather together in the
159 evening, and as soon as everything is in readiness the leader arises
[782] and offers a prayer called, "Turning themselves over to the care of the Trinity."

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the Trinity." Then all sit down and the leader makes the regular announcements. The peyote is then passed around, either in the dry condition or steeped. The leader thereupon starts the singing. These are some of the songs: 794 796 159 [276]

1. Ask God for life and he will give it to us.
2. God created us so pray to him. [533]
3. To the home of Jesus we are going, so pray to him.
4. Come ye to the road of the Son of God; come ye to the road.

Then Albert Hensley calls upon 12 educated members to translate and interpret certain portions of the Bible for the nonreading members. He arranges with the leader to have the singing stop at certain places so that some of these young men can speak. When these are finished, other individuals are called upon to give testimony. Hensley always talks and so does Rave. 794 177 796 159

John Rave baptizes by dipping his hand in a diluted infusion of peyote and rubbing it across the forehead of a new member, saying, "I baptize thee in the name of God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which is called God's Holiness." [738]

The peyote eaters wanted to get baptized and unite with the church in Winnebago, but the clergyman in charge would not permit them, so they went and did their own baptizing through their leader, John Rave, who, though he is not educated, is full of real intelligence and religion.

If a person who is truly repentant eats peyote for the first time, he does not suffer at all from its effects. But if an individual is bullheaded, does not believe in its virtue, he is likely to suffer a good deal. This I know from my own experience. After eating peyote I grasped the meaning of the Bible, which before had been meaningless to me. 794 276 159

If a person eats peyote and does not repent openly, he has a guilty conscience, which leaves him as soon as the public repentance has been made. [783]

Old men and women who had been brought up to worship animals and all kinds of spirits have cast them all away and in many instances burned their idols, not because they were told to do so but because they felt that way.

Whenever at our meetings a person wishes to pray, he does so; when he wishes to cry, he does so. Indeed, we show no timidity about worshiping God in the right way. In the Bible one often reads of Christ casting out the devils and of the people shouting, etc. So does the peyote act on us in the beginning, although afterwards its effects abate.

If a peyote eater relapses into his old way of living, then the peyote causes him great suffering.

At first our meetings were started without any rule laid down by the Bible, but afterwards we found a very good reason for holding [177]

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794 276 159 177 our meetings at night. We searched the Bible and asked many ministers for any evidence for Christ's ever having held any meetings in the daytime, but we could find nothing to that effect. We did, however, find evidence that he had been out all night in prayer. As it is our desire to follow as closely as we can in the footsteps of Christ, we hold our meetings at night. Then, too, when we pray we wish to get as far away as possible from earthly things, and the night is the best time, for then we are not likely to be bothered by anything.

We have made earnest efforts to become Christians since we began drinking and eating this peyote, but many people say sarcastically that we have drunk ourselves into Christianity, and that we are demented. I am a peyote eater, but I have never found a demented person among them. We claim that there is virtue in the peyote. To you who do not believe and desire to find out let me quote the fourth chapter of the First Epistle of St. John:

"Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world.

"Hereby know ye the spirit of God. Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God."

We claim that you can not find out anything by standing off at a distance and only talking about it. We claim that some earthly things can have the virtue of God, for instance, the Bible, which is entirely made up of earthly material—the ink, the paper, the cover—yet it has survived the ages.

### J. B.'s Account of the Leader of the Peyote[1]

(PL. 3)

159 484 Among the Winnebago there is a man named Little-Red-Bird, and when he reached middle age he began to travel around the world and learn different Indian languages. He used to travel inland a good deal. Once he joined a circus and crossed the ocean. He felt [541] so ill while crossing that he wanted to die. Suddenly a wind came up and he got very frightened. He did not know what to do. Then he prayed to Earthmaker. When he came to the other side of the ocean there he saw a big island and a big city (London), and in this last place they held their circus. The chief of that country (the king) he met there.

When he came back to his own people he told them that on the other side of the ocean the Thunderbirds did not thunder. All they did was to drizzle. There was no lightning either. As he crossed the ocean on his return it thundered and lightened.

[782] When he came home he was very glad to see his relatives and he offered tobacco in thanksgiving.

[1] The narrator was a very fervent follower.

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Shortly after this he traveled again and came to a band of Indians who were eating peyote. It was his custom to try everything when he went visiting. He did not realize what he was doing when he ate this medicine, but he did it anyhow. After a while he began to think of his manner of life, and he felt that he was doing wrong. All the evil he had done he remembered. Then he prayed to God. Suddenly it occurred to him, "Perhaps I am the only one doing this." Then he looked around and watched the others, and he saw them praying in the same manner. 159 794 276 [184]

Not long after that he came home, taking with him some of this medicine. He knew it was holy. At home he offered tobacco to it and kept on eating it. Soon it cured him of a disease he had. He tried to induce some of the others to try it, but they refused. After a while a few tried it, and the peyote movement began to spread. All the old customs that they had been accustomed to observe they abandoned. They gave up the medicine dance and the ceremonies connected with the clans. For that reason, therefore, the conservative people hated them; their own brothers and sisters hated them, for they had abandoned what were considered holy ceremonies. [177 755]

### Albert Hensley's Account of the Peyote[3]

(Pls. 8, d; 9, d)

I am 37 years old. It was 37 years ago that my mother gave birth to me in an old-fashioned reed lodge. When I was a year old she died and my grandmother took care of me. I had come into the world a healthy child, but bad luck was apparently to pursue me, for when I was 7 years old my grandmother died. Then my father took care of me. At that time he began to be a bad man; he was a drunkard and a horse thief. He would frequently get into trouble and run away, always taking me along with him, however. On one occasion we fled to Wisconsin, and there we stayed two years. We got along pretty well, and there my father married again. By his second wife he had three children. 159

After a while he got into trouble again, and misfortune followed misfortune. People were killing each other, and I was left alone. If at any time of my life I was in trouble it was then. I was never happy. Once I did not have anything to eat for four days. We had fled to the wilderness, and it was raining continually. The country was flooded with high water, and we sat on the top of a tree. It was impossible to sleep, for if we went to sleep we would fall off into the water, which was very deep. The shore was quite far away. As we were prominent people, we soon heard that my [731]

[3] This account is of great importance, because Hensley introduced a large number of Christian elements into the ceremony, the principal one being the Bible.

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159 father had been freed. We were very happy, and went back to our people.

At that time a young man named Young-Bear was starting for Nebraska, and he said that he would take me along. I was very happy. So in that manner I was brought to this country. Here I have had only happy days. When my father got married everyone disliked me. When I worked I was working for my father, and all the money I earned I had to give to him.

After a while I went to school, and although I liked it I ran away and then went to school at Carlisle. I wanted to lead a good life. At school I knew that they would take care of me and love me. I was very shy and lacked a strong character at that time. If a person told me to do anything I would always obey immediately. Everybody loved me. I stayed there six months. I was also taught [177] Christianity there. When I came back to my country the Episcopalian people told me that they wanted me to be diligent in religious matters and never to forsake the religion of the Son of God. I also desired to do that. I entered the church that we had in our country and I stayed with them six years.

At that time the Winnebago with whom I associated were heavy [273] drinkers, and after a while they induced me to drink also. I became as wicked as they. I learned how to gamble and I worked for the devil all the time. I even taught the Winnebago how to be bad.

159 After a while they began eating peyote, and as I was in the habit 276 of doing everything I saw, I thought I would do it, too. I asked 794 them whether I could join, and they permitted me. At that time I had a position at the county commissioner's office. I ate the peyote and liked it very much. Then the authorities tried to stop the Indians from eating peyote, and I was supposed to see that the law was enforced. I continued eating peyote and enjoying it. All the evil that was in me I forgot. From that time to the present my actions have been quite different from what they used to be. I am only working for what is good; not that I mean to say that I am good.

After that I married and now I have three children, and it would not have been right for me to continue in my wickedness. I resolved that thereafter I would behave as a grown-up man ought to behave. I resolved never to be idle again and to work so that I could supply my wife and children with food and necessities, that I would be ready to help them whenever they were in need. Here in my own country would I remain till I died. This (peyote) religion was good. All the evil is gone and hereafter I will choose my path carefully.

I know the story about the origin of the peyote. It is as follows:

794 Once in the south, an Indian belonging to the tribe called Mes-539 callero Apache was roaming in the country called Mexico, and went hunting in the high hills and got lost. For three days he went with-

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out water and without food. He was about to die of thirst but he continued until he reached the foot of a certain hill, on top of which he could find shade under a tree that was growing there. There he desired to die. It was with the greatest difficulty that he reached the place and when he got there, he fell over on his back and lay thus, with his body stretched toward the south, his head pillowed against something. He extended his right arm to the west and his left arm to the east, and as he did this, he felt something cool touch his hands. "What is it?" he thought to himself. So he took the one that was close to his right hand and brought it to his mouth and ate it. There was water in it, although it also contained food. Then he took the one close to his left hand and brought it to his mouth and ate it. Then as he lay on the ground a holy spirit entered him and taking the spirit of the Indian carried it away to the regions above. There he saw a man who spoke to him. "I have caused you to go through all this suffering, for had I not done it, you would never have heard of the proper (religion). It was for that reason that I placed holiness in what you have eaten. My Father gave it to me and I was permitted to place it on the earth. I was also permitted to take it back again and give it to some other Indians.

"At present this religion exists in the south but now I wish to have it extended to the north. You Indians are now fighting one another, and it is for the purpose of stopping this, that you might shake hands and partake of food together, that I am giving you this peyote. Now you should love one another. Earthmaker is my father. Long ago I sent this gospel across the ocean but you did not know of it. Now I am going to teach you to understand it." Then he led him into a lodge where they were eating peyote. There he taught him the songs and all that belonged to this ceremony. Then he said to him, "Now go to your people and teach them all that I have told you. Go to your people in the north and teach them. I have placed my holiness in this that you eat. What my father gave me, that I have placed therein."

Then he told him to go home. He thought he had been dead, but it was really his spirit that had left him. After a while the man got well again.

There were many peyote near the place where he was lying and these he picked before he started. Then he went back to his lodge. He thought he had been lost, but it seemed hardly possible to him that this was the case. His being lost in the hills seemed to symbolize to him the condition of the people before they had eaten the peyote; they would be lost and then find their way again.

On his return he built a peyote lodge and for four nights he taught the people how to eat peyote. He did not, however, teach it as he was told, nor did he teach it thoroughly. These to whom he taught

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794 539 it used it for a purpose different from what it was intended.[1] They used it for war and for horse stealing. They, however, continued to eat the peyote, but they really ate too much of it. After a while the leader began thinking that the medicine might harm them, so he told them to hide it. The man did not know that even at that time a big war party was coming upon them. This tribe was almost destroyed.

They lost the peyote. One day, however, it was taught to a Comanche. He ate it and prayed to Earthmaker. Then it was taught to the Cheyenne and to the Arapaho and to the Caddo. The Tonkawa, the Apache, and the Mescallero Apache were the ones who had lost the medicine. When these other tribes began to eat this medicine they heard about it and they remembered that they also had long ago eaten it.

There was an old man in Oklahoma who knew the mescal country very well and he went down to old Mexico and stayed there for a year. When he returned he taught it to the Oto and the Oto taught it to us.

794 276 It is a true religion. The peyote is fulfilling the work of God and the Son of God. When the Son of God came to the earth he was poor, yet people spoke of him; he was abused. It is the same now with the peyote. The plant itself is not much of a growth, yet the people are talking about it a good deal; they are abusing it, they are trying to stop its use. When the Son of God came to earth the preachers of that time were called Pharisees and Scribes. They doubted what the Son of God said and claimed that he was an ordinary man. So it is to-day with the Christian Church; they are the Pharisees and Scribes, they are the doubters. They say that this is merely a plant, that it is the work of the devil. They are trying to stop its use and they are calling it an intoxicant, but this is a lie. If they will but come and see this ceremony they will realize this.

### J. B.'s Peyote Experiences

159 794 276 When my father and mother asked me to come to the Missouri River (Nebraska) I knew they had eaten peyote and I did not like it. I had been told that these peyote eaters were doing wrong, and therefore I disliked them; I had heard that they were doing everything that was wicked. For these reasons we did not like them. About this time they sent me money for my ticket, and since my brothers and sisters told me to go, I went. Just as I was about to start my youngest sister, the one to whom we always listened most attentively, said to me, "Older brother, do not you indulge in this medicine eating (peyote) of which so much is said." I promised. Then I started out.

[1] This is clearly Hensley's interpretation.

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As soon as I arrived (in Nebraska) I met some people who had not joined the peyote eaters and who said to me, "Your relatives are eating the peyote and they sent for you that you also might eat it. Your mother, your father, and your younger sister, they are all eating it." Thus they spoke to me. Then they told me of some of the bad things it was reported that these people had done. I felt ashamed and I wished I had not come in the first place. Then I said that I was going to eat the medicine. 159 794 276

After that I saw my father, mother, and sister. They were glad. Then we all went to where they were staying. My father and I walked (alone). Then he told me about the peyote eating. "It does not amount to anything, all this that they are doing, although they do stop drinking. It is also said that sick people get well. We were told about this and so we joined, and, sure enough, we are practically well, your mother as well as I. It is said that they offer prayers to Earthmaker (God)," he said. He kept on talking. "They are rather foolish. They cry when they feel very happy about anything. They throw away all of the medicines that they possess and know. They give up all the blessings they received while fasting and they give up all the spirits that blessed them in their fasts. They also stop smoking and chewing tobacco. They stop giving feasts, and they stop making offerings of tobacco. Indeed, they burn up their holy things. They burn up their war bundles. They are bad people. They give up the Medicine Dance. They burn up their medicine bags and even cut up their otter-skin bags. They say they are praying to Earthmaker (God) and they do so standing and crying. They claim that they hold nothing holy except Earthmaker (God). They claim that all the things that they are stopping are those of the bad spirit (the devil), and that the bad spirit (the devil) has deceived them; that there are no spirits who can bless; that there is no other spirit except Earthmaker (God)." Then I said, "Say, they certainly speak foolishly." I felt very angry toward them. "You will hear them, for they are going to have a meeting tonight. Their songs are very strange. They use a very small drum," said he. Then I felt a very strong desire to see them. [12]

After a while we arrived. At night they had their ceremony. At first I sat outside and listened to them. I was rather fond of them. I stayed in that country and the young peyote eaters were exceedingly friendly to me. They would give me a little money now and then and they treated me with tender regard. They did everything that they thought would make me feel good, and in consequence I used to speak as though I liked their ceremony. However, I was only deceiving them. I only said it because they were so good to me. I thought they acted in this way because (the peyote) was deceiving them.

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159 Soon after that my parents returned to Wisconsin, but when they
794 left they said they would come back in a little while. So I was left
276 there with my relatives, who were all peyote followers. For that reason they left me there. Whenever I went among the nonpeyote people I used to say all sorts of things about the peyote people, and when I returned to the peyote people I used to say all sorts of things about the others.

I had a friend who was a peyote man and he said to me, "My friend, I wish very much that you should eat the peyote." Thus he spoke and I answered him, "My friend, I will do it, but not until I get accustomed to the people of this country. Then I will do it. The only thing that worries me is the fact that they are making fun of you. And in addition, I am not quite used to them." I spoke dishonestly.

I was staying at the place where my sister lived. She had gone to Oklahoma; she was a peyote follower. After a while she returned. I was then living with a number of women. This was the second time (there) and from them I obtained some money. Once I got drunk there and was locked up for six days. After my sister returned she and the others paid more attention than ever to me. Especially was this true of my brother-in-law. They gave me horses and a vehicle. They really treated me very tenderly. I knew that they did all this because they wished me to eat the peyote. I, in my turn, was very kind to them. I thought that I was fooling them and they thought that they were converting me. I told them that I believed in the peyote because they were treating me so nicely.

After a while we moved to a certain place where they were to have a large peyote meeting. I knew they were doing this in order to get me to join. Then I said to my younger sister, "I would be quite willing to eat this peyote (ordinarily), but I don't like the woman with whom I am living just now and I think I will leave her. That is why I do not want to join now, for I understand that when married people eat medicine (peyote) they will always have to stay together. Therefore I will join when I am married to some woman permanently." Then my brother-in-law came and she told him what I had said, and he said to me, "You are right in what you say. The woman with whom you are staying is a married woman and you can not continue living with her. It is null and void (this marriage) and we know it. You had better join now. It will be the same as if you were single. We will pray for you as though you were single. After you have joined this ceremony, then you can marry any woman whom you have a right to marry (legally). So, do join tonight. It is best. For some time we have been desirous of your joining but we have not said anything to you. It is Earthmaker's (God's) blessing to you that you have been thinking of this," said he.

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Therefore I sat inside the meeting place with them. One man 159
acted as leader. We were to do whatever he ordered. The regalia 794
were placed before him. I wanted to sit in some place on the side 276
because I thought I might get to crying like the others. I felt 796
ashamed of myself.

Then the leader arose and talked. He said that this was an affair of Earthmaker's (God's), and that he (the leader) could do nothing on his own initiative; that Earthmaker (God) was going to conduct the ceremony. Then he said that the medicine (peyote) was holy and that he would turn us all over to it; that he had turned himself over to it and wished now to turn all of us over to it. He said further, "I am a very pitiable (figure) in this ceremony, so when you pray to Earthmaker, pray also for me. Now let us all rise and pray to Earthmaker (God)." We all rose. Then he prayed. He prayed for the [782] sick, and he prayed for those who did not yet know Earthmaker. He said that they were to be pitied. When he had finished we sat down. Then the peyote was passed around. They gave me five. My brother-in-law said to me, "If you speak to this medicine (peyote), it will give you whatever you ask of it. Then you must pray to Earthmaker, and then you must eat the medicine." However, I ate them (the peyote) immediately, for I did not know what to ask for and I did not know what to say in a prayer to Earthmaker (God). So I ate the peyote just as they were. They were very bitter and had a taste difficult to describe. I wondered what would happen to me. After a while I was given five more and I also ate them. They tasted rather bitter. Now I was very quiet. The peyote rather weakened me. Then I listened very attentively to the singing. I liked it very much. I felt as though I were partly asleep. I felt different from (my normal self), but when I (looked around) and examined myself, I saw nothing wrong about myself. However, I felt different from (my normal self). Before this I used to dislike the songs. Now I liked the leader's singing very much. I liked to listen to him.

They were all sitting very quietly. They were doing nothing except singing. Each man sang four songs and then passed the regalia to the next one. (Each one) held a stick and an eagle's tail feather in one hand and a small gourd rattle, which they used to shake while singing, in the other. One of (those) present used to do the drumming. Thus objects would pass around until they came back to the leader, who would then sing four songs. When these were finished, he would place the various (things) on the ground, rise, and pray to Earthmaker (God). Then he called upon one or two to speak. They said that Earthmaker (God) was good and that the peyote was good, and that whosoever ate this medicine (peyote) would be able to free himself from the bad spirit (the devil); for they said that

159 Earthmaker forbids us to commit sins. When this was over they
794 sang again.

796 After midnight, every once in a while (I heard) someone cry. In
276 some cases they would go up to the leader and talk with him. He would stand up and pray with them. They told me what they were saying. They said that they were asking (people) to pray for them, as they were sorry for their sins and that they might be prevented from committing them again. That is what they were saying. They cried very loudly. I was rather frightened. (I noticed also) that when I closed my eyes and sat still, I began to see strange things. I did not get sleepy in the least. Thus the light (of morning) came upon me. In the morning, as the sun rose, they stopped. They all got up and prayed to Earthmaker (God) and then they stopped.

159 During the daytime I did not get sleepy in the least. My actions
276 were a little different (from my usual ones). Then they said, "To-
794 night they are going to have another meeting. Let us go over. They say that is the best (thing) to do and thus you can learn it (the ceremony) right away. It is said that their spirits wander
[774] over all the earth and the heavens also. All this you will learn and see," they said. "At times they die and remain dead all night and all day. When in this condition they sometimes see Earthmaker (God), it is said." One would also be able to see where the bad spirit lived, it was said.

So we went there again. I doubted all this. I thought that what they were saying was untrue. However, I went along anyhow. When we got there, I had already eaten some peyote, for I had taken three during the day. Now near the peyote meeting an (Indian) feast was being given and I went there instead. When I reached the place, I saw a long lodge. The noise was terrific. They were beating an enormous drum. The sound almost raised me in the air, so (pleasurably) loud did it sound to me. Not so (pleasurable) had things appeared at those affairs (peyote meetings) that I had lately been attending. There I danced all night and I flirted with the women. About day I left and when I got back the peyote meeting was still going on. When I got back they told me to sit down at a certain place. They treated me very kindly. There I again ate peyote. I heard that they were going to have another meeting near by on the evening of the same day. We continued eating peyote the whole day at the place where we were staying. We were staying at the house of one of my relatives. Some of the boys there taught me a few songs. "Say, when you learn how to sing, you will be the best singer, for you are a good singer as it is. You have a good voice," they said to me. I thought so myself.

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That night we went to the place where the peyote meeting was to take place. They gave me a place to sit and treated me very kindly. "Well, he has come," they even said when I got there, "make a place for him." I thought they regarded me as a great man. John Rave, the leader, was to conduct the (ceremony). I ate five peyote. Then my brother-in-law and my sister came and gave themselves up. They asked me to stand there with them. I did not like it, but I did it nevertheless. "Why should I give myself up? I am not in earnest, and I intend to stop this as soon as I get back to Wisconsin. I am only doing this because they have given me presents," I thought. "I might just as well get up, since it doesn't mean anything to me." So I stood up. The leader began to talk and I (suddenly) began to feel sick. It got worse and worse and finally I lost consciousness entirely. When I recovered, I was lying flat on my back. Those with whom I had been standing were still standing there. I had (as a matter of fact) regained consciousness as soon as I fell down. I felt like leaving the place that night, but I did not do it. I was quite tired out. "Why have I done this?" I said to myself. "I promised (my sister) that I would not do it." So I thought and then I tried to leave, but I could not. I suffered intensely. At last daylight came upon me. Now I thought that they regarded me as one who had a trance and found out something. 159 276 794

Then we went home and they showed me a passage in the Bible where it said that it was a shame for any man to wear long hair. That is what it said, they told me. I looked at the passage. I was not a man learned in books, but I wanted to give the impression that I knew how to read, so I told them to cut my hair, for I wore it long at that time. After my hair was cut I took out a lot of medicine that I happened to have in my pockets. These were courting medicines. There were many small bundles of them. All these, together with my hair, I gave to my brother-in-law. Then I cried and my brother-in-law also cried. Then he thanked me. He told me that I understood and that I had done well. He told me that Earthmaker (God) alone was holy; that all the things (blessings and medicines) that I possessed were false; that I had been fooled by the bad spirit (devil). He told me that I had now freed myself from much of this (bad influence). My relatives expressed their thanks fervently. [302] [832]

On the fourth night they had another meeting and I went to it again. There I again ate (peyote). I enjoyed it and I sang along with them. I wanted to be able to sing immediately. Some young men were singing and I enjoyed it, so I prayed to Earthmaker, asking him to let me learn to sing right away. That was all I asked for. My brother-in-law was with me all the time. At that meeting all the things I had given my brother-in-law were burned up.

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159 The fact that he (my brother-in-law) told me that I understood
794 pleased me, and I felt good when daylight came. (As a matter of
276 fact) I had not received any knowledge.

After that I would attend meetings every once in a while, and I looked around for a woman whom I might marry permanently. Before long that was the only thing I thought of when I attended the meetings.

On one occasion we were to have a meeting of men and I went to the meeting with a woman, with whom I thought of going around the next day. That was (the only) reason I went with her. When we arrived, the one who was to lead asked me to sit near him. There he placed me. He urged me to eat a lot of peyote, so I did. The leaders (of the ceremony) always place the regalia in front of themselves; they also had a peyote placed there. The leader placed a very small one in front of himself this time. "Why does he have a very small one there?" I thought to myself. I did not think much about it.

159 It was now late at night and I had eaten a lot of peyote and felt
794 rather tired. I suffered considerably. After a while I looked at the
786 peyote and there stood an eagle with outspread wings. It was as
276 beautiful a sight as one could behold. Each of the feathers seemed to have a mark. The eagle stood looking at me. I looked around thinking that perhaps there was something the matter with my sight. Then I looked again and it was really there. I then looked in a different direction and it disappeared. Only the small peyote remained. I looked around at the other people but they all had their heads bowed and were singing. I was very much surprised.

Some time after this (I saw) a lion lying in the same place (where I had seen the eagle). I watched it very closely. It was alive and looking at me. I looked at it very closely, and when I turned my eyes away just the least little bit it disappeared. "I suppose they all know this and I am just beginning to know of it," I thought. Then I saw a small person (at the same place). He wore blue clothes and a shining brimmed cap. He had on a soldier's uniform. He was sitting on the arm of the person who was drumming, and he looked at every one. He was a little man, perfect (in all proportions). Finally I lost sight of him. I was very much surprised indeed. I sat very quietly. "This is what it is," I thought, "this is what they all probably see and I am just beginning to find out."

Then I prayed to Earthmaker (God): "This, your ceremony, let me hereafter perform."

As I looked again, I saw a flag. I looked more carefully and (I saw) the house full of flags. They had the most beautiful marks on them. In the middle (of the room) there was a very large flag and it was a live one; it was moving. In the doorway there was another

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one not entirely visible. I had never seen anything so beautiful in all my life before. 159 794

Then again I prayed to Earthmaker (God). I bowed my head and closed my eyes and began (to speak). I said many things that I would ordinarily never have spoken about. As I prayed, I was aware of something above me and there he was; Earthmaker (God) to whom I was praying, he it was. That which is called the soul, that is it, that is what one calls Earthmaker (God). Now this is what I felt and saw. The one called Earthmaker (God) is a spirit and that is what I felt and saw. All of us sitting there, we had all together one spirit or soul; at least that is what I learned. I instantly became the spirit and I was their spirit or soul. Whatever they thought of, I (immediately) knew. I did not have to speak to them and get an answer to know what their thoughts had been. Then I thought of a certain place, far away, and immediately I was there; I was my thought. 786 276

I looked around and noticed how everything seemed about me, and when I opened my eyes I was myself in the body again. From this time on, I thought, thus I shall be. This is the way they are, and I am only beginning to be that way. "All those that heed Earthmaker (God) must be thus," I thought. "I would not need any more food," I thought, "for was I not my spirit! Nor would I have any more use of my body," I felt. "My corporeal affairs are over," I felt.

Then they stopped and left, for it was just dawning. Then someone spoke to me. I did not answer, for I thought they were just fooling, and that they were all like myself, and that (therefore) it was unnecessary for me to talk to them. So when they spoke to me I only answered with a smile. "They are just saying this to me because (they realize) that I have just found out," I thought. That was why I did not answer. I did not speak to anyone until noon. Then I had to leave the house to perform one of nature's duties and someone followed me. It was my friend. He said, "My friend, what troubles you that makes you act as you do?" "Well, there's no need of your saying anything, for you know it beforehand," I said. 159 794 276

Then I immediately got over my trance and again got into my (normal) condition, so that he would have to speak to me before I knew his thoughts. I became like my former self. It became necessary for me to speak to him.

Then I spoke to him and said, "My friend, let us hitch up these horses and then I will go wherever you like, for you wish to speak to me and I also want to go around and talk to you." Thus I spoke to him. "If I were to tell you all that I have learned, I would never be able to stop at all, so much have I learned," I said to him. "However, I would enjoy telling some of it." "Good," said he. He liked

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159 it (what I told him) very much. "That is what I am anxious to
794 hear," said he. Then we went after the horses. We caught one of
276 them but we could not get the other. He got away from us and we could not find him. We hunted everywhere for the horse but could not discover where he had run to. Long afterwards we found it among the whites.

Now since that time (of my conversion) no matter where I am, I always think of this religion. I still remember it and I think I will remember it as long as I live. It is the only holy thing I have been aware of in all my life.

After that whenever I heard of a peyote meeting, I went to it. However, my thoughts were always fixed on women. "If I were married (legally) perhaps these thoughts will leave me," I thought. Whenever I went to a meeting now I tried to eat as many peyote as possible, for I was told that it was good to eat them. For that reason I ate them. As I sat there I would always pray to Earthmaker (God). Now these were my thoughts. If I were married, I thought as I sat there, I could then put all my thoughts on this ceremony. I sat with my eyes closed and was very quiet.

159 Suddenly I saw something. This was tied up. The rope with
794 which this object was tied up was long. The object itself was run-
786 ning around and around (in a circle). There was a pathway there
276 in which it ought to go, but it was tied up and unable to get there. The road was an excellent one. Along its edge bluegrass grew and on each side there grew many varieties of pretty flowers. Sweet-smelling flowers sprang up all along this road. Far off in the distance appeared a bright light. There a city was visible of a beauty indescribable by tongue. A cross was in full sight. The object that was tied up would always fall just short of reaching the road. It seemed to lack sufficient strength to break loose (of what was holding it). (Near it) lay something which would have given it sufficient strength to break its fastenings, if it were only able to get hold of it.

I looked at what was so inextricably tied up and I saw that it was myself. I was forever thinking of women. "This it is to which I am tied," I thought. "Were I married, I would have strength enough to break my fastening and be able to travel in the good road," I thought. Then daylight came upon us and we stopped.

159 Then I thought of a man I used to know who was an old peyote-
794 man. He always spoke to me very kindly. I went over to see him.
276 I thought I would tell him what had happened to me. When I arrived there he was quite delighted. It was about noon and he fed my horses and asked me to eat with him. Then when we were through eating, I told him what had happened to me. He was very glad and told me that I was speaking of a very good thing. Then (finally) he said, "Now I shall tell you what I think is a good thing

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(for you to do). You know that if an old horse is balky, you cannot break him of (this habit); even if you bought him and tried to break him (of this habit) you would not succeed. If, indeed, you succeeded it would only be after very hard work. However, if you had a very young horse, you could train it in any way you wished. So it is in everything. If you marry a woman who has been in the habit of marrying frequently, it would be difficult for her to break herself of a habit she loves. You are not the one she loves. If you marry her you will lead a hard life. If you wish to get married, take your time. There are plenty of good women. Many of them are at (government) schools and have never been married. I think you would do best if you waited for some of these before marrying. They will return in the middle of the summer. So, don't think of any of these women you see around here, but wait until then and pray to Earthmaker patiently. That would be the best, I think." I liked what he told me and thanked him. I decided to accept his advice, and I did not look around for women after that. I was to wait about three months and (during that time) I paid strict attention to the peyote ceremony.

On one occasion while at a meeting, I suffered (great pain). My eyes were sore and I was thinking of many things. "Now I do nothing but pay attention to this ceremony, for it is good." Then I called the leader over to me and said to him, "My elder brother, hereafter only Earthmaker (God) shall I regard as holy. I will make no more offerings of tobacco. I will not use any more tobacco. I will not smoke and I will not chew tobacco. I have no further interest in these. Earthmaker (God) alone do I desire (to serve). I will not take part in the Medicine Dance again. I give myself up (to you). I intend to give myself up to Earthmaker's (God's) cause." Thus I spoke to him. "It is good, younger brother," he said to me. Then he had me stand up and he prayed to Earthmaker (God). He asked Earthmaker (God) to forgive me my sins.

The next morning I was taken home. My eyes were sore and I could not see. They took me back to a house and there they put a solution of the peyote into my eyes and I got well in a week.

One night, when I was asleep, I dreamed that the world had come to an end. Some people Earthmaker (God) took, while some belonged to the bad spirit (the devil). I belonged to the bad spirit (the devil). Although I had given myself up (become a peyote-man), I had not as yet been baptized. That was why Earthmaker (God) did not take me. All those who belonged to Earthmaker (God) were marked, but I was not. I felt very bad about it when I woke up, although I had only dreamed about it. I felt very bad indeed. I wanted them to hurry and have another peyote meeting

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159 794 276 soon. I could hardly wait until I reached the place where the next meeting was to take place. I immediately told the leader (what I wanted) and asked him to baptize me and he baptized me in the morning. After that morning I felt better.

[588] Then I went to work and I worked with a railroad work-gang. I was still working when the time for the midsummer celebration approached. I always went to the peyote meeting on Saturday nights.

The old man was right in what he had told me. The girl students returned in the summer. Shortly (after they returned) a man, a friend of mine who had gone around with me, asked me if I wanted to get married. "Yes, I do," I answered. Then he said, "Listen, I have been thinking of something. What kind of a woman do you wish to marry?" I told him what I had in mind. Then he said, [584] "Come home with me. I have a younger sister. I want her to marry a good man; I would like to have her marry you," he said. Then I went home with him. When we got there (and discussed the matter) the girl gave her consent. The parents also consented.

So there I got married and what I expected has taken place and I have lived with her ever since. On one occasion, after she was used to me, she told me this. (Before she had married she had determined that) if she ever got married, she would not care to marry a very young man. "I wanted a man who ate peyote and who paid attention to the ceremony." Such a man she desired and such a man was I, she said. She loved me, she said, and she was glad that she had married me. This is what she had asked Earthmaker (God) in prayer. "And indeed it has happened as I wished," she said. She believed it was the will of Earthmaker (God) that we had done this, she said. She was therefore glad (that she had married me). Together we gave ourselves up (to the peyote) at a peyote meeting. From that time on we have remained members of the peyote (ceremony).

Many things are said under the influence of the peyote. The members (would) get into a kind of trance and speak of many things. On one occasion they had a peyote meeting which lasted two nights. I ate a good deal of peyote. The next morning I tried to sleep. I suffered a great deal. I lay down in a very comfortable position. After a while a (nameless) fear arose in me. I could not remain in that place, so I went out into the prairie, but here again I was seized with this fear. Finally I returned to a lodge near the lodge in which the peyote meeting was being held and lay down alone. I feared that I might do something foolish to myself (if I remained there alone), and I hoped that someone would come and talk to me. Then someone did come and talk to me, but I did not feel better, so I thought I would go inside where the meeting was going on. "I am going inside," I said to him. He laughed. "Alright, do so," said he. I went in and sat down. It was very hot and I felt as

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though I were going to die. I was very thirsty but I feared to ask for water. I thought that I was certainly going to die. I began to totter over. 159 794 276

I died, and my body was moved by another life. It began to move about; to move about and make signs. It was not I and I could not see it. At last it stood up. The regalia—eagle feathers and gourds—these were holy, they said. They also had a large book there (the Bible). These my body took and what is contained in that (book) my body saw. It was a Bible. The regalia were not holy, but they were good ornaments. My body told them that; and that if any person paid attention to Earthmaker's (God's) ceremony, he would be hearkening to what the Bible said; that, likewise, my body told them. Earthmaker's son (God's son) said that he was the only way. This means that one can only get life from the Word. (My) body spoke of many things and it spoke of what was true. Indeed it spoke of many things. It spoke of all the things that were being done (by the pagan Indians) and which were evil. A long time it spoke. At last it stopped. Not I, but my body standing there, had done the talking. Earthmaker (God) had done his own talking. I would be confessing myself a fool if I were to think that I had said all this, it (my body) told me. 786 159 794 276

After a while I returned to my normal human condition. Some of those there had been frightened, thinking that I had gone crazy. Others had liked it. It was discussed a good deal. They called it the "shaking" state. It was said that the condition in which I was, was not part of Earthmaker's (God's) religion. I was told that whoever ate a lot of peyote would, through the peyote, be taught the teachings of Earthmaker (God). Earthmaker's (God's) ways and man's ways were different. Whoever, therefore, wished to help this religion must give himself up (to it). If you ate a good deal of this peyote and believed that it could teach you something, then it assuredly would do so. That, at least, is the way in which I understand the matter. 159 794 276

Once we had a meeting at the home of a member who was sick. The sick would always get well when a meeting was held in their home, and that is why we did it. At that meeting I got into the "shaking" condition again. My body told (us) how our religion (peyote) was an affair of Earthmaker's (God's) and even if one knew only a portion of it, one could still see (partake of) Earthmaker's (God's) religion.

Thus it went on talking. "Earthmaker (God), His Son (Christ) and His Holiness (the Holy Ghost), these are the three ways of saying it. Even if you know one (of these three), it means all. Every one of you has the means of opening (the road) to Earthmaker (God). It is given to you. With that (your belief) you can open (the door

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159 to God). You can not open it with knowledge (alone). How many
794 letters are there to the key (the road to God)? Three. What are
276 they?" There were many educated people (there), but none of them said anything. "The first (letter) must be a K, so if a person said K, that would be the whole of it. But let me look in the book (the Bible) and see what that means," said the body. Then it (the body) took the Bible and began to turn the leaves. The body did not know where it was itself, for it was not learned in books. Finally in Matthew, chapter 16, it stopped. There it speaks about it. "Peter did not give himself up" (it says). "For a long time he could not give up his own knowledge. There (in that passage) it says Key." That is the work of Earthmaker (God). At least so I understand it. He made use of my body and acted in this manner, in the case of the peyote.

Then I go about telling (every one) that this religion is good. Many other people at home said the same thing. Many, likewise, have joined this religion and are getting along nicely.

On one occasion, after I had eaten a good deal of peyote, I learned the following from it: that all I had done in the past, that it had all been evil. This was plainly revealed to me. What I thought was holy, and (by thus thinking) was lost, that I now know was false. (It is false), this giving of (pagan) feasts, of holding (the old) things holy, the Medicine Dance, and all the Indian customs.

### J. B.'s Account of His Conversion

I was at the old agency. There they were to try me for murder. At night, as I sat in jail, certain people came to me and told me that they had a gallon jug of whisky, and that if I was free that night, I should come and drink with them. They would wait for me. That same night there was a peyote meeting at John Rave's house and my brother Sam invited me to go there. Sam stood around there waiting for me. He was very low in spirits. He knew of the other invitation I had received and he told me that he would go with me wherever I went. I wanted very badly to go to the place where they had the liquor, and should have done so if Sam had given me the least chance. However, I could not get rid of him, so I decided to go to the peyote meeting. When I arrived there, we found just enough room in the center for myself and Sam. Sam sat at the right of me and John Bear at the left. In front of me there was some peyote infusion, and some peyote ground up and dampened.

As we sat there Sam began to cry and I began to think. I knew why Sam was crying; he wanted me to take some of the peyote. After a while I began to think of my own troubles. But I thought it wasn't the proper way of taking it just because I was in trouble.

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Then I thought of the other peyote eaters, how much they must be wanting me to take it. After a while I spoke to Sam and said, "I am going to eat this medicine, but . . ." Then I began to cry. After a while he tried to get me to say the balance, but I couldn't. I drank some of the solution. As the others saw that I was willing to take it they gave me a big ball of dampened peyote. However, I didn't like that and I asked for some more peyote in the dry state. I sat there asking for more and more peyote. This I kept up all night. When morning came I stopped. Just then Harry Rave got up to speak, and no sooner did he get up than I knew exactly what he was going to say. This must be the way of all peyote eaters, I thought. I looked around me; and suddenly I realized that all those within the room knew my thoughts and that I knew the thoughts of all the others. Harry Rave spoke and finished his speech; but I had known it all before he said a word. Then A. Priest, who was leading the meeting, arose and asked the rest to get up, so that they might turn themselves over to Christ. I also rose; but when I got up I was seized with a choking sensation. I couldn't breathe. I wanted to grab hold of Bear and Sam, but I didn't, thinking that I was going to stand whatever was coming to me. When I made up my mind to that, I felt relieved. Then I knew what the real meaning of turning one's self over to Christ meant.

In the morning they stopped the meeting and everyone seemed happy and glad. I, however, was very serious and wondered why they were all laughing. Every once in a while they would come and talk to me. I wondered why they did it, when they knew what was going on within me. For that reason I wouldn't answer them.

That week there were four meetings, and I went to all of them and ate very much peyote. The fourth meeting was at the usual place, John Rave's house. I sat with Sam as usual. At night I became filled with peyote. All at once I heard a voice saying, "You are the one who is to tell of the medicine dance." And I thought that Sam was speaking to me, so I turned around and looked at him, but he hadn't said a word. Soon I realized that nobody near me had said anything, and I began to think, "Why should it be I? Why not one of the others?" I rather pushed the idea from me; but no sooner had I done so than I began to have a tired and depressed sensation. This passed all over me. I knew that if I got up with the sincere purpose of giving in to the power that was wanting me to speak of the medicine dance I should be relieved. However, for some reason, I know not why, I felt like resisting.

The next morning I asked to be baptized, and said that I would thereafter have nothing more to do with offerings to the spirits;

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159 that I would not give any more feasts; and that I would not have
794 any more to do with the medicine dance. From that day on I
276 quit all my old beliefs. I did not feel like saying all this, for indeed my heart was turned just the other way, but I couldn't help it, for I was filled with the peyote.

From that time on, at every meeting that I attended, I could not rid myself of the idea that I must tell of the medicine dance. At all such times a feeling of heaviness would come over me. There I would be with but one thing on my mind; should I, or should I not, tell of it? I did not want to, and thought of all sorts of excuses that I was not a member of the Nebraska division, etc.

I was in this frame of mind while living with John Walker. There I received word that I would be wanted to tell of the medicine dance. From that moment I could not rest easy. I went to the barn and prayed and wept, asking that God might direct me. I went about but could not sit quiet. My wife stayed around me crying. As I stood there, someone drove up with a white team. Then I thought of all the unhappiness I would cause to members of the medicine lodge if I told the secrets of the medicine dance; and I asked myself if it really would not be a sin to cause so much misery. The man who was driving the white team was John Baptiste, and he told me that I was wanted to tell of the medicine dance. I got ready and entered the buggy. I was still crying and praying. Then it occurred to me that I would like to see John Rave. No sooner had I thought of this than John Rave appeared in the road. I got out and shook hands with him and told him where I was going and for what purpose, and asked him what he thought of the matter. He began to thank me for the work I was going to do and said, "This is what we should try to do, to help one another and to work for our Creator." Then he thanked me again. Perfect happiness now came over me and I went to Sioux City and got married legally. From now on I was entirely filled with the desire to tell all that I knew about the medicine dance. "This must be the work assigned to me by the Creator," I thought; and yet I have rejected the idea all the time.

On Paul's last trip, although I had not finished the translation, I didn't care to have any more to do with it, and said that somebody else should finish the work, my excuse being that I was busy. So, as soon as I heard that Paul had come, I packed up and hurried out west as quickly as possible, for I knew that he would bother the life out of me if he found me. However, no sooner had I reached the home of my friend than I was seized with an attack of rheumatism, with which I had never been afflicted before, and the next morning Paul appeared with a wagon to take me back to Winnebago. Now I know that the telling and the translation of the medicine dance is my mission in life, and I am willing to tell all to the full extent of my knowledge.

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JESSE CLAY'S ACCOUNT OF THE ARAPAHO MANNER OF GIVING THE PEYOTE CEREMONY WHICH HE INTRODUCED AMONG THE WINNEBAGO IN 1912

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I went to Oklahoma once as the guest of an Arapaho Indian. While there I witnessed the Arapaho manner of holding a peyote meeting and was very much impressed with it. A year later this Arapaho came to visit me in Winnebago, and while he was with us a few of my friends urged me to hold the peyote ceremony according to the Arapaho method. I held several meetings at which my Arapaho friend led.

Now these are the instructions that Arapaho Bull gave me.

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The person giving the ceremony must get up at sunrise so that he can tell exactly where the sun is going to rise. He must place a stick and make the drawing of a cross on the earth just in that direction from which the sun is about to rise. He does this in order to get the correct location for the tipi and the fireplace. Then he marks a circle around the cross. Then he makes a diagonal mark through the center of the circle, thus making the circle resemble a star. The circle is the outline of the tipi. Then another diagonal mark is made so that the drawing resembles, to their minds, a peyote. A fireplace which resembles a half-moon is placed right in the center of the lodge. After that the tipi poles are raised, 12 in number. Finally the whole is inclosed in canvas. When finished it is supposed to represent the earth. It is then ready to be entered. Special preparations are made for entering. The drummer with his drum and the leader and those behind him with all their regalia march up to the door. Before these enter, however, an attendant, called the fireman, spreads sage all over the lodge, from the seat of the leader to the door and back again. Then he starts a fire, always placing the left fire sticks first. When they are all thus lined up outside of the door the leader offers a prayer.

"May the Creator be with us when we enter this lodge."

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The leader now enters and, proceeding along the left side of the lodge, marches to his seat, and there he stands with his drum until the lodge is filled. After all have entered they sit down. Then the fireman who sits to the right rekindles the fire. The leader now spreads out his articles—a gourd, a drumstick, a staff, and the feathers. He then takes 12 sage leaves and lays them out in the form of a star, first making a cross-shaped object and then filling this into the desired form. On top he places the peyote, and, leaning against that, he places a flute made of an eagle bone, the mouth of the flute resting against the peyote. Then he puts an otter-skin cap at the foot of the flute. After a while the leader takes the peyote he is going to use in one hand and some cedar needles in the other,

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794 and, going to his seat, where all the other objects are spread out, he
796 sits down and prays. He prays that all the participants may be
276 strengthened by the prospective meeting. He offers up thanks for
177 the peyote and prays that all may be in the proper spirit that night. Then he throws the needles in the fire and holds the peyote over the smoke of the cedar. When this has been finished he returns to his seat, eats one peyote, and gives one to the drummer. After they have eaten these he passes four peyote in turn to those on his left until the peyote comes to the one sitting nearest the door. Four peyote are given to the one nearest the door that he, in turn, may pass them to those on the other side of the door and so on until the leader is reached again. Before the peyote is eaten, the leader gets up and talks. He instructs the people as to the nature of the meeting and tells them that those who wish to go out must do so after the midnight water is drunk and not until after the leader returns from outside. No one is to go out while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote. He then speaks of the special prayers that are to be offered up and asks them to offer general prayers for all nonmembers and even for their enemies. After that the leader again offers up a prayer and smokes all the objects he had spread before his seat. Then the songs are to start, all, however, first eating peyote.

(When the fire first starts and thereafter, throughout the night, it is supposed to represent light, just as God said, "Let there be light.")

[533] The first song is always the same and is called the starting song. Those that follow are peyote songs. When he has finished these songs he passes the singing staff to the right of the drummer. When this one has finished the staff is returned to the leader, who passes it on to the left, and then in rotation it goes to the one sitting near the door. The drum, when it is handed on, is always passed under the staff. The fire is always replenished, but toward midnight special care is taken in this regard and the coals are placed in the shape of a crescent between the fire and the earth crescent, and the fireman sweeps first around the left and then around the right side. Then exactly at midnight the leader calls for his singing staff and his drum, no matter where they happen to be, and, taking the singing

[533] staff and sending the drum to the drummer, he blows his flute and sings. The song he sings then is called the midnight song. After that three peyote songs are sung, it making no difference which they are. As the leader starts his midnight song the fireman takes up his position at the doorway opposite the fireplace and the leader. When the second song is started the fireman turns around to the right and goes out and gets water and soon comes back with it. When he reenters he makes the figure of a cross on the ground where

[788] he stood just before he left and places water on it. Then he squats down on his knees.

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When the leader stops singing he walks to the crescent by the fireplace and begins praying again. After the prayer he burns some more cedar needles. The reason for drinking water at midnight is because Christ was born at midnight and because of the good tidings that he brought to the earth, for water is one of the best things in life and Christ is the savior of mankind. After the leader has made his prayer and the cedar is burned, then the fireman reaches over toward the smoke and makes a motion with his body as if he were drawing the smoke over himself. He then takes the water and brings it over to the leader. The leader takes a bunch of feathers and, dipping it into the water, sprinkles it on the peyote, then on the fire, on the sage, and finally all over the lodge, beginning with the doorway and then going around. The water is then drunk in a regular order, first by the leader, then by the drummer, and then by all the other people. After all these things have been done the leader returns the staff to the man from whom he had taken it at midnight. As soon as this man starts the singing again the leader takes his flute and goes outside. He goes toward the east for a short distance, and there he sits down and offers up a prayer for the people. Then he blows his flute, and going to the south of the lodge repeats the same procedure. This is also repeated for the west and the north. When the singing within the lodge has stopped, he returns and takes his seat. 794 796 177

The purpose of going to the four directions and blowing the flute is to announce the birth of Christ to all the world.

After the leader has reentered the singing continues as before. At daybreak the fireman fixes the fire in the same way as at midnight. The staff, drum, etc., is now passed to the leader, who as soon as he has received everything takes his flute and blows on it. Before doing this, however, he puts on his otter-skin cap. The purpose of blowing the flute just at that time is to represent the trumpet of the Day of Judgment, when Christ will appear wearing His crown in all glory. The putting on of the otter-skin cap represents the crown.

The song used on this occasion is called the water song. After the first song is finished the fireman opens the door and a woman enters carrying water, which she pours over the cross which the fireman had sprinkled at midnight. The fireman then spreads something for her to sit on, between the water and the door. [533]

When the leader has finished his four songs, he lays down his staff, etc., and, taking some cedar needles, offers up a prayer of thanks, and as he finishes he throws the cedar into the fire and sits down while the woman gathers the smoke toward her in the same way as the fireman had done on the previous night. Then the leader takes a drinking cup and sends it toward the woman. The

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794 fireman now rises and pours water on the impressions he had made
796 when drawing the cross on the earth, and the woman drinks some
177 water from the cup, which she then returns to the leader. The water is then returned to her and she passes it around the lodge, beginning at the left. When it reaches the leader again, he takes out the same cup which he had handed to the woman and drinks out of it. The water, however, is passed on until it reaches the door. The fireman would then take it and bring it back to where it had been placed when first brought in. The woman rises and goes around the fireplace from left to right, taking the water with her. Finally the leader takes his singing staff and sings four songs. When these songs are finished, the woman places some food just outside the door. The fireman goes outside and brings in this food, placing it in a line between the fire and the door. Four things are brought in—water,
[262] corn with sweetened water, fruit, and meat. When the food is brought in the leader puts away all the objects he had spread out before him, which the fireman takes out of the lodge. The leader then offers up a prayer of thanks and says grace. The four kinds of food are passed around the lodge, beginning with the entrance, from left to right. After they are returned they are placed in line again, only in the reverse order from that used before. The fireman then takes them outside. While the people are eating the door remains open.

(During the evening the leader represents the first created man, the woman dressed up is the New Jerusalem, the bride waiting for the bridegroom. The cup used by the leader and the woman is supposed to symbolize the fact that they are to become one; the water represents the God's gift, His Holiness. The corn represents the feast to be partaken of on the Day of Judgment and the fruit represents the fruit of the tree of life. The meat represents the message of Christ and those who accept it will be saved.)[4]

794 The above descriptions represent the Peyote cult as it was given between 1908 and 1913. It is quite clear that a definite organization exists consisting of a unit of five positions occupied by the leader and four helpers. No specific requirements, with the exception, of course, of that of being a peyote eater, are associated with the right to occupy these positions.

No specialized features have become associated with the positions of the four helpers. As indicated before, John Rave is always the leader when he is present, but the position of leadership can be delegated to others. This is always of a temporary nature. It may be significant to note that whenever delegated the leadership is always delegated to men who have been among the first of the converts outside of Rave's immediate family, and who were leaders in the old

[4] J. C. Sweezy made here.

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pagan ceremonies. In 1910 this delegation of leadership was clearly 794
a recent tendency, conditioned, on the one hand, by the size of the
reservation and the impossibility of Rave's being everywhere, and, on 794
the other hand, by Rave's frequent absence on proselytizing missions.
In 1913 it had already become customary for a number of men to 178
hold the position of leader even when Rave was present. A further
complication was introduced when Jesse Clay began giving the peyote
ceremonies in the Arapaho manner, for he then stood in the same
relation to his method of giving the ceremony as Rave stood to the
older form. As we shall see, there was, even in 1908, a separatist
movement led by Albert Hensley, which, if it had succeeded, would
have given Hensley the same leadership that Rave enjoyed before
him and that Clay subsequently acquired.

## Development of the Ritualistic Complex

From the accounts given by various members of the Peyote cult it 794
is quite clear that Rave became interested in the peyote on one of 159
his many trips to Oklahoma. According to the verbal account he
gave, which differs in some respects from the account he subsequently
dictated on the particular visit which resulted in his first eating the
peyote, he was in a most distressed and unhappy condition of mind
owing to the loss of his wife and children.[8] He went away from
Winnebago with the intention of staying away as long as possible from
the scene of his loss.

Rave's account of his conversion gives a sufficiently dramatic picture of how he first ate the peyote and its immediate effects. In response to numerous questions as to how he was first induced to eat the peyote he always said that it was because he had been so frequently asked. It is, however, far more likely that he was passing through an emotional crisis at that particular time, and the requests that he partake of it and the inducements held out to him, made it easier for him to succumb then than on his previous visits.

To judge from Rave's remarks, his first belief in the peyote had nothing of the nature of a conversion to a new religion. It seems to have been similar to the average Winnebago attitude toward a medicinal plant obtained either as a gift or through purchase. There is only one new note—stimulation by a narcotic.

Rave states that the peyote cured him of a disease with which he had been afflicted for a long time. After repeated requests his wife also consents to being treated; so he paints her face and, taking the rattle, sings peyote songs while she eats the peyote. His attitude

[8] In the account Rave himself gives he speaks of seeing his wife and children. As his verbal statement was corroborated by other people, we are inclined to believe that in his dictated account of his conversion he had forgotten the actual state of affairs. It may, of course, be that in his ardent desire to show the marvelous effects of the peyote he permitted his memory to play him false.

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794 throughout, both from his own testimony and from that of others,
159 seems to have been practically the attitude of the Winnebago shaman. He even offered tobacco to the peyote.

We have, then, at the beginning the introduction of apparently only one new element—the peyote, with possibly a few Christian
[177] teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned there was hardly anything new at all. This view does not, of course, interfere in the least with the fact that to the Winnebago themselves the presence of the peyote represented the introduction of a new element.

The elaboration of the peyote practices at Rave's hands is the most difficult problem to trace on account of the lack of data. In the account that he gives of his conversion there is no evidence whatsoever of any antagonistic attitude toward the old Winnebago manner of living. When the author met him, however, for the first time, in 1908, this passive attitude had changed to one of violent hatred for the old Winnebago customs. Why and under what circumstances
[182] this change took place we do not know. It probably represented the interaction of many elements, the hostility of the tribe, the drawing of issues sharply around certain points, and the gradual
[192] assumption on the part of Rave of the rôle of a prophet who had solved the problem of the adjustment of the Winnebago to the surrounding white civilization. Offhand, one might be inclined to believe that Rave's insistence upon breaking with the past was due entirely to the influence of the Christian elements incorporated in his new religion. It is, however, extremely doubtful whether such an assumption is necessary. There seem to have been comparatively
[177] few Christian elements in the religion before Albert Hensley's influence had made itself felt, yet many of the old war bundles had been destroyed long before that time, and the peyote eaters were looked upon with cordial dislike by the conservative members of the tribe. The admonition that only a complete break with the past could save the Winnebagoes and enable them to compete successfully with the white intruders had been given to the Winnebagoes once before by the famous Shawnee prophet. What the latter claimed, however, was that the various sacred objects used by the Winnebago had lost their power, and that that power must now be renewed. This he
[182] thought could only be done by returning to the old manner of living which he claimed the Winnebago were no longer following. Such a claim was, after all, not revolutionary. It is not, therefore, the break with the Winnebago present-day viewpoint that characterizes Rave's attitude, but the fact that instead of returning to the older, purer

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life as the Shawnee prophet proposed to do, he substituted an alien 794 159
religion. It was because he was introducing an alien religion, not
because he was introducing a new religion, that he was so intensely [177
hated by the conservative members of the tribe. 156]

When this hostility was at its height a new convert, Albert Hensley,
revolutionized the entire cult by introducing the reading of the Bible, 794
postulating the dogma that the peyote opened the Bible to the under- 177
standing of the people, and also adding a number of Christian prac- 159
tices. He, like Rave, had been in Oklahoma. He brought back with him many peyote songs, generally in other languages, dealing with Christian ideas, upon which subsequently Winnebago songs were modeled. He also introduced either baptism itself or an interpretation of baptism, and induced Rave to attempt a union with the Christian Church. He seems to have been the only prominent man connected with the peyote who was subject to epileptic fits. He had [158]
the most glorious visions of heaven and hell while in his trance, and these he expounded afterwards in terms of Revelation and the mystical portions of the New Testament. Hensley's additions represent a second stratum of borrowed elements, all of which are in the nature of accretions as far as the peyote itself is concerned. The Bible is explained in terms of the peyote. Neither Hensley nor his followers ever interpreted the peyote in terms of the Bible, although other elements of the old Winnebago culture were so interpreted. These elements, however, represented features that even in the old Winnebago cults exhibited a great variability in interpretation.

Rave's attitude toward the innovations of Hensley seems to have been that of a benevolent acquiescence. He himself could neither read nor write. Yet he immediately accepted the Bible and added it to his other regalia. As such it always seems to have remained. To Rave, after all, the peyote was the principal element, and if Hensley chose to insist that the Bible was only intelligible to those who partook of the peyote why that naturally fell within its magical powers. From the entire omission in Rave's account of the Peyote cult of the more important things that Hensley introduced and from the fact that whenever Hensley's influence was not dominant there seems to have been little Bible reading, it seems justifiable to say that Rave's attitude toward these innovations was merely passive.

There never was any rivalry between Rave and Hensley. The 578
latter was, however, a much younger man, quick-tempered, con- [157]
ceited, dogmatic, and withal having a strong mixture of Puritan 794
Protestant ideas. A conflict developed after a while and in a very
interesting manner. Rave had allowed a man with an extremely 159
bad reputation, who had been admitted as a member of the Peyote cult, to occupy one of the four positions. Hensley violently pro-

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578 tested, on the ground that a man of X.'s character could not properly
794 perform the rites associated with that position. Rave, however,
159 retorted that the efficacy of the peyote, of any position connected with its cult, was in no way connected with the character of the performer, and that it was inherent in the peyote and in the Peyote ritual. Thereupon, after much parleying to and fro, Hensley formally seceded, taking with him a number of followers. The bulk of the peyote eaters, however, remained with Rave, and within a comparatively short time a number of Hensley's followers returned to Rave, so that in 1911 Hensley had merely a handful of people. Since then he has ceased to be a force, although his innovations have been retained by a number of the younger Peyote members, especially by those who read English.

In 1911 there was no unification of the ideas of Rave and Hensley. Since then, strange to say, although Hensley's attempt to set up his
[177] own religion failed utterly, his ideas and Christain innovations seemed to have triumphed completely. This, however, has gone hand in hand with a marked dropping off of enthusiasm. It appears now as
[178] if the Peyote cult has run its course. Some of the members have recently returned to the old pagan customs, others have practically become Christians, and many have become indifferent.

794 Unquestionably the most interesting of recent innovations is that
177 introduced by Jesse Clay, the account of which has been given be-
159 fore. This is, of course, the Arapaho manner of conducting the ceremony. At the present time it has none of the characteristics of the Winnebago ceremonial. Whether in the next few years it will develop any depends upon the interest manifested in it by the Peyote worshipers and upon the vitality of the Peyote movement in general.

It is extremely suggestive to compare what Rave introduced with the ceremony borrowed by Clay. The former introduced an isolated element, the peyote and its worship, and clothed it almost immediately in characteristic Winnebago forms. It can truly be said that although the peyote is an alien element, from the Winnebago viewpoint, everything else in the ceremony is and was from the beginning typically Winnebago. Clay's method of conducting the Peyote ceremonies, on the other hand, is entirely alien. For it ever to become popular with the large mass of Winnebago it will have to become thoroughly assimilated with the Winnebago background.

## Dissemination of the Doctrine

Let us now see how the ideas of Rave and Hensley were transmitted in the tribe itself, who the first and the later converts were, in what the nature of their conversion consisted, and what they, in turn, brought to the new cult.

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The first and foremost virtue predicated by Rave for the peyote was its curative power. He gives a number of instances in which hopeless venereal diseases and consumption were cured by its use; and this was the first thing one heard about it as late as 1913. In the early days of the Peyote cult it appears that Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote. The main point apparently was to induce people to try it. No amount of preaching of its direct effects, such as the hyperstimulation induced, the glorious visions, and the feeling of relaxation following, would ever have induced prominent members of the old Winnebago religious societies to try it. For that reason it is highly significant that all the old members of the Peyote cult speak of the diseases of which it cured them. Along this line lay unquestionably its appeal for the most converts. Its subsequent spread was due to a large number of interacting factors. One informant claims that there was little religion connected with it at first, and that the people drank the peyote on account of its peculiar effects. 794 159 755 276

The manner in which it spread at the beginning was simple and significant viz, along family lines. As soon as an individual had become a peyote eater he devoted all his energies to converting other members of his family. From instances that have come to our notice this lay in an insistent appeal to family ties and personal affection. A man showed unusual courtesy, showered innumerable favors upon relatives he was anxious to convert, and thereby earned the gratitude of the recipient, who at some critical moment, let us say, such as illness or mental depression, showed it by partaking of the peyote. The same methods were employed in the more general propaganda. The author knows of Peyote people who drove many miles in order to be present at the bedside of some old conservative who was ill, perhaps neglected by his relatives; bring him food, and spend the night with him in the most affectionate solicitude. They always had sufficient tact and understanding of human nature not to obtrude their purpose on the sick man too much. To the casual observer their object seemed simply that of a Samaritan. They would hardly have admitted that behind all their solicitude lay the desire to obtain a new convert. They would have claimed that their only purpose, over and above their sincere desire to comfort the sick man, was to demonstrate to their fellow Winnebago what changes the peyote had wrought in them. In this way the patient drew the inference, an inference that was likely to be drawn all the more quickly and forcibly when he contrasted the behavior of these Peyote nurses with that of his pagan relatives. The author was fortunate enough to obtain a fairly complete account of a conversion, illustrating both these features. 794 159 593 276

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## What the Converts Introduced

794 177 It is quite impossible to establish now what these converts introduced individually. For that matter it is not necessary to assume that they brought any specific additions to the cult. What they did bring were Winnebago; and with that, the emotional and cultural setting of the old pagan background. To one, the eating of the peyote gave the same magical powers that were formerly associated with membership in the medicine dance; to another, the visions were direct blessings from God, directing him to perform certain actions; to a third, faithfulness to the teachings of the Peyote cult became associated with a certainty of reaching God, of being able to take the right road in the journey to the spirit land. Even a man so thoroughly saturated with Christian doctrines as Hensley himself felt it necessary to introduce an origin myth; and although we know that he borrowed it from a southern tribe, it is quite clear that in Hensley's narrative it has already assumed all the characteristics of a Winnebago fasting experience and ritualistic myth, similar to those connected with the founders of the old Winnebago cult societies. In its totality the atmosphere of the Peyote cult became thus charged with the old Winnebago background. In 1911 it can not be said that they had displaced the distinctive Christian elements. Among the younger members, especially those who had been trained in the east and could read and write English, the influence of the Christian ideas in the interpretation of the old pagan features is, as was pointed out before, so strong to-day that it threatens to displace the others.

The following homily will show how the old myths were used by the younger Peyote members to point a tale.

794 773 The old people often spoke of the Trickster, but we never knew what they meant. They told us how he wrapped a coon-skin blanket around himself and went to a place where all the people were dancing. There he danced until evening and then he stopped and turned around. No one was to be seen anywhere, and then he realized that he had mistaken for people dancing the noise made by the wind blowing through the reeds.

[381 829] So do we Winnebagoes act. We dance and make a lot of noise, but in the end, we accomplish nothing.

Once, as the Trickster was going toward a creek, he saw a man standing on the other side, dressed in a black suit, and pointing his finger at him. He spoke to the man but the latter would not answer. Then he spoke again and again, but without receiving any reply. Finally he got angry and said, "See here! I can do that too." He put on the black coat and pointed his finger across the creek. Thus both of them stood all day. Toward evening, when he looked around again, he noticed that the man across the creek, pointing his finger at him, was really just a tree stump. "O my! what have I been doing all

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this time! Why did I not look before I began! No wonder the 794
people call me the Foolish One." 773

So are we Winnebagoes. We never look before we act. We do everything without thinking. We think we know all about it.

The Trickster was walking around with a pack on his back. As he walked along, someone called to him. "Say, we want you to sing." "All right," said he. "I am carrying songs in my pack, and if you wish to dance, build a large lodge for me with a small hole at the end for an entrance." When it was finished, they all went in, and the Trickster followed them. Those who had spoken to him were birds. He told them that while dancing they were not to open their eyes, for if they did their eyes would become red. Whenever a fat bird passed the Trickster he would choke it to death, and if it cried out, he would say, "That's it! That's it! Give a whoop!"

After a while one of the birds got somewhat suspicious and opened its eyes just the least little bit. He saw that the Trickster was choking all the birds. "He is killing us all," said the bird. "Let all who can run for their lives." Then he flew out through the top of the house. The Trickster took the birds he had killed and roasted them; but he did not get a chance to eat them, for they were taken away from him by somebody.

So are we Winnebagoes. We like all that is forbidden. We say that we like the medicine dance; we say that it is good and yet we keep it secret and forbid people to witness it. We tell members of the dance not to speak about it until the world shall come to an end. They are afraid to speak of it. We, the Winnebago, are the birds, and the Trickster is satan.

Once, as the Trickster was going along the road, some one spoke to him. He listened, and he heard it say, "If anyone eats me all bad things will come out of him." Then the trickster went up to the one talking, and said, "What is your name?" "My name is 'Blows-himself-away.'" The Trickster would not believe it; so he ate it. After a while, he blew himself away. He laughed. "Oh, pshaw! I suppose this is what it meant." As he went along it grew worse and worse, and it was only after the greatest hardship that he succeeded in returning home.

So are we Winnebagoes. We travel on this earth all our lives, and then when one of us tastes something that makes him unconscious we look upon this thing with suspicion when he regains consciousness.

### The Attitude of the Conservatives

At every phase of the cult's development Rave had to contend with 794
the hostility of the conservative members of the tribe. It would be 578
interesting to know in what manner and degree this hostility mani-

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794 578 fested itself upon the first introduction of the peyote. As we have seen, there was in the beginning little difference between the beliefs relating to the peyote and those connected with the old Winnebago medicinal plants. Nevertheless the author was assured that hostility was exhibited to the new cult from the very start. Would the same hostility have been exhibited had this new feature represented some development from within the tribe? In other words, what it would be interesting to know, is whether the fact that the peyote was derived from without led to a hostility different in kind from that exhibited toward an innovation developing within the culture itself. No evidence could be obtained that would justify us in explaining the hostility felt by the older conservative Winnebago as due in any part to the fact that it was alien in origin. Certain elements that to-day form an integral part of the most popular of all Winnebago cere-
[177] monies were borrowed from the Sauk and Iowa, and the Winnebago realize this and mention it in the introductory myths told in connection with the preparatory rites of the medicine dance. The explanation obtained was always the same—that the hostility was due to the fact that the teachings of the Peyote people departed from those of their ancestors and that the Peyote were simply aping the habits and customs of the whites. What seems to have met with the greatest
[175 177] opposition from the older shamans was the denial of the doctrine of reincarnation. The Christian doctrine of the immortality of the soul does not seem to have been felt as a substitute at all. One old conservative assured the author that he had long ago prophesied the appearance of the peyote among the Winnebago. He told the author the following:

[176] "This medicine is one of the four spirits from below, and for that reason it is a bad thing. These spirits have always longed for human beings and now they are getting hold of them. Those who use this medicine claim that when they die they will only be going on a long journey. But that is not the truth, for when they eat peyote they
[175] destroy their spirits, and death to them will mean extermination. If I spit upon the floor, the sputum will soon dry up and nothing will remain of it. So death will be for them. I might go out and preach against this doctrine, but it would be of no avail, for I certainly would not be able to draw more than one or two people away from this spirit. Many will be taken in by this medicine; they will not be able to help themselves in any way. The bad spirit will certainly seize them."

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# CHAPTER XVII

## THE CLAN WAR-BUNDLE FEASTS

### The War-Bundle Feast of the Thunderbird Clan[1]

(First version)

#### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The Wagigō', Winter Feast, or War-bundle Feast, as it is generally called, is one of the principal ceremonies of the Winnebago. It is to a certain extent a clan ceremonial, for the clan is the basis of its organization, but apart from that fact, it has really nothing to do with the specific clan feasts held once a year. A perusal of the following sketch will show clearly that we are in reality dealing with a ceremony primarily connected with success in war and that its distinctive peculiarity among the Winnebago is that it has developed into a general ceremony of thanksgiving to the spirits and developed an organization based on the clan unit. As a result of the latter fact, we find 12 war rituals all essentially the same in content and differing only in details and in the fact that the host in each of the 12 performances belongs to a different clan. The specific differences in each performance are, first, the content of the war bundle; second, the origin myths of the feast and of the songs associated with each bundle; third, the songs

796 [614]

[1] Phonetic table.—All the consonants have the same value as those in English with the following exceptions:

c is pronounced like sh in *English*.
j has the sound of z in *azure*.
ȟ has the sound of ch in *church*.
dj has the sound of j in *judge*.
x has the sound of ch in German *Buch*.
γ is the sonant of x.
r is a slightly trilled lingua-apical r.
ŋ has the sound of ng in *sing*.
ŋ always represents r preceded by a nasalized vowel.
' is a marked sound.
b and g are intermediate stops, except in certain positions, where they become true sonants.
' is the glottal stop.
Consonants followed by ' represent aspirated stops.
The vowels have the following values:
ä has the sound of ea in *ought*.
a is the short continental a.
ā is long a.
e is short open ea in *pen*.
ē is short and close but not as close as the French é in *fête*.
ē is long close e.
ē is broad impure, as in an accentuated pronunciation of ei in *eight*.
i is short and open as in *ite*.
ī is short and close.
ī is long and close.
o is short and open.
ō is short and close.
ō is long and close.
ö is long and open.
u is short and open.
ū is short and close.
ū is long and close.
ü is obscure u.
ü is obscure o.
' denotes nasalization.
' denotes primary circumflex accent.
' denotes secondary circumflex accent.

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X 796 themselves; and, lastly, the order in which the guests are invited (pls. 56, 57, 58).

X 796 121 It follows from the above remarks that in order to get a really complete account of the entire ceremony information should be obtained from each clan. The account given by any one clan will only contain the origin myth and the songs belonging to the war bundle of that clan, for although it is part of the ceremony to relate the origin myths of the various war bundles and sing the specific songs connected with them, no individual would take it upon himself to tell any but those relating to the war bundle of his own clan. Thus it will be seen that any single account is defective in some rather important particulars.

## ANALYTICAL PRESENTATION OF THE CEREMONY

X 796 The ceremony falls into three well-defined parts: I, the Sweat Lodge; II, the First Division, generally known either as the Feast in honor of Earthmaker or the Feast in honor of the Thunderbirds; and III, the Second Division, known as the Feast in honor of the Night Spirits.

[782] There is little to be said about the Sweat Lodge, for it consists exclusively of offerings of tobacco and prayers to the spirits, on the part of the one giving the ceremony, whom we will call the host.

The first division can be divided into the following component elements: (1) The preparation of the buckskins; (2) the dog sacrifice; (3) the filling of the ceremonial pipe and the smoking ritual; (4) the tobacco offering to the spirits; (5) the buckskin offerings to the spirits; (6) the feast; (7) the fast-eating contest; and (8) the basic ritual.

The second division can be divided into the following component elements: (4) The tobacco offering to the spirits; (9) the throwing out of the buckskins; (6) the feast; (10) the episode of the "Night-crazed" warrior; (11) the terminal dog ritual; and (8) the basic ritual.

[887] (1) *The preparation of the buckskins.*—The buckskins, made as white as possible by old women, are taken into the lodge by the host and there marked in the manner prescribed for each spirit. They are then tied to a framework and rolled to the top of this frame.

[782 825] (2) *The dog sacrifice.*—The dog is strangled and a pouch of tobacco is tied to each limb, and another pouch and red feathers are tied around his neck. The body is then laid in front of the war bundle, facing south, this being the direction in which Disease-giver, the spirit to whom the dog is specially sacrificed, lives. [776]

Before strangling, a short speech is addressed to the dog in which the slayer apologizes for killing him, and assures him that in the

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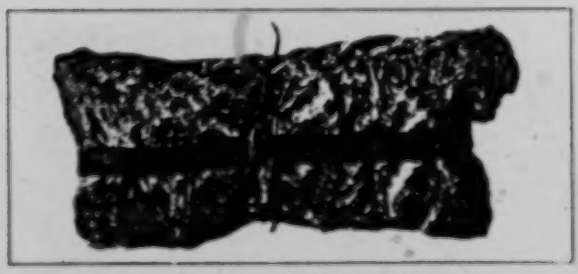
A THUNDERBIRD WAR BUNDLE



B HAWK WAR BUNDLE

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CONTENTS OF THUNDERBIRD WAR BUNDLE

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CONTENTS OF HAWK WAR BUNDLE

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place to which he is going he will live far more happily than here among men. 776x

(3) *Filling of the ceremonial pipe and the smoking ritual.*—Before the basic ritual of the first division is begun the attendants take some tobacco and, filling the ceremonial pipe, place it near the war bundle. As the first pipeful is intended for Earthmaker, the stem is directed vertically. Then as soon as the appropriate songs have been sung the attendant lights the pipe and passes it around the lodge, so that all the men may smoke. When the pipe returns to the host it is again filled. 796x 782 [276 782]

This procedure is repeated three more times, but as in each case the offering is to a different spirit, the arrangement of the pipestem is different. At the second filling of the pipe the stem is turned to the west for the Thunderbirds; at the third, it is turned to the south for Disease-giver; and at the fourth, it is turned toward the earth for the earth and the spirits that live under the earth. [782] [776]

(4) *Tobacco offerings to the spirits.*—This occurs in two forms, (*a*) and (*b*).

(*a*) When the buckskins have been prepared and rolled up on the frameworks, then all those participating march around the lodge to the place where the war bundle is lying and pour tobacco upon it. Then they offer tobacco to all the spirits worshiped. The spirits mentioned specifically are, however, few in number, the offerings being really directed to the six cardinal points, east, north, west, south, above, and below. [823]

(*b*) This is a more specific offering and all the spirits are mentioned by name and short addresses are made to them. It is repeated three times once in the Sweat-Lodge ritual, then in the first, and lastly in the second division

In the Sweat-Lodge ritual the offering of tobacco is made to the following spirits: Earthmaker, Thunderbirds, Great Black Hawk, Night Spirits, Disease-giver, Sun, Moon, South Wind, and Eagle. 796x 776 782

In the first division the order is different and more spirits are sacrificed to. The spirits to whom tobacco is offered are the following: Earthmaker, Thunderbirds, Night Spirits, Disease-giver, Sun, Earth, Moon, Eagle Chief, Day, South Wind, North Wind, Black Hawk, Wonavi're Ūankcik, and Great Black Hawk.

In the second division the following spirits receive tobacco offerings: Night Spirits, Earth, Water, Pigeon Hawk, Moon, Earthmaker, Thunderbird, Great Black Hawk, Disease-giver, South Wind, and Sun.

Each spirit is addressed by name and then a handful of tobacco is poured into the fire.

(5) *The buckskin offering to the spirits.*—Short prayers are addressed to those spirits who are to receive buckskins and requests for power

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x796 are made to them. Only the following spirits receive buckskins:
[782 Thunderbird, Night Spirits, Disease-giver, South Wind, Sun, Earth-
776] maker, Moon, Morning Star, Earth, and Water.

(6) *The feasts.*—There are two feasts, the one in the first division of the ceremony being generally known as the Thunderbird and that in the second division as the Night Spirit feast.

The guests are always divided into two divisions, the owners of war bundles and their male followers, and the women. The former, [554] who are always warriors of repute, get the choice pieces of the deer, i. e., the heads, and the rest get the other pieces generally referred to as "the common pieces." The heads are eaten after those eating the common pieces have finished.

The host never eats at the feast he gives, but while the others are eating he plays on his reed flute.

(7) *The fast-eating contest.*—Before the heads are eaten two men [764] belonging to the upper phratry and two belonging to the lower (i. e., generally two members of the Thunderbird clan and two members of the Bear clan) are selected to take part in the fast-eating contest. This consists of consuming an equal amount of food. The one who finishes first is considered the greater warrior. Both contestants start at a given signal and continue the contest to the accompaniment of songs sung by the other guests.

When a member of the upper phratry gives the ceremony his side always wins, and vice versa.

(8) *The basic ritual.*—After the buckskin ritual has been finished the host begins what is unquestionably the fundamental part of the ceremony, which I have called the "basic ritual." It consists of four speeches, each speech followed by a different set of songs. The first speech is followed by a set of war-bundle songs; the second by a paint set; the third by a Disease-giver set; and the last by a Night Spirit set. The last speech also contains a fasting experience of the first owner of the war bundle. When he is finished, the general feast and the fast-eating contest take place, and the basic ritual is for the time interrupted. It is continued as soon as these are finished, but not in the same manner as performed by the host. Instead of four speeches there is only one. As soon as one guest finishes speaking the other begins, and so on until all have finished.[1]

In the second division of the ceremony the basic ritual is performed in a slightly different manner. In the first place there seem to be two parts to it, the first one quite different from the basic ritual as given in the first division, and the second identical with it except that instead of seven there are only four guests called upon to speak.

In the first part of the basic ritual, as given here, the host delivers three speeches. After the first one a set of Night Spirit songs are

[1] Additional information on the Winter Feasts might lead me to an alteration of this last statement. In addition to the present, three more accounts of Winter Feasts were received.

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sung; after the second one a dance song is sung and all the guests who so desire dance around the war bundle; after the third one the host passes the drum and other paraphernalia to the guest who is in charge of the buckskin destined for Earthmaker. This guest repeats the ritual in exactly the same manner as the host has done and then passes the drum, etc., to the second guest, and when the time comes he passes the drum, *etc.*, to the third guest. Then the ritual of the throwing out of the buckskins intervenes, and after that the feast of the Night Spirits and the rite of those who have been crazed by the Night Spirits. Then, when these are finished, the basic ritual is continued. The continuation is, however, quite different from the first part and is identical with the basic ritual as given in the first part of the ceremony. 796x

(9) *The throwing out of the buckskins.*—A warrior of great reputation is selected to begin the rites preparatory to the throwing out of the buckskins. One who has been blessed by the Night Spirits is preferably selected. He delivers a speech, and when he is finished the guests sing songs called "terminal Night Spirit" songs. Then the host prepares to sing a dance song, but before that he delivers a speech. Then, as the oldest men present sing, the host and the guests impersonating the spirits to whom tobacco is sacrificed take the buckskins and make the circuit of the lodge four times. An attendant precedes and another follows the procession, scattering incense consisting of branches of the arbor vitæ. Just before the fourth circuit is begun all the children smoke their hands and then touch the buckskin dedicated to Earthmaker. After the fourth circuit has been completed the buckskins are unrolled and thrown out through the top of the lodge, where the spirits are supposed to come and take them. After this, all holding tobacco in their hands walk to the fireplace and throw it in. Then, as a conclusion, all, even the women, rise in their respective seats and dance. [554 776] [857]

(10) *The episode of those who have been crazed by the Night Spirits.*—This is plainly an intrusive feature and does not take place at every performance of the ceremony. An individual who has brought himself to a state of religious frenzy strips himself entirely and behaves generally like one bereft of his senses. He sticks his hands into the boiling soup and makes a wild rush for the pot where the heads are being cooked and tries to bite them. It is believed that whoever gets the first bite will, at some future time, obtain a war honor. Then he takes the pipe placed in the center of the lodge, smokes it, and relates some war exploits. He then tells the assembled guests that in his trance he communicated with the spirits, and they told him that they had accepted all the offerings made.[1] 796x 786 [787]

[1] There can be no doubt that we are dealing with an extremely specialized and interesting behavior, that in other tribes, and for that matter among the Winnebago themselves in other ceremonies, has an entirely different connotation.

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X796 (11) *Terminal dog ritual.*—This consists simply of a speech by the host to the assembled guests, telling them that the dog is to be sent to Disease-giver as an offering, and that he will pray to Disease-giver to preserve them from disease.

ANALYSIS OF TYPES OF ACTION AND SPEECHES

*Circuit of the lodge.*—This is always made in a direction contrary to that of the hands of a clock. The reason given for this method is [776] that it is supposed to represent the journey of the Night Spirits around the earth.

*Method of greeting.*—This is the same as that which exists in all Winnebago ceremonies and is accurately described in my article on the Winnebago Medicine dance.[8]

X796 537 *Types of speeches.*—This subject is of great importance because, while it is true that a certain freedom is allowed in the method of delivery and the choice of words, on the other hand, their content and to a large extent their symbolism and imagery are stereotyped. The speeches might perhaps best be divided into the following groups:

(*a*) *General addresses.*—These are generally delivered by the host to his guests and always contain expressions of gratitude for the kindness shown by the guests in condescending to accept his invitation.

(*b*) *Speeches of thankfulness.*—These are generally delivered by the guests and always contain complimentary references to the zealousness of the host in attending to his religious duties, expressions of gratitude for the invitation extended to them, and protestations, couched in the strongest terms, of their unworthiness for the honor thrust upon them and their utter inability to do aught that might insure the acceptance by the spirits of the offerings extended to them.

(*c*) *Speeches of admonition.*—These are plainly exhortations by the host to his band and by the leaders of the guests' bands to their bands, beseeching them to do their utmost to insure the success of the ceremony.

(*d*) *Speeches to the spirits.*—These are prayers varying in length and content.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST AND ITS PLACE IN THE CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE WINNEBAGO

X796 371 The ceremonial organization of the Winnebago can be divided into three types, according to the unit of organization that prevails. We find societies either based on common religious qualifications, such as being blessed by the same spirit, or those based on a fixed unit, as the five bands of the Medicine dance; organizations based on the clan, as the clan feasts; or, finally, temporary organizations based on war exploits, such as the Hôk'ixe're dance, in which the

[8] Jour. Amer. Folklore, vol. 24, pp. 149-[illegible], 1911.

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four warriors who have counted coup on the last warpath form the units of organization. The peculiarity of the War-bundle Feast is that it belongs not merely to one of these types but to two of them. 796x 571

The war bundles were originally family possessions and were, in the opinion of the writer, only secondarily associated with the clan as such. They represent a complex of blessings received from various spirits who are supposed to control the fortunes of war. They were handed down from one generation to another in the same family, but not necessarily to the eldest son, and could as a matter of default pass out of the hands of the immediate family. The individual who received the war bundle was that one who had by his interest, knowledge, character, and accomplishments demonstrated to the full satisfaction of the elder generation, more specifically to the elder generation represented by his father and close male relatives of his father's generation, that he was capable of continuing the ceremonials in a proper manner. It follows from this that he would have to be a well-known warrior. Now, it is customary among all the woodland tribes for a warrior who is about to start on a warpath to give a feast to which he invites all the other warriors, from among whom he, of course, has to draw his recruits; and at this feast he explains the nature of the contemplated warpath and his warrant—i. e., the thoroughness of the specific blessings he has received—for starting it. 778 [422] [787] [428] 554 778 [721 527]

In other words, we will have to picture to ourselves the war-bundle feast as originally a gathering of warriors preparatory to the starting out of a war party, in which the part of the host was always taken by the leader of the prospective war party. All of the well-known warriors were likely to have war bundles, and thus the basis for the development of what is, to all intents and purposes, a society of those who had war bundles was always present potentially. It is believed, however, that at the time the Winnebago culture was still in the formative stage this aspect of the gathering was entirely secondary, and that primarily it was a gathering of warriors for the immediate purpose of going on a warpath. 796x 721 575

It may perhaps be interesting to go into some details of how this "society" aspect of a gathering of warriors developed. This development probably took two lines—first, a religious one, and secondly, one of definite organization. It would be quite erroneous to say that it took these lines of evolution, because it is in the nature of societies thus to develop. This originally temporary organization took these lines of development because of the presence in the war-bundle ritual of two factors—first, fasting experiences associated with the same spirits, and, second; the influence of the clan organization.

Only a small number of spirits were specifically associated with success in war, and these were Disease-giver, Thunderbirds, Sun, and the Night Spirits. [776]

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the Night Spirits. All the warriors who possessed war bundles would of necessity have to receive blessings from these, although in different cases one or the other may have bestowed the more important powers.

The prominence given to the Thunderbird in the first and to the Night Spirits in the second division give the ceremony a most marked resemblance to societies like the Night Spirit society. In the second division it is even essential to have been blessed by the Night Spirits in order to play a certain rôle. There would thus develop the consciousness of community of interest due to the fact that as individuals they were bound together by blessings received from the same spirits, a feeling that was certain to be still further strengthened since, in all likelihood, most of the possessors of war bundles belonged to societies where this actually was the common bond. The religious and ceremonial aspect would thus of necessity be reinforced. The prayers for success on the warpath of course always existed, but as the extraneous religious and ceremonial influences became stronger and more insistent and as—and this should never be forgotten—the pursuit of war became less and less important, owing to the breaking down of the culture consequent upon the advent of the whites, these extraneous factors became, if not dominant at least almost equal in importance to the historically older aspect; and our original gathering of warriors, while still remaining a gathering of warriors, also became a ceremonial organization, in which offerings were made to the entire Winnebago pantheon of spirits. The great war spirits were still all-important, but their position was contested by so distinctive a peace deity as Earthmaker and such deities as Earth, Moon, and Water. The prayers for success in war were perhaps still the most insistent, but prayers for life, not life merely that success in war may be longer, but prayers for the whole content of life, were offered up. Disease-giver was appealed to not merely to bestow upon man the greatest of all war honors, killing an enemy right in the midst of his tribesmen, but also to ward off disease from the supplicants.

Still, as great as have been these extraneous influences, the character of the feast as originally one purely connected with war comes out in numerous ways in the association, for instance, of war powers with Earthmaker, Moon, and Earth, and significantly enough, in the absence of the more specific religious associations such as are met with in the Medicine dance.

Let us turn now to the development of the organization of the feast. The development of a fixed type of organization is not absolutely necessary. Societies may exist only for certain occasions, such as the return from a warpath, like the Hôk'ixe're dance or preparatory to the starting of a war party, and be practically nonexistent afterwards. Such are the temporary war feasts of the Ojibway, for instance. However, one all important circumstance prevented this

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among the Winnebago, and that was the strong development of clan consciousness among them. A man was first and foremost a member of his clan, and whatever he did redounded to the credit of his clan. This clan consciousness was due to the strong individuality the more important clans possessed. They had their own traditions, functions, and customs, and each clan was quite ignorant of the customs of the other. This clan organization was extremely old and, for that reason, it is not very likely that the war bundle developed before the clan organization had matured, and from being originally the private possession of a family, became subsequently associated with the clan. It is more likely that the war bundle developed after the clan organization had fully matured, but that it remained personal property. However, owing to the fact that the possessor was always an important man, there must always have been a consciousness of a certain proprietary ownership on the part of the clan in the particular war bundle within its midst. This perhaps accounts for the fact that while the bundle can pass out of the hands of a certain family, it can not pass into the hands of another clan. Subsequently the idea developed that a family was merely the custodian of the bundle for the clan. Such seems to be the popular conception among the Winnebago to-day, and it may have represented the popular conception when the Winnebago culture was still intact. I do not believe, however, that such a view would have been accepted by the family in possession of the war bundle or by the learned class in general.

The fact that there was as a rule but one war bundle in each clan does not mean that it was developed originally through the influence of clan consciousness, although there is reason to believe that some of the war bundles arose in this way, in imitation of "clan" bundles that already existed. The reason for the small number of war bundles is to be sought in the fact that there was a very small number of individuals possessed of the necessary qualifications, and that it was probably originally associated with villages or groups of villages.[1] Whatever were the reasons for the limitation in the number of war bundles in each clan, it unquestionably strengthened the idea of clan ownership. This idea must have been powerfully reinforced again by those war bundles that actually arose out of a clan-ownership impulse. If, therefore, the actual owners resent this claim of clan proprietorship both by reason of actual possession, of inheritance and consciousness of the sacrifices and expense they and their ancestors have incurred in maintaining the ceremonies connected with these bundles it is nevertheless a fact that their viewpoint is probably wrong in so far as it is supposed to represent the entire truth, either now or in the past. The actual unit of organization found at the feast is the clan and there, at any rate, the war bundle is a clan palladium. Perhaps

[1] This statement is made provisionally.

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614 this twofold interpretation really represents the war bundle in a two-
778 fold aspect, first apart from its association with the war-bundle feast and second from its association therewith.

That the clan is the unit of organization comes out clearly from the following facts: First, there are as many buckskins offered as there are clans; secondly, the order in which the guests are invited
[554] is determined by the reciprocal relations existing between the different clans; and, thirdly, by references in the speeches. That the clan unit, on the other hand, has influenced the ceremonial aspect of the feast is apparent from the fact that offerings are made to the clan animals. For example, in the following ceremony offerings are made to the Eagle and Wona'ɣire Uaɣkeik, who seem to be of slight importance apart from their association with the clan.

x 796 The ceremonial unit in all Winnebago societies consists of four
[801] bands, four representing the sacred number, and the ritual consists
621 of the passing of the paraphernalia from one to the other unit until it returns to the host. The war-bundle feast corresponds to the
571 other societies in every respect, except that instead of four there are ten bands (with the band of the host, representing the eleven existing clans of the tribe). Had not the consciousness of the relation of the war bundle to the clan been so strong the ceremonial unit would probably have been found here, as it is found in all the other ceremonies.

x 796 Summing up, then, we may say that the war-bundle feasts represent a mixed type corresponding exactly to no other Winnebago ceremony, and that beginning as a war feast it developed in addi-
[575 tion some of the features of a secret society of the type exemplified
614 by the Night Spirit society, with a unit of organization based on the clan; and that finally it became a general feast of thanksgiving to the entire Winnebago pantheon.[8]

### CHARACTERIZATION OF THE SPIRITS MENTIONED IN THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST

776 All the spirits to whom offerings are made in the war-bundle feast are guardian spirits, with the exception of Earthmaker. Some of them are conceived of as being human, while others have animal forms, and still others have an indeterminate body. The peculiar spirit, Disease-giver, has a form of his own, his body being divided into two halves, one half dispensing death and the other life. Earthmaker has no form, and in the few cases that he has been known to bless individuals he always lets his presence be known by some sign. There is generally a difference between the conception of the spirit as such and the form that he is supposed to assume

[8] The order in which these aspects are enumerated is not to be taken as representing a direct line of evolution.

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when he appears to an individual. The Thunderbirds are conceived of theoretically as birds, but always appear to human beings in human shape. As it is believed by the shaman that the spirits are a *tertium quid*, neither animal nor man, but possessing infinite powers of transformation now into the one, now into the other, it is rather difficult to indicate their precise nature except in this negative way. For the ordinary individual doubtless their anthropomorphic nature stands out most prominently. 776

According to shamanistic cosmology, although the greater spirits are given control of various powers, still, in general, each spirit is given control of some specific power. The shamanistic account goes on to say that, upon the creation of man, Earthmaker, realizing that he had no powers to bestow upon him, decided to give him at least the means of obtaining those powers he had given the spirits and presented him with tobacco, telling him that if he offered it in the proper manner the spirits would feel constrained to accept it and give him, in exchange, whatever powers they possessed. The popular account of the origin of tobacco was quite different. However, it was on the shamanistic theory that offerings were made. The arrangement between the spirits and man was in the nature of a contract, with this peculiarity, that the spirits did not have to accept the offerings. The prayers are generally couched in this manner: "If you, the spirits, accept my offerings, then grant me your blessings or a continuance of those my ancestors received." They were, however, theoretically always left the alternative of refusing. In practice it was not believed that the spirits exercised their prerogative of refusal, but that in certain cases the offerings were not made in the proper fashion. The moment the tobacco was accepted, the blessing followed of itself, almost without the will of the spirit. This purely mechanical relation between acceptance of the tobacco and bestowal of power comes out excellently in one of the myths. The Winnebago are sacrificing to the Buffalo Spirits and the smoke of their tobacco offering is ascending to the spirit-land where the Buffalo Spirits dwell. The chief of the spirits warns the younger ones not to approach too closely to the ascending fumes, for they are but spirits and the desire for tobacco might get the better of their discretion and induce them to accept it. If they do, they are lost, for they will then have to go down to the earth and be killed. No power they possess, nor any power the chief possesses, can save them. This "mechanical" explanation seems to me quite significant, for it probably embodies the older point of view and the point of view of the less enlightened Winnebago. As such, it is to be contrasted with the later shamanistic development with its contract and the shifting of the spirit's rôle from one of passive acceptance to that of a spirit-deity who withholds his approbation unless the offering is properly made.

[773] [782] [773]

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776 The elements necessary to the acceptance of offerings are two-
787 fold—the specified amount of material and the proper state of
782 mind. The first is quite clear, but the second needs some explanation. To the Winnebago the emotional condition of a suppliant for power from the spirits is all important, and the proper emotional condition is one which they call "concentration of mind," by which they signify a complete absorption of the individual in the prayer he is making. Theoretically even the slightest interest in any other object is liable to destroy the entire efficacy of the prayer. I say theoretically, for if the prayer seems to be answered a consciousness of failure to come up to the ideal never obtrudes itself. If, however, there is reason to believe that the prayer has not been answered, then the explanation would always be that there had been either a shift of attention or a lack of emotional intensity. This is not the only explanation given for lack of success in the case of a ceremony, for there, by an extension of the principle of the "concentration of mind" to all those who participated, failure might be attributable to a large number of causes.

The popular explanation was, I believe, different. Failure was either not discussed at all and looked upon from the common-sense point of view as one of life's accidents or, if explanation was necessary, regarded as a sign that the spirits had not been tempted to accept the alluring offers.

It would, however, be erroneous to believe that much philosophizing took place over failure. Failure that entailed the death of an individual was likely to call forth not explanations as to what the failure was attributable, but desire for revenge.

776 With the exception of food and tobacco, which were extended to
782 all, the offerings to the various spirits differed in nature. To the eleven great deities (i. e., including Hō'rok'a, who is not mentioned in the following account) tobacco, food (i. e., both soup and meat), and buckskins were offered. There was, however, further differentiation. To the great war deities red eagle feathers were offered in addition; to Disease-giver and Thunderbird two dogs were sacrificed; to Earth and Sun herbs and maple sugar were given; and to the Moon, bear ribs.

Having thus briefly sketched the general nature of the spirits connected with the war-bundle feast and the general theory of the offering, we will turn to a specific enumeration of the spirits.

776 *Earthmaker.*—Variously known in Winnebago as Ma'ụną, Earthmaker, Wajagy'xera, Creator, and Waxọpi'ni Xe'tera, Great Spirit, Ma'ụną is, by far, the most usual appellation; Wajagy'xera is found only in rituals, and Waxọp'inj Xe'tera is more or less obsolete, although not within the popular cycles relating to the Trickster, Hare, Turtle, Red-Horn, and the Twins.

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Earthmaker has all the characteristics of a supreme deity. He is 776
conceived of as formless and as never being visible to man. He is a benevolent deity, but apart from the interest he manifested in creating the world and all that exists upon it and in sending the great Transformer heroes, Trickster, Turtle, and Hare, he has taken little active interest in the affairs of humankind. It is only as a tour de force that one can receive blessings from him. An instance of the kind will be found on page 291,* which is to be taken not as a myth [787]
but as, at most, a true fasting experience, which has been cast into a literary form.

The conception of Earthmaker we have been discussing is found most prominently developed in the rituals and the ritualistic myths. In how far it represents an exoteric point of view it would be difficult to determine now. A study of the nonritualistic myths, however, makes it seem plausible that Earthmaker, among the people in general, was the vague Waxōp'i'nj Xe'tera, Great Spirit, typical of the woodland area; and what appears to strengthen this view is the fact that there exists, side by side with him, that other great spirit common among the woodland peoples, the Great Bad Spirit, known among the Winnebago as Hereregū'nijna, of doubtful etymology. The coexistence of these two spirits and their equal rank comes out clearly in the cycle of the Twins. The ritualistic myths have attempted to interpret this old Hereregū'nijna as Earthmaker's first [773]
attempt to create man, which ended in failure. He thereupon threw him away, but Hereregū'nijna imitated the creations of the former and thus brought into existence the many evil spirits that infest the earth.

Only in the older traditions is this conception of the dual deities still to be found. In practical life the more systematic conception developed in the rituals has entirely displaced it, just as the older conception of the Transformers as heroes working in obedience to no one and changing the world until it assumed its present appearance out of mere whim, has given place to a well-ordered creation in which the Transformers play the rôle of deities saving the human race at the command of Earthmaker.

*Thunderbirds* (Wak'a'ndja). They are always represented as appearing to men as bald-headed individuals wearing a wreath made of the branches of the arbor vitæ. They are in control of almost all the powers that man can imagine, but they generally bless him with success on the warpath and with a long and honorable life. They are represented as having a spirit village in the west and as intermarrying with the Night Spirits who have a village in the east. Powerful shamans and warriors not infrequently claim that they are merely [775]
reincarnated Thunderbirds. Such is the claim of the man who is

*Cf. also Jour. Amer. Folklore, vol. 26, pp. 205-214, 1913.

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776 reputed to have first received the war bundle of the Thunderbird clan, as we shall subsequently see.

*Night Spirits.*—They are known under two names, one used generally signifying literally "night" (*hąk'*) and the other used only in rituals signifying "Those-who-walk-in-darkness" (Ilōk'ā'was manī'ąa). They are in control of war powers specifically and appear to men in the form of human beings. They are supposed to cause the darkness of night.

*Disease-giver* (Ilō'cere'ą'wahj).—This is a spirit whose counterpart does not seem to exist in any other tribe. He, like the Thunderbird and Night Spirits, is a great war deity, but as his name implies, he also presides over life and death by being the source of disease. His twofold nature has been touched on before. When prayers are offered to him he is besought to turn away his "death" side and present only his "life" side.

*Great Black Hawk.*—Always known as K'eredjū'sep xe'tera. A powerful war deity.

*The Sun.*—The Sun is known generally as wī'ra, and in rituals as Hąbani'ndjera, Light-wanderer; or as Hābanjhū'ra, He-who-brings-the-light-of-day. There seems little doubt but that in the earlier history of Winnebago culture he played a far greater rôle than he does to-day or did when the culture of the tribe was still intact. According to one informant he and Fire were dispatched as Transformers to rid the world of the bad spirits. As in the older conception of Earthmaker, his former rôle comes out most prominently in the nonritualistic myths, especially in the Twin cycle. In none of the many rituals of the tribe was his cult developed. He was regarded as one of the greatest war deities.

*The Morning Star.*—He is always known as Wiragō'ege xetera, the great star. He, like the Sun, seems to have enjoyed a greater popularity before the rise of the complex rituals. He is purely and simply a war deity.

*The Moon.*—Generally known as Hąhī'wira, night-sun, but in rituals as Hąhe'regi hūrā'djone, You-who-come-at-night. The Moon is a female deity in control of many powers, but apparently of no very specific ones. She is not supposed to be one of the preeminent war deities but to be more closely associated with blessings referring to long life.

*The South Wind.*—Known as Rek'ū'hūhj, Wind-going-with-the-stream. He is a war deity, but not on a par with the others.

*The Earth.*—Generally known either as ma"na, earth, or simply as k'ū'nik'a, grandmother, a female deity connected almost exclusively with peace. She played a far greater rôle in the earlier phases of Winnebago religious development than she did in the later and is found as an important figure in all the nonritualistic Transformer cycles, especially in that of the Hare. Her rôle in the ritualistic

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myths is quite important, too, but there she has been changed from 776
a rather indifferent and at times hostile deity to a beneficent, all-loving Mother-earth.

*The Water.*—Generally known as nipa, water, but ritualistically as hunge', chief. There is some doubt as to whether water or the Water Spirit is meant here. This is a deity in no way connected with war. He is most commonly associated with medicines, especially the [789]
famous "paint" medicines (wāse').

These are the more important spirits and the only ones to whom buckskins are offered in the following ceremony. The following are, however, also of considerable importance:

*Eagle.*—Always known as Teaxcep, eagle. A powerful war deity [614]
and a clan animal.

*Pigeon Hawk.*—Always known as K'trjk'trt'sgera, pigeon hawk. A powerful war deity.

*Wōnayi're Cagkrik.*—A term difficult to translate, but meaning, in general, a terror-inspiring man. It refers, however, not to a human deity but to a bird that is supposed to be almost identical with the hawk. It is the name of one of the Winnebago clans. A powerful war deity.

*North Wind.*—Known as Wazi'regi hūhi'ra, Wind-that-is-in-the-pine-region. He is associated with war, but is not a very important deity.

*Black Hawk.*—Known as k'eredjū sep. What difference there is between this spirit and Great Black Hawk is not clear.

*Day.*—Known as hap, day or light. The term is used in rituals, especially in the medicine dance, with the meaning of life. He is very rarely sacrificed to and his mention in this particular performance of the Thunderbird war-bundle feast is merely an illustration of the fact that offerings could be made to any spirit.

In addition to the spirits mentioned above, offerings were made at different performances of the war-bundle feast to all the other spirits [782]
and even to heroes, like Trickster, Turtle, Hare, Bladder, Red-Horn, and the Twins. In the performance as given in the following account one great spirit is omitted, Hō'rok'a, meaning, literally, "Without horns." A buckskin is always offered to him, on which is painted a small bow and arrow. He is one of the important Winnebago deities, is supposed to be a Lilliputian, and controls many of the powers relating to hunting.

In order to avoid offending any spirit they always leave a portion of tobacco as an offering to those whose names they can not for the moment think of.

### DESCRIPTION OF THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST

The present war bundle has been in the family of B. for a number 778
of generations. Our informant obtained it directly from his father.

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778 B. was not the eldest son, but, as mentioned before, the war bundle was always given to that son who manifested the greatest interest in it. When B. and his brothers were quite young their father took them aside one day and told them the stories connected with the war bundle and told them, in addition, that the one manifesting the [869] greatest interest would receive it. B. immediately started getting material for a feast, and this he would give to his father, who would then give a feast. This was repeated over and over again until B.'s father felt that B. knew enough about the ceremony to conduct it himself, after which he allowed him to take entire charge of it.

The war bundle contained the following objects:

The body of an eagle (teaxre'p).
The body of a hawk (k'eredjū'sep).
The body of an unidentified bird (waninḳ'hīwjteak'I'zoḳ'e).
The body of a pigeon hawk (k'Irjk'I'rjsge).
A deer-tail headdress (teasinte wak'e're).
Eagle feathers (teaxre'p maeū').
Medicines (wase').
Flutes (hijū'juk).
War club (namą'tee).

[825] The birds' bodies were supposed to give the possessor, in times of war, the characteristics of these animals. The flutes were associated with different spirits and used to accompany certain songs during the ceremony proper. When blown during a fight, they were sup- [789] posed to paralyze the running powers of the enemy and thus make 726 him an easy prey. The deer-tail headdress, the eagle feathers, and the war club were all war paraphernalia and were always worn when on the warpath.

x 796 When the custodian of a war bundle decides to give a feast he has his nephews go out and kill as many deer as they can, for the larger the number of deer obtained the larger will be the number of spirits to whom they can make offerings. As a rule ten to eleven deer are killed, so that all the clans, or at least all that are still in existence, can be invited.

[202] After the deer have been killed active preparations are begun; the invitation sticks (nąnū'rona) are sent out, and the wood for the ceremonial lodge is gathered; and, lastly, old women who have [886] passed their climacteric are set to work on the buckskins and ordered to make them as white as possible. In the preparation of the lodge only the nephews, nieces, and wives of the participating men take part.

The night before the ceremony proper, the Sweat-Lodge ritual takes place.

When the buckskins have been thoroughly bleached they are brought into the lodge and given to the host, who proceeds to mark them in the following manner:

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The buckskin to be offered to Earthmaker is marked with a cross in green. It is quite possible that the association of the cross with Earthmaker is due to Christian influence. But if this actually has been the case it is far more likely that the Christian influence led not to the actual borrowing of the Christian cross, but rather to the identification of an old Winnebago ceremonial symbol, namely, the crossed lines representing the cardinal points, with the cross, and its association with Earthmaker (pl. 48). 796x 778 782 [77]

The buckskin to be offered to the Thunderbirds is marked with three semicircular lines, the first red, the second white, and the third blue, to represent a rainbow (pl. 48).

The buckskin to be offered to the Night Spirits is marked with four parallel lines in charcoal (pl. 48).

The buckskin to be offered to Disease-giver is marked by dipping the three middle fingers in red paint and impressing them 12 times upon the buckskin in three vertical columns, with four impressions in each column. In addition to this an eagle feather is tied to each corner of the buckskin (pl. 48).

The buckskin to be offered to the Sun is marked with an image of the sun in red (pl. 47).

The buckskin to be offered to the Moon is marked with an image of the moon in any of its phases in green (pl. 47).

The buckskin to be offered to South Wind is marked in the same way as that to Disease-giver, except that green paint is used. A red eagle feather is attached to each end of the buckskin (pl. 47).

The buckskin to be offered to the Morning Star is marked with an image of a star in black outline (pl. 47).

These are the spirits to whom buckskins are offered in the ceremony about to be described, but the other clans seem to show variations in some offerings. Thus, for example, the spirit called "Without-horns" (Hō'rok'a) receives the offering of a buckskin in some cases. The marking for him is always a bow and arrow in charcoal. In another case Fire and Turtle receive buckskin offerings. Their markings are pictures of fire and turtle.

While the host is busy thus marking the buckskins the attendants put the meat in the kettles and place the sauce on the various fireplaces. There are always one or two extra kettles prepared for the women and children. 796x

The lodge extends from east to west and has only one entrance, on the east end. The host sits to the left as you enter and opposite him sits the guest of honor, who is, of course, different in each clan, but in the ceremony to be described he belongs to the Bear clan. Then, in definite order, sit the other guests, each one opposite a fireplace. The women and children sit separated from the others at the extreme western end of the lodge (see fig. 38). [554]

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x 796 After the buckskins have been marked the host arranges them on
778 frames. The buckskin to Earthmaker is so arranged on its frame
782 that the head points upward; that to the Thunderbirds is so arranged that its head points toward the west; that to the Night Spirits, that its head points to the east; that to the Morning Star, that its head points to the east; and those to the Earth and Water, that their heads point downward. After they have been attached to the frame they are rolled up, and the ceremony can be said to have begun. Then the guests enter, no order being observed in the manner of entering. As soon as they have all taken their places, the oldest warrior belonging to the host's band is called upon to offer tobacco to the spirits. This he does by going to the main fireplace, offering up brief prayers, and at the conclusion of each one pouring tobacco into the fire. The first prayer is always to the fire itself.[9] When he is finished, the host takes the buckskins, unrolls them, and distributes them to the various guests. The buckskin for the Thunderbirds is always given to the guest of honor, and the others are given in the following rotation: Great Black Hawk, Disease-giver, South Wind, Earthmaker, Sun, Morning Star, Night Spirits, Moon, Earth, and Water. The buckskin to Earthmaker is assigned to the middle guest, but as he is the first guest to speak, the buckskin itself is hung on the center pole that is erected in the front portion of the lodge.

After the guests have received their buckskins they stand in their respective positions, holding the buckskin in one hand and some tobacco in the other. The host concludes his remarks, and then taking his flute, blows upon it. After this he sings two songs, accompanying himself with his gourd rattles. Then the buckskins are rolled up again, but in such a way that the markings still remain visible, and hung up just west of the first fireplace, with the exception of the Earthmaker's buckskin. The host now takes the war bundle, opens it, and places it at the foot of the center pole. He then makes the circuit of the lodge, pouring some tobacco into the hands of each invited guest. When this is finished, he pours some tobacco upon the war bundle and some into the fire and proceeds to offer prayers to all the spirits, asking each in turn for life and victory on the war-
path. When he is through all the guests pour tobacco on the war
[858] bundle and into the fire. Children are often allowed to pour tobacco also, the attendants bringing them from the western portion of the lodge. After the offerings of tobacco are finished the offerings of buckskin are made. Then the basic ritual is started by the host. He takes the flutes, drum, and gourds and sings in his own place. There are many different sets of songs, and every time he starts a
[523] different set he first blows upon his flute. The songs for the Thunderbird have eight starting songs and six dancing songs. When the

[9] This prayer, for some unknown reason, is omitted in the following account. It was obtained, however, in connection with another account of the same ceremony.

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dancing songs are begun, all the men go to the war bundle and dance around it. The flute is continually blown during the dancing. Women may dance at their end of the lodge. The basic ritual is then continued. 796x 778 782 [534]

When the last starting song is finished the host rises and, ejaculating *ho—o—o*, pours tobacco into the fireplace four times. Just when the food is about cooked four special songs are sung. Then the Thunderbird feast takes place. All the bones that have been left on the plate of the guest impersonating the Disease-giver are taken out by the host himself, carried in an eastward direction, and placed very carefully at the foot of some tree that has been especially selected. Tobacco and red feathers are poured upon these bones. The plates used by the same person are purified with arbor vitæ. The bones left on the plates of the other guests may be thrown anywhere, provided the ground on which they are scattered has been purified. When the feast is over the basic ritual is continued. When this is finished the first division of the ceremony is concluded. [783 824]

During the interval between the first and second divisions the attendants sweep the lodge and purify it with branches of arbor vitæ; and new kettles with meat are placed on the fireplaces. Then the host and guests enter. The host rises and distributes the buckskins again, and while he is doing this an attendant goes around the lodge and scatters swan feathers all over it. Some are even placed on the suspended kettles. The host, because he is going to sing Night Spirit songs, takes down the buckskin intended for that spirit, blackens his face with the embers of charcoal used in marking the buckskin, and puts some swan feathers on his head. Before the host starts singing the Night Spirit songs the pipestem is turned toward the east and the origin of the songs in question is told. Then the basic ritual is begun. When the dancing songs are being sung the guests may either go to where the war bundle lies and dance there or stay in their own places and dance. When the host has finished his part of the basic ritual, drum, gourds, flute, and tobacco are passed to the first guest, and when he is finished they are passed to the second and third guests. After that the basic ritual is for the time being discontinued and the ritual connected with throwing out of the buckskins intervenes, this in turn being followed by the Night Spirit feast. However, before the feast, as the drum, gourds, and flute are returned to the host, he has a kettle placed on the fire for the spirits living beneath the surface of the earth, and when the food in it has cooked he rises and sings paint songs (*wase'*). After the feast is over the basic ritual is continued. Some time before this ritual is finished the host takes his war bundle, wraps it up, and hangs it behind the place where he is sitting. When finally all the songs with the exception of four have been sung, the host calls upon some one with a very strong voice to give the war whoop four times. This the latter does, and after the last whoop all the guests join in. Then rising, all the guests dance out of the lodge and the ceremony is over. 796x 778 [783]

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FIRST DIVISION OF THE CEREMONY—IN HONOR OF THE THUNDER-BIRDS

X 539

*Introductory remarks by informant.*—E'gi manl'ǫegi manjk'l'sak'a, ē'gi taniwǫgl'jura. Ho'ū'ǫa higl'rēk'djonē'nąą ge ē'ąge wānasā' tēk'djonē'nąą.

Nǫga ē'ąge hąhē'giji Iniō'k'ewe ha'ǫk'djo'ǫehi giji, ē'gi wǫhǫ'ǫa hijak'l'xdji tǫxǫruk'l'ji jē'ąge hak'djonē'nąą. Nǫ'ga ē'gi djā'nǫga hak'l'jǫ tēk'djonǫ'ra hadjl'rǫgo jo Inj-ō'kewe'ǫ wak'l'jǫ ha'ǫk'djonē'nąą giji. E'gi Inj-ō'k'ewe'ū'ǫa wak'e'wik'djonā'winą hirǫ-odją'hirǫgo'.

SWEAT-LODGE RITUAL

Wak'āwinąą hak'jk'ū'rucārǫdji-ā'nąąga ē'gi wak'ā'wira hinǫk'aj'-nawinąą. E'gi tanl'ǫa tanjwl'rǫgiǫ ya'ǫk'djǫ'ra hā'k'āraniwakewē'-nąą jēgū'nąą.

*Host's salutation and initial speech to participants.*—"E'gi wak'ūrǫhi'nteeanąą sā'k'erenj'k'djǫgre nik'ǫrǫhindjwl'nąą. E'gi hit-cō'k'ewahl'wira ē'gi teōk'agā' wāna'j'gik'ere'rǫgi. E'gi hiroit'ū'ǫa djāgo nądjirǫdjaj'ǫegi, ē gi hijē'ąge hak'ā'ratik'djanjhe.

E'gi djāgo wawē'k'djǫgi hitcō'k'iwahl'wira ē'gi u''inēk'djanē'nąą. Tanl'nik' p'āxǫ'k'djonǫ'ra ē'gi wōtā' hitcō'k'iwahl'wira wā'gitǫxū'ru-ik'djonǫ'ra. E'gi sā'k'erenj'k'djǫągra nisk'ūrǫhi'nte rehā'-winąą. E'gi tanl'ǫa hitcō'k'ewahl'wira, tanl'ǫa wāgip'āxǫ'-k'djonē'nąą nik'ū'rǫhindjwl'nąą.

*Host's offering to Earthmaker.*—"Hąhą' Ma''ǫǫa, hi-andjenl'na, tanl'ǫa hōjū'-iją niągip'āxu'ąk'djonāre. E'gi teō'k'agā Djōbenąą-gjwl'ąxga wāna'j'nagik'e'rǫgi. E'gi hiroit'ū'ǫa djāgo nądjirǫrā'-djąągi; ē'gi hą'bāniąk' hinagi'e'ǫąna; djǫbo'hą jedjaj'ąxdji hiroit'-ū'ǫa, teōk'agā' djāgo'xdji nądjirǫrā'djągi, je'e rǫtcą'ąxdji nigi-tā'nąą. E'gi hāąk'e wā'wǫ-ā'k'inj'k'djǫra."

*Host's offering to the chief of the Thunderbirds.*—"E'gi sā'nigǫhl'-rǫgi he'rǫra hitcō'k'ewjwl'na, wak'ā'ndja hu'ągxra, tanl'ǫa hōjū'-iją

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FIRST DIVISION OF THE CEREMONY—IN HONOR OF THE THUNDER-BIRDS

*Introductory remarks by Blowsnake, informant.*—In winter, in mid-winter, then it was that I used to pour tobacco.[8] That was the time I would go out and hunt for game. 539x 796x

Well, to-night, a vapor bath I shall take, and if I can secure food for boiling, that kind of a feast I shall give. As many of the leaders as have come, that many shall be with me as I take a vapor bath in the sweat lodge. We are now about to enter the sweat lodge, for everything is in readiness.[10] [515]

SWEAT-LODGE RITUAL

We entered the sweat lodge and undressed, and after we had entered they (the outsiders) closed the lodge covering. I took both the tobacco and the other things I was to use as offerings with me.[11] [782]

*Host's salutation and initial speech to participants.*—"I greet you; I greet you all, war-bundle owners.[12] My grandparents, especially my grandfather,[13] had concentrated their minds upon this for me. The fireplace with which they blessed my grandfather,[14] that I am going to ask for myself. However weakly I may wobble about,[15] my elders will aid me. I am now going to pour a little tobacco and offer, my elders, whatever feast I am able to. War-bundle owners, I send forth my greetings to you. War-bundle owners, I greet you. Ye elders, I am about to pour tobacco for them (the spirits)." 796x 539x 782

*Host's offering to Earthmaker.*—"Hearken, Earthmaker, our father, I am about to offer you a handful of tobacco.[17] My ancestor Djó-henagwi'ąxga[18] concentrated his mind upon you. The fireplaces with which you blessed him;[19] the small amount of life you granted to him; all, four times the blessings you bestowed upon my ancestor, that I ask of you directly. Also that I may have no troubles (in life)." 539x 793 782 776

*Host's offering to the chief of the Thunderbirds.*—"To you, who live in the west, our grandfather, chief of the Thunderbirds, a handful of

[8] "Pouring tobacco" is the ritualistic term for giving a feast.

[9] The informant has proved to the present terms now, for he is actually giving an amount of the last War-bundle Feast he gave and imagining that the writer is present.

[10] The word tobacco in Winnebago rituals is used as a generic expression for an offering. Thus the word [illegible] literally, "What we are to offer as tobacco."

[11] Literally, "Children of the bundle."

[12] He does not really mean grandparents, but elders.

[13] The word here used for fireplace is a ritualistic one. It means, literally, "That one throws within something, i. e., an offering." It also has here the secondary meaning of food.

[14] Used metaphorically.

[15] i. e., the regular offering.

[16] An ancestor of the informant.

[17] Here "fireplaces" mean blessings, for only those who had blessings could start fireplaces, and as a fireplace was started for each separate spirit, the greater their number the greater the number of blessings. In all rituals it is customary to speak of blessings received, as well as of personal accomplishments, with an exaggerated modesty.

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539 niągip'axu'k'djonā're. E'gi teōk'agā' Djohenągiwi'ąąga ō'gi wā'nąągik'o'reregi. [Hiroit'ū'ąa tcā k'i'konąk'] hiroit'ą' hōrā'-k'ągi, je'e rōteą'xdji nigitā'na. Tanī'ąa hinągī'eąrus nąga 'u'gi ō'gi hąąk'e' wā'wą-ak'i'nik'djego."

*Hoot's offering to the Great Black Hawk.*—"E'gi K'e'redjū Sep Xę'tera teōk'agā' mą'djōradjo'gi hiroit'ū'ąa djāsge nądjirorā'-djągi, je'e rōteą'xdji nigitā'ną. Tanī'ąa hōjū'-iją nigip'āxu'k'-djonā're hi'ąągihi-ā'nąga 'ągi. Hąąk'e' wāwą-āk'i'nik'dje'go. te'-jāsge nigitā'ną."

*Hoot's offering to the Night Spirits.*—"E'gi sā'nigexegi, sā'nik' hą'hōgure'gi he'ęera, Hōk'ā'was Manī'na, tanī'ąa hōjū'-iją nigip'-āxu'k'djonāre hiąągip'o'rera ā'nąga 'ągi'. E'gi teōk'agā' djągū'-ixdji nądjirō'radjo'gi; hiroit'ū'ąa djasge nądjirorā'djogi je nigi-tā'ną. E'gi tanī'ąa hi'ąągihi-ā'nąga 'ągi' hąąk'e wā'wą-ak'ini'k'-djera."

*Hoot's offering to Disease-giver.*—"E'gi sā'nik' hurorteą'djeregi-ōągi'ją cānąk'i'ji; hąąk'e t'e'p'ihiegū'ni canak'i'ji; rō sā'nik'-p'iąądjā'nąga ō'gi rō sā'nik' hōt'e'radjegi. Hō'ere'ą'wahi hinągī'-regi. Teō'k'agā hą'hadjāsge'xdji wīrarōteą'djexdji gā'dją ną'djōradjo'gi. Djāsge nądjirorā'djogi, hiroit'ū'ąa, nądjirorā'djogi'ji. Hąąk'-agā' rūe'āgeni'k'djaąe hirage'gijī. Je'e' hōra'ōā'nąga. Wāni-oi'tege teōwę'ra wairage'jū ānąga hąąk'e' wāwą-ā'k'ini'k'djera. Tanī'ąa hōjū'-iją nigip'āxu'k'djonā're hiąągihi-ā'nąga 'ągi' hąąk'e' wāwą-ak'ini'k'djego."

*Hoot's offering to the Sun.*—"E'gi hitcok'ent'ąa, Hąhani'ndjera, tanī'ąa hōp'i'ją nigip'axu'k'djonāre. Hiąągip'e'rera ā'nąga. E'gi teōk'agā' hiroit'ū'ąa djāsge'xdji nądjirorā'djągi, je'e' rōteą'xdji nigitā'ną. Hąąk'e wāwą-ak'ini'k'djera."

*Hoot's offering to the Moon.*—"E'gi Hik'ārok'ent'na Hąhō'wira, teōk'agā' nądjōradjo'gi hiroit'ū'na. Djāsge'xdji nądjirōrā'djogi, je'e' rōteą'xdji nigitā'ną. Tanī'ąa hōjū'-iją nigip'āxu'k'-djonā're hiągī'p'erera ā'nąga 'ągi'. Teōk'agā' hiroit'ū'ąa djāsge nądjirōrā'djogi, je'e' hūąak'ą'k'djo'ną hąąk'e' wāwą-ā'k'inik'-djego."

*Hoot's offering to the South Wind.*—"E'gi rek'ū'hūhira, tanī'ąa hōjū'-iją nigip'āxu'k'djonā're hiąągihiā'nąga 'ągi'. Teōk'agā' hiroit'ū'ąa nądjirōrā'djogi, je'e' nigitā'ną hąąk'e' wāwą-āk'ini'-k'djego."

*Hoot's offering to Earth.*—"E'gi K'ū'nik'a Mā'ąa tāni-ąnigi'-jąną. Teōk'agā' nądjōra'djoną hiroit'ū'ąa nądjirōrā'djoną, je'e' nigitā'ną. Wāwą-ak'ini'k'djego."

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tobacco I am about to offer you. My grandfather Djānenagiwi'ąxga 796X
you strengthened. The food, the deer-couple you gave him for his 539X
fireplaces, that I ask of you directly. May it be a fact that you 782
accept this tobacco from me and may I not meet with troubles (in 776
life)."

*Hoat's offering to the Great Black Hawk.*—"You also blessed my grandfather, Great Black Hawk: Whatever food you blessed him with that I ask of you directly. Tobacco I am about to pour for you that you may smoke it. May troubles not come upon me; that I ask."

*Hoat's offering to the Night Spirits.*—"You on the other side, who live in the east, who walk in darkness,[28] tobacco I am about to offer you to smoke. Whatever you blessed my ancestor with, whatever fireplaces you blessed him with, those I ask of you. If you smoke this tobacco never will I be a weakling."

*Hoat's offering to Disease-giver.*—"You who live in the south; you who look like a man; who art invulnerable; who on one side of your body present death and on the other life, Disease-giver, as they call you. My ancestor in the daytime, in broad daylight, did you bless. With food you blessed him. You told him that he would never fail in anything. You told him that you would avoid his home.[29] You placed animals (i. e., food) in front of him that he should not be troubled about obtaining them. An offering of tobacco I make to you that you may smoke it and that I may not be troubled by anything (in life)."

*Hoat's offering to the Sun.*—"To you, Light-Wanderer, an offering of tobacco I make. May it be my good fortune that you accept it. Whatever fireplaces you blessed him (i. e., my ancestor) with, those I ask of you directly. May I not be troubled by anything in life."

*Hoat's offering to the Moon.*—"You also, Grandmother Moon, blessed my ancestor with food. With whatever you blessed him, that I ask of you now directly. An offering of tobacco I am about to make for you now, so that you may smoke. Whatever blessings you bestowed upon my grandfather, I pray you to give me now, so that by reason of it I may never become a weakling."

*Hoat's offering to the South Wind.*—"To you, too, South Wind, I offer a handful of tobacco, that you may smoke it. May it so happen that you accept it and that I am spared troubles (in life). With whatsoever you blessed my ancestor, that I ask of you."

*Hoat's offering to Earth.*—"For you likewise, Grandmother Earth, will I pour tobacco. With whatever blessings you blessed my grandfather, those I ask of you. May I in that way never become a weakling."

[28] Hik'ūwe Hanina, "those who walk in darkness," is the circumlocutory name of the Night Spirits.
[29] I. e., that you would not permit disease and death to enter it.

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×539 *Host's offering to the Eagle.*—"Traxce'bera teik'o'nǫk, teõk'agã' wãna'ĩnągik'erewi'gi, hiroit'ũ'ąa nądjirõrã'djawigi, je nigitã'winą. Tani'ąa hõjũ'-ijã nigip'ãxą'k'djonã're. Iii'ąagip'e'res ã'nąga 'ągi' hąąk'e' wãwe-ak'inij'k'djera."

*Host's general offering to the spirits.*—"Iiãhą' djã'nąga teõk'agã' wãna'ĩ'ąagik'erewigi; hanąą'tij hak'i'edjek tanj-õ'nigijąwiną. E'gi tanj-õ'waxują teãk'agã' Djõhenaągiwi'ąxga nądjirõ'radjawiga. Je'e' ẽgi teowe'regi hõ'ũ'ąa higirǫk'ãrohõ'ną, djã'nąga teõk'agã' hirdit'ũ'ąa ragik'e'rewigi, je'e' wuinak'ąwi-ã'nǫga. Iiąąk'e' wãwę-ã'k'inik'dje'ra, jã'age nigitã'winą. Niąk'ũ'ąhindjwi'ną wajõ'-k'jna.

THE DOG RITUAL

Cuągeri'ją wajj'ąuk'ũ'-ĩnẽk'djonẽ'gi xunąni'ągere'djã hip'ã' hirak'ã'rara p'i'ąxdji hiranã'ną. P'ĩąxdji xetehiranã'ną. Iiąąk'a-gã' hodji'nani xetehi'ranãni. Niąk'djo'ąk' ąwani'nęra wik'iage'xdji hiranã'na. Warũ'djera p'i'ąxdji hirak'ã'rairanã'ną. Wągixete'-xdjinãna na ni'ąkdjǫąk e'wani'na djãage wãwõgixetã'nągera jõ'age hiege wõgixe'teranã'ną. Cuąk'djo'ąk' ẽ'gi wajai'nǫk'ũ'ną hige'regi cuąk'djęga nąhiruxai'teanęgi t'ęhire'k'djanęgi k'e'nj t'ęhi'ranj t'ę'hi k'ãrohõ'xdjinęgi ẽgi'dji cuąkdjęga ũąąk nąhiruxã'djera hik'ãrohõ'djęga cu'ąk'djęga hok'ã'rakjt'anã'ną.

"Hiscuąk'ã'xdji, ã'niąk' yorateąlje'regi hõrawace'rek'djonẽ'ną Hõcere'ąwahira ẽdjõrace'rek'djonẽ'ną yahi' p'ie'u'ąk'djonẽ'ną rahi'gi. Wonã'yirera ũąkci'gof'ąa p'ia'uąk'djã'wi, te'jõege ragitã'k'djęną."

E'gi cu'ąk'djęga haąk'e' gisawi'njne waginai'ąwi-ã'nąga toxo'-ryegą rũnã'gwire e ąąk'e' wa'jni'ąk'djonẽ'ną. Wã'jwahi're ryyi'-ra'ã'je ai'rę'ną. Waxǫp'i'nj xete'ją nąhigi'ryxate hirek'djiąã'gi p'ihi'na'i' hire'ã'je.

E'gi cuągxrã' t'ęhi'regi wajjnuk'ũ'-ik'ãrohõ'ga cuągąk'ã' higik'-ãrohõ'je wa'uje'. Tani' waryci'ją 'uje' ẽgi mącũ'cyte hõgirge'-dja hirarũ'ągitece, ẽ'gi cuąk nąhiryxã'djąąk'ã nąhi'i gągi'je. E'gi jige' tã'ni waryci'ąa jigiją' 'uje' djo'p'i'wi tanj waryci'ąa ũã'nąga hoigtege'dja mącũ'cyte hirarũ'ągite wãi'ą'pce wai'za hidjõ'bik'e hiją'cana wãwirõ'gicge'je cuągoąk'ã. E'gi waryyã'bera rycgai'ranąga waryya'poąk'a waryyã'p teõwe'dja horotcę'djerągi hap'ã'hi t'ąbi'reje.

GENERAL PLACING OF THE TOBACCO

Teahã''ũąąge'dja jũra rũedjai'nanąga ẽ'gi hõnawą'ąa djik'ereht' k'ãrǫhoi'regi ẽ'gi wa'ũ'-ĩąeje wagigõ'nąąk'a tani' hiąk'irup'o'ną hirã'nąga waruyã'p ẽdja 't'ą'bireje. Waxõp't'nj warã'djirera djanąągã'k'i hanąą'teiąxdji. Hidjã' wagit'ą'p wã'ũ'-ĩąąã'je ũąąk

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*Hoat's offering to the Eagle.*—"To you, a pair of Eagles, my ancestor prayed. The blessings you bestowed upon him, those I ask of you. I am about to pour a handful of tobacco for you. May you accept it and ward off trouble from me." 539X 796X 782

*Hoat's general offering to the spirits.*—"Hearken, all yespirits to whom my ancestor prayed: to all of ye, I offer tobacco. My ancestor Djôhenagiw'ŋxga gave a feast to all those who had blessed him.* However, as it is about time to proceed to the next part (we will ask you once again) to bestow upon us all the blessings you gave our ancestor. That we may not become weaklings, I ask of you. I greet you all." 776

### The Dog Reveal

When they decide to use a dog (as a sacrifice) they take the greatest care of it from its infancy upward. With great kindness do they rear it. They never strike it when rearing it. Just like their own child do they treat it. They take great care of its food. They love it very much, just as they love their own children. Thus is the dog loved. If they are going to sacrifice it, then before they kill the dog they make the following preparation and the man who is to make the sacrifice speaks thus: 539X 796X 231 782

"My younger brother, you are to go to the south; to the Disanogiwer you are to go. There you will live better than here. War powers and life we wish to have and that you should ask for."

The dog is not to be killed by striking, but a rope is to be used and he is to be strangled to death, so that there will not be any blood. It is forbidden to shed blood. Thus they tried to make an offering to one of the great spirits.

When the dog is to be killed, the one who is to do it prepares him. A pouch of tobacco and red feathers are tied around the neck of the dog to be offered. Then the man made another pouch of tobacco and another, till he had four, and those with (eagle) feathers he tied to the four limbs, one pouch to each limb of the dog. Then the war bundle was opened and purified with cedar leaves. Then they laid the dog in front of the war bundle, making him face south. [783]

### General Placing of the Tobacco

When they have finished arranging the buckskins and are about ready to start the singing, then the feasters mix tobacco and strew it over the war bundle. They offer this tobacco for all the spirits who exist. Even the man who originally obtained the war bundle 796X 539X 776 782

* "And we are repeating this now," should be added. The word for feast here means literally "tobacco pouring."

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X 539 sarûsgi'tcga djânąga waruyrâ'pdjcga ê'dja hîrge horo'k' hidjâ' tanj-âhi-â'njhê'k'djonê'ną al'regi. Je'e' djânąga gîgê'ji-ânąga hąąk'e' tanj wâwogi'ju irâ'nigi je'e' je'jêsgâ'nąąk'ê ê'dje tanj' hi'ęęk'dje wagi'ru-ięęe'â'je al'rerą. E'gi hatcindjâ'eaną wâxęp'i'nj warâ'-djirera tani-ê'stęhi'ra hatcâ'eaną wak'ârak'ere'nąąk'j tanj' je'e ê'dja hahi'nąąkce al'rerą. Wak'â'ndjâ'ra tanj-ê'stęhira niągę' tci'ją k'ere'nąąk'i al'rerenûną. E'gi Iiąhê'ra jigę' hirge tci'ją Djôhenâsgiwi'ęxga nądjirôdjal'ęeje hôtâgera' je'e hirge Iiąhê'ra tanj-ê'stęhira je'e higire'nąąkce trôk'agâ' Djôhenasgiwi'ęxga ê'je al'rera. E'gi âsągere'gi jigi'ją tanj-ê'stęhi'ra râkce al'rerą. E'gi jigę' hirge mąęe'gerera jigę' tani-ê'stęhi'jâ tci'ją niągią'kce al'rerą. E'gi jigę' mąąk'ê'hanęgi jigę' tanj-ê'stęhi'ją niągią'kce al'rera. Tci ae'redjiją tanj' hik'irup'o'na tri-ê'kjsâ'gedja t'âhzna'-ąk'a je'e tanj' hąąk'e' hik'irup'o'nanj rûsaąk'i'hj hiware'xdji. Iitdjâ' t'ahirąe'â'je tanj' je'e rôhâ'ęxdji jêną' hinąę'ęęe'âje k'igô'nąąk'a tcirei'xdji-â'ąk'a. Tanj' je'e rohâ'ęxdji wagirâ'sgep hireje'je wagigô'nąąk-a rôgy' wa'ynâ'ąkcaną. E'sge k'igô'nąąk'a hak'jk'â'razirere'â'je waxęp'i'nj tanj gihj'ną. P'i'je aireeunû'ną. "Iiî'edje' wa'ęwi'ąge tanj rôhâ' rasge'hinaj'wiję wônâ'rire hik'ęrąxû'rykce airê'na. Tanj wagihj'ną. E'gi hirge' wagigô'-nąąk'a warûtcten'na wak'â'rajî'nąąkce wagixonâ'winą tanjhû'ra k'igoi'minąąkra wâwogi'jura." Ci'gê'y'-ięe rôhâ' rasgep wânagi'ê-j 'u'-ięe â'nąga haise'retcj tanihj' wirâ'wajite hirere'ê'je.

### The Tobacco Offering to the Sharpe

*Host's initial speech.*—"Trahâ'sgara hak'e'we jejê'nęga trô'-k'ewahi'wira wagydje'ra ai'jaca'ęa wagitâ'edją rehak'djonę'ra. E'gi wagâ'xxra wawjk'âragi'rek'djonê'ną. Nąga ê'gi, wawi' wâk'ârap'e'reshj-â'nąga 'ygi'ji wak'â'rux hireje. Jê'sge rôâ'gy wâ'uk'djonê'ną. Nąga ê'gi wôho'ęa djâ'nąga jigę' hitcô'k'ewahi'-wira wâho'ęa wawîk'ârap'e'rex hirê'je. Jê'sge rô-â'gy wâ'ęk'dj-onê'ną. Nąga ê'gi djâ'nąga sâ'k'erenj'k'djonęgxre; te teirei'xdji mi'nagicanągwira. Hitę-jnak'â'ragiwi'ną. Egi cindjewat'ę' nik'âragi'k'djonâ'wi; nûnige ê'gi tęk'e'wehj nik'âragi'k'djonawi nûnige' hąąk'e' te'e' nocewewi'nj. Hijtcô'k'ewahi'wira ê wace'-wawjwj'ge ê'sge teirei'xdji djip hiąagi'giwira. Ep'igâ dja. Sa'k'-erenj'k'djonęgxra tci-ê'jy minąkcâ'wangre nik'ê'ryhindjwi'ną hitcôk'ewahi'wira. Higtâ'na tani'ęa wagip'â'xyk'djonê'ną."

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will be present to smoke with them, it is said. And lest (through forgetfulness) they do not think of certain spirits they have some tobacco ready for these, that they may also smoke it. Wherever it is that the spirits have their gathering places there it is that the tobacco goes. The Thunderbirds have a tobacco-gathering place, it is said. The Night Spirits have one also, it is said. The place that I spoke of as the one where Djobenāgiwi'ąga was blessed, that is the tobacco-gathering place of the Night Spirits, Grandfather Djobenāgiwi'ąga said. Up above there is also a tobacco-gathering place, it is said. And, again, on the earth there is a gathering place somewhere, it is said. Under the earth there is a gathering place somewhere also, it is said. The mixed tobacco is placed in the center of the long lodge, and though this is not pure tobacco there is plenty of it. The feasters try to consume all of it. They would smoke very much, for they desired (certain things from the spirits). Thus the feasters would encourage one another, for they, the spirits, loved holy tobacco. "Try to make them smoke as much tobacco as possible that you may obtain war powers, it is said."

He (the host) smoked for them (the spirits). He also encouraged the feasters (to smoke) and had the attendants go repeatedly to fill the pipe of the guests seated in the lodge. "Be diligent," he told them "and try to smoke as much as you can." All night he offered them tobacco to smoke, it is said.*

### The Tobacco Offering to the Spirits

*That's initial speech.* "Six white buckskins, with enough material for as many pairs of moccasins, I am going to send to our grandparents. They will be able to recognize (the buckskins) by the marks upon them.* If (spirits) you recognize them, it is our desire that you take these buckskins. That is why I am doing this. I hope, also, that our grandfathers will accept our food offerings. That is why I am making them. Many are the war-bundle owners who are sitting here; the lodge tent is full of them. I am thankful for it. I am going to make you very tired; I am going to make you very hungry; but I know you never thought of that.* You are thinking only of our grandfathers, the spirits, and that is why you have permitted my lodge to become filled up with people. It is good. All ye war-bundle owners who are seated here within, I greet you. I am now going to pour tobacco.†

* This was omitted in the account as first obtained and was told afterwards. For this reason it partakes more of a general description than of a detailed narrative.

† Every buckskin is marked with a symbol moved to the particular spirit to whomsoever it is offered.

* It is one of the cardinal traits of Winnebago ritualistic oratory that everything that the speaker does is to be depreciated and that any honor or consideration shown to him by his guests is to be ascribed more to a feeling of pity in their breasts than to his worth.

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X539 *Host's offering to Earthmaker.*—"Hąhą' 'ũąsgere'gi hi-ã'ndjɛ-ninа, waja'ɒa haną'tc nac'ɒne're nũnige ẽ'gi tanl'ɒa hõjũ'-iją nigip'ãxɒ'wicge hiɒagi'k'ik'djonã'wije hirak'i'ge ẽ'je ai'rɒną. Tanl'ɒa hõjũ'-iją nigip'ãxɒ'k'djonɛhã're ẽ'gi wagɒdje'ra ai'ją hirasã ẽ'gi wõho'ɒa wanj-ol'tege hiągal'ją wõwã'k'ona hirasã' warũte xõ'p'inj. Te jẽ'nɒga nigitũ'cdjonehã're. Ẽ'gi wiragi'-p'erex ã'nɒga 'ɒgi ẽ'gi wotã'tc teonl'ɒa rɒhąbõt'ɒ'kiɒa, wɒnã'ɔ-irɒra, ũankci'gɒ'i'ɒa woirɒk'i'piɒa. Je jẽsge wawã'wijeje. Te jẽsge rõnigiągɒ'wige. Wajõ'k'iɒa djã'nąga mi-ã'nɒganɒ'gwire mejõ'nɒga rõnigigɒ'winą."

*Host's offering to the Thunderbirds.*—"Ẽ'gi sã'niągiohe'regi hiteõ'-k'eniwi'na Wak'ã'ndja hɒ'ągera, teõk'agã' nądjõradjɒ'ągiji tanl'-ɒa hõjũ'iją nigip'ã'xuągi. Wa'i'nąp hiɒagi'gik'djonõ'je. Ẽ'gi wagɒdje'ra ai'ją hirasã' nigitũ'cdją rehã'ną. Ẽ'gi wõho'ɒa rõhi'-wige hinaiąk'arabwi'ra jesgẽ'ją rɒhi'ra hik'isgi-ã'k'iądje'ra nigitũ'-cdją rehã'ną. Nɒga ẽ'gi warũte xõ'p'inj hira'gitũ'teap tejẽ'nɒga nigitũ'cdją rehã'ną. Rã ẽ'gi djã'nɒga hɒk'ik'ãrã'djɛra haną'-gwire, wõ'tatc teonl'ɒa rõhąbɒt'ɒ'k'iną wõnã'ɔirera, enal'ągdjina woirɒk'i'p'iɒa hiją' ha'ɒwije'je. Ũaąkcigõ'iɒa mejõ'nɒga rɒnigigɒ'wina jõ'nąga nigitawi'na. Hɒk'ik'arã'djɛra ũaąkci'gɒ'i ũanądjodjai'sge ha'ũądjã'winą p'i ũaąkci'ga'iąk'djã'wira. Te jẽsge ro-ã'gɒwi'ną.

*Host's offering to the Night Spirits.*—"Ẽ'gi sã'niąk hąbɒgũ'regerera Hok'ã'was Mani'ɒa teõk'agã' ũãna'i'ɒagik'e'rewigi ẽ'gi taniągi'-jɒhanjhẽ'k'djawira jẽs'go nądjirorã'djɒgi. Tani'ɒa hõjũ'ija nigip'axɒ'jege wa'i'nąp hiɒagik'i'k'djera tani'ɒa hõjũ'ija nigip'ã'xuąk'djonã're. Ẽ'gi wagɒdje'ra ai'ją ẽ'gi jige' wɒho'ɒa wã'rɒte xõ'p'inj hirarũ'teap mejõ'nɒga renigi'giwina. Ẽ'gi teõk'-agã' djagũ' nądjirorã'djɒgi je'e' jẽ'sge rɒnigigɒ'winąhɒk'ik'ã'-radjɛra djã'nąga. Ra jõ'nąga wõ'tatc teonl'ɒa wonąʼjire woirɒk'i'-p'iɒa hiją' 'ąk'djawi'ną. Nąga ẽ'gi ũaąkci'gɒ'i ũãnądjɒdjai'sge

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*Host's offering to Earthmaker.*—"Hearken, Father who dwells above,[28] all things you have created. Yet if we would make an offering of tobacco you would accept it with thankfulness" (you said). So it has been said. I am about to offer a handful of tobacco and a buckskin for moccasins with it and a white-haired animal[29] to be cooked so that (you may have) a holy feast. These things I turn over to you. If you accept them, the first thing I wish to ask for will be (the honor of) killing (an enemy) outright, of leading warpaths, and of obtaining life honors.[30] That is what we would like to lead (i. e., a war party). That is what I would ask of you. My relatives, as many as are sitting around here, even that many ask the same things of you."

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*Host's offering to the Thunderbirds.*—"Those in the west, our grandfather, Thunderbird Chief, you blessed grandfather, and I am now going to offer you a handful of tobacco. With thanks you will accept it (it has been said). Buckskin for moccasins, also, I am sending over to you. A feast made from one whom we regard as one of yourselves, whose body we are like.[31] I am sending along for you. Indeed a sacred feast I am offering you; that I am now sending toward you. As many of our clan members as are here, they (all) desire to make these requests: To kill an enemy outright, to lead a war party, and—O grant it to us!—a life honor. Life, that is what I pray for to you—that we ask of you. Our clan has put itself in a pitiable condition,[32] so that we may live a good life. That we ask of you."

*Host's offering to the Night Spirits.*—"You who live in the east, you who walk in darkness, you directed your minds toward grandfather, and for that I will pour tobacco for you, now and forever, so that you may bless me. A handful of tobacco, if we pour for you, we know it will make you thankful, and for that reason do I offer you some. A buckskin for moccasins and, together with it, a sacred feast that I am about to send toward you. With whatever you blessed grandfather, that I and all my clansmen who are here ask of you. This request, that one of us lead the war party you

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[28] No Christian influence is to be suspected in this form of address.

[29] According to shamanistic cosmology, Earthmaker first created all the various spirits and bestowed upon each one of them certain powers. When finally he created man he noticed that he had nothing left to give him, so he decided to give him tobacco. This was to remain his exclusive possession, and not even he, Earthmaker, would be able to take it away from him. It was finally agreed that man would offer it to Earthmaker and the other spirits and receive in return thereby specific blessings.

[30] Ritualistic name for deer.

[31] "Killing an enemy outright" means killing him in the midst of his own people and without the assistance of anyone else. It was the highest war honor that a Winnebago could obtain and entitled him to wear an eagle feather in his hair. "Life honors" always refer to war honors.

[32] The whole phrase from "ra'ra'ra" to "rdd'ra hk'lsiki-ā,'djara," is the ritualistic expression for dog. The dog is referred to as "like one of ourselves" in deference to the fact that one of the clans is called wolf or dog. Thus in offering up the dog they wish to imply that they are offering up themselves.

[33] I. e., a condition which calls for pity.

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X539 ha'ūahą'gwire ūaŋkci'gǫ'i p'iąʼǫk'djā'wi. Te jēege rǫ'nigigǫ'-winą.

*Host's offering to Disease-giver.*—"E'gi sā'niągloratcądjo'regi Hocere'ǫ'wahira, tcōk'agā' djōbenągiwi'xga twust'ǫ'k'igi ūānąi-jodjal'age wa'ǫgi'ji. E'gi nądjǫradjǫ'gi wǫna'yire ruk'o'na xetǫ'ra nā'cana. Hiranjtce'ra wǫna'yire xetehi' hicū'ruk'onā'noga. E'gi hąbera xetehi hi'cǫruk'o'nąga rōsā'niąk hąbera nīnē'je hirak'i'gegi ai'gi jīge' rosā'niąk hōt'ǫ'ją ninē'je. Hirak'i'gegi tcōk'agā' Djōbenągiwi'ąxga nądjǫradjǫ'gi wīrarǫtca'djęgā'dją hąbādjaege'xdji harak'i'cdjanąga. E'gi nądjǫradjǫ'gi wǫna'yirera nądjirǫrā'djągi, je'e' nigitā'winą.

Hǫk'ik'ā'radjera djā'nąga 'u-iǫǫ'wira jē'nąga tani'ǫa hǫjū'-ijącaną' nigip'āxǫ'k'djonā'wire nitā'k'atcera. Wā'jagǫ'xera wanj-ol'tcgigi'ū'ną wanj-ol'tcge hiągai'ją wǫwā'k'oną nigitū'cdją rǫhā'winą. E'gi wagǫdje'ra al'ją. Hirasā' wak'e'rera hirasā' mejē'nąga nigitū'cdją rǫhā'winą. Tcōk'agā' Djōbenągiwi'xga djągū' nądjirǫrā'djągi je'e' tanj-ǫnj'gijǫwj-ā'nąga hak'ā'ratā'wigi hoici'pdji hūnak'ǫ'k'djenā'wi. Tcō'k'agā Djōbenągiwi'ąxga ē'je al'rǫną wǫnā'yire ūaŋkcigo'i'ǫa te jēege nigitā'winą. Hagārē'ją hǫmani'ǫa rak'ǫgi tcōk'agā' Djōbenągiwi'ąxga rǫdjǫ'wanina hatci'-ndja nihaj'regi haŋk'e' wamaci'ninisk'djono hiceje' al'rera tcōk'ā'.

*Host's offering to the Sun.*—"E'gi tcōk'ā' Hąbanj'hǫra hąbǫ-k'ā'hj cū'radjane tcōk'agā' Djōbeąągiwi'ąxga nądjǫradjǫ'gi wǫna'-yire ūaŋkcigo'i'ǫa nądjirǫrā'djągi tani'ǫa hōjū'ija nigip'ā'xǫ-ją-ā'nąga. Wājagǫ'xera djągū' hirok'o'na nigigi'giji je'e' hanā'tcj tcōk'agā' hǫk'i'k'aradjera nądjirǫrā'djągi djā'nąga 'u-iǫǫ'wira hanā'tcixdji tani-ō'nigijǫ'k'djonā'wire. Tani'ǫa gā."

"Ai'rera djagū' nigitā'wigi e'ǫ'k'djonǫ'je. Hirak'i'k'eje tcōk'-agā' ēje al'rera. Wǫna'yire ūaŋkcigǫ'i'ǫa me'jēege ronigigǫ'winą. Tani'ǫa wōho'ǫa mącū'ǫa nąbwe'nigitǫxā'djwire warak'aral'-sabā'nąga 'ǫgi wǫna'yirera woirǫk'i'p'iǫa ya'ǫąk'djā'wira.

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have predestined for us (we make).[32] Pitiable we are making ourselves in life, that we may live a good life (by obtaining blessings from you). That we ask of you." 796X 534X

*Host's offering to Disease-giver.*—"For you who live in the south, Disease-giver, my grandfather Djobenäŋgiwi'xga thirsted himself to death[33] and put himself in a pitiable condition. Then you who are in charge of great war powers blessed him. For you control a greater amount of war powers than any other spirit. A great amount of life you also control, for you are said (to possess two sides), one side of your body containing life and the other death. You told grandfather Djobenaŋgiwi'xga that you would bless him at noon, in broad daylight,[34] and thus indeed you met him. There you blessed him with war powers; and with whatever you blessed him, that we ask of you now. Whosoever of my clan are present they all pour an offering of tobacco for you and also (give you) soup.[35] The Creator made animals for us, white-haired animals for food, and these we send to you; together with buckskins, that you may have moccasins. We also send toward you a head ornament (of eagle feathers), that also. We offer you tobacco and we ask of you to bestow upon us that with which you blessed our grandfather Djōbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga. Grandfather Djōbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga had had war powers and life, it is said; and those we ask of you. And it is said that you told grandfather that whenever you go on your warpath you will not walk upon the descendants of Djōbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga wherever they breathe.[36] 782 776

*Host's offering to the Sun.*—"You, grandfather Who-bring-day, who come every day, you blessed grandfather Djōbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga with war power and life and I am therefore offering you a handful of tobacco. All the (war power) the Creator controls he delegated to you and for all of that which you blessed our grandfather, as many of my clansmen as are present, we are about to pour tobacco to obtain. Tobacco, here it is."

Host then pours tobacco into the fire.

"It is said that you will do what we ask of you. You yourself told that to grandfather, it is said. War powers and life, that we ask of you. Tobacco, food, and feathers, we sacrifice to you and

[32] A person may be blessed with victory on the warpath directly or he may be entitled to war blessings to which near relatives were destined but which they were deprived of by an early death. The present prayer is directed toward both things, that he may enjoy the "unused" blessings of his relative and that he may not be cut off by an untimely death from the fulfillment of his own.

[33] Ritualistic expression for fasting.

[34] To be blessed in the daytime, especially at noon, was considered as particularly holy. Generally a person was blessed at night. [787]

[35] Literally, "hot water."

[36] I. e., when Disease-giver deals out death he will avoid all the descendants of Djōbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga. "Mand'na" is the technical word for warpath. The word for descendants really means "roots."

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×539 Ûaąkcigo'l'ąa racgû'nj s'l ûaąkciga'i'ąk'djāwj nigitawi'nąą tanj-ǫnigi'juwinąą teôk'ā'.

*Host's offering to Earth.*—"E'gj jige' k'û'niąk'ā teôk'agā' Djôbenągiwi'ąxga nąą'djǫradjǫ'gj wąjągy'xera djągû' ruk'o'no niągigi'gj. Teôk'agā' hanąą'tej nąądjôradjǫ'gj djądjal'ąxdjj manąą'gere mi'nąąk'j jedjąj'xdjj p'ā danj-ǫhigi'ju hanihē'k'djawj. Hirage'gj djągû' niągitā'wigj hinągie'y'k'djąnā'wj hirē'je ē'ra. Tanl'ąa hôjû'-ijąą hirani'p'ahak'djonjhā'winąą djā'nąąga wak'l'k'aratewira. Tanl'ąa k'û'niąk'a hiągiry'zwj-ąą'dje. Tanl'ąa hǫjû'-ijąą tej-ô'k'jnągǫnąjt'nąą ē'dja niągip'axu'ąk'djonā'wire. Wǫnąą'yirera ûaąkcigo'l'ąa hunąk'ywj-a'mdje, tejēągo niągitā'w'nąą. Tanl'ąa te'e'renąą.

'Nintā'k'adjera, wol'djąna narô'nj hirasā' reniągigi'winąą. Hinągi'p'erezwigi, ûaąkci'go'l'ąa je'e' ya'uąk'djonā'wira; jē'ago niągitā'-winąą."

*Host's offering to the Moon.*—"K'û'niąk'a hąąhe'regj hurā'djonē'nąą ē'gj k'û'niąk'a teôk'agā' Djôbenągiwi'ąxga nąądjorā'djǫągj tanj-ǫniągiju-ā'nihek'djawj djā'nąąga hôni'ągera 'u-jǫe'wigj. Tanj-ǫwaxu'ąa jinadji'wigj tanj niągip'axy'wigj. Hirak'ā'rap'erezcā'waiąk'djonē'nąą hirak'i'geje al'rera. Teuk'agā' Djôbenągiwi'ąxga djągû' hicuruk'o'nǫgi'ji, jē'age nąądjôradjǫ'gj maiąk'i'xdjj hatā'nihek'djawi'ra hoici'p hûnak'y'k'djonā'wj hiceje' al'rera.

"Tanl'ąa te'e'renąą."

"Tanl'ąa ûaąkci'go'l k'aratā' ya'y'k'djera. Wąjągy'xera haniągigi'ra nigip'axû'ąą. Wǫnąą'yirera wak'l'k'aradjwira djā'nąąga hanl'winąą hagārē'jąą naągû'ra hi'jąą wawā'wigj ē'dja wuiruk'l'p'ąąa ya'uk'djā'wira nigitā'winąą. Nintā'k'adjera wąjągy'xera wani-ol'tegiągj 'ū'nąą hico'bera; wjwę'wj-ǫwinǫ'gera nintā'k'ate niągigiwi'nąą. Wā'ryte xô'p'inj hirā'niągitytcąą'winąą. E'gj wągydje'ra al'jąą niągitû'edjąą rehā'winąą. Wǫnąą'yire ûaąkcigo'l'ąa niągitā'winąą hûnak'y'gj ûaąkcigo'l'ąa p'ia'y'k'djā'winąą. E'gj jige' k'û'niąk'a teôk'agā' Djôbenągiwi'ąxga nąą'djǫradjǫ'gj wąjągy'xera wǫna'yire ûaąkci'go'l'ąa hiruk'o'no niągigi'gj. Je'e' teôk'agā'

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if you accept them, then we will assuredly wear war honors (some day). That we may pass through life without any troubles and that we may live long, we ask of you and offer you tobacco, grandfather."

*Host's offering to Earth.*—"Grandmother, you blessed Djôbenagi-wi'ąxga with whatever the Creator delegated to you. With everything that exists on the earth, for all eternity, did you tell grandfather you would bless him, and this is what we ask of you and for which we will forever offer you tobacco. You will do it, he told us you had said. A handful of tobacco we are about to send toward you, we, as many of our clansmen as are here. Tobacco do you accept from us, grandmother. A handful of tobacco there, upon him who stands in the middle of the lodge,[32] do we pour. Give us war powers and life; for these we beseech you. Here it is, the tobacco."

The host then pours some tobacco into the fire.

"Soup, vegetables, together with maple sugar we are about to send you.[33] If you accept them, life we will obtain; that we ask of you."

*Host's offering to the Moon.*—"Grandmother, You-Who-Come-at-Night,[34] grandmother, you blessed grandfather Djôbenągiwi'ąxga and now all his descendants, as many as there are, are about to offer you tobacco. Now when we come to a tobacco offering we will certainly offer some to you. And you will be cognizant of it, you assured us yourself, it is said. Whatever you are in control of and with which you blessed our grandfather Djôbenągiwi'ąxga for all eternity, that we are to ask for at all times, they told us you had said and you will assuredly give it to us. The tobacco, here it is."

He pours tobacco into the fire.

"I am using the tobacco as a means of obtaining life for myself and my relatives.[35] The Creator gave it to me and I am offering it to you. As many of our clansmen as are here we beg of you war powers; and that if we ever go on a warpath[36] there we will obtain the war honors. Soup and the animals the Creator made for me,[37] the black-furred one[38] we are offering you; soup of bear ribs. A sacred feast we are about to hold for you. A buckskin for moccasins we are about to send out to you. War powers and life we ask of you; that you give us life, so that our days may be happy. Truly, grandmother, did you bless our grandfather Djobenągiwi'ąxga with what-

[32] "He who stands in the middle of the lodge" is the ritualistic name for the fireplace. He is always personified and the tobacco is generally conceived of as being poured upon his head.

[33] As the offerings are made to the earth, vegetables and maple sugar are selected.

[34] Ritualistic name for the moon. The regular name is "hahe wira" (night sun).

[35] The term "ra,kriga'i k'ratâ," literally meaning "a life beseecher," is used only in rituals and is generally taken to include any offering.

[36] "Hągâ," is the regular word for warpath. Literally it means simply "road."

[37] I. e., what the Creator had placed in his way and permitted him to catch and prepare for this feast. It is in this specific significance that it is meant here.

[38] "Hi'ninąra" is both the ritualistic and deferential name for the bear.

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X 589 nądjoradjo'gi djadjo'ną tanj-ǫwaxu'ǫa hiągire'wigi niągitą'wigi hũnak'ąharanl'ęõk'djenã'winą hicõje. Teõk'agã' Djõbenągiwi'ąxga ẽ'je al'ręną. Tanl'ǫa hõjũ'iją p'ẽdje'dja hidjeniągl'giwigi. Rak'a-hl'k'djone hirak'l'geje teõk'agã'ẽje al'ręra. Tanl'ǫa hoi'ripilij hiǫągl'k'saip'djonã'wi hiceje' teõk'agã' Djõbenągiwi'ąxga ẽ'ra. Tanl'ǫa ga hereljigõ'."

"Tanl'ǫa hinągl'hiwigi wǫnǫ'yiręra ũąkeigo'l'ǫa plą'ǫ'k'djena jõ'sge niągitã'winą. Nintã'k'adjera wol'djonǫ al'na nąrõ'ni hirak'l'sa niągitũ'edjonçhã'winą; ẽ'gi wągǫdje'ra al'ją hirasã' wl'ǫągip'e'rezwigi wǫna'yire ũąkeigo'l'ǫa ya'ũanjhẽ'k'djawjra. Jõ'sge nigitã'winą k'ũ'niąk'a hã'nąga."

*Host's offering to the chief of the Eagles.*—"Teaxcep huągera' 'ũa'ągerągi hąbãmanl'ǫa. Nã'eanǫ xetęra' niǫõ'je wǫnǫ'yiręra hirǫk'o'no. Panl'je hirak'l'gegi. Ẽ'gi ũąkei'gǫ'l jige' hicũ'-rǫk'onąj'jenj gigigl'ji. Teõ'k'agã Djõbenągiwi'ąxga nądjoradjo'gi wajągǫ'ąxra djągũ' rǫk'o'no niągigi'gi. Teõk'agã' nądjoradjo'gi manǫ'gere djadjal'xdji nihẽ'gi jedjaj'xdji tanj-ǫniągl'jǫ hanjhẽ'-k'djonã'wigi. Jõ'sge teõk'agã' hirage'gi tanj-ǫ'waxu niągl'k'-erek'djã'wi hicõje. Teõk'agã' ẽ'je al'ręra. Hiege' teõk'agã' wax-op'l'nj wãna'j' rąągl'tegi hiegidją' wãna'j' yǫrak'ã'rak'ereje' teõk'-agã' ẽje al'ręra. Tanl'ǫa ga alreljigõ'."

"Teõk'ã' Teaxcep huągera' tanj-õniągijũ'nǫ. Teõk'agã' djągũ' nądjoradjo'gi je'e' niągitã'winą. Ẽ'gi wawakl'k'aradjera taninią-gip'ãxu'ąk'djonã'wire hiǫągt'ksapwl'gi wǫnǫ'yire ũąkei'gǫ'l'ǫa hũnak'ǫ'wigi maihã'gerągi ya'ǫ'k'djawl'nǫ. Te jõego niągitã'-winą teõk'ã'.

*Host's offering to the Day.*—"Ẽ'gi jige hą'pdjapo tanl'ǫa hidje' nigigl'nǫ. Nintã'k'adjera wanj-oi'tege hiągã'ra wiwõ'-wi-ǫwinǫ'-gera warũte xõ'p'inj hiraniągl'tǫtcap rębã'winą. Teõk'agã' Djõ-benągiwi'ąxga nądjoradjo'gi hiege wiwõ'wi hidjõ'rak'arak'ere'je al'rera. Tanl'na wǫhǫ'ǫa hiǫągip'e'rezwigi wõna'yiręra ũąkeigo'l'-ǫa yã'ũanjhẽ'k'djawi. Niągitã'winą teok'ã'."

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ever powers the Creator put in your control. That with which you 796x
blessed grandfather it is said you would give us, too, when in the 539x
course of time we would pray to you to bestow them upon us. So it 776
is reported our grandfather Djõbenagiwi'ŋxga said. A handful of 782
tobacco we place for you in the fire. You would smoke it, it is said that you, yourself, told grandfather. Tobacco, you told him you would always accept, it is said. Here it is, the tobacco."

He pours tobacco into the fire.

"If you smoke the tobacco for us, war powers and happiness in life we will ask of you. Soup, vegetables, rice, and maple sugar we send out to you, and buckskin for moccasins likewise. If you accept these things from us, it will be ours to use, war power and life. That we ask of you, grandmother."

*Host's offering to the chief of the Eagles.*—"Chief of the Eagles, you who walk on light [46] up above. You, yourself, said that only you are the greatest one in control of war powers. That you are thus, you said of yourself. Life also you are in charge of. You blessed our grandfather Djõbenagiwi'ŋxga with whatever powers the Creator put you in control. You blessed grandfather for all eternity,[47] and for those powers we are now about to offer you tobacco. It is for that purpose you told grandfather we should have a tobacco pouring. So grandfather told us, it is said. Grandfather also made a sacred bundle [48] and to this you also added your power, grandfather said, it is said. The tobacco, here it is."

He pours tobacco into the fire.

"To you, chief of the Eagles, grandfather, do we pour tobacco. With whatever you blessed grandfather, that we ask of you. All the members of the clan offer you tobacco that you may have knowledge of it (i. e., the tobacco) and bestow upon us who dwell on the earth war powers and life. That is what we ask of you, grandfather."

*Host's offering to the Day.*—"To the Day [49] I pour tobacco, also soup, and a rib of a white-haired animal (i. e., a deer). A sacred meal we are about to offer to you. Grandfather Djõbenagiwi'ŋxga you blessed and you also added your thoughts,[50] it is said. If you accept tobacco and the feast, war powers and life we assuredly are going to obtain. For that we ask, grandfather."

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[46] "Hąhemanit' pa," is the ritualistic name for any bird. Although rarely used except in rituals, it is yet generally known among the people, a fact that does not hold for most of the other ritualistic appellations.

[47] The set phrase which from now on we will translate by "eternity," is literally "as long as the earth lasts, that long."

[48] "Wazop'i' ni wanąi'rąwi' ŋgi" means literally, "He tied up the spirit mind or manifestation," i. e., he made a bundle of the blessings he received from the various spirits. Djõbenagiwi'ŋxga is the individual who is supposed to have first received the clan bundle. The word "wanąi" is a very difficult one to render accurately in English.

[49] Although, according to the Winnebago conception, the light of day is associated with the sun, yet the sun is not regarded as causing the light any more than the absence of the sun is thought to be the cause of darkness, but both light (daylight) and darkness are associated with special deities.

[50] "Wiwi'ni" is not to be thought of in an abstract sense but as something quite as tangible as a material object.

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×539 *Host's offering to the South Wind.*—"E'gi jige rek'ū'huhi'ra teōk'agā' Djōbenągiwi'ąxga waxop'i'ni wā'na'ī rusgi'tegi hīege, wāna'ī' djōrak'ā'rak'ereje' ō'je teōk'agā' Djōbenągiwi'ąxga ai'rera. Wajągu'zera djagū' hīruk'o'no nisgigi'gi teōk'agā' Djōbenągiwi'ąxga nādjōradjo' gi djadjaī'xdji p'ā mānągere mi'nąsk'i jedjaī'xdji p'ā, tanī-onisgi'p'āxu hanjhē'k'djawi hīrak'i'gegi. Tani'na ga airē'nąą."

"E'gi nitak'ā'djera wajągu'zera wani-oi'tege hisgi'ū'nąą hūdjō'-bimani'ja ni'tak'ate nisgigiwi'nąą wak'ō'ją. Tani'na hīnągi'-hiwigi' nita'k'adjera hīnągi'p'erezwigi wonąą'yīrera wotā' teōni'na hīrak'i'rak wawēk'djā'winąą ūasąkcigo'i'na piąū'k'djā'winąą. Me'-jēsge nisgitā'winąą."

*Host's offering to the North Wind.*—E'gi jige wazi'regihuhi'ra wa-k'ip'i'na hīeeje; teōk'agā' Djōbenągiwi'ąxga ō'je ai'rera. Tani'na nitā'k'adjera woi'djane naisk'anąą'giją hā'ra waiyā'gēk'djā'wira jē'age nārō'ni hīrak'i'sa nisgi'tūedją rehā'winąą. Wawi'nągip'ere'z-wigi wōna'yīre ūasąkcigo'i'na wōtā'ra te jē'nuga nisgitā'winąą. Teōk'ā' waxą-i'na rohąbot'e'ki-ō'dja hi'u'p'inani'je hīrak'i'geje. Teōk'agā' Djōbenągiwi'ąxga ō'je ai'rera hā'nąąga."

*Host's offering to the Black Hawk.*—"E'gi teōk'ā' k'erodjū' sepera hīege' wōwō'wi higi-orak'ā'rak'ere'je ai'rera tani'na hōjū'-iją nisgip'axū'na. Wōnąą'yīre ūasąkcigo'i'na wajągu'zera hīruk'o'no nisgigi'gi, je'e' waninsgitā'nąą. Teōk'agā' Djōbenągiwi'ąxga nādjō-radjo'gi manąą'gere djadjaī'xdji mi'nąsk'iji jedjaī'xdji p'ā tani'na rahi' ranicā'k'djonē'je hīcē'je ai'rera. Tani'na hīnągi'wik'sā'pwigi ūasąkcigo'i'na ya'u'ąk'djawira wōnąą'yīre. Nisgitā'winąą hā'nąąga."

*Host's offering to the Wōna'yīre Ūa'ąkrik.*—"Teōk'ā' Wak'ā'ndja Wōna'yīre Ūasąkhinisgai'rawigi, teōk'agā' waxop'i'ni wāna'ī' rusgi'-tegi hīege wāna'ī' djōrak'ā'rak'ere'je ai'rera. Tani' nisgip'ā'xu-wi'nąą. Tani'nącanąą wōna'yīre ūasąkcigo'i'na teōk'agā' Djōbenąą-giwi'ąxga nisgitā'winąą je'e maik'i'dją ya'ūanjhēk'djā'winąą.

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*Host's offering to the South Wind.*—"South Wind, to the bundle grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ąxga made you added your power, so grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ąxga said, it is said. That which the Creator put in charge of you, and with which you blessed grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ąxga, as long as the earth lasts, we are about to pour tobacco for, as you yourself told us. The tobacco, here it is." 796X 539X 776 782

He pours tobacco into the fire.

"A four-legged animal,[49] a coon, that the Creator made for us, we are going to give you in the form of a soup. If you accept the soup and likewise smoke the tobacco, then the first request (we wish to make) is that it might be our fortune to obtain war powers and travel safely (on the path) of life. This is what we ask."

*Host's offering to the North Wind.*—"Wind who lives in the north, you said 'I am the equal of (the spirit of the north)';[50] so grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ąxga said, it is said. Tobacco, soup, vegetables, what a tree bears, fruit, as we call it, and maple sugar, that also we send toward you. If you accept them, the request (we make) is for war power and life; that we ask of you. To kill a person outright is an excellent power to have, grandfather Porcupine,[51] you said of yourself. So grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ąxga said, it is said."

*Host's offering to the Black Hawk.*—"Black Hawk, you also added your powers for grandfather, it is said; and a handful of tobacco I am pouring for you for that reason. Whatever war powers and life the Creator put in your control, that I ask of you. You blessed grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ąxga for as long a period as the world would last, and you said that you would always smoke tobacco, it is said. If you are cognizant of this tobacco, let us obtain life and war power. For these we ask."

*Host's offering to the Wōna'rjre Ûa'ąkcik.*[52]—"Grandfather Thunderbird, Wōna'rjre Ûa'ąkcik, as they call you, you added your power also, it is said. Tobacco we are about to pour for you. Tobacco only (we are giving you), so that we may obtain war powers and life; that with which you blessed grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ąxga for all eter-

[49] A rhetorical manner of speaking of a quadruped, just as it is common in English to speak of human beings as "the two-legged-walkers."

[50] I. e., cold does not affect me. The North Wind and the spirit of medical point north are of course entirely distinct.

[51] No reason is known why the spirit is here addressed as porcupine.

[52] The "Wōna'rjre Ûa'ąkcik" are birds living in the empyrean generally identified with the hawk. Here they seem to be identified with a kind of Thunderbird. Whenever is heard by them becomes a great warrior. The term really means "a terror-inspiring man," by reason of his great war powers. One of the Winnebago clans has this name. The explanation for the identification of the Wōna'rjre Ûa'ąkcik with the Thunderbirds is probably the following: The Thunderbird is not regarded as belonging to any particular bird species, but any bird can be either a normal bird or a Thunderbird. When used in this sense, the appellation Thunderbird is generic, and the term used in the text, "Wak'ā'ndja Wōna'rjre Ûa'ąkcik," is then best translated by "Thunderbird—Wōna'rjre Ûa'ąkcik." Thunderbird specifically is understood to be in reality not a bird but a being in human shape. Cf. Introduction. The general conception of Thunderbird given here is founded upon also by J. O. Dorsey in his "Siouan Cults."

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X 539 Tanî'ǫa hîǫagip'erezwî'gi ũaąkcigǫ'î'ǫa pîą'k'dje niągitã'winą wak'ik'arã'djwira djã'nąga hanjwî'ną. Je'nyga."

*Host's offering to Big Black Hawk.*—"E'gi k'eredjy'sep xetera' sal'ryk'ononą' teõk'agã' Djõbenągiwi'ąxga nądjõradjo'ągi wõna'-ǫire ũaąkcigǫ'î' je'e hatã'nihẽk'djã'wi teõk'agã' hirage'gi tanj-õ'waxy. K'erẽ'k'djoǫẽgi tanj-õ'waxyǫa djanąh'hi k'e'rek'djonẽ'-gi jẽnã'hą nąhiruxã'djera djanągã'k'djoǫegi jẽna'hą. Tanî'-ǫa wõhǫ'ǫa nąhiruxã'djera hanąh'teiąxdji hiragî'p'erea ranicẽ'-k'djonẽje. Hirage'gi teõk'agã' Djõbenągiwi'ąxga. Tanî'ǫa ga heredjigo'."

"Tanî'ǫa hõjũ'-iją hiranî'p'ahawî'ege hoici'p tanî'ǫa hiǫagî'hi haranî'cẽk'djonã'wihicẽra. Tãnj-ǫniągi'jy tanî'ǫa rahj-ã'nąga 'ygi wõna'ǫire ũaąkcigǫ'î'ǫa wõwõ'tara te jẽsge niągitã'winą. Nitã'-k'adjera rõhik'î'sge hinaj'k'arapwî'ra jẽsgẽ'ją k'inỵ'p hak'ią'-djera, nisk'djo'sgeniągera wak'î'teaną'gera nitã'k'ate niągigiwî'ną. E'gi nąhiryxã'djera wõgydjẹ'ra sî'ją ẽ'gi rõhiwik'î'sge hinaik'ara-hwî'ra jẽsgẽ'ją rõ'ra p'i'y'xdjiną'nąga nąphiniągiryxã'djirera. E'gi wak'ere hąbitaî''yǫa hirak'î'ratcap nąbiniągityxadjwî'ną.

E'gi wõną'ǫire hiryk'o'no xe'tera nẽ'ją nine. Wajągy'zera nigy'zera ũaąkcigǫ'i' hiryk'o'no; 'ũaągere'gi wajągy'zera nigysk'î'. Je'e teõk'agã' Djõbenągiwi'ąxga nądjoradjo'ągi djã-djaj'xdji p'ã manągere nihẽ'gi majk'î'dją. Tanj-õ'waxy hak'ere-ã'nihẽk'djawi hũnã'k'y'winą. Tanî'ǫa hiǫagicyruzwî'gi wõhǫ'ǫa hiǫagip'ere'xwigi nąbiryxã'djera wainą'gicyru'zwigi wõną'ǫirera woirũk'î'p'iǫa ya'y'k'djąnã'wi ũaąkcigǫ'î'ǫa ya'y'k'djã'wira. Niągitã'winą teõk'ã'wira djã'nąga teõk'agã' Djõbenągiwi'ąxga, waxǫp'î'nj wã'na'j rũagitegi' djã'nąga wãnajdjorã'k'arak'ere-hî'gi. Hanąh'teiąxdji hąąk'e' wajik'î'na nini'ąk'djonjhã'wige taniąã'cana niągip'ãxy'wicge hąąk'e' wąją' wol'cana hiwa'y'-nik'djã'wige hãohihik'î'sge."

"Tanî'ǫa wõgijũ'ra te jẽsge aî'recanũ'ną. E te'e'rǫną."

THE BUCKSKIN OFFERINGS TO THE SPIRITS

(Host speaks again.) Sãk'ereni'k'djągera minąąkcã'waągra niąk'yryhi'ndj rehã'winą hiteõ'k'ewahî'wira hõk'î'dją wągigi' na'j'niąge hąąk'ecgǫ'ra nũnige'. Waxǫp'î'nj hõk'idją' gigi' na'j'-niąge wa'ũana'gwj nũnige' hirydji'adj hawî' nũnige. Hiteõ'-

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nity, may we obtain from you. If you accept the tobacco may I and my relatives live well by reason thereof; that we ask of you. That is all." 796X 539X 776 782

*Host's offering to Big Black Hawk.*[53]—"You, Big Black Hawk, who are in charge of war powers,[54] blessed grandfather Djôbenagiwi'ąxga with war powers and life, and these we are to ask of you, you told grandfather, and pour tobacco at the same time. As many tobacco offerings as he (grandfather) would have liked to have had and as many (buckskin) offerings as he would have desired, that many there will be for you. If you accept the tobacco and feast and all the offerings, you will assuredly give (us blessings). Thus you told grandfather Djôbenagiwi'ąxga. Tobacco, here it is."

He pours tobacco into the fire.

"If we extend toward you a handful of tobacco, you said you would always smoke it. If, at a tobacco offering, you smoked the tobacco, the requests we might make are these—war powers and life. A feast of one whom you look upon in the same way as ourselves (i. e., a dog), one whom I have been treating like a brother, with whom the children have eaten the soup of such a one, we are giving you. An offering of buckskin for moccasins and of one like ourselves (a dog), whose body is well prepared, do they offer you. Food they are offering you, asking in return for life.[55] You are the only one in control of great war powers. The Creator placed you in charge of life; above the Creator created you. With that you blessed grandfather Djôbenagiwi'ąxga for all eternity. We will have a tobacco pouring, that you may give us (these things). If you take cognizance of the feast offerings, the buckskin offerings; if you will take them, then we will obtain the war honors and then we will obtain life. We, as many older people as we are here, beseech you for those powers you added to the spirit bundle of our grandfather Djôbenagiwi'ąxga. We will not have enough food to go around,[56] but if we offer you tobacco, it will not be an offense (thus to act to you) (we have been told)."

This is what they used to say at the tobacco pouring. This it is. (Song.)

### The Buckskin Offerings to the Spirits

(Host speaks again.) "War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. We are endeavoring to prepare footwear for our grandfathers,[57] but we did not really accomplish it. Spirit footwear we tried to make, that is what we were doing, but our work was lacking

[53] A deity apparently distinct from Black Hawk. He is the one to whom offerings are always made.
[54] Literally "in control of grain bundles."
[55] "Hąp" is the ritualistic name for life. Literally it means "light."
[56] A ritualistic expression of modesty.
[57] I. e., offer buckskins for moccasins to the spirits.

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539 k'ewahl'wjra hąąk'e' wajiṇe'p'jhiranl'je al'rẹra. Hąąk'e' woiyā'ṇ hiwa'ṇnjk'djā'wige hitcō'k'ewahl'wjra wagūdje' wanl'ṇẹra'. Ūąąge'dja hinąąk wagigi'k'djonā'wjną."

*Offering to the Thunderbird.*—"Tcōk'ā' Wak'andjā'ra wagudjẹ'ra al'ją reniągi'giwjną wajok'lanjwi'ną. Wōną'yirẹra ūąąkcigo'l'ṇa wōtara' me'jēsge niągitā'wjną."

*Offering to Night Spirits.*—"E'gi jige hąbogūre'gi herera' wagūdjẹ'ra al'ją reniągi'giwjną wōtā'ra wōna'yirẹra ūąąkcigo'l'ṇa. Te'e me'jēsge niągitā'wjną."

*Offering to Disease-giver.*—"E'gi jige Hōcere'ṇ'wahj tcōk'ā' wagudjẹ'ra al'ją reniągi'ną. Tcōk'ā' rōhi' sanią̨k hąbera', rohi' sanią̨k hot'ẹ'ruk'ona ranl'je, tcōk'agā' Djōbenągiwi'ąxga ē'ra. Wōną'yirẹra ūąąkcigo'l'ṇa wōtā'ra te'e' jēnuąga rọniągigu'wjną."

*Offering to South Wind.*—"E'gi hitcō'k'enl'na rek'ūhuhl'ra hitcō'k'ewahl'wjra tanl'ṇa te e'redjigō. Tcōk'agā' Djōbenągiwi'ąxga nądjọradjọ'gi wōna'yirẹra ūąąkcigo'l'ṇa nądjọradjọ'gi je'e' djadjo'na tanl'ṇa hōjū'-iją hīdje' niągigi'wigi hiṇągip'e'rez harā'-nicēk'djanē'ną hirak'l'gegi. Wagudjẹ'ra al'ją reniągigi'ną. Wọho'ṇa te jēsge niągitū'cdją rehā'wjną. Tcōk'agā' djagū' nądjirorā'djọgi je'e' hātawi'ną hā'ną̨ga."

*Offering to the Sun.*—"E'gi hąbanj'djirẹra hi'tcōk'enl'na tcōk'agā' Djōbenągiwi'ąxga nądjọradjọ'gi djagū' nądjirorā'djọgi hoici'p djadjo'na tanl'na hojū'-iją niągip'axu'wj-ā'ną̨ga hātawi'gi tanl'ṇa wa-l'ną̨p hiṇągi'hiąk'djonā'wj hirage'je. E'je al'rẹra. Wagudjẹ'ra al'ją reniągigi'wjną. Nitā'k'ate wol'djana nąrō'nj hirak'l'sa niągitū'cdją rehā'wjną. Tanl'ṇa mejē'nuga ē'dja hiranl'nā'jwjną. Hiṇągi'gąabj-ā'ną̨ga 'uągi wōna'yirẹra woiruk'l'-p'iṇa yā''uk'djā'wrja. Ūąąkcigo'l'na ya'u'k'djā'wjra wōtā'ra mejē'nuga niągitā'wjną."

*Offering to Earthmaker.*—"Ūąągere'gi hi-ą'ndjenjwi'na tanl'ṇa ūąąkcigo'l' hik'aratā' ya'uąkdjā'wjra. Hiṇągi'c'uwj-ā'ną̨ga hanl'-ną̨gjwi'ną. E'gi ṇec'uṇe're nūnjge' hak'djā' hōjū'-iją niągip'ā'ha rehā'wjege wa'l'ną̨p hiṇągi'k'iąk'djonā'wije. Hiṇągā'wije. Tcōk'agā' Djōbenągiwi'ąxga ē'je al'rẹra. Tcōk'agā' Djōbenągiwi'ąxga nądjōrā'djọągi wōna'yirẹra ūąąkcigo'l'ṇa. Niągitā'wjną tanl'ṇa hak'djā' hōjū-iją niągip'ā'ha rehā'wjną. Al'gi wagudjẹ'ra al'ją niągitū'cdją rehā'wjna wajōhọk'l'ṇa djaage'xdji hanjwi'ną jēsge'xdji uąąkcigo'l'ṇa ya'u'k'djā'wj. Niągitā'wjną tanl'ṇa teahā' nąhiryxā'djera wōho'ṇa wanj-ol'tege hągal'ją wanj-ol'tege ūąągi'ją niągitū'cdją rehā'wjną."

*Offering to the Moon.*—"E'gi Hąhē'wjra k'ū'njk'a wagudjẹ'ra al'ją ē'gi nitā'k'atezra tanl'ṇa me'jēsge niągitū'cdją rehā'wjną.

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in every respect. However, our grandfathers (the spirits) would not take offense at the (inadequacy) of our work, it is said. That we may not be weakened, for that reason it is that we are preparing the moccasins for our grandfathers. Up above we are going to send them." 796X 539X 776 782

*Offering to the Thunderbird.*—"Grandfather Thunderbird, our clan is sending you moccasins. War powers and life are the requests we make in turn."

*Offering to Night Spirits.*—"You who live in the east, moccasins do we send you, and the request we make, is war power and life. That we ask for."

*Offering to Disease-giver.*—"Disease-giver, grandfather, moccasins we send you. Grandfather, life you possess on one side of your body, and death you are in control of on the other side of your body, so our grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga told us, it is said. War power and life, that is the request we make."

*Offering to South Wind.*—"To you, grandfather South Wind, here is the tobacco for our grandfathers. You blessed grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga with war powers and life and you said yourself that you would bless (his descendants) whenever they offered you a handful of tobacco and you accepted it. Moccasins we are sending you. Food we are about to offer you. Whatever you blessed grandfather with that we ask of you."

*Offering to the Sun.*—"Grandfather Light-Wanderer, you said that if at any time we poured a handful of tobacco for you and smoked tobacco as an offering (you would give us) that with which you blessed grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga whenever we ask for it. So it is said. Moccasins we are sending you. Soup, vegetables, and maple sugar also we are about to send you. Tobacco is what we think of in connection with you. If you take cognizance of it, war honors we will assuredly obtain. Life, that is what we would like to obtain."

*Offering to Earthmaker.*—"You who are above, our Father, we ask life of you, extending tobacco. You made this for us; you let us have it. Indeed it is you that made it and yet you will take a handful of it that we extend to you and accept it as an offering. That is what you said to us. So grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga said, it is said. You blessed grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga with war powers and life. Bless us in turn now that we are about to offer you a handful of tobacco. We, as many clansmen as there are here, are about to send to you moccasins so that we may obtain life from you. Tobacco, deerskins as offerings, food of the white-haired animal, of a male animal, we are about to offer you."

*Offering to the Moon.*—"Grandmother, the Moon, moccasins, soup and tobacco, these we are about to offer you. Our request is for the

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×539 Teōk'agā' Djōbenagiwi'ąxga djagū' nądjirōrā'djoągi wōtā'ra. Je jēnge niągitā'winą."

*Offering to the Morning Star.*—"E'gi jige 'ūągere'gi Wiragō'ego Xetera' teōk'agā' Djōbenagiwiąxga nądjorā'djoągi djagū' nądjirorā'djoągi wōtā'ra jēnge'ją niągitā'winą hā'nąga. E'gi tani'ąa wōho'ąa nąhiruxā'djera waniągitū'eląą rehā'winą ā'nąga."

*Offering to Earth.*—"E'gi teōk'agā' waxōp'i'ni Djōbenagiwi'ąxga wāna'i' rūągitegi' niege' wāna'i'djorak'ā'rak'ere gīji mā'ąa hik.āre'k'enina. Ma''ąąa ę ni'ū'na djagū' ruk'o'ną niągigi'gi teōk'āga' nądjirōrā'djoągi Djōbenagiwi'ąxga je'e' niągitā'winą. Tani'ąa nitaksdjxra' nąhiruxā'djera waniągitū'eląą rehā'winą wōna'yirera ūąskeigo'i'ąa wōtā' me'jēnge niągitā'winą teōk'ā'."

*Offering to the Water-spirit.*—"E'gi jige teōk'ā' hunge' rōni-ani'ąera tani'ąa wąho'ąa nąhiruxā'djera wagudję'ra ai'ją niągitā'winą rehā'winą. Wajō'kiąa wōna'yirera hatątcaip'djā'winą ūąskeigo'i'ąa niągitā'winą."

*General prayer to the spirits.*—"Teōk'ā'wira hirądjt'djis aik'djā'ną nūnige' hąąk'e' wā'jiągirā'winj-ą'ndje teōk'ā'wira. Hā'k'ereni'ąk'djoągera, niąk'ūruhi'ndj rehā'winą. Ūąąkeik teōwā'rādjā'ną honjhā'ra djagū' adjt'regi hąąk'e' jēnge'ją e tąxū'ruk niąk'djonā'wi, nūnige higy' djāenge hawi'gi here'k'djonągā'djā. Hitcō'k'ewahi'wira hąąk'e' wajj'ęęp'i'hinani'je airā'jare. Higy' djaenge'niąk hagi' here'k'djonągā'dją. Niąk'uruhi'ndjwādjtgō'." (Song.)

### Filling of the Ceremonial Pipe and Smoking Ritual

*First filling of the pipe.*—E'gi jige' teōk waruya'p nāwą hi'regi nawo'ąa ā kārohni'regi tanjhū'ija hōjū-irā'nąga waruya'p ādja, "Ūąągere'gi hi-ā'ndjehihi'wira tani'hura hoik'o'rera ādja hap'ā'hi k'ere'rēną ūąskdji'ęęgi hū'nąbra hāp'ā'hi k'ere'rēną. Mā'ū'ąa ūąskdji'ęęgi nąąkee ā'nąąkee. E'ege tanjhū'ra hoik'o'rera ā'dja hap'ā'hi k'ere'rēną. Nąąwą haisu'nte hirera tanjhū-ā'k'a warūtcu'na hi'ją wa'ū'ną rūxā'nąga tao' hi-ā'nąga hoirā'tege hūwā'rēną hanąą'teixdji k'igō'nąąk'a hi wagigirā'ną. Ūąągerā'eaną hąąk'e' hinyągera' hiwagigi'nina. Hogigi'ąx tanjhū'ra hi'ąera range'p' hirera' jige' hōjū'.

*Second filling of the pipe.*—Hinybo'hąna wąho'ąa hādjā' wak'ere'rega ā'gi k'eni nawaj'ąani waruya'p nawaj'ąąk'djonā'gi tanjhū-ija

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things with which you blessed grandfather Djôbenagiwi'ąxgą. That we ask of you." 796x 539x

*Offering to the Morning Star.*—"You who are above, Morning Star, our request is that you bless us with that with which you blessed grandfather Djôbenagiwi'ąxgą. Tobacco and food and a buckskin offering we are about to send you." [a] 782 776

*Offering to Earth.*—"Grandmother Earth, you also added your power to the spirit bundle that grandfather Djôbenagiwi'ąxgą made. The powers Earthmaker put you in control of, and with which you blessed grandfather Djôbenagiwi'ąxgą, those we ask of you. Tobacco, soup, and a buckskin offering we are about to send to you and the request that we make of you, is war power and life."

*Offering to the Water-spirit.*—"Water-spirit, grandfather whose body is of water,[b] tobacco, food, and a buckskin offering for moccasins, we are about to offer you. I and my relatives desire to lay our hands on war and life."

*General prayer to the spirits.*—"Grandfathers, we have probably been very remiss in what we have done, but do not hold it against us, grandfathers. We greet you, war-bundle owners. The life (blessings) that those who have gone before us had, the songs that they handed down to us, not in their manner will we be able to sing, but still, however it be, it will be (our best). It has been said that nothing will provoke you,[c] grandfathers. Well, however, that is the way we will do it. I greet you." (Sung.)

FILLING OF THE CEREMONIAL PIPE AND SMOKING RITUAL

*First filling of the pipe.*—After they have sung the first war-bundle song, then they get a pipeful of tobacco ready and place it near the war bundle, speaking as follows: "Our father who art above, for you the pipe is extended; up straight above it is placed." Up straight above it is extended to Earthmaker, they say. For that reason do they arrange the pipe in that way. Then when the songs are finished the attendant takes the pipe, lights it, and takes it with him to the left side, giving all the men in the lodge an opportunity to smoke. Women are not allowed to smoke. The tobacco in the pipe is entirely consumed as the pipe makes the circuit of the lodge and it is then filled again. 796x 539x 782 276 [562]

*Second filling of the pipe.*—Then there at the feast for the second time do they place (the pipe). When they are about to sing the

[a] That this spirit was not mentioned before is an oversight on the part of the informant.

[b] Informal and ritualistic name for the Water-Spirit. It may mean chief. The general name which we loosely translate "Water-spirit" is "Wak'djerî."

[c] I. e., that no inadvertency nor ignorance on their part will anger the spirits and cause them to retreat from bestowing their blessings. This is, of course, an expression of ritualistic modesty, but I suspect that there is also a reference intended here to the fact that in these degenerate days not only are individuals no longer blessed as of yore, but certain details of the ceremony have been forgotten. I see no reason for giving too much weight to this last fact, but it may be best to have it in mind.

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539 hôjû'-jrânąga waruya'p teôwê'dja wak'ądjowak'jrî'rêdją tanjhû'djęga hoik'e'rerera hap'âhî' k'ere'ranąga. E'gi nąwą hiranâ'ną nąwą'ąa haisu'ndjiręgi'ji tânjhû'djęga wak'ândjaj'dja wap'â'hj k'ere'nąąk'a wak'andjâ'nąąk'a wagigô'nąąk'a ê'dja hadjî'rągi hi'ąek'dje'gi. E'ąge je'e' hidjâ' k'ere'nąąk'cana. Wak'andjâ'nąąk'a tanî'ąa wôhn'na nąhjrąxâ'djera, wak'aragi''ą wagigô'nąąk'a ê'dja wak'â'ragą hadjî'rągi. E'ąge tanjhû'djęga hijajdjâ'djągi hiąk'djo'ge ê'ąge wa'û'nąąkcana tanjhû'djęga.

*Third filling of the pipe.*—E'gi wagigô'nąąk'a wawigiwâ'ąxcana wê'ną, "Hatei'ndja hop'â'hi-ak'ere'k'djonê'je," ê'ra wagigô'nąąk'a hî'ją wê'ną, "Sâ'nijąk heroteą'djerągi hôp'â'hj k'ere'rêną." E'gi nąwaj'ąêną Hôcere'u'wahj nąî'wą wâ'nijągi wawî'u-iąê'ną. E'gi haisu'ndjiręra jige' tanjhû'ra hôgigi'ąx wagigi'rąną.

*Fourth filling of the pipe.* E'gi jige' tanj'hura p'jhj-ôju-â'nąga ągi jige' wawigi'waąxcana.

"Hatei'ndja hôp'â'hi-a!" "K'erê'k'djê'je maj'ndja t'ąhere." E'ąge maj'ndja t'ąpee. Mąk'û'hanęgi hunąge ê'dja tanî'hąk'a hôp'âhj t'ąp waą'u'-iąęną, maj'ndja t'ąjhrêga. E'gi wase' nąwą'ąa ąacdjaj'ąęgi tanî'hura hôgigi'ąx hîwagigi'je. E'gi k'jrigi' hąąk'e ôjunî'je jê'gu maindjat'ą'pee."

### Basic Ritual

*Host's first speech.*—Sâ'k'ereniąk'djo'gera minąąk'eâ'waągre hîteô'k'ewahî'wjra. Ep'î'ną hinągî'djjwjra. C'jdj wat'e'eniąk'â'ragik'djonâ'wj nûnige hąąk'e' wajigî'rawînj-ą'dje. Tok'e'wehj t'eniąk'â'ragik'djonâ'wj nûnige waxop'i'nj warâ'dijre cewewî'wiąge hinągî'djwî're. Ep'î'ną. Hąąk'e' wają'nj-ija p'jhanî'k'djonâ'wj nûnige hîteô'k'ewahî'wjra yoire'rągi hereera'teôk'agâ' Djôbenągiwî'ąxga hônjhâ' gik'ere'rągi wôrâ'tegą naî'ną. Jê'ągek'djonjhâ'wjną teôge'dja hônjhâ'ra djaage' teôk'agâ' wagit'ą'hjrągi yowehâ'k'djawî'je nûnige' hônjhâ'ra. Higu' hî'jąąk'ira hîrap'e'rea â'nąga ê'cana hawêrat'ege p'jk'djonê'je; teôk'agâ' ê'je al'rena. Higu' djâage â'nąga hônjhâ' higu' djâage nanâ'nąąk'î ąâk hjhrâ'gi hîteô'k'ewahî'wjra hinągî'p'erea hî'rêk'djonêna, al'rêra. Jê'ąge p'ewî'wiąge hôk'â'rąga naî'nąge. Hônjhâ' teąte' wahâ'ją-k'djonjhâ'wjną; djobo'hą hak'arał'sundjwigi ê'gi hôxgu' sak'ą'ąa hereąk'djonâ'na.

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war-bundle songs then they fill the pipe and place it in front of the war bundle, in the path of the Thunderbirds, extending the mouth-piece in that direction (i. e., the west). Then they would sing some songs and when these were finished, the Thunderbirds would come as feasters to where the pipe lay extended and smoke. That is why they place the pipes there. The Thunderbirds do this (i. e., smoke) as a sign of acceptance of the tobacco, food, and buckskins. So that a Thunderbird might smoke, do the feasters place the pipe there. 796x 539x 782 276

*Third filling of the pipe.*—Then the host asked the others, "In what direction shall I place this pipe?" and one of the feasters said, "Toward the south, place it." Then they sang the songs of the Disease-giver. Then when they were finished they carried around the pipe.

*Fourth filling of the pipe.*—Then the host fills the pipe again and again asks, "In what direction shall I place the pipe?" (and some one answers), "Place it toward the earth." So he placed it toward the ground. For those under the ground, the Water-spirits, they also place the pipe by standing it on the ground. Then they sing paint songs and when they are finished they pass the pipe around so that all may smoke. When it returns (to the host) it is not filled again but placed empty on the ground.

### Basic Ritual[46]

*Host's first speech.*—"War-bundle owners, who are sitting here, I send forth my greeting to you. It is good that you have come (in response to my invitation). It is my purpose to make you tired from sitting, but do not for that reason think any the worse of us. We will make you hungry, hungry to the point of starvation,[48] but (we know) you came for the sake of the spirits (not for our sake). It is good. We are not going to do anything in the correct manner, but our grandfathers who live in the west taught our grandfather Djóbenagjwi'ąxga some songs and these we are going to try and repeat. We will now sing the songs just as they taught it to grandfather. We may perhaps sing only one song. However, if you know only one song and take pains about it, it will suffice (to propitiate the spirits); so grandfather said, it is said. Anyhow, if we try to cry, in our efforts of singing,[49] our grandfathers will take cognizance of it, it is said. That is what we are thinking of when we try to get the spirits' attention by singing.[50] We will do our best to sing the songs,[50] and we will sing four of them; and when we 796x 539x

[46] For explanation see Introduction.
[47] Ritualistic description.
[48] I. e., If you put yourself into a state of religious fervor, a state that I have generally rendered by the word "pitiable."
[49] The word "hók'ê'rąga" means, literally, "by voice to attract attention." "Hó-" is not an instrumental particle but the word for voice, speech.
[50] Literally, "to make one's breath visible in the form of song or speech," a ritualistic circumlocution for sing.

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×539 "Sā'k'ereṛa tci-ō'jụ minąskrā'wągre ni'ąk'ūrụhi'ndj rehā'wị-djigō'." (Warụra'p Nąwą.)

Ūągi'ją wōgigō'minąąk' agā'k'inoąk t'āp djąā'nąga wā'je.

*First guest's address to the young people.*—"Sā'k'erenisk'djo'gera minąskrā'wągre nik'ūrụhi'ndj rehā'winą. Hōtcintci'n watcēgera' waxōp'i'ni hik'ągē'ją hōnjhā'ra niągiwawī'ụ-inck djanā're hiwaci'ra djirehiregi'jị wanągdjiwī'po wōną'yirera nąk'ixū'ruk nąī'wiṇe. E'gi hī'nụgera wągwątcā'hwira wōną'yire wanągixū'ruk nąī'-wiṇe. Hąąk'e' gā'djuąga jē'ąge hiṇuxū'rugenjhahą'keąną tcirge'-dja ūąąkrik trọwā'rēdjąpe hī'ją waryrī' te jē'ąge higa djā'nąga ūągi-ē'riga jē'nuąga hiwacī' djirehī'rega. Haną'teiąxdjị hąąk'ī'ją miną'geninąąkē'ā'je. E'gi jige hinụgera' hirge ūąąkci'go'ị wągī'ụ wā'ụ'-inēje. Hajseretcị'ege wacira' hąąk'agā' hōrụe'ā'giranje'ā'je ai'rera. Jē'ąge hanjk'ā'rajtwige wahā'djeną. Wōną'yire ūąąkci-go'ī'ọa ē'gi wōwąī'ę'giregi hōrūxū'rugera je ai'rera jē'ąge p'ōwi'ąge wahē'ną. Sā'k'ereṛa minąskrā'wągre niąk'ūrụhi'ndj rehawịdjigō'.

*Host's second speech.*—Sā'k'erenisk'djo'gera minąskcā'wągere nik'ūrụhindj rehā'winą.

"Hitcō'k'ewahī'wira tcinągidjaị'ją wajadjē'giji wirọk'ū'ọa wawjrō'k'ụągi. P'ī'ną hip'ereairē'je. Hip'e'rea nąī'ọegi nądjōk'ī'dją ci'regi. Hī'nụk warō'nị mąk'ē' ai'rēje. Hit'ę'-nụąk'ē'ją ną'tegera tēk' hī'regi. Hinụgī'ją twust'ę'k'iągjị hụąge' mągitcā'wą wāt'ụ'pce hụąge' xgicgū'nị wajągy'xera wajiṇūk'o'no gigigi. Hinụąk'djega nądjodjaị'je. Hụąge' t'ewągik'ī'k'ū-ā'nąga hinụ'k'djega ē'dja wirōk'u' rūągi. P'ī'ną hip'ere'ziregi. Mąk'aị'-k'arai'tcągi. Tcēk'djī'ną wa'ụ'je. Mąxī' ūągeregi' hiwizī'giją mąxī'k'orsecop gīwị'x nąji'je. Hinụgera wā'ụje' mak'aị'ją

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are finished then it will be time for us to eat." Warriors who are sitting within the lodge, we send forth our greetings to you." (War-bundle song.) 796x 539x

Then a man sitting opposite the seat of the host gets up and speaks.

*First guest's address to the young people.*—"War-bundle owners, young men, those who are the proxies of spirits, are about to use a song for you and start a dance in your behalf; and when they do it, get up and try to obtain war powers by dancing. Women, you should also try to obtain war powers for your brothers by dancing. Now we are not able to obtain (the number of men) that our ancestors used to obtain in the beginning. Then, if in a speech they asked for them, as many men as there were around would immediately begin to dance. Not one of them would remain in his seat. Young women, they used to act in that way in order to obtain life also. All night they would dance and not a single one would tire of it. We encourage you to do thus; that is why I am saying this. That the obtaining of life may be easy, is the reason they told us this. Because I believe it (likewise) is the reason I am telling it to you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you all."

*Host's second speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are sitting here, I greet you all.

"Our grandfathers knew that one of a different tribe[46] had had a vision and obtained material for use (in life). They tried to obtain it and (finally) asked him to pity them. The medicine was called hinuṇgwā'roṇj.[48] They made the heart of the man of this other tribe (Hit'e'nuṇk'e) sad.[49] (He had obtained it in the following manner): A woman fasted[50] and one of the Water-spirits whom the Creator had placed there for all eternity, a Water-spirit for keeping (the earth) quiet,[51] blessed her with the power he had been placed in charge of. The Water-spirit had himself die and the woman there 796x 539x 787 [776] [789]

[46] Literally, "last movements" in reference to the last-eating contest that takes place during the feast.

[47] This is not a Winnebago tale.

[48] My interpreter could not translate the name of this medicine into English. He thought that it might mean "wicked woman medicine," but this is extremely doubtful.

[49] I. e., at the idea of parting with it. What tribe is meant by "Hit'e'nuṇk'e," it has been impossible to find out. The word, I believe, means "those whom we can speak with" in reference to the fact that their language was intelligible to the Winnebago. I was definitely assured that neither the Oto, Iowa, or Missouri were meant. I have sometimes surmised that the Winnebago may be referring to the Mandan, whose language, from the little I have seen of it, is surprisingly close to that of the former. All that the older Winnebago could tell me about the Hit'e'nuṇk'e was the fact that many years ago they had been in contact with a tribe speaking a language similar to their own. [114]

[50] Literally, "to thirst oneself to death," the ritualistic expression for fasting.

[51] He is referring to one of the four beings whom Earthmaker had placed at the four ends of the world to prevent it from moving continually, as related in the origin myth of the Medicine Dance and of the Thunder-bird clan.

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X 539 nąpwirō'ra hīk'ī'-ǫ hī-ā'nąga hīwīxī'k'djęga hīmaną'k'ī t'ę'xdji cī'beregi; teīrahē'ra hōwā'djihūhī'je hīnągeną'k'a teōwehi-ē'dja k'īriną'kee. Mąk'ō'k'onąnk je'e' 'ąk'djē'gi hereje. Ēgi ūanąk nace'rege īhą'pcaną nīhē'ra hatē'gi. Ūanąk'djęga wageje', "Hak'-ik'ū'ruk'ozā'dje hąnk'e' ē'gi ōwahū' na'iyą'dje." Wają' wahī'-racge wawōgī'rakce hīrak'ā'rak'arawi-ą'dje. "Hąhę' te'e wase' nąwąnk'djonē'ną ūanąk'djęga djigī' t'ek'djonē'ną. Hąnk'e' djīnink'djē'ną hīrak'ā'rak'arawi-ā'dje." Ē'gi hąhę'regi wase' nąwą'gi ūa'nk'djęga nąngadjī'je. Rōgiyī'ra nūnige hōk'awā'nąga wacidjā''ą t'eje. Ē'gi waso'nǫnk'a hit'ę'nunk'e wase' hīgai'reje teīpa gīdjai'ją mejē'nuga."

"Wase'nąk'a p'īna hīp'e'rezirē'ge hīgik'ī'cerēje nądjōk'ī'dją cī'regi wagirū'cdją hūhī'je. Ēge wase'nąnk'a harūteą'bīregi hank'e' tei-ǫro'gzregi wajīnok'u'-inanī'je. Warąya'p k'ū'-inęje. Wasę'nąnk'a wōna'yirēdja hī'ą'-inęgi p'iągi hīp'e'reztinēge. Hī'-k'aracī'cik hīrēge' warąyā'pregi hōk'ā'rak'ā'nąnk hīrē'ną. Hōnī-hā'ra teątī' wahā'k'djonihā'winą wasi-ā'nī hanīwi-ā'nąga wahē'k'djonihā'wije warąyā'p nāwą wahē'k'djonihā'winą. Wasiā'nī hanīwī'gi hāga wajā'nija 'ū'-inęwīegū'niną. Hank'e' wasiā'nī hīraną'k'īk'īwī ā'nąga wahā'nink'djonā'winą hōnihā'ra hank'e' wawatą' p'īnik'djonā'wi nūnige hījank'ī'ra hīrap'e'-rezgī'ege yak' hībi-ą'dje aī'reęra. Jē'age wahēk'djonā'winą. Sā'k'erenink'djǫ'gzra minąnkcā'wanągre nik'ūruhi'ndj rehā'-widjigō." (Wase' Nąwą.)

*Host's third speech.*—"Sā'k'erenink'djǫ'gzra minąnkcā'wanągre ni'nk'ūruhindj rehā'winą. Tǫk'o'wehi t'ninik'ā'ragi-ānąngwī nūnige' hōk'ā'raga na'ī'nisge wāhaną'gwire.

Teōk'agā' Djōbenągiwi'nxga ūanągī'ją hot'ę'ruk'onā'iją sā'nink' yorǫteǫ'djeregi nank'ī'ji waxōp'i'ni warā'djireęra djānunągā'k'i hī'caną hīraitce'raje wōna'yire rūk'o'naną xetē'ją herēje. Ē'gi hąbiruk'onai'ją hereje ē'gi hōt'ę' rūk'o'naiją herēje. Teōk'agā' wīrarǫteǫ'djęgādją hak'idją'je wāgeje' wōna'yire ūanąkci'gǫ'i nądji-rǫrā'djǫgi. Ē'gi wageje, "Hagārē'ją hak'ārak'ą'iege rędjū'na djadjai'xdji hip'ā' ninē'gi jedjai'xdji p'ā hatci'ndja nank'ūji hank'e' wamā'ninink'djonē'ną hōwajairē'ege, hōni'nk waci'nina

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took the material (the remains of the Water-spirit).[73] That it is good, they knew. Then she tried her medicine. The first time she did the following: Up above, almost near the sky, a hawk stood whirling around. The woman dipped her forefinger into the medicine and then she pointed it at the hawk and it fell dead; she made it fall through the top of a house; right in front of the woman it landed. She wanted to use it as a medicine bag. Then she dreamed that they had taken a man from his home that he might fast. She said to the man, "Put forth all your strength and don't try to come here." She also told his relatives to watch him. "To-night I am going to sing a paint song and if he comes he will die. Take care of him that he doesn't come." That night she sang a paint song and the man came running to her. She forbade him but he came anyhow and he died dancing. This medicine is called hit'ę'nuṇk'e medicine, referring to the name of another tribe, and that is how it acted. 796x 539x 787 789

"They (our ancestors) knew that it was good paint and he (one of them) tried to get him (the Hit'ę'nuṇk'e) to bless him with the paint (the latter had obtained from the woman). When they obtained it, they never used it in their own midst (i. e., among themselves). They made a medicine-bundle of it. The paint-medicine, it is good to use in war. That they knew very well. They were very sparing in their use of it (because it was so valuable). They placed it in their war-bundle. Paint-songs we are about to use, yet we are singing for the war-bundle. If, indeed we had paint medicine we would amount to something. We are not going to sing as if we thought ourselves in possession of paint-medicines nor will we sing them correctly. Yet if we knew only one, if we could (in singing this one) bring ourselves to the state of crying (it would be all right), it is said. That is why we say it."[74] (Paint song.) [778]

*Host's third speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. I know that I am causing you to famish with hunger, but we are doing this in an attempt to get the attention (of the spirits). One in control of death who dwells in the south[75] and who of himself possesses greater war power than all the other spirits that exist, blessed grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ṇxga. He is in control of life and in control of death. He met grandfather in the middle of the day and blessed him with war powers and life. He said (to our grandfather when he blessed him), "If I should ever go on the warpath, your descendants, as many as they are and wherever they live, I will not tread upon, should they get sick.[76] However, your posterity never will get sick. Should they ever have a bad illness, 796x 539x [776] 000

[73] The Winnebago believe that the "bones" of the mythical "Water-spirits" possess the most magical qualities when powdered and mixed up into medicines. All "paint medicines" are made of "Water-spirit bones." [776]

[74] All these sentences are, of course, expressions of ritualistic modesty.

[75] I. e., Dream-giver.

[76] Cf. note 28, p. 467, for explanation of these words.

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×539 hąnk'e' hōwajaį'raniąk'djonē'ną. E'gi 'ų'iącgi ūąnkei'gǫ'ī'ąa hīranī'na ī'rawī-ā'nąga tanīō'niągijū'irawigi hījū'jugī'ja."

"Hōcere'ų'wahira ā'xdji wā'ąje' wak'ą'teąnk wągigī'je ōje. Ūąnkei'gǫ'ī'ąa hōwajā' cici'k' ąu-jnā'nąga tanī-ōniągī'jū-irā'wigi hījū'jugera wōho'na tanī'ąa mącū'ąa cunkągā'rijā teje'nąga nąbiną'gicąruxadji-ā'nąga. "E'gi hijū'jąk wak'ątcą'k niągī'-giwira hōwe'ū'ąa rū-ā'γira e'ąwi'ną. Nābiruxā'djera hiną hiągī'-giwigi hījū'jugera hōcewe'u'wigi. Ūąnkei'gǫ'ī hōwatechī'ra hījā teōrā'jū wac'ą'gi. Howajā' cici'k 'ū'ną jedjaī'ąxdi p'ā hanąntcgaī'sdjonē'ną. Hąnk'e' hawīdje'dją hījā hōwajā' cici'k 'ū'nīk'-djonē'ną."

Hōcere'u'wahira ewā'ną. E howajā' cici'k 'u'wahira wēge jēsgēk'djonē'ną. Te'jēsge teōk'agā' Djōbenąągiwi'ąxga nādjirodjaī'ącje. Hōnihā'ra teąt'i djīrehā'k'djonehā'winą. Sā'k'ereniąk'-djo'gera minąnkcā'wąągre niąk'ūruhi'ndj rehā'widjigo. (Hōcere'u'-wahi Nąwą.)

*Host's fourth speech.*—"Sā'k'ereniąkdjo'gera minąnkcā'wąągre niąk'ūruhindj rehā'winą. Hīro-ā'geregi hak'arai'sunte djik'djonā'-winą. Teōk'agā' Djōbenągiwi'ąxga hąbogū'regi hōk'ā'was manī'-ąa waxōp'i'ni wāna'i djok'arak'e'rēje. Teōk'agā' Djōbenągiwi'-ąxga p'e'rea na'iągī'ji tok'e'wehi īwu's t'e'k'ije ūānądjōdjaī'age wa'ąje. Teēk'djī'ąa hatī-ā'ginąk'tegi djōba'hona gā'dja hōk'ā'was manī'ąa hagū'jregi. Rok'o'no gū'jreje nīhā' gū-jreje higī' kīridje'-reje. 'Uąnkcige' īwust'e' rak'i'ge nądjōnidjā'winą. Hąhe' wīgaī'-rera jā'age wahadjā'winą. Wōna'γirera ūąnkcigǫ'ī'ąa nądjirorā'-djaną higaī'reje'. Woruxū'djgadją djagūānā'ege, 'Te'e hąhe' wāna'geną hī'regi!' Wǫruxū'tegadją te wā'nink xonū'nink hecā'-pge wā'nąnkce. Gicdjahē'regi. Jige hīraī'teera nąntegę'ra tā'kee.' 'Teak'o'! Jēgu teā'k djel' hīreje. Jā'gu hatjā'ginądjera jige' p'ihī' hīwajā'je jā'gu hąnk'e' wā'rudjenī'je. Hak'e'wēhą nąągā'dja. E'gi hąbogū'regi hąhe'ra hagū'-jregi. Rok'o'no hagū'-jreje nīhā' gū-ireje, ā'gi hīdjā' k'īridje'reje, 'Uąnkcige' nądjonidjā'winą.

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Should they ever have a bad illness
they have the means of obtaining life by praying for it,"[95] by offering 796X
tobacco and a flute.[534] 539X

"Disease-giver himself made these things holy. Thus they would 782
obtain life, if they had any illness, by offering you reed flutes, food, 776
tobacco, feathers, a white dog, and by making you at the same time an offering of buckskin hides. (Thus Disease-giver spoke to our grandfather when he blessed him:) 'A holy flute I made for you, and I forbade you to blow upon it, yet you did it. Now, hereafter, if you offer me a sufficient number of buckskins, you may blow upon it. A different life from that of others will you lead, if you do that. You will be able to cut off (stop) a bad disease caused by someone else. Nor will this one (who was ill) ever have another disease.'"

"Thus Disease-giver spoke. This is what the one who causes disease said. That is how they blessed our grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga. A song I am now about to start. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." (Disease-giver song.)

*Heat's fourth speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, 796X
I greet you. The last (song) we will now finish. You who are in the 539X
east, Night Spirits, you also added your blessing to the spirit bundle 787
of grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga. So that he might know (be 776
blessed by) the spirits, grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga starved and thirsted himself to death[96] and made himself pitiable. At first he fasted four nights and the Night Spirits came to him; with mighty sounds they came.[97] There they stood (and said), 'Human, you have thirsted yourself to death and we bless you (for that reason). We who speak are the spirits who are called Night Spirits.' They blessed him with war power and life, they said. Then he looked and (said to himself), 'I wonder whether these really are the Night Spirits that speak.' So he looked at them and they were small birds called *hecī'pge*.[98] They had fooled him. Then once again was his heart sore. 'Well! I will die,' he thought (fasting). So he fasted again and once again he rubbed on (the charcoal). For six nights he continued to fast. And again from the east the Night Spirits came. They came making a great noise and they stood near him (and said), 'Human, we bless you. You have thirsted yourself to death and you have made your heart sore. We felt sad on your account. With

[95] A rather curious expression used only in elevated language and meaning, literally, "to obtain with the mouth"—i. e., either by speeches, prayers, or singing. The expression would hardly be permitted in ordinary Winnebago.

[534] He does not mean by offering flutes, but by playing on them. Reed flutes are generally contained in the bundles of most spirits, but they seem to be more closely connected with the Disease-giver and the Buffalo.

[96] This, I believe, is the meaning of the last three sentences. They are somewhat obscure, and I do not guarantee the correctness of the rendering.

[97] Literalistic expression for fasting.

[171] All powerful spirits are supposed to approach with loud noises. This is also characteristic of the Ojibway spirits.

[98] English equivalent unknown.

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X539 I'wus t'ę'rak'iŋge nątegę'ra nitę'gɛra. Nątegę'ra niŋgitegwī'ną. Wōna'ɣirę̨ra ūąkcigǫ'ī'ǫą nądjirǫrā'djągi,' hiŋgaī'rę̨ną gijī'. Wōrūxū'tece, 'Djagūā'hąhę' waną'ŋgeną hirę̨gā'djaʔ' hīrę̨je. Te hąąk'e' hąhę' wanī'nąąkce. K'awī'cge, teōxdjī, ei'k'ok'ok' jejē'-ŋge wā'nąąkce gicdjā'k'e wā'nąąkce kī'ji. E'teą nątegē'ra tēk'djī'-je, 'Teak'o! gijī teēk'dje,' hīrę̨je' gijī. Hatā'ginądjɛra. Jige' p'ihī' hiwā jā'je. Hataginą'djenąąk'ā haruwo'gahą nąągā'dja. E'gi jige hąbogū'regi hąhę'ra nąwągū'-jrę̨je. Nihā'gū'-jrę̨je higī' k'īrjdje' regi wagaī'rę̨je,' Hitcuęge', nądjǫnjdją'winą. Higu k'ī'ni a'ī hirā'ɣagwī'ną. Ūąkcige' hiąk'agā' hiją' nądjwadjā'-wininą. Wōna'ɣirę̨ra ūąkcigǫ'ī'ǫą djagū' gīp'ī' c'uąk'djē'ną',' higaī'rę̨je gijī. Wōruɣī'tece te, 'Djagūā'nacge hąhę' waną'gɛnąʔ' hīregī gadją. Te hąąk'e' hąhę' waniną'kce. P'atcō gisge wī'ɣɛra djānaga teap'ōxgē'ra cē'pgi. Jēsge wā'nąąkce djā'nąga wāniąk cici'geniągerā k'īji. Hī'keakcā'-jre hīrę̨je' Djōbenagiwi'ŋxga. Teak'o! Hataginą'djeregi jē'gu teē'k'dje' herę̨je. Hatāginą'-djera jige' p'ihī' wajaje jē'djuŋga mącdjā' ākce.

Tanī'ǫą nąhā'k'ī hōjū' hąhīō'wak'īrjrē'dją hōp'ā'hi nąji-ā'nąga tanī'na nąhō'jū ōdjōp'ā'hi tanī'ǫą wagiwā'hą nąhā'k'ī nąji-ā'nąga nądjǫk'īdjā'xdjī ākce. Je'djuŋga mącdją' nątegę'ra tēkce gijī. K'e'reponą'īją nągā'dja. E'gi hagūadjī'rę̨je. Ūąkcige', haniąk'oā'djiną. Hirǫną'girę̨je hąbōgū'regi hap'ā'hi hōwā'nj-ak'arai'rę̨je; hąhę' teinǫ'gɛra hatei'ndjanąąk'ī ō'dja hani-ą'girē'je. Hąhę' huŋgera e hagū'hi wagigī'je. Teinoąk'īsā'gedja teiseredjī'ją hąbōgū'ra hap'ā'hi-ā'kce. E'dja hani-o'-jk'awrai'rę̨je. Hąhę' djā'nąga xete-ā'k'ī wajirąk'o'nonoąk'ī'jī jā'nuŋga teiroixdjī-ą'kce. Hōk'awā'regi wahinǫ'ągara ai koe'ǫ'gedja hip'ā' hiną'p'ągerā'je. Tei-ā'k'a wōhǫ'ǫą p'ōdjera' djanagā'k'ī wǫhǫ'ǫą gōdjōwai'rę̨je hadjāje. E'gi teahā'ra teisā'niąk teōwā'ra 'uniną'je. E'gi wagai'rę̨je ūąkcige' higąk'ī'nj a'iarawā'ną; higąk'ī'nj nątegę'ra nitę'kce.

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war power and life we bless you,' they said. Then he looked at them. 796x
'I wonder whether they really are the Night Spirits!' he thought. 539x
They were not the Night Spirits who were speaking to him. The 787
birds that spoke were the *kawt'ege*, *tcōxdji*, and *ci'k'ok'ok'*.[53] They 776
were the ones that spoke and they were the ones that fooled him. Instead of feeling sad this time, however (he said), 'I don't care what happens; I am willing to die (in order to get the blessing),' he thought to himself. Then he began fasting again. He rubbed the (charcoal) over (his face) again. Seven nights he fasted. And once again from the east the Night Spirits came singing. They came and stood (before him) and they said, 'Nephew, we bless you. So long have you been sad and cried to us piteously (that we will bless you). No one did we ever bless before. In war and life you shall do just as you wish,' they said. Then he looked again. 'I wonder whether those speaking are really the Night Spirits!' he thought. But they were not the Night Spirits. They were the bluebird, *gi'ege*,[54] and duck, and as many of them as there were, their breasts were dark. As many birds as there were, they were bad. 'My, O my! How they abuse me!' he cried. At first Djōbenągiwi'ąxga had thought in his fastings that just to spite them he would fast again. Now he rubbed (charcoal on his face) again and wept bitterly.[55] Both hands contained tobacco and he stood in the direction from which the Night Spirits came and weeping, put himself in the most abject condition.

"Now, indeed, to its very depths did his heart ache. Ten nights did he fast. Finally they (the Night Spirits) came after him. 'Human, I have come after you.' He followed (the spirits) and they took him to the east; to the site of a Night Spirit village they took him. The chief of the Night Spirits had sent this one to go after him. In the village was a long lodge standing in the east. There they took him. As many Night Spirits as there were in control of powerful blessings, of that many the lodge was full. When he entered he walked in white feathers up to his knees.[56] Many kettles and much food he saw stretched right across (the lodge). On the outside, a buffalo hide stretched almost across the entire lodge. Then they said to him, 'Human, without giving up, long you have suffered; your heart has, indeed, been sad. They, as many spirits as there are

[53] English equivalents for the first two unknown. The last is probably the robin.

[54] English equivalent unknown.

[55] He wept bitterly not so much on account of his disappointment as for the purpose of bringing himself into a state of religious ecstacy. The change of attitude from one of spite to realization that not in such a way were blessings from deities like the Night Spirits to be obtained is very well brought out here. It was a cardinal tenet of the religion of the devout shamans that your success in obtaining blessings was in direct proportion to the motives and intensity of feeling you brought to your prayer. To throw away your life through mere disappointment was deemed absolutely unethical, (a thought that) is brought out quite distinctly in the systematic teachings given to the young. [786]

[56] The lodges of the Night Spirits are supposed to be strewn with white feathers as a sign of holiness. As far as known no symbolism is attached to it.

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×539 Ha'e'ninā'na djanīsgā'k'djera tel-ō'ju-ā'gere mejā'nuga hanā'tej hāhe' wa'ūa'ąkeana. Ē'gi ne hāhe' wirąk'o'nana 'ūinā'na. Wōguxotel'ra hacdjaro'nangre, te'e hōnik'ą'-inēna. Wōhe'ne djasgā'gere hanąk'agā' eūruc'ā'geniąk'djonā'na. 'Teahā' nąhjruxā'-djera djanągā'cdjare tejā'nuga tanj-ō'waxu rak'ere'ranirek'djon-ēna. Holei'p djasgā'gere jēsgā'nihāk'djanā'na. Hāhe' telnę'-geregi wōguxotel'ra hōnik'ą'-inēna. Wōna'ąjręra djasgū' e'ąąanec'j e'ąąk'djonā'na. Ē'gi ūanąkeiguī'ne djadjaī'xdji p'ā. 'Tanj-ō'-waxą'ne 'unā'nihā'gi jedjaj'xdji p'ā holei'p'dji, tanī'ne wōhe'na teahā' nąhjruxā'djera māeą' eūdjera' holei'p'dji wōgu'xotejra hāedjare. Ē'gi dji-ā'gik'djonā'na holei'p hinisgi p'erez hiranihā'-k'djonā'na.

"Teōk'agā' Djōbenagiwi'ąxga, te'jēsge higai'regi. E ō'je. K'aratā' wahā'k'djanā'wina hōnihā'ra teąt'j wahā'wigi. Sā'niąk' hāhoūre'rera teōk'agā' Djōbenagiwi'ąxga hōnihā'ra djāsge'xdji gik'ere'regi hąnk'e' jēsge'xdji hōwehā'wjnjege hiteō'k'ewahī'wjra hąnk'e' wajipe'p'ihī'nanije. Aī'rejare. Hōnihā'ra hijąk'ī'ra hirap'e'rezk'ī'ege ąak hibj-ā'dje airera. Jē'sge wage' wahōk'-djonā'wigadja. Sā'k'ereniąk'djo'gera minąkcā'wągre niąk'ūru-hindj rehā'wjdjigō'." (Hāhe' Nąwą.)

### The Feast

*Host's speech.*—"Sā'k'ereniąk'djo'gera minąkcā'wągre niąk'-ūruhī'teeanā. Hijąk'ī'ra wāxōp'j'nina wājągu'xera gīji e wągā'ū'nā here nūnige' wajē'gere e anē'te 'u nūnige' djagū'rijā nitā'k'ate hiągigī'wige tanī'ne warūte xō'p'inj hirak'ī'ruteap hagitū'edjā rehak'djonā'wjnā. Djaągī'hiwj-ā'nąga; djāsge haiege hiągip'e'rez hiranā'gunj hinega hiweeu'nugādja. A'nąga, 'Ūąkei'-gera hijē sāk'ererēra niągenā'k'ī ā'dja wōhe'djega warā'djonā'na. Ē'gi jige sā'niąk' hoire'regi herera' tanī'ne wagigī' na'ī'niage rohī'-wik'ągawj wąągaik'ā'rabirā'wjra jēsgā'jā. Warūte xōp'inj tanī'ne hirarū'teap hagitū'edjā rehā'wjra yoire'regi wak'ā'ndja huągera. Djāsge' haiege hiągip'e'rezjranā'gunj. Hijęega hiwā'ū'cunugā'djā ā'nąga. Jige sak'erē'jā hidjā'nąk'ī wōhe'ne e-ā'rate."

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796x 539x 787 776

in the lodge, that many talked of what was to happen to you. And I, I am the chief of the Night Spirits. This creation-lodge just as you see it (i. e., with all it contains) I give to you.[87] You will never be in want of food. You are to offer as many buckskins as you see here and tobacco for all time. Thus it shall be. The "creation-lodge" of the village of the Night Spirits I give to you. You can go on as many war parties as you wish and obtain as much life. As many tobacco offerings as they (i. e., you and your descendants) continue to give, all the tobacco, food, buckskin offerings, red feathers, as many as there are, they will all come to the "creation-lodge" that you see, and we will accept them.' [782]

"Thus did they speak to grandfather Djôbenagiwi'ąxga. So he said. We will do this that we may ask (blessings) for our relatives and sing songs. Even if we do not perform everything in just the manner that the spirits in the east (told) our grandfather Djôbenagiwiąxga, we know that our grandfathers (the spirits) will not be offended. So they say. Even if you know only one song, if you bring yourself to the point of crying in your efforts (it will be all right). Thus we mean to say it. War-bundle owners, who are seated here, I greet you." (Night Spirit song.) 796x 539x

THE FEAST

*Host's speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. Every spirit that the Creator created he made for us,[88] but whatever food he made for us all those things we were to offer up (to the spirits) together with tobacco and the sacred feast. What we are to do, what I can do to make these things known to them, that is what we should think of and talk about. (This is what the Creator said): Let (the host) call upon a warrior, a young man present at the feast. For the one who lives in the west he should make offerings of tobacco and attempt to be like (the spirits), so that one of our own members should be considered (by the spirits) as the same as themselves.[89] A sacred feast and tobacco together with it we are about to offer to the chief of the Thunderbirds in the west. What can I do that they might have knowledge of these (offerings)? Thus we should be thinking, (the Creator) said. A war-bundle owner who is present we should call upon (to take charge of) a kettle."[90] [782]

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[87] The lodges of the spirits are always called "creation lodges" in reference to the fact that it was by the assembled spirits in these lodges that at the beginning of the world everything was set in order. The principal "creation lodge" was that of Earthmaker, to which the soul of a dead individual wandered after death and from which he was sent to the world again if he chose to take human form once more. [776 775]

[88] I. e., that they might give us blessings.

[89] I. e., impersonate the spirits. It will be remembered (cf. Introduction) that such guest is supposed to impersonate a spirit.

[90] Host's speech ends here. What follows is description.

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×539 E'gi jige wōhaĮ'ją sairak'ā'rara K'aradjŭ' Sep'[108] Xetera higai regi wohaĮ'ją hiranā''iągi jige' hiege je'e' niągo' waratece.

E'gi jige Hōcere'u'wahira wōhaĮ'ją hagik'ere'regi jige je'e' niągo' wā'ratece.

E'gi jige' hiege Rek'ū'hūhi higai'regi wōhaĮ'ją hagik'ere'regi e'gi jige wāratece'.

E'gi jige hąbawi'ra wōhą' gik'ere'regi jige je'e' hiege ūąk hidjahi' wāratece.

E'gi jige' Wiragō'ege Xetera wahā'gik'ere'regi jige niągo' wāratece.

E'gi jige teōni'xdji wōhąna'djira nihera je'e' wōk'e'ra djanąą'hi hi'regi ūąągera hina rūse, jē'nuga hak'itea'k'djege. E'gi jige hinu'bera wōhą' harā'djireera hiege'ege k'ūruzā'nąga.

Wap'e'nąąkee ūąągera djā'nąga wap'arā'djireera.

E'dja jige hiege hanę'te wōk'e'ra djanąągā'gi jē'nuga hinā' k'ūruzirā'je. Hanę'teiąxdji wasgō'ra wawōk'ā'raju-irā'nąga, wamoąk'ā'rajejērā'nąga. Wōrū'djiraeaną hap'e'djina'geregi. E'gi jige djānąga teiroju-ā'k'a hotā' hąąk'e' wap'ā' rūdje'dja waradjirā'niągi. Wōkj-ō'niąge wawōgijū'reje. E'gi djānąga ūąągera hinu'gera wa'ūąąk'i'ji hanę'teiąxdji hak'i'tegus wasgō'ra wawęgi'ju hi'regi.

E'gi wap'ā' rūdje'nąąk'ā. Ūąągwā'eęęera wa'ū'nąąkee. Hąąk'e' ūąągwaeęęe'nina wōk'iō'niąge wawōgi' juhirā'je. Hinugera' ūąąk hąąk'e' waeōee'nina wap'ā' rūdjenę'k'ā. Ūąągerā'eaną wap'ā'rūte rūxū'rugenę'keeną. Hąąk'e' hinu'gera wap'ā'rūte wagigi'nąąkee. Ūąągwā'eęęra hōtā' wagigō'nąąk'ā gik'jri'regi wagik'i'rinąąk'a hinugwā'teabera hiteujo'wahira hiteu'-jwahi'ra, je'e' wawirō'k'arapū'nuną erā'nąąk'e. Tei-ō'k'isā'gedja wap'ā'-rūte wak'aragi'ną wak'jri'djęga. Hinuwa'teabera hiteujo'wahira hinu'k wajā'wahira hi'nuąk tei-ō'k'isā'gedja wap'ā rūdjenę'k'a wajā woitō-i'xetexdjija herege'. Hanę'teiąxdji hirak'i'k'arajt nę'-keaną.

E'gi węrū'djera hap'e' djinagi'regi hanę'tei wagigō'nąąk'a wak'ūruhi'ndjerhi-ā'nąga wēje.

"Wange'ri-ęwidje'dja herecunugā'dją wak'ā'ragāk'djonihā'-winą. Sa'k'ereniąk'djo'gera minąąkcā'wąągre niąkūruhi'ndj rehā'-widjigo." (Wā'rudj Nąwą.)

[108] The "e" of kerędje has become assimilated to the "a" of the preceding word.

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And a war-bundle owner for the second kettle should be called upon a kettle offered in connection with him whom we call Great Black Hawk. 796x 539x 782

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle placed for Disease-giver. 776

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the spirit whom they call South Wind.

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the Sun.

Then they also select another man to be in charge of a kettle put on for the Morning Star.[55]

Then the first one who had been called upon for a kettle takes as many pieces of food as there are individuals in his band who eat with him. The second one who had been called upon also takes enough pieces (for his band). 796x 539x 262

Those who are going to eat the head have to wait.[56]

Then all took enough pieces to suffice for their band.

Then they (the attendants) put the pieces of meat in plates and cut them up into small portions. Now all are in readiness for the meal. Only some of those in the lodge are called upon to eat the head. The plate of the others is filled with ordinary cuts (of meat). As many men and women as are present, for that many do they cut up the pieces of meat evenly and place them in the plate.

Only warriors are head eaters. Not to warriors do they give common pieces. Women and men who are not warriors can not take part in this head eating. Only men can take part in the head eating. They would not permit women to eat the head. However, those of the feasters who were warriors and had brought home war trophies would speak a good word for the trophy bearers, their sisters, their nieces, and their aunts,[57] and these would be allowed to sit in the midst of the head eaters. The sisters or the aunts, whatever women were allowed to sit among the head eaters, considered it a very great honor. Thus all were encouraged to do. [554 562] [602]

Now (the preparations being finished) all are waiting for the meal and the host gets up and speaks.[58]

"I greet you all. When it (the meat) gets into the plate, then it is the time to try to get the spirit's attention by singing. War-bundle owners, who are seated here, I greet you all." (Eating song.)

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[55] In the first division of the ritual seven kettles are prepared; in the second division, four.

[56] The eating of the deer's head is the greatest honor that one can obtain in this ceremony, and only warriors are permitted to take part in it. [654]

[57] When a warrior returned from a successful war party with the first war honor, i. e., if he had counted coup first, he was given a wampum necklace, and this he presented to his oldest sister or to the daughters of his father's brother or mother's sister or to his mother's sister. 262]

[58] This is the continuation of his speech that had been interrupted by the preparations for the meal [131]

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THE FAST-EATING CONTEST

539 Teōk'djī'ṇa warū'djera here k'ārọhō'gi ā'gi wagigō'naṇk'a hījąk'ī'ra hidjaī'ra p'īranaṇk'ī'gi hōtū'djera p'īxdjī hōtadjū'gera aīdjā'xdjere'xdjī hirā'nąga warūteteo'na hanā'teiṇxdjī rūteop'djinē'je. Hąṇk'e' hōce'rek' hīdjā' wajā' nihęhī'ranije horọedjanā'ege hąṇk'e' niṇge' nihęhī'ranije. Hirūedjā'xdjī hī'reęi ā'gi wagigū'naṇk'a nāji-ā'nąga wē'je.

"Sā'kereṇiṇkdjọ'gera minaṇkeā'waṇgre niṇkūrụhi'mdj rehā'wiṇą. Waniṇgik'ī'k'arate xetę'ra wak'ądjaī'k'ik'ā'rate hiją' hidjā'naṇk'ī warūdj sāk'ụ' haratece. Hijā' teōk'ā'rak'ere 'ụxdje higeje. Ēgi jige' maī'djerēją hụndjk'ik'ā'radjī'ją je'e warūsā'k'ụ haratece' wēje. Wā'niṇgik'ik'ā'radjera djamąga'k'ī je'e' hererā'nąga ā'gi manē'gjrera djanągā'k'ī wōną'ɣjręra hak'ik'ūe'k. Wāgī'gi wa'ụk'djonē'je, waniṇgik'arā'djią manọe'gerēją hik'ī'ụ wagiṇgik'ārọhō'ną wōną'ɣjręra hak'ik'ūe'k' wāgigī' wa'ụṇk'djonē'ną. Ē'gi hinụ'wiṇk'e hijā'cana k'ūrụzirā'nąga warụya'p teōwē'dja warute sak'ụ' ik'ārobol'rēną. Warū'djera nawā'sge xetera' nụp'ī'wi hik'ik'ī'naṇxdjī wōjū'-jranąga ā'dja wak'arē'rena warụra'p teōwē'dja. Wasgọ'naṇk'ā wak'andjaī'k'ik'arā'djenaṇk'a hiją' teōk'ā're wasgọ'naṇk'ā hiją' djī-ā'minaṇgirē'ną, ā'gi jige hindjik'ik'ā'radjznaṇk'ā hiją' teōk'ę're wasgọ'djonē'djega hadjī-ā'minaṇkee. Ē'gi agī'xdjī k'ik'o'nągirēje hidjō'hik'e. Wagigū'naṇk'a jụjū'k' djīrehi-ā'nąga nā'wą djirehī'gi. Warūte sak'ū'ṇa hik'idjaī'xdjī hānimiṇgirēje. Teōnj 'ūaṇge'dja xetęna'ṇk'a teebjręhj-ā'nąga irō'k'aradjī'djiṇē'je, ā'gi wēje, "Ahū'-jrasā'naṇgre ira xete'rena. Haṇk'e' warūdje'dja wanā'p'inj wā'ụną'kcaną." Ē'gi wanaina'naṇk'a wai'reje k'e'ni teebrjā'ni nąbō'jụ rūzirā'nąga họhō'bjręra. Wai'rēną. Maī'djere xetę'naṇk'a wā'naṇkee, "Hąṇk'e' wōgī'zọk hiwanaī'ṇaṇigā'dją manā'geregere ira xetę'rena 'ūą'genaṇgere djasgo'xdjinaṇgre, hąṇk'e' niṇge' ragajenī'naṇkcaną ēje!" Hohī'rena ṇk'ā wanā'kcaną. Ē'gi k'igā'ra wap'ā'waradjirēje. Jenuṇgā'dją te'e'.

"Warū'dj nąwą djīrehī'gi wagigō'naṇk'a warū'djṇa hik'idjaī'xdjī warū'djera djīk'erehī're warū'djenaṇk'ā hik'ūhā'xdjī xāpge' teębī' nāī'ṇa teōnī' teębī'djegīege wajā'nijā herehīranaī'ṇa.

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THE FAST-EATING CONTEST[96]

As soon as the meal is about ready and the host thinks that (the food) in the kettle belonging to the first guest is about cooked and when it is soft and just right, then the attendants take it and cut it up. They do not leave any bones in it, nor do they leave any of the hard parts. When they have prepared it, then the host rises and speaks:

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"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. One of the great ones belonging to the Bird clan,[98] a member of the Thunderbird clan, has called for a fast-eating contest. One of his followers will represent them (i. e., their clan), he has told me. Now a member of the Earth people, one of the Bear clan, must be selected[97] for the fast-eating contest, he said. As many of the Bird clan people as there are present, they all will try to take from those of the Earth people present the war honor (belonging to the fast eating). That is why they have it, so that the Bird and the Earth clans may compete for it,[98] that they might take a war honor from one another." Then both of the contestants took (the food) in front of the war bundle, and they get ready for a fast-eating contest. Two wooden bowls with exactly the same amount of food are placed in front of the war bundle. Then the Thunderbird clansman, with a follower (taking) a plate, sits down, and afterwards the Bear clansman, also with a follower, sits down. Now they hold themselves in readiness, the four of them. The feasters now start playing on their flutes and begin singing songs. The fast eaters (i. e., the contestants) start simultaneously. The upper people (phratry), the great ones, devour it first and shout, striking their mouths. "Those with wings[99] have large mouths. They can never be beaten in eating." The defeated ones took the meat in their hands and ate it up and gave the war whoop. The leaders of the Earth people said, "We have not been beaten fairly, for the upper ones have greater mouths, so how could they fail!" Thus the beaten ones said. Then they called for the heads. That is all.[100]

As soon as the host starts the eating song,[101] all the guests began to eat at a moderate pace, then they try to eat fast because they believe that it is an honor to be the first to have finished.

[96] This detailed account was left out in the general description and inserted afterwards. For that reason there may be a number of unnecessary repetitions. I have not tried to adjust this insert to the text proper, but have preferred to place it just where my informant desired it. [128]

[97] This is a rather unusual appellation for the upper phratry.

[98] This is the regular name for the second of the two Winnebago phratries.

[99] This is only one of the ways in which these two phratries compete.

[100] Hinuhiki's name for the Bird clans.

[101] I believe it is considered correct form to permit the phratry to which the host belongs to win in this contest. Those who win get the choicest pieces of the deer head.

[102] Neither the host nor any of those who belong to his band eat during the feast.

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X 534 "Ge ĕsge ĕgi jige k'igō'naąk'ā hiją wa'jnąʼtcicge hīgu djasgę'gi tcębl'k'dje jĕsgē'ge. E'sge warūc'ā'gera hąąk'e' p'jnl'je hōk'irā'-genaąk'e. E'sge p'ōjege'regi haąk'e' warūc'ā'genl na'l'naąkce. E'gi jige hanąʼte worū'djera jō'gu hi'regi hanąʼte djagū'cana tudjl'regi tcębl'xdjinē'gi.

CONTINUATION OF THE BASIC RITUAL

*Speech of first guest.*—E'gi tcōnj'xdji wohadjiranjhē'na wa'l'nąp cana wē'na.

"Warōyl'ra hōk'jk'ā'radjera ml'naąkcā'waągre niąk'ūruhi'ndj rehā'wjdjigō. Djanąga sā'k'ereręra minaąkcā'waągre hanąʼteiąxdji niąk'ūruhindj rehā'wjdjigō. Warōyl'ra hōk'l'k'arā'djera warōyl' p'anaj'naxdji wa'u'wj-ā'naga waxōp'j'nj warā'djirera hana'egenj gi'k'arate mina'genaągere. Ep'igā'dją sā'k'ere hīwatcā'bwjra waxōp'j'nj gik'arā'djera te'jĕsge hina'gere. E te'e' ūaąkcik hīyaha'gwigā'dja. Hōtā'ji jē'sge hīruxū'rugwijje te'e' ewa'u'ipęge haąk'e' waągajędjā'nj-ahaąk'ā'dja. Warōyl'ra waxōp'i'nj warā'-djirera hijąk'l'ra hīraitce'ranaąk'j, tanl'pa wohō'na gigi'rera ō'gi tcahā' nąbjruxā'dj era. Te jē'nuga. Ma'ū'na ūaągere'ginaąk'l wōna'yirera ūaąkcigo'i gītairā'naga. Djasgehj-ā'naga haąk'e' wawiągip'e'res hīranj'k'djeje wawiągl'p'eres hīregl'jj. Ūaąkcigo'i'pa wirā'ruxe warōyl'ra ha'uąk'djā'wj; uaąkcigō'l'pa hīranā'-k'lk'j'ąxdji 'ūipawl'ra waxōp'j'nj tanl'pa gigi'rera. Waxōp'j'ni wōnaąkcl'wipa djā'naga wak'jk'arā'djwjra ha'u'xdjjwj-ā'naga. Wahā'dj wjreconanē'cge p'igā'dją. E'gi ūaąkcigōl'pa hīranā' k'lk'j'wjre ęp'l'na wa'ia'nąpge wahā'naąkcana. E'gi e'agwahā'ra hiją hītcō'k'eniąk' hi'regi waxōp'j'njna haąk'l'ją eo'rakcigenlją al'rera je'e' hīągjwewl'rege. Warōyl'ra wawak'l'k'aradjera waxōp'-j'nj honaąkcl' hiągigi'rera. Ep'igā'dja. Wawarogiyl'rera mą'ū'pa.

"Hak'ūruhindj rehā'naga. E'gi warōyl'ra wak'ūruhi'djanąga: ō'gi sā'kereniąkdjo'gera tcl-ō'ju minaąkcā'waągre niąk'ūruhi'ndj rehawjdjigō'."

"E'gi hinu'bra wōhō'pa radjirā'nihē'ra wa'l'nąbik'arōho'na wē'na."

*Speech of second guest.*—Warōyl'ra wajaniwl'na micanaągā'naąk'a niąk'ūruhi'ndj rehāwjdjigō'. E'gi sāk'ereni'ąk'djoągera higi' acā'-

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796X
539X
264

Even if a feaster gets satiated, he must continue to eat until everything is finished. They tell one another that it is not good for any one to fail (and leave any food). Whatever food there is they must finish it all. All that is cooked must they eat.

### Continuation of the Basic Ritual

Then the one who was called upon for the first kettle thanked them and said: 796X 539X

*Speech of first guest.*—"Councilors[108] and relatives who are seated here, I greet you all. As many war-bundle owners as are seated here, I greet you all. The councilors of the clans have enjoined upon us earnestly to offer up sincere prayers to all the different spirits who are seated here (in the persons of the guests). It is good that our war-bundle owners offer up prayers in this way. It is for this reason that we are still living. Some of us can not accomplish much in that line and that is why so many of us are gone already (i. e., are dead). This ritual was made for one who is the very greatest of all the spirits, for whom they have offered tobacco and food and offerings of buckskin. Thus they have done. Earthmaker, who dwells above, they have asked for war power and life. Indeed, how would it be possible for (the spirits) not to take cognizance and accept (these offerings).[109] If we follow the preaching (of our host), life (we will obtain); life we will feel ourselves in connection with through the holy food that they (the host and the members of his band) have offered up. We have (had the honor too) of impersonating the spirits, I and my relatives. The meal likewise was excellent. It is good that they have brought us in connection with so much life and it is to thank them that I am saying this. That one of their ancestors whom they called grandfather (and whose place I am taking) was not one to speak foolishly, it is said, and still his place they thought of for me (unworthy as I am). They have given me (the part) of a councilor of their own clan and (the privilege) of impersonating a spirit. It is good. Earthmaker they have prayed to. [776 782]

I greet him. To the enjoiner (host) I send my greetings; to all the war-bundle owners who are seated here, I send forth my greetings.

Then the second one who was called upon for a kettle gets ready to thank them and says:

*Speech of second guest.*—"Host and relatives, as many as are seated here, I send forth my greetings to you. War-bundle owners that

[108] The word means, literally, "enjoiners" and refers to the injunctions and instructions the elder people give to the young. [867]

[109] I. e., the offerings are so wonderful that the spirits would have to be blind not to see them. This and the following sentences are formulae compliments always paid to the host by the invited guests.

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*539 nąnk'i niąk'ūrụhi'ndj rehā'wjdjigō'. Wawik'I'k'aradjera warọyI' p'onal'na wa'ụwinā'nąga djā'nąga hinụ'gera niąk'djo' ągeniągera hanę̄'teiąxdjị wągirọp'o'nụhI'rawị wā'ụna'ąk'adją. Djagū'ijąwōxe'tejel Ūąkei'gọ''Iąngerē'eąnąwōxe'tejel Warōyl'ra wawak'i'-k'aradjera waxōp'ị'nị k'Isgē'ją hōnjhō'k'Iranągere waxōp'ị'nị wanąę̄' rūsgI'tegị djadjo'na tanị-ọwaxụ'ụna higirē'regị waxọp'ị'nị tanI'ụa gik'arā'nąnk'ị jedjonai'xdjị họ'u'nigere'regị. Hōwarē'ra waxōp'ị'nị hinącge'nị gik'arā'te mina'ągirā'naga. Wōna'yirọra hadjal'regị a'Irē'dją ūa'ągera tūdjirā'nąga hak'arā'gware. Wąụ'-ịpegị hōwarē'ra. Hōp'Iọwai'rẹk'djonē'gadją, wōna'yirọra. Ha-gārē'ja hak'Idjai'regị hak'jt'ą'p hik'ārọhol'regị ē'dja waxōp'ị'nị waradjirẹ'ra wōna'yire rūk'o'noną tanI wawọrā'giju-ā'nąga. 'Teōk'ā'wahI'ra gāsge niągigI'wicunū'ną wjrā'gegiji.' Hōwarē'ra wōna'yire rūk'o'noną hōnI'niągihanąk'I'ege hąąk'e' rak'arap'-erezenị'k'djonā'ną hōwarē'ra hak'jt'ę̄'bjregị. Wap'ahj-ọk'ē'ra hōrawē'k'djeną hIjū'gemāụa māụa nijū'-jtajenI'sgeege hijū'g-emọk'ē'ra hōwawē'k'djeną racgū'nixdjị haragI'xebjk'djonē'ną.

E'gị jige ūąngerI'jąk'Ira hak'Ikūe'girē'ege ni-ą'einjeawiąk'-djonē'ną. Waxōp'ị'nị nịtā'k'ate g'gI'ra p'jną'gị tanI'ụa wōbọ'ụa rōhę̄' tateē'bragị waxōp'ị'nị warā'djirẹra ē'eąnąwak'āndjā'nąągere wōna'yire rūk'o'nonā'ną xete'rejo hahI' hisge'xdjị p'jral'ege. Djadjo'na wak'andjā'ra hagū'-jrē'regị rājera hinip'e'rezirek'djonē'ną hahI' wak'andjā'ra hagū'-jrē'ege rajera niụā'djiranaga, "Edjągị tanị hiąk'djawI'ną," hiniągal'regị. Ūąygena'ągere hiję̄' teōk xete-hū'ga me'jēsge hirak'I'k'arājI'rēk'djonē. Hotak'I'ra te jēsganąk'ā'-dja. Te'e ep'ingā'dja. Warọyl p'onaina wa'-ūụe djā'nąga ūąygera gI'jị jē'nụga hirọp'ū'nụ wai'ụnąk'ā'dja. Wi-oire'regị hiteū'-k'ewahI'wjra nịtā'k'adjera wagigI'rẹra tanI'ụa teahā'sgera k'arap'i-e'sge wagirū'edją rehI'rẹra. Wōnąkeị hiągigI'rẹra djanąga' hōk'-ik'arā'djeniągera ūąkei'gọ'ị ūąnę̄djōdjąI'sgo ha'ūahąągwI'ra jē'-nụga. Ūąkeigọ'ị'ụa hiraną'k'Ik'ị'ąxdjị. Wajągụ'ązra wōjū'-ịngI'ū'ną yak'aragustị-ā'naga ūąkeigụ'ị'ụa hiraną'k'Ik'i'wịną wayanąbwI'na. Warọgiyl'rẹra ā'niąk yokre'rẹgị herẹra wak'ūrụhi'-nte rehā'ną. A'nąga ē'gị warọyI'ra hōk'jwịk'ā'radjera mI'nąkcā'-

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are here, I send forth my greetings to you. Those of the various clans (present) have counseled me repeatedly and all the women and children have pleaded in my behalf (with the spirits). What love that was! And what does life consist of but love? The clan councilor is repeating the songs (that were obtained) when the sacred bundle was made, so that when the time for the tobacco offering to the spirits came, they would have the tobacco that they have kept all this time (ready). Now, sure enough, the time has arrived and they are sitting prepared to pray to all the various spirits. Long ago when they saw war they cooked the man they were to go after.[104] That is why they did it. A good (prosperous) warpath they will surely have. When they are actually in the midst of their warpath and are about to rush for one another (i. e., the Winnebago and his enemy), let him pour tobacco to the various spirits who are in control of war. If you say 'Grandfather, thus we used to offer you,' [782] although you may not know (by any word or direct sign) whether those in control of war have answered you, (you will know it) as soon as the rush upon the enemy takes place and, although you go where the bullets and arrows rain hardest, you will pass out of the reach of the bullets and will pass safely out (of all danger). If the people rush for a man to bestow the war honors upon,[105] you will be the one. If you give the sacred feast in the proper way, if you burn up much tobacco and food, then the various spirits, especially the Thunderbirds, who are in control of the greatest war power, (will bless you) for the excellent way in which you have (prayed to them). [782] Whenever the Thunderbirds come they will remember you; and when they come they will even call you by name and say, 'Let us smoke here.'[106] When the young begin to grow up, one of the men encourages them. Only a few, however, are like this. It is good. He (the host) has preached and pleaded for as many men as are present. They (the host and his band) have made offerings of food to our grandfathers who live in the west (the Thunderbirds) and pleasing offerings of tobacco and buckskin have they sent out to them. They have permitted me to impersonate (this spirit) and have thus given life to myself and my unimportant clansmen, who have been living in so lowly a condition. With real life have we felt ourselves connected (through your actions). With life have we felt ourselves connected by means of that vessel which the Creator gave me as a

[104] Here the literal translation is nonsense. The real meaning is that the spirit of the enemy they are to kill on the warpath is present in the food offered up at this feast. This is a characteristic Winnebago conception. For another example, see a version of the origin myth of the Thunderbird clan bundle, where the hero, by drinking a certain liquid, has not only a vision of the people he is going to kill, but even hears their dying groans.

[105] This refers to the custom of running out to greet the returning warriors in order to conduct them into the village and bestow the war honors upon those who have counted coup. [727]

[106] I. e., if a person makes it a habit to offer tobacco, the spirits will say, "Let us stop at such and such a man's place as we go along and have a smoke."

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X 539 waąk'a niąk'ûruhl'nte rehā'wjną. E'gi sā'k'ereera tel-ō'jų mīnaąkeā' waągre hanę̄'teiąxdjī ąiąk'ûruhinte rehawjdjigō'.

*Speech of third guest.*—E'gi jige tanī'ąa wōho'nate hīarā'nihera wak'ûruhindj rehī'ną. Wo'ī'nąhera hīral'djige. Waroyī'ra hok'ī'-wik'aradjrera mīnaąkeā'waąk'a niąk'ûruhi'ndj rehā'wjną. E'gi sā'k'ereni'ąk'djoągera wōnaąkeī' mī'naąkeā'waągre niąk'ûruhi'ndj rehā'wjdjigō. Epiągā'dją. Jē'nuga jēsge'eguni ārē'ege aire te'eje wają p'onaī'naągadją. Hōk'ī'wjk'aradjera waroyī' p'onaī'na. E'gi hiteō'k'ewahā'yanī'nēną huąk'ū'-ipeje aīrera. Hagārē'ją ipē'k'ī hiwategā'xgi waxōp'j'nj wa'yąąginąbī'k'djegi hihanā'je! Hiągaī'-ręra hijaī'teōk'chawī'gi haąk'e' wajā'nijją hereuī' nūnige ewewī'ąego waxōp'j'nj hōnaąkeī' hiągigī'ręra. Ep'iągā'dją. Djasgē'ją sā'niąk yoire'ręgi wōną'ąire hiru'o'nora wak'ā'ndja huągra hirak'ī'saniągenąąkee sairak'ā'rara wōną'ąire hiruk'o'nonę̄ ûaąkeigo'j' hirasā' nądjirodjaī'ąegi waxōp'j'nj hik'ągē'ją hōnjhō'k'ira'naągre djasge hiā'-nąga haąk'e' wawigī'p'erez hiranj'kdjeje! Wawiągip'erez iregī'ji hiege wirā'tūxe ha'ąąk'djā'wjra. Wōną'ąkeī hiągigi' rawjra. Ep'iągā'dją. Hōwarē'ra hak'ik'ų'wigadją wajōk'ī'ągera stō-ā'k'jwj-ā'nąga ûaąkeigo'j'ąa hirana'k'ik'ī'wnā'ąwjra. Ep'iągā'dją Wawarō'gi'ąirera K'eredjū' Sep Xetega, hak'ûruhi'ndj rehā'ną̄ga. E'gi waroyī'ra niąk'ûruhi'ndj rehā'wjną. Waxōp'j'nj wōnaąkeī'ąa sa'k'ereniąk'djo'ągera tel-ō'jų mīnaąkeā'waągre niąk'ûruhi'ndj rehawjdjigō'.

E'gi jige hiege ûaągidjanē'ją wohō'ąadjirera wa'ī'nap hik'ārohō'ną wē'ną.

*Speech of fourth guest.*—"Sā'k'ereniąk'djo'ągera mī'naąkeā'waągre niąk'ûruhi'ndj rehā'wjną. Waroyī'ra mīnaąkeā'waąk'ā wā'jąnj-wī'ną niąk'ûruhi'ndj rehā'wjną. E'gi wāją' p'onaī'naegûnije hagī'ją jē'sge hiąuxū'rugadjē'je ûaągī'ją wāją' p'i p'onaī'naxdji 'uągā'dją. Ûaąkeiginā'ągere hōtak'ī'racge c'aganągixgupēgā'dją

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measure.[107] To those preached to, who are in the west, I send forth my greetings. To the host and those of his clan who are seated here, I send forth my greetings. To all the war-bundle owners who are seated within the lodge I send forth my greetings." 796x 539x

*Speech of third guest.*—"To all who possess tobacco and food do I send forth my greetings. The means for my feeling thankful has come to me.[108] Councilor (i. e., host) and members of his clan who are seated here, I send forth my greetings. And to you, war-bundle owners, who are impersonating (the spirits) seated here, do I send forth my greetings. In my thoughts I used to think that this is the way it was to be done, they said, but it has actually happened.[109] Thus did the clansmen, the councilors, sit acting. This (place of honor) belongs to their (the host's) grandfather (i. e., ancestor, the original impersonator), yet they gave me this position! If at any time a person (finding) me alone (had asked me) if I wanted to offer up thanks to the spirits (i. e., take part in this feast), how could such as I have said anything? They told me that they had thought of one of their ancestors in connection (with this feast), one who had been of no importance and that I was to impersonate the spirits (in his place).[110] It is good. How could the spirits who dwell in the west at the side of the chief of the Thunderbirds who is in control of war power help but recognize one who impersonates them, sings their songs, and whom, withal, they have blessed with control of a war bundle and given life? And if they recognize them, we, too, will follow them.[111] They have given us the place (of the spirits). It is good. Most assuredly have I helped myself and my relatives in gathering around here, for we have been brought in connection with life. To those they have preached to (who represent) the Big Black Hawk, do I send forth my greetings. And to the host and the war-bundle owners who are impersonating the spirits do I send forth my greetings."

Then another person whom they had called upon for a kettle gets ready to express his thankfulness and says:

*Speech of fourth guest.*—"War-bundle owners, councilors, relatives who are seated here, I send forth my greetings to you. This is indeed a marvelous performance and he who was able to do it is surely a marvelous man. Very few people listen to the counsel of their parents, but he was one of those who did, and (for that reason) he

[107] A rather curious circumlocution for stomach.

[108] I. e., now that it is my turn to speak and offer prayers, I can thank those who have invited me and the spirits.

[109] I. e., in my fondest imaginings I used to think that the ideal way to give the feast was the manner in which I see it given here. How could I have imagined that such a thing was actually possible. This is intended as a compliment to the host.

[110] This is, of course, all modesty.

[111] I. e., they will recognize us too.

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X539 te'e' jêsgä'ją wa'ąnąnk'ä'dją, wä'ją p'onal'ąaxdjį wa'ąągä'dją. Waxop'j'nj hôk'ik'ä'gadjera hinąegę'nj gjk'arä'tenąągre waxop'j'nj k'ągä'ją sarûągi'tegj wôegę' hanigi' djagû' ęgi'jj ä'xdjj hanj-ęgjwä'nąągre. Êp'ąągä'djąwôegę' canl'nęra k'arak'ą' wa'ąnąnk'ä'dją. Wôhę'ąa gîksä'benądje'xdjj wônaγl're rûk'o'nopą wagik'e'rererä'-nąga tanl'ąâ hîwace'xdjj wagit'ą'bjranąga nąbjrąxä'djera hik'-irä'ra wagi'ją-jrä'nąga. Teahä'sgara k'arap'j-e'sgo hjgjtęä' wagjjû'-jrä'nąga wak'e'rera mącû' cûdjera k'arap'j-e'sgo wônąγire rûk'o'-nopą. Wônąγjre hik'aratä' hi'û'nąągre. Djasgo' hi-ä'naga hąnk'e' wagiksä'p hîranj'k'djêje? Wawiągip'erezirë'gj wônąnkel'pa wirä'-rąxe hi'ąnk'djä'wj, wonąγjrë'ra ûankeigę'j'ąa."

"Ûanągenû'nigiä a'iredjä'xdjj nądjirądjal'ęęgj k'aratä'nąągre wôk'araik'al'regj ûankeigę'j'ąa p'j'ąnk'djä'wj. P'ëdjok'e'rëją ä'gj hi'ûaha'ągwjre ûankeigę'l'ąa hj'ą'nk'djawj tä wä'nąnk'ä'dją hąnk'e ä'cana wak'ik'ą'njnąnk'ä'dją. Teëgę'dja ûanągenû'njągra wal'ręje, "Hank'e' hątä'ginąte cûrąxû'rugenl'ną waxop'j'nj nitä'-k'ate gigi'ra p'j'ąa wap'ä'hj k'ûrąk'ä'razre." Wawik'ä'ragal'regj. Hôwarë'ra ûana'ąerągä'dja. Në wajä'nija 'ąinj-ä'nąga waxop'j'nj nitä'k'adj gigi'regj wônąnkei'ąk'djera. Hiągi'û'jnare waxop'j'nina warä'djirera hijąnk'i'ra hiral'teeranąnka rôhąbôt'ę'k'j hirûk'onal'-ją. Ê'gj rôhi' sänink hąbjrąk'o'nadjëgj ä'gj hôt'ę'ruk'ô'nają here-je. Tanl'ąa gigi'rera wôho'na wanj-ol'tege hj'sgara wanioi'tege ûanągi'ją teahä'sgara mącû'ąa tanl'ąa k'arap'j-e'sgexdjj. Hącere'-ą'wahjra gîrącdjä' rehl'rare wônaγjre ûanąkeigô'j' hik'ä'rata hi'û'jnare. Waxop'j'nj nanąk'e'we nadjeagô'ją nąpjrąxä'djeregj. Wahëna'ągere waxop'j'nj hanąąxgą'ąe p'inä'ąkej nûnjge wawjwą-ä'gjt'ąk'djera. Teôk'agä' wąwjna'nąga wônaγąkej hiągigi'rera. Waxop'j'nj warä'djirera hanąk'agä' rajera hą-jni'ągo radjl'nanjs'ä'je al'rera. Hônanąkej' gigirere hak'ûrąhj'ntegj rajera tajerehä'-kdjonä're hanąk'e' wol'ya'ą nal'jjnjk'dje. Tanl'ąa gigi'rera teôk'ä' Hącere'ą'wahjra hak'ûrąhi'ndj rehä'nąga. Ê'gj warąγl'ra nąk'-ûrąhi'ndj rehä'wjną. Ê'gj jigo waxop'j'nj wô'nąnkel'na tel-ô'ją mînąnkcä'wąągre nąk'ûrąhi'ndj rehä'wjdjigô.

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has done so well. The members of the clan have been sincerely worshiping the spirits. He who made the war-bundle ritual was like a spirit in power and what he told them to do they are doing in every detail. It is a good work that they are doing. Sufficient food they are offering to those who are in control of war powers that they might easily be cognizant of it. They have placed plenty of tobacco and different offerings of buckskin within their reach. A pleasing white buckskin they have strung out and offered to you; a pleasing red feather as a hair ornament (have they also offered to you). They have offered these things, so that they might ask for war from those who are in control of war. How, indeed, would it be possible (for the spirits) not to recognize these offerings? And if they recognize them, then we who are impersonating (the spirits) will also receive the benefit of the blessings of war and life (intended for the host). 539x 796 [782]

"Long ago our ancestors asked (the spirits) to bless them so that, having been blessed with life, they might live happily. Here we are (sitting around) a fireplace and the life that they (host and his band) have asked for, the spirits not only are extending to them but to every one. In the early times the old men said, 'You are not able to fast and offer up proper food to the spirits so as to clear away the weapons (held) against you.'[112] Thus they spoke to them (the younger people). Just as (the older people would have liked it) so they are doing. I, who do not amount to anything, have nevertheless been permitted to take the place of a spirit to whom food is offered. This they have done for me, (given me the place) of that very spirit who is the very bravest of them all, the one who is in control of the power whereby one can kill (an enemy) outright! One side of his body controls life and the other death. Now they are about to offer him the food of a white animal, of a male animal (i. e., a dog), a white buckskin, feathers, and tobacco, all objects that please him very much. To Disease-giver they are about to extend these things, so that therewith they may ask him for war power and life. It is a fear-inspiring spirit that they have been making offerings to. I, who have listened to the spirits (through the host's kindness), surely don't have to say anything in their behalf.[113] They thought of their grandfather when they asked me to impersonate this spirit. Of all the spirits, his is the name that one can not speak of lightly, it is said. If I greet the name and speak about this spirit whom they have asked me to impersonate, may I not be weakened by uttering (his name). Those who are about to offer food to you, grandfather Disease-giver, send forth their greetings. To the host do I send forth my greetings. To the war-bundle owners who are seated here do I send forth my greetings." [782]

[112] By denying that they can do it he tries to spur the young people to redoubled efforts. The weapons are the obstacles encountered in life.

[113] I. e., this feast will speak for them, more than any words I can utter.

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×539 E'gi ũaŋgi'ją wõho'radjirẽ'ra hiego je'e' wo-i'nǫbra hiradji'go nąji-ã'nąga wak'ũ'ruhinte rehi'ną wẽ'ną.

*Speech of fifth guest.*—"Waroγi'ra hõk'ik'ã'radjɛra minąkcã'-waŋgera niąk'ũruhi'ndj rehã'winą. E'gi wõnąkci'ǫa tci-õ'jǫ minąkcã'waŋgre niąk'ũ'ruhindjwi'na. Ep'i'ną. Ep'i'nj-ẽgi'jj hąk'e'-hõego waniąk'djẽ'ra. Me'ẽ'cąnąg gã'djǫŋga ũąkcik'i'yahąk'ã'dją sak'e'rɛra tejẽ'sge hinąŋgre. ɛwa'ǫ'-iǫɛge. Te jedjaĩ'ąxdji p'ã hixgixgi-ãhąk'ã'dją hõtɛjɪ jẽ'sge hinǫxũ'rukee sã'kerẽ'ra waxǫp'i'nj tanj-õ'gijǫ warũp'ina ɛwa'ũ'-iǫɛge. Hąk'e' waŋgage'-djani-ahã'ąk'adją. Waroγi' warǫp'iną niąk'djo'ągɛniŋgɛra hinǫ'-ągera ũąkci'k hũnǫhi'manjǫa p'ẽdjõk'e'rẽją hunjgiwatcã'bwjra ẽ'gi k'erena'ągere. Hunjgiwatcã'bwjra p'ẽ'djerõk'ã'wak'ąjrãnąga. Hąk'e ẽ'cąnąg wak'ik'ǫ'njnąk'ã'dją. Te'jɛsge hi'naŋgre ɛje'e' hinj-ąhã'hąk'adją. Rek'ũ'hǫhi'ra rãjera rajerehi'rare hąbjrǫk'o'-nonąg ẽ'cąnąg. Xetęje' jẽ'sge hip'ere'zirɛge. Ũaŋgenũ'-ijąg waxǫp'-jnj hik'ągẽ'ją Djõbenąŋgiwi'ąxga higanl'regi rãjɛra rajɛna'ągere. Waxǫp'i'nina djãnaga p'i'ną hanąąxdjiąxdji wõwẽ'wi k'ik'ere'-regi. Je'e' k'aradjirã'naga waxǫp'i'nj kik'arã'djɛnaŋgre. Hisge'xdji wã'naąk'ã'dją ũaŋgenũ'niągɛra nãdjǫdjai'ǫegi hiɛǫ' hąp te'e' ũąkcigǫ'i' je'e' hi-ǫnã'ąk'adją. Wǫna'γirɛra djaaage'xdji nądji-rǫdjai'ǫegi. Hąk'e' gicdjąk'e' ranjgã'dja. K'aratã'naŋgre hisge'-xdji wanąk'ã'dją wõk'araik'ai'rẽege. Hąk'e' hik'arap'e'rezz-ninąk'ã'dją te'jẽsge p'ewi'ną. Wa'ia'nąpcąnąg wõnąg'γirɛra ũąkci'g'ǫ'ǫa hiranąg'k'ik'i Rẽk'ũ'hǫhira. Tanj-õ'gijũ-jrã'nąga tani'ǫa gigirã'nąga teahã'agara mącũ'cǫdjɛra hirak'i'rǫtcap giwahã'rehi'rare. Tani'ǫa k'arahi'ąk'djonõ'gadją gijj ũąkci'-gǫ'i'ǫa hage'dja wirõ'nąąk hi'ąąk'djã'wira. Hõk'i'k'aradjɛąąŋgɛra waxǫp'i'nj hõnąąkci' gigi'rawjra. Hã'ǫwj-ã'nąga ũąkcigi'i p'i'-ąxdji hiągigrjã'wjra. Wa'jną'bwjną. Waroγi'rɛra Rek'ũ'hǫhira hak'ũruhi'ndj rehã'nąga. E'gi waroγi'ra niąk'ũruhi'ndj rehã'-widjigǫ. E'gi wõna'ąkciąa tci-õ'jǫ minąkcã'waŋgre niąk'ũruhi'ndj rehã'widjigǫ.

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Then another man who has been called upon for a kettle rises as the "means of blessing" comes to him and greeting, says to them.[114] 539x 796

*Speech of fifth guest.*—"Clan councilors who are seated here, I greet you all. You all within this lodge who are impersonating the spirits, I greet you. It is good. If we say it is good, we mean it.[115] That we are living[116] is because they have done this for us (i. e., asked us to participate in the feast). That we have been able to move about so long (i. e., are still living) is due to the fact that the war-bundle owners knew how to offer tobacco to the spirits. It is for that reason likewise that we have not been killed. Expert in their preaching to the youths and maidens, our chiefs have also kept the fireplace for us two-legged walkers.[117] Our chiefs have piled more fuel upon the fire that it may start up.[118] And not for themselves are they doing this. What they are doing is to enable us to obtain life. The name of South Wind they have uttered; he who alone is in control of life. They knew that he was a great (spirit). An old man, one who was like a spirit (in his power), called Djōbenagjwi'ṣxga, they are speaking of. As many good spirits as there are, that many added their thoughts (power). Of this they are reminding the spirits whom they are worshiping. Sincerely are they saying it. The life they blessed the old man with, that life they are using. With war powers they blessed him. They did not fool him. Because they have made their requests sincerely is the reason that (the spirits) have given them these things in return. I feared that they might not take cognizance of them (i. e., their offerings). However, now I thank them (the host, etc.), for we have been as though connected with war power and life through South Wind. Tobacco they have poured for him, and white buckskin and red feathers have they extended to him. He will smoke the tobacco and we will follow in the path of life as a consequence. As though we were a member of their clan they have made us by (permitting us) to impersonate the spirits. What we have done will give us plenty of life to live on and for this we are indebted to them. We are thankful for it. Those who have been preached to, the South Wind I greet. Councilor (host), I send forth my greetings to you. You who are seated here and are impersonating the spirits, to you also do I send forth my greetings."

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[114] By "the means of blessing" he means the opportunity to speak and sing.

[115] Literally, "It is not for nothing that we say this."

[116] I. e., have been blessed with life.

[117] The reference to the fireplace is twofold here. First as host it is incumbent for the owner of the Thunderbird clan bundle to take charge of the fireplace; and, secondly, it is his duty to do so because fire is the sacred possession of the clan. "Two-legged walkers" is the ritualistic name for human beings. [514]

[118] To be taken figuratively as meaning "blessings," since in adding fuel they are cooking the sacred food. [195]

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X539 Hiege ũaŋgi'ją wǫhonã'djiręra wo'i'nǫbera k'ara-ã'k'djonẽ'ra wẽ'nąˌ.

*Speech of sixth guest.*—"Warǫyi'ra hok'ik'ã'radjera minaŋkcã'-waŋgere niŋk'ũrụhindj rehã'wjdjigǫ. E'gi jige sã'k'ereni'ŋk'djoŋgera minaŋkcã'waŋgre niŋk'ũrụhindj rehã'wjdjigǫ. Hõki'wjk'aradjera warǫyi' p'onai'na wa'ụ'jna'nąga. Teõk'agã' hagãrẽ'ją waigã'nąˌ. Hagãrẽ'ją ũaŋkei'g arẽdjiregi'ji. Waxǫp'i'ni tani'ǫa gigi'regi. Wõk'ẽ'ra djanąhi' mãtcã'naŋk'i jenąˌ'hi wak'ątcã'ŋgage. Nũnige wap'ai'rasara hidjõhai'ǫegi. Wap'ã'naŋk'a hąŋk'e' wadje'rasa jẽ'age rũdjirani'je. Hąŋk'e' wap'ã'ra hinụ'gera wawigi'ra e-ẽ'ranije ai'rera. Wok'e' wak'ątcã'ŋgera hagãrẽ'jąna wap'ai'rasara hijǫhai'-ǫegiji ũaŋkcik teycgũ'ni ãnaga. Wõk'e' wak'ątcã'ŋgera ni-ã'-ninãdjiregi'ji jedjerẽ'nąˌ haŋk'e' wõnąˌ'ɣire rak'i'p'inj-ã'nąga haŋk'e' waizã'ra hiją' rak'ik'ũrụxụ'rugnj-ã'nąga waxǫp'i'ni wajãji wa'jna'ginã'hge ẽ'ji wai'zara hiją' nãk'ik'ũ'rụxụrụk'e' k'iji waxǫp'i'ni wa'inąˌ'ginãpgi waxǫp'i'ni warã'djiręra nũniąxgụ'-nanãna. C'agwahã'ra hiŋgai'ra nũnige ẽgiji jige waigai'rẽnąˌ, 'Teõk'ãniŋk,' wẽje ai'rena. 'Waxǫp'i'ni wãna'i' rũsgiregi'ji ũaŋgere'gerera manẽ'giręra. I'ra irõk'ũ'-iǫcje waxǫp'i'ni wai'rege woro'ɣi-ǫdjã'djak'dje higai'regi. I'ra hirak'i'ware hõk'ik'ũahũ'-jregi.' E'gi hi-ã'ndjwahã'ra hiege i'ra huŋk'ụ'nege hiŋgai'ręra. Hawã'ụ' waxǫp'i'ni wa'ia'ŋginaiŋk'djege hihanaã'na. Waxǫp'ini waradjirẽ'ją nitã'k'atc gigi'rare, waxǫp'i'ni xetã'ją gik'arã'-djirehi'regiji. Nitã'k'atera tani'ǫa wãrũtc xõ'p'ini teahã'sgarã k'arap'i-e'age giri'cdją rehi'rare. Hąbitai'ǫa hąbik'ã'rataí'ręra. Nã wõ'naŋkci'ŋk'djawira sak'ereganai'xdji-aŋge. Nũnige nẽ wająharẽ'regi ũaŋkcik'i'. Ũanądjǫdjai'age ha'ũahã'ŋgwira ũaŋkci-gǫ'i'ǫa hiranąˌ'k'ik'iŋk'djã'wira hõwarẽ'ra. Hito-ã'k'ik'iŋxdji'-winąˌ. Wigip'erezeregi'ji niege ũaŋkcigǫ'i'ǫa ẽ'dja yã'uŋk'djã'-wira. Hõk'i'wik'arã'djaniŋkra hak'ik'ụ'ŋxdji ã'nąga. Ep'iŋ-gã'dja. Warǫyi'ręra Wiragõ'ege Xe'tera hak'ũ'ręhindj rehã'nąga. E'gi warǫyi'ra hõk'i'wik'arã'djera minaŋkcã'waŋk'a niŋk'ũrụhi'-

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Then another man to whom a kettle has been given gets ready to express his thankfulness and says: 537* 796*

*Speech of sixth guest.*—"Host and members of your clan who are seated here, I send forth my greetings to you. To you also, war-bundle owners who are seated here, do I send forth my greetings. The members of this clan have often preached to me. My grandfather once told me the following: 'Some day there will be a dearth of people (for a feast). There they will offer tobacco to the spirits and as many pieces of meat as they cut that many will be holy. There also they will cook heads. Heads are not to be eaten by those wearing dresses (i. e., women). Women are not permitted to scatter their food in eating, we are told.'[109] Some day if they boil these holy pieces, the heads, they will be in need of people to invite to the feast. If they call upon you for one of the sacred pieces, even if at that time you had not yet obtained a war honor, if you had not counted coup,[110] still if you offer up thanks to the spirits for anything; still more so, of course, if you had been able to count coup and you thanked them for all this, they will listen to you.'[111] My grandfather told me, 'Thus they spoke to me,' he said, it is said, 'Little grandfather, the spirits up above gave (your ancestor) a war bundle to those of the Earth phratry. They gave them a mouth for speaking (in offering thanks), but they told him that it was forbidden to speak to outsiders about this matter. They gave them a mouth that they might speak to one another (i. e., members of the same clan)'. [562 262]

"My father gave the information to me. For that reason, they told me, I am in a position to thank the spirits. One of the greatest of the spirits they have offered tobacco to, to one of the greatest of the spirits they have prayed. Tobacco, food, a sacred white buckskin, pleasing to their eyes, they have extended to them. With offerings of life[112] they have asked for life. We have been asked to impersonate (the spirits), even although there are plenty of war-bundle owners. But the host is a relative of ours and therefore wishes me to live. A pitiable existence we had been living (until they saw to it) that we were brought into connection with life. Proud we are of it. For if they (the spirits) accept their gifts, we also will be able to utilize the life (obtained). Clan members, we did as we pleased here. It is good. Those preached to, the Morning Star, [782]

[109] In eating the deer head and in the fat-eating contest the meat is flavored so fat that the food is literally washed in the process of eating. Whether there is an implied warning that a man should not be found in the same class as the women I do not know positively, but it is quite likely. [264]

[110] Literally, "a limb." The four coup counts are likened to the four limbs of the human body. As such they are always referred to. [826 555]

[111] The whole meaning of the speech up to the present is the following: Should they in the future want to give a feast and lack of the proper people cause them to call upon you, even if you had counted coup only once, the spirits would listen to you. And yet here I am and haven't even counted coup once and yet I have the effrontery to expect them to listen to me.

[112] I. e., with offerings of deer and dogs.

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537 ndjwina. E'gi wōnaṇkcī'ṇa minaṇk'cā'waṇgre niṇk'ūruhindj rehā'-widjigō.

Ūaṇgera hak'e'we wahonā'djirera hīro-ā'genixdji hīrak'e'were wē'nA.

*Speech of seventh guest.*—"Waroγī'ra wajō'k'jina minaṇkcā'waṇk'a niṇk'ūruhindjwī'nA. E'gi wajā'nijā e tūxū'rugeni nūnige rōhī'ra hanṇk'e' wa'iṇk'inobrā'ji wajī'ṇohī'ranije aī'rera. Jē'sge wagewahō'k'djonegā'dja. Ūaṇkcigoi' hīrak'ī'racdja'nAgi hanṇk'e' wajīṇohī'ranije aī'rera. Jē'sge p'e'winge. Hagaī'ra wok'e' wak'ateā'ṇgera hījā wō'naṇkci hiṇgigī'rera wa'inAbrā'ji hiṇk'-ihahā'xdjiconū'nA. Hanṇk'e' wōna'γire ēwagī'gi tūxū'rugeni'-k'djena. Nūnige ūaṇkcigoi'i'na hīranā'k'ik'i 'ūipā'wira. Wōna'-γire rūk'o'nonA xetō'jā wōgihaj'ṇera hō'naṇkci gigī'rawira. Ep'iṇgā'djā waxop'i'ni wa'iṇgī'nAbra rūk'ī'γī'rēja aira nūnige hāhirak'ī'racdjonA rohī'ra ha-ē'kinA jē'ji hanṇk'e' wajī'ṇohirā'ni gādjā. Yarā'nAga waihēconaṇgā'djā wa'iyā'nApdji. Nūnige wajā'nijā ē tuxū'ruk'ī'ji wīroto' wahā'naje. Hitcō'k'ewahī'wira hāhanī'hura hābō'k'ahi hū'djaṇe wōna'γire hīruk'o'no xe'tera ūaṇkcigoi'i' hīruk'o'naijā, tanī'ṇa wōhō'ṇa k'arap'i-e'sgexdji nāhirux'djera teahā'sgara wak'e'rera mejē'nuga girū'cdjā rehī'-regi. Wōhō'ṇa nē waxop'i'ni hōnaṇkci'ṇk'djera hiṇgai'rera. Wa'iya'nApdjī'nA djā'nAga wak'ik'ā'radjeniṇgwī'nA atō-ā'k'iwī-ā'nAga hāhitai'ṇa jē'nugāniṇk waxop'i'ni hōnaṇkci'winA. Ep'iṇgā'djā. Wok'e-ō'niṇgeregi haitcerarē'cge' rūk'o'no iyarā'-noṇgera te'ē'ji waxop'i'nina wajīṇuk'onaī'ja wohA'gik'e'rereg nē wōnaṇkci' gigirā'wira Wa'iyā'nAhwinA. Waroγī'γirera hak'ūruhī'ndj rehā'nAga. E'gi waroγira wakuruhindj anaga. Waxopini wonaṇkcina tci-oju minaṇkcā'waṇgre niṇk'ūruhi'ndj rehā'winA.

Te'e' jāgu'hiregi wa'i'nabra hanṇ'tci aī'regi āgi hōracdjaī'ja wagigō'nAṇk'a hicgi-ā'ga naji-ā'nAga wa'inA'pcanA.

*Terminal speech of host.*—"Sā'k'ereniṇk'djoṇgera minaṇkcā'waṇgre niṇk'ūruhī'ndj rehā'winA. Ep'iṇgā'dja. Djagū'xdjiniṇk rū-ā'gu wa'ṇanA'gwira. Hōk'ī'wik'ā'radjera hanṇ'tciṇxdji hōgigā'ra.

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I send forth my greetings. To the host and all the clansmen sitting with him, do I send forth my greetings. To those who are impersonating the spirits I also send forth my greetings." 539x 796x

Then the sixth one for whom a kettle has been placed, the last one, speaks.[123]

*Speech of seventh guest.*—"Host and your relatives who are seated here, I greet you all. I am not able to say anything (i. e., I don't amount to anything), but I can at least thank for the body.[124] It is no harm to do so, we are told.[125] That is what I mean and why I say it. To speak of life is surely no harm, we are told.[126] Thus I thought. If ever I obtained the position of one who impersonated (a spirit) and (partook) of a sacred piece of food, I felt that I would be beside myself with thankfulness and gratitude. Not of war power will such as I be able to speak. In spite of that, they have seen to it that I came in connection with life. They have permitted me to impersonate one of the spirits who is among the greatest in the control of war power. It is good to thank the spirits and at the same time to preach to one another, it is said. To speak to one another of life and of the body(!) certainly there is no harm in it. Thus I thought, and that is why I am saying this. I am very thankful. If I could only say something (that would be of any value) to the spirits I would say it. You, grandfather, who come every day, you who are in control of great war power and life, tobacco, food, an offering of a white buckskin pleasing to the spirits, and a head ornament—that is about to be sent toward you. I was to be one of those impersonating the spirits at the feast, they told me. I am deeply grateful for the honor, to all those of the various clans that are gathered together here with offerings and who are impersonating the spirits. It is good. Even had I eaten a common piece of meat I would have considered myself well repaid, but I have actually been put in charge of a spirit who controls something. We are thankful. To those to whom we preached (i. e., the Sun) I send forth my greetings. To the host I send forth my greetings. To those who are sitting in the lodge impersonating the spirits I send forth my greetings." [782]

When they are through greeting each other, at the end, the host rises and thanks them, saying:

*Terminal speech of host.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you all. What I long for is exactly what we have been doing. All the members of the various clans have pleaded for us in

[123] This is a mistake of the informant. It should be the seventh one. His name, however, not to be speaking the person who partakes of food offered to Kathanakar.

[124] I. e., the dog(?).

[125] I. e., there is no harm done if even a worthless person like myself thanks for the food of the dog, even although by doing this he is actually taking part in the feast.

[126] I. e., there is no harm in obtaining life for one another by delivering speeches and offering up prayers to the spirits.

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X539 P'ląxdjį hlągigi'rawjra. E'p'lągądją. Djagū'xdjį ǫǫ-ą'gų wa'ūą'-nągwjra hanę'tcląxdjį p'į'xdjį ǫgigai'rawjra. Ep'lągą'dją warǫgi'-gǫgi djagū' rōrą'gų wacū'conǫgera. Są'k'erǫra dją'nągą'k'i hąnę'-tcląxdjį hągigai'rǫra. Ep'lągą'dją wają'ǫą xū'rug. P'ląxdjį wahj-bjrą'nąga. Ep'i'ną p'ląxdjį. Tcēbjnągi'gjwjra haizą'xdjį tcēbwa-irą'gigjwjra. (Nagwarą'wjga waxǫp'j'nj holt'et'e' nąljwawjnąljai' ǫrgi hanę'tcląxdjį wawi'rak'aracawi-ą'nąga wają' ǫaxū'rug p'i'xdjį wacą'wira. Ep'i'ną wa'yą' nąbwjną jē'sgo rū-ą'gų wa'ūą'nągwi'ra."

"Są'kereni'ąk'djoągere minąnkcą'waągre nirk'ūrąhi'ndj rehą'-wjdjigō'."

### SECOND DIVISION OF THE CEREMONY—IN HONOR OF THE NIGHT SPIRITS

*Introductory remarks.*—E'gj wǫhǫ'ǫa hinąhǫ'hoǫa hidjǫwak'ere'-regj warūtcą'na wōhajk'jee'rǫra. Hoicibi'regj ē'gj wōhǫ'ǫa waxǫp'j'nj djagū'caną wągirū'cdjanēhirēk'djanē'gj jēgąhi'regj ēgj wągigō'nąk'a tanjwągi'jǫra 'u-jk'ārąhō'gj taniwaxū'ną. We'je.

#### THE TOBACCO OFFERING

*Offering to the Night Spirits.*—"Tcōk'agą' Djōbenąągjwi'ąxga nąljō-radję'gjj hąhǫgǫre'regrē'ra hąhę' hąągera tci'ją wūgų'ząteira ha'cinjwingjj. Wak'ątcą'ąk rak'aragj-aradjē'gj. Nąljjirǫrą'djąwi'je ē'ra. Hągirē'janą tanj-ǫwaxū'ną hągi'rǫwjgj tani'ǫa hōjū'-ląą nągip'axy'wj-ąnąga. Wōną'yjrǫra tcōk'agą' djagū' gip'j' 'ąąk'-dje. Nąljjirǫrą'djąwjgj je'e' hakaratą'wjną. Tcōk'a' hąhę' hąągra tani'ǫa te'e'rēną."

"Tci-ōk'tsakǫnąji'ǫēgj hidje' nągigi'gj hoici'pdjj. Wūgy'ząteij wak'atcą'ąk hacī'njwj-ē'dja tani'ǫa wōhǫ'ǫa wā'rūte xōp'jnj hirarū'teap wągūdje'ra ai'ją, te jē'nǫąa nągjtūcdjanēhā'wjną."

*Offering to Earth.*—"E'gj Mana hik'ārok'e'njwjha, teok'agą' Djōbenąągjwi'ąxga nągjtā'wjną wǫną'yjrǫra ūąąkcigy-i'ǫa nągjtā'-wjną. Djadjai'ąxdjj p'ā micā'nąąk'e jedjai'ąxdjj p'ā tani'ǫa njtā'k'adjara wągūdje'ra ai'ją te jē'nǫąa k'ūnjk'ā nągjtū'cdją rehā'wjną."

Tani'ǫa te'e'rēna.

"Hitcōk'ināgąnąji'ǫa ē'dja hidje' nągigjgi'ną wōhǫ'ǫa nąhjrūxa'-djara wanągjtū'cdją rehā'wjra. Hoici'pdjj hirak'a'rap'erea ranjcā'-k'djonē'je teōk'agą ē'je ai'rera. Wak'ik'ā'radjwjra wōną'yjrǫra ūąąkcigy'i'ǫa hirak'-i''troi'teą wawē'k'djawjx.

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song. Very good have they been to us. It is good. This is what I have longed for, what we have been doing and all the good they have said about us. It is good when you give a feast to do just what you wish. The war-bundle owners, as many as there are here, have spoken for me. It is good to obtain something when asking for it. Very well have they spoken. It is good; it is very good. You have eaten (the food) in my behalf; very carefully have you eaten it up for me. All the sacred speeches that they blessed him (our grandfather) with you have repeated so that you might obtain real life, you said. It is good and I thank you, for we have done here exactly what I have longed for. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." 539X 796X

SECOND DIVISION OF THE CEREMONY—IN HONOR OF THE NIGHT SPIRITS

*Introductory remarks.*—Then the attendants get ready to put on the kettles for the second feast. When they are finished arranging the food that is to be turned over to the spirits the host prepares his tobacco and gets ready to pour it. Then he speaks the following: 539X 796X 776 782

THE TOBACCO OFFERING

*Offering to the Night Spirits.*—"To you, grandfather Djobenąą-gjwi'ąxga, does the council lodge of the Chief of the Night Spirits, standing in the east, belong. Holy you have kept it. You (Chief of the Night Spirits) were the one who blessed him with it, he said. When the time comes for the tobacco pouring we will offer you a handful of tobacco. War power he liked to obtain by doing this. With what you blessed him, that we ask you to give us in return. Grandfather, Chief of the Night Spirits, tobacco, here it is.

"Here in the fire I shall place tobacco for you at all times. Tobacco, holy food, and buckskin for moccasins, all those things I will send to your sacred creation lodge." [276]

*Offering to Earth.*—"You who are our grandmother, Earth, you blessed grandfather Djobenąągjwi'ąxga with life and war powers. As far as you extend, that far, O grandmother, do we spread out for you tobacco and food and moccasins. Here is the tobacco. Here in the fire shall I place tobacco; and food and offerings of buckskin will we send to you at all times. You will always accept them, grandfather said, it is said, so that our clansmen may travel in a straight path of war and life." [97]

[97] That is, may nothing intervene to prevent them from enjoying all the blessings they have received in war and life.

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X539 *Offering to the Moon.*—"Niągitä'winą ä'gi k'ü'nik'a. Hicge teök'agä' Djöbenąągiwi'ąxga wäna'ī'ąagik'ere'regi waragy'je djadjaī'ąxdji p'ä maiąk'ī'dją höniągxra' djadjaī'ąxdji p'ä ranicö'gi jedjai'ąxdji p'ä tanī'ąa höjü'-ijąą hiągiwaxü'-ipegi hoici'-pdji wa'ī'nąp wagik'i-ä'nihök'djonön'ą. Hirak'ī'gęje aī'rera. Tanī'na ga airędjigö'."

"Djäną̨ą hök'ī'wik'aradjxra ünąkcik'ī' ünądjędjai'ąge hä'ü-ahą'ągwira wönA'yirera hirak'ī'roitcą wawö'kdjawira, te'jöego niągitä'winą nitä'kadjxra wagędje'ra aī'ją mejö'nąga niągitä'edją rehä'winą. Teęwe'regi gągu' tök'djanihä're wönA'yirera ünąkcigy'ī'ąa ya'ąk'djä'wi."

*Offering to the Water.*—"E'gi jige ni'na hunge röni-anī'wiąera teök'-agä' Djöbenąągiwi'ąxga nądjęradję'ągi. Gä eredjigö'.

"Tanī'ąa tci-ęk'jnä'k hönajī'ęegi niągip'axy'giji, rak'arahī' ranicö'k'djonö'je hirak'ī'geje, aī'rera. Nitä'k'adjxra wagędję'ra ają niągitä'edjanihä'winą. Wönä'yirera ünąkcigy'ī'ąa te'e'-niągitä'winą hoici'p hirak'ä'rap'eresdanö'je teök'agä' ära. Teök'agä' Djöbenąągiwi'ąxga hicge tanj-ö'waxy niągī'k'erök'djä'wi hirak'ī'gęje aī'rera. Ga airędjigö'."

"Tanī'ąa höjü'-ijajcge hirak'ä'rap'eresk'e hirak'ī'geje aī'rera wöhq'ąa tanī'ąa hirasä' niągitä'edją rehä'winą. Ünąkcigy'ī'ąa wöna'yirera wak'ī'k'aradjwira te'jöego ry-ä'gy'ī'ąa."

*Offering to North Wind.*—"E'gi jige' waxąhī'ąa teök'agä' waragö'je röhą'hot'e'k'i-ö'dja hi'ąpi-ä'nina, hirök'ī'geje aī'rera. 'Waxī'rögi hohirare ege wak ip i na!' Teök'agä' hiragö'je ära. Wagip'axy'wigi hiągirö'wigi hicge wagip'axy'wigi niągik'e'rök'-djawi hirakī'ge giji. Tanī'ąa ga airedjigo."

"Wotä'teönī'ąa wönä'yirera ünąkcigy'ī'ąa te'jöego niągitä'-winą."

*Offering to the Pigeon-Hawk.*—"E'gi jige K'irik'irikī'agera tanī'ąa ga ärędjigö'. Teök'agä' wönä'yirera ünąkcigy'ī'ąa nądjirerä'djoągī'-giji hoici'pdji niągitä'wigi e'ünąpicö'k'djane hirak'ī'geje teök'agä' hirak'ī'geje ö'je aī'rera."

*Offering to Earthmaker.*—"Mą'ąąa taniąä'cAnä wagip'ä'xąwigi taniąä'cAnärö'cga. Eraitcö'raje hicęje' aī'rera. Tanī'ąa höjü'-ijąą wagip'axy'wigi."

*Offering to the Thunderbird.*—"E'gi wakandjä'ra taniną'cAną niągip'axy'-iega. Eraitcö'rak'djanö'je hicęje' aī'rera. Tanąä'-cAną wagip'ä'xąwigi."

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*Offering to the Moon.*—"This we ask, grandmother, of you also. You added your power to (the other blessings) of grandfather Djobenaŋgiwi'ąxga and you said that as long as the world lasts you would willingly accept the offerings of tobacco that his posterity extended to you. Thus you yourself said, we are told. Here is the tobacco.

"As many of our clansmen as are here living in an abject condition (spiritually), may they all follow in the direct path of war. For that we are now extending to you tobacco, food, and moccasins. And may we in the future travel in the path of war and life."

*Offering to the Water.*—"You likewise, Chief of the Water, whose body is water, blessed grandfather Djōbenaŋgiwi'ąxga. Here it is (the tobacco). If we poured tobacco into the fire, you said you would always smoke it, it is said. Food and buckskin for moccasins we are about to extend to you. War powers and life, that we ask from you in return, for you said that you would always accept (our offerings), we are told. When you blessed grandfather Djōbenaŋgiwi'ąxga you said that we should pour tobacco for you at all times, it is said. Here it is.

"You would recognize the offering of tobacco and the tobacco with the food that we sent forth to you, you said, it is said. We desire war powers and life for our kinsmen."

*Offering to North Wind.*—"You likewise, Porcupine,[128] told grandfather, 'For killing an enemy outright, I am useful, it is said. I am even the equal of the one who blows from the north!' Thus you told grandfather, it is said. When the proper time has arrived we should pour tobacco. Tobacco, here it is.

"Our first request is for war power and life."

*Offering to the Pigeon-Hawk.*—"Here is tobacco for you, too, Pigeon-Hawk. You blessed grandfather with war and life and it is said you told him that you would always give him what we asked of you."

*Offering to Earthmaker.*—"For Earthmaker, who is the foremost, you said we should pour tobacco, so for him we (pour) tobacco.[129] A handful of tobacco we are about to offer to you (Earthmaker)."

*Offering to the Thunderbird.*—"To you, also, Thunderbird, I am about to pour tobacco. It will be one of the foremost offerings, you said, it is said. Tobacco we pour to you."

[825]

[128] Porcupine is also associated with the North Wind in the first division of the ceremony.

[129] I. e., we even have the effrontery to offer him tobacco as if people like ourselves could ever obtain a blessing from so great a deity as Earthmaker! The order in which the offerings to the various spirits are made is rather peculiar, for that to Earthmaker should, I believe, come first. I suspect that my informant was probably in error in the arrangement given above, a fact easily explained when it is remembered that he tried to visualize a ceremony he had not given for some time.

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×539 *Offering to Big Black Hawk.*—"E'gi jige K'eredjy'erp xetera' tanl'ɒa hōjū'-iją wigip'āxɒwl'rjdjigō'."

*Offering to Disease-giver.*—"E'gi jige Hocere'ɒ'wahjra teōk'ā' tanl'ɒa hōjū'-iją tanjɒā'cąnąą reniągigl'nąą."

*Offering to South Wind.*—"E'gi Rek'ū'hɒhjra teōk'ā' tanjnā'-cąnąą wigip'axɒ'wigi tanjnā'cąnarā'cge. E hiraitcē'ra raik'aral'p-djoɒe hicęje' al'rera."

*Offering to the Sun.*—"Tanl'ɒa hīdje' niągigl'nąą teōk'ā' hąbanj-hū'ra. Tanl'ɒa hōjū'-iją tanjɒā'cąnąąxdjij' hīdje' niągigl'nąą."

BASIC RITUAL

*Host's first speech.*—"Sā'k'ereni'ąkdjoągera minąąkcā'wąągre ni-ąk'ūrɒhi'ntc rehā'wjnąą. Hōk'ā'was Manl'ɒa hōnjhā'ra teok'agā' djāage gik'ereɒ'gi Tcīwoit'ɒ'higa Hōk'ā'was Manl'ɒa wawl'p'erez na'ągl'jj. Hątā'ginądjā'nąąga twust'ɒ'k'ągi hitcō'k'ohjwahl'wjra mą'ā'k'l wānąą'ągik'ere'regiji. Teōk'agā' Tcīwoit'ɒ'higa wē'je, niągi-ɒwadjt'ją hereje' hjk'igē'je hąbogɒregīnā'ągere hąhɒ' hlyuągl'wjnąą ō 'ūnjhē'je ēgi jige sā'niąk yoire'regi wak'ā'ndja huągra hīniąkhl'gi ē anąą'te hl'je ē'age mą'ā'k'l c'agwahl. Nūnige' wagl'nątegi p'ĵhl' nądjōdjal'ɒeje. E'age hagārē'ją t'ęgijl' mąą'ā'k'l ·horak'djē'k'djonōje ō'je airē'nąą. E'age hōnjhā' gy'se hąhɒ' nąwąą'ɒa djagū'xdjij ēgl'jj jē'age tūxū'rɒik'djawt'je. Nū'nige hōnjhā'ra hiją'ąk'lra hirap'e'regl'cge hąąk'e' hitege' warā'niąk'djonē'nąą; hijąąk'l'ra hirap'e'regi ē'cąnąą hawērā'-icge ɣak'ĵnbzrā'gi higy' erē'nąą. Hąąk'e' tō-ĵ' wacā'niąk'djonē'nąą wōna'ɣire haxl'rj ūąąkcigɒ'ĵ' haxl'rj wacēk'djonē'nąą al'rēąą. Jē'age wahēk'djonęhā'wigā'djąą.

Sā'k'ereni'ąk'djoągere minąąkcā'wąągre niąk'ūrɒhi'ntc rehā'-wjnąą." (Hąjɒ' Nąwąą.)

*Host's second speech.*—"Sā'k'ereni'ąk'djoągera minąąkcā'wąągre niąk'ūrɒhi'ndj rehā'wjdjigɒ. E'gi hak'aral'sundjwigi ō'gi hinągl'-djicerāk'djā'wjra c'agwarā'wjga hōnjhā'ra waxɒp'j'nj hōk'irā'ra djagū' adjt'regi waworak'ā'rak'icarā'k'djąwjra. Jiage niągitā'-wjnąą. Hiwacl'niągera tcątĵ' wahairā'nąąga ē'gi tacdją'wigi

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*Offering to Big Black Hawk.*—"To the Big Black Hawk we also offer a handful of tobacco." 539x 796x

*Offering to Disease-giver.*—"To you, grandfather Disease-giver, I also send tobacco." 776 782

*Offering to South Wind.*—"To you, also, grandfather South Wind, I send tobacco. You would consider it foremost, you said, it is said."

*Offering to the Sun.*—"Here I place tobacco for you, too, grandfather Sun. A handful of tobacco here I place here for you."

BASIC RITUAL

*Host's first speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are sitting here, I greet you. The songs that the Night Spirits placed within the reach of grandfather Teiwoit'e'higa,[100] those he tried to learn. He fasted and thirsted himself to death for the blessings our grandfathers (the Night Spirits) gave him (spread) over the length of the earth. Our grandfather Teiwoit'e'higa said that he had come from somewhere in the east and that a Night Spirit chieftainess was his mother and that the son of the chief of the Thunderbirds was his father; that his parents lived beyond the confines of this earth.[101] When he fasted to be blessed by (these spirits) over again,[102] they blessed him. If at any time he should die he would be able to visit the earth again, he said, it is said.[103] The song he was taught, the Night Spirit song, that we will try to sing. Even if you know only one song, you will not bore them (the spirits) with it; for if you bring yourself to the state of weeping in your efforts, it will be (acceptable). If you do not put on any embellishments when you pray (literally, cry) for war and life (it will be acceptable), it is said. Thus we should say it. 539x 796x 787 776

"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." (Night Spirit song.)

*Host's second speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. When we finish (our part of the ceremony), may you help us by repeating the spirit songs your ancestors gave you to be handed down (from one generation to another). That we ask of you. Now we will start a dance song and when we are finished singing, our 539x 796x [424]

[100] Literal translation, "Kills within the lodge."

[101] What Teiwoit'e'higa means by saying that these spirits were his parents is that he is a reincarnated spirit that has chosen to be born of human parents. Such claims were by no means rare even in late Winnebago history and there is, as a matter of fact, a powerful shaman living in Wisconsin now who claims that he is the reincarnated Hare (Wa'ąąą

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X 539 ē'gi hitcōk'jwahl'wjra wīdjā'dja tcahjrē'ra manl'ṇēk'djē'ra. Jē'ge niṇgitā'wjnạ. Sā'k'ereni'ṇk'djoṇgṇra minaṇkcā'waṇgre niṇk'ūrụhi'ndj rehā'wjnạ. Hōk'ā'rega nąʼinl'ge wa'ūanạ'ṇgwjra jedjaị'ṇxdji, p'ā jē'gụ hīdjo' hawj-ā'nạga. Ē'gi hiranjk'l'k'ūrụxē'k'djonehā'wije. Hjhē'ra wirọrā'gṇra manl'ṇēk'djera jē'ge hōniṇgl'tawjnạ. Sā'k'ereni'ṇk'djoṇgṇra minaṇkcā'waṇgre niṇk'ūrụhi'ndj rehā'wjdjigọ."

"Ē'gi tcēk'djl'ṇa sā'niṇk hoiratcge' họwā'rēje ṇēṇārụpā'rọgṇra warūtcā'naṇk'ā hiją' wa'ụje' rūhā'k'erēje. Sā'k'eroją hōwahiregīnā'ṇk'l ē'dja hitco'gigigigi tcōwehl-ā'dja gīk'erọje' p'eṇ sọ'soṇra wirō'ragṇra minaṇkcā'waṇk'a. Ē'gi tanl'ṇa nąbō'jụ gigl'je."

*Speech of first guest.*—"Warọṇl'ra hōk'l'k'aradjṇra minaṇkcā'waṇgre niṇkūrụhi'ndj rehā'wjdjigọ. Ē'gi hōnaṇkcl'ṇa waxọp'j'nj tcljū minaṇkcā'waṇgre niṇk'ūrụhi'ndj rehā'wjdjigọ. Ep'iṇgā'dją. Warọṇl'ra hitcō'k'ewahl'wjra tanjwọgl'jụ hiṇgigl'rare. Hōk'ā'was Manl'ṇa hąbọgū'regirọra tcōk'agā' hicge wāna'ị'gik'erē'reje hl'k'igē'je al'rera. Hagārē'ją hōnjhā'ra tcąt'ị' wagl'gik'djonā'wigi tanl'ṇa hagip'ā'xụwl'ge hiṇk'ā'rap'erezl'k'djonēje, ē'je al'rera. Tanl'ṇa hōgū'-iją hagip'axụ'ṇk'djonā're k'arahl'je gīji. Hōk'l'wik'aradjṇra warọṇl'ra ūanądjọdjaị'ṇge wa'ụnaṇgre hicge' ūanądjọdjaị'ṇge wahanaṇk'ā'dja wigip'e'rezirā'nạga, tanl'ṇa hicge hiṇgip'e'rezirē'gi wōk'l'djirē'ją hereje al'rera Jē'ge p'ewj-ā'nạga. Wirọrā'gṇra tcąt'ị' djtrehā'k'djonare waxọp'j'nj nāṇxgū'ṇe p'inąʼ-ṇkce nūnige hōnjhā'ra djagū'adjl'regi jē'ge hōtā'tcgąṇk'djonā're. Hiją'ṇxdji hiṇgē'ra hatūxū'rugānạga 'uṇgl'ji. Hitcō'k'ewahl'wjra Hōk'ā'was Mānl'ṇa wēhọ'ṇa tanl'ṇa nąbirụxā'djṇra nalṇxdjl'na wawigl'p'erzirēje'je. Hire wahē'k'djā'wjnạ. Warọṇl'ra hōk'l'wik'aradjṇra minaṇkcā'waṇgre niṇk'ūrụhi'ndj rehā'wjnạ. Ē'gi waxọp'j'nj hōnaṇkcl'ṇa djā'nạga minaṇkcā'waṇgrē'ege niṇk'ūrụhi'ndj rehā'wjdjigọ." (Hąbọ' Nąwą.)

*Second speech of first guest.*—"Mą'ụṇa hōk'aral'cipgi hidjā'-gikerụ'ranaṇk'a wē'je. Warọṇl'ra hōk'l'wik'aradjṇra minaṇkcā'-

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grandfather, the drum, will start to walk (in your direction).[184] That we ask of you (i. e., to help us also in our dancing). War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." (Dance song.)

When the dancing is finished the host speaks again.

*Host's third speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. We are now trying to do our best to attract (the spirits' attention) to what we are doing and that is why we are placing (the drum) (in front of the guests). What I said about the messenger who is about to walk,[185] that I am going to speak of to you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you."

Then the attendant first moves the drum to the left side, and places both the drum and the rattle in front of the war-bundle owner who is next (in turn). He also places tobacco in his hand.

*Speech of first guest.*—"Host and his relatives who are seated here, I send my greetings to you. To you who are sitting here impersonating the spirits I send forth my greetings also. It is good. The host and our grandfathers pour tobacco for me. Those in the east, the Night Spirits, added their blessings also, grandfather said, it is said. If at any time we sang the songs and poured tobacco for them he would take cognizance thereof, he said, it is said. The handful of tobacco we poured they would smoke. The clansmen and councilors who are living in as pitiable a condition as I myself who am speaking will be helped, should the spirits accept their offering, just as I will be helped if they accept my tobacco. Thus I thought. The messenger that they have caused to come my way so that the spirits might hear my words,[186] I am unworthy of. What our ancestors have handed down I can merely guess at.[187] O, that it were my good fortune to say even one thing (as they desire it)! Would that the Night Spirits, our grandfathers, would accept the food and the tobacco and the offerings of buckskin! It is with that wish that we say this. Host, members of this clan who are sitting here, I send my greetings toward you. All who are sitting here impersonating the spirits, I send my greetings toward you." (Night Spirits' song.)

When the person in charge of the kettle in honor of Earthmaker [188] has finished, he says (again):

*Second speech of first guest.*—"Host, and your clan who are sitting here, I greet you. You who are sitting here impersonating spirits, I

[184] I. e., the drum will be passed from one guest to another. This constitutes the Rude Ceremony. Cf. Introduction.

[185] The drum is known variously as "wāgīⁿ'ąk," the public crier, or as "wīrā'wąąra," the messenger, i. e., literally, "the one through whom something is told." In this second term is included, however, not only the drum but also the guests. The sound of the drum and the guests translates into a language intelligible to the spirits what the Indians are pleading for. [202]

[186] I. e., the drum.

[187] I. e., my knowledge is so imperfect that I will have to take chances at saying the right thing.

[188] This is probably a mistake on the part of the informant. It should be Night Spirit.

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×539 waąk'a niąk'ūrụhi'ndjrehā'wjną. Waxọp'j'nj hō'naąkel'rēcge djā'-
nąga mīnaąkcā'waągre niąkūrụhi'nte rehā'wjną. Waxọp'j'nj
widjā'dja tcabjrē'ra manigigi'rọra te tcōni'xdjj hamanī' 'ọjnā'wjra.
Wajọk'l'ągera djā'nąga hanjwī'ną jē'nụga nątci'ąxdjj wjrō'-
ragera watụtcabwī'ra ūaąkcigọ'l'ọa hīraną'k'ik'l'wjną. Wọna'-
ọjre gixe'we. Wa'ūiągā'dja wirō'ragera mā'nj-ągra jedjaj'ąxdjj p'ā
hoicąhago'. Wabā'ną. Warọyl'ra wak'ūrụhi'ndjānąga. Sā'-
k'ereni'ąk'djoągra mīnaąkcā'waągre niąk'ūrụhi'ndj rehā'wjdjigọ."

"E'gi te'ọ'jj hōk'aral'cipānąga. E'gi jige hīege hīnụbe'dja jige
ūaągi'ja sak'erejā'naąk'j ē'dja hīnụbọ'hoọa ọeyarup'ā'ragera
ē'dja gik'ere'regi tanī'ọa nąhō'jụ gigi'regi. U'agena'ąk'a wā'je
rūągi'."

*Speech of second guest.*—"Warọyl'ra wak'l'wjk'aradjera mīnaąkcā'-
waąk'ā niąk'ūrụhi'ndjwī'ną. E'gi waxọp'j'nj ōnaąkcī'ọa mīnaąk-
cā'waągrēcge niąk'ūrụhi'ndjwīną. Ep'iągā'dja. Sā'k'ere-yatcā'-
bwjra wā'rūte ūaągō'kuk'ū'-jnāwj-ā'nąga. E'gi jige wā'rūte
rajī'cge here nūnjge' wanąp'l'ąxdjj wani-ol'tcge k'arap'i-e'-gexdjj
rūte waągagigi'rawjra. E'gi je'e' canānē'cge p'iągā'dja. E'gi
waxọp'j'nj wōgi'hu wa'ụ'naągera ūaąkcigọ'l'ọa tā wā'ụ'naągera.
Hąąk'e ē'cana wak'ik'ū'njnąkā'dja telroj'xdjj hahā'ągwjre te
anā'tciąxdjj newaągā'wagi 'ū'-jnāwjge wa'ụ'naągera. Jē'djuọga
hoixtcą'ąxdjj jige ọē'xdjj tanjwọgi'jụ waągagigi' rawjgā'dja.
Wjrō'ragera hamanī' 'u-jnā'wjra. Wa'iya'nabwī'ną. Nē wajā'niją
'ụ-jnj-ā'nąga tegaągā'je wają' yarā'naąkce. Teok'ā' ewewī'ọęgi
wagi'unā'wjgadją. Teok'agā' hąhọgure'gi herera' Hōk'ā'was
Manī'ọa hōnjhā' gigy'ajregi'jj. Hąhę' teọnī'ọa hōxdjan'pdjj
hagū'naąk'l'jj tanī'na hīdje' wagi'gik'djonē'ra hōnjhā' ra hąąk'e'
erewahā'winī'ege nądjọągidjairā'wjgi e tanī'ọa hiągihī'ọęk'djā'wjra
hā'nąga. E'gi warọyl'ra hōk'l'wjk'aradjera waxọp'j'njna hīnąą-
ege'ni gik'arā'te mīnaąkjrā'nąga wawiągip'erezirē'jēje. Yā'ro
wahēk'djonjhā'wjgadją. Wōną'ọjre xirira' yak'jhj-ą'dje.
Hagārē'ją nąhjrūxā'djerā'nąga waxọp'j'nj wīdjā'dja tcabjrē'ra
hamanjnī'ọ'gi Hąąk'e' wają' waxdjō' hō'ū'ją herenąk'djonē'ną.
Djagū' rọgụ' wānąk'e' warọyl'ra hīege jē'ąge haxirj-ą'dje hiągai'-
rọra e'agwahā'ra. Jē'ąge hjhē'wahēk'djonọągā'dją. Hīgūā'na wirō'-
ragera teątī' djirehā'k'djawjra Warọyl'ra mīnaąkcā'waąk'a
niąk'ūrụhi'ndj rehā'wjną. E'gi sā'k'ereni'ąk'djoągre niąk'ūrụhi'ndj
rehā'wjdjigọ."

Hīral'sundjera wawī'ọ' rūodjā'ągi ē'gi hjwacl'ra djirehī'-
k'djonē'gi wā'je.

*Second speech of second guest.*—"Wā'rọyjra hōk'ik'ā'radjera
mīnaąkcā'waągre niąk'ūrụhi'ndj rehā'wjną. E'gi niąk'ūrụhi'ndj

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greet you. The messenger of the spirits (the drum) they have caused to walk in our path, first.[138] This drum has brought me and all my relatives who are here in touch with life. We have done this in order to obtain war power. The messenger that has walked thus far I have annoyed.[139] That is why I am saying this. Host, I greet you and yours. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I send my greetings toward you." 539x 796x

When he has finished, then for the second time they pass the drum to another warrior and they place tobacco in his hand. This man, taking the tobacco, speaks as follows:

*Speech of second guest.*—"Host and members of your clan who are seated here, I greet you. You seated here who are impersonating the spirits, I greet you. It is good. Food you have given our warriors. There is plenty of ordinary food, but you have made us eat nice food, of animals that we like very much.[140] Even (common food) would have been good enough for us. They are boiling food for the spirits so that they might ask them for life. You are not merely doing this for them, but you are doing this for all those people who are present in this lodge. You have filled us full (of blessings and honors) and you have permitted us to pour tobacco. You have caused the messengers (the drum and the rattle) to walk over to us. We are thankful. Do I or does anything I say amount to anything?[141] You thought of your grandfather (the spirit) and that is why you did it. Those in the east, the Night Spirits, taught him songs. The first nice evening that they start the Night (songs?), then I will offer tobacco for them. Even if we don't sing the songs correctly, they (the spirits) may still take pity on us and smoke our tobacco. The host and the members of his clan prayed earnestly to the spirits who are sitting here that they accept (these offerings). It is with this thought (before me) that I speak in this way. War powers let us cry for. 'When they give the feast, when they see to it that the sacred criers (i. e., the drums) come to you, remember that you should not take things lightly on that occasion. What the host desires do thou also pray for,' my ancestors told me. That is why I will say it. Now we are about to drum. Host who is sitting here, I greet you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you all."

When they finished the terminal song, then he got ready to start the dancing song and he said:

*Second speech of second guest.*—"Host and his relatives who are seated here, I send my greetings toward you. War-bundle owners

[138] I. e., they have given us the place of honor so that the drum will be passed to us first.
[139] I. e., I have made requests of the spirits by means of the drums and the rattles.
[140] I. e., we have been asked to eat the deer head.
[141] Question implying a negative answer.

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539 rehā'wjną wō'nąkcjnā'cgo mīnąkcā'wąągro niąk'ūrąhi'dnj rehā'-wjdjigo."

E'gi hjwacī'ra wawī'ą' rūedjo'ągi wak'ūrąhi'ndj rehī'je wā'je.

*Third speech of second guest.*—"Warǫąī'ra mīnąkcā'wąąk'a niąk'-ūrąhi'ndj rehā'wjdj igō'. Ep'iągā'dja. Wjrō'ragązra watąicā'bwjra wǫną'yjre gixo'we wa'ąwī'ra. E'gi ūąkrigǫ'j' gixo'we wa'ąwjgā'-dja. Djagū' rǫąy' wa'u'nąągązra. Hąąk'o' wajā'niją ąaxū'ruk tūxū'ragązniąk'djonā' nūnige' hjgy' djaągo'hagj hā'rek'djonē'go jēgy'niąk djik'o'we-ā'nąga wirō'ragązra jedjaj'ądjj p'ā hoicą'-hanąga. Warǫąī'ra hōk'ī'wjk'aradjązra mīco'nąąkcawąąk'ā' niąk'-ūrąhi'ndj rehā'wjdjigō'. Sā'k'ereni'ąkdjoągere mīnąkcā'wąągro niąk'ūrąhi'ndj rehā'wjdjigo."

E'gi jīgo ąē'ąārupā'rągązra rūhāk'ero'rągj hītanī'hǫąą tanī'ąa hīrasā' tanī'ąa harūtcą'pgj wā'je.

*First speech of third guest.*—"Warǫąī'ra hōk'ik'ā'radjązra mīnąkcā'-wąągro niąk'ūrąhjdjwī'ną. E'gj waxǫp'j'nj wō'nąkcī'ąa djā'nąga tcj-ō'jumīnā'ąkcawąągro niąk'ūrąhindjwī'ną. Ep'ī'ną waxǫp'j'nj wjdjā'djatcā'bjrēra manj-ā'ągra horo'k hamanī' 'u'-jąēra. Ep'iągā'-dja. Hąbōgūre'gjrēra Hōk'ā'was Manīąa wōk'ī'ra hūhī'rǫąra hītcōk'ewahī'rągj wawōk'ā'rahīra. Hūhī'rera hīcge wirō'ragązra hamanī' 'u'-jąēra hītcō'k'ewahī'wjra hōnjhā'ra djagū'ādjī'rągj hīcge wawā'k'arak'ītak'djawī'na. Hītcō'k'ehawjgī'jj hąhǫ' wjgaī'rągj hōnjhā' gjk'ererē'je ē'ra. Hagārē'ją hōnjhā tcąt'j wahak'djā'wjgj tanī'ąa hōjū'-iją wagjp'āxy'wjgj k'arahī'ąēk'djanē'ną hjgaī'rēje ē'ną. Tanī'ąa Hōk'ā'was Manī'ąa hīdje' wagjgī'k'djonā'wi-ā'nąga warǫąī'ra tanī'waxy hjągjgī'rawī'ra tanī'ąa hīdje' wagjgjwī'ną. Hīcge hī'eaną wajj'djahj yare'wahēk'djā'wjje! Warǫąī'ra tanī'ąa wōhǫ'ąa nąbjrūxā'djązra wawī'gjp'erenjrēje'je. Yāre wahēk'dje. Wǫną'yjre haxīrī' wahē'k'djawjgā'dją. Warǫąī'ra hōk'ik'ā'radjązra sā'k'ereni'ąk'djoągro mīnąkcā'wąągro niąk'ūrąhi'ndj rehā'wjdjigō." (Hąhǫ' Nąwą.)

*Second speech of third guest.*—E'gj hīwacī'ra jīgo wawī'ąk'ārahō'gj wā'je.

"Warǫąī'ra hōk'ī'k'ārādjązra mīnąkcā'wąąk'ā niąk'ūrąhi'ndj rehā'wjdjigo. E'gj hōnąąkcī'nącge tcj-ō'jū mīnąkcā'wąągro niąk'-ūrąhi'ndj rehā'wjdjigo. Hīwacī'niąkra tcąt'j djīrehā'k'djawjra. Wajj'niją ąaxū'rąg p'ī'ūna'ąkce nūnige hąąk'o' hīk'ī'ągj p'injąē'dją wahē'k djonągādja. Niąk'ūrąhi'ndj rehā'wjdjigo." (Hīwacī'ra Nąwą.)

*Third speech of third guest.*—E'gj hjwacī'ra haisu'ntągj wā'je.

"Wirō'ragązra hamanī'wjnawī'ra jedjaj'ąxdjj p'ā hoicą' hawī'ną. E'gj djā'nąga hōk'ik'ā'radjązra watūk'o'wjra hīmajodjąąk'djā'wjra

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who are seated here impersonating the spirits, I send my greetings toward you." 539x 796x

When the dance songs have been finished, then greeting, he says as follows:

*Third speech of second guest.*—"Host who art sitting here, I send forth my greetings to you. It is good. It is to obtain war that we accept the drum. It is to gain life that we are doing this. We are doing this because he (the host) wishes it. Nothing can be gained by anything I would say, but nevertheless, howsoever small its value may be, let us start the drum. Host and members of his clan who are seated here, I greet you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you."

Then they pass the drum to the third person and he, taking the tobacco, says as follows:

*First speech of third guest.*—"Host and relatives who are sitting here, I greet you. You sitting within this lodge who are impersonating the spirits, I greet you. It is good that the drum of the spirits has been made to walk in our direction. It is good. They have sent us the means for imitating the Night Spirits who live in the east; for impersonating our grandfathers. The drum which they have caused to walk in our direction, the songs that they have handed down, we will also repeat them. Our grandfathers, who are called the Night Spirits, it is for them that these songs have been offered, he said. If at any time we sing these songs and offer a handful of tobacco, surely they will smoke the tobacco, our grandfathers said, it is said. Tobacco we place here for the Night Spirits. The tobacco that the host has poured for us, here we offer it. How could I have thought of anything else to say? That the spirits may recognize the offerings of the host, the tobacco, the food, and the buckskin; that is why I speak. To plead for war power piteously; that is why we speak. Host, members of his clan, war-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." (Night Spirits' song.)

Then when he is about to use the dance songs he says as follows:

*Second speech of third guest.*—"Host and members of his clan who are seated here, I greet you. You also who are seated within this lodge impersonating the spirits, I greet you. An insignificant dance song we are about to use. I know that I am unable to obtain anything by singing. However, one should not be discouraged, and that is why I am saying this. I greet you all." (Dance song.)

When the dance is finished he speaks again.

*Third speech of third guest.*—"We have been annoying the messenger that walked in our direction (the drum). As many clansmen as have taken hold of it, that many have been strengthened. Thus have we

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X539 jejā'ąge rōgą. Widjā'djera watūtcahwī'ra wa'iyā'nąhwī'ra. Jedjaj'ąxdjj p'ā hoicą' hawī'ną. Warǫyī'ra niąk'ūrąhi'ndj rehā'wjdjigǫ. Wō'naąkcī'ąacge hanąj'triąxdjj niąkūrąhi'ndj rehā'wjdjigǫ.

THE THROWING OUT OF THE BUCKSKINS

Warūtco'na tanī' hok'ū'-jnānąga ō'gj warūąa'pk'ere hijaj'-naitcę'ra warǫyī'ra warūp'ī'naąk'ī te'e' warǫyī'ra wārūp'ī'naąk'e ō'ąge naljj waxǫp'j'nj warā'djirēra hīp'e'rezjragenī'gūnj. Hīrai'rege wają ąaxū'rugąną hīrai'rege ūnągera hok'o'nągirē'ną waxǫp'j'nj hanąąxgū'jǫe nądje'xdjlją wak'ātcą'gī-ącge jige' wa'ū'naąk'e jige' ūnąk'ik'ū'rąxąrugī'ją wa'ū'naąk'e waxǫp'j'nj hik'ārap'e'-rezjrē'ją wa'ū'naąk'e hąhǫ' hīhątē'ją wa'ū'naąk'ū'nj hīrai'rege. E'ąge tcahā' gīci'p gigī'rēk'djē'ąe. Nēyarąpā'rugera hīdjā' gik'ererē'ną tanī'ąa nąhō'jų gigī'ro wē'ną.

*Speech of prominent guest.*—"Warǫyī'ra hōk'ik'ā'radjera minąąkcā'wąągro niąk'ūrąhindjwī'ną. Hōnąąkcī'ąa tcirō'jų minąąkcā'wąągro niąk'ūrąhi'ndjrehā'wjdjigǫ. Sā'k'ereni'ąk'djąągero minąąkcā'wąągro niąk'ūrąhi'ndjrehā'wjdjigǫ. Ep'ī'ną sā'k'ero ahīwatcā'bwjra warǫyī'ra p'anaī'ąąxdjj wa'ū'jąā'nąga. E'gj nądjǫwā'ągǫdjaī'nawjgo tcīwąągō'jujrā'nąga warūdj wąągōk'ū'-jąawj-ā'nąga. E'gj jige tānjwągī'jų wąągągigī'rawj-ā'nąga. Ep'iągā'dja. Hiąk'ī-ō'ąge hīwā'njk'dje djādjiga waigā'ną. Hagārē'ją ūąąkcī'k haranī'na-īrā'naga waxǫp'j'nj wagądje' gīci'p niągigī'regj, hąąk'e' wahehe' wagī'ą'nanije aī'rącą. Wajā'niją nini-ā'nąga waxǫp'j'nj wagądje' gīci'bjniągigī'regj. Niągīā'k' hitcō'k'ewahī'wira mą'āk'ī'ą wawīk'ī'p'erez hit'ę' 'ū'-ipęje. Hąhǫ'ra nąągiwaī'ąęje ō'gj hīege wak'andjā'ra hōk'ī'dje hąhǫ' nąągiwaī'ąęje hagak'ī'tcecana wawīgī'wa'ą minągirē'je."

Hąhǫ'ra nāwa'ąa racdjā'ągi hīegagā' wak'andjā'ra nawą'ąa hijaī'ągiwa'ą' aīrea'ā'je Jō'cana hąhǫ'ra wak'andjā'ra hak'īcdjek hąhǫ' nąągiwaī'ąęje. Hagārē'ją ūąąkcī'k hīranā'nj-jnāna'ga waxǫp'j'nj wagądje' gīci'p niągigī'regj wāna'ę' wagīk'ere'xdjj-ą'dje. Hąąk'e' egadjenī'ege wajā'niją āni-ą'dje. Warǫyī'nąąk'a ūanądjōdjaī'ąge wōnā'yire haxjrī'ro hīedjąąīrūxąxąnā'ągra. Ūąąkcigǫ'j' haxī'rj tanī'ąa wōhǫ'ąa nąhjrūxā'djera mącū'ąa hak'arā'nj wayā'ganągra. Ūanądjōdjaī'ąge waxǫp'j'nj nitā'k'adjera ągenī'ąągj, sinj-ō'rahǫte k'īnā'nąga wawē'k'īnā'nąga. Naiąxdjj wajā'niją gīage wawēje'je! Hīrai'rege wa'ū'naągra hąąk'e ō'djahī

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539X
796X

annoyed it. Host, I greet you. You who are impersonating the spirits, all of you, do I greet."

### The Throwing Out of the Buckskins

Then the attendants give that war-bundle owner who is regarded as the foremost, as an expert, tobacco, for it is about time now that the various spirits should accept (the offerings).[143] Therefore they select a man who is proficient, one who has very likely been blessed by the Night Spirits and one therefore to whom they are likely to listen, a holy person, a man who has attained war honors. He is likely to be the best one to make the spirits cognizant of the buckskins. So they brought the drum for him to his place, and placed tobacco in his hand. Then he spoke as follows:

539X
796X
782
[354]

*Speech of prominent guest.*—"Host and members of his clan who are seated here, I greet you. You seated in this lodge who are impersonating the spirits, I greet you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. It is good that the war-bundle owners have done so much for the host. He has brought us the means of blessing and caused us to come into this lodge and has fed us. He has permitted us to offer tobacco. It is good. Not insincerely should we speak on such an occasion, our father told us. If at any time the spirits pay any attention to a human being and permit him to offer them moccasins, rest assured that they will not let a weakling do this. If you are of any importance the spirits will accept the moccasins you have offered them. Indeed, my son, our grandfathers on both ends of the earth will have knowledge of these offerings,[144] they told each other."

For the Night Spirits they sang and alternately they would start up a song for the Thunderbird as they sat there.

After finishing a Night Spirit song, then they would start up one for the Thunderbird, and then they would sing Night Spirit songs and Thunderbird songs together. "If at any time they consider you a man and accept the moccasins you have offered them, use your power. Above all, be careful that you do not say anything in a frivolous manner. The host putting himself in a pitiable condition has with copious dropping of tears besought the spirits for war power. For life he has also besought them and has prayed to them with offerings of tobacco, food, buckskins, and feathers. Putting himself in a pitiable condition he has hunted for the spirits,[145] weakened himself through exposure to cold, and caused himself untold sufferings. Oh that I could have done similarly! It is for this (these laudable rea-

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[143] I. e., that the buckskins should be placed where the spirits can get them.
[144] I. e., the Night Spirits living in the east and the Thunderbirds living in the west.
[145] I. e., hunted the deer that are used at the feast both for eating and for the buckskin offerings.

[776]

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X539 hixdjahl' nawānj-ą'ndje warǫγl'ra tanl'ǫa hak'ārā'nj γāgenoǫk'a. hicge tanjwǫgl'jǫ niǫgigl'regi. Hicge' hąbjtal'ᵋǫǫa hanl' γagā'dje warǫγl'ra djasgā'naǫk'a. Hicge' jēsgā'djo wajōk'ldjjrē'ja herēge'-djini ūaǫgenū'naǫgra tcēge'dja rē'dją ūądjl'rēna k'ldjjre' ᵋūjnā'-naga. Wajā'niją ᵋu-jǫē'ga hastō' ᵋǫ-jǫē'ga ǫūxū'rugjresᵋā'je. Ge jē'sge hl-adjl'rēje tcege'dja waxǫp'j'nj k'isge ūaǫkcikᵋj'nęgjrē'cge. Tanl'ǫa hak'aranj γagjrē'je djadjl'ga hiǫgē'rą. Hōk'ā'was Manl'ǫa tanl'ǫa hidje' wagigl'k'djonęge. Niǫk'ūrǫhi'ndj rehā'wjdjigō. (Hąhǫ' Nąwą hiral'sunte.)

*Speech of host.*—E'gj teᵋē'jj hiral'sundjera hōk'araicjhā'naga ē'gj hjwacl'ra wīkᵋu'ǫk'djanē'gj.

"Sā'k'ereni'ǫk'djoǫgera hōk'lk'ā'radjera minaǫkcā'waǫgre niǫk'ūrǫhi'ndj rehā'wjdjigǫ. Hiwacl'ra hlᵋǫ-jǫēk'djonā're ē'dja hitcō'k'ewahl'wjra wagǫdje'niǫk wagjtū'edją rehā'k'djonjhā'wjra. E'gj ūaǫgerǫwal're wak'ā'ragīk djanjhawīną. Hōsge jeᵋe' wak'ā'-rak' rehā'ge wahē'ną. Sā'k'ereni'ǫk'djoǫgere hōk'lk'ā'radjera minaǫkcā'waǫgre niǫk'ūrǫhi'ndj rehāwjdjigǫ."

Ūaǫkxete'naǫk'a nąwą hiwacl'ra djirehl'gj. Wagigā'ra teahā' nąbjruxā'djera wak'ūrǫcibjrā'naga hanę'tcj hijaǫk'l'cana teahā'-naǫk'a hanl' wacl'rēje tcirō'gigiǫx djōbo'hą hōgigi'ǫx hirēk'djonē'gj. Warūteteo'na hiję teōwē'dja wōtā'p'ona hanl'wanije ē'gj jige wagixo'nona hija' hage'dja wazip'ā'rasge hōtā'p'ona wagigl' manije. E'gj tanl'ǫa hōgigi'γjrā'naga hōk'l'rjrē'dją jige hirǫ-ā'gera hōgigi'ǫx hidǫobo'hǫǫa haral'rēk'djā'ǫēgi teahā' nąbjrūxā'djera teōwē'xdjj ē'dja hanl' manl'naǫk'ā Mąᵋū'ǫa teahā' nąbjrǫxā'-djera girūedjā' ǫēhl'rega jeᵋe' wagal'rēje hanątxiǫedjj niǫk'djoǫgeniǫgrā'ege hik'l-ō'wjre nąbjrotā'p'ona hiwj-ā'naga. Hik'l-ō'wjre jē'sge hl'rēje hiro-ā'gedja hanę'tciǫxdjj higǫ' p'ējegerē'ra hanę'tciǫxdjj hik'i-ol'rēje Mąᵋū'na teahā'naǫk'a k'urusgl' teᵋinl-ą'bjrēk'djē'ge ē'sge hik'l-ol'rēje ē waᵋū'naǫkcana.

Hidjōbo'hǫǫa hōhū'-jrēdja hagl'regj teahā'ra ē'dja wōwap'ā'rok hirā'naga tcirahē'dja hōwal're wahl'rēną. Tanl'ǫa nąbᵋā'k'l nąbjrōre'xdjj wanl' waᵋū'-jǫęgi tanl'ǫa p'ēdje'dja wōwaxū'-jǫęje. E'gj hanā'tciǫxdjj wagigā'ra teahā'ra wak'ā'ranj tcirǫwā'giǫx wak'ā'ranjna'ǫk'a ē'gj k'igā'ra djā'naga tcirǫjǫ-ā'k'a niǫk'djoǫgra niǫgrē'ege hl'nuǫgera ūaǫgera' hanā'tciǫxdjj naji-ā'naga wacl'-rēje hǫml'naǫgra wō'naǫk'ārajīnā'naga wacirē'ną. Jeᵋē'jj jēguā'-naga.

E'gj jige k'enj teahā'ra uaǫgerǫwal'rewahl'ranj wairęconū'ną haǫk'l'ją nąwl'nje hąhę' cᵋakrā' hąbjdjā'naga hagū'naǫkcana hiję' hisagūą'nik'ererawi-ē'ge haǫk'e' hija' hąbe' cᵋā'k' hisagūą'-

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sons) that they (the host and his band) have done this. Do not say anything frivolously, for the host has offered in your behalf tobacco and tears. Cry that you may obtain life, even as the host and his people have done. Act thus so that you may be of help to one another even as our ancestors of old were. If people act together they will accomplish their purpose. That is what they did in the beginning and that is why they lived like spirits at that time. They cried and made offerings of tobacco, grandfather said. For the Night Spirits shall you pour tobacco here. I send forth my greetings to you." (Terminal Night Spirit song.) 539x 796x 782

After they have finished the terminal Night Spirit song then (the host) gets ready to use the dance song, but (first) speaks as follows:

*Speech of host.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. The dance song they are about to use and then they will get ready to throw out the offerings of buckskin to the spirits. Now let us put them above. This is what I wished to tell you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you."

The host and the others now take the buckskins and dance around the lodge four times.

When he (the host) starts the oldest men sing the dance songs. Then the feasters take the buckskin offerings down and all, one by one, dance around the lodge four times. An attendant precedes them carrying cedar incense and one follows them carrying the same. After they have made the circuit of the lodge for the third time, just before they begin the fourth circuit, those carrying the buckskin that is to be thrown out for Earthmaker and who march at the head of the procession, let the children, after they have smoked their hands, touch the buckskin. After that all touch it for (they believe) that if they touch this buckskin they will obtain long life thereby.

After they have made the fourth circuit they roll up the buckskins and throw them out through the top of the lodge. They hold tobacco in both hands when they do this and this tobacco they pour into the fire. Then all the feasters, those who had buckskins and the others who were within the lodge, the children, the women, indeed, all the people, rise and standing near their seats dance. Thus they did. 796x 539x

Before throwing the buckskins through the top of the lodge they would tell the people not to sleep, for otherwise some of the old Night Spirits who are about at the approach of day might strike them [513 776]

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niąk'ererawī'gi, cdjēk'djānjhā'winą. Ge'djinj rǫγīna'ąkcana. Je'ā'jj tcahā'ra 'ūa'ągɛra hǫwal're wahjrā'nagagi jē'jj ę'p'ā' niąk'djo'-ągɛnaągɛra hiją' nądjē'kege 'u'ąk'dje al'rǫcanū'ną."

E'gi jo'ē'jj nawanjhē'ra wē'ną.

*Speech of first guest.*—"Warǫγī'ra hōk'j'k'aradjɛra minaąkcā'-waąk'a niąk'ū'ruhindjwī'ną. Watū'tcahwjra himaj'edjaąk'djā'-wjra djā'nąga wajō'k'ipa watutcahwī'ra. Ep'iągā'dja. Jedjaī'-ąxdjj p'a hoicą' hawī'ną, wirō'ragɛra! Warǫγī'ra hōk'jk'ā'-radjɛra minaąkcā'waąk'a niąkuruhindj rehawina. Waxōp'j'nj wōnaąkcī'ąa djā'nąga tcj-ō'jū minaąkcā'waągre niąk'ūruhindj rehā'wjdjigǫ."

Ñǫγārup'o'rogera warutcą'djega rūzā'nąga tcjǫk'isā'gedja k'īrjdje'hije.

Wagigō'naąk'a t'ąpdjjrā'nąga, wē'je.

*Speech of host.*—Sā'k'ereni'ąk'djoągɛre minaąkcā'waągre niąk'ūruhi'ndj rehā'wjną. Ep'iągā'dją. Djagū' ru-ā'gunaąxdjj jēsgē'jją hanj'ąną'gigawjra. Hanąą'tciąxdjj hal'serete djagū' ru-agu'ną hūnagigā'wjra. Ep'ī'ną. Cagwarā'wjga waxǫp'j'nj wāna'j' rūsgī'djjranąga. E'gi waxǫp'j'nj agiγe'γebɛra djagū'ra jock'djā'wigi hīniąk'ā'ragairā'wigi jē'sge haj'serete hōrak'ā'rak'jcā'-rawjra. Ep'iągā'dją. Haąk'e' hinąγjcā'rawjnj. Wają' raxū'-ruk'p'ī'ąxdjj wacahjbrā'wjra. Ep'ī'ną. Wā'yā'nąpcaną ā'ge haj'-serete cindjwat'ę' niąk'ā'ragjwī'ra hero nū'nige ē'gi tok'e'wehjniwj. Nū'nige ē'gi sā'niąk hąbogū'regj hererā' hōk'ā'was manī'na wōhaj'-niągīją hīdjā' wagjk'ere'rera hirǫ-ā'gɛniąxdjj nawā'naągre ē'niąk p'arjdjā' gjk'ererēk'djonēgā'dją. E'gi jige mā'naągre wǫhal'-niągīją hīdjā' gjk'erē'rera hiją' haradjī'regj hīdjā' gjk'ererē'ną.

E'gi jige wē'ną hąhę'wjra nitā'k'ate gigī'rēra jige hīją' hīdjā' gjk'erē'rena. E'gi nipa wǫhjhal'ąera jigī'ją haratcce. E'gi tcaxce'bɛra wǫhą'gjk'erē'rera. Jige jē'ege ūaągīją haradjirē'ra. E'gi jige wǫxąhī'ąa wǫhągjk'ererē'ną, jigī'ją haną' djjrēną. E'gi wē'ną.

*Second speech of host.*—"Haąk'e' hīteōk'ewahī'wjra djā'nąga tcǫk'agā' wāna'j'ągjk'erē'regj hanąą'tciąxdjj, hąąk'e' wajiąk'ī'ąa wahā'niąk'djonā'wj nūnige' hihī'hjk'ige wā'wanaągwjgā'dja haąk'e' hīteō'k'ewahī'wjra wajī'ąe p'jhī'ranjje tcōk'agā ē'ra. E'age hīgu' djaagē'niąk' tūxurugwī'ra jē'age hawa'ąwjgā'dja. Jige' haąk'e ąā'cana wa'ąnjgā'dja djā'nąga wajǫk'iąa'ągɛra. Jē'nąga djaagehōp'ī'niągɛra hatuxū'rugwjraγ. Jē'ege hawā'ąwjgā'-dją. E'gi sā'k'ereniąk'djoągɛra minaąkcā'waągre niąk'ūruhi'ndj rehawjdjigō."

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539X
796X
[513
776]

with their canes, and if they did this such a person would surely die.[108] For that reason do they warn them not to sleep. However, as soon as the men have thrown the buckskins outside then any child who desires may sleep without danger.

After the song had been sung he (first guest) speaks as follows:

*Speech of first guest.*—"Host and members of his band who are seated here, I greet you. By coming in connection with the drum I and my relatives have been strengthened. It is good. To such an extent have we annoyed the drum. Host and members of his band who are seated here, I greet you. As many as there are [who are seated within the lodge] impersonating the spirits, I send forth my greetings to you."

Then the attendant takes the drum and places it in the middle of the lodge.

The host rises and speaks as follows:

*Speech of host.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. It is good. What I have longed for, that you have completed for me. All night have you prayed for me. It is good. Blessings did the spirits give your grandfathers. What you were to say to the spirits that they (your ancestors) told you and that you have repeated here all night. It is good. You weren't selfish in your actions. You wished to obtain something for all of us. It is good. I am thankful to you, for you must have inconvenienced yourselves greatly by sitting here all night and you must in addition have suffered from hunger. Now in addition to the kettle that has been placed in honor of those who live in the east, the Night Spirits, the last band to sing will also receive a head. A kettle is also to be placed in honor of the Earth."

Then he said that food was to be placed in honor of the Moon, as well as a kettle (for soup). Then they named a person to be in charge of a kettle in honor of the Water. Then they called upon one to take charge of the kettle in honor of the Eagle. Then they placed one in charge of the kettle for Porcupine. Then he (the host) spoke again.

*Second speech of host.*—"I realize that our grandfathers did not bless me much and that I have hardly enough food to go around, but we will nevertheless do it, for it is said that our grandfathers will not be insulted thereby, grandfather said. That is why we give this feast, however little it be that we obtain. And I am not the only one, for all my relatives are doing the best in their power that we may obtain (blessings). That is why we give the feast. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you."

[108] They speak of the Night Spirits appearing toward dawn as old in reference to the gray light of morning which they compare to the white hair of an old person. For the same reason these old Night Spirits have canes just as an old man has a cane.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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FEAST TO THE NIGHT SPIRITS

X 534 E'gi djānaga waradjirā'njhera hiniąk'o'hi wōk'o'ra djanaga wawigi'k'arabirągi. Hanę'te hiną k'ūruxirągi ē'gi djanaga hąąk'o' wap'ā'idja hąąk'o' horok'u'-ipanigi warutea'na hanę'teiąxdji hik'ląge'xdji wawągijā'-ireje. E'gi hanąte jā'gu hi'rągi wagigō'-nąąk'a jujū'k djirehi'gi warūdjara hik'jiljal'xdji. Warū'djirēje. E'gi warū'djanąąk'a hąąk'o rūx'ex'erani'ąk'dje. E'gi jige' hąąk'o' wōk'o'ra wōegate hirani'ąk'dje. E'gi hūce'rēgra hąąk'o' woi-o'raniąk'djā'ną. I'i'ąxdji sto wahirā'nąga p'iąxdji' nige' wawaxu'-ipēk'dje hurā'jak'jra. E'gi jige k'igō'nąąk'a hąąk'o hal'-serete wacgi-erā'cana airani'ąk'dje ūąąk'jk'ū'ruxurugara niągo'-cana mina'girągi p'ēte ē'dja. Wona'yire hok'aragana'ąkcana hōtoteo'ga djasge hi'rągi. E'gi wōk'i'xara djasge hi'rągi jā'jrega hal'serete horā'girēje. Hōteitei'ga hirge wanąąxgu' hal'serete hirea'ā'je. Wona'yire wagigō'nąąk'a tā wa'u'nąąk'o hidjā' wōrā'ną nā'i' wairea'ā'je.

RITE OF THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN CHASED BY THE NIGHT SPIRITS

E'gi jige hija' 'u'nąąk'u hąhe' rūdjā'niągirega. Wak'ątea'-ąk'dji wa'uągo'. Wainjpā'ege hanę'teiąxdji hōcārudjanai'rea'aje ai'rena. E'gi panok'ā'xdji hąąk'o' wajā'nija hik'ik'ā'yani teirō'-gigiąx wacī'rega. Ūąągara hanę'teiąxdji hap'ē'xdji mina'girea'aje. Hąhe' wōgihai'pegi hatei'ndja djēgi hąąk'o' nūninipea'ā'je. Yahi' teawai'rea'ā'je. E'gi wōhą'djega xero' haracā'cakdjā'ege hąhe' rudjā'nigirā'djega wa'ąsa'je nąhi'ūa'naga. Wohą'djega p'ārra hateinidjā'nąąk'i rūyea'ā'je rūyegu'gi ūąągara hak'ik'uegirea'ā'je. Hija' teōni nige' ratce' na'i' wa'u-ipea'ā'je. Higu' p'āje wanąąi-ā'naga teōni nige' ratce'gi higu' djasgā'ga ūąągonąągirea'ā'je. Ie ē'age hija' jejēege hige ai'gi hak'ik'ūe'gaanąąk'ā rūcdjai'pega ē'gi wagigō'nąąk'a tanjhū' tei-ō'k'jā'gedja k'ere'nąąk'a rūxā'nąga tanj-ō'gijju hirea'ā'je tanjhi' rūcdja'ągi. E'gi wōrā'gaanaje wagigō'-nąąk'a wōhą' djagū'cana girū'xirągi nąhiruxa'djara djagū'cana girū'xirągi je'jēege hō'rakana'je hagai'racge wai'rea'aje wagigō'-nąąk'a tani'pa, wōho'pa, nąhiruxā'djara hanę'teiąxdji wagirū-xirā'je higairea'ā'je je'e' wająp'i'u wa'u'ipecana. Hąąk'e' wōgigō' hōk'ahi'xdji wa'u'-ipanie'ā'je aireeanū'ną. Uąąkeik wakatcąąk wau-incaaje. Hanąga ē'gi wagigā'ra k'igoi'ra nihē'ra rucdjaipegi hanā'teiąxdji warū'djara jēguhi'rągi ē'gi ūąąk wap'ā' warā'djira nihē'ra teōni'ąxdji wohą' nędjirā'nihera i'ēpdjirā'nąga wē'je.

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FEAST TO THE NIGHT SPIRITS

539x
Those who were called on for kettles now took the pieces of meat 796x
that had been counted for them (by the attendants). The attendants divided the pieces evenly for all those who did not eat heads. As soon as the distribution was finished then the host started playing his flute and all began to eat at the same time. The feasters are careful that they spill nothing and that the utmost precautions are [264] taken. It is not proper to scatter the bones. They are afterwards gathered up and thrown in a consecrated place. Never do they talk frivolously throughout the night. Those who had obtained war honors as they sat near the fire would now tell of their war exploits—how many warpaths they had been on and how many fights they had been in. All night do they talk in this way. All night would the boys listen, it is said. They are asking for war powers; that war might come their way—that is why they do this (recount their war exploits).

RITE OF THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN CRAZED BY THE NIGHT SPIRITS

539x
As they do this some become crazed by the Night Spirits.[147] A 796x
religious frenzy comes over them.[148] All their clothes would be cast off, 786
it is said. All naked, without any apparel, would the man dance around the lodge. All would sit waiting. They (these crazed ones) would not be in ignorance about the place where food was being boiled for the Night Spirits, and they would go toward it. Even if the kettle was boiling over the crazed ones would stick their hand in it. Similarly, as soon as the head was taken out from the place where it was being boiled, then these men would make a rush for it and try to get the first bite. Whoever was able to get the first bite would surely, at some later time, receive war honors. When they are finished with the rush for the head, then the feaster (i. e., the successful one) takes the pipe placed in the center of the lodge and smokes it. When he has finished he would tell of his war exploits and also tell them what offerings had been accepted by the spirits. That the one who has just come out of his trance would tell them. They (the spirits) told the feaster (i. e., the crazed one) that they had accepted all the things that had been offered—the tobacco, the food, and the buckskins; that the feasters had done well.[149] However, not at every feast would a man become crazed, it is said. A holy person he would have to be. When the feasting is over and all have finished their meal, then the first one to whom a head had been apportioned and for whom a kettle had been placed rises and speaks.

[147] I. e., they get into a state of religious ecstasy through worship of the Night Spirits.
[148] Literally, "holiness comes over him."
[149] Apparently the one supposed to be crazed by the Night Spirits sees them in his ecstatic vision and finds out whether they are satisfied or not with the offerings. [787]

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CONTINUATION OF THE BASIC RITUAL

X539 *Speech of eighth guest.*—"Waroγl'ra wajō'ŋjwjna niąk'ūruhi'ndj rehā'wjdjigo. Ē'gi waxop'j'nj ōnąkcl'ąa mīnąkcā'wąągre niąk'ūruhi'ndj rehā'wjdjigo. Ēp'iągā'dja na'k'erejanąjąxdji cā'wąąge. Nūnige' waxop'j'nj nitā'k'atc gigī'regi ąō wona'-ąkciąk'djā'ra wō'nąąkcj hiągigī'rare ēp'iągā'dja: Hąąk'e' wajē'-hage ō'age te'jēage jiągigī'niągā'dja. Wōna'γjre hōtatcgē' wa'ąwjgā'dja, ūąąkcigo'l'ąa hīranąk'ik'jwjra. Ēp'iągā'dja. Djanagā' wajok'l'niągera jē'nąąga hak'jwjk'u'ąxdjiwjną ūąąkcigo'l'na hīranąk'ik'j'ąxdjjwjną'. Hītcōk'ewahī'wjra hąhōgū'regi nąąk'l'ji hīją' hunągenąąkce eyanatcj'ąxdji wawjruk'ona'nąąkce gīji wōna'γjre hīruk'onai'ją hereje' teōk'agā' nądjodją'je telna'gidją hōk'īra'djera hanąteī'ąxdji nahī' gīgije' gigigiji. Ūdjerō'gedja idjal'niągera γerahe' nąąk'ā'raxgūje ō'je al'rera. Je'e' teōk'aga' wēwl'ąē'ge waxop'j'nj hōnąąkcj hiągigī'-raje. Tanī'ąa wōhq'ąa nąhjruxā'djera hąąk'ągip'e'rex p'inj wajē' 'u-ipex'ā'je! Waroγl' p'onai'ąąxdji wa'u'-ipā'naga wigip'e'-rezirregiji hīege djānaga wōnąąkcl'ąa wīrā'ruxe hī'uąk'djā'wjra. Te'jēage ūąąkcik xetera' adjī'rēną, 'Waxop'j'nj tanī'ąa gīgi hīrā'-nagi wagizō'xdji-āndje haizō'xdji wamiągī'naągā'djo. Tanī'ąa rohą'ąxdji rasge'p nala'ndje tanī'ąa rohā'ąxdji carasge'pgiji je'ē'ege waxop'j'nj warā'djirera wōna'γjre hīruk'o'nąną wąągigip'e'rezinaągwī'je al'recanūną. Hiją' tanī'ąa rohą'ąxdji rasge'pgi hąhā'ja wąągik'jk'ū'ruxurugenąą'je al'recanūną. Hītadje' wa'ą'ipe. Hoteintcī'niągwī'ra tō'gi wōna'γjre ōk'ik'ū'-ruxurugera wōwat'ę'giniąkce ūąągenū'niągera al'recanūną.

Tanī'ąa wohq'ąa nąhjruxā'djera wagikā'bjregi hage'dja wōnąąkcl'ąa hīwīrā'ruxe hī'uąk'djā'wj.

"Ūąąkcigo'l'ąa wōna'γjrera hīγanąk'ik'iąk'djā'wj. Wa'ąyā'napce hīhē'ge wāhā'nąąkcaną djagū' ereegā'nąągre. Waruγa'bera wōk'ā'ragihoną p'iąā'gi tānj-ąk'aragī'jūra p'iąā'gi hagārē'ją rohą'-bot'ąk'ina hijō'rawēgi waruγā'bera maniągī'cdjąąk'djonā'ną. Hąąk'e' t'ąhjp'i ranjniąk'djonā'ną. Waroγl'ra minąąkcā'wąągre hōk'jk'ā'radjera niąk'ūruhi'ndj rehawjdjigo. Waxop'j'nj ōnąąkcl'ąa minąąkcā'wąągre niąk'ūruhi'ndj rehā'wjdjigo."

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CONTINUATION OF THE BASSU RITUAL

*Speech of eighth guest.*[108]—"Host and relatives, I send my greetings toward you. You seated here who are impersonating the spirits, I send my greetings toward you. It is good that there are so many war-bundle owners here. It is good that they have given me the opportunity of impersonating the spirits, by placing me in charge of the food that they offer to them. Though I am not related to the host, he has done this for me. That I may grope for war powers, feel myself in connection with life, that is why we do it. It is good. As many of my relatives as are here, they all worked splendidly so that we might be connected with life. He who is the leader of our grandfathers who dwell in the east (the Night Spirits), who is in control of all things, who is in control of war powers, he blessed our grandfather and he caused him to swallow as many people of other tribes as had been preordained for him. Within his stomach our grandfather heard their cries, he said, it is said. Thus thinking of my grandfather they asked me to impersonate the spirits. How could the spirits do anything but accept the offerings of tobacco, food, and buckskin! They have had a very great feast, and surely if the spirits take cognizance of it, all those who have been impersonating the spirits will also be permitted to participate (in the blessings) to follow. Our ancestors handed down to us from generation to generation the following: 'When you offer food to the spirits, sit down to your undertaking with the greatest possible attention and care. Try to smoke as much tobacco as possible, for if you smoke much tobacco then all the spirits who are in control of war powers will pay attention to you, it is said. If a man smokes very much tobacco in one night, then he will be able to obtain a war honor, it is said. Try your hardest. Young men, it is easy to obtain war powers, the old men used to say. If the spirits accept the offerings of food and tobacco and buckskins, then afterwards those who have impersonated them will participate in the blessings that follow.'

"We feel that we have been connected with life and war power. It is for that reason that I say these words of thanks. If you give the feast for the war bundle well, if you pour tobacco well, then, if at some time or another you have a chance to kill an enemy outright, the war bundle will strengthen you greatly. No one will be able to kill you.

539x 796x 539x 796x 782 [789]

[108] I. e., eighth guest to receive the buckskins, continuing the numeration from the first division of the ceremony.

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X 539 Wa'ị'nąp teōnī'ąxdjinąą, ō'gi jige hīnụhra wọhą' nądjirē'ra wē'nąą.

*Speech of ninth guest.*—"Warǫγī'ra hōk'ịk'ą'radjɛra mīnąkcą'-wąągre nịąk'ūrụhi'ndj rehą'wịdjigọ. E'gi hōnąkcī'ṇą mīnąkcą'-wąągre nịąk'ūrụhi'ndj rehą'wịdjigọ. Ep'ī'nąą. Warǫγī'ra ūąkcik'ị wąąganąągi'ị'wịnge. Waxǫp'ị'nịṇą wōnąγire rūk'o'nąną ūąkcigọ'ị' hīrụk'o'nąną djānụgɛra p'ī'ṇą herera jē'nụąga gīk'a'radjɛnąągre. Ūąkcigre hōwajā'jairēcge warụγap ke'renągre te'jēgụ hī'regi wọgigā'ra harak'ụ'ịṇọgi; hōwajā'ja hīranjhē'ra hanąągā'bjiranąga hōwajā'ra rūcdjaị'ṇọs'ą'je aī'rọra. Hunągiatcą'-bịwira p'ēdjōk'e'rọra hōk'ą'wak'a wa'ụ'ịṇēje tejēgụ hī'regi djadjiga ącanū'nąą. Te'ē'cge djadjiga waxǫp'ịnị nịtą'k'ate gigira p'ije. Hunągirą'gɛra hisge wē'ra yap'e'rez nūnige hąąk'e' tūxū'-rugɛnige hąąk'e jē'age hanj-adjegą'dją. Anąga ō'gi, 'Hagārē'-ją wōna'γire hacdjak'djo'ṇọgi hak'ît'ọ'bịk'ąrọhoī'regi, hąąk'o' nana γicaranịąkdje, teōk'a wirą gāsgo nịągī'giwịcanū'nąą tanihū'ra p'ị nịągī'giwịcanū'nąą wọgī'họṇą p'ị nịągī'giwịcanū'nąą hōk'ī'dją nịągī'giwịcanū'nąą. Gāsgo wa'ịṇēk'djē'nąą k'īzaī'k'ąrọhoī'rare. E'gi hīcọgī'jị hōnī'nịągihanąk'ī'cge hąąk'e' nanąąxgunik'djē'nąą wap'aī'-nịąk'djị warak'djek'djē'nąą. Hīk'igaī'rēje hisgē'ra hīp'ere'zirēge. E'sge hak'ịk'ą'rajirēje. Te'e' warǫγī'ra hōk'ịk'ą'radjɛra jē'sge hīwa'ụ'nąąk'ādją. Ep'ịągā'dją. Wają' p'ị ponaī'na rūxū'-rugirēgą'dją. Mā'ṇą kā'rok'ehī'wjra wọgihaị'ṇọra. Tanī'ṇą tcāha nābịrụxā'djɛra tejē'nụąga girucdjọ'ṇọhịhirē'ra wōṇa'γire hīk'ąratą' hī'ūwa'ụ'ịṇọra. Ep'ī'nąą. Kārọk'ehịhī'wjra hōnąkcị Hiągigī'rare hīk'ąrọk'ehịhīwjra hak'ūrụhi'ndjanąga. E'gi warǫγī'ra wak'ūrụhindjā'nąga hage'dją djanąga tcị-ō'jụ mīnąkcą'wąągre nịąk'ūrụhi'ndjɛrehawịdjigō'.

Hịtanī'ṇą wōhą'ṇą harą'djirēra wa'ịnaī'pdjonē'nąą wē'nąą.

*Speech of tenth guest.*—"Warǫγī'ra hōk'ịk'ą'radjɛra mīnąkcą'-wąągre nịąk'ūrụhi'ndj rehą'wịnąą. Ep'ī'nąą. Warǫγī'ra waxǫp'ị'nị warą'djire tanī' hīragik'ąrana'ąk'ị jedjonaị'xdjị hīgirē'regi tanj-ō'-waxū'nąą. Warǫγī'ra ponaī'ną wa'ụ'ịṇaī-anąga. Waxǫp'ị'nị hīk'ągē'ją ūąkcigọ'ị djōp gūcị'gixdjịṇō'dją ūąągī'ją djągū' ągī'jị jedjaị'ąxdjị p'ą djągū 'ụ'wacigi ē'xdjị heregigī're nąągre. Ep'ịągā'dja. Ūąkci'giją ūąkcigị'ṇọgi s'īrēdją'ąxdjị here nūnige' jedjaị'ąxdjị p'ą hąhọ'te'e hadjanąągwī'gadją. Hanąąk'ąraxguąxdjī'ṇọra djągū'xdjị ągī'jị gī'ụ'ąxdjịṇọgą'dją. Hotajī jē'sge hīṇụxū'rugɛnigą'dją tanj-ō'waxūṇą. Djanąhī' hītcō-k'ewahī'wjra djanąga' tanj-ō'hịṇą k'ere'rek'djone Djōbenąągi-

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"Host and members of his clan who are sitting here, I greet you. 539x
You seated here who have impersonated the spirits, I send forth my 796x
greetings to you."

Then the second person for whom they had put on a kettle spoke.

*Speech of ninth guest.*—"Host and members of his clan who are seated here, I greet you. To you, seated here, impersonating the spirits, I send my greetings. It is good. The host has tried to make us live. All those present here have been pleading to the spirits who are in control of life and war powers. If any Indians are sick and the [755] keepers of the war bundle give this feast then their illness will be overcome; they will recover from their disease, it is said. My father said that the people used to add more fuel to the fireplace of our chiefs [782] when they do this. My grandfather told me that even if I (insignificant as I am) who speak were to make an offering of food to the spirits it would be good. I knew that he always spoke the truth, yet I know that such as I could not do anything. (Thus grandfather spoke to me), 'Some day when you are in the presence of war and the rush is about to be made, you will not be frightened for you can say to the spirits, "Grandfathers, I always gave you something to smoke, boiled food for you, and gave you the material for moccasins. Now [726] I wish to go to the fight that is to take place." If you speak to them thus, though you do not hear them answering you, (you will recognize their answer in the fact) that without any effort you will be victorious.' They told the truth to one another, for they were certain of these things. That is why they encouraged one another. This is what the host and the members of his band are doing. It is good. A laudable thing they have done. They have boiled food for our [782] grandmother, the Earth. They have offered her tobacco and buckskins and have as a reward received war powers. It is good. Our grandmother whom they made me impersonate, I greet. Host and all those who are seated within this lodge, I send forth my greetings to you."

Then the third one whom they called on for a kettle rose to thank them and said:

*Speech of tenth guest.*—"Host and members of his clan who are seated here, I send my greetings toward you. It is good. The host has given the tobacco offerings to the various spirits at the proper time. They (host and clan members) have accomplished very much. Once long ago, four generations back, a man like a spirit in power had told them what to do and since then they have been repeating it. It is good. Their ancestors long, long ago first gave (this feast) and yet even to-day we have seen it. They (host and his relatives) listened attentively to what they said and they have repeated it exactly. We, ourselves, could not accomplish anything if we gave a feast. When in former times they had feasts in honor of our grandfathers,

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X 539 wi'ɣxga hiɣaĩ'reɣi hirahĩ'rɣga waxɣp'i'ni tanjhĩ'gigira waxɣp'i'niɣa hinącɣo'ni gik'arã'djxnąɣre. Jõ'ɣgo djadjąĩ'ɣndji p'ã hi-adji'rɣra hi-ã'wip'ererwi'gndja. Djadjąĩ'ɣxdji p'ã hoicĩ'pdji wɣrũ'ɣira ka'rak'ɣ'iɣɣra jõɣgehĩ'ra wąjąp'ĩ'ją herera' hip'e'rextjwiɣã'dją. Nũnige hąąk'e' hõtąĩ jõ'ɣgo hiɣũxurugxnigã'dją te'ã'ji wahã'-nąɣre hąąk'e jõ'ɣgo tãxũ'rugxnigã'dją k'ĩk'ũ'rɣc'ak ũąąkcigɣ'igã'-dją. Hąąk'ągã' waxɣp'i'ni tani'ɣa hijąąk'i'xdji wągitũxũ'rug tũxũ'rugxnigã'dją. Hõtã' waxɣp'i'ni tanj-ã'gijɣra p'jhĩ'nąɣre ã wa'ɣ'iɣõ'ɣo ũąąkcigɣ'i'ɣa p'ĩ'niąk hi'ũadjã'wicɣɣni. Yarẽcanũ'ną. Waxɣp'i'ni tani'ɣa gigĩ'reɣi hõnąkcĩ'gigirẽ'ra ẽp'iɣgã'dją. Hąhɣ'-wira tanj-ã'gijũrẽ'gi wɣhą' gik'e'rerɣi nąpgiruxã'djereɣi. Je'e ã'dja hap'ã'hi wirũ-ã'git'e'gi hirai'reɣo waigi'u-iɣa'ɣɣɣni te'ã'ji. Hąąk'e' wajã'niją ã tɣxũ'rug 'ɣ-inj-ã'nąga rõhi'ra. Wa'jk'i'-nąbra. P'ije ai'rɣra. Jõ'ɣgo wãgo' wahã'nąąk'adją. Warɣgiɣi'-rɣra hąhɣ'reɣi hũ'djapo hak'ũ'rɣhinto rehã'nąga. E'gi warɣɣi'ra niąk'ũrɣhi'ndj rehawidjigõ. E'gi waxɣp'i'ni wõnąkcĩ'ɣa minąkcã'wąɣre niąk'ũrɣhi'ndj rehawidjigõ."

*Speech of eleventh guest.*—"Warɣɣi'ra minąkcã'wąɣre niąk'ũrɣhi'-ndj rehã'widjigɣ. E'gi waxɣp'ini wõ'nąkcĩ'ɣa tcj-ã'jɣ minąkcawa-ɣɣre niąk'ũrɣhi'ndj rehawidjigɣ. Warɣɣi'ra wõna'ɣire haxĩ'ri minã'-ɣgiranąga. E'gi jõɣe tani'ɣa ũąąkcigɣ'i' k'aratã' hi'ɣɣ'k'djã'ra tani'na hak'ã'ranjnã'nąga ũąąkcigɣ'i' ta minąɣgirã'nąga. E'gi wõna'ɣirɣra p'i'ną hip'e'rexirɣɣe tairã'nąga hicdjã'nirũxɣxɣ'-nąɣre. Ũąąkcige'dja t'ɣ'ra p'i'je wai'zara hija' nąk'ik'ũrɣxũ'-ruk'i hijã' ũąągwã'cɣcegi ũąąk djanągã'gere hanã'tciɣxdji wãjã' p'i 'ɣ'wa'ɣ'djɣra. Hip'e'rexwinãną. E'gi hąąk'e' wanąĩ'cɣɣni nąąk'ɣ' ũąągwã'cɣcenąąk'a jõ'ɣgo djina'ɣgxni wa'ɣ'nąąkcana. Hawã'xdji k'i-ã'nąɣ'i'ɣgo k'irũxɣ'rug wa'ɣ'nąąk'adją ũąągwã'-cɣcenąąk'a. Warɣɣi'ra hawã'xdji k'inã'nąga; tani' waxɣ' hirã'-nąga. Waxɣp'i'ni wɣgi hanągre waxɣp'i'ni nąhirũxã'djxnąɣre me jõɣɣ'jhigi canawonaɣire-ã'gere hiąk'i'rũxɣrɣgi'k'dje. Wąjągu'-xxra jõ'ɣgo hi'ną. Hąnk'i'ją hatã'ginąnto hip'e'rexnigɣe hąąk'e' wɣna'ɣire-ã'gere hicdjągã' ruxũ'rug p'jni'ja. Ũąąkxeteni'niɣgre ãdji'rõną hąąk'i'ją hatã'ginąto rɣxũ'rugxni'cɣe waxɣp'i'ni tanj-ã'gijũra waxɣp'i'ni nitã'k'ate gigirã' waxɣp'ini nąhirũxã'djxra p'jhĩ'ra wɣna'ɣire hirɣxũ'rukce. Hõrã'gxnąąkcana hip'e'rexirã'-nąga wã'nąąkce. To jõɣe warɣɣi'ra hõk'ik'ã'radjxra mina'-ɣgxnąɣre nãɣxgã'jɣɣe wa'ɣ'nąągxra. Djãɣe' hi-ã'nąga hąąk'e' wɣna'ɣire rɣxũ'ruk p'i'ni wa'ɣ'nąąkce! Wɣna'ɣire ɣɣxũ'rugiɣi nãɣe hagu'dja wũã'rɣxe hi'ąąk'djã'wira. Ũąąkcigɣ'i'ɣa hirana'-ąk'ik'i waxɣp'ini wõnąąkcĩ'wira waxɣp'ini warã'djire xotã'ją tani'ɣa

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him whom they call Djōbenąągiwi'ąxga gave them tobacco to smoke 539x
and he worshiped the spirits sincerely whenever they came to him. 796x
Thus these people have done for a long time and that is why we are recognized by the spirits. As often as they gave this feast they gave it for the honor of the spirits. They have done well and we are very well acquainted with the spirits as a consequence. Yet I myself who am now speaking can not do anything; I can hardly be said to have lived (i. e., lived the life of a respectable man). I am unable even to put on one kettle in honor of the spirits. Those who have given this feast to the spirits have done well and perhaps, as a consequence, we may be able to obtain just a little of the blessings of life. So I thought. It is good (I tell you), who have made offerings to the spirits, who are impersonating the spirits. He who has been given the kettle in honor of the Moon expresses his thanks. They gave this to me so that we might plead for them (with the spirits). Not anything of consequence can we say. We are thankful. It is good, it is said. That is what I wish to say. Those counseled, I greet, the spirit who comes at night. Host, I send forth my greetings to you. You impersonating the spirits, I send my greetings toward you."

*Speech of eleventh guest.*—"Host and his clansmen who are seated here, I send my greetings toward you. Those impersonating the spirits, I send my greetings toward you. The host and his people sit here crying for war powers. Tobacco they offer, asking for life; the tobacco that they possess they sit here offering that they may obtain life. They know that it is good to have war powers and that is why they ask for it with tears in their eyes. It is good to die in [721] war. If you can kill one enemy, then you will be a brave man and all the men will say that you have done a good deed. We would all know it. However, not without effort can men become braves. They must suffer to obtain this honor. The host has made himself suffer; they have poured tobacco. If we do as they did and make feasts for the spirits and offer them buckskins, then we will be able to obtain war powers for ourselves, and only then. That is what the Creator would do. Not without fasting, not white faced,[169] are war powers obtainable. Yet the old men long ago said that if one could not fast, still if he poured tobacco for the spirits and offered them food and if he made excellent offerings of buckskin to the spirits, war powers might be obtained. Thus the elders spoke and they knew of what they were speaking. The host and the clansmen sitting with him listened (to the elders) and that is why they performed (this ceremony so well). How could we ever obtain war powers as they have done? All we hope is that we may obtain some of the war powers that will follow (as a result of the feast here

[169] I. e., not without blackening one's face as is done in fasting.

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539 ṇitā'k'atc gigī'rẹra nąhjrụxā'djɛra wagirū'cdjąpẹhī'rẹra hoici'p wīk'ā'rap'erɛa hīranjhē'k'dje airegi. Jē'ąge ya^wa^ụ hąąk'e hoī'-niągo gtxā'wanịnąnịąkdjiṇẹgẹ hōwarē'ra hąąk'ō'niągo wawē'k'jranī'-ąk'dje. Wājągụ'ɛɛra ē jē'ąge hīgo jeągē'nąą. Warọgịyī'rẹra hak'ūrụhi'ndj rehā'nąąa. E'gi warỵyī'ra nịąk'ūrụhi'ndj rehā'-wịdjigọ. E'gi jīgo waxọp'j'nj hōnąąkcī'ṇa djānąąa minąąkcā'wąągro nịąk'ūrụhi'ndj rehā'wịdjigọ."

*Host's terminal speech.*—Wągigā'ra wē'nąą, nąji-ā'nąąa wa^jnąą'-pcanąą wajōk'ī'ra.

"Sā'k'ɛreni'ąk'djoągro minąąkcā'wąągro nịąk'ūrụhi'ndj rehā'-wịdjigọ. Ep'ī'nąą. Wā'jo ūanądjōdjąī'ąge ha'ụ'wịnąą hịṇągī'-zōxdjị-ā'nąąa. Hąī'ɛeretcị minąągicā'nąągirā'nąąa. Ep'ī'nąą. Haizō'xdjịnịąk tcẹhịṇągī'giwịra. Ep'ī'nąą. E'gi wē'nąą wągigō' hīrūk'o'nadjẹga wọna'ỵire rūk'o'nana djānąąa wōgụxɛra'nąąk'j jeągē'xdjị wawọgī'ragirēje ai'rẹra. Ūąągī'jąą wọna'ỵire hīrūk'o'-nanąą djanąągā'k'j ūąągxregi Wajągụ'ɛɛra hōmịnọ'gɛnọąk'j ēp'ā' ēgi maịhā'gɛregi ē'gi mąąk'ūhą'ọẹgi ē'gi je^e' anąą'tcịąxdjị wawọgī'rak rehī'k'djera, ūąągī'jąą ūąharatcee. Nawą'ṇa djōp'ī'wị ya^uąk'djonā'ra hīją' hīp'ā' wąągā' hojedjaī'ndja, 'ūącōnuąk'dje djọbo'hą hōtcąt^ị' hīk'dje' hīgẹ'gi djọbo'hą wak'dje 'ūąnąągere jē'ąge ē'je ē'gi jē'ji jē'gụ hirā'nąąa."

TERMINAL ADDRESS TO THE DOG

E'gi cuąk nąhjrụxā'djɛra. Hōcere^ụ'wahịra girụcdją' rehī'rẹra. Wọgī'gọ ūąąk'djị-ē'dja hīrụ-ā'k'djịnąą wōcgọ' je^e' ē rụ-ā'gɛra herē'nąą wągigō'nąąk'a nąji-ā'nąąa wak'ūrụhi'ntccanąą.

*Host's speech to Disease-giver.*—"Sā'kerenịąk'djoągere minąąkcā'-wąągre nịąk'ūrụhi'ndj rehā'wịdjigọ. Tcēge'djārēdją ūąągɛnū'-nịągra hītcōk'ehā'wịra wē'je ūąągī'jąą wị-orotcọ'djereginąąk'a wọna'ỵire hīrūk'onaị'jąą hereje'. Rọsā'nịąk hąp 'ụje ē'gi hōt'ọ' rūk'onaị'jąą hereje' hīk'ige'je. Tcōk'agā' nądjọdjn'ągi rēdjụ' wanī'na hatcī'ndja hīrā'nịhẹgi hoici'pdjị wawịp'e'rea nịhēk'djonē'je ē'je, ē'nąą. Djadjo'na tanị-ō'waxụ hā'k'erewịgi hīgụ' p'ejē'ga hanąą'tcịąxdjị tanịwōgīją'regi hąąk'e' hōcere'ranịąk'dje ē'je aī'rẹra. Jē'ąge wa^ụ' tanịwọgī'jụ hīrọ^ā'je. Rōhịąk'ągā'wije hągitū'cdją rehā'wịra hijąą'nịąk tanị cawąąxu'ąk'djawịgi e^uąkdją'wịge họnịągī'-tawinąą. Nịąk'ūrụhi'ndjwịdjigọ."

Horacdje'nąą ha'regi hīrọ-ā'gera hanąą'tcịąxdjị tanịwọgī'jụ wągigī'nąą ūąągxra hī'nụgxra nịąk'djo'ągxra hanąą'tcịąxdjị. Hąąk'ī'jąą jeągịnjhā'nije k'igā'ra hanąą'tc tanịwọgī'jụ hīreje ē'gi hanātcị'ąxdjị họ-orē'ra herē'nąą.

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given). We feel ourselves connected with life, for surely one of the great spirits will take cognizance of the tobacco, food, and buckskins that we who are impersonating the spirits have offered. Surely they (the spirits) will not care to see (these offerings) lost nor let us cause ourselves to suffer in vain. Thus the Creator said. As counseled ones do, I greet you.[18] Host, I send my greetings toward you. You seated here impersonating the spirits, I send my greetings toward you." 539x 796x

Then the host arose and thanked his guests.

*Host's terminal speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. It is good. We were living in an abject condition, so you performed this ceremony most carefully for us. All night have you been sitting here. It is good. With the greatest care have you eaten. It is good. That is what those who are in charge of feasts, who are in charge of war powers, counseled us, it is said. I shall now call on a man who can make himself heard by all the spirits who are in control of war power, including those who live above where the Creator lives, to those who live on the earth, and those who live under the earth. I will now sing four songs and when I begin them that will be the end (of the ceremony). Then the man is to give the war whoop four times."

This he said to them. Then the victory whoop was given four times.

### Terminal Address to the Dog

Then the dog is sent forth as an offering to Disease-giver. There at the place where the last guest has been(?) the host rises and greets all. [782]

*Host's speech to Disease-giver.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. In the beginning one of my grandfathers told me that the man in the south is the greatest one in control of war powers. One side controls death and the other life, he said. He blessed our grandfather and his descendants wherever they might be and he said that he would at all times remember them. Whenever we pour tobacco, then those who offer tobacco will not take sick, he said, it is said. That is the reason they pour tobacco, they said. We are extending to you one like ourselves (the dog), and we have told all, that all who wish to pour tobacco may do so. I greet you all."

When the time has come, then all pour tobacco, the men, the women, and the children. Not one was there left of those who had poured tobacco. They had all scattered. [782]

[18] Apparently the name of the spirit he is impersonating has been omitted here. It is the Water.

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ADDENDA

539 Warūte sak'ṵ'ąa hīgṵ' rūcīljai'ąągą ā'gī wap'ā' waradjąra rūcīljai'ąanąga ā'gī wap'ā' warā'djirągą k'ąnī ąągąra' hīpak'ą'-ṵxjranī ā'gī wągigō'nąąk'a wak'ūṵhi'ndjirehī'je.

*Speech of host.*—Hā'k'ereni'ąk'djąągąra minąąkrā'wąągra niąk'ą-ṵhi'ndj rehā'wīdjigṵ. Hīteō'k'o wahā'wīgī wa'ṵ'ąąra'je hoicī'-pdjī hīją' wanaγī'rak hōk'ā'ratągąra'je p'ī hīp'e'rąirągą. Hīteō'k'o wahā'wīgī hīją' Wanjhā'ga hīgai'rągī hoicī'pdjī ā wanaγī'rak hōratągąra'je. Wanaγī'rak hōratągā'djągą Wanjhā'ga hīgai'rągī wanaγī'rak hōratągā'djągą ąągjk'ī'je ā'ąąą p'ī'ną hīp'e'rąirąje Wanjhā'ga hīgai'rągī ąągwā'ąąąe xrtoje' hąąk'e' Hīk'ī'ąąą p'īną wa'ąje'. Tągīją'djąąą tōteo'ąa hīk'ā'wakcąną ṵγī'rąa'aje hąąk'e' hōp'īnī hōwai'rąa'je. E'ąąą ṵγī'rąa'aje. Nūnīgą Wanjhā'ga tągī'ją tōteo'ąa djōhą'hą hīk'awā'kcaje aire-canā'ną. E'ąąą wanaγī'rak hōk'aratągā'djągą ā wąągjk'īk'ā'ṵxṵ-rukcą. Hahī' wak'ąica'ąkcą hahī' sak'ī jā'ąąą. E'ąąą hoicī'p'djī hīją' wanaγī'rak hok'aratągąra'je. Hīją jā'ąąą hak'djąnā'wīną wąhą' tcōni'xdjī djā'wīną. E ā'dja horok nądjona'gidjąwīgī hīdjo'rągąniąk 'ąąk'djā'ąą. Jā'jąąą niągjīā'wīną. Hā'k'ereniąk'-djąągąra minąąkrā'wąągra niąk'ą-ṵhi'ndj rehā'wīdjigṵ'.

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ADDENDA

After they have finished the fast-eating contest and eaten the heads and before the men are picked out[136] then the host greets all. 539 726

*Speech of host.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I send forth my greetings to you. Our grandfathers used to say that if one would take a chance at becoming a ghost[137] then the spirits would consider it especially good. There was one man among our grandfathers who was called He-who-shouts-in-the-distance and he put himself in the position of one who desires death. This warrior, He-who-shouts-in-the-distance, was a great man, an unequaled person. Now in summer it is forbidden to go on a warpath, for no good could come of it. That is why they forbade it. Yet He-who-shouts-in-the-distance went on the warpath four times during the summer, they said. Thus he became one who risked his life.[138] In this way he proved that he was a great man. Finally he became holy and was permitted to carry the war bundle.[139] Thus does one do to be a person who takes risks with his soul.[140] Thus we will do at the very first feast we give. May (the spirits) also have pity upon us [as recompense for] the kettle of which they will partake. That is what we ask. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you."

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[136] I. e., before the men to whom kettles had been assigned were called upon to speak.
[137] I. e., risk one's life in a brave way.
[138] It is one of the greatest privileges a warrior can obtain to carry the war bundle when on the warpath.
[139] I have purposely translated this phrase, "wanuŋ' ruk hiniŋgi' ʤa," in three different ways to give all the different shades of meaning it possesses. [534 726]

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## The War-bundle Feast of the Thunderbird Clan

(SECOND VERSION)

X 796 614 773 [776] Informant, member of Thunderbird clan:[1] There were originally four warriors. The youngest one was the bravest and the most powerful. He claimed that his father was a Thunderbird and his mother a Night Spirit. He is the one who made the bundle about which we are going to speak.

X 796 [604] [574 281] [886] X 796 782 776

FIG. 38.—Plan of Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast. 1, Buckskin for earthmaker. 2, Buckskin for discoverer. 3, Buckskin for thunderbirds. 4, Buckskin for night-spirits. 5, Buckskin for morning star. 6, Buckskin for sun. 7, Buckskin for moon. 8, Buckskin for water-spirit. 9, Buckskin for earth. 10, Buckskin for heaven.

The lodge (fig. 38) is prepared by the nephews and the women relatives of the host, generally his nieces and wives. The invited guests arrive toward evening, while the women are still preparing the buckskins. These buckskins are to be made as perfectly white as possible. Only those women who have passed their climacteric are permitted to do this. As soon as the buckskins are prepared the kettles are put on the fire. The buckskins are taken by the host and marked with the specific symbols associated with the different spirits. (For the markings, see pls. 47, 48.) These buckskins are then tied to a stick. That for Earthmaker is attached to the stick with the head pointing upward; that for the Thunderbird has the stick and the head of the buckskin facing the west; that for the Night has the stick and head of the buckskin facing east; that for the Star also faces east, as do all the others not mentioned. When the sticks have been prepared and the buckskins attached to them, the latter are rolled up upon the sticks. Whoever of the guests is the oldest feast-giver then arises and pours tobacco, first for the fire and then for all the other spirits. When they start the fire for the first time they use the old ceremonial fire sticks. With that the ceremony begins. When the old man is

X 796 782 [372 778]

[1] This is a generalized account.

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through, the buckskin is taken down, unrolled, and the thunder-buckskin given to the hand sitting opposite the host. The other buckskins are then distributed in rotation, except that the buckskin to Earthmaker is given to the guest who occupies the middle position in the lodge. All the guests remain standing with their unrolled buckskins, holding them by the sticks and keeping tobacco in their other hand, while the old man speaks to them and blows first upon a flute. Then, to the accompaniment of a gourd, he sings two songs. After that the buckskins are rolled up again in such a way that the markings remain visible, and hung up again on sticks that are placed near the individual invited guests, just west of the first fireplace. There they have a pole for Earthmaker, at whose foot the war bundle is placed and opened. Tobacco is then poured into the hands of each of the invited guests by the host. He offers tobacco especially for those individuals for whom he has prepared buckskins and kettles, asking each of them in turn for life and for victory on the warpath. When he finishes he pours some tobacco into the fire and some upon the war bundle. All the persons invited then, in turn, do the same. If the host has any children present in the lodge, he has them do the same. Children are always escorted by the attendant. The host now takes the gourds, drum, etc., and, remaining in his own place, sings different sets of songs. As often as he starts a new set, he blows upon his flute. The songs of the Thunderbird consist of eight starting songs, sung slowly, six dancing songs, etc. As soon as the dancing songs are begun, all the men in the lodge come around the war bundle and dance, blowing the flute, etc. Women may dance likewise, but they must remain in that part of the tent especially assigned to them. 778* 782 [523] [562]

Before the contents of the kettle are cooked the host sings four sets of songs. As soon as the first set has been started the attendants get as many pipes as possible and bring them to the war bundle. They also place there a large pipe with stem directed toward the west and a large pile of tobacco. These pipes are then passed back to the various guests in order to be smoked. 778* 276

After the first set of songs is over the large pipe is taken and lit by one of the attendants and passed around the lodge, in ceremonial manner, each member taking a puff and passing it to the next one. When the songs to the Disease-giver are sung, the pipe is placed against the center pole with stem directed south. Before the Disease-giver songs are sung the story of their origin is told. At the end of the last of the initial songs the old man with tobacco in each hand says *Ho—o—o—o—!* He then pours tobacco into the fireplace. He is really presenting it to the Disease-giver. Then dancing songs are used as before. Usually dog meat is put in the kettle designed for the Disease-giver. [782 262]

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X796 When the songs of the Night Spirit are sung the stem of the pipe is
[776] pointed eastward.

Four songs are sung before the cooking is finished, in honor of the Thunderbird. The feast is then spread, and all those in the lodge smoke and dance. The attendants take the kettles down and take the food out. While the kettles are still on, however, branches of
[783 824] cedar are carried around the lodge to purify it. Before distributing the food, while the singing is still going on, the attendants count the number of people in the lodge and cut the meat into a corresponding number of pieces. As each kettle is supposed to suffice for any one band, a number of small sticks about the size of a toothpick, corresponding to the number of people present in each band, is placed in each kettle. After the last four songs are used the host arises and calls for the kettle that is to be given to the person opposite him. The attendant brings it and tells him how many pieces of meat there are in the kettle. The host then speaks about his intentions in offering the kettle to the spirits; that he is seeking life and victory in war, and that he begs all those present to intercede for him. He then calls for the other kettles. There are generally one or two kettles for the women and children. When the feast is spread out and they all have their food, the host tells them that they may now
[504] eat whenever they think proper. He himself does not eat anything, but merely sings, shaking the gourds that he holds in his hand.

[776] The Disease-giver is considered the most sacred of all the spirits, and for that reason all the bones and the plates that have been used
[783] in connection with his particular kettle are purified with cedar branches. The host carries these bones out of the lodge himself and
[824] buries them under the foot of some tree. He also takes tobacco and red feathers along with him on this occasion. As the other spirits
[776] are not considered to be as sacred as the Disease-giver, the bones from the kettles offered to them can be buried anywhere, provided the
[576] ground has been purified.

After the first invited guest has finished his meal he rises and thanks the host. He then tells the story of how he, or his ancestor, obtained the war bundle, and assures the host that he feels confident that so great a feast as this in which he is taking part will most certainly be recognized by the spirits. He also adds that inasmuch as he and the other invited guests have partaken of this feast they also hope to receive life and strength in proportion to the blessings bestowed upon the host. The other invited guests, in turn, speak in the same way.

[783] While this is going on the attendants are preparing the kettles for another lot of meat. The whole tent is swept again and purified and the kettles are once more placed upon the fireplaces. The host now rises and, holding tobacco in his hand, informs each spirit of the par-

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ticular kettle assigned to him. Then he pours out tobacco. Now one of the attendants goes around the lodge and scatters small swan feathers in every direction, even putting some near the kettles.

The host then prepares to sing night songs, but before doing so he takes down the buckskin assigned to the Nights, blackens his face with the ember used for marking that buckskin, and puts swan feathers upon his head. It is said that those who during their fasting time visited the land of the Night Spirits saw swan feathers scattered all over the land, and that is why they use them now. The host now has the pipe turned toward the east and before singing the night songs tells the origin of these songs. He asks all the other invited guests present to help him with his songs and apologizes for asking so much of them. He now uses two sets of songs. When the dancing songs are sung all the men who so desire may come around the war bundle and dance, and some may even dance near the places where they sit. When he has finished his songs he passes the drum, gourds, flute, and tobacco to the invited guest opposite him. This one now arises, pours out tobacco, and tells the origin of his particular war bundle and sings the night song connected with it for the benefit of the host. He then repeats the same actions that the host has done. The drum, etc., are now passed to the next man, and so on until daylight. Some one especially selected is given the honor of singing those songs that are connected with the taking down of the buckskins, and when this one starts his song all the invited guests in whose honor kettles have been put on the fireplace take down their buckskins and, holding them in their hands, walk around the lodge four times. An attendant precedes them, walking backward and purifying the path. The buckskin with the cross marked on it is generally carried first. The fourth time they make the circuit all those in the lodge first hold their hands over the cedar incense and then touch the buckskin, because Earthmaker is going to use it for moccasins, so that, by touching it, they might become strengthened. After they had made the circuit for the fourth time they rolled up the buckskins and threw them through the openings in the roof of the lodge, so that the spirits for whom they were intended might receive them.

After the buckskins have been thrown out tobacco is poured into the fireplace and all the people take their places and dance. When the drum has made the entire circuit of the lodge—that is, when it has again returned to the host—the latter rises and sings the so-called paint songs. A short time before that a number of kettles had been put on the fireplace for the so-called lower spirits. The host then declares that the feast is ready and that whenever they wish to the guests may begin to eat. The rites of the preceding feast are now repeated. Toward the end of the feast the host takes his bundle,

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X 796 wraps it up, and hangs it behind him in the lodge, but he keeps the flute unpacked. When all but the last four songs have been finished he calls upon some one who has a rather strong voice to give the war whoop, which he does, at the end of the song. This war whoop is given so that all the spirits might hear it. When he is through all the other guests give war whoops four times, and the feast is over.

### The War-bundle Feast of the Thunderbird Clan

(THIRD VERSION)

Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan: When the feast is ready, the buckskin prepared, and the kettles of meat put on to boil, then the host rises and says as follows:

X 796 X 539 "Warriors and sons of warriors who are present here, I greet you all. You have put aside all the wrongs I have done you and accepted my invitation. I am glad of it. You have filled my lodge. It is good. Our four great ancestral fathers were all warriors. The oldest one was called Whirling-Four, the second one Sitting-Chief, the third one Wabanansaka, and the fourth one Kills-Within-Lodge. When in battle, Kills-Within-Lodge was bullet-proof. He used to wear a belt which when full of shot he would loosen and his blanket-belt would be full of bullets. He is the one that made this bundle. With it one can obtain victory and blessings.

"The blessing we ask of you is war; for ourselves and for all who are present. We have offered kettles to all the spirits and we will also pour tobacco for them. This is why I am speaking to you, warriors, and you taking the place of the spirits. All in this lodge I greet. I greet you all."

He takes tobacco and gives some to each of those who have been especially invited. Then he goes to the fireplace and throws some tobacco into the fire, saying: "Here it is. Here it is. To you who stand in the center of the lodge, to you I offer tobacco. You encouraged us to believe that when we call upon some of your fellow-spirits, it would be only necessary to put tobacco upon your head, and that you would deliver the message.

"This is the first blessing we ask—namely, that our weapons and not those of our enemies be made sharp. And if in a vision we be directed to go on the warpath, may we receive the complete blessing, even though we be in the midst of the battle. Therefore do we lay all these birdskins that are used in war here in the center of our lodge. We pray that if we use one of them we will be able to avoid danger and that we be granted long life. For that reason, [782] grandfather, Fire, do I pour tobacco to you. Here it is. Here it is.

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"And thou, grandfather, Earthmaker, I offer tobacco to you. I offer tobacco to you. It was you who made the tobacco, yet we were told that even you cannot take it from us unless we offer it to you willingly, because you ordained it thus. I offer tobacco to you, that I may become a warrior and have long life. This I ask of you. A white-furred animal, a deer, with its hide, the buckskin, and its meat as food, do I offer to you together with tobacco. The hide you may use for moccasins. Here it is.

"And you, Big Black Hawk, you who are in charge of war weapons, I offer tobacco to you, that my prowess as a warrior, if I be blessed with any, may be great and audacious. Even if it is only a single enemy (that I encounter), may I be the victor. May we go through battle without injury. A kettle containing half of a deer, with its hide for moccasins, we offer to you. Here it is. Tobacco we offer to you. Here it is.

"You who live in the place of the setting of the sun, Thunder-chief, tobacco I offer to you. When my grandfather made his war bundle you added your power; and whatever knowledge of warcraft you possessed you taught him. For that we now ask you. One of our members[3] whom we feed like a baby, we offer to you together with tobacco. Here it is.

"You who live in the east, who walk in darkness, tobacco we offer to you. When our grandfather, Kills-Within-Lodge, made the spirit bundle you added your war power. We ask that when we take this bundle up we may be able to gain victory without any effort on our part. This we ask of you. As our children become big enough to go on the warpath may you see to it, in your mysterious manner, that we have war. We offer you tobacco and also a kettle containing a female deer with hide for moccasins. These we offer you. Here it is.

"You who live in the south, you who give us sickness, to that part of your body which contains life, we offer tobacco. In the bundle that our grandfather made you added your war power. That power we now ask of you. In the middle of the day you blessed our grandfather. That blessing we ask of you again. One of our members who wears a headdress,[4] do we offer to you, and likewise a deerskin for moccasins. All these together with tobacco we offer you. Here it is.

"To you, grandfather, the Sun, I offer tobacco. You blessed my grandfather, Kills-Within-Lodge, with your power when he made his war bundle. The blessing that you gave him, that do I ask of you. Let that be your first gift. May we have victory in war: and in the presence of the weapons of our enemies, make us safe. If there be any men (enemies) to whom death has been ordained, may we be

[3] He is referring to the dogs eaten at this feast.
[4] I. e., a deer.

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X 796 the ones who will be the victors. It is said of you that even if a
X 539 prayer be offered to you in silence, along with the tobacco, you will
776 hear it. Here we offer you tobacco, deer for food, and buckskin
782 for moccasins. This, grandfather, is our prayer and our offering.

"To you, grandmother, the Moon, do we offer tobacco. We desire to have victory in battle. The blessings you bestowed upon our grandfather, Kills-Within-Lodge, when you blessed him with the powers of a warrior, those give to us now. The blessings that were not fulfilled by him (that is, all those blessings that death prevented him from using) we ask that they may be fulfilled by us. Tobacco and deer for food and buckskin, all these we offer to you. Here it is. Here it is.

"To you, Morning Star, do we offer tobacco. When my grandfather was blessed with your power, while he was making his war bundle, he was to give you tobacco for smoking and food at midnight. That is what we are trying to do, although we are lacking in all the essentials necessary for success. However, we wish to be prepared in times of trouble and that is why we ask, grandfather, that we be blessed with life. A kettle with tobacco, enough buckskin for moccasins, and tobacco we offer to you.

"To you, grandmother, the Earth, do we offer tobacco also. We pray for victory in war and for all the medicines that are necessary to obtain it, so that we may bind ourselves with medicine: that we may use the flowers of the earth for paint—all that is red and all that is blue—this we ask of you. Should there be anything better, we ask that you arrange it so that we obtain it. Tobacco and corn for food do we offer to you, and should you need more tobacco we will send it along. Here it is.

"To you, Eagle Chief, you who blessed our grandfather with power to conquer in war while he was making his bundle of spirit-power, do we offer tobacco. For all that he told us to retain and which he said was powerful in the bundle, I am making this feast. I am
X 796 trying to-night to make a feast in honor of the spirits. To you and
X 539 to the hawk I offer this kettle."

All the kettles which are to be used at this feast have by this time
782 been put on. The nephews act as attendants and place the kettles
[604] on the fireplaces. Those spirits for whom no kettles are placed on the fire receive tobacco as an offering. After the host has offered tobacco to these latter spirits, he returns to his place and sits down. Then the war-bundle owners to whom tobacco had been given get up in turn and with one hand pour tobacco into the fire and with the other upon the war bundle. The host then rises and speaks as follows:

"Sons of war, and you who stand in the footsteps of the spirits, all you who are in this lodge, I greet you. We are boiling hot water for

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the spirits. We will try also to use some of the songs that were taught to the owner of the bundle when he was blessed. We will perhaps make you smoke poor tobacco and tire you out by making you sit too long, and we will probably keep you hungry too long, but we know that you have served at these feasts and that this ceremony is good and that you know how to carry it on. It is good that you act thus. They say that if we sit up all night at a feast we will be able to obtain victory in war and long life. For this purpose you have come here and intend to sit with us. We are very glad. We will be at your service and as soon as the attendants have the food ready you shall receive some. To those sitting in the place of the setting of the sun, the Thunderers, we will sing the songs they taught our grandfather. We will attempt to sing them for you. If we can remember them, we will use about four." 796x 539x 782

After he has concluded, the members of his band sing the Thunderbird songs and when they are finished they sing the dancing songs. [533]

When these are over the host speaks again.

"Sons of wars, I greet you. We are delivering our speeches as fast as possible. When our grandfather was blessed he fasted, denying himself water. He suffered much. It was then that the spirits had compassion upon him. One of the spirits met him in broad daylight, one day, at noon. He blessed him with victory in war and with the life, or good half, of his body,[4] and with the right to hand on this blessing for generations. As long as the people offer red feathers and tobacco and make feasts in his honor, so long will he not trouble them with disease. He said that these were the things he liked—dog, red feathers, and tobacco. These are the things that we accordingly offer him. We will now use his songs, which are in another language. I suppose we will make a great many mistakes, but it is said that even if a person knows only one song he should try and use it, for through it victory in war and long life can be obtained. With this thought before us we will try. We were also told that we must leave nothing undone.

"Sons of wars, and you who represent the spirits, I greet you." [533]

Now the slow songs are sung, and after they are finished, the dance songs. Then the host rises and speaks again.

"Sons of war, I greet you. After we have used four lots of songs we will have the feast. The attendants will have the food ready about that time. The songs that we will attempt to sing will be Thunderbird songs and the songs of the different spirits that accompany this bundle, the Sun, the Moon, the Morning Star, the Earth, the Water, the Daylight, and the Eagle. The songs of all of these spirits we will try to use and sing.

[4] Evidently it was the Disease-giver who blessed him.

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X 796 "Sons of war, I greet you."
X 539 After these songs are sung the host speaks again.

"Sons of wars, I greet you. We will sing the dancing songs. If anyone cares to dance he may do so. They say that through dancing, also, we may obtain victory in war. Therefore you women may dance and help your brothers. Dancing also is a means of obtaining life. We will now sing about four songs if we can remember them."

When the songs are over the leader says:

"Warriors, I greet you. We will sing another lot of songs and then we will have our feast. This lot of songs was sung by our grandfather, who obtained victory with them, so he added them to his bundle. So we are told. These songs can also be sung by watchmen in the camp, or on the warpath, or before the rush for the enemy, as well as while crossing rivers and in scouting We will now try to sing them. Warriors all, who are seated here, I greet you."

The host then sings the slow songs and then the dancing songs. Then he continues:

X 796 "Warriors, I greet you. The next four songs we sing will be for
X 539 all the spirits for whom we have placed these kettles of tobacco and
776 buckskin for moccasins. The first kettle over the first fireplace is a
782 big deer head, which our chief will partake of. This kettle is in honor of Earthmaker. The kettle will be placed for our chief. We know that he has been attentive to the spirits and that he has the right to forbid us to do wrong.

"The next kettle will be put on in honor of the war spirits who live in the place of the setting of the sun. It will be placed before the Thunderbird clan people. It is our desire that the spirits remember us for these our offerings. For that reason we will turn over to them a kettle with tobacco and enough buckskin for moccasins.

"The kettle on the second fireplace we intend to offer to the war spirit, the Big Black Hawk. Together with the kettle, we are offering tobacco and buckskin. It will be placed before Strikes-the-Tree. He understands this affair better than we do. He understands what our intentions toward the spirits are and he can therefore best make them understand us. Another kettle on the same fireplace we intend for the sun. We have already made known our intentions to him by offerings of tobacco and buckskin. That kettle will be placed for our grandfather, who understands and can perform these things better than we can.

"On the third fireplace there is a kettle for our grandmother who comes up after the dark—the Moon. That will be placed before my nephew. He knows how to take care of a war bundle. That we wish should be made known to the moon he will make it known, as he knows how to do it.

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"The next kettle is in honor of the Morning Star. We offer tobacco, buckskin, and food to him. This kettle is to be placed before my uncle, as he knows how to make offerings to spirits better than we do. All that we wish is that the spirits should know that we have done this; and he understands how to make this known to the spirits. Warriors, I greet you. The kettles have now all been put on by the attendants and we offer to you all that they can hold. It will be lacking in every way, but, warriors, you understand how to divide it. Knowing this, we know that you will all get some. Whenever you get ready you can start eating. In the meantime we will sing." 796x 539x 776 782

After singing four songs those present partake of the feast. When the feast is over, the guest who received the first kettle rises and speaks: 796x 539x 782

"Elders and you who are mere participants, who have partaken of our feast, and you warriors, I greet. It is truly good. Who would not say it is good? Relatives, a lesson this has been to me, the fact that I have been invited. It is indeed a real pleasure for me to be here, but I have been accorded an even greater honor in that I have been given a kettle, and especially that it should be just that kettle that we offer to the greatest spirit, Earthmaker. For him have I eaten and for him have I smoked the tobacco that was offered. We will be strengthened by the blessing that it brings us. All our relatives that had anything to do with this offering will be strengthened How can the spirits help recognizing such an offering? It is said that if we wish anything of the spirits and we offer tobacco to them they would accept and recognize it. Surely such an offering as this (in which we have participated) will be received by the spirits, and assuredly they will bless our host with victory, just as he has wished it. I am thankful that I had something to do with it. I consider that my life has been renewed. I therefore greet him, Earthmaker, and I greet the host and the warriors who are representing the spirits. I greet them all."

Then the guest who had received the second kettle rises and speaks:

"Hosts and relatives who are sitting around me, I greet you all. It is good. Who would not say that it is good? I do not intend this as mere imitation of the preceding speaker, but my grandfather taught me to be thankful at all times for such an affair as this. I did not gain honor in war, and (for my presence here) I am consequently all the more thankful. It is good. He has honored me together with the spirits when he offered to them tobacco, buckskin, and food and when he asked them for victory and life. How could such a one go unblessed? Do not the spirits even know our thoughts? I thank all the relatives that have partaken of this spirit food, through which they will be strengthened. Again I say, it is good. In my

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x 796 x 539 782 thoughts I greet you, feasters. Spirits of war, elders, warriors, I greet you."

Then the third speaker rises and speaks:

"Elders and relatives, I greet you. Warriors within this lodge, I greet you also. It is good. Who would not say it is good? Many times have they done this to us in the past. They understand and know how to make examples for us to follow. They have made offerings of tobacco, of food, and buckskin for moccasins to all the spirits. They have gathered us together and given us places of honor that we may obtain life thereby. They have given us spirit-food to eat in the presence of our relatives. The blessings they receive will also strengthen us in life. With these thoughts we have partaken of the feast. While boiling the water, the attendants have burned their hands, and surely they will for this reason take part in war, with honor. It is good that it is thus. What spirit could overlook such an offering? It must surely be known to them. Again I say it is good. You feasters, host, and warriors, I greet you all."

Then the fourth speaker rises and speaks:

"Elders and relatives, I greet you. Host and feasters, I greet you. It is good, the previous speakers have told me. Most certainly it is good. The chiefs have up to now asked blessings for the Winnebago fireplaces. Our host has also made offerings to all the spirits and asked victory and life for our women and children. I hope we minor ones will also receive blessings. A spirit named Kills-Within-Lodge [776] came upon earth in the flesh and caused this (feast) to be made, and to this day it is so. It is good. With war he was blessed, we all [262] have heard it told. It is good that we have partaken of this food, for we have been told that all meat partaken in feasts strengthens us with spirit blessings. I want to thank all of the relatives and feasters who are here, and for that reason I am speaking. Feasters, I greet you all; I greet you all."

Then he speaks again:

[776] "It is good, my relatives, that the spirits have been given offerings of food, tobacco to light their pipes, and buckskin to use for moccasins. Now it is the midnight of the spirits, and we have all heard that at this time they turn over in their beds in spirit land, and whoever offers tobacco to them now can be assured that they will smoke it. For this reason the people have added food and moccasins. They will surely bless them with the victory and life for which they have asked. We believe that those who have partaken of the feast will be blessed, for it is said that the spirits even know our thoughts. This is what I think. I am sure I have been strengthened by it. Feasters, I greet you all. You likewise, Grandmother Moon, I greet."

The kettles are now put on again.

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Now the host speaks again: 796x

"Warriors, I greet you. It is good that you have told one another 539x my wishes and spoken about the things that are usually discussed 782 at this ceremony. I say again that it is good to hear such words from you. We are making you suffer, but the attendants are putting on the kettles again. I will therefore give all the spirits for whom kettles have been prepared smoking material again. I greet you all."

Then he begins to pour out tobacco for the spirits. As often as he calls upon a spirit so often does he pour tobacco into the fire, saying as follows in each case:

"Here it is, the tobacco, grandfather, who are in the middle of the lodge. We have been told that you said you were the mediator between (the spirits and human beings). It is said that if we place on your head tobacco for the spirits you would see to it that our offering had not been made in vain. So I pour tobacco for you. Here it is.

"To you, in the South, the Disease-giver, grandfather, I offer 796x tobacco. A four-legged animal,[8] one of our own members, we have 539x put in the kettle for you. Tobacco, food, feathers, and buckskin we 792 offer you. You blessed our grandfather and met him in the middle 776 of the day. With the blessing with which you blessed him do you now bless us. This we ask of you—that fever (disease) may not come upon us, and that we may have victory and life. This we ask of you because you claim that you are in charge of these things. Grandfather, in return for all the things that we ask you, we offer tobacco for your pipe. The same we offer to your grandfathers, those under the light, those who walk in darkness.[9] My grandfather you blessed. The things that you taught him we ask for. Our offerings are poorly given, and not of the best kind, but it is said that your feelings can not be hurt since you permitted our grandfather to enter your spirit-home. We pour tobacco for you, Nights, that victory may come our way, and that you might walk faster so that day may come to us sooner. Men's tobacco, food, and buckskin we offer you. Here it is.

"Morning Star, tobacco we offer you, with buckskin and food. When our grandfather made a bundle of spirit-powers, you added your blessing of warrior prowess. That is what I ask of you—that we may have victory whenever we meet the enemy. It is said that if we wait till then we might not receive your blessing. That is why we ask it now. We pour tobacco for you.

"To you, the chief of the Eagles, I offer tobacco. In our grandfather's fasting you blessed him with victory in war. That which he

[8] Cf. note 2.
[9] I. e., the Night Spirits.

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would have used were he alive do I ask of you. And if we take the feathers that are in this war bundle on the warpath, may it so happen that even if we see only one enemy we may be the ones to have the war honor. This is what we ask of you and for this we offer tobacco to you.

"To you, Hare, do we offer tobacco. Here it is. The blessing you bestowed on our grandfather, that we ask of you, the so-called nephew. Victory in war and life we ask, should we ever go on the warpath; that we may conquer without effort and that we may be safe in the midst of the weapons of our enemies.

"To you, the Turtle, we offer tobacco. Here it is. Men's tobacco we offer you that you may fill your pipe. Our offerings are lacking in every respect, for we have no kettle for you. But we can not offend you, it is said. You have, in truth, power in war and that is why we ask you for victory in war. Grandfather, we offer you tobacco.

"To you, grandmother, the Earth, do we offer tobacco. We offer you men's tobacco. We ask victory in war from you. When our grandfather made a bundle of spirit-power, you added your power. For that reason we have been keeping tobacco for you. Here it is, Grandmother, we offer tobacco to you.

"To all those who have blessed our grandfather with spirit-power—for we do not know you all—we offer tobacco to those on earth and to those above. It is our desire that you bless us with the blessings you conferred upon our grandfather. Grandfathers, warriors, I greet you all. I am sorry that I have been boring you with my talk, and that I have perhaps made you smoke too much. But we wish to obtain victory and life, and it is said that patience gains both of these. Knowing this, you have faithfully sat through this whole ceremony. I thank you, and yet I must ask more of you. I must ask that the drum and songs be sent around the lodge as soon as I get through singing. As the Nights go around the earth at night so will the drum go around this lodge. I will now use the songs of the Nights, that is what I mean. Warriors, I greet you."

[533] After singing slow songs he sings dancing songs, and then he speaks again:

"Warriors, I greet you. As I said before, you may sing the songs of the Nights. Your songs are certainly more spirit-like, and they have the power of obtaining life. I now send the drum to you."

Then the attendants take the drum, together with some tobacco, and carry it across the lodge, to a place opposite the host, and place it in front of one of the guests belonging to another clan. He also puts some tobacco in the hands of this person. Then the one about to sing rises and speaks as follows:

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"Feast-givers and relatives, as well as you guests who are present, 796
I greet you all. It is good that I have been honored by being placed 539
in the path of the drum. It is said that so great is the sacredness 782
attached to this affair that one must not refuse to accept the drum as it passes around the lodge. I also feel honored at the offering of tobacco. Indeed I feel saved, and I pray that whosoever comes in contact with these things may be strengthened thereby. As soon as I have offered the tobacco I will use the songs of our fathers. We do not know them as well as we ought to, but we will try nevertheless. It is said that if you only know one song, you must try to use it even to the point of tears; just as it is said, that if you cry after a victory you must put aside all sense of shame. Thinking of these things I will now try to sing. Tobacco I offer you."

He throws it into the fire, saying at the same time, "Grandfathers, Night Spirits, I offer you tobacco. I know that we will spoil your songs, but it is said that you are merciful and that you will sing them again to yourselves correctly. If we make any mistakes have pity on us, grandfathers, and we ask you to walk faster so that daylight may come soon. Here is the tobacco. We offer it to you."

Then he sings slow songs, and then dancing songs. One of the [533]
attendants now comes forward with tobacco in his hand, and takes the drum and moves it to another of the invited guests. He also gives this person some tobacco. This one then rises and thanks all the other people in general and says approximately the same as the man before him, praising them for all the things he could think of, accepting the tobacco, and then offering it to the spirits and to the fire. He particularly asks the Nights to walk faster so that morning might come to them sooner. After he sings his songs, which like the others are Night songs, the drum is taken and moved to another of the invited guests. Thus it passes from one to another until it has made the entire circuit of the lodge. Generally at about dawn it reaches the place of the host, from where it had started on the previous day. He sings certain songs which are called the old [533]
night songs, because the old nights are not supposed to come until approaching daylight and because their hair is white from age. When they come they bring light. All those who may perhaps have fallen asleep at this time either wake up or are awakened, for the Nights who now come are old and carry canes which, when directed toward a sleeping person, causes him to die. After the host has finished the old night songs he sings the dancing songs.

The buckskins are then taken down and carried around the lodge. All those present now arise and dance in their special places, as the buckskin passes them. The host and his invited guests now take their buckskins in one hand, holding tobacco at the same time, and pass around the lodge in single file. Thus they go around the lodge

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782

four times. The fourth time they make the circuit they stop at the first fireplace and throw the buckskins through the holes of the lodge. It is supposed that the old Night Spirits seize them at this moment and carry them up to the sky with them. The singing now ceases, and all the people take their seats again. The drum is now taken and placed in front of the host's place. He thereupon rises and speaks as follows:

"Ye warriors, as many as you are who are sitting here, I greet. It is good that you have complied with my wishes and that the spirits have already taken their buckskins and their food, and that they have left our presence. But nevertheless we will sing our last song, even if it appears that they are being sung into empty space. I know that you have already had compassion upon me, even although I am making you suffer with hunger, but let us, nevertheless, sing one more song, and then we can rest. My grandfather used these songs in time of war, and never did he miss a war honor when using them. These we will now use. You, warriors, and those of you who possess holy paints, it must seem shameful to you for me to speak this way. For we have no holy paint. However, we will not sing them with the intention of making people believe that we have holy paints, but simply because we have used them in war and found them good. That is why I am about to use them now, and that is why they belong to this bundle. Warriors, you may hear. Know you that I will use these songs in seeking victory and life. Nor will the dancing be limited merely to those who possess paint, but to anyone of the warriors here present. This will be the last dancing song. I greet you all."

[533] Then he sings some songs, both the slow and the dancing songs. After that he rises and says the following:

"Warriors who are seated here, I greet you. I suppose it is enough that I have made you suffer with hunger all night. As soon as the attendants can get around to it the food will be placed before you again. I know that it will be lacking in every respect, but let me appeal to your good natures. On this first fireplace there is going to be a kettle for the Disease-giver. A four-legged animal, one of his own members, we will offer to him, together with tobacco and deerskins. We are also going to send to him a little four-legged animal, one with whom our children have been fond of playing. He is now in front of us. Whoever wishes to offer tobacco to the Disease-giver can do so now, and as soon as the feast is over and the bones are gathered, we will take them and, strewing tobacco upon them, place them outside. Let me tell you again that anyone who wishes may offer tobacco and ask of the Disease-giver that he keep illness away from him. Women are not permitted to partake of this kettle, so see to it that only men eat of it. As I said before,

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O warriors, the food will be lacking in every respect, but try, nevertheless, to have it pass around. 796x

"We also have a kettle on the fireplace for the Nights, which the attendants will put on in honor of the father of my wife and my own father. We offer, likewise, tobacco and deerskin along with this kettle, to the Night Spirits, so that we may obtain victory and life. That is what we wish. As I said before, I will not have any too much food for you. But they say the spirits are merciful. 539x 782

"To the Morning Star we will also offer a kettle. We will have it put on for Ku'nu, as he understands these affairs better than we do and knows better than we how to ask the spirits for blessings. We offer, in addition to the kettle, tobacco and buckskin, asking victory and life from the spirits in return. As I said before, warriors, our grandfather never failed when he had this bundle. That is why we have kettles put on the fire in honor of it.

"To our fourth brother we will offer another kettle, in honor of the chief of the Eagles, praying for life and victory. Warriors who are seated here, I greet you all. Whenever you get ready to eat you may do so, and we will, during that time, sing some of our songs."

Then they sing Earthmaker songs. These songs were songs that a certain person called Wegi'ceka obtained in his blessings from all the spirits, but they were taught to him by Earthmaker. [787]

After Wegi'ceka had been blessed by all the spirits there was just one lacking, and that was Earthmaker. So he fasted more and more, almost to the point of death, crying and longing for a blessing from Earthmaker. Finally he was told that he was to be blessed by him. At the appointed place and time a being wearing dark clothes and carrying a cane that looked fear-inspiring stood before him, like the blue of the sky. "Wegi'ceka," he said, "I bless you. You have inflicted suffering upon yourself and have hungered and thirsted on my account. With everything that I possess do I bless you; with victory and with the power to heal the sick, with riches and with good fortune as a hunter, and even with the power of having women become enamored of you—with all these things I bless you." Then he turned and walked away and Wegi'ceka saw that it was a bluejay. He felt very much humbled and so he fasted again. Four times was he treated thus. Finally he even sacrificed one of his own children, and then he was told that at a certain time and place, about the hour of noon, he would meet Earthmaker. When he came there some one said, "Wegi'ceka, I bless you. You have humbled yourself and cried unto me. I bless you. Heretofore I have blessed nobody. You are the first one." Thus he spoke, and he gave him the cane and four songs. Those are the songs which we use at the end of our feast. 796x 539x 787 776

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×796 ×539 After these songs are finished and the invited guests and the others present have finished eating, the feast is practically over, with the exception of a few remarks. The host rises and speaks as follows:

"Warriors and guests, I greet you all. It is good that we have this life-power to use in our travels through life. The spirits caused us to make offering and have also given us a chance to sing the songs [782] of our forefathers. This they made us do. It is good. Our guests have shown us a great example in that they have offered enough buckskin for all the spirits and enough food and tobacco. What spirit could let such an offering pass unnoticed, without bestowing a blessing? It is said that even if you wish something and do not express it in words, still if you pour tobacco into the fire you will obtain what you wish. If that is the case, how much greater must the efficacy of the offerings be that were made here! You Feast-givers and relatives, I consider it a blessing that I was permitted to be present here. But that blessing was even increased when I was called upon to partake from a kettle offered to one of the greatest spirits. I feel that now I will surely be able to live. They say that the one called Disease-giver has victory and life in one half of his body. Therefore I greet the Disease-giver. Feast-givers, warriors, all you who are present, I greet you."

The second singer now speaks.

"Elders and ye other guests who are present, I greet you all. It is good. It is good. Who could say otherwise? Relatives, a great example has been set us. We have seen buckskins for moccasins, tobacco, and food offered to the spirits, and we ourselves have been permitted to represent these spirits by proxy, that we also might live and be strengthened; that if we should ever chance upon the enemy we might remain safe and unharmed. Such, in substance, [782] were the tearful prayers of our leaders to-night. They prayed for victory and life, and made their offerings to the Nights, of deerskin, tobacco, and food. Most assuredly have the Nights accepted these offerings, for they have walked fast as we asked, and the night has been very short. They certainly have answered our prayers. It is good. We likewise feel that the fact that we have been here with our relatives and partaken of everything will strengthen us in life. Feast-givers and guests, I greet you all. Warriors and singers, I greet you."

Then the third one rises and speaks. He says about the same thing as the former. The fourth one does the same. When they are finished, the host rises and thanks them because they have said and done the things that he had most at heart. He speaks as follows:

"Warriors, as it is the custom, so we will now sing four more dancing songs and then we will call upon someone to make his [782] voice known to the war-spirits. If any of you wish to offer tobacco,

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you can do so, and the women likewise can join, because we have rolled up our bundle. To the dog that we have here, an offering of tobacco can be made." Thus speaking, he sings. After he has finished the song, someone specially called upon gives the war whoop, in which the rest join. In this manner they sing four times, and the ceremony ends. They have a dog around whose neck they tie a red rag, together with a bundle of tobacco, and to each of whose limbs they also tie a bundle of tobacco. This dead dog is to be placed wherever the bones that remain of the feast are buried, generally under some tree. It is supposed that the dog will go directly to the Disease-giver together with the tobacco and there be taken over by him.

*Notes on the Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant, member of the clan: Place of honor at the feast is given to the bravest man present. Scalps, etc., are always brought to those keeping the war bundle.

Contents of bundle: Black hawk (main thing), two wolf tails, buffalo tail, snake, weasel, three flutes—one red, one black, and one blue.

Black hawk used in time of war. If I were leading the war party I would carry it and it would be able to fly. It had a small bundle of medicine tied around the neck, on each wing and each leg. A red flute always went with it.

The two wolf tails could be taken on any warpath. It gives an individual the power of running. The medicine tied to it is to be smeared over the body in order to prevent fatigue. It is also used in hunting.

Buffalo tail gives fleetness and indicates that the man received strength from the buffalo spirit.

Weasel and snake could be put around the neck and worn over the shoulders in times of war. Gives the power of these respective animals in wiggling.

Flutes, blue in connection with the buffalo, red in connection with the black hawk, and black in connection with the night spirits

## The War-bundle Feast of the Bear Clan

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The people were about to go on a hunt, it is said. They returned. Four deer had been killed. And again they went, and this time three deer were killed. But it was not sufficient, so they went out again, and when they returned it was found that they had killed only three deer. "Well," they said, "this will be all right. We have ten deer. Perhaps they will last as food until dawn."

They told the attendants to get ready the lodge and to build the fireplaces. They told them also to have the wood and the buck-

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skins ready. Then they told them to make some invitation sticks. Only four invitation sticks were to be made, and they were to tie tobacco to each of them. The lodge was now ready (fig. 36). They had fixed the vertical poles and had tied them with prickly cedar sinews. The vertical poles they painted blue.

[202] Then he who was to be the host told the attendants to take the invitation sticks to certain people. "Bring the first one to my friend, Mąnuba'ga. See that you give it to him. I am sure that he will be here soon after. The second stick you may give to Ką-o'sąga. The third one you may give to Mązihimain'ga. Be sure that you bring them to all those who possess war bundles."

The attendant did as he was told and returned and told the host that it was done. "I have seen all of them and told them to make ready. They will soon come and sit down."

All were now in the lodge and were seated. The old man, Kąri'ga, was the host. All his posterity were there. He had placed meat in the kettles over the fireplaces. The first kettle was for Earthmaker and the second for Turtle. "Put them on," he said to the attendants. "Put the third one on for the Thunderbird, and the fourth one for the Fire, the fifth one for the Earth, the sixth one for the Morning Star, the seventh one for Without Horn, and the eighth one for the Nights. Then put on a small kettle for Disease-giver and a full kettle for the Ruce'we.

"*Hoo*, we will pour tobacco for them my friend, Mąnuba'ga. Whenever we can obtain a 'counciling' we always do this, for in that way we help one another. You who are sitting here for me, bundle owners, as many of you as there are within this lodge who are taking the place of the spirits, all of you I greet. War-bundle owners, all of us are thus. When you obtain a council feast for yourselves, then you will help one another. We are putting ourselves in a very pitiable condition, so you must have thought of us, and that is why you came at our bidding. It is good. And we are going to make you fearfully tired. But I beg of you, nevertheless, to continue until the end. We are going to sing."

They get up and the guests hold tobacco in their hands. Then they sing and weep. The one who was fasting at that time stood at the war bundle crying. Then they sang the following songs:

[533]

Hunna, four chunks of meat I give you.
Hunna, four chunks of meat you will eat.
I made it for you, for you who carry the war bundle.

[782] Thus they spoke standing and weeping, pouring tobacco upon the war bundle. This they did. Then Turtle songs were used. That is what they call them. After that they used Thunderbird songs, and then what are called friends' songs. Finally they used the songs [533] they obtained when Disease-giver blessed them. Four songs they

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had given them. Then songs that were associated with the drum that they use in the Night-Spirit dance were sung. The feast was now ready. 796x 539x [533]

"Make ready the kettle in front of the fireplace; take the most prominent parts of the animal out of it; make the second kettle you put on also ready. Hurry up, for we are about to have a fast-eating contest. The lower clans and the upper clans will contest. They will try to partake of war. Make ready. You, Manuba'ga choose a person, and do you, Kayo'saga, do the same."

Now they were ready to have the fast-eating contest. They all sat down. [264]

"Now listen," said the host, "as soon as the flute is blown they will begin the contest. Then will be the time for all the feast givers to sing."

Now, this is one of the songs they sang:

Where they eat, there you went, it is said.

Now they finished. Manuba'ga was defeated and Kayo'saga won. The guests filled their dishes, and the kettle that had been put on for Earthmaker was taken down and placed before Manuba'ga, so that he might select the best parts. Then the second kettle that had been placed on the fire for Earthmaker was put in front of Kayo'saga. The third kettle that had been offered to the Thunder-spirits was placed in front of Nazihima'nigs. The host then, in turn, mentioned by name all the invited guests and told the attendants what kettles were to be brought to them. As soon as the dishes had been distributed each one began to eat. They never waited for one another to start. While they were eating the members of the host's band sang. When the meal was over Manuba'ga rose and spoke as follows:

"Councilors, relatives, uncles, I salute you all. As many spirits as are in charge of life you have mentioned during the ceremony. Tobacco and food you have sent to them as offerings. I am sure that for that reason they will give you all that you have asked, and I also feel that I, myself, will be able to obtain something on which I can live, and that should I encounter on the warpath an enemy whose death has been ordained, it will be my fate to kill him. Thus I have been thinking, and that is why I have been sitting here. War-bundle owners, as many of you as are sitting in this lodge—war-bundle carriers, as many of you as are here—you have, indeed, had tobacco poured out for you to-day, and tobacco has also been offered to the powers that you have tied up in your bundles. I feel grateful for the fact and that I have been invited to attend, and that is why I am saying this. Councilors, war-bundle owners, all who are seated in this lodge, I salute you."

The leaders of all the other bands say practically the same.

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X796 539 [782] After the speeches were all over the offerings were taken down and thrown outside through the opening in the roof of the lodge and then night songs were sung. Before throwing the offerings out they marched around the lodge carrying them in their hands. At the approach of dawn the drum, gourds, etc., have about made the entire circuit of the lodge, and as soon as they reach the host he begins to sing the night [533] songs. After these he sings turtle songs, and then the songs are over. The host now calls upon some one to give the war whoop, so that the spirits in the west may hear their voices. Nanhi'tcoga gave the war whoop. All joined in, and the feast was over.

X796 805 [776] *Descriptive notes on the Bear clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant, member of clan: About the middle of winter, in the month called deer-breeding month, the Winnebago used to go out hunting, and they gave a feast to all the spirits who had blessed them.

They are very careful not to have the kettles boil over, because [774] they believe that a man's soul (*na-yi'rak'*) might be wandering about and is likely to come down along the chain of the kettle. If it doesn't boil over, the man is likely to conquer the possessions of this spirit (of an enemy) in the next battle.

202 554] The invitation sticks are sent out only to men who own a war bundle, and the clans are invited in the following fashion: First the Wolf, then the Hawk, and then any order.

778 The contents of the war bundle represent the following: The crow means strength in running. The turtle and the spear, the blessings which enable one to get out of difficulties, the former referring especially to difficulties in crossing water; they also enable their possessor to foretell when enemies are approaching and to tell an individual how many enemies he is going to conquer. The flute represents the 779 voices of musical birds. When an enemy hears them it paralyzes him and he can not run.

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[For the native text of the clan war-bundle ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 446-529, 534-550.]

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[For information on the war-bundle ceremonies of the various Winnebago clans, see category 116, pp. 427-550.]

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[For detailed information on the various ceremonies associated with the clan war-bundle feasts, see category 116, pp. 427-434, 436, 442-550.]

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Geological Survey

# Museum Bulletin No. 10

ANTHROPOLOGICAL SERIES, No. 5. MAY 16, 1915

## THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE WINNEBAGO INDIANS, AN INTERPRETATION

by

Paul Radin

[p i.]
[Title Page]

OTTAWA
GOVERNMENT PRINTING BUREAU
1915

No. 1501

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# Canada
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## ANTHROPOLOGICAL SERIES, No. 5.

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*The Social Organization of the Winnebago Indians. An Interpretation.*[1]

By Paul Radin.

## INTRODUCTION.

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The social organization of the Winnebago is based upon a twofold division of the tribe, which seems to represent an historically ultimate social grouping, not only for the Winnebago but likewise for a majority of the other Siouan tribes—the Dhegiha group,[2] the Tciwere group,[3] the Hidatsa, and the Mandan. What its original significance for these tribes was, it is now impossible to determine, for the different re-interpretations it has undergone necessarily preclude, in the absence of historical data, the possibility of satisfactorily demonstrating this point. As a matter of historical fact, we do not even know whether we are to regard the above social grouping as having been a common possession of these tribes before they parted company, or as having developed among one of them and subsequently spreading among the others. Could we unhesitatingly assume as criteria the tenacity with which these people adhere to this grouping when in contact with other groupings and the intimate linguistic and cultural relationship that seems to exist, at least between

[1] Based on notes in the private possession of the author.
[2] Includes Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kansas, and Quapaw.
[3] Includes Oto, Iowa, and Missouri.

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174 the Winnebago, Dhegiha, and Tciwere, we would be compelled
616 to accept as true the former of these historical possibilities. Such, as a matter of fact, is probably the correct interpretation. However, it might properly be objected that the Mandan, certainly the Hidatsa, do not exhibit such an intimate cultural and linguistic relationship to the other tribes mentioned and yet exemplify the same social grouping; that it is found among the Creek and among a number of other tribes. The twofold grouping associated with exogamy has indeed developed frequently enough to justify us in including it in a consideration of historical possibilities.

Even were we to accept in toto the criteria of tenacity, how much does it tell us of social organization? The social unit is itself a complex, and it is absolutely essential to know whether it is the social unit as such, or some element of the complex, that is really the prime mover in the "tenacity" exhibited. A few examples will make this point clear. The Melanesian societies exclude women. They are, however, in all cases associated with religious and ceremonial observances in which women do not participate. Now, is the "tenacity" that the societies exhibit with regard to the exclusion of women an expression of the nature of a "society" or is it historically the reflex expression of the religious and ceremonial observances associated with it? Among the White-earth Ojibwa, an Englishman or an American who marries into the tribe is enrolled in two new clans, the Lion and the Eagle, these animals having become associated in the Indian mind as clan totems with the respective people. That is, all the manifold differences of social organization between the Ojibwa and the whites play an insignificant role as compared with a grouping apparently determined by "religious" criteria. Strangers, like Dakota, who have no animal associated with them, have among the Ojibwa no social status. Among the Winnebago, again, if a new clan were to be adopted among them, its connexion with one or the other of the divisions would depend upon its clan animal. If the clan animal was a bird, it would immediately be placed in one of the divisions; if any other animal, it would belong to the other division.

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These examples bring out quite forcibly the point made above, that the "tenacity" exhibited to-day or at any particular time is itself not a constant, for at different epochs different elements of the social unit may determine it. That, however, the twofold division of the Winnebago is a social-political grouping is, I believe, unquestionable, although to-day, to the minds of the Winnebago, not the social-political grouping, but one element—and probably one that has been secondarily associated with the original grouping—determines to what half a new clan shall belong. 194 616

These general considerations are of considerable importance in the study of Siouan culture, because we are there confronted with a specific application of the criteria of "tenacity" and quantitative resemblances. The twofold division of the tribe is found among the Winnebago, Dhegiha, Tciwere, Hidatsa, and Mandan. The Dhegiha and Tciwere show numerous cultural and specific sociological similarities to the Winnebago, and this, together with the intimate linguistic affiliation, makes it fairly certain that the twofold division goes back to a common origin. Difficulties in the interpretation appear, however, as soon as we approach the Hidatsa and Mandan, who present only general cultural similarities to the above-mentioned tribes, and among whom nevertheless a dichotomous social division exists. If dichotomy is the significant factor in the social organization of all these tribes, one might very well claim that here an example of the "tenacity" of social organization is to be found.

Such reasoning is, however, a typical example of a purely detached analytical interpretation. The essential characteristic of this social organization is not the dichotomy but the cultural complex-dichotomy, exogamy, specific names, and the functions of the two halves. Now, while it may be justifiable to consider this division as historically primary for the Winnebago, Dhegiha, and Tciwere, it does not follow, owing to the innumerable possibilities of the formation of a twofold division, that wherever such a division is found and a linguistic relationship can be demonstrated, we are dealing with a common cultural possession. These social organizations can only then be considered as com-

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parable when it can be demonstrated that the salient elements of the complex are the same. In the absence, however, of historical data, sameness at any given time may only mean sameness in the interpretation of the cultural phenomena by the people.

## INTERPRETATION OF THE TWOFOLD DIVISION AND THE CLANS.

We have assumed that the twofold division of the Winnebago, Dhegiha, and Tciwere had a common historical origin, because this complex is the same in each case. As we have seen, our identification was based upon the existence in these three tribal units of specific similarities apart from those of social organization. Rigid proof that the type of social organization is historically identical among these tribes is not, however, forthcoming. This will become even more apparent when we consider the twofold division from the point of view of the names they bear, the subdivisions within them, and their specific functions.

According to our informants the twofold organization among the Dhegiha and Tciwere only existed upon specific occasions, when the tribe was on the tribal hunt. We are in complete ignorance as to whether in olden times this arrangement was reflected in the village, but we know that whether it was or not, the twofold division was present in a very difinite manner in the consciousness of the people themselves, i.e., every individual definitely knew to which one of the two divisions he belonged, and that certain names and functions were associated with them. The moment, however, that we stop to analyse these names, functions, etc., we realize at once that to-day they connote different ideas in the different tribes under discussion. The names of the divisions seem particularly significant in this connexion. Among the Omaha they are known as *Ictacunda* and *Hanga*, probably connoting Sky people and Leaders; among the Ponka as *Wajaje* and *Tcija*, Earth and Thunder; among the Kansa as *Yata* and *Ictunga*, Right side and Left side; among the Osage as *Tcija* and *Hanga*, Peace and War side. The names for the Kwapa, Oto, Missouri, and Iowa are not

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known. It will be seen at a glance that the terms *Ictacunda* and *Tciju* are identical, and it will also be noticed by reference to the monographs of J. O. Dorsey[1] and Miss A. Fletcher and F. La Flesche[2] that these names as well as the name *Hanga* are names of subdivisions within these divisions. Were these names first used to designate the two divisions or the subdivisions? There seems to be no reason for believing that the names were first applied to the larger divisions, whereas a number of facts speak strongly in favour of the reverse. In no case, for instance, can it be shown that the two divisions *per se* have any functions except that of regulating marriage. The various political and ceremonial functions displayed by these divisions pertain to the subdivisions composing them. Owing to the massing together of a number of such functions on each side, we often obtain the impression that these belong to the larger unit as such. And indeed this may be said to be true at the present time, in so far as the functions of one subdivision have become identified with the larger unit. We will treat of these points afterwards. All that we wish to point out here is that the names of the two divisions may be different, and that they may connote different ideas in the different divisions of an historically related culture, due to specific historical development within each. Among the Dhegiha, there seem to be a number of reasons for assuming that the present names of the two divisions are not the historically primary ones, and we will have to look askance at such an attempt as that of Miss Fletcher and F. LaFlesche to regard the names of the Ictacunda and Hanga divisions of the Omaha as indicating the historically fundamental religio-social concepts of that tribe.

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It is far more difficult to discuss the names of the subdivisions or "gentes" within the two larger divisions. From a comparative point of view it must be regarded as significant that the names of the subdivisions within the Tciwere tribes tally almost exactly with those of the Winnebago and that those of the Dhegiha tribes tally with the names of many of the two latter, although they possess, in addition, a large number not

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[1] "A Study of Siouan Cults," B. A. E. Annual Reports, Vol. XI.
[2] "The Omaha Tribe," Ibid., Vol. XXVII.

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174 614 found among them. The Tciwere and Winnebago have animal appellations for their clans, the Dhegiha have animal appellations, plus type of designation, descriptive of animal taboo. Which of the two types is older it is difficult to say. The fact might be noted, however, that the animal names have, to a large extent, been forgotten and that the descriptive taboo-appellations have not; that in a number of cases there is some reason for believing that these animal appellations have been re-interpreted and in other cases replaced by non-animal designations; that the origin myths of these divisions *always* explain why a certain animal is associated with a subdivision, and rarely the origin of the taboo name; and, lastly, that the larger percentage of personal names is strictly comparable to the clan names of the Winnebago and the Tciwere. On the other hand, the descriptive taboo type of name is found frequently among the band appellations of the Plains Indians, with whom the Omaha have come in intimate contact and by whom they have been influenced along definite lines of ceremonial and social development. For these reasons we would like to suggest that the animal appellations are historically primary and that the taboo type became subsequently popular and spread over the whole tribe. Examples of changes in the names of subdivisions are by no means isolated. The Winnebago exhibit a tendency to substitute names indicative of the function of a clan for the old animal names—and this has gone so far that a large number of individuals would probably deny to-day that the Hawk and the Warrior clan are one and the same. Again, among the Osage, Kansa, and Kwapa we find Sun and Star clans, and, if we were to imagine that for some reason or another the latter type of name became popular, it might here become dominant within a comparatively short time.

Like the twofold division, the clan may connote a number of different things to the minds of the Indians. The Omaha apparently use the term *tonwǫgðon*, which means literally "place-of-habitation-of-those-related," gðǫ being the possessive-reflexive pronoun. It would thus seem to coincide with a geographical unit. The Kwapa use the term *enihacíga*, evidently meaning "people"; the Kansa, the term *wayuṃidą*, "those-who-

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sing-together"; the Osage, the term *pęda*, "fireplace"; and the Winnebago, the term *hokik'a-radjora*, "those-related-to-one-another." The remarks made about the specific names of the twofold divisions apply here. There is no reason for assuming that these names are historically primary. A possible historical hint that they are not will be mentioned later. 174 614

The twofold division apparently regulates nothing but marriage. It has at the present time no other function *per se*. Nevertheless, a number of ethnologists, and for that matter Indians themselves, speak of the functions of the two sides. If we consider the Omaha "circle," we notice that practically all the ceremonial functions are on one side; that among the Osage "war" and "peace" functions are found on both sides; and that, as a matter of fact, the functions of war and peace apparently relate to a certain reciprocal relation existing between the two divisions. Indeed, there is no reason to justify the use of these terms. Among the Iowa, J. O. Dorsey quotes Hamilton to the effect that the regulation of the hunt and other tribal affairs was in the hands of one "phratry" during the autumn and winter, and in that of the other in spring and summer. It is, however, doubtful whether this was the case. Among the Winnebago, as we shall see, the functions of war and peace were grouped together on one side, the functions of the other side being confined to those relating to the policing and regulation of the hunt. But the only fact with which we can concern ourselves is not whether there appears a balancing of functions connected with the social organization, but whether the Indian thinks there is; and here the consensus of opinion favours the view that no Omaha, e.g., would for a moment suppose that the *Hoygacenu* division as such was the custodian of the real pipes of peace. This belonged to the *Inkesabe* gens, and there is not a shred of evidence to support the view that it was delegated to that clan by the larger unit. The same reasoning applies to the *Hoyga* clan. That the importance of the possessions of the latter clan played an important part in the associations of the Omaha, even to the extent of impressing its name upon the whole division, we do not doubt for a moment. Other reasons 174 182 616

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174 may have led to the designation of the other half by the name of one of its component clans.

182 Similarly, among the Ponka, the *Wajaje* half corresponds
616 to the *Wajaje* clan, the keepers of the sacred pipe; and among the Osage, the *Tciju* and *Hanga* divisions of one side, and the *Wajaje* divisions of the other correspond to clans with the same name that are associated with important ceremonial-political functions. On the other hand, we have the fact that among the Kansa the names of the two large divisions are distinct from any of the clans in those divisions, and the same is true for the *Tciju* division of the Ponka. If we correlate this last fact with the apparent absence of any association of important ceremonial or political functions with specific clans, the suggestion might be permitted that no incentive existed in the minds of these people for the clan becoming identified with the larger divisions. Among the Winnebago, the names for the divisions are quite different from those of the clans composing them, but at the present time the fact that the clan in each division has definite functions and powers has reacted on the interpretation of the social organization, and it is quite customary to refer to one half as *hunk* or "Chiefs," and to the other as "*manąp'e*" or "Soldiers," the latter name for the second phratry, however, not being common.

In short, we have a right to see in all the facts mentioned indications of a possible historical development whose characteristics seem to lie in the identification of the name and function of an important clan with that of a much larger division.

## THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE WINNEBAGO.

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### RELATION OF THE PRESENT TO PREVIOUS WINNEBAGO TYPES OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

The Winnebago social organization has long since broken down, but its details are still so well preserved in the minds of the older men, and particularly in the literature of the tribe, that no difficulty was experienced in reconstructing it. This reconstruction, however, does not enable us to determine the relation of the clan and dichotomous division to the distribution of the

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tribe over the large area once occupied in Wisconsin. That the 4,000 odd individuals composing the tribe at the advent of the whites lived together is extremely doubtful. The nature of the woodland of Wisconsin and the fairly extensive territory over which they (Winnebago) were found scattered not long after Nicollet's first visit are facts that practically exclude such a hypothesis. The myth that speaks of a village that at one time was so long that those living at one end did not know what was transpiring at the other, contains too many literary touches to justify its use as an historical document. 174 616 [161] [773]

The question of village groups is of considerable importance, because there may have been, cutting across the gentle organization, another smaller, perhaps looser social unit, that of "band" or village setting off (to the minds of the people) one group against another. Systematic questioning has elicited from various individuals the information, also corroborated by historical records, that the villages were generally known according to geographical location or were descriptive of the haunts of certain animals. Even to-day the group scattered over the Nebraska Winnebago reservation are commonly known under similar designations. There we find, for instance, the following names: *koso-atcira*, "those living on the peninsula"; or *k'ąhą'tcira*, "those living below," i.e., in the timber; *niwą'hatcira*, "those living near the dirty water"; *hątcxedegominanągera*, "where big bear settles," etc. If we may, then, suppose this to have been a customary association, we may quite properly ask whether the name of the village had any influence on the social organization, whether there is even a hint at a genetic relation between these two types of group names. The only hint of such a relation is the fact that formerly *koni* "band" seems to have been used instead of *hokik'aradjora;* that an archaic name of the Wolf clan, *regoni* or *degoni*, may mean Lake-band; and that the villages all had geographical names. All of which, however, is, I realize, hardly sufficient evidence. 174 621 174 621 103

No satisfactory demonstration has as yet been made indicating that the clan organization was ever associated with an historically simple social structure, whereas quite a number of reasons lead us to suspect that it was in all cases preceded by other 174 614

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174 types of organization. In North America there is quite consider-
614 able evidence tending to show that village-group organization often preceded the clan, and for that reason the facts brought out above may be of more than casual significance. That a system of clan names different from that now in use existed is borne out by the archaic names for the Bear and Wolf clans. That another system was making headway against the animal-name type is apparent from the disappearance of the name Hawk and the substitution of the term Warrior clan; and from the common custom of calling the Thunder and Bear clans Chief and Soldier clan respectively. What is especially significant is the fact that these three new names all represent the same type of change, the substitution for animal designations, with the correlated associations of descent or connexion with an animal ancestor, of designations indicative of the function of the clan. If the association of the social unit with a common animal ancestor was preceded by an association of a social unit with geographical location, we would then be able to demonstrate what is so rare in ethnology, the historical succession of types of naming. Having established that, there would be thrown open to us legitimately the historical-psychological question whether any necessary genetic relationship between these three types of naming existed, and whether this succession of names is to be regarded as a reflection of distinct changes in social organization.

### THE TWOFOLD GROUPING—NAMES AND RELIGIO-MYTHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION.

174 The Winnebago are divided into two divisions, one known
614 as the *waŋgeregi herera*, "those who are above," the other as the
616 *maŋegi herera*, "those who are on earth." Descent was reckoned in the paternal line. But these appellations refer to the animals
825 after whom the clans are named, the term *waŋgeregi* covering the birds, the term *maŋegi*, land and water animals. So firmly has this idea of the division of animal forms become associated with the two divisions that, as mentioned before, were a new clan introduced now among the Winnebago its position would depend exclusively upon the nature of the animal associated with it. As similar reasons dictate clan groupings among some of the Cen-

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tral Algonkin tribes, a few words concerning this type of association will not be amiss. The groupings of the fauna into a distinct number of categories is extremely common in North America. Among the Winnebago, a number of other Siouan, and Central Algonkin tribes, there was a fivefold classification: earth animals, sky animals, empyrean animals, aquatic animals, subaquatic animals. Among the Winnebago, the thunderbird belongs to the empyrean; the eagle, hawk, and pigeon, to the sky; the bear and wolf, to the earth; the fish, to the water; and the water spirit, below the water. This religio-mythological conception has unquestionably received a certain amount of sympathetic elaboration at the hands of shamans, and particularly at the hands of the leaders of such ceremonies as the Winter Feast, the Clan Feast, and the Clan Wake, as well as at the hands of those who had in their keeping the clan origin myths.

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The characteristics of the thunderbird, eagle, bear, and water spirit as clan animals, and as animals connected with a division of fauna are related to the general conception of these animals *per se*. The eagle and hawk are birds of prey; the thunderbird is generally a deity granting long life, and associated with peace, although his connexion with war is by no means uncommon. Similarly, the bear is supposed to have a "soldier" nature, and the water spirit is intimately associated with rites pertaining to crossing streams, calming the sea, and ownership of water property. This correlation unquestionably indicates an influence of the religio-mythological conception of the animal upon the social group with which it is associated. How far this can go is abundantly attested by the names and behaviour of the *waŋgerɛgi* and *maŋegi* divisions.

On the other hand we may legitimately ask: what influence have the two divisions had upon moulding the attributes of these animals, or upon the behaviour of the groups with which their name is associated? The functions of a warrior may have determined, as they certainly have accentuated, the "warrior" characteristics of the eagle and hawk, nor is there any easily intelligible reason why the thunderbird should be associated with peace. From our knowledge of the social organization of other Siouan tribes, the political functions of the clan seem to be

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174 the characteristic feature of the organization, and this being the
614 case, the probability of associations of warlike and peace attributes
with animals may as much be ascribed to the influence of the so-
616 cial unit as vice versa. As regards such functions as the exogamy
825 of the two divisions or that of the clans, or of the reciprocal burial relationship of the *waŋgeregi* and *mąŋegi* divisions, we, of course, know that the characteristics of the animal in question have nothing to do with the matter. We must, then, realize that we are dealing with reciprocal influences, of the religio-mythological conception of animals on the one hand, and of political functions of social units on the other. In some cases, such as the specific associations of the water spirit, it is probable that the religio-mythological conception of the animal is dominant. The association of the thunderbird with fire has likewise not been due to any activity of the social unit; and thus examples might be multiplied. In this connexion, the fact that animals with whom a multitude of associations have already been established are subsequently associated with social units, is fundamental. From this point of view, the animal names of social organization are intrusive features, and we will consequently expect to find historical adjustments. This, we think, is what has taken place here. The animal name with its religio-mythological conceptions was a remarkably strong unit, even as compared with the political unit, and as a result reciprocal influences took place. Although the religio-mythological influence must have been marked, it appears to have changed none of the marital and other functions of the two divisions, nor the political functions of the clans. What it did change, and change fundamentally, was the interpretation of the social organization.

## FUNCTIONS OF THE TWOFOLD DIVISION.

614 The only function that the *waŋgeregi* and *mąŋegi* divisions
616 seem to have had was the regulation of marriage. A *waŋgeregi*
[582] man had to marry a *mąŋegi* woman, and vice versa. The only
other function exercised by these divisions was, according to
[764] some informants, reciprocal burial. Here the religio-mythological interpretations seem in part to have determined this relation for a *mąŋegi* man buried a *waŋgeregi* man because, as a "land

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division," it pertains to him to place a corpse in the earth. This, however, seems to be a doubtful function, for earth burial seems in olden times to have been characteristic only of the *mąnegi* division, the *wąnjgeregi* clans having had scaffold burial. In addition, the burial relation was one of the many reciprocal duties of the "friend-clan," and if it was ever postulated of the *wąnjgeregi* and *mąnegi*, this was likely due to the fact that the "friendship" relation seems also to have existed between two clans belonging to the two different divisions. According to one myth, however, the four clans of the *wąnjgeregi* paired off as "friends" with four clans of the *mąnegi*. This would then be practically equivalent to saying that the *mąnegi* buried the *wąnjgeregi*.

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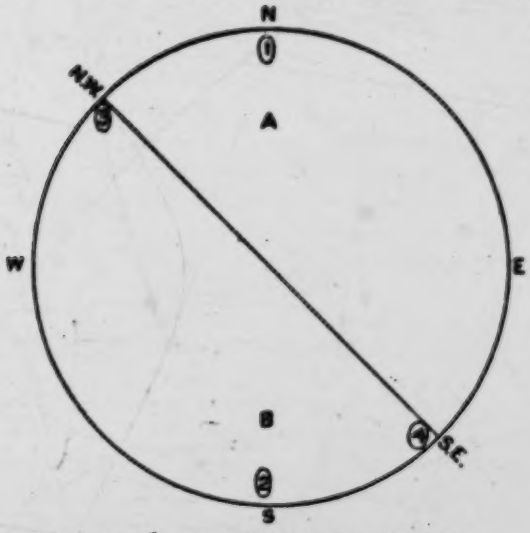


Figure 1. A, *Mąnegi* side; B, *Wąnjgeregi* side.
1, Lodge of Bear clan; 2, Lodge of Thunderbird clan;
3, Lodge of Warrior clan; 4, Lodge of Buffalo clan.

Thus far we have spoken only of the socio-political functions. The two divisions, however, play a part in a number of social and ceremonial connexions: first, in the organization of the village; second, in the arrangement of the clans while on the war-path; third, as the basis of organization at the "chief" feast; and lastly, as the basis of organization of the ceremonial lacrosse game.

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According to the majority of the older people, when the old social organization was still intact, each village was divided into two halves by an imaginary line running due northwest by southeast, the *waŋgeregi* clans dwelling in one half, with the Chief's lodge in the south, and the *maŋegi* clans dwelling in the other half, with the Bear or Soldier lodge in the north (Figure 1). Although this arrangement has now become almost legendary, it was corroborated by many of the older people. To what extent every village was organized on this basis, it is impossible

Figure 2. 1, Lodge of Bear clan; 2, Lodge of Thunderbird clan.

to tell. When this question was directly put to individuals, the answer was always in the affirmative. Quite a number of old individuals, however, denied vigorously that such had ever been the organization of the village, and claimed, instead, that the lodges of the Chief and the Soldier (Bear) clan were in the centre of the village (Figure 2).

In looking over the clan affiliations of the informants, we noticed, however, that arrangement 1 was always given by members of the bird clans, and arrangement 2 by members of the Bear clan and generally also by others on the *maŋegi* side. This fact, of course, makes the decision as to the relationship

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of these two types of arrangements quite difficult. There can be no question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital regulations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in definite villages. When on the warpath, the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fire-places, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe, can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, cannot be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Tciwere. In the subsequent discussion of the clan, we will touch on this subject again. 614 616 621

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fire-places when on the warpath, each division having two fire-places, whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. If they were going west, for instance, the two fire-places for the *waŋgeregi* would be on the south and the two for the *mąŋegi* would be on the north side. On the other hand, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the divisions exists. 726 616

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the Chief feast (*huŋk'wohą*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name (*huŋk'wohą*) would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Huŋk'* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the *waŋgeregi* division. 614 616 574

As the basis of organization in a game the twofold division finds expression in ceremonial lacrosse. There the *waŋgeregi* are always pitted against the *mąŋegi*. A well-known myth is associated with this arrangement, according to which the animal ancestors of the *waŋgeregi* and *mąŋegi* decided their respective rank by playing a game where they were organized on this basis. The *waŋgeregi* won, and it is for this reason that the chiefs of the tribe have been selected from that division. The division of the 616 526 773 [622] 000

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171 The division of the
616 tribe into two halves when playing ceremonial lacrosse is characteristic not only of the Winnebago, but of the Omaha, Menominee,
526 Sauk, Fox, and other tribes. Among the former two, these sides are identical with the two aforementioned political divisions of the tribe, but among the latter two, where no such division exists, the tribe seems to divide itself into two halves merely on this occasion, although we know that this is not the only occasion upon which it behaves in this manner.

Up to the present, we have treated the two divisions as
174 social units *per se*, but now, before entering on the discussion
614 of the clans, it may be well to point out the fact that the *waŋgeregi* people are sometimes spoken of as the Bird clan (*waŋcŋk hokik'aradjora*),
616 and that the four clans composing this side are so intimately related, and their clan origin myths so similar, one of them even declaring the other three bird clans to be merely the descendants of the three younger thunderbird ancestors, that the assumption of the four clans representing one clan that became split up into a number of divisions, is not outside the realm of historical possibility. This is, however, quite immaterial, for whether we have one bird clan opposed to eight other animal clans is of little consequence, since historically it is not the bird clan that is opposing the other clans, but one social unit, the division, set off against another. The numerical equality that exists between these two sides, in spite of the disparity in the number of clans, is perhaps another confirmation of the fundamental character of the twofold structure.

## THE CLAN ORGANIZATION.

614 There are twelve clans (*kokik'aradjora*) among the Winne-
[616] bago: the Thunderbird (*wak'andja*), the Warrior (*wonayere waŋkcik'*), the Eagle (*teaxcep'*), and Pigeon (*ru'tcge*), now extinct, belonging to the *waŋgeregi* half; and the Bear (*huŋk'*), Wolf (*cuŋktcuŋk'*), Buffalo (*tce*), Water-spirit (*waktcexi*), Deer (*tca'*), Elk (*huwq*), Snake (*wak'q*), and Fish (*ho'*), all belonging to the *mąŋegi* half.

In addition to the above names, we have the name Chief (*huŋk*) applied to the Thunderbird; Hawk (*hereicŋ*), to the Warrior; (*manŋpe*) Soldier, to the Bear clans.

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Clans are likewise referred to by names indicative of respect. 614
Thus, the Water-spirit is referred to as *hunge*, male members of the Bear clan as *haga*, and female members of the same clan as *warowiṇa*. It was claimed that these names were employed to avoid using the others. *Degoni* (meaning unknown, perhaps "lake-people") was also applied to the Bear; and *iconaṇke* (meaning unknown) to the Wolf.

Referring to the two village diagrams, we notice that according to Figure 1, four clans have their lodges definitely located— [621] the Thunderbird, Warrior, Buffalo, and Bear; but that according to Figure 2 only two clans have definite location of lodges— the Thunderbird, and Bear. In addition there is, however, [554] a special lodge for the men who have especially distinguished [729] themselves in war, not necessarily to be identified with the members of the Warrior clan. The significance of the clan names has been discussed before.

The meaning of *iconaṇke* is unknown to-day, but it may be 614 of interest as an example of the manner in which the name of 192 a clan may possibly be reinterpreted that, when pressed for a meaning, *iconaṇke* was translated blue-back, which is a literal translation of *ico* and *naṇke*, but which unquestionably represents a folk etymology, for, according to Winnebago grammar, *blue-back* would have to be *naṇke ico*.

### *Legendary Grouping of Clans.*

According to many clan legends, the clans originated in 614 a definite order. As might be expected, this differs according 773 to each clan, but the order of origin of the important ones seems to be constant. That is, practically all clan origin myths speak of the bird-clans as having originated first, and the Bear clan as having followed next. Yet even this did not hold true for all informants.

J., of the Bear clan, gave the following list:

Good Thunders (Thunderbird)
Bad Thunders (Warrior)
Eagle
Pigeon
Bear

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Wolf
Water-spirit (?)
Buffalo
Deer
Elk
Snake

The same order was given by a number of other informants. In the Bear clan legend the order is water-spirit, birds, bears, and in practically all the versions of the Bear clan legends the bear always finds the footprints of the wolf, which would indicate that the latter had preceded him. Nevertheless, in the versions of the Wolf clan myth, the bear footprints are found by the Wolf people, and, strangely enough, in the same version the Wolf people are represented as the last clan, whereas in another version of the myth they are represented as being the first clan. In still another myth, the Water-spirit is represented as first, etc. [174] These discrepancies can be explained in only one way, one that was to be expected, namely, that each clan tried to augment its own importance by insisting that it was one of the first, if not the first, to have originated. About one thing all seem to be agreed—that the Snake clan was the last. The Fish clan is rarely mentioned and, in general, appears to be a very late addition.

174 It is thus clear that no historical importance can be attached to the order of the clans. More significance must, however, 614 be attached to the statements that certain clans have originated at special places. Thus, while the majority trace their origin 773 to Green bay, the members of the Warrior and Buffalo clan claim certain lakes far to the south of Green bay as their original home. Here the literary tendency to associate the origin of the clans with a lake of a definite character makes any discussion practically futile. It is, of course, quite plain that the tribe as a unit, localized in a definite place, did not adopt animal names for their various clans, but that a type of name gradually spread over all the local groups. One of these local groups may have become associated with a definite place of origin. Perhaps the association of Green bay as the place of origin is precisely such an instance. The local associations of the Warrior and Buffalo clans can also be taken as suggestive of an historical past. That the prevalent association of Green bay as the

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origin of the tribe is due to the literary-legendary tendency towards uniformity, is, on the whole, quite likely. This seems illustrated by the fact that the Warrior and Buffalo clans in some of the versions of their clan myths claim specific places, while others claim Green bay as their ancestral home. Green bay must, therefore, be considered as one of probably many local associations, connected with a prominent clan, which came to be accepted in the course of time by most of the others. 174 614 773

*Arrangement of Clans in Village.*

As in Figure 1, all the clans of the *waŋgeregi* division except the Thunderbird and Warrior, could occupy any position in the half-circle, and the same was true of those of the *maŋegi* division except the Bear clan. The Buffalo clan seems to have been grouped on the *waŋgeregi* side. However, in both divisions the members of each clan had to be grouped together, a segregation that was further emphasized by the erection near each clan of an earthen effigy of the clan animal. According to all informants, each village was inhabited by members of various clans; in no case did a village merely include members of the same clan, as seems to have been the case among the Menomini. Among the latter, village exogamy probably existed, while no trace of this is found among the Winnebago. This clan segregation in every Winnebago village became, after a while, practically identical with blood relationship, although the close relationship existing between members of the same clan may also partially represent the persistence of a local group consciousness. 614 621 [616] [532] [171]

This distribution of the same clan over many villages would, indeed, seem to militate against the local group origin of the clans, but it must be remembered that the clan organization was of considerable age and there is no reason to suppose that the local groups could have had any influence now discernible. The village arrangement must, of course, not be pushed too hard, for we should expect a tendency on the part of informants whose knowledge was entirely hearsay, to cast their information in a more or less schematic mould. The old village sites seem to indicate that the bird effigy was dominant in some places and 174 614 621

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174 the bear in others, although both are also often found together.

614 Looking at our facts from another point of view, it is quite clear that clan segregation must not be taken too literally. 621 Clan exogamy would necessarily prevent that. If the old exogamy of the two divisions was in force and a man was thus compelled to marry into his mother's division but not into her clan, every village would have had to be arranged in an extremely artificial manner, that was not likely to have occurred frequently. [591] That a man often lived with his parents-in-law, would in addition again disorganize the regularity of the scheme. Finally, we have the evidence of the myths, which often speak of a man as departing on a journey when seeking a bride. All these customs, cutting across the village scheme in a number of ways, must have rendered it a rather complex unit. That, in spite of all this, clan exogamy could have been maintained even in a small village is unquestionable, but the reason for this lay, we suspect, in the limitation of the concept of blood-relations. With these considerations in mind, we may, then, admit clan segregation.

*Individual Names.*

614 With the animal appellation of the clan, one naturally associates animal names of individuals, for there is, indeed, 551 a correlation between them. Animal names of individuals 182 are, however, frequently found when the social units have names of an entirely different kind. A similar lack of correlation exists between the manner and system of naming and the type of social organization. That, on the other hand, the social organization may fundamentally influence the nature of the individual name is also apparent. Only with these points in mind can the Winnebago individual names become intelligible.

614 The study of Winnebago names can be approached from a purely static point of view, and the attempt made to bring 551 them analytically under a certain system of naming; or, on the 174 other hand, from a dynamic historical view-point. We shall try to undertake both. Every clan has a distinct set of names.

The Winnebago individual names lend themselves easily to categories of classification. We have the following classes:

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I. According to colour. II. According to physiological characteristics. III. According to social functions. IV. Descriptive of animal and plant forms. V. Descriptive of animal characteristics. VI. Descriptive of natural phenomena. VII. According to quality. VIII. According to episodes of a legendary origin. IX. Descriptive of personal achievement.

According to practically all informants only one of these classifications is present in the minds of the Winnebago to-day—that commemorating incidents relating to the origin of each clan. Thus, for instance, because the first thunderbird lit on a tree, the name He-who-lights-on-a-tree exists; because a wave swept over the shore in the wolf myth, we have the name Wave; etc. However, the most representative names of this type are such as Gives-forth-fruit-as-he-walks, Makes-the-day-tremble, He-who-comes-singing, Judge-of-the-contest, etc. The vast majority of names, although many can be interpreted as possible episodes of the clan ancestors, belong under the first seven categories described above. Yet the Winnebago interpret them all in terms of category VIII. Can we accept this present interpretation as historically primary? We think not. A large number of the clan names are purely descriptive of animal habits, others express the influence of social organization, for instance "Soldier" in the Bear clan, "Chief" in the Thunderbird, and others refer to personal achievements, etc.; secondly, the interpretation is of too specific a nature to be regarded as one that could possibly have dictated an original system of naming; and, thirdly, in spite of its prevalence, other systems of interpretations are present. For example, the interpretations obtained by J. O. Dorsey are largely symbolical, and make no mention of the one we found so prevalent. A purely symbolical interpretation was, it is true, obtained in some cases, notably from what one might call the "exoteric" members of the tribe, that is, from those who were insufficiently acquainted with the clan myths and customs. Another type of name characteristically developed among the Omaha and Central Algonkins, is the so-called "dream-name," a name supposed to represent some incident connected with the dream of the individual bestowing it. In all these cases we are speaking of the specific names.

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If we include the nicknames, and then the birth names, we have five distinct systems of individual names. Remembering that every individual had three names, a birth name, clan name, and nickname, of co-ordinate importance, we must not exaggerate the importance of the clan name, especially in its social significance. An individual is known by his birth name or nickname, generally, however, by the former, which sufficed absolutely as a mark of identification under normal conditions. The clan name was rarely known by a member of another clan or even to all members of the clan. A marked religious symbolical flavour clung about it, and this was enhanced and elaborated by the shaman and principal members of the clan. The way was thus open for the development of specific interpretations such as the dream, symbolical, and notably the ancestor-episode type. The ancestor-episode type seems to have been the last. The uniformity it brought about in the interpretation of individual names was all the more easily accomplished in view of the fact that this esoteric interpretation was not disturbed by the influence of any popular system, since, as has been pointed out, the nature of the clan name prevented it from having any distinctively social-political value. Many such reinterpretations must have taken place in the history of the tribe, and we may thus obtain some idea of the insurmountable difficulties in the way of a proper understanding of names. Psychologically two processes are always active in these changes in name connotation: first, the reinterpretation of the old names according to some definite system of classification; and, secondly, the formation of new names on this basis. Interpreting a name, probably merely descriptive of the bear's manner of walking, like Retraces-her-footsteps, into an incident connected with the origin of the clan, and, on the other hand, giving a name like Scatters-flowers-as-he-walks, are two examples of the two processes, which must have occurred at every change. In the case here cited, reinterpretation in no way does injury to the name itself. It frequently happens, however, that the significance of a word is lost and that, in the process of reinterpretation, names are interpreted in a characteristic folk-etymological manner. *Teoyonk*, given above, is a case in point. In addition to the possible

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meaning of "blue-back," it has been interpreted as "first," from *iconi*. In the same way *degoni* has been interpreted as *re* "to go" and *honi*, "to hunt"; and *hoicangera* has been subjected to a multitude of interpretations. This folk-etymology not only overrides the grammatical peculiarities of Winnebago, but even makes faulty compounds conform to the Winnebago principles of grammar. Inquiry into the origin of the clan names will, for these various reasons, have to be regarded as one of the most unprofitable of investigations. 614 551 174

### *Attitude Toward Clan Animals.*

We mentioned before that when the animal names became associated with the social groups, they were accompanied by the specific associations clustering around these animals. These associations were probably of the same type, if not indeed identical with those grouped around the animals as guardian spirits. The clan animals are among the principal guardian spirits to-day, and we must expect to find an explanation of the attitude toward them as clan animals in the attitude the Winnebago exhibit toward the guardian spirit. To a certain extent it would be quite correct to say that the guardian spirit became the clan animal. This does not, however, mean, in the slightest degree, that the guardian spirit of the individual became the clan animal, but merely that the concept of the guardian spirit became associated with a local group. 614 776 825 [174]

The guardian spirit is at the present time conceived as an immaterial being in control of an animal species. The attitude toward this spirit is a purely religious one, and exhibits a marked absence of taboo of any kind. It is an open question whether a vision must be attested by obtaining some part of the animal "embodiment" of the spirit, but there is no doubt that every vision is symbolized by a special gift from the "spirit." The guardian spirit complex may thus be said to consist of a special religious attitude plus symbol. [784] [787]

The attitude toward the clan animal is characteristically different in this respect, that more emphasis is laid upon identification with the animal itself, as contrasted with the "spirit."

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614 As far as could be determined, the clan animal is the thunder-
776 bird with his characteristics of lightning and thunder, of the bear
who likes honey and raisins, etc. The animal is engraved as clan
825 symbol and used as a property mark, and he is brought in intimate
[421] contact with the group by the postulation of descent. Natur-
ally, descent is not from the "spirit" animal but from the
animal. Nevertheless the clan animal has, at the same time,
retained its place as a guardian spirit, and in a most suggestive
way. The blessing of a clan animal is more easily obtained by a
member of the clan than by an outsider. The clan animal is a
sort of clan protector.

In this change of attitude two considerations seem pertinent:
174 first, the possibility of the "spirit" nature of the guardian
614 spirit being a product of the esoteric elaboration of the religious
societies, and that its apparent absence in the clan animal
776 represents an exoteric conception; and, secondly, that under
825 the influence of the social functions of the clan, an originally
strong religious conception of the clan animal gave place to an
identification with the animal species itself. It might be ob-
jected that there is no inherent correlation between social
organization and animal species as contrasted with spirit animals.
It seems certain, however, that descent could only be reckoned
from the animal, and as long as it is postulated it must be from
the animal. With regard to the historical priority of the "spirit"
conception, little can be definitely said except, first, that the
systematization it has undergone suggests the influence of the
esoteric societies, and secondly, that the visions obtained during
fasting appear to speak of the guardian "spirit" as an animal.
On general psychological considerations we are inclined to
believe in the contrast of the material and spiritual conception
of the animal as a real fact, although it would be hazardous to
say whether one or the other lies at the basis of the attitude of
the individual toward his clan animal.

### *Relationship to Clan Animals.*

174 The question of descent from the animal brings us to the
614 consideration of the whole intricate relationship of the individual
to the clan animal, a subject that has played so prominent a
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part in discussions of totemism. There are two distinct sources for the determination of this relationship, data obtained in reply to direct questioning, and that contained in some miscellaneous myths and in the origin myths. Part of the oral data is merely a reflex of the origin myths, but part is not. The value of this "unwritten" material lies in the fact that it represents the popular, exoteric attitude, the attitude that, on the whole, is not the result of conscious rationalization, and also in the fact that this exoteric view may very likely have been the basis for the esoteric interpretation. 174 614 825

The most prevalent view of the relationship of the individual to his clan animal is that of descent from an animal, transformed at the origin of the human race into human beings. This view is expressed in some of the origin myths and reflects the general conversation with individuals. Direct descent from an animal was never postulated. The definition of the term "animal" is, however, very difficult. The Indians themselves seem to make a distinction between the animal of to-day and the animal of the heroic age. The main characteristic of the animal of the heroic age was his power of transformation into human form and vice versa. Although he has lost this to-day, he is nevertheless descended from this animal. The human beings are, however, descended from precisely the same "animals," so that it might be well to bear in mind that descent from the transformed animal does not mean descent from the animal of to-day. This view is more systematically expressed in some places. According to one miscellaneous myth, the existing human beings and animals were descended from the same being, who once possessed infinite powers of transformation now into human, now into animal shape. At one time, presumably the beginning of our present creation, these "beings" either consciously or unconsciously exhausted all their "transforming" power, and the form into which they changed themselves, human or animal, remained fixed for all time. The existing animals have never succeeded in regaining their power of transformation, and among human beings this power has only been vouchsafed to those few who have obtained it as a special gift from some spirit. Even then, however, it is ludicrously incomplete, as compared 174 614 773 825

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174 with the same powers of the primordial "beings." This con-
614 ception of the animal-human archetype must not be regarded
773 as at all flavouring of a philosophy, developed after contact
825 with Europeans. The error that has always been committed in discussions as to the nature of descent from the animal lies in confusing our concept of animal species with the term "animal" as used by primitive people, and also in lack of discrimination between the possible connotations of that same term, as applied to animals of to-day and those animals which are brought into intimate contact with the clan ancestor.

There is no reason for regarding the specific descent from the totem as a transformation of this Winnebago idea of the origin of human and animal forms. The latter conception is entirely a religious one, whereas the former is merely an extension of the genealogical tendency prevalent in many types of social organization. Instead of being merely descended from an individual in a given social unit, the bond of membership within this unit has been strengthened by the postulation of blood relationship to the clan animal. Descent may thus be looked upon as one of the elements necessary for the stability of a political unit, and is far older than its specific extension to those clan animals. A very illuminating example of a case in point can be selected from the history of the war bundle in the Thunderbird clan. This bundle, like the others, was obtained as a gift from the thunderbird in his capacity as a guardian spirit. The Winter Feast has, however, been markedly influenced by the clan organization and as a result, we find descent from the thunderbird and night spirit, the two most important spirits in the ceremony, postulated of the original owner of the war bundle. The same tendency is exhibited in the numerous stories of the connexion of an individual of the heroic age with a village. Here the individual, generally a transformed guardian spirit or animal, comes to the aid of the people in their struggle against cannibals, defeats the latter, and marries into the village, becoming the ancestor of the subsequent village group.

At the same time no strong correlation apparently exists between a totemic organization and the extension of descent to include the clan animal, for this seems to be a peculiarity of

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individual cultures. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest Coast, among the Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves we find, in addition to the above, the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact that its members imitate the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reason at all for the name, while according to others an animal is killed and becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, the group taking its name from this fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation. 174 614 773 825

### *The Clan Tie.*

In intimate relation to the attitude toward the clan animal is the conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the bond between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal. Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as is brought out by the word for clan (*ŏokik'aradjərə*). This concept of blood relationship was extended to the mother's clan generation. As we have pointed out, there is no reason for assuming that blood relationship is the primary explanation. The number of explanations for exogamy existing between one clan and another, and that of the clans of one side as opposed to those of another, indicate clearly how readily interpretations of this phenomenon change. The Bear does not marry into the Wolf clan because they are friends (*hitcak'ərə*), and does not marry into the Buffalo clan because it belongs to the same side, or no reason is assigned at all. Before the question of the clan tie can be thoroughly understood, the kind of blood relationship that is here meant must be more carefully defined. This is not a general but a very definite notion, and may be said not to extend beyond four generations, in fact, not beyond the direct knowledge of some living individual. 602 614 582

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582 This will be brought out more clearly by the following tables, based on actual genealogies:
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(F) Thunderbird—
(F) Bear —Bear (M) 1
(F) Eagle —Eagle (M) 2
(F) Wolf —Wolf (M) 3
(M) Thunderbird—Thunderbird (M) 4
—Bear (F) 5

or:

(F) Thunderbird—
(M) Bear —Bear (M) 1
(M) Bear —Eagle (F) 2
—Thunderbird (F) 3

All these marriages are permitted. In the first case a man marries into his maternal grandmother's maternal grandfather's clan; and in the second a man marries into his paternal grandmother's clan. We will consequently have to consider blood relationship as extending only to four, sometimes three, generations, and have to regard the statement of blood-relationship as the tie binding the members of the clan together as purely fictitious and secondary. That, nevertheless, this fictitious tie called forth the same feeling as that of real relationship, there is abundant evidence to show, and that it was of considerable importance in the development of the Winnebago clan-complex is borne out by the fact that the clan was called "those-who-are-relatives-to-one-another."

## THE SOCIO-POLITICAL COMPLEX.

### *Clan Functions.*

174 The association of political functions with definite social
614 units is a common phenomenon for most cultures where a
182 tendency toward socialization exists. It is strictly comparable to the association of ceremonial and religious functions with ceremonial units. In this connexion, the difference between an association with a group unit and an association with an individual, is of fundamental importance. Is the former, for instance, merely an extension of the latter? This only individual

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history can demonstrate. Such a genetic relationship between the two depends probably as much upon the nature of the political function as upon anything else. The exact time when this socialization took place is also of great import here. Among the Winnebago, some individuals claim that the functions of the public crier were inherent in the Buffalo clan, while others insist that any person who had counted coup four times was eligible for the office. Now, in this case not only is it possible but it is extremely probable that public criership was originally connected with an individual, and that subsequently it became associated with the Buffalo clan, probably by reason of a certain relationship existing between this clan and the Chief clan. It must, of course, be remembered that a grouping had already taken place, because the requirement of having counted coup four times made a large number of warriors potentially public criers. (Here the grouping together was due to the successful performance of certain test-acts.) Its association with membership in the Buffalo clan represented on the one hand a restriction of the number of individuals, on the other hand the addition of another qualification. Historically, then, the qualification of membership in the clan supplanted the other qualifications, at least in the eyes of a large number of individuals. What has been said of the development of the functions of the Buffalo may also be generally applied to that of the Warrior or Hawk clan.

Political functions may, however, become connected with a group unit without the individual playing any rôle either in directing or in developing such an association. The functions of preserving peace and of acting as intermediary, that among the Winnebago are connected with the Thunderbird clan, and the police and disciplinary functions connected with the Bear clan, may represent such types of association. In the absence of historical data, no demonstration can be made. It will, however, be shown later that association of ceremonial-religious functions with a social unit has actually occurred. That the police and disciplinary functions of the Bear clan developed from those of individiuals, on the basis of requirements similar to those of the public crier, is quite improbable, and no indication of that exists. The functions of the Thunderbird clan likewise do not

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174 lend themselves readily to such an interpretation. But even
614 should we accept the necessity for the priority of the one over the other types of association, we must still insist that psycho-
625 logically the functions are in each case associated with a group unit and that we are not dealing with the relation of cause and effect but with a new association.

182 Four of the Winnebago clans have specific political functions, the details of which cannot be discussed here. The Thunderbird
614 is the chief clan, and in addition to the fact that the chief of the tribe is selected from it, has important functions connected with the preservation of peace; the Warrior clan, that relating to war; the Bear clan, that relating to policing and discipline, both within the village and while on the hunt, etc.; and the Buffalo clan, that of public crier and intermediary between the chief and his people. The Wolf, Water-spirit, and the Elk clans seem also to have possessed minor political-social functions. Thus, the Wolf people were considered in the light of "minor" soldiers; the Water-spirit people as connected with the passage of streams, etc.; and the Elk as connected with the care of the fire-places while on the hunt and warpath. This accounts for seven of the twelve clans, and it thus seems as if the association of political functions with clans was a type that had found
[174] great favour among the Winnebago, and was perhaps being extended to every clan. Among the Dhegiha, associations of
[171] ceremonial functions with social units seem to have found corresponding favour, while among the Central Algonkin neither type occurred.

[171] Marked political and ceremonial functions of the clan are the distinguishing characteristics of the Siouan organization and have given an entirely different picture to clan structure there.

### *The Reciprocal Relationship of the Clans.*

614 We have seen that one of the bonds between the clans was the fact that they belonged to the same side. But there is a
616 special bond between certain clans known as "friendship" relation (*hitcakɔ·ro*). This always subsists between two, although it

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seems occasionally to have been extended to three or four clans. 614
Most informants gave these groups in such a manner that the 616
"friendship" relation was not postulated between clans belonging to different divisions; although one individual postulated them just on this basis, i.e., Thunderbird—Bear, Warrior—Wolf, etc. There can, however, be no doubt that the prevalent arrangement is: Thunderbird—Warrior; Eagle—Pigeon; Bear—Wolf; Buffalo—Water-spirit; Elk—Deer; Snake—Fish. Most informants do not claim any pairing for the Snake, while some associate it in a threefold grouping with the Buffalo and Water-spirit. The four clans of the *wangeregi* are generally united in a fourfold group of "friend," although some divide them into Thunderbird—Warrior and Eagle—Pigeon.

Under the term "friend clan" is included the idea of mutual 614
service. This becomes especially marked on two occasions; 574
first, when a member of one clan visits his "friend-clan," and [627]
second, when an injustice has been done a member of the "friend-clan." On the former occasion every possible privilege is extended to him, even to his occupying the seat and bed of the host. There is no indication of "wife borrowing," however. On the latter occasion, the "friend-clan" will seek to revenge 614
the injustice just as if the wrong had been done one of its own [627]
members. The respect shown by one clan to its "friend-clan" [553]
is again apparent at the "naming" feast. There he may be called upon to give the dog names for an individual of the clan with which he is associated, and, at times, to lend one of his clan names to the latter.

The relation of "*hitcak'ɔ·ro*" or "friend-clan" is strictly 614
analogous to that which exists between two individuals who are 572
*hitcak'ɔ·ro* to each other. It is one of the characteristic traits [171]
of Siouan culture that two individuals often form a strong inextricable friendship. Not only are they always together, but the death of one on the warpath involves that of the other. The same intimate relationship seems to exist between an [604]
uncle (*hidek'*) and his nephews (*hitcɣcge*). There is, however, one fundamental difference between such relations as that existing between the *hidek'* and *hitcɣcge*, the members of the family group, and the members of the same clan, on the one hand, and the in-

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614 dividual and clan *hitcak·ɔ·ro*, on the other. In the former there
is the bond of blood, real or fictitious, in the latter only that of
572 mutual service. On the other hand, while the *hidek·-hitcɔcge*
[604] relation, the individual *hitcak·ɔ·ro*, and the clan *hitcak·ɔ·ro* may
be all of different historical origin, they are psychologically the
same. The postulation even of a fictitious blood bond between
the different individual *hitcak·ɔ·ro* and the clan *hitcak·ɔ·ro* is not
unheard of. For the *hitcak·ɔ·ro*[1] relation of individuals this is
[597] always possible, for if one individual dies, his *hitcak·ɔ·ro* is generally
adopted to fill his place. On the other hand, the myths seem to
[582] indicate that no blood bone was regarded as existing between
them, for they generally married each other's sisters.

[174] What historical relation the clan *hitcak·ɔ·ro* bears to the
individual *hitcak·ɔ·ro* relation of individuals, it is impossible
to state, but the remarks made before are pertinent here, and
no genetic relationship need be postulated.

### *The "Servant" Relationship.*

614 The *hitcak·ɔ·ro* relation is entirely one between equals,
irrespective of the inequality of one member of this grouping,
with regard to the other, in social standing. The Bear clan is,
for instance, incomparably greater than the Wolf, but this is
entirely forgotten here. In addition to this "friendship,"
there seems to exist a faintly developed "servant" relation.
The concept of servant is not that conveyed by the English
word. It means essentially that a certain clan performs a service
for another without that specific service being reciprocal.
Among the Winnebago such a relation exists between the Thunder-
bird and Buffalo, and the Thunderbird and Elk clans. This is
not to be confused with the general subordination of all the
other clans to the Thunderbird and Bear clans when these exercise
their specific governmental functions. This "servant" relation-
[203] ship between the Thunderbird and Buffalo clans is politically
expressed by the fact that a member of the latter visits the
[174] chief every morning to receive certain directions from him,
which he then announces to the whole village. But this relation-
[621] ship expresses itself in another more striking manner—the

1 [i.e. - "friendship" relation - ANALYST]

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lodge of the Buffalo clan is on the *waŋgeregi* side of the village circle, although the Buffalo clan is one of the *maŋegi* clans. In explanation of this fact we might, on the one hand, assume that its relationship to the chief clan influenced its position in the village, or that it always was there. The latter seems rather improbable, in the face of the unanimity of agreement as to its inclusion among the *maŋegi* clans, and we may, therefore, provisionally accept the hypothesis of a shifting of position from one side to the other. As this might entail a possible readjustment of the Buffalo clan, as regards exogamy, we tried to obtain as many instances of Buffalo intermarriages as possible. No case of intermarriage with the *waŋgeregi* clans was found. However, as only eight cases were instanced, no safe inference can be drawn. 614 621 174

The "servant" relation of the Elk clan to the Thunderbird expresses itself in the fact that the former takes care of the fire-places of the latter while on the warpath, etc., and that the members are supposed to distribute the fire to the other clans. In the social customs this relationship is perhaps shown by a certain preference of the Elk to intermarry with the Thunderbird clan. This preference is not reciprocal. The word preference is used with the added significance of being consciously expressed, and differs from a tendency to intermarriage which may exist between the clans, but which is not present in their consciousness. Some Winnebago informants even went so far as to postulate a *hitcak'ɔ'ro* relation between the Elk and Thunderbird clan. 614 [372] 614 582 614

Among the Osage a marked development of the "servant" relationship is found. [171]

Viewed from a broad point of view, the reciprocal social and religious services of one clan toward another in the *hitcak'ɔ'ro* and "servant" relations are similar in nature to the political functions of the clan, and they may be taken as another indication of the association of political, social, and religious functions with a strongly individualized social unit. 614 182

### *The Specific Possessions of the Clan.*

Among the Omaha, a number of clans have in their possession certain objects, around which not merely the clan but also 171 614 778

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171 the tribal reverence is centred. Historically, we believe that
614 these were originally possessions of an individual clan, which
778 subsequently became identified with the entire tribe. Among the Winnebago nothing in the remotest manner comparable to these clan possessions exists, and the few specific objects possessed by the clan have never become of real tribal significance.

614 The specific material possessions of the clan consist of
778 certain war-bundles, one in each clan; and two crooks in the possession of the Bear clan. Of more general possession are the
[616] war clubs, of which there are two types, one found among the *wanjeregi*, the other among the *manegi* divisions. In connexion
[796] with the clan-bundles there are certain ceremonials known as clan-bundle or war-bundle feasts, popularly as winter feasts.
[171] The distribution of the clan-bundle differentiates these from the specific possessions of the Omaha clans, and suggests a hint as to their historical associations. To all intents and purposes, as their individual history shows, these bundles are merely gifts from one spirit, the thunderbird, and a secondarily associated night-spirit (*hąhe*). The winter feast might thus be interpreted
[575] as a society of those who have obtained blessings from the thunderbird. The bundle remains in the possession of a certain family, however, and cannot pass out of the clan. The war-bundle may, therefore, be said to be primarily the personal possession of a family which has become associated with all the members of the clan to such an extent that it is almost regarded as a clan possession.

In the possession of the two crooks by the Bear clan we have an example of specific clan property. The crooks are in the
[926] nature of emblems and are used on the warpath to indicate the extreme line of advance. They are thus of tribal significance. When not in use, they are kept in the lodge of the Bear clan.

### *Immaterial Possessions of the Clan.*

Although there are no specific material possessions, each clan possesses a type of what might be called "immaterial" possessions. These all have the added connotation of sacredness. For the bird clans, this is the possession of fire; for the

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Bear, the doorway of his lodge; for the Wolf and Water-spirit, water. They were not obtained for all the clans. We indicated before that these "possessions" may have been primarily connected with the animals associated with the clan, upon which an additional socio-religious interpretation has been superimposed. The whole subject is, however, closely related to that of clan etiquette, for which no explanations can, of course, be given now. 614 [778]

### *The Clan Marks of Identification.*

As if more fully to set off the social unit of the clan, there have come to be associated with it definite marks of identification, such as symbols, property marks, facial decorations, and songs.

The symbols of only two clans were obtained, although a number of other clans seem to have possessed them. There were the war club (*nąmąicc*) of the Thunderbird clan, and the peculiarly whittled stick (*namąxinixini*) of the Bear clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan died, a miniature war club was buried with him. Whether the *namąxinixini* was buried with a member of the Bear clan, we do not know. [778] [764]

The property mark consisted of the effigy of the clan animal, and was woven on such objects as bags, tobacco pouches, etc. It was also frequently engraved on wooden objects. Its most peculiar uses, however, were the emblematic earthen effigy mounds, in the shape of the clan animal, which were erected near the habitation of each clan in the village and in the centre of clan squash fields, corn fields, etc.[1] 614 421 [532] [361]

Associated with every clan are also four clan songs. These are supposed to be the four songs sung by the ancestors of each clan when they came to this earth. They are always sung on the death of an individual, and are supposed to serve as a mark of identification in the journey of the soul to the land of the spirits. The use of these songs is so intimately associated with death, that when some hardened offender, 614 533 764 [775] [627]

[1] For a fuller discussion of these, see Radin, *Some Aspects of Winnebago Archaeology*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 13, 1911, pp. 517-538.

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let us say, some individual who has killed a member of the tribe and who refuses to make atonement of any kind, is pursued, he defiantly sings his clan songs.

As a last element in the clan-complex may be mentioned the specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

We have now completed the discussion of clan organization. As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary associations that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that the complex has grown around a strong social-political unit.

## THE CLAN AS A SOCIO-CEREMONIAL COMPLEX.

Up to the present our attention has been directed entirely to the clan as a socio-political complex and only passing mention has been made of those religious or ceremonial associations that may also have clustered around it. Among the Omaha, as we have frequently pointed out, these latter associations were of paramount importance and probably dwarfed the development of the political functions. Among the Winnebago, on the whole, they were unimportant. This very fact makes the solitary instance in which a fairly marked development took place of all the greater value, quite apart from the fact that it happens to give, on the one hand, an exceptionally instructive illustration of the secondary association of a ceremonial function with a social unit, and, on the other, a similarly instructive illustration of the association of a function generally belonging to an individual shaman with a social unit. Such an association has taken place with the Bear clan, and, owing to its importance, we will quote the data in extenso. The ceremony is known as "soldiers' dance" (*manype waci*).

"When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village, the people go to the chief and say, 'Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!' And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks

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as follows, 'My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease.' Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit, they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick, they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well." 614 755 796

Here the Bear clan behaves at the same time like a ceremonial organization associated with shamanistic practices and like an individual shaman. That, to the minds of the Winnebago, this ceremonial function of the Bear clan on this occasion was regarded as a real ceremony is indicated by the term *many pe waci*. For the moment, the Bear clan as a social unit is entirely lost sight of. Nevertheless, it is the Bear clan as such a unit around which the ceremony has crystallized. This case is all the more instructive for the very reason that this ceremonial association does not form an inextricable element in the clan complex, but is merely an aspect that it assumes on certain occasions, to the exclusion of its socio-political nature. The ceremonial function of the clan is, therefore, not as firmly fixed as is the political function. This may merely be an expression of the fact that among the Winnebago it had become customary to associate ceremonial functions with religious societies. 614 796 182

With regard to the analogy with the individual shaman, it might be said that treating a social unit like an individual must have been quite common wherever the former was strongly marked off by specific functions such as the Bear clan. The association of the shamanistic function with this clan may have occurred just because of the police functions the clan already possessed. On the other hand, it might be pointed out that the bear, both black and grizzly, was intimately [776 825 756]

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614 796 182 associated with the treatment of disease and was the especial guardian spirit of the Indian doctors.

[776 825 756] INFLUENCE OF THE CLAN UPON CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION.

Perhaps the most characteristic trait of Winnebago culture is the existence of two strong socialized units, that of the clan and that of the secret society. Historically both are old, and even if we are of the opinion that the clan is historically younger, the political unit upon which it is superimposed is probably an ultimate historical fact. From the earliest times one would have supposed reciprocal influences to have occurred repeatedly. The nature of these influences, insofar as they are not conditioned by chance, would depend on the respective centre of gravity in either unit. It is evident that for the clan the organization was of paramount importance, and that the addition of cultural associations probably tended to strengthen its stability from the point of view of organization. On the other hand, the absence of political or governmental functions in the religious societies, and the clustering of the most multitudinous religious and shamanistic ideas within them, rendered the emotional complex of the latter the centre from which influences would radiate. At the same time, the ceremonial unit of organization seems to have been so firmly fixed, that any influence of the clan unit of organization upon it does not seem likely. As a matter of fact, in the typical schematic, religious society, like the medicine dance, grizzly-bear dance, and night-spirit dance, no influence is perceptible. But these religious societies may be regarded as presenting no possible points of contact. Where, however, the bond of union is supernatural communication with a guardian spirit who subsequently became the clan animal, an obvious point of contact is given, and this brings to mind a very suggestive fact of Winnebago culture—there are, strictly speaking, no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in many respects are absolutely identical with the religious societies, and which furnish, it seems to us, an example

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of just those two kinds of influence that we wished to point out, one radiating from the clan, as a unit of organization, the other from the entire clan complex.

In the Winter feasts the unit of organization is the clan. Generally all the clans were represented in the person of the owner of each specific clan war-bundle. The order of invitation was traditionally fixed, but it seems that in a number of cases the "friend" clan always had the position of honour. The war-bundle owner was not, however, supposed to represent the clan at all, but the spirits to whom offerings were being made. In every case, although the participants were supposed to impersonate a fairly large number of animals, the main blessings contained in the bundle were from the thunderbird and night-spirit and the main offerings were made to them. Indeed, there seem to be two separate ceremonies involved, one to the thunder-bird and the other to the night-spirits.

The question that arises with regard to the clan basis of these ceremonial organizations is whether we are to imagine that the ceremonial unit of organization was displaced by the clan unit, or that the ceremony is of comparatively recent origin, let us say at least long after the clan organization had been perfected, and that a number of things combined to determine the acceptance of the clan as a unit of organization, as opposed to the traditional ceremonial one. To the foregoing, we must also add the fact that the Winter feast seems to be related to similar ceremonies of the Central Algonkin, whose influence on the Winnebago must first be determined. If, then, we are not in a position at present to suggest the course of development, there can be no doubt that the content of the ceremony is strictly comparable to that of the religious societies, and that there are hints that the ceremonial unit of organization had begun to assert itself. If this could be definitely established, it would indicate that the clan basis of organization is historically primary. [171]

The clan unit of organization is found in no other Winnebago ceremony, although the specific clan feasts show marked influences radiating from the clan complex. The clan feast is a typical ceremonial complex, both in type of organization

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174 and in content. The difference between it and a society
575 like the night-spirit dance lies in the fact that although the
614 five principal participants must have specific blessings (bundles),
796 they must at the same time belong to the clan. To what extent a member of one clan who has obtained a bundle from some other clan-spirit can take part in the specific clan feast of the latter, it is difficult to determine, but in the buffalo feast, assuming that this is unquestionably the real Buffalo clan feast, and there seems to be little doubt of it, any person who has obtained a bundle from the buffalo can participate, although the leader must always belong to the Buffalo clan. This example may be taken as an indication of the historical origin of these feasts, namely, that they are really religious societies in which the influence of the clan has restricted the number of individuals who are ordinarily supposed to occupy the five places of honour. That this restrictive influence of the clan was caused by the identity of the clan animal with the guardian spirit, there can be little doubt.

### Phonetic Key.

104

a, as in German *Mann*.
e, as in French *été*.
i, as in English *marn*.
í, as in English *pique*.
i, as in English *pin*.
o, as in English *note*.
ö, as in German *soll*.
u, as in English *food*.
ú, as in English *put*.
ə, obscure vowel like *a* of English *idea*.
ˌ, denotes nasalization of vowel.
ŋ, *ng* of English *sing*.
ŋ, *n* pronounced with tip of tongue against upper teeth.
γ, voiced guttural spirant, *g* of North German *sagen*.
ʿ, denotes aspiration.
ˈ, denotes that preceding vowel is long.
ˊ, denotes main stress.

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VOL. 37 JULY-SEPTEMBER, 1935 No. 3 (PART I)

# AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST

*New Series*

Organ of the American Anthropological Association, the Anthropological Society of Washington, and the American Ethnological Society of New York

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*Published by the*

AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

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# SOME NOTES ON WINNEBAGO SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION[1]

*By* TRUMAN MICHELSON

114 THE easily accessible accounts of Winnebago social organization are Morgan's Ancient Society,[2] J. O. Dorsey's Siouan Sociology,[3] the article *Winnebago* in the Handbook of American Indians, initialed by James Owen Dorsey and Paul Radin,[4] and Paul Radin's The Clan Organization of the Winnebago,[5] his Winnebago Tribe,[6] and lastly his The Social Organization of the Winnebago Indians, An Interpretation.[7]

None of these authors apparently were aware that a number of important statements on this and kindred topics are to be found in Caleb Atwater's Remarks made on a Tour to Prairie du Chien; thence to Washington City, in 1829.[8] I quote from this as follows.

614 [532] Carrymaunee (walking turtle) a Winnebago chief carries a large Tortoise, fully extended, and beautifully painted, perfect in all its limbs, on his back as he marches onward at the head of the turtle tribe. In the same manner, Snakeskin marches at the head of the snake tribe, with the skin of a large snake tied around his neck. In fine, every tribe has its standard bearer, with appropriate emblems (p. 87).

Their form of government is aristocratical, and the whole structure of their society is equally so. The Winnebagoes are divided into seven tribes, or bands, some of these are named after animals, such as the Turtle tribe, the Snake tribe, wolf tribe, &c., and others are named after inanimate things, as the Thunder tribe. These tribes dwell in different places, in towns or villages; in each one of 622 which, there are two Civil Chiefs, who govern that town—for instance Du Corri and Winneshiek are at the head of the government, of the Le Croix village situated near the Mississippi river, on its eastern bank, 80 miles north of Prairie Du Chien. So of all the other tribes, each one of which, has its town or seat of government, and is governed by its two civil chiefs. The civil government of the Winnebagoes, is in the hands of fourteen civil Chiefs, and when they are assembled in one council, it [623] is the grand national council.

[1] Printed by permission of the Smithsonian Institution.

[2] Page 157.

[3] Fifteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 240–41.

[4] Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, 30, Pt. 2, pp. 958–61.

[5] American Anthropologist, Vol. 12, 1910, pp. 209–19.

[6] Thirty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 181 *et seq.*

[7] Museum Bulletin, Canada Department of Mines, Geological Survey, No. 10 (Anthropological Series, No. 5).

[8] Published by Isaac N. Whiting, Columbus, Ohio, 1831. I have not seen the edition (of the same date) published by Jenkins and Glover. Atwater's The Indians of the Northwest, etc., Columbus, 1850, apparently has the same contents and pagination as his Remarks which I have seen. So we may presume that the 1831 edition (which I have not seen) of his The Indians of the Northwest is the same also. "The Writings of Caleb Atwater" (Columbus, 1833) has apparently disappeared from the Library of Congress. The proofsheets have been verified by consulting the 1850 edition, differences in capitalization being ignored.

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In each village, the two civil chiefs, appoint all the officers, deemed necessary, civil and military, who obey them implicitly. There are two ways of arriving at these high stations, by birth and by election. When the father dies, if he has a son, who has arrived at the age of manhood, and who bids fair to make a good chief—that is, if he possesses a good form, has good bodily powers and mental faculties—is brave, sedate, wise and prudent, he generally succeeds his father in the government, on his father's demise. If the chief, at his death, leave no son who is qualified for the high office of chief, but wills it to some other person, he succeeds to the government. If the chief has no son at his death, it is commonly the case, that his brother's son succeeds him. The line of succession may run out for want of a lawful heir, which is always supplied by an election. It may be changed too, where the heir is unqualified for the station. Great deference is always paid to the will of the dying chief, but every such case is always laid before a full national council, whose decision is final (p. 97). 622 [624] [666]

A chief may be degraded from his rank for bad conduct. . . .

There is in every tribe, what answers to a standing army among us. The profession of arms holds out, to the great mass of the common people, the only road to the temple of fame. . . . The young man, who aspires to the honorable distinction of a "brave" or warrior, must exhibit such traits of character, as are deemed necessary for a soldier to possess, before he can be admitted into the army. When admitted, he wears on his head just as many feathers of the bald eagle, as he has slain human beings, and the size of the feathers indicate the size of his victims. . . . If the warrior has taken a captive, he has a human hand as large as life, painted either on his face, or on some part of his body, or on his blanket, some individuals have several such hands painted upon them (p. 98).[9] 701 703 [301] [532] [302]

At the head of the army, belonging to each tribe, there is a person who occupies the same station as a General does with us, and he appoints all the inferior officers. The chiefs when met in council, call into it, their warriors, with whom they consult, but frequently they are called to receive the orders, which are obeyed to the letter. This council call before them, persons who are interested in the trial . . . (pp. 98, 99). 701 623

If the Senate of the United States is the mildest, the most patriotic and wisest legislative assembly in the civilized world, as it truly is, the Winnebago council, is decidedly at the head of the savage world. . . . The great body of the people have very little influence, almost none, with this council, and they never appear before it unless they are summoned to attend it.—They have no voice in electing the chiefs and in fact no political influence. The civil chiefs and the chief warriors, have in their hands, the whole government of the community, and they govern as they please. Disobedience to the orders of the rulers is punished with death, though, like the British nation, the Indians are not savages enough to cut the traitor into quarters after hanging him until he is dead (pp. 99, 100). 623 [622] [687]

The female part of it, exercised the same influence among the women, that the chiefs did among the men, and the presents they expected from us, had to be better, than those given to the common people. The daughter of a chief, never mar- 554 562 [582]

[9] Quite different from the data given by Radin, The Winnebago Tribe, pp. 161, 162.

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554 ries into a family below her's in dignity. The pride originating in birth, is as deeply
552 seated in the hearts of those who are nobly descended, among the natives of the
582 Northwest, as it is among the petty princes of Germany.

625 It is customary for the chiefs to appoint two soldiers, in each village to keep order in it, and they faithfully do so (p. 100).

431 In each tribe, some one man acts as a divider, by order of the civil chiefs, and
624 by general consent. Whenever we made the men any presents, of pipes, paints, tobacco, or any thing else, the self same men, if Winnebagoes were the Indians receiving the presents, appeared, took charge of the property, and divided it in the most equitable manner, among all present at the time. They reserved nothing for themselves, generally, but held up their empty hands to show their disinterestedness.

[171] If the Sauks and Foxes received presents, two men, one for each tribe, acted as dividers, and the same individuals always performed the same duty (pp. 100–101).

554 . . . "The rolling Thunder," "the Yellow Thunder," "the Distant Thunder," &c., are individuals among the Winnebagoes, who possess great weight of char-
551 acter; and that tribe to which belong men, who stand high on their roll of fame, for
614 their distinguished valor in War, for their consummate prudence, experience and wisdom in the national councils, is emphatically called, "the thunder tribe" (p. 124).

114 There are other items appurtenant to Winnebago ethnology in Atwater's work; some to that of the Sauks and Foxes; some to tribes of the upper Mississippi valley in general: there are some acute statements regarding the chronology of the populating of America.

171 A "turtle" gens does not occur in the lists of Morgan, Dorsey, and Radin,
174 and Radin specifically denies that there is such a Winnebago gens. He also states that almost all informants claimed that the Snake and Fish clans
614 (gentes) were recent to the tribe. However, as special names "go with"
[114] fixed gentes, by examining the lists of the signers of the treaties between the
[648] Winnebago and the United States, it becomes clear that a member of the Snake gens signed the treaty of August 19th, 1825 as well as the treaty of
[551] August 25th, 1828. And a Snake clan exists among the Ponca, Iowa, Oto-Missouri, Quapaw, as well as some non-Siouan tribes.[10] Also it may be observed that among the Osage and Quapaw we have a Fish clan (used rather loosely). So too "Turtle" as the name of a gens (sub-gens) among the Siouan tribes Omaha, Kansa, Quapaw, and Osage,[11] and elsewhere.
[551] And Carrymaunee (Karamanu, etc.), "Walking Turtle,"[12] signed more

[10] See the important theoretical discussion by Lowie in American Anthropologist, Vol. 36, 1934, pp. 327–28; cf. also Radin, the Winnebago Tribe, p. 182; Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe (Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology), pp. 38, 39.

[11] Among the Omaha and Osage "the turtle carriers or bearers" and "Turtle-carriers" respectively; "Carries-a-turtle-on-his-back" among the Kansa: observe that according to the above Carrymaunee "carried" a large painted tortoise on his back.

[12] The phonetic restoration is presumably Kéramani; mani means "to walk," as can be seen from old vocabularies, etc., as well as the personal names given by Radin in his The Winnebago Tribe and the Winnebago text by Radin in the Siouan sketch in Handbook of Ameri-

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than one treaty with the United States. Similarly the lists of signers of the 171
treaties of June 3rd, 1816, August 19th, 1825, etc., between the Winnebago 174
and the United States indicate the existence of gentes not in the published 614
lists, but which have analogues among other Siouan tribes. I feel certain [648]
that a study of the names of the signers of treaties between United States
and such Siouan tribes as have distinctive clan-names (and similar non-Siouan tribes) would yield valuable results. And a study of the personal names of such tribes in older writers would also pay. In this connection I may say that from Atwater's book, using this technique, it can be readily determined that the Eagle and Elk gentes were in existence among the Winnebago in addition to those specifically mentioned by him. The treaties furnish a few others, e.g., Earth, Sky. In this connection I may say that it is clear from the names of the signers of the treaty of May 13th, 1816 that at least the following Sauk gentes were in existence: Sturgeon, Eagle, Thunder, Bear, Swan, Wolf, Fox, Partridge, Sea. It is not without interest to note that all these save Partridge and Fox are on Forsyth's list of 1827.[13] If we count Partridge as the equivalent of Grouse, all occur in Jones' list printed in the Handbook of American Indians in the article *Sauk*. Sturgeon, Swan, and Partridge are not in Skinner's list. Sturgeon, Eagle, Sea (= Great Water), Bear, Thunder, Partridge (= Pheasant), Wolf, and Fox occur in Galland's list. Wolf, Bear, Eagle, Sturgeon, Fox, Sea, and Thunder occur in Morgan's list. If we pool M. R. Harrington's two lists we find Thunder, Fox, Wolf, Bear, Swan, Sturgeon, Eagle on them. A knowledge of the names on the tribal rolls from the earliest times would doubtless shed much light on the subject.

It should be mentioned that Radin argues for a priority of village groups, 174
but states that according to all informants each Winnebago village was in- 621
habited by members of various clans, and that in no case did a village 614
merely include members of the same clan. Observe the contradiction with 114
Atwater's data.

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can Indian Languages (Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, 40, Pt. 1). There are equivalents in several Siouan languages. In the Siouan sketch Radin gives kec'ûʼûgegā as a personal name, "the tortoise," and ke'c'ûʼûgera as "you, tortoise," and in note 38 of the Winnebago text we are told that ke'c'ûûk or kec'ûʼûgī is a large species of turtles, and that kē also means "turtle." La Flesche gives ke (in my transcription) as the Osage for "turtle, tortoise, terrapin," but Dorsay gives k'e (in my transcription) for both Osage and Quapaw, but ke (in my transcription) for Omaha; k'eya, "tortoise," is given by Deloria for Dakota. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the formation of personal names in Winnebago to be positive whether ra is the pronoun #thou" (vocative; see notes 39 and 46 to Radin's Winnebago text) or whether kera may be an archaic correspondent to Dakota k'eya with the recognized shift of y to r. [551]

[13] They are in his Fox list.

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# YEAR BOOK

OF THE

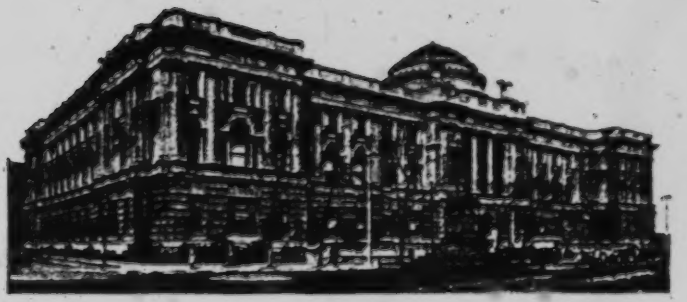
# Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee

# 1928

Vol. VIII, Part I, pp. 1-217, figs. 1-150 September 14, 1929

S. A. BARRETT
EDITOR

IRA EDWARDS
ASSISTANT EDITOR



[title page]

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

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[p.76]

# AMONG THE WINNEBAGO

By Huron H. Smith*

114 During the summer of 1928, the writer made a study of the Winnebago Indians, in line with his former ethnobotanical studies of other Indians of Wisconsin. After having worked with four tribes who were all of Algonkian stock, it was interesting to encounter these people who are related to the Sioux. The four tribes previously studied were the Menomini, Meskwaki, Ojibwe, and Potawatomi. The first two are the subjects of Nos. 1 and 2 of Volume IV of the bulletin of this museum, while the publications on the latter two are in preparation.

000 While all of the Algonkian languages are different from one another, they are at least similar enough to enable the student to grasp the likeness in a short time. In fact, Potawatomi is quite similar to Ojibwe, a sort of an abbreviated Ojibwe, as it were. Some of the medicinal words evidently point to a common origin, for exactly the same name is sometimes used for a plant by all four tribes. A careful study of Indian plant names reveals those unnamed plants that came into their region within historic times, as non-native or adventive species. The use of plants is a vital topic among Indians, and their plant lore is handed down from generation to generation. Most of our Wisconsin adventive plants have come into the State in the last hundred years, and a goodly proportion of these in the last forty years. Indians are not apt to take the white man's word for the medicinal use of the adventive plant, so that their lack of an Indian name for the plant in question, is sure evidence that it is a new comer. When we consider how long it must have taken these people to acquire their medicinal knowledge, doubtless by the old process of "trial and error," we wonder how many more centuries must elapse before they learn the uses of adventive species.

192 177 The Winnebago are particularly zealous in giving everything Winnebago names, if possible, and should there be some conspicuous attribute to an adventive plant, it will probably have a name in their language. Questioning will bring out the reason for the name and also whether or not they know a use for the plant. They have regular words for tea

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and coffee, which were, of course, unknown to them before the coming of the White Man. Other tribes in Wisconsin have made no attempt to set up their own words for these, but call them by their English names as nearly as they can pronounce them. This trait of the Winnebago is often amusing. For example the watermelon was unknown to them until about seventy-five years ago. The first recipient of a watermelon among them considered it a pumpkin, cut it up into small pieces, and boiled it in a pot. The resultant product was scarcely edible, so led to the appellation of "wicawasukela"—"a pumpkin that did'nt get ripe." But later, they discovered that the whites ate them just as they were; and upon trying this they discovered their merit, and have been very fond of them ever since. But the first name stuck, and it is thus called to this day. 192 177

While we had met Winnebago before this summer, we had never attempted to discourse at length on their uses of plants. In 1923, we first met Frank Smith, "makiwika," with his wife who was making baskets, in Minocqua where we admired her art. Every year since we have seen Frank at some Indian pow-wow or other. During the "Pageant of Progress," in Milwaukee, July, 1926, Frank and his new Ojibwe wife were at the Indian Village on the lake front, with Mr. H. L. Mumm, of Wausau, demonstrating Indian arts and crafts. There, too, we met two other Winnebago workers, Jim Henniger and his wife, although the Indians in the village proper were all full-blooded Ojibwe from Lac Court Oreilles, Wisconsin. The museum is also fortunate in having the friendship of Ulysses A. White, of Wisconsin Rapids, who was formerly employed in Milwaukee. Mr. White is a pure blooded Winnebago, as is his wife, a quite uncommon occurrence in these times of inter-tribal marriages. He introduced to the Museum, John Bear, of Wisconsin Rapids, another old Winnebago Indian, through whom Mr. W. C. McKern, Associate Curator of Anthropology, of the Museum, has been able to collect some interesting ancient Winnebago stories. Mr. Bear spent the entire winter of 1927-1928 at the Museum, and was helped in his work by Mr. White. All of this preliminary work was the subject of several conferences between the writer and Mr. McKern at which we became acquainted with the linguistics of the Winnebago and listed the plant names used in the various stories. 114 115 [582]

The first trip of the summer was to Trempealeau, where the Museum was conducting archeological investigations which the writer, as President of the Wisconsin Archeological Society, wished to see. Furthermore Mr. McKern had written that there were Winnebago Indians in Trempealeau. These proved to be a family living in the old brewery at the edge of the village, but they were from Winnebago, Nebraska, and were not familiar with the Wisconsin plants. The field party, however, interested us for a week. The Museum camp was established in Perrot State Park, on the banks of the Trempealeau River near its 114 126

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114 junction with the Mississippi. Dr. Evan D. Pierce, of Trempealeau,
126 who was in charge of the park, was much interested in the native flora as well as in archeology, and we made a collection of ninety species then in bloom. Mr. Towne L. Miller, of Fairwater, Wisconsin, Honorary Curator of Archeology of the Museum collected the plants of the region throughout the season, for the Department of Botany.

The Winnebago Indians are found today scattered over the central
131 part of Wisconsin, principally in Marquette, Waushara, Portage, Sauk,
361 Juneau, Adams, Marathon, Wood, Clark, Jackson, and Monroe counties. Wood County with permanent settlements in Arpin, Vesper, Pittsville, Walker, Elm Lake, Dexterville, and Babcock, contains the largest number, about 750. Along the Hemlock River, not far from Pittsville, are found other large settlements of farming Winnebago. In other counties good-sized settlements are located at Neillsville, Wittenberg, Wyeville, Black River Falls, Hatfield, and Tomah. Their Indian agency and school are located at the last mentioned city.

114 Our chief location during the summer was at A. White's farm, on the Walker Road, six and a half miles south of Wisconsin Rapids.
123 When we arrived, Mr. White was at Kilbourn where many of the Winnebago camp during the tourist season, making baskets and bead work, and taking part in dances and entertainments. Jim Henniger and his wife, our pageant friends, were there, caring for her father, Dave Dekorah, a prominent man in the medicine lodge, who was sick. He afterwards died and was buried in their community graveyard, with Indian ceremony. The Whites made us welcome and we pitched our tent in a grove of white pines not far from their spring. There were
115 several other Winnebago Indians near at hand, including Henry Dick,
795 from Briggsville. Henry is important in the medicine society and im-
184 mediately made friends with us and started to teach us the Winne-
276 bago language. He was especially bitter against the peyote cult, which many Winnebago have embraced, declaring that peyote was worse than whiskey, because a man drunk on whiskey, would be sober the next morning and able to go to work, whereas with peyote, he became "crazy", and would not work for four or five days while under its influence. He further said that the peyote cult worshippers never possess anything, but live on their industrious neighbors who belong to the medicine lodge. These medicine lodge Indians raise potatoes, corn, beans, carrots, hay, grain, hogs and chickens, according to Henry, and would not let their own people starve, but did not like the shiftlessness of the peyote worshippers. He wished he could see the President of the United States to tell him not to let any Indian have peyote. He
276 thinks bad days are coming to the peyote-eating Indians. A few years
435 ago, this cactus drug, most of which comes from Texas, sold for $4.00 a thousand buttons, but the current prices in 1928 were $25 per thou-
795 sand of number one size; $30.00 per thousand for number two size; and

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$35 per thousand for number three size. The "buttons" are really branches of the Peyote Cactus (*Lophophora williamsii*), a small compact cactus growing from southern Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico down into old Mexico. The peyote religion was introduced to the Indians of the United States by peyote cults, among the Indians of Mexico. The Government strictly forbids possession of or traffic in these buttons, but the number of converts to the cult is on the increase. 276 435 795 276 795

On the other hand, the peyote Indians among the Winnebago have little regard for the medicine lodge Indians. They consider them benighted, old-fashioned and unwise. When an Indian joins peyote, according to them, he sees the error of his ways and the sacred, ceremonial objects of his past become of no value to him. In such cases, the field collector of some museum finds it easy to acquire excellent specimens of sacred objects. While still in use, an Indian would not part with his medicine bundle for money, but once it has been superseded by a change in faith, he becomes glad to realize almost anything for it. Such a bundle is valued by anthropologists according to the sacred objects it contains. 178

The peyote people that we met near Wisconsin Rapids did not bear out the poor name given them by the old pagans. They were industrious and proud of their religion. The peyote cult, there, shows considerable Christian missionary influence, in their acceptance of Jesus Christ as their deity. The medicine lodge people have never been interested in the translation of the Lord's Prayer but the Winnebago peyote followers use it as a chanted peyote song. It is called *Hilukanala gikaraj hanila*, (Lord prayer his). It follows thus: 795 177 539

*Hianjinwila wagregi shanagre, lash hashinila wakajak nigigidek•jena.*

"Our Father in heaven who dwells your name holy (let us) keep it.
*Hunkma hashini'a hilaijik•jawina. Woshga hashinila manegi*
Kingdom your come down (on earth). Doing yours on earth
*uinek•jena wagregi jaske hinaki sheske manegi hilek•jena. Hampdec*
should in heaven like doing same on earth should be. This day
*waiskapduc haniwila hunkuwianje. Egi wazawoishana waniwila*
bread daily ours give us. And then sins ours
*waigitunawila wazahigishana waniwila waigitunawila sheke. Egi inke*
forgive us sins yours and yours forgive us same. And then don't
*wazawoishana uwahicja hinutiwinine Ezi wowak•jega egi hingijilawige*
(into) temptations deliver us. Our Lord and help us
*kishipuiwine. Hunkmara nehashinigaja Egi homashjala nehashinigaja*
get away Kingdom thy and power thy
*Egi hoishagra nehashinigaja manegus•la jeskek•jena.*
and glory thy forever Amen."

It will be noted that the Winnebago even have a word for "Amen," meaning to some extent "let it be that way," whereas among the Menomini Indians they have not translated it but articulate it as we do [192]
— Amen.

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177 539 795 —Amen. For the sake of those who think all Indians speak alike, we append in a footnote the Lord's Prayer in Menomini.[14]

The Winnebago have a syllabary which all of them use in writing. 194 It is an arbitrary system and has nothing to do with the ethnologist's way of recording their sounds. It was thus set down by Fred Mallory [212] The first letter always has the sound of a as in arm and the pronunciation of the first line would be ha, he, hi, ho.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | ae | ai | ao | | k | ke | ki | ko | |
| w | we | wi | wo | | a | e | i | o | |
| m | me | mi | mo | | l | le | li | lo | |
| n | ne | ni | no | | t | te | ti | to | (explosive) |
| l | le | li | lo | (ja) | tt | tte | tti | tto | (cha chay chi cho) |
| y | ye | yi | yo | (ga) | | | | | |
| r | reke | reki | roko | (ska ske ski sko) | | | | | |
| s | se | si | so | | | | | | |
| h | he | hi | ho | | | | | | |
| g | ge | gi | go | | | | | | |

Indian syllabaries are interesting but of no ethnological value.

539 575 756 Fred Mallory's wife was initiated into the medicine lodge when she was thirteen years old, but since both are now peyote followers, they said there is nothing wrong in their telling the writer about their early history. Their story is as follows: In the early days, there were two brothers, Konuga, the eldest, and Henaka. (These names still apply to the order of birth,—the third son is *Hagaga*, and the fourth, *Nahiga*. The same with girls, the first is *Hinuga*, second, *Wihunga*, third, *Hinahega*, fourth, *Hakasiaga*.) The two brothers were at Kilbourn on an island in the Wisconsin River—*Nikusa*. One, Konuga, told the other he saw a spirit in the water and Henaka also saw a spirit, but Konuga saw it first, so it was *his* spirit. It was purple in color and rose from the depths of the water and sank down again. A sort of quarrel developed between them as to whose spirit should be followed, but when Hagaga, the third son entered the argument, they both united against him. Hagaga was as wise as an owl, and knew more than the other

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[14] *Nocbnenen kesekok apon. Nas ta kat ken achpechtanechton*
"Our Father in heaven who dwells. Let it be honored

*kiwichiwon. Nas ta kat pimikat kitokemewin. Anonechtamon nas ta*
thy name. Let it come thy kingdom. As the Lord wishes it to

*kat esekemakat tepu kesekok misik ios achkibe. Meseach*
be done like heaven so here (on earth) the same. Give us

*iochpe as kesekok nepakisiganemenen achtanechkin kesegaton. Ponikatatawesch*
now as in heaven bread our daily and every day as we live. Forgive us

*minin kairs nechkehekaon ais ponikitatawukichtos kairs*
and those we had angered you, as we forgive those

*nechkihiamachtos. Pon minin ishiseach kakitzipanichtoane.*
that trespassed against us. Lead us not into temptation.

*Miskonamowesch ta mata. Amen.*
Take it away from us. Amen."

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brothers, though they were his elders. The two older brothers made up their minds to do away with Hagaga. They went into the forest together and drew an image of Hagaga on the ground, painting his heart with red earth. They were preparing to thrust a spear into the heart of the image and thus kill Hagaga but he was on the limb of a tree watching them and yelled at them as they were ready to strike—"Hey, what are you about to do?" They looked up, discovered him, and were so scared at their detection that they ran away without stabbing the figure. He followed them to Trempealeau Mountain where the spirits live. 539 575 756

This mountain is supposed by the Winnebago to be hollow and they think all the powers of the medicine lodge reside therein. In the center of this mountain, the medicine lodge is supposed to be laid out, with the cardinal points of the compass indicated by poles. The poles represent serpents and the tie pieces are serpents, because to the Winnebago medicine lodge members the serpent is sacred.[55] [823] 575 756 [825]

The various animal deities came into the center of the lodge. They were, in order of entrance, the otter, the loon, the crane, the turtle, the fox, and a number of others. Nowadays when the medicine lodge ceremony is in progress, the Indians make song imitations of these various animal spirits coming into the lodge. In the main, they agree with the conception of creation held by the Menomini.[56] The writer related the Menomini story to Henry Dick, who said it was almost the same as the Winnebago. Their initiation ceremony starts at an earlier age which coincides with the age of puberty for both boys and girls and their medicine lodge ceremony requires more time than that of the Menomini; —four days for the lodge ceremony and two days for the testing of the initiate. While the ceremony is in progress, the candidate must not go to sleep. If he does, one of the members will shake him. The first two days and nights, the ceremony is mostly chanting and explanations, while the final two days and nights are given over to active floor work. The candidate must learn to do exactly as he is told and to obey instantly. The members, during the ceremony, tweak his ears and do various things to him in imitation of the animal deities. He is then shot with medicine bags to demonstrate their power. That is, the otter skin bag is grasped by the head between the fingers of the left hand of the medicine lodge member, and touched to his own lips; then having given it his power as a medicine man, he extends it toward the initiate, crying "Hui hui" and the initiate must drop his head immediately and fall over or backward. He is shot four times in the course of the ceremony. 575 756 796

On the fifth and sixth days, two or three of the older members take

[55] Fred Mallory's children killed a large puffing adder a day or two previous to the relating of this story and the local Winnebago did not like it, prophesying all sorts of dire disasters that would visit them.

[56] See Milw. Publ. Mus. Bull., Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 14, note 3.

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575 the candidate into the woods, where none will see them and put him
756 through tests, such as falling immediately when he is shot with a medi-
796 cine bag. They also teach him to sing the ritual of the medicine lodge, being sure that no one hears.

824 The Winnebago observe the same precautions in gathering plants and place as great stress upon the manner of this gathering as do other Wisconsin Indians.

126 Most of the summer was spent among the Winnebago collecting their various economic and medicinal plants, about which copious notes were taken. On August 16, a trip was made to a Winnebago religious
123 feast given by A. White and his son, Frank, with two other relatives,
551 at which the writer was given a Winnebago name. As is the Indian custom, no more than one Indian name can be given and a name in a second language must mean the same as the original one. It happens that the first name given the writer was by the Menomini at Keshena; namely *"Onawonik"* meaning "Flying Squirrel." Hence the Ojibwe followed suit with *"Shagashkandawe"* also meaning "Flying Squirrel," and the Winnebago took their word *"Kashingra"* meaning the same.

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# YEAR BOOK

OF THE

# Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee

# 1928

Vol. VIII, Part I, pp. 1-217, figs. 1-150 September 14, 1929

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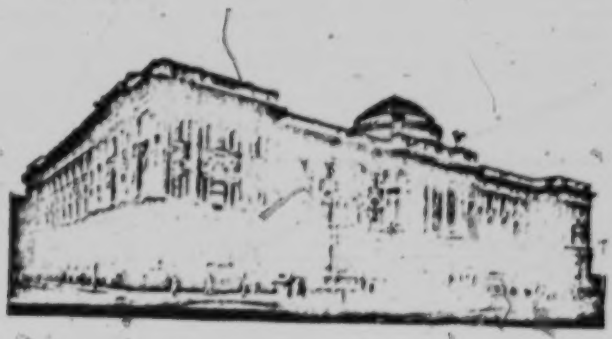

Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Published by Order of the Board of Trustees

[title page]

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# A WINNEBAGO WAR-BUNDLE CEREMONY

By W. C. McKern*

182 The primitive religious ceremonies of the Winnebago Indians are
796 not destined long to survive. Not only is the new generation forgetting or deliberately neglecting the traditions of the old order, due to the
[177 growing influence of encroaching white civilization, but the conversion
276] of many of the older members of the tribe to the Peyote faith has
795 thinned the ranks of the Medicine Lodge to a marked extent. Many of those responsible for introducing this new Christian cult among the Winnebago are still alive. Its unabated ascendency in the favor of the Indians is proportionate to the decline of ancient religious practices.

114 However, meetings of the old order still are held, and are in some
796 measure successful, due largely to the fact that many of the Peyote

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Fig. 120.—Big Wave and his family standing before his house.
Fig. 121.—Medicine Lodge near Big Wave's home.
Fig. 122.—Framework of the War-bundle Ceremony lodge.
Fig. 123.—Big Wave making sacred fire, accompanied by his wife.

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114 people attend as a matter of courtesy, or to keep peace in the family.
796 It was my good fortune to attend such a meeting, a war-bundle cere-
mony, in October, 1927. Mr. A. White, whose Indian name is *Teas-*
[795 *tca-he-de-ga* (Big Wave), figure 120, is custodian of the war-bundle
778] of the Thunderbird clan of the Wisconsin Rapids band of Winnebago.
614 Word came to me through his son-in-law, Mr. U. S. White of Milwau-
kee, that a war-bundle feast would be held shortly, and that I was specially invited to attend.

As Mr. White and his family also wished to make the trip, we drafted a Museum car into service and joined forces. In addition to Mr. White and his wife and two children, Mr. Alton Fisher was persuaded, without much difficulty, to join me in representing the Department of Anthropology.

We arrived at Wisconsin Rapids late at night, and were up early on the following morning and on our way to the site selected for the [574] ceremony. Upon arriving at his home, we were courteously received by the custodian of the bundle, and privileged to meet his family and many others who were in the midst of preparations for the feast.

796 The regular war bundle ceremony of the Thunderbird clan is a feast
and dance given in honor of various spirits, chiefly the Thunderbirds,
[776 who are the spiritual directors of war, and the Night Spirits. It is
614] held in an oblong wigwam shaped like the medicine lodge of the Winne-
bago and neighboring Algonkin groups, figure 121, and similarly con-
[346] structed of a frame-work of bent poles covered with birch bark or mats, or more recently with canvas or other cloth. Big Wave had directed the construction of the lodge for this particular ceremony in an area immediately adjoining his dwelling lodge, figure 122. The single door was placed at the end of the lodge, facing east.

[252] The lodge was small, made so to accommodate the limited number expected to attend, and consequently it was decided to cook the feast over outside fires, an irregular, though not unusual procedure. Therefore, only a single fire was built in the lodge, centrally situated at the
796 eastern end not more than three paces from the door. Since the fire
372 was to be new, sacred fire, the ceremonial fire-making equipment from
778 the war bundle was employed. This consisted of a flat, rectangular base of oak, nearly perforated in many places with charred drill holes, and a drilling element of softer wood. Big Wave himself officiated in the fire making, figure 123. Kneeling, he placed the basepiece between his knees, with tinder conveniently near. Then one end of the drill was fitted into one of the holes in the base, and the shaft was rapidly rotated between his hands. Soon smoke curled up from the point of friction. The bits of glowing wood dust so produced were quickly applied to the tinder and carefully blown to a small flame. Then light kindling was applied, followed by heavier sticks until the fire was be-

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yond the need of further nursing. Standing alone above this altar, Big Wave then offered, in his native tongue, a prayer to be carried upward by the fire to Creator. In a low voice he thanked Creator who taught the use of fire to the Indians, that it might live with them forever and watch over them. He expressed satisfaction that new fire had been started on this occasion, so that all present might enjoy the benefits of life. He described the fire as an interpreter, conveying to the spirit world the prayers of men. He then sprinkled tobacco upon the fire, saying: "This tobacco I offer you (the spirits) that you may do that which I ask of you, that you may grant to all here, our wives and children, and all our relatives, good fortune and all the benefits of life. This prayer is for others who will also give tobacco."

Later, when the meeting was convened and the guests filed into the ceremonial lodge, many silently sprinkled tobacco on the fire, thereby sharing the benefit of this prayer. This tobacco sacrifice is called, filling the spirits' pipe.

As soon as the new fire was burning well, coals were removed therefrom with which to start the cooking fires outside the lodge, for the feast must be cooked over sacred fire. Two short poles were placed on either side of the fire, topped by a crosspiece from which the pots were suspended on chains. Water was boiled, with which all the pots were thoroughly washed. Then the meat (fowl, beef and pork) was prepared for cooking. The fowls had to be singed over the sacred fire. A definite number of equal portions were placed in each pot, since each participating family was to share the contents of a single pot which, therefore, must contain a portion for every member of the invited group.

While the war-bundle owner's helpers, the waiters, selected from his paternal nephews when possible, were preparing the feast, he himself entered the lodge, took down the war-bundle from where it hung on the north wall opposite the fire and spread it out on the ground immediately west of the fire. Although much of the contents of the bundle appeared to be very old, the cover-piece was of cloth. The bundle was unrolled and spread out upon this rectangular piece of goods. The inner wrapper was of matting. Upon this a variety of fetishes and elements of ceremonial equipment was displayed. These included various bird skins, reed whistles and an old fire drill set which had long been out of use due to the fact that the base piece was entirely covered with holes, without interval, and as deep as the thickness of the piece would permit.

Two beaded snake-skin fetishes were suspended from the top of a peeled stake set up between the bundle and the fire. Adjoining this a sharpened stick, later to be used as a meat fork in distributing the meat, was placed, the handle thrust into the ground. Two fine old war clubs from the bundle were also placed between fire and bundle, their handles thrust into the ground. Two bowls, one containing tobacco and the

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796 other mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik, were respectively placed at the
778 northeast and southeast corners of the bundle.

A peeled stake, forked at the top, was set up at the central western margin of the bundle wrapper. The ceremonial pipe, of Siouan type
[276] with a catlinite bowl, was then filled by the leader from the bowl of mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik and placed with the stem end resting in the fork of the stake, the stem slanting diagonally downward across the bundle and the bowl, in upright position, resting on the central eastern margin of the bundle wrapper.

[524 The leader then placed some live coals from the fire in a small stove-shovel. On these coals he placed white cedar leaves. With the smoke
783] of the burning cedar leaves he purified the contents of the bundle, his own person, and even the walls of the lodge.

796 Shortly before the ceremony was to start, some of the waiters pre-
534 pared the drum. What had probably been originally designed to serve as a pickle keg, served as the body of the drum. This was partly filled with water. A buckskin head was then placed over the open end and drawn taut by means of cords attached to the base of the body. This was done by means of stick tourniquets in each of the cords. The proper degree of tautness was determined by tipping the drum bottom side up, to permit the water to wet the drum head, and testing the tone quality with the drum stick. After the drum had been thus properly tuned, more hot coals were placed in the censer, cedar leaves applied and
[783] the drum and stick turned over and over in the resulting smoke. Then the drum was placed just north of the war-bundle.

A small pot containing two portions of cooked meat was suspended from the roof of the house immediately west of the bundle.

796 Early in the afternoon, all preparations having been completed, the ceremony began. The guests in little groups filed into the lodge and were seated by the head waiter, squatting on mats with their backs to the wall. The most important guests, owners of war-bundles in other clans, were placed nearest the door. The eastern two-thirds of the lodge was
[562] occupied by men only. The women were clustered at the western end. Mr. Fisher and I were seated immediately south of the bundle. The leader and three assistants, elected to serve as musicians, were grouped just north of the fireplace.

Although the rites associated with the war-bundle are kept up by
[182] a few of these Winnebago, the ritual has sadly degenerated. Aside from the host, no man made any serious attempt to equip himself properly in costume. Many important elements were omitted such as the preliminary sweat bath ceremony, the sacrifice of white buckskins to the spirits, the dog sacrifice, and many minor details left out of the ceremonies attempted. When all were assembled, the leader opened the
[537] ceremony with a speech to those assembled. The formal dignity of the speaker and the unhesitating flow of his words were impressive. He

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announced that he was about to give a feast in honor of Creator, all the 796
spirits of the world above, all the spirits of the world below, and all 537
those spirits who had appeared in dreams to any of those present. In this way, as determined by his grandfathers, should long life, and happiness, and health and success in warfare be assured to those participating. He cited the giving of tobacco to various spirits; the dedication of the cooking meat to various spirits. He called upon other custodians of war-bundles and their waiters, who might be present, to assist in the singing, speaking, and dancing. "O! O!", assented the custodians [201] of other war-bundles who were present.

The drum was now placed before the leader, who passed it to one 796
of his three musicians. The other two and the leader were equipped with gourd rattles. The leader then took a reed whistle and on it [534] actually played a tune very like a bugle call. Three distinct notes were produced by varying the force with which he blew it. He then started a song, his eyes closed as if in prayer, his face stamped with serious [533] devotion. His assistants joined in, to the accompaniment of drum and rattles. A short rest intervalled the completion of this song and the start of the next. Three other songs followed in like manner. All of this music was relatively slow in time and not designed to be accompanied by dancing. A fifth song, of like character, was accompanied [582 by the leader's throwing several pinches of tobacco over the war-bundle. 276]

The next musical contribution was a dancing song and all the men 796
who so desired gathered about the war-bundle, selecting therefrom reed whistles, and danced in place while blowing the whistles. There being 533
not enough whistles to go around, some took fetishes which they held 535
reverently in their hands while dancing. At the same time, the women at the west end of the lodge rose and danced in place. With slight pauses between, four dance songs were so rendered. At the end of each song, the male dancers participated in a series of war whoops. Everyone present apparently experienced a keen delight in this. One old [887] man, blind and so feeble that he could not rise to his feet without assistance, insisted on dancing, without moving from his allotted place by the wall, and added his quavering voice to feebly swell the volume of each battle cry.

When the set of dancing songs was finished, whistles and fetishes 796
were replaced on the bundle and all took their allotted places. Then the leader again spoke, his voice at times quavering with emotion, [532] practically repeating his first speech. Again the honored guests an- [201] swered with, "O! O!".

The head waiter then took the pipe from its position over the war bundle, and carried it to the guest seated nearest the door on the south [276] side. While this old man puffed, the waiter lit the contents of the bowl with a stick, placed beside the fireplace for that purpose and lighted

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796 from the sacred fire. When the pipe was well lit, the waiter carried
276 it to the next man, and so on, passing clockwise about the lodge. Each man puffed several times at the pipe before passing it on. The women
[562] were excluded from participating in this ceremony, as were the leader and his three musicians. The waiters did not actually participate in any part of the entire ceremony, other than in their official capacity.

Before the next song was started, the head waiter carefully cleaned out the pipe, refilled it and placed it again over the bundle. All the tobacco cleaned from the bowl was disposed of in the sacred fire.

This same procedure, from speech to pipe, was repeated four times, although each group of songs was different.

796 Two men were now selected, one representing that group of clans
615 comprising the upper world phratry, the other the lower world phratry. They seated themselves in the center of the lodge with a wooden bowl
264 between them. In this bowl were placed the two portions of meat from the pots suspended from the lodge ceiling. At a given signal, each began to devour his allotted share of the meat as rapidly as possible. The phratry whose side wins in this eating contest will have good luck when next it takes the warpath.

796 The leader then told the dream experience of the original bundle
787 holder and said a few words thanking all for their participation. One of the waiters then proceeded to replace the contents of the bundle, roll it up, tie it and place it against the wall just back of the leader.

796 It was now time for the war-bundle feast, which consisted solely of
574 meat boiled with a few beans. Each pot had been dedicated to a certain spirit or order of spirits, but since these were not materially present to do proper justice to the occasion, the honored guests had to represent them in receiving and disposing of the food. One pot was placed before each of these leaders, and the contents were distributed under his direction to the men of his party. Other meat was supplied for the women and children of the group which he represented. The chief honored guest received the pot dedicated to Creator. On such occasions, one must eat all that is set before him, since the food is consecrated.

574 It should be noted here that Mr. Fisher has certain marked tastes in
114 food. He is not particularly fond of meat of any kind, dislikes beef particularly and dislikes boiled beef the most of all. His predicament can well be imagined, therefore, when a large portion of boiled beef was placed before him with the understanding that none must be wasted. Fortunately, one may broadcast a call for outside help on such occasions without trespassing against the rules of the ceremony. Very piteously, then, did Fisher make his plea to me. Knowing that the night spirit dance with a vegetable feast was to follow, he promised to eat the greater share of the vegetables apportioned to us if I would agree to do double duty on the meat. Out of the kindness of my heart, and also because I prefer boiled beef to boiled dried squash, I agreed to do this. Nor did

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I permit him to forget his bargain when the squash was served later in the day. 574 114

Big Wave did not participate in the feast, nor did he smoke ceremoniously or otherwise during the entire performance. During the feast he sang several songs without drum. These were his war-bundle songs, obtained in a dream by the original owner of the bundle and descending to his successors. 796 574

The bones from the feast were gathered up by the waiters and placed in a single vessel. Tobacco was added to the bones, and the vessel taken out to a place where no people were in view and where no dogs could molest the contents. This was a sacrifice to Disease Giver. [792]

After the meat had been entirely consumed, the leader announced that they would now have night spirit dancing. An old bow and four arrows were brought out and planted in the floor to stand erect in a row just west of the fireplace, where the war-bundle had formerly been displayed. Big Wave appointed one to lead the dance. The dancers aligned themselves in single file on the south side of the lodge, facing west, and were led by the dance leader carrying the bow and arrows and blowing a reed whistle, followed by the other dancers. The singers began singing and the dancers circled several times about the lodge counter-clockwise. With short pauses between, several songs and dances were so executed. When the set of songs was finished, the bowl of tobacco dedicated to the use of the guests was then given by one of the waiters to the most honored guest. The head waiter lifted the stove shovel containing the remains of the burned cedar leaves and poured the contents in the fire. Then the singing was resumed and they danced once more about the fire, joyously. 796 [574]

When the singing stopped, the leader for this dance returned the whistle to Big Wave, and the latter, as soon as all were again seated, addressed his guests. He said that this was the way they worshipped the spirits of their fathers. He thanked those participating for their assistance in the singing and dancing and solicited their further help. So they should enjoy health, long life and success. Everyone responded with a series of confirmative "O's". The feast of boiled squash was now served. It was the duty of the waiters to eat any scraps left by the feasters, since food uneaten is considered an affront to the spirits to whom the food is dedicated. [201] [261]

The ceremonies described above were followed by a buffalo dance. It seems that the spirit of the buffalo was especially noted for his speed in running, and could imbue his devotees with his skill. Inasmuch as speed in running was of prime importance in primitive warfare, where the desired procedure was to come quickly upon the enemy, strike decisively and disappear from the scene, the buffalo dance is considered an altogether proper adjunct to the war-bundle ceremony, and regularly follows in. [825] [726] [535]

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796 The shrine about which this ceremony centers is also a bundle, in
778 this instance owned by one of the waiters, but not necessarily so. Its
535 setting up followed a definite procedure. A small mound of sand was first heaped up on the grassy floor of the lodge. A wooden bowl was placed on the top center of the mound, and a tin bowl directly west of the mound. These were both filled with maple syrup. Four men placed handsful of tobacco at the base of each of the syrup containers. Then the bowl of syrup was removed from the mound, to be placed adjacent to the tin vessel, and from the open buffalo bundle a number of buffalo tai's were taken and placed upon the mound. Four small
[823] eagle feathers, dyed red, were inserted in the margins of the mound to point in the four cardinal directions.

123 The leader, accompanied by musicians with rattles and one drummer,
535 then sang one set of four songs. A dance song followed, practically
796 everyone present joining in the dance, forming in line behind the leader and circling the lodge in a counter-clockwise direction. All the men were in the forepart of the line; the women followed the men. As the line was forming, several of the men urged the humble subscriber to this account to join the dance. Never before having witnessed the particular performance, I was entirely ignorant of the correct procedure, but realizing that this was a common dance in which anyone could participate without special preparation or careful observance of conduct, I, to my downfall, consented. I joined the line where it was forming immediately in front of me. The dance started before I became aware of my embarassing position; for whereas all the other men were grouped to comprise the leading half of the line, I was far back in the formation, distantly removed from the other representatives of my sex —dancing with the squaws. The shouts of merriment arising from both the men and women satisfied me, however, that I had not committed the unpardonable sin. Nevertheless, as soon as it was convenient, I corrected the error of my position.

796 As the line passed the bowls of syrup, the dancers each drank of
535 the contents; the men from one bowl, the women from the other. The singing and dancing was continued until all the syrup was gone. Finally, the wooden bowl having been replaced on the sand altar, the leader approached it on hands and knees, mimicking the grunts and actions of a buffalo. He then proceeded to butt the bowl with his head, turning it over.

796 Speeches by the leader and by other prominent men brought the cere-
152 mony to a close.
778

My general reactions to the performance were two-fold. In the first place, I could not but be impressed by the exalted fervor of the older participants; at times tears coursed down the cheeks of Big Wave as he sang the spirit songs of his ancestors, and other participants showed the effect of strong emotion. Secondly, I beheld the ancient

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faith of the Winnebago, shaken and undermined by a host of intruding creeds, making its last, feeble stand against the ruthless encroachment of the ideas of the all-conquering white foreigners.

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VOL. 25 NO. 4
(New Series)

DECEMBER, 1944

WISCONSIN ARCHEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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# CULTURAL CHANGE AMONG THE WISCONSIN WINNEBAGO

Nancy Oestreich

## Introduction

121 Cultural change is one of the outstanding factors in the life
178 of the Winnebago today. It is important to mention at the outset, however, that the following article does not purport to trace the long history of cultural change among the Winnebago, nor does it have any claim as a complete analysis; but, because of space limitations, it will serve merely as a passing observation of cultural change in a particular Indian group.
[114] The study is based primarily on observation of one small group of Winnebago during a period of five weeks. None the less, these data seem to comprise a fairly, though far from completely representative sample with which to work.

101 The Indians observed were family groups from almost all
121 of the Winnebago communities scattered throughout the central part of the state. Our group, consisting of some 45 families, was predominately one of Wisconsin Winnebago, but also included three Winnebago families from Nebraska and one family each of the Chippewa, Menomini and Potawatomi tribes. The presence of these minorities within the larger group of Wisconsin Winnebago offered an interesting study of inter-land and intra-tribal contrasts.

121 The Wisconsin Winnebago prefer to live more or less in-
619 dependently in their native territory, Wisconsin, rather than join their friends and relatives on the Winnebago reservation
[657] located, by a whim of the government, in Nebraska. There
[574] is, however, a constant exchange of visits between the two groups.

221 In Wisconsin many of the Winnebago earn a living in the winter by trapping for the fur market, and in the summer by following various Wisconsin crops. The harvesting begins in the spring with the strawberry season, and ends in the fall with the gathering of cranberries.

It was during the 1944 cherry season, a period extending from the early part of July to the middle of August, that the bulk of material was collected for this paper. 114

**Attitudes Within the Changing Society**

Opinions vary of course with Indians, according to the amount of education they have had, their native intelligence, or their personal interests. Furthermore, the contrast in attitudes between the older and the younger generations is a most significant feature. 178 182 561

It would be impossible to put age limits on the terms "older" and "younger," but an age between 45 and 50 seems to be the dividing line. One might also have to add a third classification: those individuals who grew up in the situation of the younger group, but upon reaching greater maturity tend toward the opinions of the older people.

The young people, through contact with the older generation, or by taking part in tourist-trade ceremonials, are apt to know the old dances and songs, but seem to feel that these things are pointless or merely a means of making a living. They have been living in an unstable, changing society since birth and follow along in the uncertain Indian-white pattern of culture with no particular ambitions or interests in what it may eventually produce in their own futures.

The young people from Nebraska contrasted strongly with those of Wisconsin in this respect, being generally more progressive and better educated; but it would be unreasonable to infer that this is a typical difference between the Wisconsin and Nebraska Winnebago since the representation of the Nebraska Indians in our group was so small. [184]

Many of the older people, on the other hand, can remember when the Winnebago retained enough of their original culture to have a fairly complete and working social organization. They blame all the misfortunes of the tribe on the young people, who according to the old people, do just as they please in matters of morals, ethics and religion, and they furthermore have no respect for the opinions of the older mem-

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178 bers of the tribe. The older generation does not generally
182 try to resist the change, nor encourage it, but rather the ten-
561 dency is to mourn the past. A few realize that the unhappy plight of the younger generation is but one of the many changes in their society brought on by the breakdown of tribal organization due to contact with white religion, liquor, and government.

[86] [626] Originally the training of the young was in the hands of the elders of the tribe and rules were put into effect by group controls; whereas now these controls have gone, and it is only in recent years and only among a few families that the idea of parental control is stressed in the same manner as in white society.

Consequently we have the picture of a younger generation following their particular whims and an older generation seeing the wrongs of such a situation but feeling powerless to relieve it.

## Types of Cultural Change

178 Having become acquainted with the attitudes of members of a changing society, let us consider cultural change itself. For purposes of simplification we can break down our main heading of cultural change into four types.

1. We are all familiar with the direct Indian-to-white cultural change which is of so long standing, and so obvious that it hardly requires further explanation other than mentioning the Indians' use of white foods, houses, clothing, and the myriad other aspects of white culture which have become a part of the Indians' life.

2. One of the complexities of cultural change is that some customs taken over from the whites remain relatively static in the Indian society, but continue to change at a faster rate in the white group. A good example of this is in the realm of material culture. The women's buckskin dresses were of course long ago exchanged for broadcloth and other fabrics fashioned along Indian styles, but these were later replaced by calico dresses in the last century following the then current

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mode. The older women still prefer to wear this type of dress, and very often the ensemble includes moccasins rather than shoes on their feet and a blanket draped about their shoulders. Most of the young women, however, dress very much as white women of their own age. 178

3. Another type of cultural change is found in the Indians modifying some aspect of white culture with elements of their original culture to suit their own needs and tastes. This is best illustrated by the trend that religion has followed among a large proportion of the tribe. Some of the Winnebago who have been enticed away from their old religion, and yet were not satisfied with orthodox forms of Christianity, have adopted the Peyote or Mescal Religion which they prefer to call The Native American Church. This did not originate among the Winnebago, but came in from the southwestern tribes about 50 years ago, and has even undergone changes among the Winnebago group. The Peyote religion is basically Christian, stressing the literal acceptance of the Bible and the strict following of Christ's teachings. It, however, embodies the use of a fairly harmless drug, peyote, which when taken in large enough quantities produces visions, so familiar in Indian religions. The use of a small drum, eagle feathers, and ornate rattles, as well as the burning of cedar leaves are included in the night-long ceremonies. This religion might be considered a transitional form between the so-called pagan religion and Christianity, but though it embodies characteristics of both religions, it appears to have reached a definite stabilized form and will probably undergo few changes in the future. 178 795 [276]

4. We also have change completely within the society from old Indian to new Indian traits. The old Indians tell of an original Winnebago language, very ancient and now almost completely forgotten, which has been replaced by a newer, but still very Indian type of language. In recent years the language has undergone other changes, but this is due to white contact. It is strange that the Winnebago of Wisconsin who have been forced to live in scattered groups and in close contact with whites, have maintained their language to a much greater extent than some of the Wisconsin Chippewa or Me- 178 191 [171]

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178 nomini who live on reservations and, it seems logical to as-
191 sume, would be likely to consider themselves more of a cul-
171 tural entity, and so be better equipped to preserve their language. None the less, this does not seem to be the case according to Chippewa and Menomini informants who claim that many of their younger people do not speak the tribal language, whereas a majority of even the smallest children among the Wisconsin Winnebago are bi-lingual.

178 In considering our four types of social change, we might
535 almost add a fifth type, which arises from a reaction against white contact and is a tendency to return to old patterns, as in the case of the revival of the scalp and victory dances which practically died out after the last World War. These dances have come into prominence in the last year or so with the Indian boys again going on the "war-path."

### Cultural Change and Cultural Stability

178 Although we are considering cultural change among the Wisconsin Winnebago, the picture at this point seems rather
182 one-sided without some mention of resistance to cultural change. Despite the constant and long-continued process of change, there is still retained a surprising amount of old Indian culture. Christian missionaries and the Peyote Religion have not managed to do away with the Thunderbirds, Water Spirits, and the rest of the pagan hierarchy. The Medicine Lodge continues as an important factor in the life of many Wisconsin Winnebago. Unfortunately, the writer's data are limited regarding the present number and ages of the adherents to the pagan religion, or as they prefer to be called, **the conservative group.**

182 It is interesting to note that practically all of the Winne-
551 bago, whether from Wisconsin or Nebraska, whether Christian, conservative, or pagan, still refer to their children by ancient religiously determined names. They are used in preference to the Christian names which all Indians now possess. These Indian names for boys and girls are merely an indication of the order of age and sex of the children in any given family, and are not to be confused with clan names which are

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individually bestowed upon members of the conservative group. 182 551

The list of old Indian traits still found among the Wisconsin Winnebago could be extended at great length to include items of diet, clothing, religion, amusements, healing, social organization, and many other aspects of the culture, but of course cannot all be discussed in this article. There is, nevertheless, one final and important feature, and that is that the Indian definitely considers himself a member of a distinct race, and that differences in white and Indian outlook are inherent in the blood rather than due to societal processes. 182 [829]

## Conclusion

From observation of current trends and from the reminiscences of informants, it seems safe to conclude that the pattern of change outlined above will be followed in coming years with an ever-increasing tendency of the Winnebago to take on more and more of the aspects of white culture. Naturally changes vary from community to community, but the overall picture of the forms of cultural change seems to hold true. 178

There is one important point which may affect the Winnebago in unforseen ways, and that is the present war. As far as influencing cultural change today, it is more of a nuisance than an acting force. True the Indians are notably patriotic in the purchase of war bonds, and Indian boys are in all of the fighting forces; but for the most part, except where tragedy strikes individual families, the Indian thinks of the war as apart from his affairs. Some older people still feel strongly about the irony of Indians fighting for a country they themselves already have lost. 178 722

There is, of course, the inconvenience of tire and gasoline rationing on a people who lead a semi-nomadic life, but in our group, as far as the writer could ascertain, this did not constitute a great problem.

Many Indians have begun working in defense factories since the outbreak of the war, but even then they manage to stay in fairly isolated groups, as witness the Badger Ordnance Plant,

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178 where the majority of Indian workers live in a separate camp,
722 and the camp itself is somewhat divided according to the different tribes located there.

However, the war will undoubtedly have its social affect when the Indian soliders return from an existence of strict discipline to the semi-nomadic life of the Winnebago group.
[729] Even the veterans present at this summer's cherry camp showed a sense of dissatisfaction and a feeling of estrangement from the society.

178 In brief summary of the general picture of cultural change;
182 we have wide variations in attitude toward the cultural situation between the older and younger generations in a group representative of many Wisconsin Winnebago communities. In this group, cultural changed in intensity from complete cultural shift of Indian to white traits, to various stages of cultural transition and modification. Finally, there remain a considerable quantity of old Indian traits preserved intact.

From the observation of past and present cultural trends, it appears safe to predict the continuance of now recognized types of cultural change, but we must bear in mind possible future developments brought about by the present war.

000 As a final note it is important to remark that this study is far from complete, and is but a basis for future research.

The writer would like to thank her Winnebago friends, particularly Mr. John C. Decora of Wittenberg, Mr. Mitchell Redcloud of Merrillan, and Mr. Nat Long of Wausau, who made this article possible.

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# Crashing Thunder

*The Autobiography of an American Indian*

Edited by

Paul Radin

New York and London
D. Appleton and Company
1926

[Title Page]

[P. i]

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TO
THE MEMORY OF
WILLIAM HALSE RIVERS RIVERS

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# Crashing Thunder

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## *PREFACE*

For most individuals the American Indian still possesses a tremendous appeal, an appeal which, in a manner, constitutes one of the great obstacles to our properly understanding him. It has been that way since the days of the discovery of the continent. Then it was the gold and the pearls that exercised a magical fascination; to-day it is the belief that somehow, in some way, the Indians are still living in that delightful half-Arcadian condition of simplicity after which so many souls still yearn, particularly those individuals who dwell in the city. Nothing is gained by calling these people sentimentalists. We should always remember that from the time Spanish chroniclers began writing their accounts of El Dorado and the quaint peoples with the still quainter customs who dwelt there, the Indian has been a symbol for youth and freedom of expression, for freedom from the shackles of civilized constraint. Like Siegfried he knew the language of the birds and patted Nature kindly on the back. A vast literature has grown up on this symbolism of the Indian, particularly in France.

It seems almost sacrilege to trifle with this vision or to question it, and the first result of a so-called scientific inquiry is bound to leave a very bad sensation of



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114 121 nightmare. That is, of course, the terrible price all sentimentalists must pay for the undiluted pleasure they have had of rocking themselves into a fictitious bliss from which they are to be rudely and unceremoniously awakened. Yet this seems to me exceedingly bad sportsmanship, to say the least, and an exceedingly erroneous conception of romance. There is, in fact, infinitely more romance—if it is romance we are seeking, and most of us are—in trying to obtain an approximately accurate account of what this Indian of our childhood imagination actually is, how he thinks, feels, reacts, adapts himself to the varying conditions of life, than in rehearsing all the scenes of Chateaubriand and Cooper.

But having set ourselves this task of discovering what the real Indian is like, we are immediately surrounded by difficulties. One of the greatest drawbacks in the study of a primitive people is, in fact, the difficulty of obtaining an inside view of their culture from their own lips and by their own initiative. Let no investigator flatter himself: a native informant is at best interested in merely satisfying the demands of the investigator. The limitations thus imposed as regards the nature and the extent of the knowledge obtained are still further increased by the circumstances in which the knowledge is generally imparted, circumstances of a nature tending to destroy practically all the subjective values associated with the particular ritual, myth, etc., that is being narrated.

How can this fundamental defect be remedied?

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## *Preface*

There is only one way—to have a native himself give the account in his own mother tongue. The problem then resolves itself into finding the native. That is the task I set myself and through a piece of good luck I succeeded in accomplishing it. As the manner of its accomplishment is an interesting and illuminating story in itself, I hope I shall be excused for telling it in some detail.

In the year 1909 I commenced field investigations among the Winnebago Indians living on the Nebraska side of the Missouri River, about twenty-five miles south of Sioux City, Iowa. These Indians had the reputation of being fairly conservative. Perhaps the fact that a Presbyterian mission had in seventeen years succeeded in converting only one family, and a family which then unkindly died without leaving issue, may bear this out.

Among these Indians there lived a family named Blow Snake, consisting of a father and a fair number of children all grown up. Two of these were men quite well known in the tribe for a variety of reasons. These two became my principal informants. They had lived the most exciting of lives, for to the usual round of adventures that fall to the lot of most Indians of that region now, they had added a murder and a conversion, the murder first and the conversion afterwards. The older of the two seemed to be by far the more gifted. His memory was simply prodigious. He recounted to me a ceremony which took him two months, working practically six hours a day, to tell

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124 me. But what is more to the point here is that he[1]
[123] wove my presence among the Winnebago just then, into the whole fabric of his life. I was the preordained one who had sensed what was the proper time to come to the Winnebago, and this legend he diligently disseminated among all his relatives and subsequently embodied in certain autobiographical snatches I obtained from him. It was from him that I obtained a short sketch of reminiscences which, short as they were, threw more light on the real Indian than any of the more elaborate things I had collected in the usual external fashion which is the pride of scientific procedure among ethnologists.

It was from the perusal of these "reminiscences" that
[121] the idea developed within me of getting a real autobiography, and having heard vaguely of the adventures and tribulations of Crashing Thunder, the younger brother of the family, which seemed to bear all the earmarks of a true rake's progress, I approached him about the matter, to receive a meaningless affirmative reply. For three years he eluded me on one pretext or another until temporary poverty induced him to
[212] consent to write down in a syllabary now in use among the Winnebago the fascinating tale of his life. I remember very well how worried he was after he had finally consented. After writing the first part he came to me at midnight, in a very nervous condition, saying that he did not care to proceed because what he had to say would not look nice if white people subsequently read it. When his fears were appeased he continued



[1] [i.e., the informant, see p. ix, cat. 116 --analyst]

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and within forty-eight hours the whole manuscript was done. 124

It is this manuscript translated literally that is here presented. No changes of any kind have been introduced. Certain things, however, that Crashing Thunder had told me on previous occasions, which, for that reason. he merely mentions in the autobiography proper, I have inserted in their proper places. Everything in this manuscript comes directly from him and was told in the original and in the first person. It is needless for me to insist that I in no way influenced him either directly or indirectly in any way. 128

Some years ago the autobiography proper was published with annotations as an ethnological document in the University of California Series in American Archæology and Ethnology under the title "The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian" (Volume XVI, Number 7). I gratefully acknowledge the generosity of the authorities of the University Press in permitting this reissue for a wider audience, in part retranslated and considerably enlarged by the additions mentioned above. 114

P. R.

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## *INTRODUCTION*

THE common-sense man, the man in the street, has always been good-naturedly skeptical of the academically trained scholar, particularly when the latter chose to discuss the subject of man and his moods and to make generalizations concerning phases of life and thought that, from the very nature of the case, he could only remotely understand. The glamour that for so long a time hung about the educated man and his unlimited capacity for understanding everything has slowly but surely evaporated in the last generation. We are all now quite willing to admit that the economist and the sociologist, the psychologist and the historian are capable of making—and do frequently make—the most ludicrous and appalling mistakes as soon as they find themselves compelled to deal with man himself in all his vagaries, his inconsistencies, and his lack of direction. Perhaps it is this more than any other single factor that has led to the popular characterization of history as a pleasant, amiable, but wholly imaginative record of man as he never existed. We can fill our libraries and public archives with as many details as we wish and yet in no way improve on the situation or alter the fundamental distortion and ludicrousness of the average presentation of history. The real man, man as

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114 he actually is, will never be revealed to us in this
12 manner.

There is nothing new in this criticism. Most of us have always suspected that such was the case, and have, as a corrective, instinctively sought refuge in the letters and autobiographies of men of their time. But letters and autobiographies written by citizens of such complicated civilizations as are those of our own time, in their turn, represent most frequently, conscious or at best unconscious distortions of the people who wrote them. Our notions of convention and propriety effectually bar any true revelation. No man who regards his thoughts, feelings, and actions of sufficient importance for him to note them down in a diary or an autobiography, ever admits to himself or to the world for whom he is writing that his life has not been a unified whole or that it did not gradually lead to a proper and early heralded climax. Can any one picture to himself a man, in our civilization, writing an autobiography in which he frankly admitted that his life had ended in an anticlimax or that he had throughout been but a reed driven the way the wind listeth? And yet many of us, be it confessed, are so driven, even some of those who write autobiographies.

121 The value and significance of the autobiography that
*159 follows does not simply lie in the fact that it is a document absolutely unique of its kind—the only account that has ever been obtained from a so-called "primitive" man—but in the fact that this particular individual took his task literally and attempted to give an abso-

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lutely and bewilderingly honest account of his life. He apparently proceeded from an assumption, strange to us, that however damaging to a man's reputation his actions and thoughts may have been, no amount of blinking can possibly do away with them. Now this American Indian did something, in its way, even more remarkable: he never confused his reputation or his own explanations of himself with his real self. He did not, for a moment, fall into the error of the writers of most of our own *Confessions*. No, he most emphatically does not beat his breast and cry, "Father, I have sinned," or exclaim, on the other hand, "Look how wicked I have been!" Far from it. Apology is the very last thing he has in mind. At all times he accepts and approves of himself. We are taken into his confidence on the very first page. There he informs us in the most matter-of-fact manner that shortly before he was born his mother had been told by a very prominent member of the tribe that she was about to give birth to a man of no ordinary importance! Had he been as unconsciously dishonest as the heroes of most of our autobiographies he would have made this the theme of his life and he would have attempted to prove or disprove this prophecy.

He does nothing of the kind. When he was but a small boy, so he tells us, he heard what had been prophesied about him. He accepts and tries to impress the world around him with its truth, but he sees no reason for dwelling upon it to the utter exclusion of all the other pertinent facts about his life. This is all the

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121 more remarkable in view of the fact that he was a
*159 somewhat unusual man both in character and in intellect. Few people in any community, civilized or uncivilized, have ever had so full an experience with life in all its ramifications. Benvenuto Cellini's life was drab in comparison. Yet no man has ever so successfully refrained from dramatizing these experiences in the interest of an imaginary audience as did this untutored "savage." He never forgets what the actual facts were. At the most tense moment of his life, when he has unwittingly become converted to a new religion and seen visions of the most beatific kind, he refuses to dramatize, and allows a most gloriously opportune moment to sink into an uninteresting anticlimax merely because it happened to be an anticlimax.

The rhythm of his life, like that of the generality of mankind, was a succession of climaxes and anticlimaxes, and so he portrays it. He began his life with a lie and it was rounded by murder and a conversion. Much of it was spent in sexual debauch and in drunkenness. Pleasures and intense sufferings were also his. His favorite brother is killed, murdered. He longs for revenge and in despair desires death. Like so many people before and after him he seeks forgetfulness in the cup. Yet he has the amazing and disconcerting honesty to admit that after a while he got so fond of drinking that he forgot all about his primary object.

He gets delirium tremens and shares with Burns the rare good fortune of seeing ghosts drunk. But his ghosts are more terrifying. They are the ghosts of men

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whom he had known very well and they are on horseback singing a song with a very old theme: "We all must die some time: so what value is there to anything." 121 159*

Upon becoming sober he finds that he has added one more experience to his already rich store: he has become a poet and his song a favorite drinking song. Subsequently, at his conversion, he sees God, identifies himself with God, with the soul and with thought itself. He reaches the startling philosophical conclusion—proceeding from one deduction to another—that he is his thought and from this again he draws the perfectly logical inference that, though still living, his corporeal affairs are over. When he recovers from his hallucination he continues as though nothing had happened. He does not become insane nor does he confuse his hallucination with reality.

As a child he was markedly non-suggestible and he afterwards passes successively from the rôle of a man about town to that of a pimp, a thief, a murderer, and a coward, finally to develop into an excellent philosopher and something of a moralist. And yet he always feels himself the same, no better or worse at the end than at the beginning. He passes no judgment, he makes no evaluations on what he has done. In his own eyes he is no better when he finally succeeds in living up to a certain standard of self-restraint that would have made him a hero in any standard European biography than he was when, to save himself from imprisonment he, in the most selfish fashion conceivable, be-

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121 trays his companions who had participated in a murder
*159 which he had planned and for which he got all the glory. The question of good and bad simply does not present itself to him, because the task he had set himself did not entail the passing of judgments but the giving of as an accurate account of his life as was possible for him to give.

It would be both incorrect and stupid to imagine that he was either morally blunted or unintelligent or that he did not have many of those half-mystical strivings that so many of us have. All his life, in fact, can be said to have been spent in the search of an experience which his marked non-suggestibility when a child prevented him from then obtaining. The fundamental religious experience of every member of the tribe to
[087] which he belonged was obtained in early youth. It consisted of fasting, of retiring at night to some lonely and inaccessible spot where one could commune undisturbed with the deities. Most youths got it. It was something of a disgrace not to. Yet he did not. In spite of his dishonestly persuading his father that he had been properly blessed, he never deluded himself about the matter. He always felt the stigma attached to his failure to experience what all the others had obtained, and in his inconsistent fashion he tried to find some substitute. When he finally got the experience he had been seeking, although it had come to him in the most devious and unexpected manner, he recognized it at once, was satisfied, and became a good man, even from the normal Christian standpoint.

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## *Introduction*

A man to whom this could have happened was clearly not blunted either spiritually or morally. He was merely true to the task he had voluntarily imposed upon himself when he decided to write an account of his life, when he refused to see running through it a purpose from which he had never deviated and which had blotted out everything else. His final conversion and spiritual and moral regeneration are consequently to him neither a reaction against his vices nor the ending of a long continued inward search. It is just an incident happening to come last. 121 159*

Here is a theme out of which a dozen heroes could have been forged. Our author, however, makes no pretense at being one. He consistently and objectively pictures himself as never rising superior to any situation, not even toward the end. Wherever in life there was any temptation to which he could succumb, he succumbed to it. Even at the turning-point of his life, before he eats the medicine that is to lead to his conversion, he frankly and acutely observes, "I thought I was fooling them and they thought they were converting me!" Life and his own emotions and moods buffeted him about incessantly and no consistent direction is anywhere visible. What neither life nor his own nature could do, however, was to delude him into believing that he was any other than what he was, or that he had had an experience when he knew he had not had it.

Herein lies the fundamental value of this document for all those who are interested in the *comédie humaine,*

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121 *159 whether professionally or unprofessionally. Here is a man with an unusual capacity for articulate expression and fortunately free from our traditional conventions and proprieties, setting before himself the task of pleasing a sympathetic white man by writing down for him what he regarded as significant and important in his life. What facts is he going to select? Is he going to begin with the last act and work backwards, that is, is he going to attempt to show how all the experiences in his life have led to the crowning achievement of his forty-fifth year? As we have pointed out, he had ample reasons for so considering it, for he did obtain at the age of forty-five that experience he had missed in his youth. But he is too good a psychologist to humbug himself into any such belief.

Accordingly he begins with the beginning. He describes his birth with meticulous care, and he does the same for his early childhood and the formation of certain personal habits which for us seem trivial, such as how he acquired the habit of eating fast or how he acquired the habit of taking the blanket away from people with whom he slept. His life to him means something very specific, and he describes the significant stirrings of early childhood and youth with an insight and accuracy that would do justice to the finest psychological novelist. He indicates the precise time when he began to have memory of things and afterwards the first stirrings of sex. He very delightfully states when the desire arose within him of "making himself pleasing to the opposite sex." From the beginning, as I have

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repeatedly pointed out, he shows an unusual insistence in separating what he has actually experienced from what he should have experienced. We saw above that when he failed to get into *rapport* with the spirits during his youthful fasting, he states so unhesitatingly, although he strove hard to obtain the desired communion with the deities. Not strong-charactered enough to admit his failure, he deceives his parents. In the same way he confesses to being anything but a success with the girls in his early days. Here again, however, he cannot resist the temptation of pretending to be very successful.

121 159*

Psychologically and humanly, what is so interesting here is not so much the fact that he knows the difference between truth and desirable social fiction, but that he never becomes a cynic. He escapes this because there is nothing he is hiding, and cynicism therefore is quite unnecessary. He needs no defense mechanism. He is giving a description of his life and it so happened that in his life, owing to certain weaknesses in his character, outwardly pretense had to rule over truth. Due, however, to his inward honesty, it never did. How, in fact, he managed not to confuse the two more than he did is somewhat of a mystery to me. It bespeaks a man with many facets to his personality and at the same time a personality which itself was markedly unintegrated. It is to this same multiple personality that we shall have to ascribe also his amazing faculty for living himself into the particular period of life which he is at the moment describing. Although he

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



121 wrote down the autobiography when he was a stanch
*159 adherent of a new religious sect which had definitely broken with the old cultural background, this in no way interfered with the accuracy and the sympathetic penetration with which he described the old background. Never does he forget himself and inveigh against it. When he describes his childhood he is a child, his youth a youth, the Medicine Dance a member of that fraternity, and finally when he describes the new religion it is as a stanch adherent. Everything in its proper place and time.

Thus he passes through life, or, better, life passes through him—lying, boasting, swaggering, stealing, murdering, fornicating, interpreting dreams in the most approved Jungian fashion, and finally philosophizing and adding a new proof of the truth of the Trinity—consistently lying to the world about him and never lying to himself. Always very kind, he was throughout life unable to resist the appeal of his kindred, particularly of the more immediate members of his family. He ends his account fittingly and in the most approved style of Voltaire. He, too, like Candide, was going to settle down. He was happy and his wife had a new baby.

All we have thus far discussed relates directly to the personal and human implications of this amazing revelation of a "child of nature." But there are other aspects just as important. Its value as an ethnological and psychological document need not be stressed, for that is apparent at every turn. It seems to me, however

that its significance for the student of religions and 121
religious psychology cannot be placed too high. 159*
Whether he has made a correct analysis or not, he here gives us his version of his conversion with the most remarkable detail. We see his struggle, the reasons for his resistance and the strong urge to please his family, and finally we see his conversion in all the completeness and absoluteness of a revelation.

In conclusion may I hope that this document, be- 121
cause of its authenticity and its freedom from all outside influence, will play its rôle in dissipating once and for all the erroneous notion that still persists—that primitive peoples are incapable of an objective and analytical presentation of facts, that they can draw no clear line between truth and illusion, between hallucination and phantasy-dreaming on the one hand, and the objective world on the other.

PAUL RADIN

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*CRASHING THUNDER*

*The Autobiography of an American Indian*

[P. xxvii]
[P. xxvi is blank]
[P. xxviii is blank]

## §1. *Early Childhood*

Father and mother had four children and after I was born. An uncle of my mother named White Cloud spoke to her before I was born and told her, "You are about to give birth to a child who will not be an ordinary individual." These were the words he addressed to her. It was then that my mother gave birth to me. As soon as I was born, indeed as I was being washed—as my neck was being washed—I laughed out loudly. [159*] [551] [787] [844]

I have been told [1] that I was a good-tempered child.

During childhood my father told me to fast and I obeyed him. Throughout the winter, every morning, I would get up very early, crush charcoal, and then blacken my face with it. As soon as the sun rose would I go outside and there gazing steadily at the sun, make my prayer to the spirits, crying.[2] [787]

[1] Whenever the writer refers to events that happened before his time or before he could remember things, he always uses the quotative, "it is said." [114] [195]

[2] This refers to the custom of fasting of which many examples will be found later on. Among the Winnebago and many culturally related tribes, every person, male and female, was expected, between the ages of five and twelve, to seek communion with some supernatural spirit and the spirit so obtained was supposed to grant the suppliant certain powers and in general preside over his destinies throughout life. The proper manner of approaching this ordeal was to blacken one's face with charcoal and retire at night to some semi-deserted place at some distance from the house and there pray- [716]

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 Thus I acted up to the time that I have memory of things.

*159 In those days there were not many white people
221 living near us as to-day. My father went out hunt-
[224] ing continually. The lodge in which we lived was cov-
[342] ered with rush mattings, with reed mattings spread over
[352] the floor. After hunting for some time in one place we would move to another. My father, mother, older sisters, and older brothers, all carried the packs. Thus we would spend our time until the spring of the year and then in the spring we would again move in order
[224] to live near some stream where father could hunt
[136] muskrats, mink, otter, and beaver.

In the summer we always returned to Black River Falls, Wisconsin. Here all the Indians gathered after
[222] they had given their feasts. Then we picked berries. When picking berries my father used to buy me gum
*159 so that I should not be able to eat any of the berries.
[261] I managed however to eat berries and chew gum at the same time. After a while I learned to chew tobacco and then I did not eat the berries while picking them.
[276] Later on I got to like tobacco very much and I probably used up more money in buying tobacco than would have been the value of the berries had I eaten them.

ing and crying to await the coming of the spirit. Among the Winne-
[587] bago, and probably among many other tribes, it was customary for the parents or grandparents, to prepare the children specifically
[593] for what was likely to happen;[1] to inform them how to recognize
[603] the approach of the spirit and, what was more to the point, to teach them how to distinguish a good from a bad spirit.

[2]

[1] [i.e., during their quest for a guardian spirit, see P.1, Category 116 -- analyst]

## *Early Childhood*

In the fall of the year we would pick cranberries. 159*
When the hunting season was open, I would begin to [221]
fast again. [222]
This was my life for a number of years. [787]

After a while we bought a pony on which we used
to pack all our belongings whenever we moved our [231]
camp. In addition three of us would ride on top of [995]
the pack. Sometimes my mother and sometimes my
father drove the pony.

After I had grown a little older and taller all of us 159*
brothers would fast together. My father would indeed 785
repeatedly urge us to fast. "Do not be afraid of the
burnt remains of the lodge center-pole," he would say
to us.[3] "Whatever are the true possessions of men, the
apparel of men and the gift of doctoring—all these
things that are spread out before you—do try and ob-
tain one of them."[4] Thus he would speak to us.

I would then take a piece of charcoal, crush it and
blacken my face and he would be very grateful to me

I would at first break my fast at noon but then grad-
ually I began to fast all night. From the fall of the
year until spring I would fast until nightfall and then
eat. After a while I trained myself to pass the night
without eating and after that I was able to go two
nights and days without taking any food. Then my
mother went to the woods at some distance from the

[3] Symbolical manner of describing the crushed charcoal with which fasters must blacken their faces. [195]

[4] By "possessions of men" he means mainly that knowledge which will make a man honored and respected in his community; and by "apparel of men," he means power and ability. [554]

*159 787 village and there she built me a small lodge in which I and my elder brother were to remain whenever we had to fast through the whole night. At this fasting-place we used to play and before we were really able to spend a night at this particular place we moved away.

*159 857 After a time I passed from this stage of childhood to another. I now began to use a bow and arrow and I spent my day at play, shooting arrows.

It was at about this time also that I found out that my mother had been told just before I was born that [156] she was about to give birth to a child who would not be an ordinary being, and from then on I felt that I must be an uncommon person.

*159 At about the same time my elder sister married a very holy man. My parents gave her in marriage to him. He was a shaman and he thought a great deal of me.

[P. 4]

## §2. *My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud*

159 *
275
[551]

My brother-in-law was named Thunder Cloud. It is said that he was living his third life as a human being.[a]

This is his account:

I once lived with a small group of Indians numbering about twenty camps. When I had grown up to be a lad, although still not large enough to handle a gun, a war-party attacked us and killed us all. I did not know, however, that I had been killed. I thought that I was running about as usual until I saw a heap of bodies on the ground and mine among them. No one was there to bury us, so there we lay and rotted.

My ghost was taken to the place where the sun sets. There I lived with an old couple. The land of the spirits is an excellent place and the people have the best of times. If you desire to go anywhere all that you have to do is to wish yourself there and you reach it. While there I thought I would like to come to the earth again so the old man with whom I was staying said to me, "My son, did you not speak about wanting to go to the earth again?" I had as

[a] The belief in reincarnation is very widespread among the Winnebago. It is generally believed that if any child resembles some deceased individual he is that individual reincarnated. Not every person, however, can become reincarnated. This is a privilege that belongs only to the more prominent people and to the members of the most sacred of Winnebago ceremonies, the Medicine Dance. [554] [996]

*159 775 a matter of fact only thought of it yet he knew what I wanted. Then he said to me, "You can go but you must ask our chief first." Then I went and told the chief of the village of my desire, and he said to me, "You may go and obtain your revenge upon the people who killed your relatives."

Then I was brought down to earth. I did not enter a woman's womb but I was taken into a room. There I remained conscious at all times. One day I heard the noise of little children so I thought I would go outside. Then it seemed to me that I was going through a door but I was really being born again from a woman's womb. As I walked out I was struck by a sudden gust of cold air and I began to cry.

At the place where I was brought up I was taught to fast a great deal. Afterwards I did nothing but go to war and I certainly took my revenge for my own death and that of my relatives, thus justifying the purpose for which I had come to this earth again.

There I lived until I died of old age. All at once my bones became unjointed, my ribs fell in and I died a second time. I felt no more pain at death then that I had felt the first time.

[964] This time I was buried in the manner used then. I was wrapped in a blanket and laid in the grave. Sticks were placed in the grave first. There I rotted. I watched the people as they buried me.

As I was lying there some one said to me, "Come, let us go away." So then we went toward the land of the setting sun. There we came to a village where we met all the dead. I was told that I would have to stop there for four nights, but, in reality, I stayed there four years. The people enjoy themselves here. They have all sorts of

dances of a lively kind. From that place we went up to 159* where Earthmaker lives and I saw him and talked to him, 775 face to face, even as I am talking to you now. I saw the [776] spirits too and, indeed, I was like one of them.

Thence I came to this earth for the third time and here I am. I am going through the same that I knew before.

Thus my brother-in-law had lived long ago, had 159* joined the Medicine Dance[6] and adhered strictly to its 577 precepts. He was a good man; he disliked no one; he never stole and never did he fight. He made offerings of tobacco to the spirits and was always giving [782] feasts. He could always be relied upon.

When Thunder Cloud was in spirit land, just before 756 he was to come to this earth, he fasted. He only ate 775 once a month. All the different spirits who live on high, all those who live under the earth, indeed all [776] those whom Earthmaker had created, they all blessed him. Then he came to the earth and was born here as a human being again. When he came to the earth he fasted. All the various spirits who had blessed him before, now blessed him again. Thus did he become a holy man. When he came here, he became a shaman for he was very holy. Indeed he was the North Spirit.

[6] The Medicine Dance is a secret society which with the preliminary ceremonies lasts five days. Members of this society are supposed to [575] possess the secret of being able to kill one another and then to restore one another to life again. The "killing" is done by "shooting" a [789] shell from a pouch made out of an otter skin. The shell is supposed to enter the body of the person shot at and to render him unconscious. He regains consciousness gradually after spitting out the shell. The ceremony is described in detail on pp. 103 ff. of this autobiography.

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 755 [787] Once when I was sick he[1] treated me. As soon as he came my father arose with tobacco in his hands and made him an offering, greeting him as follows:

"My son-in-law, tobacco do I offer you and I make offerings to your spirits. You have made your hat[1] become holy, for the various spirits made it sacred. I greet you."

*159 755 787 756 [776] Before treating me Thunder Cloud told of his fasting experience:

At the very beginning those above taught me the following. All the various spirits who live up above in the clouds, in a doctor's village, came after me and instructed me in what I was to do. They taught me and told me the following. "Here let us try it," they said to me. There in the middle of the lodge lay a rotten log, almost entirely covered with weeds. They tried to make me treat this log. I breathed upon it and all those who were in this spirit lodge also breathed upon it. Then for the second time I breathed upon it and they with me. Then for the third and the fourth time I did it. After the fourth time the rotten log arose and walked away. Then the spirits said to me, "Human being, very holy indeed are you."

There from the middle of the ocean, from the shaman's village, they came after me. They blessed me, all the spirits in the middle of the ocean. They made me try my power. As many waves as exist, all of them as large as the ocean, upon these they asked me to blow; and as I blew upon them everything became as quiet as the water in a small saucer. So they became. Then I blew for the

[195] [1] Symbolical expression for the various objects and blessings bestowed upon him by the spirits.



[1] [i.e., his brother-in-law Thunder Cloud who was a shaman--analyst]

third time and it was the same. The fourth time the spirits 159*
made the ocean very choppy and the waves were piled, one 755
upon the other. Then they told me to blow again and show 787
my power. I blew, and the ocean, mighty indeed as it 756
was, became very quiet again. "Now this, human being, is what you will have to do," they said to me. "Not anything will there be that you cannot accomplish. Whatever be the illness a person may have, you will be able to cure him."

All the spirits on the earth blessed me. "If any human being who is suffering from pain, makes an offering of tobacco to you, then whatever you demand, that we will [782] do for you," the spirits told me.

Now at Blue Clay Bank (St. Paul) there lives one who is a dancing grizzly-bear spirit. Whenever I am in great [776] trouble I was to pour tobacco, as much as I thought necessary, and he would help me. This grizzly bear gave me songs and the power of beholding a holy thing; he gave me his claws, claws that are holy. Then the grizzly bear danced and performed while he danced. He tore his abdomen open and, making himself holy, healed himself again. This he repeated. One grizzly bear shot claws at the other and the wounded one became badly choked with blood. Then both made themselves holy again and cured themselves. They had a front paw disappear in the earth and after a while pulled out a prairie turnip. Finally they grabbed hold of a small plum tree, breathed upon it and shook it, and many plums began to fall.

This was only the first part of the treatment. 159*
After recounting his fasting experience Thunder 755
Cloud addressed the spirits and said, "Spirits, here is 782
a person who is sick and who offers tobacco to me. I

*159 755 782 am on earth to accept it; to try and cure him." He then turned to me and said, "You will live, so help yourself as much as you can. Try to make yourself strong. Now as I offer this tobacco to the spirits you must listen and if you know that I am telling the truth, you will be strengthened thereby."

Then he prayed to the spirits:

### *The Prayers to the Spirits*

*159 755 782 776 539 Here, O Fire, is the tobacco for you. You promised that if I offered you some, you would grant me whatever request I made. Now I am placing tobacco on your head as you told me to do when I fasted for four days and you blessed me. I am sending you the plea of a human being who is ill. He wishes to live. This tobacco is for you and I pray that the one who is ill be restored to health within four days.

To you too, O Buffalo, I offer tobacco. A person is ill and is offering tobacco to you and asking you to restore him to health. So add that power which I obtained from you at the time I fasted for six days and you sent your spirits after me. They took me to your lodge which lies in the center of the earth and which is absolutely white. There you blessed me, you Buffaloes of four different colors. Those blessings that you bestowed upon me then, I am now in need of. The power of breathing with which you blessed me, I am now in need of. Add your power to mine as you promised.

To you, Grizzly Bear, I also offer tobacco. At a place called Pointed Hill there lives a spirit who is in charge of a ceremonial lodge, and to this all the other grizzly bears

belong. You all blessed me and you said that I would be able to kill whomsoever I wished and that I would be able to restore any person to life. Now I have a chance to enable a person to live and I wish to aid him. So here is some tobacco for you. You took my spirit to your home after I had fasted for ten days and you blessed me there. The powers with which you blessed me there I ask of you now. Here is some tobacco that the people are offering you, grandfathers. 159* 755 782 776 539

To you, O Chief of the Eels, you who live in the center of the ocean, I offer tobacco. You blessed me after I had fasted for eight days. With your power of breathing and with your inexhaustible supply of water, you blessed me. You told me that I could use my blessing whenever I tried to cure a patient; you told me that I could use the water of the ocean and you blessed me with all the things that are in the water. A person has come to me and asked me for life. As I wish him to live I am addressing you. When I spit upon the patient may the power of my saliva be the same as yours. Therefore do I offer you tobacco. Here it is.

To you, O Turtle, you who are in charge of a shaman's lodge, you who blessed me after I had fasted for seven days, you who carried my spirit to your home, to the home of birds of prey, to you I offer tobacco. You blessed me and you told me that should, at any time, human beings suffer from pain I would be able to drive it out of them. You gave me the name of *He-who-drives-out-pain.* Now I have before me a patient with a bad pain and I wish to drive it out of him. This the spirit told me I would have the power to do, when they blessed me before I was reborn. Here is tobacco.

To you, O Rattlesnake, you who are perfectly white,

*159 you who are in charge of the snake lodge, to you I pray.
755 You blessed me with rattles to wrap around my gourd;
782 you told me after I had fasted for four days that you
776 would help me. You said that I would never fail in any-
539 thing I attempted. So now when I offer you tobacco and shake my gourd, may my patient live and may life be opened out before him. That is what you promised to me, grandfather.

O Night Spirits, you also, I greet. You blessed me after I had fasted for nine days. You took my spirit to your village lying in the east, and there you gave me your flutes. You told me they were holy. My flute likewise you made holy. For your flutes I now ask you, since you know that I am speaking the truth. A sick person has come to me and has asked me to cure him. I want him to live and so I am speaking to you. You promised to accept my tobacco at all times. Here it is.

To you, too, O Disease-Giver, I offer tobacco. After I had fasted for two days you informed me that you were the one who gave disease; that if I desired to heal any one it would be easy to do so if I were blessed by you. So, Disease-Giver, I am offering tobacco to you and I ask that this sick person who has come to me, be restored to health again.

To you, O Sun, I offer tobacco. Here it is. You blessed me after I had fasted for five days and you told me you would come to my aid whenever I had something difficult to do. Now, some one is here who has pleaded for life. He has brought good offerings of tobacco to me, because he knows that you have blessed me.

To you, grandmother Earth, I also offer tobacco. You blessed me and promised to help me whenever I needed
000 you. You said that I could use all the best herbs that

## *My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud*

You said that I could use all the best herbs that 159* 755 grow upon you, and that I would always be able to effect cures with them. I beseech you for those herbs now and I ask you to help me to cure this sick man. [782] [816] [218] [539]

Then Thunder Cloud breathed upon me and squirted some water on my chest. "What I have said is very true and very holy, I believe," he said. "Indeed now you will get well."

Thunder Cloud knew all the good medicines that exist and he used them in order to heal me and so that I might recover from my illness. I got well. Indeed Thunder Cloud was holy.

Thunder Cloud was also what we call a poisoner. 159* He used to travel at dead of night, it was said. One 754 night at about eleven o'clock he got ready to poison a family by the name of B. We were all listening, sitting in our lodge. Then outside we heard him make some noise. We were afraid of him because we knew he was a poisoner. Indeed he claimed to be in control of our household. My family would do nothing without first consulting him, for we were afraid of him. We believed that he had come from the spirits, that he was a reincarnated man and, if displeased, would poison us. So whatever he asked we did.

He had been married to my eldest sister and after 159* her death wished to marry the second sister. Where 756 he had come from at the dwelling-place of Earth-maker,[8] my elder sister was now staying, he said. But now he claimed that the second sister resembled the

[8] Circumlocution for saying that she was dead.

[195]

*159 first. "She must be the one I left behind when I came
756 from my spirit home," he thought. So up above, to
Earthmaker's village, he went to see whether his first
*159 wife was still there. He found her there. "How is
756 this? I thought I saw you among the human beings
775 and that is why I have come to see if you were still
787 here," he said. And the woman answering said, "Why, where was I to go? Here you left me when you went away and here I have remained up to the present time. What kind of woman is she who resembles me? Bring her up here to me." Thus my dead sister spoke.

However since he was a bad shaman, a poisoner, we
[754] let him marry the second sister. We were afraid that if we didn't he would poison us.

*159 He told my brother that he had come from the place
756 where Earthmaker* lives, that Earthmaker had told
[776] him that he was to bring back with him four men.
[787] He was to examine them carefully, for they were to be virtuous men, not quick tempered nor of change-
[577] able ideas, but really virtuous, men of conservative tendencies. Such was he to take back with him.

*159 My brother loved Thunder Cloud for these reasons. Never did he show any disrespect to him. Whatever he was asked to do he did. Zealously and painstakingly did he perform all the actions demanded, for he hoped that if, in return, our brother-in-law loved him and blessed him, he would take him back to Earthmaker. Wholeheartedly did he wish to be like him. This was always in his mind and he served him to the best of

[776] *Earthmaker is the supreme deity of the Winnebago.

## *My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud*

his abilities. My brother wished to return with him 159*
to Earthmaker and since he saw Thunder Cloud very
scrupulous in his attitude toward Earthmaker he acted
accordingly.

[P.15]

## §3. *Fasting*

*159 At this stage of life I secretly got the desire to make myself pleasing to the opposite sex.

[342] The Indians then lived in their old-fashioned lodges. Women, however, whenever they had their menses, [343] were placed in special huts. There the young men [84] would go to court them at night when their parents were *159 asleep. I used to go along with the men on such occa- 84 sions, for even although I did not enter any lodges but [584] merely accompanied the older men, I enjoyed it.

My parents were greatly in fear of my coming into contact with menstruating women so therefore I went with these men secretly. My parents were even afraid of having me cross the path over which a menstruating woman had passed. They worried so much about it at that time, because I was to fast as soon as autumn came. They did not wish me to be near menstruating women, for were I to grow up in their midst I would assuredly be weak and of little account. Such was their reason.

*159 Before long I started to fast again together with an 785 older brother of mine, both day and night. It was [221] during the fall moving, and several lodges of people were living near us. There it was that my elder brother and I fasted. Among the people of the other lodges [883] were four girls whose duty it was to carry wood.

## *Fasting*

Whenever these girls went out to get wood my older 159*
brother and I would play around with them a great 785
deal. We did this even although we were fasting at
the time. Of course we had to do it in secret. When-
ever our parents found out we got a scolding and so [861]
did the girls. At home we were warned to keep away
from menstruating women, but we ourselves always [841]
sought them.

After a while some of the people living in the lodges 159*
moved away and we were left alone. They moved far
ahead of us. We ourselves were to move only a short
distance at a time. My father and my brother-in-law
went out hunting and killed seventy deer between [224]
them, so that we had plenty of meat.

When the girls with whom I used to play moved
away I became very lonesome. In the evenings I used
to cry. I longed for them greatly and they had moved
far away!

Soon we got fairly well started on our way back.
We moved to a place where all the leaders used to give
their feasts. Near the place where we lived there
were three lakes and a black-hawk's nest. Right near
the tree where the nest was located, they built a lodge
and our war-bundle [10] was placed in it. There my elder [787]

[10] The war-bundle was the most sacred object among the Winne- 778
bago. It consisted of dried animal skins, other parts of animals, reed
flutes, etc., all of which had some symbolical meaning. The various
animal remains, for instance, were supposed to give the owner the [825]
powers of these animals, the sound of the reed flutes was sup-
posed to paralyze his enemy and make it impossible for him to walk.
Each clan possessed at least one such bundle and whenever the tribe [614]
went on the warpath, this bundle was carried on the back of some

There my elder

*159 brother and myself were to pass the night. It was
787 said that if any one fasted at such a place for four nights, he would be blessed with victory and the power to cure the sick. All the spirits would bless him.

We were told the following would happen to us. On the first night we would imagine ourselves surrounded by spirits whose whisperings we would hear outside of the lodge. The spirits would even whistle. I was told that I would be frightened and nervous and that if I
[776] still remained there, I would be molested by large monsters, fearful to look upon. Even the bravest man might well be frightened. Should I, however, manage to get through that night I would then on the following
[775] night be molested by ghosts whom I would hear speaking outside. These ghosts would say things that might well cause me to run away. Towards morning I was told these ghosts would even take my blanket away from me. They would grab hold of me and drive me out of the lodge and not stop until the sun rose. If I
[776] was able to endure a third night, then I would be addressed by the true spirits. They would bless me and say, "We bless you. We had really intended to turn you over to the monsters and bad spirits and that is why these approached you first, but you overcame them and now they will not be able to take you away. Now you may go home for we bless you with victory

778
[619] individual esteemed for his bravery. The power of this war-bundle was such that it would kill anything or anybody who approached
[841] it, the only exception being a menstruating woman. For this reason
[562] the war-bundle was always carefully guarded and protected and women were not allowed to see it or come anywhere near it.

and long life; we bless you with the power of healing the sick. Nor shall you lack wealth. So go home and eat, for a large war-party is soon to fall upon you. As soon as the sun rises the war whoops will be given so that if you do not go home now you will be killed." 159* 787

Thus the spirits would speak to me. I was told that if I did not care to do the bidding of one particular spirit, then some other would address me and repeat very much the same thing. So the spirits would speak alternately until the break of day. Then, just before sunrise, a man wearing a warrior's costume, would come and peep into the lodge. He would be a scout. I was told that when this happened, then I would surely believe that a war-party had come upon me. Soon another spirit would come and say, "Grandson, I have taken pity upon you and I will bless you with all the good things that the earth holds. Go home now for a war-party is about to rush upon you." If then I went home the war-whoops would be given just as the sun rose. The members of this war party would give the whoop all at the same time. They would rush upon me and capture me and after *coup* had been counted upon me (*i.e.*, after I had been struck) they would say, "Now, grandson, we have acted thus in order to teach you. Thus shall you act. You have completed your fasting."

Thus would the spirits talk to me, I was told. Now this war-party was really composed of spirits, spirits from the heaven and the earth. Indeed all the spirits that exist would be there. These would all bless me. [776]

*159 787 I was also told that it would be a very difficult thing to obtain this particular blessing.

So there I fasted at the black-hawk's nest, where a lodge had been built for me. The first night I stayed there I wondered when something would happen. But nothing took place. The second night, rather late in the night, my father came and opened the war-bundle and then taking out a gourd, began to sing. I stood beside him without any clothing except my breech-clout and, holding tobacco in each hand, I uttered my cry to the spirits:

[782] "O spirits, here humble in heart I stand beseeching you."

My father sang war-bundle songs and wept as he sang. I also wept as I uttered my cry to the spirits. When he was finished he told me some sacred stories; [551] he told me about my ancestor Weshgishega:

### *The Story of My Ancestor Weshgishega*

*159 787 539 776 When Weshgishega was growing up his father coaxed him to fast. He told him that when Earthmaker had created the various spirits, all the good ones he had created, were placed in charge of something. The gift of bestowing upon man life and victory in war he gave to some; to others, the gift of hunting-powers. Whatever powers the Indians needed in order to live, these he placed in the hands of various spirits. These blessings Weshgishega's father told Weshgishega to attempt to obtain from the spirits.

Thus Weshgishega fasted and tried to obtain something

7:Radin E-8 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## *Fasting*

from the spirits. But as he fasted he kept thinking to himself, "Long ago Earthmaker created all the different spirits and he put every one of them in control of something, so people say. He himself must therefore be much more powerful than all the others. As holy as these spirits are, so assuredly, Earthmaker must be mightier, holier." So he thought. He tried to be blessed by Earthmaker. He thought to himself, "What kind of being is he?" As he fasted Weshgishega thought to himself, "Not even any of the spirits whom Earthmaker created has really known Earthmaker as he actually is; not one of the spirits has he he even blessed. I wonder, however, whether Earthmaker would bless me? This is what I am thinking of." So he put himself into a most pitiable condition and uttered his cry to the spirits. He could not stop. "From Earthmaker do I wish to obtain knowledge. If he does not bless me during my fasting I shall assuredly die." So, to the utmost of his power, did he fast. He wished to be blessed only by Earthmaker. 159* 787 539 776

At first he fasted four days; then six; then eight; then ten and finally twelve days. After that he broke his fast. Yet it was quite clear that he had obtained no knowledge, quite clear that he had not been blessed. So he gave up his fasting and when he reached the age of early manhood he married.

He took his wife, and the two of them moved to an out-of-the-way place. There they lived, he and his wife. 159* 539

Here again he commenced to fast, his wife with him. He wished to be blessed by Earthmaker. This time he felt that most assuredly would he die if Earthmaker did not appear before him in his fasting. "Never has it been told that such a thing could happen, that Earthmaker would bless any one. Yet I shall continue even if I have to die." 787

7; Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1928 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## *Crashing Thunder*

*776 159 787 539 [787]

After a while a child was born to him. It was a boy. He addressed his wife and asked her advice, saying that they ought to sacrifice their child to Earthmaker. She consented. To Earthmaker therefore they prepared to sacrifice their child. They constructed a platform and placed their child upon it.[11] Then both of them wept bitterly. In the nighttime when the man slept, Earthmaker took pity on him and appeared to him. The man looked at him. He thought, "This, most certainly, is Earthmaker." He wore a soldier's uniform and carried a high cocked hat on his head. He had a very pleasing appearance. Weshgishega looked at him and wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. The figure took one step, then another, and finally disappeared, uttering a cry. It was not Earthmaker; it was a pigeon. The bad spirits were fooling Weshgishega.

Now even more than before did his heart ache, even more than before was his heart wound up in the desire to be blessed by Earthmaker. Now again he fasted and again apparently Earthmaker appeared to him. "Human being, I bless you. Long have you made your cry for a blessing. I am Earthmaker." When Weshgishega looked at him, he saw that he was pleasing in appearance. He looked very handsome and his dress was nice to look upon. He wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. As he looked at the figure it became smaller and smaller and when finally he looked, he noticed that it was a bird.

Then his heart ached even more than before. Bitterly did he cry. Now, for the third time, Earthmaker blessed him saying, "Human being, you have tried to be blessed by Earthmaker and you have caused yourself great suf-

[769] [614]

[11] That is, they killed the child and then placed his body upon a platform, this being the customary mode of burial of the clan to which Weshgishega belonged.

## *Fasting*

fering. I am Earthmaker and I bless you. You will never be in want of anything; you will be able to understand the languages of your neighbors; you will have a long life; indeed, with everything do I bless you." But, from the very first, this figure did not inspire Weshgishega with confidence and he thought to himself, "Somebody must be fooling me." And so it was; it was a bird. 159* 776 787 539

Then most assuredly did he think that he wished to die for he felt that all the bad birds in the world were trying to make fun of him.

Earthmaker, above where he sits, knew of all this. He heard the man's voice and he said, "O Weshgishega, you are crying. I shall come to the earth for you. Your father has told me all." Then when Weshgishega looked, he saw a ray of light extending very distinctly from the sky down to the earth. To the camp it extended. "Weshgishega, you said that you wanted to see me. That, however, cannot be. But I am the ray of light. You have seen me."

Not with any war powers did Earthmaker bless him; only with life.

After telling me about Weshgishega, father left me. When I found myself alone I began to think that something ought to happen soon, yet nothing occurred so I had to pass another day there. On the third night I was still there. My father visited me again and we repeated what we had done on the night before. He told me about my grandfather Jobenangiwinxga: 159* 787 [551]

### *My Ancestor Jobenangiwinxga*

Once Jobenangiwinxga fasted. So that he might be blessed by the spirits he starved and thirsted himself to 159* 539 787 [785]

*159 539 787 death; he made himself pitiable in their sight. At first he fasted four nights and the Night Spirits came to him; with mighty sounds they came. There they stood before him and said, "Human being, you have thirsted yourself to death and we are going to bless you for that reason. We who speak are the Night Spirits." They blessed him with life and with success on the warpath. Then he looked at them and said to himself, "I wonder whether these really are the Night Spirits speaking to me?" Then he looked at them and he saw that they were small birds called heshepga. They had fooled him.

Then once again was his heart sore. In despair he said, [785] "Well, if I have to, I'll die fasting." So he fasted again and once again he rubbed charcoal on his face. For six nights he continued to fast. And then, once again, from the east the Night Spirits came. They came making a great noise and they stood near him and said, "Human being, we bless you. You have thirsted yourself to death and you have made your heart sore. We feel sad on your account. With life and success on the warpath we bless you." Then he looked at them and again he wondered in his heart whether they really were the Night Spirits.[13] Indeed they were not the Night Spirits who were speaking to him. They were birds called the kawishge, chonjin and shikokkok. They were fooling him. Instead of feeling sad this time, however, he said, "I don't care what happens; I am willing to die in order to get a blessing." So he thought to himself.

Then again he began fasting. He rubbed charcoal over

[13] The Night Spirits were mythical spirits whose precise nature [996] is never described in detail. They are supposed to cause darkness and the night. They possess a cane with which they strike those of their worshipers who are not properly attentive to their ceremonies.

## *Fasting*

his face again. Seven nights he fasted and once again from the east the Night Spirits came singing. They came and stood before him and said, "Nephew, we bless you. So long have you been sad and so piteously have you cried to us that we bless you. No one did we ever bless before. Both in war and in life you shall be able to do as you wish." Then again he looked in their direction and thought to himself, "I wonder whether those speaking are really the Night Spirits?" But indeed they were not the Night Spirits They were the bluebird and the duck and as many as there were of them, their breasts were dark; as many as there were of them, they were bad. "O my! O my! How they abuse me," Johenangiwinaga cried. 159* 539 787 [785]

He had at first thought in his fastings that just to spite the spirits he would fast again but now he rubbed charcoal on his face and wept bitterly. Both hands contained tobacco, and he stood in the direction from which the Night Spirits came and, weeping, put himself in the most abject condition.

Now indeed to its very depths did his heart ache. Ten nights did he fast. Finally the Night Spirits came after him. "Human being, I have come after you." He followed the spirits and they took him to the east; to the site of a Night Spirit village they took him. In the village there was a long lodge standing in the east. There they took him. All the Night Spirits in control of the most powerful blessings were there. When he entered he had to wade through white feathers up to his knees. Many kettles and much food did he see in the lodge. On the outside a buffalo hide was stretched almost across the entire lodge. Then these spirits said to him, "Human being, without giving up, long have you suffered; your heart has indeed been sad. All of the spirits in this lodge have talked about what is to 159* 539 787 776

* 159 539 787 776 happen to you. I, myself, am the chief of the Night Spirits. This creation lodge, just as you see it, with all that it contains, I give to you. Never shall you be in want of food. Offer up to us as many buckskins as you see here in the lodge. Thus it shall be. The creation lodge of the village of the Night Spirits I give to you. You can go on as many war-parties as you wish and you will obtain everything that you demand of life. All the offerings of tobacco, of food, [787] of buckskins, and of red feathers, that you and your descendants offer to us, they all will come here to our creation lodge and we will accept them."

Now thus did the Night Spirits speak to grandfather Jobenangiwinxga.

* 159 787 In the morning, just before sunrise, I uttered my cry to the spirits:

[787] "O spirits, here humble in heart I stand beseeching you."

The fourth night found me still there. Again my father came and we did the same thing, but in spite of it all I experienced nothing unusual. Soon another day dawned upon us. That morning I told my elder brother [577] that I had been blessed by the spirits and that I was going home to eat. I was not speaking the truth. I was hungry and I also knew that on the following night we were going to have a feast, and that we would have to utter our cry to the spirits again. I dreaded that. So I went home. When I got there I told my people the story I had told my brother; that I had been blessed and that the spirits had told me to eat. I was not speaking the truth, yet I was given the food that is carefully prepared for those who have been blessed.

## *Fasting*

Just then my older brother came home and they ob- 159 *
jected to his return for he had not been blessed. How- 787
ever, he took some food and ate it.

My brother J., however, obtained a blessing. When 159 *
he reached the age of puberty my father called him 785
aside and told him to fast. He told him that it was 554
his fervent wish that he should begin to fast in order 787
to become holy, to become invincible and invulnerable in war. He wished him to become like one of those Winnebago of whom stories are told. He assured him that if he fasted he would really be holy and that nothing that exists on this earth would be able to molest him; that he would live a very long life and that he would be able to cure the sick. He told him that if he were blessed no one would dare to make fun of him [576] and that they would be very careful how they addressed him; first, because they really respected him and secondly, because they were afraid of getting him angry. He was to fast until spring and then he was to stop, for there are many bad spirits about in the spring who [776] are likely to deceive a faster.

Near our village there was a hill called *Place-where-they-keep-weapons*. This hill was very high, steep and [778] rocky. It was a very holy place. There it was that my father wished my brother to fast for it was the place where he himself had fasted. Within this hill lived the spirits whom we call *Those-who-cry-like-babies*. [776] These spirits are supposed to possess arrows and bows. Twenty of them were supposed to be in this hill. My father had control of them and when 000

My father had control of them and when
*159 he wished to bless a man he would take his bow and
787 arrows and, holding them in his hands, lead the man
788 around the hill and into the lodge (*i.e.*, into the hill). There he would look for a stone pillar, and upon it, at about arm's length, he drew the pictures of a number of different animals. My father possessed only one arrow, but that one was a holy one. Then dancing around the stone pillar and singing some songs, he finished by breathing upon the pillar. Finally he walked around and shot at it and when he looked at the
[789] stone, it had turned into a deer with large horns which fell dead at his feet. He repeated this a number of times. The little spirits living in the hill breathed
[786] with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you wish to
[782] kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done, and offer us tobacco and you will be able to obtain whatever you wish."

*159 This was the power my father wished my brother
787 to obtain. My father was a very famous hunter and my brother wished to be like him.

Now of all these things my brother dreamed; with all these powers he was blessed. He also had a vision
[785] of visiting the village of the ghosts. There he was able to steal a costly shawl and escape with it. He dreamed that all the inhabitants of the ghost village chased him but that they were unable to overtake him and were compelled to return back when my brother reached the earth.

The night after we had stopped fasting we gave our feast. There, however, our pride received a fall, for

## *Fasting*

although the feast was supposedly given in our honor, we were placed on one side of the main participants. After the kettles containing the food had been put on twice, it became daylight and the feast was over.

The following spring we moved to the Mississippi in order to trap. I was still fasting and ate only at night. My brothers used to flatter me, telling me that I was the cleverest of them all and, in consequence, I used to continue fasting although I was often very hungry. In spite of my desire to fast, however, I could not resist the temptation of being around the girls. I wanted always to be near them. They were generally in their menstrual lodges [13] when I looked for them. My parents did not wish me to go near the girls then but I went nevertheless.

My parents told me that only those boys who had no connection with women would be blessed by the spirits. Throughout this time my sole wish was to appear great in the sight of the people. To be praised by my fellowmen was all I desired. And I certainly received what I sought. I stood high in their estimation. That the women might like me was another of the reasons why I wanted to fast. But as to being blessed, I learned nothing about it, although I went around with the air of one who had received many blessings and talked as such a one would talk.

[13] Any contact with menstruating women, or even with objects in any way connected with them, will, it is the firm belief of the Winnebago, destroy the power of sacred objects or individuals temporarily sacred. Fasting youths were regarded as such.

* 159 §4. *Reminiscences of Childhood*

[785] The following spring I stopped fasting.

[501] In those days we used to travel in canoes. My
[226] father used to spear fish and always took me along
[593] with him, and this I enjoyed very much. He kept a club in the canoe and after he had speared a fish, I would kill it with the club as it was jumping around. Sometimes my mother accompanied us. She sat in the stern of the boat and rowed while my father stood in the prow and speared the fish. I killed all those thrown in the canoe.

[865] Sometimes my parents would start out without me, but I would then cry so bitterly that I, in the long run, induced them to take me along. Sometimes they whipped me and told me to go home, but I would follow them so far that they were then afraid to let me go back alone and I would thus be permitted to ride with them. Indeed I exerted myself greatly in crying and as I cried, ran after them and followed them very far, I was always taken along in the end.

[342] In those days we lived in the old-fashioned Indian lodges. In winter our fire was placed in the center of
[354] the lodge and my father used to keep it burning all night. When he placed a large log in the fire it would burn a long time.

## *Reminiscences of Childhood*

We were three boys of whom I was the youngest and 159 *
at night we slept together. In cold weather we fought 593
as to who was to sleep in the middle, since whoever got 513
that place was warm; for while those at either end used to pull the cover from each other, the one in the middle was always covered. Even after I grew up I always took the cover away from the particular person with whom I happened to be sleeping. I would always fold it under me, for it had become a habit with me to take the cover away from the other person whenever I slept on the outside.

We always ate out of one dish. At times we did not 159 *
have enough food on hand and then I would always try 159
to get enough by eating very fast. In this way I often 261
succeeded in depriving the others of their proper portion. Sometimes, on the other hand, I would purposely eat slowly and then when the others were finished, I would say that I had not been given enough and so get some of their food. In this way I developed a habit, that I still have, of eating fast. Even after I grew up, whenever I ate with other people, I always finished sooner than they did.

Another habit acquired then was the ability to go
without food for a whole day while traveling. I did [484]
not mind this in the least, for during my fasting I had grown accustomed to going without food for long periods of time.

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In the summer, at the season when people pick ber- [221]
ries, I used to go around visting, sometimes for a day, [222]
sometimes for a longer period. I would often receive [594]

*Crashing Thunder*

*159 nothing to eat, but I did not mind that. In the summer,
754 when people pick berries, they generally go out in
[361] bands and settle here and there. Some would be living
at a great distance from the others.

[P. 32]

## §5. *Names*

Whenever they think highly of any individual in a 159 *
family they give him the means for obtaining a happy 593
life. If the older people think highly of any one they [554]
prearrange the kind of life he is to lead afterwards. With this object in view, my uncles told my brother the story of how human beings first came into this world, the story of the origin of our clan.

### *The Story of the Origin of Our Clan*

Earthmaker was sitting in space when he came to con- 539
sciousness, Nothing was to be found anywhere. He began 614
to think of what he was to do and finally he cried. Tears 776
flowed from his eyes and fell below where he was sitting. After a while he looked below and saw something bright. The bright objects were tears, of which he had not been aware and, which falling below, had formed the present waters. They became the seas of to-day.

Then Earthmaker began to think again. He thought, "Thus it is whenever I wish anything. Everything will become as I wish it just as my tears have become the water of the seas." So he wished for light and it became light. Then he thought, "It is as I have supposed; the things that I wished for, come into existence as I desired." Then he again thought and wished for this earth and this earth came into existence. Earthmaker looked at the earth and

539 614 776 he liked it, but it was not quiet. It moved about as do the waves of the seas. Then he made the trees and he saw that they were good. But even these did not make the earth quiet. Then he made the grass grow and still the earth was not quiet. It was however almost quiet. Then he created [823] the four cardinal points and the four winds. At the four corners of the earth he placed them as four great and powerful spirits, to act as weights holding down this island earth of ours. Yet still the earth was not quiet. Then he made four large beings and threw them down toward the earth and they were pierced through the earth with their heads eastward. They were really snake-beings. Then it was that the earth became still and quiet. Now he looked upon the earth and he liked it.

Again he thought of how things came into existence just as he desired. Then it was that he first spoke and said, "As everything happens just as I wish it, I shall make a man like myself in appearance." So he took a piece of earth and made it like himself. Then he talked to what he had created but it did not answer. He looked at it and he saw that it had no mind or thought. So he made a mind for it. Again he talked to it but it did not answer. So he looked at it again and he saw that it had no tongue. Then he made it a tongue. Then he talked to it again but it did not answer. So he looked at it and he saw that it had no soul. So he made it a soul. He talked to it again and then it very nearly said something but could not make itself intelligible. So Earthmaker breathed into its mouth and talked to it and it answered.

As the newly created being was very much like Earthmaker in appearance, he felt quite proud of him, so he made three more exactly similar. He made them powerful so that they might watch over the earth. These four he

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



made chiefs of the Thunderbirds. Then he thought, "I will have some beings live on the earth." So he made four more like himself. Just like the others he made them. They were brothers—*Kunuga, Hcnuga, Hagaga* and *Nangiga*. He talked to them and said, "Look down upon the earth.' So saying he opened the heavens in the place where they were standing and there they saw this earth spread out before them. He told them that they were to go down there to live. "And this I shall send down with you," he added giving them a plant. "Even I shall never have the power of taking this away from you, for I have given it to you exclusively; but when, of your own free will, you make me an offering of some of it, I shall be glad to accept it and give you in return whatever you ask. This shall you hold foremost in your lives." What he had given them was the tobacco-plant. Then again he spoke and said, "All the spirits that I have created will not be able to take this away from you unless you desire to give it to them, by calling upon them during fasts. Thus only can the spirits get some. And another thing I send with you that you may use it in life, to be a mediator between you and us, whenever you offer anything to the spirits. It shall take care of you throughout life, stand in the center of your dwellings, and be your grandfather." This was the Fire.

Then the four Thunderbirds brought the brothers down to the earth. On their journey down *Kunuga*, the oldest of the four, said, "Brother, when we get to earth and the first child is born to me, I shall call him *Chief-of-the-Thunderbirds*, if he is a boy." On and on they came, down toward the earth. As they got near the earth it began to get very dark and then the second brother said, "Brother, when we get to the earth and a child is born to me, if it is a girl, I shall call her *Dark*." Then they came to a place called

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



539 614 776 *Within-lake* at Red Banks, a lake near Green Bay (Wisconsin). On an oak tree south of the lake is the place where they alighted. The branch on which they alighted was bent down by their weight. Then spoke the third brother, "Brother, the first daughter born to me I shall call *She-who-weighs-the-tree-down.*" Then they alighted on the earth. Then said the fourth brother, "Brother, the first son born to me I shall call *He-who-alights-on-the-earth.*" Then the brothers alighted on the earth. But the thunder-birds did not touch the earth. The first thing the brothers did on earth was to start fire.

Then Earthmaker looked down upon them and saw that he had not prepared any food, so he created animals that they might have something to eat. The oldest brother suddenly said, "What are we going to eat?" Thereupon [411] the youngest two took a bow and arrow Earthmaker had given them and started toward the east. Shortly after, the third brother came into sight with a young deer on his back and then the youngest appeared with a two years' old deer. The two deer killed and those who had killed them, were brothers.

The men were very much delighted that they had obtained food. Then they said, "Let us give our grandfather the first taste." So saying they cut off the ends of the tongues, cut out the heart and together with some fat, threw both into the fire.

The first people to call on them were the Warrior clan people. Then came those from the west, four of them, the Pigeon clan people. Then came those of the earth, the Deer people, the Snake people, the Elk people, the Bear people, the Fish people, the Waterspirit people and all the other clans that exist among the Winnebago.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## *Names*

Finally there appeared on the lake a very white bird, the swan. After that all the other birds in the world appeared. They were named in the order of their coming until the lake was quite full. Then the people began to dress the deer meat. Suddenly something came and alighted on the meat and one of the brothers asked, "What is that?" Then said *Kunuga* the eldest, "It is a wasp and the first black dog that I possess, I shall call *Wasp*." "Just as the wasp scented and became aware of the deer meat as it was being dressed, so shall the dog be toward other animals. Whenever an animal is on the windward the dog will scent it," *Kunuga* continued. 539 614 776

Then they made a feast for Earthmaker with the deer meat, threw tobacco into the fire and gave some to him. They showed the other clans how to make fire and gave a little to each adding, "Each of you must now learn how to make fire for yourselves for we shall not always lend you some." Here then it was that the first people who lived made their homes. They had come at the time of the year when the grass grows as far as the knee.

One day it was reported that a very strange object was nearing the camp. The men thought at first that they would leave it alone. It came nearer and nearer and as it moved toward the camp it began to eat the bones it found there. They allowed this animal to become the founder of one of their clans and took it to their homes. It was the dog. Then they killed one of these dogs and offered it up to Earthmaker telling him all they had done. [231]

In the beginning the Thunderbird clansmen were as powerful as the Thunderbird spirits themselves. It was they who made the ravines and the valleys. While wandering about the earth they struck the earth with their clubs and

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



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thus created dents in the hills. That is why the Thunder-bird clansmen are the chiefs. The Dog-clan people are the least in importance.

One day the oldest of the brothers lay down and did not rise again. He did not breathe and his body became cold. "What is the matter with our oldest brother?" the other three said. Four days they waited for him but he did not get up. They tried to find out from one another what the trouble was but did not succeed. Then they began to mourn for him not knowing what to do or think. They fasted and blackened their faces as we do now when we are mourning. They made a burial platform and placed him upon it. When the snow fell and it was knee-deep then, filling their pipe, the three brothers walked in the direction of the coming of daylight. They came to the first spirit Earthmaker had placed in the east, the *Island Weight* as he was called. Weeping they entered his lodge and extended the stem of their pipe toward him and spoke, "Grandfather, our brother *Kunuga* has fallen down and is not able to rise again. Earthmaker made you great and endowed you with all knowledge so that you know all things. Tell us what has happened to our brother?" Then he answered, "My grandsons, I am indeed sorry but I know nothing about this. Since, however, you have started on this quest you had better go to the one ahead of me, the north *Island Weight*. Perhaps he can tell you."

So weeping they started for the next one. When they got there and told him their troubles he told them he could not help and referred them to his third brother in the west. Thus in turn they were referred to the last of the *Island Weights*, the one in the south. There they found all four of the *Island Weights* assembled and the south one answered and spoke, "Grandsons, thus Earthmaker has

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willed it. Your brother will never rise again. He will be with you no more on this world and so it will be with human beings as long as the world exists. Whenever a person reaches the age of death, he will die. Those that wish to live long will have to attain old age through good actions. Thus only will they succeed in living long. Into your bodies Earthmaker has placed a part of himself and that will return to him if you do the proper things. This world will at sometime come to an end. Your brother is to keep a village in the west for all the souls of your clan and there he is going to be in complete charge. When this world comes to an end then your brother will take all the souls back to Earthmaker—at least all those who have acted properly." Then the Thunderbird clansmen thanked the four spirits and left the lodge.

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When they got home they took their brother's body, dressed him in his best clothes and painted his face. Then they addressed the dead person and told him where he was to go. They buried him with his war club, his head toward the west. At the grave they placed the branch of a tree and to this branch they tied a small red stick in order to prevent anything from crossing his path, in his journey to spirit-land. He was told that if any animal crossed his path or was found on his path during the journey, he was to strike it with his club and throw it behind him, so that those of his relatives whom he had left behind on earth might derive blessings for the warpath, and attain long life. He must take his pipe and his food along with him. Whatever years he was deprived of when he died, all the victories he might have gained had he lived to a normal old age, all these he was to bestow upon his relatives. The wealth he might have gained, in fact anything he could possibly have obtained, all this he was asked to

539 614 776 give to his relatives. Then they would not feel so unhappy and lonesome.

*159 614 553 Now in our clan whenever a child was to be named it was my father who did it. That right he now transmitted to my brother.

*159 551 Earthmaker, in the beginning, sent four men from above and when they came to this earth everything that happened to them was utilized in making proper names. This is what our father told us. As they had come from above so from that fact has originated a name *Comes-from-above;* and since they came like spirits we have a name *Spirit-man*. When they came, there was a drizzling rain and hence the names *Walking-in-mist, Comes-in-mist, Drizzling-rain*. It is said that when they came to *Within-lake* they alighted upon a small shrub and hence the name *Bends-the-shrub;* and since they alighted on an oak tree, the name *Oak-tree*. Since our ancestors came with the thunderbirds we have a name *Thunderbird* and since these are the animals who cause thunder, we have the name *He-who-thunders*. Similarly we have *Walks-with-a-mighty-tread, Shakes-the-earth-down-with-his-force, Comes-with-wind-and-hail, Flashes-in-every-direction, Only-a-flash-of-lightning, Streak-of-lightning, Walks-in-the-clouds, He-who-has-long-wings, Strikes-the-tree.*

Now the thunderbirds come with terrible thunder-crashes. Everything on the earth, animals, plants, everything, is deluged with rain. Terrible thunder-crashes resound everywhere. From all this a name is derived and that is my name—*Crashing Thunder.*

[P. 40]

## §6. *Stories*

When we were children my father used to tell us 538
stories in the evening. Whenever we showed signs of 159*
restlessness he stopped. Here are some of the stories 517
that I remember.

### *The Story of Coyote and the Ghost*

Coyote was wandering about alone. He was wandering 539
about aimlessly looking for food; he was scenting around everywhere for food, for he was very hungry. As he was walking from place to place he suddenly became aware of the scent of human flesh. "Ah! Ah! If there are any human beings in the neighborhood surely they have thrown away bits of food and I shall be able to get some." So he started in the direction of the scent and soon he got to an old abandoned village and picked up some moccasins, but he could find nothing that would satisfy his hunger. He wandered to the end of the village thinking, "Perhaps here at the end of the village I may find some graves and possibly the bodies there will still have some flesh on them." But not even graves could he find.

In the distance, however, he saw a rack and when he ran toward it eager to see what it was, he saw a corpse lying on t[illegible] A man had died and his body had been placed on [illegible]al scaffold. "Oh my! Oh my!" he exclaimed, "if this body were only on the ground then indeed

539 I would have my fill." Badly did he want to eat but there was nothing that he could do. So he sat there always looking upwards at the corpse, hungry. He would at times leave it but then return again. This was in the fall of the year and as he sat there he thought, "How I wish this corpse were on the ground! It would last me till spring."

When night came on, Coyote was still there. He prepared to sleep there. Suddenly the corpse spoke, "Coyote, what do I smell like?" Coyote got frightened but he thought to himself, "What shall I say to him?" "Well, what could you possibly smell like, but like small dried corn boiled with bear's ribs." "Good," said the ghost, "come and get it." So Coyote sprang forward and there, much to his surprise, he found a big dish full of corn boiled with bear's ribs. And Coyote, the covetous fellow, ate very much.

The next morning the ghost again spoke to Coyote, "Coyote, what do I smell like?" "What indeed could you smell like, but like jerked meat in bear's fat." "Good, come and get it." And there again he found a plate full of jerked meat and bear's fat. And Coyote, the covetous fellow, ate very much.

In this way every morning and every evening he obtained food. Dried corn boiled with fruit and watermelon, these too he ate. Coyote, the covetous fellow, ate very much.

All winter he lived there with the corpse. Every morning and evening the corpse would ask the same question. One day Coyote decided to ask for something special, so he waited anxiously for the corpse to speak, "Well, Coyote, what do I smell like?" "What could you smell like, but like a bottle of whisky, of dark red color. "Good, come and get it," said the ghost. So there he went and found a square bottle. He pulled the cork out of it, took a drink and

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before long he was hopelessly drunk. He finished the bottle but he wanted more. Soon it was filled again. In his happiness he gave a war whoop and soon emptied it. Then he lay down drunk. The next morning he was sober, but he was sick of whisky and when the corpse spoke to him he asked for some deer-loin soup. This he drank avidly for as he became sober he was very thirsty. Four times during the winter he got drunk and four times he always sobered up in the same way. 539

Spring was now near at hand and he began meditating upon what he should ask for. Then as the corpse shouted over to him, "Coyote, what do I smell like?" he answered, "Well, what could you smell like but like a warpath?" "Good, Coyote, you may go on a warpath. One man you may go after; one man I bestow upon you." So Coyote started out on the warpath. He came to a village and there he dug up a grave and from it he took a scalp. With this he returned victoriously to the corpse. Before leaving he had sung his farewell song:

"Oh, you grass widows! Oh, you grass widows! When you look at your work, surely you will think of me!"

When he returned with a man's scalp he danced the victory dance, all by himself.

Spring had now come, the real spring. The weather was beautiful; the green grass was up and the days were pleasant. Coyote contemplated himself and he liked his appearance. "How splendid I look!" Sleek and fat he was. He felt like wandering around and visiting people. When, therefore in the morning, the corpse asked, "Coyote, what do I smell like?" he answered, "Well, what indeed could you smell like, but like a stinking corpse with hollow eyes?" "Oh, you greedy, covetous fellow," exclaimed the corpse, "you shall die for this!" Then he chased him but

539 always, at the last minute, just as he was about to be caught, he managed to escape. Finally Coyote ran into a hole and the corpse stationed himself outside and said, "Coyote, you have saved yourself for the present, but surely you do not deserve to be blessed and I will not rest till I have killed you." Just then the corpse grabbed hold of Coyote's tail and the end of it broke off.

Coyote managed to escape eventually and as he ran along he sang:

"Uncles, my uncles! Uncles, my uncles! A corpse has bitten off my tail!"

A bear passed, but he could not help him. Finally, however, a deer, the kind we call chiakshigega, came along and gave him part of his tail. So Coyote had a tail the end of which was white. He liked it very much and as he ran along, he looked at it again and again. He was very proud of it.

Now this is the reason the chiakshigega deer have short tails and this is the reason why the tip of the Coyote's tail is white.

## *The Story of the Man Who Avenged the Death of His Wife*

Once an old man lived together with his daughter and son-in-law in one lodge. He was too old to trap or hunt any longer and so depended entirely upon his son-in-law for food. Now this old man possessed the right to give the war-bundle feast and one day he told his daughter that she was to take her husband and her children and accompany him while he hunted for the deer to be used for the feast.

So the husband left with his family and went to a place

about two days' distance from their camp. They arrived at the destined place at evening and the woman pitched the tent, while the man went out to gather wood. Since there was nothing to eat he told his wife that he would go in search of food immediately. He took his bow and arrows and left. While he was gone the woman fetched some water, filled the kettle and put it on the fire so that it would be ready when her husband returned. At dusk he returned carrying a deer on his back. This he set down outside and the woman skinned it and prepared it in the usual manner by cutting it first into small pieces and then drying these by the heat of the fire. Then they all sat down and ate and, shortly after, went to bed. The woman and children were soon fast asleep but the man stayed awake planning the hunt for the following day, for he wished very much to please his father-in-law. On the following morning he told his wife that if, during his absence, anything should happen she was under no circumstances to leave the children. Then he took his bow and his arrows and went away. 539

Now in the olden days it was considered a very brave thing for a man to camp at some distance from the main settlement and that is why, on this occasion when he was leaving, the man said to his wife, "If anything happens to you while I am away, remember that I will return immediately." He wished to show how much he loved her. He was out all day hunting and he killed a deer, skinned it and began carrying it home on his back. When he was near the site of his little camp he noticed that the lodge-poles were all standing upright and he knew immediately what had happened; he knew at once that his wife and children had either been killed or captured. He felt terrible but he laughed when he reached the lodge and found [554] [927]

539 [727] his wife gone and the children dead. The bodies of the children had been placed in a standing posture against the door. Their lips were parted so that they might thus convey to their father on his return, the impression of smiling at him. This was an old custom and it was done because the enemy thought that, in this way, they could cause a father the most pain.

When the man returned and saw all this, he quietly attended to the fire, prepared his meal and then addressed the children saying to them, "Come, this is the last meal that we will take together." Then he pried open their mouths and put a piece of meat in their throats. After he had fed them, he himself sat down to eat. When he was through he painted his body in two colors, one side from head to foot white and the other from head to foot black. Then he again spoke to the children, "My dear children, I believe I can go on a few warpaths myself and [775] I shall endeavor to send your spirits to the spirit land as properly as I know how. I shall kill the people who have slain you and many more to boot."

Then he put some arrows in his quiver and buried his children. Starting out he soon found himself in a trail and by carefully scrutinizing the footprints he discovered those of his wife, and thus knew that she had been taken prisoner. Now he transformed himself into a ghost and following the trail, found the enemy not far away. He ran ahead of them and waited, and as one of the enemy who was carrying the medicine pouch approached, he gave a whoop and killed him, cutting off his head as far as the neck. Then he disappeared in the brush, hid the head and ran ahead again. So he killed one after another, eight in all. When [720] day dawned he returned to the camp with his eight heads and eight war clubs. These he first placed around his camp-

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ing site, but then picking them up started for the home of his own father. 539

Thus, with the eight heads, he came to his father's lodge, but he did not enter it until late at night. Then when all his people were asleep, he blackened his face and entering the lodge, sat down in the place he had occupied before he had married. The old man suddenly saw some one sitting in his son's accustomed seat and awakening his wife he said to her, "There is some one sitting in our son's seat who looks exactly like our son." Both of them then sat up and soon they discovered that it really was their son and that he was in mourning, his face all blackened with charcoal. [965]

Then the old man spoke, "My son, what is the matter?" And the son answered, "Father, a war-party came upon my camp while I was out hunting, took my wife prisoner, and killed my children." "My son, if you had any respect for yourself, why did you not die with your children?" "Father, let me explain to you how it happened. While I was out hunting they fell upon my lodge, killed my two children and took my wife prisoner. When I came back I felt very miserable but I laughed and cooked my own meal, fed the children and ate with them for the last time. Then I pursued the war party and on that very night I killed eight of them, whose heads and war clubs I have brought home with me. Near the spring I have hidden them. There I placed the heads in a row and there I planted the war clubs in the ground, one near each head." "My son," said the father, "you have done well and the souls of your children will certainly reach the spirit land safely. For us, too, you have brought some nice heads, so that we might derive some amusement from them. I am very thankful to you." [927]

In the morning the father sent the crier around the vil-

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539 lage with the news of what his son had accomplished all alone. All the men in the village put on their war paint, took their war clubs and ran to the place where the heads had been deposited. There each man struck one and giving the war whoop, counted *coup* on the enemy. Then they [727] took the heads and brought them to their war lodge. There the victory dance was given and there all praised the man who had accomplished this brave deed.

When the dance was over the man again blackened his face and fasted for ten days. His people gave a feast when he had finished his fast, and at this feast he told them that he was now going on the warpath to rescue his wife who had been captured, and that all those who wished to come along could do so. "To-morrow at dawn," he said, "we will get ready and go to a certain hill and from there start out." So the next morning they gathered at the appointed place and started out. The man led the expedition. They marched all that day and toward evening they built their fires and sat around the fireplace while the old warriors told war exploits. The next day they marched all day again and so on until the third day. On the fourth day the man said, "Now here I shall attempt to locate the whereabouts of the enemy." So he went away and on that very night he succeeded in approaching the enemy's village. He found them all asleep. Then he went to his wife and said, "I have come to get you. The spirit who is in charge of this war-party has given this whole village to me and to-morrow we shall kill them all. Your brothers are outside with me and to-morrow, when we rush upon these people, you must run toward your brothers and tell them that you want to be a prisoner. I shall tell my friends to be on the lookout for you and not kill you. Now remember, do as I tell you, for if you don't,

they will kill you!" "I shall try," said the woman. Then 539
the man returned to his followers and told them that everything was well and cautioned them about the woman, telling the brothers also to see that she was not killed.

When day dawned they fell upon the village and surprised it. They fought nearly half a day and killed practically every one except the head chiefs and their sons, [727]
whom they took prisoners. They then returned home. When they reached the village they took both the prisoners and the captured scalps to their war lodge where they were guarded. The next morning they tied the prisoners to posts, danced around them and tortured them till they died.

Now such is the story of a man who was faithful to the spirit from whom he had received war blessings. He gave [782]
feasts and he made offerings in their honor. He fasted and his prayers were answered.

### *The Story of the Man Who Rescued His Wife from Spirit-land*

In a certain village there once lived two young married 539
people. The woman was very beautiful and her husband 775
loved her very much. Always he was thinking of something that he could do for her.

One day the young woman got ill. They called for a shaman but he could do nothing for her. Many were the holy men the young husband called, but it was all of no avail and the young woman died. They buried her. On the evening of the funeral many friends came to the grave to place lights there, so that the soul of the departed might find its way through spirit land. The young man was very good and every one liked him. They all came to the Four 000

*Crashing Thunder*

They all came to the Four

539 Nights' Wake and they all played the mourning games
775 with him. Then on the morning after the fourth night they
[765] all went home and the young man was left alone.

Immediately he made preparations to journey toward the west, for it is said that the soul of the deceased goes in that direction. In the direction of the west did he therefore chase the soul of his wife. As he trudged along the road he became worn out with exertion and fatigue and finally found it necessary to support himself on a cane. Even for that, however, his strength was not adequate and after a while all he could do was to barely creep along. Soon his knees were worn out from the incessant crawling and he tied some basswood bark around them. Thus he continued until all his strength deserted him. He was just strong enough to crawl to a pleasant-looking knoll. "This," he said, "is pleasant and nice and here I am willing to die." He rolled over until he finally reached the coveted spot and there lay awaiting death with his eyes closed.

Suddenly, much to his surprise, he heard some one talking to him, saying, "Come let us go home. I live here." The young man opened his eyes and looked about him and there before him he saw a fearful-looking person whose body was entirely covered with hair. The young man was unable to get up but the stranger spoke to him and said, "Come on!" At this the young man jumped up and followed him around the lodge. There the old man said to him, "Grandson, you are indeed in a most pitiable condition and I wish I could help you. But I do not know how. The little knowledge I possess I will tell you." Then he gave him something to eat and spoke to him again, "My son, you must keep straight on and at some distance from here you will come to a body of water over which you must jump. Then you must proceed straight on."

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Then the young man arose and continued on his journey. Soon he came to a large body of water that had a very swift current, the water whirling around at a terrific speed. He was afraid to jump across because the land on the other side seemed so small. It looked like the merest speck of green, so small that it had the appearance of a man's eyebrows. Indeed it seemed impossible to jump across but he remembered what the old man had told him and he decided to attempt it. "After all," he thought, "what if anything does happen," and so he closed his eyes and jumped. He landed on the other side and then looked back to see the water. But he could not find it. It was only after looking very carefully that he noticed a very small creek. What he had seen before as a large body of water whirling along at a terrific speed, appeared now as a very small creek. Then he thought to himself: "Perhaps everything that looks difficult to me will in reality be easy," and from this he took courage. Now he felt that he would be able to accomplish what he was seeking.

As he walked along he came to a lodge and in it he found the old man of the previous day with another person just like him. They gave him something to eat and said to him, "Grandson, we will concentrate our attention on the object you have in mind. It is very difficult but since your resolve is so strong you will undoubtedly accomplish it. So go right on and in the next place you will find a friend of ours who will help you. We too shall assist you." Thus they spoke to him.

Then the young man started out again and after a time came to another lodge where he found three old men, two of whom he had seen before, and another. The third one gave him something to eat and spoke to him saying, "Grandson, we are going to help you. You are doing very

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well. Now do all that we have told you for otherwise you will fail in your quest."

Then the young man started out again and after a while came to a knoll where he found a large gathering. Indeed the place was evidently a large village and there seemed to be no end to it. But strangely enough no people were to be seen; not a person was there anywhere. There were many bark lodges and he peeped into them but they were all empty. Finally he entered one and there he found four old men, three of whom he had met before and a fourth one. The fourth one spoke to him, "Grandson, you have come to the place you have been seeking. Your wife, however, you will not be able to see. Now do what I tell you if you ever wish to see her. To-night there is going to be a big dance which you will attend. Now remember, never turn around. We will take care of you."

In the evening he heard a drum beaten followed by some noise, then a shout here and there. Again he heard the drum beaten and ever greater was the noise. The four men arose and said, "Come, it is about time to start, for otherwise the lodge will be too crowded when we arrive."

They proceeded to the center of the village where they found a long lodge which they entered. The young man they placed in the middle. As he sat there he heard some whispering, "Wakisha has come; he has followed his wife as far as this; he is here. Yet his is a fruitless task, for never will he attain his quest." Then the voice began to annoy him and tease him. "Why his wife is married. Indeed I am the one she has married."

Soon after, the singing started. It was wonderful. All his relatives came and sang their songs. They were singing about him. They were saying, "Wakisga has come for his wife; Wakisga has come for his wife!" Thus they

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teased him. All night they did this but when the sun rose they all disappeared. His wife did not know anything about it. He returned with the four men to their lodge and there he was congratulated profusely. "You have done well grandson, you have done well, but to-morrow the test will be more difficult. Try your best."

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The next evening he heard the drum beat again and after the fourth time, he entered the lodge with the four men. That whole night he was teased and annoyed. The ghosts did everything in their power to make him talk. All sang and the young man thought it was wonderful, more wonderful and exciting than on the previous night. Finally the ghosts began putting their hands on his head, pulling him down and doing all sorts of things to him. He endured it as best he could and finally the day dawned and they all disappeared. He returned with the four men and they cautioned him against the next night.

The third evening had now come. The drum was beaten and the ghosts responded by cheering. At first it was not loud but then it became louder and louder. They entered the lodge. Immediately the ghosts began to tease him and even the six attendants that had been placed at his disposal to help him by the four old men, could do nothing. The singing began again. The young man sat there covered with the blanket and it was hard for him to resist the temptation of turning around. The force of the drumming was simply terrific; it shook the earth with its vibrations. The ghosts tugged at the blanket of the young man, tried to pull him down and fell all about him. At last morning dawned and as the sun rose, they all disappeared. He went home and the old men said to him, "You have done very well. To-morrow will be the last night. It is going to be very hard. There will be eight of us to help you. But

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even then we will be of no avail unless you too do your best."

Toward evening the drum was beaten again and soon the young man walked to the dancing lodge accompanied by the old men. The village had grow rapidly overnight. There were far more ghosts there than on the previous night for they increased just as the number of deaths on earth increased. The dancing-lodge was already crowded when they got there and they were literally almost trodden upon by the ghosts as they entered. As soon as the young man entered, he heard the voice of his wife saying to him, "Well, if you are going to be indifferent to me there was no need of your coming." He almost turned in her direction as he heard this. Then they began to sing. It was glorious. The earth shook from the vibration of their singing. He was pulled down. His wife was most active in this and always he heard her voice. Wrapped in his blanket he sat there. It was jerked off of him again and again, in spite of all that the eight attendants could do Finally toward morning he grew tired and weakened. The ghosts grabbed him by the ankles and pulled him along the floor. It seemed almost impossible to endure. At last the sun came up and every one disappeared.

"Come let us go now." It was the voice of one of the old men. "Grandson, you have conquered. From now on, however, this shall never happen again, for Earthmaker has not ordained it so. It is only because I and my friends blessed you that you have been successful. Go now and bring his wife," they said to one of the attendants. She was brought to the young man and the old people spoke to them, "I have blessed you both. Go to your homes now." Then he gave them a drum painted with blue clay. "If any one dies, this drum will bring his soul to you and if a

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soul is about to leave the earth, during illness, this drum will bring it back to you. If you pour tobacco for me and my friends, we will always remember you. Now go home. The ghosts will chase you, for they are wicked. Eight attendants will take you home." Then he gave them some ashes and told them to throw them behind them if necessary. 539 775

On their way home they were chased by the ghosts. "Alas, Alas! He has taken our wife away. Let us rescue her!" they shouted. Close they came to the two people but then the young man took the ashes and threw them behind him and the ghosts called to one another saying, "Run away, the ashes will ruin our clothes." They retreated. Again and again this happened but finally the two young people were able to reach the earth.

### *Coyote Goes on the Warpath*

"Come, let us go on the warpath and take Coyote along. He is always up to something foolish, always exaggerating everything he does. Let some one go for him." Then someone went to get him saying, "Coyote, we are going on the warpath. Why don't you come along too?" "Good. Of course I'll go along," and he accompanied the man back to the others. Then each one in turn sang his death song and when it was Coyote's turn he too sang:— 539

"Wiyayoho! Wiyayoho!
The little coyote, if he dies, if he dies,
Who will weep for him?
Wiyayoho! Wiyayoho!
The little coyote, if he dies, if he dies,
Who will weep for him?"

[P. 55]

## §7. *The Teachings of My Father*

*159 My father used to keep up the old habit of teaching
[867] us the customs of the Winnebago. He would wake
[593] us up early in the morning and, seated around the fire-
place, speak to us. The girls would be taught sepa-
[562] rately. Now this is what my father told me:

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*159 My son, when you grow up, see to it that you are of
867 some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in
[785] which you can aid them and that is by fasting. Our
[776] grandfather, the Fire, he who stands at all times in the
[372] center of our dwelling, sends forth all kinds of blessings.
Be sure that you make an attempt to obtain his.

*159 My son, do you remember to have our grandfathers, the
776 war chiefs,[14] bless you. See to it that they have compassion
867 upon you. Then some day as you travel along the road of
787 life, you will know what to do and encounter no obstacles.
721 Without any effort will you then be able to gain the prize
you desire. The honor will be yours to glory in, yours
without exertion. All the disposable war-blessings belong
to our grandfathers, the war-controllers, and if reverently
you fast and thirst yourself to death, then these will be
bestowed upon you. Yet if you do not wear out your feet
in frequent journeyings to and fro, if you do not blacken
your face with charcoal, it will be all for naught that you

[195] [14] Symbolical name for all those spirits who were supposed to be in control of war powers.

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inflict this suffering upon yourself. Not without constant 159*
effort are these blessings procurable. Try to have one of 776
the spirits created by Earthmaker take pity on you. What- 867
ever he says will come about. If you do not possess one 787
of the spirits from whom to obtain strength and power, 02
you will be of no consequence socially and those around [646]
you will show you little respect. Indeed they will jeer at
you.

My son, it is not good to die in the village; in your 159*
homes. Above all, do not let women journey to the spirit 867
land ahead of you. It is not done. To prevent this from 761
happening do we speak to our sons and encourage them to 785
fast. Some day in life you will find yourself traveling along 787
a road filled with obstacles and then you will wish you had
fasted. When such an event confronts you, that you may
not find it necessary to reproach yourself, I counsel you
to fast. If you have not obtained any knowledge from the
spirits, why it may happen that some day, in later life,
warriors will be returning from the warpath and as they [593]
distribute the war prizes to their sisters,[18] your own sisters [727]
will stand there empty-handed envying the rest. But if
you obtain blessings from the war-controllers, your sisters
will be happy. How proud they will be to receive the
prizes, to wear them, and to dance the victory dance! Your
sisters too will be strengthened thereby and you will be
content and happy.

Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to 000

[18] Among the Winnebago a man's sisters, especially his elder sisters, were very highly respected and all war prizes, such as wampum-belts, wampum necklaces, etc., were always given to them whenever a man returned from a successful war-party in which he had secured some honor. These war honors were of various kinds. The greatest was considered to be the feat of having struck the body of a dead enemy first. [562] [721]

701 Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to
* 159 be a leader of men. To become one, however, is very
867 difficult, the old people used to say. It may happen that
787 you merely pretend to be a leader of men, that you are but
a mere warrior in the ranks and yet take it upon yourself to
[686] lead a war-party and thus cause a needless waste of life,
that you do what is called "throwing away a life." That
is the most shameful of all acts. The relatives of the person
[627] whom you have thus sacrificed would then have the right
to make you suffer, to torture you with burning embers.
And then your relatives would have to stand by, sad and
humiliated. Not with the blessing of one, not with the
blessings of twenty spirits, can you go on the warpath.
* 159 For that the blessings of all the spirits are necessary—those
867 on this earth, those under it and those who lie pinned
776 through it, the Island Weights; those in the waters and
787 those on the side of the earth, the winds, all four of them.
You need the blessings of the spirit who dispenses life from
one side of his body and death from the other, the blessings of the Sun, the Moon, the Daylight, and the Earth.
All these Earthmaker has made controllers of war and by
787 all these must you be blessed in order to lead a war-party.
* 159 My son, if you cast off your dress for many people, that
867 is, if you give to the needy, your people will be benefited
[735] by your deeds. It is good thus to be honored by many
people. And even more will they honor you if you return
[554] victorious from the warpath with one of the four limbs, that
is, one of the four war honors. But if you obtain two, or
three, or perhaps even four limbs, then all the greater will
be the honor. Then whenever a war feast is given you will
receive part of the deer that is boiled, either part of its
ooo body or part of the head.[16] When on some other occasion,

[16] The meat of a deer at such a feast is given only to great warriors. The head is regarded as the choicest piece.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



787 When on some other occasion 159* such as the Four Nights' Wake, you are called upon to 867 recount your war exploits in behalf of the departed souls, [765] be careful, however, not to claim more than you actually [775] accomplished. If you do, you will cause the soul of the man in whose behalf you are telling it, to stumble [17] in his journey to spirit land. If you tell a falsehood then and exaggerate, you will die before your time, for the spirits, [577] the war-controllers, will hear you. It is indeed a sacred duty to tell the truth on such an occasion. Tell less than you did. The old men say it is wiser.

My son, it is good to die on the warpath. If you die on [721] the warpath, you will not lose consciousness at death. You [775] will be able to do what you please with your soul and it will always remain in a happy condition. If afterwards you wish to become reincarnated as human being, you may do so, or you may take the form of those-who-walk-upon-the-light, the birds, or the form of any animal you please, in short. All these benefits will you obtain if you die on the warpath.

## II

My son, if you cannot obtain war-blessings, fast at least 159* for position in life. If you fast then, when you get married 867 you will get along well. You will then not have to worry 785 about your having children and your life will be a happy 787 one. If you fast and have the spirits bless you with all that concerns the happiness of your home, then throughout life

[17] According to Winnebago belief the soul of a deceased individual in his journey to spirit land must cross a very slippery, swinging bridge and it is thought that if, during the wake following the man's burial, any of the invited warriors exaggerate their achievements the unfortunate soul will not be able to cross this bridge and will stumble and fall into the abyss of fire over which it is thrown. [775]

*159 867 785 787 you will never be in need of anything. Fast for the food you are to receive. If you fast frequently enough for these things then some day when your children ask for food they will be able to obtain a piece of deer meat without difficulty; they may indeed be able to obtain a piece of moose meat. It lies within your power to prevent your children from ever going hungry.

*159 867 593 [562] [776] Now again, my son, let me enjoin you. Do not abuse your wife. Women are sacred. If you make your wife suffer, then you will die in a short time. Our grandmother Earth is a woman, and in abusing your wife you are abusing her. Most certainly will you be abusing your grandmother if you act thus. Since after all it is she who is taking care of us, by your action you will be practically killing yourself.

*159 867 574 When you have your home, see to it that whoever enters your lodge obtain something to eat, no matter how little you yourself may have. Such food will be a source of death to you if withheld. If you are stingy about giving food, some one might kill you in consequence; some one may poison you. If you ever hear of a stranger passing through your country and you want to see him, prepare food for him and have him brought to you. In this manner [577] you will be doing good and it is always good to do good, it is said.

*159 867 888 If you see a helpless old person, help him if you have anything at all. If you happen to possess a home take him there, and feed him, for he may suddenly make uncomplimentary remarks about you.[18] You will be strengthened thereby. Or perhaps when he comes, he may bring with [778] him under his arms a medicine bundle, something he cher-

[18] It is considered exceedingly bad form for a guest to admire anything in the house he is visiting. [574] [576]

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



lshes very much and which he will offer you. If it is a 159*
bulb-medicine keep it to protect your house. Your home 867
will never then be molested by anything evil and nothing [886]
evil will enter your house, neither bad spirits, ghosts, dis- [778]
ease, nor unhappiness. Now such will be your life if you
do as I tell you. Witches will keep away from you. Thus [754]
by fasting will you benefit yourself and your fellowmen. [085]

You know that Earthmaker created all the spirits, those
that live above the earth, those who live on the earth, those 159*
who live under the earth, those who live in the water—all 773
these he created and placed in control of powers. Even 776
the minor spirits Earthmaker placed in control of something. In this fashion he created them and after that, he created us and because we were created last and no further powers were left, he could not put us in control of anything. Then, however, did Earthmaker create a weed and this he
placed us in control of. He further told us that none of [876]
the spirits he had created would have the power to take this weed away from us without giving us something in exchange. He told us that if we offered him a pipeful of this weed, which we call tobacco, he too would grant us whatever we asked for. Now it so happened that all the spirits came to long for this weed as intensely as they longed for anything in creation and for that reason if, at
any time, with tobacco in our hands we make our prayer [782]
to the spirits, they will take pity upon us and bestow upon us the blessings which Earthmaker gave them. Indeed so it is, for Earthmaker created it thus.

Fast, my son. If you are blessed by the spirits and then 159*
blow your breath upon people who are ill, they will become 756
well. Thus will you help your fellowmen. If you can cure 787
any of your fellowmen of disease, then you will be of even 867
more than ordinary help to them. If you can draw dis-

*159 ease from out the body, people will greatly respect you.
756 If then you happen to be without work, all that you need
787 for your support they will give you. For as long a time as
867 you live they will do this for you. After your death people will speak about your deeds for all time. During your lifetime they will say, "Yes, he really has power."

798 If you are not able to fast, do at least try to obtain some
824 power from those individuals who know the virtues and powers of certain plants. It is sad enough, of course, if you will have to admit to yourself that you could not obtain blessings during fasting; but if you could not, at least try to have those who possess the plants I have mentioned, take pity on you. If they take pity on you, they will present you with one of the good plants that give life to man. Now it will not suffice for you to possess merely one plant. You should try to obtain all those plants that grow among the hairy covering of our grandmother, the Earth—all those that give us life—until you have a complete medicine bundle. Then will you truly have reason to feel encouraged.

Some of the medicine men, the shamans, were blessed
[nnc] by the waterspirits.[19] If you wish to obtain really powerful blessings and gain the power of curing many people, you will have to fast a long time and sincerely. If four, or say ten, of the truly powerful spirits bless you, then some day when you have children and anything happens to one of them, you will not have to look around for a medicine man, but all you will have to do will be to look into your
ooo own medicine bundle. Search there and you will undoubt-

[19] Waterspirits are mythical animals generally described as having
[nnb] the shape of a lynx or wild-cat and provided with long tails that completely encircle their bodies. Their gifts to man are ambivalent and it depends upon the man whether he cares to make good or bad medicines from their bodies. Their so-called "bones" generally consist of semi- or completely fossilized objects.

Search there and you will undoubt-
edly be able to find the medicines necessary for curing your 159*
children. Indeed after a while you will be called upon to 756
cure your fellow men. Then you can open your medicine 857
bundle without embarrassment, for you will have the knowledge necessary for treating the sick. You will know where the disease is lodged and your treatment will be successful, for it was only after the greatest efforts on your part that you succeeded in obtaining the requisite blessings. If you declare to the patient that he will live, then he will live. If you make proper offerings to the medicine and speak to [932] your medicine in the proper manner, it will exert all the [998] power it possesses to cure the patient. Now you must make good offerings to these medicines; you must give many feasts in their honor and then if, in addition, you address them as if they were human beings, they assuredly will help you and do what you ask. You may accordingly accept the payments offered to you by your patients in good conscience and your children will wear these payments in the form of wampum necklaces and thus gain renewed strength. They will be well and happy. These are the reasons why I want you to be extremely careful in your attitude. Medicines are good for all purposes; that is why [993] they were given to us. Earthmaker gave them to us so that [755] we could cure ourselves from disease.

If any one tries to obtain these staffs of life, these medicines and inflicts sufferings upon himself in acquiring them, [787] then assuredly will our grandmother Earth have cognizance of it. She knows all that you have lost in obtaining them and in the long run what you have lost, will be returned to you. You made your offerings for the [577] future and it is good for people to look forward to their future.

Say, you wish to obtain the paint medicine. For that you ooo

## *Crashing Thunder*

Say, you wish to obtain the paint medicine. For that you
*159 would have to put yourself in the most abject condition
789 before the spirits. If you smear yourself with your paint
789 medicine it will irresistibly attract the enemy; it will
867 paralyze him, deprive him of all power of movement and utterly overpower him. Keep it in your home and then you will never be in want of riches. People will give you their most valued possessions owing to the influence of this paint medicine. The paint medicine is made from the
[116] blood of the waterspirits and that is why it is so holy. People obtain it by fasting and thirsting themselves to death and then receiving a blessing from the waterspirit. Earthmaker placed the waterspirits in possession of these powers so that they could then, in turn, bestow them on us.

*159 Some people succeeded in obtaining a medicine that will
789 enable a person to outdistance another in running. It might
759 perhaps be well for you to learn something about this.
867 There are medicines to be used in courting; medicines to prevent married people from separating; medicines for getting rich; medicines for causing people to become crazy. Should you, for instance, wish to make a person feel very sad at heart, then you can poison him with this last-named medicine and even make him crazy. It is also possible to make a woman who has refused you become a harlot, for this medicine will make her fall in love with every man she sees. Indeed any kind of medicine you desire can you obtain from certain individuals. Some are acquainted with medicines that put one to sleep, others with those that keep one awake and give one insomnia. Some have medicines enabling one to overcome the viciousness of dogs who are put to watch over women; others again have medicines that make people single out the possessor in a crowd. Every one will look at him and consider him a great man.

## *The Teachings of My Father*

There are medicines to prevent people from getting tired 159 *
when walking and medicines to cause a dog fight to take 789
place. In short there are medicines for everything. 867

Every one must take care of himself and try to obtain
that knowledge which will enable him to live in comfort and 159*
happiness. Try therefore to learn about the things you will 597
need. If you know them, then as you travel along in life, 867
you will not have to go to the expense of buying them from others, but you will have your own medicines. If you act in this way and if, in addition, you fast properly, you will never be caught off guard in life. Should you possess a home, it will look beautiful and you will never be in want. That is why I know you will never regret this that I am telling you. So you shall travel on your journey though
life, along the virtuous road taken by all your fellowmen, [626]
and your actions and behavior will never become the butt of your neighbor's sarcasm.

Help yourself as you travel along the road of life. The earth has many narrow passages scattered over it. If you have something with which to strengthen yourself, then when you get to these narrow turns you will be able to pass through them safely and your fellow men will respect you. See to it that people like you. Be on friendly terms with every one and then every one will like you. You will be happy and prosperous.

Never do any wrong to your children. Whatever your [593]
children ask of you, do it for them. If you act thus people will then say that you are good natured.

If any one in the village loses a friend through death, should you at all be wealthy, cover the expenses of the funeral of the deceased, if you can. Help the mourners likewise in defraying the expenses of feeding the departed. If you act thus, you will do well. All the people you have

*159 helped will then really know what kind of a man you are.
577 For the good you do people will love you.
869 It is not good to win at gambling. You may possibly
[525] become rich thereby but that is no life to lead. If you are blessed with luck in cards, if you are blessed with luck at gambling, you will perhaps win things and have plenty of wealth, but none of your children will live.

Now if you do all that I have told you, you will lead a happy and prosperous life. That is why we Winnebago preach to a child we love so that it should never become acquainted with the things that are not right, and never do anything wrong. Then if, in later life, a person does anything wrong, he will do it with a clear knowledge of the consequences of his actions.

## III

*159 My son, when you get married, do not make an idol of
581 the woman you marry; do not worship her. If you worship
867 a woman she will insist upon greater and greater worship as time goes on. This is what the old people used to say.
562 They always preached against those men who hearken too
593 strongly to the words of women; who are the slaves of women. Now it may happen that a man has received many warnings as to his behavior in this regard and that he pays no attention to them. It may go so far that when he is asked to attend a war-bundle feast[30] he will refuse to go; it may be that when he is married he will listen to the voice

[026] [30] The war-bundle feast was the great war ceremony of the Winne-
[096] bago. It was given by all those individuals who possessed a war-
[619] bundle and since theoretically there was only one war-bundle in each
[096] clan, the basis of the organization of the ceremony was the clan. The ceremony consisted largely of prayers, songs and speeches in honor of the spirits more definitely associated with war. For each

# *The Teachings of My Father*

of his wife and refuse to go on a warpath. He might as well have been brought up as a girl. Men who are real men perform the deeds of men, but such a man will never perform a real man's deed. If he should actually attend a war-bundle feast he will be given the leanest piece of meat, only given to a man of no account. Why should any one run the risk of being thus jeered at? Now when a really brave man attends a war-bundle feast he is given a deer's head. This other man gets a lean piece! It will dry up in his throat, so humiliated and disgraced will he feel. After a while he will not be allowed to go to any feast; his wife will not let him. He will listen to the voice of his wife. His relatives will scold him, his sisters will think nothing of him. They will tell people never to go to visit him. Finally when he has become a real slave of his wife he will even hit his relatives if she asks him to. It is for these reasons that I warn you not to listen to women. You will be considered different from others. It is not good.

Remember this too, that women cannot be watched. If you try to watch them and are jealous about them, then your female relatives will also be jealous of them. Finally when your jealousy has developed to the highest pitch, your wife will leave you and run away with some one else. You have allowed her to see by your actions that you worship a woman, and one alone, and, in addition, you have been watching her all the time. Because of this incessant annoyance she will run away from you. If you think that

of these spirits, a buckskin decorated with the symbol sacred to the spirit, was prepared and then at the most dramatic moment of the ceremony these buckskins were thrown out of the ceremonial lodge and it was believed that the spirits came down in person to fetch them. The war-bundle feast was specifically a man's ceremony.

*159 your wife is the only one to love, you have humbled yourself
[58] and she will be taken from you. You have likewise made
867 the woman suffer; you have made her unhappy. The whole
562 world will hear about it. No other woman will want to
593 marry you and you will have the reputation of being a bad man.

[579] Now you may act in the following way: You see people
[021] starting on a warpath and you join them knowing that it is an honor to die on the warpath. But you will join them because you feel unhappy at your wife's flight. Now this is not the proper way to act. You are throwing away your life; you are causing the leader of the war-party to throw away a life. If you want to go on the warpath, do not go because your wife has been taken away from you, go because you feel courageous enough to do so.

It is on the warpath that a man has fun! Do not go,
[785] however, unless you have fasted adequately. You must
[926] fast for each specific warpath. If you do not and yet join a war-party, then in the midst of the fight, a bullet will come your way and kill you. That will happen because you did not fast. If you have performed any deeds of valor, recount them to your sisters and to your sister's children. Those in charge of war-bundles are good to listen to in such matters. Those to whom such people give advice will eat an excellent dish; they will have the
[554] honor of sitting near a great warrior in the middle of the lodge.

*159 These are the things of which the old people spoke and
867 this also is the advice I give you. I myself never asked
579 for these things, but my father did. Your grandfather did. He asked for the information relating to the manner in which people are to behave. Never, when you are older, should you allow yourself to get in the predicament of not

knowing what is the right thing to do. Ask for this instruction, my son. It is not a matter requiring a few moments; it is something that must be thoroughly learned. You, too, must learn it. 159* 867 577

To a girl the following was told:

My daughter, as you travel along the path of life, listen to your parents. Do not let your mother work. Attend to the wants of your father. All the work in the house belongs to you. Do not shirk it. Chop wood, pack it; look after the gardens; gather the vegetables and cook them. When you come back to the village in the spring, plant your fields immediately. Never get lazy, for Earthmaker created you to do these things. 867 593 [962] [221]

My daughter, when you get your menses, do not ask those in the house to give you any food. Fast and do not eat until you get back to the family lodge. If you act thus, you will be fasting for your seat, for your position in life. You can only keep this seat by fasting. Then when you marry, even if your husband has been a good-for-nothing before, he will become a good hunter. You will have accomplished this for him. You will not fail in anything and you will be happy and contented. If, on the contrary, you do not do as I tell you, then when you marry, you will weaken your husband. After a while he will become sickly and it will be your fault. [841] [785]

It is not good to use medicine. If you marry a man and place medicine upon his head, you will weaken him and he will not amount to anything. It may happen that you do not want your husband to leave you and that after reflecting on the matter, you place some medicine on his head, to prevent him from leaving you. This is not good. You 867 593 832

867 will be ruining a man. It is equivalent to killing him. Do
593 not do it. It is forbidden. If you marry a man and want
to live with him permanently, work for him in order to
832 hold him. When you marry a man, listen to what he says.
If you do your work properly and the man likes you, he
will never leave you. By working for him must you make
your husband love you. Now remember it is not good to
use medicines on him. At least before you are fairly mature
in years do not use any, for you will thereby merely
weaken yourself and your life will be of no consequence.
Indeed you may cause the medicine to work on yourself
and then become demented in consequence.

867 Marry only one man at a time. Be good and virtuous
581 in your married life. If you do not listen to what I am
[626] telling you, you will become bad and men will make fun of
you. They will do whatever they wish with you; joke
with you familiarly on any subject. If you do not listen
to me you will injure yourself. Thus did the old people
speak to one another and thus did they hand down these
867 precepts from one generation to another, warning young
girls against committing wrong actions. They also said
that when a girl is growing up, one should admonish her
and that is why I am now speaking to you.

867 As you grow older, when you get to be a young woman,
584 the men will begin to court you. Never hit a man. It is
[683] forbidden. If you dislike a man very much tell him to go
away gently. If instead, you hit him, remember that fre-
[754] quently young men possess certain injurious 'medicines
which they may use against you. Even if a particular
person does not possess them, he knows where to get them.
Then this man whom you have humiliated, will use it and
transform you from a chaste and nice woman to a loose
one, to a harlot. That is why the old people used to warn

## *The Teachings of My Father*

the young girls not to maltreat a man. Hope with all your heart that you do not fall into such a predicament. I really mean what I say. 867 584

Do not be haughty with your husband. Do whatever he says. Kindness will be returned to you and he will treat you in the same way as you treat him. 867 593

If you have a child and it is naughty, do not strike it. In olden times when a child was naughty, the parents did not strike it, but instead made the child fast. Then when he is quite hungry he will reflect upon his disobedience. If you hit the child you will merely be putting more naughtiness in him. It has also been said that mothers should not lecture their children, that they merely make them bad by admonishing them. If your husband scolds them, do not take their part for then they will become bad indeed. If a stranger makes your children cry, do not speak to the stranger in your children's presence and take their part, If you wish to take the children's part, prevent such a thing from happening and keep your children home, and there at home, take good care of them and think of the best means of letting your children get to know you. When you are bringing up children, do not imagine you are taking their part if you just speak about loving them. Let them see it for themselves. Let them see what love is by observing you give things away to the poor. Then they will see your good deeds and then they will know whether you have been speaking the truth or not. 867 [861] 593 858 [735]

Do not show your love for other children so that other people notice it. Love them but let your love for them be different from your love for your own. The children of other people are different from your own and if they were to be taken to some other place they would become estranged from you; they would no longer belong to you.

867 You can, however, always depend upon the love of your own
593 children because they are of your own body. Love them
858 therefore.

If you do not have any real interest in your husband's
867 welfare and affairs, then you will be to him like any other
593 woman. People will ridicule you. On the other hand, if you pay more attention to your husband than to your parents, if you listen to him more than to them, that will be equivalent to deserting them. Let your husband keep your parents and take good care of them for they depend upon him. Your parents saw to it that you married him and
[583] they expect you to make some return for this as well as for the fact that they raised you.

867 Do not hurt the feelings of your relatives, the old people
[602] used to say. If you hurt their feelings you will make your brothers-in-law feel ashamed of themselves on account of the evil things you say about them.

Never desire to have any other man than your husband
[837] when you are married. Have only one husband. Do not give any one the right to call you a prostitute.

867 The old people said, "Never hit your relatives." You
602 may be on bad terms with one of them, for instance, and he may die. Then people will say that you used to quarrel with the deceased when he was alive. They may even claim that you are overjoyed at his death, that you want to dance with joy. Then indeed will your heart be sore and you will think to yourself how best you can make amends. Even should you have a performance of the Medicine Dance given in his honor, if you wish to bury him with honor, even then people will say, "What does all this mean? She used to be partial and jealous when he was alive. Now that he is dead she loves him! She should not do such things. She is merely wasting her wealth. She need

not have spent so much." Thus will people speak of you. 867
Then indeed will your heart ache to its very depths. Per- 602
haps you will even get angry when people say these things to you. It is to prevent this from happening that the old people used to say, "Love one another." If you have always loved a person then when he dies you will have the right to feel sorry. All your relatives will love you; indeed every one will love you. If you behave like a true woman you will be beloved by all and then if you meet with some crisis in life, all will turn their hearts to you in your trouble.

It will be good for you if you conduct yourself in the way I have just told you. That is what I wish you to do. In your own home you have doubtless been instructed in all the domestic work, your part in hunting, and in the work around the camp. If you learn about all these matters then some day when you visit your husband's relatives you will not find yourself in an embarrassing position from which you cannot extricate yourself. When you are visiting your husband's people do not walk around in a haughty [602] manner. Do not act as if you were far above them. Try to get them to like you. If they like you they will put you in charge of their camp.

Never think a home is yours unless you make one yourself. If you are living with people and have put them in charge of your household, do not behave as though the home were still yours.

[P. 73]

## §8. *Courting*

*159 584 It was at about this time that I desired and tried to court women. I did not, however, know the proper thing to say. The young men always went around at night to court. During the day I used to mix with the women but when evening came I did not know what to say. I had, however, a brother who was a very handsome man and he offered to take me along so that I could learn. One night therefore I went along with him. We went to a girl who was having her menses [841] at the time, a young girl. At such times the girls are accustomed to live apart from the rest of the family. We were very cautious about the whole matter because these girls were always carefully watched by their relatives. The relatives knew that it was customary for the young men to attempt to court the girls then. Now one of the precautions frequently taken was to pile sticks and branches about the lodge so that it would be difficult to enter. If then a person tried to enter one of these lodges he was likely to make some noise moving the branches and thus awaken the people living in the larger lodges near by. They would, of course, run to see what was the matter.

It was to such a place that we went. After working at the obstacles placed near the entrance for some time,

my brother succeeded in entering the lodge. I went as close as possible to listen. My brother spoke in an audible whisper so that I could hear. Sure enough, I heard him. However, after lying there for some time I got tired and fell asleep. I began to snore and my brother had to wake me up. Afterwards the girl found out and sent us both away. 159* 584

After a time I entered the lodges myself. We always had blankets wrapped around us and we took care to have our heads well covered on these occasions.

Sometimes a girl would be acquainted with quite a large number of men and then these would always gather around her lodge at night and annoy her parents a good deal. We would, in fact, keep them awake all night Some of these people kept vicious dogs.

There was one old woman who always watched her daughter carefully on such occasions. It was a long oblong lodge in which the daughter was confined, with just enough room for two persons. The mother of the girl finally decided to sleep with her daughter. Nevertheless we annoyed her all the time just for her meanness. Once we went there and kept her awake practically all night. Just before dawn, however, she fell asleep, so we young men—there were several of us—pulled up the whole lodge, poles and everything, and threw them into the thicket. The next morning the two women were found sleeping in the open, it was rumored, and the mother was criticized for being overcareful.

The reason why some of the older people were careful at that time was because it had been reported that

*159 some young men had forced themselves into lodges
584 where they had not been willingly received.

On one occasion I went to see a young girl and arrived there before the people had retired so I waited near the lodge until they went to sleep. As I lay there waiting, listening, I fell asleep. When I woke up it was morning and when the people got up they found me sleeping there. I felt very much ashamed of myself
[626] and the people laughed at me. I was not long in getting away.

We always did these things secretly for it was considered a disgrace to be caught and discovered.

On another occasion, in another place, I was crawling into a lodge when some one woke up as I was about halfway in. I immediately stopped and remained quiet and waited for the people to fall asleep again. In waiting, however, I myself fell asleep. When the people woke me up in the morning I was lying halfway inside the lodge. After waking me up they asked me whether I wouldn't stay for breakfast but I immediately ran away.

After a while I began to go around with some particular girl and I liked it so much that I would not get to sleep at all at night. I would sleep during the day. While we were acting in this manner our parents saw to it that we had food to eat and clothes to wear. We never helped them, for we were always courting girls.
[221] Only in the fall, when we picked berries, did we help along. However, as we were generally out all night, we could not do much work even then.

## *Courting*

I used to go out courting and be in the lodges all night and yet, most of the time, I never succeeded in speaking to any of the girls. I did not mind that so much, however, for I was doing it in order to be among the girls. This is what I enjoyed. Indeed I used to go around telling people that I was really keeping company with such and such a girl. I used to say this to my men associates. In reality I did not get much more than a smile from one or two girls. Yet even this I prized as a great thing. 159* 584 [156]

[P.77]

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## §9. *My Brother-in-Law's Fasting Experience*

*159 Just about this time we moved to the hunting-grounds
[78] and I began to fast again. I began to take sweat baths
[183] and caused myself to vomit in order to be purged. My
[82] father was a good hunter; he was always able to kill
many deer and occasionally a bear.

My brother-in-law thought a good deal of me. He was a holy man and a shaman. One day he said to me, "Brother-in-law, I am going to bless you although you will have to fast for it. I was once blessed by four
[176] spirits, brothers, called *Good giant-cannibals*. They said that they had never before blessed any one. They promised me that if I ever got into any difficulties they would help me. They blessed me with long life. Now this blessing I will give you. If, for four nights, you fast without a break, these giants will speak to you." Thus he spoke to me. Then he continued, "These four brothers are called *Good-giant, Good-heart, Good-as-he-walks-about, Good-where-he-lifts-his-foot-from*. They lived toward the east, where you will find a promontory. Nothing across the large body of water is too difficult for them to accomplish."

[78] So when I fasted I always offered tobacco to these
[276] spirits first. I would cry to these spirits, but I never fasted over night.

## §10. *A War-Bundle Feast*

When the hunting was over my father selected ten deer with which to give a war-bundle feast. Those who had been selected as attendants then transferred these deer to the place where the people always give their feasts. 159* 796 726

I was fasting at the time and only broke my fast at evening. Every night I went out to make my appeal to the spirits before I ate. Five days before the feast was to be given I commenced to fast through the night also. On the fifth night, together with my older brother, I went to the feast. During the day I had spent the time in the wilderness uttering my cry to the spirits: 159* 787 796 726

"O spirits, here humble in heart I stand, beseeching you." [787]

I was far more thirsty than hungry. I don't believe that either my tongue or mouth were even moist.

That night we held aloft the deerskins that were to be offered to the spirits and we stood there crying piteously. There we wept humbly and those who were to give the feast wept with us, as they extended their holy compassion to us. Then, at midnight, we stood near the war weapons and again raised our appeal to the spirits. [787]

Our feast was given in a lodge that had eight fire- ooo

## *Crashing Thunder*

726 *159 Our feast was given in a lodge that had eight fire-
796 places. The host always sits near the last fireplace, at
787 the east end. There we stood crying to the spirits.
[346] My older brother fell to the ground from fatigue and
[354] exhaustion. We were stark naked except for our
[391] breech-clouts. When this prayer was finished we put on our moccasins. Then the host greeted the participants as follows:

"I greet you; I greet you all, war-bundle possessors. My grandparents, especially my grandfather, concentrated their minds upon this ceremony for me. The fireplace, the food, the offerings, with which the spirits blessed my grandfather, that I am going to ask for myself to-day. However weakly I may wobble about in trying to do the proper thing to-day, I know that my elders present here will extend their aid to me. I am now going to offer some tobacco to you all. War-bundles possessors, I greet you all."

*159 Following the speech came the prayers to the various
796 spirits:
782
539 Hearken O Earthmaker, our father, I am about to offer
726 tobacco to you. My ancestor concentrated his mind upon you and that with which you blessed him I now ask of you directly. I ask for the small amount of life you granted him, aye for four times the blessings you bestowed upon him. May I never meet with trouble in life.

O Grandfather, chief of the Thunderbirds, you who live in the west, here is a handful of tobacco. Extend to me the deer with which you blessed my ancestor. I pray you to accept this tobacco from me. May I never meet with trouble in life.

## *A War-Bundle Feast*

O Grandfathers, spirits of the night, walkers in darkness, to you I offer tobacco and ask for the fireplaces which my ancestor received. If you smoke this tobacco see to it that I never become a weakling. 159* 796 782

To you who live in the south, you who look like a man, you who are invulnerable, you who deal out life from one side of your body and death from the other, you whom we call Disease-Giver, to you I offer tobacco. In daylight, in broad daylight, did you bless my ancestor. With food you blessed him; you told him that he would never fail in anything, you told him that you would avoid his home; you placed animals in front of him that he should have no trouble in obtaining them. An offering of tobacco I make to you that you may smoke it and that I may not be troubled in life. 539 726 [953]

Then they offered prayers to the Black Hawk, the Sun, the Moon, the South Wind, the Earth, and the Eagle. Many speeches were given, for every guest who was invited to impersonate a spirit delivered one. The man who was impersonating the Thunderbird spoke as follows: 159* 796 [782] 539 726

Host and relatives, all you who are seated here, to all I send forth my greetings. All those present have given me good advice and even the women and children here have pleaded in my behalf with the spirits. What love that was! And of what does life consist of but love! The clan counselor is repeating the songs that were obtained when the sacred bundle was made, so that when the time for the tobacco offering to the spirits came, the specially prepared tobacco would be ready. Now indeed that time has arrived

*159 and they are all sitting here prepared to pray to all the
796 various spirits. Long before, when in their visions they
537 were vouchsafed a warpath, the soul of the man they were
726 to kill would be already in their possession when they performed this ceremony. It is to attract his soul that this ceremony is performed. You are going to have a good and prosperous warpath. When you are actually in the midst of the warpath and are about to rush upon the enemy, pour tobacco to the various spirits who are in control of war, say,
[780] "Thus, grandfathers, were we accustomed to offer tobacco to you." Although you may not know by any word or direct sign whether the war-controllers have answered you, you will know it as soon as the rush upon the enemy takes place, for although you walk where the bullets rain hardest you will pass out of their range and come through in safety. Then when you return to your people every one will rush out to bestow the war honors upon you. If you give this
[782] sacred feast in the proper way, if you burn up much tobacco and food, then the various spirits, especially the Thunder-
[796] birds who are the greatest war-controllers, will bless you for the excellent way in which you prayed to him. Whenever they pass your way they will remember you. They will even call you by name and say, "Let us smoke here."

This is the way in which young men are encouraged to act, but only a few succeed. It is good. The host has preached to us and pleaded for all those who are present. He has made offerings of food to our grandfathers who
[782] live in the west; pleasing offerings of tobacco and buckskin has he sent to them. I have been permitted to impersonate this great spirit and have thus obtained life for myself and my unimportant clansmen, for all of us who have been living in so lowly a condition. With real life have we felt ourselves connected through your actions. We have felt our-

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



selves connected with life by means of that organ which Earthmaker gave us as a measure of things.[21] I send forth my greetings to you all. 159* 796 537 726

Then he who was impersonating the Disease-Giver spoke:

War-bundle owners, relatives seated around here, I greet you all. This is indeed a marvelous performance that we have witnessed and he who was able to do it must surely be a marvelous man. Very few people listen to the advice of their parents but he must have been one who did and that is why he has done so well. The members of his clan have been sincerely worshiping the spirits. He who originally made this war-bundle ritual was like a spirit in power and what he told them to do they are doing in every detail. It is good work they are doing. Sufficient food are they offering to those in control of war powers for the spirits easily to take cognizance of it. They have placed ample tobacco and different kinds of buckskin within reach of the spirits. To you, O Disease-Giver, a pleasing white buckskin has been strung out in offering and with it a pleasing red feather as a hair ornament. How indeed would it be possible for the spirits not to recognize these offerings? And if they recognize them then we who are impersonating the spirits, will also receive the benefit of the blessings of war and life, extended to the host. [593] [782] [301]

Long ago our ancestors asked the spirits to bless them so that then they might live happily. Here we are sitting around the fireplace and the life that the host and his friends have asked for, the spirits are not merely extending to them

[21] A very curious circumlocution for stomach. He means, of course, all the food that has been eaten. [195]

## *Crashing Thunder*

726 *159 but to all those present. In the olden days the old people
796 used to say to the young boys, "You are not able to fast
537 as yet and to offer up proper food to the spirits so as to
clear away the weapons held against you." Now just as
726 these older people would have liked, so you are doing.
*159 Even I, who am of no consequence, have nevertheless been
796 permitted to impersonate a great spirit. This you have
726 done for me—allowed me to impersonate that spirit[1] who
537 is the bravest of them all, the one who is in control of
[053] power whereby an enemy can be killed outright! One side
of this spirit's body controls life and the other death. Now
they are about to offer to this spirit, the food of a white
[1882] animal, of a male animal, the dog, as well as a white buck-
skin, feathers and tobacco—all of them objects that please
him very much. To Disease-Giver they are about to extend
these things so that therewith they may ask him for war
power and life. It is an awe-inspiring spirit to whom they
have been making offerings. Surely I, who have been listen-
ing only by virtue of the host's generosity, do not have to
say anything in his behalf. He thought of his ancestor
when he asked me to impersonate this spirit. Of all the
[1882] spirits his is the name which one cannot speak lightly,
it is said. If nevertheless I greet his name and speak about
this spirit, may I not be weakened by uttering it. Those
who are about to offer you food, grandfather Disease-Giver,
send you their greetings. To you, O host, do I send my
greetings, as well as to all the war-bundle owners seated
here.

*159 The feasters sang dancing songs throughout all this
796 time. At dawn we were to pass the deerskin offerings
726 through the roof of the lodge. My older brother took
the lead. I followed and the others came up behind



1. [i.e., Disease Giver -- Analyst]

## *A War-Bundle Feast*

me. We all had a deerskin apiece. Only those who were giving the feast had the right to hold one of the ten deerskins. A man playing a flute taken from a war-bundle marched ahead, and behind came the people carrying the incense of the burning cedar leaves. We thus marched around the lodge and my brother and I again made our cry to the spirits. At that time we were naked apart from our breech-clouts and moccasins. Four times did we make the circuit. Then we passed the deerskins up through the roof of the lodge. 159* 796 726 [534] [782] 159*

Now the feasters were to eat again. A separate kettle had been put on for us boys and we were to eat first. They then called upon a man to eat out of our plate with us. His name was *Blue-sitter*. He was a holy man, a shaman, a brave man, one who had obtained many war honors. Four deer ribs were dished out to me in a wooden bowl. Then the one who was to eat out of my plate came and sat near my dish and began to handle the food. He tore it into small pieces and began telling me of the blessing he had received from the spirits. He told me how all the great spirits had blessed him—the Sun, the Moon, the Thunder-birds, the Earth, the Sky, the Daylight, and all the spirits that exist in the heavens. The spirits on the earth and those under the waters, all these talked to him, he said. While partaking of my food he would think of this power, he told me. I would go through battle unharmed and I was to obtain war honors. My children, if I had any, were to enjoy a good and happy life. Thus he spoke. 796 787 726 [776]

## *Crashing Thunder*

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Then he took a piece of my food in his mouth and placed some in my mouth four times. I continued eating as the rest of the feasters began their meal. For quite some time I was not able to eat much.

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787

Through it all I was not in the least conscious of any dreams or blessings. All that I was aware of was that all the people around me were taking pity upon me. Throughout it all I had my mind fixed on women. In doing these things I imagined that I had accomplished something great and that I had risen greatly in women's estimation. Even though I tried to render myself pitiable in the sight of the spirits, yet through it all, my thoughts were centered upon them. I was never lowly at heart and never really desired the blessing of the spirits. All that I thought of was that I was a great man and that the women would regard me as a great man.

[P.86]

## §11. *Wandering and Hunting*

After a while I used to get into the habit of going to 159* town. When I got there I would look into the barrels to see if there was any food in them and if there was I would fill my pockets with whatsoever I found. I [685] used to steal a great deal.

About springtime we always moved away from the 159* vicinity of the town. We always moved to the place 221 where my father intended to trap, generally to the [204] neighborhood of some farming community where there were few Indians. There my mother used to make [285] baskets and sell them to the farmers. We also used to [139] circulate a written petition asking for any help people cared to give us. Whenever they went on this kind [648] of a trip I always went along with them, for sometimes people would take pity on us and give us some old clothes. Sometimes we would even get a good meal at some farmer's house. For these reasons I was always envious of those who went along on such journeys.

Occasionally when we got many provisions I had to carry some of them, but I never minded that. When [003] the birds returned north father used to make us bows and arrows and we would then shoot at them and often kill many. We also used to kill squirrels which my [224] grandmother roasted for us. My older brother was a [252]

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



*159 22 [223] good shot and I was greatly his inferior. He often killed pheasants.

*159 648 526 Whenever the older people went to town circulating petitions for help we youngsters always went along. We always took our bows and arrows with us for the Whites wanted to see how well we could shoot. Often they placed five-cent pieces on some object at a considerable distance and had us shoot at them. We generally hit a number. I would also let my brother shoot at twenty-five cent pieces that I held between my fingers and he never hit my fingers. We would often make as much as five dollars in this way and this money we always gave to our parents.

*159 22 [131] In summer the Winnebago would return to Black River Falls (Wisconsin). We used to go out with our bows and arrows and stay out all day. At evening [861] when we returned we of course always expected to get a scolding and we therefore had a good excuse ready. It really would have been much better had we returned earlier in the day, but we were enjoying ourselves so much hunting that night overtook us when we were still a long distance from home. Often we would not eat anything at all all day, but to that we were accustomed. Sometimes we would go fishing on a stream nearby, forget all about the time, and then return home very late. We got a scolding then even although we had a good excuse.

[P.88]

## §12. *My Grandfather Adopts Me*

Once my father gave me away. Once on my return 159*
home I found my father talking to my grandfather 590
and after a while I saw the old man weep. He had just lost a son, a young man and the last of his children. They had all died. It was this that they were talking about. I heard my grandfather say finally that he was tired of life. Then my father, weeping, called him by his relationship term and said: "I sympathize with you for you indeed speak the truth, yet in spite of it all I wish you to live. Here is my son, my own, and of all my children the one I love best. He is obedient. He is present here listening to me. He shall be your companion and as long as you live he will take you by the hand." Thus did he speak and the old man thanked him profusely.

After that I stayed with my grandfather. He thought a great deal of me and I got along very well in every way. He was a great man, one who doctored and who [956]
had great knowledge of medicine. This he used to give to the sick. He was also a great Medicine Dance man and an old soldier.

About this time a school was built at Tomah, Wis- 159*
consin, and I wanted very badly to go to it. My grand- [891]
father consented and I went there for a winter. In the

*159 spring of the year my father came after me and asked the superintendent whether I could go home for two weeks and he consented to let me go.

*159 765 Then my father spoke to me, "My son, your grandfather[1] is dead and they are going to have a memorial ceremony in his honor to take place at a performance of the Medicine Dance. Some one, you know, must take his place in the ceremony and they have decided that I am to be the one. Now, my son, of all the children I possess I have most control over you. I have never kept anything from you and you have never willfully disobeyed me. I want you therefore to do me the favor and take my place. I am getting old and [203] besides cannot control my desire for drink any longer. Under these circumstances I would not be able to live up to the teachings of the lodge. I wish therefore to turn my right over to you. Do you take your grandfather's place." Thus my father spoke to me.

[P. 90]

[1] [i.e., his father's uncle. See category 116, p. 102 --analyst]

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## §13. *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

My grandfather was buried in the manner customary in the Thunderbird clan. His relatives got some one to bury him and the chief mourner invited a distinguished person to talk to the corpse before it was dressed for burial. The person addressed the body as follows: 159* 764 [767]

You are about to leave your relatives. They will remain on earth, objects of pity to all. You must proceed on your road and turn to your left after you start. Continue until you come to the one who is in charge of spirits. When you see him, make the following request—that he bestow upon us all that you fell short of in this world. The means of offering, the tobacco, which Earthmaker gave us, we have given you to take along. As you go along you will come to a place where the road branches off. Do not turn to the right for that leads to the bad spirits. Turn to the left and soon you will come to a guard. Point your pipe at him and he will be thankful. This man will wear a complete suit of clothes and he will be terrible to look upon. He will smoke with you and you must address him as follows: "Grandfather, before I left earth the people told me to ask you to point out which road I was to travel h." Then he will tell you and you will pass ahead and come after a while to a fire on both sides of the earth. The man in charge of it will wear a complete suit of clothes 159* 764 775 537

*159 764 775 537 just like the former one. Point the stem of your pipe toward him and he will be very thankful and smoke your pipe. Then make your request—that you be permitted to pass—and he will grant it. As you continue you will come to a round lodge where you will find an old woman. Point your pipe at her and she will permit you to go ahead. Your hair will now have become white but you will not be unconscious. On the contrary you will be in complete possession of your senses. Then you will come to the place where he who is in control of all the souls sits. Go toward him and [776] point your pipe at him. When he is smoking it ask him to show you the road to Earthmaker, our father, and he will point it out to you. Then you must proceed until you come to Earthmaker. When you get to him, point the stem of your pipe toward him and if he takes it and smokes it you must say, "Earthmaker, our father, you know very well what kind of a life I have led." Then he will answer, "My son, you have done well."

*159 764 [767] [301] [767] After this speech the body was dressed by the person who was to do the actual burying. The best clothes of the deceased were put on, beads placed around his neck, bracelets on his wrist, rings on his fingers and earrings in his ears. It was then placed in the casket. When the grave-diggers completed their work, the mourners blackened their faces with charcoal and the corpse was taken up by the man to whom this duty was assigned. The mourners followed behind weeping. Thus they proceeded to the grave. When they got there the corpse was immediately placed in it. Then the chief mourner stepped across the center of the grave and the others did the same. When they started

## *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

back for home they were told under no circumstances 159*
to turn around and look in the direction of the grave. 764

As soon as they returned home the man in charge
of the funeral arrangements went around the village 159*
and invited every one to come to the wake. Brave men 765
and warriors are especially welcome.

The mourners prepared food and when the sun went down the chief mourner took a stick made of hard wood, lit it, and carried it to the grave, placing it at the east end. It must be still burning when put there. After this the man returned and the funeral manager prepared everything for the feast. When all were gathered around he rose and addressed the people as follows:

Relatives, all you who are gathered around here, I greet 159*
you. I have done nothing of any consequence which could 765
justify you in coming here and thus honoring me, but being 537
relatives of mine, you came in the kindness of your hearts 539
to comfort me. I have prepared cooked food and boiled water for the dead person. Tobacco is also handy and as soon as the attendant is ready he will pass this around to those who wish any.

It is good that so many of you have come to-night. You know that we are not creating any new ceremony but are simply following what our ancestors found to be true and good. And as it is said that we should not weep aloud, [152]
you will not hear any of us making utterings of sorrow. And even though we weep silently, should any one come to us we will look upon them smiling. We therefore beg of you, should you find us happy in mood, not to think the worst of us.

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 765 775 539 537 Then the attendant took the water and tobacco and gave it to the one who was to speak to the soul of the departed person. This one then rose and spoke as follows:

To-night we have come together not for the sake of amusement but because we are afflicted with grief. Now it is the custom to speak to the soul of the departed. It is a sacred action yet even I, they tell me, can do it provided no worthier person can be found. I have even been told that my words will not cause the spirit of the departed to lose his way on his journey to spirit-land. For that reason I am going to speak to the soul of the departed and say the best I can. I greet you all.

Then he takes some tobacco in his hand and passing it behind him through the lodge says:

Here it is, the tobacco. I am certain that you, O ghost, are not very far away, that in fact you are standing right in back of me, waiting for me to reach you the pipe and tobacco, that you might take it along with you; that you are waiting for the food to take with you on your journey. For four nights, however, you will have to wait here. Now here are the things that you desire. In return we ask you to act as mediator between the spirits and us. You have made us long for you and therefore do you see to it that all those things that belonged to you, all those things that you would have enjoyed had you lived longer—the victories on the warpath, earthly possessions, life—that all these you leave behind for your relatives to enjoy. This do you ask for us as you travel along. One thing more do I ask of you: do not cause us to follow you, do not cause your [182] relatives any fear. I have now lit the pipe for you.

## *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

Then the pipe is passed on to all those present. After 159 *
that the leader drinks a little water and passes this 765
around too. It is only after pipe and water have 775
passed all the way around that the people begin to eat. 539
When the meal is over the attendant takes the pipe and 537
some tobacco and places it before some distinguished warrior who has been invited to the wake. The latter is then asked to speak to the soul of the deceased and tell him the route to take on the journey to the spirit land. This warrior then rises and speaks:

Ho, I greet you all. We are not greeting one another because we are happy as on ordinary occasions but because it is the custom to come together at a wake. Now I shall show the soul of the departed the route he is to take and the care he must observe on his journey. I shall announce to him the ghosts over whom I have control and who are to conduct him safely to his destination. I will not exaggerate [23] when I speak of my war exploits but relate only what really happened to me. It is said that if a person exaggerates and tells falsehoods in recounting his exploits on such an occasion, the soul of the departed will stumble [577] on his journey. I shall therefore only tell the truth and I shall tell the chief of the spirits to guide our dead one safely over all obstacles. Now I am not going to speak of anybody else's exploits but only of my own. Only those over whom I have control will I put at the disposal of our dead one to act as his guide. The spirit-tobacco, the spirit-food, and the fire, these things the ghosts over whom

[23] For the dangers of exaggeration on such an occasion see note 15. It was also believed to cause the death of the warrior who indulged in it. 7



7 [The author apparently means note 17. See Category 116, p. 59 -- analyst]

*159 765 [775] [539] [537]

I have control will carry for him, and they will lead him by the hand until he reaches his destination. I greet you all.

Then he narrated his war exploit. He went into great detail. He told as accurately as it was possible how he had killed a man, broken his collar bone and [537] then flayed him; how he had then chopped and cut up the body and mutilated him in such a fashion that he could not be identified; how finally he had stolen his dogs. All night he spoke in this strain. He went on to tell how he had killed and utterly destroyed an entire village so that no one was left to tell of the massacre. All night he told of his war exploits. Sometimes such an account may last two to three hours. When he finished the people all went to sleep.

For three nights the same thing was repeated. Throughout this time a burning ember was placed at the grave. When the spirit was ready to start his [775] journey he took this ember, it is believed.

For the fourth night all the brave men as well as everybody else in the neighborhood were invited. A great quantity of food was prepared and the relatives [524] of the mourners brought objects to be used in the games that are always played at the wake. They tried to comfort the main mourners as much as possible. On the fourth night a burning ember was also placed at the grave of the deceased.

As soon as the attendants prepared the food the chief mourner got up and spoke:

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## *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

I greet you all. I know that I am not performing any great action in greeting you. I was in trouble and all my relatives have come to comfort me. You have all asked me to live and not to succumb to my sorrows and I shall therefore try to overcome my grief and sorrow. I will not forget all the good you have done for me. You have been a comfort to me and you have helped me in many things. Now we have come to the last night and I am glad that it is a nice night for the warriors to relate their experiences. If they should say something funny I hope that you will not hold back laughter. I, too, will laugh with you. You are free to make all the noise you care to for I shall feel all the better if you do. This is what I want you to remember. I greet all those who are present here. 159* 765 537 539

Then the one who is to address the spirits speaks: 159*

I greet you all. We have come to this wake for a purpose, much as I would wish that the occasion for it had never happened. Now I am going to tell the soul of the departed the road he is to take, nor will I, by my words, cause him to go astray. On an occasion like this not every one is qualified to speak to the souls of the dead; not every one can do it. My grandfather obtained the right to do it and handed it down to my father, who in turn, turned it over to me Now I am going to breathe upon the soul of the departed and I wish all those present to do the same. It is said that for those who do not make this breathing it is a sign that they will die. So do all of you breathe with me. 765 775 537 539 [424]

Then he said *ha-a* and all joined with him in repeating it. He now began his address to the spirit of the deceased:

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 Ho-o! Are you ready? I am going to speak of the
165 Four Nights' Wake during which you listened to your
195 relatives and to the words they had to say. I am placing
537 the sacrificial tobacco in the rear of the lodge.
539 I suppose you are not far away, that indeed you are right behind me. Here is the tobacco and here is the pipe which you must keep in front of you as you go along. Here also is the fire and the food which your relatives have prepared for your journey. In the morning when the sun rises, you are to start. You will not have gone very far before you come to a wide road. This is the road you must take. As you walk along you will notice something on your road. Take your war club and strike it and throw it behind you. Then go on without looking back. As you proceed you will again come across some obstacle. Strike it and throw it behind you and do not look back. Still farther, you will come across some animals and these also you must strike and throw behind you. Go on right along and do not turn back. The objects you have thrown behind you will go to the relatives whom you left behind on earth. They will symbolize victory in war, riches, and food-animals. When you have gone but a short distance from the last place where you threw an object behind you, you will come to a lodge. This lodge you may enter. One of its doors faces the rising sun. As you enter you will find an old woman on your right. Go and sit opposite her. Then your great-grandmother will say to you, "My great-grandchild, what did the people say to you when you were leaving, when your life was over." And you must answer, "My great-grandmother, as I listened to my beloved relatives they said very little indeed. They said that I was breaking their hearts in leaving them and that they hoped that none

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



would follow me soon. Then they asked me to make the following four requests: 159 * 765

First: I was to ask for life; that the flames from the lodge fire rise straight upward. Yet they would be satisfied, they said, if at my departure the flames only swayed to and fro. 795 537 539

Second: Whatever fruit had been predestined for me and that I did not taste, my relatives were not to be deprived of.

Third: They also mentioned nuts, all kinds of herbs, all serviceable hides and skins, all medicinal roots and grasses. They asked me to make a request for all the things that grow on the earth.

Fourth: That if any one had a friend his weapon might have a keen edge on one side.

Now, my great-grandmother, these are the requests my relatives commanded me to make."

Then she will answer you and say, "My great-grandchild, you are wise beyond your years. My great-grandchild, my lodge is a place where all who enter must pass an examination. Earthmaker looks upon it as a keen-edged instrument. No clouds of ill omen ever pass over it. The four requests you have made will be granted. The nuts and herbs you have asked for shall be given to you. There will be nothing of that food predestined for you that your relatives will not taste. The hides and skins, all the grasses, they shall possess in plenty. And if they have friends their weapons will be keen on one side. All that they have requested through you will be granted. Now, great-grandson, here is some food for you in this wooden bowl."

If you eat it you will have a headache. She will say,

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 765 775 537 539 "Great-grandson, you have a headache. Let me cup it for you." Then she will break open your skull and take out your brains and you will forget all about your people. You will become like a holy spirit. Your thoughts will not extend as far as the earth, as there will be nothing carnal about you.

Now be sure that you only take a taste and push the dish away from you for then the old woman will say, "My great-grandchild, all that you have left behind you in that dish represents the vegetable kingdom on the earth. Many who are older than you ate all that I gave them. You have a wise head on young shoulders. All that you have left on the plate will grow on the face of the earth. Now Earthmaker is waiting for you in great expectation. There is the door to the setting sun." On your way you will come to the lodge of the chief of the bad spirits and his fire. Those who come, the souls of the brave men who have come from the land of the spirits, will meet you here and touch you. There the road will branch off toward your right and you will see the footprints representing the footprints of those who have passed into life again. Step into their steps and plant your feet upon their footprints, but be careful that you do not miss any. Before you have gone very far you will come into a forest of bushes alternating with prairies. Here in this beautiful country the souls whose duty it is to gather together the other souls, will come to meet you. Walking on each side of you they will conduct you safely home, to Earthmaker. Here the inquiry that took place in the first lodge will be repeated and answered in the same manner. Then Earthmaker will say to you, "All that your great-grandmother has told you is true. Your relatives are waiting for you in great expectation. Your home is waiting for you."

## *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

The door of your home will be facing the midday sun. 159*
Here you will find your relatives gathered. Then, inas- 165
much as our ruler will nod assent and express his approval 175
by word of mouth, so shall we do the same. [537]
[539]

Then all those assembled at the wake shout *Ho-ha*.

[P. 101]

## §14. *Initiation into the Medicine Dance*

*159 The person who had died and whose place I was to take was an uncle of my father's. I was glad of the opportunity for I had always liked the Medicine Dance whenever I had seen it. I had aways enjoyed watching from the outside what was taking place inside and I had always been filled with envy. So naturally I was very glad to join and anxious as to what would happen. We proceeded to the place where the ceremony was to be held, traveling from Tomah to Wittenberg. Sometimes we would have to walk, but I enjoyed it nevertheless. I was very happy.

Finally we arrived at the place and my father explained to the people that he had turned over his right of membership to me. They were quite satisfied.

*159 346 796 We were to build the ceremonial lodge immediately, so we went and cut the poles for it after measuring the length required. Of course, we hunted around and got the kind of poles always used for that purpose. Then we constructed the lodge. We stuck the poles in the earth. We worked together with three old men, brothers of the man who had died. They told me that this ceremony was a holy affair, that it was Earthmaker's play. We made an offering of tobacco at every move we made. I, of course, thought that it must

I, of course, thought that it must
indeed be a marvelous thing and I was very happy 159* 796
about it. What I was most eager to see was myself
killed and then brought to life again in the lodge, as it [775]
was believed happened to the members of the Medicine
Dance. I also realized that a member of the Medicine
Dance, whether man or woman, was different from a [554]
person not belonging to it and I was quite anxious not
to be an ordinary person any longer but to be a medicine man.

As soon as we finished building the ceremonial lodge
the ceremony began, and the first thing the people did
was to sing. Then the leader of the band that was 159* 796
giving the dance arose and delivered a speech:

All those who are sitting here I greet. We are waiting 537
for all of you to have compassion upon us. Nephew,[23] I
shall now tell you the road you are to travel. He whom we
call nephew, the hare, the founder of the Medicine Dance,
obtained this life-ensuring ceremony for us. This is the
only life; no other exists. Exert yourself to follow in the
road of your ancestors and adhere to the ceremony that
represented their mode of life. I know you will hearken to
what I say. Assuredly you will listen, for thereby you will
help and benefit yourself and, at the same time, attain the
good life.

Never do anything wrong. Do not steal. Do not quarrel.
If on any occasion you meet a woman on the road, turn [577]
to the right, never to the left. No matter who the woman
is, do not take liberties with her. This is what the old
people taught us and if you perform the rites of this
ceremony you will obtain the life that we desire for you.

[23] The person to be initiated is always called nephew. [608]

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 796 537 I beg of you to try with all your powers for I wish you to lead a happy life. This truly is our sincere wish.

Ancestors, we greet you. Our ancestors long since departed, performed the ceremony just as we do to-day. We are to have a tear-pouring ceremony for the spirit of the [765] one who has died. All those who are here will mourn for him. Whatever it is that his ghost can obtain for us by his requests,—all that he left behind him in this world—beseechingly we shall ask him to obtain. It is said that this is always procurable. What we mean is additional life. All that our ancestors desired, that we too earnestly desire. So it is when the ceremony was first established. Now we shall sing a mourning song. We must sing it with sincerity and when we cry we must not allow our voices to quaver. It has been said that if a man is bad his crying will be insincere. Ancestors, we greet you.

*159 796 The first night they kept me up all night and I heard a good deal about sacred affairs. I was not sleepy at any time during the night and I remained this way until morning. I enjoyed it all so much that I did not even go to sleep the next day. The next night they kept me up again but as before I did not get sleepy. On this night they told me even more things. Throughout three successive nights I did not sleep at all. On the fourth night they sang till morning. On the fifth night they were to have what is called the rehearsal. During the day many people began to gather. In the afternoon only the old men and myself went to the sweat lodge. Only the men who had received special invitations were allowed. When we came out it was sundown. Then those occupying the eastern

seat in the main lodge stopped singing and the specially invited people entered the regular ceremonial lodge. 159* 096

The older people took charge of me for the whole night. Whenever they referred to me they would say, "In the morning when he-for-whom-we-desire-life becomes like us." They meant me and they meant that I would be a member in the morning. So I was extremely anxious for the morning to dawn. All night they danced. This part of the ceremony is called the rehearsal or trial performance.

The next morning, just before day, even while the dance was still going on, the leader of the first and second band, those of the east end and some others, took me to a secret place in the brush. When we got there we found a place where the ground had been cleared in the outline of the dance lodge. There the older people preached to me and told me that the most fearful things imaginable would happen if I made public any of the affair, *i.e.*, told the secrets of the Medicine Dance. The world would come to an end, they said. They told me that if I didn't keep everything secret I would die. [226]

It was in the brush that the leader told me of the road that all medicine men travel. [756]

### *The Road of Life*

My son, as you travel along this road do not doubt it. If you do you'll be unhappy; you'll injure yourself. But if you do everything that I tell you well it will benefit you greatly. 159* 756 539

## *Crashing Thunder*

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My son, the first thing you will come to as you travel along, will be a ravine extending to the very ends of the world on both sides. It will look as though it could not possibly be crossed. When you get there you will think to yourself, "Grandfather said that I was nevertheless to pass across." Plunge right through and you will get to the other side.

Now this ravine means that sometimes in life you will lose a child and thoughts of death will come to you. But if you pay attention to my teachings you will be able to go right on and find the road of the lodge on the other side. If you don't try to go beyond, if you get frightened and dwell upon your hardship too much, this will be your grave.

After you have crossed the ravine you will see the footsteps of the medicine men who have gone before you, marked very plainly in the road. Step into them and you will feel good. Then as you go along you will come to an impenetrable brushwood of stickers, thorns, and weeds. You will not see how you can possibly get around them. Then you will remember that your grandfather said that you would be able to penetrate them. This too, you will pass.

The impenetrable brushwood means death. Some one you have loved greatly, but not your wife, will die. You must try to get through this obstacle, not get frightened and not dwell upon your hardship too much. Otherwise this will be your grave.

As you pass along this road, evil little birds will continually din into your ears and will cast their excrement upon you. It will stick to your body. Now don't try to brush it off and don't pay any attention to it. If you pay attention to it you might forget yourself and brush it off and that is not right, and life is not obtainable in this manner.

# The Medicine Dance

The evil birds signify the following. The fact that you have joined the medicine lodge means that your intentions are to lead a good life. Now as soon as you join, the work of evil tattlers will begin and they will say that you have done things contrary to the teachings of the lodge. Perhaps a piece of bird's excrement will fall on you. What of it? Don't brush it off without thought. Some will claim that you had said that the lodge was no good. Yet even then you must not blurt out, "Who said that?" and get angry. Keep quiet and hold your peace. 159* 156 539 [626]

As you go along you will come to a great fire encircling the earth and practically impossible to cross. It will be so near that it will scorch you. Remember then that your grandfather had said that you would be able to pass it. Plunge through it. Soon you will find yourself on the other side and nothing will have happened to you.

Now this great fire means death. Your wife will die. Go through this as well as you can; don't get discouraged. This fire will be the worst thing you have to go through. You will have been living happily and then without warning your wife will die. There you will be with your children. Remember, however, what your grandfather said and plunge straight through. On the other side you will find the footprints of the medicine men.

After a while you will come to tremendous perpendicular bluffs which hardly seem passable. Think, however, of what your grandfather said and soon you will find yourself on the other side quite safe.

Now these bluffs mean death. As you travel along the road of life you will find yourself alone. All your relatives, all your loved ones, are dead. You yourself will begin to think to yourself, "Why, after all, am I living?" You will want to die. Now this, my grandson, is the place

*159 where most encouragement is given for it is most necessary.
756 This is the most difficult of all the places you will come to.
539 Keep in the footprints of the Medicine Dance man and you will be safe. The teachings of the lodge are the only road; they alone will enable you to pass this point safely.

Soon you will come to a hill and when you reach the foot of the hill you will sit down to rest and eat. You will eat dried ribs of bear meat mixed with spirit-food and this spirit-food will vibrate with life. When you are finished you must climb to the top of the hill and look behind you. There will be no one. But in front of you, you will see many people.

Now this hill means that you have reached that period of life where, because you have always done things correctly, you will be continually partaking of feasts. You will always be invited. The road full of people in front of you represents the members of the lodge who have passed before you. There is no one behind you because you are just beginning to enter on that road.

Soon you will come to another hill. It will look like a nice country full of red stone. There you will find food and you will eat out of a very greasy kettle. When you're finished, climb to the top of the hill and you'll see that some people are now following you and that the number in front will be smaller.

You'll be traveling through better country now, i.e., you'll be taken better care of.

Then as you go along, another hill will loom in sight. You must go toward it and there you will find yourself in a country of red willows and bulrushes. Many presents will you find scattered all along this most pleasing of lands. There you will find your food and when you have partaken of it, ascend as far as the middle of the hill. There as you

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rest you will see a reddish haze across the land. Then go to the top of the hill. As you look behind you will see many people following you and only a few in front. 159* 756 539

Halfway up the hill, we have said, the land will be covered with a red haze. This is the Indian summer and this means that you will now have reached that period in life where your eyes have become dim. The red willows, etc., signify that your hair has become grizzled. The men in front of you are the older members of the lodge who will assist you by inviting you to the lodge and those in back of you are the younger members who will give you feasts in order to obtain increased knowledge.

Then finally you will come to a fourth hill. This will be a very beautiful country with white poplars everywhere. There, after having eaten at the foot of this hill, you'll climb it and look around. You will see not one ahead of you and very many people following. The place from which you had started, apparently a long time ago, will seem very near. You will have to rest four times before you get to the top of this hill.

This means that when you get to the fourth hill, you will be so feeble that you will have to rest four times before you succeed in getting to the top. The fact that you see no one in front of you on the road means that you have now become the oldest member of the lodge.

As you walk along you'll come to an oval lodge. There you will find a man who will ask you, "Grandson, how have you acted in life?" You must answer, "I don't know." He will answer and say, "Grandson, I know. Take some food." You'll find four dishes and you must take a spoonful of each. When you have swallowed the fourth spoonful your body will be like that of a dog or a flea, i.e., you will be so old that your body will not only be flat but your ribs will

*159 756 539 be caved in. The man talking to you will be the one in charge of the medicine-lodge road. You will now become unconscious but not for a long time, i.e., although you will die, you'll go right on in the spirit. Near you, you will find the medicine man's staffs or ladders. The ladders reach to heaven. On the right side you will find a tree, all twisted and slippery from incessant rubbing. On the left you will see a red cedar tree, all smoothed down from wear and dirty from incessant handling. You must grab these trees, and then when you have ascended them you'll come to a country situated right below the place where Earthmaker lives. This country has been especially provided for those who have adhered to the ritual of the Medicine Dance. You will be told that this is your home and, after a while you'll be directed to a long lodge where you will find all those of your relatives who have adhered to the teachings of the lodge. Although you are a grown-up person you will nevertheless be taken on each one's lap in turn. This country is a very happy one to live in. No one is ever in want; no bad clouds float over it; there is no night and there is no work.

After a while the attendants of Earthmaker will come to you and take you to him. There you'll see him face to face. He will tell you that you have done well and that [715] you can become reincarnated in whatever tribe you desire. Those that perform the ritual properly believe that they can come to the world again after death.

*159 756 796 After the old man had finished telling about the road of the Medicine Dance Lodge I was shown how to fall down and lie quivering on the ground and how to appear dead. I was very much disappointed for I had

had a far more exalted idea of the shooting. "Why, it amounts to nothing," I thought. "I have been deceived. They only do this to make money." I also thought then that many of the sacred things about which they had spoken to me were not true either. However I kept on and did as I was told for I had been taught to deceive in the ceremony in the brush. As soon as I was proficient in the act of feigning death, we started back to the main lodge. 159* 756 796

The older people told me that I would become like them in body as soon as I became a member of the lodge, but I did not experience any change within me. All that I felt was that I had become a deceiver in one of Earthmaker's creations.

During the day, at the regular meeting, I did as I had been taught. Many speeches and many songs were sung and then, at about ten o'clock, the leader of the north band arose and told the story of the origin of the world and of the Medicine Dance.

### *The Story of the Origin of the World*

What it was our father sat on when he came to consciousness we do not know. His tears flowed and he began to cry. Not long was he sunk in thought. He saw nothing and nothing was there anywhere. He took something from the thing on which he was lying and out of it made a portion of our earth. This he sent to the space below him and from where he lay he could see that what he had created had become similar in shape to our earth. Yet nothing grew upon it and it was entirely without a cover- 539 796

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ing. It was not quiet and kept spinning around continually.

Suddenly he thought, "Now if I do the following it will stop." So he made a covering of hair for it. He took something that was like a weed and made grass, and this he sent earthward. Then again he looked at what he had created. It was not quiet but kept spinning around and around. Then he thought to himself, "Well, I must try another way." He took a tree and sent it earthward and again looked at his creation but it was still spinning around and around. Then he made four men and these he sent to the earth, placing one in the east, one in the north, one in the west, and one in the south. Again he looked at his creation. It was still spinning around and around. "Perhaps it will become quiet in the following way," he thought. So he made four beings that we call the *Island Weights*. They were waterspirits. Then he scattered a female spirit over the earth. By this we mean stones. Then finally he looked at his creation and he saw that the earth had become quiet.

He had sent the stones clear through the earth, throughout its whole extent. Only the heads, the tops of the stones, were visible above the ground. He looked at his creation and he saw that the earth had indeed become quiet. No clouds appeared anywhere, the light of day appeared motionless, and the vibrations of heat seemed like floating spider webs drifting past.

All the birds that were to roam over the sky, all the four-footed animals that were to live on this earth, all the animals who were to live below the surface of the earth, all these he placed in lodges that he constructed for them. Then he created the various insects that were destined to live on the earth. Finally at the very end of his thinking

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he created us human beings. We were not however even equal in strength to a fly. We were the weakest of all. Then Earthmaker looked at what he had created and liked it and sat filled with happy thoughts. 539 776

He was proud of us and gazed again and again at what he had created. He had, however, made the human beings not equal in strength to the other beings and they were on the point of being destroyed by the bad spirits. Then he formed a being in our likeness and when he finished him he called him Foolish-one. Him he addressed as follows: "*Foolish-one*, to the earth you are to go. Weak, pitiable in all respects, have I made the human beings. I made them as my last thought. Now this creation of mine, they the evil spirits are likely to injure. So do you, O *Foolish-one*, go and put things in order."

Then he sent him to the earth. But when *Foolish-one* came there he did not do what he had been told. Indeed he went around the earth doing nothing. He was as useless as a child crawling around on all fours. He really amounted to nothing. Though sent by Earthmaker he amounted to nothing. He did no good and injured the creation of Earthmaker, so Earthmaker took him back and placed him to the right of himself.

Then he made another being in human semblance and when he finished him he called him *Turtle*. "The two-legged-walkers whom I created as the last of my thoughts, evil spirits are about to exterminate. Do you, O *Turtle*, go and put the earth in order." Turtle went and took along with him a knife. When he came on earth he led people on the warpath and he did not look after Earthmaker's creation. So Earthmaker took back the second man and placed him at his left.

Then he made a third being in human semblance and

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539 when he finished him he named him *Bladder*. To him he
776 spoke, "*Bladder*, you are to go to the earth. As my last thought I created the two-legged-walkers and they were pitiful to behold in every way. They are now on the point of being exterminated and you must save them. Try with all your strength.

When *Bladder* came to the earth he made a long lodge and he created twenty men. That many younger brothers he thus had. Then they all started to go around the entire
[823] island, this earth, and all the younger brothers were killed. Thus he too failed in his mission. The work his father had sent him to do he failed to accomplish and so Earthmaker took him back and placed him on his left side.

Then Earthmaker made a fourth being and when he finished him he called him *He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings*.

Finally he created the last one, *Hare*. He made his body exactly like ours. He spoke to him: "You are the last one I am going to create, so try with all your strength, *Hare*." *He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings* had failed, so *Hare* was created. He was to be the last one. Earthmaker had created *Hare* entirely by the force of his thoughts.

Then he spoke to *Hare* and said, "*Hare*, what I am doing you will also be able to accomplish. Try with all your power. If the evil spirits injure my creation it will not be good on earth; life will not be good. Try to overcome these evil spirits." Thus he encouraged him.

When *Hare* came to this earth he said to himself, "My brothers acted in a certain way and failed." He walked along until he came to an oval lodge. From this lodge there emerged, at the time, a young woman carrying a pail. She was going toward the river. Then *Hare* said to himself, "Now my brothers were not able to do what I

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am going to do." There he entered the body of the young woman in order to become a human being. There in her womb he remained and yet from there he heard the shrieks and cries of the human beings. "My father sent me to help them and here I am sitting for so long time already," he thought to himself. Shrieking and crying he heard the human beings. "Too long have I been sitting here. In the end the evil spirits will destroy the human beings completely," he thought to himself. Seven months had he been waiting when he said this. Finally when the proper time had come he entered the world through an opening. Four days after that his mother died.

He lived with his grandmother. He would only leave his lodge at night. Then he would roam all around. Whenever he walked inside the lodge, light radiated from him in all directions. As soon as daylight appeared he became quiet. Throughout the day he sat thinking of the work he was to do.

The third time he left the lodge it was sunset. He traveled over half the extent of the earth and he put an end to all the bad spirits who were doing harm. "Not again will any of these live, not again will they harm my uncles and aunts, the human beings." Just before daylight appeared he returned home and there his heart would feel good. He stayed in the lodge wrapped in thought.

On the fourth day when the sun went down he left the lodge and traveled to the very ends of the earth, killing all the bad spirits he met. At about daylight he went up to the sky and pursued all the bad spirits found there, driving them to the west and killing them. Very early in the morning he walked toward his lodge filled with pleasant thoughts. "The work for which my father sent me I have now accomplished. The life of my uncles and my aunts

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will now be like mine," he thought to himself as he entered the lodge.

"Well, grandmother, the work my father sent me to do I have now accomplished. He sent me to look after his creation and that I have now attended to. The life of my uncles and my aunts will from now on be like mine." "But, grandson, how can that be, how can the life of your uncles and your aunts be like yours? The world is as our father created it and it cannot be altered." "The old woman must be related to the evil spirits I have killed and that is why she does not like it," he thought. "No, grandson, our father has ordained that my body, the earth shall fall in two. He ordained death lest there be a shortage of food on this earth because of surplus of people; he ordained death lest people crowd each other too much on this earth. He has therefore arranged a place for people to go to when they die."

*Hare* did not like it. "Surely grandmother is angry because she was related to these spirits. She is taking the part of the evil spirits." Thus he thought. "No, grandson, that is not so. At present your heart feels sore. Your uncles and aunts, however, will obtain ample life, they will live to a normal old age." So she spoke to him. "Now, grandson, get up. Your uncles and aunts will follow you in this. Try to do what I am now going to tell you. Be a man and do not look back after you have started with me."

Then they traveled around the earth. "I wonder why grandmother told me not to turn back," he thought to himself. So he looked back just the least little bit; just the least little bit he turned to the left. Immediately the place from which he had started caved in. "Oh my! Oh my! A

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man I thought you were, a person of prominence, and I encouraged you so much! Now, grandson, decay and death can in no way be taken back." 539 776

Around the earth they went, to the edge of the fire that stretches on each side of the earth. They united these two lines of fire so that human beings might attain old age. [823]

"To look back she forbade me. But I have already made up my mind as to the immortality of my uncles and my aunts. When they become like me then only will I be happy. Such is my thought."

Then he ~~went out and~~ walked to the lodge of the spirit who lives in the east where the sun rises. Opposite him he sat down. "Well, *Hare*, there is nothing I can do for you. If the spirit ahead of me has anything he wishes to tell you, undoubtedly he will do so." Then *Hare* greeted him and went out.

He traveled toward the west. Even then he had no other thought in his head except that he would succeed. When he arrived at the lodge of the second spirit, the latter spoke to him and said, "*Hare*, what you have come for I know, but if the spirits ahead of me could say nothing how can I, the least of all of them, do so?"

Then *Hare* greeted him and left. He started for his home and arrived there crying, "My aunts and uncles must not die, they must not die!" And then he thought, "To all things death will come." He cast his thoughts upon the precipices, and they began to crumble and cave in. He cast his thoughts upon the rocks, and they began to crumble. Under the earth he cast his thoughts, and all the beings that were living there stopped moving and their limbs stiffened in death. Up above he cast his thoughts and the birds fell down dead.

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Then after he had entered his lodge he took his blanket and, wrapping himself in it, he lay down crying. "Not the entire earth will suffice us when we die and in some places there will not even be enough room!"

After a while the news reached our father. He heard the human beings saying that the evil spirits would now try to utterly destroy them. The news reached him that *Hare* was not feeling well. Then Earthmaker said to the first man he had created, "*Hare* is not feeling well. Go after him." *Foolish-one* came to the earth. "*Hare*, I have come to fetch you," he said. But *Hare* did not even answer him; he did not even move in his blanket. So *Foolish-one* returned to Earthmaker. Then Earthmaker sent the second one, *Turtle*, and told him, "Do you go now after *Hare* and bring him here. Try very hard to accomplish it for he is not feeling very well." When *Turtle* came to *Hare* he told him, "*Hare*, I have come to take you back with me." But *Hare* did not even answer. Then he returned and said that *Hare* would not even answer.

Finally Earthmaker sent the fourth one he had created and said, "You are to go for *Hare* and bring him back here. Try with all your strength to accomplish this." "No matter how difficult it is I will accomplish it," he said. He reached the earth and said to *Hare*, "Indeed, for a long time has your heart been sad, *Hare*. Come, let us go home now. Get up!" Then he took him back to Earthmaker. He did not, however, take him to Earthmaker's lodge but to the one opposite, where the chief of the Thunderbirds lived. They placed him near the chief. In front of this lodge there was a mound and also a little war club painted red on one side. Thunderbird chief took the little war club and holding it lightly shook it gently. So great, however, was the noise that it made that *Hare* got frightened and almost

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ran out. Then they freed him from the sorrowful thoughts that he had had on earth and restored his spirits. 539 776

Soon after that he was taken to Earthmaker. When he came there Earthmaker said, "*Hare*, your heart must have been very sad. Full of sorrow, indeed, must your heart have been for your uncles and your aunts. Now that their lives may be benefited, a holy teaching you are to take back to them. Come, look at this!" There the sky was parted and below on earth toward the south, a long lodge stood revealed. He gazed upon it and as he looked he saw old people with very white hair. "Thus your uncles and aunts are going to be. They will make very much noise in this ceremony. Now look down again! Some help is to be given them. Not one bad spirit will I put there." Then Earthmaker pointed toward the earth again and said, "You are to go back to the earth and put this ceremony before them. Not alone are you to do it but with the aid of your own friends, *Foolish-one*, *Turtle*, *Bladder*, and *He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings*. Your grandmother, the Earth, will help you too. If one of your uncles and aunts performs the ceremony properly he will have more than one life. I shall always keep the door through which he may return to earth open to him. When he becomes re-incarnated he can live wherever he wishes. He can return to the earth as a human being, or join the various bands of spirits, or finally become an animal under earth." Now all this Earthmaker did for us. [775]

Then *Hare* returned to the earth and to his grandmother. "What I have tried to obtain for my uncles and my aunts, that now I have brought back with me," he said. "Grandson, how is it possible to make them immortal as ourselves? As the world was created so it must remain." "Grandmother, I say that my uncles and aunts will choose their

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lives for themselves, and, grandmother, you are to help me." "Good, grandson, that I will do," said grandmother thanking him.

"When the time comes my friend *Foolish-one* will come," he thought. Then *Hare* struck the drum and started his songs. All of a sudden *Foolish-one* came in. "I thought of your coming, *Foolish-one*, and you are here." "Indeed, my friend, I knew your thoughts and that is why I came." Then they went out together and outside the village they sat down to discuss what they were to do. When they returned to the lodge *Hare* thought, "My friend, *Turtle*, will come." Then *Turtle* immediately appeared. Said *Hare*, "I thought of your coming and you are here." "Yes, my friend, I knew your thoughts and that is why I came." In the same way *Bladder* came. Finally *Hare* fixed his thoughts on *He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings* and he came.

Grandmother listened to them very quietly but she could not understand what they were saying. Then after a while *Hare said*, "What I tried to obtain for my uncles and my aunts I have accomplished. You are now going to hear what it is. Come near the fireplace and sit down and then you will hear about it. I know that you too, grandmother, will be anxious to help the human beings." "Indeed, grandson, I am." She got up, took her handiwork, sat down near the five of them and laid her hands upon their head. She placed her work in front of her grandson, *Hare*. Then she spoke and said, "If you get this ceremony, the Medicine Dance, for your uncles and your aunts, they will live happily. Forever are they to do this." Then she asked, "Grandson, what is the nature of the work that I am to do for you? Well, this is it. Now look at me. Earth-maker, our father, had me bring the following things for your uncles and your aunts. I am going to give them

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that with which they can always obtain life." Then she opened her dress and there where the heart is, on the left, green leaves became visible and a stalk like an ear. The stalk was white as a blossom. It was corn. "For your uncles and aunts, Earthmaker, our father has permitted me to bring corn." Thus did a stalk become visible whose leaves were very green and whose tassels were very white.

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Then the five of them arose and said, "Let us greet our grandmother." So they walked up to her and laid their hands upon her head. "It is good, grandmother," said *Hare*. "This is what I meant when I said you were to help the human beings."

Then *Hare* went out and when he got to a place in the east he stopped. Then he turned to the west. Then he thought, "This is the way it will be." He took eight yellow female snakes and threw them in the air. As they fell they became transformed into the side-poles of the lodge. He turned their heads toward the east and their tails toward the west. He used rattlesnakes to tie them with. The doorway he made of two snakes, a black female snake on the left and a male snake on the right. The doors at the rear end of the lodge he made of blue female snakes. Then he took some reed-grass and threw it over the lodge so that it was completely covered. He took another piece of reed-grass and threw it inside the lodge where it became the white mats on which we stand. A bearskin hide he threw in on the right side and it extended along the whole length of the lodge. On the other side he threw a deerskin hide. Then he made a door of a real living mountain lion. This he did in order to prevent any bad spirits from entering. At the west door he placed a buffalo bull. When he had completed all these things, he looked inside the lodge and

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there he heard these animals bellowing and roaring at each other. Light radiated all over the lodge.

He now started for the lodge, he first and his friends following. "Well, my friends, I am through; the lodge is finished. Grandmother, stand up and come with us!" She walked first and after her they all came. When they arrived at the door, the fear-inspiring lion snapped his teeth. But they entered and walked around the lodge until they came to the place where they had first come in. Then *Hare* sent a number of public criers, a bear and a wolf, to traverse the entire length of the earth and invite the spirits to the ceremony. Along with them were also sent winged messengers, the crow and the swan.

When these started they all looked young but when they returned their bodies had become old and devoid of hair and they had to support themselves on staffs. The birds too when they returned, came back with wings exhausted, with eyebrows hanging over their eyes, looking very old indeed. In front of *Hare's* seat they stopped and said to him, "Your uncles and aunts, when they speak of you, will forever praise you. We have placed many life-giving objects within this lodge." "Well, my friends," said *Hare*, "it is good. This is what I wanted. I thank you in the names of my uncles and aunts."

Then all the messengers who had been sent out returned. The first four beings created by Earthmaker also came. They stood at the door ready to enter. The oldest one started but turned back frightened by the animals he saw within. The next two also tried but recoiled back afraid. Finally the youngest opened the door and led them in. They made the circuit of the lodge and at the door *Hare* took the eldest and placed him in the seat at the east. Then he walked around and placed the next one at

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the north, then one at the west and one at the south. Then *Hare* took his own seat. 539 776

Now the various spirits who had been invited began to enter. Then came the human beings, those of the bird clan, of the bear clan, the wolf clan, the snake clan, etc. Last came the one they were to initiate.

Then *Hare* rose and spoke, "My friends, I have had you come together because my uncles and aunts had been living a very pitiable life. You are to teach them the life they are to live and which is to be handed down from one generation to the other. That is what I ask of you. You have now heard what it is I want. I leave everything else to be done and said by those in the east."

Then the one in the east seat arose and said, "We are to teach our friends, the uncles and aunts of *Hare*, the meaning of life. This they may hand down from generation to generation. To-day for the first time has this thing been discussed. All that life consists of—wealth, honor and happiness—they shall have from now on." [181] The other three spirits, the one in the north, the west, and the south, all said the same thing. When they finished each one returned to his own seat.

Now *Hare* got up again and said, "This is what I desired for my uncles and aunts. This lodge I made for them and as long as they follow the precepts taught in this lodge of creation, they will be invulnerable. For that reason have these seats been made for them, that whosoever so desires may sit therein."

All day long the spirits taught the one who was to be initiated and when the sun was on the treetops and when it was time to stop, the spirits dispersed. As they left they took with them half of the light that had been radiated in the lodge. As they went out they rubbed against the door-

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posts. They pushed these deep into the ground so that they would not fall over.

*Hare* now rose and spoke again, "Grandmother, I shall ever be sitting ready for any of my uncles and aunts who will perform this ceremony that has been taught them. With tears my uncles and aunts will come to me and my heart will ache for them. I will go above and sit down, and if any person performs this ceremony, then he will become as I am. Now look at me, grandmother, look at my body!" The old woman looked and behold he had become a small boy. "Grandmother," said *Hare*, "if any one repeats this ceremony properly, he will become just like this. Now look at me again," *Hare* said. She looked at him and he had become a full-grown man. When she looked for the third time he had become middle-aged, his hair was interspersed with gray. When she looked for the fourth time, his head was covered as if he were wearing a swan as a headdress and he leaned tremblingly on his staff, standing in the east. "Well, grandmother," said *Hare*, "if any of my uncles perform this ceremony properly this is the way they will live."

"It is good, grandson," said the old woman. "However not only your uncles will live like that if they perform the ceremony properly. The same will apply to your aunts. Now look at me, grandson." *Hare* looked and there stood a very young woman, her hair like a smooth shawl. "It is good," said *Hare*; "in the name of my aunts I thank you." Then again he was asked to look and he saw a woman in middle age, her hair almost gray. When he looked the fourth time, her hair was entirely dried up, there was a hollow in the nape of her neck, her chin protruded trembling, like a wooden poker burnt short, and her whole appearance was that of duck looking at the sun.

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"Well, grandmother, this is what I meant when I said that you were to help me. My uncles and aunts have now received all that I desired for them. I thank you." 539 776

Now throughout the ceremony I felt all the time that we were merely deceiving the spectators. When it was all over the members of my band told me that in two years I would be able to imitate the sounds of animals to my heart's content for I had taken the place of a great medicine man. Those who have the privilege of dancing obtain it by making gifts to the older members and thus buying the right. Those who do not buy this right or are not given permission to use it, are not allowed to dance. It is the same way with the shooting. Unless, for instance, a man buys the right, he is not allowed to extend his arms at full length when he shoots, but he must hold them close to his breast. The right to drum as well as the right to shake the gourd rattles, all these things must be bought. In fact, almost everything must be bought. I was told, however, that I would not have to go through all this training but would become a great medicine man immediately. That pleased me. I was given a gray squirrel-skin to use as a medicine pouch and I was told that it was really alive and that I had the power to make it cry aloud. I had seen people doing this and I had always envied them. This was another of the things I was anxious to do. Indeed I wondered greatly how it could be done. 159* 156 796 [424]

When the dance was over my father went away and left me at that place alone. He left me at the home of the deceased person's wife. I did not go back to 159*

*159 school but, instead, stayed near the old woman and did various jobs for her. There I stayed all spring.

*159 756 761 796 I had been told that if a person initiated into the Medicine Dance did not regard the affair as sacred this was a sign that he would die soon. This frightened me a good deal for I had been thinking of the whole matter in a very light-hearted fashion and I now felt that this was an indication that I would soon die. I did my best therefore to consider it a sacred ceremony. In spite of all this, however, I did not succeed.

*159 About this time I left for Tomah. It was about the middle of the summer. I stayed and lived with my [869] grandfather and from that time on was taught by him many of the details of the Medicine Dance. For instance, when I prepared a sweat-bath for him he would teach me some of the songs. I accordingly prepared the bath for him frequently. He would always be grateful and that is another of the reasons why I was glad to do it. Before long I had learned all the songs he knew so that when I was invited to a Medicine Dance I would do all the singing and he would only do the talking. From that time on I said that it was a sacred affair, and from then on I participated in the ceremony for the greatness inhering in it. I boasted [156] of its greatness in the presence of women, in order to make a good impression upon them.

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## §15. *Marriage*

About this time I joined a show and danced. I was always very fond of dancing and now I got a chance to go around and dance all the time and even got paid for it. I had money all the time. The people with whom I went around never saved anything and were always without funds, for they spent all their money on drink. I, however, never drank. After a while I got into the habit of going with these shows every fall. 159* [541]

One fall I did not go and, instead, stayed with my grandfather. He told me to get married. I was about twenty-three years old then. I had courted women ever since I was old enough to do so. Every time I did anything I always thought of women in connection with it. I tried to court as many as I could. I wanted badly to be a beau, for I considered it a great thing. I wanted to be a ladies' man. [584]

My grandfather had wanted me to marry a certain girl so I went over to the place where she was staying. When I arrived there I tried to meet the girl secretly and succeeded in doing so. I told her of my intention of marrying her and asked her to go home with me. Then she went back, for I had met her some distance from her home. 159* 584

After a short time she came back all dressed up and

After a short time she came back all dressed up and
*159 ready. She had on a waist covered with silver buckles
584 and a beautifully colored hair ornament; she wore
301 many strings of beads around her neck and had bracelets around her wrists. Her fingers were covered with
[292] rings. She wore a pair of ornamented leggings and
[531] ornamented moccasins with wide flaps. In each ear she had about a half dozen ear-holes and they were full of small silver pieces made into ear ornaments.
[305] She was painted, her cheeks red, and the parting of her hair red. She was all dressed up.

*159 I came to her on horseback. Then we rode together.
584 We were not going to return to the place from which I had started that night, because I had been previously asked to sing at a Medicine Feast at a place on our way home. On the way I therefore hid the girl near the place where the feast was to be given.

The girl had a red blanket, and I hid her under a small oak bush. Unfortunately it rained all that night and the next morning, and when, early in the morning, I went to where I had hidden the girl I found her still there, but soaked through and through from the rain. Her paint was smeared all over her face in such a way that she could hardly be recognized. When we arrived
*159 home my grandfather's wife came out to meet us. She
585 helped the girl down from the horse and took her into the lodge. Then we ate and when we were through the girl took off her clothing and gave it to my grandparents who in return gave her other clothing. After the girl had stayed there three nights she had her
[841] menses and had to go to her special lodge and sleep there.

## *Marriage*

there. Shortly after a horse was given to this girl I had married. 159* 585

Some time after, my grandfather had a private talk with me and he said, "Grandson, it is said that this girl you have married is not a virgin and I am not pleased with it, as this is your first marriage and you are a young man. I suppose you know whether this is true or not, whether or not she is a maiden?" "Yes," I answered, "I know." "Well, you do not have to live with her then if you don't care to," he said. So I went away on a visit and from there I went home for good. After some time I learned that she also had gone back to her home. My grandfather was glad that I had not stayed with her and he told me, "You can marry another and a better one, one that I shall choose for you." However I said to him, "Grandfather, you have begged women for me often enough. Don't ever do it again for I don't care to marry a woman who has to be begged for." He was not at all pleased at this for he said that I was not allowing him to tell me what to do.

[831] 159* 586 [584] [603]

[P. 129]

## §16. *Shows*

*159 About this time we went to the Sioux country on a visit. There were a number of us. While there I was [574] adopted as a friend and given a pony. When I returned [431] to my home I used to ride around on my pony. That fall a number of Winnebago were going to join a show [541] and I decided to go along with them. I was a good dancer. We went to all the large cities of the country.

*159 273 With us there were two grass widows and after a while I used to go with one of them secretly. This woman used to drink beer. Soon I began to go with the other woman also. They both drank a good deal and often asked me to drink with them, but I always [588] refused. I finally married one of these women, al- [837] though I continued frequenting the other one at the same time. We lived in a tipi. As I said, they both drank beer and gradually I got to drinking it too. Soon I drank a great deal and began to like it. I kept this a secret from my people and told the women to do the same. Finally, however, as I began drinking frequently, a friend of mine found out about it and then the two of us used to drink together. Then the owner of the show discovered that I was drinking. He thought a good deal of me, that my dancing was better than that of the others, and when he learned that

*Shows*

I was drinking, he told me that he would treat me and the two women to beer that very night. I drank a lot of it that night and I enjoyed it immensely. After that, of course, I was not able to keep the fact of my drinking from other people. I talked at the top of my voice under the influence of liquor and was very happy. Every few minutes I would suddenly begin to sing out loudly. Then I began drinking whisky in addition to beer, and got drunk. On the following morning I said I would never do it again, but in a short time I was drinking beer again secretly. 159* 203

Eventually the show was over and we all went to our homes. We had to go across Lake Michigan. It was very stormy and we all got sick. Then my friend said, "Say, let us drink so that we may not be sick." He took out some whisky which he was carrying in a flask and we drank all night. Very early in the morning we got to Milwaukee. There we ate our breakfast and continued on our way home, to Black River Falls. We drank all the way on the train and when we reached our destination we were still drinking. All my relatives saw that I was drunk. They were very sorry and an older sister of mine wept when she saw me. I there made up my mind that I would never do it again. At about that time we received our annuity payment and although I had money I did not drink any more for some time. [657]

After we had spent what we had received in annuities the hunting season began. I went along with the others to the hunting grounds. I ran away from the two 159* 222 000

*Crashing Thunder*

I ran away from the two
*159 women with whom I had been living. We spent some
224 time hunting. Every morning we would get up very
[831] early, stay out the whole day and not return until the
night. Often although we had been on our feet all
[264] day we would not find time to have our noon meal. At
night, regularly, we would take our sweat-baths. We
took these sweat-baths because they are supposed to
[189] act as magical charms to ensure success in hunting. It
[515] was always very refreshing to take them and then
plunge into cold water, whether at night or in the
morning.

[P. 132]

## §17. *A Woman Bewitches Me*

Once when I returned to the camp I found some other people there. There I also found my grandfather. He had brought along with him one of the two women with whom I had been living, the older one. I did not like it at all. My grandfather asked me to live with her and I did so during the hunting season. When it was over this woman remained there and I returned to my home with another one. My former wife stayed there a long time, but when she got tired of waiting for me to return, she left. 159* 837 588

Just about this time I heard that this former wife of mine, before going away, had used some magical medicine on me. A medicine feast was immediately given me and my scalp treated to counteract the evil effect of what she had used. It was said that she had taken one of my hairs and dipped it into her medicine bundle. This she did in order to prevent me from ever leaving her. If then I left her I would suffer from a headache and perhaps even die. Such was the belief. Fortunately the matter was discovered, my scalp treated and the hair she had taken recovered and washed with medicine. Nothing therefore happened to me. 159* 754 755

From that time on I began to live with as many women as I could, for I had developed the idea that I was a lady-killer. 159* 156 837

## §18. *My Brother Is Murdered*

*159 Shortly after this my elder brother was killed. We
[682] two had grown up together and had hardly ever been
[152] separated. I felt quite heartbroken over it. I longed
to kill the man who had murdered him. I felt that it
would be better if I myself were dead. In this frame
*159 of mind I took to drinking a great deal. Indeed it was
273 my wish to die drinking and I would announce this
when I was drinking heavily. Up to that time I had
drunk secretly, but now I did so openly. Soon I
became a confirmed drunkard. By that time I had
quite forgotten the fact that I had wanted to die. In-
deed I enjoyed drinking very much.

I got into the habit, then, of giving women whisky
[685] and getting them hopelessly drunk and then I would
steal anything of value they possessed. I also learned
[526] to box and soon became quite expert. I was never de-
feated, and in consequence treated every one roughly.
Every one was afraid of me because of my skill with
the gloves. My father was a strong man and so were
my elder brothers, and neither of them had ever been
[156] defeated at wrestling. For all these reasons I was very
arrogant. Besides all this I was very tall. I am six
[141] feet two inches high and weigh about two hundred and
fifty pounds. In actual fact I was not really as strong

## *My Brother Is Murdered*

as I pretended for whenever I woke up from a drunken 159* orgy I found myself firmly bound. [273]

All I did was to wander from place to place, from one woman to another. I had four sisters and from them [593] and from my parents did I receive all that I possessed and yet in spite of this, I claimed to be a great man! [156] I then had two women staying with me as my wives. 159* At one time I had as many as four, two at my parents' 588 house and two at certain relatives of mine. I wasn't serious with any one of them. I lied all the time; I was [577] always telling falsehoods. On one occasion I had four children born to me and each one had a different mother. Even after that I continued courting women and drinking.

In the spring there was always work to do. We 159* rolled logs down the stream and drank. I accepted [22] such occupations because I could then always get as [273] much drink as I wanted. Whenever I had any money I spent it on getting some woman drunk.

[P. 135]

## §19. *The Effect of a Pretended Blessing*

*159 I was now drinking heavily all the time and I began
273 to boast of being a holy man. I claimed that I had
787 been blessed by certain spirits and I made this claim
156 again and again. Of course this was all a lie, for I had
577 never felt a stirring of any kind within me. I made the claim because I had heard others doing it. Generally I made this claim when I was just about drunk, just on the verge of getting boisterous but still vaguely conscious of what I was saying. Then I would say, for instance, that I had been blessed by a Grizzly-spirit, that he had blessed me with the power of being uncontrollable, that he had taught me certain songs. These I would then sing at the top of my voice. I used to exert all the power I had to imitate a grizzly bear. The bystanders would try to hold me but it always required a large number of men to do so. Now I thought this exhibition of mine an act worthy of praise.

*159 After that I began to claim that I had been blessed
156 by many spirits. I made the claim at one time that I
577 was really the reincarnation of one of the benevolent
787 giant spirits and that my name was *Good-heart*, that I
795 was now living as a human being among men. Such
776 was my claim and people believed me.
000 Once when I was on one of my drinking sprees I

## *The Effect of a Pretended Blessing*

Once when I was on one of my drinking sprees I visited the lodge of a relative of mine. There I found a woman whom I had the right to call niece and whom I could therefore tease. Just in jest I used to call her "mother" and "sister." Now on this particular occasion after food had been offered me, I began teasing her as usual when one of the women sitting around there said, "My younger brother, your niece is really in a condition to excite your compassion and not to fool with. She is in fact about to face death, for she is going to be confined soon and she generally manages barely to escape death then." "Oh, is that so?" answered I. "Well, elder sister, this time my niece is not going to suffer. Up above, in the heavens, there exist four women, sisters, and these blessed me, telling me that if I ever called upon them for help they would help me. Now to these I shall offer tobacco and when my niece is about to be delivered, she, too, must ask for help." Thus I spoke to her. The woman thanked me. I had told a terrible falsehood. I said all this because I was very hungry and I knew that I would then receive enough to appease my hunger. I had nothing else to say.

Some time after this I saw the women in town. The older woman ran over to me and said, "My younger brother, all is well. Your niece is in wonderful condition; she is very well indeed. She has just given birth to a child and within three days of its birth she was able to chop wood. Never before has such a thing happened to her. It is good. As soon as the annuity payment is made you may have the child's portion for drink.

159* 755 [273] [602] [845] [577] [657]

*159 755 [156] drink." Thus she spoke. I was surprised. Perhaps I am really holy, after all, I thought.

*159 156 789 After this incident, of course, I boasted of my powers even more, for now I was really convinced that I possessed sacred power. I talked as do those who have knowledge of blessings obtained from all the spirits in creation; I spoke with all the authority of a great medicine man. I used to do the singing for my band during the performance of the Medicine Dance, and as I had a deep bass voice, everybody liked it. Sometimes I would be given offerings of food in a kettle.

*159 273 796 I always drank a great deal whenever a Medicine Dance was given and frequently I would knock people unconscious when I was drunk, even those in the vicinity of the camp.

## §20. *I Have a Fight*

Once we went out hunting game in the fall of the 159*
year. We used to sell the hindquarters and some- 284
times ship them as far as Chicago. We were of course [439]
only permitted to hunt for thirty days. The law was [648]
that if any one hunted longer than that he would be
arrested. Yet in spite of all we hunted for a longer
time because we felt that the law was meant only for
the Whites. One day, however, in shipping deer away,
we were detected. One of my brothers and myself
were arrested, taken to court and convicted. We had 159*
to spend sixty days in jail. During my imprisonment 302
I never had my hair cut and from that time on, I al- 787
ways wore it long. I told the people that a spirit called
*Foolish-one*[34] had instructed me to do this and that he
had blessed me. I also told my older brother, the one
who was still living, to do the same thing and that if he,
too, let his hair grow, *Foolish-one* would bless him with
long life. From that time on I wore long hair.

After that I joined a show of the Whites. People 159*
liked me very much on account of my long hair and I 541
was well paid. I kept on drinking all the time. I there 648
learned to ride a bicycle and mount and ride wild [526]

[34] The clown of Winnebago mythology. He is, however, regarded [703]
as having some of the characteristics of a spirit and, very occa- [522]
sionally, blessing an individual.

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*159 horses. I used to call myself a cowboy, principally
541 because I wore my hair long. Many vicious horses
648 did I ride, and I was thrown off many times. I did all
526 this not because I felt myself to be an expert, but because I was wild. On one occasion I took part in a bicycle race on a regular racetrack. I was in full Indian costume and wore long hair.

*159 The show I had joined played at St. Paul. I took
541 part in it every summer. I became acquainted with
648 many people and so I was asked to come again every year. Finally it got so that I would not even return to the Indians in winter.

One season some one asked me to collect a number of Indians of whom I was to be in charge. I was told that I would be allowed ten dollars a week for each Indian and that I could pay them whatever I liked. I was quite satisfied, for I could pay them five dollars a week and thus make some money, I thought. I therefore persuaded a number of people to go along with me and we all started. We rode to the place where we were to meet the man who had made the arrangements. From there we started out and went from fair to fair. We never made any money, however, and went bankrupt. The man could not even pay us. We felt very angry and we then went to another show with whose manager I was acquainted. We were to divide the receipts.

Once we were to give our show at a certain place for the last time, for the cold weather was setting in. It was thus our last day. One of the boys came to me

and told me that some one had struck him. I got angry and told him to point out the person who had done it. Just then the very person appeared and I tried to strike him, but he got away. I succeeded, however, in striking him with a drumstick. That evening I was told that the man whom I had struck had said that he was going to kill a certain Indian. "Perhaps he doesn't know that he also is subject to death," I answered. "Indeed, I am anxious to get ahold of him." After the show was finished we put on our civilian clothes and took our handbags. "None of you must go out alone," I warned them, "for you might get hurt." One of my boys was on horseback and was taking his horse to water it at a trough. His pony was taken away from him and he returned without it. His hat, too, had been stolen. Indeed he barely escaped with his life. "Come, let us go back," I said. I told the other boys to go right on and not to worry about me. I gave them my handbag and then returned to the place where the first boy had been attacked. Before we got there the same boy was attacked and set upon with clubs. We were right in the midst of a big crowd of Whites. These shouted and chased him. When they saw me they started for me. I fought them with my bare fists, turning from side to side. I was completely surrounded by them. Whenever any one got near enough to me I struck him. Then I started to run and was hit on the head, but I was not knocked unconscious. I was now angry and I struck out at all within reach. If I had had a weapon

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*159 579 648 I would have killed some of them. Several now fell upon me and I was struck on the head until it was entirely covered with blood. I started for the show tents which had not yet been taken down. Just then the man who had begun all the trouble came toward me with a hatchet. I went for him and when he raised the hatchet I struck him and knocked him down, for I hit him straight in the mouth.

A policeman now came forward and led me to our show tents. I was covered with blood. The women were weeping and told the policeman who I was, that it was not my fault and that I had not been drinking. I was taken to jail. I told the policeman that we ought not to be locked up for we had not started the trouble. The others ought to be locked up, we said, for it was the particular man who had hit my boy who had been drinking. "You are right," said the policeman. "I will go back and look for your things. Yet you ought not to be on the street for you have hurt many people. You had better stay in jail for a few hours for many people are on the watch for you. Now I'll go for your pony and then you can do what you like." They put me in jail and there I found the Indian about whom all the trouble had started. "Well, this is good," he said. "I thought they had killed you. Well, how many did you kill?" "I didn't kill any one," I answered. "It is good, for I thought they had either killed you or that you had killed them."

Then I washed the blood from my head. Soon after the policeman returned and brought my pony with him,

## *I Have a Fight*

as well as my hat. Then he said, "You are to go home 159*
immediately. It is true that you have been dealt with 574
unfairly, but this is a regular fair town, and if any 648
trouble starts in the courts about this affair, it will hurt [591]
our fairs in the future. We shall therefore not go to law about it. The man who started the trouble is the owner of a large hotel, and in addition, owns a trotting horse. You have knocked out all the teeth of this hotel-keeper, and we do not know whether he will live or not. You have bruised other people, too, badly. So you had better go home."

From there we started for our home. My partner 159*
rode a pony and rode through the middle of the town 648
on it. I went in the same direction. He was afraid to go through the crowd of white people. A policeman escorted us out to the edge of the town. There we told him that we wanted some whisky and he went into a [203]
saloon and bought us two quarts. We both started then, sitting on a small two-year-old pony that belonged to my partner. Every time a team drove by we got frightened. After we had been drinking a little, however, we said that if the fight were to occur again, we would surely kill some one for we were sorry about the way in which it had ended. No one pursued us, however.

There were some Indians living in the neighborhood and we used to go to visit them every night. When I told them about what had happened they got quite frightened for they thought these white people would come out there to fight. So they moved away on the

*159 648 following morning. The other man and I took up their trail and followed. We still rode the little pony together. We had plenty of whisky with us. At night we came upon their camps. These poor people were really trying to get away from us for they thought that the white people would really follow us and fight.

There I found out that my relatives were camping nearby, so I went over to see them. They felt very sorry for us when we told them what had happened. They were working at the time, digging potatoes. I stayed with them at the house of a certain woman.

[P 149]

## §21. *Dissipation*

While staying at this woman's lodge I was one day 159*
handed a paper by a woman, in which she told me that 588
she was married, that she was living at a certain place, 839
and that if I came over, she would do whatever I said. I told the woman with whom I was living about it, and she said, "Go after her, that I may have her as my companion." Her father had a horse, and on it I rode over to the woman's house. I went there secretly, and watched the people digging potatoes, for their camp was nearby. The man to whom this woman was married was also living with another woman at the same time. The woman I was after was staying in this camp. I approached her secretly and when I reached the place she got herself ready to go with me. The two of us rode on a pony, and it so happened that we had to pass the place where the husband was working. He pursued us, but we managed to get away. In a short time I arrived home, and my wife received the second woman willingly. They would sleep with me on alternate nights.

After we finished our work there, we went to the 159*
place from which we had originally come, and we ar- 657
rived home just in time for the annuity payment. The superintendent of the Wittenberg school made the

*159 payment. At about the same time, one of the two
657 women with whom I was living was taken away from
[588] me. She went to live with another man. When the
[837] payment was over here, the superintendent went to
[484] Necedah to pay the people there, and I went along,
for I was doing what we called "chasing the payment."
There, and at Red Hill, I deceived many women, and
thus obtained quite a large sum of money. Then I
started off with a number of other young men. By
[273] this time I was spending all my time drinking.

*159 I got on the train at night. We were to change cars
484 at a place called Honsa and from there we were to
ride in a freight car. When we had gone only a short
distance the conductor saw us and put us off. We were
all drinking heavily. One man had lost his hat and
was walking bareheaded. We walked along until we
came to a pasture, and there we found some dry wood
with which we built a fire. We had decided to sleep
there. We had plenty of whisky with us. Late at
night we became thirsty and so we looked around for
water. We found a number of pools scattered around,
and out of these we drank. Then we went to sleep.
The next morning when we woke up we saw a good
well near us, but we ourselves had drunk out of the
water and mud in which pigs had been wallowing.

*159 In the morning when the train arrived we boarded it.
273 Eventually we reached our destination, and there found
many people, drinking and making a lot of noise. That
was exactly the place I had been looking for. When-
[685] ever I saw a person drunk I would steal whatever he

## *Dissipation*

happened to have, for I had become a thief. If I saw 159 *
a woman drunk, I would steal her, for I was an adul- [685]
terer. What I was looking for mainly was a woman to [273]
cohabit with, for in this way, I was able to get all her [837]
money. If any woman wanted to cohabit with me, she would have to give me all the money she had. This is the sort of thing I was doing. In this way I often succeeded in inducing two or three women to live with me at the same time.

After finishing at Necedah the superintendent always 159 *
went to Tomah to pay the people there, and from 657
Tomah he would proceed to Black River Falls. At Black River Falls the last payment was made, and for that reason it was always an extremely noisy place on such an occasion. All who liked this kind of a life, all who used to chase payments for the fun of it, would be there. Marriages would get badly mixed up here, and [837]
there would always be stealing of one another's wives, [579]
fighting, robbery, etc. Even those married people who [684]
had been faithful to each other up till then, would become unfaithful. Many people would get hurt. When the last payment had been made, all those who had not spent their last cent on drink would begin gam- [525]
bling, the men and women playing poker. Only when our last cent was gone would we stop and settle down. Many of us were generally left without enough money to go home.

[P.147]

## §22. *We Kill a Pottawattomie*

*159 588 837 I never married any woman permanently. I would live with one for awhile, and then with another. Sometimes upon my return after an absence I would find my temporary wife living with another man. This is the way in which I acted.

*159 787 721 My father had brought me up and had encouraged me to fast, so that I might be blessed by all the spirits that exist, and thus live in comfort. My father had raised me so that I should desire to obtain war honors,[28] so that I should not be like one who wears skirts. That was the reason he had me join the Medicine Dance so [626] that people should not be able to ridicule me. My father taught me to lead a sober and sane life and my [867] grandfather, during the time I lived with him, had told me the same. They both encouraged me to give feasts and to ask the spirits for war honors.

*159 721 At that time I had a comrade, and one day he said to me, "We have been thinking of something, have we not, friend? We ought to try and obtain some external emblem of our bravery. Do we not always try to wear feathers at a Warrior Dance? Well, then, let us try

[554] [28] These war honors were the following: touching the body of a slain enemy first, killing an enemy, touching the body second, touching it third, stealing a horse. All of them entitled the possessor [301] to wear an eagle feather in his hair.

to obtain war honors, so that we can wear head orna- 159*
ments." So did we both speak to each other. We both 721
liked the idea, and so we decided to go in search of war
honors. We decided to kill a man of another tribe;
we meant to perform an act of bravery. We started
out finally. There were four of us, and we went to a
place where other tribesmen congregated. We took
the train and carried some baggage with us. We took
ropes along, for we intended to steal some horses, and
if we found the opportunity, kill a man. Horse stealing
was regarded as a praiseworthy feat, and I had always [559]
admired the people who recounted the number of times
they had stolen horses, at one of the Warrior Dances.
That was why I wished to do these things.

We proceeded to a place where horses of other tribes
used to pasture. Just as we got there we saw the owner
of some of these horses and killed him. My friend
killed him. Then we went home, and secretly I told
my father all about it. I said to him, "Father, you
said it was good to be a warrior and you encouraged
me to fast and I did so. You encouraged me to give
feasts and I did so. Now we have just returned from
a trip. We were looking for war honors and the young
people who were accompanying me decided that I [701]
should lead them. I told them that it was a difficult
thing to lead warriors, my father had always told me,
and that I had always been given to understand that
a person could lead a war-party only in consequence
of a specific blessing received from the spirits. I was
not conscious of having received any such, I told him.

*159 721 [701] [781] [176] Thus I spoke. However, they made me an offering of tobacco as they asked me, and I accepted the tobacco saying that I would at least make an offering of tobacco for them. Then I offered tobacco to the Thunderbirds and asked them for rain, that we might walk in the protection and power of rain. This offering we made in the morning and it rained all that day. Then we went to the place where we knew that we could find horses. When we got there we met the owner of the horses and spoke to him. We accompanied him to a carpenter shop nearby, and there killed him. I struck his dead body, counted coup[96] first, [555] and announced my new name, as I gave a war-whoop. [551] I shouted *'Big-Winnebago* has counted coup on his man.' Then the others counted coup also. We searched his pockets and found medicine and money [827] in them. The money we divided among ourselves. After that we cut out his heart, for we had heard that [826] hearts were used for medicine. That is why we cut out his heart. He had a gun and that we took away from him and hid."

Then my father said to me, "My son, it is good. Your life is no longer an effeminate one. This is the manner in which our ancestors encouraged us to live. It is the will of the spirits in control of war that has led

[96] The first four war honors enumerated above are called "counting coup" by the Whites. *Coup* is the French for *strike* and the expression owes its origin to the custom of warriors counting the number of people they have killed or honors they have obtained by striking the post at the grave of the particular person for whose benefit they are recounting their achievements. [555]

## *We Kill a Pottawattomie*

you to do this. Of your own initiative you could not 159*
possibly have done it. However, we had better not 721
have a Victory Dance as yet. We have the honor any- [721]
how. We must be careful about the Whites. In the
old days we were at liberty to live in our own way, and [648]
when such a deed as yours became known, your sisters
would rejoice and dance, we are told. Now, however,
the law of the Whites is to be feared. In due time you
will get a chance to announce your feat and then you
can wear a head ornament for you have earned that [554]
right for yourself."

[P. 151]

## §23. *I Take a Trip to Nebraska*

*159 597 Shortly after this I had to go to Nebraska. It was in connection with a child I once had, a boy who had died when he was two years old. His mother's father then adopted another one in his place. This child belonged to the Menominee tribe. I had to go there for I was the adopted father of the child and he was thus my son, the one who was taking my dead son's place. [431] I gave the boy a horse at the ceremony performed to fill the dead child's place. The ceremony itself was the [796] Sore Eye Dance.[37] The relatives of the mother gave me some beaded bags, two boxes of maple sugar, etc. Before I had started out for Nebraska, when I was still living in Wittenberg, the boy came to me. I was then living with a woman, and she gave me many things that I was to take along with me to Nebraska and for which she hoped I would get horses in return.

*159 When I started, I stopped at Black River Falls. I went to a woman with whom I had once lived, in order to take her along with me, but she refused. I had gone

[37] The Sore Eye Dance, called more correctly the Society-of-those-who-have-been-blessed-by-the-Night-Spirits, is a secret society organized something like that of the Medicine Dance but quite different in object. It is primarily a war ceremony and its nickname of Sore Eye Dance arose out of the fact that it was so frequently given after the return of a successful war party that the people attending it, got sore eyes from staying up so long. [575] [927] [796]

## *I Take a Trip to Nebraska*

to see her when I was drinking heavily. I therefore 159*
had to go on alone. I had my gun with me. I arrived
at Nebraska in midsummer. I arrived there very early
in the morning, and there I met a man whom I had
once known, a person who used to go around a good
deal. There were many people present. We sat some-
what on one side, and he and his wife drank with me.
I told him what I had done, how I had counted coup
on a Pottawattomie, and he shook hands and said that [555]
he too had counted coup and that he was going to wear
a head ornament. Then they took me to the place
where they lived, carrying all my things for me.

The next day the Nebraska Winnebago were going to
celebrate. There was to be a general gathering for a [527]
week. The people with whom I was staying joined the
others at the gathering. At the gathering itself I met
two men whom I knew and who recognized me. They
shook hands with me. They were riding in a buggy,
and when they left, they took me along. On the road
they stopped, and we got out of the buggy and began [273]
drinking out of a jug containing four quarts of whisky
which we had along with us. I joined them in the
drinks. We then went back to the gathering, where
I met an uncle of mine. To him I presented my gun, [431]
and he was delighted.

The gathering itself was a very large one, and we
danced every day. I also prepared myself and took [527]
part in the dance and gave away many things. I re- [535]
ceived in return two ponies, a harness, and a top-buggy. [431]
I remained there for some time after the celebration

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*[159] was over. Indeed, I even got married there. I kept [588] on drinking all the time. It was then that a nephew of [203] mine begged me to give him my buggy. A nephew has [604] the privilege of asking his uncle for anything, and the uncle must give it. In return the uncle can compel the nephew to work for him at any time.

Some time after that I went to visit an uncle of mine. He said, "Nephew, to-morrow they are going to have a Medicine Dance, and to-night they are going to have a trial performance.[28] Your aunt is going to buy provisions for the meal, and you may go along with her." So I went along. When we got to town we drank, and on the following day it was rumored that the woman and myself were missing. The buggy in which we were riding was quite broken, my hat was gone, and my trousers ripped open. I immediately went back to the place I had come from, even though the Medicine Dance was being given. The woman, I heard, was still missing. I then went to the place at which I had been staying, and remained there all day. I got very tired. In the morning I mounted a horse and went to town. [648] There I was arrested. I was asked what I was doing in the town. "I am not doing anything; I am merely visiting around." Then the one in charge of the law said that I was to pay ten dollars and that if I did not do so, he would send me to prison. I therefore sold my horse for twenty dollars, and out of it I paid the ten

[996] [28] The first part of the regular Medicine Dance is supposed to be merely a rehearsal for the following day when the main ceremony is given and is in consequence called the "trial" performance.

## *I Take a Trip to Nebraska*

dollars. It was a good horse. Then the lawyer said, 159 *
"You have committed many crimes, and you had better go to the place from which you came. If you [648]
stay here any longer, we will lock you up."

I left that same day. Two old men were going to Wisconsin, and I went with them. They did not know how to speak English, so they took me as their interpreter. I left one of my horses in the pasture there. [191]
These men were very fond of whisky, and I bought whisky for them all along the route. After a time we arrived in Wisconsin, just at the cranberry-picking season. I was drunk when we reached our destination. [273] [222]
As we approached my home I told the old men that they should come and visit me. As I said it, I gave a whoop.

[P. 155]

## § 24. *A Woman Quarrels with Me*

*159 I was met by my father and mother and a woman
830 who was living with me before I left. They were very
578 glad to see me. When I got home I found many people
152 camping there. At the camp the woman fixed a bed
for me, gave me some food, and told me to lie down
with her. Instead, I went out and made inquiries about
a woman with whom I had once lived. I found that
she was still there. To her lodge I went, and with her
I stayed that night. In the morning the other woman
was angry. However, I continued staying with this
new one. Late on the following night some one woke
me up. "Come out," the voice said. I went out with
a blanket around me and found my former wife. She
it was who was calling me. She said, "In the morning
[650] the annuity payment is to be paid in Necedah. I am
going there to-night, and I want you to go with me."
"I haven't any money," I answered. "As though you
ever had any money of your own when you wanted to
do something!" I refused to go with her. She persisted, and finally I went back and lay down. After a
while she followed me inside and hit me very hard and
called me names. She kicked me and pulled my hair.
"If I had anything with which to kill you, I would kill
you." Finally I got angry, and she stopped and went
away.

## §25. *I Get Delirium Tremens*

159* 273 [657]

During the cranberry-picking season I drank all the time, and after that chased the payments. I continued drinking. When the payments had all been made, I went to Black River Falls. I was entirely without money. I was supposed to go back to Wittenberg, but I didn't have the fare. I went back to the Indians and stayed all night. In the morning I was sick. I was shaking from head to foot. When I tried to drink coffee, I would spill it; when I lay down, I used to see big snakes. I cried out and got up. Then when I wanted to go to sleep again, I thought I heard some one calling me. I raised the cover of my bed and looked around, but saw nothing. Whenever the wind blew, I thought I heard singing. I thought I heard imaginary people spit very loudly; I heard them and I could not sleep. As soon as I closed my eyes I began to see things. I saw things that were happening in a distant country. I saw ghosts on horseback, drunk. Five or six of them were on one horse, and they were singing. I recognized them, for they were people who had died long before. I heard the words of their song as they sang:

"I, even I, must die some time, so of what value is anything, I think." [533]

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 Thus they sang, and it made a good song. I myself
293 learned it, and later on it became a drinking song known
[533] by many people. I like it very much.

The next morning I rode on a train, and after a while we came to a town. Two days after this I stopped drinking and kept it up throughout the whole winter because I was unable to drink. I vomited every time I tried to drink beer. Throughout the winter I did not drink, and I kept this up until the following summer.

[P. 158]

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## §26. *I Am Arrested for Murder and Confess*

Two years elapsed. At about that time we heard 159* that the men who were responsible for the disappear- 698 ance of the Pottawattomie had been discovered. One of those who had taken part in his murder had been to Nebraska and had there announced his deed in re- [727] counting his acts of bravery at a Warrior Dance. Such was the rumor. This same man had also announced it at a funeral wake. It was in this way that the facts had come out.

That same winter, while I was living in the forest [201] cutting wood, two men came to me one night. They were officers. They mentioned a man's name to me and asked me if I knew him. I said, "Yes." "Well," said they, "let us go to town. We want to ask you some things." They told me to get ready. I did so and rode in a wagon they possessed. Then the men asked me, "Did Peter kill this man? Do you know?" "I do not know," I said to them. Then they told me from what source they had obtained the information and again asked me, "Did you ever hear anything about it?" "No," I answered. "Did you know that this man was missing?" "I did hear that a man had been missing, but as I had not known him, I did not give the matter much thought," I said to them. Then

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



* 159 648 one of the men said, "It has been discovered that Peter did it. Do you think that they are right?" "I don't believe a word of it." Then the man continued, "If you continue to say that you do not know anything about this case, I will not let you go home. You shall go wherever Peter goes. We have found out that you were with him, and that is why we have come here. If you do not tell us, you will never come out of prison. Such is the penalty for what you have done. If you tell us, however, you can get away and you will be our witness and can return home." "I want to get home, and whatever I can do to get home, I'll do. About this matter, however, I know nothing. You can speak about what you know and I about what I know. I do not want to be locked up," I said.

We had now come to town. There I was taken to a hotel and asked if I knew the murdered man's brother. I said, "Yes." We went inside, and there we found him. The man greeted me and said, "If you know anything about this affair and confess, we will not lock you up. You will be one of the witnesses. Even if it should turn out that you were one of them, we will not lock you up. I am not deceiving you. This man who is listening to us agrees with me." He continued: "Sam, I am acquainted with your father. He is a fine old man. Even if you were along with Peter, I will not have you locked up, if you confess. It is merely because Peter is a bad man that I want to know it." "He must be telling the truth," said I to myself. "I'm going to tell." I thought that in such a case they would

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let me go. So I said: "Yes, I know all about it. I saw Peter when he killed the man." "Good," said they. They thanked me. Then the officer took me outside; he took me to jail and said, "The train will soon be ready." Then he went out. 159* 648

In the jail I found Peter. "What did they say to you?" he asked. "They did not say anything," I said. "They asked me many questions," said Peter. "They asked me whether you had done it, and they said that if I told them, they would let me go home. I told them, however, that I did not know anything." "They asked me very much the same." I then said, "but I also told them that I did not know anything." "That is good, for without witnesses they have only hearsay evidence and they will not be able to hold us," said Peter. "Anyhow, the man we killed was crazy and his brothers hated him. They used to ask me to kill him," continued Peter.

Just then the officer came and said, "Boys, the train is due soon Get ready." When we were ready he took out some handcuffs and tied us together, and thus we went to the station. The white people looked at us in surprise, called out our names, and asked what the trouble was. Then the train arrived, and we boarded it. We rode all that night and arrived at our destination in the morning. There the officer locked us up in prison. We did not know what to say. After a time I was taken out and brought to the courthouse. There they again questioned me, and a woman, a shorthand writer, took down my answers. I was then told to tell

*159 everything again in detail and that as soon as the time
648 for the trial came, I would be freed. When I was through, they took me back and locked me up again, and the other man was taken out. When he returned, he had of course learned what I had done. He was very quiet. Then I said, "Well, you said you were
[680] asked to kill him and you also said that they, the brothers of the murdered man, asked others to kill him. If that is so, you did it because you were asked to do so, and you are not to blame. If we can find other witnesses to this fact, we will surely get out." "Indeed, I spoke about the matter because they had locked us up alone. I did not like it. The boys were so boisterous that I thought the others ought to be in jail, too. That is what I was thinking of when I spoke to the officers. Soon they will bring these others here, too, and when we are all here together, it will not be so lonesome." Peter was glad of it. Soon the other two were brought, and the four of us made quite a good deal of noise talking.

[P. 162]

## §27. *The Character of the Murdered Pottawattomie*

Now it was rumored at this time that the man we had killed had really been somewhat crazy. He was the oldest of three brothers. Their father had been a chief and had possessed much land. Other people had contributed very much money to buy the land. A number of them lived there, and they had put in many crops. Then the father died, and the oldest son drove away all the people. He drove his two brothers away also. There were many horses, and he forcibly kept them as well as many other things. Whenever he heard that any of his brothers was using any of his horses, he used to scold him. When they argued with him, he threatened to shoot them. It was said that he always went around with his gun. For all these reasons his brothers disliked him, it is said, and used to ask the Winnebago to kill him. It was also said that all his white neighbors disliked him. He had over a hundred horses, and they grew wild in the woods. He did nothing all the time but watch them. They were too wild for him ever to get near them. The only use he ever made of them was to own them. Whenever the horses entered a field, they would destroy it completely, and if anything was ever said to him about the matter, he

159* 828 [593]

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 828 wanted immediately to fight with those who protested. Whenever a person tried to buy one of them, he would ask an extravagant price, and whenever a horse was caught in depredations and he was asked to pay damages, he threatened to shoot the people concerned. He was accustomed to go around barefooted with his gun, it was said. For all these reasons his brothers disliked [593] him and asked some Winnebago to shoot him. These brothers also told the Winnebago how it would be possible to kill him, for he belonged to that group of people [154] who were regarded as invulnerable. It is said that [185] when he fasted, he had gone without food for a whole winter; that he had not resumed eating until spring. [411] In order to kill him, a wooden knife was required. This should be painted red. Then he was to be stabbed. This was the only way of killing him.

Now we thought that with all this evidence against him, we would surely be acquitted.

[P.164]

## §28. *Our Prison Life and the Trial*

We were waiting for the spring term of the court. 159* We stayed in prison all winter. I was very tired of it, 698 but I kept that secret because otherwise the other men would be likely to make fun of me. Sometimes I really 152 felt like crying, but I acted as though I did not care at all. I was married at the time I had been imprisoned, and I hungered to see my wife and was in a terrible condition, but I told the others that I did not care in the least. The others were also married, and some of them showed their lonesomeness markedly. Occasionally one of our wives would visit us. The men said that I seemed the only one who did not apparently care. As a matter of fact, of course, I could hardly stand it, although I kept my condition quite secret. I only felt better when I wrote a letter to my wife, and [212] then when she answered I felt very happy.

We used to read one another's letters, and whenever 159* our wives wrote to us, we would tease one another 698 about the contents.

After a while the spring term of the court arrived, and we were happy. When the time for our trial came, however, we were told that our case had been bound over to the fall term. So we had to stay in prison all summer. When the fall term came, the case was bound

*159 648 over until the following spring. It was enough to cause one to say "Oh, my!" in impatience. During the win-
[531] ter we used to make bead work and compete with one
[301] another as to who could do the best. We made beaded finger-rings, and these were always purchased by some
[432] one. By selling these rings we thus made quite a good deal of money. We also made suspenders. I made thirty of them and sold them for seven dollars a pair. We thus had plenty of money and drank all the time. There were some prisoners locked up together with us whose terms were almost over, and these were allowed to go outside. They would buy us the whisky. We
[525] gambled, too, playing for money stakes.

One day my wife came to visit me. I talked to her through the iron grating. I was allowed to talk to her for a long time. All I could do was to desire her. I
[152] wanted her badly. When the wives of the others came, they felt just as I did.

[578] Once we had a fight. We had been drinking and
[273] were disputing about a game. Afterwards we were quite humble about it.

*159 Shortly after this we found out that my wife had
152 married again. I did not feel like eating, but I tried
648 hard to do so, because I thought that the others would
837 notice it. Then I said to them, "I am glad to hear about this report that my wife has married again. When I get out of prison I will pay the one who has married her, for he is taking care of her until my release. Indeed I have felt quite uneasy about her for some time. Now I feel quite relieved, for she is being

## *Our Prison Life and the Trial*

provided for." Thus I spoke. But the truth of it was 159*
that I was as angry as I could very well be. I made up 152
my mind that I would take her away from whomsoever 648
she might be living with. Then I thought that I would 837
make her feel as sad as I could; I thought I would disfigure her, cut off her nose, then take her to the wilderness, give her a sound beating, and leave her there. I could not think of anything else all the time, and I believe that for a time I did not even taste food. I often felt like crying. At night I would not be able to sleep, for I could not forget the whole affair. Sometimes I would dream of seeing her, and then in the morning I would tell the others about it and feel better. Throughout all this time I never thought of all those of my relatives who were really concerned for me. Not even that grateful was I. I only thought of the woman.

Now the time for the next session of the court had 159*
arrived. It was the spring session. We were given a 698
trial. They always took us to the court in handcuffs. We had each a lawyer. At the first hearing one of us was freed, the other three remaining in prison. Then the lawyers pleaded the case of the others, and two more were freed, I being one of these. The man who had actually done the killing was the only one who remained in prison.

[p. 167]

## §29. *My Release from Prison and First Acquaintance with the Peyote*

*159 When we were released we found our relatives waiting for us. My older brother was there, and with him I went home. We began to drink immediately. I was
[273] very happy, although when I was in prison I had felt that I would never drink again. We reached the
[837] Winnebago the same day. There I met a woman, and I cohabited with her that very night. I had been
[150] desiring that for a long time. Then I began to drink again. After a while I went to Black River Falls and
[837] there met my former wife, whom I immediately took back again.

[527] The Indians were just then celebrating their midsummer feasts. I went among them, took part, and drank
[156] a great deal. I considered myself a brave man and a medicine man; I thought myself a holy man, a strong one, and a favorite with women. I felt that I was in
[832] possession of many courting medicines. A brave man I felt myself; a fleet runner. I was an excellent singer
[527] of songs at the Brave Dance;** I was a sport, and I
[273] wanted whisky every day.

My mother and father had gone to the Missouri River, to the Winnebago living in Nebraska. They left me in charge of two horses and a wagon belonging

**A non-sacred war dance whose songs were very popular.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



to them for me to use. Later on, in the fall, when the cranberry season had started, I lived with three women. I never did any work, but simply went from woman to woman. Then the annuity payment was made, and I went around chasing the payment. I sold my horses and spent the money I had.

About this time my father and mother asked me to come to Nebraska. I had been told that my father and mother had joined the peyote people and were eating peyote, and I did not like it. These peyote eaters were doing wrong, were wicked, and that is why I disliked them. Old Thunder Cloud, my brother-in-law, told us the following about them:

"This medicine, the peyote,[30] is one of the four spirits from below. That is why it is bad. These four spirits have always longed for human beings, and now they are getting ahold of them. Those who use the peyote claim that when they die, they will only be going on a

[30] The peyote is a small cactus common in the state of Chihuahua, Mexico, out of which from time immemorial an intoxicating drink has been prepared. The ancient Mexicans were well acquainted with it. For a number of centuries it has been the center of various cults all of which contained marked Christian features. It is only within the last fifty to seventy-five years, however, that some of these cults have spread into the United States. It is from some of the tribes now living in Oklahoma that the Winnebago borrowed it.

The Winnebago either eat the peyote button in its dried state or drink a concoction prepared from it. The effects are various. Every one, however, seems to be agreed upon its causing wonderful color visions. The after effects vary with the individual. I have seen some practically in a state of stupor after eating a large quantity of the buttons, while others seem entirely unaffected and go on with their day's work as though nothing had happened.

The use of the Bible is an entirely new element introduced by the Winnebago.

*159 795 [795] long journey. But that is not the truth, for when they eat peyote, they destroy their souls, and death to them will mean complete extermination. If I spit upon the floor, the saliva will soon dry up and nothing will remain of it. This is what death will mean to them. I might go out and preach against this doctrine, but it would be of no avail, for I certainly would not be able to draw more than one or two people away from this spirit who lives below. Many will be taken in by this medicine; they will not be able to help themselves in any way. This bad spirit will certainly seize them."

For all these reasons none of us liked it. However, my parents sent me the money for the trip, and my brother and sisters told me to go. Just before I started, my youngest sister, the one to whom we always listened [593] most attentively, said to me, "Older brother, do not you indulge in this medicine eating, in this peyote." I promised, and then started out for Nebraska.

When I arrived in Nebraska I met some people who had not joined the peyote eaters, and they said to me, "Your relatives are eating the peyote and that is why they sent for you, that you too might eat. Your mother, your father, and your younger sister, they are all eating it." Thus they spoke to me. They also told me of a number of other bad things these peyote people were supposed to have done. I felt ashamed, and I wished I had not come in the first place. Immediately after that I told these people that I was going to eat the peyote.

Soon after that I met my father, mother and sister.

## *My Release from Prison*

They were glad to see me. Then we all walked to their 159* home My father and I walked by ourselves and he 795 told me about the peyote. "It does not amount to anything, all this that they are doing. Yet those who partake, stop their drinking. Sick people also get well. [755] We were told these things and therefore joined. What they claimed is true and your mother is practically well now; and so am I. They claim to offer prayers to Earthmaker, to God." He stopped and then continued, "The peyote people are rather foolish for they cry when they feel very happy about anything. They throw away all the medicines that they possess and whose virtues they know. They give up all the blessings they received while fasting, give up all the spirits who blessed them. They stop giving feasts and making offerings of tobacco. They burn up all their holy things, destroy the war-bundles. They stop smoking and chewing tobacco. They are bad people. They burn up their medicine pouches, give up the Medicine Dance and even cut up their otter-skin bags.[81] They say they are praying to Earthmaker, to God, and do so standing and crying. They claim to hold nothing holy except Earthmaker, God; that everything they are giving up comes from the bad spirits, that the bad spirits deceived them. They claim that there are no spirits with [776] the power of bestowing blessings and that there is no other spirit except Earthmaker, God." Then I said,

[81] The most sacred object of the Medicine Dance. It is within the otter-skin bag that the shell is concealed with which the newly initiated members of the dance, as well as the regular members, are shot. [798] [796]

*159 795 "Say, they certainly talk foolishly." I felt very angry at them. "You will hear them yourself for they are going to have a meeting to-night. Their songs are very strange. They use a small drum," said my father. Then I felt a strong desire to see them.

Finally we reached our home. That night there was to be a peyote meeting. At first I sat outside and listened to them. I grew very fond of them. I was a stranger in their country and the young members of the peyote religion were exceedingly friendly to me. They lent me money occasionally and treated me with tender regard. They did everything that they thought would make me feel good and in consequence I used [577] to speak as though I really liked the ceremony. I was, however, only deceiving them. I only said it because they were so good to me. I thought they acted in this way because the peyote was deceiving them.

Soon after that my parents returned to Wisconsin telling me that they would return in a short time. I was thus left alone with those of my relatives who were peyote followers. That is why they left me there. Whenever I went among the non-peyote people I used [577] to say all sorts of things about the peyote people and when I returned to the peyote people I used to say all sorts of things about the others.

I had a friend who was a peyote man and he said to me, "My friend, I wish very much that you would eat the peyote." Then I answered him, "My friend, I will do it but not until I get accustomed to the people of this country. Then I will do it. What worries me

## *My Release from Prison*

most is the fact that they are making fun of you. 159 *
Quite apart from that, however, I am not used to them." 795
I was speaking quite dishonestly.

I was then staying at my sister's place. She was a peyote follower and had gone on a visit to Oklahoma. After a while she returned. At that time I was staying [588] with a number of women and from them I obtained money. Once I got drunk and was locked up for six [273] days. After my sister returned she and her friends paid more attention to me than ever before. This was particularly true of her husband. I was given horses [431] and a wagon. I was really treated very tenderly. I told them I believed in the peyote because they treated me so nicely. I knew that they did this because they wished me to eat the peyote. I, in my turn, was very kind to them. I thought I was fooling them and they [156] thought they were converting me.

We moved after a while to a place where there was to be a large peyote gathering. I knew that they had arranged for this in order to get me to join. Accordingly I spoke to my younger sister and said, "Sister, I would be quite willing to eat this peyote ordinarily, but I don't like the woman with whom I am living just [588] now and I think I shall leave her. Now I have been given to understand that among you, when married people eat the peyote they will always have to stay together. I shall therefore join you as soon as I have married a woman with whom I wish to stay permanently." Then my brother-in-law came in and my sister told him what I had said and he spoke to me,

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 795 [555] "You are right in what you say. However, the woman with whom you are staying is a married woman and you cannot stay with her any longer. This marriage of yours is null and void and we know that this is so. You had better join now. You are the same as if you were single, and we will pray for you as though you were single. After you have joined the peyote religion you may marry any woman you wish and whom you have a right to marry legally. So, do join to-night. It is best. For some time already have we been desirous of your joining us but we never said anything to you about it. It is Earthmaker's blessing, God's will, that has made you think of this." So he spoke to me.

[p. 194]

## §30. *I Eat the Peyote*

I sat inside the lodge with them. One man acted as leader and we were to do whatever he ordered. The various objects belonging to the ceremony—the two peyote buttons, the drum, the eagle-wing fan, and the small gourd rattle—were all placed before him. I wanted to sit in some place on the side for I felt that I might get to crying like the others. I felt quite ashamed of myself.

The leader arose and talked. He said that this was an affair of Earthmaker's and that he, the leader, could do nothing of his own initiative; that God was going to conduct the ceremony. He said the medicine, the peyote, was holy and that he would turn us all over to it. He further said, "I am a very pitiful figure in this ceremony so that when you pray to Earthmaker, pray also for me. Now let us all rise and pray to Earthmaker." We all rose. Then he prayed. He prayed for the sick and he prayed for those who did not yet know Earthmaker. He said that they were to be pitied. When he had finished we sat down. The peyote was then passed around. They gave me five buttons and my brother-in-law spoke to me, "If you speak to this medicine, the peyote, it will give you whatever you ask of it. After that you must pray to

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



*159 Earthmaker and then eat the peyote." I, however, ate
795 the peyote immediately for I did not know what to ask
796 for and I did not know what to say in a prayer to Earthmaker. I therefore ate the peyote buttons just as they were. They were very bitter and had a taste difficult for me to describe. After eating them I wondered a good deal about what was going to happen to me. Soon I was given five more peyote buttons and these also I ate. They tasted rather bitter. I was now very quiet for the peyote had somewhat weakened me. I listened attentively to the singing and liked it very much. I felt as though I were partly asleep and quite different from my normal self. When I looked around and examined myself, however, I saw nothing wrong. I certainly felt different from my normal self. Before this I used to dislike the songs but now I liked them very much, particularly those the leader was singing. I liked listening to him very much.

They were all sitting very quietly and doing nothing
[533] expect singing. Each man sang four songs and then
[798] passed the sacred objects to the next person. Each man held a stick and an eagle's feather in one hand and a small gourd rattle, which he would shake when singing, in the other. One of the participants did the drumming. In this manner the sacred objects would be passed along until they came back to the leader. The leader would then sing four songs and when he had finished these, place the sacred objects on the ground and rise and pray to Earthmaker. Then he called upon one or two to speak. These people all said

## *I Eat the Peyote*

that Earthmaker was good and that the peyote was 159*
good, and that whosoever ate the peyote would be able 795
to free himself from the bad spirit. They said that 796
Earthmaker forbids us to commit sins. When this was over they sang again.

After midnight I would every now and then hear 159*
some one cry. In some cases I saw a person go up to 795
the leader and talk to him. He would stand up and 786
pray with him. I was told what these people were saying. I was told that these people were asking others to pray for them for they were sorry for the sins they had committed and wished to be prevented from committing them again. They cried very loudly. I was rather frightened, especially when I noticed that when I closed my eyes and sat still, strange things began to appear before me. I was not in the least sleepy. Then the light of morning came upon me. In the morning, when the sun rose, the ceremony stopped. All got up and prayed to Earthmaker and left.

During the daytime I did not get sleepy in the least. 150*
My actions, however, were a little different from my 795
usual ones. Then the people said, "To-night they are going to have another meeting. Let us go over. They say that this is the best thing to do for then, you can learn the ceremony immediately. It is said that the souls of the members of the peyote ceremony wander [794]
all over the earth and the heavens. All this you will learn and see." They continued, "At times the members die and remain dead all night and day. When in this condition they sometimes see Earthmaker, it is

*159 795 [506] claimed." Some say that the home of the bad spirit can also be visited when in this state.

So that night we went to a meeting again. I doubted all their claims, of course, and thought that they were untrue. Nevertheless I went along. When we got near I had already eaten some peyote for I had taken three in the day. Now near the place where the peyote meeting was to be held there was a regular Winnebago feast [527] and to that I went instead. I found a long lodge and heard a terrific noise. An enormous drum was being beaten. The sound almost raised me in the air so pleasurably loud did it sound to me. Not so pleasurable had things appeared at the peyote meetings that I had lately been attending. There I danced all night and I flirted with the women. I left about day and when I reached the peyote meeting it was still going on. When I got back I was told to sit in a certain place and I was treated very kindly. There I again ate peyote. I also heard that they were going to have another meeting nearby on the evening of the same day. We continued eating peyote at the place where we were staying, which was the house of one of my relatives. Some of the boys taught me a few songs and [533] they said, "Say, when you learn how to sing you will be the best singer, for you are a good singer as it is. You have a good voice." I thought so myself.

[p. 178]

## §31. *The Effects of the Peyote*

That night we went to the place where the peyote meeting was to be given. I was given a place to sit down and treated very kindly. "Well, he has come," they even said to me when I came, "make room for him." I thought they regarded me as a great man. John Rave, the leader, was to conduct the ceremony. He told of his conversion: 159a* 795

### *John Rave's Conversion to the Peyote Religion* 159* 795 786

During the years 1893 and 1894 I was in Oklahoma among the peyote eaters.

There one night, in the middle of the night, we were to eat peyote. I also ate some. Then later on in the night I got frightened for a living thing seemed to have entered me "Why did I do it?" I thought. "I should not have done it for right at the beginning I have harmed myself. Indeed I should not have done it; I am sure it will injure me. The best thing for me to do will be to vomit it up. Well, now I am going to try it." After a few attempts I gave up. I thought to myself, "Well, now you have done it! You have been going around trying everything and now you have succeeded in doing something that will harm you. What is it? It seems to be alive and moving around in my stomach. If only some of my people were here! That

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



¥159 would have been much better. Now, no one will know
195 what became of me; I have killed myself."
186 Just then the object within me seemed to be coming out. It seemed almost out and I put my hand in my mouth to feel it, but then it went back again. "Oh my! I should never have done it at the very start. Never again will I do it. I am surely going to die!"

So we continued and then day dawned and I laughed. Before that I had been unable to laugh.

The following night we were to eat the peyote again. I thought to myself, "Last night it almost harmed me." "Well, let us eat the peyote again," the people said and I answered, "All right, I'll do it." So we ate seven peyote apiece.

Suddenly I saw a big snake. I was very much frightened. Then another one came crawling over me. "My God! Where are these snakes coming from?" There at my back there seemed to be something also. So I looked around and saw a snake about to swallow me entirely. It had legs and arms and a long tail. The end of its tail was like a spear. "O God! I am surely going to die now, I thought. Then I turned in another direction and I saw a man with horns and long claws and with a spear in his hand. He jumped for me and I threw myself on the ground. He missed me. Then I looked back. This time he started back but it seemed to me that he was directing his spear at me. Again I threw myself on the ground and he missed me. There seemed to be no possible escape for me. Then it suddenly occurred to me, "Perhaps it is the peyote that is doing this to me? Help me, O Medicine, help me! It is you who are doing this and you who are holy! Not these frightful visions are causing this. I should have known that it was you, indeed, who were doing it! Help me!"

## *The Effects of the Peyote*

Then my suffering stopped. "As long as the earth shall last, that long will I make use of you, O Medicine!" 159* 995

This had lasted a night and a day. For a whole night I had not slept. 986

Then we breakfasted and when we were through I said, "Let us eat peyote again to-night." That evening I ate eight peyote.

In the middle of the night I saw God. To God living up above, our father, I prayed. "Have mercy upon me! Give me knowledge that I may not say and do evil things. To you, O God, I am trying to pray. Do thou, O Son of God, help me too. This religion, let me know this religion!" Thus I spoke and sat very quiet. Then I beheld the morning star and it was good to look upon; the light was good to look upon. I had been frightened during the night but now I was happy. Now as the light appeared it seemed to me that nothing would be invisible to me. I seemed to see everything clearly. Then I thought of my home and as I looked around there I saw the house in which I lived far away among the Winnebago. It was quite close to me. There at the window I saw my children at play and I saw a man going to my house carrying a jug of whisky. Then he gave them something to drink and the one who had brought the whisky got drunk and annoyed the people. Finally he ran away. "So this is what they are doing?" I thought to myself. Then I beheld my wife. She came out and stood outside the door wearing a red blanket. She was thinking of going to the flag pole and was wondering which road to take. "If I take this road I am likely to meet some people, but if I take the other, I am not likely to encounter any one." [996]

Indeed it is good. They are all well—my brother, my sister, my father, my mother. I felt very good indeed. O

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 Medicine, grandfather, most assuredly you are holy! All
905 that is connected with you, that I would like to know and
786 that I would like to understand. Help me! I give myself up to you entirely!

For three days and for three nights I had been eating the peyote and not slept at all. Now I realized that throughout all the years that I had lived, I had never once known a truly holy thing. Now, for the first time, I knew it. Would that some of the Winnebago might also know it!

*159 Many years ago I had been sick and it looked as if this
905 sickness were going to kill me. I tried all the Winnebago
755 doctors and then I tried all of the white man's medicines, all were of no avail. I thought to myself, "You are doomed. I wonder whether you will be alive next year?" Such were the thoughts that came to me. As soon as I ate the peyote, however, I got over my sickness. After that I was not sick again. My wife suffered from the same disease and I told her that if she ate the peyote it would cure her. She was afraid although she had never seen it before. She knew that I had used it and yet was afraid. Her sickness, however, got worse and worse and one day I said to her, "You are sick. It is going to be very difficult but try the peyote anyhow. It will ease you." Finally she ate it. I had told her to eat it and then wash herself and comb her hair and that she would get well. She got entirely well. I painted her face and took my gourd and began singing to her very much. Then I stopped. "Indeed, you are right," she said, "for now I am well." From that day to the present she has been well. Now she is very happy.

[551] A man named *Black-waterspirit* was having a hemorrhage at about that time and I wanted him to eat the peyote.

## *The Effects of the Peyote*

"Well," said he, "I am not going to live anyhow." "Eat the peyote nevertheless," I said, "and you will get cured." Before that consumptives never were cured and now for the first time one was cured. *Black-waterspirit* is living to-day and is very well. 159 * 795 755

Then there was a man named *Walking-priest*. He was very fond of whisky, chewed, smoked, and gambled. He was also terribly addicted to women. Indeed he did everything bad. I gave him some of the peyote and he gave up all the bad things he was doing. He had a very dangerous disease. He even had murder in his heart. To-day he is living a good life. Such is his desire. [551]

Whoever has any evil thoughts, let him eat the peyote and he will lose all his bad habits. It is a cure for everything bad.

To-day the Winnebago say that only God is holy. One of the Winnebago told me this: "Really the life that I led was a very bad one. Never again will I do it. This medicine is good and always will I use it." *John Harrison* and *Squeaking-wings* were prominent members of the Medicine Dance; they thought much of themselves, as did all the members of the Medicine Dance. They knew all the secrets of the ritual. Both of them were gamblers and were rich because they were gamblers. Their parents had acquired great wealth by giving medicines to the Winnebago. These two men were very rich and believed that they had a right to be selfish with their possessions. Then they ate the peyote and ever since that time they have been followers of the peyote. They were very ill at one time and now they have been cured of their illness. Now if there are any men who can be taken as examples of the workings of the peyote, it is these three I have mentioned. Even if a man were blind and had only heard of these three men he [551]

*159 795 755 would realize that if any medicine is good it is this one. It is a cure for all evil.

Before I thought that I knew something but really I knew nothing. It is only now that I have real knowledge. In my former life I was like one blind and deaf. My heart ached when I thought of what I had done. Never again will I do it. This medicine alone is holy, has made me good and rid me of all evil. The one whom we call God has given me this. That I know positively. Let them all come here; men and women; let them bring with them all that they desire; let them bring with them their diseases. If they come here they will get well. This is all true; it is all true. Bring whatever desires you possess along with you and then come and eat or drink this medicine. This is life, the only life. Then you will learn something of yourself. Come with your disease for this medicine will cure it. Whatever you have, come and eat this medicine and you will have true knowledge once and for all. Learn of this medicine yourself through actual experience.

*159 795 If you just hear about it you are not likely to try it. If you desire real knowledge you must partake of it for then you will learn of things that you had never known before. In no other way can you ever get happy. I know that all sorts of excuses will run through your head for not partaking of it, but if you wish to learn of something good, try it. Perhaps you will think to yourself that it will be too difficult and this will seem a good excuse for not trying it. Why, however, should you do this? Even if you partake of only part of the good claimed, yet I know that you will say to yourself, "Well, this life is good enough." After you have taken it for the first time, it will seem as if you were digging a grave for yourself with it, that you were about to die. Indeed you will be wondering what was going

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



to happen to you. The coffin will be set before you and you will see your own body. If you wish to inquire further about where you are going you will discover something that you had not known before. Two roads there are, one leading to a hole in the earth and the other extending above. You will learn something that you had not known before. Of the two roads, one is dark, the other is light. You must choose one of these while you are alive and you must decide therefore whether you wish to continue in your evil ways or whether you intend to abandon them. These are the two roads. The peyote people see them. They claim that only if you weep and repent will you be able to attain knowledge. Do not, as I said before, listen to others talking about this medicine, but try it yourself. That is the only way to find out. No other medicine can accomplish what this has done. If, therefore, you make use of it, you will live. People who have eaten peyote throw aside all the evil ceremonies that they performed before. Only by eating the peyote will you learn what is truly holy. That is what I am trying to learn myself.

It is now twenty-three years since I ate the peyote and I am still doing it (1912). Before that, my heart had been filled with murderous thoughts. I wanted to kill my brother and my sister. It seemed to me that my heart would not feel good until I killed one of them. All my thoughts were fixed on the warpath. That is all I thought of. Now I know that this was all caused by the evil spirit that possessed me. I was suffering from a disease. I even desired to kill myself; I did not care to live. That feeling too was caused by this evil spirit dwelling within me. Then I ate the peyote and became attached to them and I wanted them to live.

This the medicine had accomplished.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 795 When John Rave had finished I ate five peyote. Then my brother-in-law and my sister came and gave themselves up. They asked me to stand there with them. I did not like it, but I did it nevertheless. "Why should I give myself up? I am not in earnest [577] and I intend to stop this as soon as I get back to Wisconsin. I am only doing this because they have given me presents," I thought. "I might as well get up, however, since it doesn't mean anything to me." So I stood up. The leader began to talk and I suddenly began to feel sick. It got worse and worse and finally I lost consciousness. When I came to, I found myself lying on my back. Those with whom I had been standing were still there. As a matter of fact, I had regained consciousness as soon as I fell down. I felt like leaving the place that night but I did not do it. I was quite tired out. "Why have I done this?" I said to myself. "I promised my sister that I would not do it." So I thought and I tried to leave but I couldn't. I suffered intensely. At last day dawned. Now I thought that they regarded me as one who had had a trance and had seen something.

Then we went home and they showed me a passage in the Bible where it said that it was a shame for any man to wear long hair. I looked at the passage. I was [302] not a man learned in books, but I wanted to give the [156] impression that I knew how to read so I told them to cut my hair. I was still wearing it long at the time. After my hair was cut I took out a lot of medicines, many small bundles of them. These and my shorn hair

## *The Effects of the Peyote*

I gave to my brother-in-law. Then I cried and my 159 *
brother-in-law also cried. He thanked me, told me 795
that I understood and that I had done well. He told
me that Earthmaker alone was holy; that all the bless-
ings and medicine I possessed were false; that I had [776]
been fooled by the bad spirit. He told me that I had
now freed myself from much of this bad influence. My
relatives expressed their thanks fervently.

On the fourth night of my stay they had another
meeting and I went to it again. There I again ate
peyote. I enjoyed it and sang along with the others. I
wanted to be able to sing immediately. Some young
men were singing and I enjoyed it so I prayed to Earth- [533]
maker and asked him to let me learn to sing right away.
That was all I asked for. My brother-in-law was with
me all the time. At that meeting all the things I had
given my brother-in-law were burnt up.

Now the fact that my brother-in-law had told me
that I understood, had pleased me and I felt good
when daylight came. As a matter of fact, I had not [156]
received any knowledge at all. I thought, however,
that this was the proper way to act, so I did it. After
that, I would attend meetings occasionally and I looked
around for a woman whom I cared to marry perma-
nently. Before long that was the only thing that I
would think of when I attended the meetings.

[P. 187]

## §32. *I Am Converted*

*159 795 On one occasion we were to have a meeting of men and women and I went to it with a woman, the one with whom I thought I would go around the next day. That was the only reason I went with her. When we arrived at the meeting, the leader asked me to sit near him and there I was placed. He urged me to eat many peyote and I did so. Now the leaders of the ceremony always place the sacred objects in front of themselves. The sacred peyote was also placed there. Now the one this particular leader placed in front of himself this time was a very small one. "Why does he have a very small one?" I thought to myself. However, I did not think of this matter long.

*159 795 786 It was now late at night. I had eaten a lot of peyote and felt rather tired. I suffered considerably. After a while I looked at the peyote, and there I saw an eagle standing with outspread wings. It was as beautiful a sight as could well be observed. Each of the feathers seemed to have a mark. The eagle stood there looking at me. I turned my gaze, thinking that perhaps there was something the matter with my sight, but then when I looked again the eagle was still present. Again I turned around and when I looked at the spot where the eagle had stood, it was gone and only the small

## *I Am Converted*

peyote remained. I then watched the other people, 159*
but they all had their heads bowed and were praying. 795
Suddenly I saw a lion lying in the same place where 786
before I had seen the eagle. I watched it very closely and when I turned my eyes for the least little bit, it disappeared. "I suppose all those present are aware of this and I am just beginning to find out," I thought. Then I saw a small person at the same place. He wore blue clothes and a shining brimmed cap. He had on a soldier's uniform and was sitting on the arm of the person who was drumming, scrutinizing everybody. He was a little man but perfect in all proportions. Finally I lost sight of him. I was very much surprised indeed. I sat very quietly. "So this is what it is," I thought. "This is what they all probably see and which I am just now beginning to find out."

Then I prayed to Earthmaker, to God:

"This, your ceremony, let me hereafter perform!"

[P.189]

## §33. *I See God*

*159 795 786 As I looked again I saw a flag. I looked more carefully and I saw the house full of flags. They had the most beautiful marks on them. In the middle of the room there was a large flag, a living one. It was moving. In the doorway there was another one not entirely visible. I had never seen anything so beautiful in all my life before.

Again I prayed to God. I bowed my head and closed my eyes and began to speak. I said many things that I would ordinarily never have spoken about. As I prayed I was aware of something above me and there [796] He was, He to whom I was speaking. God. That which we call the soul, that it is which is God. This is what I felt and saw. The one called Earthmaker, God, is a spirit and He it was I felt and saw. At least this is what I learned. I instantly became their spirit; I was their spirit or soul. Whatever they thought of I immediately knew. I did not have to speak to them and get an answer to know what their thoughts were. Then I thought of a certain place far away, and immediately I was there. I was my thought.

I looked about and watched the people around me and then when I opened my eyes I was myself in body again. From now on thus it shall be, I felt. This is

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the way they are and I am only now beginning to find 159*
out. "All those who heed God must be thus. I shall 795
not need any more food for am I not my spirit? I shall 786
have no more use of my body; my corporeal affairs are over." Thus I felt.

Then all stopped and left the lodge, for it had begun 159*
to dawn. Some one spoke to me. I did not answer, 795
for I thought they were just fooling and that they were like myself, that therefore it would be unnecessary for me to speak to them. So instead of speaking I answered with a smile. "They are just saying this to me because they realize that I have only now found out," I thought. That was why I didn't answer. I did not speak to any one until noon. Then I had to leave the house to urinate and some one followed me. It was my friend. He said, "My friend, what troubles you that makes you act as you do?" "Well, there's no need of your saying anything, for you know it beforehand," I said. After saying this I got over my trance and was restored to my normal condition. My friend had to speak to me before I knew his thoughts. I became like my former self.

Then I spoke to him and said, "My friend, let us hitch up the horses and then I will go wherever you like, for you wish to speak to me and I also want to speak to you." I continued, "If I were to tell you all that I have learned, I should never be able to stop, so much have I learned. Yet I shall gladly tell some of it." "Good," said he. He liked what I told him very much. "I am anxious to hear what you have seen," he

*Crashing Thunder*

*159 said. We went to look for the horses and caught one of
795 them. The other had wandered far away and we
could not find it. We hunted everywhere but could
not locate it.

[P. 192]

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## §34. *Visions*

Now ever since that time, no matter where I am, I always think of this religion. I still remember it and I think I shall remember it as long as I live. It is the only holy thing that I have become aware of in all my life. 159* 795

After that, whenever I heard of a peyote meeting, I went to it.

My thoughts, however, were still always fixed on women. "If I were married legally, perhaps these thoughts would leave me," I thought. Whenever I went to a meeting, therefore, I tried to eat as many peyote as possible, for I was told that it was good to do that. I always prayed to Earthmaker as I sat there. Such were my thoughts. "If I were married," I thought, "then I should be able to put all my thoughts on this ceremony." I sat with my eyes closed, very quiet.

Suddenly I saw something. It was an object all tied up. The rope with which this object was tied up was long and the object itself was running around and around in a circle. A road was present in which it ought to have gone, but the object was so tied up that it was unable to reach it. The road was an excellent one. Along its edge grew blue grass and on each side 159* 795 786

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



*159 795 786 grew many varieties of pretty flowers. Sweet-smelling flowers sprang up all along its path. Far off in the distance appeared a bright light. There a city was visible, of beauty indescribable. A cross was in full sight. The object tied up would always just fall short of reaching the road. It seemed to lack sufficient strength to break loose from whatever it was that was holding it. Nearby lay something that would have given it sufficient strength to break its fastenings if it were only able to get there.

I looked at what was so inextricably tied up and I saw that it was myself. I was forever thinking of woman. "This it is with which I am tied," I thought to myself. "Were I married I would have strength enough to break my fastenings and be able to travel in the good road." Then daylight came upon us and the ceremony stopped.

*159 795 Then I thought of a man I used to know, an old peyote man. He always spoke kindly to me. I went over to see him. I thought that I would tell him what had happened to me. He was very glad and told me that I was speaking of a very good thing. Then finally he said, "Now I shall tell you what I think is a good thing for you to do. You know that if an old horse is balky, you cannot break him of this habit; even if you had bought him and tried to break him, you would not succeed. If, indeed, you had succeeded, it would only be after very hard work. However, if you had a young horse, you could train it in any way you wished. So it is in everything. If you marry a woman who has

been in the habit of getting married frequently, it 159* would be difficult for her to break herself of the habit 195 she loved. You are not the one she loves. If you marry her, you will lead a hard life. If you wish to get married, take your time. There are plenty of good women. Many of them are at government schools and have never been married. I think you would do best if you waited for some of these girls. They will return in the middle of summer. So don't think of any of these women you see around here, but wait until then and pray to God patiently. That will be the best, I think." I liked what he told me and thanked him. I decided to accept his advice, and I did not look around for women after that. I was to wait for about three months and during that time I paid strict attention to the peyote ceremony.

On one occasion while at a meeting, I suffered great pain. My eyes were sore and I was thinking of many things. "Now I do nothing but pay attention to this ceremony, for it is good." Then I called the leader over to me and said to him, "My elder brother, hereafter I shall only regard Earthmaker as holy. I will make no more offerings of tobacco. I will not use any more tobacco. I will not smoke, nor will I chew tobacco. I have no further interest in these things. Earthmaker, God, alone do I desire to serve. Never again shall I take part in the Medicine Dance. To you do I give up myself completely. I intend to give myself up to God's cause." Thus I spoke to him. "It is good, younger brother," he said to me. Then he had me

*159 795 stand up and he prayed to God. He asked God to forgive me my sins.

The next morning I was taken home. My eyes were [157] sore and I could not see. They took me back to my house and there they put a solution of the peyote in my eyes and I got well in a week.

[187] One night when I was asleep I dreamed that the world had come to an end. Some people God took while some belonged to the bad spirit. I belonged to the bad spirit. Although I had become a peyote man I had not as yet been baptized. That was why God did not take me. All those who belonged to God were marked, but I was not. I felt very bad about it when I woke up, even although I had only dreamed it. I felt very bad indeed. I wanted them to hurry and have another peyote meeting soon. I could hardly wait until I reached the place where the next meeting was to take place. I immediately told the leader what I wanted and asked him to baptize me and he baptized me in the morning. After that I felt better.

*159 [964] Then I went to work and I worked with a railroad work gang. I was still working when the time for the midsummer celebration approached. I always went to the peyote meeting on Saturday nights.

*159 584 The old man was right in what he had told me. The girl students returned in the summer. Shortly after they returned, a man, a friend of mine, who had gone around with me, asked me if I wanted to get married. "Yes, I do," I answered. Then he said, "Listen, I have been thinking of something. What kind of a woman do

*Visions*

you wish to marry?" I told him what I had in mind. 159 *
Then he said, "Come home with me. I have a younger 584
sister; I want her to marry a good man; I would like
to have her marry you." Then I went home with him.
When we reached his home and discussed the matter,
the girl gave her consent. The parents also consented.
So there I got married, and what I expected has taken [585]
place and I have lived with her ever since. On one
occasion, after she was used to me, she told me this: 159 *
Before she had married, she had determined that, if 795
she ever got married, she would not care to marry a 585
very young man. "I wanted a man who ate peyote and
who paid attention to the ceremony." Such a man she
desired and such a person she said I was. She loved
me and she was glad that she had married me. This is
what she had asked God for in her prayers. "And
indeed it has happened as I wished," she said. She be-
lieved that it was the will of God that we had done this.
Together we gave ourselves up to the peyote at a meet-
ing. From that time on we have remained members
of the peyote religion.

[p. 197]

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## §35. *I Have a Strange Experience*

*159 795 786 Many things are said under the influence of the peyote. The members get into a kind of trance and speak many things. On one occasion they had a peyote meeting which lasted two nights. I ate many peyote. The next morning I tried to sleep. I suffered a great deal. I lay down in a very comfortable position. After a while a fear arose in me. I could not remain in that place, so I went out into the prairie, but here again I was seized with this fear. Finally I returned to a lodge near the one in which the peyote meeting was being held, and there I lay down alone. I feared that I might do something foolish to myself if I remained there alone, and I hoped that some one would come and talk to me. Then some one did come and talk to me, but I did not feel any better. I went inside the lodge where the meeting was taking place. "I am going inside," I told him. He laughed, "All right, go in." I went in and sat down. It was very hot and I felt as though I was going to die. I was very thirsty, but I feared to ask for water. I thought that I was certainly going to die. I began to totter over.

I died and my body was moved by another life. I began to move about and make signs. It was not my-

## *I Have a Strange Experience*

self doing it and I could not see it. At last it stood up. 159* The eagle feathers and the gourds, these it said, were 795 holy. They also had a large book there. What was 786 contained in that book, my body saw. It was the Bible. [778] The sacred objects were not holy, but they were good ornaments. My body said that if any one paid attention to God's ceremony, he would be hearkening to what the Bible said. God's Son said that He was the only way. This means that one can only live from the word. My body spoke of many things and it spoke of what was true. It spoke of all the things that were being done by the Winnebago and that were evil. It spoke a long time and then stopped. Not I, but my body standing there, had done the talking. I should be confessing myself a fool if I were to think that I had said all this, my body told me.

After a while I returned to my normal condition. 159* Some of the people present had been frightened thinking that I had gone crazy. Others, on the other hand, liked it. It was discussed a good deal; they called it the "shaking" state. It was claimed that the condition in which I had been was not part of God's religion. I was told that whoever ate a lot of peyote would, through the peyote, be taught the teachings of God. God's ways and man's ways are different. Whoever therefore wished to help this religion must give himself up to it. If you eat a good deal of the peyote and believed that it could teach you something, then it assuredly would do so. That, at least, is the way in which I understand this matter.

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 [155] 795 786 Once we had a meeting at the home of a member who was sick. The sick would always get well when a meeting was held in their home and that is why we used to hold them there. At this particular meeting I got into the shaking condition again. My body told us how our religion was an affair of God's and how even if one knew only a portion of it, one could still partake of it. Thus it spoke. "God, His Son, and His Holiness, these are the three ways of saying it. Even if you know one of these three, it means all. Every one of you has the means of opening the road to Earthmaker. It is given to all of you. With belief you can open the door to God. You cannot open it with knowledge alone. How many letters are there to the *key*, to the road? Three. What are they? "There were many educated people present, but none of them said anything. "The first letter must be *K*." If, therefore, a person said *K*, that would be the whole of it. "But let me look into the Bible and see what it means," said the body. Then the body took the Bible and began turning the leaves. The body did not know where the passage was itself. Finally in Matthew, Chapter 16, it stopped. There it speaks about it. "Peter did not give himself up," it says. "For a long time he could not give up his own knowledge." There, in that passage, it says Key. That is the work of God. At least, so I understand it. He made use of my body and acted in this manner in the case of the peyote.

795 539 At one meeting O. L. spoke about the old stories. He spoke as follows:

[200]

[1.e., a peyote meeting.—Analyst]

## *I Have a Strange Experience*

The old people often spoke of the Trickster, but we never knew what they meant. They told us how he wrapped a coonskin blanket around himself and went to a place where all the people were dancing. There he danced until evening and then he stopped and turned around. No one was to be seen anywhere and then he realized that he had mistaken for people dancing the noise made by the wind blowing through the reeds. 795 539

So do we Winnebago act. We never look before we act. We do everything without thinking. We think we know all about it.

The Trickster was walking around with a pack on his back. As he walked along, some one called to him: "Say, we want you to sing." "All right," said he. "I am carrying songs in my pack and if you wish to dance, build a large lodge for me with a small hole at the end for an entrance." When it was finished, they all went in and the Trickster followed them. Those who had spoken to him were birds. He told them that while dancing they were not to open their eyes, for if they did, their eyes would become red. Whenever a fat bird passed the Trickster, he would choke it to death, and if it cried out, he would say, "That's it! That's it! Give a whoop!"

After a while, one of the birds got somewhat suspicious and opened its eyes just the least little bit. He saw that the Trickster was choking all the birds. "He is killing us all," said the bird. "Let all who can, run for their lives." Then he flew out through the top of the house. The Trickster took the birds he had killed and roasted them, but he did not get a chance to eat them, for they were stolen from him.

So are we Winnebago. We like all that is forbidden. We say that we like the Medicine Dance; we say that it

195 539 is good and yet we keep it secret and forbid people to witness it. We tell members of the dance not to speak of it until the world shall come to an end. They are afraid to speak of it. We, the Winnebago, are the birds, and the Trickster is Satan.

Once, as the Trickster was going along the road, some one spoke to him. He listened and he heard it say, "If any one eats me, all bad things will come out of him." Then the Trickster went up to the one talking and said, "What is your name?" "My name is *Blows-himself-away*." The Trickster would not believe it; so he ate the thing. After a while he blew himself away. He laughed. "Oh, pshaw! I suppose this is what it meant." As he went along it grew worse and worse and it was only after the greatest hardship that he succeeded in returning home.

So are we Winnebago. We travel on this earth all our lives and then when one of us tastes something that makes him unconscious, we look upon this thing with suspicion when he regains consciousness.

* 159 195 From that time on I go about everywhere telling every one that this religion is good. Many other people at home said the same thing. Many, likewise, have joined this religion and are getting along nicely.

On one occasion after I had eaten a good deal of peyote, I learned the following from it; that all I had done in the past had been evil. This was plainly revealed to me. What I thought was holy, and by thus thinking was lost, that I now know was false. It is false, this giving of pagan feasts, of holding the old Winnebago things holy, such as the Medicine Dance and all the other customs.

§36. *Finale*

I have written about all these matters and I have spoken out very clearly in all I have told you. I talked to the older people when you first asked me to get this information for you, but they refused to do it. I thought I would write down and tell you all these things so that those who came after me would not be deceived![33] Then you asked me to obtain this information for you and in this I was aided by my brother and by O. L. 159*

Before I joined the peyote I went about in a most pitiable condition, and now I am living happily and my wife has a fine baby.

This is the work predestined for me to do. This is the end of it.

[33] This is the reason I gave when trying to induce the Winnebago to give me information. [124]



[P.203]

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159

[For the text of the autobiography of Crashing Thunder, see category 116, pp. xvi-xxv, 1-33, 40-41, 56-69, 74-111, 125-200, 202-203.]

177

[For the effect of the acculturation situation on one individual see the complete text of the autobiography of Crashing Thunder, category 116. ]

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177

[For information on the Peyote Cult, a cult which contains marked Christian features, see category 116, pp. 169-202.]

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276

[For information on the Peyote Cult, including physiological effects of Peyote, see category 116, pp. 169-202.]

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346

[For the myth of the creation of the Medicine Dance lodge and its symbolism see category 116, pp. 121-122.]

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575

[For the ceremony of initiation as a member of the Medicine Dance see category 116, pp. 102-111; 125.]

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726

[For rituals for securing supernatural aid in warfare see also Vision quest; category 787.]

785

[For information on fasting in relation to vision quests, see category 787.]

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VOLUME 55 · NUMBER 5, PART 1 DECEMBER · 1953

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8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## Winnebago Berdache

By NANCY OESTREICH LURIE

114 THE following account draws attention to the fact that the berdache role
838 was still evident in Winnebago culture until close to the turn of the cen-
[177] tury, and adds somewhat to the data of certain clear cultural parallels between
[171] this Woodland Siouan group and such Plains Siouan tribes as the Omaha, Oto, Iowa and Ponca. The description is not complete and certain points are equivocal. Thus, all of the available ethnographic documentation will be presented so that anyone intending to use the information will be able to assess its value. The description given here agrees, Dr. Raul Radin said in a conversation, with his unpublished Winnebago data.

124 During the course of general field investigations conducted from time to
838 time during the years 1945 to 1947, it was apparent that Winnebago informants in Wisconsin tended to be reticent to discuss the matter of the berdache. Their embarrassment may indicate that knowledge of the subject was withheld. However, even where excellent rapport existed and individuals became sufficiently interested in the topic to question people who might not speak directly to an ethnographer, some details remain uncertain. Furthermore,
[177] while the last berdache died somewhat over fifty years ago, the picture is confused by the former tendency of Winnebago culture to invest given forms of traits with opposite meanings and functions when used under different circumstances. At the present time, the recollections of many informants reveal that they know only half of the total function of given forms, or that they attempt to synthesize features which now appear as contradictory.

[184] While it was noted in 1950 that the Nebraska Winnebago were quite willing to speak of matters that in Wisconsin are still considered sacred or as things to be kept secret from whites, the Nebraska Winnebago simply knew less about older traditions.

838 It was agreed generally that the berdache was a man who had taken on
[787] this role because he had been directed to do so by the moon, a female spirit,
[82] at the time of his vision quest. The berdache dressed as a woman, performed
[79] women's tasks better than any normal woman could perform them, and had the ability to foretell future events. However, not all Winnebago prophets
[588] were berdaches. One informant mentioned that berdaches sometimes married
[554] other men, but no data were obtained concerning the attitude of the society toward the husband of a berdache. Most informants felt that the berdache was at one time a highly honored and respected person, but that the Winne-
177 bago had become ashamed of the custom because the white people thought it
838 was amusing or evil. By the time the last known berdache attempted to fulfill the role, his brothers threatened to kill him if he "put on the skirt." This
[626] berdache then affected a combination of male and female clothing, fearing that he would die if he did not at least attempt to follow the directions given him in his vision of the moon.

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The Winnebago term for berdache is very uncertain. The last known case in Wisconsin was called dejáŋčowiŋga, usually translated as Blue Lake Woman (dejáŋčowiŋga—dejáŋ: lake or sea; čo: blue; wiŋ: female name ending; ga: name referrent suffix). In Nebraska mention was made of another berdache who had lived in Wisconsin and was called čoranažiŋga or Standing Blue (čoranažiŋga—čo: blue; ra: article; naži: to stand; wiŋ: elided with naži as nažiŋ, female name ending; ga: name referrent suffix). The term šiáŋge was suggested as a general word for berdache by two Wisconsin informants, and it was translated by several people as "a no good," "a eunuch," "an unmanly man." This word was still in common use in Wisconsin in 1947, but was used among young men as an insult or teasing epithet. These young men claimed to know nothing more about the word except that it carried connotations of weakness and effeminateness. 192 838 [195] [578]

The characteristics of the Winnebago berdache agree closely with those reported for the Omaha and Ponca but the word used to designate a berdache in both of these latter tribes was miᵃ-qu-ga, according to Dorsey (378–379). Among the Oglala the berdache had been blessed by a pote wiᵃkte or hermaphroditic buffalo, wiᵃkte being the word for berdache. A certain amount of shame had become attached to the role among these Plains Siouan groups by the time it was reported by Dorsey in 1889 and Wissler in 1912, but Wissler (p. 92) said of the Oglala, "In the old days all the berdaches were very wakan." 171 838

Knowledge of the berdache among the Winnebago was provided in 1946 through a chance conversation with M.M., a woman who was then about thirty years old. Her parents had been the first Christian converts at the Winnebago community near Black River Falls, Wisconsin, and M.M. had once heard her mother mention "Men who dressed as women." When M.M. attempted to question her mother, at the writer's request, for more information about the berdache, the mother, then a woman in her seventies, became very angry and said in Winnebago, "Why did you ask about that? That is something we want to forget and not talk about." 124 838 [797]

Another woman, S.S., a younger sister of Radin's famous informant Crashing Thunder, was next approached and she offered the following account.

> Yes, I used to hear about that, but I don't know much about it. Once there was a man who fasted and he learned that if he dressed like a woman he would be the richest person in the world, but if he wore men's clothes, he die soon. She wore earrings, and bracelets, and necklaces and a shirt like a woman, but his brothers told him . . . her? . . . if he . . . she? . . . put on a skirt they would kill him. There used to be people like that, not just that one. I think šiáŋge is the word for them but I don't know, now it's just a slang word and means a no good. Those people did women's work, and they did it real good, better than even women could. [192]

Later M.M., the original informant, was able to prevail upon her mother to provide more information. Her description included all of the points given above except mention of wealth accruing to the berdache. However, M.M.'s mother added that berdaches had been blessed by the moon and had the gift

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124 838 of prophecy. The name dejáŋčowiŋga was given as applying to the story told by S.S., and this berdache was described as a "bachelor," who at one time had acted as a foster mother to several children belonging to his sister or half-sister. One of the nieces reared by dejáŋčowiŋga was still living near Black River Falls in 1946, but it was impossible to obtain any direct information from her. She was about fifty-five years old in 1946.

At the Wisconsin Dells two Winnebago men overheard M.M. and the writer discussing dejáŋčowiŋga and one of them, a contemporary of M.M., recalled that he had heard of dejáŋčowiŋga whose brothers had threatened to kill him if he "put on the skirt." The other man, who was born in 1898 or 1899, said that he would try to obtain more information for the writer from his maternal and paternal uncles, two elderly men who lived near Tomah, Wisconsin. J.S.'s uncles merely substantiated as much as was already known of the dejáŋčowiŋga story without clarifying the term applied to berdaches generally. However, J.S. believed that an old man who lived near Victory, Wisconsin could supply more data, and some time later had an interview with him. This was reported several months later, in March, 1947. J.S. said that the old man had considered the matter a "bad story" and only agreed to tell it because J.S. had done him several favors. At one time, the old man had explained, a band of Winnebago returned from a war expedition with several Sioux captives, among them a chief. Under ordinary circumstances the warrior (hawk) clan would have taken charge of the ultimate fate of the prisoners, but in this village the only members of the warrior clan were a very small boy and his grandmother. The grandmother was called upon to speak for the grandson because, while the decision should have rested with the male members of the clan, the only male member present was a child. What became of the chief's followers is not known, but the grandmother decreed that the leader was to remain in the village unharmed, but had to dress, act, work and generally conduct himself as a woman as long as he lived. This took place many years ago and no one knows why the grandmother took such a harsh stand except that possibly she had some old grudge against the Sioux. J.S. reported that the old man told him this was the "first dejáŋčowiŋga," and, as far as could be determined, the term liáŋge was not used.

727 838

838 124 Upon further questioning by J.S., the old man qualified the foregoing story by saying that other men, who were members of the Winnebago tribe, dressed and acted like women because they had been told to do so by the moon at the time of their vision quest. These men were highly respected, were prophets, could do women's work better than women, and sometimes even married other men.

The fact that transvestites who conducted themselves as women were not always true berdaches is illustrated in another story collected from M.R. in the winter of 1945. M.R. died in 1946 at the age of fifty years and he was never questioned as to the relationship of the following story to cases of true berdaches because the significance of the matter was not then clear to the writer.

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According to M.R., a party of Winnebago once went on the warpath and were badly beaten. One man, the only survivor according to his claim, returned to his village. There he recounted his valorous deeds at the side of his companions, and said he had escaped only because the enemy had left him for dead. He was accorded great honor until sometime later another member of the party returned and told how the first man had fled and hidden out in the woods when he saw that the battle was going against the Winnebago. The cowardly and dishonest warrior, on the decision of the police (bear) clan, then had to take on the role of a woman and lived in disgrace the rest of his life. 838 687 [625]

Evidence concerning the berdache was even less definite in Nebraska. G.P., a woman about fifty years old in 1950, mentioned that her mother-in-law once told her of a case which agreed in most details with that of dejáŋčowiŋga, but this individual was called čoranaliŋga and was supposed to have lived in Wisconsin. However, G.S., a man born in 1887, who also told of čoranaliŋga, gave an account of a berdache who was his mother's cousin. G.S.'s mother was Iowa and Oto through her maternal line and the berdache cousin, referred to as "sister," was a parallel cousin of Iowa and Oto descent. However, the description G.S. recounted as having come from his mother is almost identical to that regarding the Winnebago berdache. The cousin had been blessed by the moon, feared death if he disobeyed the moon's directions that he dress and act as a woman, even to giving this as the reason for his behavior when G.S.'s mother once remonstrated with him for being, "a shame to us Indians." 838 124 [626]

An attempt was made to discover whether the Winnebago berdache role for men had a parallel Siouan role of "warrior women." Only one very doubtful account was collected in 1946 from S.S. the Wisconsin informant who provided the first extensive description of dejáŋčowiŋga. 171 838 [124]

Once there was a man, kind of high tone, he had two wives. The older one wanted to keep her husband so she had him marry her younger sister too. They used to do that years ago when they wanted to hold their husbands. Anyway, this man and his gang went off to the Civil War. There was a bad woman in the camp. She was a good looker, but she was bad, and this man took the bad woman with him. During the war one time they ran out of bullets, and this woman got on a horse and went through the enemy lines to a big city and came back with a whole lot of bullets and saved them. Another time she warned them when they were all asleep and the enemy was near. When they came back, she was riding on the horse in front of the man, and the men had all given her presents for saving them. Her waist was just covered with ribbons and the man's two wives cried when they saw it. The people made up a song about her because she was a brave woman and sometimes they still sing it. After that they always called her hinugrosisiŋgra which means that she laughed aloud like a man, shaking her whole body [hinugrosisiŋgra—hinuk:woman; ro:body; siŋk:to shake as with laughter; ra: article; k is voiced when followed by r]. They call those giggling girls that nowadays sometimes. [595]

While the above account probably represents an isolated example of a woman who went to war rather than an accepted type of role, it is apparent that 838

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138 the formal role of berdache for men was observed within the memory of people born since 1885, at least in Wisconsin. Of particular interest is the fact that the Winnebago utilized the same characteristics of dress and behavior for two entirely different purposes. In the case of a true berdache, the person held an [554] honored and respected position in the society, while a man who was forced to take on a female role without benefit of a blessing by the moon was disgraced and dishonored.

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# LEWIS HENRY MORGAN

# THE INDIAN JOURNALS

# 1859-62

[Title Page]

*Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press*

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[*Winnebago*] *Medicine Dance*

115 I met Judge Williams[97] this evening and listened among other things to a very fine description of a medicine dance among the Winnebagoes. He is District Judge of Kansas, and has held the same office in Iowa and been with the Indians for 25 years. He superintended the removal of the Sauks and Foxes etc.

He was invited by the Winnebagoes as a compliment to attend a medicine dance, or the Spirit Dance.[98] This is a religious organization which the Judge likens to our church. They initiate with forms and ceremonies each neophyte, and at that time go through with their high religious performances. The Judge says they have mesmerism

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[P.60(A)]
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97 a 98 a [see category 116 - p210. Analyst]

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[787] and clairvoyance, and thinks they have had them for centuries. They use a long and
[346] large lodge a [blank] prepared for the purpose, in which all those allowed to witness the ceremonies are assembled. Adjoin-
[343] ing this house is a bark tent built in a conical form as a steam house. They excavate a hole in the ground, heat large stones in a fire to a great heat, and then put them in this hole, and cover them over and seat the initiate over them. He is then covered around with blankets so that none of the steam may escape, after which water is poured on the stones and the neophyte is
[783] enveloped in a roasting steam bath. This is
[776] the first act, and the object is to steam all evil spirits out of him.

He is then led in to the house, after the steaming process in some instances has been repeated once or twice. He is then blindfolded and led around the house. Pres-
[534] ently the singers beat the drum, shake the rattles, and commence singing a tune; then commences the dance, which is joined in by all present who wish to do so. The wom-
[562] en are members of the medicine lodge as well as the men, and they join in the songs and in the dance. After the dancing is done, or perhaps he may have stood in the midst of it there is a suspension of all sing-
[756] ing and dancing. Several medicine men then advance towards the neophyte, pointing their medicine bags at him, then drawing them back. This advancing and receding and ejaculating certain words calculated to work up the mind of the novitiate into a regular phrenzy.

Presently they reach him when they hit their medicine bags against his body, he still being blindfolded and at the same time uttering a shrill exclamation. The Judge said the novitiate jumped up and fell flat on
[158] his face as if dead and that apparently with-

[P. 60(B)]

796 out design. There he lay without motion or
575 sign of life, and the dance was resumed
158 around them. After a time he was brought out of this mesmeric or clairvoyant state, a medicine bag was put in his hands and he at once had power to strike any one down as he had been. The person who stayed by the Judge was thus struck down. He felt of his arm and wrist and found them perfectly rigid.

796 They told the Judge before they admitted
575 him to this ceremony that while he was
783 there he must think no evil thought. If he did, his life would be in danger from the spirits. No impure person is admitted to
[841] witness these ceremonies, no woman in the
[843] menstrual period, no woman pregnant or
[273] recently delivered, no intoxicated or intemperate person that is under the influence of liquor is allowed to attend. The proceedings
[756] in the sweat lodge were not seen by him as none but medicine men were allowed there.
796 The ceremonies commenced at 8 in the eve-
575 ning and lasted until day break next morning. The Judge confirms my former opinion that this is purely a religious rite, and a religious organization, having but little to do with the uses of medicine proper. The roots and herbs are one thing, but the ceremonies
[755] and incantations which are the real remedies are quite another. They call it the Spirit Dance, or the Divine Dance. The
[171] Judge informs me that he has witnessed the same thing among the Sauks and Foxes.

[*Winnebago Burial*]

764 He also mentioned the fact that he witnessed the burial of a Winnebago some years ago. He was set upon a natural mound and house made over him, food and some personal articles laid by his side, after which the whole was covered over with earth, ex-
[775] cept a small hole or chimney was kept open from the top down into the house. When

764 the Judge asked what this meant they told
775 him that it was for the spirit to pass through in going out and in.

771 He never found among them during the long period of his intercourse any evidence of sun worship, and thinks it fell far short of that in which I agree with him.

115 This morning I had a further conversation with Judge Walker, who is a regular medicine man of the Wyandottes. He says
776 the name of the Spirit of Medicine among
171 the Wyandottes is Mon-ane-tow, who is the same as the Manitou of the Ojibways etc. That this spirit of Medicine is a good spirit etc. He says that the initiations described
796 by Judge Williams are in the presence only
575 of medicine men and women. The people of the tribe are not allowed to be present. That both men and women are members, and are regularly initiated before they can become members. That no oath of secrecy is required, as the Indian knows nothing about oaths, but they initiate on the honor of the man and of the woman, choosing such only as are known to be of good character for integrity. That the Society and its pro-
[755] ceedings are secret, except these ceremonies which medicine men perform on patients for their cure.

796 Walker says that these ceremonies pro-
575 ceed upon the idea that a violent shock of the nervous system, which prostrates it en-
828 tirely will also prostrate or relax the hold of
158 the disease. They know by experience that by fasting and steaming they so arouse and excite a well person as to produce a shock which will throw him to the earth. This is done at the ceremony of initiation which Judge Williams described. It is done by nervous excitement, and Indian faith in these ceremonies, and is repeated over every initiate as a proof of the possession by medicine men of this marvellous power. He

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796 says there is no sham about this falling down
575 of the person on the floor in a swoon in the
828 manner described. That this is the precise
158 shock of the system to produce which the fasting and the steaming process is resorted to, and all the other ceremonies of the initiation, including the dance.

755 When a person is sick and incurable by
158 the simple remedies known to the Indians, and the friends become apprehensive for the life of the person, then the medicine men are called in and they go through certain ceremonies, all of which operate upon the nervous system already enfeebled and excited by disease, and tend to bring about that shock or prostration of the nervous system, which when produced is supposed also to relax the hold and power of the disease at the same time. In a word it kills the disease, or breaks the disease, or destroys
[753] the evil spirit then in the body which causes the disease, and then if there is constitutional strength enough left to raise up the body from its utter prostration, the patient recovers.

753 It would seem that they regarded the nervous system or the sensitive part of our
755 nature as the seat of the disease, and ad-
828 dressed their remedies to the sensitive part, that is to the mind rather than to the body, to the spirit rather than to the organs of the
[171] body. The medicine system prevails very generally among our Indian races. In fact it is universal so far as we have found out the customs of the remote tribes.

755 I asked Walker about the cheats prac-
756 ticed by the medicine men upon the credulity of their patients, that is, pretending to take out of a man's back a tooth or a bone. He says that in their practice they want to make money, and the greater the feat they perform the greater the charge they make. Sometimes they charge a horse etc.

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115 97. Joseph Williams, born in Pennsylvania in 1801, served as associate justice in Iowa Territory and state. In 1857 he was appointed associate justice of Kansas Territory by President Buchanan; he served until 1861. He made his home in Ft. Scott; died in 1870. For an account of some of Williams' activities in Kansas in the fall of 1859 and 1860, see *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1915–18*, XIV, 205–6, 230; *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1901–02*, VII, 402.

[113]

796 575 98. This is probably one of the earliest accounts of the Winnebago Medicine Dance, performed by a secret society in summer only. Its purpose is to prolong life and to cultivate certain nonmartial virtues. The Winnébago Medicine Dance is closely related to the Algonquian Midéwiwin, to the Dakota "Mystery Dance," and to the Omaha "Pebble Ceremony." See "The Ritual and Significance of the Winnebago Medicine Dance," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XXIV (1911): 149–208, and *The Winnebago Tribe* (Bureau of American Ethnology, 37th Annual Report, 1923), both by Dr. Paul Radin; see also "Winnebago," in *Handbook of American Indians*, edited by Hodge.

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PAUL RADIN

# THE ROAD OF LIFE AND DEATH

A RITUAL DRAMA
OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS
WITH A FOREWORD BY MARK VAN DOREN

THE BOLLINGEN SERIES V

PANTHEON BOOKS INC. NEW YORK

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## II. Winnebago Civilization and the Medicine Rite

### 1. INTRODUCTORY

The Winnebago are a Siouan-speaking people belonging to a group of tribes that are today spread from Wisconsin to Montana and from Oklahoma to Saskatchewan and Alberta. At the time of the discovery of America some members of this stock extended as far south



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105 as southern Louisiana and as far east as Virginia and South Carolina. Then, however, their northern and western extension had taken them no farther than North Dakota.

Apart from the Winnebago, the best known members of this far-flung stock are the Dakota, Omaha, Osage, Iowa and Oto.

With negligible exceptions, the civilization of all these tribes was essentially the same and many of its traits were shared by other tribes contiguous to the Siouan, speaking distinct languages such as the Pawnee, Arikara, Creek, Choctaw, etc. All were agricultural, possessed, by and large, the same general type of social organization, religion, mythology and ritualism. The center of this civilization lay presumably, somewhere along the lower Mississippi from which it must have spread north, east and west along its main affluents, the Arkansas, Missouri and Ohio, rivers. I, for one, am of the opinion that not a few of its distinctive characteristics, particularly in religion, ritualism and mythology, it owes to influences that came ultimately from Mexico, possibly no earlier than the twelfth century A.D.

Although the Winnebago were first encountered by the French far to the north, at Green Bay in northeastern Wisconsin, completely cut off from their nearest kinsmen, the Iowa and Oto, they belong definitely further south and west, probably in eastern Iowa.

To understand Winnebago civilization and, incidentally, the history and significance of the Medicine Rite, it is necessary to keep in mind two historical facts, first, that the Winnebago belong to the highly complex widespread general civilization we have just mentioned and, secondly, that they were completely cut off from this civilization by simpler tribes with whom they were almost continuously at war. As a result of this peculiar situation they were able to keep much of their older culture intact, particularly their whole social, religious and ritualistic systems. Entirely uninfluenced by these simpler tribes they did not remain but what they borrowed was not important. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries they were at times drawn into more intimate contact with some of these tribes, during the intervals when they were not fighting them, and it is from one of them, the Fox, that they probably

adopted the specific shooting ritual today practiced in the Medicine Rite. 105

It is just this contrast between the manner in which the basic older structure remained intact and yet new elements were freely adopted that is so characteristic of the Winnebago civilization. The explanation for their ability to do both these things lies in the fact that, like the Iroquois and Navajo, they have always quickly transformed and reinterpreted the influences which they absorbed from the outside. We shall shortly see how the history and analysis of the Medicine Rite illustrates all these three tendencies, the marked conservatism of old patterns, the receptivity to new ideas and the capacity for making new integrations. Before turning to this history, it will be best, first, to give a brief sketch of the Winnebago civilization as a whole, particularly those phases of the social organization, religion, ritualism and mythology, which can throw light on the Medicine Rite.

## 2. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Winnebago social organization contains two structural patterns 105
characteristic of many North American Indian tribes, first, the divi- 614
sion of the tribe into two halves and, second, the clan. Every clan 616
belongs to either one or the other of these two halves or phratries, called respectively, those-from-above or upper people and those-from-the-earth or lower people.

The phratries possess, or rather possessed at one time, a number of distinctive and fundamental functions, lay and religious. Marriage within the same phratry, for instance, was forbidden. Each phratry had different burial customs. In the ceremonial lacrosse game one was always pitted against the other.

Nowhere were these contrasting duties and functions more funda- 105
mental, however, than in the political-social realm. In the upper 614
phratry are centered, in the person of the tribal chief, all the peace 616
and humanitarian functions of the tribe. He is selected from the clan 622
generally regarded as the most important one in the tribe, the

105 thunderbird. He is the representative of peace, par excellence. He
614 cannot go to war or have anything to do with the many war cere-
616 monies of the tribe. Be it remembered that victory on the warpath is
622 the highest honor a Winnebago can attain. He must succour the needy and plead for clemency in all cases of infractions of tribal law and custom, even in case of murder. His lodge is a sacred asylum and [778] absolutely inviolate. Not only is a prisoner of war safe if he manages to take refuge there, but even a dog, about to be sacrificed, must be spared, should he manage to run into it. Naturally all the other male members of the thunderbird clan as well as all the male members of the other clans in the upper phratry, go on the warpath and seek prestige through war. But, after all, this warfare is waged against people who have no status within the tribe. Acquiescence in it does not constitute approval of violence nor is it regarded as a resort to violence. And it is this condemnation of violence for which the tribal chief and his phratry stands.

105 In contrast to this is the attitude of the chief of the lower division,
614 who always belongs to the bear clan. In him are centered pre-
616 eminently the police, the disciplinary and the war functions. He and
622 his associates police and guard the village, inflict punishment for
625 transgressions of law and custom, take charge of the whole tribe when it is on a communal warpath or engaged in hunting, etc. It is in the official lodge of the bear chief that prisoners are confined before being killed and it is in the same lodge where the sacred warbundles are stored and guarded against contamination.

105 We are dealing here with a very old and persistent classification
616 of the two opposing forces in society and one which reflects the
622 answer to a question asked repeatedly, namely, how are we to meet
182 the two aspects of life and of reality with which we are being con-
577 tinually confronted, the protective, constructive and positive, and the repelling, destructive and negative? Winnebago thinkers seemed to have been particularly fond of posing this problem.

It is not strange then, that they should have felt the contrast between the functions of the two phratries to lie, fundamentally, in their attitude toward evil. For the tribal chief evil was to be warded off before it came and always by passive methods. If that did not

succeed and evil was already upon the tribe, then his attention was directed toward alleviating the suffering caused by it and toward preventing any violence that might come in its wake. His function was to be protective and constructive. As one Winnebago told me, 'The chief of the tribe is like a motherbird feeding its young ones.'

The chief of the lower division, by contrast, went out to meet evil, attacked it ferociously when encountered, and paid little attention to the violent mood it developed among the defender-assailants. The important thing was to attack, fight and gain the victory.

The two opposing approaches to the problem can best be illustrated by the attitudes of the two chiefs toward sickness and murder. The tribal chief meets the first by giving a feast of conciliation and making direct appeals to Earthmaker. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, immediately starts in pursuit of it. With his assistants he makes the circuit of the village four times to look for its cause. He is on the warpath and should a dog cross his path, he is immediately killed. Then he pays a visit to the sick people, dances before them and lays his hands upon them.

If a murder has been committed, the tribal chief not only intercedes for the life of the murderer but actually, if need be, offers to take the place of the malefactor. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, seizes the murderer and conducts him to the family of the murdered person to be punished.

The objects associated with the two chiefs are typical and symbolical of their activities. For the first it is the peace-pipe, the emblem of conciliation and humility; for the second, a curiously formed baton, the emblem of punishment and pain, with which, when need be, he strikes those who transgress.

The recognition of these two aspects of social life and reality, contradictory, colliding, complementary, had its counterpart in the Winnebago analysis of human nature. There too, they insisted, good and evil, the spiritual and the material, the sacred and the profane, seemed forever at strife and forever striving for reconciliation, neutralization or fusion. This philosophy, we shall now see, is reflected, particularly, in mythology, religion and ritualism.

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## 3. MYTHOLOGY

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Running through the whole of Winnebago mythology-literature, is the distinction between two types of narrative, the worak and the waikā. The first, literally translated, means *what-is-recounted*, and the second *what-is-sacred*. The worak belongs to the realm of what is regarded as true and humanly possible and attainable, as pertaining to the present workaday world as we know it. The hero must be a human being and the plot must end tragically. The waikā, on the other hand, belongs to the past that is irretrievably gone, to the realm of things no longer possible or attainable by man. It pertains to the world of spirits and deities, to the world of wish fulfillment. The hero must be a divine personage and immortal and the end can never be tragic. A waikā can become a worak by the simple device of bringing the plot into relationship with the contemporary human scene. The divine being has then become, for the time being, a human one. But there is no tragic dénouement. A worak, however, can never become a waikā.

As an example of the change from waikā to worak, let me take the cycle concerning the favorite heroes of the Winnebago, the Twins. Their adventures constitute real happenings and not, what one might have supposed far-off divine events, for one simple reason, namely, their resting-place is on earth and they, and this resting-place, have actually been seen by the fathers of present-day Indians.

It seems to have been one of the persistent endeavors of those Winnebago who reflected on such matters, to emphasize not only the distinctions mentioned above but, likewise, for them to link together the various adventures of their more important heroes into reasonably well-integrated epics, each one possessing its own developmental scheme. There are four such major cycles, that of Trickster, that of Hare, that of the battles of the good deities against the evil ones, and that of the Twins.

The theme of the Trickster epic is the unconscious, yet purposive, evolution of the hero from a grotesque, chaotic figure knowing neither good nor evil, to one with the lineaments of man. He symbolizes the gradual evolution from irresponsibility to responsibility.

Where Trickster stops Hare begins. He is a combination of a trickster and a culture-hero. His benefactions, for instance, are all accidental. But from the start, he possesses the lineaments of a human being and his orientation is toward man. He is no longer the supreme egoist that Trickster was. At the end of his adventures the earth has been transformed into a place where human beings can live and operate. 105 538 773

It is the function of the heroes of the third cycle to prevent this order which Hare has established from being again disrupted and returning to chaos. The function of the Twins is to continue the struggles of the heroes of the third cycle and to attempt to stabilize this order for all time.

Now although the theme of all these epics is the struggle against chaos and the introduction of order, each one of the great heroes of the last three epics, attempts to disrupt the order he has himself established. Hare brings death into the universe, Storms-as-he-walks, one of the heroes of the third cycle, kills wantonly and unnecessarily and the Twins kill one of the deities who hold our earth in place. In the case of the Twins it is important to stress the fact that, as we shall see, their attack on the world order is the result of exuberance of energy which is, in itself, constructive.

This same theme of the necessity for intelligent order and the establishment of stability runs, like a guiding thread, through the Origin Myth given on pages 17 ff. and pages 252 ff.[1] There, the first problem of Earthmaker after he has, so to say, given himself a fixed orientation in the universe at large and brought about order within himself, is to stop the earth he has created from continuing its ceaseless motion. This he achieves by anchoring it at the four cardinal points and then weighing it down by means of vegetation and mountains. The anchorage, significantly enough, is brought about by pinning the island-earth down by four waterspirits and four snakes. Now [825] snakes are the specifically sacred animals of the Winnebago, the intermediaries between the deities and man. Waterspirits, on the other [776] hand, are, essentially, the most productively evil and dangerous of all the deities for man, fascinating him, confusing him, and placing in his hands the means for his own destruction and the destruction

[1] [Not processed. - Analyst]

105 of his fellowmen. By giving to the waterspirits the positive and con-
538 structive function of helping to stop the earth from spinning around
773 and then holding it in place, part of their primary and ancient dan-
[776] ger has thus been neutralized. Yet it can, at best—in fact, it must—only be neutralized. To destroy it completely would be equivalent to saying that man has ceased to err, overcome all temptation and become one of the deities. Such a condition, the Winnebago insist, neither the deities nor man desire.

According to the esoteric view, the ambivalent but fundamentally evil and disruptive nature of the blessings of the waterspirit have never ceased. It is one of the subtle and symbolic features of the final adventure of the Twins, namely, the destruction of one of the waterspirits, the anchorers of the earth, that they are, after all, only doing in a human fashion what Earthmaker himself found it necessary to do, prevent the waterspirits from harming man. They kill the waterspirit and feed on its body. They do not understand that disruption and disintegration represent one half of the process of living and can, at best, be neutralized and delayed, never eliminated and destroyed. It is the symbol for motion and change without which life not only ceases to exist but is indeed inconceivable. Earthmaker, of course, recognizes this and he must, therefore, put a stop to the activities of the Twins and he punishes them. Their punishment is a symbol for the error they have committed. They became fixed, motionless and permanent, both of them traits that, according to Winnebago beliefs, are forms of death. In the puberty vision-quest one of the signs that foreshadows death is to dream of rocks or stones.

I cannot think of a closer parallel to what has here happened to the waterspirits than that of the transformation, in the Oresteia of Aeschylus, of the Furies into beneficent creatures.

But to continue with the Origin Myth. Having created order within himself and established it for the stage on which man is to play, Earthmaker proceeds to create the first beings who are to people the universe, the spirits and deities. To each one he assigns a fixed and specific amount of power, to some more, to some less. In a nature religion like that of the Winnebago, this is, of course, only another way of giving the objects and forces of nature their

various attributes. A definite gradation of power is thus established with no one spirit possessing powers even measurably comparable to those which Earthmaker has reserved for himself. 105 538 773

This principle of gradation and subordination is part of the order that Earthmaker is represented as introducing into the universe so that it can advantageously function. The instant it is changed there is danger and the threat of disruption. This is the theme of the first part of the Twin cycle, for instance. The plot is clear. The hero, one of the eight great Winnebago deities, Morning Star, has been decapitated by his enemy, a waterspirit. The body of the hero still remains alive and is being taken care of by his sister. The waterspirit, by keeping the head of Morning Star, has added the latter's power to his own. So formidable is this combination of powers that none of the deities, individually or in combination, are a match for him now. In fact only Earthmaker is his equal. Here is a threat of the first magnitude to the order ordained by Earthmaker and it must be met lest destruction overtake the world. Manifestly, the only manner of coping with the situation is to find some hero who can conquer the waterspirit, deprive him of the head of Morning Star and restore it to its owner.

But where is such a hero to be found? Nowhere. Consequently he must be newly created. This can be accomplished either by Earthmaker creating him directly as he has already done others or by his being born of some spirit. The days of special creation, however, are over. He must, therefore, be born as all creatures are now born, divine or human. But how can it be arranged that the hero, so born, has the requisite powers to achieve victory? The answer must be by such a hero being endowed for the task with enough power by all the deities, including Earthmaker.

This is accordingly done and these powers which will make its possessor greater than all the deities in existence and the equal of Earthmaker are delivered to the Sun with instructions that he impregnate the sister of Morning Star. The children born of Sun and the sister of Morning Star, who is herself a deity, are the Twins. They vanquish the waterspirit and restore the head of their uncle to his body. Thus the original order ordained by Earthmaker has been

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538
773

reestablished. Earthmaker, however, faced with the necessity of reestablishing it, has laid the seeds for further disruption by contravening the basic principle of limited and graded powers. The danger entering in such an act makes itself felt immediately; for the Twins, after completing their proper mission of destroying whatever evil spirits still exist on earth, or at least neutralizing them, destroy, as we have seen, one of the foundations of the earth. They do so in conformity with the Winnebago realistic conception that the possession of power necessitates its exercise.

Earthmaker, however, has no powers, within himself, to stop them. If, in the end, he does succeed, it is by a device which, on first blush, must strike us as puerile yet which is actually quite profound. He frightens them. The unafraid are made to be afraid, something that comes from within themselves. They try to hide and seek shelter, without success because, of course, they cannot hide from themselves. Finally, in desperation, they flee for protection to Earthmaker. This is, of course, what he is seeking. The moment they are in his possession and have come as suppliants, he has gained contact with them and thereby attained ascendancy over them. He can then speak to them and point out the nature of their transgression as well as its dangers. They recognize both and acquiesce cheerfully in the punishment meted out. Thus, for the time being, order and responsibility have again been reestablished in their rights.

We have so far dealt with the problem of order and disorder in its general, cosmological aspects. We must now take it up in its relation to man.

It is only after the spirits and deities have been created and endowed with the powers they are to have that Earthmaker, according to the Origin Myth, creates man. As the Winnebago say this happened at the end of Earthmaker's thoughts. Man is thus in the position of the orphan of Winnebago story: he possesses nothing. Earthmaker has nothing to give him. Accordingly, man is both weak and defenseless.

This depiction of man as completely unprovided for the vicissitudes of life, has a number of important implications. First of all, it is a well-recognized literary device, indeed almost a cliché, to have

the last and least qualified of the personages in a myth or tale, become the true hero. Secondly, it is the cardinal ethical principle of the Winnebago that the lowly shall be raised to high estate. That is the reward for humility. Thirdly, a hero or a virtuous man must show a development, must bring about order within himself. We have seen that hold true for Trickster, for Hare and for Earthmaker himself.

In both versions of the Origin Myth, man is projected naked into an atmosphere over which he has no control whatsoever and where he is immediately attacked by evil spirits. This is in flat contradiction with the accounts of his original state in the exoteric myths. There he is almost immediately placed in possession of tobacco, the intermediary between man and the deities, as well as of flint, corn, etc.

If this is not mentioned in the Origin Myth that is because he is not to save himself or receive the wherewithal of life through the accidental benefactions of culture-heroes. On the contrary, he is to be in dire straits and saved. Earthmaker is represented as withholding tobacco from the spirits in order to present it to man and as endowing these same spirits with an overpowering craving for it. In short, it is to be the mechanism for an exchange between man and the deities. He will give them tobacco; they will give him powers to meet life and overcome obstacles. Yet the deities cannot, by themselves, save him. They are at strife with one another. This can only be done by Earthmaker. For this purpose he dispatches the great primordial culture-heroes, Trickster, Bladder, Turtle and Hare to the earth.

This is a completely new role for all three. Naturally they do not succeed. They cannot be saviours. Their antecedents are against them. Trickster is the supreme egoist, the chaotic buffoon hero, a kind of Priapus, without any sense of responsibility and without purpose as far as man is concerned. His most positive contribution is to point out the stupidity, the cupidity, the vanities and foibles of creatures. He cannot help anyone. With man he has never had any connection. Turtle is not much better. He is the embodiment of cowardice, braggadocio and unabashed sensualism. The best he can do is to participate in warfare and, then, never as a hero.

105 538 773 If Hare succeeds, it is because all his antecedents fit him better for the task. In the original Hare cycle he is born of a human woman and brought up by grandmother Earth herself. Although, at the beginning, his benefactions to mankind are all accidental, they do, at the end, give man the complete quota of his needs. It was comparatively easy to transform him into a hero without blemish. His one fault is demanding too much for man.

It is at this point that the problem of order versus disorder again presents itself. Not content with destroying evil on earth Hare demands immortality for his uncles and his nieces. Thus, like the Twins, he disrupts the world order through excess of constructive powers. But the difference between the Twins and Hare is that the former do it out of a kind of power drive while Hare does it in the supposed interests of man.

According to the story Hare, of course, fails. So obstinately, however, does he refuse to accept the inevitable that Earthmaker consents to an apparent revision of the world order in one respect. He will grant man the possibility of transcending death, by means of successive reincarnations, on condition that he agrees to face life and its vicissitudes in accordance with a specific ethical code. This is, of course, the theme of the Medicine Rite. For man, then, an exception to the law of birth, growth and death is permitted to this extent—he can repeat the cycle of birth, growth and decay an indefinite number of times.

But it is naturally in religion and ritualism that we must expect to find the best illustrations of the basic principles we have so far discussed in connection with social organization and mythology and to these we shall now turn.

## 4. RELIGION

105 121 771 Because of the highly complex character of Winnebago religion I shall confine myself primarily to an analysis of the nature of the powers the spirits and deities are supposed to possess, the relationship postulated between them and man, and the requests man makes

to them. To understand properly these three problems we must, at the outset, try to distinguish between the layman's and the priest's conception, between the exoteric and the esoteric viewpoint although, to be sure, the two are never mutually exclusive. 105 121 771

For the ordinary man, the lay Winnebago, the primary powers of the vast majority of the deities have always inhered in the deities themselves. They are their own possessions and have not been bestowed upon them from without. Moreover these powers relate to the actual natural functions these deities perform. The prayers of man to the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Night-spirits, the Thunderbirds, etc. are, primarily, that they continue their functions and do not deviate from them. But man recognizes that they also have secondary functions, that, for instance, the sun, the morning and evenings stars, the thunderbirds, the night-spirits, all possess the power to give man long life and victory on the warpath; that the grizzly bear spirits have curative powers to bestow upon him and the waterspirits have special powers in connection with death-dealing medicines, etc. This socialization of the spirits and deities brings them that much closer to man. By bringing them this much closer to man they are deprived, however, of something of their independence and freedom of action. They have now become more specifically oriented toward mankind than toward their functioning in the universe at large. This change in orientation did not come about mechanically or accidentally. It represents the priest-thinker's conception, his attempt to establish linkages and meaningful relationships between men and the world of spirits. This attempt, from the nature of things, can never completely succeed for the simple reason that the primary functions of most of the nature gods—and they are the important ones—cannot be eliminated, must, in fact, not be eliminated. In the case, however, of animal deities, their older primary functions can be attenuated to a very marked extent and deities can be developed who never possessed functions other than those we have designated as secondary, that is, deities who function only in relation to man. 105 771 776 [782]

Since the nature gods, however, were the great gods, they served as patterns for all the others and the marked split in their orienta-

tion became, more or less, the characteristic of all spirits and deities. The older condition, where the god concerned himself with his primary functioning and where relations to man were strictly neutral, was set off against his later condition where he was specifically enmeshed in man and man in him. These older deities—the waterspirits, for instance, belong here—never bestowed upon man either good or evil blessings. Like the waterspirits, they gave man the materials out of which he could prepare his own good or evil. That, I think, was always the lay point of view. Manifestly this led at times, to extreme individualism and clearly did not make for organization. The priest-thinker in seeking to bring more order into the various functions of the deities introduced new evaluations and new distinctions. For example, the earlier functioning of most of the deities was now interpreted as essentially evil or at least of no positive relation to man. In their later status, on the contrary, they generously brought man good blessings and they themselves became beneficent and friendly deities.

This socialization of the deities was entirely the work of the priest-thinkers. It succeeded completely, only in the case of Earthmaker and in their masterpiece, the Medicine Rite. In all other instances the lay interpretation was still largely dominant: man could never be certain what he would receive from the spirit to whom he was praying and making offerings, nor feel that he could always guard himself adequately against the dangers inherent in the approach to the supernatural. This uncertainty was expressed in a number of ways. One of them is very typical for the Winnebago. Every youth, during his puberty vision-quest, was warned by his elders against accepting too generous a gift of power from the deities. This was the matter-of-fact parent's euphemistic way of saying, 'Do not let them deceive you or work evil upon you.' The thinker, of course, interpreted this in an entirely different fashion. For him, a faster who accepted more from the gods than he could fulfill was the victim of his own overreaching and lack of that sense of proportion which, alone, can save man from destruction.

This recognition, then, of the ambivalent or, at least, veiled nature of the deity's attitude toward him is something that man must learn to accept and which he must also learn to meet in such fashion that

10:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1945
NP12 Winnebago NP12

the spirit or deity will be constrained, willingly or otherwise, to grant him his request. How can this be done? The answer will depend upon who is speaking, a Winnebago layman or a Winnebago priest-thinker. The layman's view is embodied in the myth of the origin and function of tobacco. There the deities are mechanically constrained to give the powers they possess to any human being who comes with an offering of tobacco. Here the human suppliant theoretically determines what he is to receive and how he is to employ it. In actual practice, of course, the situation is never so simple even in the case of the most matter-of-fact individual or the most matter-of-fact deity. Both are swayed by contradictory and conflicting emotions. Man wishes a maximum of power but is held back from making the maximum request for fear that it will be too dangerous for him to do so. The deities wish to be sustained by the tobacco for which they have an almost uncontrolled craving but dread the loss of power it entails. As a result man is prone to ask too little or too much and the deities to give too little or too much. Both lead to disorder and result in evil.

To restore order in such a situation where, on the one hand, you are dealing with human nature with its ceaseless changes, its impermanence and its inability to foresee the future and the consequences of its demands and, on the other, with divine nature, with its unchangeability, its permanence and its foreknowledge, was a problem of extreme difficulty and delicacy. The added fact that, according to the universally accepted Winnebago belief, the spirits and deities depended for their happiness and much of their functioning upon the sustenance they obtained from man, further complicated it. The problem, of course, existed primarily for the priest-thinker.

To a large degree it was of the latter's own making. To the matter-of-fact man, the man of action, the relationship between the deities and man was, as has already been pointed out, direct, mechanical and constraining for both. It was but an extension of the theory of exchange of goods which prevailed on earth between men, to the world of spirits. That theory of exchange insisted that the receiver of a gift should always make a return gift of greater value than that which he had received. Of the spirits who had so much, man could

105 at least, demand an equal exchange. The crux of the question then
771 was, who is to evaluate the human gift? The answer of the mat-
776 ter-of-fact man was both, the spirits and man. For that reason, he contended, risk and danger must always inhere in the human-god relationship and there was little that could be done about it except to take every precaution one could. This must be accepted. Such was life. Suffering and tragedy loomed large there and the relationship between the deities and man was part of it. The gods could, at best, only help man to keep his balance and maintain his sense of proportion. It had always been a human problem and always would remain one. A whole class of literature, the worak, dealt with this theme. The picture it painted was not too optimistic.

105 It was the priest-thinker who was the optimist. He attempted a
771 time-honored solution of philosophers, that of giving man some of
776 the attributes of divinity, in other words, a greater sense of fixity and
812 security, a greater degree of permanence, and some possibility of foreknowledge.

Winnebago philosophers seem to have attacked this problem repeatedly and suggested a number of solutions. According to one theory, gods and men had been equal in the beginning. At that time all existent beings could transform themselves at will into the one or the other *ad infinitum*. When, however, the world was to take its present shape, all the beings had to transform themselves permanently into the one or the other, into gods or into human beings.

Thus, at one time, man had actually partaken of the divine. This was, of course, only divinity in retrospect, and was not of great
105 importance in developing divine stature for man now. Winnebago
771 thinkers, instead, fell back upon two universally accepted folkloris-
775 tic beliefs, that in the immortality of the soul and that in reincarnation. The first, however, implied a complete and irretrievable separation from the earth and human beings. To be of any value in the task of developing divine traits for man, the soul, the permanent component of man which left him at death had to be bound, in some way, to the earth. This could best be done by reinterpreting the nature of death. This was done by having it merely imply no loss of personal consciousness at all but simply a temporary stumbling.

There existed an unbroken continuum. No more, however, could be 105
done in the way of reinterpretation. The philosopher could not do 771
away with the palpable fact that the body of a deceased person 775
remained motionless and decayed. The ghost, conscious though he remained and fully aware of what was going on around him, was unable to establish contact with the living or they with him and he always remained jealous of the living and not too kindly disposed to them. The continuum predicated was, consequently, reduced to a mere shadow.

With the belief in reincarnation, the priest-thinker could do much more. Here a kind of continuum already existed. The priest-thinker had merely to develop the concept of a continuing consciousness. Thus the first attribute of divinity, permanence, was on its way to accomplishment. This permanence was further enhanced and fixed by having an individual born again into the very same family and reliving, in every detail, his previous existence.

In the myth giving the origin of the Four Nights' Wake over the body of the dead, this is the main and insistent theme. Thus the second attribute of divinity, unchangeability, was on its way to accomplishment. The two other traits of divinity, foreknowledge 105
and omnipresence, presented greater difficulties for their attainment. 771
The latter, however, was not of great significance in the Winnebago concept of divinity. The former was. Here the belief in reincarnation offered little help. Recourse had therefore to be made to shamanistic practices and magic proper where both beliefs were quite common. On the whole the Winnebago priest-thinker, particularly in his greatest triumph, the Medicine Rite, eschewed magical practices and that is why little really is ever said about foretelling events. Yet it is significant that the very first story in the Medicine Rite and the one which purports to be the account of how the Rite was begun by a man, makes this foreknowledge of the future, the basic gift that a prospective member received. How fundamental it remained is [795]
proved by the fact that when the Peyote Cult was introduced among the Winnebago, the two gifts the peyote bestowed were the foretelling of the future and the ability to transport oneself anywhere by mere thought.

105 The priest-thinker thus contended that man could be made to
771 approximate to the deities by simply manipulating powers and
776 attributes which some individuals, at least, already possessed. Was it, however, wise to leave it to the individual himself to attempt this approximation? There had always been individuals in the community who essayed it but the net results of their attempts had spelled misfortune for them and misfortune for the community. They were generally the practitioners of evil magic, the poisoners. The Medicine Rite is replete with stories about them. Apparently, then, this was not a matter to be left to the discretion of an individual or for that matter to human beings at all. Man was to be educated to divinity by the deities themselves. For this purpose both were to be transformed into more disciplined, more responsible, more ethical and more profoundly realistic beings. Just as in the attainment of the goods of life, so now in the attainment of the benefits flowing from divinity, he was to face the problem bravely and realistically and endure stoically and understandingly the hardships and sufferings involved. In short, divinity had to be achieved. It could not be thrust upon one. The deities, likewise, had to be educated and be made to realize that nothing was due them as such and that they could expect no sustenance from man unless their own way of life was organized and ethically ordered and unless their blessings were given in good faith and in gratitude.

The poet-philosophers composed many a worak to bring out just
105 these points. To give an example. A child is fasting and refuses one
771 gift after another from the deities. Perturbed, they turn to the father
776 and ask him to discover what the boy wants that has not already been
538 granted him. In answer to his father's question, the boy says he does not wish to die. Neither the entreaties of the father or the spirits avail. And so the boy must die although he is rewarded by being transformed into a pine tree.

Now this is actually a completely transformed version of a well-known story, *The Child Who Fasted Too Long*. In the original version he dies because he has overreached himself. In such stories the spirits are neutral, that is, where they are not actually inciting

the young faster to overreach and destroy himself. Thus we see along what lines the reinterpretations of the priest-thinker were made. 105 771

This was the theory that the priest-thinker tried to impress upon his fellowmen in order to introduce a greater sense of confidence and security in the relationship between man and the deities. Because of the very high demands it made upon the worshipper, it remained largely a philosophical-ethical ideal and the fairly sharp line of demarcation between human beings and the spirits continued in force as the popular theory. Some there were who even insisted that it was, not only the courageous, but the morally justifiable thing to do, to coerce the deities into acquiescing in man's demands. That was the proper way to meet divinity, to challenge the gods, accept what they granted and, then, to attempt to fulfill the conditions imposed even if they meant death. Few individuals in the community, for instance, had greater prestige than the few who had secured a blessing from the much dreaded deity, *Disease-giver*. He had two faces, one dealing life and the other death. No suppliant knew which side would be turned toward him when he made his offerings, at noon, in the full blaze of day, contrary to what held for all the other deities, namely, that they must be approached at night. 776 [538] [554] [782]

This, of course, is the warrior's creed and, in a civilization like that of the Winnebago where the highest ambition as a man was to achieve distinction on the warpath, it naturally was very important. Yet to this, the chief of the tribe might well retort: such courage and such risks have their moral justification only when one is fighting the enemy or avenging the death of a kinsman. They are inapplicable when approaching a god. The taking of great risks concerns not only oneself but the whole community and must be subject to the sanctions of the community. A person must be carefully and properly educated before he dare take them. To exhibit fearlessness and heroic courage is, in itself, no virtue. Indeed, in the wrong place or on the wrong occasion, they can and do lead to death and destruction. 105 771 577

And so, in the realm of religion as in that of social organization and mythology, the problem to be faced is depicted as being the same. How are we to resolve the differences between the 'earth' interpre- 105 771

105 tation with its insistence upon warding off evil by force and obtain-
771 ing good by force, and the 'sky' interpretation, with its emphasis on conciliation and appeasement and its attempts at the resolution of the opposites? The rituals take up the same question.

## 5. RITUALISM

105 There are two fundamental types of ritualistic organization among
575 the Winnebago, those based on clan membership and those based
571 on blessings from the same spirits. In other words, the bond is either
796 a social one, membership in the same clan, or a spiritual one, a common religious experience. The clan rituals have one major extension, a ceremony where those members of each clan who are the guardians of the warbundle of that particular clan, gather together in a feast for all the main deities. At this ceremony they ask for the renewal of the powers of these warbundles and for the promise of success on the warpath. Set off, apparently, from these two types of ritual there is a third, the Medicine Rite, with but one example, where membership is based upon personal conduct and achievement other than war and where, usually, one can only enter when there is a vacancy caused by death. In those cases where a person became a member through personal achievement he was, in the old days, generally, a man in middle age because of the rigorous and difficult entrance requirements. When taking the place of a deceased member a person could, however, even be under twenty.

An individual is consequently either born with the right of membership in a ceremony, like the clan feasts and the warbundle feasts, or he has to achieve it, as in the ritual societies based on blessings from the same spirits and the Medicine Rite.

The clan feasts which are in honor of the ancestral clan animals need not detain us here. Nor do we have to dwell upon the ritual societies based on common supernatural experiences. For membership in the latter there are really no requirements except willingness to endure the comparatively light hardships of fasting. The spirits or deities rarely, if ever, failed to grant the suppliant a vision. Formerly,

so many Winnebago informed me, the most sacred and important 105
of the ritual societies of this type was the Night-spirit one. It was 575
practically gone when I first visited the tribe in 1909. In none of 796
these rituals was there any control of membership or insistence upon 571
a special code of conduct either before or after admission.

The warbundle ceremonies require a few words. Each perform- 105
ance is divided into two parts, the first presided over by the Thunder- 721
bird spirits and the second by the Night-spirits. However, all the 796
great spirits of the Winnebago pantheon have their place in it and, to all, offerings are made. Although in the eyes of the Winnebago, the warbundle ritual is devoted entirely to the glorification of war, it is interesting and significant to see that, besides the great patrons of war, the Thunderbird spirits, Night-spirits, Sun, Morning Star, Evening Star, Disease-giver, Eagle, Black Hawk, specific peace deities like Earthmaker, Earth, Moon and Water are also included and, at times, even the hero-deities, Trickster, Turtle and Hare. From this we can infer that even in a ceremony devoted preeminently to the enhancement of the importance of the warrior and of warfare, deities symbolizing peace and the antithesis of violence and force, could not be entirely left out. Admittedly their inclusion had little effect upon the one and insistent prayer of the participants, war. Even Earthmaker is represented as bestowing success on the warpath, something completely new. Yet the mere fact that Earthmaker was included did act as a reminder that the pursuit of war was not everything.

The warbundle rituals represent the classic and most complete expression of the war spirit, the glorification of the viewpoint of the chief of the lower division of the tribe, namely, that one goes out to combat evil, militantly and with violence. In fact, you must pre-enact the enemy's attack, your method of coping with it, and the manner in which the enemy is to be defeated and overwhelmed. Even orgies, where all self-control is abandoned, are permitted, some- [786]
thing that was always abhorrent to the normal Winnebago and greatly dreaded. The remark made to me by the Indian who translated the text, relative to such orgies is quite illuminating here. 'It is good to have one Indian work himself into a paroxysm of enthusiasm but it must never be more than one!'

105 796 575 771 But to come now to the Medicine Rite. It is only superficially that its organization is really unique, for both in the snake clan feast and in the Night-spirit ritual society there are four positions just as in the Medicine Rite. The resemblances between the latter two are, in fact, so marked that we can well understand why some Winnebago regarded the Night-spirit society as the model for the Medicine Rite. In a sense it is true that the Medicine Rite could be interpreted as the society of those who have been blessed by Earthmaker. Yet, in spite of these similarities, it was regarded as something sui generis. What is, then, the specific character of its organization that gives it this unique position in the Winnebago ritualistic system?

The answer is simple—two traits, the method of admission and the fact that a large part of the tribe belongs to it. While the size of the membership at the beginning of the nineteenth century was unquestionably larger than a hundred years before, still it must always have been very large. Moreover, there were no restrictions as to sex. Compared to any of the other ceremonies, the Medicine Rite thus stood out as a completely democratic organization where, theoretically, the only requirement was membership in the tribe.

This uniqueness in certain fundamental traits of its organization was matched by its purpose and much of its content. Its avowed purpose was, not only, to ensure man a long and happy life on earth but to ensure his return to it after death. Of course all ceremonies were concerned with the first of these two purposes. And the belief in reincarnation had always, as we have pointed out, been well-known and accepted. The uniqueness lay in the method of attaining it. That method had two parts, a magical-symbolical and an ethical-philosophical. Admission to the Rite entailed being shot and 'killed' by a missile and coming to life again. This is the magical-symbolical part. The ethical-philosophical part consisted in strict adherence to a high code of behavior laid down for you and enforced by the older members of the Rite. Only by adherence to it can you surmount death.

Yet admission is only a preliminary to your real task. It only sets your feet, so to speak, in the proper road. You must steel yourself to being shot and 'killed' innumerable times and you must obtain

mastery over death by shooting and 'killing' others innumerable times, so that death, when it finally comes, will be as familiar to you as life. Then, when full of years, you actually die, the passage from life to death will become a mere incident and, being born again will, for yourself, constitute no break with your former existence.

It is quite clear that we are dealing here with the vision of a poet-philosopher and this will become more evident when we recognize the original nature and meaning of the shooting ritual. Shooting missiles into a person was an old and well-recognized shamanistic device. The missiles were generally animal claws and they were meant to kill. Your only protection was to provide yourself with magical counter measures or, to obtain some specific blessing from a spirit. That you could convert what was meant to be a death-dealing missile into a life-giving one by leading a virtuous life was something new when applied, for instance, on the grand scale to be seen in the reinterpretation of the myth of the *Journey to Spiritland* as found in the Medicine Rite (cf. pages 257 ff.). To express it, required a particular language, with new extensions of meaning for words and in which metaphor, symbolism and mysticism ruled supreme, in short, the language of a poet and a philosopher. Myths were reinterpreted in an entirely new fashion and put to entirely new uses. To understand and comprehend it a special and difficult kind of education and training was needed.

Yet, in spite of its esoteric character, one thing was never forgotten, that the ceremony was to serve concrete purposes. It was not the vision of a Road of Perfection to be rewarded by eternal peace and happiness in heaven but, on the contrary, the vision of a Road of Perfection which was to be rewarded by a return to earth and to the vicissitudes of living. It was life that was to be faced, with all its imperfections, trials, and with all the comedies and tragedies that often played such havoc with ideals of perfection.

Indeed the imperfections of life intruded themselves into the poet-philosopher's vision, despite his attempts to exclude them. It was impossible, for instance, for individuals to forget that they were not only members of the Medicine Rite but, likewise, warriors and often shaman. Thunder, as the idealists might well do against the presence

105 of shamanistic practices in the Rite, they could never quite exclude
575 them and the only answer they possessed was to condemn them and
771 show how they led to dishonor, death and destruction.
796 This interweaving of the concrete and the symbolic and mystical led to a double, at times even a triple, set of significances for every action and word and which, occasionally, reached incredible heights of complication, intricacy and subtlety.

105 Since no other ceremony resembles the Medicine Rite in the
174 respects just mentioned, we may well stop and ask ourselves what
796 could have led to its creation? What is the cultural meaning of this new mode of expression, this new type of reinterpretation of ancient beliefs and attitudes? Allowing for the natural creative impulses of our Winnebago poet-philosophers, it is not unreasonable to suspect that some particular circumstance or circumstances must have called them forth.

Ordinarily, any attempt to determine such a matter among the American Indians, in the absence of an authentic historic record, would mean mere speculation. Fortunately this does not hold true for the case in point. There are indications within the text of the Rite itself and some historical evidence which proves pretty conclusively that, in its present form, the Medicine Rite is a development late in Winnebago history and after the coming of the French in 1632. We can, in fact, date it more precisely. The otterskin pouch and the shell used in the shooting ceremony come from the *midewiwin* ceremony of the Ojibwa. The Winnebago obtained them from the Fox and this could not possibly have been before 1680-1690.

Now, the Winnebago between 1650-1900 were passing through a very serious crisis. Their numbers had been seriously decimated by ferocious struggles between them and the Illinois and Fox and by the diseases introduced by the Europeans. The influence of the French, as well as the new conditions resulting from French encroachment, were playing havoc with the old order of things. Nor must we underrate the influence of the French missionaries.

[182] That a new type of ceremony should have appeared among the Winnebago just then cannot be ascribed to mere chance. It must bear some relation to the crisis. The moment we put the two to-

gether much that would otherwise remain inexplicable about the Medicine Rite becomes clear—its nostalgia for the past, the idealistic and idyllic setting, the absence of any reference to war, the insistent condemnation of shamanistic practices. We can then see it for what it is, the attempt of the priest-poet-philosopher to meet the new and hitherto unknown threats to the old way of life by demonstrating, first, what merit and virtue inhered in the Winnebago civilization of the past and, secondly, by showing how it could be recovered and safeguarded against all outside attacks. The creators of this ritual-drama were concerned only with the description of the Road of Perfection, a road that was to lead the Winnebago back to the past and then forward again. Only if we fully realize that we are not dealing here simply with the inward vision of some poet-philosopher but with the spiritual crisis of a people will we be able to explain the burning intensity that animates the participants.

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But, let us forget for the moment the fact that the Medicine Rite is of late appearance in Winnebago history and let us forget the crisis that gave it birth and try to assign it its proper place in Winnebago thought.

We saw before how the warrior ideal received its glorification in the warbundle ceremonies. Nothing comparable to such a eulogy of war and of the warrior's viewpoint existed for the other half of Winnebago life, for the arts of peace. Indications that it was attempted are innumerable but these attempts seem never to have succeeded to any marked degree.

And so the Winnebago, apparently, had to wait until late in their history, until a crisis of major proportions was threatening to disrupt their whole culture, before the ideal which had always been expressed in the symbol of the chief of the tribe could find its full and adequate expression in the present Medicine Rite. That this expression came so late in their history must not obscure the fact that it represents part of a very old struggle between two aspects of Winnebago life that had always been seeking a resolution. It is not only in Winnebago history that a philosophical-ethical ideal has received its highest expression in the midst of a social-economic crisis, as I need hardly point out.

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Whether, before the coming of the Whites, other crises of equal intensity had ever threatened the security of Winnebago life we do not, of course, know. What we do know, however, is that before Winnebago civilization finally broke up and disintegrated completely, about twenty years ago, a religion of a new type essayed the same task that the Medicine Rite had undertaken and developed a ritual of considerable beauty with a quality all its own. I am, of course, referring to the Peyote Cult.

## 6. THE HISTORY OF THE MEDICINE RITE

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The Medicine Rite is clearly the product of a long development. For proof of this we have not only direct historical evidence but fairly convincing internal evidence. I have already called attention to the fact that the otterskin pouch, the shell and, in fact, much of the whole present shooting ritual stems originally from the *midewiwin* ceremony of the Ojibwa. We know that they are the originators of it and that it spread from them to the Pottawattomie, Menominee and Fox and then to the eastern Dakota and Iowa. The eastern Dakota already had it in 1765. The Winnebago were brought into contact with it by the Fox and the Iowa. We must assume that this could not possibly have been earlier than 1690 and, far more likely, it was later, anywhere between 1710 and 1730. To judge from its present form and content, nothing else was borrowed than the shooting ritual and its appurtenances, apart from a number of songs, at least, from the linguistically and culturally distinct Fox. More was probably borrowed from the linguistically and culturally closely related Iowa.

Two introductory narratives (pages 92 f. and 94 f.)[1] profess to tell how some of the pouches were obtained but they can hardly be accepted as too accurate. In so far as any credence can be placed on what they say, it would appear that they were presented to two Winnebago, whose names are given. No mention, however, is made by the givers of these gifts, one an Iowa and the other a Fox Indian, of their be-

[1] [not processed -Analyst]

longing to the *midewiwin*. Nor do the two Winnebago say anything 105
about their having been incorporated into a ceremony of their own. 796
Yet some connection there must once have been between these 174
gifts and the beginnings of our Medicine Rite, for otherwise there would have been no conceivable reason for their inclusion.

Since everything else in the Medicine Rite of today, apart from the shooting ritual, is so completely different from the Ojibwa and Menominee *midewiwin*, the only two we know reasonably well, we must assume either that a new ceremony was created then and there with the shooting ritual as its nucleus or that the shooting ritual was incorporated into an older Winnebago ceremony. All the evidence at our disposal points to the latter alternative. We have also to assume that this older ceremony contained shamanistic practices of the type that were characteristic of the Night-spirits' Rite.

That it was not the Night-spirits' Rite itself upon which the 105
Ojibwa shooting ritual was grafted, of that there can be little doubt. 171
Fortunately, we have a clue from a very unexpected source, the 174
Pawnee. These Indians have a ceremony called *The Ceremony of* 796
*the Medicine Men*, where we find the following remarkable resemblances to the Medicine Rite: a shooting ritual which causes the individuals shot to fall prostrate to the ground as if dead and then rise again; the conception that the framework of the lodge consists of snakes; a figure called the sacred woman; the importance of Turtle; a membership possessing occult powers strictly guarded and kept secret from the outside world; a highly elaborate symbolism, etc. Chance must be ruled out here. The only thing we have to decide is how the Winnebago happen to possess a ceremony so similar to that of the distant Pawnee with whom they had practically no contact. Direct borrowing is out of the question.

To me there seems to be only one possible explanation, namely, that the Winnebago and the Pawnee, the Winnebago to a smaller extent, were members of that larger civilization which we mentioned before and which had its roots in Mexico, and of which the Pawnee have preserved the essential traits whereas the Winnebago have preserved only vague memories of it and some special survivals.

Assuming then that the older ceremony upon which the Ojibwa

105 shooting ritual, plus its appurtenances, the otterskin pouch and the
171 shell, were grafted, was in content very much like the present *Pawnee*
174 *Ceremony of the Medicine Men* and, organizationally, like the
796 Night-spirits Society; let us see now what changes were necessary to have this older ceremony approximate to the present Medicine Rite.

105 First, of course, the meaning of the missile shot into the individual
174 being initiated and into the members of the Rite had to be reinter-
796 preted and its overt shamanistic implications removed. The stimulus for that unquestionably came from the Ojibwa shooting ritual. The linkage of the shooting ritual with the doctrine of reincarnation is, however, something entirely new.

The second transformation came about when the Tear-Pouring ritual was grafted upon this older rite. This last named ritual, apparently, was part of the very elaborate ceremonies connected with the dead although, today, it is not found in the official Four Nights' Wake. What is, however, found there is the myth of the *Journey to Spiritland* which has been taken over *in toto* into the Medicine Rite and subjected to a complete and fundamental reinterpretation. I feel that it is the linkage of these elements from the funeral rites with the older form of the Medicine Rite that brought about its basic transformation and gave us the Rite of today, with its stress on reincarnation and on the doctrine of the Road.

The third new trait requiring an explanation is the role of Earthmaker. He is a very old Winnebago deity and was evidently regarded as the supreme deity before the coming of the Europeans. He seems, in fact, to be the counterpart of the well-known Pawnee supreme deity *Tirawa*. Nevertheless, the influence of Christianity in, at least, unifying his characteristics and functions and accentuating his supremacy over the other deities, as well as the theory that he is the creator of all things, must not be excluded. The association of the two crossed lines with him cannot be accidental, even although the symbol itself is very old and is more specifically connected with the cardinal points.

There is, besides, some semihistorical evidence for indirect Christian influence. In a narrative purporting to be an account of the origin of a well-known French half-breed family among the Winne-

bago, named Decora, a statement is made that the son of the French founder of the family by the daughter of the tribal chief, introduced the figure of Earthmaker into the Medicine Rite. Such an individual would, indeed, have been the ideal person to have done just this. According to the narrative, he was taken, while still a very young child, to France and brought up there for a number of years. He was still only a boy when his excessive homesickness forced his father to send him back to Wisconsin and there he was rigorously subjected to the old Winnebago education for youths. 105 174 796

Thus he was almost made to order to symbolize the meeting of the two civilizations and to become one of individuals best qualified to understand the nature of the crisis threatening his people and the need for a new religious and philosophical synthesis to surmount it, at least, spiritually . . .

It is in some such fashion that we must visualize the growth and development of the Medicine Rite. Only if we bear in mind the various strands that have gone into its making and only, when we realize that in its final integrated form, it is a work of art sprung out of the poignant needs of a people facing a soul-trying ordeal, only then, can it be properly understood, evaluated and appreciated.

[pp. 78 ff. not processed]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

## PREFACE

The information included in this volume was obtained during the years 1908-1913 while employed by the Bureau of American Ethnology and on private expeditions. In all cases wherever it was possible the author tried to obtain his information in Winnebago, although the English version is printed here. Owing to the fact that the Winnebago have for some time been accustomed to the use of a syllabic alphabet borrowed from the Sauk and Fox, it was a comparatively easy task to induce them to write down their mythology and, at times, their ceremonies, and then have an interpreter translate them. As the author has a fair command of Winnebago grammar, he was able to control these translations and thus insure their approximate accuracy. On account of the importance of having as accurate a record of the ceremonies as possible, those few ceremonies that were obtained in syllabic text were subsequently taken down in phonetic text. 121 [22] [212 177] [22]

It has been the aim of the author to separate as definitely as possible his own comments from the actual data obtained, and for that reason every chapter, with the exception of those on history, archeology, and material culture, is divided into two parts, a discussion of the data and the data itself. 128

Certain subjects, such as mythology, art, and music, have been entirely omitted. In order to discuss the second a comparative study of woodland art and design would have been necessary, which would have entailed a prolonged study at different museums; and to discuss the latter, specific training and knowledge were demanded, which the author does not possess.

The following monograph does not claim to be a comparative study, but simply as intensive an investigation as the time spent allowed, of an unusually interesting tribe, made under exceptionally propitious conditions. It is principally the raw material that is presented here. Throughout the work, the Indian has been allowed to tell the facts in his own way. For that reason no attempt has been made to change the English, except when it was ungrammatical or unintelligible. This will explain the simple and at times poor English of the accounts. 121 128

The work ends rather abruptly because the section on mythology and the general conclusion have been reserved for special treatment. 128

In conclusion, the author wishes to thank all those Winnebago who helped him since he first came among them. In particular does

[P. 46 is blank]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



themselves; and, lastly, the order in which the guests are invited (pls. 56, 57, 58).

It follows from the above remarks that in order to get a really complete account of the entire ceremony information should be obtained from each clan. The account given by any one clan will only contain the origin myth and the songs belonging to the war bundle of that clan, for although it is part of the ceremony to relate the origin myths of the various war bundles and sing the specific songs connected with them, no individual would take it upon himself to tell any but those relating to the war bundle of his own clan. Thus it will be seen that any single account is defective in some rather important particulars.

## ANALYTICAL PRESENTATION OF THE CEREMONY

The ceremony falls into three well-defined parts: I, the Sweat Lodge; II, the First Division, generally known either as the Feast in honor of Earthmaker or the Feast in honor of the Thunderbirds; and III, the Second Division, known as the Feast in honor of the Night Spirits.

There is little to be said about the Sweat Lodge, for it consists exclusively of offerings of tobacco and prayers to the spirits, on the part of the one giving the ceremony, whom we will call the host.

The first division can be divided into the following component elements: (1) The preparation of the buckskins; (2) the dog sacrifice; (3) the filling of the ceremonial pipe and the smoking ritual; (4) the tobacco offering to the spirits; (5) the buckskin offerings to the spirits; (6) the feast; (7) the fast-eating contest; and (8) the basic ritual.

The second division can be divided into the following component elements: (4) The tobacco offering to the spirits; (9) the throwing out of the buckskins; (6) the feast; (10) the episode of the "Night-crazed" warrior; (11) the terminal dog-ritual; and (8) the basic ritual.

(1) *The preparation of the buckskins.*—The buckskins, made as white as possible by old women, are taken into the lodge by the host and there marked in the manner prescribed for each spirit. They are then tied to a framework and rolled to the top of this frame.

(2) *The dog sacrifice.*—The dog is strangled and a pouch of tobacco is tied to each limb, and another pouch and red feathers are tied around his neck. The body is then laid in front of the war bundle, facing south, this being the direction in which Disease-giver, the spirit to whom the dog is specially sacrificed, lives.

Before strangling, a short speech is addressed to the dog in which the slayer apologizes for killing him, and assures him that in the

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
NP12 Winnebago NP12



# CULTURAL CHANGE AMONG THE WISCONSIN WINNEBAGO

Nancy Oestreich

## Introduction

121 Cultural change is one of the outstanding factors in the life
178 of the Winnebago today. It is important to mention at the outset, however, that the following article does not purport to trace the long history of cultural change among the Winnebago, nor does it have any claim as a complete analysis; but, because of space limitations, it will serve merely as a passing observation of cultural change in a particular Indian group.
[114] The study is based primarily on observation of one small group of Winnebago during a period of five weeks. None the less, these data seem to comprise a fairly, though far from completely representative sample with which to work.

101 The Indians observed were family groups from almost all
121 of the Winnebago communities scattered throughout the central part of the state. Our group, consisting of some 45 families, was predominately one of Wisconsin Winnebago, but also included three Winnebago families from Nebraska and one family each of the Chippewa, Menomini and Potawatomi tribes. The presence of these minorities within the larger group of Wisconsin Winnebago offered an interesting study of inter-land and intra-tribal contrasts.

121 The Wisconsin Winnebago prefer to live more or less in-
619 dependently in their native territory, Wisconsin, rather than join their friends and relatives on the Winnebago reservation
[65] located, by a whim of the government, in Nebraska. There
[574] is, however, a constant exchange of visits between the two groups.

221 In Wisconsin many of the Winnebago earn a living in the winter by trapping for the fur market, and in the summer by following various Wisconsin crops. The harvesting begins in the spring with the strawberry season, and ends in the fall with the gathering of cranberries.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## *PREFACE*

For most individuals the American Indian still possesses a tremendous appeal, an appeal which, in a manner, constitutes one of the great obstacles to our properly understanding him. It has been that way since the days of the discovery of the continent. Then it was the gold and the pearls that exercised a magical fascination; to-day it is the belief that somehow, in some way, the Indians are still living in that delightful half-Arcadian condition of simplicity after which so many souls still yearn, particularly those individuals who dwell in the city. Nothing is gained by calling these people sentimentalists. We should always remember that from the time Spanish chroniclers began writing their accounts of El Dorado and the quaint peoples with the still quainter customs who dwelt there, the Indian has been a symbol for youth and freedom of expression, for freedom from the shackles of civilized constraint. Like Siegfried he knew the language of the birds and patted Nature kindly on the back. A vast literature has grown up on this symbolism of the Indian, particularly in France. 114 121

It seems almost sacrilege to trifle with this vision or to question it, and the first result of a so-called scientific inquiry is bound to leave a very bad sensation of



[P. vi is blank]

7;Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



114 nightmare. That is, of course, the terrible price all
121 sentimentalists must pay for the undiluted pleasure they have had of rocking themselves into a fictitious bliss from which they are to be rudely and unceremoniously awakened. Yet this seems to me exceedingly bad sportsmanship, to say the least, and an exceedingly erroneous conception of romance. There is, in fact, infinitely more romance—if it is romance we are seeking, and most of us are—in trying to obtain an approximately accurate account of what this Indian of our childhood imagination actually is, how he thinks, feels, reacts, adapts himself to the varying conditions of life, than in rehearsing all the scenes of Chateaubriand and Cooper.

But having set ourselves this task of discovering what the real Indian is like, we are immediately surrounded by difficulties. One of the greatest drawbacks in the study of a primitive people is, in fact, the difficulty of obtaining an inside view of their culture from their own lips and by their own initiative. Let no investigator flatter himself: a native informant is at best interested in merely satisfying the demands of the investigator. The limitations thus imposed as regards the nature and the extent of the knowledge obtained are still further increased by the circumstances in which the knowledge is generally imparted, circumstances of a nature tending to destroy practically all the subjective values associated with the particular ritual, myth, etc., that is being narrated.

How can this fundamental defect be remedied?

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## *Preface*

There is only one way—to have a native himself give the account in his own mother tongue. The problem then resolves itself into finding the native. That is the task I set myself and through a piece of good luck I succeeded in accomplishing it. As the manner of its accomplishment is an interesting and illuminating story in itself, I hope I shall be excused for telling it in some detail. 114 121

In the year 1909 I commenced field investigations among the Winnebago Indians living on the Nebraska side of the Missouri River, about twenty-five miles south of Sioux City, Iowa. These Indians had the reputation of being fairly conservative. Perhaps the fact that a Presbyterian mission had in seventeen years succeeded in converting only one family, and a family which then unkindly died without leaving issue, may bear this out. 114 [131] 992 [187]

Among these Indians there lived a family named Blow Snake, consisting of a father and a fair number of children all grown up. Two of these were men quite well known in the tribe for a variety of reasons. These two became my principal informants. They had lived the most exciting of lives, for to the usual round of adventures that fall to the lot of most Indians of that region now, they had added a murder and a conversion, the murder first and the conversion afterwards. The older of the two seemed to be by far the more gifted. His memory was simply prodigious. He recounted to me a ceremony which took him two months, working practically six hours a day, to tell 124 [115]

124 me. But what is more to the point here is that he[1]
[123] wove my presence among the Winnebago just then, into the whole fabric of his life. I was the preordained one who had sensed what was the proper time to come to the Winnebago, and this legend he diligently disseminated among all his relatives and subsequently embodied in certain autobiographical snatches I obtained from him. It was from him that I obtained a short sketch of reminiscences which, short as they were, threw more light on the real Indian than any of the more elaborate things I had collected in the usual external fashion which is the pride of scientific procedure among ethnologists.

It was from the perusal of these "reminiscences" that
[121] the idea developed within me of getting a real autobiography, and having heard vaguely of the adventures and tribulations of Crashing Thunder, the younger brother of the family, which seemed to bear all the earmarks of a true rake's progress, I approached him about the matter, to receive a meaningless affirmative reply. For three years he eluded me on one pretext or another until temporary poverty induced him to
[212] consent to write down in a syllabary now in use among the Winnebago the fascinating tale of his life. I remember very well how worried he was after he had finally consented. After writing the first part he came to me at midnight, in a very nervous condition, saying that he did not care to proceed because what he had to say would not look nice if white people subsequently read it. When his fears were appeased he continued



[1] [i.e., the informant, see p. ix, Cat. 116 -- analyst]

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## *INTRODUCTION*

THE common-sense man, the man in the street, has always been good-naturedly skeptical of the academically trained scholar, particularly when the latter chose to discuss the subject of man and his moods and to make generalizations concerning phases of life and thought that, from the very nature of the case, he could only remotely understand. The glamour that for so long a time hung about the educated man and his unlimited capacity for understanding everything has slowly but surely evaporated in the last generation. We are all now quite willing to admit that the economist and the sociologist, the psychologist and the historian are capable of making—and do frequently make—the most ludicrous and appalling mistakes as soon as they find themselves compelled to deal with man himself in all his vagaries, his inconsistencies, and his lack of direction. Perhaps it is this more than any other single factor that has led to the popular characterization of history as a pleasant, amiable, but wholly imaginative record of man as he never existed. We can fill our libraries and public archives with as many details as we wish and yet in no way improve on the situation or alter the fundamental distortion and ludicrousness of the average presentation of history. The real man, man as

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



114 he actually is, will never be revealed to us in this
12 manner.

There is nothing new in this criticism. Most of us have always suspected that such was the case, and have, as a corrective, instinctively sought refuge in the letters and autobiographies of men of their time. But letters and autobiographies written by citizens of such complicated civilizations as are those of our own time, in their turn, represent most frequently, conscious or at best unconscious distortions of the people who wrote them. Our notions of convention and propriety effectually bar any true revelation. No man who regards his thoughts, feelings, and actions of sufficient importance for him to note them down in a diary or an autobiography, ever admits to himself or to the world for whom he is writing that his life has not been a unified whole or that it did not gradually lead to a proper and early heralded climax. Can any one picture to himself a man, in our civilization, writing an autobiography in which he frankly admitted that his life had ended in an anticlimax or that he had throughout been but a reed driven the way the wind listeth? And yet many of us, be it confessed, are so driven, even some of those who write autobiographies.

121 The value and significance of the autobiography that
*159 follows does not simply lie in the fact that it is a document absolutely unique of its kind—the only account that has ever been obtained from a so-called "primitive" man—but in the fact that this particular individual took his task literally and attempted to give an abso-

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



lutely and bewilderingly honest account of his life. He apparently proceeded from an assumption, strange to us, that however damaging to a man's reputation his actions and thoughts may have been, no amount of blinking can possibly do away with them. Now this American Indian did something, in its way, even more remarkable: he never confused his reputation or his own explanations of himself with his real self. He did not, for a moment, fall into the error of the writers of most of our own *Confessions*. No, he most emphatically does not beat his breast and cry, "Father, I have sinned," or exclaim, on the other hand, "Look how wicked I have been!" Far from it. Apology is the very last thing he has in mind. At all times he accepts and approves of himself. We are taken into his confidence on the very first page. There he informs us in the most matter-of-fact manner that shortly before he was born his mother had been told by a very prominent member of the tribe that she was about to give birth to a man of no ordinary importance! Had he been as unconsciously dishonest as the heroes of most of our autobiographies he would have made this the theme of his life and he would have attempted to prove or disprove this prophecy.

He does nothing of the kind. When he was but a small boy, so he tells us, he heard what had been prophesied about him. He accepts and tries to impress the world around him with its truth, but he sees no reason for dwelling upon it to the utter exclusion of all the other pertinent facts about his life. This is all the

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



● 121 *159 more remarkable in view of the fact that he was a somewhat unusual man both in character and in intellect. Few people in any community, civilized or uncivilized, have ever had so full an experience with life in all its ramifications. Benvenuto Cellini's life was drab in comparison. Yet no man has ever so successfully refrained from dramatizing these experiences in the interest of an imaginary audience as did this untutored "savage." He never forgets what the actual facts were. At the most tense moment of his life, when he has unwittingly become converted to a new religion and seen visions of the most beatific kind, he refuses to dramatize, and allows a most gloriously opportune moment to sink into an uninteresting anticlimax merely because it happened to be an anticlimax.

The rhythm of his life, like that of the generality of mankind, was a succession of climaxes and anticlimaxes, and so he portrays it. He began his life with a lie and it was rounded by murder and a conversion. Much of it was spent in sexual debauch and in drunkenness. Pleasures and intense sufferings were also his. His favorite brother is killed, murdered. He longs for revenge and in despair desires death. Like so many people before and after him he seeks forgetfulness in the cup. Yet he has the amazing and disconcerting honesty to admit that after a while he got so fond of drinking that he forgot all about his primary object.

He gets delirium tremens and shares with Burns the rare good fortune of seeing ghosts drunk. But his ghosts are more terrifying. They are the ghosts of men

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP13



whom he had known very well and they are on horseback singing a song with a very old theme: "We all must die some time: so what value is there to anything." 121 159

Upon becoming sober he finds that he has added one more experience to his already rich store: he has become a poet and his song a favorite drinking song. Subsequently, at his conversion, he sees God, identifies himself with God, with the soul and with thought itself. He reaches the startling philosophical conclusion—proceeding from one deduction to another—that he is his thought and from this again he draws the perfectly logical inference that, though still living, his corporeal affairs are over. When he recovers from his hallucination he continues as though nothing had happened. He does not become insane nor does he confuse his hallucination with reality.

As a child he was markedly non-suggestible and he afterwards passes successively from the rôle of a man about town to that of a pimp, a thief, a murderer, and a coward, finally to develop into an excellent philosopher and something of a moralist. And yet he always feels himself the same, no better or worse at the end than at the beginning. He passes no judgment, he makes no evaluations on what he has done. In his own eyes he is no better when he finally succeeds in living up to a certain standard of self-restraint that would have made him a hero in any standard European biography than he was when, to save himself from imprisonment he, in the most selfish fashion conceivable, be-

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



121 trays his companions who had participated in a murder
*159 which he had planned and for which he got all the glory. The question of good and bad simply does not present itself to him, because the task he had set himself did not entail the passing of judgments but the giving of as an accurate account of his life as was possible for him to give.

It would be both incorrect and stupid to imagine that he was either morally blunted or unintelligent or that he did not have many of those half-mystical strivings that so many of us have. All his life, in fact, can be said to have been spent in the search of an experience which his marked non-suggestibility when a child prevented him from then obtaining. The fundamental religious experience of every member of the tribe to
[187] which he belonged was obtained in early youth. It consisted of fasting, of retiring at night to some lonely and inaccessible spot where one could commune undisturbed with the deities. Most youths got it. It was something of a disgrace not to. Yet he did not. In spite of his dishonestly persuading his father that he had been properly blessed, he never deluded himself about the matter. He always felt the stigma attached to his failure to experience what all the others had obtained, and in his inconsistent fashion he tried to find some substitute. When he finally got the experience he had been seeking, although it had come to him in the most devious and unexpected manner, he recognized it at once, was satisfied, and became a good man even from the normal Christian standpoint.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## *Introduction*

A man to whom this could have happened was clearly not blunted either spiritually or morally. He was merely true to the task he had voluntarily imposed upon himself when he decided to write an account of his life, when he refused to see running through it a purpose from which he had never deviated and which had blotted out everything else. His final conversion and spiritual and moral regeneration are consequently to him neither a reaction against his vices nor the ending of a long continued inward search. It is just an incident happening to come last.

Here is a theme out of which a dozen heroes could have been forged. Our author, however, makes no pretense at being one. He consistently and objectively pictures himself as never rising superior to any situation, not even toward the end. Wherever in life there was any temptation to which he could succumb, he succumbed to it. Even at the turning-point of his life, before he eats the medicine that is to lead to his conversion, he frankly and acutely observes, "I thought I was fooling them and they thought they were converting me!" Life and his own emotions and moods buffeted him about incessantly and no consistent direction is anywhere visible. What neither life nor his own nature could do, however, was to delude him into believing that he was any other than what he was, or that he had had an experience when he knew he had not had it.

Herein lies the fundamental value of this document for all those who are interested in the *comédie humaine*,

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



121 *159 whether professionally or unprofessionally. Here is a man with an unusual capacity for articulate expression and fortunately free from our traditional conventions and proprieties, setting before himself the task of pleasing a sympathetic white man by writing down for him what he regarded as significant and important in his life. What facts is he going to select? Is he going to begin with the last act and work backwards, that is, is he going to attempt to show how all the experiences in his life have led to the crowning achievement of his forty-fifth year? As we have pointed out, he had ample reasons for so considering it, for he did obtain at the age of forty-five that experience he had missed in his youth. But he is too good a psychologist to humbug himself into any such belief.

Accordingly he begins with the beginning. He describes his birth with meticulous care, and he does the same for his early childhood and the formation of certain personal habits which for us seem trivial, such as how he acquired the habit of eating fast or how he acquired the habit of taking the blanket away from people with whom he slept. His life to him means something very specific, and he describes the significant stirrings of early childhood and youth with an insight and accuracy that would do justice to the finest psychological novelist. He indicates the precise time when he began to have memory of things and afterwards the first stirrings of sex. He very delightfully states when the desire arose within him of "making himself pleasing to the opposite sex." From the beginning, as I have

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



repeatedly pointed out, he shows an unusual insistence in separating what he has actually experienced from what he should have experienced. We saw above that when he failed to get into *rapport* with the spirits during his youthful fasting, he states so unhesitatingly, although he strove hard to obtain the desired communion with the deities. Not strong-charactered enough to admit his failure, he deceives his parents. In the same way he confesses to being anything but a success with the girls in his early days. Here again, however, he cannot resist the temptation of pretending to be very successful.

121 159*

Psychologically and humanly, what is so interesting here is not so much the fact that he knows the difference between truth and desirable social fiction, but that he never becomes a cynic. He escapes this because there is nothing he is hiding, and cynicism therefore is quite unnecessary. He needs no defense mechanism. He is giving a description of his life and it so happened that in his life, owing to certain weaknesses in his character, outwardly pretense had to rule over truth. Due, however, to his inward honesty, it never did. How, in fact, he managed not to confuse the two more than he did is somewhat of a mystery to me. It bespeaks a man with many facets to his personality and at the same time a personality which itself was markedly unintegrated. It is to this same multiple personality that we shall have to ascribe also his amazing faculty for living himself into the particular period of life which he is at the moment describing. Although he

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



•121 *159 wrote down the autobiography when he was a stanch adherent of a new religious sect which had definitely broken with the old cultural background, this in no way interfered with the accuracy and the sympathetic penetration with which he described the old background. Never does he forget himself and inveigh against it. When he describes his childhood he is a child, his youth a youth, the Medicine Dance a member of that fraternity, and finally when he describes the new religion it is as a stanch adherent. Everything in its proper place and time.

Thus he passes through life, or, better, life passes through him—lying, boasting, swaggering, stealing, murdering, fornicating, interpreting dreams in the most approved Jungian fashion, and finally philosophizing and adding a new proof of the truth of the Trinity—consistently lying to the world about him and never lying to himself. Always very kind, he was throughout life unable to resist the appeal of his kindred, particularly of the more immediate members of his family. He ends his account fittingly and in the most approved style of Voltaire. He, too, like Candide, was going to settle down. He was happy and his wife had a new baby.

All we have thus far discussed relates directly to the personal and human implications of this amazing revelation of a "child of nature." But there are other aspects just as important. Its value as an ethnological and psychological document need not be stressed, for that is apparent at every turn. It seems to me, however

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



that its significance for the student of religions and religious psychology cannot be placed too high. Whether he has made a correct analysis or not, he here gives us his version of his conversion with the most remarkable detail. We see his struggle, the reasons for his resistance and the strong urge to please his family, and finally we see his conversion in all the completeness and absoluteness of a revelation. 121● 159*

In conclusion may I hope that this document, because of its authenticity and its freedom from all outside influence, will play its rôle in dissipating once and for all the erroneous notion that still persists—that primitive peoples are incapable of an objective and analytical presentation of facts, that they can draw no clear line between truth and illusion, between hallucination and phantasy-dreaming on the one hand, and the objective world on the other. 121

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If Hare succeeds, it is because all his antecedents fit him better for the task. In the original Hare cycle he is born of a human woman and brought up by grandmother Earth herself. Although, at the beginning, his benefactions to mankind are all accidental, they do, at the end, give man the complete quota of his needs. It was comparatively easy to transform him into a hero without blemish. His one fault is demanding too much for man.

It is at this point that the problem of order versus disorder again presents itself. Not content with destroying evil on earth Hare demands immortality for his uncles and his nieces. Thus, like the Twins, he disrupts the world order through excess of constructive powers. But the difference between the Twins and Hare is that the former do it out of a kind of power drive while Hare does it in the supposed interests of man.

According to the story Hare, of course, fails. So obstinately, however, does he refuse to accept the inevitable that Earthmaker consents to an apparent revision of the world order in one respect. He will grant man the possibility of transcending death, by means of successive reincarnations, on condition that he agrees to face life and its vicissitudes in accordance with a specific ethical code. This is, of course, the theme of the Medicine Rite. For man, then, an exception to the law of birth, growth and death is permitted to this extent—he can repeat the cycle of birth, growth and decay an indefinite number of times.

But it is naturally in religion and ritualism that we must expect to find the best illustrations of the basic principles we have so far discussed in connection with social organization and mythology and to these we shall now turn.

## 4. RELIGION

Because of the highly complex character of Winnebago religion I shall confine myself primarily to an analysis of the nature of the powers the spirits and deities are supposed to possess, the relationship postulated between them and man, and the requests man makes

to them. To understand properly these three problems we must, at the outset, try to distinguish between the layman's and the priest's conception, between the exoteric and the esoteric viewpoint although, to be sure, the two are never mutually exclusive.

For the ordinary man, the lay Winnebago, the primary powers of the vast majority of the deities have always inhered in the deities themselves. They are their own possessions and have not been bestowed upon them from without. Moreover these powers relate to the actual natural functions these deities perform. The prayers of man to the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Night-spirits, the Thunderbirds, etc. are, primarily, that they continue their functions and do not deviate from them. But man recognizes that they also have secondary functions, that, for instance, the sun, the morning and evenings stars, the thunderbirds, the night-spirits, all possess the power to give man long life and victory on the warpath; that the grizzly bear spirits have curative powers to bestow upon him and the waterspirits have special powers in connection with death-dealing medicines, etc. This socialization of the spirits and deities brings them that much closer to man. By bringing them this much closer to man they are deprived, however, of something of their independence and freedom of action. They have now become more specifically oriented toward mankind than toward their functioning in the universe at large. This change in orientation did not come about mechanically or accidentally. It represents the priest-thinker's conception, his attempt to establish linkages and meaningful relationships between men and the world of spirits. This attempt, from the nature of things, can never completely succeed for the simple reason that the primary functions of most of the nature gods—and they are the important ones—cannot be eliminated, must, in fact, not be eliminated. In the case, however, of animal deities, their older primary functions can be attenuated to a very marked extent and deities can be developed who never possessed functions other than those we have designated as secondary, that is, deities who function only in relation to man.

Since the nature gods, however, were the great gods, they served as patterns for all the others and the marked split in their orienta-

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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## PREFACE

The information included in this volume was obtained during the years 1908–1913 while employed by the Bureau of American Ethnology and on private expeditions. In all cases wherever it was possible the author tried to obtain his information in Winnebago, although the English version is printed here. Owing to the fact that the Winnebago have for some time been accustomed to the use of a syllabic alphabet borrowed from the Sauk and Fox, it was a comparatively easy task to induce them to write down their mythology and, at times, their ceremonies, and then have an interpreter translate them. As the author has a fair command of Winnebago grammar, he was able to control those translations and thus insure their approximate accuracy. On account of the importance of having as accurate a record of the ceremonies as possible, those few ceremonies that were obtained in syllabic text were subsequently taken down in phonetic text. 121 [22] [212 177] [22]

It has been the aim of the author to separate as definitely as possible his own comments from the actual data obtained, and for that reason every chapter, with the exception of those on history, archeology, and material culture, is divided into two parts, a discussion of the data and the data itself. 128

Certain subjects, such as mythology, art, and music, have been entirely omitted. In order to discuss the second a comparative study of woodland art and design would have been necessary, which would have entailed a prolonged study at different museums; and to discuss the latter, specific training and knowledge were demanded, which the author does not possess.

The following monograph does not claim to be a comparative study, but simply as intensive an investigation as the time spent allowed, of an unusually interesting tribe, made under exceptionally propitious conditions. It is principally the raw material that is presented here. Throughout the work, the Indian has been allowed to tell the facts in his own way. For that reason no attempt has been made to change the English, except when it was ungrammatical or unintelligible. This will explain the simple and at times poor English of the accounts. 121 128

The work ends rather abruptly because the section on mythology and the general conclusion have been reserved for special treatment. 128

In conclusion, the author wishes to thank all those Winnebago who helped him since he first came among them. In particular does

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He wish to thank his interpreter, Oliver Lamere, of Winnebago, Nebraska, without whom this work could hardly have been completed, and his three main informants, Jasper Blowsnake and Sam Carley, both of Black River Falls, Wisconsin, and John Rave, of Winnebago, Nebraska.

To Prof. Franz Boas he is under especial obligations for directing him to the Winnebago, for the methods of research inculcated in him at Columbia University, and particularly for impressing upon him the necessity of obtaining as much information as possible in text.

His thanks are also due to the following individual and institutions: To Mr. C. Brown, of Madison, Wis., for a number of illustrations previously published in the Wisconsin Archeologist, and to the American Museum of Natural History, the Peabody Museum, and the Milwaukee Public Museum for numerous photographs of objects in their collections.

[522] His brother, Dr. Max Radin, he wishes to thank for financing his first visit to the Winnebago in 1908.

The manuscript was finished in 1913.

PAUL RADIN.

SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO, *May 11, 1916.*

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Magathoustrga.....Shakes the earth.
Tcunimanigo.....Walks fast.
Djapdjirobiga.....Streak of lightning.
Magaxiwinanigo.....He who walks in the cloud.
Aho-hanatiga.....Long wings.

## The Bear Clan

### INTRODUCTION

Seven versions of the Bear clan origin myth were obtained, so that for this clan, at least, a fairly intensive study of the variations and their significance can be made. Perhaps the most interesting fact to point out is the apparent existence of two recognized versions, one called the minor or false and the other the true. The complete version was only told when the interrogator had paid enough.[14] The minor version is not at all concerned with the origin of the Bear clan but appears to be largely an account of the origin of the reciprocal relations of the Bear and Wolf clans. The second is the real origin myth. The version obtained does not, however, seem complete.

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173
[123]

The typical origin myths (excluding the fifth version) are of two types, those that speak of Earthmaker creating the ancestors of the clan and those that do not mention his name. Undoubtedly those versions that do not mention Earthmaker's name are the older. Those that speak of Earthmaker show clearly the influence of the general origin myth and of shamanistic systematization. This is particularly apparent in the sixth version, which was told in connection with the bear feast.

The subject matter of the myths relates to the manner in which the bears came to the great gathering at Green Bay, the older versions having them originate from the water and the later versions having them created by Earthmaker and sent to the earth. In the former they are distinctly heroic animals and in the latter vague spirit animals. The nature of the relation of these animals to the present clansmen is not clearly stated in the myths, and there is not the slightest mention of the present current belief on the subject. The myths seem almost entirely concerned with the question of the origin of the disciplinary functions of the clan and of its relationship to the Wolf and a few of the other clans.

It is difficult to explain the remarkable differences in the various versions. Comparing them with versions of the clan origin myths of the other clans, it seems likely that the short accounts represent the more archaic versions and the longer accounts those versions that

[14] My informant said, "If a person asked me about the origin of Ho (i. e., of my clan) and did not give me enough gifts or make enough offerings, I would tell him the minor version. But until he gave me all that was necessary would I tell him the true account."

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12



796 The shrine about which this ceremony centers is also a bundle, in
778 this instance owned by one of the waiters, but not necessarily so. Its
535 setting up followed a definite procedure. A small mound of sand was first heaped up on the grassy floor of the lodge. A wooden bowl was placed on the top center of the mound, and a tin bowl directly west of the mound. These were both filled with maple syrup. Four men placed handsful of tobacco at the base of each of the syrup containers. Then the bowl of syrup was removed from the mound, to be placed adjacent to the tin vessel, and from the open buffalo bundle a number of buffalo tai's were taken and placed upon the mound. Four small
[823] eagle feathers, dyed red, were inserted in the margins of the mound to point in the four cardinal directions.

●123 The leader, accompanied by musicians with rattles and one drummer,
535 then sang one set of four songs. A dance song followed, practically
796 everyone present joining in the dance, forming in line behind the leader and circling the lodge in a counter-clockwise direction. All the men were in the forepart of the line; the women followed the men. As the line was forming, several of the men urged the humble subscriber to this account to join the dance. Never before having witnessed the particular performance, I was entirely ignorant of the correct procedure, but realizing that this was a common dance in which anyone could participate without special preparation or careful observance of conduct, I, to my downfall, consented. I joined the line where it was forming immediately in front of me. The dance started before I became aware of my embarassing position; for whereas all the other men were grouped to comprise the leading half of the line, I was far back in the formation, distantly removed from the other representatives of my sex —dancing with the squaws. The shouts of merriment arising from both the men and women satisfied me, however, that I had not committed the unpardonable sin. Nevertheless, as soon as it was convenient, I corrected the error of my position.

As the line passed the bowls of syrup, the dancers each drank of
796 the contents; the men from one bowl, the women from the other. The
535 singing and dancing was continued until all the syrup was gone. Finally, the wooden bowl having been replaced on the sand altar, the leader approached it on hands and knees, mimicking the grunts and actions of a buffalo. He then proceeded to butt the bowl with his head, turning it over.

796 Speeches by the leader and by other prominent men brought the cere-
152 mony to a close.

781 My general reactions to the performance were two-fold. In the first place, I could not but be impressed by the exalted fervor of the older participants; at times tears coursed down the checks of Big Wave as he sang the spirit songs of his ancestors, and other participants
690 showed the effect of strong emotion. Secondly, I beheld the ancient

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



124 me. But what is more to the point here is that he[1]
[123] wove my presence among the Winnebago just then, into the whole fabric of his life. I was the preordained one who had sensed what was the proper time to come to the Winnebago, and this legend he diligently disseminated among all his relatives and subsequently embodied in certain autobiographical snatches I obtained from him. It was from him that I obtained a short sketch of reminiscences which, short as they were, threw more light on the real Indian than any of the more elaborate things I had collected in the usual external fashion which is the pride of scientific procedure among ethnologists.

It was from the perusal of these "reminiscences" that
[121] the idea developed within me of getting a real autobiography, and having heard vaguely of the adventures and tribulations of Crashing Thunder, the younger brother of the family, which seemed to bear all the earmarks of a true rake's progress, I approached him about the matter, to receive a meaningless affirmative reply. For three years he eluded me on one pretext or another until temporary poverty induced him to
[212] consent to write down in a syllabary now in use among the Winnebago the fascinating tale of his life. I remember very well how worried he was after he had finally consented. After writing the first part he came to me at midnight, in a very nervous condition, saying that he did not care to proceed because what he had to say would not look nice if white people subsequently read it. When his fears were appeased he continued



[1] [i.e., The informant, see p. ix, Cat. 116 --Analyst]

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



114 junction with the Mississippi. Dr. Evan D. Pierce, of Trempealeau,
126 who was in charge of the park, was much interested in the native flora as well as in archeology, and we made a collection of ninety species then in bloom. Mr. Towne L. Miller, of Fairwater, Wisconsin, Honorary Curator of Archeology of the Museum collected the plants of the region throughout the season, for the Department of Botany.

The Winnebago Indians are found today scattered over the central
131 part of Wisconsin, principally in Marquette, Waushara, Portage, Sauk,
361 Juneau, Adams, Marathon, Wood, Clark, Jackson, and Monroe counties. Wood County with permanent settlements in Arpin, Vesper, Pittsville, Walker, Elm Lake, Dexterville, and Babcock, contains the largest number, about 750. Along the Hemlock River, not far from Pittsville, are found other large settlements of farming Winnebago. In other counties good-sized settlements are located at Neillsville, Wittenberg, Wyeville, Black River Falls, Hatfield, and Tomah. Their Indian agency and school are located at the last mentioned city.

114 Our chief location during the summer was at A. White's farm, on
the Walker Road, six and a half miles south of Wisconsin Rapids.
123 When we arrived, Mr. White was at Kilbourn where many of the Winnebago camp during the tourist season, making baskets and bead work, and taking part in dances and entertainments. Jim Henniger and his wife, our pageant friends, were there, caring for her father, Dave Dekorah, a prominent man in the medicine lodge, who was sick. He afterwards died and was buried in their community graveyard, with Indian ceremony. The Whites made us welcome and we pitched our tent in a grove of white pines not far from their spring. There were
115 several other Winnebago Indians near at hand, including Henry Dick,
795 from Briggsville. Henry is important in the medicine society and im-
184 mediately made friends with us and started to teach us the Winne-
276 bago language. He was especially bitter against the peyote cult, which many Winnebago have embraced, declaring that peyote was worse than whiskey, because a man drunk on whiskey, would be sober the next morning and able to go to work, whereas with peyote, he became "crazy", and would not work for four or five days while under its influence. He further said that the peyote cult worshippers never possess anything, but live on their industrious neighbors who belong to the medicine lodge. These medicine lodge Indians raise potatoes, corn, beans, carrots, hay, grain, hogs and chickens, according to Henry, and would not let their own people starve, but did not like the shiftlessness of the peyote worshippers. He wished he could see the President of the United States to tell him not to let any Indian have peyote. He thinks bad days are coming to the peyote-eating Indians. A few years
276 ago, this cactus drug, most of which comes from Texas, sold for $4.00
435 a thousand buttons, but the current prices in 1928 were $25 per thou-
795 sand of number one size; $30.00 per thousand for number two size; and

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



575 the candidate into the woods, where none will see them and put him
756 through tests, such as falling immediately when he is shot with a medi-
796 cine bag. They also teach him to sing the ritual of the medicine lodge, being sure that no one hears.

824 The Winnebago observe the same precautions in gathering plants and place as great stress upon the manner of this gathering as do other Wisconsin Indians.

126 Most of the summer was spent among the Winnebago collecting their various economic and medicinal plants, about which copious notes were taken. On August 16, a trip was made to a Winnebago religious
●123 feast given by A. White and his son, Frank, with two other relatives,
551 at which the writer was given a Winnebago name. As is the Indian custom, no more than one Indian name can be given and a name in a second language must mean the same as the original one. It happens that the first name given the writer was by the Menomini at Keshena; namely *"Onawonik"* meaning "Flying Squirrel." Hence the Ojibwe followed suit with *"Shagashkandawe"* also meaning "Flying Squirrel," and the Winnebago took their word *"Kashingra"* meaning the same.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



614 825 776 the spirit, but there is no doubt that every vision is symbolized by a special gift from the "spirit." The guardian spirit unit may thus be said to consist of a special religious attitude plus a symbol.

The attitude toward the clan animal differs from that toward the guardian spirit in this characteristic respect, that more emphasis is laid upon identification with the animal itself than with the "spirit." As far as could be determined, the clan animal is the thunderbird with his characteristics of lightning and thunder, of the bear who likes honey and raisins, etc. The animal is engraved as clan symbol [423] and used as a property mark, and he is brought into intimate contact with the group by the postulation of descent. Naturally, descent is not from the "spirit" animal but from the living animal species. Nevertheless the clan animal has, at the same time, retained its place as a guardian spirit, and in a most suggestive way, for the blessing of a clan animal is more easily obtained by a member of the clan than by an outsider. The clan animal is, in short, a clan protector.

In this change of attitude two considerations seem pertinent: first, the possibility of the "spirit" of the guardian spirit being a product of the esoteric elaboration connected with religious societies, and that its apparent absence in the clan animal represents an exoteric conception; secondly, under the influence of the social functions of the clan, an originally strong religious conception of the clan animal gave place to an identification with the animal species itself. It might be objected that there is no inherent correlation between social organization and animal species as contrasted with spirit animals. It seems certain, however, that descent could only be reckoned from the animal, and as long as descent is postulated it must be from the animal. With regard to the historical priority of the "spirit" conception, little can be definitely said except that the systematization it has undergone suggests the influence of esoteric societies, and that the visions obtained during fasting appear to speak of the guardian "spirit" as an animal. On general psychological considerations we are inclined to believe in the contrast of the material and spiritual conception of the animal as a real fact, although it would be hazardous to say whether one or the other lies at the basis of the attitude of the individual toward his clan animal.

## RELATIONSHIP TO CLAN ANIMALS

614 825 The question of descent from the animal brings us to the consideration of the whole intricate relationship of the individual to the clan animal, a subject that has played so prominent a part in discussions of totemism. There are two distinct sources for the determination of this relationship—data obtained in reply to direct [124 174] questioning, and that contained in some miscellaneous myths and in the origin myths.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



bestowing blessings upon him—in other words, of acting like a spirit, a *wazep'i'ni*. That is why he offers tobacco to it. We would be inclined to say that the individual finding such an object has created a new spirit. Such a new spirit may be forever confined to the particular family to which the individual belongs. It might die with him, or, on the other hand, it might acquire great importance and popularity and become a tribal spirit. What seems to have happened, in the vast majority of cases, however, among the Winnebago, is that owing to the marked development of the spirit-deities and cosmogonic myths, such "sacred" objects were interpreted as being either some manifestation of a spirit, some transformation which he had assumed, or as inhabited by a spirit.

The reason why, in our opinion, so many ethnologists have apparently misinterpreted the nature of *wak'a** is due to the fact that when something that, from the European viewpoint, is immaterial and inanimate, like vapor, light, movement, etc., is called *wak'a**, then it seems difficult for them to imagine that it can be so except by virtue of some intimate connection with a definite spirit, and if that can not be demonstrated, then the only solution left is to fall back upon the "magic power" idea. By doing this they clearly show that for them the test of individualization is corporeality of a fairly definite kind, dependent mainly upon visual sensations. This brings us to a fundamental problem, not only for Winnebago religion, but for North American religion in general.

### The Concept and Nature of the Spirits

Those Indians who have never spent any time thinking upon the nature of spirits can not truly be said to have any concept of their nature, whether vague or definite. They simply repeat what they have heard from the more religiously inclined. An answer prompted by a moment's consideration, as is often the case when an ethnologist interrogates them, does not necessarily reflect the current view of the subject, nor, for that matter, even the same Indian's belief after he has given the matter some thought. Many Winnebago, with whom the author was fairly well acquainted, refused to answer certain questions offhand and asked for time to reflect about them. It seems justified, when we are studying a subject like religion, to ask for information from those who have, in all probability, formulated the beliefs—the shamans. It is from them that we must strive to learn whether the spirits are conceived of as anthropomorphic, theromorphic, dream-phantasms, or indefinite entities in general.

In trying to discover this the author found, not only that he was asking a leading question, but that he was asking an unnecessary question. It was soon quite clear that the Winnebago did not

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



T76 [124] base their test of the existence of a spirit on the presence or absence of corporeality; in other words, upon such sense perceptions as sight and hearing. It is because we Europeans do insist that the presence or absence of corporeality is the test of reality or unreality that we have been led to make the classification into personal and impersonal. But the Winnebago apparently does not insist that existence depends upon sense perceptions alone. He claims that what is thought of, what is felt, and what is spoken, in fact, anything that is brought before his consciousness, is a sufficient indication of its existence and it is the question of the existence and reality of these spirits in which he is interested. The question of their corporeality is of comparative unimportance and most of the questions connected with the personal or impersonal nature of the spirits do not exist.

It is clear that if comparatively little stress has been laid by the Winnebago on the personality of the spirits, it will be difficult to define them precisely except by their names, by their attributes, and by the nature of the blessings which they bestow on man. What seems to stand out most prominently in the attitude of the Winnebago toward their spirits is the intense belief in the reality of their existence, which is due first to what might be called the "emotional authority" for their existence, and secondly, to the fact that the life values of man are intensely real and the spirits are theoretically in control of these life values.

To the average Winnebago the world is peopled by an indefinite number of spirits who manifest their existence in many ways, being either visible, audible, felt emotionally, or manifesting themselves by some sign or result. From a certain point of view, all the spirits demonstrate their existence by the result, by the fact that the blessings they bestow upon man enable him to be successful, and this holds just as much for the spirit who manifests himself in the most intangible, emotional manner as for that one who is visible to man.

In all those areas where a well-developed ritualistic organization exists a fairly large number of theromorphic and anthropomorphic spirits is found. In many cases these are real deities. This is true for the Winnebago. Exactly how definite and distinct this theromorphic and anthropomorphic nature of the spirits is will depend largely on the individual history that the spirit has undergone. Where tricksters and animal heroes have become spirits or deities their theromorphic nature is marked. Other deities, like Earthmaker, Disease-giver, the Thunderbirds, etc., have become markedly anthropomorphic, owing to the reinterpretations and remodeling of the shamans. Often enough the reinterpretations are not thorough and we find deities of an apparently mixed type.

Those who care to get a detailed description of the various deities of the Winnebago should read the various prayers found in such

## *Preface*

There is only one way—to have a native himself give the account in his own mother tongue. The problem then resolves itself into finding the native. That is the task I set myself and through a piece of good luck I succeeded in accomplishing it. As the manner of its accomplishment is an interesting and illuminating story in itself, I hope I shall be excused for telling it in some detail.

In the year 1909 I commenced field investigations among the Winnebago Indians living on the Nebraska side of the Missouri River, about twenty-five miles south of Sioux City, Iowa. These Indians had the reputation of being fairly conservative. Perhaps the fact that a Presbyterian mission had in seventeen years succeeded in converting only one family, and a family which then unkindly died without leaving issue, may bear this out.

Among these Indians there lived a family named Blow Snake, consisting of a father and a fair number of children all grown up. Two of these were men quite well known in the tribe for a variety of reasons. These two became my principal informants. They had lived the most exciting of lives, for to the usual round of adventures that fall to the lot of most Indians of that region now, they had added a murder and a conversion, the murder first and the conversion afterwards. The older of the two seemed to be by far the more gifted. His memory was simply prodigious. He recounted to me a ceremony which took him two months, working practically six hours a day, to tell

124 me. But what is more to the point here is that he[1]
[123] wove my presence among the Winnebago just then, into the whole fabric of his life. I was the preordained one who had sensed what was the proper time to come to the Winnebago, and this legend he diligently disseminated among all his relatives and subsequently embodied in certain autobiographical snatches I obtained from him. It was from him that I obtained a short sketch of reminiscences which, short as they were, threw more light on the real Indian than any of the more elaborate things I had collected in the usual external fashion which is the pride of scientific procedure among ethnologists.

It was from the perusal of these "reminiscences" that
[121] the idea developed within me of getting a real autobiography, and having heard vaguely of the adventures and tribulations of Crashing Thunder, the younger brother of the family, which seemed to bear all the earmarks of a true rake's progress, I approached him about the matter, to receive a meaningless affirmative reply. For three years he eluded me on one pretext or another until temporary poverty induced him to
[212] consent to write down in a syllabary now in use among the Winnebago the fascinating tale of his life. I remember very well how worried he was after he had finally consented. After writing the first part he came to me at midnight, in a very nervous condition, saying that he did not care to proceed because what he had to say would not look nice if white people subsequently read it. When his fears were appeased he continued



[1] [i.e., The informant, see p. ix, Cat. 116 --Analyst]

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



and within forty-eight hours the whole manuscript was done. 124

It is this manuscript translated literally that is here presented. No changes of any kind have been introduced. Certain things, however, that Crashing Thunder had told me on previous occasions, which, for that reason. he merely mentions in the autobiography proper, I have inserted in their proper places. Everything in this manuscript comes directly from him and was told in the original and in the first person. It is needless for me to insist that I in no way influenced him either directly or indirectly in any way. 128

Some years ago the autobiography proper was published with annotations as an ethnological document in the University of California Series in American Archæology and Ethnology under the title "The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian" (Volume XVI, Number 7). I gratefully acknowledge the generosity of the authorities of the University Press in permitting this reissue for a wider audience, in part retranslated and considerably enlarged by the additions mentioned above. 114

P. R.

## §36. *Finale*

I have written about all these matters and I have spoken out very clearly in all I have told you. I talked to the older people when you first asked me to get this information for you, but they refused to do it. I thought I would write down and tell you all these things so that those who came after me would not be deceived! [32] Then you asked me to obtain this information for you and in this I was aided by my brother and by O. L. 159*

Before I joined the peyote I went about in a most pitiable condition, and now I am living happily and my wife has a fine baby.

This is the work predestined for me to do. This is the end of it.

[32] This is the reason I gave when trying to induce the Winnebago to give me information. [124]



[p.203]

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12

# Winnebago Berdache

*By* NANCY OESTREICH LURIE

114 THE following account draws attention to the fact that the berdache role
838 was still evident in Winnebago culture until close to the turn of the cen-
[177] tury, and adds somewhat to the data of certain clear cultural parallels between
[171] this Woodland Siouan group and such Plains Siouan tribes as the Omaha, Oto, Iowa and Ponca. The description is not complete and certain points are equivocal. Thus, all of the available ethnographic documentation will be presented so that anyone intending to use the information will be able to assess its value. The description given here agrees, Dr. Raul Radin said in a conversation, with his unpublished Winnebago data.

● 124 During the course of general field investigations conducted from time to
838 time during the years 1945 to 1947, it was apparent that Winnebago informants in Wisconsin tended to be reticent to discuss the matter of the berdache. Their embarrassment may indicate that knowledge of the subject was withheld. However, even where excellent rapport existed and individuals became sufficiently interested in the topic to question people who might not speak directly to an ethnographer, some details remain uncertain. Furthermore,
[177] while the last berdache died somewhat over fifty years ago, the picture is confused by the former tendency of Winnebago culture to invest given forms of traits with opposite meanings and functions when used under different circumstances. At the present time, the recollections of many informants reveal that they know only half of the total function of given forms, or that they attempt to synthesize features which now appear as contradictory.

[184] While it was noted in 1950 that the Nebraska Winnebago were quite willing to speak of matters that in Wisconsin are still considered sacred or as things to be kept secret from whites, the Nebraska Winnebago simply knew less about older traditions.

838 It was agreed generally that the berdache was a man who had taken on
this role because he had been directed to do so by the moon, a female spirit,
[787] at the time of his vision quest. The berdache dressed as a woman, performed
[824] women's tasks better than any normal woman could perform them, and had
[741] the ability to foretell future events. However, not all Winnebago prophets were berdaches. One informant mentioned that berdaches sometimes married
[588] other men, but no data were obtained concerning the attitude of the society
[554] toward the husband of a berdache. Most informants felt that the berdache was at one time a highly honored and respected person, but that the Winne-
177 bago had become ashamed of the custom because the white people thought it
838 was amusing or evil. By the time the last known berdache attempted to fulfill the role, his brothers threatened to kill him if he "put on the skirt." This
[626] berdache then affected a combination of male and female clothing, fearing that he would die if he did not at least attempt to follow the directions given him in his vision of the moon.

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12



The Winnebago term for berdache is very uncertain. The last known case in Wisconsin was called dejáŋčowiŋga, usually translated as Blue Lake Woman (dejáŋčowiŋga—dejáŋ: lake or sea; čo: blue; wiŋ: female name ending; ga: name referrent suffix). In Nebraska mention was made of another berdache who had lived in Wisconsin and was called čoranažiŋga or Standing Blue (čoranažiŋga—čo: blue; ra: article; naži: to stand; wiŋ: elided with naži as nažiŋ, female name ending; ga: name referrent suffix). The term šiáŋge was suggested as a general word for berdache by two Wisconsin informants, and it was translated by several people as "a no good," "a eunuch," "an unmanly man." This word was still in common use in Wisconsin in 1947, but was used among young men as an insult or teasing epithet. These young men claimed to know nothing more about the word except that it carried connotations of weakness and effeminateness. 192 838 [195] [578]

The characteristics of the Winnebago berdache agree closely with those reported for the Omaha and Ponca but the word used to designate a berdache in both of these latter tribes was miᵃ-qu-ga, according to Dorsey (378–379). Among the Oglala the berdache had been blessed by a pote wiᵃkte or hermaphroditic buffalo, wiᵃkte being the word for berdache. A certain amount of shame had become attached to the role among these Plains Siouan groups by the time it was reported by Dorsey in 1889 and Wissler in 1912, but Wissler (p. 92) said of the Oglala, "In the old days all the berdaches were very wakan." 171 838

Knowledge of the berdache among the Winnebago was provided in 1946 through a chance conversation with M.M., a woman who was then about thirty years old. Her parents had been the first Christian converts at the Winnebago community near Black River Falls, Wisconsin, and M.M. had once heard her mother mention "Men who dressed as women." When M.M. attempted to question her mother, at the writer's request, for more information about the berdache, the mother, then a woman in her seventies, became very angry and said in Winnebago, "Why did you ask about that? That is something we want to forget and not talk about." 124 838 [197]

Another woman, S.S., a younger sister of Radin's famous informant Crashing Thunder, was next approached and she offered the following account.

> Yes, I used to hear about that, but I don't know much about it. Once there was a man who fasted and he learned that if he dressed like a woman he would be the richest person in the world, but if he wore men's clothes, he die soon. She wore earrings, and bracelets, and necklaces and a shirt like a woman, but his brothers told him . . . her? . . . if he . . . she? . . . put on a skirt they would kill him. There used to be people like that, not just that one. I think šiáŋge is the word for them but I don't know, now it's just a slang word and means a no good. Those people did women's work, and they did it real good, better than even women could. [192]

Later M.M., the original informant, was able to prevail upon her mother to provide more information. Her description included all of the points given above except mention of wealth accruing to the berdache. However, M.M.'s mother added that berdaches had been blessed by the moon and had the gift

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12



124 838 of prophecy. The name dejáŋčowiŋga was given as applying to the story told by S.S., and this berdache was described as a "bachelor," who at one time had acted as a foster mother to several children belonging to his sister or half-sister. One of the nieces reared by dejáŋčowiŋga was still living near Black River Falls in 1946, but it was impossible to obtain any direct information from her. She was about fifty-five years old in 1946.

At the Wisconsin Dells two Winnebago men overheard M.M. and the writer discussing dejáŋčowiŋga and one of them, a contemporary of M.M., recalled that he had heard of dejáŋčowiŋga whose brothers had threatened to kill him if he "put on the skirt." The other man, who was born in 1898 or 1899, said that he would try to obtain more information for the writer from his maternal and paternal uncles, two elderly men who lived near Tomah, Wisconsin. J.S.'s uncles merely substantiated as much as was already known of the dejáŋčowiŋga story without clarifying the term applied to berdaches generally. However, J.S. believed that an old man who lived near Victory, Wisconsin could supply more data, and some time later had an interview with him. This was reported several months later, in March, 1947. J.S. said that the old man had considered the matter a "bad story" and only agreed to tell it because J.S. had done him several favors. At one time, the old man had explained, a band of Winnebago returned from a war expedition with several Sioux captives, among them a chief. Under ordinary circumstances the warrior (hawk) clan would have taken charge of the ultimate fate of the prisoners, but in this village the only members of the warrior clan were a very small boy and his grandmother. The grandmother was called upon to speak for the grandson because, while the decision should have rested with the male members of the clan, the only male member present was a child. What became of the chief's followers is not known, but the grandmother decreed that the leader was to remain in the village unharmed, but had to dress, act, work and generally conduct himself as a woman as long as he lived. This took place many years ago and no one knows why the grandmother took such a harsh stand except that possibly she had some old grudge against the Sioux. J.S. reported that the old man told him this was the "first dejáŋčowiŋga," and, as far as could be determined, the term ŝiáŋge was not used.

727 838

838 124 Upon further questioning by J.S., the old man qualified the foregoing story by saying that other men, who were members of the Winnebago tribe, dressed and acted like women because they had been told to do so by the moon at the time of their vision quest. These men were highly respected, were prophets, could do women's work better than women, and sometimes even married other men.

The fact that transvestites who conducted themselves as women were not always true berdaches is illustrated in another story collected from M.R. in the winter of 1945. M.R. died in 1946 at the age of fifty years and he was never questioned as to the relationship of the following story to cases of true berdaches because the significance of the matter was not then clear to the writer.

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12



According to M.R., a party of Winnebago once went on the warpath and were badly beaten. One man, the only survivor according to his claim, returned to his village. There he recounted his valorous deeds at the side of his companions, and said he had escaped only because the enemy had left him for dead. He was accorded great honor until sometime later another member of the party returned and told how the first man had fled and hidden out in the woods when he saw that the battle was going against the Winnebago. The cowardly and dishonest warrior, on the decision of the police (bear) clan, then had to take on the role of a woman and lived in disgrace the rest of his life. 838 687 [625]

Evidence concerning the berdache was even less definite in Nebraska. G.P., a woman about fifty years old in 1950, mentioned that her mother-in-law once told her of a case which agreed in most details with that of dejáŋčowiŋga, but this individual was called čoranažiŋga and was supposed to have lived in Wisconsin. However, G.S., a man born in 1887, who also told of čoranažiŋga, gave an account of a berdache who was his mother's cousin. G.S.'s mother was Iowa and Oto through her maternal line and the berdache cousin, referred to as "sister," was a parallel cousin of Iowa and Oto descent. However, the description G.S. recounted as having come from his mother is almost identical to that regarding the Winnebago berdache. The cousin had been blessed by the moon, feared death if he disobeyed the moon's directions that he dress and act as a woman, even to giving this as the reason for his behavior when G.S.'s mother once remonstrated with him for being, "a shame to us Indians." 838 124 [626]

An attempt was made to discover whether the Winnebago berdache role for men had a parallel Siouan role of "warrior women." Only one very doubtful account was collected in 1946 from S.S. the Wisconsin informant who provided the first extensive description of dejáŋčowiŋga. 171 838 [124]

Once there was a man, kind of high tone, he had two wives. The older one wanted to keep her husband so she had him marry her younger sister too. They used to do that years ago when they wanted to hold their husbands. Anyway, this man and his gang went off to the Civil War. There was a bad woman in the camp. She was a good looker, but she was bad, and this man took the bad woman with him. During the war one time they ran out of bullets, and this woman got on a horse and went through the enemy lines to a big city and came back with a whole lot of bullets and saved them. Another time she warned them when they were all asleep and the enemy was near. When they came back, she was riding on the horse in front of the man, and the men had all given her presents for saving them. Her waist was just covered with ribbons and the man's two wives cried when they saw it. The people made up a song about her because she was a brave woman and sometimes they still sing it. After that they always called her hinugrosisiŋgra which meant that she laughed aloud like a man, shaking her whole body [hinugrosisiŋgra—hinuk: woman; ro: body; sisiŋk: to shake as with laughter; ra: article; k is voiced when followed by r]. They call those giggling girls that nowadays sometimes. [595]

While the above account probably represents an isolated example of a woman who went to war rather than an accepted type of role, it is apparent that 838

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



systematic question 114 631 [125]

ing has elicited from various individuals the information, also corroborated by historical records, that the villages were generally known according to geographical location or according to names descriptive of the haunts of certain animals. Even to-day the group scattered over the Nebraska Winnebago reservation are commonly known by similar designations. There we find, for instance, the following names: *kozo-ateira*, "those living on the peninsula"; or *k'uha'teira*, "those living below", i. e., in the timber; *nisa'hateira*, "those living near the dirty water"; *hyte x'dgominangera*, "where big bear settles," etc. If we may then suppose this to have been a customary association, we may quite properly ask whether the name of the village had any influence on the social organization; whether there is even a hint at a genetic relation between these two types of group names. All that can be said is the fact that formerly *honi*, "band," seems to have been used instead of *hokik'aradjera* for clan; that an archaic name of the Wolf clan, *regoni* or *degoni*, may mean Lake band; and that the villages all had geographical names. All of which, however, is, I realize, hardly sufficient evidence.

No satisfactory demonstration has as yet been made indicating that the clan organization was ever associated with an historically simple social structure, whereas quite a number of reasons lead us to suspect that it was in all cases preceded by other types of organization. In North America there is quite considerable evidence tending to show that the village group organization often preceded in many places the clan, and for that reason the facts brought out above may be of more than casual significance. That a system of clan names different from that now in use existed is borne out by the archaic names for the Bear and Wolf clans. That another system was making headway against the animal-name type of change, namely, the substitution for animal designation, with correlated associations of descent or connection with an animal ancestor, of designations indicative of the functions of the clan. If the association of the social unit with a common animal ancestor was preceded by an association of a social unit with geographical location, we would then be able to demonstrate what is so rare in ethnology—the historical succession of types of naming. 614 114

## The Twofold Grouping

The Winnebago are divided into divisions, one known as the *waggeregi herera*, "those who are above," the other as the *manegi herera*, "those who are on earth." Descent was reckoned in the paternal line. But these appellations refer to the animals after whom the clans are named, the term *waggeregi* covering the birds, the term *manegi*, land and water animals. So firmly has the idea of division of animal forms become associated with the two divisions 616

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP 12 Winnebago NP 12



and coffee, which were, of course, unknown to them before the coming of the White Man. Other tribes in Wisconsin have made no attempt to set up their own words for these, but call them by their English names as nearly as they can pronounce them. This trait of the Winnebago is often amusing. For example the watermelon was unknown to them until about seventy-five years ago. The first recipient of a watermelon among them considered it a pumpkin, cut it up into small pieces, and boiled it in a pot. The resultant product was scarcely edible, so led to the appellation of "wicawasukela"—"a pumpkin that did'nt get ripe." But later, they discovered that the whites ate them just as they were; and upon trying this they discovered their merit, and have been very fond of them ever since. But the first name stuck, and it is thus called to this day. 192 177

While we had met Winnebago before this summer, we had never attempted to discourse at length on their uses of plants. In 1923, we first met Frank Smith, "makiwika," with his wife who was making baskets, in Minocqua where we admired her art. Every year since we have seen Frank at some Indian pow-wow or other. During the "Pageant of Progress," in Milwaukee, July, 1926, Frank and his new Ojibwe wife were at the Indian Village on the lake front, with Mr. H. L. Mumm, of Wausau, demonstrating Indian arts and crafts. There, too, we met two other Winnebago workers, Jim Henniger and his wife, although the Indians in the village proper were all full-blooded Ojibwe from Lac Court Oreilles, Wisconsin. The museum is also fortunate in having the friendship of Ulysses A. White, of Wisconsin Rapids, who was formerly employed in Milwaukee. Mr. White is a pure blooded Winnebago, as is his wife, a quite uncommon occurrence in these times of inter-tribal marriages. He introduced to the Museum, John Bear, of Wisconsin Rapids, another old Winnebago Indian, through whom Mr. W. C. McKern, Associate Curator of Anthropology, of the Museum, has been able to collect some interesting ancient Winnebago stories. Mr. Bear spent the entire winter of 1927-1928 at the Museum, and was helped in his work by Mr. White. All of this preliminary work was the subject of several conferences between the writer and Mr. McKern at which we became acquainted with the linguistics of the Winnebago and listed the plant names used in the various stories. 114 115 [582]

The first trip of the summer was to Trempealeau, where the Museum was conducting archeological investigations which the writer, as President of the Wisconsin Archeological Society, wished to see. Furthermore Mr. McKern had written that there were Winnebago Indians in Trempealeau. These proved to be a family living in the old brewery at the edge of the village, but they were from Winnebago, Nebraska, and were not familiar with the Wisconsin plants. The field party, however, interested us for a week. The Museum camp was established in Perrot State Park, on the banks of the Trempealeau River near its 114 126

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



114 junction with the Mississippi. Dr. Evan D. Pierce, of Trempealeau,
126 who was in charge of the park, was much interested in the native flora as well as in archeology, and we made a collection of ninety species then in bloom. Mr. Towne L. Miller, of Fairwater, Wisconsin, Honorary Curator of Archeology of the Museum collected the plants of the region throughout the season, for the Department of Botany.

The Winnebago Indians are found today scattered over the central
131 part of Wisconsin, principally in Marquette, Waushara, Portage, Sauk,
361 Juneau, Adams, Marathon, Wood, Clark, Jackson, and Monroe counties. Wood County with permanent settlements in Arpin, Vesper, Pittsville, Walker, Elm Lake, Dexterville, and Babcock, contains the largest number, about 750. Along the Hemlock River, not far from Pittsville, are found other large settlements of farming Winnebago. In other counties good-sized settlements are located at Neillsville, Wittenberg, Wyeville, Black River Falls, Hatfield, and Tomah. Their Indian agency and school are located at the last mentioned city.

114 Our chief location during the summer was at A. White's farm, on the Walker Road, six and a half miles south of Wisconsin Rapids.
123 When we arrived, Mr. White was at Kilbourn where many of the Winnebago camp during the tourist season, making baskets and bead work, and taking part in dances and entertainments. Jim Henniger and his wife, our pageant friends, were there, caring for her father, Dave Dekorah, a prominent man in the medicine lodge, who was sick. He afterwards died and was buried in their community graveyard, with Indian ceremony. The Whites made us welcome and we pitched our tent in a grove of white pines not far from their spring. There were
115 several other Winnebago Indians near at hand, including Henry Dick,
795 from Briggsville. Henry is important in the medicine society and im-
184 mediately made friends with us and started to teach us the Winne-
276 bago language. He was especially bitter against the peyote cult, which many Winnebago have embraced, declaring that peyote was worse than whiskey, because a man drunk on whiskey, would be sober the next morning and able to go to work, whereas with peyote, he became "crazy", and would not work for four or five days while under its influence. He further said that the peyote cult worshippers never possess anything, but live on their industrious neighbors who belong to the medicine lodge. These medicine lodge Indians raise potatoes, corn, beans, carrots, hay, grain, hogs and chickens, according to Henry, and would not let their own people starve, but did not like the shiftlessness of the peyote worshippers. He wished he could see the President of the United States to tell him not to let any Indian have peyote. He
276 thinks bad days are coming to the peyote-eating Indians. A few years ago, this cactus drug, most of which comes from Texas, sold for $4.00
435 a thousand buttons, but the current prices in 1928 were $25 per thou-
795 sand of number one size; $30.00 per thousand for number two size; and

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



575 the candidate into the woods, where none will see them and put him
756 through tests, such as falling immediately when he is shot with a medi-
796 cine bag. They also teach him to sing the ritual of the medicine lodge, being sure that no one hears.

824 The Winnebago observe the same precautions in gathering plants and place as great stress upon the manner of this gathering as do other Wisconsin Indians.

126 Most of the summer was spent among the Winnebago collecting their various economic and medicinal plants, about which copious notes were taken. On August 16, a trip was made to a Winnebago religious
123 feast given by A. White and his son, Frank, with two other relatives,
551 at which the writer was given a Winnebago name. As is the Indian custom, no more than one Indian name can be given and a name in a second language must mean the same as the original one. It happens that the first name given the writer was by the Menomini at Keshena; namely *"Onawonik"* meaning "Flying Squirrel." Hence the Ojibwe followed suit with *"Shagashkandawe"* also meaning "Flying Squirrel," and the Winnebago took their word *"Kashingra"* meaning the same.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Delaware NM7
Winnebago NM12
Comanche NO6



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D
W
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## APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experiences with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.* The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

### SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| + | Element present | ( ) | Exactness of data doubtful |
| — | Element absent | R | Recent development |
| Blank | Information lacking | * | Indicates that a note to the element is appended at the end of the list |

### SOURCES AND COLUMN ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

13 T: Composite picture of cult of thirteen tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes, mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Oto, Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony, HU-BML 4:127–132, 1937, with additions made on list by La Barre, 1938.

000 K-A: Kiowa-Apache. List filled in and notes supplied by J. Gilbert McAllister from information obtained during ethnographic field work performed 1933–1934 (eleven months) under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago.

Kio: Kiowa. List filled in and notes supplied by Weston La Barre. When returning the list La Barre wrote, "I believe that in peyotism tribal affiliation in this inter-tribal religion is far less important than leadership, i.e., what the particular leader's 'way' is, and from what leader he got his meeting." La Barre did field work in Oklahoma under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology (1935), Yale University, and the American Museum of Natural History.

C
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Com: Comanche in Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Kic: Kickapoo in the vicinity of McLoud, Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by John A. Noon, who attended a meeting during the summer of 1932. The Kickapoo leaders recognized that they "followed the Kiowa-Comanche 'way'."

Ab S: Absentee Shawnee of central Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by Erminie W. Voegelin. Meeting attended in 1933. Voegelin reports three forms of the cult among the Absentee: (1) The Kiowa-Comanche form (the form which my list records); said to have been introduced about 1900 from the Kickapoo, who learned it from the Comanche; is the most popular form. (2) Caddo-Delaware variant of the "Wilson way," conducted by Ernest Spybuck. (3) Yuchi "way," conducted by Panther; considered by Voegelin's informants to be distinct from the Kiowa-Comanche version, yet probably only slightly variant. Membership in these forms of the cult does not interfere with participation in older Shawnee religious beliefs and ceremonies. The "Cherokee" or "Loyal" Shawnee in northeastern Oklahoma, however, take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Iowaya," which is La Barre's Oto "Christianized" version, and this does teach complete withdrawal from older native ceremonies.

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De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 3–6).

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Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

* Data for the Ute and Washo–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute Peyotism which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Winnebago NP12
Crow NQ10



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a meeting in 1939, "sponsored by two Winnebago women . . . 'to thank Jesus' for their recovery from a recent sickness." A visiting Ogalala Sioux was chief drummer.

No C: Northern Cheyenne of Montana. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Cr 1, Cr 2: Montana Crow. Lists filled in and notes furnished by Fred Voget, of Yale University, in the course of ethnographic field work in 1939. Data on Cr 1 were supplied by a lay member; on Cr 2 by the Crow secretary of the Montana Branch of the Native American Church.

WRS: Wind River Shoshone. List filled in and notes supplied by D. Shimkin from observation and inquiry in the course of ethnographic field work, sponsored by the University of California, in Wyoming in 1939.

Ute: Ute of Utah and Colorado. Observation and inquiry by the author in 1937–1939 when doing field work sponsored by the University of California.

Gos: Goshute of Ibapah, Utah. List filled in and notes supplied by Carling Malouf, who attended a "tipi way" (Kiowa-Comanche) meeting in 1939 and talked with Arthur Johnson, an official in the cult. Goshute Indians make trips to Oklahoma. Before the "tipi way" was introduced, the Goshute practiced the old "Ute way" or "Sioux way," but members in either cult will visit meetings of the other. R. V. Chamberlain in conversation states that the Goshute used peyote at the time he made his ethnobotanical study among them in 1910, but the Indians say the ritual came to them from the Ute about 1920. Malouf's information was supplemented by an official "Program of the Native American Church" procured by A. L. Robertson while he was subagent at Ibapah and sent to me (see note 265a).

W-P: Washo-Northern Paiute. Observation and inquiry by the author in 1938. Field work sponsored by the University of California.

Taos: Taos of New Mexico. List abstracted from published accounts: Edward S. Curtis, The North American Indian, 16:53–89, 1926; and Elsie Clews Parsons, Taos Pueblo, GSA 2:64–66, 1936.

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



and within forty-eight hours the whole manuscript was done. 124

It is this manuscript translated literally that is here presented. No changes of any kind have been introduced. Certain things, however, that Crashing Thunder had told me on previous occasions, which, for that reason. he merely mentions in the autobiography proper, I have inserted in their proper places. Everything in this manuscript comes directly from him and was told in the original and in the first person. It is needless for me to insist that I in no way influenced him either directly or indirectly in any way. 128

Some years ago the autobiography proper was published with annotations as an ethnological document in the University of California Series in American Archæology and Ethnology under the title "The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian" (Volume XVI, Number 7). I gratefully acknowledge the generosity of the authorities of the University Press in permitting this reissue for a wider audience, in part retranslated and considerably enlarged by the additions mentioned above. 114

P. R.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

## PREFACE

The information included in this volume was obtained during the years 1908–1913 while employed by the Bureau of American Ethnology and on private expeditions. In all cases wherever it was possible the author tried to obtain his information in Winnebago, although the English version is printed here. Owing to the fact that the Winnebago have for some time been accustomed to the use of a syllabic alphabet borrowed from the Sauk and Fox, it was a comparatively easy task to induce them to write down their mythology and, at times, their ceremonies, and then have an interpreter translate them. As the author has a fair command of Winnebago grammar, he was able to control these translations and thus insure their approximate accuracy. On account of the importance of having as accurate a record of the ceremonies as possible, those few ceremonies that were obtained in syllabic text were subsequently taken down in phonetic text.

It has been the aim of the author to separate as definitely as possible his own comments from the actual data obtained, and for that reason every chapter, with the exception of those on history, archeology, and material culture, is divided into two parts, a discussion of the data and the data itself.

Certain subjects, such as mythology, art, and music, have been entirely omitted. In order to discuss the second a comparative study of woodland art and design would have been necessary, which would have entailed a prolonged study at different museums; and to discuss the latter, specific training and knowledge were demanded, which the author does not possess.

The following monograph does not claim to be a comparative study, but simply as intensive an investigation as the time spent allowed, of an unusually interesting tribe, made under exceptionally propitious conditions. It is principally the raw material that is presented here. Throughout the work, the Indian has been allowed to tell the facts in his own way. For that reason no attempt has been made to change the English, except when it was ungrammatical or unintelligible. This will explain the simple and at times poor English of the accounts.

The work ends rather abruptly because the section on mythology and the general conclusion have been reserved for special treatment.

In conclusion, the author wishes to thank all those Winnebago who helped him since he first came among them. In particular does

[P. 46 is blank]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



### The Fast-Eating Contest[96]

As soon as the meal is about ready and the host thinks that (the food) in the kettle belonging to the first guest is about cooked and when it is soft and just right, then the attendants take it and cut it up. They do not leave any bones in it, nor do they leave any of the hard parts. When they have prepared it, then the host rises and speaks.

796x
539x
264

"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. One of the great ones belonging to the Bird clan,[97] a member of the Thunderbird clan, has called for a fast-eating contest. One of his followers will represent them (i. e., their clan), he has told me. Now a member of the Earth people, one of the Bear clan, must be selected[98] for the fast-eating contest, he said. As many of the Bird clan people as there are present, they all will try to take from those of the Earth people present the war honor (belonging to the fast eating). That is why they have it, so that the Bird and the Earth clans may compete for it,[99] that they might take a war honor from one another." Then both of the contestants took (the food) in front of the war bundle, and they get ready for a fast-eating contest. Two wooden bowls with exactly the same amount of food are placed in front of the war bundle. Then the Thunderbird clansman, with a follower (taking) a plate, sits down, and afterwards the Bear clansman, also with a follower, sits down. Now they hold themselves in readiness, the four of them. The feasters now start playing on their flutes and begin singing songs. The fast eaters (i. e., the contestants) start simultaneously. The upper people (phratry), the great ones, devour it first and shout, striking their mouths. "Those with wings[100] have large mouths. They can never be beaten in eating." The defeated ones took the meat in their hands and ate it up and gave the war whoop. The leaders of the Earth people said, "We have not been beaten fairly, for the upper ones have greater mouths, so how could they fail?" Thus the beaten ones said. Then they called for the heads. That is all.[101]

As soon as the host starts the eating song,[102] all the guests began to eat at a moderate pace, then they try to eat fast because they believe that it is an honor to be the first to have finished.

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[96] This detailed account was left out in the general description and inserted afterwards. For that reason there may be a number of unnecessary repetitions. I have not tried to adjust this insert to the text proper, but have preferred to place it just where my informant desired it. [128]

[97] This is a rather unusual appellation for the upper phratry.

[98] This is the regular name for the second of the two Winnebago phratries.

[99] This is only one of the ways in which these two phratries compete.

[100] Ritualistic name for the Bird clan.

[101] I believe it is considered correct here to permit the phratry to which the host belongs to win in this contest. Those who win get the choicest pieces of the deer head.

[102] Neither the host nor any of those who belong to his band eat during the feast.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Delaware NM7
Winnebago NM12
Comanche N06



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## APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experience with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.* The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

### SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| + | Element present | ( ) | Exactness of data doubtful |
| — | Element absent | R | Recent development |
| Blank | Information lacking | * | Indicates that a note to the element is appended at the end of the list |

### SOURCES AND COLUMN ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

13 T: Composite picture of cult of thirteen tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes, mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Oto, Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony, HU-BML 4:127–132, 1937, with additions made on list by La Barre, 1938.

000 K-A: Kiowa-Apache. List filled in and notes supplied by J. Gilbert McAllister from information obtained during ethnographic field work performed 1933–1934 (eleven months) under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago.

Kio: Kiowa. List filled in and notes supplied by Weston La Barre. When returning the list La Barre wrote, "I believe that in peyotism tribal affiliation in this inter-tribal religion is far less important than leadership, i.e., what the particular leader's 'way' is, and from what leader he got his meeting." La Barre did field work in Oklahoma under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology (1935), Yale University, and the American Museum of Natural History.

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De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

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W
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Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

* Data for the Ute and Washo–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute Peyotism which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Winnebago NPR
Crow NQ10



127 128 795 C 127 128 795 OBD

a meeting in 1939, "sponsored by two Winnebago women . . . 'to thank Jesus' for their recovery from a recent sickness." A visiting Ogalala Sioux was chief drummer.

No C: Northern Cheyenne of Montana. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

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1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

# THE WINNEBAGO TRIBE

## Part I

## CHAPTER I

## HISTORY

### General Remarks

At what time the Winnebago entered Wisconsin it is impossible to say. It seems quite reasonable to suppose that they came from the east. If we are right in assuming that they are the builders of the effigy mounds, then we are justified in assigning a certain significance to the distribution of the latter. One of the interesting points of this distribution is that many are found along the shore of Lake Michigan and northward to Two Rivers, that some are found in Rock County, and that they gradually decrease in number as one proceeds north. This would lead us to assume that the Winnebago entered Wisconsin from the south, probably from the southeast. We ought, then, to find effigy mounds in Illinois and, in general, on the route of their probable journey from the east. This is not the case, and it is very difficult to account for their absence unless we assume that all traces of them have disappeared; that the Winnebago first developed their mound-building habit after they had reached Wisconsin; or that the mounds in Illinois are their work (and that of kindred tribes), and finally that the type of mound developed along different lines after they had definitely settled in Wisconsin. It is also possible that since the effigy mounds are undoubtedly closely associated with the clan organization this type of social organization was adopted by the Winnebago only after they entered Wisconsin. 172 174 [131]

There can be no doubt but that the Winnebago and the closely related tribes like the Missouri, Oto, and Iowa represented the second of the Siouan migrations westward. There were probably four of these migrations, as G. F. Will and H. J. Spinden claim, succeeding each other as follows: 174

1. Mandan, Hidatsa, Crow.
2. Iowa, Oto, Missouri, Winnebago.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



*c.* Four lodges once left the main tribe at Prairie du Chien or MacGregor, Wisconsin, and never returned. This happened after all the other tribes had leagued together against the Winnebago. The reason these four lodges left the Winnebago was because they were afraid that war might break out again. Some people believe that the Oto 173

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FIG. 1.—SECTIONAL MAP OF WISCONSIN, GIVING THE LOCATIONS OF SOME OF THE OLD VILLAGES.

EXPLANATION OF MAP.

[The numbers on the map indicate the localities of some of the Wisconsin Winnebago villages.]

1. Duck Island village, 1834-1842.
2. Yellow's village, 1797-1832.
3. Black Wolf's village, 1820.
4. Pumkey's village, 1832.
5. Sarvachum's village, 1700.
6. Rush Lake village.
7. Yellow Thunder's village, 1828-32.
8. Spread's village, 1827.
9. Old Gray-headed Decorah's village, 1700.
10. Big Fox's village, 1832.
11. Waterloo's village.
12. Iron Walker's village.
13. Little Priest's village, 1832.
Wakthing Thunder's village, 1832.
14. Kanyamanee's village, 1832.
15. Spotted Arm's village.
16. Dayton village.
17. White Crow's village, 1832.
18. Chanderka's village, 1832.
White Cry's village, 1832.
19. Old Gray-headed Decorah's village, 1700-1832.
20. Yellow Thunder's village.
21. Kanyamanee's village, 1828-32.
22. Spread's village, 1832.
23. Washington Decorah's village, 1832.
24. Bunnard Decorah's village, 1797.
Gray-eyed Decorah's village, 1832.
25. Little Decorah's village, 1832.
26. Big Hawk's village, Pine Lake.

are this last branch, for they speak the same language with but few differences and use many old words that the Winnebago employed long ago but have now given up.

*d.* Some lodges left the tribe never to return. Some say there were four, others give different numbers (of long lodges). Some say only one lodge. My uncle used to say that there were four. "I think that it is believed that they went to the east," he said.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



of possibly the year 1669. There is no record to say how many years before, though it was doubtless several years, for 50 years before La Potherie published his history Allouez had told the same story of the destruction of the Winnebago by the Illinois: 175 648

"About 30 years ago all the people of this nation were killed or taken captive by the Illinoek with the exception of a single man, who escaped, shot through the body with an arrow."

This would place the event in about the year 1640.

He adds that when the captives were permitted to return to their homes this one was made a "Captain of his Nation," as having never been a slave. Shea commenting on this disastrous defeat of the Winnebago says, "If this strange event took place at all, we must ascribe it to an earlier date than 1639 (1634), when visited by Nicolet, who "found them prosperous, and we can hardly suppose a tribe almost annihilated and then restored to its former numbers in 30 years." . . . Nicolet, it will be remembered, was sent to this then unknown region for the purpose of "making peace" between the Winnebago and the Hurons. As the Winnebago were strong enough to command that attention from Governor Champlain, Doctor Shea is quite correct in supposing the Winnebago to have been "a prosperous tribe" in 1634. The events mentioned in the foregoing accounts are not historical, but traditional, for assuredly they did not take place after the coming of Nicolet, as he was followed by other white men in such short periods as to make it impossible for the occurrence of these stirring events to go unrecorded by others.

Charlevoix visited the tribe in 1720, and though a historian of note in old Canada, records the occurrence as history, though we have shown it to have taken place, if at all, more than a century before he went among them. He possibly got the story from the records of Allouez, made a half century before, though it may have been a riverside or cabin story heard by him at the time of his visit to this frontier of New France. He says:

"The Outhagras, who are commonly called Puans, formerly lived on the shores of the bay . . . but they were attacked by the Illinois, who slew great numbers of them; the rest took refuge on the river of the Outagamis (Fox River), which empties into the end of the bay. They settled upon the shores of a sort of lake (Lake Winnebago)." [131]

Charlevoix . . . adds another disaster not mentioned by the other old writers. In this same narrative he records that "sometime after" the Winnebago had settled on Lake Winnebago:

"They undertook to revenge the defeat which they had suffered from the Illinois. Six hundred of their best men embarked to seek their enemy; but while they were crossing Lake Michigan they were surprised by a furious gale, which caused them all to perish."[6] [131]

The Winnebago still tell of these events and practically in the same words as Perrot obtained them, as can be learned from the following versions obtained in 1910. 173

*a.* When the Winnebago first originated, they were holy and clever. They were equal to the spirits. In those days there lived a Winnebago who could fly like a bird, one who could fly as far as four days' journey from the village. There was another Winnebago who could scent anything as far away as four days' journey from the village. Then there was one man who could talk with the trees. They told him many things. Finally there was one who could transform himself into a buffalo. On account of these four men, it was

[6] Op. cit., pp. [illegible].

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

# CHAPTER II

## WINNEBAGO ARCHEOLOGY

### General Problems

172 One of the most interesting and important features of the area occupied by the Winnebago is the large number of earth mounds found. That these mounds were made by the Winnebago or the Sioux there seems to be little doubt. The participation of the Sioux in the construction of these earth mounds seems, however, to have been confined entirely to the so-called linear and conical types. The effigy mounds seem to have been the work of the Winnebago exclusively[1] (figs. 2, 3).

The first really serious study of the Wisconsin mounds was made by I. A. Lapham in 1850, and his work must be considered of considerable importance still, by reason of the admirable plats of mounds long since leveled. The next discussion is found in Cyrus Thomas's Report on the Mound Explorations,[2] but he makes no attempt to explain them. Our first accurate knowledge dates from the inception of the Wisconsin Archeologist in 1901. Any attempt to study the archeology of Wisconsin will necessarily have to be based on material there published. An extremely useful and suggestive summary of the data has been made by A. B. Stout. This little pamphlet and that on the Koshkonong region[3] by the same author are of prime importance in the study of Winnebago archeology.

In order to understand the archeology of this region clearly it will be best to say a few words about the regions which were the early habitations of the Winnebago and the tribes that were their immediate neighbors.

[131] The Winnebago, when first found, were inhabiting the southern shore of Green Bay, Wis. Whether, at this time, they already extended farther south and west, it is impossible to say. The tradi-

[1] Cf. Radin, "Some Aspects of Winnebago Archeology," Amer. Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 13, no. 4, 1911. Prof. Dixon in his article on "Some Aspects of North American Archeology," Amer. Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 15, no. 4, 1913, accepts this conclusion. "The resemblance of the effigy mounds of Wisconsin and the adjacent area with the Winnebago or other Siouan tribes seems now reasonably certain, and one might therefore naturally regard the Serpent mound and the few others of this effigy type in the Ohio Valley as due also to tribes of the same stock," p. 502.

[2] Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 27-46, Washington, 1894.

[3] "Prehistoric Earthworks in Wisconsin," Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly, vol. 23, no. 1, Columbus, 1913; and "The Archæology of the Lake Koshkonong Region," Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 2, no. 2, 1903.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



The tradi-
tions speak only of Green Bay as their original habitat. On the other 101
shore of Green Bay were the Menominee, who likewise have no recol- [173]
lection of having lived anywhere else. To the northeast, along Door Peninsula, were the Potawatomi, unquestionably intruders, who had come by way of Mackinaw. To the southwest lay the Sauk and Fox, the closely related Kickapoo, and the enigmatic Mascoutin. Finally,

[172]

FIG. 2.—MAP OF WISCONSIN, SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF CIRCULAR MOUNDS.

to the south lay the Miami. Such seems to have been the distribution of the tribes around Green Bay and Lake Michigan at the first advent of the whites. Within 50 years of the landing of Nicollet the places were entirely shifted. Winnebago villages are found scattered 167
all along the Fox River and Lake Winnebago, the Sauk and Fox and 131
Kickapoo are on their way farther south, and the Potawatomi are in possession of the southern shore of Green Bay and the western shore of Lake Michigan. Later still we find the Winnebago extending all

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



167 along the Wisconsin River and west of it to the Mississippi, and, at the
131 same time, occupying the territory south of Lake Winnebago through the region of the Four Lakes, the shores of Lake Koshkonong and farther down along the Rock River into Illinois. Their eastern boundary was determined by the Potawatomi.

172 Let us return now to the distribution of the mounds. Of the three kinds of mounds found in Wisconsin, the conical and oval ones are the

FIG. 5.—MAP OF WISCONSIN, SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF EFFIGY MOUNDS.

commonest, and they are met with in practically every county of the State in which records have been made. They have also been found in Minnesota. The so-called effigy mounds, on the other hand, have never been found north of a line drawn through the southern boundary of Lincoln County. They have, however, been found in every area which the Winnebago occupied at one time or another,

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



114 junction with the Mississippi. Dr. Evan D. Pierce, of Trempealeau,
126 who was in charge of the park, was much interested in the native flora as well as in archeology, and we made a collection of ninety species then in bloom. Mr. Towne L. Miller, of Fairwater, Wisconsin, Honorary Curator of Archeology of the Museum collected the plants of the region throughout the season, for the Department of Botany.

The Winnebago Indians are found today scattered over the central
● 131 part of Wisconsin, principally in Marquette, Waushara, Portage, Sauk,
361 Juneau, Adams, Marathon, Wood, Clark, Jackson, and Monroe counties. Wood County with permanent settlements in Arpin, Vesper, Pittsville, Walker, Elm Lake, Dexterville, and Babcock, contains the largest number, about 750. Along the Hemlock River, not far from Pittsville, are found other large settlements of farming Winnebago. In other counties good-sized settlements are located at Neillsville, Wittenberg, Wyeville, Black River Falls, Hatfield, and Tomah. Their Indian agency and school are located at the last mentioned city.

114 Our chief location during the summer was at A. White's farm, on the Walker Road, six and a half miles south of Wisconsin Rapids.
123 When we arrived, Mr. White was at Kilbourn where many of the Winnebago camp during the tourist season, making baskets and bead work, and taking part in dances and entertainments. Jim Henniger and his wife, our pageant friends, were there, caring for her father, Dave Dekorah, a prominent man in the medicine lodge, who was sick. He afterwards died and was buried in their community graveyard, with Indian ceremony. The Whites made us welcome and we pitched our tent in a grove of white pines not far from their spring. There were
115 several other Winnebago Indians near at hand, including Henry Dick,
795 from Briggsville. Henry is important in the medicine society and im-
184 mediately made friends with us and started to teach us the Winne-
276 bago language. He was especially bitter against the peyote cult, which many Winnebago have embraced, declaring that peyote was worse than whiskey, because a man drunk on whiskey, would be sober the next morning and able to go to work, whereas with peyote, he became "crazy", and would not work for four or five days while under its influence. He further said that the peyote cult worshippers never possess anything, but live on their industrious neighbors who belong to the medicine lodge. These medicine lodge Indians raise potatoes, corn, beans, carrots, hay, grain, hogs and chickens, according to Henry, and would not let their own people starve, but did not like the shiftlessness of the peyote worshippers. He wished he could see the President of the United States to tell him not to let any Indian have peyote. He thinks bad days are coming to the peyote-eating Indians. A few years
276 ago, this cactus drug, most of which comes from Texas, sold for $4.00
435 a thousand buttons, but the current prices in 1928 were $25 per thou-
795 sand of number one size; $30.00 per thousand for number two size; and

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## *Preface*

There is only one way—to have a native himself give the account in his own mother tongue. The problem then resolves itself into finding the native. That is the task I set myself and through a piece of good luck I succeeded in accomplishing it. As the manner of its accomplishment is an interesting and illuminating story in itself, I hope I shall be excused for telling it in some detail.

In the year 1909 I commenced field investigations among the Winnebago Indians living on the Nebraska side of the Missouri River, about twenty-five miles south of Sioux City, Iowa. These Indians had the reputation of being fairly conservative. Perhaps the fact that a Presbyterian mission had in seventeen years succeeded in converting only one family, and a family which then unkindly died without leaving issue, may bear this out.

Among these Indians there lived a family named Blow Snake, consisting of a father and a fair number of children all grown up. Two of these were men quite well known in the tribe for a variety of reasons. These two became my principal informants. They had lived the most exciting of lives, for to the usual round of adventures that fall to the lot of most Indians of that region now, they had added a murder and a conversion, the murder first and the conversion afterwards. The older of the two seemed to be by far the more gifted. His memory was simply prodigious. He recounted to me a ceremony which took him two months, working practically six hours a day, to tell

*159 221 [223] good shot and I was greatly his inferior. He often killed pheasants.

*159 648 526 Whenever the older people went to town circulating petitions for help we youngsters always went along. We always took our bows and arrows with us for the Whites wanted to see how well we could shoot. Often they placed five-cent pieces on some object at a considerable distance and had us shoot at them. We generally hit a number. I would also let my brother shoot at twenty-five cent pieces that I held between my fingers and he never hit my fingers. We would often make as much as five dollars in this way and this money we always gave to our parents.

*159 22 [131] [861] In summer the Winnebago would return to Black River Falls (Wisconsin). We used to go out with our bows and arrows and stay out all day. At evening when we returned we of course always expected to get a scolding and we therefore had a good excuse ready. It really would have been much better had we returned earlier in the day, but we were enjoying ourselves so much hunting that night overtook us when we were still a long distance from home. Often we would not eat anything at all all day, but to that we were accustomed. Sometimes we would go fishing on a stream nearby, forget all about the time, and then return home very late. We got a scolding then even although we had a good excuse.

[P. 88]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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*c.* Four lodges once left the main tribe at Prairie du Chien or MacGregor, Wisconsin, and never returned. This happened after all the other tribes had leagued together against the Winnebago. The reason these four lodges left the Winnebago was because they were afraid that war might break out again. Some people believe that the Oto

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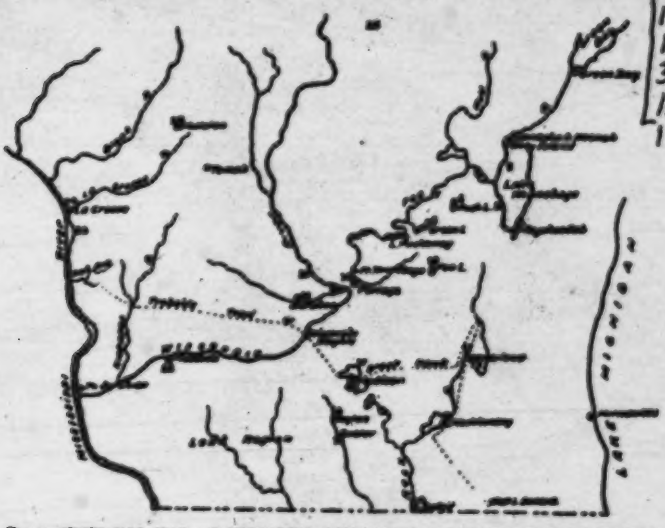

FIG. 1. SKETCHED MAP OF WISCONSIN, GIVING THE LOCATIONS OF SOME OF THE OLD VILLAGES.

EXPLANATION OF MAP.

(The numbers on the map indicate the localities of some of the Wisconsin Winnebago villages.)

1. Doty Island village, 1816-1832.
2. Fowlers a village, 1797-1832.
3. Black Wolf's village, 1828.
4. Souhier's village, 1816.
5. Sarrorhan's village, 1700.
6. Rush Lake village.
7. Yellow Thunder's village, 1828-32.
8. Sayer's village, 1827.
9. Old Gray-headed Decorah's village, 1700.
10. Big Fox's village, 1832.
11. Wakarisa village.
12. Iron Walker's village.
13. Little Priest's village, 1832.
Whirling Thunder's village, 1828.
14. Kawrumanan's village, 1832.
15. Spotted Arm's village.
16. Dayton village.
17. White Crow's village, 1832.
18. Chankaka's village, 1816.
White Oak's village, 1832.
19. Old Gray-headed Decorah's village, 1700-1828.
20. Yellow Thunder's "forty."
21. Kawrumanan's village, 1828-32.
22. Sayer's village, 1827.
23. Washington Decorah's village, 1832.
24. Bunnard Decorah's village, 1797.
One-eyed Decorah's village, 1832.
25. Little Decorah's village, 1827.
26. Big Hawk's village, Pine Lake.

are this lost branch, for they speak the same language with but few differences and use many old words that the Winnebago employed long ago but have now given up.

*d.* Some lodges left the tribe never to return. Some say there were four, others give different numbers (of long lodges). Some say only one lodge. My uncle used to say that there were four. "I think that it is believed that they went to the east," he said.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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A. RED BANKS, NEAR GREEN BAY, WIS., LEGENDARY ORIGIN PLACE OF THE WINNEBAGO

A. RED BANKS, NEAR GREEN BAY, WIS.

[Facing p. 66 (A)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

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FOUR LEGS' VILLAGE ON DOTY ISLAND, 1830
(From Waubun)

[Facing p. 88(c)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

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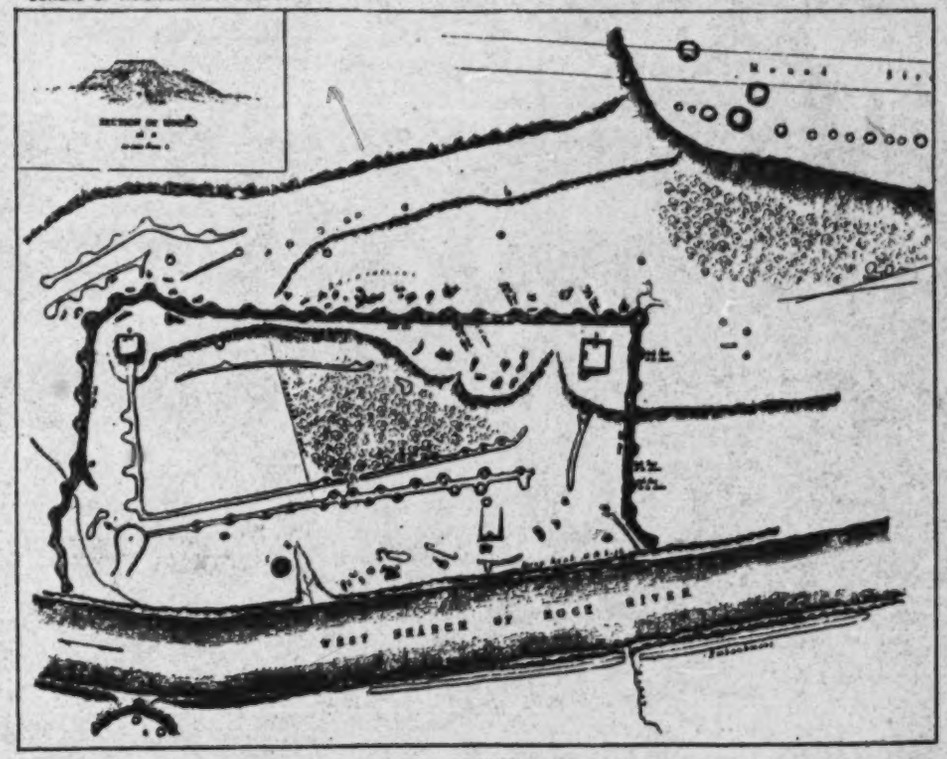
173






AZTALAN
(After Lapham)

[Facing p. 88(D)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



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A BURIAL IN A MOUND AT BORCHER'S BEACH
(From Wisconsin Archeologist)

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A CONICAL MOUND, CUTLER PARK, WAUKESHA, WIS.

[Facing p. 91 (A)]

A SERIES OF BURIAL MOUNDS

(Artalus, Jefferson County)

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12
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133

[Facing p. 92 (A)]

ZAHN MOUND, CALUMET COUNTY, WIS.

(From Wisconsin Archeologist)

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

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[Facing p. 92(c)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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133

a. EXTERIOR OF MEDICINE DANCE LODGE

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b. INTERIOR OF MEDICINE DANCE LODGE

[facing p. 350 (8)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



*Names of the principal trees, etc.*

192
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| | |
|---|---|
| ratowek'a'wa, resin-wood. | pa° dja'gu, hickory. |
| ra°ldje, moss. | tranu'ka, butternut. |
| wax cutr, cedar (red cedar). | na° ra'ąk', maple. |
| tratra°na, ironwood. | ruyi, willow. |
| witri, flat cornered reed used for lodges. | rak, ash. |
| ra, round reed used for mats. | tracge'gu, oak. |
| hi°ngo', basswood. | mank'a'rak, elm. |
| wazi, pine in general. | hukaga, hazel. |
| wazi parar, white cedar. | na° p'a'ga, cherry. |
| wacgo', poplar. | na° ho'rgf, box-elder. |
| tra° ba'wa, birch. | hoyu', cottonwood. |
| tcage, walnut. | |

*Names of the principal vegetables and fruits*

| | |
|---|---|
| tcora'hora, a water root. | hacedjek', strawberry. |
| wokna°gora, root called "awl" root. | hap'a'nap'nanage, gooseberry. |
| ha°r'kbai'dja, pea vine. | hotcąkr', cranberry. |
| dora, a sort of artichoke. | k'a°tc hi°cek, peaches (fuzzy plums). |
| pa°kxi, root found in lowlands. | kc0 carotc, apple (long and round apple). |
| na°p'ak, chokecherries. | wak'a°rotcawa, wild currant (snake's navel). |
| k'a°tc, plum. | dokr'wehi, prairie turnip. |
| kc0 crabapple. | ha°a'ąk, bean. |
| tcoa'°wa°, fruit of a tree similar to crabapple tree. | ha°nank' na°di, climbing bean. |
| hazr'cutrga, raspberry. | ha°a'ąk' mink, nonclimbing bean. |
| hanla'manhdo, blackberry. | ma°hi°tc, milkweed. |
| hanlinąk', blueberries. | |

*Animals and parts of animals whose flesh is not eaten*

192
136
262

| | |
|---|---|
| waąkrąk, dogfish. | weasel. |
| djadja'ąka'k, mink. | marten. |
| dacc'na°k, otter. | na centralis (a'djwąja). |
| ho wak'a°, eel (holy fish). | gopher. |
| k'ayi, crow (really northern raven). | horse. |
| tranra'p, eagle. | |

*Agriculture.*—In the old days the Winnebago always raised in their permanent villages at least corn, squash, and beans. As the villages consisted practically of a group of families belonging to different clans, each clan apparently living by itself, the question of clan ownership of these fields was hardly considered. (This statement is made because some Winnebago spoke of clan ownership.) What actually occurred was, in the opinion of the author, as follows: Each group of families being segregated according to clan, it happened that certain family groups had fields in common. This must have happened rather frequently, for there seems to have been a tendency—although this can not be said with certainty owing to the meagerness of reliable information—for related families to hold together in these settlements. In general, however, each family owned and cultivated its own field.

241
614
423
[62]

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 Thus I acted up to the time that I have memory of things.

*159 In those days there were not many white people
221 living near us as to-day. My father went out hunt-
[224] ing continually. The lodge in which we lived was cov-
[342] ered with rush mattings, with reed mattings spread over
[352] the floor. After hunting for some time in one place we would move to another. My father, mother, older sisters, and older brothers, all carried the packs. Thus we would spend our time until the spring of the year and then in the spring we would again move in order
[224] to live near some stream where father could hunt
[136] muskrats, mink, otter, and beaver.

In the summer we always returned to Black River Falls, Wisconsin. Here all the Indians gathered after
[222] they had given their feasts. Then we picked berries. When picking berries my father used to buy me gum
*159 so that I should not be able to eat any of the berries.
[261] I managed however to eat berries and chew gum at the same time. After a while I learned to chew tobacco and then I did not eat the berries while picking them.
[276] Later on I got to like tobacco very much and I probably used up more money in buying tobacco than would have been the value of the berries had I eaten them.

ing and crying to await the coming of the spirit Among the Winne-
[180] bago, and probably among many other tribes, it was customary
[593] for the parents or grandparents, to prepare the children specifically for what was likely to happen; to inform them how to recognize
[603] the approach of the spirit and, what was more to the point, to teach them how to distinguish a good from a bad spirit.

[2]

[i.e., during their quest for a guardian spirit, see P.1, Category 116 -- Analyst]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



*Names of the principal trees, etc.*

192
137

ma'nowk'a'wa, main-wood.
na'hje, moss.
wax cutr, cedar (red cedar).
ts'atra'na, ironwood.
witri, flat corrected reed used for lodges.
ra, round reed used for mats.
hi'rgo', basswood.
wazi, pine in general.
wazi pana, white cedar.
wargo', poplar.
tra' ts'a'wa, birch.
tragu, walnut.
pa' dja'gu, hickory.
tsazu'ts, butternut.
na' ra'ąk', maple.
ruyi, willow.
rak, ash.
tsarge'gu, oak.
mank'a'rak, elm.
hokaigu, hazel.
na' p'a'gu, cherry.
na' ho'rgi, box-elder.
heyu', cottonwood.

*Names of the principal vegetables and fruits*

teera'hora, a water root.
wakna'gora, root called "awl" root.
ha'rkhoi'dja, pea vine.
dora, a sort of artichoke.
pa'kxi, root found in lowlands.
na'p'ak, chokecherries.
k'a'te, plum.
kcē crabapple.
tsoni'wa', fruit of a tree similar to crabapple tree.
hazr'cutrgu, raspberry.
hawda'manketu, blackberry.
hanlinąk', blueberries.
hawdjek', strawberry.
hap'a'nap'anazgu, gooseberry.
hatrąkr', cranberry.
k'a'te hi'rek, peaches (fuzzy plums).
kcē carotc, apple (long and round apple).
wak'a'retcawa, wild currant (snake's navel).
dokr'wehi, prairie turnip.
ha'n'ąk, bean.
ha'nank' na'di, climbing bean.
ha'n'ąk' mink, nonclimbing bean.
ma'hi'tr, milkweed.

*Animals and parts of animals whose flesh is not eaten*

192
136
262

waąkrąk, dogfish.
djadja'ąka'k, mink.
dorc'na'k, otter.
ho wak'a', eel (holy fish).
k'ayi, crow (really northern raven).
tsazu'p, eagle.
weasel.
martin.
no entrails (a'djwąja).
gopher.
horse.

*Agriculture.*—In the old days the Winnebago always raised in their permanent villages at least corn, squash, and beans. As the villages consisted practically of a group of families belonging to different clans, each clan apparently living by itself, the question of clan ownership of these fields was hardly considered. (This statement is made because some Winnebago spoke of clan ownership.) What actually occurred was, in the opinion of the author, as follows: Each group of families being segregated according to clan, it happened that certain family groups had fields in common. This must have happened rather frequently, for there seems to have been a tendency—although this can not be said with certainty owing to the meagerness of reliable information—for related families to hold together in these settlements. In general, however, each family owned and cultivated its own field.

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[62]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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and the breast of most animals were considered good portions, but the head of the deer was included. Other portions were eaten, however. For infants the deer's tail was considered a delicacy. Now, when they eat meat provided by the white man, rib roast of beef is the favorite meat of the Winnebago. 252 262 [254] [172]

The Winnebago were very fond of soups of all descriptions. Most of these were meat soups with the addition of vegetables or berries.

Most time was, however, spent in the preparation of vegetable foods, especially in the preparation of wild rice and corn. For the preparation of rice I will again quote Professor Jenks's article:

> At this stage of the harvest when the Winnebago gather the wild rice, the kernel is very like a long oat and has a tough hull, which must be removed before the grain can be eaten. The necessity of removing this hull and the unripe condition of the grain make it necessary to dry it artificially. This is usually done by spreading the kernels yet inclosed in the hull upon a rack of lattice work, under which a slow fire is kept burning. The grain is cured and the hull made brittle by the heat and smoke. The next process is the threshing. The Winnebago thresher the grain by the use of a most primitive flail. He spreads a blanket, rush mat, or deerskin on the ground, upon which he puts the now cured grain. Along three sides of the blanket he erects a screen of similar material. At the open side of this screen the man squats on his knees, and beats the grain with a straight stick in each hand, thus releasing it from the hull. When it has been threshed the woman gathers up the contents of the blanket and winnows the mass by letting it fall from a vessel held high in the air upon a blanket or mat laid on the earth, the wind blows away the chaff from the falling grain and leaves the clean kernels.

The Winnebago distinguished a number of different kinds of corn, the principal ones being *wahi'ereke*, yellow-stalked; *hirarahona*, sweet corn; and *wurur'tirke*, red-colored corn. The cornstalk was called *waha'*, the corn proper, *witen'ᵊwuᵊs*, and the cob, *wuna'k'*. The corn is pounded on a rack (*weirk'*) and then shelled, the grain falling through the rack and the cobs remaining on top. After being shelled the corn is steamed. Then the stones necessary for cooking it are gathered and the corn is picked. When this is finished, a hole is dug in the ground and red-hot stones are put in. Over this the husks are put and upon these the corn; then another layer of husks, etc. The top always is covered with husks. Four holes are made through the husks, into which four pails of water are poured and the whole is covered with a thick layer of earth and the corn left there overnight. The next morning it will be entirely cooked. 252 243 137

In shelling, the outer part of an oyster shell is used. When the shelling is over the corn is spread out and dried. [237 412]

Squash is prepared as follows: After the skin has been removed the squash is cut into slices and the seeds taken out; the slices of squash are then put on poles to dry. The dried squash is called *hoiw'ᵊwuᵊdawa*. There are two varieties of this vegetable—*witen'ᵊwuᵊ*, Hubbard squash, and *witen'ᵊwuᵊsik*, small-kernel squash.

Fruit was dried, but by what process the author has not learned. [251]

## §18. *My Brother Is Murdered*

*159 Shortly after this my elder brother was killed. We
[682] two had grown up together and had hardly ever been
[152] separated. I felt quite heartbroken over it. I longed
to kill the man who had murdered him. I felt that it
would be better if I myself were dead. In this frame
*159 of mind I took to drinking a great deal. Indeed it was
273 my wish to die drinking and I would announce this
when I was drinking heavily. Up to that time I had
drunk secretly, but now I did so openly. Soon I
became a confirmed drunkard. By that time I had
quite forgotten the fact that I had wanted to die. In-
deed I enjoyed drinking very much.

I got into the habit, then, of giving women whisky
[685] and getting them hopelessly drunk and then I would
steal anything of value they possessed. I also learned
[526] to box and soon became quite expert. I was never de-
feated, and in consequence treated every one roughly.
Every one was afraid of me because of my skill with
the gloves. My father was a strong man and so were
my elder brothers, and neither of them had ever been
[156] defeated at wrestling. For all these reasons I was very
arrogant. Besides all this I was very tall. I am six
• [141] feet two inches high and weigh about two hundred and
fifty pounds. In actual fact I was not really as strong

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

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G22
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a. BLACK WOLF, CHIEF OF THE WINNEBAGO VILLAGE AT BLACK WOLF POINT, LAKE WINNEBAGO, 1827

(From Lewis's Aboriginal Portfolio)

b. FOUR LEGS, CHIEF OF THE WINNEBAGO VILLAGE ON DOTY ISLAND, 1827

(From Lewis's Aboriginal Portfolio)

[Facing p. 66(B)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



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JASPER BLOWSNAKE

[Facing p. 66 (c)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



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JOHN FISHER

[Facing p. 66 (D)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



142
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a. JAMES PINE

b. JOHN RAVE AND FAMILY

[Facing p. 66 (E)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



142
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a. JOHN FIREMAN
(Front view)

b. JOHN FIREMAN
(Profile view)

142
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302

c. WHITEBREAST

d. JOHN RAYMOND

[Facing p. 66 (F)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

142
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a. YOUNG WINNEBAGO WOMAN AND DAUGHTER

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b. OLD WINNEBAGO AND DAUGHTER

[Facing p. 66 (6)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



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a. GRAY HAIR

b. RED WING

142
302
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c. JAMES RICEHILL

d. ALBERT HENSLEY (Front view)

WINNEBAGO TYPES

[Facing p.66 (H)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



142
291

a. JOHN BAPTISTE

b. HUGH HUNTER

c. LEVI ST. CYR

d. ALBERT HENSLEY (Profile view)

WINNEBAGO TYPES

[Facing p. 88(A)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



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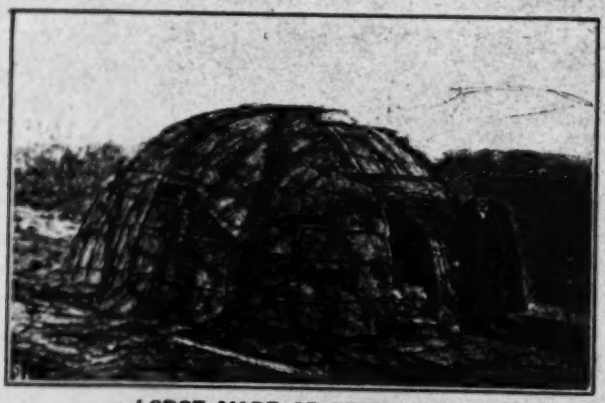

a. LODGE MADE OF REED MATTING

342
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142

b. LODGE MADE OF BARK WITH COVERING OF REED MATTING

[301]

a. LODGE MADE OF BARK

[Facing p. 92(b)]

1:Radio E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

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a. WINNEBAGO IN FULL DRESS



a. THOMAS MALLORY



[516]

[Facing p. 1044 (B)]

a. WINNEBAGO WOMEN, SHOWING MODERN DRESS

b. WINNEBAGO WOMEN IN OLD-STYLE SILK APPLIQUÉ DRESSES

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12
142
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[Facing p. 104(c)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

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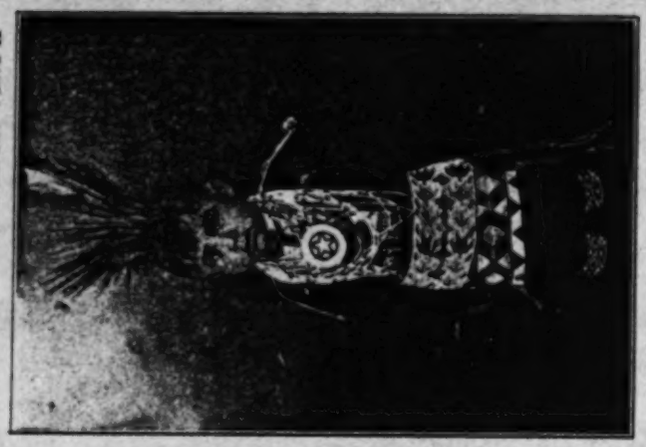

a. YOUNG BOY IN FULL WARRIOR'S COSTUME

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a. YOUNG CHILD IN MODERN DRESS

[Facing p. 104 (D)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



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a. GROUP OF WINNEBAGO IN OLD-STYLE COSTUMES

b. WINNEBAGO FAMILY

[Facing p. 108 (A)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

142
301
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[237]

a. WINNEBAGO, SHOWING MODERN HEADGEAR

b. WINNEBAGO WITH DEER-TAIL HEADDRESS

[Facing p. 103 (b)]

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534
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1142
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MOCCASIN GAME

[Facing p. 122 (A)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



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a. WINNEBAGO AND DAUGHTER

b. OLD WINNEBAGO WOMAN

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c. WOMAN AND CHILD, SHOWING CRADLE-BOARD

d. WOMAN AND CHILD, SHOWING METHOD OF CARRYING INFANT

[Facing p. 126 (A)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



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a. PEYOTE LEADERS

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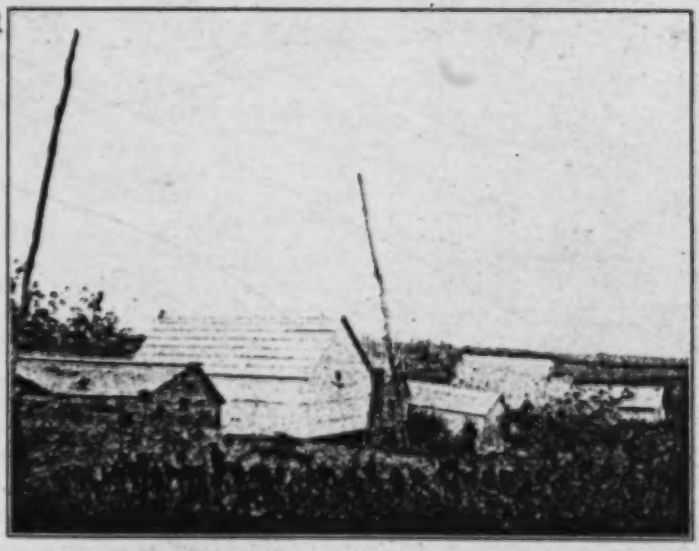

b. BURIAL HUTS

[Facing p. 388]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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● JHR
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a. OLIVER LAMERE

b. JOHN RAVE

[Facing p. 389]

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929

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[P. 147]

122

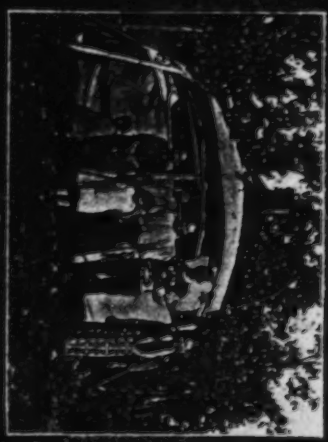

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FIG. 120.--Big Wave and his family standing before his house.
FIG. 121.--Medicine Lodge near Big Wave's home.
FIG. 122.--Framework of the War-bundle Ceremony lodge.
FIG. 123.--Big Wave making sacred fire, accompanied by his wife.

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1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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they forced their way through the country occupied by the Winnebago, war would not have occurred. 174 [648]

The Winnebago call themselves *Hotcąpara*, which has been variously interpreted as "people of the parent speech" by James Owen Dorsey and as "big fish people" by other observers. Dorsey's explanation, which is the one most generally accepted, is most certainly wrong, and represents an interpretation read into the word to make it fit the legends which claimed that the dialect was the most archaic of all the Siouan languages. It is true that *ho* may mean "speech," but *ťcąpa* can only mean one thing, and that is "big, real." It is found with a number of animal names, such as *ketcąpa*, "turtle," and *cuitcąpa*, "wolf." It corresponds strictly to the Dakotan *tanka*, "large." *Ho* means "fish" in Winnebago. The name Winnebago, as is well known, is of Algonquian origin. 101 [114] [192]

The Winnebago were first encountered by white men in 1634, when Jean Nicolet visited them as agent for Governor Champlain. Where he encountered them is not definitely known. The Winnebago as a rule claim that it was at Green Bay. Some discussion has arisen of late years on this question. No contemporary narrative of the event exists, nor have the Winnebago any clearly marked legend that might be interpreted as referring to it. 175

An excellent description of their history has been given by P. V. Lawson [1] and from this we will quote at some length, selecting those periods that are of greatest importance in the history of the tribe and which can be illustrated by semihistorical legends still known to the Winnebago.

Much of our knowledge of the early history of the Winnebago is derived from Bacqueville de la Potherie's Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale. A good deal of his information was obtained from Nicholas Perrot. For the period covering the years 1640–1660 we have the following information: [2]

> A few years ago, they numbered possibly 150 warriors. These savages have no mutual fellow-feeling; they have caused their own ruin, and have been obliged to divide their own forces. They are naturally very impatient of control, and very passionate; a little matter excites them; and they are great braggarts. They are, however, well-built, and are brave soldiers, who do not know what danger is; and they are subtle and crafty in war. Although they are convinced that their ancestors drew upon themselves the enmity of all the surrounding Nations, they cannot be humble. Their women are extremely laborious; they are neat in their houses, but very disgusting about their food. [162] [181] [52] [461] [264]

[1] The Winnebago tribe, in Wisconsin Archæologist, vol. 6, no. 3, Milwaukee, 1907.
[2] Quoted in Lawson's paper, p. 88.

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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796 The shrine about which this ceremony centers is also a bundle, in
778 this instance owned by one of the waiters, but not necessarily so. Its
535 setting up followed a definite procedure. A small mound of sand was first heaped up on the grassy floor of the lodge. A wooden bowl was placed on the top center of the mound, and a tin bowl directly west of the mound. These were both filled with maple syrup. Four men placed handsful of tobacco at the base of each of the syrup containers. Then the bowl of syrup was removed from the mound, to be placed adjacent to the tin vessel, and from the open buffalo bundle a number of buffalo tai's were taken and placed upon the mound. Four small
[823] eagle feathers, dyed red, were inserted in the margins of the mound to point in the four cardinal directions.

123 The leader, accompanied by musicians with rattles and one drummer,
535 then sang one set of four songs. A dance song followed, practically
796 everyone present joining in the dance, forming in line behind the leader and circling the lodge in a counter-clockwise direction. All the men were in the forepart of the line; the women followed the men. As the line was forming, several of the men urged the humble subscriber to this account to join the dance. Never before having witnessed the particular performance, I was entirely ignorant of the correct procedure, but realizing that this was a common dance in which anyone could participate without special preparation or careful observance of conduct, I, to my downfall, consented. I joined the line where it was forming immediately in front of me. The dance started before I became aware of my embarassing position; for whereas all the other men were grouped to comprise the leading half of the line, I was far back in the formation, distantly removed from the other representatives of my sex —dancing with the squaws. The shouts of merriment arising from both the men and women satisfied me, however, that I had not committed the unpardonable sin. Nevertheless, as soon as it was convenient, I corrected the error of my position.

796 As the line passed the bowls of syrup, the dancers each drank of
535 the contents; the men from one bowl, the women from the other. The singing and dancing was continued until all the syrup was gone. Finally, the wooden bowl having been replaced on the sand altar, the leader approached it on hands and knees, mimicking the grunts and actions of a buffalo. He then proceeded to butt the bowl with his head, turning it over.

796 Speeches by the leader and by other prominent men brought the cere-
152 mony to a close.
781 My general reactions to the performance were two-fold. In the first place, I could not but be impressed by the exalted fervor of the older participants; at times tears coursed down the cheeks of Big Wave as he sang the spirit songs of his ancestors, and other participants
500 showed the effect of strong emotion. Secondly, I beheld the ancient

## *Fasting*

although the feast was supposedly given in our honor, we were placed on one side of the main participants. After the kettles containing the food had been put on twice, it became daylight and the feast was over. [159] [781] *

The following spring we moved to the Mississippi in order to trap. I was still fasting and ate only at night. My brothers used to flatter me, telling me that I was the cleverest of them all and, in consequence, I used to continue fasting although I was often very hungry. In spite of my desire to fast, however, I could not resist the temptation of being around the girls. I wanted always to be near them. They were generally in their menstrual lodges [13] when I looked for them. My parents did not wish me to go near the girls then but I went nevertheless. [221] [224] [152] [185] [865]

My parents told me that only those boys who had no connection with women would be blessed by the spirits. Throughout this time my sole wish was to appear great in the sight of the people. To be praised by my fellowmen was all I desired. And I certainly received what I sought. I stood high in their estimation. That the women might like me was another of the reasons why I wanted to fast. But as to being blessed, I learned nothing about it, although I went around with the air of one who had received many blessings and talked as such a one would talk. [156]

[13] Any contact with menstruating women, or even with objects in any way connected with them, will, it is the firm belief of the Winnebago, destroy the power of sacred objects or individuals temporarily sacred. Fasting youths were regarded as such. [841] [778] [785]

# *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

back for home they were told under no circumstances 159*
to turn around and look in the direction of the grave. 769

As soon as they returned home the man in charge
of the funeral arrangements went around the village 159*
and invited every one to come to the wake. Brave men 765
and warriors are especially welcome.

The mourners prepared food and when the sun went down the chief mourner took a stick made of hard wood, lit it, and carried it to the grave, placing it at the east end. It must be still burning when put there. After this the man returned and the funeral manager prepared everything for the feast. When all were gathered around he rose and addressed the people as follows:

Relatives, all you who are gathered around here, I greet 159*
you. I have done nothing of any consequence which could 765
justify you in coming here and thus honoring me, but being 537
relatives of mine, you came in the kindness of your hearts 539
to comfort me. I have prepared cooked food and boiled water for the dead person. Tobacco is also handy and as soon as the attendant is ready he will pass this around to those who wish any.

It is good that so many of you have come to-night. You know that we are not creating any new ceremony but are simply following what our ancestors found to be true and good. And as it is said that we should not weep aloud, [152] ●
you will not hear any of us making utterings of sorrow. And even though we weep silently, should any one come to us we will look upon them smiling. We therefore beg of you, should you find us happy in mood, not to think the worst of us.

## §18. *My Brother Is Murdered*

*159 Shortly after this my elder brother was killed. We
[682] two had grown up together and had hardly ever been
[150] separated. I felt quite heartbroken over it. I longed
to kill the man who had murdered him. I felt that it
would be better if I myself were dead. In this frame
*159 of mind I took to drinking a great deal. Indeed it was
273 my wish to die drinking and I would announce this
when I was drinking heavily. Up to that time I had
drunk secretly, but now I did so openly. Soon I
became a confirmed drunkard. By that time I had
quite forgotten the fact that I had wanted to die. In-
deed I enjoyed drinking very much.

I got into the habit, then, of giving women whisky
[685] and getting them hopelessly drunk and then I would
steal anything of value they possessed. I also learned
[526] to box and soon became quite expert. I was never de-
feated, and in consequence treated every one roughly.
Every one was afraid of me because of my skill with
the gloves. My father was a strong man and so were
my elder brothers, and neither of them had ever been
[156] defeated at wrestling. For all these reasons I was very
arrogant. Besides all this I was very tall. I am six
[141] feet two inches high and weigh about two hundred and
fifty pounds. In actual fact I was not really as strong

## § 24. *A Woman Quarrels with Me*

*159 I was met by my father and mother and a woman
831 who was living with me before I left. They were very
508 glad to see me. When I got home I found many people
152 camping there. At the camp the woman fixed a bed
for me, gave me some food, and told me to lie down
with her. Instead, I went out and made inquiries about
a woman with whom I had once lived. I found that
she was still there. To her lodge I went, and with her
I stayed that night. In the morning the other woman
was angry. However, I continued staying with this
new one. Late on the following night some one woke
me up. "Come out," the voice said. I went out with
a blanket around me and found my former wife. She
it was who was calling me. She said, "In the morning
[650] the annuity payment is to be paid in Necedah. I am
going there to-night, and I want you to go with me."
"I haven't any money," I answered. "As though you
ever had any money of your own when you wanted to
do something!" I refused to go with her. She persisted, and finally I went back and lay down. After a
while she followed me inside and hit me very hard and
called me names. She kicked me and pulled my hair.
"If I had anything with which to kill you, I would kill
you." Finally I got angry, and she stopped and went
away.

## §28. *Our Prison Life and the Trial*

We were waiting for the spring term of the court. 159* We stayed in prison all winter. I was very tired of it, 698 but I kept that secret because otherwise the other men would be likely to make fun of me. Sometimes I really 152 felt like crying, but I acted as though I did not care at all. I was married at the time I had been imprisoned, and I hungered to see my wife and was in a terrible condition, but I told the others that I did not care in the least. The others were also married, and some of them showed their lonesomeness markedly. Occasionally one of our wives would visit us. The men said that I seemed the only one who did not apparently care. As a matter of fact, of course, I could hardly stand it, although I kept my condition quite secret. I only felt better when I wrote a letter to my wife, and [212] then when she answered I felt very happy.

We used to read one another's letters, and whenever 159* our wives wrote to us, we would tease one another 698 about the contents.

After a while the spring term of the court arrived, and we were happy. When the time for our trial came, however, we were told that our case had been bound over to the fall term. So we had to stay in prison all summer. When the fall term came, the case was bound

*159 over until the following spring. It was enough to cause
648 one to say "Oh, my!" in impatience. During the win-
[531] ter we used to make bead work and compete with one
[301] another as to who could do the best. We made beaded
finger-rings, and these were always purchased by some
[432] one. By selling these rings we thus made quite a good
deal of money. We also made suspenders. I made
thirty of them and sold them for seven dollars a pair.
We thus had plenty of money and drank all the time.
There were some prisoners locked up together with us
whose terms were almost over, and these were allowed
to go outside. They would buy us the whisky. We
[525] gambled, too, playing for money stakes.

One day my wife came to visit me. I talked to her
through the iron grating. I was allowed to talk to her
for a long time. All I could do was to desire her. I
●[152] wanted her badly. When the wives of the others came,
they felt just as I did.

[578] Once we had a fight. We had been drinking and
[273] were disputing about a game. Afterwards we were
quite humble about it.

Shortly after this we found out that my wife had
*159 married again. I did not feel like eating, but I tried
152 hard to do so, because I thought that the others would
648 notice it. Then I said to them, "I am glad to hear
837 about this report that my wife has married again.
When I get out of prison I will pay the one who has
married her, for he is taking care of her until my re-
lease. Indeed I have felt quite uneasy about her for
some time. Now I feel quite relieved, for she is being

## *Our Prison Life and the Trial*

provided for." Thus I spoke. But the truth of it was 159 *
that I was as angry as I could very well be. I made up 152 ●
my mind that I would take her away from whomsoever 648
she might be living with. Then I thought that I would 839
make her feel as sad as I could; I thought I would disfigure her, cut off her nose, then take her to the wilderness, give her a sound beating, and leave her there. I could not think of anything else all the time, and I believe that for a time I did not even taste food. I often felt like crying. At night I would not be able to sleep, for I could not forget the whole affair. Sometimes I would dream of seeing her, and then in the morning I would tell the others about it and feel better. Throughout all this time I never thought of all those of my relatives who were really concerned for me. Not even that grateful was I. I only thought of the woman.

Now the time for the next session of the court had 159 *
arrived. It was the spring session. We were given a 698
trial. They always took us to the court in handcuffs. We had each a lawyer. At the first hearing one of us was freed, the other three remaining in prison. Then the lawyers pleaded the case of the others, and two more were freed, I being one of these. The man who had actually done the killing was the only one who remained in prison.

[p. 167]

## §29. *My Release from Prison and First Acquaintance with the Peyote*

*159 When we were released we found our relatives waiting for us. My older brother was there, and with him I went home. We began to drink immediately. I was [273] very happy, although when I was in prison I had felt that I would never drink again. We reached the [837] Winnebago the same day. There I met a woman, and I cohabited with her that very night. I had been [152] desiring that for a long time. Then I began to drink again. After a while I went to Black River Falls and [837] there met my former wife, whom I immediately took back again.

[527] The Indians were just then celebrating their midsummer feasts. I went among them, took part, and drank [156] a great deal. I considered myself a brave man and a medicine man; I thought myself a holy man, a strong one, and a favorite with women. I felt that I was in [832] possession of many courting medicines. A brave man I felt myself; a fleet runner. I was an excellent singer [527] of songs at the Brave Dance;[10] I was a sport, and I [273] wanted whisky every day.

My mother and father had gone to the Missouri River, to the Winnebago living in Nebraska. They left me in charge of two horses and a wagon belonging

[10] A non-sacred war dance whose songs were very popular.

l:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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776 In the fall of the year in which the man said this the people, as
787 usual, went out hunting and the man got lost and was forced to camp out in the wilderness overnight. So he built a fire and sat alongside of it. Suddenly he saw a man coming toward him. As soon as the stranger came up to him he took a seat on the opposite side of the fireplace. Then the stranger said, "I am the one whom you threatened to kick off this earth whenever you met him. You, furthermore, boasted that I could not kill you." Then he pointed his finger in a line with the man's heart. But the man remained seated near the fireplace without moving. Then he did this again, yet the man still remained in his former position. Then the third time he did it and said, "In the center of the heart." The man, however, remained seated just as before. Then the stranger exclaimed, "Who are you anyhow?" and pointed his finger at him. But the man did not move. Then the stranger (Disease-giver) pleaded with the man to die so that it might not be said that he had failed in the "mission" for which he had been created. He promised the man that if he would oblige him and die he could come back to earth again within four days. Finally the man consented. He went home and told his folks that he was going to a certain place to
787 die for the space of four days and that they should, under no con-
775 ditions, go to see him there, for in that case he would surely die. Then he dressed himself in his best clothes and went to the place where he was to meet Disease-giver. (He rested his head against a tree and died.) However, on the third day his wife could not resist the desire to see him, so she went to the place where her husband was leaning against the tree. Then he really died. After his death a red spot was visible upon his forehead.*

### Methods of Bringing the Spirits into Relation with Man

785 *Fasting.*—Fasting has been discussed before. There are two things to be remembered in connection with it—first, that it is a method of superinducing a religious feeling; and, secondly, that this religious feeling in turn is bound up with the desire for preserving and perpetuating socio-economic life values. Among the Winnebago the desirability of the conditions superinduced by fasting lay not so much in the emotional pleasure it gave, although this is not to be underestimated, as in the belief which the shamans had developed, that such a state was essential for placing people in a position enabling them to overcome certain crises in life, which it was reasonable to believe might take place.

787 *Mental concentration.*—To the religiously inclined Winnebago the
● 153 efficacy of a blessing, of a ceremony, etc., depended upon what they

* This is not supposed to be a myth but the real experience of a man named James Redhawk.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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called "concentrating one's mind" upon the spirits, upon the details 787
of the ritual, or upon the precise purpose to be accomplished. All 153
other thoughts were to be rigidly excluded, they believed. This was the insistent admonition of the Winnebago elders to the youth who was fasting. He was to center his mind completely on the spirits, for his blessing would be in direct proportion to the power of concentration he was capable of. The Winnebago believed that the relation between man and the spirits was established by this concentration and that no manner of care in ritualistic detail could take its place. Very frequently failure on a warpath or lack of efficacy of a ritual was attributed to the fact that the Indian or Indians had been lacking in [154]
the intensity of their "concentration."

*Offerings and sacrifices.*—The theory of offering and sacrifice held 782
by the Winnebago has been discussed before. To the important 776
deities offerings were made at the great ceremonies. These offerings consisted of tobacco preeminently, buckskins, and whatever the particular spirit was supposed to like. The animal spirits were given their favorite foods—honey to the bear, for instance. Dogs were offered to Disease-giver at the war-bundle feasts. Whether human sacrifices ever existed it is difficult to say. In the tale of *Wegi'cka* a child is offered to Earthmaker, and there is reason to believe that this may represent a survival of human sacrifice.

Tobacco could be offered at any time and was so offered to the various *genii loci* whenever an individual passed their precincts.

*Prayers.*—For examples of prayers reference must be made to the descriptions of the ceremonies. Among the Winnebago, and doubtless everywhere else, the objects of the prayer are always the socio-economic life values. What in these values is stressed depends upon the ambitions of the individual, and consequently it happens that individuals may pray for abstract blessings or ideal objects, although this is rare. Prayers are undoubtedly always accompanied by a religious feeling when made by the religious man, but frequently become mere formulas in the hands of the lay Indian.

## The Folkloristic Concepts

*The concept of evil.*—It is extremely difficult to understand exactly 776
what the Winnebago concept of evil is. They undoubtedly postu- [812]
late the existence of evil and they have theoretically a host of evil spirits, the *wanpi'ni cicik*. Youths will be warned not to fast at certain times and children will carefully be kept at home after dark for fear of the evil spirits. Yet in spite of all this, no even fairly definite idea of what these evil spirits are and what they look like can be obtained. One almost gets the impression that the notion of evil spirits belongs to an older strata of Winnebago beliefs and that what we find to-day

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From these facts it is quite clear that, as far as the Thunderbird clan is concerned, the prevailing belief as to the relation of the members of the clan to the clan ancestor is but feebly substantiated by the origin myths. 614 773 114

As mentioned before, the chief of the tribe was selected from the Thunderbird clan, although the selection was apparently restricted to certain families. The functions of the chief of the tribe were connected with peace. He could not lead a war party, although, according to some, he could accompany one. His lodge stood either in the center of the village or at the south end, according to which of the two descriptions one cares to accept, and contained a sacred fireplace, around which only members of the Thunderbird clan could sit. This lodge was an asylum for all wrongdoers. No one could be killed there, and a prisoner who succeeded in making his escape to it was spared. Even a dog destined for a sacrifice at the war-bundle feast was freed if he took refuge in it. The Thunderbird chief always acted as intercessor between wrongdoers and their avengers. Even in so extreme a case as the murder of a clansman, he would always attempt a reconciliation by which the life of the murderer might be spared. If necessary, the chief would mortify himself, and with skewers inserted in his back have himself led through the village to the home of the nearest kinspeople of the murdered person. 614 622 [778] [682 304]

The chief seems to have had some other miscellaneous functions, the most important of which was, perhaps, his right to prevent an unauthorized war party to depart from the village. If he, as an older man and guardian of peace and the best interests of the tribe, felt that a war party was taking too many risks, he would take his pipe and place it across the path of the one contemplating an unwarranted expedition and thus signify his disapproval. If then the war party chose to go, any mishap was directly chargeable to the leader who disobeyed. Should anyone be killed, the leader was regarded almost in the same light as a willful murderer, and the kinsmen of the deceased warrior could demand redress. 622 721 [886]

Our main informant for the Thunderbird clan summarized the functions as follows: 622 614

The chief is chosen from one of the "greater" Thunderbird clans[1] and must be a man of well-balanced temper, not easily provoked, and of good habits. The one sacred object he possesses is his pipe. He must be a peacemaker and love all the people in the tribe, the little children included. [156]

If he saw a man, woman, or child passing by, he was to call them in and give them food to eat, for they were his brothers and sisters. All the relatives he has are to look after his peacemaking and keep him well supplied, for he was supposed to give away things constantly. If any person came to borrow some object from him, he would tell [131]

[1] Individual the Thunderbird clans into two groups, the real Thunderbird and the Warrior clans. This latter he indicated was identical with the thunderbirds who caused the rain and who were quite different from the other thunderbirds.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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Toads are used, but only for poison medicines. The quail's heart 825
is used for the same purpose. If a person is killed outright, his heart 756
is used as a medicine, as the human heart is regarded as having great 826
efficacy in such medicines. It is used in war, for compelling people to give you presents, and for courting women. The bear likewise is used for a variety of purposes. Its liver is especially powerful. It is rubbed over the body whenever in pain. It is often used by women who have injured themselves in childbirth, or in the form of tonics, poultices, and emetic; or for toothaches, bathing sore eyes, ear- [757]
aches, headaches; as snuff, as a physic, for burns, strictures, boils, hemorrhages, injections in the rectum, consumption, measles, dysentery, chills, nosebleed, pains in the stomach, and headaches caused by poisoning.

Sometimes a woman would take a hair of her husband and stick 832
it into some bad medicine. In such a case he would never leave her for he would become very much enamored of her. If ever she went away, he would miss her very much. However, he always had a headache. Finally he would get sick and lose his appetite and then his eyesight. That is why it is forbidden to use this medicine, although some still do it.

Many Winnebago are blind, because there is a medicine that 754
causes blindness. If one person offends another who possesses such a medicine, the latter would cause the offender to become blind.

The Winnebago have medicines for every purpose; for courting, [832]
for becoming rich, for obtaining good looks, etc. Even if a person is very holy, these poisoners can poison him. If a man was a good hunter or if he was wise and good, these bad shamans would poison him. If an individual was a great medicine man and these bad shamans got jealous, they would poison him. Indeed, only if a person was poor and lowly would they like him. Such a man they would never poison for they had no reason for being jealous of him. A bad shaman is always treated with the greatest respect and honor, because he kills many people.

A warrior is also greatly respected and flattered. It is the Indian's 554
greatest desire to become a warrior. All desire that, and they also 156
wish to become great medicine men and bad shamans. [756]

This is the way they prepare and use their courting medicines. 832
The courting medicine known to me is a plant of apparently two 278
varieties, one of which has a blue blossom and the other no blossom at all. Otherwise they are alike. The one with the blue blossom is the male and the one without the blossom is the female. When I go out to dig this plant, I do not dig for these two specimens unless I can find them growing together closely. Even then I do not dig any two [824]
specimens unless the male is found growing on the east side. For that reason it is very hard to find them. As soon as I find two that

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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This I know now. The whole thing is untrue. Therefore I stopped 159 787
using these supernatural powers some time ago.[8]

The old people made me fast so that I might obtain blessings, and that I might lead a life similar to that led by my ancestors. My father asked me to fast so that I might be of some help to my fellow-men as I grew up. It is through fasting that individuals obtain the [756]
power of curing disease and restoring a person to health again.

Spirits from above also came to me. They took me to the spirit- 159
shaman village. As the shamans gathered around me they said that 756
the blessing would be very difficult to give me. Then the shaman 775
sitting far in front made himself holy and breathed upon me (i. e., performed the actions of a shaman when treating a patient). When he was finished, then he began to sing and all those in the lodge began to breathe, helping him. Then the second shaman made himself holy and began to breathe and sing. In this way four of them made themselves holy. They were showing me what to do when I came back to earth. If a person on earth is sick (this is what they meant), and is in an almost hopeless condition where no one else could cure him, then they would call for me and offer me tobacco with which I was to sacrifice to the spirits who had taught me.

Indeed I am holy. If a man is sick I can restore him to health. 156
That is what I used to think. I really (had it been true) should 756
have felt it, for I labored earnestly and honestly to be a holy person. 156
Yet in spite of all my exertions I was very unfortunate. I had married twice and both of my wives and all my children died. Indeed, how could I ever consider myself a holy man (i. e., if I couldn't even cure my own wife and children of what value were my "supernatural powers")? For a long time I knew that, at least I should have known it.[9] (I was not holy.) Then I ate the peyote and now I really see myself as I am. Indeed I am not holy. My body [795]
is without a soul. I thought myself holy. So I have stopped the practice of the shaman.

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[8] The informant had become a convert to the Peyote belief only a short time before he wrote down this account of his fasting, and it is interesting to see that, although he no longer believes in the efficacy of the supernatural powers, he still believes that they exist. Two years after this, however, the same informant explained them, as all the older members of the Peyote cult explain them, namely, as delusions, either caused by the abnormal condition of the youth while fasting or as snares of the devil.

[9] In the words "I should have known it" are summed up the essential change of attitude between the Peyote Winnebago and the older Winnebagoes. The latter, too, had observed the apparent failure of the supernatural powers on many occasions, but instead of attributing them to any diminution of efficacy in the "powers," attributed them, on the contrary, to a lack of something in the individual trying to use the "power," in so far as they thought about it at all. But the essential difference between the two cults, [182]
the older one and the Peyote, lies not so much in the logical conclusions their adherents have drawn from the failure of the "supernatural powers" to behave as they were expected to, as in the fact that the Peyote people make the failure of the "power" the subject of discussion and the old Winnebagoes accept the whole concept of "supernatural power" as such, and do not permit it to rise into their consciousness.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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life as the Shawnee prophet proposed to do, he substituted an alien religion. It was because he was introducing an alien religion, not [177
because he was introducing a new religion, that he was so intensely 156]
hated by the conservative members of the tribe.

When this hostility was at its height a new convert, Albert Hensley, 794
revolutionized the entire cult by introducing the reading of the Bible, 177
postulating the dogma that the peyote opened the Bible to the understanding of the people, and also adding a number of Christian prac- 159
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Rave's attitude toward the innovations of Hensley seems to have been that of a benevolent acquiescence. He himself could neither read nor write. Yet he immediately accepted the Bible and added it to his other regalia. As such it always seems to have remained. To Rave, after all, the peyote was the principal element, and if Hensley chose to insist that the Bible was only intelligible to those who partook of the peyote why that naturally fell within its magical powers. From the entire omission in Rave's account of the Peyote cult of the more important things that Hensley introduced and from the fact that whenever Hensley's influence was not dominant there seems to have been little Bible reading, it seems justifiable to say that Rave's attitude toward these innovations was merely passive.

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latter was, however, a much younger man, quick-tempered, conceited, dogmatic, and withal having a strong mixture of Puritan 794
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interesting manner. Rave had allowed a man with an extremely bad reputation, who had been admitted as a member of the Peyote cult, to occupy one of the four positions. Hensley violently pro-

*159 787 village and there she built me a small lodge in which I and my elder brother were to remain whenever we had to fast through the whole night. At this fasting-place we used to play and before we were really able to spend a night at this particular place we moved away.

*159 857 After a time I passed from this stage of childhood to another. I now began to use a bow and arrow and I spent my day at play, shooting arrows.

It was at about this time also that I found out that my mother had been told just before I was born that ●[156] she was about to give birth to a child who would not be an ordinary being, and from then on I felt that I must be an uncommon person.

*159 At about the same time my elder sister married a very holy man. My parents gave her in marriage to him. He was a shaman and he thought a great deal of me.

## *Fasting*

although the feast was supposedly given in our honor, we were placed on one side of the main participants. After the kettles containing the food had been put on twice, it became daylight and the feast was over. 159 * 187

The following spring we moved to the Mississippi in order to trap. I was still fasting and ate only at night. My brothers used to flatter me, telling me that I was the cleverest of them all and, in consequence, I used to continue fasting although I was often very hungry. In spite of my desire to fast, however, I could not resist the temptation of being around the girls. I wanted always to be near them. They were generally in their menstrual lodges [18] when I looked for them. My parents did not wish me to go near the girls then but I went nevertheless. [221] [224] [152] [185] [865]

My parents told me that only those boys who had no connection with women would be blessed by the spirits. Throughout this time my sole wish was to appear great in the sight of the people. To be praised by my fellowmen was all I desired. And I certainly received what I sought. I stood high in their estimation. That the women might like me was another of the reasons why I wanted to fast. But as to being blessed, I learned nothing about it, although I went around with the air of one who had received many blessings and talked as such a one would talk. [156]

[18] Any contact with menstruating women, or even with objects in any way connected with them, will, it is the firm belief of the Winnebago, destroy the power of sacred objects or individuals temporarily sacred. Fasting youths were regarded as such. [841] [178] [185]

## *Courting*

I used to go out courting and be in the lodges all night and yet, most of the time, I never succeeded in speaking to any of the girls. I did not mind that so much, however, for I was doing it in order to be among the girls. This is what I enjoyed. Indeed I used to go around telling people that I was really keeping company with such and such a girl. I used to say this to my men associates. In reality I did not get much more than a smile from one or two girls. Yet even this I prized as a great thing. 159* 584 [156]

[P.77]

*159 school but, instead, stayed near the old woman and did various jobs for her. There I stayed all spring.

*159 756 761 796 I had been told that if a person initiated into the Medicine Dance did not regard the affair as sacred this was a sign that he would die soon. This frightened me a good deal for I had been thinking of the whole matter in a very light-hearted fashion and I now felt that this was an indication that I would soon die. I did my best therefore to consider it a sacred ceremony. In spite of all this, however, I did not succeed.

*159 About this time I left for Tomah. It was about the middle of the summer. I stayed and lived with my [869] grandfather and from that time on was taught by him many of the details of the Medicine Dance. For instance, when I prepared a sweat-bath for him he would teach me some of the songs. I accordingly prepared the bath for him frequently. He would always be grateful and that is another of the reasons why I was glad to do it. Before long I had learned all the songs he knew so that when I was invited to a Medicine Dance I would do all the singing and he would only do the talking. From that time on I said that it was a sacred affair, and from then on I participated in the ceremony for the greatness inhering in it. I boasted ● [156] of its greatness in the presence of women, in order to make a good impression upon them.

[p. 126]

## §17. *A Woman Bewitches Me*

Once when I returned to the camp I found some other people there. There I also found my grandfather. He had brought along with him one of the two women with whom I had been living, the older one. I did not like it at all. My grandfather asked me to live with her and I did so during the hunting season. When it was over this woman remained there and I returned to my home with another one. My former wife stayed there a long time, but when she got tired of waiting for me to return, she left. 159* 837 588

Just about this time I heard that this former wife of mine, before going away, had used some magical medicine on me. A medicine feast was immediately given me and my scalp treated to counteract the evil effect of what she had used. It was said that she had taken one of my hairs and dipped it into her medicine bundle. This she did in order to prevent me from ever leaving her. If then I left her I would suffer from a headache and perhaps even die. Such was the belief. Fortunately the matter was discovered, my scalp treated and the hair she had taken recovered and washed with medicine. Nothing therefore happened to me. 159* 754 755

From that time on I began to live with as many women as I could, for I had developed the idea that I was a lady-killer. 159* 156 837

## §18. *My Brother Is Murdered*

*159 Shortly after this my elder brother was killed. We
[682] two had grown up together and had hardly ever been
[150] separated. I felt quite heartbroken over it. I longed
to kill the man who had murdered him. I felt that it
would be better if I myself were dead. In this frame
*159 of mind I took to drinking a great deal. Indeed it was
273 my wish to die drinking and I would announce this
when I was drinking heavily. Up to that time I had
drunk secretly, but now I did so openly. Soon I
became a confirmed drunkard. By that time I had
quite forgotten the fact that I had wanted to die. In-
deed I enjoyed drinking very much.

I got into the habit, then, of giving women whisky
[685] and getting them hopelessly drunk and then I would
steal anything of value they possessed. I also learned
[526] to box and soon became quite expert. I was never de-
feated, and in consequence treated every one roughly.
Every one was afraid of me because of my skill with
the gloves. My father was a strong man and so were
my elder brothers, and neither of them had ever been
● [156] defeated at wrestling. For all these reasons I was very
arrogant. Besides all this I was very tall. I am six
[141] feet two inches high and weigh about two hundred and
fifty pounds. In actual fact I was not really as strong

## *My Brother Is Murdered*

as I pretended for whenever I woke up from a drunken 159* orgy I found myself firmly bound. [273]

All I did was to wander from place to place, from one woman to another. I had four sisters and from them [593] and from my parents did I receive all that I possessed and yet in spite of this, I claimed to be a great man! [156] I then had two women staying with me as my wives. 159* At one time I had as many as four, two at my parents' 588 house and two at certain relatives of mine. I wasn't serious with any one of them. I lied all the time; I was [577] always telling falsehoods. On one occasion I had four children born to me and each one had a different mother. Even after that I continued courting women and drinking.

In the spring there was always work to do. We 159* rolled logs down the stream and drank. I accepted [22] such occupations because I could then always get as [273] much drink as I wanted. Whenever I had any money I spent it on getting some woman drunk.

[P. 135]

## §19. *The Effect of a Pretended Blessing*

*159 I was now drinking heavily all the time and I began
273 to boast of being a holy man. I claimed that I had
787 been blessed by certain spirits and I made this claim
● 156 again and again. Of course this was all a lie, for I had
577 never felt a stirring of any kind within me. I made the claim because I had heard others doing it. Generally I made this claim when I was just about drunk, just on the verge of getting boisterous but still vaguely conscious of what I was saying. Then I would say, for instance, that I had been blessed by a Grizzly-spirit, that he had blessed me with the power of being uncontrollable, that he had taught me certain songs. These I would then sing at the top of my voice. I used to exert all the power I had to imitate a grizzly bear. The bystanders would try to hold me but it always required a large number of men to do so. Now I thought this exhibition of mine an act worthy of praise.

*159 After that I began to claim that I had been blessed
156 by many spirits. I made the claim at one time that I
577 was really the reincarnation of one of the benevolent
787 giant spirits and that my name was *Good-heart*, that I
775 was now living as a human being among men. Such
776 was my claim and people believed me.

000 Once when I was on one of my drinking sprees I

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 755 drink." Thus she spoke. I was surprised. Perhaps
● [156] I am really holy, after all, I thought.

After this incident, of course, I boasted of my powers
*159 even more, for now I was really convinced that I pos-
156 sessed sacred power. I talked as do those who have
789 knowledge of blessings obtained from all the spirits in creation; I spoke with all the authority of a great medicine man. I used to do the singing for my band during the performance of the Medicine Dance, and as I had a deep bass voice, everybody liked it. Sometimes I would be given offerings of food in a kettle.

*159 I always drank a great deal whenever a Medicine
273 Dance was given and frequently I would knock people
796 unconscious when I was drunk, even those in the vicinity of the camp.

[P.138]

## §29. *My Release from Prison and First Acquaintance with the Peyote*

*159 When we were released we found our relatives waiting for us. My older brother was there, and with him I went home. We began to drink immediately. I was [273] very happy, although when I was in prison I had felt that I would never drink again. We reached the [837] Winnebago the same day. There I met a woman, and I cohabited with her that very night. I had been [152] desiring that for a long time. Then I began to drink again. After a while I went to Black River Falls and [837] there met my former wife, whom I immediately took back again.

[527] The Indians were just then celebrating their midsummer feasts. I went among them, took part, and drank [156] a great deal. I considered myself a brave man and a medicine man; I thought myself a holy man, a strong one, and a favorite with women. I felt that I was in [832] possession of many courting medicines. A brave man I felt myself; a fleet runner. I was an excellent singer [527] of songs at the Brave Dance; [99] I was a sport, and I [273] wanted whisky every day.

My mother and father had gone to the Missouri River, to the Winnebago living in Nebraska. They left me in charge of two horses and a wagon belonging

[99] A non-sacred war dance whose songs were very popular.

## *My Release from Prison*

most is the fact that they are making fun of you. 159 *
Quite apart from that, however, I am not used to them." 795
I was speaking quite dishonestly.

I was then staying at my sister's place. She was a peyote follower and had gone on a visit to Oklahoma. After a while she returned. At that time I was staying [588] with a number of women and from them I obtained money. Once I got drunk and was locked up for six [273] days. After my sister returned she and her friends paid more attention to me than ever before. This was particularly true of her husband. I was given horses [131] and a wagon. I was really treated very tenderly. I told them I believed in the peyote because they treated me so nicely. I knew that they did this because they wished me to eat the peyote. I, in my turn, was very kind to them. I thought I was fooling them and they [156] thought they were converting me.

We moved after a while to a place where there was to be a large peyote gathering. I knew that they had arranged for this in order to get me to join. Accordingly I spoke to my younger sister and said, "Sister, I would be quite willing to eat this peyote ordinarily, but I don't like the woman with whom I am living just [588] now and I think I shall leave her. Now I have been given to understand that among you, when married people eat the peyote they will always have to stay together. I shall therefore join you as soon as I have married a woman with whom I wish to stay permanently." Then my brother-in-law came in and my sister told him what I had said and he spoke to me,

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 795 When John Rave had finished I ate five peyote. Then my brother-in-law and my sister came and gave themselves up. They asked me to stand there with them. I did not like it, but I did it nevertheless. "Why should I give myself up? I am not in earnest [597] and I intend to stop this as soon as I get back to Wisconsin. I am only doing this because they have given me presents," I thought. "I might as well get up, however, since it doesn't mean anything to me." So I stood up. The leader began to talk and I suddenly began to feel sick. It got worse and worse and finally I lost consciousness. When I came to, I found myself lying on my back. Those with whom I had been standing were still there. As a matter of fact, I had regained consciousness as soon as I fell down. I felt like leaving the place that night but I did not do it. I was quite tired out. "Why have I done this?" I said to myself. "I promised my sister that I would not do it." So I thought and I tried to leave but I couldn't. I suffered intensely. At last day dawned. Now I thought that they regarded me as one who had had a trance and had seen something.

Then we went home and they showed me a passage in the Bible where it said that it was a shame for any man to wear long hair. I looked at the passage. I was [302] not a man learned in books, but I wanted to give the [156] impression that I knew how to read so I told them to cut my hair. I was still wearing it long at the time. After my hair was cut I took out a lot of medicines, many small bundles of them. These and my shorn hair

## *The Effects of the Peyote*

I gave to my brother-in-law. Then I cried and my 159 *
brother-in-law also cried. He thanked me, told me 795
that I understood and that I had done well. He told
me that Earthmaker alone was holy; that all the bless-
ings and medicine I possessed were false; that I had [776]
been fooled by the bad spirit. He told me that I had
now freed myself from much of this bad influence. My
relatives expressed their thanks fervently.

On the fourth night of my stay they had another
meeting and I went to it again. There I again ate
peyote. I enjoyed it and sang along with the others. I
wanted to be able to sing immediately. Some young
men were singing and I enjoyed it so I prayed to Earth- [533]
maker and asked him to let me learn to sing right away.
That was all I asked for. My brother-in-law was with
me all the time. At that meeting all the things I had
given my brother-in-law were burnt up.

Now the fact that my brother-in-law had told me
that I understood, had pleased me and I felt good
when daylight came. As a matter of fact, I had not [156]
received any knowledge at all. I thought, however,
that this was the proper way to act, so I did it. After
that, I would attend meetings occasionally and I looked
around for a woman whom I cared to marry perma-
nently. Before long that was the only thing that I
would think of when I attended the meetings.

[P. 187]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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When this hostility was at its height a new convert, Albert Hensley, revolutionized the entire cult by introducing the reading of the Bible, postulating the dogma that the peyote opened the Bible to the understanding of the people, and also adding a number of Christian practices. He, like Rave, had been in Oklahoma. He brought back with him many peyote songs, generally in other languages, dealing with Christian ideas, upon which subsequently Winnebago songs were molded. He also introduced either baptism itself or an interpretation of baptism, and induced Rave to attempt a union with the Christian Church. He seems to have been the only prominent man connected with the peyote who was subject to epileptic fits. He had the most glorious visions of heaven and hell while in his trance, and these he expounded afterwards in terms of Revelation and the mystical portions of the New Testament. Hensley's additions represent a second stratum of borrowed elements, all of which are in the nature of accretions as far as the peyote itself is concerned. The Bible is explained in terms of the peyote. Neither Hensley nor his followers ever interpreted the peyote in terms of the Bible, although other elements of the old Winnebago culture were so interpreted. These elements, however, represented features that even in the old Winnebago cults exhibited a great variability in interpretation. 794 177 159 [158]

Rave's attitude toward the innovations of Hensley seems to have been that of a benevolent acquiescence. He himself could neither read nor write. Yet he immediately accepted the Bible and added it to his other regalia. As such it always seems to have remained. To Rave, after all, the peyote was the principal element, and if Hensley chose to insist that the Bible was only intelligible to those who partook of the peyote why that naturally fell within its magical powers. From the entire omission in Rave's account of the Peyote cult of the more important things that Hensley introduced and from the fact that whenever Hensley's influence was not dominant there seems to have been little Bible reading, it seems justifiable to say that Rave's attitude toward these innovations was merely passive.

There never was any rivalry between Rave and Hensley. The latter was, however, a much younger man, quick-tempered, conceited, dogmatic, and withal having a strong mixture of Puritan Protestant ideas. A conflict developed after a while and in a very interesting manner. Rave had allowed a man with an extremely bad reputation, who had been admitted as a member of the Peyote cult, to occupy one of the four positions. Hensley violently pro- 578 [157] 794 159

## *Reminiscences of Childhood*

We were three boys of whom I was the youngest and at night we slept together. In cold weather we fought as to who was to sleep in the middle, since whoever got that place was warm; for while those at either end used to pull the cover from each other, the one in the middle was always covered. Even after I grew up I always took the cover away from the particular person with whom I happened to be sleeping. I would always fold it under me, for it had become a habit with me to take the cover away from the other person whenever I slept on the outside. 159* 593 513

We always ate out of one dish. At times we did not have enough food on hand and then I would always try to get enough by eating very fast. In this way I often succeeded in depriving the others of their proper portion. Sometimes, on the other hand, I would purposely eat slowly and then when the others were finished, I would say that I had not been given enough and so get some of their food. In this way I developed a habit, that I still have, of eating fast. Even after I grew up, whenever I ate with other people, I always finished sooner than they did. 159* 157 261

Another habit acquired then was the ability to go without food for a whole day while traveling. I did not mind this in the least, for during my fasting I had grown accustomed to going without food for long periods of time. [484]

In the summer, at the season when people pick berries, I used to go around visting, sometimes for a day, sometimes for a longer period. I would often receive 159* [221] [222] [514]

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796
575
[787] and clairvoyance, and thinks they have had them for centuries. They use a long and
[346] large lodge a [blank] prepared for the purpose, in which all those allowed to witness the ceremonies are assembled. Adjoin-
[343] ing this house is a bark tent built in a conical form as a steam house. They excavate a hole in the ground, heat large stones in a fire to a great heat, and then put them in this hole, and cover them over and seat the initiate over them. He is then covered around with blankets so that none of the steam may escape, after which water is poured on the stones and the neophyte is
[783] enveloped in a roasting steam bath. This is
[776] the first act, and the object is to steam all evil spirits out of him.

He is then led in to the house, after the steaming process in some instances has been repeated once or twice. He is then blindfolded and led around the house. Pres-
[534] ently the singers beat the drum, shake the rattles, and commence singing a tune; then commences the dance, which is joined in by all present who wish to do so. The wom-
[562] en are members of the medicine lodge as well as the men, and they join in the songs and in the dance. After the dancing is done, or perhaps he may have stood in the midst of it there is a suspension of all sing-
[756] ing and dancing. Several medicine men then advance towards the neophyte, pointing their medicine bags at him, then drawing them back. This advancing and receding and ejaculating certain words calculated to work up the mind of the novitiate into a regular phrenzy.

Presently they reach him when they hit their medicine bags against his body, he still being blindfolded and at the same time uttering a shrill exclamation. The Judge said the novitiate jumped up and fell flat on
[158] his face as if dead and that apparently with-
[P. 60(B)]

796 out design. There he lay without motion or
575 sign of life, and the dance was resumed
158 around them. After a time he was brought
out of this mesmeric or chairvoyant state, a
medicine bag was put in his hands and he
at once had power to strike any one down as
he had been. The person who stayed by the
Judge was thus struck down. He felt of his
arm and wrist and found them perfectly rigid.

796 They told the Judge before they admitted
575 him to this ceremony that while he was
783 there he must think no evil thought. If he
did, his life would be in danger from the
spirits. No impure person is admitted to
[841] witness these ceremonies, no woman in the
[843] menstrual period, no woman pregnant or
[273] recently delivered, no intoxicated or intem-
perate person that is under the influence of
liquor is allowed to attend. The proceedings
[756] in the sweat lodge were not seen by him as
none but medicine men were allowed there.
796 The ceremonies commenced at 8 in the eve-
575 ning and lasted until day break next morn-
ing. The Judge confirms my former opinion
that this is purely a religious rite, and a re-
ligious organization, having but little to do
with the uses of medicine proper. The roots
and herbs are one thing, but the ceremonies
[755] and incantations which are the real reme-
dies are quite another. They call it the
Spirit Dance, or the Divine Dance. The
[171] Judge informs me that he has witnessed the
same thing among the Sauks and Foxes.

[*Winnebago Burial*]

764 He also mentioned the fact that he wit-
nessed the burial of a Winnebago some
years ago. He was set upon a natural mound
and house made over him, food and some
personal articles laid by his side, after which
the whole was covered over with earth, ex-
[775] cept a small hole or chimney was kept open
from the top down into the house. When

764 the Judge asked what this meant they told
775 him that it was for the spirit to pass through in going out and in.

771 He never found among them during the long period of his intercourse any evidence of sun worship, and thinks it fell far short of that in which I agree with him.

115 This morning I had a further conversation with Judge Walker, who is a regular medicine man of the Wyandottes. He says
776 the name of the Spirit of Medicine among
171 the Wyandottes is Mon-ane-tow, who is the same as the Manitou of the Ojibways etc. That this spirit of Medicine is a good spirit etc. He says that the initiations described
796 by Judge Williams are in the presence only
575 of medicine men and women. The people of the tribe are not allowed to be present. That both men and women are members, and are regularly initiated before they can become members. That no oath of secrecy is required, as the Indian knows nothing about oaths, but they initiate on the honor of the man and of the woman, choosing such only as are known to be of good character for integrity. That the Society and its pro-
[755] ceedings are secret, except these ceremonies which medicine men perform on patients for their cure.

796 Walker says that these ceremonies pro-
575 ceed upon the idea that a violent shock of the nervous system, which prostrates it en-
828 tirely will also prostrate or relax the hold of
158 the disease. They know by experience that by fasting and steaming they so arouse and excite a well person as to produce a shock which will throw him to the earth. This is done at the ceremony of initiation which Judge Williams described. It is done by nervous excitement, and Indian faith in these ceremonies, and is repeated over every initiate as a proof of the possession by medicine men of this marvellous power. He

[P.61(A)]

796 says there is no sham about this falling down
575 of the person on the floor in a swoon in the
828 manner described. That this is the precise
158 shock of the system to produce which the fasting and the steaming process is resorted to, and all the other ceremonies of the initiation, including the dance.

755 When a person is sick and incurable by
158 the simple remedies known to the Indians, and the friends become apprehensive for the life of the person, then the medicine men are called in and they go through certain ceremonies, all of which operate upon the nervous system already enfeebled and excited by disease, and tend to bring about that shock or prostration of the nervous system, which when produced is supposed also to relax the hold and power of the disease at the same time. In a word it kills the disease, or breaks the disease, or destroys
[753] the evil spirit then in the body which causes the disease, and then if there is constitutional strength enough left to raise up the body from its utter prostration, the patient recovers.

753 It would seem that they regarded the
755 nervous system or the sensitive part of our
828 nature as the seat of the disease, and addressed their remedies to the sensitive part, that is to the mind rather than to the body, to the spirit rather than to the organs of the
[171] body. The medicine system prevails very generally among our Indian races. In fact it is universal so far as we have found out the customs of the remote tribes.

755 I asked Walker about the cheats prac-
756 ticed by the medicine men upon the credulity of their patients, that is, pretending to take out of a man's back a tooth or a bone. He says that in their practice they want to make money, and the greater the feat they perform the greater the charge they make. Sometimes they charge a horse etc.

[P 61 (B)]
[pp 62-209 not processed]

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above far down to his camp. That far it would reach. "Only thus, 776
Wegi'ceka, can you see me. What you ask of me (to see me face to 787
face) I can not grant you. But, nevertheless, you may tell (your 539
fellowmen) that you saw me." Thus he spoke to him. He did not bless him with war powers. Only with life did he bless him.

Then Wegi'ceka tried to draw a picture of the flash of light extending from the heavens to his camp, just as he had seen it, upon a cane. To that cane he sacrificed. The descendants of Wegi'ceka are using cane even to the present day.

ACCOUNT OF J.'S FASTING

When I reached the age of puberty my father called me aside and 159
told me to fast. He told me that it was his fervent wish that I should 787
begin to fast, so that I might become holy and invincible and invul- 867
nerable in war. I would become like one of those Winnebagoes of whom stories are told. In future generations the people would speak of me often. For these reasons he wished me to fast. He assured me that if I fasted I would really be holy and that nothing on this earth would be able to harm me. I would also live a very long life, he told me. I would be able to treat the sick and cure them. That holy I would be, he told me. If I acted in this way, my father told me, no person would dare to make fun of me and they would always be careful of the manner in which they addressed me, both because they respected me and because they were afraid of incurring my enmity. For these reasons my father counseled me to fast and to continue fasting from the late fall until spring. During that time I should fast without stopping. In the spring, however, I was to stop, because many bad spirits are about at that time and they might deceive me. If he thought that I was not doing enough fasting he would urge me on with words, saying, "My son, fast, because if you receive knowledge of anything (i. e., if you have been blessed repeatedly), nothing will be able to harm you. You will live long; and I want you to live long." In this way my father used to speak to me and in this way he used to plead with me in a piteous manner. "Remember," he used to say to me repeatedly, "that if you do not fast none of the spirits will bless you."

There was a hill near our place called the Place-where-they-keep- 159
weapons. This hill was very high and it looked steep and rocky. 787
It must have been a very holy place. There my father had lived 776
(when he was blessed by the spirits). Within this hill lived the spirits that we call Those-who-cry-like-babies.[6] These spirits were supposed to have arrows and bows. There were supposed to be twenty of them in this hill. My father had control of these spirits.

[6] These spirits are the same as those generally known as the Herd's, or Those-without-horns.

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159 If he (my father) blessed a man he would do as follows: He would
789 take his bow and arrows and, holding them in both of his hands,
776 take the man around the hill and then into the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There he and the man he wished to bless let their breath pass into the middle of the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There stood a stone pillar and upon this stone pillar, at about arm's length, he drew the pictures of different animals. My father had only one arrow, but that arrow was a holy one. Then my father danced around the stone pillar and sang some songs, and when he was finished he began to breathe upon the stone pillar; and, walking around it, he shot it. When he looked at it, he saw that the stone had turned into a deer with large horns. This deer fell dead at his feet. He repeated this a number of times and the little spirits who were following him breathed with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you wish to kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done here. Then
[782] offer tobacco to us and you will be able to obtain whatever you wish."

159 "Now, my son, I want you to be able to do as I do. I want you
867 to be able to kill deer whenever you wish, and at any particular time." My father was a very good hunter and I wanted to be very much like him. I knew that what he was saying was true and that it would be good to follow his advice. I was also told that if I traveled around the hill where these spirits lived, then all earthly things would agree with me and that I would be the gainer thereby. If I did this, they told me, then I would never suffer any pains in my body and I would never be troubled in any way.

159 And this they told me about the ghost village—that when I go
787 there I will be able to steal a costly shawl from the spirits and be
775 able to escape with it; that then all the inhabitants of the ghost village would chase me, but that they would not be able to overtake me and would be compelled to turn back as soon as I reached the earth. In this ghost village there are no grown-up children.[1]

Now, all that I have spoken of, I dreamed. I really dreamed that I was stealing a costly shawl and that I would have plenty of them all the time. I dreamed that I would obtain ten or even more
787 shawls in one year and that I would not have to pay anything for
159 them. What the spirits meant by shawls was supplies. However,
795 all this took place before I ate the peyote. Since then I know that these things were not true, and that what I must depend upon is not supernatural power, but myself, and my own endeavors. Super-
[783] natural powers do not come from anywhere. They do not exist at all. The blessings I had received were not holy and I am not holy.

[1] He is evidently referring to the spirit home of the Hawk's, or Those-who-cry-like-hawks.

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This I know now. The whole thing is untrue. Therefore I stopped using these supernatural powers some time ago.[8] 159 787

The old people made me fast so that I might obtain blessings, and that I might lead a life similar to that led by my ancestors. My father asked me to fast so that I might be of some help to my fellow-men as I grew up. It is through fasting that individuals obtain the power of curing disease and restoring a person to health again. [756]

Spirits from above also came to me. They took me to the spirit-shaman village. As the shamans gathered around me they said that the blessing would be very difficult to give me. Then the shaman sitting far in front made himself holy and breathed upon me (i. e., performed the actions of a shaman when treating a patient). When he was finished, then he began to sing and all those in the lodge began to breathe, helping him. Then the second shaman made himself holy and began to breathe and sing. In this way four of them made themselves holy. They were showing me what to do when I came back to earth. If a person on earth is sick (this is what they meant), and is in an almost hopeless condition where no one else could cure him, then they would call for me and offer me tobacco with which I was to sacrifice to the spirits who had taught me. 159 756 775

Indeed I am holy. If a man is sick I can restore him to health. That is what I used to think. I really (had it been true) should have felt it, for I labored earnestly and honestly to be a holy person. Yet in spite of all my exertions I was very unfortunate. I had married twice and both of my wives and all my children died. Indeed, how could I ever consider myself a holy man (i. e., if I couldn't even cure my own wife and children of what value were my "supernatural powers")? For a long time I knew that, at least I should have known it.[9] (I was not holy.) Then I ate the peyote and now I really see myself as I am. Indeed I am not holy. My body is without a soul. I thought myself holy. So I have stopped the practice of the shaman. 156 756 156 [795]

[8] The informant had become a convert to the Peyote belief only a short time before he wrote down this account of his feeling, and it is interesting to see that, although he no longer believes in the efficacy of the supernatural powers, he still believes that they exist. Two years after this, however, the same informant explained them, as all the older members of the Peyote cult explain them, namely, as delusions, either caused by the abnormal condition of the youth while fasting or as snares of the devil.

[9] In the words "I should have known it" are summed up the essential change of attitude between the Peyote Winnebago and the older Winnebagoes. The latter, too, had observed the apparent failure of the supernatural powers on many occasions, but instead of attributing them to any diminution of efficacy in the "powers," attributed them, on the contrary, to a lack of something in the individual trying to use the "power," "in so far as they thought about it at all. But the essential difference between the two cults, [182] is the older one and the Peyote, lies not so much in the logical conclusions their adherents have drawn from the failure of the "supernatural powers" to behave as they were expected to, as in the fact that the Peyote people make the failure of the "power" the subject of discussion and the old Winnebagoes accept the whole concept of "supernatural power" as such, and do not permit it to rise into their consciousness.

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## R.'S FASTING.

(R. WAS A MEMBER OF THE BEAR CLAN)

159 787 776 There was a village near Big Lake (Lake Winnebago), and at this village the upper people and the earth people played lacrosse.[*] The Bear was the chief clan of the lower people, and those representing that side in the game defeated the representatives of the other side by sheer strength. Then one of the upper people said, "What effeminate fellows those Bear people are. They are very strong, but it would be much better if instead of being so strong in playing lacrosse they were strong when on the warpath." Thus he spoke. Then one of the Bear people (the one whose fasting is about to be described) felt very much grieved and went out into the wilderness to fast. His desire was to be blessed by those spirits who are in control of war, and in his longing to be blessed by them he cried bitterly. Soon he heard some one saying, "Do not cry any more, we have come after you from above. The spirits have blessed you. You are going to be taken to the lodge of your friends." When the young man got there he saw four men. They were called cannibals, and they were brothers. "Our friends have blessed you and we also bless you," said the four spirits. These four spirits were catfish. Then some white crane spirits said, "Our friends have blessed you. With spears they have blessed you. Indeed, for good reason was your heart sad (i. e., did you make yourself suffer while fasting). With victory on the warpath do we bless you. Here is your bundle. Here also are your spears and your bow and arrows. This bundle you must use when you go on the warpath. Here also are some songs to use when you start out and when you return. With these songs I bless you. Here they are:

[533]

SONGS

Ho'ño k^hne'djaᵊ'dja ñhi'jê?
Where they gathered, there did you go?
K'ãw' hitcak'ãw' ha'gizewi've.
Well, my friend, shout at it for him.

[789] "When the enemy is close upon you and aim their guns at you, if you sing these songs they will not be able to hit you. If you sing these songs then, those who gave you a name will honor you.[*] Thus we bless you. With life also we bless you."

776 756 159 787 [526]

## ARATCGE'KA'S FASTING[**]

Aratcge'ka, Left-handed-one, went out to fast. "A spirit I wish to bless me. I am fasting because I was told to do so. A shaman

[*] In playing lacrosse the upper and lower divisions were always pitted against one another.

[*] The sense is not quite clear here, but it is believed that he means that by singing one of these songs he will be victorious and be able to count coup or distinguish himself in some such way, and thus be worthy of being honored by his elders.

[**] This account of a fasting has been cast in a literary mold. It evidently relates to the fasting experiences of a well-known man.

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I would like to be. I would like to be able to treat people the way he does, and I have for that reason blackened my face and fasted for eight days." Then I was blessed and they (the messengers of the spirits) came after me. Up above, to a shaman spirit-lodge they took me. There I saw the chief, and he said to me, "What you desire, what you are thirsting yourself to death for, that you are to be blessed with. For that reason these people have brought you here. Here you are to give an exhibition of your powers. I am the one who has caused you to be brought here (i. e., blessed you), I am the ruler of this village and I sent for you to give you the following powers:

"If ever an Indian is sick, even if he is so sick that he is practically dead, I give you the power of restoring him to life. Now you are to show your powers. Here is a log so rotten and decayed that it is practically falling apart." Upon this you are to exert your power and show that you have been blessed. This is what the spirits meant when they blessed you." Then he walked around the log, breathed upon it, and spat water upon it, and it became human. Then he walked around it again and again spat water upon it, and it began to move. Then for the third time he spat water upon it and walked around it and it began to groan. Then he walked around it for the fourth time, and again spat water upon the log, and it got up and walked away. He had restored the log to life. Then the spirit said to him, "Man, with this power you are blessed. That for which you longed, that for which you fasted, you are blessed with. Giving-humans-life, thus the people will call you."

Then all the spirits who are above said as follows: "Brother-in-law," that you may live I am telling you this story."

In the wilderness I went, and there near an oval hill I sat down and wept. Below the hill lay a round lake and there I saw the rising dew coming in a fog. This first spread itself out over us, and then, in turn, shrank and became small. All this time I sat there weeping. There was something moving in the lake, but although I was looking in that direction I did not see anything. They (evidently the spirits) were sneaking up on me. Two (flames of) fire suddenly burst forth extending from above to the lake. Then a report like

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[155]

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756 that of a gun sounded. The two (spirits) were causing it. Suddenly
●159 a great noise was heard. I kept right on crying, for I was trying
787 to be blessed. I sat there with staring eyes looking at the spirits.
776 "I must be receiving a blessing," I thought. I continued crying and after a short time it began to rain very much. "How is this," I thought to myself, "only a little time before it was so nice and now it is raining." Yet in spite of the rain no water seemed to fall upon me. "How is it," I thought, "here it is raining and yet no rain is falling upon me." Then I looked above and I saw that it was very cloudy, yet straight above me in a direct line the sky was blue. This blue spot was like a round object covering me as though it were an umbrella. The Thunderbirds were blessing me. With the blue sky, they were blessing me. Soon the noise stopped, and when I looked above I saw four (men) standing with packs upon their backs. These (the spirits) killed. Then they blessed me with the power of killing. They spoke to me and said, "Stop your crying. What you have longed for and fasted for, with that we have blessed you. Just as these four men have been killed, so you will be able to kill people. But you will also be able to restore them to life again. Upon your body now we will make a mark and those whom you wish to bless will be given an opportunity of selecting life for themselves,[14] so that, even when a person be practically dead he will be restored to health. What is above you, the blue sky, that we place on one of your fingers,[15] and with that we bless you. If the patient picks the finger with the mark upon it, he will live."

The Thunderbirds were the spirits speaking to me. They had spears and little war-clubs in their hands and (wreaths) made of flat cedar leaves upon their heads. Thus did four Thunderbirds bless me.

"Well, brother-in-law, I want you to live and I want you to pick life for yourself—i. e., pick the finger with the blue mark upon it. Do it carefully and do not attempt it when you are tired. Here are my four fingers and one of them has the blue sky upon it (i. e., the blue mark that betokens life). If you choose that, you will certainly live. You are the second person (to whom I have offered my fingers). Now do not miss it, for if you miss it you will surely die. Be careful, then, in picking it."

[155] Then the brother-in-law picked the little finger and Aratege'ka said, "Brother-in-law, it is good. You will live." Then he turned his little finger around and there a circular blue mark was visible.

ACCOUNT OF X.'S FASTING

159 The spirits can bless you with everything. My father used to
787 tell me how much he loved me and how much he wished me to fast.

[14] That is, a sick person will have to guess at the part of the body that has been blessed by the Thunderbirds, and if he guesses correctly he will become well.

[15] That is, we will place a mark made with blue clay upon your finger.

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He wanted me to fast all the time. I would therefore, to please him, 159 787
fast off and on through the winter. The longest I ever fasted at any one time was six days. I was blessed by a yellow snake who lived near Medway, Wis. It was at that place that I fasted one 159
winter. The spirit-snake that lives there blessed me with life and 787
the right to draw bad blood from sick people (i. e., "cup blood"). 776
These blessings are truly efficacious, but after they have been handed 756
down to the next generation they lose their power (unless renewed). That same winter, not long before the beginning of spring, I fasted again for four days and early on the morning of the fourth day as I was walking along a ravine, crying and putting myself in a "pitiable condition," so that the spirits might take pity upon me, some one came to meet me. Up to this time, in spite of all my exertions and fastings, I had not been blessed by any of the spirits. The one who was coming toward me was walking very fast and when I stopped to look at him I saw that he was a man. His entire body was painted red and he wore an eagle feather on his head and garters around his legs. When he came near to me he said: "Human, I bless you. You may now go home and eat (i. e., break your fast). Every day I will bring the blessing of life to you. This also (I wish to tell you), if you think of me when you are in any difficulty, you will pass through it safely. The sick you will be able to heal through the blessing I give you. I am the Sun. Even if a day is cloudy, then know that I am keeping life for you beyond the clouds."

### HOW Y. FASTED AND WAS BLESSED WITH A WAR-BUNDLE [11]

Our war-bundle is eight generations old. In the beginning my 614
clansmen had no war-bundles. Whenever they had war, they had 778
nothing from which to receive strength. The only powerful possession they had was fire. That was the only thing they carried when on the warpath. Soon they discovered that other clans had war-bundles and that they received them by fasting for them. So 787
K'eres u°'sak'a started to fast for one. He fasted from early 778
autumn until summer and he received a blessing. Then he went to his father and told him, "Father, you told me to fast. Let us now go and see with what I have been blessed." So the old man accompanied his son.[12] When the old man got there he found a snake dried and dressed up and standing in an upright position. The snake had long hairs on its back, scattered here and there. The father on seeing it said, "My son, this is really too great. If you accept this and carry it with you on the warpath, you will not leave any human beings alive (i. e., you will always want to go on the

[11] This is the account of the origin of a war-bundle claimed to be eight generations old.

[12] Evidently the spirit had told him to go to a certain place and that there he would find certain objects, namely, the material objects with which he had been blessed.

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787 778 [776] warpath)." The son therefore refused it, and went out to fast again. Then the spirits blessed him again and again he went to his father and asked to accompany him to the wilderness and see what blessings he had obtained. When they came to the wilderness[30] they found two wild cats (already stuffed) standing there and facing in opposite directions. Then the old man told his son again not to accept this blessing because it would be too powerful,[31] but the young man said, "This is the last blessing that I am going to get," and accepted it.

(What follows was obtained at a later time from the same informant and relating to the same blessing.)

The first blessing K'erex'u"'sak'a received was from the Thunderbirds. They dropped a flute and two feathers from heaven. But these he refused. The second blessing was also from the Thunderbirds. This time they told him to go to a certain place where he could see them himself. He went there and found four men sitting there broiling meat. They gave him a piece of meat. It was only when he fasted for the fourth time that he was blessed with a war-bundle.

WHAT G. OBTAINED IN HIS FAST

● 159 776 787 I never fasted much. I only fasted three times and I don't believe that I ever fasted for more than two days at a time. However, I never was blessed with anything (i. e., any object). I knew, however, that I came from the home of the Thunderbirds (i. e., that I was [775] a reincarnated Thunderbird). My spirit father and mother[32] were Thunderbirds. The Thunderbirds are beings whose glance can penetrate any object. For that reason I also can do it. For instance, I have seen a man through a tree. This I did once during a thunderstorm when a man had sought shelter behind a tree

[30] Whenever the word "wilderness" is used all that is meant is an uninhabited place far away from the village.

[31] By "too powerful" the old man means that the feasts, offerings, etc., that would be necessary for so great a blessing would be quite beyond the means or the ability of the young man. It is to be remembered that the bestowal of a blessing does not in itself insure its efficacy, but that this can only be secured if the [782] proper offerings and the proper emotional attitude accompany its subsequent use. Evidently the old man did not feel that the young fellow would be equal to the task. I have been told by many of the older Winnebagoes that when the old system was still intact the older people always, or at a point to warn impetuous youths against taking upon themselves responsibilities that they might possibly not be able [686] to fulfill, a very excellent device, it seems to me, for not multiplying the chances of failure and consequently the necessity of explaining them. However, one need not believe that this was the reason for the custom.

[32] He says "spirit father and mother" because when he lived with the Thunderbirds he was, of course, a spirit. It is quite impossible to determine whether he means that he was a human being who was living among the spirits as a spirit, or whether he was a spirit who had decided to become reincarnated as a human [776] being. Originally, of course, there were no human beings, but only spirits, of whom a portion became permanently transformed into human beings. However, even very powerful shamans never claim more than three reincarnations, so that he can obviously not be referring to this primitive condition and is either [775] referring to the fact that he is a Thunderbird residing temporarily on this earth, or, and this would be the more common form, a human being who lived for some time as a Thunderbird and then returned to earth. In the latter case one would expect him to obtain great blessings in his fast, and the fact that he did not and had nevertheless such great powers suggests that he is really a reincarnated Thunderbird.

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When I was ready to go down among the human beings (i. e., when I became reincarnated) I was given the power to overcome my enemies in battle. And this I have actually done. All the Thunderbirds have small war-clubs. I also had one when I came. Whenever I went on the warpath I made myself a war-club and used that only in battle. I believe that I was invulnerable. Whenever I got tired of living among human beings I knew I could return to the Thunderbirds. I thought I knew all this and that I had these powers. For that reason when I ate peyote I still held on to these beliefs for a long time, thinking that when I returned to the Thunderbirds inasmuch as they are above it would be the same as going to everlasting life, as the Peyote people said. Finally, one night, at a peyote meeting, in thinking over these things, I resolved to give them up. I could, nevertheless, not bring myself to do it. Then the peyote began to strangle me;[29] at least I thought so. 159 776 787 726 [795]

I also had the power of causing or stopping rain. All that I had to do was to offer tobacco to the Thunderbirds and make my request. [789 782]

HOW A BEAR BLESSED A MAN[30]

Once a band of Winnebagoes used to give a feast to the bears. A bear had blessed one of their number with life and victory on the warpath. 825 776 787

It was a spirit-bear that had blessed him. The man was fasting and the spirit blessed him and said, "Human, I bless you. In war you will be able to do as you wish (i. e., you will be able to kill an enemy whenever you desire). The first time you go on the warpath you will come back with the fourth war honor; the second time you go on a warpath you will return with the third war honor; the third time you will return with the second war honor; and the fourth time you will return with the first war honor and receive the first prize, which you are to give to your sister." This is what the man "dreamed." He believed it and was happy. Then the spirit-bear said again, "Human, I said that I blessed you and I really mean it. Earthmaker created me and gave me control of many things. Human, I bless you. As many years as Earthmaker bestowed upon you, that number I also bless you with. You will reach the limit of the years that were granted you. With my body I also bless you. Whenever you are hungry and wish to kill a bear, pour a pipeful of tobacco for me. If then you go out hunting, you will be successful. Don't abuse the bears. I am the chief of the bears. I bless you. Never before have I blessed a human being, as long as I have lived here. As long as your descendants live on this earth, so long will this [224 782]

[29] According to the Peyote people, if a member does not wish to do or tell something that he ought to, the peyote begins to strangle him and he finds no relief until he tells what is on his mind. [795]

[30] This is really the "origin myth" of a bear feast.

825 776 787 blessing last. Should your descendants perform the feasts in my honor well, I will blow them with life and victory on the warpath. Whenever you offer me tobacco I will smoke it. If you put on a kettle of food for me I will be thankful to you. When you put this [814] kettle of food on the fire and offer me tobacco see to it that you keep away menstruating women . . . "

HOW THE DAUGHTER OF MANK'EREKKA RECEIVED A BLESSING FROM HERRAND-GIVER [a]

787 The daughter of Mank'erekka was fasting. She was his third
● 159 daughter. She decided to fast during the summer. In her fast she
776 was told that she was blessed and that on the following day a big deer would come across the waters for her to eat. Then she went to her father and said, "Father, I have been told to eat a big deer, and that to-morrow very early in the morning it will come out of the water." "It is good, my daughter. That deer has been given to you by the spirits and you may eat it."

Early the next morning a big deer came across the waters. "Let it be," the people said (to her). "As soon as it comes near we will chase it." So they got into a boat and chased it. Then they killed it and gave it to some other person instead of the young woman. "My daughter, what are you going to do? Are you going to eat the deer?" "No, father, if I were to eat the deer I would have killed it myself. But you people have killed it, so I will not eat any of it."

Then she rubbed some charcoal on her face and went to the place of fasting and said, "What you (the spirits) gave me others have taken away and eaten." Early in the morning she looked around toward the water. She was very weak, for she had not eaten for a long time. Nine days she fasted. She was saying to herself, "As soon as I see a deer I will tell the others and call my father." In the morning she went out in search of the deer. She was so weak that she could hardly crawl along. But she managed to reach the edge of the waters and, as she looked across, she saw a deer coming. So she immediately went to her father and told him. He got up immediately and, taking a spear, jumped into a boat, pursued, and speared it. Then the girl said, "Now I will eat." So they called her uncles, [782] Wolf and Elk.[b] When they came she put tobacco in their hands and said, "My uncles, I have offered tobacco to the different spirits and asked them to bless me. Now I am about to eat and I would

[a] The rest of the story is a description of a bear feast and here, in spite of the ordering of the spirits bear (two menstruating women took part in the feast) here, Gamaqum, two bears suddenly appeared and killed them, and here for that reason the bear feast was given up.

[114] [b] This account has been cast in a literary mold, but there is no doubt that it represents a real fasting experience. It is included here principally because it contains a number of extremely interesting features.

[c] These are the names of Wolf and Elk.

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like to have you put some food in your mouths."* "My niece, it is good. You have indeed made yourself 'pitiable.' You have thirsted yourself to death and I, too, pity you. If any spirit has blessed you, he has done so with good reason. I, too, once thirsted myself to death and the spirits blessed me with life. With this life, my niece, I also bless you. I will gladly partake of your feast." Thus spoke Wolf. Then Elk said, "My niece, I, too, was told to fast: and in my fast the spirits blessed me with the power of having complete control over all my actions. This dream (i. e., the blessings I obtained) I now give to you.* With these blessings you will be able to live as you desire. I will now gladly partake of your food."

When they were through eating, she also ate, and then they all went home. After a while her father said to her, "My daughter, I am going to ask you a question. It is said that those who have been blessed might tell their dreams if they were asked." "All right," said the daughter, "I will tell you. Eight days I fasted and then the spirits blessed me. They told me that if at the end of four days I should place offerings south of the place known as the Big Eddy and situated down the stream the powers with which I had been blessed would be shown to me. The one who blessed me was the chief of the Wak*aiⁿte8*, the spirits who live in the earth. He said that Earthmaker had created him and given him great power; that he had placed him in charge of 'life.' In four days he told me, 'I will appear to you. The day on which I appear to you will be a perfect day. Whatever you wish to make for yourself, you may do. You will never be in want of anything, for you can make implements for yourself out of my body. With these I bless you, for you

* The dream referred to here is the dream called Ho-ghinaⁿte Wak*-dreamer of heaven's blood. It is dream whereby a man or woman who has been blessed is about to break his fast. As the food is customary, are selling it is one of remote, for the latter is carrying his blessing. The over, these feasts have now been discontinued for so long a time that it is extremely difficult to obtain any accurate information.

* The transference of certain blessings is very common, but, to my knowledge, it is rarely done in this manner. As a rule if a person was unable to obtain blessings, he sought to offset this handicap in life by purchasing supernatural powers from some of his more favored fellow-men. However, these powers seem to be connected almost exclusively with medicines. That blessings such as those bestowed upon individuals during their fast, such as long life, hunting powers, etc., were transferred, does not seem probable, although it is, of course, possible. The writer was told of a number of cases where this seemed to have been the case, but on closer study it was conclusively shown that no real transference had taken place, but that in those instances where a person had said, "I transfer this and that dream to you," the transference had no validity unless the individual to whom the dream had been bequeathed actually fasted and obtained the same dream. An individual would in such a case always be curated to refer as his "dream-body" one who would in all likelihood obtain the same dream. It is only in this sense that one might actually speak of a transference. In those instances where a man is blessed with supernatural powers that are to extend to all his property (this what is really meant, namely, an infinite repetition of the same blessing, one that has, however, become so certain within definite limits that it might be considered automatic.

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787 have made yourself suffer very much* and my heart has been rent
● 159 with pity for you. I bless you, therefore, with life, and this you
776 may transmit to your descendants.' All this, father, the spirit said to me." "My daughter, it is not good. These spirits are trying to deceive you. Do not accept it. They will never bestow upon you what they have promised." "All right, father, but let me at least give them the offerings of deerskin, red feathers, and tobacco. I will not accept these blessings, for you forbid it."

Then after four days she took her offerings to the place where she was to meet the spirit and told him that her father had forbidden her to accept the blessing. "'You are not a good spirit,' he said." "He is right, for one side of my body is not good but the other is," answered the spirit. "That is the way in which Earthmaker created me." Thus the wak'ai'teu* spoke.* Then the woman looked toward the lake and she saw a tree standing in the water. The spirit climbed upon this tree and wrapped himself around it. Then he took a tooth and shot the tree and knocked it down." "This is what you would have been able to do," said the spirit. "The people would have respected you very much. You would have been able to cure weak or nervous people. But you did not listen to what I told you. You refused it."

## FASTING EXPERIENCE

(INFORMANT, CLAN UNKNOWN)

A man fasted and was finally blessed. When he was to be blessed a spirit came after him. He came from the south. "Human," he said, "I was told to come after you." Then the man looked at him and he saw that it was a man speaking to him. So he went along with him. He did not go far before he came to a village and in the middle of this village he saw a long lodge. There he was taken and there he was blessed. The one that was in charge of the village blessed him first.

"I bless you with victory in wars. Whenever you go on the war-path and when you are about to make the rush, do not forget me.
[726 If you pour some tobacco for me and then fight, the enemy will not
782] be able to kill you. I am in charge of wars."

* When people are blessed by the Water-spirits they make medicine from the bones of the spirits. They are also supposed to make what the Winnebagoes call "implements." What is actually meant by this term it is very difficult to state precisely. But it seems that they mean sharpened bones, etc., used in connection with the administration of magical medicine in painting the body, and in connection with shamanistic practices of all sorts. It is not common for other spirits beside the Water-spirits to bless an individual with the use of "his bones," but this is occasionally met with. In the trickster cycle the trickster, in one of his escapades, is squeezed into the skull of an elk, and he persuades the people that he is an elk-spirit and blesses them and permits them to use his bones.

* This characteristic would seem to identify the wak'ai'teu with the thunder-giver, although it is possible that a number of Winnebago deities had such charm-texts.

* This is a symbolistic representation of the powers she was given.

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So he spoke to him. "Thus will your life be. Look at yourself." 787
So he looked at himself and his hair was very white. As one who 159
had attained a full life he saw himself. "All that are within this 776
lodge bless you," the spirit continued. "You have come to the Buffalo village." This he was told, so he looked at the lodge full of people. And those whom he had seen up to that time as human beings now were buffaloes.

"Human, they bless you is why they went after you. Human, if anyone is weighted with life and a reasonable amount of tobacco is given, such a one would be able to do the following":

A dead man was placed in the middle of the lodge, and all of 787
those in the lodge tried their power, but none succeeded in restoring 159
him to life. At last the spirits let the man try it. So he tried. 776
When he arose, all those in the lodge began to make sounds and 756
when he began to exert his powers he sang buffalo songs. When he was through with these songs, he walked toward the dead man, in the middle of the lodge. He blew on him once, then again and again. Now the man began to open his eyes. Then he blew on him for the fourth time and he caused him to rise.

"Human, you have overcome all of us," said the buffalo chief. "Human, thus shall you ever do to people. If anyone is sick and the proper offerings are made to you, send some tobacco to our council lodge and I will remember you. You must send all the [782]
tobacco that is offered to you. I will remember it. This council lodge is given to you and to your posterity as long as it lasts. As long as the earth lasts that long your posterity will have occasions on which to pour tobacco. Whatever blessing they ask, we will bestow upon them while we smoke their tobacco. As many as are the kettles that they offer to us, we will never accept one without giving them a blessing. We are in control of wars; the Earthmaker has given us control of them, and if you ask for it we will give it to you. And if you ask for life we will bestow that blessing upon you and accept your offerings."

They also blessed him with plants for medicine. This is the way they did it. Each of the spirits caused him to see a plant and to [278]
know the purposes to which it could be put. They told him to make offerings to the plants whenever he gave a feast, so that the plants [782]
would become more powerful. They also blessed him with a drum. "This you must beat when you give a feast and it will tell us your [534]
wants. We will understand the drum. We will make your drum holy for you, and you must treat it as such," they told him. "You must keep it holy. Whenever you are on the warpath you must take it with you and it will help you. Human, your enemies you will [726]
overcome; your weapons only will be sharp if your posterity will never give up this ceremony." So they spoke to him. "Whenever 000

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159 So they spoke to him, "Whenever
787 you give this ceremony, no matter what blessing you ask, we will
776 bestow it upon you, when you offer tobacco. A flute you must also
[534 keep holy. You must make it yourself, so that it remains sacred."
[778 They also told him to make a war bundle. The Buffalo chief told
825] him this. So he made one out of a buffalo head and a buffalo tail.
These he made sacred so that people might offer tobacco to them.
This was done long ago and yet they still do it.

Then they told him that four differently colored buffaloes would bless him— a white one, a black one, a red one, and a yellow one.

After a while he was blessed the second time. This time the spirits came after him from above and took him to the home of a spirit buffalo. This is the one that blessed him.

"Earthmaker has placed me here," said the spirit, "and he has
[726 given me control of many things. Grandson, I bless you. I am in
782] control of war power, and if you ever go on the warpath don't forget me. If you pour a pipeful of tobacco for me before you go into battle, the enemy will only be able to shoot your shadow." Thus he spoke to him. "I will take your body, and in that way it will only be your shadow that the enemy will try to shoot with all their strength. You will be without a body, and how then can they hit you, being without a body?" This is what the spirit told him. So, therefore, whenever he went on the warpath it was impossible to kill him. For the spirit had said, "I am also in control of life and I will give you your life back, that you may control it. The spirits
[796 have given you a tobacco-pouring feast and whenever you give it,
782] remember that I wish to smoke also. When you pour tobacco for me I will grant you whatever you ask. If you ask for war, or if you ask for life, I will accept your tobacco. As long as this earth lasts I will smoke your tobacco and accept the kettle of food that you place on the fire for me."

Thus he spoke to him. The man, however, still kept on fasting, and finally the spirits came for him again. There in the middle of the earth lived a buffalo-ghost. There he went and the buffalo-ghost said to him: "I also bless you. You were given counsel and I who am a buffalo also counsel you. I am in control of many things. Earthmaker placed me here to live and he put me in control of many things. Human, look at me," he said. The man looked at him. Then he saw that his body was covered with flattened bullets. "Thus you will be," said the ghost to him. "It will be impossible to kill you, and you will attain to old age, and when you get tired of living you may do as you please. I give you the privilege of controlling yourself." Then he gave him a song and he caused him to see a war prize, a wampum. After a while he spoke to him as follows:

"I also will always smoke at your feast, and if a kettle is ever put on the fire for me, I will be thankful to you. Whatever the people

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ask of me I will always take it into consideration. If they ask for 159
war or if they ask for life, remember that I have been given control 787
of these things." Thus spoke the buffalo-ghost. There he received 776
all the things with which he was blessed.

In the course of his life he made use of all his blessings. His first 159
victory occurred when he went on the warpath for the first time. 787
He had joined a war party and a fight occurred toward the evening 776
of the same day. As he was walking along he suddenly saw a gun 726
directed against him at close range. He jumped right and left, and in that way escaped being shot. Then the enemy tried to capture the one who had been blessed by the buffalo, holding him tightly by the arm. But he struck the enemy twice against an object and tore his stomach open. Then he walked away. As he was going he thought to himself, "Why did I not kill him outright?" So he went back with the intention of doing this, but as he approached the man the latter directed a gun against him. Thinking, however, that it was not loaded, he did not dodge, and he was shot. His breast was filled with shot and he was killed. But he did not remain dead long. He soon came to consciousness and sat up, uttering sounds like a buffalo.

Then he remembered that a buffalo ghost had blessed him. He had indeed said to him, "When you are about to fight do not forget me." He remembered this, so he exerted his power. All the blood that was in his stomach he vomited forth and felt better. Just then one of his relatives came along and asked him, "How have you been getting along?" and he answered, "I have killed one. There lies his body. Take his scalp for me." "All right," said his relative, and did what he had been told, and brought it to him, saying, "Here it is." A [727]
horse was there also, and this the relative likewise led away and started back to (the camp). When he met the war leader, the latter asked him, "How have you been making out?" He answered, "I give you these trophies," and handed the leader the scalp and the horse. "Ah, it is good," he said, and put a wampum belt on him. Then the war leader sang a song and started to run, and the buffalo-blessed one reminded himself of his blessing and went back also. He was all shot to pieces. But he did not die, for he had been blessed with power, so how could he die? The buffalo ghost he had seen with flattened bullets in his belt had fulfilled his promise, and the wampum belt that he had seen in his fasting had now become true.

He went to many wars after this, but he was never harmed. He [756]
doctored many people and caused them to have more life. After
a while he made a war bundle consisting of a flute that he had con- [778]
structed himself, a buffalo tail, and a buffalo head. Then he made offerings to them. These many things he made sacred. Since then buffalo feasts have been given.

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J. R.'S FASTING EXPERIENCE

159 787 I fasted all the time. We moved back to a place where all the leaders used to give their feasts. Near the place where we lived there were three lakes and a black hawk's nest. Right near the tree where the nest was located they built a lodge and the war-bundle that we possessed was placed in the lodge. We were to pass the night there, my older brother and myself. It was said that if anyone [756] fasted at such a place for four nights he would always be blessed with victory and the power to cure the sick. All the spirits would bless him.

159 787 776 "The first night spent there one imagined himself surrounded by spirits whose whisperings were heard outside of the lodge," they said. The spirits would even whistle. I would be frightened and nervous, and if I remained there I would be molested by large monsters, fearful to look upon. Even (the bravest) might be frightened, I was told. Should I, however, get through that night, I would on the following night be molested by ghosts whom I would hear speaking outside. They would say things that might cause me to run away. Toward morning they would even take my blanket away from me. They would grab hold of me and drive me out of the lodge, and they would not stop until the sun rose. If I was able to endure the third night, on the fourth night I would really be addressed by spirits, it was said, who would bless me, saying, "I bless you. We had turned you over to the (monsters, etc.) and that is why they approached you, but you overcame them and now they will not be able to take you away. Now you may go home, for with victory and long life we bless you and also with the power of healing the sick. Nor shall you lack wealth (literally, 'people's possessions'). So go home and eat, for a large war-party is soon to fall upon you and as soon as the sun rises in the morning they will give the war whoop, and if you do not go home now they will kill you."

Thus the spirits would speak to me. However, if I did not do the bidding of this particular spirit, then another one would address me and say very much the same thing. So the spirits would speak until the break of day, and just before sunrise a man in warrior's regalia would come and peep in. He would be a scout. Then I would surely think a war party had come upon me, I was told.

Then another spirit would come and say, "Well, grandson, I have taken pity upon you and I bless you with all the good things that the earth holds. Go home now, for the war-party is about to rush upon you." And if I then went home, as soon as the sun rose the war-whoop would be given. The members of the war-party would give the war-whoop all at the same time. They would rush upon me and capture me and after the fourth one had counted coup, then

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they would say, "Now then, grandson, this we did to teach you. 159
Thus you shall act. You have completed your fasting." Thus they 787
would talk to me, I was told. This war-party was composed entirely 776
of spirits, I was told, spirits from the heavens and from the earth; indeed, all the spirits that exist would be there. These would all bless me. They also told me that it would be a very difficult thing to accomplish this particular fasting.

So there I fasted, at the black hawk's nest where a lodge had been built for me. The first night I stayed there I wondered when things would happen; but nothing took place. The second night, rather late in the night, my father came and opened the war-bundle and taking a gourd out, began to sing. I stood beside him without any clothing on me except the breech-clout, and holding tobacco in each hand I uttered my cry to the spirits as my father sang. He sang war-bundle songs and he wept as he sang. I also wept as I uttered my cry to the spirits. When he was finished he told me some sacred stories, and then went home.

When I found myself alone I began to think that something ought to happen to me soon, yet nothing occurred, so I had to pass another day there. On the third night I was still there. My father visited me again and we repeated what we had done the night before. In the morning, just before sunrise, I uttered my cry to the spirits. The fourth night found me still there. Again my father came and we did the same things, but in spite of it all, I experienced nothing unusual. Soon another day dawned upon us. That morning I told my elder brother that I had been blessed by spirits and that I was going home to eat. However, I was not telling the truth. I was hungry and I also knew that on the following night we were going to have a feast and that I would have to utter my cry to the spirits again. I dreaded that. So I went home. When I got there I told my people the story I had told my brother; that I had been blessed and that the spirits had told me to eat. I was not speaking the truth, yet they gave me the food that is carefully prepared for those who have been blessed. Just then my older brother came home and they objected to his return, for he had not been blessed. However, he took some food and ate it.

That night we gave our feast. There, however, our pride received a fall, for although it was supposedly given in our honor, we were placed on one side (of the main participants). After the kettles of food had been put on twice, it became daylight.

### HOW A MAN DEFIED DISEASE-GIVER

Once a man said, "Why do you always make offerings and feasts 776
to the Disease-giver? What benefit has he ever been to you that 787
you do it? If I were ever to see him, I would kick him off the earth. The only thing he can give you is disease."

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The author was fortunate enough to obtain an account by a well-known Winnebago shaman of his various reincarnations. 159 775 539

*T. C.'s account of his two reincarnations.*—I once lived in a party that numbered about 20 camps. When I had grown up to be a lad, although one not large enough to handle a gun, a war party attacked us and killed us all. I did not know, however, that I had been killed. I thought that I was running about as usual until I saw a heap of bodies on the ground and mine among them. No one was there to bury us, so there we lay and rotted.

I (i. e., my ghost) was taken to the place where the sun sets (the west). There I lived with an old couple. This place (spirit land) is an excellent place and the people have the best of times. If you desire to go anywhere, all that you have to do is to wish yourself there and you reach it. While at that place I thought I would come back to earth again, and the old man with whom I was staying said to me, "My son, did you not speak about wanting to go to the earth again?" I had, as a matter of fact, only thought of it, yet he knew what I wanted. Then he said to me, "You can go, but you must ask the chief first."

Then I went and told the chief of the village of my desire, and he said to me, "You may go and obtain your revenge (upon the people who killed your relatives and you)."

Then I was brought down to earth. I did not enter a woman's womb, but I was taken into a room. There I remained, conscious at all times. One day I heard the noise of little children outside and some other sounds, so I thought I would go outside. Then it seemed to me that I went through a door, but I was really being born again from a woman's womb. As I walked out I was struck with the sudden rush of cold air and I began to cry.

At that place I was brought up and I was taught to fast a great deal. Afterwards I did nothing but go to war, and I certainly took revenge for the death of myself and my relatives, that being the purpose for which I had come to earth.

There I lived until I died of old age. All at once my bones became unjointed, my ribs fell in, and I died the second time. I felt no more pain at death, then, than I had felt the first time.

This time I was buried in the manner used at that time. I was wrapped in a blanket and then laid in the grave. Sticks were placed in the grave first. There in the grave I rotted. I watched the people as they buried me.

As I was lying there, some one said to me, "Come, let us go away." So then we went toward the setting of the sun. There we came to a village where we met all the dead. I was told that I would have to stop there for four nights, but in reality I stayed there four years. The people enjoy themselves there. They have all sorts of dances

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775 of a lively kind all the time. From that place we went up to the
539 place where Earthmaker lived and there I saw him and talked to him, face to face, even as I am talking to you now. I saw the spirits too, and, indeed, I was like one of them.

From that place I came to this earth again for the third time, and here I am. I am going through the same that I knew before.

774 *The concept of the soul.* This concept is not clearly developed as a
775 separate entity among the Winnebago on account of their strong belief in reincarnation. Their notion of the soul is merged in that of the noncorporeal ghost who eventully comes to earth again.

## THE COSMOLOGICAL IDEAS

772 The cosmological ideas are of two types: those that are clearly of
773 a folkloristic origin and those that have been developed by shamanistic reinterpretations. To the former class belong all the creative acts of the tricksters and culture heroes, like *Wak'djapk'aga* and Hare, and to the latter the systematic creation of the world by Earthmaker.

What is probably the oldest form of the Winnebago cosmological notions is that concerned with the general destruction of the bad spirits by Hare and by such spirits as the Thunderbirds, Morning Star, etc., and the removal of obstacles. Often the present characteristics of the earth are formed accidentally, as, for instance, the origin of the valleys, mountains, and lakes, as given in the myth of "Holy One." Even in the thoroughly remodeled general origin myth, Earthmaker is not conceived of as having purposely created the world.

772 The Winnebago believed that there were four worlds, one beneath the other, presided over, respectively, by Earthmaker, Trickster (*Wak'djapk'aga*), Turtle, and Hare. Hare rules over the world on which man lives. There seems to be some confusion as to who rules over the last earth, because it is also definitely stated that Traveler (a Water-spirit) is in control of it.

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756 On the whole, it must be said that the main difference between
796 (a) and (b) of Part IV, setting aside the initiation, lies simply in the number of myths told and the greater length of the speeches.

PERSONAL ACCOUNTS OF INITIATION

●159 1. J. B.'s account: I was about 13 years and over when they told me
756 that they would make me a member of the medicine dance. I liked it very much. Some people do not like it at all when they are asked to join the medicine dance. I, however, liked it very much. The medicine dance I am going to join, they told me. Very much did my parents desire me to do it. If I wished to live a holy life, that is what I should do, they told me.

Then, when everything was in readiness for my initiation, we moved on to the village where the ceremony was to take place. At night they were to sing at the medicine dance, and they, my relatives, were to join in the singing with them. There they also preached to me. They told me that this rite, the medicine dance, was a good thing. I did not even then think that those who were to initiate me into the medicine dance would kill me when they shot at me, as was the popular belief.

Never had there been such a life, they said, as the one I was going to live, now that I was about to join the medicine dance. Never at any time would I have thought of such a life. Those who were about to make me join the medicine dance told me that the Indians, when they hear of it, will expect me to do great things, that they will speak well of me, and like me. That is all I can now think of concerning that matter.

Now, those who are about to make me join the medicine dance are preparing to show me the shells, and for this purpose they are taking me into the brush. There they, the elders, preached to me. I was not the least bit frightened when, after this, they prepared to shoot me with the sacred shell. Indeed, I was not the least bit worried about it, nor did I think to myself, "I wonder how it is going to be!" Then those who already belonged to the medicine dance, those whom I had dreamed of all this time, shot me. When they shot me I didn't die. That thought was in my mind; but when they shot me, as a matter of fact, I didn't even lose consciousness. Almost immediately I knew how to do it (i. e., to shoot). They liked it very much. Everything they told me to do I did immediately, nor was I backward about anything. The shaman liked it. Never had anyone learned as quickly as I had, they were saying. "That augurs well for him," they say. I thought then that the medicine dance was true.

When we returned from the brush I entered the lodge. Not in any direction did I look, not once did I speak, not once did I move around, not once did I change my position. Just as they told me

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to sit, that way I remained sitting. As many Indians as were gathered in the lodge, all of them, I failed to notice. Not once did I, by chance, permit my glance to wander from side to side. I was doing everything exactly as I was told. The shaman liked it.

Whenever thereafter a medicine dance was given I attended it. Whenever I went in at night I remained there until it was all over, not going out once. And during the day ceremony not once did I permit my glance to wander outside. Never did I permit myself to lie down from fatigue; nor did I permit my glances to wander outside, because there was much noise there, or because some people were doing funny things. Not even within the lodge did I glance. Indeed, I never allowed my glances to wander in any direction. All the holy things I was told to do, I did. This is a holy ceremony, and I was bashful in its presence.

If at any time any of my leaders in the medicine dance wished to give the ceremony I would stay in his house together with those who had been invited. I would do all the work for him, sing the medicine dance songs, etc. All the different things he was supposed to do, all that I would do for him.

When his wife cooked, I carried the water for her, I made the fire, and helped her with the dishes. All the work she liked to have done in the house, I did for her.

All the clothes I possessed I gave to him. Money I gave to him, and the food he needed I procured for him. Whenever he gave a feast, in addition to what he cooked, I would put a special pail of food on the fire for him. When he ate it he was thankful.

"My son, what do you think I possess, that you are doing all this for me!" But I continued; and when I killed a medium-sized buck I made a feast in his honor, and all the clothing he needed, I gave him. Then I also gave him a costly repeating rifle, the one I used in hunting. All these things I offered him. Then I gave him an eagle, so that he could make a medicine pouch out of it. Money I also gave him, and gourds. Thus I acted, feasting him and offering him gifts all the time. I worked for him all the time.

One day he said to me, "My son, you have been treating me very well. Even my own brothers never treated me the way you have been doing. I thank you. All my relations hate you, but don't pay any attention to them. You are from a different family and I am teaching you various things (that belong to them), they say. They want me to stop instructing you. My father left the medicine dance for me to take care of. I am in complete control of it. Not one of these people, my kindred, has ever done anything for me in their lives. My ancestors said that you are my relative for what you have done. I can not teach my relatives the details of this ceremony, as I would have done had they acted correctly. My knowledge of this ceremony belongs to you, for you have paid for it. My remote

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159 756 ancestors told their descendants, as it has passed down from mouth to mouth to us, that whosoever pays careful attention to all that pertains to this ceremony, that whosoever has a good memory, he is the one to whom it should be taught. Thus they spoke.

"My son, you alone have been good to me," he said. "This ceremony you will learn. Our son, He-who-stands-on-a-cloud, and you have been kind to me. Both of you will live a long life. Never divide this ceremony in two. Never keep anything separate, but do, the two of you, counsel about everything. If one of you knows anything, tell it to the other. Two people are necessary to make the ceremony truly efficacious for either one. Never dislike one another.

"My younger brother, you are going to be a chief. No one else pays attention to this ceremony. You alone are doing it. If at any time I should leave your presence, when I am about to go I know that you, oh my son and brother, I will leave behind me, peacefully traveling along. Thus I will think as I am about to depart. Thus my ancestors told me."

Thus in trying to obtain information I made myself pitiable. I tried to be blessed. I performed all kinds of work. Even woman's work I did. Thus I kept myself in a pitiable condition, and for that reason my brother-in-law blessed me. He blessed me with the ceremony of his ancestors. He told it to no one else but to me; and if anyone else, at the present time, narrates the ceremony as told by our band, he is not telling you the truth. Up to the present time this ceremony was an Indian ceremony, and not a second time will I tell it to a member of the white race.

This ceremony molded me. I paid the most careful attention to it; I worshiped it in the best way I knew how. I was careful about everything in my life. I never drank. A holy life it was that I sought and most earnestly did I pray that I might live over again. That is what I yearned for. If I do everything that this ceremony enjoins upon me well, I will return to Earthmaker, they told me. This is what I wished. I was doing well as a medicine man and everyone loved me. This ceremony was made with love.

I knew all the songs. Indeed, the leader of the dance would make me sing the songs for him. As many medicine men as there were, they all liked me. I was not overbearing, but modestly did I comport myself right along. All the medicine men told me that I was doing very well, and they offered thanks in my behalf.

2. J. C.'s account of how he came to join the medicine dance: This [113] is how it was. A grandmother of mine was the cause of it. She said that the Creator's son[21] was called the Hare; that he came on earth and brought life, she said. She said that whoever did this would live well, that their souls would always return to the place where the

[21] J. C. is a prominent member of the Peyote cult and, in common with other members of this cult, he has identified the Hare with Christ.

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Creator sits. The first thing that they did to me was this: They took me to a lodge at night; there they talked and sang. Then the second night the tobacco bundles were made; then the great old medicine men were given tobacco. After this came the four nights' preparation. Then came the great medicine dance. Then they went after those that were going to join, one at a time. They, the medicine men, were repeating what the Hare had done. When the Hare came on earth he performed certain actions, and that is what they were repeating now. Hare had visited the different spirits, it is said, looking for a means of life, it is said. The old medicine men possessed the good tidings that Hare had brought to this earth. That is what the people desired of Hare, it is said. 159 756

When they entered, the first person to whom tobacco had been given, i. e., the one first invited, entered first. Then the others followed in turn. Then he talked; then the one who initiated me expressed his thanks, saying, "You medicine men, this affair the Hare has given you, you are repeating in order to bless us. For that reason you have come. We ask you to give to this person whom we are about to initiate the life you have obtained for us. We ask that the newly initiated one travel along that road."

Then the first person spoke, and after that they all ate. When he was through they heated a stone. After that they all entered in regular order and I was asked to go in with them. Thus I entered the sweat-bath lodge. When I was inside they told me that the stone which they had heated was a spirit. "The life that he brought I should ask for," they told me. After that we went out again.

At night we entered again. Then at about 2 o'clock they took me out to the brush. Not until then was I to learn what the medicine men really did. When we got to the brush they made me sit down and the man who was initiating me turned me over to the others. He said, "I turn him over to you. Whatever the elders have taught you, that we desire you to tell him." When he finished the first one began to talk, saying, "It is good that you are such a person. Earthmaker must have willed it so. In the olden times if a person wanted to join the medicine lodge he could not do it until he was quite old." Then he continued preaching to me. When Earthmaker first came into the world and what happened after that, how he created all things: that he told me. He told me that Earthmaker created four worlds, in each of which he placed men and women; that the heavens we see represent the last man he created and the earth we are living on the last woman he created. Then he told how *Herecgunina* was created. The story is as follows: Earthmaker created man, whom he wished to put at the head of the world, but he did not make one of his legs quite right. Then he threw him down to the earth because when Earthmaker made anything wrong 159 756 881 868 [773]

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159 he never did it over again. *Herreguninu* lived on earth from that
756 time on, and it is said that he also created things. Indeed, it is said
881 that he was almost the equal of the Earthmaker. He made the people
868 very miserable. Then Earthmaker sent four of his sons (to save the
773 people). Hare alone, of all the four, accomplished what he had been sent out for. All the rest failed. Hare obtained life for the people upon this earth.

Then the man told how the medicine lodge had been founded; how all the spirits upon the earth and all those under the earth and all those above the earth gathered together. They brought life with them. Then the medicine bags began to come. First came the eagle. He came from above. Next came the hawk, and then the squirrel, etc. The otter was the last one. Then the old man stopped talking to me and another person began to admonish me. He told me how I was to conduct myself. Then he spoke to me of the medicine-lodge road (i. e., of life) and what happens after life.

159 The first thing that I would meet on the road would be bad birds
756 making a lot of noise. "Do not look at them," he told me. They
868 would let fly at me bad-smelling saliva and phlegm, but I was not
775 to turn around, he said. Then the road would become thickly covered with thorn bushes. It would seem almost impossible to untangle them. I was, however, not to pay any attention to them, he told me. On the road, fires would send their sparks toward me, but I was to pay no attention to them. After a while I would lose one of my relatives, but I was to keep right on. I was not to get angry nor to give up, and after a while the road would become thickly covered with poplars growing on each side. Then the hair on my temples would become gray. This is what would happen to me, he told me, if I paid close attention to this ceremony. After a while it would become foggy (i. e., my eyesight would grow dim. Then I would come to a hill, one of four hills. When I came to the last hill there I would see red cedar trees. This is what would happen to me if I paid close attention to this ceremony, he told me. My soul would return to Earthmaker and I would then be allowed to come back to this earth if I wanted to.

159 Then they gave me the object with which they shot themselves
756 the shell. They shot me. After that they made me try to do it,
796 and when I was able to shoot well, we all came back. It was now
881 daylight. Now they put clothes on themselves and arose. Those who were initiating me then spread upon the ground the things which had been brought. Then the leader spoke. He told me that he would put me on the medicine-dance road. Then they sat me down there and shot me. Then the clothes that I had on were taken off and I was given other clothes. I was now told that I was standing on the medicine-dance road. After that they danced all day. In the evening they stopped. Now this is what I did; this is all I can say. I greet you, my friends.

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In 1910 the cult already had a rather definite organization. There 794
was, at every performance, one leader (pl. 54, *a*) and four principal participants. John Rave (pls. 5, *b*; 55, *b*), the Winnebago who introduced the peyote, was always the leader whenever he was present. On other occasions leadership devolved upon some older member. The four other principal participants changed from meeting to meeting, although there was a tendency to ask certain individuals whenever it was possible. The ritualistic unit, in short, is a very definite one, consisting of a number of speeches and songs and in the passing of the regalia from one to the other of the four participants. [796]

During the early hours of the evening, before the peyote has begun to have any appreciable effect, a number of apparently intrusive features are found. These, for the most part, consist of speeches by [276] people in the audience and the reading and explanation of parts of the Bible. After the peyote has begun to have an appreciable effect, however, the ceremony consists exclusively of a repetition of the [783] ritualistic unit and confessions.

There is an initiation consisting of a baptism, always performed by John Rave. It is of a very simple nature. Rave dips his fingers in a peyote infusion and then passes them over the forehead of the [788] new member, muttering at the same time the following prayer:

"God, his holiness."

This is what the Winnebago words mean, although some of the younger members who have been strongly permeated with Christian [777] teachings translate the prayer into, "God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

Whenever the ceremony is performed in the open a fireplace in 794
the shape of a horseshoe is made. At one end of this fireplace is 788
placed a very small mound of earth, called by Rave "Mount Sinai," and in front of this a cross is traced in the earth. Upon the small earth mound are placed the two "chief" peyote, the Bible and the staff. The latter, called by Rave the shepherd's crook, is always covered with beadwork, and generally has a number of evenly cut tufts of deer hair on the end and at intervals along its length. The sacred peyote, known as *hupka* (i. e., "chief") are exceptionally large and beautiful specimens. They are regarded by a number of people, certainly by Rave, with undisguised veneration.

In addition to the above, there is found a large eagle feather fan, a small drum, and a peculiar small type of rattle. To my knowledge, this type was unknown among the Winnebago before its introduction by the peyote eaters.

JOHN RAVE'S ACCOUNT OF THE PEYOTE CULT AND OF HIS CONVERSION 154

During 1893-94 I was in Oklahoma with peyote eaters. 794
In the middle of the night we were to eat peyote. We ate it and 276
I also did. It was the middle of the night when I got frightened, for 786

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159 794 276 786 a live thing seemed to have entered me. "Why did I do it?" I thought to myself. I should not have done it, for right at the beginning I have harmed myself. Indeed, I should not have done it. I am sure it will injure me. The best thing will be for me to vomit it up. Well, now, I will try it. After a few attempts I gave up. I thought to myself, "Well, now you have done it. You have been going around trying everything and now you have done something that has harmed you. What is it? It seems to be alive and moving around in my stomach. If only some of my own people were here! That would have been better. Now no one will know what has happened to me. I have killed myself."

Just then the object was about to come out. It seemed almost out and I put out my hand to feel it, but then it went back again. "O, my, I should never have done it from the beginning. Never again will I do it. I am surely going to die."

As we continued it became day and we laughed. Before that I had been unable to laugh.

The following night we were to eat peyote again. I thought to myself, "Last night it almost harmed me." "Well, let us do it again," they said. "All right, I'll do it." So there we ate seven peyote apiece.

Suddenly I saw a big snake. I was very much frightened. Then another one came crawling over me. "My God! where are these coming from!" There at my back there seemed to be something. So I looked around and I saw a snake about to swallow me entirely. It had legs and arms and a long tail. The end of this tail was like a spear. "O, my God! I am surely going to die now," I thought. Then I looked again in another direction and I saw a man with horns and long claws and with a spear in his hand. He jumped for me and I threw myself on the ground. He missed me. Then I looked back and this time he started back, but it seemed to me that he was directing his spear at me. Again I threw myself on the ground and he missed me. There seemed to be no possible escape for me. Then suddenly it occurred to me, "Perhaps it is this peyote that is doing this thing to me!" "Help me, O medicine, help me! It is you who are doing this and you are holy! It is not these frightful visions that are causing this. I should have known that you were doing it. Help me!" Then my suffering stopped. "As long as the earth shall last, that long will I make use of you, O medicine!"

This had lasted a night and a day. For a whole night I had not slept at all.

Then we breakfasted. Then I said, when we were through, "Let us eat peyote again to-night." That evening I ate eight peyote.

In the middle of the night I saw God. To God living up above, our Father, I prayed. "Have mercy upon me! Give me knowledge

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that I may not say and do evil things. To you, O God, I am trying to 159
pray. Do thou, O Son of God, help me, too. This religion, let me 794
know. Help me, O medicine, grandfather, help me! Let me know 276
this religion!" Thus I spoke and sat very quiet. And then I beheld 786
the morning star and it was good to look upon. The light was good to look upon. I had been frightened during the night but now I was happy. Now as the light appeared, it seemed to me that nothing would be invisible to me. I seemed to see everything clearly. Then I thought of my home and as I looked around, there I saw the house in which I lived far away among the Winnebago, quite close to me. There at the window I saw my children playing. Then I saw a man going to my house carrying a jug of whisky. Then he gave them something to drink and the one that had brought the whisky got drunk and bothered my people. Finally he ran away. "So, that is what they are doing," I thought to myself. Then I beheld my wife come and stand outside of the door, wearing a red blanket. She was thinking of going to the flagpole and was wondering which road she should take. "If I take this road I am likely to meet some people, but if I take the other road, I am not likely to meet anyone."

Indeed, it is good. They are all well—my brother, my sister, my father, my mother. I felt very good indeed. O medicine, grandfather, most assuredly you are holy! All that is connected with you, that I would like to know and that I would like to understand. Help me! I give myself up to you entirely!

For three days and three nights I had been eating medicine, and for three days and three nights I had not slept. Throughout all the years that I had lived on earth, I now realized that I had never known anything holy. Now, for the first time, I knew it. Would that some of the Winnebagoes might also know it!

Many years ago I had been sick and it looked as if this illness 159
were going to kill me. I tried all the Indian doctors and then I 794
tried all of the white man's medicines, but they were of no avail. 276
"I am doomed. I wonder whether I will be alive next year." Such 755
were the thoughts that came to me. As soon as I ate the peyote, however, I got over my sickness. After that I was not sick again. My wife had suffered from the same disease, and I told her that if she ate this medicine it would surely cure her. But she was afraid, although she had never seen it before. She knew that I used it, but nevertheless she was afraid of it. Her sickness was getting worse and worse and one day I said to her, "You are sick. It is going to be very difficult, but try this medicine anyhow. It will cure you." Finally she ate it. I had told her to eat it and then to wash herself and comb her hair and she would get well, and now she is well. Then I painted her face and took my gourd and began singing very much. Then I stopped. "Indeed, you are right,"

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she said, "for now I am well." From that day on to the present time she has been well. Now she is very happy.

Black Water-spirit at about that time was having a hemorrhage and I wanted him to eat the peyote. "Well, I am not going to live anyhow," he said. "Well, eat this medicine soon then and you will get cured." Consumptives never were cured before this and now for the first time one was cured. Black Water-spirit is living to-day and is very well.

There was a man named Walking-Priest and he was very fond of whisky; he chewed and he smoked and he gambled. He was very fond of women. He did everything that was bad. Then I gave him some of the peyote and he ate it and he gave up all the bad things he was doing. He had had a very dangerous disease and had even had murder in his heart. But to-day he is living a good life. That is his desire.

Whoever has any bad thoughts, if he will eat this peyote he will abandon all his bad habits. It is a cure for everything bad.

To-day the Indians say that only God is holy. One of the Winnebagoes has told me, "Really, the life that I led was a very bad one. Never again will I do it. This medicine is good and I will always use it." John Harrison and Squeaking-Wings were prominent members of the medicine dance; they thought much of themselves as did all the members of the medicine dance. They knew everything connected with this medicine dance. Both of them were gamblers and were rich because they had won very much in gambling. Their parents had acquired great possessions by giving medicines to the people. They were rich and they believed that they had a right to be selfish with their possessions. Then they ate peyote and ever since that time they have been followers of this medicine. They were really very ill and now they have been cured of it. Now if there are any men that might be taken as examples of the peyote, it is these three. Even if a man were blind and only heard about them he would realize that if any medicine were good, it is this medicine. It is a cure for all evil. Before, I had thought that I knew something but I really knew nothing. It is only now that I have real knowledge. In my former life I was like one blind and deaf. My heart ached when I thought of what I had been doing. Never again will I do it. This medicine alone is holy and has made me good and has rid me of all evil. The one whom they call God has given me this. That I know positively. Let them all come here; men and women; let them bring with them all that they desire; let them bring with them their diseases. If they come here they will get well. This is all true; it is all true. Bring whatever desires you possess along with you and then come and eat or drink this medicine. This is life, the only life. Then you will learn

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something about yourself, so come. Even if you are not told anything about yourself, nevertheless you will learn something of yourself. Come with your disease, for this medicine will cure it. Whatever you have, come and eat this medicine and you will have true knowledge once and for all. Learn of this medicine yourself through actual experience.

If you just hear about it you are not likely to try it. If you desire real knowledge about it try it yourself, for then you will learn of things that you had never known before. In no other way will you ever be happy. I know that all sorts of excuses will run through your mind for not partaking of it, but if you wish to learn of something good, try this. Perhaps you will think to yourself that it will be too difficult and this will seem an excuse to you for not trying it. But why should you act thus? If you partake of it, even if you feel some uncertainty about its accomplishing all the good that has been said of it, I know that you will say to yourself, "Well, this life is good enough." After you have taken it for the first time, it will seem as if they are digging a grave for you, that you are about to die; and you will not want to take it again. "It is bad," you will think to yourself. You will believe that you are going to die and you will want to know what is going to happen to you. The coffin will be set before you and then you will see your body. If you wish to inquire further about where you are going then you will learn something you have not known. Two roads there are, one leading to a hole in the earth and the other extending up above. You will learn something that you had not known before. Of the two roads, one is dark and the other is light. You must choose one of these while you are alive and so must you decide whether you wish to continue in your evil ways or whether you will abandon them. These are the two roads. The Peyote people see them. They claim that only if you weep and repent will you be able to obtain knowledge. Do not, as I said before, listen to others talking about it, but try the medicine yourself. That is the only way to find out. No other medicine can accomplish what this has done. If, therefore, you make use of it, you will live. After they have eaten peyote people throw aside all the (evil) ceremonies that they were accustomed to perform before. Only by eating the peyote will you learn what is truly holy. That is what I am trying to learn myself.

It is now 23 years since I first ate peyote, and I am still doing it (1912). Before that my heart was filled with murderous thoughts. I wanted to kill my brother and my sister. It seemed to me that my heart would not feel good until I killed one of them. All my thoughts were fixed on the warpath. This is all I thought of. Now

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159 Now I know that it was because the evil spirit possessed me that I felt that
755 way. I was suffering from a disease. I even desired to kill myself:
794 I did not care to live. That feeling, too, was caused by this evil
276 spirit living within me. Then I ate this medicine and everything
[753] changed. The brother and sister I wanted to kill before I became attached to and I wanted them to live. The medicine had accomplished this.

### O. L.'s Description of the Peyote Cult

(Pl. 10, c)

159 John Rave belongs to the Bear clan, the members of which had
614 the functions of what might be called sergeants-at-arms. He and
[692 his ancestors used to be in charge of the *manupki* (i. e., the ser-
681] geants-at-arms lodge), to which all malefactors would be brought for punishment.

159 Rave, although he belonged to this highly respected class of people,
794 was a bad man. He roamed from place to place. He has participated in all the ceremonies of the Winnebago, the medicine dance alone excepted. He had been married many times. Up to 1901 he was a heavy drinker. In that year he went to Oklahoma and while there ate the peyote. He then returned to the Winnebago and tried to introduce it among them, but none with the exception of a few
[177] relatives would have anything to do with it. This did not in any way discourage him, however, and he continued using the peyote, now and then getting a few converts.

159 There was not very much religion connected with it in the beginning
794 and the reason people drank it was on account of the peculiar effects
177 it had upon them. Nevertheless these Peyote people preached good things and gradually lost all desire for intoxicating drinks or for participating in the old Winnebago ceremonies. Then Rave began to do away with the old Indian customs. About four or five years ago the membership in the Peyote religion began to increase, for many people now noticed that those connected with the Peyote cult were the only people in the tribe leading a Christian life.

At this time the Bible was introduced by a young man named Albert Hensley (pls. 8, *d*; 9, *d*). He, too, had been a bad person, although he had been educated at Carlisle. Like Rave, he was a heavy drinker and fond of wandering.

During the last few years our members have increased so fast that now almost half the tribe belong to our religion. We all make efforts to lead a Christian life and we are succeeding very well.

794 We use the New Testament, especially the Revelations.

796 Our meetings take place at any time. We gather together in the
159 evening, and as soon as everything is in readiness the leader arises
[782] and offers a prayer called, "Turning themselves over to the care of the Trinity."

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the Trinity." Then all sit down and the leader makes the regular announcements. The peyote is then passed around, either in the dry condition or steeped. The leader thereupon starts the singing. These are some of the songs: 794 796 159 [276]

1. Ask God for life and he will give it to us.
2. God created us so pray to him.
3. To the home of Jesus we are going, so pray to him. [533]
4. Come ye to the road of the Son of God; come ye to the road.

Then Albert Hensley calls upon 12 educated members to translate and interpret certain portions of the Bible for the nonreading members. He arranges with the leader to have the singing stop at certain places so that some of these young men can speak. When these are finished, other individuals are called upon to give testimony. Hensley always talks and so does Rave. 794 177 796 159

John Rave baptizes by dipping his hand in a diluted infusion of peyote and rubbing it across the forehead of a new member, saying, "I baptize thee in the name of God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which is called God's Holiness." [788]

The peyote eaters wanted to get baptized and unite with the church in Winnebago, but the clergyman in charge would not permit them, so they went and did their own baptizing through their leader, John Rave, who, though he is not educated, is full of real intelligence and religion.

If a person who is truly repentant eats peyote for the first time, he does not suffer at all from its effects. But if an individual is bullheaded, does not believe in its virtue, he is likely to suffer a good deal. This I know from my own experience. After eating peyote I grasped the meaning of the Bible, which before had been meaningless to me. 794 276 159

If a person eats peyote and does not repent openly, he has a guilty conscience, which leaves him as soon as the public repentance has been made. [783]

Old men and women who had been brought up to worship animals and all kinds of spirits have cast them all away and in many instances burned their idols, not because they were told to do so but because they felt that way.

Whenever at our meetings a person wishes to pray, he does so; when he wishes to cry, he does so. Indeed, we show no timidity about worshiping God in the right way. In the Bible one often reads of Christ casting out the devils and of the people shouting, etc. So does the peyote act on us in the beginning, although afterwards its effects abate.

If a peyote eater relapses into his old way of living, then the peyote causes him great suffering.

At first our meetings were started without any rule laid down by the Bible, but afterwards we found a very good reason for holding [177]

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794 our meetings at night. We searched the Bible and asked many
276 ministers for any evidence for Christ's ever having held any meetings
159 in the daytime, but we could find nothing to that effect. We did,
177 however, find evidence that he had been out all night in prayer. As it is our desire to follow as closely as we can in the footsteps of Christ, we hold our meetings at night. Then, too, when we pray we wish to get as far away as possible from earthly things, and the night is the best time, for then we are not likely to be bothered by anything.

We have made earnest efforts to become Christians since we began drinking and eating this peyote, but many people say sarcastically that we have drunk ourselves into Christianity, and that we are demented. I am a peyote eater, but I have never found a demented person among them. We claim that there is virtue in the peyote. To you who do not believe and desire to find out let me quote the fourth chapter of the First Epistle of St. John:

"Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world.

"Hereby know ye the spirit of God. Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God."

We claim that you can not find out anything by standing off at a distance and only talking about it. We claim that some earthly things can have the virtue of God, for instance, the Bible, which is entirely made up of earthly material—the ink, the paper, the cover—yet it has survived the ages.

### J. B.'s Account of the Leader of the Peyote[1]

(Pl. 3)

159 Among the Winnebago there is a man named Little-Red-Bird,
484 and when he reached middle age he began to travel around the world and learn different Indian languages. He used to travel inland a good deal. Once he joined a circus and crossed the ocean. He felt
[544] so ill while crossing that he wanted to die. Suddenly a wind came up and he got very frightened. He did not know what to do. Then he prayed to Earthmaker. When he came to the other side of the ocean there he saw a big island and a big city (London), and in this last place they held their circus. The chief of that country (the king) he met there.

When he came back to his own people he told them that on the other side of the ocean the Thunderbirds did not thunder. All they did was to drizzle. There was no lightning either. As he crossed the ocean on his return it thundered and lightened.

[782] When he came home he was very glad to see his relatives and he offered tobacco in thanksgiving.

[1] The narrator was a very lukewarm follower.

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Shortly after this he traveled again and came to a band of Indians who were eating peyote. It was his custom to try everything when he went visiting. He did not realize what he was doing when he ate this medicine, but he did it anyhow. After a while he began to think of his manner of life, and he felt that he was doing wrong. All the evil he had done he remembered. Then he prayed to God. Suddenly it occurred to him, "Perhaps I am the only one doing this." Then he looked around and watched the others, and he saw them praying in the same manner. 159 794 276 [484]

Not long after that he came home, taking with him some of this medicine. He knew it was holy. At home he offered tobacco to it and kept on eating it. Soon it cured him of a disease he had. He tried to induce some of the others to try it, but they refused. After a while a few tried it, and the peyote movement began to spread. All the old customs that they had been accustomed to observe they abandoned. They gave up the medicine dance and the ceremonies connected with the clans. For that reason, therefore, the conservative people hated them; their own brothers and sisters hated them, for they had abandoned what were considered holy ceremonies. [177 755]

## Albert Hensley's Account of the Peyote[1]

(Pls. 8, d, 9, d)

I am 37 years old. It was 37 years ago that my mother gave birth to me in an old-fashioned reed lodge. When I was a year old she died and my grandmother took care of me. I had come into the world a healthy child, but bad luck was apparently to pursue me, for when I was 7 years old my grandmother died. Then my father took care of me. At that time he began to be a bad man; he was a drunkard and a horse thief. He would frequently get into trouble and run away, always taking me along with him, however. On one occasion we fled to Wisconsin, and there we stayed two years. We got along pretty well, and there my father married again. By his second wife he had three children. 159

After a while he got into trouble again, and misfortune followed misfortune. People were killing each other, and I was left alone. If at any time of my life I was in trouble it was then. I was never happy. Once I did not have anything to eat for four days. We had fled to the wilderness, and it was raining continually. The country was flooded with high water, and we sat on the top of a tree. It was impossible to sleep, for if we went to sleep we would fall off into the water, which was very deep. The shore was quite far away. As we were prominent people, we soon heard that my [731]

[1] This account is of great importance, because Hensley introduced a large number of Christian elements into the ceremony, the principal one being the Bible.

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159 father had been freed. We were very happy, and went back to our people.

At that time a young man named Young-Bear was starting for Nebraska, and he said that he would take me along. I was very happy. So in that manner I was brought to this country. Here I have had only happy days. When my father got married everyone disliked me. When I worked I was working for my father, and all the money I earned I had to give to him.

After a while I went to school, and although I liked it I ran away and then went to school at Carlisle. I wanted to lead a good life. At school I knew that they would take care of me and love me. I was very shy and lacked a strong character at that time. If a person told me to do anything I would always obey immediately. Everybody loved me. I stayed there six months. I was also taught [177] Christianity there. When I came back to my country the Episcopalian people told me that they wanted me to be diligent in religious matters and never to forsake the religion of the Son of God. I also desired to do that. I entered the church that we had in our country and I stayed with them six years.

At that time the Winnebago with whom I associated were heavy [273] drinkers, and after a while they induced me to drink also. I became as wicked as they. I learned how to gamble and I worked for the devil all the time. I even taught the Winnebago how to be bad.

159 After a while they began eating peyote, and as I was in the habit 276 of doing everything I saw, I thought I would do it, too. I asked 794 them whether I could join, and they permitted me. At that time I had a position at the county commissioner's office. I ate the peyote and liked it very much. Then the authorities tried to stop the Indians from eating peyote, and I was supposed to see that the law was enforced. I continued eating peyote and enjoying it. All the evil that was in me I forgot. From that time to the present my actions have been quite different from what they used to be. I am only working for what is good; not that I mean to say that I am good.

After that I married and now I have three children, and it would not have been right for me to continue in my wickedness. I resolved that thereafter I would behave as a grown-up man ought to behave. I resolved never to be idle again and to work so that I could supply my wife and children with food and necessities, that I would be ready to help them whenever they were in need. Here in my own country would I remain till I died. This (peyote) religion was good. All the evil is gone and hereafter I will choose my path carefully.

I know the story about the origin of the peyote. It is as follows:

794 Once in the south, an Indian belonging to the tribe called Mes-
539 callero Apache was roaming in the country called Mexico, and went hunting in the high hills and got lost. For three days he went with-

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794 539 it used it for a purpose different from what it was intended.[1] They used it for war and for horse stealing. They, however, continued to eat the peyote, but they really ate too much of it. After a while the leader began thinking that the medicine might harm them, so he told them to hide it. The man did not know that even at that time a big war party was coming upon them. This tribe was almost destroyed.

They lost the peyote. One day, however, it was taught to a Comanche. He ate it and prayed to Earthmaker. Then it was taught to the Cheyenne and to the Arapaho and to the Caddo. The Tonkawa, the Apache, and the Mescallero Apache were the ones who had lost the medicine. When these other tribes began to eat this medicine they heard about it and they remembered that they also had long ago eaten it.

There was an old man in Oklahoma who knew the mescal country very well and he went down to old Mexico and stayed there for a year. When he returned he taught it to the Oto and the Oto taught it to us.

794 276 It is a true religion. The peyote is fulfilling the work of God and the Son of God. When the Son of God came to the earth he was poor, yet people spoke of him; he was abused. It is the same now with the peyote. The plant itself is not much of a growth, yet the people are talking about it a good deal; they are abusing it, they are trying to stop its use. When the Son of God came to earth the preachers of that time were called Pharisees and Scribes. They doubted what the Son of God said and claimed that he was an ordinary man. So it is to-day with the Christian Church; they are the Pharisees and Scribes, they are the doubters. They say that this is merely a plant, that it is the work of the devil. They are trying to stop its use and they are calling it an intoxicant, but this is a lie. If they will but come and see this ceremony they will realize this.

### J. B.'s Peyote Experiences

●159 794 276 When my father and mother asked me to come to the Missouri River (Nebraska) I knew they had eaten peyote and I did not like it. I had been told that these peyote eaters were doing wrong, and therefore I disliked them; I had heard that they were doing everything that was wicked. For these reasons we did not like them. About this time they sent me money for my ticket, and since my brothers and sisters told me to go, I went. Just as I was about to start my youngest sister, the one to whom we always listened most attentively, said to me, "Older brother, do not you indulge in this medicine eating (peyote) of which so much is said." I promised. Then I started out.

[1] This is clearly Beauley's interpretation.

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As soon as I arrived (in Nebraska) I met some people who had not joined the peyote eaters and who said to me, "Your relatives are eating the peyote and they sent for you that you also might eat it. Your mother, your father, and your younger sister, they are all eating it." Thus they spoke to me. Then they told me of some of the bad things it was reported that these people had done. I felt ashamed and I wished I had not come in the first place. Then I said that I was going to eat the medicine. 159 794 276

After that I saw my father, mother, and sister. They were glad. Then we all went to where they were staying. My father and I walked (alone). Then he told me about the peyote eating. "It does not amount to anything, all this that they are doing, although they do stop drinking. It is also said that sick people get well. We were told about this and so we joined, and, sure enough, we are practically well, your mother as well as I. It is said that they offer prayers to Earthmaker (God)," he said. He kept on talking. "They are rather foolish. They cry when they feel very happy about anything. They throw away all of the medicines that they possess and know. They give up all the blessings they received while fasting and they give up all the spirits that blessed them in their fasts. They also stop smoking and chewing tobacco. They stop giving feasts, and they stop making offerings of tobacco. Indeed, they burn up their holy things. They burn up their war bundles. They are bad people. They give up the Medicine Dance. They burn up their medicine bags and even cut up their otter-skin bags. They say they are praying to Earthmaker (God) and they do so standing and crying. They claim that they hold nothing holy except Earthmaker (God). They claim that all the things that they are stopping are those of the bad spirit (the devil), and that the bad spirit (the devil) has deceived them; that there are no spirits who can bless; that there is no other spirit except Earthmaker (God)." Then I said, "Say, they certainly speak foolishly." I felt very angry toward them. "You will hear them, for they are going to have a meeting tonight. Their songs are very strange. They use a very small drum," said he. Then I felt a very strong desire to see them. [82]

After a while we arrived. At night they had their ceremony. At first I sat outside and listened to them. I was rather fond of them. I stayed in that country and the young peyote eaters were exceedingly friendly to me. They would give me a little money now and then and they treated me with tender regard. They did everything that they thought would make me feel good, and in consequence I used to speak as though I liked their ceremony. However, I was only deceiving them. I only said it because they were so good to me. I thought they acted in this way because (the peyote) was deceiving them.

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159 794 276 Soon after that my parents returned to Wisconsin, but when they left they said they would come back in a little while. So I was left there with my relatives, who were all peyote followers. For that reason they left me there. Whenever I went among the nonpeyote people I used to say all sorts of things about the peyote people, and when I returned to the peyote people I used to say all sorts of things about the others.

I had a friend who was a peyote man and he said to me, "My friend, I wish very much that you should eat the peyote." Thus he spoke and I answered him, "My friend, I will do it, but not until I get accustomed to the people of this country." Then I will do it. The only thing that worries me is the fact that they are making fun of you. And in addition, I am not quite used to them." I spoke dishonestly.

I was staying at the place where my sister lived. She had gone to Oklahoma; she was a peyote follower. After a while she returned. I was then living with a number of women. This was the second time (there) and from them I obtained some money. Once I got drunk there and was locked up for six days. After my sister returned she and the others paid more attention than ever to me. Especially was this true of my brother-in-law. They gave me horses and a vehicle. They really treated me very tenderly. I knew that they did all this because they wished me to eat the peyote. I, in my turn, was very kind to them. I thought that I was fooling them and they thought that they were converting me. I told them that I believed in the peyote because they were treating me so nicely.

After a while we moved to a certain place where they were to have a large peyote meeting. I knew they were doing this in order to get me to join. Then I said to my younger sister, "I would be quite willing to eat this peyote (ordinarily), but I don't like the woman with whom I am living just now and I think I will leave her. That is why I do not want to join now, for I understand that when married people eat medicine (peyote) they will always have to stay together. Therefore I will join when I am married to some woman permanently." Then my brother-in-law came and she told him what I had said, and he said to me, "You are right in what you say. The woman with whom you are staying is a married woman and you can not continue living with her. It is null and void (this marriage) and we know it. You had better join now. It will be the same as if you were single. We will pray for you as though you were single. After you have joined this ceremony, then you can marry any woman whom you have a right to marry (legally). So, do join tonight. It is best. For some time we have been desirous of your joining but we have not said anything to you. It is Earthmaker's (God's) blessing to you that you have been thinking of this," said he.

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Therefore I sat inside the meeting place with them. One man acted as leader. We were to do whatever he ordered. The regalia were placed before him. I wanted to sit in some place on the side because I thought I might get to crying like the others. I felt ashamed of myself. 159 794 276 796

Then the leader arose and talked. He said that this was an affair of Earthmaker's (God's), and that he (the leader) could do nothing on his own initiative; that Earthmaker (God) was going to conduct the ceremony. Then he said that the medicine (peyote) was holy and that he would turn us all over to it; that he had turned himself over to it and wished now to turn all of us over to it. He said further, "I am a very pitiable (figure) in this ceremony, so when you pray to Earthmaker, pray also for me. Now let us all rise and pray to Earthmaker (God)." We all rose. Then he prayed. He prayed for the sick, and he prayed for those who did not yet know Earthmaker. He said that they were to be pitied. When he had finished we sat down. Then the peyote was passed around. They gave me five. My brother-in-law said to me, "If you speak to this medicine (peyote), it will give you whatever you ask of it. Then you must pray to Earthmaker, and then you must eat the medicine." However, I ate them (the peyote) immediately, for I did not know what to ask for and I did not know what to say in a prayer to Earthmaker (God). So I ate the peyote just as they were. They were very bitter and had a taste difficult to describe. I wondered what would happen to me. After a while I was given five more and I also ate them. They tasted rather bitter. Now I was very quiet. The peyote rather weakened me. Then I listened very attentively to the singing. I liked it very much. I felt as though I were partly asleep. I felt different from (my normal self), but when I (looked around) and examined myself, I saw nothing wrong about myself. However, I felt different from (my normal self). Before this I used to dislike the songs. Now I liked the leader's singing very much. I liked to listen to him. [782]

They were all sitting very quietly. They were doing nothing except singing. Each man sang four songs and then passed the regalia to the next one. (Each one) held a stick and an eagle's tail feather in one hand and a small gourd rattle, which they used to shake while singing, in the other. One of (those) present used to do the drumming. Thus objects would pass around until they came back to the leader, who would then sing four songs. When these were finished, he would place the various (things) on the ground, rise, and pray to Earthmaker (God). Then he called upon one or two to speak. They said that Earthmaker (God) was good and that the peyote was good, and that whosoever ate this medicine (peyote) would be able to free himself from the bad spirit (the devil); for they said that

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159 Earthmaker forbids us to commit sins. When this was over they
794 sang again.
796 After midnight, every once in a while (I heard) someone cry. In
276 some cases they would go up to the leader and talk with him. He would stand up and pray with them. They told me what they were saying. They said that they were asking (people) to pray for them, as they were sorry for their sins and that they might be prevented from committing them again. That is what they were saying. They cried very loudly. I was rather frightened. (I noticed also) that when I closed my eyes and sat still, I began to see strange things. I did not get sleepy in the least. Thus the light (of morning) came upon me. In the morning, as the sun rose, they stopped. They all got up and prayed to Earthmaker (God) and then they stopped.

159 During the daytime I did not get sleepy in the least. My actions
276 were a little different (from my usual ones). Then they said, "To-
794 night they are going to have another meeting. Let us go over. They say that is the best (thing) to do and thus you can learn it (the ceremony) right away. It is said that their spirits wander
[774] over all the earth and the heavens also. All this you will learn and see," they said. "At times they die and remain dead all night and all day. When in this condition they sometimes see Earthmaker (God), it is said." One would also be able to see where the bad spirit lived, it was said.

So we went there again. I doubted all this. I thought that what they were saying was untrue. However, I went along anyhow. When we got there, I had already eaten some peyote, for I had taken three during the day. Now near the peyote meeting an (Indian) feast was being given and I went there instead. When I reached the place, I saw a long lodge. The noise was terrific. They were beating an enormous drum. The sound almost raised me in the air, so (pleasurably) loud did it sound to me. Not so (pleasurable) had things appeared at those affairs (peyote meetings) that I had lately been attending. There I danced all night and I flirted with the women. About day I left and when I got back the peyote-meeting was still going on. When I got back they told me to sit down at a certain place. They treated me very kindly. There I again ate peyote. I heard that they were going to have another meeting near by on the evening of the same day. We continued eating peyote the whole day at the place where we were staying. We were staying at the house of one of my relatives. Some of the boys there taught me a few songs. "Say, when you learn how to sing, you will be the best singer, for you are a good singer as it is. You have a good voice," they said to me. I thought so myself.

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That night we went to the place where the peyote meeting was to take place. They gave me a place to sit and treated me very kindly. "Well, he has come," they even said when I got there, "make a place for him." I thought they regarded me as a great man. John Rave, the leader, was to conduct the (ceremony). I ate five peyote. Then my brother-in-law and my sister came and gave themselves up. They asked me to stand there with them. I did not like it, but I did it nevertheless. "Why should I give myself up? I am not in earnest, and I intend to stop this as soon as I get back to Wisconsin. I am only doing this because they have given me presents," I thought. "I might just as well get up, since it doesn't mean anything to me." So I stood up. The leader began to talk and I (suddenly) began to feel sick. It got worse and worse and finally I lost consciousness entirely. When I recovered, I was lying flat on my back. Those with whom I had been standing were still standing there. I had (as a matter of fact) regained consciousness as soon as I fell down. I felt like leaving the place that night, but I did not do it. I was quite tired out. "Why have I done this?" I said to myself. "I promised (my sister) that I would not do it." So I thought and then I tried to leave, but I could not. I suffered intensely. At last daylight came upon me. Now I thought that they regarded me as one who had a trance and found out something. 159 276 794

Then we went home and they showed me a passage in the Bible where it said that it was a shame for any man to wear long hair. That is what it said, they told me. I looked at the passage. I was not a man learned in books, but I wanted to give the impression that I knew how to read, so I told them to cut my hair, for I wore it long at that time. After my hair was cut I took out a lot of medicine that I happened to have in my pockets. These were courting medicines. There were many small bundles of them. All these, together with my hair, I gave to my brother-in-law. Then I cried and my brother-in-law also cried. Then he thanked me. He told me that I understood and that I had done well. He told me that Earthmaker (God) alone was holy; that all the things (blessings and medicines) that I possessed were false; that I had been fooled by the bad spirit (devil). He told me that I had now freed myself from much of this (bad influence). My relatives expressed their thanks fervently. [302] [832]

On the fourth night they had another meeting and I went to it again. There I again ate (peyote). I enjoyed it and I sang along with them. I wanted to be able to sing immediately. Some young men were singing and I enjoyed it, so I prayed to Earthmaker, asking him to let me learn to sing right away. That was all I asked for. My brother-in-law was with me all the time. At that meeting all the things I had given my brother-in-law were burned up.

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159 The fact that he (my brother-in-law) told me that I understood
794 pleased me, and I felt good when daylight came. (As a matter of
276 fact) I had not received any knowledge.

After that I would attend meetings every once in a while, and I looked around for a woman whom I might marry permanently. Before long that was the only thing I thought of when I attended the meetings.

On one occasion we were to have a meeting of men and I went to the meeting with a woman, with whom I thought of going around the next day. That was (the only) reason I went with her. When we arrived, the one who was to lead asked me to sit near him. There he placed me. He urged me to eat a lot of peyote, so I did. The leaders (of the ceremony) always place the regalia in front of themselves; they also had a peyote placed there. The leader placed a very small one in front of himself this time. "Why does he have a very small one there?" I thought to myself. I did not think much about it.

159 It was now late at night and I had eaten a lot of peyote and felt
794 rather tired. I suffered considerably. After a while I looked at the
786 peyote and there stood an eagle with outspread wings. It was as
276 beautiful a sight as one could behold. Each of the feathers seemed to have a mark. The eagle stood looking at me. I looked around thinking that perhaps there was something the matter with my sight. Then I looked again and it was really there. I then looked in a different direction and it disappeared. Only the small peyote remained. I looked around at the other people but they all had their heads bowed and were singing. I was very much surprised.

Some time after this (I saw) a lion lying in the same place (where I had seen the eagle). I watched it very closely. It was alive and looking at me. I looked at it very closely, and when I turned my eyes away just the least little bit it disappeared. "I suppose they all know this and I am just beginning to know of it," I thought. Then I saw a small person (at the same place). He wore blue clothes and a shining brimmed cap. He had on a soldier's uniform. He was sitting on the arm of the person who was drumming, and he looked at every one. He was a little man, perfect (in all proportions). Finally I lost sight of him. I was very much surprised indeed. I sat very quietly. "This is what it is," I thought, "this is what they all probably see and I am just beginning to find out."

Then I prayed to Earthmaker (God) "This, your ceremony, let me hereafter perform."

As I looked again, I saw a flag. I looked more carefully and (I saw) the house full of flags. They had the most beautiful marks on them. In the middle (of the room) there was a very large flag and it was a live one; it was moving. In the doorway there was another

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one not entirely visible. I had never seen anything so beautiful in all my life before. 159 794

Then again I prayed to Earthmaker (God). I bowed my head and closed my eyes and began (to speak). I said many things that I would ordinarily never have spoken about. As I prayed, I was aware of something above me and there he was; Earthmaker (God) to whom I was praying, he it was. That which is called the soul, that is it, that is what one calls Earthmaker (God). Now this is what I felt and saw. The one called Earthmaker (God) is a spirit and that is what I felt and saw. All of us sitting there, we had all together one spirit or soul; at least that is what I learned. I instantly became the spirit and I was their spirit or soul. Whatever they thought of, I (immediately) knew. I did not have to speak to them and get an answer to know what their thoughts had been. Then I thought of a certain place, far away, and immediately I was there; I was my thought. 786 276

I looked around and noticed how everything seemed about me, and when I opened my eyes I was myself in the body again. From this time on, I thought, thus I shall be. This is the way they are, and I am only beginning to be that way. "All those that heed Earthmaker (God) must be thus," I thought. "I would not need any more food," I thought, "for was I not my spirit? Nor would I have any more use of my body," I felt. "My corporeal affairs are over," I felt.

Then they stopped and left, for it was just dawning. Then someone spoke to me. I did not answer, for I thought they were just fooling, and that they were all like myself, and that (therefore) it was unnecessary for me to talk to them. So when they spoke to me I only answered with a smile. "They are just saying this to me because (they realize) that I have just found out," I thought. That was why I did not answer. I did not speak to anyone until noon. Then I had to leave the house to perform one of nature's duties and someone followed me. It was my friend. He said, "My friend, what troubles you that makes you act as you do?" "Well, there's no need of your saying anything, for you know it beforehand," I said. 159 794 276

Then I immediately got over my trance and again got into my (normal) condition, so that he would have to speak to me before I knew his thoughts. I became like my former self. It became necessary for me to speak to him.

Then I spoke to him and said, "My friend, let us hitch up these horses and then I will go wherever you like, for you wish to speak to me and I also want to go around and talk to you." Thus I spoke to him. "If I were to tell you all that I have learned, I would never be able to stop at all, so much have I learned," I said to him. "However, I would enjoy telling some of it." "Good," said he. He liked

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159 it (what I told him) very much. "That is what I am anxious to
794 hear," said he. Then we went after the horses. We caught one of
276 them but we could not get the other. He got away from us and we could not find him. We hunted everywhere for the horse but could not discover where he had run to. Long afterwards we found it among the whites.

Now since that time (of my conversion) no matter where I am, I always think of this religion. I still remember it and I think I will remember it as long as I live. It is the only holy thing I have been aware of in all my life.

After that whenever I heard of a peyote meeting, I went to it. However, my thoughts were always fixed on women. "If I were married (legally) perhaps these thoughts will leave me," I thought. Whenever I went to a meeting now I tried to eat as many peyote as possible, for I was told that it was good to eat them. For that reason I ate them. As I sat there I would always pray to Earthmaker (God). Now these were my thoughts. If I were married, I thought as I sat there, I could then put all my thoughts on this ceremony. I sat with my eyes closed and was very quiet.

159 Suddenly I saw something. This was tied up. The rope with
794 which this object was tied up was long. The object itself was run-
786 ning around and around (in a circle). There was a pathway there
276 in which it ought to go, but it was tied up and unable to get there. The road was an excellent one. Along its edge bluegrass grew and on each side there grew many varieties of pretty flowers. Sweet-smelling flowers sprang up all along this road. Far off in the distance appeared a bright light. There a city was visible of a beauty indescribable by tongue. A cross was in full sight. The object that was tied up would always fall just short of reaching the road. It seemed to lack sufficient strength to break loose (of what was holding it). (Near it) lay something which would have given it sufficient strength to break its fastenings, if it were only able to get hold of it.

I looked at what was so inextricably tied up and I saw that it was myself. I was forever thinking of women. "This it is to which I am tied," I thought. "Were I married, I would have strength enough to break my fastening and be able to travel in the good road," I thought. Then daylight came upon us and we stopped.

159 Then I thought of a man I used to know who was an old peyote-
794 man. He always spoke to me very kindly. I went over to see him.
276 I thought I would tell him what had happened to me. When I arrived there he was quite delighted. It was about noon and he fed my horses and asked me to eat with him. Then when we were through eating, I told him what had happened to me. He was very glad and told me that I was speaking of a very good thing. Then (finally) he said, "Now I shall tell you what I think is a good thing

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(for you to do). You know that if an old horse is balky, you cannot break him of (this habit); even if you bought him and tried to break him (of this habit) you would not succeed. If, indeed, you succeeded it would only be after very hard work. However, if you had a very young horse, you could train it in any way you wished. So it is in everything. If you marry a woman who has been in the habit of marrying frequently, it would be difficult for her to break herself of a habit she loves. You are not the one she loves. If you marry her you will lead a hard life. If you wish to get married, take your time. There are plenty of good women. Many of them are at (government) schools and have never been married. I think you would do best if you waited for some of these before marrying. They will return in the middle of the summer. So, don't think of any of these women you see around here, but wait until then and pray to Earthmaker patiently. That would be the best, I think." I liked what he told me and thanked him. I decided to accept his advice, and I did not look around for women after that. I was to wait about three months and (during that time) I paid strict attention to the peyote ceremony.

On one occasion while at a meeting, I suffered (great pain). My eyes were sore and I was thinking of many things. "Now I do nothing but pay attention to this ceremony, for it is good." Then I called the leader over to me and said to him, "My elder brother, hereafter only Earthmaker (God) shall I regard as holy. I will make no more offerings of tobacco. I will not use any more tobacco. I will not smoke and I will not chew tobacco. I have no further interest in these. Earthmaker (God) alone do I desire (to serve). I will not take part in the Medicine Dance again. I give myself up (to you). I intend to give myself up to Earthmaker's (God's) cause." Thus I spoke to him. "It is good, younger brother," he said to me. Then he had me stand up and he prayed to Earthmaker (God). He asked Earthmaker (God) to forgive me my sins.

The next morning I was taken home. My eyes were sore and I could not see. They took me back to a house and there they put a solution of the peyote into my eyes and I got well in a week.

One night, when I was asleep, I dreamed that the world had come to an end. Some people Earthmaker (God) took, while some belonged to the bad spirit (the devil). I belonged to the bad spirit (the devil). Although I had given myself up (become a peyote-man), I had not as yet been baptized. That was why Earthmaker (God) did not take me. All those who belonged to Earthmaker (God) were marked, but I was not. I felt very bad about it when I woke up, although I had only dreamed about it. I felt very bad indeed. I wanted them to hurry and have another peyote meeting

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159 794 276 [788] soon. I could hardly wait until I reached the place where the next meeting was to take place. I immediately told the leader (what I wanted) and asked him to baptize me and he baptized me in the morning. After that morning I felt better.

Then I went to work and I worked with a railroad work-gang. I was still working when the time for the midsummer celebration approached. I always went to the peyote meeting on Saturday nights.

The old man was right in what he had told me. The girl students returned in the summer. Shortly (after they returned) a man, a friend of mine who had gone around with me, asked me if I wanted to get married. "Yes, I do," I answered. Then he said, "Listen, I have been thinking of something. What kind of a woman do you wish to marry?" I told him what I had in mind. Then he said, [584] "Come home with me. I have a younger sister. I want her to marry a good man; I would like to have her marry you," he said. Then I went home with him. When we got there (and discussed the matter) the girl gave her consent. The parents also consented.

So there I got married and what I expected has taken place and I have lived with her ever since. On one occasion, after she was used to me, she told me this. (Before she had married she had determined that) if she ever got married, she would not care to marry a very young man. "I wanted a man who ate peyote and who paid attention to the ceremony." Such a man she desired and such a man was I, she said. She loved me, she said, and she was glad that she had married me. This is what she had asked Earthmaker (God) in prayer. "And indeed it has happened as I wished," she said. She believed it was the will of Earthmaker (God) that we had done this, she said. She was therefore glad (that she had married me). Together we gave ourselves up (to the peyote) at a peyote meeting. From that time on we have remained members of the peyote (ceremony).

Many things are said under the influence of the peyote. The members (would) get into a kind of trance and speak of many things. On one occasion they had a peyote meeting which lasted two nights. I ate a good deal of peyote. The next morning I tried to sleep. I suffered a great deal. I lay down in a very comfortable position. After a while a (nameless) fear arose in me. I could not remain in that place, so I went out into the prairie, but here again I was seized with this fear. Finally I returned to a lodge near the lodge in which the peyote meeting was being held and lay down alone. I feared that I might do something foolish to myself (if I remained there alone), and I hoped that someone would come and talk to me. Then someone did come and talk to me, but I did not feel better, so I thought I would go inside where the meeting was going on. "I am going inside," I said to him. He laughed. "Alright, do so," said he. I went in and sat down. It was very hot and I felt as

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though I were going to die. I was very thirsty but I feared to ask for water. I thought that I was certainly going to die. I began to totter over. 159 794 276

I died, and my body was moved by another life. It began to move about; to move about and make signs. It was not I and I could not see it. At last it stood up. The regalia—eagle feathers and gourds—these were holy, they said. They also had a large book there (the Bible). These my body took and what is contained in that (book) my body saw. It was a Bible. The regalia were not holy, but they were good ornaments. My body told them that, and that if any person paid attention to Earthmaker's (God's) ceremony, he would be hearkening to what the Bible said; that, likewise, my body told them. Earthmaker's son (God's son) said that he was the only way. This means that one can only get life from the Word. (My) body spoke of many things and it spoke of what was true. Indeed it spoke of many things. It spoke of all the things that were being done (by the pagan Indians) and which were evil. A long time it spoke. At last it stopped. Not I, but my body standing there, had done the talking. Earthmaker (God) had done his own talking. I would be confessing myself a fool if I were to think that I had said all this, it (my body) told me. 786 159 794 276

After a while I returned to my normal human condition. Some of those there had been frightened, thinking that I had gone crazy. Others had liked it. It was discussed a good deal. They called it the "shaking" state. It was said that the condition in which I was, was not part of Earthmaker's (God's) religion. I was told that whoever ate a lot of peyote would, through the peyote, be taught the teachings of Earthmaker (God). Earthmaker's (God's) ways and man's ways were different. Whoever, therefore, wished to help this religion must give himself up (to it). If you ate a good deal of this peyote and believed that it could teach you something, then it assuredly would do so. That, at least, is the way in which I understand the matter. 159 794 276

Once we had a meeting at the home of a member who was sick. The sick would always get well when a meeting was held in their home, and that is why we did it. At that meeting I got into the "shaking" condition again. My body told (us) how our religion (peyote) was an affair of Earthmaker's (God's) and even if one knew only a portion of it, one could still see (partake of) Earthmaker's (God's) religion.

Thus it went on talking. "Earthmaker (God), His Son (Christ) and His Holiness (the Holy Ghost), these are the three ways of saying it. Even if you know one (of these three), it means all. Every one of you has the means of opening (the road) to Earthmaker (God). It is given to you. With that (your belief) you can open (the door

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159 794 276 to God). You can not open it with knowledge (alone). How many letters are there to the key (the road to God)? Three. What are they?" There were many educated people (there), but none of them said anything. "The first (letter) must be a K, so if a person said K, that would be the whole of it. But let me look in the book (the Bible) and see what that means," said the body. Then it (the body) took the Bible and began to turn the leaves. The body did not know where it was itself, for it was not learned in books. Finally in Matthew, chapter 16, it stopped. There it speaks about it. "Peter did not give himself up" (it says). "For a long time he could not give up his own knowledge. There (in that passage) it says Key." That is the work of Earthmaker (God). At least so I understand it. He made use of my body and acted in this manner, in the case of the peyote.

Then I go about telling (every one) that this religion is good. Many other people at home said the same thing. Many, likewise, have joined this religion and are getting along nicely.

On one occasion, after I had eaten a good deal of peyote, I learned the following from it: that all I had done in the past, that it had all been evil. This was plainly revealed to me. What I thought was holy, and (by thus thinking) was lost, that I now know was false. (It is false), this giving of (pagan) feasts, of holding (the old) things holy, the Medicine Dance, and all the Indian customs.

### J. B.'s Account of His Conversion

I was at the old agency. There they were to try me for murder. At night, as I sat in jail, certain people came to me and told me that they had a gallon jug of whisky, and that if I was free that night, I should come and drink with them. They would wait for me. That same night there was a peyote meeting at John Rave's house and my brother Sam invited me to go there. Sam stood around there waiting for me. He was very low in spirits. He knew of the other invitation I had received and he told me that he would go with me wherever I went. I wanted very badly to go to the place where they had the liquor, and should have done so if Sam had given me the least chance. However, I could not get rid of him, so I decided to go to the peyote meeting. When I arrived there, we found just enough room in the center for myself and Sam. Sam sat at the right of me and John Bear at the left. In front of me there was some peyote infusion, and some peyote ground up and dampened.

As we sat there Sam began to cry and I began to think. I knew why Sam was crying; he wanted me to take some of the peyote. After a while I began to think of my own troubles. But I thought it wasn't the proper way of taking it just because I was in trouble.

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Then I thought of the other peyote eaters, how much they must be wanting me to take it. After a while I spoke to Sam and said, "I am going to eat this medicine, but . . ." Then I began to cry. After a while he tried to get me to say the balance, but I couldn't. I drank some of the solution. As the others saw that I was willing to take it they gave me a big ball of dampened peyote. However, I didn't like that and I asked for some more peyote in the dry state. I sat there asking for more and more peyote. This I kept up all night. When morning came I stopped. Just then Harry Rave got up to speak, and no sooner did he get up than I knew exactly what he was going to say. This must be the way of all peyote eaters, I thought. I looked around me; and suddenly I realized that all those within the room knew my thoughts and that I knew the thoughts of all the others. Harry Rave spoke and finished his speech; but I had known it all before he said a word. Then A. Priest, who was leading the meeting, arose and asked the rest to get up, so that they might turn themselves over to Christ. I also rose; but when I got up I was seized with a choking sensation. I couldn't breathe. I wanted to grab hold of Bear and Sam, but I didn't, thinking that I was going to stand whatever was coming to me. When I made up my mind to that, I felt relieved. Then I knew what the real meaning of turning one's self over to Christ meant.

In the morning they stopped the meeting and everyone seemed happy and glad. I, however, was very serious and wondered why they were all laughing. Every once in a while they would come and talk to me. I wondered why they did it, when they knew what was going on within me. For that reason I wouldn't answer them.

That week there were four meetings, and I went to all of them and ate very much peyote. The fourth meeting was at the usual place, John Rave's house. I sat with Sam as usual. At night I became filled with peyote. All at once I heard a voice saying, "You are the one who is to tell of the medicine dance." And I thought that Sam was speaking to me, so I turned around and looked at him, but he hadn't said a word. Soon I realized that nobody near me had said anything, and I began to think, "Why should it be I? Why not one of the others?" I rather pushed the idea from me; but no sooner had I done so than I began to have a tired and depressed sensation. This passed all over me. I knew that if I got up with the sincere purpose of giving in to the power that was wanting me to speak of the medicine dance I should be relieved. However, for some reason, I know not why, I felt like resisting.

The next morning I asked to be baptized, and said that I would thereafter have nothing more to do with offerings to the spirits;

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159 794 276 that I would not give any more feasts; and that I would not have any more to do with the medicine dance. From that day on I quit all my old beliefs. I did not feel like saying all this, for indeed my heart was turned just the other way, but I couldn't help it, for I was filled with the peyote.

From that time on, at every meeting that I attended, I could not rid myself of the idea that I must tell of the medicine dance. At all such times a feeling of heaviness would come over me. There I would be with but one thing on my mind; should I, or should I not, tell of it? I did not want to, and thought of all sorts of excuses that I was not a member of the Nebraska division, etc.

I was in this frame of mind while living with John Walker. There I received word that I would be wanted to tell of the medicine dance. From that moment I could not rest easy. I went to the barn and prayed and wept, asking that God might direct me. I went about but could not sit quiet. My wife stayed around me crying. As I stood there, someone drove up with a white team. Then I thought of all the unhappiness I would cause to members of the medicine lodge if I told the secrets of the medicine dance; and I asked myself if it really would not be a sin to cause so much misery. The man who was driving the white team was John Baptiste, and he told me that I was wanted to tell of the medicine dance. I got ready and entered the buggy. I was still crying and praying. Then it occurred to me that I would like to see John Rave. No sooner had I thought of this than John Rave appeared in the road. I got out and shook hands with him and told him where I was going and for what purpose, and asked him what he thought of the matter. He began to thank me for the work I was going to do and said, "This is what we should try to do, to help one another and to work for our Creator." Then he thanked me again. Perfect happiness now came over me and I went to Sioux City and got married legally. From now on I was entirely filled with the desire to tell all that I knew about the medicine dance. "This must be the work assigned to me by the Creator," I thought; and yet I have rejected the idea all the time.

On Paul's last trip, although I had not finished the translation, I didn't care to have any more to do with it, and said that somebody else should finish the work, my excuse being that I was busy. So, as soon as I heard that Paul had come, I packed up and hurried out west as quickly as possible, for I knew that he would bother the life out of me if he found me. However, no sooner had I reached the home of my friend than I was seized with an attack of rheumatism, with which I had never been afflicted before, and the next morning Paul appeared with a wagon to take me back to Winnebago. Now I know that the telling and the translation of the medicine dance is my mission in life, and I am willing to tell all to the full extent of my knowledge.

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JESSE CLAY'S ACCOUNT OF THE ARAPAHO MANNER OF GIVING THE PEYOTE CEREMONY WHICH HE INTRODUCED AMONG THE WINNEBAGO IN 1912

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I went to Oklahoma once as the guest of an Arapaho Indian. While there I witnessed the Arapaho manner of holding a peyote meeting and was very much impressed with it. A year later this Arapaho came to visit me in Winnebago, and while he was with us a few of my friends urged me to hold the peyote ceremony according to the Arapaho method. I held several meetings at which my Arapaho friend led.

Now these are the instructions that Arapaho Bull gave me.

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The person giving the ceremony must get up at sunrise so that he can tell exactly where the sun is going to rise. He must place a stick and make the drawing of a cross on the earth just in that direction from which the sun is about to rise. He does this in order to get the correct location for the tipi and the fireplace. Then he marks a circle around the cross. Then he makes a diagonal mark through the center of the circle, thus making the circle resemble a star. The circle is the outline of the tipi. Then another diagonal mark is made so that the drawing resembles, to their minds, a peyote. A fireplace which resembles a half-moon is placed right in the center of the lodge. After that the tipi poles are raised, 12 in number. Finally the whole is inclosed in canvas. When finished it is supposed to represent the earth. It is then ready to be entered. Special preparations are made for entering. The drummer with his drum and the leader and those behind him with all their regalia march up to the door. Before these enter, however, an attendant, called the fireman, spreads sage all over the lodge, from the seat of the leader to the door and back again. Then he starts a fire, always placing the left fire sticks first. When they are all thus lined up outside of the door the leader offers a prayer.

"May the Creator be with us when we enter this lodge."

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The leader now enters and, proceeding along the left side of the lodge, marches to his seat, and there he stands with his drum until the lodge is filled. After all have entered they sit down. Then the fireman who sits to the right rekindles the fire. The leader now spreads out his articles—a gourd, a drumstick, a staff, and the feathers. He then takes 12 sage leaves and lays them out in the form of a star, first making a cross-shaped object and then filling this into the desired form. On top he places the peyote, and, leaning against that, he places a flute made of an eagle bone, the mouth of the flute resting against the peyote. Then he puts an otter-skin cap at the foot of the flute. After a while the leader takes the peyote he is going to use in one hand and some cedar needles in the other,

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pagan ceremonies. In 1910 this delegation of leadership was clearly a recent tendency, conditioned, on the one hand, by the size of the reservation and the impossibility of Rave's being everywhere, and, on the other hand, by Rave's frequent absence on proselytizing missions. In 1913 it had already become customary for a number of men to hold the position of leader even when Rave was present. A further complication was introduced when Jesse Clay began giving the peyote ceremonies in the Arapaho manner, for he then stood in the same relation to his method of giving the ceremony as Rave stood to the older form. As we shall see, there was, even in 1908, a separatist movement led by Albert Hensley, which, if it had succeeded, would have given Hensley the same leadership that Rave enjoyed before him and that Clay subsequently acquired.

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### Development of the Ritualistic Complex

From the accounts given by various members of the Peyote cult it is quite clear that Rave became interested in the peyote on one of his many trips to Oklahoma. According to the verbal account he gave, which differs in some respects from the account he subsequently dictated on the particular visit which resulted in his first eating the peyote, he was in a most distressed and unhappy condition of mind owing to the loss of his wife and children.[8] He went away from Winnebago with the intention of staying away as long as possible from the scene of his loss.

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Rave's account of his conversion gives a sufficiently dramatic picture of how he first ate the peyote and its immediate effects. In response to numerous questions as to how he was first induced to eat the peyote he always said that it was because he had been so frequently asked. It is, however, far more likely that he was passing through an emotional crisis at that particular time, and the requests that he partake of it and the inducements held out to him, made it easier for him to succumb then than on his previous visits.

To judge from Rave's remarks, his first belief in the peyote had nothing of the nature of a conversion to a new religion. It seems to have been similar to the average Winnebago attitude toward a medicinal plant obtained either as a gift or through purchase. There is only one new note—stimulation by a narcotic.

Rave states that the peyote cured him of a disease with which he had been afflicted for a long time. After repeated requests his wife also consents to being treated; so he paints her face and, taking the rattle, sings peyote songs while she eats the peyote. His attitude

[8] In the account Rave himself gives he speaks of seeing his wife and children. As his verbal statement was corroborated by other people, we are inclined to believe that in his dictated account of his conversion he had forgotten the actual state of affairs. It may, of course, be that in his ardent desire to show the marvelous effects of the peyote he permitted his memory to play him false.

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794 throughout, both from his own testimony and from that of others,
● 159 seems to have been practically the attitude of the Winnebago shaman. He even offered tobacco to the peyote.

We have, then, at the beginning the introduction of apparently only one new element—the peyote, with possibly a few Christian [177] teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned there was hardly anything new at all. This view does not, of course, interfere in the least with the fact that to the Winnebago themselves the presence of the peyote represented the introduction of a new element.

The elaboration of the peyote practices at Rave's hands is the most difficult problem to trace on account of the lack of data. In the account that he gives of his conversion there is no evidence whatsoever of any antagonistic attitude toward the old Winnebago manner of living. When the author met him, however, for the first time, in 1908, this passive attitude had changed to one of violent hatred for the old Winnebago customs. Why and under what circumstances [182] this change took place we do not know. It probably represented the interaction of many elements, the hostility of the tribe, the drawing of issues sharply around certain points, and the gradual [792] assumption on the part of Rave of the rôle of a prophet who had solved the problem of the adjustment of the Winnebago to the surrounding white civilization. Offhand, one might be inclined to believe that Rave's insistence upon breaking with the past was due entirely to the influence of the Christian elements incorporated in his new religion. It is, however, extremely doubtful whether such an assumption is necessary. There seem to have been comparatively [177] few Christian elements in the religion before Albert Hensley's influence had made itself felt, yet many of the old war bundles had been destroyed long before that time, and the peyote eaters were looked upon with cordial dislike by the conservative members of the tribe. The admonition that only a complete break with the past could save the Winnebagoes and enable them to compete successfully with the white intruders had been given to the Winnebagoes once before by the famous Shawnee prophet. What the latter claimed, however, was that the various sacred objects used by the Winnebago had lost their power, and that that power must now be renewed. This he [182] thought could only be done by returning to the old manner of living which he claimed the Winnebago were no longer following. Such a claim was, after all, not revolutionary. It is not, therefore, the break with the Winnebago present-day viewpoint that characterizes Rave's attitude, but the fact that instead of returning to the older, purer

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life as the Shawnee prophet proposed to do, he substituted an alien 794 159
religion. It was because he was introducing an alien religion, not
because he was introducing a new religion, that he was so intensely [177
hated by the conservative members of the tribe. 156]

When this hostility was at its height a new convert, Albert Hensley, 794
revolutionized the entire cult by introducing the reading of the Bible, 177
postulating the dogma that the peyote opened the Bible to the understanding of the people, and also adding a number of Christian practices. 159
He, like Rave, had been in Oklahoma. He brought back with him many peyote songs, generally in other languages, dealing with Christian ideas, upon which subsequently Winnebago songs were modeled. He also introduced either baptism itself or an interpretation of baptism, and induced Rave to attempt a union with the Christian Church. He seems to have been the only prominent man connected with the peyote who was subject to epileptic fits. He had [158]
the most glorious visions of heaven and hell while in his trance, and these he expounded afterwards in terms of Revelation and the mystical portions of the New Testament. Hensley's additions represent a second stratum of borrowed elements, all of which are in the nature of accretions as far as the peyote itself is concerned. The Bible is explained in terms of the peyote. Neither Hensley nor his followers ever interpreted the peyote in terms of the Bible, although other elements of the old Winnebago culture were so interpreted. These elements, however, represented features that even in the old Winnebago cults exhibited a great variability in interpretation.

Rave's attitude toward the innovations of Hensley seems to have been that of a benevolent acquiescence. He himself could neither read nor write. Yet he immediately accepted the Bible and added it to his other regalia. As such it always seems to have remained. To Rave, after all, the peyote was the principal element, and if Hensley chose to insist that the Bible was only intelligible to those who partook of the peyote why that naturally fell within its magical powers. From the entire omission in Rave's account of the Peyote cult of the more important things that Hensley introduced and from the fact that whenever Hensley's influence was not dominant there seems to have been little Bible reading, it seems justifiable to say that Rave's attitude toward these innovations was merely passive.

There never was any rivalry between Rave and Hensley. The 578
latter was, however, a much younger man, quick-tempered, con- [157]
ceited, dogmatic, and withal having a strong mixture of Puritan 794
Protestant ideas. A conflict developed after a while and in a very
interesting manner. Rave had allowed a man with an extremely 159
bad reputation, who had been admitted as a member of the Peyote cult, to occupy one of the four positions. Hensley violently pro-

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578 tested, on the ground that a man of X.'s character could not properly
794 perform the rites associated with that position. Rave, however,
● 159 retorted that the efficacy of the peyote, of any position connected with its cult, was in no way connected with the character of the performer, and that it was inherent in the peyote and in the Peyote ritual. Thereupon, after much parleying to and fro, Hensley formally seceded, taking with him a number of followers. The bulk of the peyote eaters, however, remained with Rave, and within a comparatively short time a number of Hensley's followers returned to Rave, so that in 1911 Hensley had merely a handful of people. Since then he has ceased to be a force, although his innovations have been retained by a number of the younger Peyote members, especially by those who read English.

In 1911 there was no unification of the ideas of Rave and Hensley. Since then, strange to say, although Hensley's attempt to set up his
[177] own religion failed utterly, his ideas and Christain innovations seemed to have triumphed completely. This, however, has gone hand in
[178] hand with a marked dropping off of enthusiasm. It appears now as if the Peyote cult has run its course. Some of the members have recently returned to the old pagan customs, others have practically become Christians, and many have become indifferent.

794 Unquestionably the most interesting of recent innovations is that
177 introduced by Jesse Clay, the account of which has been given be-
159 fore. This is, of course, the Arapaho manner of conducting the ceremony. At the present time it has none of the characteristics of the Winnebago ceremonial. Whether in the next few years it will develop any depends upon the interest manifested in it by the Peyote worshipers and upon the vitality of the Peyote movement in general.

It is extremely suggestive to compare what Rave introduced with the ceremony borrowed by Clay. The former introduced an isolated element, the peyote and its worship, and clothed it almost immediately in characteristic Winnebago forms. It can truly be said that although the peyote is an alien element, from the Winnebago viewpoint, everything else in the ceremony is and was from the beginning typically Winnebago. Clay's method of conducting the Peyote ceremonies, on the other hand, is entirely alien. For it ever to become popular with the large mass of Winnebago it will have to become thoroughly assimilated with the Winnebago background.

## Dissemination of the Doctrine

Let us now see how the ideas of Rave and Hensley were transmitted in the tribe itself, who the first and the later converts were, in what the nature of their conversion consisted, and what they, in turn, brought to the new cult.

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The first and foremost virtue predicated by Rave for the peyote was its curative power. He gives a number of instances in which hopeless venereal diseases and consumption were cured by its use; and this was the first thing one heard about it as late as 1913. In the early days of the Peyote cult it appears that Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote. The main point apparently was to induce people to try it. No amount of preaching of its direct effects, such as the hyperstimulation induced, the glorious visions, and the feeling of relaxation following, would ever have induced prominent members of the old Winnebago religious societies to try it. For that reason it is highly significant that all the old members of the Peyote cult speak of the diseases of which it cured them. Along this line lay unquestionably its appeal for the most converts. Its subsequent spread was due to a large number of interacting factors. One informant claims that there was little religion connected with it at first, and that the people drank the peyote on account of its peculiar effects. 794 159 755 276

The manner in which it spread at the beginning was simple and significant viz, along family lines. As soon as an individual had become a peyote eater he devoted all his energies to converting other members of his family. From instances that have come to our notice this lay in an insistent appeal to family ties and personal affection. A man showed unusual courtesy, showered innumerable favors upon relatives he was anxious to convert, and thereby earned the gratitude of the recipient, who at some critical moment, let us say, such as illness or mental depression, showed it by partaking of the peyote. The same methods were employed in the more general propaganda. The author knows of Peyote people who drove many miles in order to be present at the bedside of some old conservative who was ill, perhaps neglected by his relatives; bring him food, and spend the night with him in the most affectionate solicitude. They always had sufficient tact and understanding of human nature not to obtrude their purpose on the sick man too much. To the casual observer their object seemed simply that of a Samaritan. They would hardly have admitted that behind all their solicitude lay the desire to obtain a new convert. They would have claimed that their only purpose, over and above their sincere desire to comfort the sick man, was to demonstrate to their fellow Winnebago what changes the peyote had wrought in them. In this way the patient drew the inference, an inference that was likely to be drawn all the more quickly and forcibly when he contrasted the behavior of these Peyote nurses with that of his pagan relatives. The author was fortunate enough to obtain a fairly complete account of a conversion, illustrating both these features. 794 159 593 276

7: Radin NP12 Winnebago NP12

● 159

[For the text of the autobiography of Crashing Thunder, see category 116, pp. xvi-xxv, 1-33, 40-41, 56-69, 74-111, 125-200, 202-203.]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



792 it, for if you do, we will all die." Now, he was mistaken in that.
787 "The Creator has given two plates and they are getting empty. He gave the men a plate for them to fill and the women a plate for them to fill. The women's plate is empty." He meant that the Creator
[462] had made men to hunt and the women to dig the soil and raise vegetables, and that the latter were not doing it. That is what he meant by saying that their plates were empty. Noise-Thunder insisted that this was the white man's fault; he thought that we were being weakened by the white man's food. Quite a number of people believed him. "The birds eat what was provided for them to eat, game and vegetables, and the whites eat what was provided for them. Why should we not eat what was provided for us?" He was right, but then the Creator also created the food that the whites are eating. We are now getting accustomed to it and are getting stronger on this food.

[161] The Winnebago were decreasing in number, so the Creator gave them a medicine which would enable them to get accustomed to the white man's food; that, also, they might know the Creator and that he is the true bread and food. This they found out by using this medicine. They are going into it deeper and deeper all the time, they who had been lost, and this has all been accomplished by the medicine (the peyote).

The following notes were also obtained concerning other prophets:

"There was a prophet among the Winnebago recently named George Wilkinson. He claimed that he was the Trickster; that there were two worlds; that he had been to the first and that he was now on the second. After a while he was to return to ma'wna (Earth-maker). He told all the Winnebago to plant their tobacco and cornfields again. (This is what he was ordered to say.) He said that the power of the war bundles was entirely exhausted, but that it could be restored if a person were to fast for four days. When the spirits addressed him by name they called him "He-Who-Stands-Blue." This happened fifteen years ago.

"Thundercloud claims to be the Hare."

Another man named Xuga prophesied the same, led them on a warpath, and lost a lot of people.

[668] The most important religious revival of the last century among the Winnebago is the Peyote or Mescal religion. It is described in detail on page 388.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12



tribe over the large area once occupied in Wisconsin. That the 4,000 odd individuals composing the tribe at the advent of the whites lived together is extremely doubtful. The nature of the woodland of Wisconsin and the fairly extensive territory over which they (Winnebago) were found scattered not long after Nicollet's first visit are facts that practically exclude such a hypothesis. The myth that speaks of a village that at one time was so long that those living at one end did not know what was transpiring at the other, contains too many literary touches to justify its use as an historical document. 174 616 [161] [773]

The question of village groups is of considerable importance, because there may have been, cutting across the gentle organization, another smaller, perhaps looser social unit, that of "band" or village setting off (to the minds of the people) one group against another. Systematic questioning has elicited from various individuals the information, also corroborated by historical records, that the villages were generally known according to geographical location or were descriptive of the haunts of certain animals. Even to-day the group scattered over the Nebraska Winnebago reservation are commonly known under similar designations. There we find, for instance, the following names: *kozo-atcira*, "those living on the peninsula"; or *k'ąhą'tcira*, "those living below," i.e., in the timber; *niwą'hatcira*, "those living near the dirty water"; *hątcxedegominanągera*, "where big bear settles," etc. If we may, then, suppose this to have been a customary association, we may quite properly ask whether the name of the village had any influence on the social organization, whether there is even a hint at a genetic relation between these two types of group names. The only hint of such a relation is the fact that formerly *honi* "band" seems to have been used instead of *hokik'aradjora;* that an archaic name of the Wolf clan, *regoni* or *degoni*, may mean Lake-band; and that the villages all had geographical names. All of which, however, is, I realize, hardly sufficient evidence. 174 621 174 621 103

No satisfactory demonstration has as yet been made indicating that the clan organization was ever associated with an historically simple social structure, whereas quite a number of reasons lead us to suspect that it was in all cases preceded by other 174 614

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



they forced their way through the country occupied by the Winnebago, war would not have occurred. 174 [648]

The Winnebago call themselves *Hotcangara*, which has been variously interpreted as "people of the parent speech" by James Owen Dorsey and as "big fish people" by other observers. Dorsey's explanation, which is the one most generally accepted, is most certainly wrong, and represents an interpretation read into the word to make it fit the legends which claimed that the dialect was the most archaic of all the Siouan languages. It is true that *ho* may mean "speech," but *tcunk* can only mean one thing, and that is "big, real." It is found with a number of animal names, such as *ketcunk*, "turtle," and *cunktcunk*, "wolf." It corresponds strictly to the Dakotan *tank*, "large." *Ho* means "fish" in Winnebago. The name Winnebago, as is well known, is of Algonquian origin. 101 [114] [192]

The Winnebago were first encountered by white men in 1634, when Jean Nicolet visited them as agent for Governor Champlain. Where he encountered them is not definitely known. The Winnebago as a rule claim that it was at Green Bay. Some discussion has arisen of late years on this question. No contemporary narrative of the event exists, nor have the Winnebago any clearly marked legend that might be interpreted as referring to it. 175

An excellent description of their history has been given by P. V. Lawson [3] and from this we will quote at some length, selecting those periods that are of greatest importance in the history of the tribe and which can be illustrated by semihistorical legends still known to the Winnebago.

Much of our knowledge of the early history of the Winnebago is derived from Baqueville de la Potherie's Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale. A good deal of his information was obtained from Nicholas Perrot. For the period covering the years 1640–1660 we have the following information: [4]

> A few years ago, they numbered possibly 150 warriors. These savages have no mutual fellow-feeling; they have caused their own ruin, and have been obliged to divide their own forces. They are naturally very impatient of control, and very passionate; a little matter excites them; and they are great braggarts. They are, however, well-built, and are brave soldiers, who do not know what danger is; and they are subtle and crafty in war. Although they are convinced that their ancestors drew upon themselves the enmity of all the surrounding Nations, they cannot be humble. Their women are extremely laborious; they are neat in their houses, but very disgusting about their food. [162] [181] [52] [461] [264]

[3] The Winnebago tribe, in Wisconsin Archaeologist, vol. 6, no. 3, Milwaukee, 1907.
[4] Quoted in Lawson's paper, p. 69.

175 Perrot also gives an account of the relentless war waged against them:

[839 266 648] This nation was a populous one, very redoubtable and spared no one; they violated all the laws of nature; they were Sodomites, and even had intercourse with beasts. If a stranger came among them, he was cooked in their kettles. The Malhominis (Menominees) were the only tribe who maintained relations with them; they did not dare even to complain of their tyranny.

Lawson goes on to say:

175 648 So aggressive were the Winnebago that although their only arms "were stone hatchets and knives," they declared war on all the other tribes. Envoys sent to them by the Ottawa were eaten, which cruel deed so increased the surrounding tribes that they formed an alliance and sent frequent war expeditions against the common enemy; and greatly harassed them. As a result of disagreements among themselves [669 and the continued troublesome activities of the allied tribes, civil wars broke out 162 among the Winnebago. For better protection against the tribes they were finally 164 forced "to unite all their forces in one village, where they numbered four or five 731 thousand men," but an epidemic occurred which soon reduced their number to 1,800.

"Despite all these misfortunes, they sent a party of 500 warriors against the Outagamis (Fox), who dwelt on the other shore of the lake; but all these men perished, while making that journey, by a tempest that arose."

We suppose that this disaster occurred on Little Lake Butte des Morts, as it has been stated that the Winnebago resided on an island, which we suppose was Doty Island. The Winnebago being now greatly reduced by despair and famine, the other tribes were moved to pity by their condition and ceased to make war, and the Illinois sent 500 men, including "50 of the most prominent persons in their nation," to carry to them a supply of provisions. These the Winnebago received "with the utmost gratitude;" but at the same time meditated sacrificing the Illinois to the shades of their dead. A large cabin was erected to lodge their guests, and arrangements made for a dance in their honor. While the Illinois were dancing their breastrings were cut, and the Winnebago "flung themselves upon the Illinois, massacred them, not [266 sparing one man, and made a general feast of their flesh."

Reproaching themselves for this dastardly deed, and fearing the vengeance of the allied tribes when it should become known to them, the Winnebago "resolved to abandon the place which they were occupying," and "took refuge on an island, which has since been swept away by ice floes." There they considered themselves safe, as the Illinois did not use canoes. The Illinois, finding that their people did not return, investigated the place and found only their bones. In order to allow a proper period for mourning for the dead:

"They deferred hostilities until the second year, when they assembled a large body of men from all Nations who were interested in the undertaking; and they set out in the winter season, in order not to fall therein. Having reached the Island over the ice, they found only the cabins in which there still remained some fire, the Puans (Winnebago) had gone to their Hunt on the day before, and were traveling in a body, that they might not, in an emergency, be surprised by the Illinois."

They followed the hunters in the dead of winter, coming up to them on the sixth day and attacking their camp.

"So vigorous was their attack that they killed, wounded, or made prisoners all the Puans, except a few who escaped, and who reached the Malhominis' village, but severely wounded by arrows."

He [Perrot] again refers to these traditional events as those of "the ancestors" of the tribe as he knew them, and which we judge to refer to ancestors of the Winnebago

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche ND6
Winnebago NP12
Ojibwa NG6
Dhegiha NQ12
Iroquois NM9



## APPENDIX III. STATISTICAL DATA

Table 1 below contains information about the communities where peyote meetings were held. The numbers at the left side correspond with those on map 1, and indicate the order in which Indians of different villages accepted peyotism. The spread was irregular and some distant villages received the cult before those near its starting point. The columns concerning tribal affiliation of

### TABLE 1

ORDER OF CONVERSION BY COMMUNITIES

| Communities | Tribal affiliation of sponsor of meeting | Tribal affiliation of majority of community | Distance in miles to meetings held previously | Total population of community | Total peyote-cult membership in community |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Schurz | Paiute | Paiute | 0 | 440 | 20 |
| 2. Gardnerville | Washo | Washo | 81 | 281[a] | 81 |
| 3. Wellington | Paiute | Paiute | 33 | 57 | 33 |
| 4. Yerington | Paiute | Paiute | 23 | 142 | 28 |
| 5. Coleville | Paiute | Paiute-Washo | 25 | 74 | 34 |
| 6. Fallon Reservation | Paiute | Paiute | 44 | 146 | 25 |
| 7. Mono Lake | Paiute | Paiute | 55 | 133[b] | 27 |
| 8. Bridgeport | Miwok | Paiute | 20 | 55 | 10 |
| 9. Woodfords | Washo | Washo | 15 | 80 | 11 |
| 10. Carson City | Washo | Washo | 17 | 128 | 5 |
| 11. Nixon | Paiute | Paiute | 61 | 350 | 13 |
| 12. Fallon | Shoshone | Paiute | 15 | 112 | 9 |
| 13. Lake Tahoe | Washo | Washo | 25 | —[c] | |
| 14. Bishop | Paiute | Paiute | 63 | 250 | 4 |
| Total | | | | 2257 | 300 |

[a] Including Douglas County.
[b] Including Benton and Lee'ming.
[c] Only summer home; population listed under winter-home towns.

sponsors of meetings and of majority of members of the communities reveal that in two instances "foreign" Indians, Miwok and Shoshone, living among Paiute were responsible for first meetings held in their adopted villages. The column headed "Distance in miles to meetings held previously" indicates the extent of travel required of members who attended nearly all of the early meetings and shows the distances that Indian news passes along their grapevine news system. The two

IDWC
162
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795

### TABLE 2

PARTICIPATION IN PEYOTE CULT BY TRIBES

(From Newberne, pp. 33-35, unless otherwise indicated; cf. table 8.)

| Tribes | Peyotists (percentage) |
|---|---|
| Arapaho, Cheyenne (Cantonment Agency) | 90 |
| Cheyenne, Arapaho (Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency) | 75 |
| Lower Yanktonai Sioux (Crow Agency) | 2 |
| Sioux (Fort Peck Agency) | 0 |
| Sioux (Fort Totten Agency) | 1 |
| Goshute (Goshute Agency) | 45* |
| Potawatomi, Winnebago (Grand Rapids Agency) | 35 |
| Menominee (Keshena Agency) | 3 |
| Iowa, Kickapoo, Sac and Fox (Kickapoo Agency) | 40 |
| Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, etc. (Kiowa Agency) | 75 |

* Corrected by letter from A. L. Robertson, Subagent, dated at Ibapah, Utah, September 30, 1938.

(Concluded on next page)

14: Stewart, E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06
Winnebago NA12
Ojibwa NG6
Dhegiha NQ12
Iroquois NM9



[A]
I
O
D
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C
162
171
795

TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

| Tribes—(*Continued*) | Peyotists (percentage) |
|---|---|
| Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency) | 5 |
| Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency) | 0 |
| Omaha (Omaha Agency) | 90 |
| Little Osage (Osage Agency) | 50 |
| Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency) | 30 |
| Pawnee (Pawnee Agency) | 20 |
| Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency) | 5 |
| Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency) | 60 |
| Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency) | 16 |
| Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency) | 0.7 |
| Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency) | 2 |
| Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency) | 10 |
| North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency) | 7.5 |
| Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency) | 0 |
| Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency) | 5[a] |
| Sioux (Standing Rock Agency) | 0 |
| Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency) | 35 |
| Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency) | 50 |
| Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency) | 90[a] |
| Winnebago (Winnebago Agency) | 38 |
| Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency) | 20 |

[a] Corrected by letter from S. F. Starber, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 28, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1939.

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate- 500

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

| Categories | 738 Nonpeyotists | 247 Peyotists | 247 Peyotists | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 88 Active | 159 Inactive |
| Prosperous | 5.3 | 5.7 | 10.2 | 3.8 |
| Poor | 3.4 | 4.1 | 3.4 | 4.4 |
| Energetic | 5.4 | 5.8 | 9.0 | 3.8 |
| Lazy | 2.8 | 3.6 | 4.5 | 3.0 |
| Heavy drinkers | 6.6 | 7.7 | 10.2 | 6.3 |
| Never drink | 1.7 | 2.0 | 3.4 | 1.3 |
| Active Christians | 6.0 | 4.4 | 4.5 | 4.4 |
| Shamans | 1.3 | 2.0 | 2.3 | 1.9 |
| Councilmen | 1.0 | 0.8 | 1.1 | 0.6 |
| Mixed-bloods | 12.1 | 10.9 | 5.7 | 13.8 |

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



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1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



The Crow (i. e., Menominee) Indians knew what a wonderful man he was and whenever he went to visit them they gave him many presents. He would be invited to a feast as soon as he arrived. 648 791 754

On one occasion when they had a feast in a lodge (in his honor) one of the Menominee marked the ground in front of him and dared Lincoln's grandfather to come over, saying that if he did he would injure him. When the Winnebago crossed the mark he was pushed in all directions and finally shoved into a pit, bruising himself a great deal. When he came out, the old man said, "You have probably never heard of me. To-morrow noon, soldiers will hit you." Then the Menominee asked, "If soldiers hit me, what will be the result?" "You will die." Then the Menominee said, "You have nothing to do with my life," and made a jump at him.

The Menominee who had been told that he was going to die said the next morning to his nephew, "Nephew, let us go to the lake and look around. I can't forget what the old man told me yesterday." So they took their spears for fishing and went out. While they were on the lake they saw a deer drinking at the edge of the water. The man took a shot at the deer, and the deer ran back into the timber. The man and his nephew pursued it. After a while the man gave a yell and then all was quiet. The nephew went over to the place and there the man was found dead. At his side a very large snake, with hair on its back, was standing.

The next morning one could hear the mourning songs all over the woods. Then they went to look for the Winnebago, for they believed that it was his fault. They told him not to worry about it and gave him a horse to appease him. The day after they all had left the camp, the Winnebago pointed to some hawks that were circling around and told the Menominee to watch the foremost one. Then he pointed his finger at that one and made a sound with his mouth and the bird fell down dead. This Winnebago had the power to do this to all birds. He always told the Winnebago not to eat these birds because they were not good. [765 573] [789]

### The Uses of the Stench-Earth Medicine[1]

There once was a man who had consumption and who knew that he was going to die soon. His relatives were about to move him to some other place and so he told them just to build him a separate lodge and leave him alone—that he wanted to die there. He asked them likewise not to come back to see him. They obeyed him and left him to die alone. 763 [764]

One day he decided to go out into the wilderness and die there. He went to the top of a hill and lay down. He noticed many birds

[1] This is the literal translation. What plant is meant the writer was not able to determine.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



The tradi-
tions speak only of Green Bay as their original habitat. On the other 101 [173]
shore of Green Bay were the Menominee, who likewise have no recollection of having lived anywhere else. To the northeast, along Door Peninsula, were the Potawatomi, unquestionably intruders, who had come by way of Mackinaw. To the southwest lay the Sauk and Fox, the closely related Kickapoo, and the enigmatic Mascoutin. Finally, [172]

FIG. 2.—MAP OF WISCONSIN, SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF CIRCULAR MOUNDS.

to the south lay the Miami. Such seems to have been the distribution of the tribes around Green Bay and Lake Michigan at the first advent of the whites. Within 50 years of the landing of Nicollet the places were entirely shifted. Winnebago villages are found scattered 167
all along the Fox River and Lake Winnebago, the Sauk and Fox and 131
Kickapoo are on their way farther south, and the Potawatomi are in possession of the southern shore of Green Bay and the western shore of Lake Michigan. Later still we find the Winnebago extending all

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



167 along the Wisconsin River and west of it to the Mississippi, and, at the
131 same time, occupying the territory south of Lake Winnebago through the region of the Four Lakes, the shores of Lake Koshkonong and farther down along the Rock River into Illinois. Their eastern boundary was determined by the Potawatomi.

172 Let us return now to the distribution of the mounds. Of the three kinds of mounds found in Wisconsin, the conical and oval ones are the

FIG 2.—MAP OF WISCONSIN, SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF EFFIGY MOUNDS.

commonest, and they are met with in practically every county of the State in which records have been made. They have also been found in Minnesota. The so-called effigy mounds, on the other hand, have never been found north of a line drawn through the southern boundary of Lincoln County. They have, however, been found in every area which the Winnebago occupied at one time or another,

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



*Tree game.*—Two trees are selected about 20 feet apart, one having a branch about 15 feet from the ground. A number of people stand ready at the side of this tree and the one whose turn it is to play tries to hit the branch. When he succeeds in doing so all run toward the other tree. As soon as the player gets the ball he tries to hit the runners. If successful in this before the others have reached the tree he wins; otherwise they are "safe" and he must try again. The Winnebago called this game *hahi'bidjikr'u*. 526

## Travel and Transportation

*Canoes and dugouts.*—All the boats found in the early days in the territory originally inhabited by the Winnebago were dugouts, yet a number of the tribe questioned denied positively that boats of this kind were in common use before the coming of the whites. According to these informants, in former times the Winnebago always had their home in a birch country, and had at hand, therefore, the requisite material for making canoes; moreover, birch-bark canoes were much easier to construct than dugouts, for which logs had to be hollowed by burning—a process that might consume weeks. Only when the whites introduced the ax and the knife did it become practicable to make dugouts. These implements became available at the time of the southern migration of the tribe into a region where birch bark was scarce, and one result of the change was the substitution of the dugout for the canoe. The validity of this explanation is supported by the same line of argument as in the case of the wooden vessels. 501 [412 177 167]

*Snowshoes.* The snowshoes of the Winnebago were similar to those used by the Menominee, with this difference, that the two pieces of wood forming the "handle," instead of being tied together for their whole length, as among the latter, were left unfastened for about 5 inches at the end. This difference is immediately detected (pl. 40) by the present-day Winnebago, who can easily identify, by the feature mentioned, snowshoes belonging to the tribe. 481 [171]

## Musical Instruments

The musical instruments of the Winnebago seem to have been restricted to the flute, drum, and gourd. The flute was made of red cedar and usually had a range of five or six notes; it was used at many ceremonies, and especially by young men when courting. The drum consisted of a framework (in later days a wooden pail or a barrel served the purpose), over which a skin was drawn very tight. A small quantity of water was always kept in the drum so that the skin could be wet as often as necessary. Rattles consisted of dried gourds filled, in olden times, with seeds, in more modern times with buckshot (pl. 30, *d*, *f*). 534

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



In general it may be said that effigies of the bird type are found 172
over the entire region in which effigies are found, although certain
types seem to have a restricted range—the bear type, westward from
Lake Waubesa to Sauk County and probably beyond: the water-
spirit, over the entire region from Milwaukee to Madison and as far [171]
north as Gills Landing in Waupaca County: the goose, at Lake

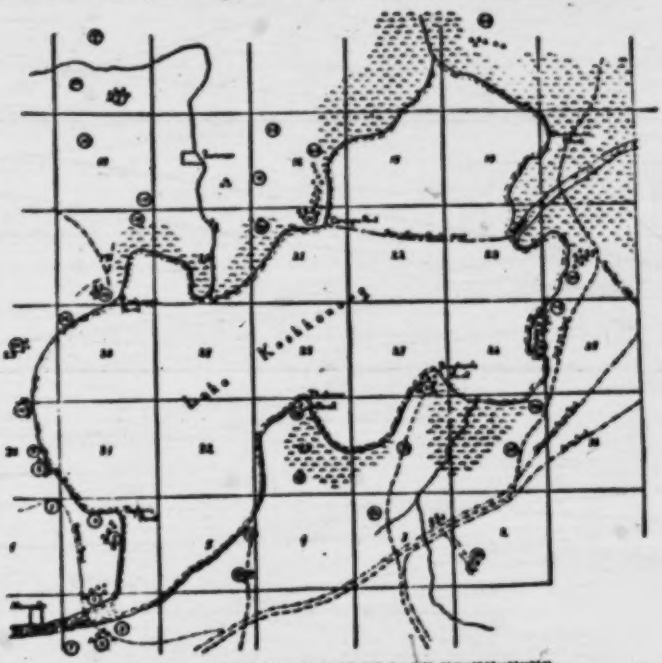


FIG. 22.—ARCHEOLOGIC MAP OF LAKE KOSHKONONG.

INDEX TO MAP.

1. Conch shell earlier, 1842.
2. Black Hawk's camp, 1832.
3. Ogden group.
4. Rock River group and village site.
5. Tay-a-be-dah group and village site.
6. Taylor House group.
7. Fulton group.
8. Koshkonong group and village site.
9. John Cox group.
10. Ker Springs group and village site.
11. North group.
12. Robin Hoods group.
13. Le Juillier group and village site.
14. Goldthorpe burials.
15. Monroe Garden beds.
16. Kanellos group.
17. a-b-c. Koshkonong Creek mounds and village site.
18. Conch shell earlier, 1837.
19. Beaver group.
20. Shawbena group.
21. Corrigan mounds and White Crow's village.
22. Lake Bay mounds and garden beds.
23. Alderter group and White Oak's village.
24. Man Eater's village.
24 and 25. Gen. Atkinson group.
26. Hazel group and Kewaskum's camp.
27. Fox Hunter's Point mound and cornfield.
28. Lockwood group.
29. Haight's Creek group.
30. Atkinson's camp.
31. Indian cornfields.
32 and 33. Jim Hughes group and village site.
34 and 35. Thirteen Point village site and cornfields.
36. French trader's cabin site.
37. Camp site and cornfield.
38. Black Hawk Island camp site.

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5214 tacle, generally a moccasin, in which a small object was secreted. The sides in turn guessed in which moccasin it was secreted. The guesser pointed in turn with a long stick to each moccasin, all the time carefully scrutinizing the expression on the face of each man whose moccasin he touched. The bystanders and the other players on his side meanwhile sang songs and made all sorts of remarks and allusions in an attempt to catch off his guard the man in whose moccasin the object was secreted, so that he might disclose the fact by some gesture or expression. The person guessing had the right to touch each moccasin without forfeiting his chance. As soon as he wished to guess he overturned with his stick the moccasin in which he thought the object was hidden. The seriousness with which a player scrutinized his opponents is well shown in plate 39.

[462] *Women's dice game.*—The women's dice game (*k'anu*) was played with either bone or wooden dice. Eight of these are used. After being shaken, they are allowed to fall into a wooden bowl. The dice are white on one side and black or blue on the other. One of the dice has a mark on each side. The count is as follows: 1 dark, 7 white, count 2; 2 dark, 6 white, 1; all dark, 0 white, 4; 3 dark, 5 white, 0; 4 dark, 4 white, 0; marked dice dark, 7 white, 10; marked dice white, 7 dark, 10; marked dice white, 1 other white, the rest dark, 2; all dice white, 4; 2 white, 6 dark, 1; 1 white, 7 dark, 2.

[237] The side gaining all the counters, which consist of small sticks, wins.

*Cup-and-ball game.*—"A cup-and-ball game is composed of eight worked phalangeal bones of the Virginia deer (*Odocoileus virginiana*). [171] It differs from those seen by the writer among the Cree and Ojibway in that the topmost phalangeal unit of the game as played among those people does not have the joint removed, whereas in the Winnebago specimens all the bones are cut into conical form. The top is generally surmounted by a bunch of leather thongs with many perforations. The striking pin is of bone. The count is one for each unit, five for catching the tails or thongs at the top, and the same if all the units are caught together, which occasionally happens. The bottom unit nearest the striking pin has four small perforations set at equal distances about the lower edge. Above these holes are two, three, four, and six dots, respectively, cut in the bone. The count gained by catching this bone through any one of the holes varies according to the number of these dots. The striking pin may be of bone or wood. Sometimes these games are stained with dye or paint. The string and pins are short, so that the game is much more difficult and clumsy than in the Cree and Ojibway forms."[9]

[9] A. Skinner, op. cit., pp. [illegible].

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*Tree game.*—Two trees are selected about 20 feet apart, one having a branch about 15 feet from the ground. A number of people stand ready at the side of this tree and the one whose turn it is to play tries to hit the branch. When he succeeds in doing so all run toward the other tree. As soon as the player gets the ball he tries to hit the runners. If successful in this before the others have reached the tree he wins; otherwise they are "safe" and he must try again. The Winnebago called this game *hahi'hidjike'u*. 526

### Travel and Transportation

*Canoes and dugouts.*—All the boats found in the early days in the territory originally inhabited by the Winnebago were dugouts, yet a number of the tribe questioned denied positively that boats of this kind were in common use before the coming of the whites. According to these informants, in former times the Winnebago always had their home in a birch country, and had at hand, therefore, the requisite material for making canoes; moreover, birch-bark canoes were much easier to construct than dugouts, for which logs had to be hollowed by burning—a process that might consume weeks. Only when the whites introduced the ax and the knife did it become practicable to make dugouts. These implements became available at the time of the southern migration of the tribe into a region where birch bark was scarce, and one result of the change was the substitution of the dugout for the canoe. The validity of this explanation is supported by the same line of argument as in the case of the wooden vessels. 501 [412 177 167]

*Snowshoes.*—The snowshoes of the Winnebago were similar to those used by the Menominee, with this difference, that the two pieces of wood forming the "handle," instead of being tied together for their whole length, as among the latter, were left unfastened for about 5 inches at the end. This difference is immediately detected (pl. 40) by the present-day Winnebago, who can easily identify, by the feature mentioned, snowshoes belonging to the tribe. 481 [171]

### Musical Instruments

The musical instruments of the Winnebago seem to have been restricted to the flute, drum, and gourd. The flute was made of red cedar and usually had a range of five or six notes; it was used at many ceremonies, and especially by young men when courting. The drum consisted of a framework (in later days a wooden pail or a barrel served the purpose), over which a skin was drawn very tight. A small quantity of water was always kept in the drum so that the skin could be wet as often as necessary. Rattles consisted of dried gourds filled, in olden times, with seeds, in more modern times with buckshot (pl. 30, *d*, *f*). 534

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*Names.*—A newborn child received a birth name immediately. 551
There were six such names for male children and six for female children, which were given according to the order of birth:

| *Male* | *Female* |
|---|---|
| 1. K'u'nu. | 1. Hi'nu. |
| 2. He'nu. | 2. Wi'ha. |
| 3. Ha'ga. | 3. Aksi'-a (generally pronounced Aksi). |
| 4. Na'ŋxi. | 4. Hi'nuŋk'. |
| 5. Naŋxinô'nu. | 5. A'ksigaxô'nu. |
| 6. Naŋxiaonu'niñk'a. | 6. A'ksigaxônu'niŋk'a. |

The meanings of these names are unknown to the present Winnebago, who reject the idea that they ever had any meaning apart from indicating the order of birth. Originally, of course, these names had meanings, but at the present time they resemble no other Winnebago names and baffle all attempts at interpretation. This is not surprising, because they represent in all probability archaic names which undoubtedly have been considerably modified through long-continued use. The Dakota have a similar set of names but only [171] ●
four in number. The two additional names among the Winnebago indicate by their form that they have been derived from one of the other four. In this connection it is interesting to note that the fifth of the male names is, as one might expect, merely the fourth name of the series with the addition of a diminutive suffix, whereas the fifth of the female names is the third of that series with a like addition. The sixth name of each series is formed by adding another diminutive suffix to the fifth name.

A few words may not be out of place here with regard to the 551
relation of the male to the female series, and to the possible interpre- 562
tation of two of the female names. He'nu[1] of the male and Hi'nu of 193
the female series, it will be noted, differ only in the first vowel. A similar phenomenon is found in such relationship terms as *hi'nŋk*, male child of elder brother, and *hi'ûnuŋk'*, female child of elder brother. Remembering that in those Siouan languages which distinguish between female and male oral stops the difference often consists merely in the change of a vowel, this difference between He'nu and Hi'nu may be suggestive. The name K'u'nu may be connected with *k'u'nŋk*, "a grandmother," in which *k'u* is unquestionably the stem, meaning probably "old." In the female series there is a possible relationship between Hi'nu and Hi'nuŋk', as *k'* seems to be a very common ending in relationship terms. Hi'nuŋk' itself is identical with the word for "woman" and it seems hard to imagine that it is not the same, especially since it is also found as the relationship term for [60] female child of younger brother.

[1] He'nu is also the name for a man's older sister.

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| Generation | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| 5. Grandson's | Hitcû"ckû', hiniŋk', | Hitcû"jû'ŋk', hinûŋk', |
| 6. Great-grandson's | Hitcû"ckû', hiniŋk', (Hitcû"jû'ŋk') | Hitcû"jû'ŋk', hinûŋk', (Hitcû"ckû') |
| 7. Great-great-grandson's | (Hitcû"jû'ŋk') | (Hitcû"ckû') |

For the first three generations no term is repeated except *hitcû'"wi"*; for the fourth generation eight terms are repeated and two terms are added, *hiniŋk'* and *hi'nûŋk'*. After that all the terms are repeated and no new terms are added. Only three sets of terms are repeated for more than two generations—*hitcû"ckû'*, *hitcû"jû'ŋk hinuŋk'tce'k*, *wadoho'tci*, and *hi'niŋk'*, *hi'nûŋk'*. After the fifth generation only one set of terms is used.

*Distribution of all relationship terms*[3] *occurring more than once.*—

Hi-uni'niŋk', wife of p. br.; m. sr.

Hi'ni, elder br.; son of p. br.; son of m. sr.

Hinûŋk', younger br.; son of p. br.; son of m. sr.

Hi'nu, elder sr.; daughter of p. br.; daughter of m. sr.

Waitekû', younger sr.; daughter of p. br.; daughter of m. sr.

Hi'niŋk', son of elder br.; son of sr. (sister speaking).

Hi'nûŋk', daughter of elder br.; daughter of sr.

Hitcû"ckû', son of elder br.; son of daughter and son; son of br.; son of p. sr.

Hitcû"jû'ŋk', daughter of elder br.; daughter of daughter and son; daughter of p. sr.; daughter of br.

Hitcû'"wi", p. sr.; daughter of m. br.; wife of son of m. sr.

Hitca'", husbands of sisters; husband of p. sr.; husband of daughter of m. sr.

Hiciga'", wife of br.; wife of son of br.

Hicik"o', husband of p. sr.; husband of daughter of br.

## Joking Relationship[4]

602

A man was not permitted to take even the slightest liberties with any of his near relatives or with his mother-in-law or his father-in-law, but a curious exception to this rule was permitted for his father's sister's children (*hitcû"ckû'* and *hitcû"jû'ŋk'*); his mother's brother's children (*hitcû"ckû'* and *hitcû"jû'ŋk'*); his mother's brothers (*hide'k'*); and his sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law. In the two cases last named not only was a man permitted to joke with those relatives but he was supposed to do so whenever he had an opportunity. Under no circumstances were any of these individuals supposed to take offense. This relationship was of course reciprocal. If a person

[3] A more specific study of these relationship terms is reserved for a special article on Human Relationship Terms.

[4] The joking relationship was discovered among the Winnebago by the author. Since then it has been found to exist among the Crows and the Creeks, etc.

[171]

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PART II

# CHAPTER VIII

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—GENERAL DISCUSSION

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114
614

We are justified in assuming that the twofold division of the Winnebago and the southern Siouan tribes, Dhegiha and Teiwere, had a common historical origin. Our identification is based upon the existence in these three tribal units of specific similarities apart from those of social organization. Positive proof that the type of social organization is historically identical among these tribes is not, however, forthcoming. This will become even more apparent when we consider the twofold division from the point of view of the names they bear, the subdivisions within them, and their specific functions.

According to our informants, the twofold organization among the Dhegiha and Teiwere only existed upon specific occasions, when the tribe was on the tribal hunt. We are in complete ignorance as to whether in olden times this arrangement was reflected in the village, but we know that whether it was or not, the twofold division was present in a very definite manner in the consciousness of the people themselves; that is, every individual definitely knew to which one of the two divisions he belonged and that certain names and functions were associated with them. The moment, however, that we stop to analyze these names, functions, etc., we realize at once that to-day they connote different ideas in the different tribes under discussion. The names of the divisions seem particularly significant in this connection. Among the Omaha they are known as Ictacunda and Hanga, probably connoting Sky people and Leaders; among the Ponca, as Wajaje and Teiju, Earth and Thunder; among the Kansa, as Yata and Ictunga, Right side and Left side; among the Osage as Teiju and Hanga, Peace and War side. The names for the Kwapa, Oto, Missouri, and Iowa are not known. It will be seen at a glance that the terms Teiju and Ictacunda are identical, and it will also be noticed by reference to the monographs of J. O. Dorsey and Miss Alice C. Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, that these names as well as the name Hanga are names of subdivisions within these divisions. Were these names first used to designate the two divisions or the subdivisions? There seems to be no reason for believing that the

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171 names were first applied to the larger divisions, whereas a number of
174 facts speak strongly in favor of the reverse. In no case, for instance,
114 can it be shown that the two divisions, per se, have any functions
614 except that of regulating marriage. The various political and ceremonial functions displayed pertain to the subdivisions composing them. Owing to the massing together of a number of such functions on each side, we often obtain the impression that these belong to the larger unit, as such. And indeed this may be said to be true at the present time, in so far as the functions of one subdivision have become identified with the larger unit. All that we wish to point out here is that the names of the two divisions may be different, and that they may connote different ideas in the different divisions of an historically related culture, due to specific historical development within each. Among the Dhegiha there seem to be a number of reasons for assuming that the present names of the two divisions are not the historically primary ones.

It is far more difficult to discuss the names of the subdivisions or "gentes" within the two larger divisions. From a comparative point of view it must be regarded as significant that the names of the subdivisions within the Teiwere tribes tally almost exactly with those of the Winnebago and that those of the Dhegiha tribes tally with the names of many of the two latter, although they possess, in addition, a large number not found among them. The Teiwere and Winnebago have animal appellations for their clans, the Dhegiha have animal appellations plus a type of designation descriptive of animal taboo. Which of the two types is the older it is difficult to say. This fact might be noted, however, that the animal names have, to a large extent, been forgotten and that the descriptive taboo appellations have not; that in a number of cases there is some reason for believing that these animal appellations have been reinterpreted and in other cases replaced by nonanimal designations; that the origin myths of these divisions always explain why a certain animal is associated with a subdivision, and rarely the origin of the taboo name; and lastly, that the majority of personal names are strictly comparable to the clan names of the Winnebago and the Teiwere. On the other hand, the descriptive taboo type of name is found frequently among the band appellations of the Plains Indians, with whom the Omaha had come into intimate contact and by whom they had been influenced along definite lines of ceremonial and social development. For these reasons we would like to suggest that the animal appellations are historically primary and that the taboo type became subsequently popular and spread over the whole tribe. Examples of changes in the names of subdivisions are by no means isolated. The Winnebago exhibit a tendency to substitute names indicative of the function of a clan for the old animal names—and this

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has gone so far that a large number of individuals would probably deny to-day that the Hawk and the Warrior clan are one and the same. Again, among the Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw we find Sun and Star clans, and, if we were to imagine that for some reason or another the latter type of name became popular, it might here become dominant within a comparatively short time. 171 174 114 614

Like a twofold division, the clan may connote a number of different things to the minds of the Indians. The Omaha apparently used the term *tonwoggthe*, which means literally "place-of-habitation-of-those-related," *gthe* being the possessive-reflexive pronoun. It would thus seem to coincide with a geographical unit. The Quapaw use the term *enikucign*, evidently meaning "people"; the Kansa, the term *wayumida*, "those-who-sing-together"; the Osage, the term *peda*, "fireplace"; and the Winnebago, the term *hokik'a'radjera*, "those-related-to-one-another." The remarks made about the specific names of the twofold divisions apply here. There is no reason for assuming that these are historically primary. A possible historical hint that they are not will be mentioned later.

The twofold division apparently regulates nothing but marriage. [532] It has at the present time no other function, per se. Nevertheless, a number of ethnologists, and for that matter Indians themselves, speak of the functions of the two sides. If we consider the Omaha "circle," we notice that practically all the ceremonial functions are on one side; that among the Osage "war" and "peace" functions are found on both sides; and that, as a matter of fact, the functions of war and peace apparently relate to a certain reciprocal relation existing between the two divisions. Indeed, there is no reason to justify the use of these terms. Among the Iowa, J. O. Dorsey quotes Hamilton to the effect that the regulation of the hunt and other tribal affairs was in the hands of one "phratry" during the autumn and winter, and in that of the other in spring and summer. It is, however, doubtful whether this was the case. Among the Winnebago, as we shall see, the functions of war and peace were grouped together on one side, the functions of the other side being confined to those relating to the policing and regulation of the hunt. But the only fact of importance to us here is not whether there appears a balancing of functions connected with the social organization, but whether the Indian thinks there is; and here the consensus of opinion favors the view that no Omaha would, for example, suppose that the Hangacenu division, as such, was the custodian of the real pipes of peace. This belonged to the Inkesabe gens, and there is not a shred of evidence to support the view that it was delegated to that clan by the larger unit. The same reasoning applies to the Hanga clan. That the importance of the possessions of the latter clan played an important part in the associations of the Omaha, even to the extent

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171 of impressing its name upon the whole division, we do not doubt
174 for a moment. Other reasons may have led to the designation of the other half by the name of one of its component clans.

114 Similarly, among the Ponca, the Wajaje half corresponds to the
614 Wajaje clan, the keepers of the sacred pipe; and among the Osage, the Teiju and the Hanga divisions of one side, and the Wajaje divisions of the other, correspond to the clans with the same name that are associated with important ceremonial-political functions. On the other hand, we have the fact that among the Kansa the names of the two large divisions are distinct from any of the clans in those divisions, and the same is true for the Teiju division of the Ponca. If we correlate this last fact with the apparent absence of any association of important ceremonial or political functions with specific clans, the suggestion might be permitted that no incentive existed in the minds of these people for the clan becoming identified with the larger divisions. Among the Winnebago the names for the divisions are quite different from those of the clans composing them, but at the present time the fact that the clan in each division has definite functions and powers has reacted on the interpretation of the social organization, and it is quite customary to refer to one half as *hwik* or "chiefs," and to the other as *manap'e* or "soldiers," although the latter is not common.

In short, we have a right to see, in all the facts mentioned, indications of a possible historical development whose characteristics seem to lie in the identification of the name and function of an important clan with that of a much larger division.

[182] The Winnebago social organization has long since broken down, but its details are still so well preserved in the minds of the older men, and particularly in the literature of the tribe, that no difficulty was experienced in reconstructing it. This reconstruction, however, does not enable us to determine the relation of the clan and dichotomous division to the distribution of the tribe over the large area once occupied in Wisconsin. That the 4,000-odd individuals composing the tribe at the advent of the whites lived together is extermely doubtful. The nature of the woodlands of Wisconsin and the fairly extensive territory over which the Winnebago were found scattered not long after Nicolet's first visit are facts that practically exclude such a hypothesis. The myth that speaks of a village that at one time was so long that those living at one end did not know what was transpiring at the other contains too many literary touches to justify its use as an historical document.

114 The question, therefore, of village groups is of considerable impor-
621 tance, because there may have been, cutting across the general organization, another smaller, perhaps looser social unit, that of "band" or village, setting off one group against another. Systematic question-

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616 As the basis of organization in a game, the twofold division finds
526 expression in ceremonial lacrosse. There the *waŋgerεgi* are always pitted against the *manεgi*. A well-known myth is associated with
[173] this arrangement, according to which the animal ancestors of the *waŋgerεgi* and *manεgi* decided their respective rank by playing a game in which they were organized on this basis. The *waŋgerεgi* won and for that reason the chiefs of the tribe have been selected from this division. A division into two halves when playing ceremonial lacrosse is characteristic not only of the Winnebago but of
¶[71] the Omaha, Menominee, Sauk, Fox, and other tribes. Among the former two, these sides are identical with the two aforementioned political divisions of the tribe, but among the latter two, where no such division exists, the tribe seems to divide itself into two halves merely on this occasion.

616 Up to the present we have treated the two divisions as social units
614 per se, but now, before entering on the discussion of the clans, it may be well to point out the fact that the *waŋgerεgi* people are sometimes spoken of as the Bird clan (*wanipk hakik'arεdjεra*), and that the four clans composing this side are so intimately related, and their clan origin myths so similar, that the assumption of the four clans representing one clan that subsequently split up into a number of divisions is not outside the realm of historical possibility. This is, however, quite immaterial, for whether we have one bird clan opposed to eight other animal clans is of little consequence, for historically it is not the bird clan that is opposing the other clans, but one social unit, the division, set off against another. The numerical equality that exists between these two sides, in spite of the disparity in the number of clans, is perhaps another confirmation of the fundamental character of the twofold structure.

## Clan Organization

614 There are 12 clans among the Winnebago with the following names:

A. *Waŋgerεgi hεrεra* (those who are above):[1]

1. *wakandja*, thunderbird.
2. *wonεyira waŋkrik*, war-people.
3. *teazap*, eagle.
4. *rutεya*, pigeon (extinct).

B. *manεgi hεrεra* (those who are on earth):

5. *hunk*, bear.
6. *cuŋkcuŋk'*, wolf.
7. *waktεzi*, water spirit.
8. *tεs*, deer.
9. *hi'ne'*, elk.

[1] All the clans of the upper gallery are also called *ahakanara*, "Those-with-wings." This name is found in ceremonies.

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614 of human and animal forms. The latter conception is entirely a
825 religious one, the former merely an extension of the genealogical tendency prevalent in many types of social organization. Instead of being simply descended from an individual in a given social unit, the bond of membership within this unit has been strengthened by the postulation of blood relationship to the clan animal. The idea of descent may thus be looked upon as one of the elements necessary for the stability of a political unit and may be far older than its
614 specific extension to those clan animals. A very illuminating ex-
825 ample of a case in point can be selected from the history of the war bundle in the Thunderbird clan. This bundle, like the others, was
778 obtained as a gift from the thunderbird in his capacity as a guardian spirit. The ceremony connected with it has, however, been markedly influenced by the clan organization and as a result we find descent
[776] from the thunderbird and night-spirit, the two most important spirits in the ceremony, postulated of the original owner of the war bundle. The same tendency is exhibited in the numerous stories of the relation of an individual of the heroic age to a village. Here
[773] the individual, generally a transformed guardian spirit or animal, comes to the aid of the people in their struggle against cannibals, defeats the latter and marries into the village, becoming thus the eponymous ancestor of the subsequent village group.

614 At the same time no strong correlation apparently exists between a totemic organization and the extension of descent to include the clan animal, this seemingly being a peculiarity of certain cultures only. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest coast, among the
[771] Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves, in addition to the above, we find the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact of its members imitating the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reasons at all for the name, while in others an animal is killed, becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, and the group takes its name from the fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation.

### THE CLAN TIE

614 In intimate relation with the attitude toward the clan animal is the
602 conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the tie between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal.
[582] Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as is

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chief and his people. The Wolf, Water-spirit, and Elk clans seem also to have possessed minor political-social functions. Thus the Wolf people are regarded as "minor" soldiers; the Water-spirit people are connected with the passage of streams, etc.; and the Elk are connected with the care of the fireplaces while on the hunt and warpath. This accounts for seven of the twelve clans, and it thus seems as if the association of political functions with clans was a type that had found great favor among the Winnebago, and was perhaps being extended to every clan. Among the Dhegiha, associations of ceremonial functions with social units seem to have found corresponding favor, while among the Central Algonquian neither type prevailed. 614 182 [171]

Marked political and ceremonial functions of the clan are thus the distinguishing characteristics of the Siouan social organization and have given an entirely different color to clan structure there.

### THE RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIP OF THE CLANS

We have seen that one of the bonds between the clans was the fact of belonging to the same side. But there is a special bond between certain clans known as "friendship" relation (*hitrak'oro*). This always subsists between two, although it seems occasionally to have been extended to three or four clans. Most informants gave these groups in such a manner that the "friendship" relation was not postulated between clans belonging to different divisions. One individual postulated them just on this basis, i. e., Thunderbird-Bear, Warrior-Wolf, etc. There can, however, be no doubt that the prevalent arrangement is: Thunderbird-Warrior; Eagle-Pigeon; Bear-Wolf; Buffalo-Water-spirit; Elk-Deer; Snake-Fish. Most informants did not claim any pairing for the Snake, while some associated it in a threefold grouping with the Buffalo and Water-spirit. The four clans of the *Waggregi* are generally united in a fourfold group of "friend clan," although some divide them into Thunderbird-Warrior and Eagle-Pigeon. 614

Under the term "friend clan" is included the idea of mutual service. This becomes especially marked on two occasions: first, when a member of one clan visits his "friend clan," and second, when an injustice has been done a member of the "friend clan." On the former occasion every possible privilege is extended to him, even to his occupying the seat and bed of the host. There is no indication of "wife-borrowing," however. On the latter occasion, the "friend clan" will seek to revenge the injustice just as if the wrong had been done one of its own members. The respect shown by one clan to its "friend clan" is again apparent at the naming-feast. There he may be called upon to give the dog names for an individual of the clan with which he is associated, and, at times, to lend one of his clan names to the latter. 614 476 [837]

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614 572 The relation of *hitcak'ero* or "friend clan" is thus strictly analogous to that which exists between two individuals who are *hitcak'ero* to each other. It is one of the characteristic traits of Siouan culture that two individuals often form a strong, inextricable friendship. Not only are they always together but the death of one on the war-path involves that of the other. The same intimate relationship [604] seems to exist between an uncle (*hidek'*) and his nephew (*hitcyege*). There is, however, one fundamental difference between such relation as that existing between *hidek'* and *hitcyege*, the members of the family group, and the members of the same clan, on the one hand, and clan *hitcak'ero*, on the other. In the former there is the bond of blood, real or fictitious; in the latter, only that of mutual service. On the other hand, while the *hidek'-hitcyege* relation, the individual *hitcak'ero* and the clan *hitcak'ero* all may be of different historical origin, they are psychologically the same. The postulation of even a fictitious blood bond between the different individual *hitcak'ero* and the clan *hitcak'ero* is not unheard of. For the *hitcak'ero* relation of individuals this is always possible, for if one individual dies, his *hitcak'ero* is generally adopted to fill his place. On the other hand, the myths seem to indicate that no blood bond was regarded as existing between them, for they generally married each other's sisters.

What historical relation the clan *hitcak'ero* bears to the individual *hitcak'ero* relation, it is impossible to state, but the remarks made before are pertinent here, and no genetic relationship need be postulated.

### THE SPECIFIC POSSESSIONS OF THE CLAN

614 778 Among the Omaha a number of clans have in their possession certain objects around which not merely the clan but also the tribal reverence is centered. Historically, we believe that these were originally possessions of an individual clan, which subsequently became identified with the entire tribe. Among the Winnebago nothing remotely comparable to these clan possessions exists, and the few specific objects possessed by the clan have never become of real tribal significance.

The specific material possessions of the clan consist of certain war bundles, one in each clan; and two crooks in the possession of the Bear clan. There also exist war clubs, of which there are two types, one found among the *waggeregi*, the other among the *manegi* divisions. In connection with the clan bundles there are certain ceremonials known as clan-bundle or war-bundle feasts, popularly as Winter Feasts. The distribution of the clan bundle differentiates [771] these from the specific possessions of the Omaha clans, and suggests a hint as to their historical associations. To all intents and purposes, as their individual history shows, these bundles are merely

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fact of Winnebago culture, namely, that there are, strictly speaking, no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in many respects, are absolutely identical with the religious societies, and which furnish, it seems to us, an example of just those two kinds of influence that we wished to point out, one radiating from the clan as an organization, the other from the entire clan unit. 614 575 [776]

In the Winter Feasts the unit of organization is the clan. Generally all the clans were represented in the person of the owner of each specific clan war bundle. The order of invitation was traditionally fixed, but it seems that in a number of cases the "friend" clan always had the position of honor. The war-bundle owner was not, however, supposed to represent the clan at all, but the spirits to whom offerings were being made. In every case, although the participants were supposed to represent a fairly large number of animals, the main blessings that were contained in the war bundle were from the thunderbird and night-spirit and the main offerings were indeed made to them. There seem thus to have been two separate ceremonies involved, one to the thunderbird and the other to the night-spirits. 614 796 [782 776]

The question arising with regard to the clan basis of these ceremonial organizations is whether we are to imagine that the ceremonial unit of organization was displaced by the clan unit, or whether we are to suppose that the ceremony is of comparatively recent origin, let us say at least long after the clan organization had been perfected, and that a number of things combined to determine the acceptance of the clan as a unit of organization, as opposed to the traditional ceremonial one. To the foregoing we must also add the fact that the Winter Feast seems to be related to similar ceremonies of the Central Algonquian, whose influence on the Winnebago must first be determined. If, then, we are not in a position at present to suggest the course of development, there can be no doubt that the content of the ceremony is strictly comparable to that of the religious societies, and that there are hints that the ceremonial unit of organization had begun to assert itself. If this could be definitely established, it would indicate that the clan basis of organization is historically primary. [171]

The clan unit of organization is found in no other Winnebago ceremony, although the specific clan feasts show marked influences radiating from the clan unit. The clan feast is a typical ceremonial complex, both in type of organization and in content. The difference between it and a society like that of the night-spirit lies in the fact that although the five principal participants must have specific blessings (bundles), they must at the same time belong to the clan. To what extent a member of one clan who has obtained a bundle

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# CHAPTER X

## SHAMANISTIC AND MEDICINAL PRACTICES

### Introduction

756 The shamanistic and medicinal practices of the Winnebago differ
[171] in no respect from those found all over the woodland area and there is consequently no need for discussing them at length. The stories told about *Midjistega* and old Lincoln are the famous tricks and sleight-of-hand performances known all over America. There does not seem to be as much said about the conjuring lodge as is the case among the Ojibwa. This apparently is identical with the Winnebago *waruka'na*, "exerting one's powers." The lack of specific information relating to this subject obtained by the author may, however, be due to accident.

278 The Winnebago make a fourfold classification of their medicines:
754 Those that affect a person by direct administration; those that affect him by their odor, like love and racing medicines; those that affect
[787] him at a distance; and those that are shot at an individual. Most of the medicines are obtained by fasting, although they can also be bought. The most important of these medicines are those called the stench-earth medicine (see p. 259) and the black-earth medicine.

[788] Medicine may be used in a number of ways, but principally as offerings or as means of killing animals or men. It is often chewed.
[789] In order to make arrows or guns unerring, medicine is frequently rubbed upon them.

754 Sympathetic magic is of course well known. The procedure is the common one. A picture of the man to be harmed is drawn on the ground and shot at, stabbed, etc. The man is then certain to die a short time after, in the same manner as the figure has been mutilated.

There are two general magical ceremonies. *Waruka'na*, to know something by exerting one's powers; *wana'tcere*, to hypnotize in the distance. (For description of latter, see p. 111.)

787 *Example of waruka'na.*—J.'s older brother and a friend had failed to return home and so J.'s grandfather went to a man called C. English and, offering him some tobacco, asked him to find out something about his son i. e., to exert his powers. English did so and told the old man that they were camping and making sugar and that if

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or success on the warpath to the most insignificant trifles. Practically any spirit, no matter how indefinitely conceived, can bestow generalized blessings. On the whole, however, these powers are conceived of as being in the hands of a comparatively small number, and the same powers are frequently possessed by different spirits. This will become clear after a careful perusal of the fasting experiences. 776

As to the prevalence of the belief in the localization of spirits, not only among the Winnebago but over all North America, there can no longer be any doubt. Among the Winnebago there are as many spirits as there are lakes, hills, rivers, etc., and all these are looked upon from two points of view, first as the bestowers of certain blessings and, secondly, as the protectors of their own precincts. In the first case they are generally identical with the guardian spirits. In the second case they are simply vague, indistinct spirits to whom offerings are made for temporary protection. So when a Winnebago crossed a river or lake he poured tobacco into the water as a recompense for trespassing, and uttered the prayer that no storms should arise or that he should not come to grief. [171] [782]

As to whether the spirits here are the lakes, rivers, hills, etc., or some being inhabiting them, the answer is, unquestionably the latter.

### The Twofold Interpretation of the Relation of the Spirits to Man

We mentioned before (p. 279) that the interpretation of the relationship between the spirits and man was largely mechanical, blessings being secured apparently independent of any volition on the part of the spirits, for if the Winnebago make the requisite offerings to the Thunderbirds they must accept them and bestow on the suppliant the powers they possess. While this interpretation was undoubtedly the popular one, the shamans tried to develop another explanation what might be called a "contract" theory. The spirits possessed the various powers without which man could achieve only a modicum of success; and man possessed tobacco, corn, eagle feathers, buckskin, etc. His principal possession, however, was tobacco, and this had been given him directly by Earthmaker. The contract was definite and distinct: man was to give the spirits tobacco, etc.; and the spirits were to give man the powers they controlled. Accompanying this change of interpretation, there was a difference of attitude, the principal characteristic of which was a heightened religious feeling. This change of interpretation is clearly shown in the concept of the guardian spirit. [756]

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Should they ever have a bad illness
they have the means of obtaining life by praying for it," by offering 796x
tobacco and a flute." 539x

"Disease-giver himself made these things holy. Thus they would 782
obtain life, if they had any illness, by offering you reed flutes, food, 776
tobacco, feathers, a white dog, and by making you at the same time an offering of berkskin hides. (Thus Disease-giver spoke to our grandfather when he blessed him:) 'A holy flute I made for you, and I forbade you to blow upon it, yet you did it. Now, hereafter, if you offer me a sufficient number of berkskins, you may blow upon it. A different life from that of others will you lead, if you do that. You will be able to cut off (stop) a bad disease caused by someone else. Nor will this one (who was ill) ever have another disease.'"

"Thus Disease-giver spoke. This is what the one who causes disease said. That is how they blessed our grandfather Djôhenągiwi'ąxga. A song I am now about to start. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." (Disease-giver sing.)

*Hoof's fourth speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, 796x
I greet you. The last (song) we will now finish. You who are in the 539x
east, Night Spirits, you also added your blessing to the spirit bundle 787
of grandfather Djôhenągiwi'ąxga. So that he might know (be 776
blessed by) the spirits, grandfather Djôhenągiwi'ąxga starved and thirsted himself to death[a] and made himself pitiable. At first he fasted four nights and the Night Spirits came to him; with mighty sounds they came.[b] There they stood (and said), 'Human, you have thirsted yourself to death and we bless you (for that reason). We who speak are the spirits who are called Night Spirits.' They blessed him with war power and life, they said. Then he looked and (said to himself), 'I wonder whether these really are the Night Spirits that speak.' So he looked at them and they were small birds called *hoof'pąc*.[c] They had fooled him. Then once again was his heart sore. 'Well! I will die,' he thought (fasting). So he fasted again and once again he rubbed on (the charcoal). For six nights he continued to fast. And again from the east the Night Spirits came. They came making a great noise and they stood near him (and said), 'Human, we bless you. You have thirsted yourself to death and you have made your heart sore. We felt sad on your account. With

[a] A rather curious expression used only in elevated language and meaning, literally, "to obtain with the mouth"—i. e., either by speaking, prayers, or singing. The expression would hardly be permitted in ordinary Winnebago. [115]

[b] He does not mean by offering flutes, but by playing on them. Reed flutes are generally associated in the blessings of good spirits, but they seem to be more closely connected with the Thunder-given and the Buffalo. [534]

[c] This, I believe, is the meaning of the last three sentences. They are somewhat obscure, and I do not guarantee the correctness of the rendering.

[d] Idiomatic expression for fasting.

[e] All powerful spirits are supposed to approach with loud noises. This is also characteristic of the Ojibway spirits. [171]

[f] English equivalent unknown.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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171 The division of the
616 tribe into two halves when playing ceremonial lacrosse is characteristic not only of the Winnebago, but of the Omaha, Menominee,
526 Sauk, Fox, and other tribes. Among the former two, these sides are identical with the two aforementioned political divisions of the tribe, but among the latter two, where no such division exists, the tribe seems to divide itself into two halves merely on this occasion, although we know that this is not the only occasion upon which it behaves in this manner.

174 Up to the present, we have treated the two divisions as social units *per se*, but now, before entering on the discussion
614 of the clans, it may be well to point out the fact that the *wangeregi* people are sometimes spoken of as the Bird clan (*wanąk hoki-*
616 *karadjera*), and that the four clans composing this side are so intimately related, and their clan origin myths so similar, one of them even declaring the other three bird clans to be merely the descendants of the three younger thunderbird ancestors, that the assumption of the four clans representing one clan that became split up into a number of divisions, is not outside the realm of historical possibility. This is, however, quite immaterial, for whether we have one bird clan opposed to eight other animal clans is of little consequence, since historically it is not the bird clan that is opposing the other clans, but one social unit, the division, set off against another. The numerical equality that exists between these two sides, in spite of the disparity in the number of clans, is perhaps another confirmation of the fundamental character of the twofold structure.

## THE CLAN ORGANIZATION.

614 There are twelve clans (*hokikaradjera*) among the Winne-
[616] bago: the Thunderbird (*wakandja*), the Warrior (*wonayere wąnk-cik*), the Eagle (*teaxecp*), and Pigeon (*ruteg*), now extinct, belonging to the *wangeregi* half; and the Bear (*hąnk*), Wolf (*cąnkteąnk*), Buffalo (*tce*), Water-spirit (*waktcexi*), Deer (*tca*), Elk (*hąwq*), Snake (*wakq*), and Fish (*ho*), all belonging to the *mąnegi* half.

In addition to the above names, we have the name Chief (*hąnk*) applied to the Thunderbird; Hawk (*heretcą*), to the Warrior; (*manąpe*) Soldier, to the Bear clans.

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origin of the tribe is due to the literary-legendary tendency towards uniformity, is, on the whole, quite likely. This seems illustrated by the fact that the Warrior and Buffalo clans in some of the versions of their clan myths claim specific places, while others claim Green bay as their ancestral home. Green bay must, therefore, be considered as one of probably many local associations, connected with a prominent clan, which came to be accepted in the course of time by most of the others.

174 614 773

*Arrangement of Clans in Village.*

As in Figure 1, all the clans of the *wangeregi* division except the Thunderbird and Warrior, could occupy any position in the half-circle, and the same was true of those of the *manegi* division except the Bear clan. The Buffalo clan seems to have been grouped on the *wangeregi* side. However, in both divisions the members of each clan had to be grouped together, a segregation that was further emphasized by the erection near each clan of an earthen effigy of the clan animal. According to all informants, each village was inhabited by members of various clans; in no case did a village merely include members of the same clan, as seems to have been the case among the Menomini. Among the latter, village exogamy probably existed, while no trace of this is found among the Winnebago. This clan segregation in every Winnebago village became, after a while, practically identical with blood relationship, although the close relationship existing between members of the same clan may also partially represent the persistence of a local group consciousness.

614 621 [616] [532] [171]

This distribution of the same clan over many villages would, indeed, seem to militate against the local group origin of the clans, but it must be remembered that the clan organization was of considerable age and there is no reason to suppose that the local groups could have had any influence now discernible. The village arrangement must, of course, not be pushed too hard, for we should expect a tendency on the part of informants whose knowledge was entirely hearsay, to cast their information in a more or less schematic mould. The old village sites seem to indicate that the bird effigy was dominant in some places and

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174 lend themselves readily to such an interpretation. But even
should we accept the necessity for the priority of the one over
614 the other types of association, we must still insist that psycho-
625 logically the functions are in each case associated with a group
unit and that we are not dealing with the relation of cause
and effect but with a new association.

182 Four of the Winnebago clans have specific political functions,
the details of which cannot be discussed here. The Thunderbird
614 is the chief clan, and in addition to the fact that the chief of the
tribe is selected from it, has important functions connected
with the preservation of peace; the Warrior clan, that relating
to war; the Bear clan, that relating to policing and discipline,
both within the village and while on the hunt, etc.; and the
Buffalo clan, that of public crier and intermediary between
the chief and his people. The Wolf, Water-spirit, and the Elk
clans seem also to have possessed minor political-social functions.
Thus, the Wolf people were considered in the light of "minor"
soldiers; the Water-spirit people as connected with the passage
of streams, etc.; and the Elk as connected with the care of the
fire-places while on the hunt and warpath. This accounts for
seven of the twelve clans, and it thus seems as if the association
of political functions with clans was a type that had found
[174] great favour among the Winnebago, and was perhaps being
extended to every clan. Among the Dhegiha, associations of
[171] ceremonial functions with social units seem to have found cor-
responding favour, while among the Central Algonkin neither
type occurred.

[171] Marked political and ceremonial functions of the clan
are the distinguishing characteristics of the Siouan organization
and have given an entirely different picture to clan structure
there.

### *The Reciprocal Relationship of the Clans.*

614 We have seen that one of the bonds between the clans was
the fact that they belonged to the same side. But there is a
616 special bond between certain clans known as "friendship" relation
(*hitcakɔro*). This always subsists between two, although it

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service. This becomes especially marked on two occasions; 574
first, when a member of one clan visits his "friend-clan," and [627]
second, when an injustice has been done a member of the "friend-clan." On the former occasion every possible privilege is extended to him, even to his occupying the seat and bed of the host. There is no indication of "wife borrowing," however. 614
On the latter occasion, the "friend-clan" will seek to revenge the injustice just as if the wrong had been done one of its own [627]
members. The respect shown by one clan to its "friend-clan" [553]
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The relation of "*hitcak·ɔ·ro*" or "friend-clan" is strictly 614
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of Siouan culture that two individuals often form a strong inextricable friendship. Not only are they always together, but the death of one on the warpath involves that of the other. 604
The same intimate relationship seems to exist between an uncle (*hidek·*) and his nephews (*hitcɣeɣe*). There is, however, one fundamental difference between such relations as that existing between the *hidek·* and *hitcɣeɣe*, the members of the family group, and the members of the same clan, on the one hand, and the in-

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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lodge of the Buffalo clan is on the *waŋgeregi* side of the village circle, although the Buffalo clan is one of the *maŋegi* clans. In explanation of this fact we might, on the one hand, assume that its relationship to the chief clan influenced its position in the village, or that it always was there. The latter seems rather improbable, in the face of the unanimity of agreement as to its inclusion among the *maŋegi* clans, and we may, therefore, provisionally accept the hypothesis of a shifting of position from one side to the other. As this might entail a possible readjustment of the Buffalo clan, as regards exogamy, we tried to obtain as many instances of Buffalo intermarriages as possible. No case of intermarriage with the *waŋgeregi* clans was found. However, as only eight cases were instanced, no safe inference can be drawn. 614 621 174

The "servant" relation of the Elk clan to the Thunderbird expresses itself in the fact that the former takes care of the fire-places of the latter while on the warpath, etc., and that the members are supposed to distribute the fire to the other clans. In the social customs this relationship is perhaps shown by a certain preference of the Elk to intermarry with the Thunderbird clan. This preference is not reciprocal. The word preference is used with the added significance of being consciously expressed, and differs from a tendency to intermarriage which may exist between the clans, but which is not present in their consciousness. Some Winnebago informants even went so far as to postulate a *hitcakʼɔ·ro* relation between the Elk and Thunderbird clan. 614 [372] 614 582 614

Among the Osage a marked development of the "servant" relationship is found. [171]

Viewed from a broad point of view, the reciprocal social and religious services of one clan toward another in the *hitcakʼɔ·ro* and "servant" relations are similar in nature to the political functions of the clan, and they may be taken as another indication of the association of political, social, and religious functions with a strongly individualized social unit. 614 182

### *The Specific Possessions of the Clan.*

Among the Omaha, a number of clans have in their possession certain objects, around which not merely the clan but also 171 614 778

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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171 the tribal reverence is centred. Historically, we believe that
614 these were originally possessions of an individual clan, which
778 subsequently became identified with the entire tribe. Among the Winnebago nothing in the remotest manner comparable to these clan possessions exists, and the few specific objects possessed by the clan have never become of real tribal significance

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778 certain war-bundles, one in each clan; and two crooks in the possession of the Bear clan. Of more general possession are the
[616] war clubs, of which there are two types, one found among the *waŋgeregi*, the other among the *maŋegi* divisions. In connexion
[796] with the clan-bundles there are certain ceremonials known as clan-bundle or war-bundle feasts, popularly as winter feasts.
[171] The distribution of the clan-bundle differentiates these from the specific possessions of the Omaha clans, and suggests a hint as to their historical associations. To all intents and purposes, as their individual history shows, these bundles are merely gifts from one spirit, the thunderbird, and a secondarily associated night-spirit (*haḣe*). The winter feast might thus be interpreted
[575] as a society of those who have obtained blessings from the thunderbird. The bundle remains in the possession of a certain family, however, and cannot pass out of the clan. The war-bundle may, therefore, be said to be primarily the personal possession of a family which has become associated with all the members of the clan to such an extent that it is almost regarded as a clan possession.

In the possession of the two crooks by the Bear clan we have an example of specific clan property. The crooks are in the
[926] nature of emblems and are used on the warpath to indicate the extreme line of advance. They are thus of tribal significance. When not in use, they are kept in the lodge of the Bear clan.

### *Immaterial Possessions of the Clan.*

Although there are no specific material possessions, each clan possesses a type of what might be called "immaterial" possessions. These all have the added connotation of sacredness. For the bird clans, this is the possession of fire; for the

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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614 let us say, some individual who has killed a member of the
[533] tribe and who refuses to make atonement of any kind, is pursued,
764 he defiantly sings his clan songs.
[627] As a last element in the clan-complex may be mentioned the specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

174 We have now completed the discussion of clan organization.
614 As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary associations that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that the complex has grown around a strong social-political unit.

## THE CLAN AS A SOCIO-CEREMONIAL COMPLEX.

614 Up to the present our attention has been directed entirely
796 to the clan as a socio-political complex and only passing men-
182 tion has been made of those religious or ceremonial associations that may also have clustered around it. Among the Omaha,
[171] as we have frequently pointed out, these latter associations were of paramount importance and probably dwarfed the development of the political functions. Among the Winnebago, on the whole, they were unimportant. This very fact makes the solitary instance in which a fairly marked development took place of all the greater value, quite apart from the fact that it happens to give, on the one hand, an exceptionally instructive illustration of the secondary association of a ceremonial function with a social unit, and, on the other, a similarly instructive illustration of the association of a function generally belonging to an individual shaman with a social unit. Such an association has taken place with the Bear clan, and, owing to its importance, we will quote the data in extenso. The ceremony is known as "soldiers' dance" (*manype waci*).

614 "When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village, the people
755 go to the chief and say, 'Sickness has come upon us, O chief!
796 See that your soldiers arise!' And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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of just those two kinds of influence that we wished to point out, one radiating from the clan, as a unit of organization, the other from the entire clan complex. 174 575 614 796

In the Winter feasts the unit of organization is the clan. Generally all the clans were represented in the person of the owner of each specific clan war-bundle. The order of invitation was traditionally fixed, but it seems that in a number of cases the "friend" clan always had the position of honour. The war-bundle owner was not, however, supposed to represent the clan at all, but the spirits to whom offerings were being made. In every case, although the participants were supposed to impersonate a fairly large number of animals, the main blessings contained in the bundle were from the thunderbird and night-spirit and the main offerings were made to them. Indeed, there seem to be two separate ceremonies involved, one to the thunder-bird and the other to the night-spirits.

The question that arises with regard to the clan basis of these ceremonial organizations is whether we are to imagine that the ceremonial unit of organization was displaced by the clan unit, or that the ceremony is of comparatively recent origin, let us say at least long after the clan organization had been perfected, and that a number of things combined to determine the acceptance of the clan as a unit of organization, as opposed to the traditional ceremonial one. To the foregoing, we must also add the fact that the Winter feast seems to be related to similar ceremonies of the Central Algonkin, whose influence on the Winnebago must first be determined. If, then, we are not in a position at present to suggest the course of development, there can be no doubt that the content of the ceremony is strictly comparable to that of the religious societies, and that there are hints that the ceremonial unit of organization had begun to assert itself. If this could be definitely established, it would indicate that the clan basis of organization is historically primary. [171]

The clan unit of organization is found in no other Winnebago ceremony, although the specific clan feasts show marked influences radiating from the clan complex. The clan feast is a typical ceremonial complex, both in type of organization

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935
NP12 Winnebago NP12



554 562 582 ries into a family below her's in dignity. The pride originating in birth, is as deeply seated in the hearts of those who are nobly descended, among the natives of the Northwest, as it is among the petty princes of Germany.

625 It is customary for the chiefs to appoint two soldiers, in each village to keep order in it, and they faithfully do so (p. 100).

431 624 In each tribe, some one man acts as a divider, by order of the civil chiefs, and by general consent. Whenever we made the men any presents, of pipes, paints, tobacco, or any thing else, the self same men, if Winnebagoes were the Indians receiving the presents, appeared, took charge of the property, and divided it in the most equitable manner, among all present at the time. They reserved nothing for themselves, generally, but held up their empty hands to show their disinterestedness.

[171] If the Sauks and Foxes received presents, two men, one for each tribe, acted as dividers, and the same individuals always performed the same duty (pp. 100–101).

554 551 614 . . . "The rolling Thunder," "the Yellow Thunder," "the Distant Thunder," &c., are individuals among the Winnebagoes, who possess great weight of character; and that tribe to which belong men, who stand high on their roll of fame, for their distinguished valor in War, for their consummate prudence, experience and wisdom in the national councils, is emphatically called, "the thunder tribe" (p. 124).

114 There are other items appurtenant to Winnebago ethnology in Atwater's work; some to that of the Sauks and Foxes; some to tribes of the upper Mississippi valley in general: there are some acute statements regarding the chronology of the populating of America.

171 174 614 A "turtle" gens does not occur in the lists of Morgan, Dorsey, and Radin, and Radin specifically denies that there is such a Winnebago gens. He also states that almost all informants claimed that the Snake and Fish clans (gentes) were recent to the tribe. However, as special names "go with" fixed gentes, by examining the lists of the signers of the treaties between the [114] Winnebago and the United States, it becomes clear that a member of the [648] Snake gens signed the treaty of August 19th, 1825 as well as the treaty of [551] August 25th, 1828. And a Snake clan exists among the Ponca, Iowa, Oto-Missouri, Quapaw, as well as some non-Siouan tribes.[10] Also it may be observed that among the Osage and Quapaw we have a Fish clan (used rather loosely). So too "Turtle" as the name of a gens (sub-gens) among the Siouan tribes Omaha, Kansa, Quapaw, and Osage,[11] and elsewhere. [551] And Carrymaunee (Karamanu, etc.), "Walking Turtle,"[12] signed more

[10] See the important theoretical discussion by Lowie in American Anthropologist, Vol. 36, 1934, pp. 327–28; cf. also Radin, the Winnebago Tribe, p. 182; Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe (Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology), pp. 38, 39.

[11] Among the Omaha and Osage "the turtle carriers or bearers" and "Turtle-carriers" respectively; "Carries-a-turtle-on-his-back" among the Kansa: observe that according to the above Carrymaunee "carried" a large painted tortoise on his back.

[12] The phonetic restoration is presumably Kéramani; mani means "to walk," as can be seen from old vocabularies, etc., as well as the personal names given by Radin in his The Winnebago Tribe and the Winnebago text by Radin in the Siouan sketch in Handbook of Ameri-

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935
NP12 Winnebago NP12



than one treaty with the United States. Similarly the lists of signers of the 171
treaties of June 3rd, 1816, August 19th, 1825, etc., between the Winnebago 174
and the United States indicate the existence of gentes not in the published
lists, but which have analogues among other Siouan tribes. I feel certain 614
that a study of the names of the signers of treaties between United States [648]
and such Siouan tribes as have distinctive clan-names (and similar non-Siouan tribes) would yield valuable results. And a study of the personal names of such tribes in older writers would also pay. In this connection I may say that from Atwater's book, using this technique, it can be readily determined that the Eagle and Elk gentes were in existence among the Winnebago in addition to those specifically mentioned by him. The treaties furnish a few others, e.g., Earth, Sky. In this connection I may say that it is clear from the names of the signers of the treaty of May 13th, 1816 that at least the following Sauk gentes were in existence: Sturgeon, Eagle, Thunder, Bear, Swan, Wolf, Fox, Partridge, Sea. It is not without interest to note that all these save Partridge and Fox are on Forsyth's list of 1827.[13] If we count Partridge as the equivalent of Grouse, all occur in Jones' list printed in the Handbook of American Indians in the article *Sauk*. Sturgeon, Swan, and Partridge are not in Skinner's list. Sturgeon, Eagle, Sea (= Great Water), Bear, Thunder, Partridge (= Pheasant), Wolf, and Fox occur in Galland's list. Wolf, Bear, Eagle, Sturgeon, Fox, Sea, and Thunder occur in Morgan's list. If we pool M. R. Harrington's two lists we find Thunder, Fox, Wolf, Bear, Swan, Sturgeon, Eagle on them. A knowledge of the names on the tribal rolls from the earliest times would doubtless shed much light on the subject.

It should be mentioned that Radin argues for a priority of village groups, 174
but states that according to all informants each Winnebago village was in-
habited by members of various clans, and that in no case did a village 621
merely include members of the same clan. Observe the contradiction with 614
Atwater's data. 114

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can Indian Languages (Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, 40, Pt. 1). There are equiva- [551]
lents in several Siouan languages. In the Siouan sketch Radin gives kec'ûʼñgegā as a personal name, "the tortoise," and ke'c'ûʼñgɛra as "you, tortoise," and in note 38 of the Winnebago text we are told that ke'c'ûñk or kec'ûʼñgē is a large species of turtles, and that kē also means "turtle." La Flesche gives ke (in my transcription) as the Osage for "turtle, tortoise, terrapin," but Dorsay gives k'e (in my transcription) for both Osage and Quapaw, but ke (in my transcription) for Omaha; k'eya, "tortoise," is given by Deloria for Dakota. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the formation of personal names in Winnebago to be positive whether ra is the pronoun "thou" (vocative; see notes 39 and 46 to Radin's Winnebago text) or whether kera may be an archaic correspondent to Dakota k'eya with the recognized shift of y to r.

[13] They are in his Fox list.

mode. The older women still prefer to wear this type of dress, and very often the ensemble includes moccasins rather than shoes on their feet and a blanket draped about their shoulders. Most of the young women, however, dress very much as white women of their own age. 178

3. Another type of cultural change is found in the Indians modifying some aspect of white culture with elements of their original culture to suit their own needs and tastes. This is best illustrated by the trend that religion has followed among a large proportion of the tribe. Some of the Winnebago who have been enticed away from their old religion, and yet were not satisfied with orthodox forms of Christianity, have adopted the Peyote or Mescal Religion which they prefer to call The Native American Church. This did not originate among the Winnebago, but came in from the southwestern tribes about 50 years ago, and has even undergone changes among the Winnebago group. The Peyote religion is basically Christian, stressing the literal acceptance of the Bible and the strict following of Christ's teachings. It, however, embodies the use of a fairly harmless drug, peyote, which when taken in large enough quantities produces visions, so familiar in Indian religions. The use of a small drum, eagle feathers, and ornate rattles, as well as the burning of cedar leaves are included in the night-long ceremonies. This religion might be considered a transitional form between the so-called pagan religion and Christianity, but though it embodies characteristics of both religions, it appears to have reached a definite stabilized form and will probably undergo few changes in the future. 178 195 [276]

4. We also have change completely within the society from old Indian to new Indian traits. The old Indians tell of an original Winnebago language, very ancient and now almost completely forgotten, which has been replaced by a newer, but still very Indian type of language. In recent years the language has undergone other changes, but this is due to white contact. It is strange that the Winnebago of Wisconsin who have been forced to live in scattered groups and in close contact with whites, have maintained their language to a much greater extent than some of the Wisconsin Chippewa or Me- 178 191 [171]

178 nomini who live on reservations and, it seems logical to as-
191 sume, would be likely to consider themselves more of a cul-
171 tural entity, and so be better equipped to preserve their language. None the less, this does not seem to be the case according to Chippewa and Menomini informants who claim that many of their younger people do not speak the tribal language, whereas a majority of even the smallest children among the Wisconsin Winnebago are bi-lingual.

178 In considering our four types of social change, we might
535 almost add a fifth type, which arises from a reaction against white contact and is a tendency to return to old patterns, as in the case of the revival of the scalp and victory dances which practically died out after the last World War. These dances have come into prominence in the last year or so with the Indian boys again going on the "war-path."

### Cultural Change and Cultural Stability

178 Although we are considering cultural change among the Wisconsin Winnebago, the picture at this point seems rather
182 one-sided without some mention of resistance to cultural change. Despite the constant and long-continued process of change, there is still retained a surprising amount of old Indian culture. Christian missionaries and the Peyote Religion have not managed to do away with the Thunderbirds, Water Spirits, and the rest of the pagan hierarchy. The Medicine Lodge continues as an important factor in the life of many Wisconsin Winnebago. Unfortunately, the writer's data are limited regarding the present number and ages of the adherents to the pagan religion, or as they prefer to be called, **the conservative group.**

182 It is interesting to note that practically all of the Winne-
551 bago, whether from Wisconsin or Nebraska, whether Christian, conservative, or pagan, still refer to their children by ancient religiously determined names. They are used in preference to the Christian names which all Indians now possess. These Indian names for boys and girls are merely an indication of the order of age and sex of the children in any given family, and are not to be confused with clan names which are

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12

# Winnebago Berdache

*By* NANCY OESTREICH LURIE

114 THE following account draws attention to the fact that the berdache role
838 was still evident in Winnebago culture until close to the turn of the cen-
tury, and adds somewhat to the data of certain clear cultural parallels between
[177] this Woodland Siouan group and such Plains Siouan tribes as the Omaha,
[171] Oto, Iowa and Ponca. The description is not complete and certain points are
equivocal. Thus, all of the available ethnographic documentation will be presented so that anyone intending to use the information will be able to assess its value. The description given here agrees, Dr. Raul Radin said in a conversation, with his unpublished Winnebago data.

124 During the course of general field investigations conducted from time to
838 time during the years 1945 to 1947, it was apparent that Winnebago informants in Wisconsin tended to be reticent to discuss the matter of the berdache. Their embarrassment may indicate that knowledge of the subject was withheld. However, even where excellent rapport existed and individuals became sufficiently interested in the topic to question people who might not speak directly to an ethnographer, some details remain uncertain. Furthermore,
[177] while the last berdache died somewhat over fifty years ago, the picture is confused by the former tendency of Winnebago culture to invest given forms of traits with opposite meanings and functions when used under different circumstances. At the present time, the recollections of many informants reveal that they know only half of the total function of given forms, or that they attempt to synthesize features which now appear as contradictory.

[184] While it was noted in 1950 that the Nebraska Winnebago were quite willing to speak of matters that in Wisconsin are still considered sacred or as things to be kept secret from whites, the Nebraska Winnebago simply knew less about older traditions.

838 It was agreed generally that the berdache was a man who had taken on
this role because he had been directed to do so by the moon, a female spirit,
[787] at the time of his vision quest. The berdache dressed as a woman, performed
[82] women's tasks better than any normal woman could perform them, and had
the ability to foretell future events. However, not all Winnebago prophets
[741] were berdaches. One informant mentioned that berdaches sometimes married
other men, but no data were obtained concerning the attitude of the society
[588] toward the husband of a berdache. Most informants felt that the berdache
[554] was at one time a highly honored and respected person, but that the Winne-
177 bago had become ashamed of the custom because the white people thought it
838 was amusing or evil. By the time the last known berdache attempted to ful-
fill the role, his brothers threatened to kill him if he "put on the skirt." This
[626] berdache then affected a combination of male and female clothing, fearing that he would die if he did not at least attempt to follow the directions given him in his vision of the moon.

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12



The Winnebago term for berdache is very uncertain. The last known case in Wisconsin was called dejáŋčowiŋga, usually translated as Blue Lake Woman (dejáŋčowiŋga—dejáŋ: lake or sea; čo: blue; wiŋ: female name ending; ga: name referrent suffix). In Nebraska mention was made of another berdache who had lived in Wisconsin and was called čoranažiŋga or Standing Blue (čoranažiŋga—čo: blue; ra: article; naži: to stand; wiŋ: elided with naži as nažiŋ, female name ending; ga: name referrent suffix). The term šiáŋge was suggested as a general word for berdache by two Wisconsin informants, and it was translated by several people as "a no good," "a eunuch," "an unmanly man." This word was still in common use in Wisconsin in 1947, but was used among young men as an insult or teasing epithet. These young men claimed to know nothing more about the word except that it carried connotations of weakness and effeminateness. 192 838 [195] [578]

The characteristics of the Winnebago berdache agree closely with those reported for the Omaha and Ponca but the word used to designate a berdache in both of these latter tribes was mi$^{a}$-qu-ga, according to Dorsey (378–379). Among the Oglala the berdache had been blessed by a pote wi$^{a}$kte or hermaphroditic buffalo, wi$^{a}$kte being the word for berdache. A certain amount of shame had become attached to the role among these Plains Siouan groups by the time it was reported by Dorsey in 1889 and Wissler in 1912, but Wissler (p. 92) said of the Oglala, "In the old days all the berdaches were very wakan." 171 838

Knowledge of the berdache among the Winnebago was provided in 1946 through a chance conversation with M.M., a woman who was then about thirty years old. Her parents had been the first Christian converts at the Winnebago community near Black River Falls, Wisconsin, and M.M. had once heard her mother mention "Men who dressed as women." When M.M. attempted to question her mother, at the writer's request, for more information about the berdache, the mother, then a woman in her seventies, became very angry and said in Winnebago, "Why did you ask about that? That is something we want to forget and not talk about." 124 838 [797]

Another woman, S.S., a younger sister of Radin's famous informant Crashing Thunder, was next approached and she offered the following account.

> Yes, I used to hear about that, but I don't know much about it. Once there was a man who fasted and he learned that if he dressed like a woman he would be the richest person in the world, but if he wore men's clothes, he die soon. She wore earrings, and bracelets, and necklaces and a shirt like a woman, but his brothers told him . . . her? . . . if he . . . she? . . . put on a skirt they would kill him. There used to be people like that, not just that one. I think šiáŋge is the word for them but I don't know, now it's just a slang word and means a no good. Those people did women's work, and they did it real good, better than even women could. [192]

Later M.M., the original informant, was able to prevail upon her mother to provide more information. Her description included all of the points given above except mention of wealth accruing to the berdache. However, M.M.'s mother added that berdaches had been blessed by the moon and had the gift

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12



According to M.R., a party of Winnebago once went on the warpath and were badly beaten. One man, the only survivor according to his claim, returned to his village. There he recounted his valorous deeds at the side of his companions, and said he had escaped only because the enemy had left him for dead. He was accorded great honor until sometime later another member of the party returned and told how the first man had fled and hidden out in the woods when he saw that the battle was going against the Winnebago. The cowardly and dishonest warrior, on the decision of the police (bear) clan, then had to take on the role of a woman and lived in disgrace the rest of his life. 838 687 [625]

Evidence concerning the berdache was even less definite in Nebraska. G.P., a woman about fifty years old in 1950, mentioned that her mother-in-law once told her of a case which agreed in most details with that of dejáŋčowiŋga, but this individual was called čoranažiŋga and was supposed to have lived in Wisconsin. However, G.S., a man born in 1887, who also told of čoranažiŋga, gave an account of a berdache who was his mother's cousin. G.S.'s mother was Iowa and Oto through her maternal line and the berdache cousin, referred to as "sister," was a parallel cousin of Iowa and Oto descent. However, the description G.S. recounted as having come from his mother is almost identical to that regarding the Winnebago berdache. The cousin had been blessed by the moon, feared death if he disobeyed the moon's directions that he dress and act as a woman, even to giving this as the reason for his behavior when G.S.'s mother once remonstrated with him for being, "a shame to us Indians." 838 124 [626]

An attempt was made to discover whether the Winnebago berdache role for men had a parallel Siouan role of "warrior women." Only one very doubtful account was collected in 1946 from S.S. the Wisconsin informant who provided the first extensive description of dejáŋčowiŋga. 171 838 [124]

Once there was a man, kind of high tone, he had two wives. The older one wanted to keep her husband so she had him marry her younger sister too. They used to do that years ago when they wanted to hold their husbands. Anyway, this man and his gang went off to the Civil War. There was a bad woman in the camp. She was a good looker, but she was bad, and this man took the bad woman with him. During the war one time they ran out of bullets, and this woman got on a horse and went through the enemy lines to a big city and came back with a whole lot of bullets and saved them. Another time she warned them when they were all asleep and the enemy was near. When they came back, she was riding on the horse in front of the man, and the men had all given her presents for saving them. Her waist was just covered with ribbons and the man's two wives cried when they saw it. The people made up a song about her because she was a brave woman and sometimes they still sing it. After that they always called her hinugrosisiŋgra which meant that she laughed aloud like a man, shaking her whole body [hinugrosisiŋgra—hinuk: woman; ro: body; sisiŋk: to shake as with laughter; ra: article; k is voiced when followed by r]. They call those giggling girls that nowadays sometimes. [595]

While the above account probably represents an isolated example of a woman who went to war rather than an accepted type of role, it is apparent that 838

796 out design. There he lay without motion or
575 sign of life, and the dance was resumed
158 around them. After a time he was brought out of this mesmeric or clairvoyant state, a medicine bag was put in his hands and he at once had power to strike any one down as he had been. The person who stayed by the Judge was thus struck down. He felt of his arm and wrist and found them perfectly rigid.

796 They told the Judge before they admitted
575 him to this ceremony that while he was
783 there he must think no evil thought. If he did, his life would be in danger from the spirits. No impure person is admitted to
[841] witness these ceremonies, no woman in the
[843] menstrual period, no woman pregnant or
[273] recently delivered, no intoxicated or intemperate person that is under the influence of liquor is allowed to attend. The proceedings
[756] in the sweat lodge were not seen by him as none but medicine men were allowed there.
796 The ceremonies commenced at 8 in the eve-
575 ning and lasted until day break next morning. The Judge confirms my former opinion that this is purely a religious rite, and a religious organization, having but little to do with the uses of medicine proper. The roots and herbs are one thing, but the ceremonies
[755] and incantations which are the real remedies are quite another. They call it the Spirit Dance, or the Divine Dance. The
[171] Judge informs me that he has witnessed the same thing among the Sauks and Foxes.

[*Winnebago Burial*]

764 He also mentioned the fact that he witnessed the burial of a Winnebago some years ago. He was set upon a natural mound and house made over him, food and some personal articles laid by his side, after which the whole was covered over with earth, ex-
[775] cept a small hole or chimney was kept open from the top down into the house. When

[P. 60 (C)]

764 the Judge asked what this meant they told
775 him that it was for the spirit to pass through in going out and in.

771 He never found among them during the long period of his intercourse any evidence of sun worship, and thinks it fell far short of that in which I agree with him.

115 This morning I had a further conversation with Judge Walker, who is a regular medicine man of the Wyandottes. He says
776 the name of the Spirit of Medicine among
171 the Wyandottes is Mon-ane-tow, who is the same as the Manitou of the Ojibways etc. That this spirit of Medicine is a good spirit etc. He says that the initiations described
796 by Judge Williams are in the presence only
575 of medicine men and women. The people of the tribe are not allowed to be present. That both men and women are members, and are regularly initiated before they can become members. That no oath of secrecy is required, as the Indian knows nothing about oaths, but they initiate on the honor of the man and of the woman, choosing such only as are known to be of good character for integrity. That the Society and its pro-
[753] ceedings are secret, except these ceremonies which medicine men perform on patients for their cure.

796 Walker says that these ceremonies pro-
575 ceed upon the idea that a violent shock of the nervous system, which prostrates it en-
828 tirely will also prostrate or relax the hold of
158 the disease. They know by experience that by fasting and steaming they so arouse and excite a well person as to produce a shock which will throw him to the earth. This is done at the ceremony of initiation which Judge Williams described. It is done by nervous excitement, and Indian faith in these ceremonies, and is repeated over every initiate as a proof of the possession by medicine men of this marvellous power. He

[P.61(A)]

796 says there is no sham about this falling down
575 of the person on the floor in a swoon in the
828 manner described. That this is the precise
158 shock of the system to produce which the fasting and the steaming process is resorted to, and all the other ceremonies of the initiation, including the dance.

755 When a person is sick and incurable by
158 the simple remedies known to the Indians, and the friends become apprehensive for the life of the person, then the medicine men are called in and they go through certain ceremonies, all of which operate upon the nervous system already enfeebled and excited by disease, and tend to bring about that shock or prostration of the nervous system, which when produced is supposed also to relax the hold and power of the disease at the same time. In a word it kills the disease, or breaks the disease, or destroys
[753] the evil spirit then in the body which causes the disease, and then if there is constitutional strength enough left to raise up the body from its utter prostration, the patient recovers.

753 It would seem that they regarded the
755 nervous system or the sensitive part of our
828 nature as the seat of the disease, and addressed their remedies to the sensitive part, that is to the mind rather than to the body, to the spirit rather than to the organs of the
[171] body. The medicine system prevails very generally among our Indian races. In fact it is universal so far as we have found out the customs of the remote tribes.

755 I asked Walker about the cheats prac-
756 ticed by the medicine men upon the credulity of their patients, that is, pretending to take out of a man's back a tooth or a bone. He says that in their practice they want to make money, and the greater the feat they perform the greater the charge they make. Sometimes they charge a horse etc.

[P 61 (B)]
[pp 62-209 not processed]

9: Morgan E-5 (1859) 1959 NP12 Winnebago NP12

115 97. Joseph Williams, born in Pennsylvania in 1801, served as associate justice in Iowa Territory and state. In 1857 he was appointed associate justice of Kansas Territory by President Buchanan; he served until 1861. He made his home in Ft. Scott; died in 1870. For an account of some of Williams' activities in Kansas in the fall of 1859 and 1860, see *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1915–18*, XIV, 295–6, 230; *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1901–02*, VII, 402.

[113]

796 575 98. This is probably one of the earliest accounts of the Winnebago Medicine Dance, performed by a secret society in summer only. Its purpose is to prolong life and to cultivate certain nonmartial virtues. The Winnebago Medicine Dance is closely related to the Algonquian Midéwiwin, to the Dakota "Mystery Dance," and to the Omaha "Pebble Ceremony." See "The Ritual and Significance of the Winnebago Medicine Dance," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XXIV (1911): 149–208, and *The Winnebago Tribe* (Bureau of American Ethnology, 37th Annual Report, 1923), both by Dr. Paul Radin; see also "Winnebago," in *Handbook of American Indians*, edited by Hodge.

[171]

[113]

[p.210]
[pp. 211-233 not processed]

longing to the *midewiwin*. Nor do the two Winnebago say anything 105
about their having been incorporated into a ceremony of their own. 796
Yet some connection there must once have been between these 174
gifts and the beginnings of our Medicine Rite, for otherwise there would have been no conceivable reason for their inclusion.

Since everything else in the Medicine Rite of today, apart from the shooting ritual, is so completely different from the Ojibwa and Menominee *midewiwin*, the only two we know reasonably well, we must assume either that a new ceremony was created then and there with the shooting ritual as its nucleus or that the shooting ritual was incorporated into an older Winnebago ceremony. All the evidence at our disposal points to the latter alternative. We have also to assume that this older ceremony contained shamanistic practices of the type that were characteristic of the Night-spirits' Rite.

That it was not the Night-spirits' Rite itself upon which the 105
Ojibwa shooting ritual was grafted, of that there can be little doubt. 171 ●
Fortunately, we have a clue from a very unexpected source, the 174
Pawnee. These Indians have a ceremony called *The Ceremony of* 796
*the Medicine Men*, where we find the following remarkable resemblances to the Medicine Rite: a shooting ritual which causes the individuals shot to fall prostrate to the ground as if dead and then rise again; the conception that the framework of the lodge consists of snakes; a figure called the sacred woman; the importance of Turtle; a membership possessing occult powers strictly guarded and kept secret from the outside world; a highly elaborate symbolism, etc. Chance must be ruled out here. The only thing we have to decide is how the Winnebago happen to possess a ceremony so similar to that of the distant Pawnee with whom they had practically no contact. Direct borrowing is out of the question.

To me there seems to be only one possible explanation, namely, that the Winnebago and the Pawnee, the Winnebago to a smaller extent, were members of that larger civilization which we mentioned before and which had its roots in Mexico, and of which the Pawnee have preserved the essential traits whereas the Winnebago have preserved only vague memories of it and some special survivals.

Assuming then that the older ceremony upon which the Ojibwa

105 shooting ritual, plus its appurtenances, the otterskin pouch and the
●171 shell, were grafted, was in content very much like the present *Pawnee*
174 *Ceremony of the Medicine Men* and, organizationally, like the
796 Night-spirits Society; let us see now what changes were necessary to have this older ceremony approximate to the present Medicine Rite.

105 First, of course, the meaning of the missile shot into the individual
174 being initiated and into the members of the Rite had to be reinter-
796 preted and its overt shamanistic implications removed. The stimulus for that unquestionably came from the Ojibwa shooting ritual. The linkage of the shooting ritual with the doctrine of reincarnation is, however, something entirely new.

The second transformation came about when the Tear-Pouring ritual was grafted upon this older rite. This last named ritual, apparently, was part of the very elaborate ceremonies connected with the dead although, today, it is not found in the official Four Nights' Wake. What is, however, found there is the myth of the *Journey to Spiritland* which has been taken over *in toto* into the Medicine Rite and subjected to a complete and fundamental reinterpretation. I feel that it is the linkage of these elements from the funeral rites with the older form of the Medicine Rite that brought about its basic transformation and gave us the Rite of today, with its stress on reincarnation and on the doctrine of the Road.

The third new trait requiring an explanation is the role of Earthmaker. He is a very old Winnebago deity and was evidently regarded as the supreme deity before the coming of the Europeans. He seems, in fact, to be the counterpart of the well-known Pawnee supreme deity *Tirawa*. Nevertheless, the influence of Christianity in, at least, unifying his characteristics and functions and accentuating his supremacy over the other deities, as well as the theory that he is the creator of all things, must not be excluded. The association of the two crossed lines with him cannot be accidental, even although the symbol itself is very old and is more specifically connected with the cardinal points.

There is, besides, some semihistorical evidence for indirect Christian influence. In a narrative purporting to be an account of the origin of a well-known French half-breed family among the Winne-

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12
Comanche NO6



C
D
W
171
127
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## APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experience with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.* The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

### SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| + | Element present | ( ) | Exactness of data doubtful |
| — | Element absent | R | Recent development |
| Blank | Information lacking | * | Indicates that a note to the element is appended at the end of the list |

### SOURCES AND COLUMN ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

13 T: Composite picture of cult of thirteen tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes, mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Ote, Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony, HU-RML 4:127–132, 1937, with additions made on list by La Barre, 1938.

K-A: Kiowa-Apache. List filled in and notes supplied by J. Gilbert McAllister from information obtained during ethnographic field work performed 1933–1934 (eleven months) under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago.

Kio: Kiowa. List filled in and notes supplied by Weston La Barre. When returning the list La Barre wrote, "I believe that in peyotism tribal affiliation in this inter-tribal religion is far less important than leadership, i.e., what the particular leader's 'way' is, and from what leader he got his meeting." La Barre did field work in Oklahoma under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology (1935), Yale University, and the American Museum of Natural History.

C
127
128
795

Com: Comanche in Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Kic: Kickapoo in the vicinity of McLeod, Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by John A. Noon, who attended a meeting during the summer of 1932. The Kickapoo leaders recognized that they "followed the Kiowa-Comanche 'way'."

Ab S: Absentee Shawnee of central Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by Erminie W. Voegelin. Meeting attended in 1933. Voegelin reports three forms of the cult among the Absentee: (1) The Kiowa-Comanche form (the form which my list records); said to have been introduced about 1900 from the Kickapoo, who learned it from the Comanche; is the most popular form. (2) Caddo-Delaware variant of the "Wilson way," conducted by Ernest Spybuck. (3) Yuchi "way," conducted by Panther; considered by Voegelin's informants to be distinct from the Kiowa-Comanche version, yet probably only slightly variant. Membership in these forms of the cult does not interfere with participation in older Shawnee religious beliefs and ceremonies. The "Cherokee" or "Loyal" Shawnee in northeastern Oklahoma, however, take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways," which is La Barre's Oto "Christianized" version, and this does teach complete withdrawal from older native ceremonies.

D
127
128
795

De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 3–6).

W
127
128
795

Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

* Data for the Ute and Wasko–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute Peyotism which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936–1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ AD
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12 ●

*Stewart: Washo–Northern Paiute Peyotism*

105[A]

| Element | Comanche | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | H T | K-A | Ho | Cob | Ko | Ab S | De I | De S | Wh | Ko C | Cr I | Cr S | WSB | Ute | Gos | W-P | Tem |
| 1. Staff of authority of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2. "Cane" 3–5 feet long | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + |
| 3. Tufts of hair at top | + | •+ | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | | •– | + | + | •+ | + | + | – | – | + |
| 4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane | + | + | + | + | – | •+ | – | + | – | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + |
| 5. Passed around | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + |
| 6. Always passed between drum and altar | + | (+) | + | | (–) | + | | | | | (+) | (+) | + | + | + | + | |
| 7. Person holding staff leads singing | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 8. Rattle of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 9. Gourd | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 10. Decorated | + | + | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 11. Handle beaded | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 12. Tufts of hair on top | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + |
| 13. Rattle passed around | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 14. Person singing shakes rattle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 15. Individual rattle also used | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | – | + | + |
| 16. Only after midnight | + | | + | + | – | – | + | •– | – | – | + | + | •– | + | – | + | + |
| 17. To accompany singer holding staff | | | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | + | + |
| 18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers) | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | •+ | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + |
| 19. Each feather tied separately | + | + | + | + | (–) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | + | |
| 20. Binding decorated | | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | + | |
| 21. Passed around | + | | – | + | (–) | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + |
| 22. Held with staff while singing | + | | •+ | + | + | – | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 23. Individual fans also used | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 24. Only after midnight | + | | + | – | (+) | – | + | •– | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body | + | + | (+) | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •– | – | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | – | + |
| 27. Used at special midnight ritual | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | – | + |
| 28. At special morning ritual | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | – | + |
| 29. Placed near altar in front of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + |
| 30. Only leader uses whistle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | •– | + | + | – | |

(Continued on next page)

C
D
W
171 ●
795
796
[534]

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12
CW 171 P95 P96 [634] [276]



PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(Continued)

| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ut T | M-A | Kio | Com | Kin | Ab S | Del I | Del S | Win | Na C | Cr I | Cr S | WRB | Uin | Gos | S-W | Tmo |
| 31. Paraphernalia satchel | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer) | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 34. Water drum | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 35. Iron kettle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | + |
| 36. Pottery jar | •+ | | – | – | | – | + | + | | – | – | – | | + | | – | |
| 37. Charcoal in water | + | + | + | + | (–) | + | + | + | | + | + | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | |
| 38. Head of deerskin | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | (+) | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 39. Skin tied on before meeting | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie | + | + | + | + | •– | •– | •+ | – | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 41. 7 stones represent days | | | + | – | | – | – | – | | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | |
| 42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 43. Star significant | + | + | + | | | •(+) | | | | | •+ | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | |
| 44. Skin removed at end of meeting | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + |
| 45. Only one drum used | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 46. Drumstick of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •(+) | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 47. Individual drumsticks also used | + | + | + | + | (–) | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | – | + | |
| 48. Only after midnight | + | | + | + | | •– | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | + | – | + | |
| 49. Drum and drumstick passed around | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 50. Separate drummer accompanies singer | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 51. Drummer usually at right of singer | + | •– | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 52. Only men drum | + | + | + | + | – | •– | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | – | + |
| 53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader | + | + | + | + | • | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 54. Cedar sprinkled on fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 55. Usually by cedarman | + | •– | + | + | + | •– | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 56. Only one bag of cedar used | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | •– | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 57. Tobacco furnished by leader | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | – | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + |
| 58. Rolled in maize husks | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | – | •– | – | + |
| 59. In oak leaves | + | – | + | + | –•(+) | | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | |
| 60. In paper | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – | – | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | |

Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12



| Element | Observers | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ut | Ed | Ma | Cam | Ma | Ab | Di | Ha | Wa | McC | Ci | Ci | Ba | Ho | Go | Ar | Tim |
| 61. Only leader's tobacco used | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | − | + | + | •+ | + | + | (+) | + | + |
| 62. Tobacco lacking from ritual | •(+) | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | •+ | − | − | |
| 63. Peyote furnished by leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •− | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + |
| 64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button" | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| *65. Decorated with white lines | − | − | − | | (−) | | − | − | − | − | − | •− | − | − | − | − | |
| 66. Placed on altar in front of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 67. Is not eaten | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote" | + | + | + | + | (−) | + | + | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | |
| 69. Form cross | + | •+ | (+) | + | | + | + | | | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | | − | |
| 70. Peyote for eating passed around | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •− | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 71. Only leader's used until after midnight | | •+ | + | | (+)• | − | + | •+ | − | | + | •− | •− | +• | (+)• | − | |
| 72. Leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 73. Called chief or peyote chief | + | + | •+ | + | (+)• | + | •+ | •+ | | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | • | + | + |
| 74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 75. Has complete charge of meeting | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 76. Assistants | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 77. 2 assistants | | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | |
| 78. 3 assistants | + | − | + | + | + | − | − | − | + | + | − | + | − | + | + | + | + |
| 79. 4 or more assistants | | − | •− | − | − | + | + | •+ | − | − | + | − | + | − | − | − | |
| 80. Chief drummer | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + |
| 81. Sits at leader's right | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •− | •− | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 82. Drums for leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 83. Drums for each singer in turn | − | − | − | − | − | − | | •+ | •− | − | •+ | •− | •− | •+ | − | •− | •! |
| 84. Cedarman or cedar chief | + | − | + | + | + | •+ | + | − | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 85. Sits at leader's left | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | •− | •− | + | •− | + | + | + | + | + |
| 86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 87. Offers prayers at specified times | + | − | + | − | (−) | + | + | − | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | |
| 88. Fire chief or fire tender | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 89. Sits at north side of entrance | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 90. Starts fire before meeting | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | •+ | | + | + | + | + | |

(Continued on next page)

C
W
171
745
746
[296]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12
Co
Cr
D
W
171
745
746
783
778
106[A]
University of California Publications in Am. Arch. and Eth.

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ut | Ma | Ch | Ar | Kn | Ke | Ed | Dd | Wn | Cd | Lo | Ko | Ma | Ho | Ow | Ar | Tse |
| 91. Replenishes fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 92. Cleans up and arranges ashes | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 93. Conducts people in and out | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | •+ | •+ | + | + | – | + | + |
| 94. All bathe before attending meeting | + | + | •+ | – | | (–) | | •– | | •– | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | •+ | |
| 95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi) | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | + |
| 96. In open | | | •– | – | – | (–) | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | + | – | + | + |
| 97. Entrance or opening toward east | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •– | •– | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + |
| 99. Concave side toward east | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 100. Line on top of moon | + | + | + | + | + | (–) | + | •– | •– | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 101. Fire east of leader's place | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + |
| 102. East of moon | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 103. Sticks placed to form right angle | + | + | + | •– | + | + | + | | – | – | + | •+ | •– | + | + | + | + |
| 104. Old methods used to start fire | | – | •+ | – | | + | + | + | | – | •– | •– | – | + | + | – | |
| 105. 4 sticks on fire | | | (+) | •– | (–) | + | •– | •– | – | •– | + | •+ | – | + | + | + | •– |
| 106. Special fire stick (poker) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | |
| 107. Worshippers congregate outside | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | – | – | •– | •– | – | + | – | + | •– |
| 109. Meeting starts in evening | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | – | + | + | + | + |
| 110. Leader prays before entering meeting | + | + | •+ | + | | •(–) | | – | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + |
| 111. Order of entrance: chief first | + | + | + | + | | + | + | •+ | | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + |
| 112. Chief drummer second | | + | + | + | | + | + | •+ | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 113. Cedarman third | | – | + | + | | – | + | – | | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + |
| 114. Men (before women and children) | | – | + | + | + | (+) | | – | | + | •+ | •– | + | + | + | + | |
| 115. Women and children allowed | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + |
| 116. Fire chief last | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + |
| 118. Men, either side, near leader | + | – | + | + | + | + | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + |
| 119. Women, either side, near entrance | | – | •+ | + | + | + | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | |
| 120. Separation of men and women | | – | – | + | (–) | – | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | •– | •+ | + | – | – | |

*Stewart: Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism* 105[A]

| Element | Occurrence | | |

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ1D
Winnebago NP12
C W 171 P45 P46 [533]



PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 18 T | E-A | Kio | Comm | Kio | Ab 8 | Dn 1 | Dn 2 | Wih | Ne C | Cr 1 | Cr 2 | WR3 | Ute | Gos | W-P | Tum |
| 151. 4 times | + | | + | − | | + | | | | − | •− | + | •− | + | | + | |
| 152. Whistle placed near altar | + | | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | − | + |
| 153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 154. Sings fixed opening song | + | + | + | | | + | + | + | | − | + | + | •+ | + | •+ | − | |
| 155. Holds staff in front of him | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 156. Another beats drum | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 157. Chief drummer beats drum | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 159. Each man sings 4 songs | + | + | + | + | | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left | + | | + | + | | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + |
| 161. Rule against women singing | + | •− | + | + | | (+) | + | + | − | + | + | •− | + | − | •+ | •− | |
| 162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 163. Midnight water call and recess | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •− | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | |
| 164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc. | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent | + | + | + | + | + | | •+ | •− | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 166. Fire replenished | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 167. 4 sticks added | | | | | | | − | | | | (+) | (+) | − | + | | + | |
| 168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 169. Cedar sprinkled on fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | •+ | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | |
| 170. Whistle blown by leader | + | | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | + | •+ | + | + | | − | + |
| 171. 4 times | + | | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | + | + | •+ | + | | − | + |
| 172. Leader sings fixed water song | + | + | + | | | + | + | •− | | | + | + | + | + | + | − | + |
| 173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | − | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 174. By women | | − | − | •+ | •− | − | − | − | − | •+ | − | − | − | − | − | − | |
| 175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket | + | | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire | + | | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •− | |
| 177. Water bearer draws incense to water | + | | + | + | + | •+ | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 178. Water bearer prays, blesses water | + | | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 179. While smoking cigarette | + | | + | + | + | + | | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays | + | | + | + | + | + | | − | − | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + |

| Element | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 181. Water bearer spills water on ground | + | − | + | | + | + | + | − | − | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | |
| 182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | |
| 183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptise") selves with water | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled | + | − | | + | | | − | − | − | + | + | − | + | + | | + | | | |
| 185. Water bearer takes water outside | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water | + | | + | + | + | + | − | − | − | + | +°(+) | | − | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight | + | | + | + | + | ° | − | − | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | |
| 188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | °− | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | |
| 189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | | |
| 190. Prays to cardinal directions | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | |
| 191. Leader incensed upon return | + | | + | | | + | + | − | − | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | |
| 192. Replaces whistle near moon | + | | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | | |
| 193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used | + | | + | + | °+ | − | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible | | °− | °+ | | + | + | + | + | | | °(+) | + | − | +°(+) | | + | + | + | |
| 195. Urged not to eat too much | | | °+ | − | | − | − | − | | − | (+) | + | − | °+ | − | + | − | | |
| 196. Individual prayers aloud, by men | + | + | °+ | + | + | − | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 197. By women | | | °+ | − | °+ | − | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | − | | + | | |
| 198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | | °+ | | + | |
| 199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | |
| 200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start | + | | + | + | + | − | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | | |
| 201. Butt handed to leader | | | + | + | (−) | − | | °+ | − | − | + | °− | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar | | | + | − | (−) | − | | − | − | °− | + | − | + | + | | − | | | |
| 203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar | | | + | − | (−) | − | | − | − | − | + | − | + | + | + | − | | | |
| 204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar | | | + | − | (−) | − | | + | − | + | + | − | + | + | + | − | | | |
| 205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader | | | °+ | + | (−) | − | − | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | °− | | | |
| 206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | °+ | + | + | °+ | + | | + | |
| 207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual) | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | + | °+ | °− | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | − | | + | |
| 208. Water brought in | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | | + | |
| 209. By woman | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °− | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | | + | |

(Concluded on next page)

C W
171
745
796
[576]
[782]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche N06
Wijnebago N P12 ●
C
W
171
●
P85
P86
[264]



PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(Concluded)

| Element | Comanche | | | | | | | | | Ute | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ta | Ma | Ka | Qo | Ka | Ke | Ki | Ka | Ke | Ow | Ou | Uo | Uo | Ute | Ge | Go | Ar | Ta |
| 210. Who blesses water | + | + | + | + | | + | + | •− | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + |
| 211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside | + | + | + | | (+) | + | | − | − | | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + |
| 212. Woman returns immediately with food and water | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •− | •− | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 213. "Peyote breakfast" | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •− | •− | + | •+ | + | + | − | + | + | + | + |
| 214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door) | | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat | | − | + | + | − | − | + | − | − | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | + | •+ | − | •+ |
| 216. Water, rice, fruit, meat | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | •− | − | − | − | − | − | •+ | − | + |
| 217. Water, maize, fruit, candy | | − | − | − | − | •+ | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 218. Water, maize, meat, fruit | | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 219. Parched maize in sweetened water | | + | | + | + | + | + | − | − | − | •+ | + | •+ | + | + | + | − | + |
| 220. Candy also included in the breakfast | + | − | + | − | + | •+ | − | •+ | − | − | •− | − | •+ | − | − | − | − | − |
| 221. Food blessed | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | − | + |
| 222. Wash before eating | | | − | − | − | − | | •+ | | − | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | − | − |
| 223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing | + | | + | + | + | + | | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + |
| 224. Before eating | + | | + | − | | + | | •+ | •+ | − | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + |
| 225. Drum untied | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + |
| 226. Water from drum drunk | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | | − | •− | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + |
| 227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism" | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | | + | + |
| 228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents | + | + | + | − | + | •+ | | | •+ | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + |
| 229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body | + | + | + | + | | − | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | − | + | | − | − |
| 230. All parts of drum passed, handled | + | + | + | + | | − | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | − | + | | − | − |
| 231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief | + | | + | | | + | | | | | | + | + | + | + | + | | + |
| 232. Food passed clockwise | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 233. Replaced on floor between fire and door | | | ? | + | | + | | | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 233a. Order before passing reversed | | | | + | | + | | | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 234. Taken out by fire chief | + | + | •+ | + | | + | | | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + |
| 235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M. | + | + | + | + | + | + | | •− | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 236. Sun greeted | + | | •− | − | (−) | − | | •+ | − | − | − | − | − | + | + | + | + | + |
| 237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke | + | + | •+ | − | − | (−) | + | + | | − | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting | | •− | •+ | + | − | + | | | | + | •− | | | | | | | |

Comanche N06
Wiwebago NP12 ●



| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ute | Ute | Ute | Com | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Kio | Ioi | Ioi | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Tim |
| 239. Feast follows meeting | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible | | − | − | − | − | •− | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | |
| 241. Staff, rattle, and feathers | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 242. Whistle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + |
| 243. "Chief peyote" | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 244. Crescent of earth | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 245. Crescent of ash | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | |
| 246. Fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 247. Fire stick | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | |
| 248. Water | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 249. Person blessing water | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 250. Peyote breakfast | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit) | + | | + | − | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God | + | | + | | (−) | + | + | + | + | | | | + | + | •+ | + | | | |
| 253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 254. Peyote's function is medicinal | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | |
| 255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | | + | |
| 256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication | + | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | | | |
| 257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | | + | + | + | | + | | + | |
| 259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | | + | | | |
| 260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify | + | + | + | + | (+) | •+ | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | | | |
| 261. Modifications permitted by new revelations | + | | + | | | | − | + | | | | | − | + | | •− | | + | |
| 262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble | + | + | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | | | + | + | | + | | | |
| 263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | + | + | | + | | | |
| 264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road | | + | •+ | − | | − | + | + | | + | | | + | + | | + | | + | |
| 265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road | | + | •+ | + | •+ | − | − | + | + | − | | | + | + | •• | + | | | |
| 265a. (See note) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

[N] C W
[276] 746
[577] 745
[143] 111
[120] ●

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06
Winnebago NP12



C
W
171
795
796

## NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Maloof).

3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab S: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celluloid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Prasn). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

4. Ab S: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leaded variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab S: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab S: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Maloof). W-P: Feathers also used.

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 138). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab S: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound together is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06
Winnebago NP12



27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).

28. Gos: See note 265a.

30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin).

32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).

33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget).

35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).

36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).

37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).

38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).

40. Kie: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).

43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).

44. Gos: See note 265a.

46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).

48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).

50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).

51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).

52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).

53. Kie: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).

55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).

56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).

57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).

58. Gos: See note 265a.

59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).

60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).

61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).

62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.

63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wʔgᵊeʔi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin).

Crow NR10
Winnebago NP12



C
W
171
745
796
C
[276]

64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not redecorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 83.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

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Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf).

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre).

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99.

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf).

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 50, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons).

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget).

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon).

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

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Crow NR10

Winnebago NR12



C W 171 795 796

125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

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165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kio: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

CW 171 795 796 W [264] C [264]

Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready, she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants, Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WRS: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WRS: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223-225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WRS: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251-265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154-58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WRS: damê apê (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form nî'mê apê (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Malouf).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

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Crow NQ2D
Winnebago NP12



C
W
171
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796
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264. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre).

265. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kie: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Noon). Gos: Simply called the path of life (Malouf).

265a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940.

### Program: Native American Church

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief.

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting-it of 5-finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.

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Comanche ND6
Winnebago NP12
Ojibwa NT6
Dhegiha NQ12
Iroquois NM9



## APPENDIX III. STATISTICAL DATA

Table 1 below contains information about the communities where peyote meetings were held. The numbers at the left side correspond with those on map 1, and indicate the order in which Indians of different villages accepted peyotism. The spread was irregular and some distant villages received the cult before those near its starting point. The columns concerning tribal affiliation of

TABLE 1

ORDER OF CONVERSION BY COMMUNITIES

| Communities | Tribal affiliation of sponsor of meeting | Tribal affiliation of majority of community | Distance in miles to meetings held previously | Total population of community | Total peyote-cult membership in community |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Schurz | Paiute | Paiute | 0 | 440 | 20 |
| 2. Gardnerville | Washo | Washo | 81 | 281[a] | 81 |
| 3. Wellington | Paiute | Paiute | 33 | 57 | 33 |
| 4. Yerington | Paiute | Paiute | 23 | 142 | 28 |
| 5. Coleville | Paiute | Paiute-Washo | 23 | 74 | 34 |
| 6. Fallon Reservation | Paiute | Paiute | 44 | 146 | 25 |
| 7. Mono Lake | Paiute | Paiute | 55 | 133[b] | 27 |
| 8. Bridgeport | Miwok | Paiute | 20 | 55 | 10 |
| 9. Woodfords | Washo | Washo | 15 | 80 | 11 |
| 10. Carson City | Washo | Washo | 17 | 128 | 5 |
| 11. Nixon | Paiute | Paiute | 61 | 359 | 13 |
| 12. Fallon | Shoshone | Paiute | 15 | 112 | 9 |
| 13. Lake Tahoe | Washo | Washo | 25 | —[c] | |
| 14. Bishop | Paiute | Paiute | 63 | 250 | 4 |
| Total | | | | 2257 | 300 |

[a] Including Douglas County.
[b] Including Benton and Leevining.
[c] Only summer home; population listed under winter-home towns.

sponsors of meetings and of majority of members of the communities reveal that in two instances "foreign" Indians, Miwok and Shoshone, living among Paiute were responsible for first meetings held in their adopted villages. The column headed "Distance in miles to meetings held previously" indicates the extent of travel required of members who attended nearly all of the early meetings and shows the distances that Indian news passes along their grapevine news system. The two

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162
171
795

TABLE 2

PARTICIPATION IN PEYOTE CULT BY TRIBES

(From Newberne, pp. 33-35, unless otherwise indicated; cf. table 8.)

| Tribes | Peyotists (percentage) |
|---|---|
| Arapaho, Cheyenne (Cantonment Agency) | 90 |
| Cheyenne, Arapaho (Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency) | 75 |
| Lower Yanktonai Sioux (Crow Agency) | 2 |
| Sioux (Fort Peck Agency) | 0 |
| Sioux (Fort Totten Agency) | 1 |
| Goshute (Goshute Agency) | 45[a] |
| Potawatomi, Winnebago (Grand Rapids Agency) | 35 |
| Menominee (Keshena Agency) | 3 |
| Iowa, Kickapoo, Sac and Fox (Kickapoo Agency) | 40 |
| Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, etc. (Kiowa Agency) | 75 |

[a] Corrected by letter from A. L. Robertson, Subagent, dated at Ibapah, Utah, September 21, 1938.

(Concluded on next page)

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Comanche NO6
Winnebago NA12
Ojibwa NG6
Dhegiha NQ12
Iroquois NM9

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TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

| Tribes—(*Continued*) | Peyotists (percentage) |
|---|---|
| Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency) | 5 |
| Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency) | 0 |
| Omaha (Omaha Agency) | 90 |
| Little Osage (Osage Agency) | 50 |
| Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency) | 50 |
| Pawnee (Pawnee Agency) | 20 |
| Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency) | 5 |
| Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency) | 60 |
| Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency) | 16 |
| Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency) | 0.7 |
| Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency) | 2 |
| Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency) | 10 |
| North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency) | 7.5 |
| Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency) | 0 |
| Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency) | 5[b] |
| Sioux (Standing Rock Agency) | 0 |
| Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency) | 35 |
| Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency) | 50 |
| Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency) | 90[b] |
| Winnebago (Winnebago Agency) | 38 |
| Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency) | 20 |

[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 26, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate- 000

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

| Categories | 753 Nonpeyotists | 247 Peyotists | 247 Peyotists | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 88 Active | 159 Inactive |
| Prosperous | 5.3 | 5.7 | 10.2 | 3.8 |
| Poor | 3.4 | 4.1 | 3.4 | 4.4 |
| Energetic | 5.4 | 5.6 | 9.0 | 3.8 |
| Lazy | 2.8 | 3.6 | 4.5 | 3.0 |
| Heavy drinkers | 6.6 | 7.7 | 10.2 | 6.3 |
| Never drink | 1.7 | 2.0 | 3.4 | 1.3 |
| Active Christians | 6.0 | 4.4 | 4.5 | 4.4 |
| Shamans | 1.3 | 2.0 | 2.3 | 1.9 |
| Councilmen | 1.0 | 0.8 | 1.1 | 0.6 |
| Mixed-bloods | 13.1 | 10.9 | 5.7 | 13.8 |

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# THE WINNEBAGO TRIBE

PART I

## CHAPTER I

### HISTORY

#### GENERAL REMARKS

At what time the Winnebago entered Wisconsin it is impossible to say. It seems quite reasonable to suppose that they came from the east. If we are right in assuming that they are the builders of the effigy mounds, then we are justified in assigning a certain significance to the distribution of the latter. One of the interesting points of this distribution is that many are found along the shore of Lake Michigan and northward to Two Rivers, that some are found in Rock County, and that they gradually decrease in number as one proceeds north. This would lead us to assume that the Winnebago entered Wisconsin from the south, probably from the southeast. We ought, then, to find effigy mounds in Illinois and, in general, on the route of their probable journey from the east. This is not the case, and it is very difficult to account for their absence unless we assume that all traces of them have disappeared; that the Winnebago first developed their mound-building habit after they had reached Wisconsin; or that the mounds in Illinois are their work (and that of kindred tribes), and finally that the type of mound developed along different lines after they had definitely settled in Wisconsin. It is also possible that since the effigy mounds are undoubtedly closely associated with the clan organization this type of social organization was adopted by the Winnebago only after they entered Wisconsin. 172 174 [131]

There can be no doubt but that the Winnebago and the closely related tribes like the Missouri, Oto, and Iowa represented the second of the Siouan migrations westward. There were probably four of these migrations, as G. F. Will and H. J. Spinden claim, succeeding each other as follows: 174

1. Mandan, Hidatsa, Crow.
2. Iowa, Oto, Missouri, Winnebago.

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# CHAPTER II

## WINNEBAGO ARCHEOLOGY

### General Problems

172 One of the most interesting and important features of the area occupied by the Winnebago is the large number of earth mounds found. That these mounds were made by the Winnebago or the Sioux there seems to be little doubt. The participation of the Sioux in the construction of these earth mounds seems, however, to have been confined entirely to the so-called linear and conical types. The effigy mounds seem to have been the work of the Winnebago exclusively[1] (figs. 2, 3).

The first really serious study of the Wisconsin mounds was made by I. A. Lapham in 1850, and his work must be considered of considerable importance still, by reason of the admirable plats of mounds long since leveled. The next discussion is found in Cyrus Thomas's Report on the Mound Explorations,[2] but he makes no attempt to explain them. Our first accurate knowledge dates from the inception of the Wisconsin Archeologist in 1901. Any attempt to study the archeology of Wisconsin will necessarily have to be based on material there published. An extremely useful and suggestive summary of the data has been made by A. B. Stout. This little pamphlet and that on the Koshkonong region[3] by the same author are of prime importance in the study of Winnebago archeology.

In order to understand the archeology of this region clearly it will be best to say a few words about the regions which were the early habitations of the Winnebago and the tribes that were their immediate neighbors.

[131] The Winnebago, when first found, were inhabiting the southern shore of Green Bay, Wis. Whether, at this time, they already extended farther south and west, it is impossible to say. The tradi-

[1] Cf. Radin, "Some Aspects of Winnebago Archeology," *Amer. Anthropologist*, n. s., vol. 13, no. 4, 1911. Prof. Dixon in his article on "Some Aspects of North American Archeology," *Amer. Anthropologist*, n. s., vol. 13, no. 1, 1913, accepts this conclusion. "The association of the effigy mounds of Wisconsin and the adjacent area with the Winnebago or other Siouan tribes seems now reasonably certain, and one might therefore naturally regard the Serpent mound and the few others of this effigy type in the Ohio Valley as due also to tribes of the same stock," p. 502.

[2] Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 67–93, Washington, 1894.

[3] "Prehistoric Earthworks in Wisconsin," *Ohio Archeological and Historical Quarterly*, vol. XX, no. 1, Columbus, 1911; and "The Archeology of the Lake Koshkonong Region," *Wisconsin Archeologist*, vol. 7, no. 3, 1908.

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The tradi- 101
tions speak only of Green Bay as their original habitat. On the other [173]
shore of Green Bay were the Menominee, who likewise have no recollection of having lived anywhere else. To the northeast, along Door Peninsula, were the Potawatomi, unquestionably intruders, who had come by way of Mackinaw. To the southwest lay the Sauk and Fox, the closely related Kickapoo, and the enigmatic Mascoutin. Finally,

[172]

FIG. 2.—MAP OF WISCONSIN, SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF CIRCULAR MOUNDS.

to the south lay the Miami. Such seems to have been the distribution of the tribes around Green Bay and Lake Michigan at the first advent of the whites. Within 50 years of the landing of Nicollet the places were entirely shifted. Winnebago villages are found scattered 167
all along the Fox River and Lake Winnebago, the Sauk and Fox and 131
Kickapoo are on their way farther south, and the Potawatomi are in possession of the southern shore of Green Bay and the western shore of Lake Michigan. Later still we find the Winnebago extending all

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167 along the Wisconsin River and west of it to the Mississippi, and, at the
131 same time, occupying the territory south of Lake Winnebago through the region of the Four Lakes, the shores of Lake Koshkonong and farther down along the Rock River into Illinois. Their eastern boundary was determined by the Potawatomi.

172 Let us return now to the distribution of the mounds. Of the three kinds of mounds found in Wisconsin, the conical and oval ones are the

FIG. 2.—MAP OF WISCONSIN, SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF EFFIGY MOUNDS.

commonest, and they are met with in practically every county of the State in which records have been made. They have also been found in Minnesota. The so-called effigy mounds, on the other hand, have never been found north of a line drawn through the southern boundary of Lincoln County. They have, however, been found in every area which the Winnebago occupied at one time or another,

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with the exception of the eastern shore of Green Bay and the Fox River. At the same time they have been discovered in fairly large numbers in the counties of Sheboygan, Ozaukee, Washington, Waukesha, Racine, and Kenosha, which, as far as our historical information extends, had never been occupied by the Winnebago. Flint arrow points and pottery shards are found throughout the entire State. The distribution of copper implements has not yet been thoroughly investigated, but the present status of our knowledge has been ably discussed by Charles E. Brown.[4] To judge from the papers of Brown, implements of copper are found pretty generally distributed over the State, although certain objects seem to be found in greater abundance in some places than in others. 172

There are three types of mounds in Wisconsin and the territory immediately adjacent to it the effigy, the linear, and the intaglio. All of these have been subjected to a variety of explanations at the hands of archeologists, from Lapham's time to our own. The cardinal error in all their attempts at explanation has perhaps been the assumption that the mounds were necessarily of great antiquity. For a long time it was not considered likely that the present inhabitants of the region, the Winnebago or their ancestors, had had anything to do with their erection. As soon, however, as systematic inquiries had been made among living Winnebago it was discovered that not only were they able to give more or less reasonable explanations of the uses of most of the mounds, but a number of the older people claimed to have distinct recollections of the erection of some of them. In obtaining notes on social organization the writer was told incidentally that it had been customary not very long ago to erect near the habitation of each clan an effigy of their clan animal. Subsequently, upon a more systematic inquiry, it was discovered that not only were such effigy mounds erected near clan habitations, but also on every plantation owned by a certain clan. In other words, these effigy mounds were, to all intents and purposes, property marks. Similar effigies are found in the porcupine quillwork, on the war bundles, and on the woven bags still used by the Winnebago in Wisconsin. This interpretation has been so fully corroborated that there can no longer be any possible doubt about it. The age of the mounds thus diminishes considerably. Of course some may have been erected long ago, but it is quite evident that the effigy mounds found near the Mississippi must have been erected during the eighteenth century, as the Winnebago did not reach this region before that time. [423 531]

In connection with the effigy mounds two things need explanation — namely, why there are no mounds of this type near Red Banks, Green Bay, and why there are so many directly south of this region along

[4] "The Native Copper Implements of Wisconsin," in Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 3, no. 2; and "The Native Copper Ornaments of Wisconsin," ibid., vol. 3, no. 3, 1904.

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172 the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, a territory in which the Winnebago have no recollection of ever having lived. The first question is very difficult to answer. There is always the possibility that some mounds may yet be discovered and again it is possible that all have been leveled considerably. The apparent persistency with which the Winnebago held to the custom of mound building during their forced migration since the eighteenth century, even when they lived in [174] places for only a short time, and the absence of any mounds in their legendary home, suggest the possibility that they never lived permanently near Green Bay.[5] This inference has not been drawn from a study of the archeological but from a study of the historical sources, by Mr. P. V. Lawson.[6] In this paper the writer tries to prove that all the old sources point to Doty Island situated in Fox River, at the foot of Lake Winnebago, as the place where Nicollet first met the Winnebago. Whatever the merits of the case may be, it is certain that, according to the Winnebago themselves, their original home was Green Bay. Into this tradition many legendary details have, of course, been woven, and it seems to us that the presumption of evidence favors Green Bay, although the complete absence of what seems to have been such a characteristic feature of Winnebago culture as effigy mounds suggests a possibility that the Green Bay settlement represented just the northernmost extension of the tribe. The large settlements found along Lake Winnebago so soon after Nicollet's landing make it reasonably certain that the Winnebago had been there before his arrival in Wisconsin.

We will also have to assume that the Winnebago erected the effigy mounds along the western shore of Lake Michigan, in an area that, since the coming of the whites, has been occupied successively by the Miami and Potawatomi. This would indicate that the Winnebago [174] originally came in a compact mass from the south. They, however, have no recollection of this fact and it must indeed have taken place a long time ago. This is, of course, only an hypothesis.

172 The effigy mounds are unquestionably supposed to represent the 178 eponymous clan animals of the Winnebago. It seems, however, as if three clan animals were never represented--namely, the wolf, the buffalo, and the fish. It is possible that the mound found near the asylum grounds at Madison, Wis., is intended to represent a wolf, but, even if this could be established, it would not explain the apparent absence of any more examples of one of the most important Winnebago clans.

[5] The absence of any mention of them in early records has no significance, for even in the nineteenth century, in regions where it seems incredible that they should have escaped notice, no mention is ever made of them by travelers.

[6] "The Habitat of the Winnebago," in the Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1908. Mr. A. C. Neville in a previous paper published in the Proceedings of 1906, sought to establish the identical a Green Bay home from the same data.

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There are a large number of effigies that, for want of a better name, most Wisconsin archeologists have called "turtle" mounds. No explanations can be offered of these peculiar effigies unless they are attempts to picture fish or are altered water-spirit mounds. The Winnebago had no turtle clan, but the turtle plays an important part in their mythology. 172 825 [614]

Perhaps the most peculiar effigy mounds are the famous "Man" mounds, of which only two examples are in existence, and the so-called "intaglios." Good descriptions of both types have been given.[1] 172

The two "Man" mounds have generally been regarded as inexplicable or connected with some prehistoric rite, and it seemed useless to attempt any explanation. As there seemed to be no reason why these mounds might not fall into the same category as the clan mounds, the writer took the opportunity of inquiring about them among the older Winnebago. A number of the people asked knew nothing about them, but, fortunately, two very old members of the tribe interpreted them, as soon as they were described, as representations of the Warrior or Hawk clan. As this clan belonged to the Bird phratry, no one had ever looked for any but bird emblems. [614 615]

No information has been obtained from living Winnebago that could throw any light on the "intaglio" mounds. We wish, however, to hazard a suggestion as to their possible meaning. "The intaglio effigies," to quote Mr. Brown, "may be described as being the reverse of the ordinary effigy mounds. They are excavated out of the soil instead of erected upon it, the earth removed from the shallow excavation being heaped up with care along the edges, giving form and prominence to the animal shapes depicted."[2] The Winnebago frequently placed symbols referring to water deities under water, and, as 10 of the 12 intaglios that have been described belong unquestionably to the Water-spirit clan, it may have been customary to keep these "intaglios" filled with water. The discovery of two supposedly Bear "intaglios" militates against this suggestion. However, according to the Bear clan legends, the ancestors of that clan came from the water, as did likewise those of the Wolf and Buffalo clans. [776 614] [614]

We now come to the most unsatisfactory problem of our area—namely, the nature and significance of the linear mounds. The various types have been best described by Mr. A. B. Stout and we will do best to quote him *in extenso*:

The principal classes of linear mounds are as follows:

The pure linear type is a straight wall-like mound of uniform width and height. They are usually about 2½ feet in height and from 10 to 20 feet in width. Some are so

[1] "The Preservation of the Man Mound," in vol. 7, no. 4, of the Wisconsin Archeologist, and "The Intaglio Mounds of Wisconsin," in vol 8, no. 1, of the same journal, both papers by C. Brown.

[2] Cf. Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 8, no. 1, p. 6.

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172 short that they approach the oval and platform mound types, while the longest are over 900 feet in length.

The straight pointed linear is usually of considerable length and differs from the pure linear as given above in having one end tapering to a long drawn out point. . . .

Club-shaped linears are frequently found . . . . and kidney-shaped linears are not wanting. . . .

The various linear types described above are sometimes modified by an enlargement at one end. . . . This ranges from a low, flattened enlargement to a roundel, well built conical mound. Various projections or appendages to some of the linear forms . . . give figures that shade toward effigies proper. These types of linear mounds are mingled in the mound groups as shown in the various group plats. . .

Besides the types already discussed there are peculiar combinations and composite mounds which do not admit of any rational explanation.[3]

Many explanations have been given by investigators and, for that matter, by Indians themselves, of the significance of these linear mounds. Not only is it necessary to account for the peculiar and manifold shapes, but for the equally strange combinations into which they have entered. With regard to the latter type, Mr. Stout refuses even to suggest an interpretation. He, however, takes a determined stand with regard to the linear mounds proper and interprets them as having been constructed for the purpose of symbolizing inanimate things, and consequently as really conventionalized effigies. This seems to him the only satisfactory explanation. "It is evident," he says, "that there are intermediate or transitional forms between the linears and the pure effigy types with which they are mingled."[4] He admits the existence of linear mounds extending westward into Minnesota and Manitoba, far beyond the limits of the effigy type, but he does not believe it necessary either to regard these latter as effigies or to change his interpretation of the significance of the former. Mr. Stout's interpretation is indeed a purely arbitrary one. Whereas his identification of the effigy mounds was based upon information obtained directly from some Winnebago Indians, that of the linear is based upon what he thought was the necessity of the case.

Inquiries made among the Winnebago of Wisconsin by the writer brought out the fact that the Indians were unanimous in claiming their forefathers as the authors of the mounds, but they were not at all unanimous as to their significance. By far the largest number of individuals, however, insisted that these linears were defensive works behind which they dodged during battle. These must not be confused with anything in the nature of breastworks or fortifications. The Indians claimed that these mounds ought to be found in great [648] numbers along Lake Koshkonong, because it was there that a terrific struggle had once been waged by the Winnebago against one of

[3] Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly, Vol. XX, no. 1, Jan., 1911, pp. 27-28.
[4] Ibid., pp. 30-31.

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their hereditary enemies. As a matter of fact, according to Mr. Stout, in the small area of 31 square miles around the lake, no less than 481 linear mounds have been found, and, if we take into consideration the fact that but 50 miles to the northwest, in the Sauk County area, 734 were found, we have within a radius of 231 square miles an enormous number of linear mounds. Whether, however, this has anything to do with the statements of the Indians mentioned above is very doubtful. When the writer called the Indians' attention to the fact that structures that were so low could hardly serve as an adequate protection against arrows they retorted by saying that the Indians did not stand up when attacked but lay stretched on the ground behind the mounds. [72] [48]

The same two areas that yielded such a large number of linear mounds were also rich in effigy and conical mounds, containing 225 of the former and 646 of the latter. The conclusion is thus forced upon us that we have here the seat of a large number of Winnebago settlements. The linear mounds may therefore be said to be characteristic features of certain villages. A similarly large number of linear mounds seems to exist in Crawford County, according to the investigations of Lapham. It is possible that a continuation of thorough and systematic studies like those made by Mr. Stout in Sauk County and Lake Koshkonong will bring to light many such linear mound areas closely associated with village sites. [361]

With regard to the Winnebago interpretation given above it might be said that we know of numerous battles that occurred both along Lake Koshkonong and the Mississippi, and that it would require no manipulation of the facts to accept the Indians' explanation. It might, nevertheless, justifiably be asked why these peculiar shapes? They can hardly have had any importance in warfare.

As opposed to the view advanced above, various interpretations have been given at different times. Peet regarded the linear mounds as game drives, but this explanation seems to have been quite arbitrary. At least we know of no facts that were brought forth in its defense.

Although the interpretation that we were here dealing with defensive structures was by far the most common, two other explanations were obtained, one to the effect that the linear mounds were the bases of lodges and the other that some, at least, were snake effigies. It is impossible to say anything about the latter contention, although there may be more in it than is suspected. The other explanation, even though they had a special name for the projections that are often found at one end of the linears (*natci*, or wood houses), must be accepted with caution. The enormous length of some of the linears hardly seems to support such an assump-

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172 tion. The Winnebago themselves claimed that the reason lodges were built upon mounds was because they could thus shed water most easily.

The conical mounds were unquestionably used for purposes of burial. Whether, however, they were always constructed with that particular object in view may be seriously doubted, for in some cases the burials seem to represent clear evidences of being intrusive in character. A few Indians insisted that some of the conical mounds were used as platforms from which to address an audience; that some were "stations" in the game of lacrosse, and that some were bases of lodges.

The composite type of mound, characterized by the union of a conical and a linear or by the union of a number of each, was interpreted by the Winnebago questioned as lodge bases connected with one another, the conical mound being the base of the lodge and the "linear" acting as a sort of connecting passageway.

[14] We mentioned before that Mr. Stout maintains the view that the linear are in reality conventionalized effigy mounds. Our main objection to such an interpretation would be that conventionalization is a method of artistic expression exceedingly rare among the Winnebago. Had it been common it would certainly have been found in use in their bead and quill work or in their woven bags. There is a possibility that some of the linears may be either very crudely constructed effigy mounds or that they may represent effigy mounds that have been changed through the influences of weather and general climatic conditions, as well as, to a smaller extent, by human hands, factors that have been neglected altogether too much in this connection, especially in the interpretation of what appear to be anomalies. From this point of view, it would be suggestive to compare some of the so-called "turtle" effigies with the water-spirit or "panther" type, on the one hand, and with the linears on the other. It is perhaps such "transitional" forms that have led Mr. Stout to postulate that all linears are effigies.

Summing up, we might say that the linears may be either effigies, in part representing a snake, or they may be, in part, altered or mutilated or crude effigies; or they may be the bases of lodges. We have the authority of a number of Indians that some are snake effigies. The interpretation that some are altered or mutilated has never been confirmed by the Indians themselves. Finally, that some of them are the bases of lodges is the statement of a large number of Indians, but it must await further evidence before it can be accepted.

That some of the mounds found in the Winnebago territory antedate, in part, the coming of the whites, and can consequently be regarded as constituting an archeological problem, there can hardly be any doubt. Nevertheless, many of them have been erected since

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Nicollet's time, some even within the recollection of Winnebago still living. All were unquestionably erected by the Winnebago, and since there is no reason for believing that this tribe entered Wisconsin many centuries before the first appearance of Europeans in America, it is quite erroneous to state, as Mr. Stout does, that the evidence at hand justifies us in dividing the occupancy of Wisconsin into two principal periods, the effigy mound-building era and the time that has elapsed since that period. 172 [114]

The use of copper by the Winnebago prior to their contact with Europeans is another of the rather baffling questions connected with Winnebago archeology. There are references to its use in the myth of the Twins, but the sections of the myth where it is mentioned show marked evidences of European influence and can hardly be accepted as reflecting the original mode of life of the Winnebago. Copper is found in a number of mounds, but we have no way of determining whether these mounds are pre-Columbian or not. [173] [177]

In all likelihood, almost all the copper found in Wisconsin comes from the original copper workings at Isle Royale, Keweenaw, Ontonagon, and elsewhere, in the Lake Superior district. "A provisional description of the territory in which the greatest number of such artifacts have been recovered up to the present time may be given as extending from about the middle of Milwaukee County, northward along the west shore of Lake Michigan to Door County, thence westward to the Wisconsin River or slightly beyond, thence southward along this stream to Dane County and eastward to Milwaukee County, the starting point. Embraced within this territory are the extensive lake shore village sites, from which thousands of articles have already been recovered, and certain well-known sites in Green Lake and adjoining counties, the Rush Lake and similarly productive regions."[11] [316]

The region thus described embraces the Winnebago territory and that subsequently occupied by the Central Algonquian tribes. It does not follow the line of Winnebago migrations farther than the Wisconsin River to the west or farther than the southern boundary of Dane County to the south or southwest. As far as the writer knows no one has ever been able to obtain any information from the Winnebago that would in any manner connect them with the authorship of the copper implements found associated with their old village sites. All Indians questioned denied that their ancestors had ever used copper before the arrival of the early French traders. For the Winnebago, it seems to the writer, the problem connected with the occurrence of copper implements is not whether the Winnebago made them, but how they came to obtain them. The solution of this problem would be immensely facilitated if we had accurate knowledge [177]

[11] Brown, in Pa., Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 2, no. 2, p. 60.

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172 of the distribution of copper among the Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo, and if we were in a position to tell whether or not these tribes had copper before their arrival in Wisconsin. We might then be in a better position to decide whether the Winnebago obtained their copper from these tribes or from some northern tribe, presumably the Potawatomi or Menominee. It is generally supposed that they actually did obtain their copper implements through the intermediation of these two last-mentioned tribes, although there is no really conclusive evidence for it. That opportunities for their transmission through the Menominee or Potawatomi were plentiful is unquestioned, and the only problem is whether the systematic exchange was not conditioned by the appearance of the white traders.

The last problem connected with Winnebago archeology is the authorship of the numerous flint arrowheads. They are found all over Wisconsin, in every nook and corner of Winnebago territory, in every stage of manufacture, and yet the Winnebago of to-day regard them as having been made by some other tribe. The most common explanation of their origin is the legendary one that they were made by worms. In the few cases where the old men were of [173 825 776] a different opinion, the writer was assured that they were the "bones" of the water-spirits, and consequently holy. Numerous myths speak of them in connection with the water-spirit. The Indians admit that they had at times used them as arrow points, but insist that in every case they were found in the earth; that in fact people were generally blessed with them. Mr. Skinner informs me that the Menominee, on the other hand, remember very well how they were made. Among the Winnebago, until recently, three kinds of arrow points were in use: one, properly not an arrow point at all but simply a sharpened arrow, the second consisting of sharpened portions of pieces of antlers, and the third consisting of a turtle claw that had been softened and straightened. It has generally been maintained that the presence of regular "quarries" absolutely clinched the hypothesis of a Winnebago origin for the flint arrow points, but it seems to us that we would first have to prove that in every case where such quarries are found no tribe but the Winnebago had ever occupied that territory, because had any Algonquian tribe been there they might be held as much responsible for these quarries as the Winnebago. That they were not used within the recollection of the oldest men among the Winnebago there can be no doubt, because this question was repeatedly put to them, with negative results.

It seems best, therefore, to attach some significance to current belief as to the origin of the flint arrow points and to assume for the present that they were either the work of the prehistoric ancestors of the Winnebago or that of some tribe that had occupied the terri-

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tory before them; or—but this is extremely unlikely—that they were all of Algonquian origin. 172

### Implements of Stone and Other Materials

As pointed out before, we ought not to expect to find much strictly archeological data relating to the Winnebago in their Wisconsin habitat. As, however, they probably reached this habitat before the discovery of America, some of the archeological finds may easily go back that far. Unfortunately we have no way of determining, even approximately, the age of the artifacts.

We will now confine ourselves to a description of the more important types of artifacts and remains found on old Winnebago sites without going into the question of their respective age.

Implements and utensils were made of stone, clay, shell, bone, wood, antlers, and turtle claws (pl. 10). According to information obtained from the present Winnebago, which is supported by the testimony of the myths and tales, but few objects were made of stone. [411 324] The most important of these was the stone hatchet. It may even be questioned whether the Winnebago originally made these, for they are given a supernatural origin by those few Winnebago who mentioned their existence, and it has been the author's experience that objects to which a supernatural origin is ascribed are generally either of recent origin or have been borrowed. None of the myths or tales even mention their existence. Nevertheless a large number of stone implements, most of them presumably stone hatchets, has been found at Doty Island, near Menasha, Wis. (pl. 11), which had at one time been one of their principal village sites. It is quite probable that the Winnebago obtained most of these from the neighboring Algonquian [439] tribes who were well known for their skill in working stone.

### Copper Implements

The Winnebago are known to have used copper implements in fairly great abundance, the only question being whether they were the original makers of these objects. We do not think they were, and base our opinion on the answers given by present-day Indians and the total absence of their mention in the myths. Both iron and presumably copper are mentioned in certain myths, but these passages are clearly of European origin. 172 325 [177]

Practically all of our knowledge of the nature and distribution of copper objects in Wisconsin has been conveniently summarized in Mr. C. E. Brown's paper entitled "The native copper implements of Wisconsin,"[70] and all that we mention here is taken from this little monograph.

[70] The Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 3, no. 2.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



172 412 325 Following Brown's classification, we note the following copper objects in Wisconsin: Axes or hatchets (the most common), chisels, "spuds," gouges, spikes, spatulas, knives, spear and arrow points, harpoon points, pikes and punches, awls and drills, spikes, needles, and fishhooks.

The most important types of axes were the following: Those oblong in outline, with edges nearly parallel; those with straight edges and tapering, widest toward the cutting edge and becoming narrower toward the head. The head itself may be either flattened, rounded, or roundly pointed. This is the most common type found. The third type, according to Brown, resembles the second, "with the exception that the margin at the edges is slightly but distinctly elevated, thus giving a slightly depressed or concave surface in the center and from end to end on one or both broad faces of the ax. In some examples this margin is fully one-half inch in width at or near the middle."[33]

Three principal types of chisels were found: Those broadest at the cutting edge, with edges tapering gradually from this cutting edge to the head; those of nearly uniform width with straight parallel edges; and those with a more or less prominent median ridge.

According to Brown there can be no doubt as to their use. "It probably included the hollowing out of wooden canoes, troughs, and vessels . . ."[34]

Knives are quite common, there being two principal types one with a straight back and oblique, curved, or straight cutting edge; and another distinguished from the latter by a greater breadth of its broad curved blade and terminating in a broadly rounded point.

Spear and arrow points are found in great profusion and fall into many types: The leaf-shaped, the stemmed and flat, the ridged, the beveled, the eyed, the notched, the toothed, the spatula-shaped, the short-stemmed, the barbed or pronged, the conical, the rolled socketed, and the ridged socketed.

### Earthworks and Mounds

172 *Aztalan.*—Apart from the mounds there is one very famous earthwork in Wisconsin called Aztalan (pl. 12) which has for many decades puzzled archeologists. We will not enter into any of the numerous explanations given at different times by observers, but will confine ourselves exclusively to quoting the rather clear description given by Mr. G. A. West:[35]

The inclosure and associated earthworks at Aztalan, on the Crawfish River in Jefferson County, have long been considered among the most interesting and important

[33] The Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 2, no. 2, p. 62.
[34] Ibid., p. 63.
[35] "The Indian earthwork of Wisconsin antiquities," Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 209-222.

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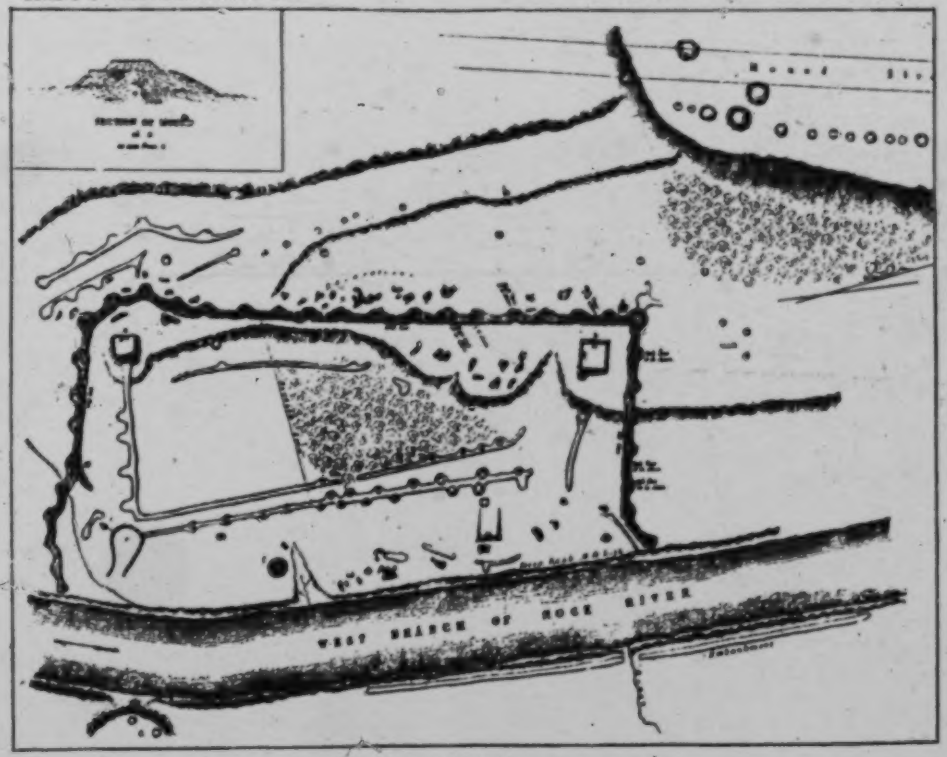


AZTALAN
(After Lapham)

[Facing p. 88(D)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

I:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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of the aboriginal monuments of Wisconsin. The inclosure was first noticed by the government surveyor. In 1837 a hasty survey was made by N. F. Hyer, who afterwards published a brief description. . . . In 1850 Lapham made a careful survey of Aztalan. . . and in 1855 published a description illustrated with several fine plates and figures in his "Antiquities of Wisconsin." . . .

This interesting inclosure, now almost obliterated by many years of cultivation, may be briefly described as being in the shape of an irregular parallelogram, lacking one of the long sides which is supplied by the bank of the Crawfish which forms its eastern boundary. It is reported to contain 17½ acres of land. The length of the north wall Lapham gives as 831, the west as 1,119, and the south as 700 feet. The width is given as about 22 feet and the height at from 1 to 5 feet. Along the outer edge of its entire length, at somewhat regular distances, were rounded projections which have been frequently referred to as "buttresses or bastions," but which Lapham determined "were never designed for either of the purposes indicated by those names."

"The distance from one to another varies from 41 to 95 feet, scarcely any two of them being exactly alike. Their mean distance apart is 82 feet. On the north wall and on most of the west wall they have the same height as the connecting ridge and at a little distance resemble a simple row of mounds.

"On the inner wall, opposite many of these mounds (projections), is a slight depression or sinus; possibly the remains of a sloping way by which the wall was ascended from within the inclosure."—Lapham, Antiquities, 43.

Within the wall at the northwest corner of the inclosure was a rectangular truncated pyramidal mound, its level top measuring 60 by 63 feet. At its southeast corner was a sloping ascent. At the southwest corner, also within the wall, was a square, truncated mound, the level area on its top being 53 feet wide on the west side, it being originally in all probability a square of this size. Lapham's figure shows the sides of the mound rising in two terraces to the top. There appeared to be a sloping way leading down from its top toward the east. It was the highest earthwork within the wall, which it overlooked. These two mounds he judged to have been the probable foundations of buildings or of other structures of perishable materials. From the eastern side of the last-mentioned mound a line of wall with a number of projections similar to those on the wall of the inclosure extended about two-thirds of the way to the river, where it angled and proceeded in a northwesterly direction, being broken near its middle to within about 250 feet of the north wall. Beginning near the angle and on the east side of and paralleling this wall for its entire length was a second line of wall with projections distributed at various distances along its sides.

Within the inclosure were also a number of excavations, conical mounds, embankments, and other earthworks, some of which our present knowledge enables us to identify as very probably effigy or emblematic mounds.

Opposite the southwestern angle of the wall of the inclosure were several embankments also with projections along their sides. Scattered at intervals along the entire front of the west wall were a considerable number of excavations irregular in outline and of different sizes from which some of the earth used in the construction of the wall was most probably taken.

A short distance west of these, and also extending along the front of the wall, is a long mound of the familiar tapering effigy type, an irregular line of conical mounds, and a single linear mound. Several hundred feet northwest of the inclosure on the higher ground was a double line of 60 or more conical mounds of different sizes, extending from west of the present Aztalan road across the road and in a general northerly direction into the present village of Aztalan. A small number of the more prominent of these can still be seen along the road.

On the east bank of the Crawfish opposite the inclosure were two long earthen embankments and a group of conical mounds. The larger of the two embankments

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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172 Lapham's plat shows to have been about 660 feet in length and probably 18 feet in width.

## Intaglio Mounds

The intaglio mounds (pl. 13) are clearly the reverse of effigy mounds. They were discovered by Lapham 60 years or more ago and since that time no others have been found. Lapham himself located nine of them, all associated with earthworks, at Milwaukee, Pewaukee, Theresa, and Fort Atkinson. At about the same time

FIG. 4.—EFFIGY MOUNDS (PANTHER OR WATER-SPIRIT TYPE). FORKS OF THE MANITOWOC RIVER, CALUMET COUNTY, WIS.

Mr. W. H. Canfield located two near the earthworks at Baraboo. Those found by Lapham are undoubtedly intended to represent what most Wisconsin archeologists call the "panther," but which the Winnebago call the water-spirit (*wakdjeri*) (fig. 4), while those found by Canfield are probably intended to represent the bear (fig. 5).

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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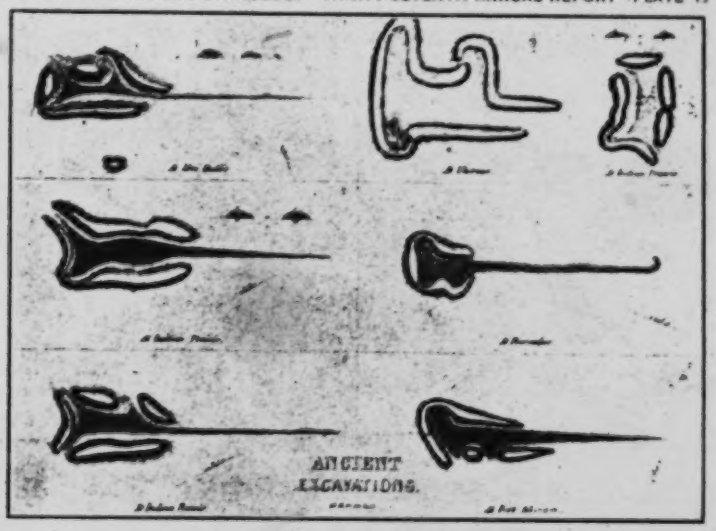


WISCONSIN INTAGLIOS
(After Lapham)

[Facing p. 90 (A)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



The Fort Atkinson intaglio is the only one now in existence. 172 "Its greatest depth (at the middle of the body) is slightly over 2 feet. The great tail of the animal reaches to within about 25 feet of a fine large conical burial mound."[18]

## Conical Mounds

These are found all over the territory once occupied by the Winnebago, but we know definitely that the Central Algonquian tribes also erected them. In the following section we will describe but one group of these mounds found on territory formerly inhabited by the Winnebago and which was never, or only for a very short time, occupied by other tribes (pl. 14).

Fig. 5.—Bear effigy mound, Madison, Wis.

This interesting group was located in Angelo Township, Juneau County, and is known as Mound Prairie, West Group (Fig. 6). Twelve mounds are preserved there with the following dimensions:

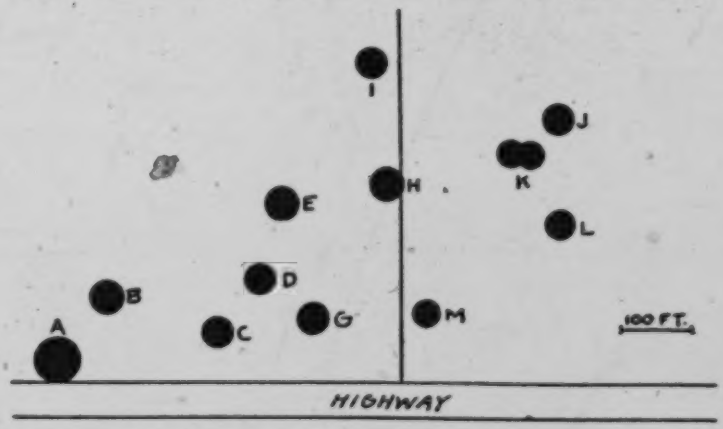


Fig. 6.—Burial mounds, upper Baraboo valley, Wis.

| | |
|---|---|
| A 53 feet in diameter. | H 46 feet in diameter. |
| B 48 feet in diameter. | I 45 feet in diameter. |
| C 48 feet in diameter. | J 42 feet in diameter. |
| D 45 feet in diameter. | K 65 by 30 feet. |
| E 44 feet in diameter. | L 46 feet in diameter. |
| G 48 feet in diameter. | M 38 feet in diameter. |

[18] C. E. Brown, "The Intaglio Mounds of Wisconsin," Wisconsin Archaeologist, vol. 9, no. 1, p. 9.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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a. BURIAL IN A MOUND AT BORCHER'S BEACH

(From Wisconsin Archeologist)

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b. CONICAL MOUND, CUTLER PARK, WAUKESHA, WIS.

[Facing p. 91 (A)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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172 As a rule, whenever the conical mounds represent the work of the Winnebago they are always found accompanied by linear and effigy mounds. At Lake Koshkonong, out of a total of 481 mounds 309 are conical. A similar proportion is found in other groups. Little has ever been found in them except burials and there seems little doubt that the vast majority of them were always used for this purpose. (Pls. 15–17; fig. 7.)

FIG. 7.—BURIAL MOUNDS IN A GROUP AT RICE LAKE, RUSK COUNTY, WIS.

In a number of places conical mounds are joined to linear mounds or to other structures, often producing irregular figures. Mr. A. B. Stout classifies them as belonging in general to three types. The commonest of these combinations are those called by Mr. Stout the dumb-bell and tadpole type (fig. 8).

## LINEAR MOUNDS

Linear mounds, like conical mounds, are found all over the territory once occupied by the Winnebago. What purpose they could have served is not definitely known, although the modern Winnebago

[Text continues on p. 98.—Analyst]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NPI2 Winnebago NPI2

A SERIES OF BURIAL MOUNDS
(Aztalan, Jefferson County)

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[Facing p. 92 (A)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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STONE CHAMBER IN BURIAL MOUND, BUFFALO LAKE, MARQUETTE COUNTY, WIS.
(From Wisconsin Archeologist)

[Facing p. 92(B)]

ZAHN MOUND, CALUMET COUNTY, WIS.

(From Wisconsin Archeologist)

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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[Facing p. 92(c)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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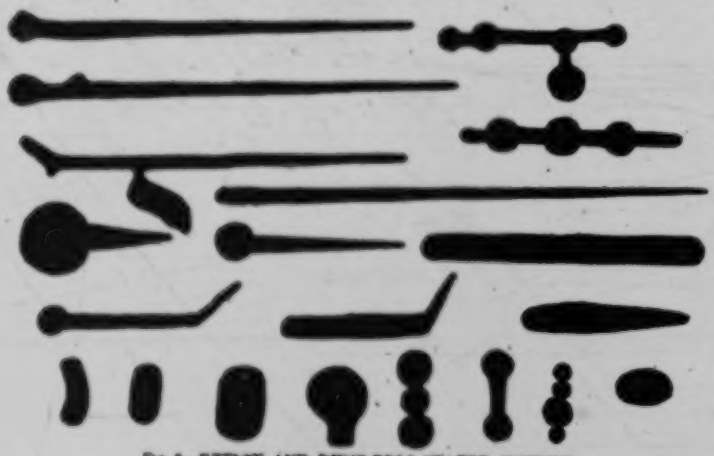

FIG. 8.—EFFIGY AND DUMB-BELL-SHAPED MOUNDS.

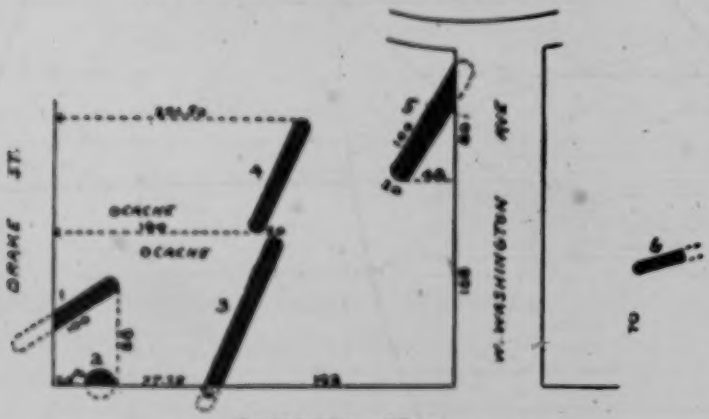


FIG. 9.—LINEAR MOUNDS AT MADISON, WIS.

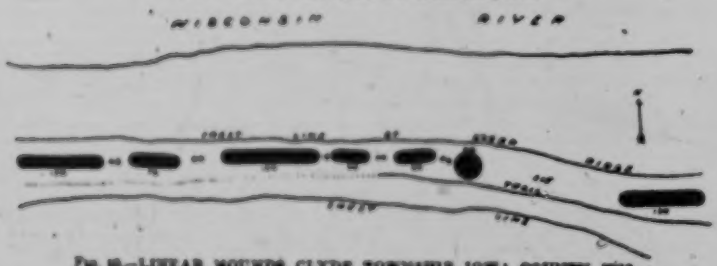


FIG. 10.—LINEAR MOUNDS, CLYDE TOWNSHIP, IOWA COUNTY, WIS.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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FIG. 11.—EFFIGY AND LINEAR MOUNDS, FISHTAKA, WAUKESHA COUNTY, WIS.

FIG. 12.—EFFIGY MOUNDS IN THE WINGRA GROUP, MADISON, WIS.

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FIG. 13.—BIRD EFFIGY MOUNDS.

FIG. 14.—MAN MOUND, GREENFIELD TOWNSHIP, SAUK COUNTY, WIS.

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FIG. 15.—TYPES OF MAMMAL EFFIGY MOUNDS.

FIG. 16.—TYPES OF SOCALLED TURTLE EFFIGY MOUNDS.

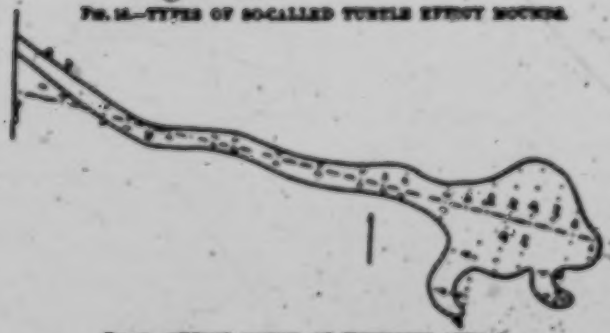

FIG. 17.—EFFIGY MOUND OF UNKNOWN ANIMAL.

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FIG. 18.—LA VALLE MAN MOUND, SAUK COUNTY, WIS.

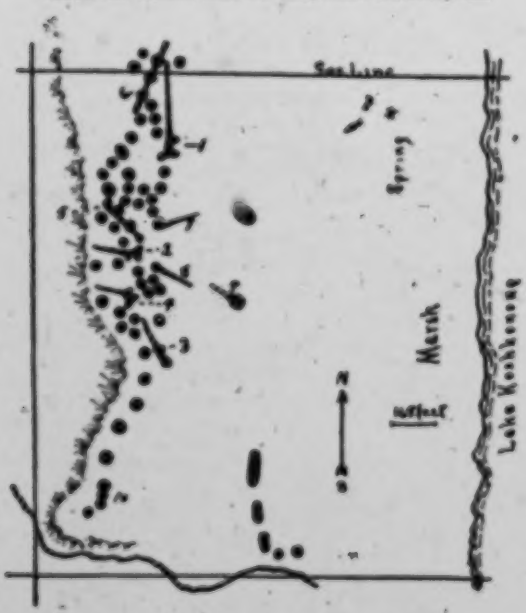


FIG. 19.—GROUP OF MOUNDS OF DIFFERENT TYPES, LAKE KOSHKONONG, WIS.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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● 172 seen to be practically unanimous in explaining them as either the base of lodges or as defenses (figs. 9, 10, 11).

### Effigy Mounds

Effigy mounds (figs. 4, 5, 11–18) are discussed at some length in the following pages. The following types are found: The bird, the bear, the panther or water-spirit, the deer (uncommon), the wolf (uncommon), the turtle, and the so-called man. The commonest by far are the bird, bear, and water-spirit, and this [614] would seem to corroborate the statements of living Winnebago that these mounds represent the clan effigies, for these three clans were by far the most important and numerous in the tribe. Certain of the clans are apparently not represented, particularly the elk, the buffalo, the snake, and the fish, while but isolated examples of two fairly important clans, the wolf and the deer, are found. If the so-called turtle mounds (fig. 16) were really intended to represent that animal, we would have the only instance of a large number of mounds that can not possibly be connected with the Winnebago clans, for the tribe never had a Turtle clan. However, these mounds may not really have been intended to represent turtles. On the other hand, it is not absolutely necessary to believe that the effigy mounds represented only clan animals. It is possible that some were erected for religious purposes.

Owing to the fact that so many effigy mounds have been destroyed in the last two or three centuries, it is quite impossible to be certain of the distribution of specific types. Even those still in existence have not all been carefully noted and described. Until this is done, no even approximately definitive conclusions can be drawn as to the reasons for the prevalence of certain types in one area and others in other areas. To give some idea of their distribution, however, we will describe briefly their distribution in those sections of Wisconsin that have been fairly thoroughly studied:

*Lake Mendota.*—Two types of bird, bear, water-spirit, and the very rare effigy of a frog.

*Lake Koshkonong.*—Two types of bird, water-spirit, frog? mink? and an unknown mammal.

*Fond du Lac.*—Water-spirit, one type of bird, turtle.

*Lake Waubesa.*—Water-spirit, three types of bird, bear, turtle, and lynx.

*Turtle Creek, Rock County.*—Water-spirit, turtle.

*Winnebago County.*—Water-spirit, bear, bird.

*Lake Winnebago.*—Water-spirit, turtle, three types of bird, and bear.

*Manitowoc County.*—Bird, water-spirit, turtle.

*Sauk County.*—One type of bird, bear, mink, water-spirit.

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In general it may be said that effigies of the bird type are found over the entire region in which effigies are found, although certain types seem to have a restricted range—the bear type, westward from Lake Waubesa to Sauk County and probably beyond: the water-spirit, over the entire region from Milwaukee to Madison and as far north as Gills Landing in Waupaca County: the goose, at Lake

172 [171]

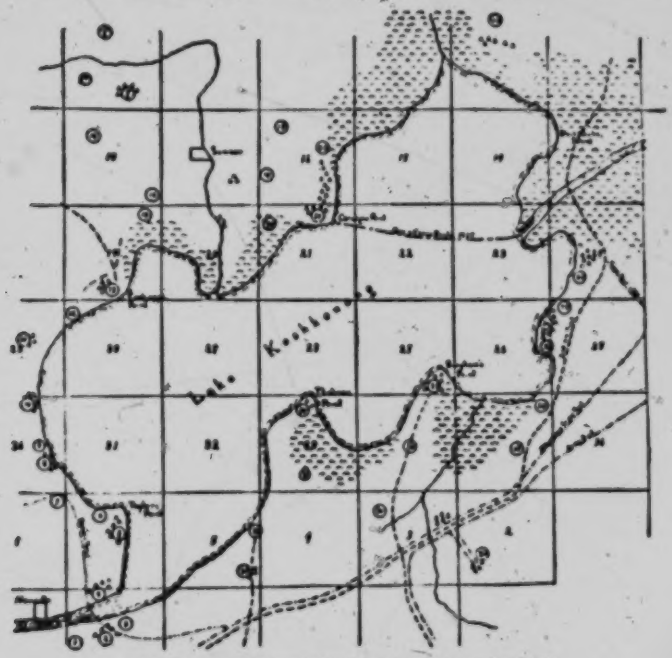

FIG. 20.—ARCHEOLOGIC MAP OF LAKE KOSHKONONG.

INDEX TO MAP.

1. Conch shell cache, 1842.
2. Black Hawk's camp, 1832.
3. Ogden group.
4. Rock River group and village site.
5. Tay-o-be-dah group and village site.
6. Taylor House group.
7. Fulton group.
8. Koshkonong group and village site.
9. John Jon group.
10. Nor Springs group and village site.
11. North group.
12. Rufus Bingham group.
13. La Sallier group and village site.
14. Goldthorpe burials.
15. Summer Garden beds.
16. Kapelica group.
17. Fisher, Koshkonong Creek mounds and village site.
18. Conch shell cache, 1867.
19. Draves group.
20. Skavlem group.
21. Carrajon mounds and White Crow's village.
22. Lake Bay mounds and garden beds.
23. Allpeter group and White Oak's village.
24. Man Eater's village.
25. Geo. Atkinson group.
26. Hoard group and Kewaskum's camp.
27. Fox Hunter's Point mound and cornfield.
28. Lookout group.
29. Haight's Creek group.
30. Atkinson's camp.
31. Indian cornfields.
32 and 33. Ira Bingham group and village site.
34 and 35. Tiberius Point village site and cornfields.
36. French trader's cabin sites.
37. Camp site and cornfield.
38. Black Hawk Island camp site.

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172 Waubesa and the upper Madison lakes; the lynx type, at Lake Waubesa, as far east as Lake Koshkonong, and as far west as Devils Lake in Sauk County.

### Description of Lake Koshkonong Mounds

In order to give an idea of what a carefully planned survey of a particular region has yielded we will quote Mr. A. B. Stout's summary of his work at Lake Koshkonong (figs. 19, 20):[11]

A total of 481 mounds are here noted. This does not include the mounds entirely destroyed at Thiebeau Point, the Koshkonong Group, and the Kumlien Group. There are 157 mounds on the east side and 324 on the west side of the lake. There are still well preserved 394 mounds. There is a total of 300 conical mounds of which 233 are on the west side, but of the 42 effigies 21 are on the east side of the lake.

In most cases the grouping as given is in no wise arbitrary. All the large and important groups are composed of mounds rather compactly arranged. Groups 3, 4, 8, 11, and 17 are more or less scattered and are considered as groups chiefly for convenience in description.

The largest group is the Koshkonong Group of 78 mounds. Next in rank are the General Atkinson Group of 73, the Noe Springs Group of 64, the Hoard Group of 36, the Le Sellier Group of 29, the Kumlien Group of 28, the Altpeter Group of 26, and the Rufus Bingham Group of 21. In these 8 well-defined groups are found 357 of the total of 481 mounds.

All of these mounds are found in an area of 42 square miles, of which 13 are covered with water and at least 5 more occupied by swamp and marsh lands.

#### THE CONICAL MOUNDS

As previously stated, this type is the most abundant. Most are low, many are no more than 2 feet in height. In fact, there are but 23 that are 4 or more feet in height. The largest of the conical mounds are as follows: . . . 60 by 12 feet in diameter; . . . 75 by 10; . . . 45 by 8; . . . 54 by 7; . . . 63 by 6.

. . . Some conical mounds are built with edges overlapping, forming a sort of chain of mounds. There is some evidence of superimposed mounds. . . .

Nearly all the conical mounds have been opened in a more or less desultory manner. The few clues at hand as to the results of such digging confirm the opinion that this type of mound was built for burial purposes.

It will be noted . . . that several mounds are oval in outline. Two others are pear-shaped . . . with the larger end built considerably higher. The oval type appears to grade into the short linear. This may be noted in the General Atkinson and Altpeter groups.

#### COMBINATIONS OF CONICAL AND LINEAR FORMS

*The dumb-bell form.*—Two mounds of the Altpeter Group are of this form . . . In these the ends are decidedly conical and may possibly be superimposed upon the ends of short linear mounds.

*The tadpole type.*—This type of mound consists of a more or less pronounced conical mound from which extends a straight pointed linear portion that varies in length . . . In No. 4 of the Koshkonong Group the conical part is 40 by 6 with the linear part comparatively low and short. In other cases . . . the conical part is wide and flattened. In still other cases the linear part is quite long . . .

*Irregular forms.*—Nos. 5 and 6 of the Noe Springs Group are unusual combinations of conical and linear mounds. The conical mounds are in some cases several feet

[11] "The Archeology of the Lake Koshkonong Region," by A. B. Stout and H. L. Skavlan, Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 7, no. 2, 1908.

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higher than the adjoining linear part. The surface examination made at the time of this survey gave the opinion that the conical mounds had been built upon the linear parts possibly at a later period. 172

LINEAR MOUNDS

*The pure linear type.*—This type is shown in . . . [fig. 8]. The mounds thus classed are straight and uniform in height and width. Some are so short as to almost approach the oval form.

*The straight pointed linear type.*—This form is shown in . . . [fig. 8] and is usually of great length, widest at one end and tapering to a point at the other . . . Twelve of this type are found. The longest measures 675 and the shortest 120 feet.

*The angular linear type.*—In group 9, No. 3 . . . [fig. 8] there is this peculiar type which is so abundant along the Wisconsin River in Sauk County.

*The club-shaped linear type.*—This form is shown in . . . [fig. 8] and is a slight variation of the pure linear type. There are three of this class.

*The curved linear type.*—This is a linear form having a slight kidney or crescent shape. There are but two mounds of this type at Lake Koshkonong.

In the Altpeter Group are three linear-like mounds that might be classed as effigies. No. 1 [fig. 8] is much like the "mink" type. No. 3 bears some resemblance to the same type, and No. 2 to the "tadpole" type. In the latter, however, the head end is but little higher than the adjoining linear part and bulges slightly more on one side.

EFFIGIES

The forms and sizes of the various effigies can be best understood by a study of the [various illustrations] . . . Not including the three mounds just mentioned or any of the "tadpole" type, there are 42 mounds that are plainly effigies. Three of these are nearly destroyed; the others are well preserved.

BIRD EFFIGIES

. . . All of these lie on the east side of the lake in two closely associated groups. There are six such effigies in the General Atkinson Group and four in the Heard Group.

But two have the wings at right angles to the body and both of these are low and flattened with heavy broad bodies in marked contrast to splendid mounds of this class in other parts of the State.

Of the class having the wings extremely drooped . . . there are five. Nos. 28 and 29 in the Heard Group have a conical-like breast, while those of the General Atkinson Group have the surface of the body nearly level. The two small bird effigies close to the Lake View Hotel . . . have a conical breast and wings half drooping.

MAMMAL EFFIGIES

All of the mounds shown in . . . [fig. 15] represent the animal as lying on one side with the fore limbs and the hind limbs united. It will be seen that there are several splendid examples of the "panther" type.

Nos. 4 and 31 are of similar form, but represent the animal with the tail raised. These two are on opposite sides of the lake and are the only effigies of this precise character.

Of the "mink" type there is an example in the Le Sellier Group.

Mound No. 1 of the Draves Group and the effigy in the Taylor House Group are the only ones of their class existing at the lake.

Of all the forms and types to be found in this region the mound shown in . . . [fig. 17] is perhaps the most . . . complicated, and it will be interesting to learn if there exists elsewhere in the State a mound of similar form.

TURTLE AND ALLIED FORMS

There are seven short . . . and two . . . long-tailed "turtle" effigies in this region.

Mound No. 60 of the Atkinson Group differs from the "turtle" effigy in profile as well as in outline. The head is considerably higher than the part midway between

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172 the hind limbs. No. 36 of the Heard Group is similar, but has a truncated tail. Mound No. 61 shows still another departure in outline. . . The four mounds just mentioned have no duplicates in the area. All the mounds shown in . . . [fig. 16] are similar in that the animal is represented from a dorsal view . . .

THE GROUPING

A study of the various groups shows that there was no uniform plan in their construction. In general they occupy prominent elevations near the lake. There is a rather promiscuous mingling of types and arrangement of mounds which suggests that a group is the result of several or many years of continuous building during which mounds were added as desired and simply grouped to suit the immediate topography.[18]

*Stone*

Arrow and spearpoints.
Perforators and scrapers.
Hammerstones.
Clubheads.
Grinding and polishing stones.
Gorgets.
Plummets.
Discoidals.
Stone balls.

Knives.
Grooved axes and hammers.
Celts, numerous, many broken.
Pipes and fragments of pipes (of catlinite, steatite, limestone, sandstone, etc.).
Pecked pieces of catlinite.
Flint spalls, chips, flakes, fragments, nodules, and rejects.
Burned stones from fireplaces.

*Copper*

Spearpoints.
Awls.
Bracelets.
Rolled copper arrowpoints.
Beads.

Earring.
Plateheads.
Chisel.
Knives.
Rings.

*Pottery*

Pipe, broken, and fragments of others.
Pottery disks.

Potsherds, shell, sand and quartz tempered.

*Bone and shell*

Bone beads, several styles.
Bone awl.
Columella of large sea shell.
Valves of fresh-water clamshells.
Bones of various birds and animals.

"Jewel stones" from sheepshead perch.
Jawbones of pickerel.
Carapace of mud turtle.
Shell beads, disk-shaped and cylindrical styles.
Shell gorget.

## The Man Mound

What probably constitutes the most interesting type of mound found in Wisconsin is the so-called Man mound, two examples of which are known, both from Sauk County, one from Greenfield Township and the other known as the La Valle Man mound. The second of these has long been obliterated, but is known to us from a plat made by Mr. Canfield in 1872 (figs. 14, 18.)

Lapham[19] described the Greenfield township Man mound as follows:

The figure is no less than 214 feet in length, the head 30 feet long, the body 100, and the legs 84. The head lies toward the south and the movement [of the body] is west-

[18] The following will give an idea of the material collected from one village site in this region. The village site is known as the White Crow site. The information is taken from the Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 7, no. 8, p. 88.

[19] Quoted by Brown in Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 7, no. 4, p. 148.

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wand. All of the lines of this most singular effigy are curved gracefully, and much care has been bestowed upon its construction. The head is ornamented with two projections, or horns, giving a comical expression to the whole figure. [fig. 14.]

## Miscellaneous Structures

*Stone chambers.* These are found in a number of places and were apparently always used for burial. According to the present Winnebago, chiefs were often buried in them (pl. 16).

*Garden beds* (fig. 21). These were first described by Lapham. According to him[28] they were "low, broad, parallel ridges, as if corn had been planted in drills. They average 4 feet in width, 25 of them having been counted in the space of a hundred feet, and the depth of the walk between them is about 6 inches."

Mr. C. E. Brown also found some which he has described in his paper on "Wisconsin Garden Beds:"

FIG. 21. WISCONSIN GARDEN BEDS.

To the southwest . . . was a remnant of a fourth plot of beds with 11 rows. Their direction was northeast and southwest, and their length then about 54 feet, a portion having been obliterated by the plow. On another plot of ground, lying to the west of that upon which all of the above described are situated, occurred a fifth plot of beds, having a northeast and southwest direction. The rows numbered 12 and were about 48 feet long. A sixth plot of beds, running north and south, numbered 28 rows, each about 84 feet long. Its dimensions were about the same as those of the first plot.

In summing up, Mr. Brown says:[29]

In concluding an examination of the evidence now available upon the subject of the age of the Wisconsin garden beds it may be stated that examples have now been located in 16 different localities in the State. The area in which these occur may be described as being bounded by Green Bay on the north and Racine County on the south, and extending from Lake Michigan westward to the Fox-Wisconsin waterway. In nearly every instance where garden beds are closely associated with mounds there is good reason to believe that their origin and age is identical. Like the mounds, most garden beds are prehistoric, but some were constructed in early historic times. Their association in some instances with plots of cornhills indicates that in these cases these two features of our archeology are also contemporaneous.

[28] Antiquities of Wisconsin. Smithsonian Cont. to Knowledge, vol. vii, p. 10, 1855.
[29] Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 6, no. 3, p. 103.
[30] Ibid., pp. 104-105.

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173 TRADITIONAL HISTORY--oral historical traditions and evidence as to their reliability; dynastic lists and genealogies; historical inferences from myth and tradition; etc. See also:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Traditions of kin groups | 61 | Mythology | 773 |
| Myth texts | 530 | Historians and genealogists | 814 |
| Kinship genealogies | 601 | | |

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that of the keen scenter was White-Dog; and that of the tree converser was Buffalo. 173

Shortly after this battle a band of visitors from another tribe came over to Long-Wing's lodge, which had been pointed out to them as the lodge of the chief. The visitors entered it. In the meantime the Winnebago held a hurried council and decided to kill these visitors to avenge the death of their three warriors, whose loss they were still lamenting. It was decided to scald the visitors to death with hot water. The roofs of the lodges, which were gable-lodges, could easily be opened.

When everything was in readiness they called their chief out and closed the entrances firmly. The chief, however, begged them not to kill the visitors in his lodge (for it was holy). The Winnebago, however, paid no attention to him, and as they had already taken the weapons from the strangers, they poured hot water through the roof upon their heads. They killed all except two, who succeeded in making their escape through the roof. One of these changed himself into a turkey and flew away and the other got to the roof and kept jumping from one roof to the other until he came to the end of the village, where he succeeded in making his escape. However, the Winnebago noticed his shell neck ornament which had twisted around to the back of his neck and one of them threw a stone hammer at him and killed him. In reality, therefore, only one man escaped.

After they had brought the last body back to the village the chief told them that they had not acted rightly, for they had killed people in his (the chief's) lodge, and that from then on the lodge was to remain as a warrior's lodge.

That same night an owl came to the top of the lodge and hooted, saying, "The Winnebago will have bad luck." Then the Winnebago asked, "What can be the matter with us?" The chief interpreted the owl's meaning and told them that it meant that from that time on the Winnebago would lose their power.

Shortly after all these things happened the Winnebago were attacked by a disease that turned their bodies yellow and many died of this sickness.

*b.* When the Winnebago were in trouble because all the other tribes had leagued against them, they were living at a place near Red Banks. The enemy had shut off all the water and the only way they could get any was to tie their pack straps to their pails and let down these pails in a deep canyon. However, this was also discovered after a while and the enemy cut the pack straps.

So terrible were their straits that they finally spread their blankets on the ground and offered tobacco to their medicine men and asked

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174 3. Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kansa, Quapaw.

4. Dakota, Assiniboin.[1]

The linguistic grouping seems to bear out this theory with the [197] exception of the Mandan, who are far more closely related to the Winnebago and their kindred than to the Hidatsa. It seems likewise strange that the Hidatsa and Crow, on the one hand, and the Dakota and Assiniboin, on the other, belonging to the first and fourth "migrations," should nevertheless speak dialects that are closely related. One might have expected that Dakota would be more like Omaha and its group.

●173 The Winnebago themselves have no traditions telling of their migrations from the east. The majority of the people questioned asserted that the tribe had originated at Green Bay. This is, however, merely the origin myth of the Thunderbird clan, which apparently has displaced other origin accounts. While, in a few instances, other places were mentioned, the localities to which they referred were all in Wisconsin. There may be some significance in the origin legends of some of the clans which claim that they came from over the sea (the lake), but it is utterly impossible to determine whether we are here dealing with a myth pure and simple or with a vague memory of some historical happening.

The Winnebago have, however, some recollection of their separation from their kindred Siouan tribes. The accounts collected are short and fragmentary, but this may be due largely to the fact that no systematic attempt was made by the author to obtain detailed information on this point. The following fragmentary accounts will give some idea of the value of these recollections.

*a.* In the early days the Winnebago often went out hunting after they had finished hoeing their corn and other crops. During one of these travels they killed an elk and every lodge received a piece of the animal except one lodge in which a man, his wife, and six daughters with their husbands lived. Thinking that they were disliked by the rest of the tribe, these remained behind the next day when the others continued their journey. They have never been heard from since. It is said that the Quapaws do not know where they come from and we think that they may be descended from this family.

*b.* When the Winnebago lived on Lake Michigan the tribe was so large that each clan had its own chief and a general chief presided over the whole tribe. After a while it became so hard to obtain food that a band of Winnebago went south. They never returned. These are now in the Southwest. Some of them are the Missouri and some the Iowa. Band after band kept moving away until only one was left—the present Winnebago.

[1] The Mandan, Papers of the Peabody Museum. Vol. III, no. 4, pp. 97-98, Cambridge, 1905.

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*c.* Four lodges once left the main tribe at Prairie du Chien or MacGregor, Wisconsin, and never returned. This happened after all the other tribes had leagued together against the Winnebago. The reason these four lodges left the Winnebago was because they were afraid that war might break out again. Some people believe that the Oto

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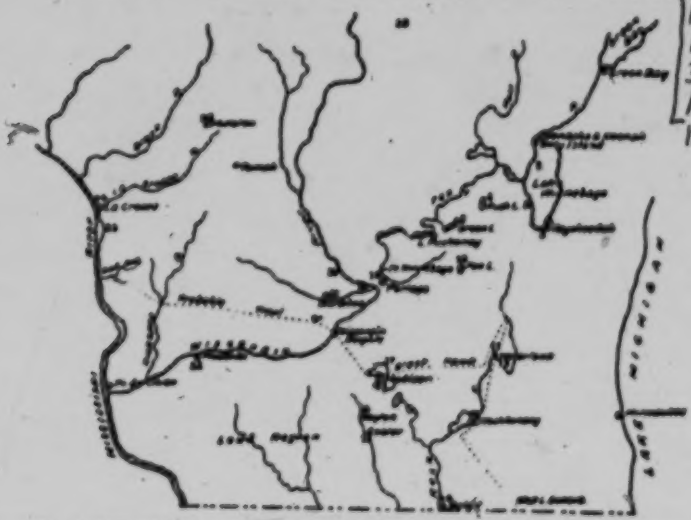

FIG. 1. SECTIONAL MAP OF WISCONSIN, GIVING THE LOCATIONS OF SOME OF THE OLD VILLAGES.

EXPLANATION OF MAP.

[The numbers on the map indicate the locations of some of the Wisconsin Winnebago villages.]

1. Doty Island village, 1831-1832.
2. Prairie village, 1797-1832.
3. Black Wolf's village, 1828.
4. Sunrise village, 1828.
5. Sugarbush's village, 1796.
6. Birch Lake village.
7. Yellow Thunder's village, 1828-32.
8. Sayrd's village, 1827.
9. Old Gray-headed Decorah's village, 1793.
10. Big Fox's village, 1832.
11. Wabetoo's village.
12. Iron Walker's village.
13. Little Priest's village, 1832.
    Whirling Thunder's village, 1828.
14. Kurrymanee's village, 1832.
13. Spotted Arm's village.
16. Dexton village.
17. White Crow's village, 1832.
18. Cheekeka's village, 1829.
    White Oak's village, 1832.
19. Old Gray-headed Decorah's village, 1793-1828.
20. Yellow Thunder's forty.
21. Kurrymanee's village, 1832-32.
22. Sayrd's village, 1827.
23. Washington Decorah's village, 1832.
24. Buzzard Decorah's village, 1797.
    Disowned Decorah's village, 1832.
25. Little Decorah's village, 1827.
26. Big Hawk's village, Pike Lake.

are this last branch, for they speak the same language with but few differences and use many old words that the Winnebago employed long ago but have now given up.

*d.* Some lodges left the tribe never to return. Some say there were four, others give different numbers (of long lodges). Some say only one lodge. My uncle used to say that there were four. "I think that it is believed that they went to the east," he said.

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173 The other tribes of the second "migration" have semihistorical legends telling of their separation from the Winnebago. Major Bean told Maximilian that an Oto chief had informed him that originally the Winnebago inhabited the lakes and that they subsequently migrated to the Southwest, presumably in pursuit of buffalo. At Green Bay they divided, the Winnebago remaining there while the others continued their journey.

Dorsey was informed by Iowa chiefs[1] that "their people and the Oto, Missouri, Omaha, and Ponca 'once formed part of the Winnebago nation.' According to the traditions of these tribes, at an early period they came with the Winnebago from their prisean home north of the Great Lakes, but that the Winnebago stopped on the shore of a great lake (Lake Michigan), attracted by the abundant fish."

101 When the Winnebago were first discovered they were entirely surrounded by Central Algonquian tribes. To the north of them lay the Menominee on the shore of Green Bay, to the southeast the Miami, to the south and southwest the Sauk and Fox, and to the west the Ojibwa. The nearest of their kindred were in southern Iowa, western Wisconsin, and eastern Minnesota. Under these circum-
[177] stances it is not strange that the Winnebago show marked evidence of Central Algonquian influence (fig. 1).

174 At what time the Winnebago were isolated from their Siouan kindred it is impossible to state. We doubt, however, whether this occurred before the sixteenth century. The Central Algonquian tribes in this region are clearly intruders. The Ojibwa came from the northeast and the Fox, Miami, etc., from the south and the southeast. It seems clear, to judge from the number of effigy mounds found in the territory occupied by the Fox and Miami, that the Winnebago had lived there for a considerable length of time before they were pushed westward and northwestward by these tribes. When the Menominee arrived, and from what direction, it is difficult to determine. On purely linguistic grounds, judging from the close relationship of Menominee to Fox, we might assume that they, like the Fox and the Miami, entered Wisconsin from the south. In that case they might either be interpreted as representing the northernmost extension of the same migration which carried the Miami northward along the shore of Lake Michigan or as representing a prior invasion along the same route. If the latter assumption is correct, they may have arrived in Wisconsin before the Winnebago. One point seems
[648] to confirm the thesis of their priority, namely, that they were never at war with the Winnebago, and it hardly seems possible that, had

[1] Handbook of Amer. Inds., Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 30, part 1, p. 613, Washington, 1907.

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of possibly the year 1640. There is no record to say how many years before, though it was doubtless several score, for 50 years before La Potherie published his history Allouez had told the same story of the destruction of the Winnebago by the Illinois: 175 648

"About 30 years ago all the people of this nation were killed or taken captive by the Illinoek with the exception of a single man, who escaped, shot through the body with an arrow."

This would place the event in about the year 1640.

He adds that when the captives were permitted to return to their homes this one was made a "Captain of his Nation," as having never been a slave. Shea commenting on this disastrous defeat of the Winnebago says, "If this strange event took place at all, we must ascribe it to an earlier date than 1639 (1634), when visited by Nicolet, who "found them prosperous, and we can hardly suppose a tribe almost annihilated and then restored to its former numbers in 30 years." . . . Nicolet, it will be remembered, was sent to this then unknown region for the purpose of "making peace" between the Winnebago and the Hurons. As the Winnebago were strong enough to command that attention from Governor Champlain, Doctor Shea is quite correct in supposing the Winnebago to have been "a prosperous tribe" in 1634. The events mentioned in the foregoing accounts are not historical, but traditional, for assuredly they did not take place after the coming of Nicolet, as he was followed by other white men in such short periods as to make it impossible for the occurrence of these stirring events to go unrecorded by others.

Charlevoix visited the tribe in 1720, and though a historian of note in old Canada, records the occurrence as history, though we have shown it to have taken place, if at all, more than a century before he went among them. He possibly got the story from the records of Allouez, made a half century before, though it may have been a riverside or cabin story heard by him at the time of his visit to this frontier of New France. He says:

"The Ouchagras, who are commonly called Puans, formerly lived on the shores of the bay . . . but they were attacked by the Illinois, who slew great numbers of them; the rest took refuge on the river of the Outagamis (Fox River), which empties into the end of the bay. They settled upon the shore of a sort of lake (Lake Winnebago)." [131]

Charlevoix . . . adds another disaster not mentioned by the other old writers. In this same narrative he records that "sometime after" the Winnebago had settled on Lake Winnebago:

"They undertook to revenge the defeat which they had suffered from the Illinois. Six hundred of their best men embarked to seek their enemy; but while they were crossing Lake Michigan they were surprised by a furious gale, which caused them all to perish."[4] [731]

The Winnebago still tell of these events and practically in the same words as Perrot obtained them, as can be learned from the following versions obtained in 1910. 173

*a.* When the Winnebago first originated, they were holy and clever. They were equal to the spirits. In those days there lived a Winnebago who could fly like a bird, one who could fly as far as four days' journey from the village. There was another Winnebago who could scent anything as far away as four days' journey from the village. Then there was one man who could talk with the trees. They told him many things. Finally there was one who could transform himself into a buffalo. On account of these four men, it was

[4] Op. cit., pp. 90-91.

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173 quite impossible for an enemy to approach near the village without the knowledge of the Winnebago, for he who could scent well would scent them, he who could fly far would see them, and he who could converse with trees would be informed of their approach. The one who could transform himself into a buffalo always bore the brunt of the fighting. He would transform himself into a buffalo whenever he got angry. In consequence the Winnebago were feared by all. They could do what they pleased with the other tribes. If the other tribes did not make war on them, they would make war on the other tribes.

One day he who could transform himself into a buffalo had the sensation which generally preceded a battle. So he told the other three. Then the one who could fly went out to make a reconnoissance of the country around them, but returned without having seen anything; then the one who could scent well, scented all around, but likewise could find nothing; then the tree-converser asked the trees and they also told him that they knew of nothing. In spite of it all, however, the buffalo-man said that he still had the premonition of something happening. Then he who could fly again went out, this time going to a distance four days' journey from the village, but he saw nothing. Each time that he went out, however, he noticed a pile of rocks in a hollow near their village. When he returned he said to the people, "Over there, there is a pile of rocks which I never noticed before. I wonder what it can be!" Then the buffalo-man said again, "I really feel that I am going to fight. Look out for yourselves therefore." However, they told him that he was worrying himself unnecessarily, that he ought to go to sleep.

However, the buffalo-man stayed awake all that night, and just as he had anticipated, the whole village was surrounded by enemies in the morning. The other three men were at once awakened and the one who could fly made a rush at the enemy, but was killed. Then the one who could scent well made a rush at the enemy, but he, too, was killed. Up to this time the latter had been absolutely invulnerable. Then the one who could converse with trees made a rush, but he, too, was killed. Thus all three were killed. Then the people said to Buffalo-man, whose real name was Long-Wing, "O Long-Wing, your people are being destroyed! Do you try and accomplish something." Then Long-Wing answered, "*Ho!*" and, making a rush for the enemy, killed four of them, the holiest of their warriors. Then the enemy gave the signal for stopping the battle, which is "*Ga.*" This signal is held to be sacred both among the Winnebago and other tribes. There the battle ended.

The Winnebago felt terrible about the loss of their three warriors. The rocks that the one who could fly had seen in the hollow were the enemy. The name of the one who could fly well was Short-Wing;

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173 them to make it rain. Then, after the rain had fallen, they wrung out their blankets and drank the water.

All this time the men of the tribe were being killed off. After a while they began to kill the male children too. Whenever they saw a child they raised up its dress and if it was a male child, they killed it. However, there was a young mother who had a boy, and fearing that if the enemy discovered him they would kill him, she tied a string to the end of the child's penis and pulled the string back under its legs so that the child was given the appearance of a girl. From this woman and her child all the pure blood Winnebago living to-day are descended.

The war against the Winnebago was ended by a young Winnebago chief painting himself blue and surrendering himself to the other tribes.

175 648 The most important events of Winnebago history during the eighteenth century were the various alliances into which they were drawn with and against the Fox Indians in the wars that the French waged against this brave tribe. The Winnebago at first allied themselves with the Fox, but afterwards joined the French. This alliance was destined to bring upon them a great disaster. Lawson describes this period in their history as follows.[1]

In pursuance of their policy to combine all the tribes against the Fox, the French in some manner won over the Winnebago, their former friends and allies. Thus we learn that in the autumn of 1729 word was brought to Quebec of an attack by the Winnebago, Ottawa, and Menominee on a Fox village, in which there were killed 100 Fox warriors and 70 women and children. Among the killed of the assaulting party were four Winnebago. . . . Another account gives this assault as on a party of Fox returning from a buffalo hunt, and as made by Ottawa, Chippewa, Menominee, and Winnebago. The Fox village contained 80 men, all of whom were killed or burned except three. The allied Indians burned the cabins and also killed 300 women and children. This probably occurred in the winter of 1729, as the reports are of the date of May 6, 1730.

The Winnebago having broken with their neighbors and friends, the Fox, by this treacherous and unprovoked slaughter, were now in terror for the consequences of their miserable acts. Further attempts against the Fox tribes having been projected from Quebec by the fall of 1729, Sieur Captain Marin appeared at the old French fort at La Baye (Green Bay), and repaired its fallen roofs. He had with him ten Frenchmen. On September 10th the Winnebago returned from their hunt and went to Marin to assure him that they still remained faithful to the French, at the same time presenting him with three slaves. They were rewarded with gifts of powder, bullets, hatchets, guns, and knives. Having ascertained that the Fox were not in their own country, the Winnebago took their families and camped on Deado Island in the Fox River, adjoining their former location on Doty Island. Very soon thereafter the Fox and Sauk returned and surprised and killed some Winnebago fishermen. Then began a long siege of the Winnebago through the erection by the Fox on the Doty Island waterside of two forts to command the water in all directions.

In order to compensate the Fox for the loss of two of their number through treachery, and procure a cessation of hostilities, the Winnebago decapitated two Menominee

[1] Op. cit., pp. 65-67.

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who were with them, and delivered to them two others. But the Fox refused to be satisfied unless they also delivered to them four of their own number. This proposal the Winnebago considered an insult, and the siege was renewed. After the fighting had continued for about six weeks, Capt. Marin with five Frenchmen and thirty-four Menominee, came to the assistance of the besieged. When the treachery of the Winnebago in giving up several of their comrades to the Fox became known to the Menominee it required all Marin's powers of persuasion to prevent their deserting from his small command and leaving the besieged to their fate. After four days of fighting with the relief party under Marin it was discovered that the Fox had raised the siege by decamping in the night. Then were the Winnebago, who had in the meantime been reduced by famine to the eating of boiled bear skins, delivered from the enemy. Marin's force thereupon retired, the Winnebago accompanying him to Green Bay, "where they established themselves in a fort." 175 648

For a more detailed account of the same events see Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XVII, 86-100. The Winnebago have preserved a clear recollection of these stirring events in the semi-historical tale known as *Tcap'o'apaga*. [113]

THE TALE OF TCAP'O'SGAGA[8]

In the early days of their existence the Winnebago were a successful people. They all fasted and were blessed by the spirits. It is for that reason that they were powerful and were called *Hotagara*. 173

At one time a Fox Indian, whose nation was about to be destroyed by its enemies, came to these much-feared Winnebago and said, "Brothers, I have come to you for aid."

The Winnebago lived on one side of the lake[9] and the Fox on the other and (because of the appeal) the former made friends of the latter, it is said, and the chiefs presented the pipe to one another. When chiefs exchange pipes with one another a very sacred bond is established. Thus many Winnebago and Foxes became friends, and Winnebago men married Fox women and Fox men married Winnebago women. 173 648

There was once a very famous warrior among the Winnebago whose crops were molested by the Foxes. *Tcap'o'apaga's wife*[10] thereupon said to him, "Why don't you take them (the marauders) to task?" Then *Tcap'o'apaga* went to the Foxes and said, "Boys, all the watermelons are yours when they are ripe, if you desire to eat them." "All right," they answered.

On the morning after the second night *Tcap'o'apaga's wife* woke up very early and went out to inspect the crops. Again they had been disturbed, so she immediately went back exclaiming, "How terrible: The largest and best of *Tcap'o'apaga's* crops have been

[8] This has also been published by me with the accompanying Winnebago text in the Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society, 1914, pp. 192-207, Madison, 1915.
[9] Probably at the junction of the Fox River with Lake Winnebago.
[10] The same spirit Waka-dwat.

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damaged. Indeed, you (*Teap'o'spaga*) should have forbidden them." Then *Teap'o'spaga* went over and forbad them.

Early in the morning after the third night the old woman again woke up and went to inspect the crops. Again they had damaged almost everything. "The nicest of *Teap'o'spaga's* crops they have destroyed. He should have forbidden them. Why indeed did you not forbid it! They have utterly destroyed your crops." Then *Teap'o'spaga* got up and said, "I will go and forbid them." So he went over to the Foxes and said, "Leave my crops alone, I told you. Instead of that you have destroyed them. If again to-night you dare do this, as I am a man who thinks (of revenge), beware. Dare do it again (and take the consequences)," he said.

One of the wicked ones among the Foxes who was doing this said, "O pshaw: He acts as though he were the only man (i. e., great warrior) in creation."

The next morning *Teap'o'spaga* himself got up early and went to inspect his crops, and indeed they had been utterly destroyed. What had been left (from previous depredations) had now been utterly ruined, and even the vines had been torn up. *Teap'o'spaga* felt grieved and said, "Have my attendants go and call my war-bundle bearer."[8] They went and called him and when he (and others) had arrived (they asked), "What are we to do!" *Teap'o'spaga* said, "Put on the food." Then they prepared the food.[9] When the food had been cooked they went to invite as the feasters the most important (of the people). When the feasters finished, then he said, "I am going on the warpath. At the end of the path I see my enemy. I am going to have the pleasure of killing the ten men that my grandfathers (the spirits), who are in control of war, obtained for me. For ten chiefs I am going."

Near the door he indicated what would be the first stopping place. Then he placed the war-bundle across the entrance and jumped over it.[10] Then he put the war-bundle on his back and walked toward his boat, his attendants accompanying him. They had hardly pushed off when they were greeted by a "Here! here!" Then they saw a very long boat filled with chiefs, all of whom were dressed in their best finery; their faces painted blue and medals around their necks.[11] They (the Winnebago) permitted the boat to pass and then when it was exactly alongside of them, they shot the occupants and tipped the boat over. Soon after, a strong wind arose and all the people in the village started out to give chase (to the enemy).[12]

[8] The youths who carry the war-bundle on the warpath. They are generally the nephews of the war leaders.

[9] For the war-bundle or winter feast which is always given before a war party starts.

[10] It was always customary for the leader to do this.

[11] The boat contained the Fox chiefs who had come to make reparation for the damage inflicted upon *Teap'o'spaga's* crops.

[12] I. e., started on a tribal warpath.

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The Foxes in their village said, "Say, I believe the chiefs have been killed. This is a time of war. *Teap'a'sgaga* has been angered. When *Teap'a'sgaga* gets very angry he generally does what he threatens." Then the bad Foxes said, "Perhaps they are eating the objects we donated".[18] 173 648

"The Foxes will not be coming back for some time" (the Winnebago said). (The Foxes) at the same time had gathered together and discussed the fate of the chiefs who had gone to give themselves up (to the Winnebago) and had never returned. "Very likely they are not alive any more," they said.

*Teap'a'sgaga* returned to the Winnebago village after he killed (the chiefs) and they started for the smaller of the two villages in which the Foxes lived. It was at the smaller village that the lake was narrowest. Toward this one he was going, he said.

He had again planned a war-party. All those within the village who were likely to show any skill in killing men prepared themselves for (attacking) the smaller village. They started at dawn, and they reached the smaller village at night and ferried themselves across. By dawn all had crossed and the village was surrounded. As soon as it was broad daylight they gave the war-whoop in four different places. Then they rushed on to the small village and destroyed it completely. Then they burned up the houses and went home.

When they got home everyone was happy. They danced the victory dance and at night they had the *Hak'ire're* dance. So happy were the Winnebago. [727]

Although they thought they had killed all in the smaller village, one young girl who was lying on top of a small cliff, near where they crossed, fasting, had not been killed. Now the Foxes were living also in a large village right across the lake from the Winnebago. To this place the young woman who had not been killed went, and when she got to the big Fox village she told them the news, namely, "The Winnebago have completely destroyed us, I believe. Some of them (the enemy) I partially recognized. Go and see, however, whether they were Winnebago, for (if it was they) the lodges will be found burned to the ground, that being their custom when they go on a war-path."

Then the older Foxes went and when they returned, spies announced, "Yes, they were Winnebago, for the lodges have been burned down. It is true that the chiefs who had gone to make peace have been killed." Then the Foxes went into mourning for them. "There are many of the Winnebago and we will not be able to fight them," said the Foxes. Indeed the Foxes were afraid. Although a Fox disliked a Winnebago not one could he kill.

[18] I. e., the chiefs who went to make peace.

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●173 All the Foxes went into mourning.

648 Ten Winnebago youths proud of their tattoos had been out (in the woods) before these troubles began. As they were returning they said to the one who was their leader, "Let us go around the large village and court women." "Only if you go around the small village will you escape unharmed," said the leader. "We will go by the large village even if all of us are killed by the spirits," they said. "Well, let us go by way of the small village," the war leader said to them. "If you are afraid, as you say, you may go alone by way of the smaller village; we, however, will go by the way of the large village." The leader, however, refused and also went by way of the large village. That they would die, he knew very well, but nevertheless he accompanied them to the edge of the big village. When they got there (they said), "Let us paint ourselves."

Then they painted themselves, and as they were painting themselves an old man in deep mourning appeared and said, "Are you returning from your travels? Stay with us, for our men are giving a feast. I will tell them to come after you."

Then he went away and soon a young man came (and said), "You are invited. Come right along." "Men, you have seen that all are in mourning. Once more, let me tell you something. In the feast in which you are now to take part, do not lend your knives to anyone. Hold your knife ready," he told them. "All right," said they.

Then they entered the lodge and when all were in they (the Foxes) made room for them and they sat down. Then the host arose and spoke and pointed to a place that was nearest him, for the leader. Then toward another place he pointed for the second and thus each one (Winnebago) received a seat. With each Winnebago were placed several Foxes, making eight in all.

[534] Then the host spoke, "As I rise, I will blow upon my flute and have a song started. I am anxious to have them start a song," he said. Then he rose and blew his flute and as soon as the song was started the Winnebago were seized. It was a long time before they could seize the war leader, but the others had lent their knives and were consequently seized easily. The war leader killed many, but finally his knife broke and he was seized. Then they bound him and prepared the torture. Ten posts they stuck in the ground. Then the war leader said, "I told you of this, but you doubted me. Here we are going to die."

Then the youths came after them and they began torturing them. They applied firebrands to them. They burnt them in those places where they would suffer most. Then the war leader said, "Well, my boys, we are now courting women."

Thus they burned them to death and destroyed them utterly.

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The Foxes now offered tobacco to many different tribes, giving them beautifully decorated pipes. They desired to annihilate the Winnebago. All the different peoples liked this because they hated the Winnebago. They made their plans carefully, but even then they could not defeat (the Winnebago) in battle. They (the Winnebago) always kept on moving back as the others tried to overcome them. The Winnebago were driven into the water. They crossed to an island, taking with them the women and children. Here they lived in hulges and ate the crops as they stayed there. All summer they were besieged on this island, as the enemy hoped to destroy them. 173 648

One night a man wearing a black skin robe inside out, said, "This they are going to do to you, we heard. So far only the fleetest have come. Soon the slower ones will come, peeling basswood bark as they go along with which to bind the people. If some are still alive we can then take them home bound."

*Tcap'o'sgaga* felt sad and said, "He will die, the one who said that." Then he shot at him and tumbled him down. The one who had said this was sitting on top of a tree.

One day (the Foxes) said, "Turn over to us those Menominee who have married into your tribe. We are longing for some Menominee soup. If you give these (men) to us we will let up on you." The two Menominee among the Winnebago were great warriors and it was for them that (the Foxes) were asking. These Menominee talked to one another and the one who spoke first said, "It is a hard thing to be a son-in-law in a tribe not your own, my father used to say to me. Whenever the members of the tribe are in difficulties and they wish to save themselves, they turn (their attention to the strangers among them)." "Thus it is" (said the other), "but they may sacrifice me." "My friend, I feel the same way about it just as my father told me. I spoke to you because I thought that you might dread it."

Then the Winnebago gave the Menominee away, but the Foxes did not let up on them.

After a while the Menominee came to the aid of the Winnebago, but the Foxes said, "Wait a little; let us speak to you first." The Menominee listened and the Foxes told them, "The Winnebago are not to be pitied. There are two Menominee who had married among them and they handed them over to us. In this way we again drank Menominee soup. For this reason am I speaking to you. You may help them now, if you wish to, now that I have told you."

The Menominee had come to help the Winnebago, but now that the two Menominee had been handed over to the Foxes they turned back.

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173 48 *Trap'o'sgaga* had been offered tobacco. "Well," he said, "I will try it." At night he started out and jumped into the water. Across there were enemies, so he turned himself into a goose. In the middle of the lake, a lone goose suddenly squawked. Those across shouted, "*Trap'o'sgaga* is over there." "Yes," was the answer. Then he went around the shallow water and crossed over, and as he sat there bathing some one went by. They said to him, "Are you cooling yourself off with water?" "Yes," he answered.

Then he got himself ready and went to the French and when he arrived among them he said, "Father, different tribes banded together are trying to destroy us." "My child, go home, for I will come to-morrow."

When *Trap'o'sgaga* returned he went around the other tribes. He went across the island. When he was home he said to the Winnebago, "Our father is going to come." All therefore expected that their father would come. Soon after the French ship came in sight. The other tribes went toward the boat as it came in sight. The Winnebago saw them go toward it. The Winnebago were frightened as they saw the other people go toward the boat, thinking that the French might take part against them.

Then the other tribes spoke to the French. "Father, you know very well that the Winnebago are bad people. Just as a big dog jumps on to a small dog and would like to kill it, so the Winnebago used to do to us. Let us therefore reduce them to ashes." The Frenchman agreed with them and said, "You have spoken the truth and I will help you. I will let you go on (if you wish) but the result will be simply that you will reduce everything to ashes. This is what will happen if you continue. You know that the Winnebago gets very resourceful when he starves. That is his nature and therefore I will take him home with me and fatten him up for you. But you must do what I now tell you. From whatever different places you come, go back to them. If you don't do it, as long as I live, never will I sell any ammunition to you. If you do not let up on the Winnebago, I will give them ammunition and lend them my own men." "All right," said they.

Then they scattered and the women and children were taken into the boat. The men who could walk fast, walked. As soon as he had brought them back near the fort he gave them food with which to sustain themselves. When they were strong enough he bade them flee and gave them good guns and as much food as they could carry in their boats. Coffee, sugar, bread, and all kinds of food he provided for them and he said, "Children, as you're about to flee (remember this). Never hunt fish with a spear. You might thus let a fish escape and if it dies later on and (the enemy) hook a dead fish and inspect it, they will say, 'This fish was speared and got away

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and died and therefore they (the Winnebago) have passed here.' 173
Likewise, if you build a fire, always cover up the embers, for if you 648
should throw away any into the water (you would be detected)."

Then they went away in boats and returned to the lake. When they came to the narrow place where the main body of water lies there they went ahead along the left branch. Now this is all of this.

After a while the tribes came to see the Frenchman, for it was about the time fixed, and they said, "How have you been getting along?" Then he said, "Children, you know what kind of people the Winnebago are. We watched them very closely, but they got away, in what direction I do not even know. In the morning they were gone. I believe they went downstream, although I haven't even hunted for them upstream."

Well, all these different tribes looked for the Winnebago, for they wished to trail them and kill them. Now, although the Frenchman had expressly forbidden them, sure enough (the Foxes) found a fish that had been speared. "They've come past here," they said. However, when they came to the fork of the stream they didn't know which way (the Winnebago) had gone, but they noticed embers in the water. "They've gone by here." As it was impossible to go to the end of the stream in boats, all the half-breed Foxes got out (and walked). Soon they saw the oval lodges. "There they are," they said. For that reason the Foxes carefully looked them over and watched them. They inquired about them and found out that they had passed by.

The road (trail) was visible, so they chased them. Soon a cold autumn spell overtook them and they (the enemy) gave up the chase and returned home.

We will not follow the course of Winnebago history through all 114
its vicissitudes from their defeat by the Foxes to the British and 175
American occupancy, but only indicate important facts. An important local event was the coming of the Frenchman Decora among them and his marriage to the daughter of the chief of the tribe. An account of this has been preserved by the Decora family, although it is clearly mixed up with what we believe is an account of the first contact of the Winnebago with the French.

## HOW THE WINNEBAGO FIRST CAME INTO CONTACT WITH THE FRENCH AND THE ORIGIN OF THE DECORA FAMILY

The Winnebago originated at a place called Red Banks (Green 173
Bay, Wis.) (pl. 1). They had no tools to work with at that time. All they had were bows and arrows and a fire-starter. They had no iron, and if they saw a stone that was naturally sharpened in any way it was considered sacred and they offered tobacco for it. They had [276]
tobacco from the beginning. It was their most valued possession.

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173 They fasted and became holy. The greatest honor was to be a [183] brave man, and for that reason they did nothing but go to war. They were prepared for war at all times. They tried to obtain war honors. They wished to go to war all the time and kill many enemies. If a person fasted and went without food for a long time, gave offerings of tobacco often, and was then blessed by the spirits, then it would be very hard to kill such a person in battle. The people knew that such powers could be obtained, and that is why they did these things all the time.

[182] They gave many feasts. When a person gives a feast, then he offers the spirits tobacco and asks in return that their weapons be sharper than those of their enemies (i. e., that he kill an enemy and escape unharmed). That is why they used to give so many feasts, that they might be victorious in war. They make offerings to the war spirits, and if these then bless them they will become great warriors. They desired greatly to obtain these blessings.

173 Tobacco is the greatest possession they have. After Earthmaker
276 created all things he created man. Man was the last of the created objects. Those created before were spirits, and he put them all in charge of something. Even the smallest insects are able to foresee things four days ahead. The human beings were the least of all Earthmaker's creations. They were put in charge of nothing, and they could not even foresee one day ahead. They were the last created and they were the poorest. Then Earthmaker created a weed with a pleasant odor and all the spirits wanted it. Some were almost certain that it would be given to them. They would each think to themselves, "I am going to be put in charge of that, for I am one of the greatest spirits in the world." Then the Creator said, "To all of you (spirits) I have given something valuable. Now you all like this weed and I myself like it. Now this is the way it is going to be used." Then he took one of the leaves and mashed it up. Then making a pipe he smoked it and the odor was pleasant to smell. All of the spirits longed for it. Then he gave each one of them a puff. "Now, whatever (the human beings) ask from me and for which they offer tobacco, I will not be able to refuse it. I myself will not be in control of this weed. If they give me a pipeful of this and make a request I will not be able to refuse it. This weed will be called tobacco. The human beings are the only ones of my creation who are poor. I did not give them anything, so therefore this will be their foremost possession and from them we will have to obtain it. If a human being gives a pipeful and makes a request we will always grant it." Thus spoke Earthmaker.

For that reason the human beings are in control of tobacco; it is their natural possession. This is the story that was handed down to us. The Winnebago made war and made many offerings of tobacco. It is said that the Winnebago were the bravest of all the Indians.

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a. RED BANKS, NEAR GREEN BAY, WIS., LEGENDARY ORIGIN PLACE OF THE WINNEBAGO

b. RED BANKS, NEAR GREEN BAY, WIS.

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They say that the tobacco was given to them directly and that Earthmaker loves the Winnebago more than any other race. For that reason they were very clever. Now this is what the old men have said and handed down to us. 173 276

Once something appeared in the middle of the lake (Green Bay). They were the French; they were the first to come to the Winnebago. The ship came nearer and the Winnebago went to the edge of the lake with offerings of tobacco and white deerskins. There they stood. When the French were about to come ashore they fired their guns off in the air as a salute to the Indians. The Indians said, "They are thunderbirds." They had never heard the report of a gun before that time and that is why they thought they were thunderbirds. 173 276 648 177

Then the French landed their boats and came ashore and extended their hands to the Winnebago, and the Indians put tobacco in their hands. The French, of course, wanted to shake hands with the Indians. They did not know what tobacco was, and therefore did not know what to do with it. Some of the Winnebago poured tobacco on their heads, asking them for victory in war. The French tried to speak to them, but they could not, of course, make themselves understood. After a while they discovered that they were without tools, so they taught the Indians how to use an ax and chop a tree down. The Indians, however, were afraid of it, because they thought that the ax was holy. Then the French taught the Indians how to use guns, but they held aloof for a long time through fear, thinking that all these things were holy.

Suddenly a Frenchman saw an old man smoking and poured water on him. They knew nothing about smoking or tobacco. After a while they got more accustomed to one another. The Indians learned how to shoot the guns and began trading objects for axes. They would give furs and things of that nature for the guns, knives, and axes of the whites. They still considered them holy, however. Finally they learned how to handle guns quite well and they liked them very much. They would even build fires at night so that they might try their guns, for they could not wait for the day, they were so impatient. When they were out of ammunition they would go to the traders and tell their people that they would soon return. By this time they had learned to make themselves understood by various signs. [439]

The second time they went to visit the French they took with them all the various articles that they possessed. There the French taught them how to sew, how to use an ax, and how to use a knife. Then the leader of the whites took a liking to a Winnebago girl, the daughter of the chief, and he asked her parents for permission to marry her. They told him that her two brothers had the right to give her away in marriage. So he asked them and they consented. 173 648 [177]

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173 Then he married her. He lived there and worked for the Indians
48 and stayed with them for many years and he taught them the use of many tools. He went home every once in a while and his wife went with him, but he always came back again. After a while a son was born to him and then another. When the boys were somewhat grown up he decided to take his oldest son with him to his country and bring him up in such a way that he would not be in danger, as was the case here in the woods. The Indians consented to it and they agreed that the mother was to bring up the youngest child.

So he took his oldest boy home with him and when he got home he went to live with his parents, as he had not been married in his own country. He was a leader of men. The boy was with him all the time and everyone took a great liking to him. People would come to see him and bring him presents. They gave him many toys. However, in spite of all, he got homesick and he would cry every night until he fell asleep. He cried all the time and would not eat. After a while the people thought it best to bring him back to his home, as they were afraid that he would get sick and die. Before long they brought him back. The father said: "My sons are men and they can remain here and grow up among you. You are to bring them up in your own way and they are to live just as you do."

The Indians made them fast. One morning the oldest one got up very early and did not go out fasting. His older uncle, seeing him try to eat some corn, took it away from him and, taking a piece of charcoal, mashed it, rubbed it over his face, and threw him out of doors. He went out into the wilderness and hid himself in a secret place. Afterwards the people searched for him everywhere, but they could not find him. Then the people told the uncle that he had done wrong in throwing the boy out. The latter was sorry, but there was nothing to be done any more. In reality the uncle was afraid of the boy's father. They looked everywhere but could not find him.

After a full month the boy came home and brought with him a circle of wood (i. e., a drum). He told the people that this is what he had received in a dream, and that it was not to be used in war; that it was something with which to obtain life. He said that if a feast was made to it, this feast would be one to Earthmaker, as Earthmaker had blessed him and told him to put his life in the service of the Winnebago.

From this man they received many benefits. He was called to take the foremost part in everything. They called him the Frenchman, his younger brother being called *Trap'o'sagaga*, White-throat. And as they said, so it has always been. A person with French blood has always been the chief. Only they could accomplish anything among the whites. At the present time there is no clan as numerous

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as the descendants of that family and the object that he said was 173
sacred (the drum) is indeed sacred. It is powerful to the present 648
day. His descendants are the most intelligent of all the people and they are becoming more intelligent all the time. What they did was the best that could be done. The ways of the white man are the best. This is the way they were brought up.

This is the end of the history of the Decoras.

One of the interesting developments resulting from the Indian con- 792
tact with the whites has been the appearance of prophets. In almost [177]
all cases these prophets were concerned with attempts to so adapt the life of their fellow-Indians to the new conditions that they would be better able to cope with the invaders who were sweeping all before them. Whether prophets sprang up only in response to the peculiar conditions resulting from the presence of the whites it is impossible to say, but there seems no reason to believe that such had always been the case. It is quite possible that conditions similar to those developing from the occupancy of America by Europeans had occurred in pre-Columbian times when one tribe was hard pressed by another.

The Winnebago seem to have had their share of prophets, and seem likewise to have been influenced by some of the great prophets of other tribes, like the Shawnee prophet. An interesting account of what he told the Winnebago has been preserved and we will give it at length.

One of the suggestive things about the following account is the way in which the informant, who is evidently a devout Peyote follower, [794]
connects the teachings of the Shawnee prophet with the modern Peyote movement, thus evincing a remarkable feeling for historical continuity.

### WHAT THE SHAWNEE PROPHET TOLD THE WINNEBAGO

Now this is what the Winnebago heard from the Shawnee prophet; 792
this is what he said, it is said, by those who heard him: 173

"Let the people give up the customs they are now observing and I will give them new ones." This is what he said.

Some of the Winnebago did this and threw away their war bundles. But he had meant their bad customs. Some also threw away their good medicines. At last they decided to go over to where he was. A man named Smoke-Walker led a number of young men over. "We will walk as the thunderbirds do," said the leader. Then a great and holy man called Dog-Head said that he also was going along. He was then an old man. The leader said, "You had better not come along for we are going to walk as the thunderbirds do, and for that reason I wish only young men." But Dog-Head said, "I am going

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792 along nevertheless, and whenever you wish to walk like the thunder-
173 birds and walk above the earth, then I can turn back. I will go along."

There were eleven who went along. When they got to the place where the Shawnee prophet was staying they found all the other tribes (represented) there except the Winnebago.

Then the prophet said, "It is good, my younger brothers." He called the Winnebago younger brothers. "There are many tribes here, but I wanted to see you here especially. It is good you have come. I want to talk to you, but it is impossible (because I can not speak your language)." Now the old man who had come along against the wishes of the chief could speak any Indian language, so the leader said to Dog-Head, "Older brother, you used to speak almost any language; can you still do it?" Then Dog-Head said, "My younger brother, I can understand what he is saying, but I don't know whether I could talk the language myself. I may or may not be able to speak it (enough to make myself understood). I don't know." Then the leader said, "It is good, older brother. Try to talk to him, and whatever you do will be better than nothing." Then Dog-Head said to the Shawnee prophet, "I can understand what you are saying, but I am afraid to talk to you because I don't know whether I could make myself clear to you." The prophet thanked him and said, "It is good. I want to talk to you Winnebago."

Then they had a long conversation and this is what he said, "Younger brothers, we are not doing the right thing and that is why we are not getting along very well in life."

792 At that time they (the other tribes) were having their night dances,
787 so the Winnebago moved over to them. There they heard the
173 prophet speak. He said that he had been sent by the Creator because the Indians were wandering away from their old customs. For that reason the Creator had sent him to tell them of it. He at first forgot all about it, for the devil misrepresented things to him and he believed him. The devil had told him that he would go to heaven and that he could not be killed. He had told him that he had given him a holy belt. He was a bad person. Whenever he got angry he would throw his belt down on the ground and it would change into a yellow rattlesnake and rattle. When he did this the rest of the people were afraid of him. He was very mean when drunk. They were afraid of him, not only on account of his belt, which he could turn into a yellow rattlesnake, but also because of the fact that he was very strong. If, when he was drunk, a number of people jumped on him, afterwards he would find out about it and hit them. If they would resist he would kill them.

It was utterly impossible for him to be killed. He was unkind to the women. They would go with him not because they liked him

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but because they were afraid of him. It was a dangerous thing to say anything about him. Whenever he wished to drink he would take some person's valuables and buy drink with it. These are the things he did. The Creator had sent him on a mission to the earth, but the devil had misled him. 792 787 173

On one occasion (when he was drunk) quite a number of people jumped on him and nearly killed him. When he awoke the next morning he asked his wife who had done it and she told him. "Well, they will hear of me soon. However, I want to go and take a bath first and cool off and then take my revenge, when I get back." When he was in bathing a man came to him and said, "They have told me to come after you, so let us go." Then he went back with him and he took him to the place from which he had originally started. Then the Creator said, "How are you getting on with the work which you were to do?" Then he remembered what he had been doing. Then the Creator said, "Is it for this that I created you?" Then he took his mouth and showed it to him and he saw that it was crooked and sticking out in all directions. Then he took his understanding (and showing it to him), he said, "Did I create you thus?" Then he looked into his ears and they were crooked and ragged. Thus he made him see all his bad characteristics and his evil mind. Then he took out his heart and showed it to him. It was all furrowed up and bad to look upon. "Did I create you thus?" said the Creator.

"Now, then, you will do better the next time," and he sent him back. This time, however, he (the prophet) did not come here to get revenge. He came to tell of the mysteries, but no one would believe him. "He is just getting crazier all the time," they said of him. Then he told all to gather in one place and he promised to say nothing but the truth. Then he made a small flat war club, cleared a piece of ground and laid it there. Then he said to those assembled, "If anyone can lift this, then I will not say it (i. e., talk about my mission)."

Now he (the prophet) was one of triplets. The third one was teased a good deal and one day he said, "I am getting tired of this teasing and am going home." Then he died. They had been teasing him about his head, which was very narrow. There were thus two left. The brother who was left was a powerful man. Bullets could not penetrate him, and indeed it was impossible to kill him in any way. It was this brother who had told him not to talk (about his mission). Then the prophet said to him, "Well, if you can lift this war club I will not speak about it any more." Then he tried to lift the little war club and failed. After that the brother made no more remarks about it.

Then he had them make a long lodge and they were told to go after a number of bears. As many as he told them to get, that many

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792 they would bring home with them. Thus they knew that he was
787 telling the truth. All the people in the country listened to him and
173 what he prophesied came true, so they believed him holy.

One day they told him that the whites were coming. After a short time they said, "They are still coming. There are very many of them." The lookouts were always watching and they saw them coming. Then the prophet said, "When they come, listen to them, and when they sleep we will attend to them." Now the whites had come; they had to cut through the roads to come. When they were near one of their number came over to ask where they could camp and they were told to camp right there. In the night, when they were asleep, they shot at them. They were half asleep and they ran away without their weapons. A tribe of Indians was just then going down the stream and these shot at the whites, too. Then they turned back and the commander had the bugle blow and called them to themselves. Then they took their guns and fought. Many Indians were killed. The one who had led the Winnebago over was killed in this battle.

Then his son started back home. His name was Small-Snake. As they were returning, unprepared for danger, a boat came down the stream and passed very close to them. The women (he was the only man among them) cried out. He was without any ammunition except two shots. Just as he got ready to shoot they were recognized. The people in the boat were not Americans but Frenchmen and they were very hungry. Thus they were saved, and the Frenchmen gave them plenty of ammunition. Then they passed safely on.

The Indians had scattered in every direction and no one knew who was alive. Then Dog-Head blessed them with a powerful medicine that he possessed. "My son (he was addressing Small-Snake), if I were to induce you to join the Medicine Dance, why that honor would perish with your death. Now they say that a man named Large-Walker had a vision in which he was blessed by a loon. The loon blessed him, saying, 'Large-Walker, I also bless you with this (medicine). When I work for the chief and when I sweep his lodge, I sweep all the bad things outside. It will be the same with this medicine. If a person partakes of something bad, he will not die, no matter how bad it is, but, on the contrary, he will live. Now when you wish to use this medicine, pour some tobacco for me and I will smoke it.' Then he looked at the loon and the loon had something growing out of his back. That is what he was referring to. Then the loon said again, 'When you want to dig it, don't dig it right away (i. e., without performing the proper rites). You must offer a white feather, a white deerskin, red feathers, and tobacco. Then you can dig it. If you make these offerings, you will never fail in

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anything. With this I bless you (this herb), and no one else in the world will know it.'" 792 787

This is what Dog-Head told Small-Snake: "As long as your posterity lasts, so long can you use this medicine. If I had given you clothes, when they were worn out, that would be the end of them. Your father spoke to me in your behalf and that is why I am giving you this medicine." Dog-Head told the truth, for even to the present day this medicine is being used. It is a purgative and a valuable medicine. 173

When the Winnebago returned the possessor of the medicine was careless and placed it in a hole in a cliff. When he came back for it it could not be found. He looked all over for it but it was apparently gone. Then they said, "We should not have done this. We should look before acting." Indeed, nowhere did they ever find it afterwards.

Now, it is four generations since the Shawnee prophet prophesied, and from that time there have been many prophets among us, as he is said to have told the people. Many have prophesied, but none have told anything that seemed reasonable. The Shawnee prophet was good, but those who have come after him have prophesied so that people might praise them, or just for the sake of talking. 792 787

It is said that the Shawnee prophet said that there would come a time when a woman would prophesy and that she should be immediately killed. The end of the world would be near then. Then he is said to have said that a little boy would prophesy and that one was to give ear to what he said.

The Peyote people claim that their ceremony is the fulfillment of this prophesy and that it is true. The Shawnee prophet had said that there would be springs of water in front of the people's lodges and it is so at the present time, for the water is at our very doors. His prophesy was correct and he told the truth. Then he said that trees would travel and this is happening to-day, for trees are loaded into trains and are carried all around the country. He told the truth and he knew what was going to happen. He said that one day we would be able to write our own language and we are doing that to-day, for we have a Bible in Winnebago and we are able to write to one another in our own language. All these things he was able to foretell four generations ago. [798]

A Winnebago by the name of Noise-Thunder had also prophesied that we would be able to write our own language. One thing that he said, however, was not correct. He said that the bad thing that has come upon us will make us forget our own ways. He meant that we should not take up with the white man's ways. "Don't do [77]

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The tradi- 101
tions speak only of Green Bay as their original habitat. On the other [173]
shore of Green Bay were the Menominee, who likewise have no recollection of having lived anywhere else. To the northeast, along Door Peninsula, were the Potawatomi, unquestionably intruders, who had come by way of Mackinaw. To the southwest lay the Sauk and Fox, the closely related Kickapoo, and the enigmatic Mascoutin. Finally,

[172]

FIG. 2.—MAP OF WISCONSIN, SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF CIRCULAR MOUNDS.

to the south lay the Miami. Such seems to have been the distribution of the tribes around Green Bay and Lake Michigan at the first advent of the whites. Within 50 years of the landing of Nicollet the places were entirely shifted. Winnebago villages are found scattered 167
all along the Fox River and Lake Winnebago, the Sauk and Fox and 131
Kickapoo are on their way farther south, and the Potawatomi are in possession of the southern shore of Green Bay and the western shore of Lake Michigan. Later still we find the Winnebago extending all

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172 of the distribution of copper among the Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo, and if we were in a position to tell whether or not these tribes had copper before their arrival in Wisconsin. We might then be in a better position to decide whether the Winnebago obtained their copper from these tribes or from some northern tribe, presumably the Potawatomi or Menominee. It is generally supposed that they actually did obtain their copper implements through the intermediation of these two last-mentioned tribes, although there is no really conclusive evidence for it. That opportunities for their transmission through the Menominee or Potawatomi were plentiful is unquestioned, and the only problem is whether the systematic exchange was not conditioned by the appearance of the white traders.

The last problem connected with Winnebago archeology is the authorship of the numerous flint arrowheads. They are found all over Wisconsin, in every nook and corner of Winnebago territory, in every stage of manufacture, and yet the Winnebago of to-day regard them as having been made by some other tribe. The most common explanation of their origin is the legendary one that they [173 825 776] were made by worms. In the few cases where the old men were of a different opinion, the writer was assured that they were the "bones" of the water-spirits, and consequently holy. Numerous myths speak of them in connection with the water-spirit. The Indians admit that they had at times used them as arrow points, but insist that in every case they were found in the earth; that in fact people were generally blessed with them. Mr. Skinner informs me that the Menominee, on the other hand, remember very well how they were made. Among the Winnebago, until recently, three kinds of arrow points were in use: one, properly not an arrow point at all but simply a sharpened arrow, the second consisting of sharpened portions of pieces of antlers, and the third consisting of a turtle claw that had been softened and straightened. It has generally been maintained that the presence of regular "quarries" absolutely clinched the hypothesis of a Winnebago origin for the flint arrow points, but it seems to us that we would first have to prove that in every case where such quarries are found no tribe but the Winnebago had ever occupied that territory, because had any Algonquian tribe been there they might be held as much responsible for these quarries as the Winnebago. That they were not used within the recollection of the oldest men among the Winnebago there can be no doubt, because this question was repeatedly put to them, with negative results.

It seems best, therefore, to attach some significance to current belief as to the origin of the flint arrow points and to assume for the present that they were either the work of the prehistoric ancestors of the Winnebago or that of some tribe that had occupied the terri-

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Mangiksuntega.....Shakes the earth.
Teonimanigs.....Walks first.
Dja"pdjirshigs.....Streak of lightning.
Manziwimanigs.....He who walks in the cloud.
Ahu-lasretega.....Long wings.

## The Bear Clan

### INTRODUCTION

Seven versions of the Bear clan origin myth were obtained, so that for this clan, at least, a fairly intensive study of the variations and their significance can be made. Perhaps the most interesting fact to point out is the apparent existence of two recognized versions, one called the minor or false and the other the true. The complete version was only told when the interrogator had paid enough.[11] The minor version is not at all concerned with the origin of the Bear clan but appears to be largely an account of the origin of the reciprocal relations of the Bear and Wolf clans. The second is the real origin myth. The version obtained does not, however, seem complete.

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[123]

The typical origin myths (excluding the fifth version) are of two types, those that speak of Earthmaker creating the ancestors of the clan and those that do not mention his name. Undoubtedly those versions that do not mention Earthmaker's name are the older. Those that speak of Earthmaker show clearly the influence of the general origin myth and of shamanistic systematization. This is particularly apparent in the sixth version, which was told in connection with the bear feast.

The subject matter of the myths relates to the manner in which the bears came to the great gathering at Green Bay, the older versions having them originate from the water and the later versions having them created by Earthmaker and sent to the earth. In the former they are distinctly heroic animals and in the latter vague spirit animals. The nature of the relation of these animals to the present clansmen is not clearly stated in the myths, and there is not the slightest mention of the present current belief on the subject. The myths seem almost entirely concerned with the question of the origin of the disciplinary functions of the clan and of its relationship to the Wolf and a few of the other clans.

It is difficult to explain the remarkable differences in the various versions. Comparing them with versions of the clan origin myths of the other clans, it seems likely that the short accounts represent the more archaic versions and the longer accounts those versions that

[11] My informant said, "If a person asked me about the origin of life (i. e., of my clan) and did not give me enough gifts or make enough offerings, I would tell him the minor version. Not until he gave me all that was necessary would I tell him the true account."

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614 have been subjected to literary and shamanistic remodeling. Only
173 the shorter accounts show in their subject matter and presentation certain affinities to the origin myths of the other clans, the longer ones being entirely different. Another cause for these marked differences may lie in the circumstance that since the longer accounts were associated with semi-esoteric ceremonies, the war-bundle feasts, they were known to but few individuals in the clan, whereas the shorter legends could be learned by anyone who chose to pay for
614 them. To this must also be added the fact that presumably some of the accounts current were based on hearsay knowledge.

[554] The Bear clan was, next to the Thunderbird clan, the most important in the tribe. Its lodge was either in the center of the vil-
[361] lage, opposite that of the Thunderbird clan, or at the extreme end, depending upon the scheme of village organization accepted as
[727] correct. In it were confined the prisoners of war and the insignia of office possessed by the clan, such as the so-called standards, really crooks, and the so-called *namaxinirini*. Some individuals also claimed
[513 that unmarried men were allowed to sleep in the lodge, although they
345] were not clear as to whether they did this in order to guard the prisoners confined there or simply used it as a club house.

The clan songs are given on page 235. The same songs are used
[533] when gathering the clansmen together to select soldiers.

Apart from the war bundle or war bundles, the Bear clan possessed
614 three insignia—a war club of a definite shape, the curiously whittled
778 baton of authority called *namaxinirini*, and the crooks used in battle called *hoke'reus*. Whenever the clan was exercising any of its functions the leader would always hold in his hands the *namaxinirini*.

The functions of the clan were probably the most important in the tribe and were entirely disciplinary. The author obtained the following description from an old Winnebago:

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625 The Bear clansmen are the soldiers or sergeants at arms of the tribe. They have complete control of everything concerning discipline. Whenever the Winnebago are traveling or moving (i. e., on their various seasonal moves), the Bear clansmen lead, and wherever they decide to stop, there the leader would put his stick in the ground and the other Bear clansmen would do the same, arranging them all in a row pointing toward the direction in which they were going. The main body of the tribe would follow at a certain distance. No member of the tribe would dare pass ahead of the row of sticks. If, for instance, the tribe was on the fall move and traveling toward a country in which there was plenty of game, should any individual go back and around the sticks in order to kill game on his own account, the soldiers (Bear clansmen) would, as soon as he was detected, go over to his lodge and burn it up with all its contents and break all his dishes. The only thing they would spare would be his life and that of the other members of his family. If the one who had transgressed the rules made any attempt at resistance he would be severely whipped. If he refused to submit to this and took up his fire arms to fight, the soldiers would stand there calmly, but the moment he made an attempt to shoot they would kill him. In such a case nothing would be said either by the rest of the tribe or his relatives about

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## The Wolf Clan

### INTRODUCTION

614 Three versions of the origin myth of this clan were obtained. The
173 second is the most interesting, for it gives the popular account of descent from the clan animal-ancestor, although it claims that he, in turn, was created by Earthmaker. One other important characteristic is the statement that the original clan ancestor married a human being and that from them the present members of the clan trace their descent. A similar type of descent is mentioned in a number of myths that can best be interpreted as village origin myths. The ownership of war bundles has also at times been linked up with descent from some spirit.

614 Very little is known at the present time about the functions of the Wolf clan. It is quite clear, however, that the clan once possessed powers of considerable importance. From the fact that the Wolf people are still occasionally called "minor soldiers" and that they are so closely linked with the Bear clansmen it is likely that their functions were similar in nature to those of the Bear people. They probably assisted the latter.

[823] Water was sacred to the Wolf clan as it also was to the Water-spirit clan. A person was not allowed to tell a Wolf clansman that he looked like a wolf nor allowed to sit on a log in a Wolf clan lodge.
[682] If a man kills a Wolf clansman accidentally and then sits on the log in a Wolf lodge, he has to be freed.

According to one informant, the Wolf clan at one time possessed four sticks, which they would use and with which they kept time while the drum was beaten.

[582] According to one informant, the Wolf clansmen were the only people who were allowed to intermarry.

The Wolf clansmen give a feast when a Bear child is born, to show respect for their friend. They give the child a name of their own clan.

[796] The Wolf feast is held in the spring of the year, when the ice melts from the creeks and everything begins to grow. At the feast the
[262 clan origin myth is told and the members of the other clans are
252] allowed to hear it. The food used is boiled rice.

### ORIGIN MYTHS

#### FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 In the beginning the Wolf clan people came from the water.
539 Therefore their bodies are of water—i. e., their sacred possession is
776 water. There were four male wolves and four female wolves, and
[823] as they came up from the sea and swam toward the shore, one after the other, they caused waves to go before them. Therefore one of

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 614 551

Hiedjasgaga.....White-faced.
Hiedjadjopga.....Four-eyed.
Hi°p'iwinga.....Good-haired.
Hi°tcoga.....Blue-furred.
Hominank'a.....She who sits howling.
Manidjopga.....Four walking.
Manank'oga.....Throws up the earth (with his hind legs).
Ma°ok'arutraminank'a.....He who sits on the tree banks.
Niedjahuga.....Coming from the water.
Niedjawanik'iriga.....He who brings them back from the water.
P'etcoga.....Green forehead.
P'e-ogaga.....He who has a white forehead
P'ô°zakoga.....Big sand person.
Xe-aramminank'a.....He who sits on a bare hill.
Xe-omik'a.....He who dwells in a hill.
Xe-oratcoga.....He who travels to the hill.
Sintcoga.....Bushy tail.
Tcarawiga.....He who holds a deer in his mouth.
Tcadrawiga.....He who carries deer-feet in his mouth.
Tconankehûnga.....Chief wolf.
Tconanketcowinga.....First wolf.
Tconiminank'a.....Sits as a leader.
Wanuninigs.....He from whom nothing is hidden.
Warawaisinega.....He who carries something in his mouth.
Warawaiguga.....Comes back with something in his mouth.
Waruxewinga.....She who chases.
Wirap'oga.....He who lies in wait for them.

## THE WATER-SPIRIT CLAN 614

### INTRODUCTION

A rather poor version of the Water-spirit clan was obtained. It is, however, one of the few clan origin myths that contains the definite statement that the clan ancestors changed into human beings when they gathered at Green Bay. [173]

The functions of the Water-spirit clan were, in former times, exceedingly important. Almost all the informants were agreed that a chief was selected from that clan, but the exact nature of this chieftainship is not clear. One informant, himself a member of the Bear clan, said that the Water-spirit clan was the chief of the lower phratry; that the clans were arranged in three groups, one over which the Thunderbird clan ruled; another over which the Water-spirit clan ruled; and a third over which the Bear clan ruled. He insisted, however, that just as the Thunderbird clan rules over the whole tribe in a general way, so the Water-spirit clan ruled over the clans of the lower phratry. Other informants claimed that the Water-spirit clan originally ruled over the entire tribe and that its place was subsequently usurped by the Thunderbird clan. It might be best to regard the function of the Water-spirit clan as akin but subsidiary to that of the Thunderbird clan. [622] [554]

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Ma"jiwinga.....Yellowish-red earth (refers to deposits from iron springs).
Ma"nunp'aga.....Second earth person.
Ni-ergadjewinga.....She who plays on the water.
Ni amaniwinga.....She who walks on the water.
Ni-a"p'"winga.....She who makes water good.
Ni-a"dagewinga.....Still water.
Nicanaga.....Stream person.
Nihuga.....He who discharges water.
Ni-ot'a"pwinga.....She who jumps into the water.
Nidjobega.....Four streams.
Niwak'itcanga.....Selects (?) water.
Wakdjexicicik'a.....Bad Water-spirit.
Wakdjexihunga.....Chief of the Water-spirits.
Wakdjeximanigs.....Walking Water-spirit.
Wakdjexip'ings.....Good Water-spirit.
Wakdjexie"winga.....White Water-spirit.
Hep'ings.....Good horn.
Wadjxedega.....Big boat.
Hip'ahigs.....Sharp tooth.
Rabawinga.....Beaverskin woman.
Rabewinga.....Beaver.
Hejipga.....Short horn.

## The Buffalo Clan

### INTRODUCTION

The first version of the origin myth of the Buffalo clan is of considerable interest because it gives us an idea of the manner in which a myth had to be bought. It is one of the few origin myths that gives a precise location for the origin of a particular clan. What lake is meant by *de cicik* it is impossible to say. Considerable importance should be attached, however, to the fact that their place of origin differed from that of most of the other clans, because it may indicate that the people who came to be known under the name Buffalo joined the tribe after the other clans. 614 173

The Buffalo clansmen seem to have had the function of acting as the public criers and in general of being an intermediary between the chief and the tribe. This, however, has been denied by some informants, one of them a member of the clan. Their lodge was at the southeast corner of the village. Some informants deny that they had a special lodge, however. [624 203] [361]

The Buffalo and Water-spirit clans are friends and are supposed to bury each other's members. [764]

### ORIGIN MYTH[21]

Informant, member of the clan: "Listen, my grandson. Those who originated from the buffaloes and the way in which they origi- 614 173

[21] The following myth is given in the precise manner in which the individual who told it to me obtained the information from one of the old men who was privileged to narrate it. Unfortunately it was impossible to obtain any other clan origin myth in the same way. 53

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614 nated, they have heretofore told one another thus. This it is.
173 Whenever one asked about it, they would tell him, but they would
539 never tell him unless he brought some present. Even when they
[431] had a child whom they loved very much (and for whom they were accustomed to do everything), even to such a one they would not tell it unless he brought them gifts. Thus they would not even say the least thing about the story of their origin merely because they loved some one. It is really essential to make a gift. And if some one came, carrying a gift, the old man would ask him what he wanted and what he would like to know, as this was not the only thing gifts were made for. Then he would announce his desire. However, he would not be told in public but when he was alone. Then the old man who had the right to tell the origin myth would announce subsequently at some feast that he had told so-and-so the story of the origin of their clan and that if anyone wished to be told of the same he should in the future, when he himself had died, go to this
[867] young man and ask him in the proper way. Remember, he would add, that before everything else it is the duty of an individual to try and learn of the origin of his clan.

"Father,[22] this I give you, a full suit of clothes. This I am giving you." "Thanks, my son. What do you wish? What do you wish to hear?" "Father, what did we originate from?" "My son, you have done well. My son, he who makes the most gifts obtains life therewith." "Well, then, father, you need not tell me now, but later, when I have made a sufficient number of gifts, then you may tell me." "My son, you have spoken well and if you do as you say, you will travel unharmed along the road of life." "Father, these also I give you, some beads and a blanket." "Thanks, my son, it is good. Now, my son, what I told you was true. I did not tell it to you because I coveted anything of yours, but truly because it is true—this, that we must make a sufficient number of presents.
[431] Whoever does as you have done will obtain the possibility of a good life for himself." "Now again, father, I give you these gifts. There is enough food for you in it." "My son, you have done well, very well indeed, for the life that I am to give you is holy; and as you know, even if one was loved very much they would not tell him this merely because they loved him, as it is holy." "Father, this I give you as a gift, a horse, as I desire to know what we originated from." "Now, then, my son, you have done well. This is what I meant when I said it is holy. Therefore, my son, you have done well. Come and sit down here. Listen very carefully so that if afterwards anyone should ask you for this story you will be able to tell it well."

[22] He is now proceeding to give the dialogue that ensued between the old man and himself when he brought the presents.

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867 782 276 Thus he made the tobacco so that humans may ask life with it, and he will grant them their desires. This is all."

## CLAN NAMES

### TCE, HIK'IR'ARAIJERA (BUFFALO CLAN)

614 551

| | |
|---|---|
| Moratcega | He who travels the land. |
| Tcanimaniwinga | She who walks ahead. |
| Tcenikseiga | Suckling buffalo calf. |
| Tcega | Buffalo. |
| Tcep'anu"pga | Two buffalo heads. |
| Tcetcu"iwinga | First buffalo. |
| Tcedojenik'a | Buffalo yearling. |
| Tcedonink'a | Young buffalo bull. |
| Tcewinxadega | Big female buffalo. |
| Wirukanaxga | He who is in control. |
| Hehekmaniga? | Shaggy walker. |
| Tcehatcewinga | Buffalo hide blue. |
| Mangiksintcga | Shakes the earth by striking |
| Tcep'aga | Buffalo head. |
| Manok'azuhiga | Kicking up the earth |

## THE DEER CLAN

### INTRODUCTION

614 173 The first version of the origin myth of the Deer clan is in part like that of version 6 of the Bear clan origin myth and in part like that of version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth. It is the only myth that shares with version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth the account of the origin of death.

614 The Deer clan does not seem to have had any important functions, although in myth 1, it is stated that they claimed a "partial" chieftainship, whatever that may mean.

[571] It was considered an insult to tell a member of this clan that he resembled a deer.

[302] The facial painting is the same as that used for the Elk clan. (Pl. 46.)

[326 761] The Deer clan people tell one another not to sing their clan song very loudly, and also not to make any sudden movement of their limbs, for each movement might cause the death of a human being. For the same reason they are told not to weep too loudly, as each deer's limb is a symbol of one of the four directions. When, therefore, a Deer clansman moves a limb too hard when he is weeping over the decease of a member of his clan, he might be "putting some human being in the earth," and the wind would blow hard.

[552] The dog names obtained were *wankcigohoniga* and *na"natcgisga*.

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# THE WINNEBAGO TRIBE

## Part I

## CHAPTER I

### HISTORY

#### General Remarks

At what time the Winnebago entered Wisconsin it is impossible to say. It seems quite reasonable to suppose that they came from the east. If we are right in assuming that they are the builders of the effigy mounds, then we are justified in assigning a certain significance to the distribution of the latter. One of the interesting points of this distribution is that many are found along the shore of Lake Michigan and northward to Two Rivers, that some are found in Rock County, and that they gradually decrease in number as one proceeds north. This would lead us to assume that the Winnebago entered Wisconsin from the south, probably from the southeast. We ought, then, to find effigy mounds in Illinois and, in general, on the route of their probable journey from the east. This is not the case, and it is very difficult to account for their absence unless we assume that all traces of them have disappeared; that the Winnebago first developed their mound-building habit after they had reached Wisconsin; or that the mounds in Illinois are their work (and that of kindred tribes), and finally that the type of mound developed along different lines after they had definitely settled in Wisconsin. It is also possible that since the effigy mounds are undoubtedly closely associated with the clan organization this type of social organization was adopted by the Winnebago only after they entered Wisconsin. 172 174 [131]

There can be no doubt but that the Winnebago and the closely related tribes like the Missouri, Oto, and Iowa represented the second of the Siouan migrations westward. There were probably four of these migrations, as G. F. Will and H. J. Spinden claim, succeeding each other as follows: 174

1. Mandan, Hidatsa, Crow.
2. Iowa, Oto, Missouri, Winnebago.

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●174 3. Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kansa, Quapaw.

4. Dakota, Assiniboin.[1]

The linguistic grouping seems to bear out this theory with the [197] exception of the Mandan, who are far more closely related to the Winnebago and their kindred than to the Hidatsa. It seems likewise strange that the Hidatsa and Crow, on the one hand, and the Dakota and Assiniboin, on the other, belonging to the first and fourth "migrations," should nevertheless speak dialects that are closely related. One might have expected that Dakota would be more like Omaha and its group.

173 The Winnebago themselves have no traditions telling of their migrations from the east. The majority of the people questioned asserted that the tribe had originated at Green Bay. This is, however, merely the origin myth of the Thunderbird clan, which apparently has displaced other origin accounts. While, in a few instances, other places were mentioned, the localities to which they referred were all in Wisconsin. There may be some significance in the origin legends of some of the clans which claim that they came from over the sea (the lake), but it is utterly impossible to determine whether we are here dealing with a myth pure and simple or with a vague memory of some historical happening.

The Winnebago have, however, some recollection of their separation from their kindred Siouan tribes. The accounts collected are short and fragmentary, but this may be due largely to the fact that no systematic attempt was made by the author to obtain detailed information on this point. The following fragmentary accounts will give some idea of the value of these recollections.

*a*. In the early days the Winnebago often went out hunting after they had finished hoeing their corn and other crops. During one of these travels they killed an elk and every lodge received a piece of the animal except one lodge in which a man, his wife, and six daughters with their husbands lived. Thinking that they were disliked by the rest of the tribe, these remained behind the next day when the others continued their journey. They have never been heard from since. It is said that the Quapaws do not know where they come from and we think that they may be descended from this family.

*b*. When the Winnebago lived on Lake Michigan the tribe was so large that each clan had its own chief and a general chief presided over the whole tribe. After a while it became so hard to obtain food that a band of Winnebago went south. They never returned. These are now in the Southwest. Some of them are the Missouri and some the Iowa. Band after band kept moving away until only one was left—the present Winnebago.

[1] The Mandans, Papers of the Peabody Museum. Vol. III, no. 4, pp. 97-98, Cambridge, 1908.

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173 The other tribes of the second "migration" have semihistorical legends telling of their separation from the Winnebago. Major Bean told Maximilian that an Oto chief had informed him that originally the Winnebago inhabited the lakes and that they subsequently migrated to the Southwest, presumably in pursuit of buffalo. At Green Bay they divided, the Winnebago remaining there while the others continued their journey.

Dorsey was informed by Iowa chiefs[1] that "their people and the Oto, Missouri, Omaha, and Ponca 'once formed part of the Winnebago nation.' According to the traditions of these tribes, at an early period they came with the Winnebago from their prisean home north of the Great Lakes, but that the Winnebago stopped on the shore of a great lake (Lake Michigan), attracted by the abundant fish."

101 When the Winnebago were first discovered they were entirely surrounded by Central Algonquian tribes. To the north of them lay the Menominee on the shore of Green Bay, to the southeast the Miami, to the south and southwest the Sauk and Fox, and to the west the Ojibwa. The nearest of their kindred were in southern Iowa, western Wisconsin, and eastern Minnesota. Under these circumstances it is not strange that the Winnebago show marked evidence [177] of Central Algonquian influence (fig. 1).

● 174 At what time the Winnebago were isolated from their Siouan kindred it is impossible to state. We doubt, however, whether this occurred before the sixteenth century. The Central Algonquian tribes in this region are clearly intruders. The Ojibwa came from the northeast and the Fox, Miami, etc., from the south and the southeast. It seems clear, to judge from the number of effigy mounds found in the territory occupied by the Fox and Miami, that the Winnebago had lived there for a considerable length of time before they were pushed westward and northwestward by these tribes. When the Menominee arrived, and from what direction, it is difficult to determine. On purely linguistic grounds, judging from the close relationship of Menominee to Fox, we might assume that they, like the Fox and the Miami, entered Wisconsin from the south. In that case they might either be interpreted as representing the northernmost extension of the same migration which carried the Miami northward along the shore of Lake Michigan or as representing a prior invasion along the same route. If the latter assumption is correct, they may have arrived in Wisconsin before the Winnebago. One point seems [648] to confirm the thesis of their priority, namely, that they were never at war with the Winnebago, and it hardly seems possible that, had

[1] Handbook of Amer. Indn., Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 30, part 1, p. 662, Washington, 1907.

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they forced their way through the country occupied by the Winnebago, war would not have occurred.

The Winnebago call themselves *Hotcangara*, which has been variously interpreted as "people of the parent speech" by James Owen Dorsey and as "big fish people" by other observers. Dorsey's explanation, which is the one most generally accepted, is most certainly wrong, and represents an interpretation read into the word to make it fit the legends which claimed that the dialect was the most archaic of all the Siouan languages. It is true that *ho* may mean "speech," but *teuṡi* can only mean one thing, and that is "big, real." It is found with a number of animal names, such as *hiteuṡi*, "turtle," and *ceuiteuṡi*, "wolf." It corresponds strictly to the Dakotan *tuṡi*, "large." *Ho* means "fish" in Winnebago. The name Winnebago, as is well known, is of Algonquian origin.

The Winnebago were first encountered by white men in 1634, when Jean Nicolet visited them as agent for Governor Champlain. Where he encountered them is not definitely known. The Winnebago as a rule claim that it was at Green Bay. Some discussion has arisen of late years on this question. No contemporary narrative of the event exists, nor have the Winnebago any clearly marked legend that might be interpreted as referring to it.

An excellent description of their history has been given by P. V. Lawson [1] and from this we will quote at some length, selecting those periods that are of greatest importance in the history of the tribe and which can be illustrated by semihistorical legends still known to the Winnebago.

Much of our knowledge of the early history of the Winnebago is derived from Baqueville de la Potherie's Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale. A good deal of his information was obtained from Nicholas Perrot. For the period covering the years 1640–1660 we have the following information: [2]

> A few years ago, they numbered possibly 150 warriors. These savages have no mutual fellow-feeling; they have caused their own ruin, and have been obliged to divide their own forces. They are naturally very impatient of control, and very passionate; a little matter excites them; and they are great braggarts. They are, however, well-built, and are brave soldiers, who do not know what danger is; and they are subtle and crafty in war. Although they are convinced that their ancestors drew upon themselves the enmity of all the surrounding Nations, they cannot be humble. Their women are extremely laborious; they are neat in their houses, but very disgusting about their food.

[1] The Winnebago tribe, in Wisconsin Archæologist, vol. 6, no. 3, Milwaukee, 1907.
[2] Quoted in Lawson's paper, p. 88.

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172 the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, a territory in which the Winnebago have no recollection of ever having lived. The first question is very difficult to answer. There is always the possibility that some mounds may yet be discovered and again it is possible that all have been leveled considerably. The apparent persistency with which the Winnebago held to the custom of mound building during their forced migration since the eighteenth century, even when they lived in [174] places for only a short time, and the absence of any mounds in their legendary home, suggest the possibility that they never lived permanently near Green Bay.[5] This inference has not been drawn from a study of the archeological but from a study of the historical sources, by Mr. P. V. Lawson.[6] In this paper the writer tries to prove that all the old sources point to Doty Island situated in Fox River, at the foot of Lake Winnebago, as the place where Nicollet first met the Winnebago. Whatever the merits of the case may be, it is certain that, according to the Winnebago themselves, their original home was Green Bay. Into this tradition many legendary details have, of course, been woven, and it seems to us that the presumption of evidence favors Green Bay, although the complete absence of what seems to have been such a characteristic feature of Winnebago culture as effigy mounds suggests a possibility that the Green Bay settlement represented just the northernmost extension of the tribe. The large settlements found along Lake Winnebago so soon after Nicollet's landing make it reasonably certain that the Winnebago had been there before his arrival in Wisconsin.

We will also have to assume that the Winnebago erected the effigy mounds along the western shore of Lake Michigan, in an area that, since the coming of the whites, has been occupied successively by the Miami and Potawatomi. This would indicate that the Winnebago [174] originally came in a compact mass from the south. They, however, have no recollection of this fact and it must indeed have taken place a long time ago. This is, of course, only an hypothesis.

172 The effigy mounds are unquestionably supposed to represent the 178 eponymous clan animals of the Winnebago. It seems, however, as if three clan animals were never represented—namely, the wolf, the buffalo, and the fish. It is possible that the mound found near the asylum grounds at Madison, Wis., is intended to represent a wolf, but, even if this could be established, it would not explain the apparent absence of any more examples of one of the most important Winnebago clans.

[5] The absence of any mention of them in early records has no significance, for even in the nineteenth century, in regions where it seems incredible that they should have escaped notice, no mention is ever made of them by travelers.

[6] "The Habitat of the Winnebago," in the Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1908. Mr. A. C. Neville in a previous paper published in the Proceedings of 1906, sought to establish the thesis of a Green Bay home from the same data.

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It might be said that all recollection of the making of wooden vessels could easily have been lost in the last century or two and that therefore too much weight should not be given to present ignorance of the subject. There are a number of reasons, however, why ignorance in this particular case might be significant. First, many indications point to workmanship of a low order among the Winnebago in the manufacture of artifacts; second, there are many suggestions of two cultural strata in this tribe; third, while the Winnebago in Wisconsin still use wooden vessels, many of them claim that these were introduced; and fourth, all the informants who gave this information were old people. If the author were to hazard an hypothesis, it would be the following: In very early times few objects were fashioned out of wood, but gradually contact with the Menominee led to the introduction of many wooden vessels, and finally the acquisition of European axes, knives, and other implements made it possible to manufacture such vessels in large numbers. A similar explanation was offered by an Indian with regard to the use of dugouts.

Besides wood as a material for dishes and spoons of various kinds and sizes, shells were utilized, while sticks served as knives.

All informants agree that neither bone nor stone were used in the manufacture of utensils.

For cooking, clay pots were used. These vessels, most of which were very large, with round bottoms, always hung over the fire. The material used in their manufacture was blue clay found at Green Bay, on or near the site of St. Paul, Minn., mixed with shell shards, glue from sturgeon vertebræ, and the gelatinous substance in the horns of the deer. The addition of these ingredients greatly increased the cohesiveness of the clay. The material was either molded with the hands or in holes of the desired shape dug in the ground and lined with leaves. Finally, the vessels were dried over a slow fire in small kilns constructed for the purpose. None of the clay vessels were provided with handles. Some were ornamented with geometric patterns. The irregular incised designs on some Winnebago vessels are the impressions of grass blades with which the mold was lined.[7]

*Fire making.*—In former times fire was always made by means of a simple fire drill. This method is still used for ceremonial occasions.

*Tanning.*—The author never witnessed the process of tanning. The description obtained agrees exactly with that of Mr. A. Skinner here quoted:[8]

After the skin has been removed, the hair is scraped from it. During this process the skin is hung over an obliquely inclined leg, one end of which has been smoothed

[7] One informant gave a description of pottery making in which a wheel was used, but as no other Winnebago corroborated this statement the author is convinced that it is inaccurate.

[8] Anthr. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist. pt. iv, pt. ii, pp. 268-269.

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PART II

# CHAPTER VIII

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—GENERAL DISCUSSION

We are justified in assuming that the twofold division of the Winnebago and the southern Siouan tribes, Dhegiha and Teiwere, had a common historical origin. Our identification is based upon the existence in these three tribal units of specific similarities apart from those of social organization. Positive proof that the type of social organization is historically identical among these tribes is not, however, forthcoming. This will become even more apparent when we consider the twofold division from the point of view of the names they bear, the subdivisions within them, and their specific functions.

According to our informants, the twofold organization among the Dhegiha and Teiwere only existed upon specific occasions, when the tribe was on the tribal hunt. We are in complete ignorance as to whether in olden times this arrangement was reflected in the village, but we know that whether it was or not, the twofold division was present in a very definite manner in the consciousness of the people themselves; that is, every individual definitely knew to which one of the two divisions he belonged and that certain names and functions were associated with them. The moment, however, that we stop to analyze these names, functions, etc., we realize at once that to-day they connote different ideas in the different tribes under discussion. The names of the divisions seem particularly significant in this connection. Among the Omaha they are known as Ictacunda and Hanga, probably connoting Sky people and Leaders; among the Ponca, as Wajaje and Teiju, Earth and Thunder; among the Kansa, as Yata and Ictunga, Right side and Left side; among the Osage as Teiju and Hanga, Peace and War side. The names for the Kwapa, Oto, Missouri, and Iowa are not known. It will be seen at a glance that the terms Teiju and Ictacunda are identical, and it will also be noticed by reference to the monographs of J. O. Dorsey and Miss Alice C. Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, that these names as well as the name Hanga are names of subdivisions within these divisions. Were these names first used to designate the two divisions or the subdivisions? There seems to be no reason for believing that the

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171 names were first applied to the larger divisions, whereas a number of
174 facts speak strongly in favor of the reverse. In no case, for instance,
114 can it be shown that the two divisions, per se, have any functions
614 except that of regulating marriage. The various political and ceremonial functions displayed pertain to the subdivisions composing them. Owing to the massing together of a number of such functions on each side, we often obtain the impression that these belong to the larger unit, as such. And indeed this may be said to be true at the present time, in so far as the functions of one subdivision have become identified with the larger unit. All that we wish to point out here is that the names of the two divisions may be different, and that they may connote different ideas in the different divisions of an historically related culture, due to specific historical development within each. Among the Dhegiha there seem to be a number of reasons for assuming that the present names of the two divisions are not the historically primary ones.

It is far more difficult to discuss the names of the subdivisions or "gentes" within the two larger divisions. From a comparative point of view it must be regarded as significant that the names of the subdivisions within the Teiwere tribes tally almost exactly with those of the Winnebago and that those of the Dhegiha tribes tally with the names of many of the two latter, although they possess, in addition, a large number not found among them. The Teiwere and Winnebago have animal appellations for their clans, the Dhegiha have animal appellations plus a type of designation descriptive of animal taboo. Which of the two types is the older it is difficult to say. This fact might be noted, however, that the animal names have, to a large extent, been forgotten and that the descriptive taboo appellations have not; that in a number of cases there is some reason for believing that these animal appellations have been reinterpreted and in other cases replaced by nonanimal designations; that the origin myths of these divisions always explain why a certain animal is associated with a subdivision, and rarely the origin of the taboo name; and lastly, that the majority of personal names are strictly comparable to the clan names of the Winnebago and the Teiwere. On the other hand, the descriptive taboo type of name is found frequently among the band appellations of the Plains Indians, with whom the Omaha had come into intimate contact and by whom they had been influenced along definite lines of ceremonial and social development. For these reasons we would like to suggest that the animal appellations are historically primary and that the taboo type became subsequently popular and spread over the whole tribe. Examples of changes in the names of subdivisions are by no means isolated. The Winnebago exhibit a tendency to substitute names indicative of the function of a clan for the old animal names—and this

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has gone so far that a large number of individuals would probably deny to-day that the Hawk and the Warrior clan are one and the same. Again, among the Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw we find Sun and Star clans, and, if we were to imagine that for some reason or another the latter type of name became popular, it might here become dominant within a comparatively short time. 171 174 174 614

Like a twofold division, the clan may connote a number of different things to the minds of the Indians. The Omaha apparently used the term *tonwoggthoⁿ*, which means literally "place-of-habitation-of-those-related," *gthoⁿ* being the possessive-reflexive pronoun. It would thus seem to coincide with a geographical unit. The Quapaw use the term *enikucigu*, evidently meaning "people"; the Kansa, the term *wayumida*, "those-who-sing-together"; the Osage, the term *peda*, "fireplace"; and the Winnebago, the term *hokik'a'radjera*, "those-related-to-one-another." The remarks made about the specific names of the twofold divisions apply here. There is no reason for assuming that these are historically primary. A possible historical hint that they are not will be mentioned later.

The twofold division apparently regulates nothing but marriage. [532] It has at the present time no other function, per se. Nevertheless, a number of ethnologists, and for that matter Indians themselves, speak of the functions of the two sides. If we consider the Omaha "circle," we notice that practically all the ceremonial functions are on one side; that among the Osage "war" and "peace" functions are found on both sides; and that, as a matter of fact, the functions of war and peace apparently relate to a certain reciprocal relation existing between the two divisions. Indeed, there is no reason to justify the use of these terms. Among the Iowa, J. O. Dorsey quotes Hamilton to the effect that the regulation of the hunt and other tribal affairs was in the hands of one "phratry" during the autumn and winter, and in that of the other in spring and summer. It is, however, doubtful whether this was the case. Among the Winnebago, as we shall see, the functions of war and peace were grouped together on one side, the functions of the other side being confined to those relating to the policing and regulation of the hunt. But the only fact of importance to us here is not whether there appears a balancing of functions connected with the social organization, but whether the Indian thinks there is; and here the consensus of opinion favors the view that no Omaha would, for example, suppose that the Hangacenu division, as such, was the custodian of the real pipes of peace. This belonged to the Inkesabe gens, and there is not a shred of evidence to support the view that it was delegated to that clan by the larger unit. The same reasoning applies to the Hanga clan. That the importance of the possessions of the latter clan played an important part in the associations of the Omaha, even to the extent

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171 of impressing its name upon the whole division, we do not doubt
174 for a moment. Other reasons may have led to the designation of the other half by the name of one of its component clans.

114 Similarly, among the Ponca, the Wajaje half corresponds to the
614 Wajaje clan, the keepers of the sacred pipe; and among the Osage, the Teiju and the Hanga divisions of one side, and the Wajaje divisions of the other, correspond to the clans with the same name that are associated with important ceremonial-political functions. On the other hand, we have the fact that among the Kansa the names of the two large divisions are distinct from any of the clans in those divisions, and the same is true for the Teiju division of the Ponca. If we correlate this last fact with the apparent absence of any association of important ceremonial or political functions with specific clans, the suggestion might be permitted that no incentive existed in the minds of these people for the clan becoming identified with the larger divisions. Among the Winnebago the names for the divisions are quite different from those of the clans composing them, but at the present time the fact that the clan in each division has definite functions and powers has reacted on the interpretation of the social organization, and it is quite customary to refer to one half as *hunk* or "chiefs," and to the other as *manap'e* or "soldiers," although the latter is not common.

In short, we have a right to see, in all the facts mentioned, indications of a possible historical development whose characteristics seem to lie in the identification of the name and function of an important clan with that of a much larger division.

[182] The Winnebago social organization has long since broken down, but its details are still so well preserved in the minds of the older men, and particularly in the literature of the tribe, that no difficulty was experienced in reconstructing it. This reconstruction, however, does not enable us to determine the relation of the clan and dichotomous division to the distribution of the tribe over the large area once occupied in Wisconsin. That the 4,000-odd individuals composing the tribe at the advent of the whites lived together is extermely doubtful. The nature of the woodlands of Wisconsin and the fairly extensive territory over which the Winnebago were found scattered not long after Nicolet's first visit are facts that practically exclude such a hypothesis. The myth that speaks of a village that at one time was so long that those living at one end did not know what was transpiring at the other contains too many literary touches to justify its use as an historical document.

114 The question, therefore, of village groups is of considerable impor-
621 tance, because there may have been, cutting across the general organization, another smaller, perhaps looser social unit, that of "band" or village, setting off one group against another. Systematic question-

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616 that, as mentioned before, were a new clan introduced now among the Winnebago its position would depend exclusively upon the nature of the animal associated with it. As similar reasons dictate clan
614 groupings among some of the Central Algonquian tribes, a few words
825 concerning this type of association will not be amiss. The groupings of the fauna into a distinct number of categories is extremely common in North America. Among the Winnebago, a number of other Siouan, and Central Algonquian tribes, there was a fivefold classification; earth animals, sky animals, empyrean animals, aquatic animals, and subaquatic animals. Among the Winnebago the thunderbird belongs to the empyrean; the eagle, hawk, and pigeon, to the sky; the bear and wolf, to the earth; the fish, to the water; and the water-spirit, below the water. This religio-mythological conception has unquestionably received a certain amount of sympathetic elaboration at the hands of shamans, and particularly at the hands of the
[196] leaders of such ceremonies as the Winter Feast, the Clan Feast, and the Clan Wake, as well as at the hands of those who had in their keeping the clan origin myths.

The characteristics of the thunderbird, eagle, bear, and water-spirit as clan animals, and as animals connected with a division of fauna, are also related to the general conception of these animals per se. The eagle and hawk are birds of prey; the thunderbird is generally a deity granting long life, and associated with peace, although his connection with war is also common. Similarly, the bear is supposed to have a "soldier" nature, and the water-spirit is intimately associated with rites pertaining to crossing streams, calming the sea, and ownership of water property. This correlation unquestionably indicates an influence of the religio-mythological conception of the animal upon the social group with which it is associated. How far this can go is abundantly attested by the names and behavior of the *waggeregi* and *manegi* divisions.

On the other hand, we may legitimately ask what influence the two divisions had in molding the attributes of these animals, or upon the behavior of the groups with which their name was associated. The functions of a warrior may have determined, as they certainly have accentuated, the "warrior" characteristics of the eagle and hawk, nor is there any easily intelligible reason why the thunderbird should be associated with peace. From our knowledge
[177] of the social organization of other Siouan tribes, the political functions of the clan seem to be the characteristic feature of the organization, and this being the case, the possibility of associations of warlike and peaceful attributes with animals may as much be ascribed to the influence of the social unit as vice versa. With regard to such functions as the exogamy of the two divisions or that of the clans, or of the reciprocal burial relationship of the *waggeregi* and

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614 825 776 the spirit, but there is no doubt that every vision is symbolized by a special gift from the "spirit." The guardian spirit unit may thus be said to consist of a special religious attitude plus a symbol.

The attitude toward the clan animal differs from that toward the guardian spirit in this characteristic respect, that more emphasis is laid upon identification with the animal itself than with the "spirit." As far as could be determined, the clan animal is the thunderbird with his characteristics of lightning and thunder, of the bear who likes honey and raisins, etc. The animal is engraved as clan symbol [423] and used as a property mark, and he is brought into intimate contact with the group by the postulation of descent. Naturally, descent is not from the "spirit" animal but from the living animal species. Nevertheless the clan animal has, at the same time, retained its place as a guardian spirit, and in a most suggestive way, for the blessing of a clan animal is more easily obtained by a member of the clan than by an outsider. The clan animal is, in short, a clan protector.

In this change of attitude two considerations seem pertinent: first, the possibility of the "spirit" of the guardian spirit being a product of the esoteric elaboration connected with religious societies, and that its apparent absence in the clan animal represents an exoteric conception; secondly, under the influence of the social functions of the clan, an originally strong religious conception of the clan animal gave place to an identification with the animal species itself. It might be objected that there is no inherent correlation between social organization and animal species as contrasted with spirit animals. It seems certain, however, that descent could only be reckoned from the animal, and as long as descent is postulated it must be from the animal. With regard to the historical priority of the "spirit" conception, little can be definitely said except that the systematization it has undergone suggests the influence of esoteric societies, and that the visions obtained during fasting appear to speak of the guardian "spirit" as an animal. On general psychological considerations we are inclined to believe in the contrast of the material and spiritual conception of the animal as a real fact, although it would be hazardous to say whether one or the other lies at the basis of the attitude of the individual toward his clan animal.

### RELATIONSHIP TO CLAN ANIMALS

614 825 The question of descent from the animal brings us to the consideration of the whole intricate relationship of the individual to the clan animal, a subject that has played so prominent a part in discussions of totemism. There are two distinct sources for the de- [124 174] termination of this relationship—data obtained in reply to direct questioning, and that contained in some miscellaneous myths and in the origin myths.

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# CHAPTER IX

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—SPECIFIC CLANS

### The Thunderbird Clan

#### INTRODUCTION

The Thunderbird clan was unquestionably the most important of all the Winnebago clans. In numbers it seems to have equaled the three other clans of its phratry, and, since the upper phratry had about as many individuals as the lower phratry, the Thunderbird clan must have comprised about one-fourth of the entire tribe. How are we to explain this? Historical data are, of course, missing, so that any explanation reached is entirely hypothetical, but still it seems justifiable to hazard some interpretation. The most plausible hypothesis is to assume that the Winnebago were originally organized on a village basis and that the largest of these villages and the earliest to adopt the clan organization were those that took the thunderbird as their totem. 614 [174]

In the origin myths, the origin of the Thunderbird clan is always given as Green Bay, and in contradistinction to the accounts of other clans, the ancestors of the clan are supposed to have originated at Green Bay and not to have traveled there from some other place. How much credence is to be given to such a localization it is hard to say, but assuredly it should not be dismissed as entirely worthless. 614 773

The origin myths of the Thunderbird clan possess some interesting features which deserve a few words of comment. In the first version we have an account of the creation of the world which is almost identical with that given in the origin myth of the Medicine Dance (p. 350). None of the other clan origin myths contain it. How are we to explain this? As a secondary accretion or as an original and archaic feature? On internal evidence we suspect that it is a secondary accretion and that the original version began with the second paragraph. There seems to be no intelligible reason for having Earthmaker create two sets of individuals. If we suppose that the original version began with the second paragraph and that the general account of the creation was subsequently added, we would have a satisfactory explanation of this feature. Only one of the three versions obtained contains this general ac- 614 773 114

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May 16, 1915.

[p. 1]

# Canada
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# Museum Bulletin No. 10

## ANTHROPOLOGICAL SERIES, No. 5.

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*The Social Organization of the Winnebago Indians. An Interpretation.*[1]

By Paul Radin.

## INTRODUCTION.

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616

The social organization of the Winnebago is based upon a twofold division of the tribe, which seems to represent an historically ultimate social grouping, not only for the Winnebago but likewise for a majority of the other Siouan tribes—the Dhegiha group,[2] the Tciwere group,[3] the Hidatsa, and the Mandan. What its original significance for these tribes was, it is now impossible to determine, for the different re-interpretations it has undergone necessarily preclude, in the absence of historical data, the possibility of satisfactorily demonstrating this point. As a matter of historical fact, we do not even know whether we are to regard the above social grouping as having been a common possession of these tribes before they parted company, or as having developed among one of them and subsequently spreading among the others. Could we unhesitatingly assume as criteria the tenacity with which these people adhere to this grouping when in contact with other groupings and the intimate linguistic and cultural relationship that seems to exist, at least between

[1] Based on notes in the private possession of the author.
[2] Includes Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kansas, and Quapaw.
[3] Includes Oto, Iowa, and Missouri.

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174 the Winnebago, Dhegiha, and Tciwere, we would be compelled
616 to accept as true the former of these historical possibilities. Such, as a matter of fact, is probably the correct interpretation. However, it might properly be objected that the Mandan, certainly the Hidatsa, do not exhibit such an intimate cultural and linguistic relationship to the other tribes mentioned and yet exemplify the same social grouping; that it is found among the Creek and among a number of other tribes. The twofold grouping associated with exogamy has indeed developed frequently enough to justify us in including it in a consideration of historical possibilities.

Even were we to accept in toto the criteria of tenacity, how much does it tell us of social organization? The social unit is itself a complex, and it is absolutely essential to know whether it is the social unit as such, or some element of the complex, that is really the prime mover in the "tenacity" exhibited. A few examples will make this point clear. The Melanesian societies exclude women. They are, however, in all cases associated with religious and ceremonial observances in which women do not participate. Now, is the "tenacity" that the societies exhibit with regard to the exclusion of women an expression of the nature of a "society" or is it historically the reflex expression of the religious and ceremonial observances associated with it? Among the White-earth Ojibwa, an Englishman or an American who marries into the tribe is enrolled in two new clans, the Lion and the Eagle, these animals having become associated in the Indian mind as clan totems with the respective people. That is, all the manifold differences of social organization between the Ojibwa and the whites play an insignificant role as compared with a grouping apparently determined by "religious" criteria. Strangers, like Dakota, who have no animal associated with them, have among the Ojibwa no social status. Among the Winnebago, again, if a new clan were to be adopted among them, its connexion with one or the other of the divisions would depend upon its clan animal. If the clan animal was a bird, it would immediately be placed in one of the divisions; if any other animal, it would belong to the other division.

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These examples bring out quite forcibly the point made above, that the "tenacity" exhibited to-day or at any particular time is itself not a constant, for at different epochs different elements of the social unit may determine it. That, however, the twofold division of the Winnebago is a social-political grouping is, I believe, unquestionable, although to-day, to the minds of the Winnebago, not the social-political grouping, but one element—and probably one that has been secondarily associated with the original grouping—determines to what half a new clan shall belong. 174 616

These general considerations are of considerable importance in the study of Siouan culture, because we are there confronted with a specific application of the criteria of "tenacity" and quantitative resemblances. The twofold division of the tribe is found among the Winnebago, Dhegiha, Tciwere, Hidatsa, and Mandan. The Dhegiha and Tciwere show numerous cultural and specific sociological similarities to the Winnebago, and this, together with the intimate linguistic affiliation, makes it fairly certain that the twofold division goes back to a common origin. Difficulties in the interpretation appear, however, as soon as we approach the Hidatsa and Mandan, who present only general cultural similarities to the above-mentioned tribes, and among whom nevertheless a dichotomous social division exists. If dichotomy is the significant factor in the social organization of all these tribes, one might very well claim that here an example of the "tenacity" of social organization is to be found.

Such reasoning is, however, a typical example of a purely detached analytical interpretation. The essential characteristic of this social organization is not the dichotomy but the cultural complex-dichotomy, exogamy, specific names, and the functions of the two halves. Now, while it may be justifiable to consider this division as historically primary for the Winnebago, Dhegiha, and Tciwere, it does not follow, owing to the innumerable possibilities of the formation of a twofold division, that wherever such a division is found and a linguistic relationship can be demonstrated, we are dealing with a common cultural possession. These social organizations can only then be considered as com-

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parable when it can be demonstrated that the salient elements of the complex are the same. In the absence, however, of historical data, sameness at any given time may only mean sameness in the interpretation of the cultural phenomena by the people.

## INTERPRETATION OF THE TWOFOLD DIVISION AND THE CLANS.

We have assumed that the twofold division of the Winnebago, Dhegiha, and Tciwere had a common historical origin, because this complex is the same in each case. As we have seen, our identification was based upon the existence in these three tribal units of specific similarities apart from those of social organization. Rigid proof that the type of social organization is historically identical among these tribes is not, however, forthcoming. This will become even more apparent when we consider the twofold division from the point of view of the names they bear, the subdivisions within them, and their specific functions.

According to our informants the twofold organization among the Dhegiha and Tciwere only existed upon specific occasions, when the tribe was on the tribal hunt. We are in complete ignorance as to whether in olden times this arrangement was reflected in the village, but we know that whether it was or not, the twofold division was present in a very difinite manner in the consciousness of the people themselves, i.e., every individual definitely knew to which one of the two divisions he belonged, and that certain names and functions were associated with them. The moment, however, that we stop to analyse these names, functions, etc., we realize at once that to-day they connote different ideas in the different tribes under discussion. The names of the divisions seem particularly significant in this connexion. Among the Omaha they are known as *Ictacunda* and *Hanga*, probably connoting Sky people and Leaders; among the Ponka as *Wajaje* and *Tcija*, Earth and Thunder; among the Kansa as *Yata* and *Ictanga*, Right side and Left side; among the Osage as *Tcija* and *Hanga*, Peace and War side. The names for the Kwapa, Oto, Missouri, and Iowa are not

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known. It will be seen at a glance that the terms *Ictacunda* and *Tciju* are identical, and it will also be noticed by reference to the monographs of J. O. Dorsey[1] and Miss A. Fletcher and F. La Flesche[2] that these names as well as the name *Hanga* are names of subdivisions within these divisions. Were these names first used to designate the two divisions or the subdivisions? There seems to be no reason for believing that the names were first applied to the larger divisions, whereas a number of facts speak strongly in favour of the reverse. In no case, for instance, can it be shown that the two divisions *per se* have any functions except that of regulating marriage. The various political and ceremonial functions displayed by these divisions pertain to the subdivisions composing them. Owing to the massing together of a number of such functions on each side, we often obtain the impression that these belong to the larger unit as such. And indeed this may be said to be true at the present time, in so far as the functions of one subdivision have become identified with the larger unit. We will treat of these points afterwards. All that we wish to point out here is that the names of the two divisions may be different, and that they may connote different ideas in the different divisions of an historically related culture, due to specific historical development within each. Among the Dhegiha, there seem to be a number of reasons for assuming that the present names of the two divisions are not the historically primary ones, and we will have to look askance at such an attempt as that of Miss Fletcher and F. LaFlesche to regard the names of the Ictacunda and Hanga divisions of the Omaha as indicating the historically fundamental religio-social concepts of that tribe.

It is far more difficult to discuss the names of the subdivisions or "gentes" within the two larger divisions. From a comparative point of view it must be regarded as significant that the names of the subdivisions within the Tciwere tribes tally almost exactly with those of the Winnebago and that those of the Dhegiha tribes tally with the names of many of the two latter, although they possess, in addition, a large number not

[1] "A Study of Siouan Cults," B. A. E. Annual Reports, Vol. XI.
[2] "The Omaha Tribe," Ibid., Vol. XXVII.

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found among them. The Tciwere and Winnebago have animal appellations for their clans, the Dhegiha have animal appellations, plus type of designation, descriptive of animal taboo. Which of the two types is older it is difficult to say. The fact might be noted, however, that the animal names have, to a large extent, been forgotten and that the descriptive taboo-appellations have not; that in a number of cases there is some reason for believing that these animal appellations have been re-interpreted and in other cases replaced by non-animal designations; that the origin myths of these divisions *always* explain why a certain animal is associated with a subdivision, and rarely the origin of the taboo name; and, lastly, that the larger percentage of personal names is strictly comparable to the clan names of the Winnebago and the Tciwere. On the other hand, the descriptive taboo type of name is found frequently among the band appellations of the Plains Indians, with whom the Omaha have come in intimate contact and by whom they have been influenced along definite lines of ceremonial and social development. For these reasons we would like to suggest that the animal appellations are historically primary and that the taboo type became subsequently popular and spread over the whole tribe. Examples of changes in the names of subdivisions are by no means isolated. The Winnebago exhibit a tendency to substitute names indicative of the function of a clan for the old animal names—and this has gone so far that a large number of individuals would probably deny to-day that the Hawk and the Warrior clan are one and the same. Again, among the Osage, Kansa, and Kwapa we find Sun and Star clans, and, if we were to imagine that for some reason or another the latter type of name became popular, it might here become dominant within a comparatively short time.

Like the twofold division, the clan may connote a number of different things to the minds of the Indians. The Omaha apparently use the term *tonwǫgθon*, which means literally "place-of-habitation-of-those-related," gθǫ being the possessive-reflexive pronoun. It would thus seem to coincide with a geographical unit. The Kwapa use the term *enikacige*, evidently meaning "people"; the Kansa, the term *wayumidą*, "those-who-

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sing-together"; the Osage, the term *pęda*, "fireplace"; and the Winnebago, the term *hokik'a-radjara*, "those-related-to-one-another." The remarks made about the specific names of the twofold divisions apply here. There is no reason for assuming that these names are historically primary. A possible historical hint that they are not will be mentioned later. 174 614

The twofold division apparently regulates nothing but marriage. It has at the present time no other function *per se*. Nevertheless, a number of ethnologists, and for that matter Indians themselves, speak of the functions of the two sides. If we consider the Omaha "circle," we notice that practically all the ceremonial functions are on one side; that among the Osage "war" and "peace" functions are found on both sides; and that, as a matter of fact, the functions of war and peace apparently relate to a certain reciprocal relation existing between the two divisions. Indeed, there is no reason to justify the use of these terms. Among the Iowa, J. O. Dorsey quotes Hamilton to the effect that the regulation of the hunt and other tribal affairs was in the hands of one "phratry" during the autumn and winter, and in that of the other in spring and summer. It is, however, doubtful whether this was the case. Among the Winnebago, as we shall see, the functions of war and peace were grouped together on one side, the functions of the other side being confined to those relating to the policing and regulation of the hunt. But the only fact with which we can concern ourselves is not whether there appears a balancing of functions connected with the social organization, but whether the Indian thinks there is; and here the consensus of opinion favours the view that no Omaha, e.g., would for a moment suppose that the *Hanγacenu* division as such was the custodian of the real pipes of peace. This belonged to the *Inkesabe* gens, and there is not a shred of evidence to support the view that it was delegated to that clan by the larger unit. The same reasoning applies to the *Hanγa* clan. That the importance of the possessions of the latter clan played an important part in the associations of the Omaha, even to the extent of impressing its name upon the whole division, we do not doubt for a moment. Other reasons 174 182 616

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174 may have led to the designation of the other half by the name of one of its component clans.

182 Similarly, among the Ponka, the *Wajaje* half corresponds to the *Wajaje* clan, the keepers of the sacred pipe; and among the 616 Osage, the *Tcîju* and *Hanga* divisions of one side, and the *Wajaje* divisions of the other correspond to clans with the same name that are associated with important ceremonial-political functions. On the other hand, we have the fact that among the Kansa the names of the two large divisions are distinct from any of the clans in those divisions, and the same is true for the *Tcîju* division of the Ponka. If we correlate this last fact with the apparent absence of any association of important ceremonial or political functions with specific clans, the suggestion might be permitted that no incentive existed in the minds of these people for the clan becoming identified with the larger divisions. Among the Winnebago, the names for the divisions are quite different from those of the clans composing them, but at the present time the fact that the clan in each division has definite functions and powers has reacted on the interpretation of the social organization, and it is quite customary to refer to one half as *hunk'* or "Chiefs," and to the other as "*manqp'e*" or "Soldiers," the latter name for the second phratry, however, not being common.

In short, we have a right to see in all the facts mentioned indications of a possible historical development whose characteristics seem to lie in the identification of the name and function of an important clan with that of a much larger division.

## THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE WINNEBAGO.

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### RELATION OF THE PRESENT TO PREVIOUS WINNEBAGO TYPES OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

The Winnebago social organization has long since broken down, but its details are still so well preserved in the minds of the older men, and particularly in the literature of the tribe, that no difficulty was experienced in reconstructing it. This reconstruction, however, does not enable us to determine the relation of the clan and dichotomous division to the distribution of the

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tribe over the large area once occupied in Wisconsin. That the 4,000 odd individuals composing the tribe at the advent of the whites lived together is extremely doubtful. The nature of the woodland of Wisconsin and the fairly extensive territory over which they (Winnebago) were found scattered not long after Nicollet's first visit are facts that practically exclude such a hypothesis. The myth that speaks of a village that at one time was so long that those living at one end did not know what was transpiring at the other, contains too many literary touches to justify its use as an historical document. 174 616 [161] [173]

The question of village groups is of considerable importance, because there may have been, cutting across the gentle organization, another smaller, perhaps looser social unit, that of "band" or village setting off (to the minds of the people) one group against another. Systematic questioning has elicited from various individuals the information, also corroborated by historical records, that the villages were generally known according to geographical location or were descriptive of the haunts of certain animals. Even to-day the group scattered over the Nebraska Winnebago reservation are commonly known under similar designations. There we find, for instance, the following names: *kozo-atcira*, "those living on the peninsula"; or *k'yhą'tcira*, "those living below," i.e., in the timber; *niwą'hatcira*, "those living near the dirty water"; *hytcxedegominaŋgera*, "where big bear settles," etc. If we may, then, suppose this to have been a customary association, we may quite properly ask whether the name of the village had any influence on the social organization, whether there is even a hint at a genetic relation between these two types of group names. The only hint of such a relation is the fact that formerly *koni* "band" seems to have been used instead of *kokik'aradjora;* that an archaic name of the Wolf clan, *regoni* or *degoni*, may mean Lake-band; and that the villages all had geographical names. All of which, however, is, I realize, hardly sufficient evidence. 174 621 174 621 103

No satisfactory demonstration has as yet been made indicating that the clan organization was ever associated with an historically simple social structure, whereas quite a number of reasons lead us to suspect that it was in all cases preceded by other 174 614

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174 614 types of organization. In North America there is quite considerable evidence tending to show that village-group organization often preceded the clan, and for that reason the facts brought out above may be of more than casual significance. That a system of clan names different from that now in use existed is borne out by the archaic names for the Bear and Wolf clans. That another system was making headway against the animal-name type is apparent from the disappearance of the name Hawk and the substitution of the term Warrior clan; and from the common custom of calling the Thunder and Bear clans Chief and Soldier clan respectively. What is especially significant is the fact that these three new names all represent the same type of change, the substitution for animal designations, with the correlated associations of descent or connexion with an animal ancestor, of designations indicative of the function of the clan. If the association of the social unit with a common animal ancestor was preceded by an association of a social unit with geographical location, we would then be able to demonstrate what is so rare in ethnology, the historical succession of types of naming. Having established that, there would be thrown open to us legitimately the historical-psychological question whether any necessary genetic relationship between these three types of naming existed, and whether this succession of names is to be regarded as a reflection of distinct changes in social organization.

## THE TWOFOLD GROUPING—NAMES AND RELIGIO-MYTHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION.

174 614 616 825 The Winnebago are divided into two divisions, one known as the *waŋgeregi herera*, "those who are above," the other as the *maŋegi herera*, "those who are on earth." Descent was reckoned in the paternal line. But these appellations refer to the animals after whom the clans are named, the term *waŋgeregi* covering the birds, the term *maŋegi*, land and water animals. So firmly has this idea of the division of animal forms become associated with the two divisions that, as mentioned before, were a new clan introduced now among the Winnebago its position would depend exclusively upon the nature of the animal associated with it. As similar reasons dictate clan groupings among some of the Cen-

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tral Algonkin tribes, a few words concerning this type of association will not be amiss. The groupings of the fauna into a distinct number of categories is extremely common in North America. Among the Winnebago, a number of other Siouan, and Central Algonkin tribes, there was a fivefold classification: earth animals, sky animals, empyrean animals, aquatic animals, subaquatic animals. Among the Winnebago, the thunderbird belongs to the empyrean; the eagle, hawk, and pigeon, to the sky; the bear and wolf, to the earth; the fish, to the water; and the water spirit, below the water. This religio-mythological conception has unquestionably received a certain amount of sympathetic elaboration at the hands of shamans, and particularly at the hands of the leaders of such ceremonies as the Winter Feast, the Clan Feast, and the Clan Wake, as well as at the hands of those who had in their keeping the clan origin myths.

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The characteristics of the thunderbird, eagle, bear, and water spirit as clan animals, and as animals connected with a division of fauna are related to the general conception of these animals *per se*. The eagle and hawk are birds of prey; the thunderbird is generally a deity granting long life, and associated with peace, although his connexion with war is by no means uncommon. Similarly, the bear is supposed to have a "soldier" nature, and the water spirit is intimately associated with rites pertaining to crossing streams, calming the sea, and ownership of water property. This correlation unquestionably indicates an influence of the religio-mythological conception of the animal upon the social group with which it is associated. How far this can go is abundantly attested by the names and behaviour of the *waŋgeregi* and *maŋegi* divisions.

On the other hand we may legitimately ask: what influence have the two divisions had upon moulding the attributes of these animals, or upon the behaviour of the groups with which their name is associated? The functions of a warrior may have determined, as they certainly have accentuated, the "warrior" characteristics of the eagle and hawk, nor is there any easily intelligible reason why the thunderbird should be associated with peace. From our knowledge of the social organization of other Siouan tribes, the political functions of the clan seem to be

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174 the characteristic feature of the organization, and this being the
614 case, the probability of associations of warlike and peace attributes
616 with animals may as much be ascribed to the influence of the so-
825 cial unit as vice versa. As regards such functions as the exogamy of the two divisions or that of the clans, or of the reciprocal burial relationship of the *waŋgeregi* and *maŋegi* divisions, we, of course, know that the characteristics of the animal in question have nothing to do with the matter. We must, then, realize that we are dealing with reciprocal influences, of the religio-mythological conception of animals on the one hand, and of political functions of social units on the other. In some cases, such as the specific associations of the water spirit, it is probable that the religio-mythological conception of the animal is dominant. The association of the thunderbird with fire has likewise not been due to any activity of the social unit; and thus examples might be multiplied. In this connexion, the fact that animals with whom a multitude of associations have already been established are subsequently associated with social units, is fundamental. From this point of view, the animal names of social organization are intrusive features, and we will consequently expect to find historical adjustments. This, we think, is what has taken place here. The animal name with its religio-mythological conceptions was a remarkably strong unit, even as compared with the political unit, and as a result reciprocal influences took place. Although the religio-mythological influence must have been marked, it appears to have changed none of the marital and other functions of the two divisions, nor the political functions of the clans. What it did change, and change fundamentally, was the interpretation of the social organization.

## FUNCTIONS OF THE TWOFOLD DIVISION.

614 The only function that the *waŋgeregi* and *maŋegi* divisions
616 seem to have had was the regulation of marriage. A *waŋgeregi*
[582] man had to marry a *maŋegi* woman, and vice versa. The only
[764] other function exercised by these divisions was, according to some informants, reciprocal burial. Here the religio-mythological interpretations seem in part to have determined this relation for a *maŋegi* man buried a *waŋgeregi* man because, as a "land

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The division of the
171 tribe into two halves when playing ceremonial lacrosse is character-
616 istic not only of the Winnebago, but of the Omaha, Menominee,
526 Sauk, Fox, and other tribes. Among the former two, these sides are identical with the two aforementioned political divisions of the tribe, but among the latter two, where no such division exists, the tribe seems to divide itself into two halves merely on this occasion, although we know that this is not the only occasion upon which it behaves in this manner.

174 Up to the present, we have treated the two divisions as
614 social units *per se*, but now, before entering on the discussion
616 of the clans, it may be well to point out the fact that the *waŋgeregi* people are sometimes spoken of as the Bird clan (*waniŋk' hokik'aradjora*), and that the four clans composing this side are so intimately related, and their clan origin myths so similar, one of them even declaring the other three bird clans to be merely the descendants of the three younger thunderbird ancestors, that the assumption of the four clans representing one clan that became split up into a number of divisions, is not outside the realm of historical possibility. This is, however, quite immaterial, for whether we have one bird clan opposed to eight other animal clans is of little consequence, since historically it is not the bird clan that is opposing the other clans, but one social unit, the division, set off against another. The numerical equality that exists between these two sides, in spite of the disparity in the number of clans, is perhaps another confirmation of the fundamental character of the twofold structure.

## THE CLAN ORGANIZATION.

614 There are twelve clans (*hokik'aradjora*) among the Winne-
[616] bago: the Thunderbird (*wak'andja*), the Warrior (*wonayere waŋkcik'*), the Eagle (*teaxcep'*), and Pigeon (*ru'tcge*), now extinct, belonging to the *waŋgeregi* half; and the Bear (*huŋk'*), Wolf (*cuŋkteuŋk'*), Buffalo (*tce*), Water-spirit (*waktcexi*), Deer (*tca'*), Elk (*huwq*), Snake (*wak'q*), and Fish (*ho'*), all belonging to the *maŋegi* half.

In addition to the above names, we have the name Chief (*huŋk*) applied to the Thunderbird; Hawk (*heretcy*), to the Warrior; (*manype*) Soldier, to the Bear clans.

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Wolf
Water-spirit (?)
Buffalo
Deer
Elk
Snake

The same order was given by a number of other informants. In the Bear clan legend the order is water-spirit, birds, bears, and in practically all the versions of the Bear clan legends the bear always finds the footprints of the wolf, which would indicate that the latter had preceded him. Nevertheless, in the versions of the Wolf clan myth, the bear footprints are found by the Wolf people, and, strangely enough, in the same version the Wolf people are represented as the last clan, whereas in another version of the myth they are represented as being the first clan. In still another myth, the Water-spirit is represented as first, etc. [174] These discrepancies can be explained in only one way, one that was to be expected, namely, that each clan tried to augment its own importance by insisting that it was one of the first, if not the first, to have originated. About one thing all seem to be agreed—that the Snake clan was the last. The Fish clan is rarely mentioned and, in general, appears to be a very late addition.

174 It is thus clear that no historical importance can be attached to the order of the clans. More significance must, however, 614 be attached to the statements that certain clans have originated at special places. Thus, while the majority trace their origin 773 to Green bay, the members of the Warrior and Buffalo clan claim certain lakes far to the south of Green bay as their original home. Here the literary tendency to associate the origin of the clans with a lake of a definite character makes any discussion practically futile. It is, of course, quite plain that the tribe as a unit, localized in a definite place, did not adopt animal names for their various clans, but that a type of name gradually spread over all the local groups. One of these local groups may have become associated with a definite place of origin. Perhaps the association of Green bay as the place of origin is precisely such an instance. The local associations of the Warrior and Buffalo clans can also be taken as suggestive of an historical past. That the prevalent association of Green bay as the

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origin of the tribe is due to the literary-legendary tendency towards uniformity, is, on the whole, quite likely. This seems illustrated by the fact that the Warrior and Buffalo clans in some of the versions of their clan myths claim specific places, while others claim Green bay as their ancestral home. Green bay must, therefore, be considered as one of probably many local associations, connected with a prominent clan, which came to be accepted in the course of time by most of the others. 174 614 773

*Arrangement of Clans in Village.*

As in Figure 1, all the clans of the *waŋgeregi* division except the Thunderbird and Warrior, could occupy any position in the half-circle, and the same was true of those of the *maŋegi* division except the Bear clan. The Buffalo clan seems to have been grouped on the *waŋgeregi* side. However, in both divisions the members of each clan had to be grouped together, a segregation that was further emphasized by the erection near each clan of an earthen effigy of the clan animal. According to all informants, each village was inhabited by members of various clans; in no case did a village merely include members of the same clan, as seems to have been the case among the Menomini. Among the latter, village exogamy probably existed, while no trace of this is found among the Winnebago. This clan segregation in every Winnebago village became, after a while, practically identical with blood relationship, although the close relationship existing between members of the same clan may also partially represent the persistence of a local group consciousness. 614 621 [616] [532] [171]

This distribution of the same clan over many villages would, indeed, seem to militate against the local group origin of the clans, but it must be remembered that the clan organization was of considerable age and there is no reason to suppose that the local groups could have had any influence now discernible. The village arrangement must, of course, not be pushed too hard, for we should expect a tendency on the part of informants whose knowledge was entirely hearsay, to cast their information in a more or less schematic mould. The old village sites seem to indicate that the bird effigy was dominant in some places and 174 614 621

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174 the bear in others, although both are also often found together.

614 Looking at our facts from another point of view, it is quite clear that clan segregation must not be taken too literally. 621 Clan exogamy would necessarily prevent that. If the old exogamy of the two divisions was in force and a man was thus compelled to marry into his mother's division but not into her clan, every village would have had to be arranged in an extremely artificial manner, that was not likely to have occurred frequently. [591] That a man often lived with his parents-in-law, would in addition again disorganize the regularity of the scheme. Finally, we have the evidence of the myths, which often speak of a man as departing on a journey when seeking a bride. All these customs, cutting across the village scheme in a number of ways, must have rendered it a rather complex unit. That, in spite of all this, clan exogamy could have been maintained even in a small village is unquestionable, but the reason for this lay, we suspect, in the limitation of the concept of blood-relations. With these considerations in mind, we may, then, admit clan segregation.

### *Individual Names.*

614 With the animal appellation of the clan, one naturally associates animal names of individuals, for there is, indeed, 551 a correlation between them. Animal names of individuals 182 are, however, frequently found when the social units have names of an entirely different kind. A similar lack of correlation exists between the manner and system of naming and the type of social organization. That, on the other hand, the social organization may fundamentally influence the nature of the individual name is also apparent. Only with these points in mind can the Winnebago individual names become intelligible.

614 The study of Winnebago names can be approached from a purely static point of view, and the attempt made to bring 551 them analytically under a certain system of naming; or, on the 174 other hand, from a dynamic historical view-point. We shall try to undertake both. Every clan has a distinct set of names.

The Winnebago individual names lend themselves easily to categories of classification. We have the following classes:

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I. According to colour. II. According to physiological characteristics. III. According to social functions. IV. Descriptive of animal and plant forms. V. Descriptive of animal characteristics. VI. Descriptive of natural phenomena. VII. According to quality. VIII. According to episodes of a legendary origin. IX. Descriptive of personal achievement.

According to practically all informants only one of these classifications is present in the minds of the Winnebago to-day—that commemorating incidents relating to the origin of each clan. Thus, for instance, because the first thunderbird lit on a tree, the name He-who-lights-on-a-tree exists; because a wave swept over the shore in the wolf myth, we have the name Wave; etc. However, the most representative names of this type are such as Gives-forth-fruit-as-he-walks, Makes-the-day-tremble, He-who-comes-singing, Judge-of-the-contest, etc. The vast majority of names, although many can be interpreted as possible episodes of the clan ancestors, belong under the first seven categories described above. Yet the Winnebago interpret them all in terms of category VIII. Can we accept this present interpretation as historically primary? We think not. A large number of the clan names are purely descriptive of animal habits, others express the influence of social organization, for instance "Soldier" in the Bear clan, "Chief" in the Thunderbird, and others refer to personal achievements, etc.; secondly, the interpretation is of too specific a nature to be regarded as one that could possibly have dictated an original system of naming; and, thirdly, in spite of its prevalence, other systems of interpretations are present. For example, the interpretations obtained by J. O. Dorsey are largely symbolical, and make no mention of the one we found so prevalent. A purely symbolical interpretation was, it is true, obtained in some cases, notably from what one might call the "exoteric" members of the tribe, that is, from those who were insufficiently acquainted with the clan myths and customs. Another type of name characteristically developed among the Omaha and Central Algonkins, is the so-called "dream-name," a name supposed to represent some incident connected with the dream of the individual bestowing it. In all these cases we are speaking of the specific names.

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If we include the nicknames, and then the birth names, we have five distinct systems of individual names. Remembering that every individual had three names, a birth name, clan name, and nickname, of co-ordinate importance, we must not exaggerate the importance of the clan name, especially in its social significance. An individual is known by his birth name or nickname, generally, however, by the former, which sufficed absolutely as a mark of identification under normal conditions. The clan name was rarely known by a member of another clan or even to all members of the clan. A marked religious symbolical flavour clung about it, and this was enhanced and elaborated by the shaman and principal members of the clan. The way was thus open for the development of specific interpretations such as the dream, symbolical, and notably the ancestor-episode type. The ancestor-episode type seems to have been the last. The uniformity it brought about in the interpretation of individual names was all the more easily accomplished in view of the fact that this esoteric interpretation was not disturbed by the influence of any popular system, since, as has been pointed out, the nature of the clan name prevented it from having any distinctively social-political value. Many such reinterpretations must have taken place in the history of the tribe, and we may thus obtain some idea of the insurmountable difficulties in the way of a proper understanding of names. Psychologically two processes are always active in these changes in name connotation: first, the reinterpretation of the old names according to some definite system of classification; and, secondly, the formation of new names on this basis. Interpreting a name, probably merely descriptive of the bear's manner of walking, like Retraces-her-footsteps, into an incident connected with the origin of the clan, and, on the other hand, giving a name like Scatters-flowers-as-he-walks, are two examples of the two processes, which must have occurred at every change. In the case here cited, reinterpretation in no way does injury to the name itself. It frequently happens, however, that the significance of a word is lost and that, in the process of reinterpretation, names are interpreted in a characteristic folk-etymological manner. *Tcoyanke*, given above, is a case in point. In addition to the possible

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meaning of "blue-back," it has been interpreted as "first," from *iconi*. In the same way *degoni* has been interpreted as *re* "to go" and *honi*, "to hunt"; and *hoicangera* has been subjected to a multitude of interpretations. This folk-etymology not only overrides the grammatical peculiarities of Winnebago, but even makes faulty compounds conform to the Winnebago principles of grammar. Inquiry into the origin of the clan names will, for these various reasons, have to be regarded as one of the most unprofitable of investigations. 614 551 174

### *Attitude Toward Clan Animals.*

We mentioned before that when the animal names became associated with the social groups, they were accompanied by the specific associations clustering around these animals. These associations were probably of the same type, if not indeed identical with those grouped around the animals as guardian spirits. The clan animals are among the principal guardian spirits to-day, and we must expect to find an explanation of the attitude toward them as clan animals in the attitude the Winnebago exhibit toward the guardian spirit. To a certain extent it would be quite correct to say that the guardian spirit became the clan animal. This does not, however, mean, in the slightest degree, that the guardian spirit of the individual became the clan animal, but merely that the concept of the guardian spirit became associated with a local group. 614 776 825 [174]

The guardian spirit is at the present time conceived as an immaterial being in control of an animal species. The attitude toward this spirit is a purely religious one, and exhibits a marked absence of taboo of any kind. It is an open question whether a vision must be attested by obtaining some part of the animal "embodiment" of the spirit, but there is no doubt that every vision is symbolized by a special gift from the "spirit." The guardian spirit complex may thus be said to consist of a special religious attitude plus symbol. [784] [787]

The attitude toward the clan animal is characteristically different in this respect, that more emphasis is laid upon identification with the animal itself, as contrasted with the "spirit."

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614 As far as could be determined, the clan animal is the thunder-
776 bird with his characteristics of lightning and thunder, of the bear
825 who likes honey and raisins, etc. The animal is engraved as clan
[421] symbol and used as a property mark, and he is brought in intimate contact with the group by the postulation of descent. Naturally, descent is not from the "spirit" animal but from the animal. Nevertheless the clan animal has, at the same time, retained its place as a guardian spirit, and in a most suggestive way. The blessing of a clan animal is more easily obtained by a member of the clan than by an outsider. The clan animal is a sort of clan protector.

174 In this change of attitude two considerations seem pertinent:
614 first, the possibility of the "spirit" nature of the guardian
776 spirit being a product of the esoteric elaboration of the religious
825 societies, and that its apparent absence in the clan animal represents an exoteric conception; and, secondly, that under the influence of the social functions of the clan, an originally strong religious conception of the clan animal gave place to an identification with the animal species itself. It might be objected that there is no inherent correlation between social organization and animal species as contrasted with spirit animals. It seems certain, however, that descent could only be reckoned from the animal, and as long as it is postulated it must be from the animal. With regard to the historical priority of the "spirit" conception, little can be definitely said except, first, that the systematization it has undergone suggests the influence of the esoteric societies, and secondly, that the visions obtained during fasting appear to speak of the guardian "spirit" as an animal. On general psychological considerations we are inclined to believe in the contrast of the material and spiritual conception of the animal as a real fact, although it would be hazardous to say whether one or the other lies at the basis of the attitude of the individual toward his clan animal.

### *Relationship to Clan Animals.*

174 The question of descent from the animal brings us to the
614 consideration of the whole intricate relationship of the individual
825 to the clan animal, a subject that has played so prominent a

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part in discussions of totemism. There are two distinct sources for the determination of this relationship, data obtained in reply to direct questioning, and that contained in some miscellaneous myths and in the origin myths. Part of the oral data is merely a reflex of the origin myths, but part is not. The value of this "unwritten" material lies in the fact that it represents the popular, exoteric attitude, the attitude that, on the whole, is not the result of conscious rationalization, and also in the fact that this exoteric view may very likely have been the basis for the esoteric interpretation. 174 614 825

The most prevalent view of the relationship of the individual to his clan animal is that of descent from an animal, transformed at the origin of the human race into human beings. This view is expressed in some of the origin myths and reflects the general conversation with individuals. Direct descent from an animal was never postulated. The definition of the term "animal" is, however, very difficult. The Indians themselves seem to make a distinction between the animal of to-day and the animal of the heroic age. The main characteristic of the animal of the heroic age was his power of transformation into human form and vice versa. Although he has lost this to-day, he is nevertheless descended from this animal. The human beings are, however, descended from precisely the same "animals," so that it might be well to bear in mind that descent from the transformed animal does not mean descent from the animal of to-day. This view is more systematically expressed in some places. According to one miscellaneous myth, the existing human beings and animals were descended from the same being, who once possessed infinite powers of transformation now into human, now into animal shape. At one time, presumably the beginning of our present creation, these "beings" either consciously or unconsciously exhausted all their "transforming" power, and the form into which they changed themselves, human or animal, remained fixed for all time. The existing animals have never succeeded in regaining their power of transformation, and among human beings this power has only been vouchsafed to those few who have obtained it as a special gift from some spirit. Even then, however, it is ludicrously incomplete, as compared 174 614 773 825

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with the same powers of the primordial "beings." This conception of the animal-human archetype must not be regarded as at all flavouring of a philosophy, developed after contact with Europeans. The error that has always been committed in discussions as to the nature of descent from the animal lies in confusing our concept of animal species with the term "animal" as used by primitive people, and also in lack of discrimination between the possible connotations of that same term, as applied to animals of to-day and those animals which are brought into intimate contact with the clan ancestor.

There is no reason for regarding the specific descent from the totem as a transformation of this Winnebago idea of the origin of human and animal forms. The latter conception is entirely a religious one, whereas the former is merely an extension of the genealogical tendency prevalent in many types of social organization. Instead of being merely descended from an individual in a given social unit, the bond of membership within this unit has been strengthened by the postulation of blood relationship to the clan animal. Descent may thus be looked upon as one of the elements necessary for the stability of a political unit, and is far older than its specific extension to those clan animals. A very illuminating example of a case in point can be selected from the history of the war bundle in the Thunderbird clan. This bundle, like the others, was obtained as a gift from the thunderbird in his capacity as a guardian spirit. The Winter Feast has, however, been markedly influenced by the clan organization and as a result, we find descent from the thunderbird and night spirit, the two most important spirits in the ceremony, postulated of the original owner of the war bundle. The same tendency is exhibited in the numerous stories of the connexion of an individual of the heroic age with a village. Here the individual, generally a transformed guardian spirit or animal, comes to the aid of the people in their struggle against cannibals, defeats the latter, and marries into the village, becoming the ancestor of the subsequent village group.

At the same time no strong correlation apparently exists between a totemic organization and the extension of descent to include the clan animal, for this seems to be a peculiarity of

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individual cultures. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest Coast, among the Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves we find, in addition to the above, the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact that its members imitate the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reason at all for the name, while according to others an animal is killed and becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, the group taking its name from this fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation.

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### *The Clan Tie.*

In intimate relation to the attitude toward the clan animal is the conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the bond between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal. Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as is brought out by the word for clan (*hakitaradjira*). This concept of blood relationship was extended to the mother's clan generation. As we have pointed out, there is no reason for assuming that blood relationship is the primary explanation. The number of explanations for exogamy existing between one clan and another, and that of the clans of one side as opposed to those of another, indicate clearly how readily interpretations of this phenomenon change. The Bear does not marry into the Wolf clan because they are friends (*hitcakire*), and does not marry into the Buffalo clan because it belongs to the same side, or no reason is assigned at all. Before the question of the clan tie can be thoroughly understood, the kind of blood relationship that is here meant must be more carefully defined. This is not a general but a very definite notion, and may be said not to extend beyond four generations, in fact, not beyond the direct knowledge of some living individual.

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582 This will be brought out more clearly by the following tables,
614 based on actual genealogies:
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(F) Thunderbird—
(F) Bear —Bear (M) 1
(F) Eagle —Eagle (M) 2
(F) Wolf —Wolf (M) 3
(M) Thunderbird—Thunderbird (M) 4
—Bear (F) 5

or:

(F) Thunderbird—
(M) Bear —Bear (M) 1
(M) Bear —Eagle (F) 2
—Thunderbird (F) 3

All these marriages are permitted. In the first case a man marries into his maternal grandmother's maternal grandfather's clan; and in the second a man marries into his paternal grandmother's clan. We will consequently have to consider blood relationship as extending only to four, sometimes three, generations, and have to regard the statement of blood-relationship as the tie binding the members of the clan together as purely fictitious and secondary. That, nevertheless, this fictitious tie called forth the same feeling as that of real relationship, there is abundant evidence to show, and that it was of considerable importance in the development of the Winnebago clan-complex is borne out by the fact that the clan was called "those-who-are-relatives-to-one-another."

## THE SOCIO-POLITICAL COMPLEX.

### *Clan Functions.*

174 The association of political functions with definite social
614 units is a common phenomenon for most cultures where a
182 tendency toward socialization exists. It is strictly comparable to the association of ceremonial and religious functions with ceremonial units. In this connexion, the difference between an association with a group unit and an association with an individual, is of fundamental importance. Is the former, for instance, merely an extension of the latter? This only individual

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history can demonstrate. Such a genetic relationship between the two depends probably as much upon the nature of the political function as upon anything else. The exact time when this socialization took place is also of great import here. Among the Winnebago, some individuals claim that the functions of the public crier were inherent in the Buffalo clan, while others insist that any person who had counted coup four times was eligible for the office. Now, in this case not only is it possible but it is extremely probable that public criership was originally connected with an individual, and that subsequently it became associated with the Buffalo clan, probably by reason of a certain relationship existing between this clan and the Chief clan. It must, of course, be remembered that a grouping had already taken place, because the requirement of having counted coup four times made a large number of warriors potentially public criers. (Here the grouping together was due to the successful performance of certain test-acts.) Its association with membership in the Buffalo clan represented on the one hand a restriction of the number of individuals, on the other hand the addition of another qualification. Historically, then, the qualification of membership in the clan supplanted the other qualifications, at least in the eyes of a large number of individuals. What has been said of the development of the functions of the Buffalo may also be generally applied to that of the Warrior or Hawk clan.

Political functions may, however, become connected with a group unit without the individual playing any rôle either in directing or in developing such an association. The functions of preserving peace and of acting as intermediary, that among the Winnebago are connected with the Thunderbird clan, and the police and disciplinary functions connected with the Bear clan, may represent such types of association. In the absence of historical data, no demonstration can be made. It will, however, be shown later that association of ceremonial-religious functions with a social unit has actually occurred. That the police and disciplinary functions of the Bear clan developed from those of individiuals, on the basis of requirements similar to those of the public crier, is quite improbable, and no indication of that exists. The functions of the Thunderbird clan likewise do not

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174 lend themselves readily to such an interpretation. But even
614 should we accept the necessity for the priority of the one over the other types of association, we must still insist that psycho-
625 logically the functions are in each case associated with a group unit and that we are not dealing with the relation of cause and effect but with a new association.

182 Four of the Winnebago clans have specific political functions,
614 the details of which cannot be discussed here. The Thunderbird is the chief clan, and in addition to the fact that the chief of the tribe is selected from it, has important functions connected with the preservation of peace; the Warrior clan, that relating to war; the Bear clan, that relating to policing and discipline, both within the village and while on the hunt, etc.; and the Buffalo clan, that of public crier and intermediary between the chief and his people. The Wolf, Water-spirit, and the Elk clans seem also to have possessed minor political-social functions. Thus, the Wolf people were considered in the light of "minor" soldiers; the Water-spirit people as connected with the passage of streams, etc.; and the Elk as connected with the care of the fire-places while on the hunt and warpath. This accounts for seven of the twelve clans, and it thus seems as if the association of political functions with clans was a type that had found
[174] great favour among the Winnebago, and was perhaps being
[171] extended to every clan. Among the Dhegiha, associations of ceremonial functions with social units seem to have found corresponding favour, while among the Central Algonkin neither type occurred.

[171] Marked political and ceremonial functions of the clan are the distinguishing characteristics of the Siouan organization and have given an entirely different picture to clan structure there.

### *The Reciprocal Relationship of the Clans.*

614 We have seen that one of the bonds between the clans was
616 the fact that they belonged to the same side. But there is a special bond between certain clans known as "friendship" relation (*hitcak'ɔ'ro*). This always subsists between two, although it

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614 dividual and clan *hitcak'ɔ'ro*, on the other. In the former there
572 is the bond of blood, real or fictitious, in the latter only that of mutual service. On the other hand, while the *hidek'-hitcɔ'ge*
[604] relation, the individual *hitcak'ɔ'ro*, and the clan *hitcak'ɔ'ro* may be all of different historical origin, they are psychologically the same. The postulation even of a fictitious blood bond between the different individual *hitcak'ɔ'ro* and the clan *hitcak'ɔ'ro* is not unheard of. For the *hitcak'ɔ'ro*[1] relation of individuals this is
[597] always possible, for if one individual dies, his *hitcak'ɔ'ro* is generally adopted to fill his place. On the other hand, the myths seem to
[582] indicate that no blood bone was regarded as existing between them, for they generally married each other's sisters.

What historical relation the clan *hitcak'ɔ'ro* bears to the
[174] individual *hitcak'ɔ'ro* relation of individuals, it is impossible to state, but the remarks made before are pertinent here, and no genetic relationship need be postulated.

### *The "Servant" Relationship.*

614 The *hitcak'ɔ'ro* relation is entirely one between equals, irrespective of the inequality of one member of this grouping, with regard to the other, in social standing. The Bear clan is, for instance, incomparably greater than the Wolf, but this is entirely forgotten here. In addition to this "friendship," there seems to exist a faintly developed "servant" relation. The concept of servant is not that conveyed by the English word. It means essentially that a certain clan performs a service for another without that specific service being reciprocal. Among the Winnebago such a relation exists between the Thunderbird and Buffalo, and the Thunderbird and Elk clans. This is not to be confused with the general subordination of all the other clans to the Thunderbird and Bear clans when these exercise their specific governmental functions. This "servant" relation-
[203] ship between the Thunderbird and Buffalo clans is politically
[174] expressed by the fact that a member of the latter visits the chief every morning to receive certain directions from him,
[621] which he then announces to the whole village. But this relationship expresses itself in another more striking manner—the

1 [i.e. - "friendship" relation - ANALYST]

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lodge of the Buffalo clan is on the *wangeregi* side of the village circle, although the Buffalo clan is one of the *mąnegi* clans. In explanation of this fact we might, on the one hand, assume that its relationship to the chief clan influenced its position in the village, or that it always was there. The latter seems rather improbable, in the face of the unanimity of agreement as to its inclusion among the *mąnegi* clans, and we may, therefore, provisionally accept the hypothesis of a shifting of position from one side to the other. As this might entail a possible readjustment of the Buffalo clan, as regards exogamy, we tried to obtain as many instances of Buffalo intermarriages as possible. No case of intermarriage with the *wangeregi* clans was found. However, as only eight cases were instanced, no safe inference can be drawn. 614 621 174

The "servant" relation of the Elk clan to the Thunderbird expresses itself in the fact that the former takes care of the fire-places of the latter while on the warpath, etc., and that the members are supposed to distribute the fire to the other clans. In the social customs this relationship is perhaps shown by a certain preference of the Elk to intermarry with the Thunderbird clan. This preference is not reciprocal. The word preference is used with the added significance of being consciously expressed, and differs from a tendency to intermarriage which may exist between the clans, but which is not present in their consciousness. Some Winnebago informants even went so far as to postulate a *hitcak·ɔ·ro* relation between the Elk and Thunderbird clan. 614 [372] 614 582 614

Among the Osage a marked development of the "servant" relationship is found. [171]

Viewed from a broad point of view, the reciprocal social and religious services of one clan toward another in the *hitcak·ɔ·ro* and "servant" relations are similar in nature to the political functions of the clan, and they may be taken as another indication of the association of political, social, and religious functions with a strongly individualized social unit. 614 182

### *The Specific Possessions of the Clan.*

Among the Omaha, a number of clans have in their possession certain objects, around which not merely the clan but also 171 614 778

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614 let us say, some individual who has killed a member of the
[533] tribe and who refuses to make atonement of any kind, is pursued,
[764] he defiantly sings his clan songs.

As a last element in the clan-complex may be mentioned
[627] the specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

174 We have now completed the discussion of clan organization.
614 As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary associations that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that the complex has grown around a strong social-political unit.

## THE CLAN AS A SOCIO-CEREMONIAL COMPLEX.

614 Up to the present our attention has been directed entirely
796 to the clan as a socio-political complex and only passing mention has been made of those religious or ceremonial associations
182 that may also have clustered around it. Among the Omaha,
[171] as we have frequently pointed out, these latter associations were of paramount importance and probably dwarfed the development of the political functions. Among the Winnebago, on the whole, they were unimportant. This very fact makes the solitary instance in which a fairly marked development took place of all the greater value, quite apart from the fact that it happens to give, on the one hand, an exceptionally instructive illustration of the secondary association of a ceremonial function with a social unit, and, on the other, a similarly instructive illustration of the association of a function generally belonging to an individual shaman with a social unit. Such an association has taken place with the Bear clan, and, owing to its importance, we will quote the data in extenso. The ceremony is known as "soldiers' dance" (*manype waci*).

614 "When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village, the people
755 go to the chief and say, 'Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!' And the chief goes to the lodge
796 of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks

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associated with the treatment of disease and was the especial guardian spirit of the Indian doctors.

## INFLUENCE OF THE CLAN UPON CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION.

Perhaps the most characteristic trait of Winnebago culture is the existence of two strong socialized units, that of the clan and that of the secret society. Historically both are old, and even if we are of the opinion that the clan is historically younger, the political unit upon which it is superimposed is probably an ultimate historical fact. From the earliest times one would have supposed reciprocal influences to have occurred repeatedly. The nature of these influences, insofar as they are not conditioned by chance, would depend on the respective centre of gravity in either unit. It is evident that for the clan the organization was of paramount importance, and that the addition of cultural associations probably tended to strengthen its stability from the point of view of organization. On the other hand, the absence of political or governmental functions in the religious societies, and the clustering of the most multitudinous religious and shamanistic ideas within them, rendered the emotional complex of the latter the centre from which influences would radiate. At the same time, the ceremonial unit of organization seems to have been so firmly fixed, that any influence of the clan unit of organization upon it does not seem likely. As a matter of fact, in the typical schematic, religious society, like the medicine dance, grizzly-bear dance, and night-spirit dance, no influence is perceptible. But these religious societies may be regarded as presenting no possible points of contact. Where, however, the bond of union is supernatural communication with a guardian spirit who subsequently became the clan animal, an obvious point of contact is given, and this brings to mind a very suggestive fact of Winnebago culture—there are, strictly speaking, no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in many respects are absolutely identical with the religious societies, and which furnish, it seems to us, an example

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of just those two kinds of influence that we wished to point out, one radiating from the clan, as a unit of organization, the other from the entire clan complex. 174 575 614 796

In the Winter feasts the unit of organization is the clan. Generally all the clans were represented in the person of the owner of each specific clan war-bundle. The order of invitation was traditionally fixed, but it seems that in a number of cases the "friend" clan always had the position of honour. The war-bundle owner was not, however, supposed to represent the clan at all, but the spirits to whom offerings were being made. In every case, although the participants were supposed to impersonate a fairly large number of animals, the main blessings contained in the bundle were from the thunderbird and night-spirit and the main offerings were made to them. Indeed, there seem to be two separate ceremonies involved, one to the thunder-bird and the other to the night-spirits.

The question that arises with regard to the clan basis of these ceremonial organizations is whether we are to imagine that the ceremonial unit of organization was displaced by the clan unit, or that the ceremony is of comparatively recent origin, let us say at least long after the clan organization had been perfected, and that a number of things combined to determine the acceptance of the clan as a unit of organization, as opposed to the traditional ceremonial one. To the foregoing, we must also add the fact that the Winter feast seems to be related to similar ceremonies of the Central Algonkin, whose [171] influence on the Winnebago must first be determined. If, then, we are not in a position at present to suggest the course of development, there can be no doubt that the content of the ceremony is strictly comparable to that of the religious societies, and that there are hints that the ceremonial unit of organization had begun to assert itself. If this could be definitely established, it would indicate that the clan basis of organization is historically primary.

The clan unit of organization is found in no other Winnebago ceremony, although the specific clan feasts show marked influences radiating from the clan complex. The clan feast is a typical ceremonial complex, both in type of organization

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174 575 614 796 and in content. The difference between it and a society like the night-spirit dance lies in the fact that although the five principal participants must have specific blessings (bundles), they must at the same time belong to the clan. To what extent a member of one clan who has obtained a bundle from some other clan-spirit can take part in the specific clan feast of the latter, it is difficult to determine, but in the buffalo feast, assuming that this is unquestionably the real Buffalo clan feast, and there seems to be little doubt of it, any person who has obtained a bundle from the buffalo can participate, although the leader must always belong to the Buffalo clan. This example may be taken as an indication of the historical origin of these feasts, namely, that they are really religious societies in which the influence of the clan has restricted the number of individuals who are ordinarily supposed to occupy the five places of honour. That this restrictive influence of the clan was caused by the identity of the clan animal with the guardian spirit, there can be little doubt.

## Phonetic Key.

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a, as in German *Mann*.
e, as in French *été*.
ɛ, as in English *men*.
i, as in English *pique*.
ɪ, as in English *pin*.
o, as in English *note*.
ɔ, as in German *voll*.
u, as in English *food*.
ʊ, as in English *put*.
ə, obscure vowel like *a* of English *idea*.
ˌ, denotes nasalization of vowel.
ŋ, *ng* of English *sing*.
ŋ, *n* pronounced with tip of tongue against upper teeth.
γ, voiced guttural spirant, *g* of North German *sagen*.
ʿ, denotes aspiration.
ˈ, denotes that preceding vowel is long.
ˊ, denotes main stress.

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554 ries into a family below her's in dignity. The pride originating in birth, is as deeply
562 seated in the hearts of those who are nobly descended, among the natives of the
582 Northwest, as it is among the petty princes of Germany.

625 It is customary for the chiefs to appoint two soldiers, in each village to keep order in it, and they faithfully do so (p. 100).

431 In each tribe, some one man acts as a divider, by order of the civil chiefs, and by general consent. Whenever we made the men any presents, of pipes, paints,
624 tobacco, or any thing else, the self same men, if Winnebagoes were the Indians receiving the presents, appeared, took charge of the property, and divided it in the most equitable manner, among all present at the time. They reserved nothing for themselves, generally, but held up their empty hands to show their disinterestedness.

[171] If the Sauks and Foxes received presents, two men, one for each tribe, acted as dividers, and the same individuals always performed the same duty (pp. 100–101).

554 . . . "The rolling Thunder," "the Yellow Thunder," "the Distant Thunder," &c., are individuals among the Winnebagoes, who possess great weight of char-
551 acter; and that tribe to which belong men, who stand high on their roll of fame, for
614 their distinguished valor in War, for their consummate prudence, experience and wisdom in the national councils, is emphatically called, "the thunder tribe" (p. 124).

114 There are other items appurtenant to Winnebago ethnology in Atwater's work; some to that of the Sauks and Foxes; some to tribes of the upper Mississippi valley in general: there are some acute statements regarding the chronology of the populating of America.

171 A "turtle" gens does not occur in the lists of Morgan, Dorsey, and Radin,
174 and Radin specifically denies that there is such a Winnebago gens. He also states that almost all informants claimed that the Snake and Fish clans
614 (gentes) were recent to the tribe. However, as special names "go with"
[114] fixed gentes, by examining the lists of the signers of the treaties between the Winnebago and the United States, it becomes clear that a member of the
[648] Snake gens signed the treaty of August 19th, 1825 as well as the treaty of
[551] August 25th, 1828. And a Snake clan exists among the Ponca, Iowa, Oto-Missouri, Quapaw, as well as some non-Siouan tribes.[10] Also it may be observed that among the Osage and Quapaw we have a Fish clan (used rather loosely). So too "Turtle" as the name of a gens (sub-gens) among the Siouan tribes Omaha, Kansa, Quapaw, and Osage,[11] and elsewhere.
[551] And Carrymaunee (Karamanu, etc.), "Walking Turtle,"[12] signed more

[10] See the important theoretical discussion by Lowie in American Anthropologist, Vol. 36, 1934, pp. 327–28; cf. also Radin, the Winnebago Tribe, p. 182; Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe (Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology), pp. 38, 39.

[11] Among the Omaha and Osage "the turtle carriers or bearers" and "Turtle-carriers" respectively; "Carries-a-turtle-on-his-back" among the Kansa: observe that according to the above Carrymaunee "carried" a large painted tortoise on his back.

[12] The phonetic restoration is presumably Kêramani; mani means "to walk," as can be seen from old vocabularies, etc., as well as the personal names given by Radin in his The Winnebago Tribe and the Winnebago text by Radin in the Siouan sketch in Handbook of Ameri-

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935
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than one treaty with the United States. Similarly the lists of signers of the 171
treaties of June 3rd, 1816, August 19th, 1825, etc., between the Winnebago 174
and the United States indicate the existence of gentes not in the published
lists, but which have analogues among other Siouan tribes. I feel certain 614
that a study of the names of the signers of treaties between United States [648]
and such Siouan tribes as have distinctive clan-names (and similar non-Siouan tribes) would yield valuable results. And a study of the personal names of such tribes in older writers would also pay. In this connection I may say that from Atwater's book, using this technique, it can be readily determined that the Eagle and Elk gentes were in existence among the Winnebago in addition to those specifically mentioned by him. The treaties furnish a few others, e.g., Earth, Sky. In this connection I may say that it is clear from the names of the signers of the treaty of May 13th, 1816 that at least the following Sauk gentes were in existence: Sturgeon, Eagle, Thunder, Bear, Swan, Wolf, Fox, Partridge, Sea. It is not without interest to note that all these save Partridge and Fox are on Forsyth's list of 1827.[13] If we count Partridge as the equivalent of Grouse, all occur in Jones' list printed in the Handbook of American Indians in the article *Sauk*. Sturgeon, Swan, and Partridge are not in Skinner's list. Sturgeon, Eagle, Sea (= Great Water), Bear, Thunder, Partridge (= Pheasant), Wolf, and Fox occur in Galland's list. Wolf, Bear, Eagle, Sturgeon, Fox, Sea, and Thunder occur in Morgan's list. If we pool M. R. Harrington's two lists we find Thunder, Fox, Wolf, Bear, Swan, Sturgeon, Eagle on them. A knowledge of the names on the tribal rolls from the earliest times would doubtless shed much light on the subject.

It should be mentioned that Radin argues for a priority of village groups, 174
but states that according to all informants each Winnebago village was in-
habited by members of various clans, and that in no case did a village 621
merely include members of the same clan. Observe the contradiction with 614
Atwater's data. 114

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can Indian Languages (Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, 40, Pt. 1). There are equivalents in several Siouan languages. In the Siouan sketch Radin gives kec'û'ñgegā as a personal [551]
name, "the tortoise," and ke'c'û'ñgera as "you, tortoise," and in note 38 of the Winnebago text we are told that ke'c'ûñk or kec'û'ñgê is a large species of turtles, and that kê also means "turtle." La Flesche gives ke (in my transcription) as the Osage for "turtle, tortoise, terrapin," but Dorsay gives k'e (in my transcription) for both Osage and Quapaw, but ke (in my transcription) for Omaha; k'eya, "tortoise," is given by Deloria for Dakota. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the formation of personal names in Winnebago to be positive whether ra is the pronoun "thou" (vocative; see notes 39 and 46 to Radin's Winnebago text) or whether kera may be an archaic correspondent to Dakota k'eya with the recognized shift of y to r.

[13] They are in his Fox list.

105 575 771 796 of shamanistic practices in the Rite, they could never quite exclude them and the only answer they possessed was to condemn them and show how they led to dishonor, death and destruction.

This interweaving of the concrete and the symbolic and mystical led to a double, at times even a triple, set of significances for every action and word and which, occasionally, reached incredible heights of complication, intricacy and subtlety.

105 174 796 Since no other ceremony resembles the Medicine Rite in the respects just mentioned, we may well stop and ask ourselves what could have led to its creation? What is the cultural meaning of this new mode of expression, this new type of reinterpretation of ancient beliefs and attitudes? Allowing for the natural creative impulses of our Winnebago poet-philosophers, it is not unreasonable to suspect that some particular circumstance or circumstances must have called them forth.

Ordinarily, any attempt to determine such a matter among the American Indians, in the absence of an authentic historic record, would mean mere speculation. Fortunately this does not hold true for the case in point. There are indications within the text of the Rite itself and some historical evidence which proves pretty conclusively that, in its present form, the Medicine Rite is a development late in Winnebago history and after the coming of the French in 1632. We can, in fact, date it more precisely. The otterskin pouch and the shell used in the shooting ceremony come from the *midewiwin* ceremony of the Ojibwa. The Winnebago obtained them from the Fox and this could not possibly have been before 1680-1690.

Now, the Winnebago between 1650-1900 were passing through a very serious crisis. Their numbers had been seriously decimated by ferocious struggles between them and the Illinois and Fox and by the diseases introduced by the Europeans. The influence of the French, as well as the new conditions resulting from French encroachment, were playing havoc with the old order of things. Nor must we underrate the influence of the French missionaries.

[182] That a new type of ceremony should have appeared among the Winnebago just then cannot be ascribed to mere chance. It must bear some relation to the crisis. The moment we put the two to-

gether much that would otherwise remain inexplicable about the Medicine Rite becomes clear—its nostalgia for the past, the idealistic and idyllic setting, the absence of any reference to war, the insistent condemnation of shamanistic practices. We can then see it for what it is, the attempt of the priest-poet-philosopher to meet the new and hitherto unknown threats to the old way of life by demonstrating, first, what merit and virtue inhered in the Winnebago civilization of the past and, secondly, by showing how it could be recovered and safeguarded against all outside attacks. The creators of this ritual-drama were concerned only with the description of the Road of Perfection, a road that was to lead the Winnebago back to the past and then forward again. Only if we fully realize that we are not dealing here simply with the inward vision of some poet-philosopher but with the spiritual crisis of a people will we be able to explain the burning intensity that animates the participants.

105
174
796
182

But, let us forget for the moment the fact that the Medicine Rite is of late appearance in Winnebago history and let us forget the crisis that gave it birth and try to assign it its proper place in Winnebago thought.

We saw before how the warrior ideal received its glorification in the warbundle ceremonies. Nothing comparable to such a eulogy of war and of the warrior's viewpoint existed for the other half of Winnebago life, for the arts of peace. Indications that it was attempted are innumerable but these attempts seem never to have succeeded to any marked degree.

And so the Winnebago, apparently, had to wait until late in their history, until a crisis of major proportions was threatening to disrupt their whole culture, before the ideal which had always been expressed in the symbol of the chief of the tribe could find its full and adequate expression in the present Medicine Rite. That this expression came so late in their history must not obscure the fact that it represents part of a very old struggle between two aspects of Winnebago life that had always been seeking a resolution. It is not only in Winnebago history that a philosophical-ethical ideal has received its highest expression in the midst of a social-economic crisis, as I need hardly point out.

105 174 182 796 Whether, before the coming of the Whites, other crises of equal intensity had ever threatened the security of Winnebago life we do not, of course, know. What we do know, however, is that before Winnebago civilization finally broke up and disintegrated completely, about twenty years ago, a religion of a new type essayed the same task that the Medicine Rite had undertaken and developed a ritual of considerable beauty with a quality all its own. I am, of course, referring to the Peyote Cult.

## 6. THE HISTORY OF THE MEDICINE RITE

105 796 174 The Medicine Rite is clearly the product of a long development. For proof of this we have not only direct historical evidence but fairly convincing internal evidence. I have already called attention to the fact that the otterskin pouch, the shell and, in fact, much of the whole present shooting ritual stems originally from the *midewiwin* ceremony of the Ojibwa. We know that they are the originators of it and that it spread from them to the Pottawattomie, Menominee and Fox and then to the eastern Dakota and Iowa. The eastern Dakota already had it in 1765. The Winnebago were brought into contact with it by the Fox and the Iowa. We must assume that this could not possibly have been earlier than 1690 and, far more likely, it was later, anywhere between 1710 and 1730. To judge from its present form and content, nothing else was borrowed than the shooting ritual and its appurtenances, apart from a number of songs, at least, from the linguistically and culturally distinct Fox. More was probably borrowed from the linguistically and culturally closely related Iowa.

Two introductory narratives (pages 92 f. and 94 f.)[1] profess to tell how some of the pouches were obtained but they can hardly be accepted as too accurate. In so far as any credence can be placed on what they say, it would appear that they were presented to two Winnebago, whose names are given. No mention, however, is made by the givers of these gifts, one an Iowa and the other a Fox Indian, of their be-

 [1] [not processed. —Analyst]

longing to the *midewiwin*. Nor do the two Winnebago say anything 105
about their having been incorporated into a ceremony of their own. 796
Yet some connection there must once have been between these 174
gifts and the beginnings of our Medicine Rite, for otherwise there would have been no conceivable reason for their inclusion.

Since everything else in the Medicine Rite of today, apart from the shooting ritual, is so completely different from the Ojibwa and Menominee *midewiwin*, the only two we know reasonably well, we must assume either that a new ceremony was created then and there with the shooting ritual as its nucleus or that the shooting ritual was incorporated into an older Winnebago ceremony. All the evidence at our disposal points to the latter alternative. We have also to assume that this older ceremony contained shamanistic practices of the type that were characteristic of the Night-spirits' Rite.

That it was not the Night-spirits' Rite itself upon which the 105
Ojibwa shooting ritual was grafted, of that there can be little doubt. 171
Fortunately, we have a clue from a very unexpected source, the 174
Pawnee. These Indians have a ceremony called *The Ceremony of* 796
*the Medicine Men*, where we find the following remarkable resemblances to the Medicine Rite: a shooting ritual which causes the individuals shot to fall prostrate to the ground as if dead and then rise again; the conception that the framework of the lodge consists of snakes; a figure called the sacred woman; the importance of Turtle; a membership possessing occult powers strictly guarded and kept secret from the outside world; a highly elaborate symbolism, etc. Chance must be ruled out here. The only thing we have to decide is how the Winnebago happen to possess a ceremony so similar to that of the distant Pawnee with whom they had practically no contact. Direct borrowing is out of the question.

To me there seems to be only one possible explanation, namely, that the Winnebago and the Pawnee, the Winnebago to a smaller extent, were members of that larger civilization which we mentioned before and which had its roots in Mexico, and of which the Pawnee have preserved the essential traits whereas the Winnebago have preserved only vague memories of it and some special survivals.

Assuming then that the older ceremony upon which the Ojibwa

105 shooting ritual, plus its appurtenances, the otterskin pouch and the
171 shell, were grafted, was in content very much like the present Pawnee
● 174 *Ceremony of the Medicine Men* and, organizationally, like the
796 Night-spirits Society; let us see now what changes were necessary to have this older ceremony approximate to the present Medicine Rite.

105 First, of course, the meaning of the missile shot into the individual
174 being initiated and into the members of the Rite had to be reinter-
796 preted and its overt shamanistic implications removed. The stimulus for that unquestionably came from the Ojibwa shooting ritual. The linkage of the shooting ritual with the doctrine of reincarnation is, however, something entirely new.

The second transformation came about when the Tear-Pouring ritual was grafted upon this older rite. This last named ritual, apparently, was part of the very elaborate ceremonies connected with the dead although, today, it is not found in the official Four Nights' Wake. What is, however, found there is the myth of the *Journey to Spiritland* which has been taken over *in toto* into the Medicine Rite and subjected to a complete and fundamental reinterpretation. I feel that it is the linkage of these elements from the funeral rites with the older form of the Medicine Rite that brought about its basic transformation and gave us the Rite of today, with its stress on reincarnation and on the doctrine of the Road.

The third new trait requiring an explanation is the role of Earthmaker. He is a very old Winnebago deity and was evidently regarded as the supreme deity before the coming of the Europeans. He seems, in fact, to be the counterpart of the well-known Pawnee supreme deity *Tirawa*. Nevertheless, the influence of Christianity in, at least, unifying his characteristics and functions and accentuating his supremacy over the other deities, as well as the theory that he is the creator of all things, must not be excluded. The association of the two crossed lines with him cannot be accidental, even although the symbol itself is very old and is more specifically connected with the cardinal points.

There is, besides, some semihistorical evidence for indirect Christian influence. In a narrative purporting to be an account of the origin of a well-known French half-breed family among the Winne-

bago, named Decora, a statement is made that the son of the French founder of the family by the daughter of the tribal chief, introduced the figure of Earthmaker into the Medicine Rite. Such an individual would, indeed, have been the ideal person to have done just this. According to the narrative, he was taken, while still a very young child, to France and brought up there for a number of years. He was still only a boy when his excessive homesickness forced his father to send him back to Wisconsin and there he was rigorously subjected to the old Winnebago education for youths. 105 174 796

Thus he was almost made to order to symbolize the meeting of the two civilizations and to become one of individuals best qualified to understand the nature of the crisis threatening his people and the need for a new religious and philosophical synthesis to surmount it, at least, spiritually . . .

It is in some such fashion that we must visualize the growth and development of the Medicine Rite. Only if we bear in mind the various strands that have gone into its making and only, when we realize that in its final integrated form, it is a work of art sprung out of the poignant needs of a people facing a soul-trying ordeal, only then, can it be properly understood, evaluated and appreciated.

[pp. 78 ff. not processed]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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they forced their way through the country occupied by the Winnebago, war would not have occurred. 174 [648]

The Winnebago call themselves *Hotcangara*, which has been variously interpreted as "people of the parent speech" by James Owen Dorsey and as "big fish people" by other observers. Dorsey's explanation, which is the one most generally accepted, is most certainly wrong, and represents an interpretation read into the word to make it fit the legends which claimed that the dialect was the most archaic of all the Siouan languages. It is true that *ho* may mean "speech," but *tcunk* can only mean one thing, and that is "big, real." It is found with a number of animal names, such as *ketcunk*, "turtle," and *cunktcunk*, "wolf." It corresponds strictly to the Dakotan *tunk*, "large." *Ho* means "fish" in Winnebago. The name Winnebago, as is well known, is of Algonquian origin. 101 [114] [192]

The Winnebago were first encountered by white men in 1634, when Jean Nicolet visited them as agent for Governor Champlain. Where he encountered them is not definitely known. The Winnebago as a rule claim that it was at Green Bay. Some discussion has arisen of late years on this question. No contemporary narrative of the event exists, nor have the Winnebago any clearly marked legend that might be interpreted as referring to it. 175

An excellent description of their history has been given by P. V. Lawson [1] and from this we will quote at some length, selecting those periods that are of greatest importance in the history of the tribe and which can be illustrated by semihistorical legends still known to the Winnebago.

Much of our knowledge of the early history of the Winnebago is derived from Baqueville de la Potherie's Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale. A good deal of his information was obtained from Nicholas Perrot. For the period covering the years 1640–1660 we have the following information: [2]

> A few years ago, they numbered possibly 150 warriors. These savages have no mutual fellow-feeling; they have caused their own ruin, and have been obliged to divide their own forces. They are naturally very impatient of control, and very passionate; a little matter excites them; and they are great braggarts. They are, however, well-built, and are brave soldiers, who do not know what danger is; and they are subtle and cru[illegible] in war. Although they are convinced that their ancestors drew upon themselves [illegible] enmity of all the surrounding Nations, they cannot be humble. Their women [illegible] extremely laborious; they are neat in their houses, but very disgusting about their food. [162] [181] [152] [146] [264]

[1] The Winnebago tribe, in Wisconsin Archæologist, vol. 6, no. 3, Milwaukee, 1907.
[2] Quoted in Lawson's paper, p. 63.

175 Perrot also gives an account of the relentless war waged against them:

[839 This nation was a populous one, very redoubtable and spared no one; they violated
266 all the laws of nature; they were Sodomites, and even had intercourse with beasts.
648] If a stranger came among them, he was cooked in their kettles. The Malhoumins (Menominees) were the only tribe who maintained relations with them; they did not dare even to complain of their tyranny.

Lawson goes on to say:

175 So aggressive were the Winnebago that although their only arms "were stone
648 hatchets and knives," they declared war on all the other tribes. Envoys sent to them by the Ottawa were eaten, which cruel deed so incensed the surrounding tribes that they formed an alliance and sent frequent war expeditions against the common enemy, and greatly harassed them. As a result of disagreements among themselves
[669 and the continued troublesome activities of the allied tribes, civil wars broke out
162 among the Winnebago. For better protection against the tribes they were finally
184 forced "to unite all their forces in one village, where they numbered four or five
731] thousand men," but an epidemic occurred which soon reduced their number to 1,800.

"Despite all these misfortunes, they sent a party of 500 warriors against the Outagamis (Foxes), who dwelt on the other shore of the lake; but all these men perished, while making that journey, by a tempest that arose."

We suppose that this disaster occurred on Little Lake Butte des Morts, as it has been stated that the Winnebago resided on an island, which we suppose was Doty Island. The Winnebago being now greatly reduced by despair and famine, the other tribes were moved to pity by their condition and ceased to make war, and the Illinois sent 500 men, including "50 of the most prominent persons in their nation," to carry to them a supply of provisions. These the Winnebago received "with the utmost gratitude;" but at the same time meditated sacrificing the Illinois to the shades of their dead. A large cabin was erected to lodge their guests, and arrangements made for a dance in their honor. While the Illinois were dancing their bowstrings were
[264 cut, and the Winnebago "flung themselves upon the Illinois, massacred them, not sparing one man, and made a general feast of their flesh."

Reproaching themselves for this dastardly deed, and fearing the vengeance of the allied tribes when it should become known to them, the Winnebago "resolved to abandon the place which they were occupying," and "took refuge on an island, which has since been swept away by ice floes." There they considered themselves safe, as the Illinois did not use canoes. The Illinois, finding that their people did not return, investigated the place and found only their bones. In order to allow a proper period for mourning for the dead:

"They deferred hostilities until the second year, when they assembled a large body of men from all Nations who were interested in the undertaking; and they set out in the winter season, in order not to fail therein. Having reached the Island over the ice, they found only the cabins in which there still remained some fire, the Puans (Winnebago) had gone to their Hunt on the day before, and were traveling in a body, that they might not, in an emergency, be surprised by the Illinois."

They followed the hunters in the dead of winter, coming up to them on the sixth day and attacking their camp.

"So vigorous was their attack that they killed, wounded, or made prisoners all the Puans, except a few who escaped, and who reached the Malhoumins' village, but severely wounded by arrows."

He [Perrot] again refers to these traditional events as those of "the ancestors" of the tribe as he knew them, and which we judge to refer to ancestors of the Winnebago

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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of possibly the year 1600. There is no record to say how many years before, though it was doubtless several score, for 50 years before La Potherie published his history Allouez had told the same story of the destruction of the Winnebago by the Illinois: 175 648

"About 30 years ago all the people of this nation were killed or taken captive by the Illinoek with the exception of a single man, who escaped, shot through the body with an arrow."

This would place the event in about the year 1640.

He adds that when the captives were permitted to return to their homes this one was made a "Captain of his Nation," as having never been a slave. Shea commenting on this disastrous defeat of the Winnebago says, "If this strange event took place at all, we must ascribe it to an earlier date than 1639 (1634), when visited by Nicolet, who "found them prosperous, and we can hardly suppose a tribe almost annihilated and then restored to its former numbers in 30 years." . . . Nicolet, it will be remembered, was sent to this then unknown region for the purpose of "making peace" between the Winnebago and the Hurons. As the Winnebago were strong enough to command that attention from Governor Champlain, Doctor Shea is quite correct in supposing the Winnebago to have been "a prosperous tribe" in 1634. The events mentioned in the foregoing accounts are not historical, but traditional, for assuredly they did not take place after the coming of Nicolet, as he was followed by other white men in such short periods as to make it impossible for the occurrence of these stirring events to go unrecorded by others.

Charlevoix visited the tribe in 1720, and though a historian of note in old Canada, records the occurrence as history, though we have shown it to have taken place, if at all, more than a century before he went among them. He possibly got the story from the records of Allouez, made a half century before, though it may have been a riverside or cabin story heard by him at the time of his visit to this frontier of New France. He says:

"The *Otchagras, who are commonly called Puans, formerly lived* on the shores of the bay . . . but they were attacked by the Illinois, who slew great numbers of them; the rest took refuge on the river of the Outagamis (Fox River), which empties into the end of the bay. They settled upon the shores of a sort of lake (Lake Winnebago)." [131]

Charlevoix . . . adds another disaster not mentioned by the other old writers. In this same narrative he records that "sometime after" the Winnebago had settled on Lake Winnebago:

"They undertook to revenge the defeat which they had suffered from the Illinois. Six hundred of their best men embarked to seek their enemy; but while they were crossing Lake Michigan they were surprised by a furious gale, which caused them all to perish."[4] [731]

The Winnebago still tell of these events and practically in the same words as Perrot obtained them, as can be learned from the following versions obtained in 1910. 173

*a.* When the Winnebago first originated, they were holy and clever. They were equal to the spirits. In those days there lived a Winnebago who could fly like a bird, one who could fly as far as four days' journey from the village. There was another Winnebago who could scent anything as far away as four days' journey from the village. Then there was one man who could talk with the trees. They told him many things. Finally there was one who could transform himself into a buffalo. On account of these four men, it was

[4] Op. cit., pp. 99-00.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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173 them to make it rain. Then, after the rain had fallen, they wrung out their blankets and drank the water.

All this time the men of the tribe were being killed off. After a while they began to kill the male children too. Whenever they saw a child they raised up its dress and if it was a male child, they killed it. However, there was a young mother who had a boy, and fearing that if the enemy discovered him they would kill him, she tied a string to the end of the child's penis and pulled the string back under its legs so that the child was given the appearance of a girl. From this woman and her child all the pure blood Winnebago living to-day are descended.

The war against the Winnebago was ended by a young Winnebago chief painting himself blue and surrendering himself to the other tribes.

●175 648 The most important events of Winnebago history during the eighteenth century were the various alliances into which they were drawn with and against the Fox Indians in the wars that the French waged against this brave tribe. The Winnebago at first allied themselves with the Fox, but afterwards joined the French. This alliance was destined to bring upon them a great disaster. Lawson describes this period in their history as follows.[1]

In pursuance of their policy to combine all the tribes against the Fox, the French in some manner won over the Winnebago, their former friends and allies. Thus we learn that in the autumn of 1729 word was brought to Quebec of an attack by the Winnebago, Ottawa, and Menominee on a Fox village, in which there were killed 100 Fox warriors and 70 women and children. Among the killed of the assulting party were four Winnebago. . . . Another account gives this assault as on a party of Fox returning from a buffalo hunt, and as made by Ottawa, Chippewa, Menominee, and Winnebago. The Fox village contained 80 men, all of whom were killed or burned except three. The allied Indians burned the cabins and also killed 300 women and children. This probably occurred in the winter of 1729, as the reports are of the date of May 6, 1730.

The Winnebago having broken with their neighbors and friends, the Fox, by this treacherous and unprovoked slaughter, were now in terror for the consequences of their miserable acts. Further attempts against the Fox tribes having been projected from Quebec by the fall of 1729, Sieur Captain Marin appeared at the old French fort at La Baye (Green Bay), and repaired its fallen roofs. He had with him ten Frenchmen. On September 10th the Winnebago returned from their hunt and went to Marin to assure him that they still remained faithful to the French, at the same time presenting him with three slaves. They were rewarded with gifts of powder, bullets, hatchets, guns, and knives. Having ascertained that the Fox were not in their own country, the Winnebago took their families and camped on Doudo Island in the Fox River, adjoining their former location on Doty Island. Very soon thereafter the Fox and Sauk returned and surprised and killed some Winnebago fishermen. Then began a long siege of the Winnebago through the erection by the Fox on the Doty island waterside of two forts to command the water in all directions.

In order to compensate the Fox for the loss of two of their number through treachery, and procure a cessation of hostilities, the Winnebago decapitated two Menominee

[1] Op. cit., pp. 26-27.

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who were with them, and delivered to them two others. But the Fox refused to be satisfied unless they also delivered to them four of their own number. This proposal the Winnebago considered an insult, and the siege was resumed. After the fighting had continued for about six weeks, Capt. Marin with five Frenchmen and thirty-four Menominee, came to the assistance of the besieged. When the treachery of the Winnebago in giving up several of their comrades to the Fox became known to the Menominee it required all Marin's powers of persuasion to prevent their deserting from his small command and leaving the besieged to their fate. After four days of fighting with the relief party under Marin it was discovered that the Fox had raised the siege by decamping in the night. Thus were the Winnebago, who had in the meantime been reduced by famine to the eating of boiled bear skins, delivered from the enemy. Marin's force thereupon retired, the Winnebago accompanying him to Green Bay, "where they established themselves in a fort." 175 648

For a more detailed account of the same events see Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XVII, 88-100. The Winnebago have preserved a clear recollection of those stirring events in the semi-historical tale known as *Teap'o'sgaga*. [113]

### THE TALE OF TCAP'O'SGAGA[8]

In the early days of their existence the Winnebago were a successful people. They all fasted and were blessed by the spirits. It is for that reason that they were powerful and were called *Hotagara*. 173

At one time a Fox Indian, whose nation was about to be destroyed by its enemies, came to these much-feared Winnebago and said, "Brothers, I have come to you for aid."

The Winnebago lived on one side of the lake[9] and the Fox on the other and (because of the appeal) the former made friends of the latter, it is said, and the chiefs presented the pipe to one another. When chiefs exchange pipes with one another a very sacred bond is established. Thus many Winnebago and Foxes became friends, and Winnebago men married Fox women and Fox men married Winnebago women. 173 648

There was once a very famous warrior among the Winnebago whose crops were molested by the Foxes. *Teap'o'sgaga's* wife[10] thereupon said to him, "Why don't you take them (the marauders) to task?" Then *Teap'o'sgaga* went to the Foxes and said, "Boys, all the watermelons are yours when they are ripe, if you desire to eat them." "All right," they answered.

On the morning after the second night *Teap'o'sgaga's* wife woke up very early and went out to inspect the crops. Again they had been disturbed, so she immediately went back exclaiming, "How terrible: The largest and best of *Teap'o'sgaga's* crops have been

[8] This has also been published by me with the accompanying Winnebago text in the Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society, 1914, pp. [illegible], Madison, 1915.
[9] Probably at the junction of the Fox River with Lake Winnebago.
[10] This name means White-throat.

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and died and therefore they (the Winnebago) have passed here.' 173
Likewise, if you build a fire, always cover up the embers, for if you 648
should throw away any into the water (you would be detected)."

Then they went away in boats and returned to the lake. When they came to the narrow place where the main body of water lies there they went ahead along the left branch. Now this is all of this.

After a while the tribes came to see the Frenchman, for it was about the time fixed, and they said, "How have you been getting along?" Then he said, "Children, you know what kind of people the Winnebago are. We watched them very closely, but they got away, in what direction I do not even know. In the morning they were gone. I believe they went downstream, although I haven't even hunted for them upstream."

Well, all these different tribes looked for the Winnebago, for they wished to trail them and kill them. Now, although the Frenchman had expressly forbidden them, sure enough (the Foxes) found a fish that had been speared. "They've come past here," they said. However, when they came to the fork of the stream they didn't know which way (the Winnebago) had gone, but they noticed embers in the water. "They've gone by here." As it was impossible to go to the end of the stream in boats, all the half-breed Foxes got out (and walked). Soon they saw the oval lodges. "There they are," they said. For that reason the Foxes carefully looked them over and watched them. They inquired about them and found out that they had passed by.

The road (trail) was visible, so they chased them. Soon a cold autumn spell overtook them and they (the enemy) gave up the chase and returned home.

We will not follow the course of Winnebago history through all 114
its vicissitudes from their defeat by the Foxes to the British and 175
American occupancy, but only indicate important facts. An important local event was the coming of the Frenchman Decora among them and his marriage to the daughter of the chief of the tribe. An account of this has been preserved by the Decora family, although it is clearly mixed up with what we believe is an account of the first contact of the Winnebago with the French.

### HOW THE WINNEBAGO FIRST CAME INTO CONTACT WITH THE FRENCH AND THE ORIGIN OF THE DECORA FAMILY

The Winnebago originated at a place called Red Banks (Green 173
Bay, Wis.) (pl. 1). They had no tools to work with at that time. All they had were bows and arrows and a fire-starter. They had no iron, and if they saw a stone that was naturally sharpened in any way it was considered sacred and they offered tobacco for it. They had [276]
tobacco from the beginning. It was their most valued possession.

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## PREFACE

The information included in this volume was obtained during the years 1908–1913 while employed by the Bureau of American Ethnology and on private expeditions. In all cases wherever it was possible the author tried to obtain his information in Winnebago, although the English version is printed here. Owing to the fact that the Winnebago have for some time been accustomed to the use of a syllabic alphabet borrowed from the Sauk and Fox, it was a comparatively easy task to induce them to write down their mythology and, at times, their ceremonies, and then have an interpreter translate them. As the author has a fair command of Winnebago grammar, he was able to control these translations and thus insure their approximate accuracy. On account of the importance of having as accurate a record of the ceremonies as possible, those few ceremonies that were obtained in syllabic text were subsequently taken down in phonetic text.

It has been the aim of the author to separate as definitely as possible his own comments from the actual data obtained, and for that reason every chapter, with the exception of those on history, archeology, and material culture, is divided into two parts, a discussion of the data and the data itself.

Certain subjects, such as mythology, art, and music, have been entirely omitted. In order to discuss the second a comparative study of woodland art and design would have been necessary, which would have entailed a prolonged study at different museums; and to discuss the latter, specific training and knowledge were demanded, which the author does not possess.

The following monograph does not claim to be a comparative study, but simply as intensive an investigation as the time spent allowed, of an unusually interesting tribe, made under exceptionally propitious conditions. It is principally the raw material that is presented here. Throughout the work, the Indian has been allowed to tell the facts in his own way. For that reason no attempt has been made to change the English, except when it was ungrammatical or unintelligible. This will explain the simple and at times poor English of the accounts.

The work ends rather abruptly because the section on mythology and the general conclusion have been reserved for special treatment.

In conclusion, the author wishes to thank all those Winnebago who helped him since he first came among them. In particular does



[P. 46 is blank]

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173 The other tribes of the second "migration" have semihistorical legends telling of their separation from the Winnebago. Major Bean told Maximilian that an Oto chief had informed him that originally the Winnebago inhabited the lakes and that they subsequently migrated to the Southwest, presumably in pursuit of buffalo. At Green Bay they divided, the Winnebago remaining there while the others continued their journey.

Dorsey was informed by Iowa chiefs[3] that "their people and the Oto, Missouri, Omaha, and Ponca 'once formed part of the Winnebago nation.' According to the traditions of these tribes, at an early period they came with the Winnebago from their prisean home north of the Great Lakes, but that the Winnebago stopped on the shore of a great lake (Lake Michigan), attracted by the abundant fish."

101 When the Winnebago were first discovered they were entirely surrounded by Central Algonquian tribes. To the north of them lay the Menominee on the shore of Green Bay, to the southeast the Miami, to the south and southwest the Sauk and Fox, and to the west the Ojibwa. The nearest of their kindred were in southern Iowa, western Wisconsin, and eastern Minnesota. Under these circumstances it is not strange that the Winnebago show marked evidence [177] of Central Algonquian influence (fig. 1).

174 At what time the Winnebago were isolated from their Siouan kindred it is impossible to state. We doubt, however, whether this occurred before the sixteenth century. The Central Algonquian tribes in this region are clearly intruders. The Ojibwa came from the northeast and the Fox, Miami, etc., from the south and the southeast. It seems clear, to judge from the number of effigy mounds found in the territory occupied by the Fox and Miami, that the Winnebago had lived there for a considerable length of time before they were pushed westward and northwestward by these tribes. When the Menominee arrived, and from what direction, it is difficult to determine. On purely linguistic grounds, judging from the close relationship of Menominee to Fox, we might assume that they, like the Fox and the Miami, entered Wisconsin from the south. In that case they might either be interpreted as representing the northernmost extension of the same migration which carried the Miami northward along the shore of Lake Michigan or as representing a prior invasion along the same route. If the latter assumption is correct, they may have arrived in Wisconsin before the Winnebago. One point seems [648] to confirm the thesis of their priority, namely, that they were never at war with the Winnebago, and it hardly seems possible that, had

[3] Handbook of Amer. Indn., Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 30, part 1, p. 612, Washington, 1907.

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They say that the tobacco was given to them directly and that Earthmaker loves the Winnebago more than any other race. For that reason they were very clever. Now this is what the old men have said and handed down to us. 173 276

Once something appeared in the middle of the lake (Green Bay). They were the French; they were the first to come to the Winnebago. The ship came nearer and the Winnebago went to the edge of the lake with offerings of tobacco and white deerskins. There they stood. When the French were about to come ashore they fired their guns off in the air as a salute to the Indians. The Indians said, "They are thunderbirds." They had never heard the report of a gun before that time and that is why they thought they were thunderbirds. 173 276 648 177

Then the French landed their boats and came ashore and extended their hands to the Winnebago, and the Indians put tobacco in their hands. The French, of course, wanted to shake hands with the Indians. They did not know what tobacco was, and therefore did not know what to do with it. Some of the Winnebago poured tobacco on their heads, asking them for victory in war. The French tried to speak to them, but they could not, of course, make themselves understood. After a while they discovered that they were without tools, so they taught the Indians how to use an ax and chop a tree down. The Indians, however, were afraid of it, because they thought that the ax was holy. Then the French taught the Indians how to use guns, but they held aloof for a long time through fear, thinking that all these things were holy.

Suddenly a Frenchman saw an old man smoking and poured water on him. They knew nothing about smoking or tobacco. After a while they got more accustomed to one another. The Indians learned how to shoot the guns and began trading objects for axes. They would give furs and things of that nature for the guns, knives, and axes of the whites. They still considered them holy, however. Finally they learned how to handle guns quite well and they liked them very much. They would even build fires at night so that they might try their guns, for they could not wait for the day, they were so impatient. When they were out of ammunition they would go to the traders and tell their people that they would soon return. By this time they had learned to make themselves understood by various signs. [439]

The second time they went to visit the French they took with them all the various articles that they possessed. There the French taught them how to sew, how to use an ax, and how to use a knife. Then the leader of the whites took a liking to a Winnebago girl, the daughter of the chief, and he asked her parents for permission to marry her. They told him that her two brothers had the right to give her away in marriage. So he asked them and they consented. 173 648 [177]

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as the descendants of that family and the object that he said was 173
sacred (the drum) is indeed sacred. It is powerful to the present 648
day. His descendants are the most intelligent of all the people and they are becoming more intelligent all the time. What they did was the best that could be done. The ways of the white man are the best. This is the way they were brought up.

This is the end of the history of the Decoras.

One of the interesting developments resulting from the Indian con- 792
tact with the whites has been the appearance of prophets. In almost [177]
all cases these prophets were concerned with attempts to so adapt the life of their fellow-Indians to the new conditions that they would be better able to cope with the invaders who were sweeping all before them. Whether prophets sprang up only in response to the peculiar conditions resulting from the presence of the whites it is impossible to say, but there seems no reason to believe that such had always been the case. It is quite possible that conditions similar to those developing from the occupancy of America by Europeans had occurred in pre-Columbian times when one tribe was hard pressed by another.

The Winnebago seem to have had their share of prophets, and seem likewise to have been influenced by some of the great prophets of other tribes, like the Shawnee prophet. An interesting account of what he told the Winnebago has been preserved and we will give it at length.

One of the suggestive things about the following account is the way in which the informant, who is evidently a devout Peyote follower, [794]
connects the teachings of the Shawnee prophet with the modern Peyote movement, thus evincing a remarkable feeling for historical continuity.

### WHAT THE SHAWNEE PROPHET TOLD THE WINNEBAGO

Now this is what the Winnebago heard from the Shawnee prophet; 792
this is what he said, it is said, by those who heard him: 173

"Let the people give up the customs they are now observing and I will give them new ones." This is what he said.

Some of the Winnebago did this and threw away their war bundles. But he had meant their bad customs. Some also threw away their good medicines. At last they decided to go over to where he was. A man named Smoke-Walker led a number of young men over. "We will walk as the thunderbirds do," said the leader. Then a great and holy man called Dog-Head said that he also was going along. He was then an old man. The leader said, "You had better not come along for we are going to walk as the thunderbirds do, and for that reason I wish only young men." But Dog-Head said, "I am going

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anything. With this I bless you (this herb), and no one else in the world will know it.'" 792 787

This is what Dog-Head told Small-Snake: "As long as your posterity lasts, so long can you use this medicine. If I had given you clothes, when they were worn out, that would be the end of them. Your father spoke to me in your behalf and that is why I am giving you this medicine." Dog-Head told the truth, for even to the present day this medicine is being used. It is a purgative and a valuable medicine. 173

When the Winnebago returned the possessor of the medicine was careless and placed it in a hole in a cliff. When he came back for it it could not be found. He looked all over for it but it was apparently gone. Then they said, "We should not have done this. We should look before acting." Indeed, nowhere did they ever find it afterwards.

Now, it is four generations since the Shawnee prophet prophesied, and from that time there have been many prophets among us, as he is said to have told the people. Many have prophesied, but none have told anything that seemed reasonable. The Shawnee prophet was good, but those who have come after him have prophesied so that people might praise them, or just for the sake of talking. 792 787

It is said that the Shawnee prophet said that there would come a time when a woman would prophesy and that she should be immediately killed. The end of the world would be near then. Then he is said to have said that a little boy would prophesy and that one was to give ear to what he said.

The Peyote people claim that their ceremony is the fulfillment of this prophesy and that it is true. The Shawnee prophet had said that there would be springs of water in front of the people's lodges and it is so at the present time, for the water is at our very doors. His prophesy was correct and he told the truth. Then he said that trees would travel and this is happening to-day, for trees are loaded into trains and are carried all around the country. He told the truth and he knew what was going to happen. He said that one day we would be able to write our own language and we are doing that to-day, for we have a Bible in Winnebago and we are able to write to one another in our own language. All these things he was able to foretell four generations ago. [798]

A Winnebago by the name of Noise-Thunder had also prophesied that we would be able to write our own language. One thing that he said, however, was not correct. He said that the bad thing that has come upon us will make us forget our own ways. He meant that we should not take up with the white man's ways. "Don't do [77]

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Nicollet's time, some even within the recollection of Winnebago still 172
living. All were unquestionably erected by the Winnebago, and since there is no reason for believing that this tribe entered Wisconsin many centuries before the first appearance of Europeans in America, it is quite erroneous to state, as Mr. Stout does, that the evidence at [114]
hand justifies us in dividing the occupancy of Wisconsin into two principal periods, the effigy mound-building era and the time that has elapsed since that period.

The use of copper by the Winnebago prior to their contact with Europeans is another of the rather baffling questions connected with Winnebago archeology. There are references to its use in the myth [773
of the Twins, but the sections of the myth where it is mentioned 173
show marked evidences of European influence and can hardly be accepted as reflecting the original mode of life of the Winnebago. Copper is found in a number of mounds, but we have no way of determining whether these mounds are pre-Columbian or not.

In all likelihood, almost all the copper found in Wisconsin comes [316]
from the original copper workings at Isle Royale, Keweenaw, Ontonagon, and elsewhere, in the Lake Superior district. "A provisional description of the territory in which the greatest number of such artifacts have been recovered up to the present time may be given as extending from about the middle of Milwaukee County, northward along the west shore of Lake Michigan to Door County, thence westward to the Wisconsin River or slightly beyond, thence southward along this stream to Dane County and eastward to Milwaukee County, the starting point. Embraced within this territory are the extensive lake shore village sites, from which thousands of articles have already been recovered, and certain well-known sites in Green Lake and adjoining counties, the Rush Lake and similarly productive regions."[11]

The region thus described embraces the Winnebago territory and that subsequently occupied by the Central Algonquian tribes. It does not follow the line of Winnebago migrations farther than the Wisconsin River to the west or farther than the southern boundary of Dane County to the south or southwest. As far as the writer knows no one has ever been able to obtain any information from the Winnebago that would in any manner connect them with the authorship of the copper implements found associated with their old village sites. All Indians questioned denied that their ancestors had ever [177]
used copper before the arrival of the early French traders. For the Winnebago, it seems to the writer, the problem connected with the occurrence of copper implements is not whether the Winnebago made them, but how they came to obtain them. The solution of this problem would be immensely facilitated if we had accurate knowledge

[11] Brown, in The Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 2, no. 3, p. 88.

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tory before them; or—but this is extremely unlikely—that they /72
were all of Algonquian origin.

### Implements of Stone and Other Materials

As pointed out before, we ought not to expect to find much strictly archeological data relating to the Winnebago in their Wisconsin habitat. As, however, they probably reached this habitat before the discovery of America, some of the archeological finds may easily go back that far. Unfortunately we have no way of determining, even approximately, the age of the artifacts.

We will now confine ourselves to a description of the more important types of artifacts and remains found on old Winnebago sites without going into the question of their respective age.

Implements and utensils were made of stone, clay, shell, bone, wood, antlers, and turtle claws (pl. 10). According to information obtained from the present Winnebago, which is supported by the testimony of the myths and tales, but few objects were made of stone. [411 324] The most important of these was the stone hatchet. It may even be questioned whether the Winnebago originally made these, for they are given a supernatural origin by those few Winnebago who mentioned their existence, and it has been the author's experience that objects to which a supernatural origin is ascribed are generally either of recent origin or have been borrowed. None of the myths or tales even mention their existence. Nevertheless a large number of stone implements, most of them presumably stone hatchets, has been found at Doty Island, near Menasha, Wis. (pl. 11), which had at one time been one of their principal village sites. It is quite probable that the Winnebago obtained most of these from the neighboring Algonquian [439] tribes who were well known for their skill in working stone.

### Copper Implements

The Winnebago are known to have used copper implements in /72
fairly great abundance, the only question being whether they were 325
the original makers of these objects. We do not think they were, and base our opinion on the answers given by present-day Indians and the total absence of their mention in the myths. Both iron and presumably copper are mentioned in certain myths, but these passages are clearly of European origin. [177]

Practically all of our knowledge of the nature and distribution of copper objects in Wisconsin has been conveniently summarized in Mr. C. E. Brown's paper entitled "The native copper implements of Wisconsin,"[a] and all that we mention here is taken from this little monograph.

[a] The Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 5, no. 2.

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# CHAPTER III

## MATERIAL CULTURE

### Habitations

34 In former times the Winnebago seem to have had eight types of lodges: The round lodge (*tci p'ârap'â'rate*), the long lodge (*tci se'rête*), the tipi, the grass lodge, the gable lodge (*na"haitci p'â'rap'arate*), the platform lodge, the ceremonial lodge, and the sweat lodge. Of the round lodge and the long lodge there are three varieties—one made entirely of bark (pl. 18, *c*); another made entirely of reed mattings (pl. 18, *a*); and still another of bark with a roof covering of reed matting (pl. 18, *b*). The round and long lodges of all [343] three types are occasionally seen even now, rarely as habitations, however, but as storehouses (pl. 19). Gable lodges are no longer found among the Winnebago, but the writer has been informed that a few still exist among the Sauk and Fox living near Tama, Iowa.

343 The round and the long bark lodges are constructed in a very simple manner. These are built of poles of ironwood (*teutcô'na*) driven into the ground, bent over and lashed to other poles which meet them from the opposite direction. The poles are tied together with basswood bark (*hi"cke'xunte*). The same material is used in attaching to these poles the cedar bark that forms the walls of the lodge. The walls are supported on the inside by a varying number of poles (*teicu' curutra"p*) attached to the corresponding poles of the other side. In many cases a series of transverse poles (*teicu' na"jiyk'ere*) are inserted beneath the exterior vertical poles. These can be seen in plate 18, *a*, *b*, *c*. The bark roofs are incased in frames made of irregularly distributed vertical poles with generally one transverse pole (pl. 18, *a*, *b*, *c*). If the roofs are of reed matting two or three of the external poles have poles attached to them which are arched across the matting (pl. 18 *a*, *b*, *c*). The reed matting lodges, as a rule, have no external vertical poles and only two transverse poles each, one on the outside and one on the inside (pl. 19, *c*).

● [177] Although considered of Winnebago origin by many Indians, these bark and reed matting lodges are in all probability of Central Algonquian origin. They are easily constructed and for that reason were generally used for temporary purposes in the olden times. Accord-

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According to the oldest informants, the earliest type of lodge used by the Winnebago was the ten-fire gable lodge, of which there were two types, rectangular in form, one built on a platform and the other on the ground. Poles of cedar, forked at the top, formed the sides. Through the forks transverse poles were laid to which the gable roof was attached. Three poles (*sa"ji'k'eri*) were arranged in the center of the lodge for the better support of the roof. Beds were placed along both of the long sides on a platform raised 2 feet (*haza'ir*). Frequently a platform 4 to 5 feet high was erected in the rear of the lodge and partitioned off. Here the favorite child of the family lived when he was fasting. In front of the lodge a spot was always kept carefully cleared (*sowazi'nera*). There were two doorways to the lodge. Often the entrances were shaded with boughs. According to some informants, this was only done for the chief's lodge. According to another description of the gable lodge, there were only two centra poles, one at each entrance; these were always painted blue to symbolize the day (fig. 22, *b*).

FIG. 22.—*a*, CROSS-SECTION OF ROUND LODGE; *b*, CROSS-SECTION OF GABLE LODGE.

As far as can be learned at the present time, the platform lodges were merely gable lodges on platforms. What purpose the platform served is now difficult to determine, but most Winnebago questioned said that it was provided as a protection against the dampness of the ground and insects.

The ceremonial lodge was merely a large, long bark lodge. The grass lodge seems to have been a roughly constructed round lodge with a covering of grass instead of bark. The sweat lodge was a round bark lodge having a framework of four poles. The tipi was of a simple type provided with a three-pole framework.

All the evidence obtained points to the fact that lodges of these types were used synchronously. According to the myths and the oldest informants, in ancient times a village occupied for a considerable period consisted entirely of gable lodges, but these seem to have given way to the round and long type, probably borrowed from the Central Algonquian. The gable type seems to have held its own, however, among the more western villages of the Winnebago. The round bark lodges were used in winter and the reed matting lodges in

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*Method of wearing the hair.*—In former times the men wore their hair in two long braids, although some seem to have affected the Sauk and Fox roach. The scalp along the parting of the hair was always painted, the color varying with individuals. There is no indication of any distinctions in the method of wearing the hair among the various clans as found among the Osage. 302 [177]

A variety of coiffures exist among the Winnebago women at the present day and the assumption that these are all recent is unwarranted. It seems probable that in the old days the hair was usually worn in one braid, which on festive occasions was inclosed in a case. This consisted of two parts—a rectangular piece of broadcloth beaded, and long strips of beaded work (pl. 28).

*Earrings and bracelets.* At the present time earrings are fashioned either of 10-cent pieces strung together or of various ornaments of German silver. Strings of beads also are worn occasionally. Bracelets now are made generally of German silver, while in former times beaded or quillwork buckskin was used. 301 [178]

*Arm bands and necklaces.*—Arm bands are made either of German silver or beaded work. The necklaces consist of long strings of various articles, as modern wampum, seeds, and elk teeth.

Belts, as well as cross belts, are now either beaded or woven, but formerly they were always woven from buffalo hair. Shell gorgets are generally of the type shown in plates 22, 24, 26, b. Tight collars are now made of beaded work. Bandoliers consist of long sashes with bags attached; both sash and bag are always gorgeously beaded. The bandoliers are worn in three ways, with the bag hanging on the right side, on the left side, or in front. Often the same individual wears two or three bandoliers. Garters are now made of beaded work; formerly these were generally made of the skins of various animals, preferably the polecat (pls. 27, 28, 29, 30, b). 293

*Headdress and taildress.*—The Winnebago headdress has been well described by Skinner (op. cit., p. 293), as follows: 301 237

> The typical headdress is a roach or comb-like ornament woven from deer's hair and generally dyed red. A carved bone, somewhat like an elongate isosceles triangle in shape, spread out this roach and was attached near the front to another tubular bone in which an eagle feather was inserted. Often the latter was ornamented with dyed horse hair and rattlesnake rattles. . . . The whole was fastened on the crown of the head slightly back of the forehead. It was usually pinned to the hair, the scalplock serving to hold it on.

A taildress, consisting of the tail of some animal, was worn only at certain dances, particularly the Herucka.

## Hunting

In their original habitat hunting was the most important means of subsistence of the Winnebago. Practically all game available was 224

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241 [778] In the middle of the field was usually placed an earthen representation of the clan animal. As to how squash and beans were planted, no reliable information is available. The corn was planted in small circular mounds which, to judge from those near Madison, Wis., were arranged in remarkably straight rows.

[412 The author is unable to say what type of implements was used, as the Winnebago have been using those of European manufacture 177] for many years and have no recollection of any other kind.

If anyone had more corn planted than he could take care of he 241 gave a feast, to which he invited all who had hoes. At this feast 527 dried corn was used. On this occasion the people sacrificed tobacco 782 to their hoes, so that they might not cut themselves with these implements or have other accidents. Then they all joined in helping their host cultivate his corn.

249 In addition to the above-mentioned patches, most Winnebago had small fields of tobacco, which were regarded as very sacred. The tobacco grown on these was used only for sacrificial purposes. Sacred gourds also were planted in these fields.

222 *Berry picking.*—From the earliest times the Winnebago were known for their bountiful supply of berries. Every fall parties of men, women, and children went out to pick cranberries and whortleberries.

222 *Customs when berries are ripening.*—If a man has a son whom he 787 loves very much, he has him fast as soon as the berries and other things begin to ripen. If this boy dreams of something good, then he (the father) gives a feast with the newly ripened food and the boy eats. If the boy does not dream of anything good after four days, the father makes him eat and has him try again.

222 *Rice gathering.*—In common with the Central Algonquian tribes, with whom they have come in contact, especially the Menominee, the Winnebago spent a number of weeks every year gathering wild rice. The following description of the manner in which this is done is taken from a newspaper article published by Prof. A. E. Jenks of the University of Minnesota:

Fox River from its source to Lake Winnebago was for hundreds of years a very productive field for this aquatic cereal, and along this river the Winnebago lived in plenty and peace with several wild rice eating tribes of the Algonkin stock. Probably a few families still gather their annual crop in that old domain; but most of the wild rice which the tribe now gathers is obtained in the sloughs of the Mississippi River near Lacrosse, Wis., and on the Iowa side of that river

The Winnebago gather the grain by running their canoes into the tall standing stalks before the grain is ripe. A stick is held in each hand of the harvester, one being used to draw the standing stalks over the edge of the canoe, while the other one is employed in tapping or striking the heads of the stalks, thus knocking the grain out of the fruit head into the canoe. After the canoe is full it is taken to the shore and emptied.

252 *Preparation of foods.*—Meats were prepared by broiling, in three 262 ways—on stakes, over a rack, or under hot ashes. Only the ribs

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and the breast of most animals were considered good portions, but the head of the deer was included. Other portions were eaten, however. For infants the deer's tail was considered a delicacy. Now, when they eat meat provided by the white man, rib roast of beef is the favorite meat of the Winnebago.

The Winnebago were very fond of soups of all descriptions. Most of these were meat soups with the addition of vegetables or berries.

Most time was, however, spent in the preparation of vegetable foods, especially in the preparation of wild rice and corn. For the preparation of rice I will again quote Professor Jenks's article:

> At this stage of the harvest when the Winnebago gather the wild rice, the kernel is very like a long oat and has a tenacious hull, which must be removed before the grain can be eaten. The necessity of removing this hull and the unripe condition of the grain make it necessary to dry it artificially. This is usually done by spreading the kernels yet inclosed in the hull upon a rack of lattice work, under which a slow fire is kept burning. The grain is cured and the hull made brittle by the heat and smoke. The next process is the thrashing. The Winnebago thrashes the grain by the use of a most primitive flail. He spreads a blanket, rush mat, or deerskin on the ground, upon which he puts the new cured grain. Along three sides of the blanket he erects a screen of similar material. At the open side of this screen the man squats on his knees, and beats the grain with a straight stick in each hand, thus releasing it from the hull. When it has been thrashed the woman gathers up the contents of the blanket and winnows the mass by letting it fall from a vessel held high in the air upon a blanket or mat laid on the earth, the wind blows away the chaff from the falling grain and leaves the clean kernels.

The Winnebago distinguished a number of different kinds of corn, the principal ones being *wahi'serete*, yellow-stalked; *hiwaskona*, sweet corn; and *wawu'teke*, red-colored corn. The cornstalk was called *wahu'*, the corn proper, *witca'ᵃwaᵃs*, and the cob, *wosa'k'*. The corn is pounded on a rack (*waick*[4]) and then shelled, the grain falling through the rack and the cobs remaining on top. After being shelled the corn is steamed. Then the stones necessary for cooking it are gathered and the corn is picked. When this is finished, a hole is dug in the ground and red-hot stones are put in. Over this the husks are put and upon these the corn; then another layer of husks, etc. The top always is covered with husks. Four holes are made through the husks, into which four pails of water are poured and the whole is covered with a thick layer of earth and the corn left there overnight. The next morning it will be entirely cooked.

In shelling, the outer part of an oyster shell is used. When the shelling is over the corn is spread out and dried.

Squash is prepared as follows: After the skin has been removed the squash is cut into slices and the seeds taken out; the slices of squash are then put on poles to dry. The dried squash is called *hoica'ᵃwaᵃdawu*. There are two varieties of this vegetable—*witca'ᵃwaᵃ*, Hubbard squash, and *witca'ᵃwansik*, small-kernel squash.

Fruit was dried, but by what process the author has not learned.

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252 262 In addition to the vegetable foods above referred to, the following may be mentioned: *Terra'pava*, a plant growing in the water, the root of which was eaten boiled with meat; *wokniphra* and *hu^wipk hoi'dja*, awl plant and peavine, respectively, of which only the roots were eaten; and finally the *dora*, wild potato, a favorite dish. The skin was peeled off; then the potato was dried in the sun and afterwards boiled. *Na^wpa'k'*, chokecherries, were eaten raw. *P^wapkzi'* and *ma^whi'nte*, a lowland weed, and the milkweed, respectively, were also utilized. Of the former, the boiled root was eaten; of the latter, the boiled head. Small quantities of food which required grinding were put into a squirrel hide from which the hairs had been removed, and were pounded with a stone. A mill consisting of a dug-out trunk with handles attached was also used.

251 415 *Preservation of food.*—In former times meat was hung on long racks for preservation. Corn was cached (*wozo'*). Dried berries were kept in bags woven from vegetable fibers. These bags were always covered with designs, mostly of geometric patterns, although [531 422] realistic designs, as elk, deer, thunderbirds, and water spirits, all unquestionably property marks, were frequently used. There were two types of bags, that closely woven (*p'a^w*) (pls. 32–36), just mentioned, and matting bags with fairly large openings in the meshwork (pl. 37). Food stored away at home was generally placed in a part of the lodge reserved for the purpose.

262 *A Winnebago menu.*—To give an idea of the favorite dishes of the Winnebago, the names of several mentioned in one of the myths are here appended: Small dried corn boiled with bear's ribs; jerked meat with bear's fat; deer's fat; deer's grease frozen in a hole in the ground; dried corn boiled with fruit; deer-loin soup.

412 415 *Cooking and eating utensils* (pl. 38).—With regard to the kind of cooking and eating utensils used in the old days there exists even among the Indians themselves considerable difference of opinion. According to some, their ancestors never used wooden utensils, mills, spoons, and plates, but utilized shells of various kinds or other natural objects suitable to their needs. Others state, on the contrary, that, in early times, in addition to such natural objects, wooden vessels of many kinds were fashioned from maple knots. These are said to have been burned out, a very tedious process, or even to have been cut out with adzes. It is quite impossible to decide this question now. Wooden implements and utensils in great variety are, of course, found among the Winnebago at the present time, but these are supposed by many to have been introduced by the neighboring Algonquian tribes and by early French traders. The main contention of the present-day [177] Winnebago is, however, that their ancestors could never have made this woodenware without the aid of European implements, burning out being a tedious and unsatisfactory method.

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It might be said that all recollection of the making of wooden vessels could easily have been lost in the last century or two and that therefore too much weight should not be given to present ignorance of the subject. There are a number of reasons, however, why ignorance in this particular case might be significant. First, many indications point to workmanship of a low order among the Winnebago in the manufacture of artifacts; second, there are many suggestions of two cultural strata in this tribe; third, while the Winnebago in Wisconsin still use wooden vessels, many of them claim that these were introduced; and fourth, all the informants who gave this information were old people. If the author were to hazard an hypothesis, it would be the following: In very early times few objects were fashioned out of wood, but gradually contact with the Menominee led to the introduction of many wooden vessels, and finally the acquisition of European axes, knives, and other implements made it possible to manufacture such vessels in large numbers. A similar explanation was offered by an Indian with regard to the use of dugouts.

Besides wood as a material for dishes and spoons of various kinds and sizes, shells were utilized, while sticks served as knives.

All informants agree that neither bone nor stone were used in the manufacture of utensils.

For cooking, clay pots were used. These vessels, most of which were very large, with round bottoms, always hung over the fire. The material used in their manufacture was blue clay found at Green Bay, on or near the site of St. Paul, Minn., mixed with shell shards, glue from sturgeon vetrebre, and the gelatinous substance in the horns of the deer. The addition of these ingredients greatly increased the cohesiveness of the clay. The material was either molded with the hands or in holes of the desired shape dug in the ground and lined with leaves. Finally, the vessels were dried over a slow fire in small kilns constructed for the purpose. None of the clay vessels were provided with handles. Some were ornamented with geometric patterns. The irregular incised designs on some Winnebago vessels are the impressions of grass blades with which the mold was lined.[7]

*Fire making.*—In former times fire was always made by means of a simple fire drill. This method is still used for ceremonial occasions.

*Tanning.*—The author never witnessed the process of tanning. The description obtained agrees exactly with that of Mr. A. Skinner here quoted.[8]

After the skin has been removed, the hair is scraped from it. During this process the skin is hung over an obliquely inclined log, one end of which has been smoothed

[7] One informant gave a description of pottery making in which a wheel was used, but as no other Winnebago corroborated this statement the author is convinced that it is inaccurate.

[8] Anthr. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist. pt. iv, pt. ii, pp. 280-281.

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*Tree game.*—Two trees are selected about 20 feet apart, one having a branch about 15 feet from the ground. A number of people stand ready at the side of this tree and the one whose turn it is to play tries to hit the branch. When he succeeds in doing so all run toward the other tree. As soon as the player gets the ball he tries to hit the runners. If successful in this before the others have reached the tree he wins; otherwise they are "safe" and he must try again. The Winnebago called this game *hahi'bidjikr'u*. 526

### Travel and Transportation

*Canoes and dugouts.*—All the boats found in the early days in the territory originally inhabited by the Winnebago were dugouts, yet a number of the tribe questioned denied positively that boats of this kind were in common use before the coming of the whites. According to these informants, in former times the Winnebago always had their home in a birch country, and had at hand, therefore, the requisite material for making canoes; moreover, birch-bark canoes were much easier to construct than dugouts, for which logs had to be hollowed by burning—a process that might consume weeks. Only when the whites introduced the ax and the knife did it become practicable to make dugouts. These implements became available at the time of the southern migration of the tribe into a region where birch bark was scarce, and one result of the change was the substitution of the dugout for the canoe. The validity of this explanation is supported by the same line of argument as in the case of the wooden vessels. 501 [412] [177] [167]

*Snowshoes.* The snowshoes of the Winnebago were similar to those used by the Menominee, with this difference, that the two pieces of wood forming the "handle," instead of being tied together for their whole length, as among the latter, were left unfastened for about 5 inches at the end. This difference is immediately detected (pl. 40) by the present-day Winnebago, who can easily identify, by the feature mentioned, snowshoes belonging to the tribe. 481 [171]

### Musical Instruments

The musical instruments of the Winnebago seem to have been restricted to the flute, drum, and gourd. The flute was made of red cedar and usually had a range of five or six notes; it was used at many ceremonies, and especially by young men when courting. The drum consisted of a framework (in later days a wooden pail or a barrel served the purpose), over which a skin was drawn very tight. A small quantity of water was always kept in the drum so that the skin could be wet as often as necessary. Rattles consisted of dried gourds filled, in olden times, with seeds, in more modern times with buckshot (pl. 30, *d*, *f*). 534

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# CHAPTER V

## BURIAL AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

764 There appear to have been two distinct methods of burial among the Winnebago—simple inhumation and platform burial. Within recent times, owing to the influence of their Algonquian neighbors, [177] platform burial has entirely disappeared and inhumation alone is practiced. It has even become customary to erect a typical Algonquian burial-hut over the grave (see pl. 54, *b*).

[615] When the old culture was still intact inhumation was definitely associated with the lower phratry and platform burial with the upper phratry. Whether this marked difference in burial customs was merely another example of that specialization in function so characteristic of these two divisions of the tribe, or whether it was due to distinct historical origins, it is difficult to determine. I am, however, inclined to regard the latter interpretation as by far the most probable.

[614 184] All the customs are described in full detail in the various accounts that follow and in Chapters VII and VIII. Each clan seems to have had a few details peculiar to itself, but, in the main, the rights were identical. They may briefly be divided into the following sections:

1. Preparation of the body for burial. 2. Rites in the house of the deceased, consisting mainly of speeches of consolation to the bereaved. 3. Speeches addressed to the deceased and the narration of the myth of the journey to spirit land. 4. Rites at the grave. 5. The recounting of war exploits by specially invited warriors, at the grave. 6. The elaborate four nights wake at the home of the deceased.

### Description of Funeral Customs and Wake

[115 64] Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:[1] When an individual dies his relatives get some one to bury him and the chief mourner will also invite some person to talk to the corpse before it is buried. The person addressing the dead man or woman tells the deceased how he is to go (to spirit land) and what he is to do on the way there. The body is then dressed by the person who is going to bury it. All the relatives come to the lodge and the deceased is dressed in his best clothes; beads are put around his neck, bracelets on his wrist, rings

[1] This description is a generalized one.

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614

10. *ire*, buffalo.
11. *ke*, fish.
12. *wak'e*, snake.

Another list was obtained in which only 10 clans were mentioned, the Fish and the Snake being omitted. The clans omitted are, however, regarded by all as of recent origin.

There are two older lists of Winnebago clans obtained by Morgan[1] and Dorsey.[2] Morgan gives the following clans: 614 114

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wolf. | Eagle. | Snake. |
| Bear. | Elk. | Thunder. |
| Buffalo. | Deer. | |

Dorsey's list is more complete, although owing to the fact that he did not know of the existence of the twofold division, he classes the four Bird clans as subclans of one larger Bird clan. His list differs from the author's only in the absence of the Fish clan and in the fact that he was still able to obtain two archaic names for the Wolf and Bear clans. Dorsey's list follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wolf. | Bird. | Buffalo. |
| Bear. | *a*. Eagle. | Deer. |
| Elk. | *b*. Pigeon. | Water-monster. |
| Snake. | *c*. Hawk. | |
| | *d*. Thunderbird. | |

Foster gives a grouping of the clans according to the fauna.[3] His list hardly was intended as an enumeration of the clans. According to Foster, we have the following grouping:

I. Thunderbird family or invisible Thunderbird people.
II. The air family, the visible Thunderbird people.
III. The land or quadruped family.
IV. The water family.

An interesting variant of the names of the Thunderbird and Warrior clans was given by one informant. He called the Thunderbird the good thunders, and the Warrior the bad thunders. This is strikingly reminiscent of the Menominee and was perhaps borrowed from them. 614 [115 177]

The main differences in the above lists are the order of the clans, the position of the Wolf clan, the presence of a general Bird clan called *wasiṗ* by Dorsey, the double names for the Wolf and Bear clans, and the absence of a Fish and Warrior clan in Dorsey's and of a Hawk clan in the list obtained by the author.

The position of the Wolf clan, in spite of Morgan's and Dorsey's agreement, does not belong in the place assigned to it by them. In all probability their main informant was a member of this clan who wished to give his clan a greater importance than properly belonged

[1] Ancient Society, p. 167.
[2] Siouan Sociology. Fifteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 205-211.
[3] Quoted in J. O. Dorsey's MSS. of Winnebago clan names (B. A. E.).

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Facial paintings of these two clans, it is claimed, were the same as those for the Thunderbird clan (pl. 46). This was denied by others. 302 614

According to one informant the Pigeon clan was borrowed from another tribe. [177]

CLAN NAMES

WAHINE' HIK'IE'A'RAIOERA (THE BIRD CLAN)*

Ahugidjiewings.....Young bird that sheds its first feathers as it flaps its wings.
Ahugip'arawings.....Spreads her wings (said of a young bird just learning to fly).
Ahumanip'aga.....He who hits the ground with his wings (refers to a cloud).
Ahup'ahiga.....Sharp wing (said of a thunderhead).
Ahupeewings.....Transparently clear wings.*
Ahurn-aga.....He who raises his wings (i. e., the wings of a cloud).
Ahuwk'a.....Strikes his wings.*
Ahuwetega.....Long wings (as a far-extended cloud, clouds being the plumage of the thunderbirds).
Ahugawings.....White wing.
Ahutewings.....Green wing.
Ahunuriwings.....Slow wing.
Adedjirehiga.....He who sets the prairie grass on fire suddenly (i. e., the lightning).
G'edjega.....He who kindles the (fire*).*
Hadjare.....She who has been seen.
Hadjatewiwings.....Difficult to be seen.
Ha^p' hik'inehiga.....He who raises the day.
Ha^p'ok' guwings.....Owl returning hither.
Ha^ptewk'a.....New day.
Hirdja Kawwaijaga.....Hawk-face.
Hitwarepewings.....Eagle woman.
Hitwarepaqga.....Black eagle.
Hitwarepiraga.....Green hawk.
Hiwetega.....Green tail.
Hiwitrajaqkga.....Forked-tailed hawk.
Haha^p'gaga.....Returning light.
Haha^hanaiwings.....Walks in the light.
Haha^pdjik'aga.....Light that comes hither regularly.
Haha^pdjikwaga.....Light flashes suddenly.

* The following list of names is based partly upon the manuscripts of Winnebago personal names prepared by the late Mr. J. O. Dorsey, and now in the possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology. This list has been tested and the phonetics of the Winnebago names corrected and transcribed by the author, but the English renderings of the names have been left as Mr. Dorsey obtained them, as the author obtained practically the same translations. Many of the names were obtained independently by the author. Dorsey's list is Nos. 1 the amalgamation of two lists, that obtained by Dr. Foster and his own. He subsequently tested Foster's list, but to those names of the latter's list for which he could not obtain any translation he appended Foster's initials. [114]

* Dorsey has "thin" wings, adding "as in a transparent fleecy cloud." However, the word *pere*, which is the full form for *pee*, means "clear," and is generally used in describing water in a brook. The interpretation of this and many other names as referring to clouds necessarily and not to the simple characteristics of the wings of the thunderbirds, is not obtained frequently to-day, but there seems to be no reason for believing that it was not customary a generation or two ago. For a discussion of the meaning of the names in general see the introduction to the section on social organization.

* Dorsey's rendering "stiff wings" is most certainly incorrect.

* Foster translates "misty" and Dorsey "smoke," but our means to kindle a fire, literally to cause the blue flame that appears just as the flame start up.

776 is but a faint survival of former times. The older myths are full of references to the evil spirits, and the cosmological myths represent
[773] the world as infested with evil spirits who are on the point of exterminating the human race until the culture heroes come to the rescue. It would almost seem as if, from a purely matter-of-fact point of view, these early culture heroes had destroyed all the evil spirits. Certainly they are not regarded as of great consequence, for if they were we ought to find a certain number of prayers addressed to them asking them not to harm anyone. They seem to be mere logics, personifications of fear, and that is perhaps why they are so intimately connected with darkness.

812 At the present time the vast majority of Winnebago ascribe evil, in so far as they explain it at all, to three causes: either to some
[685 failure on their part to perform a rite in the prescribed way, to
782] the fact that they have not invoked the spirits for protection (i. e., attempted to pass through life without the aid of the spirits), or to the evil machinations of other men. Often one derives the impression that they accept evil and do not try to explain it. It seems to be a trait characteristic of the Winnebago, and perhaps characteristic of other North American tribes, that explanations are developed for the positive aspects of things. Certainly it would require some thought on the part of a Winnebago to explain why a war party that had, in the opinion of the chief, all the necessary requirements for victory, should nevertheless be defeated. He would doubtless find some reason, after a while, but it would be an afterthought and would probably vary from individual to individual. In some cases lack of success would be ascribed to the fact that an individual had been misled by an evil spirit, but this is clearly a secondary explanation because the individual, when questioned, would admit that he had no way of telling whether this was so until he had failed in something. We base this statement on an actual instance.

776 There is some evidence to show that there may have originally existed among the Winnebago a belief that the spirits were neither good nor bad; that they could be either at different times. In two notable instances, that of Disease-giver and Water-spirit, this is true at the present time. The former deity is the only one to whom prayers are addressed beseeching him not to present to man his death-dealing side.

In the myths we find a definite incarnation of evil in the case of
[192] a spirit called *Herecgu'nisa*. The meaning of this word as given by a Winnebago, and which seems to be justified, is "he whose existence is doubtful." If this is an old Winnebago word it would confirm the view advanced above, that the Winnebago were not very much concerned about the evil spirits. There is, however, a possibility
[777] that *Herecgu'nisa* is, in part, a post-Columbian development due

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to Christian influence. The one place where he plays an important 776
rôle, the myth of the twins, shows definite indications of European 777
influence. The only thing that militates against such an assumption is the fact that there does not seem to be any particular reason why the existence of a chief evil spirit should have been doubted, even if we were to grant that Christian influence extended the belief. The French of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had a very definite idea of the devil and made it a point to tell the Indians that all their former habits were due to deceptions the devil had practiced upon them. To-day such an answer is the first that a Christianized Winnebago or a member of the new Peyote cult will give an ethnologist. Perhaps, after all, it is a very old Winnebago conception, a confirmation of the view promulgated before, that in former times the Winnebago had a very definite conception of evil spirits taking an active part in the affairs of man to his detriment. The figure of 776
*Herequ'nina* is well defined and it would be ridiculous, in our 756
opinion, to believe that the shamans would have done anything to develop it. We have clear indications of what the shamans were trying to do with this conception. They were attempting to bring it into some relation with the concept of Earthmaker, a beneficent All-Father, and to do so they were even willing to claim that *Herequ'nina* was the first attempt of Earthmaker to create a spirit; that Earthmaker was dissatisfied with his work and threw it away; that then *Herequ'nina* watched Earthmaker create spirits and imitated him, the evil spirits representing these imitations. The shamans, we should expect, would have done all in their power to lessen the importance of *Herequ'nina*, even to deny his existence, and, in this connection, it may be of significance that one Winnebago interpreted his name to mean, "He-who-seems-to-exist-but-who-does-not."

Whatever the case may be, this much is clear, that in the twin myth he is represented as a deity as powerful as Earthmaker, whom [773]
Earthmaker can not destroy; upon whom the twins play jokes but whom they cannot really harm.

*The concept of disease.*—Disease is rarely ascribed to the spirits. 753
Like lack of success, it is regarded as a fact of existence, and when 776
it is explained it is believed to be due either to the carelessness of man in trying to pass through life without the aid of the spirits or to the evil machinations of other men.

The deity known as Disease-giver is the one exception to the rule that the Winnebago spirits do not directly cause disease, for he is sometimes described as scattering death broadcast over the earth.

*The concepts of death, after-life, and reincarnation.*—Death is rarely, 761
if ever, ascribed to the spirits. It likewise is a fact of existence and, 776

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The soldier dance is a hop up and down with both feet and in no particular order, anywhere around the singers. It is held in the open air. 796 614 [535]

SOLDIER DANCE SONGS

I 796

Manaap'ᵊ'ra ma"jᵊ'winā. 614
Soldiers get up.

II 533

Waja"ᵊjᵊ' tresiqᵊ'jī ma"jᵊ'ᵊ'ᵊjā. 539
Something difficult get ready.
(I. e., whenever there is anything difficult to do you must get ready.)

III

Manaap'ᵊ'ra 'nowīne'ᵊᵊ' ha'nagirᵊdra.
Soldiers I am he whom they spoke of.

IV

Manaap'ᵊ'ra hi'jᵊ' wīne'ᵊᵊ'.
Soldier one I am.
(I. e., I am a soldier, and if there is anything to do I'll do it.)

## Ceremony of Uangeru

(BURNING CEREMONY)

A dummy is made of grass and dressed with whatever objects the maker wants to get. If he wants a horse he puts a bridle crosswise around the body of the dummy; if he wants clothes, he dresses him up in Indian clothes. Then the man places this dummy anywhere near a gathering, or where he expects a gathering to take place. He sits near it. As soon as any warrior sees the dummy he goes over to it and either kicks or strikes the man who made it, giving him at the same time one of the objects he wanted. Any person may do the same. They may not stop kicking the man until some warrior who had at some time or another cut up an enemy in war cuts up the dummy. Then all stop, and as soon as his bruises permitted him, the man would get up and pick up the gifts brought to him. 735 [532]

## Feast to Buffalo Tail

A grandfather of mine called Cokeboka fasted at Neceda, Wis. There he was blessed by a young buffalo bull calf belonging to a herd. The calf said, as the herd went by, "Father, keep going in the road; mother, keep going in the road." He meant a warpath instead of the road they were going in. The man was to go on a warpath, from which he would return victorious. 787

They used to make offerings to this tail alone, apart from the war bundle. The braided grass was to be used for smoking. The feast is given in spring after the grass grows up, and in midwinter. Ground corn is boiled in making the feast. [782 778] 527

## Kikre Waci and Tuebokona"k Dances

There is a pleasure dance called *kikre waci* and a dance called *tcebokona"k* (wearing buffalo headdresses). The latter is of Sioux origin. 535 177

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In 1910 the cult already had a rather definite organization. There 794
was, at every performance, one leader (pl. 54, *a*) and four principal participants. John Rave (pls. 5, *b*; 55, *b*), the Winnebago who introduced the peyote, was always the leader whenever he was present. On other occasions leadership devolved upon some older member. The four other principal participants changed from meeting to meeting, although there was a tendency to ask certain individuals whenever it was possible. The ritualistic unit, in short, is a very definite one, consisting of a number of speeches and songs and in the passing of the [796]
regalia from one to the other of the four participants.

During the early hours of the evening, before the peyote has begun to have any appreciable effect, a number of apparently intrusive features are found. These, for the most part, consist of speeches by [276]
people in the audience and the reading and explanation of parts of the Bible. After the peyote has begun to have an appreciable effect, however, the ceremony consists exclusively of a repetition of the [783]
ritualistic unit and confessions.

There is an initiation consisting of a baptism, always performed by John Rave. It is of a very simple nature. Rave dips his fingers in a peyote infusion and then passes them over the forehead of the [88]
new member, muttering at the same time the following prayer:

"God, his holiness."

This is what the Winnebago words mean, although some of the younger members who have been strongly permeated with Christian [177]
teachings translate the prayer into, "God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

Whenever the ceremony is performed in the open a fireplace in 794
the shape of a horseshoe is made. At one end of this fireplace is 788
placed a very small mound of earth, called by Rave "Mount Sinai," and in front of this a cross is traced in the earth. Upon the small earth mound are placed the two "chief" peyote, the Bible and the staff. The latter, called by Rave the shepherd's crook, is always covered with beadwork, and generally has a number of evenly cut tufts of deer hair on the end and at intervals along its length. The sacred peyote, known as *hunka* (i. e., "chief") are exceptionally large and beautiful specimens. They are regarded by a number of people, certainly by Rave, with undisguised veneration.

In addition to the above, there is found a large eagle feather fan, a small drum, and a peculiar small type of rattle. To my knowledge, this type was unknown among the Winnebago before its introduction by the peyote eaters.

JOHN RAVE'S ACCOUNT OF THE PEYOTE CULT AND OF HIS CONVERSION 159

During 1893–94 I was in Oklahoma with peyote eaters. 794
In the middle of the night we were to eat peyote. We ate it and 276
I also did. It was the middle of the night when I got frightened, for 786

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159 I know that it was because the evil spirit possessed me that I felt that
755 way. I was suffering from a disease. I even desired to kill myself;
794 I did not care to live. That feeling, too, was caused by this evil
276 spirit living within me. Then I ate this medicine and everything
[753] changed. The brother and sister I wanted to kill before I became attached to and I wanted them to live. The medicine had accomplished this.

## O. L.'s Description of the Peyote Cult

(Pl. 55, c)

159 John Rave belongs to the Bear clan, the members of which had
614 the functions of what might be called sergeants-at-arms. He and
[692 his ancestors used to be in charge of the *manupici* (i. e., the ser-
681] geants-at-arms lodge), to which all malefactors would be brought for punishment.

159 Rave, although he belonged to this highly respected class of people,
794 was a bad man. He roamed from place to place. He has participated in all the ceremonies of the Winnebago, the medicine dance alone excepted. He had been married many times. Up to 1901 he was a heavy drinker. In that year he went to Oklahoma and while there ate the peyote. He then returned to the Winnebago and tried to introduce it among them, but none with the exception of a few
[177] relatives would have anything to do with it. This did not in any way discourage him, however, and he continued using the peyote, now and then getting a few converts.

159 There was not very much religion connected with it in the beginning
794 and the reason people drank it was on account of the peculiar effects
177 it had upon them. Nevertheless these Peyote people preached good things and gradually lost all desire for intoxicating drinks or for participating in the old Winnebago ceremonies. Then Rave began to do away with the old Indian customs. About four or five years ago the membership in the Peyote religion began to increase, for many people now noticed that those connected with the Peyote cult were the only people in the tribe leading a Christian life.

At this time the Bible was introduced by a young man named Albert Hensley (pls. 8, *d*; 9, *d*). He, too, had been a bad person, although he had been educated at Carlisle. Like Rave, he was a heavy drinker and fond of wandering.

During the last few years our members have increased so fast that now almost half the tribe belong to our religion. We all make efforts to lead a Christian life and we are succeeding very well.

794 We use the New Testament, especially the Revelations.

796 Our meetings take place at any time. We gather together in the
159 evening, and as soon as everything is in readiness the leader arises
[782] and offers a prayer called, "Turning themselves over to the care of the Trinity."

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the Trinity." Then all sit down and the leader makes the regular announcements. The peyote is then passed around, either in the dry condition or steeped. The leader thereupon starts the singing. These are some of the songs: 794 796 159 [276]

1. Ask God for life and he will give it to us.
2. God created us so pray to him. [533]
3. To the home of Jesus we are going, so pray to him.
4. Come ye to the road of the Son of God; come ye to the road.

Then Albert Hensley calls upon 12 educated members to translate and interpret certain portions of the Bible for the nonreading members. He arranges with the leader to have the singing stop at certain places so that some of these young men can speak. When these are finished, other individuals are called upon to give testimony. Hensley always talks and so does Rave. 794 177 796 159

John Rave baptizes by dipping his hand in a diluted infusion of peyote and rubbing it across the forehead of a new member, saying, "I baptize thee in the name of God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which is called God's Holiness." [788]

The peyote eaters wanted to get baptized and unite with the church in Winnebago, but the clergyman in charge would not permit them, so they went and did their own baptizing through their leader, John Rave, who, though he is not educated, is full of real intelligence and religion.

If a person who is truly repentant eats peyote for the first time, he does not suffer at all from its effects. But if an individual is bullheaded, does not believe in its virtue, he is likely to suffer a good deal. This I know from my own experience. After eating peyote I grasped the meaning of the Bible, which before had been meaningless to me. 794 276 159

If a person eats peyote and does not repent openly, he has a guilty conscience, which leaves him as soon as the public repentance has been made. [783]

Old men and women who had been brought up to worship animals and all kinds of spirits have cast them all away and in many instances burned their idols, not because they were told to do so but because they felt that way.

Whenever at our meetings a person wishes to pray, he does so; when he wishes to cry, he does so. Indeed, we show no timidity about worshiping God in the right way. In the Bible one often reads of Christ casting out the devils and of the people shouting, etc. So does the peyote act on us in the beginning, although afterwards its effects abate.

If a peyote eater relapses into his old way of living, then the peyote causes him great suffering.

At first our meetings were started without any rule laid down by the Bible, but afterwards we found a very good reason for holding [177]

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our meetings at night. We searched the Bible and asked many ministers for any evidence for Christ's ever having held any meetings in the daytime, but we could find nothing to that effect. We did, however, find evidence that he had been out all night in prayer. As it is our desire to follow as closely as we can in the footsteps of Christ, we hold our meetings at night. Then, too, when we pray we wish to get as far away as possible from earthly things, and the night is the best time, for then we are not likely to be bothered by anything.

We have made earnest efforts to become Christians since we began drinking and eating this peyote, but many people say sarcastically that we have drunk ourselves into Christianity, and that we are demented. I am a peyote eater, but I have never found a demented person among them. We claim that there is virtue in the peyote. To you who do not believe and desire to find out let me quote the fourth chapter of the First Epistle of St. John:

"Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world.

"Hereby know ye the spirit of God. Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God."

We claim that you can not find out anything by standing off at a distance and only talking about it. We claim that some earthly things can have the virtue of God, for instance, the Bible, which is entirely made up of earthly material—the ink, the paper, the cover—yet it has survived the ages.

### J. B.'s Account of the Leader of the Peyote[1]

(Pl. 3)

Among the Winnebago there is a man named Little-Red-Bird, and when he reached middle age he began to travel around the world and learn different Indian languages. He used to travel inland a good deal. Once he joined a circus and crossed the ocean. He felt so ill while crossing that he wanted to die. Suddenly a wind came up and he got very frightened. He did not know what to do. Then he prayed to Earthmaker. When he came to the other side of the ocean there he saw a big island and a big city (London), and in this last place they held their circus. The chief of that country (the king) he met there.

When he came back to his own people he told them that on the other side of the ocean the Thunderbirds did not thunder. All they did was to drizzle. There was no lightning either. As he crossed the ocean on his return it thundered and lightened.

When he came home he was very glad to see his relatives and he offered tobacco in thanksgiving.

[1] The narrator was a very interesting fellow.

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Shortly after this he traveled again and came to a band of Indians who were eating peyote. It was his custom to try everything when he went visiting. He did not realize what he was doing when he ate this medicine, but he did it anyhow. After a while he began to think of his manner of life, and he felt that he was doing wrong. All the evil he had done he remembered. Then he prayed to God. Suddenly it occurred to him, "Perhaps I am the only one doing this." Then he looked around and watched the others, and he saw them praying in the same manner. 159 794 276 [484]

Not long after that he came home, taking with him some of this medicine. He knew it was holy. At home he offered tobacco to it and kept on eating it. Soon it cured him of a disease he had. He tried to induce some of the others to try it, but they refused. After a while a few tried it, and the peyote movement began to spread. All the old customs that they had been accustomed to observe they abandoned. They gave up the medicine dance and the ceremonies connected with the clans. For that reason, therefore, the conservative people hated them; their own brothers and sisters hated them, for they had abandoned what were considered holy ceremonies. [177 765]

### Albert Hensley's Account of the Peyote[9]

(Pls. 8, d; 9, d)

I am 37 years old. It was 37 years ago that my mother gave birth to me in an old-fashioned reed lodge. When I was a year old she died and my grandmother took care of me. I had come into the world a healthy child, but bad luck was apparently to pursue me, for when I was 7 years old my grandmother died. Then my father took care of me. At that time he began to be a bad man; he was a drunkard and a horse thief. He would frequently get into trouble and run away, always taking me along with him, however. On one occasion we fled to Wisconsin, and there we stayed two years. We got along pretty well, and there my father married again. By his second wife he had three children. 159

After a while he got into trouble again, and misfortune followed misfortune. People were killing each other, and I was left alone. If at any time of my life I was in trouble it was then. I was never happy. Once I did not have anything to eat for four days. We had fled to the wilderness, and it was raining continually. The country was flooded with high water, and we sat on the top of a tree. It was impossible to sleep, for if we went to sleep we would fall off into the water, which was very deep. The shore was quite far away. As we were prominent people, we soon heard that my [731]

[9] This account is of great importance, because Hensley introduced a large number of Christian elements into the ceremony, the principal one being the Bible.

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159 father had been freed. We were very happy, and went back to our people.

At that time a young man named Young-Bear was starting for Nebraska, and he said that he would take me along. I was very happy. So in that manner I was brought to this country. Here I have had only happy days. When my father got married everyone disliked me. When I worked I was working for my father, and all the money I earned I had to give to him.

After a while I went to school, and although I liked it I ran away and then went to school at Carlisle. I wanted to lead a good life. At school I knew that they would take care of me and love me. I was very shy and lacked a strong character at that time. If a person told me to do anything I would always obey immediately. Everybody loved me. I stayed there six months. I was also taught [177] Christianity there. When I came back to my country the Episcopalian people told me that they wanted me to be diligent in religious matters and never to forsake the religion of the Son of God. I also desired to do that. I entered the church that we had in our country and I stayed with them six years.

At that time the Winnebago with whom I associated were heavy [273] drinkers, and after a while they induced me to drink also. I became as wicked as they. I learned how to gamble and I worked for the devil all the time. I even taught the Winnebago how to be bad.

159 After a while they began eating peyote, and as I was in the habit 276 of doing everything I saw, I thought I would do it, too. I asked 794 them whether I could join, and they permitted me. At that time I had a position at the county commissioner's office. I ate the peyote and liked it very much. Then the authorities tried to stop the Indians from eating peyote, and I was supposed to see that the law was enforced. I continued eating peyote and enjoying it. All the evil that was in me I forgot. From that time to the present my actions have been quite different from what they used to be. I am only working for what is good; not that I mean to say that I am good.

After that I married and now I have three children, and it would not have been right for me to continue in my wickedness. I resolved that thereafter I would behave as a grown-up man ought to behave. I resolved never to be idle again and to work so that I could supply my wife and children with food and necessities, that I would be ready to help them whenever they were in need. Here in my own country would I remain till I died. This (peyote) religion was good. All the evil is gone and hereafter I will choose my path carefully.

I know the story about the origin of the peyote. It is as follows:

794 Once in the south, an Indian belonging to the tribe called Mes-
539 callero Apache was roaming in the country called Mexico, and went hunting in the high hills and got lost. For three days he went with-

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JESSE CLAY'S ACCOUNT OF THE ARAPAHO MANNER OF GIVING THE PEYOTE CEREMONY WHICH HE INTRODUCED AMONG THE WINNEBAGO IN 1912

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I went to Oklahoma once as the guest of an Arapaho Indian. While there I witnessed the Arapaho manner of holding a peyote meeting and was very much impressed with it. A year later this Arapaho came to visit me in Winnebago, and while he was with us a few of my friends urged me to hold the peyote ceremony according to the Arapaho method. I held several meetings at which my Arapaho friend led.

Now these are the instructions that Arapaho Bull gave me.

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The person giving the ceremony must get up at sunrise so that he can tell exactly where the sun is going to rise. He must place a stick and make the drawing of a cross on the earth just in that direction from which the sun is about to rise. He does this in order to get the correct location for the tipi and the fireplace. Then he marks a circle around the cross. Then he makes a diagonal mark through the center of the circle, thus making the circle resemble a star. The circle is the outline of the tipi. Then another diagonal mark is made so that the drawing resembles, to their minds, a peyote. A fireplace which resembles a half-moon is placed right in the center of the lodge. After that the tipi poles are raised, 12 in number. Finally the whole is inclosed in canvas. When finished it is supposed to represent the earth. It is then ready to be entered. Special preparations are made for entering. The drummer with his drum and the leader and those behind him with all their regalia march up to the door. Before these enter, however, an attendant, called the fireman, spreads sage all over the lodge, from the seat of the leader to the door and back again. Then he starts a fire, always placing the left fire sticks first. When they are all thus lined up outside of the door the leader offers a prayer.

"May the Creator be with us when we enter this lodge."

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The leader now enters and, proceeding along the left side of the lodge, marches to his seat, and there he stands with his drum until the lodge is filled. After all have entered they sit down. Then the fireman who sits to the right rekindles the fire. The leader now spreads out his articles—a gourd, a drumstick, a staff, and the feathers. He then takes 12 sage leaves and lays them out in the form of a star, first making a cross-shaped object and then filling this into the desired form. On top he places the peyote, and, leaning against that, he places a flute made of an eagle bone, the mouth of the flute resting against the peyote. Then he puts an otter-skin cap at the foot of the flute. After a while the leader takes the peyote he is going to use in one hand and some cedar needles in the other,

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794 and, going to his seat, where all the other objects are spread out, he
796 sits down and prays. He prays that all the participants may be
276 strengthened by the prospective meeting. He offers up thanks for
177 the peyote and prays that all may be in the proper spirit that night. Then he throws the needles in the fire and holds the peyote over the smoke of the cedar. When this has been finished he returns to his seat, eats one peyote, and gives one to the drummer. After they have eaten these he passes four peyote in turn to those on his left until the peyote comes to the one sitting nearest the door. Four peyote are given to the one nearest the door that he, in turn, may pass them to those on the other side of the door and so on until the leader is reached again. Before the peyote is eaten, the leader gets up and talks. He instructs the people as to the nature of the meeting and tells them that those who wish to go out must do so after the midnight water is drunk and not until after the leader returns from outside. No one is to go out while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote. He then speaks of the special prayers that are to be offered up and asks them to offer general prayers for all nonmembers and even for their enemies. After that the leader again offers up a prayer and smokes all the objects he had spread before his seat. Then the songs are to start, all, however, first eating peyote.

(When the fire first starts and thereafter, throughout the night, it is supposed to represent light, just as God said, "Let there be light.")

[533] The first song is always the same and is called the starting song. Those that follow are peyote songs. When he has finished these songs he passes the singing staff to the right of the drummer. When this one has finished the staff is returned to the leader, who passes it on to the left, and then in rotation it goes to the one sitting near the door. The drum, when it is handed on, is always passed under the staff. The fire is always replenished, but toward midnight special care is taken in this regard and the coals are placed in the shape of a crescent between the fire and the earth crescent, and the fireman sweeps first around the left and then around the right side. Then exactly at midnight the leader calls for his singing staff and his drum, no matter where they happen to be, and, taking the singing
[533] staff and sending the drum to the drummer, he blows his flute and sings. The song he sings then is called the midnight song. After that three peyote songs are sung, it making no difference which they are. As the leader starts his midnight song the fireman takes up his position at the doorway opposite the fireplace and the leader. When the second song is started the fireman turns around to the right and goes out and gets water and soon comes back with it. When he reenters he makes the figure of a cross on the ground where
[788] he stood just before he left and places water on it. Then he squats down on his knees.

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When the leader stops singing he walks to the crescent by the fireplace and begins praying again. After the prayer he burns some more cedar needles. The reason for drinking water at midnight is because Christ was born at midnight and because of the good tidings that he brought to the earth, for water is one of the best things in life and Christ is the savior of mankind. After the leader has made his prayer and the cedar is burned, then the fireman reaches over toward the smoke and makes a motion with his body as if he were drawing the smoke over himself. He then takes the water and brings it over to the leader. The leader takes a bunch of feathers and, dipping it into the water, sprinkles it on the peyote, then on the fire, on the sage, and finally all over the lodge, beginning with the doorway and then going around. The water is then drunk in a regular order, first by the leader, then by the drummer, and then by all the other people. After all these things have been done the leader returns the staff to the man from whom he had taken it at midnight. As soon as this man starts the singing again the leader takes his flute and goes outside. He goes toward the east for a short distance, and there he sits down and offers up a prayer for the people. Then he blows his flute, and going to the south of the lodge repeats the same procedure. This is also repeated for the west and the north. When the singing within the lodge has stopped, he returns and takes his seat. 794 796 177

The purpose of going to the four directions and blowing the flute is to announce the birth of Christ to all the world.

After the leader has reentered the singing continues as before. At daybreak the fireman fixes the fire in the same way as at midnight. The staff, drum, etc., is now passed to the leader, who as soon as he has received everything takes his flute and blows on it. Before doing this, however, he puts on his otter-skin cap. The purpose of blowing the flute just at that time is to represent the trumpet of the Day of Judgment, when Christ will appear wearing His crown in all glory. The putting on of the otter-skin cap represents the crown.

The song used on this occasion is called the water song. After the first song is finished the fireman opens the door and a woman enters carrying water, which she pours over the cross which the fireman had sprinkled at midnight. The fireman then spreads something for her to sit on, between the water and the door. [533]

When the leader has finished his four songs, he lays down his staff, etc., and, taking some cedar needles, offers up a prayer of thanks, and as he finishes he throws the cedar into the fire and sits down while the woman gathers the smoke toward her in the same way as the fireman had done on the previous night. Then the leader takes a drinking cup and sends it toward the woman. The

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794 fireman now rises and pours water on the impressions he had made
796 when drawing the cross on the earth, and the woman drinks some
● 177 water from the cup, which she then returns to the leader. The water is then returned to her and she passes it around the lodge, beginning at the left. When it reaches the leader again, he takes out the same cup which he had handed to the woman and drinks out of it. The water, however, is passed on until it reaches the door. The fireman would then take it and bring it back to where it had been placed when first brought in. The woman rises and goes around the fireplace from left to right, taking the water with her. Finally the leader takes his singing staff and sings four songs. When these songs are finished, the woman places some food just outside the door. The fireman goes outside and brings in this food, placing it in a line between the fire and the door. Four things are brought in—water,
[262] corn with sweetened water, fruit, and meat. When the food is brought in the leader puts away all the objects he had spread out before him, which the fireman takes out of the lodge. The leader then offers up a prayer of thanks and says grace. The four kinds of food are passed around the lodge, beginning with the entrance, from left to right. After they are returned they are placed in line again, only in the reverse order from that used before. The fireman then takes them outside. While the people are eating the door remains open.

(During the evening the leader represents the first created man, the woman dressed up is the New Jerusalem, the bride waiting for the bridegroom. The cup used by the leader and the woman is supposed to symbolize the fact that they are to become one; the water represents the God's gift, His Holiness. The corn represents the feast to be partaken of on the Day of Judgment and the fruit represents the fruit of the tree of life. The meat represents the message of Christ and those who accept it will be saved.)[4]

794 The above descriptions represent the Peyote cult as it was given between 1908 and 1913. It is quite clear that a definite organization exists consisting of a unit of five positions occupied by the leader and four helpers. No specific requirements, with the exception, of course, of that of being a peyote eater, are associated with the right to occupy these positions.

No specialized features have become associated with the positions of the four helpers. As indicated before, John Rave is always the leader when he is present, but the position of leadership can be delegated to others. This is always of a temporary nature. It may be significant to note that whenever delegated the leadership is always delegated to men who have been among the first of the converts, outside of Rave's immediate family, and who were leaders in the old

[4] J. C.'s account ends here.

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794 throughout, both from his own testimony and from that of others,
159 seems to have been practically the attitude of the Winnebago shaman. He even offered tobacco to the peyote.

We have, then, at the beginning the introduction of apparently only one new element—the peyote, with possibly a few Christian
[177] teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned there was hardly anything new at all. This view does not, of course, interfere in the least with the fact that to the Winnebago themselves the presence of the peyote represented the introduction of a new element.

The elaboration of the peyote practices at Rave's hands is the most difficult problem to trace on account of the lack of data. In the account that he gives of his conversion there is no evidence whatsoever of any antagonistic attitude toward the old Winnebago manner of living. When the author met him, however, for the first time, in 1908, this passive attitude had changed to one of violent hatred for the old Winnebago customs. Why and under what circumstances
[182] this change took place we do not know. It probably represented the interaction of many elements, the hostility of the tribe, the drawing of lines sharply around certain points, and the gradual
[192] assumption on the part of Rave of the rôle of a prophet who had solved the problem of the adjustment of the Winnebago to the surrounding white civilization. Offhand, one might be inclined to believe that Rave's insistence upon breaking with the past was due entirely to the influence of the Christian elements incorporated in his new religion. It is, however, extremely doubtful whether such an assumption is necessary. There seem to have been comparatively
[177] few Christian elements in the religion before Albert Hensley's influence had made itself felt, yet many of the old war bundles had been destroyed long before that time, and the peyote eaters were looked upon with cordial dislike by the conservative members of the tribe. The admonition that only a complete break with the past could save the Winnebagoes and enable them to compete successfully with the white intruders had been given to the Winnebagoes once before by the famous Shawnee prophet. What the latter claimed, however, was that the various sacred objects used by the Winnebago had lost their power, and that that power must now be renewed. This he
[182] thought could only be done by returning to the old manner of living which he claimed the Winnebago were no longer following. Such a claim was, after all, not revolutionary. It is not, therefore, the break with the Winnebago present-day viewpoint that characterizes Rave's attitude, but the fact that instead of returning to the older, purer

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life as the Shawnee prophet proposed to do, he substituted an alien religion. It was because he was introducing an alien religion, not because he was introducing a new religion, that he was so intensely hated by the conservative members of the tribe. 794 159 [177 156]

When this hostility was at its height a new convert, Albert Hensley, revolutionized the entire cult by introducing the reading of the Bible, postulating the dogma that the peyote opened the Bible to the understanding of the people, and also adding a number of Christian practices. He, like Rave, had been in Oklahoma. He brought back with him many peyote songs, generally in other languages, dealing with Christian ideas, upon which subsequently Winnebago songs were modeled. He also introduced either baptism itself or an interpretation of baptism, and induced Rave to attempt a union with the Christian Church. He seems to have been the only prominent man connected with the peyote who was subject to epileptic fits. He had the most glorious visions of heaven and hell while in his trance, and these he expounded afterwards in terms of Revelation and the mystical portions of the New Testament. Hensley's additions represent a second stratum of borrowed elements, all of which are in the nature of accretions as far as the peyote itself is concerned. The Bible is explained in terms of the peyote. Neither Hensley nor his followers ever interpreted the peyote in terms of the Bible, although other elements of the old Winnebago culture were so interpreted. These elements, however, represented features that even in the old Winnebago cults exhibited a great variability in interpretation. 794 177 159 [158]

Rave's attitude toward the innovations of Hensley seems to have been that of a benevolent acquiescence. He himself could neither read nor write. Yet he immediately accepted the Bible and added it to his other regalia. As such it always seems to have remained. To Rave, after all, the peyote was the principal element, and if Hensley chose to insist that the Bible was only intelligible to those who partook of the peyote why that naturally fell within its magical powers. From the entire omission in Rave's account of the Peyote cult of the more important things that Hensley introduced and from the fact that whenever Hensley's influence was not dominant there seems to have been little Bible reading, it seems justifiable to say that Rave's attitude toward these innovations was merely passive.

There never was any rivalry between Rave and Hensley. The latter was, however, a much younger man, quick-tempered, conceited, dogmatic, and withal having a strong mixture of Puritan Protestant ideas. A conflict developed after a while and in a very interesting manner. Rave had allowed a man with an extremely bad reputation, who had been admitted as a member of the Peyote cult, to occupy one of the four positions. Hensley violently pro- 578 [157] 794 159

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578 tested, on the ground that a man of X.'s character could not properly
794 perform the rites associated with that position. Rave, however,
159 retorted that the efficacy of the peyote, of any position connected with its cult, was in no way connected with the character of the performer, and that it was inherent in the peyote and in the Peyote ritual. Thereupon, after much parleying to and fro, Hensley formally seceded, taking with him a number of followers. The bulk of the peyote eaters, however, remained with Rave, and within a comparatively short time a number of Hensley's followers returned to Rave, so that in 1911 Hensley had merely a handful of people. Since then he has ceased to be a force, although his innovations have been retained by a number of the younger Peyote members, especially by those who read English.

In 1911 there was no unification of the ideas of Rave and Hensley. Since then, strange to say, although Hensley's attempt to set up his
[177] own religion failed utterly, his ideas and Christian innovations seemed to have triumphed completely. This, however, has gone hand in hand with a marked dropping off of enthusiasm. It appears now as
[178] if the Peyote cult has run its course. Some of the members have recently returned to the old pagan customs, others have practically become Christians, and many have become indifferent.

794 Unquestionably the most interesting of recent innovations is that
177 introduced by Jesse Clay, the account of which has been given be-
159 fore. This is, of course, the Arapaho manner of conducting the ceremony. At the present time it has none of the characteristics of the Winnebago ceremonial. Whether in the next few years it will develop any depends upon the interest manifested in it by the Peyote worshipers and upon the vitality of the Peyote movement in general.

It is extremely suggestive to compare what Rave introduced with the ceremony borrowed by Clay. The former introduced an isolated element, the peyote and its worship, and clothed it almost immediately in characteristic Winnebago forms. It can truly be said that although the peyote is an alien element, from the Winnebago viewpoint, everything else in the ceremony is and was from the beginning typically Winnebago. Clay's method of conducting the Peyote ceremonies, on the other hand, is entirely alien. For it ever to become popular with the large mass of Winnebago it will have to become thoroughly assimilated with the Winnebago background.

## Dissemination of the Doctrine

Let us now see how the ideas of Rave and Hensley were transmitted in the tribe itself, who the first and the later converts were, in what the nature of their conversion consisted, and what they, in turn, brought to the new cult.

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## What the Converts Introduced

794 177 It is quite impossible to establish now what these converts introduced individually. For that matter it is not necessary to assume that they brought any specific additions to the cult. What they did bring were Winnebago; and with that, the emotional and cultural setting of the old pagan background. To one, the eating of the peyote gave the same magical powers that were formerly associated with membership in the medicine dance; to another, the visions were direct blessings from God, directing him to perform certain actions; to a third, faithfulness to the teachings of the Peyote cult became associated with a certainty of reaching God, of being able to take the right road in the journey to the spirit land. Even a man so thoroughly saturated with Christian doctrines as Hensley himself felt it necessary to introduce an origin myth; and although we know that he borrowed it from a southern tribe, it is quite clear that in Hensley's narrative it has already assumed all the characteristics of a Winnebago fasting experience and ritualistic myth, similar to those connected with the founders of the old Winnebago cult societies. In its totality the atmosphere of the Peyote cult became thus charged with the old Winnebago background. In 1911 it can not be said that they had displaced the distinctive Christian elements. Among the younger members, especially those who had been trained in the east and could read and write English, the influence of the Christian ideas in the interpretation of the old pagan features is, as was pointed out before, so strong to-day that it threatens to displace the others.

The following homily will show how the old myths were used by the younger Peyote members to point a tale.

794 773 The old people often spoke of the Trickster, but we never knew what they meant. They told us how he wrapped a coon-skin blanket around himself and went to a place where all the people were dancing. There he danced until evening and then he stopped and turned around. No one was to be seen anywhere, and then he realized that he had mistaken for people dancing the noise made by the wind blowing through the reeds.

[381 829] So do we Winnebagoes act. We dance and make a lot of noise, but in the end, we accomplish nothing.

Once, as the Trickster was going toward a creek, he saw a man standing on the other side, dressed in a black suit, and pointing his finger at him. He spoke to the man but the latter would not answer. Then he spoke again and again, but without receiving any reply. Finally he got angry and said, "See here! I can do that too." He put on the black coat and pointed his finger across the creek. Thus both of them stood all day. Toward evening, when he looked around again, he noticed that the man across the creek, pointing his finger at him, was really just a tree stump. "O my! what have I been doing all

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



794 578 fested itself upon the first introduction of the peyote. As we have seen, there was in the beginning little difference between the beliefs relating to the peyote and those connected with the old Winnebago medicinal plants. Nevertheless the author was assured that hostility was exhibited to the new cult from the very start. Would the same hostility have been exhibited had this new feature represented some development from within the tribe? In other words, what it would be interesting to know, is whether the fact that the peyote was derived from without led to a hostility different in kind from that exhibited toward an innovation developing within the culture itself. No evidence could be obtained that would justify us in explaining the hostility felt by the older conservative Winnebago as due in any part to the fact that it was alien in origin. Certain elements that to-day form an integral part of the most popular of all Winnebago ceremonies were borrowed from the Sauk and Iowa, and the Winnebago [177] realize this and mention it in the introductory myths told in connection with the preparatory rites of the medicine dance. The explanation obtained was always the same—that the hostility was due to the fact that the teachings of the Peyote people departed from those of their ancestors and that the Peyote were simply aping the habits and customs of the whites. What seems to have met with the greatest [775 177] opposition from the older shamans was the denial of the doctrine of reincarnation. The Christian doctrine of the immortality of the soul does not seem to have been felt as a substitute at all. One old conservative assured the author that he had long ago prophesied the appearance of the peyote among the Winnebago. He told the author the following:

[776] "This medicine is one of the four spirits from below, and for that reason it is a bad thing. These spirits have always longed for human beings and now they are getting hold of them. Those who use this medicine claim that when they die they will only be going on a long journey. But that is not the truth, for when they eat peyote they [775] destroy their spirits, and death to them will mean extermination. If I spit upon the floor, the sputum will soon dry up and nothing will remain of it. So death will be for them. I might go out and preach against this doctrine, but it would be of no avail, for I certainly would not be able to draw more than one or two people away from this spirit. Many will be taken in by this medicine; they will not be able to help themselves in any way. The bad spirit will certainly seize them."

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



the Night Spirits. All the warriors who possessed war bundles would of necessity have to receive blessings from these, although in different cases one or the other may have bestowed the more important powers.

The prominence given to the Thunderbird in the first and to the Night Spirits in the second division give the ceremony a most marked resemblance to societies like the Night Spirit society. In the second division it is even essential to have been blessed by the Night Spirits in order to play a certain rôle. There would thus develop the consciousness of community of interest due to the fact that as individuals they were bound together by blessings received from the same spirits, a feeling that was certain to be still further strengthened since, in all likelihood, most of the possessors of war bundles belonged to societies where this actually was the common bond. The religious and ceremonial aspect would thus of necessity be reinforced. The prayers for success on the warpath of course always existed, but as the extraneous religious and ceremonial influences became stronger and more insistent and as—and this should never be forgotten—the pursuit of war became less and less important, owing to the breaking down of the culture consequent upon the advent of the whites, these extraneous factors became, if not dominant at least almost equal in importance to the historically older aspect; and our original gathering of warriors, while still remaining a gathering of warriors, also became a ceremonial organization, in which offerings were made to the entire Winnebago pantheon of spirits. The great war spirits were still all-important, but their position was contested by so distinctive a peace deity as Earthmaker and such deities as Earth, Moon, and Water. The prayers for success in war were perhaps still the most insistent, but prayers for life, not life merely that success in war may be longer, but prayers for the whole content of life, were offered up. Disease-giver was appealed to not merely to bestow upon man the greatest of all war honors, killing an enemy right in the midst of his tribesmen, but also to ward off disease from the supplicants.

Still, as great as have been these extraneous influences, the character of the feast as originally one purely connected with war comes out in numerous ways in the association, for instance, of war powers with Earthmaker, Moon, and Earth, and significantly enough, in the absence of the more specific religious associations such as are met with in the Medicine dance.

Let us turn now to the development of the organization of the feast. The development of a fixed type of organization is not absolutely necessary. Societies may exist only for certain occasions, such as the return from a warpath, like the Hôk'txe're dance or preparatory to the starting of a war party, and be practically nonexistent afterwards. Such are the temporary war feasts of the Ojibway, for instance. However, one all important circumstance prevented this

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



The buckskin to be offered to Earthmaker is marked with a cross in green. It is quite possible that the association of the cross with Earthmaker is due to Christian influence. But if this actually has been the case it is far more likely that the Christian influence led not to the actual borrowing of the Christian cross, but rather to the identification of an old Winnebago ceremonial symbol, namely, the crossed lines representing the cardinal points, with the cross, and its association with Earthmaker (pl. 48). 796x 778 782 [77]

The buckskin to be offered to the Thunderbirds is marked with three semicircular lines, the first red, the second white, and the third blue, to represent a rainbow (pl. 48).

The buckskin to be offered to the Night Spirits is marked with four parallel lines in charcoal (pl. 48).

The buckskin to be offered to Disease-giver is marked by dipping the three middle fingers in red paint and impressing them 12 times upon the buckskin in three vertical columns, with four impressions in each column. In addition to this an eagle feather is tied to each corner of the buckskin (pl. 48).

The buckskin to be offered to the Sun is marked with an image of the sun in red (pl. 47).

The buckskin to be offered to the Moon is marked with an image of the moon in any of its phases in green (pl. 47).

The buckskin to be offered to South Wind is marked in the same way as that to Disease-giver, except that green paint is used. A red eagle feather is attached to each end of the buckskin (pl. 47).

The buckskin to be offered to the Morning Star is marked with an image of a star in black outline (pl. 47).

These are the spirits to whom buckskins are offered in the ceremony about to be described, but the other clans seem to show variations in some offerings. Thus, for example, the spirit called "Without-horns" (Hō'rok'a) receives the offering of a buckskin in some cases. The marking for him is always a bow and arrow in charcoal. In another case Fire and Turtle receive buckskin offerings. Their markings are pictures of fire and turtle.

While the host is busy thus marking the buckskins the attendants put the meat in the kettles and place the same on the various fireplaces. There are always one or two extra kettles prepared for the women and children. 796x

The lodge extends from east to west and has only one entrance, on the east end. The host sits to the left as you enter and opposite him sits the guest of honor, who is, of course, different in each clan, but in the ceremony to be described he belongs to the Bear clan. Then, in definite order, sit the other guests, each one opposite a fireplace. The women and children sit separated from the others at the extreme western end of the lodge (see fig. 38). [554]

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12

[p.76]

# AMONG THE WINNEBAGO

By Huron H. Smith*

114 During the summer of 1928, the writer made a study of the Winnebago Indians, in line with his former ethnobotanical studies of other Indians of Wisconsin. After having worked with four tribes who were all of Algonkian stock, it was interesting to encounter these people who are related to the Sioux. The four tribes previously studied were the Menomini, Meskwaki, Ojibwe, and Potawatomi. The first two are the subjects of Nos. 1 and 2 of Volume IV of the bulletin of this museum, while the publications on the latter two are in preparation.

000 While all of the Algonkian languages are different from one another, they are at least similar enough to enable the student to grasp the likeness in a short time. In fact, Potawatomi is quite similar to Ojibwe, a sort of an abbreviated Ojibwe, as it were. Some of the medicinal words evidently point to a common origin, for exactly the same name is sometimes used for a plant by all four tribes. A careful study of Indian plant names reveals those unnamed plants that came into their region within historic times, as non-native or adventive species. The use of plants is a vital topic among Indians, and their plant lore is handed down from generation to generation. Most of our Wisconsin adventive plants have come into the State in the last hundred years, and a goodly proportion of these in the last forty years. Indians are not apt to take the white man's word for the medicinal use of the adventive plant, so that their lack of an Indian name for the plant in question, is sure evidence that it is a new comer. When we consider how long it must have taken these people to acquire their medicinal knowledge, doubtless by the old process of "trial and error," we wonder how many more centuries must elapse before they learn the uses of adventive species.

192 177 The Winnebago are particularly zealous in giving everything Winnebago names, if possible, and should there be some conspicuous attribute to an adventive plant, it will probably have a name in their language. Questioning will bring out the reason for the name and also whether or not they know a use for the plant. They have regular words for tea

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4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



and coffee, which were, of course, unknown to them before the coming of the White Man. Other tribes in Wisconsin have made no attempt to set up their own words for these, but call them by their English names as nearly as they can pronounce them. This trait of the Winnebago is often amusing. For example the watermelon was unknown to them until about seventy-five years ago. The first recipient of a watermelon among them considered it a pumpkin, cut it up into small pieces, and boiled it in a pot. The resultant product was scarcely edible, so led to the appellation of "wicawasukela"—"a pumpkin that did'nt get ripe." But later, they discovered that the whites ate them just as they were; and upon trying this they discovered their merit, and have been very fond of them ever since. But the first name stuck, and it is thus called to this day. 192 177

While we had met Winnebago before this summer, we had never attempted to discourse at length on their uses of plants. In 1923, we first met Frank Smith, "makiwika," with his wife who was making baskets, in Minocqua where we admired her art. Every year since we have seen Frank at some Indian pow-wow or other. During the "Pageant of Progress," in Milwaukee, July, 1926, Frank and his new Ojibwe wife were at the Indian Village on the lake front, with Mr. H. L. Mumm, of Wausau, demonstrating Indian arts and crafts. There, too, we met two other Winnebago workers, Jim Henniger and his wife, although the Indians in the village proper were all full-blooded Ojibwe from Lac Court Oreilles, Wisconsin. The museum is also fortunate in having the friendship of Ulysses A. White, of Wisconsin Rapids, who was formerly employed in Milwaukee. Mr. White is a pure blooded Winnebago, as is his wife, a quite uncommon occurrence in these times of inter-tribal marriages. He introduced to the Museum, John Bear, of Wisconsin Rapids, another old Winnebago Indian, through whom Mr. W. C. McKern, Associate Curator of Anthropology, of the Museum, has been able to collect some interesting ancient Winnebago stories. Mr. Bear spent the entire winter of 1927-1928 at the Museum, and was helped in his work by Mr. White. All of this preliminary work was the subject of several conferences between the writer and Mr. McKern at which we became acquainted with the linguistics of the Winnebago and listed the plant names used in the various stories. 114 115 [582]

The first trip of the summer was to Trempealeau, where the Museum was conducting archeological investigations which the writer, as President of the Wisconsin Archeological Society, wished to see. Furthermore Mr. McKern had written that there were Winnebago Indians in Trempealeau. These proved to be a family living in the old brewery at the edge of the village, but they were from Winnebago, Nebraska, and were not familiar with the Wisconsin plants. The field party, however, interested us for a week. The Museum camp was established in Perrot State Park, on the banks of the Trempealeau River near its 114 126

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



$35 per thousand for number three size. The "buttons" are really branches of the Peyote Cactus (*Lophophora williamsii*), a small compact cactus growing from southern Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico down into old Mexico. The peyote religion was introduced to the Indians of the United States by peyote cults, among the Indians of Mexico. The Government strictly forbids possession of or traffic in these buttons, but the number of converts to the cult is on the increase. 276 435 795 276 795

On the other hand, the peyote Indians among the Winnebago have little regard for the medicine lodge Indians. They consider them benighted, old-fashioned and unwise. When an Indian joins peyote, according to them, he sees the error of his ways and the sacred, ceremonial objects of his past become of no value to him. In such cases, the field collector of some museum finds it easy to acquire excellent specimens of sacred objects. While still in use, an Indian would not part with his medicine bundle for money, but once it has been superseded by a change in faith, he becomes glad to realize almost anything for it. Such a bundle is valued by anthropologists according to the sacred objects it contains. 178

The peyote people that we met near Wisconsin Rapids did not bear out the poor name given them by the old pagans. They were industrious and proud of their religion. The peyote cult, there, shows considerable Christian missionary influence, in their acceptance of Jesus Christ as their deity. The medicine lodge people have never been interested in the translation of the Lord's Prayer but the Winnebago peyote followers use it as a chanted peyote song. It is called *Hilukanala gikaraj hanila*, (Lord prayer his). It follows thus: 795 177 539

*Hianjinwila wagregi shanagre, lash hashinila wakajak nigigidek•jena.*

"Our Father in heaven who dwells your name holy (let us) keep it. *Hunkma hashini'a hilaijik•jawina. Woshga hashinila manegi* Kingdom your come down (on earth). Doing yours on earth *uiuck•jena wagregi jaske hinaki sheske manegi hilek•jena. Hampdec* should in heaven like doing same on earth should be. This day *waiskapduc haniwila hunkuwianje. Egi wazawoishana waniwila* bread daily ours give us. And then sins ours *waigitunawila wazahigishana waniwila waigitunawila sheke. Egi inke* forgive us sins yours and yours forgive us same. And then don't *wazawoishana uwahieja hinutiwinine Ezi wowak•jega egi hingijilowige* (into) temptations deliver us. Our Lord and help us *kishipwiwine. Hunkmara nehashinigaja Egi homashjala nehashinigaja* get away Kingdom thy and power thy *Egi hoishagra nehashinigaja manegus•la jeskek•jena.* and glory thy forever Amen."

It will be noted that the Winnebago even have a word for "Amen," meaning to some extent "let it be that way," whereas among the Menomini Indians they have not translated it but articulate it as we do — Amen. [192]

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



177 539 795

—Amen. For the sake of those who think all Indians speak alike, we append in a footnote the Lord's Prayer in Menomini."

194 [a12]

The Winnebago have a syllabary which all of them use in writing. It is an arbitrary system and has nothing to do with the ethnologist's way of recording their sounds. It was thus set down by Fred Mallory The first letter always has the sound of a as in arm and the pronunciation of the first line would be ha, he, hi, ho.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | ae | ai | ao | | k | ke | ki | ko | |
| w | we | wi | wo | | a | e | i | o | |
| m | me | mi | mo | | l | le | li | lo | |
| n | ne | ni | no | | t | te | ti | to | (explosive) |
| l | le | li | lo | (ja) | tt | tte | tti | tto | (cha chay chi cho) |
| y | ye | yi | yo | (ga) | | | | | |
| r | reke | reki | roko | (ska ske ski sko) | | | | | |
| s | se | si | so | | | | | | |
| h | he | hi | ho | | | | | | |
| g | ge | gi | go | | | | | | |

Indian syllabaries are interesting but of no ethnological value.

539 575 756

Fred Mallory's wife was initiated into the medicine lodge when she was thirteen years old, but since both are now peyote followers, they said there is nothing wrong in their telling the writer about their early history. Their story is as follows: In the early days, there were two brothers, Konuga, the eldest, and Henaka. (These names still apply to the order of birth,—the third son is *Hagaga*, and the fourth, *Nahiga*. The same with girls, the first is *Hinuga*, second, *Wihunga*, third, *Hinahega*, fourth, *Hakasiaga*.) The two brothers were at Kilbourn on an island in the Wisconsin River—*Nikusa*. One, Konuga, told the other he saw a spirit in the water and Henaka also saw a spirit, but Konuga saw it first, so it was *his* spirit. It was purple in color and rose from the depths of the water and sank down again. A sort of quarrel developed between them as to whose spirit should be followed, but when Hagaga, the third son entered the argument, they both united against him. Hagaga was as wise as an owl, and knew more than the other

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"*Nachuruen* *kruhok* *upron.* *Nas ta hat kas* *achpechtowrchton*
"Our Father in heaven who dwells. Let it be honored

*kiwichrwon.* *Nas ta hat pinikat* *kitokrmawin.* *Anowrchtomon* *nas ta*
thy name. Let it come thy kingdom. As the Lord wishes it to

*hat cuhrwakat* *tri* *kruhok* *winik* *ion* *achkibe.* *Mrwach*
be done like heaven so here (on earth) the same. Give us

*inchpe as kruhok* *wepakinigonrwcuen* *achtonachkin* *krugaton.* *Ponikutatawesch*
now as in heaven bread our daily and every day as we live. Forgive us

*nowin kain* *nachkrhkaon* *ain* *ponikitatowkichtoa* *kain*
and those we had angered you, as we forgive those

*nachkihomachtoa.* *Pon* *winin* *ishiwrch* *kakitzipanichtoow.*
that trespassed against us. Lead us not into temptation.

*Mishonrmowrch* *ta winin.* *Amen.*
Take it away from us. Amen."

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12

[p. 146]

# A WINNEBAGO WAR-BUNDLE CEREMONY

By W. C. McKern*

182 The primitive religious ceremonies of the Winnebago Indians are
796 not destined long to survive. Not only is the new generation forgetting
or deliberately neglecting the traditions of the old order, due to the
[177 growing influence of encroaching white civilization, but the conversion
276] of many of the older members of the tribe to the Peyote faith has
795 thinned the ranks of the Medicine Lodge to a marked extent. Many
of those responsible for introducing this new Christian cult among the
Winnebago are still alive. Its unabated ascendency in the favor of the
Indians is proportionate to the decline of ancient religious practices.

114 However, meetings of the old order still are held, and are in some
796 measure successful, due largely to the fact that many of the Peyote

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7: Radin NP12 Winnebago NP12

177

[For the effect of the acculturation situation on one individual see the complete text of the autobiography of Crashing Thunder, category 116. ]

7: Radin NP12 Winnebago NP12

177

[For information on the Peyote Cult, a cult which contains marked Christian features, see category 116, pp. 169-202.]

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



to them for me to use. Later on, in the fall, when the 159*
cranberry season had started, I lived with three women.
I never did any work, but simply went from woman to [588]
woman. Then the annuity payment was made, and I
went around chasing the payment. I sold my horses [657]
and spent the money I had.

About this time my father and mother asked me to 159*
come to Nebraska. I had been told that my father 205
and mother had joined the peyote people and were
eating peyote, and I did not like it. These peyote
eaters were doing wrong, were wicked, and that is why
I disliked them. Old Thunder Cloud, my brother-in-
law, told us the following about them:

"This medicine, the peyote,[30] is one of the four spirits [176]
from below. That is why it is bad. These four spirits
have always longed for human beings, and now they
are getting ahold of them. Those who use the peyote
claim that when they die, they will only be going on a

[30] The peyote is a small cactus common in the state of Chihuahua, 177
Mexico, out of which from time immemorial an intoxicating drink 276
has been prepared. The ancient Mexicans were well acquainted with
it. For a number of centuries it has been the center of various
cults all of which contained marked Christian features. It is only
within the last fifty to seventy-five years, however, that some of
these cults have spread into the United States. It is from some of
the tribes now living in Oklahoma that the Winnebago borrowed it.

The Winnebago either eat the peyote button in its dried state
or drink a concoction prepared from it. The effects are various.
Every one, however, seems to be agreed upon its causing wonderful
color visions. The after effects vary with the individual. I have
seen some practically in a state of stupor after eating a large quantity
of the buttons, while others seem entirely unaffected and go on with
their day's work as though nothing had happened.

The use of the Bible is an entirely new element introduced by the
Winnebago.

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## Winnebago Berdache

By NANCY OESTREICH LURIE

114 THE following account draws attention to the fact that the berdache role
838 was still evident in Winnebago culture until close to the turn of the cen-
tury, and adds somewhat to the data of certain clear cultural parallels between
[177] this Woodland Siouan group and such Plains Siouan tribes as the Omaha,
[171] Oto, Iowa and Ponca. The description is not complete and certain points are
equivocal. Thus, all of the available ethnographic documentation will be presented so that anyone intending to use the information will be able to assess its value. The description given here agrees, Dr. Raul Radin said in a conversation, with his unpublished Winnebago data.

124 During the course of general field investigations conducted from time to
838 time during the years 1945 to 1947, it was apparent that Winnebago informants in Wisconsin tended to be reticent to discuss the matter of the berdache. Their embarrassment may indicate that knowledge of the subject was withheld. However, even where excellent rapport existed and individuals became sufficiently interested in the topic to question people who might not speak directly to an ethnographer, some details remain uncertain. Furthermore,
[177] while the last berdache died somewhat over fifty years ago, the picture is confused by the former tendency of Winnebago culture to invest given forms of traits with opposite meanings and functions when used under different circumstances. At the present time, the recollections of many informants reveal that they know only half of the total function of given forms, or that they attempt to synthesize features which now appear as contradictory.

[184] While it was noted in 1950 that the Nebraska Winnebago were quite willing to speak of matters that in Wisconsin are still considered sacred or as things to be kept secret from whites, the Nebraska Winnebago simply knew less about older traditions.

838 It was agreed generally that the berdache was a man who had taken on
[787] this role because he had been directed to do so by the moon, a female spirit,
[821] at the time of his vision quest. The berdache dressed as a woman, performed
[791] women's tasks better than any normal woman could perform them, and had
[588] the ability to foretell future events. However, not all Winnebago prophets
[554] were berdaches. One informant mentioned that berdaches sometimes married
177 other men, but no data were obtained concerning the attitude of the society
838 toward the husband of a berdache. Most informants felt that the berdache
[626] was at one time a highly honored and respected person, but that the Winnebago had become ashamed of the custom because the white people thought it was amusing or evil. By the time the last known berdache attempted to fulfill the role, his brothers threatened to kill him if he "put on the skirt." This berdache then affected a combination of male and female clothing, fearing that he would die if he did not at least attempt to follow the directions given him in his vision of the moon.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



*Method of wearing the hair.*—In former times the men wore their hair in two long braids, although some seem to have affected the Sauk and Fox roach. The scalp along the parting of the hair was always painted, the color varying with individuals. There is no indication of any distinctions in the method of wearing the hair among the various clans as found among the Osage. 302 [177]

A variety of coiffures exist among the Winnebago women at the present day and the assumption that these are all recent is unwarranted. It seems probable that in the old days the hair was usually worn in one braid, which on festive occasions was inclosed in a case. This consisted of two parts—a rectangular piece of broadcloth beaded, and long strips of beaded work (pl. 28).

*Earrings and bracelets.* At the present time earrings are fashioned either of 10-cent pieces strung together or of various ornaments of German silver. Strings of beads also are worn occasionally. Bracelets now are made generally of German silver, while in former times beaded or quillwork buckskin was used. 301 [178]

*Arm bands and necklaces.*—Arm bands are made either of German silver or beaded work. The necklaces consist of long strings of various articles, as modern wampum, seeds, and elk teeth.

Belts, as well as cross belts, are now either beaded or woven, but formerly they were always woven from buffalo hair. Shell gorgets are generally of the type shown in plates 22, 24, 26, b. Tight collars are now made of beaded work. Bandoliers consist of long sashes with bags attached; both sash and bag are always gorgeously beaded. The bandoliers are worn in three ways, with the bag hanging on the right side, on the left side, or in front. Often the same individual wears two or three bandoliers. Garters are now made of beaded work; formerly these were generally made of the skins of various animals, preferably the polecat (pls. 27, 28, 29, 30, b). 243

*Headdress and taildress.*—The Winnebago headdress has been well described by Skinner (op. cit., p. 203), as follows: 301 237

> The typical headdress is a roach or comb-like ornament woven from deer's hair and generally dyed red. A carved bone, somewhat like an elongate isosceles triangle in shape, spread out this roach and was attached near the front to another tubular bone in which an eagle feather was inserted. Often the latter was ornamented with dyed horse hair and rattlesnake rattles. . . . The whole was fastened on the crown of the head slightly back of the forehead. It was usually pinned to the hair, the scalplock serving to hold it on.

A taildress, consisting of the tail of some animal, was worn only at certain dances, particularly the Horucka.

## Hunting

In their original habitat hunting was the most important means of subsistence of the Winnebago. Practically all game available was 224

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



539 614 776 something. Ha ha, our friends have come. Sit opposite (thus opposite said). As long as we live we will attend to the fire for you." "Listen, our friends, they are speaking." "Ha, ha, sit opposite me" (a new clan has entered). They sat down. "You Water-spirit clan, what relation, my friend, will you be to me?" "What relation shall I be to you? You will be my chief." "Good. Now listen, a dog is howling. Let us wait for him." So the Thunderbirds waited for him. "Let us call him." "Ha, ha, my friend, we wish to teach the two-legged walkers something. As we say so will the Winnebagoes ever be." Again the Thunderbirds spoke, "Listen, some one has said something. Two people have come. We will call them the Buffalo clan."

## The Warrior Clan

### INTRODUCTION

614 There are not many members of this clan left, although it seems to have been quite important in the old days, to judge from the number of effigy mounds all over Wisconsin. There seems little doubt but that those bird effigies with unsplit tail are supposed to represent this clan.

Only one version of the origin myth was obtained. There is little to be said about it except that it mentions the fact that it was customary to have names for dogs. One statement seems to point toward cannibalism. As was pointed out in the preceding discussion, there is a boastful claim that they were chiefs. [552 266]

614 178 Although, at the present time, this clan is known only as the wonayire ta'ekek (fear-inspiring men), its older name was hawk, and as such it was still known to J. O. Dorsey. When the present name began to be popular, it is impossible to say, but we feel confident that it has been in partial use for a considerable length of time. The change is quite in line with the rather common habit of referring to the Thunderbird clan as the chief clan and the Bear clan as the soldier clan. In other words, we have a name indicative of the functions of a clan superseding the older animal name. It is only in the case of the Warrior clan, however, that this substitution has been complete.

614 There is no indication in the myth that the Warrior clan was ever localized. A number of informants stated that the clan was but a division of a general bird phratry. In version 2 of the Thunderbird clan origin myth it is stated that the second of the two brothers was the ancestor of the Wagnior clan. Dorsey, as we have seen, obtained the same information.

[361] The Warrior clan seems to have had a lodge in the northwest corner of the village. In this lodge they claimed that prisoners were

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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pagan ceremonies. In 1910 this delegation of leadership was clearly a recent tendency, conditioned, on the one hand, by the size of the reservation and the impossibility of Rave's being everywhere, and, on the other hand, by Rave's frequent absence on proselytizing missions. In 1913 it had already become customary for a number of men to hold the position of leader even when Rave was present. A further complication was introduced when Jesse Clay began giving the peyote ceremonies in the Arapaho manner, for he then stood in the same relation to his method of giving the ceremony as Rave stood to the older form. As we shall see, there was, even in 1908, a separatist movement led by Albert Hensley, which, if it had succeeded, would have given Hensley the same leadership that Rave enjoyed before him and that Clay subsequently acquired.

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## Development of the Ritualistic Complex

From the accounts given by various members of the Peyote cult it is quite clear that Rave became interested in the peyote on one of his many trips to Oklahoma. According to the verbal account he gave, which differs in some respects from the account he subsequently dictated on the particular visit which resulted in his first eating the peyote, he was in a most distressed and unhappy condition of mind owing to the loss of his wife and children.[8] He went away from Winnebago with the intention of staying away as long as possible from the scene of his loss.

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Rave's account of his conversion gives a sufficiently dramatic picture of how he first ate the peyote and its immediate effects. In response to numerous questions as to how he was first induced to eat the peyote he always said that it was because he had been so frequently asked. It is, however, far more likely that he was passing through an emotional crisis at that particular time, and the requests that he partake of it and the inducements held out to him, made it easier for him to succumb then than on his previous visits.

To judge from Rave's remarks, his first belief in the peyote had nothing of the nature of a conversion to a new religion. It seems to have been similar to the average Winnebago attitude toward a medicinal plant obtained either as a gift or through purchase. There is only one new note—stimulation by a narcotic.

Rave states that the peyote cured him of a disease with which he had been afflicted for a long time. After repeated requests his wife also consents to being treated; so he paints her face and, taking the rattle, sings peyote songs while she eats the peyote. His attitude

[8] In the account Rave himself gives he speaks of seeing his wife and children. As his verbal statement was complemented by other people, we are inclined to believe that in his dictated account of his conversion he had forgotten the actual state of affairs. It may, of course, be that in his ardent desire to show the marvelous effects of the peyote he permitted his memory to play him false.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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578 tested, on the ground that a man of X.'s character could not properly
794 perform the rites associated with that position. Rave, however,
159 retorted that the efficacy of the peyote, of any position connected with its cult, was in no way connected with the character of the performer, and that it was inherent in the peyote and in the Peyote ritual. Thereupon, after much parleying to and fro, Hensley formally seceded, taking with him a number of followers. The bulk of the peyote eaters, however, remained with Rave, and within a comparatively short time a number of Hensley's followers returned to Rave, so that in 1911 Hensley had merely a handful of people. Since then he has ceased to be a force, although his innovations have been retained by a number of the younger Peyote members, especially by those who read English.

In 1911 there was no unification of the ideas of Rave and Hensley. Since then, strange to say, although Hensley's attempt to set up his
[177] own religion failed utterly, his ideas and Christain innovations seemed to have triumphed completely. This, however, has gone hand in hand with a marked dropping off of enthusiasm. It appears now as
[178] if the Peyote cult has run its course. Some of the members have recently returned to the old pagan customs, others have practically become Christians, and many have become indifferent.

794 Unquestionably the most interesting of recent innovations is that
177 introduced by Jesse Clay, the account of which has been given be-
159 fore. This is, of course, the Arapaho manner of conducting the ceremony. At the present time it has none of the characteristics of the Winnebago ceremonial. Whether in the next few years it will develop any depends upon the interest manifested in it by the Peyote worshipers and upon the vitality of the Peyote movement in general.

It is extremely suggestive to compare what Rave introduced with the ceremony borrowed by Clay. The former introduced an isolated element, the peyote and its worship, and clothed it almost immediately in characteristic Winnebago forms. It can truly be said that although the peyote is an alien element, from the Winnebago viewpoint, everything else in the ceremony is and was from the beginning typically Winnebago. Clay's method of conducting the Peyote ceremonies, on the other hand, is entirely alien. For it ever to become popular with the large mass of Winnebago it will have to become thoroughly assimilated with the Winnebago background.

## Dissemination of the Doctrine

Let us now see how the ideas of Rave and Hensley were transmitted in the tribe itself, who the first and the later converts were, in what the nature of their conversion consisted, and what they, in turn, brought to the new cult.

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP 12 Winnebago NP 12



$35 per thousand for number three size. The "buttons" are really branches of the Peyote Cactus (*Lophophora williamsii*), a small compact cactus growing from southern Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico down into old Mexico. The peyote religion was introduced to the Indians of the United States by peyote cults, among the Indians of Mexico. The Government strictly forbids possession of or traffic in these buttons, but the number of converts to the cult is on the increase. 276 435 795 276 795

On the other hand, the peyote Indians among the Winnebago have little regard for the medicine lodge Indians. They consider them benighted, old-fashioned and unwise. When an Indian joins peyote, according to them, he sees the error of his ways and the sacred, ceremonial objects of his past become of no value to him. In such cases, the field collector of some museum finds it easy to acquire excellent specimens of sacred objects. While still in use, an Indian would not part with his medicine bundle for money, but once it has been superseded by a change in faith, he becomes glad to realize almost anything for it. Such a bundle is valued by anthropologists according to the sacred objects it contains. 178

The peyote people that we met near Wisconsin Rapids did not bear out the poor name given them by the old pagans. They were industrious and proud of their religion. The peyote cult, there, shows considerable Christian missionary influence, in their acceptance of Jesus Christ as their deity. The medicine lodge people have never been interested in the translation of the Lord's Prayer but the Winnebago peyote followers use it as a chanted peyote song. It is called *Hilukanala gikaraj hanila*, (Lord prayer his). It follows thus: 795 177 539

*Hianjinwila wagregi shanagre, lash hashinila wakajak nigigidek•jena.*

"Our Father in heaven who dwells your name holy (let us) keep it. *Hunkma hashini'a hilaijik•jawina. Woshga hashinila manegi* Kingdom your come down (on earth). Doing yours on earth *uinck•jena wagregi jaske hinaki sheske manegi hilek•jena. Hampdec* should in heaven like doing same on earth should be. This day *waiskapduc haniwila hunkuwianje. Egi wazawoishana waniwila* bread daily ours give us. And then sins ours *waigitunawila wazahigishana waniwila waigitunawila sheke. Egi inke* forgive us sins yours and yours forgive us same. And then don't *wazawoishana uwahieja hinutiwinine Ezi wowak•jega egi hingijilawige* (into) temptations deliver us. Our Lord and help us *kishipwiwine. Hunkmara nehashinigaja Egi homashjala nehashinigaja* get away Kingdom thy and power thy *Egi hoishagra nehashinigaja manegus•la jeskek•jena.* and glory thy forever Amen."

It will be noted that the Winnebago even have a word for "Amen," meaning to some extent "let it be that way," whereas among the Menomini Indians they have not translated it but articulate it as we do — Amen. [192]

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
NP12 Winnebago NP12



# CULTURAL CHANGE AMONG THE WISCONSIN WINNEBAGO

Nancy Oestreich

## Introduction

121 Cultural change is one of the outstanding factors in the life of the Winnebago today. It is important to mention at the 178 outset, however, that the following article does not purport to trace the long history of cultural change among the Winnebago, nor does it have any claim as a complete analysis; but, because of space limitations, it will serve merely as a passing observation of cultural change in a particular Indian group. [114] The study is based primarily on observation of one small group of Winnebago during a period of five weeks. None the less, these data seem to comprise a fairly, though far from completely representative sample with which to work.

101 The Indians observed were family groups from almost all 121 of the Winnebago communities scattered throughout the central part of the state. Our group, consisting of some 45 families, was predominately one of Wisconsin Winnebago, but also included three Winnebago families from Nebraska and one family each of the Chippewa, Menomini and Potawatomi tribes. The presence of these minorities within the larger group of Wisconsin Winnebago offered an interesting study of inter-land and intra-tribal contrasts.

121 The Wisconsin Winnebago prefer to live more or less independently in their native territory, Wisconsin, rather than 619 join their friends and relatives on the Winnebago reservation [657] located, by a whim of the government, in Nebraska. There [574] is, however, a constant exchange of visits between the two groups.

221 In Wisconsin many of the Winnebago earn a living in the winter by trapping for the fur market, and in the summer by following various Wisconsin crops. The harvesting begins in the spring with the strawberry season, and ends in the fall with the gathering of cranberries.

It was during the 1944 cherry season, a period extending from the early part of July to the middle of August, that the bulk of material was collected for this paper. 114

### Attitudes Within the Changing Society

Opinions vary of course with Indians, according to the amount of education they have had, their native intelligence, or their personal interests. Furthermore, the contrast in attitudes between the older and the younger generations is a most significant feature. 178 182 561

It would be impossible to put age limits on the terms "older" and "younger," but an age between 45 and 50 seems to be the dividing line. One might also have to add a third classification: those individuals who grew up in the situation of the younger group, but upon reaching greater maturity tend toward the opinions of the older people.

The young people, through contact with the older generation, or by taking part in tourist-trade ceremonials, are apt to know the old dances and songs, but seem to feel that these things are pointless or merely a means of making a living. They have been living in an unstable, changing society since birth and follow along in the uncertain Indian-white pattern of culture with no particular ambitions or interests in what it may eventually produce in their own futures.

The young people from Nebraska contrasted strongly with those of Wisconsin in this respect, being generally more progressive and better educated; but it would be unreasonable to infer that this is a typical difference between the Wisconsin and Nebraska Winnebago since the representation of the Nebraska Indians in our group was so small. [184]

Many of the older people, on the other hand, can remember when the Winnebago retained enough of their original culture to have a fairly complete and working social organization. They blame all the misfortunes of the tribe on the young people, who according to the old people, do just as they please in matters of morals, ethics and religion, and they furthermore have no respect for the opinions of the older mem-

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
NP12 Winnebago NP12



178 182 561 bers of the tribe. The older generation does not generally try to resist the change, nor encourage it, but rather the tendency is to mourn the past. A few realize that the unhappy plight of the younger generation is but one of the many changes in their society brought on by the breakdown of tribal organization due to contact with white religion, liquor, and government.

[861] [626] Originally the training of the young was in the hands of the elders of the tribe and rules were put into effect by group controls; whereas now these controls have gone, and it is only in recent years and only among a few families that the idea of parental control is stressed in the same manner as in white society.

Consequently we have the picture of a younger generation following their particular whims and an older generation seeing the wrongs of such a situation but feeling powerless to relieve it.

### Types of Cultural Change

178 Having become acquainted with the attitudes of members of a changing society, let us consider cultural change itself. For purposes of simplification we can break down our main heading of cultural change into four types.

1. We are all familiar with the direct Indian-to-white cultural change which is of so long standing, and so obvious that it hardly requires further explanation other than mentioning the Indians' use of white foods, houses, clothing, and the myriad other aspects of white culture which have become a part of the Indians' life.

2. One of the complexities of cultural change is that some customs taken over from the whites remain relatively static in the Indian society, but continue to change at a faster rate in the white group. A good example of this is in the realm of material culture. The women's buckskin dresses were of course long ago exchanged for broadcloth and other fabrics fashioned along Indian styles, but these were later replaced by calico dresses in the last century following the then current

mode. The older women still prefer to wear this type of dress, and very often the ensemble includes moccasins rather than shoes on their feet and a blanket draped about their shoulders. Most of the young women, however, dress very much as white women of their own age. 178 ●

3. Another type of cultural change is found in the Indians modifying some aspect of white culture with elements of their original culture to suit their own needs and tastes. This is best illustrated by the trend that religion has followed among a large proportion of the tribe. Some of the Winnebago who have been enticed away from their old religion, and yet were not satisfied with orthodox forms of Christianity, have adopted the Peyote or Mescal Religion which they prefer to call The Native American Church. This did not originate among the Winnebago, but came in from the southwestern tribes about 50 years ago, and has even undergone changes among the Winnebago group. The Peyote religion is basically Christian, stressing the literal acceptance of the Bible and the strict following of Christ's teachings. It, however, embodies the use of a fairly harmless drug, peyote, which when taken in large enough quantities produces visions, so familiar in Indian religions. The use of a small drum, eagle feathers, and ornate rattles, as well as the burning of cedar leaves are included in the night-long ceremonies. This religion might be considered a transitional form between the so-called pagan religion and Christianity, but though it embodies characteristics of both religions, it appears to have reached a definite stabilized form and will probably undergo few changes in the future. 178 795 [276]

4. We also have change completely within the society from old Indian to new Indian traits. The old Indians tell of an original Winnebago language, very ancient and now almost completely forgotten, which has been replaced by a newer, but still very Indian type of language. In recent years the language has undergone other changes, but this is due to white contact. It is strange that the Winnebago of Wisconsin who have been forced to live in scattered groups and in close contact with whites, have maintained their language to a much greater extent than some of the Wisconsin Chippewa or Me- 178 191 [171]

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
NP12 Winnebago NP12



178 nomini who live on reservations and, it seems logical to as-
191 sume, would be likely to consider themselves more of a cul-
171 tural entity, and so be better equipped to preserve their language. None the less, this does not seem to be the case according to Chippewa and Menomini informants who claim that many of their younger people do not speak the tribal language, whereas a majority of even the smallest children among the Wisconsin Winnebago are bi-lingual.

178 In considering our four types of social change, we might
535 almost add a fifth type, which arises from a reaction against white contact and is a tendency to return to old patterns, as in the case of the revival of the scalp and victory dances which practically died out after the last World War. These dances have come into prominence in the last year or so with the Indian boys again going on the "war-path."

### Cultural Change and Cultural Stability

178 Although we are considering cultural change among the Wisconsin Winnebago, the picture at this point seems rather
182 one-sided without some mention of resistance to cultural change. Despite the constant and long-continued process of change, there is still retained a surprising amount of old Indian culture. Christian missionaries and the Peyote Religion have not managed to do away with the Thunderbirds, Water Spirits, and the rest of the pagan hierarchy. The Medicine Lodge continues as an important factor in the life of many Wisconsin Winnebago. Unfortunately, the writer's data are limited regarding the present number and ages of the adherents to the pagan religion, or as they prefer to be called, **the conservative group**.

182 It is interesting to note that practically all of the Winne-
551 bago, whether from Wisconsin or Nebraska, whether Christian, conservative, or pagan, still refer to their children by ancient religiously determined names. They are used in preference to the Christian names which all Indians now possess. These Indian names for boys and girls are merely an indication of the order of age and sex of the children in any given family, and are not to be confused with clan names which are

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
NP12 Winnebago NP12



individually bestowed upon members of the conservative group. 182 551

The list of old Indian traits still found among the Wisconsin Winnebago could be extended at great length to include items of dirt, clothing, religion, amusements, healing, social organization, and many other aspects of the culture, but of course cannot all be discussed in this article. There is, nevertheless, one final and important feature, and that is that the Indian definitely considers himself a member of a distinct race, and that differences in white and Indian outlook are inherent in the blood rather than due to societal processes. 182 [829]

## Conclusion

From observation of current trends and from the reminiscences of informants, it seems safe to conclude that the pattern of change outlined above will be followed in coming years with an ever-increasing tendency of the Winnebago to take on more and more of the aspects of white culture. Naturally changes vary from community to community, but the overall picture of the forms of cultural change seems to hold true. 178

There is one important point which may affect the Winnebago in unforseen ways, and that is the present war. As far as influencing cultural change today, it is more of a nuisance than an acting force. True the Indians are notably patriotic in the purchase of war bonds, and Indian boys are in all of the fighting forces; but for the most part, except where tragedy strikes individual families, the Indian thinks of the war as apart from his affairs. Some older people still feel strongly about the irony of Indians fighting for a country they themselves already have lost. 178 722

There is, of course, the inconvenience of tire and gasoline rationing on a people who lead a semi-nomadic life, but in our group, as far as the writer could ascertain, this did not constitute a great problem.

Many Indians have begun working in defense factories since the outbreak of the war, but even then they manage to stay in fairly isolated groups, as witness the Badger Ordnance Plant,

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
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178 where the majority of Indian workers live in a separate camp,
722 and the camp itself is somewhat divided according to the different tribes located there.

However, the war will undoubtedly have its social affect when the Indian soliders return from an existence of strict discipline to the semi-nomadic life of the Winnebago group.
[729] Even the veterans present at this summer's cherry camp showed a sense of dissatisfaction and a feeling of estrangement from the society.

178 In brief summary of the general picture of cultural change;
182 we have wide variations in attitude toward the cultural situation between the older and younger generations in a group representative of many Wisconsin Winnebago communities. In this group, cultural changed in intensity from complete cultural shift of Indian to white traits, to various stages of cultural transition and modification. Finally, there remain a considerable quantity of old Indian traits preserved intact.

From the observation of past and present cultural trends, it appears safe to predict the continuance of now recognized types of cultural change, but we must bear in mind possible future developments brought about by the present war.

000 As a final note it is important to remark that this study is far from complete, and is but a basis for future research.

The writer would like to thank her Winnebago friends, particularly Mr. John C. Decora of Wittenberg, Mr. Mitchell Redcloud of Merrillan, and Mr. Nat Long of Wausau, who made this article possible.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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they forced their way through the country occupied by the Winnebago, war would not have occurred. 174 [648]

The Winnebago call themselves *Hotcangara*, which has been variously interpreted as "people of the parent speech" by James Owen Dorsey and as "big fish people" by other observers. Dorsey's explanation, which is the one most generally accepted, is most certainly wrong, and represents an interpretation read into the word to make it fit the legends which claimed that the dialect was the most archaic of all the Siouan languages. It is true that *ho* may mean "speech," but *trunk* can only mean one thing, and that is "big, real." It is found with a number of animal names, such as *hetrunk*, "turtle," and *cratrunk*, "wolf." It corresponds strictly to the Dakotan *tank*, "large." *Ho* means "fish" in Winnebago. The name Winnebago, as is well known, is of Algonquian origin. 101 [114] [192]

The Winnebago were first encountered by white men in 1634, when Jean Nicolet visited them as agent for Governor Champlain. Where he encountered them is not definitely known. The Winnebago as a rule claim that it was at Green Bay. Some discussion has arisen of late years on this question. No contemporary narrative of the event exists, nor have the Winnebago any clearly marked legend that might be interpreted as referring to it. 175

An excellent description of their history has been given by P. V. Lawson [1] and from this we will quote at some length, selecting those periods that are of greatest importance in the history of the tribe and which can be illustrated by semihistorical legends still known to the Winnebago.

Much of our knowledge of the early history of the Winnebago is derived from Baqueville de la Potherie's Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale. A good deal of his information was obtained from Nicholas Perrot. For the period covering the years 1640–1660 we have the following information: [2]

> A few years ago, they numbered possibly 150 warriors. These savages have no mutual fellow-feeling; they have caused their own ruin, and have been obliged to divide their own forces. They are naturally very impatient of control, and very passionate; a little matter excites them; and they are great braggarts. They are, however, well-built, and are brave soldiers, who do not know what danger is; and they are subtle and crafty in war. Although they are convinced that their ancestors drew upon themselves the enmity of all the surrounding Nations, they cannot be humble. Their women are extremely laborious; they are neat in their houses, but very disgusting about their food. [162] [181] [52] [461] [264]

[1] The Winnebago tribe, in Wisconsin Archæologist, vol. 6, no. 3, Milwaukee, 1907.
[2] Quoted in Lawson's paper, p. 66.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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## What the Converts Introduced

794 177 It is quite impossible to establish now what these converts introduced individually. For that matter it is not necessary to assume that they brought any specific additions to the cult. What they did bring were Winnebago; and with that, the emotional and cultural setting of the old pagan background. To one, the eating of the peyote gave the same magical powers that were formerly associated with membership in the medicine dance; to another, the visions were direct blessings from God, directing him to perform certain actions; to a third, faithfulness to the teachings of the Peyote cult became associated with a certainty of reaching God, of being able to take the right road in the journey to the spirit land. Even a man so thoroughly saturated with Christian doctrines as Hensley himself felt it necessary to introduce an origin myth: and although we know that he borrowed it from a southern tribe, it is quite clear that in Hensley's narrative it has already assumed all the characteristics of a Winnebago fasting experience and ritualistic myth, similar to those connected with the founders of the old Winnebago cult societies. In its totality the atmosphere of the Peyote cult became thus charged with the old Winnebago background. In 1911 it can not be said that they had displaced the distinctive Christian elements. Among the younger members, especially those who had been trained in the east and could read and write English, the influence of the Christian ideas in the interpretation of the old pagan features is, as was pointed out before, so strong to-day that it threatens to displace the others.

The following homily will show how the old myths were used by the younger Peyote members to point a tale.

794 773 The old people often spoke of the Trickster, but we never knew what they meant. They told us how he wrapped a coon-skin blanket around himself and went to a place where all the people were dancing. There he danced until evening and then he stopped and turned around. No one was to be seen anywhere, and then he realized that he had mistaken for people dancing the noise made by the wind blowing through the reeds.

[181 829] So do we Winnebagoes act. We dance and make a lot of noise, but in the end, we accomplish nothing.

Once, as the Trickster was going toward a creek, he saw a man standing on the other side, dressed in a black suit, and pointing his finger at him. He spoke to the man but the latter would not answer. Then he spoke again and again, but without receiving any reply. Finally he got angry and said, "See here! I can do that too." He put on the black coat and pointed his finger across the creek. Thus both of them stood all day. Toward evening, when he looked around again, he noticed that the man across the creek, pointing his finger at him, was really just a tree stump. "O my! what have I been doing all

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



the north, then one at the west and one at the south. Then *Hare* took his own seat. 539 776

Now the various spirits who had been invited began to enter. Then came the human beings, those of the bird clan, of the bear clan, the wolf clan, the snake clan, etc. Last came the one they were to initiate.

Then *Hare* rose and spoke, "My friends, I have had you come together because my uncles and aunts had been living a very pitiable life. You are to teach them the life they are to live and which is to be handed down from one generation to the other. That is what I ask of you. You have now heard what it is I want. I leave everything else to be done and said by those in the east."

Then the one in the east seat arose and said, "We are to teach our friends, the uncles and aunts of *Hare*, the meaning of life. This they may hand down from generation to generation. To-day for the first time has this thing been discussed. All that life consists of—wealth, honor and happiness—they shall have from now on." [181] The other three spirits, the one in the north, the west, and the south, all said the same thing. When they finished each one returned to his own seat.

Now *Hare* got up again and said, "This is what I desired for my uncles and aunts. This lodge I made for them and as long as they follow the precepts taught in this lodge of creation, they will be invulnerable. For that reason have these seats been made for them, that whosoever so desires may sit therein."

All day long the spirits taught the one who was to be initiated and when the sun was on the treetops and when it was time to stop, the spirits dispersed. As they left they took with them half of the light that had been radiated in the lodge. As they went out they rubbed against the door-

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182 FUNCTION--internal cultural consistency or its lack; allegations of integration or disintegration; adjustments of parts of the culture to one another; relation of cultural forms to biological and social needs and to physical environment; etc. See also:

Integrative process in culture change . . . 178 Functional integration of kinship systems. . . 601

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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171 of impressing its name upon the whole division, we do not doubt
174 for a moment. Other reasons may have led to the designation of the other half by the name of one of its component clans.

114 Similarly, among the Ponca, the Wajaje half corresponds to the
614 Wajaje clan, the keepers of the sacred pipe; and among the Osage, the Teiju and the Hanga divisions of one side, and the Wajaje divisions of the other, correspond to the clans with the same name that are associated with important ceremonial-political functions. On the other hand, we have the fact that among the Kansa the names of the two large divisions are distinct from any of the clans in those divisions, and the same is true for the Teiju division of the Ponca. If we correlate this last fact with the apparent absence of any association of important ceremonial or political functions with specific clans, the suggestion might be permitted that no incentive existed in the minds of these people for the clan becoming identified with the larger divisions. Among the Winnebago the names for the divisions are quite different from those of the clans composing them, but at the present time the fact that the clan in each division has definite functions and powers has reacted on the interpretation of the social organization, and it is quite customary to refer to one half as *hunk* or "chiefs," and to the other as *manap'e* or "soldiers," although the latter is not common.

In short, we have a right to see, in all the facts mentioned, indications of a possible historical development whose characteristics seem to lie in the identification of the name and function of an important clan with that of a much larger division.

[182] The Winnebago social organization has long since broken down, but its details are still so well preserved in the minds of the older men, and particularly in the literature of the tribe, that no difficulty was experienced in reconstructing it. This reconstruction, however, does not enable us to determine the relation of the clan and dichotomous division to the distribution of the tribe over the large area once occupied in Wisconsin. That the 4,000-odd individuals composing the tribe at the advent of the whites lived together is extremely doubtful. The nature of the woodlands of Wisconsin and the fairly extensive territory over which the Winnebago were found scattered not long after Nicolet's first visit are facts that practically exclude such a hypothesis. The myth that speaks of a village that at one time was so long that those living at one end did not know what was transpiring at the other contains too many literary touches to justify its use as an historical document.

114 The question, therefore, of village groups is of considerable impor-
621 tance, because there may have been, cutting across the general organization, another smaller, perhaps looser social unit, that of "band" or village, setting off one group against another. Systematic question-

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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shown by the very word for clan (*hokil'aradjera*). This concept of blood relationship was extended to the mother's clan generation. As we have pointed out, there is no reason for assuming that blood relationship is the primary explanation. The number of explanations for exogamy existing between one clan and another, and between the clans of one side as opposed to those of another, indicate clearly how readily interpretations of this phenomenon change. The Bear does not marry into the Wolf clan because they are friends (*hitcak'ara*), and does not marry into the Buffalo clan because it belongs to the same side, or no reason at all is assigned. Before the question of the clan tie can be thoroughly understood, the kind of blood relationship that is here meant must be more carefully defined. This is not a very general but a very definite notion, and may be said to extend not beyond four generations, in fact not beyond the direct knowledge of some living individual. This will be brought out more clearly by the following tables, based on actual genealogies:

| | |
|---|---|
| (F) Thunderbird—Bear (M) 1. | or: |
| (F) Bear—Eagle (M) 2. | (F) Thunderbird—Bear (M) 1. |
| (F) Eagle—Wolf (M) 3. | (M) Bear—Eagle (F) 2. |
| (F) Wolf—Thunderbird (M) 4. | (M) Bear—Thunderbird (F) 3. |
| (M) Thunderbird—Bear (F) 5. | |

All these marriages are permitted. In the first case a man marries into his maternal grandmother's maternal grandfather's clan; and in the second, a man marries into his paternal grandmother's clan. We will consequently have to consider blood relationship as extending only to four, sometimes three, generations, and have to regard the statement of blood relationship as the tie binding the members of the clan together as purely fictitious and secondary. That, nevertheless, this fictitious tie called forth the same feeling as that of real relationship, there is abundant evidence to show, and that it was of considerable importance in the development of the Winnebago clan-unit is borne out by the fact that the clan was called "those-who-are-relatives-to-one-another."

### CLAN FUNCTIONS

The association of political functions with definite social units is a common phenomenon in most cultures where a tendency toward socialization exists. It is strictly comparable to the association of ceremonial and religious functions with ceremonial units. In this connection, the difference between an association with a group unit and an association with an individual is of fundamental importance. Is the former, for instance, merely an extension of the latter? This only individual history can demonstrate. Such a genetic relationship between the two depends probably as much upon the nature of the

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614 political function as upon anything else. The exact time when this
182 socialization took place is of no great import here. Among the Winnebago, for instance, some individuals claim that the functions of the public crier were inherent in the Buffalo clan, while others
614 insist that any person who had counted coup four times was eligible
208 for the office. Now, in this case not only is it possible but it is
182 extremely probable that the office of public crier was originally con-
554 nected with an individual, and that subsequently it became associated with the Buffalo clan, probably by reason of a certain relationship existing between this clan and the Chief clan. It must, of course, be remembered that a grouping had already taken place, because the requirement of having counted coup four times made a large number of warriors potentially public criers. Its association with membership in the Buffalo clan represented, on the one hand, a restriction of the number of individuals, and on the other hand, the addition of another qualification. Historically, then, the qualification of membership in the clan supplanted the other qualifications, at least in the eyes of a number of individuals. What has been said of the development of the functions of the Buffalo may also be generally applied to the Warrior or Hawk clan.

614 Political functions may, however, become connected with a group
182 unit without the individual playing any rôle either in directing or in developing it. The functions of preserving peace and of acting as intermediary, that among the Winnebago are connected with the Thunderbird clan, and the police and disciplinary functions connected with the Bear clan, may represent such types of association. In the absence of historical data, no demonstration can be made. It will, however, be shown later that association of ceremonial-religious functions with a social unit has actually occurred. That the police and disciplinary functions of the Bear clan developed from functions of individuals, on the basis of requirements similar to those of the public crier, is quite improbable, and no indication of that exists. Similarly the functions of the Thunderbird clan do not lend themselves readily to such an interpretation. But even should we accept the necessity for the priority of the one over the other types of association, we must still insist that psychologically the functions are in each case associated with a group unit.

Four of the Winnebago clans have specific political functions the details of which are discussed elsewhere. The Thunderbird, the chief clan, and in addition to the fact that the chief of the tribe is
[622] selected from it, has important functions connected with the preservation of peace; the Warrior clan has functions connected with war; the Bear clan, those relating to policing and discipline, both within the village and while on the hunt, etc.; and the Buffalo clan, those relating to the office of public crier and intermediary between the

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chief and his people. The Wolf, Water-spirit, and Elk clans seem also to have possessed minor political-social functions. Thus the Wolf people are regarded as "minor" soldiers; the Water-spirit people are connected with the passage of streams, etc.; and the Elk are connected with the care of the fireplaces while on the hunt and warpath. This accounts for seven of the twelve clans, and it thus seems as if the association of political functions with clans was a type that had found great favor among the Winnebago, and was perhaps being extended to every clan. Among the Dhegiha, associations of ceremonial functions with social units seem to have found corresponding favor, while among the Central Algonquian neither type prevailed.

614 182 [171]

Marked political and ceremonial functions of the clan are thus the distinguishing characteristics of the Siouan social organization and have given an entirely different color to clan structure there.

### THE RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIP OF THE CLANS

We have seen that one of the bonds between the clans was the fact of belonging to the same side. But there is a special bond between certain clans known as "friendship" relation (*hitrak'ore*). This always subsists between two, although it seems occasionally to have been extended to three or four clans. Most informants gave these groups in such a manner that the "friendship" relation was not postulated between clans belonging to different divisions. One individual postulated them just on this basis, i. e., Thunderbird-Bear, Warrior-Wolf, etc. There can, however, be no doubt that the prevalent arrangement is: Thunderbird-Warrior; Eagle-Pigeon; Bear-Wolf; Buffalo-Water-spirit; Elk-Deer; Snake-Fish. Most informants did not claim any pairing for the Snake, while some associated it in a threefold grouping with the Buffalo and Water-spirit. The four clans of the *Waggeregi* are generally united in a fourfold group of "friend clan," although some divide them into Thunderbird-Warrior and Eagle-Pigeon.

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Under the term "friend clan" is included the idea of mutual service. This becomes especially marked on two occasions: first, when a member of one clan visits his "friend clan," and second, when an injustice has been done a member of the "friend clan." On the former occasion every possible privilege is extended to him, even to his occupying the seat and bed of the host. There is no indication of "wife-borrowing," however. On the latter occasion, the "friend clan" will seek to revenge the injustice just as if the wrong had been done one of its own members. The respect shown by one clan to its "friend clan" is again apparent at the naming-feast. There he may be called upon to give the dog names for an individual of the clan with which he is associated, and, at times, to lend one of his clan names to the latter.

614 476 [837]

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This I know now. The whole thing is untrue. Therefore I stopped using these supernatural powers some time ago.[2] 159 787

The old people made me fast so that I might obtain blessings, and that I might lead a life similar to that led by my ancestors. My father asked me to fast so that I might be of some help to my fellow-men as I grew up. It is through fasting that individuals obtain the power of curing disease and restoring a person to health again. [756]

Spirits from above also came to me. They took me to the spirit-shaman village. As the shamans gathered around me they said that the blessing would be very difficult to give me. Then the shaman sitting far in front made himself holy and breathed upon me (i. e., performed the actions of a shaman when treating a patient). When he was finished, then he began to sing and all those in the lodge began to breathe, helping him. Then the second shaman made himself holy and began to breathe and sing. In this way four of them made themselves holy. They were showing me what to do when I came back to earth. If a person on earth is sick (this is what they meant), and is in an almost hopeless condition where no one else could cure him, then they would call for me and offer me tobacco with which I was to sacrifice to the spirits who had taught me. 159 756 775

Indeed I am holy. If a man is sick I can restore him to health. That is what I used to think. I really (had it been true) should have felt it, for I labored earnestly and honestly to be a holy person. Yet in spite of all my exertions I was very unfortunate. I had married twice and both of my wives and all my children died. Indeed, how could I ever consider myself a holy man (i. e., if I couldn't even cure my own wife and children of what value were my "supernatural powers")? For a long time I knew that, at least I should have known it.[2] (I was not holy.) Then I ate the peyote and now I really see myself as I am. Indeed I am not holy. My body is without a soul. I thought myself holy. So I have stopped the practice of the shaman. 156 756 156 [795]

[2] The informant had become a convert to the Peyote belief only a short time before he wrote down this account of his feeling, and it is interesting to see that, although he no longer believes in the efficacy of the supernatural powers, he still believes that they exist. Two years after this, however, the same informant explained them, as all the older members of the Peyote cult explain them, tactfully, as delusions, either caused by the abnormal condition of the youth while fasting or as snares of the devil.

[2] In the words "I should have known it" are summed up the essential change of attitude between the Peyote Winnebago and the older Winnebagoes. The latter, too, had observed the apparent failure of the supernatural powers on many occasions, but instead of attributing them to any diminution of efficacy in the "powers," attributed them, on the contrary, to a lack of something in the individual trying to use the "power," in so far as they thought about it at all. But the essential difference between the two cults, the older one and the Peyote, lies not so much in the logical conclusions their adherents have drawn from the failure of the "supernatural powers" to behave as they were expected to, as in the fact that the Peyote people make the failure of the "power" the subject of discussion and the old Winnebagoes accept the whole concept of "supernatural power" as such, and do not permit it to rise into their consciousness. [182]

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As soon as I arrived (in Nebraska) I met some people who had not joined the peyote eaters and who said to me, "Your relatives are eating the peyote and they sent for you that you also might eat it. Your mother, your father, and your younger sister, they are all eating it." Thus they spoke to me. Then they told me of some of the bad things it was reported that these people had done. I felt ashamed and I wished I had not come in the first place. Then I said that I was going to eat the medicine. 159 794 276

After that I saw my father, mother, and sister. They were glad. Then we all went to where they were staying. My father and I walked (alone). Then he told me about the peyote eating. "It does not amount to anything, all this that they are doing, although they do stop drinking. It is also said that sick people get well. We were told about this and so we joined, and, sure enough, we are practically well, your mother as well as I. It is said that they offer prayers to Earthmaker (God)," he said. He kept on talking. "They are rather foolish. They cry when they feel very happy about anything. They throw away all of the medicines that they possess and know. They give up all the blessings they received while fasting and they give up all the spirits that blessed them in their fasts. They also stop smoking and chewing tobacco. They stop giving feasts, and they stop making offerings of tobacco. Indeed, they burn up their holy things. They burn up their war bundles. They are bad people. They give up the Medicine Dance. They burn up their medicine bags and even cut up their otter-skin bags. They say they are praying to Earthmaker (God) and they do so standing and crying. They claim that they hold nothing holy except Earthmaker (God). They claim that all the things that they are stopping are those of the bad spirit (the devil), and that the bad spirit (the devil) has deceived them; that there are no spirits who can bless; that there is no other spirit except Earthmaker (God)." Then I said, "Say, they certainly speak foolishly." I felt very angry toward them. "You will hear them, for they are going to have a meeting tonight. Their songs are very strange. They use a very small drum," said he. Then I felt a very strong desire to see them. [52]

After a while we arrived. At night they had their ceremony. At first I sat outside and listened to them. I was rather fond of them. I stayed in that country and the young peyote eaters were exceedingly friendly to me. They would give me a little money now and then and they treated me with tender regard. They did everything that they thought would make me feel good, and in consequence I used to speak as though I liked their ceremony. However, I was only deceiving them. I only said it because they were so good to me. I thought they acted in this way because (the peyote) was deceiving them.

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794 159 throughout, both from his own testimony and from that of others, seems to have been practically the attitude of the Winnebago shaman. He even offered tobacco to the peyote.

We have, then, at the beginning the introduction of apparently only one new element—the peyote, with possibly a few Christian [177] teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned there was hardly anything new at all. This view does not, of course, interfere in the least with the fact that to the Winnebago themselves the presence of the peyote represented the introduction of a new element.

The elaboration of the peyote practices at Rave's hands is the most difficult problem to trace on account of the lack of data. In the account that he gives of his conversion there is no evidence whatsoever of any antagonistic attitude toward the old Winnebago manner of living. When the author met him, however, for the first time, in 1908, this passive attitude had changed to one of violent hatred for the old Winnebago customs. Why and under what circumstances [182] this change took place we do not know. It probably represented the interaction of many elements, the hostility of the tribe, the drawing of issues sharply around certain points, and the gradual assumption on the part of Rave of the rôle of a prophet who had [192] solved the problem of the adjustment of the Winnebago to the surrounding white civilization. Offhand, one might be inclined to believe that Rave's insistence upon breaking with the past was due entirely to the influence of the Christian elements incorporated in his new religion. It is, however, extremely doubtful whether such an assumption is necessary. There seem to have been comparatively [177] few Christian elements in the religion before Albert Hensley's influence had made itself felt, yet many of the old war bundles had been destroyed long before that time, and the peyote eaters were looked upon with cordial dislike by the conservative members of the tribe. The admonition that only a complete break with the past could save the Winnebagoes and enable them to compete successfully with the white intruders had been given to the Winnebagoes once before by the famous Shawnee prophet. What the latter claimed, however, was that the various sacred objects used by the Winnebago had lost their power, and that that power must now be renewed. This he [1[illegible]] thought could only be done by returning to the old manner of living which he claimed the Winnebago were no longer following. Such a claim was, after all, not revolutionary. It is not, therefore, the break with the Winnebago present-day viewpoint that characterizes Rave's attitude, but the fact that instead of returning to the older, purer

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the Night Spirits. All the warriors who possessed war bundles would of necessity have to receive blessings from these, although in different cases one or the other may have bestowed the more important powers.

The prominence given to the Thunderbird in the first and to the Night Spirits in the second division give the ceremony a most marked resemblance to societies like the Night Spirit society. In the second division it is even essential to have been blessed by the Night Spirits in order to play a certain rôle. There would thus develop the consciousness of community of interest due to the fact that as individuals they were bound together by blessings received from the same spirits, a feeling that was certain to be still further strengthened since, in all likelihood, most of the possessors of war bundles belonged to societies where this actually was the common bond. The religious and ceremonial aspect would thus of necessity be reinforced. The prayers for success on the warpath of course always existed, but as the extraneous religious and ceremonial influences became stronger and more insistent and as and thus should never be forgotten the pursuit of war became less and less important, owing to the breaking down of the culture consequent upon the advent of the whites, these extraneous factors became, if not dominant at least almost equal in importance to the historically older aspect; and our original gathering of warriors, while still remaining a gathering of warriors, also became a ceremonial organization, in which offerings were made to the entire Winnebago pantheon of spirits. The great war spirits were still all-important, but their position was contested by so distinctive a peace deity as Earthmaker and such deities as Earth, Moon, and Water. The prayers for success in war were perhaps still the most insistent, but prayers for life, not life merely that success in war may be longer, but prayers for the whole content of life, were offered up. Disease-giver was appealed to not merely to bestow upon man the greatest of all war honors, killing an enemy right in the midst of his tribesmen, but also to ward off disease from the supplicants.

Still, as great as have been these extraneous influences, the character of the feast as originally one purely connected with war comes out in numerous ways in the association, for instance, of war powers with Earthmaker, Moon, and Earth, and significantly enough, in the absence of the more specific religious associations such as are met with in the Medicine dance.

Let us turn now to the development of the organization of the feast. The development of a fixed type of organization is not absolutely necessary. Societies may exist only for certain occasions, such as the return from a warpath, like the Hôk'txe're dance or preparatory to the starting of a war party, and be practically nonexistent afterwards. Such are the temporary war feasts of the Ojibway, for instance. However, one all important circumstance prevented this

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sing-together"; the Osage, the term *pęda*, "fireplace"; and the Winnebago, the term *hokik'a-radjara*, "those-related-to-one-another." The remarks made about the specific names of the twofold divisions apply here. There is no reason for assuming that these names are historically primary. A possible historical hint that they are not will be mentioned later. 174 614

The twofold division apparently regulates nothing but marriage. It has at the present time no other function *per se*. Nevertheless, a number of ethnologists, and for that matter Indians themselves, speak of the functions of the two sides. If we consider the Omaha "circle," we notice that practically all the ceremonial functions are on one side; that among the Osage "war" and "peace" functions are found on both sides; and that, as a matter of fact, the functions of war and peace apparently relate to a certain reciprocal relation existing between the two divisions. Indeed, there is no reason to justify the use of these terms. Among the Iowa, J. O. Dorsey quotes Hamilton to the effect that the regulation of the hunt and other tribal affairs was in the hands of one "phratry" during the autumn and winter, and in that of the other in spring and summer. It is, however, doubtful whether this was the case. Among the Winnebago, as we shall see, the functions of war and peace were grouped together on one side, the functions of the other side being confined to those relating to the policing and regulation of the hunt. But the only fact with which we can concern ourselves is not whether there appears a balancing of functions connected with the social organization, but whether the Indian thinks there is; and here the consensus of opinion favours the view that no Omaha, e.g., would for a moment suppose that the *Hanǫgacenu* division as such was the custodian of the real pipes of peace. This belonged to the *Inkesabe* gens, and there is not a shred of evidence to support the view that it was delegated to that clan by the larger unit. The same reasoning applies to the *Hanǫs* clan. That the importance of the possessions of the latter clan played an important part in the associations of the Omaha, even to the extent of impressing its name upon the whole division, we do not doubt for a moment. Other reasons 174 182 616

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474 may have led to the designation of the other half by the name of one of its component clans.

182 616 Similarly, among the Ponka, the *Wajaje* half corresponds to the *Wajaje* clan, the keepers of the sacred pipe; and among the Osage, the *Tcijo* and *Hanga* divisions of one side, and the *Wajaje* divisions of the other correspond to clans with the same name that are associated with important ceremonial-political functions. On the other hand, we have the fact that among the Kansa the names of the two large divisions are distinct from any of the clans in those divisions, and the same is true for the *Tcijo* division of the Ponka. If we correlate this last fact with the apparent absence of any association of important ceremonial or political functions with specific clans, the suggestion might be permitted that no incentive existed in the minds of these people for the clan becoming identified with the larger divisions. Among the Winnebago, the names for the divisions are quite different from those of the clans composing them, but at the present time the fact that the clan in each division has definite functions and powers has reacted on the interpretation of the social organization, and it is quite customary to refer to one half as *hunk* or "Chiefs," and to the other as "*manqpe*" or "Soldiers," the latter name for the second phratry, however, not being common.

In short, we have a right to see in all the facts mentioned indications of a possible historical development whose characteristics seem to lie in the identification of the name and function of an important clan with that of a much larger division.

## THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE WINNEBAGO.

174 616

### RELATION OF THE PRESENT TO PREVIOUS WINNEBAGO TYPES OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

The Winnebago social organization has long since broken down, but its details are still so well preserved in the minds of the older men, and particularly in the literature of the tribe, that no difficulty was experienced in reconstructing it. This reconstruction, however, does not enable us to determine the relation of the clan and dichotomous division to the distribution of the

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174 the bear in others, although both are also often found together.

614 Looking at our facts from another point of view, it is quite clear that clan segregation must not be taken too literally. 624 Clan exogamy would necessarily prevent that. If the old exogamy of the two divisions was in force and a man was thus compelled to marry into his mother's division but not into her clan, every village would have had to be arranged in an extremely artificial manner, that was not likely to have occurred frequently. [591] That a man often lived with his parents-in-law, would in addition again disorganize the regularity of the scheme. Finally, we have the evidence of the myths, which often speak of a man as departing on a journey when seeking a bride. All these customs, cutting across the village scheme in a number of ways, must have rendered it a rather complex unit. That, in spite of all this, clan exogamy could have been maintained even in a small village is unquestionable, but the reason for this lay, we suspect, in the limitation of the concept of blood-relations. With these considerations in mind, we may, then, admit clan segregation.

### *Individual Names.*

614 With the animal appellation of the clan, one naturally associates animal names of individuals, for there is, indeed, 551 a correlation between them. Animal names of individuals 182 are, however, frequently found when the social units have names of an entirely different kind. A similar lack of correlation exists between the manner and system of naming and the type of social organization. That, on the other hand, the social organization may fundamentally influence the nature of the individual name is also apparent. Only with these points in mind can the Winnebago individual names become intelligible.

614 The study of Winnebago names can be approached from a purely static point of view, and the attempt made to bring 551 them analytically under a certain system of naming; or, on the other hand, from a dynamic historical view-point. We shall 174 try to undertake both. Every clan has a distinct set of names.

The Winnebago individual names lend themselves easily to categories of classification. We have the following classes:

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602

(F) Thunderbird—
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(F) Wolf —Wolf (M) 3
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or:

(F) Thunderbird—
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All these marriages are permitted. In the first case a man marries into his maternal grandmother's maternal grandfather's clan; and in the second a man marries into his paternal grandmother's clan. We will consequently have to consider blood relationship as extending only to four, sometimes three, generations, and have to regard the statement of blood-relationship as the tie binding the members of the clan together as purely fictitious and secondary. That, nevertheless, this fictitious tie called forth the same feeling as that of real relationship, there is abundant evidence to show, and that it was of considerable importance in the development of the Winnebago clan-complex is borne out by the fact that the clan was called "those-who-are-relatives-to-one-another."

## THE SOCIO-POLITICAL COMPLEX.

### *Clan Functions.*

174 The association of political functions with definite social
614 units is a common phenomenon for most cultures where a
182 tendency toward socialization exists. It is strictly comparable to the association of ceremonial and religious functions with ceremonial units. In this connexion, the difference between an association with a group unit and an association with an individual, is of fundamental importance. Is the former, for instance, merely an extension of the latter? This only individual

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history can demonstrate. Such a genetic relationship between the two depends probably as much upon the nature of the political function as upon anything else. The exact time when this socialization took place is also of great import here. Among the Winnebago, some individuals claim that the functions of the public crier were inherent in the Buffalo clan, while others insist that any person who had counted coup four times was eligible for the office. Now, in this case not only is it possible but it is extremely probable that public criership was originally connected with an individual, and that subsequently it became associated with the Buffalo clan, probably by reason of a certain relationship existing between this clan and the Chief clan. It must, of course, be remembered that a grouping had already taken place, because the requirement of having counted coup four times made a large number of warriors potentially public criers. (Here the grouping together was due to the successful performance of certain test-acts.) Its association with membership in the Buffalo clan represented on the one hand a restriction of the number of individuals, on the other hand the addition of another qualification. Historically, then, the qualification of membership in the clan supplanted the other qualifications, at least in the eyes of a large number of individuals. What has been said of the development of the functions of the Buffalo may also be generally applied to that of the Warrior or Hawk clan.

Political functions may, however, become connected with a group unit without the individual playing any rôle either in directing or in developing such an association. The functions of preserving peace and of acting as intermediary, that among the Winnebago are connected with the Thunderbird clan, and the police and disciplinary functions connected with the Bear clan, may represent such types of association. In the absence of historical data, no demonstration can be made. It will, however, be shown later that association of ceremonial-religious functions with a social unit has actually occurred. That the police and disciplinary functions of the Bear clan developed from those of individuals, on the basis of requirements similar to those of the public crier, is quite improbable, and no indication of that exists. The functions of the Thunderbird clan likewise do not

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*The Reciprocal Relationship of the Clans.*

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lodge of the Buffalo clan is on the *waŋgeregi* side of the village circle, although the Buffalo clan is one of the *mąŋegi* clans. In explanation of this fact we might, on the one hand, assume that its relationship to the chief clan influenced its position in the village, or that it always was there. The latter seems rather improbable, in the face of the unanimity of agreement as to its inclusion among the *mąŋegi* clans, and we may, therefore, provisionally accept the hypothesis of a shifting of position from one side to the other. As this might entail a possible readjustment of the Buffalo clan, as regards exogamy, we tried to obtain as many instances of Buffalo intermarriages as possible. No case of intermarriage with the *waŋgeregi* clans was found. However, as only eight cases were instanced, no safe inference can be drawn. 614 621 174

The "servant" relation of the Elk clan to the Thunderbird expresses itself in the fact that the former takes care of the fire-places of the latter while on the warpath, etc., and that the members are supposed to distribute the fire to the other clans. In the social customs this relationship is perhaps shown by a certain preference of the Elk to intermarry with the Thunderbird clan. This preference is not reciprocal. The word preference is used with the added significance of being consciously expressed, and differs from a tendency to intermarriage which may exist between the clans, but which is not present in their consciousness. Some Winnebago informants even went so far as to postulate a *hitcak'ɔ·ro* relation between the Elk and Thunderbird clan. 614 [372] 614 582 614

Among the Osage a marked development of the "servant" relationship is found. [171]

Viewed from a broad point of view, the reciprocal social and religious services of one clan toward another in the *hitcak'ɔ·ro* and "servant" relations are similar in nature to the political functions of the clan, and they may be taken as another indication of the association of political, social, and religious functions with a strongly individualized social unit. 614 182

### *The Specific Possessions of the Clan.*

Among the Omaha, a number of clans have in their possession certain objects, around which not merely the clan but also 171 614 778

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12



let us say, some individual who has killed a member of the tribe and who refuses to make atonement of any kind, is pursued, he defiantly sings his clan songs.

As a last element in the clan-complex may be mentioned the specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

We have now completed the discussion of clan organization. As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary associations that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that the complex has grown around a strong social-political unit.

## THE CLAN AS A SOCIO-CEREMONIAL COMPLEX.

Up to the present our attention has been directed entirely to the clan as a socio-political complex and only passing mention has been made of those religious or ceremonial associations that may also have clustered around it. Among the Omaha, as we have frequently pointed out, these latter associations were of paramount importance and probably dwarfed the development of the political functions. Among the Winnebago, on the whole, they were unimportant. This very fact makes the solitary instance in which a fairly marked development took place of all the greater value, quite apart from the fact that it happens to give, on the one hand, an exceptionally instructive illustration of the secondary association of a ceremonial function with a social unit, and, on the other, a similarly instructive illustration of the association of a function generally belonging to an individual shaman with a social unit. Such an association has taken place with the Bear clan, and, owing to its importance, we will quote the data in extenso. The ceremony is known as "soldiers' dance" (*manupe waci*).

"When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village, the people go to the chief and say, 'Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!' And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks

2. Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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as follows, 'My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease.' Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit, they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick, they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well." 614 755 796

Here the Bear clan behaves at the same time like a ceremonial organization associated with shamanistic practices and like an individual shaman. That, to the minds of the Winnebago, this ceremonial function of the Bear clan on this occasion was regarded as a real ceremony is indicated by the term *many pe waci*. For the moment, the Bear clan as a social unit is entirely lost sight of. Nevertheless, it is the Bear clan as such a unit around which the ceremony has crystallized. This case is all the more instructive for the very reason that this ceremonial association does not form an inextricable element in the clan complex, but is merely an aspect that it assumes on certain occasions, to the exclusion of its socio-political nature. The ceremonial function of the clan is, therefore, not as firmly fixed as is the political function. This may merely be an expression of the fact that among the Winnebago it had become customary to associate ceremonial functions with religious societies. 614 796 182

With regard to the analogy with the individual shaman, it might be said that treating a social unit like an individual must have been quite common wherever the former was strongly marked off by specific functions such as the Bear clan. The association of the shamanistic function with this clan may have occurred just because of the police functions the clan already possessed. On the other hand, it might be pointed out that the bear, both black and grizzly, was intimately [776] [825] [756]

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12



associated with the treatment of disease and was the especial guardian spirit of the Indian doctors.

## INFLUENCE OF THE CLAN UPON CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION.

Perhaps the most characteristic trait of Winnebago culture is the existence of two strong socialized units, that of the clan and that of the secret society. Historically both are old, and even if we are of the opinion that the clan is historically younger, the political unit upon which it is superimposed is probably an ultimate historical fact. From the earliest times one would have supposed reciprocal influences to have occurred repeatedly. The nature of these influences, insofar as they are not conditioned by chance, would depend on the respective centre of gravity in either unit. It is evident that for the clan the organization was of paramount importance, and that the addition of cultural associations probably tended to strengthen its stability from the point of view of organization. On the other hand, the absence of political or governmental functions in the religious societies, and the clustering of the most multitudinous religious and shamanistic ideas within them, rendered the emotional complex of the latter the centre from which influences would radiate. At the same time, the ceremonial unit of organization seems to have been so firmly fixed, that any influence of the clan unit of organization upon it does not seem likely. As a matter of fact, in the typical schematic, religious society, like the medicine dance, grizzly-bear dance, and night-spirit dance, no influence is perceptible. But these religious societies may be regarded as presenting no possible points of contact. Where, however, the bond of union is supernatural communication with a guardian spirit who subsequently became the clan animal, an obvious point of contact is given, and this brings to mind a very suggestive fact of Winnebago culture--there are, strictly speaking, no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in many respects are absolutely identical with the religious societies, and which furnish, it seems to us, an example

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12

[p. 146]

# A WINNEBAGO WAR-BUNDLE CEREMONY

By W. C. McKern*

182 The primitive religious ceremonies of the Winnebago Indians are
796 not destined long to survive. Not only is the new generation forgetting
or deliberately neglecting the traditions of the old order, due to the
[177 growing influence of encroaching white civilization, but the conversion
276] of many of the older members of the tribe to the Peyote faith has
795] thinned the ranks of the Medicine Lodge to a marked extent. Many
of those responsible for introducing this new Christian cult among the
Winnebago are still alive. Its unabated ascendency in the favor of the
Indians is proportionate to the decline of ancient religious practices.

114 However, meetings of the old order still are held, and are in some
796 measure successful, due largely to the fact that many of the Peyote

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5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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796 other mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik, were respectively placed at the
778 northeast and southeast corners of the bundle.

A peeled stake, forked at the top, was set up at the central western margin of the bundle wrapper. The ceremonial pipe, of Siouan type [276] with a catlinite bowl, was then filled by the leader from the bowl of mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik and placed with the stem end resting in the fork of the stake, the stem slanting diagonally downward across the bundle and the bowl, in upright position, resting on the central eastern margin of the bundle wrapper.

[824 The leader then placed some live coals from the fire in a small stove-shovel. On these coals he placed white cedar leaves. With the smoke
783] of the burning cedar leaves he purified the contents of the bundle, his own person, and even the walls of the lodge.

796 Shortly before the ceremony was to start, some of the waiters pre-
534 pared the drum. What had probably been originally designed to serve as a pickle keg, served as the body of the drum. This was partly filled with water. A buckskin head was then placed over the open end and drawn taut by means of cords attached to the base of the body. This was done by means of stick tourniquets in each of the cords. The proper degree of tautness was determined by tipping the drum bottom side up, to permit the water to wet the drum head, and testing the tone quality with the drum stick. After the drum had been thus properly tuned, more hot coals were placed in the censer, cedar leaves applied and [783] the drum and stick turned over and over in the resulting smoke. Then the drum was placed just north of the war-bundle.

A small pot containing two portions of cooked meat was suspended from the roof of the house immediately west of the bundle.

796 Early in the afternoon, all preparations having been completed, the ceremony began. The guests in little groups filed into the lodge and were seated by the head waiter, squatting on mats with their backs to the wall. The most important guests, owners of war-bundles in other clans, [562] were placed nearest the door. The eastern two-thirds of the lodge was occupied by men only. The women were clustered at the western end. Mr. Fisher and I were seated immediately south of the bundle. The leader and three assistants, elected to serve as musicians, were grouped just north of the fireplace.

Although the rites associated with the war-bundle are kept up by [182] a few of these Winnebago, the ritual has sadly degenerated. Aside from the host, no man made any serious attempt to equip himself properly in costume. Many important elements were omitted such as the preliminary sweat bath ceremony, the sacrifice of white buckskins to the spirits, the dog sacrifice, and many minor details left out of the ceremonies attempted. When all were assembled, the leader opened the [537] ceremony with a speech to those assembled. The formal dignity of the speaker and the unhesitating flow of his words were impressive. He

It was during the 1944 cherry season, a period extending from the early part of July to the middle of August, that the bulk of material was collected for this paper. 114

**Attitudes Within the Changing Society**

Opinions vary of course with Indians, according to the amount of education they have had, their native intelligence, or their personal interests. Furthermore, the contrast in attitudes between the older and the younger generations is a most significant feature. 178 182 561

It would be impossible to put age limits on the terms "older" and "younger," but an age between 45 and 50 seems to be the dividing line. One might also have to add a third classification: those individuals who grew up in the situation of the younger group, but upon reaching greater maturity tend toward the opinions of the older people.

The young people, through contact with the older generation, or by taking part in tourist-trade ceremonials, are apt to know the old dances and songs, but seem to feel that these things are pointless or merely a means of making a living. They have been living in an unstable, changing society since birth and follow along in the uncertain Indian-white pattern of culture with no particular ambitions or interests in what it may eventually produce in their own futures.

The young people from Nebraska contrasted strongly with those of Wisconsin in this respect, being generally more progressive and better educated; but it would be unreasonable to infer that this is a typical difference between the Wisconsin and Nebraska Winnebago since the representation of the Nebraska Indians in our group was so small. [184]

Many of the older people, on the other hand, can remember when the Winnebago retained enough of their original culture to have a fairly complete and working social organization. They blame all the misfortunes of the tribe on the young people, who according to the old people, do just as they please in matters of morals, ethics and religion, and they furthermore have no respect for the opinions of the older mem-

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
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178 bers of the tribe. The older generation does not generally
●182 try to resist the change, nor encourage it, but rather the ten-
561 dency is to mourn the past. A few realize that the unhappy plight of the younger generation is but one of the many changes in their society brought on by the breakdown of tribal organization due to contact with white religion, liquor, and government.

[861] Originally the training of the young was in the hands of
[626] the elders of the tribe and rules were put into effect by group controls; whereas now these controls have gone, and it is only in recent years and only among a few families that the idea of parental control is stressed in the same manner as in white society.

Consequently we have the picture of a younger generation following their particular whims and an older generation seeing the wrongs of such a situation but feeling powerless to relieve it.

### Types of Cultural Change

178 Having become acquainted with the attitudes of members of a changing society, let us consider cultural change itself. For purposes of simplification we can break down our main heading of cultural change into four types.

1. We are all familiar with the direct Indian-to-white cultural change which is of so long standing, and so obvious that it hardly requires further explanation other than mentioning the Indians' use of white foods, houses, clothing, and the myriad other aspects of white culture which have become a part of the Indians' life.

2. One of the complexities of cultural change is that some customs taken over from the whites remain relatively static in the Indian society, but continue to change at a faster rate in the white group. A good example of this is in the realm of material culture. The women's buckskin dresses were of course long ago exchanged for broadcloth and other fabrics fashioned along Indian styles, but these were later replaced by calico dresses in the last century following the then current

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
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178 191 171 nomini who live on reservations and, it seems logical to assume, would be likely to consider themselves more of a cultural entity, and so be better equipped to preserve their language. None the less, this does not seem to be the case according to Chippewa and Menomini informants who claim that many of their younger people do not speak the tribal language, whereas a majority of even the smallest children among the Wisconsin Winnebago are bi-lingual.

178 535 In considering our four types of social change, we might almost add a fifth type, which arises from a reaction against white contact and is a tendency to return to old patterns, as in the case of the revival of the scalp and victory dances which practically died out after the last World War. These dances have come into prominence in the last year or so with the Indian boys again going on the "war-path."

### Cultural Change and Cultural Stability

178 182 Although we are considering cultural change among the Wisconsin Winnebago, the picture at this point seems rather one-sided without some mention of resistance to cultural change. Despite the constant and long-continued process of change, there is still retained a surprising amount of old Indian culture. Christian missionaries and the Peyote Religion have not managed to do away with the Thunderbirds, Water Spirits, and the rest of the pagan hierarchy. The Medicine Lodge continues as an important factor in the life of many Wisconsin Winnebago. Unfortunately, the writer's data are limited regarding the present number and ages of the adherents to the pagan religion, or as they prefer to be called, **the conservative group.**

182 551 It is interesting to note that practically all of the Winnebago, whether from Wisconsin or Nebraska, whether Christian, conservative, or pagan, still refer to their children by ancient religiously determined names. They are used in preference to the Christian names which all Indians now possess. These Indian names for boys and girls are merely an indication of the order of age and sex of the children in any given family, and are not to be confused with clan names which are

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
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individually bestowed upon members of the conservative group. 182 551

The list of old Indian traits still found among the Wisconsin Winnebago could be extended at great length to include items of diet, clothing, religion, amusements, healing, social organization, and many other aspects of the culture, but of course cannot all be discussed in this article. There is, nevertheless, one final and important feature, and that is that the Indian definitely considers himself a member of a distinct race, and that differences in white and Indian outlook are inherent in the blood rather than due to societal processes. 182 [829]

## Conclusion

From observation of current trends and from the reminiscences of informants, it seems safe to conclude that the pattern of change outlined above will be followed in coming years with an ever-increasing tendency of the Winnebago to take on more and more of the aspects of white culture. Naturally changes vary from community to community, but the overall picture of the forms of cultural change seems to hold true. 178

There is one important point which may affect the Winnebago in unforseen ways, and that is the present war. As far as influencing cultural change today, it is more of a nuisance than an acting force. True the Indians are notably patriotic in the purchase of war bonds, and Indian boys are in all of the fighting forces; but for the most part, except where tragedy strikes individual families, the Indian thinks of the war as apart from his affairs. Some older people still feel strongly about the irony of Indians fighting for a country they themselves already have lost. 178 722

There is, of course, the inconvenience of tire and gasoline rationing on a people who lead a semi-nomadic life, but in our group, as far as the writer could ascertain, this did not constitute a great problem.

Many Indians have begun working in defense factories since the outbreak of the war, but even then they manage to stay in fairly isolated groups, as witness the Badger Ordnance Plant,

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
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178 where the majority of Indian workers live in a separate camp,
722 and the camp itself is somewhat divided according to the different tribes located there.

However, the war will undoubtedly have its social affect when the Indian soliders return from an existence of strict discipline to the semi-nomadic life of the Winnebago group.
[729] Even the veterans present at this summer's cherry camp showed a sense of dissatisfaction and a feeling of estrangement from the society.

178 In brief summary of the general picture of cultural change;
182 we have wide variations in attitude toward the cultural situation between the older and younger generations in a group representative of many Wisconsin Winnebago communities. In this group, cultural changed in intensity from complete cultural shift of Indian to white traits, to various stages of cultural transition and modification. Finally, there remain a considerable quantity of old Indian traits preserved intact.

From the observation of past and present cultural trends, it appears safe to predict the continuance of now recognized types of cultural change, but we must bear in mind possible future developments brought about by the present war.

000 As a final note it is important to remark that this study is far from complete, and is but a basis for future research.

The writer would like to thank her Winnebago friends, particularly Mr. John C. Decora of Wittenberg, Mr. Mitchell Redcloud of Merrillan, and Mr. Nat Long of Wausau, who made this article possible.

105 thunderbird. He is the representative of peace, par excellence. He
614 cannot go to war or have anything to do with the many war cere-
616 monies of the tribe. Be it remembered that victory on the warpath is
622 the highest honor a Winnebago can attain. He must succour the needy and plead for clemency in all cases of infractions of tribal law and custom, even in case of murder. His lodge is a sacred asylum and [778] absolutely inviolate. Not only is a prisoner of war safe if he manages to take refuge there, but even a dog, about to be sacrificed, must be spared, should he manage to run into it. Naturally all the other male members of the thunderbird clan as well as all the male members of the other clans in the upper phratry, go on the warpath and seek prestige through war. But, after all, this warfare is waged against people who have no status within the tribe. Acquiescence in it does not constitute approval of violence nor is it regarded as a resort to violence. And it is this condemnation of violence for which the tribal chief and his phratry stands.

105 In contrast to this is the attitude of the chief of the lower division,
614 who always belongs to the bear clan. In him are centered pre-
616 eminently the police, the disciplinary and the war functions. He and
622 his associates police and guard the village, inflict punishment for
625 transgressions of law and custom, take charge of the whole tribe when it is on a communal warpath or engaged in hunting, etc. It is in the official lodge of the bear chief that prisoners are confined before being killed and it is in the same lodge where the sacred warbundles are stored and guarded against contamination.

105 We are dealing here with a very old and persistent classification
616 of the two opposing forces in society and one which reflects the
622 answer to a question asked repeatedly, namely, how are we to meet
182 the two aspects of life and of reality with which we are being con-
577 tinually confronted, the protective, constructive and positive, and the repelling, destructive and negative? Winnebago thinkers seemed to have been particularly fond of posing this problem.

It is not strange then, that they should have felt the contrast between the functions of the two phratries to lie, fundamentally, in their attitude toward evil. For the tribal chief evil was to be warded off before it came and always by passive methods. If that did not

succeed and evil was already upon the tribe, then his attention was directed toward alleviating the suffering caused by it and toward preventing any violence that might come in its wake. His function was to be protective and constructive. As one Winnebago told me, 'The chief of the tribe is like a motherbird feeding its young ones.' 105 616 622 182 577

The chief of the lower division, by contrast, went out to meet evil, attacked it ferociously when encountered, and paid little attention to the violent mood it developed among the defender-assailants. The important thing was to attack, fight and gain the victory.

The two opposing approaches to the problem can best be illustrated by the attitudes of the two chiefs toward sickness and murder. The tribal chief meets the first by giving a feast of conciliation and making direct appeals to Earthmaker. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, immediately starts in pursuit of it. With his assistants he makes the circuit of the village four times to look for its cause. He is on the warpath and should a dog cross his path, he is immediately killed. Then he pays a visit to the sick people, dances before them and lays his hands upon them. 105 622 755 182

If a murder has been committed, the tribal chief not only intercedes for the life of the murderer but actually, if need be, offers to take the place of the malefactor. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, seizes the murderer and conducts him to the family of the murdered person to be punished. 105 182 622 [682]

The objects associated with the two chiefs are typical and symbolical of their activities. For the first it is the peace-pipe, the emblem of conciliation and humility; for the second, a curiously formed baton, the emblem of punishment and pain, with which, when need be, he strikes those who transgress.

The recognition of these two aspects of social life and reality, contradictory, colliding, complementary, had its counterpart in the Winnebago analysis of human nature. There too, they insisted, good and evil, the spiritual and the material, the sacred and the profane, seemed forever at strife and forever striving for reconciliation, neutralization or fusion. This philosophy, we shall now see, is reflected, particularly, in mythology, religion and ritualism. 105 772 182

105 of shamanistic practices in the Rite, they could never quite exclude
575 them and the only answer they possessed was to condemn them and
771 show how they led to dishonor, death and destruction.
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This interweaving of the concrete and the symbolic and mystical led to a double, at times even a triple, set of significances for every action and word and which, occasionally, reached incredible heights of complication, intricacy and subtlety.

105 Since no other ceremony resembles the Medicine Rite in the
174 respects just mentioned, we may well stop and ask ourselves what
796 could have led to its creation? What is the cultural meaning of this new mode of expression, this new type of reinterpretation of ancient beliefs and attitudes? Allowing for the natural creative impulses of our Winnebago poet-philosophers, it is not unreasonable to suspect that some particular circumstance or circumstances must have called them forth.

Ordinarily, any attempt to determine such a matter among the American Indians, in the absence of an authentic historic record, would mean mere speculation. Fortunately this does not hold true for the case in point. There are indications within the text of the Rite itself and some historical evidence which proves pretty conclusively that, in its present form, the Medicine Rite is a development late in Winnebago history and after the coming of the French in 1632. We can, in fact, date it more precisely. The otterskin pouch and the shell used in the shooting ceremony come from the *midewiwin* ceremony of the Ojibwa. The Winnebago obtained them from the Fox and this could not possibly have been before 1680-1690.

Now, the Winnebago between 1650-1900 were passing through a very serious crisis. Their numbers had been seriously decimated by ferocious struggles between them and the Illinois and Fox and by the diseases introduced by the Europeans. The influence of the French, as well as the new conditions resulting from French encroachment, were playing havoc with the old order of things. Nor must we underrate the influence of the French missionaries.

That a new type of ceremony should have appeared among the
[182] Winnebago just then cannot be ascribed to mere chance. It must bear some relation to the crisis. The moment we put the two to-

gether much that would otherwise remain inexplicable about the Medicine Rite becomes clear—its nostalgia for the past, the idealistic and idyllic setting, the absence of any reference to war, the insistent condemnation of shamanistic practices. We can then see it for what it is, the attempt of the priest-poet-philosopher to meet the new and hitherto unknown threats to the old way of life by demonstrating, first, what merit and virtue inhered in the Winnebago civilization of the past and, secondly, by showing how it could be recovered and safeguarded against all outside attacks. The creators of this ritual-drama were concerned only with the description of the Road of Perfection, a road that was to lead the Winnebago back to the past and then forward again. Only if we fully realize that we are not dealing here simply with the inward vision of some poet-philosopher but with the spiritual crisis of a people will we be able to explain the burning intensity that animates the participants.

105 174 796 182

But, let us forget for the moment the fact that the Medicine Rite is of late appearance in Winnebago history and let us forget the crisis that gave it birth and try to assign it its proper place in Winnebago thought.

We saw before how the warrior ideal received its glorification in the warbundle ceremonies. Nothing comparable to such a eulogy of war and of the warrior's viewpoint existed for the other half of Winnebago life, for the arts of peace. Indications that it was attempted are innumerable but these attempts seem never to have succeeded to any marked degree.

And so the Winnebago, apparently, had to wait until late in their history, until a crisis of major proportions was threatening to disrupt their whole culture, before the ideal which had always been expressed in the symbol of the chief of the tribe could find its full and adequate expression in the present Medicine Rite. That this expression came so late in their history must not obscure the fact that it represents part of a very old struggle between two aspects of Winnebago life that had always been seeking a resolution. It is not only in Winnebago history that a philosophical-ethical ideal has received its highest expression in the midst of a social-economic crisis, as I need hardly point out.

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Whether, before the coming of the Whites, other crises of equal intensity had ever threatened the security of Winnebago life we do not, of course, know. What we do know, however, is that before Winnebago civilization finally broke up and disintegrated completely, about twenty years ago, a religion of a new type essayed the same task that the Medicine Rite had undertaken and developed a ritual of considerable beauty with a quality all its own. I am, of course, referring to the Peyote Cult.

## 6. THE HISTORY OF THE MEDICINE RITE

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The Medicine Rite is clearly the product of a long development. For proof of this we have not only direct historical evidence but fairly convincing internal evidence. I have already called attention to the fact that the otterskin pouch, the shell and, in fact, much of the whole present shooting ritual stems originally from the *midewiwin* ceremony of the Ojibwa. We know that they are the originators of it and that it spread from them to the Pottawattomie, Menominee and Fox and then to the eastern Dakota and Iowa. The eastern Dakota already had it in 1765. The Winnebago were brought into contact with it by the Fox and the Iowa. We must assume that this could not possibly have been earlier than 1690 and, far more likely, it was later, anywhere between 1710 and 1730. To judge from its present form and content, nothing else was borrowed than the shooting ritual and its appurtenances, apart from a number of songs, at least, from the linguistically and culturally distinct Fox. More was probably borrowed from the linguistically and culturally closely related Iowa.

Two introductory narratives (pages 92 f. and 94 f.) profess to tell how some of the pouches were obtained but they can hardly be accepted as too accurate. In so far as any credence can be placed on what they say, it would appear that they were presented to two Winnebago, whose names are given. No mention, however, is made by the givers of these gifts, one an Iowa and the other a Fox Indian, of their be-

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1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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173 They fasted and became holy. The greatest honor was to be a
[183] brave man, and for that reason they did nothing but go to war. They were prepared for war at all times. They tried to obtain war honors. They wished to go to war all the time and kill many enemies. If a person fasted and went without food for a long time, gave offerings of tobacco often, and was then blessed by the spirits, then it would be very hard to kill such a person in battle. The people knew that such powers could be obtained, and that is why they did these things all the time.

[182] They gave many feasts. When a person gives a feast, then he offers the spirits tobacco and asks in return that their weapons be sharper than those of their enemies (i. e., that he kill an enemy and escape unharmed). That is why they used to give so many feasts, that they might be victorious in war. They make offerings to the war spirits, and if these then bless them they will become great warriors. They desired greatly to obtain these blessings.

173 Tobacco is the greatest possession they have. After Earthmaker
276 created all things he created man. Man was the last of the created objects. Those created before were spirits, and he put them all in charge of something. Even the smallest insects are able to foresee things four days ahead. The human beings were the least of all Earthmaker's creations. They were put in charge of nothing, and they could not even foresee one day ahead. They were the last created and they were the poorest. Then Earthmaker created a weed with a pleasant odor and all the spirits wanted it. Some were almost certain that it would be given to them. They would each think to themselves, "I am going to be put in charge of that, for I am one of the greatest spirits in the world." Then the Creator said, "To all of you (spirits) I have given something valuable. Now you all like this weed and I myself like it. Now this is the way it is going to be used." Then he took one of the leaves and mashed it up. Then making a pipe he smoked it and the odor was pleasant to smell. All of the spirits longed for it. Then he gave each one of them a puff. "Now, whatever (the human beings) ask from me and for which they offer tobacco, I will not be able to refuse it. I myself will not be in control of this weed. If they give me a pipeful of this and make a request I will not be able to refuse it. This weed will be called tobacco. The human beings are the only ones of my creation who are poor. I did not give them anything, so therefore this will be their foremost possession and from them we will have to obtain it. If a human being gives a pipeful and makes a request we will always grant it." Thus spoke Earthmaker.

For that reason the human beings are in control of tobacco; it is their natural possession. This is the story that was handed down to us. The Winnebago made war and made many offerings of tobacco. It is said that the Winnebago were the bravest of all the Indians.

# CHAPTER VI

## WARFARE AND THE COUNCIL LODGE

### Warfare

721 War was one of the most important elements in the life of the [183] Winnebago. The life of the warrior was the ideal toward which all men strove. It not only satisfied certain emotional needs but it [554] was so inextricably interwoven with social standing in the community and with individual prestige that Winnebago life is unthinkable without it. It is not surprising, then, that the prayer for [782] success on the warpath was the most important prayer that men offered up to the spirits and that it was reechoed in almost all the ceremonies. (Pls. 43, 44, 45.)

An element of culture fraught with so much significance to the individual and the social group was bound to be surrounded by innumerable customs, regulations, and restrictions. It was a life that was at stake every time an individual went on the warpath, and remembering the value of each life to a small community, it is not to be wondered at if there is a definite attempt on the part of the social group to restrict individual activity in this particular regard. An individual might go on the warpath either alone or in company with a few people, but the community, in the person of the chief, insisted that he show some warrant for his action. If no warrant of [626] any kind could be given, he subjected himself to the only restrictive measures the chief and the community could adopt, disapproval, jeers, and temporary loss of social standing and prestige. So much, as far as his own person was concerned. If his action jeopardized the life or lives of other members of the tribe he had then to face [636] the relatives of these people, just as any individual who had committed some wrong. It is hardly likely that many men would willingly run any risks of unnecessarily antagonizing their fellow tribesmen when the proper means of preparing for the warpath was open to all. A careful perusal of the system of education given on page 166 makes it clear that a sufficiently large number of methods for obtaining consent to lead a party were given, and that it was possible for every male individual to go on the warpath frequently if he so desired. Certain requirements were, however, necessary. It was not left to each individual to decide for himself [622] whether he possessed these, but the final decision always lay in the hands of the chief.

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always kept on hand and offers it to the spirit who controls this particular war party. 726 701
The others do the same. Then he would cross the river. Whenever he drank any water the others would also do so, and if he refrained so would the others. If at any [782] time during the night when they are camping the war leader should wake up and sing some songs, be they grizzly bear, black root paint, or night songs, all those others who [533] know similar songs would likewise begin to sing.

*Miscellaneous war customs.* There were, in former times, many 726
miscellaneous customs connected with warfare, most of which have now been forgotten. However, in myths and accounts of war parties a number of them are still mentioned.

When a war party surprised a lodge, all the occupants were killed or captured and the poles that were spliced together to form the arches were released so that they sprang back to either side and assumed a vertical position.

When a war party surprised a lodge in which there were children they generally killed them, cut off their heads, pried open their [727] mouths so as to give them the appearance of laughing, and then placed the heads on their bodies again and arranged them against the door, so that when their father came home he would find them greeting him as usual. A brave warrior would never flinch at such a sight, but would prepare a meal as usual and speak to the children as if they were alive and offer them something to eat. Only then would he bury them. Immediately after they had been buried he would go on the warpath to revenge them.

Frequently the skulls of slain enemies are used as lodge weights and 727
their skin is taken off and used as mats, door-flaps, etc.

*War honors.*—"It is the ideal of every Winnebago youth," says an 726
informant, "to kill an enemy in full sight of his friends and thus to [183] gain for himself a headdress and an eagle feather." Most deeds considered valorous, according to Winnebago ideas, have associated with 554
them certain insignia which are always worn in public, giving evidence to all that so-and-so has performed such and such a valorous deed.

These insignia consist of the following:

*Headdress and feather.*—Denote that an individual has scalped and killed a man and torn off his scalp still bleeding. He is entitled to a red headdress and eagle feather. This also includes the man who has counted first coup (*sarintgwahi'na*).

*Red headdress.*—If he has killed the enemy and not scalped him (*teak'nie wak'e'ra*.)

*Eagle feather.*—Worn by one who has counted second coup.

*Hanging eagle feather.*—Worn by one who has counted third coup.

*Eagle feather stuck crosswise in hair.*—Worn by one who has counted fourth coup.

*Wangirusgite.*—Consists of a rope worn around the neck. It is worn by the leader of that warpath who has captured an enemy.

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## Divisions of Time

192 805 184 The Winnebago reckoned time from the beginning of each new month (*wira*). There are slight differences in the names of the months between the Nebraska and the Wisconsin branch of the tribe, as appear below:

*Nebraska*

1. Hundjwi'ra, month when the bears are born.
2. Húndjwiro-a'gɛnina, last bear month.
3. Wák'ek' iru'xᵃ, raccoon-breeding month.
4. Hoi'doginâ'na, fish become visible (because of the ice clearing away).
5. Maiᵃ da'wus, month that dries the earth.
6. Mank'era, dig-the-earth month (when the crops are sowed).
7. Wixo'tcera, the month that makes them gray (the month when the tassels of corn appear and the fields look gray).
8. Wida'djux, when the roasted ears of corn burst.
9. Wiza'zek'e, name of a bird that appears this month.
10. Pea'maiᵃna'xora, when the deer paws the earth; or Huᵃ-waiᵃjukɛra, when the elks shout, or whistle.
11. Tcaik'i'ruxe, deer-breeding month.
12. Tea'hewakeu', when the deer shed their horns.

*Wisconsin*—

1. Hu'ndjwi teonina, first bear month.
2. Hu'ndjwiro-a'gɛnina, last bear month.
3. Wák'e'k'iruxewi'ra, raccoon-breeding month.
4. Hoi'doginâna, fish becoming visible.
5. Maiᵃda'wus, drying-of-the-earth month.
6. Mank'e'ra, digging month.
7. Maiᵃna! 'uᵃna, cultivating month.
8. Wixo'teerera, tasseling month.
9. Huᵃ waiju'kɛra, elk-whistling month.
10. Teo'maiᵃna'xora, when the deer paw the earth.
11. Tcaik'iru'xira, deer-breeding month.
12. Tcahe'yakeu'na, when the deer shed their horns.

805 221 According to a member of the Bear clan, the following were the activities throughout the year. The accounts given of these activities differed in certain details, depending upon the clan connection of the informant, because he naturally associated some months with specific activities of his clan, such as clan feasts.

1. Members of the Bear clan give their feast.
2. Month in which the various Winter Feasts are given.
3. Month in which people hunt.
4. Month in which people begin to fish.

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# CHAPTER V

## BURIAL AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

764 There appear to have been two distinct methods of burial among the Winnebago—simple inhumation and platform burial. Within recent times, owing to the influence of their Algonquian neighbors, [177] platform burial has entirely disappeared and inhumation alone is practiced. It has even become customary to erect a typical Algonquian burial-hut over the grave (see pl. 54, b).

[615] When the old culture was still intact inhumation was definitely associated with the lower phratry and platform burial with the upper phratry. Whether this marked difference in burial customs was merely another example of that specialization in function so characteristic of these two divisions of the tribe, or whether it was due to distinct historical origins, it is difficult to determine. I am, however, inclined to regard the latter interpretation as by far the most probable.

[614 184] All the customs are described in full detail in the various accounts that follow and in Chapters VII and VIII. Each clan seems to have had a few details peculiar to itself, but, in the main, the rights were identical. They may briefly be divided into the following sections:

1. Preparation of the body for burial. 2. Rites in the house of the deceased, consisting mainly of speeches of consolation to the bereaved. 3. Speeches addressed to the deceased and the narration of the myth of the journey to spirit land. 4. Rites at the grave. 5. The recounting of war exploits by specially invited warriors, at the grave. 6. The elaborate four nights wake at the home of the deceased.

### Description of Funeral Customs and Wake

[115 644] Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:[1] When an individual dies his relatives get some one to bury him and the chief mourner will also invite some person to talk to the corpse before it is buried. The person addressing the dead man or woman tells the deceased how he is to go (to spirit land) and what he is to do on the way there. The body is then dressed by the person who is going to bury it. All the relatives come to the lodge and the deceased is dressed in his best clothes; beads are put around his neck, bracelets on his wrist, rings

[1] This description is a generalized one.

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765 mourner's hair, give him presents, and tell him that he is now free to cease mourning and to marry if he wishes.

In former times the period of mourning is supposed to have lasted four years.

[302] When a person is in mourning he always cuts his hair short and does not comb his hair. In former times people often mutilated themselves by cutting off either entire fingers or finger joints.

[304] The overseer always takes all the belongings of the deceased, but he must give the latter's relatives an equal amount of new material.

### Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(FIRST VERSION)

764 184 614 Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the clan dies they send after a man of the Thunderbird clan who is to speak to the corpse, paint it, and give him a war club to take along with him (to the land of the spirits). Then they go after a man from the [615] lower phratry to bury him, for these clans (of the lower phratry) belong on earth and they have the right to dig into the ground and bury people.

When the one who is to be the general overseer arrives and arranges everything, he prepares the corpse, putting a sack of tobacco in one hand and a war club in the other. Then he paints him. He paints the forehead with a red and a black mark and paints the lower part of the face to the end of the nose with scattered dots. He paints the jaw red and he makes a red mark across the mouth and the throat. Then he speaks as follows:

You have departed at this (young) age. You have taken your relatives by surprise and have left them a long part of your life (i. e., you have lived but a small part of your apportioned share of years). As you go to spirit land, you will find on the [775 539] road many feathers, many good plants, and many good kinds of clay, scattered around, the blue clay, the red clay, and the white clay. You will also find the sweet-smelling plants and good life. For all these things do you ask. If anything comes across your path, throw it behind you without looking around. In four days you will depart and objects with which to mediate between us and the spirits will soon be furnished you. For four nights your people will tell you what to do and when they hear you singing on the road they will know that it is you. There (in spirit land) you will go to live and the songs that I will sing you will sing as you travel on your road.

Then he sings (the four clan songs).

When the gravediggers are finished they take the body and carry it to the grave, the mourners following. They take the body to the grave and there lower it.

### Death and Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(SECOND VERSION)

Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan dies, the clansmen discuss what is to be done for the spirit

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of the deceased. Then they go and call the leader of their band 764 184 614
and he comes and addresses the body as follows:

You are about to leave all your relatives. They will remain on earth, objects of pity to all. You will proceed on your road, turning to your left after you start until you come to him who is in charge of the spirits. Whenever you see him, the following 764
request do we wish you to make of him, namely, that he bestow upon us all that 184
you fell short of in your life on this earth. The means of offering, the tobacco, which 614
Earthmaker gave us, we have given you some to take along. As you go along the
road you will come to a place where the road branches off. Do not turn to the right, 539
for that road leads to the bad spirits. Turn to the left and soon you will come to a 775
guard. Point your pipe at him and he will be thankful. This man will have a complete suit of clothes and he will look terror-inspiring. He will smoke with you and then you may speak to him as follows: "Grandfather, before I left the earth, the people told me to ask you to point out to me which road I should travel in." Then he will tell you and you will pass ahead and after a while you will come to a fire-girdle. The man who is in charge of it will have a complete suit of clothes just like the first man. Point the stem of your pipe toward him and he will be very thankful and smoke with you. Then make your request, namely, to be permitted to pass, and he will grant it. As you go along after that you will come to a round lodge in which you will find an old woman. Point your pipe at her and she will be thankful and smoke it, and then ask her to let you pass and she will permit you to go ahead. Your hair will now be white but you will not be unconscious. On the contrary, you will have complete possession of all your senses. Then you will come to where he who is in control of spirits sits. Go to him and point your pipe toward him. Then when he is smoking it, ask him to show you the road to Earthmaker, our father, and he will point it out to you. Then you must proceed until you come to Earthmaker. When you get to him, point the stem of your pipe toward him and, if he takes it and smokes it, then you must say, "Earthmaker, my father, you know very well what kind of a life I have led." And he will answer, "You have done well, my son."

The informant then skips to the opening night of the four nights' 765
wake. The address to the spirit that follows is probably delivered 184
by the chief mourner before the formal opening of the wake. 614

*Address to the spirit.*[1]—Ha ho-o-o-o, I want you to listen, you who have become 539
like a spirit. You have made those of your relatives who remained behind on earth 775
miserable and lonely. They have given you much food to take along with you and they have given you a pipe and some tobacco so that you may offer them to the spirits you meet on your road and make some requests of them. The first request that they wish you to make is to ask the spirits to distribute to your clan all the successful warpaths which would have fallen to your share had you lived your normal quota of years; and that all the food, etc., that you have not used be bestowed upon those whom you left behind on earth. The last request you should make of those on the road is to pray that a long time may elapse before any of your relatives traverse this road.

Now follows a description of the obstacles to be met on the road.

When you reach Earthmaker, offer him your pipe, and if he accepts it speak to him as follows: "Grandfather, as I was leaving the earth my relatives asked me to request of you humbly that you bestow upon the clansmen that I left behind me all that I would have accomplished had I lived longer. Now this is what I wished to ask of you, grandfather." Thus you should speak: "Ha ho-o-o-o."

[1] Spirit here is wanp'ini, spirit, deity, not wapyiski', ghost, noncorporeal embodiment. What is meant is that the deceased has become like one of the spirits, in that he lives, enjoys consciousness, etc., without at the same time having any corporeal existence.

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765 Then all the other people answer *ha-ho-o-o-o*. Now someone lights
184 a pipe and passes it around so that everyone can take a puff. All
614 take a puff, children and women as well as men. After that water
775 is passed around. Then all eat. A little portion of everything served is put aside and thrown out for the spirit to eat. Then a warrior, the person who has charge of the wake, speaks:

[539] I greet you all. I first wish to pour some of the tobacco that you have offered me for our grandfather who is in control of war-giving powers. (Probably the Thunder-birds are meant.) I will tell the spirit as carefully as I can all that I know about the road he must travel. My father impressed upon me very earnestly the need of being very truthful in speaking to the spirit of one recently deceased, for if I were a bad man I would cause the spirit to stumble. For that reason I always feel that I ought not to speak very much whenever I am called upon to talk.

Then a warrior was called upon to tell of his war exploits. He told as accurately as it was possible how he had killed a man, broken his collar bone, and then flayed him; how he had then chopped and cut up his body and mutilated him in such a way that he could not be identified; and how finally he had stolen his dogs. All night he spoke in this strain. He went on to tell how he had killed and utterly destroyed an entire village so that no one was left to tell of the massacre. All night he told of his war exploits. Thus they lighted the road for the spirit (i. e., held the Four Nights' Wake).

The second and third nights were just the same as the first, only that different warriors spoke and different war exploits were told. They are very proud of their war exploits and they would try to tell of their bravest deeds, those that had been most dangerous and which had required the greatest heroism. When the mourners listen to the narrative of such an exploit they become strengthened. All those people on whom the warrior had counted first coup and all those whom he had killed would carry the light for the spirit of the deceased. Those on whom he had counted second coup were commanded to clear the road, and a woman whom the warrior had captured was ordered to carry along the food. The ceremonies of the fourth night are the same as those of the first three nights.

### Death and Funeral Customs of the Bear Clan[9]

764 Informant, member of the clan. Mr. J. M. died in June, 1911. In
184 accordance with the old Winnebago customs, the first individual to
614 be notified of the death was Mr. J. F., a member of the Wolf clan.
[763] To Mr. F. fell the lot of taking charge of all the funeral rites—dressing the deceased, laying his body in the casket, burying him, and, finally, conducting the elaborate funeral wake.

[9] This is practically a reprint of "Description of a Winnebago Funeral," by Lemuel and Radin, Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. 13, no. 3, 1911.

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One of Mr. F.'s most important duties was to invite the warriors to extend invitations to all those who wish to participate in the feast. After the body has been buried the overseer goes to the home of the deceased and takes away all those things with which the deceased had been in daily contact. 764 184 614

In addition to F., another man was sent for, Mr. A. W., also a member of the Bear clan. He went through the Bear clan ceremony, which was as follows: When the deceased was fully dressed, just before he was to be laid in the casket, A. W. walked up to him and, taking some paint from a little bundle he carried, he painted a red mark across his forehead, then a black one immediately below this one, and finally daubed the whole chin red. When he was through with this preliminary work he addressed those present as follows:

You relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. This ceremony is not anything that we have originated ourselves, but it was known to be the proper thing to do by our ancestors. It is for that reason that I have made the markings upon the face of my son in order that he may be recognized by his relatives in spirit land; and I have also given him the material with which he may talk, i. e., tobacco, that with it he may entreat the spirits to bestow all those years that he fell short of upon his relatives still living. [539]

Now, it is said that the members of the Bear clan hold death as a blessing and not as anything to mourn about. I do not mean that I do not feel sorry for the children of the deceased and that I rejoice in his death, but it is the belief of the members of the Bear clan that the same happiness comes to them at death that comes to us during life when a bear is killed and brought to the village for food.

For now, indeed, my son will walk in a road that has been cleared of all obstacles and his claws will be sharp, and his teeth will be sharp, and nothing, indeed, will cross his path. And in this, his walk to the spirit land, may he tread down upon us the life that he has fallen short of on this earth. And he will walk just as the original Bear clansmen walked when they originated and when they approached the earth. And now I will sing him the songs that they sang as they came on earth, so that he may take them along with him on his journey to the spirit land. It is said that there is no other place besides this prepared for us in the hereafter.

Then he sang the four clan songs.

When the songs had been sung, it was just about noon and, as dinner was ready, we all sat down and A. W. filled a pipe and when he was ready to smoke it began to speak again to the following effect:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. It is good that this many of you have come here, and it is said that the soul of the deceased remains hovering around about this place four days and that we should partake of food with him for that period. It is for that reason that we act in this way. And it is good that this many of you have come here and have helped us out with food and dress. [539]

He then mentioned the things that had been given by different individuals. Then he lit a pipe and took a few puffs and sent it around to all the others in the lodge. Then a pitcher of water was passed around from which we all took a sip.

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764 184 614 539 During the morning Mrs. R. came in and combed the hair of the deceased's wife and gave her some presents, telling her at the same time that she hoped that she would dry her tears as a sign of appreciation of the gifts. Another person came in in the morning bringing a pair of leggings and a blanket for the deceased. He also brought the casket. While the body of the deceased was being prepared this same person spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. If my nephews will come here and sit near me, I will talk to them.

Then the sons of the deceased came and sat near their mother and sisters and the man continued:

My sister, it is said that it is best for a person not to weep, and that a widow should not mourn too much, for then the people would make fun of her, as well as for the fact that having children she must for their sake look forward to life and live for them. And it is also said that we should keep up this mourning for at least four years. Now there is nothing amusing about what I am going to say (although it may sound so—namely, that we should not cry on such an occasion as to-day, but, on the contrary, keep up a good spirit. I do not mean that I am glad that my brother-in-law is dead. But if you were to weep some one might come in and say that it behooves you more to show him your teeth than your tears. They mean that you should smile.

And again it is said that one should not cry, for when a body is laid in the ground there is no more hope of its ever returning to this earth again. My nephew, the one that had been advising you in your daily affairs, is gone and you are left alone to look after yourself, your little brothers, and your mother; and therefore I want you all to love one another and remember your mother.

While we were eating C. P. came in and spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. It is good that you all have come here and are comforting this house of mourning. It is good that J. H. has brought a casket and clothing for the deceased and food for the wake. And indeed he has also promised a hog for the feast. I know that he did not do this in order to have some one speak of it in public, but how can I refrain from expressing my thanks? My brother also came with the intention of furnishing some of these things, but inasmuch as [431] J. H. has furnished them beforehand he placed ten dollars in the hands of the wife of the deceased. He did not, however, tell her for what purpose he gave her the money and I therefore take the liberty of telling her that the gift is meant for anything that she may desire to buy. Now, my relatives, this is no time for happiness, but I am glad, nevertheless, that so many have come and I am thankful for what you have done. I greet you all.

Then the casket was put in the spring wagon and taken to the Winnebago Cemetery. When we got there the casket was lowered into the grave. When this was over, A. W. spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. This many of you have followed my son to his last resting place. Further than this place he will not walk in this life. Truly this many of you have felt sorry for him. All the rites that were taught me in this connection I have already performed. I have given the deceased the emblem (i. e., the whittled stick known as *nemoazinizini*) and the material to talk with (the tobacco), so that he may plead for us, his relatives, when he gets to the end of the [775] journey, that we may live the life he fell short of upon this earth, and that he may

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tread firmly upon us as he walks to the spirit land. All that I know I have said before. I was taught nothing that I was to do or say at this place except that we should step over the grave just as our forefathers did when they originated. They were holy and they entered this life on a perfect day just as this day to-day, and, inasmuch as they were holy, all the ground that they touched was holy. It is for that reason that we should step over the grave.

Then we stepped over the grave. After that we went to our homes.

The same evening the wake began. When all the invited guests had arrived and were seated, the feast was spread before them. Then A. W. spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. It is good that this many of you have come to-night. You know that we are not creating any new ceremony, but are simply following up what our forefathers have learned to be true and good. And, as it is said that we should not weep aloud, therefore you will not hear any of us making any utterings of sorrow. And even though we weep silently should anyone come to us we will look upon them smiling. We therefore beg of you, should you find us happy in mood, not to think the worse of us. And now I am ready to turn over the tobacco and water to J. F. Thus I express my thanks to you all that are present.

Then J. F. took the tobacco and water and spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. It is good that so many of you have come to our humble affair and, as our ancestors said that this was the proper way to do, so I am glad that it was given to me to handle the corpse, as I am certain that I will be strengthened by it. I will now pass the tobacco to Mr. X. He is a brave man and he will light the pipe and pass the water before we eat and after supper he will tell the deceased a route to the spirit land. Now I thank you and I greet you.

Then the brave man took the tobacco and filled the pipe and after taking a few puffs from it, passed it to the left and it thus went round, each person taking a puff from the pipe and a sip from the pitcher of water. Then the feast began. When it was over and all the dishes were cleared away, and everyone was properly seated, then the brave man greeted them again:

Relatives, I greet you. As we are not creating anything new, and as our ancestors knew it to be good, and as it is said that if anyone exaggerates a story in a case like this it will cause the soul to stumble, therefore I will tell my war exploits to my relative (the deceased) exactly as I remember them. I greet you all.

He then proceeded to tell his war exploits. When he had finished he again spoke as follows:

Relatives that are present, I greet you. As I said before, I do not wish to cause the soul of my recently deceased relative to stumble and I have tried to tell my story as accurately as I could. It is said that the souls of the ones killed in a battle are at the mercy of the victor, and I therefore command the souls of the ones I have killed to lead and guide my relative safely through the spirit land. I greet you all. [775]

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He then passed the tobacco to another brave man present who in his turn greeted those present and related his war exploits. After two warriors had told their war exploits they stopped for the night,

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765 to continue on the second night. The second and third nights were
● 184 the same as the first. About the evening of the fourth night, when
614 all the people invited were present, A. W. spoke in the same strain as on the first night, and when he had finished he passed the management of the feast to J. F. The latter then passed it to F. F. now lit the pipe and passed it around, together with the water. Then all partook of the feast. After supper A. W. reported all the donations that were made to them, naming each giver and the amount of the gift and thanking them and praising them for their generous gifts. Then F. told the following story:

THE JOURNEY OF THE SOUL TO SPIRIT LAND*

539 Ho! Ha! Are you all ready? I am going to speak about the four nights during
775 which you listened to your relatives and to the words they had to say. I am placing
765 the sacrificial tobacco in the rear part of the lodge for you. As you go home do not look back. Before you are far away you will come to a lodge. You may enter this lodge. A door faces the rising sun and a door faces the setting sun. As you enter you will find a woman on your right. Go and sit down opposite her. Then your great-grandmother will say to you, "My great-grandchild, what did they say to you when you were leaving, when your life was over?" "My great-grandmother, as I listened to my beloved relatives they said very little indeed. They said that I was breaking their hearts (in leaving them), and that they hoped that none would follow me soon. Then they asked me to make four requests:

"First. I was to ask for life, that the flames from the lodge fires might go straight upward. Yet they were satisfied if at my departure the flames swayed to and fro.

"Second. Whatever fruit had been predestined for me and that I did not taste, my relatives should hereafter not be deprived of.

"Third. They also mentioned nuts, all manner of herbs, all serviceable hides and skins, all medicinal roots and grasses. They commanded me to make a request for all things that exist in the earth.

"Fourth. That if anyone has a friend his weapon might have a keen edge on one side. Now, my great-grandmother, this is the number of requests they commanded me to make."

"My great-grandchild, although you are young, you are wise. My great-grandchild, my lodge is a place where all who enter must pass an examination. Earthmaker looks upon it as a keen-edged instrument. No clouds of ill omen ever pass over it. Now, my grandchild, as to those four requests you put to me, it shall be as you say. The nuts and herbs you have requested shall be given you. There will be nothing of that food predestined for you that your relatives will not taste. The hides and skins, the grasses they will possess in plenty. And if they have friends their weapons will be keen on one side. All that they have requested through you shall be given them. Here is the food set before you in this wooden bowl."

Then you are to answer to her, "My grandmother, this was what my relatives longed for. These are the things I was to leave behind me for those on earth."

Now, be sure that you only take a taste and push the dish away from you. For then the old woman will say, "My great-grandchild, all that you have left behind you in that dish represents the vegetable kingdom on this earth. Many who are older than you have eaten all that I gave them, my great-grandchild. You have a wise head on young shoulders. All that you have left in the dish shall grow on the face of the earth. Earthmaker is waiting for you in great expectation. There is the door to

*Obtained from Henry Cloud.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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the setting sun. On your way stands the lodge of Hereegu'nina, and his fire. Those 539
who have come (the souls of brave men) from the land of the souls to take you back 775
will touch you. There the road will branch off toward your right and you will see the 765
footprints of the day on the blue sky before you. These footprints represent the footprints of those who have passed into life again. Step into the places where they have stepped and plant your feet into their footprints, but be careful you do not miss any. Before you have gone very far, you will come into a forest of wa'ke'ja' broken by open prairies here and there. Here, in this beautiful country, those souls whose duty it is to gather other souls will come to meet you. Walking on each side of you they will take you safely home. As you enter the lodge of the Earthmaker you must hand to him the sacrificial offerings. Here the inquiry that took place in the first lodge will be repeated and answered in the same manner. Then he will say to you, "All that your grandmother has told you is true. Your relatives are waiting for you in great expectation. Your home is waiting for you. Its door will be facing the mid-day sun. Here you will find your relatives gathered. Inasmuch, then, as our ruler will not assent and express his approval by word of mouth, so shall we now do the same."

At this word all those assembled at the wake shout, *Ho-ha!*

Then a warrior told his war experiences and after thanking the 765
people passed the tobacco to the next warrior, who in turn related 184
his war experiences. 614

The amount of gifts was then figured out and they tried to arrange matters so that the warriors were through with their stories about midnight. At midnight games were played with the donations as [431]
prizes. The gifts generally consisted of twelve 3-yard pieces of calico or money equal to that amount of calico; twelve strings of beads, etc. These were the gifts used as prizes. Other donations of food were made for the four nights' feast. A. W was in charge of the games and he likewise designated what games were to be [524]
played. As they generally play the games the deceased was fond of so in this case they played the moccasin game and cards. After the donations were exhausted and the games finished a brave man was called upon to give a war whoop in thankfulness for the sun, and also to all the spirits above and below. Then A. W. greeted and thanked the guests again for coming, and the wake was over.

In olden times the widow was supposed to continue single for 768
four years. She is strongly admonished, nevertheless, not to continue in low spirits, and to consider herself free to act in any way that will make her happy. She is told to play games or dance, or in fact do anything that will make her forget her sorrow, and she is told that no one will hold her conduct against her as disrespectful to the deceased. As this admonition is given to her by the sister or aunt of the deceased's husband, the only people who could properly reproach her—namely, the members of her husband's clan—it has all the more weight. The prohibition of weeping is further strengthened by the fact that it is customary to say that any woman who weeps too profusely at the death of her husband is in reality thinking, in

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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768 the midst of her tears, of the one she is going to marry next. The people will then tell one another not to put themselves out too much as the widow will soon forget her mourning and show no respect to the memory of the dead, but instead look after her own pleasures.

### Funeral Customs of the Buffalo Clan

764 Told by a member of the clan.[10] If a Buffalo clan man dies some
184 members of his clan who are called upon would speak as follows:

614 To-day when you ceased to breathe we were aware of it. Therefore relatives who
539 are present, I greet you. Here my brother's life has ended, and for the last time I will talk to him about the road he is to take.

Ha'ho, my brother, the place at which we originated was called Bad Lake. There were four buffaloes there and from the youngest one are we descended. They lived holy lives, and we hope you will walk in their path. That you may strike everything (you meet on your journey) you must take along with you a war club. You shall walk armed with sharp teeth; and it will be impossible for bad spirits to walk back and forth across your path. And your sight shall be holy as you walk.

Then the speaker painted the face of the deceased. On the right side of his forehead he painted a rainbow with blue and red paint. After that he sang the clan songs. When he was through singing, a member of the Water-spirit clan spoke as follows:

Relatives, I greet you. When one of you passes away and you ask me to work, I am always willing to be of service. And I shall do it all the more willingly now because I am certain that I shall obtain some of the years that the deceased left "unlived." I do it with that belief, and furthermore I pray that no bad animals abuse the deceased on his journey. It is said that one cheers the soul of the dead in thinking thus. Therefore I do it and also that I myself may be strengthened thereby. I came back willingly when I was asked to work and I am doing this so that no bad animals should abuse the soul of the deceased.

Then one of the callers would talk to the mourners, saying as follows:

Relatives, I greet you. To-day one of your relatives has disappeared. You must, however, keep up your courage and not cry, for Earthmaker above has ordained that we should disappear. If a piece of earth caves in, it disappears, and when a rock crumbles it is disappearing. Thus, it is said, it must be.

### Origin Myth of the Four Nights' Wake

539 Two friends went out to cut arrow-sticks, and were surprised by a
765 war party and killed. When they were shot they thought they had stumbled and went right on (in the spirit). After the enemy had killed the first one they chased the second one and killed him, and so their bodies lay apart. Then the war party left and the two spirits started to follow them. Soon they came to where their bodies were lying. Then they said, "Let us follow the enemy a little." Soon they caught up to the war party and one of the spirits pushed one of the

[10] This account is quite fragmentary and was obtained in connection with the clan myth. It is given here on account of the speeches.

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An old Winne-
bago told the author that long ago a young man wanted to marry a girl belonging to his phratry and refused to listen to the entreaties of his father and mother. Finally the father, in desperation, went over to the lodge of a man belonging to one of the clans into which the young man could marry and asked for one of the sacred possessions. It was, of course, refused, and when the man was asked what other requests he wished to make, he asked that the host's daughter be allowed to marry his son. This was, of course, granted, and thus the boy was compelled to marry into the proper phratry. 614 615 582 778

One Winnebago interpreted the custom in an entirely different way. Exactly how much importance is to be attached to this explanation it is hard to say. According to this informant, the insult lay not in going to the fireplace or taking a firebrand, but in asking for it. The insult apparently consists in not taking it for granted that anyone entering the lodge was permitted to do what he wished. In other words, his asking was a breach of etiquette. 614 372 689 [576]

The typical method of burial in the Thunderbird clan was scaffold burial. It has long since been discontinued.

The burial customs seem to have been the same for all the clans. It may, however, be that in former times there were slight differences. For instance, in the first version of the Thunderbird clan origin myth the statement is made that the branch of a tree was placed at the grave and a small stick, painted red, attached to it. The author has no recollection of ever hearing the same statement made in connection with any other of the clans. 614 764 [184]

There are four songs associated with the Thunderbird clan. These are supposed to have been sung by the clan ancestors when they came to this earth, and are now always sung when a member of the clan dies, and on a few other occasions. 614 [533]

According to one informant, members of the Elk, Warrior, Deer, and Buffalo clans acted as servants to the Thunderbird clan on various occasions. The same informant also claimed that the Warrior clansmen took specific orders from the Thunderbird clansmen when on the warpath. [554]

According to another informant, Thunderbird marks at death are a half circle on the forehead, made with charcoal. The proper marking is, however, that shown in plate 46. [765]

Two dog names used in the Thunderbird clan are obtained—*pi'nakirutega; ka-iwakitea'ga.*

The only feast specifically connected with the Thunderbird clan was the so-called chief feast, of which a description will be found on page 318. One of the divisions of the war-bundle feast is often considered as sacred to the thunderbird, but this is always the deity thunderbird, not the ancestor of the clan. [796] [776]

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



114 junction with the Mississippi. Dr. Evan D. Pierce, of Trempealeau,
126 who was in charge of the park, was much interested in the native flora as well as in archeology, and we made a collection of ninety species then in bloom. Mr. Towne L. Miller, of Fairwater, Wisconsin, Honorary Curator of Archeology of the Museum collected the plants of the region throughout the season, for the Department of Botany.

The Winnebago Indians are found today scattered over the central
131 part of Wisconsin, principally in Marquette, Waushara, Portage, Sauk,
361 Juneau, Adams, Marathon, Wood, Clark, Jackson, and Monroe counties. Wood County with permanent settlements in Arpin, Vesper, Pittsville, Walker, Elm Lake, Dexterville, and Babcock, contains the largest number, about 750. Along the Hemlock River, not far from Pittsville, are found other large settlements of farming Winnebago. In other counties good-sized settlements are located at Neillsville, Wittenberg, Wyeville, Black River Falls, Hatfield, and Tomah. Their Indian agency and school are located at the last mentioned city.

114 Our chief location during the summer was at A. White's farm, on the Walker Road, six and a half miles south of Wisconsin Rapids.
123 When we arrived, Mr. White was at Kilbourn where many of the Winnebago camp during the tourist season, making baskets and bead work, and taking part in dances and entertainments. Jim Henniger and his wife, our pageant friends, were there, caring for her father, Dave Dekorah, a prominent man in the medicine lodge, who was sick. He afterwards died and was buried in their community graveyard, with Indian ceremony. The Whites made us welcome and we pitched our tent in a grove of white pines not far from their spring. There were
115 several other Winnebago Indians near at hand, including Henry Dick,
795 from Briggsville. Henry is important in the medicine society and im-
184 mediately made friends with us and started to teach us the Winne-
276 bago language. He was especially bitter against the peyote cult, which many Winnebago have embraced, declaring that peyote was worse than whiskey, because a man drunk on whiskey, would be sober the next morning and able to go to work, whereas with peyote, he became "crazy", and would not work for four or five days while under its influence. He further said that the peyote cult worshippers never possess anything, but live on their industrious neighbors who belong to the medicine lodge. These medicine lodge Indians raise potatoes, corn, beans, carrots, hay, grain, hogs and chickens, according to Henry, and would not let their own people starve, but did not like the shiftlessness of the peyote worshippers. He wished he could see the President of the United States to tell him not to let any Indian have peyote. He thinks bad days are coming to the peyote-eating Indians. A few years
276 ago, this cactus drug, most of which comes from Texas, sold for $4.00
435 a thousand buttons, but the current prices in 1928 were $25 per thou-
795 sand of number one size; $30.00 per thousand for number two size; and

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
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It was during the 1944 cherry season, a period extending from the early part of July to the middle of August, that the bulk of material was collected for this paper. 114

### Attitudes Within the Changing Society

Opinions vary of course with Indians, according to the amount of education they have had, their native intelligence, or their personal interests. Furthermore, the contrast in attitudes between the older and the younger generations is a most significant feature. 178 182 561

It would be impossible to put age limits on the terms "older" and "younger," but an age between 45 and 50 seems to be the dividing line. One might also have to add a third classification: those individuals who grew up in the situation of the younger group, but upon reaching greater maturity tend toward the opinions of the older people.

The young people, through contact with the older generation, or by taking part in tourist-trade ceremonials, are apt to know the old dances and songs, but seem to feel that these things are pointless or merely a means of making a living. They have been living in an unstable, changing society since birth and follow along in the uncertain Indian-white pattern of culture with no particular ambitions or interests in what it may eventually produce in their own futures.

The young people from Nebraska contrasted strongly with those of Wisconsin in this respect, being generally more progressive and better educated; but it would be unreasonable to infer that this is a typical difference between the Wisconsin and Nebraska Winnebago since the representation of the Nebraska Indians in our group was so small. [184]

Many of the older people, on the other hand, can remember when the Winnebago retained enough of their original culture to have a fairly complete and working social organization. They blame all the misfortunes of the tribe on the young people, who according to the old people, do just as they please in matters of morals, ethics and religion, and they furthermore have no respect for the opinions of the older mem-

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12

# Winnebago Berdache

*By* NANCY OESTREICH LURIE

114 838 [177] [171] THE following account draws attention to the fact that the berdache role was still evident in Winnebago culture until close to the turn of the century, and adds somewhat to the data of certain clear cultural parallels between this Woodland Siouan group and such Plains Siouan tribes as the Omaha, Oto, Iowa and Ponca. The description is not complete and certain points are equivocal. Thus, all of the available ethnographic documentation will be presented so that anyone intending to use the information will be able to assess its value. The description given here agrees, Dr. Raul Radin said in a conversation, with his unpublished Winnebago data.

124 838 During the course of general field investigations conducted from time to time during the years 1945 to 1947, it was apparent that Winnebago informants in Wisconsin tended to be reticent to discuss the matter of the berdache. Their embarrassment may indicate that knowledge of the subject was withheld. However, even where excellent rapport existed and individuals became sufficiently interested in the topic to question people who might not speak directly to an ethnographer, some details remain uncertain. Furthermore, [177] while the last berdache died somewhat over fifty years ago, the picture is confused by the former tendency of Winnebago culture to invest given forms of traits with opposite meanings and functions when used under different circumstances. At the present time, the recollections of many informants reveal that they know only half of the total function of given forms, or that they attempt to synthesize features which now appear as contradictory.

[184] While it was noted in 1950 that the Nebraska Winnebago were quite willing to speak of matters that in Wisconsin are still considered sacred or as things to be kept secret from whites, the Nebraska Winnebago simply knew less about older traditions.

838 It was agreed generally that the berdache was a man who had taken on this role because he had been directed to do so by the moon, a female spirit, [787] at the time of his vision quest. The berdache dressed as a woman, performed [82] women's tasks better than any normal woman could perform them, and had the ability to foretell future events. However, not all Winnebago prophets [791] were berdaches. One informant mentioned that berdaches sometimes married other men, but no data were obtained concerning the attitude of the society [588] toward the husband of a berdache. Most informants felt that the berdache [554] was at one time a highly honored and respected person, but that the Winnebago had become ashamed of the custom because the white people thought it 177 was amusing or evil. By the time the last known berdache attempted to ful- 838 fill the role, his brothers threatened to kill him if he "put on the skirt." This [626] berdache then affected a combination of male and female clothing, fearing that he would die if he did not at least attempt to follow the directions given him in his vision of the moon.

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
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mode. The older women still prefer to wear this type of dress, and very often the ensemble includes moccasins rather than shoes on their feet and a blanket draped about their shoulders. Most of the young women, however, dress very much as white women of their own age. 178

3. Another type of cultural change is found in the Indians modifying some aspect of white culture with elements of their original culture to suit their own needs and tastes. This is best illustrated by the trend that religion has followed among a large proportion of the tribe. Some of the Winnebago who have been enticed away from their old religion, and yet were not satisfied with orthodox forms of Christianity, have adopted the Peyote or Mescal Religion which they prefer to call The Native American Church. This did not originate among the Winnebago, but came in from the southwestern tribes about 50 years ago, and has even undergone changes among the Winnebago group. The Peyote religion is basically Christian, stressing the literal acceptance of the Bible and the strict following of Christ's teachings. It, however, embodies the use of a fairly harmless drug, peyote, which when taken in large enough quantities produces visions, so familiar in Indian religions. The use of a small drum, eagle feathers, and ornate rattles, as well as the burning of cedar leaves are included in the night-long ceremonies. This religion might be considered a transitional form between the so-called pagan religion and Christianity, but though it embodies characteristics of both religions, it appears to have reached a definite stabilized form and will probably undergo few changes in the future. 178 195 [276]

4. We also have change completely within the society from old Indian to new Indian traits. The old Indians tell of an original Winnebago language, very ancient and now almost completely forgotten, which has been replaced by a newer, but still very Indian type of language. In recent years the language has undergone other changes, but this is due to white contact. It is strange that the Winnebago of Wisconsin who have been forced to live in scattered groups and in close contact with whites, have maintained their language to a much greater extent than some of the Wisconsin Chippewa or Me- 178 191 [171]

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
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178 nomini who live on reservations and, it seems logical to as-
191 sume, would be likely to consider themselves more of a cul-
171 tural entity, and so be better equipped to preserve their language. None the less, this does not seem to be the case according to Chippewa and Menomini informants who claim that many of their younger people do not speak the tribal language, whereas a majority of even the smallest children among the Wisconsin Winnebago are bi-lingual.

178 In considering our four types of social change, we might
535 almost add a fifth type, which arises from a reaction against white contact and is a tendency to return to old patterns, as in the case of the revival of the scalp and victory dances which practically died out after the last World War. These dances have come into prominence in the last year or so with the Indian boys again going on the "war-path."

### Cultural Change and Cultural Stability

178 Although we are considering cultural change among the Wisconsin Winnebago, the picture at this point seems rather
182 one-sided without some mention of resistance to cultural change. Despite the constant and long-continued process of change, there is still retained a surprising amount of old Indian culture. Christian missionaries and the Peyote Religion have not managed to do away with the Thunderbirds, Water Spirits, and the rest of the pagan hierarchy. The Medicine Lodge continues as an important factor in the life of many Wisconsin Winnebago. Unfortunately, the writer's data are limited regarding the present number and ages of the adherents to the pagan religion, or as they prefer to be called, **the conservative group.**

182 It is interesting to note that practically all of the Winne-
551 bago, whether from Wisconsin or Nebraska, whether Christian, conservative, or pagan, still refer to their children by ancient religiously determined names. They are used in preference to the Christian names which all Indians now possess. These Indian names for boys and girls are merely an indication of the order of age and sex of the children in any given family, and are not to be confused with clan names which are

## *I Take a Trip to Nebraska*

dollars. It was a good horse. Then the lawyer said, 159 * "You have committed many crimes, and you had better go to the place from which you came. If you stay here any longer, we will lock you up." [648]

I left that same day. Two old men were going to Wisconsin, and I went with them. They did not know how to speak English, so they took me as their interpreter. I left one of my horses in the pasture there. These men were very fond of whisky, and I bought whisky for them all along the route. After a time we arrived in Wisconsin, just at the cranberry-picking season. I was drunk when we reached our destination. As we approached my home I told the old men that they should come and visit me. As I said it, I gave a whoop. [191] ● [273] [222]

[P. 155]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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they forced their way through the country occupied by the Winnebago, war would not have occurred. 174 [648]

The Winnebago call themselves *Hotcangara*, which has been variously interpreted as "people of the parent speech" by James Owen Dorsey and as "big fish people" by other observers. Dorsey's explanation, which is the one most generally accepted, is most certainly wrong, and represents an interpretation read into the word to make it fit the legends which claimed that the dialect was the most archaic of all the Siouan languages. It is true that *ho* may mean "speech," but *tcunk* can only mean one thing, and that is "big, real." It is found with a number of animal names, such as *ketcunk*, "turtle," and *conktcunk*, "wolf." It corresponds strictly to the Dakotan *tank*, "large." *Ho* means "fish" in Winnebago. The name Winnebago, as is well known, is of Algonquian origin. 101 [114] [192]

The Winnebago were first encountered by white men in 1634, when Jean Nicolet visited them as agent for Governor Champlain. Where he encountered them is not definitely known. The Winnebago as a rule claim that it was at Green Bay. Some discussion has arisen of late years on this question. No contemporary narrative of the event exists, nor have the Winnebago any clearly marked legend that might be interpreted as referring to it. 175

An excellent description of their history has been given by P. V. Lawson [1] and from this we will quote at some length, selecting those periods that are of greatest importance in the history of the tribe and which can be illustrated by semihistorical legends still known to the Winnebago.

Much of our knowledge of the early history of the Winnebago is derived from Baqueville de la Potherie's Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale. A good deal of his information was obtained from Nicholas Perrot. For the period covering the years 1640–1660 we have the following information: [2]

> A few years ago, they numbered possibly 150 warriors. These savages have no mutual fellow-feeling; they have caused their own ruin, and have been obliged to divide their own forces. They are naturally very impatient of control, and very passionate; a little matter excites them; and they are great braggarts. They are, however, well-built, and are brave soldiers, who do not know what danger is; and they are subtle and crafty in war. Although they are convinced that their ancestors drew upon themselves the enmity of all the surrounding Nations, they cannot be humble. Their women are extremely laborious; they are neat in their houses, but very disgusting about their food. [162] [181] [152] [461] [264]

[1] The Winnebago tribe, in Wisconsin Archæologist, vol. 6, no. 3, Milwaukee, 1907.
[2] Quoted in Lawson's paper, p. 93.

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*Names of the principal trees, etc.* 192 137

raxgeok'a'wa, resin-weed.
xa"ije, moss.
wax cute, cedar (red cedar).
teatca"na, ironwood.
witci, flat cornered reed used for lodges.
ea, round reed used for mats.
hi"ge', basswood.
wazi, pine in general.
wazi paras, white cedar.
wargi', poplar.
tca" tca'wa, birch.
teagu, walnut.
pa" dja'gu, hickory.
teazu'ke, butternut.
na" ea'ŋk', maple.
ruyi, willow.
rak, ash.
teaege'gu, oak.
maŋk'a'rak, elm.
huksigu, hazel.
na" p'a'gu, cherry.
na" ho'ge', box-elder.
heyu', cottonwood.

*Names of the principal vegetables and fruits*

teera'bera, a water root.
wokna"gera, root called "awl" root.
hu"i'"kboi'dja, pea vine.
dora, a sort of artichoke.
pa"kxi, root found in lowlands.
na"p'ak, chokecherries.
k'a"te, plum.
kcē crabapple.
teesa'"wa", fruit of a tree similar to crabapple tree.
haza'eutege, raspberry.
haeda'maŋkere, blackberry.
haedinaŋk', blueberries.
haedjek', strawberry.
hap'u'nup'unuxge, gooseberry.
hotcoŋka', cranberry.
k'a"te hi"cek, peaches (fuzzy plums).
kcē carotc, apple (long and round apple).
wak'a"retcawa, wild currant (snake's navel).
doke'wehi, prairie turnip.
hu"n'ŋk, bean.
hu"naŋk' na"di, climbing bean.
hu"n'ŋk' mink, nonclimbing bean.
ma"hi"te, milkweed.

*Animals and parts of animals whose flesh is not eaten* 192 136 262

waŋkeoŋk, dogfish.
djadja'ŋka'k, mink.
doco'na"k, otter.
ho wak'a", eel (holy fish).
k'ayi, crow (really northern raven).
teaxe'p, eagle.
weasel.
marten.
no entrails (u'djwoju).
gopher.
horse.

*Agriculture.*—In the old days the Winnebago always raised in their permanent villages at least corn, squash, and beans. As the villages consisted practically of a group of families belonging to different clans, each clan apparently living by itself, the question of clan ownership of these fields was hardly considered. (This statement is made because some Winnebago spoke of clan ownership.) What actually occurred was, in the opinion of the author, as follows: Each group of families being segregated according to clan, it happened that certain family groups had fields in common. This must have happened rather frequently, for there seems to have been a tendency—although this can not be said with certainty owing to the meagerness of reliable information—for related families to hold together in these settlements. In general, however, each family owned and cultivated its own field. 241 614 423 [621]

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## Divisions of Time

192 805 184 The Winnebago reckoned time from the beginning of each new month (*wira*). There are slight differences in the names of the months between the Nebraska and the Wisconsin branch of the tribe, as appear below:

*Nebraska*

1. Hundjwi'ra, month when the bears are born.
2. Hûndjwiro-a'gɛnina, last bear month.
3. Wâk'ek' iru'x', raccoon-breeding month.
4. Hoi'doginâ'na, fish become visible (because of the ice clearing away).
5. Mai" da'wus, month that dries the earth.
6. Mank'era, dig-the-earth month (when the crops are sowed).
7. Wixo'teera, the month that makes them gray (the month when the tassels of corn appear and the fields look gray).
8. Wida'djox, when the roasted ears of corn burst.
9. Wiza'zek'e, name of a bird that appears this month.
10. Pea'mai"na'xora, when the deer paws the earth; or Hu"-wai"jukɛra, when the elks shout, or whistle.
11. Teaik'i'ruxe, deer-breeding month.
12. Tea'hewakeu', when the deer shed their horns.

*Wisconsin*—

1. Hu'ndjwi teonina, first bear month.
2. Hu'ndjwiro-a'gɛnina, last bear month.
3. Wâk'e'k'iruxewi'ra, raccoon-breeding month.
4. Hoi'doginâna, fish becoming visible.
5. Mai"da'wus, drying-of-the-earth month.
6. Mank'e'ra, digging month.
7. Mai"ɲa! 'u"ɲa, cultivating month.
8. Wixo'teerera, tasseling month.
9. Hu" waiju'kɛra, elk-whistling month.
10. Teo'mai"na'xora, when the deer paw the earth.
11. Teaik'iru'xira, deer-breeding month.
12. Teahe'yakeu'na, when the deer shed their horns.

805 221 According to a member of the Bear clan, the following were the activities throughout the year. The accounts given of these activities differed in certain details, depending upon the clan connection of the informant, because he naturally associated some months with specific activities of his clan, such as clan feasts.

1. Members of the Bear clan give their feast.
2. Month in which the various Winter Feasts are given.
3. Month in which people hunt.
4. Month in which people begin to fish.

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T71 the Iroquois and Fox.[3] In the article mentioned above we have
[114] given our reasons for believing that these ethnologists were mistaken in their interpretation.

T76 In the Winnebago language the four words most commonly used in speaking of the spirits are *wak'a*ᵃ, *wak'a'ndja*, *zop*, and *wazop'i'ni*.
●192 *Wak'a*ᵃ seems exactly equivalent to our word "sacred," while *wak'a'ndja*, which is identical with the Omaha word *wakonda*, means thunderbird. In all likelihood it originally meant "he who is sacred" or something like that. It has nothing to do with the word "thunder," which is *k'oire* in Winnebago. The word *wak'a*ᵃ also means snake, for the snake is a holy animal among the Winnebago, the messenger of the spirits. The word *zop*, identical with the Omaha *zube*, is more difficult to define. It means sacred and awe-inspiring and seems to be associated, in the eyes of the Winnebago, with the intensely emotional aspects of religion, where self is completely forgotten. Those ceremonies, in which the performers work
[786] themselves into a frenzy of excitement and dance naked, are always referred to as *zop*. The word *wazop'i'ni* is clearly a noun compounded of the indefinite prefix *wa-* and the suffix *-ni*, which possibly is an old agentive nominalizer, or, more probably, an old stem meaning "man." It occurs also in the word *manka'ni*, medicine-man. In other words it means "he who" or "that which is holy." *Wazop'i'ni* is the only Winnebago word for spirit. Both the words *wak'andja* and *wazop'i'ni* are very definite terms referring to individualized spirits.

T76 As to the use of the adjectives *wak'a*ᵃ and *zop*, there seems to be
T71 little mystery about them. They are used much as our words "holy" and "sacred." Anything in any way connected with the
192 spirits is either *wak'a*ᵃ or *zop*. If a Winnebago were to come across some unusually shaped object he might offer tobacco to it, and upon being questioned he would undoubtedly say that the object is *wak'a*ᵃ. What is it that he means by *wak'a*ᵃ? From my experience in the field he simply means that it is "sacred," and if pressed for a more definite answer he would probably say that it has the power of

[3] According to Mr. Hewitt, orenda is a "magic power which was assumed . . . to be inherent in every body . . . and in every personified attribute, property, or activity . . . This hypothetic principle was conceived to be immaterial, occult, impersonal, mysterious in mode of action . . . The possession of orenda . . . is the distinctive characteristic of all the gods, and these gods in earlier time were all the Indian and beings of nature in any manner affecting the weal or woe of man." (Article "Orenda" in the Handbook of American Indians, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, pt. 2.) According to W. Jones, the mana "is an unsystematic belief in a cosmic, impersonal property, which is believed to be existing everywhere in nature . . . The conception of this something wavers between that of a commonsensible property, that of a mobile, invisible substance, and that of a latent transferable energy; . . . this substance, property, or energy is conceived as being widely diffused amongst natural objects and human beings . . . the presence of it is promptly assigned as the explanation of any unusual power or efficacy which any object or person is found to possess; . . . It is a distinct and rather abstract conception of a diffused, all-pervasive, invisible, manipulable, and transferable life-energy, or universal force . . . (Finally) all success, strength, or prosperity is conceived to depend upon the possession of (this force)."—"The Algonkin Manitou" (Journal of American Folklore, vol. 18, no. LXX, pp. 183–190, 1905).

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



bestowing blessings upon him in other words, of acting like a spirit, a *waxop'i'ni*. That is why he offers tobacco to it. We would be inclined to say that the individual finding such an object has created a new spirit. Such a new spirit may be forever confined to the particular family to which the individual belongs. It might die with him, or, on the other hand, it might acquire great importance and popularity and become a tribal spirit. What seems to have happened, in the vast majority of cases, however, among the Winnebago, is that owing to the marked development of the spirit-deities and cosmogonic myths, such "sacred" objects were interpreted as being either some manifestation of a spirit, some transformation which he had assumed, or as inhabited by a spirit. 776 771 192

The reason why, in our opinion, so many ethnologists have apparently misinterpreted the nature of *wak'a°* is due to the fact that when something that, from the European viewpoint, is immaterial and inanimate, like vapor, light, movement, etc., is called *wak'a°*, then it seems difficult for them to imagine that it can be so except by virtue of some intimate connection with a definite spirit, and if that can not be demonstrated, then the only solution left is to fall back upon the "magic power" idea. By doing this they clearly show that for them the test of individualization is corporeality of a fairly definite kind, dependent mainly upon visual sensations. This brings us to a fundamental problem, not only for Winnebago religion, but for North American religion in general. 771 114

### The Concept and Nature of the Spirits

Those Indians who have never spent any time thinking upon the nature of spirits can not truly be said to have any concept of their nature, whether vague or definite. They simply repeat what they have heard from the more religiously inclined. An answer prompted by a moment's consideration, as is often the case when an ethnologist interrogates them, does not necessarily reflect the current view of the subject, nor, for that matter, even the same Indian's belief after he has given the matter some thought. Many Winnebago, with whom the author was fairly well acquainted, refused to answer certain questions offhand and asked for time to reflect about them. It seems justified, when we are studying a subject like religion, to ask for information from those who have, in all probability, formulated the beliefs the shamans. It is from them that we must strive to learn whether the spirits are conceived of as anthropomorphic, theromorphic, dream-phantasms, or indefinite entities in general. 776 124

In trying to discover this the author found, not only that he was asking a leading question, but that he was asking an unnecessary question. It was soon quite clear that the Winnebago did not

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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776 is but a faint survival of former times. The older myths are full of references to the evil spirits, and the cosmological myths represent [773] the world as infested with evil spirits who are on the point of exterminating the human race until the culture heroes come to the rescue. It would almost seem as if, from a purely matter-of-fact point of view, these early culture heroes had destroyed all the evil spirits. Certainly they are not regarded as of great consequence, for if they were we ought to find a certain number of prayers addressed to them asking them not to harm anyone. They seem to be mere logics, personifications of fear, and that is perhaps why they are so intimately connected with darkness.

812 At the present time the vast majority of Winnebago ascribe evil, in so far as they explain it at all, to three causes: either to some [668 failure on their part to perform a rite in the prescribed way, to 782] the fact that they have not invoked the spirits for protection (i. e., attempted to pass through life without the aid of the spirits), or to the evil machinations of other men. Often one derives the impression that they accept evil and do not try to explain it. It seems to be a trait characteristic of the Winnebago, and perhaps characteristic of other North American tribes, that explanations are developed for the positive aspects of things. Certainly it would require some thought on the part of a Winnebago to explain why a war party that had, in the opinion of the chief, all the necessary requirements for victory, should nevertheless be defeated. He would doubtless find some reason, after a while, but it would be an afterthought and would probably vary from individual to individual. In some cases lack of success would be ascribed to the fact that an individual had been misled by an evil spirit, but this is clearly a secondary explanation because the individual, when questioned, would admit that he had no way of telling whether this was so until he had failed in something. We base this statement on an actual instance.

776 There is some evidence to show that there may have originally existed among the Winnebago a belief that the spirits were neither good nor bad; that they could be either at different times. In two notable instances, that of Disease-giver and Water-spirit, this is true at the present time. The former deity is the only one to whom prayers are addressed beseeching him not to present to man his death-dealing side.

In the myths we find a definite incarnation of evil in the case of [192] a spirit called *Herregu'nina*. The meaning of this word as given by a Winnebago, and which seems to be justified, is "he whose existence is doubtful." If this is an old Winnebago word it would confirm the view advanced above, that the Winnebago were not very much concerned about the evil spirits. There is, however, a possibility [177] that *Herregu'nina* is, in part, a post-Columbian development due

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12



Clans are likewise referred to by names indicative of respect. 614
Thus, the Water-spirit is referred to as *hunge*, male members of the Bear clan as *haga*, and female members of the same clan as *warowiṇa*. It was claimed that these names were employed to avoid using the others. *Degoni* (meaning unknown, perhaps "lake-people") was also applied to the Bear; and *tconanke* (meaning unknown) to the Wolf.

Referring to the two village diagrams, we notice that according to Figure 1, four clans have their lodges definitely located— [621]
the Thunderbird, Warrior, Buffalo, and Bear; but that according to Figure 2 only two clans have definite location of lodges—
the Thunderbird, and Bear. In addition there is, however, [554]
a special lodge for the men who have especially distinguished [729]
themselves in war, not necessarily to be identified with the members of the Warrior clan. The significance of the clan names has been discussed before.

The meaning of *tconanke* is unknown to-day, but it may be 614
of interest as an example of the manner in which the name of 192
a clan may possibly be reinterpreted that, when pressed for a meaning, *tconanke* was translated blue-back, which is a literal translation of *tco* and *nanke*, but which unquestionably represents a folk etymology, for, according to Winnebago grammar, *blue-back* would have to be *nanke tco*.

### *Legendary Grouping of Clans.*

According to many clan legends, the clans originated in 614
a definite order. As might be expected, this differs according 773
to each clan, but the order of origin of the important ones seems to be constant. That is, practically all clan origin myths speak of the bird-clans as having originated first, and the Bear clan as having followed next. Yet even this did not hold true for all informants.

J., of the Bear clan, gave the following list:

Good Thunders (Thunderbird)
Bad Thunders (Warrior)
Eagle
Pigeon
Bear

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12

[p.76]

# AMONG THE WINNEBAGO

By Huron H. Smith*

114 During the summer of 1928, the writer made a study of the Winnebago Indians, in line with his former ethnobotanical studies of other Indians of Wisconsin. After having worked with four tribes who were all of Algonkian stock, it was interesting to encounter these people who are related to the Sioux. The four tribes previously studied were the Menomini, Meskwaki, Ojibwe, and Potawatomi. The first two are the subjects of Nos. 1 and 2 of Volume IV of the bulletin of this museum, while the publications on the latter two are in preparation.

000 While all of the Algonkian languages are different from one another, they are at least similar enough to enable the student to grasp the likeness in a short time. In fact, Potawatomi is quite similar to Ojibwe, a sort of an abbreviated Ojibwe, as it were. Some of the medicinal words evidently point to a common origin, for exactly the same name is sometimes used for a plant by all four tribes. A careful study of Indian plant names reveals those unnamed plants that came into their region within historic times, as non-native or adventive species. The use of plants is a vital topic among Indians, and their plant lore is handed down from generation to generation. Most of our Wisconsin adventive plants have come into the State in the last hundred years, and a goodly proportion of these in the last forty years. Indians are not apt to take the white man's word for the medicinal use of the adventive plant, so that their lack of an Indian name for the plant in question, is sure evidence that it is a new comer. When we consider how long it must have taken these people to acquire their medicinal knowledge, doubtless by the old process of "trial and error," we wonder how many more centuries must elapse before they learn the uses of adventive species.

192 177 The Winnebago are particularly zealous in giving everything Winnebago names, if possible, and should there be some conspicuous attribute to an adventive plant, it will probably have a name in their language. Questioning will bring out the reason for the name and also whether or not they know a use for the plant. They have regular words for tea

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4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



and coffee, which were, of course, unknown to them before the coming of the White Man. Other tribes in Wisconsin have made no attempt to set up their own words for these, but call them by their English names as nearly as they can pronounce them. This trait of the Winnebago is often amusing. For example the watermelon was unknown to them until about seventy-five years ago. The first recipient of a watermelon among them considered it a pumpkin, cut it up into small pieces, and boiled it in a pot. The resultant product was scarcely edible, so led to the appellation of "wicawasukela"—"a pumpkin that did'nt get ripe." But later, they discovered that the whites ate them just as they were; and upon trying this they discovered their merit, and have been very fond of them ever since. But the first name stuck, and it is thus called to this day. 192 177

While we had met Winnebago before this summer, we had never attempted to discourse at length on their uses of plants. In 1923, we first met Frank Smith, "makiwika," with his wife who was making baskets, in Minocqua where we admired her art. Every year since we have seen Frank at some Indian pow-wow or other. During the "Pageant of Progress," in Milwaukee, July, 1926, Frank and his new Ojibwe wife were at the Indian Village on the lake front, with Mr. H. L. Mumm, of Wausau, demonstrating Indian arts and crafts. There, too, we met two other Winnebago workers, Jim Henniger and his wife, although the Indians in the village proper were all full-blooded Ojibwe from Lac Court Oreilles, Wisconsin. The museum is also fortunate in having the friendship of Ulysses A. White, of Wisconsin Rapids, who was formerly employed in Milwaukee. Mr. White is a pure blooded Winnebago, as is his wife, a quite uncommon occurrence in these times of inter-tribal marriages. He introduced to the Museum, John Bear, of Wisconsin Rapids, another old Winnebago Indian, through whom Mr. W. C. McKern, Associate Curator of Anthropology, of the Museum, has been able to collect some interesting ancient Winnebago stories. Mr. Bear spent the entire winter of 1927-1928 at the Museum, and was helped in his work by Mr. White. All of this preliminary work was the subject of several conferences between the writer and Mr. McKern at which we became acquainted with the linguistics of the Winnebago and listed the plant names used in the various stories. 114 115 [582]

The first trip of the summer was to Trempealeau, where the Museum was conducting archeological investigations which the writer, as President of the Wisconsin Archeological Society, wished to see. Furthermore Mr. McKern had written that there were Winnebago Indians in Trempealeau. These proved to be a family living in the old brewery at the edge of the village, but they were from Winnebago, Nebraska, and were not familiar with the Wisconsin plants. The field party, however, interested us for a week. The Museum camp was established in Perrot State Park, on the banks of the Trempealeau River near its 114 126

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP 12 Winnebago NP 12



$35 per thousand for number three size. The "buttons" are really branches of the Peyote Cactus (*Lophophora williamsii*), a small compact cactus growing from southern Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico down into old Mexico. The peyote religion was introduced to the Indians of the United States by peyote cults, among the Indians of Mexico. The Government strictly forbids possession of or traffic in these buttons, but the number of converts to the cult is on the increase. 276 435 795 276 795

On the other hand, the peyote Indians among the Winnebago have little regard for the medicine lodge Indians. They consider them benighted, old-fashioned and unwise. When an Indian joins peyote, according to them, he sees the error of his ways and the sacred, ceremonial objects of his past become of no value to him. In such cases, the field collector of some museum finds it easy to acquire excellent specimens of sacred objects. While still in use, an Indian would not part with his medicine bundle for money, but once it has been superseded by a change in faith, he becomes glad to realize almost anything for it. Such a bundle is valued by anthropologists according to the sacred objects it contains. 178

The peyote people that we met near Wisconsin Rapids did not bear out the poor name given them by the old pagans. They were industrious and proud of their religion. The peyote cult, there, shows considerable Christian missionary influence, in their acceptance of Jesus Christ as their deity. The medicine lodge people have never been interested in the translation of the Lord's Prayer but the Winnebago peyote followers use it as a chanted peyote song. It is called *Hilukanala gikaraj hanila*, (Lord prayer his). It follows thus: 795 177 539

*Hianjinwila wagregi shanagre, lash hashinila wakajak nigigidek•jena.*

"Our Father in heaven who dwells your name holy (let us) keep it. *Hunkma hashini'a hilaijik•jawina. Woshga hashinila manegi* Kingdom your come down (on earth). Doing yours on earth *uinek•jena wagregi jaske hinaki sheske manegi hilek•jena. Hampdec* should in heaven like doing same on earth should be. This day *waiskapduc haniwila hunkuwianjc. Egi wazawoishana waniwila* bread daily ours give us. And then sins ours *waigitunawila wazahigishana waniwila waigitunawila sheke. Egi inke* forgive us sins yours and yours forgive us same. And then don't *wazawoishana uwahicja hinutiwinine Ezi wowak•jega egi hingijilawige* (into) temptations deliver us. Our Lord and help us *kishipwiwine. Hunkmara nehashinigaja Egi homashjala nehashinigaja* get away Kingdom thy and power thy *Egi hoishagra nehashinigaja manegus•la jeskek•jena.* and glory thy forever Amen."

It will be noted that the Winnebago even have a word for "Amen," meaning to some extent "let it be that way," whereas among the Menomini Indians they have not translated it but articulate it as we do [192] — Amen.

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12



The Winnebago term for berdache is very uncertain. The last known case in Wisconsin was called dejáŋčowiŋga, usually translated as Blue Lake Woman (dejáŋčowiŋga—dejáŋ: lake or sea; čo: blue; wiŋ: female name ending; ga: name referrent suffix). In Nebraska mention was made of another berdache who had lived in Wisconsin and was called čoranažiŋga or Standing Blue (čoranažiŋga—čo: blue; ra: article; naži: to stand; wiŋ: elided with naži as nažiŋ, female name ending; ga: name referrent suffix). The term šiáŋge was suggested as a general word for berdache by two Wisconsin informants, and it was translated by several people as "a no good," "a eunuch," "an unmanly man." This word was still in common use in Wisconsin in 1947, but was used among young men as an insult or teasing epithet. These young men claimed to know nothing more about the word except that it carried connotations of weakness and effeminateness. 192 838 [195 578]

The characteristics of the Winnebago berdache agree closely with those reported for the Omaha and Ponca but the word used to designate a berdache in both of these latter tribes was miᵃ-qu-ga, according to Dorsey (378–379). Among the Oglala the berdache had been blessed by a pote wiᵃkte or hermaphroditic buffalo, wiᵃkte being the word for berdache. A certain amount of shame had become attached to the role among these Plains Siouan groups by the time it was reported by Dorsey in 1889 and Wissler in 1912, but Wissler (p. 92) said of the Oglala, "In the old days all the berdaches were very wakan." 171 838

Knowledge of the berdache among the Winnebago was provided in 1946 through a chance conversation with M.M., a woman who was then about thirty years old. Her parents had been the first Christian converts at the Winnebago community near Black River Falls, Wisconsin, and M.M. had once heard her mother mention "Men who dressed as women." When M.M. attempted to question her mother, at the writer's request, for more information about the berdache, the mother, then a woman in her seventies, became very angry and said in Winnebago, "Why did you ask about that? That is something we want to forget and not talk about." 124 838 [797]

Another woman, S.S., a younger sister of Radin's famous informant Crashing Thunder, was next approached and she offered the following account.

> Yes, I used to hear about that, but I don't know much about it. Once there was a man who fasted and he learned that if he dressed like a woman he would be the richest person in the world, but if he wore men's clothes, he die soon. She wore earrings, and bracelets, and necklaces and a shirt like a woman, but his brothers told him . . . her? . . . if he . . . she? . . . put on a skirt they would kill him. There used to be people like that, not just that one. I think šiáŋge is the word for them but I don't know, now it's just a slang word and means a no good. Those people did women's work, and they did it real good, better than even women could. [192]

Later M.M., the original informant, was able to prevail upon her mother to provide more information. Her description included all of the points given above except mention of wealth accruing to the berdache. However, M.M.'s mother added that berdaches had been blessed by the moon and had the gift

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



*Names.*—A newborn child received a birth name immediately. 551
There were six such names for male children and six for female children, which were given according to the order of birth:

| *Male* | *Female* |
|---|---|
| 1. K'u'nu. | 1. Hi'nu. |
| 2. He'nu. | 2. Wi'ha. |
| 3. Ha'ga. | 3. Aksi'-a (generally pronounced Akxi). |
| 4. Na'ŋxi. | 4. Hi'nuŋk'. |
| 5. Naŋxixô'nu. | 5. A'ksigaxô'nu. |
| 6. Naŋxixonu'niŋk'a. | 6. A'ksigaxônu'niŋk'a. |

The meanings of these names are unknown to the present Winnebago, who reject the idea that they ever had any meaning apart from indicating the order of birth. Originally, of course, these names had meanings, but at the present time they resemble no other Winnebago names and baffle all attempts at interpretation. This is not surprising, because they represent in all probability archaic names which undoubtedly have been considerably modified through long-continued use. The Dakota have a similar set of names but only [171] four in number. The two additional names among the Winnebago indicate by their form that they have been derived from one of the other four. In this connection it is interesting to note that the fifth of the male names is, as one might expect, merely the fourth name of the series with the addition of a diminutive suffix, whereas the fifth of the female names is the third of that series with a like addition. The sixth name of each series is formed by adding another diminutive suffix to the fifth name.

A few words may not be out of place here with regard to the 551
relation of the male to the female series, and to the possible interpre- 562
tation of two of the female names. He'nu[1] of the male and Hi'nu of 193
the female series, it will be noted, differ only in the first vowel. A similar phenomenon is found in such relationship terms as *hi'nîŋk*, male child of elder brother, and *hi'ûnuŋk'*, female child of elder brother. Remembering that in those Siouan languages which distinguish between female and male oral stops the difference often consists merely in the change of a vowel, this difference between He'nu and Hi'nu may be suggestive. The name K'u'nu may be connected with *k'u'nîŋk*, "a grandmother," in which *k'u* is unquestionably the stem, meaning probably "old." In the female series there is a possible relationship between Hi'nu and Hi'nuŋk', as *k'* seems to be a very common ending in relationship terms. Hi'nuŋk' itself is identical with the word for "woman" and it seems hard to imagine that it is not the same, especially since it is also found as the relationship term for [60] female child of younger brother.

[1] He'nu is also the name for a man's older sister.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

 601

Hiko'nô, husband.
Hitca'ᵃ, brother of wife.
Hitca'ᵃwiᵃ, wife.
Hiwange', sister of wife.

After one's grandchild's generation the children of a man whom one called either Hi'niŋk' or Hitcûᵃckê', or of a woman whom one called either Hi'nûŋk' or Hitcûᵃjô'ŋk', were all called Hitcûᵃckê' or Hitcûᵃjô'ŋk'.

A special term, Wotcû'ᵃwoŋk', was used by parents-in-law when addressing each other. [606]

It will be noticed that, taking self as the starting point, the distinction between forms—one series to be used in speaking of a person and the other in directly addressing one's own blood relative has been developed for only grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, son, and daughter. It is probable that in former times brother and sister also were included in this double series. [602 603]

## Female Terms of Address

As compared with the distinction between male and female terms of address found among other Siouan tribes, that existing among the Winnebago is very weak and there seems to be no indication that it ever was much stronger, although caution must be observed in drawing inferences as to past relationship terms, since it is a well-known fact that they have a tendency to disappear. At the present time there are only four terms used among the Winnebago by women specifically; *tcito*, elder brother; *hitcê'ŋk'*, younger sister; *hiciga'ᵃ*, wife of brother; and *hicil'e'*, husband of sister.

A cursory examination shows that the following forms are linguistically related:

| | |
|---|---|
| hini. | hinu. |
| hintŋk'. | hinuŋk. |
| hicikê'. | hiciga'ᵃ. |
| hitcûᵃckê'. | hitcûᵃjô'ŋk' (tcuᵃ—gû'ak, obsolete) hitcû'ᵃwiᵃ. |
| hitcâᵃ. | hitcaᵃwiᵃ. |
| hitcû'ŋk'. | |
| hitcak'â'ro (friend). | |

It is clear that we are dealing here with a change of terminal vowel (from *i* to *u*; from *e* to *a*; from *a* to *u*), indicative of sex. In the form *hitcuᵃwiᵃ*, *wiᵃ* is undoubtedly identical with *-wiᵃ*, meaning "female," found with all animal female names. Terminal *k'*, *k'e*, *ga*, is a suffix that may be related to the termination *k'e* found with so many animal names. We may perhaps say, then, that we have here only three stems, *hini*, *hicik'*, and *hitcû'ᵃ*. For a complete list of stems used in relationship terms there must now be added to these the following: *Hik'â'ro—k'i hitcok—k'i'*, *hi-a'nic hi-u'ni*, *hicê'y—k'*, *wcite—k'i'*, *hinûŋgic*, *hide—k'* *hiwan—gi'*, *tcidô*, 601 193

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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601 193 *wadohdri*, and *hinû'ik -teek'*. Hinûnga's might be said to be divided into *hinug* and *gas*, but there is no reason to assume that such a division of the word is justifiable, and for that reason it has not been included in the enumeration of *hinû'n- k'* stems. The form *teido*, elder brother, spoken by females, is baffling, all the more so if we assume that there never was a form for "younger brother" used by women.

601 Let us now separate the terms applied to relatives through marriage from those applied to blood relatives.

| Blood relatives | Relatives through marriage | Blood relatives | Relatives through marriage |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hini | Hirik'ê | Waite k'ê' | Hitra'ª |
| Hitcê'ckê' | Hirigu'ª | Hinûûgu'a | Hi-uni'niṇk' |
| Hik'ûno k'ê' | Hitcê'ªwi' | Hible' k', hiblekanî'ṇk' | Hinûnga's |
| Hitra- k'ê' | | Teible' | |
| Hi-a'ute | Wadohi'ri | Hitcê'ªwi' | |
| Hi-u'ni; hi-uniní'ṇk | Hiwanṇê' | Hiniṇk' | |
| Hiê'ṇ-k' | Hinuṇk'tee'k' | | |

Three terms are applied sometimes to blood relatives and sometimes to relatives through marriage: *Hitcê'ªwi*, *hi-uni'niṇk'*, and *hinûnga's*. It is the author's belief that in all these cases the terms have been applied to relatives through marriage on account of the extremely close relationship the husbands of *hitcu'ªwi* and *hi-uni'niṇk'* and the wives of *hinûnga's* bear to one's parents; that it is really an act of courtesy toward people whose children are in one case (*hitcê'ªwi'* and *hi-uni'niṇk'*) regarded as one's brothers and sisters and in the other case as the same as one's sister's children. There never was the slightest confusion as to the position held by the wife of one's father's brother (*hi-uni'niṇk'*), or one's mother's brother's wife, or the husband of one's mother's sister; nor is there the slightest indication that they ever were considered as identical with any blood relatives who bore the same name.

The foregoing list contains twenty-two terms of relationship applied by the Winnebago to all relatives, blood or otherwise, for five generations—one's own father's, grandfather's, son's, and grandson's. The two tables following show first, how these terms were distributed over the five generations, and second, to how many people of these five generations the same name was applied.

| Generation | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Grandfather's | Hitcek'ê' | Hi'k'ûrek'ê' |
| 2. Father's | Hi-a'ute, hible'k' | Hi-u'ni, hi-uniniṇk' |
| | Hinuṇga's, hitra'ª | Hitcê'ªwi' |
| 3. One's own | Hini, hinûṇk' | Hinu, waitrkê', hinûṇk' tee'k' |
| | Hitcê'ckê', hidoko-Niṇk', hitra'ª, Wadohi'ri, hirik'ª | Hitcê'jô'ṇk', hitcê'ªwi', Hiwanṇê', hirigu'ª |
| 4. Son's | Hiniṇk', hitcê'ckê', Hini, hinûṇk', Wadohdri | Hinû'ṇk', hinûṇk' tee'k', Hitra' jô'ṇk', hinu, Waitrkê' |

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

# CHAPTER XVII

## THE CLAN WAR-BUNDLE FEASTS

### The War-Bundle Feast of the Thunderbird Clan[1]

(first version)

#### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The Wagigo', Winter Feast, or War-bundle Feast, as it is generally called, is one of the principal ceremonies of the Winnebago. It is to a certain extent a clan ceremonial, for the clan is the basis of its organization, but apart from that fact, it has really nothing to do with the clan and must not be confused with the specific clan feasts held once a year. A perusal of the following sketch will show clearly that we are in reality dealing with a ceremony primarily connected with success in war and that its distinctive peculiarity among the Winnebago is that it has developed into a general ceremony of thanksgiving to the spirits and developed an organization based on the clan unit. As a result of the latter fact, we find 12 war rituals all essentially the same in content and differing only in details and in the fact that the host in each of the 12 performances belongs to a different clan. The specific differences in each performance are, first, the content of the war bundle; second, the origin myths of the feast and of the songs associated with each bundle; third, the songs

796x [214]

194

[1] Phonetic table.—All the consonants have the same value as those in English with the following exceptions:

c is pronounced like ch in *English*.
j has the sound of z in *azure*.
hr has the sound of rh in *church*.
dj has the sound of j in *judge*.
tc has the sound of ch in German *Buch*.
y is the sonant of s.
r is a slightly trilled lingua-palatal r.
g has the sound of ng in *sing*.
' always represents r preceded by a nasalized vowel.
' is a marked accent.
h and g are intermediate stops, except in certain positions, where they become true sonants.
' is the glottal stop.
Consonants followed by ' represent aspirated stops.

The vowels have the following values:
ô has the sound of au in *caught*.
a is the short continental a.
â is long a.
e is short open ea in *pen*.
g is short and close but not as close as the French e in *fête*.
ê is long close e.
ê is broad timbre, as in an accentuated pronunciation of ei in *eight*.
i is short and open as in *tin*.
j is short and close.
î is long and close.
o is short and open.
q is short and close.
ô is long and close.
ô is long and open.
u is short and open.
g is short and close.
û is long and close.
a is obscure a.
ä is obscure a.
' denotes nasalization.
' denotes primary stress accent.
' denotes secondary stress accent.

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



177 539 795 —Amen. For the sake of those who think all Indians speak alike, we append in a footnote the Lord's Prayer in Menomini."

194 [a.12] The Winnebago have a syllabary which all of them use in writing. It is an arbitrary system and has nothing to do with the ethnologist's way of recording their sounds. It was thus set down by Fred Mallory The first letter always has the sound of a as in arm and the pronunciation of the first line would be ha, he, hi, ho.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | ae | ai | ao | | k | ke | ki | ko | |
| w | we | wi | wo | | a | e | i | o | |
| m | me | mi | mo | | l | le | li | lo | |
| n | ne | ni | no | | t | te | ti | to | (explosive) |
| l | le | li | lo | (ja) | tt | tte | tti | tto | (cha chay chi cho) |
| y | ye | yi | yo | (ga) | | | | | |
| r | reke | reki | roko | (ska ske ski sko) | | | | | |
| s | se | si | so | | | | | | |
| h | he | hi | ho | | | | | | |
| g | ge | gi | go | | | | | | |

Indian syllabaries are interesting but of no ethnological value.

539 575 756 Fred Mallory's wife was initiated into the medicine lodge when she was thirteen years old, but since both are now peyote followers, they said there is nothing wrong in their telling the writer about their early history. Their story is as follows: In the early days, there were two brothers, Konuga, the eldest, and Henaka. (These names still apply to the order of birth,—the third son is *Hagaga*, and the fourth, *Nahiga*. The same with girls, the first is *Hinuga*, second, *Wihunga*, third, *Hinahega*, fourth, *Hakasiaga*.) The two brothers were at Kilbourn on an island in the Wisconsin River—*Nikusa*. One, Konuga, told the other he saw a spirit in the water and Henaka also saw a spirit, but Konuga saw it first, so it was *his* spirit. It was purple in color and rose from the depths of the water and sank down again. A sort of quarrel developed between them as to whose spirit should be followed, but when Hagaga, the third son entered the argument, they both united against him. Hagaga was as wise as an owl, and knew more than the other

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"*Nechuenen kesekok epeon. Nas ta kat kes achperbtenechton*
"Our Father in heaven who dwells. Let it be honored

*kiwichwon. Nas ta kat pimikat kitokemewin. Anenechtemen nas ta*
thy name. Let it come thy kingdom. As the Lord wishes it to

*kat eskemakat tepu kesekok mini ies achkibe. Meneach*
be done like heaven so here (on earth) the same. Give us

*iechpe es kesekok ochpkinigenemenen achtenechkin kesegaton. Panikstatewach*
now as in heaven bread our daily and every day as we live. Forgive us

*minin kais nechkebekoon ais panikitatewakichton kais*
and those we had angered you, as we forgive those

*nechkibiamechtoe. Pon minin ishinech kakitzipenichtoner.*
that trespassed against us. Lead us not into temptation.

*Mishoenemowach ta mata. Amen.*
Take it away from us. Amen."

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



Should they ever have a bad illness

they have the means of obtaining life by praying for it,[27] by offering 796x 539x
tobacco and a flute.[28]

"Disease-giver himself made these things holy. Thus they would 782
obtain life, if they had any illness, by offering you reed flutes, food, 776
tobacco, feathers, a white dog, and by making you at the same time an offering of buckskin hides. (Thus Disease-giver spoke to our grandfather when he blessed him:) 'A holy flute I made for you, and I forbade you to blow upon it, yet you did it. Now, hereafter, if you offer me a sufficient number of buckskins, you may blow upon it. A different life from that of others will you lead, if you do that. You will be able to cut off (stop) a bad disease caused by someone else. Nor will this one (who was ill) ever have another disease.'[29]

"Thus Disease-giver spoke. This is what the one who causes disease said. That is how they blessed our grandfather Djôhenagiwi'ąxga. A song I am now about to start. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." (Disease-giver song.)

*Hoit's fourth speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, 796x
I greet you. The last (song) we will now finish. You who are in the 539x
east, Night Spirits, you also added your blessing to the spirit bundle 787
of grandfather Djôhenagiwi'ąxga. So that he might know (be 776
blessed by) the spirits, grandfather Djôhenagiwi'ąxga starved and thirsted himself to death[30] and made himself pitiable. At first he fasted four nights and the Night Spirits came to him; with mighty sounds they came.[31] There they stood (and said), 'Human, you have thirsted yourself to death and we bless you (for that reason). We who speak are the spirits who are called Night Spirits.' They blessed him with war power and life, they said. Then he looked and (said to himself), 'I wonder whether these really are the Night Spirits that speak.' So he looked at them and they were small birds called *hoit'pgo*.[32] They had fooled him. Then once again was his heart sore. 'Well! I will die,' he thought (fasting). So he fasted again and once again he rubbed on (the charcoal). For six nights he continued to fast. And again from the east the Night Spirits came. They came making a great noise and they stood near him (and said), 'Human, we bless you. You have thirsted yourself to death and you have made your heart sore. We felt sad on your account. With

[27] A rather curious expression used only in elevated language and meaning, literally, "to obtain with the mouth"—i. e., either by speaking, prayers, or singing. The expression would hardly be permitted in ordinary Winnebago. [115]

[28] He does not mean by offering flutes, but by playing on them. Reed flutes are generally associated in the blessings of most spirits, but they seem to be more closely connected with the Disease-giver and the Buffalo. [534]

[29] This, I believe, is the meaning of the last three sentences. They are somewhat obscure, and I do not guarantee the correctness of the rendering.

[30] Literalistic expression for fasting.

[31] All powerful spirits are supposed to approach with loud noises. This is also characteristic of the Ojibway spirits. [171]

[32] English equivalent unknown.

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Then another man who has been called upon for a kettle rises as the "means of blessing" comes to him and greeting, says to them.[114] 539x 796

*Speech of fifth guest.* "Clan councilors who are seated here, I greet you all. You all within this lodge who are impersonating the spirits, I greet you. It is good. If we say it is good, we mean it.[115] That we are living[116] is because they have done this for us (i. e., asked us to participate in the feast). That we have been able to move about so long (i. e., are still living) is due to the fact that the war-bundle owners knew how to offer tobacco to the spirits. It is for that reason likewise that we have not been killed. Expert in their preaching to the youths and maidens, our chiefs have also kept the fireplace for us two-legged walkers.[117] Our chiefs have piled more fuel upon the fire that it may start up.[118] And not for themselves are they doing this. What they are doing is to enable us to obtain life. The name of South Wind they have uttered; he who alone is in control of life. They knew that he was a great (spirit). An old man, one who was like a spirit (in his power), called Djâbenagiwi'ɛxga, they are speaking of. As many good spirits as there are, that many added their thoughts (power). Of this they are reminding the spirits whom they are worshiping. Sincerely are they saying it. The life they blessed the old man with, that life they are using. With war powers they blessed him. They did not feed him. Because they have made their requests sincerely is the reason that (the spirits) have given them these things in return. I feared that they might not take cognizance of them (i. e., their offerings). However, now I thank them (the host, etc.), for we have been as though connected with war power and life through South Wind. Tobacco they have poured for him, and white buckskin and red feathers have they extended to him. He will smoke the tobacco and we will follow in the path of life as a consequence. As though we were a member of their clan they have made us by (permitting us) to impersonate the spirits. What we have done will give us plenty of life to live on and for this we are indebted to them. We are thankful for it. Those who have been preached to, the South Wind I greet. Councilor (host), I send forth my greetings to you. You who are seated here and are impersonating the spirits, to you also do I send forth my greetings."

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[114] By "the means of blessing" he means the opportunity to speak and sing.

[115] Literally, "It is not for nothing that we say this."

[116] I. e., have been blessed with life.

[117] The reference to the fireplace is twofold here. First as host it is incumbent for the owner of the Thunderbird clan bundle to take charge of the fireplace; and, secondly, it is his duty to do so because fire is the sacred possession of the clan. "Two-legged walkers" is the ritualistic name for human beings. [814]

[118] To be taken figuratively as meaning "blessings," there is adding fuel they are cooking the sacred food. [195]

## §1. *Early Childhood*

Father and mother had four children and after I was born. An uncle of my mother named White Cloud spoke to her before I was born and told her, "You are about to give birth to a child who will not be an ordinary individual." These were the words he addressed to her. It was then that my mother gave birth to me. As soon as I was born, indeed as I was being washed—as my neck was being washed—I laughed out loudly.

I have been told [1] that I was a good-tempered child.

During childhood my father told me to fast and I obeyed him. Throughout the winter, every morning, I would get up very early, crush charcoal, and then blacken my face with it. As soon as the sun rose would I go outside and there gazing steadily at the sun, make my prayer to the spirits, crying.[2]

[1] Whenever the writer refers to events that happened before his time or before he could remember things, he always uses the quotative, "It is said."

[2] This refers to the custom of fasting of which many examples will be found later on. Among the Winnebago and many culturally related tribes, every person, male and female, was expected, between the ages of five and twelve, to seek communion with some supernatural spirit and the spirit so obtained was supposed to grant the suppliant certain powers and in general preside over his destinies throughout life. The proper manner of approaching this ordeal was to blacken one's face with charcoal and retire at night to some semi-deserted place at some distance from the house and there pray-

## *Early Childhood*

In the fall of the year we would pick cranberries. 159* When the hunting season was open, I would begin to [221] fast again. [222]

This was my life for a number of years. [787]

After a while we bought a pony on which we used to pack all our belongings whenever we moved our [231] camp. In addition three of us would ride on top of [492] the pack. Sometimes my mother and sometimes my father drove the pony.

After I had grown a little older and taller all of us 159* brothers would fast together. My father would indeed 785 repeatedly urge us to fast. "Do not be afraid of the burnt remains of the lodge center-pole," he would say to us.[5] "Whatever are the true possessions of men, the apparel of men and the gift of doctoring—all these things that are spread out before you—do try and obtain one of them."[6] Thus he would speak to us.

I would then take a piece of charcoal, crush it and blacken my face and he would be very grateful to me

I would at first break my fast at noon but then gradually I began to fast all night. From the fall of the year until spring I would fast until nightfall and then eat. After a while I trained myself to pass the night without eating and after that I was able to go two nights and days without taking any food. Then my mother went to the woods at some distance from the

[5] Symbolical manner of describing the crushed charcoal with which fasters must blacken their faces. [195]

[6] By "possessions of men" he means mainly that knowledge which will make a man honored and respected in his community; and by "apparel of men," he means power and ability. [554]

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 755 [782] Once when I was sick he[1] treated me. As soon as he came my father arose with tobacco in his hands and made him an offering, greeting him as follows:

"My son-in-law, tobacco do I offer you and I make offerings to your spirits. You have made your hat[1] become holy, for the various spirits made it sacred. I greet you."

*159 755 787 756 [776] Before treating me Thunder Cloud told of his fasting experience:

At the very beginning those above taught me the following. All the various spirits who live up above in the clouds, in a doctor's village, came after me and instructed me in what I was to do. They taught me and told me the following. "Here let us try it," they said to me. There in the middle of the lodge lay a rotten log, almost entirely covered with weeds. They tried to make me treat this log. I breathed upon it and all those who were in this spirit lodge also breathed upon it. Then for the second time I breathed upon it and they with me. Then for the third and the fourth time I did it. After the fourth time the rotten log arose and walked away. Then the spirits said to me, "Human being, very holy indeed are you."

There from the middle of the ocean, from the shaman's village, they came after me. They blessed me, all the spirits in the middle of the ocean. They made me try my power. As many waves as exist, all of them as large as the ocean, upon these they asked me to blow; and as I blew upon them everything became as quiet as the water in a small saucer. So they became. Then I blew for the

[95] [1] Symbolical expression for the various objects and blessings bestowed upon him by the spirits.



[1] [i.e., his brother-in-law Thunder Cloud who was a shaman--analyst]

## *My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud*

You said that I could use all the best herbs that grow upon you, and that I would always be able to effect cures with them. I beseech you for those herbs now and I ask you to help me to cure this sick man. 159* 755 [182] [216] [218] [539]

Then Thunder Cloud breathed upon me and squirted some water on my chest. "What I have said is very true and very holy, I believe," he said. "Indeed now you will get well."

Thunder Cloud knew all the good medicines that exist and he used them in order to heal me and so that I might recover from my illness. I got well. Indeed Thunder Cloud was holy.

Thunder Cloud was also what we call a poisoner. He used to travel at dead of night, it was said. One night at about eleven o'clock he got ready to poison a family by the name of B. We were all listening, sitting in our lodge. Then outside we heard him make some noise. We were afraid of him because we knew he was a poisoner. Indeed he claimed to be in control of our household. My family would do nothing without first consulting him, for we were afraid of him. We believed that he had come from the spirits, that he was a reincarnated man and, if displeased, would poison us. So whatever he asked we did. 159* 754

He had been married to my eldest sister and after her death wished to marry the second sister. Where he had come from at the dwelling-place of Earth-maker,* my elder sister was now staying, he said. But now he claimed that the second sister resembled the 159* 756

* Circumlocution for saying that she was dead.

[195]

## §7. *The Teachings of My Father*

*159 My father used to keep up the old habit of teaching
[867] us the customs of the Winnebago. He would wake
[593] us up early in the morning and, seated around the fire-
place, speak to us. The girls would be taught sepa-
[562] rately. Now this is what my father told me:

721
787

### I

*159 My son, when you grow up, see to it that you are of
867 some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in
[785] which you can aid them and that is by fasting. Our
grandfather, the Fire, he who stands at all times in the
[776] center of our dwelling, sends forth all kinds of blessings.
[372] Be sure that you make an attempt to obtain his.

My son, do you remember to have our grandfathers, the
*159 war chiefs,[14] bless you. See to it that they have compassion
776 upon you. Then some day as you travel along the road of
867 life, you will know what to do and encounter no obstacles.
787 Without any effort will you then be able to gain the prize
721 you desire. The honor will be yours to glory in, yours
without exertion. All the disposable war-blessings belong
to our grandfathers, the war-controllers, and if reverently
you fast and thirst yourself to death, then these will be
bestowed upon you. Yet if you do not wear out your feet
in frequent journeyings to and fro, if you do not blacken
your face with charcoal, it will be all for naught that you

● [195] [14] Symbolical name for all those spirits who were supposed to be in control of war powers.

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



selves connected with life by means of that organ which Earthmaker gave us as a measure of things.[21] I send forth my greetings to you all. [159]* [796] [537] [726]

Then he who was impersonating the Disease-Giver spoke:

War-bundle owners, relatives seated around here, I greet you all. This is indeed a marvelous performance that we have witnessed and he who was able to do it must surely be a marvelous man. Very few people listen to the advice of their parents but he must have been one who did and that is why he has done so well. [593] The members of his clan have been sincerely worshiping the spirits. He who originally made this war-bundle ritual was like a spirit in power and what he told them to do they are doing in every detail. It is good work they are doing. Sufficient food are they offering to those in control of war powers for the spirits easily to take cognizance of it. They have placed ample tobacco and different kinds of buckskin within reach of the spirits. To you, O Disease-Giver, a pleasing white [782] buckskin has been strung out in offering and with it a pleasing red feather as a hair ornament. [301] How indeed would it be possible for the spirits not to recognize these offerings? And if they recognize them then we who are impersonating the spirits, will also receive the benefit of the blessings of war and life, extended to the host.

Long ago our ancestors asked the spirits to bless them so that then they might live happily. Here we are sitting around the fireplace and the life that the host and his friends have asked for, the spirits are not merely extending to them

[21] A very curious circumlocution for stomach. He means, of course, all the food that has been eaten. [195]

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12



The Winnebago term for berdache is very uncertain. The last known case in Wisconsin was called dejáŋčowiŋga, usually translated as Blue Lake Woman (dejáŋčowiŋga—dejáŋ: lake or sea; čo: blue; wiŋ: female name ending; ga: name referrent suffix). In Nebraska mention was made of another berdache who had lived in Wisconsin and was called čoranažiŋga or Standing Blue (čoranažiŋga—čo: blue; ra: article; naži: to stand; wiŋ: elided with naži as naziŋ, female name ending; ga: name referrent suffix). The term šiáŋge was suggested as a general word for berdache by two Wisconsin informants, and it was translated by several people as "a no good," "a eunuch," "an unmanly man." This word was still in common use in Wisconsin in 1947, but was used among young men as an insult or teasing epithet. These young men claimed to know nothing more about the word except that it carried connotations of weakness and effeminateness. 192 838 [195] [578]

The characteristics of the Winnebago berdache agree closely with those reported for the Omaha and Ponca but the word used to designate a berdache in both of these latter tribes was mi$^{a}$-qu-ga, according to Dorsey (378–379). Among the Oglala the berdache had been blessed by a pote wi$^{a}$kte or hermaphroditic buffalo, wi$^{a}$kte being the word for berdache. A certain amount of shame had become attached to the role among these Plains Siouan groups by the time it was reported by Dorsey in 1889 and Wissler in 1912, but Wissler (p. 92) said of the Oglala, "In the old days all the berdaches were very wakan." 171 838

Knowledge of the berdache among the Winnebago was provided in 1946 through a chance conversation with M.M., a woman who was then about thirty years old. Her parents had been the first Christian converts at the Winnebago community near Black River Falls, Wisconsin, and M.M. had once heard her mother mention "Men who dressed as women." When M.M. attempted to question her mother, at the writer's request, for more information about the berdache, the mother, then a woman in her seventies, became very angry and said in Winnebago, "Why did you ask about that? That is something we want to forget and not talk about." 124 838 [797]

Another woman, S.S., a younger sister of Radin's famous informant Crashing Thunder, was next approached and she offered the following account.

> Yes, I used to hear about that, but I don't know much about it. Once there was a man who fasted and he learned that if he dressed like a woman he would be the richest person in the world, but if he wore men's clothes, he die soon. She wore earrings, and bracelets, and necklaces and a shirt like a woman, but his brothers told him . . . her? . . . if he . . . she? . . . put on a skirt they would kill him. There used to be people like that, not just that one. I think šiáŋge is the word for them but I don't know, now it's just a slang word and means a no good. Those people did women's work, and they did it real good, better than even women could. [192]

Later M.M., the original informant, was able to prevail upon her mother to provide more information. Her description included all of the points given above except mention of wealth accruing to the berdache. However, M.M.'s mother added that berdaches had been blessed by the moon and had the gift

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



174 3. Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kansa, Quapaw.
4. Dakota, Assiniboin.[1]

The linguistic grouping seems to bear out this theory with the [197] exception of the Mandan, who are far more closely related to the Winnebago and their kindred than to the Hidatsa. It seems likewise strange that the Hidatsa and Crow, on the one hand, and the Dakota and Assiniboin, on the other, belonging to the first and fourth "migrations," should nevertheless speak dialects that are closely related. One might have expected that Dakota would be more like Omaha and its group.

173 The Winnebago themselves have no traditions telling of their migrations from the east. The majority of the people questioned asserted that the tribe had originated at Green Bay. This is, however, merely the origin myth of the Thunderbird clan, which apparently has displaced other origin accounts. While, in a few instances, other places were mentioned, the localities to which they referred were all in Wisconsin. There may be some significance in the origin legends of some of the clans which claim that they came from over the sea (the lake), but it is utterly impossible to determine whether we are here dealing with a myth pure and simple or with a vague memory of some historical happening.

The Winnebago have, however, some recollection of their separation from their kindred Siouan tribes. The accounts collected are short and fragmentary, but this may be due largely to the fact that no systematic attempt was made by the author to obtain detailed information on this point. The following fragmentary accounts will give some idea of the value of these recollections.

*a*. In the early days the Winnebago often went out hunting after they had finished hoeing their corn and other crops. During one of these travels they killed an elk and every lodge received a piece of the animal except one lodge in which a man, his wife, and six daughters with their husbands lived. Thinking that they were disliked by the rest of the tribe, these remained behind the next day when the others continued their journey. They have never been heard from since. It is said that the Quapaws do not know where they come from and we think that they may be descended from this family.

*b*. When the Winnebago lived on Lake Michigan the tribe was so large that each clan had its own chief and a general chief presided over the whole tribe. After a while it became so hard to obtain food that a band of Winnebago went south. They never returned. These are now in the Southwest. Some of them are the Missouri and some the Iowa. Band after band kept moving away until only one was left—the present Winnebago.

[1] The Mandans, Papers of the Peabody Museum. Vol. III, no. 4, pp. 97-98, Cambridge, 1908.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

# CHAPTER XV

## MISCELLANEOUS DANCES

### The Hok'ixe're Dance

Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan: This is the way in which people used to bring scalps to one another. When a man returns from the warpath with a scalp he leaves it outside of the village and the warriors run out with their clubs and strike it and count coup (just as on the battlefield). As they count coup they call out their names. Then they are told what ceremonial dress they are to wear. They then send a messenger to the person to whom the scalp is to be presented to tell him to select a pole (for the victory dance). He thanks them and says, "It is good." Then the warriors who are returning arrange themselves in a circle around this pole and dance around it. He who has obtained the first war honor leads. 727 [555]

The one to whom they present the scalp thanks the spirits who are in control of war powers and then raising his hand prays to the Sun. Then he sings a song and when that is finished sits down, beats the drum, and sings a dancing song, while the others dance. [782]

Then the owner of the scalp, turning toward the spirits who are in control of war, gives the victory whoop four times. After each whoop all the other people in the lodge strike their mouths with their hands and yell. After the victory whoops have been given all dance the victory dance. [201]

Then the man who has received the scalp lets his sisters, his aunts, and his nieces select the war presents which are always bestowed upon them. With these tied around their necks they dance. Toward evening they finish the victory dance and then all enter the (dancing) lodge. He to whom the scalp is given is the host and he sits down first. Then comes the donor and then in a row the four who have counted coup. [43]

The ceremony begins with songs sung by the host. He first sings two war-bundle songs (*waruza'p na*ra*) and then two night songs (*ha*he' na*ra*). When these are finished the meal is eaten. Before eating, all the animal heads are placed in front of the donor of the scalp and he selects those men with whom he wishes to share them. 727 796

Then the host rises and says, "War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you all. Our warrior (the donor) will eat together with

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12



announced that he was about to give a feast in honor of Creator, all the spirits of the world above, all the spirits of the world below, and all those spirits who had appeared in dreams to any of those present. In this way, as determined by his grandfathers, should long life, and happiness, and health and success in warfare be assured to those participating. He cited the giving of tobacco to various spirits; the dedication of the cooking meat to various spirits. He called upon other custodians of war-bundles and their waiters, who might be present, to assist in the singing, speaking, and dancing. "O! O!", assented the custodians of other war-bundles who were present. 796 537 [201]

The drum was now placed before the leader, who passed it to one of his three musicians. The other two and the leader were equipped with gourd rattles. The leader then took a reed whistle and on it actually played a tune very like a bugle call. Three distinct notes were produced by varying the force with which he blew it. He then started a song, his eyes closed as if in prayer, his face stamped with serious devotion. His assistants joined in, to the accompaniment of drum and rattles. A short rest intervalled the completion of this song and the start of the next. Three other songs followed in like manner. All of this music was relatively slow in time and not designed to be accompanied by dancing. A fifth song, of like character, was accompanied by the leader's throwing several pinches of tobacco over the war-bundle. 796 [534] [533] [582 276]

The next musical contribution was a dancing song and all the men who so desired gathered about the war-bundle, selecting therefrom reed whistles, and danced in place while blowing the whistles. There being not enough whistles to go around, some took fetishes which they held reverently in their hands while dancing. At the same time, the women at the west end of the lodge rose and danced in place. With slight pauses between, four dance songs were so rendered. At the end of each song, the male dancers participated in a series of war whoops. Everyone present apparently experienced a keen delight in this. One old man, blind and so feeble that he could not rise to his feet without assistance, insisted on dancing, without moving from his allotted place by the wall, and added his quavering voice to feebly swell the volume of each battle cry. 796 533 535 [887]

When the set of dancing songs was finished, whistles and fetishes were replaced on the bundle and all took their allotted places. Then the leader again spoke, his voice at times quavering with emotion, practically repeating his first speech. Again the honored guests answered with, "O! O!". 796 [537] [201]

The head waiter then took the pipe from its position over the war bundle, and carried it to the guest seated nearest the door on the south side. While this old man puffed, the waiter lit the contents of the bowl with a stick, placed beside the fireplace for that purpose and lighted [276]

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I permit him to forget his bargain when the squash was served later in the day. 574 114

Big Wave did not participate in the feast, nor did he smoke ceremoniously or otherwise during the entire performance. During the feast he sang several songs without drum. These were his war-bundle songs, obtained in a dream by the original owner of the bundle and descending to his successors. 796 574

The bones from the feast were gathered up by the waiters and placed in a single vessel. Tobacco was added to the bones, and the vessel taken out to a place where no people were in view and where no dogs could molest the contents. This was a sacrifice to Disease Giver. [782]

After the meat had been entirely consumed, the leader announced that they would now have night spirit dancing. An old bow and four arrows were brought out and planted in the floor to stand erect in a row just west of the fireplace, where the war-bundle had formerly been displayed. Big Wave appointed one to lead the dance. The dancers aligned themselves in single file on the south side of the lodge, facing west, and were led by the dance leader carrying the bow and arrows and blowing a reed whistle, followed by the other dancers. The singers began singing and the dancers circled several times about the lodge counter-clockwise. With short pauses between, several songs and dances were so executed. When the set of songs was finished, the bowl of tobacco dedicated to the use of the guests was then given by one of the waiters to the most honored guest. The head waiter lifted the stove shovel containing the remains of the burned cedar leaves and poured the contents in the fire. Then the singing was resumed and they danced once more about the fire, joyously. 796 [574]

When the singing stopped, the leader for this dance returned the whistle to Big Wave, and the latter, as soon as all were again seated, addressed his guests. He said that this was the way they worshipped the spirits of their fathers. He thanked those participating for their assistance in the singing and dancing and solicited their further help. So they should enjoy health, long life and success. Everyone responded with a series of confirmative "O's". The feast of boiled squash was now served. It was the duty of the waiters to eat any scraps left by the feasters, since food uneaten is considered an affront to the spirits to whom the food is dedicated. [201] [261]

The ceremonies described above were followed by a buffalo dance. It seems that the spirit of the buffalo was especially noted for his speed in running, and could imbue his devotees with his skill. Inasmuch as speed in running was of prime importance in primitive warfare, where the desired procedure was to come quickly upon the enemy, strike decisively and disappear from the scene, the buffalo dance is considered an altogether proper adjunct to the war-bundle ceremony, and regularly follows in. [825] [726] [535]

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756 There are two ways in which a man can join the medicine dance. He may simply apply for admission to any of the five leaders, or he may take the place of a deceased relative. In the former case, if his payment is satisfactory, and he has the other qualifications, he is accepted. In the other case, his relatives decide to have him take the place of a deceased relative. This latter form of candidacy is by far the more common. At the present day initiation requires the payment of about $300 or $400, in the form of goods and tobacco. Of this, a portion is given to the leader of the ancestor host's band during the four nights' preparation, and the rest to the leaders of the other four bands during the ceremony proper.

Exactly how much information an individual obtains on entering can not be determined. Much depends on the amount of the payment. The minimum knowledge would amount to an acquaintance with the bare externals of the ceremony, its general significance, and such knowledge of the legendary origin of the lodge as a single recital could give. The new member is not initiated into the symbolism of the ritualistic myths, and consequently a large portion of the same must be unintelligible to him. What he obtains is practically only the right to hold the otter-skin bag and to use it in a certain way. He may not take part in any of the forms of dancing or singing, nor may he even shoot at will. He very rarely remains in this condition long, but takes the first opportunity to purchase additional knowledge and privileges.

There are three kinds of members—mature men, women, and children. The privileges of women differ from those of the men, in that the women do not have to take the sweat bath, may never become assistants, and are allowed to dance only in a certain way. In other respects they have the same privileges as men. In practice there are certain privileges that women never have, but this is due to the fact that either they do not care for them or they are not in a position to buy them. Children belong to a quite different category. Although they possess an otter skin, they have not even the power of making it effective. There does not seem to be any evidence indicating that women were ever excluded from membership.

621 756 *Prescribed duties of the bands.*—The duties of the host, called the ancestor-host, are as follows:

1. To rehearse the songs and rituals with his band four nights previous to the ceremony proper. At this rehearsal the candidate is always present and is instructed in the ceremony.

[200] 2. To send out invitation sticks and tobacco to the leaders of the other four bands. The messengers are always his sisters' sons.

3. To begin the four nights' ceremony preceding the ceremony proper.

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778 B. was not the eldest son, but, as mentioned before, the war bundle was always given to that son who manifested the greatest interest in it. When B. and his brothers were quite young their father took them aside one day and told them the stories connected with the war bundle and told them, in addition, that the one manifesting the [869] greatest interest would receive it. B. immediately started getting material for a feast, and this he would give to his father, who would then give a feast. This was repeated over and over again until B.'s father felt that B. knew enough about the ceremony to conduct it himself, after which he allowed him to take entire charge of it.

The war bundle contained the following objects:

The body of an eagle (teaxce'p).
The body of a hawk (k'eredjy'sep).
The body of an unidentified bird (waninḳ'hiwʃteak'I'xọk'e).
The body of a pigeon hawk (k'irjk'I'rjsge).
A deer-tail headdress (teasinte wak'e're).
Eagle feathers (teaxce'p maeõ').
Medicines (wase').
Flutes (hijõ'jọk).
War club (namą'tce).

[825] The birds' bodies were supposed to give the possessor, in times of war, the characteristics of these animals. The flutes were associated with different spirits and used to accompany certain songs during the ceremony proper. When blown during a fight, they were sup- [789 posed to paralyze the running powers of the enemy and thus make 726] him an easy prey. The deer-tail headdress, the eagle feathers, and the war club were all war paraphernalia and were always worn when on the warpath.

x 796 When the custodian of a war bundle decides to give a feast he has his nephews go out and kill as many deer as they can, for the larger the number of deer obtained the larger will be the number of spirits to whom they can make offerings. As a rule ten to eleven deer are killed, so that all the clans, or at least all that are still in existence, can be invited.

[702] After the deer have been killed active preparations are begun; the invitation sticks (nąpõ'ɣoga) are sent out, and the wood for the ceremonial lodge is gathered; and, lastly, old women who have [886] passed their climacteric are set to work on the buckskins and ordered to make them as white as possible. In the preparation of the lodge only the nephews, nieces, and wives of the participating men take part.

The night before the ceremony proper, the Sweat-Lodge ritual takes place.

When the buckskins have been thoroughly bleached they are brought into the lodge and given to the host, who proceeds to mark them in the following manner:

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796X

grandfather, the drum, will start to walk (in your direction).[184] That we ask of you (i. e., to help us also in our dancing). War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." (Dance song.)

When the dancing is finished the host speaks again.

*Host's third speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. We are now trying to do our best to attract (the spirits' attention) to what we are doing and that is why we are placing (the drum) (in front of the guests). What I said about the messenger who is about to walk,[185] that I am going to speak of to you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you."

Then the attendant first moves the drum to the left side, and places both the drum and the rattle in front of the war-bundle owner who is next (in turn). He also places tobacco in his hand.

*Speech of first guest.*—"Host and his relatives who are seated here, I send my greetings to you. To you who are sitting here impersonating the spirits I send forth my greetings also. It is good. The host and our grandfathers pour tobacco for me. Those in the east, the Night Spirits, added their blessings also, grandfather said, it is said. If at any time we sang the songs and poured tobacco for them he would take cognizance thereof, he said, it is said. The handful of tobacco we poured they would smoke. The clansmen and councilors who are living in as pitiable a condition as I myself who am speaking will be helped, should the spirits accept their offering, just as I will be helped if they accept my tobacco. Thus I thought. The messenger that they have caused to come my way so that the spirits might hear my words,[186] I am unworthy of. What our ancestors have handed down I can merely guess at.[187] O, that it were my good fortune to say even one thing (as they desire it)! Would that the Night Spirits, our grandfathers, would accept the food and the tobacco and the offerings of buckskin! It is with that wish that we say this. Host, members of this clan who are sitting here, I send my greetings toward you. All who are sitting here impersonating the spirits, I send my greetings toward you." (Night Spirits' song.)

When the person in charge of the kettle in honor of Earthmaker[188] has finished, he says (again):

*Second speech of first guest.*—"Host, and your clan who are sitting here, I greet you. You who are sitting here impersonating spirits, I

[184] I. e., the drum will be passed from one guest to another. This constitutes the Rude Ceremony. Cf. Introduction.

[185] The drum is known variously as "wéqiⁿ'ąk," the public crier, or as "wó·ó'ruqire," the messenger, i. e., literally, "the one through whom something is told." In this second term is included, however, not only the drum but also the guests. The sound of the drum and the guests translates into a language intelligible to the spirits what the Indians are pleading for.

[186] I. e., the drum.

[187] I. e., my knowledge is so imperfect that I will have to take chances at saying the right thing.

[188] This is probably a mistake on the part of the informant. It should be Night Spirit.

[202]

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x539

skins ready. Then they told them to make some invitation sticks. Only four invitation sticks were to be made, and they were to tie tobacco to each of them. The lodge was now ready (fig. 36). They had fixed the vertical poles and had tied them with prickly cedar sinews. The vertical poles they painted blue.

[202] Then he who was to be the host told the attendants to take the invitation sticks to certain people. "Bring the first one to my friend, Manuba'ga. See that you give it to him. I am sure that he will be here soon after. The second stick you may give to Ka-o'saga. The third one you may give to Mazihimain'jga. Be sure that you bring them to all those who possess war bundles."

The attendant did as he was told and returned and told the host that it was done. "I have seen all of them and told them to make ready. They will soon come and sit down."

All were now in the lodge and were seated. The old man, Kayi'ga, was the host. All his posterity were there. He had placed meat in the kettles over the fireplaces. The first kettle was for Earthmaker and the second for Turtle. "Put them on," he said to the attendants. "Put the third one on for the Thunderbird, and the fourth one for the Fire, the fifth one for the Earth, the sixth one for the Morning Star, the seventh one for Without Horn, and the eighth one for the Nights. Then put on a small kettle for Disease-giver and a full kettle for the Rure'we.

"*Hae*, we will pour tobacco for them my friend, Manuba'ga. Whenever we can obtain a 'counciling' we always do this, for in that way we help one another. You who are sitting here for me, bundle owners, as many of you as there are within this lodge who are taking the place of the spirits, all of you I greet. War-bundle owners, all of us are thus. When you obtain a council feast for yourselves, then you will help one another. We are putting ourselves in a very pitiable condition, so you must have thought of us, and that is why you came at our bidding. It is good. And we are going to make you fearfully tired. But I beg of you, nevertheless, to continue until the end. We are now going to sing."

They get up and the guests hold tobacco in their hands. Then they sing and weep. The one who was fasting at that time stood at the war bundle crying. Then they sang the following songs:

[533]

Human, four chunks of meat I give you.
Human, four chunks of meat you will eat.
I made it for you, for you who carry the war bundle.

[782] Thus they spoke standing and weeping, pouring tobacco upon the war bundle. This they did. Then Turtle songs were used. That is what they call them. After that they used Thunderbird songs, and then what are called friends' songs. Finally they used the songs [533] they obtained when Disease-giver blessed them. Four songs they

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X796 539 [758] After the speeches were all over the offerings were taken down and thrown outside through the opening in the roof of the lodge and then night songs were sung. Before throwing the offerings out they marched around the lodge carrying them in their hands. At the approach of dawn the drum, gourds, etc., have about made the entire circuit of the lodge, and as soon as they reach the host he begins to sing the night [533] songs. After these he sings turtle songs, and then the songs are over. The host now calls upon some one to give the war whoop, so that the spirits in the west may hear their voices. Nanhi'tcoga gave the war whoop. All joined in, and the feast was over.

X796 805 [776] *Descriptive notes on the Bear clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant, member of clan: About the middle of winter, in the month called deer-breeding month, the Winnebago used to go out hunting, and they gave a feast to all the spirits who had blessed them.

[774] They are very careful not to have the kettles boil over, because they believe that a man's soul (*na-yi'rak'*) might be wandering about and is likely to come down along the chain of the kettle. If it doesn't boil over, the man is likely to conquer the possessions of this spirit (of an enemy) in the next battle.

● 202 554] The invitation sticks are sent out only to men who own a war bundle, and the clans are invited in the following fashion: First the Wolf, then the Hawk, and then any order.

778 The contents of the war bundle represent the following: The crow means strength in running. The turtle and the spear, the blessings which enable one to get out of difficulties, the former referring especially to difficulties in crossing water; they also enable their possessor to foretell when enemies are approaching and to tell an individual how many enemies he is going to conquer. The flute represents the 789 voices of musical birds. When an enemy hears them it paralyzes him and he can not run.

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224 825 or hear the noise and run away. For this reason the hunters are very careful about these two things—namely, the number of bears shot and the direction of the wind. The method of hunting bears when the acorns fall and they come to the open or cleared spaces is known as the *hirari'e* method. When the bears eat acorns then only is it easy to find them and kill them without much effort.

224 [721 648] *Description of a buffalo hunt.* Whenever the Winnebago went buffalo hunting, they always went in large numbers, for the people used to say that on a buffalo hunt, they are likely to encounter their enemies and a fight might take place. It is even said that some people went purposely for the fighting. They generally went together with the *Ho'ne'ne* (Missouri ?), Wazoteers, Iowa, and *Wadjabdjadjera*, the Otu. Many women accompanied them. It is said that they could always tell where the buffalo were by the dust they encountered, for the dust raised by the trampling of the buffalo rose high in the air. They would always start out for the buffalo early in the morning on fast horses and try to ride up along the right side of the female buffalo, for they only killed the bulls afterward. They shot the buffalo with bow and arrows. When riding horseback, the bow is always drawn back with the right hand. The reason they try to kill the female buffalo first is because they always run away while the bulls do not.

While hunting the buffalo they were always bound to meet some of their enemies and a fight would ensue, so that when they returned, they would bring back not only [727] buffalo but also scalps, and immediately after their return the Victory Dance would be celebrated.

224 721 A different account of a buffalo hunt was obtained from another informant (J. H.):[4]

[342] Whenever we go on a buffalo hunt we camp in a circle, with the soldiers in front. They always carried long poles to be used in the construction of tipis. [This statement was made by a number of persons whose information was generally accurate. As [237 372] they were bound for the open prairie where there was a scarcity of wood, buffalo manure was always carried for fuel.]

As soon as the chief decided to go on a hunt he gave a feast [war feast] to which he invited everyone. This was generally in June. As soon as the feast was over a hunting council was held. Then the chief appointed public criers who went around the ● [203] village announcing the time for starting, etc. Then all went to the lodge of the chief of the Bear clan. There the ten best warriors were selected, who were to go ahead of the main body and reconnoiter for both buffalo and enemies. These started immediately and if they returned with the news that they had found many buffalo and enemy at the same time, fights frequently took place. Ten warriors always went ahead and the old warriors generally stayed in the rear behind the women in order to protect them better. As soon as they came to the place where the buffalo were seen they followed their trail and killed them. The flesh was cut up into large chunks, which were afterwards dried on the grass. Then when they had enough they all returned home, observing, of course, the same order of march as when they started. When they reached their home they gave another war feast at which all thanked the spirits for their successful return.

223 [762] *Pigeon hunt.*—The pigeons are "chief"[5] birds and they would be hunted whenever the chief decided to give the chief feast. The entire tribe was always invited to participate in the meal served, so that many pigeons were needed. The pigeons generally make their nests near human habitations. Sometimes there would be 20

[4] As his grandfather was a Dakota, J. H. may have confused in his account Dakota customs with those of the Winnebago. Apart from this consideration, it should be said that J. H. was an exceedingly unreliable informant.

[825 614] [5] They are called "chief" birds because the pigeon belongs to the same division as does the Thunderbird, or Chief, clan.

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614 political function as upon anything else. The exact time when this
182 socialization took place is of no great import here. Among the Winnebago, for instance, some individuals claim that the functions of the public crier were inherent in the Buffalo clan, while others
614 insist that any person who had counted coup four times was eligible
203 for the office. Now, in this case not only is it possible but it is
182 extremely probable that the office of public crier was originally connected with an individual, and that subsequently it became associated
554 with the Buffalo clan, probably by reason of a certain relationship existing between this clan and the Chief clan. It must, of course, be remembered that a grouping had already taken place, because the requirement of having counted coup four times made a large number of warriors potentially public criers. Its association with membership in the Buffalo clan represented, on the one hand, a restriction of the number of individuals, and on the other hand, the addition of another qualification. Historically, then, the qualification of membership in the clan supplanted the other qualifications, at least in the eyes of a number of individuals. What has been said of the development of the functions of the Buffalo may also be generally applied to the Warrior or Hawk clan.

614 Political functions may, however, become connected with a group
182 unit without the individual playing any rôle either in directing or in developing it. The functions of preserving peace and of acting as intermediary, that among the Winnebago are connected with the Thunderbird clan, and the police and disciplinary functions connected with the Bear clan, may represent such types of association. In the absence of historical data, no demonstration can be made. It will, however, be shown later that association of ceremonial-religious functions with a social unit has actually occurred. That the police and disciplinary functions of the Bear clan developed from functions of individuals, on the basis of requirements similar to those of the public crier, is quite improbable, and no indication of that exists. Similarly the functions of the Thunderbird clan do not lend themselves readily to such an interpretation. But even should we accept the necessity for the priority of the one over the other types of association, we must still insist that psychologically the functions are in each case associated with a group unit.

Four of the Winnebago clans have specific political functions the details of which are discussed elsewhere. The Thunderbird, the chief clan, and in addition to the fact that the chief of the tribe is
[622] selected from it, has important functions connected with the preservation of peace; the Warrior clan has functions connected with war; the Bear clan, those relating to policing and discipline, both within the village and while on the hunt, etc.; and the Buffalo clan, those relating to the office of public crier and intermediary between the

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622 614 the man that, since he was without this particular thing, to keep it and use it for all time.

The public crier, a member of the Buffalo clan, was supposed to report to the chief early every morning and receive instructions. The crier would then go all around the village making the chief's desires known.

[203] [624] 623 The chief had a representative at every council, generally his brother.

The chief of the village is a peacemaker, and if two members of the tribe ever get into difficulties (i. e., quarrel) he is supposed to intercede. If in a quarrel a person should be killed, the chief would go to the murderer and tell the latter to permit himself to be tied up (i. e., to give himself up to the relatives of the murdered man. If the murderer consents to do so, then his arms are tied behind him and the chief walks in front of him carrying his sacred pipe. Thus they would go to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives. When they got there the chief would extend the stem of the pipe toward them. They might refuse to accept the pipe thus extended, but if any member of the family, even if it be a small child, were to take a puff from it, then the murderer would be forgiven and turned free.

[682]

This is the capacity of a Winnebago chief.

622 614 682 Another description of the chief's rôle as intercessor for a murderer is as follows:

When the Thunderbird chief wishes to save a murderer they take one of their own chiefs, one who is well beloved, paint his back blue, and put skewers in his back, to which they tie cords. Thus he is taken to the lodge of the murdered person's relatives. The chief, when he gets there, holds his pipe of tobacco in both hands. Should the relations not wish to accept the peace offering they close the door in his face. Then he returns.

614 778 [411] The Thunderbird clan possessed a type of war club called a bald-headed war club, which was sacred to this clan alone, and a miniature of which was always buried with a dead body. The only other possessions were the clan war bundles. The Winnebago often speak as though each clan had but one of these palladiums, but there seems to be little doubt but that there were at least two and probably more in each clan. These war bundles must be regarded as the common possession of the clan at the present time, for they can not be alienated from the clan.[1] For all practical purposes, however, they are the private property of certain individuals or families.

614 372 Fire was considered a sacred possession of the Thunderbird clan. As mentioned before, an individual was supposed never to ask for a firebrand from the fire of any member of the clan and was never permitted to sit near such a fireplace. If, nevertheless, anyone should be immodest enough to ask for one of these objects, he would be refused, but he would be permitted to ask for any conceivable thing else. The following incident will serve as an example of the definite way in which this peculiar custom works. An old Winne-

[1] This point was very forcibly impressed upon the author when he tried to obtain the war bundle of a man who had become a member of the Peyote cult. The man was perfectly willing to part with it, but after repeated requests to those who happened to possess it at that particular time, he admitted that it belonged to the clan, although they could not have taken it away from him had he remained a believer in the old faith.

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Ma*jiwinga.....Yellowish-red earth (refers to deposits from iron springs).
Ma*nunp'inga.....Second earth person.
Ni-ergadjewinga.....She who plays on the water.
Ni amaniwinga.....She who walks on the water.
Ni-a*p'*winga.....She who makes water good.
Ni-a*dagewinga.....Still water.
Niranaga.....Stream person.
Nihuga.....He who discharges water.
Ni-et'a*pwinga.....She who jumps into the water.
Nidjobaga.....Four streams.
Niwak'itwanga.....Selects (?) water.
Wakdjexicirik'a.....Bad Water-spirit.
Wakdjexihunga.....Chief of the Water-spirits.
Wakdjeximanigs.....Walking Water-spirit.
Wakdjexip'inga.....Good Water-spirit.
Wakdjexis*winga.....White Water-spirit.
Hop'inga.....Good horn.
Wadjxedega.....Big boat.
Hip'ahiga.....Sharp tooth.
Rabawinga.....Beaverskin woman.
Rabowinga.....Beaver.
Hejipga.....Short horn.

## The Buffalo Clan

### INTRODUCTION

The first version of the origin myth of the Buffalo clan is of considerable interest because it gives us an idea of the manner in which a myth had to be bought. It is one of the few origin myths that gives a precise location for the origin of a particular clan. What lake is meant by *de cirik* it is impossible to say. Considerable importance should be attached, however, to the fact that their place of origin differed from that of most of the other clans, because it may indicate that the people who came to be known under the name Buffalo joined the tribe after the other clans. 614 173

The Buffalo clansmen seem to have had the function of acting as the public criers and in general of being an intermediary between the chief and the tribe. This, however, has been denied by some informants, one of them a member of the clan. Their lodge was at the southeast corner of the village. Some informants deny that they had a special lodge, however. [624 203] [361]

The Buffalo and Water-spirit clans are friends and are supposed to bury each other's members. [764]

### ORIGIN MYTH*

Informant, member of the clan: "Listen, my grandson. Those who originated from the buffaloes and the way in which they origi- 614 173 539

* The following myth is given in the precise manner in which the individual who told it to me obtained the information from one of the old men who was privileged to narrate it. Unfortunately it was impossible to obtain any other clan origin myth in the same way.

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THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (SECOND VERSION)

614 796 Informant, member of Bear clan: As soon as the first bear month is visible they have their feast. They do not use meat but products [805] of the earth. The feast is held at night, never in the daytime. The people always save up food some time before giving the feast. The [825] favorite dishes of the bear are sugar and blueberries. When they can not obtain these they use other vegetables. Indeed, any product of the earth is all right.

When they prepare to give the feast they get the food ready and have some tobacco on hand. On the first day of the first bear month they put on the fire some kettles with dried corn mixed with fruit and others containing green corn. The latter is boiled. They also have [203] ground sugar. When these are ready the feast attendant goes around the village to invite the people. When all have entered the lodge and taken their proper seats, then the host rises and addresses them:

614 796 537 "All my relatives who are seated here, I greet you. It is not through blessings of our own that we can always make offerings of tobacco. My grandfather was blessed by a spirit called Black Fur, a spirit who is in command of all the other spirits. This spirit told us that we could perform the ceremony in this way. It is for that reason we have made an effort to heat water for him.[6] The first request we make is that if we ever go on the warpath, we may conquer. Our grandfather was also blessed with life by the bear spirit [7] and he told him that he would grant him and his posterity whatever they asked. [782] We shall therefore send to this spirit a pipeful of tobacco, two kettles full of food, and some tree sap.[8] So much will we send him, accompanied by an offering of tobacco.

"As soon as the attendant gets everything ready the feasting will begin."

Then the attendant puts food in every plate, and when he has finished the host speaks again.

"Relatives, it is said that when the plates are supplied to you [264] filled with food, then you should begin to eat. Do not, however, use your right hands in eating."

The host tells the feasters to use their left hands in eating, and they obey him. Before starting to eat all the fires are put out and the people eat in the dark.

614 796 In the spring of the year this feast is given again. Twice a year it is given.

The feast [9] was always given with some choice dried corn that had been put away for this event. Once when it was time to give the [841] feast in the first bear month, the two daughters of the man who was

[6] Boil soup and prepare food in general.
[7] Black Fur is apparently a ceremonial expression for bear.
[8] Ceremonial name for maple sugar.
[9] What follows is an account of why this particular feast was discontinued.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

# CHAPTER XIII

## RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES BASED ON BLESSINGS FROM SPIRITS

### Society of Those Who Have Received Blessings From the Night Spirits

Informant, member of Thunderbird clan: Once a man went hunting so that he might be able to get the game with which to give a feast. All of those who were to participate in the feast went along with him. After they had killed some deer they built a lodge. Then all the other feast-givers came into the lodge, bringing something toward the feast, as well as the tobacco which they were to offer. Some brought other things, even dogs, as their contribution to the feast. The dogs would be killed, singed, then boiled, and prepared in the same way as the deer. The meat would then be mixed with dry corn. The attendants, who were generally the nephews of the feast-givers, would look after the boiling of the food. Every time they gave a feast they selected these nephews to do the cooking and the general work connected with this ceremony. 796 539 575 [252] 575 796 604 539

The nephew who acts as attendant accompanies a feast-giver on the warpath, where likewise he has to endure a great deal. Should his uncle be killed, it is his duty to be killed likewise and not to return home. [726]

He acted in this way because of his love for his uncle. The attendants do all the work whenever their uncles give a feast. They also arrange for the place where the feast is to be held; make the four invitation sticks; blacken them with charcoal and decorate them at the ends with fine and fluffy white eagle feathers. Then they prepare a bundle of tobacco containing about a pipeful. After these preparations have been made one of the nephews goes around the village and presents the invitation sticks to every individual who had been blessed by the Night Spirits. These are called the night-blessed children. The night-blessed children thanked the messengers and assured them that they now felt they were obtaining life. Then those to whom the invitation stick had been presented go around asking their relatives to accompany them to the feast. There the guest and his relatives would meet at the appointed time. All those who received invitation sticks do the same. [203]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



*Description of buffalo dance and its origin.* Informant, member of Bear clan: The buffalo dance can be given by anybody who has been blessed by the buffalo spirits. In the beginning the Winnebago had animal forms, and they could obtain all the power they wanted, but since they left that stage of life they can obtain power only by fasting. John's buffalo feast is of recent origin. It originated with his grandfather. 796 575 [787]

A long lodge is prepared and in the center there is a pile of loose dirt. John's grandfather's name was Hodjanaga, Young-man-just-maturing. In fasting he found out that he was blessed with powers to cure the sick and be victorious in battle. While fasting, the spirits told him that he would receive what he was longing for. They told him that he would know what to do, for they would come after him. Soon they came after him and took him into camp (i. e., spirit country). When he got there, he saw an old man and a child, and he was told that it was on account of the child that he had been brought there; that the child had heard his prayers while fasting and had blessed him. Then they showed him a certain herb and told him, "This is what we give you. It will give you strength in running. Use it in time of war, and use it also as medicine for life. I have blessed you and given you what you desired and do you, in turn, make me a dog feast and give me red feathers, tobacco, and food." Then they taught him the songs and gave him a buffalo tail and a flute. 796 575 787

No invitation sticks are used. They go around and invite those whom they want. 796 575

When the grasses are well developed, then the Buffalo clan people make a feast to their life or clan; also in midwinter, for that is the time when all the spirits awaken from their night's sleep and turn over on the other side. [203]

## Society of Those Who Have Been Blessed By the Grizzly Bear

Informant, member of Bear clan: The grizzly-bear dance was given by those who had been blessed during their fasting by the grizzly bear. Women were never so blessed, and for that reason they never could participate in the dance. Different people received different blessings. We were blessed with two grizzly-bear heads, grizzly-bear hides, and paws. In the lodge constructed for the dance was placed a mound of earth called ma'warap'uru. The ma'warap'uru is supposed to represent a bear's cave, the four points of the cross representing the entrances to the cave and the four lines running to the center, the paths along which the grizzly bear travels when he scents a man. The place in the middle is supposed to be the habitation of the bear himself. Tobacco and red feathers are placed both in the center and at the four points. 796 575 787 [562] [782]

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12



history can demonstrate. Such a genetic relationship between the two depends probably as much upon the nature of the political function as upon anything else. The exact time when this socialization took place is also of great import here. Among the Winnebago, some individuals claim that the functions of the public crier were inherent in the Buffalo clan, while others insist that any person who had counted coup four times was eligible for the office. Now, in this case not only is it possible but it is extremely probable that public criership was originally connected with an individual, and that subsequently it became associated with the Buffalo clan, probably by reason of a certain relationship existing between this clan and the Chief clan. It must, of course, be remembered that a grouping had already taken place, because the requirement of having counted coup four times made a large number of warriors potentially public criers. (Here the grouping together was due to the successful performance of certain test-acts.) Its association with membership in the Buffalo clan represented on the one hand a restriction of the number of individuals, on the other hand the addition of another qualification. Historically, then, the qualification of membership in the clan supplanted the other qualifications, at least in the eyes of a large number of individuals. What has been said of the development of the functions of the Buffalo may also be generally applied to that of the Warrior or Hawk clan.

Political functions may, however, become connected with a group unit without the individual playing any rôle either in directing or in developing such an association. The functions of preserving peace and of acting as intermediary, that among the Winnebago are connected with the Thunderbird clan, and the police and disciplinary functions connected with the Bear clan, may represent such types of association. In the absence of historical data, no demonstration can be made. It will, however, be shown later that association of ceremonial-religious functions with a social unit has actually occurred. That the police and disciplinary functions of the Bear clan developed from those of individuals, on the basis of requirements similar to those of the public crier, is quite improbable, and no indication of that exists. The functions of the Thunderbird clan likewise do not

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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614 dividual and clan *hitcak'ɔ·ro*, on the other. In the former there
572 is the bond of blood, real or fictitious, in the latter only that of mutual service. On the other hand, while the *hidek'-hitcɔcge*
[604] relation, the individual *hitcak'ɔ·ro*, and the clan *hitcak'ɔ·ro* may be all of different historical origin, they are psychologically the same. The postulation even of a fictitious blood bond between the different individual *hitcak'ɔ·ro* and the clan *hitcak'ɔ·ro* is not unheard of. For the *hitcak'ɔ·ro*[1] relation of individuals this is
[597] always possible, for if one individual dies, his *hitcak'ɔ·ro* is generally adopted to fill his place. On the other hand, the myths seem to
[582] indicate that no blood bone was regarded as existing between them, for they generally married each other's sisters.

[174] What historical relation the clan *hitcak'ɔ·ro* bears to the individual *hitcak'ɔ·ro* relation of individuals, it is impossible to state, but the remarks made before are pertinent here, and no genetic relationship need be postulated.

### *The "Servant" Relationship.*

614 The *hitcak'ɔ·ro* relation is entirely one between equals, irrespective of the inequality of one member of this grouping, with regard to the other, in social standing. The Bear clan is, for instance, incomparably greater than the Wolf, but this is entirely forgotten here. In addition to this "friendship," there seems to exist a faintly developed "servant" relation. The concept of servant is not that conveyed by the English word. It means essentially that a certain clan performs a service for another without that specific service being reciprocal. Among the Winnebago such a relation exists between the Thunderbird and Buffalo, and the Thunderbird and Elk clans. This is not to be confused with the general subordination of all the other clans to the Thunderbird and Bear clans when these exercise their specific governmental functions. This "servant" relation-
[203] ship between the Thunderbird and Buffalo clans is politically expressed by the fact that a member of the latter visits the
[174] chief every morning to receive certain directions from him,
[621] which he then announces to the whole village. But this relationship expresses itself in another more striking manner—the

1 [i.e. - "friendship" relation - ANALYST]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

## PREFACE

The information included in this volume was obtained during the years 1908-1913 while employed by the Bureau of American Ethnology and on private expeditions. In all cases wherever it was possible the author tried to obtain his information in Winnebago, although the English version is printed here. Owing to the fact that the Winnebago have for some time been accustomed to the use of a syllabic alphabet borrowed from the Sauk and Fox, it was a comparatively easy task to induce them to write down their mythology and, at times, their ceremonies, and then have an interpreter translate them. As the author has a fair command of Winnebago grammar, he was able to control these translations and thus insure their approximate accuracy. On account of the importance of having as accurate a record of the ceremonies as possible, those few ceremonies that were obtained in syllabic text were subsequently taken down in phonetic text. 121 [122] [212 177] [122]

It has been the aim of the author to separate as definitely as possible his own comments from the actual data obtained, and for that reason every chapter, with the exception of those on history, archeology, and material culture, is divided into two parts, a discussion of the data and the data itself. 128

Certain subjects, such as mythology, art, and music, have been entirely omitted. In order to discuss the second a comparative study of woodland art and design would have been necessary, which would have entailed a prolonged study at different museums; and to discuss the latter, specific training and knowledge were demanded, which the author does not possess.

The following monograph does not claim to be a comparative study, but simply an intensive an investigation as the time spent allowed, of an unusually interesting tribe, made under exceptionally propitious conditions. It is principally the raw material that is presented here. Throughout the work, the Indian has been allowed to tell the facts in his own way. For that reason no attempt has been made to change the English, except when it was ungrammatical or unintelligible. This will explain the simple and at times poor English of the accounts. 121 128

The work ends rather abruptly because the section on mythology and the general conclusion have been reserved for special treatment. 128

In conclusion, the author wishes to thank all those Winnebago who helped him since he first came among them. In particular does



[P. 46 is blank]

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



177 539 795 —Amen. For the sake of those who think all Indians speak alike, we append in a footnote the Lord's Prayer in Menomini."

194 [212] The Winnebago have a syllabary which all of them use in writing. It is an arbitrary system and has nothing to do with the ethnologist's way of recording their sounds. It was thus set down by Fred Mallory The first letter always has the sound of a as in arm and the pronunciation of the first line would be ha, he, hi, ho.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | ae | ai | ao | | k | ke | ki | ko | |
| w | we | wi | wo | | a | e | i | o | |
| m | me | mi | mo | | l | le | li | lo | |
| n | ne | ni | no | | t | te | ti | to | (explosive) |
| l | le | li | lo | (ja) | tt | tte | tti | tto | (cha chay chi cho) |
| y | ye | yi | yo | (ga) | | | | | |
| r | reke | reki | roko | (ska ske ski sko) | | | | | |
| s | se | si | so | | | | | | |
| h | he | hi | ho | | | | | | |
| g | ge | gi | go | | | | | | |

Indian syllabaries are interesting but of no ethnological value.

539 575 756 Fred Mallory's wife was initiated into the medicine lodge when she was thirteen years old, but since both are now peyote followers, they said there is nothing wrong in their telling the writer about their early history. Their story is as follows: In the early days, there were two brothers, Konuga, the eldest, and Henaka. (These names still apply to the order of birth,—the third son is *Hagaga*, and the fourth, *Nahiga*. The same with girls, the first is *Hinuga*, second, *Wihunga*, third, *Hinahega*, fourth, *Hakasiaga*.) The two brothers were at Kilbourn on an island in the Wisconsin River—*Nikusa*. One, Konuga, told the other he saw a spirit in the water and Henaka also saw a spirit, but Konuga saw it first, so it was *his* spirit. It was purple in color and rose from the depths of the water and sank down again. A sort of quarrel developed between them as to whose spirit should be followed, but when Hagaga, the third son entered the argument, they both united against him. Hagaga was as wise as an owl, and knew more than the other

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| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| "*Nochnenen* | *kreskok* | *epen.* | *Nen la kat kez* | *achperchtenerchten* | |
| "Our Father | in heaven | who dwells. | Let it be | honored | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *kinicheneen.* | *Nen la kat pimikat* | *kitokremenin.* | *Anenerchtemen* | *nen la* | |
| thy name. | Let it come | thy kingdom. | As the Lord wishes | it to | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *kat eskenakat* | *tepa* | *kreskok* | *minik* | *in* | *achkibe.* | *Mrenerch* |
| be done | like | heaven | so | here | (on earth) the same. | Give us |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *ischpe en kreskok* | *nepakinigenenenen* | *achtenerchkin* | *kreegeten.* | *Penikatetenerch* |
| now as in heaven | bread our daily | and every day | as we live. | Forgive us |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *minin kain* | *nechkerkenen* | *nin penikittetenekichten* | | *kain* |
| and those | we had angered you, | as | we forgive | those |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *nechkibienerchten.* | *Pen* | *minin* | *ishinerch* | *kakitzipenichtener.* |
| that trespassed against us. | Lead | us | not into | temptation. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Minenenenerch* | *la mata.* | *Amen.* |
| Take it away | from us. | Amen." |

124 me. But what is more to the point here is that he[1]
[123] wove my presence among the Winnebago just then, into the whole fabric of his life. I was the preordained one who had sensed what was the proper time to come to the Winnebago, and this legend he diligently disseminated among all his relatives and subsequently embodied in certain autobiographical snatches I obtained from him. It was from him that I obtained a short sketch of reminiscences which, short as they were, threw more light on the real Indian than any of the more elaborate things I had collected in the usual external fashion which is the pride of scientific procedure among ethnologists.

It was from the perusal of these "reminiscences" that
[121] the idea developed within me of getting a real autobiography, and having heard vaguely of the adventures and tribulations of Crashing Thunder, the younger brother of the family, which seemed to bear all the earmarks of a true rake's progress, I approached him about the matter, to receive a meaningless affirmative reply. For three years he eluded me on one pretext or another until temporary poverty induced him to
[212] consent to write down in a syllabary now in use among the Winnebago the fascinating tale of his life. I remember very well how worried he was after he had finally consented. After writing the first part he came to me at midnight, in a very nervous condition, saying that he did not care to proceed because what he had to say would not look nice if white people subsequently read it. When his fears were appeased he continued



[1] [i.e., The informant, see p. ix, cat. 116 --analyst]

## §28. *Our Prison Life and the Trial*

We were waiting for the spring term of the court. 159* We stayed in prison all winter. I was very tired of it, 648 but I kept that secret because otherwise the other men would be likely to make fun of me. Sometimes I really 152 felt like crying, but I acted as though I did not care at all. I was married at the time I had been imprisoned, and I hungered to see my wife and was in a terrible condition, but I told the others that I did not care in the least. The others were also married, and some of them showed their lonesomeness markedly. Occasionally one of our wives would visit us. The men said that I seemed the only one who did not apparently care. As a matter of fact, of course, I could hardly stand it, although I kept my condition quite secret. I [212] only felt better when I wrote a letter to my wife, and then when she answered I felt very happy.

We used to read one another's letters, and whenever 159* our wives wrote to us, we would tease one another 648 about the contents.

After a while the spring term of the court arrived, and we were happy. When the time for our trial came, however, we were told that our case had been bound over to the fall term. So we had to stay in prison all summer. When the fall term came, the case was bound

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



him what the old people do when they give a child a name, and 881
what they say. All these things the old man told him. "It is good," 887
he said, "for you to know these things so that if anyone comes to 867
you and asks you for information you will be able to tell them something and will not have to behave like a fool. If you are asked to give a little child a name, this little child will really be a means of increasing your power. That is why you ought to give a feast for it and smoke the child's tobacco. You must also give the child a name for his dog. Give him the name Yellow-Tree for a male dog. The name Yellow-Tree is given for the following reason. When the Thunderbirds strike at a tree it looks yellow. Just as leaves wither so do trees wither when the Thunderbirds strike them. They then begin to rot and become very much discolored. That is why they give a dog this name. If you ever have to give a dog-name for a female child call it She-Who-Stays-In-Her-Own-Place. This is all that I wish to tell you."

### SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION TO DAUGHTER

This is the way the old men used to speak to the little girls: 867
My daughter, as you go along the path of life, always listen to 593
your parents. Do not permit your mother to work. Attend to your father's wants. All the work in the house belongs to you. Never be idle. Chop the wood, carry it home, look after the vegetables and gather them, and cook the food. When in the spring [462]
of the year you move back to your permanent settlements, plant your fields immediately. Never get lazy. Earthmaker created you [221]
for these tasks.

When you have your menses, do not ask those in your lodge to give you any food, but leave the lodge and fast and do not begin [841]
eating again until you return to your own lodge. Thus will you help yourself. If you always fast, when you marry, even if your husband had amounted to nothing before, he will become an excellent hunter. It will be on account of your fasting that he will have [785]
changed so much. You will never fail in anything and you will always be well and happy. If, on the contrary, you do not do as I tell you—that is, if you do not fast—when you marry he will become very weak, and this will be due to you. Finally he will get very sick.

My daughter, do not use medicine. If you marry a man and 867
place medicine on his head he will become very weak and will not 593
amount to anything. It may be that you do not want to have your 832
husband leave you and this may induce you to use medicine to keep him. Do not do that, however, for it is not good. You will be ruining a man. It is the same as killing him. Do not do it, for it is forbidden. If you marry a man and you want to be certain of always retaining him, work for him. With work you will always

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



## Divisions of Time

142 805 184 The Winnebago reckoned time from the beginning of each new month (wira). There are slight differences in the names of the months between the Nebraska and the Wisconsin branch of the tribe, as appear below:

*Nebraska*—

1. Hundjwi'ra, month when the bears are born.
2. Hóndjwiro-a'gunina, last bear month.
3. Wák'ek' iru'x°, raccoon-breeding month.
4. Hol'doginá'na, fish become visible (because of the ice clearing away).
5. Mai° da'wus, month that dries the earth.
6. Mank'era, dig-the-earth month (when the crops are sowed).
7. Wixo'teera, the month that makes them gray (the month when the tassels of corn appear and the fields look gray).
8. Widá'djox, when the roasted ears of corn burst.
9. Wiza'zek'e, name of a bird that appears this month.
10. Pea'mai°na'xora, when the deer paws the earth; or Hu°-wai°jukera, when the elks shout, or whistle.
11. Teaik'i'ruxe, deer-breeding month.
12. Tea'hewakru', when the deer shed their horns.

*Wisconsin*—

1. Hu'ndjwi teonina, first bear month.
2. Hu'ndjwiro-a'gunina, last bear month.
3. Wák'e'k'iruxewi'ra, raccoon-breeding month.
4. Hol'doginêna, fish becoming visible.
5. Mai°da'wus, drying-of-the-earth month.
6. Mank'e'ra, digging month.
7. Mai°ṇa! 'u°ṇa, cultivating month.
8. Wixo'teerera, tasseling month.
9. Hu° waiju'kura, elk-whistling month.
10. Teo'mai°na'xora, when the deer paw the earth.
11. Teaik'iru'xira, deer-breeding month.
12. Teahe'yakru'na, when the deer shed their horns.

805 221 According to a member of the Bear clan, the following were the activities throughout the year. The accounts given of these activities differed in certain details, depending upon the clan connection of the informant, because he naturally associated some months with specific activities of his clan, such as clan feasts.

1. Members of the Bear clan give their feast.
2. Month in which the various Winter Feasts are given.
3. Month in which people hunt.
4. Month in which people begin to fish.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



5. Month in which people hunt deer. At this time deer are very tame and frequent the streams. 865

6. Month in which people plant corn, squash, and beans. 221

7. Month in which people hunt deer. At this season deer are very fat. The hunters return to their homes at the beginning of the eighth month.

8. Month in which people dry corn and store it away.

9. Month in which people tie the rice stems into bundles and go through them with their canoes.

10. Month in which the people go on their fall move and hunt the larger animals.

11. Month in which the people go on their fall move and dry their meat.

12. Month in which the people return to their winter quarters.

From this calendar of activities it is apparent that the longest period the Winnebago remained at home continuously was three months, the twelfth, first, and second. They were at home also throughout the sixth and eighth months. Whether they were in their villages at intervals during the fourth and fifth months is hard to determine. It is probable that the fishing or hunting trips consumed a considerable portion of, if not the entire, month. During the ninth, tenth, and eleventh months the Winnebago were undoubtedly away from their villages all the time. 221

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
NP12 Winnebago NP12



# CULTURAL CHANGE AMONG THE WISCONSIN WINNEBAGO

Nancy Oestreich

## Introduction

121 178 Cultural change is one of the outstanding factors in the life of the Winnebago today. It is important to mention at the outset, however, that the following article does not purport to trace the long history of cultural change among the Winnebago, nor does it have any claim as a complete analysis; but, because of space limitations, it will serve merely as a passing observation of cultural change in a particular Indian group. [114] The study is based primarily on observation of one small group of Winnebago during a period of five weeks. None the less, these data seem to comprise a fairly, though far from completely representative sample with which to work.

101 121 The Indians observed were family groups from almost all of the Winnebago communities scattered throughout the central part of the state. Our group, consisting of some 45 families, was predominately one of Wisconsin Winnebago, but also included three Winnebago families from Nebraska and one family each of the Chippewa, Menomini and Potawatomi tribes. The presence of these minorities within the larger group of Wisconsin Winnebago offered an interesting study of inter-land and intra-tribal contrasts.

121 619 The Wisconsin Winnebago prefer to live more or less independently in their native territory, Wisconsin, rather than join their friends and relatives on the Winnebago reservation [657] located, by a whim of the government, in Nebraska. There [574] is, however, a constant exchange of visits between the two groups.

221 In Wisconsin many of the Winnebago earn a living in the winter by trapping for the fur market, and in the summer by following various Wisconsin crops. The harvesting begins in the spring with the strawberry season, and ends in the fall with the gathering of cranberries.

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 Thus I acted up to the time that I have memory of things.

*159 In those days there were not many white people
●221 living near us as to-day. My father went out hunt-
[224] ing continually. The lodge in which we lived was cov-
[342] ered with rush mattings, with reed mattings spread over
[352] the floor. After hunting for some time in one place we would move to another. My father, mother, older sisters, and older brothers, all carried the packs. Thus we would spend our time until the spring of the year and then in the spring we would again move in order
[224] to live near some stream where father could hunt
[136] muskrats, mink, otter, and beaver.

In the summer we always returned to Black River Falls, Wisconsin. Here all the Indians gathered after
[222] they had given their feasts. Then we picked berries. When picking berries my father used to buy me gum
*159 so that I should not be able to eat any of the berries.
[261] I managed however to eat berries and chew gum at the same time. After a while I learned to chew tobacco and then I did not eat the berries while picking them.
[276] Later on I got to like tobacco very much and I probably used up more money in buying tobacco than would have been the value of the berries had I eaten them.

ing and crying to await the coming of the spirit Among the Winne-
[180] bago, and probably among many other tribes, it was customary
[593] for the parents or grandparents, to prepare the children specifically for what was likely to happen; to inform them how to recognize
[603] the approach of the spirit and, what was more to the point, to teach them how to distinguish a good from a bad spirit.

[2]

[i.e., during their quest for a guardian spirit, See P.1, Category 116 -- Analyst]

## *Early Childhood*

In the fall of the year we would pick cranberries. 159*
When the hunting season was open, I would begin to [221] ●
fast again. [222]

This was my life for a number of years. [787]

After a while we bought a pony on which we used to pack all our belongings whenever we moved our [231]
camp. In addition three of us would ride on top of [995]
the pack. Sometimes my mother and sometimes my father drove the pony.

After I had grown a little older and taller all of us 159*
brothers would fast together. My father would indeed 785
repeatedly urge us to fast. "Do not be afraid of the burnt remains of the lodge center-pole," he would say to us.[5] "Whatever are the true possessions of men, the apparel of men and the gift of doctoring—all these things that are spread out before you—do try and obtain one of them."[6] Thus he would speak to us.

I would then take a piece of charcoal, crush it and blacken my face and he would be very grateful to me.

I would at first break my fast at noon but then gradually I began to fast all night. From the fall of the year until spring I would fast until nightfall and then eat. After a while I trained myself to pass the night without eating and after that I was able to go two nights and days without taking any food. Then my mother went to the woods at some distance from the

[5] Symbolical manner of describing the crushed charcoal with which fasters must blacken their faces. [195]

[6] By "possessions of men" he means mainly that knowledge which will make a man honored and respected in his community; and by "apparel of men," he means power and ability. [554]

## §3. *Fasting*

*159 At this stage of life I secretly got the desire to make myself pleasing to the opposite sex.

[342] The Indians then lived in their old-fashioned lodges. Women, however, whenever they had their menses, [343] were placed in special huts. There the young men [84] would go to court them at night when their parents were *159 asleep. I used to go along with the men on such occa- 84 sions, for even although I did not enter any lodges but [584] merely accompanied the older men, I enjoyed it.

My parents were greatly in fear of my coming into contact with menstruating women so therefore I went with these men secretly. My parents were even afraid of having me cross the path over which a menstruating woman had passed. They worried so much about it at that time, because I was to fast as soon as autumn came. They did not wish me to be near menstruating women, for were I to grow up in their midst I would assuredly be weak and of little account. Such was their reason.

*159 Before long I started to fast again together with an 785 older brother of mine, both day and night. It was [221] during the fall moving, and several lodges of people were living near us. There it was that my elder brother and I fasted. Among the people of the other lodges [883] were four girls whose duty it was to carry wood.

although the feast was supposedly given in our honor, we were placed on one side of the main participants. After the kettles containing the food had been put on twice, it became daylight and the feast was over.

The following spring we moved to the Mississippi in order to trap. I was still fasting and ate only at night. My brothers used to flatter me, telling me that I was the cleverest of them all and, in consequence, I used to continue fasting although I was often very hungry. In spite of my desire to fast, however, I could not resist the temptation of being around the girls. I wanted always to be near them. They were generally in their menstrual lodges [13] when I looked for them. My parents did not wish me to go near the girls then but I went nevertheless.

My parents told me that only those boys who had no connection with women would be blessed by the spirits. Throughout this time my sole wish was to appear great in the sight of the people. To be praised by my fellowmen was all I desired. And I certainly received what I sought. I stood high in their estimation. That the women might like me was another of the reasons why I wanted to fast. But as to being blessed, I learned nothing about it, although I went around with the air of one who had received many blessings and talked as such a one would talk.

[13] Any contact with menstruating women, or even with objects in any way connected with them, will, it is the firm belief of the Winnebago, destroy the power of sacred objects or individuals temporarily sacred. Fasting youths were regarded as such.

## *Reminiscences of Childhood*

We were three boys of whom I was the youngest and 159 *
at night we slept together. In cold weather we fought 593
as to who was to sleep in the middle, since whoever got 513
that place was warm; for while those at either end used to pull the cover from each other, the one in the middle was always covered. Even after I grew up I always took the cover away from the particular person with whom I happened to be sleeping. I would always fold it under me, for it had become a habit with me to take the cover away from the other person whenever I slept on the outside.

We always ate out of one dish. At times we did not 159 *
have enough food on hand and then I would always try 159
to get enough by eating very fast. In this way I often 261
succeeded in depriving the others of their proper portion. Sometimes, on the other hand, I would purposely eat slowly and then when the others were finished, I would say that I had not been given enough and so get some of their food. In this way I developed a habit, that I still have, of eating fast. Even after I grew up, whenever I ate with other people, I always finished sooner than they did.

Another habit acquired then was the ability to go
without food for a whole day while traveling. I did [484]
not mind this in the least, for during my fasting I had grown accustomed to going without food for long periods of time.

159 *
In the summer, at the season when people pick ber- [221] ●
ries, I used to go around visting, sometimes for a day, [222]
sometimes for a longer period. I would often receive [519]

knowing what is the right thing to do. Ask for this instruction, my son. It is not a matter requiring a few moments; it is something that must be thoroughly learned. You, too, must learn it. 159* 867 577

To a girl the following was told:

My daughter, as you travel along the path of life, listen to your parents. Do not let your mother work. Attend to the wants of your father. All the work in the house belongs to you. Do not shirk it. Chop wood, pack it; look after the gardens; gather the vegetables and cook them. When you come back to the village in the spring, plant your fields immediately. Never get lazy, for Earthmaker created you to do these things. 867 593 [462] [221]

My daughter, when you get your menses, do not ask those in the house to give you any food. Fast and do not eat until you get back to the family lodge. If you act thus, you will be fasting for your seat, for your position in life. You can only keep this seat by fasting. Then when you marry, even if your husband has been a good-for-nothing before, he will become a good hunter. You will have accomplished this for him. You will not fail in anything and you will be happy and contented. If, on the contrary, you do not do as I tell you, then when you marry, you will weaken your husband. After a while he will become sickly and it will be your fault. [841] [785]

It is not good to use medicine. If you marry a man and place medicine upon his head, you will weaken him and he will not amount to anything. It may happen that you do not want your husband to leave you and that after reflecting on the matter, you place some medicine on his head, to prevent him from leaving you. This is not good. You 867 593 832

*159 584 some young men had forced themselves into lodges where they had not been willingly received.

On one occasion I went to see a young girl and arrived there before the people had retired so I waited near the lodge until they went to sleep. As I lay there waiting, listening, I fell asleep. When I woke up it was morning and when the people got up they found me sleeping there. I felt very much ashamed of myself [626] and the people laughed at me. I was not long in getting away.

We always did these things secretly for it was considered a disgrace to be caught and discovered.

On another occasion, in another place, I was crawling into a lodge when some one woke up as I was about halfway in. I immediately stopped and remained quiet and waited for the people to fall asleep again. In waiting, however, I myself fell asleep. When the people woke me up in the morning I was lying halfway inside the lodge. After waking me up they asked me whether I wouldn't stay for breakfast but I immediately ran away.

After a while I began to go around with some particular girl and I liked it so much that I would not get to sleep at all at night. I would sleep during the day. While we were acting in this manner our parents saw to it that we had food to eat and clothes to wear. We never helped them, for we were always courting girls. [221] Only in the fall, when we picked berries, did we help along. However, as we were generally out all night, we could not do much work even then.

## §11. *Wandering and Hunting*

After a while I used to get into the habit of going to 159* town. When I got there I would look into the barrels to see if there was any food in them and if there was I would fill my pockets with whatsoever I found. I [685] used to steal a great deal.

About springtime we always moved away from the 159* vicinity of the town. We always moved to the place 221 where my father intended to trap, generally to the [204] neighborhood of some farming community where there were few Indians. There my mother used to make [285] baskets and sell them to the farmers. We also used to [439] circulate a written petition asking for any help people cared to give us. Whenever they went on this kind [648] of a trip I always went along with them, for sometimes people would take pity on us and give us some old clothes. Sometimes we would even get a good meal at some farmer's house. For these reasons I was always envious of those who went along on such journeys.

Occasionally when we got many provisions I had to carry some of them, but I never minded that. When [003] the birds returned north father used to make us bows and arrows and we would then shoot at them and often kill many. We also used to kill squirrels which my [224] grandmother roasted for us. My older brother was a [252]

*159 ● 22 [223] good shot and I was greatly his inferior. He often killed pheasants.

*159 648 526 Whenever the older people went to town circulating petitions for help we youngsters always went along. We always took our bows and arrows with us for the Whites wanted to see how well we could shoot. Often they placed five-cent pieces on some object at a considerable distance and had us shoot at them. We generally hit a number. I would also let my brother shoot at twenty-five cent pieces that I held between my fingers and he never hit my fingers. We would often make as much as five dollars in this way and this money we always gave to our parents.

*159 22 [131] [861] In summer the Winnebago would return to Black River Falls (Wisconsin). We used to go out with our bows and arrows and stay out all day. At evening when we returned we of course always expected to get a scolding and we therefore had a good excuse ready. It really would have been much better had we returned earlier in the day, but we were enjoying ourselves so much hunting that night overtook us when we were still a long distance from home. Often we would not eat anything at all all day, but to that we were accustomed. Sometimes we would go fishing on a stream nearby, forget all about the time, and then return home very late. We got a scolding then even although we had a good excuse.

[P. 88]

## *My Brother Is Murdered*

as I pretended for whenever I woke up from a drunken 159* orgy I found myself firmly bound. [273]

All I did was to wander from place to place, from one woman to another. I had four sisters and from them [593] and from my parents did I receive all that I possessed [156] and yet in spite of this, I claimed to be a great man! I then had two women staying with me as my wives. 159* At one time I had as many as four, two at my parents' 588 house and two at certain relatives of mine. I wasn't serious with any one of them. I lied all the time; I was [577] always telling falsehoods. On one occasion I had four children born to me and each one had a different mother. Even after that I continued courting women and drinking.

In the spring there was always work to do. We 159* rolled logs down the stream and drank. I accepted [22] such occupations because I could then always get as [273] much drink as I wanted. Whenever I had any money I spent it on getting some woman drunk.

[P. 135]

## §26. *I Am Arrested for Murder and Confess*

Two years elapsed. At about that time we heard 159* that the men who were responsible for the disappearance of the Pottawattomie had been discovered. 698 One of those who had taken part in his murder had been to Nebraska and had there announced his deed in recounting his acts of bravery at a Warrior Dance. [727] Such was the rumor. This same man had also announced it at a funeral wake. It was in this way that the facts had come out.

That same winter, while I was living in the forest [204] cutting wood, two men came to me one night. They were officers. They mentioned a man's name to me and asked me if I knew him. I said, "Yes." "Well," said they, "let us go to town. We want to ask you some things." They told me to get ready. I did so and rode in a wagon they possessed. Then the men asked me, "Did Peter kill this man? Do you know?" "I do not know," I said to them. Then they told me from what source they had obtained the information and again asked me, "Did you ever hear anything about it?" "No," I answered. "Did you know that this man was missing?" "I did hear that a man had been missing, but as I had not known him, I did not give the matter much thought," I said to them. Then

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241 [778] In the middle of the field was usually placed an earthen representation of the clan animal. As to how squash and beans were planted, no reliable information is available. The corn was planted in small circular mounds which, to judge from those near Madison, Wis., were arranged in remarkably straight rows.

[442 177] The author is unable to say what type of implements was used, as the Winnebago have been using those of European manufacture for many years and have no recollection of any other kind.

If anyone had more corn planted than he could take care of he
241 gave a feast, to which he invited all who had hoes. At this feast
527 dried corn was used. On this occasion the people sacrificed tobacco
782 to their hoes, so that they might not cut themselves with these implements or have other accidents. Then they all joined in helping their host cultivate his corn.

249 In addition to the above-mentioned patches, most Winnebago had small fields of tobacco, which were regarded as very sacred. The tobacco grown on these was used only for sacrificial purposes. Sacred gourds also were planted in these fields.

232 *Berry picking.*—From the earliest times the Winnebago were known for their bountiful supply of berries. Every fall parties of men, women, and children went out to pick cranberries and whortleberries.

222 *Customs when berries are ripening.*—If a man has a son whom he
787 loves very much, he has him fast as soon as the berries and other things begin to ripen. If this boy dreams of something good, then he (the father) gives a feast with the newly ripened food and the boy eats. If the boy does not dream of anything good after four days, the father makes him eat and has him try again.

222 *Rice gathering.*—In common with the Central Algonquian tribes, with whom they have come in contact, especially the Menominee, the Winnebago spent a number of weeks every year gathering wild rice. The following description of the manner in which this is done is taken from a newspaper article published by Prof. A. E. Jenks of the University of Minnesota:

> Fox River from its source to Lake Winnebago was for hundreds of years a very productive field for this aquatic cereal, and along this river the Winnebago lived in plenty and peace with several wild rice eating tribes of the Algonkin stock. Probably a few families still gather their annual crop in that old domain; but most of the wild rice which the tribe now gathers is obtained in the sloughs of the Mississippi River near Lacrosse, Wis., and on the Iowa side of that river
>
> The Winnebago gather the grain by running their canoes into the tall standing stalks before the grain is ripe. A stick is held in each hand of the harvester, one being used to draw the standing stalks over the edge of the canoe, while the other one is employed in tapping or striking the heads of the stalks, thus knocking the grain out of the fruit head into the canoe. After the canoe is full it is taken to the shore and emptied.

252 *Preparation of foods.*—Meats were prepared by broiling, in three
262 ways—on stakes, over a rack, or under hot ashes. Only the ribs

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the matter. If, on the other hand, he submitted to whatever punishment the Bear clansmen inflicted on him without resistance and apologized to them, then they would build him a new lodge and supply it with better goods than those which they had been compelled to destroy. 614 625

This is the way in which the soldiers act when they are on duty. They never jest and their word is a command. If it is not immediately obeyed, their next move is to punish. For that reason one generally listens to them and their commands. When they are not on duty they are the same as other people. Different members of the tribe are on duty at different times, for the leader changes them about frequently.

If a field of rice is found in some swamp or lake the Bear clan people are informed and they go over and keep watch over it and give every person an equal chance at picking it. If a person sneaks away and takes advantage of the others, the Bear clan people punish him. [222 262] [685]

The Bear clansmen guard the village almost all the time. When a council is held they guard the council lodge, and when a person is tried for some crime, particularly that of murder, a trial which generally takes place in the Thunderbird clan lodge, then they carefully guard this lodge, lest the prisoner try to escape or his relatives or confederates try to rescue him. [623 692] 682

Certain actions and remarks are not permitted in the Bear clan lodge. They are the following: 614 625 784

To peep into the lodge.

To make the remark that they live in a nice lodge.

To sit in the doorway.

To give a deep sigh or snort inside the lodge.

Should any person do one of these forbidden things, the Bear clansmen would be compelled to give the most valued thing in the lodge to the offender.

If a man seduced a woman, he was brought to the lodge of the Bear clan and severely whipped. If the soldier whipped him too severely, he in turn was whipped. 614 625 684

If a murderer was brought to the Bear clan lodge and the chief of the tribe asked that the man be freed, the rest of the tribe would beg the relatives of the murdered man to relent; but if the murderer was turned over to the soldiers, they would take him to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives and let one of them kill him. [622] 682

According to one informant, the Deer clansmen acted as servants to the Bear clan. 614

The Bear and the Wolf clans are friends, and although, as we indicated on page 201, each clan is paired off with another, the relationship of the Bear and Wolf clans is particularly intimate. It was even claimed that a Bear clansman would revenge the death of a Wolf clansman. For no other clans did the author hear this statement made. The women are addressed by the men and by each other as "my opposite," referring unquestionably to the positions in the council lodge. [551]

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 Thus I acted up to the time that I have memory of things.

*159 In those days there were not many white people
221 living near us as to-day. My father went out hunt-
[224] ing continually. The lodge in which we lived was cov-
[342] ered with rush mattings, with reed mattings spread over
[352] the floor. After hunting for some time in one place we would move to another. My father, mother, older sisters, and older brothers, all carried the packs. Thus we would spend our time until the spring of the year and then in the spring we would again move in order
[224] to live near some stream where father could hunt
[136] muskrats, mink, otter, and beaver.

In the summer we always returned to Black River Falls, Wisconsin. Here all the Indians gathered after
[222] they had given their feasts. Then we picked berries. When picking berries my father used to buy me gum
*159 so that I should not be able to eat any of the berries.
[261] I managed however to eat berries and chew gum at the same time. After a while I learned to chew tobacco and then I did not eat the berries while picking them.
[276] Later on I got to like tobacco very much and I probably used up more money in buying tobacco than would have been the value of the berries had I eaten them.

ing and crying to await the coming of the spirit. Among the Winne-
[187] bago, and probably among many other tribes, it was customary
[593] for the parents or grandparents, to prepare the children specifically for what was likely to happen;? to inform them how to recognize
[603] the approach of the spirit and, what was more to the point, to teach them how to distinguish a good from a bad spirit.

[2]

? [i.e., during their quest for a guardian spirit, see P.1, Category 116 -- Analyst]

## *Early Childhood*

In the fall of the year we would pick cranberries. 159* When the hunting season was open, I would begin to fast again. [22] [222] [787]

This was my life for a number of years.

After a while we bought a pony on which we used to pack all our belongings whenever we moved our camp. In addition three of us would ride on top of the pack. Sometimes my mother and sometimes my father drove the pony. [231] [495]

After I had grown a little older and taller all of us brothers would fast together. My father would indeed repeatedly urge us to fast. "Do not be afraid of the burnt remains of the lodge center-pole," he would say to us.[5] "Whatever are the true possessions of men, the apparel of men and the gift of doctoring—all these things that are spread out before you—do try and obtain one of them."[6] Thus he would speak to us. 159* 785

I would then take a piece of charcoal, crush it and blacken my face and he would be very grateful to me

I would at first break my fast at noon but then gradually I began to fast all night. From the fall of the year until spring I would fast until nightfall and then eat. After a while I trained myself to pass the night without eating and after that I was able to go two nights and days without taking any food. Then my mother went to the woods at some distance from the

[5] Symbolical manner of describing the crushed charcoal with which fasters must blacken their faces. [195]

[6] By "possessions of men" he means mainly that knowledge which will make a man honored and respected in his community; and by "apparel of men," he means power and ability. [554]

## *Reminiscences of Childhood*

We were three boys of whom I was the youngest and 159 *
at night we slept together. In cold weather we fought 593
as to who was to sleep in the middle, since whoever got 513
that place was warm; for while those at either end used to pull the cover from each other, the one in the middle was always covered. Even after I grew up I always took the cover away from the particular person with whom I happened to be sleeping. I would always fold it under me, for it had become a habit with me to take the cover away from the other person whenever I slept on the outside.

We always ate out of one dish. At times we did not 159 *
have enough food on hand and then I would always try 159
to get enough by eating very fast. In this way I often 261
succeeded in depriving the others of their proper portion. Sometimes, on the other hand, I would purposely eat slowly and then when the others were finished, I would say that I had not been given enough and so get some of their food. In this way I developed a habit, that I still have, of eating fast. Even after I grew up, whenever I ate with other people, I always finished sooner than they did.

Another habit acquired then was the ability to go
without food for a whole day while traveling. I did [484]
not mind this in the least, for during my fasting I had grown accustomed to going without food for long periods of time.

159 *
In the summer, at the season when people pick ber- [221]
ries, I used to go around visting, sometimes for a day, [222]
sometimes for a longer period. I would often receive [514]

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## *I Take a Trip to Nebraska*

dollars. It was a good horse. Then the lawyer said, 159 * "You have committed many crimes, and you had better go to the place from which you came. If you stay here any longer, we will lock you up." [698]

I left that same day. Two old men were going to Wisconsin, and I went with them. They did not know how to speak English, so they took me as their interpreter. I left one of my horses in the pasture there. These men were very fond of whisky, and I bought whisky for them all along the route. After a time we arrived in Wisconsin, just at the cranberry-picking season. I was drunk when we reached our destination. As we approached my home I told the old men that they should come and visit me. As I said it, I gave a whoop. [191] [273] [222]

[P. 155]

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224 825 or hear the noise and run away. For this reason the hunters are very careful about three two things—namely, the number of bears shot and the direction of the wind. The method of hunting bears when the acorns fall and they come to the open or cleared spaces is known as the *hiruci'e* method. When the bears eat acorns then only is it easy to find them and kill them without much effort.

224 [721 648] *Description of a buffalo hunt.* Whenever the Winnebago went buffalo hunting, they always went in large numbers, for the people used to say that on a buffalo hunt, they are likely to encounter their enemies and a fight might take place. It is even said that some people went purposely for the fighting. They generally went together with the *Homoxoa* (Missouri ?), *Waxoicera*, Iowa, and *Wadjobidjedjera*, the Otu. Many women accompanied them. It is said that they could always tell where the buffalo were by the dust they encountered, for the dust raised by the trampling of the buffalo rose high in the air. They would always start out for the buffalo early in the morning on fast horses and try to ride up along the right side of the female buffalo, for they only killed the bulls afterward. They shot the buffalo with bow and arrows. When riding horseback, the bow is always drawn back with the right hand. The reason they try to kill the female buffalo first is because they always run away while the bulls do not.

While hunting the buffalo they were always bound to meet some of their enemies and a fight would ensue, so that when they returned, they would bring back not only [727] buffalo but also scalps, and immediately after their return the Victory Dance would be celebrated.

224 721 A different account of a buffalo hunt was obtained from another informant (J. H.):[1]

[342] Whenever we go on a buffalo hunt we camp in a circle, with the soldiers in front. They always carried long poles to be used in the construction of tipis. [This statement was made by a number of persons whose information was generally accurate. As [237 372] they were bound for the open prairie where there was a scarcity of wood, buffalo manure was always carried for fuel.]

As soon as the chief decided to go on a hunt he gave a feast [war feast] to which he invited everyone. This was generally in June. As soon as the feast was over a hunting council was held. Then the chief appointed public criers who went around the [203] village announcing the time for starting, etc. Then all went to the lodge of the chief of the Bear clan. There the ten best warriors were selected, who were to go ahead of the main body and reconnoiter for both buffalo and enemies. These started immediately and if they returned with the news that they had found many buffalo and enemy at the same time, fights frequently took place. Ten warriors always went ahead and the old warriors generally stayed in the rear behind the women in order to protect them better. As soon as they came to the place where the buffalo were seen they followed their trail and killed them. The flesh was cut up into large chunks, which were afterwards dried on the grass. Then when they had enough they all returned home, observing, of course, the same order of march as when they started. When they reached their home they gave another war feast at which all thanked the spirits for their successful return.

223 [762] *Pigeon hunt.*—The pigeons are "chief"[2] birds and they would be hunted whenever the chief decided to give the chief feast. The entire tribe was always invited to participate in the meal served, so that many pigeons were needed. The pigeons generally make their nests near human habitations. Sometimes there would be 20

[1] As his grandfather was a Dakota, J. H. may have confused in his account Dakota customs with those of the Winnebago. Apart from this consideration, it should be said that J. H. was an exceedingly unreliable informant.

[825 214] [2] They are called "chief" birds because the pigeon belongs to the same division as does the Thunderbird, or Chief, clan.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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in one tree, but a really large tree would hold even more. The pigeons were hunted 223
in the following manner: Long poles were taken and the pigeons poked out of their
nests. In this manner many would be killed very easily in one day. They are [252]
then either broiled or steeped, when they have a delicious taste. Often it is unnecessary to hunt for them after a storm because large quantities die from exposure to inclement weather.

*Method of slaughtering animals.*—According to most of the author's 252
informants, all larger animals were opened by making two long in- 224
cisions, one on each side of the chest. This information may be accepted as correct with respect to the bear, but there is less certainty as to other large animals. There are two considerations, however, which seem to make the question of agreement among informants of secondary importance: First, the considerable differences in this and kindred matters among the settlements of the Winnebago, due to the large extent of territory they inhabited and the diverse influences potent at various places; and secondly, the fact that the distribution of food was entirely a matter of courtesy between individuals, so that considerable variation in custom was both possible and probable.

According to one informant the man who killed an animal had the 224
least to say about its distribution and generally got the poorest share. 425
This unquestionably does not give a very accurate impression of the custom, because subsequent questioning brought out clearly the fact that the manner of distribution depended entirely on the number of individuals present at the killing of the animal, and also on the age of these individuals and their social standing. Remembering that there is no "typical" division which an Indian thinks of in the abstract, but that he always has in mind particular instances of distribution, in order to ascertain definite rules it would obviously be necessary to obtain an adequate number of representative cases in which all the possibilities based on the factors of age, number, and social standing would be duly considered.

From another individual the following information was obtained: When two people went hunting the man who killed the animal received the head, breast, feet, lungs, and heart; his companion, the hide and the rest of the animal. A feast was given afterwards, however, at which the bravest warrior received all that was properly the share of the man who killed the animal. When four went out, the eldest always got the hide; he was granted also the right to apportion the animal. This last instance seems significant in view of the fact that at the tribal hunt the rights of the individual who killed the animal were subservient to many other rights, as those pertaining to seniority and social standing, and suggests that only when one or two individuals took the rather great risks of hunting by themselves was actual killing of the animal deemed of predominating importance in the apportionment.

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BOW AND BIRD ARROW

[Facing p. 118(a)]

44F
223

## §11. *Wandering and Hunting*

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Occasionally when we got many provisions I had to carry some of them, but I never minded that. When [003] the birds returned north father used to make us bows and arrows and we would then shoot at them and often kill many. We also used to kill squirrels which my [229] grandmother roasted for us. My older brother was a [252]

*159 221 [223] good shot and I was greatly his inferior. He often killed pheasants.

*159 648 526 Whenever the older people went to town circulating petitions for help we youngsters always went along. We always took our bows and arrows with us for the Whites wanted to see how well we could shoot. Often they placed five-cent pieces on some object at a considerable distance and had us shoot at them. We generally hit a number. I would also let my brother shoot at twenty-five cent pieces that I held between my fingers and he never hit my fingers. We would often make as much as five dollars in this way and this money we always gave to our parents.

*159 22 [131] [861] In summer the Winnebago would return to Black River Falls (Wisconsin). We used to go out with our bows and arrows and stay out all day. At evening when we returned we of course always expected to get a scolding and we therefore had a good excuse ready. It really would have been much better had we returned earlier in the day, but we were enjoying ourselves so much hunting that night overtook us when we were still a long distance from home. Often we would not eat anything at all all day, but to that we were accustomed. Sometimes we would go fishing on a stream nearby, forget all about the time, and then return home very late. We got a scolding then even although we had a good excuse.

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*Method of wearing the hair.*—In former times the men wore their hair in two long braids, although some seem to have affected the Sauk and Fox roach. The scalp along the parting of the hair was always painted, the color varying with individuals. There is no indication of any distinctions in the method of wearing the hair among the various clans as found among the Osage. 302 [177]

A variety of coiffures exist among the Winnebago women at the present day and the assumption that these are all recent is unwarranted. It seems probable that in the old days the hair was usually worn in one braid, which on festive occasions was inclosed in a case. This consisted of two parts—a rectangular piece of broadcloth beaded, and long strips of beaded work (pl. 28).

*Earrings and bracelets.* At the present time earrings are fashioned either of 10-cent pieces strung together or of various ornaments of German silver. Strings of beads also are worn occasionally. Bracelets now are made generally of German silver, while in former times beaded or quillwork buckskin was used. 301 [178]

*Arm bands and necklaces.*—Arm bands are made either of German silver or beaded work. The necklaces consist of long strings of various articles, as modern wampum, seeds, and elk teeth.

Belts, as well as cross belts, are now either beaded or woven, but formerly they were always woven from buffalo hair. Shell gorgets are generally of the type shown in plates 22, 24, 26, *b*. Tight collars are now made of beaded work. Bandoliers consist of long sashes with bags attached; both sash and bag are always gorgeously beaded. The bandoliers are worn in three ways, with the bag hanging on the right side, on the left side, or in front. Often the same individual wears two or three bandoliers. Garters are now made of beaded work; formerly these were generally made of the skins of various animals, preferably the polecat (pls. 27, 28, 29, 30, *b*). 293

*Headdress and taildress.*—The Winnebago headdress has been well described by Skinner (op. cit., p. 293), as follows: 301 237

> The typical headdress is a roach or comb-like ornament woven from deer's hair and generally dyed red. A carved bone, somewhat like an elongate isosceles triangle in shape, spread out this roach and was attached near the front to another tubular bone in which an eagle feather was inserted. Often the latter was ornamented with dyed horse hair and rattlesnake rattles. . . . The whole was fastened on the crown of the head slightly back of the forehead. It was usually pinned to the hair, the scalpock serving to hold it on.

A taildress, consisting of the tail of some animal, was worn only at certain dances, particularly the Horucka.

## Hunting

In their original habitat hunting was the most important means of subsistence of the Winnebago. Practically all game available was 224

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224 hunted, very few animals being tabooed. So far as the author
[784] knows, the following animals only were not eaten: Skunk, mink,
[262] marten, otter, horse, the weasel, gophers of all kinds, crows (northern ravens?), and eagles.

411 *Bow.*—The bow and arrow and traps were used in hunting. The bow is of a very simple type, having ends more or less pointed by rubbing them on stones. In former times the bowstring was made of sinew.

*Arrows.*—There were five types of arrows, distinguished both by the nature of the arrowhead and by their use: *Ma° p'aze'dera*, bird arrow; *ma'°mante p'a°'u°*, rabbit, or small mammal, arrow; *ma° k'ctcĥk cako'k'ere*, deer and large mammal arrow; *mai° su'ra*, or *mai°so'k'ere*, used in battle; and the *ma° p'a'°una*, also used in battle. The first two and the last were made entirely of wood, generally hickory, the last being merely a pointed stick. The third and the fourth were the only ones that had separate heads attached. The
[237] head of the third was, as the name implies, a turtle claw, and that of the fourth a fragment of flint. The Winnebago have no recollection of ever having made flint arrowheads and claim that those they used were found in the ground (pl. 31).

224 *Traps.*—One of the principal traps consisted of a heavy timber supported very slightly by an upright, to which a piece of wood was attached bearing bait at the end. No sooner does the animal—wolf, bear, fox, or raccoon—touch the bait than the heavy timber falls upon his head, killing him instantly. Another trap commonly used for rabbits may be described thus: The head of a post is hollowed out to receive the knob-shaped end of a long pliable piece of wood that fits into it very lightly. To the latter is attached a noose, so arranged that it draws away the knob-shaped head at the slightest touch. The rabbit must put his head into the noose in order to get at the bait; in so doing he invariably moves the lever, which springs back, jerking him into the air and strangling him.

For trapping deer a very ingenious method is used. Taking advantage of the animal's habit of following repeatedly the same trail, the hunter at some point of a deer trail piles across it a mass of brush to a height of about 4 feet. Behind this he plants a pointed stake so that it can not be seen by the animal. On encountering the obstruction the deer leaps over it and is impaled on the stake.

Knowledge of the habits of beavers and otters is utilized in the following way: Many of these animals live along winding creeks, and in proceeding from one place to another, instead of following all the meanderings of the streams, they cut across the land. The Winnebago hunter digs deep holes in these cut-offs and covers them with hay. Into these the animals fall and are unable to get out.

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*The bear hunt.* Bears were hunted by individuals or by the tribe. 224
Before a man started on a bear hunt he went through the following 796
ceremony, known as *wana'tcv're*, literally "concentration of the 782
mind." He either built a special lodge or used his own for the ceremony. A kettle containing food was placed on the fireplace; this was intended for the particular bear the man wished to kill. The food generally consisted of corn or dried fruit; tobacco and red feathers also were offered, the former in small bark vessels. All these offerings were made not only as sacrifices to the bear but in order to make the feast as tempting as possible. When everything was in readiness, the host rubbed two sticks having rough surfaces against each other, called *nai'ⁿcuraz* or *nai'ⁿcuidja'k'ere*. The host never ate. He continued his singing and rubbing until he attracted the attention of the bear, as indicated by the appearance of a little streak of flame passing from the fire toward the gifts he brought for him.

The same ceremony was performed before starting on a deer or a raccoon hunt. In addition to this ceremony, individuals always used the special hunting medicines that they obtained during their fasts. This was frequently chewed and then rubbed into the arrow (nowadays into the gun).[1] [789]

There is a time of the year called *hiruci'r*, when bear break hickory 224
or oak branches for the nuts or the acorns. It seems they are then
very easy to approach. If a man killed a bear he would always [825]
refer to it in terms of respect.

The tribal bear hunt always took place in summer. As enemies [721
were generally encountered on the way a winter or war feast was 527]
always given before the party started. This had nothing to do, however, with the hunt proper. Following is a fairly close translation of an account of a Winnebago bear hunt and buffalo hunt secured by the author:

*Description of a bear hunt.*—When the Winnebago went on the bear hunt they 224
always traveled in large numbers. They would always be able to find bears in the 825
groves of red timber-oak, and it would be very easy to kill them. Nevertheless the old people considered it a very dangerous affair, especially if the hunters came upon breeding bear. If anyone killed a breeding bear he would cause very much trouble. The male bear would get very angry and chase the man who had done the killing, and if it ever happened that he was out of ammunition, the man surely would be killed. The bear would jump upon him and tear him to pieces. It is said that when bears kill a human being they always eat him. Another way of getting at the bears was to clear away the ground for them. It is very easy to kill them then. This generally takes place at the time of the year when the acorns fall to the ground. The bears gather in the cleared spaces and lie down there. They lie in the timber under the trees. They look like black objects in the distance. It is customary to shoot at them from some distance, but care is always taken not to shoot all of them, nor to shoot when the wind was with them, for then they would scent the hunters

[1] Numerous descriptions of the *wanatcv're* are given in the Hare Trickster cycle.

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224 825 or hear the noise and run away. For this reason the hunters are very careful about these two things—namely, the number of bears shot and the direction of the wind. The method of hunting bears when the acorns fall and they come to the open or cleared spaces is known as the *hirucîc* method. When the bears eat acorns then only is it easy to find them and kill them without much effort.

224 *Description of a buffalo hunt.* Whenever the Winnebago went buffalo hunting, they always went in large numbers, for the people used to say that on a buffalo hunt, [721] they are likely to encounter their enemies and a fight might take place. It is even 648 said that some people went purposely for the fighting. They generally went together with the *Homaxoc* (Missouri ?), Waxdeera, Iowa, and *Hudjidadjera*, the Otn. Many women accompanied them. It is said that they could always tell where the buffalo were by the dust they encountered, for the dust raised by the trampling of the buffalo rose high in the air. They would always start out for the buffalo early in the morning on fast horses and try to ride up along the right side of the female buffalo, for they only killed the bulls afterward. They shot the buffalo with bow and arrows. When riding horseback, the bow is always drawn back with the right hand. The reason they try to kill the female buffalo first is because they always run away while the bulls do not.

While hunting the buffalo they were always bound to meet some of their enemies and a fight would ensue, so that when they returned, they would bring back not only [727] buffalo but also scalps, and immediately after their return the Victory Dance would be celebrated.

224 721 A different account of a buffalo hunt was obtained from another informant (J. H.):[4]

[342] Whenever we go on a buffalo hunt we camp in a circle, with the soldiers in front. They always carried long poles to be used in the construction of tipis. [This statement was made by a number of persons whose information was generally accurate. As [237 372] they were bound for the open prairie where there was a scarcity of wood, buffalo manure was always carried for fuel.]

As soon as the chief decided to go on a hunt he gave a feast [war feast] to which he invited everyone. This was generally in June. As soon as the feast was over a hunting council was held. Then the chief appointed public criers who went around the [203] village announcing the time for starting, etc. Then all went to the lodge of the chief of the Bear clan. There the ten best warriors were selected, who were to go ahead of the main body and reconnoiter for both buffalo and enemies. These started immediately and if they returned with the news that they had found many buffalo and enemy at the same time, fights frequently took place. Ten warriors always went ahead and the old warriors generally stayed in the rear behind the women in order to protect them better. As soon as they came to the place where the buffalo were seen they followed their trail and killed them. The flesh was cut up into large chunks, which were afterwards dried on the grass. Then when they had enough they all returned home, observing, of course, the same order of march as when they started. When they reached their home they gave another war feast at which all thanked the spirits for their successful return.

223 *Pigeon hunt.*—The pigeons are "chief"[4] birds and they would be hunted when- [762] ever the chief decided to give the chief feast. The entire tribe was always invited to participate in the meal served, so that many pigeons were needed. The pigeons generally make their nests near human habitations. Sometimes there would be 20

[4] As his grandfather was a Dakota, J. H. may have confused in his account Dakota customs with those of the Winnebago. Apart from this consideration, it should be said that J. H. was an exceedingly unreliable informant.

[825 [4] They are called "chief" birds because the pigeon belongs to the same division as does the Thunder-bird, or Chief, clan. 214]

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in one tree, but a really large tree would hold even more. The pigeons were hunted 223
in the following manner: Long poles were taken and the pigeons poked out of their
nests. In this manner many would be killed very easily in one day. They are [252]
then either broiled or steeped, when they have a delicious taste. Often it is unnecessary to hunt for them after a storm because large quantities die from exposure to inclement weather.

*Method of slaughtering animals.*—According to most of the author's 252
informants, all larger animals were opened by making two long in- 224
cisions, one on each side of the chest. This information may be accepted as correct with respect to the bear, but there is less certainty as to other large animals. There are two considerations, however, which seem to make the question of agreement among informants of secondary importance: First, the considerable differences in this and kindred matters among the settlements of the Winnebago, due to the large extent of territory they inhabited and the diverse influences potent at various places; and secondly, the fact that the distribution of food was entirely a matter of courtesy between individuals, so that considerable variation in custom was both possible and probable.

According to one informant the man who killed an animal had the 224
least to say about its distribution and generally got the poorest share. 425
This unquestionably does not give a very accurate impression of the custom, because subsequent questioning brought out clearly the fact that the manner of distribution depended entirely on the number of individuals present at the killing of the animal, and also on the age of these individuals and their social standing. Remembering that there is no "typical" division which an Indian thinks of in the abstract, but that he always has in mind particular instances of distribution, in order to ascertain definite rules it would obviously be necessary to obtain an adequate number of representative cases in which all the possibilities based on the factors of age, number, and social standing would be duly considered.

From another individual the following information was obtained: When two people went hunting the man who killed the animal received the head, breast, feet, lungs, and heart; his companion, the hide and the rest of the animal. A feast was given afterwards, however, at which the bravest warrior received all that was properly the share of the man who killed the animal. When four went out, the eldest always got the hide; he was granted also the right to apportion the animal. This last instance seems significant in view of the fact that at the tribal hunt the rights of the individual who killed the animal were subservient to many other rights, as those pertaining to seniority and social standing, and suggests that only when one or two individuals took the rather great risks of hunting by themselves was actual killing of the animal deemed of predominating importance in the apportionment.

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224 *Regulation of the tribal hunt.*—It can not be said that there were
[721] many special regulations during the tribal hunt. The rules applying to the regulation of war parties held here too. (For a description of these, see p. 156.)

Individuals were strictly prohibited from taking the initiative except by permission. For instance, a man was not allowed to proceed beyond a certain point, or shoot before a certain time; in short, not to do anything by which he might endanger his own life, the safety of his companions, or the success of the hunt, such as scaring away the animals or causing them to stampede.

625 It is during the tribal hunts that the power of the Bear clan is at
224 its height. For this reason it may perhaps be most appropriate to
614 include here a description* of these powers, although this really
484 belongs in the section on Social Organization:

Whenever the Winnebago are on their tribal hunt or whenever they move from one place to another, the soldiers (i. e., the Bear people) take the lead. Whenever they decide to stop at some place, the leader of the Bear people places his stick in the ground and the other soldiers do the same. The line of sticks is a slanting one. The main tribe follows behind at some distance and always camps a little behind them. None of the members of the tribe dare pass ahead of these sticks. If, for instance, during the fall move the tribe were passing through a country in which much game abounded, and if after the tribe had stopped at a certain place anyone should take it upon himself to go ahead and kill game on his own initiative, and he
[686] was discovered, the soldiers would go to his camp and burn it and everything it contained, destroy any supplies he had, and break his dishes. They would spare only his life and the lives of his family. If he resisted he would get a severe whipping. If even after that he resisted them and took his gun and attempted to shoot, the soldiers would not do anything but stand ready. But the moment he made an attempt to shoot, they would kill him and nothing would be said of the matter, for they would be putting into effect the law of the tribe. If, on the other hand, the man submitted to the action of the soldiers and apologized they would make him a better lodge and would give him more and better things than those they had taken away.

## Fishing and Agriculture

226 *Fishing.*—In former times fishing seems to have been done exclusively by spearing or by shooting. The spear (*wocaʼ*) consisted of a long stick provided with a bone or a horn point. Spearing was done preferably at night with the aid of torches made of pine pitch. In shooting fish a long arrowlike stick (*maʼnuxinixni*) with a pointed end, whittled and frayed at the base like the ceremonial staff of the Bear clan, was discharged from an ordinary bow.

227 The most commonly used trap for fishing was a triangular weir loaded with a stone at its base and placed at the head of a waterfall caused by artificial damming of a stream.

784 Very few fish were taboo, the principal ones being the dogfish
226 and the eel.

* By Thunder Cloud.

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867 787 756 that are in your possession. You will indeed never be embarrassed. You will know just wherein his ailment lies. As you have obtained your power with great effort, therefore what you say will be so. If you say he will live, he will live. If the relatives of the patient make you good payments, you may perform what you are accustomed to in your treatment of people. Then you can ask your medicine to put forth its strength for you and it will do so. If you make good [782] offerings of tobacco to the plants and if you make feasts in their honor, if, indeed, you make much of your medicine, if you talk to it as though it were a human being, then when you ask it to put forth its strength it will do so. The payments that you receive you can take with a good conscience and your children will wear them and will be strengthened thereby. So be very diligent in the care you bestow upon them. The medicines were placed here by Earthmaker for a good purpose. We are to use them to heal ourselves. For that purpose Earthmaker gave them to us. If anyone tries to obtain the life sustainers—that is, the medicines—and inflicts suffering upon [776] himself in order to obtain them, our grandmother will know about it. So whatever you spend upon it, be it in labor or in goods, she will know about it. All that you gave in obtaining your medicines she will know. They will be returned to you. The people will thus be providing themselves with something for the future. The people always look forward to the future and for all possible happenings they will have some medicine provided. You must try to obtain some of the medicines that most people possess. If you want 867 paint-medicine, make yourself pitiable. If your paint-medicine 789 overcomes your enemy and you keep it in your home, you will never 756 be wanting in wealth. The most valued possessions of the people will be given to you. The people will love you and the paint-medicine will be the cause of it. Whatever you receive will be in consequence of the possession of the paint-medicine. The paint-medicine [776] is made of the blood of the Water-spirits, and therefore it is holy. People used to fast and thirst themselves to death and a Water-spirit would appear to them and bestow his blessings upon them. Whatever he told them would come true. The Earthmaker put the 867 Water-spirit in charge of these things so that he would bless the 789 people with them. That was his purpose.

Some people who wished to find good medicines obtained the [525 race medicine. Try and learn of it. Others had gambling medicine, 224] and still others again had hunting medicine. There are medicines for very purpose.

[832] There is a courting medicine and a medicine to prevent married people from wishing to separate, and there is a medicine for making one rich.

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him from killing game. In the particular case mentioned above the spell was the following: A man killed a deer, and a pregnant woman ate a piece of the intestine. From that time on the man was unable to kill any more deer. 755 278 [224 843]

The above medicine is used to break the spell of ill luck in hunting caused by the following actions: If a man cohabits with a widow, or if one who is a widower eats together with another person, or if he smokes out of the same pipe as another person. Not only would the medicine free him from his ill luck in hunting, but it would give him good luck in cards and speed in running. [589]

Here is an astringent medicine. It is compounded of a mixture of the "clear" medicine and the "plant that spreads itself on the ground." It is used for the following purposes. As an application for swellings, for illness after childbirth, and for general sores and eruptions of the skin. In case of illness after childbirth it is injected. For sores, etc., it is taken internally. 757 278 [844]

Here is another medicine, called bladder medicine. It is made of the roots of a certain weed. These roots are boiled and then drunk. If one is troubled with stricture, the drinking of this medicine will enable him to pass water immediately. The same medicine is used to alleviate a toothache and to stop too profuse a menstrual flow. [841]

Now this is another medicine. It is made of the leaves of a certain plant. These leaves are rolled up and then drunk down with water. The medicine is used for all stomach complaints.

Here is another medicine used for diarrhea and dysentery. It is made from the roots of a plant that has many thorns and beautiful white blossoms. The roots are scraped and the scrapings boiled and gulped down. At least a pint of this concoction must be taken. It can also be used as a mouth wash for those troubled with sore mouths.

We have another medicine used to rid a person of superfluous bile. This acts as a strong physic and not only cures a person of his indisposition but also gives him a great appetite.

Here is another medicine. It is called the medicine for burns. It consists of the leaves of a certain weed that is dried. If anyone has a burn, he chews some of this dried weed and then applies it to the burn. [752]

Here is also a medicine for private diseases, compounded of the following:

1. Doxieu'tckera hara, red willow bark.
2. Ma"sixu'tckeda hara, English unknown.
3. Nap'a'hira hara, sharp tree.

These barks are pulverized and mixed together with skunk oil.

The next medicine I am going to describe is used in poisoning. It is called small-part-of-a-black-root-tree. It is used for many pur- 754 278

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arrange to have your victim die immediately, or, if you wish, to 734
have him suffer for a long time, by becoming paralyzed.

This same medicine is used in a similar way in times of scarcity of food. The people offer a shaman tobacco and he would do the following: He would take his medicine bundle and walk till he came to the footprints of a bear. Then he would follow the tracks of the bear till he came to his lair. Here he would open his medicine bag, dip the striped feather in the medicine, and sing for some time. When he has finished he makes certain sounds and stabs the bear's footprints. Wherever the bear happened to be at that time, he would not be able to walk, and the people would soon overtake him. For that reason this medicine is valued very highly.

This medicine is also used when one desires something belonging to another. All that is necessary to do in such a case is to use the songs accompanying the medicine. Then all the things one has coveted would immediately be brought. For this reason they thought a good deal of this medicine.

If ever anyone uses it in gambling, he will win. [825]

If again he casts his thoughts upon women, then the power of this medicine would go in their direction; and he will lose while gambling. All the women will, however, like him. He can marry whomsoever he wishes. The same thing will occur when a woman uses this medicine. If she casts her thoughts upon men, she will become foolishly enamored of them. For that reason the old people used to forbid women to use it.

This medicine bundle is also used on the warpath. If a man uses 778
it upon himself and rushes upon the enemy, all those who are in 726
front of him will suddenly find themselves unable to move. A 789
person who goes on a warpath, after he has carefully applied the medicine to himself, is invulnerable. It is impossible to kill him, for no bullets can penetrate his body.

This medicine was likewise used in hunting for bear, and deer 778
could easily be killed with it. Even those who are not accustomed 224
to hunting could kill game easily if they used it.

Many of the medicines mentioned above were obtained from the 756
man who was blessed with the stench-earth medicine. Everyone believed that the cures effected by him with this medicine were real. They believed that this medicine could cure them, and, indeed, it did cure them. It was this man, too, who originated the stench-earth medicine feast. It is a very sacred feast, considered more 756
sacred than any other feast among the Winnebago. When the 796
feast is given, an entire deer is boiled and cut into pieces much larger than any one person could eat. Nevertheless the host orders those whom he has invited to leave nothing upon the plate. Should [264]
any guest leave anything upon his plate, the host would give him a

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867
787 sell. Blessings are not obtained except by making the proper offerings to the spirits and by putting yourself, time and again, in the proper mental condition . . . If you do not obtain a spirit to strengthen you, you will amount to nothing in the estimation of your fellowmen, and they will show you little respect . . . My son, as you travel along life's path, you will find many narrow passages (i. e., crises), and you can never tell when you will come to them. Try to anticipate them, so that you will be endowed with sufficient strength (by obtaining powers from the spirits) to pass safely through these narrow passages.

771 Among the Winnebago religion is definitely connected with the preservation of life values. It is not a phenomenon distinct from mundane life, but one of the most important means of maintaining social ideals. What these are can be gleaned from practically every prayer; they are success, happiness, and long life. The vast majority of investigators are often surprised at the intense religious life which, among the North American Indians, exists side by side with an intense realism and with a clear understanding and appreciation of the materialistic basis of life. The explanation, to judge from the Winnebago data, is simple enough. The Indian does not interpret life in terms of religion, but religion in terms of life. In other words, he exalts the world around him and the multifarious desires and necessities of the day, so that they appear to him bathed in a religious thrill. At least that is what the devoutly religious man does and most of the religious data presented in this volume emanates from him. Still we are convinced that for the vast majority of Winnebago, in other words, for the intermittently religious, there are many moments in life and many actions which are seen through this pleasurable religious thrill.

224 Every Winnebago will admit that to perform the *wanaⁿtce're* ceremony (p. 111) and, on the following day, to agree to start at a certain
796 hour, would not necessarily result in killing a bear. The bear tracks are to be followed and a person is to persevere until the bear is captured, in spite of the fact that the *wanaⁿtce're* ceremony is supposed to insure the capture of the animal.

Or again let us take the following example. No man can hope to
787 go on a warpath and kill an enemy unless he is authorized to do so by a definite blessing received during fasting. If we were to accept this statement as such, we might be led to believe that the Winnebago were willing to risk their young men on so dangerous an undertaking as a warpath, on the sole strength of a fasting experience. It does not stand to reason that they would, and a careful inquiry into the subject has shown that they never did. What actually happened was that the prospective war leader translated into religious terms the exact conditions and requirements of every particular war party. That is why the chief of the tribe and the shamans insisted that only such a person who had been blessed with the most specific kind of knowledge, such as the number of men he must take

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When I was ready to go down among the human beings (i. e., when I became reincarnated) I was given the power to overcome my enemies in battle. And this I have actually done. All the Thunderbirds have small war-clubs. I also had one when I came. Whenever I went on the warpath I made myself a war-club and used that only in battle. I believe that I was invulnerable. Whenever I got tired of living among human beings I knew I could return to the Thunderbirds. I thought I knew all this and that I had these powers. For that reason when I ate peyote I still held on to these beliefs for a long time, thinking that when I returned to the Thunderbirds inasmuch as they are above it would be the same as going to everlasting life, as the Peyote people said. Finally, one night, at a peyote meeting, in thinking over these things, I resolved to give them up. I could, nevertheless, not bring myself to do it. Then the peyote began to strangle me;* at least I thought so. 159 776 787 726 [795]

I also had the power of causing or stopping rain. All that I had to do was to offer tobacco to the Thunderbirds and make my request. [789 782]

HOW A BEAR BLESSED A MAN**

Once a band of Winnebagoes used to give a feast to the bears. A bear had blessed one of their number with life and victory on the warpath. 825 776 787

It was a spirit-bear that had blessed him. The man was fasting and the spirit blessed him and said, "Human, I bless you. In war you will be able to do as you wish (i. e., you will be able to kill an enemy whenever you desire). The first time you go on the warpath you will come back with the fourth war honor; the second time you go on a warpath you will return with the third war honor; the third time you will return with the second war honor; and the fourth time you will return with the first war honor and receive the first prize, which you are to give to your sister." This is what the man "dreamed." He believed it and was happy. Then the spirit-bear said again, "Human, I said that I blessed you and I really mean it. Earthmaker created me and gave me control of many things. Human, I bless you. As many years as Earthmaker bestowed upon you, that number I also bless you with. You will reach the limit of the years that were granted you. With my body I also bless you. Whenever you are hungry and wish to kill a bear, pour a pipeful of tobacco for me. If then you go out hunting, you will be successful. Don't abuse the bears. I am the chief of the bears. I bless you. Never before have I blessed a human being, as long as I have lived here. As long as your descendants live on this earth, so long will this [224 782]

* According to the Peyote people, if a member does not wish to do or tell something that he ought to, the peyote begins to strangle him and he finds no relief until he tells what is on his mind. [795]

** This is really the "origin myth" of a bear feast.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



you can do so, and the women likewise can join, because we have 796x 539x
pulled up our bundle. To the dog that we have here, an offering of 782
tobacco can be made." Thus speaking, he sings. After he has [562]
finished the song, someone specially called upon gives the war whoop, in which the rest join. In this manner they sing four times, and the ceremony ends. They have a dog around whose neck they [231]
tie a red rag, together with a bundle of tobacco, and to each of whose limbs they also tie a bundle of tobacco. This dead dog is to be placed wherever the bones that remain of the feast are buried, generally under some tree. It is supposed that the dog will go directly to the Disease-giver together with the tobacco and there be taken over by him.

*Notes on the Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant, member of the clan: Place of honor at the feast is given to the bravest [554]
man present. Scalps, etc., are always brought to those keeping the war bundle.

Contents of bundle: Black hawk (main thing), two wolf tails, 778
buffalo tail, snake, weasel, three flutes—one red, one black, and one 726
blue. 789

Black hawk used in time of war. If I were leading the war party I would carry it and it would be able to fly. It had a small bundle of medicine tied around the neck, on each wing and each leg. A red flute always went with it.

The two wolf tails could be taken on any warpath. It gives an individual the power of running. The medicine tied to it is to be smeared over the body in order to prevent fatigue. It is also used [224]
in hunting.

Buffalo tail gives fleetness and indicates that the man received strength from the buffalo spirit.

Weasel and snake could be put around the neck and worn over the shoulders in times of war. Gives the power of these respective [325]
animals in wiggling.

Flutes, blue in connection with the buffalo, red in connection with the black hawk, and black in connection with the night spirits [534]

### The War-bundle Feast of the Bear Clan

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The people were about to go 796x
on a hunt, it is said. They returned. Four deer had been killed. 539x
And again they went, and this time three deer were killed. But it was not sufficient, so they went out again, and when they returned it was found that they had killed only three deer. "Well," they said, "this [262]
will be all right. We have ten deer. Perhaps they will last as food until dawn."

They told the attendants to get ready the lodge and to build the fireplaces. They told them also to have the wood and the buck-

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 Thus I acted up to the time that I have memory of things.

*159 In those days there were not many white people
221 living near us as to-day. My father went out hunt-
[224] ing continually. The lodge in which we lived was cov-
[342] ered with rush mattings, with reed mattings spread over
[352] the floor. After hunting for some time in one place we would move to another. My father, mother, older sisters, and older brothers, all carried the packs. Thus we would spend our time until the spring of the year and then in the spring we would again move in order
[224] to live near some stream where father could hunt
[136] muskrats, mink, otter, and beaver.

In the summer we always returned to Black River Falls, Wisconsin. Here all the Indians gathered after
[222] they had given their feasts. Then we picked berries. When picking berries my father used to buy me gum
*159 so that I should not be able to eat any of the berries.
[261] I managed however to eat berries and chew gum at the same time. After a while I learned to chew tobacco and then I did not eat the berries while picking them.
[276] Later on I got to like tobacco very much and I probably used up more money in buying tobacco than would have been the value of the berries had I eaten them.

[587] ing and crying to await the coming of the spirit Among the Winne-
[593] bago, and probably among many other tribes, it was customary for the parents or grandparents, to prepare the children specifically for what was likely to happen; to inform them how to recognise
[603] the approach of the spirit and, what was more to the point, to teach them how to distinguish a good from a bad spirit.

[2]

[i.e., during their quest for a guardian spirit, see P.1, Category 116 -- Analyst]

## *Fasting*

Whenever these girls went out to get wood my older 159*
brother and I would play around with them a great 785
deal. We did this even although we were fasting at
the time. Of course we had to do it in secret. When-
ever our parents found out we got a scolding and so [861]
did the girls. At home we were warned to keep away
from menstruating women, but we ourselves always [841]
sought them.

After a while some of the people living in the lodges 159*
moved away and we were left alone. They moved far
ahead of us. We ourselves were to move only a short
distance at a time. My father and my brother-in-law
went out hunting and killed seventy deer between [224]
them, so that we had plenty of meat.

When the girls with whom I used to play moved
away I became very lonesome. In the evenings I used
to cry. I longed for them greatly and they had moved
far away!

Soon we got fairly well started on our way back.
We moved to a place where all the leaders used to give
their feasts. Near the place where we lived there
were three lakes and a black-hawk's nest. Right near
the tree where the nest was located, they built a lodge
and our war-bundle [10] was placed in it. There my elder [787]

[10] The war-bundle was the most sacred object among the Winne- 778
bago. It consisted of dried animal skins, other parts of animals, reed
flutes, etc., all of which had some symbolical meaning. The various
animal remains, for instance, were supposed to give the owner the [825]
powers of these animals, the sound of the reed flutes was sup-
posed to paralyze his enemy and make it impossible for him to walk.
Each clan possessed at least one such bundle and whenever the tribe [614]
went on the warpath, this bundle was carried on the back of some

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



although the feast was supposedly given in our honor, we were placed on one side of the main participants. After the kettles containing the food had been put on twice, it became daylight and the feast was over.

The following spring we moved to the Mississippi in order to trap. I was still fasting and ate only at night. My brothers used to flatter me, telling me that I was the cleverest of them all and, in consequence, I used to continue fasting although I was often very hungry. In spite of my desire to fast, however, I could not resist the temptation of being around the girls. I wanted always to be near them. They were generally in their menstrual lodges [13] when I looked for them. My parents did not wish me to go near the girls then but I went nevertheless.

My parents told me that only those boys who had no connection with women would be blessed by the spirits. Throughout this time my sole wish was to appear great in the sight of the people. To be praised by my fellowmen was all I desired. And I certainly received what I sought. I stood high in their estimation. That the women might like me was another of the reasons why I wanted to fast. But as to being blessed, I learned nothing about it, although I went around with the air of one who had received many blessings and talked as such a one would talk.

[13] Any contact with menstruating women, or even with objects in any way connected with them, will, it is the firm belief of the Winnebago, destroy the power of sacred objects or individuals temporarily sacred. Fasting youths were regarded as such.

## §11. *Wandering and Hunting*

After a while I used to get into the habit of going to 159* town. When I got there I would look into the barrels to see if there was any food in them and if there was I would fill my pockets with whatsoever I found. I [685] used to steal a great deal.

About springtime we always moved away from the 159* vicinity of the town. We always moved to the place 221 where my father intended to trap, generally to the [204] neighborhood of some farming community where there were few Indians. There my mother used to make [285] baskets and sell them to the farmers. We also used to [439] circulate a written petition asking for any help people cared to give us. Whenever they went on this kind [648] of a trip I always went along with them, for sometimes people would take pity on us and give us some old clothes. Sometimes we would even get a good meal at some farmer's house. For these reasons I was always envious of those who went along on such journeys.

Occasionally when we got many provisions I had to carry some of them, but I never minded that. When [003] the birds returned north father used to make us bows and arrows and we would then shoot at them and often kill many. We also used to kill squirrels which my [224] grandmother roasted for us. My older brother was a [252]

*Shows*

I was drinking, he told me that he would treat me and the two women to beer that very night. I drank a lot of it that night and I enjoyed it immensely. After that, of course, I was not able to keep the fact of my drinking from other people. I talked at the top of my voice under the influence of liquor and was very happy. Every few minutes I would suddenly begin to sing out loudly. Then I began drinking whisky in addition to beer, and got drunk. On the following morning I said I would never do it again, but in a short time I was drinking beer again secretly. 159* 273

Eventually the show was over and we all went to our homes. We had to go across Lake Michigan. It was very stormy and we all got sick. Then my friend said, "Say, let us drink so that we may not be sick." He took out some whisky which he was carrying in a flask and we drank all night. Very early in the morning we got to Milwaukee. There we ate our breakfast and continued on our way home, to Black River Falls. We drank all the way on the train and when we reached our destination we were still drinking. All my relatives saw that I was drunk. They were very sorry and an older sister of mine wept when she saw me. I there made up my mind that I would never do it again. At about that time we received our annuity payment and although I had money I did not drink any more for some time. [657]

After we had spent what we had received in annuities the hunting season began. I went along with the others to the hunting grounds. I ran away from the two 159* 224

## *Crashing Thunder*

I ran away from the two
*159 women with whom I had been living. We spent some
224 time hunting. Every morning we would get up very
[839] early, stay out the whole day and not return until the
night. Often although we had been on our feet all
[264] day we would not find time to have our noon meal. At
night, regularly, we would take our sweat-baths. We
took these sweat-baths because they are supposed to
[189] act as magical charms to ensure success in hunting. It
[515] was always very refreshing to take them and then
plunge into cold water, whether at night or in the
morning.

[P. 132]

7

## §20. *I Have a Fight*

Once we went out hunting game in the fall of the year. We used to sell the hindquarters and sometimes ship them as far as Chicago. We were of course only permitted to hunt for thirty days. The law was that if any one hunted longer than that he would be arrested. Yet in spite of all we hunted for a longer time because we felt that the law was meant only for the Whites. One day, however, in shipping deer away, we were detected. One of my brothers and myself were arrested, taken to court and convicted. We had to spend sixty days in jail. During my imprisonment I never had my hair cut and from that time on, I always wore it long. I told the people that a spirit called *Foolish-one*[24] had instructed me to do this and that he had blessed me. I also told my older brother, the one who was still living, to do the same thing and that if he, too, let his hair grow, *Foolish-one* would bless him with long life. From that time on I wore long hair.

After that I joined a show of the Whites. People liked me very much on account of my long hair and I was well paid. I kept on drinking all the time. I there learned to ride a bicycle and mount and ride wild

[24] The clown of Winnebago mythology. He is, however, regarded as having some of the characteristics of a spirit and, very occasionally, blessing an individual.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



224 *Regulation of the tribal hunt.*—It can not be said that there were
[721] many special regulations during the tribal hunt. The rules applying to the regulation of war parties held here too. (For a description of these, see p. 156.)

Individuals were strictly prohibited from taking the initiative except by permission. For instance, a man was not allowed to proceed beyond a certain point, or shoot before a certain time; in short, not to do anything by which he might endanger his own life, the safety of his companions, or the success of the hunt, such as scaring away the animals or causing them to stampede.

625 It is during the tribal hunts that the power of the Bear clan is at
224 its height. For this reason it may perhaps be most appropriate to
614 include here a description* of these powers, although this really
484 belongs in the section on Social Organization:

Whenever the Winnebago are on their tribal hunt or whenever they move from one place to another, the soldiers (i. e., the Bear people) take the lead. Whenever they decide to stop at some place, the leader of the Bear people places his stick in the ground and the other soldiers do the same. The line of sticks is a slanting one. The main tribe follows behind at some distance and always camps a little behind them. None of the members of the tribe dare pass ahead of these sticks. If, for instance, during the fall move the tribe were passing through a country in which much game abounded, and if after the tribe had stopped at a certain place anyone should take it upon himself to go ahead and kill game on his own initiative, and he
[686] was discovered, the soldiers would go to his camp and burn it and everything it contained, destroy any supplies he had, and break his dishes. They would spare only his life and the lives of his family. If he resisted he would get a severe whipping. If even after that he resisted them and took his gun and attempted to shoot, the soldiers would not do anything but stand ready. But the moment he made an attempt to shoot, they would kill him and nothing would be said of the matter, for they would be putting into effect the law of the tribe. If, on the other hand, the man submitted to the action of the soldiers and apologized they would make him a better lodge and would give him more and better things than those they had taken away.

## Fishing and Agriculture

226 *Fishing.*—In former times fishing seems to have been done exclusively by spearing or by shooting. The spear (*wocá'*) consisted of a long stick provided with a bone or a horn point. Spearing was done preferably at night with the aid of torches made of pine pitch. In shooting fish a long arrowlike stick (*ma"nuxíniníni*) with a pointed end, whittled and frayed at the base like the ceremonial staff of the Bear clan, was discharged from an ordinary bow.

227 The most commonly used trap for fishing was a triangular weir loaded with a stone at its base and placed at the head of a waterfall caused by artificial damming of a stream.

784 Very few fish were taboo, the principal ones being the dogfish
226 and the eel.

* By Thunder Cloud.

## *159 §4. *Reminiscences of Childhood*

[785] The following spring I stopped fasting.

[501] In those days we used to travel in canoes. My
[226] father used to spear fish and always took me along
[593] with him, and this I enjoyed very much. He kept a club in the canoe and after he had speared a fish, I would kill it with the club as it was jumping around. Sometimes my mother accompanied us. She sat in the stern of the boat and rowed while my father stood in the prow and speared the fish. I killed all those thrown in the canoe.

[865] Sometimes my parents would start out without me, but I would then cry so bitterly that I, in the long run, induced them to take me along. Sometimes they whipped me and told me to go home, but I would follow them so far that they were then afraid to let me go back alone and I would thus be permitted to ride with them. Indeed I exerted myself greatly in crying and as I cried, ran after them and followed them very far, I was always taken along in the end.

[342] In those days we lived in the old-fashioned Indian lodges. In winter our fire was placed in the center of
[354] the lodge and my father used to keep it burning all night. When he placed a large log in the fire it would burn a long time.

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[9] By Thunder Cloud.

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The following dog names were obtained: 614

A black dog with yellow eyebrows and breast is called *hesiga'ruyega*, 231
Opens-beehives; black female dog, *hotekihiga*, Picks-acorns; black 552
dog with white around the neck, *hote hagawanuga*, Runs-for-acorns. The chief also had the privilege of calling a dog *noruxuga*, to show his superiority over the other members of the Bear clan. From another informant the following were obtained: *Teapirscotega*, Eats-everything-except-hide; *teahoruweka*, Pulls-out-deer-liver.

### ORIGIN MYTHS

#### FIRST VERSION [1]

Informant, member of the clan: In the beginning a bear came 614
walking on the ocean. When he got to the shore he flew off as a 539
raven and alit on the shore. The first being he saw was a Dog clans- 776
man. Then he entered the lodge and sat opposite him. That is

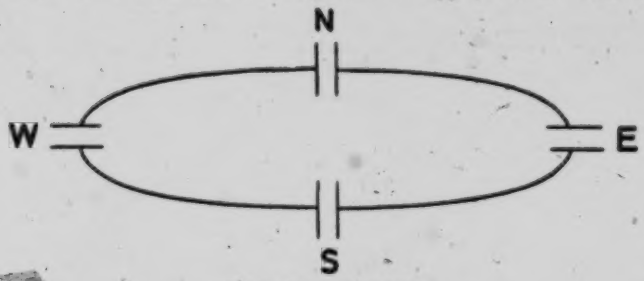


FIG. 35.—Diagram of Bear lodge.

why they call one another friends, or "he who sits opposite me." From the fact that he flew off as a raven we have a name (*kazijigaga*). The lodge had four doors, one on each end and one on each side (fig. 35). They landed at Green Bay, where a great gathering was held of all the clans. The other Bear clansmen claim that it was water foam that flew from the water, and it is from that fact that they obtained so much life. The fact that he (the bear) changed himself twice is the reason for his greatness among his fellow clansmen. Originally it was the fourth born who was sent from across the ocean.

#### SECOND VERSION

Informant, father of above: In the beginning 10 brothers started from across the ocean to the great clan meeting. When they got near, four waves came ashore and a raven flew from the waves, but when it alit (on land) it was a bear that walked. They were the greatest

[1] There are so many versions of the origin of the Bear clan that I think it best to give all I obtained. They are all discussed on p. 233.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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*Host's offering to the Eagle.*—"To you, a pair of Eagles, my ancestor prayed. The blessings you bestowed upon him, those I ask of you. I am about to pour a handful of tobacco for you. May you accept it and ward off trouble from me." 539X 796X 782

*Hosts general offering to the spirits.*—"Hearken, all ye spirits to whom my ancestor prayed: to all of ye, I offer tobacco. My ancestor Djôbenagiwaxga gave a feast to all those who had blessed him.* However, as it is about time to proceed to the next part (we will ask you once again) to bestow upon us all the blessings you gave our ancestor. That we may not become weaklings, I ask of you. I greet you all." 776

### The Dog Ritual

When they decide to use a dog (as a sacrifice) they take the greatest care of it from its infancy upward. With great kindness do they rear it. They never strike it when rearing it. Just like their own child do they treat it. They take great care of its food. They love it very much, just as they love their own children. Thus is the dog loved. If they are going to sacrifice it, then before they kill the dog they make the following preparation and the man who is to make the sacrifice speaks thus: 539X 796X 231 782

"My younger brother, you are to go to the south: to the Disease-giver you are to go. There you will live better than here. War powers and life we wish to have and that you should ask for."

The dog is not to be killed by striking, but a rope is to be used and he is to be strangled to death, so that there will not be any blood. It is forbidden to shed blood. Thus they tried to make an offering to one of the great spirits.

When the dog is to be killed, the one who is to do it prepares him. A pouch of tobacco and red feathers are tied around the neck of the dog to be offered. Then the man made another pouch of tobacco and another, till he had four, and these with (eagle) feathers he tied to the four limbs, one pouch to each limb of the dog. Then the war bundle was opened and purified with cedar leaves. Then they laid the dog in front of the war bundle, making him face south. [783]

### General Placing of the Tobacco

When they have finished arranging the buckskins and are about ready to start the singing, then the feasters mix tobacco and strew it over the war bundle. They offer this tobacco for all the spirits who exist. Even the man who originally obtained the war bundle 796X 539X 776 782

* "And we are repeating this now," should be added. The word for feast here means literally, "tobacco pouring."

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

 796x 539x

you can do so, and the women likewise can join, because we have 782
rolled up our bundle. To the dog that we have here, an offering of
tobacco can be made." Thus speaking, he sings. After he has [562]
finished the song, someone specially called upon gives the war
whoop, in which the rest join. In this manner they sing four times,
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tie a red rag, together with a bundle of tobacco, and to each of
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found that they had killed only three deer. "Well," they said, "this [262]
will be all right. We have ten deer. Perhaps they will last as food
until dawn."

They told the attendants to get ready the lodge and to build the
fireplaces. They told them also to have the wood and the buck-

## *Early Childhood*

In the fall of the year we would pick cranberries. 159* When the hunting season was open, I would begin to [221] fast again. [222]

This was my life for a number of years. [787]

After a while we bought a pony on which we used to pack all our belongings whenever we moved our [231] camp. In addition three of us would ride on top of [495] the pack. Sometimes my mother and sometimes my father drove the pony.

After I had grown a little older and taller all of us 159* brothers would fast together. My father would indeed 785 repeatedly urge us to fast. "Do not be afraid of the burnt remains of the lodge center-pole," he would say to us.[5] "Whatever are the true possessions of men, the apparel of men and the gift of doctoring—all these things that are spread out before you—do try and obtain one of them."[6] Thus he would speak to us.

I would then take a piece of charcoal, crush it and blacken my face and he would be very grateful to me.

I would at first break my fast at noon but then gradually I began to fast all night. From the fall of the year until spring I would fast until nightfall and then eat. After a while I trained myself to pass the night without eating and after that I was able to go two nights and days without taking any food. Then my mother went to the woods at some distance from the

[5] Symbolical manner of describing the crushed charcoal with which fasters must blacken their faces. [195]

[6] By "possessions of men" he means mainly that knowledge which will make a man honored and respected in his community; and by "apparel of men," he means power and ability. [554]

## *Names*

Finally there appeared on the lake a very white bird, the swan. After that all the other birds in the world appeared. They were named in the order of their coming until the lake was quite full. Then the people began to dress the deer meat. Suddenly something came and alighted on the meat and one of the brothers asked, "What is that?" Then said *Kunuga* the eldest, "It is a wasp and the first black dog that I possess, I shall call *Wasp*." "Just as the wasp scented and became aware of the deer meat as it was being dressed, so shall the dog be toward other animals. Whenever an animal is on the windward the dog will scent it," *Kunuga* continued. 539 614 776

Then they made a feast for Earthmaker with the deer meat, threw tobacco into the fire and gave some to him. They showed the other clans how to make fire and gave a little to each adding, "Each of you must now learn how to make fire for yourselves for we shall not always lend you some." Here then it was that the first people who lived made their homes. They had come at the time of the year when the grass grows as far as the knee.

One day it was reported that a very strange object was nearing the camp. The men thought at first that they would leave it alone. It came nearer and nearer and as it moved toward the camp it began to eat the bones it found there. They allowed this animal to become the founder of one of their clans and took it to their homes. It was the dog. Then they killed one of these dogs and offered it up to Earthmaker telling him all they had done. [231]

In the beginning the Thunderbird clansmen were as powerful as the Thunderbird spirits themselves. It was they who made the ravines and the valleys. While wandering about the earth they struck the earth with their clubs and

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[237]

a. WINNEBAGO, SHOWING MODERN HEADGEAR

b. WINNEBAGO WITH DEER-TAIL HEADDRESS

[Facing p. 103 (D)]

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*Method of wearing the hair.*—In former times the men wore their hair in two long braids, although some seem to have affected the Sauk and Fox roach. The scalp along the parting of the hair was always painted, the color varying with individuals. There is no indication of any distinctions in the method of wearing the hair among the various clans as found among the Osage. 302 [177]

A variety of coiffures exist among the Winnebago women at the present day and the assumption that these are all recent is unwarranted. It seems probable that in the old days the hair was usually worn in one braid, which on festive occasions was inclosed in a case. This consisted of two parts—a rectangular piece of broadcloth beaded, and long strips of beaded work (pl. 28).

*Earrings and bracelets.* At the present time earrings are fashioned either of 10-cent pieces strung together or of various ornaments of German silver. Strings of beads also are worn occasionally. Bracelets now are made generally of German silver, while in former times beaded or quillwork buckskin was used. 301 [178]

*Arm bands and necklaces.*—Arm bands are made either of German silver or beaded work. The necklaces consist of long strings of various articles, as modern wampum, seeds, and elk teeth.

Belts, as well as cross belts, are now either beaded or woven, but formerly they were always woven from buffalo hair. Shell gorgets are generally of the type shown in plates 22, 24, 26, *b*. Tight collars are now made of beaded work. Bandoliers consist of long sashes with bags attached; both sash and bag are always gorgeously beaded. The bandoliers are worn in three ways, with the bag hanging on the right side, on the left side, or in front. Often the same individual wears two or three bandoliers. Garters are now made of beaded work; formerly these were generally made of the skins of various animals, preferably the polecat (pls. 27, 28, 29, 30, *b*). 293

*Headdress and taildress.*—The Winnebago headdress has been well described by Skinner (op. cit., p. 293), as follows: 301 237

> The typical headdress is a roach or comb-like ornament woven from deer's hair and generally dyed red. A carved bone, somewhat like an elongate isosceles triangle in shape, spread out this roach and was attached near the front to another tubular bone in which an eagle feather was inserted. Often the latter was ornamented with dyed horse hair and rattlesnake rattles. . . . The whole was fastened on the crown of the head slightly back of the forehead. It was usually pinned to the hair, the scalplock serving to hold it on.

A taildress, consisting of the tail of some animal, was worn only at certain dances, particularly the Horucka.

## Hunting

In their original habitat hunting was the most important means of subsistence of the Winnebago. Practically all game available was 224

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224 hunted, very few animals being tabooed. So far as the author
[784] knows, the following animals only were not eaten: Skunk, mink,
[262] marten, otter, horse, the weasel, gophers of all kinds, crows (northern
ravens?), and eagles.

411 *Bow.*—The bow and arrow and traps were used in hunting. The bow is of a very simple type, having ends more or less pointed by rubbing them on stones. In former times the bowstring was made of sinew.

*Arrows.*—There were five types of arrows, distinguished both by the nature of the arrowhead and by their use: *Ha° p'aze'dera*, bird arrow; *ma'°sunte p'a'u°*, rabbit, or small mammal, arrow; *ma° k'ete[illegible] cake'k'ere*, deer and large mammal arrow; *mai° su'ra*, or *mai°su'k'ere*, used in battle; and the *ma° p'a'tuna*, also used in battle. The first two and the last were made entirely of wood, generally hickory, the last being merely a pointed stick. The third and the fourth were the only ones that had separate heads attached. The
[237] head of the third was, as the name implies, a turtle claw, and that of the fourth a fragment of flint. The Winnebago have no recollection of ever having made flint arrowheads and claim that those they used were found in the ground (pl. 31).

224 *Traps.*—One of the principal traps consisted of a heavy timber supported very slightly by an upright, to which a piece of wood was attached bearing bait at the end. No sooner does the animal—wolf, bear, fox, or raccoon—touch the bait than the heavy timber falls upon his head, killing him instantly. Another trap commonly used for rabbits may be described thus: The head of a post is hollowed out to receive the knob-shaped end of a long pliable piece of wood that fits into it very lightly. To the latter is attached a noose, so arranged that it draws away the knob-shaped head at the slightest touch. The rabbit must put his head into the noose in order to get at the bait; in so doing he invariably moves the lever, which springs back, jerking him into the air and strangling him.

For trapping deer a very ingenious method is used. Taking advantage of the animal's habit of following repeatedly the same trail, the hunter at some point of a deer trail piles across it a mass of brush to a height of about 4 feet. Behind this he plants a pointed stake so that it can not be seen by the animal. On encountering the obstruction the deer leaps over it and is impaled on the stake.

Knowledge of the habits of beavers and otters is utilized in the following way: Many of these animals live along winding creeks, and in proceeding from one place to another, instead of following all the meanderings of the streams, they cut across the land. The Winnebago hunter digs deep holes in these cut-offs and covers them with hay. Into these the animals fall and are unable to get out.

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224 825 or hear the noise and run away. For this reason the hunters are very careful about these two things—namely, the number of bears shot and the direction of the wind. The method of hunting bears when the acorns fall and they come to the open or cleared spaces is known as the *hirucʼe* method. When the bears eat acorns then only is it easy to find them and kill them without much effort.

224 [721 648] *Description of a buffalo hunt.* Whenever the Winnebago went buffalo hunting, they always went in large numbers, for the people used to say that on a buffalo hunt, they are likely to encounter their enemies and a fight might take place. It is even said that some people went purposely for the fighting. They generally went together with the *Homoʼoo* (Missouri ?), Wazoteera, Iowa, and *Wadpahdpdpra*, the Otoe. Many women accompanied them. It is said that they could always tell where the buffalo were by the dust they encountered, for the dust raised by the trampling of the buffalo rose high in the air. They would always start out for the buffalo early in the morning on fast horses and try to ride up along the right side of the female buffalo, for they only killed the bulls afterward. They shot the buffalo with bow and arrows. When riding horseback, the bow is always drawn back with the right hand. The reason they try to kill the female buffalo first is because they always run away while the bulls do not.

While hunting the buffalo they were always bound to meet some of their enemies and a fight would ensue, so that when they returned, they would bring back not only [727] buffalo but also scalps, and immediately after their return the Victory Dance would be celebrated.

224 721 A different account of a buffalo hunt was obtained from another informant (J. H.):[1]

[342] Whenever we go on a buffalo hunt we camp in a circle, with the soldiers in front. They always carried long poles to be used in the construction of tipis. [This statement was made by a number of persons whose information was generally accurate. As [237 372] they were bound for the open prairie where there was a scarcity of wood, buffalo manure was always carried for fuel.]

As soon as the chief decided to go on a hunt he gave a feast [war feast] to which he invited everyone. This was generally in June. As soon as the feast was over a hunting council was held. Then the chief appointed public criers who went around the [203] village announcing the time for starting, etc. Then all went to the lodge of the chief of the Bear clan. There the ten best warriors were selected, who were to go ahead of the main body and reconnoiter for both buffalo and enemies. These started immediately and if they returned with the news that they had found many buffalo and enemy at the same time, fights frequently took place. Ten warriors always went ahead and the old warriors generally stayed in the rear behind the women in order to protect them better. As soon as they came to the place where the buffalo were seen they followed their trail and killed them. The flesh was cut up into large chunks, which were afterwards dried on the grass. Then when they had enough they all returned home, observing, of course, the same order of march as when they started. When they reached their home they gave another war feast at which all thanked the spirits for their successful return.

223 [762] *Pigeon hunt.*—The pigeons are "chief"[2] birds and they would be hunted whenever the chief decided to give the chief feast. The entire tribe was always invited to participate in the meal served, so that many pigeons were needed. The pigeons generally make their nests near human habitations. Sometimes there would be 20

[1] As his grandfather was a Dakota, J. H. may have confused in his account Dakota customs with those of the Winnebago. A part from this consideration, it should be said that J. H. was an exceedingly unreliable informant.

[825 614] [2] They are called "chief" birds because the pigeon belongs to the same division as does the Thunderbird, or Chief, clan.

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252
and the breast of most animals were considered good portions, but 262
the head of the deer was included. Other portions were eaten, [254]
however. For infants the deer's tail was considered a delicacy.
Now, when they eat meat provided by the white man, rib roast of [177]
beef is the favorite meat of the Winnebago.

The Winnebago were very fond of soups of all descriptions. Most of these were meat soups with the addition of vegetables or berries.

Most time was, however, spent in the preparation of vegetable foods, especially in the preparation of wild rice and corn. For the preparation of rice I will again quote Professor Jenks's article:

> At this stage of the harvest when the Winnebago gather the wild rice, the kernel is very like a long oat and has a tenacious hull, which must be removed before the grain can be eaten. The necessity of removing this hull and the unripe condition of the grain make it necessary to dry it artificially. This is usually done by spreading the kernels yet inclosed in the hull upon a rack of lattice work, under which a slow fire is kept burning. The grain is cured and the hull made brittle by the heat and smoke. The next process is the threshing. The Winnebago thresher the grain by the use of a most primitive flail. He spreads a blanket, rush mat, or deerskin on the ground, upon which he puts the new cured grain. Along three sides of the blanket he erects a screen of similar material. At the open side of this screen the man squats on his knees, and beats the grain with a straight stick in each hand, thus releasing it from the hull. When it has been threshed the woman gathers up the contents of the blanket and winnows the mass by letting it fall from a vessel held high in the air upon a blanket or mat laid on the earth, the wind blows away the chaff from the falling grain and leaves the clean kernels.

The Winnebago distinguished a number of different kinds of corn, 252
the principal ones being *wahi'sereie*, yellow-stalked; *hiwaraiwa*, sweet [243]
corn; and *waruc'teke*, red-colored corn. The cornstalk was called 137]
*wahu'*, the corn proper, *witea'ᵊwaᵊs*, and the cob, *wosa'k'*. The corn is pounded on a rack (*waick'*) and then shelled, the grain falling through the rack and the cobs remaining on top. After being shelled the corn is steamed. Then the stones necessary for cooking it are gathered and the corn is picked. When this is finished, a hole is dug in the ground and red-hot stones are put in. Over this the husks are put and upon these the corn; then another layer of husks, etc. The top always is covered with husks. Four holes are made through the husks, into which four pails of water are poured and the whole is covered with a thick layer of earth and the corn left there overnight. The next morning it will be entirely cooked.

In shelling, the outer part of an oyster shell is used. When the [237]
shelling is over the corn is spread out and dried. 712]

Squash is prepared as follows: After the skin has been removed the squash is cut into slices and the seeds taken out; the slices of squash are then put on poles to dry. The dried squash is called *hoteo'ᵊwaᵊdawus*. There are two varieties of this vegetable—*witea'ᵊwaᵊ*, Hubbard squash, and *witea'ᵊwansik*, small-kernel squash.

Fruit was dried, but by what process the author has not learned. [251]

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524 tacle, generally a moccasin, in which a small object was secreted. The sides in turn guessed in which moccasin it was secreted. The guesser pointed in turn with a long stick to each moccasin, all the time carefully scrutinizing the expression on the face of each man whose moccasin he touched. The bystanders and the other players on his side meanwhile sang songs and made all sorts of remarks and allusions in an attempt to catch off his guard the man in whose moccasin the object was secreted, so that he might disclose the fact by some gesture or expression. The person guessing had the right to touch each moccasin without forfeiting his chance. As soon as he wished to guess he overturned with his stick the moccasin in which he thought the object was hidden. The seriousness with which a player scrutinized his opponents is well shown in plate 30.

[462] *Women's dice game.*—The women's dice game (*ke'anu*) was played with either bone or wooden dice. Eight of these are used. After being shaken, they are allowed to fall into a wooden bowl. The dice are white on one side and black or blue on the other. One of the dice has a mark on each side. The count is as follows: 1 dark, 7 white, count 2; 2 dark, 6 white, 1; all dark, 0 white, 4; 3 dark, 5 white, 0; 4 dark, 4 white, 0; marked dice dark, 7 white, 10; marked dice white, 7 dark, 10; marked dice white, 1 other white, the rest dark, 2; all dice white, 4; 2 white, 6 dark, 1; 1 white, 7 dark, 2.

[237] The side gaining all the counters, which consist of small sticks, wins.

*Cup-and-ball game.*—"A cup-and-ball game is composed of eight worked phalangeal bones of the Virginia deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*).

[71] It differs from those seen by the writer among the Cree and Ojibway in that the topmost phalangeal unit of the game as played among those people does not have the joint removed, whereas in the Winnebago specimens all the bones are cut into conical form. The top is generally surmounted by a bunch of leather thongs with many perforations. The striking pin is of bone. The count is one for each unit, five for catching the tails or thongs at the top, and the same if all the units are caught together, which occasionally happens. The bottom unit nearest the striking pin has four small perforations set at equal distances about the lower edge. Above these holes are two, three, four, and six dots, respectively, cut in the bone. The count gained by catching this bone through any one of the holes varies according to the number of these dots. The striking pin may be of bone or wood. Sometimes these games are stained with dye or paint. The string and pins are short, so that the game is much more difficult and clumsy than in the Cree and Ojibway forms."[9]

[9] A. Skinner, op. cit., pp. [illegible].

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*Names of the principal trees, etc.*

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ranzeok'a'wa, resin-weed.
xa"ije, moss.
wax cute, cedar (red cedar).
teatra"na, ironwood.
witci, flat cornered reed used for lodges.
sa, round reed used for mats.
hi"ego', basswood.
wazi, pine in general.
wazi parsa, white cedar.
waege", poplar.
tea" tea'wa, birch.
teagu, walnut.
pa" dja'gu, hickory.
teazu'ke, butternut.
na" sa'ŋk', maple.
ruyi, willow.
rak, ash.
teaege'gu, oak.
maŋk'a'rak, elm.
huksigu, hazel.
na" p'a'gu, cherry.
na" ho'eg', box-elder.
heyu', cottonwood.

*Names of the principal vegetables and fruits*

teera'bera, a water root.
wokna"gera, root called "awl" root.
hu"'"kboi'dja, pea vine.
dora, a sort of artichoke.
pa"kxi, root found in lowlands.
na"p'ak, chokecherries.
k'a"tc, plum.
kcē crabapple.
teesa'"wa", fruit of a tree similar to crab-apple tree.
haza'cutega, raspberry.
hasda'maŋkera, blackberry.
hasdinŋk', blueberries.
hasedjek', strawberry.
hap'u'nup'unuxge, gooseberry.
hotcoŋka', cranberry.
k'a"tc hi"cek, peaches (fuzzy plums).
kcē carotc, apple (long and round apple).
wak'a"retcawa, wild currant (snake's navel).
dokr'wehi, prairie turnip.
hu"n'ŋk, bean.
hu"naŋk' na"di, climbing bean.
hu"n'ŋk' mink, nonclimbing bean.
ma"hi"tc, milkweed.

*Animals and parts of animals whose flesh is not eaten*

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waŋkeŋk, dogfish.
djadja'ŋka'k, mink.
doco'na"k, otter.
ho wak'a", eel (holy fish).
k'ayi, crow (really northern raven).
teaxe'p, eagle.
weasel.
marten.
no entrails (u'djwoju).
gopher.
horse.

*Agriculture.*—In the old days the Winnebago always raised in their permanent villages at least corn, squash, and beans. As the villages consisted practically of a group of families belonging to different clans, each clan apparently living by itself, the question of clan ownership of these fields was hardly considered. (This statement is made because some Winnebago spoke of clan ownership.) What actually occurred was, in the opinion of the author, as follows: Each group of families being segregated according to clan, it happened that certain family groups had fields in common. This must have happened rather frequently, for there seems to have been a tendency—although this can not be said with certainty owing to the meagerness of reliable information—for related families to hold together in these settlements. In general, however, each family owned and cultivated its own field.

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[778] In the middle of the field was usually placed an earthen representation of the clan animal. As to how squash and beans were planted, no reliable information is available. The corn was planted in small circular mounds which, to judge from those near Madison, Wis., were arranged in remarkably straight rows.

[412 177] The author is unable to say what type of implements was used, as the Winnebago have been using those of European manufacture for many years and have no recollection of any other kind.

If anyone had more corn planted than he could take care of he
241 gave a feast, to which he invited all who had hoes. At this feast
527 dried corn was used. On this occasion the people sacrificed tobacco
782 to their hoes, so that they might not cut themselves with these implements or have other accidents. Then they all joined in helping their host cultivate his corn.

249 In addition to the above-mentioned patches, most Winnebago had small fields of tobacco, which were regarded as very sacred. The tobacco grown on these was used only for sacrificial purposes. Sacred gourds also were planted in these fields.

222 *Berry picking.*—From the earliest times the Winnebago were known for their bountiful supply of berries. Every fall parties of men, women, and children went out to pick cranberries and whortleberries.

222 *Customs when berries are ripening.*—If a man has a son whom he
787 loves very much, he has him fast as soon as the berries and other things begin to ripen. If this boy dreams of something good, then he (the father) gives a feast with the newly ripened food and the boy eats. If the boy does not dream of anything good after four days, the father makes him eat and has him try again.

222 *Rice gathering.*—In common with the Central Algonquian tribes, with whom they have come in contact, especially the Menominee, the Winnebago spent a number of weeks every year gathering wild rice. The following description of the manner in which this is done is taken from a newspaper article published by Prof. A. E. Jenks of the University of Minnesota:

> Fox River from its source to Lake Winnebago was for hundreds of years a very productive field for this aquatic cereal, and along this river the Winnebago lived in plenty and peace with several wild rice eating tribes of the Algonkin stock. Probably a few families still gather their annual crop in that old domain; but most of the wild rice which the tribe now gathers is obtained in the sloughs of the Mississippi River near Lacrosse, Wis., and on the Iowa side of that river.
>
> The Winnebago gather the grain by running their canoes into the tall standing stalks before the grain is ripe. A stick is held in each hand of the harvester, one being used to draw the standing stalks over the edge of the canoe, while the other one is employed in tapping or striking the heads of the stalks, thus knocking the grain out of the fruit head into the canoe. After the canoe is full it is taken to the shore and emptied.

252 *Preparation of foods.*—Meats were prepared by broiling, in three
262 ways—on stakes, over a rack, or under hot ashes. Only the ribs

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### The Herucka Dance

535 The *Herucka* is a social dance and is frequently given when visitors
574 from other tribes are present, presents being given on this occasion. Men and women take part in it and are generally dressed in their best clothes. A few customs that were noticed at a performance in 1908 might be mentioned here.

If a man drops anything during the dance he himself may not pick it up. Only a warrior who has been wounded has the right to do so. The object dropped is returned to the owner, who, however, must always give it to his sister or niece.

It is at times customary for a man to dress himself in rags and beg for food, etc. He generally represents himself as an extremely poor man and pictures his destitution in a manner best calculated to amuse everyone.

[525] Wagers of horses are very commonly made at this dance.

The dances indulged in are mainly victory dances and the songs
[533] known as *Herucka* songs are always victory songs. Many borrowed songs are sung at this dance.

A large drum is always used, around which sometimes as many as
[534] 10 drummers sit. The drum consists of an ordinary tub over which skin has been tightly drawn. It is supported by two carved sticks, to which it is firmly attached, so that the bottom is about a foot from the ground. It is painted in the following manner: Two rather
[531] narrow lines of paint across the center of the drum, one blue and the other green. The portion of the drum next to the yellow line is painted blue, and that next to the blue line red. No meanings for the colors were obtained.

### Waconank'ewe Feast
(AFRAID-TO-EAT-GREENS FEAST)

● 241 Informant, member of Beaver clan: Just about roasting-ear month
785 people would commence to fast and continue until the green corn is
262 ripe enough to be eaten. They fast so that all the plants may strengthen the tribe.

The fast generally takes place in a special lodge, from under which all the grass has been cut, for the faster must not come in contact with anything that is green. When the fasting is over a feast is given at which all those present eat "greens" for the first time.

### The Captive's Death Dance

727 Before putting a captive to death it is customary to tie his arms
535 behind him in such a manner that his hands have a little freedom. Then they put a gourd in his right hand and a lance in his left hand

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and the breast of most animals were considered good portions, but the head of the deer was included. Other portions were eaten, however. For infants the deer's tail was considered a delicacy. Now, when they eat meat provided by the white man, rib roast of beef is the favorite meat of the Winnebago. 252 262 [354] [177]

The Winnebago were very fond of soups of all descriptions. Most of these were meat soups with the addition of vegetables or berries.

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in one tree, but a really large tree would hold even more. The pigeons were hunted in the following manner: Long poles were taken and the pigeons poked out of their nests. In this manner many would be killed very easily in one day. They are then either broiled or steeped, when they have a delicious taste. Often it is unnecessary to hunt for them after a storm because large quantities die from exposure to inclement weather. 223 [252]

*Method of slaughtering animals.*—According to most of the author's informants, all larger animals were opened by making two long incisions, one on each side of the chest. This information may be accepted as correct with respect to the bear, but there is less certainty as to other large animals. There are two considerations, however, which seem to make the question of agreement among informants of secondary importance: First, the considerable differences in this and kindred matters among the settlements of the Winnebago, due to the large extent of territory they inhabited and the diverse influences potent at various places; and secondly, the fact that the distribution of food was entirely a matter of courtesy between individuals, so that considerable variation in custom was both possible and probable. 252 224

According to one informant the man who killed an animal had the least to say about its distribution and generally got the poorest share. This unquestionably does not give a very accurate impression of the custom, because subsequent questioning brought out clearly the fact that the manner of distribution depended entirely on the number of individuals present at the killing of the animal, and also on the age of these individuals and their social standing. Remembering that there is no "typical" division which an Indian thinks of in the abstract, but that he always has in mind particular instances of distribution, in order to ascertain definite rules it would obviously be necessary to obtain an adequate number of representative cases in which all the possibilities based on the factors of age, number, and social standing would be duly considered. 224 425

From another individual the following information was obtained: When two people went hunting the man who killed the animal received the head, breast, feet, lungs, and heart; his companion, the hide and the rest of the animal. A feast was given afterwards, however, at which the bravest warrior received all that was properly the share of the man who killed the animal. When four went out, the eldest always got the hide; he was granted also the right to apportion the animal. This last instance seems significant in view of the fact that at the tribal hunt the rights of the individual who killed the animal were subservient to many other rights, as those pertaining to seniority and social standing, and suggests that only when one or two individuals took the rather great risks of hunting by themselves was actual killing of the animal deemed of predominating importance in the apportionment.

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241 [778] In the middle of the field was usually placed an earthen representation of the clan animal. As to how squash and beans were planted, no reliable information is available. The corn was planted in small circular mounds which, to judge from those near Madison, Wis., were arranged in remarkably straight rows.

[412 177] The author is unable to say what type of implements was used, as the Winnebago have been using those of European manufacture for many years and have no recollection of any other kind.

If anyone had more corn planted than he could take care of he 241 gave a feast, to which he invited all who had hoes. At this feast 527 dried corn was used. On this occasion the people sacrificed tobacco 782 to their hoes, so that they might not cut themselves with these implements or have other accidents. Then they all joined in helping their host cultivate his corn.

249 In addition to the above-mentioned patches, most Winnebago had small fields of tobacco, which were regarded as very sacred. The tobacco grown on these was used only for sacrificial purposes. Sacred gourds also were planted in these fields.

222 *Berry picking.*—From the earliest times the Winnebago were known for their bountiful supply of berries. Every fall parties of men, women, and children went out to pick cranberries and whortleberries.

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It might be said that all recollection of the making of wooden vessels could easily have been lost in the last century or two and that therefore too much weight should not be given to present ignorance of the subject. There are a number of reasons, however, why ignorance in this particular case might be significant. First, many indications point to workmanship of a low order among the Winnebago in the manufacture of artifacts; second, there are many suggestions of two cultural strata in this tribe; third, while the Winnebago in Wisconsin still use wooden vessels, many of them claim that these were introduced; and fourth, all the informants who gave this information were old people. If the author were to hazard an hypothesis, it would be the following: In very early times few objects were fashioned out of wood, but gradually contact with the Menominee led to the introduction of many wooden vessels, and finally the acquisition of European axes, knives, and other implements made it possible to manufacture such vessels in large numbers. A similar explanation was offered by an Indian with regard to the use of dugouts.

Besides wood as a material for dishes and spoons of various kinds and sizes, shells were utilized, while sticks served as knives.

All informants agree that neither bone nor stone were used in the manufacture of utensils.

For cooking, clay pots were used. These vessels, most of which were very large, with round bottoms, always hung over the fire. The material used in their manufacture was blue clay found at Green Bay, on or near the site of St. Paul, Minn., mixed with shell shards, glue from sturgeon vetrebræ, and the gelatinous substance in the horns of the deer. The addition of these ingredients greatly increased the cohesiveness of the clay. The material was either molded with the hands or in holes of the desired shape dug in the ground and lined with leaves. Finally, the vessels were dried over a slow fire in small kilns constructed for the purpose. None of the clay vessels were provided with handles. Some were ornamented with geometric patterns. The irregular incised designs on some Winnebago vessels are the impressions of grass blades with which the mold was lined.[7]

*Fire making.*—In former times fire was always made by means of a simple fire drill. This method is still used for ceremonial occasions.

*Tanning.*—The author never witnessed the process of tanning. The description obtained agrees exactly with that of Mr. A. Skinner here quoted:[8]

After the skin has been removed, the hair is scraped from it. During this process the skin is hung over an obliquely inclined log, one end of which has been smoothed

[7] One informant gave a description of pottery making in which a wheel was used, but as no other Winnebago corroborated this statement the author is convinced that it is inaccurate.

[8] Anthr. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist. pt. iv, pt. ii, pp. 268-269.

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## The Wolf Clan

### INTRODUCTION

614 173 Three versions of the origin myth of this clan were obtained. The second is the most interesting, for it gives the popular account of descent from the clan animal-ancestor, although it claims that he, in turn, was created by Earthmaker. One other important characteristic is the statement that the original clan ancestor married a human being and that from them the present members of the clan trace their descent. A similar type of descent is mentioned in a number of myths that can best be interpreted as village origin myths. The ownership of war bundles has also at times been linked up with descent from some spirit.

614 Very little is known at the present time about the functions of the Wolf clan. It is quite clear, however, that the clan once possessed powers of considerable importance. From the fact that the Wolf people are still occasionally called "minor soldiers" and that they are so closely linked with the Bear clansmen it is likely that their functions were similar in nature to those of the Bear people. They probably assisted the latter.

[823] Water was sacred to the Wolf clan as it also was to the Water-spirit clan. A person was not allowed to tell a Wolf clansman that he looked like a wolf nor allowed to sit on a log in a Wolf clan lodge. [682] If a man kills a Wolf clansman accidentally and then sits on the log in a Wolf lodge, he has to be freed.

According to one informant, the Wolf clan at one time possessed four sticks, which they would use and with which they kept time while the drum was beaten.

[582] According to one informant, the Wolf clansmen were the only people who were allowed to intermarry.

The Wolf clansmen give a feast when a Bear child is born, to show respect for their friend. They give the child a name of their own clan.

[796] The Wolf feast is held in the spring of the year, when the ice melts from the creeks and everything begins to grow. At the feast the [262] clan origin myth is told and the members of the other clans are [252] allowed to hear it. The food used is boiled rice.

### ORIGIN MYTHS

#### FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 539 776 [823] In the beginning the Wolf clan people came from the water. Therefore their bodies are of water—i. e., their sacred possession is water. There were four male wolves and four female wolves, and as they came up from the sea and swam toward the shore, one after the other, they caused waves to go before them. Therefore one of

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# CHAPTER XIII

## RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES BASED ON BLESSINGS FROM SPIRITS

### Society of Those Who Have Received Blessings From the Night Spirits

Informant, member of Thunderbird clan: Once a man went hunting so that he might be able to get the game with which to give a feast. All of those who were to participate in the feast went along with him. After they had killed some deer they built a lodge. Then all the other feast-givers came into the lodge, bringing something toward the feast, as well as the tobacco which they were to offer. Some brought other things, even dogs, as their contribution to the feast. The dogs would be killed, singed, then boiled, and prepared in the same way as the deer. The meat would then be mixed with dry corn. The attendants, who were generally the nephews of the feast-givers, would look after the boiling of the food. Every time they gave a feast they selected these nephews to do the cooking and the general work connected with this ceremony. 796 539 575 [252] 575 796 604 539

The nephew who acts as attendant accompanies a feast-giver on the warpath, where likewise he has to endure a great deal. Should his uncle be killed, it is his duty to be killed likewise and not to return home. [726]

He acted in this way because of his love for his uncle. The attendants do all the work whenever their uncles give a feast. They also arrange for the place where the feast is to be held; make the four invitation sticks; blacken them with charcoal and decorate them at the ends with fine and fluffy white eagle feathers. Then they prepare a bundle of tobacco containing about a pipeful. After these preparations have been made one of the nephews goes around the village and presents the invitation sticks to every individual who had been blessed by the Night Spirits. These are called the night-blessed children. The night-blessed children thanked the messengers and assured them that they now felt they were obtaining life. Then those to whom the invitation stick had been presented go around asking their relatives to accompany them to the feast. There the guest and his relatives would meet at the appointed time. All those who received invitation sticks do the same. [203]

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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114 people attend as a matter of courtesy, or to keep peace in the family.
796 It was my good fortune to attend such a meeting, a war-bundle cere-
mony, in October, 1927. Mr. A. White, whose Indian name is *Teas-*
[795 *tca-he-de-ga* (Big Wave), figure 120, is custodian of the war-bundle
of the Thunderbird clan of the Wisconsin Rapids band of Winnebago.
778 Word came to me through his son-in-law, Mr. U. S. White of Milwau-
614] kee, that a war-bundle feast would be held shortly, and that I was specially invited to attend.

As Mr White and his family also wished to make the trip, we drafted a Museum car into service and joined forces. In addition to Mr. White and his wife and two children, Mr. Alton Fisher was persuaded, without much difficulty, to join me in representing the Department of Anthropology.

We arrived at Wisconsin Rapids late at night, and were up early on the following morning and on our way to the site selected for the
[574] ceremony. Upon arriving at his home, we were courteously received by the custodian of the bundle, and privileged to meet his family and many others who were in the midst of preparations for the feast.

796 The regular war bundle ceremony of the Thunderbird clan is a feast
and dance given in honor of various spirits, chiefly the Thunderbirds,
[776 who are the spiritual directors of war, and the Night Spirits. It is
614] held in an oblong wigwam shaped like the medicine lodge of the Winnebago and neighboring Algonkin groups, figure 121, and similarly con-
[346] structed of a frame-work of bent poles covered with birch bark or mats, or more recently with canvas or other cloth. Big Wave had directed the construction of the lodge for this particular ceremony in an area immediately adjoining his dwelling lodge, figure 122. The single door was placed at the end of the lodge, facing east.

[252] The lodge was small, made so to accommodate the limited number expected to attend, and consequently it was decided to cook the feast over outside fires, an irregular, though not unusual procedure. Therefore, only a single fire was built in the lodge, centrally situated at the
796 eastern end not more than three paces from the door. Since the fire
372 was to be new, sacred fire, the ceremonial fire-making equipment from
778 the war bundle was employed. This consisted of a flat, rectangular base of oak, nearly perforated in many places with charred drill holes, and a drilling element of softer wood. Big Wave himself officiated in the fire making, figure 123. Kneeling, he placed the basepiece between his knees, with tinder conveniently near. Then one end of the drill was fitted into one of the holes in the base, and the shaft was rapidly rotated between his hands. Soon smoke curled up from the point of friction. The bits of glowing wood dust so produced were quickly applied to the tinder and carefully blown to a small flame. Then light kindling was applied, followed by heavier sticks until the fire was be-

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yond the need of further nursing. Standing alone above this altar, Big Wave then offered, in his native tongue, a prayer to be carried upward by the fire to Creator. In a low voice he thanked Creator who taught the use of fire to the Indians, that it might live with them forever and watch over them. He expressed satisfaction that new fire had been started on this occasion, so that all present might enjoy the benefits of life. He described the fire as an interpreter, conveying to the spirit world the prayers of men. He then sprinkled tobacco upon the fire, saying: "This tobacco I offer you (the spirits) that you may do that which I ask of you, that you may grant to all here, our wives and children, and all our relatives, good fortune and all the benefits of life. This prayer is for others who will also give tobacco."

Later, when the meeting was convened and the guests filed into the ceremonial lodge, many silently sprinkled tobacco on the fire, thereby sharing the benefit of this prayer. This tobacco sacrifice is called, filling the spirits' pipe.

As soon as the new fire was burning well, coals were removed therefrom with which to start the cooking fires outside the lodge, for the feast must be cooked over sacred fire. Two short poles were placed on either side of the fire, topped by a crosspiece from which the pots were suspended on chains. Water was boiled, with which all the pots were thoroughly washed. Then the meat (fowl, beef and pork) was prepared for cooking. The fowls had to be singed over the sacred fire. A definite number of equal portions were placed in each pot, since each participating family was to share the contents of a single pot which, therefore, must contain a portion for every member of the invited group.

While the war-bundle owner's helpers, the waiters, selected from his paternal nephews when possible, were preparing the feast, he himself entered the lodge, took down the war-bundle from where it hung on the north wall opposite the fire and spread it out on the ground immediately west of the fire. Although much of the contents of the bundle appeared to be very old, the cover-piece was of cloth. The bundle was unrolled and spread out upon this rectangular piece of goods. The inner wrapper was of matting. Upon this a variety of fetishes and elements of ceremonial equipment was displayed. These included various bird skins, reed whistles and an old fire drill set which had long been out of use due to the fact that the base piece was entirely covered with holes, without interval, and as deep as the thickness of the piece would permit.

Two beaded snake-skin fetishes were suspended from the top of a peeled stake set up between the bundle and the fire. Adjoining this a sharpened stick, later to be used as a meat fork in distributing the meat, was placed, the handle thrust into the ground. Two fine old war clubs from the bundle were also placed between fire and bundle, their handles thrust into the ground. Two bowls, one containing tobacco and the

## §11. *Wandering and Hunting*

After a while I used to get into the habit of going to 159* town When I got there I would look into the barrels to see if there was any food in them and if there was I would fill my pockets with whatsoever I found. I [685] used to steal a great deal.

About springtime we always moved away from the 159* vicinity of the town. We always moved to the place 221 where my father intended to trap, generally to the [224] neighborhood of some farming community where there were few Indians. There my mother used to make [285] baskets and sell them to the farmers. We also used to [439] circulate a written petition asking for any help people cared to give us. Whenever they went on this kind [648] of a trip I always went along with them, for sometimes people would take pity on us and give us some old clothes. Sometimes we would even get a good meal at some farmer's house. For these reasons I was always envious of those who went along on such journeys.

Occasionally when we got many provisions I had to carry some of them, but I never minded that. When [003] the birds returned north father used to make us bows and arrows and we would then shoot at them and often kill many. We also used to kill squirrels which my [224] grandmother roasted for us. My older brother was a [252]

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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I permit him to forget his bargain when the squash was served later in the day.

Big Wave did not participate in the feast, nor did he smoke ceremoniously or otherwise during the entire performance. During the feast he sang several songs without drum. These were his war-bundle songs, obtained in a dream by the original owner of the bundle and descending to his successors.

The bones from the feast were gathered up by the waiters and placed in a single vessel. Tobacco was added to the bones, and the vessel taken out to a place where no people were in view and where no dogs could molest the contents. This was a sacrifice to Disease Giver.

After the meat had been entirely consumed, the leader announced that they would now have night spirit dancing. An old bow and four arrows were brought out and planted in the floor to stand erect in a row just west of the fireplace, where the war-bundle had formerly been displayed. Big Wave appointed one to lead the dance. The dancers aligned themselves in single file on the south side of the lodge, facing west, and were led by the dance leader carrying the bow and arrows and blowing a reed whistle, followed by the other dancers. The singers began singing and the dancers circled several times about the lodge counter-clockwise. With short pauses between, several songs and dances were so executed. When the set of songs was finished, the bowl of tobacco dedicated to the use of the guests was then given by one of the waiters to the most honored guest. The head waiter lifted the stove shovel containing the remains of the burned cedar leaves and poured the contents in the fire. Then the singing was resumed and they danced once more about the fire, joyously.

When the singing stopped, the leader for this dance returned the whistle to Big Wave, and the latter, as soon as all were again seated, addressed his guests. He said that this was the way they worshipped the spirits of their fathers. He thanked those participating for their assistance in the singing and dancing and solicited their further help. So they should enjoy health, long life and success. Everyone responded with a series of confirmative "O's". The feast of boiled squash was now served. It was the duty of the waiters to eat any scraps left by the feasters, since food uneaten is considered an affront to the spirits to whom the food is dedicated.

The ceremonies described above were followed by a buffalo dance. It seems that the spirit of the buffalo was especially noted for his speed in running, and could imbue his devotees with his skill. Inasmuch as speed in running was of prime importance in primitive warfare, where the desired procedure was to come quickly upon the enemy, strike decisively and disappear from the scene, the buffalo dance is considered an altogether proper adjunct to the war-bundle ceremony, and regularly follows in.

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 Thus I acted up to the time that I have memory of things.

*159 221 [224] [342] [352] In those days there were not many white people living near us as to-day. My father went out hunting continually. The lodge in which we lived was covered with rush mattings, with reed mattings spread over the floor. After hunting for some time in one place we would move to another. My father, mother, older sisters, and older brothers, all carried the packs. Thus we would spend our time until the spring of the year and then in the spring we would again move in order [224] [136] to live near some stream where father could hunt muskrats, mink, otter, and beaver.

In the summer we always returned to Black River Falls, Wisconsin. Here all the Indians gathered after [222] they had given their feasts. Then we picked berries. When picking berries my father used to buy me gum *159 so that I should not be able to eat any of the berries. [261] I managed however to eat berries and chew gum at the same time. After a while I learned to chew tobacco and then I did not eat the berries while picking them. [276] Later on I got to like tobacco very much and I probably used up more money in buying tobacco than would have been the value of the berries had I eaten them.

[780] [593] [603] ing and crying to await the coming of the spirit. Among the Winnebago, and probably among many other tribes, it was customary for the parents or grandparents, to prepare the children specifically for what was likely to happen;[1] to inform them how to recognize the approach of the spirit and, what was more to the point, to teach them how to distinguish a good from a bad spirit.

[2].

[1] [i.e., during their quest for a guardian spirit, see P.1, Category 116 -- Analyst]

## *Reminiscences of Childhood*

We were three boys of whom I was the youngest and 159 *
at night we slept together. In cold weather we fought 593
as to who was to sleep in the middle, since whoever got 513
that place was warm; for while those at either end used to pull the cover from each other, the one in the middle was always covered. Even after I grew up I always took the cover away from the particular person with whom I happened to be sleeping. I would always fold it under me, for it had become a habit with me to take the cover away from the other person whenever I slept on the outside.

We always ate out of one dish. At times we did not 159 *
have enough food on hand and then I would always try 159
to get enough by eating very fast. In this way I often 261 ●
succeeded in depriving the others of their proper portion. Sometimes, on the other hand, I would purposely eat slowly and then when the others were finished, I would say that I had not been given enough and so get some of their food. In this way I developed a habit, that I still have, of eating fast. Even after I grew up, whenever I ate with other people, I always finished sooner than they did.

Another habit acquired then was the ability to go [484]
without food for a whole day while traveling. I did not mind this in the least, for during my fasting I had grown accustomed to going without food for long periods of time.

159 *
In the summer, at the season when people pick ber- [221]
ries, I used to go around visting, sometimes for a day, [222]
sometimes for a longer period. I would often receive [519]

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224 hunted, very few animals being tabooed. So far as the author
[784] knows, the following animals only were not eaten: Skunk, mink,
[262] marten, otter, horse, the weasel, gophers of all kinds, crows (northern ravens?), and eagles.

411 *Bow.*—The bow and arrow and traps were used in hunting. The bow is of a very simple type, having ends more or less pointed by rubbing them on stones. In former times the bowstring was made of sinew.

*Arrows.*—There were five types of arrows, distinguished both by the nature of the arrowhead and by their use: *Ma" p'axe'dera*, bird arrow; *ma'"sante p'a"'u"*, rabbit, or small mammal, arrow; *ma" k'ctcûnk cako'k'crr*, deer and large mammal arrow; *mai" su'ra*, or *mai"so'k'crr*, used in battle; and the *ma" p'a'"una*, also used in battle. The first two and the last were made entirely of wood, generally hickory, the last being merely a pointed stick. The third and the fourth were the only ones that had separate heads attached. The
[237] head of the third was, as the name implies, a turtle claw, and that of the fourth a fragment of flint. The Winnebago have no recollection of ever having made flint arrowheads and claim that those they used were found in the ground (pl. 31).

224 *Traps.*—One of the principal traps consisted of a heavy timber supported very slightly by an upright, to which a piece of wood was attached bearing bait at the end. No sooner does the animal—wolf, bear, fox, or raccoon—touch the bait than the heavy timber falls upon his head, killing him instantly. Another trap commonly used for rabbits may be described thus: The head of a post is hollowed out to receive the knob-shaped end of a long pliable piece of wood that fits into it very lightly. To the latter is attached a noose, so arranged that it draws away the knob-shaped head at the slightest touch. The rabbit must put his head into the noose in order to get at the bait; in so doing he invariably moves the lever, which springs back, jerking him into the air and strangling him.

For trapping deer a very ingenious method is used. Taking advantage of the animal's habit of following repeatedly the same trail, the hunter at some point of a deer trail piles across it a mass of brush to a height of about 4 feet. Behind this he plants a pointed stake so that it can not be seen by the animal. On encountering the obstruction the deer leaps over it and is impaled on the stake.

Knowledge of the habits of beavers and otters is utilized in the following way: Many of these animals live along winding creeks, and in proceeding from one place to another, instead of following all the meanderings of the streams, they cut across the land. The Winnebago hunter digs deep holes in these cut-offs and covers them with hay. Into these the animals fall and are unable to get out.

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224 825 or hear the noise and run away. For this reason the hunters are very careful about these two things—namely, the number of bears shot and the direction of the wind. The method of hunting bears when the acorns fall and they come to the open or cleared spaces is known as the *hirucʼe* method. When the bears eat acorns then only is it easy to find them and kill them without much effort.

224 [721 648] *Description of a buffalo hunt.*—Whenever the Winnebago went buffalo hunting, they always went in large numbers, for the people used to say that on a buffalo hunt, they are likely to encounter their enemies and a fight might take place. It is even said that some people went purposely for the fighting. They generally went together with the *Homoⁿᵃ* (Missouri ?), Waxetcera, Iowa, and *Wadpkdpapa*, the Otoe. Many women accompanied them. It is said that they could always tell where the buffalo were by the dust they encountered, for the dust raised by the trampling of the buffalo rose high in the air. They would always start out for the buffalo early in the morning on fast horses and try to ride up along the right side of the female buffalo, for they only killed the bulls afterward. They shot the buffalo with bow and arrows. When riding horseback, the bow is always drawn back with the right hand. The reason they try to kill the female buffalo first is because they always run away while the bulls do not.

While hunting the buffalo they were always bound to meet some of their enemies and a fight would ensue, so that when they returned, they would bring back not only [727] buffalo but also scalps, and immediately after their return the Victory Dance would be celebrated.

224 721 A different account of a buffalo hunt was obtained from another informant (J. H.):[4]

[342] Whenever we go on a buffalo hunt we camp in a circle, with the soldiers in front. They always carried long poles to be used in the construction of tipis. [This statement was made by a number of persons whose information was generally accurate. As [237 372] they were bound for the open prairie where there was a scarcity of wood, buffalo manure was always carried for fuel.]

As soon as the chief decided to go on a hunt he gave a feast [war feast] to which he invited everyone. This was generally in June. As soon as the feast was over a hunting council was held. Then the chief appointed public criers who went around the [203] village announcing the time for starting, etc. Then all went to the lodge of the chief of the Bear clan. There the ten best warriors were selected, who were to go ahead of the main body and reconnoiter for both buffalo and enemies. These started immediately and if they returned with the news that they had found many buffalo and enemy at the same time, fights frequently took place. Ten warriors always went ahead and the old warriors generally stayed in the rear behind the women in order to protect them better. As soon as they came to the place where the buffalo were seen they followed their trail and killed them. The flesh was cut up into large chunks, which were afterwards dried on the grass. Then when they had enough they all returned home, observing, of course, the same order of march as when they started. When they reached their home they gave another war feast at which all thanked the spirits for their successful return.

223 [762] *Pigeon hunt.*—The pigeons are "chief"[5] birds and they would be hunted whenever the chief decided to give the chief feast. The entire tribe was always invited to participate in the meal served, so that many pigeons were needed. The pigeons generally make their nests near human habitations. Sometimes there would be 20

[4] As his grandfather was a Dakota, J. H. may have confused in his account Dakota customs with those of the Winnebago. Apart from this consideration, it should be said that J. H. was an exceedingly unreliable informant.

[825 644] [5] They are called "chief" birds because the pigeon belongs to the same division as does the Thunderbird, or Chief, clan.

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*Names of the principal trees, etc.*

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ranganak'a'wa, resin-weed.
xa^hje, moss.
wax cutc, cedar (red cedar).
teatca^na, ironwood.
witci, flat cornered reed used for lodges.
ca, round reed used for mats.
hi^ge', basswood.
wazi, pine in general.
wazi pana, white cedar.
wange', poplar.
tra^ tca'wa, birch.
teagu, walnut.
pa^ dja'gu, hickory.
teazu'ke, butternut.
na^ ma'nk', maple.
ruyi, willow.
rak, ash.
teange'gu, oak.
mank'a'rak, elm.
hukaigu, hazel.
na^ p'a'gu, cherry.
na^ ho'cge, box-elder.
heyu', cottonwood.

*Names of the principal vegetables and fruits*

teera'hera, a water root.
wokne^gera, root called "awl" root.
hu^,^kboi'dja, pea vine.
dora, a sort of artichoke.
pa^kxi, root found in lowlands.
na^p'ak, chokecherries.
k'a^tc, plum.
kcē crabapple.
teeou'^wa^, fruit of a tree similar to crabapple tree.
haza'cutega, raspberry.
hacda'mankera, blackberry.
hacdinank', blueberries.
hacedjek', strawberry.
hap'u'nup'unuxga, gooseberry.
hotcanke', cranberry.
k'a^tc hi^cek, peaches (fuzzy plums).
kcē carole, apple (long and round apple).
wak'a^retcawa, wild currant (snake's navel).
doke'wehi, prairie turnip.
hu^n'nk, bean.
hu^nank' na^di, climbing bean.
hu^n'nk' mink, nonclimbing bean.
ma^hi^tc, milkweed.

*Animals and parts of animals whose flesh is not eaten*

192
136
262

wankcank, dogfish.
djadja'nka'k, mink.
docu'na^k, otter.
ho wak'a^, eel (holy fish).
k'ayi, crow (really northern raven).
teazce'p, eagle.
weasel.
marten.
no entrails (u'djwoju).
gopher.
horse.

*Agriculture.*—In the old days the Winnebago always raised in their 241
permanent villages at least corn, squash, and beans. As the villages 614
consisted practically of a group of families belonging to different clans, 423
each clan apparently living by itself, the question of clan ownership [62]
of these fields was hardly considered. (This statement is made because some Winnebago spoke of clan ownership.) What actually occurred was, in the opinion of the author, as follows: Each group of families being segregated according to clan, it happened that certain family groups had fields in common. This must have happened rather frequently, for there seems to have been a tendency—although this can not be said with certainty owing to the meagerness of reliable information—for related families to hold together in these settlements. In general, however, each family owned and cultivated its own field.

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241 [778] In the middle of the field was usually placed an earthen representation of the clan animal. As to how squash and beans were planted, no reliable information is available. The corn was planted in small circular mounds which, to judge from those near Madison, Wis., were arranged in remarkably straight rows.

[142 177] The author is unable to say what type of implements was used, as the Winnebago have been using those of European manufacture for many years and have no recollection of any other kind.

If anyone had more corn planted than he could take care of he 241 gave a feast, to which he invited all who had hoes. At this feast 527 dried corn was used. On this occasion the people sacrificed tobacco 782 to their hoes, so that they might not cut themselves with these implements or have other accidents. Then they all joined in helping their host cultivate his corn.

249 In addition to the above-mentioned patches, most Winnebago had small fields of tobacco, which were regarded as very sacred. The tobacco grown on these was used only for sacrificial purposes. Sacred gourds also were planted in these fields.

222 *Berry picking.*—From the earliest times the Winnebago were known for their bountiful supply of berries. Every fall parties of men, women, and children went out to pick cranberries and whortleberries.

222 *Customs when berries are ripening.*—If a man has a son whom he 787 loves very much, he has him fast as soon as the berries and other things begin to ripen. If this boy dreams of something good, then he (the father) gives a feast with the newly ripened food and the boy eats. If the boy does not dream of anything good after four days, the father makes him eat and has him try again.

222 *Rice gathering.*—In common with the Central Algonquian tribes, with whom they have come in contact, especially the Menominee, the Winnebago spent a number of weeks every year gathering wild rice. The following description of the manner in which this is done is taken from a newspaper article published by Prof. A. E. Jenks of the University of Minnesota:

> Fox River from its source to Lake Winnebago was for hundreds of years a very productive field for this aquatic cereal, and along this river the Winnebago lived in plenty and peace with several wild rice eating tribes of the Algonkin stock. Probably a few families still gather their annual crop in that old domain; but most of the wild rice which the tribe now gathers is obtained in the sloughs of the Mississippi River near Lacrosse, Wis., and on the Iowa side of that river
>
> The Winnebago gather the grain by running their canoes into the tall standing stalks before the grain is ripe. A stick is held in each hand of the harvester, one being used to draw the standing stalks over the edge of the canoe, while the other one is employed in tapping or striking the heads of the stalks, thus knocking the grain out of the fruit head into the canoe. After the canoe is full it is taken to the shore and emptied.

252 *Preparation of foods.*—Meats were prepared by broiling, in three 262 ways—on stakes, over a rack, or under hot ashes. Only the ribs

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and the breast of most animals were considered good portions, but the head of the deer was included. Other portions were eaten, however. For infants the deer's tail was considered a delicacy. Now, when they eat meat provided by the white man, rib roast of beef is the favorite meat of the Winnebago.

The Winnebago were very fond of soups of all descriptions. Most of these were meat soups with the addition of vegetables or berries.

Most time was, however, spent in the preparation of vegetable foods, especially in the preparation of wild rice and corn. For the preparation of rice I will again quote Professor Jenks's article:

> At this stage of the harvest when the Winnebago gather the wild rice, the kernel is very like a long oat and has a tenacious hull, which must be removed before the grain can be eaten. The necessity of removing this hull and the unripe condition of the grain make it necessary to dry it artificially. This is usually done by spreading the kernels yet inclosed in the hull upon a rack of lattice work, under which a slow fire is kept burning. The grain is cured and the hull made brittle by the heat and smoke. The next process is the thrashing. The Winnebago thrashes the grain by the use of a most primitive flail. He spreads a blanket, rush mat, or deerskin on the ground, upon which he puts the new cured grain. Along three sides of the blanket he erects a screen of similar material. At the open side of this screen the man squats on his knees, and beats the grain with a straight stick in each hand, thus releasing it from the hull. When it has been thrashed the woman gathers up the contents of the blanket and winnows the mass by letting it fall from a vessel held high in the air upon a blanket or mat laid on the earth, the wind blows away the chaff from the falling grain and leaves the clean kernels.

The Winnebago distinguished a number of different kinds of corn, the principal ones being *wahi'serete*, yellow-stalked; *hiwarakona*, sweet corn; and *warup'teke*, red-colored corn. The cornstalk was called *wahu'*, the corn proper, *witca'ᵊwaᵊs*, and the cob, *wosa'kᵊ*. The corn is pounded on a rack (*waickᵊ*) and then shelled, the grain falling through the rack and the cobs remaining on top. After being shelled the corn is steamed. Then the stones necessary for cooking it are gathered and the corn is picked. When this is finished, a hole is dug in the ground and red-hot stones are put in. Over this the husks are put and upon these the corn; then another layer of husks, etc. The top always is covered with husks. Four holes are made through the husks, into which four pails of water are poured and the whole is covered with a thick layer of earth and the corn left there overnight. The next morning it will be entirely cooked.

In shelling, the outer part of an oyster shell is used. When the shelling is over the corn is spread out and dried.

Squash is prepared as follows: After the skin has been removed the squash is cut into slices and the seeds taken out; the slices of squash are then put on poles to dry. The dried squash is called *hotca'ᵊwaᵊdawus*. There are two varieties of this vegetable—*witca'ᵊwaᵊ*, Hubbard squash, and *witca'ᵊwanaik*, small-kernel squash.

Fruit was dried, but by what process the author has not learned.

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252 262 In addition to the vegetable foods above referred to, the following may be mentioned: *Teera'pera*, a plant growing in the water, the root of which was eaten boiled with meat; *wokniykera* and *ha"ink boi'dja*, awl plant and peavine, respectively, of which only the roots were eaten; and finally the *dora*, wild potato, a favorite dish. The skin was peeled off; then the potato was dried in the sun and afterwards boiled. *Na"pa'k'*, chokecherries, were eaten raw. *P'aykzi'* and *ma"hi'nte*, a lowland weed, and the milkweed, respectively, were also utilized. Of the former, the boiled root was eaten; of the latter, the boiled head. Small quantities of food which required grinding were put into a squirrel hide from which the hairs had been removed, and were pounded with a stone. A mill consisting of a dug-out trunk with handles attached was also used.

251 415 *Preservation of food.*—In former times meat was hung on long racks for preservation. Corn was cached (*woze'*). Dried berries were kept in bags woven from vegetable fibers. These bags were always covered with designs, mostly of geometric patterns, although [531 realistic designs, as elk, deer, thunderbirds, and water spirits, all 422] unquestionably property marks, were frequently used. There were two types of bags, that closely woven (*p'a"*) (pls. 32–36), just mentioned, and matting bags with fairly large openings in the meshwork (pl. 37). Food stored away at home was generally placed in a part of the lodge reserved for the purpose.

262 *A Winnebago menu.*—To give an idea of the favorite dishes of the Winnebago, the names of several mentioned in one of the myths are here appended: Small dried corn boiled with bear's ribs; jerked meat with bear's fat; deer's fat; deer's grease frozen in a hole in the ground; dried corn boiled with fruit; deer-loin soup.

412 415 *Cooking and eating utensils* (pl. 38).—With regard to the kind of cooking and eating utensils used in the old days there exists even among the Indians themselves considerable difference of opinion. According to some, their ancestors never used wooden utensils, mills, spoons, and plates, but utilized shells of various kinds or other natural objects suitable to their needs. Others state, on the contrary, that, in early times, in addition to such natural objects, wooden vessels of many kinds were fashioned from maple knots. These are said to have been burned out, a very tedious process, or even to have been cut out with adzes. It is quite impossible to decide this question now. Wooden implements and utensils in great variety are, of course, found among the Winnebago at the present time, but these are supposed by many to have been introduced by the neighboring Algonquian tribes and by early French traders. The main contention of the present-day [177] Winnebago is, however, that their ancestors could never have made this woodenware without the aid of European implements, burning out being a tedious and unsatisfactory method.

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limb." They will indeed like you very much if you obtain a limb, 867
or, even better, two or three. If you do thus, wherever people boil 554
an animal with a head " you will always be able to eat.

If on account of your bravery you are permitted to tell of your 867
war exploits during the Four Nights' Wake for the benefit of the 765
soul of the deceased, do not try to add to your glory by exaggerat- 554
ing any exploit, for by so doing you will cause the soul to stumble on its journey to the spirit land." If you do this and add an untruth to the account of your war exploit, you will die soon after. The war spirits always hear you. Tell a little less. The old men say it is wise.

My son, it is good to die in war. If you die in war, your soul will 867
not be unconscious. You will have complete disposal of your soul 721
and it will always be happy." If you should ever desire to return 775
to this earth and live here again, you will be able to do so. A second life as a human being you may live, or, if you prefer, as an inhabitant of the air (a bird) you may live, or you may roam the earth as an animal. Thus it is to him who dies in battle.

My son, fast for an honorable place among your fellowmen. Fast, 867
so that when you are married you may have plenty of food; that 785
you may be happy and that you may not have to worry about your 787
children. If in your fastings you have a vision of your future home, the members of your family will be lacking in nothing during their life. Fast for the food that you may need. If you fast a sufficiently large number of times, when in after life you have children and they cry for food you will be able to offer a piece of deer or moose meat without any difficulty. Your children will never be hungry.

[555]

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[262]

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" That is, a war honor, but more specifically if you "count coup" first. The honor of killing an enemy and the three honors connected with first touching his dead body are always spoken of as "the four limbs of the body."

" That is, wherever people give a Winter Feast. At this feast a deer, head and all, is served to the invited guests. The head may only be eaten by brave warriors.

" At the death of a clansman an elaborate wake takes place. To this wake, as the principal participants, three or four warriors who have counted "coup" are always invited. It is believed that the souls of all the enemies one has killed become the slaves of the victor and he may command them to do his bidding at any time. If the victor tells his exploit and then commands the conquered soul to take care of the recently departed person in whose honor the wake is being given, the soul of the conquered enemy will be of considerable aid in overcoming the obstacles that are supposed to infest the path between this earth and the land of the spirits. These can not be overcome by the merits of the individual alone. If, however, a warrior becomes vainglorious, the soul of the recently departed individual will fall into the abyss of fire which surrounds one of the heavenly earths through which he must pass. That is what is meant by "stumbling."

" It must be remembered that the Winnebagos believe that all that constitutes "life," "consciousness," continues to exist after death, the only difference being that in the former case an envelope, the body, is present and, in the latter case, it is not. Winnebago philosophy does not concern itself with what happens when a soul becomes "unconscious" at death, which would, of course, be the case with all those who do not die in battle; but it does insist that in him who dies on the warpath the moment of death does not even deprive of consciousness. He goes right on living, as if he were still an inhabitant of this earth, the only difference being that the corporeal envelope has fallen off his soul and that, although he sees and hears human beings, he himself is not visible nor his voice audible.

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If you ever get married, my son, do not make an idol of your wife. 867
The more you worship her, the more will she want to be worshipped. 562
Thus the old people said. They warned the young men against the 581
example of those men who always hearken to what the women say, 593
who are the slaves of women. Often they would speak in the following manner: "You have had many warnings, but it may happen that some day you will not pay any attention to them. Then, when they call upon you to take part in the Winter Feast you may perhaps refuse to go. When a war party is leaving you may listen to the voice of your wife and not join them. Thus you will be as one who has been brought up as a woman." Men of every description do what is demanded of them, you alone do not act as a man should. You never perform a man's deed. If you were to go to a [558] Winter Feast, you would be handed a lean piece of meat.[8] Why should you subject yourself to the danger of being made fun of! A real brave man, when he goes to a Winter Feast, will receive a deer's head, while you will only receive a lean piece of meat. That is all they will give you to eat. It will stick in your throat."[9]

My son, if you keep on listening to your wife, after a while she will never let you go to any feast at all. All your relatives will scold you and your own sisters will think little of you. They will say to one another, "Let us not ever go over to see him. He is of no help to anyone." Finally, when you have become a real slave to your wife, she might tell you to hit your own relatives, and you would do it. For these reasons, my son, I warn you against the words of women. Steel yourself against them. For if you do not do so you will find yourself different from other men. It is not good to be enslaved by a woman.

My son, this also I will tell you. Women can never be watched. If you try to watch them you will merely show your jealousy and your female relatives will also be jealous. After a while you will become so jealous of your wife that she will leave you and run away. First, you worshipped her above everything else, then you became jealous and watched her all the time, and the result will be that she will run away from you. You yourself will be to blame for this. You thought too much of a woman and in worshipping her you humbled yourself, and as a consequence she has been taken away from you. You are making the woman suffer and making her feel unhappy. All the other women will know of this, and no one will want to marry you again. Everyone will consider you a very bad man.

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[8] He may mean a bardash, but it is far more probable that he merely wants to call him a woman, an insult sufficiently great.

[9] A man who has distinguished himself as a warrior is always invited to eat the head of the animal, offered at the Winter Feast. Those next in distinction are given the hit pieces of meat, and the lean pieces—to the Winnebago, the poorest—are given to those who are of no importance. [554 262]

[10] I. e., the meat will stick in your throat, because you will feel so much ashamed of yourself.

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the matter. If, on the other hand, he submitted to whatever punishment the Bear clansmen inflicted on him without resistance and apologized to them, then they would build him a new lodge and supply it with better goods than those which they had been compelled to destroy. 614 625

This is the way in which the soldiers act when they are on duty. They never jest and their word is a command. If it is not immediately obeyed, their next move is to punish. For that reason one generally listens to them and their commands. When they are not on duty they are the same as other people. Different members of the tribe are on duty at different times, for the leader changes them about frequently.

If a field of rice is found in some swamp or lake the Bear clan people are informed and they go over and keep watch over it and give every person an equal chance at picking it. If a person sneaks away and takes advantage of the others, the Bear clan people punish him. [222 262] [685]

The Bear clansmen guard the village almost all the time. When a council is held they guard the council lodge, and when a person is tried for some crime, particularly that of murder, a trial which generally takes place in the Thunderbird clan lodge, then they carefully guard this lodge, lest the prisoner try to escape or his relatives or confederates try to rescue him. [623 692 682]

Certain actions and remarks are not permitted in the Bear clan lodge. They are the following: 614 625 784

To peep into the lodge.

To make the remark that they live in a nice lodge.

To sit in the doorway.

To give a deep sigh or snort inside the lodge.

Should any person do one of these forbidden things, the Bear clansmen would be compelled to give the most valued thing in the lodge to the offender.

If a man seduced a woman, he was brought to the lodge of the Bear clan and severely whipped. If the soldier whipped him too severely, he in turn was whipped. 614 625 684

If a murderer was brought to the Bear clan lodge and the chief of the tribe asked that the man be freed, the rest of the tribe would beg the relatives of the murdered man to relent; but if the murderer was turned over to the soldiers, they would take him to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives and let one of them kill him. [622 682]

According to one informant, the Deer clansmen acted as servants to the Bear clan. 614

The Bear and the Wolf clans are friends, and although, as we indicated on page 201, each clan is paired off with another, the relationship of the Bear and Wolf clans is particularly intimate. It was even claimed that a Bear clansman would revenge the death of a Wolf clansman. For no other clans did the author hear this statement made. The women are addressed by the men and by each other as "my opposite," referring unquestionably to the positions in the council lodge. [551]

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## The Wolf Clan

### INTRODUCTION

614 Three versions of the origin myth of this clan were obtained. The
173 second is the most interesting, for it gives the popular account of descent from the clan animal-ancestor, although it claims that he, in turn, was created by Earthmaker. One other important characteristic is the statement that the original clan ancestor married a human being and that from them the present members of the clan trace their descent. A similar type of descent is mentioned in a number of myths that can best be interpreted as village origin myths. The ownership of war bundles has also at times been linked up with descent from some spirit.

614 Very little is known at the present time about the functions of the Wolf clan. It is quite clear, however, that the clan once possessed powers of considerable importance. From the fact that the Wolf people are still occasionally called "minor soldiers" and that they are so closely linked with the Bear clansmen it is likely that their functions were similar in nature to those of the Bear people. They probably assisted the latter.

[823] Water was sacred to the Wolf clan as it also was to the Water-spirit clan. A person was not allowed to tell a Wolf clansman that he looked like a wolf nor allowed to sit on a log in a Wolf clan lodge.
[682] If a man kills a Wolf clansman accidentally and then sits on the log in a Wolf lodge, he has to be freed.

According to one informant, the Wolf clan at one time possessed four sticks, which they would use and with which they kept time while the drum was beaten.

[582] According to one informant, the Wolf clansmen were the only people who were allowed to intermarry.

The Wolf clansmen give a feast when a Bear child is born, to show respect for their friend. They give the child a name of their own clan.

[796] The Wolf feast is held in the spring of the year, when the ice melts from the creeks and everything begins to grow. At the feast the
[262 clan origin myth is told and the members of the other clans are
252] allowed to hear it. The food used is boiled rice.

### ORIGIN MYTHS

#### FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 In the beginning the Wolf clan people came from the water.
539 Therefore their bodies are of water—i. e., their sacred possession is
776 water. There were four male wolves and four female wolves, and
[823] as they came up from the sea and swam toward the shore, one after the other, they caused waves to go before them. Therefore one of

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head eating. Then the donor selected his partners. The host then began to sing. The scalp was taken down from the post and placed in a dish near the door. The soul of the scalp still remained within it, so they tried again to make it less powerful and to conquer it, for they knew that if they succeeded in conquering it all the life that was still coming to the possessor of the scalp at his death would be obtained for themselves. Then the dancers and the feasters, indeed all who had counted coup, tried to obtain some of the dead enemy's residuary life. All tried to add some new life to their own. 727 796 [774]

When the meal was over, then the host offered tobacco to the spirits, and all those present prayed for war to the spirits to whom offerings had been made. They asked that if it be their good fortune to kill a number of people on the warpath, when they returned home they would be as thankful as they are now. All these warriors who were taking part in this dance liked it very much. [782]

Then the host struck the drum that had been placed in front of him and sang. When he finished, he had the drum placed in front of the man who had counted first coup. Then this man sang and the drum was passed to the next man, and so on until each man had sung. After all had sung and spoken the men and women together danced around the lodge. The woman who had received the presents led the dance, carrying the scalp. The people believed that the scalp was dancing with them. All night they danced the *kok'-ize'ee* dance without resting at any time, and when the sun appeared they took the drum outside to the post and danced the victory dance. Then when the sun was high in the heavens they stopped and went to sleep. In the evening when the sun was low they danced the victory dance again, and then when it was pretty dark, singing slow songs, they slowly entered the lodge again. Then they made a circuit of the lodge and placed the drum in the middle of the lodge.

The feast was now ready. All that they were to eat—deer, bear, dog were placed in front of the feasters. Food was brought to the donor and all those who were sitting together with him, as well as all those who had counted coup and all the women who had received presents. Head eating is holy, and if one eats part of the head it is thought that it will help him greatly. [263] [264]

Then the host rose and spoke as follows:

"The servants who are carrying the food around here will probably not have enough to go around, but you must remember that not the men but the women are furnishing the food. Although it is little, I hope you will eat it. We will now sing four songs." Then he sang two war-bundle songs and two night songs. Before they ate the host rose and spoke, "This is a small feast and we will try to give food to our grandfather (some spirit) who is in charge of this

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upon the soul of our friend (the scalp) and you have tried to gain 727
additional life. I also desire life. Our ancestors were equal to the 796
spirits in their power and they asked each other to help one another in obtaining life. I will try to ask for that which you have asked. I greet you all."

Then all the war-bundle owners in the lodge greeted each other, and the drum was passed around until every one in the lodge had sung. Then they danced the *hok'ize're* dance until early dawn and when the sun was about to appear they took the drum to the post and danced the victory dance until the sun was high in the heavens. Then they went to sleep. All day they slept, and toward evening of the fourth night, when the sun was low, they began the victory dance again. When it was dark they entered the lodge and placed the drum in the center. Then the attendants put dog meat in the [262]
kettles. When all was in readiness and all the feasters had entered the lodge the host offered tobacco to the spirits for whom food was being prepared and spoke as follows:

"After we have sung four songs the meal will be ready to be served. The attendants, it is true, have not cooked very much and it will doubtless not be enough for all, but I think that there will be a little portion for every one. When I have finished the four songs, then the donor for whom this ceremony is being given will select the people who are to eat with him. Then the attendants will distribute the portions of meat, in addition to the heads, and then we will all start to eat."

Then all ate. The donor after first eating with his friends ate alone with the scalp. Then some of the men arose and gave thanks. Finally the host rose again and said, "Whatever little it was in my power to do, I tried to do. All have tried to help me. It is really good. I am really unable to say what I wanted, but it is good. As the drum passes around, may it be of some help to every one."

Then the drum is passed to the one who had first counted coup. He sings and then it is passed to the other three who counted coup, who likewise sing. From them it is passed to all the other people in the lodge who have not sung yet. Then all dance the *hok'ize're* dance and toward dawn the drum is taken outside to the post and the victory dance is given. If the donor had lost a child the others [765]
now wipe off his tears and tell him not to cry any more; and they make the mourner feel joyful again. When it became (full) daylight they danced the victory dance and walked four times around the pole. Then they went to the grave of the child that had died and danced the victory dance there and stuck the scalp in the ground, for the soul of the child. There it would wither and the father would feel happy. This is the end.

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### The Herucka Dance

535 The *Herucka* is a social dance and is frequently given when visitors
574 from other tribes are present, presents being given on this occasion. Men and women take part in it and are generally dressed in their best clothes. A few customs that were noticed at a performance in 1908 might be mentioned here.

If a man drops anything during the dance he himself may not pick it up. Only a warrior who has been wounded has the right to do so. The object dropped is returned to the owner, who, however, must always give it to his sister or niece.

It is at times customary for a man to dress himself in rags and beg for food, etc. He generally represents himself as an extremely poor man and pictures his destitution in a manner best calculated to amuse everyone.

[525] Wagers of horses are very commonly made at this dance.

The dances indulged in are mainly victory dances and the songs
[533] known as *Herucka* songs are always victory songs. Many borrowed songs are sung at this dance.

A large drum is always used, around which sometimes as many as
[534] 10 drummers sit. The drum consists of an ordinary tub over which skin has been tightly drawn. It is supported by two carved sticks, to which it is firmly attached, so that the bottom is about a foot from the ground. It is painted in the following manner: Two rather
[531] narrow lines of paint across the center of the drum, one blue and the other green. The portion of the drum next to the yellow line is painted blue, and that next to the blue line red. No meanings for the colors were obtained.

### Watconahe'ewe Feast
(afraid-to-eat-greens feast)

241 Informant, member of Beaver clan: Just about roasting-ear month
785 people would commence to fast and continue until the green corn is
● 262 ripe enough to be eaten. They fast so that all the plants may strengthen the tribe.

The fast generally takes place in a special lodge, from under which all the grass has been cut, for the faster must not come in contact with anything that is green. When the fasting is over a feast is given at which all those present eat "greens" for the first time.

### The Captive's Death Dance

747 Before putting a captive to death it is customary to tie his arms
535 behind him in such a manner that his hands have a little freedom. Then they put a gourd in his right hand and a lance in his left hand

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794 fireman now rises and pours water on the impressions he had made
796 when drawing the cross on the earth, and the woman drinks some
177 water from the cup, which she then returns to the leader. The water is then returned to her and she passes it around the lodge, beginning at the left. When it reaches the leader again, he takes out the same cup which he had handed to the woman and drinks out of it. The water, however, is passed on until it reaches the door. The fireman would then take it and bring it back to where it had been placed when first brought in. The woman rises and goes around the fireplace from left to right, taking the water with her. Finally the leader takes his singing staff and sings four songs. When these songs are finished, the woman places some food just outside the door. The fireman goes outside and brings in this food, placing it in a line between the fire and the door. Four things are brought in—water,
[262] corn with sweetened water, fruit, and meat. When the food is brought in the leader puts away all the objects he had spread out before him, which the fireman takes out of the lodge. The leader then offers up a prayer of thanks and says grace. The four kinds of food are passed around the lodge, beginning with the entrance, from left to right. After they are returned they are placed in line again, only in the reverse order from that used before. The fireman then takes them outside. While the people are eating the door remains open.

(During the evening the leader represents the first created man, the woman dressed up is the New Jerusalem, the bride waiting for the bridegroom. The cup used by the leader and the woman is supposed to symbolize the fact that they are to become one; the water represents the God's gift, His Holiness. The corn represents the feast to be partaken of on the Day of Judgment and the fruit represents the fruit of the tree of life. The meat represents the message of Christ and those who accept it will be saved.)[4]

794 The above descriptions represent the Peyote cult as it was given between 1908 and 1913. It is quite clear that a definite organization exists consisting of a unit of five positions occupied by the leader and four helpers. No specific requirements, with the exception, of course, of that of being a peyote eater, are associated with the right to occupy these positions.

No specialized features have become associated with the positions of the four helpers. As indicated before, John Rave is always the leader when he is present, but the position of leadership can be delegated to others. This is always of a temporary nature. It may be significant to note that whenever delegated the leadership is always delegated to men who have been among the first of the converts, outside of Rave's immediate family, and who were leaders in the old

[4] J. C.'s account ends here.

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And a war-bundle owner for the second kettle should be called upon a kettle offered in connection with him whom we call Great Black Hawk. 796x 539x

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle placed for Disease-giver. 782 776

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the spirit whom they call South Wind.

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the Sun.

Then they also select another man to be in charge of a kettle put on for the Morning Star.[51]

Then the first one who had been called upon for a kettle takes as many pieces of food as there are individuals in his band who eat with him. The second one who had been called upon also takes enough pieces (for his band). 796x 539x 262

Those who are going to eat the head have to wait.[52]

Then all took enough pieces to suffice for their band.

Then they (the attendants) put the pieces of meat in plates and cut them up into small portions. Now all are in readiness for the meal. Only some of those in the lodge are called upon to eat the head. The plate of the others is filled with ordinary cuts (of meat). As many men and women as are present, for that many do they cut up the pieces of meat evenly and place them in the plate.

Only warriors are head eaters. Not to warriors do they give common pieces. Women and men who are not warriors can not take part in this head eating. Only men can take part in the head eating. They would not permit women to eat the head. However, those of the feasters who were warriors and had brought home war trophies would speak a good word for the trophy bearers, their sisters, their neices, and their aunts,[53] and these would be allowed to sit in the midst of the head eaters. The sisters or the aunts, whatever women were allowed to sit among the head eaters, considered it a very great honor. Thus all were encouraged to do. [554 562] [602]

Now (the preparations being finished) all are waiting for the meal and the host gets up and speaks.[54]

"I greet you all. When it (the meat) gets into the plate, then it is the time to try to get the spirit's attention by singing. War-bundle owners, who are seated here, I greet you all." (Eating song.)

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[51] In the first division of the ritual seven kettles are prepared; in the second division, four.

[52] The eating of the deer's head is the greatest honor that one can obtain in this ceremony, and only warriors are permitted to take part in it. [654 262]

[53] When a warrior returned from a successful war party with the first war honor, i. e., if he had counted coup first, he was given a wampum necklace, and this he presented to his oldest sister or to the daughters of his father's brother or mother's sister or to his mother's sister.

[54] This is the continuation of his speech that had been interrupted by the preparations for the meal [731]

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Then another man to whom a kettle has been given gets ready to express his thankfulness and says: 539x 796x

*Speech of sixth guest.*—"Host and members of your clan who are seated here, I send forth my greetings to you. To you also, war-bundle owners who are seated here, do I send forth my greetings. The members of this clan have often preached to me. My grandfather once told me the following: 'Some day there will be a dearth of people (for a feast). There they will offer tobacco to the spirits and as many pieces of meat as they cut that many will be holy. There also they will cook heads. Heads are not to be eaten by those wearing dresses (i. e., women). Women are not permitted to scatter their food in eating, we are told.'[118] Some day if they boil these holy pieces, the heads, they will be in need of people to invite to the feast. If they call upon you for one of the sacred pieces, even if at that time you had not yet obtained a war honor, if you had not counted coup,[119] still if you offer up thanks to the spirits for anything; still more so, of course, if you had been able to count coup and you thanked them for all this, they will listen to you.'[120] My grandfather told me, 'Thus they spoke to me,' he said, it is said, 'Little grandfather, the spirits up above gave (your ancestor) a war bundle to those of the Earth phratry. They gave them a mouth for speaking (in offering thanks), but they told him that it was forbidden to speak to outsiders about this matter. They gave them a mouth that they might speak to one another (i. e., members of the same clan)'. [562 262]

"My father gave the information to me. For that reason, they told me, I am in a position to thank the spirits. One of the greatest of the spirits they have offered tobacco to, to one of the greatest of the spirits they have prayed. Tobacco, food, a sacred white buckskin, pleasing to their eyes, they have extended to them. With offerings of life[121] they have asked for life. We have been asked to impersonate (the spirits), even although there are plenty of war-bundle owners. But the host is a relative of ours and therefore wishes me to live. A pitiable existence we had been living (until they saw to it) that we were brought into connection with life. Proud we are of it. For if they (the spirits) accept their gifts, we also will be able to utilize the life (obtained). Clan members, we did as we pleased here. It is good. Those preached to, the Morning Star, [782]

[118] In eating the deer head and in the fast-eating contest the meat is devoured so fast that the food is literally scattered in the process of eating. Whether there is an implied warning that a man should not be found in the same class as the women I do not know positively, but it is quite likely. [264]

[119] Literally, "a limb." The four coup counts are likened to the four limbs of the human body. As such they are always referred to. [826

[120] The whole meaning of the speech up to the present is the following: Should they in the future want to give a feast and lack of the proper people cause them to call upon you, even if you had counted coup only once, the spirits would listen to you. And yet here I am and haven't even counted coup once and yet I have the effrontery to expect them to listen to me. 555]

[121] I. e., with offerings of deer and dogs.

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through, the buckskin is taken down, unrolled, and the thunder-buckskin given to the band sitting opposite the host. The other buckskins are then distributed in rotation, except that the buckskin to Earthmaker is given to the guest who occupies the middle position in the lodge. All the guests remain standing with their unrolled buckskins, holding them by the sticks and keeping tobacco in their other hand, while the old man speaks to them and blows first upon a flute. Then, to the accompaniment of a gourd, he sings two songs. After that the buckskins are rolled up again in such a way that the markings remain visible, and hung up again on sticks that are placed near the individual invited guests, just west of the first fireplace. There they have a pole for Earthmaker, at whose foot the war bundle is placed and opened. Tobacco is then poured into the hands of each of the invited guests by the host. He offers tobacco especially for those individuals for whom he has prepared buckskins and kettles, asking each of them in turn for life and for victory on the warpath. When he finishes he pours some tobacco into the fire and some upon the war bundle. All the persons invited then, in turn, do the same. If the host has any children present in the lodge, he has them do the same. Children are always escorted by the attendant. The host now takes the gourds, drum, etc., and, remaining in his own place, sings different sets of songs. As often as he starts a new set, he blows upon his flute. The songs of the Thunderbird consist of eight starting songs, sung slowly, six dancing songs, etc. As soon as the dancing songs are begun, all the men in the lodge come around the war bundle and dance, blowing the flute, etc. Women may dance likewise, but they must remain in that part of the tent especially assigned to them. 778* 782 [533] [562]

Before the contents of the kettle are cooked the host sings four sets of songs. As soon as the first set has been started the attendants get as many pipes as possible and bring them to the war bundle. They also place there a large pipe with stem directed toward the west and a large pile of tobacco. These pipes are then passed back to the various guests in order to be smoked. 790* 276

After the first set of songs is over the large pipe is taken and lit by one of the attendants and passed around the lodge, in ceremonial manner, each member taking a puff and passing it to the next one. When the songs to the Disease-giver are sung, the pipe is placed against the center pole with stem directed south. Before the Disease-giver songs are sung the story of their origin is told. At the end of the last of the initial songs the old man with tobacco in each hand says *Ho—o—o—o—!* He then pours tobacco into the fireplace. He is really presenting it to the Disease-giver. Then dancing songs are used as before. Usually dog meat is put in the kettle designed for the Disease-giver. [782 262]

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x 776 x 539 thoughts I greet you, feasters. Spirits of war, elders, warriors, I greet you."

782 Then the third speaker rises and speaks:

"Elders and relatives, I greet you. Warriors within this lodge, I greet you also. It is good. Who would not say it is good? Many times have they done this to us in the past. They understand and know how to make examples for us to follow. They have made offerings of tobacco, of food, and buckskin for moccasins to all the spirits. They have gathered us together and given us places of honor that we may obtain life thereby. They have given us spirit-food to eat in the presence of our relatives. The blessings they receive will also strengthen us in life. With these thoughts we have partaken of the feast. While boiling the water, the attendants have burned their hands, and surely they will for this reason take part in war, with honor. It is good that it is thus. What spirit could overlook such an offering? It must surely be known to them. Again I say it is good. You feasters, host, and warriors, I greet you all."

Then the fourth speaker rises and speaks:

"Elders and relatives, I greet you. Host and feasters, I greet you. It is good, the previous speakers have told me. Most certainly it is good. The chiefs have up to now asked blessings for the Winnebago fireplaces. Our host has also made offerings to all the spirits and asked victory and life for our women and children. I hope we minor ones will also receive blessings. A spirit named Kills-Within-Lodge [776] came upon earth in the flesh and caused this (feast) to be made, and to this day it is so. It is good. With war he was blessed, we all ● [262] have heard it told. It is good that we have partaken of this food, for we have been told that all meat partaken in feasts strengthens us with spirit blessings. I want to thank all of the relatives and feasters who are here, and for that reason I am speaking. Feasters, I greet you all; I greet you all."

Then he speaks again:

[776] "It is good, my relatives, that the spirits have been given offerings of food, tobacco to light their pipes, and buckskin to use for moccasins. Now it is the midnight of the spirits, and we have all heard that at this time they turn over in their beds in spirit land, and whoever offers tobacco to them now can be assured that they will smoke it. For this reason the people have added food and moccasins. They will surely bless them with the victory and life for which they have asked. We believe that those who have partaken of the feast will be blessed, for it is said that the spirits even know our thoughts. This is what I think. I am sure I have been strengthened by it. Feasters, I greet you all. You likewise, Grandmother Moon, I greet."

The kettles are now put on again.

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 796x 539x

you can do so, and the women likewise can join, because we have rolled up our bundle. To the dog that we have here, an offering of tobacco can be made." Thus speaking, he sings. After he has finished the song, someone specially called upon gives the war whoop, in which the rest join. In this manner they sing four times, and the ceremony ends. They have a dog around whose neck they tie a red rag, together with a bundle of tobacco, and to each of whose limbs they also tie a bundle of tobacco. This dead dog is to be placed wherever the bones that remain of the feast are buried, generally under some tree. It is supposed that the dog will go directly to the Disease-giver together with the tobacco and there be taken over by him. 782 [562] [231]

*Notes on the Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant, member of the clan: Place of honor at the feast is given to the bravest man present. Scalps, etc., are always brought to those keeping the war bundle. [554]

Contents of bundle: Black hawk (main thing), two wolf tails, buffalo tail, snake, weasel, three flutes—one red, one black, and one blue. 778 726 789

Black hawk used in time of war. If I were leading the war party I would carry it and it would be able to fly. It had a small bundle of medicine tied around the neck, on each wing and each leg. A red flute always went with it.

The two wolf tails could be taken on any warpath. It gives an individual the power of running. The medicine tied to it is to be smeared over the body in order to prevent fatigue. It is also used in hunting. [228]

Buffalo tail gives fleetness and indicates that the man received strength from the buffalo spirit.

Weasel and snake could be put around the neck and worn over the shoulders in times of war. Gives the power of these respective animals in wiggling. [325]

Flutes, blue in connection with the buffalo, red in connection with the black hawk, and black in connection with the night spirits [534]

## The War-bundle Feast of the Bear Clan

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The people were about to go on a hunt, it is said. They returned. Four deer had been killed. And again they went, and this time three deer were killed. But it was not sufficient, so they went out again, and when they returned it was found that they had killed only three deer. "Well," they said, "this will be all right. We have ten deer. Perhaps they will last as food until dawn." 796x 539x [262]

They told the attendants to get ready the lodge and to build the fireplaces. They told them also to have the wood and the buck-

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they forced their way through the country occupied by the Winnebago, war would not have occurred. 174 [648]

The Winnebago call themselves *Hotcangara*, which has been variously interpreted as "people of the parent speech" by James Owen Dorsey and as "big fish people" by other observers. Dorsey's explanation, which is the one most generally accepted, is most certainly wrong, and represents an interpretation read into the word to make it fit the legends which claimed that the dialect was the most archaic of all the Siouan languages. It is true that *ho* may mean "speech," but *tcunk* can only mean one thing, and that is "big, real." It is found with a number of animal names, such as *ketcunk*, "turtle," and *cuktcunk*, "wolf." It corresponds strictly to the Dakotan *tank*, "large." *Ho* means "fish" in Winnebago. The name Winnebago, as is well known, is of Algonquian origin. 101 [114] [192]

The Winnebago were first encountered by white men in 1634, when Jean Nicolet visited them as agent for Governor Champlain. Where he encountered them is not definitely known. The Winnebago as a rule claim that it was at Green Bay. Some discussion has arisen of late years on this question. No contemporary narrative of the event exists, nor have the Winnebago any clearly marked legend that might be interpreted as referring to it. 175

An excellent description of their history has been given by P. V. Lawson [1] and from this we will quote at some length, selecting those periods that are of greatest importance in the history of the tribe and which can be illustrated by semihistorical legends still known to the Winnebago.

Much of our knowledge of the early history of the Winnebago is derived from Baqueville de la Potherie's Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale. A good deal of his information was obtained from Nicholas Perrot. For the period covering the years 1640–1660 we have the following information: [2]

> A few years ago, they numbered possibly 150 warriors. These savages have no mutual fellow-feeling; they have caused their own ruin, and have been obliged to divide their own forces. They are naturally very impatient of control, and very passionate; a little matter excites them; and they are great braggarts. They are, however, well-built, and are brave soldiers, who do not know what danger is; and they are subtle and crafty in war. Although they are convinced that their ancestors drew upon themselves the enmity of all the surrounding Nations, they cannot be humble. Their women are extremely laborious; they are neat in their houses, but very disgusting about their food. [162] [181] [52] [461] [264]

[1] The Winnebago tribe, in Wisconsin Archæologist, vol. 6, no. 3, Milwaukee, 1907.
[2] Quoted in Lawson's paper, p. 68.

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the council lodge. According to another informant, the Bear clan is the Deer's friend, and therefore they bury one another.

Burial, as was the case for all members of the lower phratry, was in the ground. Opinions varied as to what clan was supposed to bury a Bear man, some people claiming that it would have to belong to the upper phratry, others that it was incumbent upon the Wolf clan. It seems that the latter custom is the one followed at the present time and one which is considered old, to judge from the account of an actual funeral (cf. p. 148). The body was always buried with a miniature Bear clan war bundle. According to one informant, a bow and arrows were occasionally placed in the hands of the corpse, in addition to some tobacco. According to another informant, the facial marks were charcoal across the forehead and red marks under the lips in direct imitation of the bear.

The facial decoration for the corpse consisted of two parallel marks across the forehead, the upper one red and the lower one black, and the painting of the entire chin red (pl. 46). The red paint on the chin was interpreted as a smile, for the Bear clansmen were supposed to greet death with a smile, as they were returning to their clan ancestors. The statement was also made that Bear clansmen should not mourn the death of any of their comrades.

There is a specific Bear clan feast at which no one is permitted to laugh or talk, nor is anyone allowed to make any noise while drinking soup. The feasters must eat with their left hand.

One of the most interesting of the ceremonies associated with the Bear clan is the so-called bear or soldier dance (*manu*pe waci*). It was described to the author as follows:

> When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village the people go to the chief and say "Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!" And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks as follows: "My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease." Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well.

It is quite clear that this "healing" function of the clan is intimately associated with the powers supposed to be bestowed upon individuals by Bear spirits. In fact, we are really dealing with a society possessing the power of healing disease in which membership, however, is restricted to members of the Bear clan.

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arrange to have your victim die immediately, or, if you wish, to have him suffer for a long time, by becoming paralyzed. 734

This same medicine is used in a similar way in times of scarcity of food. The people offer a shaman tobacco and he would do the following: He would take his medicine bundle and walk till he came to the footprints of a bear. Then he would follow the tracks of the bear till he came to his lair. Here he would open his medicine bag, dip the striped feather in the medicine, and sing for some time. When he has finished he makes certain sounds and stabs the bear's footprints. Wherever the bear happened to be at that time, he would not be able to walk, and the people would soon overtake him. For that reason this medicine is valued very highly.

This medicine is also used when one desires something belonging to another. All that is necessary to do in such a case is to use the songs accompanying the medicine. Then all the things one has coveted would immediately be brought. For this reason they thought a good deal of this medicine.

If ever anyone uses it in gambling, he will win. [515]

If again he casts his thoughts upon women, then the power of this medicine would go in their direction, and he will lose while gambling. All the women will, however, like him. He can marry whomsoever he wishes. The same thing will occur when a woman uses this medicine. If she casts her thoughts upon men, she will become foolishly enamored of them. For that reason the old people used to forbid women to use it.

This medicine bundle is also used on the warpath. If a man uses it upon himself and rushes upon the enemy, all those who are in front of him will suddenly find themselves unable to move. A person who goes on a warpath, after he has carefully applied the medicine to himself, is invulnerable. It is impossible to kill him, for no bullets can penetrate his body. 778 726 789

This medicine was likewise used in hunting for bear, and deer could easily be killed with it. Even those who are not accustomed to hunting could kill game easily if they used it. 778 224

Many of the medicines mentioned above were obtained from the man who was blessed with the stench-earth medicine. Everyone believed that the cures effected by him with this medicine were real. They believed that this medicine could cure them, and, indeed, it did cure them. It was this man, too, who originated the stench-earth medicine feast. It is a very sacred feast, considered more sacred than any other feast among the Winnebago. When the feast is given, an entire deer is boiled and cut into pieces much larger than any one person could eat. Nevertheless the host orders those whom he has invited to leave nothing upon the plate. Should any guest leave anything upon his plate, the host would give him a 756 756 796 [247]

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756 small piece of a root and tell him to chew and eat it. This the guest
796 would have to do, and from that time on he would never know when
[264] he had had enough to eat. He would never get satiated. Whenever the man who had been blessed gave the feast personally, no one was ever known to leave anything upon his plate. While eating the guests kept time. They never shook their plates, for if anyone did so the others would immediately give him whatever remained on their plates. They would assume that anyone who shook his plate was the possessor of the stench-earth himself and that he intended to eat up these extra portions with the aid of this medicine. If, however, the shaking was done unintentionally and he failed to eat up the extra portions placed on his plate, then he would make a noise like a raven, and those who wished to help him consume this food would also cry like the raven, approach him, and flap their arms as the birds do their wings. Then all would eat.

When the man who obtained these blessings died, he left all these medicines that he had been the first one to use to another person. With the medicines he of course left all the songs. All that he used to do when he doctored a sick person he bequeathed to his successor. The last man who had these medicines was not a holy man but he knew all their uses and for that reason he was considered a powerful and holy man. To-day only the poison medicines are remembered; the good medicines are all gone.

This is the end.

### How an Indian Shaman Cures His Patients[1]

756 "I came from above and I am holy. This is my second life on
775 earth. Many years before my present existence, I lived on this
539 earth. At that time everyone seemed to be on the warpath. I also was a warrior, a brave man. Once when I was on the warpath I was killed. It seemed to me, however, as if I had merely stumbled. I rose and went right ahead until I reached my home. At home I found my wife and children, but they would not look at me. Then I spoke to my wife but she seemed to be quite unaware of my presence. 'What can be the matter,' I thought to myself, 'that they pay no attention to me and that they do not even answer when I speak to them.' All at once it occurred to me that I might, in reality, be dead. So I immediately started out for the place where I had presumably been killed and surely enough, there I saw my body. Then I knew positively that I had been killed. I tried to return to the place where I had lived as a human being but for four years I was unsuccessful.

[825] "At one time I became transformed into a fish. However, the life of the fish is much worse than ours. They are very frequently

[1] The shaman is represented as in the lodge of the patient and as speaking to him and his relatives

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614 796 782 the members of my clan, sufficient blessings to guide us all safely through life, and to make our lives pleasant. I will not tell the [537] origin myth (of our clan) because it is sacred and it must not be told without the proper ceremony, for the telling would then injure an individual. Besides there are many clans beside our own represented here and it is not proper that these should hear it."

614 796 He then speaks of the four ancestral bear-beings who were created in the beginning.

When the feast is ready one of the Wolf clansmen gives four soldier whoops. Then the fire is allowed to die out, and as soon as the lodge is in complete darkness the feasters begin to eat. Before [533] eating, the host sings four songs. These are the clan songs and are only sung at these feasts or on the occasion of the death of a clansman.

Those who partake of food at the feast may be members of any clan except the Bear clan. The members of the latter clan do not eat at their own feast.

[264 415] Everyone attending must bring his own wooden spoon and must use it with his left hand. There are four wooden dishes in which the food is served. These are arranged in the lodge in a certain manner.

The guests sit around these dishes and eat with their own spoons.

[805] The feast is given in the first bear month. Some one generally watches the moon and as soon as the new moon is visible the feast begins. The feathers and the tobacco to be offered are placed in four little troughs made of basswood bark, each about 1 foot long. These are then placed on the south side of the fireplace.

When the meal is over the attendant or Wolf clansman generally says a few words of thanks to the host and then the host in turn thanks those who have participated and tells them that the feast is now over. All now pass out, the one next to the host leaving first and the rest in succession, the host himself remaining until the end.

[778 782] When the feast is over the tobacco and the feathers are taken away from the lodge and carried in a southern direction to a place (under a tree) that has been especially cleared and sanctified. Any person may thereafter go there, offer tobacco, and ask for long life.

614 796 537 782 Informant, member of the clan (male): "Well, soldiers, your moon is about to appear. It is good. So come forth, for it is at this time that the spirits asked to be remembered. Let us send, on this occasion, to the place at which we all originated, whatever we possess of wealth. This is what the spirits asked of old. Let us therefore put the kettle on and prepare the feast.

"This is the way in which we prepare the feast. I offer only one small kettle. Here is my offering. I pray that what I offer may suffice and bring enough blessings from the spirits to include all the

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THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (SECOND VERSION)

614 796 Informant, member of Bear clan: As soon as the first bear month is visible they have their feast. They do not use meat but products of the earth. The feast is held at night, never in the daytime. The [905] people always save up food some time before giving the feast. The [925] favorite dishes of the bear are sugar and blueberries. When they can not obtain these they use other vegetables. Indeed, any product of the earth is all right.

When they prepare to give the feast they get the food ready and have some tobacco on hand. On the first day of the first bear month they put on the fire some kettles with dried corn mixed with fruit and others containing green corn. The latter is boiled. They also have [203] ground sugar. When these are ready the feast attendant goes around the village to invite the people. When all have entered the lodge and taken their proper seats, then the host rises and addresses them:

614 796 537 "All my relatives who are seated here, I greet you. It is not through blessings of our own that we can always make offerings of tobacco. My grandfather was blessed by a spirit called Black Fur, a spirit who is in command of all the other spirits. This spirit told us that we could perform the ceremony in this way. It is for that reason we have made an effort to heat water for him.[8] The first request we make is that if we ever go on the warpath, we may conquer. Our grandfather was also blessed with life by the bear spirit[7] and he told him that he would grant him and his posterity whatever they asked. [782] We shall therefore send to this spirit a pipeful of tobacco, two kettles full of food, and some tree sap.[9] So much will we send him, accompanied by an offering of tobacco.

"As soon as the attendant gets everything ready the feasting will begin."

Then the attendant puts food in every plate, and when he has finished the host speaks again.

"Relatives, it is said that when the plates are supplied to you [264] filled with food, then you should begin to eat. Do not, however, use your right hands in eating."

The host tells the feasters to use their left hands in eating, and they obey him. Before starting to eat all the fires are put out and the people eat in the dark.

614 796 In the spring of the year this feast is given again. Twice a year it is given.

The feast[8] was always given with some choice dried corn that had been put away for this event. Once when it was time to give the [841] feast in the first bear month, the two daughters of the man who was

[8] Boil soup and prepare food in general.
[7] Black Fur is apparently a sacrosanct expression for bear.
[8] Conventional name for maple sugar.
[9] What follows is an account of why this particular feast was discontinued.

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head eating. Then the donor selected his partners. The host then began to sing. The scalp was taken down from the post and placed in a dish near the door. The soul of the scalp still remained within it, so they tried again to make it less powerful and to conquer it, for they knew that if they succeeded in conquering it all the life that was still coming to the possessor of the scalp at his death would be obtained for themselves. Then the dancers and the feasters, indeed all who had counted coup, tried to obtain some of the dead enemy's residuary life. All tried to add some new life to their own. 727 796 [774]

When the meal was over, then the host offered tobacco to the spirits, and all those present prayed for war to the spirits to whom offerings had been made. They asked that if it be their good fortune to kill a number of people on the warpath, when they returned home they would be as thankful as they are now. All these warriors who were taking part in this dance liked it very much. [782]

Then the host struck the drum that had been placed in front of him and sang. When he finished, he had the drum placed in front of the man who had counted first coup. Then this man sang and the drum was passed to the next man, and so on until each man had sung. After all had sung and spoken the men and women together danced around the lodge. The woman who had received the presents led the dance, carrying the scalp. The people believed that the scalp was dancing with them. All night they danced the *kek'-ize're* dance without resting at any time, and when the sun appeared they took the drum outside to the post and danced the victory dance. Then when the sun was high in the heavens they stopped and went to sleep. In the evening when the sun was low they danced the victory dance again, and then when it was pretty dark, singing slow songs, they slowly entered the lodge again. Then they made a circuit of the lodge and placed the drum in the middle of the lodge.

The feast was now ready. All that they were to eat—deer, bear, dog were placed in front of the feasters. Food was brought to the donor and all those who were sitting together with him, as well as all those who had counted coup and all the women who had received presents. Head eating is holy, and if one eats part of the head it is thought that it will help him greatly. [263] [264]

Then the host rose and spoke as follows:

"The servants who are carrying the food around here will probably not have enough to go around, but you must remember that not the men but the women are furnishing the food. Although it is little, I hope you will eat it. We will now sing four songs." Then he sang two war-bundle songs and two night songs. Before they ate the host rose and spoke, "This is a small feast and we will try to give food to our grandfather (some spirit) who is in charge of this

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×796 are made to them. Only the following spirits receive buckskins: [782 Thunderbird, Night Spirits, Disease-giver, South Wind, Sun, Earth-776] maker, Moon, Morning Star, Earth, and Water.

(6) *The feasts.* There are two feasts, the one in the first division of the ceremony being generally known as the Thunderbird and that in the second division as the Night Spirit feast.

The guests are always divided into two divisions, the owners of war bundles and their male followers, and the women. The former, [554] who are always warriors of repute, get the choice pieces of the deer, i. e., the heads, and the rest get the other pieces generally referred to as "the common pieces." The heads are eaten after those eating the common pieces have finished.

The host never eats at the feast he gives, but while the others are eating he plays on his reed flute.

(7) *The fast-eating contest.* Before the heads are eaten two men [264] belonging to the upper phratry and two belonging to the lower (i. e., generally two members of the Thunderbird clan and two members of the Bear clan) are selected to take part in the fast-eating contest. This consists of consuming an equal amount of food. The one who finishes first is considered the greater warrior. Both contestants start at a given signal and continue the contest to the accompaniment of songs sung by the other guests.

When a member of the upper phratry gives the ceremony his side always wins, and vice versa.

(8) *The basic ritual.*—After the buckskin ritual has been finished the host begins what is unquestionably the fundamental part of the ceremony, which I have called the "basic ritual." It consists of four speeches, each speech followed by a different set of songs. The first speech is followed by a set of war-bundle songs; the second by a paint set; the third by a Disease-giver set; and the last by a Night Spirit set. The last speech also contains a fasting experience of the first owner of the war bundle. When he is finished, the general feast and the fast-eating contest take place, and the basic ritual is for the time interrupted. It is continued as soon as these are finished, but not in the same manner as performed by the host. Instead of four speeches there is only one. As soon as one guest finishes speaking the other begins, and so on until all have finished.[1]

In the second division of the ceremony the basic ritual is performed in a slightly different manner. In the first place there seem to be two parts to it, the first one quite different from the basic ritual as given in the first division, and the second identical with it except that instead of seven there are only four guests called upon to speak.

In the first part of the basic ritual, as given here, the host delivers three speeches. After the first one a set of Night Spirit songs are

[1] Additional information on the Winter Feasts might lead me to an alteration of this last statement. In addition to the present, three more accounts of Winter Feasts were received.

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THE FAST-EATING CONTEST[88]

As soon as the meal is about ready and the host thinks that (the food) in the kettle belonging to the first guest is about cooked and when it is soft and just right, then the attendants take it and cut it up. They do not leave any bones in it, nor do they leave any of the hard parts. When they have prepared it, then the host rises and speaks. 796X 539X 264

"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. One of the great ones belonging to the Bird clan,[89] a member of the Thunderbird clan, has called for a fast-eating contest. One of his followers will represent them (i. e., their clan), he has told me. Now a member of the Earth people, one of the Bear clan, must be selected[90] for the fast-eating contest, he said. As many of the Bird clan people as there are present, they all will try to take from those of the Earth people present the war honor (belonging to the fast eating). That is why they have it, so that the Bird and the Earth clans may compete for it,[91] that they might take a war honor from one another." Then both of the contestants took (the food) in front of the war bundle, and they get ready for a fast-eating contest. Two wooden bowls with exactly the same amount of food are placed in front of the war bundle. Then the Thunderbird clansman, with a follower (taking) a plate, sits down, and afterwards the Bear clansman, also with a follower, sits down. Now they hold themselves in readiness, the four of them. The feasters now start playing on their flutes and begin singing songs. The fast eaters (i. e., the contestants) start simultaneously. The upper people (phratry), the great ones, devour it first and shout, striking their mouths. "Those with wings[92] have large mouths. They can never be beaten in eating." The defeated ones took the meat in their hands and ate it up and gave the war whoop. The leaders of the Earth people said, "We have not been beaten fairly, for the upper ones have greater mouths, so how could they fail?" Thus the beaten ones said. Then they called for the heads. That is all."[93]

As soon as the host starts the eating song,[94] all the guests began to eat at a moderate pace, then they try to eat fast because they believe that it is an honor to be the first to have finished.

[88] This detailed account was left out in the general description and inserted afterwards. For that reason there may be a number of unnecessary repetitions. I have not tried to adjust this insert to the text proper, but have preferred to place it just where my informant desired it. [108]

[89] This is a rather unusual appellation for the upper phratry.

[90] This is the regular name for the second of the two Winnebago phratries.

[91] This is only one of the ways in which these two phratries compete.

[92] Ritualistic name for the Bird clan.

[93] I believe it is considered correct form to permit the phratry to which the host belongs to win in this contest. Those who win get the choicest pieces of the deer head.

[94] Neither the host nor any of those who belong to his band eat during the feast.

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Even if a feaster gets satiated, he must continue to eat until everything is finished. They tell one another that it is not good for any one to fail (and leave any food). Whatever food there is they must finish it all. All that is cooked must they eat. 796x 539x 264

### Continuation of the Basic Ritual

Then the one who was called upon for the first kettle thanked them and said: 796x 539x

*Speech of first guest.*—"Councilors[98] and relatives who are seated here, I greet you all. As many war-bundle owners as are seated here, I greet you all. The councilors of the clans have enjoined upon us earnestly to offer up sincere prayers to all the different spirits who are seated here (in the persons of the guests). It is good that our war-bundle owners offer up prayers in this way. It is for this reason that we are still living. Some of us can not accomplish much in that line and that is why so many of us are gone already (i. e., are dead). This ritual was made for one who is the very greatest of all the spirits, for whom they have offered tobacco and food and offerings of buckskin. Thus they have done. Earthmaker, who dwells above, they have asked for war power and life. Indeed, how would it be possible for (the spirits) not to take cognizance and accept (these offerings).[99] If we follow the preaching (of our host), life (we will obtain); life we will feel ourselves in connection with through the holy food that they (the host and the members of his band) have offered up. We have (had the honor too) of impersonating the spirits, I and my relatives. The meal likewise was excellent. It is good that they have brought us in connection with so much life and it is to thank them that I am saying this. That one of their ancestors whom they called grandfather (and whose place I am taking) was not one to speak foolishly, it is said, and still his place they thought of for me (unworthy as I am). They have given me (the part) of a councilor of their own clan and (the privilege) of impersonating a spirit. It is good. Earthmaker they have prayed to. [776 782]

I greet him. To the enjoiner (host) I send my greetings; to all the war-bundle owners who are seated here, I send forth my greetings.

Then the second one who was called upon for a kettle gets ready to thank them and says:

*Speech of second guest.*—"Host and relatives, as many as are seated here, I send forth my greetings to you. War-bundle owners that

[98] The word means, literally, "enjoiners" and refers to the injunctions and instructions the elder people give to the young. [867]

[99] I. e., the offerings are so wonderful that the spirits would have to be blind not to see them. This and the following sentences are formulae compliments always paid to the host by the invited guests.

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Then another man to whom a kettle has been given gets ready to express his thankfulness and says: 539x 796x

*Speech of sixth guest.*—"Host and members of your clan who are seated here, I send forth my greetings to you. To you also, war-bundle owners who are seated here, do I send forth my greetings. The members of this clan have often preached to me. My grandfather once told me the following: 'Some day there will be a dearth of people (for a feast). There they will offer tobacco to the spirits and as many pieces of meat as they cut that many will be holy. There also they will cook heads. Heads are not to be eaten by those wearing dresses (i. e., women). Women are not permitted to scatter their food in eating, we are told.'[108] Some day if they boil these holy pieces, the heads, they will be in need of people to invite to the feast. If they call upon you for one of the sacred pieces, even if at that time you had not yet obtained a war honor, if you had not counted coup,[109] still if you offer up thanks to the spirits for anything; still more so, of course, if you had been able to count coup and you thanked them for all this, they will listen to you.'[110] My grandfather told me, 'Thus they spoke to me,' he said, it is said, 'Little grandfather, the spirits up above gave (your ancestor) a war bundle to those of the Earth phratry. They gave them a mouth for speaking (in offering thanks), but they told him that it was forbidden to speak to outsiders about this matter. They gave them a mouth that they might speak to one another (i. e., members of the same clan)'. [562 262]

"My father gave the information to me. For that reason, they told me, I am in a position to thank the spirits. One of the greatest of the spirits they have offered tobacco to, to one of the greatest of the spirits they have prayed. Tobacco, food, a sacred white buckskin, pleasing to their eyes, they have extended to them. With offerings of life[111] they have asked for life. We have been asked to impersonate (the spirits), even although there are plenty of war-bundle owners. But the host is a relative of ours and therefore wishes me to live. A pitiable existence we had been living (until they saw to it) that we were brought into connection with life. Proud we are of it. For if they (the spirits) accept their gifts, we also will be able to utilize the life (obtained). Clan members, we did as we pleased here. It is good. Those preached to, the Morning Star, [782]

[108] In eating the deer head and in the last eating rounds the meat is devoured on fast that the food is literally scattered in the process of eating. Whether there is an implied warning that a man should not be found in the same class as the women I do not know positively, but it is quite likely.

[109] Literally, "a limb." The four coup counts are likened to the four limbs of the human body. As such they are always referred to.

[110] The whole meaning of the speech up to the present is the following: Should they in the future want to give a feast and lack of the proper people cause them to call upon you, even if you had counted coup only once, the spirits would listen to you. And yet here I am, and haven't even counted coup once and yet I have the effrontery to expect them to listen to me.

[111] I. e., with offerings of deer and dogs.

[264] [826 555]

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FEAST TO THE NIGHT SPIRITS

539x
Those who were called on for kettles now took the pieces of meat 796x
that had been counted for them (by the attendants). The attendants divided the pieces evenly for all those who did not eat heads. As soon as the distribution was finished then the host started playing his flute and all began to eat at the same time. The feasters are careful that they spill nothing and that the utmost precautions are [264] taken. It is not proper to scatter the bones. They are afterwards gathered up and thrown in a consecrated place. Never do they talk frivolously throughout the night. Those who had obtained war honors as they sat near the fire would now tell of their war exploits—how many warpaths they had been on and how many fights they had been in. All night do they talk in this way. All night would the boys listen, it is said. They are asking for war powers; that war might come their way—that is why they do this (recount their war exploits).

RITE OF THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN CRAZED BY THE NIGHT SPIRITS

As they do this some become crazed by the Night Spirits.[107] A 539x
religious frenzy comes over them.[108] All their clothes would be cast off, 796x
it is said. All naked, without any apparel, would the man dance 786
around the lodge. All would sit waiting. They (those crazed ones) would not be in ignorance about the place where food was being boiled for the Night Spirits, and they would go toward it. Even if the kettle was boiling over the crazed ones would stick their hand in it. Similarly, as soon as the head was taken out from the place where it was being boiled, then these men would make a rush for it and try to get the first bite. Whoever was able to get the first bite would surely, at some later time, receive war honors. When they are finished with the rush for the head, then the feaster (i. e., the successful one) takes the pipe placed in the center of the lodge and smokes it. When he has finished he would tell of his war exploits and also tell them what offerings had been accepted by the spirits. That the one who has just come out of his trance would tell them. They (the spirits) told the feaster (i. e., the crazed one) that they had accepted all the things that had been offered—the tobacco, the food, and the buckskins; that the feasters had done well.[109] However, not at every feast would a man become crazed, it is said. A holy person he would have to be. When the feasting is over and all have finished their meal, then the first one to whom a head had been apportioned and for whom a kettle had been placed rises and speaks.

[107] I. e., they get into a state of religious ecstasy through worship of the Night Spirits.
[108] Literally, "holiness comes over him."
[109] Apparently the one supposed to be crazed by the Night Spirits sees them in his ecstatic vision and finds out whether they are satisfied or not with the offerings. [787]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



796x
539x
[533]

had given them. Then songs that were associated with the drum that they use in the Night-Spirit dance were sung. The feast was now ready.

"Make ready the kettle in front of the fireplace; take the most prominent parts of the animal out of it; make the second kettle you put on also ready. Hurry up, for we are about to have a fast-eating contest. The lower clans and the upper clans will contest. They will try to partake of war. Make ready. You, Mąnuba'ga choose a person, and do you, Kąyo'sąga, do the same."

Now they were ready to have the fast-eating contest. They all [264] sat down.

"Now listen," said the host, "as soon as the flute is blown they will begin the contest. Then will be the time for all the feast givers to sing."

Now, this is one of the songs they sang:

Where they eat, there you went, it is said.

Now they finished. Mąnuba'ga was defeated and Kąyo'sąga won. The guests filled their dishes, and the kettle that had been put on for Earthmaker was taken down and placed before Mąnuba'ga, so that he might select the best parts. Then the second kettle that had been placed on the fire for Earthmaker was put in front of Kąyo'sąga. The third kettle that had been offered to the Thunder-spirits was placed in front of Nązihima'nąga. The host then, in turn, mentioned by name all the invited guests and told the attendants what kettles were to be brought to them. As soon as the dishes had been distributed each one began to eat. They never waited for one another to start. While they were eating the members of the host's band sang. When the meal was over Mąnuba'ga rose and spoke as follows:

"Councilors, relatives, uncles, I salute you all. As many spirits as are in charge of life you have mentioned during the ceremony. Tobacco and food you have sent to them as offerings. I am sure that for that reason they will give you all that you have asked, and I also feel that I, myself, will be able to obtain something on which I can live, and that should I encounter on the warpath an enemy whose death has been ordained, it will be my fate to kill him. Thus I have been thinking, and that is why I have been sitting here. War-bundle owners, as many of you as are sitting in this lodge—war-bundle carriers, as many of you as are here—you have, indeed, had tobacco poured out for you to-day, and tobacco has also been offered to the powers that you have tied up in your bundles. I feel grateful for the fact and that I have been invited to attend, and that is why I am saying this. Councilors, war-bundle owners, all who are seated in this lodge, I salute you."

The leaders of all the other bands say practically the same.

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12



796 from the sacred fire. When the pipe was well lit, the waiter carried
276 it to the next man, and so on, passing clockwise about the lodge. Each man puffed several times at the pipe before passing it on. The women
[562] were excluded from participating in this ceremony, as were the leader and his three musicians. The waiters did not actually participate in any part of the entire ceremony, other than in their official capacity.

Before the next song was started, the head waiter carefully cleaned out the pipe, refilled it and placed it again over the bundle. All the tobacco cleaned from the bowl was disposed of in the sacred fire.

This same procedure, from speech to pipe, was repeated four times, although each group of songs was different.

796 Two men were now selected, one representing that group of clans
615 comprising the upper world phratry, the other the lower world phratry.
264 They seated themselves in the center of the lodge with a wooden bowl between them. In this bowl were placed the two portions of meat from the pots suspended from the lodge ceiling. At a given signal, each began to devour his allotted share of the meat as rapidly as possible. The phratry whose side wins in this eating contest will have good luck when next it takes the warpath.

796 The leader then told the dream experience of the original bundle
787 holder and said a few words thanking all for their participation. One of the waiters then proceeded to replace the contents of the bundle, roll it up, tie it and place it against the wall just back of the leader.

796 It was now time for the war-bundle feast, which consisted solely of
574 meat boiled with a few beans. Each pot had been dedicated to a certain spirit or order of spirits, but since these were not materially present to do proper justice to the occasion, the honored guests had to represent them in receiving and disposing of the food. One pot was placed before each of these leaders, and the contents were distributed under his direction to the men of his party. Other meat was supplied for the women and children of the group which he represented. The chief honored guest received the pot dedicated to Creator. On such occasions, one must eat all that is set before him, since the food is consecrated.

574 It should be noted here that Mr. Fisher has certain marked tastes in
114 food. He is not particularly fond of meat of any kind, dislikes beef particularly and dislikes boiled beef the most of all. His predicament can well be imagined, therefore, when a large portion of boiled beef was placed before him with the understanding that none must be wasted. Fortunately, one may broadcast a call for outside help on such occasions without trespassing against the rules of the ceremony. Very piteously, then, did Fisher make his plea to me. Knowing that the night spirit dance with a vegetable feast was to follow, he promised to eat the greater share of the vegetables apportioned to us if I would agree to do double duty on the meat. Out of the kindness of my heart, and also because I prefer boiled beef to boiled dried squash, I agreed to do this. Nor did

*Crashing Thunder*

I ran away from the two
*159 women with whom I had been living. We spent some
224 time hunting. Every morning we would get up very
[831] early, stay out the whole day and not return until the
night. Often although we had been on our feet all
[264] day we would not find time to have our noon meal. At
night, regularly, we would take our sweat-baths. We
took these sweat-baths because they are supposed to
[789] act as magical charms to ensure success in hunting. It
[515] was always very refreshing to take them and then
plunge into cold water, whether at night or in the
morning.

[P. 132]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche N06
Winnebago N P12
C
W
171
785
796
[267]



PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 13 T | K-A | Ko | Cos | Ko | Ab 8 | De 1 | De 2 | Wi | No C | Cr 1 | Cr 2 | WR3 | Ute | Gos | W-P | Tus |
| 210. Who blesses water | + | + | + | + | | + | + | •− | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + |
| 211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside | + | + | + | | (+) | + | | − | − | | + | + | + | + | + | − | + |
| 212. Woman returns immediately with food and water | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •− | •− | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 213. "Peyote breakfast" | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •− | •− | + | •+ | + | − | + | + | + | + |
| 214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door) | | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat | | − | + | + | − | − | + | − | − | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | •+ | − | •+ |
| 216. Water, rice, fruit, meat | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | •− | − | − | − | − | •+ | •+ | + |
| 217. Water, maize, fruit, candy | | − | − | − | − | •+ | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 218. Water, maize, meat, fruit | | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − |
| 219. Parched maize in sweetened water | | + | | + | + | + | + | − | − | − | •+ | + | •+ | + | + | − | + |
| 220. Candy also included in the breakfast | + | − | + | − | + | •+ | − | •+ | − | − | •− | − | •+ | − | − | − | + |
| 221. Food blessed | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | |
| 222. Wash before eating | | | − | − | − | − | | •+ | | − | + | + | + | + | − | − | |
| 223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing | + | | + | + | + | + | | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | •− |
| 224. Before eating | + | | + | − | | + | | •+ | •+ | − | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | • |
| 225. Drum untied | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | •+ |
| 226. Water from drum drunk | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | | − | •− | + | + | − | + | + | + | |
| 227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism" | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | − | + | + | + | •+ | + | | + | |
| 228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents | + | + | + | − | + | •+ | | | •+ | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body | + | + | + | + | | − | + | + | − | + | + | + | − | + | | − | |
| 230. All parts of drum passed, handled | + | + | + | + | | − | + | + | − | + | + | + | − | + | | − | |
| 231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief | + | | + | | | + | | | | | | + | + | + | + | − | |
| 232. Food passed clockwise | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 233. Replaced on floor between fire and door | | | ? | + | | + | | | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | |
| 233a. Order before passing reversed | | | | + | | + | | | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | |
| 234. Taken out by fire chief | + | + | •+ | + | | + | | | − | + | + | + | + | + | | + | |
| 235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M. | + | + | + | + | + | + | | •− | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 236. Sun greeted | + | | •− | − | (−) | − | | •+ | − | − | − | − | + | + | + | + | + |
| 237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke | + | + | •+ | − | − | (−) | + | + | | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting | | •− | •+ | + | − | + | | | | + | •− | − | − | − | − | − | |

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12



C W 171 795 796 W [264] C [264]

Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready, she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants, Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WRS: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WRS: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223–225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WRS: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251–265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154–58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WRS: damē apē (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form nī'mē apē (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Malouf).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

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175 Perrot also gives an account of the relentless war waged against them:

[839 This nation was a populous one, very redoubtable and spared no one; they violated
[266 all the laws of nature; they were Sodomites, and even had intercourse with beasts.
[648 If a stranger came among them, he was cooked in their kettles. The Malhominis (Menomineeis) were the only tribe who maintained relations with them; they did not dare even to complain of their tyranny.

Lawson goes on to say:

175 So aggressive were the Winnebago that although their only arms "were stone
648 hatchets and knives," they declared war on all the other tribes. Envoys sent to them by the Ottawa were eaten, which cruel deed so incensed the surrounding tribes that they formed an alliance and sent frequent war expeditions against the common enemy; and greatly harassed them. As a result of disagreements among themselves and the continued troublesome activities of the allied tribes, civil wars broke out
[669 among the Winnebago. For better protection against the tribes they were finally
[162 forced "to unite all their forces in one village, where they numbered four or five
[164 thousand men," but an epidemic occurred which soon reduced their number to 1,500.
731] "Despite all these misfortunes, they sent a party of 500 warriors against the Outagamis (Fox), who dwelt on the other shore of the lake; but all those men perished, while making that journey, by a tempest that arose."

We suppose that this disaster occurred on Little Lake Butte des Morts, as it has been stated that the Winnebago resided on an island, which we suppose was Doty Island. The Winnebago being now greatly reduced by despair and famine, the other tribes were moved to pity by their condition and ceased to make war, and the Illinois sent 500 men, including "50 of the most prominent persons in their nation," to carry to them a supply of provisions. These the Winnebago received "with the utmost gratitude;" but at the same time meditated sacrificing the Illinois to the shades of their dead. A large cabin was erected to lodge their guests, and arrangements made for a dance in their honor. While the Illinois were dancing their bowstrings were
[266 cut, and the Winnebago "flung themselves upon the Illinois, massacred them, not sparing one man, and made a general feast of their flesh."

Reproaching themselves for this dastardly deed, and fearing the vengeance of the allied tribes when it should become known to them, the Winnebago "resolved to abandon the place which they were occupying," and "took refuge on an island, which has since been swept away by ice floes." There they considered themselves safe, as the Illinois did not use canoes. The Illinois, finding that their people did not return, investigated the place and found only their bones. In order to allow a proper period for mourning for the dead:

"They deferred hostilities until the second year, when they assembled a large body of men from all Nations who were interested in the undertaking; and they set out in the winter season, in order not to fail therein. Having reached the Island over the ice, they found only the cabins in which there still remained some fire, the Puans (Winnebago) had gone to their Hunt on the day before, and were traveling in a body, that they might not, in an emergency, be surprised by the Illinois."

They followed the hunters in the dead of winter, coming up to them on the sixth day and attacking their camp.

"So vigorous was their attack that they killed, wounded, or made prisoners all the Puans, except a few who escaped, and who reached the Malhominis' village, but severely wounded by arrows."

He [Perrot] again refers to these traditional events as those of "the ancestors" of the tribe as he knew them, and which we judge to refer to ancestors of the Winnebago

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539 614 776 something. Ha ha, our friends have come. Sit opposite (those opposite said). As long as we live we will attend to the fire for you." "Listen, our friends, they are speaking." "Ha, ha, sit opposite me" (a new clan has entered). They sat down. "You Water-spirit clan, what relation, my friend, will you be to me?" "What relation shall I be to you? You will be my chief." "Good. Now listen, a dog is howling. Let us wait for him." So the Thunderbirds waited for him. "Let us call him." "Ha, ha, my friend, we wish to teach the two-legged walkers something. As we say so will the Winnebagoes ever be." Again the Thunderbirds spoke, "Listen, some one has said something. Two people have come. We will call them the Buffalo clan."

## The Warrior Clan

### INTRODUCTION

614 There are not many members of this clan left, although it seems to have been quite important in the old days, to judge from the number of effigy mounds all over Wisconsin. There seems little doubt but that those bird effigies with unsplit tail are supposed to represent this clan.

Only one version of the origin myth was obtained. There is little to be said about it except that it mentions the fact that it was customary to have names for dogs. One statement seems to point toward cannibalism. As was pointed out in the preceding discussion, there is a boastful claim that they were chiefs. [552 266]

614 178 Although, at the present time, this clan is known only as the *wonayire ta'skak* (fear-inspiring men), its older name was hawk, and as such it was still known to J. O. Dorsey. When the present name began to be popular, it is impossible to say, but we feel confident that it has been in partial use for a considerable length of time. The change is quite in line with the rather common habit of referring to the Thunderbird clan as the chief clan and the Bear clan as the soldier clan. In other words, we have a name indicative of the functions of a clan superseding the older animal name. It is only in the case of the Warrior clan, however, that this substitution has been complete.

614 There is no indication in the myth that the Warrior clan was ever localized. A number of informants stated that the clan was but a division of a general bird phratry. In version 2 of the Thunderbird clan origin myth it is stated that the second of the two brothers was the ancestor of the Warrior clan. Dorsey, as we have seen, obtained the same information.

[361] The Warrior clan seems to have had a lodge in the northwest corner of the village. In this lodge they claimed that prisoners were

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159 father had been freed. We were very happy, and went back to our people.

At that time a young man named Young-Bear was starting for Nebraska, and he said that he would take me along. I was very happy. So in that manner I was brought to this country. Here I have had only happy days. When my father got married everyone disliked me. When I worked I was working for my father, and all the money I earned I had to give to him.

After a while I went to school, and although I liked it I ran away and then went to school at Carlisle. I wanted to lead a good life. At school I knew that they would take care of me and love me. I was very shy and lacked a strong character at that time. If a person told me to do anything I would always obey immediately. Everybody loved me. I stayed there six months. I was also taught [177] Christianity there. When I came back to my country the Episcopalian people told me that they wanted me to be diligent in religious matters and never to forsake the religion of the Son of God. I also desired to do that. I entered the church that we had in our country and I stayed with them six years.

At that time the Winnebago with whom I associated were heavy drinkers, and after a while they induced me to drink also. I became [273] as wicked as they. I learned how to gamble and I worked for the devil all the time. I even taught the Winnebago how to be bad.

159 After a while they began eating peyote, and as I was in the habit 276 of doing everything I saw, I thought I would do it, too. I asked 794 them whether I could join, and they permitted me. At that time I had a position at the county commissioner's office. I ate the peyote and liked it very much. Then the authorities tried to stop the Indians from eating peyote, and I was supposed to see that the law was enforced. I continued eating peyote and enjoying it. All the evil that was in me I forgot. From that time to the present my actions have been quite different from what they used to be. I am only working for what is good; not that I mean to say that I am good.

After that I married and now I have three children, and it would not have been right for me to continue in my wickedness. I resolved that thereafter I would behave as a grown-up man ought to behave. I resolved never to be idle again and to work so that I could supply my wife and children with food and necessities, that I would be ready to help them whenever they were in need. Here in my own country would I remain till I died. This (peyote) religion was good. All the evil is gone and hereafter I will choose my path carefully.

I know the story about the origin of the peyote. It is as follows:

794 Once in the south, an Indian belonging to the tribe called Mes-
539 callero Apache was roaming in the country called Mexico, and went hunting in the high hills and got lost. For three days he went with-

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 spring of the year my father came after me and asked the superintendent whether I could go home for two weeks and he consented to let me go.

*159 765 Then my father spoke to me, "My son, your grandfather[1] is dead and they are going to have a memorial ceremony in his honor to take place at a performance of the Medicine Dance. Some one, you know, must take his place in the ceremony and they have decided that I am to be the one. Now, my son, of all the children I possess I have most control over you. I have never kept anything from you and you have never willfully disobeyed me. I want you therefore to do me the favor and take my place. I am getting old and [203] besides cannot control my desire for drink any longer. Under these circumstances I would not be able to live up to the teachings of the lodge. I wish therefore to turn my right over to you. Do you take your grandfather's place." Thus my father spoke to me.

[P. 90]

[1] [i.e., his father's uncle. See category 116, p. 107 -- analyst]

## §16. *Shows*

*159 About this time we went to the Sioux country on a visit. There were a number of us. While there I was [574] adopted as a friend and given a pony. When I returned [431] to my home I used to ride around on my pony. That fall a number of Winnebago were going to join a show [541] and I decided to go along with them. I was a good dancer. We went to all the large cities of the country.

*159 With us there were two grass widows and after a ● 273 while I used to go with one of them secretly. This woman used to drink beer. Soon I began to go with the other woman also. They both drank a good deal and often asked me to drink with them, but I always [588] refused. I finally married one of these women, al- [837] though I continued frequenting the other one at the same time. We lived in a tipi. As I said, they both drank beer and gradually I got to drinking it too. Soon I drank a great deal and began to like it. I kept this a secret from my people and told the women to do the same. Finally, however, as I began drinking frequently, a friend of mine found out about it and then the two of us used to drink together. Then the owner of the show discovered that I was drinking. He thought a good deal of me, that my dancing was better than that of the others, and when he learned that

*Shows*

I was drinking, he told me that he would treat me and the two women to beer that very night. I drank a lot of it that night and I enjoyed it immensely. After that, of course, I was not able to keep the fact of my drinking from other people. I talked at the top of my voice under the influence of liquor and was very happy. Every few minutes I would suddenly begin to sing out loudly. Then I began drinking whisky in addition to beer, and got drunk. On the following morning I said I would never do it again, but in a short time I was drinking beer again secretly. 159* 273

Eventually the show was over and we all went to our homes. We had to go across Lake Michigan. It was very stormy and we all got sick. Then my friend said, "Say, let us drink so that we may not be sick." He took out some whisky which he was carrying in a flask and we drank all night. Very early in the morning we got to Milwaukee. There we ate our breakfast and continued on our way home, to Black River Falls. We drank all the way on the train and when we reached our destination we were still drinking. All my relatives saw that I was drunk. They were very sorry and an older sister of mine wept when she saw me. I there made up my mind that I would never do it again. At about that time we received our annuity payment and although I had money I did not drink any more for some time. [657]

After we had spent what we had received in annuities the hunting season began. I went along with the others to the hunting grounds. I ran away from the two 159* 224

## §18. *My Brother Is Murdered*

*159 Shortly after this my elder brother was killed. We
[682] two had grown up together and had hardly ever been
[152] separated. I felt quite heartbroken over it. I longed
to kill the man who had murdered him. I felt that it
would be better if I myself were dead. In this frame
*159 of mind I took to drinking a great deal. Indeed it was
● 273 my wish to die drinking and I would announce this
when I was drinking heavily. Up to that time I had
drunk secretly, but now I did so openly. Soon I
became a confirmed drunkard. By that time I had
quite forgotten the fact that I had wanted to die. In-
deed I enjoyed drinking very much.

I got into the habit, then, of giving women whisky
[685] and getting them hopelessly drunk and then I would
steal anything of value they possessed. I also learned
[526] to box and soon became quite expert. I was never de-
feated, and in consequence treated every one roughly.
Every one was afraid of me because of my skill with
the gloves. My father was a strong man and so were
my elder brothers, and neither of them had ever been
[156] defeated at wrestling. For all these reasons I was very
arrogant. Besides all this I was very tall. I am six
[141] feet two inches high and weigh about two hundred and
fifty pounds. In actual fact I was not really as strong

## *My Brother Is Murdered*

as I pretended for whenever I woke up from a drunken 159* orgy I found myself firmly bound. [273]

All I did was to wander from place to place, from one woman to another. I had four sisters and from them [593] and from my parents did I receive all that I possessed [156] and yet in spite of this, I claimed to be a great man! I then had two women staying with me as my wives. 159* At one time I had as many as four, two at my parents' 588 house and two at certain relatives of mine. I wasn't serious with any one of them. I lied all the time; I was [577] always telling falsehoods. On one occasion I had four children born to me and each one had a different mother. Even after that I continued courting women and drinking.

In the spring there was always work to do. We 159* rolled logs down the stream and drank. I accepted [22] such occupations because I could then always get as [273] much drink as I wanted. Whenever I had any money I spent it on getting some woman drunk.

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## §19. *The Effect of a Pretended Blessing*

*159 I was now drinking heavily all the time and I began
● 273 to boast of being a holy man. I claimed that I had
787 been blessed by certain spirits and I made this claim
156 again and again. Of course this was all a lie, for I had
577 never felt a stirring of any kind within me. I made the claim because I had heard others doing it. Generally I made this claim when I was just about drunk, just on the verge of getting boisterous but still vaguely conscious of what I was saying. Then I would say, for instance, that I had been blessed by a Grizzly-spirit, that he had blessed me with the power of being uncontrollable, that he had taught me certain songs. These I would then sing at the top of my voice. I used to exert all the power I had to imitate a grizzly bear. The bystanders would try to hold me but it always required a large number of men to do so. Now I thought this exhibition of mine an act worthy of praise.

*159 After that I began to claim that I had been blessed
156 by many spirits. I made the claim at one time that I
577 was really the reincarnation of one of the benevolent
787 giant spirits and that my name was *Good-heart*, that I
775 was now living as a human being among men. Such
776 was my claim and people believed me.

000 Once when I was on one of my drinking sprees I

## *The Effect of a Pretended Blessing*

Once when I was on one of my drinking sprees I visited the lodge of a relative of mine. There I found a woman whom I had the right to call niece and whom I could therefore tease. Just in jest I used to call her "mother" and "sister." Now on this particular occasion after food had been offered me, I began teasing her as usual when one of the women sitting around there said, "My younger brother, your niece is really in a condition to excite your compassion and not to fool with. She is in fact about to face death, for she is going to be confined soon and she generally manages barely to escape death then." "Oh, is that so?" answered I, "Well, elder sister, this time my niece is not going to suffer. Up above, in the heavens, there exist four women, sisters, and these blessed me, telling me that if I ever called upon them for help they would help me. Now to these I shall offer tobacco and when my niece is about to be delivered, she, too, must ask for help." Thus I spoke to her. The woman thanked me. I had told a terrible falsehood. I said all this because I was very hungry and I knew that I would then receive enough to appease my hunger. I had nothing else to say.

Some time after this I saw the women in town. The older woman ran over to me and said, "My younger brother, all is well. Your niece is in wonderful condition; she is very well indeed. She has just given birth to a child and within three days of its birth she was able to chop wood. Never before has such a thing happened to her. It is good. As soon as the annuity payment is made you may have the child's portion for drink.

*159 755 [156] drink." Thus she spoke. I was surprised. Perhaps I am really holy, after all, I thought.

*159 156 787 After this incident, of course, I boasted of my powers even more, for now I was really convinced that I possessed sacred power. I talked as do those who have knowledge of blessings obtained from all the spirits in creation; I spoke with all the authority of a great medicine man. I used to do the singing for my band during the performance of the Medicine Dance, and as I had a deep bass voice, everybody liked it. Sometimes I would be given offerings of food in a kettle.

*159 ● 273 796 I always drank a great deal whenever a Medicine Dance was given and frequently I would knock people unconscious when I was drunk, even those in the vicinity of the camp.

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as well as my hat. Then he said, "You are to go home immediately. It is true that you have been dealt with unfairly, but this is a regular fair town, and if any trouble starts in the courts about this affair, it will hurt our fairs in the future. We shall therefore not go to law about it. The man who started the trouble is the owner of a large hotel, and in addition, owns a trotting horse. You have knocked out all the teeth of this hotel-keeper, and we do not know whether he will live or not. You have bruised other people, too, badly. So you had better go home." 159* 579 648 [541]

From there we started for our home. My partner rode a pony and rode through the middle of the town on it. I went in the same direction. He was afraid to go through the crowd of white people. A policeman escorted us out to the edge of the town. There we told him that we wanted some whisky and he went into a saloon and bought us two quarts. We both started then, sitting on a small two-year-old pony that belonged to my partner. Every time a team drove by we got frightened. After we had been drinking a little, however, we said that if the fight were to occur again, we would surely kill some one for we were sorry about the way in which it had ended. No one pursued us, however. 159* 648 [213]

There were some Indians living in the neighborhood and we used to go to visit them every night. When I told them about what had happened they got quite frightened for they thought these white people would come out there to fight. So they moved away on the

*159 payment. At about the same time, one of the two
65 women with whom I was living was taken away from
[588] me. She went to live with another man. When the
[837] payment was over here, the superintendent went to
[484] Necedah to pay the people there, and I went along,
for I was doing what we called "chasing the payment."
There, and at Red Hill, I deceived many women, and
thus obtained quite a large sum of money. Then I
started off with a number of other young men. By
● [273] this time I was spending all my time drinking.

*159 I got on the train at night. We were to change cars
484 at a place called Honsa and from there we were to
ride in a freight car. When we had gone only a short
distance the conductor saw us and put us off. We were
all drinking heavily. One man had lost his hat and
was walking bareheaded. We walked along until we
came to a pasture, and there we found some dry wood
with which we built a fire. We had decided to sleep
there. We had plenty of whisky with us. Late at
night we became thirsty and so we looked around for
water. We found a number of pools scattered around,
and out of these we drank. Then we went to sleep.
The next morning when we woke up we saw a good
well near us, but we ourselves had drunk out of the
water and mud in which pigs had been wallowing.

*159 In the morning when the train arrived we boarded it.
273 Eventually we reached our destination, and there found
many people, drinking and making a lot of noise. That
was exactly the place I had been looking for. When-
[685] ever I saw a person drunk I would steal whatever he

## *Dissipation*

happened to have, for I had become a thief. If I saw a woman drunk, I would steal her, for I was an adulterer. What I was looking for mainly was a woman to cohabit with, for in this way, I was able to get all her money. If any woman wanted to cohabit with me, she would have to give me all the money she had. This is the sort of thing I was doing. In this way I often succeeded in inducing two or three women to live with me at the same time. 159* [685] [273] [837]

After finishing at Necedah the superintendent always went to Tomah to pay the people there, and from Tomah he would proceed to Black River Falls. At Black River Falls the last payment was made, and for that reason it was always an extremely noisy place on such an occasion. All who liked this kind of a life, all who used to chase payments for the fun of it, would be there. Marriages would get badly mixed up here, and there would always be stealing of one another's wives, fighting, robbery, etc. Even those married people who had been faithful to each other up till then, would become unfaithful. Many people would get hurt. When the last payment had been made, all those who had not spent their last cent on drink would begin gambling, the men and women playing poker. Only when our last cent was gone would we stop and settle down. Many of us were generally left without enough money to go home. 159* 657 [837] [579] [684] [525]

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7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## *I Take a Trip to Nebraska*

to see her when I was drinking heavily. I therefore had to go on alone. I had my gun with me. I arrived at Nebraska in midsummer. I arrived there very early in the morning, and there I met a man whom I had once known, a person who used to go around a good deal. There were many people present. We sat somewhat on one side, and he and his wife drank with me. I told him what I had done, how I had counted coup on a Pottawattomie, and he shook hands and said that he too had counted coup and that he was going to wear a head ornament. Then they took me to the place where they lived, carrying all my things for me. 159* [555]

The next day the Nebraska Winnebago were going to celebrate. There was to be a general gathering for a week. The people with whom I was staying joined the others at the gathering. At the gathering itself I met two men whom I knew and who recognized me. They shook hands with me. They were riding in a buggy, and when they left, they took me along. On the road they stopped, and we got out of the buggy and began drinking out of a jug containing four quarts of whisky which we had along with us. I joined them in the drinks. We then went back to the gathering, where I met an uncle of mine. To him I presented my gun, and he was delighted. [529] [273] [431]

The gathering itself was a very large one, and we danced every day. I also prepared myself and took part in the dance and gave away many things. I received in return two ponies, a harness, and a top-buggy. I remained there for some time after the celebration [529] [535] [431]

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



*[159] was over. Indeed, I even got married there. I kept
[588] on drinking all the time. It was then that a nephew of
●[2073] mine begged me to give him my buggy. A nephew has
[604] the privilege of asking his uncle for anything, and the uncle must give it. In return the uncle can compel the nephew to work for him at any time.

Some time after that I went to visit an uncle of mine. He said, "Nephew, to-morrow they are going to have a Medicine Dance, and to-night they are going to have a trial performance.[28] Your aunt is going to buy provisions for the meal, and you may go along with her." So I went along. When we got to town we drank, and on the following day it was rumored that the woman and myself were missing. The buggy in which we were riding was quite broken, my hat was gone, and my trousers ripped open. I immediately went back to the place I had come from, even though the Medicine Dance was being given. The woman, I heard, was still missing. I then went to the place at which I had been staying, and remained there all day. I got very tired. In the morning I mounted a horse and went to town.
[648] There I was arrested. I was asked what I was doing in the town. "I am not doing anything; I am merely visiting around." Then the one in charge of the law said that I was to pay ten dollars and that if I did not do so, he would send me to prison. I therefore sold my horse for twenty dollars, and out of it I paid the ten

[1996] [28] The first part of the regular Medicine Dance is supposed to be merely a rehearsal for the following day when the main ceremony is given and is in consequence called the "trial" performance.

## *I Take a Trip to Nebraska*

dollars. It was a good horse. Then the lawyer said, 159 *
"You have committed many crimes, and you had better go to the place from which you came. If you [698]
stay here any longer, we will lock you up."

I left that same day. Two old men were going to Wisconsin, and I went with them. They did not know how to speak English, so they took me as their interpreter. I left one of my horses in the pasture there. [191]
These men were very fond of whisky, and I bought whisky for them all along the route. After a time we [273]
arrived in Wisconsin, just at the cranberry-picking season. I was drunk when we reached our destination. [222]
As we approached my home I told the old men that they should come and visit me. As I said it, I gave a whoop.

[P. 155]

## §25. *I Get Delirium Tremens*

159* 273 [657]

During the cranberry-picking season I drank all the time, and after that chased the payments. I continued drinking. When the payments had all been made, I went to Black River Falls. I was entirely without money. I was supposed to go back to Wittenberg, but I didn't have the fare. I went back to the Indians and stayed all night. In the morning I was sick. I was shaking from head to foot. When I tried to drink coffee, I would spill it; when I lay down, I used to see big snakes. I cried out and got up. Then when I wanted to go to sleep again, I thought I heard some one calling me. I raised the cover of my bed and looked around, but saw nothing. Whenever the wind blew, I thought I heard singing. I thought I heard imaginary people spit very loudly; I heard them and I could not sleep. As soon as I closed my eyes I began to see things. I saw things that were happening in a distant country. I saw ghosts on horseback, drunk. Five or six of them were on one horse, and they were singing. I recognized them, for they were people who had died long before. I heard the words of their song as they sang:

"I, even I, must die some time, so of what value is anything, I think." [533]

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 Thus they sang, and it made a good song. I myself
● 273 learned it, and later on it became a drinking song known
[533] by many people. I like it very much.

The next morning I rode on a train, and after a while we came to a town. Two days after this I stopped drinking and kept it up throughout the whole winter because I was unable to drink. I vomited every time I tried to drink beer. Throughout the winter I did not drink, and I kept this up until the following summer.

[P. 158]

*159 648 over until the following spring. It was enough to cause one to say "Oh, my!" in impatience. During the win-
[531] ter we used to make bead work and compete with one
[301] another as to who could do the best. We made beaded finger-rings, and these were always purchased by some
[432] one. By selling these rings we thus made quite a good deal of money. We also made suspenders. I made thirty of them and sold them for seven dollars a pair. We thus had plenty of money and drank all the time. There were some prisoners locked up together with us whose terms were almost over, and these were allowed to go outside. They would buy us the whisky. We
[525] gambled, too, playing for money stakes.

One day my wife came to visit me. I talked to her through the iron grating. I was allowed to talk to her for a long time. All I could do was to desire her. I
[152] wanted her badly. When the wives of the others came, they felt just as I did.

[578] Once we had a fight. We had been drinking and
[273] were disputing about a game. Afterwards we were quite humble about it.

*159 152 Shortly after this we found out that my wife had married again. I did not feel like eating, but I tried hard to do so, because I thought that the others would 648 notice it. Then I said to them, "I am glad to hear 837 about this report that my wife has married again. When I get out of prison I will pay the one who has married her, for he is taking care of her until my release. Indeed I have felt quite uneasy about her for some time. Now I feel quite relieved, for she is being

## §29. *My Release from Prison and First Acquaintance with the Peyote*

*159 When we were released we found our relatives waiting for us. My older brother was there, and with him I went home. We began to drink immediately. I was [273] very happy, although when I was in prison I had felt that I would never drink again. We reached the [837] Winnebago the same day. There I met a woman, and I cohabited with her that very night. I had been [152] desiring that for a long time. Then I began to drink again. After a while I went to Black River Falls and [837] there met my former wife, whom I immediately took back again.

[527] The Indians were just then celebrating their midsummer feasts. I went among them, took part, and drank [156] a great deal. I considered myself a brave man and a medicine man; I thought myself a holy man, a strong one, and a favorite with women. I felt that I was in [832] possession of many courting medicines. A brave man I felt myself; a fleet runner. I was an excellent singer [527] of songs at the Brave Dance; [89] I was a sport, and I [273] wanted whisky every day.

My mother and father had gone to the Missouri River, to the Winnebago living in Nebraska. They left me in charge of two horses and a wagon belonging

[89] A non-sacred war dance whose songs were very popular.

## *My Release from Prison*

most is the fact that they are making fun of you. 159 *
Quite apart from that, however, I am not used to them." 795
I was speaking quite dishonestly.

I was then staying at my sister's place. She was a peyote follower and had gone on a visit to Oklahoma. After a while she returned. At that time I was staying [588] with a number of women and from them I obtained money. Once I got drunk and was locked up for six [273] days. After my sister returned she and her friends paid more attention to me than ever before. This was particularly true of her husband. I was given horses [431] and a wagon. I was really treated very tenderly. I told them I believed in the peyote because they treated me so nicely. I knew that they did this because they wished me to eat the peyote. I, in my turn, was very kind to them. I thought I was fooling them and they [156] thought they were converting me.

We moved after a while to a place where there was to be a large peyote gathering. I knew that they had arranged for this in order to get me to join. Accordingly I spoke to my younger sister and said, "Sister, I would be quite willing to eat this peyote ordinarily, but I don't like the woman with whom I am living just [588] now and I think I shall leave her. Now I have been given to understand that among you, when married people eat the peyote they will always have to stay together. I shall therefore join you as soon as I have married a woman with whom I wish to stay permanently." Then my brother-in-law came in and my sister told him what I had said and he spoke to me,

796 out design. There he lay without motion or
575 sign of life, and the dance was resumed
158 around them. After a time he was brought out of this mesmeric or clairvoyant state, a medicine bag was put in his hands and he at once had power to strike any one down as he had been. The person who stayed by the Judge was thus struck down. He felt of his arm and wrist and found them perfectly rigid.

796 They told the Judge before they admitted
575 him to this ceremony that while he was
783 there he must think no evil thought. If he did, his life would be in danger from the spirits. No impure person is admitted to
[841] witness these ceremonies, no woman in the
843 menstrual period, no woman pregnant or recently delivered, no intoxicated or intem-
[273] perate person that is under the influence of liquor is allowed to attend. The proceedings
[756] in the sweat lodge were not seen by him as none but medicine men were allowed there.
796 The ceremonies commenced at 8 in the eve-
575 ning and lasted until day break next morning. The Judge confirms my former opinion that this is purely a religious rite, and a religious organization, having but little to do with the uses of medicine proper. The roots and herbs are one thing, but the ceremonies
[755] and incantations which are the real remedies are quite another. They call it the Spirit Dance, or the Divine Dance. The
[171] Judge informs me that he has witnessed the same thing among the Sauks and Foxes.

[*Winnebago Burial*]

764 He also mentioned the fact that he witnessed the burial of a Winnebago some years ago. He was set upon a natural mound and house made over him, food and some personal articles laid by his side, after which the whole was covered over with earth, ex-
[775] cept a small hole or chimney was kept open from the top down into the house. When

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



and died and therefore they (the Winnebago) have passed here.' 173
Likewise, if you build a fire, always cover up the embers, for if you 648
should throw away any into the water (you would be detected)."

Then they went away in boats and returned to the lake. When they came to the narrow place where the main body of water lies there they went ahead along the left branch. Now this is all of this.

After a while the tribes came to see the Frenchman, for it was about the time fixed, and they said, "How have you been getting along?" Then he said, "Children, you know what kind of people the Winnebago are. We watched them very closely, but they got away, in what direction I do not even know. In the morning they were gone. I believe they went downstream, although I haven't even hunted for them upstream."

Well, all these different tribes looked for the Winnebago, for they wished to trail them and kill them. Now, although the Frenchman had expressly forbidden them, sure enough (the Foxes) found a fish that had been speared. "They've come past here," they said. However, when they came to the fork of the stream they didn't know which way (the Winnebago) had gone, but they noticed embers in the water. "They've gone by here." As it was impossible to go to the end of the stream in boats, all the half-breed Foxes got out (and walked). Soon they saw the oval lodges. "There they are," they said. For that reason the Foxes carefully looked them over and watched them. They inquired about them and found out that they had passed by.

The road (trail) was visible, so they chased them. Soon a cold autumn spell overtook them and they (the enemy) gave up the chase and returned home.

We will not follow the course of Winnebago history through all 114
its vicissitudes from their defeat by the Foxes to the British and 175
American occupancy, but only indicate important facts. An important local event was the coming of the Frenchman Decora among them and his marriage to the daughter of the chief of the tribe. An account of this has been preserved by the Decora family, although it is clearly mixed up with what we believe is an account of the first contact of the Winnebago with the French.

### HOW THE WINNEBAGO FIRST CAME INTO CONTACT WITH THE FRENCH AND THE ORIGIN OF THE DECORA FAMILY

The Winnebago originated at a place called Red Banks (Green 173
Bay, Wis.) (pl. 1). They had no tools to work with at that time. All they had were bows and arrows and a fire-starter. They had no iron, and if they saw a stone that was naturally sharpened in any way it was considered sacred and they offered tobacco for it. They had [276]
tobacco from the beginning. It was their most valued possession.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



173 They fasted and became holy. The greatest honor was to be a
[183] brave man, and for that reason they did nothing but go to war. They were prepared for war at all times. They tried to obtain war honors. They wished to go to war all the time and kill many enemies. If a person fasted and went without food for a long time, gave offerings of tobacco often, and was then blessed by the spirits, then it would be very hard to kill such a person in battle. The people knew that such powers could be obtained, and that is why they did these things all the time.

[182] They gave many feasts. When a person gives a feast, then he offers the spirits tobacco and asks in return that their weapons be sharper than those of their enemies (i. e., that he kill an enemy and escape unharmed). That is why they used to give so many feasts, that they might be victorious in war. They make offerings to the war spirits, and if these then bless them they will become great warriors. They desired greatly to obtain these blessings.

173 Tobacco is the greatest possession they have. After Earthmaker
●276 created all things he created man. Man was the last of the created objects. Those created before were spirits, and he put them all in charge of something. Even the smallest insects are able to foresee things four days ahead. The human beings were the least of all Earthmaker's creations. They were put in charge of nothing, and they could not even foresee one day ahead. They were the last created and they were the poorest. Then Earthmaker created a weed with a pleasant odor and all the spirits wanted it. Some were almost certain that it would be given to them. They would each think to themselves, "I am going to be put in charge of that, for I am one of the greatest spirits in the world." Then the Creator said, "To all of you (spirits) I have given something valuable. Now you all like this weed and I myself like it. Now this is the way it is going to be used." Then he took one of the leaves and mashed it up. Then making a pipe he smoked it and the odor was pleasant to smell. All of the spirits longed for it. Then he gave each one of them a puff. "Now, whatever (the human beings) ask from me and for which they offer tobacco, I will not be able to refuse it. I myself will not be in control of this weed. If they give me a pipeful of this and make a request I will not be able to refuse it. This weed will be called tobacco. The human beings are the only ones of my creation who are poor. I did not give them anything, so therefore this will be their foremost possession and from them we will have to obtain it. If a human being gives a pipeful and makes a request we will always grant it." Thus spoke Earthmaker.

For that reason the human beings are in control of tobacco; it is their natural possession. This is the story that was handed down to us. The Winnebago made war and made many offerings of tobacco. It is said that the Winnebago were the bravest of all the Indians.

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JOHN FISHER

[Facing p. 66 (D)]

IrRadin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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They say that the tobacco was given to them directly and that Earthmaker loves the Winnebago more than any other race. For that reason they were very clever. Now this is what the old men have said and handed down to us. 173 276

Once something appeared in the middle of the lake (Green Bay). They were the French; they were the first to come to the Winnebago. The ship came nearer and the Winnebago went to the edge of the lake with offerings of tobacco and white deerskins. There they stood. When the French were about to come ashore they fired their guns off in the air as a salute to the Indians. The Indians said, "They are thunderbirds." They had never heard the report of a gun before that time and that is why they thought they were thunderbirds. 173 276 648 177

Then the French landed their boats and came ashore and extended their hands to the Winnebago, and the Indians put tobacco in their hands. The French, of course, wanted to shake hands with the Indians. They did not know what tobacco was, and therefore did not know what to do with it. Some of the Winnebago poured tobacco on their heads, asking them for victory in war. The French tried to speak to them, but they could not, of course, make themselves understood. After a while they discovered that they were without tools, so they taught the Indians how to use an ax and chop a tree down. The Indians, however, were afraid of it, because they thought that the ax was holy. Then the French taught the Indians how to use guns, but they held aloof for a long time through fear, thinking that all these things were holy.

Suddenly a Frenchman saw an old man smoking and poured water on him. They knew nothing about smoking or tobacco. After a while they got more accustomed to one another. The Indians learned how to shoot the guns and began trading objects for axes. They would give furs and things of that nature for the guns, knives, and axes of the whites. They still considered them holy, however. Finally they learned how to handle guns quite well and they liked them very much. They would even build fires at night so that they might try their guns, for they could not wait for the day, they were so impatient. When they were out of ammunition they would go to the traders and tell their people that they would soon return. By this time they had learned to make themselves understood by various signs. [439]

The second time they went to visit the French they took with them all the various articles that they possessed. There the French taught them how to sew, how to use an ax, and how to use a knife. Then the leader of the whites took a liking to a Winnebago girl, the daughter of the chief, and he asked her parents for permission to marry her. They told him that her two brothers had the right to give her away in marriage. So he asked them and they consented. 173 648 [177]

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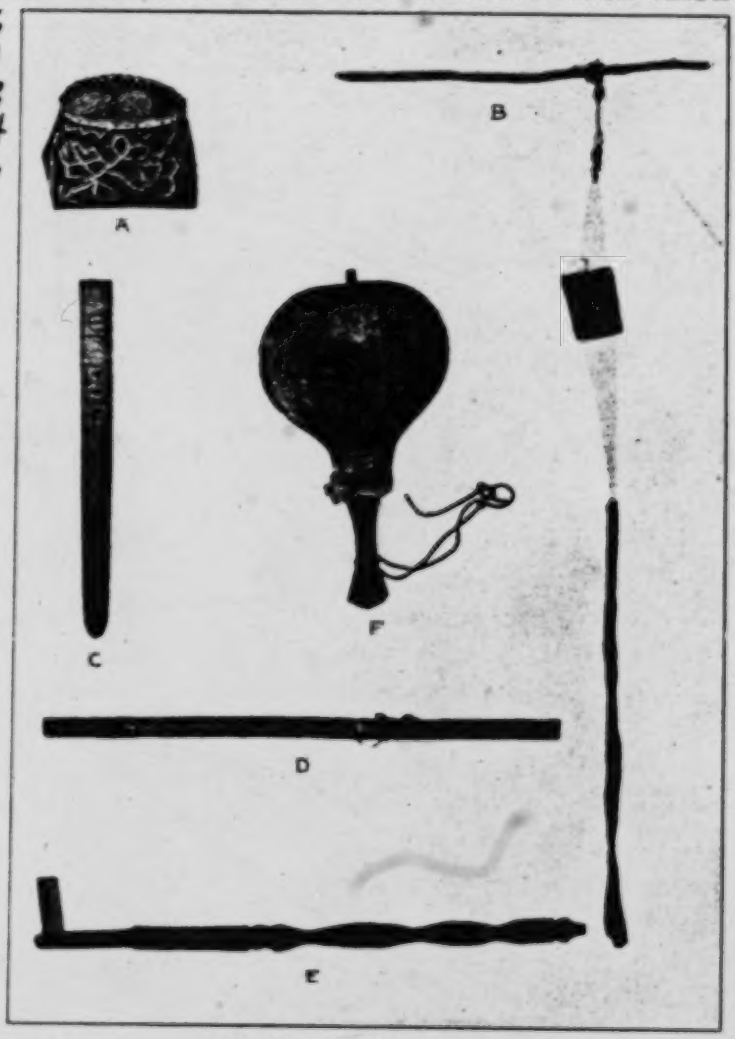


MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

a. Birch-bark receptacle.
b. Frame for stringing beads.
c. Staff with personal markings.
d. Wooden flute.
e. Catlinite pipe.
f. Gourd rattle.

[Facing p. 108(H)]

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and being very careful not to look back toward the grave after they had first started. 764

The same evening the four nights' wake began. The overseer, who was in full charge, had everything prepared. Before the wake formally commenced the chief mourner made a short speech. Then the overseer lighted a pipe and passed it around to all, who took a puff each and returned it to him. Then sweetened water was passed around, of which all partook. The feast followed. Taking on a plate a small portion of all the food to be eaten, the overseer threw it outside for the spirit of the deceased. In the case of a nursling the mother added a small quantity of milk from her breast to the other food on the plate. After the feast the chief mourner made another speech, explaining why the rites were performed and how they had been handed down for many generations. He concluded by thanking the people for all they had done for him. 765 [775] [782]

There was always an abundance of tobacco at a wake. Most of it was given to the warriors, a number of whom were invited, for they played a very important rôle on such an occasion. It was believed that every warrior was in control of the spirit of an enemy he had slain and he was supposed always to be willing to put the spirit at the service of any member of his tribe who had just died, if the proper offerings were made. At the proper time tobacco was given to the warrior, who, rising, narrated his war exploits, at the conclusion of which he ordered the spirit of the enemy he had slain to take charge of the deceased. Then tobacco was given to another warrior, who followed the same procedure, which was continued until midnight. Then most of the people departed to their homes, but some stayed overnight in the lodge in which the wake was held. [431] [276] [775]

The proceedings of the second and third nights of the wake were exactly the same as those of the first, but somewhat longer. The beginning of the ceremony on the fourth night was the same as on the three preceding nights; after a while, however, it deviated in the following manner.

J. F., rising, tells the spirit of the departed the road he is to take in his journey to spirit land, the obstacles he is to meet, and how he is to overcome them. After he has finished the warriors begin to tell some more war exploits, and this continues generally until 3 o'clock in the morning, depending entirely upon the amount of gifts given to the warriors. The gifts generally consist either of 12 pieces of calico each 3 yards, or of beads, or of 12 quarter dollars. The warriors always gamble for these gifts and play the favorite game of the deceased. If a man had died they generally play moccasins; if a woman, ho'ru. When all the presents have been exhausted, then the relatives of the deceased comb the [775] [431] [525] [524]

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867 My son, never abuse your wife. The women are sacred. If you
593 abuse your wife and make her life miserable, you will die early.
563 Our grandmother, the earth, is a woman, and in mistreating your
776 wife you will be mistreating her. Most assuredly will you be abusing our grandmother if you act thus. And as it is she that is taking care of us you will really be killing yourself by such behavior.

867 My son, when you keep house, should anyone enter your house,
574 no matter who it is, be sure to offer him whatever you have in the house. Any food that you withhold at such a time will most assuredly become a source of death to you. If you are stingy about giving food the people will kill you on this account. They will poison you. If you hear of a traveler who is visiting your people and you wish to see him, prepare your table for him and have him sent for. In this manner you will be acting correctly. It is always good to act correctly and do good, the old people used to say.

867 If you see an old, helpless person, help him with whatever you
888 possess. Should you happen to possess a home and you take him there, he might suddenly say abusive things about you during the middle of the meal. You will be strengthened by such words. This same traveler may, on the contrary, give you something that
[778] he carries under his arms and which he treasures very highly. If it is an object without a stem,[18] keep it to protect your house. If you thus keep it within your house, your home will never be molested by any bad spirits. Nothing will be able to enter your house unexpectedly. Thus you will live. Witches, instead of entering your house, will pass around it. If, in addition to possessing this medicine, you also fast, your people will be benefited by it greatly.

867 Earthmaker made spirits up above and some he made to live on
773 this earth; and again some he made to live under the water and
776 some to live in the water; and all these he put in charge of something. Even the small animals that move about this earth the creator put in charge of some power. Thus he created them. Afterwards he created us human beings and as he had exhausted all the powers to be disposed of we were not in control of anything. Then he made a weed and placed it in our charge. And he said that no matter how powerful are the spirits that exist they would not be able to take this weed from us without giving something in return.
● [276] He himself, Earthmaker, would not be able to demand it for nothing. So he spoke. This weed was the tobacco plant. Earthmaker said that if we would offer a pipeful of tobacco to him, whatever we should ask of him he would immediately grant. Not only he, but all the
[782] spirits created, longed to have some of this tobacco. It is for this reason that when we fast and cry piteously for some spirit to take pity on us, if we give them tobacco they will bless us with those

[18] A plant without a stem, presumably some root, used for warding off danger.

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"My son, we first originated in human form at Bad Lake (de cicik).* From four buffalo spirits who are there, did we originate. The youngest one was clever and from him did we originate. The buffaloes asked one another what they were to do, and they then began to exert their powers, and the youngest one obtained the knowledge that there was to be a gathering of all the animals. So they all landed at a place called Red Banks. So it is said. And to the elk was given the charge of the seating arrangements. 614 539 776

"Thus did we originate. And then they councilled with one another as to how they should travel along the road of life. And as they arrived at Red Banks, each one would ask the other to do some work. And there they made a sacred (covenant)—that they would never fail to grant one another's requests. Likewise they agreed that when they died they would bury one another. The Buffalo clan and the Water-spirit clan were to bury one another, and they were to ask one another to work." [764]

CLAN SONGS 614 533

*Song 1*

Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.

*Song 2*

This earth you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

*Song 3*

This day you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

"My son, here is some more information that one in your position should seek. This should be the second thing to ask for: 'What should one say when one gives a feast?' This you should ask for, and you should boil food for the informant and then you will be taught the proper speeches. Afterwards, when anyone boils food (i. e., gives a winter feast) a kettle should first be put on for Earth-maker and one should ask him for life; that the people may live to be strong and good. Include tobacco in your offering, for although Earthmaker made the tobacco he will not take any of it of his own accord. Not until it is offered to him by humans will he take it. 867 [782] [276]

* The name de cicik is applied to-day to Lake Michigan. However, our informant in this case applied it to Devils Lake in Sauk County, Wis. [103]

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867 782 276 Thus he made the tobacco so that humans may ask life with it, and he will grant them their desires. This is all."

### CLAN NAMES

#### THE HIN'IN'ARAIJERA (BUFFALO CLAN)

614 551

Morstegs.....He who travels the land.
Teanimaniwings.....She who walks ahead.
Teeniqkeigs.....Suckling buffalo calf.
Tregs.....Buffalo.
Teep'anu"pgs.....Two buffalo heads.
Teetra"iwings.....First buffalo.
Teeloienigk'a.....Buffalo yearling.
Teedonigk'a.....Young buffalo bull.
Teewiqzedegs.....Big female buffalo.
Wirukanangs.....He who is in control.
Hobekmanigs?.....Shaggy walker.
Teebatrowings.....Buffalo hide blue.
Mangikmntegs.....Shakes the earth by striking
Teep'ags.....Buffalo head.
Manok'aruhigs.....Kicking up the earth.

## THE DEER CLAN

### INTRODUCTION

614 173 The first version of the origin myth of the Deer clan is in part like that of version 6 of the Bear clan origin myth and in part like that of version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth. It is the only myth that shares with version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth the account of the origin of death.

614 The Deer clan does not seem to have had any important functions, although in myth 1, it is stated that they claimed a "partial" chieftainship, whatever that may mean.

[577] It was considered an insult to tell a member of this clan that he resembled a deer.

[302] The facial painting is the same as that used for the Elk clan. (Pl. 46.)

[826 761] The Deer clan people tell one another not to sing their clan song very loudly, and also not to make any sudden movement of their limbs, for each movement might cause the death of a human being. For the same reason they are told not to weep too loudly, as each deer's limb is a symbol of one of the four directions. When, therefore, a Deer clansman moves a limb too hard when he is weeping over the decease of a member of his clan, he might be "putting some human being in the earth," and the wind would blow hard.

[552] The dog names obtained were *vankrigokonigs* and *na"natrpiigs*.

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756 716 (1) Entrance ritual: The band enters the tent, makes one complete circuit, and stops. The leader now delivers a short speech, followed by a song. The band then continues to the west end, where another speech is delivered and another song sung. After this the band continues again, and stops at the east end, where the leader talks and sings. Now all sit down. After a short pause the leader again rises and walking over to the ancestor host, talks to him, gives him some tobacco, and returns to his seat. Each band entering repeats the same ritual. This applies, however, only to Part IV (*a*) and (*b*).

(2) Exit ritual (Part IV (*a*) and (*b*)): The east leader rises and speaks, followed by north, west, and south. Each one then speaks again and, all singing, all walk toward the entrance in such a way that the south, north, and west bands make complete circuits of the lodge, thus enabling the east band to precede them. Near the entrance all stop singing and say "*ru-hi-hi-hi*" four times and pass out. This exit ceremony differs slightly in the two divisions of IV.

(3) Fire ritual, Part III: The ancestor host rises and goes to the leaders of the four other bands individually; and after he has blessed them they respond; then all rise, make four circuits of the lodge, and sit down again. The leader of the east band now rises, holding in his hand the invitation sticks and some tobacco, delivers a speech, then goes to the fireplace and kindles the new fire.

[782 276] (8) Smoking ritual: The leader of the east band pours tobacco into the fire, first at the east, and then at the north, west, and south corners. He then lights his pipe, puffs first toward the east, then toward the north, west, and south, after which he passes his pipe to the leader of the north band, who takes a few whiffs and in turn passes it around to the next member of the lodge. When the pipe has made the complete circuit it is placed in front of the fireplace. In the meantime the ancestor host has returned to his seat, and after a short pause, rises, speaks, and sings again. This smoking ceremony occurs after each entrance ceremony, IV (*a*) and (*b*), and before both feasts of IV (*a*) and (*b*).

*Presentation-of-food ritual* (Part IV, *a* and *b*).—The leader of the east band rises and brings meat, berries, wild potatoes, etc., to the ancestor host, delivering a minor speech at the same time. Each of the other leaders repeats the same ceremony. When all have finished, the ancestor host rises and thanks them.

(5) General shooting ritual (Part IV, *a* and *b*): The leaders of the east, north, west, and south bands, holding their otter skins in their hands, rise and, accompanied by three men, make a complete circuit of the lodge. They first speak in undertones to these three men, giving them directions. At each end the leader of the east band speaks, and then, singing, walks toward the west end, saying "yuke—

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# CHAPTER XVI

## THE PEYOTE CULT

### General Description

794 Owing to the great importance of one of the modern cults found among the Winnebago, the so-called Mescal or Peyote, it will be discussed here in some detail. Not only is this cult of great prominence in the life of the modern Winnebago, but as its inception and progress can be followed out in considerable detail it is of great significance for the study of their religion.

[346] The ceremony is generally held in a building called by the Peyote worshipers a church, although it frequently takes place in the open also. In the early days of its organization as many meetings as possible were held. In 1910 there was a tendency to restrict the number and to have them generally take place on Saturday night. In 1913, after the first enthusiasm of the new converts had died out, the author was informed that the meetings were rarely held more than once a week. Around Christmas and beginning with July a series of meetings was held, lasting from a week to 10 days, as a rule. The Christmas meetings were not prominent in 1910, but the July ones seem to have been held from the beginning. They represent, of course, merely a substitution for the older pagan ceremonies and games that were held about that time.

796 In the early days the ceremony was opened by a prayer from the
794 founder, and this was followed by an introductory speech. Thereupon the leader sang a Peyote song, to the accompaniment of a drum.
[533] Then another speech was delivered, and when it was finished the drum and other regalia were passed to the man to the right. This man, in turn, delivered a speech and sang a song, and when he was finished, passed the regalia to the third man, who subsequently passed it to the fourth one. The fourth man, when he was finished, returned it to the leader. In this way the regalia passed from one person to another throughout the night. It not infrequently happens that one of these four gets tired and gives up his place temporarily to some other member of the cult. At intervals they stopped to eat
[376] or drink peyote. At about midnight the peyote, as a rule, begins to affect some people. These generally arise and deliver self-accusatory
[583] speeches, and make more or less formal confessions, after which they go around shaking hands with everyone and asking forgiveness.

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In 1910 the cult already had a rather definite organization. There was, at every performance, one leader (pl. 54, *a*) and four principal participants. John Rave (pls. 5, *b*; 55, *b*), the Winnebago who introduced the peyote, was always the leader whenever he was present. On other occasions leadership devolved upon some older member. The four other principal participants changed from meeting to meeting, although there was a tendency to ask certain individuals whenever it was possible. The ritualistic unit, in short, is a very definite one, consisting of a number of speeches and songs and in the passing of the regalia from one to the other of the four participants.

During the early hours of the evening, before the peyote has begun to have any appreciable effect, a number of apparently intrusive features are found. These, for the most part, consist of speeches by people in the audience and the reading and explanation of parts of the Bible. After the peyote has begun to have an appreciable effect, however, the ceremony consists exclusively of a repetition of the ritualistic unit and confessions.

There is an initiation consisting of a baptism, always performed by John Rave. It is of a very simple nature. Rave dips his fingers in a peyote infusion and then passes them over the forehead of the new member, muttering at the same time the following prayer:

"God, his holiness."

This is what the Winnebago words mean, although some of the younger members who have been strongly permeated with Christian teachings translate the prayer into, "God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

Whenever the ceremony is performed in the open a fireplace in the shape of a horseshoe is made. At one end of this fireplace is placed a very small mound of earth, called by Rave "Mount Sinai," and in front of this a cross is traced in the earth. Upon the small earth mound are placed the two "chief" peyote, the Bible and the staff. The latter, called by Rave the shepherd's crook, is always covered with beadwork, and generally has a number of evenly cut tufts of deer hair on the end and at intervals along its length. The sacred peyote, known as *hupka* (i. e., "chief") are exceptionally large and beautiful specimens. They are regarded by a number of people, certainly by Rave, with undisguised veneration.

In addition to the above, there is found a large eagle feather fan, a small drum, and a peculiar small type of rattle. To my knowledge, this type was unknown among the Winnebago before its introduction by the peyote eaters.

### John Rave's Account of the Peyote Cult and of His Conversion

During 1893–94 I was in Oklahoma with peyote eaters.

In the middle of the night we were to eat peyote. We ate it and I also did. It was the middle of the night when I got frightened, for

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159 a live thing seemed to have entered me. "Why did I do it?" I thought
794 to myself. I should not have done it, for right at the beginning I
276 have harmed myself. Indeed, I should not have done it. I am sure
786 it will injure me. The best thing will be for me to vomit it up. Well, now, I will try it. After a few attempts I gave up. I thought to myself, "Well, now you have done it. You have been going around trying everything and now you have done something that has harmed you. What is it? It seems to be alive and moving around in my stomach. If only some of my own people were here! That would have been better. Now no one will know what has happened to me. I have killed myself."

Just then the object was about to come out. It seemed almost out and I put out my hand to feel it, but then it went back again. "O, my, I should never have done it from the beginning. Never again will I do it. I am surely going to die."

As we continued it became day and we laughed. Before that I had been unable to laugh.

The following night we were to eat peyote again. I thought to myself, "Last night it almost harmed me." "Well, let us do it again," they said. "All right, I'll do it." So there we ate seven peyote apiece.

Suddenly I saw a big snake. I was very much frightened. Then another one came crawling over me. "My God! where are these coming from?" There at my back there seemed to be something. So I looked around and I saw a snake about to swallow me entirely. It had legs and arms and a long tail. The end of this tail was like a spear. "O, my God! I am surely going to die now," I thought. Then I looked again in another direction and I saw a man with horns and long claws and with a spear in his hand. He jumped for me and I threw myself on the ground. He missed me. Then I looked back and this time he started back, but it seemed to me that he was directing his spear at me. Again I threw myself on the ground and he missed me. There seemed to be no possible escape for me. Then suddenly it occurred to me, "Perhaps it is this peyote that is doing this thing to me?" "Help me, O medicine, help me! It is you who are doing this and you are holy! It is not these frightful visions that are causing this. I should have known that you were doing it. Help me!" Then my suffering stopped. "As long as the earth shall last, that long will I make use of you, O medicine!"

This had lasted a night and a day. For a whole night I had not slept at all.

Then we breakfasted. Then I said, when we were through, "Let us eat peyote again to-night." That evening I ate eight peyote.

In the middle of the night I saw God. To God living up above, our Father, I prayed. "Have mercy upon me! Give me knowledge

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that I may not say and do evil things. To you, O God, I am trying to 159
pray. Do thou, O Son of God, help me, too. This religion, let me 794
know. Help me, O medicine, grandfather, help me! Let me know 276
this religion!" Thus I spoke and sat very quiet. And then I beheld 786
the morning star and it was good to look upon. The light was good to look upon. I had been frightened during the night but now I was happy. Now as the light appeared, it seemed to me that nothing would be invisible to me. I seemed to see everything clearly. Then I thought of my home and as I looked around, there I saw the house in which I lived far away among the Winnebago, quite close to me. There at the window I saw my children playing. Then I saw a man going to my house carrying a jug of whisky. Then he gave them something to drink and the one that had brought the whisky got drunk and bothered my people. Finally he ran away. "So, that is what they are doing," I thought to myself. Then I beheld my wife come and stand outside of the door, wearing a red blanket. She was thinking of going to the flagpole and was wondering which road she should take. "If I take this road I am likely to meet some people, but if I take the other road, I am not likely to meet anyone."

Indeed, it is good. They are all well—my brother, my sister, my father, my mother. I felt very good indeed. O medicine, grandfather, most assuredly you are holy! All that is connected with you, that I would like to know and that I would like to understand. Help me! I give myself up to you entirely!

For three days and three nights I had been eating medicine, and for three days and three nights I had not slept. Throughout all the years that I had lived on earth, I now realized that I had never known anything holy. Now, for the first time, I knew it. Would that some of the Winnebagoes might also know it!

Many years ago I had been sick and it looked as if this illness 159
were going to kill me. I tried all the Indian doctors and then I 794
tried all of the white man's medicines, but they were of no avail. 276
"I am doomed. I wonder whether I will be alive next year." Such 755
were the thoughts that came to me. As soon as I ate the peyote, however, I got over my sickness. After that I was not sick again. My wife had suffered from the same disease, and I told her that if she ate this medicine it would surely cure her. But she was afraid, although she had never seen it before. She knew that I used it, but nevertheless she was afraid of it. Her sickness was getting worse and worse and one day I said to her, "You are sick. It is going to be very difficult, but try this medicine anyhow. It will ease you." Finally she ate it. I had told her to eat it and then to wash herself and comb her hair and she would get well, and now she is well. Then I painted her face and took my gourd and began singing very much. Then I stopped. "Indeed, you are right,"

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she said, "for now I am well." From that day on to the present time she has been well. Now she is very happy.

Black Water-spirit at about that time was having a hemorrhage and I wanted him to eat the peyote. "Well, I am not going to live anyhow," he said. "Well, eat this medicine soon then and you will get cured." Consumptives never were cured before this and now for the first time one was cured. Black Water-spirit is living to-day and is very well.

There was a man named Walking-Priest and he was very fond of whisky; he chewed and he smoked and he gambled. He was very fond of women. He did everything that was bad. Then I gave him some of the peyote and he ate it and he gave up all the bad things he was doing. He had had a very dangerous disease and had even had murder in his heart. But to-day he is living a good life. That is his desire.

Whoever has any bad thoughts, if he will eat this peyote he will abandon all his bad habits. It is a cure for everything bad.

To-day the Indians say that only God is holy. One of the Winnebagoes has told me, "Really, the life that I led was a very bad one. Never again will I do it. This medicine is good and I will always use it." John Harrison and Squeaking-Wings were prominent members of the medicine dance; they thought much of themselves as did all the members of the medicine dance. They knew everything connected with this medicine dance. Both of them were gamblers and were rich because they had won very much in gambling. Their parents had acquired great possessions by giving medicines to the people. They were rich and they believed that they had a right to be selfish with their possessions. Then they ate peyote and ever since that time they have been followers of this medicine. They were really very ill and now they have been cured of it. Now if there are any men that might be taken as examples of the peyote, it is these three. Even if a man were blind and only heard about them he would realize that if any medicine were good, it is this medicine. It is a cure for all evil. Before, I had thought that I knew something but I really knew nothing. It is only now that I have real knowledge. In my former life I was like one blind and deaf. My heart ached when I thought of what I had been doing. Never again will I do it. This medicine alone is holy and has made me good and has rid me of all evil. The one whom they call God has given me this. That I know positively. Let them all come here; men and women; let them bring with them all that they desire; let them bring with them their diseases. If they come here they will get well. This is all true; it is all true. Bring whatever desires you possess along with you and then come and eat or drink this medicine. This is life, the only life. Then you will learn

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something about yourself, so come. Even if you are not told anything about yourself, nevertheless you will learn something of yourself. Come with your disease, for this medicine will cure it. Whatever you have, come and eat this medicine and you will have true knowledge once and for all. Learn of this medicine yourself through actual experience. 755 159 794 276

If you just hear about it you are not likely to try it. If you desire real knowledge about it try it yourself, for then you will learn of things that you had never known before. In no other way will you ever be happy. I know that all sorts of excuses will run through your mind for not partaking of it, but if you wish to learn of something good, try this. Perhaps you will think to yourself that it will be too difficult and this will seem an excuse to you for not trying it. But why should you act thus? If you partake of it, even if you feel some uncertainty about its accomplishing all the good that has been said of it, I know that you will say to yourself, "Well, this life is good enough." After you have taken it for the first time, it will seem as if they are digging a grave for you, that you are about to die; and you will not want to take it again. "It is bad," you will think to yourself. You will believe that you are going to die and you will want to know what is going to happen to you. The coffin will be set before you and then you will see your body. If you wish to inquire further about where you are going then you will learn something you have not known. Two roads there are, one leading to a hole in the earth and the other extending up above. You will learn something that you had not known before. Of the two roads, one is dark and the other is light. You must choose one of these while you are alive and so must you decide whether you wish to continue in your evil ways or whether you will abandon them. These are the two roads. The Peyote people see them. They claim that only if you weep and repent will you be able to obtain knowledge. Do not, as I said before, listen to others talking about it, but try the medicine yourself. That is the only way to find out. No other medicine can accomplish what this has done. If, therefore, you make use of it, you will live. After they have eaten peyote people throw aside all the (evil) ceremonies that they were accustomed to perform before. Only by eating the peyote will you learn what is truly holy. That is what I am trying to learn myself.

It is now 23 years since I first ate peyote, and I am still doing it (1912). Before that my heart was filled with murderous thoughts. I wanted to kill my brother and my sister. It seemed to me that my heart would not feel good until I killed one of them. All my thoughts were fixed on the warpath. This is all I thought of. Now

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159 Now I know that it was because the evil spirit possessed me that I felt that
755 way. I was suffering from a disease. I even desired to kill myself:
794 I did not care to live. That feeling, too, was caused by this evil
276 spirit living within me. Then I ate this medicine and everything
[753] changed. The brother and sister I wanted to kill before I became attached to and I wanted them to live. The medicine had accomplished this.

### O. L.'s Description of the Peyote Cult

(Pl. 88, c)

159 John Rave belongs to the Bear clan, the members of which had
614 the functions of what might be called sergeants-at-arms. He and
[692 his ancestors used to be in charge of the *manupici* (i. e., the ser-
681] geants-at-arms lodge), to which all malefactors would be brought for punishment.

159 Rave, although he belonged to this highly respected class of people,
794 was a bad man. He roamed from place to place. He has participated in all the ceremonies of the Winnebago, the medicine dance alone excepted. He had been married many times. Up to 1901 he was a heavy drinker. In that year he went to Oklahoma and while there ate the peyote. He then returned to the Winnebago and tried to introduce it among them, but none with the exception of a few
[177] relatives would have anything to do with it. This did not in any way discourage him, however, and he continued using the peyote, now and then getting a few converts.

159 There was not very much religion connected with it in the beginning
794 and the reason people drank it was on account of the peculiar effects
177 it had upon them. Nevertheless these Peyote people preached good things and gradually lost all desire for intoxicating drinks or for participating in the old Winnebago ceremonies. Then Rave began to do away with the old Indian customs. About four or five years ago the membership in the Peyote religion began to increase, for many people now noticed that those connected with the Peyote cult were the only people in the tribe leading a Christian life.

At this time the Bible was introduced by a young man named Albert Hensley (pls. 8, *d*; 9, *d*). He, too, had been a bad person, although he had been educated at Carlisle. Like Rave, he was a heavy drinker and fond of wandering.

During the last few years our members have increased so fast that now almost half the tribe belong to our religion. We all make efforts to lead a Christian life and we are succeeding very well.

794 We use the New Testament, especially the Revelations.

796 Our meetings take place at any time. We gather together in the
159 evening, and as soon as everything is in readiness the leader arises
[782] and offers a prayer called, "Turning themselves over to the care of the Trinity."

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the Trinity." Then all sit down and the leader makes the regular announcements. The peyote is then passed around, either in the dry condition or steeped. The leader thereupon starts the singing. These are some of the songs: 794 796 159 [276]

1. Ask God for life and he will give it to us.
2. God created us so pray to him.
3. To the home of Jesus we are going, so pray to him. [523]
4. Come ye to the road of the Son of God; come ye to the road.

Then Albert Hensley calls upon 12 educated members to translate and interpret certain portions of the Bible for the nonreading members. He arranges with the leader to have the singing stop at certain places so that some of these young men can speak. When these are finished, other individuals are called upon to give testimony. Hensley always talks and so does Rave. 794 177 796 159

John Rave baptizes by dipping his hand in a diluted infusion of peyote and rubbing it across the forehead of a new member, saying, "I baptize thee in the name of God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which is called God's Holiness." [788]

The peyote eaters wanted to get baptized and unite with the church in Winnebago, but the clergyman in charge would not permit them, so they went and did their own baptizing through their leader, John Rave, who, though he is not educated, is full of real intelligence and religion.

If a person who is truly repentant eats peyote for the first time, he does not suffer at all from its effects. But if an individual is bullheaded, does not believe in its virtue, he is likely to suffer a good deal. This I know from my own experience. After eating peyote I grasped the meaning of the Bible, which before had been meaningless to me. 794 276 159

If a person eats peyote and does not repent openly, he has a guilty conscience, which leaves him as soon as the public repentance has been made. [783]

Old men and women who had been brought up to worship animals and all kinds of spirits have cast them all away and in many instances burned their idols, not because they were told to do so but because they felt that way.

Whenever at our meetings a person wishes to pray, he does so; when he wishes to cry, he does so. Indeed, we show no timidity about worshiping God in the right way. In the Bible one often reads of Christ casting out the devils and of the people shouting, etc. So does the peyote act on us in the beginning, although afterwards its effects abate.

If a peyote eater relapses into his old way of living, then the peyote causes him great suffering.

At first our meetings were started without any rule laid down by the Bible, but afterwards we found a very good reason for holding [177]

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794 our meetings at night. We searched the Bible and asked many
276 ministers for any evidence for Christ's ever having held any meetings
159 in the daytime, but we could find nothing to that effect. We did,
177 however, find evidence that he had been out all night in prayer. As it is our desire to follow as closely as we can in the footsteps of Christ, we hold our meetings at night. Then, too, when we pray we wish to get as far away as possible from earthly things, and the night is the best time, for then we are not likely to be bothered by anything.

We have made earnest efforts to become Christians since we began drinking and eating this peyote, but many people say sarcastically that we have drunk ourselves into Christianity, and that we are demented. I am a peyote eater, but I have never found a demented person among them. We claim that there is virtue in the peyote. To you who do not believe and desire to find out let me quote the fourth chapter of the First Epistle of St. John:

"Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world.

"Hereby know ye the spirit of God. Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God."

We claim that you can not find out anything by standing off at a distance and only talking about it. We claim that some earthly things can have the virtue of God, for instance, the Bible, which is entirely made up of earthly material—the ink, the paper, the cover—yet it has survived the ages.

### J. B.'s Account of the Leader of the Peyote[1]

(Pl. 3)

159 Among the Winnebago there is a man named Little-Red-Bird,
484 and when he reached middle age he began to travel around the world and learn different Indian languages. He used to travel inland a good deal. Once he joined a circus and crossed the ocean. He felt
[544] so ill while crossing that he wanted to die. Suddenly a wind came up and he got very frightened. He did not know what to do. Then he prayed to Earthmaker. When he came to the other side of the ocean there he saw a big island and a big city (London), and in this last place they held their circus. The chief of that country (the king) he met there.

When he came back to his own people he told them that on the other side of the ocean the Thunderbirds did not thunder. All they did was to drizzle. There was no lightning either. As he crossed the ocean on his return it thundered and lightened.

[782] When he came home he was very glad to see his relatives and he offered tobacco in thanksgiving.

[1] The narrator was a very lukewarm follower.

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Shortly after this he traveled again and came to a band of Indians who were eating peyote. It was his custom to try everything when he went visiting. He did not realize what he was doing when he ate this medicine, but he did it anyhow. After a while he began to think of his manner of life, and he felt that he was doing wrong. All the evil he had done he remembered. Then he prayed to God. Suddenly it occurred to him, "Perhaps I am the only one doing this." Then he looked around and watched the others, and he saw them praying in the same manner. 159 794 276 [484]

Not long after that he came home, taking with him some of this medicine. He knew it was holy. At home he offered tobacco to it and kept on eating it. Soon it cured him of a disease he had. He tried to induce some of the others to try it, but they refused. After a while a few tried it, and the peyote movement began to spread. All the old customs that they had been accustomed to observe they abandoned. They gave up the medicine dance and the ceremonies connected with the clans. For that reason, therefore, the conservative people hated them; their own brothers and sisters hated them, for they had abandoned what were considered holy ceremonies. [177 755]

### Albert Hensley's Account of the Peyote[1]

(Pls. 8, 4; 9, 4)

I am 37 years old. It was 37 years ago that my mother gave birth to me in an old-fashioned reed lodge. When I was a year old she died and my grandmother took care of me. I had come into the world a healthy child, but bad luck was apparently to pursue me, for when I was 7 years old my grandmother died. Then my father took care of me. At that time he began to be a bad man; he was a drunkard and a horse thief. He would frequently get into trouble and run away, always taking me along with him, however. On one occasion we fled to Wisconsin, and there we stayed two years. We got along pretty well, and there my father married again. By his second wife he had three children. 159

After a while he got into trouble again, and misfortune followed misfortune. People were killing each other, and I was left alone. If at any time of my life I was in trouble it was then. I was never happy. Once I did not have anything to eat for four days. We had fled to the wilderness, and it was raining continually. The country was flooded with high water, and we sat on the top of a tree. It was impossible to sleep, for if we went to sleep we would fall off into the water, which was very deep. The shore was quite far away. As we were prominent people, we soon heard that my [731]

[1] This account is of great importance, because Hensley introduced a large number of Christian elements into the ceremony, the principal one being the Bible.

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159 father had been freed. We were very happy, and went back to our people.

At that time a young man named Young-Bear was starting for Nebraska, and he said that he would take me along. I was very happy. So in that manner I was brought to this country. Here I have had only happy days. When my father got married everyone disliked me. When I worked I was working for my father, and all the money I earned I had to give to him.

After a while I went to school, and although I liked it I ran away and then went to school at Carlisle. I wanted to lead a good life. At school I knew that they would take care of me and love me. I was very shy and lacked a strong character at that time. If a person told me to do anything I would always obey immediately. Everybody loved me. I stayed there six months. I was also taught [177] Christianity there. When I came back to my country the Episcopalian people told me that they wanted me to be diligent in religious matters and never to forsake the religion of the Son of God. I also desired to do that. I entered the church that we had in our country and I stayed with them six years.

At that time the Winnebago with whom I associated were heavy drinkers, and after a while they induced me to drink also. I became [273] as wicked as they. I learned how to gamble and I worked for the devil all the time. I even taught the Winnebago how to be bad.

159 After a while they began eating peyote, and as I was in the habit
● 276 of doing everything I saw, I thought I would do it, too. I asked
794 them whether I could join, and they permitted me. At that time I had a position at the county commissioner's office. I ate the peyote and liked it very much. Then the authorities tried to stop the Indians from eating peyote, and I was supposed to see that the law was enforced. I continued eating peyote and enjoying it. All the evil that was in me I forgot. From that time to the present my actions have been quite different from what they used to be. I am only working for what is good; not that I mean to say that I am good.

After that I married and now I have three children, and it would not have been right for me to continue in my wickedness. I resolved that thereafter I would behave as a grown-up man ought to behave. I resolved never to be idle again and to work so that I could supply my wife and children with food and necessities, that I would be ready to help them whenever they were in need. Here in my own country would I remain till I died. This (peyote) religion was good. All the evil is gone and hereafter I will choose my path carefully.

I know the story about the origin of the peyote. It is as follows:

794 Once in the south, an Indian belonging to the tribe called Mes-
539 callero Apache was roaming in the country called Mexico, and went hunting in the high hills and got lost. For three days he went with-

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794 539 it used it for a purpose different from what it was intended.[1] They used it for war and for horse stealing. They, however, continued to eat the peyote, but they really ate too much of it. After a while the leader began thinking that the medicine might harm them, so he told them to hide it. The man did not know that even at that time a big war party was coming upon them. This tribe was almost destroyed.

They lost the peyote. One day, however, it was taught to a Comanche. He ate it and prayed to Earthmaker. Then it was taught to the Cheyenne and to the Arapaho and to the Caddo. The Tonkawa, the Apache, and the Mescallero Apache were the ones who had lost the medicine. When these other tribes began to eat this medicine they heard about it and they remembered that they also had long ago eaten it.

There was an old man in Oklahoma who knew the mescal country very well and he went down to old Mexico and stayed there for a year. When he returned he taught it to the Oto and the Oto taught it to us.

794 276 It is a true religion. The peyote is fulfilling the work of God and the Son of God. When the Son of God came to the earth he was poor, yet people spoke of him; he was abused. It is the same now with the peyote. The plant itself is not much of a growth, yet the people are talking about it a good deal; they are abusing it, they are trying to stop its use. When the Son of God came to earth the preachers of that time were called Pharisees and Scribes. They doubted what the Son of God said and claimed that he was an ordinary man. So it is to-day with the Christian Church; they are the Pharisees and Scribes, they are the doubters. They say that this is merely a plant, that it is the work of the devil. They are trying to stop its use and they are calling it an intoxicant, but this is a lie. If they will but come and see this ceremony they will realize this.

### J. B.'s Peyote Experiences

159 794 276 When my father and mother asked me to come to the Missouri River (Nebraska) I knew they had eaten peyote and I did not like it. I had been told that these peyote eaters were doing wrong, and therefore I disliked them; I had heard that they were doing everything that was wicked. For these reasons we did not like them. About this time they sent me money for my ticket, and since my brothers and sisters told me to go, I went. Just as I was about to start my youngest sister, the one to whom we always listened most attentively, said to me, "Older brother, do not you indulge in this medicine eating (peyote) of which so much is said." I promised. Then I started out.

[1] This is clearly Hensley's interpretation.

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As soon as I arrived (in Nebraska) I met some people who had not joined the peyote eaters and who said to me, "Your relatives are eating the peyote and they sent for you that you also might eat it. Your mother, your father, and your younger sister, they are all eating it." Thus they spoke to me. Then they told me of some of the bad things it was reported that these people had done. I felt ashamed and I wished I had not come in the first place. Then I said that I was going to eat the medicine. 159 794 276

After that I saw my father, mother, and sister. They were glad. Then we all went to where they were staying. My father and I walked (alone). Then he told me about the peyote eating. "It does not amount to anything, all this that they are doing, although they do stop drinking. It is also said that sick people get well. We were told about this and so we joined, and, sure enough, we are practically well, your mother as well as I. It is said that they offer prayers to Earthmaker (God)," he said. He kept on talking. "They are rather foolish. They cry when they feel very happy about anything. They throw away all of the medicines that they possess and know. They give up all the blessings they received while fasting and they give up all the spirits that blessed them in their fasts. They also stop smoking and chewing tobacco. They stop giving feasts, and they stop making offerings of tobacco. Indeed, they burn up their holy things. They burn up their war bundles. They are bad people. They give up the Medicine Dance. They burn up their medicine bags and even cut up their otter-skin bags. They say they are praying to Earthmaker (God) and they do so standing and crying. They claim that they hold nothing holy except Earthmaker (God). They claim that all the things that they are stopping are those of the bad spirit (the devil), and that the bad spirit (the devil) has deceived them; that there are no spirits who can bless; that there is no other spirit except Earthmaker (God)." Then I said, "Say, they certainly speak foolishly." I felt very angry toward them. "You will hear them, for they are going to have a meeting tonight. Their songs are very strange. They use a very small drum," said he. Then I felt a very strong desire to see them. [12]

After a while we arrived. At night they had their ceremony. At first I sat outside and listened to them. I was rather fond of them. I stayed in that country and the young peyote eaters were exceedingly friendly to me. They would give me a little money now and then and they treated me with tender regard. They did everything that they thought would make me feel good, and in consequence I used to speak as though I liked their ceremony. However, I was only deceiving them. I only said it because they were so good to me. I thought they acted in this way because (the peyote) was deceiving them.

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159 794 276 Soon after that my parents returned to Wisconsin, but when they left they said they would come back in a little while. So I was left there with my relatives, who were all peyote followers. For that reason they left me there. Whenever I went among the nonpeyote people I used to say all sorts of things about the peyote people, and when I returned to the peyote people I used to say all sorts of things about the others.

I had a friend who was a peyote man and he said to me, "My friend, I wish very much that you should eat the peyote." Thus he spoke and I answered him, "My friend, I will do it, but not until I get accustomed to the people of this country. Then I will do it. The only thing that worries me is the fact that they are making fun of you. And in addition, I am not quite used to them." I spoke dishonestly.

I was staying at the place where my sister lived. She had gone to Oklahoma; she was a peyote follower. After a while she returned. I was then living with a number of women. This was the second time (there) and from them I obtained some money. Once I got drunk there and was locked up for six days. After my sister returned she and the others paid more attention than ever to me. Especially was this true of my brother-in-law. They gave me horses and a vehicle. They really treated me very tenderly. I knew that they did all this because they wished me to eat the peyote. I, in my turn, was very kind to them. I thought that I was fooling them and they thought that they were converting me. I told them that I believed in the peyote because they were treating me so nicely.

After a while we moved to a certain place where they were to have a large peyote meeting. I knew they were doing this in order to get me to join. Then I said to my younger sister, "I would be quite willing to eat this peyote (ordinarily), but I don't like the woman with whom I am living just now and I think I will leave her. That is why I do not want to join now, for I understand that when married people eat medicine (peyote) they will always have to stay together. Therefore I will join when I am married to some woman permanently." Then my brother-in-law came and she told him what I had said, and he said to me, "You are right in what you say. The woman with whom you are staying is a married woman and you can not continue living with her. It is null and void (this marriage) and we know it. You had better join now. It will be the same as if you were single. We will pray for you as though you were single. After you have joined this ceremony, then you can marry any woman whom you have a right to marry (legally). So, do join tonight. It is best. For some time we have been desirous of your joining but we have not said anything to you. It is Earthmaker's (God's) blessing to you that you have been thinking of this," said he.

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Therefore I sat inside the meeting place with them. One man 159
acted as leader. We were to do whatever he ordered. The regalia 794
were placed before him. I wanted to sit in some place on the side 276
because I thought I might get to crying like the others. I felt 796
ashamed of myself.

Then the leader arose and talked. He said that this was an affair of Earthmaker's (God's), and that he (the leader) could do nothing on his own initiative; that Earthmaker (God) was going to conduct the ceremony. Then he said that the medicine (peyote) was holy and that he would turn us all over to it; that he had turned himself over to it and wished now to turn all of us over to it. He said further, "I am a very pitiable (figure) in this ceremony, so when you pray to Earthmaker, pray also for me. Now let us all rise and pray to Earthmaker (God)." We all rose. Then he prayed. He prayed for the [782]
sick, and he prayed for those who did not yet know Earthmaker. He said that they were to be pitied. When he had finished we sat down. Then the peyote was passed around. They gave me five. My brother-in-law said to me, "If you speak to this medicine (peyote), it will give you whatever you ask of it. Then you must pray to Earthmaker, and then you must eat the medicine." However, I ate them (the peyote) immediately, for I did not know what to ask for and I did not know what to say in a prayer to Earthmaker (God). So I ate the peyote just as they were. They were very bitter and had a taste difficult to describe. I wondered what would happen to me. After a while I was given five more and I also ate them. They tasted rather bitter. Now I was very quiet. The peyote rather weakened me. Then I listened very attentively to the singing. I liked it very much. I felt as though I were partly asleep. I felt different from (my normal self), but when I (looked around) and examined myself, I saw nothing wrong about myself. However, I felt different from (my normal self). Before this I used to dislike the songs. Now I liked the leader's singing very much. I liked to listen to him.

They were all sitting very quietly. They were doing nothing except singing. Each man sang four songs and then passed the regalia to the next one. (Each one) held a stick and an eagle's tail feather in one hand and a small gourd rattle, which they used to shake while singing, in the other. One of (those) present used to do the drumming. Thus objects would pass around until they came back to the leader, who would then sing four songs. When these were finished, he would place the various (things) on the ground, rise, and pray to Earthmaker (God). Then he called upon one or two to speak. They said that Earthmaker (God) was good and that the peyote was good, and that whosoever ate this medicine (peyote) would be able to free himself from the bad spirit (the devil); for they said that

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159 Earthmaker forbids us to commit sins. When this was over they
794 sang again.
796 After midnight, every once in a while (I heard) someone cry. In
276 some cases they would go up to the leader and talk with him. He would stand up and pray with them. They told me what they were saying. They said that they were asking (people) to pray for them, as they were sorry for their sins and that they might be prevented from committing them again. That is what they were saying. They cried very loudly. I was rather frightened. (I noticed also) that when I closed my eyes and sat still, I began to see strange things. I did not get sleepy in the least. Thus the light (of morning) came upon me. In the morning, as the sun rose, they stopped. They all got up and prayed to Earthmaker (God) and then they stopped.

159 During the daytime I did not get sleepy in the least. My actions
276 were a little different (from my usual ones). Then they said, "To-
794 night they are going to have another meeting. Let us go over. They say that is the best (thing) to do and thus you can learn it (the ceremony) right away. It is said that their spirits wander
[794] over all the earth and the heavens also. All this you will learn and see," they said. "At times they die and remain dead all night and all day. When in this condition they sometimes see Earthmaker (God), it is said." One would also be able to see where the bad spirit lived, it was said.

So we went there again. I doubted all this. I thought that what they were saying was untrue. However, I went along anyhow. When we got there, I had already eaten some peyote, for I had taken three during the day. Now near the peyote meeting an (Indian) feast was being given and I went there instead. When I reached the place, I saw a long lodge. The noise was terrific. They were beating an enormous drum. The sound almost raised me in the air, so (pleasurably) loud did it sound to me. Not so (pleasurable) had things appeared at those affairs (peyote meetings) that I had lately been attending. There I danced all night and I flirted with the women. About day I left and when I got back the peyote meeting was still going on. When I got back they told me to sit down at a certain place. They treated me very kindly. There I again ate peyote. I heard that they were going to have another meeting near by on the evening of the same day. We continued eating peyote the whole day at the place where we were staying. We were staying at the house of one of my relatives. Some of the boys there taught me a few songs. "Say, when you learn how to sing, you will be the best singer, for you are a good singer as it is. You have a good voice," they said to me. I thought so myself.

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That night we went to the place where the peyote meeting was to take place. They gave me a place to sit and treated me very kindly. "Well, he has come," they even said when I got there, "make a place for him." I thought they regarded me as a great man. John Rave, the leader, was to conduct the (ceremony). I ate five peyote. Then my brother-in-law and my sister came and gave themselves up. They asked me to stand there with them. I did not like it, but I did it nevertheless. "Why should I give myself up? I am not in earnest, and I intend to stop this as soon as I get back to Wisconsin. I am only doing this because they have given me presents," I thought. "I might just as well get up, since it doesn't mean anything to me." So I stood up. The leader began to talk and I (suddenly) began to feel sick. It got worse and worse and finally I lost consciousness entirely. When I recovered, I was lying flat on my back. Those with whom I had been standing were still standing there. I had (as a matter of fact) regained consciousness as soon as I fell down. I felt like leaving the place that night, but I did not do it. I was quite tired out. "Why have I done this?" I said to myself. "I promised (my sister) that I would not do it." So I thought and then I tried to leave, but I could not. I suffered intensely. At last daylight came upon me. Now I thought that they regarded me as one who had a trance and found out something.

Then we went home and they showed me a passage in the Bible where it said that it was a shame for any man to wear long hair. That is what it said, they told me. I looked at the passage. I was not a man learned in books, but I wanted to give the impression that I knew how to read, so I told them to cut my hair, for I wore it long at that time. After my hair was cut I took out a lot of medicine that I happened to have in my pockets. These were courting medicines. There were many small bundles of them. All these, together with my hair, I gave to my brother-in-law. Then I cried and my brother-in-law also cried. Then he thanked me. He told me that I understood and that I had done well. He told me that Earthmaker (God) alone was holy; that all the things (blessings and medicines) that I possessed were false; that I had been fooled by the bad spirit (devil). He told me that I had now freed myself from much of this (bad influence). My relatives expressed their thanks fervently.

On the fourth night they had another meeting and I went to it again. There I again ate (peyote). I enjoyed it and I sang along with them. I wanted to be able to sing immediately. Some young men were singing and I enjoyed it, so I prayed to Earthmaker, asking him to let me learn to sing right away. That was all I asked for. My brother-in-law was with me all the time. At that meeting all the things I had given my brother-in-law were burned up.

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159 The fact that he (my brother-in-law) told me that I understood
794 pleased me, and I felt good when daylight came. (As a matter of
276 fact) I had not received any knowledge.

After that I would attend meetings every once in a while, and I looked around for a woman whom I might marry permanently. Before long that was the only thing I thought of when I attended the meetings.

On one occasion we were to have a meeting of men and I went to the meeting with a woman, with whom I thought of going around the next day. That was (the only) reason I went with her. When we arrived, the one who was to lead asked me to sit near him. There he placed me. He urged me to eat a lot of peyote, so I did. The leaders (of the ceremony) always place the regalia in front of themselves; they also had a peyote placed there. The leader placed a very small one in front of himself this time. "Why does he have a very small one there?" I thought to myself. I did not think much about it.

159 It was now late at night and I had eaten a lot of peyote and felt
794 rather tired. I suffered considerably. After a while I looked at the
786 peyote and there stood an eagle with outspread wings. It was as
276 beautiful a sight as one could behold. Each of the feathers seemed to have a mark. The eagle stood looking at me. I looked around thinking that perhaps there was something the matter with my sight. Then I looked again and it was really there. I then looked in a different direction and it disappeared. Only the small peyote remained. I looked around at the other people but they all had their heads bowed and were singing. I was very much surprised.

Some time after this (I saw) a lion lying in the same place (where I had seen the eagle). I watched it very closely. It was alive and looking at me. I looked at it very closely, and when I turned my eyes away just the least little bit it disappeared. "I suppose they all know this and I am just beginning to know of it," I thought. Then I saw a small person (at the same place). He wore blue clothes and a shining brimmed cap. He had on a soldier's uniform. He was sitting on the arm of the person who was drumming, and he looked at every one. He was a little man, perfect (in all proportions). Finally I lost sight of him. I was very much surprised indeed. I sat very quietly. "This is what it is," I thought, "this is what they all probably see and I am just beginning to find out."

Then I prayed to Earthmaker (God) "This, your ceremony, let me hereafter perform."

As I looked again, I saw a flag. I looked more carefully and (I saw) the house full of flags. They had the most beautiful marks on them. In the middle (of the room) there was a very large flag and it was a live one; it was moving. In the doorway there was another

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one not entirely visible. I had never seen anything so beautiful in all my life before. 159 794

Then again I prayed to Earthmaker (God). I bowed my head and closed my eyes and began (to speak). I said many things that I would ordinarily never have spoken about. As I prayed, I was aware of something above me and there he was; Earthmaker (God) to whom I was praying, he it was. That which is called the soul, that is it, that is what one calls Earthmaker (God). Now this is what I felt and saw. The one called Earthmaker (God) is a spirit and that is what I felt and saw. All of us sitting there, we had all together one spirit or soul; at least that is what I learned. I instantly became the spirit and I was their spirit or soul. Whatever they thought of, I (immediately) knew. I did not have to speak to them and get an answer to know what their thoughts had been. Then I thought of a certain place, far away, and immediately I was there; I was my thought. 786 276

I looked around and noticed how everything seemed about me, and when I opened my eyes I was myself in the body again. From this time on, I thought, thus I shall be. This is the way they are, and I am only beginning to be that way. "All those that heed Earthmaker (God) must be thus," I thought. "I would not need any more food," I thought, "for was I not my spirit? Nor would I have any more use of my body," I felt. "My corporeal affairs are over," I felt.

Then they stopped and left, for it was just dawning. Then someone spoke to me. I did not answer, for I thought they were just fooling, and that they were all like myself, and that (therefore) it was unnecessary for me to talk to them. So when they spoke to me I only answered with a smile. "They are just saying this to me because (they realize) that I have just found out," I thought. That was why I did not answer. I did not speak to anyone until noon. Then I had to leave the house to perform one of nature's duties and someone followed me. It was my friend. He said, "My friend, what troubles you that makes you act as you do?" "Well, there's no need of your saying anything, for you know it beforehand," I said. 159 794 276

Then I immediately got over my trance and again got into my (normal) condition, so that he would have to speak to me before I knew his thoughts. I became like my former self. It became necessary for me to speak to him.

Then I spoke to him and said, "My friend, let us hitch up these horses and then I will go wherever you like, for you wish to speak to me and I also want to go around and talk to you." Thus I spoke to him. "If I were to tell you all that I have learned, I would never be able to stop at all, so much have I learned," I said to him. "However, I would enjoy telling some of it." "Good," said he. He liked

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159 it (what I told him) very much. "That is what I am anxious to
794 hear," said he. Then we went after the horses. We caught one of
276 them but we could not get the other. He got away from us and we could not find him. We hunted everywhere for the horse but could not discover where he had run to. Long afterwards we found it among the whites.

Now since that time (of my conversion) no matter where I am, I always think of this religion. I still remember it and I think I will remember it as long as I live. It is the only holy thing I have been aware of in all my life.

After that whenever I heard of a peyote meeting, I went to it. However, my thoughts were always fixed on women. "If I were married (legally) perhaps these thoughts will leave me," I thought. Whenever I went to a meeting now I tried to eat as many peyote as possible, for I was told that it was good to eat them. For that reason I ate them. As I sat there I would always pray to Earthmaker (God). Now these were my thoughts. If I were married, I thought as I sat there, I could then put all my thoughts on this ceremony. I sat with my eyes closed and was very quiet.

159 Suddenly I saw something. This was tied up. The rope with
794 which this object was tied up was long. The object itself was run-
786 ning around and around (in a circle). There was a pathway there
276 in which it ought to go, but it was tied up and unable to get there. The road was an excellent one. Along its edge bluegrass grew and on each side there grew many varieties of pretty flowers. Sweet-smelling flowers sprang up all along this road. Far off in the distance appeared a bright light. There a city was visible of a beauty indescribable by tongue. A cross was in full sight. The object that was tied up would always fall just short of reaching the road. It seemed to lack sufficient strength to break loose (of what was holding it). (Near it) lay something which would have given it sufficient strength to break its fastenings, if it were only able to get hold of it.

I looked at what was so inextricably tied up and I saw that it was myself. I was forever thinking of women. "This it is to which I am tied," I thought. "Were I married, I would have strength enough to break my fastening and be able to travel in the good road," I thought. Then daylight came upon us and we stopped.

159 Then I thought of a man I used to know who was an old peyote-
794 man. He always spoke to me very kindly. I went over to see him.
276 I thought I would tell him what had happened to me. When I arrived there he was quite delighted. It was about noon and he fed my horses and asked me to eat with him. Then when we were through eating, I told him what had happened to me. He was very glad and told me that I was speaking of a very good thing. Then (finally) he said, "Now I shall tell you what I think is a good thing

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(for you to do). You know that if an old horse is balky, you cannot break him of (this habit); even if you bought him and tried to break him (of this habit) you would not succeed. If, indeed, you succeeded it would only be after very hard work. However, if you had a very young horse, you could train it in any way you wished. So it is in everything. If you marry a woman who has been in the habit of marrying frequently, it would be difficult for her to break herself of a habit she loves. You are not the one she loves. If you marry her you will lead a hard life. If you wish to get married, take your time. There are plenty of good women. Many of them are at (government) schools and have never been married. I think you would do best if you waited for some of these before marrying. They will return in the middle of the summer. So, don't think of any of these women you see around here, but wait until then and pray to Earthmaker patiently. That would be the best, I think." I liked what he told me and thanked him. I decided to accept his advice, and I did not look around for women after that. I was to wait about three months and (during that time) I paid strict attention to the peyote ceremony.

On one occasion while at a meeting, I suffered (great pain). My eyes were sore and I was thinking of many things. "Now I do nothing but pay attention to this ceremony, for it is good." Then I called the leader over to me and said to him, "My elder brother, hereafter only Earthmaker (God) shall I regard as holy. I will make no more offerings of tobacco. I will not use any more tobacco. I will not smoke and I will not chew tobacco. I have no further interest in these. Earthmaker (God) alone do I desire (to serve). I will not take part in the Medicine Dance again. I give myself up (to you). I intend to give myself up to Earthmaker's (God's) cause." Thus I spoke to him. "It is good, younger brother," he said to me. Then he had me stand up and he prayed to Earthmaker (God). He asked Earthmaker (God) to forgive me my sins.

The next morning I was taken home. My eyes were sore and I could not see. They took me back to a house and there they put a solution of the peyote into my eyes and I got well in a week.

One night, when I was asleep, I dreamed that the world had come to an end. Some people Earthmaker (God) took, while some belonged to the bad spirit (the devil). I belonged to the bad spirit (the devil). Although I had given myself up (become a peyote-man), I had not as yet been baptized. That was why Earthmaker (God) did not take me. All those who belonged to Earthmaker (God) were marked, but I was not. I felt very bad about it when I woke up, although I had only dreamed about it. I felt very bad indeed. I wanted them to hurry and have another peyote meeting

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159 794 276 [788] soon. I could hardly wait until I reached the place where the next meeting was to take place. I immediately told the leader (what I wanted) and asked him to baptize me and he baptized me in the morning. After that morning I felt better.

Then I went to work and I worked with a railroad work-gang. I was still working when the time for the mid-summer celebration approached. I always went to the peyote meeting on Saturday nights.

The old man was right in what he had told me. The girl students returned in the summer. Shortly (after they returned) a man, a friend of mine who had gone around with me, asked me if I wanted to get married. "Yes, I do," I answered. Then he said, "Listen, I have been thinking of something. What kind of a woman do you wish to marry?" I told him what I had in mind. Then he said, [584] "Come home with me. I have a younger sister. I want her to marry a good man; I would like to have her marry you," he said. Then I went home with him. When we got there (and discussed the matter) the girl gave her consent. The parents also consented.

So there I got married and what I expected has taken place and I have lived with her ever since. On one occasion, after she was used to me, she told me this. (Before she had married she had determined that) if she ever got married, she would not care to marry a very young man. "I wanted a man who ate peyote and who paid attention to the ceremony." Such a man she desired and such a man was I, she said. She loved me, she said, and she was glad that she had married me. This is what she had asked Earthmaker (God) in prayer. "And indeed it has happened as I wished," she said. She believed it was the will of Earthmaker (God) that we had done this, she said. She was therefore glad (that she had married me). Together we gave ourselves up (to the peyote) at a peyote meeting. From that time on we have remained members of the peyote (ceremony).

Many things are said under the influence of the peyote. The members (would) get into a kind of trance and speak of many things. On one occasion they had a peyote meeting which lasted two nights. I ate a good deal of peyote. The next morning I tried to sleep. I suffered a great deal. I lay down in a very comfortable position. After a while a (nameless) fear arose in me. I could not remain in that place, so I went out into the prairie, but here again I was seized with this fear. Finally I returned to a lodge near the lodge in which the peyote meeting was being held and lay down alone. I feared that I might do something foolish to myself (if I remained there alone), and I hoped that someone would come and talk to me. Then someone did come and talk to me, but I did not feel better, so I thought I would go inside where the meeting was going on. "I am going inside," I said to him. He laughed. "Alright, do so," said he. I went in and sat down. It was very hot and I felt as

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though I were going to die. I was very thirsty but I feared to ask for water. I thought that I was certainly going to die. I began to totter over. 159 794 276

I died, and my body was moved by another life. It began to move about; to move about and make signs. It was not I and I could not see it. At last it stood up. The regalia—eagle feathers and gourds—these were holy, they said. They also had a large book there (the Bible). These my body took and what is contained in that (book) my body saw. It was a Bible. The regalia were not holy, but they were good ornaments. My body told them that; and that if any person paid attention to Earthmaker's (God's) ceremony, he would be hearkening to what the Bible said; that, likewise, my body told them. Earthmaker's son (God's son) said that he was the only way. This means that one can only get life from the Word. (My) body spoke of many things and it spoke of what was true. Indeed it spoke of many things. It spoke of all the things that were being done (by the pagan Indians) and which were evil. A long time it spoke. At last it stopped. Not I, but my body standing there, had done the talking. Earthmaker (God) had done his own talking. I would be confessing myself a fool if I were to think that I had said all this, it (my body) told me. 786 159 794 276

After a while I returned to my normal human condition. Some of those there had been frightened, thinking that I had gone crazy. Others had liked it. It was discussed a good deal. They called it the "shaking" state. It was said that the condition in which I was, was not part of Earthmaker's (God's) religion. I was told that whoever ate a lot of peyote would, through the peyote, be taught the teachings of Earthmaker (God). Earthmaker's (God's) ways and man's ways were different. Whoever, therefore, wished to help this religion must give himself up (to it). If you ate a good deal of this peyote and believed that it could teach you something, then it assuredly would do so. That, at least, is the way in which I understand the matter. 159 794 276

Once we had a meeting at the home of a member who was sick. The sick would always get well when a meeting was held in their home, and that is why we did it. At that meeting I got into the "shaking" condition again. My body told (us) how our religion (peyote) was an affair of Earthmaker's (God's) and even if one knew only a portion of it, one could still see (partake of) Earthmaker's (God's) religion.

Thus it went on talking. "Earthmaker (God), His Son (Christ) and His Holiness (the Holy Ghost), these are the three ways of saying it. Even if you know one (of these three), it means all. Every one of you has the means of opening (the road) to Earthmaker (God). It is given to you. With that (your belief) you can open (the door

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159 to God). You can not open it with knowledge (alone). How many
794 letters are there to the key (the road to God)? Three. What are
276 they?" There were many educated people (there), but none of them said anything. "The first (letter) must be a K, so if a person said K, that would be the whole of it. But let me look in the book (the Bible) and see what that means," said the body. Then it (the body) took the Bible and began to turn the leaves. The body did not know where it was itself, for it was not learned in books. Finally in Matthew, chapter 16, it stopped. There it speaks about it. "Peter did not give himself up" (it says). "For a long time he could not give up his own knowledge. There (in that passage) it says Key." That is the work of Earthmaker (God). At least so I understand it. He made use of my body and acted in this manner, in the case of the peyote.

Then I go about telling (every one) that this religion is good. Many other people at home said the same thing. Many, likewise, have joined this religion and are getting along nicely.

On one occasion, after I had eaten a good deal of peyote, I learned the following from it: that all I had done in the past, that it had all been evil. This was plainly revealed to me. What I thought was holy, and (by thus thinking) was lost, that I now know was false. (It is false), this giving of (pagan) feasts, of holding (the old) things holy, the Medicine Dance, and all the Indian customs.

### J. B.'s Account of His Conversion

I was at the old agency. There they were to try me for murder. At night, as I sat in jail, certain people came to me and told me that they had a gallon jug of whisky, and that if I was free that night, I should come and drink with them. They would wait for me. That same night there was a peyote meeting at John Rave's house and my brother Sam invited me to go there. Sam stood around there waiting for me. He was very low in spirits. He knew of the other invitation I had received and he told me that he would go with me wherever I went. I wanted very badly to go to the place where they had the liquor, and should have done so if Sam had given me the least chance. However, I could not get rid of him, so I decided to go to the peyote meeting. When I arrived there, we found just enough room in the center for myself and Sam. Sam sat at the right of me and John Bear at the left. In front of me there was some peyote infusion, and some peyote ground up and dampened.

As we sat there Sam began to cry and I began to think. I knew why Sam was crying; he wanted me to take some of the peyote. After a while I began to think of my own troubles. But I thought it wasn't the proper way of taking it just because I was in trouble.

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Then I thought of the other peyote eaters, how much they must be wanting me to take it. After a while I spoke to Sam and said, "I am going to eat this medicine, but . . ." Then I began to cry. After a while he tried to get me to say the balance, but I couldn't. I drank some of the solution. As the others saw that I was willing to take it they gave me a big ball of dampened peyote. However, I didn't like that and I asked for some more peyote in the dry state. I sat there asking for more and more peyote. This I kept up all night. When morning came I stopped. Just then Harry Rave got up to speak, and no sooner did he get up than I knew exactly what he was going to say. This must be the way of all peyote eaters, I thought. I looked around me; and suddenly I realized that all those within the room knew my thoughts and that I knew the thoughts of all the others. Harry Rave spoke and finished his speech; but I had known it all before he said a word. Then A. Priest, who was leading the meeting, arose and asked the rest to get up, so that they might turn themselves over to Christ. I also rose; but when I got up I was seized with a choking sensation. I couldn't breathe. I wanted to grab hold of Bear and Sam, but I didn't, thinking that I was going to stand whatever was coming to me. When I made up my mind to that, I felt relieved. Then I knew what the real meaning of turning one's self over to Christ meant.

In the morning they stopped the meeting and everyone seemed happy and glad. I, however, was very serious and wondered why they were all laughing. Every once in a while they would come and talk to me. I wondered why they did it, when they knew what was going on within me. For that reason I wouldn't answer them.

That week there were four meetings, and I went to all of them and ate very much peyote. The fourth meeting was at the usual place, John Rave's house. I sat with Sam as usual. At night I became filled with peyote. All at once I heard a voice saying, "You are the one who is to tell of the medicine dance." And I thought that Sam was speaking to me, so I turned around and looked at him, but he hadn't said a word. Soon I realized that nobody near me had said anything, and I began to think, "Why should it be I? Why not one of the others?" I rather pushed the idea from me; but no sooner had I done so than I began to have a tired and depressed sensation. This passed all over me. I knew that if I got up with the sincere purpose of giving in to the power that was wanting me to speak of the medicine dance I should be relieved. However, for some reason, I know not why, I felt like resisting.

The next morning I asked to be baptized, and said that I would thereafter have nothing more to do with offerings to the spirits;

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that I would not give any more feasts; and that I would not have any more to do with the medicine dance. From that day on I quit all my old beliefs. I did not feel like saying all this, for indeed my heart was turned just the other way, but I couldn't help it, for I was filled with the peyote.

From that time on, at every meeting that I attended, I could not rid myself of the idea that I must tell of the medicine dance. At all such times a feeling of heaviness would come over me. There I would be with but one thing on my mind; should I, or should I not, tell of it? I did not want to, and thought of all sorts of excuses that I was not a member of the Nebraska division etc.

I was in this frame of mind while living with John Walker. There I received word that I would be wanted to tell of the medicine dance. From that moment I could not rest easy. I went to the barn and prayed and wept, asking that God might direct me. I went about but could not sit quiet. My wife stayed around me crying. As I stood there, someone drove up with a wagon. Then I thought of all the unhappiness I would cause to members of the medicine lodge if I told the secrets of the medicine dance, and I asked myself if it really would not be a sin to cause so much misery. The man who was driving the white team was John Baptiste, and he told me that I was wanted to tell of the medicine dance. I got ready and entered the buggy. I was still crying and praying. Then it occurred to me that I would like to see John Rave. No sooner had I thought of this than John Rave appeared in the road. I got out and shook hands with him and told him where I was going and for what purpose, and asked him what he thought of the matter. He began to thank me for the work I was going to do and said, "This is what we should try to do, to help one another and to work for our Creator." Then he thanked me again. Perfect happiness now came over me and I went to Sioux City and got married legally. From now on I was entirely filled with the desire to tell all that I knew about the medicine dance. "This must be the work assigned to me by the Creator," I thought; and yet I have rejected the idea all the time.

On Paul's last trip, although I had not finished the translation, I didn't care to have any more to do with it, and said that somebody else should finish the work, my excuse being that I was busy. So, as soon as I heard that Paul had come, I packed up and hurried out west as quickly as possible, for I knew that he would bother the life out of me if he found me. However, no sooner had I reached the home of my friend than I was seized with an attack of rheumatism, with which I had never been afflicted before, and the next morning Paul appeared with a wagon to take me back to Winnebago. Now I know that the telling and the translation of the medicine dance is my mission in life, and I am willing to tell all to the full extent of my knowledge.

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JESSE CLAY'S ACCOUNT OF THE ARAPAHO MANNER OF GIVING THE PEYOTE CEREMONY WHICH HE INTRODUCED AMONG THE WINNEBAGO IN 1912

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I went to Oklahoma once as the guest of an Arapaho Indian. While there I witnessed the Arapaho manner of holding a peyote meeting and was very much impressed with it. A year later this Arapaho came to visit me in Winnebago, and while he was with us a few of my friends urged me to hold the peyote ceremony according to the Arapaho method. I held several meetings at which my Arapaho friend led.

Now these are the instructions that Arapaho Bull gave me.

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The person giving the ceremony must get up at sunrise so that he can tell exactly where the sun is going to rise. He must place a stick and make the drawing of a cross on the earth just in that direction from which the sun is about to rise. He does this in order to get the correct location for the tipi and the fireplace. Then he marks a circle around the cross. Then he makes a diagonal mark through the center of the circle, thus making the circle resemble a star. The circle is the outline of the tipi. Then another diagonal mark is made so that the drawing resembles, to their minds, a peyote. A fireplace which resembles a half-moon is placed right in the center of the lodge. After that the tipi poles are raised, 12 in number. Finally the whole is inclosed in canvas. When finished it is supposed to represent the earth. It is then ready to be entered. Special preparations are made for entering. The drummer with his drum and the leader and those behind him with all their regalia march up to the door. Before these enter, however, an attendant, called the fireman, spreads sage all over the lodge, from the seat of the leader to the door and back again. Then he starts a fire, always placing the left fire sticks first. When they are all thus lined up outside of the door the leader offers a prayer.

"May the Creator be with us when we enter this lodge."

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The leader now enters and, proceeding along the left side of the lodge, marches to his seat, and there he stands with his drum until the lodge is filled. After all have entered they sit down. Then the fireman who sits to the right rekindles the fire. The leader now spreads out his articles—a gourd, a drumstick, a staff, and the feathers. He then takes 12 sage leaves and lays them out in the form of a star, first making a cross-shaped object and then filling this into the desired form. On top he places the peyote, and, leaning against that, he places a flute made of an eagle bone, the mouth of the flute resting against the peyote. Then he puts an otter-skin cap at the foot of the flute. After a while the leader takes the peyote he is going to use in one hand and some cedar needles in the other,

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794 and, going to his seat, where all the other objects are spread out, he
796 sits down and prays. He prays that all the participants may be
strengthened by the prospective meeting. He offers up thanks for
●276 the peyote and prays that all may be in the proper spirit that night.
177 Then he throws the needles in the fire and holds the peyote over the smoke of the cedar. When this has been finished he returns to his seat, eats one peyote, and gives one to the drummer. After they have eaten these he passes four peyote in turn to those on his left until the peyote comes to the one sitting nearest the door. Four peyote are given to the one nearest the door that he, in turn, may pass them to those on the other side of the door and so on until the leader is reached again. Before the peyote is eaten, the leader gets up and talks. He instructs the people as to the nature of the meeting and tells them that those who wish to go out must do so after the midnight water is drunk and not until after the leader returns from outside. No one is to go out while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote. He then speaks of the special prayers that are to be offered up and asks them to offer general prayers for all nonmembers and even for their enemies. After that the leader again offers up a prayer and smokes all the objects he had spread before his seat. Then the songs are to start, all, however, first eating peyote.

(When the fire first starts and thereafter, throughout the night, it is supposed to represent light, just as God said, "Let there be light.")

[533] The first song is always the same and is called the starting song. Those that follow are peyote songs. When he has finished these songs he passes the singing staff to the right of the drummer. When this one has finished the staff is returned to the leader, who passes it on to the left, and then in rotation it goes to the one sitting near the door. The drum, when it is handed on, is always passed under the staff. The fire is always replenished, but toward midnight special care is taken in this regard and the coals are placed in the shape of a crescent between the fire and the earth crescent, and the fireman sweeps first around the left and then around the right side. Then exactly at midnight the leader calls for his singing staff and his drum, no matter where they happen to be, and, taking the singing
[533] staff and sending the drum to the drummer, he blows his flute and sings. The song he sings then is called the midnight song. After that three peyote songs are sung, it making no difference which they are. As the leader starts his midnight song the fireman takes up his position at the doorway opposite the fireplace and the leader. When the second song is started the fireman turns around to the right and goes out and gets water and soon comes back with it. When he reenters he makes the figure of a cross on the ground where
[788] he stood just before he left and places water on it. Then he squats down on his knees.

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The first and foremost virtue predicated by Rave for the peyote was its curative power. He gives a number of instances in which hopeless venereal diseases and consumption were cured by its use; and this was the first thing one heard about it as late as 1913. In the early days of the Peyote cult it appears that Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote. The main point apparently was to induce people to try it. No amount of preaching of its direct effects, such as the hyperstimulation induced, the glorious visions, and the feeling of relaxation following, would ever have induced prominent members of the old Winnebago religious societies to try it. For that reason it is highly significant that all the old members of the Peyote cult speak of the diseases of which it cured them. Along this line lay unquestionably its appeal for the most converts. Its subsequent spread was due to a large number of interacting factors. One informant claims that there was little religion connected with it at first, and that the people drank the peyote on account of its peculiar effects. 794 159 755 276

The manner in which it spread at the beginning was simple and significant viz, along family lines. As soon as an individual had become a peyote eater he devoted all his energies to converting other members of his family. From instances that have come to our notice this lay in an insistent appeal to family ties and personal affection. A man showed unusual courtesy, showered innumerable favors upon relatives he was anxious to convert, and thereby earned the gratitude of the recipient, who at some critical moment, let us say, such as illness or mental depression, showed it by partaking of the peyote. The same methods were employed in the more general propaganda. The author knows of Peyote people who drove many miles in order to be present at the bedside of some old conservative who was ill, perhaps neglected by his relatives; bring him food, and spend the night with him in the most affectionate solicitude. They always had sufficient tact and understanding of human nature not to obtrude their purpose on the sick man too much. To the casual observer their object seemed simply that of a Samaritan. They would hardly have admitted that behind all their solicitude lay the desire to obtain a new convert. They would have claimed that their only purpose, over and above their sincere desire to comfort the sick man, was to demonstrate to their fellow Winnebago what changes the peyote had wrought in them. In this way the patient drew the inference, an inference that was likely to be drawn all the more quickly and forcibly when he contrasted the behavior of these Peyote nurses with that of his pagan relatives. The author was fortunate enough to obtain a fairly complete account of a conversion, illustrating both these features. 794 159 593 276

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place to which he is going he will live far more happily than here among men. 796x

(3) *Filling of the ceremonial pipe and the smoking ritual.*—Before the basic ritual of the first division is begun the attendants take some tobacco and, filling the ceremonial pipe, place it near the war bundle. As the first pipeful is intended for Earthmaker, the stem is directed vertically. Then as soon as the appropriate songs have been sung the attendant lights the pipe and passes it around the lodge, so that all the men may smoke. When the pipe returns to the host it is again filled. 796x 782 [276 782]

This procedure is repeated three more times, but as in each case the offering is to a different spirit, the arrangement of the pipestem is different. At the second filling of the pipe the stem is turned to the west for the Thunderbirds; at the third, it is turned to the south for Disease-giver; and at the fourth, it is turned toward the earth for the earth and the spirits that live under the earth. [782] [776]

(4) *Tobacco offerings to the spirits.*—This occurs in two forms, (*a*) and (*b*).

(*a*) When the buckskins have been prepared and rolled up on the frameworks, then all those participating march around the lodge to the place where the war bundle is lying and pour tobacco upon it. Then they offer tobacco to all the spirits worshiped. The spirits mentioned specifically are, however, few in number, the offerings being really directed to the six cardinal points, east, north, west, south, above, and below. [823]

(*b*) This is a more specific offering and all the spirits are mentioned by name and short addresses are made to them. It is repeated three times once in the Sweat-Lodge ritual, then in the first, and lastly in the second division

In the Sweat-Lodge ritual the offering of tobacco is made to the following spirits: Earthmaker, Thunderbirds, Great Black Hawk, Night Spirits, Disease-giver, Sun, Moon, South Wind, and Eagle. 796x 776 782

In the first division the order is different and more spirits are sacrificed to. The spirits to whom tobacco is offered are the following: Earthmaker, Thunderbirds, Night Spirits, Disease-giver, Sun, Earth, Moon, Eagle Chief, Day, South Wind, North Wind, Black Hawk, Wonavi're Ûankcik, and Great Black Hawk.

In the second division the following spirits receive tobacco offerings: Night Spirits, Earth, Water, Pigeon Hawk, Moon, Earthmaker, Thunderbird, Great Black Hawk, Disease-giver, South Wind, and Sun.

Each spirit is addressed by name and then a handful of tobacco is poured into the fire.

(5) *The buckskin offering to the spirits.*—Short prayers are addressed to those spirits who are to receive buckskins and requests for power

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things with which you blessed grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ŋxga. That we ask of you." 796x 539x

*Offering to the Morning Star.*—"You who are above, Morning Star, our request is that you bless us with that with which you blessed grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ŋxga. Tobacco and food and a buckskin offering we are about to send you." [88] 782 776

*Offering to Earth.* "Grandmother Earth, you also added your power to the spirit bundle that grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ŋxga made. The powers Earthmaker put you in control of, and with which you blessed grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ŋxga, those we ask of you. Tobacco, soup, and a buckskin offering we are about to send to you and the request that we make of you, is war power and life."

*Offering to the Water-spirit.*—"Water-spirit, grandfather whose body is of water,[89] tobacco, food, and a buckskin offering for moccasins, we are about to offer you. I and my relatives desire to lay our hands on war and life."

*General prayer to the spirits.*—"Grandfathers, we have probably been very remiss in what we have done, but do not hold it against us, grandfathers. We greet you, war-bundle owners. The life (blessings) that those who have gone before us had, the songs that they handed down to us, not in their manner will we be able to sing, but still, however it be, it will be (our best). It has been said that nothing will provoke you,[90] grandfathers. Well, however, that is the way we will do it. I greet you." (Song.)

FILLING OF THE CEREMONIAL PIPE AND SMOKING RITUAL

*First filling of the pipe.*—After they have sung the first war-bundle song, then they get a pipeful of tobacco ready and place it near the war bundle, speaking as follows: "Our father who art above, for you the pipe is extended; up straight above it is placed." Up straight above it is extended to Earthmaker, they say. For that reason do they arrange the pipe in that way. Then when the songs are finished the attendant takes the pipe, lights it, and takes it with him to the left side, giving all the men in the lodge an opportunity to smoke. Women are not allowed to smoke. The tobacco in the pipe is entirely consumed as the pipe makes the circuit of the lodge and it is then filled again. 796x 539x 782 776 [562]

*Second filling of the pipe.*—Then there at the feast for the second time do they place (the pipe). When they are about to sing the

[88] That this spirit was not mentioned before is an oversight on the part of the informant.

[89] Informal and ritualistic name for the Water-Spirit. It may mean chief. The general name which we loosely translate "Water-spirit" is "Wak'djest."

[90] I. e., that no inaccuracy nor ignorance on their part will anger the spirits and cause them to refrain from bestowing their blessings. This is, of course, an expression of ritualistic modesty, but I suspect that there is also a reference intended here to the fact that in these degenerate days not only are individuals no longer blessed as of yore, but certain details of the ceremony have been forgotten. I see no reason for giving too much weight to this last fact, but it may be best to have it in mind.

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war-bundle songs then they fill the pipe and place it in front of the war bundle, in the path of the Thunderbirds, extending the mouth-piece in that direction (i. e., the west). Then they would sing some songs and when these were finished, the Thunderbirds would come as feasters to where the pipe lay extended and smoke. That is why they place the pipes there. The Thunderbirds do this (i. e., smoke) as a sign of acceptance of the tobacco, food, and buckskins. So that a Thunderbird might smoke, do the feasters place the pipe there. 796X 539X 782 276

*Third filling of the pipe.*—Then the host asked the others, "In what direction shall I place this pipe?" and one of the feasters said, "Toward the south, place it." Then they sang the songs of the Disease-giver. Then when they were finished they carried around the pipe.

*Fourth filling of the pipe.*—Then the host fills the pipe again and again asks, "In what direction shall I place the pipe?" (and some one answers), "Place it toward the earth." So he placed it toward the ground. For those under the ground, the Water-spirits, they also place the pipe by standing it on the ground. Then they sing paint songs and when they are finished they pass the pipe around so that all may smoke. When it returns (to the host) it is not filled again but placed empty on the ground.

### Basic Ritual[63]

*Host's first speech.*—"War-bundle owners, who are sitting here, I send forth my greeting to you. It is good that you have come (in response to my invitation). It is my purpose to make you tired from sitting, but do not for that reason think any the worse of us. We will make you hungry, hungry to the point of starvation,[64] but (we know) you came for the sake of the spirits (not for our sake). It is good. We are not going to do anything in the correct manner, but our grandfathers who live in the west taught our grandfather Djôhsenagjwi'ąxga some songs and these we are going to try and repeat. We will now sing the songs just as they taught it to grandfather. We may perhaps sing only one song. However, if you know only one song and take pains about it, it will suffice (to propitiate the spirits); so grandfather said, it is said. Anyhow, if we try to cry, in our efforts of singing,[65] our grandfathers will take cognizance of it, it is said. That is what we are thinking of when we try to get the spirits' attention by singing.[66] We will do our best to sing the songs,[66] and we will sing four of them; and when we 796X 539X

[63] For explanation see Introduction.

[64] Ritualistic depreciation.

[65] I. e., if you put yourself into a state of religious fervor, a state that I have generally rendered by the word "pitiable."

[66] The word "hôk'ê'ręgo" means, literally, "by voice to attract attention." "Hą" is not an instrumental particle but the word for voice, speech.

[66] Literally, "to make one's breath visible in the form of song or speech," a ritualistic circumlocution for sing.

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song. Very good have they been to us. It is good. This is what I have longed for, what we have been doing and all the good they have said about us. It is good when you give a feast to do just what you wish. The war-bundle owners, as many as there are here, have spoken for me. It is good to obtain something when asking for it. Very well have they spoken. It is good; it is very good. You have eaten (the food) in my behalf; very carefully have you eaten it up for me. All the sacred speeches that they blessed him (our grandfather) with you have repeated so that you might obtain real life, you said. It is good and I thank you, for we have done here exactly what I have longed for. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." 539x 796x

SECOND DIVISION OF THE CEREMONY—IN HONOR OF THE NIGHT SPIRITS

*Introductory remarks.*—Then the attendants get ready to put on the kettles for the second feast. When they are finished arranging the food that is to be turned over to the spirits the host prepares his tobacco and gets ready to pour it. Then he speaks the following: 539x 796x 776 782

THE TOBACCO OFFERING

*Offering to the Night Spirits.*—"To you, grandfather Djobenąą-gjwi'ąxga, does the council lodge of the Chief of the Night Spirits, standing in the east, belong. Holy you have kept it. You (Chief of the Night Spirits) were the one who blessed him with it, he said. When the time comes for the tobacco pouring we will offer you a handful of tobacco. War power he liked to obtain by doing this. With what you blessed him, that we ask you to give us in return. Grandfather, Chief of the Night Spirits, tobacco, here it is.

"Here in the fire I shall place tobacco for you at all times. Tobacco, holy food, and buckskin for moccasins, all those things I will send to your sacred creation lodge." [276]

*Offering to Earth.*—"You who are our grandmother, Earth, you blessed grandfather Djobenąągjwi'ąxga with life and war powers. As far as you extend, that far, O grandmother, do we spread out for you tobacco and food and moccasins. Here is the tobacco. Here in the fire shall I place tobacco; and food and offerings of buckskin will we send to you at all times. You will always accept them, grandfather said, it is said, so that our clansmen may travel in a straight path of war and life." [10]

[10] That is, may nothing intervene to prevent them from enjoying all the blessings they have received in war and life.

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through, the buckskin is taken down, unrolled, and the thunder-buckskin given to the band sitting opposite the host. The other buckskins are then distributed in rotation, except that the buckskin to Earthmaker is given to the guest who occupies the middle position in the lodge. All the guests remain standing with their unrolled buckskins, holding them by the sticks and keeping tobacco in their other hand, while the old man speaks to them and blows first upon a flute. Then, to the accompaniment of a gourd, he sings two songs. After that the buckskins are rolled up again in such a way that the markings remain visible, and hung up again on sticks that are placed near the individual invited guests, just west of the first fireplace. There they have a pole for Earthmaker, at whose foot the war bundle is placed and opened. Tobacco is then poured into the hands of each of the invited guests by the host. He offers tobacco especially for those individuals for whom he has prepared buckskins and kettles, asking each of them in turn for life and for victory on the warpath. When he finishes he pours some tobacco into the fire and some upon the war bundle. All the persons invited then, in turn, do the same. If the host has any children present in the lodge, he has them do the same. Children are always escorted by the attendant. The host now takes the gourds, drum, etc., and, remaining in his own place, sings different sets of songs. As often as he starts a new set, he blows upon his flute. The songs of the Thunderbird consist of eight starting songs, sung slowly, six dancing songs, etc. As soon as the dancing songs are begun, all the men in the lodge come around the war bundle and dance, blowing the flute, etc. Women may dance likewise, but they must remain in that part of the tent especially assigned to them. 778x 782 [533] [562]

Before the contents of the kettle are cooked the host sings four sets of songs. As soon as the first set has been started the attendants get as many pipes as possible and bring them to the war bundle. They also place there a large pipe with stem directed toward the west and a large pile of tobacco. These pipes are then passed back to the various guests in order to be smoked. 778x 276

After the first set of songs is over the large pipe is taken and lit by one of the attendants and passed around the lodge, in ceremonial manner, each member taking a puff and passing it to the next one. When the songs to the Disease-giver are sung, the pipe is placed against the center pole with stem directed south. Before the Disease-giver songs are sung the story of their origin is told. At the end of the last of the initial songs the old man with tobacco in each hand says *Ho—o —o —o—!* He then pours tobacco into the fireplace. He is really presenting it to the Disease-giver. Then dancing songs are used as before. Usually dog meat is put in the kettle designed for the Disease-giver. [782 362]

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X796 When the songs of the Night Spirit are sung the stem of the pipe is pointed eastward.

[276] Four songs are sung before the cooking is finished, in honor of the Thunderbird. The feast is then spread, and all those in the lodge smoke and dance. The attendants take the kettles down and take the food out. While the kettles are still on, however, branches of cedar are carried around the lodge to purify it. Before distributing the food, while the singing is still going on, the attendants count the number of people in the lodge and cut the meat into a corresponding number of pieces. As each kettle is supposed to suffice for any one band, a number of small sticks about the size of a toothpick, corresponding to the number of people present in each band, is placed in each kettle. After the last four songs are used the host arises and calls for the kettle that is to be given to the person opposite him. The attendant brings it and tells him how many pieces of meat there are in the kettle. The host then speaks about his intentions in offering the kettle to the spirits; that he is seeking life and victory in war, and that he begs all those present to intercede for him. He then calls for the other kettles. There are generally one or two kettles for the women and children. When the feast is spread out and they all have their food, the host tells them that they may now eat whenever they think proper. He himself does not eat anything, but merely sings, shaking the gourds that he holds in his hand.

[783 824]

[534]

[776] The Disease-giver is considered the most sacred of all the spirits, and for that reason all the bones and the plates that have been used in connection with his particular kettle are purified with cedar branches. The host carries these bones out of the lodge himself and buries them under the foot of some tree. He also takes tobacco and red feathers along with him on this occasion. As the other spirits are not considered to be as sacred as the Disease-giver, the bones from the kettles offered to them can be buried anywhere, provided the ground has been purified.

[783] [824] [776]

[576] After the first invited guest has finished his meal he rises and thanks the host. He then tells the story of how he, or his ancestor, obtained the war bundle, and assures the host that he feels confident that so great a feast as this in which he is taking part will most certainly be recognized by the spirits. He also adds that inasmuch as he and the other invited guests have partaken of this feast they also hope to receive life and strength in proportion to the blessings bestowed upon the host. The other invited guests, in turn, speak in the same way.

[783] While this is going on the attendants are preparing the kettles for another lot of meat. The whole tent is swept again and purified and the kettles are once more placed upon the fireplaces. The host now rises and, holding tobacco in his hand, informs each spirit of the par-

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114 junction with the Mississippi. Dr. Evan D. Pierce, of Trempealeau,
126 who was in charge of the park, was much interested in the native flora as well as in archeology, and we made a collection of ninety species then in bloom. Mr. Towne L. Miller, of Fairwater, Wisconsin, Honorary Curator of Archeology of the Museum collected the plants of the region throughout the season, for the Department of Botany.

The Winnebago Indians are found today scattered over the central
131 part of Wisconsin, principally in Marquette, Waushara, Portage, Sauk,
361 Juneau, Adams, Marathon, Wood, Clark, Jackson, and Monroe counties. Wood County with permanent settlements in Arpin, Vesper, Pittsville, Walker, Elm Lake, Dexterville, and Babcock, contains the largest number, about 750. Along the Hemlock River, not far from Pittsville, are found other large settlements of farming Winnebago. In other counties good-sized settlements are located at Neillsville, Wittenberg, Wyeville, Black River Falls, Hatfield, and Tomah. Their Indian agency and school are located at the last mentioned city.

114 Our chief location during the summer was at A. White's farm, on the Walker Road, six and a half miles south of Wisconsin Rapids.
123 When we arrived, Mr. White was at Kilbourn where many of the Winnebago camp during the tourist season, making baskets and bead work, and taking part in dances and entertainments. Jim Henniger and his wife, our pageant friends, were there, caring for her father, Dave Dekorah, a prominent man in the medicine lodge, who was sick. He afterwards died and was buried in their community graveyard, with Indian ceremony. The Whites made us welcome and we pitched our tent in a grove of white pines not far from their spring. There were
115 several other Winnebago Indians near at hand, including Henry Dick,
795 from Briggsville. Henry is important in the medicine society and im-
184 mediately made friends with us and started to teach us the Winne-
276 bago language. He was especially bitter against the peyote cult, which many Winnebago have embraced, declaring that peyote was worse than whiskey, because a man drunk on whiskey, would be sober the next morning and able to go to work, whereas with peyote, he became "crazy", and would not work for four or five days while under its influence. He further said that the peyote cult worshippers never possess anything, but live on their industrious neighbors who belong to the medicine lodge. These medicine lodge Indians raise potatoes, corn, beans, carrots, hay, grain, hogs and chickens, according to Henry, and would not let their own people starve, but did not like the shiftlessness of the peyote worshippers. He wished he could see the President of the United States to tell him not to let any Indian have peyote. He thinks bad days are coming to the peyote-eating Indians. A few years
276 ago, this cactus drug, most of which comes from Texas, sold for $4.00
435 a thousand buttons, but the current prices in 1928 were $25 per thou-
795 sand of number one size; $30.00 per thousand for number two size; and

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$35 per thousand for number three size. The "buttons" are really branches of the Peyote Cactus (*Lophophora williamsii*), a small compact cactus growing from southern Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico down into old Mexico. The peyote religion was introduced to the Indians of the United States by peyote cults, among the Indians of Mexico. The Government strictly forbids possession of or traffic in these buttons, but the number of converts to the cult is on the increase. 276 435 795 276 795

On the other hand, the peyote Indians among the Winnebago have little regard for the medicine lodge Indians. They consider them benighted, old-fashioned and unwise. When an Indian joins peyote, according to them, he sees the error of his ways and the sacred, ceremonial objects of his past become of no value to him. In such cases, the field collector of some museum finds it easy to acquire excellent specimens of sacred objects. While still in use, an Indian would not part with his medicine bundle for money, but once it has been superseded by a change in faith, he becomes glad to realize almost anything for it. Such a bundle is valued by anthropologists according to the sacred objects it contains. 178

The peyote people that we met near Wisconsin Rapids did not bear out the poor name given them by the old pagans. They were industrious and proud of their religion. The peyote cult, there, shows considerable Christian missionary influence, in their acceptance of Jesus Christ as their deity. The medicine lodge people have never been interested in the translation of the Lord's Prayer but the Winnebago peyote followers use it as a chanted peyote song. It is called *Hilukanala gikaraj hanila*, (Lord prayer his). It follows thus: 795 177 539

*Hianjinwila wagregi shanagre, lash hashinila wakajak nigigidek•jena.*

"Our Father in heaven who dwells your name holy (let us) keep it. *Hunkma hashini'a hilaijik•jawina. W'oshga hashinila manegi* kingdom your come down (on earth). Doing yours on earth *winck•jena wagregi jaske hinaki sheske manegi hilek•jena. Hampdec* should in heaven like doing same on earth should be. This day *waiskapduc haniwila hunkwianje. Egi wazawoishana waniwila* bread daily ours give us. And then sins ours *waigitunawila wazahigishana waniwila waigitunawila sheke. Egi inke* forgive us sins yours and yours forgive us same. And then don't *wazawoishana uwahieja hinutiwinine Ezi wowak•jega egi hingijilawige* (into) temptations deliver us. Our Lord and help us *kishipwiwine. Hunkmara nehashinigaja Egi homashjala nehashinigaja* get away Kingdom thy and power thy *Egi hoishagra nehashinigaja manegus•la jeskek•jena.* and glory thy forever Amen."

It will be noted that the Winnebago even have a word for "Amen," meaning to some extent "let it be that way," whereas among the Menomini Indians they have not translated it but articulate it as we do [192]

— Amen.

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[p.146]

# A WINNEBAGO WAR-BUNDLE CEREMONY

By W. C. McKern*

182 The primitive religious ceremonies of the Winnebago Indians are
796 not destined long to survive. Not only is the new generation forgetting or deliberately neglecting the traditions of the old order, due to the
[177 growing influence of encroaching white civilization, but the conversion
276 of many of the older members of the tribe to the Peyote faith has
795] thinned the ranks of the Medicine Lodge to a marked extent. Many of those responsible for introducing this new Christian cult among the Winnebago are still alive. Its unabated ascendency in the favor of the Indians is proportionate to the decline of ancient religious practices.

114 However, meetings of the old order still are held, and are in some
796 measure successful, due largely to the fact that many of the Peyote

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796 other mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik, were respectively placed at the
778 northeast and southeast corners of the bundle.

A peeled stake, forked at the top, was set up at the central western margin of the bundle wrapper. The ceremonial pipe, of Siouan type [276] with a catlinite bowl, was then filled by the leader from the bowl of mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik and placed with the stem end resting in the fork of the stake, the stem slanting diagonally downward across the bundle and the bowl, in upright position, resting on the central eastern margin of the bundle wrapper.

[524 The leader then placed some live coals from the fire in a small stove-
783] shovel. On these coals he placed white cedar leaves. With the smoke of the burning cedar leaves he purified the contents of the bundle, his own person, and even the walls of the lodge.

796 Shortly before the ceremony was to start, some of the waiters pre-
534 pared the drum. What had probably been originally designed to serve as a pickle keg, served as the body of the drum. This was partly filled with water. A buckskin head was then placed over the open end and drawn taut by means of cords attached to the base of the body. This was done by means of stick tourniquets in each of the cords. The proper degree of tautness was determined by tipping the drum bottom side up, to permit the water to wet the drum head, and testing the tone quality with the drum stick. After the drum had been thus properly tuned, more hot coals were placed in the censer, cedar leaves applied and [783] the drum and stick turned over and over in the resulting smoke. Then the drum was placed just north of the war-bundle.

A small pot containing two portions of cooked meat was suspended from the roof of the house immediately west of the bundle.

796 Early in the afternoon, all preparations having been completed, the ceremony began. The guests in little groups filed into the lodge and were seated by the head waiter, squatting on mats with their backs to the wall. The most important guests, owners of war-bundles in other clans, [562] were placed nearest the door. The eastern two-thirds of the lodge was occupied by men only. The women were clustered at the western end. Mr. Fisher and I were seated immediately south of the bundle. The leader and three assistants, elected to serve as musicians, were grouped just north of the fireplace.

Although the rites associated with the war-bundle are kept up by [182] a few of these Winnebago, the ritual has sadly degenerated. Aside from the host, no man made any serious attempt to equip himself properly in costume. Many important elements were omitted such as the preliminary sweat bath ceremony, the sacrifice of white buckskins to the spirits, the dog sacrifice, and many minor details left out of the ceremonies attempted. When all were assembled, the leader opened the [537] ceremony with a speech to those assembled. The formal dignity of the speaker and the unhesitating flow of his words were impressive. He

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announced that he was about to give a feast in honor of Creator, all the spirits of the world above, all the spirits of the world below, and all those spirits who had appeared in dreams to any of those present. In this way, as determined by his grandfathers, should long life, and happiness, and health and success in warfare be assured to those participating. He cited the giving of tobacco to various spirits; the dedication of the cooking meat to various spirits. He called upon other custodians of war-bundles and their waiters, who might be present, to assist in the singing, speaking, and dancing. "O! O!", assented the custodians of other war-bundles who were present. 796 537 [201]

The drum was now placed before the leader, who passed it to one of his three musicians. The other two and the leader were equipped with gourd rattles. The leader then took a reed whistle and on it actually played a tune very like a bugle call. Three distinct notes were produced by varying the force with which he blew it. He then started a song, his eyes closed as if in prayer, his face stamped with serious devotion. His assistants joined in, to the accompaniment of drum and rattles. A short rest intervalled the completion of this song and the start of the next. Three other songs followed in like manner. All of this music was relatively slow in time and not designed to be accompanied by dancing. A fifth song, of like character, was accompanied by the leader's throwing several pinches of tobacco over the war-bundle. 796 [534] [533] [782 276]

The next musical contribution was a dancing song and all the men who so desired gathered about the war-bundle, selecting therefrom reed whistles, and danced in place while blowing the whistles. There being not enough whistles to go around, some took fetishes which they held reverently in their hands while dancing. At the same time, the women at the west end of the lodge rose and danced in place. With slight pauses between, four dance songs were so rendered. At the end of each song, the male dancers participated in a series of war whoops. Everyone present apparently experienced a keen delight in this. One old man, blind and so feeble that he could not rise to his feet without assistance, insisted on dancing, without moving from his allotted place by the wall, and added his quavering voice to feebly swell the volume of each battle cry. 796 533 535 [887]

When the set of dancing songs was finished, whistles and fetishes were replaced on the bundle and all took their allotted places. Then the leader again spoke, his voice at times quavering with emotion, practically repeating his first speech. Again the honored guests answered with, "O! O!". 796 [532] [201]

The head waiter then took the pipe from its position over the war-bundle, and carried it to the guest seated nearest the door on the south side. While this old man puffed, the waiter hit the contents of the bowl with a stick, placed beside the fireplace for that purpose and lighted [276]

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796 from the sacred fire. When the pipe was well lit, the waiter carried
276 it to the next man, and so on, passing clockwise about the lodge. Each man puffed several times at the pipe before passing it on. The women
[562] were excluded from participating in this ceremony, as were the leader and his three musicians. The waiters did not actually participate in any part of the entire ceremony, other than in their official capacity.

Before the next song was started, the head waiter carefully cleaned out the pipe, refilled it and placed it again over the bundle. All the tobacco cleaned from the bowl was disposed of in the sacred fire.

This same procedure, from speech to pipe, was repeated four times, although each group of songs was different.

796 Two men were now selected, one representing that group of clans
615 comprising the upper world phratry, the other the lower world phratry.
264 They seated themselves in the center of the lodge with a wooden bowl between them. In this bowl were placed the two portions of meat from the pots suspended from the lodge ceiling. At a given signal, each began to devour his allotted share of the meat as rapidly as possible. The phratry whose side wins in this eating contest will have good luck when next it takes the warpath.

796 The leader then told the dream experience of the original bundle
787 holder and said a few words thanking all for their participation. One of the waiters then proceeded to replace the contents of the bundle, roll it up, tie it and place it against the wall just back of the leader.

796 It was now time for the war-bundle feast, which consisted solely of
574 meat boiled with a few beans. Each pot had been dedicated to a certain spirit or order of spirits, but since these were not materially present to do proper justice to the occasion, the honored guests had to represent them in receiving and disposing of the food. One pot was placed before each of these leaders, and the contents were distributed under his direction to the men of his party. Other meat was supplied for the women and children of the group which he represented. The chief honored guest received the pot dedicated to Creator. On such occasions, one must eat all that is set before him, since the food is consecrated.

574 It should be noted here that Mr. Fisher has certain marked tastes in
114 food. He is not particularly fond of meat of any kind, dislikes beef particularly and dislikes boiled beef the most of all. His predicament can well be imagined, therefore, when a large portion of boiled beef was placed before him with the understanding that none must be wasted. Fortunately, one may broadcast a call for outside help on such occasions without trespassing against the rules of the ceremony. Very piteously, then, did Fisher make his plea to me. Knowing that the night spirit dance with a vegetable feast was to follow, he promised to eat the greater share of the vegetables apportioned to us if I would agree to do double duty on the meat. Out of the kindness of my heart, and also because I prefer boiled beef to boiled dried squash, I agreed to do this. Nor did

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
NP12 Winnebago NP12



mode. The older women still prefer to wear this type of dress, and very often the ensemble includes moccasins rather than shoes on their feet and a blanket draped about their shoulders. Most of the young women, however, dress very much as white women of their own age. 178

3. Another type of cultural change is found in the Indians modifying some aspect of white culture with elements of their original culture to suit their own needs and tastes. This is best illustrated by the trend that religion has followed among a large proportion of the tribe. Some of the Winnebago who have been enticed away from their old religion, and yet were not satisfied with orthodox forms of Christianity, have adopted the Peyote or Mescal Religion which they prefer to call The Native American Church. This did not originate among the Winnebago, but came in from the southwestern tribes about 50 years ago, and has even undergone changes among the Winnebago group. The Peyote religion is basically Christian, stressing the literal acceptance of the Bible and the strict following of Christ's teachings. It, however, embodies the use of a fairly harmless drug, peyote, which when taken in large enough quantities produces visions, so familiar in Indian religions. The use of a small drum, eagle feathers, and ornate rattles, as well as the burning of cedar leaves are included in the night-long ceremonies. This religion might be considered a transitional form between the so-called pagan religion and Christianity, but though it embodies characteristics of both religions, it appears to have reached a definite stabilized form and will probably undergo few changes in the future. 178 795 [276]

4. We also have change completely within the society from old Indian to new Indian traits. The old Indians tell of an original Winnebago language, very ancient and now almost completely forgotten, which has been replaced by a newer, but still very Indian type of language. In recent years the language has undergone other changes, but this is due to white contact. It is strange that the Winnebago of Wisconsin who have been forced to live in scattered groups and in close contact with whites, have maintained their language to a much greater extent than some of the Wisconsin Chippewa or Me- 178 191 [171]

7: Radin NP12 Winnebago NP12

276

[For information on the Peyote Cult, including physiological effects of Peyote, see category 116, pp. 169-202.]

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 Thus I acted up to the time that I have memory of things.

*159 In those days there were not many white people
221 living near us as to-day. My father went out hunt-
[224] ing continually. The lodge in which we lived was cov-
[342] ered with rush mattings, with reed mattings spread over
[352] the floor. After hunting for some time in one place we would move to another. My father, mother, older sisters, and older brothers, all carried the packs. Thus we would spend our time until the spring of the year and then in the spring we would again move in order
[224] to live near some stream where father could hunt
[136] muskrats, mink, otter, and beaver.

In the summer we always returned to Black River Falls, Wisconsin. Here all the Indians gathered after
[222] they had given their feasts. Then we picked berries. When picking berries my father used to buy me gum
*159 so that I should not be able to eat any of the berries.
[261] I managed however to eat berries and chew gum at the same time. After a while I learned to chew tobacco and then I did not eat the berries while picking them.
● [276] Later on I got to like tobacco very much and I probably used up more money in buying tobacco than would have been the value of the berries had I eaten them.

ing and crying to await the coming of the spirit. Among the Winne-
[787] bago, and probably among many other tribes, it was customary for the parents or grandparents, to prepare the children specifically
[593] for what was likely to happen; to inform them how to recognize
[603] the approach of the spirit and, what was more to the point, to teach them how to distinguish a good from a bad spirit.

[2]

[i.e., during their quest for a guardian spirit, see P.1, Category 116 -- analyst]

## *Names*

made chiefs of the Thunderbirds. Then he thought, "I will have some beings live on the earth." So he made four more like himself. Just like the others he made them. They were brothers—*Kunuga, Hcnuga, Hagaga* and *Nangiga*. He talked to them and said, "Look down upon the earth.' So saying he opened the heavens in the place where they were standing and there they saw this earth spread out before them. He told them that they were to go down there to live. "And this I shall send down with you," he added giving them a plant. "Even I shall never have the power of taking this away from you, for I have given it to you exclusively; but when, of your own free will, you make me an offering of some of it, I shall be glad to accept it and give you in return whatever you ask. This shall you hold foremost in your lives." What he had given them was the tobacco-plant. Then again he spoke and said, "All the spirits that I have created will not be able to take this away from you unless you desire to give it to them, by calling upon them during fasts. Thus only can the spirits get some. And another thing I send with you that you may use it in life, to be a mediator between you and us, whenever you offer anything to the spirits. It shall take care of you throughout life, stand in the center of your dwellings, and be your grandfather." This was the Fire.

539 614 776 [787] [276] [372]

Then the four Thunderbirds brought the brothers down to the earth. On their journey down *Kunuga*, the oldest of the four, said, "Brother, when we get to earth and the first child is born to me, I shall call him *Chief-of-the-Thunderbirds*, if he is a boy." On and on they came, down toward the earth. As they got near the earth it began to get very dark and then the second brother said, "Brother, when we get to the earth and a child is born to me, if it is a girl, I shall call her *Dark*." Then they came to a place called

# *The Teachings of My Father*

ishes very much and which he will offer you. If it is a 159* bulb-medicine keep it to protect your house. Your home 867 will never then be molested by anything evil and nothing [888] evil will enter your house, neither bad spirits, ghosts, dis- [778] ease, nor unhappiness. Now such will be your life if you do as I tell you. Witches will keep away from you. Thus [754] by fasting will you benefit yourself and your fellowmen. [085]

You know that Earthmaker created all the spirits, those 159* that live above the earth, those who live on the earth, those who live under the earth, those who live in the water—all 773 these he created and placed in control of powers. Even 776 the minor spirits Earthmaker placed in control of something. In this fashion he created them and after that, he created us and because we were created last and no further powers were left, he could not put us in control of anything. Then, however, did Earthmaker create a weed and this he [276] placed us in control of. He further told us that none of the spirits he had created would have the power to take this weed away from us without giving us something in exchange. He told us that if we offered him a pipeful of this weed, which we call tobacco, he too would grant us whatever we asked for. Now it so happened that all the spirits came to long for this weed as intensely as they longed for anything in creation and for that reason if, at any time, with tobacco in our hands we make our prayer [782] to the spirits, they will take pity upon us and bestow upon us the blessings which Earthmaker gave them. Indeed so it is, for Earthmaker created it thus.

Fast, my son. If you are blessed by the spirits and then 159* blow your breath upon people who are ill, they will become 756 well. Thus will you help your fellowmen. If you can cure 787 any of your fellowmen of disease, then you will be of even 867 more than ordinary help to them. If you can draw dis-

## §9. *My Brother-in-Law's Fasting Experience*

*159 [78] [183] [82] Just about this time we moved to the hunting-grounds and I began to fast again. I began to take sweat baths and caused myself to vomit in order to be purged. My father was a good hunter; he was always able to kill many deer and occasionally a bear.

My brother-in-law thought a good deal of me. He was a holy man and a shaman. One day he said to me, "Brother-in-law, I am going to bless you although you will have to fast for it. I was once blessed by four [176] spirits, brothers, called *Good giant-cannibals*. They said that they had never before blessed any one. They promised me that if I ever got into any difficulties they would help me. They blessed me with long life. Now this blessing I will give you. If, for four nights, you fast without a break, these giants will speak to you." Thus he spoke to me. Then he continued, "These four brothers are called *Good-giant, Good-heart, Good-as-he-walks-about, Good-where-he-lifts-his-foot-from*. They lived toward the east, where you will find a promontory. Nothing across the large body of water is too difficult for them to accomplish."

[180] [216] So when I fasted I always offered tobacco to these spirits first. I would cry to these spirits, but I never fasted over night.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



to them for me to use. Later on, in the fall, when the cranberry season had started, I lived with three women. I never did any work, but simply went from woman to woman. Then the annuity payment was made, and I went around chasing the payment. I sold my horses and spent the money I had.

About this time my father and mother asked me to come to Nebraska. I had been told that my father and mother had joined the peyote people and were eating peyote, and I did not like it. These peyote eaters were doing wrong, were wicked, and that is why I disliked them. Old Thunder Cloud, my brother-in-law, told us the following about them:

"This medicine, the peyote,[80] is one of the four spirits from below. That is why it is bad. These four spirits have always longed for human beings, and now they are getting ahold of them. Those who use the peyote claim that when they die, they will only be going on a

[80] The peyote is a small cactus common in the state of Chihuahua, Mexico, out of which from time immemorial an intoxicating drink has been prepared. The ancient Mexicans were well acquainted with it. For a number of centuries it has been the center of various cults all of which contained marked Christian features. It is only within the last fifty to seventy-five years, however, that some of these cults have spread into the United States. It is from some of the tribes now living in Oklahoma that the Winnebago borrowed it.

The Winnebago either eat the peyote button in its dried state or drink a concoction prepared from it. The effects are various. Every one, however, seems to be agreed upon its causing wonderful color visions. The after effects vary with the individual. I have seen some practically in a state of stupor after eating a large quantity of the buttons, while others seem entirely unaffected and go on with their day's work as though nothing had happened.

The use of the Bible is an entirely new element introduced by the Winnebago.

Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12

CW 171 P95 1946 [534] [276]



PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(Continued)

| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ut T | K-A | Kio | Cos | Kin | Ab S | Pa I | Da I | Wis | No C | Cr I | Cr S | WSB | Dis | Gos | W-P | Tot. |
| 31. Paraphernalia satchel | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer) | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 34. Water drum | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 35. Iron kettle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | + + + |
| 36. Pottery jar | •+ | | − | − | | − | + | + | | − | − | − | | + | | − | |
| 37. Charcoal in water | + | + | + | + | (−) | + | + | + | | + | + | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | |
| 38. Head of deerskin | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | (+) | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 39. Skin tied on before meeting | + | + | + | + | | + | •+ | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie | + | + | + | + | •− | •− | •+ | − | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + + + |
| 41. 7 stones represent days | | | + | − | | − | − | − | | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | |
| 42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 43. Star significant | + | + | + | | | •(+) | | | | | •+ | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | |
| 44. Skin removed at end of meeting | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + |
| 45. Only one drum used | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + + + |
| 46. Drumstick of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •(+) | + | + | + | + | + | + + + |
| 47. Individual drumsticks also used | + | + | + | + | (−) | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | − | + | |
| 48. Only after midnight | + | | + | + | | •− | + | − | − | − | + | + | − | + | − | + | |
| 49. Drum and drumstick passed around | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 50. Separate drummer accompanies singer | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + + + |
| 51. Drummer usually at right of singer | + | •− | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + + + |
| 52. Only men drum | + | + | + | + | − | •− | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | − | + + + |
| 53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader | + | + | + | + | • | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + + + |
| 54. Cedar sprinkled on fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + + + |
| 55. Usually by cedarman | + | •− | + | + | + | •− | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + + + |
| 56. Only one bag of cedar used | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | •− | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + + + |
| 57. Tobacco furnished by leader | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | − | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + + + |
| 58. Rolled in maize husks | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | − | •− | − | |
| 59. In oak leaves | + | − | + | + | −• | (+) | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | |
| 60. In paper | − | − | − | − | − | | − | − | − | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | |

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12



| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ute | Mat | Kit | Cow | Kit | Ara | Dei | Dez | Wis | Mo C | Oti | Oto | Wes | Ute | Cow | Wt | Tim |
| 61. Only leader's tobacco used | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | − | + | + | •+ | + | + | (+) | + | + |
| 62. Tobacco lacking from ritual | •(+) | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | •+ | − | − | |
| 63. Peyote furnished by leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •− | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + |
| 64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button" | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| •65. Decorated with white lines | − | − | − | | (−) | | − | − | − | − | − | •− | − | − | − | − | |
| 66. Placed on altar in front of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 67. Is not eaten | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote" | + | + | + | + | (−) | + | + | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | |
| 69. Form cross | + | •+ | (+) | + | | + | + | | | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | | − | |
| 70. Peyote for eating passed around | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •− | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 71. Only leader's used until after midnight | | •+ | + | | (+) | •− | + | •+ | − | | + | •− | •− | + | •(+) | •− | |
| 72. Leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 73. Called chief or peyote chief | + | + | •+ | + | (+) | •+ | •+ | •+ | | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | • | + | + |
| 74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 75. Has complete charge of meeting | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 76. Assistants | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 77. 2 assistants | | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | |
| 78. 3 assistants | + | − | + | + | + | − | − | − | + | + | − | + | − | + | + | + | + |
| 79. 4 or more assistants | | − | •− | − | − | + | + | •+ | − | − | + | − | + | − | − | − | |
| 80. Chief drummer | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + |
| 81. Sits at leader's right | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •− | •− | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 82. Drums for leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 83. Drums for each singer in turn | − | − | − | − | − | − | | •+ | •− | − | •+ | •− | •− | •+ | − | •− | •− |
| 84. Cedarman or cedar chief | + | − | + | + | + | •+ | + | − | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 85. Sits at leader's left | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | •− | •− | + | •− | + | + | + | + | + |
| 86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 87. Offers prayers at specified times | + | − | + | − | (−) | + | + | − | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | |
| 88. Fire chief or fire tender | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 89. Sits at north side of entrance | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 90. Starts fire before meeting | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | |

(Continued on next page)

C
W
171
745
746
[276]

Comanche ND6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP2

*Stewart: Washo–Northern Paiute Peyotism*

| Element | Ut | Wa | Pa | Sh | Bn | Ka | Pa | Ba | Bu | Cw | Co | Ch | Ar | Ma | Ge | Pa | Ma | Ta | Pa | Ma | Ma | Ma

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ 10

Wi'nnebago NP 12 ●



| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ut T | Ed | Ed | Cam | Ed | Ad | Di | Di | Wa | No C | Cr 1 | Cr 2 | WSB | Du | Cu | Wa | Tum |
| 181. Water bearer spills water on ground | + | − | + | | + | + | + | − | − | | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + |
| 183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptise") selves with water | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled | + | − | | + | | | − | − | − | + | + | − | + | + | | + | |
| 185. Water bearer takes water outside | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water | + | | + | + | + | + | − | − | − | + | +°(+) | | − | + | + | + | + |
| 187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight | + | | + | + | + | • | − | − | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | °− | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | |
| 190. Prays to cardinal directions | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 191. Leader incensed upon return | + | | + | | | + | + | − | − | | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 192. Replaces whistle near moon | + | | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | |
| 193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used | + | | + | + | °+ | − | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible | | °− | °+ | | + | + | + | + | | | °(+) | + | − | +°(+) | | + | + |
| 195. Urged not to eat too much | | | °+ | − | | − | − | − | | − | (+) | + | − | °+ | − | − | |
| 196. Individual prayers aloud, by men | + | + | °+ | + | + | − | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 197. By women | | | °+ | − | °+ | − | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | − | + | |
| 198. Supplicant first gets tobacco from leader | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | | °+ | + |
| 199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + |
| 200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start | + | | + | + | + | − | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | | + | |
| 201. Butt handed to leader | | | + | + | (−) | − | | °+ | − | − | + | °− | + | + | + | + | |
| 202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar | | | + | − | (−) | − | | − | − | °− | + | − | + | + | | − | |
| 203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar | | | + | − | (−) | − | | − | − | − | + | − | + | + | + | − | |
| 204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar | | | + | − | (−) | − | | + | − | + | + | − | + | + | + | − | |
| 205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader | | | °+ | + | (−) | − | − | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | °− | |
| 206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | °+ | + | + | °+ | + | + |
| 207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual) | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | + | °+ | °− | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | − | + |
| 208. Water brought in | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + |
| 209. By woman | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °− | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + |

(Concluded on next page)

C W
171
745
746
[676] ●
[712]

| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | UT | NV | UP | Cheo | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | NaC | Cl | Cl | Cl | WSB | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Total |
| 239. Feast follows meeting | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible | | − | − | − | − | •− | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | |
| 241. Staff, rattle, and feathers | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 242. Whistle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + |
| 243. "Chief peyote" | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 244. Crescent of earth | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 245. Crescent of ash | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 246. Fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 247. Fire stick | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 248. Water | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 249. Person blessing water | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 250. Peyote breakfast | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit) | + | | + | − | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God | + | | + | | (−) | + | + | + | + | | | | + | + | •+ | + | + | | |
| 253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | | |
| 254. Peyote's function is medicinal | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | + | |
| 256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication | + | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | | + | | |
| 257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | | |
| 258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | | + | + | + | + | | + | + | |
| 259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | | + | | | + | | + | | |
| 260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify | + | + | + | + | (+) | •+ | + | + | + | + | | + | | | + | + | + | | |
| 261. Modifications permitted by new revelations | + | | + | | | | − | + | | | | | | − | + | | •− | + | |
| 262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble | + | + | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | | | | + | + | | + | | |
| 263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | + | + | | + | | |
| 264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road | | + | •+ | − | | − | + | + | | + | | | | + | + | | + | + | |
| 265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road | | + | •+ | + | •+ | − | + | + | + | − | | | | + | + | • | + | | |
| 265a. (See note) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

C
W
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[1207]
[1574]
[1276]

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27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).

28. Gos: See note 265a.

30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin). C W 171

32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).

33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget). 795 796

35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).

36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).

37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).

38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).

40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).

43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).

44. Gos: See note 265a.

46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).

48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).

50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).

51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).

52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).

53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).

55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).

56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus). W [824]

57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 196 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).

58. Gos: See note 265a.

59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).

60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).

61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).

62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.

63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) 'wʔgᵊeθi—a Comanche word for "cactus" [Shimkin]. W [276]

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# CHAPTER X

## SHAMANISTIC AND MEDICINAL PRACTICES

### Introduction

756 The shamanistic and medicinal practices of the Winnebago differ
[171] in no respect from those found all over the woodland area and there is consequently no need for discussing them at length. The stories told about *Midjistego* and old Lincoln are the famous tricks and sleight-of-hand performances known all over America. There does not seem to be as much said about the conjuring lodge as is the case among the Ojibwa. This apparently is identical with the Winnebago *waruka'na*, "exerting one's powers." The lack of specific information relating to this subject obtained by the author may, however, be due to accident.

278 The Winnebago make a fourfold classification of their medicines:
754 Those that affect a person by direct administration; those that affect him by their odor, like love and racing medicines; those that affect
[187] him at a distance; and those that are shot at an individual. Most of the medicines are obtained by fasting, although they can also be bought. The most important of these medicines are those called the stench-earth medicine (see p. 259) and the black-earth medicine.

[182] Medicine may be used in a number of ways, but principally as offerings or as means of killing animals or men. It is often chewed.
[189] In order to make arrows or guns unerring, medicine is frequently rubbed upon them.

754 Sympathetic magic is of course well known. The procedure is the common one. A picture of the man to be harmed is drawn on the ground and shot at, stabbed, etc. The man is then certain to die a short time after, in the same manner as the figure has been mutilated.

There are two general magical ceremonies. *Waruka'na*, to know something by exerting one's powers; *wunaⁿteⁿ*, to hypnotize in the distance. (For description of latter, see p. 111.)

787 *Example of waruka'na.* -J.'s older brother and a friend had failed to return home and so J.'s grandfather went to a man called C. English and, offering him some tobacco, asked him to find out something about his son i. e., to exert his powers. English did so and told the old man that they were camping and making sugar and that if

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756 on the earth, have medicines that you are to use on earth. Whatever you say on earth it will be so. You have been blessed with all the things that are on and under the earth."

All the fowls and insects of the air, all the beings that have wings, blessed him and gave him medicines, which he was to mix with other medicines. He was told to make use of all the insects of the earth and air, some of which we never see. All those who live on earth, all the fishes in the water, and all the different kinds of water-spirits blessed him with medicines. He was blessed with, and told to use as medicines, all those plants that live in the water. He was blessed with the leech, one of the animals that lives in the water, and he was to use it in medicine mixing. They say that it is good to mix the leech with other medicines to relieve pain. He was blessed with all the trees, that we see to-day, which he was to use as medicines. Their bark, leaves, and roots are considered very good for such purposes. He was blessed also with all the small undergrowth, whose leaves, bark, inner bark, blossoms, and roots he was to use for medicine. He was blessed with all the weeds, and he was to use their heads and leaves for medicine, but their roots were to be used for other purposes.

Thus all the different kinds of plants that grow on this earth blessed him. The earth also blessed him and said to him, "Grandson, as the other spirits are blessing you, I, also, will bless you. Earthmaker has placed me here, and I therefore bless you with all plants that grow upon me, and all the trees and woods and animals that exist on this earth, and lastly, with life and myself (i. e., earth). You may use me, and especially the blue clay that you derive from me, for medicines. Should you use as medicine all these things with which I have blessed you, especially if you use me, as medicine, you will be able to accomplish all that you attempt.

"If a person who is sick offers you tobacco (i. e., asks you to cure him), remember that I also would like to smoke and that it is for that reason that I have blessed you."[1]

[826] Birds, especially eagles, are used in the making of medicines. The entire body of a raven, including the heart and brains, are used, and also the following snakes: The gray snake, the black snake, the blue snake, the yellow snake, the bull snake, and the snake that breaks itself in two. The rattlesnake is used in a mixture given to women when in labor. If a woman hurts herself during pregnancy and kills the child within her womb, she can be made to deliver the embryo if she uses the medicine mentioned above.

[844 278 845]

[1] According to general belief the spirits are supposed to have entered into a sort of "bargain" with the human beings by which they were to bestow their blessings upon them in exchange for tobacco, buckskin, and feathers. Of course, it must be understood that individuals must have the necessary requirements, such as a certain attitude of mind, fasting, etc., before their offering of tobacco has any meaning to the spirits.

[776 782]

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Toads are used, but only for poison medicines. The quail's heart 825
is used for the same purpose. If a person is killed outright, his heart 756
is used as a medicine, as the human heart is regarded as having great 826
efficacy in such medicines. It is used in war, for compelling people to give you presents, and for courting women. The bear likewise is used for a variety of purposes. Its liver is especially powerful. It is rubbed over the body whenever in pain. It is often used by women who have injured themselves in childbirth, or in the form of tonics, poultices, and emetic; or for toothaches, bathing sore eyes, ear- [757]
aches, headaches; as snuff, as a physic, for burns, strictures, boils, hemorrhages, injections in the rectum, consumption, measles, dysentery, chills, nosebleed, pains in the stomach, and headaches caused by poisoning.

Sometimes a woman would take a hair of her husband and stick 832
it into some bad medicine. In such a case he would never leave her for he would become very much enamored of her. If ever she went away, he would miss her very much. However, he always had a headache. Finally he would get sick and lose his appetite and then his eyesight. That is why it is forbidden to use this medicine, although some still do it.

Many Winnebago are blind, because there is a medicine that 754
causes blindness. If one person offends another who possesses such a medicine, the latter would cause the offender to become blind.

The Winnebago have medicines for every purpose; for courting, [832]
for becoming rich, for obtaining good looks, etc. Even if a person is very holy, these poisoners can poison him. If a man was a good hunter or if he was wise and good, these bad shamans would poison him. If an individual was a great medicine man and these bad shamans got jealous, they would poison him. Indeed, only if a person was poor and lowly would they like him. Such a man they would never poison for they had no reason for being jealous of him. A bad shaman is always treated with the greatest respect and honor, because he kills many people.

A warrior is also greatly respected and flattered. It is the Indian's 554
greatest desire to become a warrior. All desire that, and they also 156
wish to become great medicine men and bad shamans. [756]

This is the way they prepare and use their courting medicines. 832
The courting medicine known to me is a plant of apparently two 278
varieties, one of which has a blue blossom and the other no blossom at all. Otherwise they are alike. The one with the blue blossom is the male and the one without the blossom is the female. When I go out to dig this plant, I do not dig for these two specimens unless I can find them growing together closely. Even then I do not dig any two [824]
specimens unless the male is found growing on the east side. For that reason it is very hard to find them. As soon as I find two that

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832 fulfill all the conditions I dig them out and mix them together with
278 their own roots. Then I take the blossom of the male and mix it together with the center leaf of the female flower. After that both are ground together thoroughly. Then I go to the woman I wish to court and, at night, when she is asleep, I touch first any part of her body, then a place not far from her heart, and finally the top of her head with this mixture. Finally I make her smell it. I then wake her up and go home. The girl will wonder who had touched her and she will think a good deal about the incident and never forget it. The next time I see her she will like me and she will do whatever I ask of her. The medicine would be working. If I did not see her for a long time, she would get lonesome, and the only thing that would cure her would be to marry me.

There is another medicine which I am now going to describe. When it first sprouts, which is in the spring, it is quite white. This must be taken and dried. Then one must chew it and go near the woman with whom one desires to talk. Approach her on the side from which the wind is blowing so that she can smell the medicine. As soon as she smells it, even although the man chewing it is one whom she has hitherto disliked, she will get to like him. This is the way in which the medicine works.

755 A man who was blessed was told of all these things. He cured all
[752] diseases. If a person had been shot and one blessed with the stench-earth medicine was called, he could be cured. In the same manner, if one is stabbed in what would generally be considered a fatal way and if a man blessed with stench-earth was called in time he would save him. The same cure is effected in cases of broken arms and of
[752] patients who are on the point of death. It is for this reason that those blessed with the stench-earth medicines are always praised, and that the people say "They surely are in charge of life; for their blessings really come from the spirits, just as they claim."[3]

756 [The "stench-earth" medicine men could undoubtedly cure the
[754] sick, but they also used it to poison people. The courting medicine was a poison medicine, and therefore it was not good. These people cured the body, but they killed the soul. It would have been much better had they saved their souls. They were really working for the devil. It is from him that they got all the bad medicines. Whenever they were offended, they would go and get poisons to kill the
754 774 offender. Thus the devil[4] was really causing them to kill their own souls and the souls of those they poisoned. It is the same with all

[3] The following portion in brackets is the comment of our informant, who is a member of the Peyote cult.

[4] Although he really means the Christian devil many of the traits of the old Winnebago deity Hawegu'nine, the chief of the bad spirits, are clearly discernible.

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the other medicines, like the courting medicine, etc. The Indians 754
were destroying their own souls. So Earthmaker decided to give 774
them a new medicine. We have now all broken away from the old things. We have broken away from the devil and are earning our salvation through Earthmaker. For this reason I am thankful both for my sake and that of my people.]

This is a medicine that is good for consumption, for stomach 757
trouble, for a cold, for a sore throat, and for general illnesses. It 278
consists of the following ingredients:

1. Waraxa'dax hoske'rera, English unknown.
2. Waraxa'dax ma$^{n}$ŋap'a'rara, English unknown.
3. Enai'$^{n}$teox maŋk'a'$^{n}$na, English unknown.
4. Nicu'tcera, red water.
5. Maŋk'a'$^{n}$skaka, white medicine.
6. Maŋk'a'$^{n}$ niyetco'tcera, medicine of the water.
7. Ci'xuk'uniŋa, English unknown.
8. Maŋk'a$^{n}$ŋe'xeda, English unknown.

If a woman has any trouble with her womb this medicine will cure her immediately. She must not, however, drink it, but inject it. It makes no difference how severe her illness is, this medicine will always effect a cure. This man was blessed with the knowledge of its efficacy.

This is another medicine:

1. Maŋk'a'$^{n}$ manup'ara'ra, medicine that spreads over the ground.
2. Xa$^{n}$wiwingi'ckera, medicine to tie with.
3. Maŋk'a'$^{n}$ p'orop'orora, round medicine.
4. Hap'o'skra, English unknown.
5. Maŋk'a'$^{n}$ kere'xera, sweet flag.
6. Na$^{n}$p'aca'k'onaŋk' hura, English unknown.
7. Hunte p'istara, bear liver.

This is all ground together and mixed with water. When thoroughly mixed it is put into a bladder and injected by means of a wing bone.

This is a medicine for diarrhea:

1. K'etcû'ŋk'sire teo'ra, English unknown.
2. Aceni ho-ap hodô'p'iricera, curled sumac leaves.
3. Maŋk'a'ni tetco'tcera, medicine of the water.
4. Waraxadax skaka', English unknown.
5. Na$^{n}$da'nicura, maple sugar.

These are all ground together into a fine powder and sweetened with maple sugar. Otherwise no one would take it, for it does not taste good. It is called hasawañ'kemañk'.

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757 This is medicine used by women when their menstrual flow is not
278 very good:
841

1. Teemanank'e, English unknown.
2. Wazi p'ara'ske abera, pine with flat leaves (?).
3. Waeutei abera, red cedar leaves.
4. Mank'a p'orop'oro abera, round medicine leaves.

All four of these ingredients are ground, mixed together, and then mixed with water. They are then drunk by any woman having trouble with her menstrual flow. After she has taken it she makes knots in the belt and ties it around her waist. As many knots as she makes that many days will it take her to get well. She also smokes herself with cedar leaves.

757 The next medicine that I wish to speak of is compounded as follows:
278

1. K'ewaxgu'u"sera, scent of a toad.
2. Waninkcu'te na'ntekera, heart of a red bird.
3. Hactee'kera, strawberries.
4. Wankcik na'ntekera, human heart.
5. Xawi"ja", a plant.

278 If this medicine were mixed with whisky and given to any person,
[754] the latter would surely die within a year. The frog that is used in this medicine becomes alive in the stomach of the person who drinks it and kills him. If he took the same medicine and mixed it with
[832] paint and then rubbed it over his face, all who looked at him would take a liking to him and give him presents, and the women would fall in love with him and want to marry him. The reason that the women become smitten is because they can not resist the sight of a ripe strawberry. The human heart in the mixture is the object that makes the medicine so powerful, and the red bird heart strengthens it.
[826] Whenever these two, the human heart and the heart of the red bird, are used in medicines, the medicine is always remarkably efficacious.

832 If a woman makes fun of you and you feel hurt about it and want to revenge yourself, get one of her hairs and dip the root into this medicine and then tie it up. Hang the medicine bag in the woods and whenever the wind blows the woman will get lonesome for you and her head will ache. Finally she will get crazy. She will never cease talking about you. This is one of the medicines this man was blessed with. Some of them die from the effects of it. It is not a good thing, but the Winnebago thought that it was a very great thing. (Now that they know the Creator, they know that it is bad.)

755 Here is another medicine that we have, and it is prepared in the
278 following way: Four trees of a certain species are peeled near the roots lying on the east side. Then the second bark is also peeled. Then these are taken and boiled together with a square-stemmed weed. The whole mixture is used to induce vomiting. This vomiting would rid a person of a spell cast upon him which was preventing

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him from killing game. In the particular case mentioned above the spell was the following: A man killed a deer, and a pregnant woman ate a piece of the intestine. From that time on the man was unable to kill any more deer. 755 278 [224 843]

The above medicine is used to break the spell of ill luck in hunting caused by the following actions: If a man cohabits with a widow, or if one who is a widower eats together with another person, or if he smokes out of the same pipe as another person. Not only would the medicine free him from his ill luck in hunting, but it would give him good luck in cards and speed in running. [589]

Here is an astringent medicine. It is compounded of a mixture of the "clear" medicine and the "plant that spreads itself on the ground." It is used for the following purposes. As an application for swellings, for illness after childbirth, and for general sores and eruptions of the skin. In case of illness after childbirth it is injected. For sores, etc., it is taken internally. 757 278 [844]

Here is another medicine, called bladder medicine. It is made of the roots of a certain weed. These roots are boiled and then drunk. If one is troubled with stricture, the drinking of this medicine will enable him to pass water immediately. The same medicine is used to alleviate a toothache and to stop too profuse a menstrual flow. [841]

Now this is another medicine. It is made of the leaves of a certain plant. These leaves are rolled up and then drunk down with water. The medicine is used for all stomach complaints.

Here is another medicine used for diarrhea and dysentery. It is made from the roots of a plant that has many thorns and beautiful white blossoms. The roots are scraped and the scrapings boiled and gulped down. At least a pint of this concoction must be taken. It can also be used as a mouth wash for those troubled with sore mouths.

We have another medicine used to rid a person of superfluous bile. This acts as a strong physic and not only cures a person of his indisposition but also gives him a great appetite.

Here is another medicine. It is called the medicine for burns. It consists of the leaves of a certain weed that is dried. If anyone has a burn, he chews some of this dried weed and then applies it to the burn. [752]

Here is also a medicine for private diseases, compounded of the following:

1. Doxicu'tckera hara, red willow bark.
2. Ma"sixu'tckeda hara, English unknown.
3. Nap'a'hira hara, sharp tree.

These barks are pulverized and mixed together with skunk oil.

The next medicine I am going to describe is used in poisoning. It is called small-part-of-a-black-root-tree. It is used for many pur- 754 278

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754 278 poses. If, for instance, I wish a person to become blind or if I dislike him or were jealous of him because he was better off than myself, I would do the following: I would get a small part of a black root and pulverize it. Then I would mix it with ghost snuff and put it into my medicine bag. When I am ready to shoot the person I shake my bag and make the medicine fly out, and it would enter his eyes and make them sore. Soon he would become blind. I also use this medicine when I go on the warpath. I wrap it in a piece of buckskin and wear it around my neck. As long as I wear it in this manner I will never be shot.

This medicine is also used as a poultice. If a man has a pain anywhere, he makes four incisions in his body at that place, with the point of a knife, and applies the medicine.

754 [788] Here is another medicine. It is kept in a large bundle. It is used in the following way: At a medicine dance a person may put an eagle feather on the nose of an otter-skin bag and then open the bundle containing his medicine and bring the medicine in contact with the nose of the otter-skin bag. The individual then enters the medicine-dance lodge. He makes note of the place where the person whom he dislikes is sitting. After a while he gets up and makes a circuit of the lodge four times and shoots at this person. He sees to it that one of the feathers attached to the otter-skin bag lodges just where he wishes it. Either he wishes to kill the man outright or to make him suffer for a long time. Should the victim die, the man who does the shooting must be very careful for he might easily injure himself. He must know, for instance, exactly when his victim is going to die and then as soon as he is dead he must open his medicine bundle and let the feather return, which it does as soon as the person at whom it was shot is dead. A black hawk is then heard in the distance. As soon as it approaches the man utters curious sounds and the feather alights right in the medicine bundle. When the feather returns, however, it is always black, though when it started it was red. One might imagine that there had been two distinct feathers.

If the man who shot the feather does not know when his victim dies and consequently does not make the necessary preparations for opening his medicine bundle, such as imitating the cry of a black hawk, or if, worse still, he is asleep, the feather will land upon him and he would likewise die.

This same medicine is also used for the following purpose: If a person offends you and you wish to take revenge by killing him, take your medicine bundle and whenever you come across the footprints of your prospective victim then open your medicine bundle and take out a striped feather from it and sing a song. When you are finished, make certain sounds and stab the footprints. You can

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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So he spoke to him. "Thus will your life be. Look at yourself." 787
So he looked at himself and his hair was very white. As one who 159
had attained a full life he saw himself. "All that are within this 776
lodge bless you," the spirit continued. "You have come to the Buffalo village." This he was told, so he looked at the lodge full of people. And those whom he had seen up to that time as human beings now were buffaloes.

"Human, they bless you is why they went after you. Human, if anyone is weighted with life and a reasonable amount of tobacco is given, such a one would be able to do the following":

A dead man was placed in the middle of the lodge, and all of 787
those in the lodge tried their power, but none succeeded in restoring 159
him to life. At last the spirits let the man try it. So he tried. 776
When he arose, all those in the lodge began to make sounds and 756
when he began to exert his powers he sang buffalo songs. When he was through with these songs, he walked toward the dead man, in the middle of the lodge. He blew on him once, then again and again. Now the man began to open his eyes. Then he blew on him for the fourth time and he caused him to rise.

"Human, you have overcome all of us," said the buffalo chief. "Human, thus shall you ever do to people. If anyone is sick and the proper offerings are made to you, send some tobacco to our council lodge and I will remember you. You must send all the [782] tobacco that is offered to you. I will remember it. This council lodge is given to you and to your posterity as long as it lasts. As long as the earth lasts that long your posterity will have occasions on which to pour tobacco. Whatever blessing they ask, we will bestow upon them while we smoke their tobacco. As many as are the kettles that they offer to us, we will never accept one without giving them a blessing. We are in control of wars: the Earthmaker has given us control of them, and if you ask for it we will give it to you. And if you ask for life we will bestow that blessing upon you and accept your offerings."

They also blessed him with plants for medicine. This is the way they did it. Each of the spirits caused him to see a plant and to [278] know the purposes to which it could be put. They told him to make offerings to the plants whenever he gave a feast, so that the plants [782] would become more powerful. They also blessed him with a drum. "This you must beat when you give a feast and it will tell us your [534] wants. We will understand the drum. We will make your drum holy for you, and you must treat it as such," they told him. "You must keep it holy. Whenever you are on the warpath you must take it with you and it will help you. Human, your enemies you will [726] overcome; your weapons only will be sharp if your posterity will never give up this ceremony." So they spoke to him. "Whenever 080

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575 the Buffalo clan feast, the society of those who have been blessed by
796 the buffaloes, and the society of those who wear buffalo headdresses; the last apparently of Sioux origin.

The medicine dance has been described by the author in some detail,[1] and a general description will be found on page 350.

796 Of the semipermanent societies, the *hok'ize're* dance is given after
727 every successful war party by those four individuals who have counted coup. It has only a temporary existence, for it ceases to be an organization as soon as each individual performance is over. Its main purpose seems to be the desire to transfer to the victor, from the skulls or the scalps of the slain enemies obtained on that particular warpath, the valor and prowess for which the slain person was noted.

527 In addition to the above ceremonies there were a number of pleasure and miscellaneous dances that are described on page 379.

796 There were apparently a number of very important feasts connected
● 278 with certain medicines, the principal one of which was the Black Earth Medicine feast; but unfortunately no account of this was obtained, owing to lack of time.

## Ceremonies Associated With the Clans

### THE CLAN FEASTS

#### THE THUNDERBIRD CLAN OR CHIEF FEAST

796 *Introduction.*—The chief feast, or, as it may more properly be
614 called, the feast of the bird clans, is generally given once a year, sometimes in late spring. It was also given on certain other occasions for specific purposes. At the present time it is given by the members of the Thunderbird clan and the prevalence of the appellation "chief feast" would seem to indicate that it was at all times the feast of the Thunderbird clan. We ought then to expect to find clan feasts of the other members of the *waggeregi* division, namely, of the Warrior, Eagle, and Pigeon clans. No such feasts are given to-day, however, and the members of these latter three clans always speak of the chief or bird feast as their specific clan feast. As such it is also regarded by the members of the *ma"negi* division.

In the total absence of historical data it is quite useless to speculate about the significance of one feast sufficing for four clans, where in strict analogy to the feasts of the other clans we would expect to find one for each clan; yet the idea that naturally presents itself is that we are in reality dealing with one clan that has become split up
[114] into four subclans. Such a view has been expressed by J. O. Dorsey,[2] but the data upon which he based his opinion seem to us highly

[1] The Ritual and Significance of the Winnebago Medicine Dance, Journal of American Folklore, vol. XXIV, No. XCII, 1911.

[2] Siouan Sociology, 15th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 241.

## *My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud*

You said that I could use all the best herbs that grow upon you, and that I would always be able to effect cures with them. I beseech you for those herbs now and I ask you to help me to cure this sick man. 159* 755 [782] [916] [218] [539]

Then Thunder Cloud breathed upon me and squirted some water on my chest. "What I have said is very true and very holy, I believe," he said. "Indeed now you will get well."

Thunder Cloud knew all the good medicines that exist and he used them in order to heal me and so that I might recover from my illness. I got well. Indeed Thunder Cloud was holy.

Thunder Cloud was also what we call a poisoner. He used to travel at dead of night, it was said. One night at about eleven o'clock he got ready to poison a family by the name of B. We were all listening, sitting in our lodge. Then outside we heard him make some noise. We were afraid of him because we knew he was a poisoner. Indeed he claimed to be in control of our household. My family would do nothing without first consulting him, for we were afraid of him. We believed that he had come from the spirits, that he was a reincarnated man and, if displeased, would poison us. So whatever he asked we did. 159* 754

He had been married to my eldest sister and after her death wished to marry the second sister. Where he had come from at the dwelling-place of Earth-maker,[8] my elder sister was now staying, he said. But now he claimed that the second sister resembled the 159* 756

[8] Circumlocution for saying that she was dead.

[195]

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It might be said that all recollection of the making of wooden vessels could easily have been lost in the last century or two and that therefore too much weight should not be given to present ignorance of the subject. There are a number of reasons, however, why ignorance in this particular case might be significant. First, many indications point to workmanship of a low order among the Winnebago in the manufacture of artifacts; second, there are many suggestions of two cultural strata in this tribe; third, while the Winnebago in Wisconsin still use wooden vessels, many of them claim that these were introduced; and fourth, all the informants who gave this information were old people. If the author were to hazard an hypothesis, it would be the following: In very early times few objects were fashioned out of wood, but gradually contact with the Menominee led to the introduction of many wooden vessels, and finally the acquisition of European axes, knives, and other implements made it possible to manufacture such vessels in large numbers. A similar explanation was offered by an Indian with regard to the use of dugouts.

Besides wood as a material for dishes and spoons of various kinds and sizes, shells were utilized, while sticks served as knives.

All informants agree that neither bone nor stone were used in the manufacture of utensils.

For cooking, clay pots were used. These vessels, most of which were very large, with round bottoms, always hung over the fire. The material used in their manufacture was blue clay found at Green Bay, on or near the site of St. Paul, Minn., mixed with shell shards, glue from sturgeon vetrebræ, and the gelatinous substance in the horns of the deer. The addition of these ingredients greatly increased the cohesiveness of the clay. The material was either molded with the hands or in holes of the desired shape dug in the ground and lined with leaves. Finally, the vessels were dried over a slow fire in small kilns constructed for the purpose. None of the clay vessels were provided with handles. Some were ornamented with geometric patterns. The irregular incised designs on some Winnebago vessels are the impressions of grass blades with which the mold was lined.[1]

*Fire making.*—In former times fire was always made by means of a simple fire drill. This method is still used for ceremonial occasions.

*Tanning.*—The author never witnessed the process of tanning. The description obtained agrees exactly with that of Mr. A. Skinner here quoted:[2]

After the skin has been removed, the hair is scraped from it. During this process the skin is hung over an obliquely inclined log, one end of which has been smoothed

[1] One informant gave a description of pottery making in which a wheel was used, but as no other Winnebago corroborated this statement the author is convinced that it is inaccurate.

[2] Anthr. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist. pt. iv, pt. ii, pp. 202-203.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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off on the upper surface. The beaming tool is then grasped in both hands and pushed away from the user against the grain of the hair over the skin where it lies on the smoothed surface of the stick or log. This process is the same as that followed by the Northern Ojibway and Eastern Cree. The next step is to stretch the skin on a square, upright frame. A fleshing tool is then brought to bear, although the beamer is often made to answer this purpose. When the skin has been fleshed, it is soaked in a mixture of deer's brains and water. No grease is added. This preparation is kept in liquid form in a pail and lasts some time. After remaining in the brain fluid for a time, the skin is taken out and thoroughly washed. Then it is taken by the tanner—who is always a woman—and dried. While the skin is drying, it is rubbed with a wooden spatula to make it flexible. It is now ready for the last step—smoking. For this process it is first sewed up into a cylindrical shape, and the upper end is tied together to form a bag. By this closed upper end it is then suspended over a shallow hole from a stick driven obliquely into the ground at an angle of about 45 degrees. In the hole a fire is built with dried wood. The open lower edge of the skin bag is pegged or fastened to the ground about the edge of the hole.

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[462]

## Games and Amusements

526

Lacrosse was the favorite game of the Winnebago. This was generally played on ceremonial occasions. Whenever played, the two divisions of the tribe, the Waṅgxre'gi and the Maṇe'gi, were pitted against each other. There were two kinds of lacrosse, one played by men and the other played by women; these differed in a number of particulars.

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FIG. 27.—Men's lacrosse. A, Goal. B, B', Goal guards of waṅgxre'gi side. C', C'', Goal guards of maṇe'gi side. D, Mound from which ball is thrown.

*Men's lacrosse.* The men's game was called *tcabonino'ṇugia hik'isik'*. There were either 12 or 22 men on each side, placed in the following manner: Two, one of each side, stood in front of the arched sapling which constituted one of the goals (*wak'a'rani*); these were called *wak'iṇgra*. There were, of course, two goals, each about 10 feet high, one at each end of the field. About midway between the goals a small mound was made from which the ball was thrown. Ten or twenty men, as the case may be, covered the ground between the mound and the two men stationed at each *wak'a'rani*. The lacrosse stick was called *tcabonadu'gis*, and the ball used either *tci-oko'nõnkra* or *wa''i''na*. The object of the game was to put the ball through the goal four times. At the beginning of the game the ball was thrown straight into the air from the mound. (For plan of the game, see fig. 27.)

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*Ceremonial lacrosse.* The following description of a ceremonial lacrosse game was given by a member of the Bear clan:

The Waṅgxre'gi and the Maṇe'gi people were to play lacrosse. So the Waṅgxre'gi took an invitation stick and attached some tobacco to it and sent it to the Maṇe'gi people. Thus they fixed a day for the contest. The contest was to be in four days. In the meantime both sides were to get ready, for some might be without balls or sticks, etc. Then the Waṅgxre'gi said, "We are the fleeter and will therefore go and

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## The War-bundle Feast of the Thunderbird Clan

(SECOND VERSION)

X 796 614 773 [776] Informant, member of Thunderbird clan:[1] There were originally four warriors. The youngest one was the bravest and the most powerful. He claimed that his father was a Thunderbird and his mother a Night Spirit. He is the one who made the bundle about which we are going to speak.

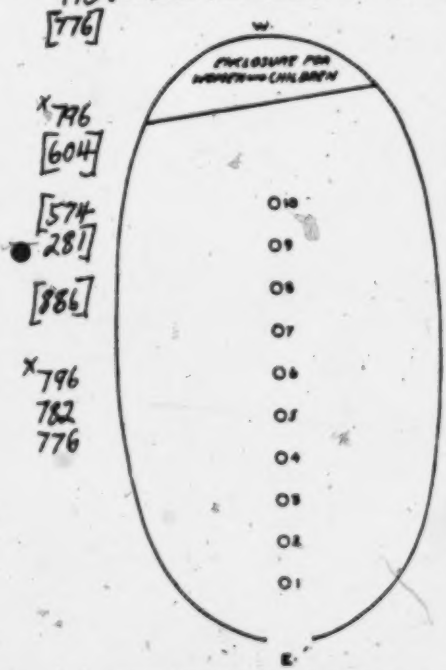


FIG. 38.—Plan of Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast. 1, Buckskin for earthmaker. 2, Buckskin for dew-giver. 3, Buckskin for thunderbirds. 4, Buckskin for night-spirits. 5, Buckskin for morning star. 6, Buckskin for sun. 7, Buckskin for moon. 8, Buckskin for water-spirit. 9, Buckskin for earth. 10, Buckskin for bones.

X 796 [604] [574 281] [886] X 796 782 776

The lodge (fig. 38) is prepared by the nephews and the women relatives of the host, generally his nieces and wives. The invited guests arrive toward evening, while the women are still preparing the buckskins. These buckskins are to be made as perfectly white as possible. Only those women who have passed their climacteric are permitted to do this. As soon as the buckskins are prepared the kettles are put on the fire. The buckskins are taken by the host and marked with the specific symbols associated with the different spirits. (For the markings, see pls. 47, 48.) These buckskins are then tied to a stick. That for Earthmaker is attached to the stick with the head pointing upward; that for the Thunderbird has the stick and the head of the buckskin facing the west; that for the Night has the stick and head of the buckskin facing east; that for the Star also faces east, as do all the others

X 796 782 not mentioned. When the sticks have been prepared and the buckskins attached to them, the latter are rolled up upon the sticks. Whosoever of the guests is the oldest feast-giver then arises and pours tobacco, first for the fire and then for all the other spirits. [372 When they start the fire for the first time they use the old ceremonial 778] fire sticks. With that the ceremony begins. When the old man is

[1] This is a generalized account.

## §11. *Wandering and Hunting*

After a while I used to get into the habit of going to 159* town. When I got there I would look into the barrels to see if there was any food in them and if there was I would fill my pockets with whatsoever I found. I [685] used to steal a great deal.

About springtime we always moved away from the 159* vicinity of the town. We always moved to the place 221 where my father intended to trap, generally to the [224] neighborhood of some farming community where there were few Indians. There my mother used to make [285] baskets and sell them to the farmers. We also used to [439] circulate a written petition asking for any help people cared to give us. Whenever they went on this kind [648] of a trip I always went along with them, for sometimes people would take pity on us and give us some old clothes. Sometimes we would even get a good meal at some farmer's house. For these reasons I was always envious of those who went along on such journeys.

Occasionally when we got many provisions I had to carry some of them, but I never minded that. When [003] the birds returned north father used to make us bows and arrows and we would then shoot at them and often kill many. We also used to kill squirrels which my [224] grandmother roasted for us. My older brother was a [252]

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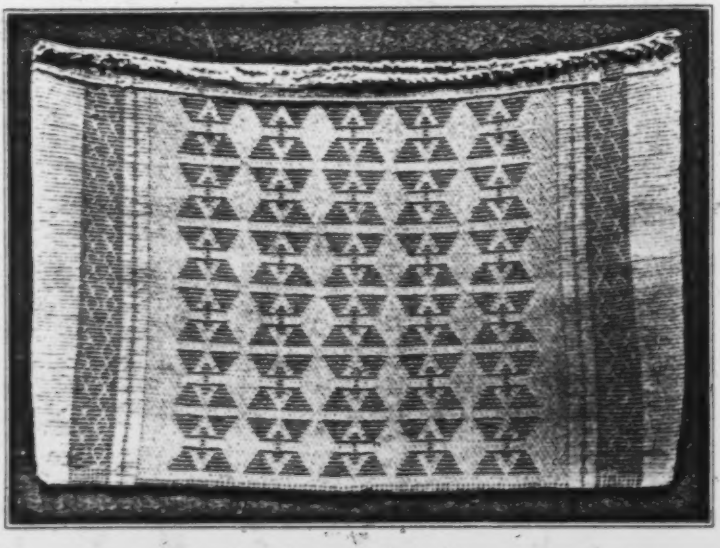

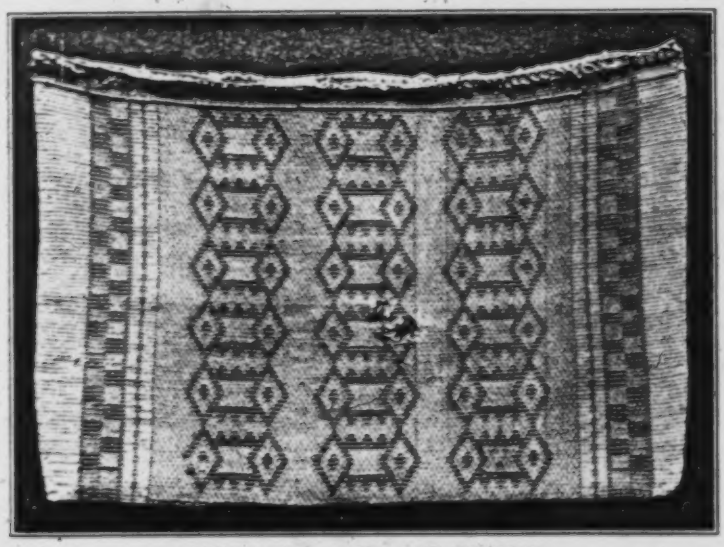

WOVEN BAGS WITH OLD DESIGNS

[Facing p. 118 (B)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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WOVEN BAGS

a. Deer and thunderbird designs b. Thunderbird design

[Facing p. 118 (c)]

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VARIETIES OF WOVEN BAGS

[Facing p. 118 (D)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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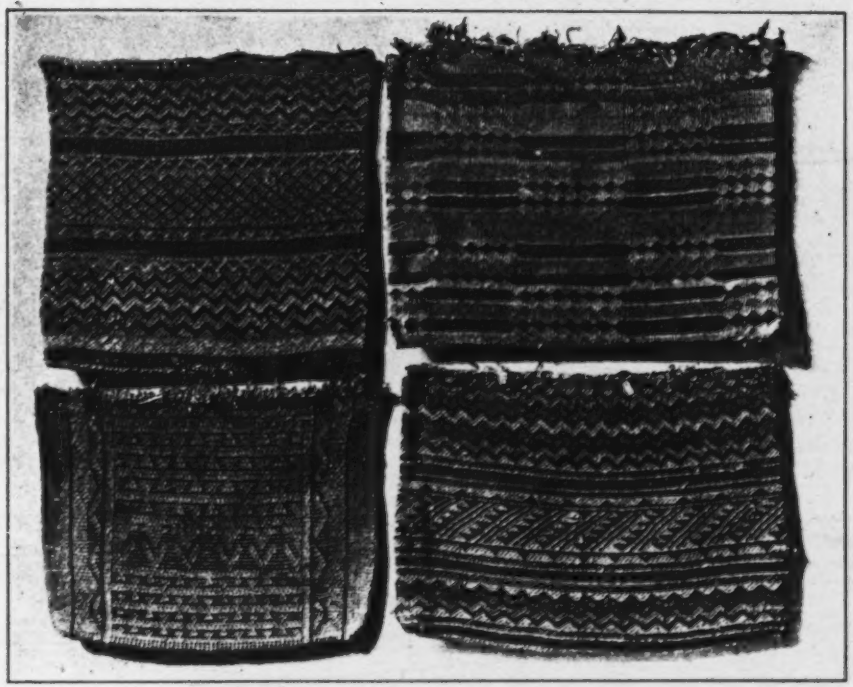

WOVEN BAGS WITH OLD DESIGNS

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[Facing p. 118 (E)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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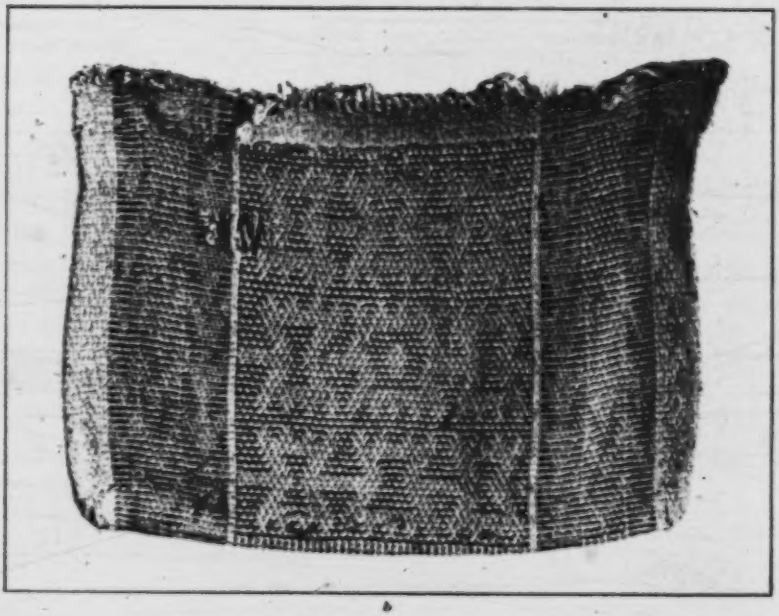

WOVEN BAGS
(Peabody Museum)

[Facing p. 118 (F)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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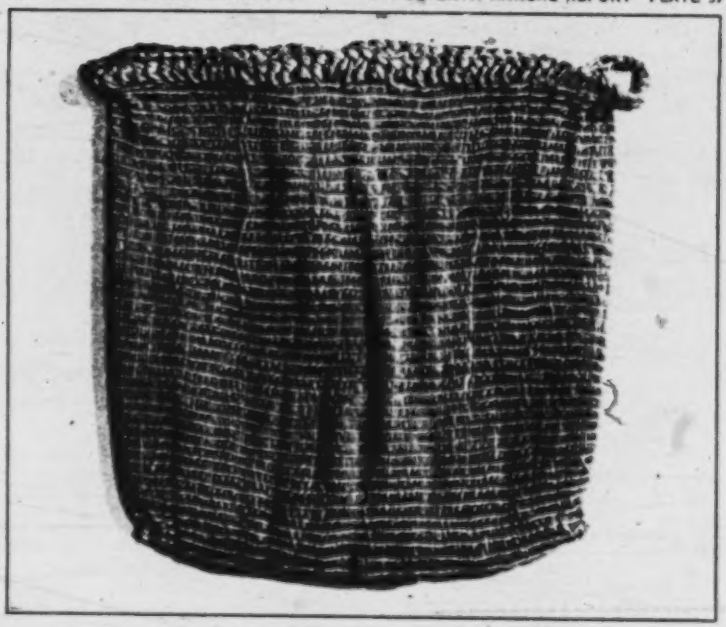

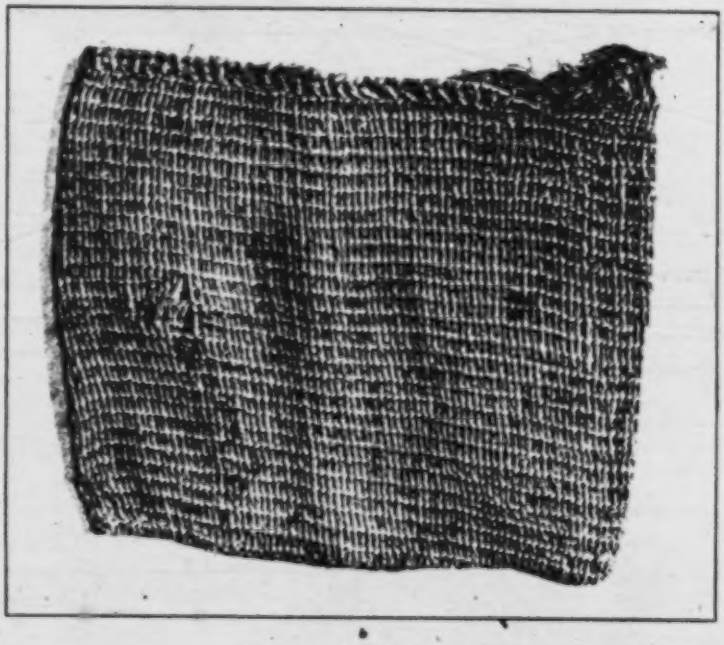

OPENWORK WOVEN BAGS
(Peabody Museum)

[Facing p. 118(a)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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b. FOUR LEGS, CHIEF OF THE WINNEBAGO VILLAGE ON DOTY ISLAND, 1827

(From Lewis's Aboriginal Portfolio)

a. BLACK WOLF, CHIEF OF THE WINNEBAGO VILLAGE AT BLACK WOLF POINT, LAKE WINNEBAGO, 1827

(From Lewis's Aboriginal Portfolio)

[Facing p. 66(B)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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JASPER BLOWSNAKE

[Facing p. 66 (c)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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JOHN FISHER

[Facing p. 66 (D)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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a. JAMES PINE

b. JOHN RAVE AND FAMILY

[Facing p. 66 (E)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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a. JOHN FIREMAN
(Front view)

b. JOHN FIREMAN
(Profile view)

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c. WHITEBREAST

d. JOHN RAYMOND

[Facing p. 66 (F)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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A YOUNG WINNEBAGO WOMAN AND DAUGHTER

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A OLD WINNEBAGO AND DAUGHTER

[Facing p. 66 (6)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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a. GRAY HAIR

b. RED WING

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c. JAMES RICEHILL

d. ALBERT HENSLEY (Front view)

WINNEBAGO TYPES

[Facing p.66 (H)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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a. JOHN BAPTISTE

b. HUGH HUNTER

c. LEVI ST. CYR

d. ALBERT HENSLEY (Profile view)

WINNEBAGO TYPES

[Facing p. 88(A)]

1: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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a. LODGE MADE OF REED MATTING

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b. LODGE MADE OF BARK WITH COVERING OF REED MATTING

[301]

c. LODGE MADE OF BARK

[Facing p. 92(D)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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a. WINNEBAGO IN FULL DRESS



[516]

a. THOMAS MALLORY

[Facing p. 104 (B)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
.NP12 Winnebago NP12

A. WINNEBAGO WOMEN, SHOWING MODERN DRESS

B. WINNEBAGO WOMEN IN OLD-STYLE SILK APPLIQUÉ DRESSES

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[Facing p. 104(c)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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b. YOUNG BOY IN FULL WARRIOR'S COSTUME

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a. YOUNG CHILD IN MODERN DRESS

[Facing p. 104 (b)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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342 spring and summer. In the spring those who still lived in bark lodges covered the roofs with reed matting, as that material shed water more effectually than bark. The tipi was generally used on the hunt, the grass lodge merely for a shelter overnight.

[462] All the duties connected with the construction of the lodge belonged to the woman. These duties do not seem to have been restricted to any special class of women except in the construction of

[886] ceremonial lodges, in which only women who had passed their climacteric could participate.

## Clothing and Adornment

291 In discussing the personal adornment of men it must be remembered that in former times each costume generally had special significance and could be worn only on certain occasions. Moreover,

Fig. 23.—Pattern of men's buckskin leggings.

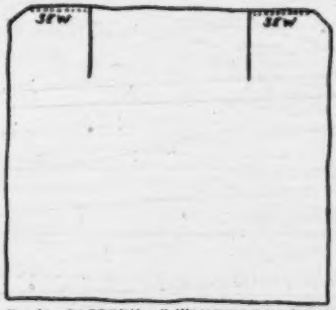


Fig. 24.—Pattern of women's buckskin shirt.

certain articles of dress, as arm bands and garters, could be worn only by certain people. The significance of most of the items comprising a man's costume, as well as the proper occasion for wearing them, has long been forgotten and today everything relating to dress and adornment is hopelessly confused. Illustrations of the various articles of apparel will be found in plates 20–23; figures 23–26.

The men's clothing is thus described by Skinner:[1]

> The men's garments obtained in Wisconsin consisted of leggings of ribbon-worked cloth, or of plain buckskin. . . . Some of the latter are made skin-tight, with a broad flap fringed at the edge. The decorated flap of the cloth and the fringe of the buckskin are worn outside. Some are made by folding over a rectangular piece of leather and holding the sides together by means of thongs passing through from side to side, their ends serving in lieu of a fringe. Some little boys' leggings are skin-tight and fringed only at the top. The clout is of three pieces, a strip of plain, cheap material to cover the genitals, supported at each end by a belt, and two beaded broadcloth

[1] In "Notes Concerning New Collections," Anthr. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. IV, part II, pp. [illegible].

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



flaps falling over the front and rear, and sometimes merely two ornamented flaps tying on like aprons fore and aft and not passing between the legs at all. Shirts of cloth or buckskin are beaded about the collar, over the shoulders, and down the front over the chest, where the head opening is. Buckskin shirts are often fringed at the juncture of the sleeves with the trunk at the shoulders, as well as along the seams of the sleeves. Beaded garters are worn outside the leggings below the knees, and beaded, or German silver, arm bands may be seen. 291

The shirt worn by the women in former times seems to have been similar except as to length to that worn by the men, but the leg-

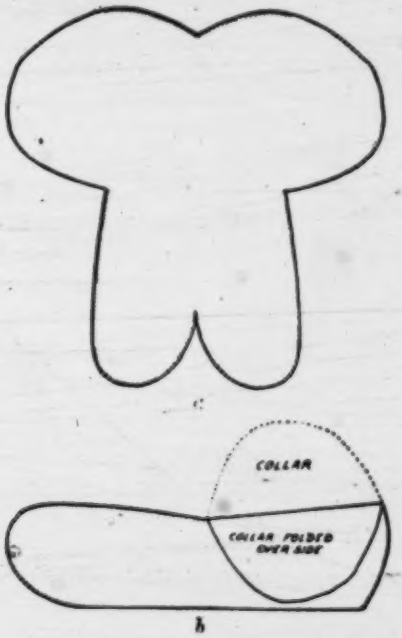


FIG. 23.—PATTERN OF MEN'S MOCCASIN.

gings were characteristically different. These consisted of a straight piece of buckskin folded around itself so as to leave no free flap. The upper part had a cuff. There was no flap at the bottom falling over the moccasin, as in the case of men's leggings (figs. 23, 24).

The skirt is a single piece of broadcloth, the ends of which are handsomely ribbon-worked in appliqué on the outer side. The garment is wrapped around the body, the ends meeting in front, bringing the ribbon-worked horizontal bands together, the opening being in front. The upper part of the garment is folded outward over the woven belt which confines it. A curious shirtwaist, short and berthboned, is worn outside the belt. A shawl or blanket of broadcloth, handsomely ribboned, completes

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



291 the costume. This is worn not over the head, but the shoulders. . . . It may be observed that in the photographs which date back a number of years, the waists worn by the women are very much longer than those now in vogue, falling almost to the hips.

There is a marked difference between the moccasins worn by men and those worn by women (pls. 24, 25). The former are cut out as shown in figure 25, *a*, *b*. When folded, they have the shape

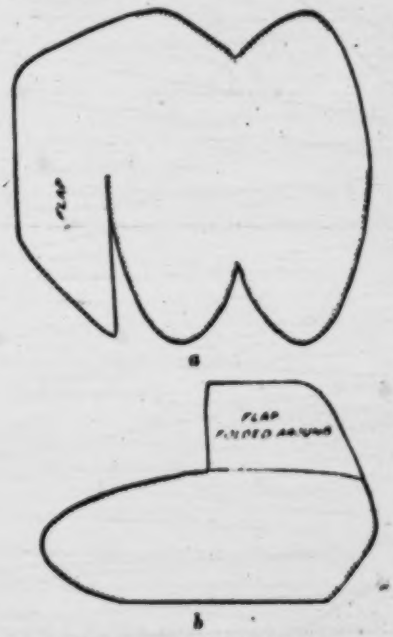


FIG. 26. PATTERN OF WOMEN'S MOCCASIN.

shown in figure 25, *b*. There are two seams, one in front and one in the back. The women's moccasins are cut in much the same manner, but they have a large flap falling over the front (fig. 26, *a*, *b*). The string used in fastening the moccasins to the feet is always attached to the rear end (fig. 25, *a*, *b*).[3]

*Hats.*—As a rule no head coverings of any kind were worn, but in winter, according to the author's Wisconsin informants, the head was protected by a hoodlike covering.

[3] Excellent illustrations of Winnebago moccasins may be found also in Author, Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. IV, pt. II, p. 204.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



291
142
531
301
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516

a. GROUP OF WINNEBAGO IN OLD-STYLE COSTUMES

b. WINNEBAGO FAMILY

[Facing p. 108 (A)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

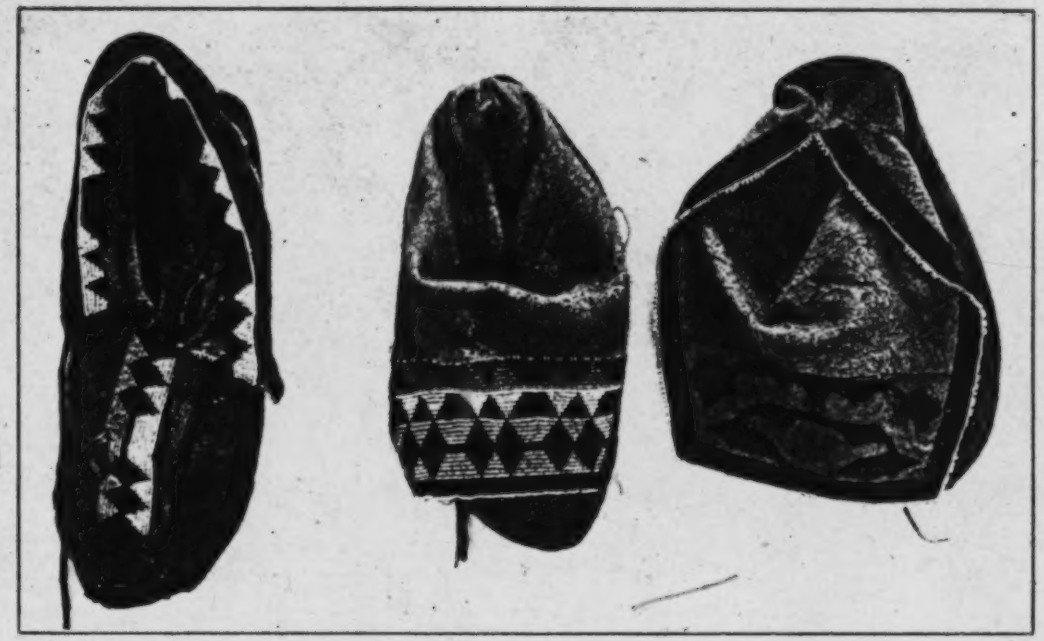
291
531

a b c d e

DECORATED MOCCASINS

a. Men's moccasin with partial quill decoration. b, c. Men's moccasin with beaded Algonquian decoration. d. Women's moccasin with beaded Winnebago decoration. e. Women's moccasin with silk appliqué work.

[Facing p. 108 (8)]



a b c

DECORATED MOCCASINS

a. Men's moccasin with beaded Winnebago decoration, b. Women's moccasin with beaded Winnebago decoration, c. Women's moccasin with silk appliqué work.

[Facing p. 108 (c)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12
201
531

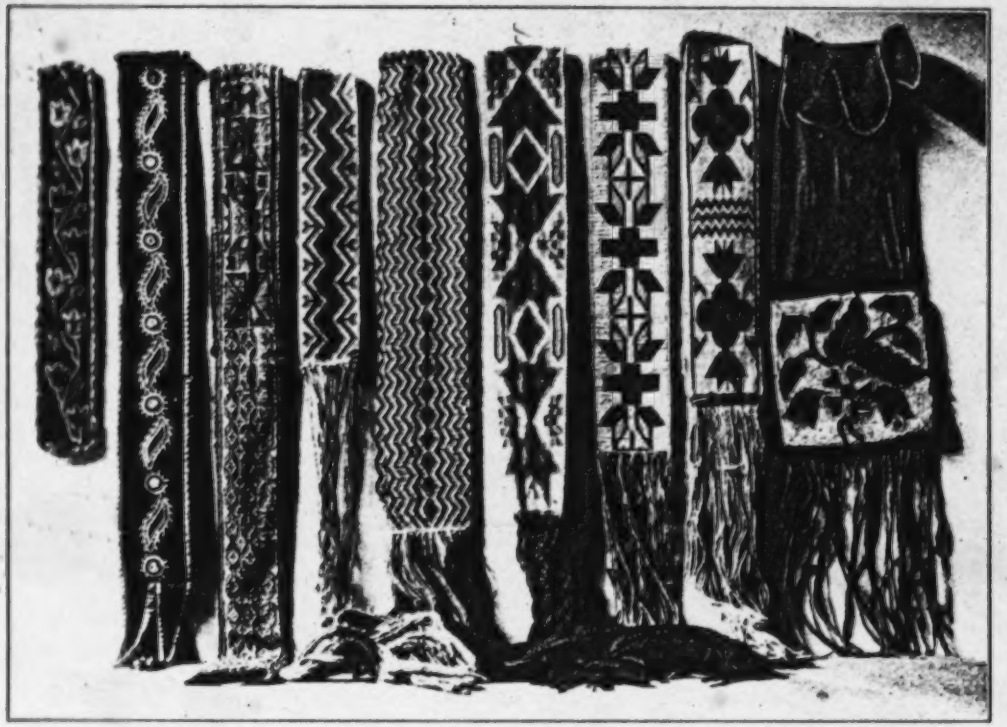
142
201
531
301
[237]

1: Radin, E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

a. WINNEBAGO, SHOWING MODERN HEADGEAR

b. WINNEBAGO WITH DEER-TAIL HEADDRESS

[Facing p. 103 (D)]



a b c d e f g h i

BEADED BELTS

(c, d, e, f show old Winnebago patterns)

[Facing p. 108 (II)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

R1 531

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



291
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301

WOMAN'S HAIR ORNAMENTS AND SMALL BEADED BAG

[Facing p. 108 (F)]

I:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

BEADED ARTICLES OF MODERN TYPE

291
301

[Facing p. 108 (a)]

524
534
291
142
302

MOCCASIN GAME

[Facing p. 122 (A)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12.Winnebago NP12



142
291
301
302

a. WINNEBAGO AND DAUGHTER

b. OLD WINNEBAGO WOMAN

142
251
854
482

c. WOMAN AND CHILD, SHOWING CRADLE-BOARD

d. WOMAN AND CHILD, SHOWING METHOD OF CARRYING INFANT

[Facing p. 126 (A)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



854
516
301
531

a. INFANT WITH ORNAMENTED CRADLE-BOARD

342
291

b. GROUP OF WINNEBAGO

[Facing p. 126 (B)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



346

A. EXTERIOR OF MEDICINE DANCE LODGE

346
291
96

B. INTERIOR OF MEDICINE DANCE LODGE

[Facing p. 350 (A)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



794
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622
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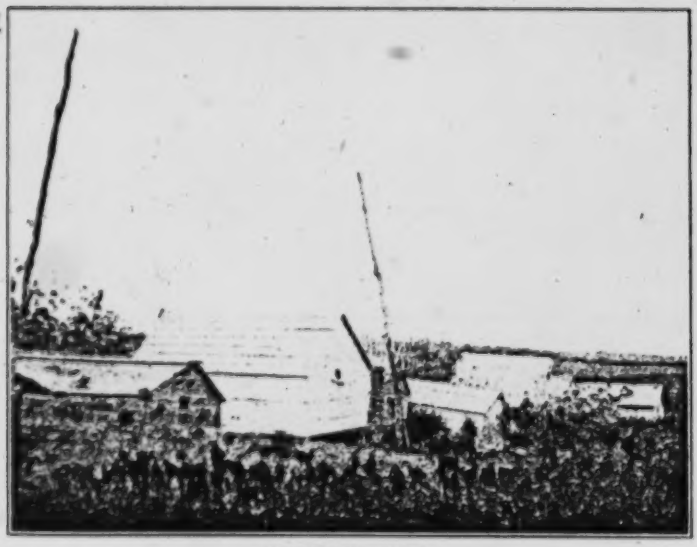
142

a. PEYOTE LEADERS

764



b. BURIAL HUTS

[Facing p. 388]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

794
1423
261

a. OLIVER LAMERE

b. JOHN RAVE

[Facing p. 389]

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12

[P. 147]

291
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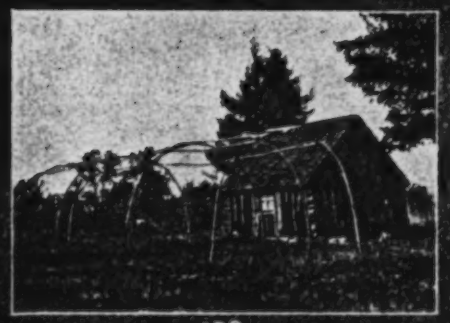
346

142
292
346
372
516

120

121



122

123

Fig. 120.—Big Wave and his family standing before his house.
Fig. 121.—Medicine Lodge near Big Wave's home.
Fig. 122.—Framework of the War-bundle Ceremony lodge.
Fig. 123.—Big Wave making sacred fire, accompanied by his wife.

## *Crashing Thunder*

726 *159 Our feast was given in a lodge that had eight fire-
796 places. The host always sits near the last fireplace, at
787 the east end. There we stood crying to the spirits.
[346] My older brother fell to the ground from fatigue and
[354] exhaustion. We were stark naked except for our
[291] breech-clouts. When this prayer was finished we put
on our moccasins. Then the host greeted the participants as follows:

"I greet you; I greet you all, war-bundle possessors. My grandparents, especially my grandfather, concentrated their minds upon this ceremony for me. The fireplace, the food, the offerings, with which the spirits blessed my grandfather, that I am going to ask for myself to-day. However weakly I may wobble about in trying to do the proper thing to-day, I know that my elders present here will extend their aid to me. I am now going to offer some tobacco to you all. War-bundles possessors, I greet you all."

*159 Following the speech came the prayers to the various
796 spirits:
782
539 Hearken O Earthmaker, our father, I am about to offer
726 tobacco to you. My ancestor concentrated his mind upon you and that with which you blessed him I now ask of you directly. I ask for the small amount of life you granted him, aye for four times the blessings you bestowed upon him. May I never meet with trouble in life.

O Grandfather, chief of the Thunderbirds, you who live in the west, here is a handful of tobacco. Extend to me the deer with which you blessed my ancestor. I pray you to accept this tobacco from me. May I never meet with trouble in life.

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12

[P.147]

291
342
346

142
292
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372
516

Fig. 120.—Big Wave and his family standing before his house.
Fig. 121.—Medicine Lodge near Big Wave's home.
Fig. 122.—Framework of the War-bundle Ceremony lodge.
Fig. 123.—Big Wave making sacred fire, accompanied by his wife.

After a short time she came back all dressed up and
*159 584 301 ready. She had on a waist covered with silver buckles and a beautifully colored hair ornament; she wore many strings of beads around her neck and had bracelets around her wrists. Her fingers were covered with
[292] [531] rings. She wore a pair of ornamented leggings and ornamented moccasins with wide flaps. In each ear she had about a half dozen ear-holes and they were full of small silver pieces made into ear ornaments.
[300] She was painted, her cheeks red, and the parting of her hair red. She was all dressed up.

*159 584 I came to her on horseback. Then we rode together. We were not going to return to the place from which I had started that night, because I had been previously asked to sing at a Medicine-Feast at a place on our way home. On the way I therefore hid the girl near the place where the feast was to be given.

The girl had a red blanket, and I hid her under a small oak bush. Unfortunately it rained all that night and the next morning, and when, early in the morning, I went to where I had hidden the girl I found her still there, but soaked through and through from the rain. Her paint was smeared all over her face in such a way that she could hardly be recognized. When we arrived
*159 585 home my grandfather's wife came out to meet us. She helped the girl down from the horse and took her into the lodge. Then we ate and when we were through the girl took off her clothing and gave it to my grandparents who in return gave her other clothing. After the girl had stayed there three nights she had her
[841] menses and had to go to her special lodge and sleep there.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



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JOHN FISHER

[Facing p. 66 (D)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



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293
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276

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

a. Birch-bark receptacle.
b. Frame for stringing beads.
c. Staff with personal markings.
d. Wooden flute.
e. Catlinite pipe.
f. Gourd rattle.

[Facing p. 108(H)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



*Method of wearing the hair.*—In former times the men wore their hair in two long braids, although some seem to have affected the Sauk and Fox roach. The scalp along the parting of the hair was always painted, the color varying with individuals. There is no indication of any distinctions in the method of wearing the hair among the various clans as found among the Osage. 302 [177]

A variety of coiffures exist among the Winnebago women at the present day and the assumption that these are all recent is unwarranted. It seems probable that in the old days the hair was usually worn in one braid, which on festive occasions was inclosed in a case. This consisted of two parts—a rectangular piece of broadcloth beaded, and long strips of beaded work (pl. 28).

*Earrings and bracelets.* At the present time earrings are fashioned either of 10-cent pieces string together or of various ornaments of German silver. Strings of beads also are worn occasionally. Bracelets now are made generally of German silver, while in former times beaded or quillwork buckskin was used. 301 [178]

*Arm bands and necklaces.*—Arm bands are made either of German silver or beaded work. The necklaces consist of long strings of various articles, as modern wampum, seeds, and elk teeth.

Belts, as well as cross belts, are now either beaded or woven, but formerly they were always woven from buffalo hair. Shell gorgets are generally of the type shown in plates 22, 24, 26, *b*. Tight collars are now made of beaded work. Bandoliers consist of long sashes with bags attached; both sash and bag are always gorgeously beaded. The bandoliers are worn in three ways, with the bag hanging on the right side, on the left side, or in front. Often the same individual wears two or three bandoliers. Garters are now made of beaded work; formerly these were generally made of the skins of various animals, preferably the polecat (pls. 27, 28, 29, 30, *b*). 293

*Headdress and taildress.*—The Winnebago headdress has been well described by Skinner (op. cit., p. 293), as follows: 301 237

> The typical headdress is a roach or comb-like ornament woven from deer's hair and generally dyed red. A carved bone, somewhat like an elongate isosceles triangle in shape, spread out this roach and was attached near the front to another tubular bone in which an eagle feather was inserted. Often the latter was ornamented with dyed horse hair and rattlesnake rattles. . . . The whole was fastened on the crown of the head slightly back of the forehead. It was usually pinned to the hair, the scalplock serving to hold it on.

A taildress, consisting of the tail of some animal, was worn only at certain dances, particularly the Herucka.

## Hunting

In their original habitat hunting was the most important means of subsistence of the Winnebago. Practically all game available was 224

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



794
291
622
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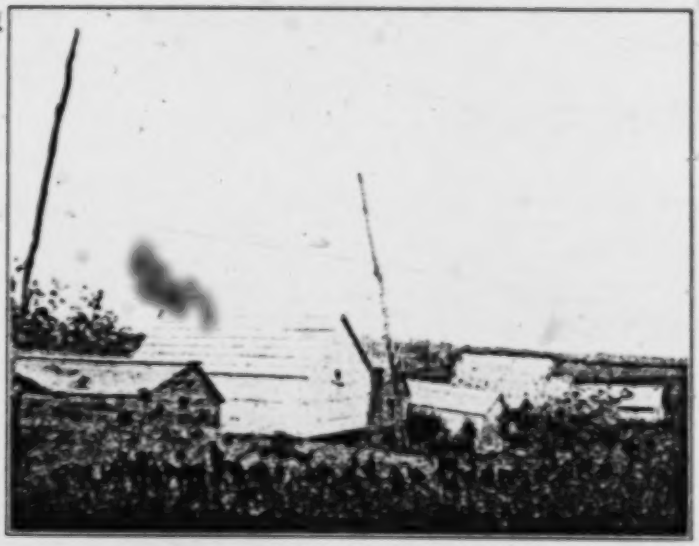
293
531
516
142

a. PEYOTE LEADERS

764



b. BURIAL HUTS

[Facing p. 388]

1: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



142
291
301
276
302
293
516

JOHN FISHER

[Facing p. 66 (b)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



142
301
302
291
531

a. JOHN FIREMAN
(Front view)

b. JOHN FIREMAN
(Profile view)

142
291
302

c. WHITEBREAST

d. JOHN RAYMOND

[Facing p. 66 (F)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

142
302
301
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531

A YOUNG WINNEBAGO WOMAN AND DAUGHTER

142
301
302
291
516

A OLD WINNEBAGO AND DAUGHTER

[Facing p. 66 (6)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



142
301
302
291

a. GRAY HAIR

b. RED WING

142
302
291

c. JAMES RICEHILL

d. ALBERT HENSLEY (Front view)

WINNEBAGO TYPES

[Facing p.66 (H)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



342
291

a. LODGE MADE OF REED MATTING

342
291
142

b. LODGE MADE OF BARK WITH COVERING OF REED MATTING

[301]

c. LODGE MADE OF BARK

[Facing p. 92(D)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

142
291
531
302
301



[516]

b. WINNEBAGO IN FULL DRESS

a. THOMAS MALLORY

[Facing p. 104 (B)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

WINNEBAGO WOMEN, SHOWING MODERN DRESS

WINNEBAGO WOMEN IN OLD-STYLE SILK APPLIQUÉ DRESSES

[Facing p. 104 (c)]

142
391
301
302
531

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

142
241
531
301
302



142
241
301
302

a. YOUNG CHILD IN MODERN DRESS

b. YOUNG BOY IN FULL WARRIOR'S COSTUME

[Facing p. 104 (G)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



291
142
531
301
302
516

a. GROUP OF WINNEBAGO IN OLD-STYLE COSTUMES

b. WINNEBAGO FAMILY

[Facing p. 108 (A)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

142
291
531
301
[237]

a. WINNEBAGO, SHOWING MODERN HEADGEAR

b. WINNEBAGO WITH DEER-TAIL HEADDRESS

[Facing p. 103 (D)]

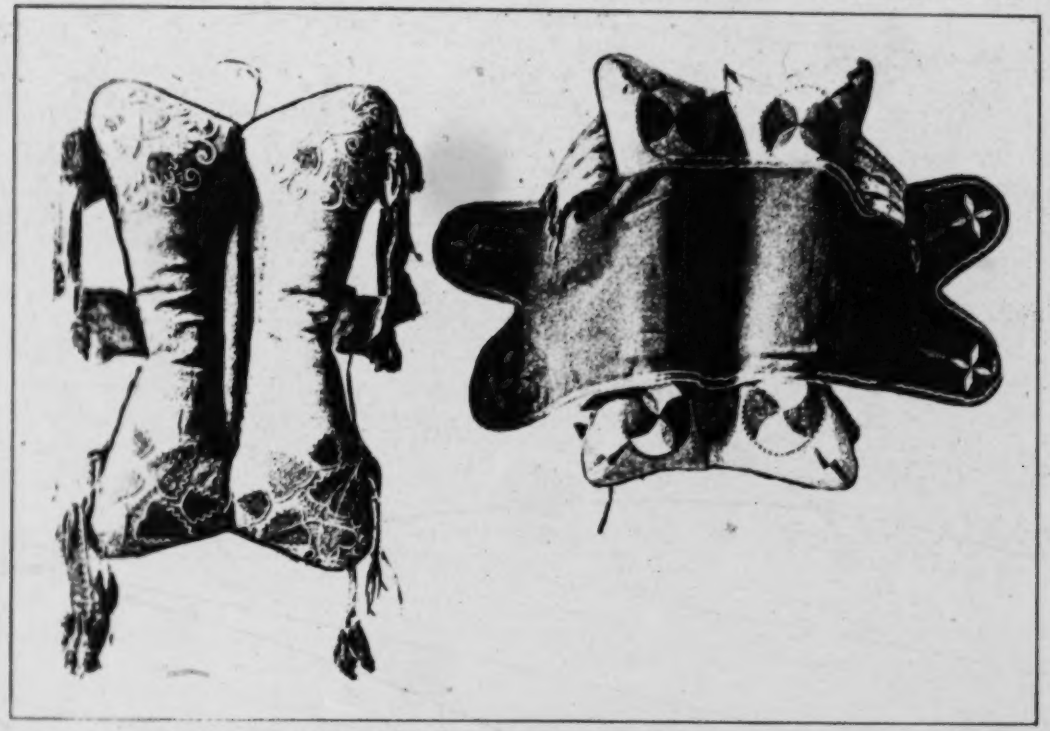
1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



291
531
415
301

WOMAN'S HAIR ORNAMENTS AND SMALL BEADED BAG

[Facing p. 108 (F)]



BEADED ARTICLES OF MODERN TYPE

[Facing p. 108 (a)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

291
301

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



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1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



142
291
301
302

a. WINNEBAGO AND DAUGHTER

b. OLD WINNEBAGO WOMAN

142
291
854
482

c. WOMAN AND CHILD, SHOWING CRADLE-BOARD

d. WOMAN AND CHILD, SHOWING METHOD OF CARRYING INFANT

[Facing p. 126 (A)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



854
516
●301
531

a. INFANT WITH ORNAMENTED CRADLE-BOARD

342
291

b. GROUP OF WINNEBAGO

[Facing p. 126 (8)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



## ORIGIN MYTHS

### FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

This is the origin story of the Deer people. In the beginning a 614
black deer accompanied by an elk appeared in the center of the 539
earth, and they went in the direction of the east. There they were 776
going. Then the black deer said, "My dear younger brother, I am heavy on account of my excessive fatness, go you alone and I will remain here." So he remained there and did not go; and then to the center of the earth, to the place from which they started, he returned. Then he came back to the earth, and again they asked him. Four times they asked. There the necklace of money ornaments he recognized, the black deer did.[28] Thus the Deer clan beat them, and therefore they have the name *Black-Deer-chief*. As they [551]
went so they returned again. Again the necklace made of money he (the black deer)[29] recognized. The earth they went around. Then again the black deer went to the east. It was a large one who went ahead, and as he was going along, to his astonishment, they reached the place from which they had started.

"My younger brother," said Black-deer, "you try to do it."[30] And the second-born went ahead and the others followed, and again they were drawn back to the place from which they started. Then the third-born went first and the others followed and the same thing happened. Then they told the fourth-born to go first, and he went in front and suddenly he struck his horn, the one on the right, upon the earth, and, behold, grass suddenly appeared. It was a very white bud that he had caused to appear. Then he struck his left horn on the earth, and he made a tree appear and the fruit of this tree was meant to be eaten. Then they ate the fruit of the tree. The top of the tree there they ate. Thus they said. And they
call a woman even to-day *She-who-eats-the-top-of-the-tree*. And then [551]
they began to walk and the earth trembled from their walking. Toward the east side they went. From this fact they have a name, *He-who-shakes-the-earth*. And again as some of the brothers were small they have the name *Small-deer*. They also have the name *Walking-leader*. And they also have names *She-who-comes-back* and *He-who-comes-back*, because in the beginning they always came back to the place from which they started. Whatever actions they went through, from these they derived their names.

---

[28] The thought is not quite clear here, due to the fact that something has probably been omitted by the narrator.

[29] There seems to be a mistake between the deer and the elk as to who would be able to see the "money-necklace" first. Under the term "money-necklace" they evidently mean the medallions distributed by the Attorkwan Government to those whom they recognized as chiefs. The recognition of the "money-necklace" is evidently going to decide the relationship between the deer and the elk. [554] 30]

[30] Some power is evidently drawing them back to the place from which they started.

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935

NP12 Winnebago NP12



In each village, the two civil chiefs, appoint all the officers, deemed necessary, civil and military, who obey them implicitly. There are two ways of arriving at these high stations, by birth and by election. When the father dies, if he has a son, who has arrived at the age of manhood, and who bids fair to make a good chief—that is, if he possesses a good form, has good bodily powers and mental faculties—is brave, sedate, wise and prudent, he generally succeeds his father in the government, on his father's demise. If the chief, at his death, leave no son who is qualified for the high office of chief, but wills it to some other person, he succeeds to the government. If the chief has no son at his death, it is commonly the case, that his brother's son succeeds him. The line of succesaion may run out for want of a lawful heir, which is always supplied by an election. It may be changed too, where the heir is unqualified for the station. Great deference is always paid to the will of the dying chief, but every such case is always laid before a full national council, whose decision is final (p. 97). 622 [624] [666]

A chief may be degraded from his rank for bad conduct. . . .

There is in every tribe, what answers to a standing army among us. The profession of arms holds out, to the great mass of the common people, the only road to the temple of fame. . . . The young man, who aspires to the honorable distinction of a "brave" or warrior, must exhibit such traits of character, as are deemed necessary for a soldier to possess, before he can be admitted into the army. When admitted, he wears on his head just as many feathers of the bald eagle, as he has slain human beings, and the size of the feathers indicate the size of his victims. . . . If the warrior has taken a captive, he has a human hand as large as life, painted either on his face, or on some part of his body, or on his blanket, some individuals have several such hands painted upon them (p. 98).* 701 703 [301] [532] [302]

At the head of the army, belonging to each tribe, there is a person who occupies the same station as a General does with us, and he appoints all the inferior officers. The chiefs when met in council, call into it, their warriors, with whom they consult, but frequently they are called to receive the orders, which are obeyed to the letter. This council call before them, persons who are interested in the trial . . . (pp. 98, 99). 701 623

If the Senate of the United States is the mildest, the most patriotic and wisest legislative assembly in the civilized world, as it truly is, the Winnebago council, is decidedly at the head of the savage world. . . . The great body of the people have very little influence, almost none, with this council, and they never appear before it unless they are summoned to attend it.—They have no voice in electing the chiefs and in fact no political influence. The civil chiefs and the chief warriors, have in their hands, the whole government of the community, and they govern as they please. Disobedience to the orders of the rulers is punished with death, though, like the British nation, the Indians are not savages enough to cut the traitor into quarters after hanging him until he is dead (pp. 99, 100). 623 [622] [687]

The female part of it, exercised the same influence among the women, that the chiefs did among the men, and the presents they expected from us, had to be better, than those given to the common people. The daughter of a chief, never mar- 554 562 [582]

* Quite different from the data given by Radin, The Winnebago Tribe, pp. 161, 162.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



selves connected with life by means of that organ which Earthmaker gave us as a measure of things.[21] I send forth my greetings to you all.

Then he who was impersonating the Disease-Giver spoke:

War-bundle owners, relatives seated around here, I greet you all. This is indeed a marvelous performance that we have witnessed and he who was able to do it must surely be a marvelous man. Very few people listen to the advice of their parents but he must have been one who did and that is why he has done so well. The members of his clan have been sincerely worshiping the spirits. He who originally made this war-bundle ritual was like a spirit in power and what he told them to do they are doing in every detail. It is good work they are doing. Sufficient food are they offering to those in control of war powers for the spirits easily to take cognizance of it. They have placed ample tobacco and different kinds of buckskin within reach of the spirits. To you, O Disease-Giver, a pleasing white buckskin has been strung out in offering and with it a pleasing red feather as a hair ornament. How indeed would it be possible for the spirits not to recognize these offerings? And if they recognize them then we who are impersonating the spirits, will also receive the benefit of the blessings of war and life, extended to the host.

Long ago our ancestors asked the spirits to bless them so that then they might live happily. Here we are sitting around the fireplace and the life that the host and his friends have asked for, the spirits are not merely extending to them

[21] A very curious circumlocution for stomach. He means, of course, all the food that has been eaten.

*159 764 775 539 just like the former one. Point the stem of your pipe toward him and he will be very thankful and smoke your pipe. Then make your request—that you be permitted to pass—and he will grant it. As you continue you will come to a round lodge where you will find an old woman. Point your pipe at her and she will permit you to go ahead. Your hair will now have become white but you will not be unconscious. On the contrary you will be in complete possession of your senses. Then you will come to the place where he who is in control of all the souls sits. Go toward him and [796] point your pipe at him. When he is smoking it ask him to show you the road to Earthmaker, our father, and he will point it out to you. Then you must proceed until you come to Earthmaker. When you get to him, point the stem of your pipe toward him and if he takes it and smokes it you must say, "Earthmaker, our father, you know very well what kind of a life I have led." Then he will answer, "My son, you have done well."

*159 764 [267] [301] After this speech the body was dressed by the person who was to do the actual burying. The best clothes of the deceased were put on, beads placed around his neck, bracelets on his wrist, rings on his fingers and earrings in his ears. It was then placed in the casket.

[167] When the grave-diggers completed their work, the mourners blackened their faces with charcoal and the corpse was taken up by the man to whom this duty was assigned. The mourners followed behind weeping. Thus they proceeded to the grave. When they got there the corpse was immediately placed in it. Then the chief mourner stepped across the center of the grave and the others did the same. When they started

After a short time she came back all dressed up and
*159 ready. She had on a waist covered with silver buckles
584 and a beautifully colored hair ornament; she wore
● 301 many strings of beads around her neck and had brace-
lets around her wrists. Her fingers were covered with
[292] rings. She wore a pair of ornamented leggings and
[531] ornamented moccasins with wide flaps. In each ear
she had about a half dozen ear-holes and they were
full of small silver pieces made into ear ornaments.
[300] She was painted, her cheeks red, and the parting of her
hair red. She was all dressed up.

* 159 I came to her on horseback. Then we rode together.
584 We were not going to return to the place from which I
had started that night, because I had been previously
asked to sing at a Medicine Feast at a place on our
way home. On the way I therefore hid the girl near
the place where the feast was to be given.

The girl had a red blanket, and I hid her under a
small oak bush. Unfortunately it rained all that night
and the next morning, and when, early in the morning,
I went to where I had hidden the girl I found her still
there, but soaked through and through from the rain.
Her paint was smeared all over her face in such a way
that she could hardly be recognized. When we arrived
* 159 home my grandfather's wife came out to meet us. She
585 helped the girl down from the horse and took her into
the lodge. Then we ate and when we were through the
girl took off her clothing and gave it to my grand-
parents who in return gave her other clothing. After
the girl had stayed there three nights she had her
[841] menses and had to go to her special lodge and sleep
there.

## §22. *We Kill a Pottawattomie*

*159 588 837 I never married any woman permanently. I would live with one for awhile, and then with another. Sometimes upon my return after an absence I would find my temporary wife living with another man. This is the way in which I acted.

*159 787 721 My father had brought me up and had encouraged me to fast, so that I might be blessed by all the spirits that exist, and thus live in comfort. My father had raised me so that I should desire to obtain war honors,[28] so that I should not be like one who wears skirts. That was the reason he had me join the Medicine Dance so [624] that people should not be able to ridicule me. My father taught me to lead a sober and sane life and my [867] grandfather, during the time I lived with him, had told me the same. They both encouraged me to give feasts and to ask the spirits for war honors.

*159 721 At that time I had a comrade, and one day he said to me, "We have been thinking of something, have we not, friend? We ought to try and obtain some external emblem of our bravery. Do we not always try to wear feathers at a Warrior Dance? Well, then, let us try

[28] These war honors were the following: touching the body of a [554] slain enemy first, killing an enemy, touching the body second, touching it third, stealing a horse. All of them entitled the possessor ● [301] to wear an eagle feather in his hair.

*159 648 over until the following spring. It was enough to cause one to say "Oh, my!" in impatience. During the win-
[531] ter we used to make bead work and compete with one
● [301] another as to who could do the best. We made beaded finger-rings, and these were always purchased by some
[432] one. By selling these rings we thus made quite a good deal of money. We also made suspenders. I made thirty of them and sold them for seven dollars a pair. We thus had plenty of money and drank all the time. There were some prisoners locked up together with us whose terms were almost over, and these were allowed to go outside. They would buy us the whisky. We
[525] gambled, too, playing for money stakes.

One day my wife came to visit me. I talked to her through the iron grating. I was allowed to talk to her for a long time. All I could do was to desire her. I
[152] wanted her badly. When the wives of the others came, they felt just as I did.

[578] Once we had a fight. We had been drinking and
[293] were disputing about a game. Afterwards we were quite humble about it.

*159 152 Shortly after this we found out that my wife had married again. I did not feel like eating, but I tried hard to do so, because I thought that the others would
648 notice it. Then I said to them, "I am glad to hear
837 about this report that my wife has married again. When I get out of prison I will pay the one who has married her, for he is taking care of her until my release. Indeed I have felt quite uneasy about her for some time. Now I feel quite relieved, for she is being

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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142
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JASPER BLOWSNAKE

[Facing p. 66 (c)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



142
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293
516

JOHN FISHER

[Facing p. 66 (b)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



142
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531

a. JOHN FIREMAN
(Front view)

b. JOHN FIREMAN
(Profile view)

142
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302

c. WHITEBREAST

d. JOHN RAYMOND

[Facing p. 66 (F)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

142
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a. YOUNG WINNEBAGO WOMAN AND DAUGHTER

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b. OLD WINNEBAGO AND DAUGHTER

[Facing p. 66 (G)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



142
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302
291

a. GRAY HAIR

b. RED WING

142
302
291

c. JAMES RICEHILL

d. ALBERT HENSLEY (Front view)

WINNEBAGO TYPES

[Facing p.66 (H)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

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302
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[516]

a. THOMAS MALLORY

b. WINNEBAGO IN FULL DRESS

[Facing p. 104 (B)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

a. WINNEBAGO WOMEN IN OLD-STYLE SILK APPLIQUÉ DRESSES

142
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301
302
531

b. WINNEBAGO WOMEN, SHOWING MODERN DRESS

[Facing p. 104 (c)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

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302



142
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302

a. YOUNG CHILD IN MODERN DRESS

b. YOUNG BOY IN FULL WARRIOR'S COSTUME

[Facing p. 104 (G)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



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51b

a. GROUP OF WINNEBAGO IN OLD-STYLE COSTUMES

b. WINNEBAGO FAMILY

[Facing p. 108 (A)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



*Method of wearing the hair.*—In former times the men wore their hair in two long braids, although some seem to have affected the Sauk and Fox roach. The scalp along the parting of the hair was always painted, the color varying with individuals. There is no indication of any distinctions in the method of wearing the hair among the various clans as found among the Osage. 302 [177]

A variety of coiffures exist among the Winnebago women at the present day and the assumption that these are all recent is unwarranted. It seems probable that in the old days the hair was usually worn in one braid, which on festive occasions was inclosed in a case. This consisted of two parts a rectangular piece of broadcloth beaded, and long strips of beaded work (pl. 28).

*Earrings and bracelets.* At the present time earrings are fashioned either of 10-cent pieces strung together or of various ornaments of German silver. Strings of beads also are worn occasionally. Bracelets now are made generally of German silver, while in former times beaded or quillwork buckskin was used. 301 [178]

*Arm bands and necklaces.*—Arm bands are made either of German silver or beaded work. The necklaces consist of long strings of various articles, as modern wampum, seeds, and elk teeth.

Belts, as well as cross belts, are now either beaded or woven, but formerly they were always woven from buffalo hair. Shell gorgets are generally of the type shown in plates 22, 24, 26, *b*. Tight collars are now made of beaded work. Bandoliers consist of long sashes with bags attached; both sash and bag are always gorgeously beaded. The bandoliers are worn in three ways, with the bag hanging on the right side, on the left side, or in front. Often the same individual wears two or three bandoliers. Garters are now made of beaded work; formerly these were generally made of the skins of various animals, preferably the polecat (pls. 27, 28, 29, 30, *b*). 293

*Headdress and taildress.*—The Winnebago headdress has been well described by Skinner (op. cit., p. 293), as follows: 301 237

> The typical headdress is a roach or comb-like ornament woven from deer's hair and generally dyed red. A carved bone, somewhat like an elongate isosceles triangle in shape, spread out this roach and was attached near the front to another tubular bone in which an eagle feather was inserted. Often the latter was ornamented with dyed horse hair and rattlesnake rattles. . . . The whole was fastened on the crown of the head slightly back of the forehead. It was usually pinned to the hair, the scalplock serving to hold it on.

A taildress, consisting of the tail of some animal, was worn only at certain dances, particularly the Herucka.

## Hunting

In their original habitat hunting was the most important means of subsistence of the Winnebago. Practically all game available was 224

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

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142
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MOCCASIN GAME

[Facing p. 122 (a)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



142
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302

a. WINNEBAGO AND DAUGHTER

b. OLD WINNEBAGO WOMAN

142
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854
482

c. WOMAN AND CHILD, SHOWING CRADLE-BOARD

d. WOMAN AND CHILD, SHOWING METHOD OF CARRYING INFANT

[Facing p. 126 (A)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



765 mourner's hair, give him presents, and tell him that he is now free to cease mourning and to marry if he wishes.

In former times the period of mourning is supposed to have lasted four years.

[302] When a person is in mourning he always cuts his hair short and does not comb his hair. In former times people often mutilated themselves by cutting off either entire fingers or finger joints.

[304] The overseer always takes all the belongings of the deceased, but he must give the latter's relatives an equal amount of new material.

### Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(FIRST VERSION)

764 184 614 Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the clan dies they send after a man of the Thunderbird clan who is to speak to the corpse, paint it, and give him a war club to take along with him (to the land of the spirits). Then they go after a man from the [615] lower phratry to bury him, for these clans (of the lower phratry) belong on earth and they have the right to dig into the ground and bury people.

When the one who is to be the general overseer arrives and arranges everything, he prepares the corpse, putting a sack of tobacco in one hand and a war club in the other. Then he paints him. He paints the forehead with a red and a black mark and paints the lower part of the face to the end of the nose with scattered dots. He paints the jaw red and he makes a red mark across the mouth and the throat. Then he speaks as follows:

You have departed at this (young) age. You have taken your relatives by surprise and have left them a long part of your life (i. e., you have lived but a small part of your apportioned share of years). As you go to spirit land, you will find on the [775 539] road many feathers, many good plants, and many good kinds of clay, scattered around, the blue clay, the red clay, and the white clay. You will also find the sweet-smelling plants and good life. For all these things do you ask. If anything comes across your path, throw it behind you without looking around. In four days you will depart and objects with which to mediate between us and the spirits will soon be furnished you. For four nights your people will tell you what to do and when they hear you singing on the road they will know that it is you. There (in spirit land) you will go to live and the songs that I will sing you will sing as you travel on your road.

Then he sings (the four clan songs).

When the gravediggers are finished they take the body and carry it to the grave, the mourners following. They take the body to the grave and there lower it.

### Death and Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(SECOND VERSION)

Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan dies, the clansmen discuss what is to be done for the spirit

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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614 533 Associated with every clan was also four clan songs. These were supposed to be the four songs sung by the ancestors of each clan when they came to this earth. They were always sung on the death of an individual, and were supposed to serve as a mark of identification in the journey of the soul to the land of the spirits. The use of these [761] songs was so intimately associated with death that when some hardened offender, let us say, some individual who had killed a [627] member of the tribe and who refused to make atonement of any kind, was pursued, he defiantly sang his clan songs.

614 As a last element in the clan complex may be mentioned the [302] specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

We have now completed the discussion of clan organization. As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary association that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that it had grown around a strong social-political unit.

### INFLUENCE OF THE CLAN UPON CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

614 575 Perhaps the most characteristic trait of Winnebago culture is the existence of two strong socialized units, that of the clan and that of the secret society. Historically both are old, and even if we are of the opinion that the clan is historically younger, the political unit upon which it is superimposed is probably an ultimate historical fact. From the earliest times one would have supposed reciprocal influences to have occurred repeatedly. The nature of these influences, in so far as they are not conditioned by chance, would depend upon the respective center of gravity in either unit. It is evident that for the clan the organization was of paramount importance, and that the addition of cultural associations probably tended to strengthen its stability in this respect. On the other hand, the absence of political or governmental functions in the religious societies, and the clustering of the most multitudinous religious and shamanistic ideas within them, rendered the emotional unit of the latter the center from which influences would radiate. At the same time, the ceremonial unit of organization seems to have been so firmly fixed that any influence of the clan unit of organization upon it does not seem likely. As a matter of fact, in the typical schematic, religious society like the Medicine Dance, the Grizzly-Bear Dance, and Night-Spirit Dance, no influence is perceptible. However, these religious societies may be regarded as presenting no possible points of contact. Where, however, the bond of union is supernatural communication with a guardian spirit who subsequently became the clan animal, an obvious point of contact is given, and this brings to mind a very suggestive

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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In this lodge they claimed that prisoners were 614
confined and certain tribal regalia deposited. The informants were 727
not, however, at all clear about these facts, some even denying that there was a Warrior lodge and insisting that prisoners were confined in the Bear or Soldier lodge.

According to one informant the Warrior and Bear clans could give 614
each other orders that had to be obeyed.

The members of the Warrior clan claimed that all the members of the clan were warriors and did not have to fast in order to obtain [785]
the right of starting out on a war party. This was vigorously denied by the members of the other clans, who referred to this claim with derision. There seems, however, to be no reason for questioning the fact that the clan had a special lodge and that it was intimately connected with war functions. Exactly what these were it is quite impossible to state, as they have not been exercised for a very long time.

The first two clan songs are given on page 220. The clan facial decoration, used only at burial, and which were supposed to be [302]
marks of recognition in the spirit land, are as follows: A red line alternating with a black and another red line across the forehead, and a red line around the mouth. One informant claimed that only the three marks on the forehead were necessary, and that in times of war blood was used for the red marks (pl. 46).

According to an informant of the Thunderbird clan, the Warrior clan functions were as follows:

The Warrior clan's position in the tribe is that of general warrior. He can kill an enemy at any time without breaking any of the rules of the tribe. Every other [721]
clansman who wishes to go on the warpath must fast and be blessed by the spirits with specific blessings before he can do this.

There may have been a special feast associated with the Warrior clan, but the author never heard of it. The clan possessed a number [778]
of war bundles.

### ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

In the beginning, Earthmaker made four men. Then he sent 614
them to the earth. Within Lake, there, they landed and they alit 539
on the branch of a tree. There were four branches and each one alit 776
on one branch. And then on the earth they jumped and started walking toward the east. There they erected a camping place. There they started the fire. It was the principal fire. Then they started to look for food, but they were unable to find any. So the second brother was sent, but he was not able to get any animal, but he brought a man. Because he brought it, for that reason, the first male child we have shall be called *He-who-eats-humans*. Then the second one, him whom they called the warrior, was sent. Thus it

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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Facial paintings of these two clans, it is claimed, were the same as those for the Thunderbird clan (pl. 46). This was denied by others. 302 614

According to one informant the Pigeon clan was borrowed from another tribe. [177]

CLAN NAMES

WAŃINE' HIK'IK'A'RAIJERA (THE BIRD CLAN)[9]

Ahugidjinewings.....Young bird that sheds its first feathers as it flaps its wings.
Ahugip'arawings.....Spreads her wings (said of a young bird just learning to fly).
Ajumanip'aga.....He who hits the ground with his wings (refers to a cloud).
Ahup'ahiga.....Sharp wing (said of a thundercloud).
Ahujuewings.....Transparently clear wings.[10]
Ahuru-anga.....He who raises his wings (i. e., the wings of a cloud).
Ahusak'a.....Strikes his wings.[11]
Ahuseetega.....Long wings (as a far-extended cloud, clouds being the plumage of the thunderbirds).
Ahugawings.....White wing.
Ahutewings.....Green wing.
Ahusuruewings.....Slow wing.
Adedjirohiga.....He who sets the prairie grass on fire suddenly (i. e., the lightning).
C'edjega.....He who kindles the (fire?).[12]
Hadjare.....She who has been seen.
Hadjatewiwings.....Difficult to be seen.
Ha"p' hik'inohiga.....He who misses the day.
Ha"p'ok' guwings.....Owl returning hither.
Ha"pteek'a.....New day.
Hcdja Kerenadjanga.....Hawk-face.
Hitewexepawings.....Eagle woman.
Hitexcelsepga.....Black eagle.
Hitexceptcega.....Green hawk.
Hiwetcega.....Green tail.
Hiwitcajankega.....Forked-tailed hawk.
Hoha"p'guga.....Returning light.
Hoha"tomaniwinga.....Walks in the light.
Hoha"pdjik'ega.....Light that comes hither regularly.
Hoha"pdjikerega.....Light flashes suddenly.

[9] The following list of names is based partly upon the manuscripts of Winnebago personal names prepared by the late Mr. J. O. Dorsey, and now in the possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology. This list has been revised and the phonetics of the Winnebago names corrected and transcribed by the author, but the English renderings of the names have been left as Mr. Dorsey obtained them, as the author obtained practically the same translations. Many of the names were obtained independently by the author. Dorsey's list is like the amalgamation of two lists, that obtained by Dr. Foster and his own. He subsequently revised Foster's list, but to those names of the latter's list for which he could not obtain any translation he appended Foster's initials. [14]

[10] Dorsey has "thin" wings, adding "as is a transparent fleecy cloud." However, the word *pere*, which is the full form for *pere*, means "clear," and is generally used in describing water in a brook. The interpretation of this and many other names referring to clouds necessarily and not to the simple characteristics of the wings of the thunderbirds, is not obtained frequently to-day, but there seems to be no reason for believing that it was not customary a generation or two ago. For a discussion of the meaning of the names in general see the introduction to the section on social organization.

[11] Dorsey's rendering "stiff wings" is most certainly incorrect.

[12] Foster translates "misty" and Dorsey "smoke," but our means to kindle a fire, literally to cause the blue flame that appears just as the fire-stick start up.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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the council lodge. According to another informant, the Bear clan is the Deer's friend, and therefore they bury one another.

Burial, as was the case for all members of the lower phratry, was in the ground. Opinions varied as to what clan was supposed to bury a Bear man, some people claiming that it would have to belong to the upper phratry, others that it was incumbent upon the Wolf clan. It seems that the latter custom is the one followed at the present time and one which is considered old, to judge from the account of an actual funeral (cf. p. 148). The body was always buried with a miniature Bear clan war bundle. According to one informant, a bow and arrows were occasionally placed in the hands of the corpse, in addition to some tobacco. According to another informant, the facial marks were charcoal across the forehead and red marks under the lips in direct imitation of the bear.

The facial decoration for the corpse consisted of two parallel marks across the forehead, the upper one red and the lower one black, and the painting of the entire chin red (pl. 46). The red paint on the chin was interpreted as a smile, for the Bear clansmen were supposed to greet death with a smile, as they were returning to their clan ancestors. The statement was also made that Bear clansmen should not mourn the death of any of their comrades.

There is a specific Bear clan feast at which no one is permitted to laugh or talk, nor is anyone allowed to make any noise while drinking soup. The feasters must eat with their left hand.

One of the most interesting of the ceremonies associated with the Bear clan is the so-called bear or soldier dance (*manu*pe wuci*). It was described to the author as follows:

> When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village the people go to the chief and say "Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!" And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks as follows: "My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease." Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well.

It is quite clear that this "healing" function of the clan is intimately associated with the powers supposed to be bestowed upon individuals by Bear spirits. In fact, we are really dealing with a society possessing the power of healing disease in which membership, however, is restricted to members of the Bear clan.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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614 Members of the clan were buried by members of the Thunderbird
[764] clan.

Water was sacred to the Water-spirits. It was considered an
[823 insult for a stranger to peep into a pail standing in one of their lodges.
576] One informant explained the custom as follows:

"If one enters a Water-spirit clan lodge and looks into a pail and there should be no water in it, the person will turn away and this action of his will be construed as begging. It would be proper to take a drink of water if some were there."

[302] A round spot is painted with blue clay on the forehead of a Water-spirit man (pl. 46).

The Water-spirit feast is held in the fall and spring. Cracked or ground corn is used. Water-spirit people partake before anyone else at this feast.

### ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 In the beginning, when the clans began to form, the Bird clans
539 came upon the earth first and alit upon an oak tree at Red Banks;
776 and when they alit upon the oak tree they became human as we are now. Then the Water-spirit clan was to appear at Within Lake; and the waters began to whirl around in the lake and all the bad things that inhabited the waters began to appear. Just before the Water-spirits appeared some burned embers came up from the waters and the whirling became faster and deeper. As all the great things began to appear it always seemed as if the Water-spirits were the next to appear, but not until the last did they come up. Thereupon the waters began to quiet down. Then a white Water-spirit appeared with its horns curved toward each other, and when it came upon the earth it became human and walked. Then the other clans said, "Now, then, this is the chief. This is all that we have been waiting for. Now we shall divide ourselves" (into groups). Then they started for the lodge of the Thunderbird clan and entered it. There they named one another and divided one another into clans and there they counciled with one another.

### CLAN NAMES

WAKTCEXI HIR'IR'ARAJUERA (WATER-SPIRIT CLAN)

614 Ho-adaja"jank'a.....Shining horns.
551 Hona"pga.....Two horns.
Hoc'i"winga.....Handsome horn.
Hoatcank'a.....Five-horned.
Hadjopga.....Four-horned.
Mank'a"ojuga.....He who plants medicines.
Mank'a"hodja"pga.....He who looks at medicines.
Ma"winip'i"winga.....Good cold spring.

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867 782 276 Thus he made the tobacco so that humans may ask life with it, and he will grant them their desires. This is all."

### CLAN NAMES

#### TCE HIN'IE'ARAIJIERA (BUFFALO CLAN)

614 551

Moratcega.....He who travels the land.
Tcanimaniwinga.....She who walks ahead.
Tcenigkiga.....Suckling buffalo calf.
Tcega.....Buffalo.
Tcep'anu"pga.....Two buffalo heads.
Tcetca"iwinga.....First buffalo.
Tcelojenigk'a.....Buffalo yearling.
Tcelonigk'a.....Young buffalo bull.
Tcewiganedega.....Big female buffalo.
Wirukanauga.....He who is in control.
Hehekmanigs?.....Shaggy walker.
Tcehatcewinga.....Buffalo hide blue.
Mangikuntcga.....Shakes the earth by striking.
Tcep'ag.....Buffalo head.
Manok'azuhiga.....Kicking up the earth.

## THE DEER CLAN

### INTRODUCTION

614 173 The first version of the origin myth of the Deer clan is in part like that of version 6 of the Bear clan origin myth and in part like that of version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth. It is the only myth that shares with version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth the account of the origin of death.

614 The Deer clan does not seem to have had any important functions, although in myth 1, it is stated that they claimed a "partial" chieftainship, whatever that may mean.

[577] It was considered an insult to tell a member of this clan that he resembled a deer.

[302] The facial painting is the same as that used for the Elk clan. (Pl. 46.)

[826 761] The Deer clan people tell one another not to sing their clan song very loudly, and also not to make any sudden movement of their limbs, for each movement might cause the death of a human being. For the same reason they are told not to weep too loudly, as each deer's limb is a symbol of one of the four directions. When, therefore, a Deer clansman moves a limb too hard when he is weeping over the decease of a member of his clan, he might be "putting some human being in the earth," and the wind would blow hard.

[552] The dog names obtained were *uankcigohonigs* and *na"natcgiega*.

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6/F
302

THUNDERBIRD CLAN

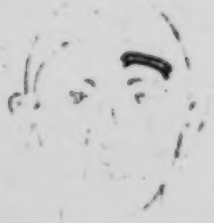
WARRIOR CLAN

EAGLE CLAN

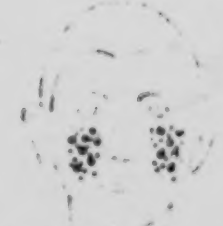
BEAR CLAN

BEAR CLAN?

WOLF CLAN



BUFFALO CLAN



ELK AND DEER CLANS

WATERSPIRIT CLAN

FACIAL BURIAL MARKS

[Facing P. 248 (A)

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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they gave one another. Thus they have the names *White-hair, Fast-one, Little-white-teeth, Diffident-one, Horn, Pronged-horn*, etc.; and for dogs they have names also. That is the way the deer people lived in the beginning at Red Banks, Within Lake. Bands of people gathered together there, and all the clans that exist now originated there. 539 776 614

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

The Deer clan people came up at the beginning of the earth. Only one is spoken of as appearing at the beginning. He started forth but returned again that he might look for a companion. For that reason a name exists in the tribe, *He-who-comes-back*, and another is *He-who-appears-first*. After they had appeared on earth the deer blew on the original fire, which was only smoldering, and made it blaze up. For that reason they claim a partial chieftainship. The first one that appeared had a chief's medal around his neck. [551]

CLAN SONG. 614 533

I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions
I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.

CLAN NAMES

TCA HIK'IK'ARADJERA (DEER CLAN)

614 551

Teasephûnk'a.....Black deer chief.
Wagizona"p'i"ga.....Wears shells around neck.
Teanûnkca"p'i"wingo.....Deer vagina.
Mank'isagayepga.....Appears in the middle of earth
Teatconiwinga.....First deer woman.

## THE ELK CLAN

INTRODUCTION

In the Elk clan origin myth we find the clear statement that Earth-maker created the ancestors of the clan, and that they were human beings. The myth resembles a village origin myth more than it does a clan origin myth. 614 [773 776]

The Elk clan seems to have had certain functions relative to the distribution of fire through the village and in camp. It was never a very large clan.

The Elk people claim half of the fire, and thus half of the chieftainship. They never hold fire toward any one. [372]

Elks are buried by the Snake, Water-spirit, and Eagle clans although the first has the preference. [622] [764]

White clay is used in painting the dead.

According to another informant, the facial painting consisted of white and blue dots on the face (pl. 46). [302]

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621 The leaders of the west and south bands receive each 3½ yards
756 of calico and a fourth of the food.

431 The ancestor host receives various gifts of food and tobacco from the leaders of the other bands. He receives his payment from the candidate before the ceremony proper.

756 The candidate is present at the four nights' ceremony of the an-
796 cestor host's band, preliminary to the ceremony proper. At the latter ceremony he sits to the right of the ancestor host's band. He is not dressed in his new suit until after the secret ceremonies in the brush.

302 There are facial decorations distinctive of the different bands:
621 The host's band and the candidate paint a blue circle on each cheek, but its significance is unknown to the writer.

The regalia used are simple and few. They consist of eagle, hawk, squirrel, beaver, and otter-skin bags (pls. 51–53), a drum, gourd rattles, and invitation sticks. The otter-skin bags are always beaded and contain the sacred shell and various medicines. A few red feathers are always inserted in the mouth of the otter-skin bag. The gourds contain buckshot at the present time and are painted with blue finger marks.

*Division of the ceremony.*—The medicine dance is divided into five well-marked parts. The first part (I) consists of the two nights' preparation preceding the sending out of the invitation sticks. This takes place at the home of the ancestor host in the presence of the members of his band and the candidate. The second part (II) consists of the four nights' preparation preceding the sweat-lodge ritual. Each band has its own four nights' preparation, although that of the ancestor host begins before the others. The third part (III) consists of the rites held in a sweat lodge, specially constructed for this purpose near the medicine lodge, on the morning after the four nights' preparation. The participants are the ancestor host, the leaders of the east, west, north, and south bands, each with his two assistants, and the candidate. The fourth part (IV) consists of the ceremony proper, which in turn must be divided into the night ceremony (*a*) and the day ceremony (*b*). The fifth part (V) consists of the rites held in the brush, at which the secrets of the society are imparted to the candidate. Special guards are placed on all sides of the brush to prevent the intrusion of outsiders. The participants,
[625] besides the candidate, are the ancestor host, the leaders of the east and north bands, each with his two assistants, and all other individuals who have bought the privilege of attending. These ceremonies take place at dawn preceding the day ceremony.

Two feasts and one intermission interrupt the main ceremony. The feasts always take place at the end of the ritual of the east
[621] band—i. e., generally at noon and at midnight. The intermission

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That night we went to the place where the peyote meeting was to take place. They gave me a place to sit and treated me very kindly. "Well, he has come," they even said when I got there, "make a place for him." I thought they regarded me as a great man. John Rave, the leader, was to conduct the (ceremony). I ate five peyote. Then my brother-in-law and my sister came and gave themselves up. They asked me to stand there with them. I did not like it, but I did it nevertheless. "Why should I give myself up? I am not in earnest, and I intend to stop this as soon as I get back to Wisconsin. I am only doing this because they have given me presents," I thought. "I might just as well get up, since it doesn't mean anything to me." So I stood up. The leader began to talk and I (suddenly) began to feel sick. It got worse and worse and finally I lost consciousness entirely. When I recovered, I was lying flat on my back. Those with whom I had been standing were still standing there. I had (as a matter of fact) regained consciousness as soon as I fell down. I felt like leaving the place that night, but I did not do it. I was quite tired out. "Why have I done this?" I said to myself. "I promised (my sister) that I would not do it." So I thought and then I tried to leave, but I could not. I suffered intensely. At last daylight came upon me. Now I thought that they regarded me as one who had a trance and found out something.

Then we went home and they showed me a passage in the Bible where it said that it was a shame for any man to wear long hair. That is what it said, they told me. I looked at the passage. I was not a man learned in books, but I wanted to give the impression that I knew how to read, so I told them to cut my hair, for I wore it long at that time. After my hair was cut I took out a lot of medicine that I happened to have in my pockets. These were courting medicines. There were many small bundles of them. All these, together with my hair, I gave to my brother-in-law. Then I cried and my brother-in-law also cried. Then he thanked me. He told me that I understood and that I had done well. He told me that Earthmaker (God) alone was holy; that all the things (blessings and medicines) that I possessed were false; that I had been fooled by the bad spirit (devil). He told me that I had now freed myself from much of this (bad influence). My relatives expressed their thanks fervently.

On the fourth night they had another meeting and I went to it again. There I again ate (peyote). I enjoyed it and I sang along with them. I wanted to be able to sing immediately. Some young men were singing and I enjoyed it, so I prayed to Earthmaker, asking him to let me learn to sing right away. That was all I asked for. My brother-in-law was with me all the time. At that meeting all the things I had given my brother-in-law were burned up.

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935

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In each village, the two civil chiefs, appoint all the officers, deemed necessary, civil and military, who obey them implicitly. There are two ways of arriving at these high stations, by birth and by election. When the father dies, if he has a son, who has arrived at the age of manhood, and who bids fair to make a good chief—that is, if he possesses a good form, has good bodily powers and mental faculties—is brave, sedate, wise and prudent, he generally succeeds his father in the government, on his father's demise. If the chief, at his death, leave no son who is qualified for the high office of chief, but wills it to some other person, he succeeds to the government. If the chief has no son at his death, it is commonly the case, that his brother's son succeeds him. The line of succession may run out for want of a lawful heir, which is always supplied by an election. It may be changed too, where the heir is unqualified for the station. Great deference is always paid to the will of the dying chief, but every such case is always laid before a full national council, whose decision is final (p. 97). 622 [624] [666]

A chief may be degraded from his rank for bad conduct. . . .

There is in every tribe, what answers to a standing army among us. The profession of arms holds out, to the great mass of the common people, the only road to the temple of fame. . . . The young man, who aspires to the honorable distinction of a "brave" or warrior, must exhibit such traits of character, as are deemed necessary for a soldier to possess, before he can be admitted into the army. When admitted, he wears on his head just as many feathers of the bald eagle, as he has slain human beings, and the size of the feathers indicate the size of his victims. . . . If the warrior has taken a captive, he has a human hand as large as life, painted either on his face, or on some part of his body, or on his blanket, some individuals have several such hands painted upon them (p. 98).[9] 701 703 [301] [532] [302]

At the head of the army, belonging to each tribe, there is a person who occupies the same station as a General does with us, and he appoints all the inferior officers. The chiefs when met in council, call into it, their warriors, with whom they consult, but frequently they are called to receive the orders, which are obeyed to the letter. This council call before them, persons who are interested in the trial . . . (pp. 98, 99). 701 623

If the Senate of the United States is the mildest, the most patriotic and wisest legislative assembly in the civilized world, as it truly is, the Winnebago council, is decidedly at the head of the savage world. . . . The great body of the people have very little influence, almost none, with this council, and they never appear before it unless they are summoned to attend it.—They have no voice in electing the chiefs and in fact no political influence. The civil chiefs and the chief warriors, have in their hands, the whole government of the community, and they govern as they please. Disobedience to the orders of the rulers is punished with death, though, like the British nation, the Indians are not savages enough to cut the traitor into quarters after hanging him until he is dead (pp. 99, 100). 623 [622] [687]

The female part of it, exercised the same influence among the women, that the chiefs did among the men, and the presents they expected from us, had to be better, than those given to the common people. The daughter of a chief, never mar- 554 562 [582]

[9] Quite different from the data given by Radin, The Winnebago Tribe, pp. 161, 162.

After a short time she came back all dressed up and
*159 ready. She had on a waist covered with silver buckles
584 and a beautifully colored hair ornament; she wore
301 many strings of beads around her neck and had brace-
lets around her wrists. Her fingers were covered with
[292] rings. She wore a pair of ornamented leggings and
[531] ornamented moccasins with wide flaps. In each ear
she had about a half dozen ear-holes and they were
full of small silver pieces made into ear ornaments.
● [300] She was painted, her cheeks red, and the parting of her
hair red. She was all dressed up.

* 159 I came to her on horseback. Then we rode together.
584 We were not going to return to the place from which I
had started that night, because I had been previously
asked to sing at a Medicine Feast at a place on our
way home. On the way I therefore hid the girl near
the place where the feast was to be given.

The girl had a red blanket, and I hid her under a
small oak bush. Unfortunately it rained all that night
and the next morning, and when, early in the morning,
I went to where I had hidden the girl I found her still
there, but soaked through and through from the rain.
Her paint was smeared all over her face in such a way
that she could hardly be recognized. When we arrived
* 159 home my grandfather's wife came out to meet us. She
585 helped the girl down from the horse and took her into
the lodge. Then we ate and when we were through the
girl took off her clothing and gave it to my grand-
parents who in return gave her other clothing. After
the girl had stayed there three nights she had her
• [841] menses and had to go to her special lodge and sleep
there.

## §20. *I Have a Fight*

Once we went out hunting game in the fall of the year. We used to sell the hindquarters and sometimes ship them as far as Chicago. We were of course only permitted to hunt for thirty days. The law was that if any one hunted longer than that he would be arrested. Yet in spite of all we hunted for a longer time because we felt that the law was meant only for the Whites. One day, however, in shipping deer away, we were detected. One of my brothers and myself were arrested, taken to court and convicted. We had to spend sixty days in jail. During my imprisonment I never had my hair cut and from that time on, I always wore it long. I told the people that a spirit called *Foolish-one*[24] had instructed me to do this and that he had blessed me. I also told my older brother, the one who was still living, to do the same thing and that if he, too, let his hair grow, *Foolish-one* would bless him with long life. From that time on I wore long hair.

After that I joined a show of the Whites. People liked me very much on account of my long hair and I was well paid. I kept on drinking all the time. I there learned to ride a bicycle and mount and ride wild

[24] The clown of Winnebago mythology. He is, however, regarded as having some of the characteristics of a spirit and, very occasionally, blessing an individual.

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 795 When John Rave had finished I ate five peyote. Then my brother-in-law and my sister came and gave themselves up. They asked me to stand there with them. I did not like it, but I did it nevertheless. "Why should I give myself up? I am not in earnest [577] and I intend to stop this as soon as I get back to Wisconsin. I am only doing this because they have given me presents," I thought. "I might as well get up, however, since it doesn't mean anything to me." So I stood up. The leader began to talk and I suddenly began to feel sick. It got worse and worse and finally I lost consciousness. When I came to, I found myself lying on my back. Those with whom I had been standing were still there. As a matter of fact, I had regained consciousness as soon as I fell down. I felt like leaving the place that night but I did not do it. I was quite tired out. "Why have I done this?" I said to myself. "I promised my sister that I would not do it." So I thought and I tried to leave but I couldn't. I suffered intensely. At last day dawned. Now I thought that they regarded me as one who had had a trance and had seen something.

Then we went home and they showed me a passage in the Bible where it said that it was a shame for any man to wear long hair. I looked at the passage. I was [302] not a man learned in books, but I wanted to give the [156] impression that I knew how to read so I told them to cut my hair. I was still wearing it long at the time. After my hair was cut I took out a lot of medicines, many small bundles of them. These and my shorn hair

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765 mourner's hair, give him presents, and tell him that he is now free to cease mourning and to marry if he wishes.

In former times the period of mourning is supposed to have lasted four years.

[302] When a person is in mourning he always cuts his hair short and does not comb his hair. In former times people often mutilated themselves by cutting off either entire fingers or finger joints.

[304] The overseer always takes all the belongings of the deceased, but he must give the latter's relatives an equal amount of new material.

## Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(first version)

764 184 614 [615] Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the clan dies they send after a man of the Thunderbird clan who is to speak to the corpse, paint it, and give him a war club to take along with him (to the land of the spirits). Then they go after a man from the lower phratry to bury him, for these clans (of the lower phratry) belong on earth and they have the right to dig into the ground and bury people.

When the one who is to be the general overseer arrives and arranges everything, he prepares the corpse, putting a sack of tobacco in one hand and a war club in the other. Then he paints him. He paints the forehead with a red and a black mark and paints the lower part of the face to the end of the nose with scattered dots. He paints the jaw red and he makes a red mark across the mouth and the throat. Then he speaks as follows:

You have departed at this (young) age. You have taken your relatives by surprise and have left them a long part of your life (i. e., you have lived but a small part of your apportioned share of years). As you go to spirit land, you will find on the [775 539] road many feathers, many good plants, and many good kinds of clay, scattered around, the blue clay, the red clay, and the white clay. You will also find the sweet-smelling plants and good life. For all these things do you ask. If anything comes across your path, throw it behind you without looking around. In four days you will depart and objects with which to mediate between us and the spirits will soon be furnished you. For four nights your people will tell you what to do and when they hear you singing on the road they will know that it is you. There (in spirit land) you will go to live and the songs that I will sing you will sing as you travel on your road.

Then he sings (the four clan songs).

When the gravediggers are finished they take the body and carry it to the grave, the mourners following. They take the body to the grave and there lower it.

## Death and Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(second version)

Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan dies, the clansmen discuss what is to be done for the spirit

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From these facts it is quite clear that, as far as the Thunderbird clan is concerned, the prevailing belief as to the relation of the members of the clan to the clan ancestor is but feebly substantiated by the origin myths. 614 773 114

As mentioned before, the chief of the tribe was selected from the Thunderbird clan, although the selection was apparently restricted to certain families. The functions of the chief of the tribe were connected with peace. He could not lead a war party, although, according to some, he could accompany one. His lodge stood either in the center of the village or at the south end, according to which of the two descriptions one cares to accept, and contained a sacred fireplace, around which only members of the Thunderbird clan could sit. This lodge was an asylum for all wrongdoers. No one could be killed there, and a prisoner who succeeded in making his escape to it was spared. Even a dog destined for a sacrifice at the war-bundle feast was freed if he took refuge in it. The Thunderbird chief always acted as intercessor between wrongdoers and their avengers. Even in so extreme a case as the murder of a clansman, he would always attempt a reconciliation by which the life of the murderer might be spared. If necessary, the chief would mortify himself, and with skewers inserted in his back have himself led through the village to the home of the nearest kinspeople of the murdered person. 614 622 [778] [482 304]

The chief seems to have had some other miscellaneous functions, the most important of which was, perhaps, his right to prevent an unauthorized war party to depart from the village. If he, as an older man and guardian of peace and the best interests of the tribe, felt that a war party was taking too many risks, he would take his pipe and place it across the path of the one contemplating an unwarranted expedition and thus signify his disapproval. If then the war party chose to go, any mishap was directly chargeable to the leader who disobeyed. Should anyone be killed, the leader was regarded almost in the same light as a willful murderer, and the kinsmen of the deceased warrior could demand redress. 622 721 [686] 622

Our main informant for the Thunderbird clan summarized the functions as follows: 614

The chief is chosen from one of the "greater" Thunderbird clans[1] and must be a man of well balanced temper, not easily provoked, and of good habits. The one sacred object he possesses is his pipe. He must be a peacemaker and love all the people in the tribe, the little children included. [156]

If he saw a man, woman, or child passing by, he was to call them in and give them food to eat, for they were his brothers and sisters. All the relatives he has are to look after his possessions and keep him well supplied, for he was supposed to give away things constantly. If any person came to borrow some object from him, he would tell [131]

[1] Hoffman divided the Thunderbird clans into two groups, the real Thunderbird and the Warrior clans. This latter he (indeed) was identified with the thunderbirds who caused the rain and who were quite different from the other thunderbirds.

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Nicollet's time, some even within the recollection of Winnebago still 172
living. All were unquestionably erected by the Winnebago, and since there is no reason for believing that this tribe entered Wisconsin many centuries before the first appearance of Europeans in America, it is quite erroneous to state, as Mr. Stout does, that the evidence at [114]
hand justifies us in dividing the occupancy of Wisconsin into two principal periods, the effigy mound-building era and the time that has elapsed since that period.

The use of copper by the Winnebago prior to their contact with Europeans is another of the rather baffling questions connected with Winnebago archeology. There are references to its use in the myth [173
of the Twins, but the sections of the myth where it is mentioned 177]
show marked evidences of European influence and can hardly be accepted as reflecting the original mode of life of the Winnebago. Copper is found in a number of mounds, but we have no way of determining whether these mounds are pre-Columbian or not.

In all likelihood, almost all the copper found in Wisconsin comes [316]
from the original copper workings at Isle Royale, Keweenaw, Ontonagon, and elsewhere, in the Lake Superior district. "A provisional description of the territory in which the greatest number of such artifacts have been recovered up to the present time may be given as extending from about the middle of Milwaukee County, northward along the west shore of Lake Michigan to Door County, thence westward to the Wisconsin River or slightly beyond, thence southward along this stream to Dane County and eastward to Milwaukee County, the starting point. Embraced within this territory are the extensive lake shore village sites, from which thousands of articles have already been recovered, and certain well-known sites in Green Lake and adjoining counties, the Rush Lake and similarly productive regions."[11]

The region thus described embraces the Winnebago territory and that subsequently occupied by the Central Algonquian tribes. It does not follow the line of Winnebago migrations farther than the Wisconsin River to the west or farther than the southern boundary of Dane County to the south or southwest. As far as the writer knows no one has ever been able to obtain any information from the Winnebago that would in any manner connect them with the authorship of the copper implements found associated with their old village sites. All Indians questioned denied that their ancestors had ever [177]
used copper before the arrival of the early French traders. For the Winnebago, it seems to the writer, the problem connected with the occurrence of copper implements is not whether the Winnebago made them, but how they came to obtain them. The solution of this problem would be immensely facilitated if we had accurate knowledge

[11] Brown, in the Wisconsin Archæologist, vol. 3, no. 3, p. 88.

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WINNEBAGO BONE IMPLEMENTS

(From Wisconsin Archeologist)

[Facing p. 88(2)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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It might be said that all recollection of the making of wooden vessels could easily have been lost in the last century or two and that therefore too much weight should not be given to present ignorance of the subject. There are a number of reasons, however, why ignorance in this particular case might be significant. First, many indications point to workmanship of a low order among the Winnebago in the manufacture of artifacts; second, there are many suggestions of two cultural strata in this tribe; third, while the Winnebago in Wisconsin still use wooden vessels, many of them claim that these were introduced; and fourth, all the informants who gave this information were old people. If the author were to hazard an hypothesis, it would be the following: In very early times few objects were fashioned out of wood, but gradually contact with the Menominee led to the introduction of many wooden vessels, and finally the acquisition of European axes, knives, and other implements made it possible to manufacture such vessels in large numbers. A similar explanation was offered by an Indian with regard to the use of dugouts.

Besides wood as a material for dishes and spoons of various kinds and sizes, shells were utilized, while sticks served as knives.

All informants agree that neither bone nor stone were used in the manufacture of utensils.

For cooking, clay pots were used. These vessels, most of which were very large, with round bottoms, always hung over the fire. The material used in their manufacture was blue clay found at Green Bay, on or near the site of St. Paul, Minn., mixed with shell shards, glue from sturgeon vertebræ, and the gelatinous substance in the horns of the deer. The addition of these ingredients greatly increased the cohesiveness of the clay. The material was either molded with the hands or in holes of the desired shape dug in the ground and lined with leaves. Finally, the vessels were dried over a slow fire in small kilns constructed for the purpose. None of the clay vessels were provided with handles. Some were ornamented with geometric patterns. The irregular incised designs on some Winnebago vessels are the impressions of grass blades with which the mold was lined.[5]

*Fire making.*—In former times fire was always made by means of a simple fire drill. This method is still used for ceremonial occasions.

*Tanning.*—The author never witnessed the process of tanning. The description obtained agrees exactly with that of Mr. A. Skinner here quoted:[6]

After the skin has been removed, the hair is scraped from it. During this process the skin is hung over an obliquely inclined log, one end of which has been smoothed

[5] One informant gave a description of pottery making in which a wheel was used, but as no other Winnebago corroborated this statement the author is convinced that it is inaccurate.

[6] Skinner, Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist. pt. iv, pt. ii, pp. [illegible].

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[2] Anthr. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist. pt. iv, pt. ii, pp. 268-269.

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[8] Anthr. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist. pt. iv, pt. ii, pp. 300-301.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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tory before them; or—but this is extremely unlikely—that they 172
were all of Algonquian origin.

### Implements of Stone and Other Materials

As pointed out before, we ought not to expect to find much strictly archeological data relating to the Winnebago in their Wisconsin habitat. As, however, they probably reached this habitat before the discovery of America, some of the archeological finds may easily go back that far. Unfortunately we have no way of determining, even approximately, the age of the artifacts.

We will now confine ourselves to a description of the more important types of artifacts and remains found on old Winnebago sites without going into the question of their respective age.

Implements and utensils were made of stone, clay, shell, bone, wood, antlers, and turtle claws (pl. 10). According to information obtained from the present Winnebago, which is supported by the testi- [411
mony of the myths and tales, but few objects were made of stone. 324]
The most important of these was the stone hatchet. It may even be questioned whether the Winnebago originally made these, for they are given a supernatural origin by those few Winnebago who mentioned their existence, and it has been the author's experience that objects to which a supernatural origin is ascribed are generally either of recent origin or have been borrowed. None of the myths or tales even mention their existence. Nevertheless a large number of stone implements, most of them presumably stone hatchets, has been found at Doty Island, near Menasha, Wis. (pl. 11), which had at one time been one of their principal village sites. It is quite probable that the Winnebago obtained most of these from the neighboring Algonquian [439]
tribes who were well known for their skill in working stone.

### Copper Implements

The Winnebago are known to have used copper implements in 172
fairly great abundance, the only question being whether they were 325
the original makers of these objects. We do not think they were, and base our opinion on the answers given by present-day Indians and the total absence of their mention in the myths. Both iron and presumably copper are mentioned in certain myths, but these pas- [177]
sages are clearly of European origin.

Practically all of our knowledge of the nature and distribution of copper objects in Wisconsin has been conveniently summarized in Mr. C. E. Brown's paper entitled "The native copper implements of Wisconsin,"[19] and all that we mention here is taken from this little monograph.

[19] The Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 5, no. 3

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172 Following Brown's classification, we note the following copper ob-
442 jects in Wisconsin: Axes or hatchets (the most common), chisels,
325 "spuds," gouges, spikes, spatulas, knives, spear and arrow points, harpoon points, pikes and punches, awls and drills, spikes, needles, and fishhooks.

The most important types of axes were the following: Those oblong in outline, with edges nearly parallel; those with straight edges and tapering, widest toward the cutting edge and becoming narrower toward the head. The head itself may be either flattened, rounded, or roundly pointed. This is the most common type found. The third type, according to Brown, resembles the second, "with the exception that the margin at the edges is slightly but distinctly elevated, thus giving a slightly depressed or concave surface in the center and from end to end on one or both broad faces of the ax. In some examples this margin is fully one-half inch in width at or near the middle."[13]

Three principal types of chisels were found: Those broadest at the cutting edge, with edges tapering gradually from this cutting edge to the head; those of nearly uniform width with straight parallel edges; and those with a more or less prominent median ridge.

According to Brown there can be no doubt as to their use. "It probably included the hollowing out of wooden canoes, troughs, and vessels . . ."[14]

Knives are quite common, there being two principal types one with a straight back and oblique, curved, or straight cutting edge; and another distinguished from the latter by a greater breadth of its broad curved blade and terminating in a broadly rounded point.

Spear and arrow points are found in great profusion and fall into many types: The leaf-shaped, the stemmed and flat, the ridged, the beveled, the eyed, the notched, the toothed, the spatula-shaped, the short-stemmed, the barbed or pronged, the conical, the rolled socketed, and the ridged socketed.

## Earthworks and Mounds

172 *Aztalan.*—Apart from the mounds there is one very famous earthwork in Wisconsin called Aztalan (pl. 12) which has for many decades puzzled archeologists. We will not enter into any of the numerous explanations given at different times by observers, but will confine ourselves exclusively to quoting the rather clear description given by Mr. G. A. West:[15]

The inclosure and associated earthworks at Aztalan, on the Crawfish River in Jefferson County, have long been considered among the most interesting and important

[13] The Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 3, no. 3, p. 61.
[14] Ibid., p. 62.
[15] "The Indian earthworks of Wisconsin antiquities," Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 6, no. 4, pp. [illegible].

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# CHAPTER III

## MATERIAL CULTURE

### Habitations

[343] In former times the Winnebago seem to have had eight types of lodges: The round lodge (*tei p'dcap'd'rate*), the long lodge (*tei se'rite*), the tipi, the grass lodge, the gable lodge (*na°haitei p'd'rap'arate*), the platform lodge, the ceremonial lodge, and the sweat lodge. Of the round lodge and the long lodge there are three varieties—one made entirely of bark (pl. 18, *c*); another made entirely of reed mattings (pl. 18, *a*); and still another of bark with a roof covering of reed matting (pl. 18, *b*). The round and long lodges of all three types are occasionally seen even now, rarely as habitations, however, but as storehouses (pl. 19). Gable lodges are no longer found among the Winnebago, but the writer has been informed that a few still exist among the Sauk and Fox living near Tama, Iowa.

The round and the long bark lodges are constructed in a very simple manner. These are built of poles of ironwood (*teatcô'na*) driven into the ground, bent over and lashed to other poles which meet them from the opposite direction. The poles are tied together with basswood bark (*hi°cke'runte*). The same material is used in attaching to these poles the cedar bark that forms the walls of the lodge. The walls are supported on the inside by a varying number of poles (*teicu' curuteu°p*) attached to the corresponding poles of the other side. In many cases a series of transverse poles (*teicu' na°jiyk'ere*) are inserted beneath the exterior vertical poles. These can be seen in plate 18, *a*, *b*, *c*. The bark roofs are incased in frames made of irregularly distributed vertical poles with generally one transverse pole (pl. 18, *a*, *b*, *c*). If the roofs are of reed matting two or three of the external poles have poles attached to them which are arched across the matting (pl. 18 *a*, *b*, *c*). The reed matting lodges, as a rule, have no external vertical poles and only two transverse poles each, one on the outside and one on the inside (pl. 19, *c*).

[172] Although considered of Winnebago origin by many Indians, these bark and reed matting lodges are in all probability of Central Algonquian origin. They are easily constructed and for that reason were generally used for temporary purposes in the olden times. Accord-

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According to the oldest informants, the earliest type of lodge used by the Winnebago was the ten-fire gable lodge, of which there were two types, rectangular in form, one built on a platform and the other on the ground. Poles of cedar, forked at the top, formed the sides. Through the forks transverse poles were laid to which the gable roof was attached. Three poles (*na"ji'k'eri*) were arranged in the center of the lodge for the better support of the roof. Beds were placed along both of the long sides on a platform raised 2 feet (*kazn'tc*). Frequently a platform 4 to 5 feet high was erected in the rear of the lodge and partitioned off. Here the favorite child of the family lived when he was fasting. In front of the lodge a spot was always kept carefully cleared (*nowazi'sera*). There were two doorways to the lodge. Often the entrances were shaded with boughs. According to some informants, this was only done for the chief's lodge. According to another description of the gable lodge, there were only two centra poles, one at each entrance; these were always painted blue to symbolize the day (fig. 22, *b*).

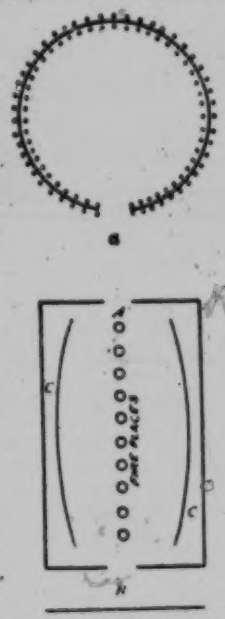


FIG. 22.—*a*, CROSS-SECTION OF ROUND LODGE. *b*, CROSS-SECTION OF GABLE LODGE.

As far as can be learned at the present time, the platform lodges were merely gable lodges on platforms. What purpose the platform served is now difficult to determine, but most Winnebago questioned said that it was provided as a protection against the dampness of the ground and insects.

The ceremonial lodge was merely a large, long bark lodge. The grass lodge seems to have been a roughly constructed round lodge with a covering of grass instead of bark. The sweat lodge was a round bark lodge having a framework of four poles. The tipi was of a simple type provided with a three-pole framework.

All the evidence obtained points to the fact that lodges of these types were used synchronously. According to the myths and the oldest informants, in ancient times a village occupied for a considerable period consisted entirely of gable lodges, but these seem to have given way to the round and long type, probably borrowed from the Central Algonquian. The gable type seems to have held its own, however, among the more western villages of the Winnebago. The round bark lodges were used in winter and the reed matting lodges in

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FOUR LEGS' VILLAGE ON DOTY ISLAND, 1890

(From Wauleu)

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501

[Facing p. 88(c)]

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342
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a. LODGE MADE OF REED MATTING

342
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142

b. LODGE MADE OF BARK WITH COVERING OF REED MATTING

[301]

c. LODGE MADE OF BARK

[Facing p. 92 (b)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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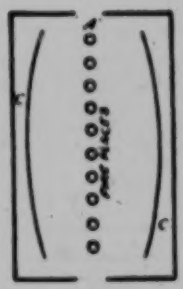


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1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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342 spring and summer. In the spring those who still lived in bark lodges covered the roofs with reed matting, as that material shed water more effectually than bark. The tipi was generally used on the hunt, the grass lodge merely for a shelter overnight.

[462] All the duties connected with the construction of the lodge belonged to the woman. These duties do not seem to have been restricted to any special class of women except in the construction of [886] ceremonial lodges, in which only women who had passed their climacteric could participate.

### Clothing and Adornment

291 In discussing the personal adornment of men it must be remembered that in former times each costume generally had special significance and could be worn only on certain occasions. Moreover,

FIG. 29. PATTERN OF MEN'S BUCKSKIN LEGGINGS.

FIG. 30. PATTERN OF WOMEN'S BUCKSKIN SHIRT.

certain articles of dress, as arm bands and garters, could be worn only by certain people. The significance of most of the items comprising a man's costume, as well as the proper occasion for wearing them, has long been forgotten and today everything relating to dress and adornment is hopelessly confused. Illustrations of the various articles of apparel will be found in plates 20-23; figures 23-26.

The men's clothing is thus described by Skinner:[1]

> The men's garments obtained in Wisconsin consisted of leggings of ribbon-worked cloth, or of plain buckskin. . . . Some of the latter are made skin-tight, with a broad flap fringed at the edge. The decorated flap of the cloth and the fringe of the buckskin are worn outside. Some are made by folding over a rectangular piece of leather and holding the sides together by means of thongs passing through from side to side, their ends serving in lieu of a fringe. Some little boys' leggings are skin-tight and fringed only at the top. The clout is of three pieces, a strip of plain, cheap material to cover the genitals, supported at each end by a belt, and two beaded breechcloth

[1] In "Notes Concerning New Collections," Anthr. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. IV, part II, pp. [illegible].

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224 825 or hear the noise and run away. For this reason the hunters are very careful about these two things—namely, the number of bears shot and the direction of the wind. The method of hunting bears when the acorns fall and they come to the open or cleared spaces is known as the *hiruci'e* method. When the bears eat acorns there only is it easy to find them and kill them without much effort.

224 [721 643] *Description of a buffalo hunt.* Whenever the Winnebago went buffalo hunting, they always went in large numbers, for the people used to say that on a buffalo hunt, they are likely to encounter their enemies and a fight might take place. It is even said that some people went purposely for the fighting. They generally went together with the *Homoxoc* (Missouri ?), Wazoteen, Iowa, and *Wafpdldpdpa*, the Otoe. Many women accompanied them. It is said that they could always tell where the buffalo were by the dust they encountered, for the dust raised by the trampling of the buffalo rose high in the air. They would always start out for the buffalo early in the morning on fast horses and try to ride up along the right side of the female buffalo, for they only killed the bulls afterward. They shot the buffalo with bow and arrows. When riding horseback, the bow is always drawn back with the right hand. The reason they try to kill the female buffalo first is because they always run away while the bulls do not.

While hunting the buffalo they were always bound to meet some of their enemies and a fight would ensue, so that when they returned, they would bring back not only [727] buffalo but also scalps, and immediately after their return the Victory Dance would be celebrated.

224 721 A different account of a buffalo hunt was obtained from another informant (J. H.):[4]

[342] Whenever we go on a buffalo hunt we camp in a circle, with the soldiers in front. They always carried long poles to be used in the construction of tipis. [This statement was made by a number of persons whose information was generally accurate. As [237 372] they were bound for the open prairie where there was a scarcity of wood, buffalo manure was always carried for fuel.]

As soon as the chief decided to go on a hunt he gave a feast [*war feast*] to which he invited everyone. This was generally in June. As soon as the feast was over a hunting council was held. Then the chief appointed public criers who went around the [203] village announcing the time for starting, etc. Then all went to the lodge of the chief of the Bear clan. There the ten best warriors were selected, who were to go ahead of the main body and reconnoiter for both buffalo and enemies. These started immediately and if they returned with the news that they had found many buffalo and enemy at the same time, fights frequently took place. Ten warriors always went ahead and the old warriors generally stayed in the rear behind the women in order to protect them better. As soon as they came to the place where the buffalo were seen they followed their trail and killed them. The flesh was cut up into large chunks, which were afterwards dried on the grass. Then when they had enough they all returned home, observing, of course, the same order of march as when they started. When they reached their home they gave another war feast at which all thanked the spirits for their successful return.

223 [762] *Pigeon hunt.*—The pigeons are "chief"[5] birds and they would be hunted whenever the chief decided to give the chief feast. The entire tribe was always invited to participate in the meal served, so that many pigeons were needed. The pigeons generally make their nests near human habitations. Sometimes there would be 20

[4] As his grandfather was a Dakota, J. H. may have confused in his account Dakota customs with those of the Winnebago. Apart from this consideration, it should be said that J. H. was an exceedingly unreliable informant.

[825 614] [5] They are called "chief" birds because the pigeon belongs to the same division as does the Thunderbird, or Chief, clan.

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a. INFANT WITH ORNAMENTED CRADLE-BOARD

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b. GROUP OF WINNEBAGO

[Facing p. 126 (B)]

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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[P. 147]

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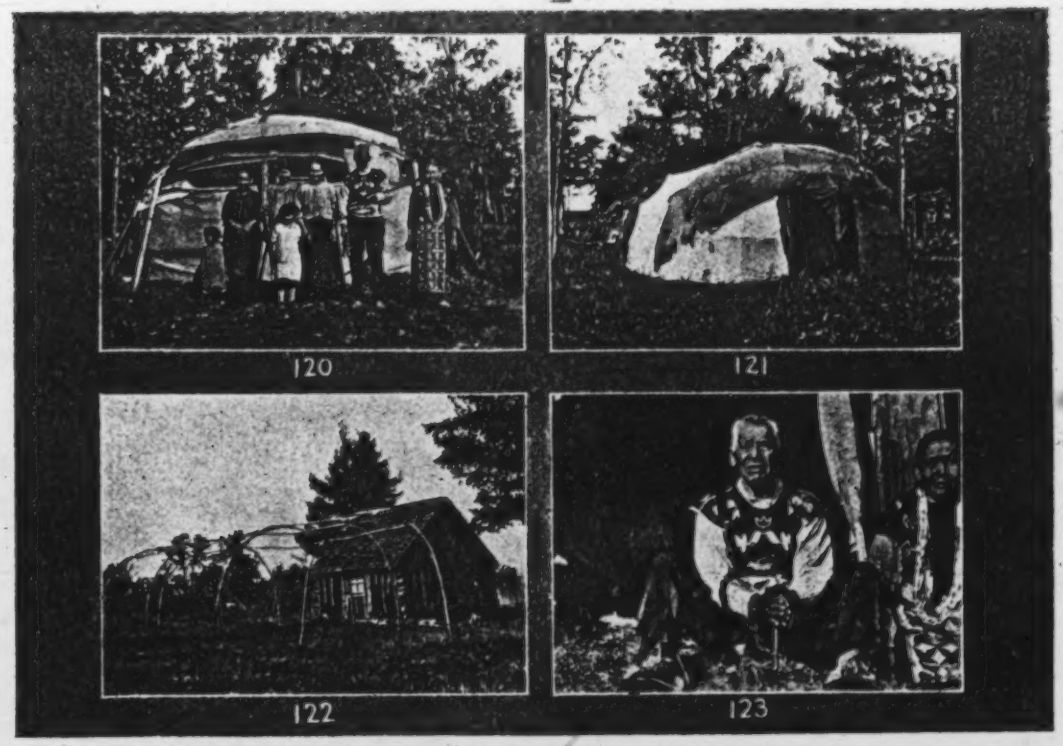


Fig. 120.—Big Wave and his family standing before his house.
Fig. 121.—Medicine Lodge near Big Wave's home.
Fig. 122.—Framework of the War-bundle Ceremony lodge.
Fig. 123.—Big Wave making sacred fire, accompanied by his wife.

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 Thus I acted up to the time that I have memory of things.

*159 221 [224] [342] [352] In those days there were not many white people living near us as to-day. My father went out hunting continually. The lodge in which we lived was covered with rush mattings, with reed mattings spread over the floor. After hunting for some time in one place we would move to another. My father, mother, older sisters, and older brothers, all carried the packs. Thus we would spend our time until the spring of the year and then in the spring we would again move in order [224] [136] to live near some stream where father could hunt muskrats, mink, otter, and beaver.

In the summer we always returned to Black River Falls, Wisconsin. Here all the Indians gathered after [222] they had given their feasts. Then we picked berries. When picking berries my father used to buy me gum *159 so that I should not be able to eat any of the berries. [261] I managed however to eat berries and chew gum at the same time. After a while I learned to chew tobacco and then I did not eat the berries while picking them. [276] Later on I got to like tobacco very much and I probably used up more money in buying tobacco than would have been the value of the berries had I eaten them.

[180] [593] [603] ing and crying to await the coming of the spirit Among the Winnebago, and probably among many other tribes, it was customary for the parents or grandparents, to prepare the children specifically for what was likely to happen; to inform them how to recognize the approach of the spirit and, what was more to the point, to teach them how to distinguish a good from a bad spirit.

[2]

[i.e., during their quest for a guardian spirit, see P.1, Category 116 -- Analyst]

## §3. *Fasting*

*159 At this stage of life I secretly got the desire to make myself pleasing to the opposite sex.

●[342] The Indians then lived in their old-fashioned lodges. Women, however, whenever they had their menses, [343] [841] were placed in special huts. There the young men would go to court them at night when their parents were *159 asleep. I used to go along with the men on such occa- 84 sions, for even although I did not enter any lodges but [584] merely accompanied the older men, I enjoyed it.

My parents were greatly in fear of my coming into contact with menstruating women so therefore I went with these men secretly. My parents were even afraid of having me cross the path over which a menstruating woman had passed. They worried so much about it at that time, because I was to fast as soon as autumn came. They did not wish me to be near menstruating women, for were I to grow up in their midst I would assuredly be weak and of little account. Such was their reason.

*159 Before long I started to fast again together with an 785 older brother of mine, both day and night. It was [221] during the fall moving, and several lodges of people were living near us. There it was that my elder brother and I fasted. Among the people of the other lodges [883] were four girls whose duty it was to carry wood.

* 159 §4. *Reminiscences of Childhood*

[785] The following spring I stopped fasting.

[501] In those days we used to travel in canoes. My
[226] father used to spear fish and always took me along
[593] with him, and this I enjoyed very much. He kept a club in the canoe and after he had speared a fish, I would kill it with the club as it was jumping around. Sometimes my mother accompanied us. She sat in the stern of the boat and rowed while my father stood in the prow and speared the fish. I killed all those thrown in the canoe.

[865] Sometimes my parents would start out without me, but I would then cry so bitterly that I, in the long run, induced them to take me along. Sometimes they whipped me and told me to go home, but I would follow them so far that they were then afraid to let me go back alone and I would thus be permitted to ride with them. Indeed I exerted myself greatly in crying and as I cried, ran after them and followed them very far, I was always taken along in the end.

● [342] In those days we lived in the old-fashioned Indian lodges. In winter our fire was placed in the center of
[354] the lodge and my father used to keep it burning all night. When he placed a large log in the fire it would burn a long time.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

# CHAPTER III

## MATERIAL CULTURE

### Habitations

34 In former times the Winnebago seem to have had eight types of lodges: The round lodge (*tci p'ârap'â'ratc*), the long lodge (*tci se'rite*), the tipi, the grass lodge, the gable lodge (*nâ"haitci p'â'rap'-arate*), the platform lodge, the ceremonial lodge, and the sweat lodge. Of the round lodge and the long lodge there are three varieties—one made entirely of bark (pl. 18, *c*); another made entirely of reed mattings (pl. 18, *a*); and still another of bark with a roof covering of reed matting (pl. 18, *b*). The round and long lodges of all [343] three types are occasionally seen even now, rarely as habitations, however, but as storehouses (pl. 19). Gable lodges are no longer found among the Winnebago, but the writer has been informed that a few still exist among the Sauk and Fox living near Tama, Iowa.

34-3 The round and the long bark lodges are constructed in a very simple manner. These are built of poles of ironwood (*teatcâ'na*) driven into the ground, bent over and lashed to other poles which meet them from the opposite direction. The poles are tied together with basswood bark (*hi"cke'xunte*). The same material is used in attaching to these poles the cedar bark that forms the walls of the lodge. The walls are supported on the inside by a varying number of poles (*teicu' curutca"p*) attached to the corresponding poles of the other side. In many cases a series of transverse poles (*teicu' ng"jiyk'ere*) are inserted beneath the exterior vertical poles. These can be seen in plate 18, *a*, *b*, *c*. The bark roofs are incased in frames made of irregularly distributed vertical poles with generally one transverse pole (pl. 18, *a*, *b*, *c*). If the roofs are of reed matting two or three of the external poles have poles attached to them which are arched across the matting (pl. 18 *a*, *b*, *c*). The reed matting lodges, as a rule, have no external vertical poles and only two transverse poles each, one on the outside and one on the inside (pl. 19, *c*).

[177] Although considered of Winnebago origin by many Indians, these bark and reed matting lodges are in all probability of Central Algonquian origin. They are easily constructed and for that reason were generally used for temporary purposes in the olden times. Accord-

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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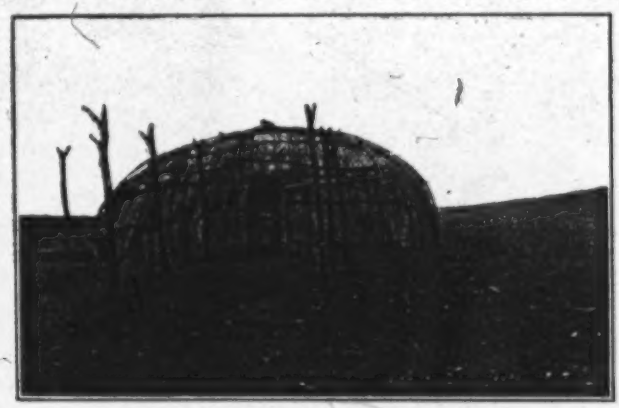
343



a. LODGE MADE OF BARK

b. MODERN LODGE WITH CANVAS COVERING

c. LODGE MADE OF REED MATTING

[Facing p. 104 (A)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



Accord-
ing to the oldest informants, the earliest type of lodge used by the Winnebago was the ten-fire gable lodge, of which there were two types, rectangular in form, one built on a platform and the other on the ground. Poles of cedar, forked at the top, formed the sides. Through the forks transverse poles were laid to which the gable roof was attached. Three poles (*na"ji'k'eré*) were arranged in the center of the lodge for the better support of the roof. Beds were placed along both of the long sides on a platform raised 2 feet (*kaza'te*). Frequently a platform 4 to 5 feet high was erected in the rear of the lodge and partitioned off. Here the favorite child of the family lived when he was fasting. In front of the lodge a spot was always kept carefully cleared (*nowazi'nera*). There were two doorways to the lodge. Often the entrances were shaded with boughs. According to some informants, this was only done for the chief's lodge. According to another description of the gable lodge, there were only two centra poles, one at each entrance; these were always painted blue to symbolize the day (fig. 22, *b*).

342

[513]

a

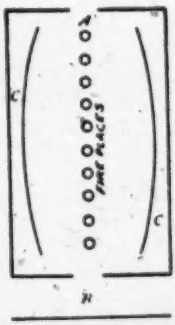



FIG. 22.—*a*, CROSS-SECTION OF ROUND LODGE; *b*, CROSS-SECTION OF GABLE LODGE.

As far as can be learned at the present time, the platform lodges were merely gable lodges on platforms. What purpose the platform served is now difficult to determine, but most Winnebago questioned said that it was provided as a protection against the dampness of the ground and insects.

The ceremonial lodge was merely a large, long bark lodge. The grass lodge seems to have been a roughly constructed round lodge with a covering of grass instead of bark. The sweat lodge was a round bark lodge having a framework of four poles. The tipi was of a simple type provided with a three-pole framework.

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All the evidence obtained points to the fact that lodges of these types were used synchronously. According to the myths and the oldest informants, in ancient times a village occupied for a considerable period consisted entirely of gable lodges, but these seem to have given way to the round and long type, probably borrowed from the Central Algonquian. The gable type seems to have held its own, however, among the more western villages of the Winnebago. The round bark lodges were used in winter and the reed matting lodges in

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[177]

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1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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The menstrual lodge is never far from the lodge in which she lives. Indeed, it is within speaking distance, so that the occupants of her parents' lodge can hear her. All the utensils she uses are very small. The women stay from 4 to 10 days in the menstrual lodges. The older women stay out the shorter time because they are over it sooner. 841 343

It is said that if the young girls have any lovers they always come to the menstrual lodges at night. This is therefore the time for wooing. It is said that the girls cohabit with their lovers in these menstrual lodges. Those girls who have parents are attended by watchers, so that no unworthy men may visit them. They are especially guarded against ugly men, who are very likely to have love medicines. However, generally it is of no avail to struggle against such men, for they are invincible. [584 836] [832]

The women always take their blankets with them when they go to a menstrual lodge, for they never lie down but remain in a sitting posture, wrapped in their blankets. The women are always watched, so that when their menstrual flow comes everything is in readiness and lodge poles are placed around them and a lodge erected above their heads just about large enough to fit their body. They are not permitted to look upon the daylight nor upon any individual. If they were to look out during the day the weather would become very bad, and if they were to look at the blue sky it would become cloudy and rain. If they looked at anyone that person would become unfortunate. For four days they do not eat or drink anything; not even water do they drink. They fast all the time. Not even their own body do they touch with their hands. If they ever have any need of touching their bodies they use a stick. If they were to use their hands in touching their own body their bones would be attacked with fever. If they were to scratch their hands their heads would ache. After the fourth day they bathe in sight of their home. Then they return to their homes and eat. (This, of course, holds only for those whose menstrual flow ceases in four days.) If any women have to stay longer than four days they have to fast for that entire period. They always fast during this period and often some spirits bless them. When a woman who has stayed in the menstrual lodge for 10 days is ready to return to her lodge, she bathes herself and puts on an entirely new suit of clothes. Then her home is purified with red-cedar leaves and all the sacred bundles and medicines removed. Only then can she enter her parents' lodge. As soon as she returns to her parents' lodge after her first menstrual flow she is regarded as ready to be wooed and married. 841 [921]

Thus the teacher of our customs, the Hare, has willed it. At a feast all the young girls nearing the age of puberty will be absent, but the old women, who have passed their climacteric, sit right next to the men, because they are considered the same as men as they have no menstrual flow any more. [831 581 825 886]

If the Winnebago can be said to be afraid of any one thing it may be said it is this—the menstrual flow of women—for even the spirits die of its effects.

If the above account may be taken as a fairly accurate description of the customs connected with the menstrual lodge as they existed in former times, then one point must be regarded as of great interest, namely, that the women permitted their lovers to meet them there. So far as is known to the author, among other tribes having menstrual lodges it would have been considered a crime for any man to come near them. According to our informant the women were indeed guarded while they were in the menstrual lodges, but not so much to protect them against the intrusion of all men, as against the intrusion of unworthy men. From other information obtained, how- 831 841 [921

## §3. *Fasting*

*159 At this stage of life I secretly got the desire to make myself pleasing to the opposite sex.

[342] The Indians then lived in their old-fashioned lodges. Women, however, whenever they had their menses, ● [343] were placed in special huts. There the young men [841] would go to court them at night when their parents were *159 asleep. I used to go along with the men on such occa- 84 sions, for even although I did not enter any lodges but [584] merely accompanied the older men, I enjoyed it.

My parents were greatly in fear of my coming into contact with menstruating women so therefore I went with these men secretly. My parents were even afraid of having me cross the path over which a menstruating woman had passed. They worried so much about it at that time, because I was to fast as soon as autumn came. They did not wish me to be near menstruating women, for were I to grow up in their midst I would assuredly be weak and of little account. Such was their reason.

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[787] and clairvoyance, and thinks they have had them for centuries. They use a long and
[346] large lodge a [blank] prepared for the purpose, in which all those allowed to witness the ceremonies are assembled. Adjoin-
[343] ing this house is a bark tent built in a conical form as a steam house. They excavate a hole in the ground, heat large stones in a fire to a great heat, and then put them in this hole, and cover them over and seat the initiate over them. He is then covered around with blankets so that none of the steam may escape, after which water is poured on the stones and the neophyte is
[783] enveloped in a roasting steam bath. This is
[776] the first act, and the object is to steam all evil spirits out of him.

He is then led in to the house, after the steaming process in some instances has been repeated once or twice. He is then blindfolded and led around the house. Pres-
[534] ently the singers beat the drum, shake the rattles, and commence singing a tune; then commences the dance, which is joined in by all present who wish to do so. The wom-
[562] en are members of the medicine lodge as well as the men, and they join in the songs and in the dance. After the dancing is done, or perhaps he may have stood in the midst of it there is a suspension of all sing-
[756] ing and dancing. Several medicine men then advance towards the neophyte, pointing their medicine bags at him, then drawing them back. This advancing and receding and ejaculating certain words calculated to work up the mind of the novitiate into a regular phrenzy.

Presently they reach him when they hit their medicine bags against his body, he still being blindfolded and at the same time uttering a shrill exclamation. The Judge
[158] said the novitiate jumped up and fell flat on his face as if dead and that apparently with-

[P. 60(B)]

l:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



Accord- 342
ing to the oldest informants, the earliest type of lodge used by the Winnebago was the ten-fire gable lodge, of which there were two types, rectangular in form, one built on a platform and the other on the ground. Poles of cedar, forked at the top, formed the sides. Through the forks transverse poles were laid to which the gable roof was attached. Three poles (*na"ji'k'eré*) were arranged in the center of the lodge for the better support of the roof. Beds were placed [513] along both of the long sides on a platform raised 2 feet (*haza'te*). Frequently a platform 4 to 5 feet high was erected in the rear of the lodge and partitioned off. Here the favorite child of the family lived when he was fasting. In front of the lodge a spot was always kept carefully cleared (*nazwzi'nera*). There were two doorways to the lodge. Often the entrances were shaded with boughs. According to some informants, this was only done for the chief's lodge. According to another description of the gable lodge, there were only two centra poles, one at each entrance; these were always painted blue to symbolize the day (fig. 22, *b*).

a

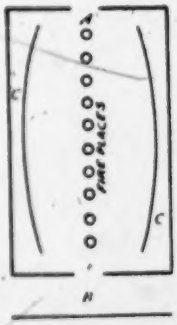


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FIG. 22.—a, CROSS-SECTION OF ROUND LODGE. b, CROSS-SECTION OF GABLE LODGE.

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The ceremonial lodge was merely a large, long bark lodge. The grass lodge seems to have been a roughly constructed round lodge with a covering of grass instead of bark. The sweat lodge was a round bark lodge having a framework of four poles. The tipi was of a simple type provided with a three-pole framework.

All the evidence obtained points to the fact 34
that lodges of these types were used synchronously. According to the 361
myths and the oldest informants, in ancient times a village occupied for a considerable period consisted entirely of gable lodges, but these seem to have given way to the round and long type, probably borrowed from the Central Algonquian. The gable type seems to have held its own, [177] however, among the more western villages of the Winnebago. The round bark lodges were used in winter and the reed matting lodges in 342

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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614 have been subjected to literary and shamanistic remodeling. Only
173 the shorter accounts show in their subject matter and presentation certain affinities to the origin myths of the other clans, the longer ones being entirely different. Another cause for these marked differences may lie in the circumstance that since the longer accounts were associated with semi-esoteric ceremonies, the war-bundle feasts, they were known to but few individuals in the clan, whereas the shorter legends could be learned by anyone who chose to pay for
614 them. To this must also be added the fact that presumably some of the accounts current were based on hearsay knowledge.

[554] The Bear clan was, next to the Thunderbird clan, the most im-
[361] portant in the tribe. Its lodge was either in the center of the village, opposite that of the Thunderbird clan, or at the extreme end, depending upon the scheme of village organization accepted as
[727] correct. In it were confined the prisoners of war and the insignia of office possessed by the clan, such as the so-called standards, really crooks, and the so-called *namazinizini*. Some individuals also claimed
[513 that unmarried men were allowed to sleep in the lodge, although they
345] were not clear as to whether they did this in order to guard the prisoners confined there or simply used it as a club house.

The clan songs are given on page 235. The same songs are used
[533] when gathering the clansmen together to select soldiers.

Apart from the war bundle or war bundles, the Bear clan possessed
614 three insignia—a war club of a definite shape, the curiously whittled
778 baton of authority called *namazinizini*, and the crooks used in battle called *hake'reu*. Whenever the clan was exercising any of its functions the leader would always hold in his hands the *namazinizini*.

The functions of the clan were probably the most important in the tribe and were entirely disciplinary. The author obtained the following description from an old Winnebago:

614 The Bear clansmen are the soldiers or sergeants-at-arms of the tribe. They have
625 complete control of everything concerning discipline. Whenever the Winnebago are traveling or moving (i. e., on their various seasonal moves), the Bear clansmen lead, and wherever they decide to stop, there the leader would put his stick in the ground and the other Bear clansmen would do the same, arranging them all in a row pointing toward the direction in which they were going. The main body of the tribe would follow at a certain distance. No member of the tribe would dare pass ahead of the row of sticks. If, for instance, the tribe was on the fall move and traveling toward a country in which there was plenty of game, should any individual go back and around the sticks in order to kill game on his own account, the soldiers (Bear clansmen) would, as soon as he was detected, go over to his lodge and burn it up with all its contents and break all his dishes. The only thing they would spare would be his life and that of the other members of his family. If the one who had transgressed the rules made any attempt at resistance he would be severely whipped. If he refused to submit to this and took up his fire arms to fight, the soldiers would stand there calmly, but the moment he made an attempt to shoot they would kill him. In such a case nothing would be said either by the rest of the tribe or his relatives about

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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a. EXTERIOR OF MEDICINE DANCE LODGE

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b. INTERIOR OF MEDICINE DANCE LODGE

[Facing p. 350 (A)]

1: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



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a. EXTERIOR OF MEDICINE DANCE LODGE

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b. INTERIOR OF MEDICINE DANCE LODGE

[Facing p. 350 (3)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

# CHAPTER XVI

## THE PEYOTE CULT

### General Description

794 Owing to the great importance of one of the modern cults found among the Winnebago, the so-called Mescal or Peyote, it will be discussed here in some detail. Not only is this cult of great prominence in the life of the modern Winnebago, but as its inception and progress can be followed out in considerable detail it is of great significance for the study of their religion.

[346] The ceremony is generally held in a building called by the Peyote worshipers a church, although it frequently takes place in the open also. In the early days of its organization as many meetings as possible were held. In 1910 there was a tendency to restrict the number and to have them generally take place on Saturday night. In 1913, after the first enthusiasm of the new converts had died out, the author was informed that the meetings were rarely held more than once a week. Around Christmas and beginning with July a series of meetings was held, lasting from a week to 10 days, as a rule. The Christmas meetings were not prominent in 1910, but the July ones seem to have been held from the beginning. They represent, of course, merely a substitution for the older pagan ceremonies and games that were held about that time.

796 In the early days the ceremony was opened by a prayer from the
794 founder, and this was followed by an introductory speech. Thereupon the leader sang a Peyote song, to the accompaniment of a drum.
[533] Then another speech was delivered, and when it was finished the drum and other regalia were passed to the man to the right. This man, in turn, delivered a speech and sang a song, and when he was finished, passed the regalia to the third man, who subsequently passed it to the fourth one. The fourth man, when he was finished, returned it to the leader. In this way the regalia passed from one person to another throughout the night. It not infrequently happens that one of these four gets tired and gives up his place temporarily to some other member of the cult. At intervals they stopped to eat
[276] or drink peyote. At about midnight the peyote, as a rule, begins to affect some people. These generally arise and deliver self-accusatory
[583] speeches, and make more or less formal confessions, after which they go around shaking hands with everyone and asking forgiveness.

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12

[P. 147]

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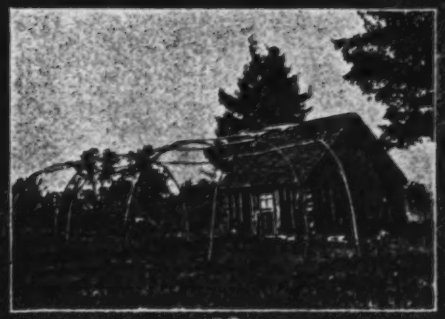

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123

Fig. 120.—Big Wave and his family standing before his house.
Fig. 121.—Medicine Lodge near Big Wave's home.
Fig. 122.—Framework of the War-bundle Ceremony lodge.
Fig. 123.—Big Wave making sacred fire, accompanied by his wife.

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12



114 people attend as a matter of courtesy, or to keep peace in the family.
796 It was my good fortune to attend such a meeting, a war-bundle ceremony, in October, 1927. Mr. A. White, whose Indian name is *Teus-*
[795 *tca-he-de-ga* (Big Wave), figure 120, is custodian of the war-bundle
778 of the Thunderbird clan of the Wisconsin Rapids band of Winnebago.
614] Word came to me through his son-in-law, Mr. U. S. White of Milwaukee, that a war-bundle feast would be held shortly, and that I was specially invited to attend.

As Mr. White and his family also wished to make the trip, we drafted a Museum car into service and joined forces. In addition to Mr. White and his wife and two children, Mr. Alton Fisher was persuaded, without much difficulty, to join me in representing the Department of Anthropology.

We arrived at Wisconsin Rapids late at night, and were up early on the following morning and on our way to the site selected for the [574] ceremony. Upon arriving at his home, we were courteously received by the custodian of the bundle, and privileged to meet his family and many others who were in the midst of preparations for the feast.

796 The regular war bundle ceremony of the Thunderbird clan is a feast and dance given in honor of various spirits, chiefly the Thunderbirds,
[776 who are the spiritual directors of war, and the Night Spirits. It is
614] held in an oblong wigwam shaped like the medicine lodge of the Winnebago and neighboring Algonkin groups, figure 121, and similarly con-
[346] structed of a frame-work of bent poles covered with birch bark or mats, or more recently with canvas or other cloth. Big Wave had directed the construction of the lodge for this particular ceremony in an area immediately adjoining his dwelling lodge, figure 122. The single door was placed at the end of the lodge, facing east.

[252] The lodge was small, made so to accommodate the limited number expected to attend, and consequently it was decided to cook the feast over outside fires, an irregular, though not unusual procedure. Therefore, only a single fire was built in the lodge, centrally situated at the
796 eastern end not more than three paces from the door. Since the fire
372 was to be new, sacred fire, the ceremonial fire-making equipment from
778 the war bundle was employed. This consisted of a flat, rectangular base of oak, nearly perforated in many places with charred drill holes, and a drilling element of softer wood. Big Wave himself officiated in the fire making, figure 123. Kneeling, he placed the basepiece between his knees, with tinder conveniently near. Then one end of the drill was fitted into one of the holes in the base, and the shaft was rapidly rotated between his hands. Soon smoke curled up from the point of friction. The bits of glowing wood dust so produced were quickly applied to the tinder and carefully blown to a small flame. Then light kindling was applied, followed by heavier sticks until the fire was be-

●346

[For the myth of the creation of the Medicine Dance lodge and its symbolism see category 116, pp. 121-122.]

## *Crashing Thunder*

726 *159 Our feast was given in a lodge that had eight fire-
796 places. The host always sits near the last fireplace, at
789 the east end. There we stood crying to the spirits.
[346] My older brother fell to the ground from fatigue and
[354] exhaustion. We were stark naked except for our
[891] breech-clouts. When this prayer was finished we put on our moccasins. Then the host greeted the participants as follows:

"I greet you; I greet you all, war-bundle possessors. My grandparents, especially my grandfather, concentrated their minds upon this ceremony for me. The fireplace, the food, the offerings, with which the spirits blessed my grandfather, that I am going to ask for myself to-day. However weakly I may wobble about in trying to do the proper thing to-day, I know that my elders present here will extend their aid to me. I am now going to offer some tobacco to you all. War-bundles possessors, I greet you all."

*159 Following the speech came the prayers to the various
796 spirits:
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726

Hearken O Earthmaker, our father, I am about to offer tobacco to you. My ancestor concentrated his mind upon you and that with which you blessed him I now ask of you directly. I ask for the small amount of life you granted him, aye for four times the blessings you bestowed upon him. May I never meet with trouble in life.

O Grandfather, chief of the Thunderbirds, you who live in the west, here is a handful of tobacco. Extend to me the deer with which you blessed my ancestor. I pray you to accept this tobacco from me. May I never meet with trouble in life.

## §14. *Initiation into the Medicine Dance*

*159 The person who had died and whose place I was to take was an uncle of my father's. I was glad of the opportunity for I had always liked the Medicine Dance whenever I had seen it. I had aways enjoyed watching from the outside what was taking place inside and I had always been filled with envy. So naturally I was very glad to join and anxious as to what would happen. We proceeded to the place where the ceremony was to be held, traveling from Tomah to Wittenberg. Sometimes we would have to walk, but I enjoyed it nevertheless. I was very happy.

Finally we arrived at the place and my father explained to the people that he had turned over his right of membership to me. They were quite satisfied.

*159 We were to build the ceremonial lodge immediately, ●346 so we went and cut the poles for it after measuring 796 the length required. Of course, we hunted around and got the kind of poles always used for that purpose. Then we constructed the lodge. We stuck the poles in the earth. We worked together with three old men, brothers of the man who had died. They told me that this ceremony was a holy affair, that it was Earthmaker's play. We made an offering of tobacco at every ooo move we made. I, of course, thought that it must

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[787] and clairvoyance, and thinks they have had them for centuries. They use a long and
[346] large lodge a [blank] prepared for the purpose, in which all those allowed to witness the ceremonies are assembled. Adjoin-
[343] ing this house is a bark tent built in a conical form as a steam house. They excavate a hole in the ground, heat large stones in a fire to a great heat, and then put them in this hole, and cover them over and seat the initiate over them. He is then covered around with blankets so that none of the steam may escape, after which water is poured on the stones and the neophyte is
[783] enveloped in a roasting steam bath. This is
[776] the first act, and the object is to steam all evil spirits out of him.

He is then led in to the house, after the steaming process in some instances has been repeated once or twice. He is then blindfolded and led around the house. Pres-
[534] ently the singers beat the drum, shake the rattles, and commence singing a tune; then commences the dance, which is joined in by all present who wish to do so. The wom-
[562] en are members of the medicine lodge as well as the men, and they join in the songs and in the dance. After the dancing is done, or perhaps he may have stood in the midst of it there is a suspension of all sing-
[756] ing and dancing. Several medicine men then advance towards the neophyte, pointing their medicine bags at him, then drawing them back. This advancing and receding and ejaculating certain words calculated to work up the mind of the novitiate into a regular phrenzy.

Presently they reach him when they hit their medicine bags against his body, he still being blindfolded and at the same time uttering a shrill exclamation. The Judge said the novitiate jumped up and fell flat on
[158] his face as if dead and that apparently with-

[P. 60(B)]

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a. PEYOTE LEADERS

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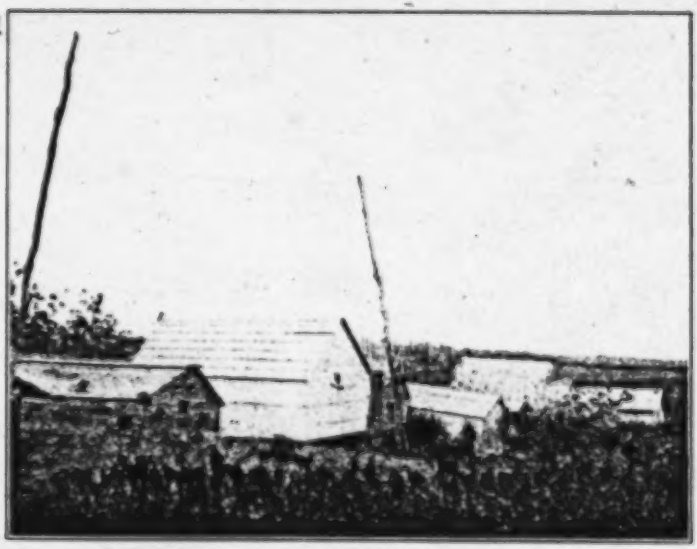

b. BURIAL HUTS

[Facing p. 388]

*Crashing Thunder*

*159 Thus I acted up to the time that I have memory of things.

*159 In those days there were not many white people
221 living near us as to-day. My father went out hunt-
[224] ing continually. The lodge in which we lived was cov-
[342] ered with rush mattings, with reed mattings spread over
[352] the floor. After hunting for some time in one place we would move to another. My father, mother, older sisters, and older brothers, all carried the packs. Thus we would spend our time until the spring of the year and then in the spring we would again move in order
[224] to live near some stream where father could hunt
[136] muskrats, mink, otter, and beaver.

In the summer we always returned to Black River Falls, Wisconsin. Here all the Indians gathered after
[222] they had given their feasts. Then we picked berries. When picking berries my father used to buy me gum
*159 so that I should not be able to eat any of the berries.
[261] I managed however to eat berries and chew gum at the same time. After a while I learned to chew tobacco and then I did not eat the berries while picking them.
[276] Later on I got to like tobacco very much and I probably used up more money in buying tobacco than would have been the value of the berries had I eaten them.

[187] ing and crying to await the coming of the spirit Among the Winne-
[593] bago, and probably among many other tribes, it was customary for the parents or grandparents, to prepare the children specifically for what was likely to happen; to inform them how to recognize
[603] the approach of the spirit and, what was more to the point, to teach them how to distinguish a good from a bad spirit.

[2]

[i.e., during their quest for a guardian spirit, see P.1, Category 116 -- analyst]

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a. EXTERIOR OF MEDICINE DANCE LODGE

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b. INTERIOR OF MEDICINE DANCE LODGE

[Facing p. 350 (8)]

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of specific clans in different villages. When on the warpath the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fireplaces, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, can not be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Teiwere. In the subsequent discussion of the clan we will touch on this subject again.

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fireplaces when on the warpath, each division having two fireplaces,

Fig. 34. Plan of village according to John Baxter, of Bear clan. A, Lodge of chief of tribe (Thunderbird clan). B, Lodge of chief of Bear clan. C, Lodge of Warrior clan. D, Lodge of Buffalo clan.

whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. When going west, for instance, the two fireplaces for the *waggeregi* are on the south, and the two for the *manegi* on the north side. However, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the division exists.

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the chief feast (*hunk wokq*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name *hunk wokq* would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Hunk* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the *waggeregi* division.

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if you accept them, then we will assuredly wear war honors (some 796x
day). That we may pass through life without any troubles and that 539x
we may live long, we ask of you and offer you tobacco, grandfather." 776

*Host's offering to Earth.*—"Grandmother, you blessed Djōbenagi- 782
wi'ąxga with whatever the Creator delegated to you. With everything that exists on the earth, for all eternity, did you tell grandfather you would bless him, and this is what we ask of you and for which we will forever offer you tobacco. You will do it, he told us you had said. A handful of tobacco we are about to send toward you, we, as many of our clansmen as are here. Tobacco do you accept from us, grandmother. A handful of tobacco there, upon him who stands in the middle of the lodge,[a] do we pour. Give us war powers and life; for these we beseech you. Here it is, the tobacco."

The host then pours some tobacco into the fire.

"Soup, vegetables, together with maple sugar we are about to send you.[b] If you accept them, life we will obtain; that we ask of you."

*Host's offering to the Moon.*—"Grandmother, You-Who-Come-at-Night,[c] grandmother, you blessed grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ąxga and now all his descendants, as many as there are, are about to offer you tobacco. Now when we come to a tobacco offering we will certainly offer some to you. And you will be cognizant of it, you assured us yourself, it is said. Whatever you are in control of and with which you blessed our grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ąxga for all eternity, that we are to ask for at all times, they told us you had said and you will assuredly give it to us. The tobacco, here it is."

He pours tobacco into the fire.

"I am using the tobacco as a means of obtaining life for myself and my relatives.[d] The Creator gave it to me and I am offering it to you. As many of our clansmen as are here we beg of you war powers; and that if we ever go on a warpath[e] there we will obtain the war honors. Soup and the animals the Creator made for me,[f] the black-furred one[g] we are offering you; soup of bear ribs. A sacred feast we are about to hold for you. A buckskin for moccasins we are about to send out to you. War powers and life we ask of you; that you give us life, so that our days may be happy. Truly, grandmother, did you bless our grandfather Djobenagiwi'ąxga with what-

[a] "He who stands in the middle of the lodge" is the ritualistic name for the firepiece. He is always personified and the tobacco is generally conceived of as being poured upon his head. [354]

[b] As the offerings are made to the earth, vegetables and maple sugar are selected.

[c] Ritualistic name for the moon. The regular name is "haho wira" (night sun).

[d] The term "ma-hi-gini k'uwik," literally meaning "a life bestowher," is used only in rituals and is generally taken to include any offering.

[e] "Sight," is the regular word for warpath. Literally it means simply "road."

[f] I. e., what the Creator had placed in his way and permitted him to catch and prepare for this feast. It is in this specific significance that it is meant here.

[g] "Ho'nakuna," is both the ritualistic and determinid name for the bear.

5: McKern - E-5 (1927) 1929
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yond the need of further nursing. Standing alone above this altar, Big Wave then offered, in his native tongue, a prayer to be carried upward by the fire to Creator. In a low voice he thanked Creator who taught the use of fire to the Indians, that it might live with them forever and watch over them. He expressed satisfaction that new fire had been started on this occasion, so that all present might enjoy the benefits of life. He described the fire as an interpreter, conveying to the spirit world the prayers of men. He then sprinkled tobacco upon the fire, saying: "This tobacco I offer you (the spirits) that you may do that which I ask of you, that you may grant to all here, our wives and children, and all our relatives, good fortune and all the benefits of life. This prayer is for others who will also give tobacco."

Later, when the meeting was convened and the guests filed into the ceremonial lodge, many silently sprinkled tobacco on the fire, thereby sharing the benefit of this prayer. This tobacco sacrifice is called, filling the spirits' pipe.

As soon as the new fire was burning well, coals were removed therefrom with which to start the cooking fires outside the lodge, for the feast must be cooked over sacred fire. Two short poles were placed on either side of the fire, topped by a crosspiece from which the pots were suspended on chains. Water was boiled, with which all the pots were thoroughly washed. Then the meat (fowl, beef and pork) was prepared for cooking. The fowls had to be singed over the sacred fire. A definite number of equal portions were placed in each pot, since each participating family was to share the contents of a single pot which, therefore, must contain a portion for every member of the invited group.

While the war-bundle owner's helpers, the waiters, selected from his paternal nephews when possible, were preparing the feast, he himself entered the lodge, took down the war-bundle from where it hung on the north wall opposite the fire and spread it out on the ground immediately west of the fire. Although much of the contents of the bundle appeared to be very old, the cover-piece was of cloth. The bundle was unrolled and spread out upon this rectangular piece of goods. The inner wrapper was of matting. Upon this a variety of fetishes and elements of ceremonial equipment was displayed. These included various bird skins, reed whistles and an old fire drill set which had long been out of use due to the fact that the base piece was entirely covered with holes, without interval, and as deep as the thickness of the piece would permit.

Two beaded snake-skin fetishes were suspended from the top of a peeled stake set up between the bundle and the fire. Adjoining this a sharpened stick, later to be used as a meat fork in distributing the meat, was placed, the handle thrust into the ground. Two fine old war clubs from the bundle were also placed between fire and bundle, their handles thrust into the ground. Two bowls, one containing tobacco and the

* 159 §4. *Reminiscences of Childhood*

[785] The following spring I stopped fasting.

[501] In those days we used to travel in canoes. My
[226] father used to spear fish and always took me along
[593] with him, and this I enjoyed very much. He kept a club in the canoe and after he had speared a fish, I would kill it with the club as it was jumping around. Sometimes my mother accompanied us. She sat in the stern of the boat and rowed while my father stood in the prow and speared the fish. I killed all those thrown in the canoe.

[865] Sometimes my parents would start out without me, but I would then cry so bitterly that I, in the long run, induced them to take me along. Sometimes they whipped me and told me to go home, but I would follow them so far that they were then afraid to let me go back alone and I would thus be permitted to ride with them. Indeed I exerted myself greatly in crying and as I cried, ran after them and followed them very far, I was always taken along in the end.

[342] In those days we lived in the old-fashioned Indian lodges. In winter our fire was placed in the center of
[354] the lodge and my father used to keep it burning all night. When he placed a large log in the fire it would burn a long time.

## *Crashing Thunder*

726 *159 Our feast was given in a lodge that had eight fire-
796 places. The host always sits near the last fireplace, at
789 the east end. There we stood crying to the spirits.
[346] My older brother fell to the ground from fatigue and
[354] exhaustion. We were stark naked except for our
[391] breech-clouts. When this prayer was finished we put on our moccasins. Then the host greeted the participants as follows:

"I greet you; I greet you all, war-bundle possessors. My grandparents, especially my grandfather, concentrated their minds upon this ceremony for me. The fireplace, the food, the offerings, with which the spirits blessed my grandfather, that I am going to ask for myself to-day. However weakly I may wobble about in trying to do the proper thing to-day, I know that my elders present here will extend their aid to me. I am now going to offer some tobacco to you all. War-bundles possessors, I greet you all."

*159 Following the speech came the prayers to the various
796 spirits:
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Hearken O Earthmaker, our father, I am about to offer tobacco to you. My ancestor concentrated his mind upon you and that with which you blessed him I now ask of you directly. I ask for the small amount of life you granted him, aye for four times the blessings you bestowed upon him. May I never meet with trouble in life.

O Grandfather, chief of the Thunderbirds, you who live in the west, here is a handful of tobacco. Extend to me the deer with which you blessed my ancestor. I pray you to accept this tobacco from me. May I never meet with trouble in life.

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*c.* Four lodges once left the main tribe at Prairie du Chien or MacGregor, Wisconsin, and never returned. This happened after all the other tribes had leagued together against the Winnebago. The reason these four lodges left the Winnebago was because they were afraid that war might break out again. Some people believe that the Oto

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FIG. 1. SECTIONAL MAP OF WISCONSIN, GIVING THE LOCATIONS OF SOME OF THE OLD VILLAGES.

EXPLANATION OF MAP.

[The numbers on the map indicate the locations of some of the Wisconsin Winnebago villages.]

1. Doty Island village, 1834-1922.
2. Prairie village, 1797-1831.
3. Black Wolf's village, 1828.
4. Smoker's village, 1848.
5. Surrebon's village, 1799.
6. Rush Lake village.
7. Yellow Thunder's village, 1828-32.
8. Sarrel's village, 1827.
9. Old Gray-headed Decorah's village, 1799.
10. Big Fox's village, 1822.
11. Waterton's village.
12. Iron Walker's village.
13. Little Priest's village, 1832.
Whirling Thunder's village, 1828.
14. Karrayumunee's village, 1832.
15. Spotted Arm's village.
16. Dayton village.
17. White Crow's village, 1822.
18. Chonkeka's village, 1848.
White Cat's village, 1822.
19. Old Gray-headed Decorah's village, 1799-1828.
20. Yellow Thunder's "forty."
21. Karrayumunee's village, 1832-42.
22. Sarrel's village, 1827.
23. Washington Decorah's village, 1822.
24. Buzzard Decorah's village, 1797.
One-eyed Decorah's village, 1822.
25. Little Decorah's village, 1837.
26. Big Hawk's village, Pike Lake.

are this last branch, for they speak the same language with but few differences and use many old words that the Winnebago employed long ago but have now given up.

*d.* Some lodges left the tribe never to return. Some say there were four, others give different numbers (of long lodges). Some say only one lodge. My uncle used to say that there were four. "I think that it is believed that they went to the east," he said.

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their hereditary enemies. As a matter of fact, according to Mr. Stout, in the small area of 31 square miles around the lake, no less than 481 linear mounds have been found, and, if we take into consideration the fact that but 50 miles to the northwest, in the Sauk County area, 734 were found, we have within a radius of 231 square miles an enormous number of linear mounds. Whether, however, this has anything to do with the statements of the Indians mentioned above is very doubtful. When the writer called the Indians' attention to the fact that structures that were so low could hardly serve as an adequate protection against arrows they retorted by saying that the Indians did not stand up when attacked but lay stretched on the ground behind the mounds. [172 248]

The same two areas that yielded such a large number of linear mounds were also rich in effigy and conical mounds, containing 225 of the former and 646 of the latter. The conclusion is thus forced upon us that we have here the seat of a large number of Winnebago settlements. The linear mounds may therefore be said to be characteristic features of certain villages. A similarly large number of linear mounds seems to exist in Crawford County, according to the investigations of Lapham. It is possible that a continuation of thorough and systematic studies like those made by Mr. Stout in Sauk County and Lake Koshkonong will bring to light many such linear mound areas closely associated with village sites. [361]

With regard to the Winnebago interpretation given above it might be said that we know of numerous battles that occurred both along Lake Koshkonong and the Mississippi, and that it would require no manipulation of the facts to accept the Indians' explanation. It might, nevertheless, justifiably be asked why these peculiar shapes? They can hardly have had any importance in warfare.

As opposed to the view advanced above, various interpretations have been given at different times. Peet regarded the linear mounds as game drives, but this explanation seems to have been quite arbitrary. At least we know of no facts that were brought forth in its defense.

Although the interpretation that we were here dealing with defensive structures was by far the most common, two other explanations were obtained, one to the effect that the linear mounds were the bases of lodges and the other that some, at least, were snake effigies. It is impossible to say anything about the latter contention, although there may be more in it than is suspected. The other explanation, even though they had a special name for the projections that are often found at one end of the linears (*naici*, or wood houses), must be accepted with caution. The enormous length of some of the linears hardly seems to support such an assump-

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FOUR LEGS' VILLAGE ON DOTY ISLAND, 1830

(From Waubun)

[Facing p. 88(c)]

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Accord- 342
ing to the oldest informants, the earliest type of lodge used by the Winnebago was the ten-fire gable lodge, of which there were two types, rectangular in form, one built on a platform and the other on the ground. Poles of cedar, forked at the top, formed the sides. Through the forks transverse poles were laid to which the gable roof was attached. Three poles (*na"ji'k'ere*) were arranged in the center of the lodge for the better support of the roof. Beds were placed [513] along both of the long sides on a platform raised 2 feet (*haxa'te*). Frequently a platform 4 to 5 feet high was erected in the rear of the lodge and partitioned off. Here the favorite child of the family lived when he was fasting. In front of the lodge a spot was always kept carefully cleared (*nowazi'nera*). There were two doorways to the lodge. Often the entrances were shaded with boughs. According to some informants, this was only done for the chief's lodge. According to another description of the gable lodge, there were only two centra poles, one at each entrance; these were always painted blue to symbolize the day (fig. 22, *b*).

FIG. 22.—*a*, CROSS-SECTION OF ROUND LODGE, *b*, CROSS-SECTION OF GABLE LODGE.

As far as can be learned at the present time, the platform lodges were merely gable lodges on platforms. What purpose the platform served is now difficult to determine, but most Winnebago questioned said that it was provided as a protection against the dampness of the ground and insects.

The ceremonial lodge was merely a large, long bark lodge. The grass lodge seems to have been a roughly constructed round lodge with a covering of grass instead of bark. The sweat lodge was a round bark lodge having a framework of four poles. The tipi was of a simple type provided with a three-pole framework. 345 343

All the evidence obtained points to the fact that lodges of these types were used synchronously. According to the myths and the oldest informants, in ancient times a village occupied for a considerable period consisted entirely of gable lodges, but these seem to have given way to the round and long type, probably borrowed from the Central Algonquian. The gable type seems to have held its own, [177] however, among the more western villages of the Winnebago. The round bark lodges were used in winter and the reed matting lodges in 342

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539 something. Ha ha, our friends have come. Sit opposite (those
614 opposite said). As long as we live we will attend to the fire for
776 you." "Listen, our friends, they are speaking." "Ha, ha, sit opposite me" (a new clan has entered). They sat down. "You Water-spirit clan, what relation, my friend, will you be to me?" "What relation shall I be to you? You will be my chief." "Good. Now listen, a dog is howling. Let us wait for him." So the Thunderbirds waited for him. "Let us call him." "Ha, ha, my friend, we wish to teach the two-legged walkers something. As we say so will the Winnebagoes ever be." Again the Thunderbirds spoke, "Listen, some one has said something. Two people have come. We will call them the Buffalo clan."

## The Warrior Clan

### INTRODUCTION

614 There are not many members of this clan left, although it seems to have been quite important in the old days, to judge from the number of effigy mounds all over Wisconsin. There seems little doubt but that those bird effigies with unsplit tail are supposed to represent this clan.

Only one version of the origin myth was obtained. There is little to be said about it except that it mentions the fact that it was customary to have names for dogs. One statement seems to point toward
[552 266] cannibalism. As was pointed out in the preceding discussion, there is a boastful claim that they were chiefs.

614 Although, at the present time, this clan is known only as the
178 wonayira ha'ąkrak (fear-inspiring men), its older name was hawk, and as such it was still known to J. O. Dorsey. When the present name began to be popular, it is impossible to say, but we feel confident that it has been in partial use for a considerable length of time. The change is quite in line with the rather common habit of referring to the Thunderbird clan as the chief clan and the Bear clan as the soldier clan. In other words, we have a name indicative of the functions of a clan superseding the older animal name. It is only in the case of the Warrior clan, however, that this substitution has been complete.

614 There is no indication in the myth that the Warrior clan was ever localized. A number of informants stated that the clan was but a division of a general bird phratry. In version 2 of the Thunderbird clan origin myth it is stated that the second of the two brothers was the ancestor of the Warrior clan. Dorsey, as we have seen, obtained the same information.

● [361] The Warrior clan seems to have had a lodge in the northwest corner of the village. In this lodge they claimed that prisoners were

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614 have been subjected to literary and shamanistic remodeling. Only
173 the shorter accounts show in their subject matter and presentation certain affinities to the origin myths of the other clans the longer ones being entirely different. Another cause for these marked differences may lie in the circumstance that since the longer accounts were associated with semi-esoteric ceremonies, the war-bundle feasts, they were known to but few individuals in the clan, whereas the shorter legends could be learned by anyone who chose to pay for
614 them. To this must also be added the fact that presumably some of the accounts current were based on hearsay knowledge.

[554] The Bear clan was, next to the Thunderbird clan, the most important in the tribe. Its lodge was either in the center of the vil-
[361] lage, opposite that of the Thunderbird clan, or at the extreme end, depending upon the scheme of village organization accepted as correct. In it were confined the prisoners of war and the insignia of
[727] office possessed by the clan, such as the so-called standards, really crooks, and the so-called *namazinizini*. Some individuals also claimed
[513 that unmarried men were allowed to sleep in the lodge, although they
345] were not clear as to whether they did this in order to guard the prisoners confined there or simply used it as a club house.

[533] The clan songs are given on page 235. The same songs are used when gathering the clansmen together to select soldiers.

Apart from the war bundle or war bundles, the Bear clan possessed
614 three insignia—a war club of a definite shape, the curiously whittled
778 baton of authority called *namazinizini*, and the crooks used in battle called *koke'reu*. Whenever the clan was exercising any of its functions the leader would always hold in his hands the *namazinizini*.

The functions of the clan were probably the most important in the tribe and were entirely disciplinary. The author obtained the following description from an old Winnebago:

614 The Bear clansmen are the soldiers or sergeants-at-arms of the tribe. They have
625 complete control of everything concerning discipline. Whenever the Winnebago are traveling or moving (i. e., on their various seasonal moves), the Bear clansmen lead, and wherever they decide to stop, there the leader would put his stick in the ground and the other Bear clansmen would do the same, arranging them all in a row pointing toward the direction in which they were going. The main body of the tribe would follow at a certain distance. No member of the tribe would dare pass ahead of the row of sticks. If, for instance, the tribe was on the fall move and traveling toward a country in which there was plenty of game, should any individual go back and around the sticks in order to kill game on his own account, the soldiers (Bear clansmen) would, as soon as he was detected, go over to his lodge and burn it up with all its contents and break all his dishes. The only thing they would spare would be his life and that of the other members of his family. If the one who had transgressed the rules made any attempt at resistance he would be severely whipped. If he refused to submit to this and took up his fire arms to fight, the soldiers would stand there calmly, but the moment he made an attempt to shoot they would kill him. In such a case nothing would be said either by the rest of the tribe or his relatives about

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Ma^n^jiwinga.....Yellowish-red earth (refers to deposits from iron springs). 614 551
Ma^n^nup'aga.....Second earth person.
Ni-ac^gadjewinga.....She who plays on the water.
Ni amanîwinga.....She who walks on the water.
Ni-a^n^p'^n^winga.....She who makes water good.
Ni-a^n^lagowinga.....Still water.
Niranaga.....Stream person.
Nihuga.....He who discharges water.
Ni-ot^a^n^pwinga.....She who jumps into the water.
Nidjobega.....Four streams.
Niwak'itranga.....Selenite (?) water.
Wakdjexicirik'a.....Bad Water-spirit.
Wakdjexihunga.....Chief of the Water-spirits.
Wakdjeximanîga.....Walking Water-spirit.
Wakdjexip'inga.....Good Water-spirit.
Wakdjexin^n^winga.....White Water-spirit.
Hop'inga.....Good horn.
Wadjxodega.....Big boat.
Hip'ahiga.....Sharp tooth.
Rabawinga.....Beaverskin woman.
Rabowinga.....Beaver.
Hejipga.....Short horn.

## The Buffalo Clan

### INTRODUCTION

The first version of the origin myth of the Buffalo clan is of considerable interest because it gives us an idea of the manner in which a myth had to be bought. It is one of the few origin myths that gives a precise location for the origin of a particular clan. What lake is meant by *de cirik* it is impossible to say. Considerable importance should be attached, however, to the fact that their place of origin differed from that of most of the other clans, because it may indicate that the people who came to be known under the name Buffalo joined the tribe after the other clans. 614 173

The Buffalo clansmen seem to have had the function of acting as the public criers and in general of being an intermediary between the chief and the tribe. This, however, has been denied by some informants, one of them a member of the clan. Their lodge was at the southeast corner of the village. Some informants deny that they had a special lodge, however. [624 203] [361]

The Buffalo and Water-spirit clans are friends and are supposed to bury each other's members. [764]

### ORIGIN MYTH[a]

Informant, member of the clan: "Listen, my grandson. Those who originated from the buffaloes and the way in which they origi- 614 173

[a] The following myth is given in the precise manner in which the individual who told it to me obtained the information from one of the old men who was privileged to narrate it. Unfortunately it was impossible to obtain any other clan origin myth in the same way. 539

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Bear, the doorway of his lodge; for the Wolf and Water-spirit, water. They were not obtained for all the clans. We indicated before that these "possessions" may have been primarily connected with the animals associated with the clan, upon which an additional socio-religious interpretation has been superimposed. The whole subject is, however, closely related to that of clan etiquette, for which no explanations can, of course, be given now. 614 [778]

### *The Clan Marks of Identification.*

As if more fully to set off the social unit of the clan, there have come to be associated with it definite marks of identification, such as symbols, property marks, facial decorations, and songs.

The symbols of only two clans were obtained, although a number of other clans seem to have possessed them. There were the war club (*nąmątca*) of the Thunderbird clan, and the peculiarly whittled stick (*namąxinixini*) of the Bear clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan died, a miniature war club was buried with him. Whether the *namąxinixini* was buried with a member of the Bear clan, we do not know. [778] [764]

The property mark consisted of the effigy of the clan animal, and was woven on such objects as bags, tobacco pouches, etc. It was also frequently engraved on wooden objects. Its most peculiar uses, however, were the emblematic earthen effigy mounds, in the shape of the clan animal, which were erected near the habitation of each clan in the village and in the centre of clan squash fields, corn fields, etc.[1] 614 421 [532] [361]

Associated with every clan are also four clan songs. These are supposed to be the four songs sung by the ancestors of each clan when they came to this earth. They are always sung on the death of an individual, and are supposed to serve as a mark of identification in the journey of the soul to the land of the spirits. The use of these songs is so intimately associated with death, that when some hardened offender, 614 533 764 [775] [627]

[1] For a fuller discussion of these, see Radin, *Some Aspects of Winnebago Archæology*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 13, 1911, pp. 517-538.

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



114 junction with the Mississippi. Dr. Evan D. Pierce, of Trempealeau,
126 who was in charge of the park, was much interested in the native flora as well as in archeology, and we made a collection of ninety species then in bloom. Mr. Towne L. Miller, of Fairwater, Wisconsin, Honorary Curator of Archeology of the Museum collected the plants of the region throughout the season, for the Department of Botany.

The Winnebago Indians are found today scattered over the central
131 part of Wisconsin, principally in Marquette, Waushara, Portage, Sauk,
361 Juneau, Adams, Marathon, Wood, Clark, Jackson, and Monroe counties. Wood County with permanent settlements in Arpin, Vesper, Pittsville, Walker, Elm Lake, Dexterville, and Babcock, contains the largest number, about 750. Along the Hemlock River, not far from Pittsville, are found other large settlements of farming Winnebago. In other counties good-sized settlements are located at Neillsville, Wittenberg, Wyeville, Black River Falls, Hatfield, and Tomah. Their Indian agency and school are located at the last mentioned city.

Our chief location during the summer was at A. White's farm, on
114 the Walker Road, six and a half miles south of Wisconsin Rapids.
123 When we arrived, Mr. White was at Kilbourn where many of the Winnebago camp during the tourist season, making baskets and bead work, and taking part in dances and entertainments. Jim Henniger and his wife, our pageant friends, were there, caring for her father, Dave Dekorah, a prominent man in the medicine lodge, who was sick. He afterwards died and was buried in their community graveyard, with Indian ceremony. The Whites made us welcome and we pitched our tent in a grove of white pines not far from their spring. There were
115 several other Winnebago Indians near at hand, including Henry Dick,
795 from Briggsville. Henry is important in the medicine society and im-
184 mediately made friends with us and started to teach us the Winne-
276 bago language. He was especially bitter against the peyote cult, which many Winnebago have embraced, declaring that peyote was worse than whiskey, because a man drunk on whiskey, would be sober the next morning and able to go to work, whereas with peyote, he became "crazy", and would not work for four or five days while under its influence. He further said that the peyote cult worshippers never possess anything, but live on their industrious neighbors who belong to the medicine lodge. These medicine lodge Indians raise potatoes, corn, beans, carrots, hay, grain, hogs and chickens, according to Henry, and would not let their own people starve, but did not like the shiftlessness of the peyote worshippers. He wished he could see the President of the United States to tell him not to let any Indian have peyote. He thinks bad days are coming to the peyote-eating Indians. A few years
276 ago, this cactus drug, most of which comes from Texas, sold for $4.00
435 a thousand buttons, but the current prices in 1928 were $25 per thou-
795 sand of number one size; $30.00 per thousand for number two size; and

*Crashing Thunder*

*[159] [154] nothing to eat, but I did not mind that. In the summer, when people pick berries, they generally go out in [361] bands and settle here and there. Some would be living at a great distance from the others.

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224 825 or hear the noise and run away. For this reason the hunters are very careful about these two things—namely, the number of bears shot and the direction of the wind. The method of hunting bears when the acorns fall and they come to the open or cleared spaces is known as the *hirwi'e* method. When the bears eat acorns then only is it easy to find them and kill them without much effort.

224 [721 648] *Description of a buffalo hunt.* Whenever the Winnebago went buffalo hunting, they always went in large numbers, for the people used to say that on a buffalo hunt, they are likely to encounter their enemies and a fight might take place. It is even said that some people went purposely for the fighting. They generally went together with the *Homa*na (Missouri ?), Waxetera, Iowa, and *Wadjabdjadjera*, the Otoe. Many women accompanied them. It is said that they could always tell where the buffalo were by the dust they encountered, for the dust raised by the trampling of the buffalo rose high in the air. They would always start out for the buffalo early in the morning on fast horses and try to ride up along the right side of the female buffalo, for they only killed the bulls afterward. They shot the buffalo with bow and arrows. When riding horseback, the bow is always drawn back with the right hand. The reason they try to kill the female buffalo first is because they always run away while the bulls do not.

While hunting the buffalo they were always bound to meet some of their enemies and a fight would ensue, so that when they returned, they would bring back not only [727] buffalo but also scalps, and immediately after their return the Victory Dance would be celebrated.

224 721 A different account of a buffalo hunt was obtained from another informant (J. H.):[4]

[342] Whenever we go on a buffalo hunt we camp in a circle, with the soldiers in front. They always carried long poles to be used in the construction of tipis. [This statement was made by a number of persons whose information was generally accurate. As [237 372] they were bound for the open prairie where there was a scarcity of wood, buffalo manure was always carried for fuel.]

As soon as the chief decided to go on a hunt he gave a feast [war feast] to which he invited everyone. This was generally in June. As soon as the feast was over a hunting council was held. Then the chief appointed public criers who went around the [203] village announcing the time for starting, etc. Then all went to the lodge of the chief of the Bear clan. There the ten best warriors were selected, who were to go ahead of the main body and reconnoiter for both buffalo and enemies. These started immediately and if they returned with the news that they had found many buffalo and enemy at the same time, fights frequently took place. Ten warriors always went ahead and the old warriors generally stayed in the rear behind the women in order to protect them better. As soon as they came to the place where the buffalo were seen they followed their trail and killed them. The flesh was cut up into large chunks, which were afterwards dried on the grass. Then when they had enough they all returned home, observing, of course, the same order of march as when they started. When they reached their home they gave another war feast at which all thanked the spirits for their successful return.

223 [762] *Pigeon hunt.*—The pigeons are "chief"[5] birds and they would be hunted whenever the chief decided to give the chief feast. The entire tribe was always invited to participate in the meal served, so that many pigeons were needed. The pigeons generally make their nests near human habitations. Sometimes there would be 20

[4] As his grandfather was a Dakota, J. H. may have confused in his account Dakota customs with those of the Winnebago. Apart from this consideration, it should be said that J. H. was an exceedingly unreliable informant.

[825 614] [5] They are called "chief" birds because the pigeon belongs to the same division as does the Thunderbird, or Chief, clan.

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It might be said that all recollection of the making of wooden vessels could easily have been lost in the last century or two and that therefore too much weight should not be given to present ignorance of the subject. There are a number of reasons, however, why ignorance in this particular case might be significant. First, many indications point to workmanship of a low order among the Winnebago in the manufacture of artifacts; second, there are many suggestions of two cultural strata in this tribe; third, while the Winnebago in Wisconsin still use wooden vessels, many of them claim that these were introduced; and fourth, all the informants who gave this information were old people. If the author were to hazard an hypothesis, it would be the following: In very early times few objects were fashioned out of wood, but gradually contact with the Menominee led to the introduction of many wooden vessels, and finally the acquisition of European axes, knives, and other implements made it possible to manufacture such vessels in large numbers. A similar explanation was offered by an Indian with regard to the use of dugouts. 415 [322] [177] 174 415 177

Besides wood as a material for dishes and spoons of various kinds and sizes, shells were utilized, while sticks served as knives. 321 412

All informants agree that neither bone nor stone were used in the manufacture of utensils.

For cooking, clay pots were used. These vessels, most of which were very large, with round bottoms, always hung over the fire. The material used in their manufacture was blue clay found at Green Bay, on or near the site of St. Paul, Minn., mixed with shell shards, glue from sturgeon vetrebræ, and the gelatinous substance in the horns of the deer. The addition of these ingredients greatly increased the cohesiveness of the clay. The material was either molded with the hands or in holes of the desired shape dug in the ground and lined with leaves. Finally, the vessels were dried over a slow fire in small kilns constructed for the purpose. None of the clay vessels were provided with handles. Some were ornamented with geometric patterns. The irregular incised designs on some Winnebago vessels are the impressions of grass blades with which the mold was lined.[7] 323 [415 252] [581]

*Fire making.*—In former times fire was always made by means of a simple fire drill. This method is still used for ceremonial occasions. 372

*Tanning.*—The author never witnessed the process of tanning. The description obtained agrees exactly with that of Mr. A. Skinner here quoted.[8] 281

After the skin has been removed, the hair is scraped from it. During this process the skin is hung over an obliquely inclined leg, one end of which has been smoothed

[7] One informant gave a description of pottery making in which a wheel was used, but as no other Winnebago corroborated this statement the author is convinced that it is inaccurate. [444]

[8] Anthr. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist. pt. iv, pt. ii, pp. 240-241.

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# CHAPTER VII

## SYSTEM OF EDUCATION[1]

871 The Winnebago seem to have had a more or less formal system of instruction. This consisted of a series of precepts on different aspects of life, such as the duty of fasting, of being a warrior, of behavior to one's parents and relatives, how to treat one's wife and women in general, how to bring up children, how to behave to strangers, etc. These formal teachings were called *hak'i'ku*[2], which means "precepts" or "teachings." Doubtless those obtained do not constitute all the different types existing, but they seem fairly representative.

### My Father's Teaching to His Sons and Daughters

#### SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION TO SON

867 My son, when you grow up you should see to it that you are of
776 some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in which you
787 can begin to be of any aid to them, and that is to fast. So, my son, see to it that you fast. Our grandfather, the fire, who stands at all times in the center of our dwelling, sends forth all kinds of blessings.[3] Be sure that you make an attempt to obtain his blessings.

My son, do you remember to have our grandfathers, the war-chiefs, bless you. See to it that they pity you.[4] Some day when you go on the warpath their blessings will enable you to have specific foreknowledge of all that will happen to you on that occasion. This will likewise enable you to accomplish what you desire without the danger of anything interfering with your plans. Without the slightest trouble you will then be able to obtain the prizes of war. Without any trouble

[1] This chapter was originally intended for special publication and the notes prepared for it have been retained.

[372] [2] The fire (*p'ra*) is regarded as a spirit by the Winnebago. As a spirit he possesses many gifts that are of use to human beings in their sojourn on earth, and in order to obtain them, mortals must make offerings of tobacco to him. He may also appear to them during their fastings and bless them with a number of powers. In addition to his other powers, it is believed that he is the messenger of Earthmaker and the other spirits and that he transmits both the messages, as well as the offerings that mortals make to them, by means of the smoke that rises upward. The old man speaks of the fire first, because being always around them it is a comparatively easy task to make offerings to it.

[3] This is the regular expression used for blessing. The idea seems to be that through fasting and crying you are in put yourself in a "pitiable" condition and that then the spirits, seeing your state, will pity you and grant you what you have asked. The word "grandfathers" is used in the sense of ancestral spirits, the thunderbirds, who are regarded as the dispensers of war power, not only by members of this clan but by all Winnebago.

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622 614 the man that, since he was without this particular thing, to keep it and use it for all time.

The public crier, a member of the Buffalo clan, was supposed to report to the chief [203 624] early every morning and receive instructions. The crier would then go all around the village making the chief's desires known.

The chief had a representative at every council, generally his brother. 623

The chief of the village is a peacemaker, and if two members of the tribe ever get into difficulties (i. e., quarrel) he is supposed to intervene. If in a quarrel a person should be killed, the chief would go to the murderer and tell the latter to permit himself to be tied up—i. e., to give himself up to the relatives of the murdered man. If [682] the murderer consents to do so, then his arms are tied behind him and the chief walks in front of him carrying his sacred pipe. Thus they would go to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives. When they get there the chief would extend the stem of the pipe toward them. They might refuse to accept the pipe thus extended, but if any member of the family, even if it be a small child, were to take a puff from it, then the murderer would be forgiven and turned free.

This is the capacity of a Winnebago chief.

622 614 Another description of the chief's rôle as intercessor for a murderer is as follows:

682 When the Thunderbird chief wishes to save a murderer they take one of their own chiefs, one who is well beloved, paint his back blue, and put sheaves in his back, to which they tie cords. Thus he is taken to the lodge of the murdered person's relatives. The chief, when he gets there, holds his pipe of tobacco in both hands. Should the relatives not wish to accept the peace offering they close the door in his face. Then he returns.

614 The Thunderbird clan possessed a type of war club called a bald-778 headed war club, which was sacred to this clan alone, and a miniature of which was always buried with a dead body. The only [411] other possessions were the clan war bundles. The Winnebago often speak as though each clan had but one of these palladiums, but there seems to be little doubt but that there were at least two and probably more in each clan. These war bundles must be regarded as the common possession of the clan at the present time, for they can not be alienated from the clan.[1] For all practical purposes, however, they are the private property of certain individuals or families.

614 Fire was considered a sacred possession of the Thunderbird clan. ●372 As mentioned before, an individual was supposed never to ask for a firebrand from the fire of any member of the clan and was never permitted to sit near such a fireplace. If, nevertheless, anyone should be immodest enough to ask for one of these objects, he would be refused, but he would be permitted to ask for any conceivable thing else. The following incident will serve as an example of the 685 definite way in which this peculiar custom works. An old Winne-

[1] This point was very forcibly impressed upon the author when he tried to obtain the war bundle of a man who had become a member of the Peyote cult. The man was perfectly willing to part with it, but after repeated requests to those who happened to possess it at that particular time, he admitted that it belonged to the clan, although they could not have taken it away from him had he remained a believer in the old faith.

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Arnold Winne—

bago told the author that long ago a young man wanted to marry a girl belonging to his phratry and refused to listen to the entreaties of his father and mother. Finally the father, in desperation, went over to the lodge of a man belonging to one of the clans into which the young man could marry and asked for one of the sacred possessions. It was, of course, refused, and when the man was asked what other requests he wished to make, he asked that the host's daughter be allowed to marry his son. This was, of course, granted, and thus the boy was compelled to marry into the proper phratry. 614 615 582 778

One Winnebago interpreted the custom in an entirely different way. Exactly how much importance is to be attached to this explanation it is hard to say. According to this informant, the insult lay not in going to the fireplace or taking a firebrand, but in asking for it. The insult apparently consists in not taking it for granted that anyone entering the lodge was permitted to do what he wished. In other words, his asking was a breach of etiquette. 614 372 689 [576]

The typical method of burial in the Thunderbird clan was scaffold burial. It has long since been discontinued.

The burial customs seem to have been the same for all the clans. It may, however, be that in former times there were slight differences. For instance, in the first version of the Thunderbird clan origin myth the statement is made that the branch of a tree was placed at the grave and a small stick, painted red, attached to it. The author has no recollection of ever hearing the same statement made in connection with any other of the clans. 614 764 [184]

There are four songs associated with the Thunderbird clan. These are supposed to have been sung by the clan ancestors when they came to this earth, and are now always sung when a member of the clan dies, and on a few other occasions. 614 [533]

According to one informant, members of the Elk, Warrior, Deer, and Buffalo clans acted as servants to the Thunderbird clan on various occasions. The same informant also claimed that the Warrior clansmen took specific orders from the Thunderbird clansmen when on the warpath. [554]

According to another informant, Thunderbird marks at death are a half circle on the forehead, made with charcoal. The proper marking is, however, that shown in plate 46. [765]

Two dog names used in the Thunderbird clan are obtained—*pi*nakirutega; ho-iwakitca*ga.*

The only feast specifically connected with the Thunderbird clan was the so-called chief feast, of which a description will be found on page 318. One of the divisions of the war-bundle feast is often considered as sacred to the thunderbird, but this is always the deity thunderbird, not the ancestor of the clan. [796] [776]

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they gave one another. Thus they have the names *White-hair, Fast-one, Little-white-teeth, Diffident-one, Horn, Pronged-horn*, etc.; and for dogs they have names also. That is the way the deer people lived in the beginning at Red Banks, Within Lake. Bands of people gathered together there, and all the clans that exist now originated there. 539 776 614

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

The Deer clan people came up at the beginning of the earth. Only one is spoken of as appearing at the beginning. He started forth but returned again that he might look for a companion. For that reason a name exists in the tribe, *He-who-comes-back*, and another is *He-who-appears-first*. After they had appeared on earth the deer blew on the original fire, which was only smoldering, and made it blaze up. For that reason they claim a partial chieftainship. The first one that appeared had a chief's medal around his neck. [551]

CLAN SONG. 614 533

I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions
I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.

CLAN NAMES

TCA HIK'IK'ARAHERA (DEER CLAN) 614

Tcaxephûnk'a.....Black deer chief.
Wagizena'pi'ga.....Wears shells around neck. 551
Tcanûnkca'pi'wings.....Deer vagina.
Mank'iangayega.....Appears in the middle of earth
Tcatcoaiwings.....First deer woman.

## The Elk Clan

INTRODUCTION

In the Elk clan origin myth we find the clear statement that Earth-maker created the ancestors of the clan, and that they were human beings. The myth resembles a village origin myth more than it does a clan origin myth. 614 [773 776]

The Elk clan seems to have had certain functions relative to the distribution of fire through the village and in camp. It was never a very large clan.

The Elk people claim half of the fire, and thus half of the chieftainship. They never hold fire toward any one. [372] [622]

Elks are buried by the Snake, Water-spirit, and Eagle clans, although the first has the preference. [764]

White clay is used in painting the dead.

According to another informant, the facial painting consisted of white and blue dots on the face (pl. 46). [302]

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to give it had their menses and were fasting. When the feast was about to be held there was no food and their mother gave the girls some of the sacred food and the unclean girls boiled it and ate it. 614 796 844

The following spring when the girls were out helping their mother tan some hide a bear approached them and tried to kill the girls. The old woman fought the bear off as best she could, but he paid no attention to her and tried to get at the girls. Finally he killed the girls. Then the old woman attacked the bear and finally threw him down and killed him, using her tanning stick as a weapon.

Now this bear was not an ordinary bear such as live on this earth, but his body was covered with blue clay. He had come out of a spring of water shortly before he came to this place. The girls had eaten sacred food when they were unclean, and that is why this bear came and killed them. [776 685]

Since then that particular band has stopped giving this bear feast.

THE SNAKE CLAN FEAST

When a person wishes to give a snake feast, four chickens must be obtained. The nephew of the feast giver is then told to prepare these chickens and make the general preparations. 796 614

The feast is given in the fall, just as the snakes are supposed to go into their winter quarters and close their doors. The winter is their night, and then they go to sleep. [825]

Shortly before the feast begins the host takes out a bundle containing four snake skins—a yellow-snake skin, a rattlesnake skin, a blow-snake skin, and a bull-snake skin. In honor of these he gives his feast and makes his offerings.

As the fall of the year is to the snakes the same as our evening, the Winnebago give this feast in their honor then, in much the same way as we have our supper before retiring for the night. The snake skins are representatives of the first four snakes Earthmaker made and which he pierced through the earth in the direction of the east. The snake skins are kept to represent the four original snake-beings and to keep evil away from homes. That is why offerings are made to them. Four men only are invited to this feast (as main participants), and they must each eat a chicken. [773]

The host himself opens the door for the snakes. In front of him, next to the fireplace, he makes four holes in the ground, thus opening the door for them. There he likewise places tobacco for them. First he pours tobacco in the fire, for the fire is the mediator between the people and the spirit. The fire tells the spirit the wishes of the people and is, in general, in charge of the members of the tribe. For that reason they always pour tobacco upon it. [782]

Now the host rises and speaks. "Grandfather (fire), you who stand in the center of the lodge, I offer you tobacco, for you are the interpreter (between the spirits and human beings), and I know that 796 614 537 372

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you will deliver the requests I address to our grandfather-who-crawls (the snake), just as I have said them. I offer you tobacco.

[374] "To you likewise, grandfathers, you whom Earthmaker created first and placed within the earth; you whom Earthmaker placed in control of abundance of life and whose war clubs were made heavy, so that nothing could miss them; to you we offer these things. Whatever you can give us, we ask of you in return. Here are our offerings [782] of food, tobacco, and eagle feathers. We place them here at your door. We ask that you bless us with victory in war. We know that the weapons you carry make you invulnerable, and we wish likewise to be invulnerable. You never fail to obtain what you desire with your clubs, and we ask that the same power be bestowed upon us. As the years pass may the blessing we obtain increase in power. When you look out upon the world life emanates from your eyes. May this life be given to our posterity. As we strut about in the short number of days allotted to us may you keep out of our path, so that we may not be frightened. Yet should we cross any of your paths may we be strengthened thereby. It is said that you are the grass, and that is why we ask you to bless us. Bless us because you are in possession of the life which we desire. For these reasons do we offer you tobacco, feathers, and food."

796 614 [782] Then the host poured tobacco into the four holes that he had made in the ground and placed feathers there. Then he took a little food from each of the kettles and poured it into the four holes. After that he greased the heads of the snake skins which were lying before him with kettle grease and poured tobacco on the heads of the snakes. He asked all his relatives to offer tobacco likewise and he put tobacco into the holes again and poured some upon the heads of the snakes.

When those invited have arrived, someone who is a good speaker sits near the entrance, while another good speaker sits near the farthest end. After all have entered, the leader of the four participants makes the circuit of the fireplace four times. He then sits down, and the host greets each one in turn, as follows:

796 614 537 "I greet you all. It is good. How could I say aught but that it is good! I am a poor worthless fellow, yet you have remembered me. It is good. You did not look upon my unworthiness and think within your hearts he is a worthless fellow, but you thought of the spirits, and therefore you came to sit with me so that I might see your face. It is good. I have obtained four chickens, and the attendant is now cooking them. I suppose he has cooked them by this time, and we will soon be able to eat them.

"I am attempting to cook water for the beings first created, so that we might be blessed with victory in war, and with life. That is what we are asking and what we would like to obtain from them before they (the spirits) retire for the night. It is our desire to be blessed year in, year out.

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## The War-bundle Feast of the Thunderbird Clan

(SECOND VERSION)

X 776 614 773 [776] Informant, member of Thunderbird clan:[1] There were originally four warriors. The youngest one was the bravest and the most powerful. He claimed that his father was a Thunderbird and his mother a Night Spirit. He is the one who made the bundle about which we are going to speak.

FIG. 38.—Plan of Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast. 1, Buckskin for earthmaker. 2, Buckskin for thunderbird. 3, Buckskin for thunderbirds. 4, Buckskin for night-spirits. 5, Buckskin for morning star. 6, Buckskin for sun. 7, Buckskin for moon. 8, Buckskin for water-spirit. 9, Buckskin for earth. 10, Buckskin for bridge.

X 776 [604] [574 281] [886] X 796 782 776 The lodge (fig. 38) is prepared by the nephews and the women relatives of the host, generally his nieces and wives. The invited guests arrive toward evening, while the women are still preparing the buckskins. These buckskins are to be made as perfectly white as possible. Only those women who have passed their climacteric are permitted to do this. As soon as the buckskins are prepared the kettles are put on the fire. The buckskins are taken by the host and marked with the specific symbols associated with the different spirits. (For the markings, see pls. 47, 48.) These buckskins are then tied to a stick. That for Earthmaker is attached to the stick with the head pointing upward; that for the Thunderbird has the stick and the head of the buckskin facing the west; that for the Night has the stick and head of the buckskin facing east; that for the Star also faces east, as do all the others

X 796 782 not mentioned. When the sticks have been prepared and the buckskins attached to them, the latter are rolled up upon the sticks. Whoever of the guests is the oldest feast-giver then arises and pours tobacco, first for the fire and then for all the other spirits. [372 778] When they start the fire for the first time they use the old ceremonial fire sticks. With that the ceremony begins. When the old man is

[1] This is a patrilineal account.

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lodge of the Buffalo clan is on the *wanjeregi* side of the village circle, although the Buffalo clan is one of the *manjegi* clans. In explanation of this fact we might, on the one hand, assume that its relationship to the chief clan influenced its position in the village, or that it always was there. The latter seems rather improbable, in the face of the unanimity of agreement as to its inclusion among the *manjegi* clans, and we may, therefore, provisionally accept the hypothesis of a shifting of position from one side to the other. As this might entail a possible readjustment of the Buffalo clan, as regards exogamy, we tried to obtain as many instances of Buffalo intermarriages as possible. No case of intermarriage with the *wanjeregi* clans was found. However, as only eight cases were instanced, no safe inference can be drawn. 614 621 174

The "servant" relation of the Elk clan to the Thunderbird expresses itself in the fact that the former takes care of the fire-places of the latter while on the warpath, etc., and that the members are supposed to distribute the fire to the other clans. In the social customs this relationship is perhaps shown by a certain preference of the Elk to intermarry with the Thunderbird clan. This preference is not reciprocal. The word preference is used with the added significance of being consciously expressed, and differs from a tendency to intermarriage which may exist between the clans, but which is not present in their consciousness. Some Winnebago informants even went so far as to postulate a *hitcakʼɔro* relation between the Elk and Thunderbird clan. 614 [372] 614 582 614

Among the Osage a marked development of the "servant" relationship is found. [171]

Viewed from a broad point of view, the reciprocal social and religious services of one clan toward another in the *hitcakʼɔro* and "servant" relations are similar in nature to the political functions of the clan, and they may be taken as another indication of the association of political, social, and religious functions with a strongly individualized social unit. 614 182

### *The Specific Possessions of the Clan.*

Among the Omaha, a number of clans have in their possession certain objects, around which not merely the clan but also 171 614 778

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[P. 147]

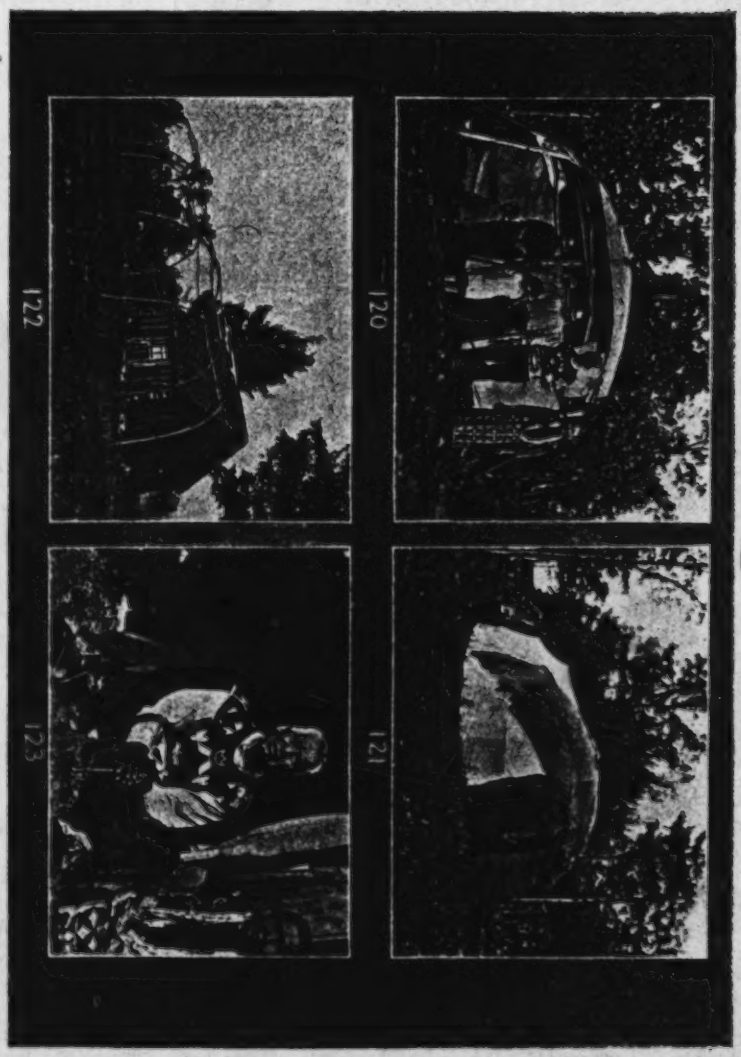


FIG. 120.—Big Wave and his family standing before his house.
FIG. 121.—Medicine Lodge near Big Wave's home.
FIG. 122.—Framework of the War-bundle Ceremony lodge.
FIG. 123.—Big Wave making sacred fire, accompanied by his wife.

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114 people attend as a matter of courtesy, or to keep peace in the family.
796 It was my good fortune to attend such a meeting, a war-bundle cere-
mony, in October, 1927. Mr. A. White, whose Indian name is *Teas-*
[795 *tea-he-de-ga* (Big Wave), figure 120, is custodian of the war-bundle
778 of the Thunderbird clan of the Wisconsin Rapids band of Winnebago.
614 Word came to me through his son-in-law, Mr. U. S. White of Milwaukee, that a war-bundle feast would be held shortly, and that I was specially invited to attend.

As Mr. White and his family also wished to make the trip, we drafted a Museum car into service and joined forces. In addition to Mr. White and his wife and two children, Mr. Alton Fisher was persuaded, without much difficulty, to join me in representing the Department of Anthropology.

We arrived at Wisconsin Rapids late at night, and were up early on the following morning and on our way to the site selected for the
[574] ceremony. Upon arriving at his home, we were courteously received by the custodian of the bundle, and privileged to meet his family and many others who were in the midst of preparations for the feast.

796 The regular war bundle ceremony of the Thunderbird clan is a feast
[776 and dance given in honor of various spirits, chiefly the Thunderbirds,
614 who are the spiritual directors of war, and the Night Spirits. It is held in an oblong wigwam shaped like the medicine lodge of the Winnebago and neighboring Algonkin groups, figure 121, and similarly con-
[346 structed of a frame-work of bent poles covered with birch bark or mats, or more recently with canvas or other cloth. Big Wave had directed the construction of the lodge for this particular ceremony in an area immediately adjoining his dwelling lodge, figure 122. The single door was placed at the end of the lodge, facing east.

The lodge was small, made so to accommodate the limited number
[252 expected to attend, and consequently it was decided to cook the feast over outside fires, an irregular, though not unusual procedure. Therefore, only a single fire was built in the lodge, centrally situated at the
796 eastern end not more than three paces from the door. Since the fire
372 was to be new, sacred fire, the ceremonial fire-making equipment from
778 the war bundle was employed. This consisted of a flat, rectangular base of oak, nearly perforated in many places with charred drill holes, and a drilling element of softer wood. Big Wave himself officiated in the fire making, figure 123. Kneeling, he placed the basepiece between his knees, with tinder conveniently near. Then one end of the drill was fitted into one of the holes in the base, and the shaft was rapidly rotated between his hands. Soon smoke curled up from the point of friction. The bits of glowing wood dust so produced were quickly applied to the tinder and carefully blown to a small flame. Then light kindling was applied, followed by heavier sticks until the fire was be-

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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yond the need of further nursing. Standing alone above this altar, Big Wave then offered, in his native tongue, a prayer to be carried upward by the fire to Creator. In a low voice he thanked Creator who taught the use of fire to the Indians, that it might live with them forever and watch over them. He expressed satisfaction that new fire had been started on this occasion, so that all present might enjoy the benefits of life. He described the fire as an interpreter, conveying to the spirit world the prayers of men. He then sprinkled tobacco upon the fire, saying: "This tobacco I offer you (the spirits) that you may do that which I ask of you, that you may grant to all here, our wives and children, and all our relatives, good fortune and all the benefits of life. This prayer is for others who will also give tobacco."

Later, when the meeting was convened and the guests filed into the ceremonial lodge, many silently sprinkled tobacco on the fire, thereby sharing the benefit of this prayer. This tobacco sacrifice is called, filling the spirits' pipe.

As soon as the new fire was burning well, coals were removed therefrom with which to start the cooking fires outside the lodge, for the feast must be cooked over sacred fire. Two short poles were placed on either side of the fire, topped by a crosspiece from which the pots were suspended on chains. Water was boiled, with which all the pots were thoroughly washed. Then the meat (fowl, beef and pork) was prepared for cooking. The fowls had to be singed over the sacred fire. A definite number of equal portions were placed in each pot, since each participating family was to share the contents of a single pot which, therefore, must contain a portion for every member of the invited group.

While the war-bundle owner's helpers, the waiters, selected from his paternal nephews when possible, were preparing the feast, he himself entered the lodge, took down the war-bundle from where it hung on the north wall opposite the fire and spread it out on the ground immediately west of the fire. Although much of the contents of the bundle appeared to be very old, the cover-piece was of cloth. The bundle was unrolled and spread out upon this rectangular piece of goods. The inner wrapper was of matting. Upon this a variety of fetishes and elements of ceremonial equipment was displayed. These included various bird skins, reed whistles and an old fire drill set which had long been out of use due to the fact that the base piece was entirely covered with holes, without interval, and as deep as the thickness of the piece would permit.

Two beaded snake-skin fetishes were suspended from the top of a peeled stake set up between the bundle and the fire. Adjoining this a sharpened stick, later to be used as a meat fork in distributing the meat, was placed, the handle thrust into the ground. Two fine old war clubs from the bundle were also placed between fire and bundle, their handles thrust into the ground. Two bowls, one containing tobacco and the

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



made chiefs of the Thunderbirds. Then he thought, "I will have some beings live on the earth." So he made four more like himself. Just like the others he made them. They were brothers—*Kunuga*, *Hcnuga*, *Hagaga* and *Nangiga*. He talked to them and said, "Look down upon the earth.' So saying he opened the heavens in the place where they were standing and there they saw this earth spread out before them. He told them that they were to go down there to live. "And this I shall send down with you," he added giving them a plant. "Even I shall never have the power of taking this away from you, for I have given it to you exclusively; but when, of your own free will, you make me an offering of some of it, I shall be glad to accept it and give you in return whatever you ask. This shall you hold foremost in your lives." What he had given them was the tobacco-plant. Then again he spoke and said, "All the spirits that I have created will not be able to take this away from you unless you desire to give it to them, by calling upon them during fasts. Thus only can the spirits get some. And another thing I send with you that you may use it in life, to be a mediator between you and us, whenever you offer anything to the spirits. It shall take care of you throughout life, stand in the center of your dwellings, and be your grandfather." This was the Fire.

Then the four Thunderbirds brought the brothers down to the earth. On their journey down *Kunuga*, the oldest of the four, said, "Brother, when we get to earth and the first child is born to me, I shall call him *Chief-of-the-Thunderbirds*, if he is a boy." On and on they came, down toward the earth. As they got near the earth it began to get very dark and then the second brother said, "Brother, when we get to the earth and a child is born to me, if it is a girl, I shall call her *Dark*." Then they came to a place called

## §7. *The Teachings of My Father*

*159 My father used to keep up the old habit of teaching
[867] us the customs of the Winnebago. He would wake
[593] us up early in the morning and, seated around the fire-
place, speak to us. The girls would be taught sepa-
[562] rately. Now this is what my father told me:

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### I

*159 My son, when you grow up, see to it that you are of
867 some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in
[785] which you can aid them and that is by fasting. Our
[776] grandfather, the Fire, he who stands at all times in the
center of our dwelling, sends forth all kinds of blessings.
● [372] Be sure that you make an attempt to obtain his.

My son, do you remember to have our grandfathers, the
*159 war chiefs,[14] bless you. See to it that they have compassion
776 upon you. Then some day as you travel along the road of
867 life, you will know what to do and encounter no obstacles.
787 Without any effort will you then be able to gain the prize
721 you desire. The honor will be yours to glory in, yours
without exertion. All the disposable war-blessings belong
to our grandfathers, the war-controllers, and if reverently
you fast and thirst yourself to death, then these will be
bestowed upon you. Yet if you do not wear out your feet
in frequent journeyings to and fro, if you do not blacken
your face with charcoal, it will be all for naught that you

[195] [14] Symbolical name for all those spirits who were supposed to be in control of war powers.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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the second one, Old Lincoln himself obtaining the first. The first war honor was a quantity of wampum beads and the second a wampum belt. Both the one who got the second prize and Old Lincoln brought back with them an enemy's head.

From that time on *Midjistega* stayed with the Winnebago and he and Old Lincoln became great friends, living together, one of the reasons being that Old Lincoln could understand Winnebago.

One day they ran short of corn meal, so they decided to go and trade some furs for corn meal. They had plenty of furs because they spent most of their time hunting. When they got to the trader's store *Midjistega* said, "Say, trader, the boys have been out of paint for some time and you ought to give them some." "No, *Midjistega*, I can't do that." Then *Midjistega* again said, "Well, the paint boxes are small and aren't of much value anyhow, and you ought to make them a present of some. However, I always knew you were very stingy." Then the trader said, "My business is to trade you my wares for your furs and I will not give you any paint for nothing." Then *Midjistega* said, "If I had some flour I could make some paint myself. However, I am short of flour, too." Then the trader said, "*Midjistega*, you can not do it, for even the whites do not know how to make paint (in that way), so how could you, who are only an Indian, do it?" Thus they spoke to and fro and finally the trader said, "*Midjistega*, I will bet you my store against your furs that if I give you some flour you can not make paint out of it. If I win you are to give me your furs, and if you win I will give you my store." Then the bet was agreed upon.

Then a lodge was prepared and *Midjistega's* drum and flute were carried into it. Then the trader had some flour carried over to the lodge and it was poured into a dish. The trader, suspecting that there might be some trick, stirred up the flour thoroughly. He satisfied himself that there was nothing at the bottom of the dish. *Midjistega*, in the meantime, painted the corners of his mouth and eyes with ashes and then the singers sang for him. Then he handed the flute over to Old Lincoln and told him to blow it for him every now and then. The trader sat near the entrance of the lodge with his employees. Then *Midjistega* jumped up and ran all around the lodge on all fours. Then he took the dish with the flour and shaking it, began to dance around the lodge with it. After he had danced around for the third time it suddenly turned into a yellow color, and Old Lincoln noticed the change in the expression on the trader's face. As he went around for the fourth time it suddenly changed to a red color. When he got back to his starting place it was quite red and was an excellent quality of paint. Then he said, "Well, trader, I have won your store," and the trader answered, "You have won my store. I did not think that an Indian could do it." Then *Mid-*

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[Facing p. 66(8)]

a. BLACK WOLF, CHIEF OF THE WINNEBAGO VILLAGE AT BLACK WOLF POINT, LAKE WINNEBAGO, 1827

(From Lewis's Aboriginal Portfolio)

b. FOUR LEGS, CHIEF OF THE WINNEBAGO VILLAGE ON DOTY ISLAND, 1827

(From Lewis's Aboriginal Portfolio)

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tory before them; or—but this is extremely unlikely—that they 172
were all of Algonquian origin.

### Implements of Stone and Other Materials

As pointed out before, we ought not to expect to find much strictly archeological data relating to the Winnebago in their Wisconsin habitat. As, however, they probably reached this habitat before the discovery of America, some of the archeological finds may easily go back that far. Unfortunately we have no way of determining, even approximately, the age of the artifacts.

We will now confine ourselves to a description of the more important types of artifacts and remains found on old Winnebago sites without going into the question of their respective age.

Implements and utensils were made of stone, clay, shell, bone, wood, antlers, and turtle claws (pl. 10). According to information obtained from the present Winnebago, which is supported by the testi- [411 324]
mony of the myths and tales, but few objects were made of stone. The most important of these was the stone hatchet. It may even be questioned whether the Winnebago originally made these, for they are given a supernatural origin by those few Winnebago who mentioned their existence, and it has been the author's experience that objects to which a supernatural origin is ascribed are generally either of recent origin or have been borrowed. None of the myths or tales even mention their existence. Nevertheless a large number of stone implements, most of them presumably stone hatchets, has been found at Doty Island, near Menasha, Wis. (pl. 11), which had at one time been one of their principal village sites. It is quite probable that the Winnebago obtained most of these from the neighboring Algonquian [439]
tribes who were well known for their skill in working stone.

### Copper Implements

The Winnebago are known to have used copper implements in 172
fairly great abundance, the only question being whether they were 325
the original makers of these objects. We do not think they were, and base our opinion on the answers given by present-day Indians and the total absence of their mention in the myths. Both iron and presumably copper are mentioned in certain myths, but these pas- [177]
sages are clearly of European origin.

Practically all of our knowledge of the nature and distribution of copper objects in Wisconsin has been conveniently summarized in Mr. C. E. Brown's paper entitled "The native copper implements of Wisconsin,"[11] and all that we mention here is taken from this little monograph.

[11] The Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 3, no. 2.

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224 hunted, very few animals being tabooed. So far as the author
[784] knows, the following animals only were not eaten: Skunk, mink,
[262] marten, otter, horse, the weasel, gophers of all kinds, crows (northern ravens?), and eagles.

411 *Bow.*—The bow and arrow and traps were used in hunting. The bow is of a very simple type, having ends more or less pointed by rubbing them on stones. In former times the bowstring was made of sinew.

*Arrows.*—There were five types of arrows, distinguished both by the nature of the arrowhead and by their use: *Ma*ⁿ p'axe'dera*, bird arrow; *ma'ⁿsante p'a''u*ⁿ, rabbit, or small mammal, arrow; *ma*ⁿ k'ctcąnk cake'k'ere*, deer and large mammal arrow; *mai*ⁿ su'ra*, or *mai*ⁿso'k'ere*, used in battle; and the *ma*ⁿ p'a''una*, also used in battle. The first two and the last were made entirely of wood, generally hickory, the last being merely a pointed stick. The third and the fourth were the only ones that had separate heads attached. The
[237] head of the third was, as the name implies, a turtle claw, and that of the fourth a fragment of flint. The Winnebago have no recollection of ever having made flint arrowheads and claim that those they used were found in the ground (pl. 31).

224 *Traps.*—One of the principal traps consisted of a heavy timber supported very slightly by an upright, to which a piece of wood was attached bearing bait at the end. No sooner does the animal—wolf, bear, fox, or raccoon—touch the bait than the heavy timber falls upon his head, killing him instantly. Another trap commonly used for rabbits may be described thus: The head of a post is hollowed out to receive the knob-shaped end of a long pliable piece of wood that fits into it very lightly. To the latter is attached a noose, so arranged that it draws away the knob-shaped head at the slightest touch. The rabbit must put his head into the noose in order to get at the bait; in so doing he invariably moves the lever, which springs back, jerking him into the air and strangling him.

For trapping deer a very ingenious method is used. Taking advantage of the animal's habit of following repeatedly the same trail, the hunter at some point of a deer trail piles across it a mass of brush to a height of about 4 feet. Behind this he plants a pointed stake so that it can not be seen by the animal. On encountering the obstruction the deer leaps over it and is impaled on the stake.

Knowledge of the habits of beavers and otters is utilized in the following way: Many of these animals live along winding creeks, and in proceeding from one place to another, instead of following all the meanderings of the streams, they cut across the land. The Winnebago hunter digs deep holes in these cut-offs and covers them with hay. Into these the animals fall and are unable to get out.

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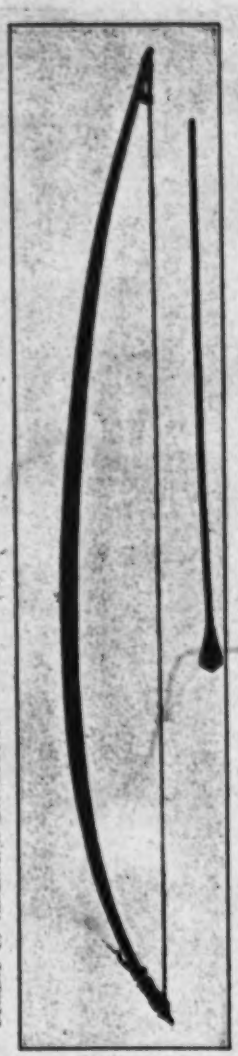


BOW AND BIRD ARROW

[Facing p. 118(A)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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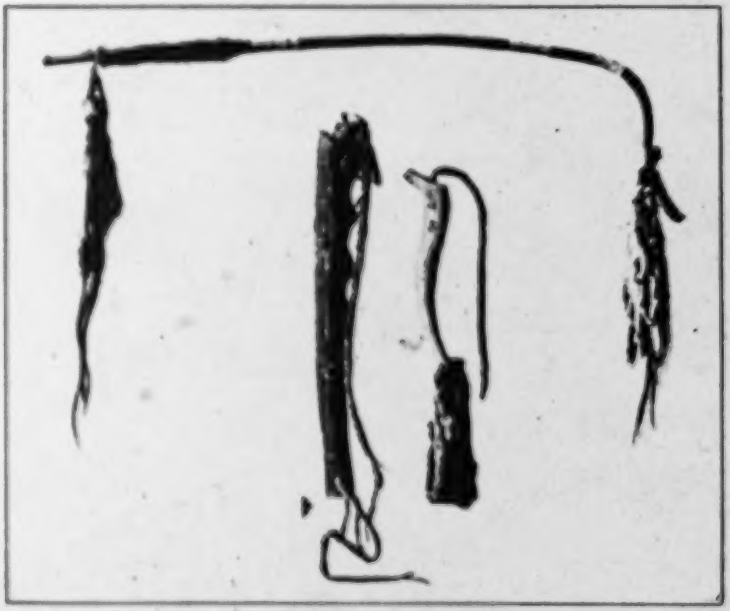
a. WAR CLUBS OF THE UPPER DIVISION



b. WHIPS

[Facing p. 156 (A)]

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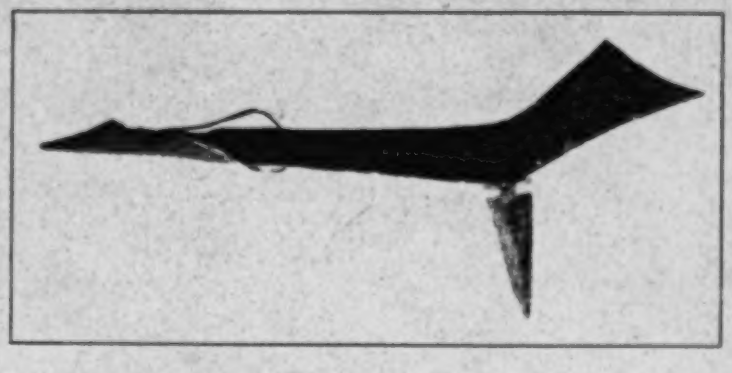


WAR CLUBS

A, B, 1/2 front view, C, 1/2 rear view.

[Facing p. 156 (c)]

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622 614 the man that, since he was without this particular thing, to keep it and use it for all time.

The public crier, a member of the Buffalo clan, was supposed to report to the chief early every morning and receive instructions. The crier would then go all around the village making the chief's desires known.

[203 624 623] The chief had a representative at every council, generally his brother.

The chief of the village is a peacemaker, and if two members of the tribe ever get into difficulties (i. e., quarrel) he is supposed to intervene. If in a quarrel a person should be killed, the chief would go to the murderer and tell the latter to permit himself to be tied up—i. e., to give himself up to the relatives of the murdered man. If the murderer consents to do so, then his arms are tied behind him and the chief walks in front of him carrying his sacred pipe. Thus they would go to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives. When they get there the chief would extend the stem of the pipe toward them. They might refuse to accept the pipe thus extended, but if any member of the family, even if it be a small child, were to take a puff from it, then the murderer would be forgiven and turned free.

[682]

This is the capacity of a Winnebago chief.

622 614 682 Another description of the chief's rôle as intercessor for a murderer is as follows:

When the Thunderbird chief wishes to save a murderer they take one of their own chiefs, one who is well believed, paint his back blue, and put sheaves in his back, to which they tie cords. Thus he is taken to the lodge of the murdered person's relatives. The chief, when he gets there, holds his pipe of tobacco in both hands. Should the relatives not wish to accept the peace offering they close the door in his face. Then he returns.

614 778 [411] The Thunderbird clan possessed a type of war club called a bald-headed war club, which was sacred to this clan alone, and a miniature of which was always buried with a dead body. The only other possessions were the clan war bundles. The Winnebago often speak as though each clan had but one of these palladiums, but there seems to be little doubt but that there were at least two and probably more in each clan. These war bundles must be regarded as the common possession of the clan at the present time, for they can not be alienated from the clan.[1] For all practical purposes, however, they are the private property of certain individuals or families.

614 372 Fire was considered a sacred possession of the Thunderbird clan. As mentioned before, an individual was supposed never to ask for a firebrand from the fire of any member of the clan and was never permitted to sit near such a fireplace. If, nevertheless, anyone should be immodest enough to ask for one of these objects, he would be refused, but he would be permitted to ask for any conceivable thing else. The following incident will serve as an example of the definite way in which this peculiar custom works. An old Winne-

[1] This point was very forcibly impressed upon the writer when he tried to obtain the war bundle of a man who had become a member of the Peyote cult. The man was perfectly willing to part with it, but after repeated requests to those who happened to possess it at that particular time, he admitted that it belonged to the clan, although they could not have taken it away from him had he remained a believer in the old faith.

## *Crashing Thunder*

539 614 776 ***Within-lake*** at Red Banks, a lake near Green Bay (Wisconsin). On an oak tree south of the lake is the place where they alighted. The branch on which they alighted was bent down by their weight. Then spoke the third brother, "Brother, the first daughter born to me I shall call *She-who-weighs-the-tree-down.*" Then they alighted on the earth. Then said the fourth brother, "Brother, the first son born to me I shall call *He-who-alights-on-the-earth.*" Then the brothers alighted on the earth. But the thunder-birds did not touch the earth. The first thing the brothers did on earth was to start fire.

Then Earthmaker looked down upon them and saw that he had not prepared any food, so he created animals that they might have something to eat. The oldest brother suddenly said, "What are we going to eat?" Thereupon [411] the youngest two took a bow and arrow Earthmaker had given them and started toward the east. Shortly after, the third brother came into sight with a young deer on his back and then the youngest appeared with a two years' old deer. The two deer killed and those who had killed them, were brothers.

The men were very much delighted that they had obtained food. Then they said, "Let us give our grandfather the first taste." So saying they cut off the ends of the tongues, cut out the heart and together with some fat, threw both into the fire.

The first people to call on them were the Warrior clan people. Then came those from the west, four of them, the Pigeon clan people. Then came those of the earth, the Deer people, the Snake people, the Elk people, the Bear people, the Fish people, the Waterspirit people and all the other clans that exist among the Winnebago.

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 828 wanted immediately to fight with those who protested. Whenever a person tried to buy one of them, he would ask an extravagant price, and whenever a horse was caught in depredations and he was asked to pay damages, he threatened to shoot the people concerned. He was accustomed to go around barefooted with his gun, it was said. For all these reasons his brothers disliked [593] him and asked some Winnebago to shoot him. These brothers also told the Winnebago how it would be possible to kill him, for he belonged to that group of people [154] who were regarded as invulnerable. It is said that [185] when he fasted, he had gone without food for a whole winter; that he had not resumed eating until spring. In order to kill him, a wooden knife was required. [411] This should be painted red. Then he was to be stabbed. This was the only way of killing him.

Now we thought that with all this evidence against him, we would surely be acquitted.

[P.164]

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172 Following Brown's classification, we note the following copper ob-
412 jects in Wisconsin: Axes or hatchets (the most common), chisels,
325 "spuds," gouges, spikes, spatulas, knives, spear and arrow points, harpoon points, pikes and punches, awls and drills, spikes, needles, and fishhooks.

The most important types of axes were the following: Those oblong in outline, with edges nearly parallel; those with straight edges and tapering, widest toward the cutting edge and becoming narrower toward the head. The head itself may be either flattened, rounded, or roundly pointed. This is the most common type found. The third type, according to Brown, resembles the second, "with the exception that the margin at the edges is slightly but distinctly elevated, thus giving a slightly depressed or concave surface in the center and from end to end on one or both broad faces of the ax. In some examples this margin is fully one-half inch in width at or near the middle."[14]

Three principal types of chisels were found: Those broadest at the cutting edge, with edges tapering gradually from this cutting edge to the head; those of nearly uniform width with straight parallel edges; and those with a more or less prominent median ridge.

According to Brown there can be no doubt as to their use. "It probably included the hollowing out of wooden canoes, troughs, and vessels . . ."[15]

Knives are quite common, there being two principal types—one with a straight back and oblique, curved, or straight cutting edge; and another distinguished from the latter by a greater breadth of its broad curved blade and terminating in a broadly rounded point.

Spear and arrow points are found in great profusion and fall into many types: The leaf-shaped, the stemmed and flat, the ridged, the beveled, the eyed, the notched, the toothed, the spatula-shaped, the short-stemmed, the barbed or pronged, the conical, the rolled socketed, and the ridged socketed.

## Earthworks and Mounds

172 *Aztalan.*—Apart from the mounds there is one very famous earthwork in Wisconsin called Aztalan (pl. 12) which has for many decades puzzled archeologists. We will not enter into any of the numerous explanations given at different times by observers, but will confine ourselves exclusively to quoting the rather clear description given by Mr. G. A. West:[16]

The inclosure and associated earthworks at Aztalan, on the Crawfish River in Jefferson County, have long been considered among the most interesting and important

[14] The Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 3, no. 2, p. 61.
[15] Ibid., p. 62.
[16] "The Indian earthworks of Wisconsin antiquities," Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 6, no. 4, pp. [illegible].

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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WINNEBAGO BONE IMPLEMENTS

(From Wisconsin Archeologist)

[Facing p. 88(B)]

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241 [778] In the middle of the field was usually placed an earthen representation of the clan animal. As to how squash and beans were planted, no reliable information is available. The corn was planted in small circular mounds which, to judge from those near Madison, Wis., were arranged in remarkably straight rows.

[412 177] The author is unable to say what type of implements was used, as the Winnebago have been using those of European manufacture for many years and have no recollection of any other kind.

If anyone had more corn planted than he could take care of he
241 gave a feast, to which he invited all who had hoes. At this feast
527 dried corn was used. On this occasion the people sacrificed tobacco
782 to their hoes, so that they might not cut themselves with these implements or have other accidents. Then they all joined in helping their host cultivate his corn.

249 In addition to the above-mentioned patches, most Winnebago had small fields of tobacco, which were regarded as very sacred. The tobacco grown on these was used only for sacrificial purposes. Sacred gourds also were planted in these fields.

222 *Berry picking.*—From the earliest times the Winnebago were known for their bountiful supply of berries. Every fall parties of men, women, and children went out to pick cranberries and whortleberries.

222 *Customs when berries are ripening.*—If a man has a son whom he
787 loves very much, he has him fast as soon as the berries and other things begin to ripen. If this boy dreams of something good, then he (the father) gives a feast with the newly ripened food and the boy eats. If the boy does not dream of anything good after four days, the father makes him eat and has him try again.

222 *Rice gathering.*—In common with the Central Algonquian tribes, with whom they have come in contact, especially the Menominee, the Winnebago spent a number of weeks every year gathering wild rice. The following description of the manner in which this is done is taken from a newspaper article published by Prof. A. E. Jenks of the University of Minnesota:

> Fox River from its source to Lake Winnebago was for hundreds of years a very productive field for this aquatic cereal, and along this river the Winnebago lived in plenty and peace with several wild rice eating tribes of the Algonkin stock. Probably a few families still gather their annual crop in that old domain; but most of the wild rice which the tribe now gathers is obtained in the sloughs of the Mississippi River near Lacrosse, Wis., and on the Iowa side of that river
>
> The Winnebago gather the grain by running their canoes into the tall standing stalks before the grain is ripe. A stick is held in each hand of the harvester, one being used to draw the standing stalks over the edge of the canoe, while the other one is employed in tapping or striking the heads of the stalks, thus knocking the grain out of the fruit head into the canoe. After the canoe is full it is taken to the shore and emptied.

252 *Preparation of foods.*—Meats were prepared by broiling, in three
262 ways—on stakes, over a rack, or under hot ashes. Only the ribs

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and the breast of most animals were considered good portions, but the head of the deer was included. Other portions were eaten, however. For infants the deer's tail was considered a delicacy. Now, when they eat meat provided by the white man, rib roast of beef is the favorite meat of the Winnebago.

The Winnebago were very fond of soups of all descriptions. Most of these were meat soups with the addition of vegetables or berries.

Most time was, however, spent in the preparation of vegetable foods, especially in the preparation of wild rice and corn. For the preparation of rice I will again quote Professor Jenks's article:

> At this stage of the harvest when the Winnebago gather the wild rice, the kernel is very like a long oat and has a tenacious hull, which must be removed before the grain can be eaten. The necessity of removing this hull and the unripe condition of the grain make it necessary to dry it artificially. This is usually done by spreading the kernels yet inclosed in the hull upon a rack of lattice work, under which a slow fire is kept burning. The grain is cured and the hull made brittle by the heat and smoke. The next process is the thrashing. The Winnebago thrashes the grain by the use of a most primitive flail. He spreads a blanket, rush mat, or deerskin on the ground, upon which he puts the new cured grain. Along three sides of the blanket he erects a screen of similar material. At the open side of this screen the man squats on his knees, and beats the grain with a straight stick in each hand, thus releasing it from the hull. When it has been thrashed the woman gathers up the contents of the blanket and winnows the mass by letting it fall from a vessel held high in the air upon a blanket or mat laid on the earth; the wind blows away the chaff from the falling grain and leaves the clean kernels.

The Winnebago distinguished a number of different kinds of corn, the principal ones being *wahi'serete*, yellow-stalked; *Mirarakona*, sweet corn; and *warur'teke*, red-colored corn. The cornstalk was called *wahu'*, the corn proper, *witca'ⁿwaⁿs*, and the cob, *wosu'k'*. The corn is pounded on a rack (*waick'*) and then shelled, the grain falling through the rack and the cobs remaining on top. After being shelled the corn is steamed. Then the stones necessary for cooking it are gathered and the corn is picked. When this is finished, a hole is dug in the ground and red-hot stones are put in. Over this the husks are put and upon these the corn; then another layer of husks, etc. The top always is covered with husks. Four holes are made through the husks, into which four pails of water are poured and the whole is covered with a thick layer of earth and the corn left there overnight. The next morning it will be entirely cooked.

In shelling, the outer part of an oyster shell is used. When the shelling is over the corn is spread out and dried.

Squash is prepared as follows: After the skin has been removed the squash is cut into slices and the seeds taken out; the slices of squash are then put on poles to dry. The dried squash is called *hoico'ⁿwaⁿdacuz*. There are two varieties of this vegetable—*witca'ⁿwaⁿ*, Hubbard squash, and *witca'ⁿwanoik*, small-kernel squash.

Fruit was dried, but by what process the author has not learned.

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252 In addition to the vegetable foods above referred to, the following
262 may be mentioned: *Teera'para*, a plant growing in the water, the root of which was eaten boiled with meat; *wakaipkra* and *ha"ipk hoi'dja*, awl plant and pravine, respectively, of which only the roots were eaten; and finally the *dora*, wild potato, a favorite dish. The skin was peeled off; then the potato was dried in the sun and afterwards boiled. *Na"pa'k'*, chokecherries, were eaten raw. *P"apkxi'* and *ma"hi'nir*, a lowland weed, and the milkweed, respectively, were also utilized. Of the former, the boiled root was eaten; of the latter, the boiled head. Small quantities of food which required grinding were put into a squirrel hide from which the hairs had been removed, and were pounded with a stone. A mill consisting of a dug-out trunk with handles attached was also used.

251 *Preservation of food.*—In former times meat was hung on long
415 racks for preservation. Corn was cached (*wozr'*). Dried berries were kept in bags woven from vegetable fibers. These bags were always covered with designs, mostly of geometric patterns, although
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422] unquestionably property marks, were frequently used. There were two types of bags, that closely woven (*p'a"*) (pls. 32–36), just mentioned, and matting bags with fairly large openings in the meshwork (pl. 37). Food stored away at home was generally placed in a part of the lodge reserved for the purpose.

262 *A Winnebago menu.*—To give an idea of the favorite dishes of the Winnebago, the names of several mentioned in one of the myths are here appended: Small dried corn boiled with bear's ribs; jerked meat with bear's fat; deer's fat; deer's grease frozen in a hole in the ground; dried corn boiled with fruit; deer-loin soup.

412 *Cooking and eating utensils* (pl. 38).—With regard to the kind
415 of cooking and eating utensils used in the old days there exists even among the Indians themselves considerable difference of opinion. According to some, their ancestors never used wooden utensils, mills, spoons, and plates, but utilized shells of various kinds or other natural objects suitable to their needs. Others state, on the contrary, that, in early times, in addition to such natural objects, wooden vessels of many kinds were fashioned from maple knots. These are said to have been burned out, a very tedious process, or even to have been cut out with adzes. It is quite impossible to decide this question now. Wooden implements and utensils in great variety are, of course, found among the Winnebago at the present time, but these are supposed by many to have been introduced by the neighboring Algonquian tribes and by early French traders. The main contention of the present-day
[177] Winnebago is, however, that their ancestors could never have made this woodenware without the aid of European implements, burning out being a tedious and unsatisfactory method.

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a. WOODEN DISHES

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b. WOODEN SPOONS

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c. WOODEN MORTARS AND PESTLES

[Facing p. 118 (H)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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It might be said that all recollection of the making of wooden vessels could easily have been lost in the last century or two and that therefore too much weight should not be given to present ignorance of the subject. There are a number of reasons, however, why ignorance in this particular case might be significant. First, many indications point to workmanship of a low order among the Winnebago in the manufacture of artifacts; second, there are many suggestions of two cultural strata in this tribe; third, while the Winnebago in Wisconsin still use wooden vessels, many of them claim that these were introduced; and fourth, all the informants who gave this information were old people. If the author were to hazard an hypothesis, it would be the following: In very early times few objects were fashioned out of wood, but gradually contact with the Menominee led to the introduction of many wooden vessels, and finally the acquisition of European axes, knives, and other implements made it possible to manufacture such vessels in large numbers. A similar explanation was offered by an Indian with regard to the use of dugouts.

Besides wood as a material for dishes and spoons of various kinds and sizes, shells were utilized, while sticks served as knives.

All informants agree that neither bone nor stone were used in the manufacture of utensils.

For cooking, clay pots were used. These vessels, most of which were very large, with round bottoms, always hung over the fire. The material used in their manufacture was blue clay found at Green Bay, on or near the site of St. Paul, Minn., mixed with shell shards, glue from sturgeon vertebræ, and the gelatinous substance in the horns of the deer. The addition of these ingredients greatly increased the cohesiveness of the clay. The material was either molded with the hands or in holes of the desired shape dug in the ground and lined with leaves. Finally, the vessels were dried over a slow fire in small kilns constructed for the purpose. None of the clay vessels were provided with handles. Some were ornamented with geometric patterns. The irregular incised designs on some Winnebago vessels are the impressions of grass blades with which the mold was lined.[1]

*Fire making.*—In former times fire was always made by means of a simple fire drill. This method is still used for ceremonial occasions.

*Tanning.*—The author never witnessed the process of tanning. The description obtained agrees exactly with that of Mr. A. Skinner here quoted:[2]

After the skin has been removed, the hair is scraped from it. During this process the skin is hung over an obliquely inclined log, one end of which has been smoothed

[1] One informant gave a description of pottery making in which a wheel was used, but as no other Winnebago corroborated this statement the author is convinced that it is inaccurate.

[2] Anthr. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist. pt. iv, pt. ii, pp. 360-362.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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281 off on the upper surface. The beaming tool is then grasped in both hands and pushed away from the user against the grain of the hair over the skin where it lies on the smoothed surface of the stick or log. This process is the same as that followed by the Northern Ojibway and Eastern Cree. The next step is to stretch the skin on a square, upright frame. A fleshing tool is then brought to bear, although the beamer is often made to answer this purpose. When the skin has been fleshed, it is soaked in a mixture of deer's brains and water. No grease is added. This preparation is kept in liquid form in a pail and lasts some time. After remaining in the brain fluid for a time, the skin is taken out and thoroughly washed. Then it is taken by the tanner—who is always a woman—and dried. While the skin is drying, it is rubbed with a wooden spatula to make it flexible. It is now ready for the last step—smoking. For this process it is first sewed up into a cylindrical shape, and the upper end is tied together to form a bag. By this closed upper end it is then suspended over a shallow hole from a stick driven obliquely into the ground at an angle of about 45 degrees. In the hole a fire is built with dried wood. The open lower edge of the skin bag is pegged or fastened to the ground about the edge of the hole.

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## Games and Amusements

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Lacrosse was the favorite game of the Winnebago. This was generally played on ceremonial occasions. Whenever played, the two divisions of the tribe, the Wañgere'gi and the Mape'gi, were pitted against each other. There were two kinds of lacrosse, one played by men and the other played by women; these differed in a number of particulars.

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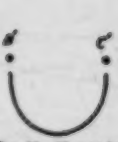


FIG. 27.—Men's lacrosse. A, B (not), B, B', final goals of wañgere'gi side. C, C', final goals of mape'gi side. D, Mound from which ball is thrown.

*Men's lacrosse.*—The men's game was called *teabosino'pugie hik'ieik'*. There were either 12 or 22 men on each side, placed in the following manner: Two, one of each side, stood in front of the arched sapling which constituted one of the goals (*wak'a'rani*); these were called *wai'ingra*. There were, of course, two goals, each about 10 feet high, one at each end of the field. About midway between the goals a small mound was made from which the ball was thrown. Ten or twenty men, as the case may be, covered the ground between the mound and the two men stationed at each *wak'a'rani*. The lacrosse stick was called *teabosadu'gie*, and the ball used either *tei-oko'nôkra* or *wa'i'i'pa*. The object of the game was to put the ball through the goal four times. At the beginning of the game the ball was thrown straight into the air from the mound. (For plan of the game, see fig. 27.)

526 *Ceremonial lacrosse.* The following description of a ceremonial lacrosse game was given by a member of the Bear clan:

The Wañgere'gi and the Mape'gi people were to play lacrosse. So the Wañgere'gi took an invitation stick and attached some tobacco to it and sent it to the Mape'gi people. Thus they fixed a day for the contest. The contest was to be in four days. In the meantime both sides were to get ready, for some might be without balls or sticks, etc. Then the Wañgere'gi said, "We are the faster and will therefore go and

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*Tree game.*—Two trees are selected about 20 feet apart, one having a branch about 15 feet from the ground. A number of people stand ready at the side of this tree and the one whose turn it is to play tries to hit the branch. When he succeeds in doing so all run toward the other tree. As soon as the player gets the ball he tries to hit the runners. If successful in this before the others have reached the tree he wins; otherwise they are "safe" and he must try again. The Winnebago called this game *kahi'hidjikre'a*. 526

### Travel and Transportation

*Canoes and dugouts.*—All the boats found in the early days in the territory originally inhabited by the Winnebago were dugouts, yet a number of the tribe questioned denied positively that boats of this kind were in common use before the coming of the whites. According to these informants, in former times the Winnebago always had their home in a birch country, and had at hand, therefore, the requisite material for making canoes; moreover, birch-bark canoes were much easier to construct than dugouts, for which logs had to be hollowed by burning—a process that might consume weeks. Only when the whites introduced the ax and the knife did it become practicable to make dugouts. These implements became available at the time of the southern migration of the tribe into a region where birch bark was scarce, and one result of the change was the substitution of the dugout for the canoe. The validity of this explanation is supported by the same line of argument as in the case of the wooden vessels. 501 [412 177 167]

*Snowshoes.* The snowshoes of the Winnebago were similar to those used by the Menominee, with this difference, that the two pieces of wood forming the "handle," instead of being tied together for their whole length, as among the latter, were left unfastened for about 5 inches at the end. This difference is immediately detected (pl. 40) by the present-day Winnebago, who can easily identify, by the feature mentioned, snowshoes belonging to the tribe. 481 [171]

### Musical Instruments

The musical instruments of the Winnebago seem to have been restricted to the flute, drum, and gourd. The flute was made of red cedar and usually had a range of five or six notes; it was used at many ceremonies, and especially by young men when courting. The drum consisted of a framework (in later days a wooden pail or a barrel served the purpose), over which a skin was drawn very tight. A small quantity of water was always kept in the drum so that the skin could be wet as often as necessary. Rattles consisted of dried gourds filled, in olden times, with seeds, in more modern times with buckshot (pl. 30, *d*, *f*). 534

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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yond the need of further nursing. Standing alone above this altar, Big Wave then offered, in his native tongue, a prayer to be carried upward by the fire to Creator. In a low voice he thanked Creator who taught the use of fire to the Indians, that it might live with them forever and watch over them. He expressed satisfaction that new fire had been started on this occasion, so that all present might enjoy the benefits of life. He described the fire as an interpreter, conveying to the spirit world the prayers of men. He then sprinkled tobacco upon the fire, saying: "This tobacco I offer you (the spirits) that you may do that which I ask of you, that you may grant to all here, our wives and children, and all our relatives, good fortune and all the benefits of life. This prayer is for others who will also give tobacco."

Later, when the meeting was convened and the guests filed into the ceremonial lodge, many silently sprinkled tobacco on the fire, thereby sharing the benefit of this prayer. This tobacco sacrifice is called, filling the spirits' pipe.

As soon as the new fire was burning well, coals were removed therefrom with which to start the cooking fires outside the lodge, for the feast must be cooked over sacred fire. Two short poles were placed on either side of the fire, topped by a crosspiece from which the pots were suspended on chains. Water was boiled, with which all the pots were thoroughly washed. Then the meat (fowl, beef and pork) was prepared for cooking. The fowls had to be singed over the sacred fire. A definite number of equal portions were placed in each pot, since each participating family was to share the contents of a single pot which, therefore, must contain a portion for every member of the invited group.

While the war-bundle owner's helpers, the waiters, selected from his paternal nephews when possible, were preparing the feast, he himself entered the lodge, took down the war-bundle from where it hung on the north wall opposite the fire and spread it out on the ground immediately west of the fire. Although much of the contents of the bundle appeared to be very old, the cover-piece was of cloth. The bundle was unrolled and spread out upon this rectangular piece of goods. The inner wrapper was of matting. Upon this a variety of fetishes and elements of ceremonial equipment was displayed. These included various bird skins, reed whistles and an old fire drill set which had long been out of use due to the fact that the base piece was entirely covered with holes, without interval, and as deep as the thickness of the piece would permit.

Two beaded snake-skin fetishes were suspended from the top of a peeled stake set up between the bundle and the fire. Adjoining this a sharpened stick, later to be used as a meat fork in distributing the meat, was placed, the handle thrust into the ground. Two fine old war clubs from the bundle were also placed between fire and bundle, their handles thrust into the ground. Two bowls, one containing tobacco and the

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WOMAN'S HAIR ORNAMENTS AND SMALL BEADED BAG

[Facing p. 108 (F)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

a. Birch-bark receptacle.
b. Frame for stringing beads.
c. Staff with personal markings.
d. Wooden dish.
e. Catlinite pipe.
f. Gourd rattle.

[Facing p. 108(H)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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NP12 Winnebago NP12



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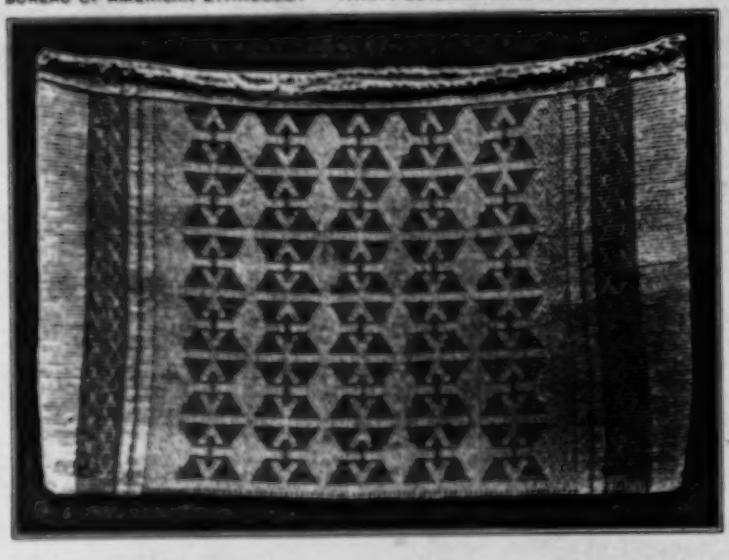

WOVEN BAGS WITH OLD DESIGNS

[Facing p. 118 (B)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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WOVEN BAGS

a. Deer and thunderbird designs b. Thunderbird design

[Facing p. 118 (c)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



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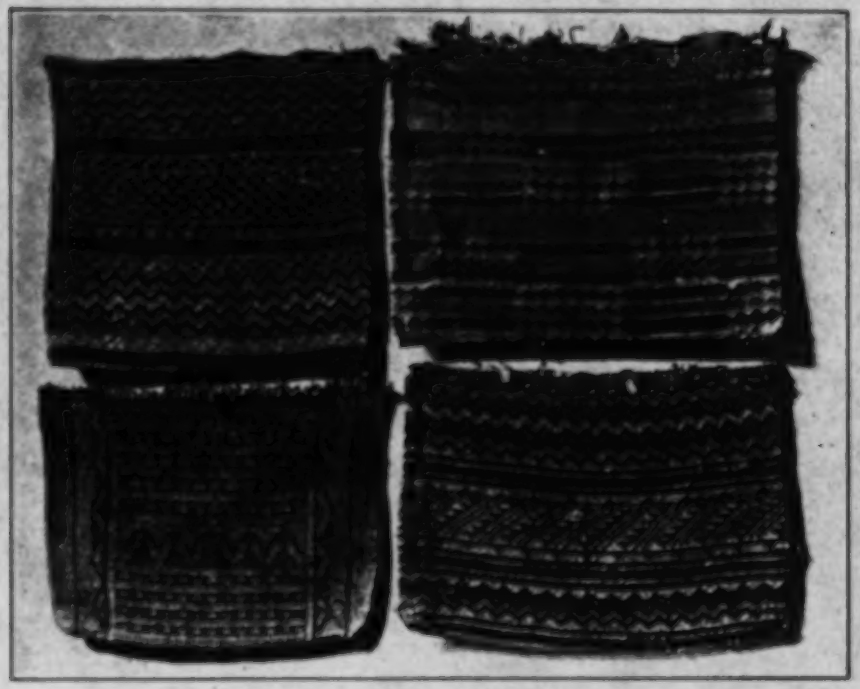
VARIETIES OF WOVEN BAGS

[Facing p. 118 (D)]



WOVEN BAGS WITH OLD DESIGNS

[Facing p. 118 (E)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



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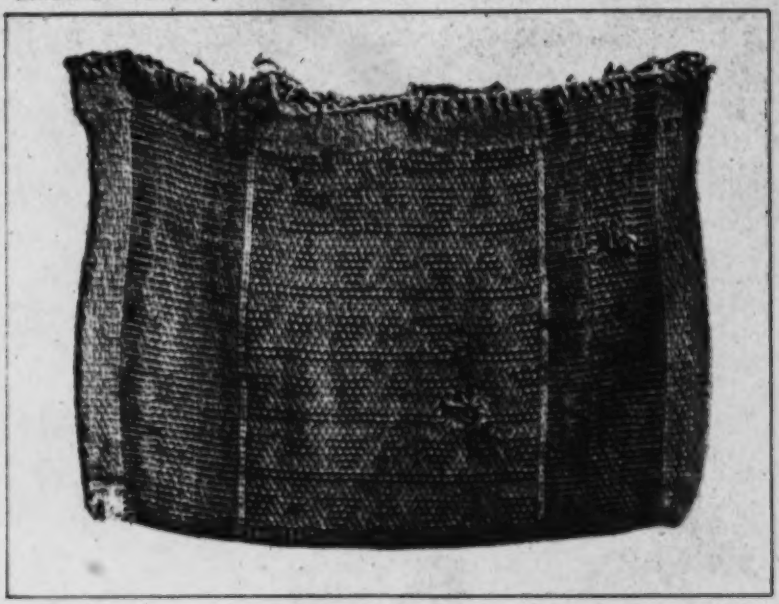

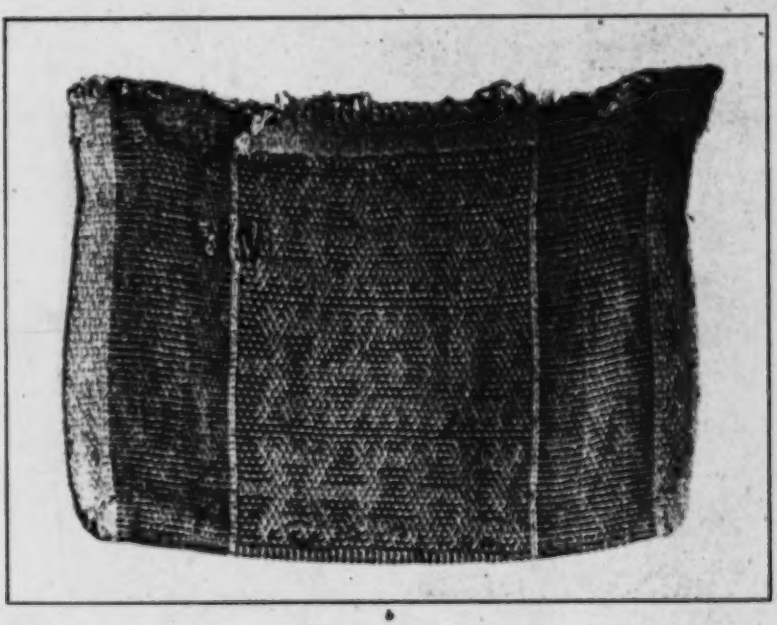

WOVEN BAGS
(Peabody Museum)

[Facing p. 118 (F)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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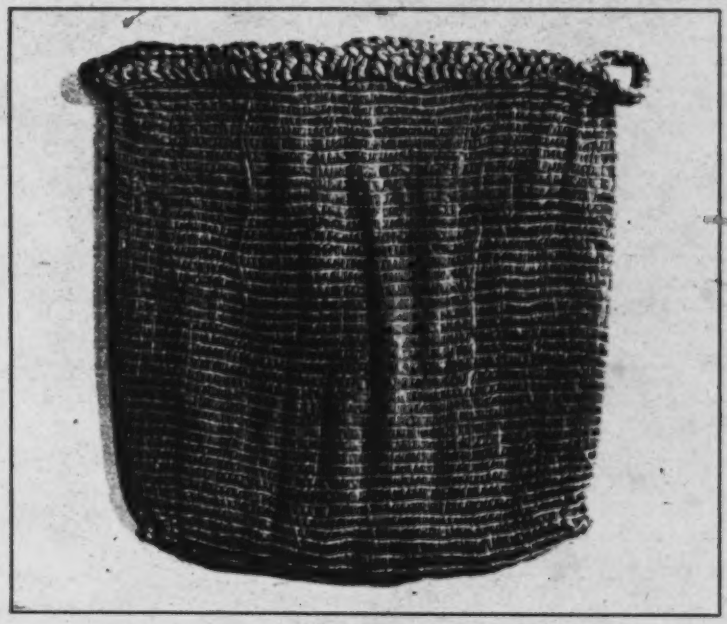

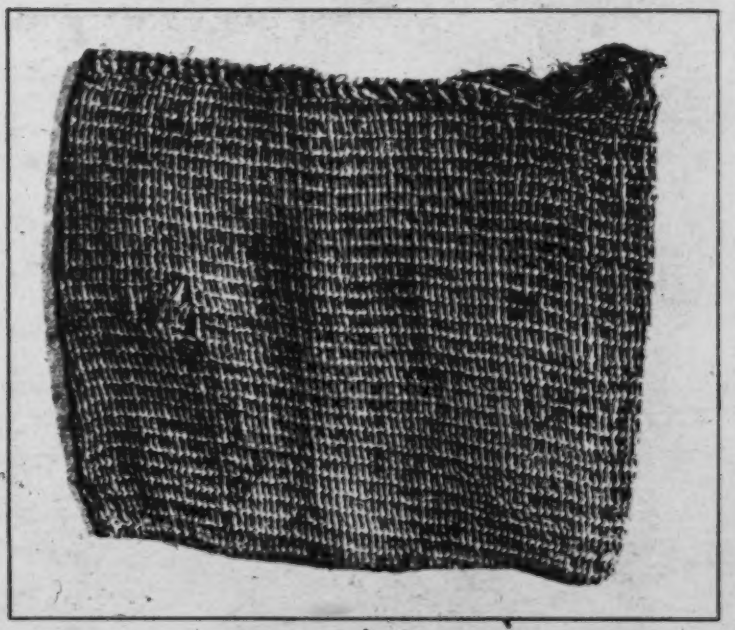

OPENWORK WOVEN BAGS
(Peabody Museum)

[Facing p. 118 (G)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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415

a. WOODEN DISHES

412

b. WOODEN SPOONS

415
412

c. WOODEN MORTARS AND PESTLES

[Facing p. 118 (H)]

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Besides wood as a material for dishes and spoons of various kinds and sizes, shells were utilized, while sticks served as knives.

All informants agree that neither bone nor stone were used in the manufacture of utensils.

For cooking, clay pots were used. These vessels, most of which were very large, with round bottoms, always hung over the fire. The material used in their manufacture was blue clay found at Green Bay, on or near the site of St. Paul, Minn., mixed with shell shards, glue from sturgeon vertebræ, and the gelatinous substance in the horns of the deer. The addition of these ingredients greatly increased the cohesiveness of the clay. The material was either molded with the hands or in holes of the desired shape dug in the ground and lined with leaves. Finally, the vessels were dried over a slow fire in small kilns constructed for the purpose. None of the clay vessels were provided with handles. Some were ornamented with geometric patterns. The irregular incised designs on some Winnebago vessels are the impressions of grass blades with which the mold was lined.[7]

*Fire making.*—In former times fire was always made by means of a simple fire drill. This method is still used for ceremonial occasions.

*Tanning.*—The author never witnessed the process of tanning. The description obtained agrees exactly with that of Mr. A. Skinner here quoted:[8]

After the skin has been removed, the hair is scraped from it. During this process the skin is hung over an obliquely inclined leg, one end of which has been smoothed

[7] One informant gave a description of pottery making in which a wheel was used, but as no other Winnebago corroborated this statement the author is convinced that it is inaccurate.

[8] Anthr. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist. pt. iv, pt. ii, pp. 200-201.

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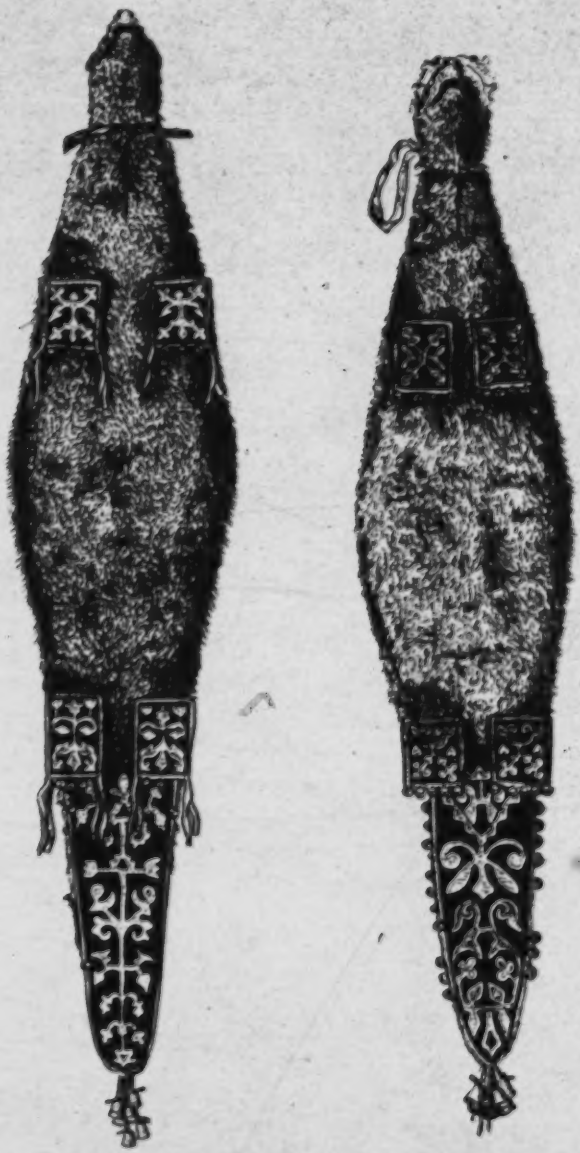
●415



OTTER-SKIN MEDICINE POUCHES USED AT MEDICINE DANCE

[Facing p. 362 (A)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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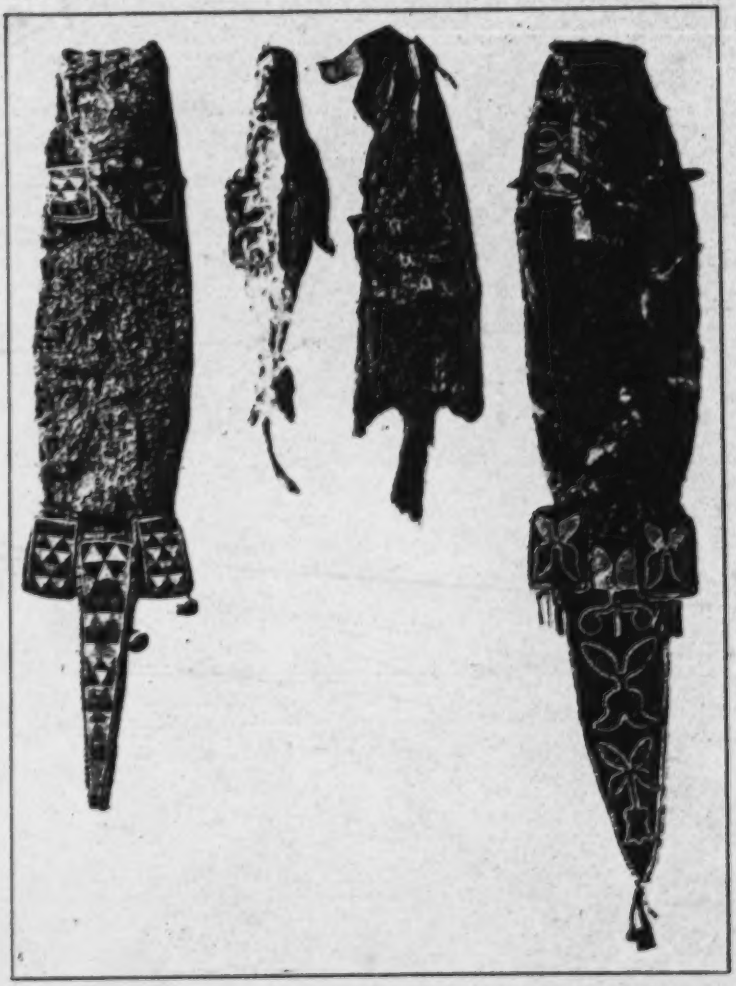

POUCHES OF ANIMAL SKINS USED AT MEDICINE DANCE

[Facing p. 362 (B)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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SKIN POUCHES AND FEATHER FANS USED AT MEDICINE DANCE

[Facing p. 362 (c)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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614 796 782 the members of my clan, sufficient blessings to guide us all safely through life, and to make our lives pleasant. I will not tell the [537] origin myth (of our clan) because it is sacred and it must not be told without the proper ceremony, for the telling would then injure an individual. Besides there are many clans beside our own represented here and it is not proper that these should hear it."

614 796 He then speaks of the four ancestral bear-beings who were created in the beginning.

When the feast is ready one of the Wolf clansmen gives four soldier whoops. Then the fire is allowed to die out, and as soon as the lodge is in complete darkness the feasters begin to eat. Before [533] eating, the host sings four songs. These are the clan songs and are only sung at these feasts or on the occasion of the death of a clansman.

Those who partake of food at the feast may be members of any clan except the Bear clan. The members of the latter clan do not eat at their own feast.

[764 415] Everyone attending must bring his own wooden spoon and must use it with his left hand. There are four wooden dishes in which the food is served. These are arranged in the lodge in a certain manner.

The guests sit around these dishes and eat with their own spoons.

[805] The feast is given in the first bear month. Some one generally watches the moon and as soon as the new moon is visible the feast begins. The feathers and the tobacco to be offered are placed in four little troughs made of basswood bark, each about 1 foot long. These are then placed on the south side of the fireplace.

When the meal is over the attendant or Wolf clansman generally says a few words of thanks to the host and then the host in turn thanks those who have participated and tells them that the feast is now over. All now pass out, the one next to the host leaving first and the rest in succession, the host himself remaining until the end.

[778 782] When the feast is over the tobacco and the feathers are taken away from the lodge and carried in a southern direction to a place (under a tree) that has been especially cleared and sanctified. Any person may thereafter go there, offer tobacco, and ask for long life.

614 796 537 782 Informant, member of the clan (male): "Well, soldiers, your moon is about to appear. It is good. So come forth, for it is at this time that the spirits asked to be remembered. Let us send, on this occasion, to the place at which we all originated, whatever we possess of wealth. This is what the spirits asked of old. Let us therefore put the kettle on and prepare the feast.

"This is the way in which we prepare the feast. I offer only one small kettle. Here is my offering. I pray that what I offer may suffice and bring enough blessings from the spirits to include all the

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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614 As far as could be determined, the clan animal is the thunder-
776 bird with his characteristics of lightning and thunder, of the bear
825 who likes honey and raisins, etc. The animal is engraved as clan
symbol and used as a property mark, and he is brought in intimate
[421] contact with the group by the postulation of descent. Natur-
ally, descent is not from the "spirit" animal but from the
animal. Nevertheless the clan animal has, at the same time,
retained its place as a guardian spirit, and in a most suggestive
way. The blessing of a clan animal is more easily obtained by a
member of the clan than by an outsider. The clan animal is a
sort of clan protector.

In this change of attitude two considerations seem pertinent:
174 first, the possibility of the "spirit" nature of the guardian
614 spirit being a product of the esoteric elaboration of the religious
societies, and that its apparent absence in the clan animal
776 represents an exoteric conception; and, secondly, that under
825 the influence of the social functions of the clan, an originally
strong religious conception of the clan animal gave place to an
identification with the animal species itself. It might be ob-
jected that there is no inherent correlation between social
organization and animal species as contrasted with spirit animals.
It seems certain, however, that descent could only be reckoned
from the animal, and as long as it is postulated it must be from
the animal. With regard to the historical priority of the "spirit"
conception, little can be definitely said except, first, that the
systematization it has undergone suggests the influence of the
esoteric societies, and secondly, that the visions obtained during
fasting appear to speak of the guardian "spirit" as an animal.
On general psychological considerations we are inclined to
believe in the contrast of the material and spiritual conception
of the animal as a real fact, although it would be hazardous to
say whether one or the other lies at the basis of the attitude of
the individual toward his clan animal.

### *Relationship to Clan Animals.*

174 The question of descent from the animal brings us to the
614 consideration of the whole intricate relationship of the individual
825 to the clan animal, a subject that has played so prominent a

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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Bear, the doorway of his lodge; for the Wolf and Water-spirit, water. They were not obtained for all the clans. We indicated before that these "possessions" may have been primarily connected with the animals associated with the clan, upon which an additional socio-religious interpretation has been superimposed. The whole subject is, however, closely related to that of clan etiquette, for which no explanations can, of course, be given now. 614 [778]

### *The Clan Marks of Identification.*

As if more fully to set off the social unit of the clan, there have come to be associated with it definite marks of identification, such as symbols, property marks, facial decorations, and songs.

The symbols of only two clans were obtained, although a number of other clans seem to have possessed them. There were the war club (*nąmąicc*) of the Thunderbird clan, and the peculiarly whittled stick (*namąxinixini*) of the Bear clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan died, a miniature war club was buried with him. Whether the *namąxinixini* was buried with a member of the Bear clan, we do not know. [778] [764]

The property mark consisted of the effigy of the clan animal, and was woven on such objects as bags, tobacco pouches, etc. It was also frequently engraved on wooden objects. Its most peculiar uses, however, were the emblematic earthen effigy mounds, in the shape of the clan animal, which were erected near the habitation of each clan in the village and in the centre of clan squash fields, corn fields, etc.[1] 614 421 [532] [361]

Associated with every clan are also four clan songs. These are supposed to be the four songs sung by the ancestors of each clan when they came to this earth. They are always sung on the death of an individual, and are supposed to serve as a mark of identification in the journey of the soul to the land of the spirits. The use of these songs is so intimately associated with death, that when some hardened offender, 614 533 764 [775] [627]

[1] For a fuller discussion of these, see Radin, *Some Aspects of Winnebago Archæology*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 13, 1911, pp. 317-338.

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252 In addition to the vegetable foods above referred to, the following
262 may be mentioned: *Terra'pare*, a plant growing in the water, the root of which was eaten boiled with meat; *wakaipkara* and *ha^ripk hoi'dja*, awl plant and pravine, respectively, of which only the roots were eaten; and finally the *dara*, wild potato, a favorite dish. The skin was peeled off; then the potato was dried in the sun and afterwards boiled. *Na^pa'k'*, chokecherries, were eaten raw. *P'apkxi'* and *ma^ki'nte*, a lowland weed, and the milkweed, respectively, were also utilized. Of the former, the boiled root was eaten; of the latter, the boiled head. Small quantities of food which required grinding were put into a squirrel hide from which the hairs had been removed, and were pounded with a stone. A mill consisting of a dug-out trunk with handles attached was also used.

251 *Preservation of food.*—In former times meat was hung on long
415 racks for preservation. Corn was cached (*wear'*). Dried berries were kept in bags woven from vegetable fibers. These bags were always covered with designs, mostly of geometric patterns, although
[531 realistic designs, as elk, deer, thunderbirds, and water spirits, all
● 422] unquestionably property marks, were frequently used. There were two types of bags, that closely woven (*p'a^*) (pls. 32–36), just mentioned, and matting bags with fairly large openings in the meshwork (pl. 37). Food stored away at home was generally placed in a part of the lodge reserved for the purpose.

262 *A Winnebago menu.*—To give an idea of the favorite dishes of the Winnebago, the names of several mentioned in one of the myths are here appended: Small dried corn boiled with bear's ribs; jerked meat with bear's fat; deer's fat; deer's grease frozen in a hole in the ground; dried corn boiled with fruit; deer-loin soup.

412 *Cooking and eating utensils* (pl. 38).—With regard to the kind
415 of cooking and eating utensils used in the old days there exists even among the Indians themselves considerable difference of opinion. According to some, their ancestors never used wooden utensils, mills, spoons, and plates, but utilized shells of various kinds or other natural objects suitable to their needs. Others state, on the contrary, that, in early times, in addition to such natural objects, wooden vessels of many kinds were fashioned from maple knots. These are said to have been burned out, a very tedious process, or even to have been cut out with adzes. It is quite impossible to decide this question now. Wooden implements and utensils in great variety are, of course, found among the Winnebago at the present time, but these are supposed by many to have been introduced by the neighboring Algonquian tribes and by early French traders. The main contention of the present-day
[77] Winnebago is, however, that their ancestors could never have made this woodenware without the aid of European implements, burning out being a tedious and unsatisfactory method.

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four warriors who have counted coup on the last warpath form the units of organization. The peculiarity of the War-bundle Feast is that it belongs not merely to one of these types but to two of them. 796x 571

The war bundles were originally family possessions and were, in the opinion of the writer, only secondarily associated with the clan as such. They represent a complex of blessings received from various spirits who are supposed to control the fortunes of war. They were handed down from one generation to another in the same family, but not necessarily to the eldest son, and could as a matter of default pass out of the hands of the immediate family. The individual who received the war bundle was that one who had by his interest, knowledge, character, and accomplishments demonstrated to the full satisfaction of the elder generation, more specifically to the elder generation represented by his father and close male relatives of his father's generation, that he was capable of continuing the ceremonials in a proper manner. It follows from this that he would have to be a well-known warrior. Now, it is customary among all the woodland tribes for a warrior who is about to start on a warpath to give a feast to which he invites all the other warriors, from among whom he, of course, has to draw his recruits; and at this feast he explains the nature of the contemplated warpath and his warrant—i. e., the thoroughness of the specific blessings he has received—for starting it. 778 [422] [787] [428] 554 778 [721 527]

In other words, we will have to picture to ourselves the war-bundle feast as originally a gathering of warriors preparatory to the starting out of a war party, in which the part of the host was always taken by the leader of the prospective war party. All of the well-known warriors were likely to have war bundles, and thus the basis for the development of what is, to all intents and purposes, a society of those who had war bundles was always present potentially. It is believed, however, that at the time the Winnebago culture was still in the formative stage this aspect of the gathering was entirely secondary, and that primarily it was a gathering of warriors for the immediate purpose of going on a warpath. 796x 721 575

It may perhaps be interesting to go into some details of how this "society" aspect of a gathering of warriors developed. This development probably took two lines—first, a religious one, and secondly, one of definite organization. It would be quite erroneous to say that it took these lines of evolution, because it is in the nature of societies thus to develop. This originally temporary organization took these lines of development because of the presence in the war-bundle ritual of two factors—first, fasting experiences associated with the same spirits, and, second, the influence of the clan organization.

Only a small number of spirits were specifically associated with success in war, and these were Disease-giver, Thunderbirds, Sun, and the Night Spirits. [776]

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among the Winnebago, and that was the strong development of clan consciousness among them. A man was first and foremost a member of his clan, and whatever he did redounded to the credit of his clan. This clan consciousness was due to the strong individuality the more important clans possessed. They had their own traditions, functions, and customs, and each clan was quite ignorant of the customs of the other. This clan organization was extremely old and, for that reason, it is not very likely that the war bundle developed before the clan organization had matured, and from being originally the private possession of a family, became subsequently associated with the clan. It is more likely that the war bundle developed after the clan organization had fully matured, but that it remained personal property. However, owing to the fact that the possessor was always an important man, there must always have been a consciousness of a certain proprietary ownership on the part of the clan in the particular war bundle within its midst. This perhaps accounts for the fact that while the bundle can pass out of the hands of a certain family, it can not pass into the hands of another clan. Subsequently the idea developed that a family was merely the custodian of the bundle for the clan. Such seems to be the popular conception among the Winnebago to-day, and it may have represented the popular conception when the Winnebago culture was still intact. I do not believe, however, that such a view would have been accepted by the family in possession of the war bundle or by the learned class in general.

The fact that there was as a rule but one war bundle in each clan does not mean that it was developed originally through the influence of clan consciousness, although there is reason to believe that some of the war bundles arose in this way, in imitation of "clan" bundles that already existed. The reason for the small number of war bundles is to be sought in the fact that there was a very small number of individuals possessed of the necessary qualifications, and that it was probably originally associated with villages or groups of villages.[4] Whatever were the reasons for the limitation in the number of war bundles in each clan, it unquestionably strengthened the idea of clan ownership. This idea must have been powerfully reinforced again by those war bundles that actually arose out of a clan-ownership impulse. If, therefore, the actual owners resent this claim of clan proprietorship both by reason of actual possession, of inheritance and consciousness of the sacrifices and expense they and their ancestors have incurred in maintaining the ceremonies connected with these bundles it is nevertheless a fact that their viewpoint is probably wrong in so far as it is supposed to represent the entire truth, either now or in the past. The actual unit of organization found at the feast is the clan and there, at any rate, the war bundle is a clan palladium. Perhaps

[4] This statement is made provisionally.

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with the exception of the eastern shore of Green Bay and the Fox River. At the same time they have been discovered in fairly large numbers in the counties of Sheboygan, Ozaukee, Washington, Waukesha, Racine, and Kenosha, which, as far as our historical information extends, had never been occupied by the Winnebago. Flint arrow points and pottery shards are found throughout the entire State. The distribution of copper implements has not yet been thoroughly investigated, but the present status of our knowledge has been ably discussed by Charles E. Brown.[4] To judge from the papers of Brown, implements of copper are found pretty generally distributed over the State, although certain objects seem to be found in greater abundance in some places than in others. 172

There are three types of mounds in Wisconsin and the territory immediately adjacent to it—the effigy, the linear, and the intaglio. All of these have been subjected to a variety of explanations at the hands of archeologists, from Lapham's time to our own. The cardinal error in all their attempts at explanation has perhaps been the assumption that the mounds were necessarily of great antiquity. For a long time it was not considered likely that the present inhabitants of the region, the Winnebago or their ancestors, had had anything to do with their erection. As soon, however, as systematic inquiries had been made among living Winnebago it was discovered that not only were they able to give more or less reasonable explanations of the uses of most of the mounds, but a number of the older people claimed to have distinct recollections of the erection of some of them. In obtaining notes on social organization the writer was told incidentally that it had been customary not very long ago to erect near the habitation of each clan an effigy of their clan animal. Subsequently, upon a more systematic inquiry, it was discovered that not only were such effigy mounds erected near clan habitations, but also on every plantation owned by a certain clan. In other words, these effigy mounds were, to all intents and purposes, property marks. Similar effigies are found in the porcupine quillwork, on the war bundles, and on the woven bags still used by the Winnebago in Wisconsin. This interpretation has been so fully corroborated that there can no longer be any possible doubt about it. The age of the mounds thus diminishes considerably. Of course some may have been erected long ago, but it is quite evident that the effigy mounds found near the Mississippi must have been erected during the eighteenth century, as the Winnebago did not reach this region before that time. [423 531]

In connection with the effigy mounds two things need explanation—namely, why there are no mounds of this type near Red Banks, Green Bay, and why there are so many directly south of this region along

[4] "The Native Copper Implements of Wisconsin," in Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 3, no. 2; and "The Native Copper Ornaments of Wisconsin," ibid., vol. 3, no. 3, 1904.

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*Names of the principal trees, etc.*

| | |
|---|---|
| ma'nawak'a'wa, swamp-wood. | pa° dja'gu, hickory. |
| ma'djp, moss. | tranu'ha, butternut. |
| wax cuic, cedar (red cedar). | ma° ra'ak', maple. |
| tcaira°na, ironwood. | ruyi, willow. |
| witri, flat cornered reed used for lodges. | nak, ash. |
| ra, round reed used for mats. | tcangp'gu, oak. |
| hi'rgu', basswood. | maak'a'nak, elm. |
| wazi, pine in general. | hukaga, hazel. |
| wazi panu, white cedar. | ma° p'a'gu, cherry. |
| wa'gu', poplar. | ma° ho'rgi', haw-chief. |
| tra° tra'wa, birch. | hoyu', cottonwood. |
| tcagu, walnut. | |

*Names of the principal vegetables and fruits*

| | |
|---|---|
| tcera'hora, a water root. | hacedjak', strawberry. |
| wakna'gora, root called "gut" root. | hap'a'nap'unuxge, gooseberry. |
| ha°c'khai'dja, pea vine. | hotcaqka', cranberry. |
| dera, a sort of artichoke. | k'a°tc hi°cak, peaches (fuzzy plums). |
| pa°kxi, root found in lowlands. | kré cuoic, apple (long and round apple). |
| na°p'ak, chokecherries. | wak a°wirawa, wild currant (snake's navel). |
| k'a°tc, plum. | dokc'wehi, prairie turnip. |
| kré crabapple. | ha°a'qk, bean. |
| tcoua'°wa°, fruit of a tree similar to crab-apple tree. | ha°naqk' na°di, climbing bean. |
| hazc'cutrge, raspberry. | ha°a'qk' mink, nonclimbing bean. |
| hacda'maqkwa, blackberry. | ma°hi°tc, milkweed. |
| hacdinaqk', blueberries. | |

*Animals and parts of animals whose flesh is not eaten*

| | |
|---|---|
| waqkwak, dogfish. | weasel. |
| djadja'aha'k, mink. | marten. |
| dogo'na°k, otter. | no entrails (a'djwaja). |
| ho wak'a°, eel (holy fish). | gopher. |
| k'ayi, crow (really northern raven). | horse. |
| tcaxa'p, eagle. | |

*Agriculture.*—In the old days the Winnebago always raised in their permanent villages at least corn, squash, and beans. As the villages consisted practically of a group of families belonging to different clans, each clan apparently living by itself, the question of clan ownership of these fields was hardly considered. (This statement is made because some Winnebago spoke of clan ownership.) What actually occurred was, in the opinion of the author, as follows: Each group of families being segregated according to clan, it happened that certain family groups had fields in common. This must have happened rather frequently, for there seems to have been a tendency—although this can not be said with certainty owing to the meagerness of reliable information—for related families to hold together in these settlements. In general, however, each family owned and cultivated its own field.

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614 the spirit, but there is no doubt that every vision is symbolized by
825 a special gift from the "spirit." The guardian spirit unit may
776 thus be said to consist of a special religious attitude plus a symbol.

The attitude toward the clan animal differs from that toward the guardian spirit in this characteristic respect, that more emphasis is laid upon identification with the animal itself than with the "spirit." As far as could be determined, the clan animal is the thunderbird with his characteristics of lightning and thunder, of the bear who likes honey and raisins, etc. The animal is engraved as clan symbol [423] and used as a property mark, and he is brought into intimate contact with the group by the postulation of descent. Naturally, descent is not from the "spirit" animal but from the living animal species. Nevertheless the clan animal has, at the same time, retained its place as a guardian spirit, and in a most suggestive way, for the blessing of a clan animal is more easily obtained by a member of the clan than by an outsider. The clan animal is, in short, a clan protector.

In this change of attitude two considerations seem pertinent: first, the possibility of the "spirit" of the guardian spirit being a product of the esoteric elaboration connected with religious societies, and that its apparent absence in the clan animal represents an exoteric conception; secondly, under the influence of the social functions of the clan, an originally strong religious conception of the clan animal gave place to an identification with the animal species itself. It might be objected that there is no inherent correlation between social organization and animal species as contrasted with spirit animals. It seems certain, however, that descent could only be reckoned from the animal, and as long as descent is postulated it must be from the animal. With regard to the historical priority of the "spirit" conception, little can be definitely said except that the systematization it has undergone suggests the influence of esoteric societies, and that the visions obtained during fasting appear to speak of the guardian "spirit" as an animal. On general psychological considerations we are inclined to believe in the contrast of the material and spiritual conception of the animal as a real fact, although it would be hazardous to say whether one or the other lies at the basis of the attitude of the individual toward his clan animal.

### RELATIONSHIP TO CLAN ANIMALS

614 The question of descent from the animal brings us to the con-
825 sideration of the whole intricate relationship of the individual to the clan animal, a subject that has played so prominent a part in discussions of totemism. There are two distinct sources for the de-
[124 774] termination of this relationship—data obtained in reply to direct questioning, and that contained in some miscellaneous myths and in the origin myths.

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gifts from one spirit, the thunderbird, and a secondarily associated night-spirit (*hąhe*). The Winter Feast might thus be interpreted as a society of those who have obtained blessings from the thunderbird. The bundle remains in the possession of a certain family, however, and cannot pass out of the clan. The war bundle may therefore be said to be primarily the personal possession of a family which has become associated with all the members of the clan to such an extent that it is almost regarded as a clan possession. 614 778 [776 796]

In the possession of the two crooks by the Bear clan we have an example of specific clan property. The crooks are in the nature of emblems and are used on the warpath to indicate the extreme line of advance. They are thus of tribal significance. When not in use they are kept in the lodge of the Bear clan.

### IMMATERIAL POSSESSIONS OF THE CLAN

Although there are no specific material possessions, each clan has certain "immaterial" possessions. They all have the added connotation of sacredness. For the Bird clans, it is the possession of fire; for the Bear, the doorway of his lodge; for the Wolf and Water-spirit, water. They were not obtained for all the clans. We indicated before that these "possessions" may have been primarily connected with the animals associated with the clan, upon which an additional socio-religious interpretation has been superimposed. The whole subject is, however, closely related to that of clan etiquette, for which, of course, no explanations can be given now. 614 424

### THE CLAN MARKS OF IDENTIFICATION

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The property mark consisted of the effigy of the clan animal, and was woven on such objects as bags, tobacco pouches, etc. It was also frequently engraved on wooden objects. Its most peculiar uses, however, were the emblematic earthen effigy mounds, in the shape of the clan animal, which were erected near the habitation of each clan in the village and in the center of clan squash fields, cornfields, etc.

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## The Guardian Spirits

776 In the concept of the guardian spirits we have a mixture of both the "mechanical" and the "contract" theories. The guardian spirits themselves are, to our mind, but the transformed localized spirits; in other words, the *genii loci*. They are supposed to protect the individual to whom they appear in the same way as the *genii loci* protected their precinct. While theoretically every Winnebago could have his own guardian spirit, there seems to have been a marked tendency for certain guardian spirits to be inherited. This was so, [428 ●424] not because there was any distinct development of the idea of inheritance, but because certain definite powers were associated with the spirits, like success in hunting, fishing, etc. In terms of everyday life this simply meant that a good hunter would try to make his sons and near relatives good hunters; in religious terminology it meant that a son was blessed by the same guardian spirit as the father. (Cf. the fasting experience on p. 293.)

The following fasting experiences will show clearly what powers are supposed to be possessed by the various guardian spirits. The attitude with which the faster approaches the ordeal clearly varies from that of childish playfulness to one of considerable religious intensity, always remembering that we are dealing with boys and girls before the adolescent stage. Perhaps the best way of putting it would be to say that we are dealing with a stereotyped expression of life, reading as follows: "I am a successful hunter; I am a prominent warrior, etc.; and I am told that I have become such because I have done what my elders told me, have practiced these professions diligently, and made offerings to the spirits." Such a formula might be put in the mouth of the youthful faster, but it meant nothing until it was interpreted much later in terms of each man's experience in life.

[78] The youth's fasting experience is carefully tested by the elders, and if found wanting in any respect the youth has either to try again or give up.

The guardian spirit is not supposed to be in permanent attendance upon man. It is only when he is needed, in the crises of life, that he is brought into relation with man; and it is quite characteristic of the markedly materialistic basis of the belief that the spirit is only called into aid for the particular needs of the case.

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like to have you put some food in your mouths."[26] "My niece, it is good. You have indeed made yourself 'pitiable.' You have thirsted yourself to death and I, too, pity you. If any spirit has blessed you, he has done so with good reason. I, too, once thirsted myself to death and the spirits blessed me with life. With this life, my niece, I also bless you. I will gladly partake of your feast." Thus spoke Wolf. Then Elk said, "My niece, I, too, was told to fast; and in my fast the spirits blessed me with the power of having complete control over all my actions. This dream (i. e., the blessings I obtained) I now give to you.[27] With these blessings you will be able to live as you desire. I will now gladly partake of your food."

787 159 776

When they were through eating, she also ate, and then they all went home. After a while her father said to her, "My daughter, I am going to ask you a question. It is said that those who have been blessed might tell their dreams if they were asked." "All right," said the daughter, "I will tell you. Eight days I fasted and then the spirits blessed me. They told me that if at the end of four days I should place offerings south of the place known as the Big Eddy and situated down the stream the powers with which I had been blessed would be shown to me. The one who blessed me was the chief of the Wak'ai'teⁿ, the spirits who live in the earth. He said that Earthmaker had created him and given him great power; that he had placed him in charge of 'life.' In four days he told me, 'I will appear to you. The day on which I appear to you will be a perfect day. Whatever you wish to make for yourself, you may do. You will never be in want of anything, for you can make implements for yourself out of my body. With these I bless you, for you

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[26] The feast referred to herein the feast called Ho-ⁿdagumanⁿ Wada-ⁿkuⁿ or Savior's feast. It is given whenever a man or woman who has been blessed is about to break his fast. At this feast it is customary, according to some informants, for the latter to narrate his blessing. However, these feasts have now been discontinued for so long a time that it is extremely difficult to obtain any accurate information. [527]

[27] The transference of certain blessings is very common, but, to my knowledge, it is rarely done in this manner. As a rule if a person was unable to obtain blessings, he sought to offset this handicap in life by purchasing supernatural powers from some of his more successful fellow-men. However, these powers seem to be connected almost exclusively with medicines. That blessings such as these bestowed upon individuals during their fast, such as long life, fertility, hunting powers, etc., were transferred, does not seem probable, although it is, of course, possible. The writer was told of a number of cases where this seemed to have been the case, but on closer study it was conclusively shown that no real transference had taken place, but that in these instances where a person had said, "I transfer this and that dream to you," the transference had no validity unless the individual to whom the dream had been transferred actually fasted and obtained the same dream. An individual would in such a case always be careful to select as his "dream-fate" one who would in all likelihood obtain the same dream. It is only in this sense that one might actually speak of a transference. In those instances where a man is blessed with supernatural powers that are to extend to all his posterity (this is what is really meant, namely, an infinite repetition of the same blessing, one that has, however, become so certain within definite limits that it might be considered automatic. [796] [1425] [1424]

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*Offering to Big Black Hawk.*—"To the Big Black Hawk we also offer a handful of tobacco." 539X 796X

*Offering to Disease-giver.*—"To you, grandfather Disease-giver, I also send tobacco." 776 782

*Offering to South Wind.*—"To you, also, grandfather South Wind, I send tobacco. You would consider it foremost, you said, it is said."

*Offering to the Sun.*—"Here I place tobacco for you, too, grandfather Sun. A handful of tobacco here I place here for you."

### Basic Ritual

*Host's first speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are sitting here, I greet you. The songs that the Night Spirits placed within the reach of grandfather Tetwoit'e'higa,[109] those he tried to learn. He fasted and thirsted himself to death for the blessings our grandfathers (the Night Spirits) gave him (spread) over the length of the earth. Our grandfather Tetwoit'e'higa said that he had come from somewhere in the east and that a Night Spirit chieftainess was his mother and that the son of the chief of the Thunderbirds was his father; that his parents lived beyond the confines of this earth.[110] When he fasted to be blessed by (these spirits) over again,[111] they blessed him. If at any time he should die he would be able to visit the earth again, he said, it is said.[112] The song he was taught, the Night Spirit song, that we will try to sing. Even if you know only one song, you will not bore them (the spirits) with it; for if you bring yourself to the state of weeping in your efforts, it will be (acceptable). If you do not put on any embellishments when you pray (literally, cry) for war and life (it will be acceptable), it is said. Thus we should say it. 539X 796X 787 776

"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." (Night Spirit song.)

*Host's second speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. When we finish (our part of the ceremony), may you help us by repeating the spirit songs your ancestors gave you to be handed down (from one generation to another). That we ask of you. Now we will start a dance song and when we are finished singing, our 539X 796X [424]

[109] Literal translation, "Kills white-tailed hedge."

[110] What Tetwoit'e'higa meant by saying that these spirits were his parents is that he is a reincarnated spirit that has chosen to be born of human parents. Such claims were by no means rare even in late Winnebago history and there is, as a matter of fact, a powerful shaman living in Wisconsin now who claims that he is the reincarnated Hare (Wa'ejinga'ga). [775]

[111] Before coming to the earth as a human being, he had of course been told that he would receive certain blessings, but nevertheless he had to fast for them just as a human being does. However, shamans who obtained their powers in this way were always supposed to obtain them more easily than other people. For an illustration of this cf. the account of a shaman's blessing in the "Reminiscences of a Winnebago Indian" by myself in Amer. Anr. Folklore, XXVI, 1913.

[112] That is, become reincarnated.

## *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

I greet you all. I know that I am not performing any great action in greeting you. I was in trouble and all my relatives have come to comfort me. You have all asked me to live and not to succumb to my sorrows and I shall therefore try to overcome my grief and sorrow. I will not forget all the good you have done for me. You have been a comfort to me and you have helped me in many things. Now we have come to the last night and I am glad that it is a nice night for the warriors to relate their experiences. If they should say something funny I hope that you will not hold back laughter. I, too, will laugh with you. You are free to make all the noise you care to for I shall feel all the better if you do. This is what I want you to remember. I greet all those who are present here. 159* 765 537 539

Then the one who is to address the spirits speaks: 159*

I greet you all. We have come to this wake for a purpose, much as I would wish that the occasion for it had never happened. Now I am going to tell the soul of the departed the road he is to take, nor will I, by my words, cause him to go astray. On an occasion like this not every one is qualified to speak to the souls of the dead; not every one can do it. My grandfather obtained the right to do it and handed it down to my father, who in turn, turned it over to me Now I am going to breathe upon the soul of the departed and I wish all those present to do the same. It is said that for those who do not make this breathing it is a sign that they will die. So do all of you breathe with me. 765 775 537 539 [424]

Then he said *ha-a* and all joined with him in repeating it. He now began his address to the spirit of the deceased:

## *The Medicine Dance*

"Well, grandmother, this is what I meant when I said that you were to help me. My uncles and aunts have now received all that I desired for them. I thank you." 539 776

Now throughout the ceremony I felt all the time that we were merely deceiving the spectators. When it was all over the members of my band told me that in two years I would be able to imitate the sounds of animals to my heart's content for I had taken the place of a great medicine man. Those who have the privilege of dancing obtain it by making gifts to the older members and thus buying the right. Those who do not buy this right or are not given permission to use it, are not allowed to dance. It is the same way with the shooting. Unless, for instance, a man buys the right, he is not allowed to extend his arms at full length when he shoots, but he must hold them close to his breast. The right to drum as well as the right to shake the gourd rattles, all these things must be bought. In fact, almost everything must be bought. I was told, however, that I would not have to go through all this training but would become a great medicine man immediately. That pleased me. I was given a gray squirrel-skin to use as a medicine pouch and I was told that it was really alive and that I had the power to make it cry aloud. I had seen people doing this and I had always envied them. This was another of the things I was anxious to do. Indeed I wondered greatly how it could be done. 159* 156 796 [424]

When the dance was over my father went away and left me at that place alone. He left me at the home of the deceased person's wife. I did not go back to 159*

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in one tree, but a really large tree would hold even more. The pigeons were hunted 223
in the following manner: Long poles were taken and the pigeons poked out of their
nests. In this manner many would be killed very easily in one day. They are [252]
then either broiled or steeped, when they have a delicious taste. Often it is unnecessary to hunt for them after a storm because large quantities die from exposure to inclement weather.

*Method of slaughtering animals.*—According to most of the author's 252
informants, all larger animals were opened by making two long in- 224
cisions, one on each side of the chest. This information may be accepted as correct with respect to the bear, but there is less certainty as to other large animals. There are two considerations, however, which seem to make the question of agreement among informants of secondary importance: First, the considerable differences in this and kindred matters among the settlements of the Winnebago, due to the large extent of territory they inhabited and the diverse influences potent at various places; and secondly, the fact that the distribution of food was entirely a matter of courtesy between individuals, so that considerable variation in custom was both possible and probable.

According to one informant the man who killed an animal had the 224
least to say about its distribution and generally got the poorest share. 425
This unquestionably does not give a very accurate impression of the custom, because subsequent questioning brought out clearly the fact that the manner of distribution depended entirely on the number of individuals present at the killing of the animal, and also on the age of these individuals and their social standing. Remembering that there is no "typical" division which an Indian thinks of in the abstract, but that he always has in mind particular instances of distribution, in order to ascertain definite rules it would obviously be necessary to obtain an adequate number of representative cases in which all the possibilities based on the factors of age, number, and social standing would be duly considered.

From another individual the following information was obtained: When two people went hunting the man who killed the animal received the head, breast, feet, lungs, and heart; his companion, the hide and the rest of the animal. A feast was given afterwards, however, at which the bravest warrior received all that was properly the share of the man who killed the animal. When four went out, the eldest always got the hide; he was granted also the right to apportion the animal. This last instance seems significant in view of the fact that at the tribal hunt the rights of the individual who killed the animal were subservient to many other rights, as those pertaining to seniority and social standing, and suggests that only when one or two individuals took the rather great risks of hunting by themselves was actual killing of the animal deemed of predominating importance in the apportionment.

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powers that the creator gave them. So it will be. Earthmaker made it thus. 773 776

My son, you must fast. If you breathe upon sick people,[11] I mean if you are blessed with that kind of power, you will be able to restore people to health. You will be of help to your people. If you can, in addition, draw out the pain from within the body of an individual, you will indeed be a help to your people. They will respect you. You will not even have to work for all your necessities, for those whom you treat will cheerfully support you as long as you live. If you should die, your name will be held in great respect and people will frequently talk about you. Ah, that man he had indeed great power! 867 756

My son, if you are not able to fast,[12] try at least to obtain some plants that are powerful. There are people who know the qualities of the different plants, who have been blessed by the spirits with this knowledge. It is pitiable enough that you could obtain nothing through fasting, so ask those that are in possession of these plants at least to have pity upon you. If they have pity upon you, they will bless you with one of the plants they possess, and you will thus have something to help you in life and to encourage you. One plant will not be enough. Of all the plants that cover the earth and lie like a fringe of hair upon the body of our grandmother, try and obtain knowledge of these, that you may be strengthened in life. Then you will have reason to feel encouraged. A real medicine man has even more justification for feeling encouraged than an ordinary one, because such a one has been blessed with life by the Water-spirits. If, therefore, you wish to obtain the real powers of curing people, so that you will have the power of making them arise from their sick beds, you must long and patiently wait and labor. If, however, you obtain the true powers—that is, if you obtain blessings from the Water-spirits—then some day, when your children are in need of medicine, you will not have to go and look for a medicine man, but you will only have to look into your medicine bundle. Whatever trouble your children have you will be able to cure it. Should anything be the matter with the people of your tribe they will call upon you. You can then open your medicine bundle and the individual who is wanting in life will be benefited from the stock of medicines 867 787 756

[11] Sickness is due to the presence of some object within the body. Illness can therefore only be cured if this object is extracted. This is generally accomplished by the shaman sucking it out through a bone tube. Among the Winnebago the shaman before applying the tube sprits some water upon the afflicted person and breathes upon him. This is what the "breathing" refers to. [753 755]

[12] Not everyone who fasts is blessed with power. For those who are thus unable to obtain blessings directly from the spirits there is only one method of protection against evils left—the purchase of plants with magical properties from those who have been blessed with them. These can be obtained by any individual no matter how unsuccessful he has been in obtaining blessings through personal fasting. All that is needed is sufficient riches for purchasing them. Of course it goes without saying that those who have been blessed with power may and do also provide themselves with these medicines. [425]

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like to have you put some food in your mouth."* "My niece, it is good. You have indeed made yourself 'pitiable.' You have thirsted yourself to death and I, too, pity you. If any spirit has blessed you, he has done so with good reason. I, too, once thirsted myself to death and the spirits blessed me with life. With this life, my niece, I also bless you. I will gladly partake of your feast." Thus spoke Wolf. Then Elk said, "My niece, I, too, was told to fast: and in my fast the spirits blessed me with the power of having complete control over all my actions. This dream (i. e., the blessings I obtained) I now give to you.* With these blessings you will be able to live as you desire. I will now gladly partake of your food." 787 159 776

When they were through eating, she also ate, and then they all went home. After a while her father said to her, "My daughter, I am going to ask you a question. It is said that those who have been blessed might tell their dreams if they were asked." "All right," said the daughter, "I will tell you. Eight days I fasted and then the spirits blessed me. They told me that if at the end of four days I should place offerings south of the place known as the Big Eddy and situated down the stream the powers with which I had been blessed would be shown to me. The one who blessed me was the chief of the Wak'aiⁿteᵍ, the spirits who live in the earth. He said that Earthmaker had created him and given him great power; that he had placed him in charge of 'life.' In four days he told me, 'I will appear to you. The day on which I appear to you will be a perfect day. Whatever you wish to make for yourself, you may do. You will never be in want of anything, for you can make implements for yourself out of my body. With these I bless you, for you

* The feast referred to here is the feast called Ha-ghaqaⁿie Wada-ikuⁿwa or Jester's feast. It is given whenever a man or woman who has been blessed is about to break his fast. At this feast it is customary, according to custom of events, for the jester to narrate his blessing. However, these feasts have now been discontinued for so long a time that it is extremely difficult to obtain any accurate information. [527 796]

* The transference of certain blessings is very common, but, to my knowledge, it is rarely done in this manner. As a rule if a person was unable to obtain blessings, he sought to offset this handicap in life by purchasing supernatural powers from some of his more successful fellow-men. However, these powers seem to be connected almost exclusively with medicines. That blessings such as those bestowed upon individuals during their fast, such as long life, invulnerability, hunting powers, etc., were transferred, does not seem probable, although it is, of course, possible. The writer was told of a number of cases where this seemed to have been the case, but on closer study it was conclusively shown that no real transference had taken place, but that in those instances where a person had said, "I transfer this and that dream to you," the transference had no validity unless the individual to whom the dream had been bequeathed actually fasted and obtained the same dream. An individual would in such a case always be credited to select as his "dream-fate" one who would in all likelihood obtain the same dream. It is only in this sense that one might actually speak of a transference. In those instances where a man is blessed with supernatural powers that are extend to all his posterity there is really meant, namely, an infinite repetition of the same blessing, one that has, however, become so certain within definite limits that it might be considered automatic. [425] [424]

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Another irregularity that has grown up within recent times is the occasional transmission of the clan war-bundle in the female line. In olden times it could only be transmitted in the male line, so as to prevent its passing out of the clan. It was, however, not always passed to the eldest son, but to that one who, by his actions and the interest he manifested in learning the legends and songs pertaining to the ceremony, showed himself capable of properly providing for the bundle. Now it happened occasionally that a man either possessed no son or that his son did not show sufficient interest in all that pertained to the bundle. In such a case the father had the alternative of giving it to some near relative in the male line, and if there were none of either giving it to some distant relative in the male line or the son of his sister or daughter. This, of course, happened very rarely, and in all probability the female line would eventually have to return it to the clan to which it originally belonged.

We have described these two instances of transmission in the female line in some detail in order to show how simply they can be explained without the intervention of any theory that the Winnebago reckoned descent in the female line originally. Such a claim has been made by Morgan and reiterated by Frazer. It seems to be based on the fact that Carver found the daughter of a Winnebago chief, known to the whites as Glory-of-the-Morning, and her children occupying an exceptional position among the tribe, or at least among the division of the Winnebago living at the upper end of Lake Winnebago, Wis. Her position and that of her children, one of whom has become well known in Winnabago legends, *Tcop'ocopa*, was, however, due to the fact that she married a Frenchman named Decora. She was not the chieftainess of the tribe nor were any of her children, strictly speaking, chiefs of the tribe. In any case her position had nothing to do with female descent and at best but illustrates what we have said before about the clan to which children of such a union belong.

### INDIVIDUAL NAMES

Before turning to the specific study of each clan a few words must be said about the individual names. From a purely descriptive point of view the names can be arranged in nine classes:

I. Color.
II. Physiological characteristics.
III. Social functions.
IV. Animal and plant forms.
V. Animal characteristics.
VI. Natural phenomena.
VII. Quality.
VIII. Episodes of a legendary character.
IX. Personal achievement.

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## The Guardian Spirits

776 In the concept of the guardian spirits we have a mixture of both the "mechanical" and the "contract" theories. The guardian spirits themselves are, to our mind, but the transformed localized spirits; in other words, the *gnii loci*. They are supposed to protect the individual to whom they appear in the same way as the *gnii loci* protected their precinct. While theoretically every Winnebago could have his own guardian spirit, there seems to have been a marked [428 424] tendency for certain guardian spirits to be inherited. This was so, not because there was any distinct development of the idea of inheritance, but because certain definite powers were associated with the spirits, like success in hunting, fishing, etc. In terms of everyday life this simply meant that a good hunter would try to make his sons and near relatives good hunters; in religious terminology it meant that a son was blessed by the same guardian spirit as the father. (Cf. the fasting experience on p. 293.)

The following fasting experiences will show clearly what powers are supposed to be possessed by the various guardian spirits. The attitude with which the faster approaches the ordeal clearly varies from that of childish playfulness to one of considerable religious intensity, always remembering that we are dealing with boys and girls before the adolescent stage. Perhaps the best way of putting it would be to say that we are dealing with a stereotyped expression of life, reading as follows: "I am a successful hunter; I am a prominent warrior, etc.; and I am told that I have become such because I have done what my elders told me, have practiced these professions diligently, and made offerings to the spirits." Such a formula might be put in the mouth of the youthful faster, but it meant nothing until it was interpreted much later in terms of each man's experience in life.

[787] The youth's fasting experience is carefully tested by the elders, and if found wanting in any respect the youth has either to try again or give up.

The guardian spirit is not supposed to be in permanent attendance upon man. It is only when he is needed, in the crises of life, that he is brought into relation with man; and it is quite characteristic of the markedly materialistic basis of the belief that the spirit is only called into aid for the particular needs of the case.

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four warriors who have counted coup on the last warpath form the units of organization. The peculiarity of the War-bundle Feast is that it belongs not merely to one of these types but to two of them. 796x 571

The war bundles were originally family possessions and were, in the opinion of the writer, only secondarily associated with the clan as such. They represent a complex of blessings received from various spirits who are supposed to control the fortunes of war. They were handed down from one generation to another in the same family; but not necessarily to the eldest son, and could as a matter of default pass out of the hands of the immediate family. The individual who received the war bundle was that one who had by his interest, knowledge, character, and accomplishments demonstrated to the full satisfaction of the elder generation, more specifically to the elder generation represented by his father and close male relatives of his father's generation, that he was capable of continuing the ceremonials in a proper manner. It follows from this that he would have to be a well-known warrior. Now, it is customary among all the woodland tribes for a warrior who is about to start on a warpath to give a feast to which he invites all the other warriors, from among whom he, of course, has to draw his recruits; and at this feast he explains the nature of the contemplated warpath and his warrant—i. e., the thoroughness of the specific blessings he has received—for starting it. 778 [422] [787] [428] 554 778 [721 527]

In other words, we will have to picture to ourselves the war-bundle feast as originally a gathering of warriors preparatory to the starting out of a war party, in which the part of the host was always taken by the leader of the prospective war party. All of the well-known warriors were likely to have war bundles, and thus the basis for the development of what is, to all intents and purposes, a society of those who had war bundles was always present potentially. It is believed, however, that at the time the Winnebago culture was still in the formative stage this aspect of the gathering was entirely secondary, and that primarily it was a gathering of warriors for the immediate purpose of going on a warpath. 796x 721 575

It may perhaps be interesting to go into some details of how this "society" aspect of a gathering of warriors developed. This development probably took two lines—first, a religious one, and secondly, one of definite organization. It would be quite erroneous to say that it took these lines of evolution, because it is in the nature of societies thus to develop. This originally temporary organization took these lines of development because of the presence in the war-bundle ritual of two factors—first, fasting experiences associated with the same spirits, and, second, the influence of the clan organization.

Only a small number of spirits were specifically associated with success in war, and these were Disease-giver, Thunderbirds, Sun, and the Night Spirits. [776]

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# CHAPTER IV

## GENERAL SOCIAL CUSTOMS

843 *Birth.*—During pregnancy a woman had to observe carefully certain restrictions. She was not allowed to roam the woods alone for fear of meeting snakes or other animals, the sight of which was believed to forebode ill luck to a pregnant woman. She was not permitted to have dogs or cats around her nor to sleep during the day. Every morning during her pregnancy she had to take a cold bath. Among the restrictions may have been food taboos, but no information on this phase of the subject was obtained.

844 When the time for delivery came, it was the custom for the woman to occupy a small lodge erected especially for her use. None of her male relatives were permitted to be present and her husband was not even permitted to stay at home. He was supposed to travel continually until the child was born, in the belief that by his movements he would help his wife in her delivery. According to one informant the husband had to hunt game, the supposition being that this procedure on his part would cause his wife to have enough milk for the child. This traveling of the husband was called, therefore, "Looking-for-milk." It was considered improper for a woman to cry out during labor pains, and by doing so she subjected herself to the [434] jests of her elder female relatives. The cradle-board was always made before the child was born (pls. 41, *c*, 42, *a*).

The positions commonly assumed by women in delivery may be described thus: Supported by the arms, which were passed over a pole held in the crotches of two forked sticks driven into the ground; suspended between two stakes; or flat on the back.

The infant's navel string was cut off and sewed into a small bag, which was attached to the head of the cradle-board.

844 607 On the birth of a child the sisters of the husband were supposed to show his wife especial marks of courtesy. They always gave her valuable gifts, such as goods or a pony. They were glad that he had offspring, the people said, and even permitted their brother's wife [431] to give the presents received from them to her own relatives. The presentation of these gifts was called "Cradling-the-infant." Gifts were presented also to the wife's brothers.

844 562 527 782 Some time after the birth of a child, if a boy, the father always gave a feast to Earthmaker and thanked him.

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and being very careful not to look back toward the grave after they had first started. 764

The same evening the four nights' wake began. The overseer, who was in full charge, had everything prepared. Before the wake formally commenced the chief mourner made a short speech. Then the overseer lighted a pipe and passed it around to all, who took a puff each and returned it to him. Then sweetened water was passed around, of which all partook. The feast followed. Taking on a plate a small portion of all the food to be eaten, the overseer threw it outside for the spirit of the deceased. In the case of a nursing the mother added a small quantity of milk from her breast to the other food on the plate. After the feast the chief mourner made another speech, explaining why the rites were performed and how they had been handed down for many generations. He concluded by thanking the people for all they had done for him. 765 [776] [782]

There was always an abundance of tobacco at a wake. Most of it was given to the warriors, a number of whom were invited, for they played a very important rôle on such an occasion. It was believed that every warrior was in control of the spirit of an enemy he had slain and he was supposed always to be willing to put the spirit at the service of any member of his tribe who had just died, if the proper offerings were made. At the proper time tobacco was given to the warrior, who, rising, narrated his war exploits, at the conclusion of which he ordered the spirit of the enemy he had slain to take charge of the deceased. Then tobacco was given to another warrior, who followed the same procedure, which was continued until midnight. Then most of the people departed to their homes, but some stayed overnight in the lodge in which the wake was held. [431] [276] 775

The proceedings of the second and third nights of the wake were exactly the same as those of the first, but somewhat longer. The beginning of the ceremony on the fourth night was the same as on the three preceding nights; after a while, however, it deviated in the following manner.

J. F., rising, tells the spirit of the departed the road he is to take in his journey to spirit land, the obstacles he is to meet, and how he is to overcome them. After he has finished the warriors begin to tell some more war exploits, and this continues generally until 3 o'clock in the morning, depending entirely upon the amount of gifts given to the warriors. The gifts generally consist either of 12 pieces of calico each 3 yards, or of beads, or of 12 quarter dollars. The warriors always gamble for these gifts and play the favorite game of the deceased. If a man had died they generally play moccasins; if a woman, hoops. When all the presents have been exhausted, then the relatives of the deceased comb the [775] [431 525 524]

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764 184 614 539 During the morning Mrs. R. came in and combed the hair of the deceased's wife and gave her some presents, telling her at the same time that she hoped that she would dry her tears as a sign of appreciation of the gifts. Another person came in in the morning bringing a pair of leggings and a blanket for the deceased. He also brought the casket. While the body of the deceased was being prepared this same person spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. If my nephews will come here and sit near me, I will talk to them.

Then the sons of the deceased came and sat near their mother and sisters and the man continued:

My sister, it is said that it is best for a person not to weep; and that a widow should not mourn too much, for then the people would make fun of her; as well as for the fact that having children she must for their sake look forward to life and live for them. And it is also said that we should keep up this mourning for at least four years. Now there is nothing amusing about what I am going to say (although it may sound so—namely, that we should not cry on such an occasion as to-day, but, on the contrary, keep up a good spirit. I do not mean that I am glad that my brother-in-law is dead. But if you were to weep some one might come in and say that it behooves you more to show him your teeth than your tears. They mean that you should smile.

And again it is said that one should not cry, for when a body is laid in the ground there is no more hope of its ever returning to this earth again. My nephew, the one that had been advising you in your daily affairs, is gone and you are left alone to look after yourself, your little brothers, and your mother; and therefore I want you all to love one another and remember your mother

While we were eating C. P. came in and spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. It is good that you all have come here and are comforting this house of mourning. It is good that J. H. has brought a casket and clothing for the deceased and food for the wake. And indeed he has also promised a hog for the feast. I know that he did not do this in order to have some one speak of it in public, but how can I refrain from expressing my thanks? My brother also came with the intention of furnishing some of these things, but inasmuch as J. H. has furnished them beforehand he placed ten dollars in the hands of the wife of the deceased. He did not, however, tell her for what purpose he gave her the money and I therefore take the liberty of telling her that the gift is meant for anything that she may desire to buy. Now, my relatives, this is no time for happiness, but I am glad, nevertheless, that so many have come and I am thankful for what you have done. I greet you all.

[431]

Then the casket was put in the spring wagon and taken to the Winnebago Cemetery. When we got there the casket was lowered into the grave. When this was over, A. W. spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. This many of you have followed my son to his last resting place. Further than this place he will not walk in this life. Truly this many of you have felt sorry for him. All the rites that were taught me in this connection I have already performed. I have given the deceased the emblem (i. e., the whittled stick known as wanazisiwi) and the material to talk with (the tobacco), so that he may plead for us, his relatives, when he gets to the end of the journey, that we may live the life he fell short of upon this earth, and that he may

[775]

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the setting sun. On your way stands the bolge of Herecga'sina, and his fire. Those who have come (the souls of brave men) from the land of the souls to take you back will touch you. There the road will branch off toward your right and you will see the footprints of the day on the blue sky before you. These footprints represent the footprints of those who have passed into life again. Step into the places where they have stepped and plant your feet into their footprints, but be careful you do not miss any. Before you have gone very far, you will come into a forest of wacka'ja' broken by open prairies here and there. Here, in this beautiful country, those souls whose duty it is to gather other souls will come to meet you. Walking on each side of you they will take you safely home. As you enter the bolge of the Earthmaker you must hand to him the sacrificial offerings. Here the inquiry that took place in the first bolge will be repeated and answered in the same manner. Then he will say to you, "All that your grandmother has told you is true. Your relatives are waiting for you in great expectation. Your home is waiting for you. Its door will be facing the mid-day sun. Here you will find your relatives gathered. Inasmuch, then, as our ruler will nod assent and express his approval by word of mouth, so shall we now do the same." 539 775 765

At this word all those assembled at the wake shout, *Ho-ha!*

Then a warrior told his war experiences and after thanking the people passed the tobacco to the next warrior, who in turn related his war experiences. 765 184 614

The amount of gifts was then figured out and they tried to arrange matters so that the warriors were through with their stories about midnight. At midnight games were played with the donations as prizes. The gifts generally consisted of twelve 3-yard pieces of calico or money equal to that amount of calico; twelve strings of beads, etc. These were the gifts used as prizes. Other donations of food were made for the four nights' feast. A. W was in charge of the games and he likewise designated what games were to be played. As they generally play the games the deceased was fond of so in this case they played the moccasin game and cards. After the donations were exhausted and the games finished a brave man was called upon to give a war whoop in thankfulness for the sun, and also to all the spirits above and below. Then A. W. greeted and thanked the guests again for coming, and the wake was over. [431] [524]

In olden times the widow was supposed to continue single for four years. She is strongly admonished, nevertheless, not to continue in low spirits, and to consider herself free to act in any way that will make her happy. She is told to play games or dance, or in fact do anything that will make her forget her sorrow, and she is told that no one will hold her conduct against her as disrespectful to the deceased. As this admonition is given to her by the sister or aunt of the deceased's husband, the only people who could properly reproach her—namely, the members of her husband's clan—it has all the more weight. The prohibition of weeping is further strengthened by the fact that it is customary to say that any woman who weeps too profusely at the death of her husband is in reality thinking, in 768

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From these facts it is quite clear that, as far as the Thunderbird clan is concerned, the prevailing belief as to the relation of the members of the clan to the clan ancestor is but feebly substantiated by the origin myths. 614 773 114

As mentioned before, the chief of the tribe was selected from the Thunderbird clan, although the selection was apparently restricted to certain families. The functions of the chief of the tribe were connected with peace. He could not lead a war party, although, according to some, he could accompany one. His lodge stood either in the center of the village or at the south end, according to which of the two descriptions one cares to accept, and contained a sacred fireplace, around which only members of the Thunderbird clan could sit. This lodge was an asylum for all wrongdoers. No one could be killed there, and a prisoner who succeeded in making his escape to it was spared. Even a dog destined for a sacrifice at the war-bundle feast was freed if he took refuge in it. The Thunderbird chief always acted as intercessor between wrongdoers and their avengers. Even in so extreme a case as the murder of a clansman, he would always attempt a reconciliation by which the life of the murderer might be spared. If necessary, the chief would mortify himself, and with skewers inserted in his back have himself led through the village to the home of the nearest kinspeople of the murdered person. 614 622 [178] 482 304

The chief seems to have had some other miscellaneous functions, the most important of which was, perhaps, his right to prevent an unauthorized war party to depart from the village. If he, as an older man and guardian of peace and the best interests of the tribe, felt that a war party was taking too many risks, he would take his pipe and place it across the path of the one contemplating an unwarranted expedition and thus signify his disapproval. If then the war party chose to go, any mishap was directly chargeable to the leader who disobeyed. Should anyone be killed, the leader was regarded almost in the same light as a willful murderer, and the kinsmen of the deceased warrior could demand redress. 622 721 [186]

Our main informant for the Thunderbird clan summarized the functions as follows: 622 614

The chief is chosen from one of the "greater" Thunderbird clans[1] and must be a man of well-balanced temper, not easily provoked, and of good habits. The one sacred object he possesses is his pipe. He must be a peacemaker and love all the people in the tribe, the little children he doted.

If he saw a man, woman, or child passing by, he was to call them in and give them food to eat, for they were his brothers and sisters. All the relatives he has are to look after his possessions and keep him well supplied, for he was supposed to give away things constantly. If any person came to borrow some object from him, he would tell [156] [131]

[1] Redfield the Thunderbird clans into two groups, the real Thunderbird and the Warbonnets. This latter he indeed was identified with the Quadrupeds who owned the rain and who were quite different from the other Thunderbirds.

I:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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614 173 539 [43] nated, they have heretofore told one another thus. This it is. Whenever one asked about it, they would tell him, but they would never tell him unless he brought some present. Even when they had a child whom they loved very much (and for whom they were accustomed to do everything), even to such a one they would not tell it unless he brought them gifts. Thus they would not even say the least thing about the story of their origin merely because they loved some one. It is really essential to make a gift. And if some one came, carrying a gift, the old man would ask him what he wanted and what he would like to know, as this was not the only thing gifts were made for. Then he would announce his desire. However, he would not be told in public but when he was alone. Then the old man who had the right to tell the origin myth would announce subsequently at some feast that he had told so-and-so the story of the origin of their clan and that if anyone wished to be told of the same he should in the future, when he himself had died, go to this [367] young man and ask him in the proper way. Remember, he would add, that before everything else it is the duty of an individual to try and learn of the origin of his clan.

"Father," this I give you, a full suit of clothes. This I am giving you." "Thanks, my son. What do you wish? What do you wish to hear?" "Father, what did we originate from?" "My son, you have done well. My son, he who makes the most gifts obtains life therewith." "Well, then, father, you need not tell me now, but later, when I have made a sufficient number of gifts, then you may tell me." "My son, you have spoken well and if you do as you say, you will travel unharmed along the road of life." "Father, these also I give you, some beads and a blanket." "Thanks, my son, it is good. Now, my son, what I told you was true. I did not tell it to you because I coveted anything of yours, but truly because it is true—this, that we must make a sufficient number of presents. [43] Whoever does as you have done will obtain the possibility of a good life for himself." "Now again, father, I give you these gifts. There is enough food for you in it." "My son, you have done well, very well indeed, for the life that I am to give you is holy; and as you know, even if one was loved very much they would not tell him this merely because they loved him, as it is holy." "Father, this I give you as a gift, a horse, as I desire to know what we originated from." "Now, then, my son, you have done well. This is what I meant when I said it is holy. Therefore, my son, you have done well. Come and sit down here. Listen very carefully so that if afterwards anyone should ask you for this story you will be able to tell it well."

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* He is now proceeding to give the dialogue that ensued between the old man and himself when he brought his presents.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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7



4. To receive the leaders and assistants of the other four bands before the sweat-lodge ritual, and to begin the same. 621 756

5. To begin the ceremony proper.

6. To take part in the main portion of the ceremony proper:

(a) To welcome the four bands.

(b) To lead the candidate to the secret brush and instruct him in certain precepts.

(c) To act as preceptor of the candidate before he is shot with the sacred shell.

(d) To turn the candidate over to the charge of the leaders of the east and north bands.

(e) To relate certain of the myths.

(f) To deliver specific speeches and to perform the actions that constitute the basic ritual of the ceremony proper. This will be discussed later.

The east is known as Those-who-sit-first, Where-the-day-comes-from, Where-the-sun-rises. All these terms are used frequently. The duties of the leader are:

1. To assist the ancestor host in passing upon the eligibility of a candidate.

2. To take part in the following portions of the ceremony proper:

(a) Accompanied by his two assistants, to take part in the brush ritual.

(b) To take charge of the candidate after he has been handed over to him by the ancestor host.

(c) To shoot the sacred shell into the candidate's body.

(d) To relate certain of the myths.

(e) To perform the basic ritual.

The north band is known as Where-the-cold-comes-from. The leader has the same duties as those of the east leader. The myths recited are of course different.

The west band is known as Where-the-sun-goes-down. The leader has the duty of reciting certain myths and performing the basic ritual.

The south band is known as He-who-sits-at-the-end-of-the-road or Where-the-sun-straightens. The duties of the leader are the same as those of the leader of the west band, except that the myths he recites are different.

The distribution of the gifts to the different bands is as follows: The leader of the east band receives one-half of the number of blankets, the upper half of the new suit worn by the candidate, and one-quarter of the food. 621 756 431

The leader of the north band receives one-half of the blankets, the lower half of the suit, the moccasins, and one-quarter of the food.

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621 The leaders of the west and south bands receive each 3½ yards
756 of calico and a fourth of the food.

431 The ancestor host receives various gifts of food and tobacco from the leaders of the other bands. He receives his payment from the candidate before the ceremony proper.

756 The candidate is present at the four nights' ceremony of the an-
796 cestor host's band, preliminary to the ceremony proper. At the latter ceremony he sits to the right of the ancestor host's band. He is not dressed in his new suit until after the secret ceremonies in the brush.

302 There are facial decorations distinctive of the different bands:
621 The host's band and the candidate paint a blue circle on each cheek, but its significance is unknown to the writer.

The regalia used are simple and few. They consist of eagle, hawk, squirrel, beaver, and otter-skin bags (pls. 51–53), a drum, gourd rattles, and invitation sticks. The otter-skin bags are always beaded and contain the sacred shell and various medicines. A few red feathers are always inserted in the mouth of the otter-skin bag. The gourds contain buckshot at the present time and are painted with blue finger marks.

*Division of the ceremony.*—The medicine dance is divided into five well-marked parts. The first part (I) consists of the two nights' preparation preceding the sending out of the invitation sticks. This takes place at the home of the ancestor host in the presence of the members of his band and the candidate. The second part (II) consists of the four nights' preparation preceding the sweat-lodge ritual. Each band has its own four nights' preparation, although that of the ancestor host begins before the others. The third part (III) consists of the rites held in a sweat lodge, specially constructed for this purpose near the medicine lodge, on the morning after the four nights' preparation. The participants are the ancestor host, the leaders of the east, west, north, and south bands, each with his two assistants, and the candidate. The fourth part (IV) consists of the ceremony proper, which in turn must be divided into the night ceremony (*a*) and the day ceremony (*b*). The fifth part (V) consists of the rites held in the brush, at which the secrets of the society are imparted to the candidate. Special guards are placed on all sides of the brush to prevent the intrusion of outsiders. The participants,
[625] besides the candidate, are the ancestor host, the leaders of the east and north bands, each with his two assistants, and all other individuals who have bought the privilege of attending. These ceremonies take place at dawn preceding the day ceremony.

Two feasts and one intermission interrupt the main ceremony. The feasts always take place at the end of the ritual of the east
[621] band—i. e., generally at noon and at midnight. The intermission

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# CHAPTER XV

## MISCELLANEOUS DANCES

### The Hok'ixe're Dance

Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan: This is the way in which people used to bring scalps to one another. When a man returns from the warpath with a scalp he leaves it outside of the village and the warriors run out with their clubs and strike it and count coup (just as on the battlefield). As they count coup they call out their names. Then they are told what ceremonial dress they are to wear. They then send a messenger to the person to whom the scalp is to be presented to tell him to select a pole (for the victory dance). He thanks them and says, "It is good." Then the warriors who are returning arrange themselves in a circle around this pole and dance around it. He who has obtained the first war honor leads. 727 [555]

The one to whom they present the scalp thanks the spirits who are in control of war powers and then raising his hand prays to the Sun. Then he sings a song and when that is finished sits down, beats the drum, and sings a dancing song, while the others dance. [782]

Then the owner of the scalp, turning toward the spirits who are in control of war, gives the victory whoop four times. After each whoop all the other people in the lodge strike their mouths with their hands and yell. After the victory whoops have been given all dance the victory dance. [201]

Then the man who has received the scalp lets his sisters, his aunts, and his nieces select the war presents which are always bestowed upon them. With these tied around their necks they dance. Toward evening they finish the victory dance and then all enter the (dancing) lodge. He to whom the scalp is given is the host and he sits down first. Then comes the donor and then in a row the four who have counted coup. [431]

The ceremony begins with songs sung by the host. He first sings two war-bundle songs (*waruxa'p na"ra"*) and then two night songs (*ha"ke' na"ra"*). When these are finished the meal is eaten. Before eating, all the animal heads are placed in front of the donor of the scalp and he selects those men with whom he wishes to share them. 727 796

Then the host rises and says, "War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you all. Our warrior (the donor) will eat together with

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And a war-bundle owner for the second kettle should be called upon—a kettle offered in connection with him whom we call Great Black Hawk. 796x 539x

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle placed for Disease-giver. 782 776

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the spirit whom they call South Wind.

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the Sun.

Then they also select another man to be in charge of a kettle put on for the Morning Star.[32]

Then the first one who had been called upon for a kettle takes as many pieces of food as there are individuals in his band who eat with him. The second one who had been called upon also takes enough pieces (for his band). 796x 539x 262

Those who are going to eat the head have to wait.[33]

Then all took enough pieces to suffice for their band.

Then they (the attendants) put the pieces of meat in plates and cut them up into small portions. Now all are in readiness for the meal. Only some of those in the lodge are called upon to eat the head. The plate of the others is filled with ordinary cuts (of meat). As many men and women as are present, for that many do they cut up the pieces of meat evenly and place them in the plate.

Only warriors are head eaters. Not to warriors do they give common pieces. Women and men who are not warriors can not take part in this head eating. Only men can take part in the head eating. They would not permit women to eat the head. However, those of the feasters who were warriors and had brought home war trophies would speak a good word for the trophy bearers, their sisters, their neices, and their aunts,[34] and these would be allowed to sit in the midst of the head eaters. The sisters or the aunts, whatever women were allowed to sit among the head eaters, considered it a very great honor. Thus all were encouraged to do. [554 562] [602]

Now (the preparations being finished) all are waiting for the meal and the host gets up and speaks.[35]

"I greet you all. When it (the meat) gets into the plate, then it is the time to try to get the spirit's attention by singing. War-bundle owners, who are seated here, I greet you all." (Eating song.)

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[32] In the first division of the ritual seven kettles are prepared; in the second division, four.

[33] The eating of the deer's head is the greatest honor that one can obtain in this ceremony, and only warriors are permitted to take part in it. [654 262]

[34] When a warrior returned from a successful war party with the first war honor, i. e., if he had counted coup first, he was given a wampum necklace, and this he presented to his oldest sister or to the daughters of his father's brother or mother's sister or to his mother's sister.

[35] This is the continuation of his speech that had been interrupted by the preparations for the meal [731]

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935
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554 ries into a family below her's in dignity. The pride originating in birth, is as deeply
502 seated in the hearts of those who are nobly descended, among the natives of the
582 Northwest, as it is among the petty princes of Germany.

It is customary for the chiefs to appoint two soldiers, in each village to keep
625 order in it, and they faithfully do so (p. 100).

In each tribe, some one man acts as a divider, by order of the civil chiefs, and
431 by general consent. Whenever we made the men any presents, of pipes, paints,
624 tobacco, or any thing else, the self same men, if Winnebagoes were the Indians receiving the presents, appeared, took charge of the property, and divided it in the most equitable manner, among all present at the time. They reserved nothing for themselves, generally, but held up their empty hands to show their disinterestedness.

[171] If the Sauks and Foxes received presents, two men, one for each tribe, acted as dividers, and the same individuals always performed the same duty (pp. 100–101).

. . . "The rolling Thunder," "the Yellow Thunder," "the Distant Thunder,"
554 &c., are individuals among the Winnebagoes, who possess great weight of char-
551 acter; and that tribe to which belong men, who stand high on their roll of fame, for
614 their distinguished valor in War, for their consummate prudence, experience and wisdom in the national councils, is emphatically called, "the thunder tribe" (p. 124).

114 There are other items appurtenant to Winnebago ethnology in Atwater's work; some to that of the Sauks and Foxes; some to tribes of the upper Mississippi valley in general: there are some acute statements regarding the chronology of the populating of America.

171 A "turtle" gens does not occur in the lists of Morgan, Dorsey, and Radin,
174 and Radin specifically denies that there is such a Winnebago gens. He also states that almost all informants claimed that the Snake and Fish clans
614 (gentes) were recent to the tribe. However, as special names "go with"
[114] fixed gentes, by examining the lists of the signers of the treaties between the
[648] Winnebago and the United States, it becomes clear that a member of the Snake gens signed the treaty of August 19th, 1825 as well as the treaty of
[551] August 25th, 1828. And a Snake clan exists among the Ponca, Iowa, Oto-Missouri, Quapaw, as well as some non-Siouan tribes.[10] Also it may be observed that among the Osage and Quapaw we have a Fish clan (used rather loosely). So too "Turtle" as the name of a gens (sub-gens) among the Siouan tribes Omaha, Kansa, Quapaw, and Osage,[11] and elsewhere.
[551] And Carrymaunee (Karamanu, etc.), "Walking Turtle,"[12] signed more

[10] See the important theoretical discussion by Lowie in American Anthropologist, Vol. 36, 1934, pp. 327–28; cf. also Radin, the Winnebago Tribe, p. 182; Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe (Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology), pp. 38, 39.

[11] Among the Omaha and Osage "the turtle carriers or bearers" and "Turtle-carriers" respectively; "Carries-a-turtle-on-his-back" among the Kansa: observe that according to the above Carrymaunee "carried" a large painted tortoise on his back.

[12] The phonetic restoration is presumably Kéramani; mani means "to walk," as can be seen from old vocabularies, etc., as well as the personal names given by Radin in his The Winnebago Tribe and the Winnebago text by Radin in the Siouan sketch in Handbook of Ameri-

## §16. *Shows*

*159 About this time we went to the Sioux country on a visit. There were a number of us. While there I was [574] adopted as a friend and given a pony. When I returned [431] to my home I used to ride around on my pony. That fall a number of Winnebago were going to join a show [541] and I decided to go along with them. I was a good dancer. We went to all the large cities of the country.

*159 273 With us there were two grass widows and after a while I used to go with one of them secretly. This woman used to drink beer. Soon I began to go with the other woman also. They both drank a good deal and often asked me to drink with them, but I always [588] refused. I finally married one of these women, al- [837] though I continued frequenting the other one at the same time. We lived in a tipi. As I said, they both drank beer and gradually I got to drinking it too. Soon I drank a great deal and began to like it. I kept this a secret from my people and told the women to do the same. Finally, however, as I began drinking frequently, a friend of mine found out about it and then the two of us used to drink together. Then the owner of the show discovered that I was drinking. He thought a good deal of me, that my dancing was better than that of the others, and when he learned that

## §23. *I Take a Trip to Nebraska*

*159 597 Shortly after this I had to go to Nebraska. It was in connection with a child I once had, a boy who had died when he was two years old. His mother's father then adopted another one in his place. This child belonged to the Menominee tribe. I had to go there for I was the adopted father of the child and he was thus my son, the one who was taking my dead son's place. [431] I gave the boy a horse at the ceremony performed to fill the dead child's place. The ceremony itself was the [796] Sore Eye Dance.[97] The relatives of the mother gave me some beaded bags, two boxes of maple sugar, etc. Before I had started out for Nebraska, when I was still living in Wittenberg, the boy came to me. I was then living with a woman, and she gave me many things that I was to take along with me to Nebraska and for which she hoped I would get horses in return.

*159 When I started, I stopped at Black River Falls. I went to a woman with whom I had once lived, in order to take her along with me, but she refused. I had gone

[97] The Sore Eye Dance, called more correctly the Society-of-those-who-have-been-blessed-by-the-Night-Spirits, is a secret society organized something like that of the Medicine Dance but quite different in object. It is primarily a war ceremony and its nickname of Sore Eye Dance arose out of the fact that it was so frequently given after the return of a successful war party that the people attending it, got sore eyes from staying up so long. [515] [727] [796]

## *I Take a Trip to Nebraska*

to see her when I was drinking heavily. I therefore had to go on alone. I had my gun with me. I arrived at Nebraska in midsummer. I arrived there very early in the morning, and there I met a man whom I had once known, a person who used to go around a good deal. There were many people present. We sat somewhat on one side, and he and his wife drank with me. I told him what I had done, how I had counted coup on a Pottawattomie, and he shook hands and said that he too had counted coup and that he was going to wear a head ornament. Then they took me to the place where they lived, carrying all my things for me. 159* [555]

The next day the Nebraska Winnebago were going to celebrate. There was to be a general gathering for a week. The people with whom I was staying joined the others at the gathering. At the gathering itself I met two men whom I knew and who recognized me. They shook hands with me. They were riding in a buggy, and when they left, they took me along. On the road they stopped, and we got out of the buggy and began drinking out of a jug containing four quarts of whisky which we had along with us. I joined them in the drinks. We then went back to the gathering, where I met an uncle of mine. To him I presented my gun, and he was delighted. [529] [273] [431]

The gathering itself was a very large one, and we danced every day. I also prepared myself and took part in the dance and gave away many things. I received in return two ponies, a harness, and a top-buggy. I remained there for some time after the celebration [529] [535] [431]

most is the fact that they are making fun of you. 159 *
Quite apart from that, however, I am not used to them." 795
I was speaking quite dishonestly.

I was then staying at my sister's place. She was a peyote follower and had gone on a visit to Oklahoma. After a while she returned. At that time ~~I was~~ staying [588] with a number of women and from them I obtained money. Once I got drunk and was locked up for six [273] days. After my sister returned she and her friends paid more attention to me than ever before. This was particularly true of her husband. I was given horses [431] and a wagon. I was really treated very tenderly. I told them I believed in the peyote because they treated me so nicely. I knew that they did this because they wished me to eat the peyote. I, in my turn, was very kind to them. I thought I was fooling them and they [156] thought they were converting me.

We moved after a while to a place where there was to be a large peyote gathering. I knew that they had arranged for this in order to get me to join. Accordingly I spoke to my younger sister and said, "Sister, I would be quite willing to eat this peyote ordinarily, but I don't like the woman with whom I am living just [588] now and I think I shall leave her. Now I have been given to understand that among you, when married people eat the peyote they will always have to stay together. I shall therefore join you as soon as I have married a woman with whom I wish to stay permanently." Then my brother-in-law came in and my sister told him what I had said and he spoke to me,

*159 over until the following spring. It was enough to cause
648 one to say "Oh, my!" in impatience. During the win-
[531] ter we used to make bead work and compete with one
[301] another as to who could do the best. We made beaded
finger-rings, and these were always purchased by some
● [432] one. By selling these rings we thus made quite a good
deal of money. We also made suspenders. I made
thirty of them and sold them for seven dollars a pair.
We thus had plenty of money and drank all the time.
There were some prisoners locked up together with us
whose terms were almost over, and these were allowed
to go outside. They would buy us the whisky. We
[525] gambled, too, playing for money stakes.

One day my wife came to visit me. I talked to her
through the iron grating. I was allowed to talk to her
for a long time. All I could do was to desire her. I
[152] wanted her badly. When the wives of the others came,
they felt just as I did.

[578] Once we had a fight. We had been drinking and
[273] were disputing about a game. Afterwards we were
quite humble about it.

Shortly after this we found out that my wife had
*159 married again. I did not feel like eating, but I tried
152 hard to do so, because I thought that the others would
648 notice it. Then I said to them, "I am glad to hear
837 about this report that my wife has married again.
When I get out of prison I will pay the one who has
married her, for he is taking care of her until my re-
lease. Indeed I have felt quite uneasy about her for
some time. Now I feel quite relieved, for she is being

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



114 junction with the Mississippi. Dr. Evan D. Pierce, of Trempealeau,
126 who was in charge of the park, was much interested in the native flora as well as in archeology, and we made a collection of ninety species then in bloom. Mr. Towne L. Miller, of Fairwater, Wisconsin, Honorary Curator of Archeology of the Museum collected the plants of the region throughout the season, for the Department of Botany.

The Winnebago Indians are found today scattered over the central
131 part of Wisconsin, principally in Marquette, Waushara, Portage, Sauk,
361 Juneau, Adams, Marathon, Wood, Clark, Jackson, and Monroe counties. Wood County with permanent settlements in Arpin, Vesper, Pittsville, Walker, Elm Lake, Dexterville, and Babcock, contains the largest number, about 750. Along the Hemlock River, not far from Pittsville, are found other large settlements of farming Winnebago. In other counties good-sized settlements are located at Neillsville, Wittenberg, Wyeville, Black River Falls, Hatfield, and Tomah. Their Indian agency and school are located at the last mentioned city.

114 Our chief location during the summer was at A. White's farm, on
the Walker Road, six and a half miles south of Wisconsin Rapids.
123 When we arrived, Mr. White was at Kilbourn where many of the Winnebago camp during the tourist season, making baskets and bead work, and taking part in dances and entertainments. Jim Henniger and his wife, our pageant friends, were there, caring for her father, Dave Dekorah, a prominent man in the medicine lodge, who was sick. He afterwards died and was buried in their community graveyard, with Indian ceremony. The Whites made us welcome and we pitched our tent in a grove of white pines not far from their spring. There were
115 several other Winnebago Indians near at hand, including Henry Dick,
795 from Briggsville. Henry is important in the medicine society and im-
184 mediately made friends with us and started to teach us the Winne-
276 bago language. He was especially bitter against the peyote cult, which many Winnebago have embraced, declaring that peyote was worse than whiskey, because a man drunk on whiskey, would be sober the next morning and able to go to work, whereas with peyote, he became "crazy", and would not work for four or five days while under its influence. He further said that the peyote cult worshippers never possess anything, but live on their industrious neighbors who belong to the medicine lodge. These medicine lodge Indians raise potatoes, corn, beans, carrots, hay, grain, hogs and chickens, according to Henry, and would not let their own people starve, but did not like the shiftlessness of the peyote worshippers. He wished he could see the President of the United States to tell him not to let any Indian have peyote. He thinks bad days are coming to the peyote-eating Indians. A few years
276 ago, this cactus drug, most of which comes from Texas, sold for $4.00
435 a thousand buttons, but the current prices in 1928 were $25 per thou-
795 sand of number one size; $30.00 per thousand for number two size; and

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP 12 Winnebago NP 12



$35 per thousand for number three size. The "buttons" are really branches of the Peyote Cactus (*Lophophora williamsii*), a small compact cactus growing from southern Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico down into old Mexico. The peyote religion was introduced to the Indians of the United States by peyote cults, among the Indians of Mexico. The Government strictly forbids possession of or traffic in these buttons, but the number of converts to the cult is on the increase. 276 435 795 276 795

On the other hand, the peyote Indians among the Winnebago have little regard for the medicine lodge Indians. They consider them benighted, old-fashioned and unwise. When an Indian joins peyote, according to them, he sees the error of his ways and the sacred, ceremonial objects of his past become of no value to him. In such cases, the field collector of some museum finds it easy to acquire excellent specimens of sacred objects. While still in use, an Indian would not part with his medicine bundle for money, but once it has been superseded by a change in faith, he becomes glad to realize almost anything for it. Such a bundle is valued by anthropologists according to the sacred objects it contains. 178

The peyote people that we met near Wisconsin Rapids did not bear out the poor name given them by the old pagans. They were industrious and proud of their religion. The peyote cult, there, shows considerable Christian missionary influence, in their acceptance of Jesus Christ as their deity. The medicine lodge people have never been interested in the translation of the Lord's Prayer but the Winnebago peyote followers use it as a chanted peyote song. It is called *Hilukanala gikaraj hanila*, (Lord prayer his). It follows thus: 795 177 539

*Hianjinwila wagregi shanagre, lash hashinila wokajak nigigidek•jena.*

"Our Father in heaven who dwells your name holy (let us) keep it. *Hunkma hashini'a hilaijik•jawina. Woshga hashinila manegi* Kingdom your come down (on earth). Doing yours on earth *ninek•jena wagregi jaske hinaki sheske manegi hilek•jena. Hampdec* should in heaven like doing same on earth should be. This day *waiskapduc haniwila hunkwianje. Egi wazawoishana waniwila* bread daily ours give us. And then sins ours *waigitunawila wazahigishana waniwila waigitunawila sheke. Egi inke* forgive us sins yours and yours forgive us same. And then don't *wazawoishana wahicja hinutiwinine Ezi wowak•jega egi hingijilawige* (into) temptations deliver us. Our Lord and help us *kishipwiwine. Hunkmara nehashinigaja Egi homashjala nehashinigaja* get away Kingdom thy and power thy *Egi hoishagra nehashinigaja manegus•la jeskek•jena.* and glory thy forever Amen."

It will be noted that the Winnebago even have a word for "Amen," meaning to some extent "let it be that way," whereas among the Menomini Indians they have not translated it but articulate it as we do — Amen. [192]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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the second one, Old Lincoln himself obtaining the first. The first war honor was a quantity of wampum beads and the second a wampum belt. Both the one who got the second prize and Old Lincoln brought back with them an enemy's head. 726 [727]

From that time on *Midjistega* stayed with the Winnebago and he and Old Lincoln became great friends, living together, one of the reasons being that Old Lincoln could understand Winnebago. 648 [572]

One day they ran short of corn meal, so they decided to go and trade some furs for corn meal. They had plenty of furs because they spent most of their time hunting. When they got to the trader's store *Midjistega* said, "Say, trader, the boys have been out of paint for some time and you ought to give them some." "No, *Midjistega*, I can't do that." Then *Midjistega* again said, "Well, the paint boxes are small and aren't of much value anyhow, and you ought to make them a present of some. However, I always knew you were very stingy." Then the trader said, "My business is to trade you my wares for your furs and I will not give you any paint for nothing." Then *Midjistega* said, "If I had some flour I could make some paint myself. However, I am short of flour, too." Then the trader said, "*Midjistega*, you can not do it, for even the whites do not know how to make paint (in that way), so how could you, who are only an Indian, do it?" Thus they spoke to and fro and finally the trader said, "*Midjistega*, I will bet you my store against your furs that if I give you some flour you can not make paint out of it. If I win you are to give me your furs, and if you win I will give you my store." Then the bet was agreed upon. 648 457 741 [525]

Then a lodge was prepared and *Midjistega's* drum and flute were carried into it. Then the trader had some flour carried over to the lodge and it was poured into a dish. The trader, suspecting that there might be some trick, stirred up the flour thoroughly. He satisfied himself that there was nothing at the bottom of the dish. *Midjistega*, in the meantime, painted the corners of his mouth and eyes with ashes and then the singers sang for him. Then he handed the flute over to Old Lincoln and told him to blow it for him every now and then. The trader sat near the entrance of the lodge with his employees. Then *Midjistega* jumped up and ran all around the lodge on all fours. Then he took the dish with the flour and shaking it, began to dance around the lodge with it. After he had danced around for the third time it suddenly turned into a yellow color, and Old Lincoln noticed the change in the expression on the trader's face. As he went around for the fourth time it suddenly changed to a red color. When he got back to his starting place it was quite red and was an excellent quality of paint. Then he said, "Well, trader, I have won your store," and the trader answered, "You have won my store. I did not think that an Indian could do it." Then *Mid-* 648 789 386 791 [525]

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They say that the tobacco was given to them directly and that Earthmaker loves the Winnebago more than any other race. For that reason they were very clever. Now this is what the old men have said and handed down to us. 173 276

Once something appeared in the middle of the lake (Green Bay). They were the French; they were the first to come to the Winnebago. The ship came nearer and the Winnebago went to the edge of the lake with offerings of tobacco and white deerskins. There they stood. When the French were about to come ashore they fired their guns off in the air as a salute to the Indians. The Indians said, "They are thunderbirds." They had never heard the report of a gun before that time and that is why they thought they were thunderbirds. 173 276 648 177

Then the French landed their boats and came ashore and extended their hands to the Winnebago, and the Indians put tobacco in their hands. The French, of course, wanted to shake hands with the Indians. They did not know what tobacco was, and therefore did not know what to do with it. Some of the Winnebago poured tobacco on their heads, asking them for victory in war. The French tried to speak to them, but they could not, of course, make themselves understood. After a while they discovered that they were without tools, so they taught the Indians how to use an ax and chop a tree down. The Indians, however, were afraid of it, because they thought that the ax was holy. Then the French taught the Indians how to use guns, but they held aloof for a long time through fear, thinking that all these things were holy.

Suddenly a Frenchman saw an old man smoking and poured water on him. They knew nothing about smoking or tobacco. After a while they got more accustomed to one another. The Indians learned how to shoot the guns and began trading objects for axes. They would give furs and things of that nature for the guns, knives, and axes of the whites. They still considered them holy, however. Finally they learned how to handle guns quite well and they liked them very much. They would even build fires at night so that they might try their guns, for they could not wait for the day, they were so impatient. When they were out of ammunition they would go to the traders and tell their people that they would soon return. By this time they had learned to make themselves understood by various signs. [439]

The second time they went to visit the French they took with them all the various articles that they possessed. There the French taught them how to sew, how to use an ax, and how to use a knife. Then the leader of the whites took a liking to a Winnebago girl, the daughter of the chief, and he asked her parents for permission to marry her. They told him that her two brothers had the right to give her away in marriage. So he asked them and they consented. 173 648 [177]

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tory before them; or—but this is extremely unlikely—that they were all of Algonquian origin. 172

### Implements of Stone and Other Materials

As pointed out before, we ought not to expect to find much strictly archeological data relating to the Winnebago in their Wisconsin habitat. As, however, they probably reached this habitat before the discovery of America, some of the archeological finds may easily go back that far. Unfortunately we have no way of determining, even approximately, the age of the artifacts.

We will now confine ourselves to a description of the more important types of artifacts and remains found on old Winnebago sites without going into the question of their respective age.

Implements and utensils were made of stone, clay, shell, bone, wood, antlers, and turtle claws (pl. 10). According to information obtained from the present Winnebago, which is supported by the testimony of the myths and tales, but few objects were made of stone. [411 324] The most important of these was the stone hatchet. It may even be questioned whether the Winnebago originally made these, for they are given a supernatural origin by those few Winnebago who mentioned their existence, and it has been the author's experience that objects to which a supernatural origin is ascribed are generally either of recent origin or have been borrowed. None of the myths or tales even mention their existence. Nevertheless a large number of stone implements, most of them presumably stone hatchets, has been found at Doty Island, near Menasha, Wis. (pl. 11), which had at one time been one of their principal village sites. It is quite probable that the Winnebago obtained most of these from the neighboring Algonquian [439] tribes who were well known for their skill in working stone.

### Copper Implements

The Winnebago are known to have used copper implements in fairly great abundance, the only question being whether they were the original makers of these objects. We do not think they were, and base our opinion on the answers given by present-day Indians and the total absence of their mention in the myths. Both iron and presumably copper are mentioned in certain myths, but these passages are clearly of European origin. 172 325 [177]

Practically all of our knowledge of the nature and distribution of copper objects in Wisconsin has been conveniently summarized in Mr. C. E. Brown's paper entitled "The native copper implements of Wisconsin,"[20] and all that we mention here is taken from this little monograph.

[20] The Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 5, no. 5.

## §11. *Wandering and Hunting*

After a while I used to get into the habit of going to 159* town When I got there I would look into the barrels to see if there was any food in them and if there was I would fill my pockets with whatsoever I found. I [685] used to steal a great deal.

About springtime we always moved away from the 159* vicinity of the town. We always moved to the place 221 where my father intended to trap, generally to the [204] neighborhood of some farming community where there were few Indians. There my mother used to make [285] baskets and sell them to the farmers. We also used to [139] circulate a written petition asking for any help people cared to give us. Whenever they went on this kind [648] of a trip I always went along with them, for sometimes people would take pity on us and give us some old clothes. Sometimes we would even get a good meal at some farmer's house. For these reasons I was always envious of those who went along on such journeys.

Occasionally when we got many provisions I had to carry some of them, but I never minded that. When [023] the birds returned north father used to make us bows and arrows and we would then shoot at them and often kill many. We also used to kill squirrels which my [224] grandmother roasted for us. My older brother was a [252]

## §20. *I Have a Fight*

Once we went out hunting game in the fall of the 159* year. We used to sell the hindquarters and some- 204 times ship them as far as Chicago. We were of course [439] only permitted to hunt for thirty days. The law was [648] that if any one hunted longer than that he would be arrested. Yet in spite of all we hunted for a longer time because we felt that the law was meant only for the Whites. One day, however, in shipping deer away, we were detected. One of my brothers and myself were arrested, taken to court and convicted. We had 159* to spend sixty days in jail. During my imprisonment 302 I never had my hair cut and from that time on, I al- 787 ways wore it long. I told the people that a spirit called *Foolish-one*[24] had instructed me to do this and that he had blessed me. I also told my older brother, the one who was still living, to do the same thing and that if he, too, let his hair grow, *Foolish-one* would bless him with long life. From that time on I wore long hair.

After that I joined a show of the Whites. People 159* liked me very much on account of my long hair and I 541 was well paid. I kept on drinking all the time. I there 648 learned to ride a bicycle and mount and ride wild [526]

[24] The clown of Winnebago mythology. He is, however, regarded [773] as having some of the characteristics of a spirit and, very occa- [522] sionally, blessing an individual.

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they forced their way through the country occupied by the Winnebago, war would not have occurred. 174 [648]

The Winnebago call themselves *Hotcangara*, which has been variously interpreted as "people of the parent speech" by James Owen Dorsey and as "big fish people" by other observers. Dorsey's explanation, which is the one most generally accepted, is most certainly wrong, and represents an interpretation read into the word to make it fit the legends which claimed that the dialect was the most archaic of all the Siouan languages. It is true that *ho* may mean "speech," but *teank* can only mean one thing, and that is "big, real." It is found with a number of animal names, such as *kiteank*, "turtle," and *cuniteank*, "wolf." It corresponds strictly to the Dakotan *tank*, "large." *Ho* means "fish" in Winnebago. The name Winnebago, as is well known, is of Algonquian origin. 101 [114] [192]

The Winnebago were first encountered by white men in 1634, when Jean Nicolet visited them as agent for Governor Champlain. Where he encountered them is not definitely known. The Winnebago as a rule claim that it was at Green Bay. Some discussion has arisen of late years on this question. No contemporary narrative of the event exists, nor have the Winnebago any clearly marked legend that might be interpreted as referring to it. 175

An excellent description of their history has been given by P. V. Lawson [1] and from this we will quote at some length, selecting those periods that are of greatest importance in the history of the tribe and which can be illustrated by semihistorical legends still known to the Winnebago.

Much of our knowledge of the early history of the Winnebago is derived from Baqueville de la Potherie's Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale. A good deal of his information was obtained from Nicholas Perrot. For the period covering the years 1640–1660 we have the following information: [2]

> A few years ago, they numbered possibly 150 warriors. These savages have no mutual fellow-feeling; they have caused their own ruin, and have been obliged to divide their own forces. They are naturally very impatient of control, and very passionate; a little matter excites them; and they are great braggarts. They are, however, well-built, and are brave soldiers, who do not know what danger is; and they are subtle and crafty in war. Although they are convinced that their ancestors drew upon themselves the enmity of all the surrounding Nations, they cannot be humble. Their women are extremely laborious; they are neat in their houses, but very disgusting about their food. [162] [181] [52] [461] [264]

[1] The Winnebago tribe, in Wisconsin Archæologist, vol. 6, no. 3, Milwaukee, 1907.
[2] Quoted in Lawson's paper, p. 68.

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792 it, for if you do, we will all die." Now, he was mistaken in that.
787 "The Creator has given two plates and they are getting empty. He gave the men a plate for them to fill and the women a plate for them to fill. The women's plate is empty." He meant that the Creator
[462] had made men to hunt and the women to dig the soil and raise vegetables, and that the latter were not doing it. That is what he meant by saying that their plates were empty. Noise-Thunder insisted that this was the white man's fault; he thought that we were being weakened by the white man's food. Quite a number of people believed him. "The birds eat what was provided for them to eat, game and vegetables, and the whites eat what was provided for them. Why should we not eat what was provided for us?" He was right, but then the Creator also created the food that the whites are eating. We are now getting accustomed to it and are getting stronger on this food.

[161] The Winnebago were decreasing in number, so the Creator gave them a medicine which would enable them to get accustomed to the white man's food; that, also, they might know the Creator and that he is the true bread and food. This they found out by using this medicine. They are going into it deeper and deeper all the time, they who had been lost, and this has all been accomplished by the medicine (the peyote).

The following notes were also obtained concerning other prophets:

"There was a prophet among the Winnebago recently named George Wilkinson. He claimed that he was the Trickster; that there were two worlds; that he had been to the first and that he was now on the second. After a while he was to return to *ma'una* (Earth-maker). He told all the Winnebago to plant their tobacco and cornfields again. (This is what he was ordered to say.) He said that the power of the war bundles was entirely exhausted, but that it could be restored if a person were to fast for four days. When the spirits addressed him by name they called him "He-Who-Stands-Blue." This happened fifteen years ago.

"Thundercloud claims to be the Hare."

Another man named Xuga prophesied the same, led them on a warpath, and lost a lot of people.

[668] The most important religious revival of the last century among the Winnebago is the Peyote or Mescal religion. It is described in detail on page 388.

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342 spring and summer. In the spring those who still lived in bark lodges covered the roofs with reed matting, as that material shed water more effectually than bark. The tipi was generally used on the hunt, the grass lodge merely for a shelter overnight.

[462] All the duties connected with the construction of the lodge belonged to the woman. These duties do not seem to have been restricted to any special class of women except in the construction of [886] ceremonial lodges, in which only women who had passed their climacteric could participate.

### Clothing and Adornment

291 In discussing the personal adornment of men it must be remembered that in former times each costume generally had special significance and could be worn only on certain occasions. Moreover,

Fig. 23. PATTERN OF MEN'S BUCKSKIN LEGGINGS.

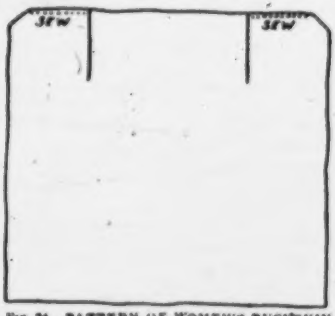


Fig. 24. PATTERN OF WOMEN'S BUCKSKIN SHIRT.

certain articles of dress, as arm bands and garters, could be worn only by certain people. The significance of most of the items comprising a man's costume, as well as the proper occasion for wearing them, has long been forgotten and today everything relating to dress and adornment is hopelessly confused. Illustrations of the various articles of apparel will be found in plates 20–23; figures 23–26.

The men's clothing is thus described by Skinner:[1]

> The men's garments obtained in Wisconsin consisted of leggings of ribbon-worked cloth, or of plain buckskin. . . . Some of the latter are made skin-tight, with a broad flap fringed at the edge. The decorated flap of the cloth and the fringe of the buckskin are worn outside. Some are made by folding over a rectangular piece of leather and holding the sides together by means of thongs passing through from side to side, their ends serving in lieu of a fringe. Some little boys' leggings are skin-tight and fringed only at the top. The clout is of three pieces, a strip of plain, cheap material to cover the genitals, supported at each end by a belt, and two beaded breadcloth

[1] In "Notes Concerning New Collections," Anthr. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. IV, part II, pp. [illegible].

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281 off on the upper surface. The beaming tool is then grasped in both hands and pushed away from the user against the grain of the hair over the skin where it lies on the
281 smoothed surface of the stick or log. This process is the same as that followed by the
412 Northern Ojibway and Eastern Cree. The next step is to stretch the skin on a square, upright frame. A fleshing tool is then brought to bear, although the beamer is often made to answer this purpose. When the skin has been fleshed, it is soaked in a mixture of deer's brains and water. No grease is added. This preparation is kept in liquid form in a pail and lasts some time. After remaining in the brain fluid for a time, the skin is taken out and thoroughly washed. Then it is taken by the tanner—

[462] who is always a woman—and dried. While the skin is drying, it is rubbed with a wooden spatula to make it flexible. It is now ready for the last step—smoking. For this process it is first sewed up into a cylindrical shape, and the upper end is tied together to form a bag. By this closed upper end it is then suspended over a shallow hole from a stick driven obliquely into the ground at an angle of about 45 degrees. In the hole a fire is built with dried wood. The open lower edge of the skin bag is pegged or fastened to the ground about the edge of the hole.

## Games and Amusements

526 Lacrosse was the favorite game of the Winnebago. This was generally played on ceremonial occasions. Whenever played, the two divisions of the tribe, the Waⁿgre'gi and the Maṇe'gi, were pitted against each other. There were two kinds of lacrosse, one played by men and the other played by women; these differed in a number of particulars.

526 462 *Men's lacrosse.*—The men's game was called *teabo-nino'pugis kik'isik'*. There were either 12 or 22 men on each side, placed in the following manner: Two, one of each side, stood in front of the arched sapling which constituted one of the goals (*wak'a'rani*); these were called *woir'iygra*. There were, of course, two goals, each about 10 feet high, one at each end of the field. About midway between the goals a small mound was made from which the ball was thrown. Ten or twenty men, as the case may be, covered the ground between the mound and the two men stationed at each *wak'a'rani*. The lacrosse stick was called *teabonadu'gis*, and the ball used either *tei-oko'nõñkra* or *waⁿiⁿi'ⁿpa*. The object of the game was to put the ball through the goal four times. At the beginning of the game the ball was thrown straight into the air from the mound. (For plan of the game, see fig. 27.)

FIG. 27.—Men's lacrosse. A, Goal. B, B', Goal guards of waⁿgre'gi side. C, C', Goal guards of maṇe'gi side. D, Mound from which ball is thrown.

526 *Ceremonial lacrosse.* The following description of a ceremonial lacrosse game was given by a member of the Bear clan:

The Waⁿgre'gi and the Maṇe'gi people were to play lacrosse. So the Waⁿgre'gi took an invitation stick and attached some tobacco to it and sent it to the Maṇe'gi people. Thus they fixed a day for the contest. The contest was to be in four days. In the meantime both sides were to get ready, for some might be without balls or sticks, etc. Then the Waⁿgre'gi said, "We are the faster and will therefore go and

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look for food." When they returned the leader of the Waŋgre'gi said again, "We are the fleeter and will therefore win from our opponents. In addition to that we are holy and for that reason we will be strengthened in the coming contest." Then the leader of the Mape'gi said, "I will first pour tobacco and then I will arise with the blessing of life which was bestowed upon me and through which I know my men will be strengthened." Then they arranged the goals, i. e., the *wak'a'rani*, and arranged for the points. Then they took an emetic and went into a vapor-bath in order to strengthen themselves. The goals were now standing far apart from each other. Then the people who were to play gathered on the field and two men from each side began to tell their war exploits. First, one of the Waŋgre'gi men told how he had cut off an enemy's head; how proud his sisters had been at receiving the gifts and how they had danced in the Victory Dance. "With such a man you will have to play," he shouted to those on the other side. Then a man from the Mape'gi side said, "I also am a brave man. I did with the enemy as I pleased. Once when an enemy had been killed between the firing lines, I rushed for him and in the midst of bullets I cut off his head. With such a man you will have to fight," he shouted to those on the other side. Then he gave a whoop and the ball was thrown into the air and they began to play lacrosse. Those who first succeeded in putting the ball through the *wak'a'rani* four times would be declared the winners. All day they played and in the evening they stopped. Lacrosse was the favorite game among the Winnebago. This is all. 526 [783]

*Women's lacrosse.*—The women's game was called *naiyaca'radji unk'isik'*. Ten women took part on each side; they all stood in front of the goal, which consisted merely of a line drawn on the surface of the ground, called *wak'a'rani* as in the men's game. The lacrosse stick (*trabenopa*) was straight. The "ball" consisted of two balls tied together by a string (*naiyaca'radji'u" wa"i"ina*). This was put into play by being thrown from a point midway between the goals straight up into the air. The side that hit over the goal four times won. 526 462

*Football.*—Football was played by men. The *wak'a'rani* was merely a line drawn on the surface of the ground. The 16 or 20 men who took part on each side arranged themselves in front of either *wak'a'rani*. The ball used was a fairly large one made of deer's hair, covered with hide from the same animal. It was put in play in the middle of the field and the side that kicked the ball over the goal four times won the game. 526 [462]

*Hit-the-tree game* (*tcibonnoogis nai"djd hap'a-na'"-i*).—This consisted merely of a test of marksmanship. A tree (*na" hadjina*) about 8 feet high and 8 inches in diameter was selected and the one who hit it from a certain distance received a prize. Any number of people could participate.

*The kicking game.*—This was a very rough sport in which men only took part. Two men took turns in kicking each other as hard as they could, the one who held out the longer being the winner. [462]

*The moccasin game.*—One of the favorite games of the Winnebago. Five men took positions directly opposite their five opponents. Between the two rows of players, in front of each man was a recep- 524

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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524 tacle, generally a moccasin, in which a small object was secreted. The sides in turn guessed in which moccasin it was secreted. The guesser pointed in turn with a long stick to each moccasin, all the time carefully scrutinizing the expression on the face of each man whose moccasin he touched. The bystanders and the other players on his side meanwhile sang songs and made all sorts of remarks and allusions in an attempt to catch off his guard the man in whose moccasin the object was secreted, so that he might disclose the fact by some gesture or expression. The person guessing had the right to touch each moccasin without forfeiting his chance. As soon as he wished to guess he overturned with his stick the moccasin in which he thought the object was hidden. The seriousness with which a player scrutinized his opponents is well shown in plate 30.

[462] *Women's dice game.*—The women's dice game (*k'anu*) was played with either bone or wooden dice. Eight of these are used. After being shaken, they are allowed to fall into a wooden bowl. The dice are white on one side and black or blue on the other. One of the dice has a mark on each side. The count is as follows: 1 dark, 7 white, count 2; 2 dark, 6 white, 1; all dark, 0 white, 4; 3 dark, 5 white, 0; 4 dark, 4 white, 0; marked dice dark, 7 white, 10; marked dice white, 7 dark, 10; marked dice white, 1 other white, the rest dark, 2; all dice white, 4; 2 white, 6 dark, 1; 1 white, 7 dark, 2.

[237] The side gaining all the counters, which consist of small sticks, wins.

*Cup-and-ball game.*—"A cup-and-ball game is composed of eight worked phalangeal bones of the Virginia deer (*Odocoileus virginiana*).

[171] It differs from those seen by the writer among the Cree and Ojibway in that the topmost phalangeal unit of the game as played among those people does not have the joint removed, whereas in the Winnebago specimens all the bones are cut into conical form. The top is generally surmounted by a bunch of leather thongs with many perforations. The striking pin is of bone. The count is one for each unit, five for catching the tails or thongs at the top, and the same if all the units are caught together, which occasionally happens. The bottom unit nearest the striking pin has four small perforations set at equal distances about the lower edge. Above these holes are two, three, four, and six dots, respectively, cut in the bone. The count gained by catching this bone through any one of the holes varies according to the number of these dots. The striking pin may be of bone or wood. Sometimes these games are stained with dye or paint. The string and pins are short, so that the game is much more difficult and clumsy than in the Cree and Ojibway forms."[9]

[9] A. Skinner, op. cit., pp. [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

knowing what is the right thing to do. Ask for this instruction, my son. It is not a matter requiring a few moments; it is something that must be thoroughly learned. You, too, must learn it. 159* 867 579

To a girl the following was told:

My daughter, as you travel along the path of life, listen to your parents. Do not let your mother work. Attend to the wants of your father. All the work in the house belongs to you. Do not shirk it. Chop wood, pack it; look after the gardens; gather the vegetables and cook them. When you come back to the village in the spring, plant your fields immediately. Never get lazy, for Earthmaker created you to do these things. 867 593 [462] [221]

My daughter, when you get your menses, do not ask those in the house to give you any food. Fast and do not eat until you get back to the family lodge. If you act thus, you will be fasting for your seat, for your position in life. You can only keep this seat by fasting. Then when you marry, even if your husband has been a good-for-nothing before, he will become a good hunter. You will have accomplished this for him. You will not fail in anything and you will be happy and contented. If, on the contrary, you do not do as I tell you, then when you marry, you will weaken your husband. After a while he will become sickly and it will be your fault. [841] [785]

It is not good to use medicine. If you marry a man and place medicine upon his head, you will weaken him and he will not amount to anything. It may happen that you do not want your husband to leave you and that after reflecting on the matter, you place some medicine on his head, to prevent him from leaving you. This is not good. You 867 593 832

*159 stand up and he prayed to God. He asked God to
195 forgive me my sins.

The next morning I was taken home. My eyes were
[157] sore and I could not see. They took me back to my house and there they put a solution of the peyote in my eyes and I got well in a week.

One night when I was asleep I dreamed that the
[187] world had come to an end. Some people God took while some belonged to the bad spirit. I belonged to the bad spirit. Although I had become a peyote man I had not as yet been baptized. That was why God did not take me. All those who belonged to God were marked, but I was not. I felt very bad about it when I woke up, even although I had only dreamed it. I felt very bad indeed. I wanted them to hurry and have another peyote meeting soon. I could hardly wait until I reached the place where the next meeting was to take place. I immediately told the leader what I wanted and asked him to baptize me and he baptized me in the morning. After that I felt better.

*159 Then I went to work and I worked with a railroad
[464] work gang. I was still working when the time for the midsummer celebration approached. I always went to the peyote meeting on Saturday nights.

*159 The old man was right in what he had told me. The
584 girl students returned in the summer. Shortly after they returned, a man, a friend of mine, who had gone around with me, asked me if I wanted to get married. "Yes, I do," I answered. Then he said, "Listen, I have been thinking of something. What kind of a woman do

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chief and his people. The Wolf, Water-spirit, and Elk clans seem also to have possessed minor political-social functions. Thus the Wolf people are regarded as "minor" soldiers; the Water-spirit people are connected with the passage of streams, etc.; and the Elk are connected with the care of the fireplaces while on the hunt and warpath. This accounts for seven of the twelve clans, and it thus seems as if the association of political functions with clans was a type that had found great favor among the Winnebago, and was perhaps being extended to every clan. Among the Dhegiha, associations of ceremonial functions with social units seem to have found corresponding favor, while among the Central Algonquian neither type prevailed.

Marked political and ceremonial functions of the clan are thus the distinguishing characteristics of the Siouan social organization and have given an entirely different color to clan structure there.

### THE RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIP OF THE CLANS

We have seen that one of the bonds between the clans was the fact of belonging to the same side. But there is a special bond between certain clans known as "friendship" relation (*hitcak'oro*). This always subsists between two, although it seems occasionally to have been extended to three or four clans. Most informants gave these groups in such a manner that the "friendship" relation was not postulated between clans belonging to different divisions. One individual postulated them just on this basis, i. e., Thunderbird-Bear, Warrior-Wolf, etc. There can, however, be no doubt that the prevalent arrangement is: Thunderbird-Warrior; Eagle-Pigeon; Bear-Wolf; Buffalo-Water-spirit; Elk-Deer; Snake-Fish. Most informants did not claim any pairing for the Snake, while some associated it in a threefold grouping with the Buffalo and Water-spirit. The four clans of the *Waggeregi* are generally united in a fourfold group of "friend clan," although some divide them into Thunderbird-Warrior and Eagle-Pigeon.

Under the term "friend clan" is included the idea of mutual service. This becomes especially marked on two occasions: first, when a member of one clan visits his "friend clan," and second, when an injustice has been done a member of the "friend clan." On the former occasion every possible privilege is extended to him, even to his occupying the seat and bed of the host. There is no indication of "wife-borrowing," however. On the latter occasion, the "friend clan" will seek to revenge the injustice just as if the wrong had been done one of its own members. The respect shown by one clan to its "friend clan" is again apparent at the naming-feast. There he may be called upon to give the dog names for an individual of the clan with which he is associated, and, at times, to lend one of his clan names to the latter.

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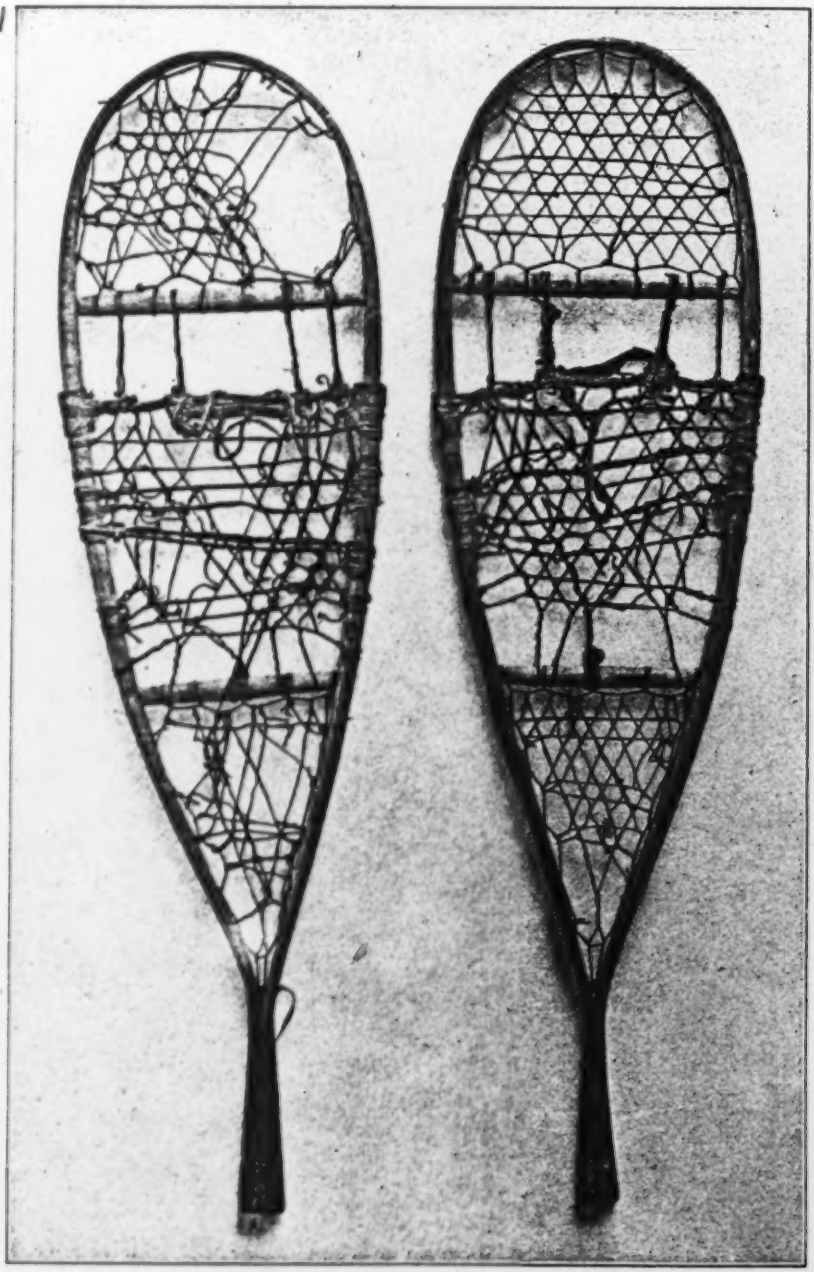

SNOWSHOES

[Facing p. 122 (8)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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*Tree game.*—Two trees are selected about 20 feet apart, one having a branch about 15 feet from the ground. A number of people stand ready at the side of this tree and the one whose turn it is to play tries to hit the branch. When he succeeds in doing so all run toward the other tree. As soon as the player gets the ball he tries to hit the runners. If successful in this before the others have reached the tree he wins; otherwise they are "safe" and he must try again. The Winnebago called this game *hoši'bidjikre'u*. 526

## Travel and Transportation

*Canoes and dugouts.*—All the boats found in the early days in the territory originally inhabited by the Winnebago were dugouts, yet a number of the tribe questioned denied positively that boats of this kind were in common use before the coming of the whites. According to these informants, in former times the Winnebago always had their home in a birch country, and had at hand, therefore, the requisite material for making canoes; moreover, birch-bark canoes were much easier to construct than dugouts, for which logs had to be hollowed by burning—a process that might consume weeks. Only when the whites introduced the ax and the knife did it become practicable to make dugouts. These implements became available at the time of the southern migration of the tribe into a region where birch bark was scarce, and one result of the change was the substitution of the dugout for the canoe. The validity of this explanation is supported by the same line of argument as in the case of the wooden vessels. 501 [412 177 167]

*Snowshoes.*—The snowshoes of the Winnebago were similar to those used by the Menominee, with this difference, that the two pieces of wood forming the "handle," instead of being tied together for their whole length, as among the latter, were left unfastened for about 5 inches at the end. This difference is immediately detected (pl. 40) by the present-day Winnebago, who can easily identify, by the feature mentioned, snowshoes belonging to the tribe. 481 [171]

## Musical Instruments

The musical instruments of the Winnebago seem to have been restricted to the flute, drum, and gourd. The flute was made of red cedar and usually had a range of five or six notes; it was used at many ceremonies, and especially by young men when courting. The drum consisted of a framework (in later days a wooden pail or a barrel served the purpose), over which a skin was drawn very tight. A small quantity of water was always kept in the drum so that the skin could be wet as often as necessary. Rattles consisted of dried gourds filled, in olden times, with seeds, in more modern times with buckshot (pl. 30, *d*, *f*). 534

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142
291
301
302

a. WINNEBAGO AND DAUGHTER

b. OLD WINNEBAGO WOMAN

142
291
854
482

c. WOMAN AND CHILD, SHOWING CRADLE-BOARD

d. WOMAN AND CHILD, SHOWING METHOD OF CARRYING INFANT

[Facing p. 126 (A)]

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224 *Regulation of the tribal hunt.*—It can not be said that there were
[721] many special regulations during the tribal hunt. The rules applying to the regulation of war parties held here too. (For a description of these, see p. 156.)

Individuals were strictly prohibited from taking the initiative except by permission. For instance, a man was not allowed to proceed beyond a certain point, or shoot before a certain time; in short, not to do anything by which he might endanger his own life, the safety of his companions, or the success of the hunt, such as scaring away the animals or causing them to stampede.

625 It is during the tribal hunts that the power of the Bear clan is at
224 its height. For this reason it may perhaps be most appropriate to
614 include here a description* of these powers, although this really
484 belongs in the section on Social Organization:

Whenever the Winnebago are on their tribal hunt or whenever they move from one place to another, the soldiers (i. e., the Bear people) take the lead. Whenever they decide to stop at some place, the leader of the Bear people places his stick in the ground and the other soldiers do the same. The line of sticks is a slanting one. The main tribe follows behind at some distance and always camps a little behind them. None of the members of the tribe dare pass ahead of these sticks. If, for instance, during the fall move the tribe were passing through a country in which much game abounded, and if after the tribe had stopped at a certain place anyone should take it upon himself to go ahead and kill game on his own initiative, and he
[686] was discovered, the soldiers would go to his camp and burn it and everything it contained, destroy any supplies he had, and break his dishes. They would spare only his life and the lives of his family. If he resisted he would get a severe whipping. If even after that he resisted them and took his gun and attempted to shoot, the soldiers would not do anything but stand ready. But the moment he made an attempt to shoot, they would kill him and nothing would be said of the matter, for they would be putting into effect the law of the tribe. If, on the other hand, the man submitted to the action of the soldiers and apologized they would make him a better lodge and would give him more and better things than those they had taken away.

## Fishing and Agriculture

226 *Fishing.*—In former times fishing seems to have been done exclusively by spearing or by shooting. The spear (*wora'*) consisted of a long stick provided with a bone or a horn point. Spearing was done preferably at night with the aid of torches made of pine pitch. In shooting fish a long arrowlike stick (*ma"nuxlnixlni*) with a pointed end, whittled and frayed at the base like the ceremonial staff of the Bear clan, was discharged from an ordinary bow.

227 The most commonly used trap for fishing was a triangular weir loaded with a stone at its base and placed at the head of a waterfall caused by artificial damming of a stream.

784 Very few fish were taboo, the principal ones being the dogfish
226 and the eel.

* By Thunder Cloud.

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our meetings at night. We searched the Bible and asked many ministers for any evidence for Christ's ever having held any meetings in the daytime, but we could find nothing to that effect. We did, however, find evidence that he had been out all night in prayer. As it is our desire to follow as closely as we can in the footsteps of Christ, we hold our meetings at night. Then, too, when we pray we wish to get as far away as possible from earthly things, and the night is the best time, for then we are not likely to be bothered by anything.

We have made earnest efforts to become Christians since we began drinking and eating this peyote, but many people say sarcastically that we have drunk ourselves into Christianity, and that we are demented. I am a peyote eater, but I have never found a demented person among them. We claim that there is virtue in the peyote. To you who do not believe and desire to find out let me quote the fourth chapter of the First Epistle of St. John:

"Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world.

"Hereby know ye the spirit of God. Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God."

We claim that you can not find out anything by standing off at a distance and only talking about it. We claim that some earthly things can have the virtue of God, for instance, the Bible, which is entirely made up of earthly material—the ink, the paper, the cover—yet it has survived the ages.

### J. B.'s Account of the Leader of the Peyote[1]

(Pl. 3)

Among the Winnebago there is a man named Little-Red-Bird, and when he reached middle age he began to travel around the world and learn different Indian languages. He used to travel inland a good deal. Once he joined a circus and crossed the ocean. He felt so ill while crossing that he wanted to die. Suddenly a wind came up and he got very frightened. He did not know what to do. Then he prayed to Earthmaker. When he came to the other side of the ocean there he saw a big island and a big city (London), and in this last place they held their circus. The chief of that country (the king) he met there.

When he came back to his own people he told them that on the other side of the ocean the Thunderbirds did not thunder. All they did was to drizzle. There was no lightning either. As he crossed the ocean on his return it thundered and lightened.

When he came home he was very glad to see his relatives and he offered tobacco in thanksgiving.

[1] The narrator was a very lukewarm follower.

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Shortly after this he traveled again and came to a band of Indians who were eating peyote. It was his custom to try everything when he went visiting. He did not realize what he was doing when he ate this medicine, but he did it anyhow. After a while he began to think of his manner of life, and he felt that he was doing wrong. All the evil he had done he remembered. Then he prayed to God. Suddenly it occurred to him, "Perhaps I am the only one doing this." Then he looked around and watched the others, and he saw them praying in the same manner.

Not long after that he came home, taking with him some of this medicine. He knew it was holy. At home he offered tobacco to it and kept on eating it. Soon it cured him of a disease he had. He tried to induce some of the others to try it, but they refused. After a while a few tried it, and the peyote movement began to spread. All the old customs that they had been accustomed to observe they abandoned. They gave up the medicine dance and the ceremonies connected with the clans. For that reason, therefore, the conservative people hated them; their own brothers and sisters hated them, for they had abandoned what were considered holy ceremonies.

### Albert Hensley's Account of the Peyote[1]

(Pls. 2, d; 3, d)

I am 37 years old. It was 37 years ago that my mother gave birth to me in an old-fashioned reed lodge. When I was a year old she died and my grandmother took care of me. I had come into the world a healthy child, but bad luck was apparently to pursue me, for when I was 7 years old my grandmother died. Then my father took care of me. At that time he began to be a bad man; he was a drunkard and a horse thief. He would frequently get into trouble and run away, always taking me along with him, however. On one occasion we fled to Wisconsin, and there we stayed two years. We got along pretty well, and there my father married again. By his second wife he had three children.

After a while he got into trouble again, and misfortune followed misfortune. People were killing each other, and I was left alone. If at any time of my life I was in trouble it was then. I was never happy. Once I did not have anything to eat for four days. We had fled to the wilderness, and it was raining continually. The country was flooded with high water, and we sat on the top of a tree. It was impossible to sleep, for if we went to sleep we would fall off into the water, which was very deep. The shore was quite far away. As we were prominent people, we soon heard that my

[1] This account is of great importance, because Hensley introduced a large number of Christian elements into the ceremony, the principal one being the Bible.

## *Reminiscences of Childhood*

We were three boys of whom I was the youngest and 159 *
at night we slept together. In cold weather we fought 593
as to who was to sleep in the middle, since whoever got 513
that place was warm; for while those at either end used to pull the cover from each other, the one in the middle was always covered. Even after I grew up I always took the cover away from the particular person with whom I happened to be sleeping. I would always fold it under me, for it had become a habit with me to take the cover away from the other person whenever I slept on the outside.

We always ate out of one dish. At times we did not 159 *
have enough food on hand and then I would always try 157
to get enough by eating very fast. In this way I often 261
succeeded in depriving the others of their proper portion. Sometimes, on the other hand, I would purposely eat slowly and then when the others were finished, I would say that I had not been given enough and so get some of their food. In this way I developed a habit, that I still have, of eating fast. Even after I grew up, whenever I ate with other people, I always finished sooner than they did.

Another habit acquired then was the ability to go without food for a whole day while traveling. I did [484] ●
not mind this in the least, for during my fasting I had grown accustomed to going without food for long periods of time.

159 *

In the summer, at the season when people pick ber- [221]
ries, I used to go around visting, sometimes for a day, [222]
sometimes for a longer period. I would often receive [519]

*159 payment. At about the same time, one of the two
657 women with whom I was living was taken away from
[588] me. She went to live with another man. When the
837 payment was over here, the superintendent went to
[484] Necedah to pay the people there, and I went along,
for I was doing what we called "chasing the payment."
There, and at Red Hill, I deceived many women, and
thus obtained quite a large sum of money. Then I
started off with a number of other young men. By
[273] this time I was spending all my time drinking.

*159 I got on the train at night. We were to change cars
484 at a place called Honsa and from there we were to
ride in a freight car. When we had gone only a short
distance the conductor saw us and put us off. We were
all drinking heavily. One man had lost his hat and
was walking bareheaded. We walked along until we
came to a pasture, and there we found some dry wood
with which we built a fire. We had decided to sleep
there. We had plenty of whisky with us. Late at
night we became thirsty and so we looked around for
water. We found a number of pools scattered around,
and out of these we drank. Then we went to sleep.
The next morning when we woke up we saw a good
well near us, but we ourselves had drunk out of the
water and mud in which pigs had been wallowing.

*159 In the morning when the train arrived we boarded it.
273 Eventually we reached our destination, and there found
many people, drinking and making a lot of noise. That
was exactly the place I had been looking for. When-
[685] ever I saw a person drunk I would steal whatever he

## *Early Childhood*

In the fall of the year we would pick cranberries. When the hunting season was open, I would begin to fast again. 159* [22] [222] [789]

This was my life for a number of years.

After a while we bought a pony on which we used to pack all our belongings whenever we moved our camp. In addition three of us would ride on top of the pack. Sometimes my mother and sometimes my father drove the pony. [231] [492]

After I had grown a little older and taller all of us brothers would fast together. My father would indeed repeatedly urge us to fast. "Do not be afraid of the burnt remains of the lodge center-pole," he would say to us.[3] "Whatever are the true possessions of men, the apparel of men and the gift of doctoring—all these things that are spread out before you—do try and obtain one of them."[4] Thus he would speak to us. 159* 785

I would then take a piece of charcoal, crush it and blacken my face and he would be very grateful to me

I would at first break my fast at noon but then gradually I began to fast all night. From the fall of the year until spring I would fast until nightfall and then eat. After a while I trained myself to pass the night without eating and after that I was able to go two nights and days without taking any food. Then my mother went to the woods at some distance from the

[3] Symbolical manner of describing the crushed charcoal with which fasters must blacken their faces. [195]

[4] By "possessions of men" he means mainly that knowledge which will make a man honored and respected in his community; and by "apparel of men," he means power and ability. [554]

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FOUR LEGS' VILLAGE ON DOTY ISLAND, 1830

(From Waubun)

361
342
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501

[Facing p. 88(c)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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*Tree game.*—Two trees are selected about 20 feet apart, one having a branch about 15 feet from the ground. A number of people stand ready at the side of this tree and the one whose turn it is to play tries to hit the branch. When he succeeds in doing so all run toward the other tree. As soon as the player gets the ball he tries to hit the runners. If successful in this before the others have reached the tree he wins; otherwise they are "safe" and he must try again. The Winnebago called this game *kahi'bidjikre'u*. 526

### Travel and Transportation

*Canoes and dugouts.*—All the boats found in the early days in the territory originally inhabited by the Winnebago were dugouts, yet a number of the tribe questioned denied positively that boats of this kind were in common use before the coming of the whites. According to these informants, in former times the Winnebago always had their home in a birch country, and had at hand, therefore, the requisite material for making canoes; moreover, birch-bark canoes were much easier to construct than dugouts, for which logs had to be hollowed by burning—a process that might consume weeks. Only when the whites introduced the ax and the knife did it become practicable to make dugouts. These implements became available at the time of the southern migration of the tribe into a region where birch bark was scarce, and one result of the change was the substitution of the dugout for the canoe. The validity of this explanation is supported by the same line of argument as in the case of the wooden vessels. 501 [412 177 167]

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* 159 §4. *Reminiscences of Childhood*

[785] The following spring I stopped fasting.

● [501] In those days we used to travel in canoes. My [226] father used to spear fish and always took me along [593] with him, and this I enjoyed very much. He kept a club in the canoe and after he had speared a fish, I would kill it with the club as it was jumping around. Sometimes my mother accompanied us. She sat in the stern of the boat and rowed while my father stood in the prow and speared the fish. I killed all those thrown in the canoe.

[865] Sometimes my parents would start out without me, but I would then cry so bitterly that I, in the long run, induced them to take me along. Sometimes they whipped me and told me to go home, but I would follow them so far that they were then afraid to let me go back alone and I would thus be permitted to ride with them. Indeed I exerted myself greatly in crying and as I cried, ran after them and followed them very far, I was always taken along in the end.

[342] In those days we lived in the old-fashioned Indian lodges. In winter our fire was placed in the center of [354] the lodge and my father used to keep it burning all night. When he placed a large log in the fire it would burn a long time.

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According to the oldest informants, the earliest type of lodge used by the Winnebago was the ten-fire gable lodge, of which there were two types, rectangular in form, one built on a platform and the other on the ground. Poles of cedar, forked at the top, formed the sides. Through the forks transverse poles were laid to which the gable roof was attached. Three poles (*na*ʰ*ji'k'ere'*) were arranged in the center of the lodge for the better support of the roof. Beds were placed along both of the long sides on a platform raised 2 feet (*hazu'te*). Frequently a platform 4 to 5 feet high was erected in the rear of the lodge and partitioned off. Here the favorite child of the family lived when he was fasting. In front of the lodge a spot was always kept carefully cleared (*nozazi'nera*). There were two doorways to the lodge. Often the entrances were shaded with boughs. According to some informants, this was only done for the chief's lodge. According to another description of the gable lodge, there were only two centra poles, one at each entrance; these were always painted blue to symbolize the day (fig. 22, *b*).

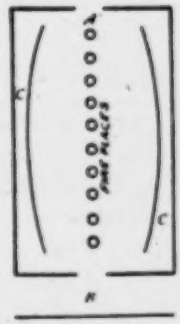


FIG. 22.—*a*, CROSS-SECTION OF ROUND LODGE; *b*, CROSS-SECTION OF GABLE LODGE.

As far as can be learned at the present time, the platform lodges were merely gable lodges on platforms. What purpose the platform served is now difficult to determine, but most Winnebago questioned said that it was provided as a protection against the dampness of the ground and insects.

The ceremonial lodge was merely a large, long bark lodge. The grass lodge seems to have been a roughly constructed round lodge with a covering of grass instead of bark. The sweat lodge was a round bark lodge having a framework of four poles. The tipi was of a simple type provided with a three-pole framework.

All the evidence obtained points to the fact that lodges of these types were used synchronously. According to the myths and the oldest informants, in ancient times a village occupied for a considerable period consisted entirely of gable lodges, but these seem to have given way to the round and long type, probably borrowed from the Central Algonquian. The gable type seems to have held its own, however, among the more western villages of the Winnebago. The round bark lodges were used in winter and the reed matting lodges in

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614 have been subjected to literary and shamanistic remodeling. Only
173 the shorter accounts show in their subject matter and presentation certain affinities to the origin myths of the other clans; the longer ones being entirely different. Another cause for these marked differences may lie in the circumstance that since the longer accounts were associated with semi-esoteric ceremonies, the war-bundle feasts, they were known to but few individuals in the clan, whereas the shorter legends could be learned by anyone who chose to pay for
614 them. To this must also be added the fact that presumably some of the accounts current were based on hearsay knowledge.

[554] The Bear clan was, next to the Thunderbird clan, the most im-
[361] portant in the tribe. Its lodge was either in the center of the village, opposite that of the Thunderbird clan, or at the extreme end, depending upon the scheme of village organization accepted as
[721] correct. In it were confined the prisoners of war and the insignia of office possessed by the clan, such as the so-called standards, really crooks, and the so-called *namarisirini*. Some individuals also claimed
[513 that unmarried men were allowed to sleep in the lodge, although they
345] were not clear as to whether they did this in order to guard the prisoners confined there or simply used it as a club house.

The clan songs are given on page 235. The same songs are used
[533] when gathering the clansmen together to select soldiers.

Apart from the war bundle or war bundles, the Bear clan possessed
614 three insignia—a war club of a definite shape, the curiously whittled
778 baton of authority called *namarisirini*, and the crooks used in battle called *hake'rewe*. Whenever the clan was exercising any of its functions the leader would always hold in his hands the *namarisirini*.

The functions of the clan were probably the most important in the tribe and were entirely disciplinary. The author obtained the following description from an old Winnebago:

614
625 The Bear clansmen are the soldiers or sergeants-at-arms of the tribe. They have complete control of everything concerning discipline. Whenever the Winnebago are traveling or moving (i. e., on their various seasonal moves), the Bear clansmen lead, and wherever they decide to stop, there the leader would put his stick in the ground and the other Bear clansmen would do the same, arranging them all in a row pointing toward the direction in which they were going. The main body of the tribe would follow at a certain distance. No member of the tribe would dare pass ahead of the row of sticks. If, for instance, the tribe was on the fall move and traveling toward a country in which there was plenty of game, should any individual go back and around the sticks in order to kill game on his own account, the soldiers (Bear clansmen) would, as soon as he was detected, go over to his lodge and burn it up with all its contents and break all his dishes. The only thing they would spare would be his life and that of the other members of his family. If the one who had transgressed the rules made any attempt at resistance he would be severely whipped. If he refused to submit to this and took up his fire arms to fight, the soldiers would stand there calmly, but the moment he made an attempt to shoot they would kill him. In such a case nothing would be said either by the rest of the tribe or his relatives about

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some) that they (the host and his band) have done this. Do not say anything frivolously, for the host has offered in your behalf tobacco and tears. Cry that you may obtain life, even as the host and his people have done. Act thus so that you may be of help to one another even as our ancestors of old were. If people act together they will accomplish their purpose. That is what they did in the beginning and that is why they lived like spirits at that time. They cried and made offerings of tobacco, grandfather said. For the Night Spirits shall you pour tobacco here. I send forth my greetings to you." (Terminal Night Spirit song.) 539x 796x 782

After they have finished the terminal Night Spirit song then (the host) gets ready to use the dance song, but (first) speaks as follows:

*Speech of host.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. The dance song they are about to use and then they will get ready to throw out the offerings of buckskin to the spirits. Now let us put them above. This is what I wished to tell you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you."

The host and the others now take the buckskins and dance around the lodge four times.

When he (the host) starts the oldest men sing the dance songs. Then the feasters take the buckskin offerings down and all, one by one, dance around the lodge four times. An attendant precedes them carrying cedar incense and one follows them carrying the same. After they have made the circuit of the lodge for the third time, just before they begin the fourth circuit, those carrying the buckskin that is to be thrown out for Earthmaker and who march at the head of the procession, let the children, after they have smoked their hands, touch the buckskin. After that all touch it for (they believe) that if they touch this buckskin they will obtain long life thereby.

After they have made the fourth circuit they roll up the buckskins and throw them out through the top of the lodge. They hold tobacco in both hands when they do this and this tobacco they pour into the fire. Then all the feasters, those who had buckskins and the others who were within the lodge, the children, the women, indeed, all the people, rise and standing near their seats dance. Thus they did. 796x 539x

Before throwing the buckskins through the top of the lodge they would tell the people not to sleep, for otherwise some of the old Night Spirits who are about at the approach of day might strike them [513 776]

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539X
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[513
776]

with their canes, and if they did this such a person would surely die.[10] For that reason do they warn them not to sleep. However, as soon as the men have thrown the buckskins outside then any child who desires may sleep without danger.

After the song had been sung he (first guest) speaks as follows:

*Speech of first guest.*—"Host and members of his band who are seated here, I greet you. By coming in connection with the drum I and my relatives have been strengthened. It is good. To such an extent have we annoyed the drum. Host and members of his band who are seated here, I greet you. As many as there are [who are seated within the lodge] impersonating the spirits, I send forth my greetings to you."

Then the attendant takes the drum and places it in the middle of the lodge.

The host rises and speaks as follows:

*Speech of host.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. It is good. What I have longed for, that you have completed for me. All night have you prayed for me. It is good. Blessings did the spirits give your grandfathers. What you were to say to the spirits that they (your ancestors) told you and that you have repeated here all night. It is good. You weren't selfish in your actions. You wished to obtain something for all of us. It is good. I am thankful to you, for you must have inconvenienced yourselves greatly by sitting here all night and you must in addition have suffered from hunger. Now in addition to the kettle that has been placed in honor of those who live in the east, the Night Spirits, the last band to sing will also receive a head. A kettle is also to be placed in honor of the Earth."

Then he said that food was to be placed in honor of the Moon, as well as a kettle (for soup). Then they named a person to be in charge of a kettle in honor of the Water. Then they called upon one to take charge of the kettle in honor of the Eagle. Then they placed one in charge of the kettle for Porcupine. Then he (the host) spoke again.

*Second speech of host.*—"I realize that our grandfathers did not bless me much and that I have hardly enough food to go around, but we will nevertheless do it, for it is said that our grandfathers will not be insulted thereby, grandfather said. That is why we give this feast, however little it be that we obtain. And I am not the only one, for all my relatives are doing the best in their power that we may obtain (blessings). That is why we give the feast. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you."

[10] They speak of the Night Spirits appearing toward dawn as old in reference to the gray light of morning which they compare to the white hair of an old person. For the same reason these old Night Spirits have canes just as an old man has a cane.

## *Reminiscences of Childhood*

We were three boys of whom I was the youngest and 159 *
at night we slept together. In cold weather we fought 593
as to who was to sleep in the middle, since whoever got 513 ●
that place was warm; for while those at either end used to pull the cover from each other, the one in the middle was always covered. Even after I grew up I always took the cover away from the particular person with whom I happened to be sleeping. I would always fold it under me, for it had become a habit with me to take the cover away from the other person whenever I slept on the outside.

We always ate out of one dish. At times we did not 159 *
have enough food on hand and then I would always try 159
to get enough by eating very fast. In this way I often 261
succeeded in depriving the others of their proper portion. Sometimes, on the other hand, I would purposely eat slowly and then when the others were finished, I would say that I had not been given enough and so get some of their food. In this way I developed a habit, that I still have, of eating fast. Even after I grew up, whenever I ate with other people, I always finished sooner than they did.

Another habit acquired then was the ability to go
without food for a whole day while traveling. I did [484]
not mind this in the least, for during my fasting I had grown accustomed to going without food for long periods of time.

159 *

In the summer, at the season when people pick ber- [221]
ries, I used to go around visting, sometimes for a day, [222]
sometimes for a longer period. I would often receive [519]

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796 followed by twelve speeches of a general and explanatory character. Then comes the "strengthening" ritual, and immediately after two exceedingly long myths, describing the initiation of the first man into the secrets of the lodge, as well as the symbolic meaning of the shooting ritual. All now undress and take a sweat bath. Female candidates are excluded. A number of short speeches follow, and the whole concludes with the exit ritual.

[515]

[534] The drum and gourds are used to accompany the songs. The basic ritual is perhaps present to a certain extent. The writer, however, was not permitted to witness the ritual, and for this reason the procedure seemed somewhat hazy to him.

When the ritual and the sweat baths are over there is a slight pause. The candidate, the ancestor host, and his band enter the medicine lodge, and after taking their seats sing a few songs. When the last song is concluded the other bands enter in the order of their invitation. Now comes the entrance ritual, followed by the smoking ritual. Thereupon the ancestor host rises and delivers the opening speech of the basic ritual. The ancestor host does not go through the entire basic ritual at this time, because he is not permitted to begin the shooting ritual. Soon after the beginning of the basic ritual by the ancestor host, generally after the second speech, gourds and drums are passed to the leader of the east band. This one rises and begins the basic ritual, which he interrupts at the end of the second part, in order to begin the general shooting ritual. When that is finished he continues the third and fourth parts of the basic ritual. Then drum and gourds are passed to the north band. Its leader now in turn begins his basic ritual, but stops after the second part, where the presentation-of-food and the smoking rituals intervene. It is now about midnight, and the feast is given. As soon as the feast is finished and the lodge has been cleared of food and eating utensils, the leader of the north band continues up to the third and fourth parts of the basic ritual. The leaders of the west and south bands perform the basic rituals without any interruption, except, of course, that of the general shooting ritual between the second and third parts. The drum and gourds have now reached the ancestor host, who goes through the third and fourth parts of the basic ritual. There is, however, some doubt as to whether this is always done. Then follows the exit ritual and all pass out to rest for a few hours.

A short time preceding dawn the candidate and the leaders of the east and north bands and the ancestor host, each with two assistants and all other members who are privileged to do so, leave the lodge and walk to the brush where the candidate is to be initiated into the mysteries of the sacred shell and the shooting. Each band must have one or more of its members present at this ritual. When they are near the place set aside for the secret ritual the order of marching,

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FIRST DIVISION OF THE CEREMONY—IN HONOR OF THE THUNDER-BIRDS

*Introductory remarks by Blowsnake, informant.*—In winter, in mid-winter, then it was that I used to pour tobacco.[9] That was the time I would go out and hunt for game. 539x 796x

Well, to-night, a vapor bath I shall take, and if I can secure food for boiling, that kind of a feast I shall give. As many of the leaders as have come, that many shall be with me as I take a vapor bath in the sweat lodge. We are now about to enter the sweat lodge, for everything is in readiness.[10] [515]

SWEAT-LODGE RITUAL

We entered the sweat lodge and undressed, and after we had entered they (the outsiders) closed the lodge covering. I took both the tobacco and the other things I was to use as offerings with me.[11] [782]

*Host's salutation and initial speech to participants.*—"I greet you; I greet you all, war-bundle owners.[12] My grandparents, especially my grandfather,[13] had concentrated their minds upon this for me. The fireplace with which they blessed my grandfather,[14] that I am going to ask for myself. However weakly I may wobble about,[15] my elders will aid me. I am now going to pour a little tobacco and offer, my elders, whatever feast I am able to. War-bundle owners, I send forth my greetings to you. War-bundle owners, I greet you. Ye elders, I am about to pour tobacco for them (the spirits)." 796x 539x 782

*Host's offering to Earthmaker.* "Hearken, Earthmaker, our father, I am about to offer you a handful of tobacco.[16] My ancestor Djô-henagwi'ąxga[17] concentrated his mind upon you. The fireplaces with which you blessed him;[18] the small amount of life you granted to him; all, four times the blessings you bestowed upon my ancestor, that I ask of you directly. Also that I may have no troubles (in life)." 539x 793 782 776

*Host's offering to the chief of the Thunderbirds.*—"To you, who live in the west, our grandfather, chief of the Thunderbirds, a handful of

[9] "Pouring tobacco" is the ritualistic term for giving a feast.

[10] The informant has passed to the present tense now, for he is actually giving an account of the last War-bundle Feast he gave and imagining that the writer is present.

[11] The word tobacco in Winnebago ritualistic is used as a generic expression for an offering. Thus the word [illegible] means, literally, "What we are to offer as tobacco."

[12] Literally, "Children of the bundle."

[13] He does not really mean grandparents, but elders.

[14] The word here used for fireplace in a ritualistic sense. It means, literally, "That one throws within something, i. e., an offering." It also has here the secondary meaning of food.

[15] Used metaphorically.

[16] I. e., the regular offering.

[17] An ancestor of the informant.

[18] Here "fireplaces" means blessings, for only those who had blessings could erect fireplaces, and as a fireplace was erected for each separate spirit, the greater their number the greater the number of blessings. In all rituals it is customary to speak of blessings received, as well as of personal accomplishments, with an exaggerated modesty.

*Crashing Thunder*

I ran away from the two
*159 women with whom I had been living. We spent some
224 time hunting. Every morning we would get up very
[839] early, stay out the whole day and not return until the
night. Often although we had been on our feet all
[264] day we would not find time to have our noon meal. At
night, regularly, we would take our sweat-baths. We
took these sweat-baths because they are supposed to
[189] act as magical charms to ensure success in hunting. It
[515] was always very refreshing to take them and then
plunge into cold water, whether at night or in the
morning.

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JOHN FISHER

[Facing p. 66 (b)]

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a. YOUNG WINNEBAGO WOMAN AND DAUGHTER

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b. OLD WINNEBAGO AND DAUGHTER

[Facing p. 66 (G)]

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[516]
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a. THOMAS MALLORY

b. WINNEBAGO IN FULL DRESS

[Facing p. 104 (B)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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a. GROUP OF WINNEBAGO IN OLD-STYLE COSTUMES

b. WINNEBAGO FAMILY

[Facing p. 108 (A)]

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a. INFANT WITH ORNAMENTED CRADLE-BOARD

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b. GROUP OF WINNEBAGO

[Facing p. 126 (B)]

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a. EXTERIOR OF MEDICINE DANCE LODGE

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b. INTERIOR OF MEDICINE DANCE LODGE

[Facing p. 350 (A)]

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a. EXTERIOR OF MEDICINE DANCE LODGE

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b. INTERIOR OF MEDICINE DANCE LODGE

[Facing p. 350 (B)]

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a. PEYOTE LEADERS

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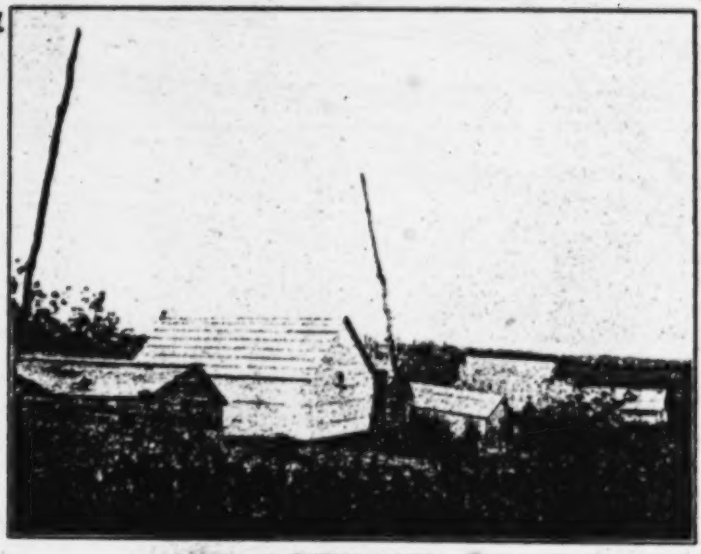

b. BURIAL HUTS

[Facing p. 388]

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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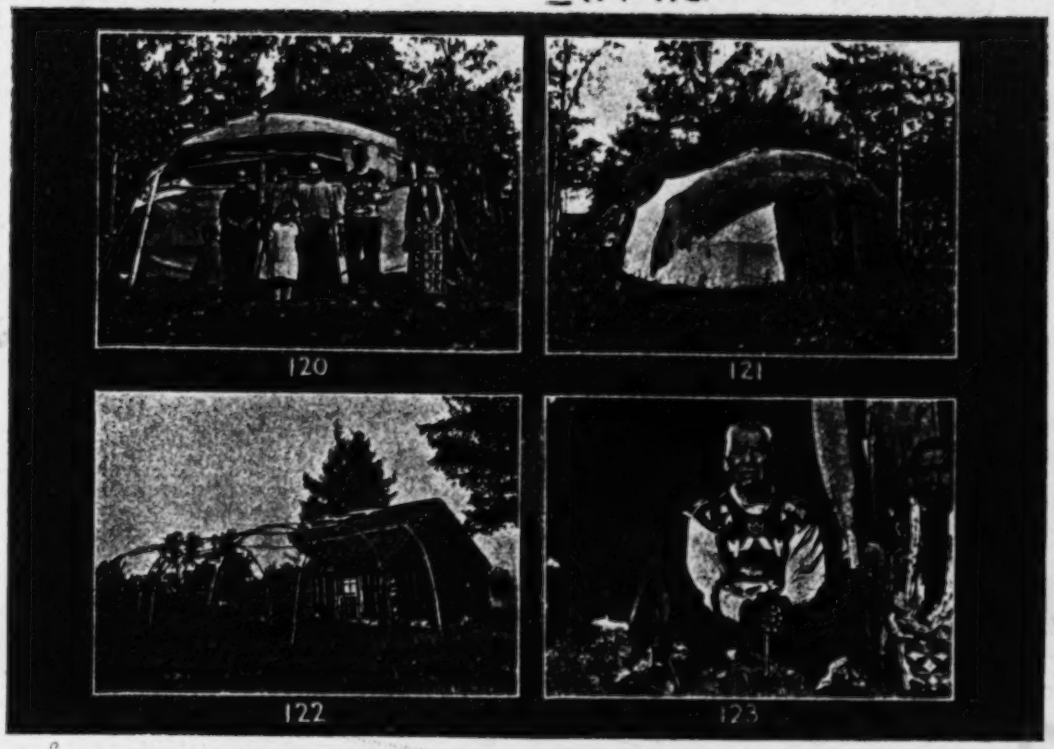


Fig. 120.—Big Wave and his family standing before his house.
Fig. 121.—Medicine Lodge near Big Wave's home.
Fig. 122.—Framework of the War-bundle Ceremony lodge.
Fig. 123.—Big Wave making sacred fire, accompanied by his wife.

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## §6. *Stories*

When we were children my father used to tell us 538
stories in the evening. Whenever we showed signs of 159*
restlessness he stopped. Here are some of the stories 519 ●
that I remember.

### *The Story of Coyote and the Ghost*

Coyote was wandering about alone. He was wandering 539
about aimlessly looking for food; he was scenting around everywhere for food, for he was very hungry. As he was walking from place to place he suddenly became aware of the scent of human flesh. "Ah! Ah! If there are any human beings in the neighborhood surely they have thrown away bits of food and I shall be able to get some." So he started in the direction of the scent and soon he got to an old abandoned village and picked up some moccasins, but he could find nothing that would satisfy his hunger. He wandered to the end of the village thinking, "Perhaps here at the end of the village I may find some graves and possibly the bodies there will still have some flesh on them." But not even graves could he find.

In the distance, however, he saw a rack and when he ran toward it eager to see what it was, he saw a corpse lying on top. A man had died and his body had been placed on a burial scaffold. "Oh my! Oh my!" he exclaimed, "If this body were only on the ground then indeed

## §20. *I Have a Fight*

Once we went out hunting game in the fall of the 159* year. We used to sell the hindquarters and some- 204 times ship them as far as Chicago. We were of course [439] only permitted to hunt for thirty days. The law was [648] that if any one hunted longer than that he would be arrested. Yet in spite of all we hunted for a longer time because we felt that the law was meant only for the Whites. One day, however, in shipping deer away, we were detected. One of my brothers and myself were arrested, taken to court and convicted. We had 159* to spend sixty days in jail. During my imprisonment 302 I never had my hair cut and from that time on, I al- 780 ways wore it long. I told the people that a spirit called *Foolish-one*[84] had instructed me to do this and that he had blessed me. I also told my older brother, the one who was still living, to do the same thing and that if he, too, let his hair grow, *Foolish-one* would bless him with long life. From that time on I wore long hair.

After that I joined a show of the Whites. People 159* liked me very much on account of my long hair and I 541 was well paid. I kept on drinking all the time. I there 648 learned to ride a bicycle and mount and ride wild [526]

[84] The clown of Winnebago mythology. He is, however, regarded [773] as having some of the characteristics of a spirit and, very occa- [522] sionally, blessing an individual.

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look for food." When they returned the leader of the Waŋgxe'gi said again, "We are the fleeter and will therefore win from our opponents. In addition to that we are holy and for that reason we will be strengthened in the coming contest." Then the leader of the Maṇe'gi said, "I will first pour tobacco and then I will arise with the blessing of life which was bestowed upon me and through which I know my men will be strengthened." Then they arranged the goals, i. e., the *wak'a'rani*, and arranged for the points. Then they took an emetic and went into a vapor-bath in order to strengthen themselves. The goals were now standing far apart from each other. Then the people who were to play gathered on the field and two men from each side began to tell their war exploits. First, one of the Waŋgxe'gi men told how he had cut off an enemy's head; how proud his sisters had been at receiving the gifts and how they had danced in the Victory Dance. "With such a man you will have to play," he shouted to those on the other side. Then a man from the Maṇe'gi side said, "I also am a brave man. I did with the enemy as I pleased. Once when an enemy had been killed between the firing lines, I rushed for him and in the midst of bullets I cut off his head. With such a man you will have to fight," he shouted to those on the other side. Then he gave a whoop and the ball was thrown into the air and they began to play lacrosse. Those who first succeeded in putting the ball through the *wak'a'rani* four times would be declared the winners. All day they played and in the evening they stopped. Lacrosse was the favorite game among the Winnebago. This is all. 526 [783]

*Women's lacrosse.*—The women's game was called *naiyaca'radji wak'isik'*. Ten women took part on each side; they all stood in front of the goal, which consisted merely of a line drawn on the surface of the ground, called *wak'a'rani* as in the men's game. The lacrosse stick (*trabenopa*) was straight. The "ball" consisted of two balls tied together by a string (*naiyaca'radji'u^n wa^ni^nina*). This was put into play by being thrown from a point midway between the goals straight up into the air. The side that hit over the goal four times won. 526 462

*Football.*—Football was played by men. The *wak'a'rani* was merely a line drawn on the surface of the ground. The 16 or 20 men who took part on each side arranged themselves in front of either *wak'a'rani*. The ball used was a fairly large one made of deer's hair, covered with hide from the same animal. It was put in play in the middle of the field and the side that kicked the ball over the goal four times won the game. 526 [462]

*Hit-the-tree game* (*tcibonaŋgis nai^ndjd hap'a-na^n-i*).—This consisted merely of a test of marksmanship. A tree (*na^n hadjina*) about 8 feet high and 8 inches in diameter was selected and the one who hit it from a certain distance received a prize. Any number of people could participate.

*The kicking game.*—This was a very rough sport in which men only took part. Two men took turns in kicking each other as hard as they could, the one who held out the longest being the winner. [462]

*The moccasin game.*—One of the favorite games of the Winnebago. Five men took positions directly opposite their five opponents. Between the two rows of players, in front of each man was a recep- 524

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524 tacle, generally a moccasin, in which a small object was secreted. The sides in turn guessed in which moccasin it was secreted. The guesser pointed in turn with a long stick to each moccasin, all the time carefully scrutinizing the expression on the face of each man whose moccasin he touched. The bystanders and the other players on his side meanwhile sang songs and made all sorts of remarks and allusions in an attempt to catch off his guard the man in whose moccasin the object was secreted, so that he might disclose the fact by some gesture or expression. The person guessing had the right to touch each moccasin without forfeiting his chance. As soon as he wished to guess he overturned with his stick the moccasin in which he thought the object was hidden. The seriousness with which a player scrutinized his opponents is well shown in plate 39.

[462] *Women's dice game.*—The women's dice game (*k'ᵉ'ganu*) was played with either bone or wooden dice. Eight of these are used. After being shaken, they are allowed to fall into a wooden bowl. The dice are white on one side and black or blue on the other. One of the dice has a mark on each side. The count is as follows: 1 dark, 7 white, count 2; 2 dark, 6 white, 1; all dark, 0 white, 4; 3 dark, 5 white, 0; 4 dark, 4 white, 0; marked dice dark, 7 white, 10; marked dice white, 7 dark, 10; marked dice white, 1 other white, the rest dark, 2; all dice white, 4; 2 white, 6 dark, 1; 1 white, 7 dark, 2.

[237] The side gaining all the counters, which consist of small sticks, wins.

*Cup-and-ball game.*—"A cup-and-ball game is composed of eight worked phalangeal bones of the Virginia deer (*Odocoileus virginiana*).

[171] It differs from those seen by the writer among the Cree and Ojibway in that the topmost phalangeal unit of the game as played among those people does not have the joint removed, whereas in the Winnebago specimens all the bones are cut into conical form. The top is generally surmounted by a bunch of leather thongs with many perforations. The striking pin is of bone. The count is one for each unit, five for catching the tails or thongs at the top, and the same if all the units are caught together, which occasionally happens. The bottom unit nearest the striking pin has four small perforations set at equal distances about the lower edge. Above these holes are two, three, four, and six dots, respectively, cut in the bone. The count gained by catching this bone through any one of the holes varies according to the number of these dots. The striking pin may be of bone or wood. Sometimes these games are stained with dye or paint. The string and pins are short, so that the game is much more difficult and clumsy than in the Cree and Ojibway forms."[9]

[9] A. Skinner, op. cit., pp. [illegible].

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MOCCASIN GAME

[Facing p. 122 (A)]

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and being very careful not to look back toward the grave after they had first started. 764

The same evening the four nights' wake began. The overseer, who was in full charge, had everything prepared. Before the wake formally commenced the chief mourner made a short speech. Then the overseer lighted a pipe and passed it around to all, who took a puff each and returned it to him. Then sweetened water was passed around, of which all partook. The feast followed. Taking on a plate a small portion of all the food to be eaten, the overseer threw it outside for the spirit of the deceased. In the case of a nursling the mother added a small quantity of milk from her breast to the other food on the plate. After the feast the chief mourner made another speech, explaining why the rites were performed and how they had been handed down for many generations. He concluded by thanking the people for all they had done for him. 765 [776] [782]

There was always an abundance of tobacco at a wake. Most of it was given to the warriors, a number of whom were invited, for they played a very important rôle on such an occasion. It was believed that every warrior was in control of the spirit of an enemy he had slain and he was supposed always to be willing to put the spirit at the service of any member of his tribe who had just died, if the proper offerings were made. At the proper time tobacco was given to the warrior, who, rising, narrated his war exploits, at the conclusion of which he ordered the spirit of the enemy he had slain to take charge of the deceased. Then tobacco was given to another warrior, who followed the same procedure, which was continued until midnight. Then most of the people departed to their homes, but some stayed overnight in the lodge in which the wake was held. [431] [276] 775

The proceedings of the second and third nights of the wake were exactly the same as those of the first, but somewhat longer. The beginning of the ceremony on the fourth night was the same as on the three preceding nights; after a while, however, it deviated in the following manner.

J. F., rising, tells the spirit of the departed the road he is to take in his journey to spirit land, the obstacles he is to meet, and how he is to overcome them. After he has finished the warriors begin to tell some more war exploits, and this continues generally until 3 o'clock in the morning, depending entirely upon the amount of gifts given to the warriors. The gifts generally consist either of 12 pieces of calico each 3 yards, or of beads, or of 12 quarter dollars. The warriors always gamble for these gifts and play the favorite game of the deceased. If a man had died they generally play moccasins; if a woman, ko'su. When all the presents have been exhausted, then the relatives of the deceased comb the [775] [431] [525] [524]

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the setting sun. On your way stands the lodge of Herecgu'nina, and his fire. Those who have come (the souls of brave men) from the land of the souls to take you back will touch you. There the road will branch off toward your right and you will see the footprints of the day on the blue sky before you. These footprints represent the footprints of those who have passed into life again. Step into the places where they have stepped and plant your feet into their footprints, but be careful you do not miss any. Before you have gone very far, you will come into a forest of wacke'ja* broken by open prairies here and there. Here, in this beautiful country, these souls whose duty it is to gather other souls will come to meet you. Walking on each side of you they will take you safely home. As you enter the lodge of the Earthmaker you must hand to him the sacrificial offerings. Here the inquiry that took place in the first lodge will be repeated and answered in the same manner. Then he will say to you, "All that your grandmother has told you is true. Your relatives are waiting for you in great exportation. Your home is waiting for you. Its door will be facing the mid-day sun. Here you will find your relatives gathered. Inasmuch, then, as our ruler will nod assent and express his approval by word of mouth, so shall we now do the same." 539 775 765

At this word all those assembled at the wake shout, *Ho-ha!*

Then a warrior told his war experiences and after thanking the people passed the tobacco to the next warrior, who in turn related his war experiences. 765 184 614

The amount of gifts was then figured out and they tried to arrange matters so that the warriors were through with their stories about midnight. At midnight games were played with the donations as prizes. The gifts generally consisted of twelve 3-yard pieces of calico or money equal to that amount of calico; twelve strings of beads, etc. These were the gifts used as prizes. Other donations of food were made for the four nights' feast. A. W was in charge of the games and he likewise designated what games were to be played. As they generally play the games the deceased was fond of so in this case they played the moccasin game and cards. After the donations were exhausted and the games finished a brave man was called upon to give a war whoop in thankfulness for the sun, and also to all the spirits above and below. Then A. W. greeted and thanked the guests again for coming, and the wake was over. [431] [524]

In olden times the widow was supposed to continue single for four years. She is strongly admonished, nevertheless, not to continue in low spirits, and to consider herself free to act in any way that will make her happy. She is told to play games or dance, or in fact do anything that will make her forget her sorrow, and she is told that no one will hold her conduct against her as disrespectful to the deceased. As this admonition is given to her by the sister or aunt of the deceased's husband, the only people who could properly reproach her—namely, the members of her husband's clan—it has all the more weight. The prohibition of weeping is further strengthened by the fact that it is customary to say that any woman who weeps too profusely at the death of her husband is in reality thinking, in 768

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 765 [775] [539] [537]

I have control will carry for him, and they will lead him by the hand until he reaches his destination. I greet you all.

Then he narrated his war exploit. He went into great detail. He told as accurately as it was possible how he had killed a man, broken his collar bone and [727] then flayed him; how he had then chopped and cut up the body and mutilated him in such a fashion that he could not be identified; how finally he had stolen his dogs. All night he spoke in this strain. He went on to tell how he had killed and utterly destroyed an entire village so that no one was left to tell of the massacre. All night he told of his war exploits. Sometimes such an account may last two to three hours. When he finished the people all went to sleep.

For three nights the same thing was repeated. Throughout this time a burning ember was placed at the grave. When the spirit was ready to start his [775] journey he took this ember, it is believed.

For the fourth night all the brave men as well as everybody else in the neighborhood were invited. A great quantity of food was prepared and the relatives ● [524] of the mourners brought objects to be used in the games that are always played at the wake. They tried to comfort the main mourners as much as possible. On the fourth night a burning ember was also placed at the grave of the deceased.

As soon as the attendants prepared the food the chief mourner got up and spoke:

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867 that are in your possession. You will indeed never be embarrassed.
787 You will know just wherein his ailment lies. As you have obtained
756 your power with great effort, therefore what you say will be so. If you say he will live, he will live. If the relatives of the patient make you good payments, you may perform what you are accustomed to in your treatment of people. Then you can ask your medicine to put forth its strength for you and it will do so. If you make good
[782] offerings of tobacco to the plants and if you make feasts in their honor, if, indeed, you make much of your medicine, if you talk to it as though it were a human being, then when you ask it to put forth its strength it will do so. The payments that you receive you can take with a good conscience and your children will wear them and will be strengthened thereby. So be very diligent in the care you bestow upon them. The medicines were placed here by Earthmaker for a good purpose. We are to use them to heal ourselves. For that purpose Earthmaker gave them to us. If anyone tries to obtain the life sustainers—that is, the medicines and inflicts suffering upon
[776] himself in order to obtain them, our grandmother will know about it. So whatever you spend upon it, be it in labor or in goods, she will know about it. All that you gave in obtaining your medicines she will know. They will be returned to you. The people will thus be providing themselves with something for the future. The people always look forward to the future and for all possible happenings they will have some medicine provided. You must try to obtain some of the medicines that most people possess. If you want
867 paint-medicine, make yourself pitiable. If your paint-medicine
789 overcomes your enemy and you keep it in your home, you will never
756 be wanting in wealth. The most valued possessions of the people will be given to you. The people will love you and the paint-medicine will be the cause of it. Whatever you receive will be in consequence of the possession of the paint-medicine. The paint-medicine
[776] is made of the blood of the Water-spirits, and therefore it is holy. People used to fast and thirst themselves to death and a Water-spirit would appear to them and bestow his blessings upon them. Whatever he told them would come true. The Earthmaker put the
867 Water-spirit in charge of these things so that he would bless the
789 people with them. That was his purpose.

Some people who wished to find good medicines obtained the
[525 race medicine. Try and learn of it. Others had gambling medicine,
224] and still others again had hunting medicine. There are medicines for very purpose.

[832] There is a courting medicine and a medicine to prevent married people from wishing to separate, and there is a medicine for making one rich.

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867 787 If you thus travel in the road of the good people, it will be good and other people will not consider your life a source of amusement."

If you can not obtain a blessing from the spirits try also to have some good plant take pity on you. This I am telling you and if you do not do it, you will suffer for it. All that I am saying will be of great benefit to you if you pay heed to me, for (you will need 867 medicines for) whatever you do in life, if you are not fortunate 789 enough to obtain blessings from the spirits. If you are ever on the 726 warpath, you will need medicine in order to escape being hit or in order to prevent yourself from getting exhausted or from feeling famished. If you manage to be fortunate in all these things you may be certain that the medicines have caused it.

867 My son, help yourself as you go along life's path, for this earth has 577 many narrow passages and you can never tell when you will come to one. If, however, you have something with which to strengthen yourself you will come safely through the passages you meet.

Let every one think you a desirable person to know. Associate with people. If you act in this manner, every one will like you. (You will live) a contented life. Never do anything wrong to your children. Whatever your children ask you to do, do not hesitate to do it for them. If you act thus people will say you are good-natured. If you ever lose a friend by death and if you have riches cover[30] the expenses of the funeral of the deceased. Help the mourners to feed the people at the wake. If you act thus you will be acting well. Then you will be truly a helper of the people and they will know you as such. Indeed, all of them will know you. For the good you do, all will love you.

867 My son, do not become a gambler. You might, it is true, become 525 rich, but in spite of your wealth all your children will die. No gambler ever had children. It is an affair of the bad spirits entirely. Now if you do all that I have told you, you will unquestionably lead a happy and contented life.

867 Thus would the old people speak to a child whom they loved very much, that he might obtain the means of warding off what is not good. Anyone who acted contrary to these teachings would have himself to blame for the consequences.

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[606] [30] This dislike of being made fun of, or of being the laughing stock, plays an important rôle among the Winnebago. It is not at all comparable to the same feeling as found at the present day among civilized people of Western Europe, for it is infinitely deeper and closely associated with social ostracism. The despondency caused by being made fun of, would frequently drive a person away from home or lead him to embark on any undertaking that would bring death. Owing to the social consequences coming in its train, a man would consequently do most anything in his power to ward it off. Correlated with this negative aspect of the use of "fun-poking," there is a positive one. There are certain relatives who have the privilege of making fun of or playing practical jokes on you. This "joking-relationship" exists among many tribes in America, but the relatives between whom it is permitted differ in every case. Among the Winnebago it exists between uncles and nieces and nephews and between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

[602] [31] That is, buy the funeral apparel for the deceased.

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the second one, Old Lincoln himself obtaining the first. The first war honor was a quantity of wampum beads and the second a wampum belt. Both the one who got the second prize and Old Lincoln brought back with them an enemy's head. 726 558 [727]

From that time on *Midjistega* stayed with the Winnebago and he and Old Lincoln became great friends, living together, one of the reasons being that Old Lincoln could understand Winnebago. 648 [572]

One day they ran short of corn meal, so they decided to go and trade some furs for corn meal. They had plenty of furs because they spent most of their time hunting. When they got to the trader's store *Midjistega* said, "Say, trader, the boys have been out of paint for some time and you ought to give them some." "No, *Midjistega*, I can't do that." Then *Midjistega* again said, "Well, the paint boxes are small and aren't of much value anyhow, and you ought to make them a present of some. However, I always knew you were very stingy." Then the trader said, "My business is to trade you my wares for your furs and I will not give you any paint for nothing." Then *Midjistega* said, "If I had some flour I could make some paint myself. However, I am short of flour, too." Then the trader said, "*Midjistega*, you can not do it, for even the whites do not know how to make paint (in that way), so how could you, who are only an Indian, do it?" Thus they spoke to and fro and finally the trader said, "*Midjistega*, I will bet you my store against your furs that if I give you some flour you can not make paint out of it. If I win you are to give me your furs, and if you win I will give you my store." Then the bet was agreed upon. 648 437 791 [525]

Then a lodge was prepared and *Midjistega's* drum and flute were carried into it. Then the trader had some flour carried over to the lodge and it was poured into a dish. The trader, suspecting that there might be some trick, stirred up the flour thoroughly. He satisfied himself that there was nothing at the bottom of the dish. *Midjistega*, in the meantime, painted the corners of his mouth and eyes with ashes and then the singers sang for him. Then he handed the flute over to Old Lincoln and told him to blow it for him every now and then. The trader sat near the entrance of the lodge with his employees. Then *Midjistega* jumped up and ran all around the lodge on all fours. Then he took the dish with the flour and shaking it, began to dance around the lodge with it. After he had danced around for the third time it suddenly turned into a yellow color, and Old Lincoln noticed the change in the expression on the trader's face. As he went around for the fourth time it suddenly changed to a red color. When he got back to his starting place it was quite red and was an excellent quality of paint. Then he said, "Well, trader, I have won your store," and the trader answered, "You have won my store. I did not think that an Indian could do it." Then *Mid-* 648 789 386 791 [525] 090

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arrange to have your victim die immediately, or, if you wish, to 734
have him suffer for a long time, by becoming paralyzed.

This same medicine is used in a similar way in times of scarcity of food. The people offer a shaman tobacco and he would do the following: He would take his medicine bundle and walk till he came to the footprints of a bear. Then he would follow the tracks of the bear till he came to his lair. Here he would open his medicine bag, dip the striped feather in the medicine, and sing for some time. When he has finished he makes certain sounds and stabs the bear's footprints. Wherever the bear happened to be at that time, he would not be able to walk, and the people would soon overtake him. For that reason this medicine is valued very highly.

This medicine is also used when one desires something belonging to another. All that is necessary to do in such a case is to use the songs accompanying the medicine. Then all the things one has coveted would immediately be brought. For this reason they thought a good deal of this medicine.

If ever anyone uses it in gambling, he will win. [525]

If again he casts his thoughts upon women, then the power of this medicine would go in their direction, and he will lose while gambling. All the women will, however, like him. He can marry whomsoever he wishes. The same thing will occur when a woman uses this medicine. If she cast her thoughts upon men, she will become foolishly enamored of them. For that reason the old people used to forbid women to use it.

This medicine bundle is also used on the warpath. If a man uses 778
it upon himself and rushes upon the enemy, all those who are in 726
front of him will suddenly find themselves unable to move. A 789
person who goes on a warpath, after he has carefully applied the medicine to himself, is invulnerable. It is impossible to kill him, for no bullets can penetrate his body.

This medicine was likewise used in hunting for bear, and deer 778
could easily be killed with it. Even those who are not accustomed 224
to hunting could kill game easily if they used it.

Many of the medicines mentioned above were obtained from the 756
man who was blessed with the stench-earth medicine. Everyone believed that the cures effected by him with this medicine were real. They believed that this medicine could cure them, and, indeed, it did cure them. It was this man, too, who originated the stench-earth medicine feast. It is a very sacred feast, considered more 756
sacred than any other feast among the Winnebago. When the 796
feast is given, an entire deer is boiled and cut into pieces much larger than any one person could eat. Nevertheless the host orders those whom he has invited to leave nothing upon the plate. Should [264]
any guest leave anything upon his plate, the host would give him a

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### The Herucka Dance

535 The *Herucka* is a social dance and is frequently given when visitors
574 from other tribes are present, presents being given on this occasion. Men and women take part in it and are generally dressed in their best clothes. A few customs that were noticed at a performance in 1908 might be mentioned here.

If a man drops anything during the dance he himself may not pick it up. Only a warrior who has been wounded has the right to do so. The object dropped is returned to the owner, who, however, must always give it to his sister or niece.

It is at times customary for a man to dress himself in rags and beg for food, etc. He generally represents himself as an extremely poor man and pictures his destitution in a manner best calculated to amuse everyone.

[525] Wagers of horses are very commonly made at this dance.

The dances indulged in are mainly victory dances and the songs
[533] known as *Herucka* songs are always victory songs. Many borrowed songs are sung at this dance.

A large drum is always used, around which sometimes as many as
[534] 10 drummers sit. The drum consists of an ordinary tub over which skin has been tightly drawn. It is supported by two carved sticks, to which it is firmly attached, so that the bottom is about a foot from the ground. It is painted in the following manner: Two rather
[531] narrow lines of paint across the center of the drum, one blue and the other green. The portion of the drum next to the yellow line is painted blue, and that next to the blue line red. No meanings for the colors were obtained.

### Watonake'ewe Feast
(Afraid-to-eat-greens feast)

241 Informant, member of Beaver clan: Just about roasting-ear month
785 people would commence to fast and continue until the green corn is
262 ripe enough to be eaten. They fast so that all the plants may strengthen the tribe.

The fast generally takes place in a special lodge, from under which all the grass has been cut, for the faster must not come in contact with anything that is green. When the fasting is over a feast is given at which all those present eat "greens" for the first time.

### The Captive's Death Dance

727 Before putting a captive to death it is customary to tie his arms
535 behind him in such a manner that his hands have a little freedom. Then they put a gourd in his right hand and a lance in his left hand

*159 helped will then really know what kind of a man you are.
577 For the good you do people will love you.
869 It is not good to win at gambling. You may possibly
[525] become rich thereby but that is no life to lead. If you
are blessed with luck in cards, if you are blessed with luck at gambling, you will perhaps win things and have plenty of wealth, but none of your children will live.

Now if you do all that I have told you, you will lead a happy and prosperous life. That is why we Winnebago preach to a child we love so that it should never become acquainted with the things that are not right, and never do anything wrong. Then if, in later life, a person does any thing wrong, he will do it with a clear knowledge of the consequences of his actions.

## III

*159 My son, when you get married, do not make an idol of
581 the woman you marry; do not worship her. If you worship
869 a woman she will insist upon greater and greater worship as time goes on. This is what the old people used to say.
562 They always preached against those men who hearken too
593 strongly to the words of women; who are the slaves of women. Now it may happen that a man has received many warnings as to his behavior in this regard and that he pays no attention to them. It may go so far that when he is asked to attend a war-bundle feast[20] he will refuse to go; it may be that when he is married he will listen to the voice

[026] [20] The war-bundle feast was the great war ceremony of the Winne-
[096] bago. It was given by all those individuals who possessed a war-
[614] bundle and since theoretically there was only one war-bundle in each clan, the basis of the organization of the ceremony was the clan.
[016] The ceremony consisted largely of prayers, songs and speeches in honor of the spirits more definitely associated with war. For each

## *Dissipation*

happened to have, for I had become a thief. If I saw a woman drunk, I would steal her, for I was an adulterer. What I was looking for mainly was a woman to cohabit with, for in this way, I was able to get all her money. If any woman wanted to cohabit with me, she would have to give me all the money she had. This is the sort of thing I was doing. In this way I often succeeded in inducing two or three women to live with me at the same time. 159* [685] [273] [837]

After finishing at Necedah the superintendent always went to Tomah to pay the people there, and from Tomah he would proceed to Black River Falls. At Black River Falls the last payment was made, and for that reason it was always an extremely noisy place on such an occasion. All who liked this kind of a life, all who used to chase payments for the fun of it, would be there. Marriages would get badly mixed up here, and there would always be stealing of one another's wives, fighting, robbery, etc. Even those married people who had been faithful to each other up till then, would become unfaithful. Many people would get hurt. When the last payment had been made, all those who had not spent their last cent on drink would begin gambling, the men and women playing poker. Only when our last cent was gone would we stop and settle down. Many of us were generally left without enough money to go home. 159* 657 [837] [579] [684] [525]

[P.147]

*159 over until the following spring. It was enough to cause
648 one to say "Oh, my!" in impatience. During the win-
[531] ter we used to make bead work and compete with one
[301] another as to who could do the best. We made beaded
finger-rings, and these were always purchased by some
[432] one. By selling these rings we thus made quite a good
deal of money. We also made suspenders. I made
thirty of them and sold them for seven dollars a pair.
We thus had plenty of money and drank all the time.
There were some prisoners locked up together with us
whose terms were almost over, and these were allowed
to go outside. They would buy us the whisky. We
● [525] gambled, too, playing for money stakes.

One day my wife came to visit me. I talked to her
through the iron grating. I was allowed to talk to her
for a long time. All I could do was to desire her. I
[152] wanted her badly. When the wives of the others came,
they felt just as I did.

[578] Once we had a fight. We had been drinking and
[273] were disputing about a game. Afterwards, we were
quite humble about it.

Shortly after this we found out that my wife had
*159 married again. I did not feel like eating, but I tried
152 hard to do so, because I thought that the others would
648 notice it. Then I said to them, "I am glad to hear
837 about this report that my wife has married again.
When I get out of prison I will pay the one who has
married her, for he is taking care of her until my re-
lease. Indeed I have felt quite uneasy about her for
some time. Now I feel quite relieved, for she is being

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off on the upper surface. The beaming tool is then grasped in both hands and pushed away from the user against the grain of the hair over the skin where it lies on the smoothed surface of the stick or log. This process is the same as that followed by the Northern Ojibway and Eastern Cree. The next step is to stretch the skin on a square, upright frame. A fleshing tool is then brought to bear, although the beamer is often made to answer this purpose. When the skin has been fleshed, it is soaked in a mixture of deer's brains and water. No grease is added. This preparation is kept in liquid form in a pail and lasts some time. After remaining in the brain fluid for a time, the skin is taken out and thoroughly washed. Then it is taken by the tanner—who is always a woman—and dried. While the skin is drying, it is rubbed with a wooden spatula to make it flexible. It is now ready for the last step—smoking. For this process it is first sewed up into a cylindrical shape, and the upper end is tied together to form a bag. By this closed upper end it is then suspended over a shallow hole from a stick driven obliquely into the ground at an angle of about 45 degrees. In the hole a fire is built with dried wood. The open lower edge of the skin bag is pegged or fastened to the ground about the edge of the hole.

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[462]

## Games and Amusements

526

Lacrosse was the favorite game of the Winnebago. This was generally played on ceremonial occasions. Whenever played, the two divisions of the tribe, the Wañgxre'gi and the Maṇe'gi, were pitted against each other. There were two kinds of lacrosse, one played by men and the other played by women; these differed in a number of particulars.

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Fig. 27.—Men's lacrosse. A, B (not shown), B', C (not shown), C', D (not shown) goals of winning side. E, E', E'', E''' goals of opposing side. D, Mound from which ball is thrown.

*Men's lacrosse.*—The men's game was called *teabeninc'ṇagie hik'ūsik'*. There were either 12 or 22 men on each side, placed in the following manner: Two, one of each side, stood in front of the arched sapling which constituted one of the goals (*wal'a'rani*); these were called *woiz'iṇgra*. There were, of course, two goals, each about 10 feet high, one at each end of the field. About midway between the goals a small mound was made from which the ball was thrown. Ten or twenty men, as the case may be, covered the ground between the mound and the two men stationed at each *wal'a'rani*. The lacrosse stick was called *teabenadu'gia*, and the ball used either *tci-oko'nāhira* or *wa'ṇi'ṇa*. The object of the game was to put the ball through the goal four times. At the beginning of the game the ball was thrown straight into the air from the mound. (For plan of the game, see fig. 27.)

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*Ceremonial lacrosse.* The following description of a ceremonial lacrosse game was given by a member of the Bear clan:

The Wañgxre'gi and the Maṇe'gi people were to play lacrosse. So the Wañgxre'gi took an invitation stick and attached some tobacco to it and sent it to the Maṇe'gi people. Then they fixed a day for the contest. The contest was to be in four days. In the meantime both sides were to get ready, for some might be without balls or sticks, etc. Then the Wañgxre'gi said, "We are the faster and will therefore go and

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look for food." When they returned the leader of the Waŋgxre'gi said again, "We are the fleetest and will therefore win from our opponents. In addition to that we are holy and for that reason we will be strengthened in the coming contest." Then the leader of the Mage'gi said, "I will first pour tobacco and then I will arise with the blessing of life which was bestowed upon me and through which I know my men will be strengthened." Then they arranged the goals, i. e., the *wak'a'rani*, and arranged for the points. Then they took an emetic and went into a vapor-bath in order to strengthen themselves. The goals were now standing far apart from each other. Then the people who were to play gathered on the field and two men from each side began to tell their war exploits. First, one of the Waŋgxre'gi men told how he had cut off an enemy's head; how proud his sisters had been at receiving the gifts and how they had danced in the Victory Dance. "With such a man you will have to play," he shouted to those on the other side. Then a man from the Mage'gi side said, "I also am a brave man. I did with the enemy as I pleased. Once when an enemy had been killed between the firing lines, I rushed for him and in the midst of bullets I cut off his head. With such a man you will have to fight," he shouted to those on the other side. Then he gave a whoop and the ball was thrown into the air and they began to play lacrosse. Those who first succeeded in putting the ball through the *wak'a'rani* four times would be declared the winners. All day they played and in the evening they stopped. Lacrosse was the favorite game among the Winnebago. This is all. 526 [783]

*Women's lacrosse.*—The women's game was called *naiyaca'radji wak'isik'*. Ten women took part on each side; they all stood in front of the goal, which consisted merely of a line drawn on the surface of the ground, called *wak'a'rani* as in the men's game. The lacrosse stick (*tcabenopa*) was straight. The "ball" consisted of two balls tied together by a string (*naiyaca'radji'u" wa'i'ina*). This was put into play by being thrown from a point midway between the goals straight up into the air. The side that hit over the goal four times won. 526 462

*Football.*—Football was played by men. The *wak'a'rani* was merely a line drawn on the surface of the ground. The 16 or 20 men who took part on each side arranged themselves in front of either *wak'a'rani*. The ball used was a fairly large one made of deer's hair, covered with hide from the same animal. It was put in play in the middle of the field and the side that kicked the ball over the goal four times won the game. 526 [462]

*Hit-the-tree game* (*tcibonacgis nai'djd hap'a-na'i*).—This consisted merely of a test of marksmanship. A tree (*na" hadjina*) about 8 feet high and 8 inches in diameter was selected and the one who hit it from a certain distance received a prize. Any number of people could participate.

*The kicking game.*—This was a very rough sport in which men only took part. Two men took turns in kicking each other as hard as they could, the one who held out the longer being the winner. [462]

*The moccasin game.*—One of the favorite games of the Winnebago. Five men took positions directly opposite their five opponents. Between the two rows of players, in front of each man was a recep- 524

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*Tree game.*—Two trees are selected about 20 feet apart, one having a branch about 15 feet from the ground. A number of people stand ready at the side of this tree and the one whose turn it is to play tries to hit the branch. When he succeeds in doing so all run toward the other tree. As soon as the player gets the ball he tries to hit the runners. If successful in this before the others have reached the tree he wins; otherwise they are "safe" and he must try again. The Winnebago called this game *hahi'hidjikeʷu*. 526

### Travel and Transportation

*Canoes and dugouts.*—All the boats found in the early days in the territory originally inhabited by the Winnebago were dugouts, yet a number of the tribe questioned denied positively that boats of this kind were in common use before the coming of the whites. According to these informants, in former times the Winnebago always had their home in a birch country, and had at hand, therefore, the requisite material for making canoes; moreover, birch-bark canoes were much easier to construct than dugouts, for which logs had to be hollowed by burning—a process that might consume weeks. Only when the whites introduced the ax and the knife did it become practicable to make dugouts. These implements became available at the time of the southern migration of the tribe into a region where birch bark was scarce, and one result of the change was the substitution of the dugout for the canoe. The validity of this explanation is supported by the same line of argument as in the case of the wooden vessels. 501 [412 177 167]

*Snowshoes.* The snowshoes of the Winnebago were similar to those used by the Menominee, with this difference, that the two pieces of wood forming the "handle," instead of being tied together for their whole length, as among the latter, were left unfastened for about 5 inches at the end. This difference is immediately detected (pl. 40) by the present-day Winnebago, who can easily identify, by the feature mentioned, snowshoes belonging to the tribe. 481 [171]

### Musical Instruments

The musical instruments of the Winnebago seem to have been restricted to the flute, drum, and gourd. The flute was made of red cedar and usually had a range of five or six notes; it was used at many ceremonies, and especially by young men when courting. The drum consisted of a framework (in later days a wooden pail or a barrel served the purpose), over which a skin was drawn very tight. A small quantity of water was always kept in the drum so that the skin could be wet as often as necessary. Rattles consisted of dried gourds filled, in olden times, with seeds, in more modern times with buckshot (pl. 30, *d*, *f*). 534

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616 As the basis of organization in a game, the twofold division finds
526 expression in ceremonial lacrosse. There the *wagerregi* are always pitted against the *manegi*. A well-known myth is associated with
[173] this arrangement, according to which the animal ancestors of the *wagerregi* and *manegi* decided their respective rank by playing a game in which they were organized on this basis. The *wagerregi* won and for that reason the chiefs of the tribe have been selected from this division. A division into two halves when playing ceremonial lacrosse is characteristic not only of the Winnebago but of
[171] the Omaha, Menominee, Sauk, Fox, and other tribes. Among the former two, these sides are identical with the two aforementioned political divisions of the tribe, but among the latter two, where no such division exists, the tribe seems to divide itself into two halves merely on this occasion.

616 Up to the present we have treated the two divisions as social units
614 per se, but now, before entering on the discussion of the clans, it may be well to point out the fact that the *wagerregi* people are sometimes spoken of as the Bird clan (*wanigk hakik'aradjera*), and that the four clans composing this side are so intimately related, and their clan origin myths so similar, that the assumption of the four clans representing one clan that subsequently split up into a number of divisions is not outside the realm of historical possibility. This is, however, quite immaterial, for whether we have one bird clan opposed to eight other animal clans is of little consequence, for historically it is not the bird clan that is opposing the other clans, but one social unit, the division, set off against another. The numerical equality that exists between these two sides, in spite of the disparity in the number of clans, is perhaps another confirmation of the fundamental character of the twofold structure.

## Clan Organization

614 There are 12 clans among the Winnebago with the following names

A. *Wagerregi herera* (those who are above):[1]

1. *wakandja*, thunderbird.
2. *wanayira waąkrik*, war-people.
3. *teazeep*, eagle.
4. *ruiega*, pigeon (extinct).

B. *manegi herera* (those who are on earth):

5. *hunir*, bear.
6. *ceąkicąąk'*, wolf.
7. *waktcazi*, water spirit.
8. *ten*, deer.
9. *ha"ne"*, elk.

[1] All the clans of the upper phratry are also called *ahakawara*, "Those-with-b-wings." This name is found in ceremonies.

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R.'S FASTING.

(R. WAS A MEMBER OF THE BEAR CLAN)

159 There was a village near Big Lake (Lake Winnebago), and at this
787 village the upper people and the earth people played lacrosse.* The
776 Bear was the chief clan of the lower people, and those representing that side in the game defeated the representatives of the other side by sheer strength. Then one of the upper people said, "What effeminate fellows those Bear people are. They are very strong, but it would be much better if instead of being so strong in playing lacrosse they were strong when on the warpath." Thus he spoke. Then one of the Bear people (the one whose fasting is about to be described) felt very much grieved and went out into the wilderness to fast. His desire was to be blessed by those spirits who are in control of war, and in his longing to be blessed by them he cried bitterly. Soon he heard some one saying, "Do not cry any more, we have come after you from above. The spirits have blessed you. You are going to be taken to the lodge of your friends." When the young man got there he saw four men. They were called cannibals, and they were brothers. "Our friends have blessed you and we also bless you," said the four spirits. These four spirits were catfish. Then some white crane spirits said, "Our friends have blessed you. With spears they have blessed you. Indeed, for good reason was your heart sad (i. e., did you make yourself suffer while fasting). With victory on the warpath do we bless you. Here is your bundle. Here also are your spears and your bow and arrows. This bundle you must use when you go on the warpath. Here also are some songs to use when you start out and when you return. With these songs I bless you. Here they are:

[533]

SONGS

Ho'ano k'ⁿiar'djo'e'dja ruhi'jê?
Where they gathered, there did you go?
K'ho' hiirak'ho' ha'gisewi'ne.
Well, my friend, shoot at it for him.

[789] "When the enemy is close upon you and aim their guns at you, if you sing these songs they will not be able to hit you. If you sing these songs then, those who gave you a name will honor you." Thus
776 we bless you. With life also we bless you."
756
159 ARATCGE'KA'S FASTING.†
787 Aratcge'ka, Left-handed-one, went out to fast. "A spirit I wish
[526] to bless me. I am fasting because I was told to do so. A shaman

* In playing lacrosse the upper and lower divisions were always pitted against one another.

† The name is not quite clear here, but it is believed that he means that by singing one of these songs he will be victorious and be able to count coup or distinguish himself in some such way, and thus be worthy of being honored by his elders.

‡ This account of a fasting has been cast in a literary mode. It evidently relates to the fasting experience of a well-known man.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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of these two types of arrangements quite difficult. There can be no question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital regulations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in definite villages. When on the warpath, the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fire-places, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe, can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, cannot be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Tciwere. In the subsequent discussion of the clan, we will touch on this subject again. 614 616 621

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fire-places when on the warpath, each division having two fire-places, whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. If they were going west, for instance, the two fire-places for the *waŋgeregi* would be on the south and the two for the *maŋegi* would be on the north side. On the other hand, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the divisions exists. 726 616

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the Chief feast (*huŋk·wohq*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name (*huŋk·wohq*) would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Huŋk·* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the *waŋgeregi* division. 614 616 574

As the basis of organization in a game the twofold division finds expression in ceremonial lacrosse. There the *waŋgeregi* are always pitted against the *maŋegi*. A well-known myth is associated with this arrangement, according to which the animal ancestors of the *waŋgeregi* and *maŋegi* decided their respective rank by playing a game where they were organized on this basis. The *waŋgeregi* won, and it is for this reason that the chiefs of the tribe have been selected from that division. The division of the 616 526 773 [622] 000

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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171 616 526 The division of the tribe into two halves when playing ceremonial lacrosse is characteristic not only of the Winnebago, but of the Omaha, Menominee, Sauk, Fox, and other tribes. Among the former two, these sides are identical with the two aforementioned political divisions of the tribe, but among the latter two, where no such division exists, the tribe seems to divide itself into two halves merely on this occasion, although we know that this is not the only occasion upon which it behaves in this manner.

174 614 616 Up to the present, we have treated the two divisions as social units *per se*, but now, before entering on the discussion of the clans, it may be well to point out the fact that the *waŋgeregi* people are sometimes spoken of as the Bird clan (*waneŋk' hokikaradjora*), and that the four clans composing this side are so intimately related, and their clan origin myths so similar, one of them even declaring the other three bird clans to be merely the descendants of the three younger thunderbird ancestors, that the assumption of the four clans representing one clan that became split up into a number of divisions, is not outside the realm of historical possibility. This is, however, quite immaterial, for whether we have one bird clan opposed to eight other animal clans is of little consequence, since historically it is not the bird clan that is opposing the other clans, but one social unit, the division, set off against another. The numerical equality that exists between these two sides, in spite of the disparity in the number of clans, is perhaps another confirmation of the fundamental character of the twofold structure.

## THE CLAN ORGANIZATION.

614 [616] There are twelve clans (*hokikaradjora*) among the Winnebago: the Thunderbird (*wak'andja*), the Warrior (*wonayere waŋkcik'*), the Eagle (*tcaxecp'*), and Pigeon (*ru'tcge*), now extinct, belonging to the *waŋgeregi* half; and the Bear (*huŋk'*), Wolf (*cuŋktcuŋk'*), Buffalo (*tce*), Water-spirit (*waktcexi*), Deer (*tca'*), Elk (*hunq*), Snake (*wak'q*), and Fish (*ho'*), all belonging to the *mąŋegi* half.

In addition to the above names, we have the name Chief (*huŋk*) applied to the Thunderbird; Hawk (*heretcy*), to the Warrior; (*manŋpe*) Soldier, to the Bear clans.

*Crashing Thunder*

*159 22 [223] good shot and I was greatly his inferior. He often killed pheasants.

*159 648 ● 526 Whenever the older people went to town circulating petitions for help we youngsters always went along. We always took our bows and arrows with us for the Whites wanted to see how well we could shoot. Often they placed five-cent pieces on some object at a considerable distance and had us shoot at them. We generally hit a number. I would also let my brother shoot at twenty-five cent pieces that I held between my fingers and he never hit my fingers. We would often make as much as five dollars in this way and this money we always gave to our parents.

*159 22 [131] [861] In summer the Winnebago would return to Black River Falls (Wisconsin). We used to go out with our bows and arrows and stay out all day. At evening when we returned we of course always expected to get a scolding and we therefore had a good excuse ready. It really would have been much better had we returned earlier in the day, but we were enjoying ourselves so much hunting that night overtook us when we were still a long distance from home. Often we would not eat anything at all all day, but to that we were accustomed. Sometimes we would go fishing on a stream nearby, forget all about the time, and then return home very late. We got a scolding then even although we had a good excuse.

[P. 88]

## §18. *My Brother Is Murdered*

*159 Shortly after this my elder brother was killed. We
[682] two had grown up together and had hardly ever been
[152] separated. I felt quite heartbroken over it. I longed
to kill the man who had murdered him. I felt that it
would be better if I myself were dead. In this frame
*159 of mind I took to drinking a great deal. Indeed it was
273 my wish to die drinking and I would announce this
when I was drinking heavily. Up to that time I had
drunk secretly, but now I did so openly. Soon I
became a confirmed drunkard. By that time I had
quite forgotten the fact that I had wanted to die. In-
deed I enjoyed drinking very much.

I got into the habit, then, of giving women whisky
[685] and getting them hopelessly drunk and then I would
steal anything of value they possessed. I also learned
● [526] to box and soon became quite expert. I was never de-
feated, and in consequence treated every one roughly.
Every one was afraid of me because of my skill with
the gloves. My father was a strong man and so were
my elder brothers, and neither of them had ever been
[156] defeated at wrestling. For all these reasons I was very
arrogant. Besides all this I was very tall. I am six
[141] feet two inches high and weigh about two hundred and
fifty pounds. In actual fact I was not really as strong

## §20. *I Have a Fight*

Once we went out hunting game in the fall of the year. We used to sell the hindquarters and sometimes ship them as far as Chicago. We were of course only permitted to hunt for thirty days. The law was that if any one hunted longer than that he would be arrested. Yet in spite of all we hunted for a longer time because we felt that the law was meant only for the Whites. One day, however, in shipping deer away, we were detected. One of my brothers and myself were arrested, taken to court and convicted. We had to spend sixty days in jail. During my imprisonment I never had my hair cut and from that time on, I always wore it long. I told the people that a spirit called *Foolish-one*[24] had instructed me to do this and that he had blessed me. I also told my older brother, the one who was still living, to do the same thing and that if he, too, let his hair grow, *Foolish-one* would bless him with long life. From that time on I wore long hair.

After that I joined a show of the Whites. People liked me very much on account of my long hair and I was well paid. I kept on drinking all the time. I there learned to ride a bicycle and mount and ride wild

[24] The clown of Winnebago mythology. He is, however, regarded as having some of the characteristics of a spirit and, very occasionally, blessing an individual.

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



*159 horses. I used to call myself a cowboy, principally
541 because I wore my hair long. Many vicious horses
648 did I ride, and I was thrown off many times. I did all
● 526 this not because I felt myself to be an expert, but because I was wild. On one occasion I took part in a bicycle race on a regular racetrack. I was in full Indian costume and wore long hair.

*159 The show I had joined played at St. Paul. I took
541 part in it every summer. I became acquainted with
648 many people and so I was asked to come again every year. Finally it got so that I would not even return to the Indians in winter.

One season some one asked me to collect a number of Indians of whom I was to be in charge. I was told that I would be allowed ten dollars a week for each Indian and that I could pay them whatever I liked. I was quite satisfied, for I could pay them five dollars a week and thus make some money, I thought. I therefore persuaded a number of people to go along with me and we all started. We rode to the place where we were to meet the man who had made the arrangements. From there we started out and went from fair to fair. We never made any money, however, and went bankrupt. The man could not even pay us. We felt very angry and we then went to another show with whose manager I was acquainted. We were to divide the receipts.

Once we were to give our show at a certain place for the last time, for the cold weather was setting in. It was thus our last day. One of the boys came to me

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*The bear hunt.*—Bears were hunted by individuals or by the tribe. Before a man started on a bear hunt he went through the following ceremony, known as *wana"ire'rr*, literally "concentration of the mind." He either built a special lodge or used his own for the ceremony. A kettle containing food was placed on the fireplace; this was intended for the particular bear the man wished to kill. The food generally consisted of corn or dried fruit; tobacco and red feathers also were offered, the former in small bark vessels. All these offerings were made not only as sacrifices to the bear but in order to make the feast as tempting as possible. When everything was in readiness, the host rubbed two sticks having rough surfaces against each other, called *nai"caraz* or *nai"ruidjo'k'err*. The host never ate. He continued his singing and rubbing until he attracted the attention of the bear, as indicated by the appearance of a little streak of flame passing from the fire toward the gifts he brought for him. 224 796 782

The same ceremony was performed before starting on a deer or a raccoon hunt. In addition to this ceremony, individuals always used the special hunting medicines that they obtained during their fasts. This was frequently chewed and then rubbed into the arrow (nowadays into the gun).[1] [789]

There is a time of the year called *hiruci'c*, when bear break hickory or oak branches for the nuts or the acorns. It seems they are then very easy to approach. If a man killed a bear he would always refer to it in terms of respect. 224 [825]

The tribal bear hunt always took place in summer. As enemies were generally encountered on the way a winter or war feast was always given before the party started. This had nothing to do, however, with the hunt proper. Following is a fairly close translation of an account of a Winnebago bear hunt and buffalo hunt secured by the author: [721 527]

*Description of a bear hunt.*—When the Winnebago went on the bear hunt they always traveled in large numbers. They would always be able to find bears in the groves of red timber-oak, and it would be very easy to kill them. Nevertheless the old people considered it a very dangerous affair, especially if the hunters came upon breeding bear. If anyone killed a breeding bear he would cause very much trouble. The male bear would get very angry and chase the man who had done the killing, and if it ever happened that he was out of ammunition, the man surely would be killed. The bear would jump upon him and tear him to pieces. It is said that when bears kill a human being they always eat him. Another way of getting at the bears was to clear away the ground for them. It is very easy to kill them then. This generally takes place at the time of the year when the acorns fall to the ground. The bears gather in the cleared spaces and lie down there. They lie in the timber under the trees. They look like black objects in the distance. It is customary to shoot at them from some distance, but care is always taken not to shoot all of them, nor to shoot when the wind was with them, for then they would scent the hunters 224 825

[1] Numerous descriptions of the *wana"ire'rr* are given in the Hare Trickster cycle.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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244 [778] In the middle of the field was usually placed an earthen representation of the clan animal. As to how squash and beans were planted, no reliable information is available. The corn was planted in small circular mounds which, to judge from those near Madison, Wis., were arranged in remarkably straight rows.

[442 177] The author is unable to say what type of implements was used, as the Winnebago have been using those of European manufacture for many years and have no recollection of any other kind.

If anyone had more corn planted than he could take care of he 241 gave a feast, to which he invited all who had hoes. At this feast ● 527 dried corn was used. On this occasion the people sacrificed tobacco 782 to their hoes, so that they might not cut themselves with these implements or have other accidents. Then they all joined in helping their host cultivate his corn.

249 In addition to the above-mentioned patches, most Winnebago had small fields of tobacco, which were regarded as very sacred. The tobacco grown on these was used only for sacrificial purposes. Sacred gourds also were planted in these fields.

222 *Berry picking.*—From the earliest times the Winnebago were known for their bountiful supply of berries. Every fall parties of men, women, and children went out to pick cranberries and whortleberries.

222 *Customs when berries are ripening.*—If a man has a son whom he 787 loves very much, he has him fast as soon as the berries and other things begin to ripen. If this boy dreams of something good, then he (the father) gives a feast with the newly ripened food and the boy eats. If the boy does not dream of anything good after four days, the father makes him eat and has him try again.

222 *Rice gathering.*—In common with the Central Algonquian tribes, with whom they have come in contact, especially the Menominee, the Winnebago spent a number of weeks every year gathering wild rice. The following description of the manner in which this is done is taken from a newspaper article published by Prof. A. E. Jenks of the University of Minnesota:

> Fox River from its source to Lake Winnebago was for hundreds of years a very productive field for this aquatic cereal, and along this river the Winnebago lived in plenty and peace with several wild rice eating tribes of the Algonkin stock. Probably a few families still gather their annual crop in that old domain; but most of the wild rice which the tribe now gathers is obtained in the sloughs of the Mississippi River near Lacrosse, Wis., and on the Iowa side of that river
>
> The Winnebago gather the grain by running their canoes into the tall standing stalks before the grain is ripe. A stick is held in each hand of the harvester, one being used to draw the standing stalks over the edge of the canoe, while the other one is employed in tapping or striking the heads of the stalks, thus knocking the grain out of the fruit head into the canoe. After the canoe is full it is taken to the shore and emptied.

252 262 *Preparation of foods.*—Meats were prepared by broiling, in three ways—on stakes, over a rack, or under hot ashes. Only the ribs

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# CHAPTER IV

## GENERAL SOCIAL CUSTOMS

843 *Birth.*—During pregnancy a woman had to observe carefully certain restrictions. She was not allowed to roam the woods alone for fear of meeting snakes or other animals, the sight of which was believed to forebode ill luck to a pregnant woman. She was not permitted to have dogs or cats around her nor to sleep during the day. Every morning during her pregnancy she had to take a cold bath. Among the restrictions may have been food taboos, but no information on this phase of the subject was obtained.

844 When the time for delivery came, it was the custom for the woman to occupy a small lodge erected especially for her use. None of her male relatives were permitted to be present and her husband was not even permitted to stay at home. He was supposed to travel continually until the child was born, in the belief that by his movements he would help his wife in her delivery. According to one informant the husband had to hunt game, the supposition being that this procedure on his part would cause his wife to have enough milk for the child. This traveling of the husband was called, therefore, "Looking-for-milk." It was considered improper for a woman to cry out during labor pains, and by doing so she subjected herself to the [854] jests of her older female relatives. The cradle-board was always made before the child was born (pls. 41, *c*, 42, *a*).

The positions commonly assumed by women in delivery may be described thus: Supported by the arms, which were passed over a pole held in the crotches of two forked sticks driven into the ground; suspended between two stakes; or flat on the back.

The infant's navel string was cut off and sewed into a small bag, which was attached to the head of the cradle-board.

844 607 On the birth of a child the sisters of the husband were supposed to show his wife especial marks of courtesy. They always gave her valuable gifts, such as goods or a pony. They were glad that he had offspring, the people said, and even permitted their brother's wife [431] to give the presents received from them to her own relatives. The presentation of these gifts was called "Cradling-the-infant." Gifts 844 were presented also to the wife's brothers.

562 527 782 Some time after the birth of a child, if a boy, the father always gave a feast to Earthmaker and thanked him.

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limb.[13] They will indeed like you very much if you obtain a limb, 867
or, even better, two or three. If you do thus, wherever people boil 554
an animal with a head [14] you will always be able to eat.

If on account of your bravery you are permitted to tell of your 867
war exploits during the Four Nights' Wake for the benefit of the 765
soul of the deceased, do not try to add to your glory by exaggerat- 554
ing any exploit, for by so doing you will cause the soul to stumble on its journey to the spirit land.[15] If you do this and add an untruth to the account of your war exploit, you will die soon after. The war spirits always hear you. Tell a little less. The old men say it is wise.

My son, it is good to die in war. If you die in war, your soul will 867
not be unconscious. You will have complete disposal of your soul 721
and it will always be happy.[16] If you should ever desire to return 775
to this earth and live here again, you will be able to do so. A second life as a human being you may live, or, if you prefer, as an inhabitant of the air (a bird) you may live, or you may roam the earth as an animal. Thus it is to him who dies in battle.

My son, fast for an honorable place among your fellowmen. Fast, 867
so that when you are married you may have plenty of food; that 785
you may be happy and that you may not have to worry about your 787
children. If in your fastings you have a vision of your future home, the members of your family will be lacking in nothing during their life. Fast for the food that you may need. If you fast a sufficiently large number of times, when in after life you have children and they cry for food you will be able to offer a piece of deer or moose meat without any difficulty. Your children will never be hungry.

[13] That is, a war honor, but more specifically if you "count coup" first. The honor of killing an enemy [555]
and the three honors associated with first touching his dead body are always spoken of as "the four limbs of the body."

[14] That is, wherever people give a Winter Feast. At this feast a deer, head and all, is served to the [527]
invited guests. The head may only be eaten by brave warriors.

[15] At the death of a chieftain an elaborate wake takes place. To this wake, as the principal participants, 262]
three or four warriors who have counted "coup" are always invited. It is believed that the souls of all the enemies one has killed become the slaves of the victor and he may command them to do his bidding at any time. If the victor tells his exploit and then commands the enslaved soul to take care of the recently 765
departed person in whose honor the wake is being given, the soul of the conquered enemy will be of considerable aid in overcoming the obstacles that are supposed to infest the path between this earth and the land of the spirits. These can not be overcome by the merits of the individual alone. If, however, a 775
warrior becomes cowardly, the soul of the recently departed individual will fall into the abyss of fire which surrounds one of the heavenly earths through which he must pass. That is what is meant by "stumbling."

[16] It must be remembered that the Winnebago believe that all that constitutes "life," "consciousness," 774
continues to exist after death, the only difference being that in the former case an envelope, the body, is present and, in the latter case, it is not. Winnebago philosophy does not concern itself with what happens 775
when a soul becomes "unconscious" at death, which would, of course, be the case with all those who do not die in battle; but it does insist that to him who dies on the warpath the moment of death does not even deprive of consciousness. He goes right on living, as if he were still an inhabitant of this earth, the only difference being that the corporeal envelope has fallen off his soul and that, although he sees and hears human beings, he himself is not visible nor his voice audible.

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like to have you put some food in your mouths."[n] "My niece, it is good. You have indeed made yourself 'pitiable.' You have thirsted yourself to death and I, too, pity you. If any spirit has blessed you, he has done so with good reason. I, too, once thirsted myself to death and the spirits blessed me with life. With this life, my niece, I also bless you. I will gladly partake of your feast." Thus spoke Wolf. Then Elk said, "My niece, I, too, was told to fast: and in my fast the spirits blessed me with the power of having complete control over all my actions. This dream (i. e., the blessings I obtained) I now give to you.[o] With these blessings you will be able to live as you desire. I will now gladly partake of your food."

787 159 776

When they were through eating, she also ate, and then they all went home. After a while her father said to her, "My daughter, I am going to ask you a question. It is said that those who have been blessed might tell their dreams if they were asked." "All right," said the daughter, "I will tell you. Eight days I fasted and then the spirits blessed me. They told me that if at the end of four days I should place offerings south of the place known as the Big Eddy and situated down the stream the powers with which I had been blessed would be shown to me. The one who blessed me was the chief of the Wakaiᵊteûᵊ, the spirits who live in the earth. He said that Earthmaker had created him and given him great power; that he had placed him in charge of 'life.' In four days he told me, 'I will appear to you. The day on which I appear to you will be a perfect day. Whatever you wish to make for yourself, you may do. You will never be in want of anything, for you can make implements for yourself out of my body. With these I bless you, for you

[n] The feast referred to here is the feast called Hachiganeⁿ Wakiⁿ (transverse or faster's feast). It is given when a man or woman who has been blessed is about to break his fast. At the feast it is customary, [527] are eating [illegible] of guests, for the latter to narrate his blessing. However, these feasts have now been discontinued for so long a time that it is extremely difficult to obtain any accurate information. 796]

[o] The transference of certain blessings is very common, but, to my knowledge, it is rarely done in this manner. As a rule if a person was unable to obtain blessings, he sought to offset this handicap in life by purchasing supernatural powers from some of his more successful fellow-men. However, these powers seem to be connected almost exclusively with medicines. That blessings such as those bestowed upon individuals during their fast, such as long life, invulnerability, hunting powers, etc., were transferred, does not seem probable, although it is, of course, possible. The writer was told of a number of cases where this seemed to have been the case, but on closer study it was conclusively shown that no real transference had taken place, but that in those instances where a person had said, "I transfer this and that dream to you," the transferees had no validity unless the individual to whom the dream had been bequeathed actually fasted and obtained the same dream. An individual would in such a case always be careful to select as his "dream-heir" one who would in all likelihood obtain the same dream. It is only in this sense that one might actually speak of a transference. In those instances where a man is blessed with supernatural powers that are to extend to all his posterity there is really meant, namely, an infinite repetition of the same blessing, one that has, however, become so certain within definite limits that it might be considered automatic. [425] [424]

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575 796 the Buffalo clan feast, the society of those who have been blessed by the buffaloes, and the society of those who wear buffalo headdresses; the last apparently of Sioux origin.

The medicine dance has been described by the author in some detail,[1] and a general description will be found on page 350.

796 727 Of the semipermanent societies, the *hok'ize'rs* dance is given after every successful war party by those four individuals who have counted coup. It has only a temporary existence, for it ceases to be an organization as soon as each individual performance is over. Its main purpose seems to be the desire to transfer to the victor, from the skulls or the scalps of the slain enemies obtained on that particular warpath, the valor and prowess for which the slain person was noted.

●527 In addition to the above ceremonies there were a number of pleasure and miscellaneous dances that are described on page 379.

796 278 There were apparently a number of very important feasts connected with certain medicines, the principal one of which was the Black Earth Medicine feast; but unfortunately no account of this was obtained, owing to lack of time.

## Ceremonies Associated With the Clans

### THE CLAN FEASTS

#### THE THUNDERBIRD CLAN OR CHIEF FEAST

796 614 *Introduction.*—The chief feast, or, as it may more properly be called, the feast of the bird clans, is generally given once a year, sometimes in late spring. It was also given on certain other occasions for specific purposes. At the present time it is given by the members of the Thunderbird clan and the prevalence of the appellation "chief feast" would seem to indicate that it was at all times the feast of the Thunderbird clan. We ought then to expect to find clan feasts of the other members of the *waggeregi* division, namely, of the Warrior, Eagle, and Pigeon clans. No such feasts are given to-day, however, and the members of these latter three clans always speak of the chief or bird feast as their specific clan feast. As such it is also regarded by the members of the *ma'nregi* division.

In the total absence of historical data it is quite useless to speculate about the significance of one feast sufficing for four clans, where in strict analogy to the feasts of the other clans we would expect to find one for each clan; yet the idea that naturally presents itself is that we are in reality dealing with one clan that has become split up into four subclans. Such a view has been expressed by J. O. Dorsey,[2] but the data upon which he based his opinion seem to us highly [114]

[1] The Ritual and Significance of the Winnebago Medicine Dance, Journal of American Folklore, vol. [illegible], No. [illegible], 1921.

[2] Siouan Sociology, 15th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 201.

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The soldier dance is a hop up and down with both feet and in no 796
particular order, anywhere around the singers. It is held in the 614
open air. [535]

SOLDIER DANCE SONGS

I 796

Manaap'ᵉ'ra na'jiᵊwinâ. 614
Soldiers get up.

II 533

Waja'nija' tcexigi'ji na'jiᵊ'a'ᵊiljâ. 539
Something difficult get ready.
(I. e., whenever there is anything difficult to do you must get ready.)

III

Manaap'ᵉ'ra newine'na' hu'nagiredra.
Soldiers I am he whom they spoke of.

IV

Manaap'ᵉ'ra hi'ja' wine'na'.
Soldier one I am.
(I. e., I am a soldier, and if there is anything to do I'll do it.)

## Ceremony of Uangeru

(BROODING CEREMONY)

A dummy is made of grass and dressed with whatever objects the 735
maker wants to get. If he wants a horse he puts a bridle crosswise [532]
around the body of the dummy; if he wants clothes, he dresses him
up in Indian clothes. Then the man places this dummy anywhere
near a gathering, or where he expects a gathering to take place. He
sits near it. As soon as any warrior sees the dummy he goes over
to it and either kicks or strikes the man who made it, giving him at
the same time one of the objects he wanted. Any person may do
the same. They may not stop kicking the man until some warrior
who had at some time or another cut up an enemy in war cuts up
the dummy. Then all stop, and as soon as his bruises permitted him,
the man would get up and pick up the gifts brought to him.

## Feast to Buffalo Tail

A grandfather of mine called Cokeboka fasted at Neceda, Wis. 787
There he was blessed by a young buffalo bull calf belonging to a herd.
The calf said, as the herd went by, "Father, keep going in the road;
mother, keep going in the road." He meant a warpath instead of
the road they were going in. The man was to go on a warpath, from
which he would return victorious.

They used to make offerings to this tail alone, apart from the war [782
bundle. The braided grass was to be used for smoking. The feast 778]
is given in spring after the grass grows up, and in midwinter. Ground 527
corn is boiled in making the feast.

## Kikre Waci and Tcebokona"k Dances

There is a pleasure dance called *kikre waci* and a dance called 535
*tcebokona"k* (wearing buffalo headdresses). The latter is of Sioux 177
origin.

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four warriors who have counted coup on the last warpath form the units of organization. The peculiarity of the War-bundle Feast is that it belongs not merely to one of these types but to two of them. 796x 571

The war bundles were originally family possessions and were, in the opinion of the writer, only secondarily associated with the clan as such. They represent a complex of blessings received from various spirits who are supposed to control the fortunes of war. They were handed down from one generation to another in the same family, but not necessarily to the eldest son, and could as a matter of default pass out of the hands of the immediate family. The individual who received the war bundle was that one who had by his interest, knowledge, character, and accomplishments demonstrated to the full satisfaction of the elder generation, more specifically to the elder generation represented by his father and close male relatives of his father's generation, that he was capable of continuing the ceremonials in a proper manner. It follows from this that he would have to be a well-known warrior. Now, it is customary among all the woodland tribes for a warrior who is about to start on a warpath to give a feast to which he invites all the other warriors, from among whom he, of course, has to draw his recruits; and at this feast he explains the nature of the contemplated warpath and his warrant—i. e., the thoroughness of the specific blessings he has received—for starting it. 778 [422] [787] [428] 554 778 [721 527]

In other words, we will have to picture to ourselves the war-bundle feast as originally a gathering of warriors preparatory to the starting out of a war party, in which the part of the host was always taken by the leader of the prospective war party. All of the well-known warriors were likely to have war bundles, and thus the basis for the development of what is, to all intents and purposes, a society of those who had war bundles was always present potentially. It is believed, however, that at the time the Winnebago culture was still in the formative stage this aspect of the gathering was entirely secondary, and that primarily it was a gathering of warriors for the immediate purpose of going on a warpath. 796x 721 575

It may perhaps be interesting to go into some details of how this "society" aspect of a gathering of warriors developed. This development probably took two lines -first, a religious one, and secondly, one of definite organization. It would be quite erroneous to say that it took these lines of evolution, because it is in the nature of societies thus to develop. This originally temporary organization took these lines of development because of the presence in the war-bundle ritual of two factors—first, fasting experiences associated with the same spirits, and, second, the influence of the clan organization.

Only a small number of spirits were specifically associated with success in war, and these were Disease-giver, Thunderbirds, Sun, and the Night Spirits. [776]

## *I Take a Trip to Nebraska*

to see her when I was drinking heavily. I therefore had to go on alone. I had my gun with me. I arrived at Nebraska in midsummer. I arrived there very early in the morning, and there I met a man whom I had once known, a person who used to go around a good deal. There were many people present. We sat somewhat on one side, and he and his wife drank with me. I told him what I had done, how I had counted coup on a Pottawattomie, and he shook hands and said that he too had counted coup and that he was going to wear a head ornament. Then they took me to the place where they lived, carrying all my things for me. 159* [555]

The next day the Nebraska Winnebago were going to celebrate. There was to be a general gathering for a week. The people with whom I was staying joined the others at the gathering. At the gathering itself I met two men whom I knew and who recognized me. They shook hands with me. They were riding in a buggy, and when they left, they took me along. On the road they stopped, and we got out of the buggy and began drinking out of a jug containing four quarts of whisky which we had along with us. I joined them in the drinks. We then went back to the gathering, where I met an uncle of mine. To him I presented my gun, and he was delighted. [529] [273] [431]

The gathering itself was a very large one, and we danced every day. I also prepared myself and took part in the dance and gave away many things. I received in return two ponies, a harness, and a top-buggy. I remained there for some time after the celebration [529] [535] [431]

## §29. *My Release from Prison and First Acquaintance with the Peyote*

*159 When we were released we found our relatives waiting for us. My older brother was there, and with him I went home. We began to drink immediately. I was [273] very happy, although when I was in prison I had felt that I would never drink again. We reached the [837] Winnebago the same day. There I met a woman, and I cohabited with her that very night. I had been [152] desiring that for a long time. Then I began to drink again. After a while I went to Black River Falls and [837] there met my former wife, whom I immediately took back again.

[527] The Indians were just then celebrating their midsummer feasts. I went among them, took part, and drank [156] a great deal. I considered myself a brave man and a medicine man; I thought myself a holy man, a strong one, and a favorite with women. I felt that I was in [832] possession of many courting medicines. A brave man I felt myself; a fleet runner. I was an excellent singer [527] of songs at the Brave Dance; [99] I was a sport, and I [273] wanted whisky every day.

My mother and father had gone to the Missouri River, to the Winnebago living in Nebraska. They left me in charge of two horses and a wagon belonging

[99] A non-sacred war dance whose songs were very popular.

*159 795 [796] claimed." Some say that the home of the bad spirit can also be visited when in this state.

So that night we went to a meeting again. I doubted all their claims, of course, and thought that they were untrue. Nevertheless I went along. When we got near I had already eaten some peyote for I had taken three in the day. Now near the place where the peyote meeting was to be held there was a regular Winnebago feast [527] and to that I went instead. I found a long lodge and heard a terrific noise. An enormous drum was being beaten. The sound almost raised me in the air so pleasurably loud did it sound to me. Not so pleasurable had things appeared at the peyote meetings that I had lately been attending. There I danced all night and I flirted with the women. I left about day and when I reached the peyote meeting it was still going on. When I got back I was told to sit in a certain place and I was treated very kindly. There I again ate peyote. I also heard that they were going to have another meeting nearby on the evening of the same day. We continued eating peyote at the place where we were staying, which was the house of one of my relatives. Some of the boys taught me a few songs and [533] they said, "Say, when you learn how to sing you will be the best singer, for you are a good singer as it is. You have a good voice." I thought so myself.

[p. 178]

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a. JOHN FIREMAN
(Front view)

b. JOHN FIREMAN
(Profile view)

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c. WHITEBREAST

d. JOHN RAYMOND

[Facing p. 66 (F)]

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A YOUNG WINNEBAGO WOMAN AND DAUGHTER

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A OLD WINNEBAGO AND DAUGHTER

[Facing p. 66 (6)]

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with the exception of the eastern shore of Green Bay and the Fox 172
River. At the same time they have been discovered in fairly large numbers in the counties of Sheboygan, Ozaukee, Washington, Waukesha, Racine, and Kenosha, which, as far as our historical information extends, had never been occupied by the Winnebago. Flint arrow points and pottery shards are found throughout the entire State. The distribution of copper implements has not yet been thoroughly investigated, but the present status of our knowledge has been ably discussed by Charles E. Brown.[4] To judge from the papers of Brown, implements of copper are found pretty generally distributed over the State, although certain objects seem to be found in greater abundance in some places than in others.

There are three types of mounds in Wisconsin and the territory immediately adjacent to it—the effigy, the linear, and the intaglio. All of these have been subjected to a variety of explanations at the hands of archeologists, from Lapham's time to our own. The cardinal error in all their attempts at explanation has perhaps been the assumption that the mounds were necessarily of great antiquity. For a long time it was not considered likely that the present inhabitants of the region, the Winnebago or their ancestors, had had anything to do with their erection. As soon, however, as systematic inquiries had been made among living Winnebago it was discovered that not only were they able to give more or less reasonable explanations of the uses of most of the mounds, but a number of the older people claimed to have distinct recollections of the erection of some of them. In obtaining notes on social organization the writer was told incidentally that it had been customary not very long ago to erect near the habitation of each clan an effigy of their clan animal. Subsequently, upon a more systematic inquiry, it was discovered that not only were such effigy mounds erected near clan habitations, but also on every plantation owned by a certain clan. In other words, these effigy mounds were, to all intents and purposes, property marks. [423 531] Similar effigies are found in the porcupine quillwork, on the war bundles, and on the woven bags still used by the Winnebago in Wisconsin. This interpretation has been so fully corroborated that there can no longer be any possible doubt about it. The age of the mounds thus diminishes considerably. Of course some may have been erected long ago, but it is quite evident that the effigy mounds found near the Mississippi must have been erected during the eighteenth century, as the Winnebago did not reach this region before that time.

In connection with the effigy mounds two things need explanation—namely, why there are no mounds of this type near Red Banks, Green Bay, and why there are so many directly south of this region along

[4] "The Native Copper Implements of Wisconsin," in Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 5, no. 2; and "The Native Copper Ornaments of Wisconsin," ibid., vol. 5, no. 3, 1906.

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a. GROUP OF WINNEBAGO IN OLD-STYLE COSTUMES

b. WINNEBAGO FAMILY

[Facing p. 108 (A)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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[516]

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a. THOMAS MALLORY

b. WINNEBAGO IN FULL DRESS

[Facing p. 104 (B)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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[Facing p. 104 (c)]

a WINNEBAGO WOMEN, SHOWING MODERN DRESS

b. WINNEBAGO WOMEN IN OLD-STYLE SILK APPLIQUÉ DRESSES

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a. YOUNG CHILD IN MODERN DRESS

b. YOUNG BOY IN FULL WARRIOR'S COSTUME

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[Facing p. 104 (G)]

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a b c d e

DECORATED MOCCASINS

*a*. Men's moccasin with partial quill decoration. *b*, *c*. Men's moccasin with beaded Algonquian decoration. *d*. Women's moccasin with beaded Winnebago decoration. *e*. Women's moccasin with silk appliqué work.

[Facing p. 108 (B)]

a b c

DECORATED MOCCASINS

a. Men's moccasin with beaded Winnebago decoration, b. Women's moccasin with beaded Winnebago decoration, c. Women's moccasin with silk appliqué work.

[Facing p. 108 (c)]

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[237]

a. WINNEBAGO, SHOWING MODERN HEADGEAR

b. WINNEBAGO WITH DEER-TAIL HEADDRESS

[Facing p. 103 (D)]

a b c d e f g h i

BEADED BELTS

(c, d, e, f show old Winnebago patterns)

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[Facing p. 108 (n)]

RI 531

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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WOMAN'S HAIR ORNAMENTS AND SMALL BEADED BAG

[Facing p. 108 (F)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

a. Birch-bark receptacle.
b. Frame for stringing beads.
c. Staff with personal markings.
d. Wooden flute.
e. Catlinite pipe.
f. Gourd rattle.

[Facing p. 108(H)]

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252 In addition to the vegetable foods above referred to, the following
262 may be mentioned: *Teera'pana*, a plant growing in the water, the root of which was eaten boiled with meat; *wokinipkana* and *hu"ipk hoi'dja*, awl plant and peavine, respectively, of which only the roots were eaten; and finally the *dora*, wild potato, a favorite dish. The skin was peeled off; then the potato was dried in the sun and afterwards boiled. *Na"pa'k'*, chokecherries, were eaten raw. *P"apkzi'* and *ma"hi'nte*, a lowland weed, and the milkweed, respectively, were also utilized. Of the former, the boiled root was eaten; of the latter, the boiled head. Small quantities of food which required grinding were put into a squirrel hide from which the hairs had been removed, and were pounded with a stone. A mill consisting of a dug-out trunk with handles attached was also used.

251 *Preservation of food.*—In former times meat was hung on long
415 racks for preservation. Corn was cached (*waze'*). Dried berries were kept in bags woven from vegetable fibers. These bags were always covered with designs, mostly of geometric patterns, although
●[531 realistic designs, as elk, deer, thunderbirds, and water spirits, all
422] unquestionably property marks, were frequently used. There were two types of bags, that closely woven (*p'a"*) (pls. 32–36), just mentioned, and matting bags with fairly large openings in the meshwork (pl. 37). Food stored away at home was generally placed in a part of the lodge reserved for the purpose.

262 *A Winnebago menu.*—To give an idea of the favorite dishes of the Winnebago, the names of several mentioned in one of the myths are here appended: Small dried corn boiled with bear's ribs; jerked meat with bear's fat; deer's fat; deer's grease frozen in a hole in the ground; dried corn boiled with fruit; deer-loin soup.

412 *Cooking and eating utensils* (pl. 38).—With regard to the kind
415 of cooking and eating utensils used in the old days there exists even among the Indians themselves considerable difference of opinion. According to some, their ancestors never used wooden utensils, mills, spoons, and plates, but utilized shells of various kinds or other natural objects suitable to their needs. Others state, on the contrary, that, in early times, in addition to such natural objects, wooden vessels of many kinds were fashioned from maple knots. These are said to have been burned out, a very tedious process, or even to have been cut out with adzes. It is quite impossible to decide this question now. Wooden implements and utensils in great variety are, of course, found among the Winnebago at the present time, but these are supposed by many to have been introduced by the neighboring Algonquian tribes and by early French traders. The main contention of the present-day
[177] Winnebago is, however, that their ancestors could never have made this woodenware without the aid of European implements, burning out being a tedious and unsatisfactory method.

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WOVEN BAGS WITH OLD DESIGNS

[Facing p. 118 (8)]

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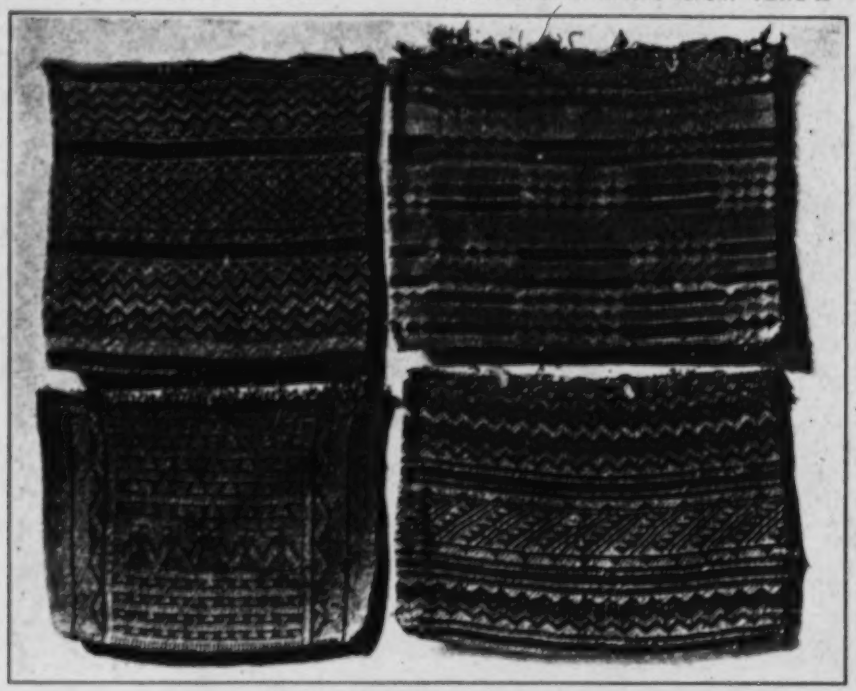
VARIETIES OF WOVEN BAGS

[Facing p. 118 (D)]



WOVEN BAGS WITH OLD DESIGNS

[Facing p. 118 (E)]

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H/S
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1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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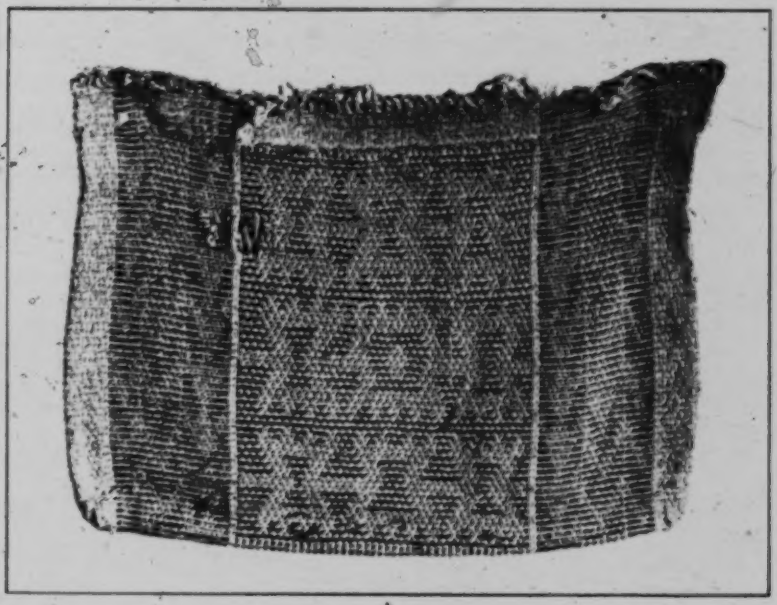

WOVEN BAGS
(Peabody Museum)

[Facing p. 118 (F)]

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It might be said that all recollection of the making of wooden vessels could easily have been lost in the last century or two and that therefore too much weight should not be given to present ignorance of the subject. There are a number of reasons, however, why ignorance in this particular case might be significant. First, many indications point to workmanship of a low order among the Winnebago in the manufacture of artifacts; second, there are many suggestions of two cultural strata in this tribe; third, while the Winnebago in Wisconsin still use wooden vessels, many of them claim that these were introduced; and fourth, all the informants who gave this information were old people. If the author were to hazard an hypothesis, it would be the following: In very early times few objects were fashioned out of wood, but gradually contact with the Menominee led to the introduction of many wooden vessels, and finally the acquisition of European axes, knives, and other implements made it possible to manufacture such vessels in large numbers. A similar explanation was offered by an Indian with regard to the use of dugouts.

Besides wood as a material for dishes and spoons of various kinds and sizes, shells were utilized, while sticks served as knives.

All informants agree that neither bone nor stone were used in the manufacture of utensils.

For cooking, clay pots were used. These vessels, most of which were very large, with round bottoms, always hung over the fire. The material used in their manufacture was blue clay found at Green Bay, on or near the site of St. Paul, Minn., mixed with shell shards, glue from sturgeon vetrebræ, and the gelatinous substance in the horns of the deer. The addition of these ingredients greatly increased the cohesiveness of the clay. The material was either molded with the hands or in holes of the desired shape dug in the ground and lined with leaves. Finally, the vessels were dried over a slow fire in small kilns constructed for the purpose. None of the clay vessels were provided with handles. Some were ornamented with geometric patterns. The irregular incised designs on some Winnebago vessels are the impressions of grass blades with which the mold was lined.

*Fire making.*—In former times fire was always made by means of a simple fire drill. This method is still used for ceremonial occasions.

*Tanning.*—The author never witnessed the process of tanning. The description obtained agrees exactly with that of Mr. N. Skinner here quoted:[3]

After the skin has been removed, the hair is scraped from it. During this process the skin is hung over an obliquely inclined log, one end of which has been smoothed

[1] One informant gave a description of pottery making in which a wheel was used, but as no other Winnebago corroborated this statement the author is convinced that it is inaccurate.
[3] Anthr. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist. pt. iv, pt. ii, pp. 249-250.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



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a. INFANT WITH ORNAMENTED CRADLE-BOARD

342
291

b. GROUP OF WINNEBAGO

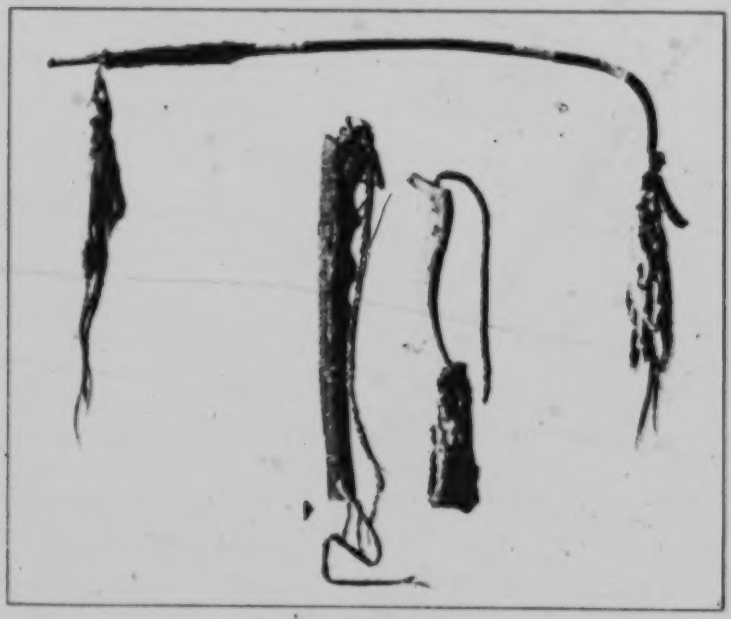
[Facing p. 126 (B)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



411
531

a. WAR CLUBS OF THE UPPER DIVISION



b. WHIPS

[Facing p. 156 (A)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



534
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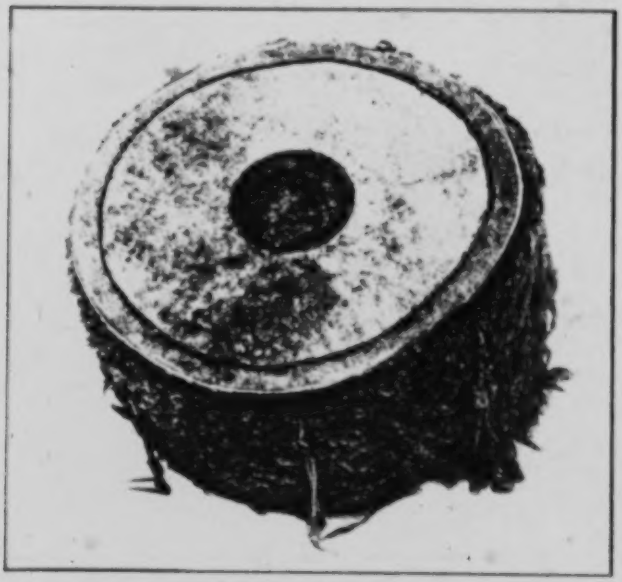

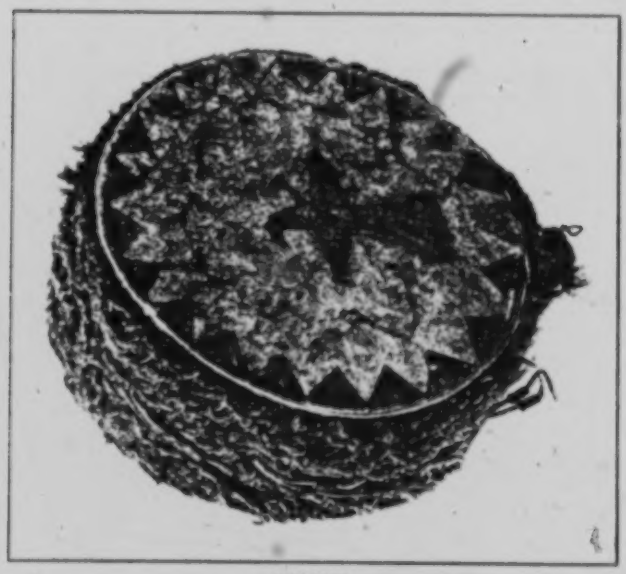

DRUMS

[Facing p. 156 (B)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



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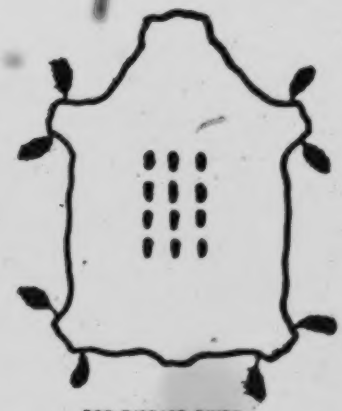

FOR DISEASE GIVER

FOR EARTHMAKER

FOR NIGHT SPIRITS

FOR THUNDERBIRD

SACRIFICIAL OFFERINGS

[Facing p. 248 in)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



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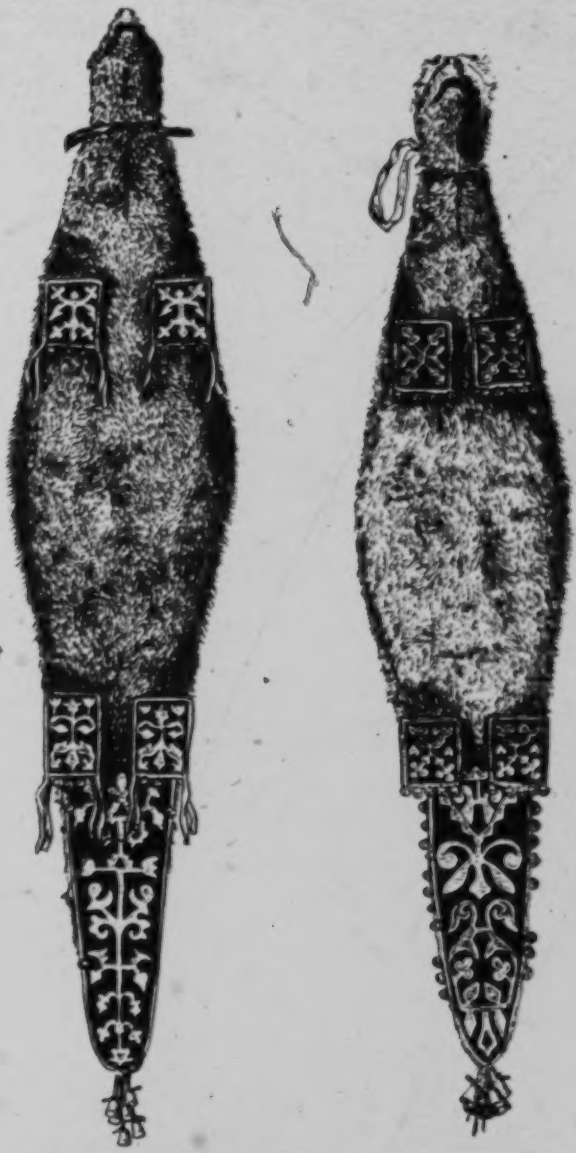

OTTER-SKIN MEDICINE POUCHES USED AT MEDICINE DANCE

[Facing p. 362 (A)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



796
531
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POUCHES OF ANIMAL SKINS USED AT MEDICINE DANCE

[Facing p. 362 (B)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



76
531
415

SKIN POUCHES AND FEATHER FANS USED AT MEDICINE DANCE

[Facing p. 362 (c)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



### The Herucka Dance

535 The *Herucka* is a social dance and is frequently given when visitors
574 from other tribes are present, presents being given on this occasion. Men and women take part in it and are generally dressed in their best clothes. A few customs that were noticed at a performance in 1908 might be mentioned here.

If a man drops anything during the dance he himself may not pick it up. Only a warrior who has been wounded has the right to do so. The object dropped is returned to the owner, who, however, must always give it to his sister or niece.

It is at times customary for a man to dress himself in rags and beg for food, etc. He generally represents himself as an extremely poor man and pictures his destitution in a manner best calculated to amuse everyone.

[525] Wagers of horses are very commonly made at this dance.

The dances indulged in are mainly victory dances and the songs
[533] known as *Herucka* songs are always victory songs. Many borrowed songs are sung at this dance.

A large drum is always used, around which sometimes as many as
[534] 10 drummers sit. The drum consists of an ordinary tub over which skin has been tightly drawn. It is supported by two carved sticks, to which it is firmly attached, so that the bottom is about a foot from the ground. It is painted in the following manner: Two rather
[531] narrow lines of paint across the center of the drum, one blue and the other green. The portion of the drum next to the yellow line is painted blue, and that next to the blue line red. No meanings for the colors were obtained.

### Watonahe'ewe Feast
(AFRAID-TO-EAT-GREENS FEAST)

241 Informant, member of Beaver clan: Just about roasting-ear month
785 people would commence to fast and continue until the green corn is
262 ripe enough to be eaten. They fast so that all the plants may strengthen the tribe.

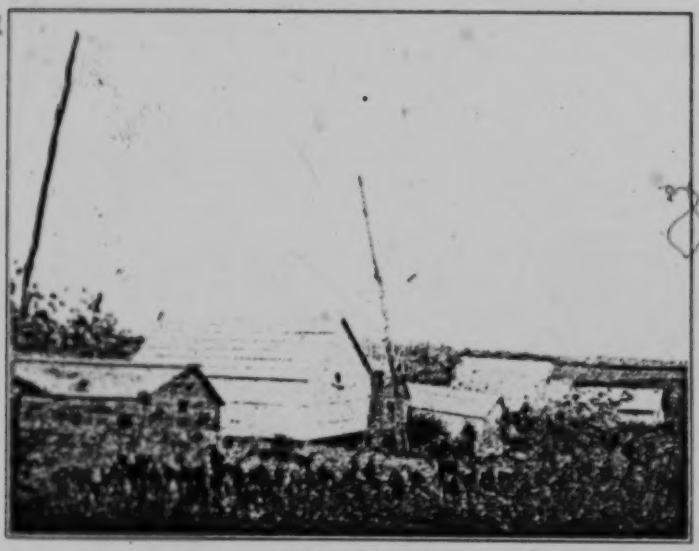
The fast generally takes place in a special hedge, from under which all the grass has been cut, for the faster must not come in contact with anything that is green. When the fasting is over a feast is given at which all those present eat "greens" for the first time.

### The Captive's Death Dance

727 Before putting a captive to death it is customary to tie his arms
535 behind him in such a manner that his hands have a little freedom. Then they put a gourd in his right hand and a lance in his left hand

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

a. PEYOTE LEADERS



b. BURIAL HUTS

[Facing p. 388]

After a short time she came back all dressed up and
*159 ready. She had on a waist covered with silver buckles
584 and a beautifully colored hair ornament; she wore
301 many strings of beads around her neck and had brace-
lets around her wrists. Her fingers were covered with
[292] rings. She wore a pair of ornamented leggings and
[531] ornamented moccasins with wide flaps. In each ear
she had about a half dozen ear-holes and they were
full of small silver pieces made into ear ornaments.
[300] She was painted, her cheeks red, and the parting of her
hair red. She was all dressed up.

*159 I came to her on horseback. Then we rode together.
584 We were not going to return to the place from which I
had started that night, because I had been previously
asked to sing at a Medicine Feast at a place on our
way home. On the way I therefore hid the girl near
the place where the feast was to be given.

The girl had a red blanket, and I hid her under a
small oak bush. Unfortunately it rained all that night
and the next morning, and when, early in the morning,
I went to where I had hidden the girl I found her still
there, but soaked through and through from the rain.
Her paint was smeared all over her face in such a way
that she could hardly be recognized. When we arrived
*159 home my grandfather's wife came out to meet us. She
585 helped the girl down from the horse and took her into
the lodge. Then we ate and when we were through the
girl took off her clothing and gave it to my grand-
parents who in return gave her other clothing. After
the girl had stayed there three nights she had her
[841] menses and had to go to her special lodge and sleep
there.

*159 over until the following spring. It was enough to cause
648 one to say "Oh, my!" in impatience. During the win-
● [531] ter we used to make bead work and compete with one
[301] another as to who could do the best. We made beaded
finger-rings, and these were always purchased by some
[432] one. By selling these rings we thus made quite a good
deal of money. We also made suspenders. I made
thirty of them and sold them for seven dollars a pair.
We thus had plenty of money and drank all the time.
There were some prisoners locked up together with us
whose terms were almost over, and these were allowed
to go outside. They would buy us the whisky. We
[525] gambled, too, playing for money stakes.

One day my wife came to visit me. I talked to her
through the iron grating. I was allowed to talk to her
for a long time. All I could do was to desire her. I
[152] wanted her badly. When the wives of the others came,
they felt just as I did.

[578] Once we had a fight. We had been drinking and
[273] were disputing about a game. Afterwards we were
quite humble about it.

*159 Shortly after this we found out that my wife had
152 married again. I did not feel like eating, but I tried
648 hard to do so, because I thought that the others would
837 notice it. Then I said to them, "I am glad to hear
about this report that my wife has married again.
When I get out of prison I will pay the one who has
married her, for he is taking care of her until my re-
lease. Indeed I have felt quite uneasy about her for
some time. Now I feel quite relieved, for she is being

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



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286
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WOVEN BAGS

a. Deer and thunderbird designs b. Thunderbird design

[Facing p. 118 (c)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



men on the back of his head. He immediately became paralyzed 539
from the touch. Then they pushed another man and he could not 765
walk. So they laughed and turned back in order to return to their home.

They had not yet learned that they were dead. One went to his camp and told his wife that he was hungry but she paid no attention to him. The other had the same experience. Then each man started to go to the other man's lodge and they met midway. The first man said, "I came back hungry and asked for food, but they would not give me any, so I thought that I would go to your place." The second one said the same thing. Then they said, "Let us lie down a while." Just then the people began to cry, for they had brought back the bodies of the two dead men. Then one of the men said, "My friend, we have been killed." The other one began to cry.

So the people gathered together and had a meal. One of the ghosts said, "We must try and get something from the meal that they are having, for the people said, 'We are giving this meal in honor of the departed.'" Then the other friend said, "Now we are going to eat, for they are cooking for us."

These two were born again and told about this, and that is how we know it. This is the origin of the Four Nights' Wake. It is claimed that the spirits of the spirit land have a four nights' feast before they start.

### Grave-post Marks 764 532

(Drawings by Indians)

(Fig. 28)

Warrior has been on the warpath (homani'na).
Warrior was a leader of a warpath (sak'i').
Warrior was a helper on a warpath (wagixô'na) (rek'i'').
Warrior counted one of the three coup (wa'ngonank).
Warrior had made a captive (wangini).
Warrior had killed a horse on the warpath or stolen one from the enemy.
If a person had killed a man and cut off his head, he is allowed to paint the top (upper part!) of the grave-post red.

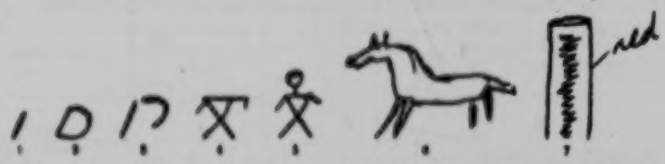


Fig. 28. Grave-post marks: 1, Has been on the warpath; 2, has been leader on warpath; 3, has been helper on warpath; 4, has counted one of the coup; 5, has made a captive; 6, had killed horse on warpath or stolen one from enemy; 7, has killed a man and cut off his head.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



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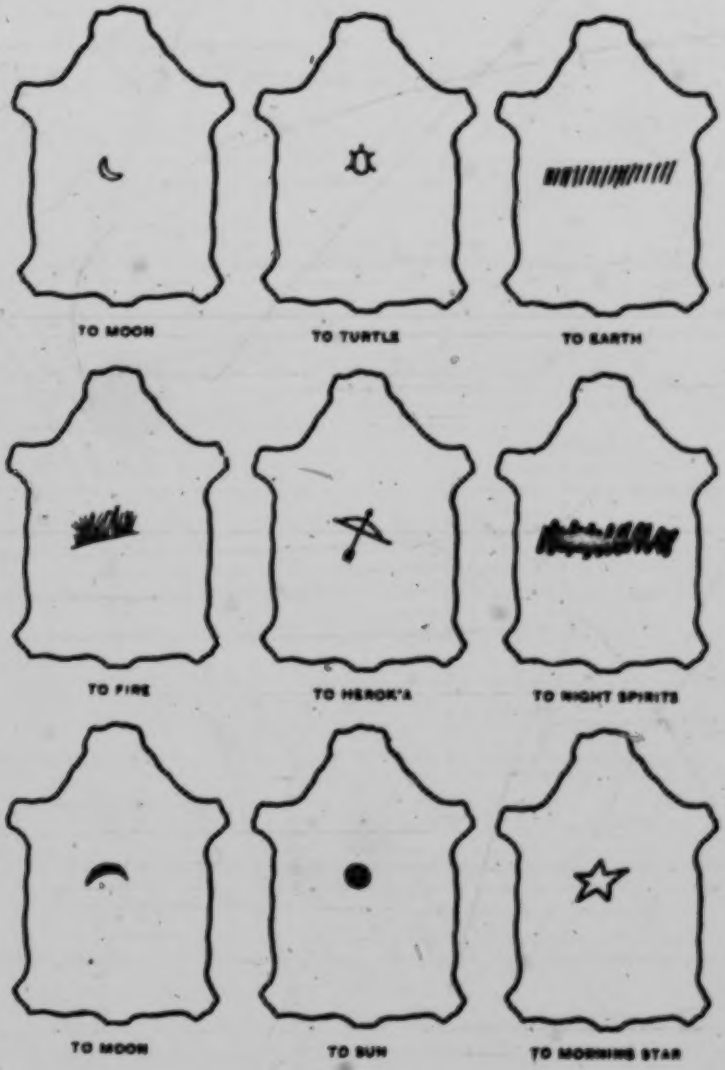


BUCKSKIN OFFERINGS

[Facing p. 248 (B)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



The soldier dance is a hop up and down with both feet and in no particular order, anywhere around the singers. It is held in the open air. 796 614 [535]

SOLDIER DANCE SONGS

I 796

Manaxp'e'ra na'ji'winā. 614
Soldiers get up.

II 533

Wapa'nija' teraiga'jī na'jī'a'nīja. 539
Something difficult get ready.
(I. e., whenever there is anything difficult to do you must get ready.)

III

Manaxp'e'ra newīna'na' ha'nagiondra.
Soldiers I am he whom they spoke of.

IV

Manaxp'e'ra hi'ja' wina'na'.
Soldier one I am.
(I. e., I am a soldier, and if there is anything to do I'll do it.)

## Ceremony of Uangeri'

(DANCING CEREMONY)

A dummy is made of grass and dressed with whatever objects the maker wants to get. If he wants a horse he puts a bridle crossing around the body of the dummy; if he wants clothes, he dresses him up in Indian clothes. Then the man places this dummy anywhere near a gathering, or where he expects a gathering to take place. He sits near it. As soon as any warrior sees the dummy he goes over to it and either kicks or strikes the man who made it, giving him at the same time one of the objects he wanted. Any person may do the same. They may not stop kicking the man until some warrior who had at some time or another cut up an enemy in war cuts up the dummy. Then all stop, and as soon as his bruises permitted him, the man would get up and pick up the gifts brought to him. 735 [532]

## Feast to Buffalo Tail

A grandfather of mine called Cokeboka fasted at Neceda, Wis. There he was blessed by a young buffalo bull calf belonging to a herd. The calf said, as the herd went by, "Father, keep going in the road; mother, keep going in the road." He meant a warpath instead of the road they were going in. The man was to go on a warpath, from which he would return victorious. 787

They used to make offerings to this tail alone, apart from the war bundle. The braided grass was to be used for smoking. The feast is given in spring after the grass grows up, and in midwinter. Ground corn is boiled in making the feast. [782 778] 527

## Kikre Waci and Tuhorona'k Dances

There is a pleasure dance called *Kikre waci* and a dance called *tuhorona'k* (wearing buffalo headdresses). The latter is of Sioux origin. 535 177

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12



origin of the tribe is due to the literary-legendary tendency towards uniformity, is, on the whole, quite likely. This seems illustrated by the fact that the Warrior and Buffalo clans in some of the versions of their clan myths claim specific places, while others claim Green bay as their ancestral home. Green bay must, therefore, be considered as one of probably many local associations, connected with a prominent clan, which came to be accepted in the course of time by most of the others. 174 614 773

*Arrangement of Clans in Village.*

As in Figure 1, all the clans of the *waggerigi* division except the Thunderbird and Warrior, could occupy any position in the half-circle, and the same was true of those of the *mągegi* division except the Bear clan. The Buffalo clan seems to have been grouped on the *waggerigi* side. However, in both divisions the members of each clan had to be grouped together, a segregation that was further emphasized by the erection near each clan of an earthen effigy of the clan animal. According to all informants, each village was inhabited by members of various clans; in no case did a village merely include members of the same clan, as seems to have been the case among the Menomini. Among the latter, village exogamy probably existed, while no trace of this is found among the Winnebago. This clan segregation in every Winnebago village became, after a while, practically identical with blood relationship, although the close relationship existing between members of the same clan may also partially represent the persistence of a local group consciousness. 614 621 [616] [532] [171]

This distribution of the same clan over many villages would, indeed, seem to militate against the local group origin of the clans, but it must be remembered that the clan organization was of considerable age and there is no reason to suppose that the local groups could have had any influence now discernible. The village arrangement must, of course, not be pushed too hard, for we should expect a tendency on the part of informants whose knowledge was entirely hearsay, to cast their information in a more or less schematic mould. The old village sites seem to indicate that the bird effigy was dominant in some places and 174 614 621

Z: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12



Bear, the doorway of his lodge; for the Wolf and Water-spirit, water. They were not obtained for all the clans. We indicated before that these "possessions" may have been primarily connected with the animals associated with the clan, upon which an additional socio-religious interpretation has been superimposed. The whole subject is, however, closely related to that of clan etiquette, for which no explanations can, of course, be given now. 614 [778]

### *The Clan Marks of Identification.*

As if more fully to set off the social unit of the clan, there have come to be associated with it definite marks of identification, such as symbols, property marks, facial decorations, and songs.

The symbols of only two clans were obtained, although a number of other clans seem to have possessed them. There were the war club (*nqmqtce*) of the Thunderbird clan, and the peculiarly whittled stick (*namqxinixini*) of the Bear clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan died, a miniature war club was buried with him. Whether the *namqxinixini* was buried with a member of the Bear clan, we do not know. [778] [764]

The property mark consisted of the effigy of the clan animal, and was woven on such objects as bags, tobacco pouches, etc. It was also frequently engraved on wooden objects. Its most peculiar uses, however, were the emblematic earthen effigy mounds, in the shape of the clan animal, which were erected near the habitation of each clan in the village and in the centre of clan squash fields, corn fields, etc.[1] 614 421 [532] [361]

Associated with every clan are also four clan songs. These are supposed to be the four songs sung by the ancestors of each clan when they came to this earth. They are always sung on the death of an individual, and are supposed to serve as a mark of identification in the journey of the soul to the land of the spirits. The use of these songs is so intimately associated with death, that when some hardened offender, 614 533 764 [775] [627]

[1] For a fuller discussion of these, see Radin, *Some Aspects of Winnebago Archaeology*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 13, 1911, pp. 517-538.

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935
NP12 Winnebago NP12

# SOME NOTES ON WINNEBAGO SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION[1]

By TRUMAN MICHELSON

114 THE easily accessible accounts of Winnebago social organization are Morgan's Ancient Society,[2] J. O. Dorsey's Siouan Sociology,[3] the article *Winnebago* in the Handbook of American Indians, initialed by James Owen Dorsey and Paul Radin,[4] and Paul Radin's The Clan Organization of the Winnebago,[5] his Winnebago Tribe,[6] and lastly his The Social Organization of the Winnebago Indians, An Interpretation.[7]

None of these authors apparently were aware that a number of important statements on this and kindred topics are to be found in Caleb Atwater's Remarks made on a Tour to Prairie du Chien; thence to Washington City, in 1829.[8] I quote from this as follows.

614 Carrymaunee (walking turtle) a Winnebago chief carries a large Tortoise, fully
[532] extended, and beautifully painted, perfect in all its limbs, on his back as he marches onward at the head of the turtle tribe. In the same manner, Snakeskin marches at the head of the snake tribe, with the skin of a large snake tied around his neck. In fine, every tribe has its standard bearer, with appropriate emblems (p. 87).

Their form of government is aristocratical, and the whole structure of their society is equally so. The Winnebagoes are divided into seven tribes, or bands, some of these are named after animals, such as the Turtle tribe, the Snake tribe, wolf tribe, &c., and others are named after inanimate things, as the Thunder
622 tribe. These tribes dwell in different places, in towns or villages; in each one of which, there are two Civil Chiefs, who govern that town—for instance Du Corri and Winneshiek are at the head of the government, of the Le Croix village situated near the Mississippi river, on its eastern bank, 80 miles north of Prairie Du Chien. So of all the other tribes, each one of which, has its town or seat of government, and is governed by its two civil chiefs. The civil government of the Winnebagoes, is in
[623] the hands of fourteen civil Chiefs, and when they are assembled in one council, it is the grand national council.

[1] Printed by permission of the Smithsonian Institution.

[2] Page 157.

[3] Fifteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 240–41.

[4] Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, 30, Pt. 2, pp. 958–61.

[5] American Anthropologist, Vol. 12, 1910, pp. 209–19.

[6] Thirty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 181 *et seq.*

[7] Museum Bulletin, Canada Department of Mines, Geological Survey, No. 10 (Anthropological Series, No. 5).

[8] Published by Isaac N. Whiting, Columbus, Ohio, 1831. I have not seen the edition (of the same date) published by Jenkins and Glover. Atwater's The Indians of the Northwest, etc., Columbus, 1850, apparently has the same contents and pagination as his Remarks which I have seen. So we may presume that the 1831 edition (which I have not seen) of his The Indians of the Northwest is the same also. "The Writings of Caleb Atwater" (Columbus, 1833) has apparently disappeared from the Library of Congress. The proofsheets have been verified by consulting the 1850 edition, differences in capitalization being ignored.

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935

NP12 Winnebago NP12



In each village, the two civil chiefs, appoint all the officers, deemed necessary, civil and military, who obey them implicitly. There are two ways of arriving at these high stations, by birth and by election. When the father dies, if he has a son, who has arrived at the age of manhood, and who bids fair to make a good chief—that is, if he possesses a good form, has good bodily powers and mental faculties—is brave, sedate, wise and prudent, he generally succeeds his father in the government, on his father's demise. If the chief, at his death, leave no son who is qualified for the high office of chief, but wills it to some other person, he succeeds to the government. If the chief has no son at his death, it is commonly the case, that his brother's son succeeds him. The line of succession may run out for want of a lawful heir, which is always supplied by an election. It may be changed too, where the heir is unqualified for the station. Great deference is always paid to the will of the dying chief, but every such case is always laid before a full national council, whose decision is final (p. 97). 622 [624] [666]

A chief may be degraded from his rank for bad conduct. . . .

There is in every tribe, what answers to a standing army among us. The profession of arms holds out, to the great mass of the common people, the only road to the temple of fame. . . . The young man, who aspires to the honorable distinction of a "brave" or warrior, must exhibit such traits of character, as are deemed necessary for a soldier to possess, before he can be admitted into the army. When admitted, he wears on his head just as many feathers of the bald eagle, as he has slain human beings, and the size of the feathers indicate the size of his victims. . . . If the warrior has taken a captive, he has a human hand as large as life, painted either on his face, or on some part of his body, or on his blanket, some individuals have several such hands painted upon them (p. 98).[9] 701 703 [301] [532] [302]

At the head of the army, belonging to each tribe, there is a person who occupies the same station as a General does with us, and he appoints all the inferior officers. The chiefs when met in council, call into it, their warriors, with whom they consult, but frequently they are called to receive the orders, which are obeyed to the letter. This council call before them, persons who are interested in the trial . . . (pp. 98, 99). 701 623

If the Senate of the United States is the mildest, the most patriotic and wisest legislative assembly in the civilized world, as it truly is, the Winnebago council, is decidedly at the head of the savage world. . . . The great body of the people have very little influence, almost none, with this council, and they never appear before it unless they are summoned to attend it.—They have no voice in electing the chiefs and in fact no political influence. The civil chiefs and the chief warriors, have in their hands, the whole government of the community, and they govern as they please. Disobedience to the orders of the rulers is punished with death, though, like the British nation, the Indians are not savages enough to cut the traitor into quarters after hanging him until he is dead (pp. 99, 100). 623 [622] [687]

The female part of it, exercised the same influence among the women, that the chiefs did among the men, and the presents they expected from us, had to be better, than those given to the common people. The daughter of a chief, never mar- 554 562 [592]

[9] Quite different from the data given by Radin, The Winnebago Tribe, pp. 161, 162.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ1D
Winnebago NP12



[B]

165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

C W 171 795 796

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

W [532]

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kic: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

C [276] [782]

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kic: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kic: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

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always kept on hand and offers it to the spirit who controls this particular war party. 726 701
The others do the same. Then he would cross the river. Whenever he drank any water the others would also do so, and if he refrained so would the others. If at any [782] time during the night when they are camping the war leader should wake up and sing some songs, be they grizzly bear, black red paint, or night songs, all those others who [533] know similar songs would likewise begin to sing.

*Miscellaneous war customs.* There were, in former times, many 726
miscellaneous customs connected with warfare, most of which have now been forgotten. However, in myths and accounts of war parties a number of them are still mentioned.

When a war party surprised a lodge, all the occupants were killed or captured and the poles that were spliced together to form the arches were released so that they sprang back to either side and assumed a vertical position.

When a war party surprised a lodge in which there were children they generally killed them, cut off their heads, pried open their [127] mouths so as to give them the appearance of laughing, and then placed the heads on their bodies again and arranged them against the door, so that when their father came home he would find them greeting him as usual. A brave warrior would never flinch at such a sight, but would prepare a meal as usual and speak to the children as if they were alive and offer them something to eat. Only then would he bury them. Immediately after they had been buried he would go on the warpath to revenge them.

Frequently the skulls of slain enemies are used as lodge weights and 727
their skin is taken off and used as mats, door-flaps, etc.

*War honors.*—"It is the ideal of every Winnebago youth," says an 726
informant, "to kill an enemy in full sight of his friends and thus to [183] gain for himself a headdress and an eagle feather." Most deeds considered valorous, according to Winnebago ideas, have associated with 554
them certain insignia which are always worn in public, giving evidence to all that so-and-so has performed such and such a valorous deed.

These insignia consist of the following:

*Headdress and feather.*—Denote that an individual has scalped and killed a man and torn off his scalp still bleeding. He is entitled to a red headdress and eagle feather. This also includes the man who has counted first coup (*sarinigwahi'na*).

*Red headdress.*—If he has killed the enemy and not scalped him (*teak'nie wak'e'rē.*)

*Eagle feather.*—Worn by one who has counted second coup.

*Hanging eagle feather.*—Worn by one who has counted third coup.

*Eagle feather stuck crosswise in hair.*—Worn by one who has counted fourth coup.

*Waggirusgite.*—Consists of a rope worn around the neck. It is worn by the leader of that warpath who has captured an enemy.

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614 Associated with every clan was also four clan songs. These were
● 533 supposed to be the four songs sung by the ancestors of each clan when they came to this earth. They were always sung on the death of an individual and were supposed to serve as a mark of identification in the journey of the soul to the land of the spirits. The use of these
[761] songs was so intimately associated with death that when some hardened offender, let us say, some individual who had killed a
[627] member of the tribe and who refused to make atonement of any kind, was pursued, he defiantly sang his clan songs.

614 As a last element in the clan complex may be mentioned the
[302] specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

We have now completed the discussion of clan organization. As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary association that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that it had grown around a strong social-political unit.

### INFLUENCE OF THE CLAN UPON CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

614 Perhaps the most characteristic trait of Winnebago culture is the
575 existence of two strong socialized units, that of the clan and that of the secret society. Historically both are old, and even if we are of the opinion that the clan is historically younger, the political unit upon which it is superimposed is probably an ultimate historical fact. From the earliest times one would have supposed reciprocal influences to have occurred repeatedly. The nature of these influences, in so far as they are not conditioned by chance, would depend upon the respective center of gravity in either unit. It is evident that for the clan the organization was of paramount importance, and that the addition of cultural associations probably tended to strengthen its stability in this respect. On the other hand, the absence of political or governmental functions in the religious societies, and the clustering of the most multitudinous religious and shamanistic ideas within them, rendered the emotional unit of the latter the center from which influences would radiate. At the same time, the ceremonial unit of organization seems to have been so firmly fixed that any influence of the clan unit of organization upon it does not seem likely. As a matter of fact, in the typical schematic, religious society like the Medicine Dance, the Grizzly-Bear Dance, and Night-Spirit Dance, no influence is perceptible. However, these religious societies may be regarded as presenting no possible points of contact. Where, however, the bond of union is supernatural communication with a guardian spirit who subsequently became the clan animal, an obvious point of contact is given, and this brings to mind a very suggestive

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An old Winne-
bago told the author that long ago a young man wanted to marry a girl belonging to his phratry and refused to listen to the entreaties of his father and mother. Finally the father, in desperation, went over to the lodge of a man belonging to one of the clans into which the young man could marry and asked for one of the sacred possessions. It was, of course, refused, and when the man was asked what other requests he wished to make, he asked that the host's daughter be allowed to marry his son. This was, of course, granted, and thus the boy was compelled to marry into the proper phratry. 614 615 582 778

One Winnebago interpreted the custom in an entirely different way. Exactly how much importance is to be attached to this explanation it is hard to say. According to this informant, the insult lay not in going to the fireplace or taking a firebrand, but in asking for it. The insult apparently consists in not taking it for granted that anyone entering the lodge was permitted to do what he wished. In other words, his asking was a breach of etiquette. 614 372 689 [576]

The typical method of burial in the Thunderbird clan was scaffold burial. It has long since been discontinued.

The burial customs seem to have been the same for all the clans. It may, however, be that in former times there were slight differences. For instance, in the first version of the Thunderbird clan origin myth the statement is made that the branch of a tree was placed at the grave and a small stick, painted red, attached to it. The author has no recollection of ever hearing the same statement made in connection with any other of the clans. 614 764 [184]

There are four songs associated with the Thunderbird clan. These are supposed to have been sung by the clan ancestors when they came to this earth, and are now always sung when a member of the clan dies, and on a few other occasions. 614 [533]

According to one informant, members of the Elk, Warrior, Deer, and Buffalo clans acted as servants to the Thunderbird clan on various occasions. The same informant also claimed that the Warrior clansmen took specific orders from the Thunderbird clansmen when on the warpath. [554]

According to another informant, Thunderbird marks at death are a half circle on the forehead, made with charcoal. The proper marking is, however, that shown in plate 46. [765]

Two dog names used in the Thunderbird clan are obtained—*pi"zakirutega; ka-iwakitca"ga.*

The only feast specifically connected with the Thunderbird clan was the so-called chief feast, of which a description will be found on page 318. One of the divisions of the war-bundle feast is often considered as sacred to the thunderbird, but this is always the deity thunderbird, not the ancestor of the clan. [796] [776]

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614 539 776 was. And then all of them went toward the chief's lodge. They walked as chiefs, all four of them. The four of them went, there. The chief's lodge was an oval lodge, and there they entered.

The Snake clansman was the one appointed to get the food. He went after the food. It was an Eagle-people feast. Two fish the Snake clansman brought, and with these the Eagle chief gave a feast. The Deer clan acted as attendants. Thus they ate the fish. And when they were finished with the eating, on either side, they left the head and the tail of the fish. This they left of their meal. "And if we have a dog we will call him *Leaves-fish-on-both-ends*," they said. Then they sat down. As they were sitting some one peeped in. It was the dog. Only his nose he stuck in. Then they said, "Whose nose does it look like?" So the chief spoke. "If we ever have a dog and if we wish to keep it permanently, *Whose-nose-does-it-look-like*, we will call it.

Then all of a sudden their bodies began to be different and their feathers began to look as if they were worn off. They were about to enter the chief's lodge. Then the chief passed the fire to the Deer clan and when they were through the lodge was purified with [783] the incense of smoking cedar leaves. Then again into the very long lodge they entered. This was at Red Banks. Then the upper people taught the lower people the things to make them good. Thus Earth-maker ordained everything, and as he ordered so it was. That is the way they were. Holy they were. And all (of my clan?) lived as chiefs. This is all that I was taught.

### Fan songs

614 533

*First song*

The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.

*Second song*

The fire they started.
The fire they started.
The fire they started.
The fire they started.

### Eagle and Pigeon Clans

614 No information was obtained about either of these clans. The Pigeon clan has been extinct for some time and only a few survivors of the Eagle clan are left. Neither of these clans seems ever [778 796] to have been of great importance. They had war bundles and an Eagle feast is mentioned.

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614 have been subjected to literary and shamanistic remodeling. Only
173 the shorter accounts show in their subject matter and presentation certain affinities to the origin myths of the other clans, the longer ones being entirely different. Another cause for these marked differences may lie in the circumstance that since the longer accounts were associated with semi-esoteric ceremonies, the war-bundle feasts, they were known to but few individuals in the clan, whereas the shorter legends could be learned by anyone who chose to pay for
614 them. To this must also be added the fact that presumably some of the accounts current were based on hearsay knowledge.

[554] The Bear clan was, next to the Thunderbird clan, the most important in the tribe. Its lodge was either in the center of the vil-
[361] lage, opposite that of the Thunderbird clan, or at the extreme end, depending upon the scheme of village organization accepted as correct. In it were confined the prisoners of war and the insignia of
[727] office possessed by the clan, such as the so-called standards, really crooks, and the so-called *namazinirini*. Some individuals also claimed
[513 that unmarried men were allowed to sleep in the lodge, although they
345] were not clear as to whether they did this in order to guard the prisoners confined there or simply used it as a club house.

The clan songs are given on page 235. The same songs are used
[533] when gathering the clansmen together to select soldiers.

Apart from the war bundle or war bundles, the Bear clan possessed
614 three insignia—a war club of a definite shape, the curiously whittled
778 baton of authority called *namazinirini*, and the crooks used in battle called *hoke'rewe*. Whenever the clan was exercising any of its functions the leader would always hold in his hands the *namazinirini*.

The functions of the clan were probably the most important in the tribe and were entirely disciplinary. The author obtained the following description from an old Winnebago:

614 The Bear clansmen are the soldiers or sergeants-at-arms of the tribe. They have
625 complete control of everything concerning discipline. Whenever the Winnebago are traveling or moving (i. e., on their various seasonal moves), the Bear clansmen lead, and wherever they decide to stop, there the leader would put his stick in the ground and the other Bear clansmen would do the same, arranging them all in a row pointing toward the direction in which they were going. The main body of the tribe would follow at a certain distance. No member of the tribe would dare pass ahead of the row of sticks. If, for instance, the tribe was on the fall move and traveling toward a country in which there was plenty of game, should any individual go back and around the sticks in order to kill game on his own account, the soldiers (Bear clansmen) would, as soon as he was detected, go over to his lodge and burn it up with all its contents and break all his dishes. The only thing they would spare would be his life and that of the other members of his family. If the one who had transgressed the rules made any attempt at resistance he would be severely whipped. If he refused to submit to this and took up his fire arms to fight, the soldiers would stand there calmly, but the moment he made an attempt to shoot they would kill him. In such a case nothing would be said either by the rest of the tribe or his relatives about

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crowd dispersed and went home. Blue-bear said that he would go home but that the rest were to live on this earth and that they would be the soldiers of this earth. That is the origin of the Bear clan. 614 539 776

When a bear is killed on earth, the Bear clansmen do not mind it, but they laugh and feel good. When one of the Bear clan dies, they say, "Don't cry, for he has gone home." Then they paint his jaws red to give him the appearance of laughing.

When a bear is killed on earth the spirit returns to Blue-bear, and so it is with the Bear clansmen. This is the story of the Bear clan.

All the birds, trees, snakes, and everything of its kind have soldiers. [825] The sharp-clawed birds are soldiers of the birds and all the snakes that have fangs and all the trees that have prickers are soldiers of their kind. All the animals and living things of the earth have soldiers among them. The ugliest tempered ones of their kind are soldiers of whatever class they belong to. Oftentimes when a person gets angry on earth they would say, "The soldier; it is because he has a soldier nature." (Whoever has the power of hurting one of his fellow-beings and does it has a soldier nature.) This is the story of the Soldier clan.

If they had said in the beginning, "This or that clan will never do anything wrong," then the rest of the clans would never have done so. The Soldier clan opens the way for anyone, of any clan, at any time, to take up his soldier nature. 614 533

## CLAN SONGS

*Song 1*

Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.

*Song 2*

Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.

*Song 3*

Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?

*Song 4*

Who can be above?
Who can be above?
Who can be above?
Who can be above?

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614 they sang songs, but I do not know them. I was not taught them.
539 Finally children were born to both of them, and they gave them
776 names. They called one of them *Wave* on account of the wave coming before them on their starting out. Because the four original
[551] wolves in the middle of the ocean had four different colors, therefore they have names *White Wolf*, *Green Hair*, *Gray Wolf*, and *Black Wolf*. When the clan began to get larger they taught their children these names.

When a large number of different clansmen are traveling and they have to cross some large stream and the wind is high, they call upon some Wolf clansman to calm the wind. This clan holds the water
[823] very sacred. They do not even die in the water.

It was at this first meeting that they made friends with the Bear clan. Therefore these two clans love one another.

THIRD VERSION—TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN (FRAGMENTARY)

The original wolf brothers appeared from the bottom of the ocean. When they got to the top of the water they started for the shore singing. When they got to the shore they saw footprints of bears who had just gone by. They said, "Our friends have just gone by." That is why they are the friends of the Bear clan. They were going to the meeting place. There a black hawk was gathering together all the different clans. Finally he finished and he said, "It is done." When he said this a wolf howled. They had forgotten him. They said, "We have forgotten him. Let some one go after him." So some one went after him . . .

614
●533

CLAN SONGS

*First song*

This body of mine that I am walking.
This body of mine that I am walking.
This body of mine that I am walking.
On the earth I am speaking.

*Second song*

This body of mine that I am walking
This body of mine that I am walking
This body of mine that I am walking.
In the water am I speaking.

CLAN NAMES

CÔNCÔN' HUN'IN'ARAHUNA (WOLF CLAN)*

614 Ôtagawakdga.....Hunting dog.
551 Ôkhtrangh's.....Wolf.
Ragwaiwiga.....Wolf (archaic name).

* The following names are from the Dorsey list.

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"My son, we first originated in human form at Bad Lake (*de-cicik*).[a] From four buffalo spirits who are there, did we originate. The youngest one was clever and from him did we originate. The buffaloes asked one another what they were to do, and they then began to exert their powers, and the youngest one obtained the knowledge that there was to be a gathering of all the animals. So they all landed at a place called Red Banks. So it is said. And to the elk was given the charge of the seating arrangements. 614 539 776

"Thus did we originate. And then they counciled with one another as to how they should travel along the road of life. And as they arrived at Red Banks, each one would ask the other to do some work. And there they made a sacred (covenant)—that they would never fail to grant one another's requests. Likewise they agreed that when they died they would bury one another. The Buffalo clan and the Water-spirit clan were to bury one another, and they were to ask one another to work." [764]

CLAN SONGS

614
533

*Song 1*

Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.

*Song 2*

This earth you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

*Song 3*

This day you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

"My son, here is some more information that one in your position should seek. This should be the second thing to ask for: 'What should one say when one gives a feast?' This you should ask for, and you should boil food for the informant and then you will be taught the proper speeches. Afterwards, when anyone boils food (i. e., gives a winter-feast) a kettle should first be put on for Earth-maker and one should ask him for life; that the people may live to be strong and good. Include tobacco in your offering, for although Earthmaker made the tobacco he will not take any of it of his own accord. Not until it is offered to him by humans will he take it. 867 [782] [276] [103]

[a] The name *de cicik* is applied to-day to Lake Michigan. However, our informant in this case applied it to Devils Lake in Sauk County, Wis.

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they gave one another. Thus they have the names *White-hair*, *Fast-one*, *Little-white-teeth*, *Diffident-one*, *Horn*, *Pronged-horn*, etc.; and for dogs they have names also. That is the way the deer people lived in the beginning at Red Banks, Within Lake. Bands of people gathered together there, and all the clans that exist now originated there. 539 776 614

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

The Deer clan people came up at the beginning of the earth. Only one is spoken of as appearing at the beginning. He started forth but returned again that he might look for a companion. For that reason a name exists in the tribe, *He-who-comes-back*, and another is *He-who-appears-first*. After they had appeared on earth the deer blew on the original fire, which was only smoldering, and made it blaze up. For that reason they claim a partial chieftainship. The first one that appeared had a chief's medal around his neck. [551]

CLAN SONG. 614 533

I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions
I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.

CLAN NAMES

WA HIK'IR'ARADJERA (DEER CLAN)

614 551

| | |
|---|---|
| Teraspháṅk'a | Black deer chief. |
| Wagizena'pé'ga | Wears shells around neck |
| Teanóṅ'Ka'pa'wings | Deer vagina. |
| Mank'ingaveqga | Appears in the middle of earth |
| Teatconiwings | First deer woman. |

## The Elk Clan

INTRODUCTION

In the Elk clan origin myth we find the clear statement that Earth-maker created the ancestors of the clan, and that they were human beings. The myth resembles a village origin myth more than it does a clan origin myth. 614 [773 776]

The Elk clan seems to have had certain functions relative to the distribution of fire through the village and in camp. It was never a very large clan.

The Elk people claim half of the fire, and thus half of the chieftainship. They never hold fire toward any one. [372] [622]

Elks are buried by the Snake, Water-spirit, and Eagle clans, although the first has the preference. [764]

White clay is used in painting the dead.

According to another informant, the facial painting consisted of white and blue dots on the face (pl. 46). [302]

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The Crow (i. e., Menominee) Indians knew what a wonderful man he was and whenever he went to visit them they gave him many presents. He would be invited to a feast as soon as he arrived. 648 791 754

On one occasion when they had a feast in a lodge (in his honor) one of the Menominee marked the ground in front of him and dared Lincoln's grandfather to come over, saying that if he did he would injure him. When the Winnebago crossed the mark he was pushed in all directions and finally shoved into a pit, bruising himself a great deal. When he came out, the old man said, "You have probably never heard of me. To-morrow noon, soldiers will hit you." Then the Menominee asked, "If soldiers hit me, what will be the result?" "You will die." Then the Menominee said, "You have nothing to do with my life," and made a jump at him.

The Menominee who had been told that he was going to die said the next morning to his nephew, "Nephew, let us go to the lake and look around. I can't forget what the old man told me yesterday." So they took their spears for fishing and went out. While they were on the lake they saw a deer drinking at the edge of the water. The man took a shot at the deer, and the deer ran back into the timber. The man and his nephew pursued it. After a while the man gave a yell and then all was quiet. The nephew went over to the place and there the man was found dead. At his side a very large snake, with hair on its back, was standing.

The next morning one could hear the mourning songs all over the woods. Then they went to look for the Winnebago, for they believed that it was his fault. They told him not to worry about it and gave him a horse to appease him. The day after they all had left the camp, the Winnebago pointed to some hawks that were circling around and told the Menominee to watch the foremost one. Then he pointed his finger at that one and made a sound with his mouth and the bird fell down dead. This Winnebago had the power to do this to all birds. He always told the Winnebago not to eat these birds because they were not good. [765 533] [789]

### The Uses of the Stench-Earth Medicine[1]

There once was a man who had consumption and who knew that he was going to die soon. His relatives were about to move him to some other place and so he told them just to build him a separate lodge and leave him alone—that he wanted to die there. He asked them likewise not to come back to see him. They obeyed him and left him to die alone. 763 [164]

One day he decided to go out into the wilderness and die there. He went to the top of a hill and lay down. He noticed many birds

[1] This is the literal translation. What plant is meant the writer was not able to determine.

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## B.'S FASTING.

(B. WAS A MEMBER OF THE BEAR CLAN)

159 787 776 There was a village near Big Lake (Lake Winnebago), and at this village the upper people and the earth people played lacrosse.[10] The Bear was the chief clan of the lower people, and those representing that side in the game defeated the representatives of the other side by sheer strength. Then one of the upper people said, "What effeminate fellows those Bear people are. They are very strong, but it would be much better if instead of being so strong in playing lacrosse they were strong when on the warpath." Thus he spoke. Then one of the Bear people (the one whose fasting is about to be described) felt very much grieved and went out into the wilderness to fast. His desire was to be blessed by those spirits who are in control of war, and in his longing to be blessed by them he cried bitterly. Soon he heard some one saying, "Do not cry any more, we have come after you from above. The spirits have blessed you. You are going to be taken to the lodge of your friends." When the young man got there he saw four men. They were called cannibals, and they were brothers. "Our friends have blessed you and we also bless you," said the four spirits. These four spirits were catfish. Then some white crane spirits said, "Our friends have blessed you. With spears they have blessed you. Indeed, for good reason was your heart sad (i. e., did you make yourself suffer while fasting). With victory on the warpath do we bless you. Here is your bundle. Here also are your spears and your bow and arrows. This bundle you must use when you go on the warpath. Here also are some songs to use when you start out and when you return. With these songs I bless you. Here they are:

[533] SONGS

Ho'ste h'ⁿⁱⁿ'djaʷ'dja rahi'jā?
Where they gathered, there did you go?
K'āre' hitrak'āre' ha'gizewi're.
Well, my friend, shout at it for him.

[789] "When the enemy is close upon you and aim their guns at you, if you sing these songs they will not be able to hit you. If you sing these songs then, those who gave you a name will honor you." Thus 776 we bless you. With life also we bless you."

736 159 787 [526] ARATCGE'KA'S FASTING[12]

Aratcge'ka, Left-handed-one, went out to fast. "A spirit I wish to bless me. I am fasting because I was told to do so. A shaman

[10] In playing lacrosse the upper and lower divisions were always pitted against one another.

[11] The sense is not quite clear here, but it is believed that he means that by singing one of these songs he will be victorious and be able to count coup or distinguish himself in some such way, and thus be worthy of being honored by his elders.

[12] This account of a fasting has been cast in a literary mode. It evidently relates to the fasting experiences of a well-known man.

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614 796 782 the members of my clan, sufficient blessings to guide us all safely through life, and to make our lives pleasant. I will not tell the [537] origin myth (of our clan) because it is sacred and it must not be told without the proper ceremony, for the telling would then injure an individual. Besides there are many clans beside our own represented here and it is not proper that these should hear it."

614 796 He then speaks of the four ancestral bear-beings who were created in the beginning.

When the feast is ready one of the Wolf clansmen gives four soldier whoops. Then the fire is allowed to die out, and as soon as the lodge is in complete darkness the feasters begin to eat. Before [533] eating, the host sings four songs. These are the clan songs and are only sung at these feasts or on the occasion of the death of a clansman.

Those who partake of food at the feast may be members of any clan except the Bear clan. The members of the latter clan do not eat at their own feast.

[264 415] Everyone attending must bring his own wooden spoon and must use it with his left hand. There are four wooden dishes in which the food is served. These are arranged in the lodge in a certain manner.

The guests sit around these dishes and eat with their own spoons.

[805] The feast is given in the first bear month. Some one generally watches the moon and as soon as the new moon is visible the feast begins. The feathers and the tobacco to be offered are placed in four little troughs made of basswood bark, each about 1 foot long. These are then placed on the south side of the fireplace.

When the meal is over the attendant or Wolf clansman generally says a few words of thanks to the host and then the host in turn thanks those who have participated and tells them that the feast is now over. All now pass out, the one next to the host leaving first and the rest in succession, the host himself remaining until the end.

[778 782] When the feast is over the tobacco and the feathers are taken away from the lodge and carried in a southern direction to a place (under a tree) that has been especially cleared and sanctified. Any person may thereafter go there, offer tobacco, and ask for long life.

614 796 537 782 Informant, member of the clan (male): "Well, soldiers, your moon is about to appear. It is good. So come forth, for it is at this time that the spirits asked to be remembered. Let us send, on this occasion, to the place at which we all originated, whatever we possess of wealth. This is what the spirits asked of old. Let us therefore put the kettle on and prepare the feast.

"This is the way in which we prepare the feast. I offer only one small kettle. Here is my offering. I pray that what I offer may suffice and bring enough blessings from the spirits to include all the

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796
539 The host at the same time puts himself in readiness to receive the guests.

[534] The two drums to be used are placed in the proper position with tobacco on top as an offering. The two gourds to be used are arranged in the same way, with offerings of tobacco on top. These four articles are placed in a row in front of the host, who pours tobacco upon them again and asks them for life.

[782] The host now rises and speaks as follows (first, however, offering tobacco to the fire, and telling the people of his own band how he had obtained his blessing, and from what source it had come):

796 "Grandfathers, when you blessed my grandfather with life you
776 promised that as often as we would boil food for you and offer you a
539 pipeful of tobacco, you would smoke it. So it has been said. Boiled
575 water from an animal whom you considered the same as our own body, and spirit food he extended to you, as well as a pipeful of tobacco. This we also are sending you. And what could we ask of you in return but war? That it may be directed toward us, we pray you. Grandfathers, you who are called Happy Nights, when you blessed our grandfather you blessed him with endless war. So it has been said. That is what we ask for, that as you blessed our grandfather, so you bless us. We ask for the same things. You, likewise, grandfather, you who are called The-one-with-rounded-wood, when you blessed my grandfather you blessed him with life. That is what he said, and you asked him in return to make offerings of tobacco. Here is the tobacco. This night we are going to ask life of you. We desire that you give us and all who will be here to-night, life. As many people as will be seated here, we ask life for all of them."

Then all who are present rise and, holding tobacco in each hand, walk around the lodge, pouring tobacco on the drums and the [782] gourds, and some of it into the fire. They pour tobacco into the fire for the Night Spirits. For the Beings-with-rounded-wood they offer tobacco by pouring it upon the drums. The offering is made both to the drums and to the gourds directly. The tobacco bundles tied to the invitation sticks are offered to the four cardinal points and the four specially invited guests smoke this tobacco, because they are supposed to represent the four cardinal points. Behind the respective invited guests are placed two women, next to the wall, so that they might lead in the dance. When the invited guests come to the feast these women remain outside until the starting songs have been begun.

[535] The host sings these songs first and when he has finished the first invited guest enters the lodge, ejaculating peculiar sounds (that are probably meant as greetings). Continuing these sounds, he walks around the lodge until he comes to the place from which he has started. There he stops and speaks. "You who obtain life, you

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that council, relatives, all who are seated here, I greet you. It is 796
good that you have taken pity upon me. All those that I have 776
along with me, my relatives, you have caused them to think that 539
they were to obtain life; that a great life was to come to us through 575
you. And all this you have done when we were leading worthless lives. It is good. If such an invitation were to be extended to people when they are sick and weakly, it would heal them; it would overcome their illness, it is said. It is good. When I think that our sick people will get well by reason of this feast, I am thankful. Up to the present our children have all been sickly, but from now on we will have no cause to worry. I am thankful. The principal tree of the night-soldiers, standing in front of their doorway and which is in full bloom, has not a dead leaf upon it, not one that has dried. It is beautiful to look upon. They obtained it for us and caused it to come down to us, and we feel grateful. It will strengthen our families. This lodge that we have entered is like the first lodge (the night-soldiers' lodge), and just as we were strengthened by it, so will we surely be strengthened by entering this lodge to-day. In the night-soldiers' lodge fine white feathers are scattered all over the ground, ankle deep, it is said. As we are about to go over the past, we certainly will be strengthened thereby. The lodge of the night-soldiers was fair to behold from the inside, we are told. We will consider ourselves blest with life to-day, even although we are not children of the night-blessed ones, and even although we will not be able to conduct ourselves as it is meet. We will, however, do what we can in order to obtain life. You children of the night-blessed ones, who are seated around here, I greet you."

Then he sings the entrance songs and walks around the lodge. [533] ●
His singing is generally finished at about the time that he has made the complete circuit of the lodge. Then he starts around the lodge again uttering the peculiar sounds mentioned before, until he comes to the seat of the host. There he stops and makes a circle in the air (with his hand) and addresses him as follows:

"I greet you. A great day has come to me and all my relatives have tasted thereof in the hope that they might thereby be strengthened. I have also brought along with me a pipeful of tobacco to be given to you, that we may all be strengthened. So it is said. It is for that reason that I am acting thus and am greeting you."

With these words he concluded and walked to the place that had been assigned him in the lodge, opposite the host and, still standing, he said the following: "Children of the night-blessed spirits who are seated here around me, I greet you all. The councilor, I mean the host, has seen fit to give me and my relatives a seat. We will sit in it so that we may be strengthened thereby. We will now take our seats, but before that let me send forth my greetings to all."

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plant and blessed him with long life and with victorious warpaths. He asked to be remembered by Hodja'noka in his offerings. The buffalo-spirit told him that if he would pour tobacco for him, and give feasts and make offerings of eagle feathers, the blessings he had given him would last forever.

"All these blessings were handed down to my father. These I also was taught. This life do we pray for and we have asked you all to come and help us. We thank you for it. As soon as the attendants are finished with the preparation of the food then we will eat. Our servants may perhaps burn their hands while preparing the food, but they will obtain life by so doing. Those who possess war bundles are always told to help one another and I know that you have come here for that reason. Life I am seeking and that is why I am giving this feast. Help me, all you owners of bundles who are present here. I will now sing some of the songs that Hodja'noka taught us. You who have obtained blessings, I greet you."

Then he sang the following songs:

*Song 1*

Nangura hosa'ni hiwiñ. (Repeat.)
In the road walk let him do.

*Song 2*

Hodja'noka hanani'winñ. (Repeat.)
Hodjanoka Walk by.

*Song 3*

Ekra Hodja'noka hanani'winñ.
Say, Hodjanoka Walk by.

*Dancing song*

Hodja'noka trawawi'ro. (Repeat.)
Hodjanoka go toward.
Erehu'no. (Repeat twice.) Wigu'ñ. (Repeat twice.)
It is coming say to them.

As soon as Hodja'noka finished his songs, then all the objects (drum, gourds, etc.) were passed to He-who-strikes-the-earth-with-his-wings, and he rose and spoke:

"Brother-in-law, councilors, relatives, all who are seated here, I greet you. You who have been blessed with bundles, I greet likewise. You are taking the place of the spirits. It is good. We are trying to encourage one another and we have come to help you. We have brought you food for the feast. We also are desirous of obtaining long life and that is why we have brought our offerings, for we know the buffalo-spirits will accept them, as they are very tempting. You who are taking the place of the spirits, I greet you."

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other dancers were with all his strength restored. Then he walked 796
to the ma$^{n}$warup'uru, took some earth, rubbed it on his wounds, 755
and they were healed immediately. There was only one wound 575
that he could not heal, which was situated on a part of his back that
he could not reach with his hands."

He sang many songs while dancing. These songs were the ones that the spirits had taught him when they blessed him.

GRIZZLY BEAR SONGS

1

Newine'na newine'na ha$^{n}$pte$^{n}$ra$^{n}$nê. [533
I am he, I am he, the day it is I. 539]

2

Ha'na$^{n}$ninxgu$^{n}$ne'k'tee hiningai'rê nink'tea'i$^{n}$ninkera d,anûnga'grê.
That you would be you were by the children as many as there are.
listened to told

3

Ma$^{n}$tcô'ja$^{n}$ ho'dadjohi'rera.
The grizzly bear was starting to roam.

4

Wa'wonatca$^{n}$t'i$^{n}$ nihe'ka.
Shouting you can hear him.
Ho'ratca$^{n}$t'i$^{n}$ nihe'ka.
His voice you can hear.

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2. Types of songs: The songs may be divided into two groups 796
(1) Those that are sung in connection with myths and after the 756
speeches of a more general nature, and (2) those that are sung to 533
accompany definite and specific actions. These latter can therefore be most conveniently divided into (*a*) minor dance songs, (*b*) major dance songs, (*c*) initial songs, (*d*) terminal songs, (*e*) loading songs, and (*f*) shooting songs. The medicine men distinguish only between four kinds of songs major and minor dance, terminal, and shooting songs. Each has a different rhythm and music. For purposes of description, however, the above division is more convenient.

3. Types of action (1) Blessing: Either hand is held outstretched, 756
palm downward, and moved horizontally through the air. It is 788
always used when entering and leaving the lodge and on any occasion where an individual has to pass from one part of the lodge to another.

It is always rendered as "blessing" by the Indians, and they particularly insist upon the fact that the "blessing" was not conveyed by any words used in connection with the action, but by the action itself. Each person who is thus passed answers with a long-drawn-out "*ho o o*" and with an obeisance of the head.

A modification of the above is the "blessing of the head," which consists of a simple laying of the hand upon the head, both the giver and the recipient keeping their eyes fixed upon the ground, the recipient slightly bending his head. A few mumbled words accompany this action.

(2) Direction of walking in the lodge: Individuals always walk con- 756
trary to the hands of the clock. A person in the east hand must 796
make the entire circuit of the lodge in order to pass out. In only 823
exceptional cases can this rule of passing be broken, and that is when an old and especially privileged member crosses from his seat to that directly opposite him during the shooting ceremony. I was given to understand that this was an extremely expensive privilege.

4. Types of ritual: Parts III, IV, and V can be so analyzed that 796
they fall into a fairly well-defined number of units, consisting of 756
speeches, songs, and movements. These units are nine in number. Artificial distinctions have been avoided in this division, as far as possible. The units are (1) entrance ritual; (2) exit ritual; (3) fire ritual; (4) presentation-of-food ritual; (5) shooting ritual; (6) initiation ritual; (7) sweat-lodge ritual; (8) smoking ritual; (9) basic ritual.

Of these, (3), (5), (7), (8), and (9) are found in Part III; all except (7) and (6) in Part IV (*a*); and all except (7) in Part IV (*b*). (5) does not actually occur in Part III, but is described in detail in the myth related there. The order in which we will discuss these ceremonial units is not the order in which they follow one another in the ritual. Some are interwoven with one another. Both these factors will, however, be considered in the description of the entire ritual, following the description of each ceremonial unit.

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### The Herucka Dance

535 The *Herucka* is a social dance and is frequently given when visitors
574 from other tribes are present, presents being given on this occasion. Men and women take part in it and are generally dressed in their best clothes. A few customs that were noticed at a performance in 1908 might be mentioned here.

If a man drops anything during the dance he himself may not pick it up. Only a warrior who has been wounded has the right to do so. The object dropped is returned to the owner, who, however, must always give it to his sister or niece.

It is at times customary for a man to dress himself in rags and beg for food, etc. He generally represents himself as an extremely poor man and pictures his destitution in a manner best calculated to amuse everyone.

[525] Wagers of horses are very commonly made at this dance.

The dances indulged in are mainly victory dances and the songs
[533] known as *Herucka* songs are always victory songs. Many borrowed songs are sung at this dance.

A large drum is always used, around which sometimes as many as
[534] 10 drummers sit. The drum consists of an ordinary tub over which skin has been tightly drawn. It is supported by two carved sticks, to which it is firmly attached, so that the bottom is about a foot from the ground. It is painted in the following manner: Two rather
[531] narrow lines of paint across the center of the drum, one blue and the other green. The portion of the drum next to the yellow line is painted blue, and that next to the blue line red. No meanings for the colors were obtained.

### Watconanẹk'ẹwẹ Feast
(AFRAID-TO-EAT-GREENS FEAST)

241 Informant, member of Beaver clan: Just about roasting-ear month
785 people would commence to fast and continue until the green corn is
262 ripe enough to be eaten. They fast so that all the plants may strengthen the tribe.

The fast generally takes place in a special lodge, from under which all the grass has been cut, for the faster must not come in contact with anything that is green. When the fasting is over a feast is given at which all those present eat "greens" for the first time.

### The Captive's Death Dance

727 Before putting a captive to death it is customary to tie his arms
535 behind him in such a manner that his hands have a little freedom. Then they put a gourd in his right hand and a lance in his left hand

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and permit him to dance and sing. This is called the *wągąnigke-i*[a] dance."[a] 727 535

"So then the turtle was told to dance his death dance—i. e., *wągąnigke-i*[a] dance. Both of his arms were tied behind above the elbows. Only thus was he permitted to walk. His wrists were tied in front, so that he could not stretch out his arms. His ankles were tied in such a way that he could not take any long steps. He carried a gourd in one hand and a sacred object in the other, and with these he danced up and down the village, performing his death dance and singing and shaking his gourd. Many people came to see him. He stopped and changed his song, singing, "O death, O death! You young women come here to see me. I am anxious for death."

. . .

(It seems that it is customary to grant any wish the captive makes while dancing this dance.)

### The Farewell Dance

When a person is about to go on the warpath he goes around the village dancing and asking for volunteers to accompany him. New volunteers join him as he dances and sings. When the dancing is over these volunteers tell the people how their forefathers encouraged them to go on the warpath, etc. 535 721

At the beginning and end of each song they strike their mouths with their hands and give a whoop.

#### Farewell Songs

533 539 535 721

I

Hi'shá wojo'ji yare'na[a] da'ru[a] wa'ghénągro waja[a] ana'ągwo; hi'sha
Truth he speaks I hope, war leaders, what he says, truth
wojo'ji yare'na[a].
he tells I hope.

II

Cunkana'ągwo je'sho hidanąhki'i[a]na dotcá'ąkora wągą'nągo: je'sho
These dogs like I think of myself war leader a man I am: Thus
hidanąhki'i[a]na.
I think of myself.
(I. e., I don't value my life any more than that of a dog.)

III

Jiąo' ya'ągani'na[a] waja[a] a'i[a]p'anai'na dotru'ąkora; jiąo' yare'na[a].
Again I desire it something a long time war leader; again I desire
(I. e., it is a long time since I have been on the warpath.)

IV

Ga ai'ącke zawa'nąkcano'na[a] dotru[a] wąkorarącke zawa'nąkcanona[a]
Even that they say will disappear war leader even he will disappear.
(I. e., I don't value my life any more than the war-leader does.)

[a] The following description of this dance, contained in one of the versions of the myth, "Turtle on the warpath," is no doubt fairly accurate.

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The soldier dance is a hop up and down with both feet and in no 796
particular order, anywhere around the singers. It is held in the 614
open air. [535]

SOLDIER DANCE SONGS

I 796

Manaap'e'ra na"ji"winê. 614
Soldiers get up.

II 533

Waa"nija" teexigi'ji na"ji"a"siję. 539
Something difficult get ready.
(I. e., whenever there is anything difficult to do you must get ready.)

III

Manaap'e'ra newine'na" hu'nagiredra.
Soldiers I am he whom they spoke of.

IV

Manaap'e'ra hi'ja" wine'na".
Soldier one I am.
(I. e., I am a soldier, and if there is anything to do I'll do it.)

## CEREMONY OF UANGERU

(BEGGING CEREMONY)

A dummy is made of grass and dressed with whatever objects the 735
maker wants to get. If he wants a horse he puts a bridle crosswise [532]
around the body of the dummy; if he wants clothes, he dresses him
up in Indian clothes. Then the man places this dummy anywhere
near a gathering, or where he expects a gathering to take place. He
sits near it. As soon as any warrior sees the dummy he goes over
to it and either kicks or strikes the man who made it, giving him at
the same time one of the objects he wanted. Any person may do
the same. They may not stop kicking the man until some warrior
who had at some time or another cut up an enemy in war cuts up
the dummy. Then all stop, and as soon as his bruises permitted him,
the man would get up and pick up the gifts brought to him.

## FEAST TO BUFFALO TAIL

A grandfather of mine called Cokeboka fasted at Neceda, Wis. 787
There he was blessed by a young buffalo bull calf belonging to a herd.
The calf said, as the herd went by, "Father, keep going in the road;
mother, keep going in the road." He meant a warpath instead of
the road they were going in. The man was to go on a warpath, from
which he would return victorious.

They used to make offerings to this tail alone, apart from the war [782
bundle. The braided grass was to be used for smoking. The feast 778]
is given in spring after the grass grows up, and in midwinter. Ground 527
corn is boiled in making the feast.

## KIKRE WACI AND TCEBOKONA"K DANCES

There is a pleasure dance called *kikre waci* and a dance called 535
*tcebokona"k* (wearing buffalo headdresses). The latter is of Sioux 177
origin.

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# CHAPTER XVI

## THE PEYOTE CULT

### General Description

794 Owing to the great importance of one of the modern cults found among the Winnebago, the so-called Mescal or Peyote, it will be discussed here in some detail. Not only is this cult of great prominence in the life of the modern Winnebago, but as its inception and progress can be followed out in considerable detail it is of great significance for the study of their religion.

[346] The ceremony is generally held in a building called by the Peyote worshipers a church, although it frequently takes place in the open also. In the early days of its organization as many meetings as possible were held. In 1910 there was a tendency to restrict the number and to have them generally take place on Saturday night. In 1913, after the first enthusiasm of the new converts had died out, the author was informed that the meetings were rarely held more than once a week. Around Christmas and beginning with July a series of meetings was held, lasting from a week to 10 days, as a rule. The Christmas meetings were not prominent in 1910, but the July ones seem to have been held from the beginning. They represent, of course, merely a substitution for the older pagan ceremonies and games that were held about that time.

796 In the early days the ceremony was opened by a prayer from the
794 founder, and this was followed by an introductory speech. There-
[533] upon the leader sang a Peyote song, to the accompaniment of a drum. Then another speech was delivered, and when it was finished the drum and other regalia were passed to the man to the right. This man, in turn, delivered a speech and sang a song, and when he was finished, passed the regalia to the third man, who subsequently passed it to the fourth one. The fourth man, when he was finished, returned it to the leader. In this way the regalia passed from one person to another throughout the night. It not infrequently happens that one of these four gets tired and gives up his place temporarily to some other member of the cult. At intervals they stopped to eat
[276] or drink peyote. At about midnight the peyote, as a rule, begins to affect some people. These generally arise and deliver self-accusatory
[783] speeches, and make more or less formal confessions, after which they go around shaking hands with everyone and asking forgiveness.

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the Trinity." Then all sit down and the leader makes the regular announcements. The peyote is then passed around, either in the dry condition or steeped. The leader thereupon starts the singing. These are some of the songs: 794 796 159 [276]

1. Ask God for life and he will give it to us.
2. God created us so pray to him.
3. To the home of Jesus we are going, so pray to him. [533]
4. Come ye to the road of the Son of God; come ye to the road.

Then Albert Hensley calls upon 12 educated members to translate and interpret certain portions of the Bible for the nonreading members. He arranges with the leader to have the singing stop at certain places so that some of these young men can speak. When these are finished, other individuals are called upon to give testimony. Hensley always talks and so does Rave. 794 177 796 159

John Rave baptizes by dipping his hand in a diluted infusion of peyote and rubbing it across the forehead of a new member, saying, "I baptize thee in the name of God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which is called God's Holiness." [788]

The peyote eaters wanted to get baptized and unite with the church in Winnebago, but the clergyman in charge would not permit them, so they went and did their own baptizing through their leader, John Rave, who, though he is not educated, is full of real intelligence and religion.

If a person who is truly repentant eats peyote for the first time, he does not suffer at all from its effects. But if an individual is bullheaded, does not believe in its virtue, he is likely to suffer a good deal. This I know from my own experience. After eating peyote I grasped the meaning of the Bible, which before had been meaningless to me. 794 276 159

If a person eats peyote and does not repent openly, he has a guilty conscience, which leaves him as soon as the public repentance has been made. [783]

Old men and women who had been brought up to worship animals and all kinds of spirits have cast them all away and in many instances burned their idols, not because they were told to do so but because they felt that way.

Whenever at our meetings a person wishes to pray, he does so; when he wishes to cry, he does so. Indeed, we show no timidity about worshiping God in the right way. In the Bible one often reads of Christ casting out the devils and of the people shouting, etc. So does the peyote act on us in the beginning, although afterwards its effects abate.

If a peyote eater relapses into his old way of living, then the peyote causes him great suffering.

At first our meetings were started without any rule laid down by the Bible, but afterwards we found a very good reason for holding [177]

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794 and, going to his seat, where all the other objects are spread out, he
796 sits down and prays. He prays that all the participants may be
276 strengthened by the prospective meeting. He offers up thanks for
177 the peyote and prays that all may be in the proper spirit that night. Then he throws the needles in the fire and holds the peyote over the smoke of the cedar. When this has been finished he returns to his seat, eats one peyote, and gives one to the drummer. After they have eaten these he passes four peyote in turn to those on his left until the peyote comes to the one sitting nearest the door. Four peyote are given to the one nearest the door that he, in turn, may pass them to those on the other side of the door and so on until the leader is reached again. Before the peyote is eaten, the leader gets up and talks. He instructs the people as to the nature of the meeting and tells them that those who wish to go out must do so after the midnight water is drunk and not until after the leader returns from outside. No one is to go out while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote. He then speaks of the special prayers that are to be offered up and asks them to offer general prayers for all nonmembers and even for their enemies. After that the leader again offers up a prayer and smokes all the objects he had spread before his seat. Then the songs are to start, all, however, first eating peyote.

(When the fire first starts and thereafter, throughout the night, it is supposed to represent light, just as God said, "Let there be light.")

[533] The first song is always the same and is called the starting song. Those that follow are peyote songs. When he has finished these songs he passes the singing staff to the right of the drummer. When this one has finished the staff is returned to the leader, who passes it on to the left, and then in rotation it goes to the one sitting near the door. The drum, when it is handed on, is always passed under the staff. The fire is always replenished, but toward midnight special care is taken in this regard and the coals are placed in the shape of a crescent between the fire and the earth crescent, and the fireman sweeps first around the left and then around the right side. Then exactly at midnight the leader calls for his singing staff and his drum, no matter where they happen to be, and, taking the singing
[533] staff and sending the drum to the drummer, he blows his flute and sings. The song he sings then is called the midnight song. After that three peyote songs are sung, it making no difference which they are. As the leader starts his midnight song the fireman takes up his position at the doorway opposite the fireplace and the leader. When the second song is started the fireman turns around to the right and goes out and gets water and soon comes back with it. When he reenters he makes the figure of a cross on the ground where
[788] he stood just before he left and places water on it. Then he squats down on his knees.

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When the leader stops singing he walks to the crescent by the fireplace and begins praying again. After the prayer he burns some more cedar needles. The reason for drinking water at midnight is because Christ was born at midnight and because of the good tidings that he brought to the earth, for water is one of the best things in life and Christ is the savior of mankind. After the leader has made his prayer and the cedar is burned, then the fireman reaches over toward the smoke and makes a motion with his body as if he were drawing the smoke over himself. He then takes the water and brings it over to the leader. The leader takes a bunch of feathers and, dipping it into the water, sprinkles it on the peyote, then on the fire, on the sage, and finally all over the lodge, beginning with the doorway and then going around. The water is then drunk in a regular order, first by the leader, then by the drummer, and then by all the other people. After all these things have been done the leader returns the staff to the man from whom he had taken it at midnight. As soon as this man starts the singing again the leader takes his flute and goes outside. He goes toward the east for a short distance, and there he sits down and offers up a prayer for the people. Then he blows his flute, and going to the south of the lodge repeats the same procedure. This is also repeated for the west and the north. When the singing within the lodge has stopped, he returns and takes his seat. 794 796 177

The purpose of going to the four directions and blowing the flute is to announce the birth of Christ to all the world.

After the leader has reentered the singing continues as before. At daybreak the fireman fixes the fire in the same way as at midnight. The staff, drum, etc., is now passed to the leader, who as soon as he has received everything takes his flute and blows on it. Before doing this, however, he puts on his otter-skin cap. The purpose of blowing the flute just at that time is to represent the trumpet of the Day of Judgment, when Christ will appear wearing His crown in all glory. The putting on of the otter-skin cap represents the crown.

The song used on this occasion is called the water song. After the first song is finished the fireman opens the door and a woman enters carrying water, which she pours over the cross which the fireman had sprinkled at midnight. The fireman then spreads something for her to sit on, between the water and the door. [533]

When the leader has finished his four songs, he lays down his staff, etc., and, taking some cedar needles, offers up a prayer of thanks, and as he finishes he throws the cedar into the fire and sits down while the woman gathers the smoke toward her in the same way as the fireman had done on the previous night. Then the leader takes a drinking cup and sends it toward the woman. The

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×796 After the buckskins have been marked the host arranges them on
778 frames. The buckskin to Earthmaker is so arranged on its frame
782 that the head points upward; that to the Thunderbirds is so arranged that its head points toward the west; that to the Night Spirits, that its head points to the east; that to the Morning Star, that its head points to the east; and those to the Earth and Water, that their heads point downward. After they have been attached to the frame they are rolled up, and the ceremony can be said to have begun. Then the guests enter, no order being observed in the manner of entering. As soon as they have all taken their places, the oldest warrior belonging to the host's band is called upon to offer tobacco to the spirits. This he does by going to the main fireplace, offering up brief prayers, and at the conclusion of each one pouring tobacco into the fire. The first prayer is always to the fire itself.[1] When he is finished, the host takes the buckskins, unrolls them, and distributes them to the various guests. The buckskin for the Thunderbirds is always given to the guest of honor, and the others are given in the following rotation: Great Black Hawk, Disease-giver, South Wind, Earthmaker, Sun, Morning Star, Night Spirits, Moon, Earth, and Water. The buckskin to Earthmaker is assigned to the middle guest, but as he is the first guest to speak, the buckskin itself is hung on the center pole that is erected in the front portion of the lodge.

After the guests have received their buckskins they stand in their respective positions, holding the buckskin in one hand and some tobacco in the other. The host concludes his remarks, and then taking his flute, blows upon it. After this he sings two songs, accompanying himself with his gourd rattles. Then the buckskins are rolled up again, but in such a way that the markings still remain visible, and hung up just west of the first fireplace, with the exception of the Earthmaker's buckskin. The host now takes the war bundle, opens it, and places it at the foot of the center pole. He then makes the circuit of the lodge, pouring some tobacco into the hands of each invited guest. When this is finished, he pours some tobacco upon the war bundle and some into the fire and proceeds to offer prayers to all the spirits, asking each in turn for life and victory on the war-
[858] path. When he is through all the guests pour tobacco on the war bundle and into the fire. Children are often allowed to pour tobacco also, the attendants bringing them from the western portion of the lodge. After the offerings of tobacco are finished the offerings of buckskin are made. Then the basic ritual is started by the host. He takes the flutes, drum, and gourds and sings in his own place. There are many different sets of songs, and every time he starts a
[523] different set he first blows upon his flute. The songs for the Thunderbird have eight starting songs and six dancing songs. When the

[1] This prayer, for some unknown reason, is omitted in the following account. It was obtained, however, in connection with another account of the same ceremony.

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through, the buckskin is taken down, unrolled, and the thunder-buckskin given to the band sitting opposite the host. The other buckskins are then distributed in rotation, except that the buckskin to Earthmaker is given to the guest who occupies the middle position in the lodge. All the guests remain standing with their unrolled buckskins, holding them by the sticks and keeping tobacco in their other hand, while the old man speaks to them and blows first upon a flute. Then, to the accompaniment of a gourd, he sings two songs. After that the buckskins are rolled up again in such a way that the markings remain visible, and hung up again on sticks that are placed near the individual invited guests, just west of the first fireplace. There they have a pole for Earthmaker, at whose foot the war bundle is placed and opened. Tobacco is then poured into the hands of each of the invited guests by the host. He offers tobacco especially for those individuals for whom he has prepared buckskins and kettles, asking each of them in turn for life and for victory on the warpath. When he finishes he pours some tobacco into the fire and some upon the war bundle. All the persons invited then, in turn, do the same. If the host has any children present in the lodge, he has them do the same. Children are always escorted by the attendant. The host now takes the gourds, drum, etc., and, remaining in his own place, sings different sets of songs. As often as he starts a new set, he blows upon his flute. The songs of the Thunderbird consist of eight starting songs, sung slowly, six dancing songs, etc. As soon as the dancing songs are begun, all the men in the lodge come around the war bundle and dance, blowing the flute, etc. Women may dance likewise, but they must remain in that part of the tent especially assigned to them. 796x 782 [533] [562]

Before the contents of the kettle are cooked the host sings four sets of songs. As soon as the first set has been started the attendants get as many pipes as possible and bring them to the war bundle. They also place there a large pipe with stem directed toward the west and a large pile of tobacco. These pipes are then passed back to the various guests in order to be smoked. 796x 276

After the first set of songs is over the large pipe is taken and lit by one of the attendants and passed around the lodge, in ceremonial manner, each member taking a puff and passing it to the next one. When the songs to the Disease-giver are sung, the pipe is placed against the center pole with stem directed south. Before the Disease-giver songs are sung the story of their origin is told. At the end of the last of the initial songs the old man with tobacco in each hand says *Ho—o —o —o—!* He then pours tobacco into the fireplace. He is really presenting it to the Disease-giver. Then dancing songs are used as before. Usually dog meat is put in the kettle designed for the Disease-giver. [782 262]

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the spirits. We will try also to use some of the songs that were taught to the owner of the bundle when he was blessed. We will perhaps make you smoke poor tobacco and tire you out by making you sit too long, and we will probably keep you hungry too long, but we know that you have served at these feasts and that this ceremony is good and that you know how to carry it on. It is good that you set thus. They say that if we sit up all night at a feast we will be able to obtain victory in war and long life. For this purpose you have come here and intend to sit with us. We are very glad. We will be at your service and as soon as the attendants have the food ready you shall receive some. To those sitting in the place of the setting of the sun, the Thunderers, we will sing the songs they taught our grandfather. We will attempt to sing them for you. If we can remember them, we will use about four." 716x 539x 782

After he has concluded, the members of his band sing the Thunderbird songs and when they are finished they sing the dancing songs. [533]

When these are over the host speaks again.

"Sons of wars, I greet you. We are delivering our speeches as fast as possible. When our grandfather was blessed he fasted, denying himself water. He suffered much. It was then that the spirits had compassion upon him. One of the spirits met him in broad daylight, one day, at noon. He blessed him with victory in war and with the life, or good half, of his body,[4] and with the right to hand on this blessing for generations. As long as the people offer red feathers and tobacco and make feasts in his honor, so long will he not trouble them with disease. He said that these were the things he liked—dog, red feathers, and tobacco. These are the things that we accordingly offer him. We will now use his songs, which are in another language. I suppose we will make a great many mistakes, but it is said that even if a person knows only one song he should try and use it, for through it victory in war and long life can be obtained. With this thought before us we will try. We were also told that we must leave nothing undone.

"Sons of wars, and you who represent the spirits, I greet you." [533]

Now the slow songs are sung, and after they are finished, the dance songs. Then the host rises and speaks again.

"Sons of war, I greet you. After we have used four lots of songs we will have the feast. The attendants will have the food ready about that time. The songs that we will attempt to sing will be Thunderbird songs and the songs of the different spirits that accompany this bundle, the Sun, the Moon, the Morning Star, the Earth, the Water, the Daylight, and the Eagle. The songs of all of these spirits we will try to use and sing.

[4] Evidently it was the Dream-giver who blessed him.

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x 796 would have used were he alive do I ask of you. And if we take the
x 539 feathers that are in this war bundle on the warpath, may it so happen
782 that even if we see only one enemy we may be the ones to have the
776 war honor. This is what we ask of you and for this we offer tobacco to you.

"To you, Hare, do we offer tobacco. Here it is. The blessing you bestowed on our grandfather, that we ask of you, the so-called nephew. Victory in war and life we ask, should we ever go on the warpath; that we may conquer without effort and that we may be safe in the midst of the weapons of our enemies.

"To you, the Turtle, we offer tobacco. Here it is. Men's tobacco we offer you that you may fill your pipe. Our offerings are lacking in every respect, for we have no kettle for you. But we can not offend you, it is said. You have, in truth, power in war and that is why we ask you for victory in war. Grandfather, we offer you tobacco.

"To you, grandmother, the Earth, do we offer tobacco. We offer you men's tobacco. We ask victory in war from you. When our grandfather made a bundle of spirit-power, you added your power. For that reason we have been keeping tobacco for you. Here it is. Grandmother, we offer tobacco to you.

"To all those who have blessed our grandfather with spirit-power—for we do not know you all—we offer tobacco to those on earth and to those above. It is our desire that you bless us with the blessings you conferred upon our grandfather. Grandfathers, warriors, I greet you all. I am sorry that I have been boring you with my talk, and that I have perhaps made you smoke too much. But we wish to obtain victory and life, and it is said that patience gains both of these. Knowing this, you have faithfully sat through this whole ceremony. I thank you, and yet I must ask more of you. I must ask that the drum and songs be sent around the lodge as soon as I get through singing. As the Nights go around the earth at night so will the drum go around this lodge. I will now use the songs of the Nights, that is what I mean. Warriors, I greet you."

● [533] After singing slow songs he sings dancing songs, and then he speaks again:

"Warriors, I greet you. As I said before, you may sing the songs of the Nights. Your songs are certainly more spirit-like, and they have the power of obtaining life. I now send the drum to you."

Then the attendants take the drum, together with some tobacco, and carry it across the lodge, to a place opposite the host, and place it in front of one of the guests belonging to another clan. He also puts some tobacco in the hands of this person. Then the one about to sing rises and speaks as follows:

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"Feast-givers and relatives, as well as you guests who are present, I greet you all. It is good that I have been honored by being placed in the path of the drum. It is said that so great is the sacredness attached to this affair that one must not refuse to accept the drum as it passes around the lodge. I also feel honored at the offering of tobacco. Indeed I feel saved, and I pray that whosoever comes in contact with these things may be strengthened thereby. As soon as I have offered the tobacco I will use the songs of our fathers. We do not know them as well as we ought to, but we will try nevertheless. It is said that if you only know one song, you must try to use it even to the point of tears; just as it is said, that if you cry after a victory you must put aside all sense of shame. Thinking of these things I will now try to sing. Tobacco I offer you."

He throws it into the fire, saying at the same time, "Grandfathers, Night Spirits, I offer you tobacco. I know that we will spoil your songs, but it is said that you are merciful and that you will sing them again to yourselves correctly. If we make any mistakes have pity on us, grandfathers, and we ask you to walk faster so that daylight may come soon. Here is the tobacco. We offer it to you."

Then he sings slow songs, and then dancing songs. One of the attendants now comes forward with tobacco in his hand, and takes the drum and moves it to another of the invited guests. He also gives this person some tobacco. This one then rises and thanks all the other people in general and says approximately the same as the man before him, praising them for all the things he could think of, accepting the tobacco, and then offering it to the spirits and to the fire. He particularly asks the Nights to walk faster so that morning might come to them sooner. After he sings his songs, which like the others are Night songs, the drum is taken and moved to another of the invited guests. Thus it passes from one to another until it has made the entire circuit of the lodge. Generally at about dawn it reaches the place of the host, from where it had started on the previous day. He sings certain songs which are called the old night songs, because the old nights are not supposed to come until approaching daylight and because their hair is white from age. When they come they bring light. All those who may perhaps have fallen asleep at this time either wake up or are awakened, for the Nights who now come are old and carry canes which, when directed toward a sleeping person, causes him to die. After the host has finished the old night songs he sings the dancing songs.

The buckskins are then taken down and carried around the lodge. All those present now arise and dance in their special places, as the buckskin passes them. The host and his invited guests now take their buckskins in one hand, holding tobacco at the same time, and pass around the lodge in single file. Thus they go around the lodge

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X796
X539
782

four times. The fourth time they make the circuit they stop at the first fireplace and throw the buckskins through the holes of the lodge. It is supposed that the old Night Spirits seize them at this moment and carry them up to the sky with them. The singing now ceases, and all the people take their seats again. The drum is now taken and placed in front of the host's place. He thereupon rises and speaks as follows:

"Ye warriors, as many as you are who are sitting here, I greet. It is good that you have complied with my wishes and that the spirits have already taken their buckskins and their food, and that they have left our presence. But nevertheless we will sing our last song, even if it appears that they are being sung into empty space. I know that you have already had compassion upon me, even although I am making you suffer with hunger, but let us, nevertheless, sing one more song, and then we can rest. My grandfather used these songs in time of war, and never did he miss a war honor when using them. These we will now use. You, warriors, and those of you who possess holy paints, it must seem shameful to you for me to speak this way. For we have no holy paint. However, we will not sing them with the intention of making people believe that we have holy paints, but simply because we have used them in war and found them good. That is why I am about to use them now, and that is why they belong to this bundle. Warriors, you may hear. Know you that I will use these songs in seeking victory and life. Nor will the dancing be limited merely to those who possess paint, but to anyone of the warriors here present. This will be the last dancing song. I greet you all."

[533] Then he sings some songs, both the slow and the dancing songs. After that he rises and says the following:

"Warriors who are seated here, I greet you. I suppose it is enough that I have made you suffer with hunger all night. As soon as the attendants can get around to it the food will be placed before you again. I know that it will be lacking in every respect, but let me appeal to your good natures. On this first fireplace there is going to be a kettle for the Disease-giver. A four-legged animal, one of his own members, we will offer to him, together with tobacco and deerskins. We are also going to send to him a little four-legged animal, one with whom our children have been fond of playing. He is now in front of us. Whoever wishes to offer tobacco to the Disease-giver can do so now, and as soon as the feast is over and the bones are gathered, we will take them and, strewing tobacco upon them, place them outside. Let me tell you again that anyone who wishes may offer tobacco and ask of the Disease-giver that he keep illness away from him. Women are not permitted to partake of this kettle, so see to it that only men eat of it. As I said before,

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x796
x539 skins ready. Then they told them to make some invitation sticks. Only four invitation sticks were to be made, and they were to tie tobacco to each of them. The lodge was now ready (fig. 36). They had fixed the vertical poles and had tied them with prickly cedar sinews. The vertical poles they painted blue.

[202] Then he who was to be the host told the attendants to take the invitation sticks to certain people. "Bring the first one to my friend, Manuba'ga. See that you give it to him. I am sure that he will be here soon after. The second stick you may give to Ka-o'saga. The third one you may give to Mazihimain'jga. Be sure that you bring them to all those who possess war bundles."

The attendant did as he was told and returned and told the host that it was done. "I have seen all of them and told them to make ready. They will soon come and sit down."

All were now in the lodge and were seated. The old man, Kari'ga, was the host. All his posterity were there. He had placed meat in the kettles over the fireplaces. The first kettle was for Earthmaker and the second for Turtle. "Put them on," he said to the attendants. "Put the third one on for the Thunderbird, and the fourth one for the Fire, the fifth one for the Earth, the sixth one for the Morning Star, the seventh one for Without Horn, and the eighth one for the Nights. Then put on a small kettle for Disease-giver and a full kettle for the Ruce'we.

"*Hao*, we will pour tobacco for them my friend, Manuba'ga. Whenever we can obtain a 'counciling' we always do this, for in that way we help one another. You who are sitting here for me, bundle owners, as many of you as there are within this lodge who are taking the place of the spirits, all of you I greet. War-bundle owners, all of us are thus. When you obtain a council feast for yourselves, then you will help one another. We are putting ourselves in a very pitiable condition, so you must have thought of us, and that is why you came at our bidding. It is good. And we are going to make you fearfully tired. But I beg of you, nevertheless, to continue until the end. We are now going to sing."

They get up and the guests hold tobacco in their hands. Then they sing and weep. The one who was fasting at that time stood at the war bundle crying. Then they sang the following songs:

[533]

Human, four chunks of meat I give you.
Human, four chunks of meat you will eat.
I made it for you, for you who carry the war bundle.

[782] Thus they spoke standing and weeping, pouring tobacco upon the war bundle. This they did. Then Turtle songs were used. That is what they call them. After that they used Thunderbird songs, and then what are called friends' songs. Finally they used the songs [533] they obtained when Disease-giver blessed them. Four songs they

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T96x
539x

had given them. Then songs that were associated with the drum that they use in the Night-Spirit dance were sung. The feast was now ready. [533]

"Make ready the kettle in front of the fireplace; take the most prominent parts of the animal out of it; make the second kettle you put on also ready. Hurry up, for we are about to have a fast-eating contest. The lower clans and the upper clans will contest. They will try to partake of war. Make ready. You, Mąnuba'ga choose a person, and do you, Kąro'sąga, do the same."

Now they were ready to have the fast-eating contest. They all sat down. [264]

"Now listen," said the host, "as soon as the flute is blown they will begin the contest. Then will be the time for all the feast givers to sing."

Now, this is one of the songs they sang:

Where they eat, there you went, it is said.

Now they finished. Mąnuba'ga was defeated and Kąro'sąga won. The guests filled their dishes, and the kettle that had been put on for Earthmaker was taken down and placed before Mąnuba'ga, so that he might select the best parts. Then the second kettle that had been placed on the fire for Earthmaker was put in front of Kąro'sąga. The third kettle that had been offered to the Thunder-spirits was placed in front of Nązihima'niga. The host then, in turn, mentioned by name all the invited guests and told the attendants what kettles were to be brought to them. As soon as the dishes had been distributed each one began to eat. They never waited for one another to start. While they were eating the members of the host's band sang. When the meal was over Mąnuba'ga rose and spoke as follows:

"Councilors, relatives, uncles, I salute you all. As many spirits as are in charge of life you have mentioned during the ceremony. Tobacco and food you have sent to them as offerings. I am sure that for that reason they will give you all that you have asked, and I also feel that I, myself, will be able to obtain something on which I can live, and that should I encounter on the warpath an enemy whose death has been ordained, it will be my fate to kill him. Thus I have been thinking, and that is why I have been sitting here. War-bundle owners, as many of you as are sitting in this lodge—war-bundle carriers, as many of you as are here—you have, indeed, had tobacco poured out for you to-day, and tobacco has also been offered to the powers that you have tied up in your bundles. I feel grateful for the fact and that I have been invited to attend, and that is why I am saying this. Councilors, war-bundle owners, all who are seated in this lodge, I salute you."

The leaders of all the other bands say practically the same.

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X796 539 [782] After the speeches were all over the offerings were taken down and thrown outside through the opening in the roof of the lodge and then night songs were sung. Before throwing the offerings out they marched around the lodge carrying them in their hands. At the approach of dawn the drum, gourds, etc., have about made the entire circuit of the lodge, and as soon as they reach the host he begins to sing the night [533] songs. After these he sings turtle songs, and then the songs are over. The host now calls upon some one to give the war whoop, so that the spirits in the west may hear their voices. Nanhi'tcoga gave the war whoop. All joined in, and the feast was over.

X796 805 [776] *Descriptive notes on the Bear clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant, member of clan: About the middle of winter, in the month called deer-breeding month, the Winnebago used to go out hunting, and they gave a feast to all the spirits who had blessed them.

[774] They are very careful not to have the kettles boil over, because they believe that a man's soul (*na·yi'rak'*) might be wandering about and is likely to come down along the chain of the kettle. If it doesn't boil over, the man is likely to conquer the possessions of this spirit (of an enemy) in the next battle.

202 554] The invitation sticks are sent out only to men who own a war bundle, and the clans are invited in the following fashion: First the Wolf, then the Hawk, and then any order.

778 The contents of the war bundle represent the following: The crow means strength in running. The turtle and the spear, the blessings which enable one to get out of difficulties, the former referring especially to difficulties in crossing water; they also enable their possessor to foretell when enemies are approaching and to tell an individual how many enemies he is going to conquer. The flute represents the 789 voices of musical birds. When an enemy hears them it paralyzes him and he can not run.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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Bear, the doorway of his lodge; for the Wolf and Water-spirit, water. They were not obtained for all the clans. We indicated before that these "possessions" may have been primarily connected with the animals associated with the clan, upon which an additional socio-religious interpretation has been superimposed. The whole subject is, however, closely related to that of clan etiquette, for which no explanations can, of course, be given now. 614 [778]

### *The Clan Marks of Identification.*

As if more fully to set off the social unit of the clan, there have come to be associated with it definite marks of identification, such as symbols, property marks, facial decorations, and songs.

The symbols of only two clans were obtained, although a number of other clans seem to have possessed them. There were the war club (*nąmąice*) of the Thunderbird clan, and the peculiarly whittled stick (*namąxɪnixɪni*) of the Bear clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan died, a miniature war club was buried with him. Whether the *namąxɪnixɪni* was buried with a member of the Bear clan, we do not know. [778] [764]

The property mark consisted of the effigy of the clan animal, and was woven on such objects as bags, tobacco pouches, etc. It was also frequently engraved on wooden objects. Its most peculiar uses, however, were the emblematic earthen effigy mounds, in the shape of the clan animal, which were erected near the habitation of each clan in the village and in the centre of clan squash fields, corn fields, etc.[1] 614 421 [532] [361]

Associated with every clan are also four clan songs. These are supposed to be the four songs sung by the ancestors of each clan when they came to this earth. They are always sung on the death of an individual, and are supposed to serve as a mark of identification in the journey of the soul to the land of the spirits. The use of these songs is so intimately associated with death, that when some hardened offender, 614 533 764 [775] [627]

[1] For a fuller discussion of these, see Radin, *Some Aspects of Winnebago Archæology*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 13, 1911, pp. 517-538.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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let us say, some individual who has killed a member of the tribe and who refuses to make atonement of any kind, is pursued, he defiantly sings his clan songs.

As a last element in the clan-complex may be mentioned the specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

We have now completed the discussion of clan organization. As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary associations that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that the complex has grown around a strong social-political unit.

### THE CLAN AS A SOCIO-CEREMONIAL COMPLEX.

Up to the present our attention has been directed entirely to the clan as a socio-political complex and only passing mention has been made of those religious or ceremonial associations that may also have clustered around it. Among the Omaha, as we have frequently pointed out, these latter associations were of paramount importance and probably dwarfed the development of the political functions. Among the Winnebago, on the whole, they were unimportant. This very fact makes the solitary instance in which a fairly marked development took place of all the greater value, quite apart from the fact that it happens to give, on the one hand, an exceptionally instructive illustration of the secondary association of a ceremonial function with a social unit, and, on the other, a similarly instructive illustration of the association of a function generally belonging to an individual shaman with a social unit. Such an association has taken place with the Bear clan, and, owing to its importance, we will quote the data in extenso. The ceremony is known as "soldiers' dance" (*manype waci*).

"When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village, the people go to the chief and say, 'Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!' And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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announced that he was about to give a feast in honor of Creator, all the 796
spirits of the world above, all the spirits of the world below, and all 537
those spirits who had appeared in dreams to any of those present. In this way, as determined by his grandfathers, should long life, and happiness, and health and success in warfare be assured to those participating. He cited the giving of tobacco to various spirits; the dedication of the cooking meat to various spirits. He called upon other custodians of war-bundles and their waiters, who might be present, to assist in the singing, speaking, and dancing. "O! O!", assented the custodians [201] of other war-bundles who were present.

The drum was now placed before the leader, who passed it to one 796
of his three musicians. The other two and the leader were equipped with gourd rattles. The leader then took a reed whistle and on it [534] actually played a tune very like a bugle call. Three distinct notes were produced by varying the force with which he blew it. He then started a song, his eyes closed as if in prayer, his face stamped with serious [533] devotion. His assistants joined in, to the accompaniment of drum and rattles. A short rest intervalled the completion of this song and the start of the next. Three other songs followed in like manner. All of this music was relatively slow in time and not designed to be accompanied by dancing. A fifth song, of like character, was accompanied [782 by the leader's throwing several pinches of tobacco over the war-bundle. 276]

The next musical contribution was a dancing song and all the men 796
who so desired gathered about the war-bundle, selecting therefrom reed whistles, and danced in place while blowing the whistles. There being 533
not enough whistles to go around, some took fetishes which they held 535
reverently in their hands while dancing. At the same time, the women at the west end of the lodge rose and danced in place. With slight pauses between, four dance songs were so rendered. At the end of each song, the male dancers participated in a series of war whoops. Everyone present apparently experienced a keen delight in this. One old [887] man, blind and so feeble that he could not rise to his feet without assistance, insisted on dancing, without moving from his allotted place by the wall, and added his quavering voice to feebly swell the volume of each battle cry.

When the set of dancing songs was finished, whistles and fetishes 796
were replaced on the bundle and all took their allotted places. Then the leader again spoke, his voice at times quavering with emotion, [532] practically repeating his first speech. Again the honored guests an- [201] swered with, "O! O!".

The head waiter then took the pipe from its position over the war bundle, and carried it to the guest seated nearest the door on the south [276] side. While this old man puffed, the waiter lit the contents of the bowl with a stick, placed beside the fireplace for that purpose and lighted

## §25. *I Get Delirium Tremens*

159* 273 [657]

During the cranberry-picking season I drank all the time, and after that chased the payments. I continued drinking. When the payments had all been made, I went to Black River Falls. I was entirely without money. I was supposed to go back to Wittenberg, but I didn't have the fare. I went back to the Indians and stayed all night. In the morning I was sick. I was shaking from head to foot. When I tried to drink coffee, I would spill it; when I lay down, I used to see big snakes. I cried out and got up. Then when I wanted to go to sleep again, I thought I heard some one calling me. I raised the cover of my bed and looked around, but saw nothing. Whenever the wind blew, I thought I heard singing. I thought I heard imaginary people spit very loudly; I heard them and I could not sleep. As soon as I closed my eyes I began to see things. I saw things that were happening in a distant country. I saw ghosts on horseback, drunk. Five or six of them were on one horse, and they were singing. I recognized them, for they were people who had died long before. I heard the words of their song as they sang:

"I, even I, must die some time, so of what value is anything, I think." [533]

## *Crashing Thunder*

* 159 Thus they sang, and it made a good song. I myself
293 learned it, and later on it became a drinking song known
● [533] by many people. I like it very much.

The next morning I rode on a train, and after a while we came to a town. Two days after this I stopped drinking and kept it up throughout the whole winter because I was unable to drink. I vomited every time I tried to drink beer. Throughout the winter I did not drink, and I kept this up until the following summer.

[P. 158]

*159 795 796 Earthmaker and then eat the peyote." I, however, ate the peyote immediately for I did not know what to ask for and I did not know what to say in a prayer to Earthmaker. I therefore ate the peyote buttons just as they were. They were very bitter and had a taste difficult for me to describe. After eating them I wondered a good deal about what was going to happen to me. Soon I was given five more peyote buttons and these also I ate. They tasted rather bitter. I was now very quiet for the peyote had somewhat weakened me. I listened attentively to the singing and liked it very much. I felt as though I were partly asleep and quite different from my normal self. When I looked around and examined myself, however, I saw nothing wrong. I certainly felt different from my normal self. Before this I used to dislike the songs but now I liked them very much, particularly those the leader was singing. I liked listening to him very much.

[533] [798] They were all sitting very quietly and doing nothing expect singing. Each man sang four songs and then passed the sacred objects to the next person. Each man held a stick and an eagle's feather in one hand and a small gourd rattle, which he would shake when singing, in the other. One of the participants did the drumming. In this manner the sacred objects would be passed along until they came back to the leader. The leader would then sing four songs and when he had finished these, place the sacred objects on the ground and rise and pray to Earthmaker. Then he called upon one or two to speak. These people all said

*159 795 claimed." Some say that the home of the bad spirit can also be visited when in this state.

[796] So that night we went to a meeting again. I doubted all their claims, of course, and thought that they were untrue. Nevertheless I went along. When we got near I had already eaten some peyote for I had taken three in the day. Now near the place where the peyote meeting was to be held there was a regular Winnebago feast [527] and to that I went instead. I found a long lodge and heard a terrific noise. An enormous drum was being beaten. The sound almost raised me in the air so pleasurably loud did it sound to me. Not so pleasurable had things appeared at the peyote meetings that I had lately been attending. There I danced all night and I flirted with the women. I left about day and when I reached the peyote meeting it was still going on. When I got back I was told to sit in a certain place and I was treated very kindly. There I again ate peyote. I also heard that they were going to have another meeting nearby on the evening of the same day. We continued eating peyote at the place where we were staying, which was the house of one of my relatives. Some of the boys taught me a few songs and [533] they said, "Say, when you learn how to sing you will be the best singer, for you are a good singer as it is. You have a good voice." I thought so myself.

[P. 178]

## *The Effects of the Peyote*

I gave to my brother-in-law. Then I cried and my brother-in-law also cried. He thanked me, told me that I understood and that I had done well. He told me that Earthmaker alone was holy; that all the blessings and medicine I possessed were false; that I had been fooled by the bad spirit. He told me that I had now freed myself from much of this bad influence. My relatives expressed their thanks fervently. 159* 795 [776]

On the fourth night of my stay they had another meeting and I went to it again. There I again ate peyote. I enjoyed it and sang along with the others. I wanted to be able to sing immediately. Some young men were singing and I enjoyed it so I prayed to Earthmaker and asked him to let me learn to sing right away. That was all I asked for. My brother-in-law was with me all the time. At that meeting all the things I had given my brother-in-law were burnt up. [533]

Now the fact that my brother-in-law had told me that I understood, had pleased me and I felt good when daylight came. As a matter of fact, I had not received any knowledge at all. I thought, however, that this was the proper way to act, so I did it. After that, I would attend meetings occasionally and I looked around for a woman whom I cared to marry permanently. Before long that was the only thing that I would think of when I attended the meetings. [156]

[P. 187]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12

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[533]



PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | B.T | K-A | Ko | Cum | Ka | Ab 8 | Dr 1 | Dr 2 | Wis | Ne C | Ci | Ci 2 | WRS | Uo | Co | W-P | Tse |
| 151. 4 times | + | | + | − | | + | | | | − | •− | + | •− | + | | + | |
| 152. Whistle placed near altar | + | | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | − | + |
| 153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 154. Sings fixed opening song | + | + | + | | | + | + | + | | − | + | + | •+ | + | •+ | − | |
| 155. Holds staff in front of him | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 156. Another beats drum | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 157. Chief drummer beats drum | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 159. Each man sings 4 songs | + | + | + | + | | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left | + | | + | + | | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + |
| 161. Rule against women singing | + | •− | + | + | | (+) | + | + | − | + | + | •− | + | − | •+ | •− | |
| 162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 163. Midnight water call and recess | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •− | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | |
| 164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc. | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent | + | + | + | + | + | | •+ | •− | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 166. Fire replenished | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 167. 4 sticks added | | | | | | | − | | | | (+) | (+) | − | + | | + | |
| 168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 169. Cedar sprinkled on fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | •+ | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | |
| 170. Whistle blown by leader | + | | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | + | •+ | + | + | | − | + |
| 171. 4 times | + | | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | + | + | •+ | + | | − | + |
| 172. Leader sings fixed water song | + | + | + | | | + | + | •− | | | + | + | + | + | + | − | + |
| 173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | − | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 174. By women | | − | − | •+ | •− | − | − | − | − | •+ | − | − | − | − | − | − | |
| 175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket | + | | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | +. |
| 176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire | + | | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •− | |
| 177. Water bearer draws incense to water | + | | + | + | + | •+ | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 178. Water bearer prays, blesses water | + | | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 179. While smoking cigarette | + | | + | + | + | + | | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays | + | | + | + | + | + | | − | − | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + |

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173 All the Foxes went into mourning.

648 Ten Winnebago youths proud of their tattoos had been out (in the woods) before these troubles began. As they were returning they said to the one who was their leader, "Let us go around the large village and court women." "Only if you go around the small village will you escape unharmed," said the leader. "We will go by the large village even if all of us are killed by the spirits," they said. "Well, let us go by way of the small village," the war leader said to them. "If you are afraid, as you say, you may go alone by way of the smaller village; we, however, will go by the way of the large village." The leader, however, refused and also went by way of the large village. That they would die, he knew very well, but nevertheless he accompanied them to the edge of the big village. When they got there (they said), "Let us paint ourselves."

Then they painted themselves, and as they were painting themselves an old man in deep mourning appeared and said, "Are you returning from your travels? Stay with us, for our men are giving a feast. I will tell them to come after you."

Then he went away and soon a young man came (and said), "You are invited. Come right along." "Men, you have seen that all are in mourning. Once more, let me tell you something. In the feast in which you are now to take part, do not lend your knives to anyone. Hold your knife ready," he told them. "All right," said they.

Then they entered the lodge and when all were in they (the Foxes) made room for them and they sat down. Then the host arose and spoke and pointed to a place that was nearest him, for the leader. Then toward another place he pointed for the second and thus each one (Winnebago) received a seat. With each Winnebago were placed several Foxes, making eight in all.

[534] Then the host spoke, "As I rise, I will blow upon my flute and have a song started. I am anxious to have them start a song," he said. Then he rose and blew his flute and as soon as the song was started the Winnebago were seized. It was a long time before they could seize the war leader, but the others had lent their knives and were consequently seized easily. The war leader killed many, but finally his knife broke and he was seized. Then they bound him and prepared the torture. Ten posts they stuck in the ground. Then the war leader said, "I told you of this, but you doubted me. Here we are going to die."

Then the youths came after them and they began torturing them. They applied firebrands to them. They burnt them in those places where they would suffer most. Then the war leader said, "Well, my boys, we are now courting women."

Thus they burned them to death and destroyed them utterly.

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MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

a. Birch-bark receptacle.
b. Frame for stringing beads.
c. Staff with personal markings.
d. Wooden flute.
e. Catlinite pipe.
f. Gourd rattle.

[Facing p. 108(H)]

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MOCCASIN GAME

[Facing p. 122 (A)]

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*Tree game.*—Two trees are selected about 20 feet apart, one having a branch about 15 feet from the ground. A number of people stand ready at the side of this tree and the one whose turn it is to play tries to hit the branch. When he succeeds in doing so all run toward the other tree. As soon as the player gets the ball he tries to hit the runners. If successful in this before the others have reached the tree he wins; otherwise they are "safe" and he must try again. The Winnebago called this game *hahi'hidjikeʼus*. 526

## Travel and Transportation

*Canoes and dugouts.*—All the boats found in the early days in the territory originally inhabited by the Winnebago were dugouts, yet a number of the tribe questioned denied positively that boats of this kind were in common use before the coming of the whites. According to these informants, in former times the Winnebago always had their home in a birch country, and had at hand, therefore, the requisite material for making canoes; moreover, birch-bark canoes were much easier to construct than dugouts, for which logs had to be hollowed by burning—a process that might consume weeks. Only when the whites introduced the ax and the knife did it become practicable to make dugouts. These implements became available at the time of the southern migration of the tribe into a region where birch bark was scarce, and one result of the change was the substitution of the dugout for the canoe. The validity of this explanation is supported by the same line of argument as in the case of the wooden vessels. 501 [442 177 167]

*Snowshoes.*—The snowshoes of the Winnebago were similar to those used by the Menominee, with this difference, that the two pieces of wood forming the "handle," instead of being tied together for their whole length, as among the latter, were left unfastened for about 5 inches at the end. This difference is immediately detected (pl. 40) by the present-day Winnebago, who can easily identify, by the feature mentioned, snowshoes belonging to the tribe. 481 [171]

## Musical Instruments

The musical instruments of the Winnebago seem to have been restricted to the flute, drum, and gourd. The flute was made of red cedar and usually had a range of five or six notes; it was used at many ceremonies, and especially by young men when courting. The drum consisted of a framework (in later days a wooden pail or a barrel served the purpose), over which a skin was drawn very tight. A small quantity of water was always kept in the drum so that the skin could be wet as often as necessary. Rattles consisted of dried gourds filled, in olden times, with seeds, in more modern times with buckshot (pl. 30, *d*, *f*). 534

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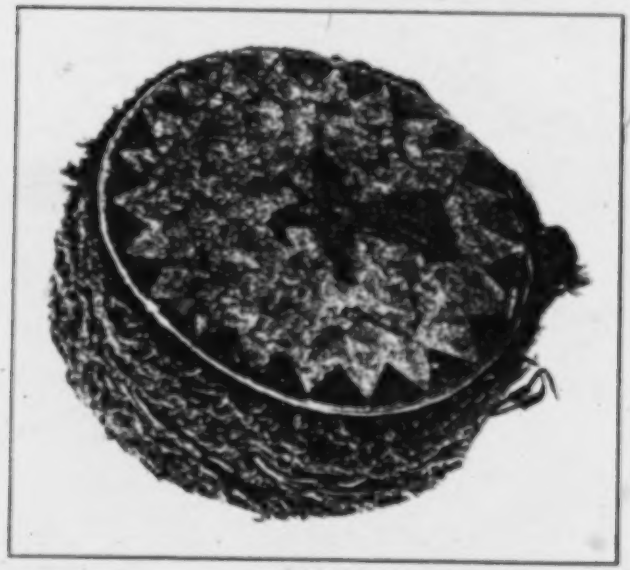

DRUMS

[Facing p. 156 (8)]

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So he spoke to him. "Thus will your life be. Look at yourself." 787
So he looked at himself and his hair was very white. As one who 159
had attained a full life he saw himself. "All that are within this 776
lodge bless you," the spirit continued. "You have come to the Buffalo village." This he was told, so he looked at the lodge full of people. And those whom he had seen up to that time as human beings now were buffaloes.

"Human, they bless you is why they went after you. Human, if anyone is weighted with life and a reasonable amount of tobacco is given, such a one would be able to do the following":

A dead man was placed in the middle of the lodge, and all of 787
these in the lodge tried their power, but none succeeded in restoring 159
him to life. At last the spirits let the man try it. So he tried. 776
When he arose, all these in the lodge began to make sounds and 756
when he began to exert his powers he sang buffalo songs. When he was through with these songs, he walked toward the dead man, in the middle of the lodge. He blew on him once, then again and again. Now the man began to open his eyes. Then he blew on him for the fourth time and he caused him to rise.

"Human, you have overcome all of us," said the buffalo chief. "Human, thus shall you ever do to people. If anyone is sick and the proper offerings are made to you, send some tobacco to our council lodge and I will remember you. You must send all the [782] tobacco that is offered to you. I will remember it. This council lodge is given to you and to your posterity as long as it lasts. As long as the earth lasts that long your posterity will have occasions on which to pour tobacco. Whatever blessing they ask, we will bestow upon them while we smoke their tobacco. As many as are the kettles that they offer to us, we will never accept one without giving them a blessing. We are in control of wars; the Earthmaker has given us control of them, and if you ask for it we will give it to you. And if you ask for life we will bestow that blessing upon you and accept your offerings."

They also blessed him with plants for medicine. This is the way they did it. Each of the spirits caused him to see a plant and to [278] know the purposes to which it could be put. They told him to make offerings to the plants whenever he gave a feast, so that the plants [782] would become more powerful. They also blessed him with a drum. "This you must beat when you give a feast and it will tell us your [534] wants. We will understand the drum. We will make your drum holy for you, and you must treat it as such," they told him. "You must keep it holy. Whenever you are on the warpath you must take it with you and it will help you. Human, your enemies you will [726] overcome; your weapons only will be sharp if your posterity will never give up this ceremony." So they spoke to him. "Whenever 080

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159 So they spoke to him, "Whenever
787 you give this ceremony, no matter what blessing you ask, we will
776 bestow it upon you, when you offer tobacco. A flute you must also
[534 keep holy. You must make it yourself, so that it remains sacred."
[778] They also told him to make a war bundle. The Buffalo chief told
825] him this. So he made one out of a buffalo head and a buffalo tail.
These he made sacred so that people might offer tobacco to them.
This was done long ago and yet they still do it.

Then they told him that four differently colored buffaloes would bless him— a white one, a black one, a red one, and a yellow one.

After a while he was blessed the second time. This time the spirits came after him from above and took him to the home of a spirit buffalo. This is the one that blessed him.

"Earthmaker has placed me here," said the spirit, "and he has
[726 given me control of many things. Grandson, I bless you. I am in
782] control of war power, and if you ever go on the warpath don't forget me. If you pour a pipeful of tobacco for me before you go into battle, the enemy will only be able to shoot your shadow." Thus he spoke to him. "I will take your body, and in that way it will only be your shadow that the enemy will try to shoot with all their strength. You will be without a body, and how then can they hit you, being without a body?" This is what the spirit told him. So, therefore, whenever he went on the warpath it was impossible to kill him. For the spirit had said, "I am also in control of life and I will give you your life back, that you may control it. The spirits
[796 have given you a tobacco-pouring feast and whenever you give it,
782] remember that I wish to smoke also. When you pour tobacco for me I will grant you whatever you ask. If you ask for war, or if you ask for life, I will accept your tobacco. As long as this earth lasts I will smoke your tobacco and accept the kettle of food that you place on the fire for me."

Thus he spoke to him. The man, however, still kept on fasting, and finally the spirits came for him again. There in the middle of the earth lived a buffalo-ghost. There he went and the buffalo-ghost said to him: "I also bless you. You were given counsel and I who am a buffalo also counsel you. I am in control of many things. Earthmaker placed me here to live and he put me in control of many things. Human, look at me," he said. The man looked at him. Then he saw that his body was covered with flattened bullets. "Thus you will be," said the ghost to him. "It will be impossible to kill you, and you will attain to old age, and when you get tired of living you may do as you please. I give you the privilege of controlling yourself." Then he gave him a song and he caused him to see a war prize, a wampum. After a while he spoke to him as follows:

"I also will always smoke at your feast, and if a kettle is ever put on the fire for me, I will be thankful to you. Whatever the people

796
539 The host at the same time puts himself in readiness to receive the guests.

[534] The two drums to be used are placed in the proper position with tobacco on top as an offering. The two gourds to be used are arranged in the same way, with offerings of tobacco on top. These four articles are placed in a row in front of the host, who pours tobacco upon them again and asks them for life.

[782] The host now rises and speaks as follows (first, however, offering tobacco to the fire, and telling the people of his own band how he had obtained his blessing, and from what source it had come):

796 "Grandfathers, when you blessed my grandfather with life you
776 promised that as often as we would boil food for you and offer you a
539 pipeful of tobacco, you would smoke it. So it has been said. Boiled
575 water from an animal whom you considered the same as our own body, and spirit food he extended to you, as well as a pipeful of tobacco. This we also are sending you. And what could we ask of you in return but war? That it may be directed toward us, we pray you. Grandfathers, you who are called Happy Nights, when you blessed our grandfather you blessed him with endless war. So it has been said. That is what we ask for, that as you blessed our grandfather, so you bless us. We ask for the same things. You, likewise, grandfather, you who are called The-one-with-rounded-wood, when you blessed my grandfather you blessed him with life. That is what he said, and you asked him in return to make offerings of tobacco. Here is the tobacco. This night we are going to ask life of you. We desire that you give us and all who will be here to-night, life. As many people as will be seated here, we ask life for all of them."

Then all who are present rise and, holding tobacco in each hand, walk around the lodge, pouring tobacco on the drums and the [782] gourds, and some of it into the fire. They pour tobacco into the fire for the Night Spirits. For the Beings-with-rounded-wood they offer tobacco by pouring it upon the drums. The offering is made both to the drums and to the gourds directly. The tobacco bundles tied to the invitation sticks are offered to the four cardinal points and the four specially invited guests smoke this tobacco, because they are supposed to represent the four cardinal points. Behind the respective invited guests are placed two women, next to the wall, so that they might lead in the dance. When the invited guests come to the feast these women remain outside until the starting songs have been begun.

[533] The host sings these songs first and when he has finished the first invited guest enters the lodge, ejaculating peculiar sounds (that are probably meant as greetings). Continuing these sounds, he walks around the lodge until he comes to the place from which he has started. There he stops and speaks. "You who obtain life, you

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Once a medicine-dance man and a night-blessed man became jealous and the medicine-dance man said that he would play tricks on the night-blessed man. The night-blessed man said he was quite willing to have a contest. So the two came and sat opposite each other and began their contest. Whatever the medicine-dance man did the night-blessed man did too, but always a little better. The medicine-dance man was defeated, so from that time on the medicine-dance men are afraid of the former. The medicine-dance men shot the night-blessed men with claws, but they could not kill them. Therefore they were afraid of them. The night-blessed men could kill the medicine-dance men at pleasure. The medicine-dance men were inferior. That is all. 756 575 578 [754]

## Society of Those Who Have Been Blessed By the Herok'a

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The feast of those who have been blessed by the Herok'a is given at any time of the year. Anyone may be invited. The feast is held in a long lodge and is generally given by a number of members at the same time (or by all). Each person brings a deer and his bow and arrows. The bows and arrows are painted different colors, depending upon the color (paint) with which the individual has been blessed. The bows are all stuck in the ground between the first two fireplaces and the arrows in a row just behind them. 776 575

During the ceremony and feast the members all sing the songs with which they have been blessed. The ceremony is held before the feast and is conducted by one of the members of the society. He leads, holding a bow in one hand. The others follow, holding arrows in their hands. Only men are permitted to dance. There are certain songs, to the accompaniment of which women are permitted to dance. But the women must have passed their climacteric.

They do not use gourd rattles as at the other dances. Instead a number of deer hoofs are strung together and used in place of them. (They do not eat with their hands or with the ordinary sticks) but use instead forked sticks, whittled down at one end. The leader wears a headdress to which a horn is attached, and paints his body with the same color as his arrows. Whoever leads the dance carries a flute, which he plays before and after each song. Those following him hit their mouth with the palm of their hands and whoop. [534]

When the dance is over, each one of the feasters takes his plate and dances out.[7]

[7] This account of the Herok'a Society is unfortunately merely fragmentary, but from a few additional notes obtained there seems to be little doubt that it represents the same type of organization as the other religious fraternities.

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756
796 followed by twelve speeches of a general and explanatory character. Then comes the "strengthening" ritual, and immediately after two exceedingly long myths, describing the initiation of the first man into the secrets of the lodge, as well as the symbolic meaning of the shoot-
[515] ing ritual. All now undress and take a sweat bath. Female candidates are excluded. A number of short speeches follow, and the whole concludes with the exit ritual.

● [534] The drum and gourds are used to accompany the songs. The basic ritual is perhaps present to a certain extent. The writer, however, was not permitted to witness the ritual, and for this reason the procedure seemed somewhat hazy to him.

When the ritual and the sweat baths are over there is a slight pause. The candidate, the ancestor host, and his band enter the medicine lodge, and after taking their seats sing a few songs. When the last song is concluded the other bands enter in the order of their invitation. Now comes the entrance ritual, followed by the smoking ritual. Thereupon the ancestor host rises and delivers the opening speech of the basic ritual. The ancestor host does not go through the entire basic ritual at this time, because he is not permitted to begin the shooting ritual. Soon after the beginning of the basic ritual by the ancestor host, generally after the second speech, gourds and drums are passed to the leader of the east band. This one rises and begins the basic ritual, which he interrupts at the end of the second part, in order to begin the general shooting ritual. When that is finished he continues the third and fourth parts of the basic ritual. Then drum and gourds are passed to the north band. Its leader now in turn begins his basic ritual, but stops after the second part, where the presentation-of-food and the smoking rituals intervene. It is now about midnight, and the feast is given. As soon as the feast is finished and the lodge has been cleared of food and eating utensils, the leader of the north band continues up to the third and fourth parts of the basic ritual. The leaders of the west and south bands perform the basic rituals without any interruption, except, of course, that of the general shooting ritual between the second and third parts. The drum and gourds have now reached the ancestor host, who goes through the third and fourth parts of the basic ritual. There is, however, some doubt as to whether this is always done. Then follows the exit ritual and all pass out to rest for a few hours.

A short time preceding dawn the candidate and the leaders of the east and north bands and the ancestor host, each with two assistants and all other members who are privileged to do so, leave the lodge and walk to the brush where the candidate is to be initiated into the mysteries of the sacred shell and the shooting. Each band must have one or more of its members present at this ritual. When they are near the place set aside for the secret ritual the order of marching,

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727 our grandfather, the scalp, who is standing in the center of the lodge.
796 Place a plate for the scalp and bring it to that brave man." Then the brave warriors eat the head, and when that is finished the servants distribute meat and food to those present who have not taken part in the head eating. While they are eating the host blows on [534] his flute and sings some songs until the eating is over. Then he rises and speaks again:

727 "All you who are present to give us counsel and who sit here in
796 the place of others, I greet you. For the warriors who would counsel
537 with us repeatedly and for the sacred speeches of our fathers do we ask. In this ceremony to-day we will select as many war-bundle owners as are present to eat together with our grandfather, who is standing in the center of our lodge (the scalp). And if they select me to eat with the scalp, poor and pitiable as I am, it would be good.

"Should sickness suddenly come upon a village all those who are sick may take part in this ceremony. For our grandfather, who stands in the middle of the lodge, is no weakling, and when they take hold of him they are obtaining supernatural powers, it is said. We are trying to trample upon the soul (*wunayi'rak*) (of the scalp). If we trample upon it, all the goods of life that were still coming to him when he was killed will be transferred to us. As many as are going to take part in this dance to-night should try to make the soul of our grandfather (the scalp) more amenable to our prayers. So all you women and men see to it that you dance with all your strength. Do not take this matter lightly, for we obtain life thereby, we were told.

"Councilors of the different clans who are seated here with us, I greet you all."

727 Then they sang *hok'ix're* songs and danced the *hok'ix're* dance.
796 All night they danced. They did not stop for a moment. Thus they tried to conquer the soul of their grandfather (scalp). They danced till early in the morning and then just as the sun appeared they carried the drum outside of the lodge to the victory post and danced the victory dance. As soon as the sun was high in the heavens they stopped. Then they went to sleep.

*The second day.*—Just before the sun was setting they all came and danced the victory dance again. Then the host got ready to furnish the meal again. All his female relatives who had received presents took charge of the preparation of the food, which the servants had previously obtained. As soon as the victory dance was over they entered the dancing lodge. Then the host spoke, and when he finished he sang four songs, and as soon as these were finished they all got ready to eat. Then the host said that he would give the heads of the animals to the donor and that the latter might select those warriors whom he wished to have as partners in the

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## The Herucka Dance

535 The *Herucka* is a social dance and is frequently given when visitors
574 from other tribes are present, presents being given on this occasion. Men and women take part in it and are generally dressed in their best clothes. A few customs that were noticed at a performance in 1908 might be mentioned here.

If a man drops anything during the dance he himself may not pick it up. Only a warrior who has been wounded has the right to do so. The object dropped is returned to the owner, who, however, must always give it to his sister or niece.

It is at times customary for a man to dress himself in rags and beg for food, etc. He generally represents himself as an extremely poor man and pictures his destitution in a manner best calculated to amuse everyone.

[525] Wagers of horses are very commonly made at this dance.

The dances indulged in are mainly victory dances and the songs
[533] known as *Herucka* songs are always victory songs. Many borrowed songs are sung at this dance.

A large drum is always used, around which sometimes as many as
● [534] 10 drummers sit. The drum consists of an ordinary tub over which skin has been tightly drawn. It is supported by two carved sticks, to which it is firmly attached, so that the bottom is about a foot from the ground. It is painted in the following manner: Two rather
[531] narrow lines of paint across the center of the drum, one blue and the other green. The portion of the drum next to the yellow line is painted blue, and that next to the blue line red. No meanings for the colors were obtained.

## Watconaḫe'ẖwẖ Feast
(afraid-to-eat-greens feast)

241 Informant, member of Beaver clan: Just about roasting-ear month
785 people would commence to fast and continue until the green corn is
262 ripe enough to be eaten. They fast so that all the plants may strengthen the tribe.

The fast generally takes place in a special lodge, from under which all the grass has been cut, for the faster must not come in contact with anything that is green. When the fasting is over a feast is given at which all those present eat "greens" for the first time.

## The Captive's Death Dance

727 Before putting a captive to death it is customary to tie his arms
535 behind him in such a manner that his hands have a little freedom. Then they put a gourd in his right hand and a lance in his left hand

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dancing songs are begun, all the men go to the war bundle and dance around it. The flute is continually blown during the dancing. Women may dance at their end of the lodge. The basic ritual is then continued. 796x 778 782 [534]

When the last starting song is finished the host rises and, ejaculating *ho—o—o*, pours tobacco into the fireplace four times. Just when the food is about cooked four special songs are sung. Then the Thunderbird feast takes place. All the bones that have been left on the plate of the guest impersonating the Disease-giver are taken out by the host himself, carried in an eastward direction, and placed very carefully at the foot of some tree that has been especially selected. Tobacco and red feathers are poured upon these bones. The plates used by the same person are purified with arbor vitæ. The bones left on the plates of the other guests may be thrown anywhere, provided the ground on which they are scattered has been purified. When the feast is over the basic ritual is continued. When this is finished the first division of the ceremony is concluded. [783 824]

During the interval between the first and second divisions the attendants sweep the lodge and purify it with branches of arbor vitæ; and new kettles with meat are placed on the fireplaces. Then the host and guests enter. The host rises and distributes the buckskins again, and while he is doing this an attendant goes around the lodge and scatters swan feathers all over it. Some are even placed on the suspended kettles. The host, because he is going to sing Night Spirit songs, takes down the buckskin intended for that spirit, blackens his face with the embers of charcoal used in marking the buckskin, and puts some swan feathers on his head. Before the host starts singing the Night Spirit songs the pipestem is turned toward the east and the origin of the songs in question is told. Then the basic ritual is begun. When the dancing songs are being sung the guests may either go to where the war bundle lies and dance there or stay in their own places and dance. When the host has finished his part of the basic ritual, drum, gourds, flute, and tobacco are passed to the first guest, and when he is finished they are passed to the second and third guests. After that the basic ritual is for the time being discontinued and the ritual connected with throwing out of the buckskins intervenes, this in turn being followed by the Night Spirit feast. However, before the feast, as the drum, gourds, and flute are returned to the host, he has a kettle placed on the fire for the spirits living beneath the surface of the earth, and when the food in it has cooked he rises and sings paint songs (*wrae'*). After the feast is over the basic ritual is continued. Some time before this ritual is finished the host takes his war bundle, wraps it up, and hangs it behind the place where he is sitting. When finally all the songs with the exception of four have been sung, the host calls upon some one with a very strong voice to give the war whoop four times. This the latter does, and after the last whoop all the guests join in. Then rising, all the guests dance out of the lodge and the ceremony is over. 796x 778 [783]

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Should they ever have a bad illness
they have the means of obtaining life by praying for it,[29] by offering 796x
tobacco and a flute.[30] 539x

"Disease-giver himself made these things holy. Thus they would 782
obtain life, if they had any illness, by offering you reed flutes, food, 776
tobacco, feathers, a white dog, and by making you at the same time an offering of buckskin hides. (Thus Disease-giver spoke to our grandfather when he blessed him:) 'A holy flute I made for you, and I forbade you to blow upon it, yet you did it. Now, hereafter, if you offer me a sufficient number of buckskins, you may blow upon it. A different life from that of others will you lead, if you do that. You will be able to cut off (stop) a bad disease caused by someone else. Nor will this one (who was ill) ever have another disease.'[31]

"Thus Disease-giver spoke. This is what the one who causes disease said. That is how they blessed our grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga. A song I am now about to start. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." (Disease-giver sang.)

*Heat's fourth speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, 796x
I greet you. The last (song) we will now finish. You who are in the 539x
east, Night Spirits, you also added your blessing to the spirit bundle 787
of grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga. So that he might know (he 776
blessed by) the spirits, grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga starved and thirsted himself to death[32] and made himself pitiable. At first he fasted four nights and the Night Spirits came to him; with mighty sounds they came.[33] There they stood (and said), 'Human, you have thirsted yourself to death and we bless you (for that reason). We who speak are the spirits who are called Night Spirits.' They blessed him with war power and life, they said. Then he looked and (said to himself), 'I wonder whether these really are the Night Spirits that speak.' So he looked at them and they were small birds called *hecē'pge*.[34] They had fooled him. Then once again was his heart sore. 'Well! I will die.' he thought (fasting). So he fasted again and once again he rubbed on (the charcoal). For six nights he continued to fast. And again from the east the Night Spirits came. They came making a great noise and they stood near him (and said), 'Human, we bless you. You have thirsted yourself to death and you have made your heart sore. We felt sad on your account. With

[29] A rather curious expression used only in elevated language and meaning, literally, "to obtain with the mouth"—i. e., either by speaking, prayers, or singing. The expression would hardly be permitted in ordinary Winnebago. [195]

[30] He does not mean by offering flutes, but by playing on them. Reed flutes are generally contained in the bundles of most spirits, but they seem to be more closely connected with the Disease-giver and the Bullsin. [534]

[31] This, I believe, is the meaning of the last three sentences. They are somewhat obscure, and I do not guarantee the correctness of the rendering.

[32] Ritualistic expression for fasting.

[33] All powerful spirits are supposed to approach with loud noises. This is also characteristic of the Ojibway spirits. [171]

[34] English equivalent unknown.

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X796 When the songs of the Night Spirit are sung the stem of the pipe is
[276] pointed eastward.

Four songs are sung before the cooking is finished, in honor of the Thunderbird. The feast is then spread, and all those in the lodge smoke and dance. The attendants take the kettles down and take the food out. While the kettles are still on, however, branches of
[783 cedar are carried around the lodge to purify it. Before distributing
824] the food, while the singing is still going on, the attendants count the number of people in the lodge and cut the meat into a corresponding number of pieces. As each kettle is supposed to suffice for any one band, a number of small sticks about the size of a toothpick, corresponding to the number of people present in each band, is placed in each kettle. After the last four songs are used the host arises and calls for the kettle that is to be given to the person opposite him. The attendant brings it and tells him how many pieces of meat there are in the kettle. The host then speaks about his intentions in offering the kettle to the spirits; that he is seeking life and victory in war, and that he begs all those present to intercede for him. He then calls for the other kettles. There are generally one or two kettles for the women and children. When the feast is spread out
[534] and they all have their food, the host tells them that they may now eat whenever they think proper. He himself does not eat anything, but merely sings, shaking the gourds that he holds in his hand.

[776] The Disease-giver is considered the most sacred of all the spirits,
[783] and for that reason all the bones and the plates that have been used in connection with his particular kettle are purified with cedar
[824] branches. The host carries these bones out of the lodge himself and buries them under the foot of some tree. He also takes tobacco and red feathers along with him on this occasion. As the other spirits
[776] are not considered to be as sacred as the Disease-giver, the bones from the kettles offered to them can be buried anywhere, provided the ground has been purified.

[576] After the first invited guest has finished his meal he rises and thanks the host. He then tells the story of how he, or his ancestor, obtained the war bundle, and assures the host that he feels confident that so great a feast as this in which he is taking part will most certainly be recognized by the spirits. He also adds that inasmuch as he and the other invited guests have partaken of this feast they also hope to receive life and strength in proportion to the blessings bestowed upon the host. The other invited guests, in turn, speak in the same way.

[783] While this is going on the attendants are preparing the kettles for another lot of meat. The whole tent is swept again and purified and the kettles are once more placed upon the fireplaces. The host now rises and, holding tobacco in his hand, informs each spirit of the par-

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you can do so, and the women likewise can join, because we have rolled up our bundle. To the dog that we have here, an offering of tobacco can be made." Thus speaking, he sings. After he has finished the song, someone specially called upon gives the war whoop, in which the rest join. In this manner they sing four times, and the ceremony ends. They have a dog around whose neck they tie a red rag, together with a bundle of tobacco, and to each of whose limbs they also tie a bundle of tobacco. This dead dog is to be placed wherever the bones that remain of the feast are buried, generally under some tree. It is supposed that the dog will go directly to the Disease-giver together with the tobacco and there be taken over by him.

*Notes on the Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant, member of the clan: Place of honor at the feast is given to the bravest man present. Scalps, etc., are always brought to those keeping the war bundle.

Contents of bundle: Black hawk (main thing), two wolf tails, buffalo tail, snake, weasel, three flutes—one red, one black, and one blue.

Black hawk used in time of war. If I were leading the war party I would carry it and it would be able to fly. It had a small bundle of medicine tied around the neck, on each wing and each leg. A red flute always went with it.

The two wolf tails could be taken on any warpath. It gives an individual the power of running. The medicine tied to it is to be smeared over the body in order to prevent fatigue. It is also used in hunting.

Buffalo tail gives fleetness and indicates that the man received strength from the buffalo spirit.

Weasel and snake could be put around the neck and worn over the shoulders in times of war. Gives the power of these respective animals in wiggling.

Flutes, blue in connection with the buffalo, red in connection with the black hawk, and black in connection with the night spirits

## The War-bundle Feast of the Bear Clan

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The people were about to go on a hunt, it is said. They returned. Four deer had been killed. And again they went, and this time three deer were killed. But it was not sufficient, so they went out again, and when they returned it was found that they had killed only three deer. "Well," they said, "this will be all right. We have ten deer. Perhaps they will last as food until dawn."

They told the attendants to get ready the lodge and to build the fireplaces. They told them also to have the wood and the buck-

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796 other mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik, were respectively placed at the
778 northeast and southeast corners of the bundle.

A peeled stake, forked at the top, was set up at the central western margin of the bundle wrapper. The ceremonial pipe, of Siouan type
[276] with a catlinite bowl, was then filled by the leader from the bowl of mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik and placed with the stem end resting in the fork of the stake, the stem slanting diagonally downward across the bundle and the bowl, in upright position, resting on the central eastern margin of the bundle wrapper.

[824 The leader then placed some live coals from the fire in a small stove-shovel. On these coals he placed white cedar leaves. With the smoke
783] of the burning cedar leaves he purified the contents of the bundle, his own person, and even the walls of the lodge.

796 Shortly before the ceremony was to start, some of the waiters pre-
534 pared the drum. What had probably been originally designed to serve as a pickle keg, served as the body of the drum. This was partly filled with water. A buckskin head was then placed over the open end and drawn taut by means of cords attached to the base of the body. This was done by means of stick tourniquets in each of the cords. The proper degree of tautness was determined by tipping the drum bottom side up, to permit the water to wet the drum head, and testing the tone quality with the drum stick. After the drum had been thus properly tuned, more hot coals were placed in the censer, cedar leaves applied and
[783] the drum and stick turned over and over in the resulting smoke. Then the drum was placed just north of the war-bundle.

A small pot containing two portions of cooked meat was suspended from the roof of the house immediately west of the bundle.

796 Early in the afternoon, all preparations having been completed, the ceremony began. The guests in little groups filed into the lodge and were seated by the head waiter, squatting on mats with their backs to the wall. The most important guests, owners of war-bundles in other clans, were placed nearest the door. The eastern two-thirds of the lodge was
[562] occupied by men only. The women were clustered at the western end. Mr. Fisher and I were seated immediately south of the bundle. The leader and three assistants, elected to serve as musicians, were grouped just north of the fireplace.

Although the rites associated with the war-bundle are kept up by
[182] a few of these Winnebago, the ritual has sadly degenerated. Aside from the host, no man made any serious attempt to equip himself properly in costume. Many important elements were omitted such as the preliminary sweat bath ceremony, the sacrifice of white buckskins to the spirits, the dog sacrifice, and many minor details left out of the ceremonies attempted. When all were assembled, the leader opened the
[537] ceremony with a speech to those assembled. The formal dignity of the speaker and the unhesitating flow of his words were impressive. He

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announced that he was about to give a feast in honor of Creator, all the spirits of the world above, all the spirits of the world below, and all those spirits who had appeared in dreams to any of those present. In this way, as determined by his grandfathers, should long life, and happiness, and health and success in warfare be assured to those participating. He cited the giving of tobacco to various spirits; the dedication of the cooking meat to various spirits. He called upon other custodians of war-bundles and their waiters, who might be present, to assist in the singing, speaking, and dancing. "O! O!", assented the custodians of other war-bundles who were present. 796 537 [201]

The drum was now placed before the leader, who passed it to one of his three musicians. The other two and the leader were equipped with gourd rattles. The leader then took a reed whistle and on it actually played a tune very like a bugle call. Three distinct notes were produced by varying the force with which he blew it. He then started a song, his eyes closed as if in prayer, his face stamped with serious devotion. His assistants joined in, to the accompaniment of drum and rattles. A short rest intervalled the completion of this song and the start of the next. Three other songs followed in like manner. All of this music was relatively slow in time and not designed to be accompanied by dancing. A fifth song, of like character, was accompanied by the leader's throwing several pinches of tobacco over the war-bundle. 796 [534] [533] [782 276]

The next musical contribution was a dancing song and all the men who so desired gathered about the war-bundle, selecting therefrom reed whistles, and danced in place while blowing the whistles. There being not enough whistles to go around, some took fetishes which they held reverently in their hands while dancing. At the same time, the women at the west end of the lodge rose and danced in place. With slight pauses between, four dance songs were so rendered. At the end of each song, the male dancers participated in a series of war whoops. Everyone present apparently experienced a keen delight in this. One old man, blind and so feeble that he could not rise to his feet without assistance, insisted on dancing, without moving from his allotted place by the wall, and added his quavering voice to feebly swell the volume of each battle cry. 796 533 535 [887]

When the set of dancing songs was finished, whistles and fetishes were replaced on the bundle and all took their allotted places. Then the leader again spoke, his voice at times quavering with emotion, practically repeating his first speech. Again the honored guests answered with, "O! O!". 796 [532] [201]

The head waiter then took the pipe from its position over the war bundle, and carried it to the guest seated nearest the door on the south side. While this old man puffed, the waiter lit the contents of the bowl with a stick, placed beside the fireplace for that purpose and lighted [276]

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## *A War-Bundle Feast*

me. We all had a deerskin apiece. Only those who were giving the feast had the right to hold one of the ten deerskins. A man playing a flute taken from a war-bundle marched ahead, and behind came the people carrying the incense of the burning cedar leaves. We thus marched around the lodge and my brother and I again made our cry to the spirits. At that time we were naked apart from our breech-clouts and moccasins. Four times did we make the circuit. Then we passed the deerskins up through the roof of the lodge. 159* 796 726 [534] [787] 159*

Now the feasters were to eat again. A separate kettle had been put on for us boys and we were to eat first. They then called upon a man to eat out of our plate with us. His name was *Blue-sitter*. He was a holy man, a shaman, a brave man, one who had obtained many war honors. Four deer ribs were dished out to me in a wooden bowl. Then the one who was to eat out of my plate came and sat near my dish and began to handle the food. He tore it into small pieces and began telling me of the blessing he had received from the spirits. He told me how all the great spirits had blessed him—the Sun, the Moon, the Thunder-birds, the Earth, the Sky, the Daylight, and all the spirits that exist in the heavens. The spirits on the earth and those under the waters, all these talked to him, he said. While partaking of my food he would think of this power, he told me. I would go through battle unharmed and I was to obtain war honors. My children, if I had any, were to enjoy a good and happy life. Thus he spoke. 796 787 726 [776]

796
575
[787] and clairvoyance, and thinks they have had them for centuries. They use a long and
[346] large lodge a [blank] prepared for the purpose, in which all those allowed to witness the ceremonies are assembled. Adjoin-
[343] ing this house is a bark tent built in a conical form as a steam house. They excavate a hole in the ground, heat large stones in a fire to a great heat, and then put them in this hole, and cover them over and seat the initiate over them. He is then covered around with blankets so that none of the steam may escape, after which water is poured on the stones and the neophyte is
[783] enveloped in a roasting steam bath. This is
[776] the first act, and the object is to steam all evil spirits out of him.

He is then led in to the house, after the steaming process in some instances has been repeated once or twice. He is then blindfolded and led around the house. Pres-
[534] ently the singers beat the drum, shake the rattles, and commence singing a tune; then commences the dance, which is joined in by all present who wish to do so. The wom-
[562] en are members of the medicine lodge as well as the men, and they join in the songs and in the dance. After the dancing is done, or perhaps he may have stood in the midst of it there is a suspension of all sing-
[756] ing and dancing. Several medicine men then advance towards the neophyte, pointing their medicine bags at him, then drawing them back. This advancing and receding and ejaculating certain words calculated to work up the mind of the novitiate into a regular phrenzy.

Presently they reach him when they hit their medicine bags against his body, he still being blindfolded and at the same time uttering a shrill exclamation. The Judge said the novitiate jumped up and fell flat on
[158] his face as if dead and that apparently with-

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Crow NQ AD
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12 ●

*Stewart: Washo–Northern Paiute Peyotism* 105[A]

| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 13 T | E-4 | Ho | Cook | Ho | Ab 8 | Do 1 | Do 2 | Wh | Mo C | Cr 1 | Cr 2 | WB | Do | Gu | W-P | Tom |
| 1. Staff of authority of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2. "Cane" 3-5 feet long | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + |
| 3. Tufts of hair at top | + | •+ | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | | •– | + | + | •+ | + | + | – | – | + |
| 4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane | + | + | + | + | – | •+ | – | + | – | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + |
| 5. Passed around | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + |
| 6. Always passed between drum and altar | + | (+) | + | | (–) | + | | | | | (+) | (+) | + | + | + | + | |
| 7. Person holding staff leads singing | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 8. Rattle of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 9. Gourd | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 10. Decorated | + | + | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 11. Handle beaded | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 12. Tufts of hair on top | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + |
| 13. Rattle passed around | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 14. Person singing shakes rattle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 15. Individual rattle also used | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | – | + | + |
| 16. Only after midnight | + | | + | + | – | – | + | •– | – | – | + | + | •– | + | – | + | + |
| 17. To accompany singer holding staff | | | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | + | + |
| 18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers) | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | •+ | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + |
| 19. Each feather tied separately | + | + | + | + | (–) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | + | |
| 20. Binding decorated | | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | + | |
| 21. Passed around | + | | – | + | (–) | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + |
| 22. Held with staff while singing | + | | •+ | + | + | – | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 23. Individual fans also used | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 24. Only after midnight | + | | + | – | (+) | – | + | •– | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body | + | + | (+) | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •– | – | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | – | + |
| 27. Used at special midnight ritual | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | – | + |
| 28. At special morning ritual | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | – | + |
| 29. Placed near altar in front of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + |
| 30. Only leader uses whistle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | •– | + | + | – | |

C
D
W
171
795
796
[534]
●

(Continued on next page)

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12
C W 171 795 796 [534] [279]



PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | U T | E-A | Ki | Cos | Ki | Ab S | De I | De 2 | Wi | No C | Cr 1 | Cr 2 | WRS | Ute | Cos | W-P | Tem |
| 31. Paraphernalia satchel | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia | + | + | + | + | + | *+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer) | + | + | + | *+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | *+ | *+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 34. Water drum | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 35. Iron kettle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | *+ | + | + | *+ | + | + |
| 36. Pottery jar | *+ | | – | – | | – | + | + | | – | – | – | | + | | – | |
| 37. Charcoal in wafer | + | + | + | + | (–) | + | + | + | | + | + | *+ | + | + | *+ | + | |
| 38. Head of deerskin | + | + | + | + | + | + | *+ | + | (+) | + | *+ | *+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 39. Skin tied on before meeting | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie | + | + | + | + | *– | *– | *+ | – | + | + | *+ | *+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 41. 7 stones represent days | | | + | – | | – | – | – | | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | |
| 42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 43. Star significant | + | + | + | | | *(+) | | | | | *+ | *+ | + | + | *+ | + | |
| 44. Skin removed at end of meeting | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | *+ | + | + |
| 45. Only one drum used | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 46. Drumstick of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | *(+) | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 47. Individual drumsticks also used | + | + | + | + | (–) | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | – | + | |
| 48. Only after midnight | + | | + | + | | *– | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | + | – | + | |
| 49. Drum and drumstick passed around | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 50. Separate drummer accompanies singer | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | *+ | + | + | *+ | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 51. Drummer usually at right of singer | + | *– | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | *+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 52. Only men drum | + | + | + | + | – | *– | + | + | + | + | + | *+ | + | + | + | – | + |
| 53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader | + | + | + | + | * | + | + | + | + | + | + | *+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 54. Cedar sprinkled on fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 55. Usually by cedarman | + | *– | + | + | + | *– | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 56. Only one bag of cedar used | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | *– | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 57. Tobacco furnished by leader | + | + | + | + | + | *+ | + | + | – | + | + | + | *+ | + | + | + | + |
| 58. Rolled in maize husks | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | – | *– | – | + |
| 59. In oak leaves | + | – | + | + | –*(+) | | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | |
| 60. In paper | – | – | – | – | – | | – | – | – | + | + | *+ | + | + | + | + | |

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



### The Herucka Dance

535 The *Herucka* is a social dance and is frequently given when visitors
574 from other tribes are present, presents being given on this occasion. Men and women take part in it and are generally dressed in their best clothes. A few customs that were noticed at a performance in 1908 might be mentioned here.

If a man drops anything during the dance he himself may not pick it up. Only a warrior who has been wounded has the right to do so. The object dropped is returned to the owner, who, however, must always give it to his sister or niece.

It is at times customary for a man to dress himself in rags and beg for food, etc. He generally represents himself as an extremely poor man and pictures his destitution in a manner best calculated to amuse everyone.

[525] Wagers of horses are very commonly made at this dance.

The dances indulged in are mainly victory dances and the songs
[533] known as *Herucka* songs are always victory songs. Many borrowed songs are sung at this dance.

A large drum is always used, around which sometimes as many as
[534] 10 drummers sit. The drum consists of an ordinary tub over which skin has been tightly drawn. It is supported by two carved sticks, to which it is firmly attached, so that the bottom is about a foot from the ground. It is painted in the following manner: Two rather
[531] narrow lines of paint across the center of the drum, one blue and the other green. The portion of the drum next to the yellow line is painted blue, and that next to the blue line red. No meanings for the colors were obtained.

### Watcunahe'ŋwe Feast
(afraid-to-eat-greens feast)

241 Informant, member of Beaver clan: Just about roasting-ear month
785 people would commence to fast and continue until the green corn is
262 ripe enough to be eaten. They fast so that all the plants may strengthen the tribe.

The fast generally takes place in a special lodge, from under which all the grass has been cut, for the faster must not come in contact with anything that is green. When the fasting is over a feast is given at which all those present eat "greens" for the first time.

### The Captive's Death Dance

747 Before putting a captive to death it is customary to tie his arms
535 behind him in such a manner that his hands have a little freedom. Then they put a gourd in his right hand and a lance in his left hand

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



and permit him to dance and sing. This is called the *wuggnigke-i*[a] dance."[a] 727 535

"So then the turtle was told to dance his death dance—i. e., *wuggnigke-i*[a] dance. Both of his arms were tied behind above the elbows. Only thus was he permitted to walk. His wrists were tied in front, so that he could not stretch out his arms. His ankles were tied in such a way that he could not take any long steps. He carried a gourd in one hand and a sacred object in the other, and with these he danced up and down the village, performing his death dance and singing and shaking his gourd. Many people came to see him. He stopped and changed his song, singing, "O death, O death! You young women come here to see me. I am anxious for death."

. . .

(It seems that it is customary to grant any wish the captive makes while dancing this dance.)

## The Farewell Dance

When a person is about to go on the warpath he goes around the village dancing and asking for volunteers to accompany him. New volunteers join him as he dances and sings. When the dancing is over these volunteers tell the people how their forefathers encouraged them to go on the warpath, *etc.* 535 721

At the beginning and end of each song they strike their mouths with their hands and give a whoop.

### Farewell Songs

533
539
535
721

I

Hi'ché waje'ji yare'na[a] da'tra[a] wa'ghénagra waje[a] ana'ggara; hi'ske
Truth he speaks I hope, war leaders, what he says, truth

waje'ji yare'na[a].
he tells I hope.

II

Cughana'ggara je'ske hidanaghik'i'na dotré'ghera waggu'singa: je'ske
These dogs like I think of myself war leader a man I am: Thus

hidanaghik'i'na.
I think of myself.
(I. e., I don't value my life any more than that of a dog.)

III

Jige' ya'ragani'na[a] waje[a] ai'p'anai'na dotru'ghera; jige' yare'na[a].
Again I desire it something a long time war leader; again I desire
(I. e., it is a long time since I have been on the warpath.)

IV

Ga ai'ske zawa'nighrana'na[a] dotra[a] waghanatcha zawa'nighranana[a]
Even that they my will disappear war leader even he will disappear.
(I. e., I don't value my life any more than the war-leader does.)

[a] The following description of this dance, contained in one of the versions of the myth, "Turtle on the warpath," is no doubt fairly accurate.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



The soldier dance is a hop up and down with both feet and in no particular order, anywhere around the singers. It is held in the open air. 796 614 [535]

SOLDIER DANCE SONGS

I

Manaap'ᵊ'ra ma"ji"winᵊ. 796
Soldiers get up. 614

II

Wapᵃnijᵃ teraigi'ji ma"ji"a"ᵊjᵊ. 533
Something difficult get ready. 539
(I. e., whenever there is anything difficult to do you must get ready.)

III

Manaap'ᵊ'ra newine'naᵃ hu'nagireda.
Soldiers I am he whom they spoke of.

IV

Manaap'ᵊ'ra hi'jaᵃ wine'naᵃ.
Soldier one I am.
(I. e., I am a soldier, and if there is anything to do I'll do it.)

## Ceremony of Uangeru

(BEGGING CEREMONY)

A dummy is made of grass and dressed with whatever objects the maker wants to get. If he wants a horse he puts a bridle crosswise around the body of the dummy; if he wants clothes, he dresses him up in Indian clothes. Then the man places this dummy anywhere near a gathering, or where he expects a gathering to take place. He sits near it. As soon as any warrior sees the dummy he goes over to it and either kicks or strikes the man who made it, giving him at the same time one of the objects he wanted. Any person may do the same. They may not stop kicking the man until some warrior who had at some time or another cut up an enemy in war cuts up the dummy. Then all stop, and as soon as his bruises permitted him, the man would get up and pick up the gifts brought to him. 735 [532]

## Feast to Buffalo Tail

A grandfather of mine called Cokeboka fasted at Neceda, Wis. There he was blessed by a young buffalo bull calf belonging to a herd. The calf said, as the herd went by, "Father, keep going in the road; mother, keep going in the road." He meant a warpath instead of the road they were going in. The man was to go on a warpath, from which he would return victorious. 787

They used to make offerings to this tail alone, apart from the war bundle. The braided grass was to be used for smoking. The feast is given in spring after the grass grows up, and in midwinter. Ground corn is boiled in making the feast. [782 778] 527

## Kikre Waci and Tcebokona"k Dances

There is a pleasure dance called *kikre waci* and a dance called *tcebokona"k* (wearing buffalo headdresses). The latter is of Sioux origin. 535 177

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12



announced that he was about to give a feast in honor of Creator, all the spirits of the world above, all the spirits of the world below, and all those spirits who had appeared in dreams to any of those present. In this way, as determined by his grandfathers, should long life, and happiness, and health and success in warfare be assured to those participating. He cited the giving of tobacco to various spirits; the dedication of the cooking meat to various spirits. He called upon other custodians of war-bundles and their waiters, who might be present, to assist in the singing, speaking, and dancing. "O! O!", assented the custodians of other war-bundles who were present. 796 537 [201]

The drum was now placed before the leader, who passed it to one of his three musicians. The other two and the leader were equipped with gourd rattles. The leader then took a reed whistle and on it actually played a tune very like a bugle call. Three distinct notes were produced by varying the force with which he blew it. He then started a song, his eyes closed as if in prayer, his face stamped with serious devotion. His assistants joined in, to the accompaniment of drum and rattles. A short rest intervalled the completion of this song and the start of the next. Three other songs followed in like manner. All of this music was relatively slow in time and not designed to be accompanied by dancing. A fifth song, of like character, was accompanied by the leader's throwing several pinches of tobacco over the war-bundle. 796 [534] [533] [582 276]

The next musical contribution was a dancing song and all the men who so desired gathered about the war-bundle, selecting therefrom reed whistles, and danced in place while blowing the whistles. There being not enough whistles to go around, some took fetishes which they held reverently in their hands while dancing. At the same time, the women at the west end of the lodge rose and danced in place. With slight pauses between, four dance songs were so rendered. At the end of each song, the male dancers participated in a series of war whoops. Everyone present apparently experienced a keen delight in this. One old man, blind and so feeble that he could not rise to his feet without assistance, insisted on dancing, without moving from his allotted place by the wall, and added his quavering voice to feebly swell the volume of each battle cry. 796 533 535 [887]

When the set of dancing songs was finished, whistles and fetishes were replaced on the bundle and all took their allotted places. Then the leader again spoke, his voice at times quavering with emotion, practically repeating his first speech. Again the honored guests answered with, "O! O!". 796 [532] [201]

The head waiter then took the pipe from its position over the war bundle, and carried it to the guest seated nearest the door on the south side. While this old man puffed, the waiter lit the contents of the bowl with a stick, placed beside the fireplace for that purpose and lighted [276]

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12



I permit him to forget his bargain when the squash was served later in the day. 574 114

Big Wave did not participate in the feast, nor did he smoke ceremoniously or otherwise during the entire performance. During the feast he sang several songs without drum. These were his war-bundle songs, obtained in a dream by the original owner of the bundle and descending to his successors. 796 574

The bones from the feast were gathered up by the waiters and placed in a single vessel. Tobacco was added to the bones, and the vessel taken out to a place where no people were in view and where no dogs could molest the contents. This was a sacrifice to Disease Giver. [742]

After the meat had been entirely consumed, the leader announced that they would now have night spirit dancing. An old bow and four arrows were brought out and planted in the floor to stand erect in a row just west of the fireplace, where the war-bundle had formerly been displayed. Big Wave appointed one to lead the dance. The dancers aligned themselves in single file on the south side of the lodge, facing west, and were led by the dance leader carrying the bow and arrows and blowing a reed whistle, followed by the other dancers. The singers began singing and the dancers circled several times about the lodge counter-clockwise. With short pauses between, several songs and dances were so executed. When the set of songs was finished, the bowl of tobacco dedicated to the use of the guests was then given by one of the waiters to the most honored guest. The head waiter lifted the stove shovel containing the remains of the burned cedar leaves and poured the contents in the fire. Then the singing was resumed and they danced once more about the fire, joyously. 796 [574]

When the singing stopped, the leader for this dance returned the whistle to Big Wave, and the latter, as soon as all were again seated, addressed his guests. He said that this was the way they worshipped the spirits of their fathers. He thanked those participating for their assistance in the singing and dancing and solicited their further help. So they should enjoy health, long life and success. Everyone responded with a series of confirmative "O's". The feast of boiled squash was now served. It was the duty of the waiters to eat any scraps left by the feasters, since food uneaten is considered an affront to the spirits to whom the food is dedicated. [201] [261]

The ceremonies described above were followed by a buffalo dance. It seems that the spirit of the buffalo was especially noted for his speed in running, and could infuse his devotees with his skill. Inasmuch as speed in running was of prime importance in primitive warfare, where the desired procedure was to come quickly upon the enemy, strike decisively and disappear from the scene, the buffalo dance is considered an altogether proper adjunct to the war-bundle ceremony, and regularly follows in. [825] [726] [535]

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12



796 The shrine about which this ceremony centers is also a bundle, in
778 this instance owned by one of the waiters, but not necessarily so. Its
535 setting up followed a definite procedure. A small mound of sand was first heaped up on the grassy floor of the lodge. A wooden bowl was placed on the top center of the mound, and a tin bowl directly west of the mound. These were both filled with maple syrup. Four men placed handsful of tobacco at the base of each of the syrup containers. Then the bowl of syrup was removed from the mound, to be placed adjacent to the tin vessel, and from the open buffalo bundle a number of buffalo tai's were taken and placed upon the mound. Four small
[823] eagle feathers, dyed red, were inserted in the margins of the mound to point in the four cardinal directions.

123 The leader, accompanied by musicians with rattles and one drummer,
535 then sang one set of four songs. A dance song followed, practically
796 everyone present joining in the dance, forming in line behind the leader and circling the lodge in a counter-clockwise direction. All the men were in the forepart of the line; the women followed the men. As the line was forming, several of the men urged the humble subscriber to this account to join the dance. Never before having witnessed the particular performance, I was entirely ignorant of the correct procedure, but realizing that this was a common dance in which anyone could participate without special preparation or careful observance of conduct, I, to my downfall, consented. I joined the line where it was forming immediately in front of me. The dance started before I became aware of my embarassing position; for whereas all the other men were grouped to comprise the leading half of the line, I was far back in the formation, distantly removed from the other representatives of my sex —dancing with the squaws. The shouts of merriment arising from both the men and women satisfied me, however, that I had not committed the unpardonable sin. Nevertheless, as soon as it was convenient, I corrected the error of my position.

796 As the line passed the bowls of syrup, the dancers each drank of
535 the contents; the men from one bowl, the women from the other. The singing and dancing was continued until all the syrup was gone. Finally, the wooden bowl having been replaced on the sand altar, the leader approached it on hands and knees, mimicking the grunts and actions of a buffalo. He then proceeded to butt the bowl with his head, turning it over.

796 Speeches by the leader and by other prominent men brought the cere-
152 mony to a close.
781 My general reactions to the performance were two-fold. In the first place, I could not but be impressed by the exalted fervor of the other participants; at times tears coursed down the cheeks of Big Wave as he sang the spirit songs of his ancestors, and other participants
000 showed the effect of strong emotion. Secondly, I beheld the ancient

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
NP12 Winnebago NP12



178 nomini who live on reservations and, it seems logical to as-
191 sume, would be likely to consider themselves more of a cul-
171 tural entity, and so be better equipped to preserve their language. None the less, this does not seem to be the case according to Chippewa and Menomini informants who claim that many of their younger people do not speak the tribal language, whereas a majority of even the smallest children among the Wisconsin Winnebago are bi-lingual.

178 In considering our four types of social change, we might
535 almost add a fifth type, which arises from a reaction against white contact and is a tendency to return to old patterns, as in the case of the revival of the scalp and victory dances which practically died out after the last World War. These dances have come into prominence in the last year or so with the Indian boys again going on the "war-path."

### Cultural Change and Cultural Stability

178 Although we are considering cultural change among the Wisconsin Winnebago, the picture at this point seems rather
182 one-sided without some mention of resistance to cultural change. Despite the constant and long-continued process of change, there is still retained a surprising amount of old Indian culture. Christian missionaries and the Peyote Religion have not managed to do away with the Thunderbirds, Water Spirits, and the rest of the pagan hierarchy. The Medicine Lodge continues as an important factor in the life of many Wisconsin Winnebago. Unfortunately, the writer's data are limited regarding the present number and ages of the adherents to the pagan religion, or as they prefer to be called, **the conservative group.**

182 It is interesting to note that practically all of the Winne-
551 bago, whether from Wisconsin or Nebraska, whether Christian, conservative, or pagan, still refer to their children by ancient religiously determined names. They are used in preference to the Christian names which all Indians now possess. These Indian names for boys and girls are merely an indication of the order of age and sex of the children in any given family, and are not to be confused with clan names which are

## *I Take a Trip to Nebraska*

to see her when I was drinking heavily. I therefore had to go on alone. I had my gun with me. I arrived at Nebraska in midsummer. I arrived there very early in the morning, and there I met a man whom I had once known, a person who used to go around a good deal. There were many people present. We sat somewhat on one side, and he and his wife drank with me. I told him what I had done, how I had counted coup on a Pottawattomie, and he shook hands and said that he too had counted coup and that he was going to wear a head ornament. Then they took me to the place where they lived, carrying all my things for me. 159* [555]

The next day the Nebraska Winnebago were going to celebrate. There was to be a general gathering for a week. The people with whom I was staying joined the others at the gathering. At the gathering itself I met two men whom I knew and who recognized me. They shook hands with me. They were riding in a buggy, and when they left, they took me along. On the road they stopped, and we got out of the buggy and began drinking out of a jug containing four quarts of whisky which we had along with us. I joined them in the drinks. We then went back to the gathering, where I met an uncle of mine. To him I presented my gun, and he was delighted. [527] [273] [431]

The gathering itself was a very large one, and we danced every day. I also prepared myself and took part in the dance and gave away many things. I received in return two ponies, a harness, and a top-buggy. I remained there for some time after the celebration [527] [535] [431]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



you are indeed a chief. And then even the people of other tribes 622
will say that such and such people have a good chief."

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The Indians always cele- 796
brated in summer. It was a season of rejoicing because the chief 622
fed the tribe. It somewhat symbolized a mother bird feeding her young ones. The Thunderbird clan is in charge of the tribe, [614]
and when the chief feeds the tribe all rejoice and the standard is raised.

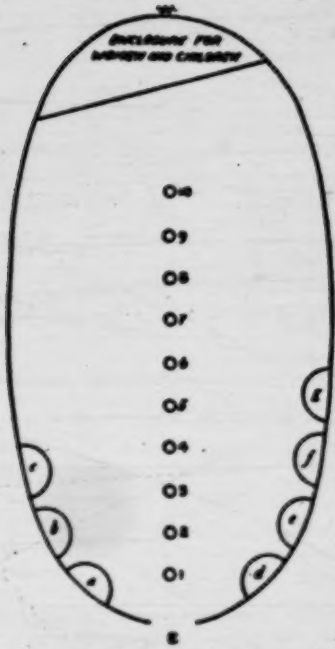


FIG. 36.—Plan of Bear clan war-bundle feast as given by John Rave. a, Host. b, Relatives of host. c, Warrior clan. d, Wolf clan. e, Thunderbird clan. f, Eagle clan. g, Buffalo clan. 1, Bear-skin for northwester. 2, Bear-skin for turtle. 3, Bear-skin for thunderbird. 4, Bear-skin for sun. 5, Bear-skin for moon. 6, Bear-skin for morning star. 7, Bear-skin for earth. 8, Bear-skin for fire. 9, Bear-skin for heaven. 10, Bear-skin for night system.

THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (FIRST VERSION)

Two versions of the Bear clan 614
feast (fig. 36) were obtained, for- 796
tunately both from a man and a 782
woman. The feast was generally given during the month called *Ilundjwi'ra* (i. e., bear month), corresponding roughly to our [805]
January.

Informant, member of the clan (female): The host tells his sister's son, or, if he should not happen to have any, a member of the Wolf clan, to build a long lodge. This attendant then fills kettles either with blueberries or raspberries or any other fruit that the bears are fond of, and places them on the fireplace. Sometimes dried corn is also brought.

The participants enter the lodge at dusk. The host precedes the invited guests. In entering they proceed in a direction contrary to the hands of the clock. The host always sits at the southeast end of the lodge and the guests occupy seats next to him, proceeding from the southeast to the northwest.

When all are seated the host rises and addresses his guests as follows:

"Members of my clan who are seated here, I greet you all. To those from whom I have sprung I make these offerings of tobacco [837]
and this headdress (i. e., red feathers). I was told by my ancestors that if I did this I would obtain for myself, for my relatives, and for

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



614 796 782 the members of my clan, sufficient blessings to guide us all safely through life, and to make our lives pleasant. I will not tell the [537] origin myth (of our clan) because it is sacred and it must not be told without the proper ceremony, for the telling would then injure an individual. Besides there are many clans beside our own represented here and it is not proper that these should hear it."

614 796 He then speaks of the four ancestral bear-beings who were created in the beginning.

When the feast is ready one of the Wolf clansmen gives four soldier whoops. Then the fire is allowed to die out, and as soon as the lodge is in complete darkness the feasters begin to eat. Before [533] eating, the host sings four songs. These are the clan songs and are only sung at these feasts or on the occasion of the death of a clansman.

Those who partake of food at the feast may be members of any clan except the Bear clan. The members of the latter clan do not eat at their own feast.

[264 415] Everyone attending must bring his own wooden spoon and must use it with his left hand. There are four wooden dishes in which the food is served. These are arranged in the lodge in a certain manner.

The guests sit around these dishes and eat with their own spoons.

[805] The feast is given in the first bear month. Some one generally watches the moon and as soon as the new moon is visible the feast begins. The feathers and the tobacco to be offered are placed in four little troughs made of basswood bark, each about 1 foot long. These are then placed on the south side of the fireplace.

When the meal is over the attendant or Wolf clansman generally says a few words of thanks to the host and then the host in turn thanks those who have participated and tells them that the feast is now over. All now pass out, the one next to the host leaving first and the rest in succession, the host himself remaining until the end.

[778 782] When the feast is over the tobacco and the feathers are taken away from the lodge and carried in a southern direction to a place (under a tree) that has been especially cleared and sanctified. Any person may thereafter go there, offer tobacco, and ask for long life.

614 796 537 782 Informant, member of the clan (male): "Well, soldiers, your moon is about to appear. It is good. So come forth, for it is at this time that the spirits asked to be remembered. Let us send, on this occasion, to the place at which we all originated, whatever we possess of wealth. This is what the spirits asked of old. Let us therefore put the kettle on and prepare the feast.

"This is the way in which we prepare the feast. I offer only one small kettle. Here is my offering. I pray that what I offer may suffice and bring enough blessings from the spirits to include all the

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Indians who exist and especially those who are present at this feast. 614
For that reason do we deliver these speeches. We were told that 796
at the place where we originated our ancestors now remain, regard- 537
ing it as their home. There they expectantly await us. So our 782
ancestors spoke. Our offering at this feast is intended for that purpose. Let us pour tobacco for them. Let us place at the edge of the fire the four bark receptacles. Now listen to me for I am going to pour tobacco.

(He now addresses the four original clan beings.)

"On the north side, Earthmaker created you. Four brothers he placed there (you being one of them). And when one of them started for the earth those remaining asked to be remembered at this feast. These are the objects they asked to be given as offerings—tobacco, feathers, and boiled food. Earthmaker gave you that kind of life-giving material. We, in turn, ask you for this, so that when you take our offerings you will grant us what we ask. Here they are, the offerings with which you wished to be remembered. The spirits promised to give them. We are praying now not only for our own, but for all the clans. Our life will be strengthened, it was said. These words that I am telling you now, they used. We must act very cautiously in this, they said.

"If you place a portion of boiled food away as an offering, you must use it only in that particular place. Do not do otherwise. This way only is the correct way to do it."

Then he spoke to the attendant and said, "Are you ready? Go and get all these people who are to eat. They must bring their spoons with them."

Then the attendant brought the people into the lodge and put some food in their plates.

"Place the people around the plate and let them be seated," the host said. "Now turn the fire down and get ready. Hold your spoons in your left hand, for with that only are you allowed to eat. None of you must talk nor laugh. You must do what I tell you. Before the meal begins let us sing. Let us do it now." (They then sing the four clan songs.) 614

"Thus they have told us. That way it was at the place where we 796
began life.

"Now the meal is over. We have had a minor council. We have acted correctly. It is good that you who are present have come at our request. You have eaten very well, and we thank you for it. This is what those from whom we originated told us to do. This council-feast they pleaded for. 'We should act very cautiously, they said. That you have done. It is good that you have eaten for our benefit. Now is about time for us to finish. I greet you all."

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THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (SECOND VERSION)

614 796 Informant, member of Bear clan: As soon as the first bear month is visible they have their feast. They do not use meat but products of the earth. The feast is held at night, never in the daytime. The [805] people always save up food some time before giving the feast. The [825] favorite dishes of the bear are sugar and blueberries. When they can not obtain these they use other vegetables. Indeed, any product of the earth is all right.

When they prepare to give the feast they get the food ready and have some tobacco on hand. On the first day of the first bear month they put on the fire some kettles with dried corn mixed with fruit and others containing green corn. The latter is boiled. They also have [203] ground sugar. When these are ready the feast attendant goes around the village to invite the people. When all have entered the lodge and taken their proper seats, then the host rises and addresses them:

614 796 587 "All my relatives who are seated here, I greet you. It is not through blessings of our own that we can always make offerings of tobacco. My grandfather was blessed by a spirit called Black Fur, a spirit who is in command of all the other spirits. This spirit told us that we could perform the ceremony in this way. It is for that reason we have made an effort to heat water for him.[6] The first request we make is that if we ever go on the warpath, we may conquer. Our grandfather was also blessed with life by the bear spirit[7] and he told him that he would grant him and his posterity whatever they asked. [782] We shall therefore send to this spirit a pipeful of tobacco, two kettles full of food, and some tree sap.[8] So much will we send him, accompanied by an offering of tobacco.

"As soon as the attendant gets everything ready the feasting will begin."

Then the attendant puts food in every plate, and when he has finished the host speaks again.

"Relatives, it is said that when the plates are supplied to you [264] filled with food, then you should begin to eat. Do not, however, use your right hands in eating."

The host tells the feasters to use their left hands in eating, and they obey him. Before starting to eat all the fires are put out and the people eat in the dark.

614 796 In the spring of the year this feast is given again. Twice a year it is given.

The feast[9] was always given with some choice dried corn that had been put away for this event. Once when it was time to give the [841] feast in the first bear month, the two daughters of the man who was

[6] Boil soup and prepare food in general.
[7] Black Fur is apparently a sacramental expression for bear.
[8] Ceremonial name for maple sugar.
[9] What follows is an account of why this particular feast was discontinued.

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to give it had their menses and were fasting. When the feast was 614
about to be held there was no food and their mother gave the girls 796
some of the sacred food and the unclean girls boiled it and ate it. 844

The following spring when the girls were out helping their mother tan some hide a bear approached them and tried to kill the girls. The old woman fought the bear off as best she could, but he paid no attention to her and tried to get at the girls. Finally he killed the girls. Then the old woman attacked the bear and finally threw him down and killed him, using her tanning stick as a weapon.

Now this bear was not an ordinary bear such as live on this earth, but his body was covered with blue clay. He had come out of a [776
spring of water shortly before he came to this place. The girls had 688]
eaten sacred food when they were unclean, and that is why this bear came and killed them.

Since then that particular band has stopped giving this bear feast.

THE SNAKE CLAN FEAST

When a person wishes to give a snake feast, four chickens must be 796
obtained. The nephew of the feast giver is then told to prepare these 614
chickens and make the general preparations.

The feast is given in the fall, just as the snakes are supposed to go into their winter quarters and close their doors. The winter is [825]
their night, and then they go to sleep.

Shortly before the feast begins the host takes out a bundle containing four snake skins—a yellow-snake skin, a rattlesnake skin, a blow-snake skin, and a bull-snake skin. In honor of these he gives his feast and makes his offerings.

As the fall of the year is to the snakes the same as our evening, the Winnebago give this feast in their honor then, in much the same way as we have our supper before retiring for the night. The snake skins are representatives of the first four snakes Earthmaker made and [773]
which he pierced through the earth in the direction of the east. The snake skins are kept to represent the four original snake-beings and to keep evil away from homes. That is why offerings are made to them. Four men only are invited to this feast (as main participants), and they must each eat a chicken.

The host himself opens the door for the snakes. In front of him, next to the fireplace, he makes four holes in the ground, thus opening the door for them. There he likewise places tobacco for them. First he pours tobacco in the fire, for the fire is the mediator be- [782]
tween the people and the spirit. The fire tells the spirit the wishes of the people and is, in general, in charge of the members of the tribe. For that reason they always pour tobacco upon it. 796

Now the host rises and speaks. "Grandfather (fire), you who 614
stand in the center of the lodge, I offer you tobacco, for you are the 537
interpreter (between the spirits and human beings), and I know that 372

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614 537 [372] you will deliver the requests I address to our grandfather-who-crawls (the snake), just as I have said them. I offer you tobacco.

"To you likewise, grandfathers, you whom Earthmaker created first and placed within the earth; you whom Earthmaker placed in control of abundance of life and whose war clubs were made heavy, so that nothing could miss them; to you we offer these things. Whatever you can give us, we ask of you in return. Here are our offerings [782] of food, tobacco, and eagle feathers. We place them here at your door. We ask that you bless us with victory in war. We know that the weapons you carry make you invulnerable, and we wish likewise to be invulnerable. You never fail to obtain what you desire with your clubs, and we ask that the same power be bestowed upon us. As the years pass may the blessing we obtain increase in power. When you look out upon the world life emanates from your eyes. May this life be given to our posterity. As we strut about in the short number of days allotted to us may you keep out of our path, so that we may not be frightened. Yet should we cross any of your paths may we be strengthened thereby. It is said that you are the grass, and that is why we ask you to bless us. Bless us because you are in possession of the life which we desire. For these reasons do we offer you tobacco, feathers, and food."

796 614 [782] Then the host poured tobacco into the four holes that he had made in the ground and placed feathers there. Then he took a little food from each of the kettles and poured it into the four holes. After that he greased the heads of the snake skins which were lying before him with kettle grease and poured tobacco on the heads of the snakes. He asked all his relatives to offer tobacco likewise and he put tobacco into the holes again and poured some upon the heads of the snakes.

When those invited have arrived, someone who is a good speaker sits near the entrance, while another good speaker sits near the farthest end. After all have entered, the leader of the four participants makes the circuit of the fireplace four times. He then sits down, and the host greets each one in turn, as follows:

796 614 537 "I greet you all. It is good. How could I say aught but that it is good! I am a poor worthless fellow, yet you have remembered me. It is good. You did not look upon my unworthiness and think within your hearts he is a worthless fellow, but you thought of the spirits, and therefore you came to sit with me so that I might see your face. It is good. I have obtained four chickens, and the attendant is now cooking them. I suppose he has cooked them by this time, and we will soon be able to eat them.

"I am attempting to cook water for the beings first created, so that we might be blessed with victory in war, and with life. That is what we are asking and what we would like to obtain from them before they (the spirits) retire for the night. It is our desire to be blessed year in, year out.

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"Your plates will be filled soon, so let me greet you again, you (humans) who are taking the place of the spirits. All you who are present I greet." 796 614 537

The attendant now takes the kettles from the fire and takes the plate of the first of those sitting in the row. Then he takes the sharp stick that he holds in his hand, sticks it through one of the four chickens, and puts it in the plate of the first man. He passes the plate around the kettle four times, going from right to left, and finally he places it before the feaster. The feaster then says, "I thank you all," and the attendant passes on to the next one, and so in succession until he comes to the last person. Then the one first invited rises and says, "All those present, the host and the three other guests, do I greet." Then the speaker addresses the one sitting next to him, who greets him in return. In the same way he greets the third and the fourth one. Then he speaks as follows:

"It is good. Who would not be thankful for this? The host and his relatives present here are praying for life and victory, to the four greatest spirits Earthmaker ever made, to those spirits whom he pierced through the earth so that it might hold together. All the snakes whom we see on the earth are ruled by those four. From them have they asked blessings. The first human beings on earth saw these spirits face to face and, we are told, they used them for protection. These we see before us as the host has laid them out. We are told that blessings can be obtained by the use of these snakes.

"I am indeed not a fit person to be invited to such a gathering as this, but the host has kindly overlooked my faults. My grandfather fasted and thirsted himself to death and he was blessed and his spirit taken to a spirit-home. That is what happened to my grandfather, for he told me this himself. The place where he was [787] blessed was at Red Banks at a place where a creek flows into the sea (Green Bay). At the fork of this creek there was a hill lying east and west. It is there that the yellow snake-chief lives. To the home of this snake-chief my grandfather was taken. This snake was at this place gathering tobacco for all the spirits. There my grandfather was even blessed with their bodies. For this reason I always pour tobacco for them. And I have been given to understand that the spirits do not overlook the least fault (in the performance of the feast). They are always in our midst just as even the grass and the dust represent snakes. They know everything, they say. It is not safe to cross their path. As, however, the host is now making an offering to them, should we cross their path now it would even strengthen us. It is good. These clubs are heavy and they will not fail to strike everything within their reach. The host has asked for that power so that he might have victory (in war). They, the spirits, also have life to dispose of and that we ask of them also, giving them these offerings of tobacco, [782] feathers, and food.

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796 feathers, and food. They will bless us I am certain, for I am told
614 that they even know our thoughts and wishes (before we express
537 them), and are willing to grant them if we pour tobacco while making
[782] them. However, to-day we have done more. We have openly made a great offering to them. How could any spirit fail to see such an offering? For that reason (I know) they will surely bless us. And the blessings asked for the posterity will surely be granted. I feel that when I go home and talk to my children afterwards, they will be strengthened by the fact that I have taken part in the feast. All who are present, I greet. You, the host, I also greet. I greet you all."

Then the second one invited rises and speaks. He thanks the host for the privilege of having been invited and encourages him and assures every one that they will surely be blessed, telling them why they should be blessed.

Then the third one rises and says approximately the same as his predecessor. He also tells how his grandfather was blessed by the snakes, etc.

Then the fourth one speaks, telling what the snakes do and that he himself was a member of the Snake clan and was consequently descended from the snakes. Inasmuch as he had partaken of the feast, all who were present would surely be blessed by the snakes. He assured them that what they asked would surely be granted. Then he greeted them and concluded.

After that, all the four participants greet each other in turn again and when this is over they sit down and begin the feast. Each person must eat a chicken apiece. They must not leave anything on the plate, for it is a sacred feast. After they have eaten the chicken they are given soup to drink.

When the feast is over the host throws cedar branches into the fire and the plates and the spoons are held over the smoke in order to purify them. The host then rises and says:

"You, the first invited, and you, the second invited, etc., I greet you all. It is good that you have come and occupied seats at my request and I am grateful to you for it. Even were that all the blessing I was to receive, it would (be enough). But you have assured me that I would receive the blessings I longed for. You truly encouraged me. You told me of your grandfathers' blessings, so that I feel positive that I am blessed, for your grandfathers' blessings were surely great and I am sure everything could be obtained with them. Surely your grandfathers' blessings were equal to those of the spirits. It is good that you have indeed partaken of my feast. This must be what the older people said: 'Your life is (naturally) weak and you can only be strengthened by the counsel and advice of brave men.' Truly you have councilled with me and given me enough to live on. I thank you for the speeches you have delivered, for it is life to me. It is good. I greet you all."

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generally lasts from dawn preceding the day ceremony until 7 or 8 a. m. The intermission begins as soon as the drum and gourds have been returned to the ancestor host and ends as soon as the people return from the brush ritual. 756 796

The first and second parts are concerned entirely with a recital of certain ritualistic myths and a rehearsal of the songs and the specific ritual of each band used during the remaining parts.

*Types and component elements of the ceremony.* For purposes of greater clarity, the speeches, songs, and types of action will be carefully differentiated and referred to by some designation characterizing their essential traits. These speeches, songs, and types of action together form combinations which may be regarded as units, and they will therefore also be referred to by some designation characteristic of their function.

1. Types of speeches (1) Salutations: No formal salutation is used during Parts I and II, the individuals being addressed by their relationship terms. In Parts III, IV and V the salutations are invariably the same. The ancestor host and his band are addressed as follows: "The-one-occupying-the-seat-of-a-relative (deceased) and you-who-sit-with-him, do I salute." The east is addressed, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-sun-rises"; the north, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-cold-comes-from"; the west, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-sun-straightens," or (preferably) "You-who-represent-the-end-of-the-road." 756 796 537 576

The appellations of the bands, as before stated, refer to the creation myth and the four guardian spirits whom Hare visited for the purpose of inquiring into the necessity and meaning of death. Hare was compelled to travel around the earth, which is conceived of as an island, and received no answer until he came to the spirit at the end of the road. In the dramatic performance of the medicine dance the lodge typifies the earth and the four bands and their leaders typify the four spirits. The ancestor host's band typifies the ancestor of the Winnebago. 773 756 796 621 [772]

(2) Speeches: Under this head will be treated (*a*) speeches of welcome; (*b*) speeches of acceptation; (*c*) speeches of presentation; (*d*) speeches explanatory of the significance of the ritual; and (*e*) speeches of admonition, addressed exclusively to the candidate. This does not exhaust all. There are many others, generally short, that can hardly be classified. In their content, as well as in the order of their succession, the speeches must follow a traditionally determined sequence. In practice this is certainly not always true, but to the mind of the Winnebago these speeches appear as old as the ceremony. It is their firm belief that any departure from the accepted type will interfere with the efficacy of the ceremony. 796 537 756

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796 (a) Speeches of welcome: When the leader of the east band enters
756 after the ancestor host has begun the ceremony (IV, b), he addresses
537 the latter as follows: "It was good of you to condescend to invite me
576 to this dance. I am a poor pitiable man and you believed me to be a medicine man. However, I know you will show me the true manner of living, which I thought I possessed, but which I in reality did not." In this strain he continues, weaving into his speech references to the ritual connected with his band and offering thanks for the beautiful weather (should it be a clear day). In concluding he thanks all again, and informs them that he will sing a song. With slight alterations the leaders of the other bands address the ancestor host similarly. The ancestor host's answer of welcome is as follows: "Whatever I desired you have done for me. All night have you stayed with me and by your presence helped me in the proper performance of this ceremony. I am ready with a dancing song, and when I have finished and sit down I shall pass to you tobacco and other means of blessing (the gourds and the drum). All who are present do I greet."

(b) Speeches of acceptation: After the ancestor host has been presented with food he thanks the donors as follows: "You have had pity on me. You have been good to me and have given me to the full whatever I desired. You have filled my heart with the blessing of thankfulness. In return I give you a blessing. Here is some food for you. It is not anything special, nor is it as much as it ought to be, and I know you will remain hungry. It was prepared for the spirits of the four quarters (whom you represent), but it is lacking in all those qualities which would have made it acceptable to them. Such as it is, however, may its presentation be a means of blessing to you."

796 (c) Speech of presentation: East presents the food to the ancestor
756 host with the following words: "I have not very much to tell you,
537 because I am too poor, but our ancestors told us to give you food. This little that I give is all that I can, being a person of so little importance."

(d) Explanatory speeches: These are of so specific a nature that no single one can be considered typical.

(e) Speeches of admonition: "Nephew, now I shall tell you the path you must walk, the life you must lead. This is the life Hare obtained for us. This is the only kind of life—this that our ancestors followed. Listen to me. If you will always help yourself, then you
[867] will attain to the right life. Never do anything wrong. Never steal, never tell an untruth, and never fight. If you meet a woman on the left side of the road, turn to the right. Never accost her nor speak familiarly with a person whom you are not permitted thus to address. If you do all these things, then you will be acting correctly. This is what I desire of you."

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727 our grandfather, the scalp, who is standing in the center of the lodge.
796 Place a plate for the scalp and bring it to that brave man." Then the brave warriors eat the head, and when that is finished the servants distribute meat and food to those present who have not taken part in the head eating. While they are eating the host blows on
[534] his flute and sings some songs until the eating is over. Then he rises and speaks again:

727 "All you who are present to give us counsel and who sit here in
796 the place of others, I greet you. For the warriors who would counsel
● 537 with us repeatedly and for the sacred speeches of our fathers do we ask. In this ceremony to-day we will select as many war-bundle owners as are present to eat together with our grandfather, who is standing in the center of our lodge (the scalp). And if they select me to eat with the scalp, poor and pitiable as I am, it would be good.

"Should sickness suddenly come upon a village all those who are sick may take part in this ceremony. For our grandfather, who stands in the middle of the lodge, is no weakling, and when they take hold of him they are obtaining supernatural powers, it is said. We are trying to trample upon the soul (*wanayzi'rak*) (of the scalp). If we trample upon it, all the goods of life that were still coming to him when he was killed will be transferred to us. As many as are going to take part in this dance to-night should try to make the soul of our grandfather (the scalp) more amenable to our prayers. So all you women and men see to it that you dance with all your strength. Do not take this matter lightly, for we obtain life thereby, we were told.

"Councilors of the different clans who are seated here with us, I greet you all."

727 Then they sang *hol'ize're* songs and danced the *hol'ize're* dance.
796 All night they danced. They did not stop for a moment. Thus they tried to conquer the soul of their grandfather (scalp). They danced till early in the morning and then just as the sun appeared they carried the drum outside of the lodge to the victory post and danced the victory dance. As soon as the sun was high in the heavens they stopped. Then they went to sleep.

*The second day.*—Just before the sun was setting they all came and danced the victory dance again. Then the host got ready to furnish the meal again. All his female relatives who had received presents took charge of the preparation of the food, which the servants had previously obtained. As soon as the victory dance was over they entered the dancing lodge. Then the host spoke, and when he finished he sang four songs, and as soon as these were finished they all got ready to eat. Then the host said that he would give the heads of the animals to the donor and that the latter might select those warriors whom he wished to have as partners in the

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X796 (11) *Terminal dog ritual.*—This consists simply of a speech by the host to the assembled guests, telling them that the dog is to be sent to Disease-giver as an offering, and that he will pray to Disease-giver to preserve them from disease.

ANALYSIS OF TYPES OF ACTION AND SPEECHES

*Circuit of the lodge.*—This is always made in a direction contrary to that of the hands of a clock. The reason given for this method is [776] that it is supposed to represent the journey of the Night Spirits around the earth.

*Method of greeting.*—This is the same as that which exists in all Winnebago ceremonies and is accurately described in my article on the Winnebago Medicine dance.[8]

X796 *Types of speeches.*—This subject is of great importance because, 537 while it is true that a certain freedom is allowed in the method of delivery and the choice of words, on the other hand, their content and to a large extent their symbolism and imagery are stereotyped. The speeches might perhaps best be divided into the following groups:

(a) *General addresses.*—These are generally delivered by the host to his guests and always contain expressions of gratitude for the kindness shown by the guests in condescending to accept his invitation.

(b) *Speeches of thankfulness.*—These are generally delivered by the guests and always contain complimentary references to the zealousness of the host in attending to his religious duties, expressions of gratitude for the invitation extended to them, and protestations, couched in the strongest terms, of their unworthiness for the honor thrust upon them and their utter inability to do aught that might insure the acceptance by the spirits of the offerings extended to them.

(c) *Speeches of admonition.*—These are plainly exhortations by the host to his band and by the leaders of the guests' bands to their bands, beseeching them to do their utmost to insure the success of the ceremony.

(d) *Speeches to the spirits.*—These are prayers varying in length and co[illegible]

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST AND ITS PLACE IN THE CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE WINNEBAGO

X796 The ceremonial organization of the Winnebago can be divided into 571 three types, according to the unit of organization that prevails. We find societies either based on common religious qualifications, such as being blessed by the same spirit, or those based on a fixed unit, as the five bands of the Medicine dance; organizations based on the clan, as the clan feasts; or, finally, temporary organizations based on war exploits, such as the Hōk'ixe're dance, in which the

[8] Jour. Amer. Folklore, vol. 24, pp. 149-220, 1911.

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will be present to smoke with them, it is said. And lest (through forgetfulness) they do not think of certain spirits they have some tobacco ready for these, that they may also smoke it. Wherever it is that the spirits have their gathering places there it is that the tobacco goes. The Thunderbirds have a tobacco-gathering place, it is said. The Night Spirits have one also, it is said. The place that I spoke of as the one where Djobenāgjwi'ɣxga was blessed, that is the tobacco-gathering place of the Night Spirits, Grandfather Djobenāgjwi'ɣxga said. Up above there is also a tobacco-gathering place, it is said. And, again, on the earth there is a gathering place somewhere, it is said. Under the earth there is a gathering place somewhere also, it is said. The mixed tobacco is placed in the center of the long lodge, and though this is not pure tobacco there is plenty of it. The feasters try to consume all of it. They would smoke very much, for they desired (certain things from the spirits). Thus the feasters would encourage one another, for they, the spirits, loved holy tobacco. "Try to make them smoke as much tobacco as possible that you may obtain war powers, it is said."

He (the host) smoked for them (the spirits). He also encouraged the feasters (to smoke) and had the attendants go repeatedly to fill the pipe of the guests seated in the lodge. "Be diligent," he told them "and try to smoke as much as you can." All night he offered them tobacco to smoke, it is said.[*]

### The Tobacco Offering to the Spirits

*Host's initial speech.* "Six white buckskins, with enough material for as many pairs of moccasins, I am going to send to our grandparents. They will be able to recognize (the buckskins) by the marks upon them.[*] If (spirits) you recognize them, it is our desire that you take these buckskins. That is why I am doing this. I hope, also, that our grandfathers will accept our food offerings. That is why I am making them. Many are the war-bundle owners who are sitting here; the lodge tent is full of them. I am thankful for it. I am going to make you very tired; I am going to make you very hungry; but I know you never thought of that.[*] You are thinking only of our grandfathers, the spirits, and that is why you have permitted my lodge to become filled up with people. It is good. All ye war-bundle owners who are seated here within, I greet you. I am now going to pour tobacco."

[*] This was omitted in the account as first obtained and was told afterwards. For this reason it partakes more of a general description than of a detailed narrative.

[*] Every buckskin is marked with a symbol sacred to the particular spirit to whom it is offered.

[*] It is one of the cardinal tenets of Winnebago ritualistic oratory that everything that the speaker does is to be depreciated and that any honor or consideration shown to him by his guests is to be ascribed more to a feeling of pity in their breasts than to his worth.

[537]

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796 other mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik, were respectively placed at the
778 northeast and southeast corners of the bundle.

A peeled stake, forked at the top, was set up at the central western margin of the bundle wrapper. The ceremonial pipe, of Siouan type [276] with a catlinite bowl, was then filled by the leader from the bowl of mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik and placed with the stem end resting in the fork of the stake, the stem slanting diagonally downward across the bundle and the bowl, in upright position, resting on the central eastern margin of the bundle wrapper.

[824 The leader then placed some live coals from the fire in a small stove-
783] shovel. On these coals he placed white cedar leaves. With the smoke of the burning cedar leaves he purified the contents of the bundle, his own person, and even the walls of the lodge.

796 Shortly before the ceremony was to start, some of the waiters pre-
534 pared the drum. What had probably been originally designed to serve as a pickle keg, served as the body of the drum. This was partly filled with water. A buckskin head was then placed over the open end and drawn taut by means of cords attached to the base of the body. This was done by means of stick tourniquets in each of the cords. The proper degree of tautness was determined by tipping the drum bottom side up, to permit the water to wet the drum head, and testing the tone quality with the drum stick. After the drum had been thus properly tuned, more hot coals were placed in the censer, cedar leaves applied and [783] the drum and stick turned over and over in the resulting smoke. Then the drum was placed just north of the war-bundle.

A small pot containing two portions of cooked meat was suspended from the roof of the house immediately west of the bundle.

796 Early in the afternoon, all preparations having been completed, the ceremony began. The guests in little groups filed into the lodge and were seated by the head waiter, squatting on mats with their backs to the wall. The most important guests, owners of war-bundles in other clans, [562] were placed nearest the door. The eastern two-thirds of the lodge was occupied by men only. The women were clustered at the western end. Mr. Fisher and I were seated immediately south of the bundle. The leader and three assistants, elected to serve as musicians, were grouped just north of the fireplace.

Although the rites associated with the war-bundle are kept up by [182] a few of these Winnebago, the ritual has sadly degenerated. Aside from the host, no man made any serious attempt to equip himself properly in costume. Many important elements were omitted such as the preliminary sweat bath ceremony, the sacrifice of white buckskins to the spirits, the dog sacrifice, and many minor details left out of the ceremonies attempted. When all were assembled, the leader opened the [537] ceremony with a speech to those assembled. The formal dignity of the speaker and the unhesitating flow of his words were impressive. He

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announced that he was about to give a feast in honor of Creator, all the spirits of the world above, all the spirits of the world below, and all those spirits who had appeared in dreams to any of those present. In this way, as determined by his grandfathers, should long life, and happiness, and health and success in warfare be assured to those participating. He cited the giving of tobacco to various spirits; the dedication of the cooking meat to various spirits. He called upon other custodians of war-bundles and their waiters, who might be present, to assist in the singing, speaking, and dancing. "O! O!", assented the custodians of other war-bundles who were present. 796 537 [201]

The drum was now placed before the leader, who passed it to one of his three musicians. The other two and the leader were equipped with gourd rattles. The leader then took a reed whistle and on it actually played a tune very like a bugle call. Three distinct notes were produced by varying the force with which he blew it. He then started a song, his eyes closed as if in prayer, his face stamped with serious devotion. His assistants joined in, to the accompaniment of drum and rattles. A short rest intervalled the completion of this song and the start of the next. Three other songs followed in like manner. All of this music was relatively slow in time and not designed to be accompanied by dancing. A fifth song, of like character, was accompanied by the leader's throwing several pinches of tobacco over the war-bundle. 796 [534] [533] [782 276]

The next musical contribution was a dancing song and all the men who so desired gathered about the war-bundle, selecting therefrom reed whistles, and danced in place while blowing the whistles. There being not enough whistles to go around, some took fetishes which they held reverently in their hands while dancing. At the same time, the women at the west end of the lodge rose and danced in place. With slight pauses between, four dance songs were so rendered. At the end of each song, the male dancers participated in a series of war whoops. Everyone present apparently experienced a keen delight in this. One old man, blind and so feeble that he could not rise to his feet without assistance, insisted on dancing, without moving from his allotted place by the wall, and added his quavering voice to feebly swell the volume of each battle cry. 796 533 535 [887]

When the set of dancing songs was finished, whistles and fetishes were replaced on the bundle and all took their allotted places. Then the leader again spoke, his voice at times quavering with emotion, practically repeating his first speech. Again the honored guests answered with, "O! O!". 796 [532] [201]

The head waiter then took the pipe from its position over the war bundle, and carried it to the guest seated nearest the door on the south side. While this old man puffed, the waiter lit the contents of the bowl with a stick, placed beside the fireplace for that purpose and lighted [276]

## *A War-Bundle Feast*

O Grandfathers, spirits of the night, walkers in darkness, to you I offer tobacco and ask for the fireplaces which my ancestor received. If you smoke this tobacco see to it that I never become a weakling. 159* 796 782

To you who live in the south, you who look like a man, you who are invulnerable, you who deal out life from one side of your body and death from the other, you whom we call Disease-Giver, to you I offer tobacco. In daylight, in broad daylight, did you bless my ancestor. With food you blessed him; you told him that he would never fail in anything, you told him that you would avoid his home; you placed animals in front of him that he should have no trouble in obtaining them. An offering of tobacco I make to you that you may smoke it and that I may not be troubled in life. 539 726 [953]

Then they offered prayers to the Black Hawk, the Sun, the Moon, the South Wind, the Earth, and the Eagle. Many speeches were given, for every guest who was invited to impersonate a spirit delivered one. The man who was impersonating the Thunderbird spoke as follows: 159* 796 [782] 539 726

Host and relatives, all you who are seated here, to all I send forth my greetings. All those present have given me good advice and even the women and children here have pleaded in my behalf with the spirits. What love that was! And of what does life consist of but love! The clan counselor is repeating the songs that were obtained when the sacred bundle was made, so that when the time for the tobacco offering to the spirits came, the specially prepared tobacco would be ready. Now indeed that time has arrived

*159 and they are all sitting here prepared to pray to all the
796 various spirits. Long before, when in their visions they
● 537 were vouchsafed a warpath, the soul of the man they were
726 to kill would be already in their possession when they performed this ceremony. It is to attract his soul that this ceremony is performed. You are going to have a good and prosperous warpath. When you are actually in the midst of the warpath and are about to rush upon the enemy, pour tobacco to the various spirits who are in control of war, say,
[782] "Thus, grandfathers, were we accustomed to offer tobacco to you." Although you may not know by any word or direct sign whether the war-controllers have answered you, you will know it as soon as the rush upon the enemy takes place, for although you walk where the bullets rain hardest you will pass out of their range and come through in safety. Then when you return to your people every one will rush out to bestow the war honors upon you. If you give this
[782] sacred feast in the proper way, if you burn up much tobacco and food, then the various spirits, especially the Thunder-
[796] birds who are the greatest war-controllers, will bless you for the excellent way in which you prayed to him. Whenever they pass your way they will remember you. They will even call you by name and say, "Let us smoke here."

This is the way in which young men are encouraged to act, but only a few succeed. It is good. The host has preached to us and pleaded for all those who are present. He has made offerings of food to our grandfathers who
[782] live in the west; pleasing offerings of tobacco and buckskin has he sent to them. I have been permitted to impersonate this great spirit and have thus obtained life for myself and my unimportant clansmen, for all of us who have been living in so lowly a condition. With real life have we felt ourselves connected through your actions. We have felt our-

selves connected with life by means of that organ which Earthmaker gave us as a measure of things.[21] I send forth my greetings to you all. 159* 796 537 726

Then he who was impersonating the Disease-Giver spoke:

War-bundle owners, relatives seated around here, I greet you all. This is indeed a marvelous performance that we have witnessed and he who was able to do it must surely be a marvelous man. Very few people listen to the advice of their parents but he must have been one who did and that is why he has done so well. [593] The members of his clan have been sincerely worshiping the spirits. He who originally made this war-bundle ritual was like a spirit in power and what he told them to do they are doing in every detail. It is good work they are doing. Sufficient food are they offering to those in control of war powers for the spirits easily to take cognizance of it. They have placed ample tobacco and different kinds of buckskin within reach of the spirits. To you, O Disease-Giver, a pleasing white [782] buckskin has been strung out in offering and with it a pleasing red feather as a hair ornament. [301] How indeed would it be possible for the spirits not to recognize these offerings? And if they recognize them then we who are impersonating the spirits, will also receive the benefit of the blessings of war and life, extended to the host.

Long ago our ancestors asked the spirits to bless them so that then they might live happily. Here we are sitting around the fireplace and the life that the host and his friends have asked for, the spirits are not merely extending to them

[21] A very curious circumlocution for stomach. He means, of course, all the food that has been eaten. [195]

## *Crashing Thunder*

726 *159 but to all those present. In the olden days the old people
796 used to say to the young boys, "You are not able to fast
● 537 as yet and to offer up proper food to the spirits so as to
clear away the weapons held against you." Now just as
726 these older people would have liked, so you are doing.
*159 Even I, who am of no consequence, have nevertheless been
796 permitted to impersonate a great spirit. This you have
796 done for me—allowed me to impersonate that spirit[1] who
537 is the bravest of them all, the one who is in control of
[953] power whereby an enemy can be killed outright! One side
of this spirit's body controls life and the other death. Now
they are about to offer to this spirit, the food of a white
[782] animal, of a male animal, the dog, as well as a white buck-
skin, feathers and tobacco—all of them objects that please
him very much. To Disease-Giver they are about to extend
these things so that therewith they may ask him for war
power and life. It is an awe-inspiring spirit to whom they
have been making offerings. Surely I, who have been listen-
ing only by virtue of the host's generosity, do not have to
say anything in his behalf. He thought of his ancestor
when he asked me to impersonate this spirit. Of all the
[782] spirits his is the name which one cannot speak lightly,
it is said. If nevertheless I greet his name and speak about
this spirit, may I not be weakened by uttering it. Those
who are about to offer you food, grandfather Disease-Giver,
send you their greetings. To you, O host, do I send my
greetings, as well as to all the war-bundle owners seated
here.

*159 The feasters sang dancing songs throughout all this
796 time. At dawn we were to pass the deerskin offerings
726 through the roof of the lodge. My older brother took
the lead. I followed and the others came up behind



1. 1 [i.e., Disease Giver -- analyst]

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## §13. *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

My grandfather was buried in the manner customary in the Thunderbird clan. His relatives got some one to bury him and the chief mourner invited a distinguished person to talk to the corpse before it was dressed for burial. The person addressed the body as follows: 159* 764 [767]

You are about to leave your relatives. They will remain on earth, objects of pity to all. You must proceed on your road and turn to your left after you start. Continue until you come to the one who is in charge of spirits. When you see him, make the following request—that he bestow upon us all that you fell short of in this world. The means of offering, the tobacco, which Earthmaker gave us, we have given you to take along. As you go along you will come to a place where the road branches off. Do not turn to the right for that leads to the bad spirits. Turn to the left and soon you will come to a guard. Point your pipe at him and he will be thankful. This man will wear a complete suit of clothes and he will be terrible to look upon. He will smoke with you and you must address him as follows: "Grandfather, before I left earth the people told me to ask you to point out which road I was to travel in." Then he will tell you and you will pass ahead and come after a while to a fire on both sides of the earth. The man in charge of it will wear a complete suit of clothes 159* 764 775 537

*159 764 775 ● 537 just like the former one. Point the stem of your pipe toward him and he will be very thankful and smoke your pipe. Then make your request—that you be permitted to pass—and he will grant it. As you continue you will come to a round lodge where you will find an old woman. Point your pipe at her and she will permit you to go ahead. Your hair will now have become white but you will not be unconscious. On the contrary you will be in complete possession of your senses. Then you will come to the place where he who is in control of all the souls sits. Go toward him and [776] point your pipe at him. When he is smoking it ask him to show you the road to Earthmaker, our father, and he will point it out to you. Then you must proceed until you come to Earthmaker. When you get to him, point the stem of your pipe toward him and if he takes it and smokes it you must say, "Earthmaker, our father, you know very well what kind of a life I have led." Then he will answer, "My son, you have done well."

*159 764 [767] [301] After this speech the body was dressed by the person who was to do the actual burying. The best clothes of the deceased were put on, beads placed around his neck, bracelets on his wrist, rings on his fingers and earrings in his ears. It was then placed in the casket. [767] When the grave-diggers completed their work, the mourners blackened their faces with charcoal and the corpse was taken up by the man to whom this duty was assigned. The mourners followed behind weeping. Thus they proceeded to the grave. When they got there the corpse was immediately placed in it. Then the chief mourner stepped across the center of the grave and the others did the same. When they started

## *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

back for home they were told under no circumstances 159*
to turn around and look in the direction of the grave. 764

As soon as they returned home the man in charge
of the funeral arrangements went around the village 159*
and invited every one to come to the wake. Brave men 765
and warriors are especially welcome.

The mourners prepared food and when the sun went down the chief mourner took a stick made of hard wood, lit it, and carried it to the grave, placing it at the east end. It must be still burning when put there. After this the man returned and the funeral manager prepared everything for the feast. When all were gathered around he rose and addressed the people as follows:

Relatives, all you who are gathered around here, I greet 159*
you. I have done nothing of any consequence which could 765
justify you in coming here and thus honoring me, but being 537 ●
relatives of mine, you came in the kindness of your hearts 539
to comfort me. I have prepared cooked food and boiled water for the dead person. Tobacco is also handy and as soon as the attendant is ready he will pass this around to those who wish any.

It is good that so many of you have come to-night. You know that we are not creating any new ceremony but are simply following what our ancestors found to be true and good. And as it is said that we should not weep aloud, [152]
you will not hear any of us making utterings of sorrow. And even though we weep silently, should any one come to us we will look upon them smiling. We therefore beg of you, should you find us happy in mood, not to think the worst of us.

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 765 775 539 537 Then the attendant took the water and tobacco and gave it to the one who was to speak to the soul of the departed person. This one then rose and spoke as follows:

To-night we have come together not for the sake of amusement but because we are afflicted with grief. Now it is the custom to speak to the soul of the departed. It is a sacred action yet even I, they tell me, can do it provided no worthier person can be found. I have even been told that my words will not cause the spirit of the departed to lose his way on his journey to spirit-land. For that reason I am going to speak to the soul of the departed and say the best I can. I greet you all.

Then he takes some tobacco in his hand and passing it behind him through the lodge says:

Here it is, the tobacco. I am certain that you, O ghost, are not very far away, that in fact you are standing right in back of me, waiting for me to reach you the pipe and tobacco, that you might take it along with you; that you are waiting for the food to take with you on your journey. For four nights, however, you will have to wait here. Now here are the things that you desire. In return we ask you to act as mediator between the spirits and us. You have made us long for you and therefore do you see to it that all those things that belonged to you, all those things that you would have enjoyed had you lived longer—the victories on the warpath, earthly possessions, life—that all these you leave behind for your relatives to enjoy. This do you ask for us as you travel along. One thing more do I ask of you: do not cause us to follow you, do not cause your [782] relatives any fear. I have now lit the pipe for you.

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## *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

Then the pipe is passed on to all those present. After that the leader drinks a little water and passes this around too. It is only after pipe and water have passed all the way around that the people begin to eat. When the meal is over the attendant takes the pipe and some tobacco and places it before some distinguished warrior who has been invited to the wake. The latter is then asked to speak to the soul of the deceased and tell him the route to take on the journey to the spirit land. This warrior then rises and speaks:

159* 765 775 539 537

Ho, I greet you all. We are not greeting one another because we are happy as on ordinary occasions but because it is the custom to come together at a wake. Now I shall show the soul of the departed the route he is to take and the care he must observe on his journey. I shall announce to him the ghosts over whom I have control and who are to conduct him safely to his destination. I will not exaggerate [22] when I speak of my war exploits but relate only what really happened to me. It is said that if a person exaggerates and tells falsehoods in recounting his exploits on such an occasion, the soul of the departed will stumble on his journey. I shall therefore only tell the truth and I shall tell the chief of the spirits to guide our dead one safely over all obstacles. Now I am not going to speak of anybody else's exploits but only of my own. Only those over whom I have control will I put at the disposal of our dead one to act as his guide. The spirit-tobacco, the spirit-food, and the fire, these things the ghosts over whom

[511]

[22] For the dangers of exaggeration on such an occasion see note 15. It was also believed to cause the death of the warrior who indulged in it.



[The author apparently means note 17. See Category 116, p. 59 -- analyst]

*159 765 [775] [539] [537]

I have control will carry for him, and they will lead him by the hand until he reaches his destination. I greet you all.

Then he narrated his war exploit. He went into great detail. He told as accurately as it was possible how he had killed a man, broken his collar bone and [727] then flayed him; how he had then chopped and cut up the body and mutilated him in such a fashion that he could not be identified; how finally he had stolen his dogs. All night he spoke in this strain. He went on to tell how he had killed and utterly destroyed an entire village so that no one was left to tell of the massacre. All night he told of his war exploits. Sometimes such an account may last two to three hours. When he finished the people all went to sleep.

For three nights the same thing was repeated. Throughout this time a burning ember was placed at the grave. When the spirit was ready to start his [775] journey he took this ember, it is believed.

For the fourth night all the brave men as well as everybody else in the neighborhood were invited. A great quantity of food was prepared and the relatives [524] of the mourners brought objects to be used in the games that are always played at the wake. They tried to comfort the main mourners as much as possible. On the fourth night a burning ember was also placed at the grave of the deceased.

As soon as the attendants prepared the food the chief mourner got up and spoke:

## *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

I greet you all. I know that I am not performing any great action in greeting you. I was in trouble and all my relatives have come to comfort me. You have all asked me to live and not to succumb to my sorrows and I shall therefore try to overcome my grief and sorrow. I will not forget all the good you have done for me. You have been a comfort to me and you have helped me in many things. Now we have come to the last night and I am glad that it is a nice night for the warriors to relate their experiences. If they should say something funny I hope that you will not hold back laughter. I, too, will laugh with you. You are free to make all the noise you care to for I shall feel all the better if you do. This is what I want you to remember. I greet all those who are present here. 159* 765 537 539

Then the one who is to address the spirits speaks: 159*

I greet you all. We have come to this wake for a purpose, much as I would wish that the occasion for it had never happened. Now I am going to tell the soul of the departed the road he is to take, nor will I, by my words, cause him to go astray. On an occasion like this not every one is qualified to speak to the souls of the dead; not every one can do it. My grandfather obtained the right to do it and handed it down to my father, who in turn, turned it over to me Now I am going to breathe upon the soul of the departed and I wish all those present to do the same. It is said that for those who do not make this breathing it is a sign that they will die. So do all of you breathe with me. 765 775 537 539 [424]

Then he said *ka-a* and all joined with him in repeating it. He now began his address to the spirit of the deceased:

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 165 775 537 539 Ho-o! Are you ready? I am going to speak of the Four Nights' Wake during which you listened to your relatives and to the words they had to say. I am placing the sacrificial tobacco in the rear of the lodge.

I suppose you are not far away, that indeed you are right behind me. Here is the tobacco and here is the pipe which you must keep in front of you as you go along. Here also is the fire and the food which your relatives have prepared for your journey. In the morning when the sun rises, you are to start. You will not have gone very far before you come to a wide road. This is the road you must take. As you walk along you will notice something on your road. Take your war club and strike it and throw it behind you. Then go on without looking back. As you proceed you will again come across some obstacle. Strike it and throw it behind you and do not look back. Still farther, you will come across some animals and these also you must strike and throw behind you. Go on right along and do not turn back. The objects you have thrown behind you will go to the relatives whom you left behind on earth. They will symbolize victory in war, riches, and food-animals. When you have gone but a short distance from the last place where you threw an object behind you, you will come to a lodge. This lodge you may enter. One of its doors faces the rising sun. As you enter you will find an old woman on your right. Go and sit opposite her. Then your great-grandmother will say to you, "My great-grandchild, what did the people say to you when you were leaving, when your life was over." And you must answer, "My great-grandmother, as I listened to my beloved relatives they said very little indeed. They said that I was breaking their hearts in leaving them and that they hoped that none

would follow me soon. Then they asked me to make the following four requests: 159 * 765

First: I was to ask for life; that the flames from the lodge fire rise straight upward. Yet they would be satisfied, they said, if at my departure the flames only swayed to and fro. 775 537 539

Second: Whatever fruit had been predestined for me and that I did not taste, my relatives were not to be deprived of.

Third: They also mentioned nuts, all kinds of herbs, all serviceable hides and skins, all medicinal roots and grasses. They asked me to make a request for all the things that grow on the earth.

Fourth: That if any one had a friend his weapon might have a keen edge on one side.

Now, my great-grandmother, these are the requests my relatives commanded me to make."

Then she will answer you and say, "My great-grandchild, you are wise beyond your years. My great-grandchild, my lodge is a place where all who enter must pass an examination. Earthmaker looks upon it as a keen-edged instrument. No clouds of ill omen ever pass over it. The four requests you have made will be granted. The nuts and herbs you have asked for shall be given to you. There will be nothing of that food predestined for you that your relatives will not taste. The hides and skins, all the grasses, they shall possess in plenty. And if they have friends their weapons will be keen on one side. All that they have requested through you will be granted. Now, great-grandson, here is some food for you in this wooden bowl."

If you eat it you will have a headache. She will say,

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*159 765 775 ● 537 539

"Great-grandson, you have a headache. Let me cup it for you." Then she will break open your skull and take out your brains and you will forget all about your people. You will become like a holy spirit. Your thoughts will not extend as far as the earth, as there will be nothing carnal about you.

Now be sure that you only take a taste and push the dish away from you for then the old woman will say, "My great-grandchild, all that you have left behind you in that dish represents the vegetable kingdom on the earth. Many who are older than you ate all that I gave them. You have a wise head on young shoulders. All that you have left on the plate will grow on the face of the earth. Now Earthmaker is waiting for you in great expectation. There is the door to the setting sun." On your way you will come to the lodge of the chief of the bad spirits and his fire. Those who come, the souls of the brave men who have come from the land of the spirits, will meet you here and touch you. There the road will branch off toward your right and you will see the footprints representing the footprints of those who have passed into life again. Step into their steps and plant your feet upon their footprints, but be careful that you do not miss any. Before you have gone very far you will come into a forest of bushes alternating with prairies. Here in this beautiful country the souls whose duty it is to gather together the other souls, will come to meet you. Walking on each side of you they will conduct you safely home, to Earthmaker. Here the inquiry that took place in the first lodge will be repeated and answered in the same manner. Then Earthmaker will say to you, "All that your great-grandmother has told you is true. Your relatives are waiting for you in great expectation. Your home is waiting for you."

## *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

The door of your home will be facing the midday sun. 159* Here you will find your relatives gathered. Then, inas- 765 much as our ruler will nod assent and express his approval 775 by word of mouth, so shall we do the same. [537] [539]

Then all those assembled at the wake shout *Ho-ha*.

[P. 101]

## *The Medicine Dance*

I, of course, thought that it must indeed be a marvelous thing and I was very happy about it. What I was most eager to see was myself killed and then brought to life again in the lodge, as it was believed happened to the members of the Medicine Dance. I also realized that a member of the Medicine Dance, whether man or woman, was different from a person not belonging to it and I was quite anxious not to be an ordinary person any longer but to be a medicine man. 159* 796 [775] [554]

As soon as we finished building the ceremonial lodge the ceremony began, and the first thing the people did was to sing. Then the leader of the band that was giving the dance arose and delivered a speech: 159* 796 537

All those who are sitting here I greet. We are waiting for all of you to have compassion upon us. Nephew,[28] I shall now tell you the road you are to travel. He whom we call nephew, the hare, the founder of the Medicine Dance, obtained this life-ensuring ceremony for us. This is the only life; no other exists. Exert yourself to follow in the road of your ancestors and adhere to the ceremony that represented their mode of life. I know you will hearken to what I say. Assuredly you will listen, for thereby you will help and benefit yourself and, at the same time, attain the good life.

Never do anything wrong. Do not steal. Do not quarrel. If on any occasion you meet a woman on the road, turn to the right, never to the left. No matter who the woman is, do not take liberties with her. This is what the old people taught us and if you perform the rites of this ceremony you will obtain the life that we desire for you. [577]

[28] The person to be initiated is always called nephew. [608]

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 796 I beg of you to try with all your powers for I wish you to lead a happy life. This truly is our sincere wish.

● 537 Ancestors, we greet you. Our ancestors long since departed, performed the ceremony just as we do to-day. We are to have a tear-pouring ceremony for the spirit of the [765] one who has died. All those who are here will mourn for him. Whatever it is that his ghost can obtain for us by his requests,—all that he left behind him in this world—beseechingly we shall ask him to obtain. It is said that this is always procurable. What we mean is additional life. All that our ancestors desired, that we too earnestly desire. So it is when the ceremony was first established. Now we shall sing a mourning song. We must sing it with sincerity and when we cry we must not allow our voices to quaver. It has been said that if a man is bad his crying will be insincere. Ancestors, we greet you.

*159 796 The first night they kept me up all night and I heard a good deal about sacred affairs. I was not sleepy at any time during the night and I remained this way until morning. I enjoyed it all so much that I did not even go to sleep the next day. The next night they kept me up again but as before I did not get sleepy. On this night they told me even more things. Throughout three successive nights I did not sleep at all. On the fourth night they sang till morning. On the fifth night they were to have what is called the rehearsal. During the day many people began to gather. In the afternoon only the old men and myself went to the sweat lodge. Only the men who had received special invitations were allowed. When we came out it was sundown. Then those occupying the eastern

## §6. *Stories*

When we were children my father used to tell us 538 ●
stories in the evening. Whenever we showed signs of 159 *
restlessness he stopped. Here are some of the stories 517
that I remember.

### *The Story of Coyote and the Ghost*

Coyote was wandering about alone. He was wandering 539
about aimlessly looking for food; he was scenting around everywhere for food, for he was very hungry. As he was walking from place to place he suddenly became aware of the scent of human flesh. "Ah! Ah! If there are any human beings in the neighborhood surely they have thrown away bits of food and I shall be able to get some." So he started in the direction of the scent and soon he got to an old abandoned village and picked up some moccasins, but he could find nothing that would satisfy his hunger. He wandered to the end of the village thinking, "Perhaps here at the end of the village I may find some graves and possibly the bodies there will still have some flesh on them." But not even graves could he find.

In the distance, however, he saw a rack and when he ran toward it eager to see what it was, he saw a corpse lying on top. A man had died and his body had been placed on a burial scaffold. "Oh my! Oh my!" he exclaimed, "If this body were only on the ground then indeed

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## 3. MYTHOLOGY

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Running through the whole of Winnebago mythology-literature, is the distinction between two types of narrative, the worak and the waikā. The first, literally translated, means *what-is-recounted*, and the second *what-is-sacred*. The worak belongs to the realm of what is regarded as true and humanly possible and attainable, as pertaining to the present workaday world as we know it. The hero must be a human being and the plot must end tragically. The waikā, on the other hand, belongs to the past that is irretrievably gone, to the realm of things no longer possible or attainable by man. It pertains to the world of spirits and deities, to the world of wish fulfillment. The hero must be a divine personage and immortal and the end can never be tragic. A waikā can become a worak by the simple device of bringing the plot into relationship with the contemporary human scene. The divine being has then become, for the time being, a human one. But there is no tragic *dénouement*. A worak, however, can never become a waikā.

As an example of the change from waikā to worak, let me take the cycle concerning the favorite heroes of the Winnebago, the Twins. Their adventures constitute real happenings and not, what one might have supposed far-off divine events, for one simple reason, namely, their resting-place is on earth and they, and this resting-place, have actually been seen by the fathers of present-day Indians.

It seems to have been one of the persistent endeavors of those Winnebago who reflected on such matters, to emphasize not only the distinctions mentioned above but, likewise, for them to link together the various adventures of their more important heroes into reasonably well-integrated epics, each one possessing its own developmental scheme. There are four such major cycles, that of Trickster, that of Hare, that of the battles of the good deities against the evil ones, and that of the Twins.

The theme of the Trickster epic is the unconscious, yet purposive, evolution of the hero from a grotesque, chaotic figure knowing neither good nor evil, to one with the lineaments of man. He symbolizes the gradual evolution from irresponsibility to responsibility.

Where Trickster stops Hare begins. He is a combination of a trickster and a culture-hero. His benefactions, for instance, are all accidental. But from the start, he possesses the lineaments of a human being and his orientation is toward man. He is no longer the supreme egoist that Trickster was. At the end of his adventures the earth has been transformed into a place where human beings can live and operate. 105 538 713

It is the function of the heroes of the third cycle to prevent this order which Hare has established from being again disrupted and returning to chaos. The function of the Twins is to continue the struggles of the heroes of the third cycle and to attempt to stabilize this order for all time.

Now although the theme of all these epics is the struggle against chaos and the introduction of order, each one of the great heroes of the last three epics, attempts to disrupt the order he has himself established. Hare brings death into the universe, Storms-as-he-walks, one of the heroes of the third cycle, kills wantonly and unnecessarily and the Twins kill one of the deities who hold our earth in place. In the case of the Twins it is important to stress the fact that, as we shall see, their attack on the world order is the result of exuberance of energy which is, in itself, constructive.

This same theme of the necessity for intelligent order and the establishment of stability runs, like a guiding thread, through the Origin Myth given on pages 17 ff. and pages 252 ff. There, the first problem of Earthmaker after he has, so to say, given himself a fixed orientation in the universe at large and brought about order within himself, is to stop the earth he has created from continuing its ceaseless motion. This he achieves by anchoring it at the four cardinal points and then weighing it down by means of vegetation and mountains. The anchorage, significantly enough, is brought about by pinning the island-earth down by four waterspirits and four snakes. Now snakes are the specifically sacred animals of the Winnebago, the intermediaries between the deities and man. Waterspirits, on the other hand, are, essentially, the most productively evil and dangerous of all the deities for man, fascinating him, confusing him, and placing in his hands the means for his own destruction and the destruction [825] [776]

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105 of his fellowmen. By giving to the waterspirits the positive and con-
538 structive function of helping to stop the earth from spinning around
773 and then holding it in place, part of their primary and ancient dan-
[716] ger has thus been neutralized. Yet it can, at best—in fact, it must—only be neutralized. To destroy it completely would be equivalent to saying that man has ceased to err, overcome all temptation and become one of the deities. Such a condition, the Winnebago insist, neither the deities nor man desire.

According to the esoteric view, the ambivalent but fundamentally evil and disruptive nature of the blessings of the waterspirit have never ceased. It is one of the subtle and symbolic features of the final adventure of the Twins, namely, the destruction of one of the waterspirits, the anchorers of the earth, that they are, after all, only doing in a human fashion what Earthmaker himself found it necessary to do, prevent the waterspirits from harming man. They kill the waterspirit and feed on its body. They do not understand that disruption and disintegration represent one half of the process of living and can, at best, be neutralized and delayed, never eliminated and destroyed. It is the symbol for motion and change without which life not only ceases to exist but is indeed inconceivable. Earthmaker, of course, recognizes this and he must, therefore, put a stop to the activities of the Twins and he punishes them. Their punishment is a symbol for the error they have committed. They became fixed, motionless and permanent, both of them traits that, according to Winnebago beliefs, are forms of death. In the puberty vision-quest one of the signs that foreshadows death is to dream of rocks or stones.

I cannot think of a closer parallel to what has here happened to the waterspirits than that of the transformation, in the Oresteia of Aeschylus, of the Furies into beneficent creatures.

But to continue with the Origin Myth. Having created order within himself and established it for the stage on which man is to play, Earthmaker proceeds to create the first beings who are to people the universe, the spirits and deities. To each one he assigns a fixed and specific amount of power, to some more, to some less. In a nature religion like that of the Winnebago, this is, of course, only another way of giving the objects and forces of nature their

various attributes. A definite gradation of power is thus established with no one spirit possessing powers even measurably comparable to those which Earthmaker has reserved for himself. 105 538 773

This principle of gradation and subordination is part of the order that Earthmaker is represented as introducing into the universe so that it can advantageously function. The instant it is changed there is danger and the threat of disruption. This is the theme of the first part of the Twin cycle, for instance. The plot is clear. The hero, one of the eight great Winnebago deities, Morning Star, has been decapitated by his enemy, a waterspirit. The body of the hero still remains alive and is being taken care of by his sister. The waterspirit, by keeping the head of Morning Star, has added the latter's power to his own. So formidable is this combination of powers that none of the deities, individually or in combination, are a match for him now. In fact only Earthmaker is his equal. Here is a threat of the first magnitude to the order ordained by Earthmaker and it must be met lest destruction overtake the world. Manifestly, the only manner of coping with the situation is to find some hero who can conquer the waterspirit, deprive him of the head of Morning Star and restore it to its owner.

But where is such a hero to be found? Nowhere. Consequently he must be newly created. This can be accomplished either by Earthmaker creating him directly as he has already done others or by his being born of some spirit. The days of special creation, however, are over. He must, therefore, be born as all creatures are now born, divine or human. But how can it be arranged that the hero, so born, has the requisite powers to achieve victory? The answer must be by such a hero being endowed for the task with enough power by all the deities, including Earthmaker.

This is accordingly done and these powers which will make its possessor greater than all the deities in existence and the equal of Earthmaker are delivered to the Sun with instructions that he impregnate the sister of Morning Star. The children born of Sun and the sister of Morning Star, who is herself a deity, are the Twins. They vanquish the waterspirit and restore the head of their uncle to his body. Thus the original order ordained by Earthmaker has been

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reestablished. Earthmaker, however, faced with the necessity of reestablishing it, has laid the seeds for further disruption by contravening the basic principle of limited and graded powers. The danger entering in such an act makes itself felt immediately; for the Twins, after completing their proper mission of destroying whatever evil spirits still exist on earth, or at least neutralizing them, destroy, as we have seen, one of the foundations of the earth. They do so in conformity with the Winnebago realistic conception that the possession of power necessitates its exercise.

Earthmaker, however, has no powers, within himself, to stop them. If, in the end, he does succeed, it is by a device which, on first blush, must strike us as puerile yet which is actually quite profound. He frightens them. The unafraid are made to be afraid, something that comes from within themselves. They try to hide and seek shelter, without success because, of course, they cannot hide from themselves. Finally, in desperation, they flee for protection to Earthmaker. This is, of course, what he is seeking. The moment they are in his possession and have come as suppliants, he has gained contact with them and thereby attained ascendancy over them. He can then speak to them and point out the nature of their transgression as well as its dangers. They recognize both and acquiesce cheerfully in the punishment meted out. Thus, for the time being, order and responsibility have again been reestablished in their rights.

We have so far dealt with the problem of order and disorder in its general, cosmological aspects. We must now take it up in its relation to man.

It is only after the spirits and deities have been created and endowed with the powers they are to have that Earthmaker, according to the Origin Myth, creates man. As the Winnebago say this happened at the end of Earthmaker's thoughts. Man is thus in the position of the orphan of Winnebago story: he possesses nothing. Earthmaker has nothing to give him. Accordingly, man is both weak and defenseless.

This depiction of man as completely unprovided for the vicissitudes of life, has a number of important implications. First of all, it is a well-recognized literary device, indeed almost a *cliché*, to have

the last and least qualified of the personages in a myth or tale, become the true hero. Secondly, it is the cardinal ethical principle of the Winnebago that the lowly shall be raised to high estate. That is the reward for humility. Thirdly, a hero or a virtuous man must show a development, must bring about order within himself. We have seen that hold true for Trickster, for Hare and for Earthmaker himself.

In both versions of the Origin Myth, man is projected naked into an atmosphere over which he has no control whatsoever and where he is immediately attacked by evil spirits. This is in flat contradiction with the accounts of his original state in the exoteric myths. There he is almost immediately placed in possession of tobacco, the intermediary between man and the deities, as well as of flint, corn, etc.

If this is not mentioned in the Origin Myth that is because he is not to save himself or receive the wherewithal of life through the accidental benefactions of culture-heroes. On the contrary, he is to be in dire straits and saved. Earthmaker is represented as withholding tobacco from the spirits in order to present it to man and as endowing these same spirits with an overpowering craving for it. In short, it is to be the mechanism for an exchange between man and the deities. He will give them tobacco; they will give him powers to meet life and overcome obstacles. Yet the deities cannot, by themselves, save him. They are at strife with one another. This can only be done by Earthmaker. For this purpose he dispatches the great primordial culture-heroes, Trickster, Bladder, Turtle and Hare to the earth.

This is a completely new role for all three. Naturally they do not succeed. They cannot be saviours. Their antecedents are against them. Trickster is the supreme egoist, the chaotic buffoon hero, a kind of Priapus, without any sense of responsibility and without purpose as far as man is concerned. His most positive contribution is to point out the stupidity, the cupidity, the vanities and foibles of creatures. He cannot help anyone. With man he has never had any connection. Turtle is not much better. He is the embodiment of cowardice, braggadocio and unabashed sensualism. The best he can do is to participate in warfare and, then, never as a hero.

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105 538 773 If Hare succeeds, it is because all his antecedents fit him better for the task. In the original Hare cycle he is born of a human woman and brought up by grandmother Earth herself. Although, at the beginning, his benefactions to mankind are all accidental, they do, at the end, give man the complete quota of his needs. It was comparatively easy to transform him into a hero without blemish. His one fault is demanding too much for man.

It is at this point that the problem of order versus disorder again presents itself. Not content with destroying evil on earth Hare demands immortality for his uncles and his nieces. Thus, like the Twins, he disrupts the world order through excess of constructive powers. But the difference between the Twins and Hare is that the former do it out of a kind of power drive while Hare does it in the supposed interests of man.

According to the story Hare, of course, fails. So obstinately, however, does he refuse to accept the inevitable that Earthmaker consents to an apparent revision of the world order in one respect. He will grant man the possibility of transcending death, by means of successive reincarnations, on condition that he agrees to face life and its vicissitudes in accordance with a specific ethical code. This is, of course, the theme of the Medicine Rite. For man, then, an exception to the law of birth, growth and death is permitted to this extent—he can repeat the cycle of birth, growth and decay an indefinite number of times.

But it is naturally in religion and ritualism that we must expect to find the best illustrations of the basic principles we have so far discussed in connection with social organization and mythology and to these we shall now turn.

## 4. RELIGION

105 121 771 Because of the highly complex character of Winnebago religion I shall confine myself primarily to an analysis of the nature of the powers the spirits and deities are supposed to possess, the relationship postulated between them and man, and the requests man makes

105 The priest-thinker thus contended that man could be made to
771 approximate to the deities by simply manipulating powers and
776 attributes which some individuals, at least, already possessed. Was it, however, wise to leave it to the individual himself to attempt this approximation? There had always been individuals in the community who essayed it but the net results of their attempts had spelled misfortune for them and misfortune for the community. They were generally the practitioners of evil magic, the poisoners. The Medicine Rite is replete with stories about them. Apparently, then, this was not a matter to be left to the discretion of an individual or for that matter to human beings at all. Man was to be educated to divinity by the deities themselves. For this purpose both were to be transformed into more disciplined, more responsible, more ethical and more profoundly realistic beings. Just as in the attainment of the goods of life, so now in the attainment of the benefits flowing from divinity, he was to face the problem bravely and realistically and endure stoically and understandingly the hardships and sufferings involved. In short, divinity had to be achieved. It could not be thrust upon one. The deities, likewise, had to be educated and be made to realize that nothing was due them as such and that they could expect no sustenance from man unless their own way of life was organized and ethically ordered and unless their blessings were given in good faith and in gratitude.

The poet-philosophers composed many a worak to bring out just
105 these points. To give an example. A child is fasting and refuses one
771 gift after another from the deities. Perturbed, they turn to the father
776 and ask him to discover what the boy wants that has not already been
538 granted him. In answer to his father's question, the boy says he does not wish to die. Neither the entreaties of the father or the spirits avail. And so the boy must die although he is rewarded by being transformed into a pine tree.

Now this is actually a completely transformed version of a well-known story, *The Child Who Fasted Too Long*. In the original version he dies because he has overreached himself. In such stories the spirits are neutral, that is, where they are not actually inciting

the young faster to overreach and destroy himself. Thus we see along 105
what lines the reinterpretations of the priest-thinker were made. 771

This was the theory that the priest-thinker tried to impress upon 776
his fellowmen in order to introduce a greater sense of confidence and [538]
security in the relationship between man and the deities. Because of the very high demands it made upon the worshipper, it remained largely a philosophical-ethical ideal and the fairly sharp line of demarcation between human beings and the spirits continued in force as the popular theory. Some there were who even insisted that it was, not only the courageous, but the morally justifiable thing to do, to coerce the deities into acquiescing in man's demands. That was the proper way to meet divinity, to challenge the gods, accept what they granted and, then, to attempt to fulfill the conditions imposed even if they meant death. Few individuals in the community, for instance, [554]
had greater prestige than the few who had secured a blessing from the much dreaded deity, *Disease-giver*. He had two faces, one dealing life and the other death. No suppliant knew which side would be [782]
turned toward him when he made his offerings, at noon, in the full blaze of day, contrary to what held for all the other deities, namely, that they must be approached at night.

This, of course, is the warrior's creed and, in a civilization like that 105
of the Winnebago where the highest ambition as a man was to 771
achieve distinction on the warpath, it naturally was very important. 577
Yet to this, the chief of the tribe might well retort: such courage and such risks have their moral justification only when one is fighting the enemy or avenging the death of a kinsman. They are inapplicable when approaching a god. The taking of great risks concerns not only oneself but the whole community and must be subject to the sanctions of the community. A person must be carefully and properly educated before he dare take them. To exhibit fearlessness and heroic courage is, in itself, no virtue. Indeed, in the wrong place or on the wrong occasion, they can and do lead to death and destruction.

And so, in the realm of religion as in that of social organization and 105
mythology, the problem to be faced is depicted as being the same. 771
How are we to resolve the differences between the 'earth' interpre-

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[For the native text of the clan war-bundle ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 446-529, 534-550.]

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### Mother-in-law and Father-in-law Taboo

In former times the mother-in-law and father-in-law taboo was in 606
full force. No man was allowed to talk directly to his mother-in-law or to look at her, and the same rule held with regard to the attitude of a woman toward her father-in-law. Even accidental meetings of these relatives, as on the road, were attended with great embarrassement. The author never learned of any way in which either the mother-in-law or the father-in-law taboo could be relaxed even temporarily, much less done away with entirely.

### Puberty Customs

From the age of five, children, male and female, were taught the 867
customs of their ancestors in a series of talks always delivered by an elderly male relative, perhaps the father. The specific training differed, of course, for boys and girls and for individuals. Personal training ceased at the age of puberty, when all, both boys and girls, were sent out to fast. For boys this fasting constituted the 881
only puberty rite. After their faces had been blackened with char- 785
coal they were sent to some neighboring hill with the injunction not 787
to return till dawn. Gradually they would be sent out for two, then three, nights; if after that trial they were not blessed they would be advised either to desist entirely or exhorted to fast until they were blessed, no matter how long the time required to secure the desired result. While fasting the boys and girls used the following formula:

| | | | [539 ●
| --- | --- | --- | 782]
| Waxop' inixjiwina | hina'djire na$^{a}$dje'je | wahadjex. | |
| Spirits | am I likely to be blessed? | that is why I am praying. | |

One old Indian informed the author that in former times the young boys and girls were offered either bread or charcoal for their fast. If they took the charcoal, well and good; but if they took the bread, they were unceremoniously kicked out of the house and the charcoal was thrown after them. From the other statements of this informant one might gather that the young boys and girls generally took the bread, because, he said, after they had been kicked out, they would always resolve to go to the wilderness (in that way running the risk of being captured or killed by an enemy), in order to spite their parents. My informant was of the opinion that the parents purposely treated their children roughly, so that they might feel all the more miserable while fasting and thus pray all the more intensely.

A faster is always told to be careful as to what kind of spirits bless him, as he might be blessed by a bad spirit. Therefore a faster's blessings are always reviewed by the elders. J.'s old grandmother used to call the children in at dusk, as the evil spirits are [776]
around then.

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on his fingers, and earrings in his ears. The body is then put in the casket. 764

By the time this is all finished the gravediggers have about completed their work. Then the mourners blacken their faces with charcoal and the corpse is taken up by the man to whom this duty is delegated. The mourners follow behind, weeping. Thus they proceed to the grave. When they get there the corpse is laid in the grave. Then the chief mourner steps across the center of the grave and the others do the same. When they start back, they are told under no circumstance to turn around and look in the direction of the grave. [765]

The grave is then filled in.

Then the overseer goes around to the various people in the village and invites them all to come to (the wake). The brave men and warriors are especially welcomed. 765

The mourners prepare food and when the sun goes down the chief mourner takes a stick made of hard wood and lights it and carries it to the grave, placing it at the east end. It is supposed to be still burning when placed there. After this is done (the man returns) and the overseer gets everything in readiness for the feast. When all is ready the chief mourner speaks as follows:

All my relatives who are sitting here, I greet you. I have done nothing of any consequence which could justify you to come here and honor me, yet being relatives of mine, you have (in the kindness of your hearts) come to comfort me. I have prepared cooked food and boiled water for my child (the dead person), and tobacco is also handy, all of which the attendant when he is ready will pass around to all and give to whomsoever he pleases. That is why I am greeting you. 765 539 775

Then the attendant takes the water and tobacco and gives it to the one who is to speak to the soul of the departed person. This one then rises and greets all those present and speaks as follows:

To-night we are greeting you not for the sake of jollification, but because we are afflicted (with grief). Now, it is the custom to speak to the soul of the departed. It is a sacred action, yet even I, they tell me, can do it, provided no worthier person can be found. They[1] even tell me that my words will not cause the spirit of the departed to lose his way in his journey (to spirit land).[2] For that reason I will speak to the departed and say the best I can. I greet you all.

Then he takes some tobacco in one hand and passing it behind him through the lodge says:

Here it is, the tobacco. I am certain that you, O ghost, are not very far away, that in fact you are standing right in back of me, waiting for me to reach you the pipe and tobacco, that you might take it along with you, that likewise, you are waiting for your food to take on your journey. However, four nights you will have to remain here.

[1] This and what follows is the customary ceremonial modesty.

[2] It is believed that if the chief speaker makes a mistake or exaggerates while thus addressing the spirit of the deceased, the latter will lose his way in his journey to spirit land.

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765 Now here are these things, and in return we ask you to act as mediator (between
539 the spirits and us). You have made us long for you, and therefore do you see to it that
775 all these things that belonged to you and that you would have enjoyed had you lived longer—such as victories on the warpath, earthly possessions, and life—that all these you leave behind for us to enjoy. This do you ask for as you travel along. This also I ask of you, do not cause us to follow you soon; do not cause your brethren any fear. I have now lit the pipe for you.

Then the pipe is passed on to all those present. After that he drinks a little water and passes it around again. It is only after the pipe and water have passed all the way around that the people begin to eat. When the meal is over, the attendant takes the pipe and some tobacco and places it before a warrior and tells him to talk to the spirit and tell him the route to take.

Then the warrior rises and speaks as follows:

Ho, I greet you all. We are not greeting one another because we are happy (as in the case of an ordinary feast), but because it is the custom to do it. Now I will tell the soul of the departed one the route to take and the care he must observe in his journey. I shall tell them (the ghosts) over whom I have control to guide him safely to his destination. I will not exaggerate when I relate my war exploits, but tell only those things that really happened to me. It has been said that if, in talking, I tell falsehoods the spirit of the departed would stumble on the road.[6] So, therefore, I will tell only the truth, and I will tell the chief of the spirits to guide our dead one safely over all the obstacles. Now I am not going to speak of anybody else's exploits, but only of my own. Only those over whom I have control will I put at the disposal of our dead one to guide him. The spirit-tobacco, the spirit-food and fire, they will carry for him, and they will lead him by the hand until he reaches his destination. I greet you all.

765 Then he begins an account of his war exploits. He tells all that
539 he did in detail. Sometimes the account of a war exploit would last two to three hours. When he is through, the people retire for the night.

For three nights they do this and every evening they place a burning ember at the grave. This is supposed to be taken by the spirit of the dead man on his journey.

The fourth night they invite all the brave men in the neighborhood and everybody else. They prepare plenty of food, and the relatives of the mourners bring objects for the mourning games and try to comfort the mourners as best they can. The fourth night, likewise, they place a burning ember at the grave of the dead man.

As soon as the attendant prepares the food the chief mourner gets up and speaks as follows:

I greet you all. I know that I am not performing any great action in greeting you,[8] but I was in trouble, and all my relatives have come to comfort me. I feel strengthened by their actions. You all have asked me to live (not to succumb to my sorrows),

[6] It is believed that a warrior is in control of the spirits of all the people he has killed. He functions at the rules is to put these spirits at the disposal of the dead man, to guide him, and to take care of him.

[8] I. e., if I were a great man and this were a ceremony of rejoicing, then a greeting would mean something. This is another example of ceremonial modesty.

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and I shall try to overcome my grief and sorrow. I will not forget all the good you have done for me. You have been a comfort to me and you have helped me in many things. Now this is the last night, and I am glad that it is a good night for the warriors to relate their experiences. If they should say anything funny I hope that you will not hold back your laughter. I, too, will laugh with you. You are free to make all the noise you care to, for I will feel all the better if you do it. This is what I want you to remember. I greet you all who are present here. 765 539

Then the one who is to address the spirit speaks:

I greet you all. We have come to this (wake) for a purpose, much as we would wish that the occasion for it had never happened. Now I will tell the spirit of the departed the route he is to take, nor will I, by my words, cause him to go astray. On an occasion like this not everyone can talk to spirits (spirits of departed people); not everyone can do it. My grandfather obtained the right to speak to them and handed it down to my father, and he in turn gave it to me. Now I will tell the spirit of the departed the right road to take and I will not cause him to stumble. I shall breathe upon the spirit of the departed, and I wish all those present to do the same. It is said that for those who do not make this sound it is a sign that they will die soon. Now all of you say it. 765 539 775

Then he says "*ha-a*" and "*ha-a*," and all join with him in repeating it.

Then he speaks again (addressing the spirit of the departed):

I suppose you are not far away, that indeed you are right behind me. Here is the tobacco and here is the pipe which you must keep in front of you as you go along. Here also is the fire and the food which your relatives have prepared for your journey. In the morning when the sun rises you are to start. You will not have gone very far before you come to a wide road. That is the road you must take. As you go along you will notice something on your road. Take your war club and strike it and throw it behind you. Then go on without looking back. As you go farther you will again come across (some obstacle). Strike it and throw it behind you and do not look back. Farther on you will come across some animals, and these also you must strike and throw behind you. Then go on and do not look back. The objects you throw behind you will come to those relatives whom you have left behind you on earth. They will represent victory in war, riches, and animals for food. When you have gone but a short distance from the last place where you threw objects behind, you will come to a round lodge and there you will find an old woman. She is the one who is to give you further information. She will ask you, "Grandson, what is your name?" This you must tell her. Then (you must say), "Grandmother, when I was about to start from the earth I was given the following objects with which I was to act as mediator between you and the human beings (i. e., the pipe, tobacco, and food)." Then you must put the stem of the pipe in the old woman's mouth and say, "Grandmother, I have made all my relatives lonesome, my parents, my brothers, and all the others. I would therefore like to have them obtain victory in war and honors. That was my desire so I left them downhearted upon the earth. I would that they could have all that life which I left behind me on earth.[6] This is what they asked. This likewise they asked me, that they should not have to travel on this road for some time to come. They also asked to be blessed with those things that people are accustomed to have on earth. All this they wanted me to ask of you when I started from the earth.

[6] The deceased had apparently died young, and what he desires is that the difference between his years and the normal length of life be distributed among his relatives. He means not only the actual years but also whatever he would have accomplished in those years.

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765 "They told me to follow the four steps that would be imprinted with blue marks,
539 grandmother." "Well, grandson, you are young but you are wise. It is good. I will now boil some food for you."
775 Thus she will speak to you and then put a kettle on the fire and boil some rice for you. If you eat it you will have a headache. Then she will say, "Grandson, you have a headache, let me cup it for you." Then she will break open your skull and take out your brains and you will forget all about your people on earth and where you came from. You will not worry about your relatives. You will become like a holy spirit. Your thoughts will not go as far as the earth, as there will be nothing carnal about you.

Now the rice that the old woman will boil will really be lice. For that reason you will be finished with everything evil. Then you will go on stepping in the four footsteps mentioned before and that were imprinted with blue earth. You are to take the four steps because the road will fork there. All your relatives (who died before you) will be there. As you journey on you will come to a fire running across the earth from one end to the other. There will be a bridge across it but it will be difficult to cross because it is continually swinging. However, you will be able to cross it safely, for you have all the guides about whom the warriors spoke to you. They will take you over and take care of you.

Well, we have told you a good road (to take). If anyone tells a falsehood in speaking of the spirit road, you will fall off the bridge and be burned. However (you need not worry) for you will pass over safely. As you proceed from that place the spirits will come to meet you and take you to the village where the chief lives. There you will give him the tobacco and ask for those objects of which we spoke to you, the same you asked of the old woman. There you will meet all the relatives that died before you. They will be living in a large lodge. This you must enter. Ho-o-o, ha-a-a.

## 764 Generalized Description of Funeral Customs and Wake

[115 614] Informant, member of Bear clan. When a person died a member of his friend (*Aitenkdro*) clan was immediately sent for, who took charge of the body and of all the funeral arrangements. The overseer dressed the deceased in his best clothes and all his finery, for it was said that he was going on a long journey. Then some clansman painted the dead man's face with the clan markings and delivered a speech to the corpse. When he concluded the clan songs were sung and the body was carried to the grave. All the mourners marched in single file. After the body had been buried or placed on a scaffold, as the case might be, a post was placed at the head of the grave, and the warriors among the mourners counted their coups and drew representations of their victories on the posts. [775] The purpose of the warriors in counting coups at the grave was to put at the disposal of the deceased the spirits of all the enemies they had killed, and also to give him additional strength for overcoming the obstacles on the road to the spirit land. Food was placed on the little shelf in front of the window of the grave-house, to be used by the spirit during the four days that he hovered around this earth before departing on his journey. Then a light was lighted and finally, toward evening, all departed for their homes, returning as they had come, in single file,

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765 mourner's hair, give him presents, and tell him that he is now free to cease mourning and to marry if he wishes.

In former times the period of mourning is supposed to have lasted four years.

[302] When a person is in mourning he always cuts his hair short and does not comb his hair. In former times people often mutilated themselves by cutting off either entire fingers or finger joints.

[304] The overseer always takes all the belongings of the deceased, but he must give the latter's relatives an equal amount of new material.

### Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(first version)

764 184 614 Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the clan dies they send after a man of the Thunderbird clan who is to speak to the corpse, paint it, and give him a war club to take along with him (to the land of the spirits). Then they go after a man from the [615] lower phratry to bury him, for these clans (of the lower phratry) belong on earth and they have the right to dig into the ground and bury people.

When the one who is to be the general overseer arrives and arranges everything, he prepares the corpse, putting a sack of tobacco in one hand and a war club in the other. Then he paints him. He paints the forehead with a red and a black mark and paints the lower part of the face to the end of the nose with scattered dots. He paints the jaw red and he makes a red mark across the mouth and the throat. Then he speaks as follows:

You have departed at this (young) age. You have taken your relatives by surprise and have left them a long part of your life (i. e., you have lived but a small part of your appertioned share of years). As you go to spirit land, you will find on the [775 539] road many feathers, many good plants, and many good kinds of clay, scattered around, the blue clay, the red clay, and the white clay. You will also find the sweet-smelling plants and good life. For all these things do you ask. If anything comes across your path, throw it behind you without looking around. In four days you will depart and objects with which to mediate between us and the spirits will soon be furnished you. For four nights your people will tell you what to do and when they hear you singing on the road they will know that it is you. There (in spirit land) you will go to live and the songs that I will sing you will sing as you travel on your road.

Then he sings (the four clan songs).

When the gravediggers are finished they take the body and carry it to the grave, the mourners following. They take the body to the grave and there lower it.

### Death and Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(second version)

Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan dies, the clansmen discuss what is to be done for the spirit

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764
of the deceased. Then they go and call the leader of their band 184
and he comes and addresses the body as follows: 614

You are about to leave all your relatives. They will remain on earth, objects of pity to all. You will proceed on your road, turning to your left after you start until you come to him who is in charge of the spirits. Whenever you see him, the following 764
request do we wish you to make of him, namely, that he bestow upon us all that 184
you fell short of in your life on this earth. The means of offering, the tobacco, which 614
Earthmaker gave us, we have given you some to take along. As you go along the road you will come to a place where the road branches off. Do not turn to the right, 539
for that road leads to the bad spirits. Turn to the left and soon you will come to a 775
guard. Point your pipe at him and he will be thankful. This man will have a complete suit of clothes and he will look terror-inspiring. He will smoke with you and then you may speak to him as follows: "Grandfather, before I left the earth, the people told me to ask you to point out to me which road I should travel in." Then he will tell you and you will pass ahead and after a while you will come to a fire-girdle. The man who is in charge of it will have a complete suit of clothes just like the first man. Point the stem of your pipe toward him and he will be very thankful and smoke with you. Then make your request, namely, to be permitted to pass, and he will grant it. As you go along after that you will come to a round lodge in which you will find an old woman. Point your pipe at her and she will be thankful and smoke it, and then ask her to let you pass and she will permit you to go ahead. Your hair will now be white but you will not be unconscious. On the contrary, you will have complete possession of all your senses. Then you will come to where he who is in control of spirits sits. Go to him and point your pipe toward him. Then when he is smoking it, ask him to show you the road to Earthmaker, our father, and he will point it out to you. Then you must proceed until you come to Earthmaker. When you get to him, point the stem of your pipe toward him and, if he takes it and smokes it, then you must say, "Earthmaker, my father, you know very well what kind of a life I have led." And he will answer, "You have done well, my son."

The informant then skips to the opening night of the four nights' 765
wake. The address to the spirit that follows is probably delivered 184
by the chief mourner before the formal opening of the wake. 614

*Address to the spirit.*[1]—Ha ho-o-o-o, I want you to listen, you who have become 539
like a spirit. You have made those of your relatives who remained behind on earth 775
miserable and lonely. They have given you much food to take along with you and they have given you a pipe and some tobacco so that you may offer them to the spirits you meet on your road and make some requests of them. The first request that they wish you to make is to ask the spirits to distribute to your clan all the successful warpaths which would have fallen to your share had you lived your normal quota of years; and that all the food, etc., that you have not used be bestowed upon those whom you left behind on earth. The last request you should make of those on the road is to pray that a long time may elapse before any of your relatives traverse this road.

Now follows a description of the obstacles to be met on the road.

When you reach Earthmaker, offer him your pipe, and if he accepts it speak to him as follows: "Grandfather, as I was leaving the earth my relatives asked me to request of you humbly that you bestow upon the chasmen that I left behind me all that I would have accomplished had I lived longer. Now this is what I wished to ask of you, grandfather." Then you should speak: "Ha ho-o-o-o."

[1] Spirit here is ceremonial, spirit, deity, not "spirit", ghost, unnatural embodiment. What is meant is that the deceased has become like one of the spirits, in that he lives, enjoys consciousness, etc., without at the same time having any corporeal existence.

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765 Then all the other people answer ha-ho-o-o-o. Now someone lights
184 a pipe and passes it around so that everyone can take a puff. All
614 take a puff, children and women as well as men. After that water
775 is passed around. Then all eat. A little portion of everything served is put aside and thrown out for the spirit to eat. Then a warrior, the person who has charge of the wake, speaks:

[539] I greet you all. I first wish to pour some of the tobacco that you have offered me for our grandfather who is in control of war-giving powers. (Probably the Thunder-birds are meant.) I will tell the spirit as carefully as I can all that I know about the road he must travel. My father impressed upon me very earnestly the need of being very truthful in speaking to the spirit of one recently deceased, for if I were a bad man I would cause the spirit to stumble. For that reason I always feel that I ought not to speak very much whenever I am called upon to talk.

Then a warrior was called upon to tell of his war exploits. He told as accurately as it was possible how he had killed a man, broken his collar bone, and then flayed him; how he had then chopped and cut up his body and mutilated him in such a way that he could not be identified; and how finally he had stolen his dogs. All night he spoke in this strain. He went on to tell how he had killed and utterly destroyed an entire village so that no one was left to tell of the massacre. All night he told of his war exploits. Thus they lighted the road for the spirit (i. e., held the Four Nights' Wake).

The second and third nights were just the same as the first, only that different warriors spoke and different war exploits were told. They are very proud of their war exploits and they would try to tell of their bravest deeds, those that had been most dangerous and which had required the greatest heroism. When the mourners listen to the narrative of such an exploit they become strengthened. All those people on whom the warrior had counted first coup and all those whom he had killed would carry the light for the spirit of the deceased. Those on whom he had counted second coup were commanded to clear the road, and a woman whom the warrior had captured was ordered to carry along the food. The ceremonies of the fourth night are the same as those of the first three nights.

### Death and Funeral Customs of the Bear Clan[9]

764 Informant, member of the clan. Mr. J. M. died in June, 1911. In
184 accordance with the old Winnebago customs, the first individual to
614 be notified of the death was Mr. J. F., a member of the Wolf clan.
[763] To Mr. F. fell the lot of taking charge of all the funeral rites—dressing the deceased, laying his body in the casket, burying him, and, finally, conducting the elaborate funeral wake.

[9] This is practically a reprint of "Description of a Winnebago Funeral," by Lowie and Radin, Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. 13, no. 3, 1911.

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One of Mr. F.'s most important duties was to invite the warriors to extend invitations to all those who wish to participate in the feast. After the body has been buried the overseer goes to the home of the deceased and takes away all those things with which the deceased had been in daily contact. 764 184 614

In addition to F., another man was sent for, Mr. A. W., also a member of the Bear clan. He went through the Bear clan ceremony, which was as follows: When the deceased was fully dressed, just before he was to be laid in the casket, A. W. walked up to him and, taking some paint from a little bundle he carried, he painted a red mark across his forehead, then a black one immediately below this one, and finally daubed the whole chin red. When he was through with this preliminary work he addressed those present as follows:

You relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. This ceremony is not anything that we have originated ourselves, but it was known to be the proper thing to do by our ancestors. It is for that reason that I have made the markings upon the face of my son in order that he may be recognized by his relatives in spirit land; and I have also given him the material with which he may talk, i. e., tobacco, that with it he may entreat the spirits to bestow all those years that he fell short of upon his relatives still living. [539]

Now, it is said that the members of the Bear clan hold death as a blessing and not as anything to mourn about. I do not mean that I do not feel sorry for the children of the deceased and that I rejoice in his death, but it is the belief of the members of the Bear clan that the same happiness comes to them at death that comes to us during life when a bear is killed and brought to the village for food.

For now, indeed, my son will walk in a road that has been cleared of all obstacles and his claws will be sharp, and his teeth will be sharp, and nothing, indeed, will cross his path. And in this, his walk to the spirit land, may he tread down upon us the life that he has fallen short of on this earth. And he will walk just as the original Bear clansmen walked when they originated and when they approached the earth. And now I will sing him the songs that they sang as they came on earth, so that he may take them along with him on his journey to the spirit land. It is said that there is no other place besides this prepared for us in the hereafter.

Then he sang the four clan songs.

When the songs had been sung, it was just about noon and, as dinner was ready, we all sat down and A. W. filled a pipe and when he was ready to smoke it began to speak again to the following effect:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. It is good that this many of you have come here, and it is said that the soul of the deceased remains hovering around about this place four days and that we should partake of food with him for that period. It is for that reason that we act in this way. And it is good that this many of you have come here and have helped us out with food and dress. [539]

He then mentioned the things that had been given by different individuals. Then he lit a pipe and took a few puffs and sent it around to all the others in the lodge. Then a pitcher of water was passed around from which we all took a sip.

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764 184 614 539 During the morning Mrs. R. came in and combed the hair of the deceased's wife and gave her some presents, telling her at the same time that she hoped that she would dry her tears as a sign of appreciation of the gifts. Another person came in in the morning bringing a pair of leggings and a blanket for the deceased. He also brought the casket. While the body of the deceased was being prepared this same person spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. If my nephews will come here and sit near me, I will talk to them.

Then the sons of the deceased came and sat near their mother and sisters and the man continued:

My sister, it is said that it is best for a person not to weep; and that a widow should not mourn too much, for then the people would make fun of her; as well as for the fact that having children she must for their sake look forward to life and live for them. And it is also said that we should keep up this mourning for at least four years. Now there is nothing amusing about what I am going to say (although it may sound so—namely, that we should not cry on such an occasion as to-day, but, on the contrary, keep up a good spirit. I do not mean that I am glad that my brother-in-law is dead. But if you were to weep some one might come in and say that it behooves you more to show him your teeth than your tears. They mean that you should smile.

And again it is said that one should not cry, for when a body is laid in the ground there is no more hope of its ever returning to this earth again. My nephew, the one that had been advising you in your daily affairs, is gone and you are left alone to look after yourself, your little brothers, and your mother; and therefore I want you all to love one another and remember your mother.

While we were eating C. P. came in and spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. It is good that you all have come here and are comforting this house of mourning. It is good that J. H. has brought a casket and clothing for the deceased and food for the wake. And indeed he has also promised a hog for the feast. I know that he did not do this in order to have some one speak of it in public, but how can I refrain from expressing my thanks? My brother also came with the intention of furnishing some of these things, but inasmuch as
[431] J. H. has furnished them beforehand he placed ten dollars in the hands of the wife of the deceased. He did not, however, tell her for what purpose he gave her the money and I therefore take the liberty of telling her that the gift is meant for anything that she may desire to buy. Now, my relatives, this is no time for happiness, but I am glad, nevertheless, that so many have come and I am thankful for what you have done. I greet you all.

Then the casket was put in the spring wagon and taken to the Winnebago Cemetery. When we got there the casket was lowered into the grave. When this was over, A. W. spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. This many of you have followed my son to his last resting place. Further than this place he will not walk in this life. Truly this many of you have felt sorry for him. All the rites that were taught me in this connection I have already performed. I have given the deceased the emblem (i. e., the whittled stick known as wemanirisiniri) and the material to talk with (the tobacco), so that he may plead for us, his relatives, when he gets to the end of the
[75] journey, that we may live the life he fell short of upon this earth, and that he may

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[775]

tread firmly upon us as he walks to the spirit land. All that I know I have said before. I was taught nothing that I was to do or say at this place except that we should step over the grave just as our forefathers did when they originated. They were holy and they entered this life on a perfect day just as this day to-day, and, inasmuch as they were holy, all the ground that they touched was holy. It is for that reason that we should step over the grave.

Then we stepped over the grave. After that we went to our homes.

The same evening the wake began. When all the invited guests had arrived and were seated, the feast was spread before them. Then A. W. spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. It is good that this many of you have come to-night. You know that we are not creating any new ceremony, but are simply following up what our forefathers have learned to be true and good. And, as it is said that we should not weep aloud, therefore you will not hear any of us making any utterings of sorrow. And even though we weep silently should anyone come to us we will look upon them smiling. We therefore beg of you, should you find us happy in mood, not to think the worse of us. And now I am ready to turn over the tobacco and water to J. F. Thus I express my thanks to you all that are present.

Then J. F. took the tobacco and water and spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. It is good that so many of you have come to our humble affair and, as our ancestors said that this was the proper way to do, so I am glad that it was given to me to handle the corpse, so I am certain that I will be strengthened by it. I will now pass the tobacco to Mr. X. He is a brave man and he will light the pipe and pass the water before we eat and after supper he will tell the deceased a route to the spirit land. Now I thank you and I greet you.

Then the brave man took the tobacco and filled the pipe and after taking a few puffs from it, passed it to the left and it thus went round, each person taking a puff from the pipe and a sip from the pitcher of water. Then the feast began. When it was over and all the dishes were cleared away, and everyone was properly seated, then the brave man greeted them again:

Relatives, I greet you. As we are not creating anything new, and as our ancestors knew it to be good, and as it is said that if anyone exaggerates a story in a case like this it will cause the soul to stumble, therefore I will tell my war exploits to my relative (the deceased) exactly as I remember them. I greet you all.

He then proceeded to tell his war exploits. When he had finished he again spoke as follows:

Relatives that are present, I greet you. As I said before, I do not wish to cause the soul of my recently deceased relative to stumble and I have tried to tell my story as accurately as I could. It is said that the souls of the ones killed in a battle are at the mercy of the victor, and I therefore command the souls of the ones I have killed to lead and guide my relative safely through the spirit land. I greet you all. [775]

He then passed the tobacco to another brave man present who in his turn greeted those present and related his war exploits. After two warriors had told their war exploits they stopped for the night, 765 184 614

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765 to continue on the second night. The second and third nights were
184 the same as the first. About the evening of the fourth night, when
614 all the people invited were present, A. W. spoke in the same strain as on the first night, and when he had finished he passed the management of the feast to J. F. The latter then passed it to F. F. now lit the pipe and passed it around, together with the water. Then all partook of the feast. After supper A. W. reported all the donations that were made to them, naming each giver and the amount of the gift and thanking them and praising them for their generous gifts. Then F. told the following story:

THE JOURNEY OF THE SOUL TO SPIRIT LAND*

● 539 Ho! Ho! Are you all ready? I am going to speak about the four nights during
775 which you listened to your relatives and to the words they had to say. I am placing
765 the sacrificial tobacco in the rear part of the lodge for you. As you go home do not look back. Before you are far away you will come to a lodge. You may enter this lodge. A door faces the rising sun and a door faces the setting sun. As you enter you will find a woman on your right. Go and sit down opposite her. Then your great-grandmother will say to you, "My great-grandchild, what did they say to you when you were leaving, when your life was over?" "My great-grandmother, as I listened to my beloved relatives they said very little indeed. They said that I was breaking their hearts (in leaving them), and that they hoped that none would follow me over. Then they asked me to make four requests:

"First. I was to ask for life, that the flames from the lodge fire might go straight upward. Yet they were satisfied if at my departure the flames swayed to and fro.

"Second. Whatever fruit had been predestined for me and that I did not taste, my relatives should hereafter not be deprived of.

"Third. They also mentioned nuts, all manner of herbs, all serviceable hides and skins, all medicinal roots and grasses. They commanded me to make a request for all things that exist in the earth.

"Fourth. That if anyone has a friend his weapon might have a keen edge on one side. Now, my great-grandmother, this is the number of requests they commanded me to make."

"My great-grandchild, although you are young, you are wise. My great-grandchild, my lodge is a place where all who enter must pass an examination. Earthmaker looks upon it as a keen-edged instrument. No clouds of ill omen ever pass over it. Now, my grandchild, as to those four requests you put to me, it shall be as you say. The nuts and herbs you have requested shall be given you. There will be nothing of that food predestined for you that your relatives will not taste. The hides and skins, the grasses they will possess in plenty. And if they have friends their weapons will be keen on one side. All that they have requested through you shall be given them. Here is the food set before you in this wooden bowl."

Then you are to answer to her, "My grandmother, this was what my relatives begged for. These are the things I was to leave behind me for those on earth."

Now, be sure that you only take a taste and push the dish away from you. For then the old woman will say, "My great-grandchild, all that you have left behind you in that dish represents the vegetable kingdom on this earth. Many who are older than you have eaten all that I gave them, my great-grandchild. You have a wise head on young shoulders. All that you have left in the dish shall grow on the face of the earth. Earthmaker is waiting for you in great expectation. There is the door to

* Obtained from Henry Cloud.

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the settingsun. On your way stands the lodge of Herewgu'nina, and his fire. Those who have come (the souls of brave men) from the land of the souls to take you back will touch you. There the road will branch off toward your right and you will see the footprints of the day on the blue sky before you. These footprints represent the footprints of those who have passed into life again. Step into the places where they have stepped and plant your feet into their footprints, but be careful you do not miss any. Before you have gone very far, you will come into a forest of wa'ke'je' broken by open prairies here and there. Here, in this beautiful country, those souls whose duty it is to gather other souls will come to meet you. Walking on each side of you they will take you safely home. As you enter the lodge of the Earthmaker you must hand to him the sacrificial offerings. Here the inquiry that took place in the first lodge will be repeated and answered in the same manner. Then he will say to you, "All that your grandmother has told you is true. Your relatives are waiting for you in great expectation. Your home is waiting for you. It is now will be facing the mid-day sun. Here you will find your relatives gathered. Inasmuch, then, as our ruler will not assent and express his approval by word of mouth, so shall we now do the same." 539 775 765

At this word all those assembled at the wake shout, *Ho-ha!*

Then a warrior told his war experiences and after thanking the people passed the tobacco to the next warrior, who in turn related his war experiences. 765 184 614

The amount of gifts was then figured out and they tried to arrange matters so that the warriors were through with their stories about midnight. At midnight games were played with the donations as prizes. The gifts generally consisted of twelve 3-yard pieces of calico or money equal to that amount of calico; twelve strings of beads, etc. These were the gifts used as prizes. Other donations of food were made for the four nights' feast. A. W was in charge of the games and he likewise designated what games were to be played. As they generally play the games the deceased was fond of so in this case they played the moccasin game and cards. After the donations were exhausted and the games finished a brave man was called upon to give a war whoop in thankfulness for the sun, and also to all the spirits above and below. Then A. W. greeted and thanked the guests again for coming, and the wake was over. [431] [524]

In olden times the widow was supposed to continue single for four years. She is strongly admonished, nevertheless, not to continue in low spirits, and to consider herself free to act in any way that will make her happy. She is told to play games or dance, or in fact do anything that will make her forget her sorrow, and she is told that no one will hold her conduct against her as disrespectful to the deceased. As this admonition is given to her by the sister or aunt of the deceased's husband, the only people who could properly reproach her—namely, the members of her husband's clan—it has all the more weight. The prohibition of weeping is further strengthened by the fact that it is customary to say that any woman who weeps too profusely at the death of her husband is in reality thinking, in 768

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768 the midst of her tears, of the one she is going to marry next. The people will then tell one another not to put themselves out too much as the widow will soon forget her mourning and show no respect to the memory of the dead, but instead look after her own pleasures.

### Funeral Customs of the Buffalo Clan

764 Told by a member of the clan.[14] If a Buffalo clan man dies some
184 members of his clan who are called upon would speak as follows:
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539 To-day when you ceased to breathe we were aware of it. Therefore relatives who are present, I greet you. Here my brother's life has ended, and for the last time I will talk to him about the road he is to take.

Ha'ho, my brother, the place at which we originated was called Bad Lake. There were four buffaloes there and from the youngest one are we descended. They lived holy lives, and we hope you will walk in their path. That you may strike everything (you meet on your journey) you must take along with you a war club. You shall walk armed with sharp teeth: and it will be impossible for bad spirits to walk back and forth across your path. And your sight shall be holy as you walk.

Then the speaker painted the face of the deceased. On the right side of his forehead he painted a rainbow with blue and red paint. After that he sang the clan songs. When he was through singing, a member of the Water-spirit clan spoke as follows:

Relatives, I greet you. When one of you passes away and you ask me to work, I am always willing to be of service. And I shall do it all the more willingly now because I am certain that I shall obtain some of the years that the deceased left "unlived." "I do it with that belief, and furthermore I pray that no bad animals abuse the deceased on his journey. It is said that one cheers the soul of the dead in thinking thus. Therefore I do it and also that I myself may be strengthened thereby. I came back willingly when I was asked to work and I am doing this so that no bad animals should abuse the soul of the deceased.

Then one of the callers would talk to the mourners, saying as follows:

Relatives, I greet you. To-day one of your relatives has disappeared. You must, however, keep up your courage and not cry, for Earthmaker above has ordained that we should disappear. If a piece of earth caves in, it disappears, and when a rock crumbles it is disappearing. Thus, it is said, it must be.

### Origin Myth of the Four Nights' Wake

539 Two friends went out to cut arrow-sticks, and were surprised by a
765 war party and killed. When they were shot they thought they had stumbled and went right on (in the spirit). After the enemy had killed the first one they chased the second one and killed him, and so their bodies lay apart. Then the war party left and the two spirits started to follow them. Soon they came to where their bodies were lying. Then they said, "Let us follow the enemy a little." Soon they caught up to the war party and one of the spirits pushed one of the

[14] This account is quite fragmentary and was obtained in connection with the clan myth. It is given here as account of the speaker.

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men on the back of his head. He immediately became paralyzed 539
from the touch. Then they pushed another man and he could not 765
walk. So they laughed and turned back in order to return to their home.

They had not yet learned that they were dead. One went to his camp and told his wife that he was hungry but she paid no attention to him. The other had the same experience. Then each man started to go to the other man's lodge and they met midway. The first man said, "I came back hungry and asked for food, but they would not give me any, so I thought that I would go to your place." The second one said the same thing. Then they said, "Let us lie down a while." Just then the people began to cry, for they had brought back the bodies of the two dead men. Then one of the men said, "My friend, we have been killed." The other one began to cry.

So the people gathered together and had a meal. One of the ghosts said, "We must try and get something from the meal that they are having, for the people said, 'We are giving this meal in honor of the departed.'" Then the other friend said, "Now we are going to eat, for they are cooking for us."

These two were born again and told about this, and that is how we know it. This is the origin of the Four Nights' Wake. It is claimed that the spirits of the spirit land have a four nights' feast before they start.

### Grave-post Marks 764
### (Drawings by Indians) 532
(Fig. 28)

Warrior has been on the warpath (homani'na).
Warrior was a leader of a warpath (sak'i').
Warrior was a helper on a warpath (wagixó'na) (rek'i').
Warrior counted one of the three coup (wa'ngonaŋk).
Warrior had made a captive (wangini).
Warrior had killed a horse on the warpath or stolen one from the enemy.
If a person had killed a man and cut off his head, he is allowed to paint the top (upper part!) of the grave-post red.

Fig. 28.—Grave-post marks: 1, Has been on the warpath; 2, has been leader on warpath; 3, has been helper on warpath; 4, has counted one of the coup; 5, has taken a captive; 6, has killed horse on warpath or stolen one from enemy; 7, has killed a man and cut off his head.

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## CLAN MYTHS AND NAMES

### ORIGIN MYTH (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)[3]

539 614 776 In the beginning, Earthmaker was sitting in space when he came to consciousness, and there was nothing else anywhere.[4] He began to think of what he should do, and finally he began to cry and tears began to flow from his eyes and fall down below him. After a while he looked down below him and saw something bright. The bright objects were hidden tears that had flowed below and formed the present waters. When the tears flowed below they became the seas as they are now. Earthmaker began to think again. He thought, "It is thus, if I wish anything; it will become as I wish, just as my tears have become seas." Thus he thought. So he wished for light and it became light. Then he thought, "It is as I have supposed; the things that I wished for have come into existence as I desired." Then he again thought and wished for the earth, and this earth came into existence. Earthmaker looked on the earth and he liked it, but it was not quiet. It moved about as do the waves of the sea. Then he made the trees and he saw that they were good, but they did not make the earth quiet. Then he made the grass to grow, but still the earth was not yet quiet. Then he made the rocks and stones, but still the earth was not quiet. However, it was nearly quiet. Then he made the four directions (cardinal points) and the four winds. On the four corners of the earth he placed them as great and powerful people, to act as island weights. Yet the earth was not quiet. Then he made four large beings and threw them down toward the earth, and they pierced through the earth with their heads eastward. They were snakes. Then the earth became very still and quiet. Then he looked upon the earth and he saw that it was good. Then he thought again of how things came into existence just as he desired. Then he first began to talk. He said, "As things are just as I wish them, I shall make one being in my own likeness." So he took a piece of clay (earth) and made it like himself. Then he talked to what he had created, but it did not answer. He looked upon it and saw that it had no mind or thought. So he made a mind for it. Again he talked to it, but it did not answer. So he looked upon it again and saw that it had no tongue. Then he made it a tongue. Then he talked to it again, but it did not answer. So he looked upon it again and saw that it had no soul. So he made it a soul. He talked to it again, and it very nearly said something. But it did not make itself intelligible. So Earthmaker breathed into its mouth and talked to it, and it answered.

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[3] Told in connection with the origin of the Thunderbird waka.

[4] This myth is reprinted from Radin, Winnebago tales, Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. XXII, no. LXXIV, 1909. It has apparently been somewhat influenced by the Bible.

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As the newly created being was in his own likeness, Earthmaker felt quite proud of him, so he made three more just like him. He made them powerful so that they might watch over the earth. These first four he made chiefs of the Thunderbirds. And he thought, "Some will I make to live upon the earth of those I have created." So he made four more beings in his own likeness. Just like the others he made them. They were brothers—Kunuga, Henanga, Hagaga, and Nanyiga. He talked to them and said, "Look down upon the earth." So saying, he opened the heavens in front of where they sat and there they saw the earth (spread out below them). He told them that they were to go down there to live. "And this I shall send with you," he added, and he gave them a plant. "I myself shall not have any power to take this from you, as I have given it to you; but when of your own free will you make me an offering of some of it, I shall gladly accept it and give you what you ask. This shall you hold foremost in your lives." It was a tobacco plant that he had given them. He said, also, "All the spirits that I create will not be able to take this from you unless you desire to give it, by calling upon them during fasts and offering it to them. Thus only can the spirits get any of it. And this also I send with you that you may use it in life. When you offer anything it shall be your mediator. It shall take care of you through life. It shall stand in the center of your dwellings and it shall be your grandfather." Thus he spoke to them. What he meant was the fire. And then he gave them the earth to live upon.

So the four Thunder spirits brought the four brothers down to the earth. The oldest one, Kunuga, said, while on their way down, "Brother, when we get to the earth and the first child is born to me I shall call him *Chief-of-the-Thunders*, if it be a boy." On they came down toward the earth. When they got near the earth it began to get very dark. Then the second brother said, "Brother, when we get to the earth and a child is born to me, if it is a girl it shall be called *Dark*." They came to a place called Within Lake[1] at Red Banks, a lake near Green Bay. On an oak tree south of the lake is the place where they alighted. The branch they alighted on bent down from their weight. Then said the third brother to his brothers, "The first daughter born to me shall be called *She-who-weighs-the-tree-down-woman*." Then they alighted on the earth, but the Thunder spirits did not touch the earth. Then said the fourth and last brother to his brothers, "Brothers, the first son that is born to me shall be called *He-who-alights-on-the-earth*." The first thing they did on earth was to start their fire.

Then Earthmaker looked down upon them and saw that he had not prepared any food for them, so he made the animals that they

[1] This lake is probably Green Bay itself.

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539 614 776 might have something to eat. The oldest brother said, "What are we going to eat?" Then the youngest two took the bow and arrows that Earthmaker had given them and started toward the east. Not long after the third brother came into view with a young deer on his back and the youngest brother also came with a young deer about 2 years old on his back. The deer that were killed, and those that killed them, were also brothers. They were very much delighted that they had obtained food. Then said they, "Let us give our grandfather the first taste." Saying thus, they cut off the ends of the tongues and the heart and threw them into the fire with some fat. The first people to call on them were the War clan people. They came from the west. Then came four others. They were the thunders. Thus they were called the youngest brothers. Then came those of the earth. Then came those of the Deer clan. Then those of the Snake clan. Then came those of the Elk clan. Then came those of the Bear clan. Then came those of the Fish clan. Then came those of the Water-spirit clan and all the other clans that exist. Then there appeared on the lake a very white bird swan they called it. And after that, all the other water birds that exist came. And they named them in the order of their coming until the lake was quite full. Then the people began to dress the deer meat. Suddenly something came and alighted on the deer meat. "What is that?" they said. Then said Kunuga, the eldest brother, "It is a wasp, and the first dog that I possess, if it is black, *Wasp* I shall call it." Thus he spoke. "And as the wasp scented and knew of the deer dressing so shall the dog be toward other animals, and wherever the dog is, and animals are in the windward, he shall scent them." They made a feast with the deer for Earthmaker and threw tobacco into the fire and offered it to him. And to the other clans they showed how fire was to be made and gave them some, "For," they said, "each of you must now make fire for yourselves, as we shall not always lend you some." There the people made their home. It was just the time of the year when the grass comes as far as the knee.

One day they reported that something very strange was near the camp; but they said to themselves, "We will leave it alone." In a little while it moved nearer. Thus it moved toward the camp and soon it began to eat deer bones. They allowed it to become one of their clans and took it into their house. It was the dog or wolf. They killed one and made a feast to Earthmaker, telling him all about what they had done.

In the beginning the Thunder clansmen were as powerful as the Thunder spirits themselves. It was the Thunder people who made the ravines and the valleys. While wandering around the earth the Thunder people struck the earth with their clubs and made dents in [554] the hills. That is the reason that the upper clans are chiefs of all the others and that the least of all are the dog people. So it was.

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One day the oldest of the brothers lay down and did not rise again, 539
and he did not breathe and he became cold. "What is the matter 614
with our oldest brother!" the three others said. Four days they 776
waited for him, but still he did not arise. So the second brother was asked by his youngest brother what the trouble was; but he did not know anything about it and told him to ask his third brother; but this one did not know either. Then the two older brothers asked the youngest one, but he did not know either. Then they began to mourn for him, not knowing what to do or think. They fasted and blackened their faces, as we do now when we are in mourning. They made a platform and laid him on it. When the snow fell knee-deep the three brothers filled their pipe and went toward the place of the coming of daylight the east. There they came to the first being that Earthmaker had placed in the east, the *Island-weight*, as he was called. They came to him weeping and went into his tent, turning the stem of the pipe in his mouth. They said, "Grandfather, our brother Kunuga has fallen and is not able to rise again. Earthmaker made you great and endowed you with all knowledge, and thus you know all things." He answered and said, "My dear grandsons, I am sorry, but I do not know anything about it; but as you have started to find out I would refer you to the one ahead of me (the north), perhaps he can tell you."

So, weeping, they started for the next one. When they got there and told him their troubles, he told them he could not help them; "but," he said, "perhaps the one ahead of me knows." So they started for the third one (the west), but from him likewise they could learn nothing. He also referred them to the one ahead (the south). When they reached the fourth and last one, they entered the lodge, and behold there sat the three to whom they had gone before. Here they asked the last one for help, and not only he but the other three also answered them: "Grandsons, thus Earthmaker has willed it. Your brother will not rise again. He will be with you no more in this world, and as long as this world lasts so will it be with human beings. Whenever one reaches the age of death one shall die, and those that wish to live long will have to attain that age by good actions. Thus they will live long. Into your bodies Earthmaker has placed part of himself. That will return to him if you do the proper things. This world will come to an end sometime. Your brother shall keep a village in the west for all the souls of your clan, and there he shall be in full charge of all of you, and when this world is ended your brother shall take all the souls back to Earthmaker—at least all those who have acted properly. Thus it is. Now you may go home and bury your brother in the proper manner." The Thunder people thanked the four spirits and left the tent. When they got home they took their brother's body,

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539 614 776 dressed him in his best clothes, and painted his face. Then they told him where he was to go and buried him with his head toward the west and with his war club. They placed the branch of a tree at his grave, and painted a little stick red and tied it to the tree, so that nothing should cross his path on his journey to the spirit abode. If any object or animal should cross his path on that journey, he must strike it with his club and throw it behind him, so that those relatives he had left behind on earth might derive blessings in war and attain long life. He must have his pipe and food along with him on his journey, and thus the things that he throws behind him will be a blessing for those still remaining on earth. Also the life he leaves behind him (i. e., the years that, had he lived to a normal age, are still due him) and the victories that he might have gained, all these he is to give to his relatives. The riches he might have had or, in fact, anything that he could possibly have had, he is asked to give to these relatives. Then they will not feel so unhappy and lonesome.

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE ·LAN)

In the beginning four brothers started from above and came toward this world. They came to a country called (*ni jak*, cliff place?), and there they alighted on a tree. From there they started around the world, going from left to right.* The first time they went around they went through space, but the second time they went along this earth, at a place called *derak* (Within Lake). There they built lodges for themselves. While doing this the oldest suddenly became quiet, as if stricken. Finally, he asked the second brother what he should do, and the second brother said to him, "You are the oldest and ought to know what to do. How can I, who am younger, know anything? Perhaps the third-born brother might know." So he asked the third-born, but he said, "You are the older and ought to know. How can I, being the younger, know? Perhaps the youngest brother will know." So they asked that one and he said, "Yes, I know something." The thing about which they did not know anything was the making of the fire. The younger one, saying he knew something, took a piece of an oak tree and began twisting it until it began to smoke, and then the fire started. Then he placed it on the ground. After the fire began to blaze and seemed well started they finished building their lodge. From that time on whenever they saw anything new the brothers would give it a name. Animals and all the things that exist were thus named. And then they were to prepare a meal, and the second brother reached out his hand and produced the food that they wanted (i. e., he seemingly reached out from where he was seated and brought in deer's meat, etc.). Not having

* The customary manner of passing around a lodge. Supposed to be comparable to the path of the sun.

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any cooking utensils they broiled their meat on sharp sticks. Then the oldest one began making utensils for cooking. He took clay and slippery elm bark, mixed them together, and made a pot out of it, which was then heated over a fire.

Within Lake was their main stopping place during their wanderings. Now the members of the other clans began gathering at this place and all the other clans got to this place and obtained their fire from the Thunderers. From that time on they also began intermarrying. The rule was that the upper clansmen married the women of the lower clans and vice versa. The oldest one of the brothers made friends with the Water-spirit clan and the second brother made friends with the Bear clan. The reason why the upper clans and the lower clans intermarried was to prevent their marrying their own relatives. The second brother is the ancestor of the War clan people.

The Thunderers do not say that they were descended from the Thunderbirds, but they claim that in wandering about there was always a drizzling rain and fog which they caused and on account of the similarity of this to the actions of the Thunderbirds they called themselves the Thunderers.[1]

From the gathering at Green Bay the clan names originated. The names were taken from incidents of their journey to this place. The older brother kept on naming everything; the different parts of our body; the different parts of animals, etc. When he finished, he suddenly stopped breathing and died. His death occurred at dawn. The brothers did not know that he had died. For a long time they waited for him to come to life again, but he never came to life again. Thus death originated. His body died, but his spirit traveled west toward the setting of the sun, making a road for all who were to come after him. He was the chief of the village of the spirits.

THIRD VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN—FRAGMENTARY)[2]

"Well, my younger brother, what shall we speak of? Let us speak of the Winnebagoes. You are right. Of them we will speak. What shall we eat? If we see an animal let us eat him. I will go and look. See I have brought a deer. We will eat him." So they built a fire and broiled that deer. They cooked it and then ate it. Then they heard something. They listened and two persons came into the tent. They took a seat opposite. "Ha, ha, you that sit opposite, what relation will you be to me?" "What relation should I be to you?" "You shall be my chief." "Listen, some are saying

[1] The word Thunderers is the same as Thunderbirds. One and the same being is meant.

[2] This account seems to begin after the Thunderbirds have reached Green Bay and are sitting in the lodge waiting for the other clans to arrive.

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539 614 776 something. Ha ha, our friends have come. Sit opposite (those opposite said). As long as we live we will attend to the fire for you." "Listen, our friends, they are speaking." "Ha, ha, sit opposite me" (a new clan has entered). They sat down. "You Water-spirit clan, what relation, my friend, will you be to me?" "What relation shall I be to you? You will be my chief." "Good. Now listen, a dog is howling. Let us wait for him." So the Thunderbirds waited for him. "Let us call him." "Ha, ha, my friend, we wish to teach the two-legged walkers something. As we say so will the Winnebagoes ever be." Again the Thunderbirds spoke, "Listen, some one has said something. Two people have come. We will call them the Buffalo clan."

## The Warrior Clan

### INTRODUCTION

614 There are not many members of this clan left, although it seems to have been quite important in the old days, to judge from the number of effigy mounds all over Wisconsin. There seems little doubt but that those bird effigies with unsplit tail are supposed to represent this clan.

Only one version of the origin myth was obtained. There is little to be said about it except that it mentions the fact that it was customary to have names for dogs. One statement seems to point toward cannibalism. As was pointed out in the preceding discussion, there is a boastful claim that they were chiefs.

[552 266]

614 178 Although, at the present time, this clan is known only as the *wonayira ha'ekek* (fear-inspiring men), its older name was hawk, and as such it was still known to J. O. Dorsey. When the present name began to be popular, it is impossible to say, but we feel confident that it has been in partial use for a considerable length of time. The change is quite in line with the rather common habit of referring to the Thunderbird clan as the chief clan and the Bear clan as the soldier clan. In other words, we have a name indicative of the functions of a clan superseding the older animal name. It is only in the case of the Warrior clan, however, that this substitution has been complete.

614 There is no indication in the myth that the Warrior clan was ever localized. A number of informants stated that the clan was but a division of a general bird phratry. In version 2 of the Thunderbird clan origin myth it is stated that the second of the two brothers was the ancestor of the Warrior clan. Dorsey, as we have seen, obtained the same information.

[361] The Warrior clan seems to have had a lodge in the northwest corner of the village. In this lodge they claimed that prisoners were

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In this lodge they claimed that prisoners were 614
confined and certain tribal regalia deposited. The informants were 727
not, however, at all clear about these facts, some even denying that there was a Warrior lodge and insisting that prisoners were confined in the Bear or Soldier lodge.

According to one informant the Warrior and Bear clans could give 614
each other orders that had to be obeyed.

The members of the Warrior clan claimed that all the members of the clan were warriors and did not have to fast in order to obtain [785] the right of starting out on a war party. This was vigorously denied by the members of the other clans, who referred to this claim with derision. There seems, however, to be no reason for questioning the fact that the clan had a special lodge and that it was intimately connected with war functions. Exactly what these were it is quite impossible to state, as they have not been exercised for a very long time.

The first two clan songs are given on page 220. The clan facial decoration, used only at burial, and which were supposed to be [302] marks of recognition in the spirit land, are as follows: A red line alternating with a black and another red line across the forehead, and a red line around the mouth. One informant claimed that only the three marks on the forehead were necessary, and that in times of war blood was used for the red marks (pl. 46).

According to an informant of the Thunderbird clan, the Warrior clan functions were as follows:

The Warrior clan's position in the tribe is that of general warrior. He can kill an enemy at any time without breaking any of the rules of the tribe. Every other clansman who wishes to go on the warpath must fast and be blessed by the spirits [724] with specific blessings before he can do this.

There may have been a special feast associated with the Warrior clan, but the author never heard of it. The clan possessed a number [778] of war bundles.

### ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

In the beginning, Earthmaker made four men. Then he sent 614
them to the earth. Within Lake, there, they landed and they slit 539
on the branch of a tree. There were four branches and each one slit 776
on one branch. And then on the earth they jumped and started walking toward the east. There they erected a camping place. There they started the fire. It was the principal fire. Then they started to look for food, but they were unable to find any. So the second brother was sent, but he was not able to get any animal, but he brought a man. Because he brought it, for that reason, the first male child we have shall be called *He-who-eats-humans*. Then the second one, him whom they called the warrior, was sent. Thus it-

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614 539 776 was. And then all of them went toward the chief's lodge. They walked as chiefs, all four of them. The four of them went there. The chief's lodge was an oval lodge, and there they entered.

The Snake clansman was the one appointed to get the food. He went after the food. It was an Eagle-people feast. Two fish the Snake clansman brought, and with these the Eagle chief gave a feast. The Deer clan acted as attendants. Thus they ate the fish. And when they were finished with the eating, on either side, they left the head and the tail of the fish. This they left of their meal. "And if we have a dog we will call him *Leaves-fish-on-both-ends*," they said. Then they sat down. As they were sitting some one peeped in. It was the dog. Only his nose he stuck in. Then they said, "Whose nose does it look like?" So the chief spoke. "If we ever have a dog and if we wish to keep it permanently, *Whose-nose-does-it-look-like*, we will call it.

Then all of a sudden their bodies began to be different and their feathers began to look as if they were worn off. They were about to enter the chief's lodge. Then the chief passed the fire to the Deer clan and when they were through the lodge was purified with [783] the incense of smoking cedar leaves. Then again into the very long lodge they entered. This was at Red Banks. Then the upper people taught the lower people the things to make them good. Thus Earth-maker ordained everything, and as he ordered so it was. That is the way they were. Holy they were. And all (of my clan?) lived as chiefs. This is all that I was taught.

614 533

CLAN SONGS

*First song*

The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.

*Second song*

The fire they started.
The fire they started.
The fire they started.
The fire they started.

## Eagle and Pigeon Clans

614 No information was obtained about either of these clans. The Pigeon clan has been extinct for some time and only a few survivors of the Eagle clan are left. Neither of these clans seems ever [778 796] to have been of great importance. They had war bundles and an Eagle feast is mentioned.

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The following dog names were obtained: 614

A black dog with yellow eyebrows and breast is called *hcsiga'ruwega*, 231
Opens-beehives; black female dog, *hotchiliga*, Picks-acorns; black 552
dog with white around the neck, *hote hagawunga*, Runs-for-acorns. The chief also had the privilege of calling a dog *wowuga*, to show his superiority over the other members of the Bear clan. From another informant the following were obtained: *Teapiracsiga*, Eats-everything-except-hide; *teakowuwlo*, Pulls-out-deer-liver.

### ORIGIN MYTHS

#### FIRST VERSION [1]

Informant, member of the clan: In the beginning a bear came 614
walking on the ocean. When he got to the shore he flew off as a 539
raven and alit on the shore. The first being he saw was a Dog clans- 776
man. Then he entered the lodge and sat opposite him. That is

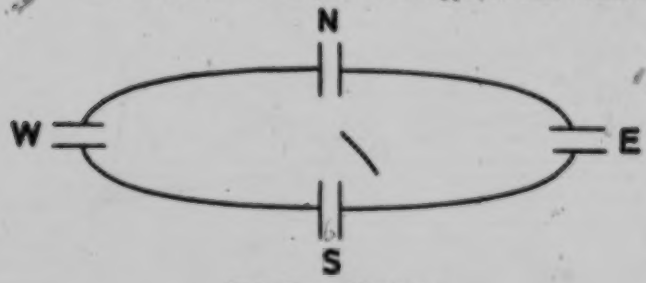


FIG. 35.—Diagram of Bear lodge.

why they call one another friends, or "he who sits opposite me." From the fact that he flew off as a raven we have a name (*kazijipega*). The lodge had four doors, one on each end and one on each side (fig. 35). They landed at Green Bay, where a great gathering was held of all the clans. The other Bear clansmen claim that it was water foam that flew from the water, and it is from that fact that they obtained so much life. The fact that he (the bear) changed himself twice is the reason for his greatness among his fellow clansmen. Originally it was the fourth born who was sent from across the ocean.

#### SECOND VERSION

Informant, father of above: In the beginning 10 brothers started from across the ocean to the great clan meeting. When they got near, four waves came ashore and a raven flew from the waves, but when it alit (on land) it was a bear that walked. They were the greatest

[1] There are so many versions of the origin of the Bear clan that I think it best to give all I obtained. They are all discussed on p. 328.

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614 in power, as they had changed themselves twice. There they crossed
539 the tracks of the Wolf clan, and they said, "Our friends have gone
776 by." Then they went and sat opposite the Wolf people. The Wolf and Bear clans must bury one another.

The 10 men left their father and mother across the ocean.

The Bears should paint their faces with charcoal from burnt basswood and red paint. The face should be painted red and black alternately crosswise in stripes, or black on the upper half and red on the mouth and chin. Women are painted with red markings on each cheek and with charcoal markings in the center of the cheek.

THIRD VERSION

Informant, member of the Bear clan: It is supposed that Earthmaker ordered a meeting of all the animals to take place at Green Bay, and that the Soldiers (another name for the Bear clan) were also to attend.

In the beginning Earthmaker created all things in the form of animals, but at this gathering they (the originators of the various clans!) were to become human. When all was in readiness to start, it was decided that the families of those animals who were to become the ancestors of the Winnebago clans were each to send one representative, and that the one who was thus chosen, accompanied by his wife, was to become transformed on that occasion. Of the soldiers (i. e., the bears) the youngest was sent. He had three brothers, of whom the eldest had black hair, the second dark red hair, and the third blue or green hair. They were the chiefs of the villages from which they had started.[16] Only the youngest, however, was sent to the earth to attend the meeting. When he emerged at a place to the north of Green Bay he came from out the earth. When they emerged (the bear and his wife) it was a very fine day. As they were coming they heard voices in the distance saying, "The soldiers are coming." As they started to walk their footprints seemed imprinted with the blue of the sky i. e., with daylight. A name has originated from this fact (*Ha*bamanina*, "He-who-walks-with-the-day"). As his wife was with him, he immediately started to hunt. (It seems that by this time the bear had some followers, for some would from time to time ask whether they were going to eat, and he would answer yes and tell them to hunt for food.)

When the youngest of the brothers started, the brothers who remained behind told him "to remember them" with regard to tobacco, red feathers, and food, and therefore after he had started he told some of his followers to go ahead and bring food of such and such a kind, so that when he arrived at certain camping places those sent

[114] [16] It must be remembered that all this is taking place in the heavens, in the spirit abode of the bears. The color transitions are only approximate.

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ahead would be there before him ready with the food. After the first meal they started out again, and soon they came across the track of a member of some other clan, and they said, "Our friend has gone by." The latter clan had also said in coming, "Our friend must have come by." Then they came to the place where a large lodge had been constructed. When all were inside, the animal-beings wished to start a camp fire, and they called upon all those present to start it; but no one except the Thunderbirds could do it, so they made the Thunderbirds chiefs of the tribe. As, however, they were to have a number of chiefs, they called upon the Water-spirits to be chiefs of the lower division. Of the third division, the soldiers were to be the chiefs. The latter were to be in charge of discipline. That is the origin of the Bear or Soldier clan. 614 539 776

FOURTH VERSION

Informant, member of the clan [so-called "true" version]: Earthmaker made all things, and then he created man and woman, and he placed them in the south. He gave them charge of some of the day or life. All the creatures on the earth and all the birds of the air he was in charge of. He was going to start up from below and walk toward the north. All the creatures went with him. He walked forth with all the creatures. When he arrived on earth all the other clans had already gathered at one place. When he arrived they said, "Our soldiers have come. Make room for them." So it was said. And he said to them, "The things Earthmaker created me for, those I will do. Therefore, wherever you live or wherever you gather together I will look after your village; even to the edge of the clearing, that far I will make it sacred for you; and if you are ever overcome by sickness and you ask me to arise and help you, your sickness will leave you. And while he spoke of his power for four days the weather had been good, and no wind blew from any direction. The soldier was thus in charge of affairs. And as he spoke thus all birds with sharp claws flew above him in a circle.

On the fourth day all the clans left for their respective homes. Now even to this day he, the bear, is still in charge of the people.

FIFTH VERSION

Informant, same as of fourth version [so-called "minor" version]: In the south, where he emerged and came upon our earth, there was a spring which gave forth white water. When he was about to come out, the hill in which he was confined shook and the spring shook also. He was not the first to come out, for his attendants preceded him. Then he came out. There were 11 men. The oldest one told him to go and look around at the fields. He sent out four to look at the fields (the raspberries and all other fruits). The

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614 acorns and nuts they called beans. The four that emerged soon
539 came upon the footprints of human beings.
776 And then they returned from the fields where they had been searching for food. "Oh, my; oh, my," they said, "over there we came across the footprints of human beings." So they spoke. "Go again," he said, "go around a larger circle." So they went farther than before, and there they saw the people who had made the footprints. "Our friends are going about here," said the ones who had made the footprints and who were wolves. "Never shall we disobey one another's word, my friends," said the bear. And the wolf answered, "It shall be so."

[627] If one of the Bear clansmen had been killed and it was reported to the Wolf clan, the latter would revenge him. The Bear clan would act similarly. Then the bear said to the wolf, "My friend, whenever you die I shall put you away so that your soul may not be bothered by bad insects." And the wolf answered, "My friend, it shall be so, and when you die I will likewise put you away so that the bad spirits may not abuse your soul." Then they parted, after shaking each other's hands. The bears returned to their home in the south. The next time they came, it was to stay. They scattered themselves all over the earth, seeking newly ripened fruit of all kinds. In this manner they are still living on earth.

SIXTH VERSION [1]

Informant, member of the clan: Earthmaker made us and as he created us thus the story has come down. The story of our creation is told as follows:

"Get ready. We will converse together over this affair." So spoke the one in the south. He was but one of those whom Earthmaker had created. There were four brothers. The name of the oldest one was Black Person, that of the second Red Person. (Indeed he was very red.) The third one was called Blue Person, and the fourth one White Person.

"Younger brother, how is it going to be? I (the oldest), who am speaking, not fitted do I feel myself for the task. My temperament is indeed not fitted for the task. Perhaps you might have something to tell them. Try, therefore, to say something to them. They are about to have a gathering and it is time to start. Try to say something to them." "Older brother, the truth do you speak. I also feel even as you have said; I am not fitted for it. I really don't consider myself equal to the task. My younger brother only is the one fitted for it. He is clever. Our younger brother, he only must be the one." "The truth you have spoken, my brother. Our youngest brother only is fitted for the task. The announcement of the gathering has already been made, so let us council over it imme-

[1] Told as the origin myth of the Bear feast.

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distely. Let us get ready. Our younger brother, he is patient and strong-minded. On the earth he must go and we will remain here. To take care of the home we will remain here. Whatever he says it shall be so. In that wise will we think. Earthmaker has ordained that the gathering shall take place and that we are to live our lives there (on earth). Our younger brother he will go and live on the earth. As he is about to go to the earth, we will ask him to remember us.

"Younger brother, when you arrive on earth, whatever offerings you obtain, send them back to us as you walk along. When you start out you will appear with life. This you will take with you. This will be your task. Be careful that you perform everything correctly. When you arrive there, it will be necessary to give names to the human beings and to their dogs.

"Younger brother, when you start out toward the earth you will be holy. And when you are on earth and your first boy is born, call him He-who-is-very-black, and call the second one (*wajiga*) Brown-bear, the third one Blue-bear, and the fourth one White-bear. And if girls are born to you, call the first one Night-walking-woman, the second one Daylight-as-she-walks, the third one She-who-thrusts-herself-within-a-lodge, and the fourth one Visible-footprint-woman. And if your daughters have dogs which they wish to keep let them give them the following names (*wadopega*, untranslatable): Dog-pair, Third-born-girl, and Red-female-dog. Thus let it be."

When they (the bears) started, those at the gathering place listened: "Our soldiers have started; their whoops are audible." When the bear came on earth, he came across some tracks. "Our friends have gone by," he said. Finally the bears (man and woman) arrived at the gathering place; there they found all the clans assembled. The Water-spirit was the first one to come; then came the birds and then the bears. When all were assembled, they began to construct a large lodge. When it was finished, the one who had arrived first, the Water-spirit, was addressed by some of the other people. "Our chief, how are we going to make fire? Had you not better start!" "True you speak, but I do not know how. I am unable. Let some one else try it." But they all regretted and declined, saying they did not know how. So it was decided that he who made a fire would be chief. All thereupon tried, but only the Thunderbird succeeded. So he became the chief and the others all thanked him. Then the fire was distributed and all the clan fireplaces were made. Thus it was at the creation council. Now all things were finished and arranged. The Thunderbirds were the rulers of the village. The other people measured their acts by him. When the chief said do so and so, they would obey. Then the chief went out to look for food for himself and for his people, and they began to bring back

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food in the form of their relatives—i. e., in the form of the animals after whom they were named. Then the Bear people made a rule that they were to have a feast at which offerings would be made to their clan animal. And it was for him that they placed a shallow kettle at the feast. This is all.

SEVENTH VERSION

Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

At a large spring sat a male bear. He looked upon his body and it was very blue. It was even bluer than the blue of the sky. As the blue from the sky illuminated, so he was. He sat as though he was part of the day. He was a chief and his name was Blue-chief. Toward one side he looked and there stood twelve men. Then the earth began to quake and something came out from the spring. Because something had come out from under the earth that is why the earth quaked. Blue-bear named him Earth-shaker. Then the earth began to quake again and now it was worse than before and Blue-chief named the one who emerged Earth-quaker. And then for the third time the earth began to tremble, even much more than before. So much did it tremble that the day itself trembled; and those that were not solidly attached to the earth came to the top and all manner of fruit was scattered over the earth. When he came out Blue-chief named him Gives-forth-fruit-as-he-walks. And again for the fourth time the earth began to roar and tremble and even the day trembled. Then one came out. So he was named, Makes-the-day-tremble. Thus they were all named as they came out. Then Blue-bear was told by Earthmaker, "This is all that remains to be done; your friends are waiting for you." There Blue-bear talked with Earthmaker, the latter telling him what he was to do. Then they started to the place where all the other clans were gathering, at Red Banks. As they came, all the leaves that had rough edges became human and all the trees that had prickers became human, and all the birds that had sharp claws and were able to claw anything, they all became human, and the snakes that had sharp fangs became human. Thus they went. Those of the air went in the air and those of the earth went on the earth, and nothing could cross their path. Even the earth trembled as they walked.

When they got to the gathering place they were told that seats were reserved for their friends (meaning them). But, said Blue-bear, "We did not come for that purpose, so we will not sit down. We were intended for something else by Earthmaker. As long as this world exists we will take care of you within the confines of your villages. We will not permit any evil spirits to enter these confines. The seats you offered us will remain as they are, so that if at any time the clans are gathered again our place will be reserved. Then the

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crowd dispersed and went home. Blue-bear said that he would go home but that the rest were to live on this earth and that they would be the soldiers of this earth. That is the origin of the Bear clan. 614 539 776

When a bear is killed on earth, the Bear clansmen do not mind it, but they laugh and feel good. When one of the Bear clan dies, they say, "Don't cry, for he has gone home." Then they paint his jaws red to give him the appearance of laughing.

When a bear is killed on earth the spirit returns to Blue-bear, and so it is with the Bear clansmen. This is the story of the Bear clan.

All the birds, trees, snakes, and everything of its kind have soldiers. [825] The sharp-clawed birds are soldiers of the birds and all the snakes that have fangs and all the trees that have prickers are soldiers of their kind. All the animals and living things of the earth have soldiers among them. The ugliest tempered ones of their kind are soldiers of whatever class they belong to. Oftentimes when a person gets angry on earth they would say, "The soldier; it is because he has a soldier nature." (Whoever has the power of hurting one of his fellow-beings and does it has a soldier nature.) This is the story of the Soldier clan.

If they had said in the beginning, "This or that clan will never do anything wrong," then the rest of the clans would never have done so. The Soldier clan opens the way for anyone, of any clan, at any time, to take up his soldier nature. 614 533

## CLAN SONGS

*Song 1*

Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.

*Song 2*

Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.

*Song 3*

Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?

*Song 4*

Who can be above?
Who can be above?
Who can be above?
Who can be above?

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## The Wolf Clan

### INTRODUCTION

614 Three versions of the origin myth of this clan were obtained. The
173 second is the most interesting, for it gives the popular account of descent from the clan animal-ancestor, although it claims that he, in turn, was created by Earthmaker. One other important characteristic is the statement that the original clan ancestor married a human being and that from them the present members of the clan trace their descent. A similar type of descent is mentioned in a number of myths that can best be interpreted as village origin myths. The ownership of war bundles has also at times been linked up with descent from some spirit.

614 Very little is known at the present time about the functions of the Wolf clan. It is quite clear, however, that the clan once possessed powers of considerable importance. From the fact that the Wolf people are still occasionally called "minor soldiers" and that they are so closely linked with the Bear clansmen it is likely that their functions were similar in nature to those of the Bear people. They probably assisted the latter.

[823] Water was sacred to the Wolf clan as it also was to the Water-spirit clan. A person was not allowed to tell a Wolf clansman that he looked like a wolf nor allowed to sit on a log in a Wolf clan lodge.
[682] If a man kills a Wolf clansman accidentally and then sits on the log in a Wolf lodge, he has to be freed.

According to one informant, the Wolf clan at one time possessed four sticks, which they would use and with which they kept time while the drum was beaten.

[582] According to one informant, the Wolf clansmen were the only people who were allowed to intermarry.

The Wolf clansmen give a feast when a Bear child is born, to show respect for their friend. They give the child a name of their own clan.

[796] The Wolf feast is held in the spring of the year, when the ice melts from the creeks and everything begins to grow. At the feast the
[262 clan origin myth is told and the members of the other clans are
252] allowed to hear it. The food used is boiled rice.

### ORIGIN MYTHS

#### FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 In the beginning the Wolf clan people came from the water.
●539 Therefore their bodies are of water—i. e., their sacred possession is
776 water. There were four male wolves and four female wolves, and
[823] as they came up from the sea and swam toward the shore, one after the other, they caused waves to go before them. Therefore one of

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their clan names is *Worv*. They first appeared as wolves and later on they became humans. After swimming to the shore they lay on their backs to dry themselves; and that also is a name, a female name, *She-who-spreads-herself-out-to-dry*, and another name is *He-who-comes-up-first*. When they became human they built themselves a lodge and lived in it, but they had no fire. Then the Thunders came down and alit on a big oak tree that stood near their lodge. At first the Thunders were afraid of the Wolf people and they would not enter their lodge. That is why we have a name *He-who-is-afraid*. They asked the Thunders to come into their lodge and they had great difficulty in persuading them. After they entered the Wolf lodge they wanted to go home again immediately, but the Wolf clan people asked them to stay over for four days. From that fact a name has originated, *One-who-is-waited-for-by-the-Thunders*. The Thunders stayed, but not in the lodge of the Wolf people. They built themselves one just outside their door. Then they built a fire in it. After the four days were over the Thunders went home. 614 539 776 [551]

When a Wolf clansman dies the relatives paint his forehead blue (pl. 46) and the soul of the deceased is supposed to go west, and it never looks back as it goes on its journey, as this would be an indication of its longing for something in this world, and it should not do that. When the soul gets to the spirit home the relatives already there would ask the newcomer, "What did our relatives say when you were about to come?" And the deceased would answer, "They said that they would not come for some time." [764 775]

The fowl that is prepared at the four nights' wake is supposed to last them forever.

This is the end of the story of the creation.

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

All people claim to have come from some animal, and all are supposed to come from Earthmaker.

Four married wolves had a lodge in the middle of the ocean. They had four colors. The wolves all had children. One of them had 10, and the youngest one of these 10 is the one that came to this earth. When they came to this land, the first thing they saw was the footprint of the bear, and they said, "Our friend has gone by." There (at the place of gathering) they saw human beings and they liked their ways. Therefore they went home again and asked to come to earth and live with the human beings, and they were given permission to do so. Wherefore the two (man and wife) came here again the second time. When they were about to come everything was calm, and there were no waves on the ocean. They started out swimming, and they caused two waves to go before them. When they came to the humans they both got married. When they came to this land

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614 they sang songs, but I do not know them. I was not taught them.
●539 Finally children were born to both of them, and they gave them
776 names. They called one of them *Wave* on account of the wave
coming before them on their starting out. Because the four original
[551] wolves in the middle of the ocean had four different colors, therefore
they have names *White Wolf, Green Hair, Gray Wolf,* and *Black Wolf.* When the clan began to get larger they taught their children these names.

When a large number of different clansmen are traveling and they have to cross some large stream and the wind is high, they call upon some Wolf clansman to calm the wind. This clan holds the water
[823] very sacred. They do not even die in the water.

It was at this first meeting that they made friends with the Bear clan. Therefore these two clans love one another.

THIRD VERSION—TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN (FRAGMENTARY)

The original wolf brothers appeared from the bottom of the ocean. When they got to the top of the water they started for the shore singing. When they got to the shore they saw footprints of bears who had just gone by. They said, "Our friends have just gone by." That is why they are the friends of the Bear clan. They were going to the meeting place. There a black hawk was gathering together all the different clans. Finally he finished and he said, "It is done." When he said this a wolf howled. They had forgotten him. They said, "We have forgotten him. Let some one go after him." So some one went after him . . .

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CLAN SONGS

*First song*

This body of mine that I am walking.
This body of mine that I am walking.
This body of mine that I am walking.
On the earth I am speaking.

*Second song*

This body of mine that I am walking
This body of mine that I am walking
This body of mine that I am walking.
In the water am I speaking.

CLAN NAMES

cûgwûgûs' nîn'ik'ârâsûsra (WOLF CLAN)*

614 Ckagowshdge.....Hunting dog.
551 Ckgktrash'a.....Wolf.
Ragowiwiga.....Wolf (archaic name).

* The following names are from the Dorsey list.

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614 Members of the clan were buried by members of the Thunderbird
[764] clan.

[823 576] Water was sacred to the Water-spirits. It was considered an insult for a stranger to peep into a pail standing in one of their lodges. One informant explained the custom as follows:

"If one enters a Water-spirit clan lodge and looks into a pail and there should be no water in it, the person will turn away and this action of his will be construed as begging. It would be proper to take a drink of water if some were there."

[902] A round spot is painted with blue clay on the forehead of a Water-spirit man (pl. 46).

The Water-spirit feast is held in the fall and spring. Cracked or ground corn is used. Water-spirit people partake before anyone else at this feast.

### ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 In the beginning, when the clans began to form, the Bird clans
● 539 came upon the earth first and alit upon an oak tree at Red Banks;
776 and when they alit upon the oak tree they became human as we are now. Then the Water-spirit clan was to appear at Within Lake; and the waters began to whirl around in the lake and all the bad things that inhabited the waters began to appear. Just before the Water-spirits appeared some burned embers came up from the waters and the whirling became faster and deeper. As all the great things began to appear it always seemed as if the Water-spirits were the next to appear, but not until the last did they come up. Thereupon the waters began to quiet down. Then a white Water-spirit appeared with its horns curved toward each other, and when it came upon the earth it became human and walked. Then the other clans said, "Now, then, this is the chief. This is all that we have been waiting for. Now we shall divide ourselves" (into groups). Then they started for the lodge of the Thunderbird clan and entered it. There they named one another and divided one another into clans and there they counciled with one another.

### CLAN NAMES

WAEWCHEI HIX'IN'ARAINERA (WATER-SPIRIT CLAN)

614 Ho-ada-ja'jank'a.....Shining horns.
551 Hdac'gas.....Two horns.
Hag'ewiaga.....Handsome horn.
Hantcagk'a.....Five-horned.
Hadjagas.....Four-horned.
Magk'a'wajaga.....He who plants medicines.
Magk'a'hadja'gas.....He who looks at medicines.
Ma'hdaig'ewiaga.....Good cold spring.

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Ma^jwiigs.....Yellowish-red earth (refers to deposits from iron springs).
Ma^nanp'igs.....Second earth person.
Ni-argadjwiigs.....She who plays on the water.
Ni amanwiigs.....She who walks on the water.
Ni-a^p'^wiigs.....She who makes water good.
Ni-a^dagwiigs.....Still water.
Niranigs.....Stream person.
Nihigs.....He who discharges water.
Ni-ot'a^pwiigs.....She who jumps into the water.
Nidjbigs.....Four streams.
Niwak'itwiigs.....Roberts (?) water.
Wakdjaicirik'a.....Bad Water-spirit.
Wakdjaibwigs.....Chief of the Water-spirits.
Wakdjaiwanigs.....Walking Water-spirit.
Wakdjaip'igs.....Good Water-spirit.
Wakdjaiba^wiigs.....White Water-spirit.
Hap'igs.....Good horn.
Wadjanigs.....Big boat.
Hip'ahigs.....Sharp teeth.
Rabawiigs.....Beaverskin woman.
Rabawiigs.....Beaver.
Hajigs.....Short horn.

## The Buffalo Clan

### INTRODUCTION

The first version of the origin myth of the Buffalo clan is of considerable interest because it gives us an idea of the manner in which a myth had to be bought. It is one of the few origin myths that gives a precise location for the origin of a particular clan. What lake is meant by *de cirik* it is impossible to say. Considerable importance should be attached, however, to the fact that their place of origin differed from that of most of the other clans, because it may indicate that the people who came to be known under the name Buffalo joined the tribe after the other clans. 614 173

The Buffalo clansmen seem to have had the function of acting as the public criers and in general of being an intermediary between the chief and the tribe. This, however, has been denied by some informants, one of them a member of the clan. Their lodge was at the southeast corner of the village. Some informants deny that they had a special lodge, however. [624 203] [361]

The Buffalo and Water-spirit clans are friends and are supposed to bury each other's members. [764]

### ORIGIN MYTH*

Informant, member of the clan: "Listen, my grandson. Those who originated from the buffaloes and the way in which they origi- 614 173

* The following myth is given in the precise manner in which the individual who told it to me obtained the information from one of the old men who was privileged to narrate it. Unfortunately it was impossible to obtain any other clan origin myth in the same way. 539

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614 nated, they have heretofore told one another thus. This it is.
173 Whenever one asked about it, they would tell him, but they would
339 never tell him unless he brought some present. Even when they
[431] had a child whom they loved very much (and for whom they were accustomed to do everything), even to such a one they would not tell it unless he brought them gifts. Thus they would not even say the least thing about the story of their origin merely because they loved some one. It is really essential to make a gift. And if some one came, carrying a gift, the old man would ask him what he wanted and what he would like to know, as this was not the only thing gifts were made for. Then he would announce his desire. However, he would not be told in public but when he was alone. Then the old man who had the right to tell the origin myth would announce subsequently at some feast that he had told so-and-so the story of the origin of their clan and that if anyone wished to be told of the same he should in the future, when he himself had died, go to this
[867] young man and ask him in the proper way. Remember, he would add, that before everything else it is the duty of an individual to try and learn of the origin of his clan.

"Father,* this I give you, a full suit of clothes. This I am giving you." "Thanks, my son. What do you wish? What do you wish to hear?" "Father, what did we originate from?" "My son, you have done well. My son, he who makes the most gifts obtains life therewith." "Well, then, father, you need not tell me now, but later, when I have made a sufficient number of gifts, then you may tell me." "My son, you have spoken well and if you do as you say, you will travel unharmed along the road of life." "Father, these also I give you, some beads and a blanket." "Thanks, my son, it is good. Now, my son, what I told you was true. I did not tell it to you because I coveted anything of yours, but truly because it is true—this, that we must make a sufficient number of presents.
[431] Whoever does as you have done will obtain the possibility of a good life for himself." "Now again, father, I give you these gifts. There is enough food for you in it." "My son, you have done well, very well indeed, for the life that I am to give you is holy; and as you know, even if one was loved very much they would not tell him this merely because they loved him, as it is holy." "Father, this I give you as a gift, a horse, as I desire to know what we originated from." "Now, then, my son, you have done well. This is what I meant when I said it is holy. Therefore, my son, you have done well. Come and sit down here. Listen very carefully so that if afterwards anyone should ask you for this story you will be able to tell it well."

* He is now proceeding to give the dialogue that ensued between the old man and himself when he brought the presents.

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"My son, we first originated in human form at Bad Lake (*de cicik*).[a] From four buffalo spirits who are there, did we originate. The youngest one was clever and from him did we originate. The buffaloes asked one another what they were to do, and they then began to exert their powers, and the youngest one obtained the knowledge that there was to be a gathering of all the animals. So they all landed at a place called Red Banks. So it is said. And to the elk was given the charge of the seating arrangements. 614 539 776

"Thus did we originate. And then they conciled with one another as to how they should travel along the road of life. And as they arrived at Red Banks, each one would ask the other to do some work. And there they made a sacred (covenant)—that they would never fail to grant one another's requests. Likewise they agreed that when they died they would bury one another. The Buffalo clan and the Water-spirit clan were to bury one another, and they were to ask one another to work." [764]

CLAN SONGS 614 533

*Song 1*

Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.

*Song 2*

This earth you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

*Song 3*

This day you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

"My son, here is some more information that one in your position should seek. This should be the second thing to ask for: 'What should one say when one gives a feast?' This you should ask for, and you should boil food for the informant and then you will be taught the proper speeches. Afterwards, when anyone boils food (i. e., gives a winter feast) a kettle should first be put on for Earthmaker and one should ask him for life; that the people may live to be strong and good. Include tobacco in your offering, for although Earthmaker made the tobacco he will not take any of it of his own accord. Not until it is offered to him by humans will he take it. 867 [782] [276]

[a] The name *de cicik* is applied to-day to Lake Michigan. However, our informant in this case applied it to Devils Lake in Sauk County, Wis. [103]

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## ORIGIN MYTHS

### FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

This is the origin story of the Deer people. In the beginning a black deer accompanied by an elk appeared in the center of the earth, and they went in the direction of the east. There they were going. Then the black deer said, "My dear younger brother, I am heavy on account of my excessive fatness, go you alone and I will remain here." So he remained there and did not go; and then to the center of the earth, to the place from which they started, he returned. Then he came back to the earth, and again they asked him. Four times they asked. There the necklace of money ornaments he recognized, the black deer did.[24] Thus the Deer clan beat them, and therefore they have the name *Black-Deer-chief*. As they went so they returned again. Again the necklace made of money he (the black deer)[25] recognized. The earth they went around. Then again the black deer went to the east. It was a large one who went ahead, and as he was going along, to his astonishment, they reached the place from which they had started.

"My younger brother," said Black-deer, "you try to do it."[26] And the second-born went ahead and the others followed, and again they were drawn back to the place from which they started. Then the third-born went first and the others followed and the same thing happened. Then they told the fourth-born to go first, and he went in front and suddenly he struck his horn, the one on the right, upon the earth, and, behold, grass suddenly appeared. It was a very white bud that he had caused to appear. Then he struck his left horn on the earth, and he made a tree appear and the fruit of this tree was meant to be eaten. Then they ate the fruit of the tree. The top of the tree there they ate. Thus they said. And they call a woman even to-day *She-who-eats-the-top-of-the-tree*. And then they began to walk and the earth trembled from their walking. Toward the east side they went. From this fact they have a name, *He-who-shakes-the-earth*. And again as some of the brothers were small they have the name *Small-deer*. They also have the name *Walking-leader*. And they also have names *She-who-comes-back* and *He-who-comes-back*, because in the beginning they always came back to the place from which they started. Whatever actions they went through, from these they derived their names.

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[24] The thought is not quite clear here, due to the fact that something has probably been omitted by the narrator.

[25] There seems to be a contest between the deer and the elk as to who would be able to see the "money-necklace" first. Under the term "money-necklace" they evidently mean the medallions distributed by the American Government to those whom they recognized as chiefs. The recognition of the "money-necklace" is evidently going to decide the chieftainship between the deer and the elk.

[26] Some power is evidently drawing them back to the place from which they started.

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The four cardinal points and the winds that are there, they are in control of. If on a very nice day a deer's voice is heard, that day will become bad, and if on a very bad day a deer's voice is heard, that day will become nice. The deer people are those who are in control of the weather. And they also have a name, *He-who-plays-with-the-winds*, and a woman is called *She-who-goes-with-the-wind*. The deer would always sit with the wind back of them. Thus they roamed all over the earth. Not one place on this earth did they miss.

Once, when they had come home, their eldest brother suddenly fell down (dead). "What is the matter?" they said. And the second-born said, "Our oldest brother is not saying anything. I don't know what the matter is." And then they asked their youngest brother and he said, "Our oldest brother is dead. That is the way Earthmaker arranged things." And then he talked to the dead brother and he said, "Earthmaker has made a place for you to go to now that you are dead. You have not attained a large share of life and you have left us who remain on the earth in a pitiable condition. But now that you are going home I want to ask you something. Those years that are still coming to you, distribute among your relatives. This I beg of you. And this is the second request: May the warpaths that you did not go on (by reason of your death), may the war honors that you did not obtain, may all these things be distributed among us. This I ask of you, my dear brother. And this is the third request: May the food that you did not eat, the nuts, the sweet fruits, etc., all that you liked on earth, may it all be distributed among us. This is what I ask of you. And this is the fourth request, my dear older brother: May all the wearing apparel that belonged to you as well as all the materials that you stored in back of your tent, never to be touched by you, but may we who are left behind use it all. This I ask of you. Wherever you are going, may these requests of those whom you left here behind on earth be before you."

Then the younger brother took some red paint and he said, "Brother, I am going to paint you. Thus they will recognize you at home. That is the way we will always do it hereafter. Those who are to live after us will paint us in the same way. Now this is the manner of painting. The forehead and the corners of the eye are to be painted in black and red streaks, respectively, and the chin and the front part of the throat are to be painted red." Then he dug a grave. Then they buried him. Then they sang the songs and when they were finished with this, they traveled around the earth and came to the gathering place of the clans. When they came to that place they were people—i. e., human beings. They lived their own life just as they had as deers. All the incidents of their traveling as well as all the characteristics of deers were used in the name

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they gave one another. Thus they have the names *White-hair*, *Fast-one*, *Little-white-teeth*, *Diffident-one*, *Horn*, *Pronged-horn*, etc.; and for dogs they have names also. That is the way the deer people lived in the beginning at Red Banks, Within Lake. Bands of people gathered together there, and all the clans that exist now originated there. 539 776 614

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

The Deer clan people came up at the beginning of the earth. Only one is spoken of as appearing at the beginning. He started forth but returned again that he might look for a companion. For that reason a name exists in the tribe, *He-who-comes-back*, and another is *He-who-appears-first*. After they had appeared on earth the deer blew on the original fire, which was only smoldering, and made it blaze up. For that reason they claim a partial chieftainship. The first one that appeared had a chief's medal around his neck. [551]

CLAN SONG. 614 533

I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.

CLAN NAMES

TCA HIR'IK'ARAHJERA (DEER CLAN)

614 551

Tcaepháṅk'a. . . . . Black deer chief.
Wagizena'pi'ga. . . . . Wears shells around neck.
Tcanûnkra'pe'wings. . . . . Deer vagina.
Mank'inga'epga. . . . . Appears in the middle of earth
Tcatconiwings . . . . . First deer woman.

## THE ELK CLAN

INTRODUCTION

In the Elk clan origin myth we find the clear statement that Earth-maker created the ancestors of the clan, and that they were human beings. The myth resembles a village origin myth more than it does a clan origin myth. 614 [773 776]

The Elk clan seems to have had certain functions relative to the distribution of fire through the village and in camp. It was never a very large clan.

The Elk people claim half of the fire, and thus half of the chieftainship. They never hold fire toward any one. [372] [622]

Elks are buried by the Snake, Water-spirit, and Eagle clans although the first has the preference. [764]

White clay is used in painting the dead.

According to another informant, the facial painting consisted of white and blue dots on the face (pl. 46). [302]

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### ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 539 776 Earthmaker created all human beings. When he was about to create them, then he thought it would be good to see something moving. So he made a man and he was very good. But Earthmaker thought he ought to have company, so he made a woman. Then he thought to himself, "How should they know one another." So some one came to life through the water and this one was an animal. He made a village in the west for the human beings, and he thought about it and then he thought he would ask the humans what they would like to live through (i. e., become reincarnated), and they said the elk, because the elk never committed any crime. The humans were not to commit any crime. So the four elks started for the meeting place at Green Bay, Red Banks. They had up to that time supposed that they were the only living things, but Earthmaker let the oldest of the elks know of the existence of the other clans. So there they came and lived as Winnebagos. Thus it is said. This is all that they ever tell.

### CLAN NAMES

HU^W^A^N HIK'IK'ARADJERA (ELK CLAN)

614 551
Rohs^manîwings.....Many walking.
Rok'uhumaniwings.....She who walks with the wind.
Tcatchiruzewings.....She who pursues the wind.

## SNAKE AND FISH CLANS

614 No information of any consequence was obtained about these two clans. Almost all the informants claimed that they were recent additions to the tribe. Only a very few survivors of either clan are still living.

### CLAN NAMES

WAK'A^N HIK'IK'ARADJERA (SNAKE CLAN)

614 551
Hankcimink'a.....Lying snake.
Hip'ahigs.....He who has sharp teeth.
Hirodings.....She who has attained her full growth.
K'ik'urudiwings.....She who crawls.
K'irixminank'a.....Sits coiled up.
Ginewek'inank'a.....Sits quiet in her (home).
Hokcigs.....High snake.

HO HIK'IK'ARADJERA (FISH CLAN)

Ho-epcudjewings.....Red fish scale woman.

### CLAN AFFILIATIONS NOT OBTAINED

Ha^bogiwings.....East woman.
Hunkminank'a.....Sitting chief.

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756 small piece of a root and tell him to chew and eat it. This the guest
796 would have to do, and from that time on he would never know when
[264] he had had enough to eat. He would never get satiated. Whenever the man who had been blessed gave the feast personally, no one was ever known to leave anything upon his plate. While eating the guests kept time. They never shook their plates, for if anyone did so the others would immediately give him whatever remained on their plates. They would assume that anyone who shook his plate was the possessor of the stench-earth himself and that he intended to eat up these extra portions with the aid of this medicine. If, however, the shaking was done unintentionally and he failed to eat up the extra portions placed on his plate, then he would make a noise like a raven, and those who wished to help him consume this food would also cry like the raven, approach him, and flap their arms as the birds do their wings. Then all would eat.

When the man who obtained these blessings died, he left all these medicines that he had been the first one to use to another person. With the medicines he of course left all the songs. All that he used to do when he doctored a sick person he bequeathed to his successor. The last man who had these medicines was not a holy man but he knew all their uses and for that reason he was considered a powerful and holy man. To-day only the poison medicines are remembered; the good medicines are all gone.

This is the end.

### How an Indian Shaman Cures His Patients[1]

756 "I came from above and I am holy. This is my second life on
775 earth. Many years before my present existence, I lived on this
● 539 earth. At that time everyone seemed to be on the warpath. I also was a warrior, a brave man. Once when I was on the warpath I was killed. It seemed to me, however, as if I had merely stumbled. I rose and went right ahead until I reached my home. At home I found my wife and children, but they would not look at me. Then I spoke to my wife but she seemed to be quite unaware of my presence. 'What can be the matter,' I thought to myself, 'that they pay no attention to me and that they do not even answer when I speak to them.' All at once it occurred to me that I might, in reality, be dead. So I immediately started out for the place where I had presumably been killed and surely enough, there I saw my body. Then I knew positively that I had been killed. I tried to return to the place where I had lived as a human being but for four years I was unsuccessful.

[825] "At one time I became transformed into a fish. However, the life of the fish is much worse than ours. They are very frequently

[1] The shaman is represented as in the lodge of the patient and as speaking to him and his relatives

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[825]

in lack of food. They are nevertheless very happy beings and have many dances.[6]

"At another time I became transformed into a little bird. When the weather is good the life of the birds is very pleasant. But when it is cold they are compelled to undergo many hardships on account of the weather as well as on account of lack of food. When it was very cold I used to go to the camp of some people who were living in the neighborhood and try to steal some meat from their racks. A little boy used to stand near these racks and we were very much afraid of him because he carried something in his hands with which he shot and which made a dreadful noise. Whenever he shot it we would all fly away. What the boy was using was a bow and arrow. At night we slept in a hollow tree. If I entered the tree first and the others came in behind me I would be almost squeezed to death. If, on the other hand, I waited until the last I would sometimes have to stay outside and when the weather was cold I might have frozen to death.

"At another time I became a buffalo. The cold weather and the food did not worry me much then, but as buffaloes, we would always have to be on the alert for hunters. [825]

"From my buffalo existence I was permitted to go to my higher spirit-home, from which I originally came. The one in charge of that spirit-home is my grandfather. I asked him for permission to return to this earth again. At first he refused, but then after I had asked him for the fourth time, he consented. He said to me, 'Grandson, you had better fast before you go and if any of the spirits take pity upon you (i. e., bless you), you may go and live in peace upon earth.' So I fasted for four years and all the spirits above, even to the fourth heaven,[7] approved of my coming. They blessed me. [772] Then I fasted 10 days more and then 20 and then 30. Finally all the spirits blessed me, even those under the earth. When I was ready to come to this earth, the spirits gathered together in a council-lodge and 'counciled' about me. All the spirits were present. They told me that I would never fail in anything that I wished to do. Then they decided to make a trial of my powers. They placed an invulnerable spirit-grizzly bear at one end of the lodge and sang the songs that I was to use when I returned to earth. Then I walked around the lodge holding a live coal in the palm of my hand and danced around the fireplace saying *wahi-l* and striking the hand containing the coal with my other hand. The invulnerable bear fell forward prone upon the ground and a black substance flowed

[6] This is commonly postulated of both the life of the fishes and that of the snakes.

[7] He is probably referring to the four earths, although it is, of course, possible that there were four heavens. However, I never obtained the slightest indication of such a belief. [772]

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756 from his mouth. Then they said to me, 'You have killed him.
775 Even so great a spirit as this you have been able to kill. Indeed,
539 nothing will ever be able to cross your path.' Then they took the 'bear' I had killed and cut him into small pieces with a knife, piled these in the center of the lodge, and covered them with some dark material. 'Now,' they said, 'you must again try your powers.' I asked them for the articles that I would have to use and they gave me a flute and a gourd. Then I made myself holy. All those who had blessed me were present. I walked around the object that lay piled up in the center of the lodge and breathed upon it. This I did for the second time and all those within the lodge breathed together with me. Four times I did this and then the spirit-grizzly bear got up and walked away in the shape of a human being. 'It is good,' they said. 'He has restored him to life again. Surely he is holy.' After a while they said to me again, 'Just as you have done here, will you always do below. Whenever you wish to, you will be able to kill a person or restore him to life. Most assuredly you have been blessed.'

"Then they placed a black stone in the shamans' lodge that stood above. There again they made a trial of my powers. There I blew four times on the stone and I blew a hole through it. For that reason, if any person has a pain and he lets me blow upon it, I can blow it away. It makes no difference what kind of a pain it is. My breath was made holy by the spirits.

"The spirits on the earth and those under the earth also gave me a trial of my powers. They placed an old rotten log before me. I breathed upon it four times, and spat water upon it and it got up in the shape of a human being and walked away.

"My ability to spit water upon the people whom I am treating I received from an eel, from the chief among the eels, one who lives in the center and in the deepest part of the ocean. He is absolutely white and he is the one who blessed me. Whenever I spit water it is inexhaustible, because it comes from him, the eel.

"Then I came to this earth again. They, the spirits, all gave me advice before I left them. When I came upon this earth I entered a lodge and there I was born again. As I said, I thought that I was entering a lodge, but in reality I was entering my mother's womb. Even in my prenatal existence, I never lost consciousness. Then I grew up and fasted again and again, and all those spirits who had blessed me before sent me their blessings again. I can dictate to all the spirits that exist. Whatever I say will come to pass. The
[782] tobacco you (the patients) offer me is not to be used by myself. It is really intended for the spirits.

"Spirits, a person is sick and he offers me tobacco. I am on earth to accept it and to try to cure him.

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"'You will live (this is addressed to the patient), so help yourself as much as you can and try to make yourself strong. Now as I offer this tobacco to the spirits you must listen, and if you know that I am telling the truth, you will be strengthened by it.'" 755 732 776 539

(What follows is the shaman's offering of tobacco to the spirits.)

"*Ha° ho!* Here is the tobacco, Fire. You promised me that if I offered you tobacco you would grant me whatever request I made. Now I am placing tobacco on your head as you told me to, when I fasted for four days and you blessed me. I am sending you the plea of a human being who is ill. He wishes to live. This tobacco is for you and I pray that the one who is ill be restored to health within four days.

"To you too, Buffalo, I offer tobacco. A person who is ill is offering tobacco to you and asking you to restore him to health. So add that power which I obtained from you at the time I fasted for six days and you sent your spirits after me who took me to your lodge which lies in the center of this earth and which is absolutely white. There you blessed me, you Buffaloes, of four different colors. Those blessings that you bestowed upon me then, I ask of you now. The power of breathing with which you blessed me, I am in need of now. Add your power to mine, as you promised. The people have given me plenty of tobacco for you.

"To you, Grizzly-bear, I also offered tobacco. At a place called Pointed Hill lives a spirit who is in charge of a ceremonial lodge and to this all the other grizzly-bears belong. You all blessed me and you said that I would be able to kill whomsoever I wished, and that at the same time I would be able to restore any person to life. Now, I have a chance to enable a person to live and I wish to aid him. So here is some tobacco for you. You took my spirit to your home after I had fasted for ten days and you blessed me there. The powers with which you blessed me there I ask of you now. Here is some tobacco, grandfathers, that the people are offering to you.

"To you, the Chief of the Eels, you who live in the center of the ocean, I offer tobacco. You blessed me after I had fasted for eight days. With your power of breathing and with your inexhaustible supply of water, you blessed me. You told me that I could use my blessing whenever I tried to cure a patient. You told me that I could use all the water in the ocean, and you blessed me with all the things that are in the water. A person has come to me and asked me for life; and as I wish him to live, I am addressing you. When I spit upon the patient may the power of my saliva be the same as yours. Therefore I offer you tobacco; here it is.

"To you, the Turtle, you who are in charge of a shaman lodge, you who blessed me after I had fasted seven days and carried my spirit to your home, where I found many birds of prey (literally, birds

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755 with sharp claws). There you blessed me and you told me that
782 should, at any time, any human being have a pain I would be able
776 to drive it out of him. For that reason you called me One-who-
539 drives-out-pains. Now before me is a person with a bad pain and I wish to take it out of him. That is what the spirits told me when they blessed me, before I came down to earth. Therefore I am going to heal him. Here is the tobacco.

"To you, who are in charge of the snake lodge, you who are perfectly white, Rattlesnake, I pray. You blessed me with your rattles to wrap around my gourd and you told me after I had fasted for four days that you could help me. You said that I would never fail in anything that I attempted. So now, when I offer you tobacco and shake my gourd, may my patient live and may life (an additional number of years) be opened to him. That is what you promised me, grandfather.

"I greet you, too, Night Spirits. You blessed me after I had fasted for nine days, and you took my spirit to your village which lies in the east, where you gave me your flutes which you told me were holy. You made my flute holy likewise. For these I ask you now, for you know that I am speaking the truth. A sick person has come to me and has asked me to cure him; and because I want him to live I am speaking to you. You promised to accept my tobacco at all times; here it is.

"To you, Disease-giver, I offer tobacco. After I had fasted two days you let me know that you were the one who gives diseases and that if I desired to heal anyone it would be easy for me to do so were I blessed by you. So, Disease-giver, I am offering you tobacco, and I ask that this sick person who has come to me be restored to health again as you promised when you bestowed your blessing upon me.

"To you, Thunderbirds, I offer tobacco too. When you blessed me you said that you would help me whenever I needed you. A person has come to me and asked me to cure him, and as I want him to live, I wish to remind you of your promise. Grandfathers, here is some tobacco.

"To you, the Sun, I offer tobacco too; here it is. You blessed me after I had fasted for five days and you told me that you would come to my aid whenever I had something difficult to do. Now, someone has come to me and pleaded for life, and he has brought good offerings of tobacco to me because he knows that you have blessed me.

"To you, grandmother, the Moon, I also offer tobacco. You blessed me and said that whenever I needed your power you would aid me. A person has come to me and asked for life, and I therefore call upon you to help me with your power as you promised. Grandmother, here is some tobacco.

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"To you, grandmother, the Earth, I too offer tobacco. You 755
blessed me and promised to help me whenever I needed you. You 782
said that I could use all the best herbs that grow upon you, and that 776
I would always be able to effect cures with them. Those herbs I ask 539
of you now, and I ask you to help me cure this sick person. Make my medicine powerful, grandmother.

"To you, Chief of the Spirits, I offer tobacco. You who blessed me and said that you would help me. I offer you tobacco and ask you to let this sick person live, and if his spirit is about to depart, I ask you to prevent it.

"I offer tobacco to all of you who have blessed me."

Then the shaman blew upon his flute, breathed upon the sick man and sang four times. Then he walked around the lodge and spat water upon the patient. After this he sang four times and stopped. The spirits would now let him know whether the patient was to live or die.

In this manner a shaman treats his patients for four days, and after that takes his offerings and goes away. If the sick person happens to recover, the shaman would tell him that he would never be sick again.

### Thundercloud's Fasting Experience

Then he (Thundercloud) told of his fasting experience. "At 756
the very beginning, those above taught me (the following). A 776
doctor's village existed there; and all the various spirits that lived up in the clouds came after me, and instructed me in what I was to do. In the beginning they taught me, and did the following for me. 'Human, let us try it,' they said to me. There, in the middle of the lodge, lay a dead, rottening log, almost completely covered with weeds. There they tried to make me treat (the sick person). Then once he breathed, and all those that were in the lodge also breathed; then the second time he breathed, and all breathed with him; then for the third time he breathed; and then for the fourth time he breathed. As a young man he, the dead log, arose and walked away. After the fourth breathing, he arose and walked away. 'Human, very holy he is,' they said to me.

"There, from the middle of the ocean, they (the spirits) came after me, for there, in the middle of the ocean, is a shamans' village. There they blessed me—as many (spirits) as there are in the middle of the ocean—they all blessed me. There they made me try my power. As many waves as there are, all of them as large as the ocean, they asked me to blow upon; and as I blew upon them, everything became (as quiet) as (water) in a small saucer. So it became. Then I blew for the third time, and again it was that way. The fourth time they made the ocean choppy, and had (the waves) piled

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## Personal Religious Experiences[4]

### HOW WEGI'CEKA TRIED TO SEE EARTHMAKER[5]

Once there was a Winnebago whose name was Wegi'ceka. As soon as he was grown up his father begged him to fast. The old man told his son that Earthmaker, when he created this earth, made many good spirits and that he put each one of them in control of powers with which they could bless human beings. Some he placed in control of war powers. If these spirits bless an individual, he will always be victorious on the warpath. Earthmaker told the human beings to fast for these powers and then they would be rich and powerful. Now, my son, if Earthmaker has put all these spirits in charge of something, he himself must be in charge of much more power. Thus the old man reasoned and the son thought the same. So he tried to "dream" of Earthmaker. "I wonder what sort of blessings Earthmaker bestows on people," he thought to himself.

None of the spirits blessed Wegi'ceka during his fastings. He was always thinking of Earthmaker and asking him to bless him. Wegi'ceka made himself extremely "pitiable" and wept. He could not stop. "Perhaps I will be able to see Earthmaker if I weep," he thought to himself. "Indeed, if Earthmaker does not bless me I will die during my fast."

He fasted continuously without stopping. Verily, he fasted for Earthmaker. First he fasted for 4 nights, and then for 6 nights, and then for 8 nights, for 10, and finally, for 12 nights. Yet he received no blessing of any kind. After fasting 12 nights he stopped and ate something. He kept fasting on until he had grown to be a fully developed man. Then he stopped and married and, accompanied by his wife, he moved away from his village to some uninhabited place. There he lived alone with his wife. There again he fasted and his wife helped him. As before, he tried to have Earthmaker bestow a blessing upon him. This time he made up

[4] Some religious experiences belonging to Winnebagoes well known to the tribe have been cast in a literary form and handed down from one generation to another. The literary mold in which they have been cast does not in the least interfere with their value as excellent examples of personal experiences, and for that reason I will include one of them here.

[5] Earthmaker is supposed never to bless any human being, but there are a number of accounts of individuals who tried without success, nevertheless, to have him bless them. What the people, however, meant by lack of success was not so much a total lack of response as an incomplete blessing. So, for instance, Wegi'ceka does really receive a case of a blessing from Earthmaker, and he has the right to call upon him afterwards in the same way as he calls upon other "guardian spirits." Earthmaker does not, however, appear to him in the way an ordinary spirit would—that is, he neither appears to him as a man nor in the form of a voice conferring some blessing, but as a flash of light.

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776 his mind once and for all that if Earthmaker did not bless him he
787 would die during his fast. "It is true," he said to himself, "that no
539 one has ever heard of anyone being blessed by Earthmaker, but nevertheless I will either obtain a blessing from him or die in the attempt."

As time passed on his wife gave birth to a male child. Then the man said, "We will offer up our son to Earthmaker," and the woman consented. So they sacrificed their son to Earthmaker. Then they placed the body of the child on a scaffold and wept bitterly. "Surely," he said to himself, "Earthmaker will bless us to-night." And indeed during the night he came to him. Wegi'ceka felt positive that it was he. He wore a soldier's uniform and a cocked hat and he was pleasing to the sight. Wegi'ceka looked and wondered whether it was really Earthmaker. Then this person took a step forward toward Wegi'ceka. "Indeed it must be," he thought. Then he took another step in his direction and uttered something. Wegi'ceka looked and saw that it was not Earthmaker but a pigeon. The spirits had fooled him. His heart ached, but, undaunted, he again fasted, and after a while Earthmaker seemed to come to him and say, "Man, I bless you. For a long time you have wept and made yourself pitiable. I am indeed Earthmaker." When Wegi'ceka looked again he beheld something pleasing to the sight and he liked it. The clothing the man wore was pleasing and Wegi'ceka now felt certain that this person was Earthmaker. He looked at him again and it seemed to him as if Earthmaker was getting smaller and smaller, and as he looked for the fourth time he saw that he had been looking at a little bird all the time. Then his heart ached all the more, and he cried even more bitterly than before. Then for the third time Earthmaker blessed him and spoke to him. "You have tried to 'dream' of Earthmaker and you have worried yourself to death. Behold, I am Earthmaker and I will bless you and you will never be in want of anything. You will be able to understand the language spoken by strange tribes and you will never be wanting in the goods of life." Then he looked up for the first time, but when he saw the individual who had spoken to him he thought that there was something wrong. Soon he saw that the one who had spoken to him was a bird.

Then for the last time he tried to "dream" of Earthmaker. He did not eat anything and positively resolved to die if Earthmaker did not appear to him. He felt bad, for he thought that all the bad birds (spirits) were laughing at him.

He fasted, and soon Earthmaker, far above, heard his voice and said, "Wegi'ceka, you are weeping bitterly. For your sake, I will come to the earth." Then Earthmaker told Wegi'ceka that when he (Wegi'ceka) looked at him he would see a ray of light extending from

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above far down to his camp. That far it would reach. "Only thus, 776
Wegi'ceka, can you see me. What you ask of me (to see me face to 787
face) I can not grant you. But, nevertheless, you may tell (your 539
fellowmen) that you saw me." Thus he spoke to him. He did not bless him with war powers. Only with life did he bless him.

Then Wegi'ceka tried to draw a picture of the flash of light extending from the heavens to his camp, just as he had seen it, upon a cane. To that cane he sacrificed. The descendants of Wegi'ceka are using cane even to the present day.

ACCOUNT OF J.'S FASTING

When I reached the age of puberty my father called me aside and 159
told me to fast. He told me that it was his fervent wish that I should 787
begin to fast, so that I might become holy and invincible and invul- 867
nerable in war. I would become like one of those Winnebagoes of whom stories are told. In future generations the people would speak of me often. For these reasons he wished me to fast. He assured me that if I fasted I would really be holy and that nothing on this earth would be able to harm me. I would also live a very long life, he told me. I would be able to treat the sick and cure them. That holy I would be, he told me. If I acted in this way, my father told me, no person would dare to make fun of me and they would always be careful of the manner in which they addressed me, both because they respected me and because they were afraid of incurring my enmity. For these reasons my father counseled me to fast and to continue fasting from the late fall until spring. During that time I should fast without stopping. In the spring, however, I was to stop, because many bad spirits are about at that time and they might deceive me. If he thought that I was not doing enough fasting he would urge me on with words, saying, "My son, fast, because if you receive knowledge of anything (i. e., if you have been blessed repeatedly), nothing will be able to harm you. You will live long; and I want you to live long." In this way my father used to speak to me and in this way he used to plead with me in a piteous manner. "Remember," he used to say to me repeatedly, "that if you do not fast none of the spirits will bless you."

There was a hill near our place called the Place-where-they-keep- 159
weapons. This hill was very high and it looked steep and rocky. 787
It must have been a very holy place. There my father had lived 776
(when he was blessed by the spirits). Within this hill lived the spirits that we call Those-who-cry-like-babies.[8] These spirits were supposed to have arrows and bows. There were supposed to be twenty of them in this hill. My father had control of these spirits.

[8] These spirits are the same as those generally known as the Hawk's, or Thunder-birds.

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The author was fortunate enough to obtain an account by a well-known Winnebago shaman of his various reincarnations. 159 T75 539

*T. C.'s account of his two reincarnations.*—I once lived in a party that numbered about 20 camps. When I had grown up to be a lad, although one not large enough to handle a gun, a war party attacked us and killed us all. I did not know, however, that I had been killed. I thought that I was running about as usual until I saw a heap of bodies on the ground and mine among them. No one was there to bury us, so there we lay and rotted.

I (i. e., my ghost) was taken to the place where the sun sets (the west). There I lived with an old couple. This place (spirit land) is an excellent place and the people have the best of times. If you desire to go anywhere, all that you have to do is to wish yourself there and you reach it. While at that place I thought I would come back to earth again, and the old man with whom I was staying said to me, "My son, did you not speak about wanting to go to the earth again?" I had, as a matter of fact, only thought of it, yet he knew what I wanted. Then he said to me, "You can go, but you must ask the chief first."

Then I went and told the chief of the village of my desire, and he said to me, "You may go and obtain your revenge (upon the people who killed your relatives and you)."

Then I was brought down to earth. I did not enter a woman's womb, but I was taken into a room. There I remained, conscious at all times. One day I heard the noise of little children outside and some other sounds, so I thought I would go outside. Then it seemed to me that I went through a door, but I was really being born again from a woman's womb. As I walked out I was struck with the sudden rush of cold air and I began to cry.

At that place I was brought up and I was taught to fast a great deal. Afterwards I did nothing but go to war, and I certainly took revenge for the death of myself and my relatives, that being the purpose for which I had come to earth.

There I lived until I died of old age. All at once my bones became unjointed, my ribs fell in, and I died the second time. I felt no more pain at death, then, than I had felt the first time.

This time I was buried in the manner used at that time. I was wrapped in a blanket and then laid in the grave. Sticks were placed in the grave first. There in the grave I rotted. I watched the people as they buried me.

As I was lying there, some one said to me, "Come, let us go away." So then we went toward the setting of the sun. There we came to a village where we met all the dead. I was told that I would have to stop there for four nights, but in reality I stayed there four years. The people enjoy themselves there. They have all sorts of dances

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775 of a lively kind all the time. From that place we went up to the
539 place where Earthmaker lived and there I saw him and talked to him, face to face, even as I am talking to you now. I saw the spirits too, and, indeed, I was like one of them.

From that place I came to this earth again for the third time, and here I am. I am going through the same that I knew before.

774 *The concept of the soul.* This concept is not clearly developed as a
775 separate entity among the Winnebago on account of their strong belief in reincarnation. Their notion of the soul is merged in that of the noncorporeal ghost who eventually comes to earth again.

## The Cosmological Ideas

772 The cosmological ideas are of two types: those that are clearly of
773 a folkloristic origin and those that have been developed by shamanistic reinterpretations. To the former class belong all the creative acts of the tricksters and culture heroes, like *Wak'djapk'aga* and Hare, and to the latter the systematic creation of the world by Earthmaker.

What is probably the oldest form of the Winnebago cosmological notions is that concerned with the general destruction of the bad spirits by Hare and by such spirits as the Thunderbirds, Morning Star, etc., and the removal of obstacles. Often the present characteristics of the earth are formed accidentally, as, for instance, the origin of the valleys, mountains, and lakes, as given in the myth of "Holy One." Even in the thoroughly remodeled general origin myth, Earthmaker is not conceived of as having purposely created the world.

772 The Winnebago believed that there were four worlds, one beneath the other, presided over, respectively, by Earthmaker, Trickster (*Wak'djapk'aga*), Turtle, and Hare. Hare rules over the world on which man lives. There seems to be some confusion as to who rules over the last earth, because it is also definitely stated that Traveler (a Water-spirit) is in control of it.

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# CHAPTER XIII

## RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES BASED ON BLESSINGS FROM SPIRITS

### Society of Those Who Have Received Blessings From the Night Spirits

Informant, member of Thunderbird clan: Once a man went hunting so that he might be able to get the game with which to give a feast. All of those who were to participate in the feast went along with him. After they had killed some deer they built a lodge. Then all the other feast-givers came into the lodge, bringing something toward the feast, as well as the tobacco which they were to offer. Some brought other things, even dogs, as their contribution to the feast. The dogs would be killed, singed, then boiled, and prepared in the same way as the deer. The meat would then be mixed with dry corn. The attendants, who were generally the nephews of the feast-givers, would look after the boiling of the food. Every time they gave a feast they selected these nephews to do the cooking and the general work connected with this ceremony. 796 539 575 [252] 575 796 604 539

The nephew who acts as attendant accompanies a feast-giver on the warpath, where likewise he has to endure a great deal. Should his uncle be killed, it is his duty to be killed likewise and not to return home. [726]

He acted in this way because of his love for his uncle. The attendants do all the work whenever their uncles give a feast. They also arrange for the place where the feast is to be held; make the four invitation sticks; blacken them with charcoal and decorate them at the ends with fine and fluffy white eagle feathers. Then they prepare a bundle of tobacco containing about a pipeful. After these preparations have been made one of the nephews goes around the village and presents the invitation sticks to every individual who had been blessed by the Night Spirits. These are called the night-blessed children. The night-blessed children thanked the messengers and assured them that they now felt they were obtaining life. Then those to whom the invitation stick had been presented go around asking their relatives to accompany them to the feast. There the guest and his relatives would meet at the appointed time. All those who received invitation sticks do the same. [203]

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796
539 The host at the same time puts himself in readiness to receive the guests.

[534] The two drums to be used are placed in the proper position with tobacco on top as an offering. The two gourds to be used are arranged in the same way, with offerings of tobacco on top. These four articles are placed in a row in front of the host, who pours tobacco upon them again and asks them for life.

[782] The host now rises and speaks as follows (first, however, offering tobacco to the fire, and telling the people of his own band how he had obtained his blessing, and from what source it had come):

796 "Grandfathers, when you blessed my grandfather with life you
776 promised that as often as we would boil food for you and offer you a
539 pipeful of tobacco, you would smoke it. So it has been said. Boiled
575 water from an animal whom you considered the same as our own body, and spirit food he extended to you, as well as a pipeful of tobacco. This we also are sending you. And what could we ask of you in return but war? That it may be directed toward us, we pray you. Grandfathers, you who are called Happy Nights, when you blessed our grandfather you blessed him with endless war. So it has been said. That is what we ask for, that as you blessed our grandfather, so you bless us. We ask for the same things. You, likewise, grandfather, you who are called The-one-with-rounded-wood, when you blessed my grandfather you blessed him with life. That is what he said, and you asked him in return to make offerings of tobacco. Here is the tobacco. This night we are going to ask life of you. We desire that you give us and all who will be here to-night, life. As many people as will be seated here, we ask life for all of them."

Then all who are present rise and, holding tobacco in each hand, walk around the lodge, pouring tobacco on the drums and the [782] gourds, and some of it into the fire. They pour tobacco into the fire for the Night Spirits. For the Beings-with-rounded-wood they offer tobacco by pouring it upon the drums. The offering is made both to the drums and to the gourds directly. The tobacco bundles tied to the invitation sticks are offered to the four cardinal points and the four specially invited guests smoke this tobacco, because they are supposed to represent the four cardinal points. Behind the respective invited guests are placed two women, next to the wall, so that they might lead in the dance. When the invited guests come to the feast these women remain outside until the starting songs have been begun.

[533] The host sings these songs first and when he has finished the first invited guest enters the lodge, ejaculating peculiar sounds (that are probably meant as greetings). Continuing these sounds, he walks around the lodge until he comes to the place from which he has started. There he stops and speaks. "You who obtain life, you

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that council, relatives, all who are seated here, I greet you. It is 796
good that you have taken pity upon me. All those that I have 776
along with me, my relatives, you have caused them to think that 539
they were to obtain life: that a great life was to come to us through 575
you. And all this you have done when we were leading worthless lives. It is good. If such an invitation were to be extended to people when they are sick and weakly, it would heal them; it would overcome their illness, it is said. It is good. When I think that our sick people will get well by reason of this feast, I am thankful. Up to the present our children have all been sickly, but from now on we will have no cause to worry. I am thankful. The principal tree of the night-soldiers, standing in front of their doorway and which is in full bloom, has not a dead leaf upon it, not one that has dried. It is beautiful to look upon. They obtained it for us and caused it to come down to us, and we feel grateful. It will strengthen our families. This lodge that we have entered is like the first lodge (the night-soldiers' lodge), and just as we were strengthened by it, so will we surely be strengthened by entering this lodge to-day. In the night-soldiers' lodge fine white feathers are scattered all over the ground, ankle deep, it is said. As we are about to go over the past, we certainly will be strengthened thereby. The lodge of the night-soldiers was fair to behold from the inside, we are told. We will consider ourselves blest with life to-day, even although we are not children of the night-blessed ones, and even although we will not be able to conduct ourselves as it is meet. We will, however, do what we can in order to obtain life. You children of the night-blessed ones, who are seated around here, I greet you."

Then he sings the entrance songs and walks around the lodge. [533]
His singing is generally finished at about the time that he has made the complete circuit of the lodge. Then he starts around the lodge again uttering the peculiar sounds mentioned before, until he comes to the seat of the host. There he stops and makes a circle in the air (with his hand) and addresses him as follows:

"I greet you. A great day has come to me and all my relatives have tasted thereof in the hope that they might thereby be strengthened. I have also brought along with me a pipeful of tobacco to be given to you, that we may all be strengthened. So it is said. It is for that reason that I am acting thus and am greeting you."

With these words he concluded and walked to the place that had been assigned him in the lodge, opposite the host and, still standing, he said the following: "Children of the night-blessed spirits who are seated here around me, I greet you all. The councilor, I mean the host, has seen fit to give me and my relatives a seat. We will sit in it so that we may be strengthened thereby. We will now take our seats, but before that let me send forth my greetings to all."

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796 Then the second invited guest enters. He utters the same sounds
776 as his predecessors and makes the circuit of the lodge. When he
539 reaches the place from which he started he stops and addresses the
573 host as follows:

"Councilor, you who obtain life, relatives who are seated here, I greet you all, and your seats do I greet likewise. You that are seated in the first place, I greet you, too. All you children of the night-blest spirits who are in this lodge, I greet you. It is good that you wish me to live; that I am here. I am not a child of a night blest one, that this invitation should have been extended to me, but you probably knew the nature of my life and that is why, I suppose, you extended this honor to me. My relatives are even greater weaklings in the properties and goods of life than I am. That happens to be our manner of life. It is good. Henceforth we shall be stronger as we journey through life. Our men, women, and children shall all live in peace. As many of us as are living to-day, that many shall continue to live (on account of my participation in this ceremony). I am thankful.

"Of all the spirits that exist, these truly are in control of most life. So it is said of the Night Spirits. This is a great thing. These spirits have given us the occasion for a great conciling. Many of us are not able to take part in it, especially the one now speaking. The songs that have been used by our fathers we will not be able to sing, but whatever we say I know will be acceptable to you, children of the night-blest spirits. I send forth greetings to you all."

Then he sang an entrance song, and after he had made the circuit of the lodge, he sang another one. Then he went around the lodge again making his strange utterances, until he came in front of the host. Here he made a circle (with his hand) and stopped. Then he greeted the host as follows:

"A great day has come upon us, both upon me and upon all of my relatives. We all have tasted thereof so that we might live thereby. We have all brought you a pipeful of tobacco, just as we were told. It is said that we would thus strengthen one another, and that is why we have done it. I greet you all."

Then he went to his seat, the second one in the lodge, and sat down. Then all the members of his band sat down, each sending forth a greeting as they took their seats. When they were all seated the third man invited prepared to enter.

The third one invited now entered, uttering strange sounds, and made the circuit of the lodge, when he paused and addressed the host as follows:

"Councilors, life-obtainers, relatives who are seated in your respective seats, I greet you all. Here I have been blessed, although I am not worthy of it. My grandfather, and my father, too, once said to

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me, 'Some day when there is a dearth of people, some night-blest one will take pity on you. Submit to it.' Thus he spoke to me and what he referred to was this feast. These feasts are all sacred, but this is the most sacred one. That is what he used to tell me. It is not to be trifled with, even in respect to the rituals within the lodge. Never should one cross the lodge directly. If you trifle with this rule you will bring sorrow upon yourselves. The so-called night-soldiers are not to be trifled with. So he told me. The so-called night-soldiers, like soldiers on this earth, are stern. Truly they are stern, said my father. If we were to slight one of them we would most assuredly be punished for it, and punishment by them means death. So he spoke to me. But, said he, 'if, on the other hand, any one attends to all that pertains to this ceremony it will be a means of obtaining life. It will be a good thing to do, and one would thereby obtain a good life. Therefore, I have always looked upon the Night dance with awe, for it is a very holy thing.' So spoke my father. For that reason, consequently, whenever my father gave a Night feast he would encourage us to pay careful attention to it, and that is why I have always tried to do so. Remember, however, that I am not a child of the night-blest ones, and that, therefore, I have very little to say. However, I will start a song, which will be a greeting to this lodge, and I will sing it as I am passing around the lodge. Children of the night-blest ones, who are seated here, I greet you."

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Then he sang an entrance song, first at the west end of the lodge and then near the position occupied by the host. When he had finished the circuit of the lodge he went around again, making the accustomed peculiar utterances, until he came in front of the host. There he stopped and addressed the host as follows:

"I greet you. You have caused this day to come upon me and all my relatives. We have all tasted thereof and we have all felt ourselves in connection with life. We are thankful. We have thought of this blessing of life in connection with ourselves. I greet you."

Then he walks to the place assigned to him in the west end of the tent and sits down. The other members of his band do the same, one after the other, greeting the people in the lodge at the same time.

When they are all seated the fourth one comes in. He repeats the utterances of the former guests and then starts around the lodge until he reaches the entrance. There he stops and addresses the host:

"Councilors and life-obtainers, I greet your seats. I likewise greet you, host. You who are seated in the north and you who are seated in the west, your seats I greet. Children of the night-blessed spirits who are within this lodge, all of you I greet. It is good. As far as I understand this Night ceremony is considered a life-giving one. The so-called happy Night Spirits alone are in control of most of life. So I was told, and that is why this ceremony is called a life-giving

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796 one. If I participated in this ceremony, I would be able to call it life,
776 I was told. But I did not pay any attention to it. They told me it
539 was good and that I would at the same time be making offerings to
575 Those-with-the-rounded-wood, and that thus I would be able to make use of all the plants that these spirits control, so that I would never be embarrassed when I wished to use them. I have caused people who were ill to become well by means of this ceremony. All of the [824] plants that these spirits control are good ones, and it is easy to obtain life with them. In this ceremony we may also obtain life by dancing. But we must dance earnestly. The leaders of this ceremony have held council over everything, and yet they have selected us for a seat of honor, so that we might greet them in this lodge and that we might be able to use this song while greeting them. You children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you all."

Then he sang an entrance song, and when he finished he repeated the utterances used in entering and gradually made the circuit of the lodge singing. When he was through singing, he again continued the utterances until he came to the place of the host, where he made the circle (with his hands) and stopped. Then he addressed the host as follows:

"I greet you. You wish me to live, and therefore caused a great day to come upon me and upon all my relatives. We have all received a taste of it, and we have all thought of ourselves in connection with life. We are also bringing you a pipeful of tobacco, so that we may strengthen one another. That is what we thought and that is why we are doing it. I greet you."

Then he walked around the lodge until he came to his seat. There he stopped and addressed his seat as follows:

"Seat that is reserved for me and for my relatives, we are about to sit in you; we will do it, and we will think that our lives have been helped thereby. I greet you." Thus he spoke and sat down. Then all the other members of his band sat down one by one.

When they were all seated the lodge was full. Then the host rose and spoke as follows:

"You who are seated in the first position, I greet you; you who are seated in the north position, I greet you; you who are seated in the west position, I greet you; and you who are seated at the end of the
539 road, I greet you. Children of the night-blessed ones who are here, I
796 greet you. My father and my grandfather spoke to me of this cere-
776 mony, and they told me it was good. They told me that the one
787 who first obtained it was named 'Little Red Turtle.' He fasted and
575 was blessed by those whom he called the Beings-with-round-wood. By these was he blessed at the noon hour, and he was taught what to do. There they taught him all. At a place where the stars [825] touched land they caused it to become night, and there they blessed

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him and taught him how to make four circles and also certain songs. 539
Since then this ceremony has been performed. He was really blessed, 796
and he was told exactly how everything should be performed. So it is 776
said. As he was very fond of the Night feast, he spoke in its behalf, 787
and told of all the medicines that were associated with it and of 575
the use to which they could be put. I myself know that these medicines are good to live on. If anyone uses them he will receive benefits therefrom and his children will receive life. I know that they are good. I would not have you think that I am one of those blessed by the Night Spirits because I say this. But I know that all the medicines of which I have personal charge and to which I make offerings of tobacco, for whom I boiled food, always make the individual to whom I offer them the better for it, provided that I do everything correctly. I was told to do this, and that is why I do it. I am now going to sing some songs audibly, and all these songs will be songs about medicines. I know that we will cause you to fan your faces (from perspiration brought on by making you work too hard), but forgive us for it. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you, and to take the place of their sister whom they always place ahead of them so we also will have our sisters lead the dance for us."

Two women now rise and stand side by side in front of the men and 796
hold, one in each hand, the invitation sticks that had been returned. 575
These two women lead in the dance. The men who shake the gourds 539
stand with their backs to the women, facing the drummers. All sing together and all the dancers have partners at their sides. It is a very interesting dance. Then all get up and start around the lodge, making strange utterances. When they have made the complete circuit of the lodge they stop and sing. When they finish this song they start around the lodge again, repeating the utterances. They stop at the west end of the tent, where they sing again. They thus sing at both ends of the lodge. They use all the songs they intend to. When the last song is over the individual who has sung it makes four circles and then takes the drum, gourd, tobacco, etc., and places them in front of the guest who occupies the first seat of honor. Then all sit down. Then the east leader rises and speaks as follows:[16]

"Councilors and life-obtainers, relatives who are seated here, I send you all greetings; and to you who are on the north side, and you who are on the west side, and you who are at the end of the road, your seats I greet. Our host has passed over to me the means of our meditation, the instruments through which we ask life. This instrument for asking life is the foremost thing we possess, so the old people said. We are thankful for it. We know that Earthmaker

[16] From now on we will use the terms East Leader, North Leader, West Leader, and South Leader to designate, respectively, the first, second, third, and fourth guests in the order of their invitation.

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575 did not put us in charge of anything, and that for that reason the
539 tobacco we received is our greatest and foremost thing. So the old people said. We were told that we should use it to ask for life. This must have been what they meant. This, the instrument with which to ask life, is, I feel sure, sufficient to attract them and they will surely take notice of it. We may also follow him who is taking the place of the spirits, and we will consider all those who are in the lodge blest. Those whom we call Nights have been offered tobacco, and the same has been offered to the four cardinal points, and to all the life-giving plants. To this many tobacco has been offered. It will strengthen us. This is what we call imitating the spirits, and that is why we are doing it. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you all. The song we will now start is a pipe-lighting song."

When he finished singing he greeted all those in the lodge and then he lit his pipe. Then he took a number of puffs. First he inhaled some smoke and blew it toward the east, then toward the north, then toward the west, then toward the south. Then he passed
[782] it around and all smoked, except the host, who is not permitted to do so. Then the east leader spoke again as follows:

"Night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you. The instrument with which to ask life I will now place here, and if any of you want to fill your pipes you may do so."

Then the leader of the north band rose and spoke as follows:

"Councilors and life-obtainers, you who sit in the direction where the day comes from, you who sit on the other side, in the west, and you who sit at the end of the road, your seats I all greet. We, too, have been anxious to obtain the instrument whereby we ask life, and therefore we fill a pipe for ourselves. I greet you."

Then the leader of the south band rose and said as follows:

"If the leader of the north band has finished his greeting, I also would very much like to have the instrument with which we ask life brought to me. We will immediately go and fill a pipe. I am speaking now because I wish to tell you what I intend to do. I greet you."

The leader of the north band did not pass the pipe that he had filled all around the lodge, but merely passed it to the members of his band. Only they smoked from it. In the same way the leaders of the other bands, with the exception of the host's band, passed the pipe only to members of their individual band. Only the host passed his pipe all around the lodge. When the smoking was over the leader of the east band rose and greeted everyone. Then he spoke as follows:

[787 "Our grandfathers used to carry on this ceremony, I have been
776 told. They told me that if at any time the giver of this ceremony

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can not find enough people to invite he would take pity on me. This is what I should say, my father told me. In the direction from which the day comes, there where the Nights are, live the night-soldiers, who blessed my grandfather and who made him try his powers in the middle of the ocean—there where it is deepest. They placed a round object of wood before him, and the night-soldiers said that they would not take it away, and that every time my grandfather tried to seize it he would not miss. 'You have done well, human, you have won,' they said to him. For this reason it was considered an instrument of war, he told me. If you do your utmost in offering tobacco, it will be an instrument of war, he said.

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And he also said the following: "All the plants with which I have been blessed are useful and a person can receive life through them if he takes good care of them. These plants can be very powerful and some of them can even be used in playing jokes, we are told. But we have never used any of them in such a manner, for if we did our plants would surely lose their strength. I have been told that should I frequently use any of my plants for the purpose of playing jokes and then for the purpose of curing a sick person, they would have no power at all. If, however, I never used them in jokes my medicine would always be powerful. Therefore I have never used them in that manner. Nor have I ever poisoned anyone with them. I never considered myself great or used a Night's trick-medicine or used fire, although I was told I could do so. This I never did. When I use one of the plants I like to have it do its work. I am saying this, although I am not a child of the night-blest ones. It is now about time to permit our sisters to get hold of the 'chief sticks' and to permit them to sit here and sing together with us."

The women are then permitted to take two sticks apiece and sing wherever they are sitting. As soon as the men sing the women join in.

"This is the way to do, I was told, and that is why I am doing it. Children of the night-blessed ones, who are seated here in this lodge, I send you all greeting."

When he is through with his starting song he stands up and speaks to them again, as follows:

"Night-blest ones who are within this lodge, I greet you. I was not invited to take this seat because I was a wise man. I do not for a moment imagine that, but it was done in order to help me obtain life. We will now rise and go forth and we will brush against your faces, but you must take pity on us. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you. We will not remain seated here but we will rise and go forth in order to obtain the round stick. That is why I am making this announcement to you. I greet you."

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They then rise and make four circuits of the lodge, first stopping at the first seat, then at the second, then at the third, and lastly at the fourth. When they get back to their starting place they sing dancing songs, first stopping at the west end of the lodge and then at the entrance. This they repeat. By this time all the songs they had intended using have been sung, so they make four circuits of the lodge and then, taking the drum, gourd, etc., place it in front of the north band. When the dancers are all seated the leader of the north band rises, and greeting everyone speaks as follows:

"I was not pitied because I was a child of the night-blest ones, my father told me. Yet if I performed my duties aright I would be able to make the proper speeches when called upon, I was told. That I have been pitied now is due to the fact that these people here wished to have me obtain life. Certainly my invitation to this ceremony has made me think of life, as my father used to tell me. I do not for a moment imagine that they invited me because I was a great man. Nevertheless my father told me to say that it was good; and that if I really meant all that I said, my life would certainly be strengthened thereby. My father knew how to perform this ceremony correctly, but I am not able to do so. Although I was told it was a good thing, nevertheless I was not able to pour tobacco. Those whom we call the Ones-with-the-rounded-wood are in charge of very much life and they are holy. This affair is not a thing to be trifled with, my father told me. Yet in spite of this we will sing some songs, even though we know that we will not be able to sing them as they have been sung heretofore. Perhaps, however, you will be kind enough to be satisfied with whatever we do. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you."

Then he sang the starting song, and when he was finished he rose again and, greeting all, spoke as follows:

"When Those-with-the-rounded-wood start to walk their sisters are placed in front of them. Our sisters we will now place in front of us, so that thereby they may be blest with life and hold the principal sticks and staffs. We will use the toys so that we may be strengthened thereby, we think, and that is why I greet you."

Then they permit the women to lead the procession. These women walk in front, side by side, and are followed by the ones carrying the gourds, who dance with their backs toward them. Then come the drummers and the feast-givers, and after these, all those who desire to join in. They walk around the lodge making strange utterances. Four times do they make the circuit of the lodge and then they come and stop at the east end, where they sing. When they are through here they start around the lodge again and stop at the west end and sing. Then they start again, making the same strange utterances as before, until they come to the east end of the

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lodge, where they sing once more. When they have in this manner sung all the songs that they wish to use the leader of the north band makes the four circles as before and brings the tobacco, gourds, etc., to the west band. Then they all take their seats. Now the leader of the west band rises and speaks as follows:

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"Councilors, life-obtainers, relatives, to you all who are seated here, I send forth my greetings. You who occupy the first seat, you who occupy the north seat, and you who occupy the seat at the end of the road, I greet. I do not mean to say anything of consequence. I was taught this ceremony, but I do not know anything about it. However, I always honored it, for I was told that it was a good thing. Indeed, I knew it, but I could never perform it well. I was told that if I performed it well I would obtain life thereby, just as others have done. Well, some of you are able to do it. It is a very great council feast. How, indeed, can the spirits ignore what you have done for them to-day? If they acknowledge it, we who are representing the directions will receive blessings through the host who is giving the feast. That is what I mean. When we hold our mediators (that is, the drums, tobacco, etc.) we will be strengthened thereby. So with this in our minds, let us take and hold them. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you."

Then he sang the starting song, and when he had finished he rose and spoke again.

"Councilors, I send you greetings, as well as to you who sit in the first seat, to you who sit in the north, and to you who sit at the end of the road. It is said that when the night-soldiers come they walk over the entire extent of the earth. When they blessed my grandfather they blessed him with life. So he used to say of himself. We will now plead for these powers in our songs. We will place our sisters in front and follow them. That is what I wanted to announce to you. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you."

Then they made the complete circuit of the lodge until they came to the place where they had been sitting. There they made a circle. Then they made another circuit of the lodge and stopped in front of the south position and made a circle. Here they made another circuit of the lodge and stopped at the east end and made a circle. Then they made the last circuit of the lodge and stopped in front of the north band and made a circle. By this time all the songs that they were to use had been sung. The leader now made four circuits and brought the gourds, drum, tobacco, etc., in front of the south band. All now took their seats and when they were seated the leader of the south band arose and spoke as follows:

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"Councilors, life-obtainers, I greet you. You who sit in the first seat, you who sit in the north, and you who sit in the west, I greet. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated within this lodge, I greet you all. It is good that to-night you have tried to imitate your grandfathers, that you have tried to take the place of the spirits. You have said enough with which to obtain life. But I am more unfortunate. I can never do what my ancestors did or say what they said, and for that reason I suppose my talk will be quite worthless. I was told that if at any time I should be pitied, not to talk foolishly about this ceremony. If I am a bad man I will act foolishly in this affair, I was told.

"My grandfather was blessed by those whom we call the night-soldiers, who blessed him with certain utterances. As many blackbirds as there are, that many appeared to him as Night Spirits. Our utterances will be an imitation of those he received when he was blessed. We can only guess at these.

"We were told that when we hold the mediators we will be strengthened by them. Night-blessed spirits who are seated here, I greet you."

Then he began the starting songs, and when these were finished he rose and spoke again.

"Councilors, life-obtainers, I greet your seats. You who sit in the east, you who sit in the north, and you who sit in the west, I greet you all. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you. These whom we call night-soldiers treated their sisters as holy and placed them in front. In imitation of these soldiers we will now put our sisters in front, so that we may be strengthened thereby. I wish to announce that we now place the women at the head of our procession. Let us all come together, so that we may be strengthened. That is our desire and that is what we are pleading for. I greet you."

When they are ready to begin the dancing songs all rise and form in line, having the women lead them. Then the men with the gourds, their backs turned to the women, follow, then the drummers. Then all those join who feel so inclined. When they have finished all the songs they intend to use they bring back the drum, gourd, etc., to the middle of the lodge and stop dancing. Then they return to their seats and then the leader rises and says:

"Councilors, relatives who are seated here, I greet you. You who are seated in the first seat, you who sit in the north, and you who sit in the west, night-blest ones who are within this lodge, I greet you all. Whenever a night-blessed child holds council, when he is invited to a feast and is given the position at the end of the road, the intention of the feast-giver is to enable him to obtain life. So they told me, and that is what they meant. Most assuredly have they caused me to think of life. When I hold the mediators in my

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hand I am holding life, and when I pass them on to the others, to my relatives and to my sisters, I am passing on life to all of them. In this way were we made to think of life. I will not detain you any longer. All that I wish to say is that I am thankful. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you."

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Then he sat down and the host rose and spoke as follows:

"You who sit in the east, you who sit in the north, you who sit in the west, and you who sit at the end of the road, I greet you all. It is good. This is what I wanted but have not been able to say. You, however, told it all in my place. It is good. Of all things this is the foremost, it is said. The instruments with which to ask life you have placed before me. That alone is enough to live on and that you have done for me. It is good. Your forefathers dreamed just as the spirits did, and how they obtained life, all of that you have told me to-night. It is good. You have said enough to obtain life. It is good. I say this because I am thankful. If you do anything, do it in the right way, I was told. I understand this ceremony, but nevertheless what I have done is the best I could do. I will now place the food before you. I am an old man, but I have always performed this affair just as I have performed it to-day, and, although I know that I have not done it in the right way, yet it was my turn to do it, and I did it. I am an old man, and for that reason I am not able to procure meat anywhere. My relatives helped me and that is why I have been able to do it. Here are four kettles of hot water. I will place them in the center of the lodge for you. The one in the east and the one in the north and the one in the west and the one at the end of the road; each one may have it. Children of the night-blessed ones, all who are seated here, to all do I send greeting."

Then the leader of the east band rose and said: "Councilors, I greet you. You who sit over there in the north, you who sit in the west, and you who sit at the end of the road, I greet you all. Children of the night-blessed ones who are in this lodge, I greet you. We are all to arise soon and that is why I announce this."

Then the leader of the north band rose and said: "We also will rise, as it is our turn. We greet you all."

Then the leader of the west band rose and said: "The time has come for us to rise. I and my relatives will now rise. We greet you all."

Then the leader of the south band rose and said: "Councilors, I greet you. I greet all who have been blessed by the Night Spirits, each one in turn. We are now going to rise."

Then the leader of the east band said again: "Councilors, I greet you. We will now greet the hot water and I will use a song."

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796 Then the leader of the north band said: "I also will start a song.
575 I greet you."

Then the leader of the west band said: "I also will start a song.
539 I greet you."

Then the leader of the south band said: "I also will start a song. I greet you."

Then the leader of the east band sang a song, and the other leaders sang their songs. Each band sang its own songs, not paying any attention to the songs of the others. Each band sang different songs. This they do in order to drown the voices of the others. Should one band overcome the other, it means that that particular band would be blessed with victory in war. What they were really saying is that their songs were more powerful than the others, and that their grandfathers' songs were the holiest. Then they all danced around the lodge, single file, and made their exit from the lodge. While they were dancing, the host sat still singing and beating his drum. They carry their kettles outside. Wherever they wish to eat, there they go and dance around the kettle of food first. Then they eat their meal. They dance in different bands.

796 The ceremony finishes with this feast. It is customary, however,
575 for the one who has been given the seat of honor, that is, the east
[554] seat, to give a feast immediately afterwards. Then the one who has been invited first would do the same thing, so that all four would in this manner give dances in rotation. For this reason it generally took five nights before the ceremony was over. During those five nights no one could sleep. It is from this fact that the word, "Sore-eye Dance," which is the general term used for this ceremony, originated. If a person does not sleep for five nights, his eyes generally get sore, and that is why they call this ceremony the "Sore-eye Dance."

796 Sometimes they perform night-spirit tricks. These would be of
789 the following nature: A kettle is put on to boil and some individual
575 fishes out a piece of meat bare-handed without getting burned. At other times they shoot a hole into a drum covering, using a wild-cat claw as a missile. Then they immediately mend it.

When a man is very bad they shoot him with an object and kill him. They used to be very much afraid of such people. Sometimes they take a handful of live coals and embers from the fire, put them into their mouth and then spit them out without getting burned. It is for this reason that they are called holy. Sometimes they take burnt portions of a tree that had been struck by lightning, put them in the fire, and then when they are red hot take them out again and put them in their mouths without extinguishing them. They then spit them out, and it would look like lightning. Or they would shoot one another with cold charcoal. This is all that I know.

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## Society of Those Who Have Been Blessed By the Buffalo Spirits

796 Informant, member of the Bear clan: "Come, it is the time for
575 giving the Buffalo Feast," said my father, "so tell the attendants to
539 get ready; and you, third-born, if you see anyone, tell him about the feast that we are going to give."

So I went to Fire-starter and said, "Nephew, my father is about to give a feast, and he wants his attendants to get ready. You are to go over to his lodge and get a few more attendants to help you. We also will get ready right away." Then I greeted him and he said, "All right, I will go and get some to help me." I returned to my father and told him what I had done. He told me to go and inform those who were to take part in the feast that they were to bring food. This I likewise did and returned with the information that they would all do as desired.

Now the attendants arrived and asked what was expected of them. They were told to haul the wood and cut the poles to be used in building the lodge, prepare the fireplaces, and put the kettles on the fire. After that they were to go and tell the young women to get the food ready. When the drum was fixed and the food prepared, then the feast would begin, they were told.

"Well, Green-hair, my nephew, it is about time for you to go down toward the timber and invite the people. You, my nephew, Fire-starter, may go to those who possess war bundles and invite them. Go especially to Strikes-the-earth-with-his-wings and tell him that he must come immediately. When you come back, Green-hair, get the earth mound (*ma*waruṗ'ururu*) ready. Construct two of them in the lodge. Then place upon them all the things that we are going to use in the dance."

The drum, the flute, the buffalo tails, the buffalo heads were all painted and placed there.

Then the feasters arrived. He-who-strikes-with-his-wings was to sit opposite Fleet-one. When all had entered and were seated Hodja'noka arose and spoke:

"War-bundle owners, all you who have been blessed by the buffalo-spirits and are seated here, you who are taking the place of the spirits and giving counsel like them, I thank you and greet you all. You are taking the place of the spirits. Just as we ask for long life from the spirits, so do we ask the same of you. Relatives, I know I am going to tire you all out, but do not take it amiss. What we long for, aid us in obtaining. Life is what I wish.

"What I am doing now I did not originate, for my ancestor
[787] Hodja'noka was the one blessed by the buffalo-spirits. When he was a child he was blessed by them and they gave him a certain

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plant and blessed him with long life and with victorious warpaths. He asked to be remembered by Hodja'noka in his offerings. The buffalo-spirit told him that if he would pour tobacco for him, and give feasts and make offerings of eagle feathers, the blessings he had given him would last forever.

"All these blessings were handed down to my father. These I also was taught. This life do we pray for and we have asked you all to come and help us. We thank you for it. As soon as the attendants are finished with the preparation of the food then we will eat. Our servants may perhaps burn their hands while preparing the food, but they will obtain life by so doing. Those who possess war bundles are always told to help one another and I know that you have come here for that reason. Life i am seeking and that is why I am giving this feast. Help me, all you owners of bundles who are present here. I will now sing some of the songs that Hodja'noka taught us. You who have obtained blessings, I greet you."

Then he sang the following songs:

*Song 1*

Nangura homa'ni hiwiiê. (Repeat.)
In the road walk let him do.

*Song 2*

Hodja'noka hamani'winê. (Repeat.)
Hodjanoka Walk by.

*Song 3*

Kâra Hodja'noka hamani'winê.
Say, Hodjanoka Walk by.

*Dancing song*

Hodja'noka trawawi're. (Repeat.)
Hodjanoka go toward.
Erehu'ne. (Repeat twice.) Wiga'rê. (Repeat twice.)
It is coming say to them.

As soon as Hodja'noka finished his songs, then all the objects (drum, gourds, etc.) were passed to He-who-strikes-the-earth-with-his-wings, and he rose and spoke:

"Brother-in-law, councilors, relatives, all who are seated here, I greet you. You who have been blessed with bundles, I greet likewise. You are taking the place of the spirits. It is good. We are trying to encourage one another and we have come to help you. We have brought you food for the feast. We also are desirous of obtaining long life and that is why we have brought our offerings, for we know the buffalo-spirits will accept them, as they are very tempting. You who are taking the place of the spirits, I greet you."

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other dancers were with all his strength restored. Then he walked 796
to the ma"warup'uru, took some earth, rubbed it on his wounds, 755
and they were healed immediately. There was only one wound 575
that he could not heal, which was situated on a part of his back that he could not reach with his hands."

He sang many songs while dancing. These songs were the ones that the spirits had taught him when they blessed him.

GRIZZLY BEAR SONGS

1

Newine'na newine'na ha"ptra"nê. [533
I am he, I am he, the day it is I. 539]

2

Ha'na"niąxgu"ne'k'tcs hiniągai'rê nink'tcs'i"niąkxra djanûąga'grê.
That you would be you were by the children as many as there are.
listened to told

3

Ma"tcô'ja" ho'dadjohi'rura.
The grizzly bear was starting to roam.

4

Wa'wonatcra"ąi" nihe'ka.
Shouting you can hear him.
Ho'ratcra"ąi" nihe'ka.
His voice you can hear.

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and permit him to dance and sing. This is called the *wuggnigke-i*[a] dance."* 727 535

"So then the turtle was told to dance his death dance—i. e., *wuggnigke-i*[a] dance. Both of his arms were tied behind above the elbows. Only thus was he permitted to walk. His wrists were tied in front, so that he could not stretch out his arms. His ankles were tied in such a way that he could not take any long steps. He carried a gourd in one hand and a sacred object in the other, and with these he danced up and down the village, performing his death dance and singing and shaking his gourd. Many people came to see him. He stopped and changed his song, singing, "O death, O death! You young women come here to see me. I am anxious for death." . . .

(It seems that it is customary to grant any wish the captive makes while dancing this dance.)

### The Farewell Dance

When a person is about to go on the warpath he goes around the village dancing and asking for volunteers to accompany him. New volunteers join him as he dances and sings. When the dancing is over these volunteers tell the people how their forefathers encouraged them to go on the warpath, etc. 535 721

At the beginning and end of each song they strike their mouths with their hands and give a whoop.

FAREWELL SONGS 533 539 535 721

I

Hi'ské wuje'ji yare'na[a] da'tru[a] wa'ghônagro waje[a] ana'ggero; hi'ske
Truth he speaks I hope, war leader, what he says, truth
wuje'ji yare'na[a].
he tells I hope.

II

Cuskana'ggero je'ske hidanagkik'i'na dotra'gkera waggn'nigge: je'ske
Thus dogs like I think of myself war leader a man I am: Thus
hidanagkik'i'na.
I think of myself.
(I. e., I don't value my life any more than that of a dog.)

III

Jigo' ya'ragani'na[a] waje[a] a'i'p'anai'na dotru'gkera; jigo' yare'na[a].
Again I desire it something a long time war leader; again I desire
(I. e., it is a long time since I have been on the warpath.)

IV

Ga ai'ske zawa'nigktrane'na[a] dotru[a] wugkeratcke zawa'nigktranena[a]
Even that they my will disappear war leader even he will disappear.
(I. e., I don't value my life any more than the war-leader does.)

* The following description of this dance, contained in one of the versions of the myth, "Turtle on the warpath," is no doubt fairly accurate.

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The soldier dance is a hop up and down with both feet and in no particular order, anywhere around the singers. It is held in the open air. 796 614 [535]

SOLDIER DANCE SONGS

I

Manaap'e'ra na'ji'winê.
Soldiers get up.

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II

Waja'nija' teexigi'ji na'ji'a'nijê.
Something difficult get ready.
(I. e., whenever there is anything difficult to do you must get ready.)

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III

Manaap'e'ra newine'na' hu'nagiredra.
Soldiers I am he whom they spoke of.

IV

Manaap'e'ra hi'ja' wine'na'.
Soldier one I am.
(I. e., I am a soldier, and if there is anything to do I'll do it.)

## Ceremony of Uangeru

(BEGGING CEREMONY)

A dummy is made of grass and dressed with whatever objects the maker wants to get. If he wants a horse he puts a bridle crosswise around the body of the dummy; if he wants clothes, he dresses him up in Indian clothes. Then the man places this dummy anywhere near a gathering, or where he expects a gathering to take place. He sits near it. As soon as any warrior sees the dummy he goes over to it and either kicks or strikes the man who made it, giving him at the same time one of the objects he wanted. Any person may do the same. They may not stop kicking the man until some warrior who had at some time or another cut up an enemy in war cuts up the dummy. Then all stop, and as soon as his bruises permitted him, the man would get up and pick up the gifts brought to him. 735 [532]

## Feast to Buffalo Tail.

A grandfather of mine called Cokeboka fasted at Neceda, Wis. There he was blessed by a young buffalo bull calf belonging to a herd. The calf said, as the herd went by, "Father, keep going in the road; mother, keep going in the road." He meant a warpath instead of the road they were going in. The man was to go on a warpath, from which he would return victorious. 787

They used to make offerings to this tail alone, apart from the war bundle. The braided grass was to be used for smoking. The feast is given in spring after the grass grows up, and in midwinter. Ground corn is boiled in making the feast. [782 778] 527

## Kikre Waci and Tcebokona'k Dances

There is a pleasure dance called *kikre* waci and a dance called *tcebokona'k* (wearing buffalo headdresses). The latter is of Sioux origin. 535 177

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159 father had been freed. We were very happy, and went back to our people.

At that time a young man named Young-Bear was starting for Nebraska, and he said that he would take me along. I was very happy. So in that manner I was brought to this country. Here I have had only happy days. When my father got married everyone disliked me. When I worked I was working for my father, and all the money I earned I had to give to him.

After a while I went to school, and although I liked it I ran away and then went to school at Carlisle. I wanted to lead a good life. At school I knew that they would take care of me and love me. I was very shy and lacked a strong character at that time. If a person told me to do anything I would always obey immediately. Everybody loved me. I stayed there six months. I was also taught [177] Christianity there. When I came back to my country the Episcopalian people told me that they wanted me to be diligent in religious matters and never to forsake the religion of the Son of God. I also desired to do that. I entered the church that we had in our country and I stayed with them six years.

At that time the Winnebago with whom I associated were heavy [273] drinkers, and after a while they induced me to drink also. I became as wicked as they. I learned how to gamble and I worked for the devil all the time. I even taught the Winnebago how to be bad.

159 After a while they began eating peyote, and as I was in the habit 276 of doing everything I saw, I thought I would do it, too. I asked 794 them whether I could join, and they permitted me. At that time I had a position at the county commissioner's office. I ate the peyote and liked it very much. Then the authorities tried to stop the Indians from eating peyote, and I was supposed to see that the law was enforced. I continued eating peyote and enjoying it. All the evil that was in me I forgot. From that time to the present my actions have been quite different from what they used to be. I am only working for what is good; not that I mean to say that I am good.

After that I married and now I have three children, and it would not have been right for me to continue in my wickedness. I resolved that thereafter I would behave as a grown-up man ought to behave. I resolved never to be idle again and to work so that I could supply my wife and children with food and necessities, that I would be ready to help them whenever they were in need. Here in my own country would I remain till I died. This (peyote) religion was good. All the evil is gone and hereafter I will choose my path carefully.

I know the story about the origin of the peyote. It is as follows:

794 Once in the south, an Indian belonging to the tribe called Mes-539 callero Apache was roaming in the country called Mexico, and went hunting in the high hills and got lost. For three days he went with-

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out water and without food. He was about to die of thirst but he continued until he reached the foot of a certain hill, on top of which he could find shade under a tree that was growing there. There he desired to die. It was with the greatest difficulty that he reached the place and when he got there, he fell over on his back and lay thus, with his body stretched toward the south, his head pillowed against something. He extended his right arm to the west and his left arm to the east, and as he did this, he felt something cool touch his hands. "What is it?" he thought to himself. So he took the one that was close to his right hand and brought it to his mouth and ate it. There was water in it, although it also contained food. Then he took the one close to his left hand and brought it to his mouth and ate it. Then as he lay on the ground a holy spirit entered him and taking the spirit of the Indian carried it away to the regions above. There he saw a man who spoke to him. "I have caused you to go through all this suffering, for had I not done it, you would never have heard of the proper (religion). It was for that reason that I placed holiness in what you have eaten. My Father gave it to me and I was permitted to place it on the earth. I was also permitted to take it back again and give it to some other Indians.

"At present this religion exists in the south but now I wish to have it extended to the north. You Indians are now fighting one another, and it is for the purpose of stopping this, that you might shake hands and partake of food together, that I am giving you this peyote. Now you should love one another. Earthmaker is my father. Long ago I sent this gospel across the ocean but you did not know of it. Now I am going to teach you to understand it." Then he led him into a lodge where they were eating peyote. There he taught him the songs and all that belonged to this ceremony. Then he said to him, "Now go to your people and teach them all that I have told you. Go to your people in the north and teach them. I have placed my holiness in this that you eat. What my father gave me, that I have placed therein."

Then he told him to go home. He thought he had been dead, but it was really his spirit that had left him. After a while the man got well again.

There were many peyote near the place where he was lying and these he picked before he started. Then he went back to his lodge. He thought he had been lost, but it seemed hardly possible to him that this was the case. His being lost in the hills seemed to symbolize to him the condition of the people before they had eaten the peyote; they would be lost and then find their way again.

On his return he built a peyote lodge and for four nights he taught the people how to eat peyote. He did not, however, teach it as he was told, nor did he teach it thoroughly. These to whom he taught

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



794 539 it used it for a purpose different from what it was intended.[1] They used it for war and for horse stealing. They, however, continued to eat the peyote, but they really ate too much of it. After a while the leader began thinking that the medicine might harm them, so he told them to hide it. The man did not know that even at that time a big war party was coming upon them. This tribe was almost destroyed.

They lost the peyote. One day, however, it was taught to a Comanche. He ate it and prayed to Earthmaker. Then it was taught to the Cheyenne and to the Arapaho and to the Caddo. The Tonkawa, the Apache, and the Mescallero Apache were the ones who had lost the medicine. When these other tribes began to eat this medicine they heard about it and they remembered that they also had long ago eaten it.

There was an old man in Oklahoma who knew the mescal country very well and he went down to old Mexico and stayed there for a year. When he returned he taught it to the Oto and the Oto taught it to us.

794 276 It is a true religion. The peyote is fulfilling the work of God and the Son of God. When the Son of God came to the earth he was poor, yet people spoke of him; he was abused. It is the same now with the peyote. The plant itself is not much of a growth, yet the people are talking about it a good deal; they are abusing it, they are trying to stop its use. When the Son of God came to earth the preachers of that time were called Pharisees and Scribes. They doubted what the Son of God said and claimed that he was an ordinary man. So it is to-day with the Christian Church; they are the Pharisees and Scribes, they are the doubters. They say that this is merely a plant, that it is the work of the devil. They are trying to stop its use and they are calling it an intoxicant, but this is a lie. If they will but come and see this ceremony they will realize this.

### J. B.'s Peyote Experiences

159 794 276 When my father and mother asked me to come to the Missouri River (Nebraska) I knew they had eaten peyote and I did not like it. I had been told that these peyote eaters were doing wrong, and therefore I disliked them; I had heard that they were doing everything that was wicked. For these reasons we did not like them. About this time they sent me money for my ticket, and since my brothers and sisters told me to go, I went. Just as I was about to start my youngest sister, the one to whom we always listened most attentively, said to me, "Older brother, do not you indulge in this medicine eating (peyote) of which so much is said." I promised. Then I started out.

[1] This is clearly Hensley's interpretation.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



X796 539 [782] After the speeches were all over the offerings were taken down and thrown outside through the opening in the roof of the lodge and then night songs were sung. Before throwing the offerings out they marched around the lodge carrying them in their hands. At the approach of dawn the drum, gourds, etc., have about made the entire circuit of the lodge, and as soon as they reach the host he begins to sing the night [533] songs. After these he sings turtle songs, and then the songs are over. The host now calls upon some one to give the war whoop, so that the spirits in the west may hear their voices. Nanhi'tcoga gave the war whoop. All joined in, and the feast was over.

X796 805 [776] *Descriptive notes on the Bear clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant, member of clan: About the middle of winter, in the month called deer-breeding month, the Winnebago used to go out hunting, and they gave a feast to all the spirits who had blessed them.

[774] They are very careful not to have the kettles boil over, because they believe that a man's soul (*naγi'rak'*) might be wandering about and is likely to come down along the chain of the kettle. If it doesn't boil over, the man is likely to conquer the possessions of this spirit (of an enemy) in the next battle.

202 554] The invitation sticks are sent out only to men who own a war bundle, and the clans are invited in the following fashion: First the Wolf, then the Hawk, and then any order.

778 The contents of the war bundle represent the following: The crow means strength in running. The turtle and the spear, the blessings which enable one to get out of difficulties, the former referring especially to difficulties in crossing water; they also enable their possessor to foretell when enemies are approaching and to tell an individual how many enemies he is going to conquer. The flute represents the 789 voices of musical birds. When an enemy hears them it paralyzes him and he can not run.

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



$35 per thousand for number three size. The "buttons" are really branches of the Peyote Cactus (*Lophophora williamsii*), a small compact cactus growing from southern Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico down into old Mexico. The peyote religion was introduced to the Indians of the United States by peyote cults, among the Indians of Mexico. The Government strictly forbids possession of or traffic in these buttons, but the number of converts to the cult is on the increase. 276 435 795 276 795

On the other hand, the peyote Indians among the Winnebago have little regard for the medicine lodge Indians. They consider them benighted, old-fashioned and unwise. When an Indian joins peyote, according to them, he sees the error of his ways and the sacred, ceremonial objects of his past become of no value to him. In such cases, the field collector of some museum finds it easy to acquire excellent specimens of sacred objects. While still in use, an Indian would not part with his medicine bundle for money, but once it has been superseded by a change in faith, he becomes glad to realize almost anything for it. Such a bundle is valued by anthropologists according to the sacred objects it contains. 178

The peyote people that we met near Wisconsin Rapids did not bear out the poor name given them by the old pagans. They were industrious and proud of their religion. The peyote cult, there, shows considerable Christian missionary influence, in their acceptance of Jesus Christ as their deity. The medicine lodge people have never been interested in the translation of the Lord's Prayer but the Winnebago peyote followers use it as a chanted peyote song. It is called *Hilukanala gikaraj hanila*, (Lord prayer his). It follows thus: 795 177 539

*Hianjinwila wagregi shanagre, lash hashinila wakajak nigigidek•jena.*

"Our Father in heaven who dwells your name holy (let us) keep it.
*Hunkma hashini'a hilaijik•jawina. Woshga hashinila manegi*
Kingdom your come down (on earth). Doing yours on earth
*uinek•jena wagregi jaske hinaki sheske manegi hilek•jena. Hampdec*
should in heaven like doing same on earth should be. This day
*waiskapduc haniwila hunkuwianje. Egi wazawoishana waniwila*
bread daily ours give us. And then sins ours
*waigitunawila wazahigishana waniwila waigitunawila sheke. Egi inke*
forgive us sins yours and yours forgive us same. And then don't
*wazawoishana uwahieja hinutiwinine Ezi wowak•jega egi hingijilawige*
(into) temptations deliver us. Our Lord and help us
*kishipwiwine. Hunkmara nehashinigaja Egi homashjala nehashinigaja*
get away Kingdom thy and power thy
*Egi hoishagra nehashinigaja manegus•la jeskek•jena.*
and glory thy forever Amen."

It will be noted that the Winnebago even have a word for "Amen," meaning to some extent "let it be that way," whereas among the Menomini Indians they have not translated it but articulate it as we do [192]
— Amen.

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



177 539 795 —Amen. For the sake of those who think all Indians speak alike, we append in a footnote the Lord's Prayer in Menomini."

194 [Q12] The Winnebago have a syllabary which all of them use in writing. It is an arbitrary system and has nothing to do with the ethnologist's way of recording their sounds. It was thus set down by Fred Mallory The first letter always has the sound of a as in arm and the pronunciation of the first line would be ha, he, hi, ho.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | ae | ai | ao | | k | ke | ki | ko | |
| w | we | wi | wo | | a | e | i | o | |
| m | me | mi | mo | | l | le | li | lo | |
| n | ne | ni | no | | t | te | ti | to | (explosive) |
| l | le | li | lo | (ja) | tt | tte | tti | tto | (cha chay chi cho) |
| y | ye | yi | yo | (ga) | | | | | |
| r | reke | reki | roko | (ska ske ski sko) | | | | | |
| s | se | si | so | | | | | | |
| h | he | hi | ho | | | | | | |
| g | ge | gi | go | | | | | | |

Indian syllabaries are interesting but of no ethnological value.

539 575 756 Fred Mallory's wife was initiated into the medicine lodge when she was thirteen years old, but since both are now peyote followers, they said there is nothing wrong in their telling the writer about their early history. Their story is as follows: In the early days, there were two brothers, Konuga, the eldest, and Henaka. (These names still apply to the order of birth,—the third son is *Hagaga*, and the fourth, *Nahiga*. The same with girls, the first is *Hinuga*, second, *Wihunga*, third, *Hinahega*, fourth, *Hakasiaga*.) The two brothers were at Kilbourn on an island in the Wisconsin River—*Nikusa*. One, Konuga, told the other he saw a spirit in the water and Henaka also saw a spirit, but Konuga saw it first, so it was *his* spirit. It was purple in color and rose from the depths of the water and sank down again. A sort of quarrel developed between them as to whose spirit should be followed, but when Hagaga, the third son entered the argument, they both united against him. Hagaga was as wise as an owl, and knew more than the other

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"*Nochnenan* *kesekok* *aprom.* *Nas ta kat kez* *achpechtanechton*
"Our Father in heaven who dwells. Let it be honored

*kiwichwon.* *Nas ta kat pimikat* *kilokemawin.* *Anamechtamon* *nas ta*
thy name. Let it come thy kingdom. As the Lord wishes it to

*kat eskemakat* *tepa* *kesekok* *minik* *ios* *achkibe.* *Meseach*
be done like heaven so here (on earth) the same. Give us

*iochpe as kesekok* *nepakisiganemenan* *achtanachkin* *kesegaton.* *Pomikatatawesch*
now as in heaven bread our daily and every day as we live. Forgive us

*minin kaies* *nachkebekaon* *ais pomikitatawakichton* *kaies*
and those we had angered you, as we forgive those

*nachkibiemachton.* *Pon* *minin* *ishiasach* *kakitzipanichtoane.*
that trespassed against us. Lead us not into temptation.

*Miakonamoweach* *ta mata.* *Amen.*
Take it away from us. Amen."

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



brothers, though they were his elders. The two older brothers made up their minds to do away with Hagaga. They went into the forest together and drew an image of Hagaga on the ground, painting his heart with red earth. They were preparing to thrust a spear into the heart of the image and thus kill Hagaga but he was on the limb of a tree watching them and yelled at them as they were ready to strike—"Hey, what are you about to do?" They looked up, discovered him, and were so scared at their detection that they ran away without stabbing the figure. He followed them to Trempealeau Mountain where the spirits live. 539 575 756

This mountain is supposed by the Winnebago to be hollow and they think all the powers of the medicine lodge reside therein. In the center of this mountain, the medicine lodge is supposed to be laid out, with the cardinal points of the compass indicated by poles. The poles represent serpents and the tie pieces are serpents, because to the Winnebago medicine lodge members the serpent is sacred.[11] [823] 575 756 [825]

The various animal deities came into the center of the lodge. They were, in order of entrance, the otter, the loon, the crane, the turtle, the fox, and a number of others. Nowadays when the medicine lodge ceremony is in progress, the Indians make song imitations of these various animal spirits coming into the lodge. In the main, they agree with the conception of creation held by the Menomini.[12] The writer related the Menomini story to Henry Dick, who said it was almost the same as the Winnebago. Their initiation ceremony starts at an earlier age which coincides with the age of puberty for both boys and girls and their medicine lodge ceremony requires more time than that of the Menomini; —four days for the lodge ceremony and two days for the testing of the initiate. While the ceremony is in progress, the candidate must not go to sleep. If he does, one of the members will shake him. The first two days and nights, the ceremony is mostly chanting and explanations, while the final two days and nights are given over to active floor work. The candidate must learn to do exactly as he is told and to obey instantly. The members, during the ceremony, tweak his ears and do various things to him in imitation of the animal deities. He is then shot with medicine bags to demonstrate their power. That is, the otter skin bag is grasped by the head between the fingers of the left hand of the medicine lodge member, and touched to his own lips; then having given it his power as a medicine man, he extends it toward the initiate, crying "Hui hui" and the initiate must drop his head immediately and fall over or backward. He is shot four times in the course of the ceremony. 575 756 796

On the fifth and sixth days, two or three of the older members take

[11] Fred Mallory's children killed a large puffing adder a day or two previous to the relating of this story and the local Winnebago did not like it, prophesying all sorts of dire disasters that would visit them.

[12] See Milw. Publ. Mus. Bull., Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 14, note 3.

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



*159 755 782 am on earth to accept it; to try and cure him." He then turned to me and said, "You will live, so help yourself as much as you can. Try to make yourself strong. Now as I offer this tobacco to the spirits you must listen and if you know that I am telling the truth, you will be strengthened thereby."

Then he prayed to the spirits:

### *The Prayers to the Spirits*

*159 755 782 776 539 Here, O Fire, is the tobacco for you. You promised that if I offered you some, you would grant me whatever request I made. Now I am placing tobacco on your head as you told me to do when I fasted for four days and you blessed me. I am sending you the plea of a human being who is ill. He wishes to live. This tobacco is for you and I pray that the one who is ill be restored to health within four days.

To you too, O Buffalo, I offer tobacco. A person is ill and is offering tobacco to you and asking you to restore him to health. So add that power which I obtained from you at the time I fasted for six days and you sent your spirits after me. They took me to your lodge which lies in the center of the earth and which is absolutely white. There you blessed me, you Buffaloes of four different colors. Those blessings that you bestowed upon me then, I am now in need of. The power of breathing with which you blessed me, I am now in need of. Add your power to mine as you promised.

To you, Grizzly Bear, I also offer tobacco. At a place called Pointed Hill there lives a spirit who is in charge of a ceremonial lodge, and to this all the other grizzly bears

# *My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud*

belong. You all blessed me and you said that I would be able to kill whomsoever I wished and that I would be able to restore any person to life. Now I have a chance to enable a person to live and I wish to aid him. So here is some tobacco for you. You took my spirit to your home after I had fasted for ten days and you blessed me there. The power with which you blessed me there I ask of you now. Here is some tobacco that the people are offering you, grandfathers.

To you, O Chief of the Eels, you who live in the center of the ocean, I offer tobacco. You blessed me after I had fasted for eight days. With your power of breathing and with your inexhaustible supply of water, you blessed me. You told me that I could use my blessing whenever I tried to cure a patient; you told me that I could use the water of the ocean and you blessed me with all the things that are in the water. A person has come to me and asked me for life. As I wish him to live I am addressing you. When I spit upon the patient may the power of my saliva be the same as yours. Therefore do I offer you tobacco. Here it is.

To you, O Turtle, you who are in charge of a shaman's lodge, you who blessed me after I had fasted for seven days, you who carried my spirit to your home, to the home of birds of prey, to you I offer tobacco. You blessed me and you told me that should, at any time, human beings suffer from pain I would be able to drive it out of them. You gave me the name of *He-who-drives-out-pain*. Now I have before me a patient with a bad pain and I wish to drive it out of him. This the spirit told me I would have the power to do, when they blessed me before I was reborn. Here is tobacco.

To you, O Rattlesnake, you who are perfectly white,

*159 you who are in charge of the snake lodge, to you I pray.
755 You blessed me with rattles to wrap around my gourd;
782 you told me after I had fasted for four days that you
would help me. You said that I would never fail in any-
776 thing I attempted. So now when I offer you tobacco and
● 539 shake my gourd, may my patient live and may life be
opened out before him. That is what you promised to
me, grandfather.

O Night Spirits, you also, I greet. You blessed me after I had fasted for nine days. You took my spirit to your village lying in the east, and there you gave me your flutes. You told me they were holy. My flute likewise you made holy. For your flutes I now ask you, since you know that I am speaking the truth. A sick person has come to me and has asked me to cure him. I want him to live and so I am speaking to you. You promised to accept my tobacco at all times. Here it is.

To you, too, O Disease-Giver, I offer tobacco. After I had fasted for two days you informed me that you were the one who gave disease; that if I desired to heal any one it would be easy to do so if I were blessed by you. So, Disease-Giver, I am offering tobacco to you and I ask that this sick person who has come to me, be restored to health again.

To you, O Sun, I offer tobacco. Here it is. You blessed me after I had fasted for five days and you told me you would come to my aid whenever I had something difficult to do. Now, some one is here who has pleaded for life. He has brought good offerings of tobacco to me, because he knows that you have blessed me.

To you, grandmother Earth, I also offer tobacco. You blessed me and promised to help me whenever I needed
000 you. You said that I could use all the best herbs that

## *My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud*

You said that I could use all the best herbs that grew upon you, and that I would always be able to effect cures with them. I beseech you for those herbs now and I ask you to help me to cure this sick man. 159* 755 [782] [916] [218] [539]

Then Thunder Cloud breathed upon me and squirted some water on my chest. "What I have said is very true and very holy, I believe," he said. "Indeed now you will get well."

Thunder Cloud knew all the good medicines that exist and he used them in order to heal me and so that I might recover from my illness. I got well. Indeed Thunder Cloud was holy.

Thunder Cloud was also what we call a poisoner. He used to travel at dead of night, it was said. One night at about eleven o'clock he got ready to poison a family by the name of B. We were all listening, sitting in our lodge. Then outside we heard him make some noise. We were afraid of him because we knew he was a poisoner. Indeed he claimed to be in control of our household. My family would do nothing without first consulting him, for we were afraid of him. We believed that he had come from the spirits, that he was a reincarnated man and, if displeased, would poison us. So whatever he asked we did. 159* 754

He had been married to my eldest sister and after her death wished to marry the second sister. Where he had come from at the dwelling-place of Earth-maker,* my elder sister was now staying, he said. But now he claimed that the second sister resembled the 159* 756

* Circumlocution for saying that she was dead.

[195]

*159 787 I was also told that it would be a very difficult thing to obtain this particular blessing.

So there I fasted at the black-hawk's nest, where a lodge had been built for me. The first night I stayed there I wondered when something would happen. But nothing took place. The second night, rather late in the night, my father came and opened the war-bundle and then taking out a gourd, began to sing. I stood beside him without any clothing except my breech-clout and, holding tobacco in each hand, I uttered my cry to the spirits:

[782] "O spirits, here humble in heart I stand beseeching you."

My father sang war-bundle songs and wept as he sang. I also wept as I uttered my cry to the spirits. When he was finished he told me some sacred stories; [551] he told me about my ancestor Weshgishega:

### *The Story of My Ancestor Weshgishega*

*159 787 ●539 776 When Weshgishega was growing up his father coaxed him to fast. He told him that when Earthmaker had created the various spirits, all the good ones he had created, were placed in charge of something. The gift of bestowing upon man life and victory in war he gave to some; to others, the gift of hunting-powers. Whatever powers the Indians needed in order to live, these he placed in the hands of various spirits. These blessings Weshgishega's father told Weshgishega to attempt to obtain from the spirits.

Thus Weshgishega fasted and tried to obtain something

## *Fasting*

from the spirits. But as he fasted he kept thinking to himself, "Long ago Earthmaker created all the different spirits and he put every one of them in control of something, so people say. He himself must therefore be much more powerful than all the others. As holy as these spirits are, so assuredly, Earthmaker must be mightier, holier." So he thought. He tried to be blessed by Earthmaker. He thought to himself, "What kind of being is he?" As he fasted Weshgishega thought to himself, "Not even any of the spirits whom Earthmaker created has really known Earthmaker as he actually is; not one of the spirits has he he even blessed. I wonder, however, whether Earthmaker would bless me? This is what I am thinking of." So he put himself into a most pitiable condition and uttered his cry to the spirits. He could not stop. "From Earthmaker do I wish to obtain knowledge. If he does not bless me during my fasting I shall assuredly die." So, to the utmost of his power, did he fast. He wished to be blessed only by Earthmaker. 159* 787 539 776

At first he fasted four days; then six; then eight; then ten and finally twelve days. After that he broke his fast. Yet it was quite clear that he had obtained no knowledge, quite clear that he had not been blessed. So he gave up his fasting and when he reached the age of early manhood he married.

He took his wife, and the two of them moved to an out-of-the-way place. There they lived, he and his wife. 159* 539

Here again he commenced to fast, his wife with him. He wished to be blessed by Earthmaker. This time he felt that most assuredly would he die if Earthmaker did not appear before him in his fasting. "Never has it been told that such a thing could happen, that Earthmaker would bless any one. Yet I shall continue even if I have to die." 787

*776 759 780 539 [782]

After a while a child was born to him. It was a boy. He addressed his wife and asked her advice, saying that they ought to sacrifice their child to Earthmaker. She consented. To Earthmaker therefore they prepared to sacrifice their child. They constructed a platform and placed their child upon it.[11] Then both of them wept bitterly. In the nighttime when the man slept, Earthmaker took pity on him and appeared to him. The man looked at him. He thought, "This, most certainly, is Earthmaker." He wore a soldier's uniform and carried a high cocked hat on his head. He had a very pleasing appearance. Weshgishega looked at him and wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. The figure took one step, then another, and finally disappeared, uttering a cry. It was not Earthmaker; it was a pigeon. The bad spirits were fooling Weshgishega.

Now even more than before did his heart ache, even more than before was his heart wound up in the desire to be blessed by Earthmaker. Now again he fasted and again apparently Earthmaker appeared to him. "Human being, I bless you. Long have you made your cry for a blessing. I am Earthmaker." When Weshgishega looked at him, he saw that he was pleasing in appearance. He looked very handsome and his dress was nice to look upon. He wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. As he looked at the figure it became smaller and smaller and when finally he looked, he noticed that it was a bird.

Then his heart ached even more than before. Bitterly did he cry. Now, for the third time, Earthmaker blessed him saying, "Human being, you have tried to be blessed by Earthmaker and you have caused yourself great suf-

[769] [614] [11] That is, they killed the child and then placed his body upon a platform, this being the customary mode of burial of the clan to which Weshgishega belonged.

## *Fasting*

fering. I am Earthmaker and I bless you. You will never be in want of anything; you will be able to understand the languages of your neighbors; you will have a long life; indeed, with everything do I bless you." But, from the very first, this figure did not inspire Weshgishega with confidence and he thought to himself, "Somebody must be fooling me." And so it was; it was a bird. 159* 776 787 539

Then most assuredly did he think that he wished to die for he felt that all the bad birds in the world were trying to make fun of him.

Earthmaker, above where he sits, knew of all this. He heard the man's voice and he said, "O Weshgishega, you are crying. I shall come to the earth for you. Your father has told me all." Then when Weshgishega looked, he saw a ray of light extending very distinctly from the sky down to the earth. To the camp it extended. "Weshgishega, you said that you wanted to see me. That, however, cannot be. But I am the ray of light. You have seen me."

Not with any war powers did Earthmaker bless him; only with life.

After telling me about Weshgishega, father left me. When I found myself alone I began to think that something ought to happen soon, yet nothing occurred so I had to pass another day there. On the third night I was still there. My father visited me again and we repeated what we had done on the night before. He told me about my grandfather Jobenangiwinxga: 159* 787 [551]

### *My Ancestor Jobenangiwinxga*

Once Jobenangiwinxga fasted. So that he might be blessed by the spirits he starved and thirsted himself to 159* 539 787 [785]

*159 ●539 787 death; he made himself pitiable in their sight. At first he fasted four nights and the Night Spirits came to him; with mighty sounds they came. There they stood before him and said, "Human being, you have thirsted yourself to death and we are going to bless you for that reason. We who speak are the Night Spirits." They blessed him with life and with success on the warpath. Then he looked at them and said to himself, "I wonder whether these really are the Night Spirits speaking to me?" Then he looked at them and he saw that they were small birds called heshepga. They had fooled him.

Then once again was his heart sore. In despair he said, [785] "Well, if I have to, I'll die fasting." So he fasted again and once again he rubbed charcoal on his face. For six nights he continued to fast. And then, once again, from the east the Night Spirits came. They came making a great noise and they stood near him and said, "Human being, we bless you. You have thirsted yourself to death and you have made your heart sore. We feel sad on your account. With life and success on the warpath we bless you." Then he looked at them and again he wondered in his heart whether they really were the Night Spirits.[13] Indeed they were not the Night Spirits who were speaking to him. They were birds called the kawishge, chaxjin and shikokkok. They were fooling him. Instead of feeling sad this time, however, he said, "I don't care what happens; I am willing to die in order to get a blessing." So he thought to himself.

Then again he began fasting. He rubbed charcoal over

[13] The Night Spirits were mythical spirits whose precise nature is never described in detail. They are supposed to cause darkness and the night. They possess a cane with which they strike those of their worshipers who are not properly attentive to their ceremonies. [786]

## *Fasting*

his face again. Seven nights he fasted and once again from the east the Night Spirits came singing. They came and stood before him and said, "Nephew, we bless you. So long have you been sad and so piteously have you cried to us that we bless you. No one did we ever bless before. Both in war and in life you shall be able to do as you wish." Then again he looked in their direction and thought to himself, "I wonder whether those speaking are really the Night Spirits?" But indeed they were not the Night Spirits They were the bluebird and the duck and as many as there were of them, their breasts were dark; as many as there were of them, they were bad. "O my! O my! How they abuse me," Jobenangiwinxga cried. 159* 539 ● 787 [785]

He had at first thought in his fastings that just to spite the spirits he would fast again but now he rubbed charcoal on his face and wept bitterly. Both hands contained tobacco, and he stood in the direction from which the Night Spirits came and, weeping, put himself in the most abject condition.

Now indeed to its very depths did his heart ache. Ten nights did he fast. Finally the Night Spirits came after him. "Human being, I have come after you." He followed the spirits and they took him to the east; to the site of a Night Spirit village they took him. In the village there was a long lodge standing in the east. There they took him. All the Night Spirits in control of the most powerful blessings were there. When he entered he had to wade through white feathers up to his knees. Many kettles and much food did he see in the lodge. On the outside a buffalo hide was stretched almost across the entire lodge. Then these spirits said to him, "Human being, without giving up, long have you suffered; your heart has indeed been sad. All of the spirits in this lodge have talked about what is to 159* 539 787 776

* 159 happen to you. I, myself, am the chief of the Night Spirits.
● 539 This creation lodge, just as you see it, with all that it con-
787 tains, I give to you. Never shall you be in want of food.
776 Offer up to us as many buckskins as you see here in the lodge. Thus it shall be. The creation lodge of the village of the Night Spirits I give to you. You can go on as many war-parties as you wish and you will obtain everything that you demand of life. All the offerings of tobacco, of food,
[782] of buckskins, and of red feathers, that you and your descendants offer to us, they all will come here to our creation lodge and we will accept them."

Now thus did the Night Spirits speak to grandfather Jobenangiwinxga.

* 159 In the morning, just before sunrise, I uttered my cry
787 to the spirits:
[782] "O spirits, here humble in heart I stand beseeching you."

The fourth night found me still there. Again my father came and we did the same thing, but in spite of it all I experienced nothing unusual. Soon another day dawned upon us. That morning I told my elder brother
[577] that I had been blessed by the spirits and that I was going home to eat. I was not speaking the truth. I was hungry and I also knew that on the following night we were going to have a feast, and that we would have to utter our cry to the spirits again. I dreaded that. So I went home. When I got there I told my people the story I had told my brother; that I had been blessed and that the spirits had told me to eat. I was not speaking the truth, yet I was given the food that is carefully prepared for those who have been blessed.

## §5. *Names*

Whenever they think highly of any individual in a family they give him the means for obtaining a happy life. If the older people think highly of any one they prearrange the kind of life he is to lead afterwards. With this object in view, my uncles told my brother the story of how human beings first came into this world, the story of the origin of our clan.

### *The Story of the Origin of Our Clan*

Earthmaker was sitting in space when he came to consciousness. Nothing was to be found anywhere. He began to think of what he was to do and finally he cried. Tears flowed from his eyes and fell below where he was sitting. After a while he looked below and saw something bright. The bright objects were tears, of which he had not been aware and, which falling below, had formed the present waters. They became the seas of to-day.

Then Earthmaker began to think again. He thought, "Thus it is whenever I wish anything. Everything will become as I wish it just as my tears have become the water of the seas." So he wished for light and it became light. Then he thought, "It is as I have supposed; the things that I wished for, come into existence as I desired." Then he again thought and wished for this earth and this earth came into existence. Earthmaker looked at the earth and

539 614 776 he liked it, but it was not quiet. It moved about as do the waves of the seas. Then he made the trees and he saw that they were good. But even these did not make the earth quiet. Then he made the grass grow and still the earth was not quiet. It was however almost quiet. Then he created [823] the four cardinal points and the four winds. At the four corners of the earth he placed them as four great and powerful spirits, to act as weights holding down this island earth of ours. Yet still the earth was not quiet. Then he made four large beings and threw them down toward the earth and they were pierced through the earth with their heads eastward. They were really snake-beings. Then it was that the earth became still and quiet. Now he looked upon the earth and he liked it.

Again he thought of how things came into existence just as he desired. Then it was that he first spoke and said, "As everything happens just as I wish it, I shall make a man like myself in appearance." So he took a piece of earth and made it like himself. Then he talked to what he had created but it did not answer. He looked at it and he saw that it had no mind or thought. So he made a mind for it. Again he talked to it but it did not answer. So he looked at it again and he saw that it had no tongue. Then he made it a tongue. Then he talked to it again but it did not answer. So he looked at it and he saw that it had no soul. So he made it a soul. He talked to it again and then it very nearly said something but could not make itself intelligible. So Earthmaker breathed into its mouth and talked to it and it answered.

As the newly created being was very much like Earthmaker in appearance, he felt quite proud of him, so he made three more exactly similar. He made them powerful so that they might watch over the earth. These four he

## *Names*

made chiefs of the Thunderbirds. Then he thought, "I will have some beings live on the earth." So he made four more like himself. Just like the others he made them. They were brothers—*Kunuga*, *Hennga*, *Hagaga* and *Nangiga*. He talked to them and said, "Look down upon the earth.' So saying he opened the heavens in the place where they were standing and there they saw this earth spread out before them. He told them that they were to go down there to live. "And this I shall send down with you," he added giving them a plant. "Even I shall never have the power of taking this away from you, for I have given it to you exclusively; but when, of your own free will, you make me an offering of some of it, I shall be glad to accept it and give you in return whatever you ask. This shall you hold foremost in your lives." What he had given them was the tobacco-plant. Then again he spoke and said, "All the spirits that I have created will not be able to take this away from you unless you desire to give it to them, by calling upon them during fasts. Thus only can the spirits get some. And another thing I send with you that you may use it in life, to be a mediator between you and us, whenever you offer anything to the spirits. It shall take care of you throughout life, stand in the center of your dwellings, and be your grandfather." This was the Fire.

Then the four Thunderbirds brought the brothers down to the earth. On their journey down *Kunuga*, the oldest of the four, said, "Brother, when we get to earth and the first child is born to me, I shall call him *Chief-of-the-Thunder-Birds*, if he is a boy." On and on they came, down toward the earth. As they got near the earth it began to get very dark and then the second brother said, "Brother, when we get to the earth and a child is born to me, if it is a girl, I shall call her *Dark*." Then they came to a place called

## *Crashing Thunder*

539 616 776 *Within-lake* at Red Banks, a lake near Green Bay (Wisconsin). On an oak tree south of the lake is the place where they alighted. The branch on which they alighted was bent down by their weight. Then spoke the third brother, "Brother, the first daughter born to me I shall call *She-who-weighs-the-tree-down.*" Then they alighted on the earth. Then said the fourth brother, "Brother, the first son born to me I shall call *He-who-alights-on-the-earth.*" Then the brothers alighted on the earth. But the thunder-birds did not touch the earth. The first thing the brothers did on earth was to start fire.

Then Earthmaker looked down upon them and saw that he had not prepared any food, so he created animals that they might have something to eat. The oldest brother suddenly said, "What are we going to eat?" Thereupon [411] the youngest two took a bow and arrow Earthmaker had given them and started toward the east. Shortly after, the third brother came into sight with a young deer on his back and then the youngest appeared with a two years' old deer. The two deer killed and those who had killed them, were brothers.

The men were very much delighted that they had obtained food. Then they said, "Let us give our grandfather the first taste." So saying they cut off the ends of the tongues, cut out the heart and together with some fat, threw both into the fire.

The first people to call on them were the Warrior clan people. Then came those from the west, four of them, the Pigeon clan people. Then came those of the earth, the Deer people, the Snake people, the Elk people, the Bear people, the Fish people, the Waterspirit people and all the other clans that exist among the Winnebago.

## *Names*

Finally there appeared on the lake a very white bird, the swan. After that all the other birds in the world appeared. They were named in the order of their coming until the lake was quite full. Then the people began to dress the deer meat. Suddenly something came and alighted on the meat and one of the brothers asked, "What is that?" Then said *Kunuga* the eldest, "It is a wasp and the first black dog that I possess, I shall call *Wasp*." "Just as the wasp scented and became aware of the deer meat as it was being dressed, so shall the dog be toward other animals. Whenever an animal is on the windward the dog will scent it," *Kunuga* continued. 539 614 776

Then they made a feast for Earthmaker with the deer meat, threw tobacco into the fire and gave some to him. They showed the other clans how to make fire and gave a little to each adding, "Each of you must now learn how to make fire for yourselves for we shall not always lend you some." Here then it was that the first people who lived made their homes. They had come at the time of the year when the grass grows as far as the knee.

One day it was reported that a very strange object was nearing the camp. The men thought at first that they would leave it alone. It came nearer and nearer and as it moved toward the camp it began to eat the bones it found there. They allowed this animal to become the founder of one of their clans and took it to their homes. It was the dog. Then they killed one of these dogs and offered it up to Earthmaker telling him all they had done. [231]

In the beginning the Thunderbird clansmen were as powerful as the Thunderbird spirits themselves. It was they who made the ravines and the valleys. While wandering about the earth they struck the earth with their clubs and

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614
776

thus created dents in the hills. That is why the Thunderbird clansmen are the chiefs. The Dog-clan people are the least in importance.

One day the oldest of the brothers lay down and did not rise again. He did not breathe and his body became cold. "What is the matter with our oldest brother?" the other three said. Four days they waited for him but he did not get up. They tried to find out from one another what the trouble was but did not succeed. Then they began to mourn for him not knowing what to do or think. They fasted and blackened their faces as we do now when we are mourning. They made a burial platform and placed him upon it. When the snow fell and it was knee-deep then, filling their pipe, the three brothers walked in the direction of the coming of daylight. They came to the first spirit Earthmaker had placed in the east, the *Island Weight* as he was called. Weeping they entered his lodge and extended the stem of their pipe toward him and spoke, "Grandfather, our brother *Kunuga* has fallen down and is not able to rise again. Earthmaker made you great and endowed you with all knowledge so that you know all things. Tell us what has happened to our brother?" Then he answered, "My grandsons, I am indeed sorry but I know nothing about this. Since, however, you have started on this quest you had better go to the one ahead of me, the north *Island Weight*. Perhaps he can tell you."

So weeping they started for the next one. When they got there and told him their troubles he told them he could not help and referred them to his third brother in the west. Thus in turn they were referred to the last of the *Island Weights*, the one in the south. There they found all four of the *Island Weights* assembled and the south one answered and spoke, "Grandsons, thus Earthmaker has

willed it. Your brother will never rise again. He will be with you no more on this world and so it will be with human beings as long as the world exists. Whenever a person reaches the age of death, he will die. Those that wish to live long will have to attain old age through good actions. Thus only will they succeed in living long. Into your bodies Earthmaker has placed a part of himself and that will return to him if you do the proper things. This world will at sometime come to an end. Your brother is to keep a village in the west for all the souls of your clan and there he is going to be in complete charge. When this world comes to an end then your brother will take all the souls back to Earthmaker—at least all those who have acted properly." Then the Thunderbird clansmen thanked the four spirits and left the lodge. 539 614 776

When they got home they took their brother's body, dressed him in his best clothes and painted his face. Then they addressed the dead person and told him where he was to go. They buried him with his war club, his head toward the west. At the grave they placed the branch of a tree and to this branch they tied a small red stick in order to prevent anything from crossing his path, in his journey to spirit-land. He was told that if any animal crossed his path or was found on his path during the journey, he was to strike it with his club and throw it behind him, so that those of his relatives whom he had left behind on earth might derive blessings for the warpath, and attain long life. He must take his pipe and his food along with him. Whatever years he was deprived of when he died, all the victories he might have gained had he lived to a normal old age, all these he was to bestow upon his relatives. The wealth he might have gained, in fact anything he could possibly have obtained, all this he was asked to

## *Crashing Thunder*

539 619 776 give to his relatives. Then they would not feel so unhappy and lonesome.

*159 619 553 Now in our clan whenever a child was to be named it was my father who did it. That right he now transmitted to my brother.

*159 551 Earthmaker, in the beginning, sent four men from above and when they came to this earth everything that happened to them was utilized in making proper names. This is what our father told us. As they had come from above so from that fact has originated a name *Comes-from-above;* and since they came like spirits we have a name *Spirit-man*. When they came, there was a drizzling rain and hence the names *Walking-in-mist, Comes-in-mist, Drizzling-rain*. It is said that when they came to *Within-lake* they alighted upon a small shrub and hence the name *Bends-the-shrub;* and since they alighted on an oak tree, the name *Oak-tree*. Since our ancestors came with the thunderbirds we have a name *Thunderbird* and since these are the animals who cause thunder, we have the name *He-who-thunders*. Similarly we have *Walks-with-a-mighty-tread, Shakes-the-earth-down-with-his-force, Comes-with-wind-and-hail, Flashes-in-every-direction, Only-a-flash-of-lightning, Streak-of-lightning, Walks-in-the-clouds, He-who-has-long-wings, Strikes-the-tree.*

Now the thunderbirds come with terrible thunder-crashes. Everything on the earth, animals, plants, everything, is deluged with rain. Terrible thunder-crashes resound everywhere. From all this a name is derived and that is my name—*Crashing Thunder.*

[P.40]

## §6. *Stories*

When we were children my father used to tell us 538
stories in the evening. Whenever we showed signs of 159*
restlessness he stopped. Here are some of the stories 517
that I remember.

### *The Story of Coyote and the Ghost*

Coyote was wandering about alone. He was wandering 539
about aimlessly looking for food; he was scenting around everywhere for food, for he was very hungry. As he was walking from place to place he suddenly became aware of the scent of human flesh. "Ah! Ah! If there are any human beings in the neighborhood surely they have thrown away bits of food and I shall be able to get some." So he started in the direction of the scent and soon he got to an old abandoned village and picked up some moccasins, but he could find nothing that would satisfy his hunger. He wandered to the end of the village thinking, "Perhaps here at the end of the village I may find some graves and possibly the bodies there will still have some flesh on them." But not even graves could he find.

In the distance, however, he saw a rack and when he ran toward it eager to see what it was, he saw a corpse lying on top. A man had died and his body had been placed on a burial scaffold. "Oh my! Oh my!" he exclaimed, "If this body were only on the ground then indeed

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



539 I would have my fill." Badly did he want to eat but there was nothing that he could do. So he sat there always looking upwards at the corpse, hungry. He would at times leave it but then return again. This was in the fall of the year and as he sat there he thought, "How I wish this corpse were on the ground! It would last me till spring."

When night came on, Coyote was still there. He prepared to sleep there. Suddenly the corpse spoke, "Coyote, what do I smell like?" Coyote got frightened but he thought to himself, "What shall I say to him?" "Well, what could you possibly smell like, but like small dried corn boiled with bear's ribs." "Good," said the ghost, "come and get it." So Coyote sprang forward and there, much to his surprise, he found a big dish full of corn boiled with bear's ribs. And Coyote, the covetous fellow, ate very much.

The next morning the ghost again spoke to Coyote, "Coyote, what do I smell like?" "What indeed could you smell like, but like jerked meat in bear's fat." "Good, come and get it." And there again he found a plate full of jerked meat and bear's fat. And Coyote, the covetous fellow, ate very much.

In this way every morning and every evening he obtained food. Dried corn boiled with fruit and watermelon, these too he ate. Coyote, the covetous fellow, ate very much.

All winter he lived there with the corpse. Every morning and evening the corpse would ask the same question. One day Coyote decided to ask for something special, so he waited anxiously for the corpse to speak, "Well, Coyote, what do I smell like?" "What could you smell like, but like a bottle of whisky, of dark red color. "Good, come and get it," said the ghost. So there he went and found a square bottle. He pulled the cork out of it, took a drink and

before long he was hopelessly drunk. He finished the bottle but he wanted more. Soon it was filled again. In his happiness he gave a war whoop and soon emptied it. Then he lay down drunk. The next morning he was sober, but he was sick of whisky and when the corpse spoke to him he asked for some deer-loin soup. This he drank avidly for as he became sober he was very thirsty. Four times during the winter he got drunk and four times he always sobered up in the same way. 539

Spring was now near at hand and he began meditating upon what he should ask for. Then as the corpse shouted over to him, "Coyote, what do I smell like?" he answered, "Well, what could you smell like but like a warpath?" "Good, Coyote, you may go on a warpath. One man you may go after; one man I bestow upon you." So Coyote started out on the warpath. He came to a village and there he dug up a grave and from it he took a scalp. With this he returned victoriously to the corpse. Before leaving he had sung his farewell song:

"Oh, you grass widows! Oh, you grass widows! When you look at your work, surely you will think of me!"

When he returned with a man's scalp he danced the victory dance, all by himself.

Spring had now come, the real spring. The weather was beautiful; the green grass was up and the days were pleasant. Coyote contemplated himself and he liked his appearance. "How splendid I look!" Sleek and fat he was. He felt like wandering around and visiting people. When, therefore in the morning, the corpse asked, "Coyote, what do I smell like?" he answered, "Well, what indeed could you smell like, but like a stinking corpse with hollow eyes?" "Oh, you greedy, covetous fellow," exclaimed the corpse, "you shall die for this!" Then he chased him but

•539 always, at the last minute, just as he was about to be caught, he managed to escape. Finally Coyote ran into a hole and the corpse stationed himself outside and said, "Coyote, you have saved yourself for the present, but surely you do not deserve to be blessed and I will not rest till I have killed you." Just then the corpse grabbed hold of Coyote's tail and the end of it broke off.

Coyote managed to escape eventually and as he ran along he sang:

"Uncles, my uncles! Uncles, my uncles! A corpse has bitten off my tail!"

A bear passed, but he could not help him. Finally, however, a deer, the kind we call chiakshigega, came along and gave him part of his tail. So Coyote had a tail the end of which was white. He liked it very much and as he ran along, he looked at it again and again. He was very proud of it.

Now this is the reason the chiakshigega deer have short tails and this is the reason why the tip of the Coyote's tail is white.

## *The Story of the Man Who Avenged the Death of His Wife*

Once an old man lived together with his daughter and son-in-law in one lodge. He was too old to trap or hunt any longer and so depended entirely upon his son-in-law for food. Now this old man possessed the right to give the war-bundle feast and one day he told his daughter that she was to take her husband and her children and accompany him while he hunted for the deer to be used for the feast.

So the husband left with his family and went to a place

about two days' distance from their camp. They arrived at the destined place at evening and the woman pitched the tent, while the man went out to gather wood. Since there was nothing to eat he told his wife that he would go in search of food immediately. He took his bow and arrows and left. While he was gone the woman fetched some water, filled the kettle and put it on the fire so that it would be ready when her husband returned. At dusk he returned carrying a deer on his back. This he set down outside and the woman skinned it and prepared it in the usual manner by cutting it first into small pieces and then drying these by the heat of the fire. Then they all sat down and ate and, shortly after, went to bed. The woman and children were soon fast asleep but the man stayed awake planning the hunt for the following day, for he wished very much to please his father-in-law. On the following morning he told his wife that if, during his absence, anything should happen she was under no circumstances to leave the children. Then he took his bow and his arrows and went away. 539

Now in the olden days it was considered a very brave thing for a man to camp at some distance from the main settlement and that is why, on this occasion when he was leaving, the man said to his wife, "If anything happens to you while I am away, remember that I will return immediately." He wished to show how much he loved her. He was out all day hunting and he killed a deer, skinned it and began carrying it home on his back. When he was near the site of his little camp he noticed that the lodge-poles were all standing upright and he knew immediately what had happened; he knew at once that his wife and children had either been killed or captured. He felt terrible but he laughed when he reached the lodge and found [554] [927]

539 [727] his wife gone and the children dead. The bodies of the children had been placed in a standing posture against the door. Their lips were parted so that they might thus convey to their father on his return, the impression of smiling at him. This was an old custom and it was done because the enemy thought that, in this way, they could cause a father the most pain.

When the man returned and saw all this, he quietly attended to the fire, prepared his meal and then addressed the children saying to them, "Come, this is the last meal that we will take together." Then he pried open their mouths and put a piece of meat in their throats. After he had fed them, he himself sat down to eat. When he was through he painted his body in two colors, one side from head to foot white and the other from head to foot black. Then he again spoke to the children, "My dear children, I believe I can go on a few warpaths myself and [775] I shall endeavor to send your spirits to the spirit land as properly as I know how. I shall kill the people who have slain you and many more to boot."

Then he put some arrows in his quiver and buried his children. Starting out he soon found himself in a trail and by carefully scrutinizing the footprints he discovered those of his wife, and thus knew that she had been taken prisoner. Now he transformed himself into a ghost and following the trail, found the enemy not far away. He ran ahead of them and waited, and as one of the enemy who was carrying the medicine pouch approached, he gave a whoop and killed him, cutting off his head as far as the neck. Then he disappeared in the brush, hid the head and ran anead again. So he killed one after another, eight in all. When [727] day dawned he returned to the camp with his eight heads and eight war clubs. These he first placed around his camp-

ing site, but then picking them up started for the home of his own father. 539

Thus, with the eight heads, he came to his father's lodge, but he did not enter it until late at night. Then when all his people were asleep, he blackened his face and entering the lodge, sat down in the place he had occupied before he had married. The old man suddenly saw some one sitting in his son's accustomed seat and awakening his wife he said to her, "There is some one sitting in our son's seat who looks exactly like our son." Both of them then sat up and soon they discovered that it really was their son and that he was in mourning, his face all blackened with charcoal. [965]

Then the old man spoke, "My son, what is the matter?" And the son answered, "Father, a war-party came upon my camp while I was out hunting, took my wife prisoner, and killed my children." "My son, if you had any respect for yourself, why did you not die with your children?" "Father, let me explain to you how it happened. While I was out hunting they fell upon my lodge, killed my two children and took my wife prisoner. When I came back I felt very miserable but I laughed and cooked my own meal, fed the children and ate with them for the last time. Then I pursued the war party and on that very night I killed eight of them, whose heads and war clubs I have brought home with me. Near the spring I have hidden them. There I placed the heads in a row and there I planted the war clubs in the ground, one near each head." "My son," said the father, "you have done well and the souls of your children will certainly reach the spirit land safely. For us, too, you have brought some nice heads, so that we might derive some amusement from them. I am very thankful to you." [927]

In the morning the father sent the crier around the vil-

539 lage with the news of what his son had accomplished all alone. All the men in the village put on their war paint, took their war clubs and ran to the place where the heads had been deposited. There each man struck one and giving the war whoop, counted *coup* on the enemy. Then they [727] took the heads and brought them to their war lodge. There the victory dance was given and there all praised the man who had accomplished this brave deed.

When the dance was over the man again blackened his face and fasted for ten days. His people gave a feast when he had finished his fast, and at this feast he told them that he was now going on the warpath to rescue his wife who had been captured, and that all those who wished to come along could do so. "To-morrow at dawn," he said, "we will get ready and go to a certain hill and from there start out." So the next morning they gathered at the appointed place and started out. The man led the expedition. They marched all that day and toward evening they built their fires and sat around the fireplace while the old warriors told war exploits. The next day they marched all day again and so on until the third day. On the fourth day the man said, "Now here I shall attempt to locate the whereabouts of the enemy." So he went away and on that very night he succeeded in approaching the enemy's village. He found them all asleep. Then he went to his wife and said, "I have come to get you. The spirit who is in charge of this war-party has given this whole village to me and to-morrow we shall kill them all. Your brothers are outside with me and to-morrow, when we rush upon these people, you must run toward your brothers and tell them that you want to be a prisoner. I shall tell my friends to be on the lookout for you and not kill you. Now remember, do as I tell you, for if you don't,

they will kill you!" "I shall try," said the woman. Then the man returned to his followers and told them that everything was well and cautioned them about the woman, telling the brothers also to see that she was not killed. 539

When day dawned they fell upon the village and surprised it. They fought nearly half a day and killed practically every one except the head chiefs and their sons, whom they took prisoners. They then returned home. [727] When they reached the village they took both the prisoners and the captured scalps to their war lodge where they were guarded. The next morning they tied the prisoners to posts, danced around them and tortured them till they died.

Now such is the story of a man who was faithful to the spirit from whom he had received war blessings. He gave feasts and he made offerings in their honor. He fasted and his prayers were answered. [782]

### *The Story of the Man Who Rescued His Wife from Spirit-land*

In a certain village there once lived two young married people. The woman was very beautiful and her husband loved her very much. Always he was thinking of something that he could do for her. 539 775

One day the young woman got ill. They called for a shaman but he could do nothing for her. Many were the holy men the young husband called, but it was all of no avail and the young woman died. They buried her. On the evening of the funeral many friends came to the grave to place lights there, so that the soul of the departed might find its way through spirit land. The young man was very good and every one liked him. They all came to the Four

*Crashing Thunder*

They all came to the Four

539 Nights' Wake and they all played the mourning games
775 with him. Then on the morning after the fourth night they
[765] all went home and the young man was left alone.

Immediately he made preparations to journey toward the west, for it is said that the soul of the deceased goes in that direction. In the direction of the west did he therefore chase the soul of his wife. As he trudged along the road he became worn out with exertion and fatigue and finally found it necessary to support himself on a cane. Even for that, however, his strength was not adequate and after a while all he could do was to barely creep along. Soon his knees were worn out from the incessant crawling and he tied some basswood bark around them. Thus he continued until all his strength deserted him. He was just strong enough to crawl to a pleasant-looking knoll. "This," he said, "is pleasant and nice and here I am willing to die." He rolled over until he finally reached the coveted spot and there lay awaiting death with his eyes closed.

Suddenly, much to his surprise, he heard some one talking to him, saying, "Come let us go home. I live here." The young man opened his eyes and looked about him and there before him he saw a fearful-looking person whose body was entirely covered with hair. The young man was unable to get up but the stranger spoke to him and said, "Come on!" At this the young man jumped up and followed him around the lodge. There the old man said to him, "Grandson, you are indeed in a most pitiable condition and I wish I could help you. But I do not know how. The little knowledge I possess I will tell you." Then he gave him something to eat and spoke to him again, "My son, you must keep straight on and at some distance from here you will come to a body of water over which you must jump. Then you must proceed straight on."

Then the young man arose and continued on his journey. Soon he came to a large body of water that had a very swift current, the water whirling around at a terrific speed. He was afraid to jump across because the land on the other side seemed so small. It looked like the merest speck of green, so small that it had the appearance of a man's eyebrows. Indeed it seemed impossible to jump across but he remembered what the old man had told him and he decided to attempt it. "After all," he thought, "what if anything does happen," and so he closed his eyes and jumped. He landed on the other side and then looked back to see the water. But he could not find it. It was only after looking very carefully that he noticed a very small creek. What he had seen before as a large body of water whirling along at a terrific speed, appeared now as a very small creek. Then he thought to himself: "Perhaps everything that looks difficult to me will in reality be easy," and from this he took courage. Now he felt that he would be able to accomplish what he was seeking.

As he walked along he came to a lodge and in it he found the old man of the previous day with another person just like him. They gave him something to eat and said to him, "Grandson, we will concentrate our attention on the object you have in mind. It is very difficult but since your resolve is so strong you will undoubtedly accomplish it. So go right on and in the next place you will find a friend of ours who will help you. We too shall assist you." Thus they spoke to him.

Then the young man started out again and after a time came to another lodge where he found three old men, two of whom he had seen before, and another. The third one gave him something to eat and spoke to him saying, "Grandson, we are going to help you. You are doing very

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well. Now do all that we have told you for otherwise you will fail in your quest."

Then the young man started out again and after a while came to a knoll where he found a large gathering. Indeed the place was evidently a large village and there seemed to be no end to it. But strangely enough no people were to be seen; not a person was there anywhere. There were many bark lodges and he peeped into them but they were all empty. Finally he entered one and there he found four old men, three of whom he had met before and a fourth one. The fourth one spoke to him, "Grandson, you have come to the place you have been seeking. Your wife, however, you will not be able to see. Now do what I tell you if you ever wish to see her. To-night there is going to be a big dance which you will attend. Now remember, never turn around. We will take care of you."

In the evening he heard a drum beaten followed by some noise, then a shout here and there. Again he heard the drum beaten and ever greater was the noise. The four men arose and said, "Come, it is about time to start, for otherwise the lodge will be too crowded when we arrive."

They proceeded to the center of the village where they found a long lodge which they entered. The young man they placed in the middle. As he sat there he heard some whispering, "Wakisha has come; he has followed his wife as far as this; he is here. Yet his is a fruitless task, for never will he attain his quest." Then the voice began to annoy him and tease him. "Why his wife is married. Indeed I am the one she has married."

Soon after, the singing started. It was wonderful. All his relatives came and sang their songs. They were singing about him. They were saying, "Wakisga has come for his wife; Wakisga has come for his wife!" Thus they

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teased him. All night they did this but when the sun rose they all disappeared. His wife did not know anything about it. He returned with the four men to their lodge and there he was congratulated profusely. "You have done well grandson, you have done well, but to-morrow the test will be more difficult. Try your best." 539 ● 775

The next evening he heard the drum beat again and after the fourth time, he entered the lodge with the four men. That whole night he was teased and annoyed. The ghosts did everything in their power to make him talk. All sang and the young man thought it was wonderful, more wonderful and exciting than on the previous night. Finally the ghosts began putting their hands on his head, pulling him down and doing all sorts of things to him. He endured it as best he could and finally the day dawned and they all disappeared. He returned with the four men and they cautioned him against the next night.

The third evening had now come. The drum was beaten and the ghosts responded by cheering. At first it was not loud but then it became louder and louder. They entered the lodge. Immediately the ghosts began to tease him and even the six attendants that had been placed at his disposal to help him by the four old men, could do nothing. The singing began again. The young man sat there covered with the blanket and it was hard for him to resist the temptation of turning around. The force of the drumming was simply terrific; it shook the earth with its vibrations. The ghosts tugged at the blanket of the young man, tried to pull him down and fell all about him. At last morning dawned and as the sun rose, they all disappeared. He went home and the old men said to him, "You have done very well. To-morrow will be the last night. It is going to be very hard. There will be eight of us to help you. But

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even then we will be of no avail unless you too do your best."

Toward evening the drum was beaten again and soon the young man walked to the dancing lodge accompanied by the old men. The village had grow rapidly overnight. There were far more ghosts there than on the previous night for they increased just as the number of deaths on earth increased. The dancing-lodge was already crowded when they got there and they were literally almost trodden upon by the ghosts as they entered. As soon as the young man entered, he heard the voice of his wife saying to him, "Well, if you are going to be indifferent to me there was no need of your coming." He almost turned in her direction as he heard this. Then they began to sing. It was glorious. The earth shook from the vibration of their singing. He was pulled down. His wife was most active in this and always he heard her voice. Wrapped in his blanket he sat there. It was jerked off of him again and again, in spite of all that the eight attendants could do Finally toward morning he grew tired and weakened. The ghosts grabbed him by the ankles and pulled him along the floor. It seemed almost impossible to endure. At last the sun came up and every one disappeared.

"Come let us go now." It was the voice of one of the old men. "Grandson, you have conquered. From now on, however, this shall never happen again, for Earthmaker has not ordained it so. It is only because I and my friends blessed you that you have been successful. Go now and bring his wife," they said to one of the attendants. She was brought to the young man and the old people spoke to them, "I have blessed you both. Go to your homes now." Then he gave them a drum painted with blue clay. "If any one dies, this drum will bring his soul to you and if a

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soul is about to leave the earth, during illness, this drum will bring it back to you. If you pour tobacco for me and my friends, we will always remember you. Now go home. The ghosts will chase you, for they are wicked. Eight attendants will take you home." Then he gave them some ashes and told them to throw them behind them if necessary. 539 ● 775

On their way home they were chased by the ghosts. "Alas, Alas! He has taken our wife away. Let us rescue her!" they shouted. Close they came to the two people but then the young man took the ashes and threw them behind him and the ghosts called to one another saying, "Run away, the ashes will ruin our clothes." They retreated. Again and again this happened but finally the two young people were able to reach the earth.

### *Coyote Goes on the Warpath*

"Come, let us go on the warpath and take Coyote along. He is always up to something foolish, always exaggerating everything he does. Let some one go for him." Then someone went to get him saying, "Coyote, we are going on the warpath. Why don't you come along too?" "Good. Of course I'll go along," and he accompanied the man back to the others. Then each one in turn sang his death song and when it was Coyote's turn he too sang:— 539

"Wiyayoho! Wiyayoho!
The little coyote, if he dies, if he dies,
Who will weep for him?
Wiyayoho! Wiyayoho!
The little coyote, if he dies, if he dies,
Who will weep for him?"

[P. 55]

## *Crashing Thunder*

726 *159 Our feast was given in a lodge that had eight fire-
796 places. The host always sits near the last fireplace, at
787 the east end. There we stood crying to the spirits.
340 My older brother fell to the ground from fatigue and
354 exhaustion. We were stark naked except for our
291 breech-clouts. When this prayer was finished we put on our moccasins. Then the host greeted the participants as follows:

"I greet you; I greet you all, war-bundle possessors. My grandparents, especially my grandfather, concentrated their minds upon this ceremony for me. The fireplace, the food, the offerings, with which the spirits blessed my grandfather, that I am going to ask for myself to-day. However weakly I may wobble about in trying to do the proper thing to-day, I know that my elders present here will extend their aid to me. I am now going to offer some tobacco to you all. War-bundles possessors, I greet you all."

*159 Following the speech came the prayers to the various
796 spirits:
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●539 Hearken O Earthmaker, our father, I am about to offer
726 tobacco to you. My ancestor concentrated his mind upon you and that with which you blessed him I now ask of you directly. I ask for the small amount of life you granted him, aye for four times the blessings you bestowed upon him. May I never meet with trouble in life.

O Grandfather, chief of the Thunderbirds, you who live in the west, here is a handful of tobacco. Extend to me the deer with which you blessed my ancestor. I pray you to accept this tobacco from me. May I never meet with trouble in life.

## *A War-Bundle Feast*

O Grandfathers, spirits of the night, walkers in darkness, 159*
to you I offer tobacco and ask for the fireplaces which my 796
ancestor received. If you smoke this tobacco see to it that 1782
I never become a weakling. 539

To you who live in the south, you who look like a man, 726
you who are invulnerable, you who deal out life from one
side of your body and death from the other, you whom we [953]
call Disease-Giver, to you I offer tobacco. In daylight,
in broad daylight, did you bless my ancestor. With food
you blessed him; you told him that he would never fail in
anything, you told him that you would avoid his home;
you placed animals in front of him that he should have no
trouble in obtaining them. An offering of tobacco I make
to you that you may smoke it and that I may not be
troubled in life.

Then they offered prayers to the Black Hawk, the 159*
Sun, the Moon, the South Wind, the Earth, and the 796
Eagle. Many speeches were given, for every guest [782]
who was invited to impersonate a spirit delivered one. 539
The man who was impersonating the Thunderbird 726
spoke as follows:

Host and relatives, all you who are seated here, to all I send forth my greetings. All those present have given me good advice and even the women and children here have pleaded in my behalf with the spirits. What love that was! And of what does life consist of but love! The clan counselor is repeating the songs that were obtained when the sacred bundle was made, so that when the time for the tobacco offering to the spirits came, the specially prepared tobacco would be ready. Now indeed that time has arrived

## *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

back for home they were told under no circumstances 159*
to turn around and look in the direction of the grave. 764

As soon as they returned home the man in charge
of the funeral arrangements went around the village 159*
and invited every one to come to the wake. Brave men 765
and warriors are especially welcome.

The mourners prepared food and when the sun went down the chief mourner took a stick made of hard wood, lit it, and carried it to the grave, placing it at the east end. It must be still burning when put there. After this the man returned and the funeral manager prepared everything for the feast. When all were gathered around he rose and addressed the people as follows:

Relatives, all you who are gathered around here, I greet 159*
you. I have done nothing of any consequence which could 765
justify you in coming here and thus honoring me, but being 537
relatives of mine, you came in the kindness of your hearts 539
to comfort me. I have prepared cooked food and boiled water for the dead person. Tobacco is also handy and as soon as the attendant is ready he will pass this around to those who wish any.

It is good that so many of you have come to-night. You know that we are not creating any new ceremony but are simply following what our ancestors found to be true and good. And as it is said that we should not weep aloud, [152]
you will not hear any of us making utterings of sorrow. And even though we weep silently, should any one come to us we will look upon them smiling. We therefore beg of you, should you find us happy in mood, not to think the worst of us.

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 765 775 539 537 Then the attendant took the water and tobacco and gave it to the one who was to speak to the soul of the departed person. This one then rose and spoke as follows:

To-night we have come together not for the sake of amusement but because we are afflicted with grief. Now it is the custom to speak to the soul of the departed. It is a sacred action yet even I, they tell me, can do it provided no worthier person can be found. I have even been told that my words will not cause the spirit of the departed to lose his way on his journey to spirit-land. For that reason I am going to speak to the soul of the departed and say the best I can. I greet you all.

Then he takes some tobacco in his hand and passing it behind him through the lodge says:

Here it is, the tobacco. I am certain that you, O ghost, are not very far away, that in fact you are standing right in back of me, waiting for me to reach you the pipe and tobacco, that you might take it along with you; that you are waiting for the food to take with you on your journey. For four nights, however, you will have to wait here. Now here are the things that you desire. In return we ask you to act as mediator between the spirits and us. You have made us long for you and therefore do you see to it that all those things that belonged to you, all those things that you would have enjoyed had you lived longer—the victories on the warpath, earthly possessions, life—that all these you leave behind for your relatives to enjoy. This do you ask for us as you travel along. One thing more do I ask of you: do not cause us to follow you, do not cause your [182] relatives any fear. I have now lit the pipe for you.

## *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

Then the pipe is passed on to all those present. After 159 *
that the leader drinks a little water and passes this 765
around too. It is only after pipe and water have 775
passed all the way around that the people begin to eat. 539 ●
When the meal is over the attendant takes the pipe and 537
some tobacco and places it before some distinguished warrior who has been invited to the wake. The latter is then asked to speak to the soul of the deceased and tell him the route to take on the journey to the spirit land. This warrior then rises and speaks:

Ho, I greet you all. We are not greeting one another because we are happy as on ordinary occasions but because it is the custom to come together at a wake. Now I shall show the soul of the departed the route he is to take and the care he must observe on his journey. I shall announce to him the ghosts over whom I have control and who are to conduct him safely to his destination. I will not exaggerate [22] when I speak of my war exploits but relate only what really happened to me. It is said that if a person exaggerates and tells falsehoods in recounting his exploits on such an occasion, the soul of the departed will stumble [577] on his journey. I shall therefore only tell the truth and I shall tell the chief of the spirits to guide our dead one safely over all obstacles. Now I am not going to speak of anybody else's exploits but only of my own. Only those over whom I have control will I put at the disposal of our dead one to act as his guide. The spirit-tobacco, the spirit-food, and the fire, these things the ghosts over whom

[22] For the dangers of exaggeration on such an occasion see note 15. It was also believed to cause the death of the warrior who indulged in it. 1



1 [The author apparently means note 17. See Category 116, p. 59 -- analyst]

*159 765 [775] [539] [537]

I have control will carry for him, and they will lead him by the hand until he reaches his destination. I greet you all.

Then he narrated his war exploit. He went into great detail. He told as accurately as it was possible how he had killed a man, broken his collar bone and [727] then flayed him; how he had then chopped and cut up the body and mutilated him in such a fashion that he could not be identified; how finally he had stolen his dogs. All night he spoke in this strain. He went on to tell how he had killed and utterly destroyed an entire village so that no one was left to tell of the massacre. All night he told of his war exploits. Sometimes such an account may last two to three hours. When he finished the people all went to sleep.

For three nights the same thing was repeated. Throughout this time a burning ember was placed at the grave. When the spirit was ready to start his [775] journey he took this ember, it is believed.

For the fourth night all the brave men as well as everybody else in the neighborhood were invited. A great quantity of food was prepared and the relatives [524] of the mourners brought objects to be used in the games that are always played at the wake. They tried to comfort the main mourners as much as possible. On the fourth night a burning ember was also placed at the grave of the deceased.

As soon as the attendants prepared the food the chief mourner got up and spoke:

## *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

I greet you all. I know that I am not performing any great action in greeting you. I was in trouble and all my relatives have come to comfort me. You have all asked me to live and not to succumb to my sorrows and I shall therefore try to overcome my grief and sorrow. I will not forget all the good you have done for me. You have been a comfort to me and you have helped me in many things. Now we have come to the last night and I am glad that it is a nice night for the warriors to relate their experiences. If they should say something funny I hope that you will not hold back laughter. I, too, will laugh with you. You are free to make all the noise you care to for I shall feel all the better if you do. This is what I want you to remember. I greet all those who are present here. 159* 765 537 539

Then the one who is to address the spirits speaks: 159*

I greet you all. We have come to this wake for a purpose, much as I would wish that the occasion for it had never happened. Now I am going to tell the soul of the departed the road he is to take, nor will I, by my words, cause him to go astray. On an occasion like this not every one is qualified to speak to the souls of the dead; not every one can do it. My grandfather obtained the right to do it and handed it down to my father, who in turn, turned it over to me Now I am going to breathe upon the soul of the departed and I wish all those present to do the same. It is said that for those who do not make this breathing it is a sign that they will die. So do all of you breathe with me. 765 775 537 539 [424]

Then he said *ka-a* and all joined with him in repeating it. He now began his address to the spirit of the deceased:

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 Ho-o! Are you ready? I am going to speak of the
165 Four Nights' Wake during which you listened to your
175 relatives and to the words they had to say. I am placing
537 the sacrificial tobacco in the rear of the lodge.
539 I suppose you are not far away, that indeed you are right behind me. Here is the tobacco and here is the pipe which you must keep in front of you as you go along. Here also is the fire and the food which your relatives have prepared for your journey. In the morning when the sun rises, you are to start. You will not have gone very far before you come to a wide road. This is the road you must take. As you walk along you will notice something on your road. Take your war club and strike it and throw it behind you. Then go on without looking back. As you proceed you will again come across some obstacle. Strike it and throw it behind you and do not look back. Still farther, you will come across some animals and these also you must strike and throw behind you. Go on right along and do not turn back. The objects you have thrown behind you will go to the relatives whom you left behind on earth. They will symbolize victory in war, riches, and food-animals. When you have gone but a short distance from the last place where you threw an object behind you, you will come to a lodge. This lodge you may enter. One of its doors faces the rising sun. As you enter you will find an old woman on your right. Go and sit opposite her. Then your great-grandmother will say to you, "My great-grandchild, what did the people say to you when you were leaving, when your life was over." And you must answer, "My great-grandmother, as I listened to my beloved relatives they said very little indeed. They said that I was breaking their hearts in leaving them and that they hoped that none

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would follow me soon. Then they asked me to make the following four requests: 159 * 765

First: I was to ask for life; that the flames from the lodge fire rise straight upward. Yet they would be satisfied, they said, if at my departure the flames only swayed to and fro. 775 537 539

Second: Whatever fruit had been predestined for me and that I did not taste, my relatives were not to be deprived of.

Third: They also mentioned nuts, all kinds of herbs, all serviceable hides and skins, all medicinal roots and grasses. They asked me to make a request for all the things that grow on the earth.

Fourth: That if any one had a friend his weapon might have a keen edge on one side.

Now, my great-grandmother, these are the requests my relatives commanded me to make."

Then she will answer you and say, "My great-grandchild, you are wise beyond your years. My great-grandchild, my lodge is a place where all who enter must pass an examination. Earthmaker looks upon it as a keen-edged instrument. No clouds of ill omen ever pass over it. The four requests you have made will be granted. The nuts and herbs you have asked for shall be given to you. There will be nothing of that food predestined for you that your relatives will not taste. The hides and skins, all the grasses, they shall possess in plenty. And if they have friends their weapons will be keen on one side. All that they have requested through you will be granted. Now, great-grandson, here is some food for you in this wooden bowl."

If you eat it you will have a headache. She will say,

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*159 765 775 537 ●539

"Great-grandson, you have a headache. Let me cup it for you." Then she will break open your skull and take out your brains and you will forget all about your people. You will become like a holy spirit. Your thoughts will not extend as far as the earth, as there will be nothing carnal about you.

Now be sure that you only take a taste and push the dish away from you for then the old woman will say, "My great-grandchild, all that you have left behind you in that dish represents the vegetable kingdom on the earth. Many who are older than you ate all that I gave them. You have a wise head on young shoulders. All that you have left on the plate will grow on the face of the earth. Now Earthmaker is waiting for you in great expectation. There is the door to the setting sun." On your way you will come to the lodge of the chief of the bad spirits and his fire. Those who come, the souls of the brave men who have come from the land of the spirits, will meet you here and touch you. There the road will branch off toward your right and you will see the footprints representing the footprints of those who have passed into life again. Step into their steps and plant your feet upon their footprints, but be careful that you do not miss any. Before you have gone very far you will come into a forest of bushes alternating with prairies. Here in this beautiful country the souls whose duty it is to gather together the other souls, will come to meet you. Walking on each side of you they will conduct you safely home, to Earthmaker. Here the inquiry that took place in the first lodge will be repeated and answered in the same manner. Then Earthmaker will say to you, "All that your great-grandmother has told you is true. Your relatives are waiting for you in great expectation. Your home is waiting for you."

## *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

The door of your home will be facing the midday sun. Here you will find your relatives gathered. Then, inasmuch as our ruler will nod assent and express his approval by word of mouth, so shall we do the same. 159* 165 175 [537] [539]

Then all those assembled at the wake shout *Ho-ha*.

[P. 101]

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seat in the main lodge stopped singing and the specially invited people entered the regular ceremonial lodge. 159* 096

The older people took charge of me for the whole night. Whenever they referred to me they would say, "In the morning when he-for-whom-we-desire-life becomes like us." They meant me and they meant that I would be a member in the morning. So I was extremely anxious for the morning to dawn. All night they danced. This part of the ceremony is called the rehearsal or trial performance.

The next morning, just before day, even while the dance was still going on, the leader of the first and second band, those of the east end and some others, took me to a secret place in the brush. When we got there we found a place where the ground had been cleared in the outline of the dance lodge. There the older people preached to me and told me that the most fearful things imaginable would happen if I made public any of the affair, *i.e.*, told the secrets of the Medicine Dance. The world would come to an end, they said. They told me that if I didn't keep everything secret I would die. [626]

It was in the brush that the leader told me of the road that all medicine men travel. [756]

### *The Road of Life*

My son, as you travel along this road do not doubt it. If you do you'll be unhappy; you'll injure yourself. But if you do everything that I tell you well it will benefit you greatly. 159* 756 539

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## *Crashing Thunder*

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My son, the first thing you will come to as you travel along, will be a ravine extending to the very ends of the world on both sides. It will look as though it could not possibly be crossed. When you get there you will think to yourself, "Grandfather said that I was nevertheless to pass across." Plunge right through and you will get to the other side.

Now this ravine means that sometimes in life you will lose a child and thoughts of death will come to you. But if you pay attention to my teachings you will be able to go right on and find the road of the lodge on the other side. If you don't try to go beyond, if you get frightened and dwell upon your hardship too much, this will be your grave.

After you have crossed the ravine you will see the footsteps of the medicine men who have gone before you, marked very plainly in the road. Step into them and you will feel good. Then as you go along you will come to an impenetrable brushwood of stickers, thorns, and weeds. You will not see how you can possibly get around them. Then you will remember that your grandfather said that you would be able to penetrate them. This too, you will pass.

The impenetrable brushwood means death. Some one you have loved greatly, but not your wife, will die. You must try to get through this obstacle, not get frightened and not dwell upon your hardship too much. Otherwise this will be your grave.

As you pass along this road, evil little birds will continually din into your ears and will cast their excrement upon you. It will stick to your body. Now don't try to brush it off and don't pay any attention to it. If you pay attention to it you might forget yourself and brush it off and that is not right, and life is not obtainable in this manner.

## *The Medicine Dance*

The evil birds signify the following. The fact that you have joined the medicine lodge means that your intentions are to lead a good life. Now as soon as you join, the work of evil tattlers will begin and they will say that you have done things contrary to the teachings of the lodge. Perhaps a piece of bird's excrement will fall on you. What of it? Don't brush it off without thought. Some will claim that you had said that the lodge was no good. Yet even then you must not blurt out, "Who said that?" and get angry. Keep quiet and hold your peace. 159* 156 539● [626]

As you go along you will come to a great fire encircling the earth and practically impossible to cross. It will be so near that it will scorch you. Remember then that your grandfather had said that you would be able to pass it. Plunge through it. Soon you will find yourself on the other side and nothing will have happened to you.

Now this great fire means death. Your wife will die. Go through this as well as you can; don't get discouraged. This fire will be the worst thing you have to go through. You will have been living happily and then without warning your wife will die. There you will be with your children. Remember, however, what your grandfather said and plunge straight through. On the other side you will find the footprints of the medicine men.

After a while you will come to tremendous perpendicular bluffs which hardly seem passable. Think, however, of what your grandfather said and soon you will find yourself on the other side quite safe.

Now these bluffs mean death. As you travel along the road of life you will find yourself alone. All your relatives, all your loved ones, are dead. You yourself will begin to think to yourself, "Why, after all, am I living?" You will want to die. Now this, my grandson, is the place

*159 where most encouragement is given for it is most necessary.
756 This is the most difficult of all the places you will come to.
Keep in the footprints of the Medicine Dance man and you
●539 will be safe. The teachings of the lodge are the only road; they alone will enable you to pass this point safely.

Soon you will come to a hill and when you reach the foot of the hill you will sit down to rest and eat. You will eat dried ribs of bear meat mixed with spirit-food and this spirit-food will vibrate with life. When you are finished you must climb to the top of the hill and look behind you. There will be no one. But in front of you, you will see many people.

Now this hill means that you have reached that period of life where, because you have always done things correctly, you will be continually partaking of feasts. You will always be invited. The road full of people in front of you represents the members of the lodge who have passed before you. There is no one behind you because you are just beginning to enter on that road.

Soon you will come to another hill. It will look like a nice country full of red stone. There you will find food and you will eat out of a very greasy kettle. When you're finished, climb to the top of the hill and you'll see that some people are now following you and that the number in front will be smaller.

You'll be traveling through better country now, i.e., you'll be taken better care of.

Then as you go along, another hill will loom in sight. You must go toward it and there you will find yourself in a country of red willows and bulrushes. Many presents will you find scattered all along this most pleasing of lands. There you will find your food and when you have partaken of it, ascend as far as the middle of the hill. There as you

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rest you will see a reddish haze across the land. Then go to the top of the hill. As you look behind you will see many people following you and only a few in front. 159* 156 539

Halfway up the hill, we have said, the land will be covered with a red haze. This is the Indian summer and this means that you will now have reached that period in life where your eyes have become dim. The red willows, etc., signify that your hair has become grizzled. The men in front of you are the older members of the lodge who will assist you by inviting you to the lodge and those in back of you are the younger members who will give you feasts in order to obtain increased knowledge.

Then finally you will come to a fourth hill. This will be a very beautiful country with white poplars everywhere. There, after having eaten at the foot of this hill, you'll climb it and look around. You will see not one ahead of you and very many people following. The place from which you had started, apparently a long time ago, will seem very near. You will have to rest four times before you get to the top of this hill.

This means that when you get to the fourth hill, you will be so feeble that you will have to rest four times before you succeed in getting to the top. The fact that you see no one in front of you on the road means that you have now become the oldest member of the lodge.

As you walk along you'll come to an oval lodge. There you will find a man who will ask you, "Grandson, how have you acted in life?" You must answer, "I don't know." He will answer and say, "Grandson, I know. Take some food." You'll find four dishes and you must take a spoonful of each. When you have swallowed the fourth spoonful your body will be like that of a dog or a flea, i.e., you will be so old that your body will not only be flat but your ribs will

*159 756 539 be caved in. The man talking to you will be the one in charge of the medicine-lodge road. You will now become unconscious but not for a long time, i.e., although you will die, you'll go right on in the spirit. Near you, you will find the medicine man's staffs or ladders. The ladders reach to heaven. On the right side you will find a tree, all twisted and slippery from incessant rubbing. On the left you will see a red cedar tree, all smoothed down from wear and dirty from incessant handling. You must grab these trees, and then when you have ascended them you'll come to a country situated right below the place where Earthmaker lives. This country has been especially provided for those who have adhered to the ritual of the Medicine Dance. You will be told that this is your home and, after a while you'll be directed to a long lodge where you will find all those of your relatives who have adhered to the teachings of the lodge. Although you are a grown-up person you will nevertheless be taken on each one's lap in turn. This country is a very happy one to live in. No one is ever in want; no bad clouds float over it; there is no night and there is no work.

After a while the attendants of Earthmaker will come to you and take you to him. There you'll see him face to face. He will tell you that you have done well and that [MS] you can become reincarnated in whatever tribe you desire. Those that perform the ritual properly believe that they can come to the world again after death.

*159 756 796 After the old man had finished telling about the road of the Medicine Dance Lodge I was shown how to fall down and lie quivering on the ground and how to appear dead. I was very much disappointed for I had

had a far more exalted idea of the shooting. "Why, it amounts to nothing," I thought. "I have been deceived. They only do this to make money." I also thought then that many of the sacred things about which they had spoken to me were not true either. However I kept on and did as I was told for I had been taught to deceive in the ceremony in the brush. As soon as I was proficient in the act of feigning death, we started back to the main lodge. 159* 756 796

The older people told me that I would become like them in body as soon as I became a member of the lodge, but I did not experience any change within me. All that I felt was that I had become a deceiver in one of Earthmaker's creations.

During the day, at the regular meeting, I did as I had been taught. Many speeches and many songs were sung and then, at about ten o'clock, the leader of the north band arose and told the story of the origin of the world and of the Medicine Dance.

### *The Story of the Origin of the World*

What it was our father sat on when he came to consciousness we do not know. His tears flowed and he began to cry. Not long was he sunk in thought. He saw nothing and nothing was there anywhere. He took something from the thing on which he was lying and out of it made a portion of our earth. This he sent to the space below him and from where he lay he could see that what he had created had become similar in shape to our earth. Yet nothing grew upon it and it was entirely without a cover- 539 796

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ing. It was not quiet and kept spinning around continually.

Suddenly he thought, "Now if I do the following it will stop." So he made a covering of hair for it. He took something that was like a weed and made grass, and this he sent earthward. Then again he looked at what he had created. It was not quiet but kept spinning around and around. Then he thought to himself, "Well, I must try another way." He took a tree and sent it earthward and again looked at his creation but it was still spinning around and around. Then he made four men and these he sent to the earth, placing one in the east, one in the north, one in the west, and one in the south. Again he looked at his creation. It was still spinning around and around. "Perhaps it will become quiet in the following way," he thought. So he made four beings that we call the *Island Weights*. They were waterspirits. Then he scattered a female spirit over the earth. By this we mean stones. Then finally he looked at his creation and he saw that the earth had become quiet.

He had sent the stones clear through the earth, throughout its whole extent. Only the heads, the tops of the stones, were visible above the ground. He looked at his creation and he saw that the earth had indeed become quiet. No clouds appeared anywhere, the light of day appeared motionless, and the vibrations of heat seemed like floating spider webs drifting past.

All the birds that were to roam over the sky, all the four-footed animals that were to live on this earth, all the animals who were to live below the surface of the earth, all these he placed in lodges that he constructed for them. Then he created the various insects that were destined to live on the earth. Finally at the very end of his thinking

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he created us human beings. We were not however even equal in strength to a fly. We were the weakest of all. Then Earthmaker looked at what he had created and liked it and sat filled with happy thoughts. 539 776

He was proud of us and gazed again and again at what he had created. He had, however, made the human beings not equal in strength to the other beings and they were on the point of being destroyed by the bad spirits. Then he formed a being in our likeness and when he finished him he called him Foolish-one. Him he addressed as follows: "*Foolish-one*, to the earth you are to go. Weak, pitiable in all respects, have I made the human beings. I made them as my last thought. Now this creation of mine, they the evil spirits are likely to injure. So do you, O *Foolish-one*, go and put things in order."

Then he sent him to the earth. But when *Foolish-one* came there he did not do what he had been told. Indeed he went around the earth doing nothing. He was as useless as a child crawling around on all fours. He really amounted to nothing. Though sent by Earthmaker he amounted to nothing. He did no good and injured the creation of Earthmaker, so Earthmaker took him back and placed him to the right of himself.

Then he made another being in human semblance and when he finished him he called him *Turtle*. "The two-legged-walkers whom I created as the last of my thoughts, evil spirits are about to exterminate. Do you, O *Turtle*, go and put the earth in order." Turtle went and took along with him a knife. When he came on earth he led people on the warpath and he did not look after Earthmaker's creation. So Earthmaker took back the second man and placed him at his left.

Then he made a third being in human semblance and

539 when he finished him he named him *Bladder*. To him he spoke, "*Bladder*, you are to go to the earth. As my last thought I created the two-legged-walkers and they were pitiful to behold in every way. They are now on the point of being exterminated and you must save them. Try with all your strength.

When *Bladder* came to the earth he made a long lodge and he created twenty men. That many younger brothers he thus had. Then they all started to go around the entire island, this earth, and all the younger brothers were killed. [823] Thus he too failed in his mission. The work his father had sent him to do he failed to accomplish and so Earthmaker took him back and placed him on his left side.

Then Earthmaker made a fourth being and when he finished him he called him *He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings*.

Finally he created the last one, *Hare*. He made his body exactly like ours. He spoke to him: "You are the last one I am going to create, so try with all your strength, *Hare*." *He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings* had failed, so *Hare* was created. He was to be the last one. Earthmaker had created *Hare* entirely by the force of his thoughts.

Then he spoke to *Hare* and said, "*Hare*, what I am doing you will also be able to accomplish. Try with all your power. If the evil spirits injure my creation it will not be good on earth; life will not be good. Try to overcome these evil spirits." Thus he encouraged him.

When *Hare* came to this earth he said to himself, "My brothers acted in a certain way and failed." He walked along until he came to an oval lodge. From this lodge there emerged, at the time, a young woman carrying a pail. She was going toward the river. Then *Hare* said to himself, "Now my brothers were not able to do what I

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am going to do." There he entered the body of the young woman in order to become a human being. There in her womb he remained and yet from there he heard the shrieks and cries of the human beings. "My father sent me to help them and here I am sitting for so long time already," he thought to himself. Shrieking and crying he heard the human beings. "Too long have I been sitting here. In the end the evil spirits will destroy the human beings completely," he thought to himself. Seven months had he been waiting when he said this. Finally when the proper time had come he entered the world through an opening. Four days after that his mother died.

He lived with his grandmother. He would only leave his lodge at night. Then he would roam all around. Whenever he walked inside the lodge, light radiated from him in all directions. As soon as daylight appeared he became quiet. Throughout the day he sat thinking of the work he was to do.

The third time he left the lodge it was sunset. He traveled over half the extent of the earth and he put an end to all the bad spirits who were doing harm. "Not again will any of these live, not again will they harm my uncles and aunts, the human beings." Just before daylight appeared he returned home and there his heart would feel good. He stayed in the lodge wrapped in thought.

On the fourth day when the sun went down he left the lodge and traveled to the very ends of the earth, killing all the bad spirits he met. At about daylight he went up to the sky and pursued all the bad spirits found there, driving them to the west and killing them. Very early in the morning he walked toward his lodge filled with pleasant thoughts. "The work for which my father sent me I have now accomplished. The life of my uncles and my aunts

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will now be like mine," he thought to himself as he entered the lodge.

"Well, grandmother, the work my father sent me to do I have now accomplished. He sent me to look after his creation and that I have now attended to. The life of my uncles and my aunts will from now on be like mine." "But, grandson, how can that be, how can the life of your uncles and your aunts be like yours? The world is as our father created it and it cannot be altered." "The old woman must be related to the evil spirits I have killed and that is why she does not like it," he thought. "No, grandson, our father has ordained that my body, the earth shall fall in two. He ordained death lest there be a shortage of food on this earth because of surplus of people; he ordained death lest people crowd each other too much on this earth. He has therefore arranged a place for people to go to when they die."

*Hare* did not like it. "Surely grandmother is angry because she was related to these spirits. She is taking the part of the evil spirits." Thus he thought. "No, grandson, that is not so. At present your heart feels sore. Your uncles and aunts, however, will obtain ample life, they will live to a normal old age." So she spoke to him. "Now, grandson, get up. Your uncles and aunts will follow you in this. Try to do what I am now going to tell you. Be a man and do not look back after you have started with me."

Then they traveled around the earth. "I wonder why grandmother told me not to turn back," he thought to himself. So he looked back just the least little bit; just the least little bit he turned to the left. Immediately the place from which he had started caved in. "Oh my! Oh my! A

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man I thought you were, a person of prominence, and I encouraged you so much! Now, grandson, decay and death can in no way be taken back." 539 776

Around the earth they went, to the edge of the fire that stretches on each side of the earth. They united these two lines of fire so that human beings might attain old age. [823]

"To look back she forbade me. But I have already made up my mind as to the immortality of my uncles and my aunts. When they become like me then only will I be happy. Such is my thought."

Then he went out and walked to the lodge of the spirit who lives in the east where the sun rises. Opposite him he sat down. "Well, *Hare*, there is nothing I can do for you. If the spirit ahead of me has anything he wishes to tell you, undoubtedly he will do so." Then *Hare* greeted him and went out.

He traveled toward the west. Even then he had no other thought in his head except that he would succeed. When he arrived at the lodge of the second spirit, the latter spoke to him and said, "*Hare*, what you have come for I know, but if the spirits ahead of me could say nothing how can I, the least of all of them, do so?"

Then *Hare* greeted him and left. He started for his home and arrived there crying, "My aunts and uncles must not die, they must not die!" And then he thought, "To all things death will come." He cast his thoughts upon the precipices, and they began to crumble and cave in. He cast his thoughts upon the rocks, and they began to crumble. Under the earth he cast his thoughts, and all the beings that were living there stopped moving and their limbs stiffened in death. Up above he cast his thoughts and the birds fell down dead.

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Then after he had entered his lodge he took his blanket and, wrapping himself in it, he lay down crying. "Not the entire earth will suffice us when we die and in some places there will not even be enough room!"

After a while the news reached our father. He heard the human beings saying that the evil spirits would now try to utterly destroy them. The news reached him that *Hare* was not feeling well. Then Earthmaker said to the first man he had created, "*Hare* is not feeling well. Go after him." *Foolish-one* came to the earth. "*Hare*, I have come to fetch you," he said. But *Hare* did not even answer him; he did not even move in his blanket. So *Foolish-one* returned to Earthmaker. Then Earthmaker sent the second one, *Turtle*, and told him, "Do you go now after *Hare* and bring him here. Try very hard to accomplish it for he is not feeling very well." When *Turtle* came to *Hare* he told him, "*Hare*, I have come to take you back with me." But *Hare* did not even answer. Then he returned and said that *Hare* would not even answer.

Finally Earthmaker sent the fourth one he had created and said, "You are to go for *Hare* and bring him back here. Try with all your strength to accomplish this." "No matter how difficult it is I will accomplish it," he said. He reached the earth and said to *Hare*, "Indeed, for a long time has your heart been sad, *Hare*. Come, let us go home now. Get up!" Then he took him back to Earthmaker. He did not, however, take him to Earthmaker's lodge but to the one opposite, where the chief of the Thunderbirds lived. They placed him near the chief. In front of this lodge there was a mound and also a little war club painted red on one side. Thunderbird chief took the little war club and holding it lightly shook it gently. So great, however, was the noise that it made that *Hare* got frightened and almost

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ran out. Then they freed him from the sorrowful thoughts that he had had on earth and restored his spirits. 539 776

Soon after that he was taken to Earthmaker. When he came there Earthmaker said, "*Hare*, your heart must have been very sad. Full of sorrow, indeed, must your heart have been for your uncles and your aunts. Now that their lives may be benefited, a holy teaching you are to take back to them. Come, look at this!" There the sky was parted and below on earth toward the south, a long lodge stood revealed. He gazed upon it and as he looked he saw old people with very white hair. "Thus your uncles and aunts are going to be. They will make very much noise in this ceremony. Now look down again! Some help is to be given them. Not one bad spirit will I put there." Then Earthmaker pointed toward the earth again and said, "You are to go back to the earth and put this ceremony before them. Not alone are you to do it but with the aid of your own friends, *Foolish-one*, *Turtle*, *Bladder*, and *He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings*. Your grandmother, the Earth, will help you too. If one of your uncles and aunts performs the ceremony properly he will have more than one life. I shall always keep the door through which he may return to earth open to him. When he becomes reincarnated he can live wherever he wishes. He can return to the earth as a human being, or join the various bands of spirits, or finally become an animal under earth." Now all this Earthmaker did for us. [975]

Then *Hare* returned to the earth and to his grandmother. "What I have tried to obtain for my uncles and my aunts, that now I have brought back with me," he said. "Grandson, how is it possible to make them immortal as ourselves? As the world was created so it must remain." "Grandmother, I say that my uncles and aunts will choose their

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lives for themselves, and, grandmother, you are to help me." "Good, grandson, that I will do," said grandmother thanking him.

"When the time comes my friend *Foolish-one* will come," he thought. Then *Hare* struck the drum and started his songs. All of a sudden *Foolish-one* came in. "I thought of your coming, *Foolish-one*, and you are here." "Indeed, my friend, I knew your thoughts and that is why I came." Then they went out together and outside the village they sat down to discuss what they were to do. When they returned to the lodge *Hare* thought, "My friend, *Turtle*, will come." Then *Turtle* immediately appeared. Said *Hare*, "I thought of your coming and you are here." "Yes, my friend, I knew your thoughts and that is why I came." In the same way *Bladder* came. Finally *Hare* fixed his thoughts on *He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings* and he came.

Grandmother listened to them very quietly but she could not understand what they were saying. Then after a while *Hare said*, "What I tried to obtain for my uncles and my aunts I have accomplished. You are now going to hear what it is. Come near the fireplace and sit down and then you will hear about it. I know that you too, grandmother, will be anxious to help the human beings." "Indeed, grandson, I am." She got up, took her handiwork, sat down near the five of them and laid her hands upon their head. She placed her work in front of her grandson, *Hare*. Then she spoke and said, "If you get this ceremony, the Medicine Dance, for your uncles and your aunts, they will live happily. Forever are they to do this." Then she asked, "Grandson, what is the nature of the work that I am to do for you? Well, this is it. Now look at me. Earth-maker, our father, had me bring the following things for your uncles and your aunts. I am going to give them

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that with which they can always obtain life." Then she opened her dress and there where the heart is, on the left, green leaves became visible and a stalk like an ear. The stalk was white as a blossom. It was corn. "For your uncles and aunts, Earthmaker, our father has permitted me to bring corn." Thus did a stalk become visible whose leaves were very green and whose tassels were very white.

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Then the five of them arose and said, "Let us greet our grandmother." So they walked up to her and laid their hands upon her head. "It is good, grandmother," said *Hare*. "This is what I meant when I said you were to help the human beings."

Then *Hare* went out and when he got to a place in the east he stopped. Then he turned to the west. Then he thought, "This is the way it will be." He took eight yellow female snakes and threw them in the air. As they fell they became transformed into the side-poles of the lodge. He turned their heads toward the east and their tails toward the west. He used rattlesnakes to tie them with. The doorway he made of two snakes, a black female snake on the left and a male snake on the right. The doors at the rear end of the lodge he made of blue female snakes. Then he took some reed-grass and threw it over the lodge so that it was completely covered. He took another piece of reed-grass and threw it inside the lodge where it became the white mats on which we stand. A bearskin hide he threw in on the right side and it extended along the whole length of the lodge. On the other side he threw a deerskin hide. Then he made a door of a real living mountain lion. This he did in order to prevent any bad spirits from entering. At the west door he placed a buffalo bull. When he had completed all these things, he looked inside the lodge and

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there he heard these animals bellowing and roaring at each other. Light radiated all over the lodge.

He now started for the lodge, he first and his friends following. "Well, my friends, I am through; the lodge is finished. Grandmother, stand up and come with us!" She walked first and after her they all came. When they arrived at the door, the fear-inspiring lion snapped his teeth. But they entered and walked around the lodge until they came to the place where they had first come in. Then *Hare* sent a number of public criers, a bear and a wolf, to traverse the entire length of the earth and invite the spirits to the ceremony. Along with them were also sent winged messengers, the crow and the swan.

When these started they all looked young but when they returned their bodies had become old and devoid of hair and they had to support themselves on staffs. The birds too when they returned, came back with wings exhausted, with eyebrows hanging over their eyes, looking very old indeed. In front of *Hare's* seat they stopped and said to him, "Your uncles and aunts, when they speak of you, will forever praise you. We have placed many life-giving objects within this lodge." "Well, my friends," said *Hare*, "it is good. This is what I wanted. I thank you in the names of my uncles and aunts."

Then all the messengers who had been sent out returned. The first four beings created by Earthmaker also came. They stood at the door ready to enter. The oldest one started but turned back frightened by the animals he saw within. The next two also tried but recoiled back afraid. Finally the youngest opened the door and led them in. They made the circuit of the lodge and at the door *Hare* took the eldest and placed him in the seat at the east. Then he walked around and placed the next one at

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the north, then one at the west and one at the south. Then *Hare* took his own seat. 539 776

Now the various spirits who had been invited began to enter. Then came the human beings, those of the bird clan, of the bear clan, the wolf clan, the snake clan, etc. Last came the one they were to initiate.

Then *Hare* rose and spoke, "My friends, I have had you come together because my uncles and aunts had been living a very pitiable life. You are to teach them the life they are to live and which is to be handed down from one generation to the other. That is what I ask of you. You have now heard what it is I want. I leave everything else to be done and said by those in the east."

Then the one in the east seat arose and said, "We are to teach our friends, the uncles and aunts of *Hare*, the meaning of life. This they may hand down from generation to generation. To-day for the first time has this thing been discussed. All that life consists of—wealth, honor and happiness—they shall have from now on." [181] The other three spirits, the one in the north, the west, and the south, all said the same thing. When they finished each one returned to his own seat.

Now *Hare* got up again and said, "This is what I desired for my uncles and aunts. This lodge I made for them and as long as they follow the precepts taught in this lodge of creation, they will be invulnerable. For that reason have these seats been made for them, that whosoever so desires may sit therein."

All day long the spirits taught the one who was to be initiated and when the sun was on the treetops and when it was time to stop, the spirits dispersed. As they left they took with them half of the light that had been radiated in the lodge. As they went out they rubbed against the door-

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posts. They pushed these deep into the ground so that they would not fall over.

*Hare* now rose and spoke again, "Grandmother, I shall ever be sitting ready for any of my uncles and aunts who will perform this ceremony that has been taught them. With tears my uncles and aunts will come to me and my heart will ache for them. I will go above and sit down, and if any person performs this ceremony, then he will become as I am. Now look at me, grandmother, look at my body!" The old woman looked and lo old! he had become a small boy. "Grandmother," s. l *Hare*, "if any one repeats this ceremony properly, he will become just like this. Now look at me again," *Hare* said. She looked at him and he had become a full-grown man. When she looked for the third time he had become middle-aged, his hair was interspersed with gray. When she looked for the fourth time, his head was covered as if he were wearing a swan as a headdress and he leaned tremblingly on his staff, standing in the east. "Well, grandmother," said *Hare*, "if any of my uncles perform this ceremony properly this is the way they will live."

"It is good, grandson," said the old woman. "However not only your uncles will live like that if they perform the ceremony properly. The same will apply to your aunts. Now look at me, grandson." *Hare* looked and there stood a very young woman, her hair like a smooth shawl. "It is good," said *Hare*; "in the name of my aunts I thank you." Then again he was asked to look and he saw a woman in middle age, her hair almost gray. When he looked the fourth time, her hair was entirely dried up, there was a hollow in the nape of her neck, her chin protruded trembling, like a wooden poker burnt short, and her whole appearance was that of duck looking at the sun.

## *The Medicine Dance*

"Well, grandmother, this is what I meant when I said that you were to help me. My uncles and aunts have now received all that I desired for them. I thank you." 539 776

Now throughout the ceremony I felt all the time that we were merely deceiving the spectators. When it was all over the members of my band told me that in two years I would be able to imitate the sounds of animals to my heart's content for I had taken the place of a great medicine man. Those who have the privilege of dancing obtain it by making gifts to the older members and thus buying the right. Those who do not buy this right or are not given permission to use it, are not allowed to dance. It is the same way with the shooting. Unless, for instance, a man buys the right, he is not allowed to extend his arms at full length when he shoots, but he must hold them close to his breast. The right to drum as well as the right to shake the gourd rattles, all these things must be bought. In fact, almost everything must be bought. I was told, however, that I would not have to go through all this training but would become a great medicine man immediately. That pleased me. I was given a gray squirrel-skin to use as a medicine pouch and I was told that it was really alive and that I had the power to make it cry aloud. I had seen people doing this and I had always envied them. This was another of the things I was anxious to do. Indeed I wondered greatly how it could be done. 159* 156 796 [424]

When the dance was over my father went away and left me at that place alone. He left me at the home of the deceased person's wife. I did not go back to 159*

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 [155] 795 786 Once we had a meeting at the home of a member who was sick. The sick would always get well when a meeting was held in their home and that is why we used to hold them there. At this particular meeting I got into the shaking condition again. My body told us how our religion was an affair of God's and how even if one knew only a portion of it, one could still partake of it. Thus it spoke. "God, His Son, and His Holiness, these are the three ways of saying it. Even if you know one of these three, it means all. Every one of you has the means of opening the road to Earthmaker. It is given to all of you. With belief you can open the door to God. You cannot open it with knowledge alone. How many letters are there to the *key*, to the road? Three. What are they? "There were many educated people present, but none of them said anything. "The first letter must be *K*." If, therefore, a person said *K*, that would be the whole of it. "But let me look into the Bible and see what it means," said the body. Then the body took the Bible and began turning the leaves. The body did not know where the passage was itself. Finally in Matthew, Chapter 16, it stopped. There it speaks about it. "Peter did not give himself up," it says. "For a long time he could not give up his own knowledge." There, in that passage, it says Key. That is the work of God. At least, so I understand it. He made use of my body and acted in this manner in the case of the peypte.

795 539 At one meeting O. L. spoke about the old stories. He spoke as follows:



[1.e., a peyote meeting.—Analyst]

## *I Have a Strange Experience*

The old people often spoke of the Trickster, but we never knew what they meant. They told us how he wrapped a coonskin blanket around himself and went to a place where all the people were dancing. There he danced until evening and then he stopped and turned around. No one was to be seen anywhere and then he realized that he had mistaken for people dancing the noise made by the wind blowing through the reeds. 995 539

So do we Winnebago act. We never look before we act. We do everything without thinking. We think we know all about it.

The Trickster was walking around with a pack on his back. As he walked along, some one called to him: "Say, we want you to sing." "All right," said he. "I am carrying songs in my pack and if you wish to dance, build a large lodge for me with a small hole at the end for an entrance." When it was finished, they all went in and the Trickster followed them. Those who had spoken to him were birds. He told them that while dancing they were not to open their eyes, for if they did, their eyes would become red. Whenever a fat bird passed the Trickster, he would choke it to death, and if it cried out, he would say, "That's it! That's it! Give a whoop!"

After a while, one of the birds got somewhat suspicious and opened its eyes just the least little bit. He saw that the Trickster was choking all the birds. "He is killing us all," said the bird. "Let all who can, run for their lives." Then he flew out through the top of the house. The Trickster took the birds he had killed and roasted them, but he did not get a chance to eat them, for they were stolen from him.

So are we Winnebago. We like all that is forbidden. We say that we like the Medicine Dance; we say that it

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795 539 is good and yet we keep it secret and forbid people to witness it. We tell members of the dance not to speak of it until the world shall come to an end. They are afraid to speak of it. We, the Winnebago, are the birds, and the Trickster is Satan.

Once, as the Trickster was going along the road, some one spoke to him. He listened and he heard it say, "If any one eats me, all bad things will come out of him." Then the Trickster went up to the one talking and said, "What is your name?" "My name is *Blows-himself-away.*" The Trickster would not believe it; so he ate the thing. After a while he blew himself away. He laughed. "Oh, pshaw! I suppose this is what it meant." As he went along it grew worse and worse and it was only after the greatest hardship that he succeeded in returning home.

So are we Winnebago. We travel on this earth all our lives and then when one of us tastes something that makes him unconscious, we look upon this thing with suspicion when he regains consciousness.

* 159 795 From that time on I go about everywhere telling every one that this religion is good. Many other people at home said the same thing. Many, likewise, have joined this religion and are getting along nicely.

On one occasion after I had eaten a good deal of peyote, I learned the following from it; that all I had done in the past had been evil. This was plainly revealed to me. What I thought was holy, and by thus thinking was lost, that I now know was false. It is false, this giving of pagan feasts, of holding the old Winnebago things holy, such as the Medicine Dance and all the other customs.

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794 our meetings at night. We searched the Bible and asked many
276 ministers for any evidence for Christ's ever having held any meetings
159 in the daytime, but we could find nothing to that effect. We did,
however, find evidence that he had been out all night in prayer. As
177 it is our desire to follow as closely as we can in the footsteps of Christ, we hold our meetings at night. Then, too, when we pray we wish to get as far away as possible from earthly things, and the night is the best time, for then we are not likely to be bothered by anything.

We have made earnest efforts to become Christians since we began drinking and eating this peyote, but many people say sarcastically that we have drunk ourselves into Christianity, and that we are demented. I am a peyote eater, but I have never found a demented person among them. We claim that there is virtue in the peyote. To you who do not believe and desire to find out let me quote the fourth chapter of the First Epistle of St. John:

"Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world.

"Hereby know ye the spirit of God. Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God."

We claim that you can not find out anything by standing off at a distance and only talking about it. We claim that some earthly things can have the virtue of God, for instance, the Bible, which is entirely made up of earthly material—the ink, the paper, the cover—yet it has survived the ages.

### J. B.'s Account of the Leader of the Peyote[1]

(Pl. 3)

159 Among the Winnebago there is a man named Little-Red-Bird,
484 and when he reached middle age he began to travel around the world and learn different Indian languages. He used to travel inland a good deal. Once he joined a circus and crossed the ocean. He felt
[544] so ill while crossing that he wanted to die. Suddenly a wind came up and he got very frightened. He did not know what to do. Then he prayed to Earthmaker. When he came to the other side of the ocean there he saw a big island and a big city (London), and in this last place they held their circus. The chief of that country (the king) he met there.

When he came back to his own people he told them that on the other side of the ocean the Thunderbirds did not thunder. All they did was to drizzle. There was no lightning either. As he crossed the ocean on his return it thundered and lightened.

[782] When he came home he was very glad to see his relatives and he offered tobacco in thanksgiving.

[1] The narrator was a very laborious fellow.

## §15. *Marriage*

About this time I joined a show and danced. I was always very fond of dancing and now I got a chance to go around and dance all the time and even got paid for it. I had money all the time. The people with whom I went around never saved anything and were always without funds, for they spent all their money on drink. I, however, never drank. After a while I got into the habit of going with these shows every fall. 159* [541]

One fall I did not go and, instead, stayed with my grandfather. He told me to get married. I was about twenty-three years old then. I had courted women ever since I was old enough to do so. Every time I did anything I always thought of women in connection with it. I tried to court as many as I could. I wanted badly to be a beau, for I considered it a great thing. I wanted to be a ladies' man. [584]

My grandfather had wanted me to marry a certain girl so I went over to the place where she was staying. When I arrived there I tried to meet the girl secretly and succeeded in doing so. I told her of my intention of marrying her and asked her to go home with me. Then she went back, for I had met her some distance from her home. 159* 584

After a short time she came back all dressed up and

## §16. *Shows*

*159 About this time we went to the Sioux country on a visit. There were a number of us. While there I was [574] adopted as a friend and given a pony. When I returned [431] to my home I used to ride around on my pony. That fall a number of Winnebago were going to join a show ● [541] and I decided to go along with them. I was a good dancer. We went to all the large cities of the country.

*159 273 With us there were two grass widows and after a while I used to go with one of them secretly. This woman used to drink beer. Soon I began to go with the other woman also. They both drank a good deal and often asked me to drink with them, but I always [588] refused. I finally married one of these women, al- [837] though I continued frequenting the other one at the same time. We lived in a tipi. As I said, they both drank beer and gradually I got to drinking it too. Soon I drank a great deal and began to like it. I kept this a secret from my people and told the women to do the same. Finally, however, as I began drinking frequently, a friend of mine found out about it and then the two of us used to drink together. Then the owner of the show discovered that I was drinking. He thought a good deal of me, that my dancing was better than that of the others, and when he learned that

## §20. *I Have a Fight*

Once we went out hunting game in the fall of the year. We used to sell the hindquarters and sometimes ship them as far as Chicago. We were of course only permitted to hunt for thirty days. The law was that if any one hunted longer than that he would be arrested. Yet in spite of all we hunted for a longer time because we felt that the law was meant only for the Whites. One day, however, in shipping deer away, we were detected. One of my brothers and myself were arrested, taken to court and convicted. We had to spend sixty days in jail. During my imprisonment I never had my hair cut and from that time on, I always wore it long. I told the people that a spirit called *Foolish-one*[24] had instructed me to do this and that he had blessed me. I also told my older brother, the one who was still living, to do the same thing and that if he, too, let his hair grow, *Foolish-one* would bless him with long life. From that time on I wore long hair.

After that I joined a show of the Whites. People liked me very much on account of my long hair and I was well paid. I kept on drinking all the time. I there learned to ride a bicycle and mount and ride wild

[24] The clown of Winnebago mythology. He is, however, regarded as having some of the characteristics of a spirit and, very occasionally, blessing an individual.

*159 horses. I used to call myself a cowboy, principally
● 541 because I wore my hair long. Many vicious horses
648 did I ride, and I was thrown off many times. I did all
526 this not because I felt myself to be an expert, but because I was wild. On one occasion I took part in a bicycle race on a regular racetrack. I was in full Indian costume and wore long hair.

*159 The show I had joined played at St. Paul. I took
541 part in it every summer. I became acquainted with
648 many people and so I was asked to come again every year. Finally it got so that I would not even return to the Indians in winter.

One season some one asked me to collect a number of Indians of whom I was to be in charge. I was told that I would be allowed ten dollars a week for each Indian and that I could pay them whatever I liked. I was quite satisfied, for I could pay them five dollars a week and thus make some money, I thought. I therefore persuaded a number of people to go along with me and we all started. We rode to the place where we were to meet the man who had made the arrangements. From there we started out and went from fair to fair. We never made any money, however, and went bankrupt. The man could not even pay us. We felt very angry and we then went to another show with whose manager I was acquainted. We were to divide the receipts.

Once we were to give our show at a certain place for the last time, for the cold weather was setting in. It was thus our last day. One of the boys came to me

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and told me that some one had struck him. I got angry and told him to point out the person who had done it. Just then the very person appeared and I tried to strike him, but he got away. I succeeded, however, in striking him with a drumstick. That evening I was told that the man whom I had struck had said that he was going to kill a certain Indian. "Perhaps he doesn't know that he also is subject to death," I answered. "Indeed, I am anxious to get ahold of him." After the show was finished we put on our civilian clothes and took our handbags. "None of you must go out alone," I warned them, "for you might get hurt." One of my boys was on horseback and was taking his horse to water it at a trough. His pony was taken away from him and he returned without it. His hat, too, had been stolen. Indeed he barely escaped with his life. "Come, let us go back," I said. I told the other boys to go right on and not to worry about me. I gave them my handbag and then returned to the place where the first boy had been attacked. Before we got there the same boy was attacked and set upon with clubs. We were right in the midst of a big crowd of Whites. These shouted and chased him. When they saw me they started for me. I fought them with my bare fists, turning from side to side. I was completely surrounded by them. Whenever any one got near enough to me I struck him. Then I started to run and was hit on the head, but I was not knocked unconscious. I was now angry and I struck out at all within reach. If I had had a weapon

## I Have a Fight

as well as my hat. Then he said, "You are to go home 159*
immediately. It is true that you have been dealt with 579
unfairly, but this is a regular fair town, and if any 648
trouble starts in the courts about this affair, it will hurt [541]
our fairs in the future. We shall therefore not go to law about it. The man who started the trouble is the owner of a large hotel, and in addition, owns a trotting horse. You have knocked out all the teeth of this hotel-keeper, and we do not know whether he will live or not. You have bruised other people, too, badly. So you had better go home."

From there we started for our home. My partner 159*
rode a pony and rode through the middle of the town 648
on it. I went in the same direction. He was afraid to go through the crowd of white people. A policeman escorted us out to the edge of the town. There we told him that we wanted some whisky and he went into a [273]
saloon and bought us two quarts. We both started then, sitting on a small two-year-old pony that belonged to my partner. Every time a team drove by we got frightened. After we had been drinking a little, however, we said that if the fight were to occur again, we would surely kill some one for we were sorry about the way in which it had ended. No one pursued us, however.

There were some Indians living in the neighborhood and we used to go to visit them every night. When I told them about what had happened they got quite frightened for they thought these white people would come out there to fight. So they moved away on the

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*Names.*—A newborn child received a birth name immediately. 551 There were six such names for male children and six for female children, which were given according to the order of birth:

| *Male* | *Female* |
|---|---|
| 1. K'u'nu. | 1. Hi'nu[1]. |
| 2. He'nu. | 2. Wi'ha. |
| 3. Ha'ga. | 3. Aksi'-a (generally pronounced Aksi). |
| 4. Na'ŋxi. | 4. Hi'nuŋk'. |
| 5. Naŋxixô'nu. | 5. A'ksigaxô'nu. |
| 6. Naŋxixonu'niñk'a. | 6. A'ksigaxônu'niŋk'a. |

The meanings of these names are unknown to the present Winnebago, who reject the idea that they ever had any meaning apart from indicating the order of birth. Originally, of course, these names had meanings, but at the present time they resemble no other Winnebago names and baffle all attempts at interpretation. This is not surprising, because they represent in all probability archaic names which undoubtedly have been considerably modified through long- [171] continued use. The Dakota have a similar set of names but only four in number. The two additional names among the Winnebago indicate by their form that they have been derived from one of the other four. In this connection it is interesting to note that the fifth of the male names is, as one might expect, merely the fourth name of the series with the addition of a diminutive suffix, whereas the fifth of the female names is the third of that series with a like addition. The sixth name of each series is formed by adding another diminutive suffix to the fifth name.

A few words may not be out of place here with regard to the 551 relation of the male to the female series, and to the possible interpre- 562 tation of two of the female names. He'nu[1] of the male and Hi'nu of 193 the female series, it will be noted, differ only in the first vowel. A similar phenomenon is found in such relationship terms as *hi'niŋk*, male child of elder brother, and *hi'ĉauŋk'*, female child of elder brother. Remembering that in those Siouan languages which distinguish between female and male oral stops the difference often consists merely in the change of a vowel, this difference between He'nu and Hi'nu may be suggestive. The name K'u'nu may be connected with *k'u'niŋk*, "a grandmother," in which *k'u* is unquestionably the stem, meaning probably "old." In the female series there is a possible relationship between Hi'nu and Hi'nuŋk', as *k'* seems to be a very common ending in relationship terms. Hi'nuŋk' itself is identical with the word for "woman" and it seems hard to imagine that it is not the same, especially since it is also found as the relationship term for [60] female child of younger brother.

[1] Hi'nu is also the name for a man's elder sister.

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551 On first thought it might be imagined that the application of the same name to so many people would cause great confusion. As a matter of fact, however, in a village of, say, 20 families, there could have been a maximum of only 40 having the same name. Taking into account deaths and departures, the number was greatly diminished. Moreover, as in general only relations or close friends were addressed in this way, strangers commonly being addressed by their nicknames, the seeming danger of confusion is almost entirely obviated. In those cases, however, in which confusion might result a nickname, or sometimes a clan name, was added to the birth name when speaking of an individual.

553 *Naming feast.*—The clan name was generally bestowed on a child at a special feast held for the purpose or at any feast that happened to be given within a reasonable time after its birth. The bestowal of the clan name was not infrequently delayed by a father's inability to gather the requisite amount of food to be presented to the old man who was to select the name. Occasionally it even happened that a father under such conditions permitted the relatives of his wife to bestow a name on a child, which of course was a name from its mother's clan. The author has personal knowledge of a case in which the first child of a man had a name belonging to his mother's clan while the other children had names belonging to their father's clan. When questioned, the man said that at the time of the birth of his eldest child he was too poor to pay for the honor of having his child receive a name and that he had allowed his wife's relatives to give it a name. When his other children were born, however, as he was in better condition financially he had been able to name them in the usual way. Although a child, irrespective of his individual name, always belonged to his father's clan, there seemed to exist a feeling that a person having a name not taken from his own clan was more or less incomplete. A person possessing no clan name was regarded as having low social standing.

When a child was adopted it retained its former birth name and clan name.

601 *Relationship terms.*—The system of relationship terms used by the Winnebago is as follows:[3]

### Male Terms of Address

Teok'a', p. and m. grandfather (direct address).
Hi'teok'ê, p. and m. grandfather and father-in-law.
K'u'nĩnk'a, p. and m. grandmother (direct address).
Hik'ârok'e, p. and m. grandmother and mother-in-law.
Dja'dji, father (direct address).

[3] Abbreviations: p., paternal; m., maternal; br., brother; sr., sister.

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614 Hokorohiga.....He who makes a noise by dragging something.
551 Hopiga.....Good voice.
Horutrusga.....He who has eaten fish
Hotra^ti^wiga.....Audible voice.
Hotru^tru^wiga.....Fishes in several places.
Hunk' nank'awaiuga.....Chief whom they are afraid of
Idjnaikwahiga.....He who makes them shriek with fright.
Jibinik'a.....Short person (common to all clans).
K'aylhicnank'a.....Changing crow.
K'aylijnk'aga.....Yellowish crow.
K'aylnu^p'aga.....Two crows.
Ki'nahunggwiga.....Fighting chief.
Ma^cdja^izga^wiga.....Makes an effort in moving.
Ma^cu^p'i^wiga.....Beautiful quill feather.
Ma^cu^napga.....Black quill feathers.
Ma^cu^ngawiga.....White quill feather.
Ma^cu^tcowiga.....Green quill feather.
Ma^hinu^p'aga.....Two knives.
Manihiciadjaga.....Strong walker.
Ma^ganik'a.....Walking storm.
Mank'ikuntrga.....He who shakes the earth by striking.
Na^ma^tce K'uruga.....He who has taken his war-club.
Ma^ma^tce nank'ik'awaiuga.He of whose war-club they are afraid.
Ma^a^cotrga.....He who raises a dust on the earth.
Ma^nankuntrga.....He who makes the earth shake by walking.
Manxuk'iga.....He who dry s the ground.
Ma^uxiwiñga.....Yellow arrow point.
Ma^dadjohimaniga.....He who walks on the wind.
Mantcguna^cicga.....Breaks a bow with his feet.
Manxicutrga.....Red cloud.
Manxik'ok'iwaharotrga.....Overlapping clouds.
Manxik'ucima^jink'a.....He who stands beyond the sky.
Manxik'ucma^jink'a.....Sky reached standing.
Manxip'aowiaga.....Cloud-point.
Manxipi^wiaga.....Beautiful cloud.
Manxirukanaga^.....Master of the clouds.
Manxisapga.....Black cloud.
Manxitcopga.....Four clouds.
Manxiwiwak'andjank'a.....Sacred cloud.
Maindjatcinank'a.....He who sits having come hither to the earth.
Ma^odjanguwiaga.....Coming back near the ground.
Nanxikawahiga.....He who scares some one.
Na^imwagicicga.....He who breaks a treetop by hitting it.
Na^imwarutcga.....He who eats a treetop.
Na^najojopk'aga.....Swallow.
Na^odji^wiaga.....He who strikes a tree.
Nanxekiga.....Withered tree (blasted by lightning).
Na^wa^hnga.....He who comes singing.
Nank'awaiuga.....He whom they fear to see.
Nijaga.....Rain man.
Nijumanlwiaga.....Walking rain.
Nijuxotrga.....Gray rain.
Nipska^phiga.....He who makes the water shine.
Nizikutcgwiaga.....Drizzling woman.

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Notra"pga.....Lightning in the tree.
Nuwank k'iriga.....He who comes back running.
P"etra"ruhiga.....Crane rib.
P"etrawinga.....Crane woman.
P"etrga.....Fire person.
Xora cutrewinga.....Red bald eagle.
Xora hunga.....Bald eagle chief.
Xorap'aga.....Bald eagle head.
Rac tra"ti"winga.....Audible name.
Rok'uhuhiga.....South wind.
Rutgenink'a.....Little pigeon.
Sakowarutrga.....He who eats raw flesh.
Sa"ljamaninga.....Grizzled walking person.
Si-ok'urtsepinga.....Leaves good footprints.
Sinewatrga.....Tail.
Tratrga.....Wind person.
Tronirajireka.....He who is the first one named.
Tra"phak'irutrewinga.....Lightning crossing itself.
Tra"pjigewinga.....Lightens again.
Dja"pewcana"tra"ti"winga.Lightning visible only once.
Dja"phak'iwarenga.....Forked lightning.
Dja"phrrega.....He who is? lightning.
Dja"phaniwinga.....He who makes? or accompanies? lightning.
Dja"phik'irganga.....He who makes? moving lightning.
Dja"pguhiga.....Lightning that returns.
Dja"lerewinga.....Lightning that goes.
Dja"pdjaga.....Standing lightning.
Dja"pljikerewinga.....Lightning that flashes suddenly.
Dja"pkra"kranga.....Zigzag lightning or lightning circling and revolving.
Tra"ti"minank'a.....Sitting in sight.
Trenzha"phiga.....Lightens the highland marsh.
Tri-sha"phiga.....He who lightens up the lodge.
Triwaijaga.....He who makes one abandon lodge and flee.
T"a aninank'a.....Kept aflying?
T"a"guhiwinga.....He who returns flying.
Wahok'aga.....The marksman.
Wak'andja hadjagip'iwinga.Thunderbird that likes to be seen.
Wak'andja cirigs.....Bad Thunderbird.
Wak'andja yongiwinga.....Thunder queen.
Wak'andjagiponiga.....Young Thunderbird waiting.
Wak'andjaga.....Thunderbird.
Wak'andja giw'inxga.....Thunderbird whirling.
Wak'andjaguw'inga.....Thunderbird returning.
Wak'andjan'ingen'ink'a....Very small Thunderbird.
Wak'andjap'inga.....Good Thunderbird.
Wak'andjaxega.....Yellowish Thunderbird.
Wak'andjazigubiga.....Thunderbird returning smoke.
Wak'andjazunuga.....Thunderbird small.
Wak'andjaxepga.....Black Thunderbird.
Wak'andjatroniw'inga.....First Thunderbird.
Wak'andja trega.....Green Thunderbird.
Wakte'emaniw'inga.....He who walks killing.
Wani-ak'axiga.....Crow hankering for flesh.
Wan'ak'tra"w'inga.....Changing bird.

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Wap'ahonagk'manigs.....The great dreadful one that walks.
Warutwaigs.....He who makes (the grass) rusty-yellow by eating.
Waschimanigs.....Walking hail.
Waririkonagga.....Judge of the contest.
Waziks.....Pine.
Waggeruirgs.....Man eater.
Wip'amagkarew'igga.....Rainbow.
Wingorgow'igga.....Star woman.
W'igyanaowga.....He who pens up ducks.
Wonagirchunga.....Warrior chief.
Wodji"gahigs.....He who returns and strikes.
Wodi"w'igga.....She who strikes.[19]
Koxmanigga.....Walking and making the sound of hoofs.
Ahu-awingga.....Raise her wing.
Ahutco.....Blue wing.
Na"godjawingga.....Real tree woman.
Magxiwpga.....Black cloud.
Magxiguxedega.....Big white cloud.
Ahu-ijipga.....Short winged.
K'ostrowpga.....Black sky (means properly the firmament).
Korodjo"wpga.....Black hawk.
Magxiruxuga.....He who makes the clouds have rays before them.
P"otcda-ahiga.....Fire starter.
P"otckaraga.....Has fireplace.
Hok'awas.....Darkness.
Nagik'iaumanigs.....Hails as he walked.
Tcoxamiaagk'a.....Sits blue.
Hunggit'ega.....Speaks as a chief.
Noxxcga.....Scratches tree.
Na"nawahignga.....He who brings up a stick in his mouth.
Ma"hodja"pga.....He who flashes on the earth.
Hana"djadjaiowigga.....Seen by all.
Waggodjaraga.....Belongs to the upper regions.
Magxizoruxutga.....Looks at the clouds.
Ma"cunginaga.....Flapping and shaking his feathers.
Ahugiriniwigga.....Shining wings.
Heyoniga.....Young swan.
Magk'uhodja"pga.....Flashes under the earth.
Warudjazaga.....Comes making a noise.
Waggodjahuga.....He who comes from above.
Na"i"nok'iga.....Lone tree.
Wangwaxopaigs.....Holy man.
Ximaniga.....Walking in mist.
Xiguga.....Comes in mist.
Xawi"ana"zagigs.....Bends the brush.
Tcacgoguga.....Oak tree.
Na"nazagga.....Bends the tree down.
Na"djidjaga.....Comes on the tree.
Ma"djidjaga.....Comes on the ground.
K'onihaga.....He who thunders.
Tciwi"djhaxahiga.....Makes tcivio in coming.
Wak'andjamanigs.....Thunder walker.
Ma"cdja"manigs.....Mightily walking.

[19] This ends Dorsey's list of Bird clan names. These following were collected by the author.

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Mangiksuntcga.....Shakes the earth.
Teonimanigs.....Walks first.
Dja"pdjirshigs.....Streak of lightning.
Manxiwimanigs.....He who walks in the cloud.
Ahu-lauretcga.....Long wings.

## The Bear Clan

### INTRODUCTION

Seven versions of the Bear clan origin myth were obtained, so that for this clan, at least, a fairly intensive study of the variations and their significance can be made. Perhaps the most interesting fact to point out is the apparent existence of two recognized versions, one called the minor or false and the other the true. The complete version was only told when the interrogator had paid enough.[1] The minor version is not at all concerned with the origin of the Bear clan but appears to be largely an account of the origin of the reciprocal relations of the Bear and Wolf clans. The second is the real origin myth. The version obtained does not, however, seem complete.

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The typical origin myths (excluding the fifth version) are of two types, those that speak of Earthmaker creating the ancestors of the clan and those that do not mention his name. Undoubtedly those versions that do not mention Earthmaker's name are the older. Those that speak of Earthmaker show clearly the influence of the general origin myth and of shamanistic systematization. This is particularly apparent in the sixth version, which was told in connection with the bear feast.

The subject matter of the myths relates to the manner in which the bears came to the great gathering at Green Bay, the older versions having them originate from the water and the later versions having them created by Earthmaker and sent to the earth. In the former they are distinctly heroic animals and in the latter vague spirit animals. The nature of the relation of these animals to the present clansmen is not clearly stated in the myths, and there is not the slightest mention of the present current belief on the subject. The myths seem almost entirely concerned with the question of the origin of the disciplinary functions of the clan and of its relationship to the Wolf and a few of the other clans.

It is difficult to explain the remarkable differences in the various versions. Comparing them with versions of the clan origin myths of the other clans, it seems likely that the short accounts represent the more archaic versions and the longer accounts those versions that

[1] My informant said, "If a person asked me about the origin of Hie (i. e., of my clan) and did not give me enough gifts or make enough offerings, I would tell him the minor version. Not until he gave me all that was necessary would I tell him the true account."

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the matter. If, on the other hand, he submitted to whatever punishment the Bear clansmen inflicted on him without resistance and apologized to them, then they would build him a new lodge and supply it with better goods than those which they had been compelled to destroy. 614 625

This is the way in which the soldiers act when they are on duty. They never jest and their word is a command. If it is not immediately obeyed, their next move is to punish. For that reason one generally listens to them and their commands. When they are not on duty they are the same as other people. Different members of the tribe are on duty at different times, for the leader changes them about frequently.

If a field of rice is found in some swamp or lake the Bear clan people are informed and they go over and keep watch over it and give every person an equal chance at picking it. If a person sneaks away and takes advantage of the others, the Bear clan people punish him. [222 262] [685]

The Bear clansmen guard the village almost all the time. When a council is held they guard the council lodge, and when a person is tried for some crime, particularly that of murder, a trial which generally takes place in the Thunderbird clan lodge, then they carefully guard this lodge, lest the prisoner try to escape or his relatives or confederates try to rescue him. [623 692] 682

Certain actions and remarks are not permitted in the Bear clan lodge. They are the following: 614 625 784

To peep into the lodge.

To make the remark that they live in a nice lodge.

To sit in the doorway.

To give a deep sigh or snort inside the lodge.

Should any person do one of these forbidden things, the Bear clansmen would be compelled to give the most valued thing in the lodge to the offender.

If a man seduced a woman, he was brought to the lodge of the Bear clan and severely whipped. If the soldier whipped him too severely, he in turn was whipped. 614 625 684

If a murderer was brought to the Bear clan lodge and the chief of the tribe asked that the man be freed, the rest of the tribe would beg the relatives of the murdered man to relent; but if the murderer was turned over to the soldiers, they would take him to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives and let one of them kill him. [622] 682

According to one informant, the Deer clansmen acted as servants to the Bear clan. 614

The Bear and the Wolf clans are friends, and although, as we indicated on page 201, each clan is paired off with another, the relationship of the Bear and Wolf clans is particularly intimate. It was even claimed that a Bear clansman would revenge the death of a Wolf clansman. For no other clans did the author hear this statement made. The women are addressed by the men and by each other as "my opposite," referring unquestionably to the positions in the council lodge. [551]

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## CLAN NAMES

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### HUNDJ HIK'IR'ARAJGERA (BEAR CLAN)[18]

Hagadja minaŋk'a.....Sitting opposite.
Awamregs.....He who is shut in.
Ogrp'ahigs.....The one with black claws.
Ci^mank'a.....Coarse-grained fat.
Rogu^i^nega.....He who is coveted.
Hahi-aciwings.....Dwelling on a hillside.
Hak'iridjewings.....Comes back.
Hak'irutcewings.....Crosses each other.
Hashoniwings.....Hunts for berries.
Ha^hcoratcewings.....Travels by night.
Ha^hewings.....Night.
Ha^hemiŋk'a.....Small day.
Ha^pmanigs.....He who walks by day.
Himaniwarutcgs.....He who eats as he walks.
Hinigubegs.....His little one who is returning.
Hinuŋk'hadjarigs.....He who saw a woman.
Hinuŋk' inek'iminaŋk'a...Woman sitting alone.
Hinuŋk' djopgs.....Four women.
Hodihugs.....He who comes climbing a tree.
Hundjhuregs.....Black bear who is coming.
Hundjgs.....The bear.
Hundjxedegs.....The big bear.
Hundjxunugs.....Small bear.
Hungatcak'irigs.....He who has come back to see the children.
Hungit'egs.....Prophet.
Huŋkorohigs.....He who is the chief's flesh.
Huŋk'unigs.....He who is made chief.
Inek'ina^jigs.....He who stands alone.
Inek'iminaŋk'a.....He who sits alone.
Giarweminaŋk'a.....He who sits quiet.
Maŋk'axgs.....Dirt.
Maniwarutcgs.....He who eats as he walks.
Ma^ok'ipiwings.....She for whom the land is large enough.
Ma^zitcigs.....Iron lodge.
Ma^zana^pigs.....Iron necklace.
Ma^zana^wings.....Whitish metal.
Ma^zawings.....Metal woman.
Ma^cgodanigs.....Three notches.
Ma^na^ha^pewings.....She who throws out the dirt with her paws.
Mana^pegs.....Soldier.
Ma^p'ozirohigs.....Earth thrown up yellow.
Ma^rotca^wings.....Straight earth woman.
Ma^sorokegs.....Land cut in strips.
Ma^tco-icdjajiripgs.....Grizzly bear with striped eyes.
Ma^tcogs.....Grizzly bear.
Ma^wakuntcgs.....Shakes the ground by his weight.
Moticwings.....She who dwells in the ground.
Na^cgadjewings.....She who plays on a tree.
Na^notc'ô^napwings.....Black root.

[18] The following names are from the Dorsey manuscript.

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Na^nunk'iwinga.....Bends a tree by pulling.
Na^n^nohiga.....He who makes a tree whitish by scratching off the bark.
Na^tcgepinga.....Good heart.
Na^tcgtcwiwinga.....She whose heart is difficult.
Na^trujiwinga.....Yellowish red hair.
Noxtcuxiga.....Breaks up a tree into small pieces.
Noruxga.....Scrapes a tree.
Hok'awamaniwinga.....Who walks in darkness.
Hok'awaminąk'a.....He who sits in darkness.
Reciwak'antcąk'a.....Holy tongue.
Roka^minąk'a.....Many sitting.
Si-ąga.....Foot good to the taste.
Tciwojąga.....Fills the lodge.
Tcąga.....Ladle.
Trągiga.....Spoon.
Wąjąga.....Yellowish-red bear.
Wak'izana^p'ąga.....He who has a white spot under his breast.
Wamaniga.....Walks on the snow.
Wamanuk'ąga.....He who steals habitually.
Wamąkąga.....With a white breast.
Wan^hinaniga.....He who walks on melting snow.
Waramąnak'ąga.....Vermilion.
Wąk'ana^wwinga.....Pens up a male.
Wąk'hok'inak'a.....Half a man.
Woizdjahiriga.....Laughing at his antics.
Wohinkrahiriga.....He at whom they laugh.[10]
Mai^nukonąga.....In charge of land.
Tcnąąko hunk'a.....First chief.
Sąptcąga.....Real black.
Na^ldudjawinga.....Red hair.
Mana^p'o hunk'a.....Soldier chief.
Hok'iwaigu^winga.....She who retraces her steps.
Moradjawinga.....Earth wanderer.
Ma^nunąk'o hinąnąk'a ..Sits on the earth alone.
Monąga.....Hunts about the earth.
Ana^tcu^xcdga.....Big armful.
Watcąginiwinga.....Goes ahead of them (common to all clans).
Ma^mon'winga.....Walks on the earth.
Mangawinga.....Earth coming woman.
Hotcąągit^ąga.....Speaks Winnebago.
Ha^p' onąąga.....Walks with the strength of day.
Ha^hominąąga.....Sits in the day.
Tcąąminąk'a.....Sits blue.
Hundjąąnąąga.....Small bear.
Ha^hirukąąga.....In charge of day.
Morutcu^winga.....Goes around the earth.
Motciwinga.....Lives in the earth.
Tci-ona^tcąga.....Lives in the earth permanently.
Ni-ona^jąga.....Stands on the water.

[10] The following names were obtained by the author.

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their clan names is *Wave*. They first appeared as wolves and later on they became humans. After swimming to the shore they lay on their backs to dry themselves; and that also is a name, a female name, *She-who-spreads-herself-out-to-dry*, and another name is *He-who-comes-up-first*. When they became human they built themselves a lodge and lived in it, but they had no fire. Then the Thunders came down and alit on a big oak tree that stood near their lodge. At first the Thunders were afraid of the Wolf people and they would not enter their lodge. That is why we have a name *He-who-is-afraid*. They asked the Thunders to come into their lodge and they had great difficulty in persuading them. After they entered the Wolf lodge they wanted to go home again immediately, but the Wolf clan people asked them to stay over for four days. From that fact a name has originated, *One-who-is-waited-for-by-the-Thunders*. The Thunders stayed, but not in the lodge of the Wolf people. They built themselves one just outside their door. Then they built a fire in it. After the four days were over the Thunders went home. 614 539 776 [551]

When a Wolf clansman dies the relatives paint his forehead blue (pl. 46) and the soul of the deceased is supposed to go west, and it never looks back as it goes on its journey, as this would be an indication of its longing for something in this world, and it should not do that. When the soul gets to the spirit home the relatives already there would ask the newcomer, "What did our relatives say when you were about to come?" And the deceased would answer, "They said that they would not come for some time." [764 775]

The food that is prepared at the four nights' wake is supposed to last them forever.

This is the end of the story of the creation.

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

All people claim to have come from some animal, and all are supposed to come from Earthmaker.

Four married wolves had a lodge in the middle of the ocean. They had four colors. The wolves all had children. One of them had 10, and the youngest one of these 10 is the one that came to this earth. When they came to this island, the first thing they saw was the footprint of the bear, and they said, "Our friend has gone by." There (at the place of gathering) they saw human beings and they liked their ways. Therefore they went home again and asked to come to earth and live with the human beings, and they were given permission to do so. Wherefore the two (man and wife) came here again the second time. When they were about to come everything was calm, and there were no waves on the ocean. They started out swimming, and they caused two waves to go before them. When they came to the humans they both got married. When they came to this land

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614 they sang songs, but I do not know them. I was not taught them.
539 Finally children were born to both of them, and they gave them
776 names. They called one of them *Wave* on account of the wave coming before them on their starting out. Because the four original
[551] wolves in the middle of the ocean had four different colors, therefore they have names *White Wolf, Green Hair, Gray Wolf,* and *Black Wolf.* When the clan began to get larger they taught their children these names.

When a large number of different clansmen are traveling and they have to cross some large stream and the wind is high, they call upon some Wolf clansman to calm the wind. This clan holds the water
[823] very sacred. They do not even die in the water.

It was at this first meeting that they made friends with the Bear clan. Therefore these two clans love one another.

THIRD VERSION—TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN (FRAGMENTARY)

The original wolf brothers appeared from the bottom of the ocean. When they got to the top of the water they started for the shore singing. When they got to the shore they saw footprints of bears who had just gone by. They said, "Our friends have just gone by." That is why they are the friends of the Bear clan. They were going to the meeting place. There a black hawk was gathering together all the different clans. Finally he finished and he said, "It is done." When he said this a wolf howled. They had forgotten him. They said, "We have forgotten him. Let some one go after him." So some one went after him . . .

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CLAN SONGS

*First song*

This body of mine that I am walking.
This body of mine that I am walking.
This body of mine that I am walking.
On the earth I am speaking.

*Second song*

This body of mine that I am walking
This body of mine that I am walking
This body of mine that I am walking.
In the water am I speaking.

CLAN NAMES

CÔŲKWÔŲK' HIK'IK'ARADŲSRA (WOLF CLAN)*

614 Côągwahdąs.....Hunting dog.
551 Côąktcąąk'a.....Wolf.
Ragnaiwiągs.....Wolf (archaic name).

* The following names are from the Dorsey file.

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Hirdjaspgs.....White-faced.
Hirdjadjpgs.....Four-eyed.
Hirp'iwings.....Good-haired.
Hi^tcogs.....Blue-furred.
Hosninank'a.....She who sits howling.
Manidjpgs.....Four walking.
Manank'ogs.....Throws up the earth (with his hind legs).
Ma^ok'acutraminank'a.....He who sits on the tree banks.
Nindjahugs.....Coming from the water.
Nindjawanik'irigs.....He who brings them back from the water.
P^otcogs.....Green forehead.
P^o-ingsgs.....He who has a white forehead
P^ô^nkags.....Big sand person.
Xo-oramninank'a.....He who sits on a bare hill.
Xo-omik'a.....He who dwells in a hill.
Xo-oratrogs.....He who travels to the hill.
Sintcogs.....Bushy tail.
Trarawigs.....He who holds a deer in his mouth.
Trasirawigs.....He who carries deer-feet in his mouth.
Tronankehûgs.....Chief wolf.
Tronanketrowings.....First wolf.
Tronimnank'a.....Sits as a leader.
Wanuninigs.....He from whom nothing is hidden.
Warawainwgs.....He who carries something in his mouth.
Warawaigugs.....Comes back with something in his mouth.
Waruzwings.....She who chases.
Wirap'ogs.....He who lies in wait for them.

## The Water-Spirit Clan 614

### INTRODUCTION

A rather poor version of the Water-spirit clan was obtained. It is, however, one of the few clan origin myths that contains the definite statement that the clan ancestors changed into human beings when they gathered at Green Bay. [173]

The functions of the Water-spirit clan were, in former times, exceedingly important. Almost all the informants were agreed that a chief was selected from that clan, but the exact nature of this chieftainship is not clear. One informant, himself a member of the Bear clan, said that the Water-spirit clan was the chief of the lower phratry; that the clans were arranged in three groups, one over which the Thunderbird clan ruled; another over which the Water-spirit clan ruled; and a third over which the Bear clan ruled. He insisted, however, that just as the Thunderbird clan rules over the whole tribe in a general way, so the Water-spirit clan ruled over the clans of the lower phratry. Other informants claimed that the Water-spirit clan originally ruled over the entire tribe and that its place was subsequently usurped by the Thunderbird clan. It might be best to regard the function of the Water-spirit clan as akin but subsidiary to that of the Thunderbird clan. [622] [554]

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614 Members of the clan were buried by members of the Thunderbird
[764] clan.

Water was sacred to the Water-spirits. It was considered an
[823 insult for a stranger to peep into a pail standing in one of their lodges.
576] One informant explained the custom as follows:

"If one enters a Water-spirit clan lodge and looks into a pail and there should be no water in it, the person will turn away and this action of his will be construed as begging. It would be proper to take a drink of water if some were there."

[302] A round spot is painted with blue clay on the forehead of a Water-spirit man (pl. 46).

The Water-spirit feast is held in the fall and spring. Cracked or ground corn is used. Water-spirit people partake before anyone else at this feast.

### ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 In the beginning, when the clans began to form, the Bird clans
539 came upon the earth first and alit upon an oak tree at Red Banks;
776 and when they alit upon the oak tree they became human as we are now. Then the Water-spirit clan was to appear at Within Lake; and the waters began to whirl around in the lake and all the bad things that inhabited the waters began to appear. Just before the Water-spirits appeared some burned embers came up from the waters and the whirling became faster and deeper. As all the great things began to appear it always seemed as if the Water-spirits were the next to appear, but not until the last did they come up. Thereupon the waters began to quiet down. Then a white Water-spirit appeared with its horns curved toward each other, and when it came upon the earth it became human and walked. Then the other clans said, "Now, then, this is the chief. This is all that we have been waiting for. Now we shall divide ourselves" (into groups). Then they started for the lodge of the Thunderbird clan and entered it. There they named one another and divided one another into clans and there they counciled with one another.

### CLAN NAMES

WAKUCKI HIK'IK'ARAN'ERA (WATER-SPIRIT CLAN)

614 Ho-ada'ja'jank'a.....Shining horns.
● 551 Hona'pga.....Two horns.
Hop'i'wiaga.....Handsome horn.
Honicank'a.....Five-horned.
Hodjopga.....Four-horned.
Mank'a'ojaga.....He who plants medicines.
Mank'a'hodja'pga.....He who looks at medicines.
Ma'hdaip'i'wiaga.....Good cold spring.

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Ma^n^jiwings.....Yellowish-red earth (refers to deposits from iron springs).
Ma^n^nop'ings.....Second earth person.
Ni-ergadjewings.....She who plays on the water.
Ni amaniwings.....She who walks on the water.
Ni-a^n^p'^n^wings.....She who makes water good.
Ni-a^n^dagewings.....Still water.
Niranags.....Stream person.
Nihugs.....He who discharges water.
Ni-ot'a^n^pwings.....She who jumps into the water.
Nidjobegs.....Four streams.
Niwak'itwings.....Roberts (?) water.
Wakdjexicirik'a.....Bad Water-spirit.
Wakdjexihungs.....Chief of the Water-spirits.
Wakdjeximanigs.....Walking Water-spirit.
Wakdjexip'ings.....Good Water-spirit.
Wakdjexiba^n^wings.....White Water-spirit.
Hep'ings.....Good horn.
Wadjxodegs.....Big boat.
Hip'ahigs.....Sharp tooth.
Rabewings.....Beaverskin woman.
Rabewings.....Beaver.
Hejipgs.....Short horn.

## The Buffalo Clan

### INTRODUCTION

The first version of the origin myth of the Buffalo clan is of considerable interest because it gives us an idea of the manner in which a myth had to be bought. It is one of the few origin myths that gives a precise location for the origin of a particular clan. What lake is meant by *de cicik* it is impossible to say. Considerable importance should be attached, however, to the fact that their place of origin differed from that of most of the other clans, because it may indicate that the people who came to be known under the name Buffalo joined the tribe after the other clans. 614 173

The Buffalo clansmen seem to have had the function of acting as the public criers and in general of being an intermediary between the chief and the tribe. This, however, has been denied by some informants, one of them a member of the clan. Their lodge was at the southeast corner of the village. Some informants deny that they had a special lodge, however. [624 203] [361]

The Buffalo and Water-spirit clans are friends and are supposed to bury each other's members. [764]

### ORIGIN MYTH*

Informant, member of the clan: "Listen, my grandson. Those who originated from the buffaloes and the way in which they origi- 614 173

* The following myth is given in the precise manner in which the individual who told it to me obtained the information from one of the old men who was privileged to narrate it. Unfortunately it was impossible to obtain any other clan origin myth in the same way.

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867 782 276 Thus he made the tobacco so that humans may ask life with it, and he will grant them their desires. This is all."

### CLAN NAMES

#### THE HIN'IN'ARAINERA (BUFFALO CLAN)

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| | |
|---|---|
| Morstcegs | He who travels the land. |
| Tcanimanirings | She who walks ahead. |
| Tcenigkigs | Suckling buffalo calf. |
| Tcegs | Buffalo. |
| Teep'anu"pgs | Two buffalo heads. |
| Teetca"iwings | First buffalo. |
| Teeloienigk's | Buffalo yearling. |
| Teeloinigk's | Young buffalo bull. |
| Teewiganegs | Big female buffalo. |
| Wirukanangs | He who is in control. |
| Hohekmanigs? | Shaggy walker. |
| Teehatrowings | Buffalo hide blue. |
| Mangikuntrgs | Shakes the earth by striking |
| Teep'ags | Buffalo head. |
| Manok'aruhigs | Kicking up the earth. |

## THE DEER CLAN

### INTRODUCTION

614 173 The first version of the origin myth of the Deer clan is in part like that of version 6 of the Bear clan origin myth and in part like that of version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth. It is the only myth that shares with version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth the account of the origin of death.

614 The Deer clan does not seem to have had any important functions, although in myth 1, it is stated that they claimed a "partial" chieftainship, whatever that may mean.

[577] It was considered an insult to tell a member of this clan that he resembled a deer.

[302] The facial painting is the same as that used for the Elk clan. (Pl. 46.)

[826 761] The Deer clan people tell one another not to sing their clan song very loudly, and also not to make any sudden movement of their limbs, for each movement might cause the death of a human being. For the same reason they are told not to weep too loudly, as each deer's limb is a symbol of one of the four directions. When, therefore, a Deer clansman moves a limb too hard when he is weeping over the decease of a member of his clan, he might be "putting some human being in the earth," and the wind would blow hard.

[552] The dog names obtained were *wankigohonigs* and *na"natrgings*.

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## ORIGIN MYTHS

### FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

This is the origin story of the Deer people. In the beginning a 614
black deer accompanied by an elk appeared in the center of the 539
earth, and they went in the direction of the east. There they were 776
going. Then the black deer said, "My dear younger brother, I am heavy on account of my excessive fatness, go you alone and I will remain here." So he remained there and did not go; and then to the center of the earth, to the place from which they started, he returned. Then he came back to the earth, and again they asked him. Four times they asked. There the necklace of money ornaments he recognized, the black deer did.[28] Thus the Deer clan beat them, and therefore they have the name *Black-Deer-chief*. As they [551] ●
went so they returned again. Again the necklace made of money he (the black deer)[29] recognized. The earth they went around. Then again the black deer went to the east. It was a large one who went ahead, and as he was going along, to his astonishment, they reached the place from which they had started.

"My younger brother," said Black-deer, "you try to do it."[30] And the second-born went ahead and the others followed, and again they were drawn back to the place from which they started. Then the third-born went first and the others followed and the same thing happened. Then they told the fourth-born to go first, and he went in front and suddenly he struck his horn, the one on the right, upon the earth, and, behold, grass suddenly appeared. It was a very white bud that he had caused to appear. Then he struck his left horn on the earth, and he made a tree appear and the fruit of this tree was meant to be eaten. Then they ate the fruit of the tree. The top of the tree there they ate. Thus they said. And they [551]
call a woman even to-day *She-who-eats-the-top-of-the-tree*. And then they began to walk and the earth trembled from their walking. Toward the east side they went. From this fact they have a name, *He-who-shakes-the-earth*. And again as some of the brothers were small they have the name *Small-deer*. They also have the name *Walking-leader*. And they also have names *She-who-comes-back* and *He-who-comes-back*, because in the beginning they always came back to the place from which they started. Whatever actions they went through, from these they derived their names.

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[28] The thought is not quite clear here, due to the fact that something has probably been omitted by the narrator.

[29] There seems to be a contest between the deer and the elk as to who would be able to see the "money-necklace" first. Under the term "money-necklace" they evidently mean the medallions distributed by the Administration officials to those whom they recognized as chiefs. The recognition of the "money-necklace" is evidently going to decide the chieftainship between the deer and the elk. [554 301]

[30] Some power is evidently drawing them back to the place from which they started.

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[823]
[789]
[551]

The four cardinal points and the winds that are there, they are in control of. If on a very nice day a deer's voice is heard, that day will become bad, and if on a very bad day a deer's voice is heard, that day will become nice. The deer people are those who are in control of the weather. And they also have a name, *He-who-plays-with-the-winds*, and a woman is called *She-who-goes-with-the-wind*. The deer would always sit with the wind back of them. Thus they roamed all over the earth. Not one place on this earth did they miss.

Once, when they had come home, their eldest brother suddenly fell down (dead). "What is the matter?" they said. And the secondborn said, "Our oldest brother is not saying anything. I don't know what the matter is." And then they asked their youngest brother and he said, "Our oldest brother is dead. That is the way Earthmaker arranged things." And then he talked to the dead brother and he said, "Earthmaker has made a place for you to go to now that you are dead. You have not attained a large share of life and you have left us who remain on the earth in a pitiable condition. But now that you are going home I want to ask you something. Those years that are still coming to you, distribute among your relatives. This I beg of you. And this is the second request: May the warpaths that you did not go on (by reason of your death), may the war honors that you did not obtain, may all these things be distributed among us. This I ask of you, my dear brother. And this is the third request: May the food that you did not eat, the nuts, the sweet fruits, etc., all that you liked on earth, may it all be distributed among us. This is what I ask of you. And this is the fourth request, my dear older brother: May all the wearing apparel that belonged to you as well as all the materials that you stored in back of your tent, never to be touched by you, but may we who are left behind use it all. This I ask of you. Wherever you are going, may these requests of those whom you left here behind on earth be before you."

Then the younger brother took some red paint and he said, "Brother, I am going to paint you. Thus they will recognize you at home. That is the way we will always do it hereafter. Those who are to live after us will paint us in the same way. Now this is the manner of painting. The forehead and the corners of the eye are to be painted in black and red streaks, respectively, and the chin and the front part of the throat are to be painted red." Then he dug a grave. Then they buried him. Then they sang the songs and when they were finished with this, they traveled around the earth and came to the gathering place of the clans. When they came to that place they were people—i. e., human beings. They lived their own life just as they had as deers. All the incidents of their traveling as well as all the characteristics of deers were used in the names

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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they gave one another. Thus they have the names *White-hair*, *Fast-one*, *Little-white-teeth*, *Diffident-one*, *Horn*, *Pronged-horn*, etc.; and for dogs they have names also. That is the way the deer people lived in the beginning at Red Banks, Within Lake. Bands of people gathered together there, and all the clans that exist now originated there. 539 776 614

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

The Deer clan people came up at the beginning of the earth. Only one is spoken of as appearing at the beginning. He started forth but returned again that he might look for a companion. For that reason a name exists in the tribe, *He-who-comes-back*, and another is *He-who-appears-first*. After they had appeared on earth the deer blew on the original fire, which was only smoldering, and made it blaze up. For that reason they claim a partial chieftainship. The first one that appeared had a chief's medal around his neck. [551]

CLAN SONG. 614 533

I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions
I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.

CLAN NAMES

TCA HIK'IK'ARADJERA (DEER CLAN) 614 551

Teseph̄ūnk'a.....Black deer chief.
Wagizena'p'i'ga.....Wears shells around neck.
Teanūnkera'p'i'wings.....Deer vagina.
Mank'isgayeega.....Appears in the middle of earth
Testconiwings.....First deer woman.

## The Elk Clan

INTRODUCTION

In the Elk clan origin myth we find the clear statement that Earth-maker created the ancestors of the clan, and that they were human beings. The myth resembles a village origin myth more than it does a clan origin myth. 614 [773 776]

The Elk clan seems to have had certain functions relative to the distribution of fire through the village and in camp. It was never a very large clan.

The Elk people claim half of the fire, and thus half of the chieftainship. They never hold fire toward any one. [372]

Elks are buried by the Snake, Water-spirit, and Eagle clans, although the first has the preference. [622] [764]

White clay is used in painting the dead.

According to another informant, the facial painting consisted of white and blue dots on the face (pl. 46). [302]

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### ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 539 776 Earthmaker created all human beings. When he was about to create them, then he thought it would be good to see something moving. So he made a man and he was very good. But Earthmaker thought he ought to have company, so he made a woman. Then he thought to himself, "How should they know one another." So some one came to life through the water and this one was an animal. He made a village in the west for the human beings, and he thought about it and then he thought he would ask the humans what they would like to live through (i. e., become reincarnated), and they said the elk, because the elk never committed any crime. The humans were not to commit any crime. So the four elks started for the meeting place at Green Bay, Red Banks. They had up to that time supposed that they were the only living things, but Earthmaker let the oldest of the elks know of the existence of the other clans. So there they came and lived as Winnebagos. Thus it is said. This is all that they ever tell.

### CLAN NAMES

HU"WA" HIK'IK'ARANERA (ELK CLAN)

614 551 Rohe"manaiwings.....Many walking.
Rek'ohumanaiwings.....She who walks with the wind.
Teatchirunewings.....She who pursues the wind.

## Snake and Fish Clans

614 No information of any consequence was obtained about these two clans. Almost all the informants claimed that they were recent additions to the tribe. Only a very few survivors of either clan are still living.

### CLAN NAMES

WAK'A" HIK'IK'ARANERA (SNAKE CLAN)

614 551 Hayhcinigk'a.....Lying snake.
Hip'ahigs.....He who has sharp teeth.
Hiwdiags.....She who has attained her full growth.
K'ik'ordiwings.....She who crawls.
K'ipxuinagk'a.....Site coiled up.
Ginwok'inagk'a.....Site quiet in her (home).
Hokrigs.....High snake.

HO HIK'IK'ARANERA (FISH CLAN)

Ho-epcudjewings.....Red fish scale woman.

### CLAN APPELLATIONS NOT OBTAINED

Ho"bugewings.....Rust woman.
Huykuinagk'a.....Resting chief.

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K'ik'ununingo.....Licks himself.
Hank'ahorudjego.....Roams under the earth.
Hankowingo.....
Kakonaingo.....Sits solidly attached.
Hank'urudjewingo.....Her earth she spreads out.
Tcingonaingo.....Walks as a white house.
Naihinanwingo.....Cold walking woman.
Pa'nagego.....Coming white.
Wank'inek'ego.....Lone man.
Warutra'zonaingo.....Small attendant.
Hominankpingo.....Sits good as she comes.
Na'nawahigego.....He who brings something in his mouth.
K'inahiyungiwingo.....Fighting princess.
Haginganinank'a.....Lies in the middle of the earth.
Waxarutcinanewingo.....Moves along as she walks.
Wankrego.....Green man.
Hihina'jego.....Comes out.
P'ink'ik'ungo.....Fixes himself.

## Clan Names

### FIRST FOUR GIVEN IN EACH CLAN

Although it has been discontinued for some time, the Winnebago claim that in former times it was customary to assign definite names to the first four children born in each clan. In all probability this custom extended not only to the fourth but even to the sixth child, as lists were obtained that gave six names. This would correspond to the fixed number of birth names. No significance need be attached to the exact number, as it was intended beyond any doubt to cover the number of children generally born within one family. Within these limits, then, the names were fixed, at least theoretically. 614 553

First four names of Thunderbird clan; informant, member of clan: 614 551

First. Namonk'a.....Bending bough of tree.
Second. Nadja'pego.....Lighting the tree.
Na'nawagicingo.....Broken tree top.
Haan'tranagrungo.....All heard it.

First four names of Thunderbird clan; informant, member of Warrior clan:

First. Hop'ingo.....Good one.
Second. Warudjaxingo.....Makes noise as he comes?
Third. Wak'andjanaingo.....Thunder walker.
Wak'andjahungo.....Thunder chief.

Informant, member of Thunderbird clan:

First. Wak'andjahungo.....Thunder chief (male).
Second. Ma'djidjego.....He who alights on the earth (male).
First. Hak'awa wingo.....Darkness (female).
Second. Na'nangewingo.....Bends (weighs) the tree down (female).

1;Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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Informant, member of Elk clan:

First. Wak'andja ssgga.....Black thunderbird.
Second. Wak'andja-tcega.....Green thunderbird.
Third. Wak'andja sgega.....White thunderbird.
Fourth. Wak'andja cutcga.....Red thunderbird

Names of Warrior clan; informant, member of the clan:

First. Wonayire waghrik'a.....Warrior man (male)
or Hanzadega.....Big tree (male).
Second. Ha'i'nah'iga.....Lone tree (male).
Third. Ma'cdja'managa.....Walks mightily (male).
Fourth. Wonayirega.....War (male).
Fifth. I'otcia-ehiga.....Fire-starter (male)
Sixth. Hôugmanaga.....Chief walker (male).
First. Ahugiriniwinga.....Shining wings (female).
Second. Ahutcwinga.....Blue wing (female).
Third. K'inhiyungiwinga.....Fighting princess (female).
Fourth. Ahup'i'winga.....Good wing (female).
Fifth. Nijomaniwinga.....Rain walker (female).

First four names of Eagle clan; informant, member of Warrior clan:

First. Nagh'iriijega.....Returns to the tree.
Second. Ahunk'a.....Strikes his wings.
Third. Trazéphugh'a.....Eagle chief.
Fourth. Trazcepa'sunik'a.....Small eagle.

Bear clan; informant, member of the clan:

First. Tonnaghugh'a.....Bear chief (male)
Second. ?.....? (male).
Third. Wak'inne'p'inga.....He who has white spot under his throat (male).
Fourth. Hundjaedega.....Big bear (male).
Fifth. Hinoringa.....(Male).
Sixth. Noozunga.....Scrapes a tree (male).
First. Hok'iwaigu'winga.....Retraces her footsteps (female).
Second. Tonnaghotcwinga.....Blue bear (female).
Third. Ha'cgadjewinga.....Plays on wood (female).
Fourth. Angawawinga.....Delicious berry (female).
Fifth. Hundj hinugh'a.....Female bear (female).
Sixth. Hicu'p'winga.....Visible footprints (female).

Bear clan; informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:

Maiyage'higa.....Shakes the earth.
Wakanykantega.....Makes (it) quake.
Hashéwainmaniga.....Gives forth fruit as he walks.
Ha'ninge'higa.....Makes the day tremble

Bear clan; informant, member of the clan:

First. Magh'inkhomingh'a.....He who sits in the middle of the earth.
Second. Hohoro'o'nainmaniga.....He who carries the ensign.
Third. Ha'hidja'dja'higa.....Makes the day tremble.
Fourth. Nai'nwahiciga.....Breaks the tree tops.

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**Wolf clan; informant, member of Bear clan:**

First. Hi'tcega.....Blue hair.
Second. Keratcega.....Blue sky.
Third. Cuñktcunk' zotega.....Gray wolf.
Fourth. Cuñktcunk' sgega.....White wolf.

**Wolf clan; informant, member of Thunderbird clan:**

First. Cunktcunk' zotega.....Gray wolf.
Second. Cunktcunk' sepga.....Black wolf.
Third. Cunktcunk' sgega.....White wolf.
Fourth. Cunktcunk' cutega?.....Red wolf(?)

**Wolf clan; informant, member of the clan:**

First. Cunktcunk' sgega.....White wolf.
Second. Cunktcunk' zotega.....Gray wolf.
Third. Hi'tcega.....Green hair.
Fourth. Cuñktcunk' sepga.....Black wolf.

**Water-spirit clan; informant, member of Eagle clan:**

First. Wakdjexi sgega.....White water-spirit.
Second. Wakdjexi pinga.....Good water-spirit.
Third. Wakdjexi tcega.....Green water-spirit.
Fourth. Wakdjexi sepga.....Black water-spirit.

**Elk clan; informant, member of the clan:**

First. Ho'wunga.....The elk.
Second. Hemastega.....Prong-horned.
Third. Ho'wungepga.....Black elk.
Fourth. Hi'ngega.....White hair.

**Deer clan; informant, member of Elk clan.**

First. Tcega.....The deer.
Second. Tca'rack'iga.....Lone deer.
Third. Tcengega.....White deer.
Fourth. Tcenepga.....Black deer.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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174 the bear in others, although both are also often found together.

614 Looking at our facts from another point of view, it is quite clear that clan segregation must not be taken too literally. 621 Clan exogamy would necessarily prevent that. If the old exogamy of the two divisions was in force and a man was thus compelled to marry into his mother's division but not into her clan, every village would have had to be arranged in an extremely artificial manner, that was not likely to have occurred frequently. [591] That a man often lived with his parents-in-law, would in addition again disorganize the regularity of the scheme. Finally, we have the evidence of the myths, which often speak of a man as departing on a journey when seeking a bride. All these customs, cutting across the village scheme in a number of ways, must have rendered it a rather complex unit. That, in spite of all this, clan exogamy could have been maintained even in a small village is unquestionable, but the reason for this lay, we suspect, in the limitation of the concept of blood-relations. With these considerations in mind, we may, then, admit clan segregation.

*Individual Names.*

614 With the animal appellation of the clan, one naturally associates animal names of individuals, for there is, indeed, 551 a correlation between them. Animal names of individuals 182 are, however, frequently found when the social units have names of an entirely different kind. A similar lack of correlation exists between the manner and system of naming and the type of social organization. That, on the other hand, the social organization may fundamentally influence the nature of the individual name is also apparent. Only with these points in mind can the Winnebago individual names become intelligible.

614 The study of Winnebago names can be approached from a purely static point of view, and the attempt made to bring 551 them analytically under a certain system of naming; or, on the other hand, 174 from a dynamic historical view-point. We shall try to undertake both. Every clan has a distinct set of names.

The Winnebago individual names lend themselves easily to categories of classification. We have the following classes:

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I. According to colour. II. According to physiological characteristics. III. According to social functions. IV. Descriptive of animal and plant forms. V. Descriptive of animal characteristics. VI. Descriptive of natural phenomena. VII. According to quality. VIII. According to episodes of a legendary origin. IX. Descriptive of personal achievement.

According to practically all informants only one of these classifications is present in the minds of the Winnebago to-day—that commemorating incidents relating to the origin of each clan. Thus, for instance, because the first thunderbird lit on a tree, the name He-who-lights-on-a-tree exists; because a wave swept over the shore in the wolf myth, we have the name Wave; etc. However, the most representative names of this type are such as Gives-forth-fruit-as-he-walks, Makes-the-day-tremble, He-who-comes-singing, Judge-of-the-contest, etc. The vast majority of names, although many can be interpreted as possible episodes of the clan ancestors, belong under the first seven categories described above. Yet the Winnebago interpret them all in terms of category VIII. Can we accept this present interpretation as historically primary? We think not. A large number of the clan names are purely descriptive of animal habits, others express the influence of social organization, for instance "Soldier" in the Bear clan, "Chief" in the Thunderbird, and others refer to personal achievements, etc.; secondly, the interpretation is of too specific a nature to be regarded as one that could possibly have dictated an original system of naming; and, thirdly, in spite of its prevalence, other systems of interpretations are present. For example, the interpretations obtained by J. O. Dorsey are largely symbolical, and make no mention of the one we found so prevalent. A purely symbolical interpretation was, it is true, obtained in some cases, notably from what one might call the "exoteric" members of the tribe, that is, from those who were insufficiently acquainted with the clan myths and customs. Another type of name characteristically developed among the Omaha and Central Algonkins, is the so-called "dream-name," a name supposed to represent some incident connected with the dream of the individual bestowing it. In all these cases we are speaking of the specific names.

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If we include the nicknames, and then the birth names, we have five distinct systems of individual names. Remembering that every individual had three names, a birth name, clan name, and nickname, of co-ordinate importance, we must not exaggerate the importance of the clan name, especially in its social significance. An individual is known by his birth name or nickname, generally, however, by the former, which sufficed absolutely as a mark of identification under normal conditions. The clan name was rarely known by a member of another clan or even to all members of the clan. A marked religious symbolical flavour clung about it, and this was enhanced and elaborated by the shaman and principal members of the clan. The way was thus open for the development of specific interpretations such as the dream, symbolical, and notably the ancestor-episode type. The ancestor-episode type seems to have been the last. The uniformity it brought about in the interpretation of individual names was all the more easily accomplished in view of the fact that this esoteric interpretation was not disturbed by the influence of any popular system, since, as has been pointed out, the nature of the clan name prevented it from having any distinctively social-political value. Many such reinterpretations must have taken place in the history of the tribe, and we may thus obtain some idea of the insurmountable difficulties in the way of a proper understanding of names. Psychologically two processes are always active in these changes in name connotation: first, the reinterpretation of the old names according to some definite system of classification; and, secondly, the formation of new names on this basis. Interpreting a name, probably merely descriptive of the bear's manner of walking, like Retraces-her-footsteps, into an incident connected with the origin of the clan, and, on the other hand, giving a name like Scatters-flowers-as-he-walks, are two examples of the two processes, which must have occurred at every change. In the case here cited, reinterpretation in no way does injury to the name itself. It frequently happens, however, that the significance of a word is lost and that, in the process of reinterpretation, names are interpreted in a characteristic folk-etymological manner. *Tcoyanke*, given above, is a case in point. In addition to the possible

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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meaning of "blue-back," it has been interpreted as "first," from *tconi*. In the same way *degoni* has been interpreted as *re* "to go" and *honi*, "to hunt"; and *hotcangera* has been subjected to a multitude of interpretations. This folk-etymology not only overrides the grammatical peculiarities of Winnebago, but even makes faulty compounds conform to the Winnebago principles of grammar. Inquiry into the origin of the clan names will, for these various reasons, have to be regarded as one of the most unprofitable of investigations. 614 551 174

### *Attitude Toward Clan Animals.*

We mentioned before that when the animal names became associated with the social groups, they were accompanied by the specific associations clustering around these animals. These associations were probably of the same type, if not indeed identical with those grouped around the animals as guardian spirits. The clan animals are among the principal guardian spirits to-day, and we must expect to find an explanation of the attitude toward them as clan animals in the attitude the Winnebago exhibit toward the guardian spirit. To a certain extent it would be quite correct to say that the guardian spirit became the clan animal. This does not, however, mean, in the slightest degree, that the guardian spirit of the individual became the clan animal, but merely that the concept of the guardian spirit became associated with a local group. 614 776 825 [174]

The guardian spirit is at the present time conceived as an immaterial being in control of an animal species. The attitude toward this spirit is a purely religious one, and exhibits a marked absence of taboo of any kind. It is an open question whether a vision must be attested by obtaining some part of the animal "embodiment" of the spirit, but there is no doubt that every vision is symbolized by a special gift from the "spirit." The guardian spirit complex may thus be said to consist of a special religious attitude plus symbol. [784] [787]

The attitude toward the clan animal is characteristically different in this respect, that more emphasis is laid upon identification with the animal itself, as contrasted with the "spirit."

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935

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554 562 582 ries into a family below her's in dignity. The pride originating in birth, is as deeply seated in the hearts of those who are nobly descended, among the natives of the Northwest, as it is among the petty princes of Germany.

625 It is customary for the chiefs to appoint two soldiers, in each village to keep order in it, and they faithfully do so (p. 100).

431 624 In each tribe, some one man acts as a divider, by order of the civil chiefs, and by general consent. Whenever we made the men any presents, of pipes, paints, tobacco, or any thing else, the self same men, if Winnebagoes were the Indians receiving the presents, appeared, took charge of the property, and divided it in the most equitable manner, among all present at the time. They reserved nothing for themselves, generally, but held up their empty hands to show their disinterestedness.

[171] If the Sauks and Foxes received presents, two men, one for each tribe, acted as dividers, and the same individuals always performed the same duty (pp. 100–101).

554 551 614 . . . "The rolling Thunder," "the Yellow Thunder," "the Distant Thunder," &c., are individuals among the Winnebagoes, who possess great weight of character; and that tribe to which belong men, who stand high on their roll of fame, for their distinguished valor in War, for their consummate prudence, experience and wisdom in the national councils, is emphatically called, "the thunder tribe" (p. 124).

114 There are other items appurtenant to Winnebago ethnology in Atwater's work; some to that of the Sauks and Foxes; some to tribes of the upper Mississippi valley in general: there are some acute statements regarding the chronology of the populating of America.

171 174 614 A "turtle" gens does not occur in the lists of Morgan, Dorsey, and Radin, and Radin specifically denies that there is such a Winnebago gens. He also states that almost all informants claimed that the Snake and Fish clans (gentes) were recent to the tribe. However, as special names "go with" [114] fixed gentes, by examining the lists of the signers of the treaties between the [648] Winnebago and the United States, it becomes clear that a member of the Snake gens signed the treaty of August 19th, 1825 as well as the treaty of [551] August 25th, 1828. And a Snake clan exists among the Ponca, Iowa, Oto-Missouri, Quapaw, as well as some non-Siouan tribes.[10] Also it may be observed that among the Osage and Quapaw we have a Fish clan (used rather loosely). So too "Turtle" as the name of a gens (sub-gens) among the Siouan tribes Omaha, Kansa, Quapaw, and Osage,[11] and elsewhere. [551] And Carrymaunee (Karamanu, etc.), "Walking Turtle,"[12] signed more

[10] See the important theoretical discussion by Lowie in American Anthropologist, Vol. 36, 1934, pp. 327–28; cf. also Radin, the Winnebago Tribe, p. 182; Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe (Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology), pp. 38, 39.

[11] Among the Omaha and Osage "the turtle carriers or bearers" and "Turtle-carriers" respectively; "Carries-a-turtle-on-his-back" among the Kansa: observe that according to the above Carrymaunee "carried" a large painted tortoise on his back.

[12] The phonetic restoration is presumably Kéramani; mani means "to walk," as can be seen from old vocabularies, etc., as well as the personal names given by Radin in his The Winnebago Tribe and the Winnebago text by Radin in the Siouan sketch in Handbook of Ameri-

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935
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than one treaty with the United States. Similarly the lists of signers of the 171
treaties of June 3rd, 1816, August 19th, 1825, etc., between the Winnebago 174
and the United States indicate the existence of gentes not in the published 614
lists, but which have analogues among other Siouan tribes. I feel certain [648]
that a study of the names of the signers of treaties between United States and such Siouan tribes as have distinctive clan-names (and similar non-Siouan tribes) would yield valuable results. And a study of the personal names of such tribes in older writers would also pay. In this connection I may say that from Atwater's book, using this technique, it can be readily determined that the Eagle and Elk gentes were in existence among the Winnebago in addition to those specifically mentioned by him. The treaties furnish a few others, e.g., Earth, Sky. In this connection I may say that it is clear from the names of the signers of the treaty of May 13th, 1816 that at least the following Sauk gentes were in existence: Sturgeon, Eagle, Thunder, Bear, Swan, Wolf, Fox, Partridge, Sea. It is not without interest to note that all these save Partridge and Fox are on Forsyth's list of 1827.[13] If we count Partridge as the equivalent of Grouse, all occur in Jones' list printed in the Handbook of American Indians in the article *Sauk*. Sturgeon, Swan, and Partridge are not in Skinner's list. Sturgeon, Eagle, Sea (= Great Water), Bear, Thunder, Partridge (= Pheasant), Wolf, and Fox occur in Galland's list. Wolf, Bear, Eagle, Sturgeon, Fox, Sea, and Thunder occur in Morgan's list. If we pool M. R. Harrington's two lists we find Thunder, Fox, Wolf, Bear, Swan, Sturgeon, Eagle on them. A knowledge of the names on the tribal rolls from the earliest times would doubtless shed much light on the subject.

It should be mentioned that Radin argues for a priority of village groups, 174
but states that according to all informants each Winnebago village was in- 621
habited by members of various clans, and that in no case did a village 614
merely include members of the same clan. Observe the contradiction with 114
Atwater's data.

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can Indian Languages (Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, 40, Pt. 1). There are equivalents in several Siouan languages. In the Siouan sketch Radin gives kec'û'ñgegā as a personal name, "the tortoise," and ke'c'û'ñgera as "you, tortoise," and in note 38 of the Winnebago text we are told that ke'c'ûñk or kec'û'ñgē is a large species of turtles, and that kē also means "turtle." La Flesche gives ke (in my transcription) as the Osage for "turtle, tortoise, terrapin," but Dorsay gives k'e (in my transcription) for both Osage and Quapaw, but ke (in my transcription) for Omaha; k'eya, "tortoise," is given by Deloria for Dakota. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the formation of personal names in Winnebago to be positive whether ra is the pronoun "thou" (vocative; see notes 39 and 46 to Radin's Winnebago text) or whether kera may be an archaic correspondent to Dakota k'eya with the recognized shift of y to r. [551]

[13] They are in his Fox list.

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



575 the candidate into the woods, where none will see them and put him
756 through tests, such as falling immediately when he is shot with a medi-
796 cine bag. They also teach him to sing the ritual of the medicine lodge, being sure that no one hears.

824 The Winnebago observe the same precautions in gathering plants and place as great stress upon the manner of this gathering as do other Wisconsin Indians.

126 Most of the summer was spent among the Winnebago collecting their various economic and medicinal plants, about which copious notes were taken. On August 16, a trip was made to a Winnebago religious
123 feast given by A. White and his son, Frank, with two other relatives,
551 at which the writer was given a Winnebago name. As is the Indian custom, no more than one Indian name can be given and a name in a second language must mean the same as the original one. It happens that the first name given the writer was by the Menomini at Keshena; namely *"Onawonik"* meaning "Flying Squirrel." Hence the Ojibwe followed suit with *"Shagashkandawe"* also meaning "Flying Squirrel," and the Winnebago took their word *"Kashingra"* meaning the same.

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
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178 nomini who live on reservations and, it seems logical to as-
191 sume, would be likely to consider themselves more of a cul-
171 tural entity, and so be better equipped to preserve their language. None the less, this does not seem to be the case according to Chippewa and Menomini informants who claim that many of their younger people do not speak the tribal language, whereas a majority of even the smallest children among the Wisconsin Winnebago are bi-lingual.

178 In considering our four types of social change, we might
535 almost add a fifth type, which arises from a reaction against white contact and is a tendency to return to old patterns, as in the case of the revival of the scalp and victory dances which practically died out after the last World War. These dances have come into prominence in the last year or so with the Indian boys again going on the "war-path."

### Cultural Change and Cultural Stability

178 Although we are considering cultural change among the Wisconsin Winnebago, the picture at this point seems rather
182 one-sided without some mention of resistance to cultural change. Despite the constant and long-continued process of change, there is still retained a surprising amount of old Indian culture. Christian missionaries and the Peyote Religion have not managed to do away with the Thunderbirds, Water Spirits, and the rest of the pagan hierarchy. The Medicine Lodge continues as an important factor in the life of many Wisconsin Winnebago. Unfortunately, the writer's data are limited regarding the present number and ages of the adherents to the pagan religion, or as they prefer to be called, **the conservative group.**

182 It is interesting to note that practically all of the Winne-
● 551 bago, whether from Wisconsin or Nebraska, whether Christian, conservative, or pagan, still refer to their children by ancient religiously determined names. They are used in preference to the Christian names which all Indians now possess. These Indian names for boys and girls are merely an indication of the order of age and sex of the children in any given family, and are not to be confused with clan names which are

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
NP12 Winnebago NP12



individually bestowed upon members of the conservative group. 182 551

The list of old Indian traits still found among the Wisconsin Winnebago could be extended at great length to include items of diet, clothing, religion, amusements, healing, social organization, and many other aspects of the culture, but of course cannot all be discussed in this article. There is, nevertheless, one final and important feature, and that is that the Indian definitely considers himself a member of a distinct race, and that differences in white and Indian outlook are inherent in the blood rather than due to societal processes. 182 [829]

## Conclusion

From observation of current trends and from the reminiscences of informants, it seems safe to conclude that the pattern of change outlined above will be followed in coming years with an ever-increasing tendency of the Winnebago to take on more and more of the aspects of white culture. Naturally changes vary from community to community, but the overall picture of the forms of cultural change seems to hold true. 178

There is one important point which may affect the Winnebago in unforseen ways, and that is the present war. As far as influencing cultural change today, it is more of a nuisance than an acting force. True the Indians are notably patriotic in the purchase of war bonds, and Indian boys are in all of the fighting forces; but for the most part, except where tragedy strikes individual families, the Indian thinks of the war as apart from his affairs. Some older people still feel strongly about the irony of Indians fighting for a country they themselves already have lost. 178 722

There is, of course, the inconvenience of tire and gasoline rationing on a people who lead a semi-nomadic life, but in our group, as far as the writer could ascertain, this did not constitute a great problem.

Many Indians have begun working in defence factories since the outbreak of the war, but even then they manage to stay in fairly isolated groups, as witness the Badger Ordnance Plant,

## §1. *Early Childhood*

Father and mother had four children and after I was born. An uncle of my mother named White Cloud spoke to her before I was born and told her, "You are about to give birth to a child who will not be an ordinary individual." These were the words he addressed to her. It was then that my mother gave birth to me. As soon as I was born, indeed as I was being washed—as my neck was being washed—I laughed out loudly.

I have been told [1] that I was a good-tempered child.

During childhood my father told me to fast and I obeyed him. Throughout the winter, every morning, I would get up very early, crush charcoal, and then blacken my face with it. As soon as the sun rose would I go outside and there gazing steadily at the sun, make my prayer to the spirits, crying.[2]

[1] Whenever the writer refers to events that happened before his time or before he could remember things, he always uses the quotative, "It is said."

[2] This refers to the custom of fasting of which many examples will be found later on. Among the Winnebago and many culturally related tribes, every person, male and female, was expected, between the ages of five and twelve, to seek communion with some supernatural spirit and the spirit so obtained was supposed to grant the suppliant certain powers and in general preside over his destinies throughout life. The proper manner of approaching this ordeal was to blacken one's face with charcoal and retire at night to some semi-deserted place at some distance from the house and there pray-

## §2. *My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud*

159 *
205
[551]

My brother-in-law was named Thunder Cloud. It is said that he was living his third life as a human being.*

This is his account:

I once lived with a small group of Indians numbering about twenty camps. When I had grown up to be a lad, although still not large enough to handle a gun, a war-party attacked us and killed us all. I did not know, however, that I had been killed. I thought that I was running about as usual until I saw a heap of bodies on the ground and mine among them. No one was there to bury us, so there we lay and rotted.

My ghost was taken to the place where the sun sets. There I lived with an old couple. The land of the spirits is an excellent place and the people have the best of times. If you desire to go anywhere all that you have to do is to wish yourself there and you reach it. While there I thought I would like to come to the earth again so the old man with whom I was staying said to me, "My son, did you not speak about wanting to go to the earth again?" I had as

* The belief in reincarnation is very widespread among the Winnebago. It is generally believed that if any child resembles some deceased individual he is that individual reincarnated. Not every person, however, can become reincarnated. This is a privilege that belongs only to the more prominent people and to the members of the most sacred of Winnebago ceremonies, the Medicine Dance. [554] [996]

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



*159 787 I was also told that it would be a very difficult thing to obtain this particular blessing.

So there I fasted at the black-hawk's nest, where a lodge had been built for me. The first night I stayed there I wondered when something would happen. But nothing took place. The second night, rather late in the night, my father came and opened the war-bundle and then taking out a gourd, began to sing. I stood beside him without any clothing except my breech-clout and, holding tobacco in each hand, I uttered my cry to the spirits:

[782] "O spirits, here humble in heart I stand beseeching you."

My father sang war-bundle songs and wept as he sang. I also wept as I uttered my cry to the spirits. When he was finished he told me some sacred stories; [551] he told me about my ancestor Weshgishega:

### *The Story of My Ancestor Weshgishega*

*159 787 539 776 When Weshgishega was growing up his father coaxed him to fast. He told him that when Earthmaker had created the various spirits, all the good ones he had created, were placed in charge of something. The gift of bestowing upon man life and victory in war he gave to some; to others, the gift of hunting-powers. Whatever powers the Indians needed in order to live, these he placed in the hands of various spirits. These blessings Weshgishega's father told Weshgishega to attempt to obtain from the spirits.

Thus Weshgishega fasted and tried to obtain something

## *Fasting*

fering. I am Earthmaker and I bless you. You will never be in want of anything; you will be able to understand the languages of your neighbors; you will have a long life; indeed, with everything do I bless you." But, from the very first, this figure did not inspire Weshgishega with confidence and he thought to himself, "Somebody must be fooling me." And so it was; it was a bird. 159* 796 787 539

Then most assuredly did he think that he wished to die for he felt that all the bad birds in the world were trying to make fun of him.

Earthmaker, above where he sits, knew of all this. He heard the man's voice and he said, "O Weshgishega, you are crying. I shall come to the earth for you. Your father has told me all." Then when Weshgishega looked, he saw a ray of light extending very distinctly from the sky down to the earth. To the camp it extended. "Weshgishega, you said that you wanted to see me. That, however, cannot be. But I am the ray of light. You have seen me."

Not with any war powers did Earthmaker bless him; only with life.

After telling me about Weshgishega, father left me. When I found myself alone I began to think that something ought to happen soon, yet nothing occurred so I had to pass another day there. On the third night I was still there. My father visited me again and we repeated what we had done on the night before. He told me about my grandfather Jobenangiwinxga: 159* 787 [551]

### *My Ancestor Jobenangiwinxga*

Once Jobenangiwinxga fasted. So that he might be blessed by the spirits he starved and thirsted himself to 159* 539 787 [785]

## *Crashing Thunder*

539 614 776 give to his relatives. Then they would not feel so unhappy and lonesome.

*159 614 553 Now in our clan whenever a child was to be named it was my father who did it. That right he now transmitted to my brother.

*159 551 Earthmaker, in the beginning, sent four men from above and when they came to this earth everything that happened to them was utilized in making proper names. This is what our father told us. As they had come from above so from that fact has originated a name *Comes-from-above;* and since they came like spirits we have a name *Spirit-man*. When they came, there was a drizzling rain and hence the names *Walking-in-mist, Comes-in-mist, Drizzling-rain*. It is said that when they came to *Within-lake* they alighted upon a small shrub and hence the name *Bends-the-shrub;* and since they alighted on an oak tree, the name *Oak-tree*. Since our ancestors came with the thunderbirds we have a name *Thunderbird* and since these are the animals who cause thunder, we have the name *He-who-thunders*. Similarly we have *Walks-with-a-mighty-tread, Shakes-the-earth-down-with-his-force, Comes-with-wind-and-hail, Flashes-in-every-direction, Only-a-flash-of-lightning, Streak-of-lightning, Walks-in-the-clouds, He-who-has-long-wings, Strikes-the-tree.*

Now the thunderbirds come with terrible thunder-crashes. Everything on the earth, animals, plants, everything, is deluged with rain. Terrible thunder-crashes resound everywhere. From all this a name is derived and that is my name—*Crashing Thunder.*

[P.40]

*159 Thus I spoke. However, they made me an offering
721 of tobacco as they asked me, and I accepted the to-
[701] bacco saying that I would at least make an offering
[781] of tobacco for them. Then I offered tobacco to the
[776] Thunderbirds and asked them for rain, that we might walk in the protection and power of rain. This offering we made in the morning and it rained all that day. Then we went to the place where we knew that we could find horses. When we got there we met the owner of the horses and spoke to him. We accompanied him to a carpenter shop nearby, and there killed him. I struck his dead body, counted coup[88] first,
[555] and announced my new name, as I gave a war-whoop.
[551] I shouted '*Big-Winnebago* has counted coup on his man.' Then the others counted coup also. We searched his pockets and found medicine and money
[727] in them. The money we divided among ourselves. After that we cut out his heart, for we had heard that
[826] hearts were used for medicine. That is why we cut out his heart. He had a gun and that we took away from him and hid."

Then my father said to me, "My son, it is good. Your life is no longer an effeminate one. This is the manner in which our ancestors encouraged us to live. It is the will of the spirits in control of war that has led

[88] The first four war honors enumerated above are called "counting coup" by the Whites. *Coup* is the French for *strike* and the expression owes its origin to the custom of warriors counting the number of people they have killed or honors they have obtained by striking the post at the grave of the particular person for whose benefit they are recounting their achievements.
[555]

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 905 786 Medicine, grandfather, most assuredly you are holy! All that is connected with you, that I would like to know and that I would like to understand. Help me! I give myself up to you entirely!

For three days and for three nights I had been eating the peyote and not slept at all. Now I realized that throughout all the years that I had lived, I had never once known a truly holy thing. Now, for the first time, I knew it. Would that some of the Winnebago might also know it!

*159 905 755 Many years ago I had been sick and it looked as if this sickness were going to kill me. I tried all the Winnebago doctors and then I tried all of the white-man's medicines, all were of no avail. I thought to myself, "You are doomed. I wonder whether you will be alive next year?" Such were the thoughts that came to me. As soon as I ate the peyote, however, I got over my sickness. After that I was not sick again. My wife suffered from the same disease and I told her that if she ate the peyote it would cure her. She was afraid although she had never seen it before. She knew that I had used it and yet was afraid. Her sickness, however, got worse and worse and one day I said to her, "You are sick. It is going to be very difficult but try the peyote anyhow. It will ease you." Finally she ate it. I had told her to eat it and then wash herself and comb her hair and that she would get well. She got entirely well. I painted her face and took my gourd and began singing to her very much. Then I stopped. "Indeed, you are right," she said, "for now I am well." From that day to the present she has been well. Now she is very happy.

● [551] A man named *Black-waterspirit* was having a hemorrhage at about that time and I wanted him to eat the peyote.

## *The Effects of the Peyote*

"Well," said he, "I am not going to live anyhow." "Eat the peyote nevertheless," I said, "and you will get cured." Before that consumptives never were cured and now for the first time one was cured. *Black-waterspirit* is living to-day and is very well. 159 * 795 755

Then there was a man named *Walking-priest*. He was very fond of whisky, chewed, smoked, and gambled. He was also terribly addicted to women. Indeed he did everything bad. I gave him some of the peyote and he gave up all the bad things he was doing. He had a very dangerous disease. He even had murder in his heart. To-day he is living a good life. Such is his desire. [551]

Whoever has any evil thoughts, let him eat the peyote and he will lose all his bad habits. It is a cure for everything bad.

To-day the Winnebago say that only God is holy. One of the Winnebago told me this: "Really the life that I led was a very bad one. Never again will I do it. This medicine is good and always will I use it." *John Harrison* and *Squeaking-wings* were prominent members of the Medicine Dance; they thought much of themselves, as did all the members of the Medicine Dance. They knew all the secrets of the ritual. Both of them were gamblers and were rich because they were gamblers. Their parents had acquired great wealth by giving medicines to the Winnebago. These two men were very rich and believed that they had a right to be selfish with their possessions. Then they ate the peyote and ever since that time they have been followers of the peyote. They were very ill at one time and now they have been cured of their illness. Now if there are any men who can be taken as examples of the workings of the peyote, it is these three I have mentioned. Even if a man were blind and had only heard of these three men he [551]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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## Winnebago Names of Other Tribes and Peoples

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At the present time the Winnebago appears to have names only for the following tribes and peoples:

Omaha, Oma'ha'.
Sioux, Ca'ha'.
Oto, Wadjokdjadja.
Iowa, Wazote.
Pawnee, Pani.
Menominee, Kayi.
Fox, Wacoroka.
Sauk, Zagi.
Potawatomi, Wapax.
Ojibway, Regatci.
Kickapoo, Jakdjanagi.
Osage, Worac.
French, Djimongreona.
Germans, Dayori.
English, Zagana'r.
Irish, Hit'e waracicik.
Whites in general, Ma'hi zedora.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



539 something. Ha ha, our friends have come. Sit opposite (those
614 opposite said). As long as we live we will attend to the fire for
776 you." "Listen, our friends, they are speaking." "Ha, ha, sit opposite me" (a new clan has entered). They sat down. "You Water-spirit clan, what relation, my friend, will you be to me?" "What relation shall I be to you? You will be my chief." "Good. Now listen, a dog is howling. Let us wait for him." So the Thunderbirds waited for him. "Let us call him." "Ha, ha, my friend, we wish to teach the two-legged walkers something. As we say so will the Winnebagoes ever be." Again the Thunderbirds spoke, "Listen, some one has said something. Two people have come. We will call them the Buffalo clan."

## The Warrior Clan

### Introduction

614 There are not many members of this clan left, although it seems to have been quite important in the old days, to judge from the number of effigy mounds all over Wisconsin. There seems little doubt but that those bird effigies with unsplit tail are supposed to represent this clan.

Only one version of the origin myth was obtained. There is little to be said about it except that it mentions the fact that it was cus-
[552 tomary to have names for dogs. One statement seems to point toward
266] cannibalism. As was pointed out in the preceding discussion, there is a boastful claim that they were chiefs.

614 Although, at the present time, this clan is known only as the
178 wonayira ta'akrak (fear-inspiring men), its older name was hawk, and as such it was still known to J. O. Dorsey. When the present name began to be popular, it is impossible to say, but we feel confident that it has been in partial use for a considerable length of time. The change is quite in line with the rather common habit of referring to the Thunderbird clan as the chief clan and the Bear clan as the soldier clan. In other words, we have a name indicative of the functions of a clan superseding the older animal name. It is only in the case of the Warrior clan, however, that this substitution has been complete.

614 There is no indication in the myth that the Warrior clan was ever localized. A number of informants stated that the clan was but a division of a general bird phratry. In version 2 of the Thunderbird clan origin myth it is stated that the second of the two brothers was the ancestor of the Warrior clan. Dorsey, as we have seen, obtained the same information.

[361] The Warrior clan seems to have had a lodge in the northwest
00 corner of the village. In this lodge they claimed that prisoners were

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



The following dog names were obtained: 614

A black dog with yellow eyebrows and breast is called *hcsiga'ruyega*, 231
Opens-beehives; black female dog, *hdcikiga*, Picks-acorns; black 552
dog with white around the neck, *hdc hogawanga*, Runs-for-acorns. The chief also had the privilege of calling a dog *worurga*, to show his superiority over the other members of the Bear clan. From another informant the following were obtained: *Trapiracdega*, Eats-everything-except-hide; *trahoruwka*, Pulls-out-deer-liver.

### ORIGIN MYTHS

#### FIRST VERSION [1]

Informant, member of the clan: In the beginning a bear came 614
walking on the ocean. When he got to the shore he flew off as a 539
raven and alit on the shore. The first being he saw was a Dog clans- 776
man. Then he entered the lodge and sat opposite him. That is

FIG. 35.—Diagram of Bear lodge.

why they call one another friends, or "he who sits opposite me." From the fact that he flew off as a raven we have a name (*kazijigaga*). The lodge had four doors, one on each end and one on each side (fig. 35). They landed at Green Bay, where a great gathering was held of all the clans. The other Bear clansmen claim that it was water foam that flew from the water, and it is from that fact that they obtained so much life. The fact that he (the bear) changed himself twice is the reason for his greatness among his fellow clansmen. Originally it was the fourth born who was sent from across the ocean.

#### SECOND VERSION

Informant, father of above: In the beginning 10 brothers started from across the ocean to the great clan meeting. When they got near, four waves came ashore and a raven flew from the waves, but when it alit (on land) it was a bear that walked. They were the greatest

[1] There are as many versions of the origin of the Bear clan that I think it best to give all I obtained. They are all discussed on p. 325.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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867 782 Thus he made the tobacco so that humans may ask life with it, and 276 he will grant them their desires. This is all."

### CLAN NAMES

#### TCE HIK'IK'ARAIJKRA (BUFFALO CLAN)

614 Morstcega.....He who travels the land.
551 Tcanimaniwinga.....She who walks ahead.
Tcenigkaiga.....Suckling buffalo calf.
Tcega.....Buffalo.
Tcep'anu"pga.....Two buffalo heads.
Tcetca"iwinga.....First buffalo.
Tcedojenink'a.....Buffalo yearling.
Tcedonink'a.....Young buffalo bull.
Tcewinxedega.....Big female buffalo.
Wirukanainga.....He who is in control.
Hohekmaniga?.....Shaggy walker.
Tcehatcowinga.....Buffalo hide blue.
Mangiksuntega.....Shakes the earth by striking.
Tcep'aga.....Buffalo head.
Manok'azuhiga.....Kicking up the earth.

## THE DEER CLAN

### INTRODUCTION

614 173 The first version of the origin myth of the Deer clan is in part like that of version 6 of the Bear clan origin myth and in part like that of version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth. It is the only myth that shares with version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth the account of the origin of death.

614 The Deer clan does not seem to have had any important functions, although in myth 1, it is stated that they claimed a "partial" chieftainship, whatever that may mean.

[571] It was considered an insult to tell a member of this clan that he resembled a deer.

[302] The facial painting is the same as that used for the Elk clan. (Pl. 46.)

[826 761] The Deer clan people tell one another not to sing their clan song very loudly, and also not to make any sudden movement of their limbs, for each movement might cause the death of a human being. For the same reason they are told not to weep too loudly, as each deer's limb is a symbol of one of the four directions. When, therefore, a Deer clansman moves a limb too hard when he is weeping over the decease of a member of his clan, he might be "putting some human being in the earth," and the wind would blow hard.

[552] The dog names obtained were *wankcigohoniga* and *na"natcgiaga*.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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551 On first thought it might be imagined that the application of the same name to so many people would cause great confusion. As a matter of fact, however, in a village of, say, 20 families, there could have been a maximum of only 40 having the same name. Taking into account deaths and departures, the number was greatly diminished. Moreover, as in general only relations or close friends were [602 609] addressed in this way, strangers commonly being addressed by their nicknames, the seeming danger of confusion is almost entirely obviated. In those cases, however, in which confusion might result a nickname, or sometimes a clan name, was added to the birth name when speaking of an individual.

553 614 *Naming feast.*—The clan name was generally bestowed on a child at a special feast held for the purpose or at any feast that happened to be given within a reasonable time after its birth. The bestowal of the clan name was not infrequently delayed by a father's inability to gather the requisite amount of food to be presented to the old man who was to select the name. Occasionally it even happened that a father under such conditions permitted the relatives of his wife to bestow a name on a child, which of course was a name from its mother's clan. The author has personal knowledge of a case in which the first child of a man had a name belonging to his mother's clan while the other children had names belonging to their father's clan. When questioned, the man said that at the time of the birth of his eldest child he was too poor to pay for the honor of having his child receive a name and that he had allowed his wife's relatives to give it a name. When his other children were born, however, as he was in better condition financially he had been able to name them in the usual way. Although a child, irrespective of his individual name, always belonged to his father's clan, there seemed to exist a feeling that a person having a name not taken from his own clan [554] was more or less incomplete. A person possessing no clan name was regarded as having low social standing.

[597] When a child was adopted it retained its former birth name and clan name.

601 *Relationship terms.*—The system of relationship terms used by the Winnebago is as follows:[9]

### Male Terms of Address

Teok'a', p. and m. grandfather (direct address).
Hi'teok'ê, p. and m. grandfather and father-in-law.
K'u'nîŋk'a, p. and m. grandmother (direct address).
Hik'ârok'e, p. and m. grandmother and mother-in-law.
Dja'dji, father (direct address).

[9] Abbreviations: p., paternal; m., maternal; br., brother; sr., sister.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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K'ik'arsaintcga.....Licks herself.
Mank'uhoradjega.....Roams under the earth.
Mankorowinga.....
Kaisenainga.....Sits solidly attached.
Mank'urudjewinga.....Her earth she spreads out.
Tcingamanga.....Walks as a white house.
Sinihimaniwinga.....Cold walking woman.
Sa^nagaga.....Coming white.
Wank'inak'iga.....Lone man.
Warutra^zonunga.....Small attendant.
Hominankpinga.....Sits good as she comes.
Na^nawahiga.....He who brings something in his mouth.
K'izahiyungiwinga.....Fighting princess.
Megisagesminank'a.....Lies in the middle of the earth.
Waxurutcmanowinga.....Moves along as she walks.
Wanktcega.....Green man.
Hihina^pga.....Comes out.
P'igh'ik'unga.....Fixes himself.

## Clan Names

### FIRST FOUR GIVEN IN EACH CLAN

Although it has been discontinued for some time, the Winnebago claim that in former times it was customary to assign definite names to the first four children born in each clan. In all probability this custom extended not only to the fourth but even to the sixth child, as lists were obtained that gave six names. This would correspond to the fixed number of birth names. No significance need be attached to the exact number, as it was intended beyond any doubt to cover the number of children generally born within one family. Within these limits, then, the names were fixed, at least theoretically.

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First four names of Thunderbird clan; informant, member of clan:

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First. Nanozok'a.....Bending bough of tree.
Second. Nonja^pga.....Lighting the tree.
Nai^nawagicicga.....Broken tree top.
Hana^tcnanxgunga.....All heard it.

First four names of Thunderbird clan; informant, member of Warrior clan:

First. Hop'inga.....Good one.
Second. Warudjaxiringa.....Makes noise as he comes?
Third. Wak'andjamanga.....Thunder walker.
Wak'andjahunga.....Thunder chief.

Informant, member of Thunderbird clan:

First. Wak'andjahunga.....Thunder chief (male).
Second. Ma^djidjega.....He who alights on the earth (male).
First. Hok'awaa winga.....Darkness (female).
Second. Na^nacogwinga.....Bends (weighs) the tree down (female).

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12



seems occasionally to have been extended to three or four clans. 614
Most informants gave these groups in such a manner that the 616
"friendship" relation was not postulated between clans belonging to different divisions; although one individual postulated them just on this basis, i.e., Thunderbird—Bear, Warrior—Wolf, etc. There can, however, be no doubt that the prevalent arrangement is: Thunderbird—Warrior; Eagle—Pigeon; Bear—Wolf; Buffalo—Water-spirit; Elk—Deer; Snake—Fish. Most informants do not claim any pairing for the Snake, while some associate it in a threefold grouping with the Buffalo and Water-spirit. The four clans of the *wangeregi* are generally united in a fourfold group of "friend," although some divide them into Thunderbird—Warrior and Eagle—Pigeon.

Under the term "friend clan" is included the idea of mutual 614
service. This becomes especially marked on two occasions; 574
first, when a member of one clan visits his "friend-clan," and [627]
second, when an injustice has been done a member of the "friend-clan." On the former occasion every possible privilege is extended to him, even to his occupying the seat and bed of the host. There is no indication of "wife borrowing," however. On the latter occasion, the "friend-clan" will seek to revenge 614
the injustice just as if the wrong had been done one of its own members. The respect shown by one clan to its "friend-clan" [627]
is again apparent at the "naming" feast. There he may be [553]
called upon to give the dog names for an individual of the clan with which he is associated, and, at times, to lend one of his clan names to the latter.

The relation of "*hitcak·ɔ·ro*" or "friend-clan" is strictly 614
analogous to that which exists between two individuals who are 572
*hitcak·ɔ·ro* to each other. It is one of the characteristic traits [171]
of Siouan culture that two individuals often form a strong inextricable friendship. Not only are they always together, but the death of one on the warpath involves that of the other. The same intimate relationship seems to exist between an [604]
uncle (*hidek·*) and his nephews (*hitcɣcge*). There is, however, one fundamental difference between such relations as that existing between the *hidek·* and *hitcɣcge*, the members of the family group, and the members of the same clan, on the one hand, and the in-

539 614 776 give to his relatives. Then they would not feel so unhappy and lonesome.

*159 614 ● 553 Now in our clan whenever a child was to be named it was my father who did it. That right he now transmitted to my brother.

*159 551 Earthmaker, in the beginning, sent four men from above and when they came to this earth everything that happened to them was utilized in making proper names. This is what our father told us. As they had come from above so from that fact has originated a name *Comes-from-above;* and since they came like spirits we have a name *Spirit-man.* When they came, there was a drizzling rain and hence the names *Walking-in-mist, Comes-in-mist, Drizzling-rain.* It is said that when they came to *Within-lake* they alighted upon a small shrub and hence the name *Bends-the-shrub;* and since they alighted on an oak tree, the name *Oak-tree.* Since our ancestors came with the thunderbirds we have a name *Thunderbird* and since these are the animals who cause thunder, we have the name *He-who-thunders.* Similarly we have *Walks-with-a-mighty-tread, Shakes-the-earth-down-with-his-force, Comes-with-wind-and-hail, Flashes-in-every-direction, Only-a-flash-of-lightning, Streak-of-lightning, Walks-in-the-clouds, He-who-has-long-wings, Strikes-the-tree.*

Now the thunderbirds come with terrible thunder-crashes. Everything on the earth, animals, plants, everything, is deluged with rain. Terrible thunder-crashes resound everywhere. From all this a name is derived and that is my name—*Crashing Thunder.*

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551 On first thought it might be imagined that the application of the same name to so many people would cause great confusion. As a matter of fact, however, in a village of, say, 20 families, there could have been a maximum of only 40 having the same name. Taking into account deaths and departures, the number was greatly diminished. Moreover, as in general only relations or close friends were [602 609] addressed in this way, strangers commonly being addressed by their nicknames, the seeming danger of confusion is almost entirely obviated. In those cases, however, in which confusion might result a nickname, or sometimes a clan name, was added to the birth name when speaking of an individual.

553 614 *Naming feast.*—The clan name was generally bestowed on a child at a special feast held for the purpose or at any feast that happened to be given within a reasonable time after its birth. The bestowal of the clan name was not infrequently delayed by a father's inability to gather the requisite amount of food to be presented to the old man who was to select the name. Occasionally it even happened that a father under such conditions permitted the relatives of his wife to bestow a name on a child, which of course was a name from its mother's clan. The author has personal knowledge of a case in which the first child of a man had a name belonging to his mother's clan while the other children had names belonging to their father's clan. When questioned, the man said that at the time of the birth of his eldest child he was too poor to pay for the honor of having his child receive a name and that he had allowed his wife's relatives to give it a name. When his other children were born, however, as he was in better condition financially he had been able to name them in the usual way. Although a child, irrespective of his individual name, always belonged to his father's clan, there seemed to exist a feeling that a person having a name not taken from his own clan [554] was more or less incomplete. A person possessing no clan name was regarded as having low social standing.

[597] When a child was adopted it retained its former birth name and clan name.

601 *Relationship terms.*—The system of relationship terms used by the Winnebago is as follows:[1]

### Male Terms of Address

Teok'a', p. and m. grandfather (direct address).
Hi'teok'ę, p. and m. grandfather and father-in-law.
K'u'nink'a, p. and m. grandmother (direct address).
Hik'ąrok'e, p. and m. grandmother and mother-in-law.
Dja'dji, father (direct address).

[1] Abbreviations: p., paternal; m., maternal; br., brother; sr., sister.

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# CHAPTER VI

## WARFARE AND THE COUNCIL LODGE

### Warfare

721 War was one of the most important elements in the life of the [183] Winnebago. The life of the warrior was the ideal toward which all men strove. It not only satisfied certain emotional needs but it [534] was so inextricably interwoven with social standing in the community and with individual prestige that Winnebago life is unthinkable without it. It is not surprising, then, that the prayer for [782] success on the warpath was the most important prayer that men offered up to the spirits and that it was reechoed in almost all the ceremonies. (Pls. 43, 44, 45.)

An element of culture fraught with so much significance to the individual and the social group was bound to be surrounded by innumerable customs, regulations, and restrictions. It was a life that was at stake every time an individual went on the warpath, and remembering the value of each life to a small community, it is not to be wondered at if there is a definite attempt on the part of the social group to restrict individual activity in this particular regard. An individual might go on the warpath either alone or in company with a few people, but the community, in the person of the chief, insisted that he show some warrant for his action. If no warrant of [626] any kind could be given, he subjected himself to the only restrictive measures the chief and the community could adopt, disapproval, jeers, and temporary loss of social standing and prestige. So much, as far as his own person was concerned. If his action jeopardized the life or lives of other members of the tribe he had then to face [636] the relatives of these people, just as any individual who had committed some wrong. It is hardly likely that many men would willingly run any risks of unnecessarily antagonizing their fellow tribesmen when the proper means of preparing for the warpath was open to all. A careful perusal of the system of education given on page 166 makes it clear that a sufficiently large number of methods for obtaining consent to lead a party were given, and that it was possible for every male individual to go on the warpath frequently if he so desired. Certain requirements were, however, necessary. It was not left to each individual to decide for himself [622] whether he possessed these, but the final decision always lay in the hands of the chief.

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always kept on hand and offers it to the spirit who controls this particular war party. 726 701
The others do the same. Then he would cross the river. Whenever he drank any water the others would also do so, and if he refrained so would the others. If at any [782] time during the night when they are camping the war leader should wake up and sing some songs, be they grizzly bear, black root paint, or night songs, all those others who [533] know similar songs would likewise begin to sing.

*Miscellaneous war customs.* There were, in former times, many 726
miscellaneous customs connected with warfare, most of which have now been forgotten. However, in myths and accounts of war parties a number of them are still mentioned.

When a war party surprised a lodge, all the occupants were killed or captured and the poles that were spliced together to form the arches were released so that they sprang back to either side and assumed a vertical position.

When a war party surprised a lodge in which there were children they generally killed them, cut off their heads, pried open their [727] mouths so as to give them the appearance of laughing, and then placed the heads on their bodies again and arranged them against the door, so that when their father came home he would find them greeting him as usual. A brave warrior would never flinch at such a sight, but would prepare a meal as usual and speak to the children as if they were alive and offer them something to eat. Only then would he bury them. Immediately after they had been buried he would go on the warpath to revenge them.

Frequently the skulls of slain enemies are used as lodge weights and 727
their skin is taken off and used as mats, door-flaps, etc.

*War honors.*—"It is the ideal of every Winnebago youth," says an 726
informant, "to kill an enemy in full sight of his friends and thus to [183] gain for himself a headdress and an eagle feather." Most deeds considered valorous, according to Winnebago ideas, have associated with 554
them certain insignia which are always worn in public, giving evidence to all that so-and-so has performed such and such a valorous deed.

These insignia consist of the following:

*Headdress and feather.*—Denote that an individual has scalped and killed a man and torn off his scalp still bleeding. He is entitled to a red headdress and eagle feather. This also includes the man who has counted first coup (*earinguahi'na*).

*Red headdress.*—If he has killed the enemy and not scalped him (*tcaui'nir wak'e'rā.*)

*Eagle feather.*—Worn by one who has counted second coup.

*Hanging eagle feather.*—Worn by one who has counted third coup.

*Eagle feather stuck crosswise in hair.*—Worn by one who has counted fourth coup.

*Waggirugitr.*—Consists of a rope worn around the neck. It is worn by the leader of that warpath who has captured an enemy.

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*Ha'shere.*—Arm band worn by the person who did the actual capturing. If two enemies are captured he can wear an arm band on each arm.

*Red-dyed eagle feather.*—A red-dyed eagle feather worn by a war leader who has brought a captured enemy to camp and tortured him with embers.

*Ankle-band of skunk or polecat.*—An ankle-band of the skin of a skunk or polecat worn by one who has seen an enemy dead on the battle field and kicked him. If he does it for the second time, he may wear skunk skins on both legs below the knee. If the leader does it he is allowed to use an otter skin.

*Rope tied to belt.*—A rope of any desirable length tied to a belt may be worn by an individual who has succeeded in either capturing or killing an enemy's horse. At a dance no one would dare step on it. If an individual does not want to wear this, he may in its place wear a rope around his body.

*Legs painted white.*—An individual who has been on the warpath in winter may paint his legs white, from the knee down.

*Gun painted red.*—An individual who has killed an enemy with a gun may carry this gun at a dance and paint it red.

*Spear.*—If a person kills an enemy with a spear, he may carry this and tie to it any symbol (eagle feather, etc.) that he has gained.

*Kolo'ra'ga.*—An individual who was a well-known warrior and had fought in front of his comrades, and one whom the enemy respected, was entitled to a long stick with eagle feathers. At a dance he had the privilege of dancing with the stick in front of his comrades.

*Hand on face.*—Any warrior making all four coups, who did not care to wear a dress, might paint a man's hand in black upon his face.

*Raven's skin around neck.*—If an individual captured more than one woman in war, he was entitled to wear a raven skin around his neck.

*Body painted yellow and wounded spot red.*—If a man had been wounded on the warpath, he had the right at a dance to paint his body yellow and the wounded spots red, with red streaks running from the wounds.

*Otter skin around knee and naggiro.*—A great warrior, one who has gained all the war honors, can, if he does not wish to wear his separate insignia, wear instead an otter skin attached below the knee, whose ends are not quite united. He may also wear a *naggiro* consisting of a stick, whittled and painted red, in his hair.

Valorous deeds are also perpetuated on the grave posts when the warriors who have accompanied the corpse to the grave count coup and draw a picture symbolizing their particular deed on the post. It should therefore be remembered that the markings on these posts do not refer at all to the valorous deeds of the deceased but to those of warriors who happened to count coup at the grave.

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## The Council Lodge

*The clan in the council lodge.*—There is one place where the clan finds representation as a political unit, and that is the council lodge. No unanimity seems to exist with regard to the positions of the various clans in the council lodge, but here again the position of those clans with specific governmental functions seems to be far more stable than that of the others. The clans are generally so seated as always to be opposite their "friend" clan, from which fact a clan frequently calls its friend "my opposite." It is, however, interesting to note that this seating does not hold for two friend groups, the Water-spirit-Buffalo and Elk-Deer. The Water-spirit clan occupies a high position in the council lodge, apparently quite out of proportion to its present importance in the social organization of the tribe, but in consonance with its former importance. 614 623

*Councils.*—No important undertaking was ever attempted without the holding of a council. On such occasions the principal members of each clan would assemble in a long lodge and discuss in great detail. Nothing comparable to a vote that might express the desire of those assembled was taken, but the opinions of those present were always presented in their speeches. As a rule the chief, or some person especially interested in definite matter, led the discussion. Owing to the complete absence of specific examples of councils it is very difficult to obtain a very clear idea of their working. The numerous councils relating to treaties with the whites are of very little interest or significance in this connection.

There was unquestionably a regular order of entering and seating in the council lodge. What this order was it is impossible to determine now, for the statements made by different informants were contradictory. Since, however, the contradictions in the seating arrangements seemed to be correlated with different clan membership the discrepancies may be due, not to lack of knowledge but to actual differences. A few examples of the seating arrangements follow (figs. 29–32):

*Description of order of entering the council lodge.*—Informant, member of Bear clan. The Buffalo clan would always be the last to enter the council lodge because the members remained outside making announcements until all the others had entered. The members of the Thunderbird clan enter first, making a circuit of the lodge before taking their seats. The members of the Warrior clan followed and took their seats just opposite those of the Thunderbird clan. Then the Water-spirit clan follows, and then come the rest as indicated in the diagram. This is the only place where the Bear clan is not in control of the arrangements. 614 623 554

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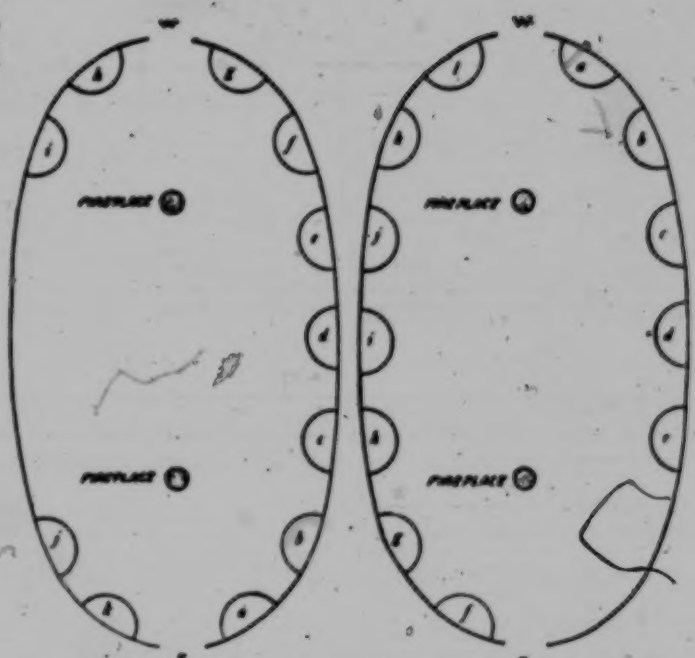


FIG. 20.—Seating arrangement in council lodge according to Thunderbird clan: a, Warrior clan; b, Water-spirit clan; c, Deer clan; d, Elk clan; e, Pigeon clan; f, Wolf clan; g, Bear clan; h, Snake clan; i, Buffalo clan; j, Turtle clan; k, Thunderbird clan. (The order of importance is from left.)

FIG. 21.—Seating arrangement in council lodge according to Bear clan: a, Thunderbird clan; b, Bear clan; c, Wolf clan; d, Pigeon clan; e, Eagle clan; f, Snake clan; g, Fish clan; h, Elk clan; i, Buffalo clan; j, Deer clan; k, Water-spirit clan; l, Warrior clan.

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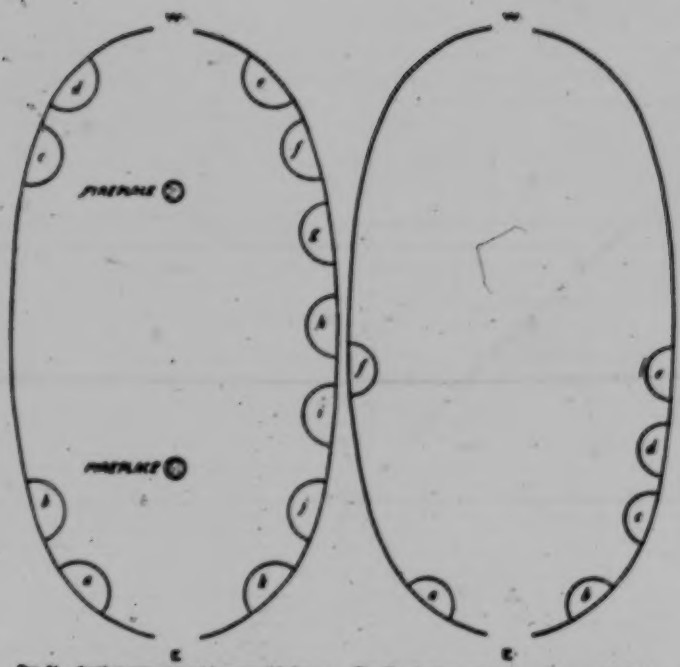


FIG. 11.—Seating arrangement in council lodge according to Thunderbird clans: a, Thunderbird clan; b, Eagle clan; c, Buffalo clan; d, Snake clan; e, Bear clan; f, Wolf clan; g, Pigeon clan; h, Elk clan; i, Deer clan; k, Water-spirit clan; o, Warrior clan.

FIG. 12.—Seating arrangement in council lodge according to Wolf clans: a, Thunderbird clan; b, Eagle clan; c, Buffalo clan; d, Water-spirit clan; e, Bear clan; f, Wolf clan.

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you will be able to obtain these and in addition glory and the war 867
honors.[6] If, in truth, you thirst yourself to death,[7] our grandfathers 776
who are in control of wars—to whom all the war powers that exist in 787
this world belong—they will assuredly bless you.

My son, if you do not wear out your feet through ceaseless activity (in fasting), if you do not blacken your face for fasting, it will be all in vain that you inflict sufferings upon yourself. Blessings are not obtained through mere desire alone; they are not obtained without making the proper sacrifices or without putting yourself time and again in proper mental condition. Indeed, my son, they are not to be obtained without effort on your part. So see to it that, of all those spirits whom Earthmaker created, one at least has pity upon you and blesses you. Whatever such a spirit says to you that will unquestionably happen.

Now, my son, if you do not obtain a spirit to strengthen you, you will not amount to anything in the estimation of your fellowmen. They will show you little respect. Perhaps they will make fun of you.

Do not die in the village. It is not good to die there. Whenever a [761]
person is grown up that is what is told him. Nor is it good, my son, to let women journey ahead of you from amidst the village. It is not good thus to let women die before you.[8] Therefore, in order to prevent this, our ancestors encouraged one another to fast. Some day you will travel in a difficult road; there will be some crisis in your life, and then when it is too late you will begin to reproach yourself for not having fasted at the proper time. So that you may not have occasion to blame yourself at such a time I counsel you to fast. If you do not obtain a blessing when the other women are dividing the war prizes brought home from the warpath by their brothers, [593
your sisters will stand aside envying them. If, however, you are 727]
blessed by the spirits in control of war power, and if you then return victorious, how proud your sisters will be to receive the war honors and to wear them around their necks and participate with them in the victory dance! And in this way your sisters likewise will be strengthened by your war deeds. You will keep well, in health.

My son, it will indeed be good if you obtain war powers, but our 867
ancestors say it is difficult. Especially difficult is it to be leader on 787

[6] There are four war honors, the highest going to the Indian who first touches a dead enemy, the second belonging to the one who kills him, and the last two to those who touch him second and third. The war prizes generally consisted of necklaces of wampum which were given to those who had obtained the first war honors. The victor also would be given the privilege of first smoking the pipe on his return to his home. The prize of the wampum necklace was always given by the victor to his elder sisters. [354]

[7] That is, fast.

[8] That is, obtain war power so that you can go to the warpath and prevent yourself from dying in the village or have women die before you.

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867 787 the warpath.[1] So they say. If you do not become an individual warranted to lead a war party, yet mistaking yourself for one although really an ordinary warrior, you "throw away a man," your act will [686 be considered most disgraceful. A mourner might harm you in 627] revenge for the fact that you have caused him to mourn, and burn you with embers. Your people will all be said, both on account of your disgrace and on account of the pain inflicted upon you.

787 My son, not with the blessing of one of the spirits merely, nor with 867 the blessing of twenty, for that matter, can you go on the warpath. You must have the blessing of all the spirits above the earth, and of 776 all those on the earth, and of all those who are pierced through the earth;[2] of all those under the earth; of all those who are under the water; of all those that are on the sides of the earth, i. e., all the four winds; of the Disease-giver;[3] of the Sun; of the Daylight;[4] of the Moon; of the Earth; and of all those who are in control of war powers—with the blessings of all these deities must you be provided before you can lead a successful war party.

867 My son, if you cast off dress[5] men will be benefited by your deeds. 554 You will be an aid to all your people. If your people honor you, it will be good. And they will like you even the more if you obtain a

721 787 701 686 [622]

[1] Among the Winnebago any individual who has been blessed with the necessary powers to lead a warpath may do so, but it is absolutely essential that his blessing directing him be of such a nature that every possible contingency is included therein. Such complete blessings are, of course, not common nor can they be obtained except through unusual exertions. If you are blessed with just the ordinary or incomplete war powers and you nevertheless undertake to lead a war party, you may either be defeated or perhaps only partially successful, and, what is worse, you may lose some of the warriors who started with you. Your recklessness has thus caused the death of some of your fellow tribesmen. It is understood that every warrior before starting on the warpath turn his "blessing" over to the chief of the tribe for examination, and if the chief considers it complete the warrior is not held responsible for the lack of success or loss of life. If the chief does not consider an individual's blessing sufficient to justify the object he has in view and forbids the warrior to go, and if the latter nevertheless goes, or granted the case he does not even submit his "blessing" to the chief for scrutiny, and consequently, then he is held directly responsible for any mishap on the warpath. The relatives of any individual thus killed may hold the war leader responsible and demand compensation; or, as is indicated by [illegible] a few lines later, a mourner [illegible], one who has been placed in mourning by the criminal forbidiousness of the war leader might attack, perhaps kill him, without being held guilty of any crime. It must of course be understood that such occurrences would seldom take place. We must, however, remember throughout these "teachings" that one of the objects of the old men was to draw the most alluring pictures of the rewards that would fall to the lot of those who followed in the footsteps of their ancestors, and, on the other hand, to draw the most lurid pictures of the wretchedness that befell those who deviated, no matter in what details, from the customs sanctioned by age.

772 776 [2] According to the Winnebago creation myth, when Earthmaker, the creator of the earth, first came to some nonexistence and began creating life the earth on which we were to live was in continual motion, and nothing that the former could do seemed to be able to stop it. From above he threw down grass, trees, etc., but all was of no avail. Finally he hit upon the happy expedient of pinning the earth down at the four corners by means of four enormous snakes, or, as some say, by means of four mythical animals known as water spirits. It is to these that the old man is referring here. According to the story, even these were of no avail, and it was only when he finally placed four mythical beings known as "Island Weights" at the four corners that our planet stopped spinning. These "Island Weights" seem to be identical with the spirits of the four cardinal points, but they are not to be confused with the four winds mentioned later.

776 [3] A deity conceived of as dealing out life-giving powers from one half of his body and death-giving powers from the other half. He is also supposed to disseminate disease. Disease-giver is a literal translation of the Winnebago word, but this probably does not convey the exact meaning. There seems to be no parallel to this peculiar deity among the other Siouan tribes or among the Algonquian.

822 [4] Daylight or light is conceived of as something different and distinct from the sun.

735 [5] That is, if you give away things frequently, especially to your people.

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limb.[12] They will indeed like you very much if you obtain a limb, or, even better, two or three. If you do thus, wherever people boil an animal with a head [13] you will always be able to eat. 867 554

If on account of your bravery you are permitted to tell of your war exploits during the Four Nights' Wake for the benefit of the soul of the deceased, do not try to add to your glory by exaggerating any exploit, for by so doing you will cause the soul to stumble on its journey to the spirit land.[14] If you do this and add an untruth to the account of your war exploit, you will die soon after. The war spirits always hear you. Tell a little less. The old men say it is wise. 867 765 554

My son, it is good to die in war. If you die in war, your soul will not be unconscious. You will have complete disposal of your soul and it will always be happy.[15] If you should ever desire to return to this earth and live here again, you will be able to do so. A second life as a human being you may live, or, if you prefer, as an inhabitant of the air (a bird) you may live, or you may roam the earth as an animal. Thus it is to him who dies in battle. 867 721 775

My son, fast for an honorable place among your fellowmen. Fast, so that when you are married you may have plenty of food; that you may be happy and that you may not have to worry about your children. If in your fastings you have a vision of your future home, the members of your family will be lacking in nothing during their life. Fast for the food that you may need. If you fast a sufficiently large number of times, when in after life you have children and they cry for food you will be able to offer a piece of deer or moose meat without any difficulty. Your children will never be hungry. 867 785 787

[12] That is, a war honor, but more specifically if you "count coup" first. The honor of killing an enemy and the three honors concerned with first touching his dead body are always spoken of as "the four limbs of the body." [535]

[13] That is, wherever people give a Winter Feast. At this feast a deer, head and all, is served to the invited guests. The head may only be eaten by brave warriors. [527]

[14] At the death of a clansman an elaborate wake takes place. To this wake, as the principal participants, three or four warriors who have counted "coup" are always invited. It is believed that the souls of all the enemies one has killed become the slaves of the victor and he may command them to do his bidding at any time. If the victor tells his exploit and then commands the enslaved soul to take care of the recently departed person in whose honor the wake is being given, the soul of the conquered enemy will be of considerable aid in overcoming the obstacles that are supposed to infest the path between this earth and the land of the spirits. These can not be overcome by the merits of the individual alone. If, however, a warrior becomes vainglorious, the soul of the recently departed individual will fall into the abyssm of fire which surrounds one of the heavenly earths through which he must pass. That is what is meant by "stumbling." 262 765 775

[15] It must be remembered that the Winnebago believe that all that constitutes "life," "consciousness," continues to exist after death, the only difference being that in the former case an envelope, the body, is present and, in the latter case, it is not. Winnebago philosophy does not concern itself with what happens when a soul becomes "unconscious" at death, which would, of course, be the case with all those who do not die in battle, but it does insist that to him who dies on the warpath the moment of death does not even deprive of consciousness. He goes right on living, as if he were still an inhabitant of this earth, the only difference being that the corporeal envelope has fallen off his soul and that, although he sees and hears human beings, he himself is not visible nor his voice audible. 774 775

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If you ever get married, my son, do not make an idol of your wife. 567
The more you worship her, the more will she want to be worshipped. 562
Thus the old people said. They warned the young men against the 581
example of those men who always hearken to what the women say, 593
who are the slaves of women. Often they would speak in the following manner: "You have had many warnings, but it may happen that some day you will not pay any attention to them. Then, when they call upon you to take part in the Winter Feast you may perhaps refuse to go. When a war party is leaving you may listen to the voice of your wife and not join them. Thus you will be as one who has been brought up as a woman.[a] Men of every description do what is demanded of them, you alone do not act as a man should. [558] You never perform a man's deed. If you were to go to a Winter Feast, you would be handed a lean piece of meat.[b] Why should you subject yourself to the danger of being made fun of? A real brave man, when he goes to a Winter Feast, will receive a deer's head, while you will only receive a lean piece of meat. That is all they will give you to eat. It will stick in your throat."[c]

My son, if you keep on listening to your wife, after a while she will never let you go to any feast at all. All your relatives will scold you and your own sisters will think little of you. They will say to one another, "Let us not ever go over to see him. He is of no help to anyone." Finally, when you have become a real slave to your wife, she might tell you to hit your own relatives, and you would do it. For these reasons, my son, I warn you against the words of women. Steel yourself against them. For if you do not do so you will find yourself different from other men. It is not good to be enslaved by a woman.

My son, this also I will tell you. Women can never be watched. If you try to watch them you will merely show your jealousy and your female relatives will also be jealous. After a while you will become so jealous of your wife that she will leave you and run away. First, you worshipped her above everything else, then you became jealous and watched her all the time, and the result will be that she will run away from you. You yourself will be to blame for this. You thought too much of a woman and in worshipping her you humbled yourself, and as a consequence she has been taken away from you. You are making the woman suffer and making her feel unhappy. All the other women will know of this, and no one will want to marry you again. Everyone will consider you a very bad man.

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[a] He may mean a berdache, but it is far more probable that he merely means to call him a woman, an insult sufficiently great.

[b] A man who has distinguished himself as a warrior is always invited to eat the head of the animal, offered at the Winter Feast. These next in distinction are given the fat pieces of meat, and the lean pieces—to the Winnebago, the poorest—are given to those who are of no importance. [554 262]

[c] I. e., the meat will stick in your throat, because you will feel so much ashamed of yourself.

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614 political function as upon anything else. The exact time when this
182 socialization took place is of no great import here. Among the Winnebago, for instance, some individuals claim that the functions of the public crier were inherent in the Buffalo clan, while others
614 insist that any person who had counted coup four times was eligible
203 for the office. Now, in this case not only is it possible but it is
182 extremely probable that the office of public crier was originally con-
●554 nected with an individual, and that subsequently it became associated with the Buffalo clan, probably by reason of a certain relationship existing between this clan and the Chief clan. It must, of course, be remembered that a grouping had already taken place, because the requirement of having counted coup four times made a large number of warriors potentially public criers. Its association with membership in the Buffalo clan represented, on the one hand, a restriction of the number of individuals, and on the other hand, the addition of another qualification. Historically, then, the qualification of membership in the clan supplanted the other qualifications, at least in the eyes of a number of individuals. What has been said of the development of the functions of the Buffalo may also be generally applied to the Warrior or Hawk clan.

614 Political functions may, however, become connected with a group
182 unit without the individual playing any rôle either in directing or in developing it. The functions of preserving peace and of acting as intermediary, that among the Winnebago are connected with the Thunderbird clan, and the police and disciplinary functions connected with the Bear clan, may represent such types of association. In the absence of historical data, no demonstration can be made. It will, however, be shown later that association of ceremonial-religious functions with a social unit has actually occurred. That the police and disciplinary functions of the Bear clan developed from functions of individuals, on the basis of requirements similar to those of the public crier, is quite improbable, and no indication of that exists. Similarly the functions of the Thunderbird clan do not lend themselves readily to such an interpretation. But even should we accept the necessity for the priority of the one over the other types of association, we must still insist that psychologically the functions are in each case associated with a group unit.

Four of the Winnebago clans have specific political functions the details of which are discussed elsewhere. The Thunderbird, the chief clan, and in addition to the fact that the chief of the tribe is
[622] selected from it, has important functions connected with the preservation of peace; the Warrior clan has functions connected with war; the Bear clan, those relating to policing and discipline, both within the village and while on the hunt, etc.; and the Buffalo clan, those relating to the office of public crier and intermediary between the

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An old Winne-
bago told the author that long ago a young man wanted to marry a girl belonging to his phratry and refused to listen to the entreaties of his father and mother. Finally the father, in desperation, went over to the lodge of a man belonging to one of the clans into which the young man could marry and asked for one of the sacred possessions. It was, of course, refused, and when the man was asked what other requests he wished to make, he asked that the host's daughter be allowed to marry his son. This was, of course, granted, and thus the boy was compelled to marry into the proper phratry. 614 615 582 778

One Winnebago interpreted the custom in an entirely different way. Exactly how much importance is to be attached to this explanation it is hard to say. According to this informant, the insult lay not in going to the fireplace or taking a firebrand, but in asking for it. The insult apparently consists in not taking it for granted that anyone entering the lodge was permitted to do what he wished. In other words, his asking was a breach of etiquette. 614 372 689 [576]

The typical method of burial in the Thunderbird clan was scaffold burial. It has long since been discontinued.

The burial customs seem to have been the same for all the clans. It may, however, be that in former times there were slight differences. For instance, in the first version of the Thunderbird clan origin myth the statement is made that the branch of a tree was placed at the grave and a small stick, painted red, attached to it. The author has no recollection of ever hearing the same statement made in connection with any other of the clans. 614 764 [184]

There are four songs associated with the Thunderbird clan. These are supposed to have been sung by the clan ancestors when they came to this earth, and are now always sung when a member of the clan dies, and on a few other occasions. 614 [333]

According to one informant, members of the Elk, Warrior, Deer, and Buffalo clans acted as servants to the Thunderbird clan on various occasions. The same informant also claimed that the Warrior clansmen took specific orders from the Thunderbird clansmen when on the warpath. [554]

According to another informant, Thunderbird marks at death are a half circle on the forehead, made with charcoal. The proper marking is, however, that shown in plate 46. [765]

Two dog names used in the Thunderbird clan are obtained—*pi°zakirutega; ka-iwakitca°ga.*

The only feast specifically connected with the Thunderbird clan was the so-called chief feast, of which a description will be found on page 318. One of the divisions of the war-bundle feast is often considered as sacred to the thunderbird, but this is always the deity thunderbird, not the ancestor of the clan. [796] [776]

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539 might have something to eat. The oldest brother said, "What are
614 we going to eat?" Then the youngest two took the bow and arrows
776 that Earthmaker had given them and started toward the east. Not long after the third brother came into view with a young deer on his back and the youngest brother also came with a young deer about 2 years old on his back. The deer that were killed, and those that killed them, were also brothers. They were very much delighted that they had obtained food. Then said they, "Let us give our grandfather the first taste." Saying thus, they cut off the ends of the tongues and the heart and threw them into the fire with some fat. The first people to call on them were the War clan people. They came from the west. Then came four others. They were the thunders. Thus they were called the youngest brothers. Then came those of the earth. Then came those of the Deer clan. Then those of the Snake clan. Then came those of the Elk clan. Then came those of the Bear clan. Then came those of the Fish clan. Then came those of the Water-spirit clan and all the other clans that exist. Then there appeared on the lake a very white bird swan they called it. And after that, all the other water birds that exist came. And they named them in the order of their coming until the lake was quite full. Then the people began to dress the deer meat. Suddenly something came and alighted on the deer meat. "What is that?" they said. Then said Kunuga, the eldest brother, "It is a wasp, and the first dog that I possess, if it is black, *Wasp* I shall call it." Thus he spoke. "And as the wasp scented and knew of the deer dressing so shall the dog be toward other animals, and wherever the dog is, and animals are in the windward, he shall scent them." They made a feast with the deer for Earthmaker and threw tobacco into the fire and offered it to him. And to the other clans they showed how fire was to be made and gave them some, "For," they said, "each of you must now make fire for yourselves, as we shall not always lend you some." There the people made their home. It was just the time of the year when the grass comes as far as the knee.

One day they reported that something very strange was near the camp; but they said to themselves, "We will leave it alone." In a little while it moved nearer. Thus it moved toward the camp and soon it began to eat deer bones. They allowed it to become one of their clans and took it into their house. It was the dog or wolf. They killed one and made a feast to Earthmaker, telling him all about what they had done.

In the beginning the Thunder clansmen were as powerful as the Thunder spirits themselves. It was the Thunder people who made the ravines and the valleys. While wandering around the earth the Thunder people struck the earth with their clubs and made dents in
[554] the hills. That is the reason that the upper clans are chiefs of all the others and that the least of all are the dog people. So it was.

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614 have been subjected to literary and shamanistic remodeling. Only
173 the shorter accounts show in their subject matter and presentation certain affinities to the origin myths of the other clans the longer ones being entirely different. Another cause for these marked differences may lie in the circumstance that since the longer accounts were associated with semi-esoteric ceremonies, the war-bundle feasts, they were known to but few individuals in the clan, whereas the shorter legends could be learned by anyone who chose to pay for
614 them. To this must also be added the fact that presumably some of the accounts current were based on hearsay knowledge.

[554] The Bear clan was, next to the Thunderbird clan, the most important in the tribe. Its lodge was either in the center of the vil-
[361] lage, opposite that of the Thunderbird clan, or at the extreme end, depending upon the scheme of village organization accepted as
[727] correct. In it were confined the prisoners of war and the insignia of office possessed by the clan, such as the so-called standards, really crooks, and the so-called *namazinizini*. Some individuals also claimed
[513 that unmarried men were allowed to sleep in the lodge, although they
345] were not clear as to whether they did this in order to guard the prisoners confined there or simply used it as a club house.

The clan songs are given on page 235. The same songs are used
[533] when gathering the clansmen together to select soldiers.

Apart from the war bundle or war bundles, the Bear clan possessed
614 three insignia—a war club of a definite shape, the curiously whittled
778 baton of authority called *namazinizini*, and the crooks used in battle called *hoke'reu*[a]. Whenever the clan was exercising any of its functions the leader would always hold in his hands the *namazinizini*.

The functions of the clan were probably the most important in the tribe and were entirely disciplinary. The author obtained the following description from an old Winnebago:

614 The Bear clansmen are the soldiers or sergeants-at-arms of the tribe. They have
625 complete control of everything concerning discipline. Whenever the Winnebago are traveling or moving (i. e., on their various seasonal moves), the Bear clansmen lead, and wherever they decide to stop, there the leader would put his stick in the ground and the other Bear clansmen would do the same, arranging them all in a row pointing toward the direction in which they were going. The main body of the tribe would follow at a certain distance. No member of the tribe would dare pass ahead of the row of sticks. If, for instance, the tribe was on the fall move and traveling toward a country in which there was plenty of game, should any individual go back and around the sticks in order to kill game on his own account, the soldiers (Bear clansmen) would, as soon as he was detected, go over to his lodge and burn it up with all its contents and break all his dishes. The only thing they would spare would be his life and that of the other members of his family. If the one who had transgressed the rules made any attempt at resistance he would be severely whipped. If he refused to submit to this and took up his fire arms to fight, the soldiers would stand there calmly, but the moment he made an attempt to shoot they would kill him. In such a case nothing would be said either by the rest of the tribe or his relatives about

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Hiéljaegaga.....White-faced.
Hiedjadjopga.....Four-eyed.
Hi^p'iwinga.....Good-haired.
Hi^tcoga.....Blue-furred.
Hominanąk'a.....She who sits howling.
Manidjopga.....Four walking.
Manąk'oga.....Throws up the earth (with his hind legs).
Ma^ok'acutraminąk'a.....He who sits on the tree banks.
Nieljahuga.....Coming from the water.
Nieljawanik'iriga.....He who brings them back from the water.
P^ctcoga.....Green forehead.
P^e-ogaga.....He who has a white forehead
P^ê^zakaga.....Big sand person.
Xe-acaraminąk'a.....He who sits on a bare hill.
Xe-emik'a.....He who dwells in a hill.
Xe-oratrega.....He who travels to the hill.
Sintcoga.....Bushy tail.
Tcarawiga.....He who holds a deer in his mouth.
Trasirawiga.....He who carries deer-feet in his mouth.
Tconąkehûnga.....Chief wolf.
Tconąketcowinga.....First wolf.
Tconiminąk'a.....Sits as a leader.
Wanuniniga.....He from whom nothing is hidden.
Warawaisinega.....He who carries something in his mouth.
Warawaiguga.....Comes back with something in his mouth.
Waruzewinga.....She who chases.
Wirap'ega.....He who lies in wait for them.

## The Water-Spirit Clan 614

### INTRODUCTION

A rather poor version of the Water-spirit clan was obtained. It is, however, one of the few clan origin myths that contains the definite statement that the clan ancestors changed into human beings when they gathered at Green Bay. [173]

The functions of the Water-spirit clan were, in former times, exceedingly important. Almost all the informants were agreed that a chief was selected from that clan, but the exact nature of this chieftainship is not clear. One informant, himself a member of the Bear clan, said that the Water-spirit clan was the chief of the lower phratry; that the clans were arranged in three groups, one over which the Thunderbird clan ruled; another over which the Water-spirit clan ruled; and a third over which the Bear clan ruled. He insisted, however, that just as the Thunderbird clan rules over the whole tribe in a general way, so the Water-spirit clan ruled over the clans of the lower phratry. Other informants claimed that the Water-spirit clan originally ruled over the entire tribe and that its place was subsequently usurped by the Thunderbird clan. It might be best to regard the function of the Water-spirit clan as akin but subsidiary to that of the Thunderbird clan. [622] [554]

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## ORIGIN MYTHS

### FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

This is the origin story of the Deer people. In the beginning a black deer accompanied by an elk appeared in the center of the earth, and they went in the direction of the east. There they were going. Then the black deer said, "My dear younger brother, I am heavy on account of my excessive fatness, go you alone and I will remain here." So he remained there and did not go: and then to the center of the earth, to the place from which they started, he returned. Then he came back to the earth, and again they asked him. Four times they asked. There the necklace of money ornaments he recognized, the black deer did.[24] Thus the Deer clan beat them, and therefore they have the name *Black-Deer-chief*. As they went so they returned again. Again the necklace made of money he (the black deer)[25] recognized. The earth they went around. Then again the black deer went to the east. It was a large one who went ahead, and as he was going along, to his astonishment, they reached the place from which they had started.

"My younger brother," said Black-deer, "you try to do it."[26] And the second-born went ahead and the others followed, and again they were drawn back to the place from which they started. Then the third-born went first and the others followed and the same thing happened. Then they told the fourth-born to go first, and he went in front and suddenly he struck his horn, the one on the right, upon the earth, and, behold, grass suddenly appeared. It was a very white bud that he had caused to appear. Then he struck his left horn on the earth, and he made a tree appear and the fruit of this tree was meant to be eaten. Then they ate the fruit of the tree. The top of the tree there they ate. Thus they said. And they call a woman even to-day *She-who-eats-the-top-of-the-tree*. And then they began to walk and the earth trembled from their walking. Toward the east side they went. From this fact they have a name, *He-who-shakes-the-earth*. And again as some of the brothers were small they have the name *Small-deer*. They also have the name *Walking-leader*. And they also have names *She-who-comes-back* and *He-who-comes-back*, because in the beginning they always came back to the place from which they started. Whatever actions they went through, from these they derived their names.

[24] The thought is not quite clear here, due to the fact that something has probably been omitted by the narrator.

[25] There seems to be a contest between the deer and the elk as to who would be able to see the "money-necklace" first. Under the term "money-necklace" they evidently mean the medallions distributed by the American Government to those whom they recognized as chiefs. The recognition of the "money-necklace" is evidently going to decide the chieftainship between the deer and the elk.

[26] Some power is evidently drawing them back to the place from which they started.

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Toads are used, but only for poison medicines. The quail's heart 825
is used for the same purpose. If a person is killed outright, his heart 756
is used as a medicine, as the human heart is regarded as having great 826
efficacy in such medicines. It is used in war, for compelling people to give you presents, and for courting women. The bear likewise is used for a variety of purposes. Its liver is especially powerful. It is rubbed over the body whenever in pain. It is often used by women who have injured themselves in childbirth, or in the form of tonics, poultices, and emetic; or for toothaches, bathing sore eyes, ear- [757]
aches, headaches; as snuff, as a physic, for burns, strictures, boils, hemorrhages, injections in the rectum, consumption, measles, dysentery, chills, nosebleed, pains in the stomach, and headaches caused by poisoning.

Sometimes a woman would take a hair of her husband and stick 832
it into some bad medicine. In such a case he would never leave her for he would become very much enamored of her. If ever she went away, he would miss her very much. However, he always had a headache. Finally he would get sick and lose his appetite and then his eyesight. That is why it is forbidden to use this medicine, although some still do it.

Many Winnebago are blind, because there is a medicine that 754
causes blindness. If one person offends another who possesses such a medicine, the latter would cause the offender to become blind.

The Winnebago have medicines for every purpose; for courting, [832]
for becoming rich, for obtaining good looks, etc. Even if a person is very holy, these poisoners can poison him. If a man was a good hunter or if he was wise and good, these bad shamans would poison him. If an individual was a great medicine man and these bad shamans got jealous, they would poison him. Indeed, only if a person was poor and lowly would they like him. Such a man they would never poison for they had no reason for being jealous of him. A bad shaman is always treated with the greatest respect and honor, because he kills many people.

A warrior is also greatly respected and flattered. It is the Indian's 554
greatest desire to become a warrior. All desire that, and they also 156
wish to become great medicine men and bad shamans. [756]

This is the way they prepare and use their courting medicines. 832
The courting medicine known to me is a plant of apparently two 278
varieties, one of which has a blue blossom and the other no blossom at all. Otherwise they are alike. The one with the blue blossom is the male and the one without the blossom is the female. When I go out to dig this plant, I do not dig for these two specimens unless I can find them growing together closely. Even then I do not dig any two [824]
specimens unless the male is found growing on the east side. For that reason it is very hard to find them. As soon as I find two that

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796 Then the leader of the north band said: "I also will start a song.
575 I greet you."
539 Then the leader of the west band said: "I also will start a song. I greet you."

Then the leader of the south band said: "I also will start a song. I greet you."

Then the leader of the east band sang a song, and the other leaders sang their songs. Each band sang its own songs, not paying any attention to the songs of the others. Each band sang different songs. This they do in order to drown the voices of the others. Should one band overcome the other, it means that that particular band would be blessed with victory in war. What they were really saying is that their songs were more powerful than the others, and that their grandfathers' songs were the holiest. Then they all danced around the lodge, single file, and made their exit from the lodge. While they were dancing, the host sat still singing and beating his drum. They carry their kettles outside. Wherever they wish to eat, there they go and dance around the kettle of food first. Then they eat their meal. They dance in different bands.

796 The ceremony finishes with this feast. It is customary, however,
575 for the one who has been given the seat of honor, that is, the east
[554] seat, to give a feast immediately afterwards. Then the one who has been invited first would do the same thing, so that all four would in this manner give dances in rotation. For this reason it generally took five nights before the ceremony was over. During those five nights no one could sleep. It is from this fact that the word, "Sore-eye Dance," which is the general term used for this ceremony, originated. If a person does not sleep for five nights, his eyes generally get sore, and that is why they call this ceremony the "Sore-eye Dance."

796 Sometimes they perform night-spirit tricks. These would be of
789 the following nature: A kettle is put on to boil and some individual
575 fishes out a piece of meat bare-handed without getting burned. At other times they shoot a hole into a drum covering, using a wild-cat claw as a missile. Then they immediately mend it.

When a man is very bad they shoot him with an object and kill him. They used to be very much afraid of such people. Sometimes they take a handful of live coals and embers from the fire, put them into their mouth and then spit them out without getting burned. It is for this reason that they are called holy. Sometimes they take burnt portions of a tree that had been struck by lightning, put them in the fire, and then when they are red hot take them out again and put them in their mouths without extinguishing them. They then spit them out, and it would look like lightning. Or they would shoot one another with cold charcoal. This is all that I know.

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her, there stood a very young woman, her hair like a shawl. "It is good, grandmother, and I thank you in the name of my aunts. Then for the second time she said, "Look at me." He looked at her and there stood a woman in middle age, her hair almost gray. "Well, grandmother, it is good, that is what I meant." Then for the fourth time she said, "Grandson, look at me." He looked at her. Her hair was entirely dried up, in the nape of her neck there was a hollow, and like a duck looking at the sun, she appeared. Her chin, like a wooden poker, burnt short, there she stood trembling. "Well, grandmother, this is what I meant when I said that you were to help me. My uncles and aunts that is what I wished for them, and I thank you." 773 776

## Organization of the Bands

The medicine dance of the Winnebago consists of five bands. A sixth band is temporarily formed whenever the ceremony is given in honor of a deceased member. 796 621

For purposes of description it will be best to divide each band into three parts—the leader, his two assistants, and the rest of the band. Leadership depends upon a thorough knowledge of the ceremony and its complete esoteric significance, which is in the possession of only a few individuals in each band. This knowledge can be obtained solely by purchase and religious qualifications. These religious qualifications, to which might be added moral as well, play little part at the present day, but there can be no doubt that they were essential in the past. The leader likewise often possessed other characteristics, such as those of warrior and shaman.

The two assistants were generally men who had purchased sufficient information and privileges to entitle them to help the leader in certain details of the ceremony. The drummers, rattle holders, dancers, etc., were always recruited from their ranks. Eventually they might become the leaders. Those who were neither leaders nor assistants possessed a knowledge varying from that of elementary information, required for admission, to that entitling them to the position of assistant.

There is a priority of position in the lodge, depending on priority of invitation. The band invited first occupies the east position; that invited second, the north; that invited third, the west; and that invited fourth, the south. The east is the position of highest honor; the south, that of the lowest. Between the bands there exists an order of invitation based on tradition, the exact nature of which is unknown. According to one informant, if one band invited another, the latter in turn would be obliged to give it the position of honor; but as there are five bands, this can apply only to special cases. Whatever may be the order, it is certain that each band has ample occasion to occupy all five positions. [554]

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are made to them. Only the following spirits receive buckskins: Thunderbird, Night Spirits, Disease-giver, South Wind, Sun, Earth-maker, Moon, Morning Star, Earth, and Water.

(6) *The feasts.* There are two feasts, the one in the first division of the ceremony being generally known as the Thunderbird and that in the second division as the Night Spirit feast.

The guests are always divided into two divisions, the owners of war bundles and their male followers, and the women. The former, who are always warriors of repute, get the choice pieces of the deer, i. e., the heads, and the rest get the other pieces generally referred to as "the common pieces." The heads are eaten after those eating the common pieces have finished.

The host never eats at the feast he gives, but while the others are eating he plays on his reed flute.

(7) *The fast-eating contest.* Before the heads are eaten two men belonging to the upper phratry and two belonging to the lower (i. e., generally two members of the Thunderbird clan and two members of the Bear clan) are selected to take part in the fast-eating contest. This consists of consuming an equal amount of food. The one who finishes first is considered the greater warrior. Both contestants start at a given signal and continue the contest to the accompaniment of songs sung by the other guests.

When a member of the upper phratry gives the ceremony his side always wins, and vice versa.

(8) *The basic ritual.*—After the buckskin ritual has been finished the host begins what is unquestionably the fundamental part of the ceremony, which I have called the "basic ritual." It consists of four speeches, each speech followed by a different set of songs. The first speech is followed by a set of war-bundle songs; the second by a paint set; the third by a Disease-giver set; and the last by a Night Spirit set. The last speech also contains a fasting experience of the first owner of the war bundle. When he is finished, the general feast and the fast-eating contest take place, and the basic ritual is for the time interrupted. It is continued as soon as these are finished, but not in the same manner as performed by the host. Instead of four speeches there is only one. As soon as one guest finishes speaking the other begins, and so on until all have finished.[1]

In the second division of the ceremony the basic ritual is performed in a slightly different manner. In the first place there seem to be two parts to it, the first one quite different from the basic ritual as given in the first division, and the second identical with it except that instead of seven there are only four guests called upon to speak.

In the first part of the basic ritual, as given here, the host delivers three speeches. After the first one a set of Night Spirit songs are

[1] Additional information on the Winter Feasts might lead me to an alteration of this last statement. In addition to the present, three more accounts of Winter Feasts were received.

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sung; after the second one a dance song is sung and all the guests 796x
who so desire dance around the war bundle; after the third one the host passes the drum and other paraphernalia to the guest who is in charge of the buckskin destined for Earthmaker. This guest repeats the ritual in exactly the same manner as the host has done and then passes the drum, etc., to the second guest, and when the time comes he passes the drum, etc., to the third guest. Then the ritual of the throwing out of the buckskins intervenes, and after that the feast of the Night Spirits and the rite of those who have been crazed by the Night Spirits. Then, when these are finished, the basic ritual is continued. The continuation is, however, quite different from the first part and is identical with the basic ritual as given in the first part of the ceremony.

(9) *The throwing out of the buckskins.*—A warrior of great reputation is selected to begin the rites preparatory to the throwing out of [554 776]
the buckskins. One who has been blessed by the Night Spirits is preferably selected. He delivers a speech, and when he is finished the guests sing songs called "terminal Night Spirit" songs. Then the host prepares to sing a dance song, but before that he delivers a speech. Then, as the oldest men present sing, the host and the guests impersonating the spirits to whom tobacco is sacrificed take the buckskins and make the circuit of the lodge four times. An attendant precedes and another follows the procession, scattering incense consisting of
branches of the arbor vitæ. Just before the fourth circuit is begun [857]
all the children smoke their hands and then touch the buckskin dedicated to Earthmaker. After the fourth circuit has been completed the buckskins are unrolled and thrown out through the top of the lodge, where the spirits are supposed to come and take them. After this, all holding tobacco in their hands walk to the fireplace and throw it in. Then, as a conclusion, all, even the women, rise in their respective seats and dance.

(10) *The episode of those who have been crazed by the Night Spirits.*— 796x
This is plainly an intrusive feature and does not take place at every 786
performance of the ceremony. An individual who has brought himself to a state of religious frenzy strips himself entirely and behaves generally like one bereft of his senses. He sticks his hands into the boiling soup and makes a wild rush for the pot where the heads are being cooked and tries to bite them. It is believed that whoever gets the first bite will, at some future time, obtain a war honor. Then he takes the pipe placed in the center of the lodge, smokes it, and relates
some war exploits. He then tells the assembled guests that in his [787]
trance he communicated with the spirits, and they told him that they had accepted all the offerings made.[3]

[3] There can be no doubt that we are dealing with an extremely specialized and interesting behavior, that in other tribes, and for that matter among the Winnebago themselves in other ceremonies, has an entirely different connotation.

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four warriors who have counted coup on the last warpath form the units of organization. The peculiarity of the War-bundle Feast is that it belongs not merely to one of these types but to two of them. 796x 571

The war bundles were originally family possessions and were, in the opinion of the writer, only secondarily associated with the clan as such. They represent a complex of blessings received from various spirits who are supposed to control the fortunes of war. They were handed down from one generation to another in the same family, but not necessarily to the eldest son, and could as a matter of default pass out of the hands of the immediate family. The individual who received the war bundle was that one who had by his interest, knowledge, character, and accomplishments demonstrated to the full satisfaction of the elder generation, more specifically to the elder generation represented by his father and close male relatives of his father's generation, that he was capable of continuing the ceremonials in a proper manner. It follows from this that he would have to be a well-known warrior. Now, it is customary among all the woodland tribes for a warrior who is about to start on a warpath to give a feast to which he invites all the other warriors, from among whom he, of course, has to draw his recruits; and at this feast he explains the nature of the contemplated warpath and his warrant—i. e., the thoroughness of the specific blessings he has received—for starting it. 778 [422] [787] [428] 554 778 [721 527]

In other words, we will have to picture to ourselves the war-bundle feast as originally a gathering of warriors preparatory to the starting out of a war party, in which the part of the host was always taken by the leader of the prospective war party. All of the well-known warriors were likely to have war bundles, and thus the basis for the development of what is, to all intents and purposes, a society of those who had war bundles was always present potentially. It is believed, however, that at the time the Winnebago culture was still in the formative stage this aspect of the gathering was entirely secondary, and that primarily it was a gathering of warriors for the immediate purpose of going on a warpath. 796x 721 575

It may perhaps be interesting to go into some details of how this "society" aspect of a gathering of warriors developed. This development probably took two lines—first, a religious one, and secondly, one of definite organization. It would be quite erroneous to say that it took these lines of evolution, because it is in the nature of societies thus to develop. This originally temporary organization took these lines of development because of the presence in the war-bundle ritual of two factors—first, fasting experiences associated with the same spirits, and, second, the influence of the clan organization.

Only a small number of spirits were specifically associated with success in war, and these were Disease-giver, Thunderbirds, Sun, and the Night Spirits. [776]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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among the Winnebago, and that was the strong development of clan consciousness among them. A man was first and foremost a member of his clan, and whatever he did redounded to the credit of his clan. This clan consciousness was due to the strong individuality the more important clans possessed. They had their own traditions, functions, and customs, and each clan was quite ignorant of the customs of the other. This clan organization was extremely old and, for that reason, it is not very likely that the war bundle developed before the clan organization had matured, and from being originally the private possession of a family, became subsequently associated with the clan. It is more likely that the war bundle developed after the clan organization had fully matured, but that it remained personal property. However, owing to the fact that the possessor was always an important man, there must always have been a consciousness of a certain proprietary ownership on the part of the clan in the particular war bundle within its midst. This perhaps accounts for the fact that while the bundle can pass out of the hands of a certain family, it can not pass into the hands of another clan. Subsequently the idea developed that a family was merely the custodian of the bundle for the clan. Such seems to be the popular conception among the Winnebago to-day, and it may have represented the popular conception when the Winnebago culture was still intact. I do not believe, however, that such a view would have been accepted by the family in possession of the war bundle or by the learned class in general.

The fact that there was as a rule but one war bundle in each clan does not mean that it was developed originally through the influence of clan consciousness, although there is reason to believe that some of the war bundles arose in this way, in imitation of "clan" bundles that already existed. The reason for the small number of war bundles is to be sought in the fact that there was a very small number of individuals possessed of the necessary qualifications, and that it was probably originally associated with villages or groups of villages.[1] Whatever were the reasons for the limitation in the number of war bundles in each clan, it unquestionably strengthened the idea of clan ownership. This idea must have been powerfully reinforced again by those war bundles that actually arose out of a clan-ownership impulse. If, therefore, the actual owners resent this claim of clan proprietorship both by reason of actual possession, of inheritance and consciousness of the sacrifices and expense they and their ancestors have incurred in maintaining the ceremonies connected with these bundles it is nevertheless a fact that their viewpoint is probably wrong in so far as it is supposed to represent the entire truth, either now or in the past. The actual unit of organization found at the feast is the clan and there, at any rate, the war bundle is a clan palladium. Perhaps

[1] This statement is made provisionally.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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614 this twofold interpretation really represents the war bundle in a two-
778 fold aspect, first apart from its association with the war-bundle feast and second from its association therewith.

That the clan is the unit of organization comes out clearly from the following facts: First, there are as many buckskins offered as there are clans; secondly, the order in which the guests are invited
● [554] is determined by the reciprocal relations existing between the different clans; and, thirdly, by references in the speeches. That the clan unit, on the other hand, has influenced the ceremonial aspect of the feast is apparent from the fact that offerings are made to the clan animals. For example, in the following ceremony offerings are made to the Eagle and Wona'yire Uaskcik, who seem to be of slight importance apart from their association with the clan.

x 796 The ceremonial unit in all Winnebago societies consists of four
[801] bands, four representing the sacred number, and the ritual consists of the passing of the paraphernalia from one to the other unit until
621 it returns to the host. The war-bundle feast corresponds to the
571 other societies in every respect, except that instead of four there are ten bands (with the band of the host, representing the eleven existing clans of the tribe). Had not the consciousness of the relation of the war bundle to the clan been so strong the ceremonial unit would probably have been found here, as it is found in all the other ceremonies.

x 796 Summing up, then, we may say that the war-bundle feasts represent a mixed type corresponding exactly to no other Winnebago ceremony, and that beginning as a war feast it developed in addi-
[575 tion some of the features of a secret society of the type exemplified
614] by the Night Spirit society, with a unit of organization based on the clan; and that finally it became a general feast of thanksgiving to the entire Winnebago pantheon.[9]

### CHARACTERIZATION OF THE SPIRITS MENTIONED IN THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST

776 All the spirits to whom offerings are made in the war-bundle feast are guardian spirits, with the exception of Earthmaker. Some of them are conceived of as being human, while others have animal forms, and still others have an indeterminate body. The peculiar spirit, Disease-giver, has a form of his own, his body being divided into two halves, one half dispensing death and the other life. Earthmaker has no form, and in the few cases that he has been known to bless individuals he always lets his presence be known by some sign. There is generally a difference between the conception of the spirit as such and the form that he is supposed to assume

[9] The order in which the aspects are enumerated is not to be taken as representing a direct line of evolution.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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The buckskin to be offered to Earthmaker is marked with a cross in green. It is quite possible that the association of the cross with Earthmaker is due to Christian influence. But if this actually has been the case it is far more likely that the Christian influence led not to the actual borrowing of the Christian cross, but rather to the identification of an old Winnebago ceremonial symbol, namely, the crossed lines representing the cardinal points, with the cross, and its association with Earthmaker (pl. 48). 796x 778 782 [77]

The buckskin to be offered to the Thunderbirds is marked with three semicircular lines, the first red, the second white, and the third blue, to represent a rainbow (pl. 48).

The buckskin to be offered to the Night Spirits is marked with four parallel lines in charcoal (pl. 48).

The buckskin to be offered to Disease-giver is marked by dipping the three middle fingers in red paint and impressing them 12 times upon the buckskin in three vertical columns, with four impressions in each column. In addition to this an eagle feather is tied to each corner of the buckskin (pl. 48).

The buckskin to be offered to the Sun is marked with an image of the sun in red (pl. 47).

The buckskin to be offered to the Moon is marked with an image of the moon in any of its phases in green (pl. 47).

The buckskin to be offered to South Wind is marked in the same way as that to Disease-giver, except that green paint is used. A red eagle feather is attached to each end of the buckskin (pl. 47).

The buckskin to be offered to the Morning Star is marked with an image of a star in black outline (pl. 47).

These are the spirits to whom buckskins are offered in the ceremony about to be described, but the other clans seem to show variations in some offerings. Thus, for example, the spirit called "Without-horns" (Hō'rok'a) receives the offering of a buckskin in some cases. The marking for him is always a bow and arrow in charcoal. In another case Fire and Turtle receive buckskin offerings. Their markings are pictures of fire and turtle.

While the host is busy thus marking the buckskins the attendants put the meat in the kettles and place the sauce on the various fireplaces. There are always one or two extra kettles prepared for the women and children. 796x

The lodge extends from east to west and has only one entrance, on the east end. The host sits to the left as you enter and opposite him sits the guest of honor, who is, of course, different in each clan, but in the ceremony to be described he belongs to the Bear clan. Then, in definite order, sit the other guests, each one opposite a fireplace. The women and children sit separated from the others at the extreme western end of the lodge (see fig. 38). [554]

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*Host's offering to Earthmaker.*—"Hearken, Father who dwells above,[26] all things you have created. Yet if we would make an offering of tobacco you would accept it with thankfulness[27] (you said). So it has been said. I am about to offer a handful of tobacco and a buckskin for moccasins with it and a white-haired animal[28] to be cooked so that (you may have) a holy feast. These things I turn over to you. If you accept them, the first thing I wish to ask for will be (the honor of) killing (an enemy) outright, of leading warpaths, and of obtaining life honors.[29] That is what we would like to lead (i. e., a war party). That is what I would ask of you. My relatives, as many as are sitting around here, even that many ask the same things of you."

796X 539X 782 776

*Host's offering to the Thunderbirds.*—"Those in the west, our grandfather, Thunderbird Chief, you blessed grandfather, and I am now going to offer you a handful of tobacco. With thanks you will accept it (it has been said). Buckskin for moccasins, also, I am sending over to you. A feast made from one whom we regard as one of yourselves, whose body we are like.[30] I am sending along for you. Indeed a sacred feast I am offering you; that I am now sending toward you. As many of our clan members as are here, they (all) desire to make these requests: To kill an enemy outright, to lead a war party, and—O grant it to us!—a life honor. Life, that is what I pray for to you—that we ask of you. Our clan has put itself in a pitiable condition,[31] so that we may live a good life. That we ask of you."

*Host's offering to the Night Spirits.*—"You who live in the east, you who walk in darkness, you directed your minds toward grandfather, and for that I will pour tobacco for you, now and forever, so that you may bless me. A handful of tobacco, if we pour for you, we know it will make you thankful, and for that reason do I offer you some. A buckskin for moccasins and, together with it, a sacred feast that I am about to send toward you. With whatever you blessed grandfather, that I and all my clansmen who are here ask of you. This request, that one of us lead the war party you

[773]

[554]

[26] No Christian influence is to be suspected in this form of address.

[27] According to shamanistic cosmology, Earthmaker first created all the various spirits and bestowed upon each one of them certain powers. When finally he created man he noticed that he had nothing left to give him, so he decided to give him tobacco. This was to remain his exclusive possession, and not even he, Earthmaker, would be able to take it away from him. It was finally agreed that man would offer it to Earthmaker and the other spirits and receive in return thereby specific blessings.

[28] Ritualistic name for deer.

[29] "Killing an enemy outright" means killing him in the midst of his own people and without the assistance of anyone else. It was the highest war honor that a Winnebago could obtain and entitled him to wear an eagle feather in his hair. "Life honors" always refer to war honors.

[30] The whole phrase from "rahjet'ąą" to "rihi'ra hik'lirki-ĕ,'djera," is the ritualistic expression for dog. The dog is referred to as "like one of ourselves" in deference to the fact that one of the clans is called wolf or dog. Thus in offering up the dog they wish to imply that they are offering up themselves.

[31] I. e., a condition which calls for pity.

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And a war-bundle owner for the second kettle should be called upon a kettle offered in connection with him whom we call Great Black Hawk. 796x 539x 782

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle placed for Disease-giver. 776

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the spirit whom they call South Wind.

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the Sun.

Then they also select another man to be in charge of a kettle put on for the Morning Star.[93]

Then the first one who had been called upon for a kettle takes as many pieces of food as there are individuals in his band who eat with him. The second one who had been called upon also takes enough pieces (for his band). 796x 539x 262

Those who are going to eat the head have to wait.[94]

Then all took enough pieces to suffice for their band.

Then they (the attendants) put the pieces of meat in plates and cut them up into small portions. Now all are in readiness for the meal. Only some of those in the lodge are called upon to eat the head. The plate of the others is filled with ordinary cuts (of meat). As many men and women as are present, for that many do they cut up the pieces of meat evenly and place them in the plate.

Only warriors are head eaters. Not to warriors do they give common pieces. Women and men who are not warriors can not take part in this head eating. Only men can take part in the head eating. They would not permit women to eat the head. However, those of the feasters who were warriors and had brought home war trophies would speak a good word for the trophy bearers, their sisters, their neices, and their aunts,[95] and these would be allowed to sit in the midst of the head eaters. The sisters or the aunts, whatever women were allowed to sit among the head eaters, considered it a very great honor. Thus all were encouraged to do. [554] 562] [602]

Now (the preparations being finished) all are waiting for the meal and the host gets up and speaks.[96]

"I greet you all. When it (the meat) gets into the plate, then it is the time to try to get the spirit's attention by singing. War-bundle owners, who are seated here, I greet you all." (Eating song.)

[93] In the first division of the ritual seven kettles are prepared; in the second division, four.

[94] The eating of the deer's head is the greatest honor that one can obtain in this ceremony, and only warriors are permitted to take part in it. [554

[95] When a warrior returned from a successful war party with the first war honor, i. e., if he had counted coup first, he was given a wampum necklace, and this he presented to his oldest sister or to the daughters of his father's brother or mother's sister or to his mother's sister. 262]

[96] This is the continuation of his speech that had been interrupted by the preparations for the meal [731]

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539X
796X

annoyed it. Host, I greet you. You who are impersonating the spirits, all of you, do I greet."

### The Throwing Out of the Buckskins

Then the attendants give that war-bundle owner who is regarded as the foremost, as an expert, tobacco, for it is about time now that the various spirits should accept (the offerings).[149] Therefore they select a man who is proficient, one who has very likely been blessed by the Night Spirits and one therefore to whom they are likely to listen, a holy person, a man who has attained war honors. He is likely to be the best one to make the spirits cognizant of the buckskins. So they brought the drum for him to his place, and placed tobacco in his hand. Then he spoke as follows:

539X 796X 782 [554]

*Speech of prominent guest.*—"Host and members of his clan who are seated here, I greet you. You seated in this lodge who are impersonating the spirits, I greet you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. It is good that the war-bundle owners have done so much for the host. He has brought us the means of blessing and caused us to come into this lodge and has fed us. He has permitted us to offer tobacco. It is good. Not insincerely should we speak on such an occasion, our father told us. If at any time the spirits pay any attention to a human being and permit him to offer them moccasins, rest assured that they will not let a weakling do this. If you are of any importance the spirits will accept the moccasins you have offered them. Indeed, my son, our grandfathers on both ends of the earth will have knowledge of these offerings,[150] they told each other."

For the Night Spirits they sang and alternately they would start up a song for the Thunderbird as they sat there.

After finishing a Night Spirit song, then they would start up one for the Thunderbird, and then they would sing Night Spirit songs and Thunderbird songs together. "If at any time they consider you a man and accept the moccasins you have offered them, use your power. Above all, be careful that you do not say anything in a frivolous manner. The host putting himself in a pitiable condition has with copious dropping of tears besought the spirits for war power. For life he has also besought them and has prayed to them with offerings of tobacco, food, buckskins, and feathers. Putting himself in a pitiable condition he has hunted for the spirits,[151] weakened himself through exposure to cold, and caused himself untold sufferings. Oh that I could have done similarly! It is for this (these laudable rea-

[785]

[776]

[149] I. e., that the buckskins should be placed where the spirits can get them.
[150] I. e., the Night Spirits living in the east and the Thunderbirds living in the west.
[151] I. e., hunted the deer that are used at the feast both for eating and for the buckskin offerings.

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ADDENDA

After they have finished the fast-eating contest and eaten the heads and before the men are picked out[124] then the host greets all. 539 726

*Speech of host.* "War-bundle owners who are seated here, I send forth my greetings to you. Our grandfathers used to say that if one would take a chance at becoming a ghost[125] then the spirits would consider it especially good. There was one man among our grandfathers who was called He-who-shouts-in-the-distance and he put himself in the position of one who desires death. This warrior, He-who-shouts-in-the-distance, was a great man, an unequaled person. Now in summer it is forbidden to go on a warpath, for no good could come of it. That is why they forbade it. Yet He-who-shouts-in-the-distance went on the warpath four times during the summer, they said. Thus he became one who risked his life. In this way he proved that he was a great man. Finally he became holy and was permitted to carry the war bundle.[126] Thus does one do to be a person who takes risks with his soul.[127] Thus we will do at the very first feast we give. May (the spirits) also have pity upon us [as recompense for] the kettle of which they will partake. That is what we ask. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you."

[124] I. e., before the men to whom kettles had been assigned were called upon to speak.
[125] I. e., risk one's life in a brave way.
[126] It is one of the greatest privileges a warrior can obtain to carry the war bundle when on the warpath.
[127] I have purposely translated this phrase, "wanaʼ nit hiwanagi' ʼdja," in three different ways to give all the different shades of meaning it possesses.

[539 726]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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you can do so, and the women likewise can join, because we have rolled up our bundle. To the dog that we have here, an offering of tobacco can be made." Thus speaking, he sings. After he has finished the song, someone specially called upon gives the war whoop, in which the rest join. In this manner they sing four times, and the ceremony ends. They have a dog around whose neck they tie a red rag, together with a bundle of tobacco, and to each of whose limbs they also tie a bundle of tobacco. This dead dog is to be placed wherever the bones that remain of the feast are buried, generally under some tree. It is supposed that the dog will go directly to the Disease-giver together with the tobacco and there be taken over by him.

*Notes on the Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant, member of the clan: Place of honor at the feast is given to the bravest man present. Scalps, etc., are always brought to those keeping the war bundle.

Contents of bundle: Black hawk (main thing), two wolf tails, buffalo tail, snake, weasel, three flutes—one red, one black, and one blue.

Black hawk used in time of war. If I were leading the war party I would carry it and it would be able to fly. It had a small bundle of medicine tied around the neck, on each wing and each leg. A red flute always went with it.

The two wolf tails could be taken on any warpath. It gives an individual the power of running. The medicine tied to it is to be smeared over the body in order to prevent fatigue. It is also used in hunting.

Buffalo tail gives fleetness and indicates that the man received strength from the buffalo spirit.

Weasel and snake could be put around the neck and worn over the shoulders in times of war. Gives the power of these respective animals in wiggling.

Flutes, blue in connection with the buffalo, red in connection with the black hawk, and black in connection with the night spirits

### The War-bundle Feast of the Bear Clan

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The people were about to go on a hunt, it is said. They returned. Four deer had been killed. And again they went, and this time three deer were killed. But it was not sufficient, so they went out again, and when they returned it was found that they had killed only three deer. "Well," they said, "this will be all right. We have ten deer. Perhaps they will last as food until dawn."

They told the attendants to get ready the lodge and to build the fireplaces. They told them also to have the wood and the buck-

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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X796 539 [788] After the speeches were all over the offerings were taken down and thrown outside through the opening in the roof of the lodge and then night songs were sung. Before throwing the offerings out they marched around the lodge carrying them in their hands. At the approach of dawn the drum, gourds, etc., have about made the entire circuit of the lodge, and as soon as they reach the host he begins to sing the night [533] songs. After these he sings turtle songs, and then the songs are over. The host now calls upon some one to give the war whoop, so that the spirits in the west may hear their voices. Nanhi'tcoga gave the war whoop. All joined in, and the feast was over.

X796 805 [776] *Descriptive notes on the Bear clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant, member of clan: About the middle of winter, in the month called deer-breeding month, the Winnebago used to go out hunting, and they gave a feast to all the spirits who had blessed them.

[774] They are very careful not to have the kettles boil over, because they believe that a man's soul (*na-ri'rak'*) might be wandering about and is likely to come down along the chain of the kettle. If it doesn't boil over, the man is likely to conquer the possessions of this spirit (of an enemy) in the next battle.

202 554] The invitation sticks are sent out only to men who own a war bundle, and the clans are invited in the following fashion: First the Wolf, then the Hawk, and then any order.

778 The contents of the war bundle represent the following: The crow means strength in running. The turtle and the spear, the blessings which enable one to get out of difficulties, the former referring especially to difficulties in crossing water; they also enable their possessor to foretell when enemies are approaching and to tell an individual how many enemies he is going to conquer. The flute represents the 789 voices of musical birds. When an enemy hears them it paralyzes him and he can not run.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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Clans are likewise referred to by names indicative of respect. 614
Thus, the Water-spirit is referred to as *hunge*, male members of the Bear clan as *haga*, and female members of the same clan as *warowina*. It was claimed that these names were employed to avoid using the others. *Degoni* (meaning unknown, perhaps "lake-people") was also applied to the Bear; and *tconanke* (meaning unknown) to the Wolf.

Referring to the two village diagrams, we notice that according to Figure 1, four clans have their lodges definitely located— [621]
the Thunderbird, Warrior, Buffalo, and Bear; but that according to Figure 2 only two clans have definite location of lodges—
the Thunderbird, and Bear. In addition there is, however, [554]
a special lodge for the men who have especially distinguished [729]
themselves in war, not necessarily to be identified with the members of the Warrior clan. The significance of the clan names has been discussed before.

The meaning of *tconanke* is unknown to-day, but it may be 614
of interest as an example of the manner in which the name of 192
a clan may possibly be reinterpreted that, when pressed for a meaning, *tconanke* was translated blue-back, which is a literal translation of *tco* and *nanke*, but which unquestionably represents a folk etymology, for, according to Winnebago grammar, *blue-back* would have to be *nanke tco*.

### *Legendary Grouping of Clans.*

According to many clan legends, the clans originated in 614
a definite order. As might be expected, this differs according 773
to each clan, but the order of origin of the important ones seems to be constant. That is, practically all clan origin myths speak of the bird-clans as having originated first, and the Bear clan as having followed next. Yet even this did not hold true for all informants.

J., of the Bear clan, gave the following list:

Good Thunders (Thunderbird)
Bad Thunders (Warrior)
Eagle
Pigeon
Bear

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935

NP12 Winnebago NP12



In each village, the two civil chiefs, appoint all the officers, deemed necessary, civil and military, who obey them implicitly. There are two ways of arriving at these high stations, by birth and by election. When the father dies, if he has a son, who has arrived at the age of manhood, and who bids fair to make a good chief—that is, if he possesses a good form, has good bodily powers and mental faculties—is brave, sedate, wise and prudent, he generally succeeds his father in the government, on his father's demise. If the chief, at his death, leave no son who is qualified for the high office of chief, but wills it to some other person, he succeeds to the government. If the chief has no son at his death, it is commonly the case, that his brother's son succeeds him. The line of succession may run out for want of a lawful heir, which is always supplied by an election. It may be changed too, where the heir is unqualified for the station. Great deference is always paid to the will of the dying chief, but every such case is always laid before a full national council, whose decision is final (p. 97). 622 [624] [666]

A chief may be degraded from his rank for bad conduct. . . .

There is in every tribe, what answers to a standing army among us. The profession of arms holds out, to the great mass of the common people, the only road to the temple of fame. . . . The young man, who aspires to the honorable distinction of a "brave" or warrior, must exhibit such traits of character, as are deemed necessary for a soldier to possess, before he can be admitted into the army. When admitted, he wears on his head just as many feathers of the bald eagle, as he has slain human beings, and the size of the feathers indicate the size of his victims. . . . If the warrior has taken a captive, he has a human hand as large as life, painted either on his face, or on some part of his body, or on his blanket, some individuals have several such hands painted upon them (p. 98).[9] 701 703 [301] [532] [302]

At the head of the army, belonging to each tribe, there is a person who occupies the same station as a General does with us, and he appoints all the inferior officers. The chiefs when met in council, call into it, their warriors, with whom they consult, but frequently they are called to receive the orders, which are obeyed to the letter. This council call before them, persons who are interested in the trial . . . (pp. 98, 99). 701 623

If the Senate of the United States is the mildest, the most patriotic and wisest legislative assembly in the civilized world, as it truly is, the Winnebago council, is decidedly at the head of the savage world. . . . The great body of the people have very little influence, almost none, with this council, and they never appear before it unless they are summoned to attend it.—They have no voice in electing the chiefs and in fact no political influence. The civil chiefs and the chief warriors, have in their hands, the whole government of the community, and they govern as they please. Disobedience to the orders of the rulers is punished with death, though, like the British nation, the Indians are not savages enough to cut the traitor into quarters after hanging him until he is dead (pp. 99, 100). 623 [622] [687]

The female part of it, exercised the same influence among the women, that the chiefs did among the men, and the presents they expected from us, had to be better, than those given to the common people. The daughter of a chief, never mar- 554 562 [582]

[9] Quite different from the data given by Radin, The Winnebago Tribe, pp. 161, 162.

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935
NP12 Winnebago NP12



554 ries into a family below her's in dignity. The pride originating in birth, is as deeply
562 seated in the hearts of those who are nobly descended, among the natives of the
582 Northwest, as it is among the petty princes of Germany.

625 It is customary for the chiefs to appoint two soldiers, in each village to keep order in it, and they faithfully do so (p. 100).

431 In each tribe, some one man acts as a divider, by order of the civil chiefs, and by general consent. Whenever we made the men any presents, of pipes, paints,
624 tobacco, or any thing else, the self same men, if Winnebagoes were the Indians receiving the presents, appeared, took charge of the property, and divided it in the most equitable manner, among all present at the time. They reserved nothing for themselves, generally, but held up their empty hands to show their disinterestedness.

[171] If the Sauks and Foxes received presents, two men, one for each tribe, acted as dividers, and the same individuals always performed the same duty (pp. 100–101).

554 . . . "The rolling Thunder," "the Yellow Thunder," "the Distant Thunder," &c., are individuals among the Winnebagoes, who possess great weight of char-
551 acter; and that tribe to which belong men, who stand high on their roll of fame, for
614 their distinguished valor in War, for their consummate prudence, experience and wisdom in the national councils, is emphatically called, "the thunder tribe" (p. 124).

114 There are other items appurtenant to Winnebago ethnology in Atwater's work; some to that of the Sauks and Foxes; some to tribes of the upper Mississippi valley in general: there are some acute statements regarding the chronology of the populating of America.

171 A "turtle" gens does not occur in the lists of Morgan, Dorsey, and Radin, and Radin specifically denies that there is such a Winnebago gens. He also
174 states that almost all informants claimed that the Snake and Fish clans
614 (gentes) were recent to the tribe. However, as special names "go with"
[114] fixed gentes, by examining the lists of the signers of the treaties between the Winnebago and the United States, it becomes clear that a member of the
[648] Snake gens signed the treaty of August 19th, 1825 as well as the treaty of
[551] August 25th, 1828. And a Snake clan exists among the Ponca, Iowa, Oto-Missouri, Quapaw, as well as some non-Siouan tribes.[10] Also it may be observed that among the Osage and Quapaw we have a Fish clan (used rather loosely). So too "Turtle" as the name of a gens (sub-gens) among the Siouan tribes Omaha, Kansa, Quapaw, and Osage,[11] and elsewhere.
[551] And Carrymaunee (Karamanu, etc.), "Walking Turtle,"[12] signed more

[10] See the important theoretical discussion by Lowie in American Anthropologist, Vol. 36, 1934, pp. 327–28; cf. also Radin, the Winnebago Tribe, p. 182; Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe (Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology), pp. 38, 39.

[11] Among the Omaha and Osage "the turtle carriers or bearers" and "Turtle-carriers" respectively; "Carries-a-turtle-on-his-back" among the Kansa: observe that according to the above Carrymaunee "carried" a large painted tortoise on his back.

[12] The phonetic restoration is presumably Kéramani; mani means "to walk," as can be seen from old vocabularies, etc., as well as the personal names given by Radin in his The Winnebago Tribe and the Winnebago text by Radin in the Siouan sketch in Handbook of Ameri-

## *Early Childhood*

In the fall of the year we would pick cranberries. 159* When the hunting season was open, I would begin to [22] fast again. [222]

This was my life for a number of years. [787]

After a while we bought a pony on which we used to pack all our belongings whenever we moved our [231] camp. In addition three of us would ride on top of [492] the pack. Sometimes my mother and sometimes my father drove the pony.

After I had grown a little older and taller all of us 159* brothers would fast together. My father would indeed 785 repeatedly urge us to fast. "Do not be afraid of the burnt remains of the lodge center-pole," he would say to us.[3] "Whatever are the true possessions of men, the apparel of men and the gift of doctoring—all these things that are spread out before you—do try and obtain one of them."[4] Thus he would speak to us.

I would then take a piece of charcoal, crush it and blacken my face and he would be very grateful to me

I would at first break my fast at noon but then gradually I began to fast all night. From the fall of the year until spring I would fast until nightfall and then eat. After a while I trained myself to pass the night without eating and after that I was able to go two nights and days without taking any food. Then my mother went to the woods at some distance from the

[3] Symbolical manner of describing the crushed charcoal with which fasters must blacken their faces. [195]

[4] By "possessions of men" he means mainly that knowledge which will make a man honored and respected in his community; and by "apparel of men," he means power and ability. [554]

## §2. *My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud*

159 *
225
[551]

My brother-in-law was named Thunder Cloud. It is said that he was living his third life as a human being.[a]

This is his account:

I once lived with a small group of Indians numbering about twenty camps. When I had grown up to be a lad, although still not large enough to handle a gun, a war-party attacked us and killed us all. I did not know, however, that I had been killed. I thought that I was running about as usual until I saw a heap of bodies on the ground and mine among them. No one was there to bury us, so there we lay and rotted.

My ghost was taken to the place where the sun sets. There I lived with an old couple. The land of the spirits is an excellent place and the people have the best of times. If you desire to go anywhere all that you have to do is to wish yourself there and you reach it. While there I thought I would like to come to the earth again so the old man with whom I was staying said to me, "My son, did you not speak about wanting to go to the earth again?" I had as

[a] The belief in reincarnation is very widespread among the Winnebago. It is generally believed that if any child resembles some deceased individual he is that individual reincarnated. Not every person, however, can become reincarnated. This is a privilege that belongs only to the more prominent people and to the members of the most sacred of Winnebago ceremonies, the Medicine Dance. [554] [996]

## *Fasting*

Just then my older brother came home and they objected to his return for he had not been blessed. However, he took some food and ate it. 159* 787

My brother J., however, obtained a blessing. When he reached the age of puberty my father called him aside and told him to fast. He told him that it was his fervent wish that he should begin to fast in order to become holy, to become invincible and invulnerable in war. He wished him to become like one of those Winnebago of whom stories are told. He assured him that if he fasted he would really be holy and that nothing that exists on this earth would be able to molest him; that he would live a very long life and that he would be able to cure the sick. He told him that if he were blessed no one would dare to make fun of him and that they would be very careful how they addressed him; first, because they really respected him and secondly, because they were afraid of getting him angry. He was to fast until spring and then he was to stop, for there are many bad spirits about in the spring who are likely to deceive a faster. 159* 785 554 787 [576] [776]

Near our village there was a hill called *Place-where-they-keep-weapons*. This hill was very high, steep and rocky. It was a very holy place. There it was that my father wished my brother to fast for it was the place where he himself had fasted. Within this hill lived the spirits whom we call *Those-who-cry-like-babies*. These spirits are supposed to possess arrows and bows. Twenty of them were supposed to be in this hill. My father had control of them and when [778] [776] 000

## §5. *Names*

Whenever they think highly of any individual in a family they give him the means for obtaining a happy life. If the older people think highly of any one they prearrange the kind of life he is to lead afterwards. With this object in view, my uncles told my brother the story of how human beings first came into this world, the story of the origin of our clan.

### *The Story of the Origin of Our Clan*

Earthmaker was sitting in space when he came to consciousness. Nothing was to be found anywhere. He began to think of what he was to do and finally he cried. Tears flowed from his eyes and fell below where he was sitting. After a while he looked below and saw something bright. The bright objects were tears, of which he had not been aware and, which falling below, had formed the present waters. They became the seas of to-day.

Then Earthmaker began to think again. He thought, "Thus it is whenever I wish anything. Everything will become as I wish it just as my tears have become the water of the seas." So he wished for light and it became light. Then he thought, "It is as I have supposed; the things that I wished for, come into existence as I desired." Then he again thought and wished for this earth and this earth came into existence. Earthmaker looked at the earth and

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



about two days' distance from their camp. They arrived at the destined place at evening and the woman pitched the tent, while the man went out to gather wood. Since there was nothing to eat he told his wife that he would go in search of food immediately. He took his bow and arrows and left. While he was gone the woman fetched some water, filled the kettle and put it on the fire so that it would be ready when her husband returned. At dusk he returned carrying a deer on his back. This he set down outside and the woman skinned it and prepared it in the usual manner by cutting it first into small pieces and then drying these by the heat of the fire. Then they all sat down and ate and, shortly after, went to bed. The woman and children were soon fast asleep but the man stayed awake planning the hunt for the following day, for he wished very much to please his father-in-law. On the following morning he told his wife that if, during his absence, anything should happen she was under no circumstances to leave the children. Then he took his bow and his arrows and went away. 539

Now in the olden days it was considered a very brave thing for a man to camp at some distance from the main settlement and that is why, on this occasion when he was leaving, the man said to his wife, "If anything happens to you while I am away, remember that I will return immediately." He wished to show how much he loved her. He was out all day hunting and he killed a deer, skinned it and began carrying it home on his back. When he was near the site of his little camp he noticed that the lodge-poles were all standing upright and he knew immediately what had happened; he knew at once that his wife and children had either been killed or captured. He felt terrible but he laughed when he reached the lodge and found [654] [927]

## *Crashing Thunder*

701 Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to
* 159 be a leader of men. To become one, however, is very
867 difficult, the old people used to say. It may happen that
787 you merely pretend to be a leader of men, that you are but
a mere warrior in the ranks and yet take it upon yourself to
[686] lead a war-party and thus cause a needless waste of life,
that you do what is called "throwing away a life." That
is the most shameful of all acts. The relatives of the person
[627] whom you have thus sacrificed would then have the right
to make you suffer, to torture you with burning embers.
And then your relatives would have to stand by, sad and
humiliated. Not with the blessing of one, not with the
blessings of twenty spirits, can you go on the warpath.
* 159 For that the blessings of all the spirits are necessary—those
867 on this earth, those under it and those who lie pinned
776 through it, the Island Weights; those in the waters and
787 those on the side of the earth, the winds, all four of them.
You need the blessings of the spirit who dispenses life from
one side of his body and death from the other, the blessings of the Sun, the Moon, the Daylight, and the Earth.
All these Earthmaker has made controllers of war and by
787 all these must you be blessed in order to lead a war-party.
* 159 My son, if you cast off your dress for many people, that
867 is, if you give to the needy, your people will be benefited
[135] by your deeds. It is good thus to be honored by many
people. And even more will they honor you if you return
[554] victorious from the warpath with one of the four limbs, that
is, one of the four war honors. But if you obtain two, or
three, or perhaps even four limbs, then all the greater will
be the honor. Then whenever a war feast is given you will
receive part of the deer that is boiled, either part of its
ooo body or part of the head.[18] When on some other occasion,

[18] The meat of a deer at such a feast is given only to great warriors. The head is regarded as the choicest piece.

of his wife and refuse to go on a warpath. He might as well have been brought up as a girl. Men who are real men perform the deeds of men, but such a man will never perform a real man's deed. If he should actually attend a war-bundle feast he will be given the leanest piece of meat, only given to a man of no account. Why should any one run the risk of being thus jeered at? Now when a really brave man attends a war-bundle feast he is given a deer's head This other man gets a lean piece! It will dry up in his throat, so humiliated and disgraced will he feel. After a while he will not be allowed to go to any feast; his wife will not let him. He will listen to the voice of his wife. His relatives will scold him, his sisters will think nothing of him. They will tell people never to go to visit him. Finally when he has become a real slave of his wife he will even hit his relatives if she asks him to. It is for these reasons that I warn you not to listen to women. You will be considered different from others. It is not good.

Remember this too, that women cannot be watched. If you try to watch them and are jealous about them, then your female relatives will also be jealous of them. Finally when your jealousy has developed to the highest pitch, your wife will leave you and run away with some one else. You have allowed her to see by your actions that you worship a woman, and one alone, and, in addition, you have been watching her all the time. Because of this incessant annoyance she will run away from you. If you think that

of these spirits, a buckskin decorated with the symbol sacred to the spirit, was prepared and then at the most dramatic moment of the ceremony these buckskins were thrown out of the ceremonial lodge and it was believed that the spirits came down in person to fetch them. The war-bundle feast was specifically a man's ceremony.

*159 your wife is the only one to love, you have humbled yourself
[581] and she will be taken from you. You have likewise made
869 the woman suffer; you have made her unhappy. The whole
562 world will hear about it. No other woman will want to
593 marry you and you will have the reputation of being a bad man.

[577] Now you may act in the following way: You see people
[921] starting on a warpath and you join them knowing that it is an honor to die on the warpath. But you will join them because you feel unhappy at your wife's flight. Now this is not the proper way to act. You are throwing away your life; you are causing the leader of the war-party to throw away a life. If you want to go on the warpath, do not go because your wife has been taken away from you, go because you feel courageous enough to do so.

[785] It is on the warpath that a man has fun! Do not go,
[926] however, unless you have fasted adequately. You must fast for each specific warpath. If you do not and yet join a war-party, then in the midst of the fight, a bullet will come your way and kill you. That will happen because you did not fast. If you have performed any deeds of valor, recount them to your sisters and to your sister's children. Those in charge of war-bundles are good to listen to in such matters. Those to whom such people give advice will eat an excellent dish; they will have the
● [554] honor of sitting near a great warrior in the middle of the lodge.

*159 These are the things of which the old people spoke and
869 this also is the advice I give you. I myself never asked
577 for these things, but my father did. Your grandfather did. He asked for the information relating to the manner in which people are to behave. Never, when you are older, should you allow yourself to get in the predicament of not

I, of course, thought that it must indeed be a marvelous thing and I was very happy about it. What I was most eager to see was myself killed and then brought to life again in the lodge, as it was believed happened to the members of the Medicine Dance. I also realized that a member of the Medicine Dance, whether man or woman, was different from a person not belonging to it and I was quite anxious not to be an ordinary person any longer but to be a medicine man. 159* 796 [775] [554]

As soon as we finished building the ceremonial lodge the ceremony began, and the first thing the people did was to sing. Then the leader of the band that was giving the dance arose and delivered a speech: 159* 796 537

All those who are sitting here I greet. We are waiting for all of you to have compassion upon us. Nephew,[23] I shall now tell you the road you are to travel. He whom we call nephew, the hare, the founder of the Medicine Dance, obtained this life-ensuring ceremony for us. This is the only life; no other exists. Exert yourself to follow in the road of your ancestors and adhere to the ceremony that represented their mode of life. I know you will hearken to what I say. Assuredly you will listen, for thereby you will help and benefit yourself and, at the same time, attain the good life.

Never do anything wrong. Do not steal. Do not quarrel. If on any occasion you meet a woman on the road, turn to the right, never to the left. No matter who the woman is, do not take liberties with her. This is what the old people taught us and if you perform the rites of this ceremony you will obtain the life that we desire for you. [577]

[23] The person to be initiated is always called nephew. [608]

## §22. *We Kill a Pottawattomie*

*159 588 837 I never married any woman permanently. I would live with one for awhile, and then with another. Sometimes upon my return after an absence I would find my temporary wife living with another man. This is the way in which I acted.

*159 787 721 My father had brought me up and had encouraged me to fast, so that I might be blessed by all the spirits that exist, and thus live in comfort. My father had raised me so that I should desire to obtain war honors,[29] so that I should not be like one who wears skirts. That was the reason he had me join the Medicine Dance so [626] that people should not be able to ridicule me. My father taught me to lead a sober and sane life and my [867] grandfather, during the time I lived with him, had told me the same. They both encouraged me to give feasts and to ask the spirits for war honors.

*159 721 At that time I had a comrade, and one day he said to me, "We have been thinking of something, have we not, friend? We ought to try and obtain some external emblem of our bravery. Do we not always try to wear feathers at a Warrior Dance? Well, then, let us try

[29] These war honors were the following: touching the body of a [559] slain enemy first, killing an enemy, touching the body second, touching it third, stealing a horse. All of them entitled the possessor [301] to wear an eagle feather in his hair.

## *We Kill a Pottawattomie*

to obtain war honors, so that we can wear head orna- 159*
ments." So did we both speak to each other. We both 721
liked the idea, and so we decided to go in search of war honors. We decided to kill a man of another tribe; we meant to perform an act of bravery. We started out finally. There were four of us, and we went to a place where other tribesmen congregated. We took the train and carried some baggage with us. We took ropes along, for we intended to steal some horses, and if we found the opportunity, kill a man. Horse stealing was regarded as a praiseworthy feat, and I had always [559] admired the people who recounted the number of times they had stolen horses, at one of the Warrior Dances. That was why I wished to do these things.

We proceeded to a place where horses of other tribes used to pasture. Just as we got there we saw the owner of some of these horses and killed him. My friend killed him. Then we went home, and secretly I told my father all about it. I said to him, "Father, you said it was good to be a warrior and you encouraged me to fast and I did so. You encouraged me to give feasts and I did so. Now we have just returned from a trip. We were looking for war honors and the young people who were accompanying me decided that I [701] should lead them. I told them that it was a difficult thing to lead warriors, my father had always told me, and that I had always been given to understand that a person could lead a war-party only in consequence of a specific blessing received from the spirits. I was not conscious of having received any such, I told him.

## *We Kill a Pottawattomie*

you to do this. Of your own initiative you could not 159*
possibly have done it. However, we had better not 721
have a Victory Dance as yet. We have the honor any- [727]
how. We must be careful about the Whites. In the
old days we were at liberty to live in our own way, and [648]
when such a deed as yours became known, your sisters
would rejoice and dance, we are told. Now, however,
the law of the Whites is to be feared. In due time you
will get a chance to announce your feat and then you
can wear a head ornament for you have earned that [554]
right for yourself."

[P. 151]

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12

# Winnebago Berdache

By NANCY OESTREICH LURIE

114 838 [177] [171] THE following account draws attention to the fact that the berdache role was still evident in Winnebago culture until close to the turn of the century, and adds somewhat to the data of certain clear cultural parallels between this Woodland Siouan group and such Plains Siouan tribes as the Omaha, Oto, Iowa and Ponca. The description is not complete and certain points are equivocal. Thus, all of the available ethnographic documentation will be presented so that anyone intending to use the information will be able to assess its value. The description given here agrees, Dr. Raul Radin said in a conversation, with his unpublished Winnebago data.

124 838 During the course of general field investigations conducted from time to time during the years 1945 to 1947, it was apparent that Winnebago informants in Wisconsin tended to be reticent to discuss the matter of the berdache. Their embarrassment may indicate that knowledge of the subject was withheld. However, even where excellent rapport existed and individuals became sufficiently interested in the topic to question people who might not speak directly to an ethnographer, some details remain uncertain. Furthermore, [177] while the last berdache died somewhat over fifty years ago, the picture is confused by the former tendency of Winnebago culture to invest given forms of traits with opposite meanings and functions when used under different circumstances. At the present time, the recollections of many informants reveal that they know only half of the total function of given forms, or that they attempt to synthesize features which now appear as contradictory.

[184] While it was noted in 1950 that the Nebraska Winnebago were quite willing to speak of matters that in Wisconsin are still considered sacred or as things to be kept secret from whites, the Nebraska Winnebago simply knew less about older traditions.

838 [787] [821] [791] [588] [554] 177 838 [626] It was agreed generally that the berdache was a man who had taken on this role because he had been directed to do so by the moon, a female spirit, at the time of his vision quest. The berdache dressed as a woman, performed women's tasks better than any normal woman could perform them, and had the ability to foretell future events. However, not all Winnebago prophets were berdaches. One informant mentioned that berdaches sometimes married other men, but no data were obtained concerning the attitude of the society toward the husband of a berdache. Most informants felt that the berdache was at one time a highly honored and respected person, but that the Winnebago had become ashamed of the custom because the white people thought it was amusing or evil. By the time the last known berdache attempted to fulfill the role, his brothers threatened to kill him if he "put on the skirt." This berdache then affected a combination of male and female clothing, fearing that he would die if he did not at least attempt to follow the directions given him in his vision of the moon.

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12



838 the formal role of berdache for men was observed within the memory of people born since 1885, at least in Wisconsin. Of particular interest is the fact that the Winnebago utilized the same characteristics of dress and behavior for two entirely different purposes. In the case of a true berdache, the person held an [554] honored and respected position in the society, while a man who was forced to take on a female role without benefit of a blessing by the moon was disgraced and dishonored.

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the young faster to overreach and destroy himself. Thus we see along what lines the reinterpretations of the priest-thinker were made. 105 771

This was the theory that the priest-thinker tried to impress upon his fellowmen in order to introduce a greater sense of confidence and security in the relationship between man and the deities. Because of the very high demands it made upon the worshipper, it remained largely a philosophical-ethical ideal and the fairly sharp line of demarcation between human beings and the spirits continued in force as the popular theory. Some there were who even insisted that it was, not only the courageous, but the morally justifiable thing to do, to coerce the deities into acquiescing in man's demands. That was the proper way to meet divinity, to challenge the gods, accept what they granted and, then, to attempt to fulfill the conditions imposed even if they meant death. Few individuals in the community, for instance, had greater prestige than the few who had secured a blessing from the much dreaded deity, *Disease-giver*. He had two faces, one dealing life and the other death. No suppliant knew which side would be turned toward him when he made his offerings, at noon, in the full blaze of day, contrary to what held for all the other deities, namely, that they must be approached at night. 776 [538] [554] [782]

This, of course, is the warrior's creed and, in a civilization like that of the Winnebago where the highest ambition as a man was to achieve distinction on the warpath, it naturally was very important. Yet to this, the chief of the tribe might well retort: such courage and such risks have their moral justification only when one is fighting the enemy or avenging the death of a kinsman. They are inapplicable when approaching a god. The taking of great risks concerns not only oneself but the whole community and must be subject to the sanctions of the community. A person must be carefully and properly educated before he dare take them. To exhibit fearlessness and heroic courage is, in itself, no virtue. Indeed, in the wrong place or on the wrong occasion, they can and do lead to death and destruction. 105 771 577

And so, in the realm of religion as in that of social organization and mythology, the problem to be faced is depicted as being the same. How are we to resolve the differences between the 'earth' interpre- 105 771

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



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Any man who has been specially blessed with war powers may go on the warpath. Such a man must not merely be blessed with those general war powers that individuals obtain during their puberty fast, but must likewise be blessed with a definite enemy to kill or capture, as the case may be, immediately before he starts out. In practice this meant that whenever a person wished to go on the warpath he fasted in order to obtain the necessary guarantees of success. An account of the powers granted by the spirit or spirits was then placed before the chief and if, in his opinion, they justified the undertaking, the man was permitted to go. If they were insufficient the chief expressed his disapproval and the contemplated undertaking had either to be given up or the man would be compelled to fast again for increased powers. There were a number of men who were unable to obtain the requisite powers. To them one of two alternatives was left open: they might either purchase sufficient powers to go on a warpath or they might volunteer to join a large warpath. A volunteer needed no special blessing. If he had one, it would certainly benefit him, but it was not necessary except as an additional precaution, for the leader of the war party (*dotcaⁿkwąka*) was supposed to be blessed specifically with every element necessary for a successful undertaking. As the Winnebago express it, he was blessed "with a complete road." In a war leader's blessing, everything must be provided—sufficient food, a definite number of enemies to kill, the exact place where they are to be killed, the exact time when they are to be killed, the exact manner in which they are to be killed, the exact manner in which the participants are to return to their homes, the safe return of all participants, and an infinite number of other minor points. As a volunteer went at the request of another man, the latter, and not he, took upon himself entire responsibility and the chief dealt directly with him. The chief would, in such a case, be particularly careful to see that every life that was risked was amply safeguarded. Otherwise the war party would not be permitted to start. [787]

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A man may go on the warpath for two reasons: either to revenge a slain relative or in a general way because he thinks he has received sufficient power and wishes to obtain glory. If the incentive was revenge, he might pursue one of two methods. He might go to the shaman with offerings of tobacco and presents and tell him about the death of his relative and his desire for revenge; or he might take the matter in his own hand, fast, and after having stealthily prepared for the necessities of the warpath inform a friend and steal out with him in the middle of the night. Were he to take the first method, it would be the shaman who would fast and who would afterwards lead the party, taking along with him as many men as would follow him. [628]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



721 When a man went on a warpath for the sake of glory he generally led a large party and all sorts of special arrangements were made, because then a war leader was necessary and volunteers were always needed. It is believed that the same holds true for larger war parties.

In discussing the essential requisite for a successful war party we have stated that a special blessing was necessary for this purpose. There is, however, one noteworthy exception to this rule, if we are [614 to accept the statements of members of the upper phratry—all mem- 615] bers of the Warrior clan may go on a warpath without fasting and without receiving a blessing. This statement was vigorously denied by members of the lower phratry.

727 When a war party returns, a very interesting ceremony takes place. At some distance from the village a victorious war party sends a messenger ahead to tell all those at home that the war party has been unsuccessful and that all have been killed, and that those at home should put on mourning. Secretly, however, the leader tells someone to look for a pole for the Victory dance, and shortly after all the preparations for mourning have been made the victorious warriors rush into the village. Before entering the village that warrior who [555] has counted first coup is offered a pipe, from which he always takes a few puffs. The same pipe is then handed to the one who counted coup second, and so on, until the fourth man is reached. Then the prizes (*waizere*) are given to the victors, who afterwards give them to their sisters. The scalps are not taken into the village, but are left outside, and warriors who have remained at home rush out to count coup upon them. Then the scalps are carried around the village four times.

555 The widely-known Plains custom of "counting coup" is also 726 practiced among the Winnebago. The individual who strikes the dead body of the enemy first obtains the first honor, the one striking it second the second honor, the one striking it third the third honor, and the one who actually killed the enemy obtaining the fourth and least important honor.

721 The following are descriptions given in the words of the informants:

[115 *Description of war customs and the manner of conducting a war party.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

When a man is ready to go on the warpath, he looks around for as many men as he wishes to take along and then gives a feast. At the feast he fixes the time at which the war party is to start. The man giving the feast (i. e., the leader of the war party) would get up and tell those present that he intended going on a warpath and give his reason; then he would say that whoever so desired could come along.

Many went along. Indeed, there was quite a crowd. The first stopping place (*hiqiyere*) was always near the outskirts of the village. There the leader appointed four men to go after food and wood for the fire. During their absence two camping places would be arranged, one on each side of the war leader. As soon as the four men returned with the food the attendants skinned and prepared the animals for

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eating. Then the war leader asked for food, and it was brought to him. Now the 721
female relatives of the men came to the camp, bringing with them moccasins for the journey. After that the chief asked some man to tell stories and some to take care of the fireplace, while two brave warriors were put in charge of the camp. Toward morning a number of warriors who had not been asked to join this particular war party might stray in (*hotru'ggite*).

Before the war leader enters the *higiyara* he places his war bundle crosswise in front of the entrance of the *higiyara* and sings some songs. When he is finished, his attendants place the war bundle on his back, and only then does he really enter the *higiyara*, followed by all the other members of the war party.[1]

When they approached the place where they expected to find the enemy, two dis- 726
tinguished warriors were appointed to reconnoiter, and they proceeded ahead of the war party until they saw the enemy. Then they returned to the camp and reported to the war leader. From that time on they would practice their various individual powers (*wuxxa'p nagigirr'jê*).[2]

When the two warriors sent out to reconnoiter return, the attendant offers them the pipe that he had prepared for the war leader. They smoke it and say, "Those whom we are after are entirely unaware of our presence." Then the members of the war party would thank them for their information. All would now start out against 726
the enemy. When near the enemy, they practice their powers again and paint 782
themselves with their war paints. To those spirits who have bestowed blessings upon the various members of the war party offerings are now made. Especially to the spirits who are in control of war powers are offerings made. To them they also pray for life and for war honors in the coming encounter. They even offer tobacco to those spirits from whom they have not received blessings, asking them for aid because of their careful observance of all the customs and precepts they were taught. Some offered tobacco to a medicine they possessed and asked the medicine to remember them in the coming encounter. Others boiled water (for a spirit) and asked him to assist them in obtaining a war honor, while others again offered tobacco to their war bundles and prayed that the powers contained therein might be strong and that they might kill some of the enemy and obtain war honors. All prayed that the enemy might not kill them and that they might finally return home safe. Those who had no supernatural powers to fall back upon would get frightened at such a time and they would say, "Alas! how will I fare! I should have fasted. I should have given feasts. I should have offered good medicines to the spirits and fasted until I was blessed, so that I, too, might now have some powerful medicine to use. Had I fasted and obtained a blessing from the spirits who are in control of war powers, had I given feasts, this all would have been a source of strength to me now and I would know positively whether or not I am going to be killed in the coming encounter."

When everything is in readiness the war leader rises and appoints four warriors to 726
give the war whoop. Then, as soon as the war whoop has been given, they would rush upon the enemy, imitating as they ran the sounds of the spirits who had blessed [555]
them. The first four to kill and count coup obtained the corresponding four war honors. Those who captured a man also obtained war honors. Beside these principal ones there were minor war honors. Those who obtained no honors at all would return home crying. After they had killed all those in the village of the enemy they would burn it to the ground and then start for their homes in the best of spirits.

When they were near their home they sent a messenger ahead to inform their rela- 727
tives to put on mourning, for all those who had started out on the warpath had been killed; that he who had in reality obtained the first war honor had been killed first,

[1] *Higiyara* is the special arrangement of the camp used on individual warpaths.

[2] When a war party has located the enemy, they prepare for the attack and run about, practicing their individual magical powers. "The war-club running" (*wuxxa'p nagigirr'jê*) referred to is the practice of running about in preparation for the attack upon the enemy so that they may not get tired out too easily. [789]

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limb.[13] They will indeed like you very much if you obtain a limb, 867
or, even better, two or three. If you do thus, wherever people boil 554
an animal with a head [14] you will always be able to eat.

If on account of your bravery you are permitted to tell of your 867
war exploits during the Four Nights' Wake for the benefit of the 765
soul of the deceased, do not try to add to your glory by exaggerat- 554
ing any exploit, for by so doing you will cause the soul to stumble on its journey to the spirit land.[14] If you do this and add an untruth to the account of your war exploit, you will die soon after. The war spirits always hear you. Tell a little less. The old men say it is wise.

My son, it is good to die in war. If you die in war, your soul will 867
not be unconscious. You will have complete disposal of your soul 721
and it will always be happy.[15] If you should ever desire to return 775
to this earth and live here again, you will be able to do so. A second life as a human being you may live, or, if you prefer, as an inhabitant of the air (a bird) you may live, or you may roam the earth as an animal. Thus it is to him who dies in battle.

My son, fast for an honorable place among your fellowmen. Fast, 867
so that when you are married you may have plenty of food; that 785
you may be happy and that you may not have to worry about your 787
children. If in your fastings you have a vision of your future home, the members of your family will be lacking in nothing during their life. Fast for the food that you may need. If you fast a sufficiently large number of times, when in after life you have children and they cry for food you will be able to offer a piece of deer or moose meat without any difficulty. Your children will never be hungry.

[13] That is, a war honor, but more specifically if you "count coup" first. The honor of killing an enemy [555]
and the three honors associated with first touching his dead body are always spoken of as "the four limbs of the body."

[14] That is, wherever people give a *Winter Feast*. At this feast a deer, head and all, is served to the [527]
invited guests. The head may only be eaten by brave warriors.

[15] At the death of a fellowman an elaborate wake takes place. To this wake, as the principal participants, 262]
three or four warriors who have counted "coup" are always invited. It is believed that the souls of all the enemies one has killed become the slaves of the victor and he may command them to do his bidding at any time. If the victor tells his exploit and then commands the enslaved soul to take care of the recently 765
departed person in whose honor the wake is being given, the soul of the conquered enemy will be of considerable aid in overcoming the obstacles that are supposed to infest the path between this earth and the 775
land of the spirits. These can not be overcome by the merits of the individual alone. If, however, a warrior becomes vainglorious, the soul of the recently departed individual will fall into the abyss of fire which surrounds one of the heavenly earths through which he must pass. That is what is meant by "stumbling."

[16] It must be remembered that the Winnebagos believe that all that constitutes "life," "consciousness," 774
continues to exist after death, the only difference being that in the former case an envelope, the body, is present and, in the latter case, it is not. Winnebago philosophy does not concern itself with what happens 775
when a soul becomes "unconscious" at death, which would, of course, be the case with all those who do not die in battle; but it does insist that to him who dies on the warpath the moment of death does not even deprive of consciousness. He goes right on living, as if he were still an inhabitant of this earth, the only difference being that the corporeal envelope has fallen off his soul and that, although he can see and hear human beings, he himself is not visible nor his voice audible.

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648 strong. After he had danced around for the fourth time he opened
789 up his package and there was the tobacco. Then he spoke to the
796 people, "You people of different tribes, the one that is dancing
726 with me will obtain the first war-honor on the warpath that you
791 are planning now, for I am giving him that honor and that power."

After this he told them that he would make them some paint, as they seemed to be short of it then. He took a wooden dish and filled it full of ashes and covered it up with a white deerskin. Then he danced around the lodge. As he was dancing around for the third time, old Lincoln thought he noticed yellow-colored paint. The fourth time he danced around, the paint turned into a red color. When, finally, *Midjistega* took the cover off, there was red paint of a very fine quality. Then the members of the different tribes distributed it among one another.

After this he made some axes. He molded some clay into the shape of axes and put them into a deerskin. On top of this bundle he put a real metal ax. Then taking this bundle he started to dance around the lodge. As he went around the lodge the third time, old Lincoln thought he noticed something shining. After he had gone around the fourth time he took the cover off and there were some real axes. They were all new and bright.

Then he decided to make some hoes, and then some awls. All of these he made of clay. Then he made some needles of deer hair. Then, noticing some boys playing with some basswood bark, he asked them to give him some, and out of it he made ribbons of four different colors, blue, white, red, and black.

Then he said, "As I have made almost everything, I will now try and make some whisky. If I fail there will be no harm done anyhow." Old Lincoln told his people what *Midjistega* was saying. Then they placed a new pail full of water before him. He took a flute and began to dance around the lodge. After he had made the first circuit of the lodge he held the flute near the pail, almost sticking it into the water. The second time he approached the pail he stuck the flute into the water just a little bit. The third time he came near it he stuck the flute into the water and stirred it around. By that time Old Lincoln could smell the odor of whisky pretty strongly. Then *Midjistega* went around the lodge for the fourth time and finally stirred the water with his flute for a long time, and taking a drink from the pail said, "It is whisky." Then he passed it around and everyone present took a drink. Old Lincoln, however, did not touch it. Then his father told him to drink it, as it was holy and had been made by a spirit. Then Old Lincoln drank some, and, sure enough, it was whisky, although it was colorless.

726 After that, all the people went on a warpath. However, the per-
555 son to whom *Midjistega* had promised the first war honor only obtained

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the second one, Old Lincoln himself obtaining the first. The first war honor was a quantity of wampum beads and the second a wampum belt. Both the one who got the second prize and Old Lincoln brought back with them an enemy's head. 726 55 [727]

From that time on *Midjistega* stayed with the Winnebago and he and Old Lincoln became great friends, living together, one of the reasons being that Old Lincoln could understand Winnebago. 648 [572]

One day they ran short of corn meal, so they decided to go and trade some furs for corn meal. They had plenty of furs because they spent most of their time hunting. When they got to the trader's store *Midjistega* said, "Say, trader, the boys have been out of paint for some time and you ought to give them some." "No, *Midjistega*, I can't do that." Then *Midjistega* again said, "Well, the paint boxes are small and aren't of much value anyhow, and you ought to make them a present of some. However, I always knew you were very stingy." Then the trader said, "My business is to trade you my wares for your furs and I will not give you any paint for nothing." Then *Midjistega* said, "If I had some flour I could make some paint myself. However, I am short of flour, too." Then the trader said, "*Midjistega*, you can not do it, for even the whites do not know how to make paint (in that way), so how could you, who are only an Indian, do it?" Thus they spoke to and fro and finally the trader said, "*Midjistega*, I will bet you my store against your furs that if I give you some flour you can not make paint out of it. If I win you are to give me your furs, and if you win I will give you my store." Then the bet was agreed upon. 648 437 791 [525]

Then a lodge was prepared and *Midjistega's* drum and flute were carried into it. Then the trader had some flour carried over to the lodge and it was poured into a dish. The trader, suspecting that there might be some trick, stirred up the flour thoroughly. He satisfied himself that there was nothing at the bottom of the dish. *Midjistega*, in the meantime, painted the corners of his mouth and eyes with ashes and then the singers sang for him. Then he handed the flute over to Old Lincoln and told him to blow it for him every now and then. The trader sat near the entrance of the lodge with his employees. Then *Midjistega* jumped up and ran all around the lodge on all fours. Then he took the dish with the flour and shaking it, began to dance around the lodge with it. After he had danced around for the third time it suddenly turned into a yellow color, and Old Lincoln noticed the change in the expression on the trader's face. As he went around for the fourth time it suddenly changed to a red color. When he got back to his starting place it was quite red and was an excellent quality of paint. Then he said, "Well, trader, I have won your store," and the trader answered, "You have won my store. I did not think that an Indian could do it." Then *Mid-* 648 789 386 791 [525] 000

l:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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# CHAPTER XV

## MISCELLANEOUS DANCES

### The Hok'ixe're Dance

Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan: This is the way in which people used to bring scalps to one another. When a man returns from the warpath with a scalp he leaves it outside of the village and the warriors run out with their clubs and strike it and count coup (just as on the battlefield). As they count coup they call out their names. Then they are told what ceremonial dress they are to wear. They then send a messenger to the person to whom the scalp is to be presented to tell him to select a pole (for the victory dance). He thanks them and says, "It is good." Then the warriors who are returning arrange themselves in a circle around this pole and dance around it. He who has obtained the first war honor leads. 727 [555]

The one to whom they present the scalp thanks the spirits who are in control of war powers and then raising his hand prays to the Sun. Then he sings a song and when that is finished sits down, beats the drum, and sings a dancing song, while the others dance. [782]

Then the owner of the scalp, turning toward the spirits who are in control of war, gives the victory whoop four times. After each whoop all the other people in the lodge strike their mouths with their hands and yell. After the victory whoops have been given all dance the victory dance. [201]

Then the man who has received the scalp lets his sisters, his aunts, and his nieces select the war presents which are always bestowed upon them. With these tied around their necks they dance. Toward evening they finish the victory dance and then all enter the (dancing) lodge. He to whom the scalp is given is the host and he sits down first. Then comes the donor and then in a row the four who have counted coup. [431]

The ceremony begins with songs sung by the host. He first sings two war-bundle songs (*waruxa'p na"wa"*) and then two night songs (*ha"he' na"wa"*). When these are finished the meal is eaten. Before eating, all the animal heads are placed in front of the donor of the scalp and he selects those men with whom he wishes to share them. 727 796

Then the host rises and says, "War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you all. Our warrior (the donor) will eat together with

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Then another man to whom a kettle has been given gets ready to express his thankfulness and says: 539x 796x

*Speech of sixth guest.*—"Host and members of your clan who are seated here, I send forth my greetings to you. To you also, war-bundle owners who are seated here, do I send forth my greetings. The members of this clan have often preached to me. My grandfather once told me the following: 'Some day there will be a dearth of people (for a feast). There they will offer tobacco to the spirits and as many pieces of meat as they cut that many will be holy. There also they will cook heads. Heads are not to be eaten by those wearing dresses (i. e., women). Women are not permitted to scatter their food in eating, we are told.'[108] Some day if they boil these holy pieces, the heads, they will be in need of people to invite to the feast. If they call upon you for one of the sacred pieces, even if at that time you had not yet obtained a war honor, if you had not counted coup,[109] still if you offer up thanks to the spirits for anything; still more so, of course, if you had been able to count coup and you thanked them for all this, they will listen to you.'[110] My grandfather told me, 'Thus they spoke to me,' he said, it is said, 'Little grandfather, the spirits up above gave (your ancestor) a war bundle to those of the Earth phratry. They gave them a mouth for speaking (in offering thanks), but they told him that it was forbidden to speak to outsiders about this matter. They gave them a mouth that they might speak to one another (i. e., members of the same clan)'. [562 262]

"My father gave the information to me. For that reason, they told me, I am in a position to thank the spirits. One of the greatest of the spirits they have offered tobacco to, to one of the greatest of the spirits they have prayed. Tobacco, food, a sacred white buckskin, pleasing to their eyes, they have extended to them. With offerings of life[111] they have asked for life. We have been asked to impersonate (the spirits), even although there are plenty of war-bundle owners. But the host is a relative of ours and therefore wishes me to live. A pitiable existence we had been living (until they saw to it) that we were brought into connection with life. Proud we are of it. For if they (the spirits) accept their gifts, we also will be able to utilize the life (obtained). Clan members, we did as we pleased here. It is good. Those preached to, the Morning Star, [782]

[108] In eating the deer head and in the fat-eating contest the meat is devoured so fast that the food is literally scattered in the process of eating. Whether there is an implied warning that a man should not be found in the same class as the women I do not know positively, but it is quite likely. [264]

[109] Literally, "a limb." The four coup counts are likened to the four limbs of the human body. As such they are always referred to. [826

[110] The whole meaning of the speech up to the present is the following: Should they in the future want to give a feast and lack of the proper people cause them to call upon you, even if you had counted coup only once, the spirits would listen to you. And yet here I am and haven't even counted coup once and yet I have the effrontery to expect them to listen to me. 555

[111] I. e., with offerings of deer and dogs.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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history can demonstrate. Such a genetic relationship between the two depends probably as much upon the nature of the political function as upon anything else. The exact time when this socialization took place is also of great import here. Among the Winnebago, some individuals claim that the functions of the public crier were inherent in the Buffalo clan, while others insist that any person who had counted coup four times was eligible for the office. Now, in this case not only is it possible but it is extremely probable that public criership was originally connected with an individual, and that subsequently it became associated with the Buffalo clan, probably by reason of a certain relationship existing between this clan and the Chief clan. It must, of course, be remembered that a grouping had already taken place, because the requirement of having counted coup four times made a large number of warriors potentially public criers. (Here the grouping together was due to the successful performance of certain test-acts.) Its association with membership in the Buffalo clan represented on the one hand a restriction of the number of individuals, on the other hand the addition of another qualification. Historically, then, the qualification of membership in the clan supplanted the other qualifications, at least in the eyes of a large number of individuals. What has been said of the development of the functions of the Buffalo may also be generally applied to that of the Warrior or Hawk clan.

Political functions may, however, become connected with a group unit without the individual playing any rôle either in directing or in developing such an association. The functions of preserving peace and of acting as intermediary, that among the Winnebago are connected with the Thunderbird clan, and the police and disciplinary functions connected with the Bear clan, may represent such types of association. In the absence of historical data, no demonstration can be made. It will, however, be shown later that association of ceremonial-religious functions with a social unit has actually occurred. That the police and disciplinary functions of the Bear clan developed from those of individiuals, on the basis of requirements similar to those of the public crier, is quite improbable, and no indication of that exists. The functions of the Thunderbird clan likewise do not

*159 Thus I spoke. However, they made me an offering
721 of tobacco as they asked me, and I accepted the to-
[701] bacco saying that I would at least make an offering
[787] of tobacco for them. Then I offered tobacco to the
[776] Thunderbirds and asked them for rain, that we might walk in the protection and power of rain. This offering we made in the morning and it rained all that day. Then we went to the place where we knew that we could find horses. When we got there we met the owner of the horses and spoke to him. We accompanied him to a carpenter shop nearby, and there killed him. I struck his dead body, counted coup[88] first,
[555] and announced my new name, as I gave a war-whoop.
[551] I shouted '*Big-Winnebago* has counted coup on his man.' Then the others counted coup also. We searched his pockets and found medicine and money
[727] in them. The money we divided among ourselves. After that we cut out his heart, for we had heard that
[826] hearts were used for medicine. That is why we cut out his heart. He had a gun and that we took away from him and hid."

Then my father said to me, "My son, it is good. Your life is no longer an effeminate one. This is the manner in which our ancestors encouraged us to live. It is the will of the spirits in control of war that has led

[88] The first four war honors enumerated above are called "counting coup" by the Whites. *Coup* is the French for *strike* and the expression owes its origin to the custom of warriors counting the number of people they have killed or honors they have obtained by striking the post at the grave of the particular person for whose benefit they are recounting their achievements.
[555]

## *I Take a Trip to Nebraska*

to see her when I was drinking heavily. I therefore 159*
had to go on alone. I had my gun with me. I arrived
at Nebraska in midsummer. I arrived there very early
in the morning, and there I met a man whom I had
once known, a person who used to go around a good
deal. There were many people present. We sat some-
what on one side, and he and his wife drank with me.
I told him what I had done, how I had counted coup
on a Pottawattomie, and he shook hands and said that [555]
he too had counted coup and that he was going to wear
a head ornament. Then they took me to the place
where they lived, carrying all my things for me.

The next day the Nebraska Winnebago were going to
celebrate. There was to be a general gathering for a [527]
week. The people with whom I was staying joined the
others at the gathering. At the gathering itself I met
two men whom I knew and who recognized me. They
shook hands with me. They were riding in a buggy,
and when they left, they took me along. On the road
they stopped, and we got out of the buggy and began [273]
drinking out of a jug containing four quarts of whisky
which we had along with us. I joined them in the
drinks. We then went back to the gathering, where
I met an uncle of mine. To him I presented my gun, [431]
and he was delighted.

The gathering itself was a very large one, and we
danced every day. I also prepared myself and took [527]
part in the dance and gave away many things. I re- [535]
ceived in return two ponies, a harness, and a top-buggy. [431]
I remained there for some time after the celebration

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If you ever get married, my son, do not make an idol of your wife. 867
The more you worship her, the more will she want to be worshipped. 562
Thus the old people said. They warned the young men against the 581
example of those men who always hearken to what the women say, 893
who are the slaves of women. Often they would speak in the following manner: "You have had many warnings, but it may happen that some day you will not pay any attention to them. Then, when they call upon you to take part in the Winter Feast you may perhaps refuse to go. When a war party is leaving you may listen to the voice of your wife and not join them. Thus you will be as one who has been brought up as a woman.[21] Men of every description do what is demanded of them, you alone do not act as a man should. You never perform a man's deed. If you were to go to a Winter Feast, you would be handed a lean piece of meat.[22] Why should you subject yourself to the danger of being made fun of? A real brave man, when he goes to a Winter Feast, will receive a deer's head, while you will only receive a lean piece of meat. That is all they will give you to eat. It will stick in your throat."[23] [558]

My son, if you keep on listening to your wife, after a while she will never let you go to any feast at all. All your relatives will scold you and your own sisters will think little of you. They will say to one another, "Let us not ever go over to see him. He is of no help to anyone." Finally, when you have become a real slave to your wife, she might tell you to hit your own relatives, and you would do it. For these reasons, my son, I warn you against the words of women. Steel yourself against them. For if you do not do so you will find yourself different from other men. It is not good to be enslaved by a woman.

My son, this also I will tell you. Women can never be watched. If you try to watch them you will merely show your jealousy and your female relatives will also be jealous. After a while you will become so jealous of your wife that she will leave you and run away. First, you worshipped her above everything else, then you became jealous and watched her all the time, and the result will be that she will run away from you. You yourself will be to blame for this. You thought too much of a woman and in worshipping her you humbled yourself, and as a consequence she has been taken away from you. You are making the woman suffer and making her feel unhappy. All the other women will know of this, and no one will want to marry you again. Everyone will consider you a very bad man.

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[21] He may mean a berdash, but it is far more probable that he merely means to call him a woman, an insult sufficiently great.

[22] A man who has distinguished himself as a warrior is always invited to eat the head of the animal, offered at the Winter Feast. Those next in distinction are given the fat pieces of meat, and the lean pieces—to the Winnebago, the poorest—are given to those who are of no importance. [554 262]

[23] I. e., the meat will stick in your throat, because you will feel so much ashamed of yourself.

It was during the 1944 cherry season, a period extending from the early part of July to the middle of August, that the bulk of material was collected for this paper. 114

### Attitudes Within the Changing Society

Opinions vary of course with Indians, according to the amount of education they have had, their native intelligence, or their personal interests. Furthermore, the contrast in attitudes between the older and the younger generations is a most significant feature. 178 182 561

It would be impossible to put age limits on the terms "older" and "younger," but an age between 45 and 50 seems to be the dividing line. One might also have to add a third classification: those individuals who grew up in the situation of the younger group, but upon reaching greater maturity tend toward the opinions of the older people.

The young people, through contact with the older generation, or by taking part in tourist-trade ceremonials, are apt to know the old dances and songs, but seem to feel that these things are pointless or merely a means of making a living. They have been living in an unstable, changing society since birth and follow along in the uncertain Indian-white pattern of culture with no particular ambitions or interests in what it may eventually produce in their own futures.

The young people from Nebraska contrasted strongly with those of Wisconsin in this respect, being generally more progressive and better educated; but it would be unreasonable to infer that this is a typical difference between the Wisconsin and Nebraska Winnebago since the representation of the Nebraska Indians in our group was so small. [184]

Many of the older people, on the other hand, can remember when the Winnebago retained enough of their original culture to have a fairly complete and working social organization. They blame all the misfortunes of the tribe on the young people, who according to the old people, do just as they please in matters of morals, ethics and religion, and they furthermore have no respect for the opinions of the older mem-

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
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178 bers of the tribe. The older generation does not generally
182 try to resist the change, nor encourage it, but rather the ten-
561 dency is to mourn the past. A few realize that the unhappy plight of the younger generation is but one of the many changes in their society brought on by the breakdown of tribal organization due to contact with white religion, liquor, and government.

[861] [626] Originally the training of the young was in the hands of the elders of the tribe and rules were put into effect by group controls; whereas now these controls have gone, and it is only in recent years and only among a few families that the idea of parental control is stressed in the same manner as in white society.

Consequently we have the picture of a younger generation following their particular whims and an older generation seeing the wrongs of such a situation but feeling powerless to relieve it.

### Types of Cultural Change

178 Having become acquainted with the attitudes of members of a changing society, let us consider cultural change itself. For purposes of simplification we can break down our main heading of cultural change into four types.

1. We are all familiar with the direct Indian-to-white cultural change which is of so long standing, and so obvious that it hardly requires further explanation other than mentioning the Indians' use of white foods, houses, clothing, and the myriad other aspects of white culture which have become a part of the Indians' life.

2. One of the complexities of cultural change is that some customs taken over from the whites remain relatively static in the Indian society, but continue to change at a faster rate in the white group. A good example of this is in the realm of material culture. The women's buckskin dresses were of course long ago exchanged for broadcloth and other fabrics fashioned along Indian styles, but these were later replaced by calico dresses in the last century following the then current

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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# CHAPTER IV

## GENERAL SOCIAL CUSTOMS

843 *Birth.*—During pregnancy a woman had to observe carefully certain restrictions. She was not allowed to roam the woods alone for fear of meeting snakes or other animals, the sight of which was believed to forebode ill luck to a pregnant woman. She was not permitted to have dogs or cats around her nor to sleep during the day. Every morning during her pregnancy she had to take a cold bath. Among the restrictions may have been food taboos, but no information on this phase of the subject was obtained.

844 When the time for delivery came, it was the custom for the woman to occupy a small lodge erected especially for her use. None of her male relatives were permitted to be present and her husband was not even permitted to stay at home. He was supposed to travel continually until the child was born, in the belief that by his movements he would help his wife in her delivery. According to one informant the husband had to hunt game, the supposition being that this procedure on his part would cause his wife to have enough milk for the child. This traveling of the husband was called, therefore, "Looking-for-milk." It was considered improper for a woman to cry out during labor pains, and by doing so she subjected herself to the [854] jests of her elder female relatives. The cradle-board was always made before the child was born (pls. 41, *c*, 42, *a*).

The positions commonly assumed by women in delivery may be described thus: Supported by the arms, which were passed over a pole held in the crotches of two forked sticks driven into the ground; suspended between two stakes; or flat on the back.

The infant's navel string was cut off and sewed into a small bag, which was attached to the head of the cradle-board.

844 607 On the birth of a child the sisters of the husband were supposed to show his wife especial marks of courtesy. They always gave her valuable gifts, such as goods or a pony. They were glad that he had offspring, the people said, and even permitted their brother's wife [431] to give the presents received from them to her own relatives. The presentation of these gifts was called "Cradling-the-infant." Gifts 844 were presented also to the wife's brothers.

562 527 782 Some time after the birth of a child, if a boy, the father always gave a feast to Earthmaker and thanked him.

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*Names.*—A newborn child received a birth name immediately. 551
There were six such names for male children and six for female children, which were given according to the order of birth:

| Male | Female |
|---|---|
| 1. K'u'nu. | 1. Hi'nu. |
| 2. He'nu. | 2. Wi'ha. |
| 3. Ha'ga. | 3. Ahi'a (generally pronounced Ahd). |
| 4. Na'ga. | 4. Hi'nuṇk'. |
| 5. Naqxisô'nu. | 5. A'haiqxô'nu. |
| 6. Naqxisonu'nihk'a. | 6. A'haiqxônu'niṇk'a. |

The meanings of these names are unknown to the present Winnebago, who reject the idea that they ever had any meaning apart from indicating the order of birth. Originally, of course, these names had meanings, but at the present time they resemble no other Winnebago names and baffle all attempts at interpretation. This is not surprising, because they represent in all probability archaic names which undoubtedly have been considerably modified through long-continued use. The Dakota have a similar set of names but only four in number. The two additional names among the Winnebago indicate by their form that they have been derived from one of the other four. In this connection it is interesting to note that the fifth of the male names is, as one might expect, merely the fourth name of the series with the addition of a diminutive suffix, whereas the fifth of the female names is the third of that series with a like addition. The sixth name of each series is formed by adding another diminutive suffix to the fifth name. [171]

A few words may not be out of place here with regard to the 551
relation of the male to the female series, and to the possible interpre- 562
tation of two of the female names. He'nu[1] of the male and Hi'nu of 193
the female series, it will be noted, differ only in the first vowel. A similar phenomenon is found in such relationship terms as *hi'niṇk*, male child of elder brother, and *hi'ônuṇk'*, female child of elder brother. Remembering that in these Siouan languages which distinguish between female and male oral stops the difference often consists merely in the change of a vowel, this difference between He'nu and Hi'nu may be suggestive. The name K'u'nu may be connected with *k'u'niṇk*, "a grandmother," in which *k'u* is unquestionably the stem, meaning probably "old." In the female series there is a possible relationship between Hi'nu and Hi'nuṇk', as *k'* seems to be a very common ending in relationship terms. Hi'nuṇk' itself is identical with the word for "woman" and it seems hard to imagine that it is not the same, especially since it is also found as the relationship term for female child of younger brother. [60]

[1] Hi'nu is also the name for a man's elder sister.

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867 My son, never abuse your wife. The women are sacred. If you
593 abuse your wife and make her life miserable, you will die early.
562 Our grandmother, the earth, is a woman, and in mistreating your
776 wife you will be mistreating her. Most assuredly will you be abusing our grandmother if you act thus. And as it is she that is taking care of us you will really be killing yourself by such behavior.

867 My son, when you keep house, should anyone enter your house,
574 no matter who it is, be sure to offer him whatever you have in the house. Any food that you withhold at such a time will most assuredly become a source of death to you. If you are stingy about giving food the people will kill you on this account. They will poison you. If you hear of a traveler who is visiting your people and you wish to see him, prepare your table for him and have him sent for. In this manner you will be acting correctly. It is always good to act correctly and do good, the old people used to say.

867 If you see an old, helpless person, help him with whatever you
888 possess. Should you happen to possess a home and you take him there, he might suddenly say abusive things about you during the middle of the meal. You will be strengthened by such words. This same traveler may, on the contrary, give you something that
[778] he carries under his arms and which he treasures very highly. If it is an object without a stem,[20] keep it to protect your house. If you thus keep it within your house, your home will never be molested by any bad spirits. Nothing will be able to enter your house unexpectedly. Thus you will live. Witches, instead of entering your house, will pass around it. If, in addition to possessing this medicine, you also fast, your people will be benefited by it greatly.

867 Earthmaker made spirits up above and some he made to live on
773 this earth; and again some he made to live under the water and
776 some to live in the water; and all these he put in charge of something. Even the small animals that move about this earth the creator put in charge of some power. Thus he created them. Afterwards he created us human beings and as he had exhausted all the powers to be disposed of we were not in control of anything. Then he made a weed and placed it in our charge. And he said that no matter how powerful are the spirits that exist they would not be able to take this weed from us without giving something in return.
[276] He himself, Earthmaker, would not be able to demand it for nothing. So he spoke. This weed was the tobacco plant. Earthmaker said that if we would offer a pipeful of tobacco to him, whatever we should ask of him he would immediately grant. Not only he, but all the
[782] spirits created, longed to have some of this tobacco. It is for this reason that when we fast and cry piteously for some spirit to take pity on us, if we give them tobacco they will bless us with those

[20] A plant without a stem, presumably some root, used for warding off danger.

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If you ever get married, my son, do not make an idol of your wife. 867
The more you worship her, the more will she want to be worshipped. 562
Thus the old people said. They warned the young men against the 581
example of those men who always hearken to what the women say, 593
who are the slaves of women. Often they would speak in the following manner: "You have had many warnings, but it may happen that some day you will not pay any attention to them. Then, when they call upon you to take part in the Winter Feast you may perhaps refuse to go. When a war party is leaving you may listen to the voice of your wife and not join them. Thus you will be as one who has been brought up as a woman."[a] Men of every description do what is demanded of them, you alone do not act as a man [558] should. You never perform a man's deed. If you were to go to a Winter Feast, you would be handed a lean piece of meat.[b] Why should you subject yourself to the danger of being made fun of? A real brave man, when he goes to a Winter Feast, will receive a deer's head, while you will only receive a lean piece of meat. That is all they will give you to eat. It will stick in your throat."[c]

My son, if you keep on listening to your wife, after a while she will never let you go to any feast at all. All your relatives will scold you and your own sisters will think little of you. They will say to one another, "Let us not ever go over to see him. He is of no help to anyone." Finally, when you have become a real slave to your wife, she might tell you to hit your own relatives, and you would do it. For these reasons, my son, I warn you against the words of women. Steel yourself against them. For if you do not do so you will find yourself different from other men. It is not good to be enslaved by a woman.

My son, this also I will tell you. Women can never be watched. If you try to watch them you will merely show your jealousy and your female relatives will also be jealous. After a while you will become so jealous of your wife that she will leave you and run away. First, you worshipped her above everything else, then you became jealous and watched her all the time, and the result will be that she will run away from you. You yourself will be to blame for this. You thought too much of a woman and in worshipping her you humbled yourself, and as a consequence she has been taken away from you. You are making the woman suffer and making her feel unhappy. All the other women will know of this, and no one will want to marry you again. Everyone will consider you a very bad man.

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[a] He may mean a harlot, but it is far more probable that he merely means to call him a woman, an insult sufficiently great.

[b] A man who has distinguished himself as a warrior is always invited to eat the head of the animal, offered at the Winter Feast. Those next in distinction are given the fat pieces of meat, and the lean pieces—to the Winnebago, the poorest—are given to those who are of no importance. [554 262]

[c] I. e., the meat will stick in your throat, because you will feel so much ashamed of yourself.

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*Description of buffalo dance and its origin.*—Informant, member of Bear clan: The buffalo dance can be given by anybody who has been blessed by the buffalo spirits. In the beginning the Winnebago had animal forms, and they could obtain all the power they wanted, but since they left that stage of life they can obtain power only by fasting. John's buffalo feast is of recent origin. It originated with his grandfather. 796 575 [787]

A long lodge is prepared and in the center there is a pile of loose dirt. John's grandfather's name was Hodjanaga, Young-man-just-maturing. In fasting he found out that he was blessed with powers to cure the sick and be victorious in battle. While fasting, the spirits told him that he would receive what he was longing for. They told him that he would know what to do, for they would come after him. Soon they came after him and took him into camp (i. e., spirit country). When he got there, he saw an old man and a child, and he was told that it was on account of the child that he had been brought there; that the child had heard his prayers while fasting and had blessed him. Then they showed him a certain herb and told him, "This is what we give you. It will give you strength in running. Use it in time of war, and use it also as medicine for life. I have blessed you and given you what you desired and do you, in turn, make me a dog feast and give me red feathers, tobacco, and food." Then they taught him the songs and gave him a buffalo tail and a flute. 796 575 787

No invitation sticks are used. They go around and invite those whom they want. 796 575

When the grasses are well developed, then the Buffalo clan people make a feast to their life or clan; also in midwinter, for that is the time when all the spirits awaken from their night's sleep and turn over on the other side. [203]

## Society of Those Who Have Been Blessed By the Grizzly Bear

Informant, member of Bear clan: The grizzly-bear dance was given by those who had been blessed during their fasting by the grizzly bear. Women were never so blessed, and for that reason they never could participate in the dance. Different people received different blessings. We were blessed with two grizzly-bear heads, grizzly-bear hides, and paws. In the lodge constructed for the dance was placed a mound of earth called ma"warap'uru. The ma"warap'uru is supposed to represent a bear's cave, the four points of the cross representing the entrances to the cave and the four lines running to the center, the paths along which the grizzly bear travels when he scents a man. The place in the middle is supposed to be the habitation of the bear himself. Tobacco and red feathers are placed both in the center and at the four points. 796 575 787 [562] [782]

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things with which you blessed grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ąxga. That we ask of you." 796x 539x

*Offering to the Morning Star.*—"You who are above, Morning Star, our request is that you bless us with that with which you blessed grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ąxga. Tobacco and food and a buckskin offering we are about to send you." [28] 782 776

*Offering to Earth.*—"Grandmother Earth, you also added your power to the spirit bundle that grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ąxga made. The powers Earthmaker put you in control of, and with which you blessed grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ąxga, those we ask of you. Tobacco, soup, and a buckskin offering we are about to send to you and the request that we make of you, is war power and life."

*Offering to the Water-spirit.*—"Water-spirit, grandfather whose body is of water,[29] tobacco, food, and a buckskin offering for moccasins, we are about to offer you. I and my relatives desire to lay our hands on war and life."

*General prayer to the spirits.*—"Grandfathers, we have probably been very remiss in what we have done, but do not hold it against us, grandfathers. We greet you, war-bundle owners. The life (blessings) that those who have gone before us had, the songs that they handed down to us, not in their manner will we be able to sing, but still, however it be, it will be (our best). It has been said that nothing will provoke you,[30] grandfathers. Well, however, that is the way we will do it. I greet you." (Song.)

### Filling of the Ceremonial Pipe and Smoking Ritual

*First filling of the pipe.*—After they have sung the first war-bundle song, then they get a pipeful of tobacco ready and place it near the war bundle, speaking as follows: "Our father who art above, for you the pipe is extended; up straight above it is placed." Up straight above it is extended to Earthmaker, they say. For that reason do they arrange the pipe in that way. Then when the songs are finished the attendant takes the pipe, lights it, and takes it with him to the left side, giving all the men in the lodge an opportunity to smoke. Women are not allowed to smoke. The tobacco in the pipe is entirely consumed as the pipe makes the circuit of the lodge and it is then filled again. 796x 539x 782 276 [562]

*Second filling of the pipe.*—Then there at the feast for the second time do they place (the pipe). When they are about to sing the

[28] That this spirit was not mentioned before is an oversight on the part of the informant.

[29] Deferential and ritualistic name for the Water-Spirit. It may mean chief. The general name which we loosely translate "Water-spirit" is "Wak'djerī."

[30] I. e., that no inaccuracy nor ignorance on their part will anger the spirits and cause them to refrain from bestowing their blessings. This is, of course, an expression of ritualistic modesty, but I suspect that there is also a reference intended here to the fact that in these degenerate days not only are individuals no longer blessed as of yore, but certain details of the ceremony have been forgotten. I see no reason for giving too much weight to this last fact, but it may be best to have it in mind.

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And a war-bundle owner for the second kettle should be called upon a kettle offered in connection with him whom we call Great Black Hawk. 796x 539x

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle placed for Disease-giver. 782 776

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the spirit whom they call South Wind.

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the Sun.

Then they also select another man to be in charge of a kettle put on for the Morning Star.[53]

Then the first one who had been called upon for a kettle takes as many pieces of food as there are individuals in his band who eat with him. The second one who had been called upon also takes enough pieces (for his band). 796x 539x 262

Those who are going to eat the head have to wait.[54]

Then all took enough pieces to suffice for their band.

Then they (the attendants) put the pieces of meat in plates and cut them up into small portions. Now all are in readiness for the meal. Only some of those in the lodge are called upon to eat the head. The plate of the others is filled with ordinary cuts (of meat). As many men and women as are present, for that many do they cut up the pieces of meat evenly and place them in the plate.

Only warriors are head eaters. Not to warriors do they give common pieces. Women and men who are not warriors can not take part in this head eating. Only men can take part in the head eating. They would not permit women to eat the head. However, those of the feasters who were warriors and had brought home war trophies would speak a good word for the trophy bearers, their sisters, their neices, and their aunts,[55] and these would be allowed to sit in the midst of the head eaters. The sisters or the aunts, whatever women were allowed to sit among the head eaters, considered it a very great honor. Thus all were encouraged to do. [554 562] [602]

Now (the preparations being finished) all are waiting for the meal and the host gets up and speaks.[56]

"I greet you all. When it (the meat) gets into the plate, then it is the time to try to get the spirit's attention by singing. War-bundle owners, who are seated here, I greet you all." (Eating song.)

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[53] In the first division of the ritual seven kettles are prepared; in the second division, four.

[54] The eating of the deer's head is the greatest honor that one can obtain in this ceremony, and only warriors are permitted to take part in it. [654

[55] When a warrior returned from a successful war party with the first war honor, i. e., if he had counted coup first, he was given a wampum necklace, and this he presented to his oldest sister or to the daughters of his father's brother or mother's sister or to his mother's sister. 262]

[56] This is the continuation of his speech that had been interrupted by the preparations for the meal [731]

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Then another man to whom a kettle has been given gets ready to express his thankfulness and says: 539x 796x

*Speech of sixth guest.* "Host and members of your clan who are seated here, I send forth my greetings to you. To you also, war-bundle owners who are seated here, do I send forth my greetings. The members of this clan have often preached to me. My grandfather once told me the following: 'Some day there will be a dearth of people (for a feast). There they will offer tobacco to the spirits and as many pieces of meat as they cut that many will be holy. There also they will cook heads. Heads are not to be eaten by those wearing dresses (i. e., women). Women are not permitted to scatter their food in eating, we are told.'[18] Some day if they boil these holy pieces, the heads, they will be in need of people to invite to the feast. If they call upon you for one of the sacred pieces, even if at that time you had not yet obtained a war honor, if you had not counted coup,[19] still if you offer up thanks to the spirits for anything; still more so, of course, if you had been able to count coup and you thanked them for all this, they will listen to you.'[20] My grandfather told me, 'Thus they spoke to me,' he said, it is said, 'Little grandfather, the spirits up above gave (your ancestor) a war bundle to those of the Earth phratry. They gave them a mouth for speaking (in offering thanks), but they told him that it was forbidden to speak to outsiders about this matter. They gave them a mouth that they might speak to one another (i. e., members of the same clan)'. [562 262]

"My father gave the information to me. For that reason, they told me, I am in a position to thank the spirits. One of the greatest of the spirits they have offered tobacco to, to one of the greatest of the spirits they have prayed. Tobacco, food, a sacred white buckskin, pleasing to their eyes, they have extended to them. With offerings of life[21] they have asked for life. We have been asked to impersonate (the spirits), even although there are plenty of war-bundle owners. But the host is a relative of ours and therefore wishes me to live. A pitiable existence we had been living (until they saw to it) that we were brought into connection with life. Proud we are of it. For if they (the spirits) accept their gifts, we also will be able to utilize the life (obtained). Clan members, we did as we pleased here. It is good. Those preached to, the Morning Star, [782]

[18] In eating the deer head and in the fast eating contest the meat is devoured so fast that the food is literally scattered in the process of eating. Whether there is an implied warning that a man should not be found in the same clan as the women I do not know positively, but it is quite likely. [264]

[19] Literally, "a limb." The four coup counts are likened to the four limbs of the human body. As such they are always referred to. [826]

[20] The whole meaning of the speech up to the present is the following: Should they in the future want to give a feast and lack of the proper people cause them to call upon you, even if you had counted coup only once, the spirits would listen to you. And yet here I am and haven't even counted coup once and yet I have the effrontery to expect them to listen to me. 555

[21] I. e., with offerings of deer and dogs.

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through, the buckskin is taken down, unrolled, and the thunder-buckskin given to the band sitting opposite the host. The other buckskins are then distributed in rotation, except that the buckskin to Earthmaker is given to the guest who occupies the middle position in the lodge. All the guests remain standing with their unrolled buckskins, holding them by the sticks and keeping tobacco in their other hand, while the old man speaks to them and blows first upon a flute. Then, to the accompaniment of a gourd, he sings two songs. After that the buckskins are rolled up again in such a way that the markings remain visible, and hung up again on sticks that are placed near the individual invited guests, just west of the first fireplace. There they have a pole for Earthmaker, at whose foot the war bundle is placed and opened. Tobacco is then poured into the hands of each of the invited guests by the host. He offers tobacco especially for those individuals for whom he has prepared buckskins and kettles, asking each of them in turn for life and for victory on the warpath. When he finishes he pours some tobacco into the fire and some upon the war bundle. All the persons invited then, in turn, do the same. If the host has any children present in the lodge, he has them do the same. Children are always escorted by the attendant. The host now takes the gourds, drum, etc., and, remaining in his own place, sings different sets of songs. As often as he starts a new set, he blows upon his flute. The songs of the Thunderbird consist of eight starting songs, sung slowly, six dancing songs, etc. As soon as the dancing songs are begun, all the men in the lodge come around the war bundle and dance, blowing the flute, etc. Women may dance likewise, but they must remain in that part of the tent especially assigned to them.

Before the contents of the kettle are cooked the host sings four sets of songs. As soon as the first set has been started the attendants get as many pipes as possible and bring them to the war bundle. They also place there a large pipe with stem directed toward the west and a large pile of tobacco. These pipes are then passed back to the various guests in order to be smoked.

After the first set of songs is over the large pipe is taken and lit by one of the attendants and passed around the lodge, in ceremonial manner, each member taking a puff and passing it to the next one. When the songs to the Disease-giver are sung, the pipe is placed against the center pole with stem directed south. Before the Disease-giver songs are sung the story of their origin is told. At the end of the last of the initial songs the old man with tobacco in each hand says *Ho—o —o —o—!* He then pours tobacco into the fireplace. He is really presenting it to the Disease-giver. Then dancing songs are used as before. Usually dog meat is put in the kettle designed for the Disease-giver.

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you can do so, and the women likewise can join, because we have 796x
raised up our bundle. To the dog that we have here, an offering of 539x
tobacco can be made." Thus speaking, he sings. After he has 782
finished the song, someone specially called upon gives the war [562]
whoop, in which the rest join. In this manner they sing four times,
and the ceremony ends. They have a dog around whose neck they [231]
tie a red rag, together with a bundle of tobacco, and to each of
whose limbs they also tie a bundle of tobacco. This dead dog is to
be placed wherever the bones that remain of the feast are buried,
generally under some tree. It is supposed that the dog will go
directly to the Disease-giver together with the tobacco and there
be taken over by him.

*Notes on the Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant, mem-
ber of the clan: Place of honor at the feast is given to the bravest [554]
man present. Scalps, etc., are always brought to those keeping
the war bundle.

Contents of bundle: Black hawk (main thing), two wolf tails, 778
buffalo tail, snake, weasel, three flutes—one red, one black, and one 726
blue. 789

Black hawk used in time of war. If I were leading the war party
I would carry it and it would be able to fly. It had a small bundle
of medicine tied around the neck, on each wing and each leg. A red
flute always went with it.

The two wolf tails could be taken on any warpath. It gives an
individual the power of running. The medicine tied to it is to be
smeared over the body in order to prevent fatigue. It is also used [228]
in hunting.

Buffalo tail gives fleetness and indicates that the man received
strength from the buffalo spirit.

Weasel and snake could be pút around the neck and worn over
the shoulders in times of war. Gives the power of these respective [525]
animals in wiggling.

Flutes, blue in connection with the buffalo, red in connection
with the black hawk, and black in connection with the night spirits [534]

## The War-bundle Feast of the Bear Clan

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The people were about to go 796x
on a hunt, it is said. They returned. Four deer had been killed. 539x
And again they went, and this time three deer were killed. But it was
not sufficient, so they went out again, and when they returned it was
found that they had killed only three deer. "Well," they said, "this [262]
will be all right. We have ten deer. Perhaps they will last as food
until dawn."

They told the attendants to get ready the lodge and to build the
fireplaces. They told them also to have the wood and the buck-

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935

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In each village, the two civil chiefs, appoint all the officers, deemed necessary, civil and military, who obey them implicitly. There are two ways of arriving at these high stations, by birth and by election. When the father dies, if he has a son, who has arrived at the age of manhood, and who bids fair to make a good chief—that is, if he possesses a good form, has good bodily powers and mental faculties—is brave, sedate, wise and prudent, he generally succeeds his father in the government, on his father's demise. If the chief, at his death, leave no son who is qualified for the high office of chief, but wills it to some other person, he succeeds to the government. If the chief has no son at his death, it is commonly the case, that his brother's son succeeds him. The line of succession may run out for want of a lawful heir, which is always supplied by an election. It may be changed too, where the heir is unqualified for the station. Great deference is always paid to the will of the dying chief, but every such case is always laid before a full national council, whose decision is final (p. 97). 622 [624] [666]

A chief may be degraded from his rank for bad conduct. . . .

There is in every tribe, what answers to a standing army among us. The profession of arms holds out, to the great mass of the common people, the only road to the temple of fame. . . . The young man, who aspires to the honorable distinction of a "brave" or warrior, must exhibit such traits of character, as are deemed necessary for a soldier to possess, before he can be admitted into the army. When admitted, he wears on his head just as many feathers of the bald eagle, as he has slain human beings, and the size of the feathers indicate the size of his victims. . . . If the warrior has taken a captive, he has a human hand as large as life, painted either on his face, or on some part of his body, or on his blanket, some individuals have several such hands painted upon them (p. 98).* 701 703 [301] [532] [302]

At the head of the army, belonging to each tribe, there is a person who occupies the same station as a General does with us, and he appoints all the inferior officers. The chiefs when met in council, call into it, their warriors, with whom they consult, but frequently they are called to receive the orders, which are obeyed to the letter. This council call before them, persons who are interested in the trial . . . (pp. 98, 99). 701 623

If the Senate of the United States is the mildest, the most patriotic and wisest legislative assembly in the civilized world, as it truly is, the Winnebago council, is decidedly at the head of the savage world. . . . The great body of the people have very little influence, almost none, with this council, and they never appear before it unless they are summoned to attend it.—They have no voice in electing the chiefs and in fact no political influence. The civil chiefs and the chief warriors, have in their hands, the whole government of the community, and they govern as they please. Disobedience to the orders of the rulers is punished with death, though, like the British nation, the Indians are not savages enough to cut the traitor into quarters after hanging him until he is dead (pp. 99, 100). 623 [622] [687]

The female part of it, exercised the same influence among the women, that the chiefs did among the men, and the presents they expected from us, had to be better, than those given to the common people. The daughter of a chief, never mar- 554 562 [582]

* Quite different from the data given by Radin, The Winnebago Tribe, pp. 161, 162.

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935
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554 ries into a family below her's in dignity. The pride originating in birth, is as deeply
562 seated in the hearts of those who are nobly descended, among the natives of the
582 Northwest, as it is among the petty princes of Germany.

625 It is customary for the chiefs to appoint two soldiers, in each village to keep order in it, and they faithfully do so (p. 100).

431 In each tribe, some one man acts as a divider, by order of the civil chiefs, and by general consent. Whenever we made the men any presents, of pipes, paints,
624 tobacco, or any thing else, the self same men, if Winnebagoes were the Indians receiving the presents, appeared, took charge of the property, and divided it in the most equitable manner, among all present at the time. They reserved nothing for themselves, generally, but held up their empty hands to show their disinterestedness.

[171] If the Sauks and Foxes received presents, two men, one for each tribe, acted as dividers, and the same individuals always performed the same duty (pp. 100–101).

554 . . . "The rolling Thunder," "the Yellow Thunder," "the Distant Thunder," &c., are individuals among the Winnebagoes, who possess great weight of char-
551 acter; and that tribe to which belong men, who stand high on their roll of fame, for
614 their distinguished valor in War, for their consummate prudence, experience and wisdom in the national councils, is emphatically called, "the thunder tribe" (p. 124).

114 There are other items appurtenant to Winnebago ethnology in Atwater's work; some to that of the Sauks and Foxes; some to tribes of the upper Mississippi valley in general: there are some acute statements regarding the chronology of the populating of America.

171 A "turtle" gens does not occur in the lists of Morgan, Dorsey, and Radin, and Radin specifically denies that there is such a Winnebago gens. He also
174 states that almost all informants claimed that the Snake and Fish clans
614 (gentes) were recent to the tribe. However, as special names "go with" fixed gentes, by examining the lists of the signers of the treaties between the
[114] Winnebago and the United States, it becomes clear that a member of the
[648] Snake gens signed the treaty of August 19th, 1825 as well as the treaty of
[551] August 25th, 1828. And a Snake clan exists among the Ponca, Iowa, Oto-Missouri, Quapaw, as well as some non-Siouan tribes.[10] Also it may be observed that among the Osage and Quapaw we have a Fish clan (used rather loosely). So too "Turtle" as the name of a gens (sub-gens) among the Siouan tribes Omaha, Kansa, Quapaw, and Osage,[11] and elsewhere.
[551] And Carrymaunee (Karamanu, etc.), "Walking Turtle,"[12] signed more

[10] See the important theoretical discussion by Lowie in American Anthropologist, Vol. 36, 1934, pp. 327–28; cf. also Radin, the Winnebago Tribe, p. 182; Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe (Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology), pp. 38, 39.

[11] Among the Omaha and Osage "the turtle carriers or bearers" and "Turtle-carriers" respectively; "Carries-a-turtle-on-his-back" among the Kansa: observe that according to the above Carrymaunee "carried" a large painted tortoise on his back.

[12] The phonetic restoration is presumably Kéramani; mani means "to walk," as can be seen from old vocabularies, etc., as well as the personal names given by Radin in his The Winnebago Tribe and the Winnebago text by Radin in the Siouan sketch in Handbook of Ameri-

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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796 other mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik, were respectively placed at the
778 northeast and southeast corners of the bundle.

A peeled stake, forked at the top, was set up at the central western margin of the bundle wrapper. The ceremonial pipe, of Siouan type [276] with a catlinite bowl, was then filled by the leader from the bowl of mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik and placed with the stem end resting in the fork of the stake, the stem slanting diagonally downward across the bundle and the bowl, in upright position, resting on the central eastern margin of the bundle wrapper.

[824 The leader then placed some live coals from the fire in a small stove-
783] shovel. On these coals he placed white cedar leaves. With the smoke of the burning cedar leaves he purified the contents of the bundle, his own person, and even the walls of the lodge.

796 Shortly before the ceremony was to start, some of the waiters pre-
534 pared the drum. What had probably been originally designed to serve as a pickle keg, served as the body of the drum. This was partly filled with water. A buckskin head was then placed over the open end and drawn taut by means of cords attached to the base of the body. This was done by means of stick tourniquets in each of the cords. The proper degree of tautness was determined by tipping the drum bottom side up, to permit the water to wet the drum head, and testing the tone quality with the drum stick. After the drum had been thus properly tuned, more hot coals were placed in the censer, cedar leaves applied and [783] the drum and stick turned over and over in the resulting smoke. Then the drum was placed just north of the war-bundle.

A small pot containing two portions of cooked meat was suspended from the roof of the house immediately west of the bundle.

796 Early in the afternoon, all preparations having been completed, the ceremony began. The guests in little groups filed into the lodge and were seated by the head waiter, squatting on mats with their backs to the wall. The most important guests, owners of war-bundles in other clans, [562] were placed nearest the door. The eastern two-thirds of the lodge was occupied by men only. The women were clustered at the western end. Mr. Fisher and I were seated immediately south of the bundle. The leader and three assistants, elected to serve as musicians, were grouped just north of the fireplace.

Although the rites associated with the war-bundle are kept up by [182] a few of these Winnebago, the ritual has sadly degenerated. Aside from the host, no man made any serious attempt to equip himself properly in costume. Many important elements were omitted such as the preliminary sweat bath ceremony, the sacrifice of white buckskins to the spirits, the dog sacrifice, and many minor details left out of the ceremonies attempted. When all were assembled, the leader opened the [537] ceremony with a speech to those assembled. The formal dignity of the speaker and the unhesitating flow of his words were impressive. He

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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796 from the sacred fire. When the pipe was well lit, the waiter carried
276 it to the next man, and so on, passing clockwise about the lodge. Each man puffed several times at the pipe before passing it on. The women
[562] were excluded from participating in this ceremony, as were the leader and his three musicians. The waiters did not actually participate in any part of the entire ceremony, other than in their official capacity.

Before the next song was started, the head waiter carefully cleaned out the pipe, refilled it and placed it again over the bundle. All the tobacco cleaned from the bowl was disposed of in the sacred fire.

This same procedure, from speech to pipe, was repeated four times, although each group of songs was different.

796 Two men were now selected, one representing that group of clans comprising the upper world phratry, the other the lower world phratry.
615 They seated themselves in the center of the lodge with a wooden bowl
264 between them. In this bowl were placed the two portions of meat from the pots suspended from the lodge ceiling. At a given signal, each began to devour his allotted share of the meat as rapidly as possible. The phratry whose side wins in this eating contest will have good luck when next it takes the warpath.

796 The leader then told the dream experience of the original bundle
787 holder and said a few words thanking all for their participation. One of the waiters then proceeded to replace the contents of the bundle, roll it up, tie it and place it against the wall just back of the leader.

796 It was now time for the war-bundle feast, which consisted solely of
574 meat boiled with a few beans. Each pot had been dedicated to a certain spirit or order of spirits, but since these were not materially present to do proper justice to the occasion, the honored guests had to represent them in receiving and disposing of the food. One pot was placed before each of these leaders, and the contents were distributed under his direction to the men of his party. Other meat was supplied for the women and children of the group which he represented. The chief honored guest received the pot dedicated to Creator. On such occasions, one must eat all that is set before him, since the food is consecrated.

574 It should be noted here that Mr. Fisher has certain marked tastes in
114 food. He is not particularly fond of meat of any kind, dislikes beef particularly and dislikes boiled beef the most of all. His predicament can well be imagined, therefore, when a large portion of boiled beef was placed before him with the understanding that none must be wasted. Fortunately, one may broadcast a call for outside help on such occasions without trespassing against the rules of the ceremony. Very piteously, then, did Fisher make his plea to me. Knowing that the night spirit dance with a vegetable feast was to follow, he promised to eat the greater share of the vegetables apportioned to us if I would agree to do double duty on the meat. Out of the kindness of my heart, and also because I prefer boiled beef to boiled dried squash, I agreed to do this. Nor did

There my elder
*159 brother and myself were to pass the night. It was
787 said that if any one fasted at such a place for four nights, he would be blessed with victory and the power to cure the sick. All the spirits would bless him.

We were told the following would happen to us. On the first night we would imagine ourselves surrounded by spirits whose whisperings we would hear outside of the lodge. The spirits would even whistle. I was told that I would be frightened and nervous and that if I
[776] still remained there, I would be molested by large monsters, fearful to look upon. Even the bravest man might well be frightened. Should I, however, manage to get through that night I would then on the following
[775] night be molested by ghosts whom I would hear speaking outside. These ghosts would say things that might well cause me to run away. Towards morning I was told these ghosts would even take my blanket away from me. They would grab hold of me and drive me out of the lodge and not stop until the sun rose. If I
[776] was able to endure a third night, then I would be addressed by the true spirits. They would bless me and say, "We bless you. We had really intended to turn you over to the monsters and bad spirits and that is why these approached you first, but you overcame them and now they will not be able to take you away. Now you may go home for we bless you with victory

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[614] individual esteemed for his bravery. The power of this war-bundle
[841] was such that it would kill anything or anybody who approached it, the only exception being a menstruating woman. For this reason
[562] the war-bundle was always carefully guarded and protected and women were not allowed to see it or come anywhere near it.

## §7. *The Teachings of My Father*

*159 My father used to keep up the old habit of teaching
[867] us the customs of the Winnebago. He would wake
[593] us up early in the morning and, seated around the fire-
place, speak to us. The girls would be taught sepa-
● [562] rately. Now this is what my father told me:

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### I

*159 My son, when you grow up, see to it that you are of
867 some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in
[785] which you can aid them and that is by fasting. Our
[776] grandfather, the Fire, he who stands at all times in the
[372] center of our dwelling, sends forth all kinds of blessings.
Be sure that you make an attempt to obtain his.

My son, do you remember to have our grandfathers, the
*159 war chiefs,[14] bless you. See to it that they have compassion
776 upon you. Then some day as you travel along the road of
867 life, you will know what to do and encounter no obstacles.
787 Without any effort will you then be able to gain the prize
721 you desire. The honor will be yours to glory in, yours
without exertion. All the disposable war-blessings belong
to our grandfathers, the war-controllers, and if reverently
you fast and thirst yourself to death, then these will be
bestowed upon you. Yet if you do not wear out your feet
in frequent journeyings to and fro, if you do not blacken
your face with charcoal, it will be all for naught that you

[195] [14] Symbolical name for all those spirits who were supposed to be in control of war powers.

inflict this suffering upon yourself. Not without constant effort are these blessings procurable. Try to have one of the spirits created by Earthmaker take pity on you. Whatever he says will come about. If you do not possess one of the spirits from whom to obtain strength and power, you will be of no consequence socially and those around you will show you little respect. Indeed they will jeer at you.

My son, it is not good to die in the village; in your homes. Above all, do not let women journey to the spirit land ahead of you. It is not done. To prevent this from happening do we speak to our sons and encourage them to fast. Some day in life you will find yourself traveling along a road filled with obstacles and then you will wish you had fasted. When such an event confronts you, that you may not find it necessary to reproach yourself, I counsel you to fast. If you have not obtained any knowledge from the spirits, why it may happen that some day, in later life, warriors will be returning from the warpath and as they distribute the war prizes to their sisters,[18] your own sisters will stand there empty-handed envying the rest. But if you obtain blessings from the war-controllers, your sisters will be happy. How proud they will be to receive the prizes, to wear them, and to dance the victory dance! Your sisters too will be strengthened thereby and you will be content and happy.

Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to

[18] Among the Winnebago a man's sisters, especially his elder sisters, were very highly respected and all war prizes, such as wampum-belts, wampum necklaces, etc., were always given to them whenever a man returned from a successful war-party in which he had secured some honor. These war honors were of various kinds. The greatest was considered to be the feat of having struck the body of a dead enemy first.

*159 867 785 787 you will never be in need of anything. Fast for the food you are to receive. If you fast frequently enough for these things then some day when your children ask for food they will be able to obtain a piece of deer meat without difficulty; they may indeed be able to obtain a piece of moose meat. It lies within your power to prevent your children from ever going hungry.

*159 867 593 ● [562] [776] Now again, my son, let me enjoin you. Do not abuse your wife. Women are sacred. If you make your wife suffer, then you will die in a short time. Our grandmother Earth is a woman, and in abusing your wife you are abusing her. Most certainly will you be abusing your grandmother if you act thus. Since after all it is she who is taking care of us, by your action you will be practically killing yourself.

*159 867 574 When you have your home, see to it that whoever enters your lodge obtain something to eat, no matter how little you yourself may have. Such food will be a source of death to you if withheld. If you are stingy about giving food, some one might kill you in consequence; some one may poison you. If you ever hear of a stranger passing through your country and you want to see him, prepare food for him and have him brought to you. In this manner [577] you will be doing good and it is always good to do good, it is said.

*159 867 888 If you see a helpless old person, help him if you have anything at all. If you happen to possess a home take him there, and feed him, for he may suddenly make uncomplimentary remarks about you.[18] You will be strengthened thereby. Or perhaps when he comes, he may bring with [978] him under his arms a medicine bundle, something he cher-

[574] [576] [18] It is considered exceedingly bad form for a guest to admire anything in the house he is visiting.

*159 helped will then really know what kind of a man you are.
577 For the good you do people will love you.
867 It is not good to win at gambling. You may possibly
[525] become rich thereby but that is no life to lead. If you are blessed with luck in cards, if you are blessed with luck at gambling, you will perhaps win things and have plenty of wealth, but none of your children will live.

Now if you do all that I have told you, you will lead a happy and prosperous life. That is why we Winnebago preach to a child we love so that it should never become acquainted with the things that are not right, and never do anything wrong. Then if, in later life, a person does any thing wrong, he will do it with a clear knowledge of the consequences of his actions.

III

*159 My son, when you get married, do not make an idol of
581 the woman you marry; do not worship her. If you worship
867 a woman she will insist upon greater and greater worship as time goes on. This is what the old people used to say.
562 They always preached against those men who hearken too
593 strongly to the words of women; who are the slaves of women. Now it may happen that a man has received many warnings as to his behavior in this regard and that he pays no attention to them. It may go so far that when he is asked to attend a war-bundle feast[30] he will refuse to go; it may be that when he is married he will listen to the voice

[926] [30] The war-bundle feast was the great war ceremony of the Winne-
[796] bago. It was given by all those individuals who possessed a war-
[614] bundle and since theoretically there was only one war-bundle in each clan, the basis of the organization of the ceremony was the clan.
[916] The ceremony consisted largely of prayers, songs and speeches in honor of the spirits more definitely associated with war. For each

# *The Teachings of My Father*

of his wife and refuse to go on a warpath. He might as well have been brought up as a girl. Men who are real men perform the deeds of men, but such a man will never perform a real man's deed. If he should actually attend a war-bundle feast he will be given the leanest piece of meat, only given to a man of no account. Why should any one run the risk of being thus jeered at? Now when a really brave man attends a war-bundle feast he is given a deer's head This other man gets a lean piece! It will dry up in his throat, so humiliated and disgraced will he feel. After a while he will not be allowed to go to any feast; his wife will not let him. He will listen to the voice of his wife. His relatives will scold him, his sisters will think nothing of him. They will tell people never to go to visit him. Finally when he has become a real slave of his wife he will even hit his relatives if she asks him to. It is for these reasons that I warn you not to listen to women. You will be considered different from others. It is not good.

Remember this too, that women cannot be watched. If you try to watch them and are jealous about them, then your female relatives will also be jealous of them. Finally when your jealousy has developed to the highest pitch, your wife will leave you and run away with some one else. You have allowed her to see by your actions that you worship a woman, and one alone, and, in addition, you have been watching her all the time. Because of this incessant annoyance she will run away from you. If you think that

of these spirits, a buckskin decorated with the symbol sacred to the spirit, was prepared and then at the most dramatic moment of the ceremony these buckskins were thrown out of the ceremonial lodge and it was believed that the spirits came down in person to fetch them. The war-bundle feast was specifically a man's ceremony.

*159 your wife is the only one to love, you have humbled yourself
[581] and she will be taken from you. You have likewise made
867 the woman suffer; you have made her unhappy. The whole
562 world will hear about it. No other woman will want to
593 marry you and you will have the reputation of being a bad man.

[577] Now you may act in the following way: You see people
[921] starting on a warpath and you join them knowing that it is an honor to die on the warpath. But you will join them because you feel unhappy at your wife's flight. Now this is not the proper way to act. You are throwing away your life; you are causing the leader of the war-party to throw away a life. If you want to go on the warpath, do not go because your wife has been taken away from you, go because you feel courageous enough to do so.

It is on the warpath that a man has fun! Do not go,
[785] however, unless you have fasted adequately. You must
[926] fast for each specific warpath. If you do not and yet join a war-party, then in the midst of the fight, a bullet will come your way and kill you. That will happen because you did not fast. If you have performed any deeds of valor, recount them to your sisters and to your sister's children. Those in charge of war-bundles are good to listen to in such matters. Those to whom such people give advice will eat an excellent dish; they will have the
[554] honor of sitting near a great warrior in the middle of the lodge.

*159 These are the things of which the old people spoke and
861 this also is the advice I give you. I myself never asked
577 for these things, but my father did. Your grandfather did. He asked for the information relating to the manner in which people are to behave. Never, when you are older, should you allow yourself to get in the predicament of not

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and clairvoyance, and thinks they have had
[787] them for centuries. They use a long and
[346] large lodge a [blank] prepared for the
purpose, in which all those allowed to witness the ceremonies are assembled. Adjoin-
[343] ing this house is a bark tent built in a conical form as a steam house. They excavate a hole in the ground, heat large stones in a fire to a great heat, and then put them in this hole, and cover them over and seat the initiate over them. He is then covered around with blankets so that none of the steam may escape, after which water is poured on the stones and the neophyte is
[783] enveloped in a roasting steam bath. This is
[776] the first act, and the object is to steam all evil spirits out of him.

He is then led in to the house, after the steaming process in some instances has been repeated once or twice. He is then blindfolded and led around the house. Pres-
[534] ently the singers beat the drum, shake the rattles, and commence singing a tune; then commences the dance, which is joined in by all present who wish to do so. The wom-
[562] en are members of the medicine lodge as well as the men, and they join in the songs and in the dance. After the dancing is done, or perhaps he may have stood in the midst of it there is a suspension of all sing-
[756] ing and dancing. Several medicine men then advance towards the neophyte, pointing their medicine bags at him, then drawing them back. This advancing and receding and ejaculating certain words calculated to work up the mind of the novitiate into a regular phrenzy.

Presently they reach him when they hit their medicine bags against his body, he still being blindfolded and at the same time uttering a shrill exclamation. The Judge said the novitiate jumped up and fell flat on
[158] his face as if dead and that apparently with-

[P. 60(B)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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X796 (11) *Terminal dog ritual.*—This consists simply of a speech by the host to the assembled guests, telling them that the dog is to be sent to Disease-giver as an offering, and that he will pray to Disease-giver to preserve them from disease.

ANALYSIS OF TYPES OF ACTION AND SPEECHES

*Circuit of the lodge.*—This is always made in a direction contrary to that of the hands of a clock. The reason given for this method is [776] that it is supposed to represent the journey of the Night Spirits around the earth.

*Method of greeting.*—This is the same as that which exists in all Winnebago ceremonies and is accurately described in my article on the Winnebago Medicine dance.[3]

X796 537 *Types of speeches.*—This subject is of great importance because, while it is true that a certain freedom is allowed in the method of delivery and the choice of words, on the other hand, their content and to a large extent their symbolism and imagery are stereotyped. The speeches might perhaps best be divided into the following groups:

(a) *General addresses.*—These are generally delivered by the host to his guests and always contain expressions of gratitude for the kindness shown by the guests in condescending to accept his invitation.

(b) *Speeches of thankfulness.*—These are generally delivered by the guests and always contain complimentary references to the zealousness of the host in attending to his religious duties, expressions of gratitude for the invitation extended to them, and protestations, couched in the strongest terms, of their unworthiness for the honor thrust upon them and their utter inability to do aught that might insure the acceptance by the spirits of the offerings extended to them.

(c) *Speeches of admonition.*—These are plainly exhortations by the host to his band and by the leaders of the guests' bands to their bands, beseeching them to do their utmost to insure the success of the ceremony.

(d) *Speeches to the spirits.*—These are prayers varying in length and content.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST AND ITS PLACE IN THE CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE WINNEBAGO

X796 571 The ceremonial organization of the Winnebago can be divided into three types, according to the unit of organization that prevails. We find societies either based on common religious qualifications, such as being blessed by the same spirit, or those based on a fixed unit, as the five bands of the Medicine dance; organizations based on the clan, as the clan feasts; or, finally, temporary organizations based on war exploits, such as the Hŏk'ize're dance, in which the

[3] Jour. Amer. Folklore, vol. 24, pp. 149-[illegible], 1911.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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four warriors who have counted coup on the last warpath form the units of organization. The peculiarity of the War-bundle Feast is that it belongs not merely to one of these types but to two of them. 796x 571

The war bundles were originally family possessions and were, in the opinion of the writer, only secondarily associated with the clan as such. They represent a complex of blessings received from various spirits who are supposed to control the fortunes of war. They were handed down from one generation to another in the same family, but not necessarily to the eldest son, and could as a matter of default pass out of the hands of the immediate family. The individual who received the war bundle was that one who had by his interest, knowledge, character, and accomplishments demonstrated to the full satisfaction of the elder generation, more specifically to the elder generation represented by his father and close male relatives of his father's generation, that he was capable of continuing the ceremonials in a proper manner. It follows from this that he would have to be a well-known warrior. Now, it is customary among all the woodland tribes for a warrior who is about to start on a warpath to give a feast to which he invites all the other warriors, from among whom he, of course, has to draw his recruits; and at this feast he explains the nature of the contemplated warpath and his warrant – i. e., the thoroughness of the specific blessings he has received – for starting it. 778 [422] [787] [428] 554 778 [721 527]

In other words, we will have to picture to ourselves the war-bundle feast as originally a gathering of warriors preparatory to the starting out of a war party, in which the part of the host was always taken by the leader of the prospective war party. All of the well-known warriors were likely to have war bundles, and thus the basis for the development of what is, to all intents and purposes, a society of those who had war bundles was always present potentially. It is believed, however, that at the time the Winnebago culture was still in the formative stage this aspect of the gathering was entirely secondary, and that primarily it was a gathering of warriors for the immediate purpose of going on a warpath. 796x 721 575

It may perhaps be interesting to go into some details of how this "society" aspect of a gathering of warriors developed. This development probably took two lines first, a religious one, and secondly, one of definite organization. It would be quite erroneous to say that it took these lines of evolution, because it is in the nature of societies thus to develop. This originally temporary organization took these lines of development because of the presence in the war-bundle ritual of two factors—first, fasting experiences associated with the same spirits, and, second, the influence of the clan organization.

Only a small number of spirits were specifically associated with success in war, and these were Disease-giver, Thunderbirds, Sun, and the Night Spirits. [776]

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614 this twofold interpretation really represents the war bundle in a two-
778 fold aspect, first apart from its association with the war-bundle feast and second from its association therewith.

That the clan is the unit of organization comes out clearly from the following facts: First, there are as many buckskins offered as there are clans; secondly, the order in which the guests are invited
[554] is determined by the reciprocal relations existing between the different clans; and, thirdly, by references in the speeches. That the clan unit, on the other hand, has influenced the ceremonial aspect of the feast is apparent from the fact that offerings are made to the clan animals. For example, in the following ceremony offerings are made to the Eagle and Wona'ɣire Uaṡkeik, who seem to be of slight importance apart from their association with the clan.

x 796 The ceremonial unit in all Winnebago societies consists of four bands, four representing the sacred number, and the ritual consists
[801] of the passing of the paraphernalia from one to the other unit until
621 it returns to the host. The war-bundle feast corresponds to the
571 other societies in every respect, except that instead of four there are ten bands (with the band of the host, representing the eleven existing clans of the tribe). Had not the consciousness of the relation of the war bundle to the clan been so strong the ceremonial unit would probably have been found here, as it is found in all the other ceremonies.

x 796 Summing up, then, we may say that the war-bundle feasts represent a mixed type corresponding exactly to no other Winnebago ceremony, and that beginning as a war feast it developed in addi-
[575 tion some of the features of a secret society of the type exemplified
614] by the Night Spirit society, with a unit of organization based on the clan; and that finally it became a general feast of thanksgiving to the entire Winnebago pantheon.[1]

### CHARACTERIZATION OF THE SPIRITS MENTIONED IN THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST

776 All the spirits to whom offerings are made in the war-bundle feast are guardian spirits, with the exception of Earthmaker. Some of them are conceived of as being human, while others have animal forms, and still others have an indeterminate body. The peculiar spirit, Disease-giver, has a form of his own, his body being divided into two halves, one half dispensing death and the other life. Earthmaker has no form, and in the few cases that he has been known to bless individuals he always lets his presence be known by some sign. There is generally a difference between the conception of the spirit as such and the form that he is supposed to assume

[1] The order in which these aspects are enumerated is not to be taken as representing a direct line of evolution.

105 tation with its insistence upon warding off evil by force and obtain-
771 ing good by force, and the 'sky' interpretation, with its emphasis on conciliation and appeasement and its attempts at the resolution of the opposites? The rituals take up the same question.

## 5. RITUALISM

105 There are two fundamental types of ritualistic organization among
575 the Winnebago, those based on clan membership and those based
●571 on blessings from the same spirits. In other words, the bond is either
796 a social one, membership in the same clan, or a spiritual one, a common religious experience. The clan rituals have one major extension, a ceremony where those members of each clan who are the guardians of the warbundle of that particular clan, gather together in a feast for all the main deities. At this ceremony they ask for the renewal of the powers of these warbundles and for the promise of success on the warpath. Set off, apparently, from these two types of ritual there is a third, the Medicine Rite, with but one example, where membership is based upon personal conduct and achievement other than war and where, usually, one can only enter when there is a vacancy caused by death. In those cases where a person became a member through personal achievement he was, in the old days, generally, a man in middle age because of the rigorous and difficult entrance requirements. When taking the place of a deceased member a person could, however, even be under twenty.

An individual is consequently either born with the right of membership in a ceremony, like the clan feasts and the warbundle feasts, or he has to achieve it, as in the ritual societies based on blessings from the same spirits and the Medicine Rite.

The clan feasts which are in honor of the ancestral clan animals need not detain us here. Nor do we have to dwell upon the ritual societies based on common supernatural experiences. For membership in the latter there are really no requirements except willingness to endure the comparatively light hardships of fasting. The spirits or deities rarely, if ever, failed to grant the suppliant a vision. Formerly,

so many Winnebago informed me, the most sacred and important 105
of the ritual societies of this type was the Night-spirit one. It was 575
practically gone when I first visited the tribe in 1909. In none of 796
these rituals was there any control of membership or insistence upon 571
a special code of conduct either before or after admission.

The warbundle ceremonies require a few words. Each perform- 105
ance is divided into two parts, the first presided over by the Thunder- 721
bird spirits and the second by the Night-spirits. However, all the 796
great spirits of the Winnebago pantheon have their place in it and, to all, offerings are made. Although in the eyes of the Winnebago, the warbundle ritual is devoted entirely to the glorification of war, it is interesting and significant to see that, besides the great patrons of war, the Thunderbird spirits, Night-spirits, Sun, Morning Star, Evening Star, Disease-giver, Eagle, Black Hawk, specific peace deities like Earthmaker, Earth, Moon and Water are also included and, at times, even the hero-deities, Trickster, Turtle and Hare. From this we can infer that even in a ceremony devoted preeminently to the enhancement of the importance of the warrior and of warfare, deities symbolizing peace and the antithesis of violence and force, could not be entirely left out. Admittedly their inclusion had little effect upon the one and insistent prayer of the participants, war. Even Earthmaker is represented as bestowing success on the warpath, something completely new. Yet the mere fact that Earthmaker was included did act as a reminder that the pursuit of war was not everything.

The warbundle rituals represent the classic and most complete expression of the war spirit, the glorification of the viewpoint of the chief of the lower division of the tribe, namely, that one goes out to combat evil, militantly and with violence. In fact, you must pre-enact the enemy's attack, your method of coping with it, and the manner in which the enemy is to be defeated and overwhelmed. Even orgies, where all self-control is abandoned, are permitted, some- [786]
thing that was always abhorrent to the normal Winnebago and greatly dreaded. The remark made to me by the Indian who translated the text, relative to such orgies is quite illuminating here. 'It is good to have one Indian work himself into a paroxysm of enthusiasm but it must never be more than one!'

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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614 572 The relation of *hitcak'oro* or "friend clan" is thus strictly analogous to that which exists between two individuals who are *hitcak'oro* to each other. It is one of the characteristic traits of Siouan culture that two individuals often form a strong, inextricable friendship. Not only are they always together but the death of one on the war-path involves that of the other. The same intimate relationship [604] seems to exist between an uncle (*hidek'*) and his nephew (*hiteyege*). There is, however, one fundamental difference between such relation as that existing between *hidek'* and *hiteyege*, the members of the family group, and the members of the same clan, on the one hand, and clan *hitcak'oro*, on the other. In the former there is the bond of blood, real or fictitious; in the latter, only that of mutual service. On the other hand, while the *hidek'-hiteyege* relation, the individual *hitcak'oro* and the clan *hitcak'oro* all may be of different historical origin, they are psychologically the same. The postulation of even a fictitious blood bond between the different individual *hitcak'oro* and the clan *hitcak'oro* is not unheard of. For the *hitcak'oro* relation of individuals this is always possible, for if one individual dies, his *hitcak'oro* is generally adopted to fill his place. On the other hand, the myths seem to indicate that no blood bond was regarded as existing between them, for they generally married each other's sisters.

What historical relation the clan *hitcak'oro* bears to the individual *hitcak'oro* relation, it is impossible to state, but the remarks made before are pertinent here, and no genetic relationship need be postulated.

### THE SPECIFIC POSSESSIONS OF THE CLAN

614 778 Among the Omaha a number of clans have in their possession certain objects around which not merely the clan but also the tribal reverence is centered. Historically, we believe that these were originally possessions of an individual clan, which subsequently became identified with the entire tribe. Among the Winnebago nothing remotely comparable to these clan possessions exists, and the few specific objects possessed by the clan have never become of real tribal significance.

The specific material possessions of the clan consist of certain war bundles, one in each clan; and two crooks in the possession of the Bear clan. There also exist war clubs, of which there are two types, one found among the *waggeregi*, the other among the *manegi* divisions. In connection with the clan bundles there are certain ceremonials known as clan-bundle or war-bundle feasts, popularly as Winter Feasts. The distribution of the clan bundle differentiates [771] these from the specific possessions of the Omaha clans, and suggests a hint as to their historical associations. To all intents and purposes, as their individual history shows, these bundles are merely

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the second one, Old Lincoln himself obtaining the first. The first war honor was a quantity of wampum beads and the second a wampum belt. Both the one who got the second prize and Old Lincoln brought back with them an enemy's head. 726 556 [727]

From that time on *Midjistega* stayed with the Winnebago and he and Old Lincoln became great friends, living together, one of the reasons being that Old Lincoln could understand Winnebago. 648 [572]

One day they ran short of corn meal, so they decided to go and trade some furs for corn meal. They had plenty of furs because they spent most of their time hunting. When they got to the trader's store *Midjistega* said, "Say, trader, the boys have been out of paint for some time and you ought to give them some." "No, *Midjistega*, I can't do that." Then *Midjistega* again said, "Well, the paint boxes are small and aren't of much value anyhow, and you ought to make them a present of some. However, I always knew you were very stingy." Then the trader said, "My business is to trade you my wares for your furs and I will not give you any paint for nothing." Then *Midjistega* said, "If I had some flour I could make some paint myself. However, I am short of flour, too." Then the trader said, "*Midjistega*, you can not do it, for even the whites do not know how to make paint (in that way), so how could you, who are only an Indian, do it?" Thus they spoke to and fro and finally the trader said, "*Midjistega*, I will bet you my store against your furs that if I give you some flour you can not make paint out of it. If I win you are to give me your furs, and if you win I will give you my store." Then the bet was agreed upon. 648 437 741 [525]

Then a lodge was prepared and *Midjistega's* drum and flute were carried into it. Then the trader had some flour carried over to the lodge and it was poured into a dish. The trader, suspecting that there might be some trick, stirred up the flour thoroughly. He satisfied himself that there was nothing at the bottom of the dish. *Midjistega*, in the meantime, painted the corners of his mouth and eyes with ashes and then the singers sang for him. Then he handed the flute over to Old Lincoln and told him to blow it for him every now and then. The trader sat near the entrance of the lodge with his employees. Then *Midjistega* jumped up and ran all around the lodge on all fours. Then he took the dish with the flour and shaking it, began to dance around the lodge with it. After he had danced around for the third time it suddenly turned into a yellow color, and Old Lincoln noticed the change in the expression on the trader's face. As he went around for the fourth time it suddenly changed to a red color. When he got back to his starting place it was quite red and was an excellent quality of paint. Then he said, "Well, trader, I have won your store," and the trader answered, "You have won my store. I did not think that an Indian could do it." Then *Mid-* 648 789 386 791 [525] 000

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### *The "Servant" Relationship.*

614 The *hitcak'ɔ·ro* relation is entirely one between equals,
irrespective of the inequality of one member of this grouping,
with regard to the other, in social standing. The Bear clan is,
for instance, incomparably greater than the Wolf, but this is
entirely forgotten here. In addition to this "friendship,"
there seems to exist a faintly developed "servant" relation.
The concept of servant is not that conveyed by the English
word. It means essentially that a certain clan performs a service
for another without that specific service being reciprocal.
Among the Winnebago such a relation exists between the Thunder-
bird and Buffalo, and the Thunderbird and Elk clans. This is
not to be confused with the general subordination of all the
other clans to the Thunderbird and Bear clans when these exercise
their specific governmental functions. This "servant" relation-
[203] ship between the Thunderbird and Buffalo clans is politically
expressed by the fact that a member of the latter visits the
[174] chief every morning to receive certain directions from him,
which he then announces to the whole village. But this relation-
[621] ship expresses itself in another more striking manner—the

1 [i.e. - "friendship" relation - ANALYST]

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867 My son, never abuse your wife. The women are sacred. If you
593 abuse your wife and make her life miserable, you will die early.
562 Our grandmother, the earth, is a woman, and in mistreating your
776 wife you will be mistreating her. Most assuredly will you be abusing our grandmother if you act thus. And as it is she that is taking care of us you will really be killing yourself by such behavior.

867 My son, when you keep house, should anyone enter your house,
574 no matter who it is, be sure to offer him whatever you have in the house. Any food that you withhold at such a time will most assuredly become a source of death to you. If you are stingy about giving food the people will kill you on this account. They will poison you. If you hear of a traveler who is visiting your people and you wish to see him, prepare your table for him and have him sent for. In this manner you will be acting correctly. It is always good to act correctly and do good, the old people used to say.

867 If you see an old, helpless person, help him with whatever you
888 possess. Should you happen to possess a home and you take him there, he might suddenly say abusive things about you during the middle of the meal. You will be strengthened by such words. This same traveler may, on the contrary, give you something that
[778] he carries under his arms and which he treasures very highly. If it is an object without a stem,[10] keep it to protect your house. If you thus keep it within your house, your home will never be molested by any bad spirits. Nothing will be able to enter your house unexpectedly. Thus you will live. Witches, instead of entering your house, will pass around it. If, in addition to possessing this medicine, you also fast, your people will be benefited by it greatly.

867 Earthmaker made spirits up above and some he made to live on
773 this earth; and again some he made to live under the water and
776 some to live in the water; and all these he put in charge of something. Even the small animals that move about this earth the creator put in charge of some power. Thus he created them. Afterwards he created us human beings and as he had exhausted all the powers to be disposed of we were not in control of anything. Then he made a weed and placed it in our charge. And he said that no matter how powerful are the spirits that exist they would not be able to take this weed from us without giving something in return.
[276] He himself, Earthmaker, would not be able to demand it for nothing. So he spoke. This weed was the tobacco plant. Earthmaker said that if we would offer a pipeful of tobacco to him, whatever we should ask of him he would immediately grant. Not only he, but all the
[782] spirits created, longed to have some of this tobacco. It is for this reason that when we fast and cry piteously for some spirit to take pity on us, if we give them tobacco they will bless us with those

[10] A plant without a stem, presumably some root, used for warding off danger.

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### The Herucka Dance

535 The *Herucka* is a social dance and is frequently given when visitors
● 574 from other tribes are present, presents being given on this occasion. Men and women take part in it and are generally dressed in their best clothes. A few customs that were noticed at a performance in 1908 might be mentioned here.

If a man drops anything during the dance he himself may not pick it up. Only a warrior who has been wounded has the right to do so. The object dropped is returned to the owner, who, however, must always give it to his sister or niece.

It is at times customary for a man to dress himself in rags and beg for food, etc. He generally represents himself as an extremely poor man and pictures his destitution in a manner best calculated to amuse everyone.

[525] Wagers of horses are very commonly made at this dance.

The dances indulged in are mainly victory dances and the songs
[533] known as *Herucka* songs are always victory songs. Many borrowed songs are sung at this dance.

A large drum is always used, around which sometimes as many as
[534] 10 drummers sit. The drum consists of an ordinary tub over which skin has been tightly drawn. It is supported by two carved sticks, to which it is firmly attached, so that the bottom is about a foot from the ground. It is painted in the following manner: Two rather
[531] narrow lines of paint across the center of the drum, one blue and the other green. The portion of the drum next to the yellow line is painted blue, and that next to the blue line red. No meanings for the colors were obtained.

### Watonaje'ewe Feast
(Afraid-to-eat-greens feast)

241 Informant, member of Beaver clan: Just about roasting-ear month
785 people would commence to fast and continue until the green corn is
262 ripe enough to be eaten. They fast so that all the plants may strengthen the tribe.

The fast generally takes place in a special hedge, from under which all the grass has been cut, for the faster must not come in contact with anything that is green. When the fasting is over a feast is given at which all those present eat "greens" for the first time.

### The Captive's Death Dance

727 Before putting a captive to death it is customary to tie his arms
535 behind him in such a manner that his hands have a little freedom. Then they put a gourd in his right hand and a lance in his left hand

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## The War-bundle Feast of the Thunderbird Clan

(SECOND VERSION)

X 796 614 773 Informant, member of Thunderbird clan:[1] There were originally four warriors. The youngest one was the bravest and the most powerful. He claimed that his father was a Thunderbird and his mother a Night Spirit. He is the one who made the bundle about which we are going to speak.

[776]

X 796 [604]

● [574 281]

[886]

X 796 782 776

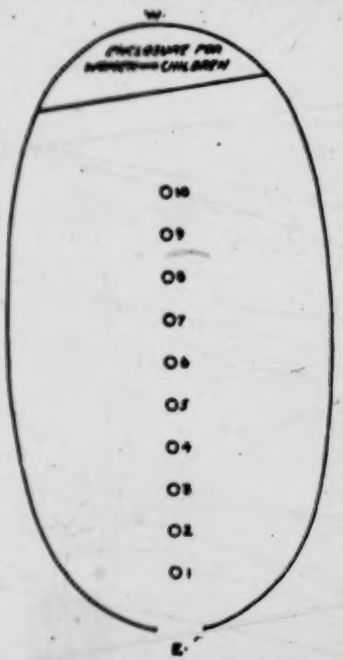


FIG. 38.—Plan of Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast. 1, Buckskin for earthmaker. 2, Buckskin for disease-giver. 3, Buckskin for thunderbirds. 4, Buckskin for night-spirits. 5, Buckskin for morning star. 6, Buckskin for sun. 7, Buckskin for moon. 8, Buckskin for water-spirit. 9, Buckskin for earth. 10, Buckskin for bears.

The lodge (fig. 38) is prepared by the nephews and the women relatives of the host, generally his nieces and wives. The invited guests arrive toward evening, while the women are still preparing the buckskins. These buckskins are to be made as perfectly white as possible. Only those women who have passed their climacteric are permitted to do this. As soon as the buckskins are prepared the kettles are put on the fire. The buckskins are taken by the host and marked with the specific symbols associated with the different spirits. (For the markings, see pls. 47, 48.) These buckskins are then tied to a stick. That for Earthmaker is attached to the stick with the head pointing upward; that for the Thunderbird has the stick and the head of the buckskin facing the west; that for the Night has the stick and head of the buckskin facing east; that for the Star also faces east, as do all the others

X 796 782 not mentioned. When the sticks have been prepared and the buckskins attached to them, the latter are rolled up upon the sticks. Whosoever of the guests is the oldest feast-giver then arises and pours tobacco, first for the fire and then for all the other spirits. [372 778] When they start the fire for the first time they use the old ceremonial fire sticks. With that the ceremony begins. When the old man is

[1] This is a generalized account.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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of these two types of arrangements quite difficult. There can be no question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital regulations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in definite villages. When on the warpath, the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fire-places, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe, can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, cannot be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Tciwere. In the subsequent discussion of the clan, we will touch on this subject again. 614 616 621

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fire-places when on the warpath, each division having two fire-places, whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. If they were going west, for instance, the two fire-places for the *waŋgeregi* would be on the south and the two for the *mąŋegi* would be on the north side. On the other hand, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the divisions exists. 726 616

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the Chief feast (*huŋk'wohą*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name (*huŋk'wohą*) would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Huŋk'* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the *waŋgeregi* division. 614 616 574

As the basis of organization in a game the twofold division finds expression in ceremonial lacrosse. There the *waŋgeregi* are always pitted against the *mąŋegi*. A well-known myth is associated with this arrangement, according to which the animal ancestors of the *waŋgeregi* and *mąŋegi* decided their respective rank by playing a game where they were organized on this basis. The *waŋgeregi* won, and it is for this reason that the chiefs of the tribe have been selected from that division. The division of the 616 526 773 [622] 000

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5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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114 people attend as a matter of courtesy, or to keep peace in the family.
796 It was my good fortune to attend such a meeting, a war-bundle ceremony, in October, 1927. Mr. A. White, whose Indian name is *Teus-*
[795 *tcu-he-de-ga* (Big Wave), figure 120, is custodian of the war-bundle
778] of the Thunderbird clan of the Wisconsin Rapids band of Winnebago.
614] Word came to me through his son-in-law, Mr. U. S. White of Milwaukee, that a war-bundle feast would be held shortly, and that I was specially invited to attend.

As Mr. White and his family also wished to make the trip, we drafted a Museum car into service and joined forces. In addition to Mr. White and his wife and two children, Mr. Alton Fisher was persuaded, without much difficulty, to join me in representing the Department of Anthropology.

We arrived at Wisconsin Rapids late at night, and were up early on the following morning and on our way to the site selected for the
[574] ceremony. Upon arriving at his home, we were courteously received by the custodian of the bundle, and privileged to meet his family and many others who were in the midst of preparations for the feast.

796 The regular war bundle ceremony of the Thunderbird clan is a feast and dance given in honor of various spirits, chiefly the Thunderbirds,
[776] who are the spiritual directors of war, and the Night Spirits. It is
614] held in an oblong wigwam shaped like the medicine lodge of the Winnebago and neighboring Algonkin groups, figure 121, and similarly con-
[346] structed of a frame-work of bent poles covered with birch bark or mats, or more recently with canvas or other cloth. Big Wave had directed the construction of the lodge for this particular ceremony in an area immediately adjoining his dwelling lodge, figure 122. The single door was placed at the end of the lodge, facing east.

[252] The lodge was small, made so to accommodate the limited number expected to attend, and consequently it was decided to cook the feast over outside fires, an irregular, though not unusual procedure. Therefore, only a single fire was built in the lodge, centrally situated at the
796 eastern end not more than three paces from the door. Since the fire was to be new, sacred fire, the ceremonial fire-making equipment from
372 the war bundle was employed. This consisted of a flat, rectangular
778 base of oak, nearly perforated in many places with charred drill holes, and a drilling element of softer wood. Big Wave himself officiated in the fire making, figure 123. Kneeling, he placed the basepiece between his knees, with tinder conveniently near. Then one end of the drill was fitted into one of the holes in the base, and the shaft was rapidly rotated between his hands. Soon smoke curled up from the point of friction. The bits of glowing wood dust so produced were quickly applied to the tinder and carefully blown to a small flame. Then light kindling was applied, followed by heavier sticks until the fire was be-

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12



yond the need of further nursing. Standing alone above this altar, Big Wave then offered, in his native tongue, a prayer to be carried upward by the fire to Creator. In a low voice he thanked Creator who taught the use of fire to the Indians, that it might live with them forever and watch over them. He expressed satisfaction that new fire had been started on this occasion, so that all present might enjoy the benefits of life. He described the fire as an interpreter, conveying to the spirit world the prayers of men. He then sprinkled tobacco upon the fire, saying: "This tobacco I offer you (the spirits) that you may do that which I ask of you, that you may grant to all here, our wives and children, and all our relatives, good fortune and all the benefits of life. This prayer is for others who will also give tobacco."

Later, when the meeting was convened and the guests filed into the ceremonial lodge, many silently sprinkled tobacco on the fire, thereby sharing the benefit of this prayer. This tobacco sacrifice is called, filling the spirits' pipe.

As soon as the new fire was burning well, coals were removed therefrom with which to start the cooking fires outside the lodge, for the feast must be cooked over sacred fire. Two short poles were placed on either side of the fire, topped by a crosspiece from which the pots were suspended on chains. Water was boiled, with which all the pots were thoroughly washed. Then the meat (fowl, beef and pork) was prepared for cooking. The fowls had to be singed over the sacred fire. A definite number of equal portions were placed in each pot, since each participating family was to share the contents of a single pot which, therefore, must contain a portion for every member of the invited group.

While the war-bundle owner's helpers, the waiters, selected from his paternal nephews when possible, were preparing the feast, he himself entered the lodge, took down the war-bundle from where it hung on the north wall opposite the fire and spread it out on the ground immediately west of the fire. Although much of the contents of the bundle appeared to be very old, the cover-piece was of cloth. The bundle was unrolled and spread out upon this rectangular piece of goods. The inner wrapper was of matting. Upon this a variety of fetishes and elements of ceremonial equipment was displayed. These included various bird skins, reed whistles and an old fire drill set which had long been out of use due to the fact that the base piece was entirely covered with holes, without interval, and as deep as the thickness of the piece would permit.

Two beaded snake-skin fetishes were suspended from the top of a peeled stake set up between the bundle and the fire. Adjoining this a sharpened stick, later to be used as a meat fork in distributing the meat, was placed, the handle thrust into the ground. Two fine old war clubs from the bundle were also placed between fire and bundle, their handles thrust into the ground. Two bowls, one containing tobacco and the

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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796 from the sacred fire. When the pipe was well lit, the waiter carried
276 it to the next man, and so on, passing clockwise about the lodge. Each man puffed several times at the pipe before passing it on. The women
[562] were excluded from participating in this ceremony, as were the leader and his three musicians. The waiters did not actually participate in any part of the entire ceremony, other than in their official capacity.

Before the next song was started, the head waiter carefully cleaned out the pipe, refilled it and placed it again over the bundle. All the tobacco cleaned from the bowl was disposed of in the sacred fire.

This same procedure, from speech to pipe, was repeated four times, although each group of songs was different.

796 Two men were now selected, one representing that group of clans
615 comprising the upper world phratry, the other the lower world phratry. They seated themselves in the center of the lodge with a wooden bowl
264 between them. In this bowl were placed the two portions of meat from the pots suspended from the lodge ceiling. At a given signal, each began to devour his allotted share of the meat as rapidly as possible. The phratry whose side wins in this eating contest will have good luck when next it takes the warpath.

796 The leader then told the dream experience of the original bundle
787 holder and said a few words thanking all for their participation. One of the waiters then proceeded to replace the contents of the bundle, roll it up, tie it and place it against the wall just back of the leader.

796 It was now time for the war-bundle feast, which consisted solely of
574 meat boiled with a few beans. Each pot had been dedicated to a certain spirit or order of spirits, but since these were not materially present to do proper justice to the occasion, the honored guests had to represent them in receiving and disposing of the food. One pot was placed before each of these leaders, and the contents were distributed under his direction to the men of his party. Other meat was supplied for the women and children of the group which he represented. The chief honored guest received the pot dedicated to Creator. On such occasions, one must eat all that is set before him, since the food is consecrated.

574 It should be noted here that Mr. Fisher has certain marked tastes in
114 food. He is not particularly fond of meat of any kind, dislikes beef particularly and dislikes boiled beef the most of all. His predicament can well be imagined, therefore, when a large portion of boiled beef was placed before him with the understanding that none must be wasted. Fortunately, one may broadcast a call for outside help on such occasions without trespassing against the rules of the ceremony. Very piteously, then, did Fisher make his plea to me. Knowing that the night spirit dance with a vegetable feast was to follow, he promised to eat the greater share of the vegetables apportioned to us if I would agree to do double duty on the meat. Out of the kindness of my heart, and also because I prefer boiled beef to boiled dried squash, I agreed to do this. Nor did

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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I permit him to forget his bargain when the squash was served later in the day.

Big Wave did not participate in the feast, nor did he smoke ceremoniously or otherwise during the entire performance. During the feast he sang several songs without drum. These were his war-bundle songs, obtained in a dream by the original owner of the bundle and descending to his successors.

The bones from the feast were gathered up by the waiters and placed in a single vessel. Tobacco was added to the bones, and the vessel taken out to a place where no people were in view and where no dogs could molest the contents. This was a sacrifice to Disease Giver.

After the meat had been entirely consumed, the leader announced that they would now have night spirit dancing. An old bow and four arrows were brought out and planted in the floor to stand erect in a row just west of the fireplace, where the war-bundle had formerly been displayed. Big Wave appointed one to lead the dance. The dancers aligned themselves in single file on the south side of the lodge, facing west, and were led by the dance leader carrying the bow and arrows and blowing a reed whistle, followed by the other dancers. The singers began singing and the dancers circled several times about the lodge counter-clockwise. With short pauses between, several songs and dances were so executed. When the set of songs was finished, the bowl of tobacco dedicated to the use of the guests was then given by one of the waiters to the most honored guest. The head waiter lifted the stove shovel containing the remains of the burned cedar leaves and poured the contents in the fire. Then the singing was resumed and they danced once more about the fire, joyously.

When the singing stopped, the leader for this dance returned the whistle to Big Wave, and the latter, as soon as all were again seated, addressed his guests. He said that this was the way they worshipped the spirits of their fathers. He thanked those participating for their assistance in the singing and dancing and solicited their further help. So they should enjoy health, long life and success. Everyone responded with a series of confirmative "O's". The feast of boiled squash was now served. It was the duty of the waiters to eat any scraps left by the feasters, since food uneaten is considered an affront to the spirits to whom the food is dedicated.

The ceremonies described above were followed by a buffalo dance. It seems that the spirit of the buffalo was especially noted for his speed in running, and could imbue his devotees with his skill. Inasmuch as speed in running was of prime importance in primitive warfare, where the desired procedure was to come quickly upon the enemy, strike decisively and disappear from the scene, the buffalo dance is considered an altogether proper adjunct to the war-bundle ceremony, and regularly follows in.

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
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# CULTURAL CHANGE AMONG THE WISCONSIN WINNEBAGO

Nancy Oestreich

## Introduction

121 178 Cultural change is one of the outstanding factors in the life of the Winnebago today. It is important to mention at the outset, however, that the following article does not purport to trace the long history of cultural change among the Winnebago, nor does it have any claim as a complete analysis; but, because of space limitations, it will serve merely as a passing observation of cultural change in a particular Indian group. [114] The study is based primarily on observation of one small group of Winnebago during a period of five weeks. None the less, these data seem to comprise a fairly, though far from completely representative sample with which to work.

101 121 The Indians observed were family groups from almost all of the Winnebago communities scattered throughout the central part of the state. Our group, consisting of some 45 families, was predominately one of Wisconsin Winnebago, but also included three Winnebago families from Nebraska and one family each of the Chippewa, Menomini and Potawatomi tribes. The presence of these minorities within the larger group of Wisconsin Winnebago offered an interesting study of inter-land and intra-tribal contrasts.

121 619 The Wisconsin Winnebago prefer to live more or less independently in their native territory, Wisconsin, rather than join their friends and relatives on the Winnebago reservation [657] located, by a whim of the government, in Nebraska. There is, however, a constant exchange of visits between the two [574] groups.

221 In Wisconsin many of the Winnebago earn a living in the winter by trapping for the fur market, and in the summer by following various Wisconsin crops. The harvesting begins in the spring with the strawberry season, and ends in the fall with the gathering of cranberries.

## *Reminiscences of Childhood*

We were three boys of whom I was the youngest and 159 *
at night we slept together. In cold weather we fought 593
as to who was to sleep in the middle, since whoever got 513
that place was warm; for while those at either end used to pull the cover from each other, the one in the middle was always covered. Even after I grew up I always took the cover away from the particular person with whom I happened to be sleeping. I would always fold it under me, for it had become a habit with me to take the cover away from the other person whenever I slept on the outside.

We always ate out of one dish. At times we did not 159 *
have enough food on hand and then I would always try 159
to get enough by eating very fast. In this way I often 261
succeeded in depriving the others of their proper portion. Sometimes, on the other hand, I would purposely eat slowly and then when the others were finished, I would say that I had not been given enough and so get some of their food. In this way I developed a habit, that I still have, of eating fast. Even after I grew up, whenever I ate with other people, I always finished sooner than they did.

Another habit acquired then was the ability to go without food for a whole day while traveling. I did [484] not mind this in the least, for during my fasting I had grown accustomed to going without food for long periods of time.

159 *

In the summer, at the season when people pick ber- [221]
ries, I used to go around visting, sometimes for a day, [222]
sometimes for a longer period. I would often receive [514]

* 159 86 785 780 you will never be in need of anything. Fast for the food you are to receive. If you fast frequently enough for these things then some day when your children ask for food they will be able to obtain a piece of deer meat without difficulty; they may indeed be able to obtain a piece of moose meat. It lies within your power to prevent your children from ever going hungry.

* 159 86 593 [562] [776] Now again, my son, let me enjoin you. Do not abuse your wife. Women are sacred. If you make your wife suffer, then you will die in a short time. Our grandmother Earth is a woman, and in abusing your wife you are abusing her. Most certainly will you be abusing your grandmother if you act thus. Since after all it is she who is taking care of us, by your action you will be practically killing yourself.

* 159 86 574 When you have your home, see to it that whoever enters your lodge obtain something to eat, no matter how little you yourself may have. Such food will be a source of death to you if withheld. If you are stingy about giving food, some one might kill you in consequence; some one may poison you. If you ever hear of a stranger passing through your country and you want to see him, prepare food for him and have him brought to you. In this manner you will be doing good and it is always good to do good, it is said. [577]

* 159 86 888 If you see a helpless old person, help him if you have anything at all. If you happen to possess a home take him there, and feed him, for he may suddenly make uncomplimentary remarks about you.[18] You will be strengthened thereby. Or perhaps when he comes, he may bring with him under his arms a medicine bundle, something he cher- [978]

[18] It is considered exceedingly bad form for a guest to admire anything in the house he is visiting. [574] [576]

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## §16. *Shows*

*159 About this time we went to the Sioux country on a visit. There were a number of us. While there I was [574] adopted as a friend and given a pony. When I returned [431] to my home I used to ride around on my pony. That fall a number of Winnebago were going to join a show [541] and I decided to go along with them. I was a good dancer. We went to all the large cities of the country.

*159 203 With us there were two grass widows and after a while I used to go with one of them secretly. This woman used to drink beer. Soon I began to go with the other woman also. They both drank a good deal and often asked me to drink with them, but I always [588] refused. I finally married one of these women, al- [837] though I continued frequenting the other one at the same time. We lived in a tipi. As I said, they both drank beer and gradually I got to drinking it too. Soon I drank a great deal and began to like it. I kept this a secret from my people and told the women to do the same. Finally, however, as I began drinking frequently, a friend of mine found out about it and then the two of us used to drink together. Then the owner of the show discovered that I was drinking. He thought a good deal of me, that my dancing was better than that of the others, and when he learned that

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| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ut T | K-A | Kin | Cos | Kin | Ab S | Do I | Do 2 | Win | No C | Cr I | Cr 2 | WSS | Ute | Cos | W-P | Tam | [A] C W 121 746 796 [1143] [574] [276] |
| 239. Feast follows meeting | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | |
| 240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible | | − | − | − | − | •− | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | | |
| 241. Staff, rattle, and feathers | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 242. Whistle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | |
| 243. "Chief peyote" | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 244. Crescent of earth | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 245. Crescent of ash | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | |
| 246. Fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 247. Fire stick | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | |
| 248. Water | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 249. Person blessing water | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 250. Peyote breakfast | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit) | + | | + | − | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | |
| 252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God | + | | + | | (−) | + | + | + | + | | | | + | + | •+ | + | | |
| 253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | |
| 254. Peyote's function is medicinal | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | + | |
| 256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication | + | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | | |
| 257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | |
| 258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | | + | + | + | | + | + | |
| 259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | | + | | |
| 260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify | + | + | + | + | (+) | •+ | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | | |
| 261. Modifications permitted by new revelations | + | | + | | | | − | + | | | | | − | + | | •− | + | |
| 262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble | + | + | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | | | + | + | | + | | |
| 263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | + | + | | + | | |
| 264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road | | + | •+ | − | | − | + | + | | + | | | + | + | | + | + | |
| 265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road | | + | •+ | + | •+ | − | − | + | + | − | | | + | + | •• | + | | |
| 265a. (See note) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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614 533 Associated with every clan was also four clan songs. These were supposed to be the four songs sung by the ancestors of each clan when they came to this earth. They were always sung on the death of an individual, and were supposed to serve as a mark of identification in the journey of the soul to the land of the spirits. The use of these [761] songs was so intimately associated with death that when some hardened offender, let us say, some individual who had killed a [627] member of the tribe and who refused to make atonement of any kind, was pursued, he defiantly sang his clan songs.

614 As a last element in the clan complex may be mentioned the [302] specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

We have now completed the discussion of clan organization. As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary association that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that it had grown around a strong social-political unit.

### INFLUENCE OF THE CLAN UPON CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

614 575 Perhaps the most characteristic trait of Winnebago culture is the existence of two strong socialized units, that of the clan and that of the secret society. Historically both are old, and even if we are of the opinion that the clan is historically younger, the political unit upon which it is superimposed is probably an ultimate historical fact. From the earliest times one would have supposed reciprocal influences to have occurred repeatedly. The nature of these influences, in so far as they are not conditioned by chance, would depend upon the respective center of gravity in either unit. It is evident that for the clan the organization was of paramount importance, and that the addition of cultural associations probably tended to strengthen its stability in this respect. On the other hand, the absence of political or governmental functions in the religious societies, and the clustering of the most multitudinous religious and shamanistic ideas within them, rendered the emotional unit of the latter the center from which influences would radiate. At the same time, the ceremonial unit of organization seems to have been so firmly fixed that any influence of the clan unit of organization upon it does not seem likely. As a matter of fact, in the typical schematic, religious society like the Medicine Dance, the Grizzly-Bear Dance, and Night-Spirit Dance, no influence is perceptible. However, these religious societies may be regarded as presenting no possible points of contact. Where, however, the bond of union is supernatural communication with a guardian spirit who subsequently became the clan animal, an obvious point of contact is given, and this brings to mind a very suggestive

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fact of Winnebago culture, namely, that there are, strictly speaking, 614 no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. 575 There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in many respects, are absolutely identical with the religious societies, [796] and which furnish, it seems to us, an example of just those two kinds of influence that we wished to point out, one radiating from the clan as an organization, the other from the entire clan unit.

In the Winter Feasts the unit of organization is the clan. Gen- 614 erally all the clans were represented in the person of the owner of 796 each specific clan war bundle. The order of invitation was traditionally fixed, but it seems that in a number of cases the "friend" clan always had the position of honor. The war-bundle owner was not, however, supposed to represent the clan at all, but the spirits to whom offerings were being made. In every case, although the participants were supposed to represent a fairly large number of animals, the main blessings that were contained in the war bundle [782 were from the thunderbird and night-spirit and the main offerings 776] were indeed made to them. There seem thus to have been two separate ceremonies involved, one to the thunderbird and the other to the night-spirits.

The question arising with regard to the clan basis of these ceremonial organizations is whether we are to imagine that the ceremonial unit of organization was displaced by the clan unit, or whether we are to suppose that the ceremony is of comparatively recent origin, let us say at least long after the clan organization had been perfected, and that a number of things combined to determine the acceptance of the clan as a unit of organization, as opposed to the traditional ceremonial one. To the foregoing we must also add the fact that the Winter Feast seems to be related to similar ceremonies of the Central Algonquian, whose influence on the Winnebago must [171] first be determined. If, then, we are not in a position at present to suggest the course of development, there can be no doubt that the content of the ceremony is strictly comparable to that of the religious societies, and that there are hints that the ceremonial unit of organization had begun to assert itself. If this could be definitely established, it would indicate that the clan basis of organization is historically primary.

The clan unit of organization is found in no other Winnebago ceremony, although the specific clan feasts show marked influences radiating from the clan unit. The clan feast is a typical ceremonial complex, both in type of organization and in content. The difference between it and a society like that of the night-spirit lies in the fact that although the five principal participants must have specific blessings (bundles), they must at the same time belong to the clan. To what extent a member of one clan who has obtained a bundle

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PART III

# CHAPTER XII

## CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

### INTRODUCTION

The Winnebago had four types of ceremonies: clan ceremonies, 796
in which only members of the clan could participate; religious societies, for which only people who had obtained blessings from the same spirits were eligible; the Medicine Dance, in which only initiated individuals could take part; and a semipermanent organization like the *hak'ize're* dance, in which only individuals who were returning from a war party and had counted coup could participate. In this grouping we do not include ordinary feasts, such as the feasts connected with different medicines and the pleasure dances.

Every clan seems to have had a clan war-bundle feast (often called 796
winter feast) and also a specific clan feast. We have reason to suspect 614
that the war-bundle feasts were originally private feasts given by 778
the owner of a war bundle. Then as the war bundles became of great importance to the clan to which the owners belonged, they were after a while regarded as clan possessions. But even at the present time, while many would contend that the war bundle belonged to the clan as such and could not be alienated, everyone realizes that it is the property, whether held in trust or not, of a certain individual, and that he can, up to a certain point, do what he wishes with it. For a detailed analysis of a winter or war-bundle feast see page 427.

The clan feasts were specific feasts at which offerings were made to 796
the clan animal. A good description of one is that of the Snake 614
clan on page 325. [782]

Perhaps the most characteristic ceremonies of the Winnebago were those of secret societies in which membership was dependent upon blessings from one and the same spirit. There were at least four of 575
these—the society of those who have been blessed by the night spirits, 796
the society of those who have been blessed by the buffaloes, the society [776]
of those who have been blessed by ghosts, and the society of those who have been blessed by grizzly bears.

In order to prevent any misunderstanding with regard to the buffalo societies, it might be well to point out that there were three of them—

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575 the Buffalo clan feast, the society of those who have been blessed by
796 the buffaloes, and the society of those who wear buffalo headdresses; the last apparently of Sioux origin.

The medicine dance has been described by the author in some detail,[1] and a general description will be found on page 350.

796 Of the semipermanent societies, the *hok'ize'ra* dance is given after
727 every successful war party by those four individuals who have counted coup. It has only a temporary existence, for it ceases to be an organization as soon as each individual performance is over. Its main purpose seems to be the desire to transfer to the victor, from the skulls or the scalps of the slain enemies obtained on that particular warpath, the valor and prowess for which the slain person was noted.

527 In addition to the above ceremonies there were a number of pleasure and miscellaneous dances that are described on page 379.

796 There were apparently a number of very important feasts connected
278 with certain medicines, the principal one of which was the Black Earth Medicine feast; but unfortunately no account of this was obtained, owing to lack of time.

## Ceremonies Associated With the Clans

### THE CLAN FEASTS

#### THE THUNDERBIRD CLAN OR CHIEF FEAST

796 *Introduction.*—The chief feast, or, as it may more properly be
614 called, the feast of the bird clans, is generally given once a year, sometimes in late spring. It was also given on certain other occasions for specific purposes. At the present time it is given by the members of the Thunderbird clan and the prevalence of the appellation "chief feast" would seem to indicate that it was at all times the feast of the Thunderbird clan. We ought then to expect to find clan feasts of the other members of the *waŋgeregi* division, namely, of the Warrior, Eagle, and Pigeon clans. No such feasts are given to-day, however, and the members of these latter three clans always speak of the chief or bird feast as their specific clan feast. As such it is also regarded by the members of the *maⁿnegi* division.

In the total absence of historical data it is quite useless to speculate about the significance of one feast sufficing for four clans, where in strict analogy to the feasts of the other clans we would expect to find one for each clan; yet the idea that naturally presents itself is that we are in reality dealing with one clan that has become split up
[114] into four subclans. Such a view has been expressed by J. O. Dorsey,[2] but the data upon which he based his opinion seem to us highly

[1] The Ritual and Significance of the Winnebago Medicine Dance, Journal of American Folklore, vol. XXIV, No. XCII, 1911.

[2] Siouan Sociology, 15th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 241.

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# CHAPTER XIII

## RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES BASED ON BLESSINGS FROM SPIRITS

### Society of Those Who Have Received Blessings From the Night Spirits

Informant, member of Thunderbird clan: Once a man went hunting so that he might be able to get the game with which to give a feast. All of those who were to participate in the feast went along with him. After they had killed some deer they built a lodge. Then all the other feast-givers came into the lodge, bringing something toward the feast, as well as the tobacco which they were to offer. Some brought other things, even dogs, as their contribution to the feast. The dogs would be killed, singed, then boiled, and prepared in the same way as the deer. The meat would then be mixed with dry corn. The attendants, who were generally the nephews of the feast-givers, would look after the boiling of the food. Every time they gave a feast they selected these nephews to do the cooking and the general work connected with this ceremony. 796 539 575 [252] 575 796 604 539

The nephew who acts as attendant accompanies a feast-giver on the warpath, where likewise he has to endure a great deal. Should his uncle be killed, it is his duty to be killed likewise and not to return home. [726]

He acted in this way because of his love for his uncle. The attendants do all the work whenever their uncles give a feast. They also arrange for the place where the feast is to be held; make the four invitation sticks; blacken them with charcoal and decorate them at the ends with fine and fluffy white eagle feathers. Then they prepare a bundle of tobacco containing about a pipeful. After these preparations have been made one of the nephews goes around the village and presents the invitation sticks to every individual who had been blessed by the Night Spirits. These are called the night-blessed children. The night-blessed children thanked the messengers and assured them that they now felt they were obtaining life. Then those to whom the invitation stick had been presented go around asking their relatives to accompany them to the feast. There the guest and his relatives would meet at the appointed time. All those who received invitation sticks do the same. [203]

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796
539 The host at the same time puts himself in readiness to receive the guests.

[534] The two drums to be used are placed in the proper position with tobacco on top as an offering. The two gourds to be used are arranged in the same way, with offerings of tobacco on top. These four articles are placed in a row in front of the host, who pours tobacco upon them again and asks them for life.

[782] The host now rises and speaks as follows (first, however, offering tobacco to the fire, and telling the people of his own band how he had obtained his blessing, and from what source it had come):

796 "Grandfathers, when you blessed my grandfather with life you
776 promised that as often as we would boil food for you and offer you a
539 pipeful of tobacco, you would smoke it. So it has been said. Boiled
575 water from an animal whom you considered the same as our own body, and spirit food he extended to you, as well as a pipeful of tobacco. This we also are sending you. And what could we ask of you in return but war? That it may be directed toward us, we pray you. Grandfathers, you who are called Happy Nights, when you blessed our grandfather you blessed him with endless war. So it has been said. That is what we ask for, that as you blessed our grandfather, so you bless us. We ask for the same things. You, likewise, grandfather, you who are called The-one-with-rounded-wood, when you blessed my grandfather you blessed him with life. That is what he said, and you asked him in return to make offerings of tobacco. Here is the tobacco. This night we are going to ask life of you. We desire that you give us and all who will be here to-night, life. As many people as will be seated here, we ask life for all of them."

Then all who are present rise and, holding tobacco in each hand, walk around the lodge, pouring tobacco on the drums and the [782] gourds, and some of it into the fire. They pour tobacco into the fire for the Night Spirits. For the Beings-with-rounded-wood they offer tobacco by pouring it upon the drums. The offering is made both to the drums and to the gourds directly. The tobacco bundles tied to the invitation sticks are offered to the four cardinal points and the four specially invited guests smoke this tobacco, because they are supposed to represent the four cardinal points. Behind the respective invited guests are placed two women, next to the wall, so that they might lead in the dance. When the invited guests come to the feast these women remain outside until the starting songs have been begun.

[533] The host sings these songs first and when he has finished the first invited guest enters the lodge, ejaculating peculiar sounds (that are probably meant as greetings). Continuing these sounds, he walks around the lodge until he comes to the place from which he has started. There he stops and speaks. "You who obtain life, you

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that council, relatives, all who are seated here, I greet you. It is 796
good that you have taken pity upon me. All those that I have 776
along with me, my relatives, you have caused them to think that 539
they were to obtain life; that a great life was to come to us through 575
you. And all this you have done when we were leading worthless lives. It is good. If such an invitation were to be extended to people when they are sick and weakly, it would heal them; it would overcome their illness, it is said. It is good. When I think that our sick people will get well by reason of this feast, I am thankful. Up to the present our children have all been sickly, but from now on we will have no cause to worry. I am thankful. The principal tree of the night-soldiers, standing in front of their doorway and which is in full bloom, has not a dead leaf upon it, not one that has dried. It is beautiful to look upon. They obtained it for us and caused it to come down to us, and we feel grateful. It will strengthen our families. This lodge that we have entered is like the first lodge (the night-soldiers' lodge), and just as we were strengthened by it, so will we surely be strengthened by entering this lodge to-day. In the night-soldiers' lodge fine white feathers are scattered all over the ground, ankle deep, it is said. As we are about to go over the past, we certainly will be strengthened thereby. The lodge of the night-soldiers was fair to behold from the inside, we are told. We will consider ourselves blest with life to-day, even although we are not children of the night-blessed ones, and even although we will not be able to conduct ourselves as it is meet. We will, however, do what we can in order to obtain life. You children of the night-blessed ones, who are seated around here, I greet you."

Then he sings the entrance songs and walks around the lodge. [533]
His singing is generally finished at about the time that he has made the complete circuit of the lodge. Then he starts around the lodge again uttering the peculiar sounds mentioned before, until he comes to the seat of the host. There he stops and makes a circle in the air (with his hand) and addresses him as follows:

"I greet you. A great day has come to me and all my relatives have tasted thereof in the hope that they might thereby be strengthened. I have also brought along with me a pipeful of tobacco to be given to you, that we may all be strengthened. So it is said. It is for that reason that I am acting thus and am greeting you."

With these words he concluded and walked to the place that had been assigned him in the lodge, opposite the host and, still standing, he said the following: "Children of the night-blessed spirits who are seated here around me, I greet you all. The councilor, I mean the host, has seen fit to give me and my relatives a seat. We will sit in it so that we may be strengthened thereby. We will now take our seats, but before that let me send forth my greetings to all."

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796 Then the second invited guest enters. He utters the same sounds
776 as his predecessors and makes the circuit of the lodge. When he
539 reaches the place from which he started he stops and addresses the
573 host as follows:

"Councilor, you who obtain life, relatives who are seated here, I greet you all, and your seats do I greet likewise. You that are seated in the first place, I greet you, too. All you children of the night-blest spirits who are in this lodge, I greet you. It is good that you wish me to live; that I am here. I am not a child of a night blest one, that this invitation should have been extended to me, but you probably knew the nature of my life and that is why, I suppose, you extended this honor to me. My relatives are even greater weaklings in the properties and goods of life than I am. That happens to be our manner of life. It is good. Henceforth we shall be stronger as we journey through life. Our men, women, and children shall all live in peace. As many of us as are living to-day, that many shall continue to live (on account of my participation in this ceremony). I am thankful.

"Of all the spirits that exist, these truly are in control of most life. So it is said of the Night Spirits. This is a great thing. These spirits have given us the occasion for a great conciling. Many of us are not able to take part in it, especially the one now speaking. The songs that have been used by our fathers we will not be able to sing, but whatever we say I know will be acceptable to you, children of the night-blest spirits. I send forth greetings to you all."

Then he sang an entrance song, and after he had made the circuit of the lodge, he sang another one. Then he went around the lodge again making his strange utterances, until he came in front of the host. Here he made a circle (with his hand) and stopped. Then he greeted the host as follows:

"A great day has come upon us, both upon me and upon all of my relatives. We all have tasted thereof so that we might live thereby. We have all brought you a pipeful of tobacco, just as we were told. It is said that we would thus strengthen one another, and that is why we have done it. I greet you all."

Then he went to his seat, the second one in the lodge, and sat down. Then all the members of his band sat down, each sending forth a greeting as they took their seats. When they were all seated the third man invited prepared to enter.

The third one invited now entered, uttering strange sounds, and made the circuit of the lodge, when he paused and addressed the host as follows:

"Councilors, life-obtainers, relatives who are seated in your respective seats, I greet you all. Here I have been blessed, although I am not worthy of it. My grandfather, and my father, too, once said to

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me, 'Some day when there is a dearth of people, some night-blest one will take pity on you. Submit to it.' Thus he spoke to me and what he referred to was this feast. These feasts are all sacred, but this is the most sacred one. That is what he used to tell me. It is not to be trifled with, even in respect to the rituals within the lodge. Never should one cross the lodge directly. If you trifle with this rule you will bring sorrow upon yourselves. The so-called night-soldiers are not to be trifled with. So he told me. The so-called night-soldiers, like soldiers on this earth, are stern. Truly they are stern, said my father. If we were to slight one of them we would most assuredly be punished for it, and punishment by them means death. So he spoke to me. But, said he, 'if, on the other hand, any one attends to all that pertains to this ceremony it will be a means of obtaining life. It will be a good thing to do, and one would thereby obtain a good life. Therefore, I have always looked upon the Night dance with awe, for it is a very holy thing.' So spoke my father. For that reason, consequently, whenever my father gave a Night feast he would encourage us to pay careful attention to it, and that is why I have always tried to do so. Remember, however, that I am not a child of the night-blest ones, and that, therefore, I have very little to say. However, I will start a song, which will be a greeting to this lodge, and I will sing it as I am passing around the lodge. Children of the night-blest ones, who are seated here, I greet you."

Then he sang an entrance song, first at the west end of the lodge and then near the position occupied by the host. When he had finished the circuit of the lodge he went around again, making the accustomed peculiar utterances, until he came in front of the host. There he stopped and addressed the host as follows:

"I greet you. You have caused this day to come upon me and all my relatives. We have all tasted thereof and we have all felt ourselves in connection with life. We are thankful. We have thought of this blessing of life in connection with ourselves. I greet you."

Then he walks to the place assigned to him in the west end of the tent and sits down. The other members of his band do the same, one after the other, greeting the people in the lodge at the same time.

When they are all seated the fourth one comes in. He repeats the utterances of the former guests and then starts around the lodge until he reaches the entrance. There he stops and addresses the host:

"Councilors and life-obtainers, I greet your seats. I likewise greet you, host. You who are seated in the north and you who are seated in the west, your seats I greet. Children of the night-blessed spirits who are within this lodge, all of you I greet. It is good. As far as I understand this Night ceremony is considered a life-giving one. The so-called happy Night Spirits alone are in control of most of life. So I was told, and that is why this ceremony is called a life-giving

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796 one. If I participated in this ceremony, I would be able to call it life,
776 I was told. But I did not pay any attention to it. They told me it
539 was good and that I would at the same time be making offerings to
575 Those-with-the-rounded-wood, and that thus I would be able to make use of all the plants that these spirits control, so that I would never be embarrassed when I wished to use them. I have caused people [824] who were ill to become well by means of this ceremony. All of the plants that these spirits control are good ones, and it is easy to obtain life with them. In this ceremony we may also obtain life by dancing. But we must dance earnestly. The leaders of this ceremony have held council over everything, and yet they have selected us for a seat of honor, so that we might greet them in this lodge and that we might be able to use this song while greeting them. You children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you all."

Then he sang an entrance song, and when he finished he repeated the utterances used in entering and gradually made the circuit of the lodge singing. When he was through singing, he again continued the utterances until he came to the place of the host, where he made the circle (with his hands) and stopped. Then he addressed the host as follows:

"I greet you. You wish me to live, and therefore caused a great day to come upon me and upon all my relatives. We have all received a taste of it, and we have all thought of ourselves in connection with life. We are also bringing you a pipeful of tobacco, so that we may strengthen one another. That is what we thought and that is why we are doing it. I greet you."

Then he walked around the lodge until he came to his seat. There he stopped and addressed his seat as follows:

"Seat that is reserved for me and for my relatives, we are about to sit in you; we will do it, and we will think that our lives have been helped thereby. I greet you." Thus he spoke and sat down. Then all the other members of his band sat down one by one.

When they were all seated the lodge was full. Then the host rose and spoke as follows:

"You who are seated in the first position, I greet you; you who are seated in the north position, I greet you; you who are seated in the west position, I greet you; and you who are seated at the end of the
539 road, I greet you. Children of the night-blessed ones who are here, I
796 greet you. My father and my grandfather spoke to me of this cere-
776 mony, and they told me it was good. They told me that the one
787 who first obtained it was named 'Little Red Turtle.' He fasted and
575 was blessed by those whom he called the Beings-with-round-wood. By these was he blessed at the noon hour, and he was taught what to do. There they taught him all. At a place where the stars [825] touched land they caused it to become night, and there they blessed

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him and taught him how to make four circles and also certain songs. 539
Since then this ceremony has been performed. He was really blessed, 796
and he was told exactly how everything should be performed. So it is 776
said. As he was very fond of the Night feast, he spoke in its behalf, 787
and told of all the medicines that were associated with it and of 575
the use to which they could be put. I myself know that these medicines are good to live on. If anyone uses them he will receive benefits therefrom and his children will receive life. I know that they are good. I would not have you think that I am one of those blessed by the Night Spirits because I say this. But I know that all the medicines of which I have personal charge and to which I make offerings of tobacco, for whom I boiled food, always make the individual to whom I offer them the better for it, provided that I do everything correctly. I was told to do this, and that is why I do it. I am now going to sing some songs audibly, and all these songs will be songs about medicines. I know that we will cause you to fan your faces (from perspiration brought on by making you work too hard), but forgive us for it. Children o' the night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you, and to take the place of their sister whom they always place ahead of them so we also will have our sisters lead the dance for us."

Two women now rise and stand side by side in front of the men and 786
hold, one in each hand, the invitation sticks that had been returned. 575
These two women lead in the dance. The men who shake the gourds 539
stand with their backs to the women, facing the drummers. All sing together and all the dancers have partners at their sides. It is a very interesting dance. Then all get up and start around the lodge, making strange utterances. When they have made the complete circuit of the lodge they stop and sing. When they finish this song they start around the lodge again, repeating the utterances. They stop at the west end of the tent, where they sing again. They thus sing at both ends of the lodge. They use all the songs they intend to. When the last song is over the individual who has sung it makes four circles and then takes the drum, gourd, tobacco, etc., and places them in front of the guest who occupies the first seat of honor. Then all sit down. Then the east leader rises and speaks as follows:[10]

"Councilors and life-obtainers, relatives who are seated here, I send you all greetings; and to you who are on the north side, and you who are on the west side, and you who are at the end of the road, your seats I greet. Our host has passed over to me the means of our meditation, the instruments through which we ask life. This instrument for asking life is the foremost thing we possess, so the old people said. We are thankful for it. We know that Earthmaker

[10] From now on we will see the terms East Leader, North Leader, West Leader, and South Leader to designate, respectively, the first, second, third, and fourth speakers in the order of their invitations.

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did not put us in charge of anything, and that for that reason the tobacco we received is our greatest and foremost thing. So the old people said. We were told that we should use it to ask for life. This must have been what they meant. This, the instrument with which to ask life, is, I feel sure, sufficient to attract them and they will surely take notice of it. We may also follow him who is taking the place of the spirits, and we will consider all those who are in the lodge blest. Those whom we call Nights have been offered tobacco, and the same has been offered to the four cardinal points, and to all the life-giving plants. To this many tobacco has been offered. It will strengthen us. This is what we call imitating the spirits, and that is why we are doing it. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you all. The song we will now start is a pipe-lighting song."

When he finished singing he greeted all those in the lodge and then he lit his pipe. Then he took a number of puffs. First he inhaled some smoke and blew it toward the east, then toward the north, then toward the west, then toward the south. Then he passed [782] it around and all smoked, except the host, who is not permitted to do so. Then the east leader spoke again as follows:

"Night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you. The instrument with which to ask life I will now place here, and if any of you want to fill your pipes you may do so."

Then the leader of the north band rose and spoke as follows:

"Councilors and life-obtainers, you who sit in the direction where the day comes from, you who sit on the other side, in the west, and you who sit at the end of the road, your seats I all greet. We, too, have been anxious to obtain the instrument whereby we ask life, and therefore we fill a pipe for ourselves. I greet you."

Then the leader of the south band rose and said as follows:

"If the leader of the north band has finished his greeting, I also would very much like to have the instrument with which we ask life brought to me. We will immediately go and fill a pipe. I am speaking now because I wish to tell you what I intend to do. I greet you."

The leader of the north band did not pass the pipe that he had filled all around the lodge, but merely passed it to the members of his band. Only they smoked from it. In the same way the leaders of the other bands, with the exception of the host's band, passed the pipe only to members of their individual band. Only the host passed his pipe all around the lodge. When the smoking was over the leader of the east band rose and greeted everyone. Then he spoke as follows:

[787 776] "Our grandfathers used to carry on this ceremony, I have been told. They told me that if at any time the giver of this ceremony

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can not find enough people to invite he would take pity on me. This is what I should say, my father told me. In the direction from which the day comes, there where the Nights are, live the night-soldiers, who blessed my grandfather and who made him try his powers in the middle of the ocean—there where it is deepest. They placed a round object of wood before him, and the night-soldiers said that they would not take it away, and that every time my grandfather tried to seize it he would not miss. 'You have done well, human, you have won,' they said to him. For this reason it was considered an instrument of war, he told me. If you do your utmost in offering tobacco, it will be an instrument of war, he said.

And he also said the following: "All the plants with which I have been blessed are useful and a person can receive life through them if he takes good care of them. These plants can be very powerful and some of them can even be used in playing jokes, we are told. But we have never used any of them in such a manner, for if we did our plants would surely lose their strength. I have been told that should I frequently use any of my plants for the purpose of playing jokes and then for the purpose of curing a sick person, they would have no power at all. If, however, I never used them in jokes my medicine would always be powerful. Therefore I have never used them in that manner. Nor have I ever poisoned anyone with them. I never considered myself great or used a Night's trick-medicine or used fire, although I was told I could do so. This I never did. When I use one of the plants I like to have it do its work. I am saying this, although I am not a child of the night-blest ones. It is now about time to permit our sisters to get hold of the 'chief sticks' and to permit them to sit here and sing together with us."

The women are then permitted to take two sticks apiece and sing wherever they are sitting. As soon as the men sing the women join in.

"This is the way to do, I was told, and that is why I am doing it. Children of the night-blessed ones, who are seated here in this lodge, I send you all greeting."

When he is through with his starting song he stands up and speaks to them again, as follows:

"Night-blest ones who are within this lodge, I greet you. I was not invited to take this seat because I was a wise man. I do not for a moment imagine that, but it was done in order to help me obtain life. We will now rise and go forth and we will brush against your faces, but you must take pity on us. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you. We will not remain seated here but we will rise and go forth in order to obtain the round stick. That is why I am making this announcement to you. I greet you."

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They then rise and make four circuits of the lodge, first stopping at the first seat, then at the second, then at the third, and lastly at the fourth. When they get back to their starting place they sing dancing songs, first stopping at the west end of the lodge and then at the entrance. This they repeat. By this time all the songs they had intended using have been sung, so they make four circuits of the lodge and then, taking the drum, gourd, etc., place it in front of the north band. When the dancers are all seated the leader of the north band rises, and greeting everyone speaks as follows:

"I was not pitied because I was a child of the night-blest ones, my father told me. Yet if I performed my duties aright I would be able to make the proper speeches when called upon, I was told. That I have been pitied now is due to the fact that these people here wished to have me obtain life. Certainly my invitation to this ceremony has made me think of life, as my father used to tell me. I do not for a moment imagine that they invited me because I was a great man. Nevertheless my father told me to say that it was good; and that if I really meant all that I said, my life would certainly be strengthened thereby. My father knew how to perform this ceremony correctly, but I am not able to do so. Although I was told it was a good thing, nevertheless I was not able to pour tobacco. Those whom we call the Ones-with-the-rounded-wood are in charge of very much life and they are holy. This affair is not a thing to be trifled with, my father told me. Yet in spite of this we will sing some songs, even though we know that we will not be able to sing them as they have been sung heretofore. Perhaps, however, you will be kind enough to be satisfied with whatever we do. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you."

Then he sang the starting song, and when he was finished he rose again and, greeting all, spoke as follows:

"When Those-with-the-rounded-wood start to walk their sisters are placed in front of them. Our sisters we will now place in front of us, so that thereby they may be blest with life and hold the principal sticks and staffs. We will use the toys so that we may be strengthened thereby, we think, and that is why I greet you."

Then they permit the women to lead the procession. These women walk in front, side by side, and are followed by the ones carrying the gourds, who dance with their backs toward them. Then come the drummers and the feast-givers, and after these, all those who desire to join in. They walk around the lodge making strange utterances. Four times do they make the circuit of the lodge and then they come and stop at the east end, where they sing. When they are through here they start around the lodge again and stop at the west end and sing. Then they start again, making the same strange utterances as before, until they come to the east end of the

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lodge, where they sing once more. When they have in this manner 776
sung all the songs that they wish to use the leader of the north 575
band makes the four circles as before and brings the tobacco, gourds, 539
etc., to the west band. Then they all take their seats. Now the leader of the west band rises and speaks as follows:

"Councilors, life-obtainers, relatives, to you all who are seated here, I send forth my greetings. You who occupy the first seat, you who occupy the north seat, and you who occupy the seat at the end of the road, I greet. I do not mean to say anything of consequence. I was taught this ceremony, but I do not know anything about it. However, I always honored it, for I was told that it was a good thing. Indeed, I knew it, but I could never perform it well. I was told that if I performed it well I would obtain life thereby, just as others have done. Well, some of you are able to do it. It is a very great council feast. How, indeed, can the spirits ignore what you have done for them to-day? If they acknowledge it, we who are representing the directions will receive blessings through the host who is giving the feast. That is what I mean. When we hold our mediators (that is, the drums, tobacco, etc.) we will be strengthened thereby. So with this in our minds, let us take and hold them. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you."

Then he sang the starting song, and when he had finished he rose and spoke again.

"Councilors, I send you greetings, as well as to you who sit in the first seat, to you who sit in the north, and to you who sit at the end of the road. It is said that when the night-soldiers come they walk over the entire extent of the earth. When they blessed my grandfather they blessed him with life. So he used to say of himself. We will now plead for these powers in our songs. We will place our sisters in front and follow them. That is what I wanted to announce to you. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you."

Then they made the complete circuit of the lodge until they came to the place where they had been sitting. There they made a circle. Then they made another circuit of the lodge and stopped in front of the south position and made a circle. Here they made another circuit of the lodge and stopped at the east end and made a circle. Then they made the last circuit of the lodge and stopped in front of the north band and made a circle. By this time all the songs that they were to use had been sung. The leader now made four circuits and brought the gourds, drum, tobacco, etc., in front of the south band. All now took their seats and when they were seated the leader of the south band arose and spoke as follows:

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"Councilors, life-obtainers, I greet you. You who sit in the first seat, you who sit in the north, and you who sit in the west, I greet. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated within this lodge, I greet you all. It is good that to-night you have tried to imitate your grandfathers, that you have tried to take the place of the spirits. You have said enough with which to obtain life. But I am more unfortunate. I can never do what my ancestors did or say what they said, and for that reason I suppose my talk will be quite worthless. I was told that if at any time I should be pitied, not to talk foolishly about this ceremony. If I am a bad man I will act foolishly in this affair, I was told.

"My grandfather was blessed by those whom we call the night-soldiers, who blessed him with certain utterances. As many blackbirds as there are, that many appeared to him as Night Spirits. Our utterances will be an imitation of those he received when he was blessed. We can only guess at these.

"We were told that when we hold the mediators we will be strengthened by them. Night-blessed spirits who are seated here, I greet you."

Then he began the starting songs, and when these were finished he rose and spoke again.

"Councilors, life-obtainers, I greet your seats. You who sit in the east, you who sit in the north, and you who sit in the west, I greet you all. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you. Those whom we call night-soldiers treated their sisters as holy and placed them in front. In imitation of these soldiers we will now put our sisters in front, so that we may be strengthened thereby. I wish to announce that we now place the women at the head of our procession. Let us all come together, so that we may be strengthened. That is our desire and that is what we are pleading for. I greet you."

When they are ready to begin the dancing songs all rise and form in line, having the women lead them. Then the men with the gourds, their backs turned to the women, follow, then the drummers. Then all those join who feel so inclined. When they have finished all the songs they intend to use they bring back the drum, gourd, etc., to the middle of the lodge and stop dancing. Then they return to their seats and then the leader rises and says:

"Councilors, relatives who are seated here, I greet you. You who are seated in the first seat, you who sit in the north, and you who sit in the west, night-blest ones who are within this lodge, I greet you all. Whenever a night-blessed child holds council, when he is invited to a feast and is given the position at the end of the road, the intention of the feast-giver is to enable him to obtain life. So they told me, and that is what they meant. Most assuredly have they caused me to think of life. When I hold the mediators in my

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hand I am holding life, and when I pass them on to the others, to my relatives and to my sisters, I am passing on life to all of them. In this way were we made to think of life. I will not detain you any longer. All that I wish to say is that I am thankful. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you." 796 575 539

Then he sat down and the host rose and spoke as follows:

"You who sit in the east, you who sit in the north, you who sit in the west, and you who sit at the end of the road, I greet you all. It is good. This is what I wanted but have not been able to say. You, however, told it all in my place. It is good. Of all things this is the foremost, it is said. The instruments with which to ask life you have placed before me. That alone is enough to live on and that you have done for me. It is good. Your forefathers dreamed just as the spirits did, and how they obtained life, all of that you have told me to-night. It is good. You have said enough to obtain life. It is good. I say this because I am thankful. If you do anything, do it in the right way, I was told. I understand this ceremony, but nevertheless what I have done is the best I could do. I will now place the food before you. I am an old man, but I have always performed this affair just as I have performed it to-day, and, although I know that I have not done it in the right way, yet it was my turn to do it, and I did it. I am an old man, and for that reason I am not able to procure meat anywhere. My relatives helped me and that is why I have been able to do it. Here are four kettles of hot water. I will place them in the center of the lodge for you. The one in the east and the one in the north and the one in the west and the one at the end of the road; each one may have it. Children of the night-blessed ones, all who are seated here, to all do I send greeting."

Then the leader of the east band rose and said: "Councilors, I greet you. You who sit over there in the north, you who sit in the west, and you who sit at the end of the road, I greet you all. Children of the night-blessed ones who are in this lodge, I greet you. We are all to arise soon and that is why I announce this."

Then the leader of the north band rose and said: "We also will rise, as it is our turn. We greet you all."

Then the leader of the west band rose and said: "The time has come for us to rise. I and my relatives will now rise. We greet you all."

Then the leader of the south band rose and said: "Councilors, I greet you. I greet all who have been blessed by the Night Spirits, each one in turn. We are now going to rise."

Then the leader of the east band said again: "Councilors, I greet you. We will now greet the hot water and I will use a song."

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796 Then the leader of the north band said: "I also will start a song.
575 I greet you."
539 Then the leader of the west band said: "I also will start a song. I greet you."

Then the leader of the south band said: "I also will start a song. I greet you."

Then the leader of the east band sang a song, and the other leaders sang their songs. Each band sang its own songs, not paying any attention to the songs of the others. Each band sang different songs. This they do in order to drown the voices of the others. Should one band overcome the other, it means that that particular band would be blessed with victory in war. What they were really saying is that their songs were more powerful than the others, and that their grandfathers' songs were the holiest. Then they all danced around the lodge, single file, and made their exit from the lodge. While they were dancing, the host sat still singing and beating his drum. They carry their kettles outside. Wherever they wish to eat, there they go and dance around the kettle of food first. Then they eat their meal. They dance in different bands.

796 The ceremony finishes with this feast. It is customary, however,
575 for the one who has been given the seat of honor, that is, the east
[554] seat, to give a feast immediately afterwards. Then the one who has been invited first would do the same thing, so that all four would in this manner give dances in rotation. For this reason it generally took five nights before the ceremony was over. During those five nights no one could sleep. It is from this fact that the word, "Sore-eye Dance," which is the general term used for this ceremony, originated. If a person does not sleep for five nights, his eyes generally get sore, and that is why they call this ceremony the "Sore-eye Dance."

796 Sometimes they perform night-spirit tricks. These would be of
789 the following nature: A kettle is put on to boil and some individual
575 fishes out a piece of meat bare-handed without getting burned. At other times they shoot a hole into a drum covering, using a wild-cat claw as a missile. Then they immediately mend it.

When a man is very bad they shoot him with an object and kill him. They used to be very much afraid of such people. Sometimes they take a handful of live coals and embers from the fire, put them into their mouth and then spit them out without getting burned. It is for this reason that they are called holy. Sometimes they take burnt portions of a tree that had been struck by lightning, put them in the fire, and then when they are red hot take them out again and put them in their mouths without extinguishing them. They then spit them out, and it would look like lightning. Or they would shoot one another with cold charcoal. This is all that I know.

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Once a medicine-dance man and a night-blessed man became jealous and the medicine-dance man said that he would play tricks on the night-blessed man. The night-blessed man said he was quite willing to have a contest. So the two came and sat opposite each other and began their contest. Whatever the medicine-dance man did the night-blessed man did too, but always a little better. The medicine-dance man was defeated, so from that time on the medicine-dance men are afraid of the former. The medicine-dance men shot the night-blessed men with claws, but they could not kill them. Therefore they were afraid of them. The night-blessed men could kill the medicine-dance men at pleasure. The medicine-dance men were inferior. That is all. 756 575 578 [754]

## Society of Those Who Have Been Blessed By the Herok'a

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The feast of those who have been blessed by the Herok'a is given at any time of the year. Anyone may be invited. The feast is held in a long lodge and is generally given by a number of members at the same time (or by all). Each person brings a deer and his bow and arrows. The bows and arrows are painted different colors, depending upon the color (paint) with which the individual has been blessed. The bows are all stuck in the ground between the first two fireplaces and the arrows in a row just behind them. 796 575

During the ceremony and feast the members all sing the songs with which they have been blessed. The ceremony is held before the feast and is conducted by one of the members of the society. He leads, holding a bow in one hand. The others follow, holding arrows in their hands. Only men are permitted to dance. There are certain songs, to the accompaniment of which women are permitted to dance. But the women must have passed their climacteric.

They do not use gourd rattles as at the other dances. Instead a number of deer hoofs are strung together and used in place of them. (They do not eat with their hands or with the ordinary sticks) but use instead forked sticks, whittled down at one end. The leader wears a headdress to which a horn is attached, and paints his body with the same color as his arrows. Whoever leads the dance carries a flute, which he plays before and after each song. Those following him hit their mouth with the palm of their hands and whoop. [534]

When the dance is over, each one of the feasters takes his plate and dances out.[11]

[11] This account of the Herok'a Society is unfortunately merely fragmentary, but from a few additional notes obtained there seems to be little doubt that it represents the same type of organization as the other religious fraternities.

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## Society of Those Who Have Been Blessed By the Buffalo Spirits

796 575 539 Informant, member of the Bear clan: "Come, it is the time for giving the Buffalo Feast," said my father, "so tell the attendants to get ready; and you, third-born, if you see anyone, tell him about the feast that we are going to give."

So I went to Fire-starter and said, "Nephew, my father is about to give a feast, and he wants his attendants to get ready. You are to go over to his lodge and get a few more attendants to help you. We also will get ready right away." Then I greeted him and he said, "All right, I will go and get some to help me." I returned to my father and told him what I had done. He told me to go and inform those who were to take part in the feast that they were to bring food. This I likewise did and returned with the information that they would all do as desired.

Now the attendants arrived and asked what was expected of them. They were told to haul the wood and cut the poles to be used in building the lodge, prepare the fireplaces, and put the kettles on the fire. After that they were to go and tell the young women to get the food ready. When the drum was fixed and the food prepared, then the feast would begin, they were told.

"Well, Green-hair, my nephew, it is about time for you to go down toward the timber and invite the people. You, my nephew, Fire-starter, may go to those who possess war bundles and invite them. Go especially to Strikes-the-earth-with-his-wings and tell him that he must come immediately. When you come back, Green-hair, get the earth mound (*ma"warup'urura*) ready. Construct two of them in the lodge. Then place upon them all the things that we are going to use in the dance."

The drum, the flute, the buffalo tails, the buffalo heads were all painted and placed there.

Then the feasters arrived. He-who-strikes-with-his-wings was to sit opposite Fleet-one. When all had entered and were seated Hodja'noka arose and spoke:

"War-bundle owners, all you who have been blessed by the buffalo-spirits and are seated here, you who are taking the place of the spirits and giving counsel like them, I thank you and greet you all. You are taking the place of the spirits. Just as we ask for long life from the spirits, so do we ask the same of you. Relatives, I know I am going to tire you all out, but do not take it amiss. What we long for, aid us in obtaining. Life is what I wish.

"What I am doing now I did not originate, for my ancestor [787] Hodja'noka was the one blessed by the buffalo-spirits. When he was a child he was blessed by them and they gave him a certain

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787
plant and blessed him with long life and with victorious warpaths. 796
He asked to be remembered by Hodja'noka in his offerings. The 575
buffalo-spirit told him that if he would pour tobacco for him, and 539
give feasts and make offerings of eagle feathers, the blessings he had [782]
given him would last forever.

"All these blessings were handed down to my father. These I also was taught. This life do we pray for and we have asked you all to come and help us. We thank you for it. As soon as the 796
attendants are finished with the preparation of the food then we 575
will eat. Our servants may perhaps burn their hands while pre- 539
paring the food, but they will obtain life by so doing. Those who possess war bundles are always told to help one another and I know that you have come here for that reason. Life I am seeking and that is why I am giving this feast. Help me, all you owners of bundles who are present here. I will now sing some of the songs that Hodja'noka taught us. You who have obtained blessings, I greet you."

Then he sang the following songs:

*Song 1* [53]

Nangura homa'ni hiwiñ. (Repeat.)
In the road walk let him do.

*Song 2*

Hodja'noka hamani'winê. (Repeat.)
Hodjanoka Walk by.

*Song 3*

Kâra Hodja'noka hamani'winê.
Say, Hodjanoka Walk by.

*Dancing song*

Hodja'noka trawani'ro. (Repeat.)
Hodjanoka go toward.
Ezhu'na. (Repeat twice.) Wiga'rê. (Repeat twice.)
It is coming say to them.

As soon as Hodja'noka finished his songs, then all the objects (drum, gourds, etc.) were passed to He-who-strikes-the-earth-with-his-wings, and he rose and spoke:

"Brother-in-law, councilors, relatives, all who are seated here, I greet you. You who have been blessed with bundles, I greet likewise. You are taking the place of the spirits. It is good. We are trying to encourage one another and we have come to help you. We have brought you food for the feast. We also are desirous of obtaining long life and that is why we have brought our offerings, for we know the buffalo-spirits will accept them, as they are very tempting. You who are taking the place of the spirits, I greet you."

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796 515 Then he sings some songs and dances and passes the drum, etc., to the next guest and so it, in turn, is passed on until the fourth invited guest is reached. Then the drum is replaced in the center of the lodge.[19]

[782] Informant, unknown clan:[20] Buffalo feasts are given in spring, in fall, and in midwinter. No meat is offered, but only vegetables. The buffaloes said that maple sugar is their favorite food, so when this feast is given they always have some maple sugar along with the other things. The buffalo feast always takes place in a long lodge. The attendants make the lodge and boil all the food. When the kettles have been placed on the fire those giving the feast enter. The earth mound is now constructed and tobacco offered to it. All those giving the feast pour tobacco on the earth mound, asking for victory in war. When this is finished they sing buffalo songs, starting with the initial songs. When they are ready to sing the dancing songs the feast-giver rises and speaks as follows:

"The dancing songs that we are about to sing we use because we believe that our offering will thus be accepted. It is generally the custom to do this."

He now calls on some one to lead in the dance. This individual is always taken from the Buffalo clan. He comes forward, placing the buffalo head on his own head and carrying the buffalo tail attached to himself. He leads in all the dances, the others following him. A plate of maple sugar is placed at the buffalo mound. When he approaches the buffalo mound he makes a noise like a buffalo, sticks his tongue to the plate of sugar, and licks up some of it. Those following do the same. This they do without even holding the dish, just as buffaloes eat. When they finish their dancing they pass the drum on to another person, and when it has made the circuit of the lodge they eat. Each person has his own dish. Then the leader in the dance is told that the dish of wild rice standing in the center of the lodge is meant for him, and that he can invite whomsoever he likes to help him. When all in the lodge are ready they start eating all at the same time. When those in the center of the lodge get through and the dish is empty it is thrown over their heads, and they do not stop this until the dish has been turned upside down. While they are engaged in doing this they bellow like buffaloes. They are not allowed to use their hands in turning the dish over. They must do it with their heads, for it is a sacred thing and that is the way the buffaloes used to do it. When they are all through eating the feast-giver sings a dancing song and all those within the lodge rise, take their plates, and dance out of the lodge.

[19] In this account it is not quite clear whether the drum is merely passed to the four principal guests or to all. At the buffalo dance witnessed by the writer in the summer of 1909 it was passed only to the four principal guests. This was also corroborated by a number of informants.

[20] The origin myth of this feast is given on page 302.

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*Description of buffalo dance and its origin.* Informant, member of Bear clan: The buffalo dance can be given by anybody who has been blessed by the buffalo spirits. In the beginning the Winnebago had animal forms, and they could obtain all the power they wanted, but since they left that stage of life they can obtain power only by fasting. John's buffalo feast is of recent origin. It originated with his grandfather. 796 575 [787]

A long lodge is prepared and in the center there is a pile of loose dirt. John's grandfather's name was Hodjanaga, Young-man-just-maturing. In fasting he found out that he was blessed with powers to cure the sick and be victorious in battle. While fasting, the spirits told him that he would receive what he was longing for. They told him that he would know what to do, for they would come after him. Soon they came after him and took him into camp (i. e., spirit country). When he got there, he saw an old man and a child, and he was told that it was on account of the child that he had been brought there; that the child had heard his prayers while fasting and had blessed him. Then they showed him a certain herb and told him, "This is what we give you. It will give you strength in running. Use it in time of war, and use it also as medicine for life. I have blessed you and given you what you desired and do you, in turn, make me a dog feast and give me red feathers, tobacco, and food." Then they taught him the songs and gave him a buffalo tail and a flute. 796 575 787

No invitation sticks are used. They go around and invite those whom they want. 796 575

When the grasses are well developed, then the Buffalo clan people make a feast to their life or clan; also in midwinter, for that is the time when all the spirits awaken from their night's sleep and turn over on the other side. [203]

## Society of Those Who Have Been Blessed By the Grizzly Bear

Informant, member of Bear clan: The grizzly-bear dance was given by those who had been blessed during their fasting by the grizzly bear. Women were never so blessed, and for that reason they never could participate in the dance. Different people received different blessings. We were blessed with two grizzly-bear heads, grizzly-bear hides, and paws. In the lodge constructed for the dance was placed a mound of earth called ma*warap'uru. The ma*warap'uru is supposed to represent a bear's cave, the four points of the cross representing the entrances to the cave and the four lines running to the center, the paths along which the grizzly bear travels when he scents a man. The place in the middle is supposed to be the habitation of the bear himself. Tobacco and red feathers are placed both in the center and at the four points. 796 575 787 [569] [782]

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796 575 [787] in the center and at the four points. Only people who had been blessed by the grizzly bear were permitted to sing and dance. The dancing itself took place both around the lodge and around the ma"warap'uru. The dancers are supposed to imitate the motions and the cries of the grizzly bear. Sometimes they whirl themselves round and round, like a grizzly bear, but their principal motion consists in stretching out their hands. In this position they will take tobacco from the ma"warap'uru and eat it. They believe that they are representing the bears when they do this.

The dancers are selected by the one giving the dance. Those taking part vie with each other in exhibiting the powers with which they have been blessed, because in this way those present could see who possessed the greatest powers.

The purpose of the dance was to thank the grizzly bears for the blessings they had bestowed upon the people. (However, there seemed to be many other special occasions for which the dance was performed.)

If sick people are present at the dance they are told to put some tobacco on the ma"warap'uru and ask for life.

There is a description of the grizzly-bear dance in the account of Little Priest's life which it might be well to append here in view of the brevity of the above description.

796 755 575 "Little Priest had been wounded in so many places that he was practically dead. He was, of course, entirely unconscious when his relatives arrived. They decided to perform the grizzly-bear dance for him. He himself had been blessed by the grizzly bears when he was young.

"The dance was to be given at the lodge of an Indian named Good Soldier. They carried Little Priest to the lodge in a blanket, so that they could sing for him and permit him to show the powers he possessed. He was unable to move on account of the wounds and the bruises he had gotten. The man who sang for him at that time was South-Wind. There were all in all ten Indians, entirely naked, except for their breechclouts. Little Priest had told South-Wind that he was a grizzly bear and that he could heal himself (no matter how badly he had been wounded).

"As soon as the songs and dancing commenced Little Priest began to move his little fingers. Soon he was able to move his arm as far as his forearm, and gradually he regained the power of moving the entire arm. Finally he sat up and began to keep time on the drum. Then he tried to stand on his feet, but owing to his weakness it was only with the greatest difficulty that he could straighten out his body. Finally he stood erect. Then he started to walk around the lodge very slowly. The second circuit he made more easily, and by the time he had made the fourth circuit he was dancing just as the

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other dancers were with all his strength restored. Then he walked to the ma"warup'uru, took some earth, rubbed it on his wounds, and they were healed immediately. There was only one wound that he could not heal, which was situated on a part of his back that he could not reach with his hands." 796 755 575

He sang many songs while dancing. These songs were the ones that the spirits had taught him when they blessed him.

GRIZZLY BEAR SONGS

1

Newine'na newine'na ha"ptra"nê. [533
I am he, I am he, the day it is I. 539]

2

Ha'na"nin̨gu"ne'k'tce hinin̨gai'rê nink'tca'i"nin̨kara d,anûgs'grê.
That you would be you were by the children as many as there are.
listened to told

3

Ma"trô'ja" ho'dadjohi'rara.
The grizzly bear was starting to roam.

4

Wa'wonatra"t'i" nihe'ka.
Shouting you can hear him.
Ho'ratra"t'i" nihe'ka.
His voice you can hear.

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four warriors who have counted coup on the last warpath form the units of organization. The peculiarity of the War-bundle Feast is that it belongs not merely to one of these types but to two of them. 796x 571

The war bundles were originally family possessions and were, in the opinion of the writer, only secondarily associated with the clan as such. They represent a complex of blessings received from various spirits who are supposed to control the fortunes of war. They were handed down from one generation to another in the same family, but not necessarily to the eldest son, and could as a matter of default pass out of the hands of the immediate family. The individual who received the war bundle was that one who had by his interest, knowledge, character, and accomplishments demonstrated to the full satisfaction of the elder generation, more specifically to the elder generation represented by his father and close male relatives of his father's generation, that he was capable of continuing the ceremonials in a proper manner. It follows from this that he would have to be a well-known warrior. Now, it is customary among all the woodland tribes for a warrior who is about to start on a warpath to give a feast to which he invites all the other warriors, from among whom he, of course, has to draw his recruits; and at this feast he explains the nature of the contemplated warpath and his warrant—i. e., the thoroughness of the specific blessings he has received—for starting it. 778 [422] [787] [428] 554 778 [721 527]

In other words, we will have to picture to ourselves the war-bundle feast as originally a gathering of warriors preparatory to the starting out of a war party, in which the part of the host was always taken by the leader of the prospective war party. All of the well-known warriors were likely to have war bundles, and thus the basis for the development of what is, to all intents and purposes, a society of those who had war bundles was always present potentially. It is believed, however, that at the time the Winnebago culture was still in the formative stage this aspect of the gathering was entirely secondary, and that primarily it was a gathering of warriors for the immediate purpose of going on a warpath. 796x 721 575

It may perhaps be interesting to go into some details of how this "society" aspect of a gathering of warriors developed. This development probably took two lines—first, a religious one, and secondly, one of definite organization. It would be quite erroneous to say that it took these lines of evolution, because it is in the nature of societies thus to develop. This originally temporary organization took these lines of development because of the presence in the war-bundle ritual of two factors—first, fasting experiences associated with the same spirits, and, second, the influence of the clan organization.

Only a small number of spirits were specifically associated with success in war, and these were Disease-giver, Thunderbirds, Sun, and the Night Spirits. [776]

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the Night Spirits. All the warriors who possessed war bundles would of necessity have to receive blessings from these, although in different cases one or the other may have bestowed the more important powers.

The prominence given to the Thunderbird in the first and to the Night Spirits in the second division give the ceremony a most marked resemblance to societies like the Night Spirit society. In the second division it is even essential to have been blessed by the Night Spirits in order to play a certain rôle. There would thus develop the consciousness of community of interest due to the fact that as individuals they were bound together by blessings received from the same spirits, a feeling that was certain to be still further strengthened since, in all likelihood, most of the possessors of war bundles belonged to societies where this actually was the common bond. The religious and ceremonial aspect would thus of necessity be reinforced. The prayers for success on the warpath of course always existed, but as the extraneous religious and ceremonial influences became stronger and more insistent and as—and this should never be forgotten—the pursuit of war became less and less important, owing to the breaking down of the culture consequent upon the advent of the whites, these extraneous factors became, if not dominant at least almost equal in importance to the historically older aspect; and our original gathering of warriors, while still remaining a gathering of warriors, also became a ceremonial organization, in which offerings were made to the entire Winnebago pantheon of spirits. The great war spirits were still all-important, but their position was contested by so distinctive a peace deity as Earthmaker and such deities as Earth, Moon, and Water. The prayers for success in war were perhaps still the most insistent, but prayers for life, not life merely that success in war may be longer, but prayers for the whole content of life, were offered up. Disease-giver was appealed to not merely to bestow upon man the greatest of all war honors, killing an enemy right in the midst of his tribesmen, but also to ward off disease from the supplicants.

Still, as great as have been these extraneous influences, the character of the feast as originally one purely connected with war comes out in numerous ways in the association, for instance, of war powers with Earthmaker, Moon, and Earth, and significantly enough, in the absence of the more specific religious associations such as are met with in the Medicine dance.

Let us turn now to the development of the organization of the feast. The development of a fixed type of organization is not absolutely necessary. Societies may exist only for certain occasions, such as the return from a warpath, like the Hôk'tsc'ra dance or preparatory to the starting of a war party, and be practically nonexistent afterwards. Such are the temporary war feasts of the Ojibway, for instance. However, one all important circumstance prevented this

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614 this twofold interpretation really represents the war bundle in a two-
778 fold aspect, first apart from its association with the war-bundle feast and second from its association therewith.

That the clan is the unit of organization comes out clearly from the following facts: First, there are as many burkskins offered as there are clans; secondly, the order in which the guests are invited
[554] is determined by the reciprocal relations existing between the different clans; and, thirdly, by references in the speeches. That the clan unit, on the other hand, has influenced the ceremonial aspect of the feast is apparent from the fact that offerings are made to the clan animals. For example, in the following ceremony offerings are made to the Eagle and Wona'ɣire Uaɣkrik, who seem to be of slight importance apart from their association with the clan.

x 796 The ceremonial unit in all Winnebago societies consists of four
[901] bands, four representing the sacred number, and the ritual consists of the passing of the paraphernalia from one to the other unit until
621 it returns to the host. The war-bundle feast corresponds to the
571 other societies in every respect, except that instead of four there are ten bands (with the band of the host, representing the eleven existing clans of the tribe). Had not the consciousness of the relation of the war bundle to the clan been so strong the ceremonial unit would probably have been found here, as it is found in all the other ceremonies.

x 796 Summing up, then, we may say that the war-bundle feasts represent a mixed type corresponding exactly to no other Winnebago ceremony, and that beginning as a war feast it developed in addi-
[575 tion some of the features of a secret society of the type exemplified
614] by the Night Spirit society, with a unit of organization based on the clan; and that finally it became a general feast of thanksgiving to the entire Winnebago pantheon.[1]

## CHARACTERIZATION OF THE SPIRITS MENTIONED IN THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST

776 All the spirits to whom offerings are made in the war-bundle feast are guardian spirits, with the exception of Earthmaker. Some of them are conceived of as being human, while others have animal forms, and still others have an indeterminate body. The peculiar spirit, Disease-giver, has a form of his own, his body being divided into two halves, one half dispensing death and the other life. Earthmaker has no form, and in the few cases that he has been known to bless individuals he always lets his presence be known by some sign. There is generally a difference between the conception of the spirit as such and the form that he is supposed to assume

[1] The order in which these aspects are enumerated is not to be taken as representing a direct line of evolution.

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171 the tribal reverence is centred. Historically, we believe that
614 these were originally possessions of an individual clan, which
778 subsequently became identified with the entire tribe. Among the Winnebago nothing in the remotest manner comparable to these clan possessions exists, and the few specific objects possessed by the clan have never become of real tribal significance.

614 The specific material possessions of the clan consist of
778 certain war-bundles, one in each clan; and two crooks in the possession of the Bear clan. Of more general possession are the
[616] war clubs, of which there are two types, one found among the *waŋgeregi*, the other among the *maŋegi* divisions. In connexion
[796] with the clan-bundles there are certain ceremonials known as clan-bundle or war-bundle feasts, popularly as winter feasts.
[171] The distribution of the clan-bundle differentiates these from the specific possessions of the Omaha clans, and suggests a hint as to their historical associations. To all intents and purposes, as their individual history shows, these bundles are merely gifts from one spirit, the thunderbird, and a secondarily associated
[575] night-spirit (*hąhe*). The winter feast might thus be interpreted as a society of those who have obtained blessings from the thunderbird. The bundle remains in the possession of a certain family, however, and cannot pass out of the clan. The war-bundle may, therefore, be said to be primarily the personal possession of a family which has become associated with all the members of the clan to such an extent that it is almost regarded as a clan possession.

In the possession of the two crooks by the Bear clan we have
[726] an example of specific clan property. The crooks are in the nature of emblems and are used on the warpath to indicate the extreme line of advance. They are thus of tribal significance. When not in use, they are kept in the lodge of the Bear clan.

### *Immaterial Possessions of the Clan.*

Although there are no specific material possessions, each clan possesses a type of what might be called "immaterial" possessions. These all have the added connotation of sacredness. For the bird clans, this is the possession of fire; for the

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associated with the treatment of disease and was the especial guardian spirit of the Indian doctors.

## INFLUENCE OF THE CLAN UPON CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION.

Perhaps the most characteristic trait of Winnebago culture is the existence of two strong socialized units, that of the clan and that of the secret society. Historically both are old, and even if we are of the opinion that the clan is historically younger, the political unit upon which it is superimposed is probably an ultimate historical fact. From the earliest times one would have supposed reciprocal influences to have occurred repeatedly. The nature of these influences, insofar as they are not conditioned by chance, would depend on the respective centre of gravity in either unit. It is evident that for the clan the organization was of paramount importance, and that the addition of cultural associations probably tended to strengthen its stability from the point of view of organization. On the other hand, the absence of political or governmental functions in the religious societies, and the clustering of the most multitudinous religious and shamanistic ideas within them, rendered the emotional complex of the latter the centre from which influences would radiate. At the same time, the ceremonial unit of organization seems to have been so firmly fixed, that any influence of the clan unit of organization upon it does not seem likely. As a matter of fact, in the typical schematic, religious society, like the medicine dance, grizzly-bear dance, and night-spirit dance, no influence is perceptible. But these religious societies may be regarded as presenting no possible points of contact. Where, however, the bond of union is supernatural communication with a guardian spirit who subsequently became the clan animal, an obvious point of contact is given, and this brings to mind a very suggestive fact of Winnebago culture—there are, strictly speaking, no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in many respects are absolutely identical with the religious societies, and which furnish, it seems to us, an example

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of just those two kinds of influence that we wished to point out, one radiating from the clan, as a unit of organization, the other from the entire clan complex. 174 575 614 796

In the Winter feasts the unit of organization is the clan. Generally all the clans were represented in the person of the owner of each specific clan war-bundle. The order of invitation was traditionally fixed, but it seems that in a number of cases the "friend" clan always had the position of honour. The war-bundle owner was not, however, supposed to represent the clan at all, but the spirits to whom offerings were being made. In every case, although the participants were supposed to impersonate a fairly large number of animals, the main blessings contained in the bundle were from the thunderbird and night-spirit and the main offerings were made to them. Indeed, there seem to be two separate ceremonies involved, one to the thunder-bird and the other to the night-spirits.

The question that arises with regard to the clan basis of these ceremonial organizations is whether we are to imagine that the ceremonial unit of organization was displaced by the clan unit, or that the ceremony is of comparatively recent origin, let us say at least long after the clan organization had been perfected, and that a number of things combined to determine the acceptance of the clan as a unit of organization, as opposed to the traditional ceremonial one. To the foregoing, we must also add the fact that the Winter feast seems to be related to similar ceremonies of the Central Algonkin, whose influence on the Winnebago must first be determined. If, then, we are not in a position at present to suggest the course of development, there can be no doubt that the content of the ceremony is strictly comparable to that of the religious societies, and that there are hints that the ceremonial unit of organization had begun to assert itself. If this could be definitely established, it would indicate that the clan basis of organization is historically primary. [171]

The clan unit of organization is found in no other Winnebago ceremony, although the specific clan feasts show marked influences radiating from the clan complex. The clan feast is a typical ceremonial complex, both in type of organization

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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174 and in content. The difference between it and a society
575 like the night-spirit dance lies in the fact that although the
614 five principal participants must have specific blessings (bundles),
796 they must at the same time belong to the clan. To what extent a member of one clan who has obtained a bundle from some other clan-spirit can take part in the specific clan feast of the latter, it is difficult to determine, but in the buffalo feast, assuming that this is unquestionably the real Buffalo clan feast, and there seems to be little doubt of it, any person who has obtained a bundle from the buffalo can participate, although the leader must always belong to the Buffalo clan. This example may be taken as an indication of the historical origin of these feasts, namely, that they are really religious societies in which the influence of the clan has restricted the number of individuals who are ordinarily supposed to occupy the five places of honour. That this restrictive influence of the clan was caused by the identity of the clan animal with the guardian spirit, there can be little doubt.

### Phonetic Key.

104

*a*, as in German *Mann*.
*e*, as in French *été*.
*i*, as in English *machine*.
*i*, as in English *pique*.
*i*, as in English *pin*.
*o*, as in English *note*.
*ɔ*, as in German *soll*.
*u*, as in English *food*.
*u*, as in English *put*.
*ə*, obscure vowel like *a* of English *idea*.
*,*, denotes nasalization of vowel.
*ŋ*, *ng* of English *sing*.
*ð*, *s* pronounced with tip of tongue against upper teeth.
*γ*, voiced guttural spirant, *g* of North German *sagen*.
*'*, denotes aspiration.
*:*, denotes that preceding vowel is long.
*'*, denotes main stress.

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



177 539 795 —Amen. For the sake of those who think all Indians speak alike, we append in a footnote the Lord's Prayer in Menomini."

The Winnebago have a syllabary which all of them use in writing. 194 It is an arbitrary system and has nothing to do with the ethnologist's way of recording their sounds. It was thus set down by Fred Mallory [212] The first letter always has the sound of a as in arm and the pronunciation of the first line would be ha, he, hi, ho.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | ae | ai | ao | | k | ke | ki | ko | |
| w | we | wi | wo | | a | e | i | o | |
| m | me | mi | mo | | l | le | li | lo | |
| n | ne | ni | no | | t | te | ti | to | (explosive) |
| l | le | li | lo | (ja) | tt | tte | tti | tto | (cha chay chi cho) |
| y | ye | yi | yo | (ga) | | | | | |
| r | reke | reki | roko | (ska ske ski sko) | | | | | |
| s | se | si | so | | | | | | |
| h | he | hi | ho | | | | | | |
| g | ge | gi | go | | | | | | |

Indian syllabaries are interesting but of no ethnological value.

539 575 756 Fred Mallory's wife was initiated into the medicine lodge when she was thirteen years old, but since both are now peyote followers, they said there is nothing wrong in their telling the writer about their early history. Their story is as follows: In the early days, there were two brothers, Konuga, the eldest, and Henaka. (These names still apply to the order of birth,—the third son is *Hagaga*, and the fourth, *Nahiga*. The same with girls, the first is *Hinuga*, second, *Wihunga*, third, *Hinahega*, fourth, *Hakasiaga*.) The two brothers were at Kilbourn on an island in the Wisconsin River—*Nikusa*. One, Konuga, told the other he saw a spirit in the water and Henaka also saw a spirit, but Konuga saw it first, so it was *his* spirit. It was purple in color and rose from the depths of the water and sank down again. A sort of quarrel developed between them as to whose spirit should be followed, but when Hagaga, the third son entered the argument, they both united against him. Hagaga was as wise as an owl, and knew more than the other

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"*Nachuwan* *kruhak* *ojuu.* *Nas ts kat kat* *achpechtaurchtaw*
"Our Father in heaven who dwells. Let it be honored

*kiwichwun.* *Nas ts kat pimikat* *kitukrmawin.* *Anawechtamon* *nas ts*
thy name. Let it come thy kingdom. As the Lord wishes it to

*kat rickemakat* *tepu* *kruhak* *winik* *ine* *achkibe.* *Mrsach*
be done like heaven so here (on earth) the same. Give us

*inchpi as kruhak* *arpakinigamrnaan* *achtanachkin* *krugatan.* *Panikatatawrach*
now as in heaven bread our daily and every day as we live. Forgive us

*minin kairi* *nachkrkrkaan* *ani panikitatawakichtaw* *kairi*
and those we had angered you, as we forgive those

*nachkibiamachtaw.* *Paw* *minin* *ishiawach* *kakitzipanichtaaw.*
that trespassed against us. Lead us not into temptation.

*Mishanamawach* *ta mata.* *Amen.*
Take it away from us. Amen."

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP 12 Winnebago NP 12



brothers, though they were his elders. The two older brothers made up their minds to do away with Hagaga. They went into the forest together and drew an image of Hagaga on the ground, painting his heart with red earth. They were preparing to thrust a spear into the heart of the image and thus kill Hagaga but he was on the limb of a tree watching them and yelled at them as they were ready to strike—"Hey, what are you about to do?" They looked up, discovered him, and were so scared at their detection that they ran away without stabbing the figure. He followed them to Trempealeau Mountain where the spirits live. 539 575 756

This mountain is supposed by the Winnebago to be hollow and they think all the powers of the medicine lodge reside therein. In the center of this mountain, the medicine lodge is supposed to be laid out, with the cardinal points of the compass indicated by poles. The poles represent serpents and the tie pieces are serpents, because to the Winnebago medicine lodge members the serpent is sacred.[24] [823] 575 756 [825]

The various animal deities came into the center of the lodge. They were, in order of entrance, the otter, the loon, the crane, the turtle, the fox, and a number of others. Nowadays when the medicine lodge ceremony is in progress, the Indians make song imitations of these various animal spirits coming into the lodge. In the main, they agree with the conception of creation held by the Menomini.[25] The writer related the Menomini story to Henry Dick, who said it was almost the same as the Winnebago. Their initiation ceremony starts at an earlier age which coincides with the age of puberty for both boys and girls and their medicine lodge ceremony requires more time than that of the Menomini; —four days for the lodge ceremony and two days for the testing of the initiate. While the ceremony is in progress, the candidate must not go to sleep. If he does, one of the members will shake him. The first two days and nights, the ceremony is mostly chanting and explanations, while the final two days and nights are given over to active floor work. The candidate must learn to do exactly as he is told and to obey instantly. The members, during the ceremony, tweak his ears and do various things to him in imitation of the animal deities. He is then shot with medicine bags to demonstrate their power. That is, the otter skin bag is grasped by the head between the fingers of the left hand of the medicine lodge member, and touched to his own lips; then having given it his power as a medicine man, he extends it toward the initiate, crying "Hui hui" and the initiate must drop his head immediately and fall over or backward. He is shot four times in the course of the ceremony. 575 756 796

On the fifth and sixth days, two or three of the older members take

[24] Fred Mallory's children killed a large puffing adder a day or two previous to the relating of this story and the local Winnebago did not like it, prophesying all sorts of dire disasters that would visit them.

[25] See Milw. Publ. Mus. Bull., Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 14, note 3.

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



575 the candidate into the woods, where none will see them and put him
756 through tests, such as falling immediately when he is shot with a medi-
796 cine bag. They also teach him to sing the ritual of the medicine lodge, being sure that no one hears.

824 The Winnebago observe the same precautions in gathering plants and place as great stress upon the manner of this gathering as do other Wisconsin Indians.

126 Most of the summer was spent among the Winnebago collecting their various economic and medicinal plants, about which copious notes were taken. On August 16, a trip was made to a Winnebago religious
123 feast given by A. White and his son, Frank, with two other relatives,
551 at which the writer was given a Winnebago name. As is the Indian custom, no more than one Indian name can be given and a name in a second language must mean the same as the original one. It happens that the first name given the writer was by the Menomini at Keshena; namely *"Onawonik"* meaning "Flying Squirrel." Hence the Ojibwe followed suit with *"Shagashkandawe"* also meaning "Flying Squirrel," and the Winnebago took their word *"Kashingra"* meaning the same.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



dances of a lively kind. From that place we went up to where Earthmaker lives and I saw him and talked to him, face to face, even as I am talking to you now. I saw the spirits too and, indeed, I was like one of them. 159* 775 [776]

Thence I came to this earth for the third time and here I am. I am going through the same that I knew before.

Thus my brother-in-law had lived long ago, had joined the Medicine Dance* and adhered strictly to its precepts. He was a good man; he disliked no one; he never stole and never did he fight. He made offerings of tobacco to the spirits and was always giving feasts. He could always be relied upon. 159* 977 [782]

When Thunder Cloud was in spirit land, just before he was to come to this earth, he fasted. He only ate once a month. All the different spirits who live on high, all those who live under the earth, indeed all those whom Earthmaker had created, they all blessed him. Then he came to the earth and was born here as a human being again. When he came to the earth he fasted. All the various spirits who had blessed him before, now blessed him again. Thus did he become a holy man. When he came here, he became a shaman for he was very holy. Indeed he was the North Spirit. 756 775 [776]

* The Medicine Dance is a secret society which with the preliminary ceremonies lasts five days. Members of this society are supposed to possess the secret of being able to kill one another and then to restore one another to life again. The "killing" is done by "shooting" a shell from a pouch made out of an otter skin. The shell is supposed to enter the body of the person shot at and to render him unconscious. He regains consciousness gradually after spitting out the shell. The ceremony is described in detail on pp. 103 ff. of this autobiography. [575] [789]

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## §23. *I Take a Trip to Nebraska*

*159 597 Shortly after this I had to go to Nebraska. It was in connection with a child I once had, a boy who had died when he was two years old. His mother's father then adopted another one in his place. This child belonged to the Menominee tribe. I had to go there for I was the adopted father of the child and he was thus my son, the one who was taking my dead son's place. [431] I gave the boy a horse at the ceremony performed to fill the dead child's place. The ceremony itself was the [796] Sore Eye Dance.[27] The relatives of the mother gave me some beaded bags, two boxes of maple sugar, etc. Before I had started out for Nebraska, when I was still living in Wittenberg, the boy came to me. I was then living with a woman, and she gave me many things that I was to take along with me to Nebraska and for which she hoped I would get horses in return.

*159 When I started, I stopped at Black River Falls. I went to a woman with whom I had once lived, in order to take her along with me, but she refused. I had gone

[27] The Sore Eye Dance, called more correctly the Society-of-those-who-have-been-blessed-by-the-Night-Spirits, is a secret society organized something like that of the Medicine Dance but quite different in object. It is primarily a war ceremony and its nickname of Sore Eye Dance arose out of the fact that it was so frequently given [527] after the return of a successful war party that the people attending it, got sore eyes from staying up so long. [796]

7: Radin

NP12 Winnebago NP12

575

[For the ceremony of initiation as a member of the Medicine Dance see category 116, pp. 102-111; 125.]

[*Winnebago*] *Medicine Dance*

115 I met Judge Williams[97] this evening and listened among other things to a very fine description of a medicine dance among the Winnebagoes. He is District Judge of Kansas, and has held the same office in Iowa and been with the Indians for 25 years. He superintended the removal of the Sauks and Foxes etc.

He was invited by the Winnebagoes as a compliment to attend a medicine dance, or the Spirit Dance.[98] This is a religious organization which the Judge likens to our church. They initiate with forms and ceremonies each neophyte, and at that time go through with their high religious performances. The Judge says they have mesmerism

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[787]

[P. 60(A)]

[pp. 1-159 not processed]

97 & 98 [see category 116 - p210. Analyst]

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[787] and clairvoyance, and thinks they have had them for centuries. They use a long and
[346] large lodge a [blank] prepared for the purpose, in which all those allowed to witness the ceremonies are assembled. Adjoin-
[343] ing this house is a bark tent built in a conical form as a steam house. They excavate a hole in the ground, heat large stones in a fire to a great heat, and then put them in this hole, and cover them over and seat the initiate over them. He is then covered around with blankets so that none of the steam may escape, after which water is poured on the stones and the neophyte is
[783] enveloped in a roasting steam bath. This is
[776] the first act, and the object is to steam all evil spirits out of him.

He is then led in to the house, after the steaming process in some instances has been repeated once or twice. He is then blindfolded and led around the house. Pres-
[534] ently the singers beat the drum, shake the rattles, and commence singing a tune; then commences the dance, which is joined in by all present who wish to do so. The wom-
[562] en are members of the medicine lodge as well as the men, and they join in the songs and in the dance. After the dancing is done, or perhaps he may have stood in the midst of it there is a suspension of all sing-
[756] ing and dancing. Several medicine men then advance towards the neophyte, pointing their medicine bags at him, then drawing them back. This advancing and receding and ejaculating certain words calculated to work up the mind of the novitiate into a regular phrenzy.

Presently they reach him when they hit their medicine bags against his body, he still being blindfolded and at the same time uttering a shrill exclamation. The Judge
[158] said the novitiate jumped up and fell flat on his face as if dead and that apparently with-

[P. 60(B)]

796 out design. There he lay without motion or
575 sign of life, and the dance was resumed
158 around them. After a time he was brought out of this mesmeric or clairvoyant state, a medicine bag was put in his hands and he at once had power to strike any one down as he had been. The person who stayed by the Judge was thus struck down. He felt of his arm and wrist and found them perfectly rigid.

796 They told the Judge before they admitted
575 him to this ceremony that while he was
783 there he must think no evil thought. If he did, his life would be in danger from the spirits. No impure person is admitted to
[841] witness these ceremonies, no woman in the
[843] menstrual period, no woman pregnant or
[273] recently delivered, no intoxicated or intemperate person that is under the influence of liquor is allowed to attend. The proceedings
[756] in the sweat lodge were not seen by him as none but medicine men were allowed there.
796 The ceremonies commenced at 8 in the eve-
575 ning and lasted until day break next morning. The Judge confirms my former opinion that this is purely a religious rite, and a religious organization, having but little to do with the uses of medicine proper. The roots and herbs are one thing, but the ceremonies
[755] and incantations which are the real remedies are quite another. They call it the Spirit Dance, or the Divine Dance. The
[171] Judge informs me that he has witnessed the same thing among the Sauks and Foxes.

[*Winnebago Burial*]

764 He also mentioned the fact that he witnessed the burial of a Winnebago some years ago. He was set upon a natural mound and house made over him, food and some personal articles laid by his side, after which the whole was covered over with earth, ex-
[775] cept a small hole or chimney was kept open from the top down into the house. When

[P. 60 (C)]

764 the Judge asked what this meant they told
775 him that it was for the spirit to pass through in going out and in.

771 He never found among them during the long period of his intercourse any evidence of sun worship, and thinks it fell far short of that in which I agree with him.

115 This morning I had a further conversation with Judge Walker, who is a regular medicine man of the Wyandottes. He says
776 the name of the Spirit of Medicine among
171 the Wyandottes is Mon-ane-tow, who is the same as the Manitou of the Ojibways etc. That this spirit of Medicine is a good spirit etc. He says that the initiations described
796 by Judge Williams are in the presence only
575 of medicine men and women. The people of the tribe are not allowed to be present. That both men and women are members, and are regularly initiated before they can become members. That no oath of secrecy is required, as the Indian knows nothing about oaths, but they initiate on the honor of the man and of the woman, choosing such only as are known to be of good character for integrity. That the Society and its pro-
[755] ceedings are secret, except these ceremonies which medicine men perform on patients for their cure.

796 Walker says that these ceremonies pro-
575 ceed upon the idea that a violent shock of the nervous system, which prostrates it en-
828 tirely will also prostrate or relax the hold of
158 the disease. They know by experience that by fasting and steaming they so arouse and excite a well person as to produce a shock which will throw him to the earth. This is done at the ceremony of initiation which Judge Williams described. It is done by nervous excitement, and Indian faith in these ceremonies, and is repeated over every initiate as a proof of the possession by medicine men of this marvellous power. He

[P.61(A)]

796 says there is no sham about this falling down
575 of the person on the floor in a swoon in the
828 manner described. That this is the precise
158 shock of the system to produce which the fasting and the steaming process is resorted to, and all the other ceremonies of the initiation, including the dance.

755 When a person is sick and incurable by
158 the simple remedies known to the Indians, and the friends become apprehensive for the life of the person, then the medicine men are called in and they go through certain ceremonies, all of which operate upon the nervous system already enfeebled and excited by disease, and tend to bring about that shock or prostration of the nervous system, which when produced is supposed also to relax the hold and power of the disease at the same time. In a word it kills the disease, or breaks the disease, or destroys
[753] the evil spirit then in the body which causes the disease, and then if there is constitutional strength enough left to raise up the body from its utter prostration, the patient recovers.

753 It would seem that they regarded the
755 nervous system or the sensitive part of our
828 nature as the seat of the disease, and addressed their remedies to the sensitive part, that is to the mind rather than to the body, to the spirit rather than to the organs of the
[171] body. The medicine system prevails very generally among our Indian races. In fact it is universal so far as we have found out the customs of the remote tribes.

755 I asked Walker about the cheats prac-
756 ticed by the medicine men upon the credulity of their patients, that is, pretending to take out of a man's back a tooth or a bone. He says that in their practice they want to make money, and the greater the feat they perform the greater the charge they make. Sometimes they charge a horse etc.

[P 61 (B)]
[pp 62-209 not processed]

9: Morgan E-5 (1859) 1959 NP12 Winnebago NP12

115 97. Joseph Williams, born in Pennsylvania in 1801, served as associate justice in Iowa Territory and state. In 1857 he was appointed associate justice of Kansas Territory by President Buchanan; he served until 1861. He made his home in Ft. Scott; died in 1870. For an account of some of Williams' activities in Kansas in the fall of 1859 and 1860, see *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1915–18*, XIV, 205–6, 230; *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1901–02*, VII, 402.

[113]

796 98. This is probably one of the earliest accounts of the Winnebago Medicine Dance, performed by a secret society in summer only. Its purpose is to prolong life and to cultivate certain nonmartial virtues. The Winnebago Medicine Dance is closely related to the Algonquian Midéwiwin, to the Dakota "Mystery Dance," and to the Omaha "Pebble Ceremony." See "The Ritual and Significance of the Winnebago Medicine Dance," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XXIV (1911): 149–208, and *The Winnebago Tribe* (Bureau of American Ethnology, 37th Annual Report, 1923), both by Dr. Paul Radin; see also "Winnebago," in *Handbook of American Indians*, edited by Hodge.

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[171]

[113]

[p. 210]
[pp. 211-233 not processed]

105 tation with its insistence upon warding off evil by force and obtain-
771 ing good by force, and the 'sky' interpretation, with its emphasis on conciliation and appeasement and its attempts at the resolution of the opposites? The rituals take up the same question.

## 5. RITUALISM

105 There are two fundamental types of ritualistic organization among
575 the Winnebago, those based on clan membership and those based
571 on blessings from the same spirits. In other words, the bond is either
796 a social one, membership in the same clan, or a spiritual one, a common religious experience. The clan rituals have one major extension, a ceremony where those members of each clan who are the guardians of the warbundle of that particular clan, gather together in a feast for all the main deities. At this ceremony they ask for the renewal of the powers of these warbundles and for the promise of success on the warpath. Set off, apparently, from these two types of ritual there is a third, the Medicine Rite, with but one example, where membership is based upon personal conduct and achievement other than war and where, usually, one can only enter when there is a vacancy caused by death. In those cases where a person became a member through personal achievement he was, in the old days, generally, a man in middle age because of the rigorous and difficult entrance requirements. When taking the place of a deceased member a person could, however, even be under twenty.

An individual is consequently either born with the right of membership in a ceremony, like the clan feasts and the warbundle feasts, or he has to achieve it, as in the ritual societies based on blessings from the same spirits and the Medicine Rite.

The clan feasts which are in honor of the ancestral clan animals need not detain us here. Nor do we have to dwell upon the ritual societies based on common supernatural experiences. For membership in the latter there are really no requirements except willingness to endure the comparatively light hardships of fasting. The spirits or deities rarely, if ever, failed to grant the suppliant a vision. Formerly,

so many Winnebago informed me, the most sacred and important of the ritual societies of this type was the Night-spirit one. It was practically gone when I first visited the tribe in 1909. In none of these rituals was there any control of membership or insistence upon a special code of conduct either before or after admission. 105 575 796 571

The warbundle ceremonies require a few words. Each performance is divided into two parts, the first presided over by the Thunderbird spirits and the second by the Night-spirits. However, all the great spirits of the Winnebago pantheon have their place in it and, to all, offerings are made. Although in the eyes of the Winnebago, the warbundle ritual is devoted entirely to the glorification of war, it is interesting and significant to see that, besides the great patrons of war, the Thunderbird spirits, Night-spirits, Sun, Morning Star, Evening Star, Disease-giver, Eagle, Black Hawk, specific peace deities like Earthmaker, Earth, Moon and Water are also included and, at times, even the hero-deities, Trickster, Turtle and Hare. From this we can infer that even in a ceremony devoted preeminently to the enhancement of the importance of the warrior and of warfare, deities symbolizing peace and the antithesis of violence and force, could not be entirely left out. Admittedly their inclusion had little effect upon the one and insistent prayer of the participants, war. Even Earthmaker is represented as bestowing success on the warpath, something completely new. Yet the mere fact that Earthmaker was included did act as a reminder that the pursuit of war was not everything. 105 721 796

The warbundle rituals represent the classic and most complete expression of the war spirit, the glorification of the viewpoint of the chief of the lower division of the tribe, namely, that one goes out to combat evil, militantly and with violence. In fact, you must pre-enact the enemy's attack, your method of coping with it, and the manner in which the enemy is to be defeated and overwhelmed. Even orgies, where all self-control is abandoned, are permitted, something that was always abhorrent to the normal Winnebago and greatly dreaded. The remark made to me by the Indian who translated the text, relative to such orgies is quite illuminating here. 'It is good to have one Indian work himself into a paroxysm of enthusiasm but it must never be more than one!' [786]

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But to come now to the Medicine Rite. It is only superficially that its organization is really unique, for both in the snake clan feast and in the Night-spirit ritual society there are four positions just as in the Medicine Rite. The resemblances between the latter two are, in fact, so marked that we can well understand why some Winnebago regarded the Night-spirit society as the model for the Medicine Rite. In a sense it is true that the Medicine Rite could be interpreted as the society of those who have been blessed by Earthmaker. Yet, in spite of these similarities, it was regarded as something sui generis. What is, then, the specific character of its organization that gives it this unique position in the Winnebago ritualistic system?

The answer is simple—two traits, the method of admission and the fact that a large part of the tribe belongs to it. While the size of the membership at the beginning of the nineteenth century was unquestionably larger than a hundred years before, still it must always have been very large. Moreover, there were no restrictions as to sex. Compared to any of the other ceremonies, the Medicine Rite thus stood out as a completely democratic organization where, theoretically, the only requirement was membership in the tribe.

This uniqueness in certain fundamental traits of its organization was matched by its purpose and much of its content. Its avowed purpose was, not only, to ensure man a long and happy life on earth but to ensure his return to it after death. Of course all ceremonies were concerned with the first of these two purposes. And the belief in reincarnation had always, as we have pointed out, been well-known and accepted. The uniqueness lay in the method of attaining it. That method had two parts, a magical-symbolical and an ethical-philosophical. Admission to the Rite entailed being shot and 'killed' by a missile and coming to life again. This is the magical-symbolical part. The ethical-philosophical part consisted in strict adherence to a high code of behavior laid down for you and enforced by the older members of the Rite. Only by adherence to it can you surmount death.

Yet admission is only a preliminary to your real task. It only sets your feet, so to speak, in the proper road. You must steel yourself to being shot and 'killed' innumerable times and you must obtain

10:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1945
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mastery over death by shooting and 'killing' others innumerable times, so that death, when it finally comes, will be as familiar to you as life. Then, when full of years, you actually die, the passage from life to death will become a mere incident and, being born again will, for yourself, constitute no break with your former existence.

It is quite clear that we are dealing here with the vision of a poet-philosopher and this will become more evident when we recognize the original nature and meaning of the shooting ritual. Shooting missiles into a person was an old and well-recognized shamanistic device. The missiles were generally animal claws and they were meant to kill. Your only protection was to provide yourself with magical counter measures or, to obtain some specific blessing from a spirit. That you could convert what was meant to be a death-dealing missile into a life-giving one by leading a virtuous life was something new when applied, for instance, on the grand scale to be seen in the reinterpretation of the myth of the *Journey to Spiritland* as found in the Medicine Rite (cf. pages 257 ff.). To express it, required a particular language, with new extensions of meaning for words and in which metaphor, symbolism and mysticism ruled supreme, in short, the language of a poet and a philosopher. Myths were reinterpreted in an entirely new fashion and put to entirely new uses. To understand and comprehend it a special and difficult kind of education and training was needed.

Yet, in spite of its esoteric character, one thing was never forgotten, that the ceremony was to serve concrete purposes. It was not the vision of a Road of Perfection to be rewarded by eternal peace and happiness in heaven but, on the contrary, the vision of a Road of Perfection which was to be rewarded by a return to earth and to the vicissitudes of living. It was life that was to be faced, with all its imperfections, trials, and with all the comedies and tragedies that often played such havoc with ideals of perfection.

Indeed the imperfections of life intruded themselves into the poet-philosopher's vision, despite his attempts to exclude them. It was impossible, for instance, for individuals to forget that they were not only members of the Medicine Rite but, likewise, warriors and often shaman. Thunder, as the idealists might well do against the presence

105 of shamanistic practices in the Rite, they could never quite exclude
575 them and the only answer they possessed was to condemn them and
771 show how they led to dishonor, death and destruction.
796

This interweaving of the concrete and the symbolic and mystical led to a double, at times even a triple, set of significances for every action and word and which, occasionally, reached incredible heights of complication, intricacy and subtlety.

105 Since no other ceremony resembles the Medicine Rite in the
174 respects just mentioned, we may well stop and ask ourselves what
796 could have led to its creation? What is the cultural meaning of this new mode of expression, this new type of reinterpretation of ancient beliefs and attitudes? Allowing for the natural creative impulses of our Winnebago poet-philosophers, it is not unreasonable to suspect that some particular circumstance or circumstances must have called them forth.

Ordinarily, any attempt to determine such a matter among the American Indians, in the absence of an authentic historic record, would mean mere speculation. Fortunately this does not hold true for the case in point. There are indications within the text of the Rite itself and some historical evidence which proves pretty conclusively that, in its present form, the Medicine Rite is a development late in Winnebago history and after the coming of the French in 1632. We can, in fact, date it more precisely. The otterskin pouch and the shell used in the shooting ceremony come from the *midewiwin* ceremony of the Ojibwa. The Winnebago obtained them from the Fox and this could not possibly have been before 1680-1690.

Now, the Winnebago between 1650-1900 were passing through a very serious crisis. Their numbers had been seriously decimated by ferocious struggles between them and the Illinois and Fox and by the diseases introduced by the Europeans. The influence of the French, as well as the new conditions resulting from French encroachment, were playing havoc with the old order of things. Nor must we underrate the influence of the French missionaries.

That a new type of ceremony should have appeared among the
[182] Winnebago just then cannot be ascribed to mere chance. It must bear some relation to the crisis. The moment we put the two to-

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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An old Winne-
bago told the author that long ago a young man wanted to marry a girl belonging to his phratry and refused to listen to the entreaties of his father and mother. Finally the father, in desperation, went over to the lodge of a man belonging to one of the clans into which the young man could marry and asked for one of the sacred possessions. It was, of course, refused, and when the man was asked what other requests he wished to make, he asked that the host's daughter be allowed to marry his son. This was, of course, granted, and thus the boy was compelled to marry into the proper phratry. 614 615 582 778

One Winnebago interpreted the custom in an entirely different way. Exactly how much importance is to be attached to this explanation it is hard to say. According to this informant, the insult lay not in going to the fireplace or taking a firebrand, but in asking for it. The insult apparently consists in not taking it for granted that anyone entering the lodge was permitted to do what he wished. In other words, his asking was a breach of etiquette. 614 372 689 [576]

The typical method of burial in the Thunderbird clan was scaffold burial. It has long since been discontinued.

The burial customs seem to have been the same for all the clans. It may, however, be that in former times there were slight differences. For instance, in the first version of the Thunderbird clan origin myth the statement is made that the branch of a tree was placed at the grave and a small stick, painted red, attached to it. The author has no recollection of ever hearing the same statement made in connection with any other of the clans. 614 764 [184]

There are four songs associated with the Thunderbird clan. These are supposed to have been sung by the clan ancestors when they came to this earth, and are now always sung when a member of the clan dies, and on a few other occasions. 614 [333]

According to one informant, members of the Elk, Warrior, Deer, and Buffalo clans acted as servants to the Thunderbird clan on various occasions. The same informant also claimed that the Warrior clansmen took specific orders from the Thunderbird clansmen when on the warpath. [554]

According to another informant, Thunderbird marks at death are a half circle on the forehead, made with charcoal. The proper marking is, however, that shown in plate 48. [765]

Two dog names used in the Thunderbird clan are obtained—*pi"zakirutega; ka-iwakitea"ga.*

The only feast specifically connected with the Thunderbird clan was the so-called chief feast, of which a description will be found on page 318. One of the divisions of the war-bundle feast is often considered as sacred to the thunderbird, but this is always the deity thunderbird, not the ancestor of the clan. [796] [776]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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614 Members of the clan were buried by members of the Thunderbird
[764] clan.

[823 Water was sacred to the Water-spirits. It was considered an
576] insult for a stranger to peep into a pail standing in one of their lodges.

One informant explained the custom as follows:

"If one enters a Water-spirit clan lodge and looks into a pail and there should be no water in it, the person will turn away and this action of his will be construed as begging. It would be proper to take a drink of water if some were there."

[302] A round spot is painted with blue clay on the forehead of a Water-spirit man (pl. 46).

The Water-spirit feast is held in the fall and spring. Cracked or ground corn is used. Water-spirit people partake before anyone else at this feast.

### ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 In the beginning, when the clans began to form, the Bird clans
539 came upon the earth first and alit upon an oak tree at Red Banks;
776 and when they alit upon the oak tree they became human as we are now. Then the Water-spirit clan was to appear at Within Lake; and the waters began to whirl around in the lake and all the bad things that inhabited the waters began to appear. Just before the Water-spirits appeared some burned embers came up from the waters and the whirling became faster and deeper. As all the great things began to appear it always seemed as if the Water-spirits were the next to appear, but not until the last did they come up. Thereupon the waters began to quiet down. Then a white Water-spirit appeared with its horns curved toward each other, and when it came upon the earth it became human and walked. Then the other clans said, "Now, then, this is the chief. This is all that we have been waiting for. Now we shall divide ourselves" (into groups). Then they started for the lodge of the Thunderbird clan and entered it. There they named one another and divided one another into clans and there they counciled with one another.

### CLAN NAMES

WAKTCEI HIK'IK'ARANJERA (WATER-SPIRIT CLAN)

614 Ho-ada'ja'jank'a.....Shining horns.
551 Hona'pga.....Two horns.
Hac'i'winga.....Handsome horn.
Honatcank'a.....Five-horned.
Hadjopga.....Four-horned.
Mank'a'ojega.....He who plants medicines.
Mank'a'hodja'pga.....He who looks at medicines.
Ma'hainip'i'winga.....Good cold spring.

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generally lasts from dawn preceding the day ceremony until 7 or 8 a. m. The intermission begins as soon as the drum and gourds have been returned to the ancestor host and ends as soon as the people return from the brush ritual. 756 796

The first and second parts are concerned entirely with a recital of certain ritualistic myths and a rehearsal of the songs and the specific ritual of each band used during the remaining parts.

*Types and component elements of the ceremony.* For purposes of greater clarity, the speeches, songs, and types of action will be carefully differentiated and referred to by some designation characterizing their essential traits. These speeches, songs, and types of action together form combinations which may be regarded as units, and they will therefore also be referred to by some designation characteristic of their function.

I. Types of speeches. (1) Salutations: No formal salutation is used during Parts I and II, the individuals being addressed by their relationship terms. In Parts III, IV and V the salutations are invariably the same. The ancestor host and his band are addressed as follows: "The-one-occupying-the-seat-of-a-relative (deceased) and you-who-sit-with-him, do I salute." The east is addressed, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-sun-rises"; the north, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-cold-comes-from"; the west, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-sun-straightens," or (preferably) "You-who-represent-the-end-of-the-road." 756 796 537 576

The appellations of the bands, as before stated, refer to the creation myth and the four guardian spirits whom Hare visited for the purpose of inquiring into the necessity and meaning of death. Hare was compelled to travel around the earth, which is conceived of as an island, and received no answer until he came to the spirit at the end of the road. In the dramatic performance of the medicine dance the lodge typifies the earth and the four bands and their leaders typify the four spirits. The ancestor host's band typifies the ancestor of the Winnebago. 773 756 796 621 [772]

(2) Speeches: Under this head will be treated (*a*) speeches of welcome; (*b*) speeches of acceptation; (*c*) speeches of presentation; (*d*) speeches explanatory of the significance of the ritual; and (*e*) speeches of admonition, addressed exclusively to the candidate. This does not exhaust all. There are many others, generally short, that can hardly be classified. In their content, as well as in the order of their succession, the speeches must follow a traditionally determined sequence. In practice this is certainly not always true, but to the mind of the Winnebago these speeches appear as old as the ceremony. It is their firm belief that any departure from the accepted type will interfere with the efficacy of the ceremony. 796 537 756

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796 (a) Speeches of welcome: When the leader of the east band enters
756 after the ancestor host has begun the ceremony (IV, b), he addresses
537 the latter as follows: "It was good of you to condescend to invite me
576 to this dance. I am a poor pitiable man and you believed me to be a medicine man. However, I know you will show me the true manner of living, which I thought I possessed, but which I in reality did not." In this strain he continues, weaving into his speech references to the ritual connected with his band and offering thanks for the beautiful weather (should it be a clear day). In concluding he thanks all again, and informs them that he will sing a song. With slight alterations the leaders of the other bands address the ancestor host similarly. The ancestor host's answer of welcome is as follows: "Whatever I desired you have done for me. All night have you stayed with me and by your presence helped me in the proper performance of this ceremony. I am ready with a dancing song, and when I have finished and sit down I shall pass to you tobacco and other means of blessing (the gourds and the drum). All who are present do I greet."

(b) Speeches of acceptation: After the ancestor host has been presented with food he thanks the donors as follows: "You have had pity on me. You have been good to me and have given me to the full whatever I desired. You have filled my heart with the blessing of thankfulness. In return I give you a blessing. Here is some food for you. It is not anything special, nor is it as much as it ought to be, and I know you will remain hungry. It was prepared for the spirits of the four quarters (whom you represent), but it is lacking in all those qualities which would have made it acceptable to them. Such as it is, however, may its presentation be a means of blessing to you."

796 (c) Speech of presentation: East presents the food to the ancestor
756 host with the following words: "I have not very much to tell you,
537 because I am too poor, but our ancestors told us to give you food. This little that I give is all that I can, being a person of so little importance."

(d) Explanatory speeches: These are of so specific a nature that no single one can be considered typical.

(e) Speeches of admonition: "Nephew, now I shall tell you the path you must walk, the life you must lead. This is the life Hare obtained for us. This is the only kind of life—this that our ancestors followed. Listen to me. If you will always help yourself, then you
[867] will attain to the right life. Never do anything wrong. Never steal, never tell an untruth, and never fight. If you meet a woman on the left side of the road, turn to the right. Never accost her nor speak familiarly with a person whom you are not permitted thus to address. If you do all these things, then you will be acting correctly. This is what I desire of you."

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X796 When the songs of the Night Spirit are sung the stem of the pipe is
[276] pointed eastward.

Four songs are sung before the cooking is finished, in honor of the Thunderbird. The feast is then spread, and all those in the lodge smoke and dance. The attendants take the kettles down and take the food out. While the kettles are still on, however, branches of
[783 cedar are carried around the lodge to purify it. Before distributing
824] the food, while the singing is still going on, the attendants count the number of people in the lodge and cut the meat into a corresponding number of pieces. As each kettle is supposed to suffice for any one band, a number of small sticks about the size of a toothpick, corresponding to the number of people present in each band, is placed in each kettle. After the last four songs are used the host arises and calls for the kettle that is to be given to the person opposite him. The attendant brings it and tells him how many pieces of meat there are in the kettle. The host then speaks about his intentions in offering the kettle to the spirits; that he is seeking life and victory in war, and that he begs all those present to intercede for him. He then calls for the other kettles. There are generally one or two kettles for the women and children. When the feast is spread out and they all have their food, the host tells them that they may now
[534] eat whenever they think proper. He himself does not eat anything, but merely sings, shaking the gourds that he holds in his hand.

[776] The Disease-giver is considered the most sacred of all the spirits,
[783] and for that reason all the bones and the plates that have been used in connection with his particular kettle are purified with cedar
[824] branches. The host carries these bones out of the lodge himself and buries them under the foot of some tree. He also takes tobacco and red feathers along with him on this occasion. As the other spirits
[776] are not considered to be as sacred as the Disease-giver, the bones from the kettles offered to them can be buried anywhere, provided the ground has been purified.

[576] After the first invited guest has finished his meal he rises and thanks the host. He then tells the story of how he, or his ancestor, obtained the war bundle, and assures the host that he feels confident that so great a feast as this in which he is taking part will most certainly be recognized by the spirits. He also adds that inasmuch as he and the other invited guests have partaken of this feast they also hope to receive life and strength in proportion to the blessings bestowed upon the host. The other invited guests, in turn, speak in the same way.

[783] While this is going on the attendants are preparing the kettles for another lot of meat. The whole tent is swept again and purified and the kettles are once more placed upon the fireplaces. The host now rises and, holding tobacco in his hand, informs each spirit of the par-

## *Fasting*

Just then my older brother came home and they ob- 159*
jected to his return for he had not been blessed. How- 787
ever, he took some food and ate it.

My brother J., however, obtained a blessing. When 159*
he reached the age of puberty my father called him 785
aside and told him to fast. He told him that it was 554
his fervent wish that he should begin to fast in order 787
to become holy, to become invincible and invulnerable in war. He wished him to become like one of those Winnebago of whom stories are told. He assured him that if he fasted he would really be holy and that nothing that exists on this earth would be able to molest him; that he would live a very long life and that he would be able to cure the sick. He told him that if he were blessed no one would dare to make fun of him [576] and that they would be very careful how they addressed him; first, because they really respected him and secondly, because they were afraid of getting him angry. He was to fast until spring and then he was to stop, for there are many bad spirits about in the spring who are likely to deceive a faster. [776]

Near our village there was a hill called *Place-where-they-keep-weapons*. This hill was very high, steep and [778] rocky. It was a very holy place. There it was that my father wished my brother to fast for it was the place where he himself had fasted. Within this hill lived the spirits whom we call *Those-who-cry-like-babies*. [776] These spirits are supposed to possess arrows and bows. Twenty of them were supposed to be in this hill. My father had control of them and when

*159 867 785 789 you will never be in need of anything. Fast for the food you are to receive. If you fast frequently enough for these things then some day when your children ask for food they will be able to obtain a piece of deer meat without difficulty; they may indeed be able to obtain a piece of moose meat. It lies within your power to prevent your children from ever going hungry.

*159 867 593 [562] [776] Now again, my son, let me enjoin you. Do not abuse your wife. Women are sacred. If you make your wife suffer, then you will die in a short time. Our grandmother Earth is a woman, and in abusing your wife you are abusing her. Most certainly will you be abusing your grandmother if you act thus. Since after all it is she who is taking care of us, by your action you will be practically killing yourself.

*159 867 574 When you have your home, see to it that whoever enters your lodge obtain something to eat, no matter how little you yourself may have. Such food will be a source of death to you if withheld. If you are stingy about giving food, some one might kill you in consequence; some one may poison you. If you ever hear of a stranger passing through your country and you want to see him, prepare food for him and have him brought to you. In this manner [577] you will be doing good and it is always good to do good, it is said.

*159 867 888 If you see a helpless old person, help him if you have anything at all. If you happen to possess a home take him there, and feed him, for he may suddenly make uncomplimentary remarks about you.[18] You will be strengthened thereby. Or perhaps when he comes, he may bring with [978] him under his arms a medicine bundle, something he cher-

[574] [576] [18] It is considered exceedingly bad form for a guest to admire anything in the house he is visiting.

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867 If you thus travel in the road of the good people, it will be good
787 and other people will not consider your life a source of amusement.[18]

If you can not obtain a blessing from the spirits try also to have some good plant take pity on you. This I am telling you and if you do not do it, you will suffer for it. All that I am saying will be of great benefit to you if you pay heed to me, for (you will need
867 medicines for) whatever you do in life, if you are not fortunate
789 enough to obtain blessings from the spirits. If you are ever on the
726 warpath, you will need medicine in order to escape being hit or in order to prevent yourself from getting exhausted or from feeling famished. If you manage to be fortunate in all these things you may be certain that the medicines have caused it.

867 My son, help yourself as you go along life's path, for this earth has
577 many narrow passages and you can never tell when you will come to one. If, however, you have something with which to strengthen yourself you will come safely through the passages you meet.

Let every one think you a desirable person to know. Associate with people. If you act in this manner, every one will like you. (You will live) a contented life. Never do anything wrong to your children. Whatever your children ask you to do, do not hesitate to do it for them. If you act thus people will say you are good-natured. If you ever lose a friend by death and if you have riches cover[19] the expenses of the funeral of the deceased. Help the mourners to feed the people at the wake. If you act thus you will be acting well. Then you will be truly a helper of the people and they will know you as such. Indeed, all of them will know you. For the good you do, all will love you.

867 My son, do not become a gambler. You might, it is true, become
525 rich, but in spite of your wealth all your children will die. No gambler ever had children. It is an affair of the bad spirits entirely. Now if you do all that I have told you, you will unquestionably lead a happy and contented life.

867 Thus would the old people speak to a child whom they loved very much, that he might obtain the means of warding off what is not good. Anyone who acted contrary to these teachings would have himself to blame for the consequences.

---

[666] [18] This dislike of being made fun of, or of being the laughing stock, plays an important rôle among the Winnebago. It is not at all comparable to the same feeling as found at the present day among civilized people of Western Europe, for it is infinitely deeper and closely associated with social ostracism. The despondency caused by being made fun of, would frequently drive a person away from home or lead him to embark on any undertaking that would bring death. Owing to the social consequences coming in its train, a man would consequently do most anything in his power to ward it off. Correlated with this negative aspect of the use of "fun-poking," there is a positive one. There are certain relatives who have the privilege
[602] of making fun of or playing practical jokes on you. This "joking-relationship" exists among many tribes in America, but the relatives between whom it is permitted differ in every case. Among the Winnebago it exists between uncles and nieces and nephews and between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

[19] That is, buy the funeral apparel for the deceased.

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867 782 276 Thus he made the tobacco so that humans may ask life with it, and he will grant them their desires. This is all."

### CLAN NAMES

#### TCE HIK'IK'ARAIJERA (BUFFALO CLAN)

614 551

| | |
|---|---|
| Moratcega | He who travels the land. |
| Tcanimaniwinga | She who walks ahead. |
| Tcenin'ksiga | Suckling buffalo calf. |
| Tcega | Buffalo. |
| Tcep'anu"pga | Two buffalo heads. |
| Tcetca"iwinga | First buffalo. |
| Tcedojenin'k'a | Buffalo yearling. |
| Tcedonin'k'a | Young buffalo bull. |
| Tcewinzedega | Big female buffalo. |
| Wirukananga | He who is in control. |
| Hehekmaniga? | Shaggy walker. |
| Tcehatcowinga | Buffalo hide blue. |
| Mangiksuntega | Shakes the earth by striking |
| Tcep'aga | Buffalo head. |
| Manok'azuhiga | Kicking up the earth. |

## THE DEER CLAN

### INTRODUCTION

614 173 The first version of the origin myth of the Deer clan is in part like that of version 6 of the Bear clan origin myth and in part like that of version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth. It is the only myth that shares with version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth the account of the origin of death.

614 The Deer clan does not seem to have had any important functions, although in myth 1, it is stated that they claimed a "partial" chieftainship, whatever that may mean.

[577] It was considered an insult to tell a member of this clan that he resembled a deer.

[302] The facial painting is the same as that used for the Elk clan. (Pl. 46.)

[326 761] The Deer clan people tell one another not to sing their clan song very loudly, and also not to make any sudden movement of their limbs, for each movement might cause the death of a human being. For the same reason they are told not to weep too loudly, as each deer's limb is a symbol of one of the four directions. When, therefore, a Deer clansman moves a limb too hard when he is weeping over the decease of a member of his clan, he might be "putting some human being in the earth," and the wind would blow hard.

[532] The dog names obtained were *wankcigohoniga* and *na"nategisga*.

dances of a lively kind. From that place we went up to where Earthmaker lives and I saw him and talked to him, face to face, even as I am talking to you now. I saw the spirits too and, indeed, I was like one of them. 159* 775 [776]

Thence I came to this earth for the third time and here I am. I am going through the same that I knew before.

Thus my brother-in-law had lived long ago, had joined the Medicine Dance* and adhered strictly to its precepts. He was a good man; he disliked no one; he never stole and never did he fight. He made offerings of tobacco to the spirits and was always giving feasts. He could always be relied upon. 159* 577 [782]

When Thunder Cloud was in spirit land, just before he was to come to this earth, he fasted. He only ate once a month. All the different spirits who live on high, all those who live under the earth, indeed all those whom Earthmaker had created, they all blessed him. Then he came to the earth and was born here as a human being again. When he came to the earth he fasted. All the various spirits who had blessed him before, now blessed him again. Thus did he become a holy man. When he came here, he became a shaman for he was very holy. Indeed he was the North Spirit. 756 775 [776]

* The Medicine Dance is a secret society which with the preliminary ceremonies lasts five days. Members of this society are supposed to possess the secret of being able to kill one another and then to restore one another to life again. The "killing" is done by "shooting" a shell from a pouch made out of an otter skin. The shell is supposed to enter the body of the person shot at and to render him unconscious. He regains consciousness gradually after spitting out the shell. The ceremony is described in detail on pp. 103 ff. of this autobiography. [575] [789]

*159 first. "She must be the one I left behind when I came
756 from my spirit home," he thought. So up above, to
Earthmaker's village, he went to see whether his first
*159 wife was still there. He found her there. "How is
756 this? I thought I saw you among the human beings
775 and that is why I have come to see if you were still
787 here," he said. And the woman answering said, "Why,
where was I to go? Here you left me when you went
away and here I have remained up to the present time.
What kind of woman is she who resembles me?
Bring her up here to me." Thus my dead sister spoke.

However since he was a bad shaman, a poisoner, we
[754] let him marry the second sister. We were afraid that
if we didn't he would poison us.

*159 He told my brother that he had come from the place
756 where Earthmaker* lives, that Earthmaker had told
[776] him that he was to bring back with him four men.
[787] He was to examine them carefully, for they were to
be virtuous men, not quick tempered nor of change-
● [577] able ideas, but really virtuous, men of conservative
tendencies. Such was he to take back with him.

*159 My brother loved Thunder Cloud for these reasons.
Never did he show any disrespect to him. Whatever he
was asked to do he did. Zealously and painstakingly
did he perform all the actions demanded, for he hoped
that if, in return, our brother-in-law loved him and
blessed him, he would take him back to Earthmaker.
Wholeheartedly did he wish to be like him. This was
always in his mind and he served him to the best of

[776] * Earthmaker is the supreme deity of the Winnebago.

* 159 539 787 776 happen to you. I, myself, am the chief of the Night Spirits. This creation lodge, just as you see it, with all that it contains, I give to you. Never shall you be in want of food. Offer up to us as many buckskins as you see here in the lodge. Thus it shall be. The creation lodge of the village of the Night Spirits I give to you. You can go on as many war-parties as you wish and you will obtain everything that you demand of life. All the offerings of tobacco, of food, [782] of buckskins, and of red feathers, that you and your descendants offer to us, they all will come here to our creation lodge and we will accept them."

Now thus did the Night Spirits speak to grandfather Jobenangiwinxga.

* 159 787 In the morning, just before sunrise, I uttered my cry to the spirits:

[782] "O spirits, here humble in heart I stand beseeching you."

The fourth night found me still there. Again my father came and we did the same thing, but in spite of it all I experienced nothing unusual. Soon another day dawned upon us. That morning I told my elder brother [577] that I had been blessed by the spirits and that I was going home to eat. I was not speaking the truth. I was hungry and I also knew that on the following night we were going to have a feast, and that we would have to utter our cry to the spirits again. I dreaded that. So I went home. When I got there I told my people the story I had told my brother; that I had been blessed and that the spirits had told me to eat. I was not speaking the truth, yet I was given the food that is carefully prepared for those who have been blessed.

## *The Teachings of My Father*

When on some other occasion such as the Four Nights' Wake, you are called upon to recount your war exploits in behalf of the departed souls, be careful, however, not to claim more than you actually accomplished. If you do, you will cause the soul of the man in whose behalf you are telling it, to stumble [17] in his journey to spirit land. If you tell a falsehood then and exaggerate, you will die before your time, for the spirits, the war-controllers, will hear you. It is indeed a sacred duty to tell the truth on such an occasion. Tell less than you did. The old men say it is wiser.

My son, it is good to die on the warpath. If you die on the warpath, you will not lose consciousness at death. You will be able to do what you please with your soul and it will always remain in a happy condition. If afterwards you wish to become reincarnated as human being, you may do so, or you may take the form of those-who-walk-upon-the-light, the birds, or the form of any animal you please, in short. All these benefits will you obtain if you die on the warpath.

### II

My son, if you cannot obtain war-blessings, fast at least for position in life. If you fast then, when you get married you will get along well. You will then not have to worry about your having children and your life will be a happy one. If you fast and have the spirits bless you with all that concerns the happiness of your home, then throughout life

[17] According to Winnebago belief the soul of a deceased individual in his journey to spirit land must cross a very slippery, swinging bridge and it is thought that if, during the wake following the man's burial, any of the invited warriors exaggerate their achievements the unfortunate soul will not be able to cross this bridge and will stumble and fall into the abyss of fire over which it is thrown.

* 159 867 785 787 you will never be in need of anything. Fast for the food you are to receive. If you fast frequently enough for these things then some day when your children ask for food they will be able to obtain a piece of deer meat without difficulty; they may indeed be able to obtain a piece of moose meat. It lies within your power to prevent your children from ever going hungry.

* 159 867 593 [562] [776] Now again, my son, let me enjoin you. Do not abuse your wife. Women are sacred. If you make your wife suffer, then you will die in a short time. Our grandmother Earth is a woman, and in abusing your wife you are abusing her. Most certainly will you be abusing your grandmother if you act thus. Since after all it is she who is taking care of us, by your action you will be practically killing yourself.

* 159 867 574 When you have your home, see to it that whoever enters your lodge obtain something to eat, no matter how little you yourself may have. Such food will be a source of death to you if withheld. If you are stingy about giving food, some one might kill you in consequence; some one may poison you. If you ever hear of a stranger passing through your country and you want to see him, prepare food for him and have him brought to you. In this manner you will be doing good and it is always good to do good, it is said. [577]

* 159 867 888 If you see a helpless old person, help him if you have anything at all. If you happen to possess a home take him there, and feed him, for he may suddenly make uncomplimentary remarks about you.[18] You will be strengthened thereby. Or perhaps when he comes, he may bring with him under his arms a medicine bundle, something he cher- [578]

[18] It is considered exceedingly bad form for a guest to admire anything in the house he is visiting. [574] [576]

Search there and you will undoubt-
edly be able to find the medicines necessary for curing your 159 *
children. Indeed after a while you will be called upon to 156
cure your fellow men. Then you can open your medicine 867
bundle without embarrassment, for you will have the knowledge necessary for treating the sick. You will know where the disease is lodged and your treatment will be successful, for it was only after the greatest efforts on your part that you succeeded in obtaining the requisite blessings. If you declare to the patient that he will live, then he will live. If you make proper offerings to the medicine and speak to [932] your medicine in the proper manner, it will exert all the [998] power it possesses to cure the patient. Now you must make good offerings to these medicines; you must give many feasts in their honor and then if, in addition, you address them as if they were human beings, they assuredly will help you and do what you ask. You may accordingly accept the payments offered to you by your patients in good conscience and your children will wear these payments in the form of wampum necklaces and thus gain renewed strength. They will be well and happy. These are the reasons why I want you to be extremely careful in your attitude. Medicines are good for all purposes; that is why [993] they were given to us. Earthmaker gave them to us so that [955] we could cure ourselves from disease.

If any one tries to obtain these staffs of life, these medicines and inflicts sufferings upon himself in acquiring them, [987] then assuredly will our grandmother Earth have cognizance of it. She knows all that you have lost in obtaining them and in the long run what you have lost, will be returned to you. You made your offerings for the future and it is good for people to look forward to their [577] ● future.

Say, you wish to obtain the paint medicine. For that you ooo

# *The Teachings of My Father*

There are medicines to prevent people from getting tired 159 *
when walking and medicines to cause a dog fight to take 789
place. In short there are medicines for everything. 867

Every one must take care of himself and try to obtain
that knowledge which will enable him to live in comfort and 159 *
happiness. Try therefore to learn about the things you will 597 ●
need. If you know them, then as you travel along in life, 867
you will not have to go to the expense of buying them from others, but you will have your own medicines. If you act in this way and if, in addition, you fast properly, you will never be caught off guard in life. Should you possess a home, it will look beautiful and you will never be in want. That is why I know you will never regret this that I am telling you. So you shall travel on your journey though life, along the virtuous road taken by all your fellowmen, [626] and your actions and behavior will never become the butt of your neighbor's sarcasm.

Help yourself as you travel along the road of life. The earth has many narrow passages scattered over it. If you have something with which to strengthen yourself, then when you get to these narrow turns you will be able to pass through them safely and your fellow men will respect you. See to it that people like you. Be on friendly terms with every one and then every one will like you. You will be happy and prosperous.

Never do any wrong to your children. Whatever your [593] children ask of you, do it for them. If you act thus people will then say that you are good natured.

If any one in the village loses a friend through death, should you at all be wealthy, cover the expenses of the funeral of the deceased, if you can. Help the mourners likewise in defraying the expenses of feeding the departed. If you act thus, you will do well. All the people you have

*159 helped will then really know what kind of a man you are.
● 577 For the good you do people will love you.
867 It is not good to win at gambling. You may possibly
[525] become rich thereby but that is no life to lead. If you are blessed with luck in cards, if you are blessed with luck at gambling, you will perhaps win things and have plenty of wealth, but none of your children will live.

Now if you do all that I have told you, you will lead a happy and prosperous life. That is why we Winnebago preach to a child we love so that it should never become acquainted with the things that are not right, and never do anything wrong. Then if, in later life, a person does any thing wrong, he will do it with a clear knowledge of the consequences of his actions.

## III

*159 My son, when you get married, do not make an idol of
581 the woman you marry; do not worship her. If you worship
867 a woman she will insist upon greater and greater worship as time goes on. This is what the old people used to say.
562 They always preached against those men who hearken too
593 strongly to the words of women; who are the slaves of women. Now it may happen that a man has received many warnings as to his behavior in this regard and that he pays no attention to them. It may go so far that when he is asked to attend a war-bundle feast[20] he will refuse to go; it may be that when he is married he will listen to the voice

[926] [20] The war-bundle feast was the great war ceremony of the Winne-
[996] bago. It was given by all those individuals who possessed a war-
[614] bundle and since theoretically there was only one war-bundle in each clan, the basis of the organization of the ceremony was the clan.
[906] The ceremony consisted largely of prayers, songs and speeches in honor of the spirits more definitely associated with war. For each

*159 your wife is the only one to love, you have humbled yourself
[581] and she will be taken from you. You have likewise made
867 the woman suffer; you have made her unhappy. The whole
562 world will hear about it. No other woman will want to
593 marry you and you will have the reputation of being a
bad man.

●[579] Now you may act in the following way: You see people
[921] starting on a warpath and you join them knowing that it
is an honor to die on the warpath. But you will join them
because you feel unhappy at your wife's flight. Now this
is not the proper way to act. You are throwing away your
life; you are causing the leader of the war-party to throw
away a life. If you want to go on the warpath, do not go
because your wife has been taken away from you, go
because you feel courageous enough to do so.

It is on the warpath that a man has fun! Do not go,
[785] however, unless you have fasted adequately. You must
[926] fast for each specific warpath. If you do not and yet
join a war-party, then in the midst of the fight, a bullet
will come your way and kill you. That will happen because
you did not fast. If you have performed any deeds of
valor, recount them to your sisters and to your sister's
children. Those in charge of war-bundles are good to
listen to in such matters. Those to whom such people give
advice will eat an excellent dish; they will have the
[554] honor of sitting near a great warrior in the middle of the
lodge.

*159 These are the things of which the old people spoke and
867 this also is the advice I give you. I myself never asked
590 for these things, but my father did. Your grandfather
did. He asked for the information relating to the manner
in which people are to behave. Never, when you are older,
should you allow yourself to get in the predicament of not

knowing what is the right thing to do. Ask for this instruction, my son. It is not a matter requiring a few moments; it is something that must be thoroughly learned. You, too, must learn it. 159* 867 599

To a girl the following was told:

My daughter, as you travel along the path of life, listen to your parents. Do not let your mother work. Attend to the wants of your father. All the work in the house belongs to you. Do not shirk it. Chop wood, pack it; look after the gardens; gather the vegetables and cook them. When you come back to the village in the spring, plant your fields immediately. Never get lazy, for Earthmaker created you to do these things. 867 593 [462] [221]

My daughter, when you get your menses, do not ask those in the house to give you any food. Fast and do not eat until you get back to the family lodge. If you act thus, you will be fasting for your seat, for your position in life. You can only keep this seat by fasting. Then when you marry, even if your husband has been a good-for-nothing before, he will become a good hunter. You will have accomplished this for him. You will not fail in anything and you will be happy and contented. If, on the contrary, you do not do as I tell you, then when you marry, you will weaken your husband. After a while he will become sickly and it will be your fault. [841] [785]

It is not good to use medicine. If you marry a man and place medicine upon his head, you will weaken him and he will not amount to anything. It may happen that you do not want your husband to leave you and that after reflecting on the matter, you place some medicine on his head, to prevent him from leaving you. This is not good. You 867 593 832

726
*159
796
787

Then he took a piece of my food in his mouth and placed some in my mouth four times. I continued eating as the rest of the feasters began their meal. For quite some time I was not able to eat much.

*159
●597
787

Through it all I was not in the least conscious of any dreams or blessings. All that I was aware of was that all the people around me were taking pity upon me. Throughout it all I had my mind fixed on women. In doing these things I imagined that I had accomplished something great and that I had risen greatly in women's estimation. Even though I tried to render myself pitiable in the sight of the spirits, yet through it all, my thoughts were centered upon them. I was never lowly at heart and never really desired the blessing of the spirits. All that I thought of was that I was a great man and that the women would regard me as a great man.

[P.86]

## *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

Then the pipe is passed on to all those present. After 159*
that the leader drinks a little water and passes this 765
around too. It is only after pipe and water have 775
passed all the way around that the people begin to eat. 539
When the meal is over the attendant takes the pipe and 537
some tobacco and places it before some distinguished warrior who has been invited to the wake. The latter is then asked to speak to the soul of the deceased and tell him the route to take on the journey to the spirit land. This warrior then rises and speaks:

Ho, I greet you all. We are not greeting one another because we are happy as on ordinary occasions but because it is the custom to come together at a wake. Now I shall show the soul of the departed the route he is to take and the care he must observe on his journey. I shall announce to him the ghosts over whom I have control and who are to conduct him safely to his destination. I will not exaggerate [22] when I speak of my war exploits but relate only what really happened to me. It is said that if a person exaggerates and tells falsehoods in recounting his exploits on such an occasion, the soul of the departed will stumble [571] on his journey. I shall therefore only tell the truth and I shall tell the chief of the spirits to guide our dead one safely over all obstacles. Now I am not going to speak of anybody else's exploits but only of my own. Only those over whom I have control will I put at the disposal of our dead one to act as his guide. The spirit-tobacco, the spirit-food, and the fire, these things the ghosts over whom

[22] For the dangers of exaggeration on such an occasion see note 15. It was also believed to cause the death of the warrior who indulged in it.[1]



[1] [The author apparently means note 17. See Category 116, p. 59 -- analyst]

I, of course, thought that it must indeed be a marvelous thing and I was very happy about it. What I was most eager to see was myself killed and then brought to life again in the lodge, as it was believed happened to the members of the Medicine Dance. I also realized that a member of the Medicine Dance, whether man or woman, was different from a person not belonging to it and I was quite anxious not to be an ordinary person any longer but to be a medicine man. 159* 796 [775] [554]

As soon as we finished building the ceremonial lodge the ceremony began, and the first thing the people did was to sing. Then the leader of the band that was giving the dance arose and delivered a speech: 159* 796 537

All those who are sitting here I greet. We are waiting for all of you to have compassion upon us. Nephew,[28] I shall now tell you the road you are to travel. He whom we call nephew, the hare, the founder of the Medicine Dance, obtained this life-ensuring ceremony for us. This is the only life; no other exists. Exert yourself to follow in the road of your ancestors and adhere to the ceremony that represented their mode of life. I know you will hearken to what I say. Assuredly you will listen, for thereby you will help and benefit yourself and, at the same time, attain the good life.

Never do anything wrong. Do not steal. Do not quarrel. If on any occasion you meet a woman on the road, turn to the right, never to the left. No matter who the woman is, do not take liberties with her. This is what the old people taught us and if you perform the rites of this ceremony you will obtain the life that we desire for you. [577] [608]

[28] The person to be initiated is always called nephew.

## *My Brother Is Murdered*

as I pretended for whenever I woke up from a drunken 159* orgy I found myself firmly bound. [273]

All I did was to wander from place to place, from one woman to another. I had four sisters and from them [593] and from my parents did I receive all that I possessed and yet in spite of this, I claimed to be a great man! [156] I then had two women staying with me as my wives. 159* At one time I had as many as four, two at my parents' 588 house and two at certain relatives of mine. I wasn't serious with any one of them. I lied all the time; I was always telling falsehoods. On one occasion I had four [577] children born to me and each one had a different mother. Even after that I continued courting women and drinking.

In the spring there was always work to do. We 159* rolled logs down the stream and drank. I accepted [22] such occupations because I could then always get as much drink as I wanted. Whenever I had any money [273] I spent it on getting some woman drunk.

[P. 135]

## §19. *The Effect of a Pretended Blessing*

*159 I was now drinking heavily all the time and I began
273 to boast of being a holy man. I claimed that I had
787 been blessed by certain spirits and I made this claim
156 again and again. Of course this was all a lie, for I had
● 577 never felt a stirring of any kind within me. I made the claim because I had heard others doing it. Generally I made this claim when I was just about drunk, just on the verge of getting boisterous but still vaguely conscious of what I was saying. Then I would say, for instance, that I had been blessed by a Grizzly-spirit, that he had blessed me with the power of being uncontrollable, that he had taught me certain songs. These I would then sing at the top of my voice. I used to exert all the power I had to imitate a grizzly bear. The bystanders would try to hold me but it always required a large number of men to do so. Now I thought this exhibition of mine an act worthy of praise.

*159 After that I began to claim that I had been blessed
156 by many spirits. I made the claim at one time that I
577 was really the reincarnation of one of the benevolent
787 giant spirits and that my name was *Good-heart*, that I
775 was now living as a human being among men. Such
776 was my claim and people believed me.
000 Once when I was on one of my drinking sprees I

## *The Effect of a Pretended Blessing*

Once when I was on one of my drinking sprees I visited the lodge of a relative of mine. There I found a woman whom I had the right to call niece and whom I could therefore tease. Just in jest I used to call her "mother" and "sister." Now on this particular occasion after food had been offered me, I began teasing her as usual when one of the women sitting around there said, "My younger brother, your niece is really in a condition to excite your compassion and not to fool with. She is in fact about to face death, for she is going to be confined soon and she generally manages barely to escape death then." "Oh, is that so?" answered I. "Well, elder sister, this time my niece is not going to suffer. Up above, in the heavens, there exist four women, sisters, and these blessed me, telling me that if I ever called upon them for help they would help me. Now to these I shall offer tobacco and when my niece is about to be delivered, she, too, must ask for help." Thus I spoke to her. The woman thanked me. I had told a terrible falsehood. I said all this because I was very hungry and I knew that I would then receive enough to appease my hunger. I had nothing else to say.

159* 755 [273] [602] [845] [577] ●

Some time after this I saw the women in town. The older woman ran over to me and said, "My younger brother, all is well. Your niece is in wonderful condition; she is very well indeed. She has just given birth to a child and within three days of its birth she was able to chop wood. Never before has such a thing happened to her. It is good. As soon as the annuity payment is made you may have the child's portion for drink.

[657]

*159 795 "Say, they certainly talk foolishly." I felt very angry at them. "You will hear them yourself for they are going to have a meeting to-night. Their songs are very strange. They use a small drum," said my father. Then I felt a strong desire to see them.

Finally we reached our home. That night there was to be a peyote meeting. At first I sat outside and listened to them. I grew very fond of them. I was a stranger in their country and the young members of the peyote religion were exceedingly friendly to me. They lent me money occasionally and treated me with tender regard. They did everything that they thought would make me feel good and in consequence I used [577] to speak as though I really liked the ceremony. I was, however, only deceiving them. I only said it because they were so good to me. I thought they acted in this way because the peyote was deceiving them.

Soon after that my parents returned to Wisconsin telling me that they would return in a short time. I was thus left alone with those of my relatives who were peyote followers. That is why they left me there. Whenever I went among the non-peyote people I used [577] to say all sorts of things about the peyote people and when I returned to the peyote people I used to say all sorts of things about the others.

I had a friend who was a peyote man and he said to me, "My friend, I wish very much that you would eat the peyote." Then I answered him, "My friend, I will do it but not until I get accustomed to the people of this country. Then I will do it. What worries me

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 795 When John Rave had finished I ate five peyote. Then my brother-in-law and my sister came and gave themselves up. They asked me to stand there with them. I did not like it, but I did it nevertheless. "Why should I give myself up? I am not in earnest [577] and I intend to stop this as soon as I get back to Wisconsin. I am only doing this because they have given me presents," I thought. "I might as well get up, however, since it doesn't mean anything to me." So I stood up. The leader began to talk and I suddenly began to feel sick. It got worse and worse and finally I lost consciousness. When I came to, I found myself lying on my back. Those with whom I had been standing were still there. As a matter of fact, I had regained consciousness as soon as I fell down. I felt like leaving the place that night but I did not do it. I was quite tired out. "Why have I done this?" I said to myself. "I promised my sister that I would not do it." So I thought and I tried to leave but I couldn't. I suffered intensely. At last day dawned. Now I thought that they regarded me as one who had had a trance and had seen something.

Then we went home and they showed me a passage in the Bible where it said that it was a shame for any man to wear long hair. I looked at the passage. I was [302] not a man learned in books, but I wanted to give the [156] impression that I knew how to read so I told them to cut my hair. I was still wearing it long at the time. After my hair was cut I took out a lot of medicines, many small bundles of them. These and my shorn hair

105 thunderbird. He is the representative of peace, par excellence. He
614 cannot go to war or have anything to do with the many war cere-
616 monies of the tribe. Be it remembered that victory on the warpath is
622 the highest honor a Winnebago can attain. He must succour the needy and plead for clemency in all cases of infractions of tribal law and custom, even in case of murder. His lodge is a sacred asylum and [778] absolutely inviolate. Not only is a prisoner of war safe if he manages to take refuge there, but even a dog, about to be sacrificed, must be spared, should he manage to run into it. Naturally all the other male members of the thunderbird clan as well as all the male members of the other clans in the upper phratry, go on the warpath and seek prestige through war. But, after all, this warfare is waged against people who have no status within the tribe. Acquiescence in it does not constitute approval of violence nor is it regarded as a resort to violence. And it is this condemnation of violence for which the tribal chief and his phratry stands.

105 In contrast to this is the attitude of the chief of the lower division,
614 who always belongs to the bear clan. In him are centered pre-
616 eminently the police, the disciplinary and the war functions. He and
622 his associates police and guard the village, inflict punishment for
625 transgressions of law and custom, take charge of the whole tribe when it is on a communal warpath or engaged in hunting, etc. It is in the official lodge of the bear chief that prisoners are confined before being killed and it is in the same lodge where the sacred warbundles are stored and guarded against contamination.

105 We are dealing here with a very old and persistent classification
616 of the two opposing forces in society and one which reflects the
622 answer to a question asked repeatedly, namely, how are we to meet
182 the two aspects of life and of reality with which we are being con-
577 tinually confronted, the protective, constructive and positive, and the repelling, destructive and negative? Winnebago thinkers seemed to have been particularly fond of posing this problem.

It is not strange then, that they should have felt the contrast between the functions of the two phratries to lie, fundamentally, in their attitude toward evil. For the tribal chief evil was to be warded off before it came and always by passive methods. If that did not

succeed and evil was already upon the tribe, then his attention was directed toward alleviating the suffering caused by it and toward preventing any violence that might come in its wake. His function was to be protective and constructive. As one Winnebago told me, 'The chief of the tribe is like a motherbird feeding its young ones.' 105 616 622 182 577

The chief of the lower division, by contrast, went out to meet evil, attacked it ferociously when encountered, and paid little attention to the violent mood it developed among the defender-assailants. The important thing was to attack, fight and gain the victory.

The two opposing approaches to the problem can best be illustrated by the attitudes of the two chiefs toward sickness and murder. The tribal chief meets the first by giving a feast of conciliation and making direct appeals to Earthmaker. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, immediately starts in pursuit of it. With his assistants he makes the circuit of the village four times to look for its cause. He is on the warpath and should a dog cross his path, he is immediately killed. Then he pays a visit to the sick people, dances before them and lays his hands upon them. 105 622 755 182

If a murder has been committed, the tribal chief not only intercedes for the life of the murderer but actually, if need be, offers to take the place of the malefactor. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, seizes the murderer and conducts him to the family of the murdered person to be punished. 105 182 622 [682]

The objects associated with the two chiefs are typical and symbolical of their activities. For the first it is the peace-pipe, the emblem of conciliation and humility; for the second, a curiously formed baton, the emblem of punishment and pain, with which, when need be, he strikes those who transgress.

The recognition of these two aspects of social life and reality, contradictory, colliding, complementary, had its counterpart in the Winnebago analysis of human nature. There too, they insisted, good and evil, the spiritual and the material, the sacred and the profane, seemed forever at strife and forever striving for reconciliation, neutralization or fusion. This philosophy, we shall now see, is reflected, particularly, in mythology, religion and ritualism. 105 772 182

the last and least qualified of the personages in a myth or tale, become the true hero. Secondly, it is the cardinal ethical principle of the Winnebago that the lowly shall be raised to high estate. That is the reward for humility. Thirdly, a hero or a virtuous man must show a development, must bring about order within himself. We have seen that hold true for Trickster, for Hare and for Earthmaker himself.

In both versions of the Origin Myth, man is projected naked into an atmosphere over which he has no control whatsoever and where he is immediately attacked by evil spirits. This is in flat contradiction with the accounts of his original state in the exoteric myths. There he is almost immediately placed in possession of tobacco, the intermediary between man and the deities, as well as of flint, corn, etc.

If this is not mentioned in the Origin Myth that is because he is not to save himself or receive the wherewithal of life through the accidental benefactions of culture-heroes. On the contrary, he is to be in dire straits and saved. Earthmaker is represented as withholding tobacco from the spirits in order to present it to man and as endowing these same spirits with an overpowering craving for it. In short, it is to be the mechanism for an exchange between man and the deities. He will give them tobacco; they will give him powers to meet life and overcome obstacles. Yet the deities cannot, by themselves, save him. They are at strife with one another. This can only be done by Earthmaker. For this purpose he dispatches the great primordial culture-heroes, Trickster, Bladder, Turtle and Hare to the earth.

This is a completely new role for all three. Naturally they do not succeed. They cannot be saviours. Their antecedents are against them. Trickster is the supreme egoist, the chaotic buffoon hero, a kind of Priapus, without any sense of responsibility and without purpose as far as man is concerned. His most positive contribution is to point out the stupidity, the cupidity, the vanities and foibles of creatures. He cannot help anyone. With man he has never had any connection. Turtle is not much better. He is the embodiment of cowardice, braggadocio and unabashed sensualism. The best he can do is to participate in warfare and, then, never as a hero.

the young faster to overreach and destroy himself. Thus we see along what lines the reinterpretations of the priest-thinker were made. 105 771

This was the theory that the priest-thinker tried to impress upon his fellowmen in order to introduce a greater sense of confidence and security in the relationship between man and the deities. Because of the very high demands it made upon the worshipper, it remained largely a philosophical-ethical ideal and the fairly sharp line of demarcation between human beings and the spirits continued in force as the popular theory. Some there were who even insisted that it was, not only the courageous, but the morally justifiable thing to do, to coerce the deities into acquiescing in man's demands. That was the proper way to meet divinity, to challenge the gods, accept what they granted and, then, to attempt to fulfill the conditions imposed even if they meant death. Few individuals in the community, for instance, had greater prestige than the few who had secured a blessing from the much dreaded deity, *Disease-giver*. He had two faces, one dealing life and the other death. No suppliant knew which side would be turned toward him when he made his offerings, at noon, in the full blaze of day, contrary to what held for all the other deities, namely, that they must be approached at night. 776 [538] [554] [782]

This, of course, is the warrior's creed and, in a civilization like that of the Winnebago where the highest ambition as a man was to achieve distinction on the warpath, it naturally was very important. Yet to this, the chief of the tribe might well retort: such courage and such risks have their moral justification only when one is fighting the enemy or avenging the death of a kinsman. They are inapplicable when approaching a god. The taking of great risks concerns not only oneself but the whole community and must be subject to the sanctions of the community. A person must be carefully and properly educated before he dare take them. To exhibit fearlessness and heroic courage is, in itself, no virtue. Indeed, in the wrong place or on the wrong occasion, they can and do lead to death and destruction. 105 771 577

And so, in the realm of religion as in that of social organization and mythology, the problem to be faced is depicted as being the same. How are we to resolve the differences between the 'earth' interpre- 105 771

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Once a medicine-dance man and a night-blessed man became jealous and the medicine-dance man said that he would play tricks on the night-blessed man. The night-blessed man said he was quite willing to have a contest. So the two came and sat opposite each other and began their contest. Whatever the medicine-dance man did the night-blessed man did too, but always a little better. The medicine-dance man was defeated, so from that time on the medicine-dance men are afraid of the former. The medicine-dance men shot the night-blessed men with claws, but they could not kill them. Therefore they were afraid of them. The night-blessed men could kill the medicine-dance men at pleasure. The medicine-dance men were inferior. That is all. 756 575 578 [754]

SOCIETY OF THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN BLESSED BY THE HEROK'A

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The feast of those who have been blessed by the Herok'a is given at any time of the year. Anyone may be invited. The feast is held in a long lodge and is generally given by a number of members at the same time (or by all). Each person brings a deer and his bow and arrows. The bows and arrows are painted different colors, depending upon the color (paint) with which the individual has been blessed. The bows are all stuck in the ground between the first two fireplaces and the arrows in a row just behind them. 756 575

During the ceremony and feast the members all sing the songs with which they have been blessed. The ceremony is held before the feast and is conducted by one of the members of the society. He leads, holding a bow in one hand. The others follow, holding arrows in their hands. Only men are permitted to dance. There are certain songs, to the accompaniment of which women are permitted to dance. But the women must have passed their climacteric.

They do not use gourd rattles as at the other dances. Instead a number of deer hoofs are strung together and used in place of them. (They do not eat with their hands or with the ordinary sticks) but use instead forked sticks, whittled down at one end. The leader wears a headdress to which a horn is attached, and paints his body with the same color as his arrows. Whoever leads the dance carries a flute, which he plays before and after each song. Those following him hit their mouth with the palm of their hands and whoop. [534]

When the dance is over, each one of the feasters takes his plate and dances out.[11]

[11] This account of the Herok'a Society is unfortunately merely fragmentary, but from a few additional notes obtained there seems to be little doubt that it represents the same type of organization as the other religious fraternities.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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life as the Shawnee prophet proposed to do, he substituted an alien religion. It was because he was introducing an alien religion, not because he was introducing a new religion, that he was so intensely hated by the conservative members of the tribe. 794 159 [177 156]

When this hostility was at its height a new convert, Albert Hensley, revolutionized the entire cult by introducing the reading of the Bible, postulating the dogma that the peyote opened the Bible to the understanding of the people, and also adding a number of Christian practices. He, like Rave, had been in Oklahoma. He brought back with him many peyote songs, generally in other languages, dealing with Christian ideas, upon which subsequently Winnebago songs were modeled. He also introduced either baptism itself or an interpretation of baptism, and induced Rave to attempt a union with the Christian Church. He seems to have been the only prominent man connected with the peyote who was subject to epileptic fits. He had the most glorious visions of heaven and hell while in his trance, and these he expounded afterwards in terms of Revelation and the mystical portions of the New Testament. Hensley's additions represent a second stratum of borrowed elements, all of which are in the nature of accretions as far as the peyote itself is concerned. The Bible is explained in terms of the peyote. Neither Hensley nor his followers ever interpreted the peyote in terms of the Bible, although other elements of the old Winnebago culture were so interpreted. These elements, however, represented features that even in the old Winnebago cults exhibited a great variability in interpretation. 794 177 159 [158]

Rave's attitude toward the innovations of Hensley seems to have been that of a benevolent acquiescence. He himself could neither read nor write. Yet he immediately accepted the Bible and added it to his other regalia. As such it always seems to have remained. To Rave, after all, the peyote was the principal element, and if Hensley chose to insist that the Bible was only intelligible to those who partook of the peyote why that naturally fell within its magical powers. From the entire omission in Rave's account of the Peyote cult of the more important things that Hensley introduced and from the fact that whenever Hensley's influence was not dominant there seems to have been little Bible reading, it seems justifiable to say that Rave's attitude toward these innovations was merely passive.

There never was any rivalry between Rave and Hensley. The latter was, however, a much younger man, quick-tempered, conceited, dogmatic, and withal having a strong mixture of Puritan Protestant ideas. A conflict developed after a while and in a very interesting manner. Rave had allowed a man with an extremely bad reputation, who had been admitted as a member of the Peyote cult, to occupy one of the four positions. Hensley violently pro- 578 [157] 794 159

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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578 794 159 tested, on the ground that a man of X.'s character could not properly perform the rites associated with that position. Rave, however, retorted that the efficacy of the peyote, of any position connected with its cult, was in no way connected with the character of the performer, and that it was inherent in the peyote and in the Peyote ritual. Thereupon, after much parleying to and fro, Hensley formally seceded, taking with him a number of followers. The bulk of the peyote eaters, however, remained with Rave, and within a comparatively short time a number of Hensley's followers returned to Rave, so that in 1911 Hensley had merely a handful of people. Since then he has ceased to be a force, although his innovations have been retained by a number of the younger Peyote members, especially by those who read English.

In 1911 there was no unification of the ideas of Rave and Hensley. Since then, strange to say, although Hensley's attempt to set up his [177] own religion failed utterly, his ideas and Christian innovations seemed to have triumphed completely. This, however, has gone hand in [178] hand with a marked dropping off of enthusiasm. It appears now as if the Peyote cult has run its course. Some of the members have recently returned to the old pagan customs, others have practically become Christians, and many have become indifferent.

794 177 159 Unquestionably the most interesting of recent innovations is that introduced by Jesse Clay, the account of which has been given before. This is, of course, the Arapaho manner of conducting the ceremony. At the present time it has none of the characteristics of the Winnebago ceremonial. Whether in the next few years it will develop any depends upon the interest manifested in it by the Peyote worshipers and upon the vitality of the Peyote movement in general.

It is extremely suggestive to compare what Rave introduced with the ceremony borrowed by Clay. The former introduced an isolated element, the peyote and its worship, and clothed it almost immediately in characteristic Winnebago forms. It can truly be said that although the peyote is an alien element, from the Winnebago viewpoint, everything else in the ceremony is and was from the beginning typically Winnebago. Clay's method of conducting the Peyote ceremonies, on the other hand, is entirely alien. For it ever to become popular with the large mass of Winnebago it will have to become thoroughly assimilated with the Winnebago background.

### Dissemination of the Doctrine

Let us now see how the ideas of Rave and Hensley were transmitted in the tribe itself, who the first and the later converts were, in what the nature of their conversion consisted, and what they, in turn, brought to the new cult.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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this time! Why did I not look before I began? No wonder the people call me the Foolish One." 794 773

So are we Winnebagoes. We never look before we act. We do everything without thinking. We think we know all about it.

The Trickster was walking around with a pack on his back. As he walked along, someone called to him. "Say, we want you to sing." "All right," said he. "I am carrying songs in my pack, and if you wish to dance, build a large lodge for me with a small hole at the end for an entrance." When it was finished, they all went in, and the Trickster followed them. Those who had spoken to him were birds. He told them that while dancing they were not to open their eyes, for if they did their eyes would become red. Whenever a fat bird passed the Trickster he would choke it to death, and if it cried out, he would say, "That's it! That's it! Give a whoop!"

After a while one of the birds got somewhat suspicious and opened its eyes just the least little bit. He saw that the Trickster was choking all the birds. "He is killing us all," said the bird. "Let all who can run for their lives." Then he flew out through the top of the house. The Trickster took the birds he had killed and roasted them; but he did not get a chance to eat them, for they were taken away from him by somebody.

So are we Winnebagoes. We like all that is forbidden. We say that we like the medicine dance; we say that it is good and yet we keep it secret and forbid people to witness it. We tell members of the dance not to speak about it until the world shall come to an end. They are afraid to speak of it. We, the Winnebago, are the birds, and the Trickster is satan.

Once, as the Trickster was going along the road, some one spoke to him. He listened, and he heard it say, "If anyone eats me all bad things will come out of him." Then the trickster went up to the one talking, and said, "What is your name?" "My name is 'Blows-himself-away.'" The Trickster would not believe it; so he ate it. After a while, he blew himself away. He laughed. "Oh, pshaw! I suppose this is what it meant." As he went along it grew worse and worse, and it was only after the greatest hardship that he succeeded in returning home.

So are we Winnebagoes. We travel on this earth all our lives, and then when one of us tastes something that makes him unconscious we look upon this thing with suspicion when he regains consciousness.

### The Attitude of the Conservatives

At every phase of the cult's development Rave had to contend with the hostility of the conservative members of the tribe. It would be interesting to know in what manner and degree this hostility mani- 794 578

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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794 578 fested itself upon the first introduction of the peyote. As we have seen, there was in the beginning little difference between the beliefs relating to the peyote and those connected with the old Winnebago medicinal plants. Nevertheless the author was assured that hostility was exhibited to the new cult from the very start. Would the same hostility have been exhibited had this new feature represented some development from within the tribe? In other words, what it would be interesting to know, is whether the fact that the peyote was derived from without led to a hostility different in kind from that exhibited toward an innovation developing within the culture itself. No evidence could be obtained that would justify us in explaining the hostility felt by the older conservative Winnebago as due in any part to the fact that it was alien in origin. Certain elements that to-day form an integral part of the most popular of all Winnebago cere-
[177] monies were borrowed from the Sauk and Iowa, and the Winnebago realize this and mention it in the introductory myths told in connection with the preparatory rites of the medicine dance. The explanation obtained was always the same—that the hostility was due to the fact that the teachings of the Peyote people departed from those of their ancestors and that the Peyote were simply aping the habits and customs of the whites. What seems to have met with the greatest
[775 177] opposition from the older shamans was the denial of the doctrine of reincarnation. The Christian doctrine of the immortality of the soul does not seem to have been felt as a substitute at all. One old conservative assured the author that he had long ago prophesied the appearance of the peyote among the Winnebago. He told the author the following:

[776] "This medicine is one of the four spirits from below, and for that reason it is a bad thing. These spirits have always longed for human beings and now they are getting hold of them. Those who use this medicine claim that when they die they will only be going on a long journey. But that is not the truth, for when they eat peyote they
[775] destroy their spirits, and death to them will mean extermination. If I spit upon the floor, the sputum will soon dry up and nothing will remain of it. So death will be for them. I might go out and preach against this doctrine, but it would be of no avail, for I certainly would not be able to draw more than one or two people away from this spirit. Many will be taken in by this medicine; they will not be able to help themselves in any way. The bad spirit will certainly seize them."

## § 24. *A Woman Quarrels with Me*

*159 I was met by my father and mother and a woman
839 who was living with me before I left. They were very
● 578 glad to see me. When I got home I found many people
152 camping there. At the camp the woman fixed a bed for me, gave me some food, and told me to lie down with her. Instead, I went out and made inquiries about a woman with whom I had once lived. I found that she was still there. To her lodge I went, and with her I stayed that night. In the morning the other woman was angry. However, I continued staying with this new one. Late on the following night some one woke me up. "Come out," the voice said. I went out with a blanket around me and found my former wife. She it was who was calling me. She said, "In the morning
[650] the annuity payment is to be paid in Necedah. I am going there to-night, and I want you to go with me." "I haven't any money," I answered. "As though you ever had any money of your own when you wanted to do something!" I refused to go with her. She persisted, and finally I went back and lay down. After a while she followed me inside and hit me very hard and called me names. She kicked me and pulled my hair. "If I had anything with which to kill you, I would kill you." Finally I got angry, and she stopped and went away.

*159 over until the following spring. It was enough to cause
648 one to say "Oh, my!" in impatience. During the win-
[531] ter we used to make bead work and compete with one
[301] another as to who could do the best. We made beaded finger-rings, and these were always purchased by some
[432] one. By selling these rings we thus made quite a good deal of money. We also made suspenders. I made thirty of them and sold them for seven dollars a pair. We thus had plenty of money and drank all the time. There were some prisoners locked up together with us whose terms were almost over, and these were allowed to go outside. They would buy us the whisky. We
[525] gambled, too, playing for money stakes.

One day my wife came to visit me. I talked to her through the iron grating. I was allowed to talk to her for a long time. All I could do was to desire her. I
[152] wanted her badly. When the wives of the others came, they felt just as I did.

● [578] Once we had a fight. We had been drinking and
[273] were disputing about a game. Afterwards we were quite humble about it.

*159 Shortly after this we found out that my wife had
152 married again. I did not feel like eating, but I tried
648 hard to do so, because I thought that the others would
837 notice it. Then I said to them, "I am glad to hear about this report that my wife has married again. When I get out of prison I will pay the one who has married her, for he is taking care of her until my release. Indeed I have felt quite uneasy about her for some time. Now I feel quite relieved, for she is being

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12



The Winnebago term for berdache is very uncertain. The last known case in Wisconsin was called dejáŋčowiŋga, usually translated as Blue Lake Woman (dejáŋčowiŋga—dejáŋ: lake or sea; čo: blue; wiŋ: female name ending; ga: name referrent suffix). In Nebraska mention was made of another berdache who had lived in Wisconsin and was called čoranažiŋga or Standing Blue (čoranažiŋga—čo: blue; ra: article; naži: to stand; wiŋ: elided with naži as nažiŋ, female name ending; ga: name referrent suffix). The term šiáŋge was suggested as a general word for berdache by two Wisconsin informants, and it was translated by several people as "a no good," "a eunuch," "an unmanly man." This word was still in common use in Wisconsin in 1947, but was used among young men as an insult or teasing epithet. These young men claimed to know nothing more about the word except that it carried connotations of weakness and effeminateness. 192 838 [195] [578]

The characteristics of the Winnebago berdache agree closely with those reported for the Omaha and Ponca but the word used to designate a berdache in both of these latter tribes was mi$^{a}$-qu-ga, according to Dorsey (378–379). Among the Oglala the berdache had been blessed by a pote wi$^{a}$kte or hermaphroditic buffalo, wi$^{a}$kte being the word for berdache. A certain amount of shame had become attached to the role among these Plains Siouan groups by the time it was reported by Dorsey in 1889 and Wissler in 1912, but Wissler (p. 92) said of the Oglala, "In the old days all the berdaches were very wakan." 171 838

Knowledge of the berdache among the Winnebago was provided in 1946 through a chance conversation with M.M., a woman who was then about thirty years old. Her parents had been the first Christian converts at the Winnebago community near Black River Falls, Wisconsin, and M.M. had once heard her mother mention "Men who dressed as women." When M.M. attempted to question her mother, at the writer's request, for more information about the berdache, the mother, then a woman in her seventies, became very angry and said in Winnebago, "Why did you ask about that? That is something we want to forget and not talk about." 124 838 [797]

Another woman, S.S., a younger sister of Radin's famous informant Crashing Thunder, was next approached and she offered the following account.

> Yes, I used to hear about that, but I don't know much about it. Once there was a man who fasted and he learned that if he dressed like a woman he would be the richest person in the world, but if he wore men's clothes, he die soon. She wore earrings, and bracelets, and necklaces and a shirt like a woman, but his brothers told him . . . her? . . . if he . . . she? . . . put on a skirt they would kill him. There used to be people like that, not just that one. I think šiáŋge is the word for them but I don't know, now it's just a slang word and means a no good. Those people did women's work, and they did it real good, better than even women could. [192]

Later M.M., the original informant, was able to prevail upon her mother to provide more information. Her description included all of the points given above except mention of wealth accruing to the berdache. However, M.M.'s mother added that berdaches had been blessed by the moon and had the gift

## *I Have a Fight*

and told me that some one had struck him. I got 159*
angry and told him to point out the person who had 591
done it. Just then the very person appeared and I 698
tried to strike him, but he got away. I succeeded, however, in striking him with a drumstick. That evening I was told that the man whom I had struck had said that he was going to kill a certain Indian. "Perhaps he doesn't know that he also is subject to death," I answered. "Indeed, I am anxious to get ahold of him." After the show was finished we put on our civilian clothes and took our handbags. "None of you must go out alone," I warned them, "for you might get hurt." One of my boys was on horseback and was taking his horse to water it at a trough. His pony was taken away from him and he returned without it. His hat, too, had been stolen. Indeed he barely escaped with his life. "Come, let us go back," I said. I told the other boys to go right on and not to worry about me. I gave them my handbag and then returned 159*
to the place where the first boy had been attacked. 698
Before we got there the same boy was attacked and 519
set upon with clubs. We were right in the midst of a big crowd of Whites. These shouted and chased him. When they saw me they started for me. I fought them with my bare fists, turning from side to side. I was completely surrounded by them. Whenever any one got near enough to me I struck him. Then I started to run and was hit on the head, but I was not knocked unconscious. I was now angry and I struck out at all within reach. If I had had a weapon

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



*159 ● 579 648 I would have killed some of them. Several now fell upon me and I was struck on the head until it was entirely covered with blood. I started for the show tents which had not yet been taken down. Just then the man who had begun all the trouble came toward me with a hatchet. I went for him and when he raised the hatchet I struck him and knocked him down, for I hit him straight in the mouth.

A policeman now came forward and led me to our show tents. I was covered with blood. The women were weeping and told the policeman who I was, that it was not my fault and that I had not been drinking. I was taken to jail. I told the policeman that we ought not to be locked up for we had not started the trouble. The others ought to be locked up, we said, for it was the particular man who had hit my boy who had been drinking. "You are right," said the policeman. "I will go back and look for your things. Yet you ought not to be on the street for you have hurt many people. You had better stay in jail for a few hours for many people are on the watch for you. Now I'll go for your pony and then you can do what you like." They put me in jail and there I found the Indian about whom all the trouble had started. "Well, this is good," he said. "I thought they had killed you. Well, how many did you kill?" "I didn't kill any one," I answered. "It is good, for I thought they had either killed you or that you had killed them."

Then I washed the blood from my head. Soon after the policeman returned and brought my pony with him,

## *I Have a Fight*

as well as my hat. Then he said, "You are to go home immediately. It is true that you have been dealt with unfairly, but this is a regular fair town, and if any trouble starts in the courts about this affair, it will hurt our fairs in the future. We shall therefore not go to law about it. The man who started the trouble is the owner of a large hotel, and in addition, owns a trotting horse. You have knocked out all the teeth of this hotel-keeper, and we do not know whether he will live or not. You have bruised other people, too, badly. So you had better go home." 159* 579 648 [541]

From there we started for our home. My partner rode a pony and rode through the middle of the town on it. I went in the same direction. He was afraid to go through the crowd of white people. A policeman escorted us out to the edge of the town. There we told him that we wanted some whisky and he went into a saloon and bought us two quarts. We both started then, sitting on a small two-year-old pony that belonged to my partner. Every time a team drove by we got frightened. After we had been drinking a little, however, we said that if the fight were to occur again, we would surely kill some one for we were sorry about the way in which it had ended. No one pursued us, however. 159* 648 [203]

There were some Indians living in the neighborhood and we used to go to visit them every night. When I told them about what had happened they got quite frightened for they thought these white people would come out there to fight. So they moved away on the

## *Dissipation*

happened to have, for I had become a thief. If I saw 159 *
a woman drunk, I would steal her, for I was an adul- [685]
terer. What I was looking for mainly was a woman to [273]
cohabit with, for in this way, I was able to get all her [837]
money. If any woman wanted to cohabit with me, she would have to give me all the money she had. This is the sort of thing I was doing. In this way I often succeeded in inducing two or three women to live with me at the same time.

After finishing at Neeedah the superintendent always 159 *
went to Tomah to pay the people there, and from 657
Tomah he would proceed to Black River Falls. At Black River Falls the last payment was made, and for that reason it was always an extremely noisy place on such an occasion. All who liked this kind of a life, all who used to chase payments for the fun of it, would be there. Marriages would get badly mixed up here, and [837]
there would always be stealing of one another's wives, [579] •
fighting, robbery, etc. Even those married people who [684]
had been faithful to each other up till then, would become unfaithful. Many people would get hurt. When the last payment had been made, all those who had not spent their last cent on drink would begin gam- [525]
bling, the men and women playing poker. Only when our last cent was gone would we stop and settle down. Many of us were generally left without enough money to go home.

[P.147]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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The menstrual lodge is never far from the lodge in which she lives. Indeed, it is within speaking distance, so that the occupants of her parents' lodge can hear her. All the utensils she uses are very small. The women stay from 4 to 10 days in the menstrual lodges. The older women stay out the shorter time because they are over it sooner. 841 343

It is said that if the young girls have any lovers they always come to the menstrual lodges at night. This is therefore the time for wooing. It is said that the girls cohabit with their lovers in these menstrual lodges. Those girls who have parents are attended by watchers, so that no unworthy men may visit them. They are especially guarded against ugly men, who are very likely to have love medicines. However, generally it is of no avail to struggle against such men, for they are invincible. [584 836] [832]

The women always take their blankets with them when they go to a menstrual lodge, for they never lie down but remain in a sitting posture, wrapped in their blankets. The women are always watched, so that when their menstrual flow comes everything is in readiness and lodge poles are placed around them and a lodge erected above their heads just about large enough to fit their body. They are not permitted to look upon the daylight nor upon any individual. If they were to look out during the day the weather would become very bad, and if they were to look at the blue sky it would become cloudy and rain. If they looked at anyone that person would become unfortunate. For four days they do not eat or drink anything; not even water do they drink. They fast all the time. Not even their own body do they touch with their hands. If they ever have any need of touching their bodies they use a stick. If they were to use their hands in touching their own body their bones would be attacked with fever. If they were to scratch their hands their heads would ache. After the fourth day they bathe in sight of their home. Then they return to their homes and eat. (This, of course, holds only for those whose menstrual flow ceases in four days.) If any women have to stay longer than four days they have to fast for that entire period. They always fast during this period and often some spirits blow them. When a woman who has stayed in the menstrual lodge for 10 days is ready to return to her lodge, she bathes herself and puts on an entirely new suit of clothes. Then her home is purified with red-cedar leaves and all the sacred bundles and medicines removed. Only then can she enter her parents' lodge. As soon as she returns to her parents' lodge after her first menstrual flow she is regarded as ready to be wooed and married. 841 [921] 831

Thus the teacher of our customs, the Hare, has willed it. At a feast all the young girls nearing the age of puberty will be absent, but the old women, who have passed their climacteric, sit right next to the men, because they are considered the same as men as they have no menstrual flow any more. 581 825 886

If the Winnebago can be said to be afraid of any one thing it may be said it is this—the menstrual flow of women—for even the spirits die of its effects.

If the above account may be taken as a fairly accurate description of the customs connected with the menstrual lodge as they existed in former times, then one point must be regarded as of great interest, namely, that the women permitted their lovers to meet them there. So far as is known to the author, among other tribes having menstrual lodges it would have been considered a crime for any man to come near them. According to our informant the women were indeed guarded while they were in the menstrual lodges, but not so much to protect them against the intrusion of all men, as against the intrusion of unworthy men. From other information obtained, how- 831 841 ~~ever~~

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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If you ever get married, my son, do not make an idol of your wife. 867
The more you worship her, the more will she want to be worshipped. 562
Thus the old people said. They warned the young men against the 581
example of those men who always hearken to what the women say, 593
who are the slaves of women. Often they would speak in the following manner: "You have had many warnings, but it may happen that some day you will not pay any attention to them. Then, when they call upon you to take part in the Winter Feast you may perhaps refuse to go. When a war party is leaving you may listen to the voice of your wife and not join them. Thus you will be as one who has been brought up as a woman.[21] Men of every description do what is demanded of them, you alone do not act as a man [558] should. You never perform a man's deed. If you were to go to a Winter Feast, you would be handed a lean piece of meat.[22] Why should you subject yourself to the danger of being made fun of? A real brave man, when he goes to a Winter Feast, will receive a deer's head, while you will only receive a lean piece of meat. That is all they will give you to eat. It will stick in your throat."[23]

My son, if you keep on listening to your wife, after a while she will never let you go to any feast at all. All your relatives will scold you and your own sisters will think little of you. They will say to one another, "Let us not ever go over to see him. He is of no help to anyone." Finally, when you have become a real slave to your wife, she might tell you to hit your own relatives, and you would do it. For these reasons, my son, I warn you against the words of women. Steel yourself against them. For if you do not do so you will find yourself different from other men. It is not good to be enslaved by a woman.

My son, this also I will tell you. Women can never be watched. If you try to watch them you will merely show your jealousy and your female relatives will also be jealous. After a while you will become so jealous of your wife that she will leave you and run away. First, you worshipped her above everything else, then you became jealous and watched her all the time, and the result will be that she will run away from you. You yourself will be to blame for this. You thought too much of a woman and in worshipping her you humbled yourself, and as a consequence she has been taken away from you. You are making the woman suffer and making her feel unhappy. All the other women will know of this, and no one will want to marry you again. Everyone will consider you a very bad man.

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[21] He may mean a berdash, but it is far more probable that he merely means to call him a woman, an insult sufficiently great.

[22] A man who has distinguished himself as a warrior is always invited to eat the head of the animal, offered at the Winter Feast. Those next in distinction are given the fat pieces of meat, and the lean pieces—to the Winnebago, the poorest—are given to those who are of no importance. [554 262]

[23] I. e., the meat will stick in your throat, because you will feel so much ashamed of yourself.

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867 be able to retain your hold on men. If you do your work to the
593 satisfaction of your husband, he will never leave you. I say again,
832 it is not proper to use medicine. Above all, do not use medicine until you have passed your youth. You will otherwise merely make yourself weak. You will lead a weak life. It may even happen that you will cause yourself to become foolish.

[581] Do not use a medicine in order to marry. If you marry remain faithful to your husband. Do not act as though you are married to a number of men at the same time. Lead a chaste life. If you do not listen to what I am telling you and you are unfaithful to your
[626] husband, all the men will jeer at you. They will say whatever they wish to (and no one will interfere). Every man will treat you as though he were on the "joking relationship" with you. If you do not listen to me, therefore, you will injure yourself.

867 Thus the old people used to talk to one another. Thus they would
584 warn one another against certain actions. They used to instruct the young girls as they grew up (just as I am doing to you now). That is why I am telling of these things now.

My daughter, as you grow older and grow up to be a young woman, the young men will begin to court you. Never strike a man, my
[683] daughter. It is forbidden. If you dislike a man very much, tell him gently to go away. If you do not do this and instead strike him, remember that it frequently happens that men know of medicines; or if they themselves have none they may know from whom to
[754] get them. If you make a man feel bad by striking him, he may use this medicine and cause you to run away with him and become a bad woman. It is for this reason that the old men used to warn the young girls not to strike the men who are courting them, but whom they dislike. Pray with all your heart that you do not become such a woman.

867 Do not act haughtily to your husband. Whatever he tells you
593 to do, do it. Kindness will be returned to you if you obey your husband, for he will treat you in the same manner.

858 If you ever have a child, do not strike it. In the olden times when a child misbehaved the parents did not strike it, but they made it fast. When a child gets hungry, he will soon see the error of his ways. If you hit a child, you will be merely knocking the wickedness into him. Women should likewise never scold the
[861] children because children are merely made wicked by scoldings. If your husband scolds the children, do not take their part, for that will merely make them bad. In the same way, if a stranger makes your children cry, do not say anything to the stranger in the presence of the children, nor take their part in his presence. If you wish to prevent a stranger from scolding your children, keep them home and teach them how to behave by setting them a good example. Do not imagine that you do the best for your children by

*159 helped will then really know what kind of a man you are.
577 For the good you do people will love you.
869 It is not good to win at gambling. You may possibly
[525] become rich thereby but that is no life to lead. If you are blessed with luck in cards, if you are blessed with luck at gambling, you will perhaps win things and have plenty of wealth, but none of your children will live.

Now if you do all that I have told you, you will lead a happy and prosperous life. That is why we Winnebago preach to a child we love so that it should never become acquainted with the things that are not right, and never do anything wrong. Then if, in later life, a person does anything wrong, he will do it with a clear knowledge of the consequences of his actions.

## III

*159 My son, when you get married, do not make an idol of
581 the woman you marry; do not worship her. If you worship
869 a woman she will insist upon greater and greater worship as time goes on. This is what the old people used to say.
562 They always preached against those men who hearken too
593 strongly to the words of women; who are the slaves of women. Now it may happen that a man has received many warnings as to his behavior in this regard and that he pays no attention to them. It may go so far that when he is asked to attend a war-bundle feast[20] he will refuse to go; it may be that when he is married he will listen to the voice

[026] [20] The war-bundle feast was the great war ceremony of the Winne-
[796] bago. It was given by all those individuals who possessed a war-
[619] bundle and since theoretically there was only one war-bundle in each clan, the basis of the organization of the ceremony was the clan.
[076] The ceremony consisted largely of prayers, songs and speeches in honor of the spirits more definitely associated with war. For each

of his wife and refuse to go on a warpath. He might as well have been brought up as a girl. Men who are real men perform the deeds of men, but such a man will never perform a real man's deed. If he should actually attend a war-bundle feast he will be given the leanest piece of meat, only given to a man of no account. Why should any one run the risk of being thus jeered at? Now when a really brave man attends a war-bundle feast he is given a deer's head. This other man gets a lean piece! It will dry up in his throat, so humiliated and disgraced will he feel. After a while he will not be allowed to go to any feast; his wife will not let him. He will listen to the voice of his wife. His relatives will scold him, his sisters will think nothing of him. They will tell people never to go to visit him. Finally when he has become a real slave of his wife he will even hit his relatives if she asks him to. It is for these reasons that I warn you not to listen to women. You will be considered different from others. It is not good.

Remember this too, that women cannot be watched. If you try to watch them and are jealous about them, then your female relatives will also be jealous of them. Finally when your jealousy has developed to the highest pitch, your wife will leave you and run away with some one else. You have allowed her to see by your actions that you worship a woman, and one alone, and, in addition, you have been watching her all the time. Because of this incessant annoyance she will run away from you. If you think that

of these spirits, a buckskin decorated with the symbol sacred to the spirit, was prepared and then at the most dramatic moment of the ceremony these buckskins were thrown out of the ceremonial lodge and it was believed that the spirits came down in person to fetch them. The war-bundle feast was specifically a man's ceremony.

*159 your wife is the only one to love, you have humbled yourself
[581] and she will be taken from you. You have likewise made
867 the woman suffer; you have made her unhappy. The whole
562 world will hear about it. No other woman will want to
593 marry you and you will have the reputation of being a bad man.

[579] Now you may act in the following way: You see people
[921] starting on a warpath and you join them knowing that it is an honor to die on the warpath. But you will join them because you feel unhappy at your wife's flight. Now this is not the proper way to act. You are throwing away your life; you are causing the leader of the war-party to throw away a life. If you want to go on the warpath, do not go because your wife has been taken away from you, go because you feel courageous enough to do so.

It is on the warpath that a man has fun! Do not go,
[785] however, unless you have fasted adequately. You must
[926] fast for each specific warpath. If you do not and yet join a war-party, then in the midst of the fight, a bullet will come your way and kill you. That will happen because you did not fast. If you have performed any deeds of valor, recount them to your sisters and to your sister's children. Those in charge of war-bundles are good to listen to in such matters. Those to whom such people give advice will eat an excellent dish; they will have the
[554] honor of sitting near a great warrior in the middle of the lodge.

*159 These are the things of which the old people spoke and
867 this also is the advice I give you. I myself never asked
579 for these things, but my father did. Your grandfather did. He asked for the information relating to the manner in which people are to behave. Never, when you are older, should you allow yourself to get in the predicament of not

867 will be ruining a man. It is equivalent to killing him. Do
593 not do it. It is forbidden. If you marry a man and want
832 to live with him permanently, work for him in order to hold him. When you marry a man, listen to what he says. If you do your work properly and the man likes you, he will never leave you. By working for him must you make your husband love you. Now remember it is not good to use medicines on him. At least before you are fairly mature in years do not use any, for you will thereby merely weaken yourself and your life will be of no consequence. Indeed you may cause the medicine to work on yourself and then become demented in consequence.

867 Marry only one man at a time. Be good and virtuous
● 58 in your married life. If you do not listen to what I am
[626] telling you, you will become bad and men will make fun of you. They will do whatever they wish with you; joke with you familiarly on any subject. If you do not listen to me you will injure yourself. Thus did the old people speak to one another and thus did they hand down these
867 precepts from one generation to another, warning young girls against committing wrong actions. They also said that when a girl is growing up, one should admonish her and that is why I am now speaking to you.

867 As you grow older, when you get to be a young woman,
584 the men will begin to court you. Never hit a man. It is
[683] forbidden. If you dislike a man very much tell him to go away gently. If instead, you hit him, remember that fre-
[154] quently young men possess certain injurious medicines which they may use against you. Even if a particular person does not possess them, he knows where to get them. Then this man whom you have humiliated, will use it and transform you from a chaste and nice woman to a loose one, to a harlot. That is why the old people used to warn

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602 attempted liberties with people who did not belong in the category of the "joking relationship" they would stop him immediately, saying, "What joking relation am I to you" (*Djagu' nîyk' idajîlegadja*")!

It is impossible to determine the significance of the "joking relationship." Two points of interest may be referred to, however: First, that it existed between a person and such close relatives as the children of his father's sister and his mother's brothers and their children, on the one hand, and his relatives by marriage only, as his brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, on the other; and second, that his mother's brother was at the same time a person with whom he was on particularly intimate terms. With regard to the first point, the author suggests the following explanation: Both groups just mentioned had this in common—they did not belong to the man's clan and with the exception of their mother's brother they did not belong to any individuals but those of their own generation. Now we know [58a] that the prohibition of marriage into a man's mother's clan extended only to members of her generation and that theoretically, at least, he could marry her brother's children. In the same way the children of a man's father's sister, belonging as they did to the side into which he had to marry and not belonging to the generation of his father, belonged also to the group into which he theoretically might marry. The author has never heard any Winnebago state that a man may not marry any of the individuals included in the "joking relationship," with the exception of his sister-in-law, but he feels certain that such marriage would be considered improper, although equally certain that it would not be regarded as incest, as would be the case if a person were to marry the son of his mother's sister or of his father's brother. The suggestion is offered, therefore, that the "joking relationship" implies, first, close relationship of individuals who have different clan membership, and, second, perhaps, the possibility of marriage. If there is any explanation for the existence of the relationship between a man and his mother's brother I feel that it is probably to be sought in the first of these suggestions. The second is really advanced merely to suggest some reason for the grouping together of blood relations with relations by marriage.

The "joking relationship" is very peculiar from the point of view of a European, and for that reason it is perhaps likely that we exaggerate its importance. In actual practice joking was probably indulged in only during the first moments after meeting, except by the habitual punster. An important psychological factor may have been the opportunity for relaxation it afforded an individual who was constantly surrounded by close relatives in intercourse with whom he had to observe at all times strict rules of propriety.

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841 From other information obtained how-
584 ever, it appears that women were married to these same lovers after the former left the menstrual lodge, so that the presence of men in these lodges may be taken either as a part of the wooing or as one of the methods of marriage. Some theorists may be inclined to look on this feature of the practices connected with the menstrual lodge as a survival of a "women's house." To those the fact may be emphasized that it is only a few times in the life of a woman that such a feature exists, because she is married shortly after leaving the lodge.[6]

## MARRIAGE

582 Girls were usually married as soon as they reached marriageable age, and the same was probably true of men. In most cases marriage was arranged by the parents of the young people, and it rarely
584 happened that the latter refused to abide by the decision—a fact that seems to have been due not so much to implicit obedience as to the wise precautions taken by the parents in mating their children. If, however, the young people absolutely refused to abide by their parents' choice, the latter always yielded. In former times children were betrothed to each other at an early age. At the betrothal presents were exchanged between the parents of the prospective bride and groom. The girl was said to be *dohore'na*.

595 Generally a man took but one wife, although he was permitted to marry more than one if he wished. In polygamous marriages the second wife was usually a niece or a sister of the first wife. According to a very reliable informant it was the wife herself who often induced her husband to marry her own niece. This she did if she noticed that he was getting tired of her or losing his interest in her.[7]

585 There was no ceremony connected with marriage. As soon as the customary presents were exchanged, the man came to the woman's lodge and the marriage was consummated.

A man generally lived with his parents-in-law during the first two years after his marriage. During these two years he was practically
591 the servant of his father-in-law, hunting, fishing, and performing
[583] minor services for him. Many Winnebago interpreted these enforced services of a son-in-law as part of his marriage obligations toward his father-in-law. After the first two years he returned to

[6] Were it not for the fact that his informant in this case was exceedingly reliable the writer would be inclined to regard with suspicion the statement as to the use of the menstrual lodge as a rendezvous for lovers. It seems, however, that the very fact that the informant shows no great abhorrence of the matter would have prevented him from attributing to men intimacy with women at this time had there been any doubt in his mind on the subject. Nevertheless his statement on the point under discussion seems peculiar, and the author would not be surprised if he had exaggerated greatly the number of men willing to brave the bad luck and weakness incident on contact with women during the menstrual period.

[7] As one of my informants said, "A man can marry a woman and her niece. If the man is not steady and goes around with other women, it is customary for the wife to call her niece, and she would marry her aunt's husband. This is done to steady the man. In this way one or the other will always be with him. The same is true of sisters."

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has gone so far that a large number of individuals would probably deny to-day that the Hawk and the Warrior clan are one and the same. Again, among the Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw we find Sun and Star clans, and, if we were to imagine that for some reason or another the latter type of name became popular, it might here become dominant within a comparatively short time. 171 174 114 614

Like a twofold division, the clan may connote a number of different things to the minds of the Indians. The Omaha apparently used the term *tonwoqgtho*ⁿ, which means literally "place-of-habitation-of-those-related," *gtho*ⁿ being the possessive-reflexive pronoun. It would thus seem to coincide with a geographical unit. The Quapaw use the term *enikucige*, evidently meaning "people"; the Kansa, the term *wayumida*, "those-who-sing-together"; the Osage, the term *peda*, "fireplace"; and the Winnebago, the term *hokik'a'radjera*, "those-related-to-one-another." The remarks made about the specific names of the twofold divisions apply here. There is no reason for assuming that these are historically primary. A possible historical hint that they are not will be mentioned later.

The twofold division apparently regulates nothing but marriage. [532] It has at the present time no other function, per se. Nevertheless, a number of ethnologists, and for that matter Indians themselves, speak of the functions of the two sides. If we consider the Omaha "circle," we notice that practically all the ceremonial functions are on one side; that among the Osage "war" and "peace" functions are found on both sides; and that, as a matter of fact, the functions of war and peace apparently relate to a certain reciprocal relation existing between the two divisions. Indeed, there is no reason to justify the use of these terms. Among the Iowa, J. O. Dorsey quotes Hamilton to the effect that the regulation of the hunt and other tribal affairs was in the hands of one "phratry" during the autumn and winter, and in that of the other in spring and summer. It is, however, doubtful whether this was the case. Among the Winnebago, as we shall see, the functions of war and peace were grouped together on one side, the functions of the other side being confined to those relating to the policing and regulation of the hunt. But the only fact of importance to us here is not whether there appears a balancing of functions connected with the social organization, but whether the Indian thinks there is; and here the consensus of opinion favors the view that no Omaha would, for example, suppose that the Hangacenu division, as such, was the custodian of the real pipes of peace. This belonged to the Inkesabe gens, and there is not a shred of evidence to support the view that it was delegated to that clan by the larger unit. The same reasoning applies to the Hanga clan. That the importance of the possessions of the latter clan played an important part in the associations of the Omaha, even to the extent

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*manegi* divisions, we, of course, know that the characteristics of the animal in question have nothing to do with the matter. We must then realize that we are dealing with reciprocal influences—of the religio-mythical conception of animals on the one hand, and of political functions of social units on the other. In some cases, such as the specific associations with the water-spirit, it is probable that the religio-mythological conception of the animal is dominant. The association of the thunderbird with fire has likewise not been due to any activity of the social unit; and thus examples might be multiplied. In this connection, the fact that animals with whom a multitude of associations have already been established are subsequently associated with social units is fundamental. From this point of view, the animal names of social organization are intrusive features, and we will consequently expect to find historical adjustments. This, we think, is what has taken place here. The animal name with its religio-mythological conceptions was a remarkably strong unit, and as a result reciprocal influences took place. Although the religio-mythological influence must thus have been marked, it appears to have changed none of the marital and other functions of the two divisions nor the political functions of the clans. What it did change, and change fundamentally, was the interpretation of the social organization.

### Functions of the Twofold Division

The only function that the *waggeregi* and *manegi* divisions seem to have had was the regulation of marriage. A *waggeregi* man had to marry a *manegi* woman, and vice versa. The only other function was, according to some informants, reciprocal burial. Here the religio-mythological interpretations seem in part to have determined this relation, for a *manegi* man buried a *waggeregi* man because, as a "land division," it pertained to him to place a corpse in the earth. This, however, seems to be a doubtful function, for earth burial seems in olden times to have been characteristic only of the *manegi* division, the *waggeregi* clans employing scaffold burial. In addition, the burial relation was one of the many reciprocal duties of the "friend-clan," and if it was ever postulated of the *waggeregi* and *manegi*, this was likely due to the fact that the "friendship" relation seems also to have existed between two clans belonging to the two different divisions. According to one myth, however, the four clans of the *waggeregi* paired off as "friends" with four clans of the *manegi*. This would then be practically equivalent to saying that the *manegi* buried the *waggeregi*.

Thus far we have spoken only of the socio-political functions. The two divisions, however, play a part in a number of social and

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616 ceremonial connections: first, in the organization of the village;
614 second, in the arrangement of the clans while on the warpath; third, as the basis of organization at the "chief" feast; and lastly, as the basis of organization of the ceremonial lacrosse game.

616 According to the majority of the older people, when the old social
614 organization was still intact, each village was divided into two halves by an imaginary line running due northwest and southeast, the
621 *waggregi* clans dwelling in one half, with the chief's lodge in the south, and the *manegi* clans dwelling in the other half, with the bear or soldier lodge in the north (fig. 33). Although this arrangement has now become almost legendary, it was corroborated by many of the older people. To what extent every village was organized on this basis it is impossible to state. When this question was

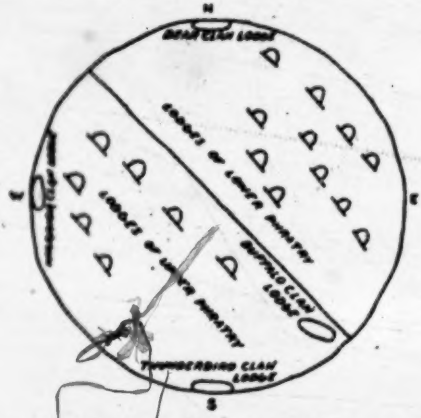


FIG. 33.—Plan of village according to Thunderhead, of the Thunderbird clan.

directly put to individuals, the answer was always in the affirmative. Quite a number of old individuals, however, denied vigorously that such had ever been the organization of the village, and claimed instead that the lodges of the Chief and the Soldier (Bear) clan were in the center of the village (fig. 34).

[115] In looking over the clan affiliations of the informants, we noticed, however, that the first arrangement was always given by members of the bird clans, and the second arrangement by members of the
[114] Bear clan and generally also by others on the *manegi* side. This fact, of course, makes the decision as to the relationship of these two types of village organization quite difficult. There can be no
[582] question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital relations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in different villages.

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614 to it. There is no doubt but that in older times the Wolf clan played a far greater part in the affairs of the tribe than it does to-day, but that it ever was the principal clan of the tribe is out of the question.

614 114 With regard to Dorsey's postulation of a Bird (*wonigk*) clan, all that can be said is that the author obtained nothing confirmatory of it. It is just possible that Dorsey, who apparently did not know of the existence of the two phratries, misinterpreted a popular grouping of the four clans of the upper phratry, as representing a fundamental division. Historically it may, indeed, be true that the four clans of the upper phratry represent the subdivision of one clan.

The archaic names for the Wolf and Bear clans can not be translated with any degree of certainty any longer. It is barely possible that *degoni* means "lake band" and *teonank* means "blue back." Whether these are simply a second set of names, or whether they represent an historically older set, it is impossible to say to-day. The probabilities are that they are terms of respect.

The absence of the Warrior clan in Dorsey's list and the presence of a Hawk clan is rather interesting, for it shows that only 25 years ago the bird name for this clan was still in use. The Warrior and Hawk clans are identical, the latter being, however, the appellation that is preferred to-day.

In addition to the names given above, some of the clans have names indicative of respect, such as *hunge* for the Water-spirit, *haga* for the male members of the Bear clan, and *warowina* for the female members. It is also possible that the names *degoni* and *teonank*, mentioned by Dorsey for the Wolf and Bear clans, were terms of respect.

### RECKONING OF DESCENT

614 Descent is patrilineal and a man's name generally belongs to his father's clan. Formerly there never was an exception to the rule that the name must belong to the father's clan, but of recent years [582] the Winnebago have become very lax in this particular. The irregularities in the giving of names were due to two causes—first, the intermarriage of Winnebago women with white men or with Indians of other tribes where the clan organization was either unknown or where descent was matrilineal, and, secondly, to the fact that the wife's parents were often in a better position to pay for the naming feast than the parents of the father. When a Winnebago woman marries a man who either has no clan or who reckons descent in the mother's line, the children are always considered as belonging to the mother's clan. This, however, lasts for only one generation. As a result the male children of such a marriage perpetuate the clan of the mother, although they transmit it thereafter in the male line.

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614 of human and animal forms. The latter conception is entirely a
825 religious one, the former merely an extension of the genealogical tendency prevalent in many types of social organization. Instead of being simply descended from an individual in a given social unit, the bond of membership within this unit has been strengthened by the postulation of blood relationship to the clan animal. The idea of descent may thus be looked upon as one of the elements necessary for the stability of a political unit and may be far older than its
614 specific extension to those clan animals. A very illuminating ex-
825 ample of a case in point can be selected from the history of the war bundle in the Thunderbird clan. This bundle, like the others, was
778 obtained as a gift from the thunderbird in his capacity as a guardian spirit. The ceremony connected with it has, however, been markedly influenced by the clan organization and as a result we find descent
[776] from the thunderbird and night-spirit, the two most important spirits in the ceremony, postulated of the original owner of the war bundle. The same tendency is exhibited in the numerous stories of the relation of an individual of the heroic age to a village. Here
[773] the individual, generally a transformed guardian spirit or animal, comes to the aid of the people in their struggle against cannibals, defeats the latter and marries into the village, becoming thus the eponymous ancestor of the subsequent village group.

614 At the same time no strong correlation apparently exists between a totemic organization and the extension of descent to include the clan animal, this seemingly being a peculiarity of certain cultures only. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest coast, among the
[771] Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves, in addition to the above, we find the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact of its members imitating the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reasons at all for the name, while in others an animal is killed, becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, and the group takes its name from the fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation.

### THE CLAN TIE

614 In intimate relation with the attitude toward the clan animal is the
602 conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the tie between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal.
[582] Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as is

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shown by the very word for clan (*hokik'aradjera*). This concept of blood relationship was extended to the mother's clan generation. As we have pointed out, there is no reason for assuming that blood relationship is the primary explanation. The number of explanations for exogamy existing between one clan and another, and between the clans of one side as opposed to those of another, indicate clearly how readily interpretations of this phenomenon change. The Bear does not marry into the Wolf clan because they are friends (*hitcak'ere*), and does not marry into the Buffalo clan because it belongs to the same side, or no reason at all is assigned. Before the question of the clan tie can be thoroughly understood, the kind of blood relationship that is here meant must be more carefully defined. This is not a very general but a very definite notion, and may be said to extend not beyond four generations, in fact not beyond the direct knowledge of some living individual. This will be brought out more clearly by the following tables, based on actual genealogies:

| | |
|---|---|
| (F) Thunderbird—Bear (M) 1. | or: |
| (F) Bear—Eagle (M) 2. | (F) Thunderbird—Bear (M) 1. |
| (F) Eagle—Wolf (M) 3. | (M) Bear—Eagle (F) 2. |
| (F) Wolf—Thunderbird (M) 4. | (M) Bear—Thunderbird (F) 3. |
| (M) Thunderbird—Bear (F) 5. | |

All these marriages are permitted. In the first case a man marries into his maternal grandmother's maternal grandfather's clan; and in the second, a man marries into his paternal grandmother's clan. We will consequently have to consider blood relationship as extending only to four, sometimes three, generations, and have to regard the statement of blood relationship as the tie binding the members of the clan together as purely fictitious and secondary. That, nevertheless, this fictitious tie called forth the same feeling as that of real relationship, there is abundant evidence to show, and that it was of considerable importance in the development of the Winnebago clan-unit is borne out by the fact that the clan was called "those-who-are-relatives-to-one-another."

## CLAN FUNCTIONS

The association of political functions with definite social units is a common phenomenon in most cultures where a tendency toward socialization exists. It is strictly comparable to the association of ceremonial and religious functions with ceremonial units. In this connection, the difference between an association with a group unit and an association with an individual is of fundamental importance. Is the former, for instance, merely an extension of the latter? This only individual history can demonstrate. Such a genetic relationship between the two depends probably as much upon the nature of the

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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An old Winne-
bago told the author that long ago a young man wanted to marry a girl belonging to his phratry and refused to listen to the entreaties of his father and mother. Finally the father, in desperation, went over to the lodge of a man belonging to one of the clans into which the young man could marry and asked for one of the sacred possessions. It was, of course, refused, and when the man was asked what other requests he wished to make, he asked that the host's daughter be allowed to marry his son. This was, of course, granted, and thus the boy was compelled to marry into the proper phratry. 614 615 582 778

One Winnebago interpreted the custom in an entirely different way. Exactly how much importance is to be attached to this explanation it is hard to say. According to this informant, the insult lay not in going to the fireplace or taking a firebrand, but in asking for it. The insult apparently consists in not taking it for granted that anyone entering the lodge was permitted to do what he wished. In other words, his asking was a breach of etiquette. 614 372 689 [576]

The typical method of burial in the Thunderbird clan was scaffold burial. It has long since been discontinued.

The burial customs seem to have been the same for all the clans. It may, however, be that in former times there were slight differences. For instance, in the first version of the Thunderbird clan origin myth the statement is made that the branch of a tree was placed at the grave and a small stick, painted red, attached to it. The author has no recollection of ever hearing the same statement made in connection with any other of the clans. 614 764 [184]

There are four songs associated with the Thunderbird clan. These are supposed to have been sung by the clan ancestors when they came to this earth, and are now always sung when a member of the clan dies, and on a few other occasions. 614 [533]

According to one informant, members of the Elk, Warrior, Deer, and Buffalo clans acted as servants to the Thunderbird clan on various occasions. The same informant also claimed that the Warrior clansmen took specific orders from the Thunderbird clansmen when on the warpath. [554]

According to another informant, Thunderbird marks at death are a half circle on the forehead, made with charcoal. The proper marking is, however, that shown in plate 46. [765]

Two dog names used in the Thunderbird clan are obtained—*pᵃ'ɛkirutɛga; ha-iwakitcᵃ'ga.*

The only feast specifically connected with the Thunderbird clan was the so-called chief feast, of which a description will be found on page 318. One of the divisions of the war-bundle feast is often considered as sacred to the thunderbird, but this is always the deity thunderbird, not the ancestor of the clan. [796] [776]

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## The Wolf Clan

### INTRODUCTION

614 Three versions of the origin myth of this clan were obtained. The
173 second is the most interesting, for it gives the popular account of descent from the clan animal-ancestor, although it claims that he, in turn, was created by Earthmaker. One other important characteristic is the statement that the original clan ancestor married a human being and that from them the present members of the clan trace their descent. A similar type of descent is mentioned in a number of myths that can best be interpreted as village origin myths. The ownership of war bundles has also at times been linked up with descent from some spirit.

614 Very little is known at the present time about the functions of the Wolf clan. It is quite clear, however, that the clan once possessed powers of considerable importance. From the fact that the Wolf people are still occasionally called "minor soldiers" and that they are so closely linked with the Bear clansmen it is likely that their functions were similar in nature to those of the Bear people. They probably assisted the latter.

[823] Water was sacred to the Wolf clan as it also was to the Water-spirit clan. A person was not allowed to tell a Wolf clansman that he looked like a wolf nor allowed to sit on a log in a Wolf clan lodge.
[682] If a man kills a Wolf clansman accidentally and then sits on the log in a Wolf lodge, he has to be freed.

According to one informant, the Wolf clan at one time possessed four sticks, which they would use and with which they kept time while the drum was beaten.

● [582] According to one informant, the Wolf clansmen were the only people who were allowed to intermarry.

The Wolf clansmen give a feast when a Bear child is born, to show respect for their friend. They give the child a name of their own clan.

[796] The Wolf feast is held in the spring of the year, when the ice melts from the creeks and everything begins to grow. At the feast the
[262 clan origin myth is told and the members of the other clans are
252] allowed to hear it. The food used is boiled rice.

### ORIGIN MYTHS

#### FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 In the beginning the Wolf clan people came from the water.
539 Therefore their bodies are of water—i. e., their sacred possession is
776 water. There were four male wolves and four female wolves, and
[823] as they came up from the sea and swam toward the shore, one after the other, they caused waves to go before them. Therefore one of

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174 the characteristic feature of the organization, and this being the
614 case, the probability of associations of warlike and peace attributes
with animals may as much be ascribed to the influence of the so-
616 cial unit as vice versa. As regards such functions as the exogamy
825 of the two divisions or that of the clans, or of the reciprocal burial relationship of the *waŋgeregi* and *maŋegi* divisions, we, of course, know that the characteristics of the animal in question have nothing to do with the matter. We must, then, realize that we are dealing with reciprocal influences, of the religio-mythological conception of animals on the one hand, and of political functions of social units on the other. In some cases, such as the specific associations of the water spirit, it is probable that the religio-mythological conception of the animal is dominant. The association of the thunderbird with fire has likewise not been due to any activity of the social unit; and thus examples might be multiplied. In this connexion, the fact that animals with whom a multitude of associations have already been established are subsequently associated with social units, is fundamental. From this point of view, the animal names of social organization are intrusive features, and we will consequently expect to find historical adjustments. This, we think, is what has taken place here. The animal name with its religio-mythological conceptions was a remarkably strong unit, even as compared with the political unit, and as a result reciprocal influences took place. Although the religio-mythological influence must have been marked, it appears to have changed none of the marital and other functions of the two divisions, nor the political functions of the clans. What it did change, and change fundamentally, was the interpretation of the social organization.

## FUNCTIONS OF THE TWOFOLD DIVISION.

614 The only function that the *waŋgeregi* and *maŋegi* divisions
616 seem to have had was the regulation of marriage. A *waŋgeregi*
[582] man had to marry a *maŋegi* woman, and vice versa. The only
other function exercised by these divisions was, according to
[764] some informants, reciprocal burial. Here the religio-mythological interpretations seem in part to have determined this relation for a *maŋegi* man buried a *waŋgeregi* man because, as a "land

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individual cultures. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest Coast, among the Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves we find, in addition to the above, the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact that its members imitate the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reason at all for the name, while according to others an animal is killed and becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, the group taking its name from this fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation. 174 614 773 825

*The Clan Tie.*

In intimate relation to the attitude toward the clan animal is the conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the bond between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal. Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as is brought out by the word for clan (*hokikaradjara*). This concept of blood relationship was extended to the mother's clan generation. As we have pointed out, there is no reason for assuming that blood relationship is the primary explanation. The number of explanations for exogamy existing between one clan and another, and that of the clans of one side as opposed to those of another, indicate clearly how readily interpretations of this phenomenon change. The Bear does not marry into the Wolf clan because they are friends (*hitcakore*), and does not marry into the Buffalo clan because it belongs to the same side, or no reason is assigned at all. Before the question of the clan tie can be thoroughly understood, the kind of blood relationship that is here meant must be more carefully defined. This is not a general but a very definite notion, and may be said not to extend beyond four generations, in fact, not beyond the direct knowledge of some living individual. 602 614 582

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582 This will be brought out more clearly by the following tables, based on actual genealogies:
614
602

(F) Thunderbird—
(F) Bear —Bear (M) 1
(F) Eagle —Eagle (M) 2
(F) Wolf —Wolf (M) 3
(M) Thunderbird—Thunderbird (M) 4
—Bear (F) 5

or:

(F) Thunderbird—
(M) Bear —Bear (M) 1
(M) Bear —Eagle (F) 2
—Thunderbird (F) 3

All these marriages are permitted. In the first case a man marries into his maternal grandmother's maternal grandfather's clan; and in the second a man marries into his paternal grandmother's clan. We will consequently have to consider blood relationship as extending only to four, sometimes three, generations, and have to regard the statement of blood-relationship as the tie binding the members of the clan together as purely fictitious and secondary. That, nevertheless, this fictitious tie called forth the same feeling as that of real relationship, there is abundant evidence to show, and that it was of considerable importance in the development of the Winnebago clan-complex is borne out by the fact that the clan was called "those-who-are-relatives-to-one-another."

## THE SOCIO-POLITICAL COMPLEX.

### *Clan Functions.*

174 The association of political functions with definite social
614 units is a common phenomenon for most cultures where a
182 tendency toward socialization exists. It is strictly comparable to the association of ceremonial and religious functions with ceremonial units. In this connexion, the difference between an association with a group unit and an association with an individual, is of fundamental importance. Is the former, for instance, merely an extension of the latter? This only individual

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614 dividual and clan *hitcak'ɔ'ro*, on the other. In the former there
is the bond of blood, real or fictitious, in the latter only that of
572 mutual service. On the other hand, while the *hidek'-hitcɣcge*
[604] relation, the individual *hitcak'ɔ'ro*, and the clan *hitcak'ɔ'ro* may
be all of different historical origin, they are psychologically the
same. The postulation even of a fictitious blood bond between
the different individual *hitcak'ɔ'ro* and the clan *hitcak'ɔ'ro* is not
unheard of. For the *hitcak'ɔ'ro* relation of individuals this is
[597] always possible, for if one individual dies, his *hitcak'ɔ'ro* is generally
adopted to fill his place. On the other hand, the myths seem to
[582] indicate that no blood bone was regarded as existing between
them, for they generally married each other's sisters.

[174] What historical relation the clan *hitcak'ɔ'ro* bears to the
individual *hitcak'ɔ'ro* relation of individuals, it is impossible
to state, but the remarks made before are pertinent here, and
no genetic relationship need be postulated.

### *The "Servant" Relationship.*

614 The *hitcak'ɔ'ro* relation is entirely one between equals,
irrespective of the inequality of one member of this grouping,
with regard to the other, in social standing. The Bear clan is,
for instance, incomparably greater than the Wolf, but this is
entirely forgotten here. In addition to this "friendship,"
there seems to exist a faintly developed "servant" relation.
The concept of servant is not that conveyed by the English
word. It means essentially that a certain clan performs a service
for another without that specific service being reciprocal.
Among the Winnebago such a relation exists between the Thunder-
bird and Buffalo, and the Thunderbird and Elk clans. This is
not to be confused with the general subordination of all the
other clans to the Thunderbird and Bear clans when these exercise
their specific governmental functions. This "servant" relation-
[203] ship between the Thunderbird and Buffalo clans is politically
expressed by the fact that a member of the latter visits the
[174] chief every morning to receive certain directions from him,
[621] which he then announces to the whole village. But this relation-
ship expresses itself in another more striking manner—the

[i.e. - "friendship" relation - ANALYST]

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lodge of the Buffalo clan is on the *wangeregi* side of the village circle, although the Buffalo clan is one of the *mąnegi* clans. In explanation of this fact we might, on the one hand, assume that its relationship to the chief clan influenced its position in the village, or that it always was there. The latter seems rather improbable, in the face of the unanimity of agreement as to its inclusion among the *mąnegi* clans, and we may, therefore, provisionally accept the hypothesis of a shifting of position from one side to the other. As this might entail a possible readjustment of the Buffalo clan, as regards exogamy, we tried to obtain as many instances of Buffalo intermarriages as possible. No case of intermarriage with the *wangeregi* clans was found. However, as only eight cases were instanced, no safe inference can be drawn. 614 621 174

The "servant" relation of the Elk clan to the Thunderbird expresses itself in the fact that the former takes care of the fire-places of the latter while on the warpath, etc., and that the members are supposed to distribute the fire to the other clans. In the social customs this relationship is perhaps shown by a certain preference of the Elk to intermarry with the Thunderbird clan. This preference is not reciprocal. The word preference is used with the added significance of being consciously expressed, and differs from a tendency to intermarriage which may exist between the clans, but which is not present in their consciousness. Some Winnebago informants even went so far as to postulate a *hitcak·ro* relation between the Elk and Thunderbird clan. 614 [372] 614 582 614

Among the Osage a marked development of the "servant" relationship is found. [171]

Viewed from a broad point of view, the reciprocal social and religious services of one clan toward another in the *hitcak·ro* and "servant" relations are similar in nature to the political functions of the clan, and they may be taken as another indication of the association of political, social, and religious functions with a strongly individualized social unit. 614 182

### *The Specific Possessions of the Clan.*

Among the Omaha, a number of clans have in their possession certain objects, around which not merely the clan but also 171 614 778

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935

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In each village, the two civil chiefs, appoint all the officers, deemed necessary, civil and military, who obey them implicitly. There are two ways of arriving at these high stations, by birth and by election. When the father dies, if he has a son, who has arrived at the age of manhood, and who bids fair to make a good chief—that is, if he possesses a good form, has good bodily powers and mental faculties—is brave, sedate, wise and prudent, he generally succeeds his father in the government, on his father's demise. If the chief, at his death, leave no son who is qualified for the high office of chief, but wills it to some other person, he succeeds to the government. If the chief has no son at his death, it is commonly the case, that his brother's son succeeds him. The line of succession may run out for want of a lawful heir, which is always supplied by an election. It may be changed too, where the heir is unqualified for the station. Great deference is always paid to the will of the dying chief, but every such case is always laid before a full national council, whose decision is final (p. 97). 622 [624] [666]

A chief may be degraded from his rank for bad conduct. . . .

There is in every tribe, what answers to a standing army among us. The profession of arms holds out, to the great mass of the common people, the only road to the temple of fame. . . . The young man, who aspires to the honorable distinction of a "brave" or warrior, must exhibit such traits of character, as are deemed necessary for a soldier to possess, before he can be admitted into the army. When admitted, he wears on his head just as many feathers of the bald eagle, as he has slain human beings, and the size of the feathers indicate the size of his victims. . . . If the warrior has taken a captive, he has a human hand as large as life, painted either on his face, or on some part of his body, or on his blanket, some individuals have several such hands painted upon them (p. 98).[9] 701 703 [301] [532] [302]

At the head of the army, belonging to each tribe, there is a person who occupies the same station as a General does with us, and he appoints all the inferior officers. The chiefs when met in council, call into it, their warriors, with whom they consult, but frequently they are called to receive the orders, which are obeyed to the letter. This council call before them, persons who are interested in the trial . . . (pp. 98, 99). 701 623

If the Senate of the United States is the mildest, the most patriotic and wisest legislative assembly in the civilized world, as it truly is, the Winnebago council, is decidedly at the head of the savage world. . . . The great body of the people have very little influence, almost none, with this council, and they never appear before it, unless they are summoned to attend it.—They have no voice in electing the chiefs and in fact no political influence. The civil chiefs and the chief warriors, have in their hands, the whole government of the community, and they govern as they please. Disobedience to the orders of the rulers is punished with death, though, like the British nation, the Indians are not savages enough to cut the traitor into quarters after hanging him until he is dead (pp. 99, 100). 623 [622] [687]

The female part of it, exercised the same influence among the women, that the chiefs did among the men, and the presents they expected from us, had to be better, than those given to the common people. The daughter of a chief, never mar- 554 562 [582]

[9] Quite different from the data given by Radin, The Winnebago Tribe, pp. 161, 162.

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935
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554 ries into a family below her's in dignity. The pride originating in birth, is as deeply
562 seated in the hearts of those who are nobly descended, among the natives of the
582 Northwest, as it is among the petty princes of Germany.

625 It is customary for the chiefs to appoint two soldiers, in each village to keep order in it, and they faithfully do so (p. 100).

431 In each tribe, some one man acts as a divider, by order of the civil chiefs, and by general consent. Whenever we made the men any presents, of pipes, paints,
624 tobacco, or any thing else, the self same men, if Winnebagoes were the Indians receiving the presents, appeared, took charge of the property, and divided it in the most equitable manner, among all present at the time. They reserved nothing for themselves, generally, but held up their empty hands to show their disinterestedness.

[171] If the Sauks and Foxes received presents, two men, one for each tribe, acted as dividers, and the same individuals always performed the same duty (pp. 100–101).

. . . "The rolling Thunder," "the Yellow Thunder," "the Distant Thunder,"
554 &c., are individuals among the Winnebagoes, who possess great weight of char-
551 acter; and that tribe to which belong men, who stand high on their roll of fame, for
614 their distinguished valor in War, for their consummate prudence, experience and wisdom in the national councils, is emphatically called, "the thunder tribe" (p. 124).

114 There are other items appurtenant to Winnebago ethnology in Atwater's work; some to that of the Sauks and Foxes; some to tribes of the upper Mississippi valley in general: there are some acute statements regarding the chronology of the populating of America.

171 A "turtle" gens does not occur in the lists of Morgan, Dorsey, and Radin,
174 and Radin specifically denies that there is such a Winnebago gens. He also states that almost all informants claimed that the Snake and Fish clans
614 (gentes) were recent to the tribe. However, as special names "go with"
[114] fixed gentes, by examining the lists of the signers of the treaties between the
[648] Winnebago and the United States, it becomes clear that a member of the Snake gens signed the treaty of August 19th, 1825 as well as the treaty of
[551] August 25th, 1828. And a Snake clan exists among the Ponca, Iowa, Oto-Missouri, Quapaw, as well as some non-Siouan tribes.[10] Also it may be observed that among the Osage and Quapaw we have a Fish clan (used rather loosely). So too "Turtle" as the name of a gens (sub-gens) among the Siouan tribes Omaha, Kansa, Quapaw, and Osage,[11] and elsewhere.
[551] And Carrymaunee (Karamanu, etc.), "Walking Turtle,"[12] signed more

[10] See the important theoretical discussion by Lowie in American Anthropologist, Vol. 36, 1934, pp. 327–28; cf. also Radin, the Winnebago Tribe, p. 182; Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe (Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology), pp. 38, 39.

[11] Among the Omaha and Osage "the turtle carriers or bearers" and "Turtle-carriers" respectively; "Carries-a-turtle-on-his-back" among the Kansa: observe that according to the above Carrymaunee "carried" a large painted tortoise on his back.

[12] The phonetic restoration is presumably Kéramani; mani means "to walk," as can be seen from old vocabularies, etc., as well as the personal names given by Radin in his The Winnebago Tribe and the Winnebago text by Radin in the Siouan sketch in Handbook of Ameri-

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929NP12 Winnebago NP12



and coffee, which were, of course, unknown to them before the coming of the White Man. Other tribes in Wisconsin have made no attempt to set up their own words for these, but call them by their English names as nearly as they can pronounce them. This trait of the Winnebago is often amusing. For example the watermelon was unknown to them until about seventy-five years ago. The first recipient of a watermelon among them considered it a pumpkin, cut it up into small pieces, and boiled it in a pot. The resultant product was scarcely edible, so led to the appellation of "wicawasukela"—"a pumpkin that did'nt get ripe." But later, they discovered that the whites ate them just as they were; and upon trying this they discovered their merit, and have been very fond of them ever since. But the first name stuck, and it is thus called to this day. 192 177

While we had met Winnebago before this summer, we had never attempted to discourse at length on their uses of plants. In 1923, we first met Frank Smith, "makiwika," with his wife who was making baskets, in Minocqua where we admired her art. Every year since we have seen Frank at some Indian pow-wow or other. During the "Pageant of Progress," in Milwaukee, July, 1926, Frank and his new Ojibwe wife were at the Indian Village on the lake front, with Mr. H. L. Mumm, of Wausau, demonstrating Indian arts and crafts. There, too, we met two other Winnebago workers, Jim Henniger and his wife, although the Indians in the village proper were all full-blooded Ojibwe from Lac Court Oreilles, Wisconsin. The museum is also fortunate in having the friendship of Ulysses A. White, of Wisconsin Rapids, who was formerly employed in Milwaukee. Mr. White is a pure blooded Winnebago, as is his wife, a quite uncommon occurrence in these times of inter-tribal marriages. He introduced to the Museum, John Bear, of Wisconsin Rapids, another old Winnebago Indian, through whom Mr. W. C. McKern, Associate Curator of Anthropology, of the Museum, has been able to collect some interesting ancient Winnebago stories. Mr. Bear spent the entire winter of 1927-1928 at the Museum, and was helped in his work by Mr. White. All of this preliminary work was the subject of several conferences between the writer and Mr. McKern at which we became acquainted with the linguistics of the Winnebago and listed the plant names used in the various stories. 114 115 [582]

The first trip of the summer was to Trempealeau, where the Museum was conducting archeological investigations which the writer, as President of the Wisconsin Archeological Society, wished to see. Furthermore Mr. McKern had written that there were Winnebago Indians in Trempealeau. These proved to be a family living in the old brewery at the edge of the village, but they were from Winnebago, Nebraska, and were not familiar with the Wisconsin plants. The field party, however, interested us for a week. The Museum camp was established in Perrot State Park, on the banks of the Trempealeau River near its 114 126

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841 From other information obtained how-
584 ever, it appears that women were married to these same lovers after the former left the menstrual lodge, so that the presence of men in these lodges may be taken either as a part of the wooing or as one of the methods of marriage. Some theorists may be inclined to look on this feature of the practices connected with the menstrual lodge as a survival of a "women's house." To those the fact may be emphasized that it is only a few times in the life of a woman that such a feature exists, because she is married shortly after leaving the lodge.[6]

## MARRIAGE

582 Girls were usually married as soon as they reached marriageable age, and the same was probably true of men. In most cases marriage was arranged by the parents of the young people, and it rarely
584 happened that the latter refused to abide by the decision—a fact that seems to have been due not so much to implicit obedience as to the wise precautions taken by the parents in mating their children. If, however, the young people absolutely refused to abide by their parents' choice, the latter always yielded. In former times children were betrothed to each other at an early age. At the betrothal presents were exchanged between the parents of the prospective bride and groom. The girl was said to be *dehore'na*.

595 Generally a man took but one wife, although he was permitted to marry more than one if he wished. In polygamous marriages the second wife was usually a niece or a sister of the first wife. According to a very reliable informant it was the wife herself who often induced her husband to marry her own niece. This she did if she noticed that he was getting tired of her or losing his interest in her.[7]

585 There was no ceremony connected with marriage. As soon as the customary presents were exchanged, the man came to the woman's lodge and the marriage was consummated.

A man generally lived with his parents-in-law during the first two years after his marriage. During these two years he was practically
591 the servant of his father-in-law, hunting, fishing, and performing
[563] minor services for him. Many Winnebago interpreted these enforced services of a son-in-law as part of his marriage obligations toward his father-in-law. After the first two years he returned to

[6] Were it not for the fact that his informant in this case was exceedingly reliable the writer would be inclined to regard with suspicion the statement as to the use of the menstrual lodge as a rendezvous for lovers. It seems, however, that the very fact that the informant shows no great abhorrence of the matter would have prevented him from attributing to men intimacy with women at this time had there been any doubt in his mind on the subject. Nevertheless his statement on the point under discussion seems peculiar and the author would not be surprised if he had exaggerated greatly the number of men willing to brave the bad luck and weakness incident on contact with women during the menstrual period.

[7] As one of my informants said, "A man can marry a woman and her niece. If the man is not steady and goes around with other women, it is customary for the wife to call her niece, and she would marry her aunt's husband. This is done to steady the man. In this way one or the other will always be with him. The same is true of sisters."

867 You can, however, always depend upon the love of your own
593 children because they are of your own body. Love them
858 therefore.

If you do not have any real interest in your husband's
867 welfare and affairs, then you will be to him like any other
593 woman. People will ridicule you. On the other hand, if you pay more attention to your husband than to your parents, if you listen to him more than to them, that will be equivalent to deserting them. Let your husband keep your parents and take good care of them for they depend upon him. Your parents saw to it that you married him and
[583] they expect you to make some return for this as well as for the fact that they raised you.

867 Do not hurt the feelings of your relatives, the old people
[602] used to say. If you hurt their feelings you will make your brothers-in-law feel ashamed of themselves on account of the evil things you say about them.

Never desire to have any other man than your husband
[837] when you are married. Have only one husband. Do not give any one the right to call you a prostitute.

867 The old people said, "Never hit your relatives." You
602 may be on bad terms with one of them, for instance, and he may die. Then people will say that you used to quarrel with the deceased when he was alive. They may even claim that you are overjoyed at his death, that you want to dance with joy. Then indeed will your heart be sore and you will think to yourself how best you can make amends. Even should you have a performance of the Medicine Dance given in his honor, if you wish to bury him with honor, even then people will say, "What does all this mean? She used to be partial and jealous when he was alive. Now that he is dead she loves him! She should not do such things. She is merely wasting her wealth. She need

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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The menstrual lodge is never far from the lodge in which she lives. Indeed, it is within speaking distance, so that the occupants of her parents' lodge can hear her. All the utensils she uses are very small. The women stay from 4 to 10 days in the menstrual lodges. The older women stay out the shorter time because they are over it sooner. 841 343

It is said that if the young girls have any lovers they always come to the menstrual lodges at night. This is therefore the time for wooing. It is said that the girls cohabit with their lovers in these menstrual lodges. Those girls who have parents are attended by watchers, so that no unworthy men may visit them. They are especially guarded against ugly men, who are very likely to have love medicines. However, generally it is of no avail to struggle against such men, for they are invincible. [584] 836] [832]

The women always take their blankets with them when they go to a menstrual lodge, for they never lie down but remain in a sitting posture, wrapped in their blankets. The women are always watched, so that when their menstrual flow comes everything is in readiness and lodge poles are placed around them and a lodge erected above their heads just about large enough to fit their body. They are not permitted to look upon the daylight nor upon any individual. If they were to look out during the day the weather would become very bad, and if they were to look at the blue sky it would become cloudy and rain. If they looked at anyone that person would become unfortunate. For four days they do not eat or drink anything; not even water do they drink. They fast all the time. Not even their own body do they touch with their hands. If they ever have any need of touching their bodies they use a stick. If they were to use their hands in touching their own body their bones would be attacked with fever. If they were to scratch their hands their heads would ache. After the fourth day they bathe in sight of their home. Then they return to their homes and eat. (This, of course, holds only for those whose menstrual flow ceases in four days.) If any women have to stay longer than four days they have to fast for that entire period. They always fast during this period and often some spirits bless them. When a woman who has stayed in the menstrual lodge for 10 days is ready to return to her lodge, she bathes herself and puts on an entirely new suit of clothes. Then her home is purified with red-cedar leaves and all the sacred bundles and medicines removed. Only then can she enter her parents' lodge. As soon as she returns to her parents' lodge after her first menstrual flow she is regarded as ready to be wooed and married. 841 [921]

Thus the teacher of our customs, the Hare, has willed it. At a feast all the young girls nearing the age of puberty will be absent, but the old women, who have passed their climacteric, sit right next to the men, because they are considered the same as men as they have no menstrual flow any more. [831 581] 825 886]

If the Winnebago can be said to be afraid of any one thing it may be said it is this—the menstrual flow of women—for even the spirits die of its effects.

If the above account may be taken as a fairly accurate description of the customs connected with the menstrual lodge as they existed in former times, then one point must be regarded as of great interest, namely, that the women permitted their lovers to meet them there. So far as is known to the author, among other tribes having menstrual lodges it would have been considered a crime for any man to come near them. According to our informant the women were indeed guarded while they were in the menstrual lodges, but not so much to protect them against the intrusion of all men, as against the intrusion of unworthy men. From other information obtained, how- 831 841 [illegible]

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From other information obtained how-
841 584 ever, it appears that women were married to these same lovers after the former left the menstrual lodge, so that the presence of men in these lodges may be taken either as a part of the wooing or as one of the methods of marriage. Some theorists may be inclined to look on this feature of the practices connected with the menstrual lodge as a survival of a "women's house." To those the fact may be emphasized that it is only a few times in the life of a woman that such a feature exists, because she is married shortly after leaving the lodge.[6]

## MARRIAGE

582 Girls were usually married as soon as they reached marriageable age, and the same was probably true of men. In most cases marriage was arranged by the parents of the young people, and it rarely 584 happened that the latter refused to abide by the decision—a fact that seems to have been due not so much to implicit obedience as to the wise precautions taken by the parents in mating their children. If, however, the young people absolutely refused to abide by their parents' choice, the latter always yielded. In former times children were betrothed to each other at an early age. At the betrothal presents were exchanged between the parents of the prospective bride and groom. The girl was said to be *dohore'na*.

595 Generally a man took but one wife, although he was permitted to marry more than one if he wished. In polygamous marriages the second wife was usually a niece or a sister of the first wife. According to a very reliable informant it was the wife herself who often induced her husband to marry her own niece. This she did if she noticed that he was getting tired of her or losing his interest in her.[7]

585 There was no ceremony connected with marriage. As soon as the customary presents were exchanged, the man came to the woman's lodge and the marriage was consummated.

A man generally lived with his parents-in-law during the first two years after his marriage. During these two years he was practically 591 the servant of his father-in-law, hunting, fishing, and performing [583] minor services for him. Many Winnebago interpreted these enforced services of a son-in-law as part of his marriage obligations toward his father-in-law. After the first two years he returned to

[6] Were it not for the fact that his informant in this case was exceedingly reliable the writer would be inclined to regard with suspicion the statement as to the use of the menstrual lodge as a rendezvous for lovers. It seems, however, that the very fact that the informant shows a so great abhorrence of the matter would have prevented him from attributing to men intimacy with women at this time had there been any doubt in his mind on the subject. Nevertheless his statement on the point under discussion seems peculiar and the author would not be surprised if he had exaggerated greatly the number of men willing to brave the bad luck and weakness incident on contact with women during the menstrual period.

[7] As one of my informants said, "A man can marry a woman and her niece. If the man is not steady and goes around with other women, it is customary for the wife to call her niece, and she would marry her aunt's husband. This is done to steady the man. In this way one or the other will always be with him. The same is true of sisters."

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If one wishes to make a person crazy, there is a medicine for that purpose. 867 754

If some one had made another one sad at heart and he wished to revenge himself, he would use a medicine that would make that person crazy. Thus he would poison him.

If a person wished to marry a certain girl and she did not want him, he would poison her with a medicine that would make her become a harlot. All the men would fall in love with her by reason of the medicine he gave her. 867 584 832

If they wished a man to be continually running after a woman, they had a medicine for that purpose. All these medicines they possessed. You can obtain any of them you like if you ask for them in the proper way. 867 832

Some people have knowledge of plants that will cause a person to sleep all the time. Others again have medicines that will cause them to stay awake all the time. Some know how to overcome the viciousness of dogs that watch over women by means of medicines; some again have medicines that will make people single them out even in crowds. If this person uses his medicine in a crowd of people, the one on whom it is used will consider him a great man no matter how many there should be in the crowd. Some have a medicine to be used for preventing an individual from getting tired. Others have a medicine to be used when they have dog contests. 867 789

Whatever they did, for that they would have medicines.

Whenever they plant a field they protect it with medicine tied on to a stick. No one will then go through that field without suffering for it. If you did not have that protection, people could go through your field whenever they wished. In short, try to obtain as many medicines as you possibly can, for you will need them all. People should always look out for themselves so that they may learn what is necessary to make life comfortable and happy. If you try to obtain the knowledge of these things you will get along in life well. You will need nothing; and whenever you need a certain medicine, instead of being compelled to buy it, you will have it in your own possession. If you act in this manner and keep on fasting you will never be caught offguard during your life. If you have a home, it will always look nice and you will be lacking in nothing. So, do what I tell you and you will never regret it in after life. Try and learn the way in which your ancestors lived and follow in their footsteps. 867 789 787

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867 be able to retain your hold on men. If you do your work to the
593 satisfaction of your husband, he will never leave you. I say again,
832 it is not proper to use medicine. Above all, do not use medicine until you have passed your youth. You will otherwise merely make yourself weak. You will lead a weak life. It may even happen that you will cause yourself to become foolish.

[581] Do not use a medicine in order to marry. If you marry remain faithful to your husband. Do not act as though you are married to a number of men at the same time. Lead a chaste life. If you do not listen to what I am telling you and you are unfaithful to your
[626] husband, all the men will jeer at you. They will say whatever they wish to (and no one will interfere). Every man will treat you as though he were on the "joking relationship" with you. If you do not listen to me, therefore, you will injure yourself.

867 Thus the old people used to talk to one another. Thus they would
584 warn one another against certain actions. They used to instruct the young girls as they grew up (just as I am doing to you now). That is why I am telling of these things now.

My daughter, as you grow older and grow up to be a young woman, the young men will begin to court you. Never strike a man, my
[683] daughter. It is forbidden. If you dislike a man very much, tell him gently to go away. If you do not do this and instead strike him, remember that it frequently happens that men know of medicines; or if they themselves have none they may know from whom to
[754] get them. If you make a man feel bad by striking him, he may use this medicine and cause you to run away with him and become a bad woman. It is for this reason that the old men used to warn the young girls not to strike the men who are courting them, but whom they dislike. Pray with all your heart that you do not become such a woman.

867 Do not act haughtily to your husband. Whatever he tells you
593 to do, do it. Kindness will be returned to you if you obey your husband, for he will treat you in the same manner.

858 If you ever have a child, do not strike it. In the olden times when a child misbehaved the parents did not strike it, but they made it fast. When a child gets hungry, he will soon see the error of his ways. If you hit a child, you will be merely knocking the
[861] wickedness into him. Women should likewise never scold the children because children are merely made wicked by scoldings. If your husband scolds the children, do not take their part, for that will merely make them bad. In the same way, if a stranger makes your children cry, do not say anything to the stranger in the presence of the children, nor take their part in his presence. If you wish to prevent a stranger from scolding your children, keep them home and teach them how to behave by setting them a good example. Do not imagine that you do the best for your children by

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159 794 276 [788] soon. I could hardly wait until I reached the place where the next meeting was to take place. I immediately told the leader (what I wanted) and asked him to baptize me and he baptized me in the morning. After that morning I felt better.

Then I went to work and I worked with a railroad work-gang. I was still working when the time for the midsummer celebration approached. I always went to the peyote meeting on Saturday nights.

The old man was right in what he had told me. The girl students returned in the summer. Shortly (after they returned) a man, a friend of mine who had gone around with me, asked me if I wanted to get married. "Yes, I do," I answered. Then he said, "Listen, I have been thinking of something. What kind of a woman do you wish to marry?" I told him what I had in mind. Then he said, [584] "Come home with me. I have a younger sister. I want her to marry a good man; I would like to have her marry you," he said. Then I went home with him. When we got there (and discussed the matter) the girl gave her consent. The parents also consented.

So there I got married and what I expected has taken place and I have lived with her ever since. On one occasion, after she was used to me, she told me this. (Before she had married she had determined that) if she ever got married, she would not care to marry a very young man. "I wanted a man who ate peyote and who paid attention to the ceremony." Such a man she desired and such a man was I, she said. She loved me, she said, and she was glad that she had married me. This is what she had asked Earthmaker (God) in prayer. "And indeed it has happened as I wished," she said. She believed it was the will of Earthmaker (God) that we had done this, she said. She was therefore glad (that she had married me). Together we gave ourselves up (to the peyote) at a peyote meeting. From that time on we have remained members of the peyote (ceremony).

Many things are said under the influence of the peyote. The members (would) get into a kind of trance and speak of many things. On one occasion they had a peyote meeting which lasted two nights. I ate a good deal of peyote. The next morning I tried to sleep. I suffered a great deal. I lay down in a very comfortable position. After a while a (nameless) fear arose in me. I could not remain in that place, so I went out into the prairie, but here again I was seized with this fear. Finally I returned to a lodge near the lodge in which the peyote meeting was being held and lay down alone. I feared that I might do something foolish to myself (if I remained there alone), and I hoped that someone would come and talk to me. Then someone did come and talk to me, but I did not feel better, so I thought I would go inside where the meeting was going on. "I am going inside," I said to him. He laughed. "Alright, do so," said he. I went in and sat down. It was very hot and I felt as

## §3. *Fasting*

*159 At this stage of life I secretly got the desire to make myself pleasing to the opposite sex.

[342] The Indians then lived in their old-fashioned lodges. Women, however, whenever they had their menses, [343] were placed in special huts. There the young men [84] would go to court them at night when their parents were *159 asleep. I used to go along with the men on such occa- 84 sions, for even although I did not enter any lodges but [584] merely accompanied the older men, I enjoyed it.

My parents were greatly in fear of my coming into contact with menstruating women so therefore I went with these men secretly. My parents were even afraid of having me cross the path over which a menstruating woman had passed. They worried so much about it at that time, because I was to fast as soon as autumn came. They did not wish me to be near menstruating women, for were I to grow up in their midst I would assuredly be weak and of little account. Such was their reason.

*159 Before long I started to fast again together with an 785 older brother of mine, both day and night. It was [221] during the fall moving, and several lodges of people were living near us. There it was that my elder brother and I fasted. Among the people of the other lodges [883] were four girls whose duty it was to carry wood.

867 will be ruining a man. It is equivalent to killing him. Do
593 not do it. It is forbidden. If you marry a man and want
to live with him permanently, work for him in order to
832 hold him. When you marry a man, listen to what he says.
If you do your work properly and the man likes you, he
will never leave you. By working for him must you make
your husband love you. Now remember it is not good to
use medicines on him. At least before you are fairly mature
in years do not use any, for you will thereby merely
weaken yourself and your life will be of no consequence.
Indeed you may cause the medicine to work on yourself
and then become demented in consequence.

867 Marry only one man at a time. Be good and virtuous
581 in your married life. If you do not listen to what I am
[626] telling you, you will become bad and men will make fun of
you. They will do whatever they wish with you; joke
with you familiarly on any subject. If you do not listen
to me you will injure yourself. Thus did the old people
speak to one another and thus did they hand down these
867 precepts from one generation to another, warning young
girls against committing wrong actions. They also said
that when a girl is growing up, one should admonish her
and that is why I am now speaking to you.

867 As you grow older, when you get to be a young woman,
584 the men will begin to court you. Never hit a man. It is
[683] forbidden. If you dislike a man very much tell him to go
away gently. If instead, you hit him, remember that fre-
[759] quently young men possess certain injurious medicines
which they may use against you. Even if a particular
person does not possess them, he knows where to get them.
Then this man whom you have humiliated, will use it and
transform you from a chaste and nice woman to a loose
one, to a harlot. That is why the old people used to warn

# *The Teachings of My Father*

the young girls not to maltreat a man. Hope with all your heart that you do not fall into such a predicament. I really mean what I say. 867 584

Do not be haughty with your husband. Do whatever he says. Kindness will be returned to you and he will treat you in the same way as you treat him. 867 593

If you have a child and it is naughty, do not strike it. In olden times when a child was naughty, the parents did not strike it, but instead made the child fast. Then when he is quite hungry he will reflect upon his disobedience. If you hit the child you will merely be putting more naughtiness in him. It has also been said that mothers should not lecture their children, that they merely make them bad by admonishing them. If your husband scolds them, do not take their part for then they will become bad indeed. If a stranger makes your children cry, do not speak to the stranger in your children's presence and take their part, If you wish to take the children's part, prevent such a thing from happening and keep your children home, and there at home, take good care of them and think of the best means of letting your children get to know you. When you are bringing up children, do not imagine you are taking their part if you just speak about loving them. Let them see it for themselves. Let them see what love is by observing you give things away to the poor. Then they will see your good deeds and then they will know whether you have been speaking the truth or not. 867 [861] 593 858 [935]

Do not show your love for other children so that other people notice it. Love them but let your love for them be different from your love for your own. The children of other people are different from your own and if they were to be taken to some other place they would become estranged from you; they would no longer belong to you.

## §8. *Courting*

#159 584 It was at about this time that I desired and tried to court women. I did not, however, know the proper thing to say. The young men always went around at night to court. During the day I used to mix with the women but when evening came I did not know what to say. I had, however, a brother who was a very handsome man and he offered to take me along so that I could learn. One night therefore I went along with him. We went to a girl who was having her menses [841] at the time, a young girl. At such times the girls are accustomed to live apart from the rest of the family. We were very cautious about the whole matter because these girls were always carefully watched by their relatives. The relatives knew that it was customary for the young men to attempt to court the girls then. Now one of the precautions frequently taken was to pile sticks and branches about the lodge so that it would be difficult to enter. If then a person tried to enter one of these lodges he was likely to make some noise moving the branches and thus awaken the people living in the larger lodges near by. They would, of course, run to see what was the matter.

It was to such a place that we went. After working at the obstacles placed near the entrance for some time,

my brother succeeded in entering the lodge. I went as close as possible to listen. My brother spoke in an audible whisper so that I could hear. Sure enough, I heard him. However, after lying there for some time I got tired and fell asleep. I began to snore and my brother had to wake me up. Afterwards the girl found out and sent us both away. 159* 584

After a time I entered the lodges myself. We always had blankets wrapped around us and we took care to have our heads well covered on these occasions.

Sometimes a girl would be acquainted with quite a large number of men and then these would always gather around her lodge at night and annoy her parents a good deal. We would, in fact, keep them awake all night Some of these people kept vicious dogs.

There was one old woman who always watched her daughter carefully on such occasions. It was a long oblong lodge in which the daughter was confined, with just enough room for two persons. The mother of the girl finally decided to sleep with her daughter. Nevertheless we annoyed her all the time just for her meanness. Once we went there and kept her awake practically all night. Just before dawn, however, she fell asleep, so we young men—there were several of us—pulled up the whole lodge, poles and everything, and threw them into the thicket. The next morning the two women were found sleeping in the open, it was rumored, and the mother was criticized for being overcareful.

The reason why some of the older people were careful at that time was because it had been reported that

*159 some young men had forced themselves into lodges
● 584 where they had not been willingly received.

On one occasion I went to see a young girl and arrived there before the people had retired so I waited near the lodge until they went to sleep. As I lay there waiting, listening, I fell asleep. When I woke up it was morning and when the people got up they found me sleeping there. I felt very much ashamed of myself [626] and the people laughed at me. I was not long in getting away.

We always did these things secretly for it was considered a disgrace to be caught and discovered.

On another occasion, in another place, I was crawling into a lodge when some one woke up as I was about halfway in. I immediately stopped and remained quiet and waited for the people to fall asleep again. In waiting, however, I myself fell asleep. When the people woke me up in the morning I was lying halfway inside the lodge. After waking me up they asked me whether I wouldn't stay for breakfast but I immediately ran away.

After a while I began to go around with some particular girl and I liked it so much that I would not get to sleep at all at night. I would sleep during the day. While we were acting in this manner our parents saw to it that we had food to eat and clothes to wear. We never helped them, for we were always courting girls. [221] Only in the fall, when we picked berries, did we help along. However, as we were generally out all night, we could not do much work even then.

## *Courting*

I used to go out courting and be in the lodges all night and yet, most of the time, I never succeeded in speaking to any of the girls. I did not mind that so much, however, for I was doing it in order to be among the girls. This is what I enjoyed. Indeed I used to go around telling people that I was really keeping company with such and such a girl. I used to say this to my men associates. In reality I did not get much more than a smile from one or two girls. Yet even this I prized as a great thing. 159* 584● [156]

[P.99]

## §15. *Marriage*

About this time I joined a show and danced. I was always very fond of dancing and now I got a chance to go around and dance all the time and even got paid for it. I had money all the time. The people with whom I went around never saved anything and were always without funds, for they spent all their money on drink. I, however, never drank. After a while I got into the habit of going with these shows every fall. 159* [541]

One fall I did not go and, instead, stayed with my grandfather. He told me to get married. I was about twenty-three years old then. I had courted women ever since I was old enough to do so. Every time I did anything I always thought of women in connection with it. I tried to court as many as I could. I wanted badly to be a beau, for I considered it a great thing. I wanted to be a ladies' man. [584] ●

My grandfather had wanted me to marry a certain girl so I went over to the place where she was staying. When I arrived there I tried to meet the girl secretly and succeeded in doing so. I told her of my intention of marrying her and asked her to go home with me. Then she went back, for I had met her some distance from her home. 159* 584

After a short time she came back all dressed up and ∞

After a short time she came back all dressed up and
*159 ready. She had on a waist covered with silver buckles
● 584 and a beautifully colored hair ornament; she wore
301 many strings of beads around her neck and had brace-
lets around her wrists. Her fingers were covered with
[292] rings. She wore a pair of ornamented leggings and
[531] ornamented moccasins with wide flaps. In each ear
she had about a half dozen ear-holes and they were
full of small silver pieces made into ear ornaments.
[300] She was painted, her cheeks red, and the parting of her
hair red. She was all dressed up.

* 159 I came to her on horseback. Then we rode together.
584 We were not going to return to the place from which I
had started that night, because I had been previously
asked to sing at a Medicine Feast at a place on our
way home. On the way I therefore hid the girl near
the place where the feast was to be given.

The girl had a red blanket, and I hid her under a
small oak bush. Unfortunately it rained all that night
and the next morning, and when, early in the morning,
I went to where I had hidden the girl I found her still
there, but soaked through and through from the rain.
Her paint was smeared all over her face in such a way
that she could hardly be recognized. When we arrived
* 159 home my grandfather's wife came out to meet us. She
585 helped the girl down from the horse and took her into
the lodge. Then we ate and when we were through the
girl took off her clothing and gave it to my grand-
parents who in return gave her other clothing. After
the girl had stayed there three nights she had her
[841] menses and had to go to her special lodge and sleep
there.

## *Marriage*

there. Shortly after a horse was given to this girl I had married. 159* 585

Some time after, my grandfather had a private talk with me and he said, "Grandson, it is said that this girl you have married is not a virgin and I am not pleased with it, as this is your first marriage and you are a young man. I suppose you know whether this is true or not, whether or not she is a maiden?" "Yes," I answered, "I know." "Well, you do not have to live with her then if you don't care to," he said. So I went away on a visit and from there I went home for good. After some time I learned that she also had gone back to her home. My grandfather was glad that I had not stayed with her and he told me, "You can marry another and a better one, one that I shall choose for you." However I said to him, "Grandfather, you have begged women for me often enough. Don't ever do it again for I don't care to marry a woman who has to be begged for." He was not at all pleased at this for he said that I was not allowing him to tell me what to do.

[831] 159* 586 [584] [603]

[P. 129]

*159 795 stand up and he prayed to God. He asked God to forgive me my sins.

The next morning I was taken home. My eyes were sore and I could not see. They took me back to my [1957] house and there they put a solution of the peyote in my eyes and I got well in a week.

One night when I was asleep I dreamed that the [1987] world had come to an end. Some people God took while some belonged to the bad spirit. I belonged to the bad spirit. Although I had become a peyote man I had not as yet been baptized. That was why God did not take me. All those who belonged to God were marked, but I was not. I felt very bad about it when I woke up, even although I had only dreamed it. I felt very bad indeed. I wanted them to hurry and have another peyote meeting soon. I could hardly wait until I reached the place where the next meeting was to take place. I immediately told the leader what I wanted and asked him to baptize me and he baptized me in the morning. After that I felt better.

*159 Then I went to work and I worked with a railroad [964] work gang. I was still working when the time for the midsummer celebration approached. I always went to the peyote meeting on Saturday nights.

*159 The old man was right in what he had told me. The girl students returned in the summer. Shortly after ● 584 they returned, a man, a friend of mine, who had gone around with me, asked me if I wanted to get married. "Yes, I do," I answered. Then he said, "Listen, I have been thinking of something. What kind of a woman do

*Visions*

you wish to marry?" I told him what I had in mind. 159 *
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sister; I want her to marry a good man; I would like to have her marry you." Then I went home with him. When we reached his home and discussed the matter, the girl gave her consent. The parents also consented. So there I got married, and what I expected has taken [585]
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very young man. "I wanted a man who ate peyote and who paid attention to the ceremony." Such a man she desired and such a person she said I was. She loved me and she was glad that she had married me. This is what she had asked God for in her prayers. "And indeed it has happened as I wished," she said. She believed that it was the will of God that we had done this. Together we gave ourselves up to the peyote at a meeting. From that time on we have remained members of the peyote religion.

[p. 197]

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584 ever, it appears that women were married to these same lovers after the former left the menstrual lodge, so that the presence of men in these lodges may be taken either as a part of the wooing or as one of the methods of marriage. Some theorists may be inclined to look on this feature of the practices connected with the menstrual lodge as a survival of a "women's house." To those the fact may be emphasized that it is only a few times in the life of a woman that such a feature exists, because she is married shortly after leaving the lodge.[6]

## MARRIAGE

582 Girls were usually married as soon as they reached marriageable age, and the same was probably true of men. In most cases marriage was arranged by the parents of the young people, and it rarely
584 happened that the latter refused to abide by the decision—a fact that seems to have been due not so much to implicit obedience as to the wise precautions taken by the parents in mating their children. If, however, the young people absolutely refused to abide by their parents' choice, the latter always yielded. In former times children were betrothed to each other at an early age. At the betrothal presents were exchanged between the parents of the prospective bride and groom. The girl was said to be *dohore'na*.

595 Generally a man took but one wife, although he was permitted to marry more than one if he wished. In polygamous marriages the second wife was usually a niece or a sister of the first wife. According to a very reliable informant it was the wife herself who often induced her husband to marry her own niece. This she did if she noticed that he was getting tired of her or losing his interest in her.[7]

● 585 There was no ceremony connected with marriage. As soon as the customary presents were exchanged, the man came to the woman's lodge and the marriage was consummated.

A man generally lived with his parents-in-law during the first two years after his marriage. During these two years he was practically
591 the servant of his father-in-law, hunting, fishing, and performing
[585] minor services for him. Many Winnebago interpreted these enforced services of a son-in-law as part of his marriage obligations toward his father-in-law. After the first two years he returned to

[6] Were it not for the fact that his informant in this case was exceedingly reliable the writer would be inclined to regard with suspicion the statement as to the use of the menstrual lodge as a rendezvous for lovers. It seems, however, that the very fact that the informant shows so great abhorrence of the mores would have prevented him from attributing to men intimacy with women at this time had there been any doubt in his mind on the subject. Nevertheless his statement on the point under discussion seems peculiar and the author would not be surprised if he had exaggerated greatly the number of men willing to leave the bad luck and weakness incident on contact with women during the menstrual period.

[7] As one of my informants said, "A man can marry a woman and her niece. If the man is not steady and goes around with other women, it is customary for the wife to call her niece, and she would marry her aunt's husband. This is done to steady the man. In this way one or the other will always be with him. The same is true of sisters."

After a short time she came back all dressed up and
*159 ready. She had on a waist covered with silver buckles
584 and a beautifully colored hair ornament; she wore
301 many strings of beads around her neck and had brace-
lets around her wrists. Her fingers were covered with
[292] rings. She wore a pair of ornamented leggings and
[531] ornamented moccasins with wide flaps. In each ear
she had about a half dozen ear-holes and they were
full of small silver pieces made into ear ornaments.
[305] She was painted, her cheeks red, and the parting of her
hair red. She was all dressed up.

*159 I came to her on horseback. Then we rode together.
584 We were not going to return to the place from which I
had started that night, because I had been previously
asked to sing at a Medicine Feast at a place on our
way home. On the way I therefore hid the girl near
the place where the feast was to be given.

The girl had a red blanket, and I hid her under a
small oak bush. Unfortunately it rained all that night
and the next morning, and when, early in the morning,
I went to where I had hidden the girl I found her still
there, but soaked through and through from the rain.
Her paint was smeared all over her face in such a way
that she could hardly be recognized. When we arrived
*159 home my grandfather's wife came out to meet us. She
● 585 helped the girl down from the horse and took her into
the lodge. Then we ate and when we were through the
girl took off her clothing and gave it to my grand-
parents who in return gave her other clothing. After
the girl had stayed there three nights she had her
[841] menses and had to go to her special lodge and sleep
there.

## *Marriage*

there. Shortly after a horse was given to this girl I had married. 159* 585 ●

Some time after, my grandfather had a private talk with me and he said, "Grandson, it is said that this girl you have married is not a virgin and I am not pleased with it, as this is your first marriage and you are a young man. I suppose you know whether this is true or not, whether or not she is a maiden?" "Yes," I answered, "I know." "Well, you do not have to live with her then if you don't care to," he said. So I went away on a visit and from there I went home for good. After some time I learned that she also had gone back to her home. My grandfather was glad that I had not stayed with her and he told me, "You can marry another and a better one, one that I shall choose for you." However I said to him, "Grandfather, you have begged women for me often enough. Don't ever do it again for I don't care to marry a woman who has to be begged for." He was not at all pleased at this for he said that I was not allowing him to tell me what to do.

[831] 159* 586 [584] [603]

[P. 129]

## *Visions*

you wish to marry?" I told him what I had in mind. 159 *
Then he said, "Come home with me. I have a younger 584
sister; I want her to marry a good man; I would like
to have her marry you." Then I went home with him.
When we reached his home and discussed the matter,
the girl gave her consent. The parents also consented.
So there I got married, and what I expected has taken [585] ●
place and I have lived with her ever since. On one
occasion, after she was used to me, she told me this: 159 *
Before she had married, she had determined that, if 795
she ever got married, she would not care to marry a 585
very young man. "I wanted a man who ate peyote and
who paid attention to the ceremony." Such a man she
desired and such a person she said I was. She loved
me and she was glad that she had married me. This is
what she had asked God for in her prayers. "And
indeed it has happened as I wished," she said. She be-
lieved that it was the will of God that we had done this.
Together we gave ourselves up to the peyote at a meet-
ing. From that time on we have remained members
of the peyote religion.

[p. 197]

## *Marriage*

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Some time after, my grandfather had a private talk with me and he said, "Grandson, it is said that this girl you have married is not a virgin and I am not pleased with it, as this is your first marriage and you are a young man. I suppose you know whether this is true or not, whether or not she is a maiden?" "Yes," I answered, "I know." "Well, you do not have to live with her then if you don't care to," he said. So I went away on a visit and from there I went home for good. After some time I learned that she also had gone back to her home. My grandfather was glad that I had not stayed with her and he told me, "You can marry another and a better one, one that I shall choose for you." However I said to him, "Grandfather, you have begged women for me often enough. Don't ever do it again for I don't care to marry a woman who has to be begged for." He was not at all pleased at this for he said that I was not allowing him to tell me what to do.

[831] 159* 586 [584] [603]

[P. 129]

## §16. *Shows*

*159 About this time we went to the Sioux country on a visit. There were a number of us. While there I was [574] adopted as a friend and given a pony. When I returned [431] to my home I used to ride around on my pony. That fall a number of Winnebago were going to join a show [541] and I decided to go along with them. I was a good dancer. We went to all the large cities of the country.

*159 273 With us there were two grass widows and after a while I used to go with one of them secretly. This woman used to drink beer. Soon I began to go with the other woman also. They both drank a good deal and often asked me to drink with them, but I always [588] refused. I finally married one of these women, al- [837] though I continued frequenting the other one at the same time. We lived in a tipi. As I said, they both drank beer and gradually I got to drinking it too. Soon I drank a great deal and began to like it. I kept this a secret from my people and told the women to do the same. Finally, however, as I began drinking frequently, a friend of mine found out about it and then the two of us used to drink together. Then the owner of the show discovered that I was drinking. He thought a good deal of me, that my dancing was better than that of the others, and when he learned that

## §17. *A Woman Bewitches Me*

Once when I returned to the camp I found some other people there. There I also found my grandfather. He had brought along with him one of the two women with whom I had been living, the older one. I did not like it at all. My grandfather asked me to live with her and I did so during the hunting season. When it was over this woman remained there and I returned to my home with another one. My former wife stayed there a long time, but when she got tired of waiting for me to return, she left. 159* 837 588

Just about this time I heard that this former wife of mine, before going away, had used some magical medicine on me. A medicine feast was immediately given me and my scalp treated to counteract the evil effect of what she had used. It was said that she had taken one of my hairs and dipped it into her medicine bundle. This she did in order to prevent me from ever leaving her. If then I left her I would suffer from a headache and perhaps even die. Such was the belief. Fortunately the matter was discovered, my scalp treated and the hair she had taken recovered and washed with medicine. Nothing therefore happened to me. 159* 754 755

From that time on I began to live with as many women as I could, for I had developed the idea that I was a lady-killer. 159* 156 837

## *My Brother Is Murdered*

as I pretended for whenever I woke up from a drunken 159* orgy I found myself firmly bound. [273]

All I did was to wander from place to place, from one woman to another. I had four sisters and from them [593] and from my parents did I receive all that I possessed [156] and yet in spite of this, I claimed to be a great man! I then had two women staying with me as my wives. 159* At one time I had as many as four, two at my parents' 588 house and two at certain relatives of mine. I wasn't serious with any one of them. I lied all the time; I was [577] always telling falsehoods. On one occasion I had four children born to me and each one had a different mother. Even after that I continued courting women and drinking.

In the spring there was always work to do. We 159* rolled logs down the stream and drank. I accepted [22] such occupations because I could then always get as [273] much drink as I wanted. Whenever I had any money I spent it on getting some woman drunk.

[P. 135]

## §21. *Dissipation*

While staying at this woman's lodge I was one day 159 *
handed a paper by a woman, in which she told me that 588 ●
she was married, that she was living at a certain place, 839
and that if I came over, she would do whatever I said. I told the woman with whom I was living about it, and she said, "Go after her, that I may have her as my companion." Her father had a horse, and on it I rode over to the woman's house. I went there secretly, and watched the people digging potatoes, for their camp was nearby. The man to whom this woman was married was also living with another woman at the same time. The woman I was after was staying in this camp. I approached her secretly and when I reached the place she got herself ready to go with me. The two of us rode on a pony, and it so happened that we had to pass the place where the husband was working. He pursued us, but we managed to get away. In a short time I arrived home, and my wife received the second woman willingly. They would sleep with me on alternate nights.

After we finished our work there, we went to the 159*
place from which we had originally come, and we ar- 657
rived home just in time for the annuity payment. The superintendent of the Wittenberg school made the

*159 payment. At about the same time, one of the two
657 women with whom I was living was taken away from
● [588] me. She went to live with another man. When the
837 payment was over here, the superintendent went to
[484] Neceelah to pay the people there, and I went along,
for I was doing what we called "chasing the payment."
There, and at Red Hill, I deceived many women, and
thus obtained quite a large sum of money. Then I
started off with a number of other young men. By
[273] this time I was spending all my time drinking.

*159 I got on the train at night. We were to change cars
484 at a place called Honsa and from there we were to
ride in a freight car. When we had gone only a short
distance the conductor saw us and put us off. We were
all drinking heavily. One man had lost his hat and
was walking bareheaded. We walked along until we
came to a pasture, and there we found some dry wood
with which we built a fire. We had decided to sleep
there. We had plenty of whisky with us. Late at
night we became thirsty and so we looked around for
water. We found a number of pools scattered around,
and out of these we drank. Then we went to sleep.
The next morning when we woke up we saw a good
well near us, but we ourselves had drunk out of the
water and mud in which pigs had been wallowing.

*159 In the morning when the train arrived we boarded it.
273 Eventually we reached our destination, and there found
many people, drinking and making a lot of noise. That
was exactly the place I had been looking for. When-
[685] ever I saw a person drunk I would steal whatever he

## §22. *We Kill a Pottawattomie*

*159 ● 588 837 I never married any woman permanently. I would live with one for awhile, and then with another. Sometimes upon my return after an absence I would find my temporary wife living with another man. This is the way in which I acted.

*159 787 721 My father had brought me up and had encouraged me to fast, so that I might be blessed by all the spirits that exist, and thus live in comfort. My father had raised me so that I should desire to obtain war honors,[28] so that I should not be like one who wears skirts. That was the reason he had me join the Medicine Dance so [624] that people should not be able to ridicule me. My [867] father taught me to lead a sober and sane life and my grandfather, during the time I lived with him, had told me the same. They both encouraged me to give feasts and to ask the spirits for war honors.

*159 721 At that time I had a comrade, and one day he said to me, "We have been thinking of something, have we not, friend? We ought to try and obtain some external emblem of our bravery. Do we not always try to wear feathers at a Warrior Dance? Well, then, let us try

[28] These war honors were the following: touching the body of a [554] slain enemy first, killing an enemy, touching the body second, touching it third, stealing a horse. All of them entitled the possessor [301] to wear an eagle feather in his hair.

*[159] was over. Indeed, I even got married there. I kept
●[588] on drinking all the time. It was then that a nephew of
[2013] mine begged me to give him my buggy. A nephew has
[604] the privilege of asking his uncle for anything, and the uncle must give it. In return the uncle can compel the nephew to work for him at any time.

Some time after that I went to visit an uncle of mine. He said, "Nephew, to-morrow they are going to have a Medicine Dance, and to-night they are going to have a trial performance.[28] Your aunt is going to buy provisions for the meal, and you may go along with her." So I went along. When we got to town we drank, and on the following day it was rumored that the woman and myself were missing. The buggy in which we were riding was quite broken, my hat was gone, and my trousers ripped open. I immediately went back to the place I had come from, even though the Medicine Dance was being given. The woman, I heard, was still missing. I then went to the place at which I had been staying, and remained there all day. I got very tired. In the morning I mounted a horse and went to town.
[C98] There I was arrested. I was asked what I was doing in the town. "I am not doing anything; I am merely visiting around." Then the one in charge of the law said that I was to pay ten dollars and that if I did not do so, he would send me to prison. I therefore sold my horse for twenty dollars, and out of it I paid the ten

[2196] [28] The first part of the regular Medicine Dance is supposed to be merely a rehearsal for the following day when the main ceremony is given and is in consequence called the "trial" performance.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



to them for me to use. Later on, in the fall, when the cranberry season had started, I lived with three women. I never did any work, but simply went from woman to woman. Then the annuity payment was made, and I went around chasing the payment. I sold my horses and spent the money I had.

About this time my father and mother asked me to come to Nebraska. I had been told that my father and mother had joined the peyote people and were eating peyote, and I did not like it. These peyote eaters were doing wrong, were wicked, and that is why I disliked them. Old Thunder Cloud, my brother-in-law, told us the following about them:

"This medicine, the peyote,[50] is one of the four spirits from below. That is why it is bad. These four spirits have always longed for human beings, and now they are getting ahold of them. Those who use the peyote claim that when they die, they will only be going on a

[50] The peyote is a small cactus common in the state of Chihuahua, Mexico, out of which from time immemorial an intoxicating drink has been prepared. The ancient Mexicans were well acquainted with it. For a number of centuries it has been the center of various cults all of which contained marked Christian features. It is only within the last fifty to seventy-five years, however, that some of these cults have spread into the United States. It is from some of the tribes now living in Oklahoma that the Winnebago borrowed it.

The Winnebago either eat the peyote button in its dried state or drink a concoction prepared from it. The effects are various. Every one, however, seems to be agreed upon its causing wonderful color visions. The after effects vary with the individual. I have seen some practically in a state of stupor after eating a large quantity of the buttons, while others seem entirely unaffected and go on with their day's work as though nothing had happened.

The use of the Bible is an entirely new element introduced by the Winnebago.

## *My Release from Prison*

most is the fact that they are making fun of you. 159 *
Quite apart from that, however, I am not used to them." 795
I was speaking quite dishonestly.

I was then staying at my sister's place. She was a peyote follower and had gone on a visit to Oklahoma. After a while she returned. At that time I was staying [588] ● with a number of women and from them I obtained money. Once I got drunk and was locked up for six [273] days. After my sister returned she and her friends paid more attention to me than ever before. This was particularly true of her husband. I was given horses [431] and a wagon. I was really treated very tenderly. I told them I believed in the peyote because they treated me so nicely. I knew that they did this because they wished me to eat the peyote. I, in my turn, was very kind to them. I thought I was fooling them and they [156] thought they were converting me.

We moved after a while to a place where there was to be a large peyote gathering. I knew that they had arranged for this in order to get me to join. Accordingly I spoke to my younger sister and said, "Sister, I would be quite willing to eat this peyote ordinarily, but I don't like the woman with whom I am living just [588] now and I think I shall leave her. Now I have been given to understand that among you, when married people eat the peyote they will always have to stay together. I shall therefore join you as soon as I have married a woman with whom I wish to stay permanently." Then my brother-in-law came in and my sister told him what I had said and he spoke to me,

*Crashing Thunder*

*159 795 385 "You are right in what you say. However, the woman with whom you are staying is a married woman and you cannot stay with her any longer. This marriage of yours is null and void and we know that this is so. You had better join now. You are the same as if you were single, and we will pray for you as though you were single. After you have joined the peyote religion you may marry any woman you wish and whom you have a right to marry legally. So, do join to-night. It is best. For some time already have we been desirous of your joining us but we never said anything to you about it. It is Earthmaker's blessing, God's will, that has made you think of this." So he spoke to me.

[p. 194]

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12

# Winnebago Berdache

*By* NANCY OESTREICH LURIE

114 838 [177] [171] THE following account draws attention to the fact that the berdache role was still evident in Winnebago culture until close to the turn of the century, and adds somewhat to the data of certain clear cultural parallels between this Woodland Siouan group and such Plains Siouan tribes as the Omaha, Oto, Iowa and Ponca. The description is not complete and certain points are equivocal. Thus, all of the available ethnographic documentation will be presented so that anyone intending to use the information will be able to assess its value. The description given here agrees, Dr. Raul Radin said in a conversation, with his unpublished Winnebago data.

124 838 During the course of general field investigations conducted from time to time during the years 1945 to 1947, it was apparent that Winnebago informants in Wisconsin tended to be reticent to discuss the matter of the berdache. Their embarrassment may indicate that knowledge of the subject was withheld. However, even where excellent rapport existed and individuals became sufficiently interested in the topic to question people who might not speak directly to an ethnographer, some details remain uncertain. Furthermore, [177] while the last berdache died somewhat over fifty years ago, the picture is confused by the former tendency of Winnebago culture to invest given forms of traits with opposite meanings and functions when used under different circumstances. At the present time, the recollections of many informants reveal that they know only half of the total function of given forms, or that they attempt to synthesize features which now appear as contradictory.

[184] While it was noted in 1950 that the Nebraska Winnebago were quite willing to speak of matters that in Wisconsin are still considered sacred or as things to be kept secret from whites, the Nebraska Winnebago simply knew less about older traditions.

838 It was agreed generally that the berdache was a man who had taken on this role because he had been directed to do so by the moon, a female spirit, [787] at the time of his vision quest. The berdache dressed as a woman, performed [821] women's tasks better than any normal woman could perform them, and had the ability to foretell future events. However, not all Winnebago prophets [791] were berdaches. One informant mentioned that berdaches sometimes married [588] other men, but no data were obtained concerning the attitude of the society [554] toward the husband of a berdache. Most informants felt that the berdache was at one time a highly honored and respected person, but that the Winnebago had become ashamed of the custom because the white people thought it 189 838 was amusing or evil. By the time the last known berdache attempted to fulfill the role, his brothers threatened to kill him if he "put on the skirt." This [626] berdache then affected a combination of male and female clothing, fearing that he would die if he did not at least attempt to follow the directions given him in his vision of the moon.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



him from killing game. In the particular case mentioned above the spell was the following: A man killed a deer, and a pregnant woman ate a piece of the intestine. From that time on the man was unable to kill any more deer. 755 278 [224 843]

The above medicine is used to break the spell of ill luck in hunting caused by the following actions: If a man cohabits with a widow, or if one who is a widower eats together with another person, or if he smokes out of the same pipe as another person. Not only would the medicine free him from his ill luck in hunting, but it would give him good luck in cards and speed in running. [589]

Here is an astringent medicine. It is compounded of a mixture of the "clear" medicine and the "plant that spreads itself on the ground." It is used for the following purposes. As an application for swellings, for illness after childbirth, and for general sores and eruptions of the skin. In case of illness after childbirth it is injected. For sores, etc., it is taken internally. 757 278 [844]

Here is another medicine, called bladder medicine. It is made of the roots of a certain weed. These roots are boiled and then drunk. If one is troubled with stricture, the drinking of this medicine will enable him to pass water immediately. The same medicine is used to alleviate a toothache and to stop too profuse a menstrual flow. [841]

Now this is another medicine. It is made of the leaves of a certain plant. These leaves are rolled up and then drunk down with water. The medicine is used for all stomach complaints.

Here is another medicine used for diarrhea and dysentery. It is made from the roots of a plant that has many thorns and beautiful white blossoms. The roots are scraped and the scrapings boiled and gulped down. At least a pint of this concoction must be taken. It can also be used as a mouth wash for those troubled with sore mouths.

We have another medicine used to rid a person of superfluous bile. This acts as a strong physic and not only cures a person of his indisposition but also gives him a great appetite.

Here is another medicine. It is called the medicine for burns. It consists of the leaves of a certain weed that is dried. If anyone has a burn, he chews some of this dried weed and then applies it to the burn. [752]

Here is also a medicine for private diseases, compounded of the following:

1. Doxicu'tckera hara, red willow bark.
2. Ma$^{n}$sixu'tckeda hara, English unknown.
3. Nap'a'hira hara, sharp tree.

These barks are pulverized and mixed together with skunk oil.

The next medicine I am going to describe is used in poisoning. It is called small-part-of-a-black-root-tree. It is used for many pur- 754 278

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



841 From other information obtained how-
584 ever, it appears that women were married to these same lovers after the former left the menstrual lodge, so that the presence of men in these lodges may be taken either as a part of the wooing or as one of the methods of marriage. Some theorists may be inclined to look on this feature of the practices connected with the menstrual lodge as a survival of a "women's house." To those the fact may be emphasized that it is only a few times in the life of a woman that such a feature exists, because she is married shortly after leaving the lodge.[6]

## MARRIAGE

582 Girls were usually married as soon as they reached marriageable age, and the same was probably true of men. In most cases marriage was arranged by the parents of the young people, and it rarely
584 happened that the latter refused to abide by the decision—a fact that seems to have been due not so much to implicit obedience as to the wise precautions taken by the parents in mating their children. If, however, the young people absolutely refused to abide by their parents' choice, the latter always yielded. In former times children were betrothed to each other at an early age. At the betrothal presents were exchanged between the parents of the prospective bride and groom. The girl was said to be *dohore'na*.

595 Generally a man took but one wife, although he was permitted to marry more than one if he wished. In polygamous marriages the second wife was usually a niece or a sister of the first wife. According to a very reliable informant it was the wife herself who often induced her husband to marry her own niece. This she did if she noticed that he was getting tired of her or losing his interest in her.[7]

585 There was no ceremony connected with marriage. As soon as the customary presents were exchanged, the man came to the woman's lodge and the marriage was consummated.

A man generally lived with his parents-in-law during the first two years after his marriage. During these two years he was practically
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[583] minor services for him. Many Winnebago interpreted these enforced services of a son-in-law as part of his marriage obligations toward his father-in-law. After the first two years he returned to

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[7] As one of my informants said, "A man can marry a woman and her niece. If the man is not steady and goes around with other women, it is customary for the wife to call her niece, and she would marry her aunt's husband. This is done to steady the man. In this way one or the other will always be with him. The same is true of sisters."

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



his father's lodge, where his seat had always been kept for him. 591
With his own folks he stayed as long as he wished, leaving it generally as soon as he decided to live alone—a decision that was usually reached as soon as he had one child or a number of children. However, he did not always build his own lodge, especially in the olden times, when it was customary for those Winnebago who lived in permanent villages to occupy the long gable-roofed lodges, that frequently were large enough to house as many as 40 people. In such cases a man and his family generally alternated between his parents-in-law and his own parents.

### Adoption

Adoption of individuals was quite frequent in former times. As 597
far as the writer knows, however, it always took the form of replacing of a deceased child by some other child physically resembling the one lost. I do not know whether there were any additional considerations if the child adopted happened to be a prisoner. As the name for adoption (*wanayze'rek'inagk*) indicates, it is closely connected with the common belief in reincarnation, meaning either the [775]
exchange of one spirit for another or the replacing of the spirit. A special feast could be given for adoption or it could be done at one of the regular feasts. As the child adopted was often the "friend" (*hiteak'd'ro*) of the deceased and in any case had parents living, presents were always given to his parents.

Perhaps a better idea of the nature of adoption can be obtained from the following few words of an informant:

When a child dies, then the father mourns for many years, and if during that time [765]
he happens to meet a child that resembles his dead child he asks to be allowed to adopt him. The parents of the child can hardly object to such a request.*

* There is no doubt in my mind that quite a number of parents believe that such a person is really their reincarnated child.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12



174 the bear in others, although both are also often found together.

614 Looking at our facts from another point of view, it is quite clear that clan segregation must not be taken too literally. 621 Clan exogamy would necessarily prevent that. If the old exogamy of the two divisions was in force and a man was thus compelled to marry into his mother's division but not into her clan, every village would have had to be arranged in an extremely artificial manner, that was not likely to have occurred frequently. [591] That a man often lived with his parents-in-law, would in addition again disorganize the regularity of the scheme. Finally, we have the evidence of the myths, which often speak of a man as departing on a journey when seeking a bride. All these customs, cutting across the village scheme in a number of ways, must have rendered it a rather complex unit. That, in spite of all this, clan exogamy could have been maintained even in a small village is unquestionable, but the reason for this lay, we suspect, in the limitation of the concept of blood-relations. With these considerations in mind, we may, then, admit clan segregation.

### *Individual Names.*

614 With the animal appellation of the clan, one naturally associates animal names of individuals, for there is, indeed, 551 a correlation between them. Animal names of individuals 182 are, however, frequently found when the social units have names of an entirely different kind. A similar lack of correlation exists between the manner and system of naming and the type of social organization. That, on the other hand, the social organization may fundamentally influence the nature of the individual name is also apparent. Only with these points in mind can the Winnebago individual names become intelligible.

614 The study of Winnebago names can be approached from a purely static point of view, and the attempt made to bring 551 them analytically under a certain system of naming; or, on the other hand, 174 from a dynamic historical view-point. We shall try to undertake both. Every clan has a distinct set of names.

The Winnebago individual names lend themselves easily to categories of classification. We have the following classes:

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you will be able to obtain these and in addition glory and the war honors.[4] If, in truth, you thirst yourself to death,[5] our grandfathers who are in control of wars to whom all the war powers that exist in this world belong they will assuredly bless you. 867 776 787

My son, if you do not wear out your feet through ceaseless activity (in fasting), if you do not blacken your face for fasting, it will be all in vain that you inflict sufferings upon yourself. Blessings are not obtained through mere desire alone; they are not obtained without making the proper sacrifices or without putting yourself time and again in proper mental condition. Indeed, my son, they are not to be obtained without effort on your part. So see to it that, of all those spirits whom Earthmaker created, one at least has pity upon you and blesses you. Whatever such a spirit says to you that will unquestionably happen.

Now, my son, if you do not obtain a spirit to strengthen you, you will not amount to anything in the estimation of your fellowmen. They will show you little respect. Perhaps they will make fun of you.

Do not die in the village. It is not good to die there. Whenever a person is grown up that is what is told him. Nor is it good, my son, to let women journey ahead of you from amidst the village. It is not good thus to let women die before you.[6] Therefore, in order to prevent this, our ancestors encouraged one another to fast. Some day you will travel in a difficult road; there will be some crisis in your life, and then when it is too late you will begin to reproach yourself for not having fasted at the proper time. So that you may not have occasion to blame yourself at such a time I counsel you to fast. If you do not obtain a blessing when the other women are dividing the war prizes brought home from the warpath by their brothers, your sisters will stand aside envying them. If, however, you are blessed by the spirits in control of war power, and if you then return victorious, how proud your sisters will be to receive the war honors and to wear them around their necks and participate with them in the victory dance! And in this way your sisters likewise will be strengthened by your war deeds. You will keep well, in health. [761] [593 727]

My son, it will indeed be good if you obtain war powers, but our ancestors say it is difficult. Especially difficult is it to be leader on 867 787

[4] There are four war honors, the highest going to the Indian who first touches a dead enemy, the second belonging to the one who kills him, and the last two to those who touch him second and third. The war prizes generally consisted of necklaces of wampum which were given to those who had obtained the first war honors. The victor also would be given the privilege of first smoking the pipe on his return to his home. The prize of the wampum necklace was always given by the victor to his elder sisters. [554]

[5] That is, fast.

[6] That is, obtain war power so that you can go on the warpath and prevent yourself from dying in the village or have women die before you.

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867 My son, never abuse your wife. The women are sacred. If you
593 abuse your wife and make her life miserable, you will die early.
562 Our grandmother, the earth, is a woman, and in mistreating your
776 wife you will be mistreating her. Most assuredly will you be abusing our grandmother if you act thus. And as it is she that is taking care of us you will really be killing yourself by such behavior.

867 My son, when you keep house, should anyone enter your house,
574 no matter who it is, be sure to offer him whatever you have in the house. Any food that you withhold at such a time will most assuredly become a source of death to you. If you are stingy about giving food the people will kill you on this account. They will poison you. If you hear of a traveler who is visiting your people and you wish to see him, prepare your table for him and have him sent for. In this manner you will be acting correctly. It is always good to act correctly and do good, the old people used to say.

867 If you see an old, helpless person, help him with whatever you
888 possess. Should you happen to possess a home and you take him there, he might suddenly say abusive things about you during the middle of the meal. You will be strengthened by such words. This same traveler may, on the contrary, give you something that
[778] he carries under his arms and which he treasures very highly. If it is an object without a stem,[18] keep it to protect your house. If you thus keep it within your house, your home will never be molested by any bad spirits. Nothing will be able to enter your house unexpectedly. Thus you will live. Witches, instead of entering your house, will pass around it. If, in addition to possessing this medicine, you also fast, your people will be benefited by it greatly.

867 Earthmaker made spirits up above and some he made to live on
773 this earth; and again some he made to live under the water and
776 some to live in the water; and all these he put in charge of something. Even the small animals that move about this earth the creator put in charge of some power. Thus he created them. Afterwards he created us human beings and as he had exhausted all the powers to be disposed of we were not in control of anything. Then he made a weed and placed it in our charge. And he said that no matter how powerful are the spirits that exist they would not be able to take this weed from us without giving something in return.
[276] He himself, Earthmaker, would not be able to demand it for nothing. So he spoke. This weed was the tobacco plant. Earthmaker said that if we would offer a pipeful of tobacco to him, whatever we should ask of him he would immediately grant. Not only he, but all the
[782] spirits created, longed to have some of this tobacco. It is for this reason that when we fast and cry piteously for some spirit to take pity on us, if we give them tobacco they will bless us with those

[18] A plant without a stem, presumably some root, used for warding off danger.

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If you ever get married, my son, do not make an idol of your wife. 867
The more you worship her, the more will she want to be worshipped. 562
Thus the old people said. They warned the young men against the 581
example of those men who always hearken to what the women say, 893
who are the slaves of women. Often they would speak in the following manner: "You have had many warnings, but it may happen that some day you will not pay any attention to them. Then, when they call upon you to take part in the Winter Feast you may perhaps refuse to go. When a war party is leaving you may listen to the voice of your wife and not join them. Thus you will be as one who has been brought up as a woman.[21] Men of every description do what is demanded of them, you alone do not act as a man should. You never perform a man's deed. If you were to go to a Winter Feast, you would be handed a lean piece of meat.[22] Why should you subject yourself to the danger of being made fun of? A real brave man, when he goes to a Winter Feast, will receive a deer's head, while you will only receive a lean piece of meat. That is all they will give you to eat. It will stick in your throat."[23] [558]

My son, if you keep on listening to your wife, after a while she will never let you go to any feast at all. All your relatives will scold you and your own sisters will think little of you. They will say to one another, "Let us not ever go over to see him. He is of no help to anyone." Finally, when you have become a real slave to your wife, she might tell you to hit your own relatives, and you would do it. For these reasons, my son, I warn you against the words of women. Steel yourself against them. For if you do not do so you will find yourself different from other men. It is not good to be enslaved by a woman.

My son, this also I will tell you. Women can never be watched. If you try to watch them you will merely show your jealousy and your female relatives will also be jealous. After a while you will become so jealous of your wife that she will leave you and run away. First, you worshipped her above everything else, then you became jealous and watched her all the time, and the result will be that she will run away from you. You yourself will be to blame for this. You thought too much of a woman and in worshipping her you humbled yourself, and as a consequence she has been taken away from you. You are making the woman suffer and making her feel unhappy. All the other women will know of this, and no one will want to marry you again. Everyone will consider you a very bad man.

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[21] He may mean a berdash, but it is far more probable that he merely means to call him a woman, as insult sufficiently great.

[22] A man who has distinguished himself as a warrior is always invited to eat the head of the animal, offered at the Winter Feast. There next in distinction are given the fat pieces of meat, and the lean pieces—to the Winnebago, the poorest—are given to those who are of no importance. [554 262]

[23] I. e., the meat will stick in your throat, because you will feel so much ashamed of yourself.

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867 My son, whenever people go on the warpath go along with them.
721 It is good to die on the warpath. You may perhaps say so, because you are unhappy that your wife has left you. My son, not for such reasons, however, must you go on the warpath. You will be merely throwing away a human life. If you want to go on the warpath, do so because you feel that you are courageous enough, not because you are unhappy at the loss of your wife. If you go on the warpath you will enjoy yourself. Do not go, however, unless you have fasted,
[785] and unless you have fasted for that particular warpath. If you have not fasted and attempt nevertheless to go on the warpath, a bullet will surely seek you out and kill you. This is what will happen to you if you do not fast.

[593 If you exert yourself in fasting you will assuredly perform some
[604 brave war exploit. You must tell your sisters and sister's children
605] and your mother's sisters all about your exploit. Remember, also, that the keepers of the war-bundles can give you good advice in all that pertains to war. For their deeds they will be given a good dish of meat.[34] This they will give you to eat.

Of such things did my ancestors speak, and I would wish you to do as they did. That is why I am telling you all these things. I myself never asked for any of this instruction, but my father did. All human beings ought to ask for it. Never let anybody be in a position to puzzle you in regard to what is right. Ask for this instruction, my son, for it is not an ordinary thing. In the olden
867 times if a person loved his child very much, he would only give him instruction after he had begun fasting all day for the first time. When a young boy has just matured, those who have been preaching to him always ask him one question, namely, whether he had begun
[881] to fast. And this the young boy must always answer truthfully, for if he has begun his fast the instruction would stop. The old men do not preach to men, but only to boys.

881 (What follows is apparently an illustration of how a young man
887 asks his instructor for information of how to conduct himself in life.)
867 The young man will go to an old man and say, "Grandfather, I would like to know how I am to conduct myself in life. Bless me and if you can really give me any information, do so." Then the old man was very thankful and said, "It is good; you speak correctly." Now the one who was asking something of the old man had taken very good care of the old man's body and had led a good life. He had no scars of any kind; that is, he had never done anything shameful. The young man brought all sorts of food and placed it in the lodge of the old man. Then he also brought him a fine horse. Only then did he ask him again about the life that his ancestors had led, and what kind of a life he ought to live. He asked

[34] I. e., you will be given a position at the Winter Feast and offered some of the choice pieces of meat.

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him what the old people do when they give a child a name, and 881
what they say. All these things the old man told him. "It is good," 887
he said, "for you to know these things so that if anyone comes to 867
you and asks you for information you will be able to tell them something and will not have to behave like a fool. If you are asked to give a little child a name, this little child will really be a means of increasing your power. That is why you ought to give a feast for it and smoke the child's tobacco. You must also give the child a name for his dog. Give him the name Yellow-Tree for a male dog. The name Yellow-Tree is given for the following reason. When the Thunderbirds strike at a tree it looks yellow. Just as leaves wither so do trees wither when the Thunderbirds strike them. They then begin to rot and become very much discolored. That is why they give a dog this name. If you ever have to give a dog-name for a female child call it She-Who-Stays-In-Her-Own-Place. This is all that I wish to tell you."

### SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION TO DAUGHTER

This is the way the old men used to speak to the little girls: 867
My daughter, as you go along the path of life, always listen to 593
your parents. Do not permit your mother to work. Attend to your father's wants. All the work in the house belongs to you. Never be idle. Chop the wood, carry it home, look after the vege- [462]
tables and gather them, and cook the food. When in the spring of the year you move back to your permanent settlements, plant your fields immediately. Never get lazy. Earthmaker created you [221]
for these tasks.

When you have your menses, do not ask those in your lodge to give you any food, but leave the lodge and fast and do not begin [841]
eating again until you return to your own lodge. Thus will you help yourself. If you always fast, when you marry, even if your husband had amounted to nothing before, he will become an excel- [785]
lent hunter. It will be on account of your fasting that he will have changed so much. You will never fail in anything and you will always be well and happy. If, on the contrary, you do not do as I tell you—that is, if you do not fast—when you marry he will become very weak, and this will be due to you. Finally he will get very sick.

My daughter, do not use medicine. If you marry a man and 867
place medicine on his head he will become very weak and will not 593
amount to anything. It may be that you do not want to have your 832
husband leave you and this may induce you to use medicine to keep him. Do not do that, however, for it is not good. You will be ruining a man. It is the same as killing him. Do not do it, for it is forbidden. If you marry a man and you want to be certain of always retaining him, work for him. With work you will always

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867 be able to retain your hold on men. If you do your work to the
593 satisfaction of your husband, he will never leave you. I say again,
832 it is not proper to use medicine. Above all, do not use medicine until you have passed your youth. You will otherwise merely make yourself weak. You will lead a weak life. It may even happen that you will cause yourself to become foolish.

[581] Do not use a medicine in order to marry. If you marry remain faithful to your husband. Do not act as though you are married to a number of men at the same time. Lead a chaste life. If you do not listen to what I am telling you and you are unfaithful to your [626] husband, all the men will jeer at you. They will say whatever they wish to (and no one will interfere). Every man will treat you as though he were on the "joking relationship" with you. If you do not listen to me, therefore, you will injure yourself.

867 Thus the old people used to talk to one another. Thus they would
584 warn one another against certain actions. They used to instruct the young girls as they grew up (just as I am doing to you now). That is why I am telling of these things now.

My daughter, as you grow older and grow up to be a young woman, the young men will begin to court you. Never strike a man, my [683] daughter. It is forbidden. If you dislike a man very much, tell him gently to go away. If you do not do this and instead strike him, remember that it frequently happens that men know of medicines; or if they themselves have none they may know from whom to [754] get them. If you make a man feel bad by striking him, he may use this medicine and cause you to run away with him and become a bad woman. It is for this reason that the old men used to warn the young girls not to strike the men who are courting them, but whom they dislike. Pray with all your heart that you do not become such a woman.

867 Do not act haughtily to your husband. Whatever he tells you
593 to do, do it. Kindness will be returned to you if you obey your husband, for he will treat you in the same manner.

858 If you ever have a child, do not strike it. In the olden times when a child misbehaved the parents did not strike it, but they made it fast. When a child gets hungry, he will soon see the error of his ways. If you hit a child, you will be merely knocking the [861] wickedness into him. Women should likewise never scold the children because children are merely made wicked by scoldings. If your husband scolds the children, do not take their part, for that will merely make them bad. In the same way, if a stranger makes your children cry, do not say anything to the stranger in the presence of the children, nor take their part in his presence. If you wish to prevent a stranger from scolding your children, keep them home and teach them how to behave by setting them a good example. Do not imagine that you do the best for your children by

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taking their part, or that you love them if you talk merely about 867
loving them. Show them that you love them by your actions. 593
Let them see that you are generous with donations. In such ac- 858
tions they will see your good work and then they will be able to judge for themselves whether your actions equal your words.

My daughter, do not show your love for other children so that strangers notice it. You may, of course, love other children, but love them with a different love from that which you bestow on your own children. The children of other people are different from your own children, and if you were to take them to some other place after you had been lavishing so much love upon them they would not act as your children would under the same circumstances. You can always depend upon your own children. They are of your own body. Love them, therefore. This is what our ancestors taught us to do.

If a wife has no real interest in her husband's welfare and posses- 867
sions she will be to him no more than any other woman, and the 593
world will ridicule her. If, on the other hand, you pay more attention to your husband than to your parents, your parents will leave you. Let your husband likewise take care of your parents, for they depend on him. Your parents were instrumental in getting you your husband, so remember that they expect some recompense for it, as likewise for the fact that they raised you.

My daughter, the old people used to teach us never to hurt the [602
feelings of our relatives. If you hurt their feelings, you will cause [606
your brothers-in-law to feel ashamed of themselves. Do not ever 837]
wish for any other man but your husband. It is enough to have one husband. Do not let anyone have the right to call you a prostitute.

Do not hit your relatives at any time. For if you did that or if 867
you were on bad terms with one of them, it may chance that he will 602
die, and then the people will say that you are glad that he is dead. Then, indeed, you will feel sad at heart and you will think to yourself, "What can I best do" (to make up for my conduct). Even if you were to give a Medicine Dance in his honor or donate gifts for the Four Nights' Wake, many people will still say, "She used to be partial and jealous when he was alive. Now that he is dead she loves him. Why does she act this way? She is wasting her wealth. (She really does not love him and therefore), and she ought not to spend so much money upon him now." Then, indeed, my daughter, will your heart ache; then, indeed, will you get angry. That is why the old people would tell their children to love one another. If you love a person and that person dies, then you will have a right to mourn for him, and everyone will think that your mourning is [765]
sincere. Not only will your own relatives love you, but everyone else will love you likewise. If, then, in the course of your life you

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867 come to a crisis of some kind, all these people will turn their hearts
602 toward you.

My daughter, all that I am trying to tell you relates to your behavior (when you grow up). In your own home the women all understand the work belonging to the household and that relating to camping and hunting. If you understand these and afterwards visit your husband's relatives, you will know what to do and not find yourself in a dilemma from which you can not extricate yourself. When you visit your husband's people do not go around with a haughty air or act as if you considered yourself far above them. Try to get them to like you. If they like you, they will place you in charge of the camp you happen to be visiting. If you are good-
[606] natured, you will be placed in charge of the home at which you happen to be visiting. Then your parents-in-law will tell your husband that their daughter-in-law is acting nicely to them.

SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION TO CHILDREN

867 Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan: I still keep up the old system of teaching my children at the camp fire. In the morning I wake them up early and start to teach them as follows:

My children, as you travel along life's road never harm anyone, nor cause anyone to feel sad. On the contrary, if at any time you can make a person happy, do so. If at any time you meet a woman in the wilderness (i. e., away from your village), and if you are alone and no one can see you, do not scare her or harm her, but turn off to the right and let her pass. Then you will be less tempted to molest her.

My children, if you meet anyone on the road, even though it is only a child, speak a cheering word before you pass on. Fast as much as you can, so that when you grow up you can benefit your fellowmen. If you ever get married you must not sit around your
[602] lodge near your wife, but try and get game for your wife's people. So fast that you may be prepared for your life.

[593] My daughters, if at any time you get married, never let your husband ask for a thing twice. Do it as soon as he asks you. If your husband's folks ever ask their children for something when you are present, assume that they had asked it of you. If there is anything to be done, do not wait till you are asked to do it, but do it immediately. If you act in this way, then they will say that your parents taught you well.

My son, if you find nothing else to do, take an ax and chop down a tree. It will become useful some day. Then take a gun and go out hunting and try to get game for your family.

As soon as I see that the children are showing signs of restlessness then I stop immediately.

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The first and foremost virtue predicated by Rave for the peyote was its curative power. He gives a number of instances in which hopeless venereal diseases and consumption were cured by its use; and this was the first thing one heard about it as late as 1913. In the early days of the Peyote cult it appears that Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote. The main point apparently was to induce people to try it. No amount of preaching of its direct effects, such as the hyperstimulation induced, the glorious visions, and the feeling of relaxation following, would ever have induced prominent members of the old Winnebago religious societies to try it. For that reason it is highly significant that all the old members of the Peyote cult speak of the diseases of which it cured them. Along this line lay unquestionably its appeal for the most converts. Its subsequent spread was due to a large number of interacting factors. One informant claims that there was little religion connected with it at first, and that the people drank the peyote on account of its peculiar effects. 794 159 755 276

The manner in which it spread at the beginning was simple and significant viz, along family lines. As soon as an individual had become a peyote eater he devoted all his energies to converting other members of his family. From instances that have come to our notice this lay in an insistent appeal to family ties and personal affection. A man showed unusual courtesy, showered innumerable favors upon relatives he was anxious to convert, and thereby earned the gratitude of the recipient, who at some critical moment, let us say, such as illness or mental depression, showed it by partaking of the peyote. The same methods were employed in the more general propaganda. The author knows of Peyote people who drove many miles in order to be present at the bedside of some old conservative who was ill, perhaps neglected by his relatives; bring him food, and spend the night with him in the most affectionate solicitude. They always had sufficient tact and understanding of human nature not to obtrude their purpose on the sick man too much. To the casual observer their object seemed simply that of a Samaritan. They would hardly have admitted that behind all their solicitude lay the desire to obtain a new convert. They would have claimed that their only purpose, over and above their sincere desire to comfort the sick man, was to demonstrate to their fellow Winnebago what changes the peyote had wrought in them. In this way the patient drew the inference, an inference that was likely to be drawn all the more quickly and forcibly when he contrasted the behavior of these Peyote nurses with that of his pagan relatives. The author was fortunate enough to obtain a fairly complete account of a conversion, illustrating both these features. 794 159 593 276

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 Thus I acted up to the time that I have memory of things.

*159 In those days there were not many white people
221 living near us as to-day. My father went out hunt-
[224] ing continually. The lodge in which we lived was cov-
[342] ered with rush mattings, with reed mattings spread over
[352] the floor. After hunting for some time in one place we would move to another. My father, mother, older sisters, and older brothers, all carried the packs. Thus we would spend our time until the spring of the year and then in the spring we would again move in order
[224] to live near some stream where father could hunt
[136] muskrats, mink, otter, and beaver.

In the summer we always returned to Black River Falls, Wisconsin. Here all the Indians gathered after
[222] they had given their feasts. Then we picked berries. When picking berries my father used to buy me gum
*159 so that I should not be able to eat any of the berries.
[261] I managed however to eat berries and chew gum at the same time. After a while I learned to chew tobacco and then I did not eat the berries while picking them.
[276] Later on I got to like tobacco very much and I probably used up more money in buying tobacco than would have been the value of the berries had I eaten them.

[780] ing and crying to await the coming of the spirit. Among the Winnebago, and probably among many other tribes, it was customary
[593] for the parents or grandparents, to prepare the children specifically
[603] for what was likely to happen; to inform them how to recognize the approach of the spirit and, what was more to the point, to teach them how to distinguish a good from a bad spirit.

[2]

[i.e., during their quest for a guardian spirit, see P.1, Category 116 -- Analyst]

* 159 §4. *Reminiscences of Childhood*

[785] The following spring I stopped fasting.

[501] In those days we used to travel in canoes. My
[226] father used to spear fish and always took me along
[593] with him, and this I enjoyed very much. He kept a club in the canoe and after he had speared a fish, I would kill it with the club as it was jumping around. Sometimes my mother accompanied us. She sat in the stern of the boat and rowed while my father stood in the prow and speared the fish. I killed all those thrown in the canoe.

[865] Sometimes my parents would start out without me, but I would then cry so bitterly that I, in the long run, induced them to take me along. Sometimes they whipped me and told me to go home, but I would follow them so far that they were then afraid to let me go back alone and I would thus be permitted to ride with them. Indeed I exerted myself greatly in crying and as I cried, ran after them and followed them very far, I was always taken along in the end.

[342] In those days we lived in the old-fashioned Indian lodges. In winter our fire was placed in the center of
[354] the lodge and my father used to keep it burning all night. When he placed a large log in the fire it would burn a long time.

## *Reminiscences of Childhood*

We were three boys of whom I was the youngest and 159 *
at night we slept together. In cold weather we fought 593 ●
as to who was to sleep in the middle, since whoever got 513
that place was warm; for while those at either end used to pull the cover from each other, the one in the middle was always covered. Even after I grew up I always took the cover away from the particular person with whom I happened to be sleeping. I would always fold it under me, for it had become a habit with me to take the cover away from the other person whenever I slept on the outside.

We always ate out of one dish. At times we did not 159 *
have enough food on hand and then I would always try 159
to get enough by eating very fast. In this way I often 261
succeeded in depriving the others of their proper portion. Sometimes, on the other hand, I would purposely eat slowly and then when the others were finished, I would say that I had not been given enough and so get some of their food. In this way I developed a habit, that I still have, of eating fast. Even after I grew up, whenever I ate with other people, I always finished sooner than they did.

Another habit acquired then was the ability to go
without food for a whole day while traveling. I did [484]
not mind this in the least, for during my fasting I had grown accustomed to going without food for long periods of time.

159 *

In the summer, at the season when people pick ber- [221]
ries, I used to go around visting, sometimes for a day, [222]
sometimes for a longer period. I would often receive [519]

## §5. *Names*

Whenever they think highly of any individual in a 159 *
family they give him the means for obtaining a happy 593 ●
life. If the older people think highly of any one they [554]
prearrange the kind of life he is to lead afterwards. With this object in view, my uncles told my brother the story of how human beings first came into this world, the story of the origin of our clan.

### *The Story of the Origin of Our Clan*

Earthmaker was sitting in space when he came to con- 539
sciousness. Nothing was to be found anywhere. He began 614
to think of what he was to do and finally he cried. Tears 776
flowed from his eyes and fell below where he was sitting. After a while he looked below and saw something bright. The bright objects were tears, of which he had not been aware and, which falling below, had formed the present waters. They became the seas of to-day.

Then Earthmaker began to think again. He thought, "Thus it is whenever I wish anything. Everything will become as I wish it just as my tears have become the water of the seas." So he wished for light and it became light. Then he thought, "It is as I have supposed; the things that I wished for, come into existence as I desired." Then he again thought and wished for this earth and this earth came into existence. Earthmaker looked at the earth and

## §7. *The Teachings of My Father*

*159 My father used to keep up the old habit of teaching
[867] us the customs of the Winnebago. He would wake
●[593] us up early in the morning and, seated around the fire-
place, speak to us. The girls would be taught sepa-
[562] rately. Now this is what my father told me:

721
787

### I

*159 My son, when you grow up, see to it that you are of
867 some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in
785 which you can aid them and that is by fasting. Our
776 grandfather, the Fire, he who stands at all times in the
372 center of our dwelling, sends forth all kinds of blessings.
Be sure that you make an attempt to obtain his.

My son, do you remember to have our grandfathers, the
*159 war chiefs,[14] bless you. See to it that they have compassion
776 upon you. Then some day as you travel along the road of
867 life, you will know what to do and encounter no obstacles.
787 Without any effort will you then be able to gain the prize
721 you desire. The honor will be yours to glory in, yours
without exertion. All the disposable war-blessings belong
to our grandfathers, the war-controllers, and if reverently
you fast and thirst yourself to death, then these will be
bestowed upon you. Yet if you do not wear out your feet
in frequent journeyings to and fro, if you do not blacken
your face with charcoal, it will be all for naught that you

[195] [14] Symbolical name for all those spirits who were supposed to be in control of war powers.

inflict this suffering upon yourself. Not without constant effort are these blessings procurable. Try to have one of the spirits created by Earthmaker take pity on you. Whatever he says will come about. If you do not possess one of the spirits from whom to obtain strength and power, you will be of no consequence socially and those around you will show you little respect. Indeed they will jeer at you. 159* 776 867 787 721 [646]

My son, it is not good to die in the village; in your homes. Above all, do not let women journey to the spirit land ahead of you. It is not done. To prevent this from happening do we speak to our sons and encourage them to fast. Some day in life you will find yourself traveling along a road filled with obstacles and then you will wish you had fasted. When such an event confronts you, that you may not find it necessary to reproach yourself, I counsel you to fast. If you have not obtained any knowledge from the spirits, why it may happen that some day, in later life, warriors will be returning from the warpath and as they distribute the war prizes to their sisters,[18] your own sisters will stand there empty-handed envying the rest. But if you obtain blessings from the war-controllers, your sisters will be happy. How proud they will be to receive the prizes, to wear them, and to dance the victory dance! Your sisters too will be strengthened thereby and you will be content and happy. 159* 867 761 785 787 [593] [787]

Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to 000

[18] Among the Winnebago a man's sisters, especially his elder sisters, were very highly respected and all war prizes, such as wampum-belts, wampum necklaces, etc., were always given to them whenever a man returned from a successful war-party in which he had secured some honor. These war honors were of various kinds. The greatest was considered to be the feat of having struck the body of a dead enemy first. [562] [721]

* 159 86n 785 785 you will never be in need of anything. Fast for the food you are to receive. If you fast frequently enough for these things then some day when your children ask for food they will be able to obtain a piece of deer meat without difficulty; they may indeed be able to obtain a piece of moose meat. It lies within your power to prevent your children from ever going hungry.

* 159 86n 593 [562] [776] Now again, my son, let me enjoin you. Do not abuse your wife. Women are sacred. If you make your wife suffer, then you will die in a short time. Our grandmother Earth is a woman, and in abusing your wife you are abusing her. Most certainly will you be abusing your grandmother if you act thus. Since after all it is she who is taking care of us, by your action you will be practically killing yourself.

* 159 86n 574 When you have your home, see to it that whoever enters your lodge obtain something to eat, no matter how little you yourself may have. Such food will be a source of death to you if withheld. If you are stingy about giving food, some one might kill you in consequence; some one may poison you. If you ever hear of a stranger passing through your country and you want to see him, prepare food for him and have him brought to you. In this manner you will be doing good and it is always good to do good, it is said. [577]

* 159 86n [illegible] If you see a helpless old person, help him if you have anything at all. If you happen to possess a home take him there, and feed him, for he may suddenly make uncomplimentary remarks about you.[18] You will be strengthened thereby. Or perhaps when he comes, he may bring with him under his arms a medicine bundle, something he cher- [278]

[18] It is considered exceedingly bad form for a guest to admire anything in the house he is visiting. [574] [576]

## *The Teachings of My Father*

There are medicines to prevent people from getting tired 159 *
when walking and medicines to cause a dog fight to take 789
place. In short there are medicines for everything. 867

Every one must take care of himself and try to obtain
that knowledge which will enable him to live in comfort and 159 *
happiness. Try therefore to learn about the things you will 597
need. If you know them, then as you travel along in life, 867
you will not have to go to the expense of buying them from others, but you will have your own medicines. If you act in this way and if, in addition, you fast properly, you will never be caught off guard in life. Should you possess a home, it will look beautiful and you will never be in want. That is why I know you will never regret this that I am telling you. So you shall travel on your journey though
life, along the virtuous road taken by all your fellowmen, [626]
and your actions and behavior will never become the butt of your neighbor's sarcasm.

Help yourself as you travel along the road of life. The earth has many narrow passages scattered over it. If you have something with which to strengthen yourself, then when you get to these narrow turns you will be able to pass through them safely and your fellow men will respect you. See to it that people like you. Be on friendly terms with every one and then every one will like you. You will be happy and prosperous.

Never do any wrong to your children. Whatever your [593]
children ask of you, do it for them. If you act thus people will then say that you are good natured.

If any one in the village loses a friend through death, should you at all be wealthy, cover the expenses of the funeral of the deceased, if you can. Help the mourners likewise in defraying the expenses of feeding the departed. If you act thus, you will do well. All the people you have

*159 helped will then really know what kind of a man you are.
577 For the good you do people will love you.
869 It is not good to win at gambling. You may possibly
[525] become rich thereby but that is no life to lead. If you are blessed with luck in cards, if you are blessed with luck at gambling, you will perhaps win things and have plenty of wealth, but none of your children will live.

Now if you do all that I have told you, you will lead a happy and prosperous life. That is why we Winnebago preach to a child we love so that it should never become acquainted with the things that are not right, and never do anything wrong. Then if, in later life, a person does any thing wrong, he will do it with a clear knowledge of the consequences of his actions.

III

*159 My son, when you get married, do not make an idol of
581 the woman you marry; do not worship her. If you worship
867 a woman she will insist upon greater and greater worship as
562 time goes on. This is what the old people used to say.
● 593 They always preached against those men who hearken too strongly to the words of women; who are the slaves of women. Now it may happen that a man has received many warnings as to his behavior in this regard and that he pays no attention to them. It may go so far that when he is asked to attend a war-bundle feast[20] he will refuse to go; it may be that when he is married he will listen to the voice

[026] [096] [619] [096]

[20] The war-bundle feast was the great war ceremony of the Winnebago. It was given by all those individuals who possessed a war-bundle and since theoretically there was only one war-bundle in each clan, the basis of the organization of the ceremony was the clan. The ceremony consisted largely of prayers, songs and speeches in honor of the spirits more definitely associated with war. For each

Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



of his wife and refuse to go on a warpath. He might as well have been brought up as a girl. Men who are real men perform the deeds of men, but such a man will never perform a real man's deed. If he should actually attend a war-bundle feast he will be given the leanest piece of meat, only given to a man of no account. Why should any one run the risk of being thus jeered at? Now when a really brave man attends a war-bundle feast he is given a deer's head. This other man gets a lean piece! It will dry up in his throat, so humiliated and disgraced will he feel. After a while he will not be allowed to go to any feast; his wife will not let him. He will listen to the voice of his wife. His relatives will scold him, his sisters will think nothing of him. They will tell people never to go to visit him. Finally when he has become a real slave of his wife he will even hit his relatives if she asks him to. It is for these reasons that I warn you not to listen to women. You will be considered different from others. It is not good.

Remember this too, that women cannot be watched. If you try to watch them and are jealous about them, then your female relatives will also be jealous of them. Finally when your jealousy has developed to the highest pitch, your wife will leave you and run away with some one else. You have allowed her to see by your actions that you worship a woman, and one alone, and, in addition, you have been watching her all the time. Because of this incessant annoyance she will run away from you. If you think that

of these spirits, a buckskin decorated with the symbol sacred to the spirit, was prepared and then at the most dramatic moment of the ceremony these buckskins were thrown out of the ceremonial lodge and it was believed that the spirits came down in person to fetch them. The war-bundle feast was specifically a man's ceremony.

*159 your wife is the only one to love, you have humbled yourself
[581] and she will be taken from you. You have likewise made
867 the woman suffer; you have made her unhappy. The whole
562 world will hear about it. No other woman will want to
● 593 marry you and you will have the reputation of being a
bad man.

[577] Now you may act in the following way: You see people
[921] starting on a warpath and you join them knowing that it
is an honor to die on the warpath. But you will join them
because you feel unhappy at your wife's flight. Now this
is not the proper way to act. You are throwing away your
life; you are causing the leader of the war-party to throw
away a life. If you want to go on the warpath, do not go
because your wife has been taken away from you, go
because you feel courageous enough to do so.

It is on the warpath that a man has fun! Do not go,
[785] however, unless you have fasted adequately. You must
[926] fast for each specific warpath. If you do not and yet
join a war-party, then in the midst of the fight, a bullet
will come your way and kill you. That will happen because
you did not fast. If you have performed any deeds of
valor, recount them to your sisters and to your sister's
children. Those in charge of war-bundles are good to
listen to in such matters. Those to whom such people give
advice will eat an excellent dish; they will have the
[554] honor of sitting near a great warrior in the middle of the
lodge.

*159 These are the things of which the old people spoke and
this also is the advice I give you. I myself never asked
867 for these things, but my father did. Your grandfather
577 did. He asked for the information relating to the manner
in which people are to behave. Never, when you are older,
should you allow yourself to get in the predicament of not

# *The Teachings of My Father*

knowing what is the right thing to do. Ask for this instruction, my son. It is not a matter requiring a few moments; it is something that must be thoroughly learned. You, too, must learn it. 159* 867 599

To a girl the following was told:

My daughter, as you travel along the path of life, listen to your parents. Do not let your mother work. Attend to the wants of your father. All the work in the house belongs to you. Do not shirk it. Chop wood, pack it; look after the gardens; gather the vegetables and cook them. When you come back to the village in the spring, plant your fields immediately. Never get lazy, for Earthmaker created you to do these things. 867 593 [962] [221]

My daughter, when you get your menses, do not ask those in the house to give you any food. Fast and do not eat until you get back to the family lodge. If you act thus, you will be fasting for your seat, for your position in life. You can only keep this seat by fasting. Then when you marry, even if your husband has been a good-for-nothing before, he will become a good hunter. You will have accomplished this for him. You will not fail in anything and you will be happy and contented. If, on the contrary, you do not do as I tell you, then when you marry, you will weaken your husband. After a while he will become sickly and it will be your fault. [841] [185]

It is not good to use medicine. If you marry a man and place medicine upon his head, you will weaken him and he will not amount to anything. It may happen that you do not want your husband to leave you and that after reflecting on the matter, you place some medicine on his head, to prevent him from leaving you. This is not good. You 867 593 832

867 will be ruining a man. It is equivalent to killing him. Do
● 593 not do it. It is forbidden. If you marry a man and want
832 to live with him permanently, work for him in order to hold him. When you marry a man, listen to what he says. If you do your work properly and the man likes you, he will never leave you. By working for him must you make your husband love you. Now remember it is not good to use medicines on him. At least before you are fairly mature in years do not use any, for you will thereby merely weaken yourself and your life will be of no consequence. Indeed you may cause the medicine to work on yourself and then become demented in consequence.

867 Marry only one man at a time. Be good and virtuous
58 in your married life. If you do not listen to what I am
[626] telling you, you will become bad and men will make fun of you. They will do whatever they wish with you; joke with you familiarly on any subject. If you do not listen to me you will injure yourself. Thus did the old people speak to one another and thus did they hand down these
867 precepts from one generation to another, warning young girls against committing wrong actions. They also said that when a girl is growing up, one should admonish her and that is why I am now speaking to you.

867 As you grow older, when you get to be a young woman,
584 the men will begin to court you. Never hit a man. It is
[683] forbidden. If you dislike a man very much tell him to go away gently. If instead, you hit him, remember that fre-
[154] quently young men possess certain injurious medicines which they may use against you. Even if a particular person does not possess them, he knows where to get them. Then this man whom you have humiliated, will use it and transform you from a chaste and nice woman to a loose one, to a harlot. That is why the old people used to warn

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



the young girls not to maltreat a man. Hope with all your heart that you do not fall into such a predicament. I really mean what I say. 867 584

Do not be haughty with your husband. Do whatever he says. Kindness will be returned to you and he will treat you in the same way as you treat him. 867 593

If you have a child and it is naughty, do not strike it. In olden times when a child was naughty, the parents did not strike it, but instead made the child fast. Then when he is quite hungry he will reflect upon his disobedience. If you hit the child you will merely be putting more naughtiness in him. It has also been said that mothers should not lecture their children, that they merely make them bad by admonishing them. If your husband scolds them, do not take their part for then they will become bad indeed. If a stranger makes your children cry, do not speak to the stranger in your children's presence and take their part, If you wish to take the children's part, prevent such a thing from happening and keep your children home, and there at home, take good care of them and think of the best means of letting your children get to know you. When you are bringing up children, do not imagine you are taking their part if you just speak about loving them. Let them see it for themselves. Let them see what love is by observing you give things away to the poor. Then they will see your good deeds and then they will know whether you have been speaking the truth or not. 867 [861] 593 858 [935]

Do not show your love for other children so that other people notice it. Love them but let your love for them be different from your love for your own. The children of other people are different from your own and if they were to be taken to some other place they would become estranged from you; they would no longer belong to you.

867 You can, however, always depend upon the love of your own
593 children because they are of your own body. Love them
858 therefore.

If you do not have any real interest in your husband's
867 welfare and affairs, then you will be to him like any other
593 woman. People will ridicule you. On the other hand, if you pay more attention to your husband than to your parents, if you listen to him more than to them, that will be equivalent to deserting them. Let your husband keep your parents and take good care of them for they depend upon him. Your parents saw to it that you married him and
[583] they expect you to make some return for this as well as for the fact that they raised you.

867 Do not hurt the feelings of your relatives, the old people
[602] used to say. If you hurt their feelings you will make your brothers-in-law feel ashamed of themselves on account of the evil things you say about them.

Never desire to have any other man than your husband
[837] when you are married. Have only one husband. Do not give any one the right to call you a prostitute.

867 The old people said, "Never hit your relatives." You
602 may be on bad terms with one of them, for instance, and he may die. Then people will say that you used to quarrel with the deceased when he was alive. They may even claim that you are overjoyed at his death, that you want to dance with joy. Then indeed will your heart be sore and you will think to yourself how best you can make amends. Even should you have a performance of the Medicine Dance given in his honor, if you wish to bury him with honor, even then people will say, "What does all this mean? She used to be partial and jealous when he was alive. Now that he is dead she loves him! She should not do such things. She is merely wasting her wealth. She need

selves connected with life by means of that organ which Earthmaker gave us as a measure of things.[21] I send forth my greetings to you all. 159* 796 537 726

Then he who was impersonating the Disease-Giver spoke:

War-bundle owners, relatives seated around here, I greet you all. This is indeed a marvelous performance that we have witnessed and he who was able to do it must surely be a marvelous man. Very few people listen to the advice of their parents but he must have been one who did and that is why he has done so well. [593] The members of his clan have been sincerely worshiping the spirits. He who originally made this war-bundle ritual was like a spirit in power and what he told them to do they are doing in every detail. It is good work they are doing. Sufficient food are they offering to those in control of war powers for the spirits easily to take cognizance of it. They have placed ample tobacco and different kinds of buckskin within reach of the spirits. [782] To you, O Disease-Giver, a pleasing white buckskin has been strung out in offering and with it a pleasing red feather as a hair ornament. [301] How indeed would it be possible for the spirits not to recognize these offerings? And if they recognize them then we who are impersonating the spirits, will also receive the benefit of the blessings of war and life, extended to the host.

Long ago our ancestors asked the spirits to bless them so that then they might live happily. Here we are sitting around the fireplace and the life that the host and his friends have asked for, the spirits are not merely extending to them

[21] A very curious circumlocution for stomach. He means, of course, all the food that has been eaten. [195]

## *My Brother Is Murdered*

as I pretended for whenever I woke up from a drunken 159* orgy I found myself firmly bound. [273]

All I did was to wander from place to place, from one woman to another. I had four sisters and from them [593] and from my parents did I receive all that I possessed [156] and yet in spite of this, I claimed to be a great man! I then had two women staying with me as my wives. 159* At one time I had as many as four, two at my parents' 588 house and two at certain relatives of mine. I wasn't serious with any one of them. I lied all the time; I was [577] always telling falsehoods. On one occasion I had four children born to me and each one had a different mother. Even after that I continued courting women and drinking.

In the spring there was always work to do. We 159* rolled logs down the stream and drank. I accepted [22] such occupations because I could then always get as [273] much drink as I wanted. Whenever I had any money I spent it on getting some woman drunk.

[P. 135]

## §27. *The Character of the Murdered Pottawattomie*

Now it was rumored at this time that the man we had killed had really been somewhat crazy. He was the oldest of three brothers. Their father had been a chief and had possessed much land. Other people had contributed very much money to buy the land. A number of them lived there, and they had put in many crops. Then the father died, and the oldest son drove away all the people. He drove his two brothers away also. There were many horses, and he forcibly kept them as well as many other things. Whenever he heard that any of his brothers was using any of his horses, he used to scold him. When they argued with him, he threatened to shoot them. It was said that he always went around with his gun. For all these reasons his brothers disliked him, it is said, and used to ask the Winnebago to kill him. It was also said that all his white neighbors disliked him. He had over a hundred horses, and they grew wild in the woods. He did nothing all the time but watch them. They were too wild for him ever to get near them. The only use he ever made of them was to own them. Whenever the horses entered a field, they would destroy it completely, and if anything was ever said to him about the matter, he

159* 828 [593]

## *Crashing Thunder*

* 159 828 wanted immediately to fight with those who protested. Whenever a person tried to buy one of them, he would ask an extravagant price, and whenever a horse was caught in depredations and he was asked to pay damages, he threatened to shoot the people concerned. He was accustomed to go around barefooted with his gun, it was said. For all these reasons his brothers disliked
● [593] him and asked some Winnebago to shoot him. These brothers also told the Winnebago how it would be possible to kill him, for he belonged to that group of people
[154] who were regarded as invulnerable. It is said that
[185] when he fasted, he had gone without food for a whole winter; that he had not resumed eating until spring.
[411] In order to kill him, a wooden knife was required. This should be painted red. Then he was to be stabbed. This was the only way of killing him.

Now we thought that with all this evidence against him, we would surely be acquitted.

[P. 164]

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



*159 795 [795] long journey. But that is not the truth, for when they eat peyote, they destroy their souls, and death to them will mean complete extermination. If I spit upon the floor, the saliva will soon dry up and nothing will remain of it. This is what death will mean to them. I might go out and preach against this doctrine, but it would be of no avail, for I certainly would not be able to draw more than one or two people away from this spirit who lives below. Many will be taken in by this medicine; they will not be able to help themselves in any way. This bad spirit will certainly seize them."

For all these reasons none of us liked it. However, my parents sent me the money for the trip, and my brother and sisters told me to go. Just before I started, my youngest sister, the one to whom we always listened most attentively, said to me, "Older brother, do not you [593] indulge in this medicine eating, in this peyote." I promised, and then started out for Nebraska.

When I arrived in Nebraska I met some people who had not joined the peyote eaters, and they said to me, "Your relatives are eating the peyote and that is why they sent for you, that you too might eat. Your mother, your father, and your younger sister, they are all eating it." Thus they spoke to me. They also told me of a number of other bad things these peyote people were supposed to have done. I felt ashamed, and I wished I had not come in the first place. Immediately after that I told these people that I was going to eat the peyote.

Soon after that I met my father, mother and sister.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



From other information obtained here-
ever, it appears that women were married to these same lovers after the former left the menstrual lodge, so that the presence of men in these lodges may be taken either as a part of the wooing or as one of the methods of marriage. Some theorists may be inclined to look on this feature of the practices connected with the menstrual lodge as a survival of a "women's house." To those the fact may be emphasized that it is only a few times in the life of a woman that such a feature exists, because she is married shortly after leaving the lodge.[8]

### Marriage

Girls were usually married as soon as they reached marriageable age, and the same was probably true of men. In most cases marriage was arranged by the parents of the young people, and it rarely happened that the latter refused to abide by the decision—a fact that seems to have been due not so much to implicit obedience as to the wise precautions taken by the parents in mating their children. If, however, the young people absolutely refused to abide by their parents' choice, the latter always yielded. In former times children were betrothed to each other at an early age. At the betrothal presents were exchanged between the parents of the prospective bride and groom. The girl was said to be *dakere'na*.

Generally a man took but one wife, although he was permitted to marry more than one if he wished. In polygamous marriages the second wife was usually a niece or a sister of the first wife. According to a very reliable informant it was the wife herself who often induced her husband to marry her own niece. This she did if she noticed that he was getting tired of her or losing his interest in her.[7]

There was no ceremony connected with marriage. As soon as the customary presents were exchanged, the man came to the woman's lodge and the marriage was consummated.

A man generally lived with his parents-in-law during the first two years after his marriage. During these two years he was practically the servant of his father-in-law, hunting, fishing, and performing minor services for him. Many Winnebago interpreted these enforced services of a son-in-law as part of his marriage obligations toward his father-in-law. After the first two years he returned to

[8] Were it not for the fact that his informant in this case was exceedingly reliable the writer would be inclined to regard with suspicion the statement as to the use of the menstrual lodge as a rendezvous for lovers. It seems, however, that the very fact that the informant shows so great abhorrence of the custom would have prevented him from attributing to men contrary with women of this class had there been any doubt in his mind on the subject. Nevertheless his statement on the point under discussion seems positive and the writer would not be surprised if he had exaggerated greatly the number of men willing to leave the bad luck and weakness incident on contact with women during the menstrual period.

[7] As one of my informants said, "A man can marry a woman and her slave. If the man is not steady and goes around with other women, it is customary for the wife to call her slave, and she would marry her aunt's husband. This is done to steady the man. In this way one or the other will always be with him. The same is true of sisters."

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12



According to M.R., a party of Winnebago once went on the warpath and were badly beaten. One man, the only survivor according to his claim, returned to his village. There he recounted his valorous deeds at the side of his companions, and said he had escaped only because the enemy had left him for dead. He was accorded great honor until sometime later another member of the party returned and told how the first man had fled and hidden out in the woods when he saw that the battle was going against the Winnebago. The cowardly and dishonest warrior, on the decision of the police (bear) clan, then had to take on the role of a woman and lived in disgrace the rest of his life. 838 687 [625]

Evidence concerning the berdache was even less definite in Nebraska. G.P., a woman about fifty years old in 1950, mentioned that her mother-in-law once told her of a case which agreed in most details with that of dejáǫčowiǫga, but this individual was called čoranaliǫga and was supposed to have lived in Wisconsin. However, G.S., a man born in 1887, who also told of čoranaliǫga, gave an account of a berdache who was his mother's cousin. G.S.'s mother was Iowa and Oto through her maternal line and the berdache cousin, referred to as "sister," was a parallel cousin of Iowa and Oto descent. However, the description G.S. recounted as having come from his mother is almost identical to that regarding the Winnebago berdache. The cousin had been blessed by the moon, feared death if he disobeyed the moon's directions that he dress and act as a woman, even to giving this as the reason for his behavior when G.S.'s mother once remonstrated with him for being "a shame to us Indians." 838 124 [626]

An attempt was made to discover whether the Winnebago berdache role for men had a parallel Siouan role of "warrior women." Only one very doubtful account was collected in 1946 from S.S. the Wisconsin informant who provided the first extensive description of dejáǫčowiǫga. 171 838 [124]

Once there was a man, kind of high tone, he had two wives. The older one wanted to keep her husband so she had him marry her younger sister too. They used to do that years ago when they wanted to hold their husbands. Anyway, this man and his gang went off to the Civil War. There was a bad woman in the camp. She was a good looker, but she was bad, and this man took the bad woman with him. During the war one time they ran out of bullets, and this woman got on a horse and went through the enemy lines to a big city and came back with a whole lot of bullets and saved them. Another time she warned them when they were all asleep and the enemy was near. When they came back, she was riding on the horse in front of the man, and the men had all given her presents for saving them. Her waist was just covered with ribbons and the man's two wives cried when they saw it. The people made up a song about her because she was a brave woman and sometimes they still sing it. After that they always called her hinugroinągra which meant that she laughed aloud like a man, shaking her whole body [hinugroinągra—hinuk: woman; ro: body; ninąk: to shake as with laughter; ra: article; k is voiced when followed by ą]. They call those giggling girls that nowadays sometimes. [595]

While the above account probably represents an isolated example of a woman who went to war rather than an accepted type of role, it is apparent that 838

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[597] When a child was adopted it retained its former birth name and clan name.

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### Male Terms of Address

Teok'a', p. and m. grandfather (direct address).
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Hik'ârok'ê, p. and m. grandmother and mother-in-law.
Dja'dji, father (direct address).

[1] Abbreviations: p., paternal; m., maternal; br., brother; s., sister.

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his father's lodge, where his seat had always been kept for him. 591
With his own folks he stayed as long as he wished, leaving it generally as soon as he decided to live alone—a decision that was usually reached as soon as he had one child or a number of children. However, he did not always build his own lodge, especially in the olden times, when it was customary for those Winnebago who lived in permanent villages to occupy the long gable-roofed lodges, that frequently were large enough to house as many as 40 people. In such cases a man and his family generally alternated between his parents-in-law and his own parents.

## ADOPTION

Adoption of individuals was quite frequent in former times. As 597
far as the writer knows, however, it always took the form of replacing of a deceased child by some other child physically resembling the one lost. I do not know whether there were any additional considerations if the child adopted happened to be a prisoner. As the name for adoption (*wanayze'rek'inayk*) indicates, it is closely connected with the common belief in reincarnation, meaning either the [775]
exchange of one spirit for another or the replacing of the spirit. A special feast could be given for adoption or it could be done at one of the regular feasts. As the child adopted was often the "friend" (*hiteak'â'ro*) of the deceased and in any case had parents living, presents were always given to his parents.

Perhaps a better idea of the nature of adoption can be obtained from the following few words of an informant:

When a child dies, then the father mourns for many years, and if during that time [765]
he happens to meet a child that resembles his dead child he asks to be allowed to adopt him. The parents of the child can hardly object to such a request.*

* There is no doubt in my mind that quite a number of parents believe that such a person is really their reincarnated child.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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614 dividual and clan *hitcak·ɔ·ro*, on the other. In the former there
572 is the bond of blood, real or fictitious, in the latter only that of mutual service. On the other hand, while the *hidek·-hitcɔgɔ*
[604] relation, the individual *hitcak·ɔ·ro*, and the clan *hitcak·ɔ·ro* may be all of different historical origin, they are psychologically the same. The postulation even of a fictitious blood bond between the different individual *hitcak·ɔ·ro* and the clan *hitcak·ɔ·ro* is not unheard of. For the *hitcak·ɔ·ro*[1] relation of individuals this is
[597] always possible, for if one individual dies, his *hitcak·ɔ·ro* is generally adopted to fill his place. On the other hand, the myths seem to
[582] indicate that no blood bone was regarded as existing between them, for they generally married each other's sisters.

What historical relation the clan *hitcak·ɔ·ro* bears to the
[174] individual *hitcak·ɔ·ro* relation of individuals, it is impossible to state, but the remarks made before are pertinent here, and no genetic relationship need be postulated.

### *The "Servant" Relationship.*

614 The *hitcak·ɔ·ro* relation is entirely one between equals, irrespective of the inequality of one member of this grouping, with regard to the other, in social standing. The Bear clan is, for instance, incomparably greater than the Wolf, but this is entirely forgotten here. In addition to this "friendship," there seems to exist a faintly developed "servant" relation. The concept of servant is not that conveyed by the English word. It means essentially that a certain clan performs a service for another without that specific service being reciprocal. Among the Winnebago such a relation exists between the Thunderbird and Buffalo, and the Thunderbird and Elk clans. This is not to be confused with the general subordination of all the other clans to the Thunderbird and Bear clans when these exercise their specific governmental functions. This "servant" relation-
[203] ship between the Thunderbird and Buffalo clans is politically expressed by the fact that a member of the latter visits the
[174] chief every morning to receive certain directions from him, which he then announces to the whole village. But this relation-
[621] ship expresses itself in another more striking manner—the

1 [i.e. - "friendship" relation - ANALYST]

## §12. *My Grandfather Adopts Me*

Once my father gave me away. Once on my return 159*
home I found my father talking to my grandfather 590
and after a while I saw the old man weep. He had just lost a son, a young man and the last of his children. They had all died. It was this that they were talking about. I heard my grandfather say finally that he was tired of life. Then my father, weeping, called him by his relationship term and said: "I sympathize with you for you indeed speak the truth, yet in spite of it all I wish you to live. Here is my son, my own, and of all my children the one I love best. He is obedient. He is present here listening to me. He shall be your companion and as long as you live he will take you by the hand." Thus did he speak and the old man thanked him profusely.

After that I stayed with my grandfather. He thought a great deal of me and I got along very well in every way. He was a great man, one who doctored and who [956]
had great knowledge of medicine. This he used to give to the sick. He was also a great Medicine Dance man and an old soldier.

About this time a school was built at Tomah, Wis- 159*
consin, and I wanted very badly to go to it. My grand- [871]
father consented and I went there for a winter. In the

7; Radin E-8 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## §23. *I Take a Trip to Nebraska*

*159 Shortly after this I had to go to Nebraska. It was
●597 in connection with a child I once had, a boy who had died when he was two years old. His mother's father then adopted another one in his place. This child belonged to the Menominee tribe. I had to go there for I was the adopted father of the child and he was thus my son, the one who was taking my dead son's place.
[431] I gave the boy a horse at the ceremony performed to
[796] fill the dead child's place. The ceremony itself was the Sore Eye Dance.[37] The relatives of the mother gave me some beaded bags, two boxes of maple sugar, etc. Before I had started out for Nebraska, when I was still living in Wittenberg, the boy came to me. I was then living with a woman, and she gave me many things that I was to take along with me to Nebraska and for which she hoped I would get horses in return.

*159 When I started, I stopped at Black River Falls. I went to a woman with whom I had once lived, in order to take her along with me, but she refused. I had gone

[37] The Sore Eye Dance, called more correctly the Society-of-those-
[515] who-have-been-blessed-by-the-Night-Spirits, is a secret society organized something like that of the Medicine Dance but quite different in object. It is primarily a war ceremony and its nickname of Sore
[727] Eye Dance arose out of the fact that it was so frequently given
[796] after the return of a successful war party that the people attending it, got sore eyes from staying up so long.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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*Names.*—A newborn child received a birth name immediately. 551
There were six such names for male children and six for female children, which were given according to the order of birth:

| *Male* | *Female* |
|---|---|
| 1. K'u'nu. | 1. Hi'nu. |
| 2. He'nu. | 2. Wi'ha. |
| 3. Ha'ga. | 3. Aksi'-a (generally pronounced Aksi). |
| 4. Na'ŋxi. | 4. Hi'nuŋk'. |
| 5. Naŋxixô'nu. | 5. A'ksigaxô'nu. |
| 6. Naŋxixonu'niŋk'a. | 6. A'ksigaxônu'niŋk'a. |

The meanings of these names are unknown to the present Winnebago, who reject the idea that they ever had any meaning apart from indicating the order of birth. Originally, of course, these names had meanings, but at the present time they resemble no other Winnebago names and baffle all attempts at interpretation. This is not surprising, because they represent in all probability archaic names which undoubtedly have been considerably modified through long- [171]
continued use. The Dakota have a similar set of names but only four in number. The two additional names among the Winnebago indicate by their form that they have been derived from one of the other four. In this connection it is interesting to note that the fifth of the male names is, as one might expect, merely the fourth name of the series with the addition of a diminutive suffix, whereas the fifth of the female names is the third of that series with a like addition. The sixth name of each series is formed by adding another diminutive suffix to the fifth name.

A few words may not be out of place here with regard to the 551
relation of the male to the female series, and to the possible interpre- 562
tation of two of the female names. He'nu[1] of the male and Hi'nu of 193
the female series, it will be noted, differ only in the first vowel. A similar phenomenon is found in such relationship terms as *hi'niŋk*, male child of elder brother, and *hi'ûnuŋk'*, female child of elder brother. Remembering that in those Siouan languages which distinguish between female and male oral stops the difference often consists merely in the change of a vowel, this difference between He'nu and Hi'nu may be suggestive. The name K'u'nu may be connected with *k'u'niŋk*, "a grandmother," in which *k'u* is unquestionably the stem, meaning probably "old." In the female series there is a possible relationship between Hi'nu and Hi'nuŋk', as *k'* seems to be a very common ending in relationship terms. Hi'nuŋk' itself is identical with the word for "woman" and it seems hard to imagine that it is not the same, especially since it is also found as the relationship term for [60]
female child of younger brother.

[1] Hi'nu is also the name for a man's elder sister.

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Hik'ârok'e, p. and m. grandmother and mother-in-law.
Dja'dji, father (direct address).

[1] Abbreviations: p., paternal; m., maternal; br., brother; sr., sister.

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Hi-a'nte, father.
Na'ni, mother (direct address).
Hi-a'ni, mother.
Hi'ni, elder brother (direct address?).
Ni'ni, elder br. (?).
Hi'sunk', or Hisûnkêdji', younger br.
Hi'nu, elder sr.
Wai'teke, younger sr.; or Teûñgûa'k' (obsolete) (direct address?).
Hiwangê', wife of elder br.
Hiwangê', wife of younger br.
Hitea'', husband of elder sr.
Hitea'', husband of younger sr.
Hi'nink', son of elder br.
Hi'nink', son of younger br.
Hi'nûnk', daughter of elder br.
Hi'nûnk', daughter of younger br.
Hi'nûnktee'k', wife of son of elder br.
Hi'nûnktee'k', wife of son of younger br.
Hiteû''ckê', son of elder sr.
Hiteû''ckê', son of younger sr.
Hiteû''jôñk', daughter of elder sr.
Hiteû''jôñk', daughter of younger sr.
Hinûnktee'k', wife of son of elder sr.
Hinûnktee'k', wife of son of younger sr.
Wadoho'tei, husband of daughter of elder br.
Wadoho'tei, husband of daughter of younger br.
Wadoho'tei, husband of daughter of elder sr.
Wadoho'tei, husband of daughter of younger sr.
Ntngta'k', son (no longer in common use) (direct address).
Hinink', son.
Hirskewa'', stepson.
Hitea'xa'', stepdaughter.
Nûngûak', daughter (no longer in common use) (direct address).
Hinûnk', daughter.
Himûnktee'k', wife of son.
Watoho'tei, husband of daughter.
Hiteû''ckê', son of son.
Hiteû''ckê, son of daughter.
Hiteû''jô'nk', daughter of daughter.
Hiteû''jôñk', daughter of son.
Hinûnktee'k', wife of grandson
Wadohto'ei, husband of grand-daughter.
Hinûnga'a, p. br.
Hi-uni'nink', wife of p. br.

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601 Hi'ni, Hisû'ŋk', older and younger sons of p. br., respectively.
Hi'nu, waitkê', older and younger daughters of p. br., respectively.
Hinûŋktce'k', wives of sons of p. br.
Watoho'tci, husbands of daughters of p. br.
Hiniŋk', sons of sons of p. br.
Hinûŋk', daughters of sons of p. br.
Hitcû'ᵊwiᵊ, p. sr.
Hitca'ᵊ, husband of p. sr.
Hitcûᵊcke', sons of p. sr.
Hitcûᵊjo'ŋk', daughters of p. sr.
Hinûŋktce'k', wives of sons of p. sr.
Wadoho'tci, husbands of daughters of p. sr.
Hitcûᵊckê, sons of sons of p. sr.
Hitcû'ᵊjô'ŋk', daughters of sons of p. sr.
Hide'k', m. br.
Hitcû'ᵊwiᵊ, wife of m. br.
Hide'keŋŋk', sons of m. br.
Hidcû'ᵊwiᵊ, daughters of m. br.
Hitcûᵊckê', sons of sons of m. br.
Hitcûᵊjô'ŋk', daughters of sons of m. br.
Hitcû'ᵊwiᵊ, wives of sons of m. br.
Hitca'ᵊ, husbands of daughters of m. br.
Hi-uni'nŋk', m. sr.
Hinûŋga's, husband of m. sr.
Hi'ni, Hisû'nk, older and younger sons of m. sr., respectively.
Hi'niŋk, male children of male children of m. sr.
Hi'nûŋk, female children of male children of m. sr.
Hinu, waitkê, daughters of m. sr., respectively.
Hinûŋktce'k', wives of sons of m. sr.
Wadoho'tci, husbands of daughters of m. sr.
Teidô', elder br.
Hitcûᵊckê', children of br.
Hitcûᵊjôŋk', daughters of br.
Hiciga'ᵊ, wife of br.
Hisû'ŋk', younger br.
Hitcôŋk', younger sr.
Hi'nu, elder sr.
Hicikᵊe', husband of sr.
Hint'ŋk', sons of sr.
Hinûŋk', daughters of sr.
Hiciga'ᵊ, wives of sons of br.
Hicikᵊ', husbands of daughters of br.
Hinûŋktce'k', wives of children of sr.
Wadoho'tci, husbands of daughters of sr.
Hicikᵊe', husband of father's sr.

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Hiko'nô, husband.
Hitea'ⁿ, brother of wife.
Hitra'ⁿwiⁿ, wife.
Hiwangᵉ', sister of wife.

After one's grandchild's generation the children of a man whom one called either Hi'niŋk' or Hitcûⁿckô', or of a woman whom one called either Hi'nûŋk' or Hitcûⁿjô'ŋk', were all called Hitcûⁿckô' or Hitcûⁿjô'ŋk'.

A special term, Wotcû'ⁿwonk', was used by parents-in-law when addressing each other. [606]

It will be noticed that, taking self as the starting point, the distinction between forms—one series to be used in speaking of a person and the other in directly addressing one's own blood relative has been developed for only grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, son, and daughter. It is probable that in former times brother and sister also were included in this double series. [602 603]

### Female Terms of Address

As compared with the distinction between male and female terms of address found among other Siouan tribes, that existing among the Winnebago is very weak and there seems to be no indication that it ever was much stronger, although caution must be observed in drawing inferences as to past relationship terms, since it is a well-known fact that they have a tendency to disappear. At the present time there are only four terms used among the Winnebago by women specifically; *tcito*, older brother; *hitcô'ŋk'*, younger sister; *hiciga'ⁿ*, wife of brother; and *hicik'ᵉ'*, husband of sister.

A cursory examination shows that the following forms are linguistically related:

| | |
|---|---|
| hini. | hinu. |
| hinŋk'. | hinuŋk. |
| hicikô'. | hiciga'ⁿ. |
| hitcûⁿckô'. | hitcûⁿjô'ŋk' (tcuⁿ—gû'ak, obsolete) hitcû'ⁿwiⁿ. |
| hitcâⁿ. | hitraⁿwiⁿ. |
| hitcû'ŋk'. | |
| hitcak'â'ro (friend). | |

It is clear that we are dealing here with a change of terminal vowel (from *i* to *u*; from *e* to *a*; from *a* to *u*), indicative of sex. In the form *hitcuⁿwiⁿ*, *wiⁿ* is undoubtedly identical with *-wiⁿ*, meaning "female," found with all animal female names. Terminal *k'*, *k'ᵉ*, *ga*, is a suffix that may be related to the termination *k'ᵉ* found with so many animal names. We may perhaps say, then, that we have here only three stems, *hini*, *hicik'*, and *hitcûⁿ*. For a complete list of stems used in relationship terms there must now be added to these the following: *Hik'â'ro—k'i hitcak—k'i'*, *hi-a'nic hi-a'ni*, *hicâ'y—k'*, *wcitc—k'i'*, *hinûŋgo*, *hide—k'* *hiwaA—gi'*, *tcidô*, 601 193

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601 193 *wadohóteri*, and *hinû'nk-teek'*. Hinûnga's might be said to be divided into *hinuy* and *gas*, but there is no reason to assume that such a division of the word is justifiable, and for that reason it has not been included in the enumeration of *hinû'n-k'* stems. The form *teido*, elder brother, spoken by females, is baffling, all the more so if we assume that there never was a form for "younger brother" used by women.

601 Let us now separate the terms applied to relatives through marriage from those applied to blood relatives.

| Blood relatives | Relatives through marriage | Blood relatives | Relatives through marriage |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hini | Hirik'ó | Waite-k'ó' | Hitcu'ᵐwi |
| Hitcû'ᵐwi' | Hirigu'ᵐ | Hinûnga's | Hi-uni'niṇk' |
| Hik'ino-k'ó' | Hitcû'ᵐwi' | Hide'-k', hidekuri'ṇk' | Hinûnga's |
| Hitcu-k'ó' | | Teido' | |
| Hi-a'nte | Wadoho'teri | Hitcû'ᵐwi' | |
| Hi-u'ni; hi-uniniṇk | Hiwangó' | Hiniṇk' | |
| Hitû'u-k' | Hinuṇk'teo'k' | | |

Three terms are applied sometimes to blood relatives and sometimes to relatives through marriage: *Hitcû'ᵐwi*, *hi-uni'niṇk'*, and *hinûnga's*. It is the author's belief that in all these cases the terms have been applied to relatives through marriage on account of the extremely close relationship the husbands of *hitcu'ᵐwi* and *hi-uni'niṇk'* and the wives of *hinûnga's* bear to one's parents; that it is really an act of courtesy toward people whose children are in one case (*hitcû'ᵐwi'* and *hi-uni'niṇk'*) regarded as one's brothers and sisters and in the other case as the same as one's sister's children. There never was the slightest confusion as to the position held by the wife of one's father's brother (*hi-uni'niṇk'*), or one's mother's brother's wife, or the husband of one's mother's sister; nor is there the slightest indication that they ever were considered as identical with any blood relatives who bore the same name.

The foregoing list contains twenty-two terms of relationship applied by the Winnebago to all relatives, blood or otherwise, for five generations—one's own father's, grandfather's, son's, and grandson's. The two tables following show first, how these terms were distributed over the five generations; and second, to how many people of these five generations the same name was applied.

| Generation | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Grandfather's | Hitcuk'ó' | Hi'k'ûruk'ó' |
| 2. Father's | Hi-a'nte, hide'k' | Hi-u'ni, hi-uniniṇk' |
| | Hinunga's, hitcu'ᵐ | Hitcû'ᵐwi' |
| 3. One's own | Hini, hinû'ṇk' | Hinu, waitcké', hinûṇk' teo'k' |
| | Hitcû'ᵐwi', hidekuri'ṇk', hitcu'ᵐ, Wadoho'teri, hirik'ó | Hitcû'ᵐjó'ṇk', Hitcû'ᵐwi', Hiwangó', hirigu'ᵐ |
| 4. Son's | Hiniṇk', hitcû'ᵐwi', Hini, hinû'ṇk', Wadohóteri | Hinû'ṇk', hinûṇk' teo'k', Hitcu'ᵐ jó'ṇk', hinu, Waitcké' |

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| Generation | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| 5. Grandson's | Hitcû"ckê', hiniŋk', | Hitcû"jô'ŋk', hiniŋk', |
| 6. Great-grandson's | Hitcû"ckê', hiniŋk', | Hitcû"jô'ŋk', hiniŋk', |
| | (Hitcû"jô'ŋk') | (Hitcû"ckê') |
| 7. Great-great-grandson's | (Hitcû"jô'ŋk') | (Hitcû"ckê') |

For the first three generations no term is repeated except *hitcû'"wi"*; for the fourth generation eight terms are repeated and two terms are added, *hiniŋk'* and *hi'nûŋk'*. After that all the terms are repeated and no new terms are added. Only three sets of terms are repeated for more than two generations—*hitcû"ckê'*, *hitcû"jô'ŋk hinuŋk'tce'k*, *wadoko'tci*, and *hi'niŋk'*, *hi'nûŋk'*. After the fifth generation only one set of terms is used.

*Distribution of all relationship terms*[3] *occurring more than once.*—

Hi-uni'niŋk', wife of p. br.; m. sr.

Hi'ni, elder br.; son of p. br.; son of m. sr.

Hiniŋk', younger br.; son of p. br.; son of m. sr.

Hi'nu, elder sr.; daughter of p. br.; daughter of m. sr.

Waitcê', younger sr.; daughter of p. br.; daughter of m. sr.

Hi'niŋk', son of elder br.; son of sr. (sister speaking).

Hi'nûŋk', daughter of elder br.; daughter of sr.

Hitcû"ckê', son of elder br.; son of daughter and son; son of br.; son of p. sr.

Hitcû"jô'ŋk', daughter of elder br.; daughter of daughter and son; daughter of p. sr.; daughter of br.

Hitcû'"wi", p. sr.; daughter of m. br.; wife of son of m. sr.

Hitca'", husbands of sisters; husband of p. sr.; husband of daughter of m. sr.

Hicign'", wife of br.; wife of son of br.

Hicik'e', husband of p. sr.; husband of daughter of br.

## Joking Relationship[4]

A man was not permitted to take even the slightest liberties with any of his near relatives or with his mother-in-law or his father-in-law, but a curious exception to this rule was permitted for his father's sister's children (*hitcû"ckê'* and *hitcû"jô'ŋk'*); his mother's brother's children (*hitcû"ckê'* and *hitcû"jô'ŋk'*); his mother's brothers (*hide'k'*); and his sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law. In the two cases last named not only was a man permitted to joke with those relatives but he was supposed to do so whenever he had an opportunity. Under no circumstances were any of these individuals supposed to take offense. This relationship was of course reciprocal. If a person

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[3] A more specific study of these relationship terms is reserved for a special article on Siouan Relationship Terms.

[4] The joking relationship was discovered among the Winnebago by the author. Since then it has been found to exist among the Crows and the Creeks, etc.

[171]

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551 On first thought it might be imagined that the application of the same name to so many people would cause great confusion. As a matter of fact, however, in a village of, say, 20 families, there could have been a maximum of only 40 having the same name. Taking into account deaths and departures, the number was greatly diminished. Moreover, as in general only relations or close friends were [602 609] addressed in this way, strangers commonly being addressed by their nicknames, the seeming danger of confusion is almost entirely obviated. In those cases, however, in which confusion might result a nickname, or sometimes a clan name, was added to the birth name when speaking of an individual.

553 614 *Naming feast.*—The clan name was generally bestowed on a child at a special feast held for the purpose or at any feast that happened to be given within a reasonable time after its birth. The bestowal of the clan name was not infrequently delayed by a father's inability to gather the requisite amount of food to be presented to the old man who was to select the name. Occasionally it even happened that a father under such conditions permitted the relatives of his wife to bestow a name on a child, which of course was a name from its mother's clan. The author has personal knowledge of a case in which the first child of a man had a name belonging to his mother's clan while the other children had names belonging to their father's clan. When questioned, the man said that at the time of the birth of his eldest child he was too poor to pay for the honor of having his child receive a name and that he had allowed his wife's relatives to give it a name. When his other children were born, however, as he was in better condition financially he had been able to name them in the usual way. Although a child, irrespective of his individual name, always belonged to his father's clan, there seemed to exist a feeling that a person having a name not taken from his own clan [554] was more or less incomplete. A person possessing no clan name was regarded as having low social standing.

[597] When a child was adopted it retained its former birth name and clan name.

601 *Relationship terms.*—The system of relationship terms used by the Winnebago is as follows:[3]

### Male Terms of Address

Teok'a', p. and m. grandfather (direct address).
Hi'teok'ê, p. and m. grandfather and father-in-law.
K'u'nîŋk'a, p. and m. grandmother (direct address).
Hik'ârok'e, p. and m. grandmother and mother-in-law.
Dja'djî, father (direct address).

[3] Abbreviations: p., paternal; m., maternal; br., brother; s., sister.

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Hiko'nô, husband.
Hitea'ᵃ, brother of wife.
Hitea'ᵃwiᵃ, wife.
Hiwangᵉ', sister of wife.

After one's grandchild's generation the children of a man whom one called either Hi'niṇk' or Hitcûᵃckê', or of a woman whom one called either Hi'nûṇk' or Hitcûᵃjô'ṇk', were all called Hitcûᵃckê' or Hitcûᵃjô'ṇk'.

A special term, Wotcû'ᵃwoṇk', was used by parents-in-law when addressing each other. [606]

It will be noticed that, taking self as the starting point, the distinction between forms—one series to be used in speaking of a person and the other in directly addressing one's own blood relative has been developed for only grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, son, and daughter. It is probable that in former times brother and sister also were included in this double series. [602 603]

## Female Terms of Address

As compared with the distinction between male and female terms of address found among other Siouan tribes, that existing among the Winnebago is very weak and there seems to be no indication that it ever was much stronger, although caution must be observed in drawing inferences as to past relationship terms, since it is a well-known fact that they have a tendency to disappear. At the present time there are only four terms used among the Winnebago by women specifically; *teiło*, elder brother; *hitcô'ṇk'*, younger sister; *hiciga'ᵃ*, wife of brother; and *hicil'ᵉ'*, husband of sister.

A cursory examination shows that the following forms are linguistically related:

| | |
|---|---|
| hini. | hinu. |
| hinṇk'. | hinuṇk. |
| hicikê'. | hiciga'ᵃ. |
| hitcûᵃckê'. | hitcûᵃjô'ṇk' (teuᵃ—gû'ak, obsolete) hitcû'ᵃwiᵃ. |
| hiteâᵃ. | hitea'ᵃwiᵃ. |
| hitcû'ṇk'. | |
| hitcak'â'ro (friend). | |

It is clear that we are dealing here with a change of terminal vowel (from i to u; from e to a; from a to u), indicative of sex. In the form *hitcu'ᵃwiᵃ*, *wiᵃ* is undoubtedly identical with *-wiᵃ*, meaning "female," found with all animal female names. Terminal *k'*, *k'e*, *ga*, is a suffix that may be related to the termination *k'e* found with so many animal names. We may perhaps say, then, that we have here only three stems, *hini*, *hicil'*, and *hitcû'ᵃ*. For a complete list of stems used in relationship terms there must now be added to these the following: *Hik'â'ro—k'i hitcak—k'i'*, *hi-a'nic hi-u'ni*, *hicâ'y—k'*, *wnic—k'i'*, *hinûṇgic*, *hide—k'*, *hicuâ—gi'*, *teiło*, 601 193

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| Generation | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| 5. Grandson's | Hitcû°ckô', hinînk', | Hitcû°jô'nk', hinûnk', |
| 6. Great-grandson's | Hitcû°ckô', hinînk', (Hitcû°jô'nk') | Hitcû°jô'nk', hinûnk', (Hitcû°ckô'); |
| 7. Great-great-grandson's | (Hitcû°jô'nk') | (Hitcû°ckô'); |

For the first three generations no term is repeated except *hitcû'°wi°*; for the fourth generation eight terms are repeated and two terms are added, *hinînk'* and *hi'nûnk'*. After that all the terms are repeated and no new terms are added. Only three sets of terms are repeated for more than two generations—*hitcû°ckô'*, *hitcû°jô'nk hinunk'tce'k*, *waiaho'tci*, and *hi'nînk'*, *hi'nûnk'*. After the fifth generation only one set of terms is used.

*Distribution of all relationship terms*[5] *occurring more than once.*—

Hi-uni'ninк', wife of p. br.; m. sr.

Hi'ni, elder br.; son of p. br.; son of m. sr.

Hinûnk', younger br.; son of p. br.; son of m. sr.

Hi'nu, elder sr.; daughter of p. br.; daughter of m. sr.

Waitckô', younger sr.; daughter of p. br.; daughter of m. sr.

Hi'nînk', son of elder br.; son of sr. (sister speaking).

Hi'nûnk', daughter of elder br.; daughter of sr.

Hitcû°ckô', son of elder br.; son of daughter and son; son of br.; son of p. sr.

Hitcû°jô'nk', daughter of elder br.; daughter of daughter and son; daughter of p. sr.; daughter of br.

Hitcû'°wi°, p. sr.; daughter of m. br.; wife of son of m. sr.

Hitca'°, husbands of sisters; husband of p. sr.; husband of daughter of m. sr.

Hicigs'°, wife of br.; wife of son of br.

Hicik'e', husband of p. sr.; husband of daughter of br.

## Joking Relationship[6]

602 A man was not permitted to take even the slightest liberties with any of his near relatives or with his mother-in-law or his father-in-law, but a curious exception to this rule was permitted for his father's sister's children (*hitcû°ckô'* and *hitcû°jô'nk'*); his mother's brother's children (*hitcû°ckô'* and *hitcû°jô'nk'*); his mother's brothers (*hide'k'*); and his sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law. In the two cases last named not only was a man permitted to joke with those relatives but he was supposed to do so whenever he had an opportunity. Under no circumstances were any of these individuals supposed to take offense. This relationship was of course reciprocal. If a person

[5] A more specific study of these relationship terms is reserved for a special article on Siouan Relationship Terms.

[6] The joking relationship was discovered among the Winnebago by the author. Since then it has been found to exist among the Crows and the Creeks, etc. [171]

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602 attempted liberties with people who did not belong in the category of the "joking relationship" they would stop him immediately, saying, "What joking relation am I to you" (*Djagu' nink' ilajilegudja**)!

It is impossible to determine the significance of the "joking relationship." Two points of interest may be referred to, however: First, that it existed between a person and such close relatives as the children of his father's sister and his mother's brothers and their children, on the one hand, and his relatives by marriage only, as his brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, on the other; and second, that his mother's brother was at the same time a person with whom he was on particularly intimate terms. With regard to the first point, the author suggests the following explanation: Both groups just mentioned had this in common—they did not belong to the man's clan and with the exception of their mother's brother they did not belong to any individuals but those of their own generation. Now we know [582] that the prohibition of marriage into a man's mother's clan extended only to members of her generation and that theoretically, at least, he could marry her brother's children. In the same way the children of a man's father's sister, belonging as they did to the side into which he had to marry and not belonging to the generation of his father, belonged also to the group into which he theoretically might marry. The author has never heard any Winnebago state that a man may not marry any of the individuals included in the "joking relationship," with the exception of his sister-in-law, but he feels certain that such marriage would be considered improper, although equally certain that it would not be regarded as incest, as would be the case if a person were to marry the son of his mother's sister or of his father's brother. The suggestion is offered, therefore, that the "joking relationship" implies, first, close relationship of individuals who have different clan membership, and, second, perhaps, the possibility of marriage. If there is any explanation for the existence of the relationship between a man and his mother's brother I feel that it is probably to be sought in the first of these suggestions. The second is really advanced merely to suggest some reason for the grouping together of blood relations with relations by marriage.

The "joking relationship" is very peculiar from the point of view of a European, and for that reason it is perhaps likely that we exaggerate its importance. In actual practice joking was probably indulged in only during the first moments after meeting, except by the habitual punster. An important psychological factor may have been the opportunity for relaxation it afforded an individual who was constantly surrounded by close relatives in intercourse with whom he had to observe at all times strict rules of propriety.

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867 If you thus travel in the road of the good people, it will be good
787 and other people will not consider your life a source of amusement."

If you can not obtain a blessing from the spirits try also to have some good plant take pity on you. This I am telling you and if you do not do it, you will suffer for it. All that I am saying will be of great benefit to you if you pay heed to me, for (you will need
867 medicines for) whatever you do in life, if you are not fortunate
789 enough to obtain blessings from the spirits. If you are ever on the
726 warpath, you will need medicine in order to escape being hit or in order to prevent yourself from getting exhausted or from feeling famished. If you manage to be fortunate in all these things you may be certain that the medicines have caused it.

867 My son, help yourself as you go along life's path, for this earth has
577 many narrow passages and you can never tell when you will come to one. If, however, you have something with which to strengthen yourself you will come safely through the passages you meet.

Let every one think you a desirable person to know. Associate with people. If you act in this manner, every one will like you. (You will live) a contented life. Never do anything wrong to your children. Whatever your children ask you to do, do not hesitate to do it for them. If you act thus people will say you are good-natured. If you ever lose a friend by death and if you have riches cover* the expenses of the funeral of the deceased. Help the mourners to feed the people at the wake. If you act thus you will be acting well. Then you will be truly a helper of the people and they will know you as such. Indeed, all of them will know you. For the good you do, all will love you.

867 My son, do not become a gambler. You might, it is true, become
525 rich, but in spite of your wealth all your children will die. No gambler ever had children. It is an affair of the bad spirits entirely. Now if you do all that I have told you, you will unquestionably lead a happy and contented life.

867 Thus would the old people speak to a child whom they loved very much, that he might obtain the means of warding off what is not good. Anyone who acted contrary to these teachings would have himself to blame for the consequences.

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[656] * This dislike of being made fun of, or of being the laughing stock, plays an important role among the Winnebago. It is not at all comparable to the same feeling as found at the present day among civilized people of Western Europe, for it is infinitely deeper and closely associated with social attitudes. The despondency caused by being made fun of, would frequently drive a person away from home or lead him to embark on any undertaking that would bring death. Owing to the social consequences coming in its train, a man would consequently do most anything in his power to ward it off. Correlated with this negative aspect of the use of "fun-poking," there is a positive one. There are certain relatives who have the privilege
[602] of making fun of or playing practical jokes on you. This joking-relationship exists among many tribes in America, but the relatives between whom it is permitted differ in every case. Among the Winnebago it exists between uncle and nieces and nephews and between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

* That is, buy the funeral apparel for the deceased.

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taking their part, or that you love them if you talk merely about 867
loving them. Show them that you love them by your actions. 593
Let them see that you are generous with donations. In such ac- 858
tions they will see your good work and then they will be able to judge for themselves whether your actions equal your words.

My daughter, do not show your love for other children so that strangers notice it. You may, of course, love other children, but love them with a different love from that which you bestow on your own children. The children of other people are different from your own children, and if you were to take them to some other place after you had been lavishing so much love upon them they would not act as your children would under the same circumstances. You can always depend upon your own children. They are of your own body. Love them, therefore. This is what our ancestors taught us to do.

If a wife has no real interest in her husband's welfare and possessions she will be to him no more than any other woman, and the 867
world will ridicule her. If, on the other hand, you pay more attention to your husband than to your parents, your parents will leave you. Let your husband likewise take care of your parents, for they depend on him. Your parents were instrumental in getting you your husband, so remember that they expect some recompense for it, as likewise for the fact that they raised you. 593

My daughter, the old people used to teach us never to hurt the [602
feelings of our relatives. If you hurt their feelings, you will cause [606
your brothers-in-law to feel ashamed of themselves. Do not ever [837]
wish for any other man but your husband. It is enough to have one husband. Do not let anyone have the right to call you a prostitute.

Do not hit your relatives at any time. For if you did that or if 867
you were on bad terms with one of them, it may chance that he will 602
die, and then the people will say that you are glad that he is dead. Then, indeed, you will feel sad at heart and you will think to yourself, "What can I best do" (to make up for my conduct). Even if you were to give a Medicine Dance in his honor or donate gifts for the Four Nights' Wake, many people will still say, "She used to be partial and jealous when he was alive. Now that he is dead she loves him. Why does she act this way? She is wasting her wealth. (She really does not love him and therefore), and she ought not to spend so much money upon him now." Then, indeed, my daughter, will your heart ache; then, indeed, will you get angry. That is why the old people would tell their children to love one another. If you love a person and that person dies, then you will have a right to mourn for him, and everyone will think that your mourning is [765] sincere. Not only will your own relatives love you, but everyone else will love you likewise. If, then, in the course of your life you

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867 come to a crisis of some kind, all these people will turn their hearts
●602 toward you.

My daughter, all that I am trying to tell you relates to your behavior (when you grow up). In your own home the women all understand the work belonging to the household and that relating to camping and hunting. If you understand these and afterwards visit your husband's relatives, you will know what to do and not find yourself in a dilemma from which you can not extricate yourself. When you visit your husband's people do not go around with a haughty air or act as if you considered yourself far above them. Try to get them to like you. If they like you, they will place you in charge of the camp you happen to be visiting. If you are good-
[606] natured, you will be placed in charge of the home at which you happen to be visiting. Then your parents-in-law will tell your husband that their daughter-in-law is acting nicely to them.

SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION TO CHILDREN

867 Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan: I still keep up the old system of teaching my children at the camp fire. In the morning I wake them up early and start to teach them as follows:

My children, as you travel along life's road never harm anyone, nor cause anyone to feel sad. On the contrary, if at any time you can make a person happy, do so. If at any time you meet a woman in the wilderness (i. e., away from your village), and if you are alone and no one can see you, do not scare her or harm her, but turn off to the right and let her pass. Then you will be less tempted to molest her.

My children, if you meet anyone on the road, even though it is only a child, speak a cheering word before you pass on. Fast as much as you can, so that when you grow up you can benefit your fellowmen. If you ever get married you must not sit around your
[602] lodge near your wife, but try and get game for your wife's people. So fast that you may be prepared for your life.

[593] My daughters, if at any time you get married, never let your husband ask for a thing twice. Do it as soon as he asks you. If your husband's folks ever ask their children for something when you are present, assume that they had asked it of you. If there is anything to be done, do not wait till you are asked to do it, but do it immediately. If you act in this way, then they will say that your parents taught you well.

My son, if you find nothing else to do, take an ax and chop down a tree. It will become useful some day. Then take a gun and go out hunting and try to get game for your family.

As soon as I see that the children are showing signs of restlessness then I stop immediately.

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614 of human and animal forms. The latter conception is entirely a
825 religious one, the former merely an extension of the genealogical tendency prevalent in many types of social organization. Instead of being simply descended from an individual in a given social unit, the bond of membership within this unit has been strengthened by the postulation of blood relationship to the clan animal. The idea of descent may thus be looked upon as one of the elements necessary for the stability of a political unit and may be far older than its
614 specific extension to those clan animals. A very illuminating ex-
825 ample of a case in point can be selected from the history of the war
778 bundle in the Thunderbird clan. This bundle, like the others, was obtained as a gift from the thunderbird in his capacity as a guardian spirit. The ceremony connected with it has, however, been markedly influenced by the clan organization and as a result we find descent
[776] from the thunderbird and night-spirit, the two most important spirits in the ceremony, postulated of the original owner of the war bundle. The same tendency is exhibited in the numerous stories of the relation of an individual of the heroic age to a village. Here
[773] the individual, generally a transformed guardian spirit or animal, comes to the aid of the people in their struggle against cannibals, defeats the latter and marries into the village, becoming thus the eponymous ancestor of the subsequent village group.

614 At the same time no strong correlation apparently exists between a totemic organization and the extension of descent to include the clan animal, this seemingly being a peculiarity of certain cultures only. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest coast, among the
[771] Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves, in addition to the above, we find the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact of its members imitating the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reasons at all for the name, while in others an animal is killed, becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, and the group takes its name from the fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation.

## THE CLAN TIE

614 In intimate relation with the attitude toward the clan animal is the
● 602 conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the tie between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal.
[582] Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as is

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shown by the very word for clan (*hokik'aradjera*). This concept of blood relationship was extended to the mother's clan generation. As we have pointed out, there is no reason for assuming that blood relationship is the primary explanation. The number of explanations for exogamy existing between one clan and another, and between the clans of one side as opposed to those of another, indicate clearly how readily interpretations of this phenomenon change. The Bear does not marry into the Wolf clan because they are friends (*hitcak'oro*), and does not marry into the Buffalo clan because it belongs to the same side, or no reason at all is assigned. Before the question of the clan tie can be thoroughly understood, the kind of blood relationship that is here meant must be more carefully defined. This is not a very general but a very definite notion, and may be said to extend not beyond four generations, in fact not beyond the direct knowledge of some living individual. This will be brought out more clearly by the following tables, based on actual genealogies:

| | |
|---|---|
| (F) Thunderbird—Bear (M) 1. | or: |
| (F) Bear—Eagle (M) 2. | (F) Thunderbird—Bear (M) 1. |
| (F) Eagle—Wolf (M) 3. | (M) Bear—Eagle (F) 2. |
| (F) Wolf—Thunderbird (M) 4. | (M) Bear—Thunderbird (F) 3. |
| (M) Thunderbird—Bear (F) 5. | |

All these marriages are permitted. In the first case a man marries into his maternal grandmother's maternal grandfather's clan; and in the second, a man marries into his paternal grandmother's clan. We will consequently have to consider blood relationship as extending only to four, sometimes three, generations, and have to regard the statement of blood relationship as the tie binding the members of the clan together as purely fictitious and secondary. That, nevertheless, this fictitious tie called forth the same feeling as that of real relationship, there is abundant evidence to show, and that it was of considerable importance in the development of the Winnebago clan-unit is borne out by the fact that the clan was called "those-who-are-relatives-to-one-another."

## CLAN FUNCTIONS

The association of political functions with definite social units is a common phenomenon in most cultures where a tendency toward socialization exists. It is strictly comparable to the association of ceremonial and religious functions with ceremonial units. In this connection, the difference between an association with a group unit and an association with an individual is of fundamental importance. Is the former, for instance, merely an extension of the latter? This only individual history can demonstrate. Such a genetic relationship between the two depends probably as much upon the nature of the

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And a war-bundle owner for the second kettle should be called upon a kettle offered in connection with him whom we call Great Black Hawk. 796x 539x

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle placed for Disease-giver. 782 776

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the spirit whom they call South Wind.

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the Sun.

Then they also select another man to be in charge of a kettle put on for the Morning Star.[23]

Then the first one who had been called upon for a kettle takes as many pieces of food as there are individuals in his band who eat with him. The second one who had been called upon also takes enough pieces (for his band). 796x 539x 262

Those who are going to eat the head have to wait.[24]

Then all took enough pieces to suffice for their band.

Then they (the attendants) put the pieces of meat in plates and cut them up into small portions. Now all are in readiness for the meal. Only some of those in the lodge are called upon to eat the head. The plate of the others is filled with ordinary cuts (of meat). As many men and women as are present, for that many do they cut up the pieces of meat evenly and place them in the plate.

Only warriors are head eaters. Not to warriors do they give common pieces. Women and men who are not warriors can not take part in this head eating. Only men can take part in the head eating. They would not permit women to eat the head. However, those of the feasters who were warriors and had brought home war trophies would speak a good word for the trophy bearers, their sisters, their neices, and their aunts,[25] and these would be allowed to sit in the midst of the head eaters. The sisters or the aunts, whatever women were allowed to sit among the head eaters, considered it a very great honor. Thus all were encouraged to do. [554 562] [602]

Now (the preparations being finished) all are waiting for the meal and the host gets up and speaks.[26]

"I greet you all. When it (the meat) gets into the plate, then it is the time to try to get the spirit's attention by singing. War-bundle owners, who are seated here, I greet you all." (Eating song.)

---

[23] In the first division of the ritual seven kettles are prepared; in the second division, four.

[24] The eating of the deer's head is the greatest honor that one can obtain in this ceremony, and only warriors are permitted to take part in it. [554 262]

[25] When a warrior returned from a successful war party with the first war honor, i. e., if he had counted coup first, he was given a wampum necklace, and this he presented to his oldest sister or to the daughters of his father's brother or mother's sister or to his mother's sister.

[26] This is the continuation of his speech that had been interrupted by the preparations for the meal [13]

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individual cultures. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest Coast, among the Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves we find, in addition to the above, the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact that its members imitate the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reason at all for the name, while according to others an animal is killed and becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, the group taking its name from this fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation.

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### *The Clan Tie.*

In intimate relation to the attitude toward the clan animal is the conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the bond between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal. Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as is brought out by the word for clan (*hokik·aradjɔra*). This concept of blood relationship was extended to the mother's clan generation. As we have pointed out, there is no reason for assuming that blood relationship is the primary explanation. The number of explanations for exogamy existing between one clan and another, and that of the clans of one side as opposed to those of another, indicate clearly how readily interpretations of this phenomenon change. The Bear does not marry into the Wolf clan because they are friends (*hitcak·ɔro*), and does not marry into the Buffalo clan because it belongs to the same side, or no reason is assigned at all. Before the question of the clan tie can be thoroughly understood, the kind of blood relationship that is here meant must be more carefully defined. This is not a general but a very definite notion, and may be said not to extend beyond four generations, in fact, not beyond the direct knowledge of some living individual.

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582 This will be brought out more clearly by the following tables,
614 based on actual genealogies:
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(F) Thunderbird—
(F) Bear —Bear (M) 1
(F) Eagle —Eagle (M) 2
(F) Wolf —Wolf (M) 3
(M) Thunderbird—Thunderbird (M) 4
—Bear (F) 5

or:

(F) Thunderbird—
(M) Bear —Bear (M) 1
(M) Bear —Eagle (F) 2
—Thunderbird (F) 3

All these marriages are permitted. In the first case a man marries into his maternal grandmother's maternal grandfather's clan; and in the second a man marries into his paternal grandmother's clan. We will consequently have to consider blood relationship as extending only to four, sometimes three, generations, and have to regard the statement of blood-relationship as the tie binding the members of the clan together as purely fictitious and secondary. That, nevertheless, this fictitious tie called forth the same feeling as that of real relationship, there is abundant evidence to show, and that it was of considerable importance in the development of the Winnebago clan-complex is borne out by the fact that the clan was called "those-who-are-relatives-to-one-another."

## THE SOCIO-POLITICAL COMPLEX.

### *Clan Functions.*

174 The association of political functions with definite social
614 units is a common phenomenon for most cultures where a
182 tendency toward socialization exists. It is strictly comparable to the association of ceremonial and religious functions with ceremonial units. In this connexion, the difference between an association with a group unit and an association with an individual, is of fundamental importance. Is the former, for instance, merely an extension of the latter? This only individual

867 You can, however, always depend upon the love of your own
593 children because they are of your own body. Love them
858 therefore.

If you do not have any real interest in your husband's
867 welfare and affairs, then you will be to him like any other
593 woman. People will ridicule you. On the other hand, if you pay more attention to your husband than to your parents, if you listen to him more than to them, that will be equivalent to deserting them. Let your husband keep your parents and take good care of them for they depend upon him. Your parents saw to it that you married him and
[583] they expect you to make some return for this as well as for the fact that they raised you.

867 Do not hurt the feelings of your relatives, the old people
[602] used to say. If you hurt their feelings you will make your brothers-in-law feel ashamed of themselves on account of the evil things you say about them.

Never desire to have any other man than your husband
[837] when you are married. Have only one husband. Do not give any one the right to call you a prostitute.

867 The old people said, "Never hit your relatives." You
602 may be on bad terms with one of them, for instance, and he may die. Then people will say that you used to quarrel with the deceased when he was alive. They may even claim that you are overjoyed at his death, that you want to dance with joy. Then indeed will your heart be sore and you will think to yourself how best you can make amends. Even should you have a performance of the Medicine Dance given in his honor, if you wish to bury him with honor, even then people will say, "What does all this mean? She used to be partial and jealous when he was alive. Now that he is dead she loves him! She should not do such things. She is merely wasting her wealth. She need

not have spent so much." Thus will people speak of you. 867
Then indeed will your heart ache to its very depths. Per- 602
haps you will even get angry when people say these things to you. It is to prevent this from happening that the old people used to say, "Love one another." If you have always loved a person then when he dies you will have the right to feel sorry. All your relatives will love you; indeed every one will love you. If you behave like a true woman you will be beloved by all and then if you meet with some crisis in life, all will turn their hearts to you in your trouble.

It will be good for you if you conduct yourself in the way I have just told you. That is what I wish you to do. In your own home you have doubtless been instructed in all the domestic work, your part in hunting, and in the work around the camp. If you learn about all these matters then some day when you visit your husband's relatives you will not find yourself in an embarrassing position from which you cannot extricate yourself. When you are visit- [602]
ing your husband's people do not walk around in a haughty manner. Do not act as if you were far above them. Try to get them to like you. If they like you they will put you in charge of their camp.

Never think a home is yours unless you make one yourself. If you are living with people and have put them in charge of your household, do not behave as though the home were still yours.

[P. 73]

## *The Effect of a Pretended Blessing*

Once when I was on one of my drinking sprees I visited the lodge of a relative of mine. There I found a woman whom I had the right to call niece and whom I could therefore tease. Just in jest I used to call her "mother" and "sister." Now on this particular occasion after food had been offered me, I began teasing her as usual when one of the women sitting around there said, "My younger brother, your niece is really in a condition to excite your compassion and not to fool with. She is in fact about to face death, for she is going to be confined soon and she generally manages barely to escape death then." "Oh, is that so?" answered I. "Well, elder sister, this time my niece is not going to suffer. Up above, in the heavens, there exist four women, sisters, and these blessed me, telling me that if I ever called upon them for help they would help me. Now to these I shall offer tobacco and when my niece is about to be delivered, she, too, must ask for help." Thus I spoke to her. The woman thanked me. I had told a terrible falsehood. I said all this because I was very hungry and I knew that I would then receive enough to appease my hunger. I had nothing else to say.

Some time after this I saw the women in town. The older woman ran over to me and said, "My younger brother, all is well. Your niece is in wonderful condition; she is very well indeed. She has just given birth to a child and within three days of its birth she was able to chop wood. Never before has such a thing happened to her. It is good. As soon as the annuity payment is made you may have the child's portion for drink.

159* 755 [273] [602] [845] [577] [657]

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Hiko'nô, husband.
Hitea'ⁿ, brother of wife.
Hitea'ⁿwiⁿ, wife.
Hiwange', sister of wife.

After one's grandchild's generation the children of a man whom one called either Hi'niŋk' or Hitcûⁿckê', or of a woman whom one called either Hi'nûŋk' or Hitcûⁿjô'ŋk', were all called Hitcûⁿckê' or Hitcûⁿjô'ŋk'.

A special term, Wotcû'ⁿwoŋk', was used by parents-in-law when addressing each other. [606]

It will be noticed that, taking self as the starting point, the distinction between forms—one series to be used in speaking of a person and the other in directly addressing one's own blood relative has been developed for only grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, son, and daughter. It is probable that in former times brother and sister also were included in this double series. [602 603]

### Female Terms of Address

As compared with the distinction between male and female terms of address found among other Siouan tribes, that existing among the Winnebago is very weak and there seems to be no indication that it ever was much stronger, although caution must be observed in drawing inferences as to past relationship terms, since it is a well-known fact that they have a tendency to disappear. At the present time there are only four terms used among the Winnebago by women specifically; *tcito*, elder brother; *hitcô'ŋk'*, younger sister; *hiciga'ⁿ*, wife of brother; and *hicilᵃe'*, husband of sister.

A cursory examination shows that the following forms are linguistically related:

| | |
|---|---|
| hini. | hinu. |
| hintŋk'. | hinuŋk. |
| hicikê'. | hiciga'ⁿ. |
| hitcûⁿckê'. | hitcûⁿjô'ŋk' (tcuⁿ—gû'ak, obsolete) hitcû'ⁿwiⁿ. |
| hitcâⁿ. | hiteaⁿwiⁿ. |
| hitcû'ŋk'. | |
| hitcak'â'ro (friend). | |

It is clear that we are dealing here with a change of terminal vowel (from *i* to *u*; from *e* to *a*; from *a* to *u*), indicative of sex. In the form *hitcuⁿwiⁿ*, *wiⁿ* is undoubtedly identical with *-wiⁿ*, meaning "female," found with all animal female names. Terminal *k'*, *k'e*, *ga*, is a suffix that may be related to the termination *k'e* found with so many animal names. We may perhaps say, then, that we have here only three stems, *hini*, *hicil'*, and *hitcû'ⁿ*. For a complete list of stems used in relationship terms there must now be added to these the following: *Hik'â'ro—k'i hitcak—k'i'*, *hi-a'nic hi-u'ni*, *hicâ'y—k'*, *wcite—k'i'*, *hinûŋgo*, *hide—k' hiwan—gi'*, *teidô*, 601 193

*Crashing Thunder*

*159 Thus I acted up to the time that I have memory of things.

*159 In those days there were not many white people
221 living near us as to-day. My father went out hunt-
[224] ing continually. The lodge in which we lived was cov-
[342] ered with rush mattings, with reed mattings spread over
[352] the floor. After hunting for some time in one place we would move to another. My father, mother, older sisters, and older brothers, all carried the packs. Thus we would spend our time until the spring of the year and then in the spring we would again move in order
[224] to live near some stream where father could hunt
[136] muskrats, mink, otter, and beaver.

In the summer we always returned to Black River Falls, Wisconsin. Here all the Indians gathered after
[222] they had given their feasts. Then we picked berries. When picking berries my father used to buy me gum
*159 so that I should not be able to eat any of the berries.
[261] I managed however to eat berries and chew gum at the same time. After a while I learned to chew tobacco and then I did not eat the berries while picking them.
[276] Later on I got to like tobacco very much and I probably used up more money in buying tobacco than would have been the value of the berries had I eaten them.

[180] ing and crying to await the coming of the spirit. Among the Winne-
[593] bago, and probably among many other tribes, it was customary for the parents or grandparents, to prepare the children specifically for what was likely to happen; to inform them how to recognise
[603] the approach of the spirit and, what was more to the point, to teach them how to distinguish a good from a bad spirit.

[2]

[i.e., during their quest for a guardian spirit, see P.1, Category 116 -- Analyst]

## *Marriage*

there. Shortly after a horse was given to this girl I had married. 159* 585

Some time after, my grandfather had a private talk with me and he said, "Grandson, it is said that this girl you have married is not a virgin and I am not pleased with it, as this is your first marriage and you are a young man. I suppose you know whether this is true or not, whether or not she is a maiden?" "Yes," I answered, "I know." "Well, you do not have to live with her then if you don't care to," he said. So I went away on a visit and from there I went home for good. After some time I learned that she also had gone back to her home. My grandfather was glad that I had not stayed with her and he told me, "You can marry another and a better one, one that I shall choose for you." However I said to him, "Grandfather, you have begged women for me often enough. Don't ever do it again for I don't care to marry a woman who has to be begged for." He was not at all pleased at this for he said that I was not allowing him to tell me what to do.

[831] 159* 586 [584] [603]

[P. 129]

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867 My son, whenever people go on the warpath go along with them.
721 It is good to die on the warpath. You may perhaps say so, because you are unhappy that your wife has left you. My son, not for such reasons, however, must you go on the warpath. You will be merely throwing away a human life. If you want to go on the warpath, do so because you feel that you are courageous enough, not because you are unhappy at the loss of your wife. If you go on the warpath you will enjoy yourself. Do not go, however, unless you have fasted,
[785] and unless you have fasted for that particular warpath. If you have not fasted and attempt nevertheless to go on the warpath, a bullet will surely seek you out and kill you. This is what will happen to you if you do not fast.

[593 If you exert yourself in fasting you will assuredly perform some brave war exploit. You must tell your sisters and sister's children
[604] and your mother's sisters all about your exploit. Remember, also,
605] that the keepers of the war-bundles can give you good advice in all that pertains to war. For their deeds they will be given a good dish of meat.[24] This they will give you to eat.

Of such things did my ancestors speak, and I would wish you to do as they did. That is why I am telling you all these things. I myself never asked for any of this instruction, but my father did. All human beings ought to ask for it. Never let anybody be in a position to puzzle you in regard to what is right. Ask for this instruction, my son, for it is not an ordinary thing. In the olden
867 times if a person loved his child very much, he would only give him instruction after he had begun fasting all day for the first time. When a young boy has just matured, those who have been preaching
[881] to him always ask him one question, namely, whether he had begun to fast. And this the young boy must always answer truthfully, for if he has begun his fast the instruction would stop. The old men do not preach to men, but only to boys.

881 (What follows is apparently an illustration of how a young man
887 asks his instructor for information of how to conduct himself in life.)
867 The young man will go to an old man and say, "Grandfather, I would like to know how I am to conduct myself in life. Bless me and if you can really give me any information, do so." Then the old man was very thankful and said, "It is good; you speak correctly." Now the one who was asking something of the old man had taken very good care of the old man's body and had led a good life. He had no scars of any kind; that is, he had never done anything shameful. The young man brought all sorts of food and placed it in the lodge of the old man. Then he also brought him a fine horse. Only then did he ask him again about the life that his ancestors had led, and what kind of a life he ought to live. He asked

[24] I. e., you will be given a position at the Winter Feast and offered some of the choice pieces of meat.

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614 572 The relation of *hitcak'oro* or "friend clan" is thus strictly analogous to that which exists between two individuals who are *hitcak'oro* to each other. It is one of the characteristic traits of Siouan culture that two individuals often form a strong, inextricable friendship. Not only are they always together but the death of one on the war-path involves that of the other. [604] The same intimate relationship seems to exist between an uncle (*hidek'*) and his nephew (*hitcycge*). There is, however, one fundamental difference between such relation as that existing between *hidek'* and *hitcycge*, the members of the family group, and the members of the same clan, on the one hand, and clan *hitcak'oro*, on the other. In the former there is the bond of blood, real or fictitious; in the latter, only that of mutual service. On the other hand, while the *hidek'-hitcycge* relation, the individual *hitcak'oro* and the clan *hitcak'oro* all may be of different historical origin, they are psychologically the same. The postulation of even a fictitious blood bond between the different individual *hitcak'oro* and the clan *hitcak'oro* is not unheard of. For the *hitcak'oro* relation of individuals this is always possible, for if one individual dies, his *hitcak'oro* is generally adopted to fill his place. On the other hand, the myths seem to indicate that no blood bond was regarded as existing between them, for they generally married each other's sisters.

What historical relation the clan *hitcak'oro* bears to the individual *hitcak'oro* relation, it is impossible to state, but the remarks made before are pertinent here, and no genetic relationship need be postulated.

### THE SPECIFIC POSSESSIONS OF THE CLAN

614 778 Among the Omaha a number of clans have in their possession certain objects around which not merely the clan but also the tribal reverence is centered. Historically, we believe that these were originally possessions of an individual clan, which subsequently became identified with the entire tribe. Among the Winnebago nothing remotely comparable to these clan possessions exists, and the few specific objects possessed by the clan have never become of real tribal significance.

The specific material possessions of the clan consist of certain war bundles, one in each clan; and two crooks in the possession of the Bear clan. There also exist war clubs, of which there are two types, one found among the *wangeregi*, the other among the *manegi* divisions. In connection with the clan bundles there are certain ceremonials known as clan-bundle or war-bundle feasts, popularly as Winter Feasts. [771] The distribution of the clan bundle differentiates these from the specific possessions of the Omaha clans, and suggests a hint as to their historical associations. To all intents and purposes, as their individual history shows, these bundles are merely

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# CHAPTER XIII

## RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES BASED ON BLESSINGS FROM SPIRITS

### Society of Those Who Have Received Blessings From the Night Spirits

Informant, member of Thunderbird clan: Once a man went hunting so that he might be able to get the game with which to give a feast. All of those who were to participate in the feast went along with him. After they had killed some deer they built a lodge. Then all the other feast-givers came into the lodge, bringing something toward the feast, as well as the tobacco which they were to offer. Some brought other things, even dogs, as their contribution to the feast. The dogs would be killed, singed, then boiled, and prepared in the same way as the deer. The meat would then be mixed with dry corn. The attendants, who were generally the nephews of the feast-givers, would look after the boiling of the food. Every time they gave a feast they selected these nephews to do the cooking and the general work connected with this ceremony. 796 539 575 [252] 575 796 604 539

The nephew who acts as attendant accompanies a feast-giver on the warpath, where likewise he has to endure a great deal. Should his uncle be killed, it is his duty to be killed likewise and not to return home. [726]

He acted in this way because of his love for his uncle. The attendants do all the work whenever their uncles give a feast. They also arrange for the place where the feast is to be held; make the four invitation sticks; blacken them with charcoal and decorate them at the ends with fine and fluffy white eagle feathers. Then they prepare a bundle of tobacco containing about a pipeful. After these preparations have been made one of the nephews goes around the village and presents the invitation sticks to every individual who had been blessed by the Night Spirits. These are called the night-blessed children. The night-blessed children thanked the messengers and assured them that they now felt they were obtaining life. Then those to whom the invitation stick had been presented go around asking their relatives to accompany them to the feast. There the guest and his relatives would meet at the appointed time. All those who received invitation sticks do the same. [203]

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## The War-bundle Feast of the Thunderbird Clan

(SECOND VERSION)

X 796 614 773 [776] Informant, member of Thunderbird clan:[1] There were originally four warriors. The youngest one was the bravest and the most powerful. He claimed that his father was a Thunderbird and his mother a Night Spirit. He is the one who made the bundle about which we are going to speak.

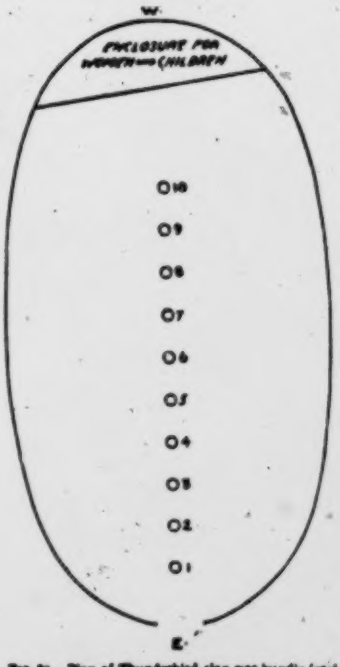


FIG. 38.—Plan of Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast. 1, Buckskin for earthmaker. 2, Buckskin for disease-giver. 3, Buckskin for thunderbirds. 4, Buckskin for night-spirits. 5, Buckskin for morning star. 6, Buckskin for sun. 7, Buckskin for moon. 8, Buckskin for water-spirit. 9, Buckskin for earth. 10, Buckskin for herbs.

X 796 [604] [574 281] [886] X 796 782 776

The lodge (fig. 38) is prepared by the nephews and the women relatives of the host, generally his nieces and wives. The invited guests arrive toward evening, while the women are still preparing the buckskins. These buckskins are to be made as perfectly white as possible. Only those women who have passed their climacteric are permitted to do this. As soon as the buckskins are prepared the kettles are put on the fire. The buckskins are taken by the host and marked with the specific symbols associated with the different spirits. (For the markings, see pls. 47, 48.) These buckskins are then tied to a stick. That for Earthmaker is attached to the stick with the head pointing upward; that for the Thunderbird has the stick and the head of the buckskin facing the west; that for the Night has the stick and head of the buckskin facing east; that for the Star also faces east, as do all the others not mentioned. When the sticks have been prepared and the buckskins attached to them, the latter are rolled up upon the sticks. Whosoever of the guests is the oldest feast-giver then arises and pours tobacco, first for the fire and then for all the other spirits. When they start the fire for the first time they use the old ceremonial fire sticks. With that the ceremony begins. When the old man is

X 796 782 [372 778]

[1] This is a generalized account.

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X 796 the ones who will be the victors. It is said of you that even if a
X 539 prayer be offered to you in silence, along with the tobacco, you will
776 hear it. Here we offer you tobacco, deer for food, and buckskin
782 for moccasins. This, grandfather, is our prayer and our offering.

"To you, grandmother, the Moon, do we offer tobacco. We desire to have victory in battle. The blessings you bestowed upon our grandfather, Kills-Within-Lodge, when you blessed him with the powers of a warrior, those give to us now. The blessings that were not fulfilled by him (that is, all those blessings that death prevented him from using) we ask that they may be fulfilled by us. Tobacco and deer for food and buckskin, all these we offer to you. Here it is. Here it is.

"To you, Morning Star, do we offer tobacco. When my grandfather was blessed with your power, while he was making his war bundle, he was to give you tobacco for smoking and food at midnight. That is what we are trying to do, although we are lacking in all the essentials necessary for success. However, we wish to be prepared in times of trouble and that is why we ask, grandfather, that we be blessed with life. A kettle with tobacco, enough buckskin for moccasins, and tobacco we offer to you.

"To you, grandmother, the Earth, do we offer tobacco also. We pray for victory in war and for all the medicines that are necessary to obtain it, so that we may bind ourselves with medicine; that we may use the flowers of the earth for paint—all that is red and all that is blue—this we ask of you. Should there be anything better, we ask that you arrange it so that we obtain it. Tobacco and corn for food do we offer to you, and should you need more tobacco we will send it along. Here it is.

"To you, Eagle Chief, you who blessed our grandfather with power to conquer in war while he was making his bundle of spirit-power, do we offer tobacco. For all that he told us to retain and which he said was powerful in the bundle, I am making this feast. I am
X 796 trying to-night to make a feast in honor of the spirits. To you and
X 539 to the hawk I offer this kettle."

All the kettles which are to be used at this feast have by this time
782 been put on. The nephews act as attendants and place the kettles
[604] on the fireplaces. Those spirits for whom no kettles are placed on the fire receive tobacco as an offering. After the host has offered tobacco to these latter spirits, he returns to his place and sits down. Then the war-bundle owners to whom tobacco had been given get up in turn and with one hand pour tobacco into the fire and with the other upon the war bundle. The host then rises and speaks as follows:

"Sons of war, and you who stand in the footsteps of the spirits, all you who are in this lodge, I greet you. We are boiling hot water for

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seems occasionally to have been extended to three or four clans. 614
Most informants gave these groups in such a manner that the 616
"friendship" relation was not postulated between clans belonging to different divisions; although one individual postulated them just on this basis, i.e., Thunderbird—Bear, Warrior—Wolf, etc. There can, however, be no doubt that the prevalent arrangement is: Thunderbird—Warrior; Eagle—Pigeon; Bear—Wolf; Buffalo—Water-spirit; Elk—Deer; Snake—Fish. Most informants do not claim any pairing for the Snake, while some associate it in a threefold grouping with the Buffalo and Water-spirit. The four clans of the *wangeregi* are generally united in a fourfold group of "friend," although some divide them into Thunderbird—Warrior and Eagle—Pigeon.

Under the term "friend clan" is included the idea of mutual 614
service. This becomes especially marked on two occasions; 574
first, when a member of one clan visits his "friend-clan," and [627]
second, when an injustice has been done a member of the "friend-clan." On the former occasion every possible privilege is extended to him, even to his occupying the seat and bed of the host. There is no indication of "wife borrowing," however. On the latter occasion, the "friend-clan" will seek to revenge 614
the injustice just as if the wrong had been done one of its own [627]
members. The respect shown by one clan to its "friend-clan" [553]
is again apparent at the "naming" feast. There he may be called upon to give the dog names for an individual of the clan with which he is associated, and, at times, to lend one of his clan names to the latter.

The relation of "*hitcak'ɔ'ro*" or "friend-clan" is strictly 614
analogous to that which exists between two individuals who are 572
*hitcak'ɔ'ro* to each other. It is one of the characteristic traits [171]
of Siouan culture that two individuals often form a strong inextricable friendship. Not only are they always together, but the death of one on the warpath involves that of the other. The same intimate relationship seems to exist between an [604]
uncle (*hidek'*) and his nephews (*hitcɣcge*). There is, however, one fundamental difference between such relations as that existing between the *hidek'* and *hitcɣcge*, the members of the family group, and the members of the same clan, on the one hand, and the in-

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614 dividual and clan *hitcak'ɔro*, on the other. In the former there
572 is the bond of blood, real or fictitious, in the latter only that of mutual service. On the other hand, while the *hidek-hitcɔcge*
[604] relation, the individual *hitcak'ɔro*, and the clan *hitcak'ɔro* may be all of different historical origin, they are psychologically the same. The postulation even of a fictitious blood bond between the different individual *hitcak'ɔro* and the clan *hitcak'ɔro* is not unheard of. For the *hitcak'ɔro*[1] relation of individuals this is
[597] always possible, for if one individual dies, his *hitcak'ɔro* is generally adopted to fill his place. On the other hand, the myths seem to
[582] indicate that no blood bone was regarded as existing between them, for they generally married each other's sisters.

[174] What historical relation the clan *hitcak'ɔro* bears to the individual *hitcak'ɔro* relation of individuals, it is impossible to state, but the remarks made before are pertinent here, and no genetic relationship need be postulated.

### *The "Servant" Relationship.*

614 The *hitcak'ɔro* relation is entirely one between equals, irrespective of the inequality of one member of this grouping, with regard to the other, in social standing. The Bear clan is, for instance, incomparably greater than the Wolf, but this is entirely forgotten here. In addition to this "friendship," there seems to exist a faintly developed "servant" relation. The concept of servant is not that conveyed by the English word. It means essentially that a certain clan performs a service for another without that specific service being reciprocal. Among the Winnebago such a relation exists between the Thunderbird and Buffalo, and the Thunderbird and Elk clans. This is not to be confused with the general subordination of all the other clans to the Thunderbird and Bear clans when these exercise their specific governmental functions. This "servant" relation-
[203] ship between the Thunderbird and Buffalo clans is politically
[174] expressed by the fact that a member of the latter visits the chief every morning to receive certain directions from him,
[621] which he then announces to the whole village. But this relationship expresses itself in another more striking manner—the

1 [i.e. - "friendship" relation - ANALYST]

*[159] was over. Indeed, I even got married there. I kept [588] on drinking all the time. It was then that a nephew of [213] mine begged me to give him my buggy. A nephew has [604] the privilege of asking his uncle for anything, and the uncle must give it. In return the uncle can compel the nephew to work for him at any time.

Some time after that I went to visit an uncle of mine. He said, "Nephew, to-morrow they are going to have a Medicine Dance, and to-night they are going to have a trial performance.[28] Your aunt is going to buy provisions for the meal, and you may go along with her." So I went along. When we got to town we drank, and on the following day it was rumored that the woman and myself were missing. The buggy in which we were riding was quite broken, my hat was gone, and my trousers ripped open. I immediately went back to the place I had come from, even though the Medicine Dance was being given. The woman, I heard, was still missing. I then went to the place at which I had been staying, and remained there all day. I got very tired. In the morning I mounted a horse and went to town. [C48] There I was arrested. I was asked what I was doing in the town. "I am not doing anything; I am merely visiting around." Then the one in charge of the law said that I was to pay ten dollars and that if I did not do so, he would send me to prison. I therefore sold my horse for twenty dollars, and out of it I paid the ten

[D96] [28] The first part of the regular Medicine Dance is supposed to be merely a rehearsal for the following day when the main ceremony is given and is in consequence called the "trial" performance.

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867 My son, whenever people go on the warpath go along with them.
721 It is good to die on the warpath. You may perhaps say so, because you are unhappy that your wife has left you. My son, not for such reasons, however, must you go on the warpath. You will be merely throwing away a human life. If you want to go on the warpath, do so because you feel that you are courageous enough, not because you are unhappy at the loss of your wife. If you go on the warpath you will enjoy yourself. Do not go, however, unless you have fasted,
[785] and unless you have fasted for that particular warpath. If you have not fasted and attempt nevertheless to go on the warpath, a bullet will surely seek you out and kill you. This is what will happen to you if you do not fast.

[593 If you exert yourself in fasting you will assuredly perform some brave war exploit. You must tell your sisters and sister's children
[604] and your mother's sisters all about your exploit. Remember, also, that the keepers of the war-bundles can give you good advice in
605] all that pertains to war. For their deeds they will be given a good dish of meat.[24] This they will give you to eat.

Of such things did my ancestors speak, and I would wish you to do as they did. That is why I am telling you all these things. I myself never asked for any of this instruction, but my father did. All human beings ought to ask for it. Never let anybody be in a position to puzzle you in regard to what is right. Ask for this instruction, my son, for it is not an ordinary thing. In the olden
867 times if a person loved his child very much, he would only give him instruction after he had begun fasting all day for the first time. When a young boy has just matured, those who have been preaching to him always ask him one question, namely, whether he had begun
[881] to fast. And this the young boy must always answer truthfully, for if he has begun his fast the instruction would stop. The old men do not preach to men, but only to boys.

881 (What follows is apparently an illustration of how a young man
887 asks his instructor for information of how to conduct himself in life.)
867 The young man will go to an old man and say, "Grandfather, I would like to know how I am to conduct myself in life. Bless me and if you can really give me any information, do so." Then the old man was very thankful and said, "It is good; you speak correctly." Now the one who was asking something of the old man had taken very good care of the old man's body and had led a good life. He had no scars of any kind; that is, he had never done anything shameful. The young man brought all sorts of food and placed it in the lodge of the old man. Then he also brought him a fine horse. Only then did he ask him again about the life that his ancestors had led, and what kind of a life he ought to live. He asked

[24] I. e., you will be given a position at the Winter Feast and offered some of the choice pieces of meat.

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 601

Hiko'nô, husband.
Hitea'ⁿ, brother of wife.
Hitea'ⁿwiⁿ, wife.
Hiwange', sister of wife.

After one's grandchild's generation the children of a man whom one called either Hi'niŋk' or Hitcûⁿckê', or of a woman whom one called either Hi'nûŋk' or Hitcûⁿjô'ŋk', were all called Hitcûⁿckê' or Hitcûⁿjô'ŋk'.

A special term, Wotcû'ⁿwoŋk', was used by parents-in-law when addressing each other. [606]

It will be noticed that, taking self as the starting point, the distinction between forms—one series to be used in speaking of a person and the other in directly addressing one's own blood relative has been developed for only grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, son, and daughter. It is probable that in former times brother and sister also were included in this double series. [602 603]

## Female Terms of Address

As compared with the distinction between male and female terms of address found among other Siouan tribes, that existing among the Winnebago is very weak and there seems to be no indication that it ever was much stronger, although caution must be observed in drawing inferences as to past relationship terms, since it is a well-known fact that they have a tendency to disappear. At the present time there are only four terms used among the Winnebago by women specifically; *tcito*, elder brother; *hitcô'ŋk'*, younger sister; *hiciga'ⁿ*, wife of brother; and *hicik'e'*, husband of sister.

A cursory examination shows that the following forms are linguistically related:

| | |
|---|---|
| hini. | hinu. |
| hiniŋk'. | hinuŋk. |
| hicikê'. | hiciga'ⁿ. |
| hitcûⁿckê'. | hitcûⁿjô'ŋk' (tcuⁿ—gû'ak, obsolete) hitcû'ⁿwiⁿ. |
| hiteâⁿ. | hiteaⁿwiⁿ. |
| hitcû'ŋk'. | |
| hiteak'â'ro (friend). | |

It is clear that we are dealing here with a change of terminal vowel (from i to u; from e to a; from a to u), indicative of sex. In the form *hitcuⁿwiⁿ*, *wiⁿ* is undoubtedly identical with *-wiⁿ*, meaning "female," found with all animal female names. Terminal *k'*, *k'e*, *ga*, is a suffix that may be related to the termination *k'e* found with so many animal names. We may perhaps say, then, that we have here only three stems, *hini*, *hicik'*, and *hitcûⁿ*. For a complete list of stems used in relationship terms there must now be added to these the following: *Hik'â'ro—k'â hitcok—k'ê'*, *hi-a'ntc hi-u'ni*, *hicâ'g—k'*, *wcite—k'â'*, *hinûŋgâ*, *hide—k'* *hiwan—gâ'*, *teidô*, 601 193

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### Mother-in-law and Father-in-law Taboo

In former times the mother-in-law and father-in-law taboo was in 606
full force. No man was allowed to talk directly to his mother-in-law or to look at her, and the same rule held with regard to the attitude of a woman toward her father-in-law. Even accidental meetings of these relatives, as on the road, were attended with great embarrassment. The author never learned of any way in which either the mother-in-law or the father-in-law taboo could be relaxed even temporarily, much less done away with entirely.

### Puberty Customs

From the age of five, children, male and female, were taught the 867
customs of their ancestors in a series of talks always delivered by an elderly male relative, perhaps the father. The specific training differed, of course, for boys and girls and for individuals. Personal training ceased at the age of puberty, when all, both boys and girls, were sent out to fast. For boys this fasting constituted the 881
only puberty rite. After their faces had been blackened with char- 785
coal they were sent to some neighboring hill with the injunction not 787
to return till dawn. Gradually they would be sent out for two, then three, nights; if after that trial they were not blessed they would be advised either to desist entirely or exhorted to fast until they were blessed, no matter how long the time required to secure the desired result. While fasting the boys and girls used the following formula:

| | | | [539 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Waxop' inixjiwina | hina'djire na"dje'je | 'vahadjex. | 782] |
| Spirits | am I likely to be blessed? | that is why I am praying. | |

One old Indian informed the author that in former times the young boys and girls were offered either bread or charcoal for their fast. If they took the charcoal, well and good; but if they took the bread, they were unceremoniously kicked out of the house and the charcoal was thrown after them. From the other statements of this informant one might gather that the young boys and girls generally took the bread, because, he said, after they had been kicked out, they would always resolve to go to the wilderness (in that way running the risk of being captured or killed by an enemy), in order to spite their parents. My informant was of the opinion that the parents purposely treated their children roughly, so that they might feel all the more miserable while fasting and thus pray all the more intensely.

A faster is always told to be careful as to what kind of spirits bless him, as he might be blessed by a bad spirit. Therefore a faster's blessings are always reviewed by the elders. J.'s old grandmother used to call the children in at dusk, as the evil spirits are [776]
around then.

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taking their part, or that you love them if you talk merely about 867
loving them. Show them that you love them by your actions. 593
Let them see that you are generous with donations. In such ac- 858
tions they will see your good work and then they will be able to judge for themselves whether your actions equal your words.

My daughter, do not show your love for other children so that strangers notice it. You may, of course, love other children, but love them with a different love from that which you bestow on your own children. The children of other people are different from your own children, and if you were to take them to some other place after you had been lavishing so much love upon them they would not act as your children would under the same circumstances. You can always depend upon your own children. They are of your own body. Love them, therefore. This is what our ancestors taught us to do.

If a wife has no real interest in her husband's welfare and posses- 867
sions she will be to him no more than any other woman, and the 593
world will ridicule her. If, on the other hand, you pay more attention to your husband than to your parents, your parents will leave you. Let your husband likewise take care of your parents, for they depend on him. Your parents were instrumental in getting you your husband, so remember that they expect some recompense for it, as likewise for the fact that they raised you.

My daughter, the old people used to teach us never to hurt the [602
feelings of our relatives. If you hurt their feelings, you will cause [606
your brothers-in-law to feel ashamed of themselves. Do not ever 837]
wish for any other man but your husband. It is enough to have one husband. Do not let anyone have the right to call you a prostitute.

Do not hit your relatives at any time. For if you did that or if 867
you were on bad terms with one of them, it may chance that he will 602
die, and then the people will say that you are glad that he is dead. Then, indeed, you will feel sad at heart and you will think to yourself, "What can I best do" (to make up for my conduct). Even if you were to give a Medicine Dance in his honor or donate gifts for the Four Nights' Wake, many people will still say, "She used to be partial and jealous when he was alive. Now that he is dead she loves him. Why does she act this way? She is wasting her wealth. (She really does not love him and therefore), and she ought not to spend so much money upon him now." Then, indeed, my daughter, will your heart ache; then, indeed, will you get angry. That is why the old people would tell their children to love one another. If you love a person and that person dies, then you will have a right to mourn for him, and everyone will think that your mourning is [765] sincere. Not only will your own relatives love you, but everyone else will love you likewise. If, then, in the course of your life you

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867 come to a crisis of some kind, all these people will turn their hearts
602 toward you.

My daughter, all that I am trying to tell you relates to your behavior (when you grow up). In your own home the women all understand the work belonging to the household and that relating to camping and hunting. If you understand these and afterwards visit your husband's relatives, you will know what to do and not find yourself in a dilemma from which you can not extricate yourself. When you visit your husband's people do not go around with a haughty air or act as if you considered yourself far above them. Try to get them to like you. If they like you, they will place you in charge of the camp you happen to be visiting. If you are good-natured, you will be placed in charge of the home at which you [806] happen to be visiting. Then your parents-in-law will tell your husband that their daughter-in-law is acting nicely to them.

SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION TO CHILDREN

867 Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan: I still keep up the old system of teaching my children at the camp fire. In the morning I wake them up early and start to teach them as follows:

My children, as you travel along life's road never harm anyone, nor cause anyone to feel sad. On the contrary, if at any time you can make a person happy, do so. If at any time you meet a woman in the wilderness (i. e., away from your village), and if you are alone and no one can see you, do not scare her or harm her, but turn off to the right and let her pass. Then you will be less tempted to molest her.

My children, if you meet anyone on the road, even though it is only a child, speak a cheering word before you pass on. Fast as much as you can, so that when you grow up you can benefit your fellowmen. If you ever get married you must not sit around your [602] lodge near your wife, but try and get game for your wife's people. So fast that you may be prepared for your life.

[593] My daughters, if at any time you get married, never let your husband ask for a thing twice. Do it as soon as he asks you. If your husband's folks ever ask their children for something when you are present, assume that they had asked it of you. If there is anything to be done, do not wait till you are asked to do it, but do it immediately. If you act in this way, then they will say that your parents taught you well.

My son, if you find nothing else to do, take an ax and chop down a tree. It will become useful some day. Then take a gun and go out hunting and try to get game for your family.

As soon as I see that the children are showing signs of restlessness then I stop immediately.

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# CHAPTER IV

## GENERAL SOCIAL CUSTOMS

843 *Birth.*—During pregnancy a woman had to observe carefully certain restrictions. She was not allowed to roam the woods alone for fear of meeting snakes or other animals, the sight of which was believed to forebode ill luck to a pregnant woman. She was not permitted to have dogs or cats around her nor to sleep during the day. Every morning during her pregnancy she had to take a cold bath. Among the restrictions may have been food taboos, but no information on this phase of the subject was obtained.

844 When the time for delivery came, it was the custom for the woman to occupy a small lodge erected especially for her use. None of her male relatives were permitted to be present and her husband was not even permitted to stay at home. He was supposed to travel continually until the child was born, in the belief that by his movements he would help his wife in her delivery. According to one informant the husband had to hunt game, the supposition being that this procedure on his part would cause his wife to have enough milk for the child. This traveling of the husband was called, therefore, "Looking-for-milk." It was considered improper for a woman to cry out during labor pains, and by doing so she subjected herself to the [854] jests of her elder female relatives. The cradle-board was always made before the child was born (pls. 41, *c*, 42, *a*).

The positions commonly assumed by women in delivery may be described thus: Supported by the arms, which were passed over a pole held in the crotches of two forked sticks driven into the ground; suspended between two stakes; or flat on the back.

The infant's navel string was cut off and sewed into a small bag, which was attached to the head of the cradle-board.

844 607 On the birth of a child the sisters of the husband were supposed to show his wife especial marks of courtesy. They always gave her valuable gifts, such as goods or a pony. They were glad that he had offspring, the people said, and even permitted their brother's wife [431] to give the presents received from them to her own relatives. The presentation of these gifts was called "Cradling-the-infant." Gifts were presented also to the wife's brothers.

844 562 527 782 Some time after the birth of a child, if a boy, the father always gave a feast to Earthmaker and thanked him.

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



I, of course, thought that it must indeed be a marvelous thing and I was very happy about it. What I was most eager to see was myself killed and then brought to life again in the lodge, as it was believed happened to the members of the Medicine Dance. I also realized that a member of the Medicine Dance, whether man or woman, was different from a person not belonging to it and I was quite anxious not to be an ordinary person any longer but to be a medicine man. 159* 796 [775] [554]

As soon as we finished building the ceremonial lodge the ceremony began, and the first thing the people did was to sing. Then the leader of the band that was giving the dance arose and delivered a speech: 159* 796 537

All those who are sitting here I greet. We are waiting for all of you to have compassion upon us. Nephew,[28] I shall now tell you the road you are to travel. He whom we call nephew, the hare, the founder of the Medicine Dance, obtained this life-ensuring ceremony for us. This is the only life; no other exists. Exert yourself to follow in the road of your ancestors and adhere to the ceremony that represented their mode of life. I know you will hearken to what I say. Assuredly you will listen, for thereby you will help and benefit yourself and, at the same time, attain the good life.

Never do anything wrong. Do not steal. Do not quarrel. If on any occasion you meet a woman on the road, turn to the right, never to the left. No matter who the woman is, do not take liberties with her. This is what the old people taught us and if you perform the rites of this ceremony you will obtain the life that we desire for you. [577]

[28] The person to be initiated is always called nephew. [608]

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551 On first thought it might be imagined that the application of the same name to so many people would cause great confusion. As a matter of fact, however, in a village of, say, 20 families, there could have been a maximum of only 40 having the same name. Taking into account deaths and departures, the number was greatly diminished. Moreover, as in general only relations or close friends were [602 609] addressed in this way, strangers commonly being addressed by their nicknames, the seeming danger of confusion is almost entirely obviated. In those cases, however, in which confusion might result a nickname, or sometimes a clan name, was added to the birth name when speaking of an individual.

553 614 *Naming feast.*—The clan name was generally bestowed on a child at a special feast held for the purpose or at any feast that happened to be given within a reasonable time after its birth. The bestowal of the clan name was not infrequently delayed by a father's inability to gather the requisite amount of food to be presented to the old man who was to select the name. Occasionally it even happened that a father under such conditions permitted the relatives of his wife to bestow a name on a child, which of course was a name from its mother's clan. The author has personal knowledge of a case in which the first child of a man had a name belonging to his mother's clan while the other children had names belonging to their father's clan. When questioned, the man said that at the time of the birth of his eldest child he was too poor to pay for the honor of having his child receive a name and that he had allowed his wife's relatives to give it a name. When his other children were born, however, as he was in better condition financially he had been able to name them in the usual way. Although a child, irrespective of his individual name, always belonged to his father's clan, there seemed to exist a feeling that a person having a name not taken from his own clan [554] was more or less incomplete. A person possessing no clan name was regarded as having low social standing.

[597] When a child was adopted it retained its former birth name and clan name.

601 *Relationship terms.*—The system of relationship terms used by the Winnebago is as follows:[9]

MALE TERMS OF ADDRESS

Teok'a', p. and m. grandfather (direct address).
Hi'teok'ê, p. and m. grandfather and father-in-law.
K'u'nîŋk'a, p. and m. grandmother (direct address).
Hik'ârok'e, p. and m. grandmother and mother-in-law.
Dja'dji, father (direct address).

[9] Abbreviations: p., paternal; m., maternal; br., brother; sr., sister.

7

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Another irregularity that has grown up within recent times is the occasional transmission of the clan war-bundle in the female line. In olden times it could only be transmitted in the male line, so as to prevent its passing out of the clan. It was, however, not always passed to the eldest son, but to that one who, by his actions and the interest he manifested in learning the legends and songs pertaining to the ceremony, showed himself capable of properly providing for the bundle. Now it happened occasionally that a man either possessed no son or that his son did not show sufficient interest in all that pertained to the bundle. In such a case the father had the alternative of giving it to some near relative in the male line, and if there were none of either giving it to some distant relative in the male line or the son of his sister or daughter. This, of course, happened very rarely, and in all probability the female line would eventually have to return it to the clan to which it originally belonged. 614 778 428

We have described these two instances of transmission in the female line in some detail in order to show how simply they can be explained without the intervention of any theory that the Winnebago reckoned descent in the female line originally. Such a claim has been made by Morgan and reiterated by Frazer. It seems to be based on the fact that Carver found the daughter of a Winnebago chief, known to the whites as Glory-of-the-Morning, and her children occupying an exceptional position among the tribe, or at least among the division of the Winnebago living at the upper end of Lake Winnebago, Wis. Her position and that of her children, one of whom has become well known in Winnabago legends, *Toop'oopapa*, was, however, due to the fact that she married a Frenchman named Decora. She was not the chieftainess of the tribe nor were any of her children, strictly speaking, chiefs of the tribe. In any case her position had nothing to do with female descent and at best but illustrates what we have said before about the clan to which children of such a union belong. 611 114

## INDIVIDUAL NAMES

Before turning to the specific study of each clan a few words must be said about the individual names. From a purely descriptive point of view the names can be arranged in nine classes: 614

I. Color.
II. Physiological characteristics.
III. Social functions.
IV. Animal and plant forms.
V. Animal characteristics.
VI. Natural phenomena.
VII. Quality.
VIII. Episodes of a legendary character.
IX. Personal achievement.

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[For information on the war-bundle ceremonies of the various Winnebago clans, see category 116, pp. 427-550.]

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There are a large number of effigies that, for want of a better name, must Wisconsin archeologists have called "turtle" mounds. No explanations can be offered of these peculiar effigies unless they are attempts to picture fish or are altered water-spirit mounds. The Winnebago had no turtle clan, but the turtle plays an important part in their mythology. 172 825 [614]

Perhaps the most peculiar effigy mounds are the famous "Man" mounds, of which only two examples are in existence, and the so-called "intaglios." Good descriptions of both types have been given.[1] 172

The two "Man" mounds have generally been regarded as inexplicable or connected with some prehistoric rite, and it seemed useless to attempt any explanation. As there seemed to be no reason why these mounds might not fall into the same category as the clan mounds, the writer took the opportunity of inquiring about them among the older Winnebago. A number of the people asked knew nothing about them, but, fortunately, two very old members of the tribe interpreted them, as soon as they were described, as representations of the Warrior or Hawk clan. As this clan belonged to the Bird phratry, no one had ever looked for any but bird emblems. [614 615]

No information has been obtained from living Winnebago that could throw any light on the "intaglio" mounds. We wish, however, to hazard a suggestion as to their possible meaning. "The intaglio effigies," to quote Mr. Brown, "may be described as being the reverse of the ordinary effigy mounds. They are excavated out of the soil instead of erected upon it, the earth removed from the shallow excavation being heaped up with care along the edges, giving form and prominence to the animal shapes depicted."[2] The Winnebago frequently placed symbols referring to water deities under water, and, as 10 of the 12 intaglios that have been described belong unquestionably to the Water-spirit clan, it may have been customary to keep these "intaglios" filled with water. The discovery of two supposedly Bear "intaglios" militates against this suggestion. However, according to the Bear clan legends, the ancestors of that clan came from the water, as did likewise those of the Wolf and Buffalo clans. [776 614] [614]

We now come to the most unsatisfactory problem of our area—namely, the nature and significance of the linear mounds. The various types have been best described by Mr. A. B. Stout and we will do best to quote him *in extenso*:

The principal classes of linear mounds are as follows:

The pure linear type is a straight wall-like mound of uniform width and height. They are usually about 2½ feet in height and from 10 to 20 feet in width. Some are so

[1] "The Preservation of the Man Mound," in vol. 7, no. 4, of the Wisconsin Archeologist, and "The Intaglio Mounds of Wisconsin," in vol 8, no. 1, of the same journal; both papers by C. Brown.

[2] Cf. Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 9, no. 1, p. 6.

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172 seem to be practically unanimous in explaining them as either the base of lodges or as defenses (figs. 9, 10, 11).

### Effigy Mounds

Effigy mounds (figs. 4, 5, 11–18) are discussed at some length in the following pages. The following types are found: The bird, the bear, the panther or water-spirit, the deer (uncommon), the wolf (uncommon), the turtle, and the so-called man. The commonest by far are the bird, bear, and water-spirit, and this [614] would seem to corroborate the statements of living Winnebago that these mounds represent the clan effigies, for these three clans were by far the most important and numerous in the tribe. Certain of the clans are apparently not represented, particularly the elk, the buffalo, the snake, and the fish, while but isolated examples of two fairly important clans, the wolf and the deer, are found. If the so-called turtle mounds (fig. 16) were really intended to represent that animal, we would have the only instance of a large number of mounds that can not possibly be connected with the Winnebago clans, for the tribe never had a Turtle clan. However, these mounds may not really have been intended to represent turtles. On the other hand, it is not absolutely necessary to believe that the effigy mounds represented only clan animals. It is possible that some were erected for religious purposes.

Owing to the fact that so many effigy mounds have been destroyed in the last two or three centuries, it is quite impossible to be certain of the distribution of specific types. Even those still in existence have not all been carefully noted and described. Until this is done, no even approximately definitive conclusions can be drawn as to the reasons for the prevalence of certain types in one area and others in other areas. To give some idea of their distribution, however, we will describe briefly their distribution in those sections of Wisconsin that have been fairly thoroughly studied:

*Lake Mendota.*—Two types of bird, bear, water-spirit, and the very rare effigy of a frog.

*Lake Koshkonong.*—Two types of bird, water-spirit, frog? mink? and an unknown mammal.

*Fond du Lac.*—Water-spirit, one type of bird, turtle.

*Lake Waubesa.*—Water-spirit, three types of bird, bear, turtle, and lynx.

*Turtle Creek, Rock County.*—Water-spirit, turtle.

*Winnebago County.*—Water-spirit, bear, bird.

*Lake Winnebago.*—Water-spirit, turtle, three types of bird, and bear.

*Manitowoc County.*—Bird, water-spirit, turtle.

*Sauk County.*—One type of bird, bear, mink, water-spirit.

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224 825 or hear the noise and run away. For this reason the hunters are very careful about these two things—namely, the number of bears shot and the direction of the wind. The method of hunting bears when the acorns fall and they come to the open or cleared spaces is known as the *hirari'e* method. When the bears eat acorns then only is it easy to find them and kill them without much effort.

224 [721 648] *Description of a buffalo hunt.*—Whenever the Winnebago went buffalo hunting, they always went in large numbers, for the people used to say that on a buffalo hunt, they are likely to encounter their enemies and a fight might take place. It is even said that some people went purposely for the fighting. They generally went together with the *Hemamna* (Missouri ?), Waxetewen, Iowa, and *Wadpidaipa*, the Otoe. Many women accompanied them. It is said that they could always tell where the buffalo were by the dust they encountered, for the dust raised by the trampling of the buffalo rose high in the air. They would always start out for the buffalo early in the morning on fast horses and try to ride up along the right side of the female buffalo, for they only killed the bulls afterward. They shot the buffalo with bow and arrows. When riding horseback, the bow is always drawn back with the right hand. The reason they try to kill the female buffalo first is because they always run away while the bulls do not.

While hunting the buffalo they were always bound to meet some of their enemies and a fight would ensue, so that when they returned, they would bring back not only [727] buffalo but also scalps, and immediately after their return the Victory Dance would be celebrated.

224 721 A different account of a buffalo hunt was obtained from another informant (J. H.):[4]

[342] Whenever we go on a buffalo hunt we camp in a circle, with the soldiers in front. They always carried long poles to be used in the construction of tipis. [This statement was made by a number of persons whose information was generally accurate. As [237 372] they were bound for the open prairie where there was a scarcity of wood, buffalo manure was always carried for fuel.]

As soon as the chief decided to go on a hunt he gave a feast [war feast] to which he invited everyone. This was generally in June. As soon as the feast was over a hunting council was held. Then the chief appointed public criers who went around the [203] village announcing the time for starting, etc. Then all went to the lodge of the chief of the Bear clan. There the ten best warriors were selected, who were to go ahead of the main body and reconnoiter for both buffalo and enemies. These started immediately and if they returned with the news that they had found many buffalo and enemy at the same time, fights frequently took place. Ten warriors always went ahead and the old warriors generally stayed in the rear behind the women in order to protect them better. As soon as they came to the place where the buffalo were seen they followed their trail and killed them. The flesh was cut up into large chunks, which were afterwards dried on the grass. Then when they had enough they all returned home, observing, of course, the same order of march as when they started. When they reached their home they gave another war feast at which all thanked the spirits for their successful return.

223 [762] *Pigeon hunt.*—The pigeons are "chief"[5] birds and they would be hunted whenever the chief decided to give the chief feast. The entire tribe was always invited to participate in the meal served, so that many pigeons were needed. The pigeons generally make their nests near human habitations. Sometimes there would be 20

[4] As his grandfather was a Dakota, J. H. may have confused in his account Dakota customs with those of the Winnebago. Apart from this consideration, it should be said that J. H. was an exceedingly unreliable informant.

[825 644] [5] They are called "chief" birds because the pigeon belongs to the same division as does the Thunderbird, or Chief, clan.

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224 *Regulation of the tribal hunt.*—It can not be said that there were
[721] many special regulations during the tribal hunt. The rules applying to the regulation of war parties held here too. (For a description of these, see p. 156.)

Individuals were strictly prohibited from taking the initiative except by permission. For instance, a man was not allowed to proceed beyond a certain point, or shoot before a certain time; in short, not to do anything by which he might endanger his own life, the safety of his companions, or the success of the hunt, such as scaring away the animals or causing them to stampede.

625 It is during the tribal hunts that the power of the Bear clan is at
224 its height. For this reason it may perhaps be most appropriate to
614 include here a description* of these powers, although this really
484 belongs in the section on Social Organization:

Whenever the Winnebago are on their tribal hunt or whenever they move from one place to another, the soldiers (i. e., the Bear people) take the lead. Whenever they decide to stop at some place, the leader of the Bear people places his stick in the ground and the other soldiers do the same. The line of sticks is a slanting one. The main tribe follows behind at some distance and always camps a little behind them. None of the members of the tribe dare pass ahead of these sticks. If, for instance, during the fall move the tribe were passing through a country in which much game abounded, and if after the tribe had stopped at a certain place anyone should take it upon himself to go ahead and kill game on his own initiative, and he
[686] was discovered, the soldiers would go to his camp and burn it and everything it contained, destroy any supplies he had, and break his dishes. They would spare only his life and the lives of his family. If he resisted he would get a severe whipping. If even after that he resisted them and took his gun and attempted to shoot, the soldiers would not do anything but stand ready. But the moment he made an attempt to shoot, they would kill him and nothing would be said of the matter, for they would be putting into effect the law of the tribe. If, on the other hand, the man submitted to the action of the soldiers and apologized they would make him a better lodge and would give him more and better things than those they had taken away.

## Fishing and Agriculture

226 *Fishing.*—In former times fishing seems to have been done exclusively by spearing or by shooting. The spear (*wocu'*) consisted of a long stick provided with a bone or a horn point. Spearing was done preferably at night with the aid of torches made of pine pitch. In shooting fish a long arrowlike stick (*ma"nuxtnizini*) with a pointed end, whittled and frayed at the base like the ceremonial staff of the Bear clan, was discharged from an ordinary bow.

227 The most commonly used trap for fishing was a triangular weir loaded with a stone at its base and placed at the head of a waterfall caused by artificial damming of a stream.

784 Very few fish were taboo, the principal ones being the dogfish
226 and the eel.

* By Thunder Cloud.

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*Names of the principal trees, etc.*

192
137

| | |
|---|---|
| ranqcok'a'wa, resin-weed. | pa" dja'gu, hickory. |
| ra"djo, moss. | teazu'ka, butternut. |
| wax cute, cedar (red cedar). | na" ca'ąk', maple. |
| teatra"na, ironwood. | ruyi, willow. |
| witci, flat cornered reed used for lodges. | rak, ash. |
| ra, round reed used for mats. | teacge'gu, oak. |
| hi"rgo', basswood. | manąk'a'rak, elm. |
| wazi, pine in general. | hukaigu, hazel. |
| wazi paraa, white cedar. | na" p'a'gu, cherry. |
| waego', poplar. | ną" ho'rg", box-elder. |
| tra" tra'wa, birch. | heyu', cottonwood. |
| teagu, walnut. | |

*Names of the principal vegetables and fruits*

| | |
|---|---|
| teera'hera, a water root. | hacedjek', strawberry. |
| wokna'gura, root called "awl" root. | hap'a'nap'unuxge, gooseberry. |
| hu"r'khoi'dja, pea vine. | hotcąkr', cranberry. |
| dora, a sort of artichoke. | k'a"tc hi"cek, peaches (fuzzy plums). |
| pa"kxi, root found in lowlands. | kcē carotc, apple (long and round apple). |
| na"p'ak, chokecherries. | wak'a"retcawa, wild current (snake's navel). |
| k'a"tc, plum. | doke'wehi, prairie turnip. |
| kcē crabapple. | hu"a'ąk, bean. |
| trera'"wa", fruit of a tree similar to crabapple tree. | hu"nąk' na"di, climbing bean. |
| haze'cutego, raspberry. | hu"a'ąk' mink, nonclimbing bean. |
| hacda'manąkera, blackberry. | ma"hi"tc, milkweed. |
| hacdinąk', blueberries. | |

*Animals and parts of animals whose flesh is not eaten*

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262

| | |
|---|---|
| wąnkrąk, dogfish. | weasel. |
| djadja'ąka'k, mink. | marten. |
| dacu'na"k, otter. | no entrails (u'djwoju). |
| ho wak'a", eel (holy fish). | gopher. |
| k'ayi, crow (really northern raven). | horse. |
| teaxe'p, eagle. | |

*Agriculture.*—In the old days the Winnebago always raised in their permanent villages at least corn, squash, and beans. As the villages consisted practically of a group of families belonging to different clans, each clan apparently living by itself, the question of clan ownership of these fields was hardly considered. (This statement is made because some Winnebago spoke of clan ownership.) What actually occurred was, in the opinion of the author, as follows: Each group of families being segregated according to clan, it happened that certain family groups had fields in common. This must have happened rather frequently, for there seems to have been a tendency—although this can not be said with certainty owing to the meagerness of reliable information—for related families to hold together in these settlements. In general, however, each family owned and cultivated its own field.

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614
423
[62]

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551 On first thought it might be imagined that the application of the same name to so many people would cause great confusion. As a matter of fact, however, in a village of, say, 20 families, there could have been a maximum of only 40 having the same name. Taking into account deaths and departures, the number was greatly diminished. Moreover, as in general only relations or close friends were [602 609] addressed in this way, strangers commonly being addressed by their nicknames, the seeming danger of confusion is almost entirely obviated. In those cases, however, in which confusion might result a nickname, or sometimes a clan name, was added to the birth name when speaking of an individual.

553 614 *Naming feast.*—The clan name was generally bestowed on a child at a special feast held for the purpose or at any feast that happened to be given within a reasonable time after its birth. The bestowal of the clan name was not infrequently delayed by a father's inability to gather the requisite amount of food to be presented to the old man who was to select the name. Occasionally it even happened that a father under such conditions permitted the relatives of his wife to bestow a name on a child, which of course was a name from its mother's clan. The author has personal knowledge of a case in which the first child of a man had a name belonging to his mother's clan while the other children had names belonging to their father's clan. When questioned, the man said that at the time of the birth of his eldest child he was too poor to pay for the honor of having his child receive a name and that he had allowed his wife's relatives to give it a name. When his other children were born, however, as he was in better condition financially he had been able to name them in the usual way. Although a child, irrespective of his individual name, always belonged to his father's clan, there seemed to exist a feeling that a person having a name not taken from his own clan [554] was more or less incomplete. A person possessing no clan name was regarded as having low social standing.

[597] When a child was adopted it retained its former birth name and clan name.

601 *Relationship terms.*—The system of relationship terms used by the Winnebago is as follows:[2]

### Male Terms of Address

Teok'a', p. and m. grandfather (direct address).
Hi'teok'ê, p. and m. grandfather and father-in-law.
K'u'nîŋk'a, p. and m. grandmother (direct address).
Hik'ârok'e, p. and m. grandmother and mother-in-law.
Dja'dji, father (direct address).

[2] Abbreviations: p., paternal; m., maternal; br., brother; sr., sister.

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# CHAPTER V

## BURIAL AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

764 There appear to have been two distinct methods of burial among the Winnebago—simple inhumation and platform burial. Within recent times, owing to the influence of their Algonquian neighbors, [177] platform burial has entirely disappeared and inhumation alone is practiced. It has even become customary to erect a typical Algonquian burial-hut over the grave (see pl. 54, b).

[615] When the old culture was still intact inhumation was definitely associated with the lower phratry and platform burial with the upper phratry. Whether this marked difference in burial customs was merely another example of that specialization in function so characteristic of these two divisions of the tribe, or whether it was due to distinct historical origins, it is difficult to determine. I am, however, inclined to regard the latter interpretation as by far the most probable.

[614 184] All the customs are described in full detail in the various accounts that follow and in Chapters VII and VIII. Each clan seems to have had a few details peculiar to itself, but, in the main, the rights were identical. They may briefly be divided into the following sections:

1. Preparation of the body for burial. 2. Rites in the house of the deceased, consisting mainly of speeches of consolation to the bereaved. 3. Speeches addressed to the deceased and the narration of the myth of the journey to spirit land. 4. Rites at the grave. 5. The recounting of war exploits by specially invited warriors, at the grave. 6. The elaborate four nights wake at the home of the deceased.

### Description of Funeral Customs and Wake

[115 644] Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:[1] When an individual dies his relatives get some one to bury him and the chief mourner will also invite some person to talk to the corpse before it is buried. The person addressing the dead man or woman tells the deceased how he is to go (to spirit land) and what he is to do on the way there. The body is then dressed by the person who is going to bury it. All the relatives come to the lodge and the deceased is dressed in his best clothes; beads are put around his neck, bracelets on his wrist, rings

[1] This description is a generalized one.

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765 "They told me to follow the four steps that would be imprinted with blue marks,
539 grandmother." "Well, grandson, you are young but you are wise. It is good. I will now boil some food for you."
775 Thus she will speak to you and then put a kettle on the fire and boil some rice for you. If you eat it you will have a headache. Then she will say, "Grandson, you have a headache, let me cup it for you." Then she will break open your skull and take out your brains and you will forget all about your people on earth and where you came from. You will not worry about your relatives. You will become like a holy spirit. Your thoughts will not go as far as the earth, as there will be nothing carnal about you.

Now the rice that the old woman will boil will really be lice. For that reason you will be finished with everything evil. Then you will go on stepping in the four footsteps mentioned before and that were imprinted with blue earth. You are to take the four steps because the road will fork there. All your relatives (who died before you) will be there. As you journey on you will come to a fire running across the earth from one end to the other. There will be a bridge across it but it will be difficult to cross because it is continually swinging. However, you will be able to cross it safely, for you have all the guides about whom the warriors spoke to you. They will take you over and take care of you.

Well, we have told you a good road (to take). If anyone tells a falsehood in speaking of the spirit road, you will fall off the bridge and be burned. However (you need not worry) for you will pass over safely. As you proceed from that place the spirits will come to meet you and take you to the village where the chief lives. There you will give him the tobacco and ask for those objects of which we spoke to you, the same you asked of the old woman. There you will meet all the relatives that died before you. They will be living in a large lodge. This you must enter. Ho-o-o, ha-a-a.

764 GENERALIZED DESCRIPTION OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS AND WAKE

[115 614] Informant, member of Bear clan. When a person died a member of his friend (*hitcskdro*) clan was immediately sent for, who took charge of the body and of all the funeral arrangements. The overseer dressed the deceased in his best clothes and all his finery, for it was said that he was going on a long journey. Then some clansman painted the dead man's face with the clan markings and delivered a speech to the corpse. When he concluded the clan songs were sung and the body was carried to the grave. All the mourners marched in single file. After the body had been buried or placed on a scaffold, as the case might be, a post was placed at the head of the grave, and the warriors among the mourners counted their coups and drew representations of their victories on the posts. [775] The purpose of the warriors in counting coups at the grave was to put at the disposal of the deceased the spirits of all the enemies they had killed, and also to give him additional strength for overcoming the obstacles on the road to the spirit land. Food was placed on the little shelf in front of the window of the grave-house, to be used by the spirit during the four days that he hovered around this earth before departing on his journey. Then a light was lighted and finally, toward evening, all departed for their homes, returning as they had come, in single file,

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765 mourner's hair, give him presents, and tell him that he is now free to cease mourning and to marry if he wishes.

In former times the period of mourning is supposed to have lasted four years.

[302] When a person is in mourning he always cuts his hair short and does not comb his hair. In former times people often mutilated themselves by cutting off either entire fingers or finger joints.

[304] The overseer always takes all the belongings of the deceased, but he must give the latter's relatives an equal amount of new material.

### Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(FIRST VERSION)

764 184 614 [615] Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the clan dies they send after a man of the Thunderbird clan who is to speak to the corpse, paint it, and give him a war club to take along with him (to the land of the spirits). Then they go after a man from the lower phratry to bury him, for these clans (of the lower phratry) belong on earth and they have the right to dig into the ground and bury people.

When the one who is to be the general overseer arrives and arranges everything, he prepares the corpse, putting a sack of tobacco in one hand and a war club in the other. Then he paints him. He paints the forehead with a red and a black mark and paints the lower part of the face to the end of the nose with scattered dots. He paints the jaw red and he makes a red mark across the mouth and the throat. Then he speaks as follows:

You have departed at this (young) age. You have taken your relatives by surprise and have left them a long part of your life (i. e., you have lived but a small part of your apportioned share of years). As you go to spirit land, you will find on the road many feathers, many good plants, and many good kinds of clay, scattered around, the blue clay, the red clay, and the white clay. You will also find the sweet-smelling plants and good life. For all these things do you ask. If anything comes across your path, throw it behind you without looking around. In four days you will depart and objects with which to mediate between us and the spirits will soon be furnished you. For four nights your people will tell you what to do and when they hear you singing on the road they will know that it is you. There (in spirit land) you will go to live and the songs that I will sing you will sing as you travel on your road.

[775 539]

Then he sings (the four clan songs).

When the gravediggers are finished they take the body and carry it to the grave, the mourners following. They take the body to the grave and there lower it.

### Death and Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(SECOND VERSION)

Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan dies, the clansmen discuss what is to be done for the spirit

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of the deceased. Then they go and call the leader of their band and he comes and addresses the body as follows: 764 184 614

You are about to leave all your relatives. They will remain on earth, objects of pity to all. You will proceed on your road, turning to your left after you start until you come to him who is in charge of the spirits. Whenever you see him, the following request do we wish you to make of him, namely, that he bestow upon us all that you fell short of in your life on this earth. The means of offering, the tobacco, which Earthmaker gave us, we have given you some to take along. As you go along the road you will come to a place where the road branches off. Do not turn to the right, for that road leads to the bad spirits. Turn to the left and soon you will come to a guard. Point your pipe at him and he will be thankful. This man will have a complete suit of clothes and he will look terror-inspiring. He will smoke with you and then you may speak to him as follows: "Grandfather, before I left the earth, the people told me to ask you to point out to me which road I should travel in." Then he will tell you and you will pass ahead and after a while you will come to a fire-girdle. The man who is in charge of it will have a complete suit of clothes just like the first man. Point the stem of your pipe toward him and he will be very thankful and smoke with you. Then make your request, namely, to be permitted to pass, and he will grant it. As you go along after that you will come to a round bulge in which you will find an old woman. Point your pipe at her and she will be thankful and smoke it, and then ask her to let you pass and she will permit you to go ahead. Your hair will now be white but you will not be unconscious. On the contrary, you will have complete possession of all your senses. Then you will come to where he who is in control of spirits sits. Go to him and point your pipe toward him. Then when he is smoking it, ask him to show you the road to Earthmaker, our father, and he will point it out to you. Then you must proceed until you come to Earthmaker. When you get to him, point the stem of your pipe toward him and, if he takes it and smokes it, then you must say, "Earthmaker, my father, you know very well what kind of a life I have led." And he will answer, "You have done well, my son." 764 184 614 539 775

The informant then skips to the opening night of the four nights' wake. The address to the spirit that follows is probably delivered by the chief mourner before the formal opening of the wake. 765 184 614 539 775

*Address to the spirit.*[1]—Ha ho-o-o-o, I want you to listen, you who have become like a spirit. You have made those of your relatives who remained behind on earth miserable and lonely. They have given you much food to take along with you and they have given you a pipe and some tobacco so that you may offer them to the spirits you meet on your road and make some requests of them. The first request that they wish you to make is to ask the spirits to distribute to your clan all the successful warpaths which would have fallen to your share had you lived your normal quota of years; and that all the food, etc., that you have not used be bestowed upon those whom you left behind on earth. The last request you should make of those on the road is to pray that a long time may elapse before any of your relatives traverse this road.

Now follows a description of the obstacles to be met on the road.

When you reach Earthmaker, offer him your pipe, and if he accepts it speak to him as follows: "Grandfather, as I was leaving the earth my relatives asked me to request of you humbly that you bestow upon the clansmen that I left behind me all that I would have accomplished had I lived longer. Now this is what I wished to ask of you, grandfather." Thus you should speak: "Ha ho-o-o-o."

[1] Spirit here is wanp'ini, spirit, deity, not wapyiki', ghost, noncorporeal embodiment. What is meant is that the deceased has become like one of the spirits, in that he lives, enjoys consciousness, etc., without at the same time having any corporeal existence.

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765 Then all the other people answer *ho-ho-o-o-o*. Now someone lights
184 a pipe and passes it around so that everyone can take a puff. All
614 take a puff, children and women as well as men. After that water
775 is passed around. Then all eat. A little portion of everything served is put aside and thrown out for the spirit to eat. Then a warrior, the person who has charge of the wake, speaks:

[539] I greet you all. I first wish to pour some of the tobacco that you have offered me for our grandfather who is in control of war-giving powers. (Probably the Thunder-birds are meant.) I will tell the spirit as carefully as I can all that I know about the road he must travel. My father impressed upon me very earnestly the need of being very truthful in speaking to the spirit of one recently deceased, for if I were a bad man I would cause the spirit to stumble. For that reason I always feel that I ought not to speak very much whenever I am called upon to talk.

Then a warrior was called upon to tell of his war exploits. He told as accurately as it was possible how he had killed a man, broken his collar bone, and then flayed him; how he had then chopped and cut up his body and mutilated him in such a way that he could not be identified; and how finally he had stolen his dogs. All night he spoke in this strain. He went on to tell how he had killed and utterly destroyed an entire village so that no one was left to tell of the massacre. All night he told of his war exploits. Thus they lighted the road for the spirit (i. e., held the Four Nights' Wake).

The second and third nights were just the same as the first, only that different warriors spoke and different war exploits were told. They are very proud of their war exploits and they would try to tell of their bravest deeds, those that had been most dangerous and which had required the greatest heroism. When the mourners listen to the narrative of such an exploit they become strengthened. All those people on whom the warrior had counted first coup and all those whom he had killed would carry the light for the spirit of the deceased. Those on whom he had counted second coup were commanded to clear the road, and a woman whom the warrior had captured was ordered to carry along the food. The ceremonies of the fourth night are the same as those of the first three nights.

### Death and Funeral Customs of the Bear Clan*

764 Informant, member of the clan. Mr. J. M. died in June, 1911. In
184 accordance with the old Winnebago customs, the first individual to
614 be notified of the death was Mr. J. F., a member of the Wolf clan.
[763] To Mr. F. fell the lot of taking charge of all the funeral rites—dressing the deceased, laying his body in the casket, burying him, and, finally, conducting the elaborate funeral wake.

* This is practically a reprint of "Description of a Winnebago Funeral," by Lasaro and Radin, Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. 12, no. 3, 1913.

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One of Mr. F.'s most important duties was to invite the warriors to extend invitations to all those who wish to participate in the feast. After the body has been buried the overseer goes to the home of the deceased and takes away all those things with which the deceased had been in daily contact. 764 184 614

In addition to F., another man was sent for, Mr. A. W., also a member of the Bear clan. He went through the Bear clan ceremony, which was as follows: When the deceased was fully dressed, just before he was to be laid in the casket, A. W. walked up to him and, taking some paint from a little bundle he carried, he painted a red mark across his forehead, then a black one immediately below this one, and finally daubed the whole chin red. When he was through with this preliminary work he addressed those present as follows:

You relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. This ceremony is not anything that we have originated ourselves, but it was known to be the proper thing to do by our ancestors. It is for that reason that I have made the markings upon the face of my son in order that he may be recognized by his relatives in spirit land; and I have also given him the material with which he may talk, i. e., tobacco, that with it he may entreat the spirits to bestow all those years that he fell short of upon his relatives still living. [539]

Now, it is said that the members of the Bear clan hold death as a blessing and not as anything to mourn about. I do not mean that I do not feel sorry for the children of the deceased and that I rejoice in his death, but it is the belief of the members of the Bear clan that the same happiness comes to them at death that comes to us during life when a bear is killed and brought to the village for food.

For now, indeed, my son will walk in a road that has been cleared of all obstacles and his claws will be sharp, and his teeth will be sharp, and nothing, indeed, will cross his path. And in this, his walk to the spirit land, may he tread down upon so the life that he has fallen short of on this earth. And he will walk just as the original Bear clansmen walked when they originated and when they approached the earth. And now I will sing him the songs that they sang as they came on earth, so that he may take them along with him on his journey to the spirit land. It is said that there is no other place besides this prepared for us in the hereafter.

Then he sang the four clan songs.

When the songs had been sung, it was just about noon and, as dinner was ready, we all sat down and A. W. filled a pipe and when he was ready to smoke it began to speak again to the following effect:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. It is good that this many of you have come here, and it is said that the soul of the deceased remains hovering around about this place four days and that we should partake of food with him for that period. It is for that reason that we act in this way. And it is good that this many of you have come here and have helped us out with food and dress. [539]

He then mentioned the things that had been given by different individuals. Then he lit a pipe and took a few puffs and sent it around to all the others in the lodge. Then a pitcher of water was passed around from which we all took a sip.

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764 184 614 539 During the morning Mrs. R. came in and combed the hair of the deceased's wife and gave her some presents, telling her at the same time that she hoped that she would dry her tears as a sign of appreciation of the gifts. Another person came in in the morning bringing a pair of leggings and a blanket for the deceased. He also brought the casket. While the body of the deceased was being prepared this same person spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. If my nephews will come here and sit near me, I will talk to them.

Then the sons of the deceased came and sat near their mother and sisters and the man continued:

My sister, it is said that it is best for a person not to weep; and that a widow should not mourn too much, for then the people would make fun of her; as well as for the fact that having children she must for their sake look forward to life and live for them. And it is also said that we should keep up this mourning for at least four years. Now there is nothing amusing about what I am going to say (although it may sound so—namely, that we should not cry on such an occasion as to-day, but, on the contrary, keep up a good spirit. I do not mean that I am glad that my brother-in-law is dead. But if you were to weep some one might come in and say that it behooves you more to show him your teeth than your tears. They mean that you should smile.

And again it is said that one should not cry, for when a body is laid in the ground there is no more hope of its ever returning to this earth again. My nephew, the one that had been advising you in your daily affairs, is gone and you are left alone to look after yourself, your little brothers, and your mother; and therefore I want you all to love one another and remember your mother

While we were eating C. P. came in and spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. It is good that you all have come here and are comforting this house of mourning. It is good that J. H. has brought a casket and clothing for the deceased and food for the wake. And indeed he has also promised a hog for the feast. I know that he did not do this in order to have some one speak of it in public, but how can I refrain from expressing my thanks? My brother also came with the intention of furnishing some of these things, but inasmuch as J. H. has furnished them beforehand he placed ten dollars in the hands of the wife of the deceased. He did not, however, tell her for what purpose he gave her the money and I therefore take the liberty of telling her that the gift is meant for anything that she may desire to buy. Now, my relatives, this is no time for happiness, but I am glad, nevertheless, that so many have come and I am thankful for what you have done. I greet you all.

[431]

Then the casket was put in the spring wagon and taken to the Winnebago Cemetery. When we got there the casket was lowered into the grave. When this was over, A. W. spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. This many of you have followed my son to his last resting place. Further than this place he will not walk in this life. Truly this many of you have felt sorry for him. All the rites that were taught me in this connection I have already performed. I have given the deceased the emblem (i. e., the whittled stick known as *nemanirinirini*) and the material to talk with (the tobacco), so that he may plead for us, his relatives, when he gets to the end of the journey, that we may live the life he fell short of upon this earth, and that he may

[775]

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765
tread firmly upon us as he walks to the spirit land. All that I know I have said 184
before. I was taught nothing that I was to do or say at this place except that we 614
should step over the grave just as our forefathers did when they originated. They 539
were holy and they entered this life on a perfect day just as this day to-day, and, [775]
inasmuch as they were holy, all the ground that they touched was holy. It is for that reason that we should step over the grave.

Then we stepped over the grave. After that we went to our homes.

The same evening the wake began. When all the invited guests had arrived and were seated, the feast was spread before them. Then A. W. spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. It is good that this many of you have come to-night. You know that we are not creating any new ceremony, but are simply following up what our forefathers have learned to be true and good. And, as it is said that we should not weep aloud, therefore you will not hear any of us making any utterings of sorrow. And even though we weep silently should anyone come to us we will look upon them smiling. We therefore beg of you, should you find us happy in mood, not to think the worse of us. And now I am ready to turn over the tobacco and water to J. F. Thus I express my thanks to you all that are present.

Then J. F. took the tobacco and water and spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. It is good that so many of you have come to our humble affair and, as our ancestors said that this was the proper way to do, so I am glad that it was given to me to handle the corpse, as I am certain that I will be strengthened by it. I will now pass the tobacco to Mr. X. He is a brave man and he will light the pipe and pass the water before we eat and after supper he will tell the deceased a route to the spirit land. Now I thank you and I greet you.

Then the brave man took the tobacco and filled the pipe and after taking a few puffs from it, passed it to the left and it thus went round, each person taking a puff from the pipe and a sip from the pitcher of water. Then the feast began. When it was over and all the dishes were cleared away, and everyone was properly seated, then the brave man greeted them again:

Relatives, I greet you. As we are not creating anything new, and as our ancestors knew it to be good, and as it is said that if anyone exaggerates a story in a case like this it will cause the soul to stumble, therefore I will tell my war exploits to my relative (the deceased) exactly as I remember them. I greet you all.

He then proceeded to tell his war exploits. When he had finished he again spoke as follows:

Relatives that are present, I greet you. As I said before, I do not wish to cause the soul of my recently deceased relative to stumble and I have tried to tell my story as accurately as I could. It is said that the souls of the ones killed in a battle are at the mercy of the victor, and I therefore command the souls of the ones I have killed to lead and guide my relative safely through the spirit land. I greet you all. [775]

He then passed the tobacco to another brave man present who in 765
his turn greeted those present and related his war exploits. After 184
two warriors had told their war exploits they stopped for the night, 614

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765 to continue on the second night. The second and third nights were
184 the same as the first. About the evening of the fourth night, when
614 all the people invited were present, A. W. spoke in the same strain as on the first night, and when he had finished he passed the management of the feast to J. F. The latter then passed it to F. F. now lit the pipe and passed it around, together with the water. Then all partook of the feast. After supper A. W. reported all the donations that were made to them, naming each giver and the amount of the gift and thanking them and praising them for their generous gifts. Then F. told the following story:

THE JOURNEY OF THE SOUL TO SPIRIT LAND[9]

539 Ho! Ha! Are you all ready? I am going to speak about the four nights during
775 which you listened to your relatives and to the words they had to say. I am placing
765 the sacrificial tobacco in the rear part of the lodge for you. As you go home do not look back. Before you are far away you will come to a lodge. You may enter this lodge. A door faces the rising sun and a door faces the setting sun. As you enter you will find a woman on your right. Go and sit down opposite her. Then your great-grandmother will say to you, "My great-grandchild, what did they say to you when you were leaving, when your life was over?" "My great-grandmother, as I listened to my beloved relatives they said very little indeed. They said that I was breaking their hearts (in leaving them), and that they hoped that none would follow me soon. Then they asked me to make four requests:

"First. I was to ask for life, that the flames from the lodge fires might go straight upward. Yet they were satisfied if at my departure the flames swayed to and fro.

"Second. Whatever fruit had been predestined for me and that I did not taste, my relatives should hereafter not be deprived of.

"Third. They also mentioned nuts, all manner of herbs, all serviceable hides and skins, all medicinal roots and grasses. They commanded me to make a request for all things that exist in the earth.

"Fourth. That if anyone has a friend his weapon might have a keen edge on one side. Now, my great-grandmother, this is the number of requests they commanded me to make."

"My great-grandchild, although you are young, you are wise. My great-grandchild, my lodge is a place where all who enter must pass an examination. Earthmaker looks upon it as a keen-edged instrument. No clouds of ill omen ever pass over it. Now, my grandchild, as to those four requests you put to me, it shall be as you say. The nuts and herbs you have requested shall be given you. There will be nothing of that food predestined for you that your relatives will not taste. The hides and skins, the grasses they will possess in plenty. And if they have friends their weapons will be keen on one side. All that they have requested though you shall be given them. Here is the food set before you in this wooden bowl."

Then you are to answer to her, "My grandmother, this was what my relatives longed for. These are the things I was to leave behind me for them on earth."

Now, be sure that you only take a taste and push the dish away from you. For then the old woman will say, "My great-grandchild, all that you have left behind you in that dish represents the vegetable kingdom on this earth. Many who are older than you have eaten all that I gave them, my great-grandchild. You have a wise head on young shoulders. All that you have left in the dish shall grow on the face of the earth. Earthmaker is waiting for you in great expectation. There is the door to

[9] Obtained from Henry Cloud.

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the setting sun. On your way stands the lodge of Herecge'nina, and his fire. Those 539
who have come (the souls of brave men) from the land of the souls to take you back 775
will touch you. There the road will branch off toward your right and you will see the 765
footprints of the day on the blue sky before you. These footprints represent the footprints of those who have passed into life again. Step into the places where they have stepped and plant your feet into their footprints, but be careful you do not miss any. Before you have gone very far, you will come into a forest of wa-ke'ja* broken by open prairies here and there. Here, in this beautiful country, those souls whose duty it is to gather other souls will come to meet you. Walking on each side of you they will take you safely home. As you enter the lodge of the Earthmaker you must hand to him the sacrificial offerings. Here the inquiry that took place in the first lodge will be repeated and answered in the same manner. Then he will say to you, "All that your grandmother has told you is true. Your relatives are waiting for you in great expectation. Your home is waiting for you. Hodoce will be facing the mid-day sun. Here you will find your relatives gathered. Inasmuch, then, as our ruler will not assent and express his approval by word of mouth, so shall we now do the same."

At this word all those assembled at the wake shout, *Ho-ka!*

Then a warrior told his war experiences and after thanking the 765
people passed the tobacco to the next warrior, who in turn related 184
his war experiences. 614

The amount of gifts was then figured out and they tried to arrange matters so that the warriors were through with their stories about midnight. At midnight games were played with the donations as [431]
prizes. The gifts generally consisted of twelve 3-yard pieces of calico or money equal to that amount of calico; twelve strings of beads, etc. These were the gifts used as prizes. Other donations of food were made for the four nights' feast. A. W was in charge of the games and he likewise designated what games were to be [524]
played. As they generally play the games the deceased was fond of so in this case they played the moccasin game and cards. After the donations were exhausted and the games finished a brave man was called upon to give a war whoop in thankfulness for the sun, and also to all the spirits above and below. Then A. W. greeted and thanked the guests again for coming, and the wake was over.

In olden times the widow was supposed to continue single for 768
four years. She is strongly admonished, nevertheless, not to continue in low spirits, and to consider herself free to act in any way that will make her happy. She is told to play games or dance, or in fact do anything that will make her forget her sorrow, and she is told that no one will hold her conduct against her as disrespectful to the deceased. As this admonition is given to her by the sister or aunt of the deceased's husband, the only people who could properly reproach her—namely, the members of her husband's clan—it has all the more weight. The prohibition of weeping is further strengthened by the fact that it is customary to say that any woman who weeps too profusely at the death of her husband is in reality thinking, in

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768 the midst of her tears, of the one she is going to marry next. The people will then tell one another not to put themselves out too much as the widow will soon forget her mourning and show no respect to the memory of the dead, but instead look after her own pleasures.

### Funeral Customs of the Buffalo Clan

764 Told by a member of the clan.* If a Buffalo clan man dies some
184 members of his clan who are called upon would speak as follows:

● 614 To-day when you ceased to breathe we were aware of it. Therefore relatives who
539 are present, I greet you. Here my brother's life has ended, and for the last time I will talk to him about the road he is to take.

Ha'ho, my brother, the place at which we originated was called Bad Lake. There were four buffaloes there and from the youngest one are we descended. They lived holy lives, and we hope you will walk in their path That you may strike everything (you meet on your journey) you must take along with you a war club. You shall walk armed with sharp teeth; and it will be impossible for bad spirits to walk back and forth across your path. And your sight shall be holy as you walk.

Then the speaker painted the face of the deceased. On the right side of his forehead he painted a rainbow with blue and red paint. After that he sang the clan songs. When he was through singing, a member of the Water-spirit clan spoke as follows:

Relatives, I greet you. When one of you passes away and you ask me to work, I am always willing to be of service. And I shall do it all the more willingly now because I am certain that I shall obtain some of the years that the deceased left "unlived." I do it with that belief, and furthermore I pray that no bad animals abuse the deceased on his journey. It is said that one cheers the soul of the dead in thinking thus. Therefore I do it and also that I myself may be strengthened thereby. I came back willingly when I was asked to work and I am doing this so that no bad animals should abuse the soul of the deceased.

Then one of the callers would talk to the mourners, saying as follows:

Relatives, I greet you. To-day one of your relatives has disappeared. You must, however, keep up your courage and not cry, for Earthmaker above has ordained that we should disappear. If a piece of earth caves in, it disappears, and when a rock crumbles it is disappearing. Thus, it is said, it must be.

### Origin Myth of the Four Nights' Wake

539 Two friends went out to cut arrow-sticks, and were surprised by a
765 war party and killed. When they were shot they thought they had stumbled and went right on (in the spirit). After the enemy had killed the first one they chased the second one and killed him, and so their bodies lay apart. Then the war party left and the two spirits started to follow them. Soon they came to where their bodies were lying. Then they said, "Let us follow the enemy a little." Soon they caught up to the war party and one of the spirits pushed one of the

* This account is quite fragmentary and was obtained in connection with the clan myth. It is given here on account of the speeches.

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721 When a man went on a warpath for the sake of glory he generally led a large party and all sorts of special arrangements were made, because then a war leader was necessary and volunteers were always needed. It is believed that the same holds true for larger war parties.

In discussing the essential requisite for a successful war party we have stated that a special blessing was necessary for this purpose. There is, however, one noteworthy exception to this rule, if we are [614] to accept the statements of members of the upper phratry—all mem-
615] bers of the Warrior clan may go on a warpath without fasting and without receiving a blessing. This statement was vigorously denied by members of the lower phratry.

727 When a war party returns, a very interesting ceremony takes place. At some distance from the village a victorious war party sends a messenger ahead to tell all those at home that the war party has been unsuccessful and that all have been killed, and that those at home should put on mourning. Secretly, however, the leader tells someone to look for a pole for the Victory dance, and shortly after all the preparations for mourning have been made the victorious warriors rush into the village. Before entering the village that warrior who [555] has counted first coup is offered a pipe, from which he always takes a few puffs. The same pipe is then handed to the one who counted coup second, and so on, until the fourth man is reached. Then the prizes (*wuizewe*) are given to the victors, who afterwards give them to their sisters. The scalps are not taken into the village, but are left outside, and warriors who have remained at home rush out to count coup upon them. Then the scalps are carried around the village four times.

555 The widely-known Plains custom of "counting coup" is also
726 practiced among the Winnebago. The individual who strikes the dead body of the enemy first obtains the first honor, the one striking it second the second honor, the one striking it third the third honor, and the one who actually killed the enemy obtaining the fourth and least important honor.

721 The following are descriptions given in the words of the informants:

[115] *Description of war customs and the manner of conducting a war party.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

When a man is ready to go on the warpath, he looks around for as many men as he wishes to take along and then gives a feast. At the feast he fixes the time at which the war party is to start. The man giving the feast (i. e., the leader of the war party) would get up and tell those present that he intended going on a warpath and give his reason; then he would say that whoever so desired could come along.

Many went along. Indeed, there was quite a crowd. The first stopping place (*hipiyere*) was always near the outskirts of the village. There the leader appointed four men to go after food and wood for the fire. During their absence two camping places would be arranged, one on each side of the war leader. As soon as the four men returned with the food the attendants skinned and prepared the animals for

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727 etc. Then the war leader would secretly tell some one to select a stake (for the Victory Dance) and after a short time all the members of the war party would rush in and march around the entire village striking the scalps that they had tied to sticks. Then they would all go to the place where the stake had been put up and there they would distribute the war prizes to the sisters of the men who had won them and the women would walk around proudly with the prizes around their necks. Then, in the daytime
701 they would dance the Victory Dance and in the evening they would dance the
721 Hok'ixere Dance for four nights.

[115] *Description of a war party.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

[787] If a man wishes to go on the warpath he must fast and be blessed by the spirits in a specific manner. If a man is thus blessed, he gives a feast and announces his intention of leading a war party. The chief always has a representative at such a feast (a member of the Buffalo clan), and as soon as it is over this man goes to the former and reports to him. If the chief thinks that the blessing is insufficient and might cause the death
[622] of many men he takes the war leader's pipe and lays it across his path and the war leader is then compelled to abandon his undertaking. This action on the part of the chief is sacred and must be accepted as final. The war leader dare not step across the pipe. Should the chief, however, not do this, then the war leader knew that there was no objection. Usually some members of every clan go along, but especially members of the Thunderbird, Warrior, and Bear clans.

The action of the war leader is controlled by many rules. He must be the one who has fasted and been blessed with all that is essential for conducting a war party. He must have his food provided for him by the spirits, know the exact location of the enemy, their numbers, and their sex.

726 After the war party has traveled for about four days, the men offer tobacco to the
701 leader and he tells them where he is going, the number of the enemy, etc. If, after that, any of the members of the war party do not approve of the undertaking then they place a pipe across his path and the war leader is compelled to return. If nothing is said, then all is well. The war leader always goes ahead of his party and his attendants behind him, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever the chief stops his attendants run to his side, take his war bundle and place it in front of him. Then the leader sits down, neither turning to the right nor to the left but looking straight ahead. The attendants get two poles and place them on each side of him, bend the ends over to form an arch, on each side of which are placed small oak sticks arranged in a row. Under this structure the war leader stays. Here he sleeps and is
[614] fed by his attendants. No one is permitted to go ahead of this improvised structure. On each side of him two fireplaces are placed, two for the Upper clans and two for the Lower clans. If the war party is traveling westward the two fireplaces on the north side belong to the Lower clans and the two on the south side to the Upper clans. If a man is going on a warpath for the first time, he stays in the rear of the party and has a little fire of his own. He remains in the rear in this way until the battle begins. Then he joins the others.

A member of the Warrior clan is selected by the war leader to act as guard and he goes back and forth behind him encouraging the men and telling them not to steal away alone or go too far ahead of the party, since that always results in the loss of life. It is for this reason that it is not considered correct for a man to try and steal away and perhaps obtain a war honor in this selfish manner. Whenever the war leader stops he tells his companions what they must do in order to obtain food, all this information having been provided for in his blessing. If he tells some one to go to a certain place and kill a deer, he is certain to find a deer at the place specified. Whenever the war leader gets up and steps over his war bundle the attendants come and place his war
[782] bundle on his back and he then proceeds on his march, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever he comes to a river he takes some of the tobacco which is

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## The Council Lodge

*The clan in the council lodge.*—There is one place where the clan finds representation as a political unit, and that is the council lodge. No unanimity seems to exist with regard to the positions of the various clans in the council lodge, but here again the position of those clans with specific governmental functions seems to be far more stable than that of the others. The clans are generally so seated as always to be opposite their "friend" clan, from which fact a clan frequently calls its friend "my opposite." It is, however, interesting to note that this seating does not hold for two friend groups, the Water-spirit-Buffalo and Elk-Deer. The Water-spirit clan occupies a high position in the council lodge, apparently quite out of proportion to its present importance in the social organization of the tribe, but in consonance with its former importance. 614 623

*Councils.* No important undertaking was ever attempted without the holding of a council. On such occasions the principal members of each clan would assemble in a long lodge and discuss in great detail. Nothing comparable to a vote that might express the desire of those assembled was taken, but the opinions of those present were always presented in their speeches. As a rule the chief, or some person especially interested in definite matter, led the discussion. Owing to the complete absence of specific examples of councils it is very difficult to obtain a very clear idea of their working. The numerous councils relating to treaties with the whites are of very little interest or significance in this connection.

There was unquestionably a regular order of entering and seating in the council lodge. What this order was it is impossible to determine now, for the statements made by different informants were contradictory. Since, however, the contradictions in the seating arrangements seemed to be correlated with different clan membership the discrepancies may be due, not to lack of knowledge but to actual differences. A few examples of the seating arrangements follow (figs. 29–32):

*Description of order of entering the council lodge.*—Informant, member of Bear clan. The Buffalo clan would always be the last to enter the council lodge because the members remained outside making announcements until all the others had entered. The members of the Thunderbird clan enter first, making a circuit of the lodge before taking their seats. The members of the Warrior clan followed and took their seats just opposite those of the Thunderbird clan. Then the Water-spirit clan follows, and then come the rest as indicated in the diagram. This is the only place where the Bear clan is not in control of the arrangements. 614 623 534

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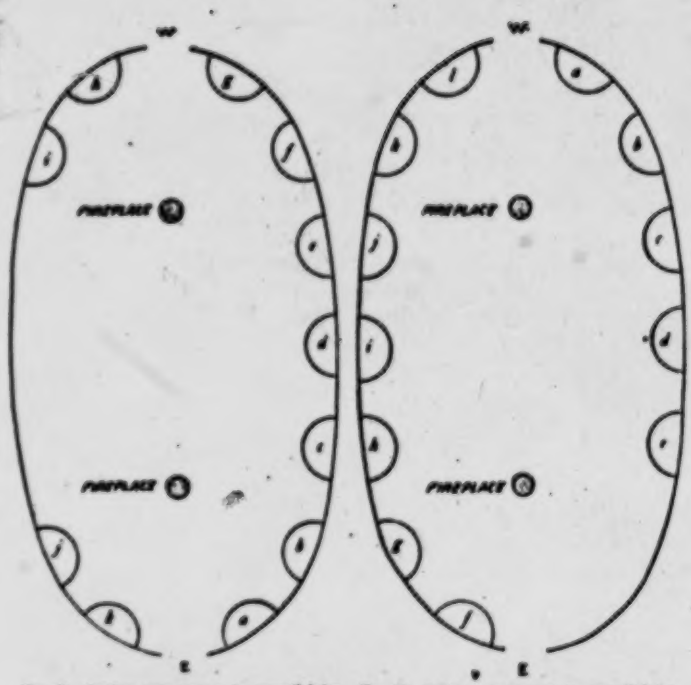


FIG. 9.—Seating arrangement in council lodge according to Thunderbird clan: *a*, Warrior clan; *b*, Water-spirit clan; *c*, Deer clan; *d*, Elk clan; *e*, Pigeon clan; *f*, Wolf clan; *g*, Bear clan; *h*, Snake clan; *i*, Buffalo clan; *j*, Eagle clan; *k*, Thunderbird clan. (The order of importance is from k-a.)

FIG. 10.—Seating arrangement in council lodge according to Bear clan: *a*, Thunderbird clan; *b*, Bear clan; *c*, Wolf clan; *d*, Pigeon clan; *e*, Eagle clan; *f*, Snake clan; *g*, Fish clan; *h*, Elk clan; *i*, Buffalo clan; *j*, Deer clan; *k*, Water-spirit clan; *l*, Warrior clan.

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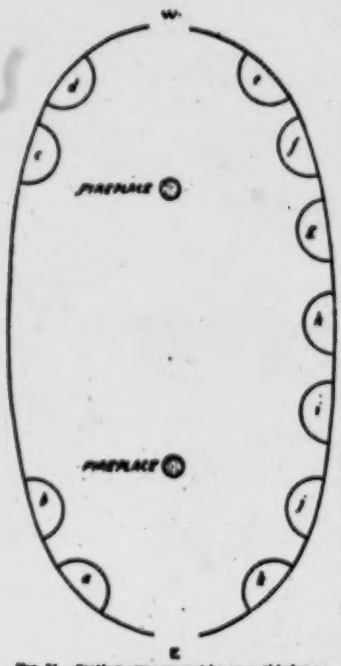


FIG. 31.—Seating arrangement in council lodge according to Thunderbird clan: a, Thunderbird clan; b, Eagle clan; c, Buffalo clan; d, Snake clan; e, Bear clan; f, Wolf clan; g, Pigeon clan; h, Elk clan; i, Deer clan; j, Water-spirit clan; k, Warrior clan.

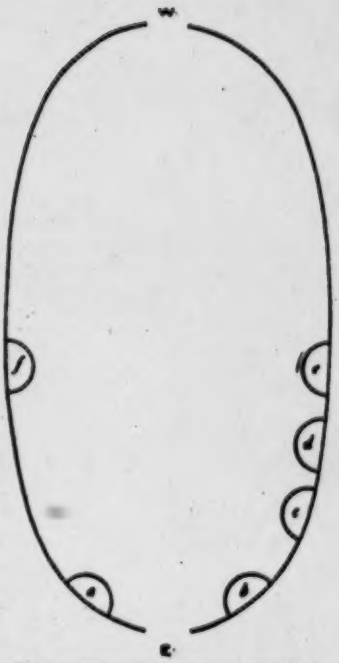


FIG. 32.—Seating arrangement in council lodge according to Wolf clan: a, Thunderbird clan; b, Eagle clan; c, Buffalo clan; d, Water-spirit clan; e, Bear clan; f, Wolf clan.

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PART II

# CHAPTER VIII

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—GENERAL DISCUSSION

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We are justified in assuming that the twofold division of the Winnebago and the southern Siouan tribes, Dhegiha and Tciwere, had a common historical origin. Our identification is based upon the existence in these three tribal units of specific similarities apart from those of social organization. Positive proof that the type of social organization is historically identical among these tribes is not, however, forthcoming. This will become even more apparent when we consider the twofold division from the point of view of the names they bear, the subdivisions within them, and their specific functions.

According to our informants, the twofold organization among the Dhegiha and Tciwere only existed upon specific occasions, when the tribe was on the tribal hunt. We are in complete ignorance as to whether in olden times this arrangement was reflected in the village, but we know that whether it was or not, the twofold division was present in a very definite manner in the consciousness of the people themselves; that is, every individual definitely knew to which one of the two divisions he belonged and that certain names and functions were associated with them. The moment, however, that we stop to analyze these names, functions, etc., we realize at once that to-day they connote different ideas in the different tribes under discussion. The names of the divisions seem particularly significant in this connection. Among the Omaha they are known as Ictacunda and Hanga, probably connoting Sky people and Leaders; among the Ponca, as Wajaje and Tciju, Earth and Thunder; among the Kansa, as Yata and Ictunga, Right side and Left side; among the Osage as Tciju and Hanga, Peace and War side. The names for the Kwapa, Oto, Missouri, and Iowa are not known. It will be seen at a glance that the terms Tciju and Ictacunda are identical, and it will also be noticed by reference to the monographs of J. O. Dorsey and Miss Alice C. Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, that these names as well as the name Hanga are names of subdivisions within these divisions. Were these names first used to designate the two divisions or the subdivisions? There seems to be no reason for believing that the

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171 names were first applied to the larger divisions, whereas a number of
174 facts speak strongly in favor of the reverse. In no case, for instance,
114 can it be shown that the two divisions, per se, have any functions
●614 except that of regulating marriage. The various political and cere-
monial functions displayed pertain to the subdivisions composing them. Owing to the massing together of a number of such functions on each side, we often obtain the impression that these belong to the larger unit, as such. And indeed this may be said to be true at the present time, in so far as the functions of one subdivision have become identified with the larger unit. All that we wish to point out here is that the names of the two divisions may be different, and that they may connote different ideas in the different divisions of an historically related culture, due to specific historical development within each. Among the Dhegiha there seem to be a number of reasons for assuming that the present names of the two divisions are not the historically primary ones.

It is far more difficult to discuss the names of the subdivisions or "gentes" within the two larger divisions. From a comparative point of view it must be regarded as significant that the names of the subdivisions within the Teiwere tribes tally almost exactly with those of the Winnebago and that those of the Dhegiha tribes tally with the names of many of the two latter, although they possess, in addition, a large number not found among them. The Teiwere and Winnebago have animal appellations for their clans, the Dhegiha have animal appellations plus a type of designation descriptive of animal taboo. Which of the two types is the older it is difficult to say. This fact might be noted, however, that the animal names have, to a large extent, been forgotten and that the descriptive taboo appellations have not; that in a number of cases there is some reason for believing that these animal appellations have been reinterpreted and in other cases replaced by nonanimal designations; that the origin myths of these divisions always explain why a certain animal is associated with a subdivision, and rarely the origin of the taboo name; and lastly, that the majority of personal names are strictly comparable to the clan names of the Winnebago and the Teiwere. On the other hand, the descriptive taboo type of name is found frequently among the band appellations of the Plains Indians, with whom the Omaha had come into intimate contact and by whom they had been influenced along definite lines of ceremonial and social development. For these reasons we would like to suggest that the animal appellations are historically primary and that the taboo type became subsequently popular and spread over the whole tribe. Examples of changes in the names of subdivisions are by no means isolated. The Winnebago exhibit a tendency to substitute names indicative of the function of a clan for the old animal names—and this

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has gone so far that a large number of individuals would probably deny to-day that the Hawk and the Warrior clan are one and the same. Again, among the Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw we find Sun and Star clans, and, if we were to imagine that for some reason or another the latter type of name became popular, it might here become dominant within a comparatively short time. 171 174 114 614

Like a twofold division, the clan may connote a number of different things to the minds of the Indians. The Omaha apparently used the term *tonuoggtha*ⁿ, which means literally "place-of-habitation-of-those-related," *gtha*ⁿ being the possessive-reflexive pronoun. It would thus seem to coincide with a geographical unit. The Quapaw use the term *enikacigu*, evidently meaning "people"; the Kansa, the term *wayumida*, "those-who-sing-together"; the Osage, the term *peda*, "fireplace"; and the Winnebago, the term *hokik'a'radjera*, "those-related-to-one-another." The remarks made about the specific names of the twofold divisions apply here. There is no reason for assuming that these are historically primary. A possible historical hint that they are not will be mentioned later.

The twofold division apparently regulates nothing but marriage. [532] It has at the present time no other function, per se. Nevertheless, a number of ethnologists, and for that matter Indians themselves, speak of the functions of the two sides. If we consider the Omaha "circle," we notice that practically all the ceremonial functions are on one side; that among the Osage "war" and "peace" functions are found on both sides; and that, as a matter of fact, the functions of war and peace apparently relate to a certain reciprocal relation existing between the two divisions. Indeed, there is no reason to justify the use of these terms. Among the Iowa, J. O. Dorsey quotes Hamilton to the effect that the regulation of the hunt and other tribal affairs was in the hands of one "phratry" during the autumn and winter, and in that of the other in spring and summer. It is, however, doubtful whether this was the case. Among the Winnebago, as we shall see, the functions of war and peace were grouped together on one side, the functions of the other side being confined to those relating to the policing and regulation of the hunt. But the only fact of importance to us here is not whether there appears a balancing of functions connected with the social organization, but whether the Indian thinks there is; and here the consensus of opinion favors the view that no Omaha would, for example, suppose that the Hangacenu division, as such, was the custodian of the real pipes of peace. This belonged to the Inkesabe gens, and there is not a shred of evidence to support the view that it was delegated to that clan by the larger unit. The same reasoning applies to the Hanga clan. That the importance of the possessions of the latter clan played an important part in the associations of the Omaha, even to the extent

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171 of impressing its name upon the whole division, we do not doubt
174 for a moment. Other reasons may have led to the designation of the other half by the name of one of its component clans.

114 Similarly, among the Ponca, the Wajaje half corresponds to the
●614 Wajaje clan, the keepers of the sacred pipe; and among the Osage, the Teiju and the Hanga divisions of one side, and the Wajaje divisions of the other, correspond to the clans with the same name that are associated with important ceremonial-political functions. On the other hand, we have the fact that among the Kansa the names of the two large divisions are distinct from any of the clans in those divisions, and the same is true for the Teiju division of the Ponca. If we correlate this last fact with the apparent absence of any association of important ceremonial or political functions with specific clans, the suggestion might be permitted that no incentive existed in the minds of these people for the clan becoming identified with the larger divisions. Among the Winnebago the names for the divisions are quite different from those of the clans composing them, but at the present time the fact that the clan in each division has definite functions and powers has reacted on the interpretation of the social organization, and it is quite customary to refer to one half as *hwik* or "chiefs," and to the other as *manap'e* or "soldiers," although the latter is not common.

In short, we have a right to see, in all the facts mentioned, indications of a possible historical development whose characteristics seem to lie in the identification of the name and function of an important clan with that of a much larger division.

[182] The Winnebago social organization has long since broken down, but its details are still so well preserved in the minds of the older men, and particularly in the literature of the tribe, that no difficulty was experienced in reconstructing it. This reconstruction, however, does not enable us to determine the relation of the clan and dichotomous division to the distribution of the tribe over the large area once occupied in Wisconsin. That the 4,000-odd individuals composing the tribe at the advent of the whites lived together is extermely doubtful. The nature of the woodlands of Wisconsin and the fairly extensive territory over which the Winnebago were found scattered not long after Nicolet's first visit are facts that practically exclude such a hypothesis. The myth that speaks of a village that at one time was so long that those living at one end did not know what was transpiring at the other contains too many literary touches to justify its use as an historical document.

114 The question, therefore, of village groups is of considerable impor-
621 tance, because there may have been, cutting across the general organization, another smaller, perhaps looser social unit, that of "band" or village, setting off one group against another. Systematic question-

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systematic question

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ing has elicited from various individuals the information, also corroborated by historical records, that the villages were generally known according to geographical location or according to names descriptive of the haunts of certain animals. Even to-day the group scattered over the Nebraska Winnebago reservation are commonly known by similar designations. There we find, for instance, the following names: *kozo-ateira*, "those living on the peninsula"; or *k'uha'teira*, "those living below", i. e., in the timber; *niwa'hateira*, "those living near the dirty water"; *hąte x'dąominangera*, "where big bear settles," etc. If we may then suppose this to have been a customary association, we may quite properly ask whether the name of the village had any influence on the social organization; whether there is even a hint at a genetic relation between these two types of group names. All that can be said is the fact that formerly *honi*, "band," seems to have been used instead of *hokik'aradjera* for clan; that an archaic name of the Wolf clan, *regoni* or *degoni*, may mean Lake band; and that the villages all had geographical names. All of which, however, is, I realize, hardly sufficient evidence.

No satisfactory demonstration has as yet been made indicating that the clan organization was ever associated with an historically simple social structure, whereas quite a number of reasons lead us to suspect that it was in all cases preceded by other types of organization. In North America there is quite considerable evidence tending to show that the village group organization often preceded in many places the clan, and for that reason the facts brought out above may be of more than casual significance. That a system of clan names different from that now in use existed is borne out by the archaic names for the Bear and Wolf clans. That another system was making headway against the animal-name type of change, namely, the substitution for animal designation, with correlated associations of descent or connection with an animal ancestor, of designations indicative of the functions of the clan. If the association of the social unit with a common animal ancestor was preceded by an association of a social unit with geographical location, we would then be able to demonstrate what is so rare in ethnology—the historical succession of types of naming.

### The Twofold Grouping

The Winnebago are divided into divisions, one known as the *wąggeregi herera*, "those who are above," the other as the *manegi herera*, "those who are on earth." Descent was reckoned in the paternal line. But these appellations refer to the animals after whom the clans are named, the term *wąggeregi* covering the birds, the term *manegi*, land and water animals. So firmly has the idea of division of animal forms become associated with the two divisions

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616 that, as mentioned before, were a new clan introduced now among the Winnebago its position would depend exclusively upon the nature of the animal associated with it. As similar reasons dictate clan
614 groupings among some of the Central Algonquian tribes, a few words
825 concerning this type of association will not be amiss. The groupings of the fauna into a distinct number of categories is extremely common in North America. Among the Winnebago, a number of other Siouan, and Central Algonquian tribes, there was a fivefold classification; earth animals, sky animals, empyrean animals, aquatic animals, and subaquatic animals. Among the Winnebago the thunderbird belongs to the empyrean; the eagle, hawk, and pigeon, to the sky; the bear and wolf, to the earth; the fish, to the water; and the water-spirit, below the water. This religio-mythological conception has unquestionably received a certain amount of sympathetic elaboration at the hands of shamans, and particularly at the hands of the
[196] leaders of such ceremonies as the Winter Feast, the Clan Feast, and the Clan Wake, as well as at the hands of those who had in their keeping the clan origin myths.

The characteristics of the thunderbird, eagle, bear, and water-spirit as clan animals, and as animals connected with a division of fauna, are also related to the general conception of these animals per se. The eagle and hawk are birds of prey; the thunderbird is generally a deity granting long life, and associated with peace, although his connection with war is also common. Similarly, the bear is supposed to have a "soldier" nature, and the water-spirit is intimately associated with rites pertaining to crossing streams, calming the sea, and ownership of water property. This correlation unquestionably indicates an influence of the religio-mythological conception of the animal upon the social group with which it is associated. How far this can go is abundantly attested by the names and behavior of the *waggeregi* and *manegi* divisions.

On the other hand, we may legitimately ask what influence the two divisions had in molding the attributes of these animals, or upon the behavior of the groups with which their name was associated. The functions of a warrior may have determined, as they certainly have accentuated, the "warrior" characteristics of the eagle and hawk, nor is there any easily intelligible reason why the thunderbird should be associated with peace. From our knowledge
[174] of the social organization of other Siouan tribes, the political functions of the clan seem to be the characteristic feature of the organization, and this being the case, the possibility of associations of warlike and peaceful attributes with animals may as much be ascribed to the influence of the social unit as vice versa. With regard to such functions as the exogamy of the two divisions or that of the clans, or of the reciprocal burial relationship of the *waggeregi* and

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*manegi* divisions, we, of course, know that the characteristics of the 614 animal in question have nothing to do with the matter. We must 825 then realize that we are dealing with reciprocal influences—of the religio-mythical conception of animals on the one hand, and of political functions of social units on the other. In some cases, such as the specific associations with the water-spirit, it is probable that the religio-mythological conception of the animal is dominant. The association of the thunderbird with fire has likewise not been due to any activity of the social unit; and thus examples might be multiplied. In this connection, the fact that animals with whom a multitude of associations have already been established are subsequently associated with social units is fundamental. From this point of view, the animal names of social organization are intrusive features, and we will consequently expect to find historical adjustments. This, we think, is what has taken place here. The animal name with its religio-mythological conceptions was a remarkably strong unit, and as a result reciprocal influences took place. Although the religio-mythological influence must thus have been marked, it appears to have changed none of the marital and other functions of the two divisions nor the political functions of the clans. What it did change, and change fundamentally, was the interpretation of the social organization.

### Functions of the Twofold Division

The only function that the *waggeregi* and *manegi* divisions seem 616 to have had was the regulation of marriage. A *waggeregi* man 582 had to marry a *manegi* woman, and vice versa. The only other function was, according to some informants, reciprocal burial. [764] Here the religio-mythological interpretations seem in part to have determined this relation, for a *manegi* man buried a *waggeregi* man because, as a "land division," it pertained to him to place a corpse in the earth. This, however, seems to be a doubtful function, for earth burial seems in olden times to have been characteristic only 616 of the *manegi* division, the *waggeregi* clans employing scaffold burial. 614 In addition, the burial relation was one of the many reciprocal duties of the "friend-clan," and if it was ever postulated of the *waggeregi* and *manegi*, this was likely due to the fact that the "friendship" relation seems also to have existed between two clans belonging to the two different divisions. According to one myth, however, the four clans of the *waggeregi* paired off as "friends" with four clans of the *manegi*. This would then be practically equivalent to saying that the *manegi* buried the *waggeregi*.

Thus far we have spoken only of the socio-political functions. The two divisions, however, play a part in a number of social and

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616 ceremonial connections: first, in the organization of the village;
614 second, in the arrangement of the clans while on the warpath; third, as the basis of organization at the "chief" feast; and lastly, as the basis of organization of the ceremonial lacrosse game.

616 According to the majority of the older people, when the old social
614 organization was still intact, each village was divided into two halves
621 by an imaginary line running due northwest and southeast, the *waggeregi* clans dwelling in one half, with the chief's lodge in the south, and the *manegi* clans dwelling in the other half, with the bear or soldier lodge in the north (fig. 33). Although this arrangement has now become almost legendary, it was corroborated by many of the older people. To what extent every village was organized on this basis it is impossible to state. When this question was

FIG. 33.—Plan of village according to Thunderloud, of the Thunderbird clan.

directly put to individuals, the answer was always in the affirmative. Quite a number of old individuals, however, denied vigorously that such had ever been the organization of the village, and claimed instead that the lodges of the Chief and the Soldier (Bear) clan were in the center of the village (fig. 34).

[115] In looking over the clan affiliations of the informants, we noticed, however, that the first arrangement was always given by members of the bird clans, and the second arrangement by members of the
[114] Bear clan and generally also by others on the *manegi* side. This fact, of course, makes the decision as to the relationship of these two types of village organization quite difficult. There can be no
[582] question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital relations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in different villages.

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of specific clans in different villages. When on the warpath the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fireplaces, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, can not be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Tciwere. In the subsequent discussion of the clan we will touch on this subject again.

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fireplaces when on the warpath, each division having two fireplaces,

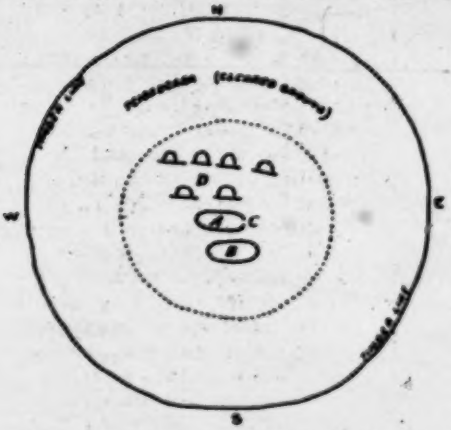


Fig. 34. Plan of village according to John Rave, of Bear clan. A, Lodge of chief of tribe (Thunderbird clan). B, Lodge of chief of Bear clan. C, Lodge of Warrior clan. D, Lodge of Buffalo clan.

whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. When going west, for instance, the two fireplaces for the *waggeregi* are on the south, and the two for the *manegi* on the north side. However, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the division exists.

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the chief feast (*hwąk wokę*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name *hwąk wokę* would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Hwąk* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the *waggeregi* division.

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616 As the basis of organization in a game, the twofold division finds
526 expression in ceremonial lacrosse. There the *waŋgeregi* are always pitted against the *manegi*. A well-known myth is associated with
[173] this arrangement, according to which the animal ancestors of the *waŋgeregi* and *manegi* decided their respective rank by playing a game in which they were organized on this basis. The *waŋgeregi* won and for that reason the chiefs of the tribe have been selected from this division. A division into two halves when playing ceremonial lacrosse is characteristic not only of the Winnebago but of
[171] the Omaha, Menominee, Sauk, Fox, and other tribes. Among the former two, these sides are identical with the two aforementioned political divisions of the tribe, but among the latter two, where no such division exists, the tribe seems to divide itself into two halves merely on this occasion.

616 Up to the present we have treated the two divisions as social units
614 per se, but now, before entering on the discussion of the clans, it may be well to point out the fact that the *waŋgeregi* people are sometimes spoken of as the Bird clan (*waniŋk hokik'aradjera*), and that the four clans composing this side are so intimately related, and their clan origin myths so similar, that the assumption of the four clans representing one clan that subsequently split up into a number of divisions is not outside the realm of historical possibility. This is, however, quite immaterial, for whether we have one bird clan opposed to eight other animal clans is of little consequence, for historically it is not the bird clan that is opposing the other clans, but one social unit, the division, set off against another. The numerical equality that exists between these two sides, in spite of the disparity in the number of clans, is perhaps another confirmation of the fundamental character of the twofold structure.

## Clan Organization

614 There are 12 clans among the Winnebago with the following names:

A. *Waŋgeregi herera* (those who are above):[1]

1. *wakandja*, thunderbird.
2. *wanayiro waŋkcik*, war-people.
3. *teazeep*, eagle.
4. *ruteje*, pigeon (extinct).

B. *manegi herera* (those who are on earth):

5. *hunic*, bear.
6. *waŋkteŋk'*, wolf.
7. *waktera*, water spirit.
8. *tea*, deer.
9. *he"wa"*, elk.

[1] All the clans of the upper phratry are also called *ahakuere*, "Thunder-bird-stage." This name is found in vocabulary.

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10. *tce*, buffalo.
11. *ho*, fish.
12. *wak'a*[n], snake.

Another list was obtained in which only 10 clans were mentioned, the Fish and the Snake being omitted. The clans omitted are, however, regarded by all as of recent origin.

There are two older lists of Winnebago clans obtained by Morgan[3] and Dorsey.[4] Morgan gives the following clans: 614 114

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wolf. | Eagle. | Snake. |
| Bear. | Elk. | Thunder. |
| Buffalo. | Deer. | |

Dorsey's list is more complete, although owing to the fact that he did not know of the existence of the twofold division, he classes the four Bird clans as subclans of one larger Bird clan. His list differs from the author's only in the absence of the Fish clan and in the fact that he was still able to obtain two archaic names for the Wolf and Bear clans. Dorsey's list follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wolf. | Bird. | Buffalo. |
| Bear. | *a*. Eagle. | Deer. |
| Elk. | *b*. Pigeon. | Water-monster. |
| Snake. | *c*. Hawk. | |
| | *d*. Thunderbird. | |

Foster gives a grouping of the clans according to the fauna.[5] His list hardly was intended as an enumeration of the clans. According to Foster, we have the following grouping:

I. Thunderbird family or invisible Thunderbird people.
II. The air family, the visible Thunderbird people.
III. The land or quadruped family.
IV. The water family.

An interesting variant of the names of the Thunderbird and Warrior clans was given by one informant. He called the Thunderbird the good thunders, and the Warrior the bad thunders. This is strikingly reminiscent of the Menominee and was perhaps borrowed from them. 614 [115 177]

The main differences in the above lists are the order of the clans, the position of the Wolf clan, the presence of a general Bird clan called *wenink* by Dorsey, the double names for the Wolf and Bear clans, and the absence of a Fish and Warrior clan in Dorsey's and of a Hawk clan in the list obtained by the author.

The position of the Wolf clan, in spite of Morgan's and Dorsey's agreement, does not belong in the place assigned to it by them. In all probability their main informant was a member of this clan who wished to give his clan a greater importance than properly belonged

[3] Ancient Society, p. 167.
[4] Omaha Sociology. Fifteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn. pp. 240-241.
[5] Quoted in J. O. Dorsey's MSS. of Winnebago clan names (R. A. R.).

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614 to it. There is no doubt but that in older times the Wolf clan played a far greater part in the affairs of the tribe than it does to-day, but that it ever was the principal clan of the tribe is out of the question.

614 114 With regard to Dorsey's postulation of a Bird (*wonipk*) clan, all that can be said is that the author obtained nothing confirmatory of it. It is just possible that Dorsey, who apparently did not know of the existence of the two phratries, misinterpreted a popular grouping of the four clans of the upper phratry, as representing a fundamental division. Historically it may, indeed, be true that the four clans of the upper phratry represent the subdivision of one clan.

The archaic names for the Wolf and Bear clans can not be translated with any degree of certainty any longer. It is barely possible that *degoni* means "lake band" and *teonank* means "blue back." Whether these are simply a second set of names, or whether they represent an historically older set, it is impossible to say to-day. The probabilities are that they are terms of respect.

The absence of the Warrior clan in Dorsey's list and the presence of a Hawk clan is rather interesting, for it shows that only 25 years ago the bird name for this clan was still in use. The Warrior and Hawk clans are identical, the latter being, however, the appellation that is preferred to-day.

In addition to the names given above, some of the clans have names indicative of respect, such as *hunge* for the Water-spirit, *haga* for the male members of the Bear clan, and *wawowina* for the female members. It is also possible that the names *degoni* and *teonank*, mentioned by Dorsey for the Wolf and Bear clans, were terms of respect.

### RECKONING OF DESCENT

614 Descent is patrilineal and a man's name generally belongs to his father's clan. Formerly there never was an exception to the rule that the name must belong to the father's clan, but of recent years [582] the Winnebago have become very lax in this particular. The irregularities in the giving of names were due to two causes—first, the intermarriage of Winnebago women with white men or with Indians of other tribes where the clan organization was either unknown or where descent was matrilineal, and, secondly, to the fact that the wife's parents were often in a better position to pay for the naming feast than the parents of the father. When a Winnebago woman marries a man who either has no clan or who reckons descent in the mother's line, the children are always considered as belonging to the mother's clan. This, however, lasts for only one generation. As a result the male children of such a marriage perpetuate the clan of the mother, although they transmit it thereafter in the male line.

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Another irregularity that has grown up within recent times is the occasional transmission of the clan war-bundle in the female line. In olden times it could only be transmitted in the male line, so as to prevent its passing out of the clan. It was, however, not always passed to the eldest son, but to that one who, by his actions and the interest he manifested in learning the legends and songs pertaining to the ceremony, showed himself capable of properly providing for the bundle. Now it happened occasionally that a man either possessed no son or that his son did not show sufficient interest in all that pertained to the bundle. In such a case the father had the alternative of giving it to some near relative in the male line, and if there were none of either giving it to some distant relative in the male line or the son of his sister or daughter. This, of course, happened very rarely, and in all probability the female line would eventually have to return it to the clan to which it originally belonged.

We have described these two instances of transmission in the female line in some detail in order to show how simply they can be explained without the intervention of any theory that the Winnebago reckoned descent in the female line originally. Such a claim has been made by Morgan and reiterated by Frazer. It seems to be based on the fact that Carver found the daughter of a Winnebago chief, known to the whites as Glory-of-the-Morning, and her children occupying an exceptional position among the tribe, or at least among the division of the Winnebago living at the upper end of Lake Winnebago, Wis. Her position and that of her children, one of whom has become well known in Winnabago legends, *Tbap'oepage*, was, however, due to the fact that she married a Frenchman named Decora. She was not the chieftainess of the tribe nor were any of her children, strictly speaking, chiefs of the tribe. In any case her position had nothing to do with female descent and at best but illustrates what we have said before about the clan to which children of such a union belong.

### INDIVIDUAL NAMES

Before turning to the specific study of each clan a few words must be said about the individual names. From a purely descriptive point of view the names can be arranged in nine classes:

I. Color.
II. Physiological characteristics.
III. Social functions.
IV. Animal and plant forms.
V. Animal characteristics.
VI. Natural phenomena.
VII. Quality.
VIII. Episodes of a legendary character.
IX. Personal achievement.

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614 According to the majority of our informants only one of these classifications seems to be generally present in the minds of the Winnebago to-day—that commemorating incidents relating to the origin of each clan. Thus, for instance, because the first thunder-bird alit on a tree the name *He-who-alights-on-a-tree* is given; because a wave swept over the shore as the wolf arrived at Green Bay the name *Wave* is given, etc. However, the most representative names of this type are *Gives-forth-fruit-as-he-walks*, *Makes-the-day-tremble*, *He-who-comes-singing*, *Judge-of-the-contest*, etc. The vast majority of the names, although many of them can doubtless be interpreted as referring to incidents that occurred during the various origins of the clan, clearly belong to the first seven divisions mentioned above. Yet the Winnebago interpret them all in terms of category VIII.

As an example of the Winnebago viewpoint let me give the following:[1]

614 773 *Four men* [the clan-eponymous ancestors] Earth-Maker sent here from above; and when they came, all their various characteristics were used for making proper names. Thus at the present day, the characteristics of the thunder-birds, all of their actions, are used as proper names. (At the beginning), four men came from above. And from that fact there is a name, He-who-comes-from-Above. . . From above, four men Earth-Maker sent down. And since they came like spirits, there is a name, *Spirit-Men*. . . And as there was a drizzling fog when the four men came from above, so there are names, *Walking-in-Mist*, *Comes-in-Mist*, and a woman they would call, *Drizzling-Rain-Woman*. It is said that when they first came to Dévik, they alit upon some brushes, and bent them down; and from this fact there is a name, *She-who-bends-the-Brushes*. On the limb of an oak-tree that stood there, they alit; and they bent it down as they alit on its branches. From this there is a name, *She-who-bends-the-Branches-down*. And since they alit on the tree, there is a name, *He-who-alights-on-a-Tree*; . . . and from the tree itself there is the name, *Oak-Woman*. . . And because they stepped from the oak-tree to the ground, . . . there is a name, *He-who-alights-on-the-Ground*. . . And since they came with the thunder-birds, there is a name, *Thunder-bird* . . . and *White-Thunder-bird* . . . and *Black-Thunder-bird* . . . And since the thunder-birds thunder, there is a name, *He-who-thunders* . . . And since they make the noise *trêwê*, people are called *He-who-makes-Trêwê*. . . . When the thunder-birds walk, rain accompanies them; and from this fact we have a name, *He-who-walks-with-Rain* . . . And since the thunder-birds come walking, we have a name, *Walking-Thunder*; and since the thunder-birds walk with a mighty [illegible] when they start out, there is a name, *He-who-comes-walking-with-a-Mighty-Tread*. . . and since the earth shakes when they commence walking, there is a name, *He-who-shakes-the-earth-with-force* . . . And since there is always wind and hail when the thunder-birds come, we have a name, *He-who-comes-with-Wind-and-Hail*. Now, since one of the thunder-birds came first, there is a name, *He-who-walks-First*; and since one of them was the leader, therefore, there is the name *Thunder-bird-Leader* . . . Now since the thunder-birds flash (their eyes) in every direction, so we have the name *Flashes-in-every-Direction* . . . Now, we don't see the thunder-birds, but we see their flashes only; and thus there is a female name, *Only-a-flash-of-Lightning-Woman*; and since the thunder-birds (flash) streaks of lightning, there is a name, *Streak-of-Lightning*; and since cloudiness is caused by the thunder-birds

[1] "Personal Reminiscences of a Winnebago Indian," by P. Radin, Journal of American Folklore, vol. 26, no. 101, pp. 293-302.

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walking in the clouds, there is a name, *He-who-walks-in-the-Clouds*. Now since the thunder-birds have long wings, there is a name, *He-who-has-Long-Wings* . . . Now when the thunder-birds come, they come with terrible thunder-crashes, it is said; and as many people as there are on this earth, . . . and as many plants as there are on the earth, indeed, everything, the earth itself, they deluge with rain, and thunder-crashes (are heard); for all this they have a name; they call him *Wirudjinga*.

The point at issue in this interpretation of names is can we accept it as historically primary? We do not think so, for the following reasons: A large number of the names are clearly descriptive of animal habits, others express the influence of social organization, and others refer to personal achievements, etc. Secondly, the interpretation is of too specific a nature to be regarded as one that could possibly have dictated an original system of naming; and, thirdly, in spite of its prevalence, other systems of interpretation are present. As a matter of fact in the above quotation, our informant distinctly mentions the fact that the characteristics of thunderbirds were used for names, although he insists that the names referred specifically to the ancestors of the Thunderbird clan. According to J. O. Dorsey the interpretations obtained by him were largely symbolical. He makes no mention of the interpretation obtained by the author, although this may be due to the fact that he was but imperfectly acquainted with Winnebago ethnology. It seems best, therefore, to regard the ancestor-episode type of name as but one, perhaps the last, that developed among the Winnebago.[4]

### ATTITUDE TOWARD CLAN ANIMALS

When the animal names became associated with the social groups they were accompanied by the specific associations clustering around these animals. These associations were probably of the same type, if not indeed identical with those grouped around the animals as guardian spirits. The clan animals are among the principal guardian spirits to-day, and we must expect to find an explanation of the attitude toward them as clan animals in the attitude exhibited toward the guardian spirit. To a certain extent it would be quite correct to say that the guardian became the clan animal. This does not, however, mean, in the slightest degree, that the guardian spirit of the individual became the clan animal, but merely that the concept of the guardian spirit became associated with a local group.

The guardian spirit is at the present time conceived of as an immaterial being in control of an animal species. The attitude toward this spirit is a purely religious one, and exhibits a marked absence of taboo of any kind. It is an open question whether a vision must be attested by obtaining some part of the animal "embodiment" of

[4] For fuller discussion cf. P. Radin, The Social Organization of the Winnebago Indians, Museum Bulletin 36, Anthropological Series 5, Geological Survey of Canada, 1915.

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614 825 776 the spirit, but there is no doubt that every vision is symbolized by a special gift from the "spirit." The guardian spirit unit may thus be said to consist of a special religious attitude plus a symbol.

The attitude toward the clan animal differs from that toward the guardian spirit in this characteristic respect, that more emphasis is laid upon identification with the animal itself than with the "spirit." As far as could be determined, the clan animal is the thunderbird with his characteristics of lightning and thunder, of the bear who likes honey and raisins, etc. The animal is engraved as clan symbol [423] and used as a property mark, and he is brought into intimate contact with the group by the postulation of descent. Naturally, descent is not from the "spirit" animal but from the living animal species. Nevertheless the clan animal has, at the same time, retained its place as a guardian spirit, and in a most suggestive way, for the blessing of a clan animal is more easily obtained by a member of the clan than by an outsider. The clan animal is, in short, a clan protector.

In this change of attitude two considerations seem pertinent: first, the possibility of the "spirit" of the guardian spirit being a product of the esoteric elaboration connected with religious societies, and that its apparent absence in the clan animal represents an exoteric conception; secondly, under the influence of the social functions of the clan, an originally strong religious conception of the clan animal gave place to an identification with the animal species itself. It might be objected that there is no inherent correlation between social organization and animal species as contrasted with spirit animals. It seems certain, however, that descent could only be reckoned from the animal, and as long as descent is postulated it must be from the animal. With regard to the historical priority of the "spirit" conception, little can be definitely said except that the systematization it has undergone suggests the influence of esoteric societies, and that the visions obtained during fasting appear to speak of the guardian "spirit" as an animal. On general psychological considerations we are inclined to believe in the contrast of the material and spiritual conception of the animal as a real fact, although it would be hazardous to say whether one or the other lies at the basis of the attitude of the individual toward his clan animal.

### RELATIONSHIP TO CLAN ANIMALS

614 825 The question of descent from the animal brings us to the consideration of the whole intricate relationship of the individual to the clan animal, a subject that has played so prominent a part in discussions of totemism. There are two distinct sources for the de- [124 174] termination of this relationship—data obtained in reply to direct questioning, and that contained in some miscellaneous myths and in the origin myths.

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the origin myths. Part of the oral data is merely a reflex of the origin myths, but part is not. The value of this "unwritten" material lies in the fact that it represents the popular, exoteric attitude, the attitude that, on the whole, is not the result of conscious rationalization, and that this exoteric view may very likely have been the basis for the priestly esoteric interpretation. 614 825 [114]

The prevalent conception of the relationship of the individual to his clan animal is that of descent from an animal transformed at the origin of the present human race into human beings. This view is expressed in some of the origin myths and the general statements of individuals. Direct descent from an animal was never postulated. The definition of the term "animal" is, however, very difficult. The Indians themselves seem to make a distinction between the animal of to-day and the animal of the heroic age. The main characteristics of the animal of the latter was his power of transformation into human form and vice versa. Although the animals have lost this to-day, they are nevertheless descended from this animal. The human beings are, however, descended from precisely the same "animals," so that it might be well to bear in mind that descent from the transformed animal does not mean descent from the animal of to-day. This view is more systematically expressed in some places. According to one miscellaneous myth, the existing human beings and animals were descended from the same being, who once possessed infinite powers of transformation now into human and now into animal shape. At one time, presumably the beginning of our present creation, these "beings" either consciously or unconsciously exhausted all their "transforming" power, and the form into which they changed themselves, human or animal, remained fixed for all time. The existing animals have never succeeded in regaining their power of transformation. Among human beings this power has only been vouchsafed to those few who have obtained it as a special gift from some spirit. Even then, however, it is ludicrously incomplete as compared with the same powers of primordial "beings." This conception of the animal-human archetype must not be regarded as at all flavoring of a philosophy developed after contact with Europeans. The error that has always been committed in discussions upon the nature of descent from the animal lies in confusing our concept of animal species with the term "animal" as used by primitive people, and in the lack of discrimination between the possible connotations of that same term, as applied to animals of to-day and as applied to those animals that were brought into intimate contact with the clan ancestor. [113]

There is no reason for regarding the specific descent from the totem as a development of this older Winnebago idea of the origin

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614 of human and animal forms. The latter conception is entirely a
825 religious one, the former merely an extension of the genealogical tendency prevalent in many types of social organization. Instead of being simply descended from an individual in a given social unit, the bond of membership within this unit has been strengthened by the postulation of blood relationship to the clan animal. The idea of descent may thus be looked upon as one of the elements necessary for the stability of a political unit and may be far older than its
614 specific extension to those clan animals. A very illuminating ex-
825 ample of a case in point can be selected from the history of the war bundle in the Thunderbird clan. This bundle, like the others, was
778 obtained as a gift from the thunderbird in his capacity as a guardian spirit. The ceremony connected with it has, however, been markedly influenced by the clan organization and as a result we find descent
[776] from the thunderbird and night-spirit, the two most important spirits in the ceremony, postulated of the original owner of the war bundle. The same tendency is exhibited in the numerous stories of the relation of an individual of the heroic age to a village. Here
[773] the individual, generally a transformed guardian spirit or animal, comes to the aid of the people in their struggle against cannibals, defeats the latter and marries into the village, becoming thus the eponymous ancestor of the subsequent village group.

614 At the same time no strong correlation apparently exists between a totemic organization and the extension of descent to include the clan animal, this seemingly being a peculiarity of certain cultures only. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest coast, among the
[771] Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves, in addition to the above, we find the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact of its members imitating the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reasons at all for the name, while in others an animal is killed, becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, and the group takes its name from the fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation.

### THE CLAN TIE

614 In intimate relation with the attitude toward the clan animal is the
602 conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the tie between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal.
[582] Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as in

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shown by the very word for clan (*hakik'aradjera*). This concept of blood relationship was extended to the mother's clan generation. As we have pointed out, there is no reason for assuming that blood relationship is the primary explanation. The number of explanations for exogamy existing between one clan and another, and between the clans of one side as opposed to those of another, indicate clearly how readily interpretations of this phenomenon change. The Bear does not marry into the Wolf clan because they are friends (*hitcak'ara*), and does not marry into the Buffalo clan because it belongs to the same side, or no reason at all is assigned. Before the question of the clan tie can be thoroughly understood, the kind of blood relationship that is here meant must be more carefully defined. This is not a very general but a very definite notion, and may be said to extend not beyond four generations, in fact not beyond the direct knowledge of some living individual. This will be brought out more clearly by the following tables, based on actual genealogies:

| | |
|---|---|
| (F) Thunderbird—Bear (M) 1. | or: |
| (F) Bear—Eagle (M) 2. | (F) Thunderbird—Bear (M) 1. |
| (F) Eagle—Wolf (M) 3. | (M) Bear—Eagle (F) 2. |
| (F) Wolf—Thunderbird (M) 4. | (M) Bear—Thunderbird (F) 3. |
| (M) Thunderbird—Bear (F) 5. | |

All these marriages are permitted. In the first case a man marries into his maternal grandmother's maternal grandfather's clan; and in the second, a man marries into his paternal grandmother's clan. We will consequently have to consider blood relationship as extending only to four, sometimes three, generations, and have to regard the statement of blood relationship as the tie binding the members of the clan together as purely fictitious and secondary. That, nevertheless, this fictitious tie called forth the same feeling as that of real relationship, there is abundant evidence to show, and that it was of considerable importance in the development of the Winnebago clan-unit is borne out by the fact that the clan was called "those-who-are-relatives-to-one-another."

### CLAN FUNCTIONS

The association of political functions with definite social units is a common phenomenon in most cultures where a tendency toward socialization exists. It is strictly comparable to the association of ceremonial and religious functions with ceremonial units. In this connection, the difference between an association with a group unit and an association with an individual is of fundamental importance. Is the former, for instance, merely an extension of the latter? This only individual history can demonstrate. Such a genetic relationship between the two depends probably as much upon the nature of the

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614 political function as upon anything else. The exact time when this
182 socialization took place is of no great import here. Among the Winnebago, for instance, some individuals claim that the functions of the public crier were inherent in the Buffalo clan, while others
614 insist that any person who had counted coup four times was eligible
203 for the office. Now, in this case not only is it possible but it is
182 extremely probable that the office of public crier was originally con-
554 nected with an individual, and that subsequently it became associated with the Buffalo clan, probably by reason of a certain relationship existing between this clan and the Chief clan. It must, of course, be remembered that a grouping had already taken place, because the requirement of having counted coup four times made a large number of warriors potentially public criers. Its association with membership in the Buffalo clan represented, on the one hand, a restriction of the number of individuals, and on the other hand, the addition of another qualification. Historically, then, the qualification of membership in the clan supplanted the other qualifications, at least in the eyes of a number of individuals. What has been said of the development of the functions of the Buffalo may also be generally applied to the Warrior or Hawk clan.

614 Political functions may, however, become connected with a group
182 unit without the individual playing any rôle either in directing or in developing it. The functions of preserving peace and of acting as intermediary, that among the Winnebago are connected with the Thunderbird clan, and the police and disciplinary functions connected with the Bear clan, may represent such types of association. In the absence of historical data, no demonstration can be made. It will, however, be shown later that association of ceremonial-religious functions with a social unit has actually occurred. That the police and disciplinary functions of the Bear clan developed from functions of individuals, on the basis of requirements similar to those of the public crier, is quite improbable, and no indication of that exists. Similarly the functions of the Thunderbird clan do not lend themselves readily to such an interpretation. But even should we accept the necessity for the priority of the one over the other types of association, we must still insist that psychologically the functions are in each case associated with a group unit.

Four of the Winnebago clans have specific political functions the details of which are discussed elsewhere. The Thunderbird, the chief clan, and in addition to the fact that the chief of the tribe is
[622] selected from it, has important functions connected with the preservation of peace; the Warrior clan has functions connected with war; the Bear clan, those relating to policing and discipline, both within the village and while on the hunt, etc.; and the Buffalo clan, those relating to the office of public crier and intermediary between the

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chief and his people. The Wolf, Water-spirit, and Elk clans seem also to have possessed minor political-social functions. Thus the Wolf people are regarded as "minor" soldiers; the Water-spirit people are connected with the passage of streams, etc.; and the Elk are connected with the care of the fireplaces while on the hunt and warpath. This accounts for seven of the twelve clans, and it thus seems as if the association of political functions with clans was a type that had found great favor among the Winnebago, and was perhaps being extended to every clan. Among the Dhegiha, associations of ceremonial functions with social units seem to have found corresponding favor, while among the Central Algonquian neither type prevailed.

Marked political and ceremonial functions of the clan are thus the distinguishing characteristics of the Siouan social organization and have given an entirely different color to clan structure there.

### THE RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIP OF THE CLANS

We have seen that one of the bonds between the clans was the fact of belonging to the same side. But there is a special bond between certain clans known as "friendship" relation (*hitrak'oro*). This always subsists between two, although it seems occasionally to have been extended to three or four clans. Most informants gave these groups in such a manner that the "friendship" relation was not postulated between clans belonging to different divisions. One individual postulated them just on this basis, i. e., Thunderbird-Bear, Warrior-Wolf, etc. There can, however, be no doubt that the prevalent arrangement is: Thunderbird-Warrior; Eagle-Pigeon; Bear-Wolf; Buffalo-Water-spirit; Elk-Deer; Snake-Fish. Most informants did not claim any pairing for the Snake, while some associated it in a threefold grouping with the Buffalo and Water-spirit. The four clans of the *Waggregi* are generally united in a fourfold group of "friend clan," although some divide them into Thunderbird-Warrior and Eagle-Pigeon.

Under the term "friend clan" is included the idea of mutual service. This becomes especially marked on two occasions: first, when a member of one clan visits his "friend clan," and second, when an injustice has been done a member of the "friend clan." On the former occasion every possible privilege is extended to him, even to his occupying the seat and bed of the host. There is no indication of "wife-borrowing," however. On the latter occasion, the "friend clan" will seek to revenge the injustice just as if the wrong had been done one of its own members. The respect shown by one clan to its "friend clan" is again apparent at the naming-feast. There he may be called upon to give the dog names for an individual of the clan with which he is associated, and, at times, to lend one of his clan names to the latter.

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●614 572 The relation of *hitcak'oro* or "friend clan" is thus strictly analogous to that which exists between two individuals who are *hitcak'oro* to each other. It is one of the characteristic traits of Siouan culture that two individuals often form a strong, inextricable friendship. Not only are they always together but the death of one on the war-path involves that of the other. The same intimate relationship [604] seems to exist between an uncle (*hidek'*) and his nephew (*hitcycge*). There is, however, one fundamental difference between such relation as that existing between *hidek'* and *hitcycge*, the members of the family group, and the members of the same clan, on the one hand, and clan *hitcak'oro*, on the other. In the former there is the bond of blood, real or fictitious; in the latter, only that of mutual service. On the other hand, while the *hidek'-hitcycge* relation, the individual *hitcak'oro* and the clan *hitcak'oro* all may be of different historical origin, they are psychologically the same. The postulation of even a fictitious blood bond between the different individual *hitcak'oro* and the clan *hitcak'oro* is not unheard of. For the *hitcak'oro* relation of individuals this is always possible, for if one individual dies, his *hitcak'oro* is generally adopted to fill his place. On the other hand, the myths seem to indicate that no blood bond was regarded as existing between them, for they generally married each other's sisters.

What historical relation the clan *hitcak'oro* bears to the individual *hitcak'oro* relation, it is impossible to state, but the remarks made before are pertinent here, and no genetic relationship need be postulated.

### THE SPECIFIC POSSESSIONS OF THE CLAN

614 778 Among the Omaha a number of clans have in their possession certain objects around which not merely the clan but also the tribal reverence is centered. Historically, we believe that these were originally possessions of an individual clan, which subsequently became identified with the entire tribe. Among the Winnebago nothing remotely comparable to these clan possessions exists, and the few specific objects possessed by the clan have never become of real tribal significance.

The specific material possessions of the clan consist of certain war bundles, one in each clan; and two crooks in the possession of the Bear clan. There also exist war clubs, of which there are two types, one found among the *waggeregi*, the other among the *manegi* divisions. In connection with the clan bundles there are certain ceremonials known as clan-bundle or war-bundle feasts, popularly as Winter Feasts. The distribution of the clan bundle differentiates [771] these from the specific possessions of the Omaha clans, and suggests a hint as to their historical associations. To all intents and purposes, as their individual history shows, these bundles are merely

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gifts from one spirit, the thunderbird, and a secondarily associated night-spirit (*hghe*). The Winter Feast might thus be interpreted as a society of those who have obtained blessings from the thunderbird. The bundle remains in the possession of a certain family, however, and cannot pass out of the clan. The war bundle may therefore be said to be primarily the personal possession of a family which has become associated with all the members of the clan to such an extent that it is almost regarded as a clan possession.

In the possession of the two crooks by the Bear clan we have an example of specific clan property. The crooks are in the nature of emblems and are used on the warpath to indicate the extreme line of advance. They are thus of tribal significance. When not in use they are kept in the lodge of the Bear clan.

### IMMATERIAL POSSESSIONS OF THE CLAN

Although there are no specific material possessions, each clan has certain "immaterial" possessions. They all have the added connotation of sacredness. For the Bird clans, it is the possession of fire; for the Bear, the doorway of his lodge; for the Wolf and Water-spirit, water. They were not obtained for all the clans. We indicated before that these "possessions" may have been primarily connected with the animals associated with the clan, upon which an additional socio-religious interpretation has been superimposed. The whole subject is, however, closely related to that of clan etiquette, for which, of course, no explanations can be given now.

### THE CLAN MARKS OF IDENTIFICATION

As if more fully to set off the social unit of the clan, there have come to be associated with it definite marks of identification, such as symbols, property marks, facial decorations, and songs.

The symbols of only two clans were obtained, although a number of other clans seem to have possessed them. These were the war club (*namgice*) of the Thunderbird clan and the peculiarly whittled stick (*namazinizini*) of the Bear clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan died a miniature war club was buried with him. Whether the *namazinizini* was buried with a member of a Bear clan we do not know.

The property mark consisted of the effigy of the clan animal, and was woven on such objects as bags, tobacco pouches, etc. It was also frequently engraved on wooden objects. Its most peculiar uses, however, were the emblematic earthen effigy mounds, in the shape of the clan animal, which were erected near the habitation of each clan in the village and in the center of clan squash fields, cornfields, etc.

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614 533 Associated with every clan was also four clan songs. These were supposed to be the four songs sung by the ancestors of each clan when they came to this earth. They were always sung on the death of an individual, and were supposed to serve as a mark of identification in the journey of the soul to the land of the spirits. The use of these [761] songs was so intimately associated with death that when some hardened offender, let us say, some individual who had killed a [627] member of the tribe and who refused to make atonement of any kind, was pursued, he defiantly sang his clan songs.

614 [302] As a last element in the clan complex may be mentioned the specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

We have now completed the discussion of clan organization. As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary association that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that it had grown around a strong social-political unit.

### INFLUENCE OF THE CLAN UPON CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

614 575 Perhaps the most characteristic trait of Winnebago culture is the existence of two strong socialized units, that of the clan and that of the secret society. Historically both are old, and even if we are of the opinion that the clan is historically younger, the political unit upon which it is superimposed is probably an ultimate historical fact. From the earliest times one would have supposed reciprocal influences to have occurred repeatedly. The nature of these influences, in so far as they are not conditioned by chance, would depend upon the respective center of gravity in either unit. It is evident that for the clan the organization was of paramount importance, and that the addition of cultural associations probably tended to strengthen its stability in this respect. On the other hand, the absence of political or governmental functions in the religious societies, and the clustering of the most multitudinous religious and shamanistic ideas within them, rendered the emotional unit of the latter the center from which influences would radiate. At the same time, the ceremonial unit of organization seems to have been so firmly fixed that any influence of the clan unit of organization upon it does not seem likely. As a matter of fact, in the typical schematic, religious society like the Medicine Dance, the Grizzly-Bear Dance, and Night-Spirit Dance, no influence is perceptible. However, these religious societies may be regarded as presenting no possible points of contact. Where, however, the bond of union is supernatural communication with a guardian spirit who subsequently became the clan animal, an obvious point of contact is given, and this brings to mind a very suggestive

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fact of Winnebago culture, namely, that there are, strictly speaking, 614
no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. 575
There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in
many respects, are absolutely identical with the religious societies, [796]
and which furnish, it seems to us, an example of just those two kinds
of influence that we wished to point out, one radiating from the clan
as an organization, the other from the entire clan unit.

In the Winter Feasts the unit of organization is the clan. Gen- 614
erally all the clans were represented in the person of the owner of 796
each specific clan war bundle. The order of invitation was tradi-
tionally fixed, but it seems that in a number of cases the "friend"
clan always had the position of honor. The war-bundle owner was
not, however, supposed to represent the clan at all, but the spirits
to whom offerings were being made. In every case, although the
participants were supposed to represent a fairly large number of
animals, the main blessings that were contained in the war bundle [782
were from the thunderbird and night-spirit and the main offerings 776]
were indeed made to them. There seem thus to have been two
separate ceremonies involved, one to the thunderbird and the other
to the night-spirits.

The question arising with regard to the clan basis of these cere-
monial organizations is whether we are to imagine that the cere-
monial unit of organization was displaced by the clan unit, or whether
we are to suppose that the ceremony is of comparatively recent
origin, let us say at least long after the clan organization had been
perfected, and that a number of things combined to determine the
acceptance of the clan as a unit of organization, as opposed to the
traditional ceremonial one. To the foregoing we must also add the
fact that the Winter Feast seems to be related to similar ceremonies
of the Central Algonquian, whose influence on the Winnebago must [171]
first be determined. If, then, we are not in a position at present to
suggest the course of development, there can be no doubt that the
content of the ceremony is strictly comparable to that of the religious
societies, and that there are hints that the ceremonial unit of organi-
zation had begun to assert itself. If this could be definitely estab-
lished, it would indicate that the clan basis of organization is his-
torically primary.

The clan unit of organization is found in no other Winnebago cere-
mony, although the specific clan feasts show marked influences
radiating from the clan unit. The clan feast is a typical ceremonial
complex, both in type of organization and in content. The differ-
ence between it and a society like that of the night-spirit lies in the
fact that although the five principal participants must have specific
blessings (bundles), they must at the same time belong to the clan.
To what extent a member of one clan who has obtained a bundle

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614 from some other clan spirit can take part in the specific clan feast
796 of the latter it is difficult to determine, but in the buffalo feast, assuming that this is unquestionably the real Buffalo clan feast, any person who has obtained a bundle from the buffalo can participate, although the leader must always belong to the Buffalo clan. This example may be taken as an indication of the historical origin of these feasts, namely, that they are really religious societies in which the influence of the clan has restricted the number of individuals who are ordinarily supposed to occupy the five places of honor. That this restrictive influence of the clan was caused by the identity of the clan animal with the guardian spirit there can be little doubt.

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# CHAPTER IX

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—SPECIFIC CLANS

### The Thunderbird Clan

#### INTRODUCTION

The Thunderbird clan was unquestionably the most important of all the Winnebago clans. In numbers it seems to have equaled the three other clans of its phratry, and, since the upper phratry had about as many individuals as the lower phratry, the Thunderbird clan must have comprised about one-fourth of the entire tribe. How are we to explain this? Historical data are, of course, missing, so that any explanation reached is entirely hypothetical, but still it seems justifiable to hazard some interpretation. The most plausible hypothesis is to assume that the Winnebago were originally organized on a village basis and that the largest of these villages and the earliest to adopt the clan organization were those that took the thunderbird as their totem. 614 [174]

In the origin myths, the origin of the Thunderbird clan is always given as Green Bay, and in contradistinction to the accounts of other clans, the ancestors of the clan are supposed to have originated at Green Bay and not to have traveled there from some other place. How much credence is to be given to such a localization it is hard to say, but assuredly it should not be dismissed as entirely worthless. 614 773

The origin myths of the Thunderbird clan possess some interesting features which deserve a few words of comment. In the first version we have an account of the creation of the world which is almost identical with that given in the origin myth of the Medicine Dance (p. 350). None of the other clan origin myths contain it. How are we to explain this? As a secondary accretion or as an original and archaic feature? On internal evidence we suspect that it is a secondary accretion and that the original version began with the second paragraph. There seems to be no intelligible reason for having Earthmaker create two sets of individuals. If we suppose that the original version began with the second paragraph and that the general account of the creation was subsequently added, we would have a satisfactory explanation of this feature. Only one of the three versions obtained contains this general ac- 614 773 114

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count of creation, and thus we have another reason for doubting its age.

There are other indications of an assimilation with the general origin myth in our versions, such as the absence of animals on the earth and the ascription of certain geographical features to the activity of the thunderbirds. Throughout, however, we are always confronted with the possibility that we may be dealing with an old village origin myth. There seems to be no doubt but that the episode of the origin of death, so distinct from that given in the general origin myth, is archaic. Other features, on the other hand, like the description of the origin of fire, are clearly reflections of certain possessions always associated with the Thunderbird clan.

A perusal of the following versions and the versions of the other clan origin myths indicates clearly how personal the accounts are. The members of the Thunderbird clan, as we shall subsequently show for the members of the other clans too, make claims of power and importance for their clans that are hardly justified by what we know of their actual power. As sources of information, therefore, we must be extremely cautious in our use of these origin myths.

Before leaving this subject it might be well to point out the number of different explanations given in these myths of the relations of the members of the clan to their eponymous clan ancestor. If a Winnebago were asked what this relation was he would answer offhand that the members of the different clans were descended from certain spirit-thunderbirds who were transformed into human beings at Green Bay.

In the first version the ancestors of the Thunderbird clan are created by Earthmaker and brought down to earth by the four spirit-thunderbirds the first Earthmaker had created. They are apparently human beings and not heroic birds, as most of the members of the clan assure you. To complicate the situation we have even the mention of the fact that the second set of people who came to visit them were members of the Thunderbird clan.

In the second version we have the customary identification of the ancestors of this clan with birds. At the end of this version we have the distinct statement, which is, however, clearly not part of the myth but an explanation by the informant, that the members of the clan call themselves thunderbirds because they, like the true thunderbirds, caused a drizzling rain and fog when they went about.

It is only in the myth of the origin of the Warrior clan that we have what can be interpreted as an account identical with that given offhand by the Winnebago. Here we are told that the warriors or hawks when they entered the lodge at Green Bay began to look different and that their feathers were worn off.

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From these facts it is quite clear that, as far as the Thunderbird clan is concerned, the prevailing belief as to the relation of the members of the clan to the clan ancestor is but feebly substantiated by the origin myths. 614 773 114

As mentioned before, the chief of the tribe was selected from the Thunderbird clan, although the selection was apparently restricted to certain families. The functions of the chief of the tribe were connected with peace. He could not lead a war party, although, according to some, he could accompany one. His lodge stood either in the center of the village or at the south end, according to which of the two descriptions one cares to accept, and contained a sacred fireplace, around which only members of the Thunderbird clan could sit. This lodge was an asylum for all wrongdoers. No one could be killed there, and a prisoner who succeeded in making his escape to it was spared. Even a dog destined for a sacrifice at the war-bundle feast was freed if he took refuge in it. The Thunderbird chief always acted as intercessor between wrongdoers and their avengers. Even in so extreme a case as the murder of a clansman, he would always attempt a reconciliation by which the life of the murderer might be spared. If necessary, the chief would mortify himself, and with skewers inserted in his back have himself led through the village to the home of the nearest kinspeople of the murdered person. 614 622 [778] [682 304]

The chief seems to have had some other miscellaneous functions, the most important of which was, perhaps, his right to prevent an unauthorized war party to depart from the village. If he, as an older man and guardian of peace and the best interests of the tribe, felt that a war party was taking too many risks, he would take his pipe and place it across the path of the one contemplating an unwarranted expedition and thus signify his disapproval. If then the war party chose to go, any mishap was directly chargeable to the leader who disobeyed. Should anyone be killed, the leader was regarded almost in the same light as a willful murderer, and the kinsmen of the deceased warrior could demand redress. 622 721 [686]

Our main informant for the Thunderbird clan summarized the functions as follows: 622 614

The chief is chosen from one of the "greater" Thunderbird clans[1] and must be a man of well balanced temper, not easily provoked, and of good habits. The one sacred object he possesses is his pipe. He must be a peacemaker and love all the people in the tribe, the little children included. [156]

If he saw a man, woman, or child passing by, he was to call them in and give them food to eat, for they were his brothers and sisters. All the relatives he has are to look after his possessions and keep him well supplied, for he was supposed to give away things constantly. If any person came to borrow some object from him, he would tell [131]

[1] He divided the Thunderbird clan into two groups, the real Thunderbird and the Warrior clans. This latter he insisted was identical with the thunderbirds who caused the rain and who were quite different from the other thunderbirds.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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622 614 the man that, since he was without this particular thing, to keep it and use it for all time.

The public crier, a member of the Buffalo clan, was supposed to report to the chief early every morning and receive instructions. The crier would then go all around the village making the chief's desires known.

[203 624 623] The chief had a representative at every council, generally his brother.

The chief of the village is a peacemaker, and if two members of the tribe ever get into difficulties (i. e., quarrel) he is supposed to intercede. If in a quarrel a person should be killed, the chief would go to the murderer and tell the latter to permit himself to be tied up—i. e., to give himself up to the relatives of the murdered man. If [682] the murderer consents to do so, then his arms are tied behind him and the chief walks in front of him carrying his sacred pipe. Thus they would go to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives. When they get there the chief would extend the stem of the pipe toward them. They might refuse to accept the pipe thus extended, but if any member of the family, even if it be a small child, were to take a puff from it, then the murderer would be forgiven and turned free.

This is the capacity of a Winnebago chief.

622 614 682 Another description of the chief's rôle as intercessor for a murderer is as follows:

When the Thunderbird chief wishes to save a murderer they take one of their own chiefs, one who is well beloved, paint his back blue, and put skewers in his back, to which they tie cords. Thus he is taken to the lodge of the murdered person's relatives. The chief, when he gets there, holds his pipe of tobacco in both hands. Should the relatives not wish to accept the peace offering they close the door in his face. Then he returns.

614 778 [411] The Thunderbird clan possessed a type of war club called a bald-headed war club, which was sacred to this clan alone, and a miniature of which was always buried with a dead body. The only other possessions were the clan war bundles.[1] The Winnebago often speak as though each clan had but one of these palladiums, but there seems to be little doubt but that there were at least two and probably more in each clan. These war bundles must be regarded as the common possession of the clan at the present time, for they can not be alienated from the clan.[1] For all practical purposes, however, they are the private property of certain individuals or families.

614 372 Fire was considered a sacred possession of the Thunderbird clan. As mentioned before, an individual was supposed never to ask for a firebrand from the fire of any member of the clan and was never permitted to sit near such a fireplace. If, nevertheless, anyone should be immodest enough to ask for one of these objects, he would be refused, but he would be permitted to ask for any conceivable thing else. The following incident will serve as an example of the 085 definite way in which this peculiar custom works. An old Winne-

[1] This point was very forcibly impressed upon the author when he tried to obtain the war bundle of a man who had become a member of the Peyote cult. The man was perfectly willing to part with it, but after repeated requests to those who happened to possess it at that particular time, he admitted that it belonged to the clan, although they could not have taken it away from him had he remained a believer in the old faith.

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An old Winne-
bago told the author that long ago a young man wanted to marry a girl belonging to his phratry and refused to listen to the entreaties of his father and mother. Finally the father, in desperation, went over to the lodge of a man belonging to one of the clans into which the young man could marry and asked for one of the sacred possessions. It was, of course, refused, and when the man was asked what other requests he wished to make, he asked that the host's daughter be allowed to marry his son. This was, of course, granted, and thus the boy was compelled to marry into the proper phratry. 614 615 582 778

One Winnebago interpreted the custom in an entirely different way. Exactly how much importance is to be attached to this explanation it is hard to say. According to this informant, the insult lay not in going to the fireplace or taking a firebrand, but in asking for it. The insult apparently consists in not taking it for granted that anyone entering the lodge was permitted to do what he wished. In other words, his asking was a breach of etiquette. 614 372 689 [576]

The typical method of burial in the Thunderbird clan was scaffold burial. It has long since been discontinued.

The burial customs seem to have been the same for all the clans. It may, however, be that in former times there were slight differences. For instance, in the first version of the Thunderbird clan origin myth the statement is made that the branch of a tree was placed at the grave and a small stick, painted red, attached to it. The author has no recollection of ever hearing the same statement made in connection with any other of the clans. 614 764 [184]

There are four songs associated with the Thunderbird clan. These are supposed to have been sung by the clan ancestors when they came to this earth, and are now always sung when a member of the clan dies, and on a few other occasions. 614 [533]

According to one informant, members of the Elk, Warrior, Deer, and Buffalo clans acted as servants to the Thunderbird clan on various occasions. The same informant also claimed that the Warrior clansmen took specific orders from the Thunderbird clansmen when on the warpath. [554]

According to another informant, Thunderbird marks at death are a half circle on the forehead, made with charcoal. The proper marking is, however, that shown in plate 46. [765]

Two dog names used in the Thunderbird clan are obtained—*pi"zakirutepa; ho-ioakitea"pa.*

The only feast specifically connected with the Thunderbird clan was the so-called chief feast, of which a description will be found on page 318. One of the divisions of the war-bundle feast is often considered as sacred to the thunderbird, but this is always the deity thunderbird, not the ancestor of the clan. [796] [776]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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## CLAN MYTHS AND NAMES

### ORIGIN MYTH (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)[1]

539 ●614 776 In the beginning, Earthmaker was sitting in space when he came to consciousness, and there was nothing else anywhere.[2] He began to think of what he should do, and finally he began to cry and tears began to flow from his eyes and fall down below him. After a while he looked down below him and saw something bright. The bright objects were hidden tears that had flowed below and formed the present waters. When the tears flowed below they became the seas as they are now. Earthmaker began to think again. He thought, "It is thus, if I wish anything; it will become as I wish, just as my tears have become seas." Thus he thought. So he wished for light and it became light. Then he thought, "It is as I have supposed; the things that I wished for have come into existence as I desired." Then he again thought and wished for the earth, and this earth came into existence. Earthmaker looked on the earth and he liked it, but it was not quiet. It moved about as do the waves of the sea. Then he made the trees and he saw that they were good, but they did not make the earth quiet. Then he made the grass to grow, but still the earth was not yet quiet. Then he made the rocks and stones, but still the earth was not quiet. However, it was nearly quiet. Then he made the four directions (cardinal points) and the four winds. On the four corners of the earth he placed them as great and powerful people, to act as island weights. Yet the earth was not quiet. Then he made four large beings and threw them down toward the earth, and they pierced through the earth with their heads eastward. They were snakes. Then the earth became very still and quiet. Then he looked upon the earth and he saw that it was good. Then he thought again of how things came into existence just as he desired. Then he first began to talk. He said, "As things are just as I wish them, I shall make one being in my own likeness." So he took a piece of clay (earth) and made it like himself. Then he talked to what he had created, but it did not answer. He looked upon it and saw that it had no mind or thought. So he made a mind for it. Again he talked to it, but it did not answer. So he looked upon it again and saw that it had no tongue. Then he made it a tongue. Then he talked to it again, but it did not answer. So he looked upon it again and saw that it had no soul. So he made it a soul. He talked to it again, and it very nearly said something. But it did not make itself intelligible. So Earthmaker breathed into its mouth and talked to it, and it answered.

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[1] Told in connection with the origin of the Thunderbird myths.

[2] This myth is reprinted from Radin, Winnebago tales, Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. XXV, no. XXXV, 1913. It has apparently been somewhat influenced by the Bible.

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As the newly created being was in his own likeness, Earthmaker felt quite proud of him, so he made three more just like him. He made them powerful so that they might watch over the earth. These first four he made chiefs of the Thunderbirds. And he thought, "Some will I make to live upon the earth of those I have created." So he made four more beings in his own likeness. Just like the others he made them. They were brothers—Kununga, Henanga, Hagaga, and Nanyiga. He talked to them and said, "Look down upon the earth." So saying, he opened the heavens in front of where they sat and there they saw the earth (spread out below them). He told them that they were to go down there to live. "And this I shall send with you," he added, and he gave them a plant. "I myself shall not have any power to take this from you, as I have given it to you; but when of your own free will you make me an offering of some of it, I shall gladly accept it and give you what you ask. This shall you hold foremost in your lives." It was a tobacco plant that he had given them. He said, also, "All the spirits that I create will not be able to take this from you unless you desire to give it, by calling upon them during fasts and offering it to them. Thus only can the spirits get any of it. And this also I send with you that you may use it in life. When you offer anything it shall be your mediator. It shall take care of you through life. It shall stand in the center of your dwellings and it shall be your grandfather." Thus he spoke to them. What he meant was the fire. And then he gave them the earth to live upon.

So the four Thunder spirits brought the four brothers down to the earth. The oldest one, Kununga, said, while on their way down, "Brother, when we get to the earth and the first child is born to me I shall call him *Chief-of-the-Thunders*, if it be a boy." On they came down toward the earth. When they got near the earth it began to get very dark. Then the second brother said, "Brother, when we get to the earth and a child is born to me, if it is a girl it shall be called *Dark*." They came to a place called Within Lake* at Red Banks, a lake near Green Bay. On an oak tree south of the lake is the place where they alighted. The branch they alighted on bent down from their weight. Then said the third brother to his brothers, "The first daughter born to me shall be called *She-who-weighs-the-tree-down-woman*." Then they alighted on the earth, but the Thunder spirits did not touch the earth. Then said the fourth and last brother to his brothers, "Brothers, the first son that is born to me shall be called *He-who-alights-on-the-earth*." The first thing they did on earth was to start their fire.

Then Earthmaker looked down upon them and saw that he had not prepared any food for them, so he made the animals that they

* This lake is probably Green Bay itself.

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539 might have something to eat. The oldest brother said, "What are
614 we going to eat?" Then the youngest two took the bow and arrows
776 that Earthmaker had given them and started toward the east. Not long after the third brother came into view with a young deer on his back and the youngest brother also came with a young deer about 2 years old on his back. The deer that were killed, and those that killed them, were also brothers. They were very much delighted that they had obtained food. Then said they, "Let us give our grandfather the first taste." Saying thus, they cut off the ends of the tongues and the heart and threw them into the fire with some fat. The first people to call on them were the War clan people. They came from the west. Then came four others. They were the thunders. Thus they were called the youngest brothers. Then came those of the earth. Then came those of the Deer clan. Then those of the Snake clan. Then came those of the Elk clan. Then came those of the Bear clan. Then came those of the Fish clan. Then came those of the Water-spirit clan and all the other clans that exist. Then there appeared on the lake a very white bird—swan they called it. And after that, all the other water birds that exist came. And they named them in the order of their coming until the lake was quite full. Then the people began to dress the deer meat. Suddenly something came and alighted on the deer meat. "What is that?" they said. Then said Kunuga, the eldest brother, "It is a wasp, and the first dog that I possess, if it is black, *Wasp* I shall call it." Thus he spoke. "And as the wasp scented and knew of the deer dressing so shall the dog be toward other animals, and wherever the dog is, and animals are in the windward, he shall scent them." They made a feast with the deer for Earthmaker and threw tobacco into the fire and offered it to him. And to the other clans they showed how fire was to be made and gave them some, "For," they said, "each of you must now make fire for yourselves, as we shall not always lend you some." There the people made their home. It was just the time of the year when the grass comes as far as the knee.

One day they reported that something very strange was near the camp; but they said to themselves, "We will leave it alone." In a little while it moved nearer. Thus it moved toward the camp and soon it began to eat deer bones. They allowed it to become one of their clans and took it into their house. It was the dog or wolf. They killed one and made a feast to Earthmaker, telling him all about what they had done.

In the beginning the Thunder clansmen were as powerful as the Thunder spirits themselves. It was the Thunder people who made the ravines and the valleys. While wandering around the earth the Thunder people struck the earth with their clubs and made dents in
[554] the hills. That is the reason that the upper clans are chiefs of all the others and that the least of all are the dog people. So it was.

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One day the oldest of the brothers lay down and did not rise again, and he did not breathe and he became cold. "What is the matter with our oldest brother?" the three others said. Four days they waited for him, but still he did not arise. So the second brother was asked by his youngest brother what the trouble was; but he did not know anything about it and told him to ask his third brother; but this one did not know either. Then the two older brothers asked the youngest one, but he did not know either. Then they began to mourn for him, not knowing what to do or think. They fasted and blackened their faces, as we do now when we are in mourning. They made a platform and laid him on it. When the snow fell knee-deep the three brothers filled their pipe and went toward the place of the coming of daylight the east. There they came to the first being that Earthmaker had placed in the east, the *Island-wright*, as he was called. They came to him weeping and went into his tent, turning the stem of the pipe in his mouth. They said, "Grandfather, our brother Kunuga has fallen and is not able to rise again. Earthmaker made you great and endowed you with all knowledge, and thus you know all things." He answered and said, "My dear grandsons, I am sorry, but I do not know anything about it; but as you have started to find out I would refer you to the one ahead of me (the north). Perhaps he can tell you."

So, weeping, they started for the next one. When they got there and told him their troubles, he told them he could not help them; "but," he said, "perhaps the one ahead of me knows." So they started for the third one (the west), but from him likewise they could learn nothing. He also referred them to the one ahead (the south). When they reached the fourth and last one, they entered the lodge, and behold there sat the three to whom they had gone before. Here they asked the last one for help, and not only he but the other three also answered them: "Grandsons, thus Earthmaker has willed it. Your brother will not rise again. He will be with you no more in this world, and as long as this world lasts so will it be with human beings. Whenever one reaches the age of death one shall die, and those that wish to live long will have to attain that age by good actions. Thus they will live long. Into your bodies Earthmaker has placed part of himself. That will return to him if you do the proper things. This world will come to an end sometime. Your brother shall keep a village in the west for all the souls of your clan, and there he shall be in full charge of all of you, and when this world is ended your brother shall take all the souls back to Earthmaker—at least all those who have acted properly. Thus it is. Now you may go home and bury your brother in the proper manner." The Thunder people thanked the four spirits and left the tent. When they got home they took their brother's body,

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539 614 776 dressed him in his best clothes, and painted his face. Then they told him where he was to go and buried him with his head toward the west and with his war club. They placed the branch of a tree at his grave, and painted a little stick red and tied it to the tree, so that nothing should cross his path on his journey to the spirit abode. If any object or animal should cross his path on that journey, he must strike it with his club and throw it behind him, so that those relatives he had left behind on earth might derive blessings in war and attain long life. He must have his pipe and food along with him on his journey, and thus the things that he throws behind him will be a blessing for those still remaining on earth. Also the life he leaves behind him (i. e., the years that, had he lived to a normal age, are still due him) and the victories that he might have gained, all these he is to give to his relatives. The riches he might have had or, in fact, anything that he could possibly have had, he is asked to give to these relatives. Then they will not feel so unhappy and lonesome.

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

In the beginning four brothers started from above and came toward this world. They came to a country called (*ni jake*, cliff place?), and there they alighted on a tree. From there they started around the world, going from left to right.* The first time they went around they went through space, but the second time they went along this earth, at a place called *derok* (Within Lake). There they built lodges for themselves. While doing this the oldest suddenly became quiet, as if stricken. Finally, he asked the second brother what he should do, and the second brother said to him, "You are the oldest and ought to know what to do. How can I, who am younger, know anything? Perhaps the third-born brother might know." So he asked the third-born, but he said, "You are the older and ought to know. How can I, being the younger, know? Perhaps the youngest brother will know." So they asked that one and he said, "Yes, I know something." The thing about which they did not know anything was the making of the fire. The younger one, saying he knew something, took a piece of an oak tree and began twisting it until it began to smoke, and then the fire started. Then he placed it on the ground. After the fire began to blaze and seemed well started they finished building their lodge. From that time on whenever they saw anything new the brothers would give it a name. Animals and all the things that exist were thus named. And then they were to prepare a meal, and the second brother reached out his hand and produced the food that they wanted (i. e., he seemingly reached out from where he was seated and brought in deer's meat, etc.). Not having

* The ceremonial manner of passing around a lodge. Supposed to be comparable to the path of the sun.

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any cooking utensils they broiled their meat on sharp sticks. Then the oldest one began making utensils for cooking. He took clay and slippery elm bark, mixed them together, and made a pot out of it, which was then heated over a fire.

Within Lake was their main stopping place during their wanderings. Now the members of the other clans began gathering at this place and all the other clans got to this place and obtained their fire from the Thunderers. From that time on they also began intermarrying. The rule was that the upper clansmen married the women of the lower clans and vice versa. The oldest one of the brothers made friends with the Water-spirit clan and the second brother made friends with the Bear clan. The reason why the upper clans and the lower clans intermarried was to prevent their marrying their own relatives. The second brother is the ancestor of the War clan people.

The Thunderers do not say that they were descended from the Thunderbirds, but they claim that in wandering about there was always a drizzling rain and fog which they caused and on account of the similarity of this to the actions of the Thunderbirds they called themselves the Thunderers.[1]

From the gathering at Green Bay the clan names originated. The names were taken from incidents of their journey to this place. The older brother kept on naming everything; the different parts of our body; the different parts of animals, etc. When he finished, he suddenly stopped breathing and died. His death occurred at dawn. The brothers did not know that he had died. For a long time they waited for him to come to life again, but he never came to life again. Thus death originated. His body died, but his spirit traveled west toward the setting of the sun, making a road for all who were to come after him. He was the chief of the village of the spirits.

THIRD VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN—FRAGMENTARY)[2]

"Well, my younger brother, what shall we speak of? Let us speak of the Winnebagoes. You are right. Of them we will speak. What shall we eat? If we see an animal let us eat him. I will go and look. See I have brought a deer. We will eat him." So they built a fire and broiled that deer. They cooked it and then ate it. Then they heard something. They listened and two persons came into the tent. They took a seat opposite. "Ha, ha, you that sit opposite, what relation will you be to me?" "What relation should I be to you?" "You shall be my chief." "Listen, some are saying

[1] The word Thunderers is the same as Thunderbirds. One and the same being is meant.

[2] This account seems to begin after the Thunderbirds have reached Green Bay and are sitting in the lodge waiting for the other clans to arrive.

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539 something. Ha ha, our friends have come. Sit opposite (those
614 opposite said). As long as we live we will attend to the fire for
776 you." "Listen, our friends, they are speaking." "Ha, ha, sit opposite me" (a new clan has entered). They sat down. "You Water-spirit clan, what relation, my friend, will you be to me?" "What relation shall I be to you? You will be my chief." "Good. Now listen, a dog is howling. Let us wait for him." So the Thunderbirds waited for him. "Let us call him." "Ha, ha, my friend, We wish to teach the two-legged walkers something. As we say so will the Winnebagoes ever be." Again the Thunderbirds spoke, "Listen, some one has said something. Two people have come. We will call them the Buffalo clan."

## The Warrior Clan

### INTRODUCTION

614 There are not many members of this clan left, although it seems to have been quite important in the old days, to judge from the number of effigy mounds all over Wisconsin. There seems little doubt but that those bird effigies with unsplit tail are supposed to represent this clan.

Only one version of the origin myth was obtained. There is little to be said about it except that it mentions the fact that it was custo-
[552 mary to have names for dogs. One statement seems to point toward
266] cannibalism. As was pointed out in the preceding discussion, there is a boastful claim that they were chiefs.

614 Although, at the present time, this clan is known only as the
178 *wonayira da'ɬkuk* (fear-inspiring men), its older name was hawk, and as such it was still known to J. O. Dorsey. When the present name began to be popular, it is impossible to say, but we feel confident that it has been in partial use for a considerable length of time. The change is quite in line with the rather common habit of referring to the Thunderbird clan as the chief clan and the Bear clan as the soldier clan. In other words, we have a name indicative of the functions of a clan superseding the older animal name. It is only in the case of the Warrior clan, however, that this substitution has been complete.

614 There is no indication in the myth that the Warrior clan was ever localized. A number of informants stated that the clan was but a division of a general bird phratry. In version 2 of the Thunderbird clan origin myth it is stated that the second of the two brothers was the ancestor of the Warrior clan. Dorsey, as we have seen, obtained the same information.

[361] The Warrior clan seems to have had a lodge in the northwest
000 corner of the village. In this lodge they claimed that prisoners were

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In this lodge they claimed that prisoners were 614
confined and certain tribal regalia deposited. The informants were 727
not, however, at all clear about these facts, some even denying that there was a Warrior lodge and insisting that prisoners were confined in the Bear or Soldier lodge.

According to one informant the Warrior and Bear clans could give 614
each other orders that had to be obeyed.

The members of the Warrior clan claimed that all the members of the clan were warriors and did not have to fast in order to obtain [785]
the right of starting out on a war party. This was vigorously denied by the members of the other clans, who referred to this claim with derision. There seems, however, to be no reason for questioning the fact that the clan had a special lodge and that it was intimately connected with war functions. Exactly what these were it is quite impossible to state, as they have not been exercised for a very long time.

The first two clan songs are given on page 220. The clan facial decoration, used only at burial, and which were supposed to be [302]
marks of recognition in the spirit land, are as follows: A red line alternating with a black and another red line across the forehead, and a red line around the mouth. One informant claimed that only the three marks on the forehead were necessary, and that in times of war blood was used for the red marks (pl. 46).

According to an informant of the Thunderbird clan, the Warrior clan functions were as follows:

The Warrior clan's position in the tribe is that of general warrior. He can kill an enemy at any time without breaking any of the rules of the tribe. Every other clansman who wishes to go on the warpath must fast and be blessed by the spirits [721]
with specific blessings before he can do this.

There may have been a special feast associated with the Warrior clan, but the author never heard of it. The clan possessed a number [778]
of war bundles.

### ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

In the beginning, Earthmaker made four men. Then he sent 614
them to the earth. Within Lake, there, they landed and they slit 539
on the branch of a tree. There were four branches and each one slit 776
on one branch. And then on the earth they jumped and started walking toward the east. There they erected a camping place. There they started the fire. It was the principal fire. Then they started to look for food, but they were unable to find any. So the second brother was sent, but he was not able to get any animal, but he brought a man. Because he brought it, for that reason, the first male child we have shall be called *He-who-eats-humans*. Then the second one, him whom they called the warrior, was sent. Thus it

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614 539 776 was. And then all of them went toward the chief's lodge. They walked as chiefs, all four of them. The four of them went there. The chief's lodge was an oval lodge, and there they entered.

The Snake clansman was the one appointed to get the food. He went after the food. It was an Eagle-people feast. Two fish the Snake clansman brought, and with these the Eagle chief gave a feast. The Deer clan acted as attendants. Thus they ate the fish. And when they were finished with the eating, on either side, they left the head and the tail of the fish. This they left of their meal. "And if we have a dog we will call him *Leaves-fish-on-both-ends*," they said. Then they sat down. As they were sitting some one peeped in. It was the dog. Only his nose he stuck in. Then they said, "Whose nose does it look like?" So the chief spoke. "If we ever have a dog and if we wish to keep it permanently, *Whose-nose-does-it-look-like*, we will call it.

Then all of a sudden their bodies began to be different and their feathers began to look as if they were worn off. They were about to enter the chief's lodge. Then the chief passed the fire to the Deer clan and when they were through the lodge was purified with [783] the incense of smoking cedar leaves. Then again into the very long lodge they entered. This was at Red Banks. Then the upper people taught the lower people the things to make them good. Thus Earth-maker ordained everything, and as he ordered so it was. That is the way they were. Holy they were. And all (of my clan?) lived as chiefs. This is all that I was taught.

614 533 [illegible]

*First song*

The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.

*Second song*

The fire they started.
The fire they started.
The fire they started.
The fire they started.

## Eagle and Pigeon Clans

614 No information was obtained about either of these clans. The Pigeon clan has been extinct for some time and only a few survivors of the Eagle clan are left. Neither of these clans seems ever [778 to have been of great importance. They had war bundles and an 796] Eagle feast is mentioned.

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Facial paintings of these two clans, it is claimed, were the same as those for the Thunderbird clan (pl. 46). This was denied by others. 302 614 [177]

According to one informant the Pigeon clan was borrowed from another tribe.

CLAN NAMES

WANINK' HIN'IN'A'NAIJERA (THE BIRD CLAN)[8]

Ahugiljiowings.....Young bird that sheds its first feathers as it flaps its wings.
Ahugip'aswings.....Spreads low wings (said of a young bird just learning to fly).
Ahumanip'ags.....He who hits the ground with his wings (refers to a cloud).
Ahup'ahigs.....Sharp wing (said of a thunderhead).
Ahupowings.....Transparently clear wings.[10]
Ahuro-ags.....He who raises his wings (i. e., the edges of a cloud).
Ahunk's.....Strikes his wings.[11]
Ahuwotrgs.....Long wings (as a far-extended cloud, clouds being the plumage of the thunderbirds).
Ahu-gwings.....White wing.
Ahutrwings.....Green wing.
Ahuzurawings.....Slow wing.
Adodjirhigs.....He who sets the prairie grass on fire suddenly (i. e., the lightning).
Ca'djegs.....He who kindles the (fire?).[12]
Hadjaw.....She who has been seen.
Hatjatrwalwings.....Difficult to be seen.
Ha^p' hik'inehigs.....He who misses the day.
Ha^p'ak' gawings.....Owl returning hither.
Ha^ptrek's.....New day.
Hirdja Kerewoljaggs.....Hawk-face.
Hitrazrepawings.....Eagle woman.
Hitrazrepaggs.....Black eagle.
Hitrazrepirrgs.....Green hawk.
Hiwotrgs.....Green tail.
Hiwitrajankgs.....Forked-tailed hawk.
Haha^p'gags.....Returning light.
Haha^hanaiwings.....Walks in the light.
Haha^pdjik'ags.....Light that comes hither regularly.
Haha^pdjikwags.....Light flashes suddenly.

[8] The following list of names is based partly upon the manuscripts of Winnebago personal names prepared by the late Mr. J. O. Dorsey, and now in the possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology. This list has been revised and the phonetics of the Winnebago names corrected and transcribed by the author, but the English renderings of the names have been left as Mr. Dorsey obtained them, as the author obtained practically the same translations. Many of the names were obtained independently by the author. Dorsey's list is itself the amalgamation of two lists, that obtained by Dr. Foster and his own. He subsequently revised Foster's list, but to those names of the latter's list for which he could not obtain any translation he appended Foster's initials. [14]

[10] Dorsey has "thin" wings, adding "as is a transparent fleecy cloud." However, the word *pero*, which is the full form for *pero*, means "clear," and is generally used in describing water in a brook. The interpretation of this and many other names as referring to clouds necessarily and not to the simple characteristics of the wings of the thunderbirds, is not obtained frequently to-day, but there seems to be no reason for believing that it was not customary a generation or two ago. For a discussion of the meaning of the names in general see the introduction to the section on social organization.

[11] Dorsey's rendering "wild wings" is most certainly incorrect.

[12] Foster translates "smoke" and Dorsey "smoke," but *ca'* means to kindle a fire, literally to cause the blue flame that appears just as the flame starts up.

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614 551 Hokorehiga.....He who makes a noise by dragging something.
Hupiga.....Good voice.
Horutrwega.....He who has eaten fish.
Hotra^t'i^wiga.....Audible voice.
Hotru^tru^wiga.....Fishes in several places.
Hunk' nank'awaiwga.....Chief whom they are afraid of
Idjanikwahiga.....He who makes them shriek with fright.
Jibinik'a.....Short person (common to all clans).
K'ayibitrunk'a.....Changing crow.
K'ayijink'aga.....Yellowish crow.
K'ayinu^p'aga.....Two crows.
Ki'nhunggwaiga.....Fighting chief.
Ma^cdja^izga^wiga.....Makes an effort in moving.
Ma^cu^p'i^wiga.....Beautiful quill feather.
Ma^cu^nagga.....Black quill feathers.
Ma^ci^nagawiga.....White quill feather.
Ma^cu^crowiga.....Green quill feather.
Ma^hinu^p'aga.....Two knives.
Manihiniadjaga.....Strong walker.
Ma^omanik'a.....Walking storm.
Mank'ikuntrga.....He who shakes the earth by striking.
Na^ma^tce K'uruga.....He who has taken his war-club.
Ma^ma^tce nank'ik'awaiwga.He of whose war-club they are afraid.
Ma^a^cotrga.....He who raises a dust on the earth.
Ma^nankuntrga.....He who makes the earth shake by walking.
Manzak'iga.....He who dry the ground.
Ma^uziwiga.....Yellow arrow point.
Ma^tadjohimanigo.....He who walks on the wind.
Mantcgunu^cicga.....Breaks a bow with his feet.
Manzicutrga.....Red cloud.
Manzik'ok'iwaharutrga.....Overlapping clouds.
Manzik'ucima^jink'a.....He who stands beyond the sky.
Manzik'ucma^jink'a.....Sky reached standing.
Manzip'anowiga.....Cloud-point.
Manzipi^wiga.....Beautiful cloud.
Manzirukanaga^.....Master of the clouds.
Manziaopga.....Black cloud.
Manzitcopga.....Four clouds.
Manziwiwak'andjank'a.....Sacred cloud.
Mandjatrinank'a.....He who sits having come hither to the earth.
Ma^cdjanguwiga.....Coming back near the ground.
Nanzikawahiga.....He who scares some one.
Na^iawagicrga.....He who breaks a treetop by hitting it.
Na^iawarutcga.....He who eats a treetop.
Na^najojopk'aga.....Swallow.
Na^udji^wiga.....He who strikes a tree.
Nanzokiga.....Withered tree (blasted by lightning).
Na^wa^hoga.....He who comes singing.
Nank'awaiwga.....He whom they fear to see.
Nijuga.....Rain man.
Nijumanlwiga.....Walking rain.
Nijuxotrga.....Gray rain.
Niaska^phiga.....He who makes the water shine.
Niaihutcgawiga.....Drizzling woman.

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Notra^pga.....Lightning in the tree.
Nuwank k'iriga.....He who comes back running.
P^otra^ruhiga.....Crane rib.
P^otrawinga.....Crane woman.
P^otrga.....Fire person.
Xora cutrewinga.....Red bald eagle.
Xora hunga.....Bald eagle chief.
Xorap'aga.....Bald eagle head.
Rac tra^ti^winga.....Audible name.
Rak'ihuhiga.....South wind.
Rutrgenink'a.....Little pigeon.
Sakwarutrga.....He who eats raw flesh.
Sa^ljamaninga.....Grizzled walking person.
Si-ok'uruspinga.....Leaves good footprints.
Sincwatrga.....Tail.
Tratrga.....Wind person.
Tcoinajireka.....He who is the first one named.
Tra^phak'irutrewinga.....Lightning crossing itself.
Tra^pjigwainga.....Lightens again.
Dja^peracana^tra^ti^winga.Lightning visible only once.
Dja^phak'iwaraga.....Forked lightning.
Dja^pherrga.....He who is? lightning.
Dja^phaniwinga.....He who makes? or accompanies? lightning.
Dja^phik'iegaga.....He who makes? moving lightning.
Dja^pguhiga.....Lightning that returns.
Dja^lwewinga.....Lightning that goes.
Dja^pdjaga.....Standing lightning.
Dja^pdjikerwinga.....Lightning that flashes suddenly,
Dja^pkra^kranga.....Zigzag lightning or lightning circling and recoiling.
Tra^ti^minank'a.....Sitting in sight.
Trazoha^phiga.....Lightens the highland marsh.
Tri-oha^phiga.....He who lightens up the lodge.
Triwaijaga.....He who makes one abandon lodge and flee.
T^a aninank'a.....Kept aflying?
T^a^guhiwinga.....He who returns flying.
Wahok'aga.....The marksman.
Wak'andja hadjagip'iwinga.Thunderbird that likes to be seen.
Wak'andja ciriga.....Bad Thunderbird.
Wak'andja yinagiwinga.....Thunder queen.
Wak'andjagiponiga.....Young Thunderbird waiting.
Wak'andjaga.....Thunderbird.
Wak'andja giw'iinxga.....Thunderbird whirling.
Wak'andjaguw'inga.....Thunderbird returning.
Wak'andjan'ingra'ink'a....Very small Thunderbird.
Wak'andjap'inga.....Good Thunderbird.
Wak'andjaxaga.....Yellowish Thunderbird.
Wak'andjaxiguhiga.....Thunderbird returning smoke.
Wak'andjaxunaga.....Thunderbird small.
Wak'andjaxrpga.....Black Thunderbird.
Wak'andjatrcoiw'inga.....First Thunderbird.
Wak'andja trcga.....Green Thunderbird.
Wakte'emaniw'inga.....He who walks killing.
Wani-ak'axiga.....Crow hankering for flesh.
Wan'ik'tra^w'inga.....Changing bird.

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Wap'akonaąk'maniga.....The great dreadful one that walks.
Warutreniga.....He who makes (the grass) rusty-yellow by eating.
Waushinaniga.....Walking hail.
Waterukonaąga.....Judge of the contest.
Waziks.....Pine.
Waągerutrga.....Man eater.
Wip'amaąkerew'igga.....Rainbow.
Wiregorgew'igga.....Star woman.
W'ipyanaerga.....He who pens up ducks.
Wonąyirobugga.....Warrior chief.
Wodjâ'guhiga.....He who returns and strikes.
Wodi"w'igga.....She who strikes.[10]
Koxmaniga.....Walking and making the sound of *koxo'*.
Ahu-awiaga.....Raise her wing.
Ahutco.....Blue wing.
Na"gedjawinga.....Real tree woman.
Maąxiwpga.....Black cloud.
Maąxiwązerdrga.....Big white cloud.
Ahu-ijipga.....Short winged.
K'eratrowpga.....Black sky (means properly the firmament).
Kerodjâ"erpga.....Black hawk.
Maąxiruxąga.....He who makes the clouds have rays behind them.
P"etcda-ahiga.....Fire starter.
P"etcheraga.....Has fireplace.
Hok'awas.....Darkness.
Nąąik'isumaniga.....Hails as he walked.
Teorumiąąk'a.....Bits blue.
Hunąit'aga.....Speaks as a chief.
Nerozaga.....Scratches tree.
Na"nawahigaga.....He who brings up a stick in his mouth.
Ma"hodja"pga.....He who flashes on the earth.
Hana"djadjairewigga.....Seen by all.
Waągedjaraga.....Belongs to the upper regions.
Maąxizoruxutrga.....Looks at the clouds.
Ma"cuągiaąga.....Flapping and shaking his feathers.
Ahągiriniwigga.....Shining wings.
Heyeniąga.....Young swan.
Maąk'uhodja"pga.....Flashes under the earth.
Warudjazaga.....Comes making a noise.
Waągedjahuga.....He who comes from above.
Na"i"nok'iga.....Lone tree.
Waągwazopaiga.....Holy man.
Ximaniga.....Walking in mist.
Xiguga.....Comes in mist.
Xawi"aza"aąiga.....Bends the brush.
Teacąąąga.....Oak tree.
Na"nazągga.....Bends the tree down.
Na"djidjąga.....Comes on the tree.
Ma"djidjąga.....Comes on the ground.
K'eniągga.....He who thunders.
Teiwi"djikaehiga.....Makes *teiwi"* in coming.
Wak'undjananiga.....Thunder walker.
Ma"edja"maniga.....Mightily walking.

[10] This made Dorsey's list of Bird clan names. Those following were collected by the author.

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Mangikuntega.....Shakes the earth.
Teonimanige.....Walks first.
Djapdjirobige.....Streak of lightning.
Manxiwimanige.....He who walks in the cloud.
Ahu-lusetega.....Long wings.

## The Bear Clan

### INTRODUCTION

Seven versions of the Bear clan origin myth were obtained, so that for this clan, at least, a fairly intensive study of the variations and their significance can be made. Perhaps the most interesting fact to point out is the apparent existence of two recognized versions, one called the minor or false and the other the true. The complete version was only told when the interrogator had paid enough.[14] The minor version is not at all concerned with the origin of the Bear clan but appears to be largely an account of the origin of the reciprocal relations of the Bear and Wolf clans. The second is the real origin myth. The version obtained does not, however, seem complete.

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173
[123]

The typical origin myths (excluding the fifth version) are of two types, those that speak of Earthmaker creating the ancestors of the clan and those that do not mention his name. Undoubtedly those versions that do not mention Earthmaker's name are the older. Those that speak of Earthmaker show clearly the influence of the general origin myth and of shamanistic systematization. This is particularly apparent in the sixth version, which was told in connection with the bear feast.

The subject matter of the myths relates to the manner in which the bears came to the great gathering at Green Bay, the older versions having them originate from the water and the later versions having them created by Earthmaker and sent to the earth. In the former they are distinctly heroic animals and in the latter vague spirit animals. The nature of the relation of these animals to the present clansmen is not clearly stated in the myths, and there is not the slightest mention of the present current belief on the subject. The myths seem almost entirely concerned with the question of the origin of the disciplinary functions of the clan and of its relationship to the Wolf and a few of the other clans.

It is difficult to explain the remarkable differences in the various versions. Comparing them with versions of the clan origin myths of the other clans, it seems likely that the short accounts represent the more archaic versions and the longer accounts those versions that

[14] My informant said, "If a person asked me about the origin of Bear (i. e., of my clan) and did not give me enough gifts or make enough offerings, I would tell him the minor version. Not until he gave me all that was necessary would I tell him the true account."

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614 173 have been subjected to literary and shamanistic remodeling. Only the shorter accounts show in their subject matter and presentation certain affinities to the origin myths of the other clans, the longer ones being entirely different. Another cause for these marked differences may lie in the circumstance that since the longer accounts were associated with semi-esoteric ceremonies, the war-bundle feasts, they were known to but few individuals in the clan, whereas the shorter legends could be learned by anyone who chose to pay for 614 them. To this must also be added the fact that presumably some of the accounts current were based on hearsay knowledge.

[554] The Bear clan was, next to the Thunderbird clan, the most important in the tribe. Its lodge was either in the center of the vil- [361] lage, opposite that of the Thunderbird clan, or at the extreme end, depending upon the scheme of village organization accepted as [727] correct. In it were confined the prisoners of war and the insignia of office possessed by the clan, such as the so-called standards, really crooks, and the so-called *namazinizini*. Some individuals also claimed [513 that unmarried men were allowed to sleep in the lodge, although they 345] were not clear as to whether they did this in order to guard the prisoners confined there or simply used it as a club house.

The clan songs are given on page 235. The same songs are used [533] when gathering the clansmen together to select soldiers.

Apart from the war bundle or war bundles, the Bear clan possessed 614 three insignia—a war club of a definite shape, the curiously whittled 778 baton of authority called *namazinizini*, and the crooks used in battle called *hoke'reu*. Whenever the clan was exercising any of its functions the leader would always hold in his hands the *namazinizini*.

The functions of the clan were probably the most important in the tribe and were entirely disciplinary. The author obtained the following description from an old Winnebago:

614 625 The Bear clansmen are the soldiers or sergeants-at-arms of the tribe. They have complete control of everything concerning discipline. Whenever the Winnebago are traveling or moving (i. e., on their various seasonal moves), the Bear clansmen lead, and wherever they decide to stop, there the leader would put his stick in the ground and the other Bear clansmen would do the same, arranging them all in a row pointing toward the direction in which they were going. The main body of the tribe would follow at a certain distance. No member of the tribe would dare pass ahead of the row of sticks. If, for instance, the tribe was on the fall move and traveling toward a country in which there was plenty of game, should any individual go back and around the sticks in order to kill game on his own account, the soldiers (Bear clansmen) would, as soon as he was detected, go over to his lodge and burn it up with all its contents and break all his dishes. The only thing they would spare would be his life and that of the other members of his family. If the one who had transgressed the rules made any attempt at resistance he would be severely whipped. If he refused to submit to this and took up his fire arms to fight, the soldiers would stand there calmly, but the moment he made an attempt to shoot they would kill him. In such a case nothing would be said either by the rest of the tribe or his relatives about

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the matter. If, on the other hand, he submitted to whatever punishment the Bear clansmen inflicted on him without resistance and apologized to them, then they would build him a new lodge and supply it with better goods than those which they had been compelled to destroy. 614 625

This is the way in which the soldiers act when they are on duty. They never jest and their word is a command. If it is not immediately obeyed, their next move is to punish. For that reason one generally listens to them and their commands. When they are not on duty they are the same as other people. Different members of the tribe are on duty at different times, for the leader changes them about frequently.

If a field of rice is found in some swamp or lake the Bear clan people are informed and they go over and keep watch over it and give every person an equal chance at picking it. If a person sneaks away and takes advantage of the others, the Bear clan people punish him. [222 262] [685]

The Bear clansmen guard the village almost all the time. When a council is held they guard the council lodge, and when a person is tried for some crime, particularly that of murder, a trial which generally takes place in the Thunderbird clan lodge, then they carefully guard this lodge, lest the prisoner try to escape or his relatives or confederates try to rescue him. [623 692] 682

Certain actions and remarks are not permitted in the Bear clan lodge. They are the following: 614 625 784

To peep into the lodge.

To make the remark that they live in a nice lodge.

To sit in the doorway.

To give a deep sigh or snort inside the lodge.

Should any person do one of these forbidden things, the Bear clansmen would be compelled to give the most valued thing in the lodge to the offender.

If a man seduced a woman, he was brought to the lodge of the Bear clan and severely whipped. If the soldier whipped him too severely, he in turn was whipped. 614 625 684

If a murderer was brought to the Bear clan lodge and the chief of the tribe asked that the man be freed, the rest of the tribe would beg the relatives of the murdered man to relent; but if the murderer was turned over to the soldiers, they would take him to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives and let one of them kill him. [622] 682

According to one informant, the Deer clansmen acted as servants to the Bear clan. 614

The Bear and the Wolf clans are friends, and although, as we indicated on page 201, each clan is paired off with another, the relationship of the Bear and Wolf clans is particularly intimate. It was even claimed that a Bear clansman would revenge the death of a Wolf clansman. For no other clans did the author hear this statement made. The women are addressed by the men and by each other as "my opposite," referring unquestionably to the positions in the council lodge. [551]

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the council lodge. According to another informant, the Bear clan is the Deer's friend, and therefore they bury one another.

Burial, as was the case for all members of the lower phratry, was in the ground. Opinions varied as to what clan was supposed to bury a Bear man, some people claiming that it would have to belong to the upper phratry, others that it was incumbent upon the Wolf clan. It seems that the latter custom is the one followed at the present time and one which is considered old, to judge from the account of an actual funeral (cf. p. 148). The body was always buried with a miniature Bear clan war bundle. According to one informant, a bow and arrows were occasionally placed in the hands of the corpse, in addition to some tobacco. According to another informant, the facial marks were charcoal across the forehead and red marks under the lips in direct imitation of the bear.

The facial decoration for the corpse consisted of two parallel marks across the forehead, the upper one red and the lower one black, and the painting of the entire chin red (pl. 46). The red paint on the chin was interpreted as a smile, for the Bear clansmen were supposed to greet death with a smile, as they were returning to their clan ancestors. The statement was also made that Bear clansmen should not mourn the death of any of their comrades.

There is a specific Bear clan feast at which no one is permitted to laugh or talk, nor is anyone allowed to make any noise while drinking soup. The feasters must eat with their left hand.

One of the most interesting of the ceremonies associated with the Bear clan is the so-called bear or soldier dance (*manuᵃpe waci*). It was described to the author as follows:

When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village the people go to the chief and say "Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!" And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks as follows: "My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease." Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well.

It is quite clear that this "healing" function of the clan is intimately associated with the powers supposed to be bestowed upon individuals by Bear spirits. In fact, we are really dealing with a society possessing the power of healing disease in which membership, however, is restricted to members of the Bear clan.

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The following dog names were obtained: 614

A black dog with yellow eyebrows and breast is called *hcaiga'ruyega*, Opens-beehives; black female dog, *hotekihiga*, Picks-acorns; black dog with white around the neck, *hote hagawanuga*, Runs-for-acorns. The chief also had the privilege of calling a dog *naruzuga*, to show his superiority over the other members of the Bear clan. From another informant the following were obtained: *Teapiracotega*, Eats-everything-except-hide; *teahorawcka*, Pulls-out-deer-liver. 231 552

ORIGIN MYTHS

FIRST VERSION [11]

Informant, member of the clan: In the beginning a bear came walking on the ocean. When he got to the shore he flew off as a raven and alit on the shore. The first being he saw was a Dog clansman. Then he entered the lodge and sat opposite him. That is 614 539 776

FIG. 35.—Diagram of Bear lodge.

why they call one another friends, or "he who sits opposite me." From the fact that he flew off as a raven we have a name (*kazijigaga*). The lodge had four doors, one on each end and one on each side (fig. 35). They landed at Green Bay, where a great gathering was held of all the clans. The other Bear clansmen claim that it was water foam that flew from the water, and it is from that fact that they obtained so much life. The fact that he (the bear) changed himself twice is the reason for his greatness among his fellow clansmen. Originally it was the fourth born who was sent from across the ocean.

SECOND VERSION

Informant, father of above: In the beginning 10 brothers started from across the ocean to the great clan meeting. When they got near, four waves came ashore and a raven flew from the waves, but when it alit (on land) it was a bear that walked. They were the greatest

[11] There are so many versions of the origin of the Bear clan that I think it best to give all I obtained. They are all discussed on p. 232.

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in power, as they had changed themselves twice. There they crossed the tracks of the Wolf clan, and they said, "Our friends have gone by." Then they went and sat opposite the Wolf people. The Wolf and Bear clans must bury one another.

The 10 men left their father and mother across the ocean.

The Bears should paint their faces with charcoal from burnt basswood and red paint. The face should be painted red and black alternately crosswise in stripes, or black on the upper half and red on the mouth and chin. Women are painted with red markings on each cheek and with charcoal markings in the center of the cheek.

THIRD VERSION

Informant, member of the Bear clan: It is supposed that Earthmaker ordered a meeting of all the animals to take place at Green Bay, and that the Soldiers (another name for the Bear clan) were also to attend.

In the beginning Earthmaker created all things in the form of animals, but at this gathering they (the originators of the various clans!) were to become human. When all was in readiness to start, it was decided that the families of those animals who were to become the ancestors of the Winnebago clans were each to send one representative, and that the one who was thus chosen, accompanied by his wife, was to become transformed on that occasion. Of the soldiers (i. e., the bears) the youngest was sent. He had three brothers, of whom the eldest had black hair, the second dark red hair, and the third blue or green hair. They were the chiefs of the villages from which they had started.[18] Only the youngest, however, was sent to the earth to attend the meeting. When he emerged at a place to the north of Green Bay he came from out the earth. When they emerged (the bear and his wife) it was a very fine day. As they were coming they heard voices in the distance saying, "The soldiers are coming." As they started to walk their footprints seemed imprinted with the blue of the sky—i. e., with daylight. A name has originated from this fact (*Ha"bamanina*, "He-who-walks with-the-day"). As his wife was with him, he immediately started to hunt. (It seems that by this time the bear had some followers, for some would from time to time ask whether they were going to eat, and he would answer yes and tell them to hunt for food.)

When the youngest of the brothers started, the brothers who remained behind told him "to remember them" with regard to tobacco, red feathers, and food, and therefore after he had started he told some of his followers to go ahead and bring food of such and such a kind, so that when he arrived at certain camping places those sent

[18] It must be remembered that all this is taking place in the heavens, in the spirit abode of the bears. The color translations are only approximate.

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ahead would be there before him ready with the food. After the first meal they started out again, and soon they came across the track of a member of some other clan, and they said, "Our friend has gone by." The latter clan had also said in coming, "Our friend must have come by." Then they came to the place where a large lodge had been constructed. When all were inside, the animal-beings wished to start a camp fire, and they called upon all those present to start it; but no one except the Thunderbirds could do it, so they made the Thunderbirds chiefs of the tribe. As, however, they were to have a number of chiefs, they called upon the Water-spirits to be chiefs of the lower division. Of the third division, the soldiers were to be the chiefs. The latter were to be in charge of discipline. That is the origin of the Bear or Soldier clan.

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FOURTH VERSION

Informant, member of the clan [so-called "true" version]: Earthmaker made all things, and then he created man and woman, and he placed them in the south. He gave them charge of some of the day or life. All the creatures on the earth and all the birds of the air he was in charge of. He was going to start up from below and walk toward the north. All the creatures went with him. He walked forth with all the creatures. When he arrived on earth all the other clans had already gathered at one place. When he arrived they said, "Our soldiers have come. Make room for them." So it was said. And he said to them, "The things Earthmaker created me for, those I will do. Therefore, wherever you live or wherever you gather together I will look after your village; even to the edge of the clearing, that far I will make it sacred for you; and if you are ever overcome by sickness and you ask me to arise and help you, your sickness will leave you. And while he spoke of his power for four days the weather had been good, and no wind blew from any direction. The soldier was thus in charge of affairs. And as he spoke thus all birds with sharp claws flew above him in a circle.

On the fourth day all the clans left for their respective homes. Now even to this day he, the bear, is still in charge of the people.

FIFTH VERSION

Informant, same as of fourth version [so-called "minor" version]: In the south, where he emerged and came upon our earth, there was a spring which gave forth white water. When he was about to come out, the hill in which he was confined shook and the spring shook also. He was not the first to come out, for his attendants preceded him. Then he came out. There were 11 men. The oldest one told him to go and look around at the fields. He sent out four to look at the fields (the raspberries and all other fruits). The

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614 acorns and nuts they called beans. The four that emerged soon
539 came upon the footprints of human beings.
776 And then they returned from the fields where they had been searching for food. "Oh, my; oh, my," they said, "over there we came across the foorprints of human beings." So they spoke. "Go again," he said, "go around a larger circle." So they went farther than before, and there they saw the people who had made the footprints. "Our friends are going about here," said the ones who had made the footprints and who were wolves. "Never shall we disobey one another's word, my friends," said the bear. And the wolf answered, "It shall be so."

[627] If one of the Bear clansmen had been killed and it was reported to the Wolf clan, the latter would revenge him. The Bear clan would act similarly. Then the bear said to the wolf, "My friend, whenever you die I shall put you away so that your soul may not be bothered by bad insects." And the wolf answered, "My friend, it shall be so, and when you die I will likewise put you away so that the bad spirits may not abuse your soul." Then they parted, after shaking each other's hands. The bears returned to their home in the south. The next time they came, it was to stay. They scattered themselves all over the earth, seeking newly ripened fruit of all kinds. In this manner they are still living on earth.

SIXTH VERSION [1]

Informant, member of the clan: Earthmaker made us and as he created us thus the story has come down. The story of our creation is told as follows:

"Get ready. We will converse together over this affair." So spoke the one in the south. He was but one of those whom Earthmaker had created. There were four brothers. The name of the oldest one was Black Person, that of the second Red Person. (Indeed he was very red.) The third one was called Blue Person, and the fourth one White Person.

"Younger brother, how is it going to be? I (the oldest), who am speaking, not fitted do I feel myself for the task. My temperament is indeed not fitted for the task. Perhaps you might have something to tell them. Try, therefore, to say something to them. They are about to have a gathering and it is time to start. Try to say something to them." "Older brother, the truth do you speak. I also feel even as you have said; I am not fitted for it. I really don't consider myself equal to the task. My younger brother only is the one fitted for it. He is clever. Our younger brother, he only must be the one." "The truth you have spoken, my brother. Our youngest brother only is fitted for the task. The announcement of the gathering has already been made, so let us council over it imme-

[1] Told as the origin myth of the Bear heart.

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distely. Let us get ready. Our younger brother, he is patient and strong-minded. On the earth he must go and we will remain here. To take care of the home we will remain here. Whatever he says it shall be so. In that wise will we think. Earthmaker has ordained that the gathering shall take place and that we are to live our lives there (on earth). Our younger brother he will go and live on the earth. As he is about to go to the earth, we will ask him to remember us.

"Younger brother, when you arrive on earth, whatever offerings you obtain, send them back to us as you walk along. When you start out you will appear with life. This you will take with you. This will be your task. Be careful that you perform everything correctly. When you arrive there, it will be necessary to give names to the human beings and to their dogs.

"Younger brother, when you start out toward the earth you will be holy. And when you are on earth and your first boy is born, call him He-who-is-very-black, and call the second one (*wajiga*) Brown-bear, the third one Blue-bear, and the fourth one White-bear. And if girls are born to you, call the first one Night-walking-woman, the second one Daylight-as-she-walks, the third one She-who-thrusts-herself-within-a-lodge, and the fourth one Visible-footprint-woman. And if your daughters have dogs which they wish to keep let them give them the following names (*wadogega*, untranslatable): Dog-pair, Third-born-girl, and Red-female-dog. Thus let it be."

When they (the bears) started, those at the gathering place listened: "Our soldiers have started; their whoops are audible." When the bear came on earth, he came across some tracks. "Our friends have gone by," he said. Finally the bears (man and woman) arrived at the gathering place; there they found all the clans assembled. The Water-spirit was the first one to come; then came the birds and then the bears. When all were assembled, they began to construct a large lodge. When it was finished, the one who had arrived first, the Water-spirit, was addressed by some of the other people. "Our chief, how are we going to make fire? Had you not better start?" "True you speak, but I do not know how. I am unable. Let some one else try it." But they all regretted and declined, saying they did not know how. So it was decided that he who made a fire would be chief. All thereupon tried, but only the Thunderbird succeeded. So he became the chief and the others all thanked him. Then the fire was distributed and all the clan fireplaces were made. Thus it was at the creation council. Now all things were finished and arranged. The Thunderbirds were the rulers of the village. The other people measured their acts by him. When the chief said do so and so, they would obey. Then the chief went out to look for food for himself and for his people, and they began to bring back

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food in the form of their relatives—i. e., in the form of the animals after whom they were named. Then the Bear people made a rule that they were to have a feast at which offerings would be made to their clan animal. And it was for him that they placed a shallow kettle at the feast. This is all.

SEVENTH VERSION

Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

At a large spring sat a male bear. He looked upon his body and it was very blue. It was even bluer than the blue of the sky. As the blue from the sky illuminated, so he was. He sat as though he was part of the day. He was a chief and his name was Blue-chief. Toward one side he looked and there stood twelve men. Then the earth began to quake and something came out from the spring. Because something had come out from under the earth that is why the earth quaked. Blue-bear named him Earth-shaker. Then the earth began to quake again and now it was worse than before and Blue-chief named the one who emerged Earth-quaker. And then for the third time the earth began to tremble, even much more than before. So much did it tremble that the day itself trembled; and those that were not solidly attached to the earth came to the top and all manner of fruit was scattered over the earth. When he came out Blue-chief named him Gives-forth-fruit-as-he-walks. And again for the fourth time the earth began to roar and tremble and even the day trembled. Then one came out. So he was named, Makes-the-day-tremble. Thus they were all named as they came out. Then Blue-bear was told by Earthmaker, "This is all that remains to be done; your friends are waiting for you." There Blue-bear talked with Earthmaker, the latter telling him what he was to do. Then they started to the place where all the other clans were gathering, at Red Banks. As they came, all the leaves that had rough edges became human and all the trees that had prickers became human, and all the birds that had sharp claws and were able to claw anything, they all became human, and the snakes that had sharp fangs became human. Thus they went. Those of the air went in the air and those of the earth went on the earth, and nothing could cross their path. Even the earth trembled as they walked.

When they got to the gathering place they were told that seats were reserved for their friends (meaning them). But, said Blue-bear, "We did not come for that purpose, so we will not sit down. We were intended for something else by Earthmaker. As long as this world exists we will take care of you within the confines of your villages. We will not permit any evil spirits to enter these confines. The seats you offered us will remain as they are, so that if at any time the clans are gathered again our place will be reserved. Then the

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crowd dispersed and went home. Blue-bear said that he would go home but that the rest were to live on this earth and that they would be the soldiers of this earth. That is the origin of the Bear clan. 614 539 776

When a bear is killed on earth, the Bear clansmen do not mind it, but they laugh and feel good. When one of the Bear clan dies, they say, "Don't cry, for he has gone home." Then they paint his jaws red to give him the appearance of laughing.

When a bear is killed on earth the spirit returns to Blue-bear, and so it is with the Bear clansmen. This is the story of the Bear clan.

All the birds, trees, snakes, and everything of its kind have soldiers. [825] The sharp-clawed birds are soldiers of the birds and all the snakes that have fangs and all the trees that have prickers are soldiers of their kind. All the animals and living things of the earth have soldiers among them. The ugliest tempered ones of their kind are soldiers of whatever class they belong to. Oftentimes when a person gets angry on earth they would say, "The soldier; it is because he has a soldier nature." (Whoever has the power of hurting one of his fellow-beings and does it has a soldier nature.) This is the story of the Soldier clan.

If they had said in the beginning, "This or that clan will never do anything wrong," then the rest of the clans would never have done so. The Soldier clan opens the way for anyone, of any clan, at any time, to take up his soldier nature. 614 533

## CLAN SONGS

*Song 1*

Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.

*Song 2*

Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.

*Song 3*

Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?

*Song 4*

Who can be above?
Who can be above?
Who can be above?
Who can be above?

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CLAN NAMES

WUNJ HIX'IK'ARAIHERA (BEAR CLAN)[10]

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Hagedje minagk'a.....Sitting opposite.
Awanenga.....He who is shot in.
Ogep'ahiga.....The one with black claws.
Ci^ank'a.....Coarse-grained fat.
Ragu^i^nega.....He who is coveted.
Hahi-atriwigga.....Dwelling on a hillside.
Hak'iridjewigga.....Comes back.
Hak'irutewigga.....Crosses each other.
Hazhonlwigga.....Hunts for berries.
Ha^hoeratewigga.....Travels by night.
Ha^hewigga.....Night.
Ha^henigk'a.....Small day.
Ha^pmanigs.....He who walks by day.
Hinanlwarutega.....He who eats as he walks.
Hinigubega.....His little one who is returning.
Hinegk'hadjeriga.....He who saw a woman.
Hinegk' inek'inanegk'a...Woman sitting alone.
Hinegk' djepga.....Four women.
Hodibuga.....He who comes climbing a tree.
Hundjburega.....Black bear who is coming.
Hundjga.....The bear.
Hundjzedega.....The big bear.
Hundjzunega.....Small bear.
Hungatrak'irigs.....He who has come back to see the children.
Hungit'ega.....Prophet.
Hugkorehiga.....He who is the chief's flesh.
Hugk'uniga.....He who is made chief.
Inek'ina^jiga.....He who stands alone.
Inek'inanegk'a.....He who sits alone.
Giawenanegk'a.....He who sits quiet.
Magk'aega.....Dirt.
Manlwaruteg.....He who eats as he walks.
Ma^ok'ipiwigga.....She for whom the land is large enough.
Ma^zitcigs.....Iron lodge.
Ma^nana^pigga.....Iron necklace.
Ma^nana^wigga.....Whitish metal.
Ma^nawigga.....Metal woman.
Ma^ragodaniga.....Three notches.
Ma^na^ha^pawigga.....She who throws out the dirt with her paws.
Manu^pega.....Soldier.
Ma^p'ozirahiga.....Earth thrown up yellow.
Ma^rotca^wigga.....Straight earth woman.
Ma^nerekega.....Land cut in strips.
Ma^tca-ichjajirtpga.....Grizzly bear with striped eyes.
Ma^tcega.....Grizzly bear.
Ma^wakanaiga.....Shakes the ground by his weight.
Motciwigga.....She who dwells in the ground.
Na^ragadjewigga.....She who plays on a tree.
Na^nate^ranpwigga.....Black root.

[10] The following names are from the Dorsey manuscript.

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Na^sunk'iwings.....Bends a tree by pulling.
Na^u^ehigs.....He who makes a tree whitish by scratching off the bark.
Na^ergepings.....Good heart.
Na^tcgstexiwings.....She whose heart is difficult.
Na^trujiwings.....Yellowish red hair.
Noxtruxigs.....Breaks up a tree into small pieces.
Noruxgs.....Scrapes a tree.
Hok'awananiwings.....Who walks in darkness.
Hok'awaninank's.....He who sits in darkness.
Roziwak'antcank's.....Holy tongue.
Rohe^minank's.....Many sitting.
Si-ags.....Foot good to the taste.
Tciwojugs.....Fills the lodge.
Trugs.....Ladle.
Trugigs.....Spoon.
Wajigs.....Yellowish-red bear.
Wak'inana^p'ings.....He who has a white spot under his throat.
Wamanigs.....Walks on the snow.
Wamanuk'ogs.....He who steals habitually.
Wamankagugs.....With a white breast.
Wan^himanigs.....He who walks on melting snow.
Wa^ongunk'angs.....Vermilion.
Wank'ana^wwings.....Fens up a male.
Wank'hok'hok's.....Half a man.
Woizdjahirigs.....Laughing at his antics.
Wohinkrahirugs.....He at whom they laugh.*
Mai^nukoungs.....In charge of land.
Tcomanke hunk's.....First chief.
Sepirugs.....Real black.
Na^ljudjewings.....Red hair.
Mana^p'o hunk's.....Soldier chief.
Hok'iwaigu^wings.....She who retraces her steps.
Morudjawings.....Earth wanderer.
Ma^nunank'* hinianank's.....Sits on the earth alone.
Monings.....Hunts about the earth.
Ana^tcu^awigs.....Big armful.
Watcoginiwings.....Goes ahead of them (common to all clans).
Ma^mon'wings.....Walks on the earth.
Mangawings.....Earth coming woman.
Hotcangit'ogs.....Speaks Winnebago.
Ha^p' omanigs.....Walks with the strength of day.
Ha^hominangs.....Sits in the day.
Tcomininank's.....Sits blue.
Hundjaoungs.....Small bear.
Ha^hirukoungs.....In charge of day.
Morutra^wings.....Goes around the earth.
Motciwings.....Lives in the earth.
Tri-ona^tcigs.....Lives in the earth permanently.
Si-ona^jings.....Stands on the water.

* The following names were obtained by the author.

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## The Wolf Clan

### INTRODUCTION

614 173 Three versions of the origin myth of this clan were obtained. The second is the most interesting, for it gives the popular account of descent from the clan animal-ancestor, although it claims that he, in turn, was created by Earthmaker. One other important characteristic is the statement that the original clan ancestor married a human being and that from them the present members of the clan trace their descent. A similar type of descent is mentioned in a number of myths that can best be interpreted as village origin myths. The ownership of war bundles has also at times been linked up with descent from some spirit.

614 Very little is known at the present time about the functions of the Wolf clan. It is quite clear, however, that the clan once possessed powers of considerable importance. From the fact that the Wolf people are still occasionally called "minor soldiers" and that they are so closely linked with the Bear clansmen it is likely that their functions were similar in nature to those of the Bear people. They probably assisted the latter.

[823] Water was sacred to the Wolf clan as it also was to the Water-spirit clan. A person was not allowed to tell a Wolf clansman that he looked like a wolf nor allowed to sit on a log in a Wolf clan lodge. [682] If a man kills a Wolf clansman accidentally and then sits on the log in a Wolf lodge, he has to be freed.

According to one informant, the Wolf clan at one time possessed four sticks, which they would use and with which they kept time while the drum was beaten.

[582] According to one informant, the Wolf clansmen were the only people who were allowed to intermarry.

The Wolf clansmen give a feast when a Bear child is born, to show respect for their friend. They give the child a name of their own clan.

[796] The Wolf feast is held in the spring of the year, when the ice melts from the creeks and everything begins to grow. At the feast the [262 252] clan origin myth is told and the members of the other clans are allowed to hear it. The food used is boiled rice.

### ORIGIN MYTHS

#### FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 539 776 [823] In the beginning the Wolf clan people came from the water. Therefore their bodies are of water—i. e., their sacred possession is water. There were four male wolves and four female wolves, and as they came up from the sea and swam toward the shore, one after the other, they caused waves to go before them. Therefore one of

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their clan names is *Ware*. They first appeared as wolves and later on they became humans. After swimming to the shore they lay on their backs to dry themselves; and that also is a name, a female name, *She-who-spreads-herself-out-to-dry*, and another name is *He-who-comes-up-first*. When they became human they built themselves a lodge and lived in it, but they had no fire. Then the Thunders came down and alit on a big oak tree that stood near their lodge. At first the Thunders were afraid of the Wolf people and they would not enter their lodge. That is why we have a name *He-who-is-afraid*. They asked the Thunders to come into their lodge and they had great difficulty in persuading them. After they entered the Wolf lodge they wanted to go home again immediately, but the Wolf clan people asked them to stay over for four days. From that fact a name has originated, *One-who-is-waited-for-by-the-Thunders*. The Thunders stayed, but not in the lodge of the Wolf people. They built themselves one just outside their door. Then they built a fire in it. After the four days were over the Thunders went home. 614 539 776 [551]

When a Wolf clansman dies the relatives paint his forehead blue (pl. 46) and the soul of the deceased is supposed to go west, and it never looks back as it goes on its journey, as this would be an indication of its longing for something in this world, and it should not do that. When the soul gets to the spirit home the relatives already there would ask the newcomer, "What did our relatives say when you were about to come?" And the deceased would answer, "They said that they would not come for some time." [764 775]

The food that is prepared at the four nights' wake is supposed to last them forever.

This is the end of the story of the creation.

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

All people claim to have come from some animal, and all are supposed to come from Earthmaker.

Four married wolves had a lodge in the middle of the ocean. They had four colors. The wolves all had children. One of them had 10, and the youngest one of them 10 is the one that came to this earth. When they came to this island, the first thing they saw was the footprint of the bear, and they said, "Our friend has gone by." There (at the place of gathering) they saw human beings and they liked their ways. Therefore they went home again and asked to come to earth and live with the human beings, and they were given permission to do so. Wherefore the two (man and wife) came here again the second time. When they were about to come everything was calm, and there were no waves on the ocean. They started out swimming, and they caused two waves to go before them. When they came to the humans they both got married. When they came to this land

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614 539 776 they sang songs, but I do not know them. I was not taught them. Finally children were born to both of them, and they gave them names. They called one of them Wave on account of the wave coming before them on their starting out. Because the four original [551] wolves in the middle of the ocean had four different colors, therefore they have names *White Wolf*, *Green Hair*, *Gray Wolf*, and *Black Wolf*. When the clan began to get larger they taught their children these names.

When a large number of different clansmen are traveling and they have to cross some large stream and the wind is high, they call upon some Wolf clansman to calm the wind. This clan holds the water [823] very sacred. They do not even die in the water.

It was at this first meeting that they made friends with the Bear clan. Therefore these two clans love one another.

THIRD VERSION—TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN (FRAGMENTARY)

The original wolf brothers appeared from the bottom of the ocean. When they got to the top of the water they started for the shore singing. When they got to the shore they saw footprints of bears who had just gone by. They said, "Our friends have just gone by." That is why they are the friends of the Bear clan. They were going to the meeting place. There a black hawk was gathering together all the different clans. Finally he finished and he said, "It is done." When he said this a wolf howled. They had forgotten him. They said, "We have forgotten him. Let some one go after him." So some one went after him . . .

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CLAN SONGS

*First song*

This body of mine that I am walking.
This body of mine that I am walking.
This body of mine that I am walking.
On the earth I am speaking.

*Second song*

This body of mine that I am walking
This body of mine that I am walking
This body of mine that I am walking.
In the water am I speaking.

CLAN NAMES

CÉGÁWÉGE' HE'IE'ARAGÉRA (WOLF CLAN)*

614 Cégawéhdge.....Hunting dog.
551 Cégáxrągk'e.....Wolf.
Ręgwéwągge.....Wolf (archaic name).

* The following names are from the Dorsey file.

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Hiedjaegaga.....White-faced.
Hiedjedjegga.....Four-eyed.
Hirp'hringa.....Good-haired.
Hi'tenga.....Blue-faced.
Hominagk'a.....She who sits howling.
Hunidjegga.....Four walking.
Hunagk'ega.....Throws up the earth (with his hind legs).
Ma'ok'ocutcuminagk'a.....He who sits on the tree banks.
Nindjahega.....Coming from the water.
Nindjawanik'ega.....He who brings them back from the water.
P'ctenga.....Green forehead.
P'e-ingega.....He who has a white forehead
P'ôrunkega.....Big mud person.
Xe-ocuminagk'a.....He who sits on a bare hill.
Xe-onik'a.....He who dwells in a hill.
Xe-onetega.....He who travels to the hill.
Sintenga.....Rusky tail.
Tenawega.....He who holds a deer in his mouth.
Tenaiwega.....He who carries deer-feet in his mouth.
Tenagkehdega.....Chief wolf.
Tenagketewinga.....First wolf.
Tenaminagk'a.....Sits as a leader.
Wanuniega.....He from whom nothing is hidden.
Wanwahinega.....He who carries something in his mouth.
Wanwaigega.....Comes back with something in his mouth.
Wanawinga.....She who chews.
Winp'ega.....He who lies in wait for them.

## The Water-Spirit Clan 614

### INTRODUCTION

A rather poor version of the Water-spirit clan was obtained. It is, however, one of the few clan origin myths that contains the definite statement that the clan ancestors changed into human beings when they gathered at Green Bay. [173]

The functions of the Water-spirit clan were, in former times, exceedingly important. Almost all the informants were agreed that a chief was selected from that clan, but the exact nature of this chieftainship is not clear. One informant, himself a member of the Bear clan, said that the Water-spirit clan was the chief of the lower phratry; that the clans were arranged in three groups, one over which the Thunderbird clan ruled; another over which the Water-spirit clan ruled; and a third over which the Bear clan ruled. He insisted, however, that just as the Thunderbird clan rules over the whole tribe in a general way, so the Water-spirit clan ruled over the clans of the lower phratry. Other informants claimed that the Water-spirit clan originally ruled over the entire tribe and that its place was subsequently usurped by the Thunderbird clan. It might be best to regard the function of the Water-spirit clan as akin but subsidiary to that of the Thunderbird clan. [622] [554]

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614 Members of the clan were buried by members of the Thunderbird
[764] clan.

Water was sacred to the Water-spirits. It was considered an
[823 576] insult for a stranger to peep into a pail standing in one of their lodges.

One informant explained the custom as follows:

"If one enters a Water-spirit clan lodge and looks into a pail and there should be no water in it, the person will turn away and this action of his will be construed as begging. It would be proper to take a drink of water if some were there."

[302] A round spot is painted with blue clay on the forehead of a Water-spirit man (pl. 46).

The Water-spirit feast is held in the fall and spring. Cracked or ground corn is used. Water-spirit people partake before anyone else at this feast.

### ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 In the beginning, when the clans began to form, the Bird clans
539 came upon the earth first and alit upon an oak tree at Red Banks;
776 and when they alit upon the oak tree they became human as we are now. Then the Water-spirit clan was to appear at Within Lake; and the waters began to whirl around in the lake and all the bad things that inhabited the waters began to appear. Just before the Water-spirits appeared some burned embers came up from the waters and the whirling became faster and deeper. As all the great things began to appear it always seemed as if the Water-spirits were the next to appear, but not until the last did they come up. Thereupon the waters began to quiet down. Then a white Water-spirit appeared with its horns curved toward each other, and when it came upon the earth it became human and walked. Then the other clans said, "Now, then, this is the chief. This is all that we have been waiting for. Now we shall divide ourselves" (into groups). Then they started for the lodge of the Thunderbird clan and entered it. There they named one another and divided one another into clans and there they counciled with one another.

### CLAN NAMES

WAKUKEI HIK'IK'ARANJERA (WATER-SPIRIT CLAN)

614 Ho-ada'ja'jank'a.....Shining horns.
539 Hosa'pan.....Two horns.
Hag'i'winga.....Handsome horn.
Hosacank'a.....Five-horned.
Hodjapan.....Four-horned.
Mank'a'ujaga.....He who plants medicines.
Mank'a'hodja'pan.....He who looks at medicines.
Ma'ninip'i'winga.....Good cold spring.

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Ma^n jiwings.....Yellowish-red earth (refers to deposits from iron springs).
Ma^nunp'ags.....Second earth person.
Ni-ecgadjewings.....She who plays on the water.
Ni amanlwings.....She who walks on the water.
Ni-e^p'^wings.....She who makes water good.
Ni-a^slagewings.....Still water.
Niranags.....Stream person.
Nihugs.....He who discharges water.
Ni-ot'a^pwings.....She who jumps into the water.
Nidjolags.....Four streams.
Niwak'itwings.....Selects (?) water.
Wakdjeicirith'a.....Bad Water-spirit.
Wakdjeihungs.....Chief of the Water-spirits.
Wakdjeimanigs.....Walking Water-spirit.
Wakdjeip'ings.....Good Water-spirit.
Wakdjeie^wings.....White Water-spirit.
Hep'ings.....Good horn.
Wadjxedegs.....Big boat.
Hip'ahigs.....Sharp tooth.
Rabewings.....Beaverskin woman.
Rabowings.....Beaver.
Hejipgs.....Short horn.

## The Buffalo Clan

### INTRODUCTION

The first version of the origin myth of the Buffalo clan is of considerable interest because it gives us an idea of the manner in which a myth had to be bought. It is one of the few origin myths that gives a precise location for the origin of a particular clan. What lake is meant by *de cicik* it is impossible to say. Considerable importance should be attached, however, to the fact that their place of origin differed from that of most of the other clans, because it may indicate that the people who came to be known under the name Buffalo joined the tribe after the other clans. 614 173

The Buffalo clansmen seem to have had the function of acting as the public criers and in general of being an intermediary between the chief and the tribe. This, however, has been denied by some informants, one of them a member of the clan. Their lodge was at the southeast corner of the village. Some informants deny that they had a special lodge, however. [624 203] [361]

The Buffalo and Water-spirit clans are friends and are supposed to bury each other's members. [764]

### ORIGIN MYTH*

Informant, member of the clan: "Listen, my grandson. Those who originated from the buffaloes and the way in which they origi- 614 173 539

* The following myth is given in the precise manner in which the individual who told it to me obtained the information from one of the old men who was privileged to narrate it. Unfortunately it was impossible to obtain any other clan origin myth in the same way.

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614 173 539 [431] nated, they have heretofore told one another thus. This it is. Whenever one asked about it, they would tell him, but they would never tell him unless he brought some present. Even when they had a child whom they loved very much (and for whom they were accustomed to do everything), even to such a one they would not tell it unless he brought them gifts. Thus they would not even say the least thing about the story of their origin merely because they loved some one. It is really essential to make a gift. And if some one came, carrying a gift, the old man would ask him what he wanted and what he would like to know, as this was not the only thing gifts were made for. Then he would announce his desire. However, he would not be told in public but when he was alone. Then the old man who had the right to tell the origin myth would announce subsequently at some feast that he had told so-and-so the story of the origin of their clan and that if anyone wished to be told of the same he should in the future, when he himself had died, go to this [867] young man and ask him in the proper way. Remember, he would add, that before everything else it is the duty of an individual to try and learn of the origin of his clan.

"Father,* this I give you, a full suit of clothes. This I am giving you." "Thanks, my son. What do you wish? What do you wish to hear?" "Father, what did we originate from?" "My son, you have done well. My son, he who makes the most gifts obtains life therewith." "Well, then, father, you need not tell me now, but later, when I have made a sufficient number of gifts, then you may tell me." "My son, you have spoken well and if you do as you say, you will travel unharmed along the road of life." "Father, these also I give you, some beads and a blanket." "Thanks, my son, it is good. Now, my son, what I told you was true. I did not tell it to you because I coveted anything of yours, but truly because it is true—this, that we must make a sufficient number of presents. [431] Whoever does as you have done will obtain the possibility of a good life for himself." "Now again, father, I give you these gifts. There is enough food for you in it." "My son, you have done well, very well indeed, for the life that I am to give you is holy; and as you know, even if one was loved very much they would not tell him this merely because they loved him, as it is holy." "Father, this I give you as a gift, a horse, as I desire to know what we originated from." "Now, then, my son, you have done well. This is what I meant when I said it is holy. Therefore, my son, you have done well. Come and sit down here. Listen very carefully so that if afterwards anyone should ask you for this story you will be able to tell it well."

* He is now proceeding to give the dialogue that passed between the old man and himself when he brought the presents.

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"My son, we first originated in human form at Bad Lake (*de ciciik*).[9] From four buffalo spirits who are there, did we originate. The youngest one was clever and from him did we originate. The buffaloes asked one another what they were to do, and they then began to exert their powers, and the youngest one obtained the knowledge that there was to be a gathering of all the animals. So they all landed at a place called Red Banks. So it is said. And to the elk was given the charge of the seating arrangements. 614 539 776

"Thus did we originate. And then they counciled with one another as to how they should travel along the road of life. And as they arrived at Red Banks, each one would ask the other to do some work. And there they made a sacred (covenant)—that they would never fail to grant one another's requests. Likewise they agreed that when they died they would bury one another. The Buffalo clan and the Water-spirit clan were to bury one another, and they were to ask one another to work." [764]

CLAN SONGS 614 533

*Song 1*

Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.

*Song 2*

This earth you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

*Song 3*

This day you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

"My son, here is some more information that one in your position should seek. This should be the second thing to ask for: 'What should one say when one gives a feast?' This you should ask for, and you should boil food for the informant and then you will be taught the proper speeches. Afterwards, when anyone boils food (i. e., gives a winter feast) a kettle should first be put on for Earthmaker and one should ask him for life; that the people may live to be strong and good. Include tobacco in your offering, for although Earthmaker made the tobacco he will not take any of it of his own accord. Not until it is offered to him by humans will he take it. 867 [783] [276]

[9] The name *de ciciik* is applied to-day to Lake Michigan. However, our informant in this case applied it to Devils Lake in Sauk County, Wis. [103]

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867 782 276 Thus he made the tobacco so that humans may ask life with it, and he will grant them their desires. This is all."

### CLAN NAMES

#### THE HIN'IE'ARAIUERA (BUFFALO CLAN)

614 531
Moratcega.....He who travels the land.
Teanimaniwinga.....She who walks ahead.
Teeniąkaiga.....Suckling buffalo calf.
Teega.....Buffalo.
Teep'anu"pga.....Two buffalo heads.
Teetcu"iwinga.....First buffalo.
Teelojonigh'a.....Buffalo yearling.
Teedonigh'a.....Young buffalo bull.
Teewiąxedega.....Big female buffalo.
Wirukanaega.....He who is in control.
Hehekmanigs?.....Shaggy walker.
Teehatcwinga.....Buffalo hide blue.
Mangiksuntega.....Shakes the earth by striking
Teep'aga.....Buffalo head.
Manok'azuhiga.....Kicking up the earth.

## THE DEER CLAN

### INTRODUCTION

614 173 The first version of the origin myth of the Deer clan is in part like that of version 6 of the Bear clan origin myth and in part like that of version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth. It is the only myth that shares with version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth the account of the origin of death.

614 The Deer clan does not seem to have had any important functions, although in myth 1, it is stated that they claimed a "partial" chieftainship, whatever that may mean.

[577] It was considered an insult to tell a member of this clan that he resembled a deer.

[302] The facial painting is the same as that used for the Elk clan. (Pl. 46.)

[826 761] The Deer clan people tell one another not to sing their clan song very loudly, and also not to make any sudden movement of their limbs, for each movement might cause the death of a human being. For the same reason they are told not to weep too loudly, as each deer's limb is a symbol of one of the four directions. When, therefore, a Deer clansman moves a limb too hard when he is weeping over the decease of a member of his clan, he might be "putting some human being in the earth," and the wind would blow hard.

[552] The dog names obtained were *wankcipahonigs* and *na"natcyiaga*.

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## ORIGIN MYTHS

### FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

This is the origin story of the Deer people. In the beginning a 614
black deer accompanied by an elk appeared in the center of the 539
earth, and they went in the direction of the east. There they were 776
going. Then the black deer said, "My dear younger brother, I am heavy on account of my excessive fatness, go you alone and I will remain here." So he remained there and did not go; and then to the center of the earth, to the place from which they started, he returned. Then he came back to the earth, and again they asked him. Four times they asked. There the necklace of money ornaments he recognized, the black deer did.[24] Thus the Deer clan beat them, and therefore they have the name *Black-Deer-chief*. As they [551]
went so they returned again. Again the necklace made of money he (the black deer)[25] recognized. The earth they went around. Then again the black deer went to the east. It was a large one who went ahead, and as he was going along, to his astonishment, they reached the place from which they had started.

"My younger brother," said Black-deer, "you try to do it."[26] And the second-born went ahead and the others followed, and again they were drawn back to the place from which they started. Then the third-born went first and the others followed and the same thing happened. Then they told the fourth-born to go first, and he went in front and suddenly he struck his horn, the one on the right, upon the earth, and, behold, grass suddenly appeared. It was a very white bud that he had caused to appear. Then he struck his left horn on the earth, and he made a tree appear and the fruit of this tree was meant to be eaten. Then they ate the fruit of the tree. The top of the tree there they ate. Thus they said. And they
call a woman even to-day *She-who-eats-the-top-of-the-tree*. And then [551]
they began to walk and the earth trembled from their walking. Toward the east side they went. From this fact they have a name, *He-who-shakes-the-earth*. And again as some of the brothers were small they have the name *Small-deer*. They also have the name *Walking-leader*. And they also have names *She-who-comes-back* and *He-who-comes-back*, because in the beginning they always came back to the place from which they started. Whatever actions they went through, from these they derived their names.

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[24] The thought is not quite clear here, due to the fact that something has probably been omitted by the narrator.

[25] There seems to be a contest between the deer and the elk as to who would be able to see the "money-necklace" first. Under the term "money-necklace" they evidently mean the medallions distributed by the American Government to those whom they recognized as chiefs. The recognition of the "money-necklace" is evidently going to decide the chieftainship between the deer and the elk. [554 301]

[26] Some power is evidently drawing them back to the place from which they started.

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776
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[823]
[789]
[551]



The four cardinal points and the winds that are there, they are in control of. If on a very nice day a deer's voice is heard, that day will become bad, and if on a very bad day a deer's voice is heard, that day will become nice. The deer people are those who are in control of the weather. And they also have a name, *He-who-plays-with-the-winds*, and a woman is called *She-who-goes-with-the-wind*. The deer would always sit with the wind back of them. Thus they roamed all over the earth. Not one place on this earth did they miss.

Once, when they had come home, their eldest brother suddenly fell down (dead). "What is the matter?" they said. And the second-born said, "Our oldest brother is not saying anything. I don't know what the matter is." And then they asked their youngest brother and he said, "Our oldest brother is dead. That is the way Earthmaker arranged things." And then he talked to the dead brother and he said, "Earthmaker has made a place for you to go to now that you are dead. You have not attained a large share of life and you have left us who remain on the earth in a pitiable condition. But now that you are going home I want to ask you something. Those years that are still coming to you, distribute among your relatives. This I beg of you. And this is the second request: May the warpaths that you did not go on (by reason of your death), may the war honors that you did not obtain, may all these things be distributed among us. This I ask of you, my dear brother. And this is the third request: May the food that you did not eat, the nuts, the sweet fruits, etc., all that you liked on earth, may it all be distributed among us. This is what I ask of you. And this is the fourth request, my dear older brother: May all the wearing apparel that belonged to you as well as all the materials that you stored in back of your tent, never to be touched by you, but may we who are left behind use it all. This I ask of you. Wherever you are going, may these requests of those whom you left here behind on earth be before you."

Then the younger brother took some red paint and he said, "Brother, I am going to paint you. Thus they will recognize you at home. That is the way we will always do it hereafter. Those who are to live after us will paint us in the same way. Now this is the manner of painting. The forehead and the corners of the eye are to be painted in black and red streaks, respectively, and the chin and the front part of the throat are to be painted red." Then he dug a grave. Then they buried him. Then they sang the songs and when they were finished with this, they traveled around the earth and came to the gathering place of the clans. When they came to that place they were people—i. e., human beings. They lived their own life just as they had as deers. All the incidents of their traveling as well as all the characteristics of deers were used in the names

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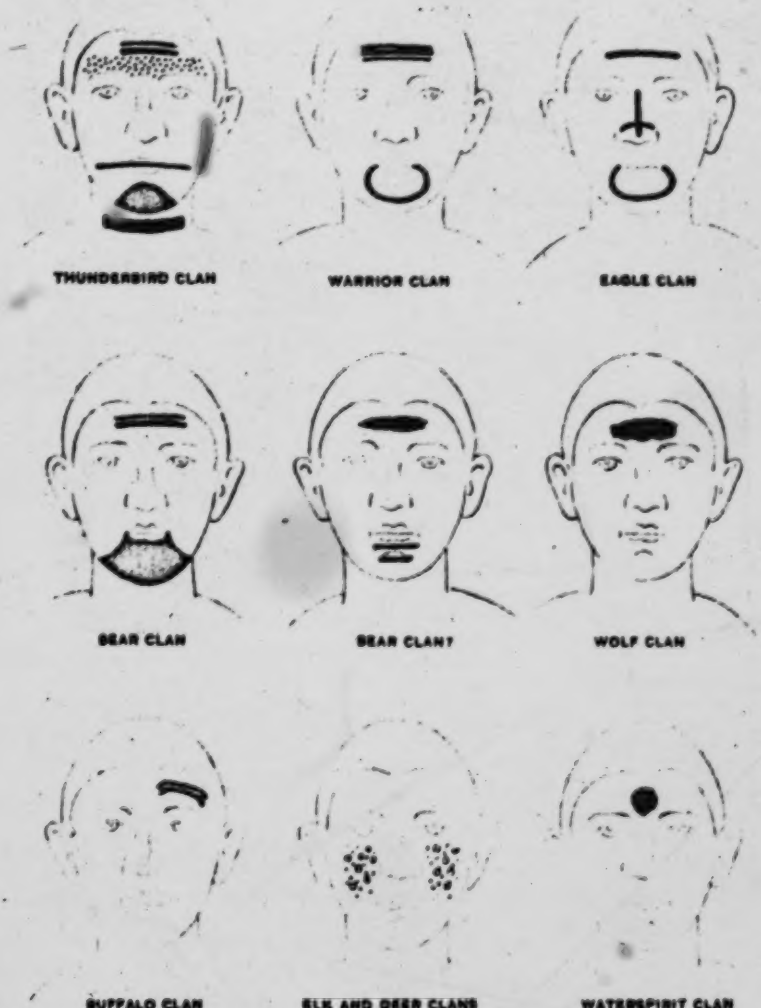


FACIAL BURIAL MARKS

[Facing P. 248 (A)

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they gave one another. Thus they have the names *White-hair, Fast-one, Little-white-teeth, Diffident-one, Horn, Pronged-horn*, etc.; and for dogs they have names also. That is the way the deer people lived in the beginning at Red Banks, Within Lake. Bands of people gathered together there, and all the clans that exist now originated there. 539 776 614

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

The Deer clan people came up at the beginning of the earth. Only one is spoken of as appearing at the beginning. He started forth but returned again that he might look for a companion. For that reason a name exists in the tribe, *He-who-comes-back*, and another is *He-who-appears-first*. After they had appeared on earth the deer blew on the original fire, which was only smoldering, and made it blaze up. For that reason they claim a partial chieftainship. The first one that appeared had a chief's medal around his neck. [551]

CLAN SONG. 614 533

I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions
I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.

CLAN NAMES

TCA HIE'IK'ARADJERA (DEER CLAN) 614 551

Tcaephûnk'a. . . . . Black deer chief.
Wagizena'p'i'ga. . . . . Wears shells around neck.
Tcanûnkes'pe'wings. . . . . Deer vagina.
Manî[illegible]. . . . . Appears in the middle of earth
Tcatroniwings . . . . . First deer woman.

## THE ELK CLAN

### INTRODUCTION

In the Elk clan origin myth we find the clear statement that Earth-maker created the ancestors of the clan, and that they were human beings. The myth resembles a village origin myth more than it does a clan origin myth. 614 [773 776]

The Elk clan seems to have had certain functions relative to the distribution of fire through the village and in camp. It was never a very large clan.

The Elk people claim half of the fire, and thus half of the chieftainship. They never hold fire toward any one. [372] [622]

Elks are buried by the Snake, Water-spirit, and Eagle clans, although the first has the preference. [764]

White clay is used in painting the dead.

According to another informant, the facial painting consisted of white and blue dots on the face (pl. 46). [302]

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### ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 539 776 Earthmaker created all human beings. When he was about to create them, then he thought it would be good to see something moving. So he made a man and he was very good. But Earthmaker thought he ought to have company, so he made a woman. Then he thought to himself, "How should they know one another." So some one came to life through the water and this one was an animal. He made a village in the west for the human beings, and he thought about it and then he thought he would ask the humans what they would like to live through (i. e., become reincarnated), and they said the elk, because the elk never committed any crime. The humans were not to commit any crime. So the four elks started for the meeting place at Green Bay, Red Banks. They had up to that time supposed that they were the only living things, but Earthmaker let the oldest of the elks know of the existence of the other clans. So there they came and lived as Winnebagos. Thus it is said. This is all that they ever tell.

### CLAN NAMES

HU"WA" HIK'IK'ARAIJERA (ELK CLAN)

614 551
Roha"maniwinga.....Many walking.
Rok'uhumaniwinga.....She who walks with the wind.
Teatchiruzewinga.....She who pursues the wind.

### SNAKE AND FISH CLANS

614 No information of any consequence was obtained about these two clans. Almost all the informants claimed that they were recent additions to the tribe. Only a very few survivors of either clan are still living.

### CLAN NAMES

WAK'A" HIK'IK'ARAIJERA (SNAKE CLAN)

614 551
Hąnkcimąk'a.....Lying snake.
Hip'abiga.....He who has sharp teeth.
Hirodinga.....She who has attained her full growth.
K'ik'urudiwinga.....She who crawls.
K'irixminąnk'a.....Sits coiled up.
Gisewok'inąnk'a.....Sits quiet in her (home).
Hokciga.....High snake.

HO HIK'IK'ARAIJERA (FISH CLAN)

Ho-apcudjewinga.....Red fish scale woman.

CLAN AFFILIATIONS NOT OBTAINED

Ha"boguwinga.....East woman.
Hąnkminąnk'a.....Sitting chief.

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K'ik'ununtrga.....Licks herself.
Mank'uhorudjega.....Roams under the earth.
Mankorowinga.....
Kaboninga.....Sits solidly attached.
Mank'urudjewinga.....Her earth she spreads out.
Tringanonga.....Walks as a white house.
Sinihinoniwinga.....Cold walking woman.
Ra'nagunga.....Coming white.
Wank'inok'iga.....Lone man.
Warubra'zonunga.....Small attendant.
Hominankpinga.....Sits good as she comes.
Na'nawahigunga.....He who brings something in his mouth.
K'inhiyungiwinga.....Fighting princess.
Mogiongominank'a.....Lies in the middle of the earth.
Waxurutrmanewinga.....Moves along as she walks.
Wankroga.....Green man.
Hihina'pga.....Comes out.
P'ink'ik'unga.....Fixes himself.

## Clan Names

### FIRST FOUR GIVEN IN EACH CLAN

Although it has been discontinued for some time, the Winnebago claim that in former times it was customary to assign definite names to the first four children born in each clan. In all probability this custom extended not only to the fourth but even to the sixth child, as lists were obtained that gave six names. This would correspond to the fixed number of birth names. No significance need be attached to the exact number, as it was intended beyond any doubt to cover the number of children generally born within one family. Within these limits, then, the names were fixed, at least theoretically.

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First four names of Thunderbird clan; informant, member of clan:

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First. Nanozek'a.....Bending bough of tree.
Second. Nadja'pga.....Lighting the tree.
Nai'awagicirga.....Broken tree top.
Hana'trnanugunga.....All heard it.

First four names of Thunderbird clan; informant, member of Warrior clan:

First. Hop'inga.....Good one.
Second. Warudjaxiringa.....Makes noise as he comes?
Third. Wak'andjamonga.....Thunder walker.
Wak'andjahunga.....Thunder chief.

Informant, member of Thunderbird clan:

First. Wak'andjahunga.....Thunder chief (male).
Second. Ma'djidjega.....He who alights on the earth (male).
First. Hok'awaa winga.....Darkness (female).
Second. Na'manogwinga.....Bends (weighs) the tree down (female).

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Informant, member of Elk clan:

First. Wak'andja ssgga.....Black thunderbird.
Second. Wak'andja-tsega.....Green thunderbird.
Third. Wak'andja sgaga.....White thunderbird.
Fourth. Wak'andja cutega.....Red thunderbird

Names of Warrior clan; informant, member of the clan:

First. Wonajire waghcik'a.....Warrior man (male)
or Nazazdaga.....Big tree (male).
Second. Na'i'nak'iga.....Lone tree (male).
Third. Ma'cdja'nanaga.....Walks mightily (male).
Fourth. Wonayiraga.....War (male).
Fifth. P'otcda-ahiga.....Fire-starter (male).
Sixth. Hingnanaiga.....Chief walker (male).
First. Ahagiriniwinga.....Shining wings (female).
Second. Ahutrwinga.....Blue wing (female).
Third. K'inahiyanawinga.....Fighting princess (female).
Fourth. Ahap'i'winga.....Good wing (female).
Fifth. Nijanaiwinga.....Rain walker (female).

First four names of Eagle clan; informant, member of Warrior clan:

First. Nagk'iridjaga.....Returns to the tree.
Second. Ahanak'a.....Strikes his wings.
Third. Tnazrophagk'a.....Eagle chief.
Fourth. Tnazrepa'nanik'a.....Small eagle.

Bear clan; informant, member of the clan:

First. Tcanaghhagk'a.....Bear chief (male)
Second. ?.....? (male).
Third. Wak'inan'p'iaga.....He who has white spot under his throat (male).
Fourth. Hundjnadaga.....Big bear (male).
Fifth. Hiwciaga.....(Male).
Sixth. Nonanaga.....Scrapes a tree (male).
First. Hak'iwaiga'winga.....Retraces her footsteps (female).
Second. Tcanaghstrowinga.....Blue bear (female).
Third. Ha'cgadjawinga.....Plays on wood (female).
Fourth. Aagawawinga.....Delicious bear (female).
Fifth. Hundj hinagk'a.....Female bear (female).
Sixth. Hina'o'i'winga.....Visible footprints (female).

Bear clan; informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:

Maiyaga'higa.....Shakes the earth.
Wahanghanatcga.....Makes (it) quake.
Hankiwanaanaiga.....Gives forth fruit as he walks.
Ha'hinga'higa.....Makes the day tremble

Bear clan; informant, member of the clan:

First. Magk'inhhanhagk'a.....He who sits in the middle of the earth.
Second. Hahaw'a'nainaiga.....He who carries the ensign
Third. Ha'hidja'dja'higa.....Makes the day tremble?
Fourth. Na'nawhicaga.....Breaks the tree tops.

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**Wolf clan; informant, member of Bear clan:**

First. Hi'tcega.....Blue hair.
Second. Keratcega.....Blue sky.
Third. Cuñktcunk' zotcga.....Gray wolf.
Fourth. Cuñktcunk' ogaga.....White wolf.

**Wolf clan; informant, member of Thunderbird clan:**

First. Cunktcunk' zotcga.....Gray wolf.
Second. Cunktcunk' ogaga.....Black wolf.
Third. Cunktcunk' ogaga.....White wolf.
Fourth. Cunktcunk' cutcga?.....Red wolf(?)

**Wolf clan; informant, member of the clan:**

First. Cunktcunk' ogaga.....White wolf.
Second. Cunktcunk' zotcga.....Gray wolf.
Third. Hi'tcega.....Green hair.
Fourth. Cuñktcunk' ogaga.....Black wolf.

**Water-spirit clan; informant, member of Eagle clan:**

First. Wahdjezi ogaga.....White water-spirit.
Second. Wahdjezi pinga.....Good water-spirit.
Third. Wahdjezi tcega.....Green water-spirit.
Fourth. Wahdjezi ogaga.....Black water-spirit.

**Elk clan; informant, member of the clan:**

First. Ha'wunga.....The elk.
Second. Hanatcga.....Prong-horned.
Third. Ha'wungaga.....Black elk.
Fourth. Hi'ugaga.....White hair.

**Deer clan; informant, member of Elk clan.**

First. Tcuga.....The deer.
Second. Tcu'ruk'iga.....Lone deer.
Third. Tcugaga.....White deer.
Fourth. Tcuugaga.....Black deer.

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along, the amount of food required, the number of moccasins necessary, the number and strength of the enemy, where he was to meet them, etc.—that only such a man might start on a warpath. If an individual failed to give the proper assurances and guarantees to the chief, his expedition was not countenanced. If, nevertheless, he went, any mishap was directly chargeable to him. 726 737

In other words, we are dealing here with a more or less fixed way of describing the mundane happenings of life. The terminology is religious, but does that mean that there is always a religious feeling attached to it? That is the crucial question to determine. We believe that the religious element in such a happening depends upon the religious susceptibility of the individual concerned. It is quite possible that a devoutly religious man may think of the religious aspect of a rite or action more than one who is but indifferently religious, but he will never for one moment forget that the questions involved here are of a purely human nature. The most that can be said of the religious element of the two particular cases mentioned above is that they will spur the person on. Perhaps it is the realization that such is the case that often prompts the more matter-of-fact individuals to lay such stress on fasting preparatory to starting on a warpath. There, indeed, seems to have been a matter-of-fact movement in the tribe, for the members of the Warrior clan claimed that they could dispense with the fasting, and that mere membership in that particular clan gave them the right to go on a warpath whenever they wished to. This we know was vigorously denied by other individuals. 771 [614 787]

The Winnebago has no disinterested, unselfish love for the spirit or deity to whom he prays, except in so far as every man is likely to develop such an attitude at some crisis or when his mind is fixed intently on the attainment of some personal advantage. Then, naturally enough, the spirits who are to bestow these blessings are addressed in the most laudatory terms. To show how intimately these spirits are bound up with the worldly affairs of man and how little they mean to him apart from this we have but to point out that, for the vast majority of Winnebago, the spirits' freedom of action is conceived of as definitely restricted. There seems to be a purely mechanical relation of cause and effect between the offerings of men and their acceptance by the spirits. The latter are not free to reject them except in theory. Was it not ordained by Earthmaker, when the earth was created, that in return for tobacco the spirits were to bestow blessings on man? So every Winnebago believes. The religious leaders insisted that only when the proper offerings were made in the proper way would the spirits bestow their blessings. But after all is said and done, the chances that the proper conditions would not be fulfilled were negligible And we doubt whether this 776 782 771

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776 posed to be at eternal enmity with him, and for that reason he is regarded by most of the Winnebago as a sort of a mixed deity, partly evil and partly good, but always to be feared and capable of bestowing great blessings on man. Owing to the fact that he has become [614] identified as the clan ancestor of one of the most important Winnebago clans, he has undergone a partial rehabilitation.

The Water-spirit is an important figure in the older myths, and in them seems to be identified with the bad spirits. The attitude of the Winnebago toward him is full of inconsistencies. He is evil, yet his [778] "bones" are the most prized possessions of man on account of the remarkable power with which they are endowed. He is an evil spirit, yet according to an apparently old myth (the Traveler) one of the Water-spirits is the spirit deity in control of the earth.

In addition to these marked anthropomorphic and theromorphic spirit deities, the Winnebago, as mentioned before, have a large number of vague spirits, like fire, light, etc., and a legion of animal spirits. The latter show some interesting transitions extending all the way from purely nonspirit heroic animals to distinct spirits, conceived of as animal in shape but noncorporeal. In many cases it is, of course, [825] quite impossible to say how marked the "spirit" nature of the animal is, because it often depends on who is looking at it. To the ordinary nonreligious Winnebago the hare is mainly an heroic animal; to the religious Winnebago or a member of the medicine dance he is a spirit-animal or even a spirit-deity. In the same way different conceptions are held about the nature of the animal clan ancestors, some thinking of them as heroic animals and others as generalized noncorporeal spirit-animals and spirit-deities. Wherever guardian spirits are animals they also become noncorporeal spirit-animals. One of the reasons given by the Winnebago for the fact that the different guardian spirit-animals do not object to the killing of animals of their own species is because, in killing a bear a Winnebago is not killing his guardian spirit, the bear, for the latter is a generalized spirit-bear in control of all the bears who appear on earth.

In a number of cases it is not at all difficult to trace the development of a trickster hero, an anthropomorphic hero, or an heroic animal, into a spirit to whom offerings are made. Thus, for instance, [782] kettles and often buckskins are offered to *wak'djenk'a'ga*, hare, and the twine, at the war-bundle feasts.

### The Power and Localization of the Spirits

According to the Winnebago, spirits possess the power of bestowing upon man all those things that are of socio-economic value to him. These may vary from such very important economic things as rain

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He wanted me to fast all the time. I would therefore, to please him, 159 787
fast off and on through the winter. The longest I ever fasted at any one time was six days. I was blessed by a yellow snake who lived near Medway, Wis. It was at that place that I fasted one 159
winter. The spirit-snake that lives there blessed me with life and 787
the right to draw bad blood from sick people (i. e., "cup blood"). 776
These blessings are truly efficacious, but after they have been handed 756
down to the next generation they lose their power (unless renewed). That same winter, not long before the beginning of spring, I fasted again for four days and early on the morning of the fourth day as I was walking along a ravine, crying and putting myself in a "pitiable condition," so that the spirits might take pity upon me, some one came to meet me. Up to this time, in spite of all my exertions and fastings, I had not been blessed by any of the spirits. The one who was coming toward me was walking very fast and when I stopped to look at him I saw that he was a man. His entire body was painted red and he wore an eagle feather on his head and garters around his legs. When he came near to me he said: "Human, I bless you. You may now go home and eat (i. e., break your fast). Every day I will bring the blessing of life to you. This also (I wish to tell you), if you think of me when you are in any difficulty, you will pass through it safely. The sick you will be able to heal through the blessing I give you. I am the Sun. Even if a day is cloudy, then know that I am keeping life for you beyond the clouds."

### HOW Y. FASTED AND WAS BLESSED WITH A WAR-BUNDLE [17]

Our war-bundle is eight generations old. In the beginning my 614
clansmen had no war-bundles. Whenever they had war, they had 778
nothing from which to receive strength. The only powerful possession they had was fire. That was the only thing they carried when on the warpath. Soon they discovered that other clans had war-bundles and that they received them by fasting for them. So 787
K'erex u"'sak'a started to fast for one. He fasted from early 778
autumn until summer and he received a blessing. Then he went to his father and told him, "Father, you told me to fast. Let us now go and see with what I have been blessed." So the old man accompanied his son.[18] When the old man got there he found a snake dried and dressed up and standing in an upright position. The snake had long hairs on its back, scattered here and there. The father on seeing it said, "My son, this is really too great. If you accept this and carry it with you on the warpath, you will not leave any human beings alive (i. e., you will always want to go on the

[17] This is the account of the origin of a war-bundle claimed to be eight generations old.

[18] Evidently the spirit had told him to go to a certain place and that there he would find certain objects, namely, the material objects with which he had been blessed.

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PART III

# CHAPTER XII

## CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

### INTRODUCTION

The Winnebago had four types of ceremonies: clan ceremonies, 796
in which only members of the clan could participate; religious societies, for which only people who had obtained blessings from the same spirits were eligible; the Medicine Dance, in which only initiated individuals could take part; and a semipermanent organization like the *hak'ire're* dance, in which only individuals who were returning from a war party and had counted coup could participate. In this grouping we do not include ordinary feasts, such as the feasts connected with different medicines and the pleasure dances.

Every clan seems to have had a clan war-bundle feast (often called 796
winter feast) and also a specific clan feast. We have reason to suspect 614
that the war-bundle feasts were originally private feasts given by 778
the owner of a war bundle. Then as the war bundles became of great importance to the clan to which the owners belonged, they were after a while regarded as clan possessions. But even at the present time, while many would contend that the war bundle belonged to the clan as such and could not be alienated, everyone realizes that it is the property, whether held in trust or not, of a certain individual, and that he can, up to a certain point, do what he wishes with it. For a detailed analysis of a winter or war-bundle feast see page 427.

The clan feasts were specific feasts at which offerings were made to 796
the clan animal. A good description of one is that of the Snake 614
clan on page 325. [723]

Perhaps the most characteristic ceremonies of the Winnebago were those of secret societies in which membership was dependent upon blessings from one and the same spirit. There were at least four of 575
these—the society of those who have been blessed by the night spirits, 796
the society of those who have been blessed by the buffaloes, the society [776]
of those who have been blessed by ghosts, and the society of those who have been blessed by grizzly bears.

In order to prevent any misunderstanding with regard to the buffalo societies, it might be well to point out that there were three of them—

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575 the Buffalo clan feast, the society of those who have been blessed by
796 the buffaloes, and the society of those who wear buffalo headdresses; the last apparently of Sioux origin.

The medicine dance has been described by the author in some detail,[1] and a general description will be found on page 350.

796 Of the semipermanent societies, the *hok'ize're* dance is given after
727 every successful war party by those four individuals who have counted coup. It has only a temporary existence, for it ceases to be an organization as soon as each individual performance is over. Its main purpose seems to be the desire to transfer to the victor, from the skulls or the scalps of the slain enemies obtained on that particular warpath, the valor and prowess for which the slain person was noted.

527 In addition to the above ceremonies there were a number of pleasure and miscellaneous dances that are described on page 279.

796 There were apparently a number of very important feasts connected
278 with certain medicines, the principal one of which was the Black Earth Medicine feast; but unfortunately no account of this was obtained, owing to lack of time.

## Ceremonies Associated With the Clans

### The Clan Feasts

#### The Thunderbird Clan or Chief Feast

796 *Introduction.*—The chief feast, or, as it may more properly be
● 614 called, the feast of the bird clans, is generally given once a year, sometimes in late spring. It was also given on certain other occasions for specific purposes. At the present time it is given by the members of the Thunderbird clan and the prevalence of the appellation "chief feast" would seem to indicate that it was at all times the feast of the Thunderbird clan. We ought then to expect to find clan feasts of the other members of the *waggregi* division, namely, of the Warrior, Eagle, and Pigeon clans. No such feasts are given to-day, however, and the members of these latter three clans always speak of the chief or bird feast as their specific clan feast. As such it is also regarded by the members of the *ma'nagi* division.

In the total absence of historical data it is quite useless to speculate about the significance of one feast sufficing for four clans, where in strict analogy to the feasts of the other clans we would expect to find one for each clan; yet the idea that naturally presents itself is that we are in reality dealing with one clan that has become split up
[114] into four subclans. Such a view has been expressed by J. O. Dorsey,[2] but the data upon which he based his opinion seem to us highly

[1] The Ritual and Significance of the Winnebago Medicine Dance, Journal of American Folklore, Vol. XXV, No. [illegible], 1912.

[2] Siouan Sociology, 15th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 351.

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unsatisfactory. Apparently his statement is based upon the occurrence of four mythical ancestors. The similarity of the Winnebago social organization with that of the Dhegiha and Teiwere branches of the Siouan family, in which subclans seem to be found, appears to have influenced Dorsey considerably in making this assumption. 796 614 [114]

It is true that in their account of origins the Warrior clan speak of themselves as having sprung from the second of the birds mentioned in the origin myth of the Thunderbird clan and this statement permits us to infer that the other two clans bear a similar relationship to those four ancestral birds who, according to legend, alit on a tree near Red Banks. But this is, of course, merely a mythical account, and the data imbedded in the clan myths must be used with the greatest caution in so far as they can be expected to throw any light on early conditions of social organization.

All that we can say now is that the chief feast will have to be considered as belonging to all the four bird clans. But this is not to be interpreted to mean that an amalgamation of four historically distinct feasts has taken place, nor that, on the other hand, the four clans were originally subdivisions of one unit.

*The Chief feast.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:[1] The chief of the tribe is at the head of all the different bands and groups of people that exist among the Winnebago. As chief he has full charge of them. All the others are, so to say, his attendants and servants. When his people wish anything they go to him and ask him to obtain a blessing for them. Thus all the members of the tribe, the children as well as the mature men, go to him, and to help them the chief gives the feast known as the chief feast. He sacrifices to Earthmaker, and all who are present offer up some little gift in thankfulness, as this is a thing of supreme sacredness. All those who are present—the children, the women, the middle-aged, and the old men—in fact, whosoever attends the feast, see to it that they eat some of the food distributed. 796 622

As this feast is given in honor of their chief, all the members of the tribe, but most particularly the members of the Bird clan, prepare large offerings, so that there should be abundant food to eat. They bring all kinds of food—different kinds of meat, different kinds of vegetables, all manner of berries—in short, all sorts of edibles. These are to be offered to the spirits, and by means of these offerings they expect that their life will be filled with all that is good. It is to obtain these blessings that the feast is given. [614] [782]

When his people get sick, when it appears that an epidemic is likely, then the chief also gives the chief feast. It is for the purpose [755]

[1] Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain a full and detailed account of the feast. As its type, however, all the clan feasts are identical, this deficiency can be made up in part by comparing it with those feasts like the snake, bear, and buffalo that have been obtained in considerable detail.

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622 of stopping the spread of the sickness, whatever it may be, and for repairing the ravages caused thereby. For this the feasters pray "May our people recover and thrive," they say. "May they never get sick." Then they make all those present offer up tobacco. As each one offers tobacco Earthmaker is aware of it and accepts. Thereby do we live and become strengthened. If Earthmaker smokes the tobacco offered him he will give life in return. The people offer tobacco that they may obtain life.

[712]

They call the Thunderbird people chiefs, and it is from among their ranks that they select the chief of the tribe.[1]

[614]
622

It is the duty of the chief to ward off all evils. This is one of their missions in life. They preach only what is good.

"Chief," they used to say to him, "try to do something for your people. Try to accomplish something difficult for them. Try to accomplish something difficult for your village. If you accomplish such a thing for the benefit of your people they will look up to you and respect you. Have pity on your people and love them. If a man is very poor, help him. Give him and his family food. Whatever they ask, give it to them. If your people get into trouble with one another, take your pipe and, walking in front, die for them, if necessary. From actions like these they will know that you are really their chief. There, in front of them, with your pipe in your hands, you will be lying on the ground, dead.

"If your people are about to sacrifice a dog and he gets loose and runs into your tent, you must let them have something in place of this dog for their feast. Do not let them kill the dog in your lodge. This would be sacrilegious. Grant the dog his life. Similarly, if an individual who has murdered a person escapes and takes refuge in your lodge, give him his life. Use all the wealth you have and give it to him, that he may employ it to make peace with the relatives of the person he has killed. Help these people who are in need. Do not think of your wealth. When that is gone you will get some more. Do your duty. Do not pass anyone unnoticed, not even a child. If people have come and asked you for something, do not let them go away without attempting to do something for them. You are a chief. Do some good for your people. In that way you will show that you are a chief. 'Our chief,' they will all call you. The children that see you will call you chief. Whoever talks to you will call you chief. If you are good to your people, they will show their respect by being bashful in your presence. If you are not good to them they will not think you a chief and they will not be bashful in your presence. So, at all times, do as a chief ought to do. Be good-natured to all the people and in this way you will show that

[1] What follows is a typical speech delivered by a member of the Thunderbird clan.

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you are indeed a chief. And then even the people of other tribes 622
will say that such and such people have a good chief."

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The Indians always cele- 796
brated in summer. It was a season of rejoicing because the chief 622
fed the tribe. It somewhat symbolized a mother bird feeding her young ones. The Thunderbird clan is in charge of the tribe, [614] and when the chief feels the tribe all rejoice and the standard is raised.

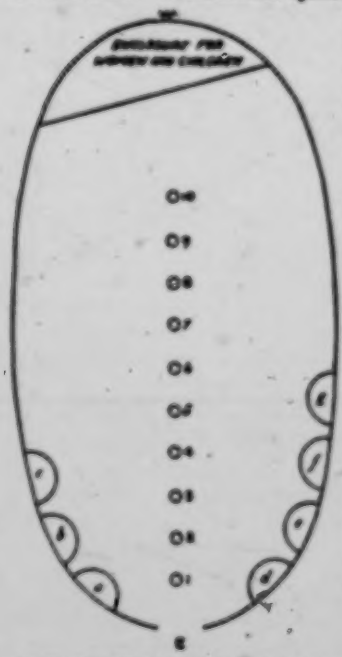

FIG. 36. Plan of Bear clan war bundle feast as given by John Rave. a, Host. b, Sergeants of land. c, Sergeant clan. d, Wolf clan. e, Thunderbird clan. f, Eagle clan. g, Buffalo clan. h, Bear-skin for earthquake. i, Bear-skin for tornado. j, Bear-skin for thunderbird. k, Bear-skin for rain. l, Bear-skin for snow. m, Bear-skin for spreading clear. n, Bear-skin for earth. o, Bear-skin for fire. p, Bear-skin for lightning. q, Bear-skin for eagle spirits.

THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (FIRST VERSION)

Two versions of the Bear clan 614
feast (fig. 36) were obtained, for- 796
tunately both from a man and a 782
woman. The feast was generally given during the month called *Hundjei'ra* (i. e., bear month), corresponding roughly to our January. [805]

Informant, member of the clan (female): The host tells his sister's son, or, if he should not happen to have any, a member of the Wolf clan, to build a long lodge. This attendant then fills kettles either with blueberries or raspberries or any other fruit that the bears are fond of, and places them on the fireplace. Sometimes dried corn is also brought.

The participants enter the lodge at dusk. The host precedes the invited guests. In entering they proceed in a direction contrary to the hands of the clock. The host always sits at the southeast end of the lodge and the guests occupy seats next to him, proceeding from the southeast to the northwest.

When all are seated the host rises and addresses his guests as follows:

"Members of my clan who are seated here, I greet you all. To those from whom I have sprung I make these offerings of tobacco [537]
and this headdress (i. e., red feathers). I was told by my ancestors that if I did this I would obtain for myself, for my relatives, and for

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614 796 782 the members of my clan, sufficient blessings to guide us all safely through life, and to make our lives pleasant. I will not tell the [537] origin myth (of our clan) because it is sacred and it must not be told without the proper ceremony, for the telling would then injure an individual. Besides there are many clans beside our own represented here and it is not proper that these should hear it."

614 796 He then speaks of the four ancestral bear-beings who were created in the beginning.

When the feast is ready one of the Wolf clansmen gives four soldier whoops. Then the fire is allowed to die out, and as soon as the lodge is in complete darkness the feasters begin to eat. Before [533] eating, the host sings four songs. These are the clan songs and are only sung at these feasts or on the occasion of the death of a clansman.

Those who partake of food at the feast may be members of any clan except the Bear clan. The members of the latter clan do not eat at their own feast.

[264 415] Everyone attending must bring his own wooden spoon and must use it with his left hand. There are four wooden dishes in which the food is served. These are arranged in the lodge in a certain manner.

The guests sit around these dishes and eat with their own spoons. [805] The feast is given in the first bear month. Some one generally watches the moon and as soon as the new moon is visible the feast begins. The feathers and the tobacco to be offered are placed in four little troughs made of basswood bark, each about 1 foot long. These are then placed on the south side of the fireplace.

When the meal is over the attendant or Wolf clansman generally says a few words of thanks to the host and then the host in turn thanks those who have participated and tells them that the feast is now over. All now pass out, the one next to the host leaving first and the rest in succession, the host himself remaining until the end.

[778 782] When the feast is over the tobacco and the feathers are taken away from the lodge and carried in a southern direction to a place (under a tree) that has been especially cleared and sanctified. Any person may thereafter go there, offer tobacco, and ask for long life.

614 796 537 782 Informant, member of the clan (male): "Well, soldiers, your moon is about to appear." It is good. "So come forth, for it is at this time that the spirits asked to be remembered. Let us send, on this occasion, to the place at which we all originated, whatever we possess of wealth. This is what the spirits asked of old. Let us therefore put the kettle on and prepare the feast.

"This is the way in which we prepare the feast. I offer only one small kettle. Here is my offering. I pray that what I offer may suffice and bring enough blessings from the spirits to include all the

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Indians who exist and especially those who are present at this feast. 614
For that reason do we deliver these speeches. We were told that 796
at the place where we originated our ancestors now remain, regard- 537
ing it as their home. There they expectantly await us. So our 782
ancestors spoke. Our offering at this feast is intended for that purpose. Let us pour tobacco for them. Let us place at the edge of the fire the four bark receptacles. Now listen to me for I am going to pour tobacco.

(He now addresses the four original clan beings.)

"On the north side, Earthmaker created you. Four brothers he placed there (you being one of them). And when one of them started for the earth those remaining asked to be remembered at this feast. These are the objects they asked to be given as offerings—tobacco, feathers, and boiled food. Earthmaker gave you that kind of life-giving material. We, in turn, ask you for this, so that when you take our offerings you will grant us what we ask. Here they are, the offerings with which you wished to be remembered. The spirits promised to give them. We are praying now not only for our own, but for all the clans. Our life will be strengthened, it was said. These words that I am telling you now, they used. We must act very cautiously in this, they said.

"If you place a portion of boiled food away as an offering, you must use it only in that particular place. Do not do otherwise. This way only is the correct way to do it."

Then he spoke to the attendant and said, "Are you ready? Go and get all these people who are to eat. They must bring their spoons with them."

Then the attendant brought the people into the lodge and put some food in their plates.

"Place the people around the plate and let them be seated," the host said. "Now turn the fire down and get ready. Hold your spoons in your left hand, for with that only are you allowed to eat. None of you must talk nor laugh. You must do what I tell you. Before the meal begins let us sing. Let us do it now." (They then sing the four clan songs.) 614

"Thus they have told us. That way it was at the place where we 796
began life.

"Now the meal is over. We have had a minor council. We have acted correctly. It is good that you who are present have come at our request. You have eaten very well, and we thank you for it. This is what those from whom we originated told us to do. This council-feast they pleaded for. 'We should act very cautiously, they said. That you have done. It is good that you have eaten for our benefit. Now is about time for us to finish. I greet you all."

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THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (SECOND VERSION)

614 796 Informant, member of Bear clan: As soon as the first bear month is visible they have their feast. They do not use meat but products of the earth. The feast is held at night, never in the daytime. The [805] people always save up food some time before giving the feast. The [825] favorite dishes of the bear are sugar and blueberries. When they can not obtain these they use other vegetables. Indeed, any product of the earth is all right.

When they prepare to give the feast they get the food ready and have some tobacco on hand. On the first day of the first bear month they put on the fire some kettles with dried corn mixed with fruit and others containing green corn. The latter is boiled. They also have [203] ground sugar. When these are ready the feast attendant goes around the village to invite the people. When all have entered the lodge and taken their proper seats, then the host rises and addresses them:

614 796 537 "All my relatives who are seated here, I greet you. It is not through blessings of our own that we can always make offerings of tobacco. My grandfather was blessed by a spirit called Black Fur, a spirit who is in command of all the other spirits. This spirit told us that we could perform the ceremony in this way. It is for that reason we have made an effort to heat water for him.[6] The first request we make is that if we ever go on the warpath, we may conquer. Our grandfather was also blessed with life by the bear spirit[7] and he told him that he would grant him and his posterity whatever they asked. [782] We shall therefore send to this spirit a pipeful of tobacco, two kettles full of food, and some tree sap.[8] So much will we send him, accompanied by an offering of tobacco.

"As soon as the attendant gets everything ready the feasting will begin."

Then the attendant puts food in every plate, and when he has finished the host speaks again.

"Relatives, it is said that when the plates are supplied to you [264] filled with food, then you should begin to eat. Do not, however, use your right hands in eating."

The host tells the feasters to use their left hands in eating, and they obey him. Before starting to eat all the fires are put out and the people eat in the dark.

614 796 In the spring of the year this feast is given again. Twice a year it is given.

The feast[9] was always given with some choice dried corn that had been put away for this event. Once when it was time to give the [841] feast in the first bear month, the two daughters of the man who was

[6] Boil soup and prepare food in general.
[7] Black Fur is apparently a ceremonial expression for bear.
[8] Ceremonial name for maple sugar.
[9] What follows is an account of why this particular feast was discontinued.

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to give it had their menses and were fasting. When the feast was about to be held there was no food and their mother gave the girls some of the sacred food and the unclean girls boiled it and ate it. 614 796 841

The following spring when the girls were out helping their mother tan some hide a bear approached them and tried to kill the girls. The old woman fought the bear off as best she could, but he paid no attention to her and tried to get at the girls. Finally he killed the girls. Then the old woman attacked the bear and finally threw him down and killed him, using her tanning stick as a weapon.

Now this bear was not an ordinary bear such as live on this earth, but his body was covered with blue clay. He had come out of a spring of water shortly before he came to this place. The girls had eaten sacred food when they were unclean, and that is why this bear came and killed them. [776 688]

Since then that particular band has stopped giving this bear feast.

THE SNAKE CLAN FEAST

When a person wishes to give a snake feast, four chickens must be obtained. The nephew of the feast giver is then toal to prepare these chickens and make the general preparations. 796 614

The feast is given in the fall, just as the snakes are supposed to go into their winter quarters and close their doors. The winter is their night, and then they go to sleep. [825]

Shortly before the feast begins the host takes out a bundle containing four snake skins—a yellow-snake skin, a rattlesnake skin, a blow-snake skin, and a bull-snake skin. In honor of these he gives his feast and makes his offerings.

As the fall of the year is to the snakes the same as our evening, the Winnebago give this feast in their honor then, in much the same way as we have our supper before retiring for the night. The snake-skins are representatives of the first four snakes Earthmaker made and which he pierced through the earth in the direction of the east. The snake skins are kept to represent the four original snake-beings and to keep evil away from homes. That is why offerings are made to them. Four men only are invited to this feast (as main participants), and they must each eat a chicken. [773]

The host himself opens the door for the snakes. In front of him, next to the fireplace, he makes four holes in the ground, thus opening the door for them. There he likewise places tobacco for them. First he pours tobacco in the fire, for the fire is the mediator between the people and the spirit. The fire tells the spirit the wishes of the people and is, in general, in charge of the members of the tribe. For that reason they always pour tobacco upon it. [782] 796

Now the host rises and speaks. "Grandfather (fire), you who stand in the center of the lodge, I offer you tobacco, for you are the interpreter (between the spirits and human beings), and I know that 614 537 372

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you will deliver the requests I address to our grandfather-who-crawls (the snake), just as I have said them. I offer you tobacco.

"To you likewise, grandfathers, you whom Earthmaker created first and placed within the earth; you whom Earthmaker placed in control of abundance of life and whose war clubs were made heavy, so that nothing could miss them; to you we offer these things. What-
[782] ever you can give us, we ask of you in return. Here are our offerings of food, tobacco, and eagle feathers. We place them here at your door. We ask that you bless us with victory in war. We know that the weapons you carry make you invulnerable, and we wish likewise to be invulnerable. You never fail to obtain what you desire with your clubs, and we ask that the same power be bestowed upon us. As the years pass may the blessing we obtain increase in power. When you look out upon the world life emanates from your eyes. May this life be given to our posterity. As we strut about in the short number of days allotted to us may you keep out of our path, so that we may not be frightened. Yet should we cross any of your paths may we be strengthened thereby. It is said that you are the grass, and that is why we ask you to bless us. Bless us because you are in possession of the life which we desire. For these reasons do we offer you tobacco, feathers, and food."

796 614 [782] Then the host poured tobacco into the four holes that he had made in the ground and placed feathers there. Then he took a little food from each of the kettles and poured it into the four holes. After that he greased the heads of the snake skins which were lying before him with kettle grease and poured tobacco on the heads of the snakes. He asked all his relatives to offer tobacco likewise and he put tobacco into the holes again and poured some upon the heads of the snakes.

When those invited have arrived, someone who is a good speaker sits near the entrance, while another good speaker sits near the farthest end. After all have entered, the leader of the four participants makes the circuit of the fireplace four times. He then sits down, and the host greets each one in turn, as follows:

796 614 537 "I greet you all. It is good. How could I say aught but that it is good? I am a poor worthless fellow, yet you have remembered me. It is good. You did not look upon my unworthiness and think within your hearts he is a worthless fellow, but you thought of the spirits, and therefore you came to sit with me so that I might see your face. It is good. I have obtained four chickens, and the attendant is now cooking them. I suppose he has cooked them by this time, and we will soon be able to eat them.

"I am attempting to cook water for the beings first created, so that we might be blessed with victory in war, and with life. That is what we are asking and what we would like to obtain from them before they (the spirits) retire for the night. It is our desire to be blessed year in, year out.

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"Your plates will be filled soon, so let me greet you again, you (humans) who are taking the place of the spirits. All you who are present I greet." 796 614 537

The attendant now takes the kettles from the fire and takes the plate of the first of those sitting in the row. Then he takes the sharp stick that he holds in his hand, sticks it through one of the four chickens, and puts it in the plate of the first man. He passes the plate around the kettle four times, going from right to left, and finally he places it before the feaster. The feaster then says, "I thank you all," and the attendant passes on to the next one, and so in succession until he comes to the last person. Then the one first invited rises and says, "All those present, the host and the three other guests, do I greet." Then the speaker addresses the one sitting next to him, who greets him in return. In the same way he greets the third and the fourth one. Then he speaks as follows:

"It is good. Who would not be thankful for this? The host and his relatives present here are praying for life and victory, to the four greatest spirits Earthmaker ever made, to those spirits whom he pierced through the earth so that it might hold together. All the snakes whom we see on the earth are ruled by these four. From them have they asked blessings. The first human beings on earth saw these spirits face to face and, we are told, they used them for protection. These we see before us as the host has laid them out. We are told that blessings can be obtained by the use of these snakes.

"I am indeed not a fit person to be invited to such a gathering as this, but the host has kindly overlooked my faults. My grandfather fasted and thirsted himself to death and he was blessed and his spirit taken to a spirit-home. That is what happened to my grandfather, for he told me this himself. The place where he was [787] blessed was at Red Banks at a place where a creek flows into the sea (Green Bay). At the fork of this creek there was a hill lying east and west. It is there that the yellow snake-chief lives. To the home of this snake-chief my grandfather was taken. This snake was at this place gathering tobacco for all the spirits. There my grandfather was even blessed with their bodies. For this reason I always pour tobacco for them. And I have been given to understand that the spirits do not overlook the least fault (in the performance of the feast). They are always in our midst just as even the grass and the dust represent snakes. They know everything, they say. It is not safe to cross their path. As, however, the host is now making an offering to them, should we cross their path now it would even strengthen us. It is good. These clubs are heavy and they will not fail to strike everything within their reach. The host has asked for that power so that he might have victory (in war). They, the spirits, also have life to dispose of and that we ask of them also, giving them these offerings of tobacco, [782] feathers, and food.

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796 614 537 [782] feathers, and food. They will bless us I am certain, for I am told that they even know our thoughts and wishes (before we express them), and are willing to grant them if we pour tobacco while making them. However, to-day we have done more. We have openly made a great offering to them. How could any spirit fail to see such an offering? For that reason (I know) they will surely bless us. And the blessings asked for the posterity will surely be granted. I feel that when I go home and talk to my children afterwards, they will be strengthened by the fact that I have taken part in the feast. All who are present, I greet. You, the host, I also greet. I greet you all."

Then the second one invited rises and speaks. He thanks the host for the privilege of having been invited and encourages him and assures every one that they will surely be blessed, telling them why they should be blessed.

Then the third one rises and says approximately the same as his predecessor. He also tells how his grandfather was blessed by the snakes, etc.

Then the fourth one speaks, telling what the snakes do and that he himself was a member of the Snake clan and was consequently descended from the snakes. Inasmuch as he had partaken of the feast, all who were present would surely be blessed by the snakes. He assured them that what they asked would surely be granted. Then he greeted them and concluded.

After that, all the four participants greet each other in turn again and when this is over they sit down and begin the feast. Each person must eat a chicken apiece. They must not leave anything on the plate, for it is a sacred feast. After they have eaten the chicken they are given soup to drink.

When the feast is over the host throws cedar branches into the fire and the plates and the spoons are held over the smoke in order to purify them. The host then rises and says:

"You, the first invited, and you, the second invited, etc., I greet you all. It is good that you have come and occupied seats at my request and I am grateful to you for it. Even were that all the blessing I was to receive, it would (be enough). But you have assured me that I would receive the blessings I longed for. You truly encouraged me. You told me of your grandfathers' blessings, so that I feel positive that I am blessed, for your grandfathers' blessings were surely great and I am sure everything could be obtained with them. Surely your grandfathers' blessings were equal to those of the spirits. It is good that you have indeed partaken of my feast. This must be what the older people said: 'Your life is (naturally) weak and you can only be strengthened by the counsel and advice of brave men.' Truly you have counciled with me and given me enough to live on. I thank you for the speeches you have delivered, for it is life to me. It is good. I greet you all."

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773 The people were of the
776
[614]

Bird clan, the Bear clan, the Wolf clan, and the Snake clan. The fourth one was the one they were to teach, to initiate.

Then Hare got up and spoke as follows: "My friends, I have had you come together, for my uncles and aunts had been living a most pitiable life. You are to teach them the life they are to live and which they are to hand down from generation to generation. That is what I ask of you. What I want, you have heard. I leave everything to be done and said by those in the east."

Then he, the one in the east, arose and spoke, "Our friends, the uncles and aunts of the Hare, we are to teach the meaning of life, so that they may hand it down from one generation to the other. Only today, for the first time, have we discussed this thing for them. Life (all that life consists of—wealth, honor, and happiness) they shall have from now on." The four of them said, "What the one ahead said (we say)." When they finished, they returned.

Now Hare got up again and said, "My friends, that is what I wished for my uncles and aunts. This council-lodge I made for them, and as long as they follow the precepts taught in the creation-lodge they will be invulnerable. For that reason this seat has been made for them, that whosoever desires may sit therein."

All day long the spirits taught him, and when the sun was on the treetops, when it was time to stop, the spirits dispersed, taking with them as they went half the light within the lodge. They rubbed against the door-poles as they went out. They pushed them in deeply so they would not fall.

Then Hare spoke, "Grandmother, I will be sitting ready for any one of my uncles and aunts who will perform this ceremony that we have taught them well. With tears my uncles and aunts will come to me and my heart will feel sore. I will go above and sit down and if any person performs this ceremony that we taught him well, then he will be as I am, if you will but look at me, grandmother. Look at my body, grandmother." And behold, like a very small boy he was. "If any one repeats what we have done here, this is the way he will appear."

"Look at me," Hare said for the second time; "Look at me!" There he stood a full-grown man. Then, for the third time, he said, "Grandmother, look at me." There he stood a man in middle age; his hair was interspersed half-and-half with gray. Then she looked at him for the fourth time, and his hair was covered as if by a swan (i. e., it was all white), and he leaned tremblingly on his staff, standing in the east. "Well, grandmother, if any of my uncles and aunts performs this ceremony properly this way they will live."

"It is good, grandson. However, not only your uncles but your aunts, likewise, will be that way if any of the latter performs the ceremony properly. "Look at me," she said, and when he looked at

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## The Soldier's Dance

796 614 Informant, member of the Bear or Soldier clan:[a] The object of performing the soldier dance (fig. 37) is to strengthen the members of the Bear clan. They dance with the emblem of the Bear clan, the whittled stick (*namaxi'nizini*), in their hands. The dance is also given whenever a council in which tribal affairs are discussed is held. On such an occasion the men take their drums to the council lodge and dance there, followed by the women.

Fig. 37.—Plan of Soldiers' dance. a, Leader. b, Assistant.

The principal leader—i. e., the chief of the Bear clan (*ma'nanp'e hâ'ygera*)—appoints a person who is in charge of the ceremony (*ma'nanp'e hak'o'hidak'ôna'na*).

The ceremony begins with the chief of the clan marching around the village with some followers and stopping here and there to dance and give the soldier whoop. The members of the Bear clan are supposed to be strengthened by the blessings of all the animals who have claws. Should anyone be sick in the village, this strength of theirs would be sufficient to cure them. Then they return to their lodge and are put in control of the entire village.

As soon as the time for the dance is at hand the soldiers give their whoops and an old warrior is selected to tell of his war exploits. He always makes it a point to tell of some exploit that seemed at first foolhardy—how he tried to do something that generally meant death, but how he succeeded by reason of his fearlessness. It is with such a heart, he tells them, that they must dance the soldier's dance. Then they all dance and sing. When they are finished, they let the women dance.

[a] Throughout this work soldier is used to connote something quite different from the word warrior. The Soldier clan is the Bear clan, and the Warrior clan is the Hawk or the War-people clan.

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The soldier dance is a hop up and down with both feet and in no particular order, anywhere around the singers. It is held in the open air. 796 614 [535]

SOLDIER DANCE SONGS

796
I
Manaap'e'ra na"ji"winé.
Soldiers get up.

614
II
Waja"nija" teexigi'jî na"ji"a"djé.
Something difficult get ready.
(I. e., whenever there is anything difficult to do you must get ready.)

533
III
Manaap'e'ra newine'na" hu'nagiredra.
Soldiers I am he whom they spoke of.

534
IV
Manaap'e'ra hi'ja" wine'na".
Soldier one I am.
(I. e., I am a soldier, and if there is anything to do I'll do it.)

## Ceremony of Uangeru

(BEGGING CEREMONY)

A dummy is made of grass and dressed with whatever objects the maker wants to get. If he wants a horse he puts a bridle crosswise around the body of the dummy; if he wants clothes, he dresses him up in Indian clothes. Then the man places this dummy anywhere near a gathering, or where he expects a gathering to take place. He sits near it. As soon as any warrior sees the dummy he goes over to it and either kicks or strikes the man who made it, giving him at the same time one of the objects he wanted. Any person may do the same. They may not stop kicking the man until some warrior who had at some time or another cut up an enemy in war cuts up the dummy. Then all stop, and as soon as his bruises permitted him, the man would get up and pick up the gifts brought to him. 735 [532]

## Feast to Buffalo Tail

A grandfather of mine called Cokeboka fasted at Neceda, Wis. There he was blessed by a young buffalo bull calf belonging to a herd. The calf said, as the herd went by, "Father, keep going in the road; mother, keep going in the road." He meant a warpath instead of the road they were going in. The man was to go on a warpath, from which he would return victorious. 787

They used to make offerings to this tail alone, apart from the war bundle. The braided grass was to be used for smoking. The feast is given in spring after the grass grows up, and in midwinter. Ground corn is boiled in making the feast. [782 778] 527

## Kikre Waci and Tcebokona"k Dances

There is a pleasure dance called *kikre waci* and a dance called *tcebokona"k* (wearing buffalo headdresses). The latter is of Sioux origin. 535 177

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159 Now I know that it was because the evil spirit possessed me that I felt that
755 way. I was suffering from a disease. I even desired to kill myself:
794 I did not care to live. That feeling, too, was caused by this evil
276 spirit living within me. Then I ate this medicine and everything
[753] changed. The brother and sister I wanted to kill before I became attached to and I wanted them to live. The medicine had accomplished this.

### O. L.'s Description of the Peyote Cult

(Pl. 33, c)

159 John Rave belongs to the Bear clan, the members of which had
614 the functions of what might be called sergeants-at-arms. He and
[692 his ancestors used to be in charge of the *manupici* (i. e., the ser-
68] geants-at-arms lodge), to which all malefactors would be brought for punishment.

159 Rave, although he belonged to this highly respected class of people,
794 was a bad man. He roamed from place to place. He has participated in all the ceremonies of the Winnebago, the medicine dance alone excepted. He had been married many times. Up to 1901 he was a heavy drinker. In that year he went to Oklahoma and while there ate the peyote. He then returned to the Winnebago and tried to introduce it among them, but none with the exception of a few
[77] relatives would have anything to do with it. This did not in any way discourage him, however, and he continued using the peyote, now and then getting a few converts.

159 There was not very much religion connected with it in the beginning
794 and the reason people drank it was on account of the peculiar effects
177 it had upon them. Nevertheless these Peyote people preached good things and gradually lost all desire for intoxicating drinks or for participating in the old Winnebago ceremonies. Then Rave began to do away with the old Indian customs. About four or five years ago the membership in the Peyote religion began to increase, for many people now noticed that those connected with the Peyote cult were the only people in the tribe leading a Christian life.

At this time the Bible was introduced by a young man named Albert Hensley (pls. 8, *d*; 9, *d*). He, too, had been a bad person, although he had been educated at Carlisle. Like Rave, he was a heavy drinker and fond of wandering.

During the last few years our members have increased so fast that now almost half the tribe belong to our religion. We all make efforts to lead a Christian life and we are succeeding very well.

794 We use the New Testament, especially the Revelations.

796 Our meetings take place at any time. We gather together in the
159 evening, and as soon as everything is in readiness the leader arises
[782] and offers a prayer called, "Turning themselves over to the care of the Trinity."

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# CHAPTER XVII

## THE CLAN WAR-BUNDLE FEASTS

### THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST OF THE THUNDERBIRD CLAN[1]

(FIRST VERSION)

#### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The Wagigo', Winter Feast, or War-bundle Feast, as it is generally called, is one of the principal ceremonies of the Winnebago. It is to a certain extent a clan ceremonial, for the clan is the basis of its organization, but apart from that fact, it has really nothing to do with the clan and must not be confused with the specific clan feasts held once a year. A perusal of the following sketch will show clearly that we are in reality dealing with a ceremony primarily connected with success in war and that its distinctive peculiarity among the Winnebago is that it has developed into a general ceremony of thanksgiving to the spirits and developed an organization based on the clan unit. As a result of the latter fact, we find 12 war rituals all essentially the same in content and differing only in details and in the fact that the host in each of the 12 performances belongs to a different clan. The specific differences in each performance are, first, the content of the war bundle; second, the origin myths of the feast and of the songs associated with each bundle; third, the songs

796x [L14] 194

[1] PHONETIC TABLE.—All the consonants have the same value as those in English with the following exceptions:

c is pronounced like sh in *English*.
j has the sound of *z* in *azure*.
hc has the sound of *ch* in *church*.
dj has the sound of *j* in *judge*.
x has the sound of *ch* in *German Buch*.
ŋ is the sound of *ŋ*.
ŋ is a slightly trilled lingo-apical *r*.
g has the sound of *ng* in *sing*.
g always represents *g* preceded by a nasalized vowel.
' is a mark of aural.
h and g are intermediate steps, except in certain positions, where they become true consonants.
' is the glottal stop.
Consonants followed by ' represent aspirated stops.

The vowels have the following values:
ä has the sound of *ow* in *ought*.
a is the short continental a.
ā is long a.
e is short open *ea* in *pen*.
ę is short and close but not as close as the French *e* in *fête*.
ē is long close *e*.
ē is broad impure, as in an exaggerated pronunciation of *e* in *right*.
i is short and open as in *tin*.
ị is short and close.
ī is long and close.
o is short and open.
ǫ is short and close.
ō is long and close.
ö is long and open.
u is short and open.
ụ is short and close.
ū is long and close.
ä is obscure a.
ü is obscure o.
' denotes nasalization.
' denotes primary stress accent.
' denotes secondary stress accent.

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the Night Spirits. All the warriors who possessed war bundles would of necessity have to receive blessings from these, although in different cases one or the other may have bestowed the more important powers.

The prominence given to the Thunderbird in the first and to the Night Spirits in the second division give the ceremony a most marked resemblance to societies like the Night Spirit society. In the second division it is even essential to have been blessed by the Night Spirits in order to play a certain rôle. There would thus develop the consciousness of community of interest due to the fact that as individuals they were bound together by blessings received from the same spirits, a feeling that was certain to be still further strengthened since, in all likelihood, most of the possessors of war bundles belonged to societies where this actually was the common bond. The religious and ceremonial aspect would thus of necessity be reinforced. The prayers for success on the warpath of course always existed, but as the extraneous religious and ceremonial influences became stronger and more insistent and as—and this should never be forgotten—the pursuit of war became less and less important, owing to the breaking down of the culture consequent upon the advent of the whites, these extraneous factors became, if not dominant at least almost equal in importance to the historically older aspect; and our original gathering of warriors, while still remaining a gathering of warriors, also became a ceremonial organization, in which offerings were made to the entire Winnebago pantheon of spirits. The great war spirits were still all-important, but their position was contested by so distinctive a peace deity as Earthmaker and such deities as Earth, Moon, and Water. The prayers for success in war were perhaps still the most insistent, but prayers for life, not life merely that success in war may be longer, but prayers for the whole content of life, were offered up. Disease-giver was appealed to not merely to bestow upon man the greatest of all war honors, killing an enemy right in the midst of his tribesmen, but also to ward off disease from the supplicants.

Still, as great as have been these extraneous influences, the character of the feast as originally one purely connected with war comes out in numerous ways in the association, for instance, of war powers with Earthmaker, Moon, and Earth, and significantly enough, in the absence of the more specific religious associations such as are met with in the Medicine dance.

Let us turn now to the development of the organization of the feast. The development of a fixed type of organization is not absolutely necessary. Societies may exist only for certain occasions, such as the return from a warpath, like the Hōk'txe're dance or preparatory to the starting of a war party, and be practically nonexistent afterwards. Such are the temporary war feasts of the Ojibway, for instance. However, one all important circumstance prevented this

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among the Winnebago, and that was the strong development of clan consciousness among them. A man was first and foremost a member of his clan, and whatever he did redounded to the credit of his clan. This clan consciousness was due to the strong individuality the more important clans possessed. They had their own traditions, functions, and customs, and each clan was quite ignorant of the customs of the other. This clan organization was extremely old and, for that reason, it is not very likely that the war bundle developed before the clan organization had matured, and from being originally the private possession of a family, became subsequently associated with the clan. It is more likely that the war bundle developed after the clan organization had fully matured, but that it remained personal property. However, owing to the fact that the possessor was always an important man, there must always have been a consciousness of a certain proprietary ownership on the part of the clan in the particular war bundle within its midst. This perhaps accounts for the fact that while the bundle can pass out of the hands of a certain family, it can not pass into the hands of another clan. Subsequently the idea developed that a family was merely the custodian of the bundle for the clan. Such seems to be the popular conception among the Winnebago to-day, and it may have represented the popular conception when the Winnebago culture was still intact. I do not believe, however, that such a view would have been accepted by the family in possession of the war bundle or by the learned class in general.

The fact that there was as a rule but one war bundle in each clan does not mean that it was developed originally through the influence of clan consciousness, although there is reason to believe that some of the war bundles arose in this way, in imitation of "clan" bundles that already existed. The reason for the small number of war bundles is to be sought in the fact that there was a very small number of individuals possessed of the necessary qualifications, and that it was probably originally associated with villages or groups of villages.[4] Whatever were the reasons for the limitation in the number of war bundles in each clan, it unquestionably strengthened the idea of clan ownership. This idea must have been powerfully reinforced again by those war bundles that actually arose out of a clan-ownership impulse. If, therefore, the actual owners resent this claim of clan proprietorship both by reason of actual possession, of inheritance and consciousness of the sacrifices and expense they and their ancestors have incurred in maintaining the ceremonies connected with these bundles it is nevertheless a fact that their viewpoint is probably wrong in so far as it is supposed to represent the entire truth, either now or in the past. The actual unit of organization found at the feast is the clan and there, at any rate, the war bundle is a clan palladium. Perhaps

[4] This statement is made provisionally.

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614 778 this twofold interpretation really represents the war bundle in a twofold aspect, first apart from its association with the war-bundle feast and second from its association therewith.

That the clan is the unit of organization comes out clearly from the following facts: First, there are as many buckskins offered as there are clans; secondly, the order in which the guests are invited [554] is determined by the reciprocal relations existing between the different clans; and, thirdly, by references in the speeches. That the clan unit, on the other hand, has influenced the ceremonial aspect of the feast is apparent from the fact that offerings are made to the clan animals. For example, in the following ceremony offerings are made to the Eagle and Wona'xire U'ask'ik, who seem to be of slight importance apart from their association with the clan.

x 796 The ceremonial unit in all Winnebago societies consists of four [80] bands, four representing the sacred number, and the ritual consists of the passing of the paraphernalia from one to the other unit until 621 it returns to the host. The war-bundle feast corresponds to the 571 other societies in every respect, except that instead of four there are ten bands (with the band of the host, representing the eleven existing clans of the tribe). Had not the consciousness of the relation of the war bundle to the clan been so strong the ceremonial unit would probably have been found here, as it is found in all the other ceremonies.

x 796 Summing up, then, we may say that the war-bundle feasts represent a mixed type corresponding exactly to no other Winnebago ceremony, and that beginning as a war feast it developed in addition some of the features of a secret society of the type exemplified [575 614] by the Night Spirit society, with a unit of organization based on the clan; and that finally it became a general feast of thanksgiving to the entire Winnebago pantheon.[1]

### CHARACTERIZATION OF THE SPIRITS MENTIONED IN THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST

776 All the spirits to whom offerings are made in the war-bundle feast are guardian spirits, with the exception of Earthmaker. Some of them are conceived of as being human, while others have animal forms, and still others have an indeterminate body. The peculiar spirit, Disease-giver, has a form of his own, his body being divided into two halves, one half dispensing death and the other life. Earthmaker has no form, and in the few cases that he has been known to bless individuals he always lets his presence be known by some sign. There is generally a difference between the conception of the spirit as such and the form that he is supposed to assume

[1] The order in which these aspects are enumerated is not to be taken as representing a direct line of evolution.

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myths is quite important, too, but there she has been changed from a rather indifferent and at times hostile deity to a beneficent, all-loving Mother-earth. 776

*The Water.* Generally known as nipa, water, but ritualistically as hunge', chief. There is some doubt as to whether water or the Water Spirit is meant here. This is a deity in no way connected with war. He is most commonly associated with medicines, especially the famous "paint" medicines (wâse'). [789]

These are the more important spirits and the only ones to whom buckskins are offered in the following ceremony. The following are, however, also of considerable importance:

*Eagle.*—Always known as Teaxcep, eagle. A powerful war deity and a clan animal. [614]

*Pigeon Hawk.* Always known as K'ŋk'ŋt'ŋgera, pigeon hawk. A powerful war deity.

*Wônayi'ce Cagerik.*—A term difficult to translate, but meaning, in general, a terror-inspiring man. It refers, however, not to a human deity but to a bird that is supposed to be almost identical with the hawk. It is the name of one of the Winnebago clans. A powerful war deity.

*North Wind.*—Known as Wazi'regi hûhi'ra, Wind-that-is-in-the-pine-region. He is associated with war, but is not a very important deity.

*Black Hawk.*—Known as k'eredju sep. What difference there is between this spirit and Great Black Hawk is not clear.

*Day.*—Known as hap, day or light. The term is used in rituals, especially in the medicine dance, with the meaning of life. He is very rarely sacrificed to and his mention in this particular performance of the Thunderbird war-bundle feast is merely an illustration of the fact that offerings could be made to any spirit.

In addition to the spirits mentioned above, offerings were made at different performances of the war-bundle feast to all the other spirits and even to heroes, like Trickster, Turtle, Hare, Bladder, Red-Horn, and the Twins. In the performance as given in the following account one great spirit is omitted, Hô'rok'a, meaning, literally, "Without horns." A buckskin is always offered to him, on which is painted a small bow and arrow. He is one of the important Winnebago deities, is supposed to be a Lilliputian, and controls many of the powers relating to hunting. [782]

In order to avoid offending any spirit they always leave a portion of tobacco as an offering to those whose names they can not for the moment think of.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST

The present war bundle has been in the family of B. for a number of generations. Our informant obtained it directly from his father. 778

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Then another man who has been called upon for a kettle rises as the "means of blessing" comes to him and greeting, says to them.[114] 539x 796

*Speech of fifth guest.* "Clan councilors who are seated here, I greet you all. You all within this lodge who are impersonating the spirits, I greet you. It is good. If we say it is good, we mean it.[115] That we are living[116] is because they have done this for us (i. e., asked us to participate in the feast). That we have been able to move about so long (i. e., are still living) is due to the fact that the war-bundle owners know how to offer tobacco to the spirits. It is for that reason likewise that we have not been killed. Expert in their preaching to the youths and maidens, our chiefs have also kept the fireplace for us two-legged walkers.[117] Our chiefs have piled more fuel upon the fire that it may start up.[118] And not for themselves are they doing this. What they are doing is to enable us to obtain life. The name of South Wind they have uttered; he who alone is in control of life. They know that he was a great (spirit). An old man, one who was like a spirit (in his power), called Djōbeuagiwi'ęxga, they are speaking of. As many good spirits as there are, that many added their thoughts (power). Of this they are reminding the spirits when they are worshiping. Sincerely are they saying it. The life they blessed the old man with, that life they are using. With war powers they blessed him. They did not fool him. Because they have made their requests sincerely is the reason that (the spirits) have given them these things in return. I feared that they might not take cognizance of them (i. e., their offerings). However, now I thank them (the host, etc.), for we have been as though connected with war power and life through South Wind. Tobacco they have poured for him, and white buckskin and red feathers have they extended to him. He will smoke the tobacco and we will follow in the path of life as a consequence. As though we were a member of their clan they have made us by (permitting us) to impersonate the spirits. What we have done will give us plenty of life to live on and for this we are indebted to them. We are thankful for it. Those who have been preached to, the South Wind I greet. Councilor (host), I send forth my greetings to you. You who are seated here and are impersonating the spirits, to you also do I send forth my greetings."

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[114] By "the means of blessing" he means the opportunity to speak good day.

[115] Literally, "It is not for nothing that we say this."

[116] i. e., have been blessed with life.

[117] The reference to the fireplace is twofold here. First as host it is incumbent for the owner of the Thunderbird clan bundle to take charge of the fireplace; and, secondly, it is his duty to do so because fire is the sacred possession of the clan. "Two-legged walkers" is the circumlocution for human beings. [114]

[118] To be taken figuratively as meaning "blessings," since in adding fuel they are emulating the sacred fire. [115]

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## The War-bundle Feast of the Thunderbird Clan

(SECOND VERSION)

Informant, member of Thunderbird clan:[1] There were originally four warriors. The youngest one was the bravest and the most powerful. He claimed that his father was a Thunderbird and his mother a Night Spirit. He was the one who made the bundle about which we are going to speak.

The lodge (fig. 38) is prepared by the nephews and the women relatives of the host, generally his nieces and wives. The invited guests arrive toward evening, while the women are still preparing the buckskins. These buckskins are to be made as perfectly white as possible. Only those women who have passed their climacteric are permitted to do this. As soon as the buckskins are prepared the kettles are put on the fire. The buckskins are taken by the host and marked with the specific symbols associated with the different spirits. (For the markings, see pls. 47, 48.) These buckskins are then tied to a stick. That for Earthmaker is attached to the stick with the head pointing upward; that for the Thunderbird has the stick and the head of the buckskin facing the west; that for the Night has the stick and head of the buckskin facing east; that for the Star also faces east, as do all the others not mentioned. When the sticks have been prepared and the buckskins attached to them, the latter are rolled up upon the sticks. Whosoever of the guests is the oldest feast-giver then arises and pours tobacco, first for the fire and then for all the other spirits. When they start the fire for the first time they use the old ceremonial fire sticks. With that the ceremony begins. When the old man is

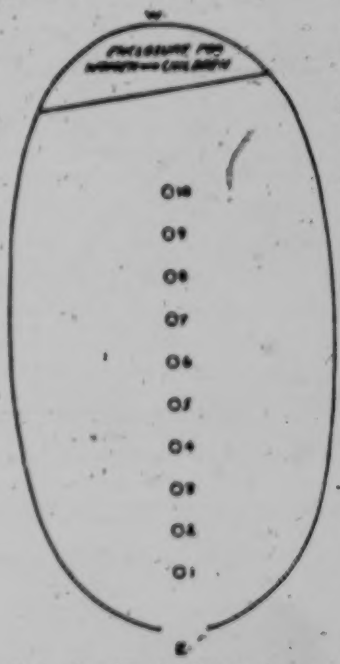


Fig. 38.—Plan of Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast. 1, Buckskin for earthmaker. 2, Buckskin for thunderbird. 3, Buckskin for night-spirits. 4, Buckskin for morning star. 5, Buckskin for sun. 6, Buckskin for moon. 7, Buckskin for water-spirit. 8, Buckskin for earth. 10, Buckskin for lodge.

[1] This is a prescribed account.

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known. It will be seen at a glance that the terms *Ictacunda* and *Tciju* are identical, and it will also be noticed by reference to the monographs of J. O. Dorsey[1] and Miss A. Fletcher and F. La Flesche[2] that these names as well as the name *Hanga* are names of subdivisions within these divisions. Were these names first used to designate the two divisions or the subdivisions? There seems to be no reason for believing that the names were first applied to the larger divisions, whereas a number of facts speak strongly in favour of the reverse. In no case, for instance, can it be shown that the two divisions *per se* have any functions except that of regulating marriage. The various political and ceremonial functions displayed by these divisions pertain to the subdivisions composing them. Owing to the massing together of a number of such functions on each side, we often obtain the impression that these belong to the larger unit as such. And indeed this may be said to be true at the present time, in so far as the functions of one subdivision have become identified with the larger unit. We will treat of these points afterwards. All that we wish to point out here is that the names of the two divisions may be different, and that they may connote different ideas in the different divisions of an historically related culture, due to specific historical development within each. Among the Dcgiha, there seem to be a number of reasons for assuming that the present names of the two divisions are not the historically primary ones, and we will have to look askance at such an attempt as that of Miss Fletcher and F. LaFlesche to regard the names of the Ictacunda and Hanga divisions of the Omaha as indicating the historically fundamental religio-social concepts of that tribe.

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It is far more difficult to discuss the names of the subdivisions or "gentes" within the two larger divisions. From a comparative point of view it must be regarded as significant that the names of the subdivisions within the Tciwere tribes tally almost exactly with those of the Winnebago and that those of the Dhegiha tribes tally with the names of many of the two latter, although they possess, in addition, a large number not

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[1] "A Study of Siouan Cults," B. A. E. Annual Reports, Vol. XI.
[2] "The Omaha Tribe," Ibid., Vol. XXVII.

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174 614 found among them. The Tciwere and Winnebago have animal appellations for their clans, the Dhegiha have animal appellations, plus type of designation, descriptive of animal taboo. Which of the two types is older it is difficult to say. The fact might be noted, however, that the animal names have, to a large extent, been forgotten and that the descriptive taboo-appellations have not; that in a number of cases there is some reason for believing that these animal appellations have been re-interpreted and in other cases replaced by non-animal designations; that the origin myths of these divisions *always* explain why a certain animal is associated with a subdivision, and rarely the origin of the taboo name; and, lastly, that the larger percentage of personal names is strictly comparable to the clan names of the Winnebago and the Tciwere. On the other hand, the descriptive taboo type of name is found frequently among the band appellations of the Plains Indians, with whom the Omaha have come in intimate contact and by whom they have been influenced along definite lines of ceremonial and social development. For these reasons we would like to suggest that the animal appellations are historically primary and that the taboo type became subsequently popular and spread over the whole tribe. Examples of changes in the names of subdivisions are by no means isolated. The Winnebago exhibit a tendency to substitute names indicative of the function of a clan for the old animal names—and this has gone so far that a large number of individuals would probably deny to-day that the Hawk and the Warrior clan are one and the same. Again, among the Osage, Kansa, and Kwapa we find Sun and Star clans, and, if we were to imagine that for some reason or another the latter type of name became popular, it might here become dominant within a comparatively short time.

Like the twofold division, the clan may connote a number of different things to the minds of the Indians. The Omaha apparently use the term *tonwǫgθon*, which means literally "place-of-habitation-of-those-related," gθǫ being the possessive-reflexive pronoun. It would thus seem to coincide with a geographical unit. The Kwapa use the term *enikacigs*, evidently meaning "people"; the Kansa, the term *wayąmidq*, "those-who-

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sing-together"; the Osage, the term *pęda*, "fireplace"; and the Winnebago, the term *hokik'a-radjara*, "those-related-to-one-another." The remarks made about the specific names of the twofold divisions apply here. There is no reason for assuming that these names are historically primary. A possible historical hint that they are not will be mentioned later. 174 614

The twofold division apparently regulates nothing but marriage. It has at the present time no other function *per se*. Nevertheless, a number of ethnologists, and for that matter Indians themselves, speak of the functions of the two sides. If we consider the Omaha "circle," we notice that practically all the ceremonial functions are on one side; that among the Osage "war" and "peace" functions are found on both sides; and that, as a matter of fact, the functions of war and peace apparently relate to a certain reciprocal relation existing between the two divisions. Indeed, there is no reason to justify the use of these terms. Among the Iowa, J. O. Dorsey quotes Hamilton to the effect that the regulation of the hunt and other tribal affairs was in the hands of one "phratry" during the autumn and winter, and in that of the other in spring and summer. It is, however, doubtful whether this was the case. Among the Winnebago, as we shall see, the functions of war and peace were grouped together on one side, the functions of the other side being confined to those relating to the policing and regulation of the hunt. But the only fact with which we can concern ourselves is not whether there appears a balancing of functions connected with the social organization, but whether the Indian thinks there is; and here the consensus of opinion favours the view that no Omaha, e.g., would for a moment suppose that the *Hanjgacenu* division as such was the custodian of the real pipes of peace. This belonged to the *Inkesabe* gens, and there is not a shred of evidence to support the view that it was delegated to that clan by the larger unit. The same reasoning applies to the *Hanja* clan. That the importance of the possessions of the latter clan played an important part in the associations of the Omaha, even to the extent of impressing its name upon the whole division, we do not doubt for a moment. Other reasons 174 182 616

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tribe over the large area once occupied in Wisconsin. That the 174
4,000 odd individuals composing the tribe at the advent of 616
the whites lived together is extremely doubtful. The nature of
the woodland of Wisconsin and the fairly extensive territory [161]
over which they (Winnebago) were found scattered not long
after Nicollet's first visit are facts that practically exclude such
a hypothesis. The myth that speaks of a village that at one [773]
time was so long that those living at one end did not know what
was transpiring at the other, contains too many literary touches
to justify its use as an historical document.

The question of village groups is of considerable importance, 174
because there may have been, cutting across the gentle organiza- 621
tion, another smaller, perhaps looser social unit, that of "band"
or village setting off (to the minds of the people) one group
against another. Systematic questioning has elicited from 174
various individuals the information, also corroborated by 621
historical records, that the villages were generally known accord-
ing to geographical location or were descriptive of the haunts of 103
certain animals. Even to-day the group scattered over the
Nebraska Winnebago reservation are commonly known under
similar designations. There we find, for instance, the following
names: *kozo-atcira*, "those living on the peninsula"; or *k'ąhą'tc-ira*, "those living below," i.e., in the timber; *niwą'hatcira*, "those living near the dirty water"; *hątcxedegominaŋgera*, "where big bear settles," etc. If we may, then, suppose this to have been a customary association, we may quite properly ask whether the name of the village had any influence on the social organization, whether there is even a hint at a genetic relation between these two types of group names. The only hint of such a relation is the fact that formerly *honi* "band" seems to have been used instead of *hokik'aradjəra;* that an archaic name of the Wolf clan, *regoni* or *degoni*, may mean Lake-band; and that the villages all had geographical names. All of which, however, is, I realize, hardly sufficient evidence.

No satisfactory demonstration has as yet been made indicat- 174
ing that the clan organization was ever associated with an histor- 614
ically simple social structure, whereas quite a number of reasons
lead us to suspect that it was in all cases preceded by other

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174 614 types of organization. In North America there is quite considerable evidence tending to show that village-group organization often preceded the clan, and for that reason the facts brought out above may be of more than casual significance. That a system of clan names different from that now in use existed is borne out by the archaic names for the Bear and Wolf clans. That another system was making headway against the animal-name type is apparent from the disappearance of the name Hawk and the substitution of the term Warrior clan; and from the common custom of calling the Thunder and Bear clans Chief and Soldier clan respectively. What is especially significant is the fact that these three new names all represent the same type of change, the substitution for animal designations, with the correlated associations of descent or connexion with an animal ancestor, of designations indicative of the function of the clan. If the association of the social unit with a common animal ancestor was preceded by an association of a social unit with geographical location, we would then be able to demonstrate what is so rare in ethnology, the historical succession of types of naming. Having established that, there would be thrown open to us legitimately the historical-psychological question whether any necessary genetic relationship between these three types of naming existed, and whether this succession of names is to be regarded as a reflection of distinct changes in social organization.

## THE TWOFOLD GROUPING—NAMES AND RELIGIO-MYTHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION.

174 614 616 825 The Winnebago are divided into two divisions, one known as the *waŋgeregi herera*, "those who are above," the other as the *mąyegi herera*, "those who are on earth." Descent was reckoned in the paternal line. But these appellations refer to the animals after whom the clans are named, the term *waŋgeregi* covering the birds, the term *mąyegi*, land and water animals. So firmly has this idea of the division of animal forms become associated with the two divisions that, as mentioned before, were a new clan introduced now among the Winnebago its position would depend exclusively upon the nature of the animal associated with it. As similar reasons dictate clan groupings among some of the Cen-

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tral Algonkin tribes, a few words concerning this type of association will not be amiss. The groupings of the fauna into a distinct number of categories is extremely common in North America. Among the Winnebago, a number of other Siouan, and Central Algonkin tribes, there was a fivefold classification: earth animals, sky animals, empyrean animals, aquatic animals, subaquatic animals. Among the Winnebago, the thunderbird belongs to the empyrean; the eagle, hawk, and pigeon, to the sky; the bear and wolf, to the earth; the fish, to the water; and the water spirit, below the water. This religio-mythological conception has unquestionably received a certain amount of sympathetic elaboration at the hands of shamans, and particularly at the hands of the leaders of such ceremonies as the Winter Feast, the Clan Feast, and the Clan Wake, as well as at the hands of those who had in their keeping the clan origin myths.

The characteristics of the thunderbird, eagle, bear, and water spirit as clan animals, and as animals connected with a division of fauna are related to the general conception of these animals *per se*. The eagle and hawk are birds of prey; the thunderbird is generally a deity granting long life, and associated with peace, although his connexion with war is by no means uncommon. Similarly, the bear is supposed to have a "soldier" nature, and the water spirit is intimately associated with rites pertaining to crossing streams, calming the sea, and ownership of water property. This correlation unquestionably indicates an influence of the religio-mythological conception of the animal upon the social group with which it is associated. How far this can go is abundantly attested by the names and behaviour of the *waŋgerɛgi* and *maŋegi* divisions.

On the other hand we may legitimately ask: what influence have the two divisions had upon moulding the attributes of these animals, or upon the behaviour of the groups with which their name is associated? The functions of a warrior may have determined, as they certainly have accentuated, the "warrior" characteristics of the eagle and hawk, nor is there any easily intelligible reason why the thunderbird should be associated with peace. From our knowledge of the social organization of other Siouan tribes, the political functions of the clan seem to be

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174 the characteristic feature of the organization, and this being the
614 case, the probability of associations of warlike and peace attributes
616 with animals may as much be ascribed to the influence of the so-
825 cial unit as vice versa. As regards such functions as the exogamy of the two divisions or that of the clans, or of the reciprocal burial relationship of the *wangeregi* and *mąnegi* divisions, we, of course, know that the characteristics of the animal in question have nothing to do with the matter. We must, then, realize that we are dealing with reciprocal influences, of the religio-mythological conception of animals on the one hand, and of political functions of social units on the other. In some cases, such as the specific associations of the water spirit, it is probable that the religio-mythological conception of the animal is dominant. The association of the thunderbird with fire has likewise not been due to any activity of the social unit; and thus examples might be multiplied. In this connexion, the fact that animals with whom a multitude of associations have already been established are subsequently associated with social units, is fundamental. From this point of view, the animal names of social organization are intrusive features, and we will consequently expect to find historical adjustments. This, we think, is what has taken place here. The animal name with its religio-mythological conceptions was a remarkably strong unit, even as compared with the political unit, and as a result reciprocal influences took place. Although the religio-mythological influence must have been marked, it appears to have changed none of the marital and other functions of the two divisions, nor the political functions of the clans. What it did change, and change fundamentally, was the interpretation of the social organization.

## FUNCTIONS OF THE TWOFOLD DIVISION.

614 The only function that the *wangeregi* and *mąnegi* divisions
616 seem to have had was the regulation of marriage. A *wangeregi*
[582] man had to marry a *mąnegi* woman, and vice versa. The only
[764] other function exercised by these divisions was, according to some informants, reciprocal burial. Here the religio-mythological interpretations seem in part to have determined this relation for a *mąnegi* man buried a *wangeregi* man because, as a "land

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division," it pertains to him to place a corpse in the earth. This, however, seems to be a doubtful function, for earth burial seems in olden times to have been characteristic only of the *mąnegi* division, the *wąngeregi* clans having had scaffold burial. In addition, the burial relation was one of the many reciprocal duties of the "friend-clan," and if it was ever postulated of the *wąngeregi* and *mąnegi*, this was likely due to the fact that the "friendship" relation seems also to have existed between two clans belonging to the two different divisions. According to one myth, however, the four clans of the *wąngeregi* paired off as "friends" with four clans of the *mąnegi*. This would then be practically equivalent to saying that the *mąnegi* buried the *wąngeregi*.

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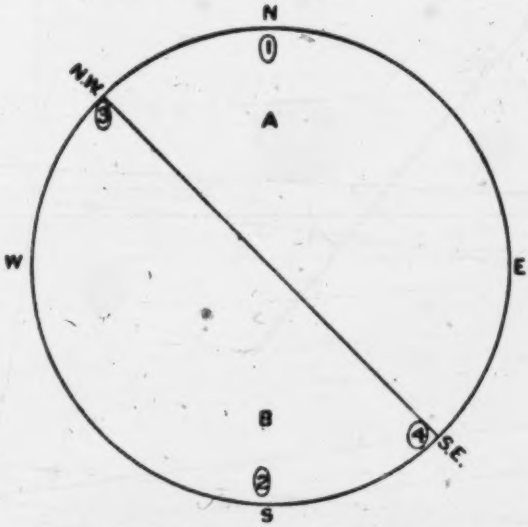


Figure 1. A, *Mąnegi* side; B, *Wąngeregi* side.
1, Lodge of Bear clan; 2, Lodge of Thunderbird clan;
3, Lodge of Warrior clan; 4, Lodge of Buffalo clan.

Thus far we have spoken only of the socio-political functions. The two divisions, however, play a part in a number of social and ceremonial connexions: first, in the organization of the village; second, in the arrangement of the clans while on the war-path; third, as the basis of organization at the "chief" feast; and lastly, as the basis of organization of the ceremonial lacrosse game.

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614 616 621 According to the majority of the older people, when the old social organization was still intact, each village was divided into two halves by an imaginary line running due northwest by southeast, the *wąŋgeregi* clans dwelling in one half, with the Chief's lodge in the south, and the *mąŋegi* clans dwelling in the other half, with the Bear or Soldier lodge in the north (Figure 1). Although this arrangement has now become almost legendary, it was corroborated by many of the older people. To what extent every village was organized on this basis, it is impossible

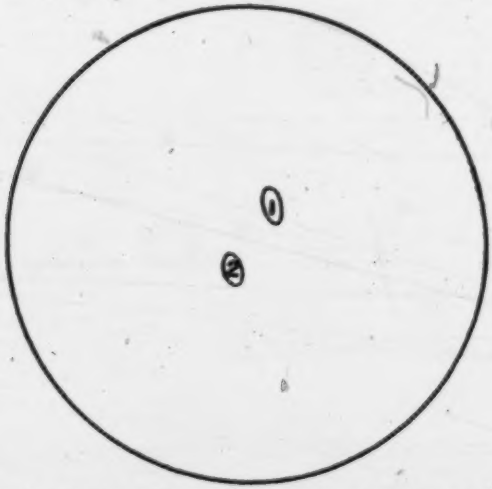


Figure 2. 1, Lodge of Bear clan; 2, Lodge of Thunderbird clan.

to tell. When this question was directly put to individuals, the answer was always in the affirmative. Quite a number of old individuals, however, denied vigorously that such had ever been the organization of the village, and claimed, instead, that the lodges of the Chief and the Soldier (Bear) clan were in the centre of the village (Figure 2).

In looking over the clan affiliations of the informants, we noticed, however, that arrangement 1 was always given by members of the bird clans, and arrangement 2 by members of the Bear clan and generally also by others on the *mąŋegi* side. This fact, of course, makes the decision as to the relationship

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of these two types of arrangements quite difficult. There can be no question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital regulations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in definite villages. When on the warpath, the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fire-places, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe, can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, cannot be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Tciwere. In the subsequent discussion of the clan, we will touch on this subject again. 614 616 621

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fire-places when on the warpath, each division having two fire-places, whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. If they were going west, for instance, the two fire-places for the *waŋgeregi* would be on the south and the two for the *mąŋegi* would be on the north side. On the other hand, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the divisions exists. 726 616

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the Chief feast (*hoŋk'wohą*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name (*hoŋk'wohą*) would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Hoŋk'* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the *waŋgeregi* division. 614 616 574

As the basis of organization in a game the twofold division finds expression in ceremonial lacrosse. There the *waŋgeregi* are always pitted against the *mąŋegi*. A well-known myth is associated with this arrangement, according to which the animal ancestors of the *waŋgeregi* and *mąŋegi* decided their respective rank by playing a game where they were organized on this basis. The *waŋgeregi* won, and it is for this reason that the chiefs of the tribe have been selected from that division. The division of the 616 526 773 [622] 000

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171 The division of the
616 tribe into two halves when playing ceremonial lacrosse is character-
526 istic not only of the Winnebago, but of the Omaha, Menominee, Sauk, Fox, and other tribes. Among the former two, these sides are identical with the two aforementioned political divisions of the tribe, but among the latter two, where no such division exists, the tribe seems to divide itself into two halves merely on this occasion, although we know that this is not the only occasion upon which it behaves in this manner.

174 Up to the present, we have treated the two divisions as
614 social units *per se*, but now, before entering on the discussion of the clans, it may be well to point out the fact that the *wangeregi*
616 people are sometimes spoken of as the Bird clan (*wanɛnk' hokik'aradjara*), and that the four clans composing this side are so intimately related, and their clan origin myths so similar, one of them even declaring the other three bird clans to be merely the descendants of the three younger thunderbird ancestors, that the assumption of the four clans representing one clan that became split up into a number of divisions, is not outside the realm of historical possibility. This is, however, quite immaterial, for whether we have one bird clan opposed to eight other animal clans is of little consequence, since historically it is not the bird clan that is opposing the other clans, but one social unit, the division, set off against another. The numerical equality that exists between these two sides, in spite of the disparity in the number of clans, is perhaps another confirmation of the fundamental character of the twofold structure.

## THE CLAN ORGANIZATION.

614 There are twelve clans (*hokik'aradjara*) among the Winne-
[616] bago: the Thunderbird (*wak'andja*), the Warrior (*wonayere wanɛkik'*), the Eagle (*tcaxcep'*), and Pigeon (*ru'tcge*), now extinct, belonging to the *wangeregi* half; and the Bear (*hunk'*), Wolf (*cunktcunk'*), Buffalo (*tce*), Water-spirit (*waktcexi*), Deer (*tca'*), Elk (*huwq*), Snake (*wak'q*), and Fish (*ho'*), all belonging to the *mqnegi* half.

In addition to the above names, we have the name Chief (*hunk*) applied to the Thunderbird; Hawk (*keretcq*), to the Warrior; (*manupe*) Soldier, to the Bear clans.

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Clans are likewise referred to by names indicative of respect. 614
Thus, the Water-spirit is referred to as *hunge*, male members of the Bear clan as *haga*, and female members of the same clan as *warowiną*. It was claimed that these names were employed to avoid using the others. *Degoni* (meaning unknown, perhaps "lake-people") was also applied to the Bear; and *iconanke* (meaning unknown) to the Wolf.

Referring to the two village diagrams, we notice that according to Figure 1, four clans have their lodges definitely located— [621]
the Thunderbird, Warrior, Buffalo, and Bear; but that according to Figure 2 only two clans have definite location of lodges—
the Thunderbird, and Bear. In addition there is, however, [554]
a special lodge for the men who have especially distinguished [729]
themselves in war, not necessarily to be identified with the members of the Warrior clan. The significance of the clan names has been discussed before.

The meaning of *iconanke* is unknown to-day, but it may be 614
of interest as an example of the manner in which the name of 192
a clan may possibly be reinterpreted that, when pressed for a meaning, *iconanke* was translated blue-back, which is a literal translation of *ico* and *nanke*, but which unquestionably represents a folk etymology, for, according to Winnebago grammar, *blue-back* would have to be *nanke ico*.

### *Legendary Grouping of Clans.*

According to many clan legends, the clans originated in 614
a definite order. As might be expected, this differs according 773
to each clan, but the order of origin of the important ones seems to be constant. That is, practically all clan origin myths speak of the bird-clans as having originated first, and the Bear clan as having followed next. Yet even this did not hold true for all informants.

J., of the Bear clan, gave the following list:

Good Thunders (Thunderbird)
Bad Thunders (Warrior)
Eagle
Pigeon
Bear

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Wolf
Water-spirit (?)
Buffalo
Deer
Elk
Snake

The same order was given by a number of other informants. In the Bear clan legend the order is water-spirit, birds, bears, and in practically all the versions of the Bear clan legends the bear always finds the footprints of the wolf, which would indicate that the latter had preceded him. Nevertheless, in the versions of the Wolf clan myth, the bear footprints are found by the Wolf people, and, strangely enough, in the same version the Wolf people are represented as the last clan, whereas in another version of the myth they are represented as being the first clan. In still another myth, the Water-spirit is represented as first, etc. These discrepancies can be explained in only one way, one that was to be expected, namely, that each clan tried to augment its own importance by insisting that it was one of the first, if not the first, to have originated. About one thing all seem to be agreed—that the Snake clan was the last. The Fish clan is rarely mentioned and, in general, appears to be a very late addition.

[174]

It is thus clear that no historical importance can be attached to the order of the clans. More significance must, however, be attached to the statements that certain clans have originated at special places. Thus, while the majority trace their origin to Green bay, the members of the Warrior and Buffalo clan claim certain lakes far to the south of Green bay as their original home. Here the literary tendency to associate the origin of the clans with a lake of a definite character makes any discussion practically futile. It is, of course, quite plain that the tribe as a unit, localized in a definite place, did not adopt animal names for their various clans, but that a type of name gradually spread over all the local groups. One of these local groups may have become associated with a definite place of origin. Perhaps the association of Green bay as the place of origin is precisely such an instance. The local associations of the Warrior and Buffalo clans can also be taken as suggestive of an historical past. That the prevalent association of Green bay as the

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origin of the tribe is due to the literary-legendary tendency towards uniformity, is, on the whole, quite likely. This seems illustrated by the fact that the Warrior and Buffalo clans in some of the versions of their clan myths claim specific places, while others claim Green bay as their ancestral home. Green bay must, therefore, be considered as one of probably many local associations, connected with a prominent clan, which came to be accepted in the course of time by most of the others. 174 614 773

*Arrangement of Clans in Village.*

As in Figure 1, all the clans of the *wangeregi* division except the Thunderbird and Warrior, could occupy any position in the half-circle, and the same was true of those of the *manegi* division except the Bear clan. The Buffalo clan seems to have been grouped on the *wangeregi* side. However, in both divisions the members of each clan had to be grouped together, a segregation that was further emphasized by the erection near each clan of an earthen effigy of the clan animal. According to all informants, each village was inhabited by members of various clans; in no case did a village merely include members of the same clan, as seems to have been the case among the Menomini. Among the latter, village exogamy probably existed, while no trace of this is found among the Winnebago. This clan segregation in every Winnebago village became, after a while, practically identical with blood relationship, although the close relationship existing between members of the same clan may also partially represent the persistence of a local group consciousness. 614 621 [616] [532] [171]

This distribution of the same clan over many villages would, indeed, seem to militate against the local group origin of the clans, but it must be remembered that the clan organization was of considerable age and there is no reason to suppose that the local groups could have had any influence now discernible. The village arrangement must, of course, not be pushed too hard, for we should expect a tendency on the part of informants whose knowledge was entirely hearsay, to cast their information in a more or less schematic mould. The old village sites seem to indicate that the bird effigy was dominant in some places and 174 614 621

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174 the bear in others, although both are also often found together.

614 Looking at our facts from another point of view, it is quite clear that clan segregation must not be taken too literally. 621 Clan exogamy would necessarily prevent that. If the old exogamy of the two divisions was in force and a man was thus compelled to marry into his mother's division but not into her clan, every village would have had to be arranged in an extremely artificial manner, that was not likely to have occurred frequently. [591] That a man often lived with his parents-in-law, would in addition again disorganize the regularity of the scheme. Finally, we have the evidence of the myths, which often speak of a man as departing on a journey when seeking a bride. All these customs, cutting across the village scheme in a number of ways, must have rendered it a rather complex unit. That, in spite of all this, clan exogamy could have been maintained even in a small village is unquestionable, but the reason for this lay, we suspect, in the limitation of the concept of blood-relations. With these considerations in mind, we may, then, admit clan segregation.

*Individual Names.*

614 With the animal appellation of the clan, one naturally associates animal names of individuals, for there is, indeed, 551 a correlation between them. Animal names of individuals 182 are, however, frequently found when the social units have names of an entirely different kind. A similar lack of correlation exists between the manner and system of naming and the type of social organization. That, on the other hand, the social organization may fundamentally influence the nature of the individual name is also apparent. Only with these points in mind can the Winnebago individual names become intelligible.

614 The study of Winnebago names can be approached from a purely static point of view, and the attempt made to bring 551 them analytically under a certain system of naming; or, on the 174 other hand, from a dynamic historical view-point. We shall try to undertake both. Every clan has a distinct set of names.

The Winnebago individual names lend themselves easily to categories of classification. We have the following classes:

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I. According to colour. II. According to physiological characteristics. III. According to social functions. IV. Descriptive of animal and plant forms. V. Descriptive of animal characteristics. VI. Descriptive of natural phenomena. VII. According to quality. VIII. According to episodes of a legendary origin. IX. Descriptive of personal achievement.

According to practically all informants only one of these classifications is present in the minds of the Winnebago to-day—that commemorating incidents relating to the origin of each clan. Thus, for instance, because the first thunderbird lit on a tree, the name He-who-lights-on-a-tree exists; because a wave swept over the shore in the wolf myth, we have the name Wave; etc. However, the most representative names of this type are such as Gives-forth-fruit-as-he-walks, Makes-the-day-tremble, He-who-comes-singing, Judge-of-the-contest, etc. The vast majority of names, although many can be interpreted as possible episodes of the clan ancestors, belong under the first seven categories described above. Yet the Winnebago interpret them all in terms of category VIII. Can we accept this present interpretation as historically primary? We think not. A large number of the clan names are purely descriptive of animal habits, others express the influence of social organization, for instance "Soldier" in the Bear clan, "Chief" in the Thunderbird, and others refer to personal achievements, etc.; secondly, the interpretation is of too specific a nature to be regarded as one that could possibly have dictated an original system of naming; and, thirdly, in spite of its prevalence, other systems of interpretations are present. For example, the interpretations obtained by J. O. Dorsey are largely symbolical, and make no mention of the one we found so prevalent. A purely symbolical interpretation was, it is true, obtained in some cases, notably from what one might call the "exoteric" members of the tribe, that is, from those who were insufficiently acquainted with the clan myths and customs. Another type of name characteristically developed among the Omaha and Central Algonkins, is the so-called "dream-name," a name supposed to represent some incident connected with the dream of the individual bestowing it. In all these cases we are speaking of the specific names.

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If we include the nicknames, and then the birth names, we have five distinct systems of individual names. Remembering that every individual had three names, a birth name, clan name, and nickname, of co-ordinate importance, we must not exaggerate the importance of the clan name, especially in its social significance. An individual is known by his birth name or nickname, generally, however, by the former, which sufficed absolutely as a mark of identification under normal conditions. The clan name was rarely known by a member of another clan or even to all members of the clan. A marked religious symbolical flavour clung about it, and this was enhanced and elaborated by the shaman and principal members of the clan. The way was thus open for the development of specific interpretations such as the dream, symbolical, and notably the ancestor-episode type. The ancestor-episode type seems to have been the last. The uniformity it brought about in the interpretation of individual names was all the more easily accomplished in view of the fact that this esoteric interpretation was not disturbed by the influence of any popular system, since, as has been pointed out, the nature of the clan name prevented it from having any distinctively social-political value. Many such reinterpretations must have taken place in the history of the tribe, and we may thus obtain some idea of the insurmountable difficulties in the way of a proper understanding of names. Psychologically two processes are always active in these changes in name connotation: first, the reinterpretation of the old names according to some definite system of classification; and, secondly, the formation of new names on this basis. Interpreting a name, probably merely descriptive of the bear's manner of walking, like Retraces-her-footsteps, into an incident connected with the origin of the clan, and, on the other hand, giving a name like Scatters-flowers-as-he-walks, are two examples of the two processes, which must have occurred at every change. In the case here cited, reinterpretation in no way does injury to the name itself. It frequently happens, however, that the significance of a word is lost and that, in the process of reinterpretation, names are interpreted in a characteristic folk-etymological manner. *Tcoŋanke*, given above, is a case in point. In addition to the possible

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meaning of "blue-back," it has been interpreted as "first," 614
from *iconi*. In the same way *degoni* has been interpreted as 551
*re* "to go" and *honi*, "to hunt"; and *hotcangera* has been subjected 174
to a multitude of interpretations. This folk-etymology not only overrides the grammatical peculiarities of Winnebago, but even makes faulty compounds conform to the Winnebago principles of grammar. Inquiry into the origin of the clan names will, for these various reasons, have to be regarded as one of the most unprofitable of investigations.

### *Attitude Toward Clan Animals.*

We mentioned before that when the animal names became 614
associated with the social groups, they were accompanied 776
by the specific associations clustering around these animals. 825
These associations were probably of the same type, if not indeed identical with those grouped around the animals as guardian spirits. The clan animals are among the principal guardian spirits to-day, and we must expect to find an explanation of the attitude toward them as clan animals in the attitude the Winnebago exhibit toward the guardian spirit. To a certain extent it would be quite correct to say that the guardian spirit became [174]
the clan animal. This does not, however, mean, in the slightest degree, that the guardian spirit of the individual became the clan animal, but merely that the concept of the guardian spirit became associated with a local group.

The guardian spirit is at the present time conceived as an immaterial being in control of an animal species. The attitude toward this spirit is a purely religious one, and exhibits a marked [784]
absence of taboo of any kind. It is an open question whether a vision must be attested by obtaining some part of the animal [787]
"embodiment" of the spirit, but there is no doubt that every vision is symbolized by a special gift from the "spirit." The guardian spirit complex may thus be said to consist of a special religious attitude plus symbol.

The attitude toward the clan animal is characteristically different in this respect, that more emphasis is laid upon identification with the animal itself, as contrasted with the "spirit."

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614 As far as could be determined, the clan animal is the thunder-
776 bird with his characteristics of lightning and thunder, of the bear
825 who likes honey and raisins, etc. The animal is engraved as clan
symbol and used as a property mark, and he is brought in intimate
[421] contact with the group by the postulation of descent. Natur-
ally, descent is not from the "spirit" animal but from the
animal. Nevertheless the clan animal has, at the same time,
retained its place as a guardian spirit, and in a most suggestive
way. The blessing of a clan animal is more easily obtained by a
member of the clan than by an outsider. The clan animal is a
sort of clan protector.

174 In this change of attitude two considerations seem pertinent:
first, the possibility of the "spirit" nature of the guardian
614 spirit being a product of the esoteric elaboration of the religious
societies, and that its apparent absence in the clan animal
776 represents an exoteric conception; and, secondly, that under
825 the influence of the social functions of the clan, an originally
strong religious conception of the clan animal gave place to an
identification with the animal species itself. It might be ob-
jected that there is no inherent correlation between social
organization and animal species as contrasted with spirit animals.
It seems certain, however, that descent could only be reckoned
from the animal, and as long as it is postulated it must be from
the animal. With regard to the historical priority of the "spirit"
conception, little can be definitely said except, first, that the
systematization it has undergone suggests the influence of the
esoteric societies, and secondly, that the visions obtained during
fasting appear to speak of the guardian "spirit" as an animal.
On general psychological considerations we are inclined to
believe in the contrast of the material and spiritual conception
of the animal as a real fact, although it would be hazardous to
say whether one or the other lies at the basis of the attitude of
the individual toward his clan animal.

### *Relationship to Clan Animals.*

174 The question of descent from the animal brings us to the
614 consideration of the whole intricate relationship of the individual
825 to the clan animal, a subject that has played so prominent a

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part in discussions of totemism. There are two distinct sources for the determination of this relationship, data obtained in reply to direct questioning, and that contained in some miscellaneous myths and in the origin myths. Part of the oral data is merely a reflex of the origin myths, but part is not. The value of this "unwritten" material lies in the fact that it represents the popular, exoteric attitude, the attitude that, on the whole, is not the result of conscious rationalization, and also in the fact that this exoteric view may very likely have been the basis for the esoteric interpretation. 174 614 825

The most prevalent view of the relationship of the individual to his clan animal is that of descent from an animal, transformed at the origin of the human race into human beings. This view is expressed in some of the origin myths and reflects the general conversation with individuals. Direct descent from an animal was never postulated. The definition of the term "animal" is, however, very difficult. The Indians themselves seem to make a distinction between the animal of to-day and the animal of the heroic age. The main characteristic of the animal of the heroic age was his power of transformation into human form and vice versa. Although he has lost this to-day, he is nevertheless descended from this animal. The human beings are, however, descended from precisely the same "animals," so that it might be well to bear in mind that descent from the transformed animal does not mean descent from the animal of to-day. This view is more systematically expressed in some places. According to one miscellaneous myth, the existing human beings and animals were descended from the same being, who once possessed infinite powers of transformation now into human, now into animal shape. At one time, presumably the beginning of our present creation, these "beings" either consciously or unconsciously exhausted all their "transforming" power, and the form into which they changed themselves, human or animal, remained fixed for all time. The existing animals have never succeeded in regaining their power of transformation, and among human beings this power has only been vouchsafed to those few who have obtained it as a special gift from some spirit. Even then, however, it is ludicrously incomplete, as compared 174 614 773 825

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174 with the same powers of the primordial "beings." This con-
614 ception of the animal-human archetype must not be regarded
773 as at all flavouring of a philosophy, developed after contact
825 with Europeans. The error that has always been committed in discussions as to the nature of descent from the animal lies in confusing our concept of animal species with the term "animal" as used by primitive people, and also in lack of discrimination between the possible connotations of that same term, as applied to animals of to-day and those animals which are brought into intimate contact with the clan ancestor.

There is no reason for regarding the specific descent from the totem as a transformation of this Winnebago idea of the origin of human and animal forms. The latter conception is entirely a religious one, whereas the former is merely an extension of the genealogical tendency prevalent in many types of social organization. Instead of being merely descended from an individual in a given social unit, the bond of membership within this unit has been strengthened by the postulation of blood relationship to the clan animal. Descent may thus be looked upon as one of the elements necessary for the stability of a political unit, and is far older than its specific extension to those clan animals. A very illuminating example of a case in point can be selected from the history of the war bundle in the Thunderbird clan. This bundle, like the others, was obtained as a gift from the thunderbird in his capacity as a guardian spirit. The Winter Feast has, however, been markedly influenced by the clan organization and as a result, we find descent from the thunderbird and night spirit, the two most important spirits in the ceremony, postulated of the original owner of the war bundle. The same tendency is exhibited in the numerous stories of the connexion of an individual of the heroic age with a village. Here the individual, generally a transformed guardian spirit or animal, comes to the aid of the people in their struggle against cannibals, defeats the latter, and marries into the village, becoming the ancestor of the subsequent village group.

At the same time no strong correlation apparently exists between a totemic organization and the extension of descent to include the clan animal, for this seems to be a peculiarity of

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individual cultures. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest Coast, among the Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves we find, in addition to the above, the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact that its members imitate the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reason at all for the name, while according to others an animal is killed and becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, the group taking its name from this fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation. 174 614 773 825

### *The Clan Tie.*

In intimate relation to the attitude toward the clan animal is the conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the bond between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal. Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as is brought out by the word for clan (*hokik'aradjəra*). This concept of blood relationship was extended to the mother's clan generation. As we have pointed out, there is no reason for assuming that blood relationship is the primary explanation. The number of explanations for exogamy existing between one clan and another, and that of the clans of one side as opposed to those of another, indicate clearly how readily interpretations of this phenomenon change. The Bear does not marry into the Wolf clan because they are friends (*hitcak'ɔro*), and does not marry into the Buffalo clan because it belongs to the same side, or no reason is assigned at all. Before the question of the clan tie can be thoroughly understood, the kind of blood relationship that is here meant must be more carefully defined. This is not a general but a very definite notion, and may be said not to extend beyond four generations, in fact, not beyond the direct knowledge of some living individual. 602 614 582

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582 This will be brought out more clearly by the following tables, based on actual genealogies:

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(F) Thunderbird—
(F) Bear —Bear (M) 1
(F) Eagle —Eagle (M) 2
(F) Wolf —Wolf (M) 3
(M) Thunderbird—Thunderbird (M) 4
—Bear (F) 5

or:

(F) Thunderbird—
(M) Bear —Bear (M) 1
(M) Bear —Eagle (F) 2
—Thunderbird (F) 3

All these marriages are permitted. In the first case a man marries into his maternal grandmother's maternal grandfather's clan; and in the second a man marries into his paternal grandmother's clan. We will consequently have to consider blood relationship as extending only to four, sometimes three, generations, and have to regard the statement of blood-relationship as the tie binding the members of the clan together as purely fictitious and secondary. That, nevertheless, this fictitious tie called forth the same feeling as that of real relationship, there is abundant evidence to show, and that it was of considerable importance in the development of the Winnebago clan-complex is borne out by the fact that the clan was called "those-who-are-relatives-to-one-another."

## THE SOCIO-POLITICAL COMPLEX.

### *Clan Functions.*

174 The association of political functions with definite social units is a common phenomenon for most cultures where a
614 tendency toward socialization exists. It is strictly comparable
182 to the association of ceremonial and religious functions with ceremonial units. In this connexion, the difference between an association with a group unit and an association with an individual, is of fundamental importance. Is the former, for instance, merely an extension of the latter? This only individual

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history can demonstrate. Such a genetic relationship between the two depends probably as much upon the nature of the political function as upon anything else. The exact time when this socialization took place is also of great import here. Among the Winnebago, some individuals claim that the functions of the public crier were inherent in the Buffalo clan, while others insist that any person who had counted coup four times was eligible for the office. Now, in this case not only is it possible but it is extremely probable that public criership was originally connected with an individual, and that subsequently it became associated with the Buffalo clan, probably by reason of a certain relationship existing between this clan and the Chief clan. It must, of course, be remembered that a grouping had already taken place, because the requirement of having counted coup four times made a large number of warriors potentially public criers. (Here the grouping together was due to the successful performance of certain test-acts.) Its association with membership in the Buffalo clan represented on the one hand a restriction of the number of individuals, on the other hand the addition of another qualification. Historically, then, the qualification of membership in the clan supplanted the other qualifications, at least in the eyes of a large number of individuals. What has been said of the development of the functions of the Buffalo may also be generally applied to that of the Warrior or Hawk clan.

Political functions may, however, become connected with a group unit without the individual playing any rôle either in directing or in developing such an association. The functions of preserving peace and of acting as intermediary, that among the Winnebago are connected with the Thunderbird clan, and the police and disciplinary functions connected with the Bear clan, may represent such types of association. In the absence of historical data, no demonstration can be made. It will, however, be shown later that association of ceremonial-religious functions with a social unit has actually occurred. That the police and disciplinary functions of the Bear clan developed from those of individiuals, on the basis of requirements similar to those of the public crier, is quite improbable, and no indication of that exists. The functions of the Thunderbird clan likewise do not

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174 lend themselves readily to such an interpretation. But even should we accept the necessity for the priority of the one over
614 the other types of association, we must still insist that psycho-
625 logically the functions are in each case associated with a group unit and that we are not dealing with the relation of cause and effect but with a new association.

182 Four of the Winnebago clans have specific political functions, the details of which cannot be discussed here. The Thunderbird
614 is the chief clan, and in addition to the fact that the chief of the tribe is selected from it, has important functions connected with the preservation of peace; the Warrior clan, that relating to war; the Bear clan, that relating to policing and discipline, both within the village and while on the hunt, etc.; and the Buffalo clan, that of public crier and intermediary between the chief and his people. The Wolf, Water-spirit, and the Elk clans seem also to have possessed minor political-social functions. Thus, the Wolf people were considered in the light of "minor" soldiers; the Water-spirit people as connected with the passage of streams, etc.; and the Elk as connected with the care of the fire-places while on the hunt and warpath. This accounts for seven of the twelve clans, and it thus seems as if the association of political functions with clans was a type that had found
[174] great favour among the Winnebago, and was perhaps being
[171] extended to every clan. Among the Dhegiha, associations of ceremonial functions with social units seem to have found corresponding favour, while among the Central Algonkin neither type occurred.

[171] Marked political and ceremonial functions of the clan are the distinguishing characteristics of the Siouan organization and have given an entirely different picture to clan structure there.

### *The Reciprocal Relationship of the Clans.*

614 We have seen that one of the bonds between the clans was the fact that they belonged to the same side. But there is a
616 special bond between certain clans known as "friendship" relation (*hitcak'ɔ'ro*). This always subsists between two, although it

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seems occasionally to have been extended to three or four clans. 614
Most informants gave these groups in such a manner that the 616
"friendship" relation was not postulated between clans belonging to different divisions; although one individual postulated them just on this basis, i.e., Thunderbird—Bear, Warrior—Wolf, etc. There can, however, be no doubt that the prevalent arrangement is: Thunderbird—Warrior; Eagle—Pigeon; Bear—Wolf; Buffalo—Water-spirit; Elk—Deer; Snake—Fish. Most informants do not claim any pairing for the Snake, while some associate it in a threefold grouping with the Buffalo and Water-spirit. The four clans of the *wangeregi* are generally united in a fourfold group of "friend," although some divide them into Thunderbird—Warrior and Eagle—Pigeon.

Under the term "friend clan" is included the idea of mutual 614
service. This becomes especially marked on two occasions; 574
first, when a member of one clan visits his "friend-clan," and [627]
second, when an injustice has been done a member of the "friend-clan." On the former occasion every possible privilege is extended to him, even to his occupying the seat and bed of the host. There is no indication of "wife borrowing," however. 614
On the latter occasion, the "friend-clan" will seek to revenge the injustice just as if the wrong had been done one of its own [627]
members. The respect shown by one clan to its "friend-clan" is again apparent at the "naming" feast. There he may be [553]
called upon to give the dog names for an individual of the clan with which he is associated, and, at times, to lend one of his clan names to the latter.

The relation of "*hitcakᵉyro*" or "friend-clan" is strictly 614
analogous to that which exists between two individuals who are 572
*hitcakᵉyro* to each other. It is one of the characteristic traits [171]
of Siouan culture that two individuals often form a strong inextricable friendship. Not only are they always together, but the death of one on the warpath involves that of the other. [604]
The same intimate relationship seems to exist between an uncle (*hidekᵉ*) and his nephews (*hitcᵉcgᵉ*). There is, however, one fundamental difference between such relations as that existing between the *hidekᵉ* and *hitcᵉcgᵉ*, the members of the family group, and the members of the same clan, on the one hand, and the in-

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614 dividual and clan *hitcak·ɔ·ro*, on the other. In the former there
is the bond of blood, real or fictitious, in the latter only that of
572 mutual service. On the other hand, while the *hidek·-hitcɔcɔ*
[604] relation, the individual *hitcak·ɔ·ro*, and the clan *hitcak·ɔ·ro* may
be all of different historical origin, they are psychologically the
same. The postulation even of a fictitious blood bond between
the different individual *hitcak·ɔ·ro* and the clan *hitcak·ɔ·ro* is not
unheard of. For the *hitcak·ɔ·ro*[1] relation of individuals this is
[597] always possible, for if one individual dies, his *hitcak·ɔ·ro* is generally
adopted to fill his place. On the other hand, the myths seem to
[582] indicate that no blood bone was regarded as existing between
them, for they generally married each other's sisters.

[174] What historical relation the clan *hitcak·ɔ·ro* bears to the
individual *hitcak·ɔ·ro* relation of individuals, it is impossible
to state, but the remarks made before are pertinent here, and
no genetic relationship need be postulated.

### *The "Servant" Relationship.*

614 The *hitcak·ɔ·ro* relation is entirely one between equals,
irrespective of the inequality of one member of this grouping,
with regard to the other, in social standing. The Bear clan is,
for instance, incomparably greater than the Wolf, but this is
entirely forgotten here. In addition to this "friendship,"
there seems to exist a faintly developed "servant" relation.
The concept of servant is not that conveyed by the English
word. It means essentially that a certain clan performs a service
for another without that specific service being reciprocal.
Among the Winnebago such a relation exists between the Thunder-
bird and Buffalo, and the Thunderbird and Elk clans. This is
not to be confused with the general subordination of all the
other clans to the Thunderbird and Bear clans when these exercise
their specific governmental functions. This "servant" relation-
[203] ship between the Thunderbird and Buffalo clans is politically
expressed by the fact that a member of the latter visits the
[174] chief every morning to receive certain directions from him,
which he then announces to the whole village. But this relation-
[621] ship expresses itself in another more striking manner—the

1 [i.e. - "friendship" relation - ANALYST]

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lodge of the Buffalo clan is on the *wangeregi* side of the village circle, although the Buffalo clan is one of the *mąnegi* clans. In explanation of this fact we might, on the one hand, assume that its relationship to the chief clan influenced its position in the village, or that it always was there. The latter seems rather improbable, in the face of the unanimity of agreement as to its inclusion among the *mąnegi* clans, and we may, therefore, provisionally accept the hypothesis of a shifting of position from one side to the other. As this might entail a possible readjustment of the Buffalo clan, as regards exogamy, we tried to obtain as many instances of Buffalo intermarriages as possible. No case of intermarriage with the *wangeregi* clans was found. However, as only eight cases were instanced, no safe inference can be drawn. 614 621 174

The "servant" relation of the Elk clan to the Thunderbird expresses itself in the fact that the former takes care of the fire-places of the latter while on the warpath, etc., and that the members are supposed to distribute the fire to the other clans. In the social customs this relationship is perhaps shown by a certain preference of the Elk to intermarry with the Thunderbird clan. This preference is not reciprocal. The word preference is used with the added significance of being consciously expressed, and differs from a tendency to intermarriage which may exist between the clans, but which is not present in their consciousness. Some Winnebago informants even went so far as to postulate a *hitcak'ɔ·ro* relation between the Elk and Thunderbird clan. 614 [372] 614 582 614

Among the Osage a marked development of the "servant" relationship is found. [171]

Viewed from a broad point of view, the reciprocal social and religious services of one clan toward another in the *hitcak'ɔ·ro* and "servant" relations are similar in nature to the political functions of the clan, and they may be taken as another indication of the association of political, social, and religious functions with a strongly individualized social unit. 614 182

### *The Specific Possessions of the Clan.*

Among the Omaha, a number of clans have in their possession certain objects, around which not merely the clan but also 171 614 778

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171 the tribal reverence is centred. Historically, we believe that
614 these were originally possessions of an individual clan, which
778 subsequently became identified with the entire tribe. Among the Winnebago nothing in the remotest manner comparable to these clan possessions exists, and the few specific objects possessed by the clan have never become of real tribal significance

614 The specific material possessions of the clan consist of
778 certain war-bundles, one in each clan; and two crooks in the possession of the Bear clan. Of more general possession are the
[616] war clubs, of which there are two types, one found among the *wangeregi*, the other among the *mąyegi* divisions. In connexion
[796] with the clan-bundles there are certain ceremonials known as clan-bundle or war-bundle feasts, popularly as winter feasts.
[171] The distribution of the clan-bundle differentiates these from the specific possessions of the Omaha clans, and suggests a hint as to their historical associations. To all intents and purposes, as their individual history shows, these bundles are merely gifts from one spirit, the thunderbird, and a secondarily associated
[575] night-spirit (*hąhe*). The winter feast might thus be interpreted as a society of those who have obtained blessings from the thunderbird. The bundle remains in the possession of a certain family, however, and cannot pass out of the clan. The war-bundle may, therefore, be said to be primarily the personal possession of a family which has become associated with all the members of the clan to such an extent that it is almost regarded as a clan possession.

In the possession of the two crooks by the Bear clan we have
[726] an example of specific clan property. The crooks are in the nature of emblems and are used on the warpath to indicate the extreme line of advance. They are thus of tribal significance. When not in use, they are kept in the lodge of the Bear clan.

### *Immaterial Possessions of the Clan.*

Although there are no specific material possessions, each clan possesses a type of what might be called "immaterial" possessions. These all have the added connotation of sacredness. For the bird clans, this is the possession of fire; for the

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Bear, the doorway of his lodge; for the Wolf and Water-spirit, water. They were not obtained for all the clans. We indicated before that these "possessions" may have been primarily connected with the animals associated with the clan, upon which an additional socio-religious interpretation has been superimposed. The whole subject is, however, closely related to that of clan etiquette, for which no explanations can, of course, be given now. 614 [778]

### *The Clan Marks of Identification.*

As if more fully to set off the social unit of the clan, there have come to be associated with it definite marks of identification, such as symbols, property marks, facial decorations, and songs.

The symbols of only two clans were obtained, although a number of other clans seem to have possessed them. There were the war club (*nqmqtcɛ*) of the Thunderbird clan, and the peculiarly whittled stick (*namqxɪnixɪni*) of the Bear clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan died, a miniature war club was buried with him. Whether the *namqxɪnixɪni* was buried with a member of the Bear clan, we do not know. [778] [764]

The property mark consisted of the effigy of the clan animal, and was woven on such objects as bags, tobacco pouches, etc. It was also frequently engraved on wooden objects. Its most peculiar uses, however, were the emblematic earthen effigy mounds, in the shape of the clan animal, which were erected near the habitation of each clan in the village and in the centre of clan squash fields, corn fields, etc.[1] 614 421 [532] [361]

Associated with every clan are also four clan songs. These are supposed to be the four songs sung by the ancestors of each clan when they came to this earth. They are always sung on the death of an individual, and are supposed to serve as a mark of identification in the journey of the soul to the land of the spirits. The use of these songs is so intimately associated with death, that when some hardened offender, 614 533 764 [775] [627]

[1] For a fuller discussion of these, see Radin, *Some Aspects of Winnebago Archæology*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 13, 1911, pp. 517-538.

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614 let us say, some individual who has killed a member of the
[533] tribe and who refuses to make atonement of any kind, is pursued,
[764] he defiantly sings his clan songs.

[627] As a last element in the clan-complex may be mentioned the specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

174 We have now completed the discussion of clan organization.
614 As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary associations that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that the complex has grown around a strong social-political unit.

### THE CLAN AS A SOCIO-CEREMONIAL COMPLEX.

614 Up to the present our attention has been directed entirely
796 to the clan as a socio-political complex and only passing men-
182 tion has been made of those religious or ceremonial associations
[171] that may also have clustered around it. Among the Omaha, as we have frequently pointed out, these latter associations were of paramount importance and probably dwarfed the development of the political functions. Among the Winnebago, on the whole, they were unimportant. This very fact makes the solitary instance in which a fairly marked development took place of all the greater value, quite apart from the fact that it happens to give, on the one hand, an exceptionally instructive illustration of the secondary association of a ceremonial function with a social unit, and, on the other, a similarly instructive illustration of the association of a function generally belonging to an individual shaman with a social unit. Such an association has taken place with the Bear clan, and, owing to its importance, we will quote the data in extenso. The ceremony is known as "soldiers' dance" (*manype waci*).

614 "When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village, the people
755 go to the chief and say, 'Sickness has come upon us, O chief!
796 See that your soldiers arise!' And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks

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as follows, 'My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease.' Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit, they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick, they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well." 614 755 796

Here the Bear clan behaves at the same time like a ceremonial organization associated with shamanistic practices and like an individual shaman. That, to the minds of the Winnebago, this ceremonial function of the Bear clan on this occasion was regarded as a real ceremony is indicated by the term *many pe waci*. For the moment, the Bear clan as a social unit is entirely lost sight of. Nevertheless, it is the Bear clan as such a unit around which the ceremony has crystallized. This case is all the more instructive for the very reason that this ceremonial association does not form an inextricable element in the clan complex, but is merely an aspect that it assumes on certain occasions, to the exclusion of its socio-political nature. The ceremonial function of the clan is, therefore, not as firmly fixed as is the political function. This may merely be an expression of the fact that among the Winnebago it had become customary to associate ceremonial functions with religious societies. 614 796 182

With regard to the analogy with the individual shaman, it might be said that treating a social unit like an individual must have been quite common wherever the former was strongly marked off by specific functions such as the Bear clan. The association of the shamanistic function with this clan may have occurred just because of the police functions the clan already possessed. On the other hand, it might be pointed out that the bear, both black and grizzly, was intimately [776] [825] [756]

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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associated with the treatment of disease and was the especial guardian spirit of the Indian doctors.

## INFLUENCE OF THE CLAN UPON CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION.

Perhaps the most characteristic trait of Winnebago culture is the existence of two strong socialized units, that of the clan and that of the secret society. Historically both are old, and even if we are of the opinion that the clan is historically younger, the political unit upon which it is superimposed is probably an ultimate historical fact. From the earliest times one would have supposed reciprocal influences to have occurred repeatedly. The nature of these influences, insofar as they are not conditioned by chance, would depend on the respective centre of gravity in either unit. It is evident that for the clan the organization was of paramount importance, and that the addition of cultural associations probably tended to strengthen its stability from the point of view of organization. On the other hand, the absence of political or governmental functions in the religious societies, and the clustering of the most multitudinous religious and shamanistic ideas within them, rendered the emotional complex of the latter the centre from which influences would radiate. At the same time, the ceremonial unit of organization seems to have been so firmly fixed, that any influence of the clan unit of organization upon it does not seem likely. As a matter of fact, in the typical schematic, religious society, like the medicine dance, grizzly-bear dance, and night-spirit dance, no influence is perceptible. But these religious societies may be regarded as presenting no possible points of contact. Where, however, the bond of union is supernatural communication with a guardian spirit who subsequently became the clan animal, an obvious point of contact is given, and this brings to mind a very suggestive fact of Winnebago culture—there are, strictly speaking, no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in many respects are absolutely identical with the religious societies, and which furnish, it seems to us, an example

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of just those two kinds of influence that we wished to point out, one radiating from the clan, as a unit of organization, the other from the entire clan complex.

In the Winter feasts the unit of organization is the clan. Generally all the clans were represented in the person of the owner of each specific clan war-bundle. The order of invitation was traditionally fixed, but it seems that in a number of cases the "friend" clan always had the position of honour. The war-bundle owner was not, however, supposed to represent the clan at all, but the spirits to whom offerings were being made. In every case, although the participants were supposed to impersonate a fairly large number of animals, the main blessings contained in the bundle were from the thunderbird and night-spirit and the main offerings were made to them. Indeed, there seem to be two separate ceremonies involved, one to the thunder-bird and the other to the night-spirits.

The question that arises with regard to the clan basis of these ceremonial organizations is whether we are to imagine that the ceremonial unit of organization was displaced by the clan unit, or that the ceremony is of comparatively recent origin, let us say at least long after the clan organization had been perfected, and that a number of things combined to determine the acceptance of the clan as a unit of organization, as opposed to the traditional ceremonial one. To the foregoing, we must also add the fact that the Winter feast seems to be related to similar ceremonies of the Central Algonkin, whose influence on the Winnebago must first be determined. If, then, we are not in a position at present to suggest the course of development, there can be no doubt that the content of the ceremony is strictly comparable to that of the religious societies, and that there are hints that the ceremonial unit of organization had begun to assert itself. If this could be definitely established, it would indicate that the clan basis of organization is historically primary.

The clan unit of organization is found in no other Winnebago ceremony, although the specific clan feasts show marked influences radiating from the clan complex. The clan feast is a typical ceremonial complex, both in type of organization

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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174 and in content. The difference between it and a society
575 like the night-spirit dance lies in the fact that although the
614 five principal participants must have specific blessings (bundles),
796 they must at the same time belong to the clan. To what extent a member of one clan who has obtained a bundle from some other clan-spirit can take part in the specific clan feast of the latter, it is difficult to determine, but in the buffalo feast, assuming that this is unquestionably the real Buffalo clan feast, and there seems to be little doubt of it, any person who has obtained a bundle from the buffalo can participate, although the leader must always belong to the Buffalo clan. This example may be taken as an indication of the historical origin of these feasts, namely, that they are really religious societies in which the influence of the clan has restricted the number of individuals who are ordinarily supposed to occupy the five places of honour. That this restrictive influence of the clan was caused by the identity of the clan animal with the guardian spirit, there can be little doubt.

### Phonetic Key.

104

*a*, as in German *Mann*.
*e*, as in French *été*.
*ɛ*, as in English *men*.
*i*, as in English *pique*.
*ɪ*, as in English *pin*.
*o*, as in English *note*.
*ɔ*, as in German *soll*.
*u*, as in English *food*.
*ʊ*, as in English *put*.
*ə*, obscure vowel like *a* of English *idea*.
*,*, denotes nasalization of vowel.
*ŋ*, *ng* of English *sing*.
*ʒ*, *s* pronounced with tip of tongue against upper teeth.
*γ*, voiced guttural spirant, *g* of North German *sagen*.
*'*, denotes aspiration.
*:*, denotes that preceding vowel is long.
*´*, denotes main stress.

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935
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# SOME NOTES ON WINNEBAGO SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION[1]

By TRUMAN MICHELSON

114 THE easily accessible accounts of Winnebago social organization are Morgan's Ancient Society,[2] J. O. Dorsey's Siouan Sociology,[3] the article *Winnebago* in the Handbook of American Indians, initialed by James Owen Dorsey and Paul Radin,[4] and Paul Radin's The Clan Organization of the Winnebago,[5] his Winnebago Tribe,[6] and lastly his The Social Organization of the Winnebago Indians, An Interpretation.[7]

None of these authors apparently were aware that a number of important statements on this and kindred topics are to be found in Caleb Atwater's Remarks made on a Tour to Prairie du Chien; thence to Washington City, in 1829.[8] I quote from this as follows:

614 [532] Carrymaunee (walking turtle) a Winnebago chief carries a large Tortoise, fully extended, and beautifully painted, perfect in all its limbs, on his back as he marches onward at the head of the turtle tribe. In the same manner, Snakeskin marches at the head of the snake tribe, with the skin of a large snake tied around his neck. In fine, every tribe has its standard bearer, with appropriate emblems (p. 87).

Their form of government is aristocratical, and the whole structure of their society is equally so. The Winnebagoes are divided into seven tribes, or bands, some of these are named after animals, such as the Turtle tribe, the Snake tribe, wolf tribe, &c., and others are named after inanimate things, as the Thunder tribe. These tribes dwell in different places, in towns or villages; in each one of 622 which, there are two Civil Chiefs, who govern that town—for instance Du Corri and Winneshiek are at the head of the government, of the Le Croix village situated near the Mississippi river, on its eastern bank, 80 miles north of Prairie Du Chien. So of all the other tribes, each one of which, has its town or seat of government, and is governed by its two civil chiefs. The civil government of the Winnebagoes, is in the hands of fourteen civil Chiefs, and when they are assembled in one council, it [623] is the grand national council.

[1] Printed by permission of the Smithsonian Institution.

[2] Page 157.

[3] Fifteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 240–41.

[4] Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, 30, Pt. 2, pp. 958–61.

[5] American Anthropologist, Vol. 12, 1910, pp. 209–19.

[6] Thirty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 181 *et seq.*

[7] Museum Bulletin, Canada Department of Mines, Geological Survey, No. 10 (Anthropological Series, No. 5).

[8] Published by Isaac N. Whiting, Columbus, Ohio, 1831. I have not seen the edition (of the same date) published by Jenkins and Glover, Atwater's The Indians of the Northwest, etc., Columbus, 1850, apparently has the same contents and pagination as his Remarks which I have seen. So we may presume that the 1831 edition (which I have not seen) of his The Indians of the Northwest is the same also. "The Writings of Caleb Atwater" (Columbus, 1833) has apparently disappeared from the Library of Congress. The proofsheets have been verified by consulting the 1850 edition, differences in capitalization being ignored.

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554 ries into a family below her's in dignity. The pride originating in birth, is as deeply
562 seated in the hearts of those who are nobly descended, among the natives of the
582 Northwest, as it is among the petty princes of Germany.

625 It is customary for the chiefs to appoint two soldiers, in each village to keep order in it, and they faithfully do so (p. 100).

431 In each tribe, some one man acts as a divider, by order of the civil chiefs, and by general consent. Whenever we made the men any presents, of pipes, paints,
624 tobacco, or any thing else, the self same men, if Winnebagoes were the Indians receiving the presents, appeared, took charge of the property, and divided it in the most equitable manner, among all present at the time. They reserved nothing for themselves, generally, but held up their empty hands to show their disinterestedness.

[171] If the Sauks and Foxes received presents, two men, one for each tribe, acted as dividers, and the same individuals always performed the same duty (pp. 100–101).

554 . . . "The rolling Thunder," "the Yellow Thunder," "the Distant Thunder," &c., are individuals among the Winnebagoes, who possess great weight of char-
551 acter; and that tribe to which belong men, who stand high on their roll of fame, for
614 their distinguished valor in War, for their consummate prudence, experience and wisdom in the national councils, is emphatically called, "the thunder tribe" (p. 124).

114 There are other items appurtenant to Winnebago ethnology in Atwater's work; some to that of the Sauks and Foxes; some to tribes of the upper Mississippi valley in general: there are some acute statements regarding the chronology of the populating of America.

171 A "turtle" gens does not occur in the lists of Morgan, Dorsey, and Radin, and Radin specifically denies that there is such a Winnebago gens. He also
174 states that almost all informants claimed that the Snake and Fish clans
614 (gentes) were recent to the tribe. However, as special names "go with"
[114] fixed gentes, by examining the lists of the signers of the treaties between the Winnebago and the United States, it becomes clear that a member of the
[648] Snake gens signed the treaty of August 19th, 1825 as well as the treaty of
[551] August 25th, 1828. And a Snake clan exists among the Ponca, Iowa, Oto-Missouri, Quapaw, as well as some non-Siouan tribes.[10] Also it may be observed that among the Osage and Quapaw we have a Fish clan (used rather loosely). So too "Turtle" as the name of a gens (sub-gens) among the Siouan tribes Omaha, Kansa, Quapaw, and Osage,[11] and elsewhere.
[551] And Carrymaunee (Karamanu, etc.), "Walking Turtle,"[12] signed more

[10] See the important theoretical discussion by Lowie in American Anthropologist, Vol. 36, 1934, pp. 327–28; cf. also Radin, the Winnebago Tribe, p. 182; Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe (Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology), pp. 38, 39.

[11] Among the Omaha and Osage "the turtle carriers or bearers" and "Turtle-carriers" respectively; "Carries-a-turtle-on-his-back" among the Kansa: observe that according to the above Carrymaunee "carried" a large painted tortoise on his back.

[12] The phonetic restoration is presumably Kéramani; mani means "to walk," as can be seen from old vocabularies, etc., as well as the personal names given by Radin in his The Winnebago Tribe and the Winnebago text by Radin in the Siouan sketch in Handbook of Ameri-

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than one treaty with the United States. Similarly the lists of signers of the 171
treaties of June 3rd, 1816, August 19th, 1825, etc., between the Winnebago 174
and the United States indicate the existence of gentes not in the published
lists, but which have analogues among other Siouan tribes. I feel certain 614
that a study of the names of the signers of treaties between United States [648]
and such Siouan tribes as have distinctive clan-names (and similar non-Siouan tribes) would yield valuable results. And a study of the personal names of such tribes in older writers would also pay. In this connection I may say that from Atwater's book, using this technique, it can be readily determined that the Eagle and Elk gentes were in existence among the Winnebago in addition to those specifically mentioned by him. The treaties furnish a few others, e.g., Earth, Sky. In this connection I may say that it is clear from the names of the signers of the treaty of May 13th, 1816 that at least the following Sauk gentes were in existence: Sturgeon, Eagle, Thunder, Bear, Swan, Wolf, Fox, Partridge, Sea. It is not without interest to note that all these save Partridge and Fox are on Forsyth's list of 1827.[13] If we count Partridge as the equivalent of Grouse, all occur in Jones' list printed in the Handbook of American Indians in the article *Sauk*. Sturgeon, Swan, and Partridge are not in Skinner's list. Sturgeon, Eagle, Sea (= Great Water), Bear, Thunder, Partridge (= Pheasant), Wolf, and Fox occur in Galland's list. Wolf, Bear, Eagle, Sturgeon, Fox, Sea, and Thunder occur in Morgan's list. If we pool M. R. Harrington's two lists we find Thunder, Fox, Wolf, Bear, Swan, Sturgeon, Eagle on them. A knowledge of the names on the tribal rolls from the earliest times would doubtless shed much light on the subject.

It should be mentioned that Radin argues for a priority of village groups, 174
but states that according to all informants each Winnebago village was in-
habited by members of various clans, and that in no case did a village 621
merely include members of the same clan. Observe the contradiction with 614
Atwater's data. 114

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can Indian Languages (Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, 40, Pt. 1). There are equivalents in several Siouan languages. In the Siouan sketch Radin gives kec'ûʼñgegā as a personal [551]
name, "the tortoise," and ke'c'ûʼñgera as "you, tortoise," and in note 38 of the Winnebago text we are told that ke'c'ûñk or kec'ûʼñgē is a large species of turtles, and that kē also means "turtle." La Flesche gives ke (in my transcription) as the Osage for "turtle, tortoise, terrapin," but Dorsay gives k'e (in my transcription) for both Osage and Quapaw, but ke (in my transcription) for Omaha; k'eya, "tortoise," is given by Deloria for Dakota. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the formation of personal names in Winnebago to be positive whether ra is the pronoun "thou" (vocative; see notes 39 and 46 to Radin's Winnebago text) or whether kera may be an archaic correspondent to Dakota k'eya with the recognized shift of y to r.

[13] They are in his Fox list.

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114 people attend as a matter of courtesy, or to keep peace in the family.
796 It was my good fortune to attend such a meeting, a war-bundle cere-
mony, in October, 1927. Mr. A. White, whose Indian name is *Teas-*
[795 *tca-he-de-ga* (Big Wave), figure 120, is custodian of the war-bundle
778 of the Thunderbird clan of the Wisconsin Rapids band of Winnebago.
614 Word came to me through his son-in-law, Mr. U. S. White of Milwau-
kee, that a war-bundle feast would be held shortly, and that I was specially invited to attend.

As Mr. White and his family also wished to make the trip, we drafted a Museum car into service and joined forces. In addition to Mr. White and his wife and two children, Mr. Alton Fisher was persuaded, without much difficulty, to join me in representing the Department of Anthropology.

We arrived at Wisconsin Rapids late at night, and were up early on the following morning and on our way to the site selected for the
[574 ceremony. Upon arriving at his home, we were courteously received by the custodian of the bundle, and privileged to meet his family and many others who were in the midst of preparations for the feast.

796 The regular war bundle ceremony of the Thunderbird clan is a feast
and dance given in honor of various spirits, chiefly the Thunderbirds,
[776 who are the spiritual directors of war, and the Night Spirits. It is
614 held in an oblong wigwam shaped like the medicine lodge of the Winne-
bago and neighboring Algonkin groups, figure 121, and similarly con-
[346 structed of a frame-work of bent poles covered with birch bark or mats, or more recently with canvas or other cloth. Big Wave had directed the construction of the lodge for this particular ceremony in an area immediately adjoining his dwelling lodge, figure 122. The single door was placed at the end of the lodge, facing east.

The lodge was small, made so to accommodate the limited number
[252 expected to attend, and consequently it was decided to cook the feast over outside fires, an irregular, though not unusual procedure. Therefore, only a single fire was built in the lodge, centrally situated at the
796 eastern end not more than three paces from the door. Since the fire
372 was to be new, sacred fire, the ceremonial fire-making equipment from
778 the war bundle was employed. This consisted of a flat, rectangular base of oak, nearly perforated in many places with charred drill holes, and a drilling element of softer wood. Big Wave himself officiated in the fire making, figure 123. Kneeling, he placed the basepiece between his knees, with tinder conveniently near. Then one end of the drill was fitted into one of the holes in the base, and the shaft was rapidly rotated between his hands. Soon smoke curled up from the point of friction. The bits of glowing wood dust so produced were quickly applied to the tinder and carefully blown to a small flame. Then light kindling was applied, followed by heavier sticks until the fire was be-

## *Fasting*

Whenever these girls went out to get wood my older 159*
brother and I would play around with them a great 785
deal. We did this even although we were fasting at
the time. Of course we had to do it in secret. When-
ever our parents found out we got a scolding and so [861]
did the girls. At home we were warned to keep away
from menstruating women, but we ourselves always [841]
sought them.

After a while some of the people living in the lodges 159*
moved away and we were left alone. They moved far
ahead of us. We ourselves were to move only a short
distance at a time. My father and my brother-in-law
went out hunting and killed seventy deer between [224]
them, so that we had plenty of meat.

When the girls with whom I used to play moved
away I became very lonesome. In the evenings I used
to cry. I longed for them greatly and they had moved
far away!

Soon we got fairly well started on our way back.
We moved to a place where all the leaders used to give
their feasts. Near the place where we lived there
were three lakes and a black-hawk's nest. Right near
the tree where the nest was located, they built a lodge
and our war-bundle [10] was placed in it. There my elder [787]

[10] The war-bundle was the most sacred object among the Winne- 778
bago. It consisted of dried animal skins, other parts of animals, reed
flutes, etc., all of which had some symbolical meaning. The various
animal remains, for instance, were supposed to give the owner the [825]
powers of these animals, the sound of the reed flutes was sup-
posed to paralyze his enemy and make it impossible for him to walk.
Each clan possessed at least one such bundle and whenever the tribe [614]
went on the warpath, this bundle was carried on the back of some

There my elder
*159 brother and myself were to pass the night. It was
787 said that if any one fasted at such a place for four nights, he would be blessed with victory and the power to cure the sick. All the spirits would bless him.

We were told the following would happen to us. On the first night we would imagine ourselves surrounded by spirits whose whisperings we would hear outside of the lodge. The spirits would even whistle. I was told that I would be frightened and nervous and that if I
[776] still remained there, I would be molested by large monsters, fearful to look upon. Even the bravest man might well be frightened. Should I, however, manage to get through that night I would then on the following
[775] night be molested by ghosts whom I would hear speaking outside. These ghosts would say things that might well cause me to run away. Towards morning I was told these ghosts would even take my blanket away from me. They would grab hold of me and drive me out of the lodge and not stop until the sun rose. If I
[776] was able to endure a third night, then I would be addressed by the true spirits. They would bless me and say, "We bless you. We had really intended to turn you over to the monsters and bad spirits and that is why these approached you first, but you overcame them and now they will not be able to take you away. Now you may go home for we bless you with victory

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● [619] individual esteemed for his bravery. The power of this war-bundle
[841] was such that it would kill anything or anybody who approached
[562] it, the only exception being a menstrusting woman. For this reason the war-bundle was always carefully guarded and protected and women were not allowed to see it or come anywhere near it.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



*776 159 787 539 [787]

After a while a child was born to him. It was a boy. He addressed his wife and asked her advice, saying that they ought to sacrifice their child to Earthmaker. She consented. To Earthmaker therefore they prepared to sacrifice their child. They constructed a platform and placed their child upon it.[11] Then both of them wept bitterly. In the nighttime when the man slept, Earthmaker took pity on him and appeared to him. The man looked at him. He thought, "This, most certainly, is Earthmaker." He wore a soldier's uniform and carried a high cocked hat on his head. He had a very pleasing appearance. Weshgishega looked at him and wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. The figure took one step, then another, and finally disappeared, uttering a cry. It was not Earthmaker; it was a pigeon. The bad spirits were fooling Weshgishega.

Now even more than before did his heart ache, even more than before was his heart wound up in the desire to be blessed by Earthmaker. Now again he fasted and again apparently Earthmaker appeared to him. "Human being, I bless you. Long have you made your cry for a blessing. I am Earthmaker." When Weshgishega looked at him, he saw that he was pleasing in appearance. He looked very handsome and his dress was nice to look upon. He wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. As he looked at the figure it became smaller and smaller and when finally he looked, he noticed that it was a bird.

Then his heart ached even more than before. Bitterly did he cry. Now, for the third time, Earthmaker blessed him saying, "Human being, you have tried to be blessed by Earthmaker and you have caused yourself great suf-

[769] [614]

[11] That is, they killed the child and then placed his body upon a platform, this being the customary mode of burial of the clan to which Weshgishega belonged.

## §5. *Names*

Whenever they think highly of any individual in a family they give him the means for obtaining a happy life. If the older people think highly of any one they prearrange the kind of life he is to lead afterwards. With this object in view, my uncles told my brother the story of how human beings first came into this world, the story of the origin of our clan.

### *The Story of the Origin of Our Clan*

Earthmaker was sitting in space when he came to consciousness. Nothing was to be found anywhere. He began to think of what he was to do and finally he cried. Tears flowed from his eyes and fell below where he was sitting. After a while he looked below and saw something bright. The bright objects were tears, of which he had not been aware and, which falling below, had formed the present waters. They became the seas of to-day.

Then Earthmaker began to think again. He thought, "Thus it is whenever I wish anything. Everything will become as I wish it just as my tears have become the water of the seas." So he wished for light and it became light. Then he thought, "It is as I have supposed; the things that I wished for, come into existence as I desired." Then he again thought and wished for this earth and this earth came into existence. Earthmaker looked at the earth and

539 614 776 he liked it, but it was not quiet. It moved about as do the waves of the seas. Then he made the trees and he saw that they were good. But even these did not make the earth quiet. Then he made the grass grow and still the earth was not quiet. It was however almost quiet. Then he created [823] the four cardinal points and the four winds. At the four corners of the earth he placed them as four great and powerful spirits, to act as weights holding down this island earth of ours. Yet still the earth was not quiet. Then he made four large beings and threw them down toward the earth and they were pierced through the earth with their heads eastward. They were really snake-beings. Then it was that the earth became still and quiet. Now he looked upon the earth and he liked it.

Again he thought of how things came into existence just as he desired. Then it was that he first spoke and said, "As everything happens just as I wish it, I shall make a man like myself in appearance." So he took a piece of earth and made it like himself. Then he talked to what he had created but it did not answer. He looked at it and he saw that it had no mind or thought. So he made a mind for it. Again he talked to it but it did not answer. So he looked at it again and he saw that it had no tongue. Then he made it a tongue. Then he talked to it again but it did not answer. So he looked at it and he saw that it had no soul. So he made it a soul. He talked to it again and then it very nearly said something but could not make itself intelligible. So Earthmaker breathed into its mouth and talked to it and it answered.

As the newly created being was very much like Earthmaker in appearance, he felt quite proud of him, so he made three more exactly similar. He made them powerful so that they might watch over the earth. These four he

made chiefs of the Thunderbirds. Then he thought, "I will have some beings live on the earth." So he made four more like himself. Just like the others he made them. They were brothers—*Kunuga, Hcnuga, Hagaga* and *Nangiga*. He talked to them and said, "Look down upon the earth.' So saying he opened the heavens in the place where they were standing and there they saw this earth spread out before them. He told them that they were to go down there to live. "And this I shall send down with you," he added giving them a plant. "Even I shall never have the power of taking this away from you, for I have given it to you exclusively; but when, of your own free will, you make me an offering of some of it, I shall be glad to accept it and give you in return whatever you ask. This shall you hold foremost in your lives." What he had given them was the tobacco-plant. Then again he spoke and said, "All the spirits that I have created will not be able to take this away from you unless you desire to give it to them, by calling upon them during fasts. Thus only can the spirits get some. And another thing I send with you that you may use it in life, to be a mediator between you and us, whenever you offer anything to the spirits. It shall take care of you throughout life, stand in the center of your dwellings, and be your grandfather." This was the Fire.

539 614 776 [782] [276] [372]

Then the four Thunderbirds brought the brothers down to the earth. On their journey down *Kunuga*, the oldest of the four, said, "Brother, when we get to earth and the first child is born to me, I shall call him *Chief-of-the-Thunderbirds*, if he is a boy." On and on they came, down toward the earth. As they got near the earth it began to get very dark and then the second brother said, "Brother, when we get to the earth and a child is born to me, if it is a girl, I shall call her *Dark*." Then they came to a place called

## *Crashing Thunder*

539 614 776

***Within-lake*** **at Red Banks, a lake near Green Bay (Wisconsin). On an oak tree south of the lake is the place where they alighted. The branch on which they alighted was bent down by their weight. Then spoke the third brother, "Brother, the first daughter born to me I shall call *She-who-weighs-the-tree-down.*" Then they alighted on the earth. Then said the fourth brother, "Brother, the first son born to me I shall call *He-who-alights-on-the-earth.*" Then the brothers alighted on the earth. But the thunderbirds did not touch the earth. The first thing the brothers did on earth was to start fire.**

**Then Earthmaker looked down upon them and saw that he had not prepared any food, so he created animals that they might have something to eat. The oldest brother suddenly said, "What are we going to eat?" Thereupon the youngest two took a bow and arrow Earthmaker had given them and started toward the east. Shortly after, the third brother came into sight with a young deer on his back and then the youngest appeared with a two years' old deer. The two deer killed and those who had killed them, were brothers.**

[411]

**The men were very much delighted that they had obtained food. Then they said, "Let us give our grandfather the first taste." So saying they cut off the ends of the tongues, cut out the heart and together with some fat, threw both into the fire.**

**The first people to call on them were the Warrior clan people. Then came those from the west, four of them, the Pigeon clan people. Then came those of the earth, the Deer people, the Snake people, the Elk people, the Bear people, the Fish people, the Waterspirit people and all the other clans that exist among the Winnebago.**

i:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## *Names*

Finally there appeared on the lake a very white bird, the swan. After that all the other birds in the world appeared. They were named in the order of their coming until the lake was quite full. Then the people began to dress the deer meat. Suddenly something came and alighted on the meat and one of the brothers asked, "What is that?" Then said *Kunuga* the eldest, "It is a wasp and the first black dog that I possess, I shall call *Wasp*." "Just as the wasp scented and became aware of the deer meat as it was being dressed, so shall the dog be toward other animals. Whenever an animal is on the windward the dog will scent it," *Kunuga* continued. 539 614 776

Then they made a feast for Earthmaker with the deer meat, threw tobacco into the fire and gave some to him. They showed the other clans how to make fire and gave a little to each adding, "Each of you must now learn how to make fire for yourselves for we shall not always lend you some." Here then it was that the first people who lived made their homes. They had come at the time of the year when the grass grows as far as the knee.

One day it was reported that a very strange object was nearing the camp. The men thought at first that they would leave it alone. It came nearer and nearer and as it moved toward the camp it began to eat the bones it found there. They allowed this animal to become the founder of one of their clans and took it to their homes. It was the dog. Then they killed one of these dogs and offered it up to Earthmaker telling him all they had done. [231]

In the beginning the Thunderbird clansmen were as powerful as the Thunderbird spirits themselves. It was they who made the ravines and the valleys. While wandering about the earth they struck the earth with their clubs and

539 614 776

thus created dents in the hills. That is why the Thunderbird clansmen are the chiefs. The Dog-clan people are the least in importance.

One day the oldest of the brothers lay down and did not rise again. He did not breathe and his body became cold. "What is the matter with our oldest brother?" the other three said. Four days they waited for him but he did not get up. They tried to find out from one another what the trouble was but did not succeed. Then they began to mourn for him not knowing what to do or think. They fasted and blackened their faces as we do now when we are mourning. They made a burial platform and placed him upon it. When the snow fell and it was knee-deep then, filling their pipe, the three brothers walked in the direction of the coming of daylight. They came to the first spirit Earthmaker had placed in the east, the *Island Weight* as he was called. Weeping they entered his lodge and extended the stem of their pipe toward him and spoke, "Grandfather, our brother *Kunuga* has fallen down and is not able to rise again. Earthmaker made you great and endowed you with all knowledge so that you know all things. Tell us what has happened to our brother?" Then he answered, "My grandsons, I am indeed sorry but I know nothing about this. Since, however, you have started on this quest you had better go to the one ahead of me, the north *Island Weight*. Perhaps he can tell you."

So weeping they started for the next one. When they got there and told him their troubles he told them he could not help and referred them to his third brother in the west. Thus in turn they were referred to the last of the *Island Weights*, the one in the south. There they found all four of the *Island Weights* assembled and the south one answered and spoke, "Grandsons, thus Earthmaker has

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



willed it. Your brother will never rise again. He will be with you no more on this world and so it will be with human beings as long as the world exists. Whenever a person reaches the age of death, he will die. Those that wish to live long will have to attain old age through good actions. Thus only will they succeed in living long. Into your bodies Earthmaker has placed a part of himself and that will return to him if you do the proper things. This world will at sometime come to an end. Your brother is to keep a village in the west for all the souls of your clan and there he is going to be in complete charge. When this world comes to an end then your brother will take all the souls back to Earthmaker—at least all those who have acted properly." Then the Thunderbird clansmen thanked the four spirits and left the lodge. 539 614 776

When they got home they took their brother's body, dressed him in his best clothes and painted his face. Then they addressed the dead person and told him where he was to go. They buried him with his war club, his head toward the west. At the grave they placed the branch of a tree and to this branch they tied a small red stick in order to prevent anything from crossing his path, in his journey to spirit-land. He was told that if any animal crossed his path or was found on his path during the journey, he was to strike it with his club and throw it behind him, so that those of his relatives whom he had left behind on earth might derive blessings for the warpath, and attain long life. He must take his pipe and his food along with him. Whatever years he was deprived of when he died, all the victories he might have gained had he lived to a normal old age, all these he was to bestow upon his relatives. The wealth he might have gained, in fact anything he could possibly have obtained, all this he was asked to

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give to his relatives. Then they would not feel so unhappy and lonesome.

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Now in our clan whenever a child was to be named it was my father who did it. That right he now transmitted to my brother.

*159
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Earthmaker, in the beginning, sent four men from above and when they came to this earth everything that happened to them was utilized in making proper names. This is what our father told us. As they had come from above so from that fact has originated a name *Comes-from-above;* and since they came like spirits we have a name *Spirit-man*. When they came, there was a drizzling rain and hence the names *Walking-in-mist, Comes-in-mist, Drizzling-rain.* It is said that when they came to *Within-lake* they alighted upon a small shrub and hence the name *Bends-the-shrub;* and since they alighted on an oak tree, the name *Oak-tree*. Since our ancestors came with the thunderbirds we have a name *Thunderbird* and since these are the animals who cause thunder, we have the name *He-who-thunders*. Similarly we have *Walks-with-a-mighty-tread, Shakes-the-earth-down-with-his-force, Comes-with-wind-and-hail, Flashes-in-every-direction, Only-a-flash-of-lightning, Streak-of-lightning, Walks-in-the-clouds, He-who-has-long-wings, Strikes-the-tree.*

Now the thunderbirds come with terrible thunder-crashes. Everything on the earth, animals, plants, everything, is deluged with rain. Terrible thunder-crashes resound everywhere. From all this a name is derived and that is my name—*Crashing Thunder*.

[P. 40]

*159 helped will then really know what kind of a man you are.
577 For the good you do people will love you.
869 It is not good to win at gambling. You may possibly
[525] become rich thereby but that is no life to lead. If you are blessed with luck in cards, if you are blessed with luck at gambling, you will perhaps win things and have plenty of wealth, but none of your children will live.

Now if you do all that I have told you, you will lead a happy and prosperous life. That is why we Winnebago preach to a child we love so that it should never become acquainted with the things that are not right, and never do anything wrong. Then if, in later life, a person does anything wrong, he will do it with a clear knowledge of the consequences of his actions.

## III

*159 My son, when you get married, do not make an idol of
581 the woman you marry; do not worship her. If you worship
867 a woman she will insist upon greater and greater worship as time goes on. This is what the old people used to say.
562 They always preached against those men who hearken too
593 strongly to the words of women; who are the slaves of women. Now it may happen that a man has received many warnings as to his behavior in this regard and that he pays no attention to them. It may go so far that when he is asked to attend a war-bundle feast[20] he will refuse to go; it may be that when he is married he will listen to the voice

[926] [20] The war-bundle feast was the great war ceremony of the Winne-
[996] bago. It was given by all those individuals who possessed a war-
[614] bundle and since theoretically there was only one war-bundle in each clan, the basis of the organization of the ceremony was the clan.
[916] The ceremony consisted largely of prayers, songs and speeches in honor of the spirits more definitely associated with war. For each

of his wife and refuse to go on a warpath. He might as well have been brought up as a girl. Men who are real men perform the deeds of men, but such a man will never perform a real man's deed. If he should actually attend a war-bundle feast he will be given the leanest piece of meat, only given to a man of no account. Why should any one run the risk of being thus jeered at? Now when a really brave man attends a war-bundle feast he is given a deer's head. This other man gets a lean piece! It will dry up in his throat, so humiliated and disgraced will he feel. After a while he will not be allowed to go to any feast; his wife will not let him. He will listen to the voice of his wife. His relatives will scold him, his sisters will think nothing of him. They will tell people never to go to visit him. Finally when he has become a real slave of his wife he will even hit his relatives if she asks him to. It is for these reasons that I warn you not to listen to women. You will be considered different from others. It is not good.

Remember this too, that women cannot be watched. If you try to watch them and are jealous about them, then your female relatives will also be jealous of them. Finally when your jealousy has developed to the highest pitch, your wife will leave you and run away with some one else. You have allowed her to see by your actions that you worship a woman, and one alone, and, in addition, you have been watching her all the time. Because of this incessant annoyance she will run away from you. If you think that

of these spirits, a buckskin decorated with the symbol sacred to the spirit, was prepared and then at the most dramatic moment of the ceremony these buckskins were thrown out of the ceremonial lodge and it was believed that the spirits came down in person to fetch them. The war-bundle feast was specifically a man's ceremony.

adopted the specific shooting ritual today practiced in the Medicine Rite. 105

It is just this contrast between the manner in which the basic older structure remained intact and yet new elements were freely adopted that is so characteristic of the Winnebago civilization. The explanation for their ability to do both these things lies in the fact that, like the Iroquois and Navajo, they have always quickly transformed and reinterpreted the influences which they absorbed from the outside. We shall shortly see how the history and analysis of the Medicine Rite illustrates all these three tendencies, the marked conservatism of old patterns, the receptivity to new ideas and the capacity for making new integrations. Before turning to this history, it will be best, first, to give a brief sketch of the Winnebago civilization as a whole, particularly those phases of the social organization, religion, ritualism and mythology, which can throw light on the Medicine Rite.

## 2. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Winnebago social organization contains two structural patterns 105
characteristic of many North American Indian tribes, first, the divi- 614
sion of the tribe into two halves and, second, the clan. Every clan 616
belongs to either one or the other of these two halves or phratries, called respectively, those-from-above or upper people and those-from-the-earth or lower people.

The phratries possess, or rather possessed at one time, a number of distinctive and fundamental functions, lay and religious. Marriage within the same phratry, for instance, was forbidden. Each phratry had different burial customs. In the ceremonial lacrosse game one was always pitted against the other.

Nowhere were these contrasting duties and functions more funda- 105
mental, however, than in the political-social realm. In the upper 614
phratry are centered, in the person of the tribal chief, all the peace 616
and humanitarian functions of the tribe. He is selected from the clan 622
generally regarded as the most important one in the tribe, the

105 thunderbird. He is the representative of peace, par excellence. He
614 cannot go to war or have anything to do with the many war cere-
616 monies of the tribe. Be it remembered that victory on the warpath is
622 the highest honor a Winnebago can attain. He must succour the needy and plead for clemency in all cases of infractions of tribal law and custom, even in case of murder. His lodge is a sacred asylum and [778] absolutely inviolate. Not only is a prisoner of war safe if he manages to take refuge there, but even a dog, about to be sacrificed, must be spared, should he manage to run into it. Naturally all the other male members of the thunderbird clan as well as all the male members of the other clans in the upper phratry, go on the warpath and seek prestige through war. But, after all, this warfare is waged against people who have no status within the tribe. Acquiescence in it does not constitute approval of violence nor is it regarded as a resort to violence. And it is this condemnation of violence for which the tribal chief and his phratry stands.

105 In contrast to this is the attitude of the chief of the lower division,
614 who always belongs to the bear clan. In him are centered pre-
616 eminently the police, the disciplinary and the war functions. He and
622 his associates police and guard the village, inflict punishment for
625 transgressions of law and custom, take charge of the whole tribe when it is on a communal warpath or engaged in hunting, etc. It is in the official lodge of the bear chief that prisoners are confined before being killed and it is in the same lodge where the sacred warbundles are stored and guarded against contamination.

105 We are dealing here with a very old and persistent classification
616 of the two opposing forces in society and one which reflects the
622 answer to a question asked repeatedly, namely, how are we to meet
182 the two aspects of life and of reality with which we are being con-
577 tinually confronted, the protective, constructive and positive, and the repelling, destructive and negative? Winnebago thinkers seemed to have been particularly fond of posing this problem.

It is not strange then, that they should have felt the contrast between the functions of the two phratries to lie, fundamentally, in their attitude toward evil. For the tribal chief evil was to be warded off before it came and always by passive methods. If that did not

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



There are a large number of effigies that, for want of a better name, most Wisconsin archeologists have called "turtle" mounds. No explanations can be offered of these peculiar effigies unless they are attempts to picture fish or are altered water-spirit mounds. The Winnebago had no turtle clan, but the turtle plays an important part in their mythology. 172 825 [614]

Perhaps the most peculiar effigy mounds are the famous "Man" mounds, of which only two examples are in existence, and the so-called "intaglios." Good descriptions of both types have been given.[1] 172

The two "Man" mounds have generally been regarded as inexplicable or connected with some prehistoric rite, and it seemed useless to attempt any explanation. As there seemed to be no reason why these mounds might not fall into the same category as the clan mounds, the writer took the opportunity of inquiring about them among the older Winnebago. A number of the people asked knew nothing about them, but, fortunately, two very old members of the tribe interpreted them, as soon as they were described, as representations of the Warrior or Hawk clan. As this clan belonged to the Bird phratry, no one had ever looked for any but bird emblems. [614 615]

No information has been obtained from living Winnebago that could throw any light on the "intaglio" mounds. We wish, however, to hazard a suggestion as to their possible meaning. "The intaglio effigies," to quote Mr. Brown, "may be described as being the reverse of the ordinary effigy mounds. They are excavated out of the soil instead of erected upon it, the earth removed from the shallow excavation being heaped up with care along the edges, giving form and prominence to the animal shapes depicted."[2] The Winnebago frequently placed symbols referring to water deities under water, and, as 10 of the 12 intaglios that have been described belong unquestionably to the Water-spirit clan, it may have been customary to keep these "intaglios" filled with water. The discovery of two supposedly Bear "intaglios" militates against this suggestion. However, according to the Bear clan legends, the ancestors of that clan came from the water, as did likewise those of the Wolf and Buffalo clans. [776 614] [614]

We now come to the most unsatisfactory problem of our area—namely, the nature and significance of the linear mounds. The various types have been best described by Mr. A. B. Stout and we will do best to quote him *in extenso:*

The principal classes of linear mounds are as follows:

The pure linear type is a straight wall-like mound of uniform width and height. They are usually about 2½ feet in height and from 10 to 20 feet in width. Some are as

[1] "The Preservation of the Man Mound," in vol. 7, no. 4, of the Wisconsin Archeologist, and "The Intaglio Mounds of Wisconsin," in vol 8, no. 1, of the same journal; both papers by C. Brown.

[2] Cf. Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 8, no. 1, p. 6.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

# CHAPTER V

## BURIAL AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

764 There appear to have been two distinct methods of burial among the Winnebago—simple inhumation and platform burial. Within recent times, owing to the influence of their Algonquian neighbors, [77] platform burial has entirely disappeared and inhumation alone is practiced. It has even become customary to erect a typical Algonquian burial-hut over the grave (see pl. 54, b).

[615] When the old culture was still intact inhumation was definitely associated with the lower phratry and platform burial with the upper phratry. Whether this marked difference in burial customs was merely another example of that specialization in function so characteristic of these two divisions of the tribe, or whether it was due to distinct historical origins, it is difficult to determine. I am, however, inclined to regard the latter interpretation as by far the most probable.

[614 184] All the customs are described in full detail in the various accounts that follow and in Chapters VII and VIII. Each clan seems to have had a few details peculiar to itself, but, in the main, the rights were identical. They may briefly be divided into the following sections:

1. Preparation of the body for burial. 2. Rites in the house of the deceased, consisting mainly of speeches of consolation to the bereaved. 3. Speeches addressed to the deceased and the narration of the myth of the journey to spirit land. 4. Rites at the grave. 5. The recounting of war exploits by specially invited warriors, at the grave. 6. The elaborate four nights wake at the home of the deceased.

### Description of Funeral Customs and Wake

[115 614] Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:[1] When an individual dies his relatives get some one to bury him and the chief mourner will also invite some person to talk to the corpse before it is buried. The person addressing the dead man or woman tells the deceased how he is to go (to spirit land) and what he is to do on the way there. The body is then dressed by the person who is going to bury it. All the relatives come to the lodge and the deceased is dressed in his best clothes; beads are put around his neck, bracelets on his wrist, rings

[1] This description is a generalized one.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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765 mourner's hair, give him presents, and tell him that he is now free to cease mourning and to marry if he wishes.

In former times the period of mourning is supposed to have lasted four years.

[302] When a person is in mourning he always cuts his hair short and does not comb his hair. In former times people often mutilated themselves by cutting off either entire fingers or finger joints.

[304] The overseer always takes all the belongings of the deceased, but he must give the latter's relatives an equal amount of new material.

### Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(first version)

764 184 614 Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the clan dies they send after a man of the Thunderbird clan who is to speak to the corpse, paint it, and give him a war club to take along with him (to the land of the spirits). Then they go after a man from the [615] lower phratry to bury him, for these clans (of the lower phratry) belong on earth and they have the right to dig into the ground and bury people.

When the one who is to be the general overseer arrives and arranges everything, he prepares the corpse, putting a sack of tobacco in one hand and a war club in the other. Then he paints him. He paints the forehead with a red and a black mark and paints the lower part of the face to the end of the nose with scattered dots. He paints the jaw red and he makes a red mark across the mouth and the throat. Then he speaks as follows:

You have departed at this (young) age. You have taken your relatives by surprise and have left them a long part of your life (i. e., you have lived but a small part of your apportioned share of years). As you go to spirit land, you will find on the [775 539] road many feathers, many good plants, and many good kinds of clay, scattered around, the blue clay, the red clay, and the white clay. You will also find the sweet-smelling plants and good life. For all these things do you ask. If anything comes across your path, throw it behind you without looking around. In four days you will depart and objects with which to mediate between us and the spirits will soon be furnished you. For four nights your people will tell you what to do and when they hear you singing on the road they will know that it is you. There (in spirit land) you will go to live and the songs that I will sing you will sing as you travel on your road.

Then he sings (the four clan songs).

When the gravediggers are finished they take the body and carry it to the grave, the mourners following. They take the body to the grave and there lower it.

### Death and Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(second version)

Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan dies, the clansmen discuss what is to be done for the spirit

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721 When a man went on a warpath for the sake of glory he generally led a large party and all sorts of special arrangements were made, because then a war leader was necessary and volunteers were always needed. It is believed that the same holds true for larger war parties.

In discussing the essential requisite for a successful war party we have stated that a special blessing was necessary for this purpose. There is, however, one noteworthy exception to this rule, if we are [614 to accept the statements of members of the upper phratry—all mem- 615] bers of the Warrior clan may go on a warpath without fasting and without receiving a blessing. This statement was vigorously denied by members of the lower phratry.

727 When a war party returns, a very interesting ceremony takes place. At some distance from the village a victorious war party sends a messenger ahead to tell all those at home that the war party has been unsuccessful and that all have been killed, and that those at home should put on mourning. Secretly, however, the leader tells someone to look for a pole for the Victory dance, and shortly after all the preparations for mourning have been made the victorious warriors rush into the village. Before entering the village that warrior who [555] has counted first coup is offered a pipe, from which he always takes a few puffs. The same pipe is then handed to the one who counted coup second, and so on, until the fourth man is reached. Then the prizes (*waizewe*) are given to the victors, who afterwards give them to their sisters. The scalps are not taken into the village, but are left outside, and warriors who have remained at home rush out to count coup upon them. Then the scalps are carried around the village four times.

555 726 The widely-known Plains custom of "counting coup" is also practiced among the Winnebago. The individual who strikes the dead body of the enemy first obtains the first honor, the one striking it second the second honor, the one striking it third the third honor, and the one who actually killed the enemy obtaining the fourth and least important honor.

721 The following are descriptions given in the words of the informants:

[115] *Description of war customs and the manner of conducting a war party.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

When a man is ready to go on the warpath, he looks around for as many men as he wishes to take along and then gives a feast. At the feast he fixes the time at which the war party is to start. The man giving the feast (i. e., the leader of the war party) would get up and tell those present that he intended going on a warpath and give his reason; then he would say that whoever so desired could come along.

Many went along. Indeed, there was quite a crowd. The first stopping place (*higiyere*) was always near the outskirts of the village. There the leader appointed four men to go after food and wood for the fire. During their absence two camping places would be arranged, one on each side of the war leader. As soon as the four men returned with the food the attendants skinned and prepared the animals for

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An old Winne-
bago told the author that long ago a young man wanted to marry a girl belonging to his phratry and refused to listen to the entreaties of his father and mother. Finally the father, in desperation, went over to the lodge of a man belonging to one of the clans into which the young man could marry and asked for one of the sacred possessions. It was, of course, refused, and when the man was asked what other requests he wished to make, he asked that the host's daughter be allowed to marry his son. This was, of course, granted, and thus the boy was compelled to marry into the proper phratry. 614 615 582 778

One Winnebago interpreted the custom in an entirely different way. Exactly how much importance is to be attached to this explanation it is hard to say. According to this informant, the insult lay not in going to the fireplace or taking a firebrand, but in asking for it. The insult apparently consists in not taking it for granted that anyone entering the lodge was permitted to do what he wished. In other words, his asking was a breach of etiquette. 614 372 689 [576]

The typical method of burial in the Thunderbird clan was scaffold burial. It has long since been discontinued.

The burial customs seem to have been the same for all the clans. It may, however, be that in former times there were slight differences. For instance, in the first version of the Thunderbird clan origin myth the statement is made that the branch of a tree was placed at the grave and a small stick, painted red, attached to it. The author has no recollection of ever hearing the same statement made in connection with any other of the clans. 614 764 [184]

There are four songs associated with the Thunderbird clan. These are supposed to have been sung by the clan ancestors when they came to this earth, and are now always sung when a member of the clan dies, and on a few other occasions. 614 [533]

According to one informant, members of the Elk, Warrior, Deer, and Buffalo clans acted as servants to the Thunderbird clan on various occasions. The same informant also claimed that the Warrior clansmen took specific orders from the Thunderbird clansmen when on the warpath. [554]

According to another informant, Thunderbird marks at death are a half circle on the forehead, made with charcoal. The proper marking is, however, that shown in plate 46. [765]

Two dog names used in the Thunderbird clan are obtained—*pi"zakirutega; ka-iwakitca"ga.*

The only feast specifically connected with the Thunderbird clan was the so-called chief feast, of which a description will be found on page 318. One of the divisions of the war-bundle feast is often considered as sacred to the thunderbird, but this is always the deity thunderbird, not the ancestor of the clan. [796] [776]

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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796 from the sacred fire. When the pipe was well lit, the waiter carried
276 it to the next man, and so on, passing clockwise about the lodge. Each man puffed several times at the pipe before passing it on. The women
[562] were excluded from participating in this ceremony, as were the leader and his three musicians. The waiters did not actually participate in any part of the entire ceremony, other than in their official capacity.

Before the next song was started, the head waiter carefully cleaned out the pipe, refilled it and placed it again over the bundle. All the tobacco cleaned from the bowl was disposed of in the sacred fire.

This same procedure, from speech to pipe, was repeated four times, although each group of songs was different.

796 Two men were now selected, one representing that group of clans
615 comprising the upper world phratry, the other the lower world phratry.
264 They seated themselves in the center of the lodge with a wooden bowl between them. In this bowl were placed the two portions of meat from the pots suspended from the lodge ceiling. At a given signal, each began to devour his allotted share of the meat as rapidly as possible. The phratry whose side wins in this eating contest will have good luck when next it takes the warpath.

796 The leader then told the dream experience of the original bundle
787 holder and said a few words thanking all for their participation. One of the waiters then proceeded to replace the contents of the bundle, roll it up, tie it and place it against the wall just back of the leader.

796 It was now time for the war-bundle feast, which consisted solely of
574 meat boiled with a few beans. Each pot had been dedicated to a certain spirit or order of spirits, but since these were not materially present to do proper justice to the occasion, the honored guests had to represent them in receiving and disposing of the food. One pot was placed before each of these leaders, and the contents were distributed under his direction to the men of his party. Other meat was supplied for the women and children of the group which he represented. The chief honored guest received the pot dedicated to Creator. On such occasions, one must eat all that is set before him, since the food is consecrated.

574 It should be noted here that Mr. Fisher has certain marked tastes in
114 food. He is not particularly fond of meat of any kind, dislikes beef particularly and dislikes boiled beef the most of all. His predicament can well be imagined, therefore, when a large portion of boiled beef was placed before him with the understanding that none must be wasted. Fortunately, one may broadcast a call for outside help on such occasions without trespassing against the rules of the ceremony. Very piteously, then, did Fisher make his plea to me. Knowing that the night spirit dance with a vegetable feast was to follow, he promised to eat the greater share of the vegetables apportioned to us if I would agree to do double duty on the meat. Out of the kindness of my heart, and also because I prefer boiled beef to boiled dried squash, I agreed to do this. Nor did

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systematic question

ing has elicited from various individuals the information, also corroborated by historical records, that the villages were generally known according to geographical location or according to names descriptive of the haunts of certain animals. Even to-day the group scattered over the Nebraska Winnebago reservation are commonly known by similar designations. There we find, for instance, the following names: *hoco-ateira*, "those living on the peninsula"; or *k'uka'teira*, "those living below", i. e., in the timber; *nisa'hateira*, "those living near the dirty water"; *hate x'dpominangera*, "where big bear settles," etc. If we may then suppose this to have been a customary association, we may quite properly ask whether the name of the village had any influence on the social organization; whether there is even a hint at a genetic relation between these two types of group names. All that can be said is the fact that formerly *honi*, "band," seems to have been used instead of *hokik'aradjera* for clan; that an archaic name of the Wolf clan, *regoni* or *degoni*, may mean Lake band; and that the villages all had geographical names. All of which, however, is, I realize, hardly sufficient evidence.

No satisfactory demonstration has as yet been made indicating that the clan organization was ever associated with an historically simple social structure, whereas quite a number of reasons lead us to suspect that it was in all cases preceded by other types of organization. In North America there is quite considerable evidence tending to show that the village group organization often preceded in many places the clan, and for that reason the facts brought out above may be of more than casual significance. That a system of clan names different from that now in use existed is borne out by the archaic names for the Bear and Wolf clans. That another system was making headway against the animal-name type of change, namely, the substitution for animal designation, with correlated associations of descent or connection with an animal ancestor, of designations indicative of the functions of the clan. If the association of the social unit with a common animal ancestor was preceded by an association of a social unit with geographical location, we would then be able to demonstrate what is so rare in ethnology—the historical succession of types of naming.

### The Twofold Grouping

The Winnebago are divided into divisions, one known as the *waggregi kerera*, "those who are above," the other as the *manegi kerera*, "those who are on earth." Descent was reckoned in the paternal line. But these appellations refer to the animals after whom the clans are named, the term *waggregi* covering the birds, the term *manegi*, land and water animals. So firmly has the idea of division of animal forms become associated with the two divisions

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616 that, as mentioned before, were a new clan introduced now among the Winnebago its position would depend exclusively upon the nature of the animal associated with it. As similar reasons dictate clan groupings among some of the Central Algonquian tribes, a few words concerning this type of association will not be amiss. The groupings of the fauna into a distinct number of categories is extremely common in North America. Among the Winnebago, a number of other Siouan, and Central Algonquian tribes, there was a fivefold classification; earth animals, sky animals, empyrean animals, aquatic animals, and subaquatic animals. Among the Winnebago the thunderbird belongs to the empyrean; the eagle, hawk, and pigeon, to the sky; the bear and wolf, to the earth; the fish, to the water; and the water-spirit, below the water. This religio-mythological conception has unquestionably received a certain amount of sympathetic elaboration at the hands of shamans, and particularly at the hands of the leaders of such ceremonies as the Winter Feast, the Clan Feast, and the Clan Wake, as well as at the hands of those who had in their keeping the clan origin myths.

614 825

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The characteristics of the thunderbird, eagle, bear, and water-spirit as clan animals, and as animals connected with a division of fauna, are also related to the general conception of these animals per se. The eagle and hawk are birds of prey; the thunderbird is generally a deity granting long life, and associated with peace, although his connection with war is also common. Similarly, the bear is supposed to have a "soldier" nature, and the water-spirit is intimately associated with rites pertaining to crossing streams, calming the sea, and ownership of water property. This correlation unquestionably indicates an influence of the religio-mythological conception of the animal upon the social group with which it is associated. How far this can go is abundantly attested by the names and behavior of the *waggeregi* and *manegi* divisions.

On the other hand, we may legitimately ask what influence the two divisions had in molding the attributes of these animals, or upon the behavior of the groups with which their name was associated. The functions of a warrior may have determined, as they certainly have accentuated, the "warrior" characteristics of the eagle and hawk, nor is there any easily intelligible reason why the thunderbird should be associated with peace. From our knowledge of the social organization of other Siouan tribes, the political functions of the clan seem to be the characteristic feature of the organization, and this being the case, the possibility of associations of warlike and peaceful attributes with animals may as much be ascribed to the influence of the social unit as vice versa. With regard to such functions as the exogamy of the two divisions or that of the clans, or of the reciprocal burial relationship of the *waggeregi* and

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*manegi* divisions, we, of course, know that the characteristics of the 614
animal in question have nothing to do with the matter. We must 825
then realize that we are dealing with reciprocal influences—of the religio-mythical conception of animals on the one hand, and of political functions of social units on the other. In some cases, such as the specific associations with the water-spirit, it is probable that the religio-mythological conception of the animal is dominant. The association of the thunderbird with fire has likewise not been due to any activity of the social unit; and thus examples might be multiplied. In this connection, the fact that animals with whom a multitude of associations have already been established are subsequently associated with social units is fundamental. From this point of view, the animal names of social organization are intrusive features, and we will consequently expect to find historical adjustments. This, we think, is what has taken place here. The animal name with its religio-mythological conceptions was a remarkably strong unit, and as a result reciprocal influences took place. Although the religio-mythological influence must thus have been marked, it appears to have changed none of the marital and other functions of the two divisions nor the political functions of the clans. What it did change, and change fundamentally, was the interpretation of the social organization.

### Functions of the Twofold Division

The only function that the *waggeregi* and *manegi* divisions seem 616
to have had was the regulation of marriage. A *waggeregi* man 582
had to marry a *manegi* woman, and vice versa. The only other function was, according to some informants, reciprocal burial. [764]
Here the religio-mythological interpretations seem in part to have determined this relation, for a *manegi* man buried a *waggeregi* man because, as a "land division," it pertained to him to place a corpse in the earth. This, however, seems to be a doubtful function, for earth burial seems in olden times to have been characteristic only 616
of the *manegi* division, the *waggeregi* clans employing scaffold burial. 614
In addition, the burial relation was one of the many reciprocal duties of the "friend-clan," and if it was ever postulated of the *waggeregi* and *manegi*, this was likely due to the fact that the "friendship" relation seems also to have existed between two clans belonging to the two different divisions. According to one myth, however, the four clans of the *waggeregi* paired off as "friends" with four clans of the *manegi*. This would then be practically equivalent to saying that the *manegi* buried the *waggeregi*.

Thus far we have spoken only of the socio-political functions. The two divisions, however, play a part in a number of social and

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616 ceremonial connections: first, in the organization of the village; 614 second, in the arrangement of the clans while on the warpath; third, as the basis of organization at the "chief" feast; and lastly, as the basis of organization of the ceremonial lacrosse game.

616 According to the majority of the older people, when the old social organization was still intact, each village was divided into two halves 614 by an imaginary line running due northwest and southeast, the 621 *waggeregi* clans dwelling in one half, with the chief's lodge in the south, and the *manegi* clans dwelling in the other half, with the bear or soldier lodge in the north (fig. 33). Although this arrangement has now become almost legendary, it was corroborated by many of the older people. To what extent every village was organized on this basis it is impossible to state. When this question was

FIG. 33.—Plan of village according to Thunderhead, of the Thunderbird clan.

directly put to individuals, the answer was always in the affirmative. Quite a number of old individuals, however, denied vigorously that such had ever been the organization of the village, and claimed instead that the lodges of the Chief and the Soldier (Bear) clan were in the center of the village (fig. 34).

[115] In looking over the clan affiliations of the informants, we noticed, however, that the first arrangement was always given by members of the bird clans, and the second arrangement by members of the [114] Bear clan and generally also by others on the *manegi* side. This fact, of course, makes the decision as to the relationship of these two types of village organization quite difficult. There can be no [582] question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital relations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in different villages.

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of specific clans in different villages. When on the warpath the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fireplaces, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, can not be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Teiwere. In the subsequent discussion of the clan we will touch on this subject again.

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fireplaces when on the warpath, each division having two fireplaces,

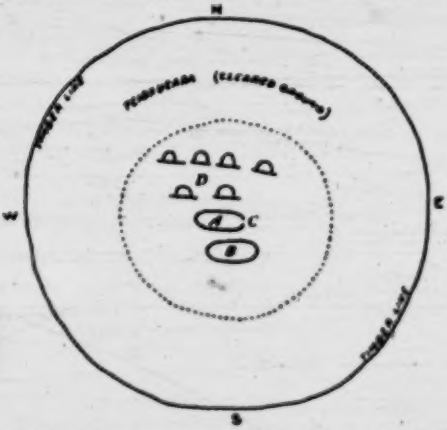


Fig. 31. Plan of village according to John Rave, of Bear clan. A, Lodge of chief of tribe (Thunderbird clan). B, Lodge of chief of Bear clan. C, Lodge of Warrior clan. D, Lodge of Buffalo clan.

whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. When going west, for instance, the two fireplaces for the *waggeregi* are on the south, and the two for the *manegi* on the north side. However, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the division exists.

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the chief feast (*hunk wohq*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name *hunk wohq* would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Hunk* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the *waggeregi* division.

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616 As the basis of organization in a game, the twofold division finds
526 expression in ceremonial lacrosse. There the *waŋgeregi* are always pitted against the *manegi*. A well-known myth is associated with
[173] this arrangement, according to which the animal ancestors of the *waŋgeregi* and *manegi* decided their respective rank by playing a game in which they were organized on this basis. The *waŋgeregi* won and for that reason the chiefs of the tribe have been selected from this division. A division into two halves when playing ceremonial lacrosse is characteristic not only of the Winnebago but of
[171] the Omaha, Menominee, Sauk, Fox, and other tribes. Among the former two, these sides are identical with the two aforementioned political divisions of the tribe, but among the latter two, where no such division exists, the tribe seems to divide itself into two halves merely on this occasion.

616 Up to the present we have treated the two divisions as social units
614 per se, but now, before entering on the discussion of the clans, it may be well to point out the fact that the *waŋgeregi* people are sometimes spoken of as the Bird clan (*waniŋk hokik'aradjera*), and that the four clans composing this side are so intimately related, and their clan origin myths so similar, that the assumption of the four clans representing one clan that subsequently split up into a number of divisions is not outside the realm of historical possibility. This is, however, quite immaterial, for whether we have one bird clan opposed to eight other animal clans is of little consequence, for historically it is not the bird clan that is opposing the other clans, but one social unit, the division, set off against another. The numerical equality that exists between these two sides, in spite of the disparity in the number of clans, is perhaps another confirmation of the fundamental character of the twofold structure.

## Clan Organization

614 There are 12 clans among the Winnebago with the following names

A. *Waŋgeregi herera* (those who are above):[1]

1. *wakandja*, thunderbird.
2. *wonaγira waŋkrik*, war-people.
3. *teazeap*, eagle.
4. *rutege*, pigeon (extinct).

B. *manegi herera* (those who are on earth):

5. *hunic*, bear.
6. *cuŋktcuŋk'*, wolf.
7. *wakteezi*, water spirit.
8. *tea*, deer.
9. *hu^hwa^*, elk.

[1] All the clans of the upper phratry are also called *shukuere*, "Those-with-wings." This name is found in ceremonies.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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# Canada
# Geological Survey
# Museum Bulletin No. 10

## ANTHROPOLOGICAL SERIES, No. 5.

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*The Social Organization of the Winnebago Indians. An Interpretation.*[1]

By Paul Radin.

## INTRODUCTION.

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The social organization of the Winnebago is based upon a twofold division of the tribe, which seems to represent an historically ultimate social grouping, not only for the Winnebago but likewise for a majority of the other Siouan tribes—the Dhegiha group,[2] the Tciwere group,[3] the Hidatsa, and the Mandan. What its original significance for these tribes was, it is now impossible to determine, for the different re-interpretations it has undergone necessarily preclude, in the absence of historical data, the possibility of satisfactorily demonstrating this point. As a matter of historical fact, we do not even know whether we are to regard the above social grouping as having been a common possession of these tribes before they parted company, or as having developed among one of them and subsequently spreading among the others. Could we unhesitatingly assume as criteria the tenacity with which these people adhere to this grouping when in contact with other groupings and the intimate linguistic and cultural relationship that seems to exist, at least between

[1] Based on notes in the private possession of the author.
[2] Includes Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kansas, and Quapaw.
[3] Includes Oto, Iowa, and Missouri.

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174 616 the Winnebago, Dhegiha, and Teiwere, we would be compelled to accept as true the former of these historical possibilities. Such, as a matter of fact, is probably the correct interpretation. However, it might properly be objected that the Mandan, certainly the Hidatsa, do not exhibit such an intimate cultural and linguistic relationship to the other tribes mentioned and yet exemplify the same social grouping; that it is found among the Creek and among a number of other tribes. The twofold grouping associated with exogamy has indeed developed frequently enough to justify us in including it in a consideration of historical possibilities.

Even were we to accept in toto the criteria of tenacity, how much does it tell us of social organization? The social unit is itself a complex, and it is absolutely essential to know whether it is the social unit as such, or some element of the complex, that is really the prime mover in the "tenacity" exhibited. A few examples will make this point clear. The Melanesian societies exclude women. They are, however, in all cases associated with religious and ceremonial observances in which women do not participate. Now, is the "tenacity" that the societies exhibit with regard to the exclusion of women an expression of the nature of a "society" or is it historically the reflex expression of the religious and ceremonial observances associated with it? Among the White-earth Ojibwa, an Englishman or an American who marries into the tribe is enrolled in two new clans, the Lion and the Eagle, these animals having become associated in the Indian mind as clan totems with the respective people. That is, all the manifold differences of social organization between the Ojibwa and the whites play an insignificant role as compared with a grouping apparently determined by "religious" criteria. Strangers, like Dakota, who have no animal associated with them, have among the Ojibwa no social status. Among the Winnebago, again, if a new clan were to be adopted among them, its connexion with one or the other of the divisions would depend upon its clan animal. If the clan animal was a bird, it would immediately be placed in one of the divisions; if any other animal, it would belong to the other division.

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These examples bring out quite forcibly the point made above, that the "tenacity" exhibited to-day or at any particular time is itself not a constant, for at different epochs different elements of the social unit may determine it. That, however, the twofold division of the Winnebago is a social-political grouping is, I believe, unquestionable, although to-day, to the minds of the Winnebago, not the social-political grouping, but one element—and probably one that has been secondarily associated with the original grouping—determines to what half a new clan shall belong. 174 616

These general considerations are of considerable importance in the study of Siouan culture, because we are there confronted with a specific application of the criteria of "tenacity" and quantitative resemblances. The twofold division of the tribe is found among the Winnebago, Dhegiha, Tciwere, Hidatsa, and Mandan. The Dhegiha and Tciwere show numerous cultural and specific sociological similarities to the Winnebago, and this, together with the intimate linguistic affiliation, makes it fairly certain that the twofold division goes back to a common origin. Difficulties in the interpretation appear, however, as soon as we approach the Hidatsa and Mandan, who present only general cultural similarities to the above-mentioned tribes, and among whom nevertheless a dichotomous social division exists. If dichotomy is the significant factor in the social organization of all these tribes, one might very well claim that here an example of the "tenacity" of social organization is to be found.

Such reasoning is, however, a typical example of a purely detached analytical interpretation. The essential characteristic of this social organization is not the dichotomy but the cultural complex-dichotomy, exogamy, specific names, and the functions of the two halves. Now, while it may be justifiable to consider this division as historically primary for the Winnebago, Dhegiha, and Tciwere, it does not follow, owing to the innumerable possibilities of the formation of a twofold division, that wherever such a division is found and a linguistic relationship can be demonstrated, we are dealing with a common cultural possession. These social organizations can only then be considered as com-

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parable when it can be demonstrated that the salient elements of the complex are the same. In the absence, however, of historical data, sameness at any given time may only mean sameness in the interpretation of the cultural phenomena by the people.

## INTERPRETATION OF THE TWOFOLD DIVISION AND THE CLANS.

We have assumed that the twofold division of the Winnebago, Dhegiha, and Tciwere had a common historical origin, because this complex is the same in each case. As we have seen, our identification was based upon the existence in these three tribal units of specific similarities apart from those of social organization. Rigid proof that the type of social organization is historically identical among these tribes is not, however, forthcoming. This will become even more apparent when we consider the twofold division from the point of view of the names they bear, the subdivisions within them, and their specific functions.

According to our informants the twofold organization among the Dhegiha and Tciwere only existed upon specific occasions, when the tribe was on the tribal hunt. We are in complete ignorance as to whether in olden times this arrangement was reflected in the village, but we know that whether it was or not, the twofold division was present in a very difinite manner in the consciousness of the people themselves, i.e., every individual definitely knew to which one of the two divisions he belonged, and that certain names and functions were associated with them. The moment, however, that we stop to analyse these names, functions, etc., we realize at once that to-day they connote different ideas in the different tribes under discussion. The names of the divisions seem particularly significant in this connexion. Among the Omaha they are known as *Ictacunda* and *Hanga*, probably connoting Sky people and Leaders; among the Ponka as *Wajaje* and *Tcíju*, Earth and Thunder; among the Kansa as *Yata* and *Ictunga*, Right side and Left side; among the Osage as *Tcíju* and *Hanga*, Peace and War side. The names for the Kwapa, Oto, Missouri, and Iowa are not

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known. It will be seen at a glance that the terms *Ictacunda* and *Tciju* are identical, and it will also be noticed by reference to the monographs of J. O. Dorsey[1] and Miss A. Fletcher and F. La Flesche[2] that these names as well as the name *Hanga* are names of subdivisions within these divisions. Were these names first used to designate the two divisions or the subdivisions? There seems to be no reason for believing that the names were first applied to the larger divisions, whereas a number of facts speak strongly in favour of the reverse. In no case, for instance, can it be shown that the two divisions *per se* have any functions except that of regulating marriage. The various political and ceremonial functions displayed by these divisions pertain to the subdivisions composing them. Owing to the massing together of a number of such functions on each side, we often obtain the impression that these belong to the larger unit as such. And indeed this may be said to be true at the present time, in so far as the functions of one subdivision have become identified with the larger unit. We will treat of these points afterwards. All that we wish to point out here is that the names of the two divisions may be different, and that they may connote different ideas in the different divisions of an historically related culture, due to specific historical development within each. Among the Oegiha, there seem to be a number of reasons for assuming that the present names of the two divisions are not the historically primary ones, and we will have to look askance at such an attempt as that of Miss Fletcher and F. LaFlesche to regard the names of the Ictacunda and Hanga divisions of the Omaha as indicating the historically fundamental religio-social concepts of that tribe. 174 616

It is far more difficult to discuss the names of the subdivisions or "gentes" within the two larger divisions. From a comparative point of view it must be regarded as significant that the names of the subdivisions within the Tciwere tribes tally almost exactly with those of the Winnebago and that those of the Dhegiha tribes tally with the names of many of the two latter, although they possess, in addition, a large number not 174 614

[1] "A Study of Siouan Cults," B. A. E. Annual Reports, Vol. XI.
[2] "The Omaha Tribe," ibid., Vol. XXVII.

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sing-together"; the Osage, the term *pędą*, "fireplace"; and the Winnebago, the term *hokik'a·radjəra*, "those-related-to-one-another." The remarks made about the specific names of the twofold divisions apply here. There is no reason for assuming that these names are historically primary. A possible historical hint that they are not will be mentioned later. 174 614

The twofold division apparently regulates nothing but marriage. It has at the present time no other function *per se*. Nevertheless, a number of ethnologists, and for that matter Indians themselves, speak of the functions of the two sides. If we consider the Omaha "circle," we notice that practically all the ceremonial functions are on one side; that among the Osage "war" and "peace" functions are found on both sides; and that, as a matter of fact, the functions of war and peace apparently relate to a certain reciprocal relation existing between the two divisions. Indeed, there is no reason to justify the use of these terms. Among the Iowa, J. O. Dorsey quotes Hamilton to the effect that the regulation of the hunt and other tribal affairs was in the hands of one "phratry" during the autumn and winter, and in that of the other in spring and summer. It is, however, doubtful whether this was the case. Among the Winnebago, as we shall see, the functions of war and peace were grouped together on one side, the functions of the other side being confined to those relating to the policing and regulation of the hunt. But the only fact with which we can concern ourselves is not whether there appears a balancing of functions connected with the social organization, but whether the Indian thinks there is; and here the consensus of opinion favours the view that no Omaha, e.g., would for a moment suppose that the *Hanγacenu* division as such was the custodian of the real pipes of peace. This belonged to the *Inkesabe* gens, and there is not a shred of evidence to support the view that it was delegated to that clan by the larger unit. The same reasoning applies to the *Hanγa* clan. That the importance of the possessions of the latter clan played an important part in the associations of the Omaha, even to the extent of impressing its name upon the whole division, we do not doubt for a moment. Other reasons 174 182 616

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174 may have led to the designation of the other half by the name of one of its component clans.

182 Similarly, among the Ponka, the *Wajaje* half corresponds to the *Wajaje* clan, the keepers of the sacred pipe; and among the 616 Osage, the *Tciju* and *Hanga* divisions of one side, and the *Wajaje* divisions of the other correspond to clans with the same name that are associated with important ceremonial-political functions. On the other hand, we have the fact that among the Kansa the names of the two large divisions are distinct from any of the clans in those divisions, and the same is true for the *Tciju* division of the Ponka. If we correlate this last fact with the apparent absence of any association of important ceremonial or political functions with specific clans, the suggestion might be permitted that no incentive existed in the minds of these people for the clan becoming identified with the larger divisions. Among the Winnebago, the names for the divisions are quite different from those of the clans composing them, but at the present time the fact that the clan in each division has definite functions and powers has reacted on the interpretation of the social organization, and it is quite customary to refer to one half as *hunk* or "Chiefs," and to the other as "*manqpe*" or "Soldiers," the latter name for the second phratry, however, not being common.

In short, we have a right to see in all the facts mentioned indications of a possible historical development whose characteristics seem to lie in the identification of the name and function of an important clan with that of a much larger division.

## THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE WINNEBAGO.

### RELATION OF THE PRESENT TO PREVIOUS WINNEBAGO TYPES OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

174 616

The Winnebago social organization has long since broken down, but its details are still so well preserved in the minds of the older men, and particularly in the literature of the tribe, that no difficulty was experienced in reconstructing it. This reconstruction, however, does not enable us to determine the relation of the clan and dichotomous division to the distribution of the

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tribe over the large area once occupied in Wisconsin. That the 4,000 odd individuals composing the tribe at the advent of the whites lived together is extremely doubtful. The nature of the woodland of Wisconsin and the fairly extensive territory over which they (Winnebago) were found scattered not long after Nicollet's first visit are facts that practically exclude such a hypothesis. The myth that speaks of a village that at one time was so long that those living at one end did not know what was transpiring at the other, contains too many literary touches to justify its use as an historical document. 174 616 [161] [773]

The question of village groups is of considerable importance, because there may have been, cutting across the gentle organization, another smaller, perhaps looser social unit, that of "band" or village setting off (to the minds of the people) one group against another. Systematic questioning has elicited from various individuals the information, also corroborated by historical records, that the villages were generally known according to geographical location or were descriptive of the haunts of certain animals. Even to-day the group scattered over the Nebraska Winnebago reservation are commonly known under similar designations. There we find, for instance, the following names: *kozo-atcira*, "those living on the peninsula"; or *k'ąhą'tcira*, "those living below," i.e., in the timber; *niwą'hatcira*, "those living near the dirty water"; *hątcxedcgominąngera*, "where big bear settles," etc. If we may, then, suppose this to have been a customary association, we may quite properly ask whether the name of the village had any influence on the social organization, whether there is even a hint at a genetic relation between these two types of group names. The only hint of such a relation is the fact that formerly *koni* "band" seems to have been used instead of *kokik'aradjora;* that an archaic name of the Wolf clan, *regoni* or *degoni*, may mean Lake-band; and that the villages all had geographical names. All of which, however, is, I realize, hardly sufficient evidence. 174 621 174 621 103

No satisfactory demonstration has as yet been made indicating that the clan organization was ever associated with an historically simple social structure, whereas quite a number of reasons lead us to suspect that it was in all cases preceded by other 174 614

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174 614 types of organization. In North America there is quite considerable evidence tending to show that village-group organization often preceded the clan, and for that reason the facts brought out above may be of more than casual significance. That a system of clan names different from that now in use existed is borne out by the archaic names for the Bear and Wolf clans. That another system was making headway against the animal-name type is apparent from the disappearance of the name Hawk and the substitution of the term Warrior clan; and from the common custom of calling the Thunder and Bear clans Chief and Soldier clan respectively. What is especially significant is the fact that these three new names all represent the same type of change, the substitution for animal designations, with the correlated associations of descent or connexion with an animal ancestor, of designations indicative of the function of the clan. If the association of the social unit with a common animal ancestor was preceded by an association of a social unit with geographical location, we would then be able to demonstrate what is so rare in ethnology, the historical succession of types of naming. Having established that, there would be thrown open to us legitimately the historical-psychological question whether any necessary genetic relationship between these three types of naming existed, and whether this succession of names is to be regarded as a reflection of distinct changes in social organization.

## THE TWOFOLD GROUPING—NAMES AND RELIGIO-MYTHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION.

174 614 616 825 The Winnebago are divided into two divisions, one known as the *waŋgeregi herera*, "those who are above," the other as the *maŋegi herera*, "those who are on earth." Descent was reckoned in the paternal line. But these appellations refer to the animals after whom the clans are named, the term *waŋgeregi* covering the birds, the term *maŋegi*, land and water animals. So firmly has this idea of the division of animal forms become associated with the two divisions that, as mentioned before, were a new clan introduced now among the Winnebago its position would depend exclusively upon the nature of the animal associated with it. As similar reasons dictate clan groupings among some of the Cen-

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tral Algonkin tribes, a few words concerning this type of association will not be amiss. The groupings of the fauna into a distinct number of categories is extremely common in North America. Among the Winnebago, a number of other Siouan, and Central Algonkin tribes, there was a fivefold classification: earth animals, sky animals, empyrean animals, aquatic animals, subaquatic animals. Among the Winnebago, the thunderbird belongs to the empyrean; the eagle, hawk, and pigeon, to the sky; the bear and wolf, to the earth; the fish, to the water; and the water spirit, below the water. This religio-mythological conception has unquestionably received a certain amount of sympathetic elaboration at the hands of shamans, and particularly at the hands of the leaders of such ceremonies as the Winter Feast, the Clan Feast, and the Clan Wake, as well as at the hands of those who had in their keeping the clan origin myths.

The characteristics of the thunderbird, eagle, bear, and water spirit as clan animals, and as animals connected with a division of fauna are related to the general conception of these animals *per se*. The eagle and hawk are birds of prey; the thunderbird is generally a deity granting long life, and associated with peace, although his connexion with war is by no means uncommon. Similarly, the bear is supposed to have a "soldier" nature, and the water spirit is intimately associated with rites pertaining to crossing streams, calming the sea, and ownership of water property. This correlation unquestionably indicates an influence of the religio-mythological conception of the animal upon the social group with which it is associated. How far this can go is abundantly attested by the names and behaviour of the *waggeregi* and *waggegi* divisions.

On the other hand we may legitimately ask: what influence have the two divisions had upon moulding the attributes of these animals, or upon the behaviour of the groups with which their name is associated? The functions of a warrior may have determined, as they certainly have accentuated, the "warrior" characteristics of the eagle and hawk, nor is there any easily intelligible reason why the thunderbird should be associated with peace. From our knowledge of the social organization of other Siouan tribes, the political functions of the clan seem to be

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174 the characteristic feature of the organization, and this being the
614 case, the probability of associations of warlike and peace attributes
with animals may as much be ascribed to the influence of the so-
616 cial unit as vice versa. As regards such functions as the exogamy
825 of the two divisions or that of the clans, or of the reciprocal burial relationship of the *waŋgeregi* and *maŋegi* divisions, we, of course, know that the characteristics of the animal in question have nothing to do with the matter. We must, then, realize that we are dealing with reciprocal influences, of the religio-mythological conception of animals on the one hand, and of political functions of social units on the other. In some cases, such as the specific associations of the water spirit, it is probable that the religio-mythological conception of the animal is dominant. The association of the thunderbird with fire has likewise not been due to any activity of the social unit; and thus examples might be multiplied. In this connexion, the fact that animals with whom a multitude of associations have already been established are subsequently associated with social units, *is fundamental*. From this point of view, the animal names of social organization are intrusive features, and we will consequently expect to find historical adjustments. This, we think, is what has taken place here. The animal name with its religio-mythological conceptions was a remarkably strong unit, even as compared with the political unit, and as a result reciprocal influences took place. Although the religio-mythological influence must have been marked, it appears to have changed none of the marital and other functions of the two divisions, nor the political functions of the clans. What it did change, and change fundamentally, was the interpretation of the social organization.

## FUNCTIONS OF THE TWOFOLD DIVISION.

614 The only function that the *waŋgeregi* and *maŋegi* divisions
616 seem to have had was the regulation of marriage. A *waŋgeregi*
[582] man had to marry a *maŋegi* woman, and vice versa. The only
other function exercised by these divisions was, according to
[764] some informants, reciprocal burial. Here the religio-mythological interpretations seem in part to have determined this relation for a *maŋegi* man buried a *waŋgeregi* man because, as a "land

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division," it pertains to him to place a corpse in the earth. This, however, seems to be a doubtful function, for earth burial seems in olden times to have been characteristic only of the *mąyegi* division, the *waŋgeregi* clans having had scaffold burial. In addition, the burial relation was one of the many reciprocal duties of the "friend-clan," and if it was ever postulated of the *waŋgeregi* and *mąyegi*, this was likely due to the fact that the "friendship" relation seems also to have existed between two clans belonging to the two different divisions. According to one myth, however, the four clans of the *waŋgeregi* paired off as "friends" with four clans of the *mąyegi*. This would then be practically equivalent to saying that the *mąyegi* buried the *waŋgeregi*.

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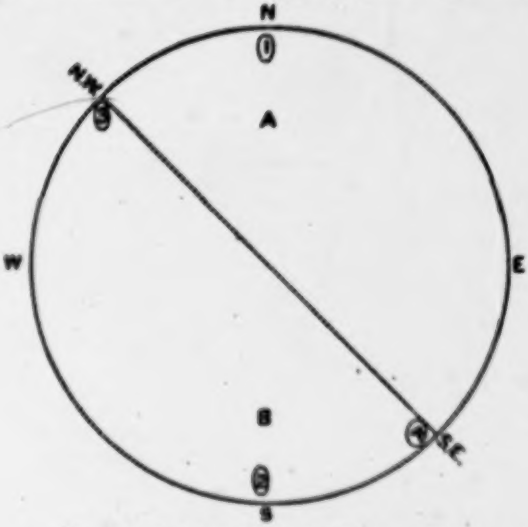


Figure 1. A, *Mąyegi* side; B, *Waŋgeregi* side.
1, Lodge of Bear clan; 2, Lodge of Thunderbird clan;
3, Lodge of Warrior clan; 4, Lodge of Buffalo clan.

Thus far we have spoken only of the socio-political functions. The two divisions, however, play a part in a number of social and ceremonial connexions: first, in the organization of the village; second, in the arrangement of the clans while on the war-path; third, as the basis of organization at the "chief" feast; and lastly, as the basis of organization of the ceremonial lacrosse game.

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614 616 621 According to the majority of the older people, when the old social organization was still intact, each village was divided into two halves by an imaginary line running due northwest by southeast, the *wangeregi* clans dwelling in one half, with the Chief's lodge in the south, and the *mąnegi* clans dwelling in the other half, with the Bear or Soldier lodge in the north (Figure 1). Although this arrangement has now become almost legendary, it was corroborated by many of the older people. To what extent every village was organized on this basis, it is impossible

Figure 2. 1, Lodge of Bear clan; 2, Lodge of Thunderbird clan.

to tell. When this question was directly put to individuals, the answer was always in the affirmative. Quite a number of old individuals, however, denied vigorously that such had ever been the organization of the village, and claimed, instead, that the lodges of the Chief and the Soldier (Bear) clan were in the centre of the village (Figure 2).

In looking over the clan affiliations of the informants, we noticed, however, that arrangement 1 was always given by members of the bird clans, and arrangement 2 by members of the Bear clan and generally also by others on the *mąnegi* side. This fact, of course, makes the decision as to the relationship

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of these two types of arrangements quite difficult. There can be no question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital regulations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in definite villages. When on the warpath, the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fire-places, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe, can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, cannot be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Tciwere. In the subsequent discussion of the clan, we will touch on this subject again. 614 616 621

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fire-places when on the warpath, each division having two fire-places, whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. If they were going west, for instance, the two fire-places for the *waŋgerɛgi* would be on the south and the two for the *mąŋegi* would be on the north side. On the other hand, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the divisions exists. 726 616

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the Chief feast (*huŋk-wokq*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name (*huŋk-wokq*) would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Huŋk* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the *waŋgerɛgi* division. 614 616 574

As the basis of organization in a game the twofold division finds expression in ceremonial lacrosse. There the *waŋgerɛgi* are always pitted against the *mąŋegi*. A well-known myth is associated with this arrangement, according to which the animal ancestors of the *waŋgerɛgi* and *mąŋegi* decided their respective rank by playing a game where they were organized on this basis. The *waŋgerɛgi* won, and it is for this reason that the chiefs of the tribe have been selected from that division. The division of the 616 526 773 [622] 000

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171 The division of the
616 tribe into two halves when playing ceremonial lacrosse is characteristic not only of the Winnebago, but of the Omaha, Menominee,
526 Sauk, Fox, and other tribes. Among the former two, these sides are identical with the two aforementioned political divisions of the tribe, but among the latter two, where no such division exists, the tribe seems to divide itself into two halves merely on this occasion, although we know that this is not the only occasion upon which it behaves in this manner.

174 Up to the present, we have treated the two divisions as social units *per se*, but now, before entering on the discussion
614 of the clans, it may be well to point out the fact that the *wangeregi* people are sometimes spoken of as the Bird clan (*wanąk hokikaradjora*), and that the four clans composing this side are so
616 intimately related, and their clan origin myths so similar, one of them even declaring the other three bird clans to be merely the descendants of the three younger thunderbird ancestors, that the assumption of the four clans representing one clan that became split up into a number of divisions, is not outside the realm of historical possibility. This is, however, quite immaterial, for whether we have one bird clan opposed to eight other animal clans is of little consequence, since historically it is not the bird clan that is opposing the other clans, but one social unit, the division, set off against another. The numerical equality that exists between these two sides, in spite of the disparity in the number of clans, is perhaps another confirmation of the fundamental character of the twofold structure.

## THE CLAN ORGANIZATION.

614 There are twelve clans (*hokikaradjora*) among the Winne-
[616] bago: the Thunderbird (*wakandja*), the Warrior (*wonayere wąkcik*), the Eagle (*teaxcąp*), and Pigeon (*ruicąp*), now extinct, belonging to the *wangeregi* half; and the Bear (*hąnk*), Wolf (*cąnktcąnk*), Buffalo (*tce*), Water-spirit (*wakicexi*), Deer (*tcar*), Elk (*hunąą*), Snake (*wakąą*), and Fish (*ho*), all belonging to the *mąnegi* half.

In addition to the above names, we have the name Chief (*hąnk*) applied to the Thunderbird; Hawk (*heretcą*), to the Warrior; (*manąpe*) Soldier, to the Bear clans.

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origin of the tribe is due to the literary-legendary tendency towards uniformity, is, on the whole, quite likely. This seems illustrated by the fact that the Warrior and Buffalo clans in some of the versions of their clan myths claim specific places, while others claim Green bay as their ancestral home. Green bay must, therefore, be considered as one of probably many local associations, connected with a prominent clan, which came to be accepted in the course of time by most of the others. 174 614 773

*Arrangement of Clans in Village.*

As in Figure 1, all the clans of the *wangeregi* division except the Thunderbird and Warrior, could occupy any position in the half-circle, and the same was true of those of the *mąnegi* division except the Bear clan. The Buffalo clan seems to have been grouped on the *wangeregi* side. However, in both divisions the members of each clan had to be grouped together, a segregation that was further emphasized by the erection near each clan of an earthen effigy of the clan animal. According to all informants, each village was inhabited by members of various clans; in no case did a village merely include members of the same clan, as seems to have been the case among the Menomini. Among the latter, village exogamy probably existed, while no trace of this is found among the Winnebago. This clan segregation in every Winnebago village became, after a while, practically identical with blood relationship, although the close relationship existing between members of the same clan may also partially represent the persistence of a local group consciousness. 614 621 [616] [532] [171]

This distribution of the same clan over many villages would, indeed, seem to militate against the local group origin of the clans, but it must be remembered that the clan organization was of considerable age and there is no reason to suppose that the local groups could have had any influence now discernible. The village arrangement must, of course, not be pushed too hard, for we should expect a tendency on the part of informants whose knowledge was entirely hearsay, to cast their information in a more or less schematic mould. The old village sites seem to indicate that the bird effigy was dominant in some places and 174 614 621

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174 lend themselves readily to such an interpretation. But even
614 should we accept the necessity for the priority of the one over the other types of association, we must still insist that psycho-
625 logically the functions are in each case associated with a group unit and that we are not dealing with the relation of cause and effect but with a new association.

182 Four of the Winnebago clans have specific political functions, the details of which cannot be discussed here. The Thunderbird
614 is the chief clan, and in addition to the fact that the chief of the tribe is selected from it, has important functions connected with the preservation of peace; the Warrior clan, that relating to war; the Bear clan, that relating to policing and discipline, both within the village and while on the hunt, etc.; and the Buffalo clan, that of public crier and intermediary between the chief and his people. The Wolf, Water-spirit, and the Elk clans seem also to have possessed minor political-social functions. Thus, the Wolf people were considered in the light of "minor" soldiers; the Water-spirit people as connected with the passage of streams, etc.; and the Elk as connected with the care of the fire-places while on the hunt and warpath. This accounts for seven of the twelve clans, and it thus seems as if the association of political functions with clans was a type that had found
[174] great favour among the Winnebago, and was perhaps being extended to every clan. Among the Dhegiha, associations of
[171] ceremonial functions with social units seem to have found corresponding favour, while among the Central Algonkin neither type occurred.

[171] Marked political and ceremonial functions of the clan are the distinguishing characteristics of the Siouan organization and have given an entirely different picture to clan structure there.

### *The Reciprocal Relationship of the Clans.*

614 We have seen that one of the bonds between the clans was the fact that they belonged to the same side. But there is a
● 616 special bond between certain clans known as "friendship" relation (*hitakʼɔʼrɔ*). This always subsists between two, although it

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seems occasionally to have been extended to three or four clans. 614
Most informants gave these groups in such a manner that the 616
"friendship" relation was not postulated between clans belonging to different divisions; although one individual postulated them just on this basis, i.e., Thunderbird—Bear, Warrior—Wolf, etc. There can, however, be no doubt that the prevalent arrangement is: Thunderbird—Warrior; Eagle—Pigeon; Bear—Wolf; Buffalo—Water-spirit; Elk—Deer; Snake—Fish. Most informants do not claim any pairing for the Snake, while some associate it in a threefold grouping with the Buffalo and Water-spirit. The four clans of the *wangeregi* are generally united in a fourfold group of "friend," although some divide them into Thunderbird—Warrior and Eagle—Pigeon.

Under the term "friend clan" is included the idea of mutual 614
service. This becomes especially marked on two occasions; 574
first, when a member of one clan visits his "friend-clan," and [627]
second, when an injustice has been done a member of the "friend-clan." On the former occasion every possible privilege is extended to him, even to his occupying the seat and bed of the host. There is no indication of "wife borrowing," however. 614
On the latter occasion, the "friend-clan" will seek to revenge the injustice just as if the wrong had been done one of its own members. The respect shown by one clan to its "friend-clan" [627]
is again apparent at the "naming" feast. There he may be [553]
called upon to give the dog names for an individual of the clan with which he is associated, and, at times, to lend one of his clan names to the latter.

The relation of "*hitcakʼɔʼro*" or "friend-clan" is strictly 614
analogous to that which exists between two individuals who are 572
*hitcakʼɔʼro* to each other. It is one of the characteristic traits [171]
of Siouan culture that two individuals often form a strong inextricable friendship. Not only are they always together, but the death of one on the warpath involves that of the other. The same intimate relationship seems to exist between an [604]
uncle (*hidekʼ*) and his nephews (*hitcɣcge*). There is, however, one fundamental difference between such relations as that existing between the *hidekʼ* and *hitcɣcge*, the members of the family group, and the members of the same clan, on the one hand, and the in-

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171 the tribal reverence is centred. Historically, we believe that
614 these were originally possessions of an individual clan, which
778 subsequently became identified with the entire tribe. Among the Winnebago nothing in the remotest manner comparable to these clan possessions exists, and the few specific objects possessed by the clan have never become of real tribal significance.

614 The specific material possessions of the clan consist of
778 certain war-bundles, one in each clan; and two crooks in the possession of the Bear clan. Of more general possession are the
[616] war clubs, of which there are two types, one found among the *waŋgeregi*, the other among the *mąŋegi* divisions. In connexion
[796] with the clan-bundles there are certain ceremonials known as clan-bundle or war-bundle feasts, popularly as winter feasts.
[171] The distribution of the clan-bundle differentiates these from the specific possessions of the Omaha clans, and suggests a hint as to their historical associations. To all intents and purposes, as their individual history shows, these bundles are merely gifts from one spirit, the thunderbird, and a secondarily associated night-spirit (*hąhe*). The winter feast might thus be interpreted
[575] as a society of those who have obtained blessings from the thunderbird. The bundle remains in the possession of a certain family, however, and cannot pass out of the clan. The war-bundle may, therefore, be said to be primarily the personal possession of a family which has become associated with all the members of the clan to such an extent that it is almost regarded as a clan possession.

In the possession of the two crooks by the Bear clan we have
[726] an example of specific clan property. The crooks are in the nature of emblems and are used on the warpath to indicate the extreme line of advance. They are thus of tribal significance. When not in use, they are kept in the lodge of the Bear clan.

### *Immaterial Possessions of the Clan.*

Although there are no specific material possessions, each clan possesses a type of what might be called "immaterial" possessions. These all have the added connotation of sacredness. For the bird clans, this is the possession of fire; for the

adopted the specific shooting ritual today practiced in the Medicine Rite. 105

It is just this contrast between the manner in which the basic older structure remained intact and yet new elements were freely adopted that is so characteristic of the Winnebago civilization. The explanation for their ability to do both these things lies in the fact that, like the Iroquois and Navajo, they have always quickly transformed and reinterpreted the influences which they absorbed from the outside. We shall shortly see how the history and analysis of the Medicine Rite illustrates all these three tendencies, the marked conservatism of old patterns, the receptivity to new ideas and the capacity for making new integrations. Before turning to this history, it will be best, first, to give a brief sketch of the Winnebago civilization as a whole, particularly those phases of the social organization, religion, ritualism and mythology, which can throw light on the Medicine Rite.

## a. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Winnebago social organization contains two structural patterns 105
characteristic of many North American Indian tribes, first, the divi- 614
sion of the tribe into two halves and, second, the clan. Every clan 616
belongs to either one or the other of these two halves or phratries, called respectively, those-from-above or upper people and those-from-the-earth or lower people.

The phratries possess, or rather possessed at one time, a number of distinctive and fundamental functions, lay and religious. Marriage within the same phratry, for instance, was forbidden. Each phratry had different burial customs. In the ceremonial lacrosse game one was always pitted against the other.

Nowhere were these contrasting duties and functions more funda- 105
mental, however, than in the political-social realm. In the upper 614
phratry are centered, in the person of the tribal chief, all the peace 616
and humanitarian functions of the tribe. He is selected from the clan 622
generally regarded as the most important one in the tribe, the

105 thunderbird. He is the representative of peace, par excellence. He
614 cannot go to war or have anything to do with the many war cere-
616 monies of the tribe. Be it remembered that victory on the warpath is
622 the highest honor a Winnebago can attain. He must succour the needy and plead for clemency in all cases of infractions of tribal law
[778] and custom, even in case of murder. His lodge is a sacred asylum and absolutely inviolate. Not only is a prisoner of war safe if he manages to take refuge there, but even a dog, about to be sacrificed, must be spared, should he manage to run into it. Naturally all the other male members of the thunderbird clan as well as all the male members of the other clans in the upper phratry, go on the warpath and seek prestige through war. But, after all, this warfare is waged against people who have no status within the tribe. Acquiescence in it does not constitute approval of violence nor is it regarded as a resort to violence. And it is this condemnation of violence for which the tribal chief and his phratry stands.

105 In contrast to this is the attitude of the chief of the lower division,
614 who always belongs to the bear clan. In him are centered pre-
616 eminently the police, the disciplinary and the war functions. He and
622 his associates police and guard the village, inflict punishment for
625 transgressions of law and custom, take charge of the whole tribe when it is on a communal warpath or engaged in hunting, etc. It is in the official lodge of the bear chief that prisoners are confined before being killed and it is in the same lodge where the sacred warbundles are stored and guarded against contamination.

105 We are dealing here with a very old and persistent classification
616 of the two opposing forces in society and one which reflects the
622 answer to a question asked repeatedly, namely, how are we to meet
182 the two aspects of life and of reality with which we are being con-
577 tinually confronted, the protective, constructive and positive, and the repelling, destructive and negative? Winnebago thinkers seemed to have been particularly fond of posing this problem.

It is not strange then, that they should have felt the contrast between the functions of the two phratries to lie, fundamentally, in their attitude toward evil. For the tribal chief evil was to be warded off before it came and always by passive methods. If that did not

succeed and evil was already upon the tribe, then his attention was directed toward alleviating the suffering caused by it and toward preventing any violence that might come in its wake. His function was to be protective and constructive. As one Winnebago told me, 'The chief of the tribe is like a motherbird feeding its young ones.' 105 616 622 182 577

The chief of the lower division, by contrast, went out to meet evil, attacked it ferociously when encountered, and paid little attention to the violent mood it developed among the defender-assailants. The important thing was to attack, fight and gain the victory.

The two opposing approaches to the problem can best be illustrated by the attitudes of the two chiefs toward sickness and murder. The tribal chief meets the first by giving a feast of conciliation and making direct appeals to Earthmaker. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, immediately starts in pursuit of it. With his assistants he makes the circuit of the village four times to look for its cause. He is on the warpath and should a dog cross his path, he is immediately killed. Then he pays a visit to the sick people, dances before them and lays his hands upon them. 105 622 755 182

If a murder has been committed, the tribal chief not only intercedes for the life of the murderer but actually, if need be, offers to take the place of the malefactor. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, seizes the murderer and conducts him to the family of the murdered person to be punished. 105 182 622 [682]

The objects associated with the two chiefs are typical and symbolical of their activities. For the first it is the peace-pipe, the emblem of conciliation and humility; for the second, a curiously formed baton, the emblem of punishment and pain, with which, when need be, he strikes those who transgress.

The recognition of these two aspects of social life and reality, contradictory, colliding, complementary, had its counterpart in the Winnebago analysis of human nature. There too, they insisted, good and evil, the spiritual and the material, the sacred and the profane, seemed forever at strife and forever striving for reconciliation, neutralization or fusion. This philosophy, we shall now see, is reflected, particularly, in mythology, religion and ritualism. 105 772 182

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# CULTURAL CHANGE AMONG THE WISCONSIN WINNEBAGO

Nancy Oestreich

## Introduction

121 178 Cultural change is one of the outstanding factors in the life of the Winnebago today. It is important to mention at the outset, however, that the following article does not purport to trace the long history of cultural change among the Winnebago, nor does it have any claim as a complete analysis; but, because of space limitations, it will serve merely as a passing observation of cultural change in a particular Indian group. [114] The study is based primarily on observation of one small group of Winnebago during a period of five weeks. None the less, these data seem to comprise a fairly, though far from completely representative sample with which to work.

101 121 The Indians observed were family groups from almost all of the Winnebago communities scattered throughout the central part of the state. Our group, consisting of some 45 families, was predominately one of Wisconsin Winnebago, but also included three Winnebago families from Nebraska and one family each of the Chippewa, Menomini and Potawatomi tribes. The presence of these minorities within the larger group of Wisconsin Winnebago offered an interesting study of inter-land and intra-tribal contrasts.

121 619 The Wisconsin Winnebago prefer to live more or less independently in their native territory, Wisconsin, rather than join their friends and relatives on the Winnebago reservation [657] located, by a whim of the government, in Nebraska. There [574] is, however, a constant exchange of visits between the two groups.

221 In Wisconsin many of the Winnebago earn a living in the winter by trapping for the fur market, and in the summer by following various Wisconsin crops. The harvesting begins in the spring with the strawberry season, and ends in the fall with the gathering of cranberries.

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*Names of the principal trees, etc.*

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ramonk'a'wa, rush-wood.
xa^hje, moss.
wax ruir, cedar (red cedar).
hxtra^ma, ironwood.
wiici, flat cornered reed used for lodges.
ra, round reed used for mats.
hi^ro', basswood.
wazi, pine in general.
wazi pana, white cedar.
wargo', poplar.
tra^ hra'wa, birch.
tragu, walnut.
pa^ dja'gu, hickory.
trazu'ko, butternut.
na^ ra'ąk', maple.
ruyi, willow.
ruk, ash.
trargo'gu, oak.
mank'a'ruk, elm.
hukiqu, hazel.
na^ p'a'gu, cherry.
na^ ho'rgi, box-elder.
heyu', cottonwood.

*Names of the principal vegetables and fruits*

terra'hera, a water root.
wakra^gura, root called "owl" root.
hu^r^khoi'dja, pea vine.
dora, a sort of artichoke.
pa^kxi, root found in lowlands.
na^p'ak, chokecherries.
k'a^tc, plum.
ko^ crabapple.
trosa'^wa^, fruit of a tree similar to crabapple tree.
hazi'ratego, raspberry.
hada'mąkra, blackberry.
hadinąk', blueberries.
hacedjek', strawberry.
hap'a'nup'unuxgo, gooseberry.
hotcąka', cranberry.
k'a^tc hi^cek, peaches (fuzzy plums).
kcé caroic, apple (long and round apple).
wak'a^retcawa, wild currant (snake's navel).
doka'wehi, prairie turnip.
hu^a'ąk, bean.
hu^mąk' na^di, climbing bean.
hu^a'ąk' mink, nonclimbing bean.
ma^hi^tc, milkweed.

*Animals and parts of animals whose flesh is not eaten*

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waąkrocąk, dogfish.
djadja'ąka'k, mink.
dero'na^k, otter.
ho wak'a^, eel (holy fish).
k'ayi, crow (really northern raven).
trazra'p, eagle.
weasel.
marten.
no entrails (u'djwoju).
gopher.
bone.

*Agriculture.*—In the old days the Winnebago always raised in their permanent villages at least corn, squash, and beans. As the villages consisted practically of a group of families belonging to different clans, each clan apparently living by itself, the question of clan ownership of these fields was hardly considered. (This statement is made because some Winnebago spoke of clan ownership.) What actually occurred was, in the opinion of the author, as follows: Each group of families being segregated according to clan, it happened that certain family groups had fields in common. This must have happened rather frequently, for there seems to have been a tendency—although this can not be said with certainty owing to the meagerness of reliable information—for related families to hold together in these settlements. In general, however, each family owned and cultivated its own field.

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[621]

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171 of impressing its name upon the whole division, we do not doubt
174 for a moment. Other reasons may have led to the designation of the other half by the name of one of its component clans.

114 Similarly, among the Ponca, the Wajaje half corresponds to the
614 Wajaje clan, the keepers of the sacred pipe; and among the Osage, the Teiju and the Hanga divisions of one side, and the Wajaje divisions of the other, correspond to the clans with the same name that are associated with important ceremonial-political functions. On the other hand, we have the fact that among the Kansa the names of the two large divisions are distinct from any of the clans in those divisions, and the same is true for the Teiju division of the Ponca. If we correlate this last fact with the apparent absence of any association of important ceremonial or political functions with specific clans, the suggestion might be permitted that no incentive existed in the minds of these people for the clan becoming identified with the larger divisions. Among the Winnebago the names for the divisions are quite different from those of the clans composing them, but at the present time the fact that the clan in each division has definite functions and powers has reacted on the interpretation of the social organization, and it is quite customary to refer to one half as *hupk* or "chiefs," and to the other as *manap'e* or "soldiers," although the latter is not common.

In short, we have a right to see, in all the facts mentioned, indications of a possible historical development whose characteristics seem to lie in the identification of the name and function of an important clan with that of a much larger division.

[182] The Winnebago social organization has long since broken down, but its details are still so well preserved in the minds of the older men, and particularly in the literature of the tribe, that no difficulty was experienced in reconstructing it. This reconstruction, however, does not enable us to determine the relation of the clan and dichotomous division to the distribution of the tribe over the large area once occupied in Wisconsin. That the 4,000-odd individuals composing the tribe at the advent of the whites lived together is extermely doubtful. The nature of the woodlands of Wisconsin and the fairly extensive territory over which the Winnebago were found scattered not long after Nicolet's first visit are facts that practically exclude such a hypothesis. The myth that speaks of a village that at one time was so long that those living at one end did not know what was transpiring at the other contains too many literary touches to justify its use as an historical document.

114 The question, therefore, of village groups is of considerable impor-
621 tance, because there may have been, cutting across the general organization, another smaller, perhaps looser social unit, that of "band" or village, setting off one group against another. Systematic question-

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systematic question

ing has elicited from various individuals the information, also corroborated by historical records, that the villages were generally known according to geographical location or according to names descriptive of the haunts of certain animals. Even to-day the group scattered over the Nebraska Winnebago reservation are commonly known by similar designations. There we find, for instance, the following names: *koso-ateira*, "those living on the peninsula"; or *k'uha"teira*, "those living below", i. e., in the timber; *nisa'hateira*, "those living near the dirty water"; *hute zedpominangera*, "where big bear settles," etc. If we may then suppose this to have been a customary association, we may quite properly ask whether the name of the village had any influence on the social organization; whether there is even a hint at a genetic relation between these two types of group names. All that can be said is the fact that formerly *honi*, "band," seems to have been used instead of *hokik'aradjera* for clan; that an archaic name of the Wolf clan, *regoni* or *degoni*, may mean Lake band; and that the villages all had geographical names. All of which, however, is, I realize, hardly sufficient evidence.

No satisfactory demonstration has as yet been made indicating that the clan organization was ever associated with an historically simple social structure, whereas quite a number of reasons lead us to suspect that it was in all cases preceded by other types of organization. In North America there is quite considerable evidence tending to show that the village group organization often preceded in many places the clan, and for that reason the facts brought out above may be of more than casual significance. That a system of clan names different from that now in use existed is borne out by the archaic names for the Bear and Wolf clans. That another system was making headway against the animal-name type of change, namely, the substitution for animal designation, with correlated associations of descent or connection with an animal ancestor, of designations indicative of the functions of the clan. If the association of the social unit with a common animal ancestor was preceded by an association of a social unit with geographical location, we would then be able to demonstrate what is so rare in ethnology—the historical succession of types of naming.

### The Twofold Grouping

The Winnebago are divided into divisions, one known as the *waggeregi herera*, "those who are above," the other as the *manegi herera*, "those who are on earth." Descent was reckoned in the paternal line. But these appellations refer to the animals after whom the clans are named, the term *waggeregi* covering the birds, the term *manegi*, land and water animals. So firmly has the idea of division of animal forms become associated with the two divisions

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616 ceremonial connections: first, in the organization of the village;
614 second, in the arrangement of the clans while on the warpath; third, as the basis of organization at the "chief" feast; and lastly, as the basis of organization of the ceremonial lacrosse game.

616 According to the majority of the older people, when the old social
614 organization was still intact, each village was divided into two halves by an imaginary line running due northwest and southeast, the
621 *wapperegi* clans dwelling in one half, with the chief's lodge in the south, and the *manegi* clans dwelling in the other half, with the bear or soldier lodge in the north (fig. 33). Although this arrangement has now become almost legendary, it was corroborated by many of the older people. To what extent every village was organized on this basis it is impossible to state. When this question was

FIG. 33.—Plan of village according to Thunderhead, of the Thunderbird clan.

directly put to individuals, the answer was always in the affirmative. Quite a number of old individuals, however, denied vigorously that such had ever been the organization of the village, and claimed instead that the lodges of the Chief and the Soldier (Bear) clan were in the center of the village (fig. 34).

[115] In looking over the clan affiliations of the informants, we noticed, however, that the first arrangement was always given by members of the bird clans, and the second arrangement by members of the
[114] Bear clan and generally also by others on the *manegi* side. This fact, of course, makes the decision as to the relationship of these two types of village organization quite difficult. There can be no
[582] question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital relations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in different villages.

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of specific clans in different villages. When on the warpath the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fireplaces, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, can not be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Tciwere. In the subsequent discussion of the clan we will touch on this subject again.

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fireplaces when on the warpath, each division having two fireplaces,

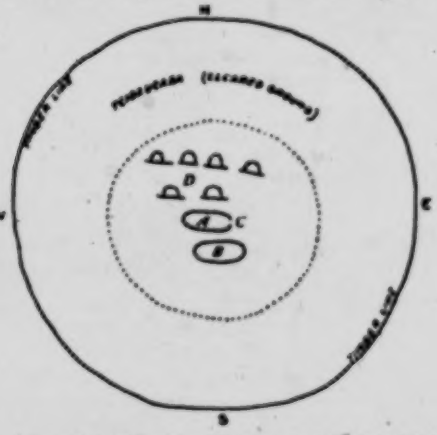


FIG. 34. Plan of village according to John Rave, of Bear clan. *A*, Lodge of chief of tribe (Thunderbird clan). *B*, Lodge of chief of Bear clan. *C*, Lodge of Warrior clan. *D*, Lodge of Buffalo clan.

whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. When going west, for instance, the two fireplaces for the *waggerregi* are on the south, and the two for the *manegi* on the north side. However, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the division exists.

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the chief feast (*hunk wohg*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name *hunk wohg* would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Hunk* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the *waggerregi* division.

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her, there stood a very young woman, her hair like a shawl. "It is good, grandmother, and I thank you in the name of my aunts. Then for the second time she said, "Look at me." He looked at her and there stood a woman in middle age, her hair almost gray. "Well, grandmother, it is good, that is what I meant." Then for the fourth time she said, "Grandson, look at me." He looked at her. Her hair was entirely dried up, in the nape of her neck there was a hollow, and like a duck looking at the sun, she appeared. Her chin, like a wooden poker, burnt short, there she stood trembling. "Well, grandmother, this is what I meant when I said that you were to help me. My uncles and aunts that is what I wished for them, and I thank you."

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### Organization of the Bands

The medicine dance of the Winnebago consists of five bands. A sixth band is temporarily formed whenever the ceremony is given in honor of a deceased member.

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For purposes of description it will be best to divide each band into three parts—the leader, his two assistants, and the rest of the band. Leadership depends upon a thorough knowledge of the ceremony and its complete esoteric significance, which is in the possession of only a few individuals in each band. This knowledge can be obtained solely by purchase and religious qualifications. These religious qualifications, to which might be added moral as well, play little part at the present day, but there can be no doubt that they were essential in the past. The leader likewise often possessed other characteristics, such as those of warrior and shaman.

The two assistants were generally men who had purchased sufficient information and privileges to entitle them to help the leader in certain details of the ceremony. The drummers, rattle holders, dancers, etc., were always recruited from their ranks. Eventually they might become the leaders. Those who were neither leaders nor assistants possessed a knowledge varying from that of elementary information, required for admission, to that entitling them to the position of assistant.

There is a priority of position in the lodge, depending on priority of invitation. The band invited first occupies the east position; that invited second, the north; that invited third, the west; and that invited fourth, the south. The east is the position of highest honor; the south, that of the lowest. Between the bands there exists an order of invitation based on tradition, the exact nature of which is unknown. According to one informant, if one band invited another, the latter in turn would be obliged to give it the position of honor; but as there are five bands, this can apply only to special cases. Whatever may be the order, it is certain that each band has ample occasion to occupy all five positions.

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756 There are two ways in which a man can join the medicine dance. He may simply apply for admission to any of the five leaders, or he may take the place of a deceased relative. In the former case, if his payment is satisfactory, and he has the other qualifications, he is accepted. In the other case, his relatives decide to have him take the place of a deceased relative. This latter form of candidacy is by far the more common. At the present day initiation requires the payment of about $300 or $400, in the form of goods and tobacco. Of this, a portion is given to the leader of the ancestor host's band during the four nights' preparation, and the rest to the leaders of the other four bands during the ceremony proper.

Exactly how much information an individual obtains on entering can not be determined. Much depends on the amount of the payment. The minimum knowledge would amount to an acquaintance with the bare externals of the ceremony, its general significance, and such knowledge of the legendary origin of the hoigo as a single recital could give. The new member is not initiated into the symbolism of the ritualistic myths, and consequently a large portion of the same must be unintelligible to him. What he obtains is practically only the right to hold the otter-skin bag and to use it in a certain way. He may not take part in any of the forms of dancing or singing, nor may he even shoot at will. He very rarely remains in this condition long, but takes the first opportunity to purchase additional knowledge and privileges.

There are three kinds of members—mature men, women, and children. The privileges of women differ from those of the men, in that the women do not have to take the sweat bath, may never become assistants, and are allowed to dance only in a certain way. In other respects they have the same privileges as men. In practice there are certain privileges that women never have, but this is due to the fact that either they do not care for them or they are not in a position to buy them. Children belong to a quite different category. Although they possess an otter skin, they have not even the power of making it effective. There does not seem to be any evidence indicating that women were ever excluded from membership.

621 756 *Prescribed duties of the bands.*—The duties of the host, called the ancestor-host, are as follows:

1. To rehearse the songs and rituals with his band four nights previous to the ceremony proper. At this rehearsal the candidate is always present and is instructed in the ceremony.

[202] 2. To send out invitation sticks and tobacco to the leaders of the other four bands. The messengers are always his sisters' sons.

3. To begin the four nights' ceremony preceding the ceremony proper.

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4. To receive the leaders and assistants of the other four bands before the sweat-lodge ritual, and to begin the same. 621 756

5. To begin the ceremony proper.

6. To take part in the main portion of the ceremony proper:

(a) To welcome the four bands.

(b) To lead the candidate to the secret brush and instruct him in certain precepts.

(c) To act as preceptor of the candidate before he is shot with the sacred shell.

(d) To turn the candidate over to the charge of the leaders of the east and north bands.

(e) To relate certain of the myths.

(f) To deliver specific speeches and to perform the actions that constitute the basic ritual of the ceremony proper. This will be discussed later.

The east is known as Those-who-sit-first, Where-the-day-comes-from, Where-the-sun-rises. All these terms are used frequently. The duties of the leader are:

1. To assist the ancestor host in passing upon the eligibility of a candidate.

2. To take part in the following portions of the ceremony proper:

(a) Accompanied by his two assistants, to take part in the brush ritual.

(b) To take charge of the candidate after he has been handed over to him by the ancestor host.

(c) To shoot the sacred shell into the candidate's body.

(d) To relate certain of the myths.

(e) To perform the basic ritual.

The north band is known as Where-the-cold-comes-from. The leader has the same duties as those of the east leader. The myths recited are of course different.

The west band is known as Where-the-sun-goes-down. The leader has the duty of reciting certain myths and performing the basic ritual.

The south band is known as He-who-sits-at-the-end-of-the-road or Where-the-sun-straightens. The duties of the leader are the same as those of the leader of the west band, except that the myths he recites are different.

The distribution of the gifts to the different bands is as follows: The leader of the east band receives one-half of the number of blankets, the upper half of the new suit worn by the candidate, and one-quarter of the food. 621 756 431

The leader of the north band receives one-half of the blankets, the lower half of the suit, the moccasins, and one-quarter of the food.

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621 The leaders of the west and south bands receive each 3½ yards
756 of calico and a fourth of the food.

431 The ancestor host receives various gifts of food and tobacco from the leaders of the other bands. He receives his payment from the candidate before the ceremony proper.

756 The candidate is present at the four nights' ceremony of the an-
786 cestor host's band, preliminary to the ceremony proper. At the latter ceremony he sits to the right of the ancestor host's band. He is not dressed in his new suit until after the secret ceremonies in the brush.

302 There are facial decorations distinctive of the different bands:
621 The host's band and the candidate paint a blue circle on each cheek, but its significance is unknown to the writer.

The regalia used are simple and few. They consist of eagle, hawk, squirrel, beaver, and otter-skin bags (pls. 51-53), a drum, gourd rattles, and invitation sticks. The otter-skin bags are always beaded and contain the sacred shell and various medicines. A few red feathers are always inserted in the mouth of the otter-skin bag. The gourds contain buckshot at the present time and are painted with blue finger marks.

*Division of the ceremony.*—The medicine dance is divided into five well-marked parts. The first part (I) consists of the two nights' preparation preceding the sending out of the invitation sticks. This takes place at the home of the ancestor host in the presence of the members of his band and the candidate. The second part (II) consists of the four nights' preparation preceding the sweat-lodge ritual. Each band has its own four nights' preparation, although that of the ancestor host begins before the others. The third part (III) consists of the rites held in a sweat lodge, specially constructed for this purpose near the medicine lodge, on the morning after the four nights' preparation. The participants are the ancestor host, the leaders of the east, west, north, and south bands, each with his two assistants, and the candidate. The fourth part (IV) consists of the ceremony proper, which in turn must be divided into the night ceremony (*a*) and the day ceremony (*b*). The fifth part (V) consists of the rites held in the brush, at which the secrets of the society are imparted to the candidate. Special guards are placed on all sides of the brush to prevent the intrusion of outsiders. The participants,
[625] besides the candidate, are the ancestor host, the leaders of the east and north bands, each with his two assistants, and all other individuals who have bought the privilege of attending. These ceremonies take place at dawn preceding the day ceremony.

Two feasts and one intermission interrupt the main ceremony. The feasts always take place at the end of the ritual of the east
[621] band—*i. e.*, generally at noon and at midnight. The intermission

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generally lasts from dawn preceding the day ceremony until 7 or 8 a. m. The intermission begins as soon as the drum and gourds have been returned to the ancestor host and ends as soon as the people return from the brush ritual. 756 796

The first and second parts are concerned entirely with a recital of certain ritualistic myths and a rehearsal of the songs and the specific ritual of each band used during the remaining parts.

*Types and component elements of the ceremony.* For purposes of greater clarity, the speeches, songs, and types of action will be carefully differentiated and referred to by some designation characterizing their essential traits. These speeches, songs, and types of action together form combinations which may be regarded as units, and they will therefore also be referred to by some designation characteristic of their function.

1. Types of speeches. (1) Salutations: No formal salutation is used during Parts I and II, the individuals being addressed by their relationship terms. In Parts III, IV and V the salutations are invariably the same. The ancestor host and his band are addressed as follows: "The-one-occupying-the-seat-of-a-relative (deceased) and you-who-sit-with-him, do I salute." The east is addressed, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-sun-rises"; the north, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-cold-comes-from"; the west, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-sun-straightens," or (preferably) "You-who-represent-the-end-of-the-road." 756 796 537 576

The appellations of the bands, as before stated, refer to the creation myth and the four guardian spirits whom Hare visited for the purpose of inquiring into the necessity and meaning of death. Hare was compelled to travel around the earth, which is conceived of as an island, and received no answer until he came to the spirit at the end of the road. In the dramatic performance of the medicine dance the lodge typifies the earth and the four bands and their leaders typify the four spirits. The ancestor host's band typifies the ancestor of the Winnebago. 773 756 796 621 [772]

(2) Speeches: Under this head will be treated (*a*) speeches of welcome; (*b*) speeches of acceptation; (*c*) speeches of presentation; (*d*) speeches explanatory of the significance of the ritual; and (*e*) speeches of admonition, addressed exclusively to the candidate. This does not exhaust all. There are many others, generally short, that can hardly be classified. In their content, as well as in the order of their succession, the speeches must follow a traditionally determined sequence. In practice this is certainly not always true, but to the mind of the Winnebago these speeches appear as old as the ceremony. It is their firm belief that any departure from the accepted type will interfere with the efficacy of the ceremony. 796 537 756

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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614 this twofold interpretation really represents the war bundle in a two-
776 fold aspect, first apart from its association with the war-bundle feast and second from its association therewith.

That the clan is the unit of organization comes out clearly from the following facts: First, there are as many buckskins offered as there are clans; secondly, the order in which the guests are invited
[554] is determined by the reciprocal relations existing between the different clans; and, thirdly, by references in the speeches. That the clan unit, on the other hand, has influenced the ceremonial aspect of the feast is apparent from the fact that offerings are made to the clan animals. For example, in the following ceremony offerings are made to the Eagle and Wona'yire Uaskrik, who seem to be of slight importance apart from their association with the clan.

x 796 The ceremonial unit in all Winnebago societies consists of four
[801] bands, four representing the sacred number, and the ritual consists of the passing of the paraphernalia from one to the other unit until
● 621 it returns to the host. The war-bundle feast corresponds to the
571 other societies in every respect, except that instead of four there are ten bands (with the band of the host, representing the eleven existing clans of the tribe). Had not the consciousness of the relation of the war bundle to the clan been so strong the ceremonial unit would probably have been found here, as it is found in all the other ceremonies.

x 796 Summing up, then, we may say that the war-bundle feasts represent a mixed type corresponding exactly to no other Winnebago ceremony, and that beginning as a war feast it developed in addi-
[575 tion some of the features of a secret society of the type exemplified
614 by the Night Spirit society, with a unit of organization based on the clan; and that finally it became a general feast of thanksgiving to the entire Winnebago pantheon.[1]

### CHARACTERIZATION OF THE SPIRITS MENTIONED IN THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST

776 All the spirits to whom offerings are made in the war-bundle feast are guardian spirits, with the exception of Earthmaker. Some of them are conceived of as being human, while others have animal forms, and still others have an indeterminate body. The peculiar spirit, Disease-giver, has a form of his own, his body being divided into two halves, one half dispensing death and the other life. Earthmaker has no form, and in the few cases that he has been known to bless individuals he always lets his presence be known by some sign. There is generally a difference between the conception of the spirit as such and the form that he is supposed to assume

[1] The order in which these aspects are enumerated is not to be taken as representing a direct line of evolution.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12



tribe over the large area once occupied in Wisconsin. That the 4,000 odd individuals composing the tribe at the advent of the whites lived together is extremely doubtful. The nature of the woodland of Wisconsin and the fairly extensive territory over which they (Winnebago) were found scattered not long after Nicollet's first visit are facts that practically exclude such a hypothesis. The myth that speaks of a village that at one time was so long that those living at one end did not know what was transpiring at the other, contains too many literary touches to justify its use as an historical document. 174 616 [161] [773]

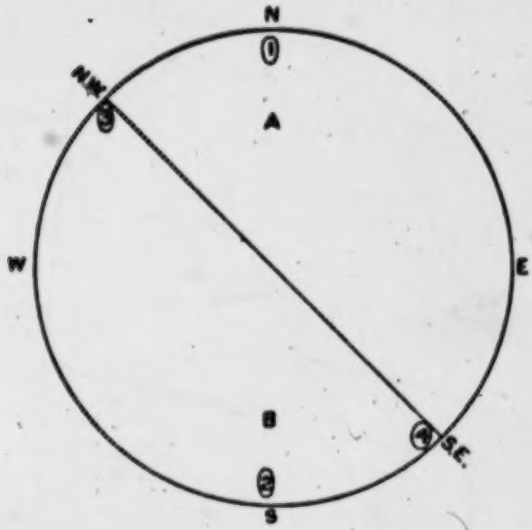
The question of village groups is of considerable importance, because there may have been, cutting across the gentle organization, another smaller, perhaps looser social unit, that of "band" or village setting off (to the minds of the people) one group against another. Systematic questioning has elicited from various individuals the information, also corroborated by historical records, that the villages were generally known according to geographical location or were descriptive of the haunts of certain animals. Even to-day the group scattered over the Nebraska Winnebago reservation are commonly known under similar designations. There we find, for instance, the following names: *hozo-atcira*, "those living on the peninsula"; or *k'ąhą'tcira*, "those living below," i.e., in the timber; *niwą'hatcira*, "those living near the dirty water"; *hątcxdegominąągera*, "where big bear settles," etc. If we may, then, suppose this to have been a customary association, we may quite properly ask whether the name of the village had any influence on the social organization, whether there is even a hint at a genetic relation between these two types of group names. The only hint of such a relation is the fact that formerly *koni* "band" seems to have been used instead of *kokik'aradjora;* that an archaic name of the Wolf clan, *regoni* or *degoni*, may mean Lake-band; and that the villages all had geographical names. All of which, however, is, I realize, hardly sufficient evidence. 174 621 174 621 103

No satisfactory demonstration has as yet been made indicating that the clan organization was ever associated with an historically simple social structure, whereas quite a number of reasons lead us to suspect that it was in all cases preceded by other 174 614

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12



division," it pertains to him to place a corpse in the earth. This, however, seems to be a doubtful function, for earth burial seems in olden times to have been characteristic only of the *mąnegi* division, the *wąngeregi* clans having had scaffold burial. In addition, the burial relation was one of the many reciprocal duties of the "friend-clan," and if it was ever postulated of the *wąngeregi* and *mąnegi*, this was likely due to the fact that the "friendship" relation seems also to have existed between two clans belonging to the two different divisions. According to one myth, however, the four clans of the *wąngeregi* paired off as "friends" with four clans of the *mąnegi*. This would then be practically equivalent to saying that the *mąnegi* buried the *wąngeregi*. 614 616 764




614 616 [621]

Figure 1. A, *Mąnegi* side; B, *Wąngeregi* side.
1, Lodge of Bear clan; 2, Lodge of Thunderbird clan;
3, Lodge of Warrior clan; 4, Lodge of Buffalo clan.

Thus far we have spoken only of the socio-political functions. The two divisions, however, play a part in a number of social and ceremonial connexions: first, in the organization of the village; second, in the arrangement of the clans while on the war-path; third, as the basis of organization at the "chief" feast; and lastly, as the basis of organization of the ceremonial lacrosse game.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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614 616 621

According to the majority of the older people, when the old social organization was still intact, each village was divided into two halves by an imaginary line running due northwest by southeast, the *waŋgeregi* clans dwelling in one half, with the Chief's lodge in the south, and the *mąŋegi* clans dwelling in the other half, with the Bear or Soldier lodge in the north (Figure 1). Although this arrangement has now become almost legendary, it was corroborated by many of the older people. To what extent every village was organized on this basis, it is impossible

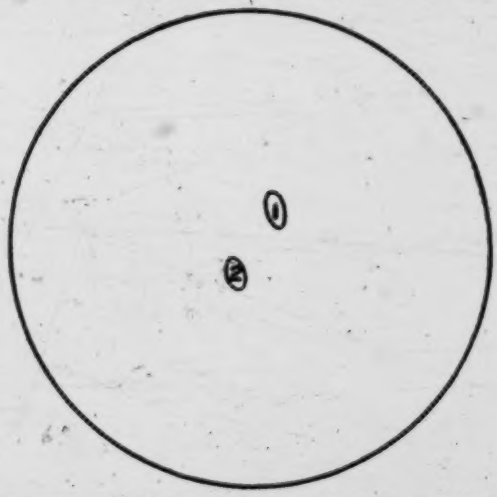


Figure 2. 1, Lodge of Bear clan; 2, Lodge of Thunderbird clan.

to tell. When this question was directly put to individuals, the answer was always in the affirmative. Quite a number of old individuals, however, denied vigorously that such had ever been the organization of the village, and claimed, instead, that the lodges of the Chief and the Soldier (Bear) clan were in the centre of the village (Figure 2).

In looking over the clan affiliations of the informants, we noticed, however, that arrangement 1 was always given by members of the bird clans, and arrangement 2 by members of the Bear clan and generally also by others on the *mąŋegi* side. This fact, of course, makes the decision as to the relationship

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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of these two types of arrangements quite difficult. There can be no question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital regulations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in definite villages. When on the warpath, the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fire-places, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe, can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, cannot be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Tciwere. In the subsequent discussion of the clan, we will touch on this subject again. 614 616 621

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fire-places when on the warpath, each division having two fire-places, whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. If they were going west, for instance, the two fire-places for the *waŋgeregi* would be on the south and the two for the *mąŋegi* would be on the north side. On the other hand, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the divisions exists. 726 616

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the Chief feast (*huŋk'wohą*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name (*huŋk'wohą*) would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Huŋk'* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the *waŋgeregi* division. 614 616 574

As the basis of organization in a game the twofold division finds expression in ceremonial lacrosse. There the *waŋgeregi* are always pitted against the *mąŋegi*. A well-known myth is associated with this arrangement, according to which the animal ancestors of the *waŋgeregi* and *mąŋegi* decided their respective rank by playing a game where they were organized on this basis. The *waŋgeregi* won, and it is for this reason that the chiefs of the tribe have been selected from that division. The division of the 616 526 773 [622] 000

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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Clans are likewise referred to by names indicative of respect. 614
Thus, the Water-spirit is referred to as *hunge*, male members of the Bear clan as *haga*, and female members of the same clan as *warowiṇa*. It was claimed that these names were employed to avoid using the others. *Degoni* (meaning unknown, perhaps "lake-people") was also applied to the Bear; and *iconaṇke* (meaning unknown) to the Wolf.

Referring to the two village diagrams, we notice that according to Figure 1, four clans have their lodges definitely located— [621] the Thunderbird, Warrior, Buffalo, and Bear; but that according to Figure 2 only two clans have definite location of lodges— the Thunderbird, and Bear. In addition there is, however, [554] a special lodge for the men who have especially distinguished themselves in war, not necessarily to be identified with the members of the Warrior clan. [729] The significance of the clan names has been discussed before.

The meaning of *iconaṇke* is unknown to-day, but it may be 614
of interest as an example of the manner in which the name of 192
a clan may possibly be reinterpreted that, when pressed for a meaning, *iconaṇke* was translated blue-back, which is a literal translation of *ico* and *naṇke*, but which unquestionably represents a folk etymology, for, according to Winnebago grammar, *blue-back* would have to be *naṇke ico*.

### *Legendary Grouping of Clans.*

According to many clan legends, the clans originated in 614
a definite order. As might be expected, this differs according 773
to each clan, but the order of origin of the important ones seems to be constant. That is, practically all clan origin myths speak of the bird-clans as having originated first, and the Bear clan as having followed next. Yet even this did not hold true for all informants.

J., of the Bear clan, gave the following list:

Good Thunders (Thunderbird)
Bad Thunders (Warrior)
Eagle
Pigeon
Bear

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origin of the tribe is due to the literary-legendary tendency 174
towards uniformity, is, on the whole, quite likely. This seems 614
illustrated by the fact that the Warrior and Buffalo clans in some 773
of the versions of their clan myths claim specific places, while others claim Green bay as their ancestral home. Green bay must, therefore, be considered as one of probably many local associations, connected with a prominent clan, which came to be accepted in the course of time by most of the others.

### *Arrangement of Clans in Village.*

As in Figure 1, all the clans of the *wangeregi* division except 614
the Thunderbird and Warrior, could occupy any position in the 621
half-circle, and the same was true of those of the *manegi* division
except the Bear clan. The Buffalo clan seems to have been grouped [616]
on the *wangeregi* side. However, in both divisions the members of each clan had to be grouped together, a segregation that was
further emphasized by the erection near each clan of an earthen [532]
effigy of the clan animal. According to all informants, each village was inhabited by members of various clans; in no case
did a village merely include members of the same clan, as seems [171]
to have been the case among the Menomini. Among the latter, village exogamy probably existed, while no trace of this is found among the Winnebago. This clan segregation in every Winnebago village became, after a while, practically identical with blood relationship, although the close relationship existing between members of the same clan may also partially represent the persistence of a local group consciousness.

This distribution of the same clan over many villages would, 174
indeed, seem to militate against the local group origin of the clans,
but it must be remembered that the clan organization was of 614
considerable age and there is no reason to suppose that the 621
local groups could have had any influence now discernible. The village arrangement must, of course, not be pushed too hard, for we should expect a tendency on the part of informants whose knowledge was entirely hearsay, to cast their information in a more or less schematic mould. The old village sites seem to indicate that the bird effigy was dominant in some places and

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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174 the bear in others, although both are also often found together.

614 Looking at our facts from another point of view, it is quite clear that clan segregation must not be taken too literally. 621 Clan exogamy would necessarily prevent that. If the old exogamy of the two divisions was in force and a man was thus compelled to marry into his mother's division but not into her clan, every village would have had to be arranged in an extremely artificial manner, that was not likely to have occurred frequently. [591] That a man often lived with his parents-in-law, would in addition again disorganize the regularity of the scheme. Finally, we have the evidence of the myths, which often speak of a man as departing on a journey when seeking a bride. All these customs, cutting across the village scheme in a number of ways, must have rendered it a rather complex unit. That, in spite of all this, clan exogamy could have been maintained even in a small village is unquestionable, but the reason for this lay, we suspect, in the limitation of the concept of blood-relations. With these considerations in mind, we may, then, admit clan segregation.

### *Individual Names.*

614 With the animal appellation of the clan, one naturally associates animal names of individuals, for there is, indeed, 551 a correlation between them. Animal names of individuals 182 are, however, frequently found when the social units have names of an entirely different kind. A similar lack of correlation exists between the manner and system of naming and the type of social organization. That, on the other hand, the social organization may fundamentally influence the nature of the individual name is also apparent. Only with these points in mind can the Winnebago individual names become intelligible.

614 The study of Winnebago names can be approached from a purely static point of view, and the attempt made to bring 551 them analytically under a certain system of naming; or, on the 174 other hand, from a dynamic historical view-point. We shall try to undertake both. Every clan has a distinct set of names.

The Winnebago individual names lend themselves easily to categories of classification. We have the following classes:

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913), 1915
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614 dividual and clan *hitcak'ɔ·ro*, on the other. In the former there
572 is the bond of blood, real or fictitious, in the latter only that of mutual service. On the other hand, while the *hidek'-hitcɣeg*
[604] relation, the individual *hitcak'ɔ·ro*, and the clan *hitcak'ɔ·ro* may be all of different historical origin, they are psychologically the same. The postulation even of a fictitious blood bond between the different individual *hitcak'ɔ·ro* and the clan *hitcak'ɔ·ro* is not unheard of. For the *hitcak'ɔ·ro*[1] relation of individuals this is
[597] always possible, for if one individual dies, his *hitcak'ɔ·ro* is generally adopted to fill his place. On the other hand, the myths seem to
[582] indicate that no blood bone was regarded as existing between them, for they generally married each other's sisters.

[174] What historical relation the clan *hitcak'ɔ·ro* bears to the individual *hitcak'ɔ·ro* relation of individuals, it is impossible to state, but the remarks made before are pertinent here, and no genetic relationship need be postulated.

### *The "Servant" Relationship.*

614 The *hitcak'ɔ·ro* relation is entirely one between equals, irrespective of the inequality of one member of this grouping, with regard to the other, in social standing. The Bear clan is, for instance, incomparably greater than the Wolf, but this is entirely forgotten here. In addition to this "friendship," there seems to exist a faintly developed "servant" relation. The concept of servant is not that conveyed by the English word. It means essentially that a certain clan performs a service for another without that specific service being reciprocal. Among the Winnebago such a relation exists between the Thunderbird and Buffalo, and the Thunderbird and Elk clans. This is not to be confused with the general subordination of all the other clans to the Thunderbird and Bear clans when these exercise their specific governmental functions. This "servant" relation-
[203] ship between the Thunderbird and Buffalo clans is politically expressed by the fact that a member of the latter visits the
[174] chief every morning to receive certain directions from him, which he then announces to the whole village. But this relation-
[621] ship expresses itself in another more striking manner—the

1 [i.e. - "friendship" relation - ANALYST]

2. Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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lodge of the Buffalo clan is on the *wangeregi* side of the village circle, although the Buffalo clan is one of the *mąnegi* clans. In explanation of this fact we might, on the one hand, assume that its relationship to the chief clan influenced its position in the village, or that it always was there. The latter seems rather improbable, in the face of the unanimity of agreement as to its inclusion among the *mąnegi* clans, and we may, therefore, provisionally accept the hypothesis of a shifting of position from one side to the other. As this might entail a possible readjustment of the Buffalo clan, as regards exogamy, we tried to obtain as many instances of Buffalo intermarriages as possible. No case of intermarriage with the *wangeregi* clans was found. However, as only eight cases were instanced, no safe inference can be drawn. 614 621 174

The "servant" relation of the Elk clan to the Thunderbird expresses itself in the fact that the former takes care of the fire-places of the latter while on the warpath, etc., and that the members are supposed to distribute the fire to the other clans. In the social customs this relationship is perhaps shown by a certain preference of the Elk to intermarry with the Thunderbird clan. This preference is not reciprocal. The word preference is used with the added significance of being consciously expressed, and differs from a tendency to intermarriage which may exist between the clans, but which is not present in their consciousness. Some Winnebago informants even went so far as to postulate a *hitcak'ɔ'ro* relation between the Elk and Thunderbird clan. 614 [372] 614 582 614

Among the Osage a marked development of the "servant" relationship is found. [171]

Viewed from a broad point of view, the reciprocal social and religious services of one clan toward another in the *hitcak'ɔ'ro* and "servant" relations are similar in nature to the political functions of the clan, and they may be taken as another indication of the association of political, social, and religious functions with a strongly individualized social unit. 614 182

### *The Specific Possessions of the Clan.*

Among the Omaha, a number of clans have in their possession certain objects, around which not merely the clan but also 171 614 778

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935

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than one treaty with the United States. Similarly the lists of signers of the 171
treaties of June 3rd, 1816, August 19th, 1825, etc., between the Winnebago 174
and the United States indicate the existence of gentes not in the published
lists, but which have analogues among other Siouan tribes. I feel certain 614
that a study of the names of the signers of treaties between United States [648]
and such Siouan tribes as have distinctive clan-names (and similar non-Siouan tribes) would yield valuable results. And a study of the personal names of such tribes in older writers would also pay. In this connection I may say that from Atwater's book, using this technique, it can be readily determined that the Eagle and Elk gentes were in existence among the Winnebago in addition to those specifically mentioned by him. The treaties furnish a few others, e.g., Earth, Sky. In this connection I may say that it is clear from the names of the signers of the treaty of May 13th, 1816 that at least the following Sauk gentes were in existence: Sturgeon, Eagle, Thunder, Bear, Swan, Wolf, Fox, Partridge, Sea. It is not without interest to note that all these save Partridge and Fox are on Forsyth's list of 1827.[13] If we count Partridge as the equivalent of Grouse, all occur in Jones' list printed in the Handbook of American Indians in the article *Sauk*. Sturgeon, Swan, and Partridge are not in Skinner's list. Sturgeon, Eagle, Sea (= Great Water), Bear, Thunder, Partridge (= Pheasant), Wolf, and Fox occur in Galland's list. Wolf, Bear, Eagle, Sturgeon, Fox, Sea, and Thunder occur in Morgan's list. If we pool M. R. Harrington's two lists we find Thunder, Fox, Wolf, Bear, Swan, Sturgeon, Eagle on them. A knowledge of the names on the tribal rolls from the earliest times would doubtless shed much light on the subject.

It should be mentioned that Radin argues for a priority of village groups, 174
but states that according to all informants each Winnebago village was in-
habited by members of various clans, and that in no case did a village 621
merely include members of the same clan. Observe the contradiction with 614
Atwater's data. 114

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can Indian Languages (Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, 40, Pt. 1). There are equivalents in several Siouan languages. In the Siouan sketch Radin gives kec'û'ñgegā as a personal name, "the tortoise," and ke'c'û'ñgera as "you, tortoise," and in note 38 of the Winnebago text we are told that ke'c'ûñk or kec'û'ñgā is a large species of turtles, and that kē also means "turtle." La Flesche gives ke (in my transcription) for the Osage for "turtle, tortoise, terrapin," but Dorsay gives k'e (in my transcription) for both Osage and Quapaw, but ke (in my transcription) for Omaha; k'eya, "tortoise," is given by Deloria for Dakota. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the formation of personal names in Winnebago to be positive whether ra is the pronoun "thou" (vocative; see notes 39 and 46 to Radin's Winnebago text) or whether kera may be an archaic correspondent to Dakota k'eya with the recognized shift of y to r. [551]

[13] They are in his Fox list.

G2
291
142



[Facing p. 66(B)]

a. BLACK WOLF, CHIEF OF THE WINNEBAGO VILLAGE AT BLACK WOLF POINT, LAKE WINNEBAGO, 1827

(From Lewis's Aboriginal Portfolio)

b. FOUR LEGS, CHIEF
VILLAGE ON D

(From Lewis's Ab

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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622
291
411
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ANNUAL REPORT PLATE 2

OF THE WINNEBAGO
TY ISLAND, 1927

ginal Portfolio)

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# CHAPTER VI

## WARFARE AND THE COUNCIL LODGE

### Warfare

721 War was one of the most important elements in the life of the
[183] Winnebago. The life of the warrior was the ideal toward which all men strove. It not only satisfied certain emotional needs but it
[554] was so inextricably interwoven with social standing in the community and with individual prestige that Winnebago life is unthinkable without it. It is not surprising, then, that the prayer for
[782] success on the warpath was the most important prayer that men offered up to the spirits and that it was reechoed in almost all the ceremonies. (Pls. 43, 44, 45.)

An element of culture fraught with so much significance to the individual and the social group was bound to be surrounded by innumerable customs, regulations, and restrictions. It was a life that was at stake every time an individual went on the warpath, and remembering the value of each life to a small community, it is not to be wondered at if there is a definite attempt on the part of the social group to restrict individual activity in this particular regard. An individual might go on the warpath either alone or in company with a few people, but the community, in the person of the chief, insisted that he show some warrant for his action. If no warrant of
[626] any kind could be given, he subjected himself to the only restrictive measures the chief and the community could adopt, disapproval, jeers, and temporary loss of social standing and prestige. So much, as far as his own person was concerned. If his action jeopardized the life or lives of other members of the tribe he had then to face
[636] the relatives of these people, just as any individual who had committed some wrong. It is hardly likely that many men would willingly run any risks of unnecessarily antagonizing their fellow tribesmen when the proper means of preparing for the warpath was open to all. A careful perusal of the system of education given on page 166 makes it clear that a sufficiently large number of methods for obtaining consent to lead a party were given, and that it was possible for every male individual to go on the warpath frequently if he so desired. Certain requirements were, however, necessary. It was not left to each individual to decide for himself
[622] whether he possessed these, but the final decision always lay in the hands of the chief.

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727 etc. Then the war leader would secretly tell some one to select a stake (for the Victory Dance) and after a short time all the members of the war party would rush in and march around the entire village striking the scalps that they had tied to sticks. Then they would all go to the place where the stake had been put up and there they would distribute the war prizes to the sisters of the men who had won them and the women would walk around proudly with the prizes around their necks. Then, in the daytime
701 they would dance the Victory Dance and in the evening they would dance the
721 Hok'izere Dance for four nights.

[115] *Description of a war party.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

[787] If a man wishes to go on the warpath he must fast and be blessed by the spirits in a specific manner. If a man is thus blessed, he gives a feast and announces his intention of leading a war party. The chief always has a representative at such a feast (a member of the Buffalo clan), and as soon as it is over this man goes to the former and reports
[622] to him. If the chief thinks that the blessing is insufficient and might cause the death of many men he takes the war leader's pipe and lays it across his path and the war leader is then compelled to abandon his undertaking. This action on the part of the chief is sacred and must be accepted as final. The war leader dare not step across the pipe. Should the chief, however, not do this, then the war leader knew that there was no objection. Usually some members of every clan go along, but especially members of the Thunderbird, Warrior, and Bear clans.

The action of the war leader is controlled by many rules. He must be the one who has fasted and been blessed with all that is essential for conducting a war party. He must have his food provided for him by the spirits, know the exact location of the enemy, their numbers, and their sex.

726 After the war party has traveled for about four days, the men offer tobacco to the
701 leader and he tells them where he is going, the number of the enemy, etc. If, after that, any of the members of the war party do not approve of the undertaking then they place a pipe across his path and the war leader is compelled to return. If nothing is said, then all is well. The war leader always goes ahead of his party and his attendants behind him, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever the chief stops his attendants run to his side, take his war bundle and place it in front of him. Then the leader sits down, neither turning to the right nor to the left but looking straight ahead. The attendants get two poles and place them on each side of him, bend the ends over to form an arch, on each side of which are placed small oak sticks arranged in a row. Under this structure the war leader stays. Here he sleeps and is
[614] fed by his attendants. No one is permitted to go ahead of this improvised structure. On each side of him two fireplaces are placed, two for the Upper clans and two for the Lower clans. If the war party is traveling westward the two fireplaces on the north side belong to the Lower clans and the two on the south side to the Upper clans. If a man is going on a warpath for the first time, he stays in the rear of the party and has a little fire of his own. He remains in the rear in this way until the battle begins. Then he joins the others.

A member of the Warrior clan is selected by the war leader to act as guard and he goes back and forth behind him encouraging the men and telling them not to steal away alone or go too far ahead of the party, since that always results in the loss of life. It is for this reason that it is not considered correct for a man to try and steal away and perhaps obtain a war honor in this selfish manner. Whenever the war leader stops he tells his companions what they must do in order to obtain food, all this information having been provided for in his blessing. If he tells some one to go to a certain place and kill a deer, he is certain to find a deer at the place specified. Whenever the war leader gets up and steps over his war bundle the attendants come and place his war
[782] bundle on his back and he then proceeds on his march, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever he comes to a river he takes some of the tobacco which is

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867 787 the warpath.[1] So they say. If you do not become an individual warranted to lead a war party, yet mistaking yourself for one although really an ordinary warrior, you "throw away a man," your act will [686 be considered most disgraceful. A mourner might harm you in 627] revenge for the fact that you have caused him to mourn, and burn you with embers. Your people will all be sad, both on account of your disgrace and on account of the pain inflicted upon you.

787 My son, not with the blessing of one of the spirits merely, nor with 867 the blessing of twenty, for that matter, can you go on the warpath. 776 You must have the blessing of all the spirits above the earth, and of all those on the earth, and of all those who are pierced through the earth;[2] of all those under the earth; of all those who are under the water; of all those that are on the sides of the earth, i. e., all the four winds; of the Disease-giver;[3] of the Sun; of the Daylight;[4] of the Moon; of the Earth; and of all those who are in control of war powers—with the blessings of all these deities must you be provided before you can lead a successful war party.

867 554 My son, if you cast off dress[5] men will be benefited by your deeds. You will be an aid to all your people. If your people honor you, it will be good. And they will like you even the more if you obtain a

721 787 701 686 [622

[1] Among the Winnebago any individual who has been blessed with the necessary powers to lead a warpath may do so, but it is absolutely essential that his blessing directing him be of such a nature that every possible contingency is included therein. Such complete blessings are, of course, not common nor can they be obtained except through unusual exertions. If you are blessed with just the ordinary or incomplete war powers and you nevertheless undertake to lead a war party, you may either be defeated or perhaps only partially successful, and, what is worse, you may lose some of the warriors who started with you. Your restlessness has thus caused the death of some of your fellow tribesmen. It is necessary that every warrior before starting on the warpath turn his "blessing" over to the chief of the tribe for examination, and if the chief considers it complete the warrior is not held responsible for the lack of success or loss of life. If the chief does not consider an individual's blessing sufficient to justify the object he has in view and forbids the warrior to go, and if the latter nevertheless goes, or, granted the case he does not even submit his "blessing" to the chief for scrutiny, and consequent, then he is held directly responsible for any mishap on the warpath. The relatives of any individual thus killed may hold the war leader responsible and demand compensation; or, as is indicated by H. a few lines later, a mourner (i. e., one who has been placed in mourning by the criminal inadvertence of the war leader) might attack, perhaps kill him, without being held guilty of any crime. It must of course be understood that such occurrences would seldom take place. We must, however, remember throughout these "teachings" that one of the objects of the old men was to draw the most alluring pictures of the rewards that would fall to the lot of those who followed in the footsteps of their ancestors, and, on the other hand, to draw the most hideous pictures of the wretchedness that befell those who deviated, no matter in what detail, from the customs established by them.

773 776 [2] According to the Winnebago creation myth, when Earthmaker, the creator of the earth, first came to consciousness and began creating life on the earth on which we were to live was in continual motion, and nothing that the former could do seemed to be able to stop it. From above he threw down grass, trees, etc., but all was of no avail. Finally he hit upon the happy expedient of pinning the earth down at the four corners by means of four enormous snakes, or, as some say, by means of four mythical animals known as water spirits. It is to these that the old men in referring here. According to the story, even these were of no avail, and it was only when he finally placed four mythical beings known as "Island Weights" at the four corners that our planet stopped spinning. These "Island Weights" seem to be identical with the spirits of the four cardinal points, but they are not to be confused with the four winds mentioned later.

776 [3] A deity conceived of as dealing out life-giving powers from one half of his body and death-dealing powers from the other half. He is also supposed to disseminate disease. Disease-giver is a literal translation of the Winnebago word, but this probably does not convey the exact meaning. There seems to be no parallel to this peculiar deity among the other Siouan tribes or among the Algonquins.

822 [4] Daylight or light is conceived of as something different and distinct from the sun.

735 [5] That is, if you give away things frequently, especially to your people.

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614 political function as upon anything else. The exact time when this
182 socialization took place is of no great import here. Among the Winnebago, for instance, some individuals claim that the functions of the public crier were inherent in the Buffalo clan, while others
614 insist that any person who had counted coup four times was eligible
203 for the office. Now, in this case not only is it possible but it is
182 extremely probable that the office of public crier was originally con-
554 nected with an individual, and that subsequently it became associated with the Buffalo clan, probably by reason of a certain relationship existing between this clan and the Chief clan. It must, of course, be remembered that a grouping had already taken place, because the requirement of having counted coup four times made a large number of warriors potentially public criers. Its association with membership in the Buffalo clan represented, on the one hand, a restriction of the number of individuals, and on the other hand, the addition of another qualification. Historically, then, the qualification of membership in the clan supplanted the other qualifications, at least in the eyes of a number of individuals. What has been said of the development of the functions of the Buffalo may also be generally applied to the Warrior or Hawk clan.

614 Political functions may, however, become connected with a group
182 unit without the individual playing any rôle either in directing or in developing it. The functions of preserving peace and of acting as intermediary, that among the Winnebago are connected with the Thunderbird clan, and the police and disciplinary functions connected with the Bear clan, may represent such types of association. In the absence of historical data, no demonstration can be made. It will, however, be shown later that association of ceremonial-religious functions with a social unit has actually occurred. That the police and disciplinary functions of the Bear clan developed from functions of individuals, on the basis of requirements similar to those of the public crier, is quite improbable, and no indication of that exists. Similarly the functions of the Thunderbird clan do not lend themselves readily to such an interpretation. But even should we accept the necessity for the priority of the one over the other types of association, we must still insist that psychologically the functions are in each case associated with a group unit.

Four of the Winnebago clans have specific political functions the details of which are discussed elsewhere. The Thunderbird, the chief clan, and in addition to the fact that the chief of the tribe is
[623] selected from it, has important functions connected with the preservation of peace; the Warrior clan has functions connected with war; the Bear clan, those relating to policing and discipline, both within the village and while on the hunt, etc.; and the Buffalo clan, those relating to the office of public crier and intermediary between the

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From these facts it is quite clear that, as far as the Thunderbird clan is concerned, the prevailing belief as to the relation of the members of the clan to the clan ancestor is but feebly substantiated by the origin myths. 614 773 114

As mentioned before, the chief of the tribe was selected from the Thunderbird clan, although the selection was apparently restricted to certain families. The functions of the chief of the tribe were connected with peace. He could not lead a war party, although, according to some, he could accompany one. His lodge stood either in the center of the village or at the south end, according to which of the two descriptions one cares to accept, and contained a sacred fireplace, around which only members of the Thunderbird clan could sit. This lodge was an asylum for all wrongdoers. No one could be killed there, and a prisoner who succeeded in making his escape to it was spared. Even a dog destined for a sacrifice at the war-bundle feast was freed if he took refuge in it. The Thunderbird chief always acted as intercessor between wrongdoers and their avengers. Even in so extreme a case as the murder of a clansman, he would always attempt a reconciliation by which the life of the murderer might be spared. If necessary, the chief would mortify himself, and with skewers inserted in his back have himself led through the village to the home of the nearest kinspeople of the murdered person. 614 622 [778] [682 304]

The chief seems to have had some other miscellaneous functions, the most important of which was, perhaps, his right to prevent an unauthorized war party to depart from the village. If he, as an older man and guardian of peace and the best interests of the tribe, felt that a war party was taking too many risks, he would take his pipe and place it across the path of the one contemplating an unwarranted expedition and thus signify his disapproval. If then the war party chose to go, any mishap was directly chargeable to the leader who disobeyed. Should anyone be killed, the leader was regarded almost in the same light as a willful murderer, and the kinsmen of the deceased warrior could demand redress. 622 721 [886]

Our main informant for the Thunderbird clan summarized the functions as follows: 622 614

The chief is chosen from one of the "greater" Thunderbird clans[1] and must be a man of well balanced temper, not easily provoked, and of good habits. The one sacred object he possesses is his pipe. He must be a peacemaker and love all the people in the tribe, the little children included. [156]

If he saw a man, woman, or child passing by, he was to call them in and give them food to eat, for they were his brothers and sisters. All the relatives he has are to look after his peacemakes and keep him well supplied, for he was supposed to give away things constantly. If any person came to borrow some object from him, he would tell [831]

[1] Modified the Thunderbird clans into two groups, the real Thunderbird and the Warrior clans. This latter is indeed was identical with the Thunderbirds who owned the rain and who were quite different from the other Thunderbirds.

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622 614 the man that, since he was without this particular thing, to keep it and use it for all time.

The public crier, a member of the Buffalo clan, was supposed to report to the chief early every morning and receive instructions. The crier would then go all around the [203 624] village making the chief's desires known.

The chief had a representative at every council, generally his brother. 623

The chief of the village is a peacemaker, and if two members of the tribe ever get into difficulties (i. e., quarrel) he is supposed to intervene. If in a quarrel a person should be killed, the chief would go to the murderer and tell the latter to permit himself to be tied up (i. e., to give himself up to the relatives of the murdered man). If [682] the murderer consents to do so, then his arms are tied behind him and the chief walks in front of him carrying his sacred pipe. Thus they would go to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives. When they got there the chief would extend the stem of the pipe toward them. They might refuse to accept the pipe thus extended, but if any member of the family, even if it be a small child, were to take a puff from it, then the murderer would be forgiven and turned free.

This is the capacity of a Winnebago chief.

622 614 682 Another description of the chief's rôle as intercessor for a murderer is as follows:

When the Thunderbird chief wishes to save a murderer they take one of their own chiefs, one who is well beloved, paint his back blue, and put skewers in his back, to which they tie cords. Thus he is taken to the lodge of the murdered person's relatives. The chief, when he gets there, holds his pipe of tobacco in both hands. Should the relations not wish to accept the peace offering they close the door in his face. Then he returns.

614 778 [411] The Thunderbird clan possessed a type of war club called a bald-headed war club, which was sacred to this clan alone, and a miniature of which was always buried with a dead body. The only other possessions were the clan war bundles. The Winnebago often speak as though each clan had but one of these palladiums, but there seems to be little doubt but that there were at least two and probably more in each clan. These war bundles must be regarded as the common possession of the clan at the present time, for they can not be alienated from the clan.[1] For all practical purposes, however, they are the private property of certain individuals or families.

614 372 Fire was considered a sacred possession of the Thunderbird clan. As mentioned before, an individual was supposed never to ask for a firebrand from the fire of any member of the clan and was never permitted to sit near such a fireplace. If, nevertheless, anyone should be immodest enough to ask for one of these objects, he would be refused, but he would be permitted to ask for any conceivable thing else. The following incident will serve as an example of the 685 definite way in which this peculiar custom works. An old Winne-

[1] This point was very forcibly impressed upon the author when he tried to obtain the war bundle of a man who had become a member of the Peyote cult. The man was perfectly willing to part with it, but after repeated requests to those who happened to possess it at that particular time, he admitted that it belonged to the clan, although they could not have taken it away from him had he remained a believer in the old faith.

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the matter. If, on the other hand, he submitted to whatever punishment the Bear clansmen inflicted on him without resistance and apologized to them, then they would build him a new lodge and supply it with better goods than those which they had been compelled to destroy. 614 625

This is the way in which the soldiers act when they are on duty. They never jest and their word is a command. If it is not immediately obeyed, their next move is to punish. For that reason one generally listens to them and their commands. When they are not on duty they are the same as other people. Different members of the tribe are on duty at different times, for the leader changes them about frequently.

If a field of rice is found in some swamp or lake the Bear clan people are informed and they go over and keep watch over it and give every person an equal chance at picking it. If a person sneaks away and takes advantage of the others, the Bear clan people punish him. [222 262] [685]

The Bear clansmen guard the village almost all the time. When a council is held they guard the council lodge, and when a person is tried for some crime, particularly that of murder, a trial which generally takes place in the Thunderbird clan lodge, then they carefully guard this lodge, lest the prisoner try to escape or his relatives or confederates try to rescue him. [623 692 682]

Certain actions and remarks are not permitted in the Bear clan lodge. They are the following: 614 625 784

To peep into the lodge.

To make the remark that they live in a nice lodge.

To sit in the doorway.

To give a deep sigh or snort inside the lodge.

Should any person do one of these forbidden things, the Bear clansmen would be compelled to give the most valued thing in the lodge to the offender.

If a man seduced a woman, he was brought to the lodge of the Bear clan and severely whipped. If the soldier whipped him too severely, he in turn was whipped. 614 625 684

If a murderer was brought to the Bear clan lodge and the chief of the tribe asked that the man be freed, the rest of the tribe would beg the relatives of the murdered man to relent; but if the murderer was turned over to the soldiers, they would take him to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives and let one of them kill him. [622 682]

According to one informant, the Deer clansmen acted as servants to the Bear clan. 614

The Bear and the Wolf clans are friends, and although, as we indicated on page 201, each clan is paired off with another, the relationship of the Bear and Wolf clans is particularly intimate. It was even claimed that a Bear clansman would revenge the death of a Wolf clansman. For no other clans did the author hear this statement made. The women are addressed by the men and by each other as "my opposite," referring unquestionably to the positions in the council lodge. [551]

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 614 551

Hirdjaxgga.....White-faced.
Hirdjadjagga.....Four-eyed.
Hirp'ixiga.....Good-haired.
Hirtcuga.....Blue-faced.
Hunimanh'a.....She who sits howling.
Manidjagga.....Four walking.
Hanagh'ga.....Throws up the earth (with his hind legs).
Ma'ah'aratcuminagh'a.....He who sits on the tree tanks.
Nindjahaga.....Coming from the water.
Nindjawanik'iriga.....He who brings them back from the water.
P'utcuga.....Green forehead.
P'u-ogaga.....He who has a white forehead
P'ûtcuhaga.....Big mud person.
Xo-aruminagh'a.....He who sits on a bare hill.
Xo-anik'a.....He who dwells in a hill.
Xo-anirugu.....He who travels to the hill.
Sinirugu.....Bushy tail.
Tracawiga.....He who holds a deer in his mouth.
Tradawiga.....He who carries deer-foot in his mouth.
Tromaghohaga.....Chief wolf.
Tromaghotrowiaga.....First wolf.
Tromiminagh'a.....Sits as a leader.
Wanaxiaga.....He from whom nothing is hidden.
Wawaxiaiaga.....He who carries something in his mouth.
Warawigaga.....Comes back with something in his mouth.
Warazowiaga.....She who chews.
Wirap'aga.....He who lies in wait for them.

## The Water-Spirit Clan 614

### INTRODUCTION

A rather poor version of the Water-spirit clan was obtained. It is, however, one of the few clan origin myths that contains the definite statement that the clan ancestors changed into human beings when they gathered at Green Bay. [173]

The functions of the Water-spirit clan were, in former times, exceedingly important. Almost all the informants were agreed that a chief was selected from that clan, but the exact nature of this chieftainship is not clear. One informant, himself a member of the Bear clan, said that the Water-spirit clan was the chief of the lower phratry; that the clans were arranged in three groups, one over which the Thunderbird clan ruled; another over which the Water-spirit clan ruled; and a third over which the Bear clan ruled. He insisted, however, that just as the Thunderbird clan rules over the whole tribe in a general way, so the Water-spirit clan ruled over the clans of the lower phratry. Other informants claimed that the Water-spirit clan originally ruled over the entire tribe and that its place was subsequently usurped by the Thunderbird clan. It might be best to regard the function of the Water-spirit clan as akin but subsidiary to that of the Thunderbird clan. [622] [554]

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they gave one another. Thus they have the names *White-hair, Fast-one, Little-white-teeth, Diffident-one, Horn, Pronged-horn*, etc.; and for dogs they have names also. That is the way the deer people lived in the beginning at Red Banks, Within Lake. Bands of people gathered together there, and all the clans that exist now originated there. 539 776 614

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

The Deer clan people came up at the beginning of the earth. Only one is spoken of as appearing at the beginning. He started forth but returned again that he might look for a companion. For that reason a name exists in the tribe, *He-who-comes-back*, and another is *He-who-appears-first*. After they had appeared on earth the deer blew on the original fire, which was only smoldering, and made it blaze up. For that reason they claim a partial chieftainship. The first one that appeared had a chief's medal around his neck. [551]

CLAN SONG. 614 533

I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.

CLAN NAMES

WA HIK'IK'ARADJERA (DEER CLAN)

Teaxephôgk'a.....Black deer chief. 614
Wagizena'pi'ga.....Wears shells around neck. 551
Teanôgkra'pi'e'ings.....Deer vagina.
Mank'ingaxepgat.....Appears in the middle of earth
Teatcoaiwings.....First deer woman.

## The Elk Clan

INTRODUCTION

In the Elk clan origin myth we find the clear statement that Earth-maker created the ancestors of the clan, and that they were human beings. The myth resembles a village origin myth more than it does a clan origin myth. 614 [773 776]

The Elk clan seems to have had certain functions relative to the distribution of fire through the village and in camp. It was never a very large clan.

The Elk people claim half of the fire, and thus half of the chieftainship. They never hold fire toward any one. [372]

Elks are buried by the Snake, Water-spirit, and Eagle clans, although the first has the preference. [622] [764]

White clay is used in painting the dead.

According to another informant, the facial painting consisted of white and blue dots on the face (pl. 46). [502]

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unsatisfactory. Apparently his statement is based upon the occurrence of four mythical ancestors. The similarity of the Winnebago social organization with that of the Dhegiha and Tciwere branches of the Siouan family, in which subclans seem to be found, appears to have influenced Dorsey considerably in making this assumption. 796 614 [114]

It is true that in their account of origins the Warrior clan speak of themselves as having sprung from the second of the birds mentioned in the origin myth of the Thunderbird clan and this statement permits us to infer that the other two clans bear a similar relationship to those four ancestral birds who, according to legend, alit on a tree near Red Banks. But this is, of course, merely a mythical account, and the data imbedded in the clan myths must be used with the greatest caution in so far as they can be expected to throw any light on early conditions of social organization.

All that we can say now is that the chief feast will have to be considered as belonging to all the four bird clans. But this is not to be interpreted to mean that an amalgamation of four historically distinct feasts has taken place, nor that, on the other hand, the four clans were originally subdivisions of one unit.

*The Chief feast.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:* 796 The chief of the tribe is at the head of all the different bands and groups of people that exist among the Winnebago. As chief he has full charge of them. All the others are, so to say, his attendants and servants. When his people wish anything they go to him and ask him to obtain a blessing for them. Thus all the members of the tribe, the children as well as the mature men, go to him, and to help them the chief gives the feast known as the chief feast. He sacrifices to Earthmaker, and all who are present offer up some little gift in thankfulness, as this is a thing of supreme sacredness. All those who are present—the children, the women, the middle-aged, and the old men—in fact, whosoever attends the feast, see to it that they eat some of the food distributed. 622

As this feast is given in honor of their chief, all the members of the tribe, but most particularly the members of the Bird clan, prepare large offerings, so that there should be abundant food to eat. They bring all kinds of food—different kinds of meat, different kinds of vegetables, all manner of berries—in short, all sorts of edibles. These are to be offered to the spirits, and by means of these offerings they expect that their life will be filled with all that is good. It is to obtain these blessings that the feast is given. [614] [782]

When his people get sick, when it appears that an epidemic is likely, then the chief also gives the chief feast. It is for the purpose [755]

* Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain a full and detailed account of this feast. As in type, however, all the clan feasts are identical, this deficiency can be made up in part by comparing it with those feasts like the snake, bear, and buffalo that have been obtained in considerable detail.

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796 622 of stopping the spread of the sickness, whatever it may be, and for repairing the ravages caused thereby. For this the feasters pray "May our people recover and thrive," they say. "May they never get sick." Then they make all those present offer up tobacco. As [782] each one offers tobacco Earthmaker is aware of it and accepts. Thereby do we live and become strengthened. If Earthmaker smokes the tobacco offered him he will give life in return. The people offer tobacco that they may obtain life.

[614] 622 They call the Thunderbird people chiefs, and it is from among their ranks that they select the chief of the tribe.[8]

It is the duty of the chief to ward off all evils. This is one of their missions in life. They preach only what is good.

"Chief," they used to say to him, "try to do something for your people. Try to accomplish something difficult for them. Try to accomplish something difficult for your village. If you accomplish such a thing for the benefit of your people they will look up to you and respect you. Have pity on your people and love them. If a man is very poor, help him. Give him and his family food. Whatever they ask, give it to them. If your people get into trouble with one another, take your pipe and, walking in front, die for them, if necessary. From actions like these they will know that you are really their chief. There, in front of them, with your pipe in your hands, you will be lying on the ground, dead.

"If your people are about to sacrifice a dog and he gets loose and runs into your tent, you must let them have something in place of this dog for their feast. Do not let them kill the dog in your lodge. This would be sacrilegious. Grant the dog his life. Similarly, if an individual who has murdered a person escapes and takes refuge in your lodge, give him his life. Use all the wealth you have and give it to him, that he may employ it to make peace with the relatives of the person he has killed. Help these people who are in need. Do not think of your wealth. When that is gone you will get some more. Do your duty. Do not pass anyone unnoticed, not even a child. If people have come and asked you for something, do not let them go away without attempting to do something for them. You are a chief. Do some good for your people. In that way you will show that you are a chief. 'Our chief,' they will all call you. The children that see you will call you chief. Whoever talks to you will call you chief. If you are good to your people, they will show their respect by being bashful in your presence. If you are not good to them they will not think you a chief and they will not be bashful in your presence. So, at all times, do as a chief ought to do. Be good-natured to all the people and in this way you will show that

[8] What follows is a typical speech delivered by a member of the Thunderbird clan.

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you are indeed a chief. And then even the people of other tribes 622
will say that such and such people have a good chief."

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The Indians always cele- 796
brated in summer. It was a season of rejoicing because the chief 622
fed the tribe. It somewhat symbolized a mother bird feeding her young ones. The Thunderbird clan is in charge of the tribe, [614]
and when the chief feeds the tribe all rejoice and the standard is raised.

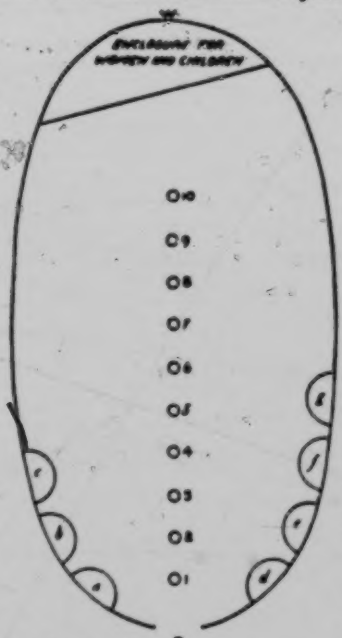


FIG. 36. Plan of Bear clan war-bundle feast as given by John Rave. a, Host. b, Relatives of host. c, Warrior clan. d, Wolf clan. e, Thunderbird clan. f, Eagle clan. g, Buffalo clan. 1, Burkskin for earthmaker. 2, Burkskin for turtle. 3, Burkskin for thunderbird. 4, Burkskin for sun. 5, Burkskin for moon. 6, Burkskin for morning star. 7, Burkskin for earth. 8, Burkskin for fire. 9, Burkskin for lucoks. 10, Burkskin for night spirits.

THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (FIRST VERSION)

Two versions of the Bear clan 614
feast (fig. 36) were obtained, for- 796
tunately both from a man and a 782
woman. The feast was generally given during the month called *Hundjus'ra* (i. e., bear month), corresponding roughly to our [805]
January.

Informant, member of the clan (female): The host tells his sister's son, or, if he should not happen to have any, a member of the Wolf clan, to build a long lodge. This attendant then fills kettles either with blueberries or raspberries or any other fruit that the bears are fond of, and places them on the fireplace. Sometimes dried corn is also brought.

The participants enter the lodge at dusk. The host precedes the invited guests. In entering they proceed in a direction contrary to the hands of the clock. The host always sits at the southeast end of the lodge and the guests occupy seats next to him, proceeding from the southeast to the northwest.

When all are seated the host rises and addresses his guests as follows:

"Members of my clan who are seated here, I greet you all. To those from whom I have sprung I make these offerings of tobacco [537]
and this headdress (i. e., red feathers). I was told by my ancestors that if I did this I would obtain for myself, for my relatives, and for

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



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a. PEYOTE LEADERS

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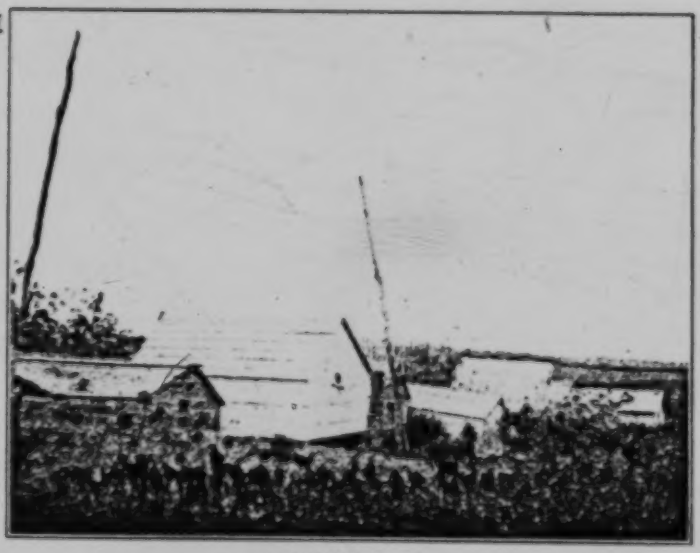

b. BURIAL HUTS

[Facing p. 388]

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12



of these two types of arrangements quite difficult. There can be no question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital regulations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in definite villages. When on the warpath, the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fire-places, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe, can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, cannot be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Tciwere. In the subsequent discussion of the clan, we will touch on this subject again. 614 616 621

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fire-places when on the warpath, each division having two fire-places, whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. If they were going west, for instance, the two fire-places for the *waŋgeregi* would be on the south and the two for the *maŋegi* would be on the north side. On the other hand, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the divisions exists. 726 616

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the Chief feast (*huŋk'wohq*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name (*huŋk'wohq*) would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Huŋk'* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the *waŋgeregi* division. 614 616 574

As the basis of organization in a game the twofold division finds expression in ceremonial lacrosse. There the *waŋgeregi* are always pitted against the *maŋegi*. A well-known myth is associated with this arrangement, according to which the animal ancestors of the *waŋgeregi* and *maŋegi* decided their respective rank by playing a game where they were organized on this basis. The *waŋgeregi* won, and it is for this reason that the chiefs of the tribe have been selected from that division. The division of the 616 526 773 [622] 000

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935
NP12 Winnebago NP12

# SOME NOTES ON WINNEBAGO SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION[1]

*By* TRUMAN MICHELSON

114 THE easily accessible accounts of Winnebago social organization are Morgan's Ancient Society,[2] J. O. Dorsey's Siouan Sociology,[3] the article *Winnebago* in the Handbook of American Indians, initialed by James Owen Dorsey and Paul Radin,[4] and Paul Radin's The Clan Organization of the Winnebago,[5] his Winnebago Tribe,[6] and lastly his The Social Organization of the Winnebago Indians, An Interpretation.[7]

None of these authors apparently were aware that a number of important statements on this and kindred topics are to be found in Caleb Atwater's Remarks made on a Tour to Prairie du Chien; thence to Washington City, in 1829.[8] I quote from this as follows.

614 Carrymaunee (walking turtle) a Winnebago chief carries a large Tortoise, fully
[532] extended, and beautifully painted, perfect in all its limbs, on his back as he marches onward at the head of the turtle tribe. In the same manner, Snakeskin marches at the head of the snake tribe, with the skin of a large snake tied around his neck. In fine, every tribe has its standard bearer, with appropriate emblems (p. 87).

Their form of government is aristocratical, and the whole structure of their society is equally so. The Winnebagoes are divided into seven tribes, or bands, some of these are named after animals, such as the Turtle tribe, the Snake tribe, wolf tribe, &c., and others are named after inanimate things, as the Thunder
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[623] the hands of fourteen civil Chiefs, and when they are assembled in one council, it is the grand national council.

[1] Printed by permission of the Smithsonian Institution.

[2] Page 157.

[3] Fifteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 240–41.

[4] Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, 30, Pt. 2, pp. 958–61.

[5] American Anthropologist, Vol. 12, 1910, pp. 209–19.

[6] Thirty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 181 *et seq.*

[7] Museum Bulletin, Canada Department of Mines, Geological Survey, No. 10 (Anthropological Series, No. 5).

[8] Published by Isaac N. Whiting, Columbus, Ohio, 1831. I have not seen the edition (of the same date) published by Jenkins and Glover. Atwater's The Indians of the Northwest, etc., Columbus, 1850, apparently has the same contents and pagination as his Remarks which I have seen. So we may presume that the 1831 edition (which I have not seen) of his The Indians of the Northwest is the same also. "The Writings of Caleb Atwater" (Columbus, 1833) has apparently disappeared from the Library of Congress. The proofsheets have been verified by consulting the 1850 edition, differences in capitalization being ignored.

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935

NP12 Winnebago NP12



In each village, the two civil chiefs, appoint all the officers, deemed necessary, civil and military, who obey them implicitly. There are two ways of arriving at these high stations, by birth and by election. When the father dies, if he has a son, who has arrived at the age of manhood, and who bids fair to make a good chief—that is, if he possesses a good form, has good bodily powers and mental faculties—is brave, sedate, wise and prudent, he generally succeeds his father in the government, on his father's demise. If the chief, at his death, leave no son who is qualified for the high office of chief, but wills it to some other person, he succeeds to the government. If the chief has no son at his death, it is commonly the case, that his brother's son succeeds him. The line of succession may run out for want of a lawful heir, which is always supplied by an election. It may be changed too, where the heir is unqualified for the station. Great deference is always paid to the will of the dying chief, but every such case is always laid before a full national council, whose decision is final (p. 97). 622 [624] [666]

A chief may be degraded from his rank for bad conduct. . . .

There is in every tribe, what answers to a standing army among us. The profession of arms holds out, to the great mass of the common people, the only road to the temple of fame. . . . The young man, who aspires to the honorable distinction of a "brave" or warrior, must exhibit such traits of character, as are deemed necessary for a soldier to possess, before he can be admitted into the army. When admitted, he wears on his head just as many feathers of the bald eagle, as he has slain human beings, and the size of the feathers indicate the size of his victims. . . . If the warrior has taken a captive, he has a human hand as large as life, painted either on his face, or on some part of his body, or on his blanket, some individuals have several such hands painted upon them (p. 98).* 701 703 [301] [532] [302]

At the head of the army, belonging to each tribe, there is a person who occupies the same station as a General does with us, and he appoints all the inferior officers. The chiefs when met in council, call into it, their warriors, with whom they consult, but frequently they are called to receive the orders, which are obeyed to the letter. This council call before them, persons who are interested in the trial . . . (pp. 98, 99). 701 623

If the Senate of the United States is the mildest, the most patriotic and wisest legislative assembly in the civilized world, as it truly is, the Winnebago council, is decidedly at the head of the savage world. . . . The great body of the people have very little influence, almost none, with this council, and they never appear before it unless they are summoned to attend it.—They have no voice in electing the chiefs and in fact no political influence. The civil chiefs and the chief warriors, have in their hands, the whole government of the community, and they govern as they please. Disobedience to the orders of the rulers is punished with death, though, like the British nation, the Indians are not savages enough to cut the traitor into quarters after hanging him until he is dead (pp. 99, 100). 623 [622] [687]

The female part of it, exercised the same influence among the women, that the chiefs did among the men, and the presents they expected from us, had to be better, than those given to the common people. The daughter of a chief, never mar- 554 562 [582]

* Quite different from the data given by Radin, The Winnebago Tribe, pp. 161, 162.

adopted the specific shooting ritual today practiced in the Medicine Rite. 105

It is just this contrast between the manner in which the basic older structure remained intact and yet new elements were freely adopted that is so characteristic of the Winnebago civilization. The explanation for their ability to do both these things lies in the fact that, like the Iroquois and Navajo, they have always quickly transformed and reinterpreted the influences which they absorbed from the outside. We shall shortly see how the history and analysis of the Medicine Rite illustrates all these three tendencies, the marked conservatism of old patterns, the receptivity to new ideas and the capacity for making new integrations. Before turning to this history, it will be best, first, to give a brief sketch of the Winnebago civilization as a whole, particularly those phases of the social organization, religion, ritualism and mythology, which can throw light on the Medicine Rite.

## 2. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Winnebago social organization contains two structural patterns 105
characteristic of many North American Indian tribes, first, the divi- 614
sion of the tribe into two halves and, second, the clan. Every clan 616
belongs to either one or the other of these two halves or phratries, called respectively, those-from-above or upper people and those-from-the-earth or lower people.

The phratries possess, or rather possessed at one time, a number of distinctive and fundamental functions, lay and religious. Marriage within the same phratry, for instance, was forbidden. Each phratry had different burial customs. In the ceremonial lacrosse game one was always pitted against the other.

Nowhere were these contrasting duties and functions more funda- 105
mental, however, than in the political-social realm. In the upper 614
phratry are centered, in the person of the tribal chief, all the peace 616
and humanitarian functions of the tribe. He is selected from the clan 622
generally regarded as the most important one in the tribe, the

105 thunderbird. He is the representative of peace, par excellence. He
614 cannot go to war or have anything to do with the many war cere-
616 monies of the tribe. Be it remembered that victory on the warpath is
622 the highest honor a Winnebago can attain. He must succour the needy and plead for clemency in all cases of infractions of tribal law and custom, even in case of murder. His lodge is a sacred asylum and [778] absolutely inviolate. Not only is a prisoner of war safe if he manages to take refuge there, but even a dog, about to be sacrificed, must be spared, should he manage to run into it. Naturally all the other male members of the thunderbird clan as well as all the male members of the other clans in the upper phratry, go on the warpath and seek prestige through war. But, after all, this warfare is waged against people who have no status within the tribe. Acquiescence in it does not constitute approval of violence nor is it regarded as a resort to violence. And it is this condemnation of violence for which the tribal chief and his phratry stands.

105 In contrast to this is the attitude of the chief of the lower division,
614 who always belongs to the bear clan. In him are centered pre-
616 eminently the police, the disciplinary and the war functions. He and
622 his associates police and guard the village, inflict punishment for
625 transgressions of law and custom, take charge of the whole tribe when it is on a communal warpath or engaged in hunting, etc. It is in the official lodge of the bear chief that prisoners are confined before being killed and it is in the same lodge where the sacred warbundles are stored and guarded against contamination.

105 We are dealing here with a very old and persistent classification
616 of the two opposing forces in society and one which reflects the
622 answer to a question asked repeatedly, namely, how are we to meet
182 the two aspects of life and of reality with which we are being con-
577 tinually confronted, the protective, constructive and positive, and the repelling, destructive and negative? Winnebago thinkers seemed to have been particularly fond of posing this problem.

It is not strange then, that they should have felt the contrast between the functions of the two phratries to lie, fundamentally, in their attitude toward evil. For the tribal chief evil was to be warded off before it came and always by passive methods. If that did not

succeed and evil was already upon the tribe, then his attention was directed toward alleviating the suffering caused by it and toward preventing any violence that might come in its wake. His function was to be protective and constructive. As one Winnebago told me, 'The chief of the tribe is like a motherbird feeding its young ones.'

The chief of the lower division, by contrast, went out to meet evil, attacked it ferociously when encountered, and paid little attention to the violent mood it developed among the defender-assailants. The important thing was to attack, fight and gain the victory.

The two opposing approaches to the problem can best be illustrated by the attitudes of the two chiefs toward sickness and murder. The tribal chief meets the first by giving a feast of conciliation and making direct appeals to Earthmaker. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, immediately starts in pursuit of it. With his assistants he makes the circuit of the village four times to look for its cause. He is on the warpath and should a dog cross his path, he is immediately killed. Then he pays a visit to the sick people, dances before them and lays his hands upon them.

If a murder has been committed, the tribal chief not only intercedes for the life of the murderer but actually, if need be, offers to take the place of the malefactor. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, seizes the murderer and conducts him to the family of the murdered person to be punished.

The objects associated with the two chiefs are typical and symbolical of their activities. For the first it is the peace-pipe, the emblem of conciliation and humility; for the second, a curiously formed baton, the emblem of punishment and pain, with which, when need be, he strikes those who transgress.

The recognition of these two aspects of social life and reality, contradictory, colliding, complementary, had its counterpart in the Winnebago analysis of human nature. There too, they insisted, good and evil, the spiritual and the material, the sacred and the profane, seemed forever at strife and forever striving for reconciliation, neutralization or fusion. This philosophy, we shall now see, is reflected, particularly, in mythology, religion and ritualism.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



## The Council Lodge

*The clan in the council lodge.*—There is one place where the clan finds representation as a political unit, and that is the council lodge. No unanimity seems to exist with regard to the positions of the various clans in the council lodge, but here again the position of those clans with specific governmental functions seems to be far more stable than that of the others. The clans are generally so seated as always to be opposite their "friend" clan, from which fact a clan frequently calls its friend "my opposite." It is, however, interesting to note that this seating does not hold for two friend groups, the Water-spirit-Buffalo and Elk-Deer. The Water-spirit clan occupies a high position in the council lodge, apparently quite out of proportion to its present importance in the social organization of the tribe, but in consonance with its former importance. 614 623

*Councils.*—No important undertaking was ever attempted without the holding of a council. On such occasions the principal members of each clan would assemble in a long lodge and discuss in great detail. Nothing comparable to a vote that might express the desire of those assembled was taken, but the opinions of those present were always presented in their speeches. As a rule the chief, or some person especially interested in definite matter, led the discussion. Owing to the complete absence of specific examples of councils it is very difficult to obtain a very clear idea of their working. The numerous councils relating to treaties with the whites are of very little interest or significance in this connection.

There was unquestionably a regular order of entering and seating in the council lodge. What this order was it is impossible to determine now, for the statements made by different informants were contradictory. Since, however, the contradictions in the seating arrangements seemed to be correlated with different clan membership the discrepancies may be due, not to lack of knowledge but to actual differences. A few examples of the seating arrangements follow (figs. 29–32):

*Description of order of entering the council lodge.*—Informant, member of Bear clan. The Buffalo clan would always be the last to enter the council lodge because the members remained outside making announcements until all the others had entered. The members of the Thunderbird clan enter first, making a circuit of the lodge before taking their seats. The members of the Warrior clan followed and took their seats just opposite those of the Thunderbird clan. Then the Water-spirit clan follows, and then come the rest as indicated in the diagram. This is the only place where the Bear clan is not in control of the arrangements. 614 623 534

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



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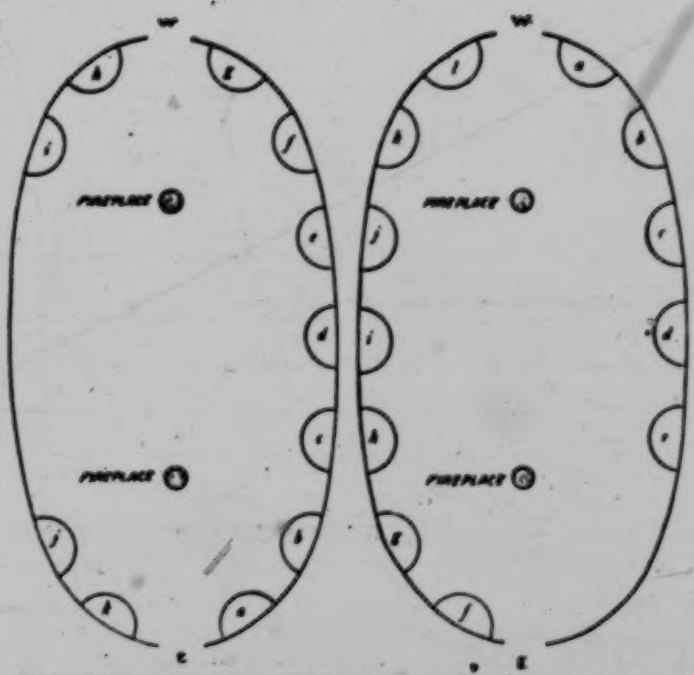


FIG. 23.—Seating arrangement in council lodge according to Thunderbird clan: a, Warrior clan; b, Water-spirit clan; c, Deer clan; d, Elk clan; e, Pigeon clan; f, Wolf clan; g, Bear clan; h, Snake clan; i, Buffalo clan; j, Eagle clan; k, Thunderbird clan. (The order of importance is from b-a.)

FIG. 24.—Seating arrangement in council lodge according to Bear clan: a, Thunderbird clan; b, Bear clan; c, Wolf clan; d, Pigeon clan; e, Eagle clan; f, Snake clan; g, Fish clan; h, Elk clan; i, Buffalo clan; j, Deer clan; k, Water-spirit clan; l, Warrior clan.

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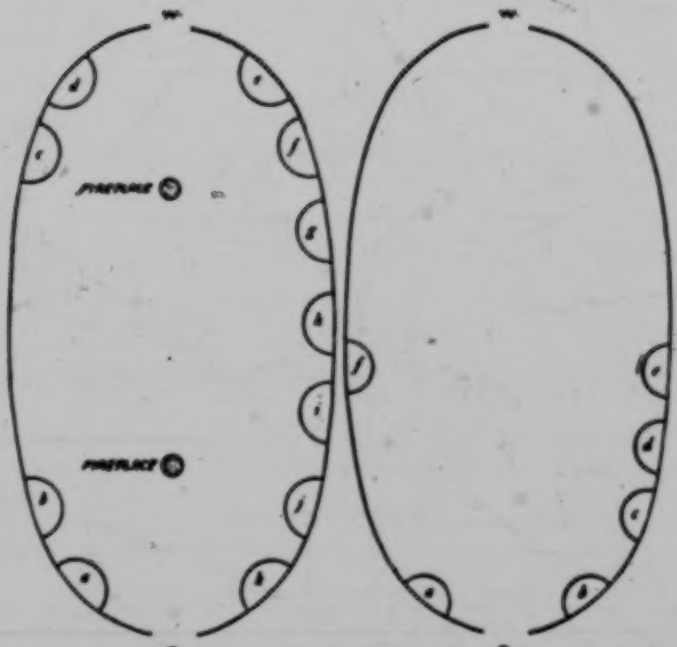


FIG. 11.—Seating arrangement in council lodge according to Winnebago clans: a, Thunderbird clan; b, Eagle clan; c, Bear clan; d, Snake clan; e, Deer clan; f, Wolf clan; g, Pigeon clan; h, Elk clan; i, Bear clan; k, Water-spirit clan; l, Snake clan.

FIG. 12.—Seating arrangement in council lodge according to Wolf clan: a, Thunderbird clan; b, Eagle clan; c, Bear clan; d, Water-spirit clan; e, Deer clan; f, Wolf clan.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



622 614 the man that, since he was without this particular thing, to keep it and use it for all time.

The public crier, a member of the Buffalo clan, was supposed to report to the chief early every morning and receive instructions. The crier would then go all around the village making the chief's desires known.

[703 624 623] The chief had a representative at every council, generally his brother.

The chief of the village is a peacemaker, and if two members of the tribe ever get into difficulties (i. e., quarrel) he is supposed to intercede. If in a quarrel a person should be killed, the chief would go to the murderer and tell the latter to permit himself to be tied up—i. e., to give himself up to the relatives of the murdered man. If [682] the murderer consents to do so, then his arms are tied behind him and the chief walks in front of him carrying his sacred pipe. Thus they would go to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives. When they get there the chief would extend the stem of the pipe toward them. They might refuse to accept the pipe thus extended, but if any member of the family, even if it be a small child, were to take a puff from it, then the murderer would be forgiven and turned free.

This is the capacity of a Winnebago chief.

622 614 682 Another description of the chief's rôle as intercessor for a murderer is as follows:

When the Thunderbird chief wishes to save a murderer they take one of their own chiefs, one who is well behaved, paint his back blue, and put sheaves in his back, to which they tie cords. Thus he is taken to the lodge of the murdered person's relatives. The chief, when he gets there, holds his pipe of tobacco in both hands. Should the relatives not wish to accept the peace offering they close the door in his face. Then he returns.

614 778 [411] The Thunderbird clan possessed a type of war club called a bald-headed war club, which was sacred to this clan alone, and a miniature of which was always buried with a dead body. The only other possessions were the clan war bundles. The Winnebago often speak as though each clan had but one of these palladiums, but there seems to be little doubt but that there were at least two and probably more in each clan. These war bundles must be regarded as the common possession of the clan at the present time, for they can not be alienated from the clan.[1] For all practical purposes, however, they are the private property of certain individuals or families.

614 372 Fire was considered a sacred possession of the Thunderbird clan. As mentioned before, an individual was supposed never to ask for a firebrand from the fire of any member of the clan and was never permitted to sit near such a fireplace. If, nevertheless, anyone should be immodest enough to ask for one of these objects, he would be refused, but he would be permitted to ask for any conceivable thing else. The following incident will serve as an example of the 616 definite way in which this peculiar custom works. An old Winne-

[1] This point was very forcibly impressed upon the author when he tried to obtain the war bundle of a man who had become a member of the Peyote cult. The man was perfectly willing to part with it, but after repeated requests to those who happened to possess it at that particular time, he admitted that it belonged to the clan, although they could not have taken it away from him had he remained a believer in the old faith.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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the matter. If, on the other hand, he submitted to whatever punishment the Bear clansmen inflicted on him without resistance and apologized to them, then they would build him a new lodge and supply it with better goods than those which they had been compelled to destroy. 614 625

This is the way in which the soldiers act when they are on duty. They never jest and their word is a command. If it is not immediately obeyed, their next move is to punish. For that reason one generally listens to them and their commands. When they are not on duty they are the same as other people. Different members of the tribe are on duty at different times, for the leader changes them about frequently.

If a field of rice is found in some swamp or lake the Bear clan people are informed and they go over and keep watch over it and give every person an equal chance at picking it. If a person sneaks away and takes advantage of the others, the Bear clan people punish him. [222 262] [685]

The Bear clansmen guard the village almost all the time. When a council is held they guard the council lodge, and when a person is tried for some crime, particularly that of murder, a trial which generally takes place in the Thunderbird clan lodge, then they carefully guard this lodge, lest the prisoner try to escape or his relatives or confederates try to rescue him. [623 692] 682

Certain actions and remarks are not permitted in the Bear clan lodge. They are the following: 614 625 784

To peep into the lodge.

To make the remark that they live in a nice lodge.

To sit in the doorway.

To give a deep sigh or snort inside the lodge.

Should any person do one of these forbidden things, the Bear clansmen would be compelled to give the most valued thing in the lodge to the offender.

If a man seduced a woman, he was brought to the lodge of the Bear clan and severely whipped. If the soldier whipped him too severely, he in turn was whipped. 614 625 684

If a murderer was brought to the Bear clan lodge and the chief of the tribe asked that the man be freed, the rest of the tribe would beg the relatives of the murdered man to relent; but if the murderer was turned over to the soldiers, they would take him to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives and let one of them kill him. [622] 682

According to one informant, the Deer clansmen acted as servants to the Bear clan. 614

The Bear and the Wolf clans are friends, and although, as we indicated on page 201, each clan is paired off with another, the relationship of the Bear and Wolf clans is particularly intimate. It was even claimed that a Bear clansman would revenge the death of a Wolf clansman. For no other clans did the author hear this statement made. The women are addressed by the men and by each other as "my opposite," referring unquestionably to the positions in the council lodge. [551]

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There is in every tribe, what answers to a standing army among us. The profession of arms holds out, to the great mass of the common people, the only road to the temple of fame. . . . The young man, who aspires to the honorable distinction of a "brave" or warrior, must exhibit such traits of character, as are deemed necessary for a soldier to possess, before he can be admitted into the army. When admitted, he wears on his head just as many feathers of the bald eagle, as he has slain human beings, and the size of the feathers indicate the size of his victims. . . . If the warrior has taken a captive, he has a human hand as large as life, painted either on his face, or on some part of his body, or on his blanket, some individuals have several such hands painted upon them (p. 98).[9] 701 703 [301] [532] [302]

At the head of the army, belonging to each tribe, there is a person who occupies the same station as a General does with us, and he appoints all the inferior officers. The chiefs when met in council, call into it, their warriors, with whom they consult, but frequently they are called to receive the orders, which are obeyed to the letter. This council call before them, persons who are interested in the trial . . . (pp. 98, 99). 701 623

If the Senate of the United States is the mildest, the most patriotic and wisest legislative assembly in the civilized world, as it truly is, the Winnebago council, is decidedly at the head of the savage world. . . . The great body of the people have very little influence, almost none, with this council, and they never appear before it unless they are summoned to attend it.—They have no voice in electing the chiefs and in fact no political influence. The civil chiefs and the chief warriors, have in their hands, the whole government of the community, and they govern as they please. Disobedience to the orders of the rulers is punished with death, though, like the British nation, the Indians are not savages enough to cut the traitor into quarters after hanging him until he is dead (pp. 99, 100). 623 [622] [687]

The female part of it, exercised the same influence among the women, that the chiefs did among the men, and the presents they expected from us, had to be better, than those given to the common people. The daughter of a chief, never mar- 554 562 [582]

[9] Quite different from the data given by Radin, The Winnebago Tribe, pp. 161, 162.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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622 614 the man that, since he was without this particular thing, to keep it and use it for all time.

The public crier, a member of the Buffalo clan, was supposed to report to the chief [708] early every morning and receive instructions. The crier would then go all around the [624] village making the chief's desires known.

The chief had a representative at every council, generally his brother. [623]

The chief of the village is a peacemaker, and if two members of the tribe ever get into difficulties (i. e., quarrel) he is supposed to intercede. If in a quarrel a person should be killed, the chief would go to the murderer and tell the latter to permit himself to be tied up (i. e., to give himself up to the relatives of the murdered man. If [682] the murderer consents to do so, then his arms are tied behind him and the chief walks in front of him carrying his sacred pipe. Thus they would go to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives. When they get there the chief would extend the stem of the pipe toward them. They might refuse to accept the pipe thus extended, but if any member of the family, even if it be a small child, were to take a puff from it, then the murderer would be forgiven and turned free.

This is the capacity of a Winnebago chief.

622 614 682 Another description of the chief's rôle as intercessor for a murderer is as follows:

When the Thunderbird chief wishes to save a murderer they take one of their own chiefs, one who is well beloved, paint his back blue, and put skewers in his back, to which they tie cords. Then he is taken to the lodge of the murdered person's relatives. The chief, when he gets there, holds his pipe of tobacco in both hands. Should the relatives not wish to accept the peace offering they close the door in his face. Then he returns.

614 778 [411] The Thunderbird clan possessed a type of war club called a bald-headed war club, which was sacred to this clan alone, and a miniature of which was always buried with a dead body. The only other possessions were the clan war bundles. The Winnebago often speak as though each clan had but one of these palladiums, but there seems to be little doubt but that there were at least two and probably more in each clan. These war bundles must be regarded as the common possession of the clan at the present time, for they can not be alienated from the clan.[1] For all practical purposes, however, they are the private property of certain individuals or families.

614 372 Fire was considered a sacred possession of the Thunderbird clan. As mentioned before, an individual was supposed never to ask for a firebrand from the fire of any member of the clan and was never permitted to sit near such a fireplace. If, nevertheless, anyone should be immodest enough to ask for one of these objects, he would be refused, but he would be permitted to ask for any conceivable thing else. The following incident will serve as an example of the definite way in which this peculiar custom works. An old Winne-

[1] This point was very forcibly impressed upon the author when he tried to obtain the war bundle of a man who had become a member of the Peyote cult. The man was perfectly willing to part with it, but after repeated requests to those who happened to possess it at that particular time, he admitted that it belonged to the clan, although they would not have taken it away from him had he requested a believer in the old faith.

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Ma^jwinga.....Yellowish-red earth (refers to deposits from iron springs). 614 551
Ma^xnap'ga.....Second earth person.
Ni-ergadjewinga.....She who plays on the water.
Ni emanlwinga.....She who walks on the water.
Ni-e^p'^winga.....She who makes water good.
Ni e^lagewinga.....Still water.
Nirunga.....Stream person.
Nihuga.....He who discharges water.
Ni-ete^pwinga.....She who jumps into the water.
Nitjebega.....Four streams.
Niwak'ibanga.....Roberts (?) water.
Wakipairirik'a.....Bad Water-spirit.
Wakipaihanga.....Chief of the Water-spirits.
Wakipaimanga.....Walking Water-spirit.
Wakipaip'inga.....Good Water-spirit.
Wakipaie^winga.....White Water-spirit.
Hap'inga.....Good horn.
Wadjanlaga.....Big boat.
Hip'ahiga.....Sharp tooth.
Rahewinga.....Beaverskin woman.
Rahewinga.....Beaver.
Hajinga.....Short horn.

## The Buffalo Clan

### INTRODUCTION

The first version of the origin myth of the Buffalo clan is of considerable interest because it gives us an idea of the manner in which a myth had to be bought. It is one of the few origin myths that gives a precise location for the origin of a particular clan. What lake is meant by *de cicik* it is impossible to say. Considerable importance should be attached, however, to the fact that their place of origin differed from that of most of the other clans, because it may indicate that the people who came to be known under the name Buffalo joined the tribe after the other clans. 614 173

The Buffalo clansmen seem to have had the function of acting as the public criers and in general of being an intermediary between the chief and the tribe. This, however, has been denied by some informants, one of them a member of the clan. Their lodge was at the southeast corner of the village. Some informants deny that they had a special lodge, however. [624] 203] [361]

The Buffalo and Water-spirit clans are friends and are supposed to bury each other's members. [764]

### ORIGIN MYTH[a]

Informant, member of the clan: "Listen, my grandson. Those who originated from the buffaloes and the way in which they origi- 614 173 538

[a] The following myth is given in the poetic manner in which the individual who told it to me obtained the information from one of the old men who was privileged to narrate it. Unfortunately it was impossible to obtain any other clan origin myth in the same way.

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935

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In each village, the two civil chiefs, appoint all the officers, deemed necessary, civil and military, who obey them implicitly. There are two ways of arriving at these high stations, by birth and by election. When the father dies, if he has a son, who has arrived at the age of manhood, and who bids fair to make a good chief—that is, if he possesses a good form, has good bodily powers and mental faculties—is brave, sedate, wise and prudent, he generally succeeds his father in the government, on his father's demise. If the chief, at his death, leave no son who is qualified for the high office of chief, but wills it to some other person, he succeeds to the government. If the chief has no son at his death, it is commonly the case, that his brother's son succeeds him. The line of succession may run out for want of a lawful heir, which is always supplied by an election. It may be changed too, where the heir is unqualified for the station. Great deference is always paid to the will of the dying chief, but every such case is always laid before a full national council, whose decision is final (p. 97). 622 [624] [666]

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[9] Quite different from the data given by Radin, The Winnebago Tribe, pp. 161, 162.

3: Michelson E-4 (no date) 1935
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554 ries into a family below her's in dignity. The pride originating in birth, is as deeply
562 seated in the hearts of those who are nobly descended, among the natives of the
582 Northwest, as it is among the petty princes of Germany.

625 It is customary for the chiefs to appoint two soldiers, in each village to keep order in it, and they faithfully do so (p. 100).

431 In each tribe, some one man acts as a divider, by order of the civil chiefs, and by general consent. Whenever we made the men any presents, of pipes, paints,
624 tobacco, or any thing else, the self same men, if Winnebagoes were the Indians receiving the presents, appeared, took charge of the property, and divided it in the most equitable manner, among all present at the time. They reserved nothing for themselves, generally, but held up their empty hands to show their disinterestedness.

[171] If the Sauks and Foxes received presents, two men, one for each tribe, acted as dividers, and the same individuals always performed the same duty (pp. 100–101).

554 . . . "The rolling Thunder," "the Yellow Thunder," "the Distant Thunder," &c., are individuals among the Winnebagoes, who possess great weight of char-
551 acter; and that tribe to which belong men, who stand high on their roll of fame, for
614 their distinguished valor in War, for their consummate prudence, experience and wisdom in the national councils, is emphatically called, "the thunder tribe" (p. 124).

114 There are other items appurtenant to Winnebago ethnology in Atwater's work; some to that of the Sauks and Foxes; some to tribes of the upper Mississippi valley in general: there are some acute statements regarding the chronology of the populating of America.

171 A "turtle" gens does not occur in the lists of Morgan, Dorsey, and Radin, and Radin specifically denies that there is such a Winnebago gens. He also
174 states that almost all informants claimed that the Snake and Fish clans
614 (gentes) were recent to the tribe. However, as special names "go with"
[114] fixed gentes, by examining the lists of the signers of the treaties between the
[648] Winnebago and the United States, it becomes clear that a member of the Snake gens signed the treaty of August 19th, 1825 as well as the treaty of
[551] August 25th, 1828. And a Snake clan exists among the Ponca, Iowa, Oto-Missouri, Quapaw, as well as some non-Siouan tribes.[10] Also it may be observed that among the Osage and Quapaw we have a Fish clan (used rather loosely). So too "Turtle" as the name of a gens (sub-gens) among the Siouan tribes Omaha, Kansa, Quapaw, and Osage,[11] and elsewhere.
[551] And Carrymaunee (Karamanu, etc.), "Walking Turtle,"[12] signed more

[10] See the important theoretical discussion by Lowie in American Anthropologist, Vol. 36, 1934, pp. 327–28; cf. also Radin, the Winnebago Tribe, p. 182; Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe (Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology), pp. 38, 39.

[11] Among the Omaha and Osage "the turtle carriers or bearers" and "Turtle-carriers" respectively; "Carries-a-turtle-on-his-back" among the Kansa: observe that according to the above Carrymaunee "carried" a large painted tortoise on his back.

[12] The phonetic restoration is presumably Kéramani; mani means "to walk," as can be seen from old vocabularies, etc., as well as the personal names given by Radin in his The Winnebago Tribe and the Winnebago text by Radin in the Siouan sketch in Handbook of Ameri-

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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224 *Regulation of the tribal hunt.*—It can not be said that there were
[721] many special regulations during the tribal hunt. The rules applying to the regulation of war parties held here too. (For a description of these, see p. 156.)

Individuals were strictly prohibited from taking the initiative except by permission. For instance, a man was not allowed to proceed beyond a certain point, or shoot before a certain time; in short, not to do anything by which he might endanger his own life, the safety of his companions, or the success of the hunt, such as scaring away the animals or causing them to stampede.

625 It is during the tribal hunts that the power of the Bear clan is at
224 its height. For this reason it may perhaps be most appropriate to
614 include here a description* of these powers, although this really
484 belongs in the section on Social Organization:

Whenever the Winnebago are on their tribal hunt or whenever they move from one place to another, the soldiers (i. e., the Bear people) take the lead. Whenever they decide to stop at some place, the leader of the Bear people places his stick in the ground and the other soldiers do the same. The line of sticks is a slanting one. The main tribe follows behind at some distance and always camps a little behind them. None of the members of the tribe dare pass ahead of these sticks. If, for instance, during the fall move the tribe were passing through a country in which much game abounded, and if after the tribe had stopped at a certain place anyone should take it upon himself to go ahead and kill game on his own initiative, and he
[686] was discovered, the soldiers would go to his camp and burn it and everything it contained, destroy any supplies he had, and break his dishes. They would spare only his life and the lives of his family. If he resisted he would get a severe whipping. If even after that he resisted them and took his gun and attempted to shoot, the soldiers would not do anything but stand ready. But the moment he made an attempt to shoot, they would kill him and nothing would be said of the matter, for they would be putting into effect the law of the tribe. If, on the other hand, the man submitted to the action of the soldiers and apologized they would make him a better lodge and would give him more and better things than those they had taken away.

## Fishing and Agriculture

226 *Fishing.*—In former times fishing seems to have been done exclusively by spearing or by shooting. The spear (*wocą'*) consisted of a long stick provided with a bone or a horn point. Spearing was done preferably at night with the aid of torches made of pine pitch. In shooting fish a long arrowlike stick (*ma"nuxinizini*) with a pointed end, whittled and frayed at the base like the ceremonial staff of the Bear clan, was discharged from an ordinary bow.

227 The most commonly used trap for fishing was a triangular weir loaded with a stone at its base and placed at the head of a waterfall caused by artificial damming of a stream.

784 Very few fish were taboo, the principal ones being the dogfish
226 and the eel.

* By Thunder Cloud.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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614 have been subjected to literary and shamanistic remodeling. Only
173 the shorter accounts show in their subject matter and presentation certain affinities to the origin myths of the other clans, the longer ones being entirely different. Another cause for these marked differences may lie in the circumstance that since the longer accounts were associated with semi-esoteric ceremonies, the war-bundle feasts, they were known to but few individuals in the clan, whereas the shorter legends could be learned by anyone who chose to pay for
614 them. To this must also be added the fact that presumably some of the accounts current were based on hearsay knowledge.

[554] The Bear clan was, next to the Thunderbird clan, the most im-
[361] portant in the tribe. Its lodge was either in the center of the village, opposite that of the Thunderbird clan, or at the extreme end, depending upon the scheme of village organization accepted as
[727] correct. In it were confined the prisoners of war and the insignia of office possessed by the clan, such as the so-called standards, really crooks, and the so-called *namaziizini*. Some individuals also claimed
[513 that unmarried men were allowed to sleep in the lodge, although they
345] were not clear as to whether they did this in order to guard the prisoners confined there or simply used it as a club house.

The clan songs are given on page 235. The same songs are used
[533] when gathering the clansmen together to select soldiers.

Apart from the war bundle or war bundles, the Bear clan possessed
614 three insignia—a war club of a definite shape, the curiously whittled
778 baton of authority called *namaziizini*, and the crooks used in battle called *hoke'rewa*. Whenever the clan was exercising any of its functions the leader would always hold in his hands the *namaziizini*.

The functions of the clan were probably the most important in the tribe and were entirely disciplinary. The author obtained the following description from an old Winnebago:

614 The Bear clansmen are the soldiers or sergeants-at-arms of the tribe. They have
625 complete control of everything concerning discipline. Whenever the Winnebago are traveling or moving (i. e., on their various seasonal moves), the Bear clansmen lead, and wherever they decide to stop, there the leader would put his stick in the ground and the other Bear clansmen would do the same, arranging them all in a row pointing toward the direction in which they were going. The main body of the tribe would follow at a certain distance. No member of the tribe would dare pass ahead of the row of sticks. If, for instance, the tribe was on the fall move and traveling toward a country in which there was plenty of game, should any individual go back and around the sticks in order to kill game on his own account, the soldiers (Bear clansmen) would, as soon as he was detected, go over to his lodge and burn it up with all its contents and break all his dishes. The only thing they would spare would be his life and that of the other members of his family. If the one who had transgressed the rules made any attempt at resistance he would be severely whipped. If he refused to submit to this and took up his fire arms to fight, the soldiers would stand there calmly, but the moment he made an attempt to shoot they would kill him. In such a case nothing would be said either by the rest of the tribe or his relatives about

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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the matter. If, on the other hand, he submitted to whatever punishment the Bear clansmen inflicted on him without resistance and apologized to them, then they would build him a new lodge and supply it with better goods than those which they had been compelled to destroy. 614 625

This is the way in which the soldiers act when they are on duty. They never jest and their word is a command. If it is not immediately obeyed, their next move is to punish. For that reason one generally listens to them and their commands. When they are not on duty they are the same as other people. Different members of the tribe are on duty at different times, for the leader changes them about frequently.

If a field of rice is found in some swamp or lake the Bear clan people are informed and they go over and keep watch over it and give every person an equal chance at picking it. If a person sneaks away and takes advantage of the others, the Bear clan people punish him. [222 262] [685]

The Bear clansmen guard the village almost all the time. When a council is held they guard the council lodge, and when a person is tried for some crime, particularly that of murder, a trial which generally takes place in the Thunderbird clan lodge, then they carefully guard this lodge, lest the prisoner try to escape or his relatives or confederates try to rescue him. [623 692 682]

Certain actions and remarks are not permitted in the Bear clan lodge. They are the following: 614 625 784

To peep into the lodge.

To make the remark that they live in a nice lodge.

To sit in the doorway.

To give a deep sigh or snort inside the lodge.

Should any person do one of these forbidden things, the Bear clansmen would be compelled to give the most valued thing in the lodge to the offender.

If a man seduced a woman, he was brought to the lodge of the Bear clan and severely whipped. If the soldier whipped him too severely, he in turn was whipped. 614 625 684

If a murderer was brought to the Bear clan lodge and the chief of the tribe asked that the man be freed, the rest of the tribe would beg the relatives of the murdered man to relent; but if the murderer was turned over to the soldiers, they would take him to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives and let one of them kill him. [622 682]

According to one informant, the Deer clansmen acted as servants to the Bear clan. 614

The Bear and the Wolf clans are friends, and although, as we indicated on page 201, each clan is paired off with another, the relationship of the Bear and Wolf clans is particularly intimate. It was even claimed that a Bear clansman would revenge the death of a Wolf clansman. For no other clans did the author hear this statement made. The women are addressed by the men and by each other as "my opposite," referring unquestionably to the positions in the council lodge. [551]

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621 The leaders of the west and south bands receive each 3½ yards
756 of calico and a fourth of the food.

431 The ancestor host receives various gifts of food and tobacco from the leaders of the other bands. He receives his payment from the candidate before the ceremony proper.

756 The candidate is present at the four nights' ceremony of the an-
796 cestor host's band, preliminary to the ceremony proper. At the latter ceremony he sits to the right of the ancestor host's band. He is not dressed in his new suit until after the secret ceremonies in the brush.

302 There are facial decorations distinctive of the different bands:
621 The host's band and the candidate paint a blue circle on each cheek, but its significance is unknown to the writer.

The regalia used are simple and few. They consist of eagle, hawk, squirrel, beaver, and otter-skin bags (pls. 51–53), a drum, gourd rattles, and invitation sticks. The otter-skin bags are always beaded and contain the sacred shell and various medicines. A few red feathers are always inserted in the mouth of the otter-skin bag. The gourds contain buckshot at the present time and are painted with blue finger marks.

*Division of the ceremony.*—The medicine dance is divided into five well-marked parts. The first part (I) consists of the two nights' preparation preceding the sending out of the invitation sticks. This takes place at the home of the ancestor host in the presence of the members of his band and the candidate. The second part (II) consists of the four nights' preparation preceding the sweat-lodge ritual. Each band has its own four nights' preparation, although that of the ancestor host begins before the others. The third part (III) consists of the rites held in a sweat lodge, specially constructed for this purpose near the medicine lodge, on the morning after the four nights' preparation. The participants are the ancestor host, the leaders of the east, west, north, and south bands, each with his two assistants, and the candidate. The fourth part (IV) consists of the ceremony proper, which in turn must be divided into the night ceremony (*a*) and the day ceremony (*b*). The fifth part (V) consists of the rites held in the brush, at which the secrets of the society are imparted to the candidate. Special guards are placed on all sides of the brush to prevent the intrusion of outsiders. The participants,
[625] besides the candidate, are the ancestor host, the leaders of the east and north bands, each with his two assistants, and all other individuals who have bought the privilege of attending. These ceremonies take place at dawn preceding the day ceremony.

Two feasts and one intermission interrupt the main ceremony. The feasts always take place at the end of the ritual of the east
[621] band—i. e., generally at noon and at midnight. The intermission

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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history can demonstrate. Such a genetic relationship between the two depends probably as much upon the nature of the political function as upon anything else. The exact time when this socialization took place is also of great import here. Among the Winnebago, some individuals claim that the functions of the public crier were inherent in the Buffalo clan, while others insist that any person who had counted coup four times was eligible for the office. Now, in this case not only is it possible but it is extremely probable that public criership was originally connected with an individual, and that subsequently it became associated with the Buffalo clan, probably by reason of a certain relationship existing between this clan and the Chief clan. It must, of course, be remembered that a grouping had already taken place, because the requirement of having counted coup four times made a large number of warriors potentially public criers. (Here the grouping together was due to the successful performance of certain test-acts.) Its association with membership in the Buffalo clan represented on the one hand a restriction of the number of individuals, on the other hand the addition of another qualification. Historically, then, the qualification of membership in the clan supplanted the other qualifications, at least in the eyes of a large number of individuals. What has been said of the development of the functions of the Buffalo may also be generally applied to that of the Warrior or Hawk clan.

Political functions may, however, become connected with a group unit without the individual playing any rôle either in directing or in developing such an association. The functions of preserving peace and of acting as intermediary, that among the Winnebago are connected with the Thunderbird clan, and the police and disciplinary functions connected with the Bear clan, may represent such types of association. In the absence of nistorical data, no demonstration can be made. It will, however, be shown later that association of ceremonial-religious functions with a social unit has actually occurred. That the police and disciplinary functions of the Bear clan developed from those of individiuals, on the basis of requirements similar to those of the public crier, is quite improbable, and no indication of that exists. The functions of the Thunderbird clan likewise do not

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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174 lend themselves readily to such an interpretation. But even should we accept the necessity for the priority of the one over
614 the other types of association, we must still insist that psycho-
625 logically the functions are in each case associated with a group unit and that we are not dealing with the relation of cause and effect but with a new association.

182 Four of the Winnebago clans have specific political functions, the details of which cannot be discussed here. The Thunderbird
614 is the chief clan, and in addition to the fact that the chief of the tribe is selected from it, has important functions connected with the preservation of peace; the Warrior clan, that relating to war; the Bear clan, that relating to policing and discipline, both within the village and while on the hunt, etc.; and the Buffalo clan, that of public crier and intermediary between the chief and his people. The Wolf, Water-spirit, and the Elk clans seem also to have possessed minor political-social functions. Thus, the Wolf people were considered in the light of "minor" soldiers; the Water-spirit people as connected with the passage of streams, etc.; and the Elk as connected with the care of the fire-places while on the hunt and warpath. This accounts for seven of the twelve clans, and it thus seems as if the association of political functions with clans was a type that had found
[174] great favour among the Winnebago, and was perhaps being extended to every clan. Among the Dhegiha, associations of
[171] ceremonial functions with social units seem to have found corresponding favour, while among the Central Algonkin neither type occurred.

[171] Marked political and ceremonial functions of the clan are the distinguishing characteristics of the Siouan organization and have given an entirely different picture to clan structure there.

### *The Reciprocal Relationship of the Clans.*

614 We have seen that one of the bonds between the clans was the fact that they belonged to the same side. But there is a
616 special bond between certain clans known as "friendship" relation (*hicak'ɔ·ro*). This always subsists between two, although it

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935
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554 ries into a family below her's in dignity. The pride originating in birth, is as deeply
562 seated in the hearts of those who are nobly descended, among the natives of the
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625 It is customary for the chiefs to appoint two soldiers, in each village to keep order in it, and they faithfully do so (p. 100).

431 In each tribe, some one man acts as a divider, by order of the civil chiefs, and by general consent. Whenever we made the men any presents, of pipes, paints,
624 tobacco, or any thing else, the self same men, if Winnebagoes were the Indians receiving the presents, appeared, took charge of the property, and divided it in the most equitable manner, among all present at the time. They reserved nothing for themselves, generally, but held up their empty hands to show their disinterestedness.

[171] If the Sauks and Foxes received presents, two men, one for each tribe, acted as dividers, and the same individuals always performed the same duty (pp. 100–101).

554 . . . "The rolling Thunder," "the Yellow Thunder," "the Distant Thunder," &c., are individuals among the Winnebagoes, who possess great weight of char-
551 acter; and that tribe to which belong men, who stand high on their roll of fame, for
614 their distinguished valor in War, for their consummate prudence, experience and wisdom in the national councils, is emphatically called, "the thunder tribe" (p. 124).

114 There are other items appurtenant to Winnebago ethnology in Atwater's work; some to that of the Sauks and Foxes; some to tribes of the upper Mississippi valley in general: there are some acute statements regarding the chronology of the populating of America.

171 A "turtle" gens does not occur in the lists of Morgan, Dorsey, and Radin, and Radin specifically denies that there is such a Winnebago gens. He also
174 states that almost all informants claimed that the Snake and Fish clans
614 (gentes) were recent to the tribe. However, as special names "go with"
[114] fixed gentes, by examining the lists of the signers of the treaties between the
[648] Winnebago and the United States, it becomes clear that a member of the Snake gens signed the treaty of August 19th, 1825 as well as the treaty of
[551] August 25th, 1828. And a Snake clan exists among the Ponca, Iowa, Oto-Missouri, Quapaw, as well as some non-Siouan tribes.[10] Also it may be observed that among the Osage and Quapaw we have a Fish clan (used rather loosely). So too "Turtle" as the name of a gens (sub-gens) among the Siouan tribes Omaha, Kansa, Quapaw, and Osage,[11] and elsewhere.
[551] And Carrymaunee (Karamanu, etc.), "Walking Turtle,"[12] signed more

[10] See the important theoretical discussion by Lowie in American Anthropologist, Vol. 36, 1934, pp. 327–28; cf. also Radin, the Winnebago Tribe, p. 182; Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe (Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology), pp. 38, 39.

[11] Among the Omaha and Osage "the turtle carriers or bearers" and "Turtle-carriers" respectively; "Carries-a-turtle-on-his-back" among the Kansa: observe that according to the above Carrymaunee "carried" a large painted tortoise on his back.

[12] The phonetic restoration is presumably Kéramani; mani means "to walk," as can be seen from old vocabularies, etc., as well as the personal names given by Radin in his The Winnebago Tribe and the Winnebago text by Radin in the Siouan sketch in Handbook of Ameri-

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12



According to M.R., a party of Winnebago once went on the warpath and were badly beaten. One man, the only survivor according to his claim, returned to his village. There he recounted his valorous deeds at the side of his companions, and said he had escaped only because the enemy had left him for dead. He was accorded great honor until sometime later another member of the party returned and told how the first man had fled and hidden out in the woods when he saw that the battle was going against the Winnebago. The cowardly and dishonest warrior, on the decision of the police (bear) clan, then had to take on the role of a woman and lived in disgrace the rest of his life. 838 687 [625]

Evidence concerning the berdache was even less definite in Nebraska. G.P., a woman about fifty years old in 1950, mentioned that her mother-in-law once told her of a case which agreed in most details with that of dejáŋčowiŋga, but this individual was called čoranažiŋga and was supposed to have lived in Wisconsin. However, G.S., a man born in 1887, who also told of čoranažiŋga, gave an account of a berdache who was his mother's cousin. G.S.'s mother was Iowa and Oto through her maternal line and the berdache cousin, referred to as "sister," was a parallel cousin of Iowa and Oto descent. However, the description G.S. recounted as having come from his mother is almost identical to that regarding the Winnebago berdache. The cousin had been blessed by the moon, feared death if he disobeyed the moon's directions that he dress and act as a woman, even to giving this as the reason for his behavior when G.S.'s mother once remonstrated with him for being, "a shame to us Indians." 838 124 [626]

An attempt was made to discover whether the Winnebago berdache role for men had a parallel Siouan role of "warrior women." Only one very doubtful account was collected in 1946 from S.S. the Wisconsin informant who provided the first extensive description of dejáŋčowiŋga. 171 838 [124]

Once there was a man, kind of high tone, he had two wives. The older one wanted to keep her husband so she had him marry her younger sister too. They used to do that years ago when they wanted to hold their husbands. Anyway, this man and his gang went off to the Civil War. There was a bad woman in the camp. She was a good looker, but she was bad, and this man took the bad woman with him. During the war one time they ran out of bullets, and this woman got on a horse and went through the enemy lines to a big city and came back with a whole lot of bullets and saved them. Another time she warned them when they were all asleep and the enemy was near. When they came back, she was riding on the horse in front of the man, and the men had all given her presents for saving them. Her waist was just covered with ribbons and the man's two wives cried when they saw it. The people made up a song about her because she was a brave woman and sometimes they still sing it. After that they always called her hinugrosisiŋgra which meant that she laughed aloud like a man, shaking her whole body [hinugrosisiŋgra—hinuk:woman; ro:body; sisiŋk:to shake as with laughter; ra: article; k is voiced when followed by r]. They call those giggling girls that nowadays sometimes. [595]

While the above account probably represents an isolated example of a woman who went to war rather than an accepted type of role, it is apparent that 838

105 thunderbird. He is the representative of peace, par excellence. He
614 cannot go to war or have anything to do with the many war cere-
616 monies of the tribe. Be it remembered that victory on the warpath is
622 the highest honor a Winnebago can attain. He must succour the needy and plead for clemency in all cases of infractions of tribal law and custom, even in case of murder. His lodge is a sacred asylum and [778] absolutely inviolate. Not only is a prisoner of war safe if he manages to take refuge there, but even a dog, about to be sacrificed, must be spared, should he manage to run into it. Naturally all the other male members of the thunderbird clan as well as all the male members of the other clans in the upper phratry, go on the warpath and seek prestige through war. But, after all, this warfare is waged against people who have no status within the tribe. Acquiescence in it does not constitute approval of violence nor is it regarded as a resort to violence. And it is this condemnation of violence for which the tribal chief and his phratry stands.

105 In contrast to this is the attitude of the chief of the lower division,
614 who always belongs to the bear clan. In him are centered pre-
616 eminently the police, the disciplinary and the war functions. He and
622 his associates police and guard the village, inflict punishment for
625 transgressions of law and custom, take charge of the whole tribe when it is on a communal warpath or engaged in hunting, etc. It is in the official lodge of the bear chief that prisoners are confined before being killed and it is in the same lodge where the sacred warbundles are stored and guarded against contamination.

105 We are dealing here with a very old and persistent classification
616 of the two opposing forces in society and one which reflects the
622 answer to a question asked repeatedly, namely, how are we to meet
182 the two aspects of life and of reality with which we are being con-
577 tinually confronted, the protective, constructive and positive, and the repelling, destructive and negative? Winnebago thinkers seemed to have been particularly fond of posing this problem.

It is not strange then, that they should have felt the contrast between the functions of the two phratries to lie, fundamentally, in their attitude toward evil. For the tribal chief evil was to be warded off before it came and always by passive methods. If that did not

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

# CHAPTER VI

## WARFARE AND THE COUNCIL LODGE

### Warfare

721 War was one of the most important elements in the life of the [183] Winnebago. The life of the warrior was the ideal toward which all men strove. It not only satisfied certain emotional needs but it [554] was so inextricably interwoven with social standing in the community and with individual prestige that Winnebago life is unthinkable without it. It is not surprising, then, that the prayer for [782] success on the warpath was the most important prayer that men offered up to the spirits and that it was reechoed in almost all the ceremonies. (Pls. 43, 44, 45.)

An element of culture fraught with so much significance to the individual and the social group was bound to be surrounded by innumerable customs, regulations, and restrictions. It was a life that was at stake every time an individual went on the warpath, and remembering the value of each life to a small community, it is not to be wondered at if there is a definite attempt on the part of the social group to restrict individual activity in this particular regard. An individual might go on the warpath either alone or in company with a few people, but the community, in the person of the chief, insisted that he show some warrant for his action. If no warrant of [626] any kind could be given, he subjected himself to the only restrictive measures the chief and the community could adopt, disapproval, jeers, and temporary loss of social standing and prestige. So much, as far as his own person was concerned. If his action jeopardized the life or lives of other members of the tribe he had then to face [686] the relatives of these people, just as any individual who had committed some wrong. It is hardly likely that many men would willingly run any risks of unnecessarily antagonizing their fellow tribesmen when the proper means of preparing for the warpath was open to all. A careful perusal of the system of education given on page 166 makes it clear that a sufficiently large number of methods for obtaining consent to lead a party were given, and that it was possible for every male individual to go on the warpath frequently if he so desired. Certain requirements were, however, necessary. It was not left to each individual to decide for himself [622] whether he possessed these, but the final decision always lay in the hands of the chief.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



867 If you thus travel in the road of the good people, it will be good
787 and other people will not consider your life a source of amusement.[19]

If you can not obtain a blessing from the spirits try also to have some good plant take pity on you. This I am telling you and if you do not do it, you will suffer for it. All that I am saying will be of great benefit to you if you pay heed to me, for (you will need
867 medicines for) whatever you do in life, if you are not fortunate
789 enough to obtain blessings from the spirits. If you are ever on the
726 warpath, you will need medicine in order to escape being hit or in order to prevent yourself from getting exhausted or from feeling famished. If you manage to be fortunate in all these things you may be certain that the medicines have caused it.

867 My son, help yourself as you go along life's path, for this earth has
577 many narrow passages and you can never tell when you will come to one. If, however, you have something with which to strengthen yourself you will come safely through the passages you meet.

Let every one think you a desirable person to know. Associate with people. If you act in this manner, every one will like you. (You will live) a contented life. Never do anything wrong to your children. Whatever your children ask you to do, do not hesitate to do it for them. If you act thus people will say you are good-natured. If you ever lose a friend by death and if you have riches cover[20] the expenses of the funeral of the deceased. Help the mourners to feed the people at the wake. If you act thus you will be acting well. Then you will be truly a helper of the people and they will know you as such. Indeed, all of them will know you. For the good you do, all will love you.

867 My son, do not become a gambler. You might, it is true, become
525 rich, but in spite of your wealth all your children will die. No gambler ever had children. It is an affair of the bad spirits entirely. Now if you do all that I have told you, you will unquestionably lead a happy and contented life.

867 Thus would the old people speak to a child whom they loved very much, that he might obtain the means of warding off what is not good. Anyone who acted contrary to these teachings would have himself to blame for the consequences.

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[19] This dislike of being made fun of, or of being the laughing stock, plays an important role among the Winnebago. It is not at all comparable to the same feeling as found at the present day among civilized people of Western Europe, for it is infinitely deeper and closely associated with social sanctions. The despondency caused by being made fun of, would frequently drive a person away from home or lead him to embark on any undertaking that would bring death. Owing to the social consequences coming in its train, a man would consequently do most anything in his power to ward it off. Correlated with this negative aspect of the use of "fun poking," there is a positive one. There are certain relatives who have the privilege of making fun of or playing practical jokes on you. This "joking relationship" exists among many tribes in America, but the relatives between whom it is permitted differ in every case. Among the Winnebago it exists between uncles and nieces and nephews and between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

[20] That is, buy the funeral apparel for the deceased.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



867 be able to retain your hold on men. If you do your work to the
593 satisfaction of your husband, he will never leave you. I say again,
832 it is not proper to use medicine. Above all, do not use medicine until you have passed your youth. You will otherwise merely make yourself weak. You will lead a weak life. It may even happen that you will cause yourself to become foolish.

[581] Do not use a medicine in order to marry. If you marry remain faithful to your husband. Do not act as though you are married to a number of men at the same time. Lead a chaste life. If you do not listen to what I am telling you and you are unfaithful to your
[626] husband, all the men will jeer at you. They will say whatever they wish to (and no one will interfere). Every man will treat you as though he were on the "joking relationship" with you. If you do not listen to me, therefore, you will injure yourself.

867 Thus the old people used to talk to one another. Thus they would
584 warn one another against certain actions. They used to instruct the young girls as they grew up (just as I am doing to you now). That is why I am telling of these things now.

My daughter, as you grow older and grow up to be a young woman, the young men will begin to court you. Never strike a man, my
[683] daughter. It is forbidden. If you dislike a man very much, tell him gently to go away. If you do not do this and instead strike him, remember that it frequently happens that men know of medicines; or if they themselves have none they may know from whom to
[754] get them. If you make a man feel bad by striking him, he may use this medicine and cause you to run away with him and become a bad woman. It is for this reason that the old men used to warn the young girls not to strike the men who are courting them, but whom they dislike. Pray with all your heart that you do not become such a woman.

867 Do not act haughtily to your husband. Whatever he tells you
593 to do, do it. Kindness will be returned to you if you obey your husband, for he will treat you in the same manner.

858 If you ever have a child, do not strike it. In the olden times when a child misbehaved the parents did not strike it, but they made it fast. When a child gets hungry, he will soon see the error of his ways. If you hit a child, you will be merely knocking the wickedness into him. Women should likewise never scold the
[861] children because children are merely made wicked by scoldings. If your husband scolds the children, do not take their part, for that will merely make them bad. In the same way, if a stranger makes your children cry, do not say anything to the stranger in the presence of the children, nor take their part in his presence. If you wish to prevent a stranger from scolding your children, keep them home and teach them how to behave by setting them a good example. Do not imagine that you do the best for your children by

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) :944
NP12 Winnebago NP12



178 bers of the tribe. The older generation does not generally
182 try to resist the change, nor encourage it, but rather the ten-
561 dency is to mourn the past. A few realize that the unhappy plight of the younger generation is but one of the many changes in their society brought on by the breakdown of tribal organization due to contact with white religion, liquor, and government.

[861] Originally the training of the young was in the hands of
[626] the elders of the tribe and rules were put into effect by group controls; whereas now these controls have gone, and it is only in recent years and only among a few families that the idea of parental control is stressed in the same manner as in white society.

Consequently we have the picture of a younger generation following their particular whims and an older generation seeing the wrongs of such a situation but feeling powerless to relieve it.

### Types of Cultural Change

178 Having become acquainted with the attitudes of members of a changing society, let us consider cultural change itself. For purposes of simplification we can break down our main heading of cultural change into four types.

1. We are all familiar with the direct Indian-to-white cultural change which is of so long standing, and so obvious that it hardly requires further explanation other than mentioning the Indians' use of white foods, houses, clothing, and the myriad other aspects of white culture which have become a part of the Indians' life.

2. One of the complexities of cultural change is that some customs taken over from the whites remain relatively static in the Indian society, but continue to change at a faster rate in the white group. A good example of this is in the realm of material culture. The women's buckskin dresses were of course long ago exchanged for broadcloth and other fabrics fashioned along Indian styles, but these were later replaced by calico dresses in the last century following the then current

inflict this suffering upon yourself. Not without constant 159*
effort are these blessings procurable. Try to have one of 776
the spirits created by Earthmaker take pity on you. Whatever he says will come about. If you do not possess one 867
of the spirits from whom to obtain strength and power, 787
you will be of no consequence socially and those around 72
you will show you little respect. Indeed they will jeer at [626]
you.

My son, it is not good to die in the village; in your 159*
homes. Above all, do not let women journey to the spirit 867
land ahead of you. It is not done. To prevent this from 761
happening do we speak to our sons and encourage them to 785
fast. Some day in life you will find yourself traveling along 787
a road filled with obstacles and then you will wish you had fasted. When such an event confronts you, that you may not find it necessary to reproach yourself, I counsel you to fast. If you have not obtained any knowledge from the spirits, why it may happen that some day, in later life, warriors will be returning from the warpath and as they [593]
distribute the war prizes to their sisters,[18] your own sisters [727]
will stand there empty-handed envying the rest. But if you obtain blessings from the war-controllers, your sisters will be happy. How proud they will be to receive the prizes, to wear them, and to dance the victory dance! Your sisters too will be strengthened thereby and you will be content and happy.

Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to 000

[18] Among the Winnebago a man's sisters, especially his elder sisters, were very highly respected and all war prizes, such as wampum-belts, wampum necklaces, etc., were always given to them [562]
whenever a man returned from a successful war-party in which he had secured some honor. These war honors were of various kinds. The greatest was considered to be the feat of having struck the body [721]
of a dead enemy first.

## *The Teachings of My Father*

There are medicines to prevent people from getting tired 159 *
when walking and medicines to cause a dog fight to take 789
place. In short there are medicines for everything. 867

Every one must take care of himself and try to obtain
that knowledge which will enable him to live in comfort and 159 *
happiness. Try therefore to learn about the things you will 579
need. If you know them, then as you travel along in life, 867
you will not have to go to the expense of buying them from others, but you will have your own medicines. If you act in this way and if, in addition, you fast properly, you will never be caught off guard in life. Should you possess a home, it will look beautiful and you will never be in want. That is why I know you will never regret this that I am telling you. So you shall travel on your journey though life, along the virtuous road taken by all your fellowmen, [626] ●
and your actions and behavior will never become the butt of your neighbor's sarcasm.

Help yourself as you travel along the road of life. The earth has many narrow passages scattered over it. If you have something with which to strengthen yourself, then when you get to these narrow turns you will be able to pass through them safely and your fellow men will respect you. See to it that people like you. Be on friendly terms with every one and then every one will like you. You will be happy and prosperous.

Never do any wrong to your children. Whatever your [593]
children ask of you, do it for them. If you act thus people will then say that you are good natured.

If any one in the village loses a friend through death, should you at all be wealthy, cover the expenses of the funeral of the deceased, if you can. Help the mourners likewise in defraying the expenses of feeding the departed. If you act thus, you will do well. All the people you have

Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



of his wife and refuse to go on a warpath. He might as well have been brought up as a girl. Men who are real men perform the deeds of men, but such a man will never perform a real man's deed. If he should actually attend a war-bundle feast he will be given the leanest piece of meat, only given to a man of no account. Why should any one run the risk of being thus jeered at? Now when a really brave man attends a war-bundle feast he is given a deer's head. This other man gets a lean piece! It will dry up in his throat, so humiliated and disgraced will he feel. After a while he will not be allowed to go to any feast; his wife will not let him. He will listen to the voice of his wife. His relatives will scold him, his sisters will think nothing of him. They will tell people never to go to visit him. Finally when he has become a real slave of his wife he will even hit his relatives if she asks him to. It is for these reasons that I warn you not to listen to women. You will be considered different from others. It is not good.

Remember this too, that women cannot be watched. If you try to watch them and are jealous about them, then your female relatives will also be jealous of them. Finally when your jealousy has developed to the highest pitch, your wife will leave you and run away with some one else. You have allowed her to see by your actions that you worship a woman, and one alone, and, in addition, you have been watching her all the time. Because of this incessant annoyance she will run away from you. If you think that

of these spirits, a buckskin decorated with the symbol sacred to the spirit, was prepared and then at the most dramatic moment of the ceremony these buckskins were thrown out of the ceremonial lodge and it was believed that the spirits came down in person to fetch them. The war-bundle feast was specifically a man's ceremony.

867 will be ruining a man. It is equivalent to killing him. Do
593 not do it. It is forbidden. If you marry a man and want
832 to live with him permanently, work for him in order to hold him. When you marry a man, listen to what he says. If you do your work properly and the man likes you, he will never leave you. By working for him must you make your husband love you. Now remember it is not good to use medicines on him. At least before you are fairly mature in years do not use any, for you will thereby merely weaken yourself and your life will be of no consequence. Indeed you may cause the medicine to work on yourself and then become demented in consequence.

867 Marry only one man at a time. Be good and virtuous
581 in your married life. If you do not listen to what I am
[626] telling you, you will become bad and men will make fun of you. They will do whatever they wish with you; joke with you familiarly on any subject. If you do not listen to me you will injure yourself. Thus did the old people speak to one another and thus did they hand down these
867 precepts from one generation to another, warning young girls against committing wrong actions. They also said that when a girl is growing up, one should admonish her and that is why I am now speaking to you.

867 As you grow older, when you get to be a young woman,
584 the men will begin to court you. Never hit a man. It is
[683] forbidden. If you dislike a man very much tell him to go away gently. If instead, you hit him, remember that fre-
[754] quently young men possess certain injurious medicines which they may use against you. Even if a particular person does not possess them, he knows where to get them. Then this man whom you have humiliated, will use it and transform you from a chaste and nice woman to a loose one, to a harlot. That is why the old people used to warn

*159 584 some young men had forced themselves into lodges where they had not been willingly received.

On one occasion I went to see a young girl and arrived there before the people had retired so I waited near the lodge until they went to sleep. As I lay there waiting, listening, I fell asleep. When I woke up it was morning and when the people got up they found me sleeping there. I felt very much ashamed of myself [626] and the people laughed at me. I was not long in getting away.

We always did these things secretly for it was considered a disgrace to be caught and discovered.

On another occasion, in another place, I was crawling into a lodge when some one woke up as I was about halfway in. I immediately stopped and remained quiet and waited for the people to fall asleep again. In waiting, however, I myself fell asleep. When the people woke me up in the morning I was lying halfway inside the lodge. After waking me up they asked me whether I wouldn't stay for breakfast but I immediately ran away.

After a while I began to go around with some particular girl and I liked it so much that I would not get to sleep at all at night. I would sleep during the day. While we were acting in this manner our parents saw to it that we had food to eat and clothes to wear. We never helped them, for we were always courting girls. [221] Only in the fall, when we picked berries, did we help along. However, as we were generally out all night, we could not do much work even then.

seat in the main lodge stopped singing and the specially invited people entered the regular ceremonial lodge. 159* 096

The older people took charge of me for the whole night. Whenever they referred to me they would say, "In the morning when he-for-whom-we-desire-life becomes like us." They meant me and they meant that I would be a member in the morning. So I was extremely anxious for the morning to dawn. All night they danced. This part of the ceremony is called the rehearsal or trial performance.

The next morning, just before day, even while the dance was still going on, the leader of the first and second band, those of the east end and some others, took me to a secret place in the brush. When we got there we found a place where the ground had been cleared in the outline of the dance lodge. There the older people preached to me and told me that the most fearful things imaginable would happen if I made public any of the affair, *i.e.*, told the secrets of the Medicine Dance! The world would come to an end, they said. They told me that if I didn't keep everything secret I would die. [626]

It was in the brush that the leader told me of the road that all medicine men travel. [756]

### *The Road of Life*

My son, as you travel along this road do not doubt it. If you do you'll be unhappy; you'll injure yourself. But if you do everything that I tell you well it will benefit you greatly. 159* 756 539

## *The Medicine Dance*

The evil birds signify the following. The fact that you have joined the medicine lodge means that your intentions are to lead a good life. Now as soon as you join, the work of evil tattlers will begin and they will say that you have done things contrary to the teachings of the lodge. Perhaps a piece of bird's excrement will fall on you. What of it? Don't brush it off without thought. Some will claim that you had said that the lodge was no good. Yet even then you must not blurt out, "Who said that?" and get angry. Keep quiet and hold your peace. 159* 156 539 [626]

As you go along you will come to a great fire encircling the earth and practically impossible to cross. It will be so near that it will scorch you. Remember then that your grandfather had said that you would be able to pass it. Plunge through it. Soon you will find yourself on the other side and nothing will have happened to you.

Now this great fire means death. Your wife will die. Go through this as well as you can; don't get discouraged. This fire will be the worst thing you have to go through. You will have been living happily and then without warning your wife will die. There you will be with your children. Remember, however, what your grandfather said and plunge straight through. On the other side you will find the footprints of the medicine men.

After a while you will come to tremendous perpendicular bluffs which hardly seem passable. Think, however, of what your grandfather said and soon you will find yourself on the other side quite safe.

Now these bluffs mean death. As you travel along the road of life you will find yourself alone. All your relatives, all your loved ones, are dead. You yourself will begin to think to yourself, "Why, after all, am I living?" You will want to die. Now this, my grandson, is the place

## §22. *We Kill a Pottawattomie*

*159 588 837 I never married any woman permanently. I would live with one for awhile, and then with another. Sometimes upon my return after an absence I would find my temporary wife living with another man. This is the way in which I acted.

*159 787 721 My father had brought me up and had encouraged me to fast, so that I might be blessed by all the spirits that exist, and thus live in comfort. My father had raised me so that I should desire to obtain war honors,[28] so that I should not be like one who wears skirts. That was the reason he had me join the Medicine Dance so [624] that people should not be able to ridicule me. My father taught me to lead a sober and sane life and my [867] grandfather, during the time I lived with him, had told me the same. They both encouraged me to give feasts and to ask the spirits for war honors.

*159 721 At that time I had a comrade, and one day he said to me, "We have been thinking of something, have we not, friend? We ought to try and obtain some external emblem of our bravery. Do we not always try to wear feathers at a Warrior Dance? Well, then, let us try

[28] These war honors were the following: touching the body of a [559] slain enemy first, killing an enemy, touching the body second, touching it third, stealing a horse. All of them entitled the possessor [301] to wear an eagle feather in his hair.

8: Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12

# Winnebago Berdache

*By* NANCY OESTREICH LURIE

114 THE following account draws attention to the fact that the berdache role
838 was still evident in Winnebago culture until close to the turn of the cen-
[177] tury, and adds somewhat to the data of certain clear cultural parallels between
[171] this Woodland Siouan group and such Plains Siouan tribes as the Omaha, Oto, Iowa and Ponca. The description is not complete and certain points are equivocal. Thus, all of the available ethnographic documentation will be presented so that anyone intending to use the information will be able to assess its value. The description given here agrees, Dr. Raul Radin said in a conversation, with his unpublished Winnebago data.

124 During the course of general field investigations conducted from time to
838 time during the years 1945 to 1947, it was apparent that Winnebago informants in Wisconsin tended to be reticent to discuss the matter of the berdache. Their embarrassment may indicate that knowledge of the subject was withheld. However, even where excellent rapport existed and individuals became sufficiently interested in the topic to question people who might not speak directly to an ethnographer, some details remain uncertain. Furthermore,
[177] while the last berdache died somewhat over fifty years ago, the picture is confused by the former tendency of Winnebago culture to invest given forms of traits with opposite meanings and functions when used under different circumstances. At the present time, the recollections of many informants reveal that they know only half of the total function of given forms, or that they attempt to synthesize features which now appear as contradictory.

[184] While it was noted in 1950 that the Nebraska Winnebago were quite willing to speak of matters that in Wisconsin are still considered sacred or as things to be kept secret from whites, the Nebraska Winnebago simply knew less about older traditions.

838 It was agreed generally that the berdache was a man who had taken on
[787] this role because he had been directed to do so by the moon, a female spirit,
[821] at the time of his vision quest. The berdache dressed as a woman, performed
[791] women's tasks better than any normal woman could perform them, and had
[588] the ability to foretell future events. However, not all Winnebago prophets
[554] were berdaches. One informant mentioned that berdaches sometimes married other men, but no data were obtained concerning the attitude of the society toward the husband of a berdache. Most informants felt that the berdache was at one time a highly honored and respected person, but that the Winnebago had become ashamed of the custom because the white people thought it
177 was amusing or evil. By the time the last known berdache attempted to ful-
838 fill the role, his brothers threatened to kill him if he "put on the skirt." This
[626] berdache then affected a combination of male and female clothing, fearing that he would die if he did not at least attempt to follow the directions given him in his vision of the moon.

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12



According to M.R., a party of Winnebago once went on the warpath and were badly beaten. One man, the only survivor according to his claim, returned to his village. There he recounted his valorous deeds at the side of his companions, and said he had escaped only because the enemy had left him for dead. He was accorded great honor until sometime later another member of the party returned and told how the first man had fled and hidden out in the woods when he saw that the battle was going against the Winnebago. The cowardly and dishonest warrior, on the decision of the police (bear) clan, then had to take on the role of a woman and lived in disgrace the rest of his life. 838 687 [625]

Evidence concerning the berdache was even less definite in Nebraska. G.P., a woman about fifty years old in 1950, mentioned that her mother-in-law once told her of a case which agreed in most details with that of dejáŋčowiŋga, but this individual was called čoranažiŋga and was supposed to have lived in Wisconsin. However, G.S., a man born in 1887, who also told of čoranažiŋga, gave an account of a berdache who was his mother's cousin. G.S.'s mother was Iowa and Oto through her maternal line and the berdache cousin, referred to as "sister," was a parallel cousin of Iowa and Oto descent. However, the description G.S. recounted as having come from his mother is almost identical to that regarding the Winnebago berdache. The cousin had been blessed by the moon, feared death if he disobeyed the moon's directions that he dress and act as a woman, even to giving this as the reason for his behavior when G.S.'s mother once remonstrated with him for being, "a shame to us Indians." 838 124 [626]

An attempt was made to discover whether the Winnebago berdache role for men had a parallel Siouan role of "warrior women." Only one very doubtful account was collected in 1946 from S.S. the Wisconsin informant who provided the first extensive description of dejáŋčowiŋga. 171 838 [124]

Once there was a man, kind of high tone, he had two wives. The older one wanted to keep her husband so she had him marry her younger sister too. They used to do that years ago when they wanted to hold their husbands. Anyway, this man and his gang went off to the Civil War. There was a bad woman in the camp. She was a good looker, but she was bad, and this man took the bad woman with him. During the war one time they ran out of bullets, and this woman got on a horse and went through the enemy lines to a big city and came back with a whole lot of bullets and saved them. Another time she warned them when they were all asleep and the enemy was near. When they came back, she was riding on the horse in front of the man, and the men had all given her presents for saving them. Her waist was just covered with ribbons and the man's two wives cried when they saw it. The people made up a song about her because she was a brave woman and sometimes they still sing it. After that they always called her hinugrosisiŋgra which meant that she laughed aloud like a man, shaking her whole body [hinugrosisiŋgra—hinuk: woman; ro: body; sisiŋk: to shake as with laughter; ra: article; k is voiced when followed by r]. They call those giggling girls that nowadays sometimes. [595]

While the above account probably represents an isolated example of a woman who went to war rather than an accepted type of role, it is apparent that 838

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



867 787 the warpath.' So they say. If you do not become an individual warranted to lead a war party, yet mistaking yourself for one although really an ordinary warrior, you "throw away a man," your act will [686 be considered most disgraceful. A mourner might harm you in ● 627] revenge for the fact that you have caused him to mourn, and burn you with embers. Your people will all be sad, both on account of your disgrace and on account of the pain inflicted upon you.

787 My son, not with the blessing of one of the spirits merely, nor with 867 the blessing of twenty, for that matter, can you go on the warpath. 776 You must have the blessing of all the spirits above the earth, and of all those on the earth, and of all those who are pierced through the earth;[8] of all those under the earth; of all those who are under the water; of all those that are on the sides of the earth, i. e., all the four winds; of the Disease-giver;[9] of the Sun; of the Daylight;[10] of the Moon; of the Earth; and of all those who are in control of war powers—with the blessings of all these deities must you be provided before you can lead a successful war party.

867 My son, if you cast off dress[11] men will be benefited by your deeds. 554 You will be an aid to all your people. If your people honor you, it will be good. And they will like you even the more if you obtain a

721 787 701 686 [627] [1 Among the Winnebago any individual who has been blessed with the necessary powers to lead a warpath may do so, but it is absolutely essential that his blessing directing him be of such a nature that every possible contingency is included therein. Such complete blessings are, of course, not common nor can they be obtained except through unusual exertions. If you are blessed with just the ordinary or incomplete war powers and you nevertheless undertake to lead a war party, you may either be defeated or perhaps only partially successful, and what is worse, you may lose some of the warriors who started with you. Your recklessness has thus caused the death of some of your fellow tribesmen. It is understood that every warrior before starting on the warpath turn his "blessing" over to the chief of the tribe for examination, and if the chief considers it complete the warrior is not held responsible for the lack of success or loss of life. If the chief does not consider an individual's blessing sufficient to justify the object he has in view and forbids the warrior to go, and if the latter nevertheless goes, or granted the case he does not even submit his "blessing" to the chief for scrutiny, and meets a foe, then he is held directly responsible for any mishap on the warpath. The relatives of any individual thus killed may hold the war leader responsible and demand compensation; or, as is indicated by it a few lines later, a mourner (i. e., one who has been placed in mourning by the criminal foolhardiness of the war leader) might attack, perhaps kill him, without being held guilty of any crime. It must of course be understood that such occurrences would seldom take place. We must, however, remember throughout these "teachings" that one of the objects of the old men was to draw the most alluring pictures of the rewards that would fall to the lot of those who followed in the footsteps of their ancestors, and, on the other hand, to draw the most hideous pictures of the wretchedness that befell those who deviated, no matter in what details, from the customs sanctioned by age.

773 776 [8 According to the Winnebago creation myth, when Earthmaker, the creator of the earth, first came to consciousness and began creating life the earth on which we were to live was in continual motion, and nothing that the former could do seemed to be able to stop it. From above he threw down grass, trees, etc., but all was of no avail. Finally he hit upon the happy expedient of pinning the earth down at the four corners by means of four enormous snakes, or, as some say, by means of four mythical animals known as water spirits. It is to these that the old man is referring here. According to the story, even these were of no avail, and it was only when he finally placed four mythical beings known as "Island Weights" at the four corners that our planet stopped spinning. These "Island Weights" seem to be identical with the spirits of the four cardinal points, but they are not to be confused with the four winds mentioned later.

776 [9 A deity conceived of as dealing out life-giving powers from one half of his body and death-giving powers from the other half. He is also supposed to disseminate disease. Disease-giver is a literal translation of the Winnebago word, but this probably does not convey the exact meaning. There seems to be no 822 parallel to this peculiar deity among the other Siouan tribes or among the Algonquian.

[10 Daylight or light is conceived of as something different and distinct from the sun.

735 [11 That is, if you give away things frequently, especially to poor people.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



614 533 Associated with every clan was also four clan songs. These were supposed to be the four songs sung by the ancestors of each clan when they came to this earth. They were always sung on the death of an individual, and were supposed to serve as a mark of identification in the journey of the soul to the land of the spirits. The use of these [761] songs was so intimately associated with death that when some hardened offender, let us say, some individual who had killed a [627] member of the tribe and who refused to make atonement of any kind, was pursued, he defiantly sang his clan songs.

614 [302] As a last element in the clan complex may be mentioned the specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

We have now completed the discussion of clan organization. As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary association that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that it had grown around a strong social-political unit.

### INFLUENCE OF THE CLAN UPON CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

614 575 Perhaps the most characteristic trait of Winnebago culture is the existence of two strong socialized units, that of the clan and that of the secret society. Historically both are old, and even if we are of the opinion that the clan is historically younger, the political unit upon which it is superimposed is probably an ultimate historical fact. From the earliest times one would have supposed reciprocal influences to have occurred repeatedly. The nature of these influences, in so far as they are not conditioned by chance, would depend upon the respective center of gravity in either unit. It is evident that for the clan the organization was of paramount importance, and that the addition of cultural associations probably tended to strengthen its stability in this respect. On the other hand, the absence of political or governmental functions in the religious societies, and the clustering of the most multitudinous religious and shamanistic ideas within them, rendered the emotional unit of the latter the center from which influences would radiate. At the same time, the ceremonial unit of organization seems to have been so firmly fixed that any influence of the clan unit of organization upon it does not seem likely. As a matter of fact, in the typical schematic, religious society like the Medicine Dance, the Grizzly-Bear Dance, and Night-Spirit Dance, no influence is perceptible. However, these religious societies may be regarded as presenting no possible points of contact. Where, however, the bond of union is supernatural communication with a guardian spirit who subsequently became the clan animal, an obvious point of contact is given, and this brings to mind a very suggestive

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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614 acorns and nuts they called beans. The four that emerged soon
539 came upon the footprints of human beings.
776 And then they returned from the fields where they had been searching for food. "Oh, my; oh, my," they said, "over there we came across the foorprints of human beings." So they spoke. "Go again," he said, "go around a larger circle." So they went farther than before, and there they saw the people who had made the footprints. "Our friends are going about here," said the ones who had made the footprints and who were wolves. "Never shall we disobey one another's word, my friends," said the bear. And the wolf answered, "It shall be so."

[627] If one of the Bear clansmen had been killed and it was reported to the Wolf clan, the latter would revenge him. The Bear clan would act similarly. Then the bear said to the wolf, "My friend, whenever you die I shall put you away so that your soul may not be bothered by bad insects." And the wolf answered, "My friend, it shall be so, and when you die I will likewise put you away so that the bad spirits may not abuse your soul." Then they parted, after shaking each other's hands. The bears returned to their home in the south. The next time they came, it was to stay. They scattered themselves all over the earth, seeking newly ripened fruit of all kinds. In this manner they are still living on earth.

SIXTH VERSION [1]

Informant, member of the clan: Earthmaker made us and as he created us thus the story has come down. The story of our creation is told as follows:

"Get ready. We will converse together over this affair." So spoke the one in the south. He was but one of those whom Earthmaker had created. There were four brothers. The name of the oldest one was Black Person, that of the second Red Person. (Indeed he was very red.) The third one was called Blue Person, and the fourth one White Person.

"Younger brother, how is it going to be? I (the oldest), who am speaking, not fitted do I feel myself for the task. My temperament is indeed not fitted for the task. Perhaps you might have something to tell them. Try, therefore, to say something to them. They are about to have a gathering and it is time to start. Try to say something to them." "Older brother, the truth do you speak. I also feel even as you have said; I am not fitted for it. I really don't consider myself equal to the task. My younger brother only is the one fitted for it. He is clever. Our younger brother, he only must be the one." "The truth you have spoken, my brother. Our youngest brother only is fitted for the task. The announcement of the gathering has already been made, so let us council over it imme-

[1] Told as the origin myth of the Bear fast.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12



seems occasionally to have been extended to three or four clans. 614
Most informants gave these groups in such a manner that the 616
"friendship" relation was not postulated between clans belonging to different divisions; although one individual postulated them just on this basis, i.e., Thunderbird—Bear, Warrior—Wolf, etc. There can, however, be no doubt that the prevalent arrangement is: Thunderbird—Warrior; Eagle—Pigeon; Bear—Wolf; Buffalo—Water-spirit; Elk—Deer; Snake—Fish. Most informants do not claim any pairing for the Snake, while some associate it in a threefold grouping with the Buffalo and Water-spirit. The four clans of the *wangeregi* are generally united in a fourfold group of "friend," although some divide them into Thunderbird—Warrior and Eagle—Pigeon.

Under the term "friend clan" is included the idea of mutual 614
service. This becomes especially marked on two occasions; 574
first, when a member of one clan visits his "friend-clan," and [627]
~~second,~~ when an injustice has been done a member of the "friend-clan." On the former occasion every possible privilege is extended to him, even to his occupying the seat and bed of the host. There is no indication of "wife borrowing," however. On the latter occasion, the "friend-clan" will seek to revenge 614
the injustice just as if the wrong had been done one of its own members. The respect shown by one clan to its "friend-clan" [627]
is again apparent at the "naming" feast. There he may be [553]
called upon to give the dog names for an individual of the clan with which he is associated, and, at times, to lend one of his clan names to the latter.

The relation of "*hitcak'ɔ'ro*" or "friend-clan" is strictly 614
analogous to that which exists between two individuals who are 572
*hitcak'ɔ'ro* to each other. It is one of the characteristic traits [171]
of Siouan culture that two individuals often form a strong inextricable friendship. Not only are they always together, but the death of one on the warpath involves that of the other. The same intimate relationship seems to exist between an [604]
uncle (*hidek'*) and his nephews (*hitcɣcge*). There is, however, one fundamental difference between such relations as that existing between the *hidek'* and *hitcɣcge*, the members of the family group, and the members of the same clan, on the one hand, and the in-

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12



Bear, the doorway of his lodge; for the Wolf and Water-spirit, 614
water. They were not obtained for all the clans. We indicated
before that these "possessions" may have been primarily [778]
connected with the animals associated with the clan, upon which an additional socio-religious interpretation has been superimposed. The whole subject is, however, closely related to that of clan etiquette, for which no explanations can, of course, be given now.

### *The Clan Marks of Identification.*

As if more fully to set off the social unit of the clan, there have come to be associated with it definite marks of identification, such as symbols, property marks, facial decorations, and songs.

The symbols of only two clans were obtained, although a number of other clans seem to have possessed them. There [778]
were the war club (*nąmąlcɛ*) of the Thunderbird clan, and the peculiarly whittled stick (*namąxɪnixɪni*) of the Bear clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan died, a miniature war club was buried with him. Whether the *namąxɪnixɪni* [764]
was buried with a member of the Bear clan, we do not know.

The property mark consisted of the effigy of the clan animal, and was woven on such objects as bags, tobacco pouches, 614
etc. It was also frequently engraved on wooden objects. 421
Its most peculiar uses, however, were the emblematic earthen [532]
effigy mounds, in the shape of the clan animal, which were erected near the habitation of each clan in the village and in [361]
the centre of clan squash fields, corn fields, etc.[1]

Associated with every clan are also four clan songs. These 614
are supposed to be the four songs sung by the ancestors of each clan when they came to this earth. They are always 533
sung on the death of an individual, and are supposed to serve 764
as a mark of identification in the journey of the soul to the [775]
land of the spirits. The use of these songs is so intimately associated with death, that when some hardened offender, [627]

[1] For a fuller discussion of these, see Radin, *Some Aspects of Winnebago Archæology*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 13, 1911, pp. 517-538.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12



let us say, some individual who has killed a member of the tribe and who refuses to make atonement of any kind, is pursued, he defiantly sings his clan songs.

As a last element in the clan-complex may be mentioned the specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

We have now completed the discussion of clan organization. As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary associations that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that the complex has grown around a strong social-political unit.

## THE CLAN AS A SOCIO-CEREMONIAL COMPLEX.

Up to the present our attention has been directed entirely to the clan as a socio-political complex and only passing mention has been made of those religious or ceremonial associations that may also have clustered around it. Among the Omaha, as we have frequently pointed out, these latter associations were of paramount importance and probably dwarfed the development of the political functions. Among the Winnebago, on the whole, they were unimportant. This very fact makes the solitary instance in which a fairly marked development took place of all the greater value, quite apart from the fact that it happens to give, on the one hand, an exceptionally instructive illustration of the secondary association of a ceremonial function with a social unit, and, on the other, a similarly instructive illustration of the association of a function generally belonging to an individual shaman with a social unit. Such an association has taken place with the Bear clan, and, owing to its importance, we will quote the data in extenso. The ceremony is known as "soldiers' dance" (*manype waci*).

"When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village, the people go to the chief and say, 'Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!' And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks

701 Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to
* 159 be a leader of men. To become one, however, is very
867 difficult, the old people used to say. It may happen that
787 you merely pretend to be a leader of men, that you are but
a mere warrior in the ranks and yet take it upon yourself to
[686] lead a war-party and thus cause a needless waste of life,
that you do what is called "throwing away a life." That
is the most shameful of all acts. The relatives of the person
● [627] whom you have thus sacrificed would then have the right
to make you suffer, to torture you with burning embers.
And then your relatives would have to stand by, sad and
humiliated. Not with the blessing of one, not with the
blessings of twenty spirits, can you go on the warpath.
* 159 For that the blessings of all the spirits are necessary—those
867 on this earth, those under it and those who lie pinned
776 through it, the Island Weights; those in the waters and
787 those on the side of the earth, the winds, all four of them.
You need the blessings of the spirit who dispenses life from
one side of his body and death from the other, the bless-
ings of the Sun, the Moon, the Daylight, and the Earth.
All these Earthmaker has made controllers of war and by
787 all these must you be blessed in order to lead a war-party.
* 159 My son, if you cast off your dress for many people, that
867 is, if you give to the needy, your people will be benefited
[035] by your deeds. It is good thus to be honored by many
people. And even more will they honor you if you return
[554] victorious from the warpath with one of the four limbs, that
is, one of the four war honors. But if you obtain two, or
three, or perhaps even four limbs, then all the greater will
be the honor. Then whenever a war feast is given you will
receive part of the deer that is boiled, either part of its
ooo body or part of the head.[16] When on some other occasion,

[16] The meat of a deer at such a feast is given only to great warriors. The head is regarded as the choicest piece.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



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Any man who has been specially blessed with war powers may go on the warpath. Such a man must not merely be blessed with those general war powers that individuals obtain during their puberty fast, but must likewise be blessed with a definite enemy to kill or capture, as the case may be, immediately before he starts out. In practice this meant that whenever a person wished to go on the warpath he fasted in order to obtain the necessary guarantees of success. [787] An account of the powers granted by the spirit or spirits was then placed before the chief and if, in his opinion, they justified the undertaking, the man was permitted to go. If they were insufficient the chief expressed his disapproval and the contemplated undertaking had either to be given up or the man would be compelled to fast again for increased powers. There were a number of men who were unable to obtain the requisite powers. To them one of two alternatives was left open: they might either purchase sufficient powers to go on a warpath or they might volunteer to join a large warpath. A volunteer needed no special blessing. If he had one, it would certainly benefit him, but it was not necessary except as an additional precaution, for the leader of the war party (*dotca'hunka*) was supposed to be blessed specifically with every element necessary for a successful undertaking. As the Winnebago express it, he was blessed "with a complete road." In a war leader's blessing, everything must be provided—sufficient food, a definite number of enemies to kill, the exact place where they are to be killed, the exact time when they are to be killed, the exact manner in which they are to be killed, the exact manner in which the participants are to return to their homes, the safe return of all participants, and an infinite number of other minor points. As a volunteer went at the request of another man, the latter, and not he, took upon himself entire responsibility and the chief dealt directly with him. The chief would, in such a case, be particularly careful to see that every life that was risked was amply safeguarded. Otherwise the war party would not be permitted to start.

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A man may go on the warpath for two reasons: either to revenge a slain relative or in a general way because he thinks he has received sufficient power and wishes to obtain glory. If the incentive was revenge, he might pursue one of two methods. He might go to the shaman with offerings of tobacco and presents and tell him about the death of his relative and his desire for revenge; or he might take the matter in his own hand, fast, and after having stealthily prepared for the necessities of the warpath inform a friend and steal out with him in the middle of the night. Were he to take the first method, it would be the shaman who would fast and who would afterwards lead the party, taking along with him as many men as would follow him. [628]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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173 The other tribes of the second "migration" have semihistorical legends telling of their separation from the Winnebago. Major Bean told Maximilian that an Oto chief had informed him that originally the Winnebago inhabited the lakes and that they subsequently migrated to the Southwest, presumably in pursuit of buffalo. At Green Bay they divided, the Winnebago remaining there while the others continued their journey.

Dorsey was informed by Iowa chiefs[1] that "their people and the Oto, Missouri, Omaha, and Ponca 'once formed part of the Winnebago nation.' According to the traditions of these tribes, at an early period they came with the Winnebago from their priscan home north of the Great Lakes, but that the Winnebago stopped on the shore of a great lake (Lake Michigan), attracted by the abundant fish."

101 When the Winnebago were first discovered they were entirely surrounded by Central Algonquian tribes. To the north of them lay the Menominee on the shore of Green Bay, to the southeast the Miami, to the south and southwest the Sauk and Fox, and to the west the Ojibwa. The nearest of their kindred were in southern Iowa, western Wisconsin, and eastern Minnesota. Under these circum-
[177] stances it is not strange that the Winnebago show marked evidence of Central Algonquian influence (fig. 1).

174 At what time the Winnebago were isolated from their Siouan kindred it is impossible to state. We doubt, however, whether this occurred before the sixteenth century. The Central Algonquian tribes in this region are clearly intruders. The Ojibwa came from the northeast and the Fox, Miami, etc., from the south and the southeast. It seems clear, to judge from the number of effigy mounds found in the territory occupied by the Fox and Miami, that the Winnebago had lived there for a considerable length of time before they were pushed westward and northwestward by these tribes. When the Menominee arrived, and from what direction, it is difficult to determine. On purely linguistic grounds, judging from the close relationship of Menominee to Fox, we might assume that they, like the Fox and the Miami, entered Wisconsin from the south. In that case they might either be interpreted as representing the northernmost extension of the same migration which carried the Miami northward along the shore of Lake Michigan or as representing a prior invasion along the same route. If the latter assumption is correct, they may have arrived in Wisconsin before the Winnebago. One point seems
[648] to confirm the thesis of their priority, namely, that they were never at war with the Winnebago, and it hardly seems possible that, had

[1] Handbook of Amer. Inds., Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 30, part 1, p. 612, Washington, 1907.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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they forced their way through the country occupied by the Winnebago, war would not have occurred. 174 [648]

The Winnebago call themselves *Hotcangara*, which has been variously interpreted as "people of the parent speech" by James Owen Dorsey and as "big fish people" by other observers. Dorsey's explanation, which is the one most generally accepted, is most certainly wrong, and represents an interpretation read into the word to make it fit the legends which claimed that the dialect was the most archaic of all the Siouan languages. It is true that *ho* may mean "speech," but *tcunk* can only mean one thing, and that is "big, real." It is found with a number of animal names, such as *hetcunk*, "turtle," and *conktcunk*, "wolf." It corresponds strictly to the Dakotan *tank*, "large." *Ho* means "fish" in Winnebago. The name Winnebago, as is well known, is of Algonquian origin. 101 [114] [192]

The Winnebago were first encountered by white men in 1634, when Jean Nicolet visited them as agent for Governor Champlain. Where he encountered them is not definitely known. The Winnebago as a rule claim that it was at Green Bay. Some discussion has arisen of late years on this question. No contemporary narrative of the event exists, nor have the Winnebago any clearly marked legend that might be interpreted as referring to it. 175

An excellent description of their history has been given by P. V. Lawson, and from this we will quote at some length, selecting those periods that are of greatest importance in the history of the tribe and which can be illustrated by semihistorical legends still known to the Winnebago.

Much of our knowledge of the early history of the Winnebago is derived from Baqueville de la Potherie's Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale. A good deal of his information was obtained from Nicholas Perrot. For the period covering the years 1640–1660 we have the following information:[4]

> A few years ago, they numbered possibly 150 warriors. These savages have no mutual fellow-feeling; they have caused their own ruin, and have been obliged to divide their own forces. They are naturally very impatient of control, and very passionate; a little matter excites them; and they are great braggarts. They are, however, well-built, and are brave soldiers, who do not know what danger is; and they are subtle and crafty in war. Although they are convinced that their ancestors drew upon themselves the enmity of all the surrounding Nations, they cannot be humble. Their women are extremely laborious; they are neat in their houses, but very disgusting about their food. [162] [181] [152] [461] [264]

[4] The Winnebago tribe, in Wisconsin Archaeologist, vol. 6, no. 3, Milwaukee, 1907.
[4] Quoted in Lawson's paper, p. 22.

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175 Perrot also gives an account of the relentless war waged against them:

[839 266 648] This nation was a populous one, very redoubtable and spared no one; they violated all the laws of nature; they were Sodomites, and even had intercourse with beasts. If a stranger came among them, he was cooked in their kettles. The Malhouninis (Menomineeis) were the only tribe who maintained relations with them; they did not dare even to complain of their tyranny.

Lawson goes on to say:

175 648 So aggressive were the Winnebago that although their only arms "were stone hatchets and knives," they declared war on all the other tribes. Envoys sent to them by the Ottawa were eaten, which cruel deed so incensed the surrounding tribes that they formed an alliance and sent frequent war expeditions against the common enemy; and greatly harassed them. As a result of disagreements among themselves and the continued troublesome activities of the allied tribes, civil wars broke out among the Winnebago. For better protection against the tribes they were finally forced "to unite all their forces in one village, where they numbered four or five thousand men," but an epidemic occurred which soon reduced their number to 1,500.

[669 162 164 731] "Despite all these misfortunes, they sent a party of 500 warriors against the Outagamis (Foxs), who dwelt on the other shore of the lake; but all those men perished, while making that journey, by a tempest that arose."

We suppose that this disaster occurred on Little Lake Butte des Morts, as it has been stated that the Winnebago resided on an island, which we suppose was Doty Island. The Winnebago being now greatly reduced by despair and famine, the other tribes were moved to pity by their condition and ceased to make war, and the Illinois sent 500 men, including "30 of the most prominent persons in their nation," to carry to them a supply of provisions. These the Winnebago received "with the utmost gratitude;" but at the same time meditated sacrificing the Illinois to the shades of their dead. A large cabin was erected to lodge their guests, and arrangements made for a dance in their honor. While the Illinois were dancing their bowstrings were cut, and the Winnebago "flung themselves upon the Illinois, massacred them, not sparing one man, and made a general feast of their flesh."

[264] Reproaching themselves for this dastardly deed, and fearing the vengeance of the allied tribes when it should become known to them, the Winnebago "resolved to abandon the place which they were occupying," and "took refuge on an island, which has since been swept away by ice flows." There they considered themselves safe, as the Illinois did not use canoes. The Illinois, finding that their people did not return, investigated the place and found only their bones. In order to allow a proper period for mourning for the dead:

"They deferred hostilities until the second year, when they assembled a large body of men from all Nations who were interested in the undertaking; and they set out in the winter season, in order not to fail therein. Having reached the Island over the ice, they found only the cabins in which there still remained some fire, the Puans (Winnebago) had gone to their Hunt on the day before, and were traveling in a body, that they might not, in an emergency, be surprised by the Illinois."

They followed the hunters in the dead of winter, coming up to them on the sixth day and attacking their camp.

"So vigorous was their attack that they killed, wounded, or made prisoners all the Puans, except a few who escaped, and who reached the Malhouninis' village, but severely wounded by arrows."

He [Perrot] again refers to these traditional events as those of "the ancestors" of the tribe as he knew them, and which we judge to refer to ancestors of the Winnebago

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of possibly the year 1660. There is no record to say how many years before, though it was doubtless several score, for 50 years before La Potherie published his history Allouez had told the same story of the destruction of the Winnebago by the Illinois: 175 648

"About 30 years ago all the people of this nation were killed or taken captive by the Iliniouek with the exception of a single man, who escaped, shot through the body with an arrow."

This would place the event in about the year 1640.

He adds that when the captives were permitted to return to their homes this one was made a "Captain of his Nation," as having never been a slave. Shea commenting on this disastrous defeat of the Winnebago says, "If this strange event took place at all, we must ascribe it to an earlier date than 1639 (1634), when visited by Nicolet, who "found them prosperous, and we can hardly suppose a tribe almost annihilated and then restored to its former numbers in 30 years." . . . Nicolet, it will be remembered, was sent to this then unknown region for the purpose of "making peace" between the Winnebago and the Hurons. As the Winnebago were strong enough to command that attention from Governor Champlain, Doctor Shea is quite correct in supposing the Winnebago to have been "a prosperous tribe" in 1634. The events mentioned in the foregoing accounts are not historical, but traditional, for assuredly they did not take place after the coming of Nicolet, as he was followed by other white men in such short periods as to make it impossible for the occurrence of these stirring events to go unrecorded by others.

Charlevoix visited the tribe in 1720, and though a historian of note in old Canada, records the occurrence as history, though we have shown it to have taken place, if at all, more than a century before he went among them. He possibly got the story from the records of Allouez, made a half century before, though it may have been a riverside or cabin story heard by him at the time of his visit to this frontier of New France. He says:

"The Otchagras, who are commonly called Puans, formerly lived on the shores of the bay . . . but they were attacked by the Illinois, who slew great numbers of them; the rest took refuge on the river of the Outagamis (Fox River), which empties into the end of the bay. They settled upon the shores of a sort of lake (Lake Winnebago)." [131]

Charlevoix . . . adds another disaster not mentioned by the other old writers. In this same narrative he records that "sometime after" the Winnebago had settled on Lake Winnebago:

"They undertook to revenge the defeat which they had suffered from the Illinois. Six hundred of their best men embarked to seek their enemy; but while they were crossing Lake Michigan they were surprised by a furious gale, which caused them all to perish."[8] [731]

The Winnebago still tell of these events and practically in the same words as Perrot obtained them, as can be learned from the following versions obtained in 1910. 173

*a.* When the Winnebago first originated, they were holy and clever. They were equal to the spirits. In those days there lived a Winnebago who could fly like a bird, one who could fly as far as four days' journey from the village. There was another Winnebago who could scent anything as far away as four days' journey from the village. Then there was one man who could talk with the trees. They told him many things. Finally there was one who could transform himself into a buffalo. On account of these four men, it was

[8] Op. cit., pp. [illegible].

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173 them to make it rain. Then, after the rain had fallen, they wrung out their blankets and drank the water.

All this time the men of the tribe were being killed off. After a while they began to kill the male children too. Whenever they saw a child they raised up its dress and if it was a male child, they killed it. However, there was a young mother who had a boy, and fearing that if the enemy discovered him they would kill him, she tied a string to the end of the child's penis and pulled the string back under its legs so that the child was given the appearance of a girl. From this woman and her child all the pure blood Winnebago living to-day are descended.

The war against the Winnebago was ended by a young Winnebago chief painting himself blue and surrendering himself to the other tribes.

175 The most important events of Winnebago history during the
●648 eighteenth century were the various alliances into which they were drawn with and against the Fox Indians in the wars that the French waged against this brave tribe. The Winnebago at first allied themselves with the Fox, but afterwards joined the French. This alliance was destined to bring upon them a great disaster. Lawson describes this period in their history as follows.[1]

In pursuance of their policy to combine all the tribes against the Fox, the French in some manner won over the Winnebago, their former friends and allies. Thus we learn that in the autumn of 1729 word was brought to Quebec of an attack by the Winnebago, Ottawa, and Menominee on a Fox village, in which there were killed 100 Fox warriors and 70 women and children. Among the killed of the assaulting party were four Winnebago. . . . Another account gives this assault as on a party of Fox returning from a buffalo hunt, and as made by Ottawa, Chippewa, Menominee, and Winnebago. The Fox village contained 80 men, all of whom were killed or burned except three. The allied Indians burned the cabins and also killed 300 women and children. This probably occurred in the winter of 1729, as the reports are of the date of May 6, 1730.

The Winnebago having broken with their neighbors and friends, the Fox, by this treacherous and unprovoked slaughter, were now in terror for the consequences of their miserable acts. Further attempts against the Fox tribes having been projected from Quebec by the fall of 1729, Sieur Captain Marin appeared at the old French fort at La Baye (Green Bay), and repaired its fallen roofs. He had with him ten Frenchmen. On September 10th the Winnebago returned from their hunt and went to Marin to assure him that they still remained faithful to the French, at the same time presenting him with three slaves. They were rewarded with gifts of powder, bullets, hatchets, guns, and knives. Having ascertained that the Fox were not in their own country, the Winnebago took their families and camped on Dendo Island in the Fox River, adjoining their former location on Doty Island. Very soon thereafter the Fox and Sauk returned and surprised and killed some Winnebago fishermen. Then began a long siege of the Winnebago through the erection by the Fox on the Doty Island waterside of two forts to command the water in all directions.

In order to compensate the Fox for the loss of two of their number through treachery, and procure a cessation of hostilities, the Winnebago decapitated two Menominee

[1] Op. cit., pp. 52-57.

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who were with them, and delivered to them two others. But the Fox refused to be satisfied unless they also delivered to them four of their own number. This proposal 175 648 the Winnebago considered an insult, and the siege was resumed. After the fighting had continued for about six weeks, Capt. Marin with five Frenchmen and thirty-four Menominee, came to the assistance of the besieged. When the treachery of the Winnebago in giving up several of their comrades to the Fox became known to the Menominee it required all Marin's powers of persuasion to prevent their deserting from his small command and leaving the besieged to their fate. After four days of fighting with the relief party under Marin it was discovered that the Fox had raised the siege by decamping in the night. Thus were the Winnebago, who had in the meantime been reduced by famine to the eating of boiled bear skins, delivered from the enemy. Marin's force thereupon retired, the Winnebago accompanying him to Green Bay, "where they established themselves in a fort."

For a more detailed account of the same events see Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XVII, 88-100. The Winnebago have [113] preserved a clear recollection of these stirring events in the semi-historical tale known as *Teap'o'sgaga*.

### THE TALE OF TCAP'O'SGAGA[8]

In the early days of their existence the Winnebago were a successful people. They all fasted and were blessed by the spirits. It is 173 for that reason that they were powerful and were called *Hotangara*.

At one time a Fox Indian, whose nation was about to be destroyed by its enemies, came to these much-feared Winnebago and said, "Brothers, I have come to you for aid."

The Winnebago lived on one side of the lake[9] and the Fox on the other and (because of the appeal) the former made friends of the 173 648 latter, it is said, and the chiefs presented the pipe to one another. When chiefs exchange pipes with one another a very sacred bond is established. Thus many Winnebago and Foxes became friends, and Winnebago men married Fox women and Fox men married Winnebago women.

There was once a very famous warrior among the Winnebago whose crops were molested by the Foxes. *Teap'o'sgaga's* wife[10] thereupon said to him, "Why don't you take them (the marauders) to task?" Then *Teap'o'sgaga* went to the Foxes and said, "Boys, all the watermelons are yours when they are ripe, if you desire to eat them." "All right," they answered.

On the morning after the second night *Teap'o'sgaga's* wife woke up very early and went out to inspect the crops. Again they had been disturbed, so she immediately went back exclaiming, "How terrible: The largest and best of *Teap'o'sgaga's* crops have been

[8] This has also been published by me with the accompanying Winnebago text in the Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society, 1914, pp. 193-207, Madison, 1915.
[9] Probably at the junction of the Fox River with Lake Winnebago.
[10] This name means White-Grass.

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648 damaged. Indeed, you (*Teap'o'sgaga*) should have forbidden them." Then *Teap'o'sgaga* went over and forbad them.

Early in the morning after the third night the old woman again woke up and went to inspect the crops. Again they had damaged almost everything. "The nicest of *Teap'o'sgaga's* crops they have destroyed. He should have forbidden them. Why indeed did you not forbid it? They have utterly destroyed your crops." Then *Teap'o'sgaga* got up and said, "I will go and forbid them." So he went over to the Foxes and said, "Leave my crops alone, I told you. Instead of that you have destroyed them. If again to-night you dare do this, as I am a man who thinks (of revenge), beware. Dare do it again (and take the consequences)," he said.

One of the wicked ones among the Foxes who was doing this said, "O pshaw: He acts as though he were the only man (i. e., great warrior) in creation."

The next morning *Teap'o'sgaga* himself got up early and went to inspect his crops, and indeed they had been utterly destroyed. What had been left (from previous depredations) had now been utterly ruined, and even the vines had been torn up. *Teap'o'sgaga* felt grieved and said, "Have my attendants go and call my war-bundle bearer."[11] They went and called him and when he (and others) had arrived (they asked), "What are we to do?" *Teap'o'sgaga* said, "Put on the food." Then they prepared the food.[12] When the food had been cooked they went to invite as the feasters the most important (of the people). When the feasters finished, then he said, "I am going on the warpath. At the end of the path I see my enemy. I am going to have the pleasure of killing the ten men that my grandfathers (the spirits), who are in control of war, obtained for me. For ten chiefs I am going."

Near the door he indicated what would be the first stopping place. Then he placed the war-bundle across the entrance and jumped over it.[13] Then he put the war-bundle on his back and walked toward his boat, his attendants accompanying him. They had hardly pushed off when they were greeted by a "Here! here!" Then they saw a very long boat filled with chiefs, all of whom were dressed in their best finery; their faces painted blue and medals around their necks.[14] They (the Winnebago) permitted the boat to pass and then when it was exactly alongside of them, they shot the occupants and tipped the boat over. Soon after, a strong wind arose and all the people in the village started out to give chase (to the enemy).[15]

[11] The youths who carry the war-bundle on the warpath. They are generally the nephews of the war leaders.

[12] For the war-bundle or winter feast which is always given before a war party starts.

[13] It was always customary for the leader to do this.

[14] The boat contained the Fox chiefs who had come to make reparation for the damage inflicted upon *Teap'o'sgaga's* crops.

[15] I. e., started on a tribal warpath.

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The Foxes in their village said, "Say, I believe the chiefs have been killed. This is a time of war. *Teap'o'sgaga* has been angered. When *Teap'o'sgaga* gets very angry he generally does what he threatens." Then the bad Foxes said, "Perhaps they are eating the objects we donated".[18] 173 648

"The Foxes will not be coming back for some time" (the Winnebago said). (The Foxes) at the same time had gathered together and discussed the fate of the chiefs who had gone to give themselves up (to the Winnebago) and had never returned. "Very likely they are not alive any more," they said.

*Teap'o'sgaga* returned to the Winnebago village after he killed (the chiefs) and then started for the smaller of the two villages in which the Foxes lived. It was at the smaller village that the lake was narrowest. Toward this one he was going, he said.

He had again planned a war-party. All those within the village who were likely to show any skill in killing men prepared themselves for (attacking) the smaller village. They started at dawn, and they reached the smaller village at night and ferried themselves across. By dawn all had crossed and the village was surrounded. As soon as it was broad daylight they gave the war-whoop in four different places. Then they rushed on to the small village and destroyed it completely. Then they burned up the houses and went home.

When they got home everyone was happy. They danced the victory dance and at night they had the *Hok'ire're* dance. So happy were the Winnebago. [727]

Although they thought they had killed all in the smaller village, one young girl who was lying on top of a small cliff, near where they crossed, fasting, had not been killed. Now the Foxes were living also in a large village right across the lake from the Winnebago. To this place the young woman who had not been killed went, and when she got to the big Fox village she told them the news, namely, "The Winnebago have completely destroyed us, I believe. Some of them (the enemy) I partially recognized. Go and see, however, whether they were Winnebago, for (if it was they) the lodges will be found burned to the ground, that being their custom when they go on a war-path."

Then the older Foxes went and when they returned, spies announced, "Yes, they were Winnebago, for the lodges have been burned down. It is true that the chiefs who had gone to make peace have been killed." Then the Foxes went into mourning for them. "There are many of the Winnebago and we will not be able to fight them," said the Foxes. Indeed the Foxes were afraid. Although a Fox disliked a Winnebago not one could he kill.

[18] I. e., the chiefs who went to make peace.

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173 All the Foxes went into mourning.

648 Ten Winnebago youths proud of their tattoos had been out (in the woods) before these troubles began. As they were returning they said to the one who was their leader, "Let us go around the large village and court women." "Only if you go around the small village will you escape unharmed," said the leader. "We will go by the large village even if all of us are killed by the spirits," they said. "Well, let us go by way of the small village," the war leader said to them. "If you are afraid, as you say, you may go alone by way of the smaller village; we, however, will go by the way of the large village." The leader, however, refused and also went by way of the large village. That they would die, he knew very well, but nevertheless he accompanied them to the edge of the big village. When they got there (they said), "Let us paint ourselves."

Then they painted themselves, and as they were painting themselves an old man in deep mourning appeared and said, "Are you returning from your travels? Stay with us, for our men are giving a feast. I will tell them to come after you."

Then he went away and soon a young man came (and said), "You are invited. Come right along." "Men, you have seen that all are in mourning. Once more, let me tell you something. In the feast in which you are now to take part, do not lend your knives to anyone. Hold your knife ready," he told them. "All right," said they.

Then they entered the lodge and when all were in they (the Foxes) made room for them and they sat down. Then the host arose and spoke and pointed to a place that was nearest him, for the leader. Then toward another place he pointed for the second and thus each one (Winnebago) received a seat. With each Winnebago were placed several Foxes, making eight in all.

[534] Then the host spoke, "As I rise, I will blow upon my flute and have a song started. I am anxious to have them start a song," he said. Then he rose and blew his flute and as soon as the song was started the Winnebago were seized. It was a long time before they could seize the war leader, but the others had lent their knives and were consequently seized easily. The war leader killed many, but finally his knife broke and he was seized. Then they bound him and prepared the torture. Ten posts they stuck in the ground. Then the war leader said, "I told you of this, but you doubted me. Here we are going to die."

Then the youths came after them and they began torturing them. They applied firebrands to them. They burnt them in those places where they would suffer most. Then the war leader said, "Well, my boys, we are now courting women."

Thus they burned them to death and destroyed them utterly.

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The Foxes now offered tobacco to many different tribes, giving them beautifully decorated pipes. They desired to annihilate the Winnebago. All the different peoples liked this because they hated the Winnebago. They made their plans carefully, but even then they could not defeat (the Winnebago) in battle. They (the Winnebago) always kept on moving back as the others tried to overcome them. The Winnebago were driven into the water. They crossed to an island, taking with them the women and children. Here they lived in lodges and ate the crops as they stayed there. All summer they were besieged on this island, as the enemy hoped to destroy them.

One night a man wearing a black skin robe inside out, said, "This they are going to do to you, we heard. So far only the fleetest have come. Soon the slower ones will come, peeling basswood bark as they go along with which to bind the people. If some are still alive we can then take them home bound."

*Tcap'o'sgaga* felt sad and said, "He will die, the one who said that." Then he shot at him and tumbled him down. The one who had said this was sitting on top of a tree.

One day (the Foxes) said, "Turn over to us those Menominee who have married into your tribe. We are longing for some Menominee soup. If you give these (men) to us we will let up on you." The two Menominee among the Winnebago were great warriors and it was for them that (the Foxes) were asking. These Menominee talked to one another and the one who spoke first said, "It is a hard thing to be a son-in-law in a tribe not your own, my father used to say to me. Whenever the members of the tribe are in difficulties and they wish to save themselves, they turn (their attention to the strangers among them)." "Thus it is" (said the other), "but they may sacrifice me." "My friend, I feel the same way about it just as my father told me. I spoke to you because I thought that you might dread it."

Then the Winnebago gave the Menominee away, but the Foxes did not let up on them.

After a while the Menominee came to the aid of the Winnebago, but the Foxes said, "Wait a little; let us speak to you first." The Menominee listened and the Foxes told them, "The Winnebago are not to be pitied. There are two Menominee who had married among them and they handed them over to us. In this way we again drank Menominee soup. For this reason am I speaking to you. You may help them now, if you wish to, now that I have told you."

The Menominee had come to help the Winnebago, but now that the two Menominee had been handed over to the Foxes they turned back.

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173 *Trap'o'sgaga* had been offered tobacco. "Well," he said, "I will
●48 try it." At night he started out and jumped into the water. Across there were enemies, so he turned himself into a goose. In the middle of the lake, a lone goose suddenly squawked. Those across shouted, "*Trap'o'sgaga* is over there." "Yes," was the answer. Then he went around the shallow water and crossed over, and as he sat there bathing some one went by. They said to him, "Are you cooling yourself off with water?" "Yes," he answered.

Then he got himself ready and went to the French and when he arrived among them he said, "Father, different tribes banded together are trying to destroy us." "My child, go home, for I will come to-morrow."

When *Trap'o'sgaga* returned he went around the other tribes. He went across the island. When he was home he said to the Winnebago, "Our father is going to come." All therefore expected that their father would come. Soon after the French ship came in sight. The other tribes went toward the boat as it came in sight. The Winnebago saw them go toward it. The Winnebago were frightened as they saw the other people go toward the boat, thinking that the French might take part against them.

Then the other tribes spoke to the French. "Father, you know very well that the Winnebago are bad people. Just as a big dog jumps on to a small dog and would like to kill it, so the Winnebago used to do to us. Let us therefore reduce them to ashes." The Frenchman agreed with them and said, "You have spoken the truth and I will help you. I will let you go on (if you wish) but the result will be simply that you will reduce everything to ashes. This is what will happen if you continue. You know that the Winnebago gets very resourceful when he starves. That is his nature and therefore I will take him home with me and fatten him up for you. But you must do what I now tell you. From whatever different places you come, go back to them. If you don't do it, as long as I live, never will I sell any ammunition to you. If you do not let up on the Winnebago, I will give them ammunition and lend them my own men." "All right," said they.

Then they scattered and the women and children were taken into the boat. The men who could walk fast, walked. As soon as he had brought them back near the fort he gave them food with which to sustain themselves. When they were strong enough he bade them flee and gave them good guns and as much food as they could carry in their boats. Coffee, sugar, bread, and all kinds of food he provided for them and he said, "Children, as you're about to flee (remember this). Never hunt fish with a spear. You might thus let a fish escape and if it dies later on and (the enemy) hook a dead fish and inspect it, they will say, 'This fish was speared and got away

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and died and therefore they (the Winnebago) have passed here.' 173
Likewise, if you build a fire, always cover up the embers, for if you 648
should throw away any into the water (you would be detected)."

Then they went away in boats and returned to the lake. When they came to the narrow place where the main body of water lies there they went ahead along the left branch. Now this is all of this.

After a while the tribes came to see the Frenchman, for it was about the time fixed, and they said, "How have you been getting along?" Then he said, "Children, you know what kind of people the Winnebago are. We watched them very closely, but they got away, in what direction I do not even know. In the morning they were gone. I believe they went downstream, although I haven't even hunted for them upstream."

Well, all these different tribes looked for the Winnebago, for they wished to trail them and kill them. Now, although the Frenchman had expressly forbidden them, sure enough (the Foxes) found a fish that had been speared. "They've come past here," they said. However, when they came to the fork of the stream they didn't know which way (the Winnebago) had gone, but they noticed embers in the water. "They've gone by here." As it was impossible to go to the end of the stream in boats, all the half-breed Foxes got out (and walked). Soon they saw the oval lodges. "There they are," they said. For that reason the Foxes carefully looked them over and watched them. They inquired about them and found out that they had passed by.

The road (trail) was visible, so they chased them. Soon a cold autumn spell overtook them and they (the enemy) gave up the chase and returned home.

We will not follow the course of Winnebago history through all 114
its vicissitudes from their defeat by the Foxes to the British and 175
American occupancy, but only indicate important facts. An important local event was the coming of the Frenchman Decora among them and his marriage to the daughter of the chief of the tribe. An account of this has been preserved by the Decora family, although it is clearly mixed up with what we believe is an account of the first contact of the Winnebago with the French.

### HOW THE WINNEBAGO FIRST CAME INTO CONTACT WITH THE FRENCH AND THE ORIGIN OF THE DECORA FAMILY

The Winnebago originated at a place called Red Banks (Green 173
Bay, Wis.) (pl. 1). They had no tools to work with at that time. All they had were bows and arrows and a fire-starter. They had no iron, and if they saw a stone that was naturally sharpened in any way it was considered sacred and they offered tobacco for it. They had [276]
tobacco from the beginning. It was their most valued possession.

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They say that the tobacco was given to them directly and that Earthmaker loves the Winnebago more than any other race. For that reason they were very clever. Now this is what the old men have said and handed down to us. 173 276

Once something appeared in the middle of the lake (Green Bay). They were the French; they were the first to come to the Winnebago. The ship came nearer and the Winnebago went to the edge of the lake with offerings of tobacco and white deerskins. There they stood. When the French were about to come ashore they fired their guns off in the air as a salute to the Indians. The Indians said, "They are thunderbirds." They had never heard the report of a gun before that time and that 's why they thought they were thunderbirds. 173 276 648 177

Then the French landed their boats and came ashore and extended their hands to the Winnebago, and the Indians put tobacco in their hands. The French, of course, wanted to shake hands with the Indians. They did not know what tobacco was, and therefore did not know what to do with it. Some of the Winnebago poured tobacco on their heads, asking them for victory in war. The French tried to speak to them, but they could not, of course, make themselves understood. After a while they discovered that they were without tools, so they taught the Indians how to use an ax and chop a tree down. The Indians, however, were afraid of it, because they thought that the ax was holy. Then the French taught the Indians how to use guns, but they held aloof for a long time through fear, thinking that all these things were holy.

Suddenly a Frenchman saw an old man smoking and poured water on him. They knew nothing about smoking or tobacco. After a while they got more accustomed to one another. The Indians learned how to shoot the guns and began trading objects for axes. They would give furs and things of that nature for the guns, knives, and axes of the whites. They still considered them holy, however. Finally they learned how to handle guns quite well and they liked them very much. They would even build fires at night so that they might try their guns, for they could not wait for the day, they were so impatient. When they were out of ammunition they would go to the traders and tell their people that they would soon return. By this time they had learned to make themselves understood by various signs. [439]

The second time they went to visit the French they took with them all the various articles that they possessed. There the French taught them how to sew, how to use an ax, and how to use a knife. Then the leader of the whites took a liking to a Winnebago girl, the daughter of the chief, and he asked her parents for permission to marry her. They told him that her two brothers had the right to give her away in marriage. So he asked them and they consented. 173 648 [177]

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173 Then he married her. He lived there and worked for the Indians
● 648 and stayed with them for many years and he taught them the use of many tools. He went home every once in a while and his wife went with him, but he always came back again. After a while a son was born to him and then another. When the boys were somewhat grown up he decided to take his oldest son with him to his country and bring him up in such a way that he would not be in danger, as was the case here in the woods. The Indians consented to it and they agreed that the mother was to bring up the youngest child.

So he took his oldest boy home with him and when he got home he went to live with his parents, as he had not been married in his own country. He was a leader of men. The boy was with him all the time and everyone took a great liking to him. People would come to see him and bring him presents. They gave him many toys. However, in spite of all, he got homesick and he would cry every night until he fell asleep. He cried all the time and would not eat. After a while the people thought it best to bring him back to his home, as they were afraid that he would get sick and die. Before long they brought him back. The father said: "My sons are men and they can remain here and grow up among you. You are to bring them up in your own way and they are to live just as you do."

The Indians made them fast. One morning the oldest one got up very early and did not go out fasting. His older uncle, seeing him try to eat some corn, took it away from him and, taking a piece of charcoal, mashed it, rubbed it over his face, and threw him out of doors. He went out into the wilderness and hid himself in a secret place. Afterwards the people searched for him everywhere, but they could not find him. Then the people told the uncle that he had done wrong in throwing the boy out. The latter was sorry, but there was nothing to be done any more. In reality the uncle was afraid of the boy's father. They looked everywhere but could not find him.

After a full month the boy came home and brought with him a circle of wood (i. e., a drum). He told the people that this is what he had received in a dream, and that it was not to be used in war; that it was something with which to obtain life. He said that if a feast was made to it, this feast would be one to Earthmaker, as Earthmaker had blessed him and told him to put his life in the service of the Winnebago.

From this man they received many benefits. He was called to take the foremost part in everything. They called him the Frenchman, his younger brother being called *Trap'e'sgaga*, White-throat. And as they said, so it has always been. A person with French blood has always been the chief. Only they could accomplish anything among the whites. At the present time there is no clan as numerous

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as the descendants of that family and the object that he said was 173
sacred (the drum) is indeed sacred. It is powerful to the present 648
day. His descendants are the most intelligent of all the people and they are becoming more intelligent all the time. What they did was the best that could be done. The ways of the white man are the best. This is the way they were brought up.

This is the end of the history of the Decoras.

One of the interesting developments resulting from the Indian con- 792
tact with the whites has been the appearance of prophets. In almost [177]
all cases these prophets were concerned with attempts to so adapt the life of their fellow-Indians to the new conditions that they would be better able to cope with the invaders who were sweeping all before them. Whether prophets sprang up only in response to the peculiar conditions resulting from the presence of the whites it is impossible to say, but there seems no reason to believe that such had always been the case. It is quite possible that conditions similar to those developing from the occupancy of America by Europeans had occurred in pre-Columbian times when one tribe was hard pressed by another.

The Winnebago seem to have had their share of prophets, and seem likewise to have been influenced by some of the great prophets of other tribes, like the Shawnee prophet. An interesting account of what he told the Winnebago has been preserved and we will give it at length.

One of the suggestive things about the following account is the way in which the informant, who is evidently a devout Peyote follower, [794]
connects the teachings of the Shawnee prophet with the modern Peyote movement, thus evincing a remarkable feeling for historical continuity.

### WHAT THE SHAWNEE PROPHET TOLD THE WINNEBAGO

Now this is what the Winnebago heard from the Shawnee prophet; 792
this is what he said, it is said, by those who heard him: 173

"Let the people give up the customs they are now observing and I will give them new ones." This is what he said.

Some of the Winnebago did this and threw away their war bundles. But he had meant their bad customs. Some also threw away their good medicines. At last they decided to go over to where he was. A man named Smoke-Walker led a number of young men over. "We will walk as the thunderbirds do," said the leader. Then a great and holy man called Dog-Head said that he also was going along. He was then an old man. The leader said, "You had better not come along for we are going to walk as the thunderbirds do, and for that reason I wish only young men." But Dog-Head said, "I am going

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172 short that they approach the oval and platform mound types, while the longest are over 900 feet in length.

The straight pointed linear is usually of considerable length and differs from the pure linear as given above in having one end tapering to a long drawn out point. . . .

Club-shaped linears are frequently found . . . . and kidney-shaped linears are not wanting. . . .

The various linear types described above are sometimes modified by an enlargement at one end. . . . This ranges from a low, flattened enlargement to a rounded, well built conical mound. Various projections or appendages to some of the linear forms . . . give figures that shade toward effigies proper. These types of linear mounds are mingled in the mound groups as shown in the various group plats.

Besides the types already discussed there are peculiar combinations and composite mounds which do not admit of any rational explanation.[3]

Many explanations have been given by investigators and, for that matter, by Indians themselves, of the significance of these linear mounds. Not only is it necessary to account for the peculiar and manifold shapes, but for the equally strange combinations into which they have entered. With regard to the latter type, Mr. Stout refuses even to suggest an interpretation. He, however, takes a determined stand with regard to the linear mounds proper and interprets them as having been constructed for the purpose of symbolizing inanimate things, and consequently as really conventionalized effigies. This seems to him the only satisfactory explanation. "It is evident," he says, "that there are intermediate or transitional forms between the linears and the pure effigy types with which they are mingled."[4] He admits the existence of linear mounds extending westward into Minnesota and Manitoba, far beyond the limits of the effigy type, but he does not believe it necessary either to regard these latter as effigies or to change his interpretation of the significance of the former. Mr. Stout's interpretation is indeed a purely arbitrary one. Whereas his identification of the effigy mounds was based upon information obtained directly from some Winnebago Indians, that of the linear is based upon what he thought was the necessity of the case.

Inquiries made among the Winnebago of Wisconsin by the writer brought out the fact that the Indians were unanimous in claiming their forefathers as the authors of the mounds, but they were not at all unanimous as to their significance. By far the largest number of individuals, however, insisted that these linears were defensive works behind which they dodged during battle. These must not be confused with anything in the nature of breastworks or fortifications. The Indians claimed that these mounds ought to be found in great [648] numbers along Lake Koshkonong, because it was there that a terrific struggle had once been waged by the Winnebago against one of

[3] Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly, Vol. XX, no. 1, Jan., 1911, pp. 22-23.
[4] Ibid., pp. 24-25.

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their hereditary enemies. As a matter of fact, according to Mr. Stout, in the small area of 31 square miles around the lake, no less than 481 linear mounds have been found, and, if we take into consideration the fact that but 50 miles to the northwest, in the Sauk County area, 734 were found, we have within a radius of 231 square miles an enormous number of linear mounds. Whether, however, this has anything to do with the statements of the Indians mentioned above is very doubtful. When the writer called the Indians' attention to the fact that structures that were so low could hardly serve as an adequate protection against arrows they retorted by saying that the Indians did not stand up when attacked but lay stretched on the ground behind the mounds. [172 248]

The same two areas that yielded such a large number of linear mounds were also rich in effigy and conical mounds, containing 225 of the former and 646 of the latter. The conclusion is thus forced upon us that we have here the seat of a large number of Winnebago settlements. The linear mounds may therefore be said to be characteristic features of certain villages. A similarly large number of linear mounds seems to exist in Crawford County, according to the investigations of Lapham. It is possible that a continuation of thorough and systematic studies like those made by Mr. Stout in Sauk County and Lake Koshkonong will bring to light many such linear mound areas closely associated with village sites. [361]

With regard to the Winnebago interpretation given above it might be said that we know of numerous battles that occurred both along Lake Koshkonong and the Mississippi, and that it would require no manipulation of the facts to accept the Indians' explanation. It might, nevertheless, justifiably be asked why these peculiar shapes? They can hardly have had any importance in warfare.

As opposed to the view advanced above, various interpretations have been given at different times. Peet regarded the linear mounds as game drives, but this explanation seems to have been quite arbitrary. At least we know of no facts that were brought forth in its defense.

Although the interpretation that we were here dealing with defensive structures was by far the most common, two other explanations were obtained, one to the effect that the linear mounds were the bases of lodges and the other that some, at least, were snake effigies. It is impossible to say anything about the latter contention, although there may be more in it than is suspected. The other explanation, even though they had a special name for the projections that are often found at one end of the linears (*naici*, or wood houses), must be accepted with caution. The enormous length of some of the linears hardly seems to support such an assump-

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224 825 or hear the noise and run away. For this reason the hunters are very careful about these two things—namely, the number of bears shot and the direction of the wind. The method of hunting bears when the acorns fall and they come to the open or cleared spaces is known as the *hiruci'e* method. When the bears eat acorns then only is it easy to find them and kill them without much effort.

224 [721 648] *Description of a buffalo hunt.* Whenever the Winnebago went buffalo hunting, they always went in large numbers, for the people used to say that on a buffalo hunt, they are likely to encounter their enemies and a fight might take place. It is even said that some people went purposely for the fighting. They generally went together with the *Homanna* (Missouri ?), Waxoterra, Iowa, and *Wodpidpdpra*, the Otoe. Many women accompanied them. It is said that they could always tell where the buffalo were by the dust they encountered, for the dust raised by the trampling of the buffalo rose high in the air. They would always start out for the buffalo early in the morning on fast horses and try to ride up along the right side of the female buffalo, for they only killed the bulls afterward. They shot the buffalo with bow and arrows. When riding horseback, the bow is always drawn back with the right hand. The reason they try to kill the female buffalo first is because they always run away while the bulls do not.

While hunting the buffalo they were always bound to meet some of their enemies and a fight would ensue, so that when they returned, they would bring back not only [727] buffalo but also scalps, and immediately after their return the Victory Dance would be celebrated.

224 721 A different account of a buffalo hunt was obtained from another informant (J. H.):[4]

[342] Whenever we go on a buffalo hunt we camp in a circle, with the soldiers in front. They always carried long poles to be used in the construction of tipis. [This statement was made by a number of persons whose information was generally accurate. As [237 372] they were bound for the open prairie where there was a scarcity of wood, buffalo manure was always carried for fuel.]

As soon as the chief decided to go on a hunt he gave a feast [war feast] to which he invited everyone. This was generally in June. As soon as the feast was over a hunting council was held. Then the chief appointed public criers who went around the [203] village announcing the time for starting, etc. Then all went to the lodge of the chief of the Bear clan. There the ten best warriors were selected, who were to go ahead of the main body and reconnoiter for both buffalo and enemies. These started immediately and if they returned with the news that they had found many buffalo and enemy at the same time, fights frequently took place. Ten warriors always went ahead and the old warriors generally stayed in the rear behind the women in order to protect them better. As soon as they came to the place where the buffalo were seen they followed their trail and killed them. The flesh was cut up into large chunks, which were afterwards dried on the grass. Then when they had enough they all returned home, observing, of course, the same order of march as when they started. When they reached their home they gave another war feast at which all thanked the spirits for their successful return.

223 [762] *Pigeon hunt.*—The pigeons are "chief"[5] birds and they would be hunted whenever the chief decided to give the chief feast. The entire tribe was always invited to participate in the meal served, so that many pigeons were needed. The pigeons generally make their nests near human habitations. Sometimes there would be 20

[4] As his grandfather was a Dakota, J. H. may have confused in his account Dakota customs with those of the Winnebago. Apart from this consideration, it should be said that J. H. was an exceedingly unreliable informant.

[5] They are called "chief" birds because the pigeon belongs to the same division as does the Thunderbird, or Chief, clan.

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the old man went to a certain place he would find them. He went and found it was so. 787

### Tales Concerning Midjistega

Recently the Potawatomi were going on the warpath and a number of other tribes were going along with them. As they were making their preparations they spent the evenings exhibiting the various powers they possessed and which they had obtained during their 'asta. 648 789 796 726 791

One day Robert Lincoln's father heard that a Winnebago was going to come and give a grizzly bear dance. Old Lincoln and a few other Potawatomi decided to go over and watch him. When they arrived at the lodge they were told that the name of the Winnebago was *Midjistega*. They were also told that this *Midjistega* was going to make some gunpowder (in a magical manner). When they heard this, the Potawatomi said that if he could make his teeth protrude from his mouth he might be able to make gunpowder, but that otherwise he could not.

In the middle of the lodge where this performance was to be held there was a wooden dish filled with charcoal near which *Midjistega* was sitting. He had beautiful hair and he had marks made by white clay in the corners of his eyes and mouth. When the singers in the lodge began to sing for him he ran around the lodge on all fours, four times. Then he took up the dish of charcoal and shook it. While doing this he made a noise like a grizzly bear. Then his teeth began to protrude. When he had gone around the lodge four times the charcoal turned into gunpowder. Then he took a handful of it and threw it into the fire and it exploded. The members of the different tribes present took some of it and put it in their war-bundles. It is only a short time ago that a Winnebago war-bundle that was supposed to have some of this gunpowder was stolen. It belonged to a man named Buchanan.

Old man Lincoln had never seen any Winnebago before this, but he could understand their language and he interpreted all that *Midjistega* said. The Potawatomi around him asked whether he had learned the language from some of his Winnebago relatives but he said he had not.

After showing that he could make gunpowder in this way, *Midjistega* made some plug tobacco. He cut the bark of some walnut trees into the shape of plug chewing tobacco and put it in a white deerskin on top of which was placed a piece of real plug tobacco. Then *Midjistega* said, "Now since I have made gunpowder I will also make some plug tobacco." Then he took the bundle and danced around the lodge with it and by the time he had danced around the lodge the third time the odor of tobacco became very

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648 strong. After he had danced around for the fourth time he opened
789 up his package and there was the tobacco. Then he spoke to the
796 people, "You people of different tribes, the one that is dancing
726 with me will obtain the first war-honor on the warpath that you
791 are planning now, for I am giving him that honor and that power."

After this he told them that he would make them some paint, as they seemed to be short of it then. He took a wooden dish and filled it full of ashes and covered it up with a white deerskin. Then he danced around the lodge. As he was dancing around for the third time, old Lincoln thought he noticed yellow-colored paint. The fourth time he danced around, the paint turned into a red color. When, finally, *Midjistega* took the cover off, there was red paint of a very fine quality. Then the members of the different tribes distributed it among one another.

After this he made some axes. He molded some clay into the shape of axes and put them into a deerskin. On top of this bundle he put a real metal ax. Then taking this bundle he started to dance around the lodge. As he went around the lodge the third time, old Lincoln thought he noticed something shining. After he had gone around the fourth time he took the cover off and there were some real axes. They were all new and bright.

Then he decided to make some hoes, and then some awls. All of these he made of clay. Then he made some needles of deer hair. Then, noticing some boys playing with some basswood bark, he asked them to give him some, and out of it he made ribbons of four different colors, blue, white, red, and black.

Then he said, "As I have made almost everything, I will now try and make some whisky. If I fail there will be no harm done anyhow." Old Lincoln told his people what *Midjistega* was saying. Then they placed a new pail full of water before him. He took a flute and began to dance around the lodge. After he had made the first circuit of the lodge he held the flute near the pail, almost sticking it into the water. The second time he approached the pail he stuck the flute into the water just a little bit. The third time he came near it he stuck the flute into the water and stirred it around. By that time Old Lincoln could smell the odor of whisky pretty strongly. Then *Midjistega* went around the lodge for the fourth time and finally stirred the water with his flute for a long time, and taking a drink from the pail said, "It is whisky." Then he passed it around and everyone present took a drink. Old Lincoln, however, did not touch it. Then his father told him to drink it, as it was holy and had been made by a spirit. Then Old Lincoln drank some, and, sure enough, it was whisky, although it was colorless.

726 After that, all the people went on a warpath. However, the per-
555 son to whom *Midjistega* had promised the first war honor only obtained

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the second one, Old Lincoln himself obtaining the first. The first war honor was a quantity of wampum beads and the second a wampum belt. Both the one who got the second prize and Old Lincoln brought back with them an enemy's head.

From that time on *Midjistega* stayed with the Winnebago and he and Old Lincoln became great friends, living together, one of the reasons being that Old Lincoln could understand Winnebago.

One day they ran short of corn meal, so they decided to go and trade some furs for corn meal. They had plenty of furs because they spent most of their time hunting. When they got to the trader's store *Midjistega* said, "Say, trader, the boys have been out of paint for some time and you ought to give them some." "No, *Midjistega*, I can't do that." Then *Midjistega* again said, "Well, the paint boxes are small and aren't of much value anyhow, and you ought to make them a present of some. However, I always knew you were very stingy." Then the trader said, "My business is to trade you my wares for your furs and I will not give you any paint for nothing." Then *Midjistega* said, "If I had some flour I could make some paint myself. However, I am short of flour, too." Then the trader said, "*Midjistega*, you can not do it, for even the whites do not know how to make paint (in that way), so how could you, who are only an Indian, do it?" Thus they spoke to and fro and finally the trader said, "*Midjistega*, I will bet you my store against your furs that if I give you some flour you can not make paint out of it. If I win you are to give me your furs, and if you win I will give you my store." Then the bet was agreed upon.

Then a lodge was prepared and *Midjistega's* drum and flute were carried into it. Then the trader had some flour carried over to the lodge and it was poured into a dish. The trader, suspecting that there might be some trick, stirred up the flour thoroughly. He satisfied himself that there was nothing at the bottom of the dish. *Midjistega*, in the meantime, painted the corners of his mouth and eyes with ashes and then the singers sang for him. Then he handed the flute over to Old Lincoln and told him to blow it for him every now and then. The trader sat near the entrance of the lodge with his employees. Then *Midjistega* jumped up and ran all around the lodge on all fours. Then he took the dish with the flour and shaking it, began to dance around the lodge with it. After he had danced around for the third time it suddenly turned into a yellow color, and Old Lincoln noticed the change in the expression on the trader's face. As he went around for the fourth time it suddenly changed to a red color. When he got back to his starting place it was quite red and was an excellent quality of paint. Then he said, "Well, trader, I have won your store," and the trader answered, "You have won my store. I did not think that an Indian could do it." Then *Mid-*

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648 Then Midjistega said, "I can also make some sugar. If you don't believe it, give me some more flour." However, the trader said, "There is no need of your proving it: I believe you now." However, he sent one of his employees after some more flour and out of this *Midjistega* made some maple sugar. He made it in the following way. He sprinkled some water on the flour and said, "This shall be the size of pheasants' dung." Then it formed into little round lumps. Then the trader said, "*Midjistega*, my store is worth several times the value of your furs, and you have made me a poor man. However, I wish to ask you for one thing—this sugar—so that I can eat some of it once in a while." Then *Midjistega* gave it to him. *Midjistega* and his friend carried the contents of the store home. They had to make several trips. All the people at home got a blanket.

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Then the trader said, "*Midjistega*, there is not a white man living who would believe that you can do this and if, therefore, I ever call on you to do it again, I hope that you will come with your friends (and do it). This is the only way I can ever win any of my money back again." However, no one ever heard of the trader after that.

*Midjistega* also made all the different varieties of corn at the Potawatomi meeting.

789 791 Old Lincoln had always heard of the remarkable power the Winnebago were supposed to possess in these matters but he had never actually witnessed any exhibition of it until he saw *Midjistega* perform (these tricks).

A man named Young Rogue, a brother of Robert Lincoln, could roll up a piece of clay about the size of a marble and then roll it on the ground and it would change into a toad and jump away. He was also able to shoot a blade of grass right into a log.

### Lincoln's Grandfather

754 Lincoln's grandfather was the leader of the medicine dance and every time any relation of his died he would tell the daughters of his relative to stop their crying and that he would avenge the death of their father and kill four people. Shortly after he said this the four whom he had picked out died.

If there was a man with great wealth in the tribe he would make a wooden snake and send it toward the man. Immediately after this it always happened that the rich man would be bitten by a snake. The latter would then send for the medicine man and give him all that he possessed. Then the former would ask him, "When do you want to get well?" If the sick man said "In three to four days," the medicine man would say, "You must like to suffer."

For this reason the children of Lincoln's grandfather always had plenty of wealth.

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The Crow (i. e., Menominee) Indians knew what a wonderful man he was and whenever he went to visit them they gave him many presents. He would be invited to a feast as soon as he arrived. 648 791 754

On one occasion when they had a feast in a lodge (in his honor) one of the Menominee marked the ground in front of him and dared Lincoln's grandfather to come over, saying that if he did he would injure him. When the Winnebago crossed the mark he was pushed in all directions and finally shoved into a pit, bruising himself a great deal. When he came out, the old man said, "You have probably never heard of me. To-morrow noon, soldiers will hit you." Then the Menominee asked, "If soldiers hit me, what will be the result?" "You will die." Then the Menominee said, "You have nothing to do with my life," and made a jump at him.

The Menominee who had been told that he was going to die said the next morning to his nephew, "Nephew, let us go to the lake and look around. I can't forget what the old man told me yesterday." So they took their spears for fishing and went out. While they were on the lake they saw a deer drinking at the edge of the water. The man took a shot at the deer, and the deer ran back into the timber. The man and his nephew pursued it. After a while the man gave a yell and then all was quiet. The nephew went over to the place and there the man was found dead. At his side a very large snake, with hair on its back, was standing.

The next morning one could hear the mourning songs all over the woods. Then they went to look for the Winnebago, for they believed that it was his fault. They told him not to worry about it and gave him a horse to appease him. The day after they all had left the camp, the Winnebago pointed to some hawks that were circling around and told the Menominee to watch the foremost one. Then he pointed his finger at that one and made a sound with his mouth and the bird fell down dead. This Winnebago had the power to do this to all birds. He always told the Winnebago not to eat these birds because they were not good. [765 533] [789]

### The Uses of the Stench-Earth Medicine[1]

There once was a man who had consumption and who knew that he was going to die soon. His relatives were about to move him to some other place and so he told them just to build him a separate lodge and leave him alone—that he wanted to die there. He asked them likewise not to come back to see him. They obeyed him and left him to die alone. 763 [164]

One day he decided to go out into the wilderness and die there. He went to the top of a hill and lay down. He noticed many birds

[1] This is the literal translation. What plant is meant the writer was not able to determine.

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JESSE CLAY'S ACCOUNT OF THE ARAPAHO MANNER OF GIVING THE PEYOTE CEREMONY WHICH HE INTRODUCED AMONG THE WINNEBAGO IN 1912

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I went to Oklahoma once as the guest of an Arapaho Indian. While there I witnessed the Arapaho manner of holding a peyote meeting and was very much impressed with it. A year later this Arapaho came to visit me in Winnebago, and while he was with us a few of my friends urged me to hold the peyote ceremony according to the Arapaho method. I held several meetings at which my Arapaho friend led.

Now these are the instructions that Arapaho Bull gave me.

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The person giving the ceremony must get up at sunrise so that he can tell exactly where the sun is going to rise. He must place a stick and make the drawing of a cross on the earth just in that direction from which the sun is about to rise. He does this in order to get the correct location for the tipi and the fireplace. Then he marks a circle around the cross. Then he makes a diagonal mark through the center of the circle, thus making the circle resemble a star. The circle is the outline of the tipi. Then another diagonal mark is made so that the drawing resembles, to their minds, a peyote. A fireplace which resembles a half-moon is placed right in the center of the lodge. After that the tipi poles are raised, 12 in number. Finally the whole is inclosed in canvas. When finished it is supposed to represent the earth. It is then ready to be entered. Special preparations are made for entering. The drummer with his drum and the leader and those behind him with all their regalia march up to the door. Before these enter, however, an attendant, called the fireman, spreads sage all over the lodge, from the seat of the leader to the door and back again. Then he starts a fire, always placing the left fire sticks first. When they are all thus lined up outside of the door the leader offers a prayer.

"May the Creator be with us when we enter this lodge."

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The leader now enters and, proceeding along the left side of the lodge, marches to his seat, and there he stands with his drum until the lodge is filled. After all have entered they sit down. Then the fireman who sits to the right rekindles the fire. The leader now spreads out his articles—a gourd, a drumstick, a staff, and the feathers. He then takes 12 sage leaves and lays them out in the form of a star, first making a cross-shaped object and then filling this into the desired form. On top he places the peyote, and, leaning against that, he places a flute made of an eagle bone, the mouth of the flute resting against the peyote. Then he puts an otter-skin cap at the foot of the flute. After a while the leader takes the peyote he is going to use in one hand and some cedar needles in the other,

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935
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554 ries into a family below her's in dignity. The pride originating in birth, is as deeply
562 seated in the hearts of those who are nobly descended, among the natives of the
582 Northwest, as it is among the petty princes of Germany.

625 It is customary for the chiefs to appoint two soldiers, in each village to keep order in it, and they faithfully do so (p. 100).

431 In each tribe, some one man acts as a divider, by order of the civil chiefs, and by general consent. Whenever we made the men any presents, of pipes, paints,
624 tobacco, or any thing else, the self same men, if Winnebagoes were the Indians receiving the presents, appeared, took charge of the property, and divided it in the most equitable manner, among all present at the time. They reserved nothing for themselves, generally, but held up their empty hands to show their disinterestedness.

[171] If the Sauks and Foxes received presents, two men, one for each tribe, acted as dividers, and the same individuals always performed the same duty (pp. 100–101).

554 . . . "The rolling Thunder," "the Yellow Thunder," "the Distant Thunder," &c., are individuals among the Winnebagoes, who possess great weight of char-
551 acter; and that tribe to which belong men, who stand high on their roll of fame, for
614 their distinguished valor in War, for their consummate prudence, experience and wisdom in the national councils, is emphatically called, "the thunder tribe" (p. 124).

114 There are other items appurtenant to Winnebago ethnology in Atwater's work; some to that of the Sauks and Foxes; some to tribes of the upper Mississippi valley in general: there are some acute statements regarding the chronology of the populating of America.

171 A "turtle" gens does not occur in the lists of Morgan, Dorsey, and Radin, and Radin specifically denies that there is such a Winnebago gens. He also
174 states that almost all informants claimed that the Snake and Fish clans
614 (gentes) were recent to the tribe. However, as special names "go with"
[114] fixed gentes, by examining the lists of the signers of the treaties between the
[648] Winnebago and the United States, it becomes clear that a member of the Snake gens signed the treaty of August 19th, 1825 as well as the treaty of
[551] August 25th, 1828. And a Snake clan exists among the Ponca, Iowa, Oto-Missouri, Quapaw, as well as some non-Siouan tribes.[10] Also it may be observed that among the Osage and Quapaw we have a Fish clan (used rather loosely). So too "Turtle" as the name of a gens (sub-gens) among the Siouan tribes Omaha, Kansa, Quapaw, and Osage,[11] and elsewhere.
[551] And Carrymaunee (Karamanu, etc.), "Walking Turtle,"[12] signed more

[10] See the important theoretical discussion by Lowie in American Anthropologist, Vol. 36, 1934, pp. 327–28; cf. also Radin, the Winnebago Tribe, p. 182; Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe (Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology), pp. 38, 39.

[11] Among the Omaha and Osage "the turtle carriers or bearers" and "Turtle-carriers" respectively; "Carries-a-turtle-on-his-back" among the Kansa: observe that according to the above Carrymaunee "carried" a large painted tortoise on his back.

[12] The phonetic restoration is presumably Kéramani; mani means "to walk," as can be seen from old vocabularies, etc., as well as the personal names given by Radin in his The Winnebago Tribe and the Winnebago text by Radin in the Siouan sketch in Handbook of Ameri-

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935
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than one treaty with the United States. Similarly the lists of signers of the 171
treaties of June 3rd, 1816, August 19th, 1825, etc., between the Winnebago 174
and the United States indicate the existence of gentes not in the published
lists, but which have analogues among other Siouan tribes. I feel certain 614
that a study of the names of the signers of treaties between United States [648]
and such Siouan tribes as have distinctive clan-names (and similar non-Siouan tribes) would yield valuable results. And a study of the personal names of such tribes in older writers would also pay. In this connection I may say that from Atwater's book, using this technique, it can be readily determined that the Eagle and Elk gentes were in existence among the Winnebago in addition to those specifically mentioned by him. The treaties furnish a few others, e.g., Earth, Sky. In this connection I may say that it is clear from the names of the signers of the treaty of May 13th, 1816 that at least the following Sauk gentes were in existence: Sturgeon, Eagle, Thunder, Bear, Swan, Wolf, Fox, Partridge, Sea. It is not without interest to note that all these save Partridge and Fox are on Forsyth's list of 1827.[13] If we count Partridge as the equivalent of Grouse, all occur in Jones' list printed in the Handbook of American Indians in the article *Sauk*. Sturgeon, Swan, and Partridge are not in Skinner's list. Sturgeon, Eagle, Sea (= Great Water), Bear, Thunder, Partridge (= Pheasant), Wolf, and Fox occur in Galland's list. Wolf, Bear, Eagle, Sturgeon, Fox, Sea, and Thunder occur in Morgan's list. If we pool M. R. Harrington's two lists we find Thunder, Fox, Wolf, Bear, Swan, Sturgeon, Eagle on them. A knowledge of the names on the tribal rolls from the earliest times would doubtless shed much light on the subject.

It should be mentioned that Radin argues for a priority of village groups, 174
but states that according to all informants each Winnebago village was in-
habited by members of various clans, and that in no case did a village 621
merely include members of the same clan. Observe the contradiction with 614
Atwater's data. 114

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can Indian Languages (Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, 40, Pt. 1). There are equivalents in several Siouan languages. In the Siouan sketch Radin gives kec'ûˈñgegā as a personal name, "the tortoise," and ke'c'ûˈñgera as "you, tortoise," and in note 38 of the Winnebago text we are told that ke'c'ûñk or kec'ûˈñgē is a large species of turtles, and that kē also means "turtle." La Flesche gives ke (in my transcription) as the Osage for "turtle, tortoise, terrapin," but Dorsay gives k'e (in my transcription) for both Osage and Quapaw, but ke (in my transcription) for Omaha; k'eya, "tortoise," is given by Deloria for Dakota. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the formation of personal names in Winnebago to be positive whether ra is the pronoun "thou" (vocative; see notes 39 and 46 to Radin's Winnebago text) or whether kera may be an archaic correspondent to Dakota k'eya with the recognized shift of y to r. [551]

[13] They are in his Fox list.

## §11. *Wandering and Hunting*

After a while I used to get into the habit of going to 159*
town When I got there I would look into the barrels
to see if there was any food in them and if there was
I would fill my pockets with whatsoever I found. I [685]
used to steal a great deal.

About springtime we always moved away from the 159*
vicinity of the town. We always moved to the place 221
where my father intended to trap, generally to the [224]
neighborhood of some farming community where there
were few Indians. There my mother used to make [285]
baskets and sell them to the farmers. We also used to [439]
circulate a written petition asking for any help people
cared to give us. Whenever they went on this kind [648]
of a trip I always went along with them, for sometimes
people would take pity on us and give us some old
clothes. Sometimes we would even get a good meal at
some farmer's house. For these reasons I was always
envious of those who went along on such journeys.

Occasionally when we got many provisions I had to
carry some of them, but I never minded that. When [223]
the birds returned north father used to make us bows
and arrows and we would then shoot at them and often
kill many. We also used to kill squirrels which my [229]
grandmother roasted for us. My older brother was a [252]

*159 22 [223] good shot and I was greatly his inferior. He often killed pheasants.

Whenever the older people went to town circulating *159 ●648 526 petitions for help we youngsters always went along. We always took our bows and arrows with us for the Whites wanted to see how well we could shoot. Often they placed five-cent pieces on some object at a considerable distance and had us shoot at them. We generally hit a number. I would also let my brother shoot at twenty-five cent pieces that I held between my fingers and he never hit my fingers. We would often make as much as five dollars in this way and this money we always gave to our parents.

*159 22 [131] In summer the Winnebago would return to Black River Falls (Wisconsin). We used to go out with our bows and arrows and stay out all day. At evening [861] when we returned we of course always expected to get a scolding and we therefore had a good excuse ready. It really would have been much better had we returned earlier in the day, but we were enjoying ourselves so much hunting that night overtook us when we were still a long distance from home. Often we would not eat anything at all all day, but to that we were accustomed. Sometimes we would go fishing on a stream nearby, forget all about the time, and then return home very late. We got a scolding then even although we had a good excuse.

[P.88]

## §20. *I Have a Fight*

Once we went out hunting game in the fall of the 159* year. We used to sell the hindquarters and some- 284 times ship them as far as Chicago. We were of course [439] only permitted to hunt for thirty days. The law was that if any one hunted longer than that he would be [648] arrested. Yet in spite of all we hunted for a longer time because we felt that the law was meant only for the Whites. One day, however, in shipping deer away, we were detected. One of my brothers and myself were arrested, taken to court and convicted. We had 159* to spend sixty days in jail. During my imprisonment 302 I never had my hair cut and from that time on, I al- 787 ways wore it long. I told the people that a spirit called *Foolish-one*[24] had instructed me to do this and that he had blessed me. I also told my older brother, the one who was still living, to do the same thing and that if he, too, let his hair grow, *Foolish-one* would bless him with long life. From that time on I wore long hair.

After that I joined a show of the Whites. People 159* liked me very much on account of my long hair and I 541 was well paid. I kept on drinking all the time. I there 648 learned to ride a bicycle and mount and ride wild [526]

[24] The clown of Winnebago mythology. He is, however, regarded as having some of the characteristics of a spirit and, very occasionally, blessing an individual. [773] [522]

*159 horses. I used to call myself a cowboy, principally
541 because I wore my hair long. Many vicious horses
• 648 did I ride, and I was thrown off many times. I did all
526 this not because I felt myself to be an expert, but because I was wild. On one occasion I took part in a bicycle race on a regular racetrack. I was in full Indian costume and wore long hair.

*159 The show I had joined played at St. Paul. I took
541 part in it every summer. I became acquainted with
648 many people and so I was asked to come again every year. Finally it got so that I would not even return to the Indians in winter.

One season some one asked me to collect a number of Indians of whom I was to be in charge. I was told that I would be allowed ten dollars a week for each Indian and that I could pay them whatever I liked. I was quite satisfied, for I could pay them five dollars a week and thus make some money, I thought. I therefore persuaded a number of people to go along with me and we all started. We rode to the place where we were to meet the man who had made the arrangements. From there we started out and went from fair to fair. We never made any money, however, and went bankrupt. The man could not even pay us. We felt very angry and we then went to another show with whose manager I was acquainted. We were to divide the receipts.

Once we were to give our show at a certain place for the last time, for the cold weather was setting in. It was thus our last day. One of the boys came to me

## *I Have a Fight*

and told me that some one had struck him. I got 159*
angry and told him to point out the person who had 591
done it. Just then the very person appeared and I 698
tried to strike him, but he got away. I succeeded, however, in striking him with a drumstick. That evening I was told that the man whom I had struck had said that he was going to kill a certain Indian. "Perhaps he doesn't know that he also is subject to death," I answered. "Indeed, I am anxious to get ahold of him." After the show was finished we put on our civilian clothes and took our handbags. "None of you must go out alone," I warned them, "for you might get hurt." One of my boys was on horseback and was taking his horse to water it at a trough. His pony was taken away from him and he returned without it. His hat, too, had been stolen. Indeed he barely escaped with his life. "Come, let us go back," I said. I told the other boys to go right on and not to worry about me. I gave them my handbag and then returned 159*
to the place where the first boy had been attacked. 698
Before we got there the same boy was attacked and 519
set upon with clubs. We were right in the midst of a big crowd of Whites. These shouted and chased him. When they saw me they started for me. I fought them with my bare fists, turning from side to side. I was completely surrounded by them. Whenever any one got near enough to me I struck him. Then I started to run and was hit on the head, but I was not knocked unconscious. I was now angry and I struck out at all within reach. If I had had a weapon

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



*159 579 648 I would have killed some of them. Several now fell upon me and I was struck on the head until it was entirely covered with blood. I started for the show tents which had not yet been taken down. Just then the man who had begun all the trouble came toward me with a hatchet. I went for him and when he raised the hatchet I struck him and knocked him down, for I hit him straight in the mouth.

A policeman now came forward and led me to our show tents. I was covered with blood. The women were weeping and told the policeman who I was, that it was not my fault and that I had not been drinking. I was taken to jail. I told the policeman that we ought not to be locked up for we had not started the trouble. The others ought to be locked up, we said, for it was the particular man who had hit my boy who had been drinking. "You are right," said the policeman. "I will go back and look for your things. Yet you ought not to be on the street for you have hurt many people. You had better stay in jail for a few hours for many people are on the watch for you. Now I'll go for your pony and then you can do what you like." They put me in jail and there I found the Indian about whom all the trouble had started. "Well, this is good," he said. "I thought they had killed you. Well, how many did you kill?" "I didn't kill any one," I answered. "It is good, for I thought they had either killed you or that you had killed them."

Then I washed the blood from my head. Soon after the policeman returned and brought my pony with him,

as well as my hat. Then he said, "You are to go home immediately. It is true that you have been dealt with unfairly, but this is a regular fair town, and if any trouble starts in the courts about this affair, it will hurt our fairs in the future. We shall therefore not go to law about it. The man who started the trouble is the owner of a large hotel, and in addition, owns a trotting horse. You have knocked out all the teeth of this hotel-keeper, and we do not know whether he will live or not. You have bruised other people, too, badly. So you had better go home." 159* 579 648 [541]

From there we started for our home. My partner rode a pony and rode through the middle of the town on it. I went in the same direction. He was afraid to go through the crowd of white people. A policeman escorted us out to the edge of the town. There we told him that we wanted some whisky and he went into a saloon and bought us two quarts. We both started then, sitting on a small two-year-old pony that belonged to my partner. Every time a team drove by we got frightened. After we had been drinking a little, however, we said that if the fight were to occur again, we would surely kill some one for we were sorry about the way in which it had ended. No one pursued us, however. 159* 648 [273]

There were some Indians living in the neighborhood and we used to go to visit them every night. When I told them about what had happened they got quite frightened for they thought these white people would come out there to fight. So they moved away on the

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 ●648 following morning. The other man and I took up their trail and followed. We still rode the little pony together. We had plenty of whisky with us. At night we came upon their camps. These poor people were really trying to get away from us for they thought that the white people would really follow us and fight.

There I found out that my relatives were camping nearby, so I went over to see them. They felt very sorry for us when we told them what had happened. They were working at the time, digging potatoes. I stayed with them at the house of a certain woman.

## *We Kill a Pottawattomie*

you to do this. Of your own initiative you could not 159*
possibly have done it. However, we had better not 721
have a Victory Dance as yet. We have the honor any- [727]
how. We must be careful about the Whites. In the
old days we were at liberty to live in our own way, and [648]
when such a deed as yours became known, your sisters
would rejoice and dance, we are told. Now, however,
the law of the Whites is to be feared. In due time you
will get a chance to announce your feat and then you
can wear a head ornament for you have earned that [554]
right for yourself."

[P. 151]

*[159] was over. Indeed, I even got married there. I kept [588] on drinking all the time. It was then that a nephew of [203] mine begged me to give him my buggy. A nephew has [604] the privilege of asking his uncle for anything, and the uncle must give it. In return the uncle can compel the nephew to work for him at any time.

Some time after that I went to visit an uncle of mine. He said, "Nephew, to-morrow they are going to have a Medicine Dance, and to-night they are going to have a trial performance.[28] Your aunt is going to buy provisions for the meal, and you may go along with her." So I went along. When we got to town we drank, and on the following day it was rumored that the woman and myself were missing. The buggy in which we were riding was quite broken, my hat was gone, and my trousers ripped open. I immediately went back to the place I had come from, even though the Medicine Dance was being given. The woman, I heard, was still missing. I then went to the place at which I had been staying, and remained there all day. I got very tired. In the morning I mounted a horse and went to town. [C98] There I was arrested. I was asked what I was doing in the town. "I am not doing anything; I am merely visiting around." Then the one in charge of the law said that I was to pay ten dollars and that if I did not do so, he would send me to prison. I therefore sold my horse for twenty dollars, and out of it I paid the ten

[D96] [28] The first part of the regular Medicine Dance is supposed to be merely a rehearsal for the following day when the main ceremony is given and is in consequence called the "trial" performance.

## *I Take a Trip to Nebraska*

dollars. It was a good horse. Then the lawyer said, 159 *
"You have committed many crimes, and you had better go to the place from which you came. If you [648] ●
stay here any longer, we will lock you up."

I left that same day. Two old men were going to Wisconsin, and I went with them. They did not know how to speak English, so they took me as their interpreter. I left one of my horses in the pasture there. These men were very fond of whisky, and I bought whisky for them all along the route. After a time we arrived in Wisconsin, just at the cranberry-picking season. I was drunk when we reached our destination. As we approached my home I told the old men that they should come and visit me. As I said it, I gave a whoop.

[191] [273] [202]

[P. 155]

## §26. *I Am Arrested for Murder and Confess*

Two years elapsed. At about that time we heard 159* that the men who were responsible for the disappearance of the Pottawattomie had been discovered. 648 ● One of those who had taken part in his murder had been to Nebraska and had there announced his deed in recounting his acts of bravery at a Warrior Dance. [727] Such was the rumor. This same man had also announced it at a funeral wake. It was in this way that the facts had come out.

That same winter, while I was living in the forest [201] cutting wood, two men came to me one night. They were officers. They mentioned a man's name to me and asked me if I knew him. I said, "Yes." "Well," said they, "let us go to town. We want to ask you some things." They told me to get ready. I did so and rode in a wagon they possessed. Then the men asked me, "Did Peter kill this man? Do you know?" "I do not know," I said to them. Then they told me from what source they had obtained the information and again asked me, "Did you ever hear anything about it?" "No," I answered. "Did you know that this man was missing?" "I did hear that a man had been missing, but as I had not known him, I did not give the matter much thought," I said to them. Then

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



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648

one of the men said, "It has been discovered that Peter did it. Do you think that they are right?" "I don't believe a word of it." Then the man continued, "If you continue to say that you do not know anything about this case, I will not let you go home. You shall go wherever Peter goes. We have found out that you were with him, and that is why we have come here. If you do not tell us, you will never come out of prison. Such is the penalty for what you have done. If you tell us, however, you can get away and you will be our witness and can return home." "I want to get home, and whatever I can do to get home, I'll do. About this matter, however, I know nothing. You can speak about what you know and I about what I know. I do not want to be locked up," I said.

We had now come to town. There I was taken to a hotel and asked if I knew the murdered man's brother. I said, "Yes." We went inside, and there we found him. The man greeted me and said, "If you know anything about this affair and confess, we will not lock you up. You will be one of the witnesses. Even if it should turn out that you were one of them, we will not lock you up. I am not deceiving you. This man who is listening to us agrees with me." He continued: "Sam, I am acquainted with your father. He is a fine old man. Even if you were along with Peter, I will not have you locked up, if you confess. It is merely because Peter is a bad man that I want to know it." "He must be telling the truth," said I to myself. "I'm going to tell." I thought that in such a case they would

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



let me go. So I said: "Yes, I know all about it. I saw Peter when he killed the man." "Good," said they. They thanked me. Then the officer took me outside; he took me to jail and said, "The train will soon be ready." Then he went out. 159* 648 ●

In the jail I found Peter. "What did they say to you?" he asked. "They did not say anything," I said. "They asked me many questions," said Peter. "They asked me whether you had done it, and they said that if I told them, they would let me go home. I told them, however, that I did not know anything." "They asked me very much the same." I then said, "but I also told them that I did not know anything." "That is good, for without witnesses they have only hearsay evidence and they will not be able to hold us," said Peter. "Anyhow, the man we killed was crazy and his brothers hated him. They used to ask me to kill him," continued Peter.

Just then the officer came and said, "Boys, the train is due soon Get ready." When we were ready he took out some handcuffs and tied us together, and thus we went to the station. The white people looked at us in surprise, called out our names, and asked what the trouble was. Then the train arrived, and we boarded it. We rode all that night and arrived at our destination in the morning. There the officer locked us up in prison. We did not know what to say. After a time I was taken out and brought to the courthouse. There they again questioned me, and a woman, a shorthand writer, took down my answers. I was then told to tell

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 everything again in detail and that as soon as the time
● 648 for the trial came, I would be freed. When I was through, they took me back and locked me up again, and the other man was taken out When he returned, he had of course learned what I had done. He was very quiet. Then I said, "Well, you said you were [C8D] asked to kill him and you also said that they, the brothers of the murdered man, asked others to kill him. If that is so, you did it because you were asked to do so, and you are not to blame. If we can find other witnesses to this fact, we will surely get out." "Indeed, I spoke about the matter because they had locked us up alone. I did not like it. The boys were so boisterous that I thought the others ought to be in jail, too. That is what I was thinking of when I spoke to the officers. Soon they will bring these others here, too, and when we are all here together, it will not be so lonesome." Peter was glad of it. Soon the other two were brought, and the four of us made quite a good deal of noise talking.

[P.162]

## §28. *Our Prison Life and the Trial*

We were waiting for the spring term of the court. 159* 648
We stayed in prison all winter. I was very tired of it, but I kept that secret because otherwise the other men would be likely to make fun of me. Sometimes I really 152
felt like crying, but I acted as though I did not care at all. I was married at the time I had been imprisoned, and I hungered to see my wife and was in a terrible condition, but I told the others that I did not care in the least. The others were also married, and some of them showed their lonesomeness markedly. Occasionally one of our wives would visit us. The men said that I seemed the only one who did not apparently care. As a matter of fact, of course, I could hardly stand it, although I kept my condition quite secret. I only felt better when I wrote a letter to my wife, and [212]
then when she answered I felt very happy.

We used to read one another's letters, and whenever 159* 648
our wives wrote to us, we would tease one another about the contents.

After a while the spring term of the court arrived, and we were happy. When the time for our trial came, however, we were told that our case had been bound over to the fall term. So we had to stay in prison all summer. When the fall term came, the case was bound

*159 over until the following spring. It was enough to cause
● 648 one to say "Oh, my!" in impatience. During the win-
[531] ter we used to make bead work and compete with one
[301] another as to who could do the best. We made beaded
finger-rings, and these were always purchased by some
[432] one. By selling these rings we thus made quite a good
deal of money. We also made suspenders. I made
thirty of them and sold them for seven dollars a pair.
We thus had plenty of money and drank all the time.
There were some prisoners locked up together with us
whose terms were almost over, and these were allowed
to go outside. They would buy us the whisky. We
[525] gambled, too, playing for money stakes.

One day my wife came to visit me. I talked to her
through the iron grating. I was allowed to talk to her
for a long time. All I could do was to desire her. I
[152] wanted her badly. When the wives of the others came,
they felt just as I did.

[578] Once we had a fight. We had been drinking and
[273] were disputing about a game. Afterwards we were
quite humble about it.

*159 Shortly after this we found out that my wife had
152 married again. I did not feel like eating, but I tried
648 hard to do so, because I thought that the others would
837 notice it. Then I said to them, "I am glad to hear
about this report that my wife has married again.
When I get out of prison I will pay the one who has
married her, for he is taking care of her until my re-
lease. Indeed I have felt quite uneasy about her for
some time. Now I feel quite relieved, for she is being

## *Our Prison Life and the Trial*

provided for." Thus I spoke. But the truth of it was 159*
that I was as angry as I could very well be. I made up 152
my mind that I would take her away from whomsoever 648
she might be living with. Then I thought that I would 839
make her feel as sad as I could; I thought I would disfigure her, cut off her nose, then take her to the wilderness, give her a sound beating, and leave her there. I could not think of anything else all the time, and I believe that for a time I did not even taste food. I often felt like crying. At night I would not be able to sleep, for I could not forget the whole affair. Sometimes I would dream of seeing her, and then in the morning I would tell the others about it and feel better. Throughout all this time I never thought of all those of my relatives who were really concerned for me. Not even that grateful was I. I only thought of the woman.

Now the time for the next session of the court had 159*
arrived. It was the spring session. We were given a 648
trial. They always took us to the court in handcuffs. We had each a lawyer. At the first hearing one of us was freed, the other three remaining in prison. Then the lawyers pleaded the case of the others, and two more were freed, I being one of these. The man who had actually done the killing was the only one who remained in prison.

[P. 167]

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
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# CULTURAL CHANGE AMONG THE WISCONSIN WINNEBAGO

Nancy Oestreich

## Introduction

121 Cultural change is one of the outstanding factors in the life
178 of the Winnebago today. It is important to mention at the outset, however, that the following article does not purport to trace the long history of cultural change among the Winnebago, nor does it have any claim as a complete analysis; but, because of space limitations, it will serve merely as a passing observation of cultural change in a particular Indian group.
[114] The study is based primarily on observation of one small group of Winnebago during a period of five weeks. None the less, these data seem to comprise a fairly, though far from completely representative sample with which to work.

101 The Indians observed were family groups from almost all
121 of the Winnebago communities scattered throughout the central part of the state. Our group, consisting of some 45 families, was predominately one of Wisconsin Winnebago, but also included three Winnebago families from Nebraska and one family each of the Chippewa, Menomini and Potawatomi tribes. The presence of these minorities within the larger group of Wisconsin Winnebago offered an interesting study of inter-land and intra-tribal contrasts.

121 The Wisconsin Winnebago prefer to live more or less in-
619 dependently in their native territory, Wisconsin, rather than join their friends and relatives on the Winnebago reservation
[657] located, by a whim of the government, in Nebraska. There
[574] is, however, a constant exchange of visits between the two groups.

221 In Wisconsin many of the Winnebago earn a living in the winter by trapping for the fur market, and in the summer by following various Wisconsin crops. The harvesting begins in the spring with the strawberry season, and ends in the fall with the gathering of cranberries.

*Shows*

I was drinking, he told me that he would treat me and the two women to beer that very night. I drank a lot of it that night and I enjoyed it immensely. After that, of course, I was not able to keep the fact of my drinking from other people. I talked at the top of my voice under the influence of liquor and was very happy. Every few minutes I would suddenly begin to sing out loudly. Then I began drinking whisky in addition to beer, and got drunk. On the following morning I said I would never do it again, but in a short time I was drinking beer again secretly. 159* 273

Eventually the show was over and we all went to our homes. We had to go across Lake Michigan. It was very stormy and we all got sick. Then my friend said, "Say, let us drink so that we may not be sick." He took out some whisky which he was carrying in a flask and we drank all night. Very early in the morning we got to Milwaukee. There we ate our breakfast and continued on our way home, to Black River Falls. We drank all the way on the train and when we reached our destination we were still drinking. All my relatives saw that I was drunk. They were very sorry and an older sister of mine wept when she saw me. I there made up my mind that I would never do it again. At about that time we received our annuity payment and although I had money I did not drink any more for some time. [657] ●

After we had spent what we had received in annuities the hunting season began. I went along with the others to the hunting grounds. I ran away from the two 159* 224 ∞

## *The Effect of a Pretended Blessing*

Once when I was on one of my drinking sprees I visited the lodge of a relative of mine. There I found a woman whom I had the right to call niece and whom I could therefore tease. Just in jest I used to call her "mother" and "sister." Now on this particular occasion after food had been offered me, I began teasing her as usual when one of the women sitting around there said, "My younger brother, your niece is really in a condition to excite your compassion and not to fool with. She is in fact about to face death, for she is going to be confined soon and she generally manages barely to escape death then." "Oh, is that so?" answered I. "Well, elder sister, this time my niece is not going to suffer. Up above, in the heavens, there exist four women, sisters, and these blessed me, telling me that if I ever called upon them for help they would help me. Now to these I shall offer tobacco and when my niece is about to be delivered, she, too, must ask for help." Thus I spoke to her. The woman thanked me. I had told a terrible falsehood. I said all this because I was very hungry and I knew that I would then receive enough to appease my hunger. I had nothing else to say.

Some time after this I saw the women in town. The older woman ran over to me and said, "My younger brother, all is well. Your niece is in wonderful condition; she is very well indeed. She has just given birth to a child and within three days of its birth she was able to chop wood. Never before has such a thing happened to her. It is good. As soon as the annuity payment is made you may have the child's portion for drink.

## §21. *Dissipation*

While staying at this woman's lodge I was one day 159*
handed a paper by a woman, in which she told me that 588
she was married, that she was living at a certain place, 837
and that if I came over, she would do whatever I said. I told the woman with whom I was living about it, and she said, "Go after her, that I may have her as my companion." Her father had a horse, and on it I rode over to the woman's house. I went there secretly, and watched the people digging potatoes, for their camp was nearby. The man to whom this woman was married was also living with another woman at the same time. The woman I was after was staying in this camp. I approached her secretly and when I reached the place she got herself ready to go with me. The two of us rode on a pony, and it so happened that we had to pass the place where the husband was working. He pursued us, but we managed to get away. In a short time I arrived home, and my wife received the second woman willingly. They would sleep with me on alternate nights.

After we finished our work there, we went to the 159*
place from which we had originally come, and we ar- 657
rived home just in time for the annuity payment. The superintendent of the Wittenberg school made the

*159 payment. At about the same time, one of the two
●65 women with whom I was living was taken away from
[588] me. She went to live with another man. When the
[837] payment was over here, the superintendent went to
[484] Necedah to pay the people there, and I went along,
for I was doing what we called "chasing the payment."
There, and at Red Hill, I deceived many women, and
thus obtained quite a large sum of money. Then I
started off with a number of other young men. By
[273] this time I was spending all my time drinking.

*159 I got on the train at night. We were to change cars
484 at a place called Honsa and from there we were to
ride in a freight car. When we had gone only a short
distance the conductor saw us and put us off. We were
all drinking heavily. One man had lost his hat and
was walking bareheaded. We walked along until we
came to a pasture, and there we found some dry wood
with which we built a fire. We had decided to sleep
there. We had plenty of whisky with us. Late at
night we became thirsty and so we looked around for
water. We found a number of pools scattered around,
and out of these we drank. Then we went to sleep.
The next morning when we woke up we saw a good
well near us, but we ourselves had drunk out of the
water and mud in which pigs had been wallowing.

*159 In the morning when the train arrived we boarded it.
273 Eventually we reached our destination, and there found
many people, drinking and making a lot of noise. That
was exactly the place I had been looking for. When-
[685] ever I saw a person drunk I would steal whatever he

## *Dissipation*

happened to have, for I had become a thief. If I saw a woman drunk, I would steal her, for I was an adulterer. What I was looking for mainly was a woman to cohabit with, for in this way, I was able to get all her money. If any woman wanted to cohabit with me, she would have to give me all the money she had. This is the sort of thing I was doing. In this way I often succeeded in inducing two or three women to live with me at the same time. 159* [685] [273] [837]

After finishing at Necedah the superintendent always went to Tomah to pay the people there, and from Tomah he would proceed to Black River Falls. At Black River Falls the last payment was made, and for that reason it was always an extremely noisy place on such an occasion. All who liked this kind of a life, all who used to chase payments for the fun of it, would be there. Marriages would get badly mixed up here, and there would always be stealing of one another's wives, fighting, robbery, etc. Even those married people who had been faithful to each other up till then, would become unfaithful. Many people would get hurt. When the last payment had been made, all those who had not spent their last cent on drink would begin gambling, the men and women playing poker. Only when our last cent was gone would we stop and settle down. Many of us were generally left without enough money to go home. 159* 657 [837] [579] [684] [525]

[p. 147]

## § 24. *A Woman Quarrels with Me*

*159 I was met by my father and mother and a woman
831 who was living with me before I left. They were very
508 glad to see me. When I got home I found many people
152 camping there. At the camp the woman fixed a bed for me, gave me some food, and told me to lie down with her. Instead, I went out and made inquiries about a woman with whom I had once lived. I found that she was still there. To her lodge I went, and with her I stayed that night. In the morning the other woman was angry. However, I continued staying with this new one. Late on the following night some one woke me up. "Come out," the voice said. I went out with a blanket around me and found my former wife. She it was who was calling me. She said, "In the morning
• [659] the annuity payment is to be paid in Necedah. I am going there to-night, and I want you to go with me." "I haven't any money," I answered. "As though you ever had any money of your own when you wanted to do something!" I refused to go with her. She persisted, and finally I went back and lay down. After a while she followed me inside and hit me very hard and called me names. She kicked me and pulled my hair. "If I had anything with which to kill you, I would kill you." Finally I got angry, and she stopped and went away.

## §25. *I Get Delirium Tremens*

159*
273
[657]

During the cranberry-picking season I drank all the time, and after that chased the payments. I continued drinking. When the payments had all been made, I went to Black River Falls. I was entirely without money. I was supposed to go back to Wittenberg, but I didn't have the fare. I went back to the Indians and stayed all night. In the morning I was sick. I was shaking from head to foot. When I tried to drink coffee, I would spill it; when I lay down, I used to see big snakes. I cried out and got up. Then when I wanted to go to sleep again, I thought I heard some one calling me. I raised the cover of my bed and looked around, but saw nothing. Whenever the wind blew, I thought I heard singing. I thought I heard imaginary people spit very loudly; I heard them and I could not sleep. As soon as I closed my eyes I began to see things. I saw things that were happening in a distant country. I saw ghosts on horseback, drunk. Five or six of them were on one horse, and they were singing. I recognized them, for they were people who had died long before. I heard the words of their song as they sang:

"I, even I, must die some time, so of what value is anything, I think." [533]

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



to them for me to use. Later on, in the fall, when the cranberry season had started, I lived with three women. I never did any work, but simply went from woman to woman. Then the annuity payment was made, and I went around chasing the payment. I sold my horses and spent the money I had.

About this time my father and mother asked me to come to Nebraska. I had been told that my father and mother had joined the peyote people and were eating peyote, and I did not like it. These peyote eaters were doing wrong, were wicked, and that is why I disliked them. Old Thunder Cloud, my brother-in-law, told us the following about them:

"This medicine, the peyote,[30] is one of the four spirits from below. That is why it is bad. These four spirits have always longed for human beings, and now they are getting ahold of them. Those who use the peyote claim that when they die, they will only be going on a

[30] The peyote is a small cactus common in the state of Chihuahua, Mexico, out of which from time immemorial an intoxicating drink has been prepared. The ancient Mexicans were well acquainted with it. For a number of centuries it has been the center of various cults all of which contained marked Christian features. It is only within the last fifty to seventy-five years, however, that some of these cults have spread into the United States. It is from some of the tribes now living in Oklahoma that the Winnebago borrowed it.

The Winnebago either eat the peyote button in its dried state or drink a concoction prepared from it. The effects are various. Every one, however, seems to be agreed upon its causing wonderful color visions. The after effects vary with the individual. I have seen some practically in a state of stupor after eating a large quantity of the buttons, while others seem entirely unaffected and go on with their day's work as though nothing had happened.

The use of the Bible is an entirely new element introduced by the Winnebago.

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935

NP12 Winnebago NP12



In each village, the two civil chiefs, appoint all the officers, deemed necessary, civil and military, who obey them implicitly. There are two ways of arriving at these high stations, by birth and by election. When the father dies, if he has a son, who has arrived at the age of manhood, and who bids fair to make a good chief—that is, if he possesses a good form, has good bodily powers and mental faculties—is brave, sedate, wise and prudent, he generally succeeds his father in the government, on his father's demise. If the chief, at his death, leave no son who is qualified for the high office of chief, but wills it to some other person, he succeeds to the government. If the chief has no son at his death, it is commonly the case, that his brother's son succeeds him. The line of succession may run out for want of a lawful heir, which is always supplied by an election. It may be changed too, where the heir is unqualified for the station. Great deference is always paid to the will of the dying chief, but every such case is always laid before a full national council, whose decision is final (p. 97). 622 [624] [666]

A chief may be degraded from his rank for bad conduct. . . .

There is in every tribe, what answers to a standing army among us. The profession of arms holds out, to the great mass of the common people, the only road to the temple of fame. . . . The young man, who aspires to the honorable distinction of a "brave" or warrior, must exhibit such traits of character, as are deemed necessary for a soldier to possess, before he can be admitted into the army. When admitted, he wears on his head just as many feathers of the bald eagle, as he has slain human beings, and the size of the feathers indicate the size of his victims. . . . If the warrior has taken a captive, he has a human hand as large as life, painted either on his face, or on some part of his body, or on his blanket, some individuals have several such hands painted upon them (p. 98).* 701 703 [301] [532] [302]

At the head of the army, belonging to each tribe, there is a person who occupies the same station as a General does with us, and he appoints all the inferior officers. The chiefs when met in council, call into it, their warriors, with whom they consult, but frequently they are called to receive the orders, which are obeyed to the letter. This council call before them, persons who are interested in the trial . . . (pp. 98, 99). 701 623

If the Senate of the United States is the mildest, the most patriotic and wisest legislative assembly in the civilized world, as it truly is, the Winnebago council, is decidedly at the head of the savage world. . . . The great body of the people have very little influence, almost none, with this council, and they never appear before it unless they are summoned to attend it.—They have no voice in electing the chiefs and in fact no political influence. The civil chiefs and the chief warriors, have in their hands, the whole government of the community, and they govern as they please. Disobedience to the orders of the rulers is punished with death, though, like the British nation, the Indians are not savages enough to cut the traitor into quarters after hanging him until he is dead (pp. 99, 100). 623 [622] [687]

The female part of it, exercised the same influence among the women, that the chiefs did among the men, and the presents they expected from us, had to be better, than those given to the common people. The daughter of a chief, never mar- 554 561 [592]

* Quite different from the data given by Radin, The Winnebago Tribe, pp. 161, 162.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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742 it, for if you do, we will all die." Now, he was mistaken in that.
787 "The Creator has given two plates and they are getting empty. He gave the men a plate for them to fill and the women a plate for them to fill. The women's plate is empty." He meant that the Creator [462] had made men to hunt and the women to dig the soil and raise vegetables, and that the latter were not doing it. That is what he meant by saying that their plates were empty. Noise-Thunder insisted that this was the white man's fault; he thought that we were being weakened by the white man's food. Quite a number of people believed him. "The birds eat what was provided for them to eat, game and vegetables, and the whites eat what was provided for them. Why should we not eat what was provided for us?" He was right, but then the Creator also created the food that the whites are eating. We are now getting accustomed to it and are getting stronger on this food.

[161] The Winnebago were decreasing in number, so the Creator gave them a medicine which would enable them to get accustomed to the white man's food; that, also, they might know the Creator and that he is the true bread and food. This they found out by using this medicine. They are going into it deeper and deeper all the time, they who had been lost, and this has all been accomplished by the medicine (the peyote).

The following notes were also obtained concerning other prophets:

"There was a prophet among the Winnebago recently named George Wilkinson. He claimed that he was the Trickster: that there were two worlds; that he had been to the first and that he was now on the second. After a while he was to return to ma'wan (Earth-maker). He told all the Winnebago to plant their tobacco and cornfields again. (This is what he was ordered to say.) He said that the power of the war bundles was entirely exhausted, but that it could be restored if a person were to fast for four days. When the spirits addressed him by name they called him "He-Who-Stands-Blue." This happened fifteen years ago.

"Thundercloud claims to be the Hare."

Another man named Xuga prophesied the same, led them on a warpath, and lost a lot of people.

● [668] The most important religious revival of the last century among the Winnebago is the Peyote or Mescal religion. It is described in detail on page 288.

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175 Perrot also gives an account of the relentless war waged against them:

[839 266 648] This nation was a populous one, very redoubtable and spared no one; they violated all the laws of nature; they were Sodomites, and even had intercourse with beasts. If a stranger came among them, he was cooked in their kettles. The Malhouninis (Menomineeis) were the only tribe who maintained relations with them; they did not dare even to complain of their tyranny.

Lawson goes on to say:

175 648 So aggressive were the Winnebago that although their only arms "were stone hatchets and knives," they declared war on all the other tribes. Envoys sent to them by the Ottawa were eaten, which cruel deed so incensed the surrounding tribes that they formed an alliance and sent frequent war expeditions against the common enemy, and greatly harassed them. As a result of disagreements among themselves and the continued troublesome activities of the allied tribes, civil wars broke out among the Winnebago. For better protection against the tribes they were finally [669 162 104 731] forced "to unite all their forces in one village, where they numbered four or five thousand men," but an epidemic occurred which soon reduced their number to 1,500.

"Despite all these misfortunes, they sent a party of 500 warriors against the Outagamis (Fox), who dwelt on the other shore of the lake; but all those men perished, while making that journey, by a tempest that arose."

We suppose that this disaster occurred on Little Lake Butte des Morts, as it has been stated that the Winnebago resided on an island, which we suppose was Doty Island. The Winnebago being now greatly reduced by despair and famine, the other tribes were moved to pity by their condition and ceased to make war, and the Illinois sent 500 men, including "50 of the most prominent persons in their nation," to carry to them a supply of provisions. These the Winnebago received "with the utmost gratitude;" but at the same time meditated sacrificing the Illinois to the shades of their dead. A large cabin was erected to lodge their guests, and arrangements made for a dance in their honor. While the Illinois were dancing their bowstrings were cut, and the Winnebago "flung themselves upon the Illinois, massacred them, not [266] sparing one man, and made a general feast of their flesh."

Reproaching themselves for this dastardly deed, and fearing the vengeance of the allied tribes when it should become known to them, the Winnebago "resolved to abandon the place which they were occupying," and "took refuge on an island, which has since been swept away by ice floes." There they considered themselves safe, as the Illinois did not use canoes. The Illinois, finding that their people did not return, investigated the place and found only their bones. In order to allow a proper period for mourning for the dead:

"They deferred hostilities until the second year, when they assembled a large body of men from all Nations who were interested in the undertaking; and they set out in the winter season, in order not to fail therein. Having reached the Island over the ice, they found only the cabins in which there still remained some fire, the Puans (Winnebago) had gone to their Hunt on the day before, and were traveling in a body, that they might not, in an emergency, be surprised by the Illinois."

They followed the hunters in the dead of winter, coming up to them on the sixth day and attacking their camp.

"So vigorous was their attack that they killed, wounded, or made prisoners all the Puans, except a few who escaped, and who reached the Malhouninis' village, but severely wounded by arrows."

He [Perrot] again refers to these traditional events as those of "the ancestors" of the tribe as he knew them, and which we judge to refer to ancestors of the Winnebago

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159 Now I know that it was because the evil spirit possessed me that I felt that
755 way. I was suffering from a disease. I even desired to kill myself;
794 I did not care to live. That feeling, too, was caused by this evil
276 spirit living within me. Then I ate this medicine and everything
[753] changed. The brother and sister I wanted to kill before I became attached to and I wanted them to live. The medicine had accomplished this.

## O. L.'s Description of the Peyote Cult

(Pl. 33, c)

159 John Rave belongs to the Bear clan, the members of which had
614 the functions of what might be called sergeants-at-arms. He and
[692] his ancestors used to be in charge of the *manupdei* (i. e., the ser-
● 68] geants-at-arms lodge), to which all malefactors would be brought for punishment.

159 Rave, although he belonged to this highly respected class of people,
794 was a bad man. He roamed from place to place. He has participated in all the ceremonies of the Winnebago, the medicine dance alone excepted. He had been married many times. Up to 1901 he was a heavy drinker. In that year he went to Oklahoma and while there ate the peyote. He then returned to the Winnebago and tried to introduce it among them, but none with the exception of a few
[77] relatives would have anything to do with it. This did not in any way discourage him, however, and he continued using the peyote, now and then getting a few converts.

159 There was not very much religion connected with it in the beginning
794 and the reason people drank it was on account of the peculiar effects
177 it had upon them. Nevertheless these Peyote people preached good things and gradually lost all desire for intoxicating drinks or for participating in the old Winnebago ceremonies. Then Rave began to do away with the old Indian customs. About four or five years ago the membership in the Peyote religion began to increase, for many people now noticed that those connected with the Peyote cult were the only people in the tribe leading a Christian life.

At this time the Bible was introduced by a young man named Albert Hensley (pls. 8, *d*; 9, *d*). He, too, had been a bad person, although he had been educated at Carlisle. Like Rave, he was a heavy drinker and fond of wandering.

During the last few years our members have increased so fast that now almost half the tribe belong to our religion. We all make efforts to lead a Christian life and we are succeeding very well.

794 We use the New Testament, especially the Revelations.

796 Our meetings take place at any time. We gather together in the
159 evening, and as soon as everything is in readiness the leader arises
[762] and offers a prayer called, "Turning themselves over to the care of the Trinity."

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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From these facts it is quite clear that, as far as the Thunderbird clan is concerned, the prevailing belief as to the relation of the members of the clan to the clan ancestor is but feebly substantiated by the origin myths. 614 773 114

As mentioned before, the chief of the tribe was selected from the Thunderbird clan, although the selection was apparently restricted to certain families. The functions of the chief of the tribe were connected with peace. He could not lead a war party, although, according to some, he could accompany one. His lodge stood either in the center of the village or at the south end, according to which of the two descriptions one cares to accept, and contained a sacred fireplace, around which only members of the Thunderbird clan could sit. This lodge was an asylum for all wrongdoers. No one could be killed there, and a prisoner who succeeded in making his escape to it was spared. Even a dog destined for a sacrifice at the war-bundle feast was freed if he took refuge in it. The Thunderbird chief always acted as intercessor between wrongdoers and their avengers. Even in so extreme a case as the murder of a clansman, he would always attempt a reconciliation by which the life of the murderer might be spared. If necessary, the chief would mortify himself, and with skewers inserted in his back have himself led through the village to the home of the nearest kinspeople of the murdered person. 614 622 [778] [682 304]

The chief seems to have had some other miscellaneous functions, the most important of which was, perhaps, his right to prevent an unauthorized war party to depart from the village. If he, as an older man and guardian of peace and the best interests of the tribe, felt that a war party was taking too many risks, he would take his pipe and place it across the path of the one contemplating an unwarranted expedition and thus signify his disapproval. If then the war party chose to go, any mishap was directly chargeable to the leader who disobeyed. Should anyone be killed, the leader was regarded almost in the same light as a willful murderer, and the kinsmen of the deceased warrior could demand redress. 622 721 [686]

Our main informant for the Thunderbird clan summarized the functions as follows: 622 614

The chief is chosen from one of the "greater" Thunderbird clans[1] and must be a man of well balanced temper, not easily provoked, and of good habits. The one sacred object he possesses is his pipe. He must be a peacemaker and love all the people in the tribe, the little children included. [156]

If he saw a man, woman, or child passing by, he was to call them in and give them food to eat, for they were his brothers and sisters. All the relatives he has are to look after his possessions and keep him well supplied, for he was supposed to give away things constantly. If any person came to borrow some object from him, he would tell [431]

[1] Hedivided the Thunderbird clans into two groups, the real Thunderbird and the Warrior clans. This latter he indeed was identical with the thunderbirds who caused the rain and who were quite different from the other thunderbirds.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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622 614 the man that, since he was without this particular thing, to keep it and use it for all time.

[203 624] The public crier, a member of the Buffalo clan, was supposed to report to the chief early every morning and receive instructions. The crier would then go all around the village making the chief's desires known.

The chief had a representative at every council, generally his brother.

623] The chief of the village is a peacemaker, and if two members of the tribe ever get into difficulties (i. e., quarrel) he is supposed to intercede. If in a quarrel a person should be killed, the chief would go to the murderer and tell the latter to permit himself to be tied up – i. e., to give himself up to the relatives of the murdered man. If [682] the murderer consents to do so, then his arms are tied behind him and the chief walks in front of him carrying his sacred pipe. Thus they would go to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives. When they got there the chief would extend the stem of the pipe toward them. They might refuse to accept the pipe thus extended, but if any member of the family, even if it be a small child, were to take a puff from it, then the murderer would be forgiven and turned free.

This is the capacity of a Winnebago chief.

622 614 682 Another description of the chief's rôle as intercessor for a murderer is as follows:

When the Thunderbird chief wishes to save a murderer they take one of their own chiefs, one who is well beloved, paint his back blue, and put skewers in his back, to which they tie cords. Thus he is taken to the lodge of the murdered person's relatives. The chief, when he gets there, holds his pipe of tobacco in both hands. Should the relations not wish to accept the peace offering they close the door in his face. Then he returns.

614 778 [411] The Thunderbird clan possessed a type of war club called a bald-headed war club, which was sacred to this clan alone, and a miniature of which was always buried with a dead body. The only other possessions were the clan war bundles. The Winnebago often speak as though each clan had but one of these palladiums, but there seems to be little doubt but that there were at least two and probably more in each clan. These war bundles must be regarded as the common possession of the clan at the present time, for they can not be alienated from the clan.[3] For all practical purposes, however, they are the private property of certain individuals or families.

614 372 Fire was considered a sacred possession of the Thunderbird clan. As mentioned before, an individual was supposed never to ask for a firebrand from the fire of any member of the clan and was never permitted to sit near such a fireplace. If, nevertheless, anyone should be immodest enough to ask for one of these objects, he would be refused, but he would be permitted to ask for any conceivable thing else. The following incident will serve as an example of the 680 definite way in which this peculiar custom works. An old Winne-

[3] This point was very forcibly impressed upon the author when he tried to obtain the war bundle of a man who had become a member of the Peyote cult. The man was perfectly willing to part with it, but after repeated requests to those who happened to possess it at that particular time, he admitted that it belonged to the clan, although they could not have taken it away from him had he remained a believer in the old faith.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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the matter. If, on the other hand, he submitted to whatever punishment the Bear clansmen inflicted on him without resistance and apologized to them, then they would build him a new lodge and supply it with better goods than those which they had been compelled to destroy. 614 625

This is the way in which the soldiers act when they are on duty. They never jest and their word is a command. If it is not immediately obeyed, their next move is to punish. For that reason one generally listens to them and their commands. When they are not on duty they are the same as other people. Different members of the tribe are on duty at different times, for the leader changes them about frequently.

If a field of rice is found in some swamp or lake the Bear clan people are informed and they go over and keep watch over it and give every person an equal chance at picking it. If a person sneaks away and takes advantage of the others, the Bear clan people punish him. [222 262] [685]

The Bear clansmen guard the village almost all the time. When a council is held they guard the council lodge, and when a person is tried for some crime, particularly that of murder, a trial which generally takes place in the Thunderbird clan lodge, then they carefully guard this lodge, lest the prisoner try to escape or his relatives or confederates try to rescue him. [623 692] 682

Certain actions and remarks are not permitted in the Bear clan lodge. They are the following: 614 625 784

To peep into the lodge.

To make the remark that they live in a nice lodge.

To sit in the doorway.

To give a deep sigh or snort inside the lodge.

Should any person do one of these forbidden things, the Bear clansmen would be compelled to give the most valued thing in the lodge to the offender.

If a man seduced a woman, he was brought to the lodge of the Bear clan and severely whipped. If the soldier whipped him too severely, he in turn was whipped. 614 625 684

If a murderer was brought to the Bear clan lodge and the chief of the tribe asked that the man be freed, the rest of the tribe would beg the relatives of the murdered man to relent; but if the murderer was turned over to the soldiers, they would take him to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives and let one of them kill him. [622 682]

According to one informant, the Deer clansmen acted as servants to the Bear clan. 614

The Bear and the Wolf clans are friends, and although, as we indicated on page 201, each clan is paired off with another, the relationship of the Bear and Wolf clans is particularly intimate. It was even claimed that a Bear clansman would revenge the death of a Wolf clansman. For no other clans did the author hear this statement made. The women are addressed by the men and by each other as "my opposite," referring unquestionably to the positions in the council lodge. [551]

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## The Wolf Clan

### INTRODUCTION

614 173 Three versions of the origin myth of this clan were obtained. The second is the most interesting, for it gives the popular account of descent from the clan animal-ancestor, although it claims that he, in turn, was created by Earthmaker. One other important characteristic is the statement that the original clan ancestor married a human being and that from them the present members of the clan trace their descent. A similar type of descent is mentioned in a number of myths that can best be interpreted as village origin myths. The ownership of war bundles has also at times been linked up with descent from some spirit.

614 Very little is known at the present time about the functions of the Wolf clan. It is quite clear, however, that the clan once possessed powers of considerable importance. From the fact that the Wolf people are still occasionally called "minor soldiers" and that they are so closely linked with the Bear clansmen it is likely that their functions were similar in nature to those of the Bear people. They probably assisted the latter.

[823] Water was sacred to the Wolf clan as it also was to the Water-spirit clan. A person was not allowed to tell a Wolf clansman that he looked like a wolf nor allowed to sit on a log in a Wolf clan lodge. [682] If a man kills a Wolf clansman accidentally and then sits on the log in a Wolf lodge, he has to be freed.

According to one informant, the Wolf clan at one time possessed four sticks, which they would use and with which they kept time while the drum was beaten.

[582] According to one informant, the Wolf clansmen were the only people who were allowed to intermarry.

The Wolf clansmen give a feast when a Bear child is born, to show respect for their friend. They give the child a name of their own clan.

[796] The Wolf feast is held in the spring of the year, when the ice melts from the creeks and everything begins to grow. At the feast the [262 clan origin myth is told and the members of the other clans are 252] allowed to hear it. The food used is boiled rice.

### ORIGIN MYTHS

#### FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 539 776 [823] In the beginning the Wolf clan people came from the water. Therefore their bodies are of water—i. e., their sacred possession is water. There were four male wolves and four female wolves, and as they came up from the sea and swam toward the shore, one after the other, they caused waves to go before them. Therefore one of

## §18. *My Brother Is Murdered*

*159 Shortly after this my elder brother was killed. We
● [682] two had grown up together and had hardly ever been
[152] separated. I felt quite heartbroken over it. I longed
to kill the man who had murdered him. I felt that it
would be better if I myself were dead. In this frame
*159 of mind I took to drinking a great deal. Indeed it was
273 my wish to die drinking and I would announce this
when I was drinking heavily. Up to that time I had
drunk secretly, but now I did so openly. Soon I
became a confirmed drunkard. By that time I had
quite forgotten the fact that I had wanted to die. In-
deed I enjoyed drinking very much.

I got into the habit, then, of giving women whisky
[685] and getting them hopelessly drunk and then I would
steal anything of value they possessed. I also learned
[526] to box and soon became quite expert. I was never de-
feated, and in consequence treated every one roughly.
Every one was afraid of me because of my skill with
the gloves. My father was a strong man and so were
my elder brothers, and neither of them had ever been
[156] defeated at wrestling. For all these reasons I was very
arrogant. Besides all this I was very tall. I am six
[141] feet two inches high and weigh about two hundred and
fifty pounds. In actual fact I was not really as strong

*159 648 everything again in detail and that as soon as the time for the trial came, I would be freed. When I was through, they took me back and locked me up again, and the other man was taken out. When he returned, he had of course learned what I had done. He was very quiet. Then I said, "Well, you said you were [682] asked to kill him and you also said that they, the brothers of the murdered man, asked others to kill him. If that is so, you did it because you were asked to do so, and you are not to blame. If we can find other witnesses to this fact, we will surely get out." "Indeed, I spoke about the matter because they had locked us up alone. I did not like it. The boys were so boisterous that I thought the others ought to be in jail, too. That is what I was thinking of when I spoke to the officers. Soon they will bring these others here, too, and when we are all here together, it will not be so lonesome." Peter was glad of it. Soon the other two were brought, and the four of us made quite a good deal of noise talking.

[P. 162]

succeed and evil was already upon the tribe, then his attention was 105
directed toward alleviating the suffering caused by it and toward pre- 616
venting any violence that might come in its wake. His function was 622
to be protective and constructive. As one Winnebago told me, 'The 182
chief of the tribe is like a motherbird feeding its young ones.' 577

The chief of the lower division, by contrast, went out to meet evil, attacked it ferociously when encountered, and paid little attention to the violent mood it developed among the defender-assailants. The important thing was to attack, fight and gain the victory.

The two opposing approaches to the problem can best be illus- 105
trated by the attitudes of the two chiefs toward sickness and mur- 622
der. The tribal chief meets the first by giving a feast of conciliation 755
and making direct appeals to Earthmaker. The chief of the lower 182
division, on the other hand, immediately starts in pursuit of it. With his assistants he makes the circuit of the village four times to look for its cause. He is on the warpath and should a dog cross his path, he is immediately killed. Then he pays a visit to the sick people, dances before them and lays his hands upon them.

If a murder has been committed, the tribal chief not only inter- 105
cedes for the life of the murderer but actually, if need be, offers to 182
take the place of the malefactor. The chief of the lower division, on 622
the other hand, seizes the murderer and conducts him to the family [682]
of the murdered person to be punished.

The objects associated with the two chiefs are typical and symbolical of their activities. For the first it is the peace-pipe, the emblem of conciliation and humility; for the second, a curiously formed baton, the emblem of punishment and pain, with which, when need be, he strikes those who transgress.

The recognition of these two aspects of social life and reality, 105
contradictory, colliding, complementary, had its counterpart in the 772
Winnebago analysis of human nature. There too, they insisted, good 187
and evil, the spiritual and the material, the sacred and the profane, seemed forever at strife and forever striving for reconciliation, neutralization or fusion. This philosophy, we shall now see, is reflected, particularly, in mythology, religion and ritualism.

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867 be able to retain your hold on men. If you do your work to the
593 satisfaction of your husband, he will never leave you. I say again,
832 it is not proper to use medicine. Above all, do not use medicine until you have passed your youth. You will otherwise merely make yourself weak. You will lead a weak life. It may even happen that you will cause yourself to become foolish.

[581] Do not use a medicine in order to marry. If you marry remain faithful to your husband. Do not act as though you are married to a number of men at the same time. Lead a chaste life. If you do not listen to what I am telling you and you are unfaithful to your [626] husband, all the men will jeer at you. They will say whatever they wish to (and no one will interfere). Every man will treat you as though he were on the "joking relationship" with you. If you do not listen to me, therefore, you will injure yourself.

867 Thus the old people used to talk to one another. Thus they would
584 warn one another against certain actions. They used to instruct the young girls as they grew up (just as I am doing to you now). That is why I am telling of these things now.

My daughter, as you grow older and grow up to be a young woman, the young men will begin to court you. Never strike a man, my [683] daughter. It is forbidden. If you dislike a man very much, tell him gently to go away. If you do not do this and instead strike him, remember that it frequently happens that men know of medicines; or if they themselves have none they may know from whom to [754] get them. If you make a man feel bad by striking him, he may use this medicine and cause you to run away with him and become a bad woman. It is for this reason that the old men used to warn the young girls not to strike the men who are courting them, but whom they dislike. Pray with all your heart that you do not become such a woman.

867 Do not act haughtily to your husband. Whatever he tells you
593 to do, do it. Kindness will be returned to you if you obey your husband, for he will treat you in the same manner.

858 If you ever have a child, do not strike it. In the olden times when a child misbehaved the parents did not strike it, but they made it fast. When a child gets hungry, he will soon see the error of his ways. If you hit a child, you will be merely knocking the wickedness into him. Women should likewise never scold the [861] children because children are merely made wicked by scoldings. If your husband scolds the children, do not take their part, for that will merely make them bad. In the same way, if a stranger makes your children cry, do not say anything to the stranger in the presence of the children, nor take their part in his presence. If you wish to prevent a stranger from scolding your children, keep them home and teach them how to behave by setting them a good example. Do not imagine that you do the best for your children by

867 will be ruining a man. It is equivalent to killing him. Do
593 not do it. It is forbidden. If you marry a man and want
832 to live with him permanently, work for him in order to hold him. When you marry a man, listen to what he says. If you do your work properly and the man likes you, he will never leave you. By working for him must you make your husband love you. Now remember it is not good to use medicines on him. At least before you are fairly mature in years do not use any, for you will thereby merely weaken yourself and your life will be of no consequence. Indeed you may cause the medicine to work on yourself and then become demented in consequence.

867 Marry only one man at a time. Be good and virtuous
58 in your married life. If you do not listen to what I am
[626] telling you, you will become bad and men will make fun of you. They will do whatever they wish with you; joke with you familiarly on any subject. If you do not listen to me you will injure yourself. Thus did the old people speak to one another and thus did they hand down these
867 precepts from one generation to another, warning young girls against committing wrong actions. They also said that when a girl is growing up, one should admonish her and that is why I am now speaking to you.

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584 the men will begin to court you. Never hit a man. It is
[683] forbidden. If you dislike a man very much tell him to go away gently. If instead, you hit him, remember that fre-
[154] quently young men possess certain injurious medicines which they may use against you. Even if a particular person does not possess them, he knows where to get them. Then this man whom you have humiliated, will use it and transform you from a chaste and nice woman to a loose one, to a harlot. That is why the old people used to warn

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the matter. If, on the other hand, he submitted to whatever punishment the Bear clansmen inflicted on him without resistance and apologized to them, then they would build him a new lodge and supply it with better goods than those which they had been compelled to destroy. 614 625

This is the way in which the soldiers act when they are on duty. They never jest and their word is a command. If it is not immediately obeyed, their next move is to punish. For that reason one generally listens to them and their commands. When they are not on duty they are the same as other people. Different members of the tribe are on duty at different times, for the leader changes them about frequently.

If a field of rice is found in some swamp or lake the Bear clan people are informed and they go over and keep watch over it and give every person an equal chance at picking it. If a person sneaks away and takes advantage of the others, the Bear clan people punish him. [222 262] [685]

The Bear clansmen guard the village almost all the time. When a council is held they guard the council lodge, and when a person is tried for some crime, particularly that of murder, a trial which generally takes place in the Thunderbird clan lodge, then they carefully guard this lodge, lest the prisoner try to escape or his relatives or confederates try to rescue him. [623 692] 682

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To peep into the lodge.

To make the remark that they live in a nice lodge.

To sit in the doorway.

To give a deep sigh or snort inside the lodge.

Should any person do one of these forbidden things, the Bear clansmen would be compelled to give the most valued thing in the lodge to the offender.

If a man seduced a woman, he was brought to the lodge of the Bear clan and severely whipped. If the soldier whipped him too severely, he in turn was whipped. 614 625 [684

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## *Dissipation*

happened to have, for I had become a thief. If I saw a woman drunk, I would steal her, for I was an adulterer. What I was looking for mainly was a woman to cohabit with, for in this way, I was able to get all her money. If any woman wanted to cohabit with me, she would have to give me all the money she had. This is the sort of thing I was doing. In this way I often succeeded in inducing two or three women to live with me at the same time. 159* [685] [273] [837]

After finishing at Necedah the superintendent always went to Tomah to pay the people there, and from Tomah he would proceed to Black River Falls. At Black River Falls the last payment was made, and for that reason it was always an extremely noisy place on such an occasion. All who liked this kind of a life, all who used to chase payments for the fun of it, would be there. Marriages would get badly mixed up here, and there would always be stealing of one another's wives, fighting, robbery, etc. Even those married people who had been faithful to each other up till then, would become unfaithful. Many people would get hurt. When the last payment had been made, all those who had not spent their last cent on drink would begin gambling, the men and women playing poker. Only when our last cent was gone would we stop and settle down. Many of us were generally left without enough money to go home. 159* 657 [837] [579] [684] [525]

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## §11. *Wandering and Hunting*

After a while I used to get into the habit of going to 159* town. When I got there I would look into the barrels to see if there was any food in them and if there was [685] I would fill my pockets with whatsoever I found. I used to steal a great deal.

About springtime we always moved away from the 159* vicinity of the town. We always moved to the place 221 where my father intended to trap, generally to the [224] neighborhood of some farming community where there [285] were few Indians. There my mother used to make [139] baskets and sell them to the farmers. We also used to circulate a written petition asking for any help people [648] cared to give us. Whenever they went on this kind of a trip I always went along with them, for sometimes people would take pity on us and give us some old clothes. Sometimes we would even get a good meal at some farmer's house. For these reasons I was always envious of those who went along on such journeys.

Occasionally when we got many provisions I had to carry some of them, but I never minded that. When [003] the birds returned north father used to make us bows and arrows and we would then shoot at them and often kill many. We also used to kill squirrels which my [224] grandmother roasted for us. My older brother was a [252]

## §18. *My Brother Is Murdered*

*159 Shortly after this my elder brother was killed. We
[682] two had grown up together and had hardly ever been
[152] separated. I felt quite heartbroken over it. I longed
to kill the man who had murdered him. I felt that it
would be better if I myself were dead. In this frame
*159 of mind I took to drinking a great deal. Indeed it was
273 my wish to die drinking and I would announce this
when I was drinking heavily. Up to that time I had
drunk secretly, but now I did so openly. Soon I
became a confirmed drunkard. By that time I had
quite forgotten the fact that I had wanted to die. In-
deed I enjoyed drinking very much.

I got into the habit, then, of giving women whisky
• [685] and getting them hopelessly drunk and then I would
steal anything of value they possessed. I also learned
[526] to box and soon became quite expert. I was never de-
feated, and in consequence treated every one roughly.
Every one was afraid of me because of my skill with
the gloves. My father was a strong man and so were
my elder brothers, and neither of them had ever been
[156] defeated at wrestling. For all these reasons I was very
arrogant. Besides all this I was very tall. I am six
[141] feet two inches high and weigh about two hundred and
fifty pounds. In actual fact I was not really as strong

*159 payment. At about the same time, one of the two
657 women with whom I was living was taken away from
[588] me. She went to live with another man. When the
[837] payment was over here, the superintendent went to
[484] Necedah to pay the people there, and I went along,
for I was doing what we called "chasing the payment."
There, and at Red Hill, I deceived many women, and
thus obtained quite a large sum of money. Then I
started off with a number of other young men. By
[273] this time I was spending all my time drinking.

*159 I got on the train at night. We were to change cars
484 at a place called Honsa and from there we were to
ride in a freight car. When we had gone only a short
distance the conductor saw us and put us off. We were
all drinking heavily. One man had lost his hat and
was walking bareheaded. We walked along until we
came to a pasture, and there we found some dry wood
with which we built a fire. We had decided to sleep
there. We had plenty of whisky with us. Late at
night we became thirsty and so we looked around for
water. We found a number of pools scattered around,
and out of these we drank. Then we went to sleep.
The next morning when we woke up we saw a good
well near us, but we ourselves had drunk out of the
water and mud in which pigs had been wallowing.

*159 In the morning when the train arrived we boarded it.
273 Eventually we reached our destination, and there found
many people, drinking and making a lot of noise. That
was exactly the place I had been looking for. When-
● [685] ever I saw a person drunk I would steal whatever he

## *Dissipation*

happened to have, for I had become a thief. If I saw a woman drunk, I would steal her, for I was an adulterer. What I was looking for mainly was a woman to cohabit with, for in this way, I was able to get all her money. If any woman wanted to cohabit with me, she would have to give me all the money she had. This is the sort of thing I was doing. In this way I often succeeded in inducing two or three women to live with me at the same time. 159* [685] [273] [837]

After finishing at Neeedah the superintendent always went to Tomah to pay the people there, and from Tomah he would proceed to Black River Falls. At Black River Falls the last payment was made, and for that reason it was always an extremely noisy place on such an occasion. All who liked this kind of a life, all who used to chase payments for the fun of it, would be there. Marriages would get badly mixed up here, and there would always be stealing of one another's wives, fighting, robbery, etc. Even those married people who had been faithful to each other up till then, would become unfaithful. Many people would get hurt. When the last payment had been made, all those who had not spent their last cent on drink would begin gambling, the men and women playing poker. Only when our last cent was gone would we stop and settle down. Many of us were generally left without enough money to go home. 159* 657 [837] [579] [684] [525]

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224 *Regulation of the tribal hunt.*—It can not be said that there were
[721] many special regulations during the tribal hunt. The rules applying to the regulation of war parties held here too. (For a description of these, see p. 156.)

Individuals were strictly prohibited from taking the initiative except by permission. For instance, a man was not allowed to proceed beyond a certain point, or shoot before a certain time; in short, not to do anything by which he might endanger his own life, the safety of his companions, or the success of the hunt, such as scaring away the animals or causing them to stampede.

625 It is during the tribal hunts that the power of the Bear clan is at
224 its height. For this reason it may perhaps be most appropriate to
614 include here a description* of these powers, although this really
484 belongs in the section on Social Organization:

Whenever the Winnebago are on their tribal hunt or whenever they move from one place to another, the soldiers (i. e., the Bear people) take the lead. Whenever they decide to stop at some place, the leader of the Bear people places his stick in the ground and the other soldiers do the same. The line of sticks is a slanting one. The main tribe follows behind at some distance and always camps a little behind them. None of the members of the tribe dare pass ahead of these sticks. If, for instance, during the fall move the tribe were passing through a country in which much game abounded, and if after the tribe had stopped at a certain place anyone should take it upon himself to go ahead and kill game on his own initiative, and he
[686] was discovered, the soldiers would go to his camp and burn it and everything it contained, destroy any supplies he had, and break his dishes. They would spare only his life and the lives of his family. If he resisted he would get a severe whipping. If even after that he resisted them and took his gun and attempted to shoot, the soldiers would not do anything but stand ready. But the moment he made an attempt to shoot, they would kill him and nothing would be said of the matter, for they would be putting into effect the law of the tribe. If, on the other hand, the man submitted to the action of the soldiers and apologized they would make him a better lodge and would give him more and better things than those they had taken away.

## Fishing and Agriculture

226 *Fishing.*—In former times fishing seems to have been done exclusively by spearing or by shooting. The spear (*wooa'*) consisted of a long stick provided with a bone or a horn point. Spearing was done preferably at night with the aid of torches made of pine pitch. In shooting fish a long arrowlike stick (*ma'nuzisizini*) with a pointed end, whittled and frayed at the base like the ceremonial staff of the Bear clan, was discharged from an ordinary bow.

227 The most commonly used trap for fishing was a triangular weir loaded with a stone at its base and placed at the head of a waterfall caused by artificial damming of a stream.

784 Very few fish were taboo, the principal ones being the dogfish
226 and the eel.

* By Thunder Cloud.

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# CHAPTER VI

## WARFARE AND THE COUNCIL LODGE

### Warfare

721 War was one of the most important elements in the life of the
[183] Winnebago. The life of the warrior was the ideal toward which all
men strove. It not only satisfied certain emotional needs but it
[554] was so inextricably interwoven with social standing in the com-
munity and with individual prestige that Winnebago life is unthink-
able without it. It is not surprising, then, that the prayer for
[782] success on the warpath was the most important prayer that men
offered up to the spirits and that it was reechoed in almost all the
ceremonies. (Pls. 43, 44, 45.)

An element of culture fraught with so much significance to the individual and the social group was bound to be surrounded by innumerable customs, regulations, and restrictions. It was a life that was at stake every time an individual went on the warpath, and remembering the value of each life to a small community, it is not to be wondered at if there is a definite attempt on the part of the social group to restrict individual activity in this particular regard. An individual might go on the warpath either alone or in company with a few people, but the community, in the person of the chief, insisted that he show some warrant for his action. If no warrant of
[626] any kind could be given, he subjected himself to the only restrictive
measures the chief and the community could adopt, disapproval,
jeers, and temporary loss of social standing and prestige. So much,
as far as his own person was concerned. If his action jeopardized
the life or lives of other members of the tribe he had then to face
[686] the relatives of these people, just as any individual who had com-
mitted some wrong. It is hardly likely that many men would willingly run any risks of unnecessarily antagonizing their fellow tribesmen when the proper means of preparing for the warpath was open to all. A careful perusal of the system of education given on page 166 makes it clear that a sufficiently large number of methods for obtaining consent to lead a party were given, and that it was possible for every male individual to go on the warpath frequently if he so desired. Certain requirements were, however, necessary. It was not left to each individual to decide for himself
[622] whether he possessed these, but the final decision always lay in the
hands of the chief.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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867 787 the warpath.[7] So they say. If you do not become an individual warranted to lead a war party, yet mistaking yourself for one although really an ordinary warrior, you "throw away a man," your act will [686 627] be considered most disgraceful. A mourner might harm you in revenge for the fact that you have caused him to mourn, and burn you with embers. Your people will all be sad, both on account of your disgrace and on account of the pain inflicted upon you.

787 My son, not with the blessing of one of the spirits merely, nor with 867 the blessing of twenty, for that matter, can you go on the warpath. 776 You must have the blessing of all the spirits above the earth, and of all those on the earth, and of all those who are pierced through the earth;[8] of all those under the earth; of all those who are under the water; of all those that are on the sides of the earth, i. e., all the four winds; of the Disease-giver;[9] of the Sun; of the Daylight;[10] of the Moon; of the Earth; and of all those who are in control of war powers—with the blessings of all these deities must you be provided before you can lead a successful war party.

867 My son, if you cast off dress[11] men will be benefited by your deeds. 554 You will be an aid to all your people. If your people honor you, it will be good. And they will like you even the more if you obtain a

721 787 701 686 [622] [7] Among the Winnebago any individual who has been blessed with the necessary powers to lead a warpath may do so, but it is absolutely essential that his blessing directing him be of such a nature that every possible contingency is included therein. Such complete blessings are, of course, not common nor can they be obtained except through unusual exertions. If you are blessed with just the ordinary or incomplete war powers and you nevertheless undertake to lead a war party, you may either be defeated or perhaps only partially successful, and, what is worse, you may lose some of the warriors who started with you. Your recklessness has thus caused the death of some of your fellow tribesmen. It is understood that every warrior before starting on the warpath turn his "blessing" over to the chief of the tribe for examination, and if the chief considers it complete the warrior is not held responsible for the lack of success or loss of life. If the chief does not consider an individual's blessing sufficient to justify the object he has in view and forbids the warrior to go, and if the latter nevertheless goes, or granted the case he does not even submit his "blessing" to the chief for scrutiny, and sneaks out, then he is held directly responsible for any mishap on the warpath. The relatives of any individual thus killed may hold the war leader responsible and demand compensation; or, as is indicated by B. a few lines later, a mourner (i. e., one who has been placed in mourning by the criminal foolhardiness of the war leader) might attack, perhaps kill him, without being held guilty of any crime. It must of course be understood that such occurrences would seldom take place. We must, however, remember throughout these "teachings" that one of the objects of the old men was to draw the most alluring pictures of the rewards that would fall to the lot of those who followed in the footsteps of their ancestors, and, on the other hand, to draw the most lurid pictures of the wretchedness that befell those who deviated, no matter in what details, from the customs sanctioned by age.

773 776 [8] According to the Winnebago creation myth, when Earthmaker, the creator of the earth, first came to consciousness and began creating life the earth on which we now live was in continual motion, and nothing that the former could do seemed to be able to stop it. From above he threw down grass, trees, etc., but all was of no avail. Finally he hit upon the happy expedient of pinning the earth down at the four corners by means of four enormous snakes, or, as some say, by means of four mythical animals known as water spirits. It is to these that the old man is referring here. According to the story, even these were of no avail, and it was only when he finally placed four mythical beings known as "Island Weights" at the four corners that our planet stopped spinning. These "Island Weights" seem to be identical with the spirits of the four cardinal points, but they are not to be confused with the four winds mentioned later.

776 [9] A deity conceived of as dealing out life-giving powers from one half of his body and death-giving powers from the other half. He is also supposed to disseminate disease. Disease-giver is a literal translation of the Winnebago word, but this probably does not convey the exact meaning. There seems to be no 822 parallel to this peculiar deity among the other Siouan tribes or among the Algonquian.

[10] Daylight or light is conceived of as something different and distinct from the sun.

735 [11] That is, if you give away things frequently, especially to poor people.

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From these facts it is quite clear that, as far as the Thunderbird clan is concerned, the prevailing belief as to the relation of the members of the clan to the clan ancestor is but feebly substantiated by the origin myths. 614 773 114

As mentioned before, the chief of the tribe was selected from the Thunderbird clan, although the selection was apparently restricted to certain families. The functions of the chief of the tribe were connected with peace. He could not lead a war party, although, according to some, he could accompany one. His lodge stood either in the center of the village or at the south end, according to which of the two descriptions one cares to accept, and contained a sacred fireplace, around which only members of the Thunderbird clan could sit. This lodge was an asylum for all wrongdoers. No one could be killed there, and a prisoner who succeeded in making his escape to it was spared. Even a dog destined for a sacrifice at the war-bundle feast was freed if he took refuge in it. The Thunderbird chief always acted as intercessor between wrongdoers and their avengers. Even in so extreme a case as the murder of a clansman, he would always attempt a reconciliation by which the life of the murderer might be spared. If necessary, the chief would mortify himself, and with skewers inserted in his back have himself led through the village to the home of the nearest kinspeople of the murdered person. 614 622 [778] [682 304]

The chief seems to have had some other miscellaneous functions, the most important of which was, perhaps, his right to prevent an unauthorized war party to depart from the village. If he, as an older man and guardian of peace and the best interests of the tribe, felt that a war party was taking too many risks, he would take his pipe and place it across the path of the one contemplating an unwarranted expedition and thus signify his disapproval. If then the war party chose to go, any mishap was directly chargeable to the leader who disobeyed. Should anyone be killed, the leader was regarded almost in the same light as a willful murderer, and the kinsmen of the deceased warrior could demand redress. 622 721 [886]

Our main informant for the Thunderbird clan summarized the functions as follows: 622 614

The chief is chosen from one of the "greater" Thunderbird clans[1] and must be a man of well-balanced temper, not easily provoked, and of good habits. The one sacred object he possesses is his pipe. He must be a peacemaker and love all the people in the tribe, the little children included. [156]

If he saw a man, woman, or child passing by, he was to call them in and give them food to eat, for they were his brothers and sisters. All the relatives he has are to look after his possessions and keep him well supplied, for he was supposed to give away things constantly. If any person came to borrow some object from him, he would tell [431]

[1] He divided the Thunderbird clans into two groups, the real Thunderbird and the Warrior clans. This latter he insisted was identical with the thunderbirds who caused the rain and who were quite different from the other thunderbirds.

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787
778 warpath)." The son therefore refused it, and went out to fast
again. Then the spirits blessed him again and again he went to
[776] his father and asked to accompany him to the wilderness and see
what blessings he had obtained. When they came to the wilder-
ness [10] they found two wild cats (already stuffed) standing there
and facing in opposite directions. Then the old man told his son
again not to accept this blessing because it would be too powerful,[20]
but the young man said, "This is the last blessing that I am going
to get," and accepted it.

(What follows was obtained at a later time from the same informant and relating to the same blessing.)

The first blessing K'erex'u"'sak'a received was from the Thunderbirds. They dropped a flute and two feathers from heaven. But these he refused. The second blessing was also from the Thunderbirds. This time they told him to go to a certain place where he could see them himself. He went there and found four men sitting there broiling meat. They gave him a piece of meat. It was only when he fasted for the fourth time that he was blessed with a war-bundle.

WHAT G. OBTAINED IN HIS FAST

159 I never fasted much. I only fasted three times and I don't believe
776 that I ever fasted for more than two days at a time. However, I
never was blessed with anything (i. e., any object). I knew, how-
787 ever, that I came from the home of the Thunderbirds (i. e., that I was
[775] a reincarnated Thunderbird). My spirit father and mother [21] were
Thunderbirds. The Thunderbirds are beings whose glance can
penetrate any object. For that reason I also can do it. For
instance, I have seen a man through a tree. This I did once during a
thunderstorm when a man had sought shelter behind a tree.

[10] Whenever the word "wilderness" is used all that is meant is an uninhabited place far away from the village.

[20] By "too powerful" the old man means that the feasts, offerings, etc., that would be necessary for so great a blessing would be quite beyond the means or the ability of the young man. It is to be remembered that the bestowal of a blessing does not in itself insure its efficacy, but that this can only be assured if the
[782] proper offerings and the proper emotional attitude accompany its subsequent use. Evidently the old man did not feel that the young fellow would be equal to the task. I have been told by many of the older Winnebagoes that when the old system was still intact the older people always made it a point to warn impetuous youths against taking upon themselves responsibilities that they might possibly not be able
[686] to fulfill, a very excellent device, it seems to me, for not multiplying the chance of failures and consequently the necessity of explaining them. However, one need not believe that this was the reason for the caution.

[21] He says "spirit father and mother" because when he lived with the Thunderbirds he was, of course, a spirit. It is quite impossible to determine whether he means that he was a human being who was living among the spirits as a spirit or whether he was a spirit who had desired to be once reincarnated as a human
[776 being. Originally, of course, there were no human beings, but only spirits, of whom a portion became
775] permanently transformed into human beings. However, even very powerful shamans never claim more than three reincarnations, so that he can obviously not be referring to this primitive condition and is either referring to the fact that he is a Thunderbird residing temporarily on this earth, or—and this would be the more common form—a human being who lived for some time as a Thunderbird and then returned to earth. In the latter case one would expect him to obtain great blessings in his fast, and the fact that he did not and had nevertheless such great powers suggests that he is really a reincarnated Thunderbird.

701 Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to
* 159 be a leader of men. To become one, however, is very
867 difficult, the old people used to say. It may happen that
787 you merely pretend to be a leader of men, that you are but
a mere warrior in the ranks and yet take it upon yourself to
[686] lead a war-party and thus cause a needless waste of life,
that you do what is called "throwing away a life." That
is the most shameful of all acts. The relatives of the person
[627] whom you have thus sacrificed would then have the right
to make you suffer, to torture you with burning embers.
And then your relatives would have to stand by, sad and
humiliated. Not with the blessing of one, not with the
blessings of twenty spirits, can you go on the warpath.
* 159 For that the blessings of all the spirits are necessary—those
867 on this earth, those under it and those who lie pinned
776 through it, the Island Weights; those in the waters and
787 those on the side of the earth, the winds, all four of them.
You need the blessings of the spirit who dispenses life from
one side of his body and death from the other, the blessings of the Sun, the Moon, the Daylight, and the Earth.
All these Earthmaker has made controllers of war and by
787 all these must you be blessed in order to lead a war-party.
* 159 My son, if you cast off your dress for many people, that
867 is, if you give to the needy, your people will be benefited
[135] by your deeds. It is good thus to be honored by many
people. And even more will they honor you if you return
victorious from the warpath with one of the four limbs, that
[554] is, one of the four war honors. But if you obtain two, or
three, or perhaps even four limbs, then all the greater will
be the honor. Then whenever a war feast is given you will
receive part of the deer that is boiled, either part of its
ooo body or part of the head.[16] When on some other occasion,

[16] The meat of a deer at such a feast is given only to great warriors. The head is regarded as the choicest piece.

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935

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In each village, the two civil chiefs, appoint all the officers, deemed necessary, civil and military, who obey them implicitly. There are two ways of arriving at these high stations, by birth and by election. When the father dies, if he has a son, who has arrived at the age of manhood, and who bids fair to make a good chief—that is, if he possesses a good form, has good bodily powers and mental faculties—is brave, sedate, wise and prudent, he generally succeeds his father in the government, on his father's demise. If the chief, at his death, leave no son who is qualified for the high office of chief, but wills it to some other person, he succeeds to the government. If the chief has no son at his death, it is commonly the case, that his brother's son succeeds him. The line of succession may run out for want of a lawful heir, which is always supplied by an election. It may be changed too, where the heir is unqualified for the station. Great deference is always paid to the will of the dying chief, but every such case is always laid before a full national council, whose decision is final (p. 97). 622 [624] [666]

A chief may be degraded from his rank for bad conduct. . . .

There is in every tribe, what answers to a standing army among us. The profession of arms holds out, to the great mass of the common people, the only road to the temple of fame. . . . The young man, who aspires to the honorable distinction of a "brave" or warrior, must exhibit such traits of character, as are deemed necessary for a soldier to possess, before he can be admitted into the army. When admitted, he wears on his head just as many feathers of the bald eagle, as he has slain human beings, and the size of the feathers indicate the size of his victims. . . . If the warrior has taken a captive, he has a human hand as large as life, painted either on his face, or on some part of his body, or on his blanket, some individuals have several such hands painted upon them (p. 98).[9] 701 703 [301] [532] [302]

At the head of the army, belonging to each tribe, there is a person who occupies the same station as a General does with us, and he appoints all the inferior officers. The chiefs when met in council, call into it, their warriors, with whom they consult, but frequently they are called to receive the orders, which are obeyed to the letter. This council call before them, persons who are interested in the trial . . . (pp. 98, 99). 701 623

If the Senate of the United States is the mildest, the most patriotic and wisest legislative assembly in the civilized world, as it truly is, the Winnebago council, is decidedly at the head of the savage world. . . . The great body of the people have very little influence, almost none, with this council, and they never appear before it unless they are summoned to attend it.—They have no voice in electing the chiefs and in fact no political influence. The civil chiefs and the chief warriors, have in their hands, the whole government of the community, and they govern as they please. Disobedience to the orders of the rulers is punished with death, though, like the British nation, the Indians are not savages enough to cut the traitor into quarters after hanging him until he is dead (pp. 99, 100). 623 [622] [687]

The female part of it, exercised the same influence among the women, that the chiefs did among the men, and the presents they expected from us, had to be better, than those given to the common people. The daughter of a chief, never mar- 554 562 [592]

[9] Quite different from the data given by Radin, The Winnebago Tribe, pp. 161, 162.

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12



According to M.R., a party of Winnebago once went on the warpath and were badly beaten. One man, the only survivor according to his claim, returned to his village. There he recounted his valorous deeds at the side of his companions, and said he had escaped only because the enemy had left him for dead. He was accorded great honor until sometime later another member of the party returned and told how the first man had fled and hidden out in the woods when he saw that the battle was going against the Winnebago. The cowardly and dishonest warrior, on the decision of the police (bear) clan, then had to take on the role of a woman and lived in disgrace the rest of his life. 838 687 [625]

Evidence concerning the berdache was even less definite in Nebraska. G.P., a woman about fifty years old in 1950, mentioned that her mother-in-law once told her of a case which agreed in most details with that of dejáŋčowiŋga, but this individual was called čoranažiŋga and was supposed to have lived in Wisconsin. However, G.S., a man born in 1887, who also told of čoranažiŋga, gave an account of a berdache who was his mother's cousin. G.S.'s mother was Iowa and Oto through her maternal line and the berdache cousin, referred to as "sister," was a parallel cousin of Iowa and Oto descent. However, the description G.S. recounted as having come from his mother is almost identical to that regarding the Winnebago berdache. The cousin had been blessed by the moon, feared death if he disobeyed the moon's directions that he dress and act as a woman, even to giving this as the reason for his behavior when G.S.'s mother once remonstrated with him for being, "a shame to us Indians." 838 124 [626]

An attempt was made to discover whether the Winnebago berdache role for men had a parallel Siouan role of "warrior women." Only one very doubtful account was collected in 1946 from S.S. the Wisconsin informant who provided the first extensive description of dejáŋčowiŋga. 171 838 [124]

Once there was a man, kind of high tone, he had two wives. The older one wanted to keep her husband so she had him marry her younger sister too. They used to do that years ago when they wanted to hold their husbands. Anyway, this man and his gang went off to the Civil War. There was a bad woman in the camp. She was a good looker, but she was bad, and this man took the bad woman with him. During the war one time they ran out of bullets, and this woman got on a horse and went through the enemy lines to a big city and came back with a whole lot of bullets and saved them. Another time she warned them when they were all asleep and the enemy was near. When they came back, she was riding on the horse in front of the man, and the men had all given her presents for saving them. Her waist was just covered with ribbons and the man's two wives cried when they saw it. The people made up a song about her because she was a brave woman and sometimes they still sing it. After that they always called her hinugrosisiŋgra which meant that she laughed aloud like a man, shaking her whole body [hinugrosisiŋgra—hinuk:woman; ro:body; sisiŋk:to shake as with laughter; ra: article; k is voiced when followed by r]. They call those giggling girls that nowadays sometimes. [595]

While the above account probably represents an isolated example of a woman who went to war rather than an accepted type of role, it is apparent that 838

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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776 is but a faint survival of former times. The older myths are full of references to the evil spirits, and the cosmological myths represent [773] the world as infested with evil spirits who are on the point of exterminating the human race until the culture heroes come to the rescue. It would almost seem as if, from a purely matter-of-fact point of view, these early culture heroes had destroyed all the evil spirits. Certainly they are not regarded as of great consequence, for if they were we ought to find a certain number of prayers addressed to them asking them not to harm anyone. They seem to be mere bogies, personifications of fear, and that is perhaps why they are so intimately connected with darkness.

812 At the present time the vast majority of Winnebago ascribe evil, in so far as they explain it at all, to three causes: either to some [688 782] failure on their part to perform a rite in the prescribed way, to the fact that they have not invoked the spirits for protection (i. e., attempted to pass through life without the aid of the spirits), or to the evil machinations of other men. Often one derives the impression that they accept evil and do not try to explain it. It seems to be a trait characteristic of the Winnebago, and perhaps characteristic of other North American tribes, that explanations are developed for the positive aspects of things. Certainly it would require some thought on the part of a Winnebago to explain why a war party that had, in the opinion of the chief, all the necessary requirements for victory, should nevertheless be defeated. He would doubtless find some reason, after a while, but it would be an afterthought and would probably vary from individual to individual. In some cases lack of success would be ascribed to the fact that an individual had been misled by an evil spirit, but this is clearly a secondary explanation because the individual, when questioned, would admit that he had no way of telling whether this was so until he had failed in something. We base this statement on an actual instance.

776 There is some evidence to show that there may have originally existed among the Winnebago a belief that the spirits were neither good nor bad; that they could be either at different times. In two notable instances, that of Disease-giver and Water-spirit, this is true at the present time. The former deity is the only one to whom prayers are addressed beseeching him not to present to man his death-dealing side.

In the myths we find a definite incarnation of evil in the case of [192] a spirit called *Hereegu'nina*. The meaning of this word as given by a Winnebago, and which seems to be justified, is "he whose existence is doubtful." If this is an old Winnebago word it would confirm the view advanced above, that the Winnebago were not very much concerned about the evil spirits. There is, however, a possibility [177] that *Hereegu'nina* is, in part, a post-Columbian development due

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to give it had their menses and were fasting. When the feast was about to be held there was no food and their mother gave the girls some of the sacred food and the unclean girls boiled it and ate it. 614 796 841

The following spring when the girls were out helping their mother tan some hide a bear approached them and tried to kill the girls. The old woman fought the bear off as best she could, but he paid no attention to her and tried to get at the girls. Finally he killed the girls. Then the old woman attacked the bear and finally threw him down and killed him, using her tanning stick as a weapon.

Now this bear was not an ordinary bear such as live on this earth, but his body was covered with blue clay. He had come out of a spring of water shortly before he came to this place. The girls had eaten sacred food when they were unclean, and that is why this bear came and killed them. [776 688]

Since then that particular band has stopped giving this bear feast.

THE SNAKE CLAN FEAST

When a person wishes to give a snake feast, four chickens must be obtained. The nephew of the feast giver is then told to prepare these chickens and make the general preparations. 796 614

The feast is given in the fall, just as the snakes are supposed to go into their winter quarters and close their doors. The winter is their night, and then they go to sleep. [825]

Shortly before the feast begins the host takes out a bundle containing four snake skins—a yellow-snake skin, a rattlesnake skin, a blow-snake skin, and a bull-snake skin. In honor of these he gives his feast and makes his offerings.

As the fall of the year is to the snakes the same as our evening, the Winnebago give this feast in their honor then, in much the same way as we have our supper before retiring for the night. The snake skins are representatives of the first four snakes Earthmaker made and which he pierced through the earth in the direction of the east. The snake skins are kept to represent the four original snake-beings and to keep evil away from homes. That is why offerings are made to them. Four men only are invited to this feast (as main participants), and they must each eat a chicken. [773]

The host himself opens the door for the snakes. In front of him, next to the fireplace, he makes four holes in the ground, thus opening the door for them. There he likewise places tobacco for them. First he pours tobacco in the fire, for the fire is the mediator between the people and the spirit. The fire tells the spirit the wishes of the people and is, in general, in charge of the members of the tribe. For that reason they always pour tobacco upon it. [782]

Now the host rises and speaks. "Grandfather (fire), you who stand in the center of the lodge, I offer you tobacco, for you are the interpreter (between the spirits and human beings), and I know that 796 614 537 372

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me, 'Some day when there is a dearth of people, some night-blest one will take pity on you. Submit to it.' Thus he spoke to me and what he referred to was this feast. These feasts are all sacred, but this is the most sacred one. That is what he used to tell me. It is not to be trifled with, even in respect to the rituals within the lodge. Never should one cross the lodge directly. If you trifle with this rule you will bring sorrow upon yourselves. The so-called night-soldiers are not to be trifled with. So he told me. The so-called night-soldiers, like soldiers on this earth, are stern. Truly they are stern, said my father. If we were to slight one of them we would most assuredly be punished for it, and punishment by them means death. So he spoke to me. But, said he, 'if, on the other hand, any one attends to all that pertains to this ceremony it will be a means of obtaining life. It will be a good thing to do, and one would thereby obtain a good life. Therefore, I have always looked upon the Night dance with awe, for it is a very holy thing.' So spoke my father. For that reason, consequently, whenever my father gave a Night feast he would encourage us to pay careful attention to it, and that is why I have always tried to do so. Remember, however, that I am not a child of the night-blest ones, and that, therefore, I have very little to say. However, I will start a song, which will be a greeting to this lodge, and I will sing it as I am passing around the lodge. Children of the night-blest ones, who are seated here, I greet you."

Then he sang an entrance song, first at the west end of the lodge and then near the position occupied by the host. When he had finished the circuit of the lodge he went around again, making the accustomed peculiar utterances, until he came in front of the host. There he stopped and addressed the host as follows:

"I greet you. You have caused this day to come upon me and all my relatives. We have all tasted thereof and we have all felt ourselves in connection with life. We are thankful. We have thought of this blessing of life in connection with ourselves. I greet you."

Then he walks to the place assigned to him in the west end of the tent and sits down. The other members of his band do the same, one after the other, greeting the people in the lodge at the same time.

When they are all seated the fourth one comes in. He repeats the utterances of the former guests and then starts around the lodge until he reaches the entrance. There he stops and addresses the host:

"Councilors and life-obtainers, I greet your seats. I likewise greet you, host. You who are seated in the north and you who are seated in the west, your seats I greet. Children of the night-blessed spirits who are within this lodge, all of you I greet. It is good. As far as I understand this Night ceremony is considered a life-giving one. The so-called happy Night Spirits alone are in control of most of life. So I was told, and that is why this ceremony is called a life-giving

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An old Winne-
bago told the author that long ago a young man wanted to marry a girl belonging to his phratry and refused to listen to the entreaties of his father and mother. Finally the father, in desperation, went over to the lodge of a man belonging to one of the clans into which the young man could marry and asked for one of the sacred possessions. It was, of course, refused, and when the man was asked what other requests he wished to make, he asked that the host's daughter be allowed to marry his son. This was, of course, granted, and thus the boy was compelled to marry into the proper phratry. 614 615 582 778

One Winnebago interpreted the custom in an entirely different way. Exactly how much importance is to be attached to this explanation it is hard to say. According to this informant, the insult lay not in going to the fireplace or taking a firebrand, but in asking for it. The insult apparently consists in not taking it for granted that anyone entering the lodge was permitted to do what he wished. In other words, his asking was a breach of etiquette. 614 372 689 [576]

The typical method of burial in the Thunderbird clan was scaffold burial. It has long since been discontinued.

The burial customs seem to have been the same for all the clans. It may, however, be that in former times there were slight differences. For instance, in the first version of the Thunderbird clan origin myth the statement is made that the branch of a tree was placed at the grave and a small stick, painted red, attached to it. The author has no recollection of ever hearing the same statement made in connection with any other of the clans. 614 764 [184]

There are four songs associated with the Thunderbird clan. These are supposed to have been sung by the clan ancestors when they came to this earth, and are now always sung when a member of the clan dies, and on a few other occasions. 614 [533]

According to one informant, members of the Elk, Warrior, Deer, and Buffalo clans acted as servants to the Thunderbird clan on various occasions. The same informant also claimed that the Warrior clansmen took specific orders from the Thunderbird clansmen when on the warpath. [554]

According to another informant, Thunderbird marks at death are a half circle on the forehead, made with charcoal. The proper marking is, however, that shown in plate 46. [765]

Two dog names used in the Thunderbird clan are obtained—*pi"zakirutega; ka-iwakitea"ga.*

The only feast specifically connected with the Thunderbird clan was the so-called chief feast, of which a description will be found on page 318. One of the divisions of the war-bundle feast is often considered as sacred to the thunderbird, but this is always the deity thunderbird, not the ancestor of the clan. [796] [776]

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the matter. If, on the other hand, he submitted to whatever punishment the Bear clansmen inflicted on him without resistance and apologized to them, then they would build him a new lodge and supply it with better goods than those which they had been compelled to destroy. 614 625

This is the way in which the soldiers act when they are on duty. They never jest and their word is a command. If it is not immediately obeyed, their next move is to punish. For that reason one generally listens to them and their commands. When they are not on duty they are the same as other people. Different members of the tribe are on duty at different times, for the leader changes them about frequently.

If a field of rice is found in some swamp or lake the Bear clan people are informed and they go over and keep watch over it and give every person an equal chance at picking it. If a person sneaks away and takes advantage of the others, the Bear clan people punish him. [222 262] [685]

The Bear clansmen guard the village almost all the time. When a council is held they guard the council lodge, and when a person is tried for some crime, particularly that of murder, a trial which generally takes place in the Thunderbird clan lodge, then they carefully guard this lodge, lest the prisoner try to escape or his relatives or confederates try to rescue him. [623 692] 682

Certain actions and remarks are not permitted in the Bear clan lodge. They are the following: 614 625 784

To peep into the lodge.

To make the remark that they live in a nice lodge.

To sit in the doorway.

To give a deep sigh or snort inside the lodge.

Should any person do one of these forbidden things, the Bear clansmen would be compelled to give the most valued thing in the lodge to the offender.

If a man seduced a woman, he was brought to the lodge of the Bear clan and severely whipped. If the soldier whipped him too severely, he in turn was whipped. 614 625 684

If a murderer was brought to the Bear clan lodge and the chief of the tribe asked that the man be freed, the rest of the tribe would beg the relatives of the murdered man to relent; but if the murderer was turned over to the soldiers, they would take him to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives and let one of them kill him. [622] 682

According to one informant, the Deer clansmen acted as servants to the Bear clan. 614

The Bear and the Wolf clans are friends, and although, as we indicated on page 201, each clan is paired off with another, the relationship of the Bear and Wolf clans is particularly intimate. It was even claimed that a Bear clansman would revenge the death of a Wolf clansman. For no other clans did the author hear this statement made. The women are addressed by the men and by each other as "my opposite," referring unquestionably to the positions in the council lodge. [551]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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159 Now I know that it was because the evil spirit possessed me that I felt that
755 way. I was suffering from a disease. I even desired to kill myself:
794 I did not care to live. That feeling, too, was caused by this evil
276 spirit living within me. Then I ate this medicine and everything
[753] changed. The brother and sister I wanted to kill before I became attached to and I wanted them to live. The medicine had accomplished this.

### O. L.'s Description of the Peyote Cult

(Pl. 10, c)

159 John Rave belongs to the Bear clan, the members of which had
614 the functions of what might be called sergeants-at-arms. He and
[692 his ancestors used to be in charge of the *manupici* (i. e., the ser-
68] geants-at-arms lodge), to which all malefactors would be brought for punishment.

159 Rave, although he belonged to this highly respected class of people,
794 was a bad man. He roamed from place to place. He has participated in all the ceremonies of the Winnebago, the medicine dance alone excepted. He had been married many times. Up to 1901 he was a heavy drinker. In that year he went to Oklahoma and while there ate the peyote. He then returned to the Winnebago and tried to introduce it among them, but none with the exception of a few
[177] relatives would have anything to do with it. This did not in any way discourage him, however, and he continued using the peyote, now and then getting a few converts.

159 There was not very much religion connected with it in the beginning
794 and the reason people drank it was on account of the peculiar effects
177 it had upon them. Nevertheless these Peyote people preached good things and gradually lost all desire for intoxicating drinks or for participating in the old Winnebago ceremonies. Then Rave began to do away with the old Indian customs. About four or five years ago the membership in the Peyote religion began to increase, for many people now noticed that those connected with the Peyote cult were the only people in the tribe leading a Christian life.

At this time the Bible was introduced by a young man named Albert Hensley (pls. 8, *d*; 9, *d*). He, too, had been a bad person, although he had been educated at Carlisle. Like Rave, he was a heavy drinker and fond of wandering.

During the last few years our members have increased so fast that now almost half the tribe belong to our religion. We all make efforts to lead a Christian life and we are succeeding very well.

794 We use the New Testament, especially the Revelations.

796 Our meetings take place at any time. We gather together in the
159 evening, and as soon as everything is in readiness the leader arises
[782] and offers a prayer called, "Turning themselves over to the care of the Trinity."

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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Any man who has been specially blessed with war powers may go on the warpath. Such a man must not merely be blessed with those general war powers that individuals obtain during their puberty fast, but must likewise be blessed with a definite enemy to kill or capture, as the case may be, immediately before he starts out. In practice this meant that whenever a person wished to go on the warpath he fasted in order to obtain the necessary guarantees of success. An account of the powers granted by the spirit or spirits was then placed before the chief and if, in his opinion, they justified the undertaking, the man was permitted to go. If they were insufficient the chief expressed his disapproval and the contemplated undertaking had either to be given up or the man would be compelled to fast again for increased powers. There were a number of men who were unable to obtain the requisite powers. To them one of two alternatives was left open: they might either purchase sufficient powers to go on a warpath or they might volunteer to join a large warpath. A volunteer needed no special blessing. If he had one, it would certainly benefit him, but it was not necessary except as an additional precaution, for the leader of the war party (*dotcaʰkwąka*) was supposed to be blessed specifically with every element necessary for a successful undertaking. As the Winnebago express it, he was blessed "with a complete road." In a war leader's blessing, everything must be provided—sufficient food, a definite number of enemies to kill, the exact place where they are to be killed, the exact time when they are to be killed, the exact manner in which they are to be killed, the exact manner in which the participants are to return to their homes, the safe return of all participants, and an infinite number of other minor points. As a volunteer went at the request of another man, the latter, and not he, took upon himself entire responsibility and the chief dealt directly with him. The chief would, in such a case, be particularly careful to see that every life that was risked was amply safeguarded. Otherwise the war party would not be permitted to start. [787]

721

A man may go on the warpath for two reasons: either to revenge a slain relative or in a general way because he thinks he has received sufficient power and wishes to obtain glory. If the incentive was revenge, he might pursue one of two methods. He might go to the shaman with offerings of tobacco and presents and tell him about the death of his relative and his desire for revenge; or he might take the matter in his own hand, fast, and after having stealthily prepared for the necessities of the warpath inform a friend and steal out with him in the middle of the night. Were he to take the first method, it would be the shaman who would fast and who would afterwards lead the party, taking along with him as many men as would follow him. [628]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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etc. Then the war leader would secretly tell some one to select a stake (for the Victory Dance) and after a short time all the members of the war party would rush in and march around the entire village striking the scalps that they had tied to sticks. Then they would all go to the place where the stake had been put up and there they would distribute the war prizes to the sisters of the men who had won them and the women would walk around proudly with the prizes around their necks. Then, in the daytime they would dance the Victory Dance and in the evening they would dance the Hok'izere Dance for four nights.

*Description of a war party.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

If a man wishes to go on the warpath he must fast and be blessed by the spirits in a specific manner. If a man is thus blessed, he gives a feast and announces his intention of leading a war party. The chief always has a representative at such a feast (a member of the Buffalo clan), and as soon as it is over this man goes to the former and reports to him. If the chief thinks that the blessing is insufficient and might cause the death of many men he takes the war leader's pipe and lays it across his path and the war leader is then compelled to abandon his undertaking. This action on the part of the chief is sacred and must be accepted as final. The war leader dare not step across the pipe. Should the chief, however, not do this, then the war leader knew that there was no objection. Usually some members of every clan go along, but especially members of the Thunderbird, Warrior, and Bear clans.

The action of the war leader is controlled by many rules. He must be the one who has fasted and been blessed with all that is essential for conducting a war party. He must have his food provided for him by the spirits, know the exact location of the enemy, their numbers, and their sex.

After the war party has traveled for about four days, the men offer tobacco to the leader and he tells them where he is going, the number of the enemy, etc. If, after that, any of the members of the war party do not approve of the undertaking then they place a pipe across his path and the war leader is compelled to return. If nothing is said, then all is well. The war leader always goes ahead of his party and his attendants behind him, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever the chief stops his attendants run to his side, take his war bundle and place it in front of him. Then the leader sits down, neither turning to the right nor to the left but looking straight ahead. The attendants get two poles and place them on each side of him, bend the ends over to form an arch, on each side of which are placed small oak sticks arranged in a row. Under this structure the war leader stays. Here he sleeps and is fed by his attendants. No one is permitted to go ahead of this improvised structure. On each side of him two fireplaces are placed, two for the Upper clans and two for the Lower clans. If the war party is traveling westward the two fireplaces on the north side belong to the Lower clans and the two on the south side to the Upper clans. If a man is going on a warpath for the first time, he stays in the rear of the party and has a little fire of his own. He remains in the rear in this way until the battle begins. Then he joins the others.

A member of the Warrior clan is selected by the war leader to act as guard and he goes back and forth behind him encouraging the men and telling them not to steal away alone or go too far ahead of the party, since that always results in the loss of life. It is for this reason that it is not considered correct for a man to try and steal away and perhaps obtain a war honor in this selfish manner. Whenever the war leader stops he tells his companions what they must do in order to obtain food, all this information having been provided for in his blessing. If he tells some one to go to a certain place and kill a deer, he is certain to find a deer at the place specified. Whenever the war leader gets up and steps over his war bundle the attendants come and place his war bundle on his back and he then proceeds on his march, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever he comes to a river he takes some of the tobacco which is

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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always kept on hand and offers it to the spirit who controls this particular war party. 726
The others do the same. Then he would cross the river. Whenever he drank any 701
water the others would also do so, and if he refrained so would the others. If at any [782]
time during the night when they are camping the war leader should wake up and sing
some songs, be they grizzly bear, black root paint, or night songs, all those others who [533]
know similar songs would likewise begin to sing.

*Miscellaneous war customs.* There were, in former times, many 726
miscellaneous customs connected with warfare, most of which have now been forgotten. However, in myths and accounts of war parties a number of them are still mentioned.

When a war party surprised a lodge, all the occupants were killed or captured and the poles that were spliced together to form the arches were released so that they sprang back to either side and assumed a vertical position.

When a war party surprised a lodge in which there were children they generally killed them, cut off their heads, pried open their [127]
mouths so as to give them the appearance of laughing, and then placed the heads on their bodies again and arranged them against the door, so that when their father came home he would find them greeting him as usual. A brave warrior would never flinch at such a sight, but would prepare a meal as usual and speak to the children as if they were alive and offer them something to eat. Only then would he bury them. Immediately after they had been buried he would go on the warpath to revenge them.

Frequently the skulls of slain enemies are used as lodge weights and 727
their skin is taken off and used as mats, door-flaps, etc.

*War honors.* "It is the ideal of every Winnebago youth," says an 726
informant, "to kill an enemy in full sight of his friends and thus to [183]
gain for himself a headdress and an eagle feather." Most deeds considered valorous, according to Winnebago ideas, have associated with 554
them certain insignia which are always worn in public, giving evidence to all that so-and-so has performed such and such a valorous deed.

These insignia consist of the following:

*Headdress and feather.*—Denote that an individual has scalped and killed a man and torn off his scalp still bleeding. He is entitled to a red headdress and eagle feather. This also includes the man who has counted first coup (*earinlgwahi'na*).

*Red headdress.*—If he has killed the enemy and not scalped him (*tead'ate wak'e'rd.*)

*Eagle feather.*—Worn by one who has counted second coup.

*Hanging eagle feather.*—Worn by one who has counted third coup.

*Eagle feather stuck crosswise in hair.*—Worn by one who has counted fourth coup.

*Waspirugsir.*—Consists of a rope worn around the neck. It is worn by the leader of that warpath who has captured an enemy.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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867 787 the warpath.[7] So they say. If you do not become an individual warranted to lead a war party, yet mistaking yourself for one although really an ordinary warrior, you "throw away a man," your act will [686 be considered most disgraceful. A mourner might harm you in 627] revenge for the fact that you have caused him to mourn, and burn you with embers. Your people will all be sad, both on account of your disgrace and on account of the pain inflicted upon you.

787 My son, not with the blessing of one of the spirits merely, nor with 867 the blessing of twenty, for that matter, can you go on the warpath. 776 You must have the blessing of all the spirits above the earth, and of all those on the earth, and of all those who are pierced through the earth;[8] of all those under the earth; of all those who are under the water; of all those that are on the sides of the earth, i. e., all the four winds; of the Disease-giver;[9] of the Sun; of the Daylight;[10] of the Moon; of the Earth; and of all those who are in control of war powers—with the blessings of all these deities must you be provided 867 before you can lead a successful war party.

554 My son, if you cast off dress[11] men will be benefited by your deeds. You will be an aid to all your people. If your people honor you, it will be good. And they will like you even the more if you obtain a

721 787 701 686 [627

[7] Among the Winnebago any individual who has been blessed with the necessary powers to lead a warpath may do so, but it is absolutely essential that his blessing directing him be of such a nature that every possible contingency is included therein. Such complete blessings are, of course, not common nor can they be obtained except through unusual exertions. If you are blessed with just the ordinary or incomplete war powers and you nevertheless undertake to lead a war party, you may either be defeated or perhaps only partially successful, and, what is worse, you may lose some of the warriors who started with you. Your recklessness has thus caused the death of some of your fellow tribesmen. It is understood that every warrior before starting on the warpath turn his "blessing" over to the chief of the tribe for examination, and if the chief considers it complete the warrior is not held responsible for the lack of success or loss of life. If the chief does not consider an individual's blessing sufficient to justify the object he has in view and forbids the warrior to go, and if the latter nevertheless goes, or granted the case he does not even submit his "blessing" to the chief for scrutiny, and sneaks out, then he is held directly responsible for any mishap on the warpath. The relatives of any individual thus killed may hold the war leader responsible and demand compensation; or, as is indicated by 11, a few lines later, a mourner (i. e., one who has been placed in mourning by the criminal foolhardiness of the war leader) might attack, perhaps kill him, without being held guilty of any crime. It must of course be understood that such occurrences would seldom take place. We must, however, remember throughout these "teachings" that one of the objects of the old men was to draw the most alluring pictures of the rewards that would fall to the lot of those who followed in the footsteps of their ancestors, and, on the other hand, to draw the most horrid pictures of the wretchedness that befell those who deviated, no matter in what details, from the customs sanctioned by age.

773 776

[8] According to the Winnebago creation myth, when Earthmaker, the creator of the earth, first came to consciousness and began creating life the earth on which we were to live was in continual motion, and nothing that the former could do seemed to be able to stop it. From above he threw down grass, trees, etc., but all was of no avail. Finally he hit upon the happy expedient of pinning the earth down at the four corners by means of four enormous snakes, or, as some say, by means of four mythical animals known as water spirits. It is to these that the old man is referring here. According to the story, even these were of no avail, and it was only when he finally placed four mythical beings known as "Island Weights" at the four corners that our planet stopped spinning. These "Island Weights" seem to be identical with the spirits of the four cardinal points, but they are not to be confused with the four winds mentioned later.

776

[9] A deity conceived of as dealing out life-giving powers from one half of his body and death-giving powers from the other half. He is also supposed to disseminate disease. Disease-giver is a literal translation of the Winnebago word, but this probably does not convey the exact meaning. There seems to be no

822 parallel to this peculiar deity among the other Siouan tribes or among the Algonquins.

[10] Daylight or light is conceived of as something different and distinct from the sun.

735 [11] That is, if you give away things frequently, especially to poor people.

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935
NP12 Winnebago NP12



In each village, the two civil chiefs, appoint all the officers, deemed necessary, civil and military, who obey them implicitly. There are two ways of arriving at these high stations, by birth and by election. When the father dies, if he has a son, who has arrived at the age of manhood, and who bids fair to make a good chief—that is, if he possesses a good form, has good bodily powers and mental faculties—is brave, sedate, wise and prudent, he generally succeeds his father in the government, on his father's demise. If the chief, at his death, leave no son who is qualified for the high office of chief, but wills it to some other person, he succeeds to the government. If the chief has no son at his death, it is commonly the case, that his brother's son succeeds him. The line of succession may run out for want of a lawful heir, which is always supplied by an election. It may be changed too, where the heir is unqualified for the station. Great deference is always paid to the will of the dying chief, but every such case is always laid before a full national council, whose decision is final (p. 97). 622 [624] [666]

A chief may be degraded from his rank for bad conduct. . . .

There is in every tribe, what answers to a standing army among us. The profession of arms holds out, to the great mass of the common people, the only road to the temple of fame. . . . The young man, who aspires to the honorable distinction of a "brave" or warrior, must exhibit such traits of character, as are deemed necessary for a soldier to possess, before he can be admitted into the army. When admitted, he wears on his head just as many feathers of the bald eagle, as he has slain human beings, and the size of the feathers indicate the size of his victims. . . . If the warrior has taken a captive, he has a human hand as large as life, painted either on his face, or on some part of his body, or on his blanket, some individuals have several such hands painted upon them (p. 98).[9] 701 703 [301] [532] [302]

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If the Senate of the United States is the mildest, the most patriotic and wisest legislative assembly in the civilized world, as it truly is, the Winnebago council, is decidedly at the head of the savage world. . . . The great body of the people have very little influence, almost none, with this council, and they never appear before it unless they are summoned to attend it.—They have no voice in electing the chiefs and in fact no political influence. The civil chiefs and the chief warriors, have in their hands, the whole government of the community, and they govern as they please. Disobedience to the orders of the rulers is punished with death, though, like the British nation, the Indians are not savages enough to cut the traitor into quarters after hanging him until he is dead (pp. 99, 100). 623 [622] [687]

The female part of it, exercised the same influence among the women, that the chiefs did among the men, and the presents they expected from us, had to be better, than those given to the common people. The daughter of a chief, never mar- 554 561 [592]

[9] Quite different from the data given by Radin, The Winnebago Tribe, pp. 161, 162.

## *Crashing Thunder*

701 Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to
159 be a leader of men. To become one, however, is very
867 difficult, the old people used to say. It may happen that
787 you merely pretend to be a leader of men, that you are but
a mere warrior in the ranks and yet take it upon yourself to
[686] lead a war-party and thus cause a needless waste of life,
that you do what is called "throwing away a life." That
is the most shameful of all acts. The relatives of the person
[627] whom you have thus sacrificed would then have the right
to make you suffer, to torture you with burning embers.
And then your relatives would have to stand by, sad and
humiliated. Not with the blessing of one, not with the
blessings of twenty spirits, can you go on the warpath.
159 For that the blessings of all the spirits are necessary—those
867 on this earth, those under it and those who lie pinned
776 through it, the Island Weights; those in the waters and
787 those on the side of the earth, the winds, all four of them.
You need the blessings of the spirit who dispenses life from
one side of his body and death from the other, the bless-
ings of the Sun, the Moon, the Daylight, and the Earth.
All these Earthmaker has made controllers of war and by
787 all these must you be blessed in order to lead a war-party.
159 My son, if you cast off your dress for many people, that
867 is, if you give to the needy, your people will be benefited
[735] by your deeds. It is good thus to be honored by many
people. And even more will they honor you if you return
[554] victorious from the warpath with one of the four limbs, that
is, one of the four war honors. But if you obtain two, or
three, or perhaps even four limbs, then all the greater will
be the honor. Then whenever a war feast is given you will
receive part of the deer that is boiled, either part of its
ooo body or part of the head.[16] When on some other occasion,

[16] The meat of a deer at such a feast is given only to great warriors. The head is regarded as the choicest piece.

to obtain war honors, so that we can wear head orna- 159*
ments." So did we both speak to each other. We both 721
liked the idea, and so we decided to go in search of war honors. We decided to kill a man of another tribe; we meant to perform an act of bravery. We started out finally. There were four of us, and we went to a place where other tribesmen congregated. We took the train and carried some baggage with us. We took ropes along, for we intended to steal some horses, and if we found the opportunity, kill a man. Horse stealing was regarded as a praiseworthy feat, and I had always [554] admired the people who recounted the number of times they had stolen horses, at one of the Warrior Dances. That was why I wished to do these things.

We proceeded to a place where horses of other tribes used to pasture. Just as we got there we saw the owner of some of these horses and killed him. My friend killed him. Then we went home, and secretly I told my father all about it. I said to him, "Father, you said it was good to be a warrior and you encouraged me to fast and I did so. You encouraged me to give feasts and I did so. Now we have just returned from a trip. We were looking for war honors and the young people who were accompanying me decided that I [701] ● should lead them. I told them that it was a difficult thing to lead warriors, my father had always told me, and that I had always been given to understand that a person could lead a war-party only in consequence of a specific blessing received from the spirits. I was not conscious of having received any such, I told him.

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



*159 Thus I spoke. However, they made me an offering
921 of tobacco as they asked me, and I accepted the to-
[701] bacco saying that I would at least make an offering
[787] of tobacco for them. Then I offered tobacco to the
[706] Thunderbirds and asked them for rain, that we might walk in the protection and power of rain. This offering we made in the morning and it rained all that day. Then we went to the place where we knew that we could find horses. When we got there we met the owner of the horses and spoke to him. We accompanied him to a carpenter shop nearby, and there killed him. I struck his dead body, counted coup[55] first,
[555] and announced my new name, as I gave a war-whoop.
[551] I shouted '*Big-Winnebago* has counted coup on his man.' Then the others counted coup also. We searched his pockets and found medicine and money
[727] in them. The money we divided among ourselves. After that we cut out his heart, for we had heard that
[826] hearts were used for medicine. That is why we cut out his heart. He had a gun and that we took away from him and hid."

Then my father said to me, "My son, it is good. Your life is no longer an effeminate one. This is the manner in which our ancestors encouraged us to live. It is the will of the spirits in control of war that has led

[55] The first four war honors enumerated above are called "counting coup" by the Whites. *Coup* is the French for *strike* and the expression owes its origin to the custom of warriors counting the number of people they have killed or honors they have obtained by striking the post at the grave of the particular person for whose benefit they are recounting their achievements.
[555]

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935

NP12 Winnebago NP12



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*The bear hunt.* Bears were hunted by individuals or by the tribe. 224
Before a man started on a bear hunt he went through the following 796
ceremony, known as *wunaᵃtee're*, literally "concentration of the 782
mind." He either built a special lodge or used his own for the ceremony. A kettle containing food was placed on the fireplace; this was intended for the particular bear the man wished to kill. The food generally consisted of corn or dried fruit; tobacco and red feathers also were offered, the former in small bark vessels. All these offerings were made not only as sacrifices to the bear but in order to make the feast as tempting as possible. When everything was in readiness, the host rubbed two sticks having rough surfaces against each other, called *nai'ᵃcuraz* or *naiᵃcuidjo'k'ere*. The host never ate. He continued his singing and rubbing until he attracted the attention of the bear, as indicated by the appearance of a little streak of flame passing from the fire toward the gifts he brought for him.

The same ceremony was performed before starting on a deer or a raccoon hunt. In addition to this ceremony, individuals always used the special hunting medicines that they obtained during their fasts. This was frequently chewed and then rubbed into the arrow (nowadays into the gun).[1] [789]

There is a time of the year called *hirucí'e*, when bear break hickory 224
or oak branches for the nuts or the acorns. It seems they are then very easy to approach. If a man killed a bear he would always [825]
refer to it in terms of respect.

The tribal bear hunt always took place in summer. As enemies [721
were generally encountered on the way a winter or war feast was 527]
always given before the party started. This had nothing to do, however, with the hunt proper. Following is a fairly close translation of an account of a Winnebago bear hunt and buffalo hunt secured by the author:

*Description of a bear hunt.*—When the Winnebago went on the bear hunt they 224
always traveled in large numbers. They would always be able to find bears in the 825
groves of red timber-oak, and it would be very easy to kill them. Nevertheless the old people considered it a very dangerous affair, especially if the hunters came upon breeding bear. If anyone killed a breeding bear he would cause very much trouble. The male bear would get very angry and chase the man who had done the killing, and if it ever happened that he was out of ammunition, the man surely would be killed. The bear would jump upon him and tear him to pieces. It is said that when bears kill a human being they always eat him. Another way of getting at the bears was to clear away the ground for them. It is very easy to kill them then. This generally takes place at the time of the year when the acorns fall to the ground. The bears gather in the cleared spaces and lie down there. They lie in the timber under the trees. They look like black objects in the distance. It is customary to shoot at them from some distance, but care is always taken not to shoot all of them, nor to shoot when the wind was with them, for then they would scent the hunters

[1] Numerous descriptions of the *wuaᵃtee're* are given in the Hare Trickster cycle.

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224 825 or hear the noise and run away. For this reason the hunters are very careful about these two things—namely, the number of bears shot and the direction of the wind. The method of hunting bears when the acorns fall and they come to the open or cleared spaces is known as the *hiruci'e* method. When the bears eat acorns then only is it easy to find them and kill them without much effort.

224 *Description of a buffalo hunt.* Whenever the Winnebago went buffalo hunting, they always went in large numbers, for the people used to say that on a buffalo hunt, [721] they are likely to encounter their enemies and a fight might take place. It is even 648 said that some people went purposely for the fighting. They generally went together with the *Homowne* (Missouri ?), Wazoteers, Iowa, and *Hadakdgalpen*, the Otoe. Many women accompanied them. It is said that they could always tell where the buffalo were by the dust they encountered, for the dust raised by the trampling of the buffalo rose high in the air. They would always start out for the buffalo early in the morning on fast horses and try to ride up along the right side of the female buffalo, for they only killed the bulls afterward. They shot the buffalo with bow and arrows. When riding horseback, the bow is always drawn back with the right hand. The reason they try to kill the female buffalo first is because they always run away while the bulls do not.

While hunting the buffalo they were always bound to meet some of their enemies and a fight would ensue, so that when they returned, they would bring back not only [727] buffalo but also scalps, and immediately after their return the Victory Dance would be celebrated.

224 721 A different account of a buffalo hunt was obtained from another informant (J. H.):[4]

Whenever we go on a buffalo hunt we camp in a circle, with the soldiers in front. [342] They always carried long poles to be used in the construction of tipis. [This statement was made by a number of persons whose information was generally accurate. As [237 372] they were bound for the open prairie where there was a scarcity of wood, buffalo manure was always carried for fuel.]

As soon as the chief decided to go on a hunt he gave a feast [war feast] to which he invited everyone. This was generally in June. As soon as the feast was over a hunting council was held. Then the chief appointed public criers who went around the [203] village announcing the time for starting, etc. Then all went to the lodge of the chief of the Bear clan. There the ten best warriors were selected, who were to go ahead of the main body and reconnoiter for both buffalo and enemies. These started immediately and if they returned with the news that they had found many buffalo and enemy at the same time, fights frequently took place. Ten warriors always went ahead and the old warriors generally stayed in the rear behind the women in order to protect them better. As soon as they came to the place where the buffalo were seen they followed their trail and killed them. The flesh was cut up into large chunks, which were afterwards dried on the grass. Then when they had enough they all returned home, observing, of course, the same order of march as when they started. When they reached their home they gave another war feast at which all thanked the spirits for their successful return.

223 *Pigeon hunt.*—The pigeons are "chief"[5] birds and they would be hunted when- [762] ever the chief decided to give the chief feast. The entire tribe was always invited to participate in the meal served, so that many pigeons were needed. The pigeons generally make their nests near human habitations. Sometimes there would be 20

[4] As his grandfather was a Dakota, J. H. may have confused in his account Dakota customs with those of the Winnebago. Apart from this consideration, it should be said that J. H. was an exceedingly unreliable informant.

[825 614] [5] They are called "chief" birds because the pigeon belongs to the same division as does the Thunderbird, or Chief, clan.

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224 *Regulation of the tribal hunt.*—It can not be said that there were
[721] many special regulations during the tribal hunt. The rules applying to the regulation of war parties held here too. (For a description of these, see p. 156.)

Individuals were strictly prohibited from taking the initiative except by permission. For instance, a man was not allowed to proceed beyond a certain point, or shoot before a certain time; in short, not to do anything by which he might endanger his own life, the safety of his companions, or the success of the hunt, such as scaring away the animals or causing them to stampede.

625 It is during the tribal hunts that the power of the Bear clan is at
224 its height. For this reason it may perhaps be most appropriate to
614 include here a description[1] of these powers, although this really
484 belongs in the section on Social Organization:

Whenever the Winnebago are on their tribal hunt or whenever they move from one place to another, the soldiers (i. e., the Bear people) take the lead. Whenever they decide to stop at some place, the leader of the Bear people places his stick in the ground and the other soldiers do the same. The line of sticks is a slanting one. The main tribe follows behind at some distance and always camps a little behind them. None of the members of the tribe dare pass ahead of these sticks. If, for instance, during the fall move the tribe were passing through a country in which much game abounded, and if after the tribe had stopped at a certain place anyone should take it upon himself to go ahead and kill game on his own initiative, and he
[686] was discovered, the soldiers would go to his camp and burn it and everything it contained, destroy any supplies he had, and break his dishes. They would spare only his life and the lives of his family. If he resisted he would get a severe whipping. If even after that he resisted them and took his gun and attempted to shoot, the soldiers would not do anything but stand ready. But the moment he made an attempt to shoot, they would kill him and nothing would be said of the matter, for they would be putting into effect the law of the tribe. If, on the other hand, the man submitted to the action of the soldiers and apologized they would make him a better beige and would give him more and better things than those they had taken away.

## Fishing and Agriculture

226 *Fishing.*—In former times fishing seems to have been done exclusively by spearing or by shooting. The spear (*wocu'*) consisted of a long stick provided with a bone or a horn point. Spearing was done preferably at night with the aid of torches made of pine pitch. In shooting fish a long arrowlike stick (*ma°nuzdaugdai*) with a pointed end, whittled and frayed at the base like the ceremonial staff of the Bear clan, was discharged from an ordinary bow.

227 The most commonly used trap for fishing was a triangular weir loaded with a stone at its base and placed at the head of a waterfall caused by artificial damming of a stream.

784 Very few fish were taboo, the principal ones being the dogfish
226 and the eel.

[1] By Thunder Cloud.

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# CHAPTER VI

## WARFARE AND THE COUNCIL LODGE

### Warfare

[721] War was one of the most important elements in the life of the [183] Winnebago. The life of the warrior was the ideal toward which all men strove. It not only satisfied certain emotional needs but it [554] was so inextricably interwoven with social standing in the community and with individual prestige that Winnebago life is unthinkable without it. It is not surprising, then, that the prayer for [782] success on the warpath was the most important prayer that men offered up to the spirits and that it was reechoed in almost all the ceremonies. (Pls. 43, 44, 45.)

An element of culture fraught with so much significance to the individual and the social group was bound to be surrounded by innumerable customs, regulations, and restrictions. It was a life that was at stake every time an individual went on the warpath, and remembering the value of each life to a small community, it is not to be wondered at if there is a definite attempt on the part of the social group to restrict individual activity in this particular regard. An individual might go on the warpath either alone or in company with a few people, but the community, in the person of the chief, insisted that he show some warrant for his action. If no warrant of [626] any kind could be given, he subjected himself to the only restrictive measures the chief and the community could adopt, disapproval, jeers, and temporary loss of social standing and prestige. So much, so far as his own person was concerned. If his action jeopardized the life or lives of other members of the tribe he had then to face [636] the relatives of these people, just as any individual who had committed some wrong. It is hardly likely that many men would willingly run any risks of unnecessarily antagonizing their fellow tribesmen when the proper means of preparing for the warpath was open to all. A careful perusal of the system of education given on page 166 makes it clear that a sufficiently large number of methods for obtaining consent to lead a party were given, and that it was possible for every male individual to go on the warpath frequently if he so desired. Certain requirements were, however, necessary. It was not left to each individual to decide for himself [622] whether he possessed these, but the final decision always lay in the hands of the chief.

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721 555 701

Any man who has been specially blessed with war powers may go on the warpath. Such a man must not merely be blessed with those general war powers that individuals obtain during their puberty fast, but must likewise be blessed with a definite enemy to kill or capture, as the case may be, immediately before he starts out. In practice this meant that whenever a person wished to go on the warpath he fasted in order to obtain the necessary guarantees of success. [787] An account of the powers granted by the spirit or spirits was then placed before the chief and if, in his opinion, they justified the undertaking, the man was permitted to go. If they were insufficient the chief expressed his disapproval and the contemplated undertaking had either to be given up or the man would be compelled to fast again for increased powers. There were a number of men who were unable to obtain the requisite powers. To them one of two alternatives was left open: they might either purchase sufficient powers to go on a warpath or they might volunteer to join a large warpath. A volunteer needed no special blessing. If he had one, it would certainly benefit him, but it was not necessary except as an additional precaution, for the leader of the war party (*dotcaⁿhunku*) was supposed to be blessed specifically with every element necessary for a successful undertaking. As the Winnebago express it, he was blessed "with a complete road." In a war leader's blessing, everything must be provided sufficient food, a definite number of enemies to kill, the exact place where they are to be killed, the exact time when they are to be killed, the exact manner in which they are to be killed, the exact manner in which the participants are to return to their homes, the safe return of all participants, and an infinite number of other minor points. As a volunteer went at the request of another man, the latter, and not he, took upon himself entire responsibility and the chief dealt directly with him. The chief would, in such a case, be particularly careful to see that every life that was risked was amply safeguarded. Otherwise the war party would not be permitted to start.

A man may go on the warpath for two reasons: either to revenge 721 a slain relative or in a general way because he thinks he has received sufficient power and wishes to obtain glory. If the incentive was revenge, he might pursue one of two methods. He might go to the shaman with offerings of tobacco and presents and tell him about the death of his relative and his desire for revenge; or he might take the matter in his own hand, fast, and after having stealthily prepared for [628] the necessities of the warpath inform a friend and steal out with him in the middle of the night. Were he to take the first method, it would be the shaman who would fast and who would afterwards lead the party, taking along with him as many men as would follow him.

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721 When a man went on a warpath for the sake of glory he generally led a large party and all sorts of special arrangements were made, because then a war leader was necessary and volunteers were always needed. It is believed that the same holds true for larger war parties.

In discussing the essential requisite for a successful war party we have stated that a special blessing was necessary for this purpose. There is, however, one noteworthy exception to this rule, if we are [614] to accept the statements of members of the upper phratry—all mem- 615] bers of the Warrior clan may go on a warpath without fasting and without receiving a blessing. This statement was vigorously denied by members of the lower phratry.

727 When a war party returns, a very interesting ceremony takes place. At some distance from the village a victorious war party sends a messenger ahead to tell all those at home that the war party has been unsuccessful and that all have been killed, and that those at home should put on mourning. Secretly, however, the leader tells someone to look for a pole for the Victory dance, and shortly after all the preparations for mourning have been made the victorious warriors rush into the village. Before entering the village that warrior who [555] has counted first coup is offered a pipe, from which he always takes a few puffs. The same pipe is then handed to the one who counted coup second, and so on, until the fourth man is reached. Then the prizes (*waizere*) are given to the victors, who afterwards give them to their sisters. The scalps are not taken into the village, but are left outside, and warriors who have remained at home rush out to count coup upon them. Then the scalps are carried around the village four times.

555 The widely-known Plains custom of "counting coup" is also 726 practiced among the Winnebago. The individual who strikes the dead body of the enemy first obtains the first honor, the one striking it second the second honor, the one striking it third the third honor, and the one who actually killed the enemy obtaining the fourth and least important honor.

721 The following are descriptions given in the words of the informants:

[115] *Description of war customs and the manner of conducting a war party.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

When a man is ready to go on the warpath, he looks around for as many men as he wishes to take along and then gives a feast. At the feast he fixes the time at which the war party is to start. The man giving the feast (i. e., the leader of the war party) would get up and tell those present that he intended going on a warpath and give his reason; then he would say that whoever so desired could come along.

Many went along. Indeed, there was quite a crowd. The first stopping place (*higiyera*) was always near the outskirts of the village. There the leader appointed four men to go after food and wood for the fire. During their absence two camping places would be arranged, one on each side of the war leader. As soon as the four men returned with the food the attendants skinned and prepared the animals for

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eating. Then the war leader asked for food, and it was brought to him. Now the 721
female relatives of the men came to the camp, bringing with them mocassins for the journey. After that the chief asked some man to tell stories and some to take care of the fireplace, while two brave warriors were put in charge of the camp. Toward morning a number of warriors who had not been asked to join this particular war party might stray in (*hetra'gaiⁿc*).

Before the war leader enters the *hiqipara* he places his war bundle crosswise in front of the entrance of the *hiqipara* and sings some songs. When he is finished, his attendants place the war bundle on his back, and only then does he really enter the *hiqipara*, followed by all the other members of the war party.[1]

When they approached the place where they expected to find the enemy, two distinguished warriors were appointed to reconnoiter, and they proceeded ahead of the 726
war party until they saw the enemy. Then they returned to the camp and reported to the war leader. From that time on they would practice their various individual powers (*wawa:'p nagiqigir'ji*).[2]

When the two warriors sent out to reconnoiter return, the attendant offers them the pipe that he had prepared for the war leader. They smoke it and say, "Those whom we are after are entirely unaware of our presence." Then the members of the war party would thank them for their information. All would now start out against 726
the enemy. When near the enemy, they practice their powers again and paint 782
themselves with their war paints. To those spirits who have bestowed blessings upon the various members of the war party offerings are now made. Especially to the spirits who are in control of war powers are offerings made. To them they also pray for life and for war honors in the coming encounter. They even offer tobacco to those spirits from whom they have not received blessings, asking them for aid because of their careful observance of all the customs and precepts they were taught. Some offered tobacco to a medicine they possessed and asked the medicine to remember them in the coming encounter. Others boiled water (for a spirit) and asked him to assist them in obtaining a war honor, while others again offered tobacco to their war bundles and prayed that the powers contained therein might be strong and that they might kill some of the enemy and obtain war honors. All prayed that the enemy might not kill them and that they might finally return home safe. Those who had no supernatural powers to fall back upon would get frightened at such a time and they would say, "Alas! how will I fare! I should have fasted. I should have given feasts. I should have offered good medicines to the spirits and fasted until I was blessed, so that I, too, might now have some powerful medicine to use. Had I fasted and obtained a blessing from the spirits who are in control of war powers, had I given feasts, this all would have been a source of strength to me now, and I would know positively whether or not I am going to be killed in the coming encounter."

When everything is in readiness the war leader rises and appoints four warriors to 726
give the war whoop. Then, as soon as the war whoop has been given, they would rush upon the enemy, imitating as they ran the sounds of the spirits who had blessed [555]
them. The first four to kill and count coup obtained the corresponding four war honors. Those who captured a man also obtained war honors. Beside these principal ones there were minor war honors. Those who obtained no honors at all would return home crying. After they had killed all those in the village of the enemy they would burn it to the ground and then start for their home in the host of spirits.

When they were near their home they sent a messenger ahead to inform their rela- 727
tives to put on mourning, for all those who had started out on the warpath had been killed, that he who had in reality obtained the first war honor had been killed first,

[1] *Hiqipara* is the special arrangement of the camp used on individual warpaths.

[2] When a war party has located the enemy, they prepare for the attack and run about, practicing their individual magical powers. "The war-club running" (*wawa:'p nagiqigir'ji*) referred to in the practice of running about in preparation for the attack upon the enemy so that they may not get tired out too easily. [789]

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etc. Then the war leader would secretly tell some one to select a stake (for the Victory Dance) and after a short time all the members of the war party would rush in and march around the entire village striking the scalps that they had tied to sticks. Then they would all go to the place where the stake had been put up and there they would distribute the war prizes to the sisters of the men who had won them and the women would walk around proudly with the prizes around their necks. Then, in the daytime they would dance the Victory Dance and in the evening they would dance the Hok'ixere Dance for four nights.

*Description of a war party.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

If a man wishes to go on the warpath he must fast and be blessed by the spirits in a specific manner. If a man is thus blessed, he gives a feast and announces his intention of leading a war party. The chief always has a representative at such a feast (a member of the Buffalo clan), and as soon as it is over this man goes to the former and reports to him. If the chief thinks that the blessing is insufficient and might cause the death of many men he takes the war leader's pipe and lays it across his path and the war leader is then compelled to abandon his undertaking. This action on the part of the chief is sacred and must be accepted as final. The war leader dare not step across the pipe. Should the chief, however, not do this, then the war leader knew that there was no objection. Usually some members of every clan go along, but especially members of the Thunderbird, Warrior, and Bear clans.

The action of the war leader is controlled by many rules. He must be the one who has fasted and been blessed with all that is essential for conducting a war party. He must have his food provided for him by the spirits, know the exact location of the enemy, their numbers, and their sex.

After the war party has traveled for about four days, the men offer tobacco to the leader and he tells them where he is going, the number of the enemy, etc. If, after that, any of the members of the war party do not approve of the undertaking then they place a pipe across his path and the war leader is compelled to return. If nothing is said, then all is well. The war leader always goes ahead of his party and his attendants behind him, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever the chief stops his attendants run to his side, take his war bundle and place it in front of him. Then the leader sits down, neither turning to the right nor to the left but looking straight ahead. The attendants get two poles and place them on each side of him, bend the ends over to form an arch, on each side of which are placed small oak sticks arranged in a row. Under this structure the war leader stays. Here he sleeps and is fed by his attendants. No one is permitted to go ahead of this improvised structure. On each side of him two fireplaces are placed, two for the Upper clans and two for the Lower clans. If the war party is traveling westward the two fireplaces on the north side belong to the Lower clans and the two on the south side to the Upper clans. If a man is going on a warpath for the first time, he stays in the rear of the party and has a little fire of his own. He remains in the rear in this way until the battle begins. Then he joins the others.

A member of the Warrior clan is selected by the war leader to act as guard and he goes back and forth behind him encouraging the men and telling them not to steal away alone or go too far ahead of the party, since that always results in the loss of life. It is for this reason that it is not considered correct for a man to try and steal away and perhaps obtain a war honor in this selfish manner. Whenever the war leader stops he tells his companions what they must do in order to obtain food, all this information having been provided for in his blessing. If he tells some one to go to a certain place and kill a deer, he is certain to find a deer at the place specified. Whenever the war leader gets up and steps over his war bundle the attendants come and place his war bundle on his back and he then proceeds on his march, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever he comes to a river he takes some of the tobacco which is

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787 the warpath.[1] So they say. If you do not become an individual warranted to lead a war party, yet mistaking yourself for one although really an ordinary warrior, you "throw away a man," your act will [686 be considered most disgraceful. A mourner might harm you in 627] revenge for the fact that you have caused him to mourn, and burn you with embers. Your people will all be sad, both on account of your disgrace and on account of the pain inflicted upon you.

787 My son, not with the blessing of one of the spirits merely, nor with 867 the blessing of twenty, for that matter, can you go on the warpath. 776 You must have the blessing of all the spirits above the earth, and of all those on the earth, and of all those who are pierced through the earth;[2] of all those under the earth; of all those who are under the water; of all those that are on the sides of the earth, i. e., all the four winds; of the Disease-giver;[3] of the Sun; of the Daylight;[4] of the Moon; of the Earth; and of all those who are in control of war powers—with the blessings of all these deities must you be provided before you can lead a successful war party.

867 My son, if you cast off dress[5] men will be benefited by your deeds. 554 You will be an aid to all your people. If your people honor you, it will be good. And they will like you even the more if you obtain a

721 787 70 686 [422]

[1] Among the Winnebago any individual who has been blessed with the necessary powers to lead a warpath may do so, but it is absolutely essential that his blessing (bestowing him be of such a nature that every possible contingency is included therein. Such complete blessings are, of course, not common nor can they be obtained except through unusual exertions. If you are blessed with just the ordinary or incomplete war powers and you nevertheless undertake to lead a war party, you may either be defeated or perhaps only partially successful, and, what is worse, you may lose some of the warriors who started with you. Your recklessness has thus caused the death of some of your fellow tribesmen. It is understood that every warrior before starting on the warpath turn his "blessing" over to the chief of the tribe for examination, and if the chief considers it complete the warrior is not held responsible for the lack of success or loss of life. If the chief does not consider an individual's blessing sufficient to justify the object he has in view and forbids the warrior to go, and if the latter nevertheless does go, or granted the case he does not even submit his "blessing" to the chief for scrutiny, and succeeds, then he is held directly responsible for any mishap on the warpath. The relatives of any individual thus killed may hold the war leader responsible and demand compensation; or, as is indicated by [illegible], a mourner (i. e., one who has been placed in mourning by the criminal forbearance of the war leader) might attack, perhaps kill him, without being held guilty of any crime. It must of course be understood that such occurrences would seldom take place. We must, however, remember throughout these "teachings" that one of the objects of the old men was to draw the most alluring picture of the rewards that would fall to the lot of those who followed in the footsteps of their ancestors, and, on the other hand, to draw the most lurid pictures of the wretchedness that befell those who deviated, no matter in what details, from the customs sanctioned by age.

773 776

[2] According to the Winnebago creation myth, when Earthmaker, the creator of the earth, first came to consciousness and began creating life the earth on which we now live was in continual motion, and nothing that the former could do seemed to be able to stop it. From above he threw down grass, trees, etc., but all was of no avail. Finally he hit upon the happy expedient of pouring the earth down at the four corners by means of four continent-makers, or, as some say, by means of four mythical animals known as water spirits. It is to these that the old man is referring here. According to the story, even these were of no avail, and it was only when he finally placed four mythical beings known as "Island Weights" at the four corners that our planet stopped spinning. These "Island Weights" seem to be identical with the spirits of the four cardinal points, but they are not to be confused with the four winds mentioned later.

776

[3] A deity conceived of as dealing out life-giving powers from one half of his body and death-giving powers from the other half. He is also supposed to disseminate disease. I can give no literal translation of the Winnebago word, but this probably does not convey the exact meaning. There seems to be no parallel to this peculiar deity among the other Siouan tribes or among the Algonquins.

822

[4] Daylight or light is conceived of as something different and distinct from the sun.

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[5] That is, if you give away things frequently, especially to your people.

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limb.[10] They will indeed like you very much if you obtain a limb, 867
or, even better, two or three. If you do thus, wherever people boil 554
an animal with a head [11] you will always be able to eat.

If on account of your bravery you are permitted to tell of your 867
war exploits during the Four Nights' Wake for the benefit of the 765
soul of the deceased, do not try to add to your glory by exaggerat- 554
ing any exploit, for by so doing you will cause the soul to stumble on its journey to the spirit land.[12] If you do this and add an untruth to the account of your war exploit, you will die soon after. The war spirits always hear you. Tell a little less. The old men say it is wise.

My son, it is good to die in war. If you die in war, your soul will 867
not be unconscious. You will have complete disposal of your soul 721
and it will always be happy.[13] If you should ever desire to return 775
to this earth and live here again, you will be able to do so. A second life as a human being you may live, or, if you prefer, as an inhabitant of the air (a bird) you may live, or you may roam the earth as an animal. Thus it is to him who dies in battle.

My son, fast for an honorable place among your fellowmen. Fast, 867
so that when you are married you may have plenty of food; that 785
you may be happy and that you may not have to worry about your 787
children. If in your fastings you have a vision of your future home, the members of your family will be lacking in nothing during their life. Fast for the food that you may need. If you fast a sufficiently large number of times, when in after life you have children and they cry for food you will be able to offer a piece of deer or moose meat without any difficulty. Your children will never be hungry.

[10] That is, a war honor, but more specifically if you "count coup" first. The honor of killing an enemy [535] and the three honors connected with first touching his dead body are always spoken of as "the four limbs of the body."

[11] That is, whenever people give a Winter Feast. At this feast a deer, head and all, is served to the [527] invited guests. The head may only be eaten by brave warriors. 262]

[12] At the death of a clansman an elaborate wake takes place. To this wake, as the principal participants, three or four warriors who have counted "coup" are always invited. It is believed that the souls of all the enemies one has killed become the slaves of the victor and he may command them to do his bidding at any time. If the victor tells his exploit and then commands the enslaved souls to take care of the recently 765 departed person in whose honor the wake is being given, the soul of the conquered enemy will be of con- 775 siderable aid in overcoming the obstacles that are supposed to infest the path between this earth and the land of the spirits. These can not be overcome by the merits of the individual alone. If, however, a warrior becomes vainglorious, the soul of the recently departed individual will fall into the abyss of fire which surrounds one of the heavenly earths through which he must pass. That is what is meant by "stumbling."

[13] It must be remembered that the Winnebago believe that all that constitutes "life," "consciousness," continues to exist after death, the only difference being that in the former case an envelope, the body, is present and, in the latter case, it is not. Winnebago philosophy does not concern itself with what happens 774 when a soul becomes "unconscious" at death, which would, of course, be the case with all those who do 775 not die in battle, but it does insist that to him who dies on the warpath the moment of death does not even deprive of consciousness. He goes right on living, as if he were still an inhabitant of this earth, the only difference being that the corporeal envelope has fallen off his soul and that, although he sees and hears human beings, he himself is not visible nor his voice audible.

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867 My son, whenever people go on the warpath go along with them.
721 It is good to die on the warpath. You may perhaps say so, because you are unhappy that your wife has left you. My son, not for such reasons, however, must you go on the warpath. You will be merely throwing away a human life. If you want to go on the warpath, do so because you feel that you are courageous enough, not because you are unhappy at the loss of your wife. If you go on the warpath you will enjoy yourself. Do not go, however, unless you have fasted,
[785] and unless you have fasted for that particular warpath. If you have not fasted and attempt nevertheless to go on the warpath, a bullet will surely seek you out and kill you. This is what will happen to you if you do not fast.

[593 If you exert yourself in fasting you will assuredly perform some brave war exploit. You must tell your sisters and sister's children
[604 and your mother's sisters all about your exploit. Remember, also, that the keepers of the war-bundles can give you good advice in
605] all that pertains to war. For their deeds they will be given a good dish of meat.[34] This they will give you to eat.

Of such things did my ancestors speak, and I would wish you to do as they did. That is why I am telling you all these things. I myself never asked for any of this instruction, but my father did. All human beings ought to ask for it. Never let anybody be in a position to puzzle you in regard to what is right. Ask for this instruction, my son, for it is not an ordinary thing. In the olden
867 times if a person loved his child very much, he would only give him instruction after he had begun fasting all day for the first time. When a young boy has just matured, those who have been preaching to him always ask him one question, namely, whether he had begun
[881] to fast. And this the young boy must always answer truthfully, for if he has begun his fast the instruction would stop. The old men do not preach to men, but only to boys.

881 (What follows is apparently an illustration of how a young man
887 asks his instructor for information of how to conduct himself in life.)
867 The young man will go to an old man and say, "Grandfather, I would like to know how I am to conduct myself in life. Bless me and if you can really give me any information, do so." Then the old man was very thankful and said, "It is good; you speak correctly." Now the one who was asking something of the old man had taken very good care of the old man's body and had led a good life. He had no scars of any kind; that is, he had never done anything shameful. The young man brought all sorts of food and placed it in the lodge of the old man. Then he also brought him a fine horse. Only then did he ask him again about the life that his ancestors had led, and what kind of a life he ought to live. He asked

[34] I. e., you will be given a position in the Winter Feast and offered some of the choice pieces of meat.

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From these facts it is quite clear that, as far as the Thunderbird clan is concerned, the prevailing belief as to the relation of the members of the clan to the clan ancestor is but feebly substantiated by the origin myths. 614 773 114

As mentioned before, the chief of the tribe was selected from the Thunderbird clan, although the selection was apparently restricted to certain families. The functions of the chief of the tribe were connected with peace. He could not lead a war party, although, according to some, he could accompany one. His lodge stood either in the center of the village or at the south end, according to which of the two descriptions one cares to accept, and contained a sacred fireplace, around which only members of the Thunderbird clan could sit. This lodge was an asylum for all wrongdoers. No one could be killed there, and a prisoner who succeeded in making his escape to it was spared. Even a dog destined for a sacrifice at the war-bundle feast was freed if he took refuge in it. The Thunderbird chief always acted as intercessor between wrongdoers and their avengers. Even in so extreme a case as the murder of a clansman, he would always attempt a reconciliation by which the life of the murderer might be spared. If necessary, the chief would mortify himself, and with skewers inserted in his back have himself led through the village to the home of the nearest kinspeople of the murdered person. 614 [778] [682 304]

The chief seems to have had some other miscellaneous functions, the most important of which was, perhaps, his right to prevent an unauthorized war party to depart from the village. If he, as an older man and guardian of peace and the best interests of the tribe, felt that a war party was taking too many risks, he would take his pipe and place it across the path of the one contemplating an unwarranted expedition and thus signify his disapproval. If then the war party chose to go, any mishap was directly chargeable to the leader who disbeyed. Should anyone be killed, the leader was regarded almost in the same light as a willful murderer, and the kinsmen of the deceased warrior could demand redress. 622 721 [686] 622 614

Our main informant for the Thunderbird clan summarized the functions as follows:

The chief is chosen from one of the "greater" Thunderbird clans[1] and must be a man of well balanced temper, not easily provoked, and of good habits. The one sacred object he possesses is his pipe. He must be a peacemaker and love all the people in the tribe, the little children included. [156]

If he saw a man, woman, or child passing by, he was to call them in and give them food to eat, for they were his brothers and sisters. All the relatives he has are to look after his possessions and keep him well supplied, for he was supposed to give away things constantly. If any person came to borrow some object from him, he would tell [31]

[1] Subdivided the Thunderbird clans into two groups, the real Thunderbird and the Warrior clans. This latter he indeed was identical with the Thunderbirds who caused the rain and who were quite different from the other Thunderbirds.

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In this lodge they claimed that prisoners were 614
confined and certain tribal regalia deposited. The informants were 727
not, however, at all clear about these facts, some even denying that there was a Warrior lodge and insisting that prisoners were confined in the Bear or Soldier lodge.

According to one informant the Warrior and Bear clans could give 614
each other orders that had to be obeyed.

The members of the Warrior clan claimed that all the members of the clan were warriors and did not have to fast in order to obtain [785]
the right of starting out on a war party. This was vigorously denied by the members of the other clans, who referred to this claim with derision. There seems, however, to be no reason for questioning the fact that the clan had a special lodge and that it was intimately connected with war functions. Exactly what these were it is quite impossible to state, as they have not been exercised for a very long time.

The first two clan songs are given on page 220. The clan facial decoration, used only at burial, and which were supposed to be [302]
marks of recognition in the spirit land, are as follows: A red line alternating with a black and another red line across the forehead, and a red line around the mouth. One informant claimed that only the three marks on the forehead were necessary, and that in times of war blood was used for the red marks (pl. 46).

According to an informant of the Thunderbird clan, the Warrior clan functions were as follows:

The Warrior clan's position in the tribe is that of general warrior. He can kill an enemy at any time without breaking any of the rules of the tribe. Every other clansman who wishes to go on the warpath must fast and be blessed by the spirits, with specific blessings before he can do this. [721]

There may have been a special feast associated with the Warrior clan, but the author never heard of it. The clan possessed a number [778]
of war bundles.

### ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

In the beginning, Earthmaker made four men. Then he sent 614
them to the earth. Within Lake, there, they landed and they alit 539
on the branch of a tree. There were four branches and each one alit 776
on one branch. And then on the earth they jumped and started walking toward the east. There they erected a camping place. There they started the fire. It was the principal fire. Then they started to look for food, but they were unable to find any. So the second brother was sent, but he was not able to get any animal, but he brought a man. Because he brought it, for that reason, the first male child we have shall be called *He-who-eats-humans*. Then the second one, him whom they called the warrior, was sent. Thus it

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and permit him to dance and sing. This is called the *wuggnigke-i*[a] dance." 727 535

"So then the turtle was told to dance his death dance—i. e., *wuggnigke-i*[a] dance. Both of his arms were tied behind above the elbows. Only thus was he permitted to walk. His wrists were tied in front, so that he could not stretch out his arms. His ankles were tied in such a way that he could not take any long steps. He carried a gourd in one hand and a sacred object in the other, and with these he danced up and down the village, performing his death dance and singing and shaking his gourd. Many people came to see him. He stopped and changed his song, singing, "O death, O death! You young women come here to see me. I am anxious for death."

. . .

(It seems that it is customary to grant any wish the captive makes while dancing this dance.)

### The Farewell Dance

When a person is about to go on the warpath he goes around the village dancing and asking for volunteers to accompany him. New volunteers join him as he dances and sings. When the dancing is over these volunteers tell the people how their forefathers encouraged them to go on the warpath, etc. 535 721

At the beginning and end of each song they strike their mouths with their hands and give a whoop.

FAREWELL SONGS 533

I 539

Hi'ska wejo'ji yore'na[a] da'tru[a] wa'ghénangro waja[a] ana'ngero; hi'ska 535
Truth he speaks I hope, war leaders, what he says, truth 721 x
wejo'ji yare'na[a].
he tells I hope.

II

Cunkona'ngero je'ska hidanankik'i[a]na dorcû'ghera wanga'niage: je'ska
These dogs like I think of myself war leader a man I am: Thus
hidanankik'i[a]na.
I think of myself.
(I. e., I don't value my life any more than that of a dog.)

III

Jige' ya'ngonl'na[a] waja[a] a'i[a]p'anal'na dotcu'ghera; jige' yare'na[a].
Again I desire it something a long time war leader; again I desire
(I. e., it is a long time since I have been on the warpath.)

IV

Ga ai'ncka 'nawa'nighkrane'na[a] dotcu[a] wughoraréska nawa'nighkranena[a]
Even that they say will disappear war leader even he will disappear.
(I. e., I don't value my life any more than the war-leader does.)

[a] The following description of this dance, contained in one of the versions of the myth, "Turtle on the warpath," is no doubt fairly accurate.

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four warriors who have counted coup on the last warpath form the units of organization. The peculiarity of the War-bundle Feast is that it belongs not merely to one of these types but to two of them. 796x 571

The war bundles were originally family possessions and were, in the opinion of the writer, only secondarily associated with the clan as such. They represent a complex of blessings received from various spirits who are supposed to control the fortunes of war. They were handed down from one generation to another in the same family, but not necessarily to the eldest son, and could as a matter of default pass out of the hands of the immediate family. The individual who received the war bundle was that one who had by his interest, knowledge, character, and accomplishments demonstrated to the full satisfaction of the elder generation, more specifically to the elder generation represented by his father and close male relatives of his father's generation, that he was capable of continuing the ceremonials in a proper manner. It follows from this that he would have to be a well-known warrior. Now, it is customary among all the woodland tribes for a warrior who is about to start on a warpath to give a feast to which he invites all the other warriors, from among whom he, of course, has to draw his recruits; and at this feast he explains the nature of the contemplated warpath and his warrant—i. e., the thoroughness of the specific blessings he has received—for starting it. 778 [422] [787] [428] 554 778 [721 527]

In other words, we will have to picture to ourselves the war-bundle feast as originally a gathering of warriors preparatory to the starting out of a war party, in which the part of the host was always taken by the leader of the prospective war party. All of the well-known warriors were likely to have war bundles, and thus the basis for the development of what is, to all intents and purposes, a society of those who had war bundles was always present potentially. It is believed, however, that at the time the Winnebago culture was still in the formative stage this aspect of the gathering was entirely secondary, and that primarily it was a gathering of warriors for the immediate purpose of going on a warpath. 796x 721 575

It may perhaps be interesting to go into some details of how this "society" aspect of a gathering of warriors developed. This development probably took two lines—first, a religious one, and secondly, one of definite organization. It would be quite erroneous to say that it took these lines of evolution, because it is in the nature of societies thus to develop. This originally temporary organization took these lines of development because of the presence in the war-bundle ritual of two factors—first, fasting experiences associated with the same spirits, and, second, the influence of the clan organization.

Only a small number of spirits were specifically associated with success in war, and these were Disease-giver, Thunderbirds, Sun, and the Night Spirits. [776]

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the Night Spirits. All the warriors who possessed war bundles would of necessity have to receive blessings from these, although in different cases one or the other may have bestowed the more important powers.

The prominence given to the Thunderbird in the first and to the Night Spirits in the second division give the ceremony a most marked resemblance to societies like the Night Spirit society. In the second division it is even essential to have been blessed by the Night Spirits in order to play a certain rôle. There would thus develop the consciousness of community of interest due to the fact that as individuals they were bound together by blessings received from the same spirits, a feeling that was certain to be still further strengthened since, in all likelihood, most of the possessors of war bundles belonged to societies where this actually was the common bond. The religious and ceremonial aspect would thus of necessity be reinforced. The prayers for success on the warpath of course always existed, but as the extraneous religious and ceremonial influences became stronger and more insistent and as—and this should never be forgotten—the pursuit of war became less and less important, owing to the breaking down of the culture consequent upon the advent of the whites, these extraneous factors became, if not dominant at least almost equal in importance to the historically older aspect; and our original gathering of warriors, while still remaining a gathering of warriors, also became a ceremonial organization, in which offerings were made to the entire Winnebago pantheon of spirits. The great war spirits were still all-important, but their position was contested by so distinctive a peace deity as Earthmaker and such deities as Earth, Moon, and Water. The prayers for success in war were perhaps still the most insistent, but prayers for life, not life merely that success in war may be longer, but prayers for the whole content of life, were offered up. Disease-giver was appealed to not merely to bestow upon man the greatest of all war honors, killing an enemy right in the midst of his tribesmen, but also to ward off disease from the supplicants.

Still, as great as have been these extraneous influences, the character of the feast as originally one purely connected with war comes out in numerous ways in the association, for instance, of war powers with Earthmaker, Moon, and Earth, and significantly enough, in the absence of the more specific religious associations such as are met with in the Medicine dance.

Let us turn now to the development of the organization of the feast. The development of a fixed type of organization is not absolutely necessary. Societies may exist only for certain occasions, such as the return from a warpath, like the Hōk'txe re dance or preparatory to the starting of a war party, and be practically nonexistent afterwards. Such are the temporary war feasts of the Ojibway, for instance. However, one all important circumstance prevented this

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him whom they call Djōbenągwi'ąxga gave them tobacco to smoke 539x
and he worshiped the spirits sincerely whenever they came to him. 796x
Thus these people have done for a long time and that is why we are recognized by the spirits. As often as they gave this feast they gave it for the honor of the spirits. They have done well and we are very well acquainted with the spirits as a consequence. Yet I myself who am now speaking can not do anything; I can hardly be said to have lived (i. e., lived the life of a respectable man). I am unable even to put on one kettle in honor of the spirits. Those who have given this feast to the spirits have done well and perhaps, as a consequence, we may be able to obtain just a little of the blessings of life. So I thought. It is good (I tell you), who have made offerings to the spirits, who are impersonating the spirits. He who has been given the kettle in honor of the Moon expresses his thanks. They gave this to me so that we might plead for them (with the spirits). Not anything of consequence can we say. We are thankful. It is good, it is said. That is what I wish to say. Those counseled, I greet, the spirit who comes at night. Host, I send forth my greetings to you. You impersonating the spirits, I send my greetings toward you."

*Speech of eleventh guest.*—"Host and his clansmen who are seated here, I send my greetings toward you. Those impersonating the spirits, I send my greetings toward you. The host and his people sit here crying for war powers. Tobacco they offer, asking for life; the tobacco that they possess they sit here offering that they may obtain life. They know that it is good to have war powers and that is why they ask for it with tears in their eyes. It is good to die in [721] war. If you can kill one enemy, then you will be a brave man and all the men will say that you have done a good deed. We would all know it. However, not without effort can men become braves. They must suffer to obtain this honor. The host has made himself suffer; they have poured tobacco. If we do as they did and make feasts for the spirits and offer them buckskins, then we will be able to obtain war powers for ourselves, and only then. That is what the Creator would do. Not without fasting, not white faced,[180] are war powers obtainable. Yet the old men long ago said that if one could not fast, still if he poured tobacco for the spirits and offered them food and if he made excellent offerings of buckskin to the spirits, war powers might be obtained. Thus the elders spoke and they knew of what they were speaking. The host and the clansmen sitting with him listened (to the elders) and that is why they performed (this ceremony so well). How could we ever obtain war powers as they have done? All we hope is that we may obtain some of the war powers that will follow (as a result of the feast here

[180] I. e., not without blackening one's face as is done in fasting.

## §7. *The Teachings of My Father*

*159 My father used to keep up the old habit of teaching
[867] us the customs of the Winnebago. He would wake
[593] us up early in the morning and, seated around the fire-
place, speak to us. The girls would be taught sepa-
[562] rately. Now this is what my father told me:

●721
787
*159 I

My son, when you grow up, see to it that you are of
867 some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in
[785] which you can aid them and that is by fasting. Our
[776] grandfather, the Fire, he who stands at all times in the
[372] center of our dwelling, sends forth all kinds of blessings.
Be sure that you make an attempt to obtain his.

My son, do you remember to have our grandfathers, the
*159 war chiefs,[14] bless you. See to it that they have compassion
776 upon you. Then some day as you travel along the road of
867 life, you will know what to do and encounter no obstacles.
787 Without any effort will you then be able to gain the prize
721 you desire. The honor will be yours to glory in, yours
without exertion. All the disposable war-blessings belong
to our grandfathers, the war-controllers, and if reverently
you fast and thirst yourself to death, then these will be
bestowed upon you. Yet if you do not wear out your feet
in frequent journeyings to and fro, if you do not blacken
your face with charcoal, it will be all for naught that you

[195] [14] Symbolical name for all those spirits who were supposed to be in control of war powers.

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inflict this suffering upon yourself. Not without constant effort are these blessings procurable. Try to have one of the spirits created by Earthmaker take pity on you. Whatever he says will come about. If you do not possess one of the spirits from whom to obtain strength and power, you will be of no consequence socially and those around you will show you little respect. Indeed they will jeer at you.

My son, it is not good to die in the village; in your homes. Above all, do not let women journey to the spirit land ahead of you. It is not done. To prevent this from happening do we speak to our sons and encourage them to fast. Some day in life you will find yourself traveling along a road filled with obstacles and then you will wish you had fasted. When such an event confronts you, that you may not find it necessary to reproach yourself, I counsel you to fast. If you have not obtained any knowledge from the spirits, why it may happen that some day, in later life, warriors will be returning from the warpath and as they distribute the war prizes to their sisters,[18] your own sisters will stand there empty-handed envying the rest. But if you obtain blessings from the war-controllers, your sisters will be happy. How proud they will be to receive the prizes, to wear them, and to dance the victory dance! Your sisters too will be strengthened thereby and you will be content and happy.

Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to

[18] Among the Winnebago a man's sisters, especially his elder sisters, were very highly respected and all war prizes, such as wampum-belts, wampum necklaces, etc., were always given to them whenever a man returned from a successful war-party in which he had secured some honor. These war honors were of various kinds. The greatest was considered to be the feat of having struck the body of a dead enemy first.

787 When on some other occasion 159* such as the Four Nights' Wake, you are called upon to 867 recount your war exploits in behalf of the departed souls, [765] be careful, however, not to claim more than you actually [775] accomplished. If you do, you will cause the soul of the man in whose behalf you are telling it, to stumble [17] in his journey to spirit land. If you tell a falsehood then and exaggerate, you will die before your time, for the spirits, [577] the war-controllers, will hear you. It is indeed a sacred duty to tell the truth on such an occasion. Tell less than you did. The old men say it is wiser.

My son, it is good to die on the warpath. If you die on [721] the warpath, you will not lose consciousness at death. You [775] will be able to do what you please with your soul and it will always remain in a happy condition. If afterwards you wish to become reincarnated as human being, you may do so, or you may take the form of those-who-walk-upon-the-light, the birds, or the form of any animal you please, in short. All these benefits will you obtain if you die on the warpath.

## II

My son, if you cannot obtain war-blessings, fast at least 159* for position in life. If you fast then, when you get married 867 you will get along well. You will then not have to worry 785 about your having children and your life will be a happy 787 one. If you fast and have the spirits bless you with all that concerns the happiness of your home, then throughout life

[17] According to Winnebago belief the soul of a deceased individual in his journey to spirit land must cross a very slippery, swinging bridge and it is thought that if, during the wake following the man's burial, any of the invited warriors exaggerate their achievements the unfortunate soul will not be able to cross this bridge and will stumble and fall into the abyss of fire over which it is thrown. [775]

*159 your wife is the only one to love, you have humbled yourself
[581] and she will be taken from you. You have likewise made
867 the woman suffer; you have made her unhappy. The whole
562 world will hear about it. No other woman will want to
593 marry you and you will have the reputation of being a bad man.

[577] Now you may act in the following way: You see people
[921] starting on a warpath and you join them knowing that it is an honor to die on the warpath. But you will join them because you feel unhappy at your wife's flight. Now this is not the proper way to act. You are throwing away your life; you are causing the leader of the war-party to throw away a life. If you want to go on the warpath, do not go because your wife has been taken away from you, go because you feel courageous enough to do so.

It is on the warpath that a man has fun! Do not go,
[785] however, unless you have fasted adequately. You must
[926] fast for each specific warpath. If you do not and yet join a war-party, then in the midst of the fight, a bullet will come your way and kill you. That will happen because you did not fast. If you have performed any deeds of valor, recount them to your sisters and to your sister's children. Those in charge of war-bundles are good to listen to in such matters. Those to whom such people give advice will eat an excellent dish; they will have the
[554] honor of sitting near a great warrior in the middle of the lodge.

*159 These are the things of which the old people spoke and
867 this also is the advice I give you. I myself never asked
577 for these things, but my father did. Your grandfather did. He asked for the information relating to the manner in which people are to behave. Never, when you are older, should you allow yourself to get in the predicament of not

## §22. *We Kill a Pottawattomie*

*159 588 837 I never married any woman permanently. I would live with one for awhile, and then with another. Sometimes upon my return after an absence I would find my temporary wife living with another man. This is the way in which I acted.

*159 787 ● 721 My father had brought me up and had encouraged me to fast, so that I might be blessed by all the spirits that exist, and thus live in comfort. My father had raised me so that I should desire to obtain war honors,[28] so that I should not be like one who wears skirts. That was the reason he had me join the Medicine Dance so [626] that people should not be able to ridicule me. My father taught me to lead a sober and sane life and my [867] grandfather, during the time I lived with him, had told me the same. They both encouraged me to give feasts and to ask the spirits for war honors.

*159 721 At that time I had a comrade, and one day he said to me, "We have been thinking of something, have we not, friend? We ought to try and obtain some external emblem of our bravery. Do we not always try to wear feathers at a Warrior Dance? Well, then, let us try

[28] These war honors were the following: touching the body of a [559] slain enemy first, killing an enemy, touching the body second, touching it third, stealing a horse. All of them entitled the possessor [301] to wear an eagle feather in his hair.

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to obtain war honors, so that we can wear head orna- 159*
ments." So did we both speak to each other. We both 721
liked the idea, and so we decided to go in search of war
honors. We decided to kill a man of another tribe;
we meant to perform an act of bravery. We started
out finally. There were four of us, and we went to a
place where other tribesmen congregated. We took
the train and carried some baggage with us. We took
ropes along, for we intended to steal some horses, and
if we found the opportunity, kill a man. Horse stealing
was regarded as a praiseworthy feat, and I had always [554]
admired the people who recounted the number of times
they had stolen horses, at one of the Warrior Dances.
That was why I wished to do these things.

We proceeded to a place where horses of other tribes
used to pasture. Just as we got there we saw the owner
of some of these horses and killed him. My friend
killed him. Then we went home, and secretly I told
my father all about it. I said to him, "Father, you
said it was good to be a warrior and you encouraged
me to fast and I did so. You encouraged me to give
feasts and I did so. Now we have just returned from
a trip. We were looking for war honors and the young
people who were accompanying me decided that I [701]
should lead them. I told them that it was a difficult
thing to lead warriors, my father had always told me,
and that I had always been given to understand that
a person could lead a war-party only in consequence
of a specific blessing received from the spirits. I was
not conscious of having received any such, I told him.

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*159 Thus I spoke. However, they made me an offering
●721 of tobacco as they asked me, and I accepted the to-
[701] bacco saying that I would at least make an offering
[782] of tobacco for them. Then I offered tobacco to the
[776] Thunderbirds and asked them for rain, that we might walk in the protection and power of rain. This offering we made in the morning and it rained all that day. Then we went to the place where we knew that we could find horses. When we got there we met the owner of the horses and spoke to him. We accompanied him to a carpenter shop nearby, and there killed him. I struck his dead body, counted coup[26] first,
[555] and announced my new name, as I gave a war-whoop.
[551] I shouted '*Big-Winnebago* has counted coup on his man.' Then the others counted coup also. We searched his pockets and found medicine and money
[727] in them. The money we divided among ourselves. After that we cut out his heart, for we had heard that
[826] hearts were used for medicine. That is why we cut out his heart. He had a gun and that we took away from him and hid."

Then my father said to me, "My son, it is good. Your life is no longer an effeminate one. This is the manner in which our ancestors encouraged us to live. It is the will of the spirits in control of war that has led

[26] The first four war honors enumerated above are called "counting coup" by the Whites. *Coup* is the French for *strike* and the expression owes its origin to the custom of warriors counting the number of people they have killed or honors they have obtained by striking the post at the grave of the particular person for whose benefit they are recounting their achievements.
[555]

## *We Kill a Pottawattomie*

you to do this. Of your own initiative you could not 159*
possibly have done it. However, we had better not 721●
have a Victory Dance as yet. We have the honor any- [727]
how. We must be careful about the Whites. In the
old days we were at liberty to live in our own way, and [648]
when such a deed as yours became known, your sisters
would rejoice and dance, we are told. Now, however,
the law of the Whites is to be feared. In due time you
will get a chance to announce your feat and then you
can wear a head ornament for you have earned that [554]
right for yourself."

[p. 151]

so many Winnebago informed me, the most sacred and important 105
of the ritual societies of this type was the Night-spirit one. It was 575
practically gone when I first visited the tribe in 1909. In none of 796
these rituals was there any control of membership or insistence upon 571
a special code of conduct either before or after admission.

The warbundle ceremonies require a few words. Each perform- 105
ance is divided into two parts, the first presided over by the Thunder- 721
bird spirits and the second by the Night-spirits. However, all the 796
great spirits of the Winnebago pantheon have their place in it and, to all, offerings are made. Although in the eyes of the Winnebago, the warbundle ritual is devoted entirely to the glorification of war, it is interesting and significant to see that, besides the great patrons of war, the Thunderbird spirits, Night-spirits, Sun, Morning Star, Evening Star, Disease-giver, Eagle, Black Hawk, specific peace deities like Earthmaker, Earth, Moon and Water are also included and, at times, even the hero-deities, Trickster, Turtle and Hare. From this we can infer that even in a ceremony devoted preeminently to the enhancement of the importance of the warrior and of warfare, deities symbolizing peace and the antithesis of violence and force, could not be entirely left out. Admittedly their inclusion had little effect upon the one and insistent prayer of the participants, war. Even Earthmaker is represented as bestowing success on the warpath, something completely new. Yet the mere fact that Earthmaker was included did act as a reminder that the pursuit of war was not everything.

The warbundle rituals represent the classic and most complete expression of the war spirit, the glorification of the viewpoint of the chief of the lower division of the tribe, namely, that one goes out to combat evil, militantly and with violence. In fact, you must pre-enact the enemy's attack, your method of coping with it, and the manner in which the enemy is to be defeated and overwhelmed. Even orgies, where all self-control is abandoned, are permitted, something that was always abhorrent to the normal Winnebago and greatly dreaded. The remark made to me by the Indian who translated the text, relative to such orgies is quite illuminating here. 'It is good to have one Indian work himself into a paroxysm of enthusiasm but it must never be more than one!' [786]

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
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individually bestowed upon members of the conservative group. 182 551

The list of old Indian traits still found among the Wisconsin Winnebago could be extended at great length to include items of diet, clothing, religion, amusements, healing, social organization, and many other aspects of the culture, but of course cannot all be discussed in this article. There is, nevertheless, one final and important feature, and that is that the Indian definitely considers himself a member of a distinct race, and that differences in white and Indian outlook are inherent in the blood rather than due to societal processes. 182 [829]

## Conclusion

From observation of current trends and from the reminiscences of informants, it seems safe to conclude that the pattern of change outlined above will be followed in coming years with an ever-increasing tendency of the Winnebago to take on more and more of the aspects of white culture. Naturally changes vary from community to community, but the overall picture of the forms of cultural change seems to hold true. 178

There is one important point which may affect the Winnebago in unforseen ways, and that is the present war. As far as influencing cultural change today, it is more of a nuisance than an acting force. True the Indians are notably patriotic in the purchase of war bonds, and Indian boys are in all of the fighting forces; but for the most part, except where tragedy strikes individual families, the Indian thinks of the war as apart from his affairs. Some older people still feel strongly about the irony of Indians fighting for a country they themselves already have lost. 178 722

There is, of course, the inconvenience of tire and gasoline rationing on a people who lead a semi-nomadic life, but in our group, as far as the writer could ascertain, this did not constitute a great problem.

Many Indians have begun working in defence factories since the outbreak of the war, but even then they manage to stay in fairly isolated groups, as witness the Badger Ordnance Plant,

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
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178 where the majority of Indian workers live in a separate camp,
722 and the camp itself is somewhat divided according to the different tribes located there.

However, the war will undoubtedly have its social affect when the Indian soliders return from an existence of strict discipline to the semi-nomadic life of the Winnebago group. [729] Even the veterans present at this summer's cherry camp showed a sense of dissatisfaction and a feeling of estrangement from the society.

178 In brief summary of the general picture of cultural change;
182 we have wide variations in attitude toward the cultural situation between the older and younger generations in a group representative of many Wisconsin Winnebago communities. In this group, cultural changed in intensity from complete cultural shift of Indian to white traits, to various stages of cultural transition and modification. Finally, there remain a considerable quantity of old Indian traits preserved intact.

From the observation of past and present cultural trends, it appears safe to predict the continuance of now recognized types of cultural change, but we must bear in mind possible future developments brought about by the present war.

500 As a final note it is important to remark that this study is far from complete, and is but a basis for future research.

The writer would like to thank her Winnebago friends, particularly Mr. John C. Decora of Wittenberg, Mr. Mitchell Redcloud of Merrillan, and Mr. Nat Long of Wausau, who made this article possible.

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721 When a man went on a warpath for the sake of glory he generally led a large party and all sorts of special arrangements were made, because then a war leader was necessary and volunteers were always needed. It is believed that the same holds true for larger war parties.

In discussing the essential requisite for a successful war party we have stated that a special blessing was necessary for this purpose. There is, however, one noteworthy exception to this rule, if we are [614 to accept the statements of members of the upper phratry—all mem- 615] bers of the Warrior clan may go on a warpath without fasting and without receiving a blessing. This statement was vigorously denied by members of the lower phratry.

727 When a war party returns, a very interesting ceremony takes place. At some distance from the village a victorious war party sends a messenger ahead to tell all those at home that the war party has been unsuccessful and that all have been killed, and that those at home should put on mourning. Secretly, however, the leader tells someone to look for a pole for the Victory dance, and shortly after all the preparations for mourning have been made the victorious warriors rush into the village. Before entering the village that warrior who [555] has counted first coup is offered a pipe, from which he always takes a few puffs. The same pipe is then handed to the one who counted coup second, and so on, until the fourth man is reached. Then the prizes (*unizeuv*) are given to the victors, who afterwards give them to their sisters. The scalps are not taken into the village, but are left outside, and warriors who have remained at home rush out to count coup upon them. Then the scalps are carried around the village four times.

555 The widely-known Plains custom of "counting coup" is also ● 726 practiced among the Winnebago. The individual who strikes the dead body of the enemy first obtains the first honor, the one striking it second the second honor, the one striking it third the third honor, and the one who actually killed the enemy obtaining the fourth and least important honor.

721 The following are descriptions given in the words of the informants:

[115] *Description of war customs and the manner of conducting a war party.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

When a man is ready to go on the warpath, he looks around for as many men as he wishes to take along and then gives a feast. At the feast he fixes the time at which the war party is to start. The man giving the feast (i. e., the leader of the war party) would get up and tell those present that he intended going on a warpath and give his reason; then he would say that whomever so desired could come along.

Many went along. Indeed, there was quite a crowd. The first stopping place (*higiyere*) was always near the outskirts of the village. There the leader appointed four men to go after food and wood for the fire. During their absence two camping places would be arranged, one on each side of the war leader. As soon as the four men returned with the food the attendants skinned and prepared the animals for

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eating. Then the war leader asked for food, and it was brought to him. Now the 721
female relatives of the men came to the camp, bringing with them moccasins for the journey. After that the chief asked some man to tell stories and some to take care of the fireplace, while two brave warriors were put in charge of the camp. Toward morning a number of warriors who had not been asked to join this particular war party might stay in *ihotra'gaiha*.

Before the war leader enters the *higipara* he places his war bundle crosswise in front of the entrance of the *higipara* and sings some songs. When he is finished, his attendants place the war bundle on his back, and only then does he really enter the *higipara*, followed by all the other members of the war party.[1]

When they approached the place where they expected to find the enemy, two distinguished warriors were appointed to reconnoiter, and they proceeded ahead of the war party until they saw the enemy. Then they returned to the camp and reported to the war leader. From that time on they would practice their various individual powers (*waruzi'p nagigiire'jâ*).[2] 726

When the two warriors sent out to reconnoiter return, the attendant offers them the pipe that he had prepared for the war leader. They smoke it and say, "Those whom we are after are entirely unaware of our presence." Then the members of the war party would thank them for their information. All would now start out against 726
the enemy. When near the enemy, they practice their powers again and paint 782
themselves with their war paints. To those spirits who have bestowed blessings upon the various members of the war party offerings are now made. Especially to the spirits who are in control of war powers are offerings made. To them they also pray for life and for war honors in the coming encounter. They even offer tobacco to those spirits from whom they have not received blessings, asking them for aid because of their careful observance of all the customs and precepts they were taught. Some offered tobacco to a medicine they possessed and asked the medicine to remember them in the coming encounter. Others boiled water (for a spirit) and asked him to assist them in obtaining a war honor, while others again offered tobacco to their war bundles and prayed that the powers contained therein might be strong and that they might kill some of the enemy and obtain war honors. All prayed that the enemy might not kill them and that they might finally return home safe. Those who had no supernatural powers to fall back upon would get frightened at such a time and they would say, "Alas! how will I fare! I should have fasted. I should have given feasts. I should have offered good medicines to the spirits and fasted until I was blessed, so that I, too, might now have some powerful medicine to use. Had I fasted and obtained a blessing from the spirits who are in control of war powers, had I given feasts, this all would have been a source of strength to me now and I would know positively whether or not I am going to be killed in the coming encounter."

When everything is in readiness the war leader rises and appoints four warriors to 726
give the war whoop. Then, as soon as the war whoop has been given, they would rush upon the enemy, imitating as they ran the sounds of the spirits who had blessed [558]
them. The first four to kill and count coup obtained the corresponding four war honors. Those who captured a man also obtained war honors. Beside these principal ones there were minor war honors. Those who obtained no honors at all would return home crying. After they had killed all those in the village of the enemy they would burn it to the ground and then start for their homes in the best of spirits.

When they were near their home they sent a messenger ahead to inform their rela- 727
tives to put on mourning, for all those who had started out on the warpath had been killed; that he who had in reality obtained the first war honor had been killed first,

[1] *Higipara* is the special arrangement of the camp used on individual warpaths.

[2] When a war party has located the enemy, they prepare for the attack and run about, practicing their individual magical powers. "The war-club running" (*waruzi'p nagigiire'jâ*) referred to in the practice of running about in preparation for the attack upon the enemy so that they may not get tired out too [789]
easily.

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727 etc. Then the war leader would secretly tell some one to select a stake (for the Victory Dance) and after a short time all the members of the war party would rush in and march around the entire village striking the scalps that they had tied to sticks. Then they would all go to the place where the stake had been put up and there they would distribute the war prizes to the sisters of the men who had won them and the women would walk around proudly with the prizes around their necks. Then, in the daytime 701 they would dance the Victory Dance and in the evening they would dance the 721 Hok'ixere Dance for four nights.

[115] *Description of a war party.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

[787] If a man wishes to go on the warpath he must fast and be blessed by the spirits in a specific manner. If a man is thus blessed, he gives a feast and announces his intention of leading a war party. The chief always has a representative at such a feast (a member of the Buffalo clan), and as soon as it is over this man goes to the former and reports [622] to him. If the chief thinks that the blessing is insufficient and might cause the death of many men he takes the war leader's pipe and lays it across his path and the war leader is then compelled to abandon his undertaking. This action on the part of the chief is sacred and must be accepted as final. The war leader dare not step across the pipe. Should the chief, however, not do this, then the war leader knew that there was no objection. Usually some members of every clan go along, but especially members of the Thunderbird, Warrior, and Bear clans.

The action of the war leader is controlled by many rules. He must be the one who has fasted and been blessed with all that is essential for conducting a war party. He must have his food provided for him by the spirits, know the exact location of the enemy, their numbers, and their sex.

● 726 After the war party has traveled for about four days, the men offer tobacco to the 701 leader and he tells them where he is going, the number of the enemy, etc. If, after that, any of the members of the war party do not approve of the undertaking then they place a pipe across his path and the war leader is compelled to return. If nothing is said, then all is well. The war leader always goes ahead of his party and his attendants behind him, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever the chief stops his attendants run to his side, take his war bundle and place it in front of him. Then the leader sits down, neither turning to the right nor to the left but looking straight ahead. The attendants get two poles and place them on each side of him, bend the ends over to form an arch, on each side of which are placed small oak sticks arranged in a row. Under this structure the war leader stays. Here he sleeps and is [614] fed by his attendants. No one is permitted to go ahead of this improvised structure. On each side of him two fireplaces are placed, two for the Upper clans and two for the Lower clans. If the war party is traveling westward the two fireplaces on the north side belong to the Lower clans and the two on the south side to the Upper clans. If a man is going on a warpath for the first time, he stays in the rear of the party and has a little fire of his own. He remains in the rear in this way until the battle begins. Then he joins the others.

A member of the Warrior clan is selected by the war leader to act as guard and he goes back and forth behind him encouraging the men and telling them not to steal away alone or go too far ahead of the party, since that always results in the loss of life. It is for this reason that it is not considered correct for a man to try and steal away and perhaps obtain a war honor in this selfish manner. Whenever the war leader stops he tells his companions what they must do in order to obtain food, all this information having been provided for in his blessing. If he tells some one to go to a certain place and kill a deer, he is certain to find a deer at the place specified. Whenever the war leader gets up and steps over his war bundle the attendants come and place his war [782] bundle on his back and he then proceeds on his march, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever he comes to a river he takes some of the tobacco which is

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always kept on hand and offers it to the spirit who controls this particular war party. 726 701
The others do the same. Then he would cross the river. Whenever he drank any water the others would also do so, and if he refrained so would the others. If at any [782]
time during the night when they are camping the war leader should wake up and sing some songs, be they grizzly bear, black root paint, or night songs, all those others who [533]
know similar songs would likewise begin to sing.

*Miscellaneous war customs.* There were, in former times, many 726
miscellaneous customs connected with warfare, most of which have now been forgotten. However, in myths and accounts of war parties a number of them are still mentioned.

When a war party surprised a lodge, all the occupants were killed or captured and the poles that were spliced together to form the arches were released so that they sprang back to either side and assumed a vertical position.

When a war party surprised a lodge in which there were children they generally killed them, cut off their heads, pried open their [127]
mouths so as to give them the appearance of laughing, and then placed the heads on their bodies again and arranged them against the door, so that when their father came home he would find them greeting him as usual. A brave warrior would never flinch at such a sight, but would prepare a meal as usual and speak to the children as if they were alive and offer them something to eat. Only then would he bury them. Immediately after they had been buried he would go on the warpath to revenge them.

Frequently the skulls of slain enemies are used as lodge weights and 727
their skin is taken off and used as mats, door-flaps, etc.

*War honors.* "It is the ideal of every Winnebago youth," says an 726
informant, "to kill an enemy in full sight of his friends and thus to [183]
gain for himself a headdress and an eagle feather." Most deeds considered valorous, according to Winnebago ideas, have associated with 554
them certain insignia which are always worn in public, giving evidence to all that so-and-so has performed such and such a valorous deed.

These insignia consist of the following:

*Headdress and feather.*—Denote that an individual has scalped and killed a man and torn off his scalp still bleeding. He is entitled to a red headdress and eagle feather. This also includes the man who has counted first coup (*sarintgwahi'na*).

*Red headdress.*—If he has killed the enemy and not scalped him (*teind'nie wak'e'rē.*)

*Eagle feather.*—Worn by one who has counted second coup.

*Hanging eagle feather.*—Worn by one who has counted third coup.

*Eagle feather stuck crosswise in hair.*—Worn by one who has counted fourth coup.

*Waggirusgite.*—Consists of a rope worn around the neck. It is worn by the leader of that warpath who has captured an enemy.

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*Ta'gkerd.*—Arm band worn by the person who did the actual capturing. If two enemies are captured he can wear an arm band on each arm.

*Red-dyed eagle feather.*—A red-dyed eagle feather worn by a war leader who has brought a captured enemy to camp and tortured him with embers.

*Ankle-band of skunk or polecat.*—An ankle-band of the skin of a skunk or polecat worn by one who has seen an enemy dead on the battle field and kicked him. If he does it for the second time, he may wear skunk skins on both legs below the knee. If the leader does it he is allowed to use an otter skin.

*Rope tied to belt.*—A rope of any desirable length tied to a belt may be worn by an individual who has succeeded in either capturing or killing an enemy's horse. At a dance no one would dare step on it. If an individual does not want to wear this, he may in its place wear a rope around his body.

*Legs painted white.*—An individual who has been on the warpath in winter may paint his legs white, from the knee down.

*Gun painted red.*—An individual who has killed an enemy with a gun may carry this gun at a dance and paint it red.

*Spear.*—If a person kills an enemy with a spear, he may carry this and tie to it any symbol (eagle feather, etc.) that he has gained.

*Koke'reda'.*—An individual who was a well-known warrior and had fought in front of his comrades, and one whom the enemy respected, was entitled to a long stick with eagle feathers. At a dance he had the privilege of dancing with the stick in front of his comrades.

*Hand on face.*—Any warrior making all four coups, who did not care to wear a dress, might paint a man's hand in black upon his face.

*Raven's skin around neck.*—If an individual captured more than one woman in war, he was entitled to wear a raven skin around his neck.

*Body painted yellow and wounded spot red.*—If a man had been wounded on the warpath, he had the right at a dance to paint his body yellow and the wounded spots red, with red streaks running from the wounds.

*Otter skin around knee and nangiska.*—A great warrior, one who has gained all the war honors, can, if he does not wish to wear his separate insignia, wear instead an otter skin attached below the knee, whose ends are not quite united. He may also wear a *nangiska* consisting of a stick, whittled and painted red, in his hair.

Valorous deeds are also perpetuated on the grave posts when the warriors who have accompanied the corpse to the grave count coup and draw a picture symbolizing their particular deed on the post. It should therefore be remembered that the markings on these posts do not refer at all to the valorous deeds of the deceased but to those of warriors who happened to count coup at the grave.

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867 787 If you thus travel in the road of the good people, it will be good and other people will not consider your life a source of amusement.[19]

If you can not obtain a blessing from the spirits try also to have some good plant take pity on you. This I am telling you and if you do not do it, you will suffer for it. All that I am saying will be of great benefit to you if you pay heed to me, for (you will need 867 medicines for) whatever you do in life, if you are not fortunate 789 enough to obtain blessings from the spirits. If you are ever on the ●726 warpath, you will need medicine in order to escape being hit or in order to prevent yourself from getting exhausted or from feeling famished. If you manage to be fortunate in all these things you may be certain that the medicines have caused it.

867 My son, help yourself as you go along life's path, for this earth has 577 many narrow passages and you can never tell when you will come to one. If, however, you have something with which to strengthen yourself you will come safely through the passages you meet.

Let every one think you a desirable person to know. Associate with people. If you act in this manner, every one will like you. (You will live) a contented life. Never do anything wrong to your children. Whatever your children ask you to do, do not hesitate to do it for them. If you act thus people will say you are good-natured. If you ever lose a friend by death and if you have riches cover[20] the expenses of the funeral of the deceased. Help the mourners to feed the people at the wake. If you act thus you will be acting well. Then you will be truly a helper of the people and they will know you as such. Indeed, all of them will know you. For the good you do, all will love you.

867 My son, do not become a gambler. You might, it is true, become 525 rich, but in spite of your wealth all your children will die. No gambler ever had children. It is an affair of the bad spirits entirely. Now if you do all that I have told you, you will unquestionably lead a happy and contented life.

867 Thus would the old people speak to a child whom they loved very much, that he might obtain the means of warding off what is not good. Anyone who acted contrary to these teachings would have himself to blame for the consequences.

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[602] [19] This dislike of being made fun of, or of being the laughing stock, plays an important rôle among the Winnebago. It is not at all comparable to the same feeling as found at the present day among civilized people of Western Europe, for it is infinitely deeper and closely associated with social ostracism. The despondency caused by being made fun of, would frequently drive a person away from home or lead him to embark on any undertaking that would bring death. Owing to the social consequences coming in its train, a man would consequently do most anything in his power to ward it off. Correlated with this negative aspect of the use of "fun poking," there is a positive one. There are certain relatives who have the privilege [602] of making fun of or playing practical jokes on you. This "joking relationship" exists among many tribes in America, but the relatives between whom it is permitted differ in every case. Among the Winnebago it exists between uncles and nieces and nephews and between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

[20] That is, buy the funeral apparel for the deceased.

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of specific clans in different villages. When on the warpath the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fireplaces, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, can not be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Tciwere. In the subsequent discussion of the clan we will touch on this subject again.

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fireplaces when on the warpath, each division having two fireplaces,

Fig. 34. Plan of village according to John Rave, of Bear clan. A, Lodge of chief of tribe (Thunderbird clan). B, Lodge of chief of Bear clan. C, Lodge of Warrior clan. D, Lodge of Buffalo clan.

whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. When going west, for instance, the two fireplaces for the *wangerregi* are on the south, and the two for the *manegi* on the north side. However, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the division exists.

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the chief feast (*hunk wohq*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name *hunk wohq* would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Hunk* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the *wangerregi* division.

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the old man went to a certain place he would find them. He went and found it was so. 787

TALES CONCERNING MIDJISTEGA

Recently the Potawatomi were going on the warpath and a number of other tribes were going along with them. As they were making their preparations they spent the evenings exhibiting the various powers they possessed and which they had obtained during their 'asta. 648 789 796 726 791

One day Robert Lincoln's father heard that a Winnebago was going to come and give a grizzly bear dance. Old Lincoln and a few other Potawatomi decided to go over and watch him. When they arrived at the lodge they were told that the name of the Winnebago was *Midjistega*. They were also told that this *Midjistega* was going to make some gunpowder (in a magical manner). When they heard this, the Potawatomi said that if he could make his teeth protrude from his mouth he might be able to make gunpowder, but that otherwise he could not.

In the middle of the lodge where this performance was to be held there was a wooden dish filled with charcoal near which *Midjistega* was sitting. He had beautiful hair and he had marks made by white clay in the corners of his eyes and mouth. When the singers in the lodge began to sing for him he ran around the lodge on all fours, four times. Then he took up the dish of charcoal and shook it. While doing this he made a noise like a grizzly bear. Then his teeth began to protrude. When he had gone around the lodge four times the charcoal turned into gunpowder. Then he took a handful of it and threw it into the fire and it exploded. The members of the different tribes present took some of it and put it in their war-bundles. It is only a short time ago that a Winnebago war-bundle that was supposed to have some of this gunpowder was stolen. It belonged to a man named Buchanan.

Old man Lincoln had never seen any Winnebago before this, but he could understand their language and he interpreted all that *Midjistega* said. The Potawatomi around him asked whether he had learned the language from some of his Winnebago relatives but he said he had not.

After showing that he could make gunpowder in this way, *Midjistega* made some plug tobacco. He cut the bark of some walnut trees into the shape of plug chewing tobacco and put it in a white deerskin on top of which was placed a piece of real plug tobacco. Then *Midjistega* said, "Now since I have made gunpowder I will also make some plug tobacco." Then he took the bundle and danced around the lodge with it and by the time he had danced around the lodge the third time the odor of tobacco became very

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648 strong. After he had danced around for the fourth time he opened
789 up his package and there was the tobacco. Then he spoke to the
796 people, "You people of different tribes, the one that is dancing
726 with me will obtain the first war-honor on the warpath that you
791 are planning now, for I am giving him that honor and that power."

After this he told them that he would make them some paint, as they seemed to be short of it then. He took a wooden dish and filled it full of ashes and covered it up with a white deerskin. Then he danced around the lodge. As he was dancing around for the third time, old Lincoln thought he noticed yellow-colored paint. The fourth time he danced around, the paint turned into a red color. When, finally, *Midjistega* took the cover off, there was red paint of a very fine quality. Then the members of the different tribes distributed it among one another.

After this he made some axes. He molded some clay into the shape of axes and put them into a deerskin. On top of this bundle he put a real metal ax. Then taking this bundle he started to dance around the lodge. As he went around the lodge the third time, old Lincoln thought he noticed something shining. After he had gone around the fourth time he took the cover off and there were some real axes. They were all new and bright.

Then he decided to make some hoes, and then some awls. All of these he made of clay. Then he made some needles of deer hair. Then, noticing some boys playing with some basswood bark, he asked them to give him some, and out of it he made ribbons of four different colors, blue, white, red, and black.

Then he said, "As I have made almost everything, I will now try and make some whisky. If I fail there will be no harm done anyhow." Old Lincoln told his people what *Midjistega* was saying. Then they placed a new pail full of water before him. He took a flute and began to dance around the lodge. After he had made the first circuit of the lodge he held the flute near the pail, almost sticking it into the water. The second time he approached the pail he stuck the flute into the water just a little bit. The third time he came near it he stuck the flute into the water and stirred it around. By that time Old Lincoln could smell the odor of whisky pretty strongly. Then *Midjistega* went around the lodge for the fourth time and finally stirred the water with his flute for a long time, and taking a drink from the pail said, "It is whisky." Then he passed it around and everyone present took a drink. Old Lincoln, however, did not touch it. Then his father told him to drink it, as it was holy and had been made by a spirit. Then Old Lincoln drank some, and, sure enough, it was whisky, although it was colorless.

726 After that, all the people went on a warpath. However, the per-
555 son to whom *Midjistega* had promised the first war honor only obtained

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726 the second one, Old Lincoln himself obtaining the first. The first 55
war honor was a quantity of wampum beads and the second a wam-
pum belt. Both the one who got the second prize and Old Lincoln [727]
brought back with them an enemy's head.

From that time on *Midjistega* stayed with the Winnebago and he 648
and Old Lincoln became great friends, living together, one of the [572]
reasons being that Old Lincoln could understand Winnebago.

One day they ran short of corn meal, so they decided to go and 648
trade some furs for corn meal. They had plenty of furs because they 437
spent most of their time hunting. When they got to the trader's 791
store *Midjistega* said, "Say, trader, the boys have been out of paint for some time and you ought to give them some." "No, *Midjistega*, I can't do that." Then *Midjistega* again said, "Well, the paint boxes are small and aren't of much value anyhow, and you ought to make them a present of some. However, I always knew you were very stingy." Then the trader said, "My business is to trade you my wares for your furs and I will not give you any paint for nothing." Then *Midjistega* said, "If I had some flour I could make some paint myself. However, I am short of flour, too." Then the trader said, "*Midjistega*, you can not do it, for even the whites do not know how to make paint (in that way), so how could you, who are only an Indian, do it?" Thus they spoke to and fro and finally the trader said, "*Midjistega*, I will bet you my store against your furs that if I [525] give you some flour you can not make paint out of it. If I win you are to give me your furs, and if you win I will give you my store." Then the bet was agreed upon.

Then a lodge was prepared and *Midjistega's* drum and flute were 648
carried into it. Then the trader had some flour carried over to the 789
lodge and it was poured into a dish. The trader, suspecting that 386
there might be some trick, stirred up the flour thoroughly. He sat- 791
isfied himself that there was nothing at the bottom of the dish. *Midjistega*, in the meantime, painted the corners of his mouth and eyes with ashes and then the singers sang for him. Then he handed the flute over to Old Lincoln and told him to blow it for him every now and then. The trader sat near the entrance of the lodge with his employees. Then *Midjistega* jumped up and ran all around the lodge on all fours. Then he took the dish with the flour and shaking it, began to dance around the lodge with it. After he had danced around for the third time it suddenly turned into a yellow color, and Old Lincoln noticed the change in the expression on the trader's face. As he went around for the fourth time it suddenly changed to a red color. When he got back to his starting place it was quite red and was an excellent quality of paint. Then he said, "Well, trader, [525] I have won your store," and the trader answered, "You have won my store. I did not think that an Indian could do it." Then *Mid-* 000

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arrange to have your victim die immediately, or, if you wish, to 734
have him suffer for a long time, by becoming paralyzed.

This same medicine is used in a similar way in times of scarcity of food. The people offer a shaman tobacco and he would do the following: He would take his medicine bundle and walk till he came to the footprints of a bear. Then he would follow the tracks of the bear till he came to his lair. Here he would open his medicine bag, dip the striped feather in the medicine, and sing for some time. When he has finished he makes certain sounds and stabs the bear's footprints. Wherever the bear happened to be at that time, he would not be able to walk, and the people would soon overtake him. For that reason this medicine is valued very highly.

This medicine is also used when one desires something belonging to another. All that is necessary to do in such a case is to use the songs accompanying the medicine. Then all the things one has coveted would immediately be brought. For this reason they thought a good deal of this medicine.

If ever anyone uses it in gambling, he will win. [525]

If again he casts his thoughts upon women, then the power of this medicine would go in their direction, and he will lose while gambling. All the women will, however, like him. He can marry whomsoever he wishes. The same thing will occur when a woman uses this medicine. If she casts her thoughts upon men, she will become foolishly enamored of them. For that reason the old people used to forbid women to use it.

This medicine bundle is also used on the warpath. If a man uses 778
it upon himself and rushes upon the enemy, all those who are in 726
front of him will suddenly find themselves unable to move. A 789
person who goes on a warpath, after he has carefully applied the medicine to himself, is invulnerable. It is impossible to kill him, for no bullets can penetrate his body.

This medicine was likewise used in hunting for bear, and deer 778
could easily be killed with it. Even those who are not accustomed 224
to hunting could kill game easily if they used it.

Many of the medicines mentioned above were obtained from the 756
man who was blessed with the stench-earth medicine. Everyone believed that the cures effected by him with this medicine were real. They believed that this medicine could cure them, and, indeed, it did cure them. It was this man, too, who originated the stench-earth medicine feast. It is a very sacred feast, considered more 756
sacred than any other feast among the Winnebago. When the 796
feast is given, an entire deer is boiled and cut into pieces much larger than any one person could eat. Nevertheless the host orders those whom he has invited to leave nothing upon the plate. Should [264]
any guest leave anything upon his plate, the host would give him a

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787 self. Blessings are not obtained except by making the proper offerings to the spirits and by putting yourself, time and again, in the proper mental condition . . . If you do not obtain a spirit to strengthen you, you will amount to nothing in the estimation of your fellowmen, and they will show you little respect . . . My son, as you travel along life's path, you will find many narrow passages (i. e., crises), and you can never tell when you will come to them. Try to anticipate them, so that you will be endowed with sufficient strength (by obtaining powers from the spirits) to pass safely through these narrow passages.

771 Among the Winnebago religion is definitely connected with the preservation of life values. It is not a phenomenon distinct from mundane life, but one of the most important means of maintaining social ideals. What these are can be gleaned from practically every prayer; they are success, happiness, and long life. The vast majority of investigators are often surprised at the intense religious life which, among the North American Indians, exists side by side with an intense realism and with a clear understanding and appreciation of the materialistic basis of life. The explanation, to judge from the Winnebago data, is simple enough. The Indian does not interpret life in terms of religion, but religion in terms of life. In other words, he exalts the world around him and the multifarious desires and necessities of the day, so that they appear to him bathed in a religious thrill. At least that is what the devoutly religious man does and most of the religious data presented in this volume emanates from him. Still we are convinced that for the vast majority of Winnebago, in other words, for the intermittently religious, there are many moments in life and many actions which are seen through this pleasurable religious thrill.

224 Every Winnebago will admit that to perform the *wana"ice're* cere-
796 mony (p. 111) and, on the following day, to agree to start at a certain hour, would not necessarily result in killing a bear. The bear tracks are to be followed and a person is to persevere until the bear is captured, in spite of the fact that the *wana"ice're* ceremony is supposed to insure the capture of the animal.

● 726 Or again let us take the following example. No man can hope to
787 go on a warpath and kill an enemy unless he is authorized to do so by a definite blessing received during fasting. If we were to accept this statement as such, we might be led to believe that the Winnebago were willing to risk their young men on so dangerous an undertaking as a warpath, on the sole strength of a fasting experience. It does not stand to reason that they would, and a careful inquiry into the subject has shown that they never did. What actually happened was that the prospective war leader translated into religious terms the exact conditions and requirements of every particular war party. That is why the chief of the tribe and the shamans insisted that only such a person who had been blessed with the most specific kind of knowledge, such as the number of men he must take

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along, the amount of food required, the number of moccasins necessary, the number and strength of the enemy, where he was to meet them, etc.—that only such a man might start on a warpath. If an individual failed to give the proper assurances and guarantees to the chief, his expedition was not countenanced. If, nevertheless, he went, any mishap was directly chargeable to him. 726 787

In other words, we are dealing here with a more or less fixed way of describing the mundane happenings of life. The terminology is religious, but does that mean that there is always a religious feeling attached to it? That is the crucial question to determine. We believe that the religious element in such a happening depends upon the religious susceptibility of the individual concerned. It is quite possible that a devoutly religious man may think of the religious aspect of a rite or action more than one who is but indifferently religious, but he will never for one moment forget that the questions involved here are of a purely human nature. The most that can be said of the religious element of the two particular cases mentioned above is that they will spur the person on. Perhaps it is the realization that such is the case that often prompts the more matter-of-fact individuals to lay such stress on fasting preparatory to starting on a warpath. There, indeed, seems to have been a matter-of-fact movement in the tribe, for the members of the Warrior clan claimed that they could dispense with the fasting, and that mere membership in that particular clan gave them the right to go on a warpath whenever they wished to. This we know was vigorously denied by other individuals. 771 [614 787]

The Winnebago has no disinterested, unselfish love for the spirit or deity to whom he prays, except in so far as every man is likely to develop such an attitude at some crisis or when his mind is fixed intently on the attainment of some personal advantage. Then, naturally enough, the spirits who are to bestow these blessings are addressed in the most laudatory terms. To show how intimately these spirits are bound up with the worldly affairs of man and how little they mean to him apart from this we have but to point out that, for the vast majority of Winnebago, the spirits' freedom of action is conceived of as definitely restricted. There seems to be a purely mechanical relation of cause and effect between the offerings of men and their acceptance by the spirits. The latter are not free to reject them except in theory. Was it not ordained by Earthmaker, when the earth was created, that in return for tobacco the spirits were to bestow blessings on man? So every Winnebago believes. The religious leaders insisted that only when the proper offerings were made in the proper way would the spirits bestow their blessings. But after all is said and done, the chances that the proper conditions would not be fulfilled were negligible. And we doubt whether this 776 782 771

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the newer deities. He is both a great deity and a guardian spirit. 776
That he developed out of the indefinite "folklore-spirits" is abundantly attested by the rôle he plays in the myths.

Morning Star is preeminently associated with war.

*Disease-giver.* This is but an approximate translation of his name in Winnebago, which is *hoc-re'ra wakira*. He is a very peculiar figure, being described as an anthropomorphic figure, dealing out death from one side of his body and life from the other. He is preeminently a guardian spirit who only appears to the bravest and holiest fasters. His specific blessings seem to be connected with war [726 755] and the curing of disease.

He appears in none of the myths and in but few of the ceremonies. He plays a very important rôle in the war-bundle feasts.

It is rather difficult to explain his origin. He seems hardly to be a deity of the people and can best be understood, it seems, if we regard him as largely a construction of the shaman. Certain of his characteristics may have been borrowed from some neighboring tribe.

*Thunderbird.* Thunderbird is another of the older folkloristic conceptions that has been remodeled and reinterpreted by the shamans. He might be said to be the most popular of Winnebago deities. He is found everywhere—in the oldest myths, the clan origin myths, and the newest myths; he is a clan ancestor, a popular guardian spirit, and a popular deity. In contradistinction to practically all of the other deities, he is regarded as easily approachable by man.

To the popular mind he is distinctly theromorphic in form, causing lightning by the flashes of his eyes and thunder by the flapping of his wings. In some of the versions of the clan origin myth we still find this conception. In the hands of the shamans he became an anthropomorphic deity, characterized by baldness and the wearing [756] of bay wreaths. Something of the older conception still clings to him, however, for he frequently acts as a bird and the flashing of his eyes still causes lightning. His baldness itself is an archaic feature, because the Thunderbird originally was supposed to be a kind of eagle.

Many representations of the Thunderbird can be found on various articles and in the effigy mounds.

He blesses men with practically everything, but particularly with [726] victory on the warpath.

*Water-spirit.*—The meaning of the Winnebago word for this deity, *wak'teeri*, is unknown. The translation "Water-spirit" does not claim to have anything to do with the real meaning of the word, but it was preferred by the Winnebago because this deity is always pictured as a water monster.

He is one of the older folkloristic conceptions and has not been [756] very greatly reinterpreted by the shamans. The Thunderbird is sup-

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When I was ready to go down among the human beings (i. e., when I became reincarnated) I was given the power to overcome my enemies in battle. And this I have actually done. All the Thunderbirds have small war-clubs. I also had one when I came. Whenever I went on the warpath I made myself a war-club and used that only in battle. I believe that I was invulnerable. Whenever I got tired of living among human beings I knew I could return to the Thunderbirds. I thought I knew all this and that I had these powers. For that reason when I ate peyote I still held on to these beliefs for a long time, thinking that when I returned to the Thunderbirds inasmuch as they are above it would be the same as going to everlasting life, as the Peyote people said. Finally, one night, at a peyote meeting, in thinking over these things, I resolved to give them up. I could, nevertheless, not bring myself to do it. Then the peyote began to strangle me;[*] at least I thought so. 159 776 787 726 [795]

I also had the power of causing or stopping rain. All that I had to do was to offer tobacco to the Thunderbirds and make my request. [789 782]

HOW A BEAR BLESSED A MAN[*]

Once a band of Winnebagoes used to give a feast to the bears. A bear had blessed one of their number with life and victory on the warpath. 825 776 787

It was a spirit-bear that had blessed him. The man was fasting and the spirit blessed him and said, "Human, I bless you. In war you will be able to do as you wish (i. e., you will be able to kill an enemy whenever you desire). The first time you go on the warpath you will come back with the fourth war honor; the second time you go on a warpath you will return with the third war honor; the third time you will return with the second war honor; and the fourth time you will return with the first war honor and receive the first prize, which you are to give to your sister." This is what the man "dreamed." He believed it and was happy. Then the spirit-bear said again, "Human, I said that I blessed you and I really mean it. Earthmaker created me and gave me control of many things. Human, I bless you. As many years as Earthmaker bestowed upon you, that number I also bless you with. You will reach the limit of the years that were granted you. With my body I also bless you. Whenever you are hungry and wish to kill a bear, pour a pipeful of tobacco for me. If then you go out hunting, you will be successful. Don't abuse the bears. I am the chief of the bears. I bless you. Never before have I blessed a human being, as long as I have lived here. As long as your descendants live on this earth, so long will this [224 782]

[*] According to the Peyote people, if a member does not wish to do or tell something that he ought to, the peyote begins to strangle him and he finds no relief until he tells what is on his mind. [795]

[*] This is really the "origin myth" of a bear feast.

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787 have made yourself suffer very much" and my heart has been rent
159 with pity for you. I bless you, therefore, with life, and this you
776 may transmit to your descendants.' All this, father, the spirit said to me." "My daughter, it is not good. These spirits are trying to deceive you. Do not accept it. They will never bestow upon you what they have promised." "All right, father, but let me at least give them the offerings of deerskin, red feathers, and tobacco. I will not accept these blessings, for you forbid it."

Then after four days she took her offerings to the place where she was to meet the spirit and told him that her father had forbidden her to accept the blessing. "'You are not a good spirit,' he said." "He is right, for one side of my body is not good but the other is," answered the spirit. "That is the way in which Earthmaker created me." Thus the wak'ai'teu[a] spoke.[b] Then the woman looked toward the lake and she saw a tree standing in the water. The spirit climbed upon this tree and wrapped himself around it. Then he took a tooth and shot the tree and knocked it down.[c] "This is what you would have been able to do," said the spirit. "The people would have respected you very much. You would have been able to cure weak or nervous people. But you did not listen to what I told you. You refused it."

### FASTING EXPERIENCE

(INFORMANT, CLAN UNKNOWN)

A man fasted and was finally blessed. When he was to be blessed a spirit came after him. He came from the south. "Human," he said, "I was told to come after you." Then the man looked at him and he saw that it was a man speaking to him. So he went along with him. He did not go far before he came to a village and in the middle of this village he saw a long lodge. There he was taken and there he was blessed. The one that was in charge of the village blessed him first.

"I bless you with victory in wars. Whenever you go on the war-path and when you are about to make the rush, do not forget me.
● [726 If you pour some tobacco for me and then fight, the enemy will not
782] be able to kill you. I am in charge of wars."

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[a] When people are blessed by the Water-spirits they make medicines from the bones of the spirits. They are also supposed to make what the Winnebagoes call "implements." What is actually meant by this term it is very difficult to state precisely. But it seems that they meant sharpened bones, etc., used in connection with the administration of magical medicine in painting the body, and in connection with shamanistic practices of all sorts. It is not common for other spirits beside the Water-spirits to bless an individual with the use of "his bones," but this is occasionally met with. In the trickster cycle the trickster, in one of his escapades, is squeezed into the skull of an elk, and he persuades the people that he is an elk-spirit and blesses them and permits them to use his bones.

[b] This characterization would seem to identify the wak'ai'teu with the dream-giver, although it is possible that a number of Winnebago deities had such characteristics.

[c] This is a symbolistic representation of the powers she was given.

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So he spoke to him. "Thus will your life be. Look at yourself." 787
So he looked at himself and his hair was very white. As one who 159
had attained a full life he saw himself. "All that are within this 776
lodge bless you," the spirit continued. "You have come to the Buffalo village." This he was told, so he looked at the lodge full of people. And those whom he had seen up to that time as human beings now were buffaloes.

"Human, they bless you is why they went after you. Human, if anyone is weighted with life and a reasonable amount of tobacco is given, such a one would be able to do the following":

A dead man was placed in the middle of the lodge, and all of 787
those in the lodge tried their power, but none succeeded in restoring 159
him to life. At last the spirits let the man try it. So he tried. 776
When he arose, all those in the lodge began to make sounds and 756
when he began to exert his powers he sang buffalo songs. When he was through with these songs, he walked toward the dead man, in the middle of the lodge. He blew on him once, then again and again. Now the man began to open his eyes. Then he blew on him for the fourth time and he caused him to rise.

"Human, you have overcome all of us," said the buffalo chief. "Human, thus shall you ever do to people. If anyone is sick and the proper offerings are made to you, send some tobacco to our council lodge and I will remember you. You must send all the [782] tobacco that is offered to you. I will remember it. This council lodge is given to you and to your posterity as long as it lasts. As long as the earth lasts that long your posterity will have occasions on which to pour tobacco. Whatever blessing they ask, we will bestow upon them while we smoke their tobacco. As many as are the kettles that they offer to us, we will never accept one without giving them a blessing. We are in control of wars: the Earthmaker has given us control of them, and if you ask for it we will give it to you. And if you ask for life we will bestow that blessing upon you and accept your offerings."

They also blessed him with plants for medicine. This is the way they did it. Each of the spirits caused him to see a plant and to [278] know the purposes to which it could be put. They told him to make offerings to the plants whenever he gave a feast, so that the plants [782] would become more powerful. They also blessed him with a drum. "This you must beat when you give a feast and it will tell us your [534] wants. We will understand the drum. We will make your drum holy for you, and you must treat it as such," they told him. "You must keep it holy. Whenever you are on the warpath you must take it with you and it will help you. Human, your enemies you will [726] overcome; your weapons only will be sharp if your posterity will never give up this ceremony." So they spoke to him. "Whenever 000

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159 So they spoke to him, "Whenever
787 you give this ceremony, no matter what blessing you ask, we will
776 bestow it upon you, when you offer tobacco. A flute you must also
[534 keep holy. You must make it yourself, so that it remains sacred."
[778] They also told him to make a war bundle. The Buffalo chief told
825] him this. So he made one out of a buffalo head and a buffalo tail. These he made sacred so that people might offer tobacco to them. This was done long ago and yet they still do it.

Then they told him that four differently colored buffaloes would bless him—a white one, a black one, a red one, and a yellow one.

After a while he was blessed the second time. This time the spirits came after him from above and took him to the home of a spirit buffalo. This is the one that blessed him.

"Earthmaker has placed me here," said the spirit, "and he has
[726 given me control of many things. Grandson, I bless you. I am in
782] control of war power, and if you ever go on the warpath don't forget me. If you pour a pipeful of tobacco for me before you go into battle, the enemy will only be able to shoot your shadow." Thus he spoke to him. "I will take your body, and in that way it will only be your shadow that the enemy will try to shoot with all their strength. You will be without a body, and how then can they hit you, being without a body?" This is what the spirit told him. So, therefore, whenever he went on the warpath it was impossible to kill him. For the spirit had said, "I am also in control of life and I will give you your life back, that you may control it. The spirits
[796 have given you a tobacco-pouring feast and whenever you give it,
782] remember that I wish to smoke also. When you pour tobacco for me I will grant you whatever you ask. If you ask for war, or if you ask for life, I will accept your tobacco. As long as this earth lasts I will smoke your tobacco and accept the kettle of food that you place on the fire for me."

Thus he spoke to him. The man, however, still kept on fasting, and finally the spirits came for him again. There in the middle of the earth lived a buffalo-ghost. There he went and the buffalo-ghost said to him: "I also bless you. You were given counsel and I who am a buffalo also counsel you. I am in control of many things. Earthmaker placed me here to live and he put me in control of many things. Human, look at me," he said. The man looked at him. Then he saw that his body was covered with flattened bullets. "Thus you will be," said the ghost to him. "It will be impossible to kill you, and you will attain to old age, and when you get tired of living you may do as you please. I give you the privilege of controlling yourself." Then he gave him a song and he caused him to see a war prize, a wampum. After a while he spoke to him as follows:

"I also will always smoke at your feast, and if a kettle is ever put on the fire for me, I will be thankful to you. Whatever the people

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ask of me I will always take it into consideration. If they ask for war or if they ask for life, remember that I have been given control of these things." Thus spoke the buffalo-ghost. There he received all the things with which he was blessed. 159 787 776

In the course of his life he made use of all his blessings. His first victory occurred when he went on the warpath for the first time. He had joined a war party and a fight occurred toward the evening of the same day. As he was walking along he suddenly saw a gun directed against him at close range. He jumped right and left and in that way escaped being shot. Then the enemy tried to capture the one who had been blessed by the buffalo, holding him tightly by the arm. But he struck the enemy twice against an object and tore his stomach open. Then he walked away. As he was going he thought to himself, "Why did I not kill him outright?" So he went back with the intention of doing this, but as he approached the man the latter directed a gun against him. Thinking, however, that it was not loaded, he did not dodge, and he was shot. His breast was filled with shot and he was killed. But he did not remain dead long. He soon came to consciousness and sat up, uttering sounds like a buffalo. 159 787 776 726

Then he remembered that a buffalo ghost had blessed him. He had indeed said to him, "When you are about to fight do not forget me." He remembered this, so he exerted his power. All the blood that was in his stomach he vomited forth and felt better. Just then one of his relatives came along and asked him, "How have you been getting along?" and he answered, "I have killed one. There lies his body. Take his scalp for me." "All right," said his relative, and did what he had been told, and brought it to him, saying, "Here it is." A horse was there also, and this the relative likewise led away and started back to (the camp). When he met the war leader, the latter asked him, "How have you been making out?" He answered, "I give you these trophies," and handed the leader the scalp and the horse. "Ah, it is good," he said, and put a wampum belt on him. Then the war leader sang a song and started to run, and the buffalo-blessed one reminded himself of his blessing and went back also. He was all shot to pieces. But he did not die, for he had been blessed with power, so how could he die? The buffalo ghost he had seen with flattened bullets in his belt had fulfilled his promise, and the wampum belt that he had seen in his fasting had now become true. [727]

He went to many wars after this, but he was never harmed. He doctored many people and caused them to have more life. After a while he made a war bundle consisting of a flute that he had constructed himself, a buffalo tail, and a buffalo head. Then he made offerings to them. These many things he made sacred. Since then buffalo feasts have been given. [756] [778]

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# CHAPTER XIII

## RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES BASED ON BLESSINGS FROM SPIRITS

### Society of Those Who Have Received Blessings From the Night Spirits

Informant, member of Thunderbird clan: Once a man went hunting so that he might be able to get the game with which to give a feast. All of those who were to participate in the feast went along with him. After they had killed some deer they built a lodge. Then all the other feast-givers came into the lodge, bringing something toward the feast, as well as the tobacco which they were to offer. Some brought other things, even dogs, as their contribution to the feast. The dogs would be killed, singed, then boiled, and prepared in the same way as the deer. The meat would then be mixed with dry corn. The attendants, who were generally the nephews of the feast-givers, would look after the boiling of the food. Every time they gave a feast they selected these nephews to do the cooking and the general work connected with this ceremony. 796 539 575 [252] 575 796 604 539

The nephew who acts as attendant accompanies a feast-giver on the warpath, where likewise he has to endure a great deal. Should his uncle be killed, it is his duty to be killed likewise and not to return home. [726]

He acted in this way because of his love for his uncle. The attendants do all the work whenever their uncles give a feast. They also arrange for the place where the feast is to be held; make the four invitation sticks; blacken them with charcoal and decorate them at the ends with fine and fluffy white eagle feathers. Then they prepare a bundle of tobacco containing about a pipeful. After these preparations have been made one of the nephews goes around the village and presents the invitation sticks to every individual who had been blessed by the Night Spirits. These are called the night-blessed children. The night-blessed children thanked the messengers and assured them that they now felt they were obtaining life. Then those to whom the invitation stick had been presented go around asking their relatives to accompany them to the feast. There the guest and his relatives would meet at the appointed time. All those who received invitation sticks do the same. [203]

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778 B. was not the eldest son, but, as mentioned before, the war bundle was always given to that son who manifested the greatest interest in it. When B. and his brothers were quite young their father took them aside one day and told them the stories connected with the war bundle and told them, in addition, that the one manifesting the [869] greatest interest would receive it. B. immediately started getting material for a feast, and this he would give to his father, who would then give a feast. This was repeated over and over again until B.'s father felt that B. knew enough about the ceremony to conduct it himself, after which he allowed him to take entire charge of it.

The war bundle contained the following objects:

The body of an eagle (teaxce'p).
The body of a hawk (k'eredjụ'sep).
The body of an unidentified bird (waninḳ'hīwjteak'I'zọḳ'e).
The body of a pigeon hawk (k'Irịk'I'rịsge).
A deer-tail headdress (teasinte wak'e're).
Eagle feathers (teaxce'p mạcū').
Medicines (wase').
Flutes (hijū'jụk).
War club (namạ'tee).

[825] The birds' bodies were supposed to give the possessor, in times of war, the characteristics of these animals. The flutes were associated with different spirits and used to accompany certain songs during the ceremony proper. When blown during a fight, they were sup- [789] posed to paralyze the running powers of the enemy and thus make ●726 him an easy prey. The deer-tail headdress, the eagle feathers, and the war club were all war paraphernalia and were always worn when on the warpath.

X 796 When the custodian of a war bundle decides to give a feast he has his nephews go out and kill as many deer as they can, for the larger the number of deer obtained the larger will be the number of spirits to whom they can make offerings. As a rule ten to eleven deer are killed, so that all the clans, or at least all that are still in existence, can be invited.

[202] After the deer have been killed active preparations are begun; the invitation sticks (nạnō'ropa) are sent out, and the wood for the ceremonial lodge is gathered; and, lastly, old women who have [886] passed their climacteric are set to work on the buckskins and ordered to make them as white as possible. In the preparation of the lodge only the nephews, nieces, and wives of the participating men take part.

The night before the ceremony proper, the Sweat-Lodge ritual takes place.

When the buckskins have been thoroughly bleached they are brought into the lodge and given to the host, who proceeds to mark them in the following manner:

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"Host and members of his clan who are sitting here, I greet you. 539x
You seated here who have impersonated the spirits, I send forth my 796x
greetings to you."

Then the second person for whom they had put on a kettle spoke.

*Speech of ninth guest.*—"Host and members of his clan who are seated here, I greet you. To you, seated here, impersonating the spirits, I send my greetings. It is good. The host has tried to make us live. All those present here have been pleading to the spirits who are in control of life and war powers. If any Indians are sick and the [755] keepers of the war bundle give this feast then their illness will be overcome; they will recover from their disease, it is said. My father said that the people used to add more fuel to the fireplace of our chiefs [782] when they do this. My grandfather told me that even if I (insignificant as I am) who speak were to make an offering of food to the spirits it would be good. I knew that he always spoke the truth, yet I knew that such as I could not do anything. (Thus grandfather spoke to me), 'Some day when you are in the presence of war and the rush is about to be made, you will not be frightened for you can say to the spirits, "Grandfathers, I always gave you something to smoke, boiled food for you, and gave you the material for moccasins. Now [726] I wish to go to the fight that is to take place." If you speak to them thus, though you do not hear them answering you, (you will recognize their answer in the fact) that without any effort you will be victorious.' They told the truth to one another, for they were certain of these things. That is why they encouraged one another. This is what the host and the members of his band are doing. It is good. A laudable thing they have done. They have boiled food for our [782] grandmother, the Earth. They have offered her tobacco and buckskins and have as a reward received war powers. It is good. Our grandmother whom they made me impersonate, I greet. Host and all those who are seated within this lodge, I send forth my greetings to you."

Then the third one whom they called on for a kettle rose to thank them and said:

*Speech of tenth guest.*—"Host and members of his clan who are seated here, I send my greetings toward you. It is good. The host has given the tobacco offerings to the various spirits at the proper time. They (host and clan members) have accomplished very much. Once long ago, four generations back, a man like a spirit in power had told them what to do and since then they have been repeating it. It is good. Their ancestors long, long ago first gave (this feast) and yet even to-day we have seen it. They (host and his relatives) listened attentively to what they said and they have repeated it exactly. We, ourselves, could not accomplish anything if we gave a feast. When in former times they had feasts in honor of our grandfathers,

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ADDENDA

After they have finished the fast-eating contest and eaten the heads and before the men are picked out[124] then the host greets all. 539 x 796 x

*Speech of host.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I send forth my greetings to you. Our grandfathers used to say that if one would take a chance at becoming a ghost[125] then the spirits would consider it especially good. There was one man among our grandfathers who was called He-who-shouts-in-the-distance and he put himself in the position of one who desires death. This warrior, He-who-shouts-in-the-distance, was a great man, an unequaled person. Now in summer it is forbidden to go on a warpath, for no good could come of it. That is why they forbade it. Yet He-who-shouts-in-the-distance went on the warpath four times during the summer, they said. Thus he became one who risked his life. In this way he proved that he was a great man. Finally he became holy and was permitted to carry the war bundle.[126] Thus does one do to be a person who takes risks with his soul.[127] Thus we will do at the very first feast we give. May (the spirits) also have pity upon us [as recompense for] the kettle of which they will partake. That is what we ask. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you."

[124] I. e., before the men to whom kettles had been assigned were called upon to speak.
[125] I. e., risk one's life in a brave way.
[126] It is one of the greatest privileges a warrior can obtain to carry the war bundle when on the warpath.
[127] I have purposely translated this phrase, "wanaĕ' rak hiwanąk' ąk," in three different ways to give all the different shades of meaning it possesses.

[534 726]

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 796x 539x

you can do so, and the women likewise can join, because we have 782
rolled up our bundle. To the dog that we have here, an offering of
tobacco can be made." Thus speaking, he sings. After he has [562]
finished the song, someone specially called upon gives the war
whoop, in which the rest join. In this manner they sing four times,
and the ceremony ends. They have a dog around whose neck they [231]
tie a red rag, together with a bundle of tobacco, and to each of
whose limbs they also tie a bundle of tobacco. This dead dog is to
be placed wherever the bones that remain of the feast are buried,
generally under some tree. It is supposed that the dog will go
directly to the Disease-giver together with the tobacco and there
be taken over by him.

*Notes on the Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant, mem-
ber of the clan: Place of honor at the feast is given to the bravest [554]
man present. Scalps, etc., are always brought to those keeping
the war bundle.

Contents of bundle: Black hawk (main thing), two wolf tails, 778
buffalo tail, snake, weasel, three flutes—one red, one black, and one 726 ●
blue. 789

Black hawk used in time of war. If I were leading the war party
I would carry it and it would be able to fly. It had a small bundle
of medicine tied around the neck, on each wing and each leg. A red
flute always went with it.

The two wolf tails could be taken on any warpath. It gives an
individual the power of running. The medicine tied to it is to be
smeared over the body in order to prevent fatigue. It is also used [224]
in hunting.

Buffalo tail gives fleetness and indicates that the man received
strength from the buffalo spirit.

Weasel and snake could be put around the neck and worn over
the shoulders in times of war. Gives the power of these respective [825]
animals in wiggling.

Flutes, blue in connection with the buffalo, red in connection [534]
with the black hawk, and black in connection with the night spirits

## The War-bundle Feast of the Bear Clan

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The people were about to go 796x
on a hunt, it is said. They returned. Four deer had been killed. 539x
And again they went, and this time three deer were killed. But it was
not sufficient, so they went out again, and when they returned it was
found that they had killed only three deer. "Well," they said, "this [262]
will be all right. We have ten deer. Perhaps they will last as food
until dawn."

They told the attendants to get ready the lodge and to build the
fireplaces. They told them also to have the wood and the buck-

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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of these two types of arrangements quite difficult. There can be no question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital regulations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in definite villages. When on the warpath, the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fire-places, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe, can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, cannot be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Tciwere. In the subsequent discussion of the clan, we will touch on this subject again. 614 616 621

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fire-places when on the warpath, each division having two fire-places, whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. If they were going west, for instance, the two fire-places for the *waŋgeregi* would be on the south and the two for the *mąŋegi* would be on the north side. On the other hand, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the divisions exists. 726 616

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the Chief feast (*huŋk'wohą*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name (*huŋk'wohą*) would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Huŋk'* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the *waŋgeregi* division. 614 616 574

As the basis of organization in a game the twofold division finds expression in ceremonial lacrosse. There the *waŋgeregi* are always pitted against the *mąŋegi*. A well-known myth is associated with this arrangement, according to which the animal ancestors of the *waŋgeregi* and *mąŋegi* decided their respective rank by playing a game where they were organized on this basis. The *waŋgeregi* won, and it is for this reason that the chiefs of the tribe have been selected from that division. The division of the 616 526 773 [622] 000

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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171 the tribal reverence is centred. Historically, we believe that
614 these were originally possessions of an individual clan, which
778 subsequently became identified with the entire tribe. Among the Winnebago nothing in the remotest manner comparable to these clan possessions exists, and the few specific objects possessed by the clan have never become of real tribal significance.

614 The specific material possessions of the clan consist of
778 certain war-bundles, one in each clan; and two crooks in the possession of the Bear clan. Of more general possession are the
[616] war clubs, of which there are two types, one found among the *wanjgeregi*, the other among the *mąnegi* divisions. In connexion
[796] with the clan-bundles there are certain ceremonials known as clan-bundle or war-bundle feasts, popularly as winter feasts.
[171] The distribution of the clan-bundle differentiates these from the specific possessions of the Omaha clans, and suggests a hint as to their historical associations. To all intents and purposes, as their individual history shows, these bundles are merely gifts from one spirit, the thunderbird, and a secondarily associated night-spirit (*hąhe*). The winter feast might thus be interpreted
[575] as a society of those who have obtained blessings from the thunderbird. The bundle remains in the possession of a certain family, however, and cannot pass out of the clan. The war-bundle may, therefore, be said to be primarily the personal possession of a family which has become associated with all the members of the clan to such an extent that it is almost regarded as a clan possession.

In the possession of the two crooks by the Bear clan we have
[726] an example of specific clan property. The crooks are in the nature of emblems and are used on the warpath to indicate the extreme line of advance. They are thus of tribal significance. When not in use, they are kept in the lodge of the Bear clan.

### *Immaterial Possessions of the Clan.*

Although there are no specific material possessions, each clan possesses a type of what might be called "immaterial" possessions. These all have the added connotation of sacredness. For the bird clans, this is the possession of fire; for the

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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I permit him to forget his bargain when the squash was served later in the day. 574 114

Big Wave did not participate in the feast, nor did he smoke ceremoniously or otherwise during the entire performance. 796 During the feast he sang several songs without drum. 574 These were his war-bundle songs, obtained in a dream by the original owner of the bundle and descending to his successors.

The bones from the feast were gathered up by the waiters and placed in a single vessel. Tobacco was added to the bones, and the vessel taken out to a place where no people were in view and where no dogs could [742] molest the contents. This was a sacrifice to Disease Giver.

After the meat had been entirely consumed, the leader announced 796 that they would now have night spirit dancing. An old bow and four arrows were brought out and planted in the floor to stand erect in a row just west of the fireplace, where the war-bundle had formerly been displayed. Big Wave appointed one to lead the dance. The dancers aligned themselves in single file on the south side of the lodge, facing west, and were led by the dance leader carrying the bow and arrows and blowing a reed whistle, followed by the other dancers. The singers began singing and the dancers circled several times about the lodge counter-clockwise. With short pauses between, several songs and dances were so executed. When the set of songs was finished, the bowl of [574] tobacco dedicated to the use of the guests was then given by one of the waiters to the most honored guest. The head waiter lifted the stove shovel containing the remains of the burned cedar leaves and poured the contents in the fire. Then the singing was resumed and they danced once more about the fire, joyously.

When the singing stopped, the leader for this dance returned the whistle to Big Wave, and the latter, as soon as all were again seated, addressed his guests. He said that this was the way they worshipped the spirits of their fathers. He thanked those participating for their assistance in the singing and dancing and solicited their further help. So they should enjoy health, long life and success. Everyone responded [201] with a series of confirmative "O's". The feast of boiled squash was now served. It was the duty of the waiters to eat any scraps left by [261] the feasters, since food uneaten is considered an affront to the spirits to whom the food is dedicated.

The ceremonies described above were followed by a buffalo dance. It seems that the spirit of the buffalo was especially noted for his speed in running, and could imbue his devotees with his skill. Inasmuch as [825] speed in running was of prime importance in primitive warfare, where [726] the desired procedure was to come quickly upon the enemy, strike decisively and disappear from the scene, the buffalo dance is considered [535] an altogether proper adjunct to the war-bundle ceremony, and regularly follows in.

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[For rituals for securing supernatural aid in warfare see also Vision quest; category 787.]

*159 helped will then really know what kind of a man you are.
577 For the good you do people will love you.
867 It is not good to win at gambling. You may possibly
[525] become rich thereby but that is no life to lead. If you are blessed with luck in cards, if you are blessed with luck at gambling, you will perhaps win things and have plenty of wealth, but none of your children will live.

Now if you do all that I have told you, you will lead a happy and prosperous life. That is why we Winnebago preach to a child we love so that it should never become acquainted with the things that are not right, and never do anything wrong. Then if, in later life, a person does anything wrong, he will do it with a clear knowledge of the consequences of his actions.

## III

*159 My son, when you get married, do not make an idol of
581 the woman you marry; do not worship her. If you worship
867 a woman she will insist upon greater and greater worship as time goes on. This is what the old people used to say.
562 They always preached against those men who hearken too
593 strongly to the words of women; who are the slaves of women. Now it may happen that a man has received many warnings as to his behavior in this regard and that he pays no attention to them. It may go so far that when he is asked to attend a war-bundle feast [20] he will refuse to go; it may be that when he is married he will listen to the voice

[726] [20] The war-bundle feast was the great war ceremony of the Winnebago. It was given by all those individuals who possessed a war-bundle and since theoretically there was only one war-bundle in each clan, the basis of the organization of the ceremony was the clan. The ceremony consisted largely of prayers, songs and speeches in honor of the spirits more definitely associated with war. For each

of his wife and refuse to go on a warpath. He might as well have been brought up as a girl. Men who are real men perform the deeds of men, but such a man will never perform a real man's deed. If he should actually attend a war-bundle feast he will be given the leanest piece of meat, only given to a man of no account. Why should any one run the risk of being thus jeered at? Now when a really brave man attends a war-bundle feast he is given a deer's head This other man gets a lean piece! It will dry up in his throat, so humiliated and disgraced will he feel. After a while he will not be allowed to go to any feast; his wife will not let him. He will listen to the voice of his wife. His relatives will scold him, his sisters will think nothing of him. They will tell people never to go to visit him. Finally when he has become a real slave of his wife he will even hit his relatives if she asks him to. It is for these reasons that I warn you not to listen to women. You will be considered different from others. It is not good.

Remember this too, that women cannot be watched. If you try to watch them and are jealous about them, then your female relatives will also be jealous of them. Finally when your jealousy has developed to the highest pitch, your wife will leave you and run away with some one else. You have allowed her to see by your actions that you worship a woman, and one alone, and, in addition, you have been watching her all the time. Because of this incessant annoyance she will run away from you. If you think that

of these spirits, a buckskin decorated with the symbol sacred to the spirit, was prepared and then at the most dramatic moment of the ceremony these buckskins were thrown out of the ceremonial lodge and it was believed that the spirits came down in person to fetch them. The war-bundle feast was specifically a man's ceremony.

*159 your wife is the only one to love, you have humbled yourself
[581] and she will be taken from you. You have likewise made
867 the woman suffer; you have made her unhappy. The whole
562 world will hear about it. No other woman will want to
593 marry you and you will have the reputation of being a bad man.

[579] Now you may act in the following way: You see people
[921] starting on a warpath and you join them knowing that it is an honor to die on the warpath. But you will join them because you feel unhappy at your wife's flight Now this is not the proper way to act. You are throwing away your life; you are causing the leader of the war-party to throw away a life. If you want to go on the warpath, do not go because your wife has been taken away from you, go because you feel courageous enough to do so.

It is on the warpath that a man has fun! Do not go,
[785] however, unless you have fasted adequately. You must
[926] fast for each specific warpath. If you do not and yet join a war-party, then in the midst of the fight, a bullet will come your way and kill you. That will happen because you did not fast. If you have performed any deeds of valor, recount them to your sisters and to your sister's children. Those in charge of war-bundles are good to listen to in such matters. Those to whom such people give advice will eat an excellent dish; they will have the
[554] honor of sitting near a great warrior in the middle of the lodge.

*159 These are the things of which the old people spoke and
867 this also is the advice I give you. I myself never asked
579 for these things, but my father did. Your grandfather did. He asked for the information relating to the manner in which people are to behave. Never, when you are older, should you allow yourself to get in the predicament of not

## §10. *A War-Bundle Feast*

When the hunting was over my father selected ten deer with which to give a war-bundle feast. Those who had been selected as attendants then transferred these deer to the place where the people always give their feasts. 159* 796 726

I was fasting at the time and only broke my fast at evening. Every night I went out to make my appeal to the spirits before I ate. Five days before the feast was to be given I commenced to fast through the night also. On the fifth night, together with my older brother, I went to the feast. During the day I had spent the time in the wilderness uttering my cry to the spirits: 159* 787 796 726

"O spirits, here humble in heart I stand, beseeching you." [782]

I was far more thirsty than hungry. I don't believe that either my tongue or mouth were even moist.

That night we held aloft the deerskins that were to be offered to the spirits and we stood there crying piteously. There we wept humbly and those who were to give the feast wept with us, as they extended their holy compassion to us. Then, at midnight, we stood near the war weapons and again raised our appeal to the spirits. [782]

Our feast was given in a lodge that had eight fire- 000

## *Crashing Thunder*

726 *159 Our feast was given in a lodge that had eight fire-
796 places. The host always sits near the last fireplace, at
787 the east end. There we stood crying to the spirits.
[396] My older brother fell to the ground from fatigue and
[354] exhaustion. We were stark naked except for our
[291] breech-clouts. When this prayer was finished we put on our moccasins. Then the host greeted the participants as follows:

"I greet you; I greet you all, war-bundle possessors. My grandparents, especially my grandfather, concentrated their minds upon this ceremony for me. The fireplace, the food, the offerings, with which the spirits blessed my grandfather, that I am going to ask for myself to-day. However weakly I may wobble about in trying to do the proper thing to-day, I know that my elders present here will extend their aid to me. I am now going to offer some tobacco to you all. War-bundles possessors, I greet you all."

*159 Following the speech came the prayers to the various
796 spirits:
782
539
726

Hearken O Earthmaker, our father, I am about to offer tobacco to you. My ancestor concentrated his mind upon you and that with which you blessed him I now ask of you directly. I ask for the small amount of life you granted him, aye for four times the blessings you bestowed upon him. May I never meet with trouble in life.

O Grandfather, chief of the Thunderbirds, you who live in the west, here is a handful of tobacco. Extend to me the deer with which you blessed my ancestor. I pray you to accept this tobacco from me. May I never meet with trouble in life.

## *A War-Bundle Feast*

O Grandfathers, spirits of the night, walkers in darkness, to you I offer tobacco and ask for the fireplaces which my ancestor received. If you smoke this tobacco see to it that I never become a weakling. 159* 796 1182

To you who live in the south, you who look like a man, you who are invulnerable, you who deal out life from one side of your body and death from the other, you whom we call Disease-Giver, to you I offer tobacco. In daylight, in broad daylight, did you bless my ancestor. With food you blessed him; you told him that he would never fail in anything, you told him that you would avoid his home; you placed animals in front of him that he should have no trouble in obtaining them. An offering of tobacco I make to you that you may smoke it and that I may not be troubled in life. 539 726 [953]

Then they offered prayers to the Black Hawk, the Sun, the Moon, the South Wind, the Earth, and the Eagle. Many speeches were given, for every guest who was invited to impersonate a spirit delivered one. The man who was impersonating the Thunderbird spoke as follows: 159* 796 [1182] 539 726

Host and relatives, all you who are seated here, to all I send forth my greetings. All those present have given me good advice and even the women and children here have pleaded in my behalf with the spirits. What love that was! And of what does life consist of but love! The clan counselor is repeating the songs that were obtained when the sacred bundle was made, so that when the time for the tobacco offering to the spirits came, the specially prepared tobacco would be ready. Now indeed that time has arrived

*159 and they are all sitting here prepared to pray to all the
796 various spirits. Long before, when in their visions they
537 were vouchsafed a warpath, the soul of the man they were
726 to kill would be already in their possession when they performed this ceremony. It is to attract his soul that this ceremony is performed. You are going to have a good and prosperous warpath. When you are actually in the midst of the warpath and are about to rush upon the enemy, pour tobacco to the various spirits who are in control of war, say,
[782] "Thus, grandfathers, were we accustomed to offer tobacco to you." Although you may not know by any word or direct sign whether the war-controllers have answered you, you will know it as soon as the rush upon the enemy takes place, for although you walk where the bullets rain hardest you will pass out of their range and come through in safety. Then when you return to your people every one will rush out to bestow the war honors upon you. If you give this
[782] sacred feast in the proper way, if you burn up much tobacco and food, then the various spirits, especially the Thunder-
[796] birds who are the greatest war-controllers, will bless you for the excellent way in which you prayed to him. Whenever they pass your way they will remember you. They will even call you by name and say, "Let us smoke here."

This is the way in which young men are encouraged to act, but only a few succeed. It is good. The host has preached to us and pleaded for all those who are present. He has made offerings of food to our grandfathers who
[782] live in the west; pleasing offerings of tobacco and buckskin has he sent to them. I have been permitted to impersonate this great spirit and have thus obtained life for myself and my unimportant clansmen, for all of us who have been living in so lowly a condition. With real life have we felt ourselves connected through your actions. We have felt our-

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



selves connected with life by means of that organ which Earthmaker gave us as a measure of things.[21] I send forth my greetings to you all. 159* 796 532 726

Then he who was impersonating the Disease-Giver spoke:

War-bundle owners, relatives seated around here, I greet you all. This is indeed a marvelous performance that we have witnessed and he who was able to do it must surely be a marvelous man. Very few people listen to the advice of their parents but he must have been one who did and that is why he has done so well. The members of his clan have been sincerely worshiping the spirits. He who originally made this war-bundle ritual was like a spirit in power and what he told them to do they are doing in every detail. It is good work they are doing. Sufficient food are they offering to those in control of war powers for the spirits easily to take cognizance of it. They have placed ample tobacco and different kinds of buckskin within reach of the spirits. To you, O Disease-Giver, a pleasing white buckskin has been strung out in offering and with it a pleasing red feather as a hair ornament. How indeed would it be possible for the spirits not to recognize these offerings? And if they recognize them then we who are impersonating the spirits, will also receive the benefit of the blessings of war and life, extended to the host. [593] [782] [301]

Long ago our ancestors asked the spirits to bless them so that then they might live happily. Here we are sitting around the fireplace and the life that the host and his friends have asked for, the spirits are not merely extending to them

[21] A very curious circumlocution for stomach. He means, of course, all the food that has been eaten. [195]

726 *159 but to all those present. In the olden days the old people
796 used to say to the young boys, "You are not able to fast
537 as yet and to offer up proper food to the spirits so as to
clear away the weapons held against you." Now just as
726 these older people would have liked, so you are doing.
*159 Even I, who am of no consequence, have nevertheless been
796 permitted to impersonate a great spirit. This you have
796 done for me—allowed me to impersonate that spirit[1] who
537 is the bravest of them all, the one who is in control of
[053] power whereby an enemy can be killed outright! One side
of this spirit's body controls life and the other death. Now
they are about to offer to this spirit, the food of a white
[782] animal, of a male animal, the dog, as well as a white buck-
skin, feathers and tobacco—all of them objects that please
him very much. To Disease-Giver they are about to extend
these things so that therewith they may ask him for war
power and life. It is an awe-inspiring spirit to whom they
have been making offerings. Surely I, who have been listen-
ing only by virtue of the host's generosity, do not have to
say anything in his behalf. He thought of his ancestor
when he asked me to impersonate this spirit. Of all the
[782] spirits his is the name which one cannot speak lightly,
it is said. If nevertheless I greet his name and speak about
this spirit, may I not be weakened by uttering it. Those
who are about to offer you food, grandfather Disease-Giver,
send you their greetings. To you, O host, do I send my
greetings, as well as to all the war-bundle owners seated
here.

*159 The feasters sang dancing songs throughout all this
796 time. At dawn we were to pass the deerskin offerings
726 through the roof of the lodge. My older brother took
the lead. I followed and the others came up behind



1. [i.e., Disease Giver--Analyst]

## *A War-Bundle Feast*

me. We all had a deerskin apiece. Only those who were giving the feast had the right to hold one of the ten deerskins. A man playing a flute taken from a war-bundle marched ahead, and behind came the people carrying the incense of the burning cedar leaves. We thus marched around the lodge and my brother and I again made our cry to the spirits. At that time we were naked apart from our breech-clouts and moccasins. Four times did we make the circuit. Then we passed the deerskins up through the roof of the lodge. 159* 796 726 [534] [787] 159*

Now the feasters were to eat again. A separate kettle had been put on for us boys and we were to eat first. They then called upon a man to eat out of our plate with us. His name was *Blue-sitter*. He was a holy man, a shaman, a brave man, one who had obtained many war honors. Four deer ribs were dished out to me in a wooden bowl. Then the one who was to eat out of my plate came and sat near my dish and began to handle the food. He tore it into small pieces and began telling me of the blessing he had received from the spirits. He told me how all the great spirits had blessed him—the Sun, the Moon, the Thunder-birds, the Earth, the Sky, the Daylight, and all the spirits that exist in the heavens. The spirits on the earth and those under the waters, all these talked to him, he said. While partaking of my food he would think of this power, he told me. I would go through battle unharmed and I was to obtain war honors. My children, if I had any, were to enjoy a good and happy life. Thus he spoke. 796 787 726 [776]

## *Crashing Thunder*

726
*159
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787

Then he took a piece of my food in his mouth and placed some in my mouth four times. I continued eating as the rest of the feasters began their meal. For quite some time I was not able to eat much.

*159
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787

Through it all I was not in the least conscious of any dreams or blessings. All that I was aware of was that all the people around me were taking pity upon me. Throughout it all I had my mind fixed on women. In doing these things I imagined that I had accomplished something great and that I had risen greatly in women's estimation. Even though I tried to render myself pitiable in the sight of the spirits, yet through it all, my thoughts were centered upon them. I was never lowly at heart and never really desired the blessing of the spirits. All that I thought of was that I was a great man and that the women would regard me as a great man.

[P.86]

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The Foxes in their village said, "Say, I believe the chiefs have been killed. This is a time of war. *Teap'o'spaga* has been angered. When *Teap'o'spaga* gets very angry he generally does what he threatens." Then the bad Foxes said, "Perhaps they are eating the objects we donated".[18] 173 648

"The Foxes will not be coming back for some time" (the Winnebago said). (The Foxes) at the same time had gathered together and discussed the fate of the chiefs who had gone to give themselves up (to the Winnebago) and had never returned. "Very likely they are not alive any more," they said.

*Teap'o'spaga* returned to the Winnebago village after he killed (the chiefs) and then started for the smaller of the two villages in which the Foxes lived. It was at the smaller village that the lake was narrowest. Toward this one he was going, he said.

He had again planned a war-party. All those within the village who were likely to show any skill in killing men prepared themselves for (attacking) the smaller village. They started at dawn, and they reached the smaller village at night and ferried themselves across. By dawn all had crossed and the village was surrounded. As soon as it was broad daylight they gave the war-whoop in four different places. Then they rushed on to the small village and destroyed it completely. Then they burned up the houses and went home.

When they got home everyone was happy. They danced the victory dance and at night they had the *Hak'ire're* dance. So happy were the Winnebago. [727]

Although they thought they had killed all in the smaller village, one young girl who was lying on top of a small cliff, near where they crossed, fasting, had not been killed. Now the Foxes were living also in a large village right across the lake from the Winnebago. To this place the young woman who had not been killed went, and when she got to the big Fox village she told them the news, namely, "The Winnebago have completely destroyed us, I believe. Some of them (the enemy) I partially recognized. Go and see, however, whether they were Winnebago, for (if it was they) the lodges will be found burned to the ground, that being their custom when they go on a war-path."

Then the older Foxes went and when they returned, spies announced, "Yes, they were Winnebago, for the lodges have been burned down. It is true that the chiefs who had gone to make peace have been killed." Then the Foxes went into mourning for them. "There are many of the Winnebago and we will not be able to fight them," said the Foxes. Indeed the Foxes were afraid. Although a Fox disliked a Winnebago not one could he kill.

[18] I. e., the chiefs who went to make peace.

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224 825 or hear the noise and run away. For this reason the hunters are very careful about these two things—namely, the number of bears shot and the direction of the wind. The method of hunting bears when the acorns fall and they come to the open or cleared spaces is known as the *hiruci'e* method. When the bears eat acorns then only is it easy to find them and kill them without much effort.

224 [721 648] *Description of a buffalo hunt.*—Whenever the Winnebago went buffalo hunting, they always went in large numbers, for the people used to say that on a buffalo hunt, they are likely to encounter their enemies and a fight might take place. It is even said that some people went purposely for the fighting. They generally went together with the *Homa*na (Missouri ?), Waxoteera, Iowa, and *Wadpidpalpen*, the Oto. Many women accompanied them. It is said that they could always tell where the buffalo were by the dust they encountered, for the dust raised by the trampling of the buffalo rose high in the air. They would always start out for the buffalo early in the morning on fast horses and try to ride up along the right side of the female buffalo, for they only killed the bulls afterward. They shot the buffalo with bow and arrows. When riding horseback, the bow is always drawn back with the right hand. The reason they try to kill the female buffalo first is because they always run away while the bulls do not.

While hunting the buffalo they were always bound to meet some of their enemies and a fight would ensue, so that when they returned, they would bring back not only [727] buffalo but also scalps, and immediately after their return the Victory Dance would be celebrated.

224 721 A different account of a buffalo hunt was obtained from another informant (J. H.):[1]

Whenever we go on a buffalo hunt we camp in a circle, with the soldiers in front. [342] They always carried long poles to be used in the construction of tipis. [This statement was made by a number of persons whose information was generally accurate. As [237 372] they were bound for the open prairie where there was a scarcity of wood, buffalo manure was always carried for fuel.]

As soon as the chief decided to go on a hunt he gave a feast [war feast] to which he invited everyone. This was generally in June. As soon as the feast was over a hunting council was held. Then the chief appointed public criers who went around the [203] village announcing the time for starting, etc. Then all went to the lodge of the chief of the Bear clan. There the ten best warriors were selected, who were to go ahead of the main body and reconnoiter for both buffalo and enemies. These started immediately and if they returned with the news that they had found many buffalo and enemy at the same time, fights frequently took place. Ten warriors always went ahead and the old warriors generally stayed in the rear behind the women in order to protect them better. As soon as they came to the place where the buffalo were seen they followed their trail and killed them. The flesh was cut up into large chunks, which were afterwards dried on the grass. Then when they had enough they all returned home, observing, of course, the same order of march as when they started. When they reached their home they gave another war feast at which all thanked the spirits for their successful return.

223 [762] *Pigeon hunt.*—The pigeons are "chief"[2] birds and they would be hunted whenever the chief decided to give the chief feast. The entire tribe was always invited to participate in the meal served, so that many pigeons were needed. The pigeons generally make their nests near human habitations. Sometimes there would be 20

[1] As his grandfather was a Dakota, J. H. may have confused in his account Dakota customs with those of the Winnebago. Apart from this consideration, it should be said that J. H. was an exceedingly unreliable informant.

[825 614] [2] They are called "chief" birds because the pigeon belongs to the same division as does the Thunder-bird, or Chief, clan.

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721 When a man went on a warpath for the sake of glory he generally led a large party and all sorts of special arrangements were made, because then a war leader was necessary and volunteers were always needed. It is believed that the same holds true for larger war parties.

In discussing the essential requisite for a successful war party we have stated that a special blessing was necessary for this purpose. There is, however, one noteworthy exception to this rule, if we are [614 to accept the statements of members of the upper phratry—all mem-615] bers of the Warrior clan may go on a warpath without fasting and without receiving a blessing. This statement was vigorously denied by members of the lower phratry.

727 When a war party returns, a very interesting ceremony takes place. At some distance from the village a victorious war party sends a messenger ahead to tell all those at home that the war party has been unsuccessful and that all have been killed, and that those at home should put on mourning. Secretly, however, the leader tells someone to look for a pole for the Victory dance, and shortly after all the preparations for mourning have been made the victorious warriors rush into the village. Before entering the village that warrior who [555 has counted first coup is offered a pipe, from which he always takes a few puffs. The same pipe is then handed to the one who counted coup second, and so on, until the fourth man is reached. Then the prizes (*waizere*) are given to the victors, who afterwards give them to their sisters. The scalps are not taken into the village, but are left outside, and warriors who have remained at home rush out to count coup upon them. Then the scalps are carried around the village four times.

555 The widely-known Plains custom of "counting coup" is also 726 practiced among the Winnebago. The individual who strikes the dead body of the enemy first obtains the first honor, the one striking it second the second honor, the one striking it third the third honor, and the one who actually killed the enemy obtaining the fourth and least important honor.

721 The following are descriptions given in the words of the informants:

[115 *Description of war customs and the manner of conducting a war party.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

When a man is ready to go on the warpath, he looks around for as many men as he wishes to take along and then gives a feast. At the feast he fixes the time at which the war party is to start. The man giving the feast (i. e., the leader of the war party) would get up and tell those present that he intended going on a warpath and give his reason; then he would say that whomever so desired could come along.

Many went along. Indeed, there was quite a crowd. The first stopping place (*higiyare*) was always near the outskirts of the village. There the leader appointed four men to go after food and wood for the fire. During their absence two camping places would be arranged, one on each side of the war leader. As soon as the four men returned with the food the attendants skinned and prepared the animals for

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eating. Then the war leader asked for food, and it was brought to him. Now the 721
female relatives of the men came to the camp, bringing with them moccasins for the journey. After that the chief asked some man to tell stories and some to take care of the fireplace, while two brave warriors were put in charge of the camp. Toward morning a number of warriors who had not been asked to join this particular war party might stray in (*hotcu'ggiže*).

Before the war leader enters the *higiyara* he places his war bundle crosswise in front of the entrance of the *higiyara* and sings some songs. When he is finished, his attendants place the war bundle on his back, and only then does he really enter the *higiyara*, followed by all the other members of the war party.[1]

When they approached the place where they expected to find the enemy, two dis- 726
tinguished warriors were appointed to reconnoiter, and they proceeded ahead of the war party until they saw the enemy. Then they returned to the camp and reported to the war leader. From that time on they would practice their various individual powers (*wawaxa'p nagigire'ji*).[2]

When the two warriors sent out to reconnoiter return, the attendant offers them the pipe that he had prepared for the war leader. They smoke it and say, "Those whom we are after are entirely unaware of our presence." Then the members of the war party would thank them for their information. All would now start out against 726
the enemy. When near the enemy, they practice their powers again and paint 782
themselves with their war paints. To those spirits who have bestowed blessings upon the various members of the war party offerings are now made. Especially to the spirits who are in control of war powers are offerings made. To them they also pray for life and for war honors in the coming encounter. They even offer tobacco to those spirits from whom they have not received blessings, asking them for aid because of their careful observance of all the customs and precepts they were taught. Some offered tobacco to a medicine they possessed and asked the medicine to remember them in the coming encounter. Others boiled water (for a spirit) and asked him to assist them in obtaining a war honor, while others again offered tobacco to their war bundles and prayed that the powers contained therein might be strong and that they might kill some of the enemy and obtain war honors. All prayed that the enemy might not kill them and that they might finally return home safe. Those who had no supernatural powers to fall back upon would get frightened at such a time and they would say, "Alas! how will I fare! I should have fasted. I should have given feasts. I should have offered good medicines to the spirits and fasted until I was blessed, so that I, too, might now have some powerful medicine to use. Had I fasted and obtained a blessing from the spirits who are in control of war powers, had I given feasts, this all would have been a source of strength to me now and I would know positively whether or not I am going to be killed in the coming encounter."

When everything is in readiness the war leader rises and appoints four warriors to 726
give the war whoop. Then, as soon as the war whoop has been given, they would rush upon the enemy, imitating as they ran the sounds of the spirits who had blessed [553]
them. The first four to kill and count coup obtained the corresponding four war honors. Those who captured a man also obtained war honors. Beside these principal ones there were minor war honors. Those who obtained no honors at all would return home crying. After they had killed all those in the village of the enemy they would burn it to the ground and then start for their homes in the best of spirits.

When they were near their home they sent a messenger ahead to inform their rela- 727 ●
tives to put on mourning, for all those who had started out on the warpath had been killed; that he who had in reality obtained the first war honor had been killed first,

[1] *Higiyara* is the special arrangement of the camp used on individual warpaths.

[2] When a war party has located the enemy, they prepare for the attack and run about, practicing their individual magical powers. "The war-club running" (*wawaxa'p nagigire'ji*) referred to in the practice of running about in preparation for the attack upon the enemy so that they may not get tired out too easily. [789]

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727 etc. Then the war leader would secretly tell some one to select a stake (for the Victory Dance) and after a short time all the members of the war party would rush in and march around the entire village striking the scalps that they had tied to sticks. Then they would all go to the place where the stake had been put up and there they would distribute the war prizes to the sisters of the men who had won them and the women would walk around proudly with the prizes around their necks. Then, in the daytime 701 they would dance the Victory Dance and in the evening they would dance the 721 Hok'ixere Dance for four nights.

[115] *Description of a war party.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

[787] If a man wishes to go on the warpath he must fast and be blessed by the spirits in a specific manner. If a man is thus blessed, he gives a feast and announces his intention of leading a war party. The chief always has a representative at such a feast (a member of the Buffalo clan), and as soon as it is over this man goes to the former and reports to him. If the chief thinks that the blessing is insufficient and might cause the death [622] of many men he takes the war leader's pipe and lays it across his path and the war leader is then compelled to abandon his undertaking. This action on the part of the chief is sacred and must be accepted as final. The war leader dare not step across the pipe. Should the chief, however, not do this, then the war leader knew that there was no objection. Usually some members of every clan go along, but especially members of the Thunderbird, Warrior, and Bear clans.

The action of the war leader is controlled by many rules. He must be the one who has fasted and been blessed with all that is essential for conducting a war party. He must have his food provided for him by the spirits, know the exact location of the enemy, their numbers, and their sex.

726 After the war party has traveled for about four days, the men offer tobacco to the 701 leader and he tells them where he is going, the number of the enemy, etc. If, after that, any of the members of the war party do not approve of the undertaking then they place a pipe across his path and the war leader is compelled to return. If nothing is said, then all is well. The war leader always goes ahead of his party and his attendants behind him, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever the chief stops his attendants run to his side, take his war bundle and place it in front of him. Then the leader sits down, neither turning to the right nor to the left but looking straight ahead. The attendants get two poles and place them on each side of him, bend the ends over to form an arch, on each side of which are placed small oak sticks arranged in a row. Under this structure the war leader stays. Here he sleeps and is [614] fed by his attendants. No one is permitted to go ahead of this improvised structure. On each side of him two fireplaces are placed, two for the Upper clans and two for the Lower clans. If the war party is traveling westward the two fireplaces on the north side belong to the Lower clans and the two on the south side to the Upper clans. If a man is going on a warpath for the first time, he stays in the rear of the party and has a little fire of his own. He remains in the rear in this way until the battle begins. Then he joins the others.

A member of the Warrior clan is selected by the war leader to act as guard and he goes back and forth behind him encouraging the men and telling them not to steal away alone or go too far ahead of the party, since that always results in the loss of life. It is for this reason that it is not considered correct for a man to try and steal away and perhaps obtain a war honor in this selfish manner. Whenever the war leader stops he tells his companions what they must do in order to obtain food, all this information having been provided for in his blessing. If he tells some one to go to a certain place and kill a deer, he is certain to find a deer at the place specified. Whenever the war leader gets up and steps over his war bundle the attendants come and place his war [782] bundle on his back and he then proceeds on his march, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever he comes to a river he takes some of the tobacco which is

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always kept on hand and offers it to the spirit who controls this particular war party. 726 701
The others do the same. Then he would cross the river. Whenever he drank any water the others would also do so, and if he refrained so would the others. If at any [782] time during the night when they are camping the war leader should wake up and sing some songs, be they grizzly bear, black root paint, or night songs, all those others who [533] know similar songs would likewise begin to sing.

*Miscellaneous war customs.* There were, in former times, many 726 miscellaneous customs connected with warfare, most of which have now been forgotten. However, in myths and accounts of war parties a number of them are still mentioned.

When a war party surprised a lodge, all the occupants were killed or captured and the poles that were spliced together to form the arches were released so that they sprang back to either side and assumed a vertical position.

When a war party surprised a lodge in which there were children they generally killed them, cut off their heads, pried open their [727] mouths so as to give them the appearance of laughing, and then placed the heads on their bodies again and arranged them against the door, so that when their father came home he would find them greeting him as usual. A brave warrior would never flinch at such a sight, but would prepare a meal as usual and speak to the children as if they were alive and offer them something to eat. Only then would he bury them. Immediately after they had been buried he would go on the warpath to revenge them.

Frequently the skulls of slain enemies are used as lodge weights and 727 their skin is taken off and used as mats, door-flaps, etc.

*War honors.*—"It is the ideal of every Winnebago youth," says an 726 informant, "to kill an enemy in full sight of his friends and thus to [183] gain for himself a headdress and an eagle feather." Most deeds considered valorous, according to Winnebago ideas, have associated with 554 them certain insignia which are always worn in public, giving evidence to all that so-and-so has performed such and such a valorous deed.

These insignia consist of the following:

*Headdress and feather.*—Denote that an individual has scalped and killed a man and torn off his scalp still bleeding. He is entitled to a red headdress and eagle feather. This also includes the man who has counted first coup (*sarinlgwahi'na*).

*Red headdress.*—If he has killed the enemy and not scalped him (*teuel'ate wak'e'rē.*)

*Eagle feather.*—Worn by one who has counted second coup.

*Hanging eagle feather.*—Worn by one who has counted third coup.

*Eagle feather stuck crosswise in hair.*—Worn by one who has counted fourth coup.

*Waggirusgite.*—Consists of a rope worn around the neck. It is worn by the leader of that warpath who has captured an enemy.

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you will be able to obtain these and in addition glory and the war honors.[4] If, in truth, you thirst yourself to death,[5] our grandfathers who are in control of wars—to whom all the war powers that exist in this world belong—they will assuredly bless you. 867 776 787

My son, if you do not wear out your feet through ceaseless activity (in fasting), if you do not blacken your face for fasting, it will be all in vain that you inflict sufferings upon yourself. Blessings are not obtained through mere desire alone; they are not obtained without making the proper sacrifices or without putting yourself time and again in proper mental condition. Indeed, my son, they are not to be obtained without effort on your part. So see to it that, of all those spirits whom Earthmaker created, one at least has pity upon you and blesses you. Whatever such a spirit says to you that will unquestionably happen.

Now, my son, if you do not obtain a spirit to strengthen you, you will not amount to anything in the estimation of your fellowmen. They will show you little respect. Perhaps they will make fun of you.

Do not die in the village. It is not good to die there. Whenever a person is grown up that is what is told him. Nor is it good, my son, to let women journey ahead of you from amidst the village. It is not good thus to let women die before you.[6] Therefore, in order to prevent this, our ancestors encouraged one another to fast. Some day you will travel in a difficult road; there will be some crisis in your life, and then when it is too late you will begin to reproach yourself for not having fasted at the proper time. So that you may not have occasion to blame yourself at such a time I counsel you to fast. If you do not obtain a blessing when the other women are dividing the war prizes brought home from the warpath by their brothers, your sisters will stand aside envying them. If, however, you are blessed by the spirits in control of war power, and if you then return victorious, how proud your sisters will be to receive the war honors and to wear them around their necks and participate with them in the victory dance! And in this way your sisters likewise will be strengthened by your war deeds. You will keep well, in health. [761] [593 727]

My son, it will indeed be good if you obtain war powers, but our ancestors say it is difficult. Especially difficult is it to be leader on 867 787

[4] There are four war honors, the highest going to the Indian who first touches a dead enemy, the second belonging to the one who kills him, and the last two to those who touch him second and third. The war prizes generally consisted of necklaces of wampum which were given to those who had obtained the first war honors. The victor also would be given the privilege of first smoking the pipe on his return to his home. The prize of the wampum necklace was always given by the victor to his elder sisters. [554]

[5] That is, fast.

[6] That is, obtain war power so that you can go on the warpath and prevent yourself from dying in the village or have women die before you.

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In this lodge they claimed that prisoners were 614
confined and certain tribal regalia deposited. The informants were 727
not, however, at all clear about these facts, some even denying that there was a Warrior lodge and insisting that prisoners were confined in the Bear or Soldier lodge.

According to one informant the Warrior and Bear clans could give 614
each other orders that had to be obeyed.

The members of the Warrior clan claimed that all the members of the clan were warriors and did not have to fast in order to obtain the right of starting out on a war party. [785] This was vigorously denied by the members of the other clans, who referred to this claim with derision. There seems, however, to be no reason for questioning the fact that the clan had a special lodge and that it was intimately connected with war functions. Exactly what these were it is quite impossible to state, as they have not been exercised for a very long time.

The first two clan songs are given on page 220. The clan facial decoration, used only at burial, and which were supposed to be [302] marks of recognition in the spirit land, are as follows: A red line alternating with a black and another red line across the forehead, and a red line around the mouth. One informant claimed that only the three marks on the forehead were necessary, and that in times of war blood was used for the red marks (pl. 46).

According to an informant of the Thunderbird clan, the Warrior clan functions were as follows:

> The Warrior clan's position in the tribe is that of general warrior. He can kill an enemy at any time without breaking any of the rules of the tribe. Every other clansman who wishes to go on the warpath must fast and be blessed by the spirits [721] with specific blessings before he can do this.

There may have been a special feast associated with the Warrior clan, but the author never heard of it. The clan possessed a number [778] of war bundles.

### ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

In the beginning, Earthmaker made four men. Then he sent 614
them to the earth. Within Lake, there, they landed and they alit 539
on the branch of a tree. There were four branches and each one alit 776
on one branch. And then on the earth they jumped and started walking toward the east. There they erected a camping place. There they started the fire. It was the principal fire. Then they started to look for food, but they were unable to find any. So the second brother was sent, but he was not able to get any animal, but he brought a man. Because he brought it, for that reason, the first male child we have shall be called *He-who-eats-humans*. Then the second one, him whom they called the warrior, was sent. Thus it

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614 have been subjected to literary and shamanistic remodeling. Only
173 the shorter accounts show in their subject matter and presentation certain affinities to the origin myths of the other clans the longer ones being entirely different. Another cause for these marked differences may lie in the circumstance that since the longer accounts were associated with semi-esoteric ceremonies, the war-bundle feasts, they were known to but few individuals in the clan, whereas the shorter legends could be learned by anyone who chose to pay for
614 them. To this must also be added the fact that presumably some of the accounts current were based on hearsay knowledge.

[554] The Bear clan was, next to the Thunderbird clan, the most im-
[361] portant in the tribe. Its lodge was either in the center of the village, opposite that of the Thunderbird clan, or at the extreme end, depending upon the scheme of village organization accepted as
[727] correct. In it were confined the prisoners of war and the insignia of office possessed by the clan, such as the so-called standards, really crooks, and the so-called *namazinizini*. Some individuals also claimed
[513 that unmarried men were allowed to sleep in the lodge, although they
345] were not clear as to whether they did this in order to guard the prisoners confined there or simply used it as a club house.

The clan songs are given on page 235. The same songs are used
[533] when gathering the clansmen together to select soldiers.

Apart from the war bundle or war bundles, the Bear clan possessed
614 three insignia—a war club of a definite shape, the curiously whittled
778 baton of authority called *namazinizini*, and the crooks used in battle called *hoke'reu*. Whenever the clan was exercising any of its functions the leader would always hold in his hands the *namazinizini*.

The functions of the clan were probably the most important in the tribe and were entirely disciplinary. The author obtained the following description from an old Winnebago:

614 The Bear clansmen are the soldiers or sergeants-at-arms of the tribe. They have
625 complete control of everything concerning discipline. Whenever the Winnebago are traveling or moving (i. e., on their various seasonal moves), the Bear clansmen lead, and wherever they decide to stop, there the leader would put his stick in the ground and the other Bear clansmen would do the same, arranging them all in a row pointing toward the direction in which they were going. The main body of the tribe would follow at a certain distance. No member of the tribe would dare pass ahead of the row of sticks. If, for instance, the tribe was on the fall move and traveling toward a country in which there was plenty of game, should any individual go back and around the sticks in order to kill game on his own account, the soldiers (Bear clansmen) would, as soon as he was detected, go over to his lodge and burn it up with all its contents and break all his dishes. The only thing they would spare would be his life and that of the other members of his family. If the one who had transgressed the rules made any attempt at resistance he would be severely whipped. If he refused to submit to this and took up his fire arms to fight, the soldiers would stand there calmly, but the moment he made an attempt to shoot they would kill him. In such a case nothing would be said either by the rest of the tribe or his relatives about

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726 the second one, Old Lincoln himself obtaining the first. The first 55
war honor was a quantity of wampum beads and the second a wam-
pum belt. Both the one who got the second prize and Old Lincoln [727]
brought back with them an enemy's head.

From that time on *Midjistega* stayed with the Winnebago and he 648
and Old Lincoln became great friends, living together, one of the [572]
reasons being that Old Lincoln could understand Winnebago.

One day they ran short of corn meal, so they decided to go and 648
trade some furs for corn meal. They had plenty of furs because they
spent most of their time hunting. When they got to the trader's 437
store *Midjistega* said, "Say, trader, the boys have been out of paint 791
for some time and you ought to give them some." "No, *Midjistega*,
I can't do that." Then *Midjistega* again said, "Well, the paint
boxes are small and aren't of much value anyhow, and you ought to
make them a present of some. However, I always knew you were
very stingy." Then the trader said, "My business is to trade you
my wares for your furs and I will not give you any paint for noth-
ing." Then *Midjistega* said, "If I had some flour I could make some
paint myself. However, I am short of flour, too." Then the trader
said, "*Midjistega*, you can not do it, for even the whites do not know
how to make paint (in that way), so how could you, who are only an
Indian, do it?" Thus they spoke to and fro and finally the trader
said, "*Midjistega*, I will bet you my store against your furs that if I [525]
give you some flour you can not make paint out of it. If I win you
are to give me your furs, and if you win I will give you my store."
Then the bet was agreed upon.

Then a lodge was prepared and *Midjistega's* drum and flute were 648
carried into it. Then the trader had some flour carried over to the 789
lodge and it was poured into a dish. The trader, suspecting that 386
there might be some trick, stirred up the flour thoroughly. He sat- 791
isfied himself that there was nothing at the bottom of the dish.
*Midjistega*, in the meantime, painted the corners of his mouth and
eyes with ashes and then the singers sang for him. Then he handed
the flute over to Old Lincoln and told him to blow it for him every
now and then. The trader sat near the entrance of the lodge with
his employees. Then *Midjistega* jumped up and ran all around the
lodge on all fours. Then he took the dish with the flour and shaking
it, began to dance around the lodge with it. After he had danced
around for the third time it suddenly turned into a yellow color, and
Old Lincoln noticed the change in the expression on the trader's face.
As he went around for the fourth time it suddenly changed to a
red color. When he got back to his starting place it was quite red
and was an excellent quality of paint. Then he said, "Well, trader, [525]
I have won your store," and the trader answered, "You have won
my store. I did not think that an Indian could do it." Then *Mid-* 000

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ask of me I will always take it into consideration. If they ask for war or if they ask for life, remember that I have been given control of these things." Thus spoke the buffalo-ghost. There he received all the things with which he was blessed. 159 787 776

In the course of his life he made use of all his blessings. His first victory occurred when he went on the warpath for the first time. He had joined a war party and a fight occurred toward the evening of the same day. As he was walking along he suddenly saw a gun directed against him at close range. He jumped right and left and in that way escaped being shot. Then the enemy tried to capture the one who had been blessed by the buffalo, holding him tightly by the arm. But he struck the enemy twice against an object and tore his stomach open. Then he walked away. As he was going he thought to himself, "Why did I not kill him outright?" So he went back with the intention of doing this, but as he approached the man the latter directed a gun against him. Thinking, however, that it was not loaded, he did not dodge, and he was shot. His breast was filled with shot and he was killed. But he did not remain dead long. He soon came to consciousness and sat up, uttering sounds like a buffalo. 159 787 776 726

Then he remembered that a buffalo ghost had blessed him. He had indeed said to him, "When you are about to fight do not forget me." He remembered this, so he exerted his power. All the blood that was in his stomach he vomited forth and felt better. Just then one of his relatives came along and asked him, "How have you been getting along?" and he answered, "I have killed one. There lies his body. Take his scalp for me." "All right," said his relative, and did what he had been told, and brought it to him, saying, "Here it is." A horse was there also, and this the relative likewise led away and started back to (the camp). When he met the war leader, the latter asked him, "How have you been making out?" He answered, "I give you these trophies," and handed the leader the scalp and the horse. "Ah, it is good," he said, and put a wampum belt on him. Then the war leader sang a song and started to run, and the buffalo-blessed one reminded himself of his blessing and went back also. He was all shot to pieces. But he did not die, for he had been blessed with power, so how could he die? The buffalo ghost he had seen with flattened bullets in his belt had fulfilled his promise, and the wampum belt that he had seen in his fasting had now become true. [727]

He went to many wars after this, but he was never harmed. He doctored many people and caused them to have more life. After a while he made a war bundle consisting of a flute that he had constructed himself, a buffalo tail, and a buffalo head. Then he made offerings to them. These many things he made sacred. Since then buffalo feasts have been given. [756] [778]

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575 the Buffalo clan feast, the society of those who have been blessed by
796 the buffaloes, and the society of those who wear buffalo headdresses; the last apparently of Sioux origin.

The medicine dance has been described by the author in some detail,[1] and a general description will be found on page 350.

796 Of the semipermanent societies, the *hok'ize're* dance is given after
●727 every successful war party by those four individuals who have counted coup. It has only a temporary existence, for it ceases to be an organization as soon as each individual performance is over. Its main purpose seems to be the desire to transfer to the victor, from the skulls or the scalps of the slain enemies obtained on that particular warpath, the valor and prowess for which the slain person was noted.

527 In addition to the above ceremonies there were a number of pleasure and miscellaneous dances that are described on page 379.

796 There were apparently a number of very important feasts connected
278 with certain medicines, the principal one of which was the Black Earth Medicine feast; but unfortunately no account of this was obtained, owing to lack of time.

## Ceremonies Associated With the Clans

### THE CLAN FEASTS

#### THE THUNDERBIRD CLAN OR CHIEF FEAST

796 *Introduction.*—The chief feast, or, as it may more properly be
614 called, the feast of the bird clans, is generally given once a year, sometimes in late spring. It was also given on certain other occasions for specific purposes. At the present time it is given by the members of the Thunderbird clan and the prevalence of the appellation "chief feast" would seem to indicate that it was at all times the feast of the Thunderbird clan. We ought then to expect to find clan feasts of the other members of the *wangeregi* division, namely, of the Warrior, Eagle, and Pigeon clans. No such feasts are given to-day, however, and the members of these latter three clans always speak of the chief or bird feast as their specific clan feast. As such it is also regarded by the members of the *ma"negi* division.

In the total absence of historical data it is quite useless to speculate about the significance of one feast sufficing for four clans, where in strict analogy to the feasts of the other clans we would expect to find one for each clan; yet the idea that naturally presents itself is that we are in reality dealing with one clan that has become split up
[114] into four subclans. Such a view has been expressed by J. O. Dorsey,[2] but the data upon which he based his opinion seem to us highly

[1] The Ritual and Significance of the Winnebago Medicine Dance, Journal of American Folklore, vol. XXIV, No. XCII, 1911.

[2] Siouan Sociology, 15th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 241.

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# CHAPTER XV

## MISCELLANEOUS DANCES

### The Hok'ixe're Dance.

Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan: This is the way in which people used to bring scalps to one another. When a man returns from the warpath with a scalp he leaves it outside of the village and the warriors run out with their clubs and strike it and count coup (just as on the battlefield). As they count coup they call out their names. Then they are told what ceremonial dress they are to wear. They then send a messenger to the person to whom the scalp is to be presented to tell him to select a pole (for the victory dance). He thanks them and says, "It is good." Then the warriors who are returning arrange themselves in a circle around this pole and dance around it. He who has obtained the first war honor leads. 727 [555]

The one to whom they present the scalp thanks the spirits who are in control of war powers and then raising his hand prays to the Sun. Then he sings a song and when that is finished sits down, beats the drum, and sings a dancing song, while the others dance. [782]

Then the owner of the scalp, turning toward the spirits who are in control of war, gives the victory whoop four times. After each whoop all the other people in the lodge strike their mouths with their hands and yell. After the victory whoops have been given all dance the victory dance. [201]

Then the man who has received the scalp lets his sisters, his aunts, and his nieces select the war presents which are always bestowed upon them. With these tied around their necks they dance. Toward evening they finish the victory dance and then all enter the (dancing) lodge. He to whom the scalp is given is the host and he sits down first. Then comes the donor and then in a row the four who have counted coup. [431]

The ceremony begins with songs sung by the host. He first sings two war-bundle songs (*waruza'p na*ra*) and then two night songs (*ha*he' na*ra*). When these are finished the meal is eaten. Before eating, all the animal heads are placed in front of the donor of the scalp and he selects those men with whom he wishes to share them. 727 796

Then the host rises and says, "War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you all. Our warrior (the donor) will eat together with

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727 our grandfather, the scalp, who is standing in the center of the lodge.
796 Place a plate for the scalp and bring it to that brave man." Then the brave warriors eat the head, and when that is finished the servants distribute meat and food to those present who have not taken part in the head eating. While they are eating the host blows on
[534] his flute and sings some songs until the eating is over. Then he rises and speaks again:

727 "All you who are present to give us counsel and who sit here in
796 the place of others, I greet you. For the warriors who would counsel
537 with us repeatedly and for the sacred speeches of our fathers do we ask. In this ceremony to-day we will select as many war-bundle owners as are present to eat together with our grandfather, who is standing in the center of our lodge (the scalp). And if they select me to eat with the scalp, poor and pitiable as I am, it would be good.

"Should sickness suddenly come upon a village all those who are sick may take part in this ceremony. For our grandfather, who stands in the middle of the lodge, is no weakling, and when they take hold of him they are obtaining supernatural powers, it is said. We are trying to trample upon the soul (*wanayxi'rak*) (of the scalp). If we trample upon it, all the goods of life that were still coming to him when he was killed will be transferred to us. As many as are going to take part in this dance to-night should try to make the soul of our grandfather (the scalp) more amenable to our prayers. So all you women and men see to it that you dance with all your strength. Do not take this matter lightly, for we obtain life thereby, we were told.

"Councilors of the different clans who are seated here with us, I greet you all."

727 Then they sang *hok'ixe're* songs and danced the *hok'ixe're* dance.
796 All night they danced. They did not stop for a moment. Thus they tried to conquer the soul of their grandfather (scalp). They danced till early in the morning and then just as the sun appeared they carried the drum outside of the lodge to the victory post and danced the victory dance. As soon as the sun was high in the heavens they stopped. Then they went to sleep.

*The second day.*—Just before the sun was setting they all came and danced the victory dance again. Then the host got ready to furnish the meal again. All his female relatives who had received presents took charge of the preparation of the food, which the servants had previously obtained. As soon as the victory dance was over they entered the dancing lodge. Then the host spoke, and when he finished he sang four songs, and as soon as these were finished they all got ready to eat. Then the host said that he would give the heads of the animals to the donor and that the latter might select those warriors whom he wished to have as partners in the

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head eating. Then the donor selected his partners. The host then began to sing. The scalp was taken down from the post and placed in a dish near the door. The soul of the scalp still remained within it, so they tried again to make it less powerful and to conquer it, for they knew that if they succeeded in conquering it all the life that was still coming to the possessor of the scalp at his death would be obtained for themselves. Then the dancers and the feasters, indeed all who had counted coup, tried to obtain some of the dead enemy's residuary life. All tried to add some new life to their own. 727 796 [774]

When the meal was over, then the host offered tobacco to the spirits, and all those present prayed for war to the spirits to whom offerings had been made. They asked that if it be their good fortune to kill a number of people on the warpath, when they returned home they would be as thankful as they are now. All these warriors who were taking part in this dance liked it very much. [782]

Then the host struck the drum that had been placed in front of him and sang. When he finished, he had the drum placed in front of the man who had counted first coup. Then this man sang and the drum was passed to the next man, and so on until each man had sung. After all had sung and spoken the men and women together danced around the lodge. The woman who had received the presents led the dance, carrying the scalp. The people believed that the scalp was dancing with them. All night they danced the *kol'-ize'e* dance without resting at any time, and when the sun appeared they took the drum outside to the post and danced the victory dance. Then when the sun was high in the heavens they stopped and went to sleep. In the evening when the sun was low they danced the victory dance again, and then when it was pretty dark, singing slow songs, they slowly entered the lodge again. Then they made a circuit of the lodge and placed the drum in the middle of the lodge.

The feast was now ready. All that they were to eat—deer, bear, dog were placed in front of the feasters. Food was brought to the donor and all those who were sitting together with him, as well as all those who had counted coup and all the women who had received presents. Head eating is holy, and if one eats part of the head it is thought that it will help him greatly. [263] [264]

Then the host rose and spoke as follows:

"The servants who are carrying the food around here will probably not have enough to go around, but you must remember that not the men but the women are furnishing the food. Although it is little, I hope you will eat it. We will now sing four songs." Then he sang two war-bundle songs and two night songs. Before they ate the host rose and spoke, "This is a small feast and we will try to give food to our grandfather (some spirit) who is in charge of this

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727 ceremony. All who are going to partake in the head eating will
796 sit together with the donor. A warrior will eat together with the scalp. This is all I have to say."

Then the feasters who were selected to take part in the head eating went toward the warrior and ate with him. This warrior (the donor) held a long stick in his hands with which he danced, after he had partaken of the head together with his friends. After he had finished dancing, he walked to the center of the lodge and stuck the stick in the ground and (sat there), eating alone with the scalp. Then all the feasters ate again, and when they were finished the host sang a number of songs and passed (the drum) to the donor, who sang whatever songs he desired; either war-bundle songs, night songs, buffalo songs, or sore-eye dance songs. When the songs were over, all danced. Then the drum was passed to the one who had counted coup first and he spoke as follows:

"The spirits blessed our grandfather and taught him many speeches for this occasion. These we will try to repeat to-day. Even if we do not repeat them correctly, the Night Spirits will not take such a mistake amiss, we were told. Indeed, if I only know one thing (a song or a speech) they would bless me. We wish to trample upon the soul of our friend (the scalp) and if you, my friends, do the same and repeat the holy speeches of your grandfathers, we will surely accomplish our purpose. Life we wish to obtain, so let us start our songs. That is what I wanted to tell you. Now let us beat the drum and sing. I greet you all."

Then the drum and tobacco were taken to the one who had counted coup second. He spoke as follows:

"The songs and speeches that my grandfather used, those I, too, will use. I, too, desire to trample upon the soul of our friend (the scalp). Life I desire, and I will therefore start up some songs. I can not do what my ancestors did, but I will do the little I know. I greet you all."

Then the drum and tobacco were passed to the one who had counted coup third, and he spoke as follows:

"What our grandfather said, that I am trying to say now. I do not know any songs or speeches, however. I did not listen to what my parents told me, so now when I might have asked the spirits for many things, I can not do it. I do not know what to say and my eyes fill with tears at my discomfiture. But I have myself to blame for it. Now I will start up some songs. I greet you all."

Then they brought the drum to the one who had been fourth to count coup and placed tobacco in his hands. Then he spoke as follows:

"It is good. Those in the east have given me tobacco and I will now offer it to the spirits in their behalf. You have helped to trample

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upon the soul of our friend (the scalp) and you have tried to gain 727
additional life. I also desire life. Our ancestors were equal to the 716
spirits in their power and they asked each other to help one another in obtaining life. I will try to ask for that which you have asked. I greet you all."

Then all the war-bundle owners in the lodge greeted each other, and the drum was passed around until every one in the lodge had sung. Then they danced the *hok'ize're* dance until early dawn and when the sun was about to appear they took the drum to the post and danced the victory dance until the sun was high in the heavens. Then they went to sleep. All day they slept, and toward evening of the fourth night, when the sun was low, they began the victory dance again. When it was dark they entered the lodge and placed the drum in the center. Then the attendants put dog meat in the [262] kettles. When all was in readiness and all the feasters had entered the lodge the host offered tobacco to the spirits for whom food was being prepared and spoke as follows:

"After we have sung four songs the meal will be ready to be served. The attendants, it is true, have not cooked very much and it will doubtless not be enough for all, but I think that there will be a little portion for every one. When I have finished the four songs, then the donor for whom this ceremony is being given will select the people who are to eat with him. Then the attendants will distribute the portions of meat, in addition to the heads, and then we will all start to eat."

Then all ate. The donor after first eating with his friends ate alone with the scalp. Then some of the men arose and gave thanks. Finally the host rose again and said, "Whatever little it was in my power to do, I tried to do. All have tried to help me. It is really good. I am really unable to say what I wanted, but it is good. As the drum passes around, may it be of some help to every one."

Then the drum is passed to the one who had first counted coup. He sings and then it is passed to the other three who counted coup, who likewise sing. From them it is passed to all the other people in the lodge who have not sung yet. Then all dance the *hok'ize're* dance and toward dawn the drum is taken outside to the post and the victory dance is given. If the donor had lost a child the others [765] now wipe off his tears and tell him not to cry any more; and they make the mourner feel joyful again. When it became (full) daylight they danced the victory dance and walked four times around the pole. Then they went to the grave of the child that had died and danced the victory dance there and stuck the scalp in the ground, for the soul of the child. There it would wither and the father would feel happy. This is the end.

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## The Herucka Dance

535 574 The *Herucka* is a social dance and is frequently given when visitors from other tribes are present, presents being given on this occasion. Men and women take part in it and are generally dressed in their best clothes. A few customs that were noticed at a performance in 1908 might be mentioned here.

If a man drops anything during the dance he himself may not pick it up. Only a warrior who has been wounded has the right to do so. The object dropped is returned to the owner, who, however, must always give it to his sister or niece.

It is at times customary for a man to dress himself in rags and beg for food, etc. He generally represents himself as an extremely poor man and pictures his destitution in a manner best calculated to amuse everyone.

[525] Wagers of horses are very commonly made at this dance.

The dances indulged in are mainly victory dances and the songs [533] known as *Herucka* songs are always victory songs. Many borrowed songs are sung at this dance.

A large drum is always used, around which sometimes as many as [534] 10 drummers sit. The drum consists of an ordinary tub over which skin has been tightly drawn. It is supported by two carved sticks, to which it is firmly attached, so that the bottom is about a foot from the ground. It is painted in the following manner: Two rather [531] narrow lines of paint across the center of the drum, one blue and the other green. The portion of the drum next to the yellow line is painted blue, and that next to the blue line red. No meanings for the colors were obtained.

## Watunahe'ewe Feast
(afraid-to-eat-greens feast)

241 785 262 Informant, member of Beaver clan: Just about roasting-ear month people would commence to fast and continue until the green corn is ripe enough to be eaten. They fast so that all the plants may strengthen the tribe.

The fast generally takes place in a special lodge, from under which all the grass has been cut, for the faster must not come in contact with anything that is green. When the fasting is over a feast is given at which all those present eat "greens" for the first time.

## The Captive's Death Dance

● 727 535 Before putting a captive to death it is customary to tie his arms behind him in such a manner that his hands have a little freedom. Then they put a gourd in his right hand and a lance in his left hand

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and permit him to dance and sing. This is called the *wangenipke-i*[a] dance." 727 535

"So then the turtle was told to dance his death dance—i. e., *wangenipke-i*[a] dance. Both of his arms were tied behind above the elbows. Only thus was he permitted to walk. His wrists were tied in front, so that he could not stretch out his arms. His ankles were tied in such a way that he could not take any long steps. He carried a gourd in one hand and a sacred object in the other, and with these he danced up and down the village, performing his death dance and singing and shaking his gourd. Many people came to see him. He stopped and changed his song, singing, "O death, O death! You young women come here to see me. I am anxious for death." . . .

(It seems that it is customary to grant any wish the captive makes while dancing this dance.)

### The Farewell Dance

When a person is about to go on the warpath he goes around the village dancing and asking for volunteers to accompany him. New volunteers join him as he dances and sings. When the dancing is over these volunteers tell the people how their forefathers encouraged them to go on the warpath, etc. 535 721

At the beginning and end of each song they strike their mouths with their hands and give a whoop.

FAREWELL SONGS 533 539

I 535 721

Hi'shê weje'ji yare'na[a] da'tru[a] wa'ŋkênangro waja[a] ana'ŋgere; hi'she
Truth he speaks I hope, war leaders, what he says, truth
weje'ji yare'na[a].
he tells I hope.

II

Cuŋkana'ŋgere je'she hidanankik'i[a]na dotcû'ŋkera wanga'ninge: je'she
These dogs like I think of myself war leader a man I am: Thus
hidanankik'i[a]na.
I think of myself.
(I. e., I don't value my life any more than that of a dog.)

III

Jige' ya'ŋgeni'na[a] waja[a] a'i[a]p'anai'na dotcu'ŋkera; jige' yare'na[a].
Again I desire it something a long time war leader; again I desire
(I. e., it is a long time since I have been on the warpath.)

IV

Ga ai'ŋcke xawa'niŋktcane'na[a] dotcu[a] wuŋkcarî'cke xawa'niŋktcanena[a]
Even that they say will disappear war leader even he will disappear.
(I. e., I don't value my life any more than the war-leader does.)

[a] The following description of this dance, contained in one of the versions of the myth, "Turtle on the warpath," is no doubt fairly accurate.

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are here, I send forth my greetings to you. Those of the various clans (present) have counseled me repeatedly and all the women and children have pleaded in my behalf (with the spirits). What love that was! And what does life consist of but love! The clan councilor is repeating the songs (that were obtained) when the sacred bundle was made, so that when the time for the tobacco offering to the spirits came, they would have the tobacco that they have kept all this time (ready). Now, sure enough, the time has arrived and they are sitting prepared to pray to all the various spirits. Long ago when they saw war they cooked the man they were to go after.[108] That is why they did it. A good (prosperous) warpath they will surely have. When they are actually in the midst of their warpath and are about to rush for one another (i. e., the Winnebago and his enemy), let him pour tobacco to the various spirits who are in control of war. If you say 'Grandfather, thus we used to offer you,' although you may not know (by any word or direct sign) whether those in control of war have answered you, (you will know it) as soon as the rush upon the enemy takes place and, although you go where the bullets and arrows rain hardest, you will pass out of the reach of the bullets and will pass safely out (of all danger). If the people rush for a man to bestow the war honors upon,[109] you will be the one. If you give the sacred feast in the proper way, if you burn up much tobacco and food, then the various spirits, especially the Thunderbirds, who are in control of the greatest war power, (will bless you) for the excellent way in which you have (prayed to them). Whenever the Thunderbirds come they will remember you; and when they come they will even call you by name and say, 'Let us smoke here.'[109] When the young begin to grow up, one of the men encourages them. Only a few, however, are like this. It is good. He (the host) has preached and pleaded for as many men as are present. They (the host and his band) have made offerings of food to our grandfathers who live in the west (the Thunderbirds) and pleasing offerings of tobacco and buckskin have they sent out to them. They have permitted me to impersonate (this spirit) and have thus given life to myself and my unimportant clansmen, who have been living in so lowly a condition. With real life have we felt ourselves connected (through your actions). With life have we felt ourselves connected by means of that vessel which the Creator gave me as a

796x 539x [782] [782]

[108] Here the literal translation is nonsense. The real meaning is that the spirit of the enemy they are to kill on the warpath is present in the food offered up at this feast. This is a characteristic Winnebago conception. For another example, see a version of the origin myth of the Thunderbird clan bundle, where the hero, by drinking a certain liquid, has not only a vision of the people he is going to kill, but even hears their dying groans.

[109] This refers to the custom of running out to greet the returning warriors in order to conduct them into the village and bestow the war honors upon those who have counted coup. [727]

[109] I. e., if a person makes it a habit to offer tobacco, the spirits will say, "Let us stop at such and such a man's place as we go along and have a smoke."

about two days' distance from their camp. They arrived at 539
the destined place at evening and the woman pitched the tent, while the man went out to gather wood. Since there was nothing to eat he told his wife that he would go in search of food immediately. He took his bow and arrows and left. While he was gone the woman fetched some water, filled the kettle and put it on the fire so that it would be ready when her husband returned. At dusk he returned carrying a deer on his back. This he set down outside and the woman skinned it and prepared it in the usual manner by cutting it first into small pieces and then drying these by the heat of the fire. Then they all sat down and ate and, shortly after, went to bed. The woman and children were soon fast asleep but the man stayed awake planning the hunt for the following day, for he wished very much to please his father-in-law. On the following morning he told his wife that if, during his absence, anything should happen she was under no circumstances to leave the children. Then he took his bow and his arrows and went away.

Now in the olden days it was considered a very brave [554]
thing for a man to camp at some distance from the main settlement and that is why, on this occasion when he was leaving, the man said to his wife, "If anything happens to you while I am away, remember that I will return immediately." He wished to show how much he loved her. He was out all day hunting and he killed a deer, skinned it and began carrying it home on his back. When he was near the site of his little camp he noticed that the lodgepoles were all standing upright and he knew immediately [727]
what had happened; he knew at once that his wife and children had either been killed or captured. He felt terrible but he laughed when he reached the lodge and found

539 [727] his wife gone and the children dead. The bodies of the children had been placed in a standing posture against the door. Their lips were parted so that they might thus convey to their father on his return, the impression of smiling at him. This was an old custom and it was done because the enemy thought that, in this way, they could cause a father the most pain.

When the man returned and saw all this, he quietly attended to the fire, prepared his meal and then addressed the children saying to them, "Come, this is the last meal that we will take together." Then he pried open their mouths and put a piece of meat in their throats. After he had fed them, he himself sat down to eat. When he was through he painted his body in two colors, one side from head to foot white and the other from head to foot black. Then he again spoke to the children, "My dear children, I believe I can go on a few warpaths myself and [775] I shall endeavor to send your spirits to the spirit land as properly as I know how. I shall kill the people who have slain you and many more to boot."

Then he put some arrows in his quiver and buried his children. Starting out he soon found himself in a trail and by carefully scrutinizing the footprints he discovered those of his wife, and thus knew that she had been taken prisoner. Now he transformed himself into a ghost and following the trail, found the enemy not far away. He ran ahead of them and waited, and as one of the enemy who was carrying the medicine pouch approached, he gave a whoop and killed him, cutting off his head as far as the neck. Then he disappeared in the brush, hid the head and ran ahead again. So he killed one after another, eight in all. When [727] day dawned he returned to the camp with his eight heads and eight war clubs. These he first placed around his camp-

ing site, but then picking them up started for the home of his own father. 539

Thus, with the eight heads, he came to his father's lodge, but he did not enter it until late at night. Then when all his people were asleep, he blackened his face and entering the lodge, sat down in the place he had occupied before he had married. The old man suddenly saw some one sitting in his son's accustomed seat and awakening his wife he said to her, "There is some one sitting in our son's seat who looks exactly like our son." Both of them then sat up and soon they discovered that it really was their son and that he was in mourning, his face all blackened with charcoal. [965]

Then the old man spoke, "My son, what is the matter?" And the son answered, "Father, a war-party came upon my camp while I was out hunting, took my wife prisoner, and killed my children." "My son, if you had any respect for yourself, why did you not die with your children?" "Father, let me explain to you how it happened. While I was out hunting they fell upon my lodge, killed my two children and took my wife prisoner. When I came back I felt very miserable but I laughed and cooked my own meal, fed the children and ate with them for the last time. Then I pursued the war party and on that very night I killed eight of them, whose heads and war clubs I have brought home with me. Near the spring I have hidden them. There I placed the heads in a row and there I planted the war clubs in the ground, one near each head." "My son," said the father, "you have done well and the souls of your children will certainly reach the spirit land safely. For us, too, you have brought some nice heads, so that we might derive some amusement from them. I am very thankful to you." [927]

In the morning the father sent the crier around the vil-

539 lage with the news of what his son had accomplished all alone. All the men in the village put on their war paint, took their war clubs and ran to the place where the heads had been deposited. There each man struck one and giving the war whoop, counted *coup* on the enemy. Then they [727] took the heads and brought them to their war lodge. There the victory dance was given and there all praised the man who had accomplished this brave deed.

When the dance was over the man again blackened his face and fasted for ten days. His people gave a feast when he had finished his fast, and at this feast he told them that he was now going on the warpath to rescue his wife who had been captured, and that all those who wished to come along could do so. "To-morrow at dawn," he said, "we will get ready and go to a certain hill and from there start out." So the next morning they gathered at the appointed place and started out. The man led the expedition. They marched all that day and toward evening they built their fires and sat around the fireplace while the old warriors told war exploits. The next day they marched all day again and so on until the third day. On the fourth day the man said, "Now here I shall attempt to locate the whereabouts of the enemy." So he went away and on that very night he succeeded in approaching the enemy's village. He found them all asleep. Then he went to his wife and said, "I have come to get you. The spirit who is in charge of this war-party has given this whole village to me and to-morrow we shall kill them all. Your brothers are outside with me and to-morrow, when we rush upon these people, you must run toward your brothers and tell them that you want to be a prisoner. I shall tell my friends to be on the lookout for you and not kill you. Now remember, do as I tell you, for if you don't,

they will kill you!" "I shall try," said the woman. Then the man returned to his followers and told them that everything was well and cautioned them about the woman, telling the brothers also to see that she was not killed. 539

When day dawned they fell upon the village and surprised it. They fought nearly half a day and killed practically every one except the head chiefs and their sons, whom they took prisoners. They then returned home. [727] When they reached the village they took both the prisoners and the captured scalps to their war lodge where they were guarded. The next morning they tied the prisoners to posts, danced around them and tortured them till they died.

Now such is the story of a man who was faithful to the spirit from whom he had received war blessings. He gave feasts and he made offerings in their honor. He fasted and his prayers were answered. [782]

### *The Story of the Man Who Rescued His Wife from Spirit-land*

In a certain village there once lived two young married people. The woman was very beautiful and her husband loved her very much. Always he was thinking of something that he could do for her. 539 775

One day the young woman got ill. They called for a shaman but he could do nothing for her. Many were the holy men the young husband called, but it was all of no avail and the young woman died. They buried her. On the evening of the funeral many friends came to the grave to place lights there, so that the soul of the departed might find its way through spirit land. The young man was very good and every one liked him. They all came to the Four 000

# *The Teachings of My Father*

inflict this suffering upon yourself. Not without constant 159*
effort are these blessings procurable. Try to have one of 776
the spirits created by Earthmaker take pity on you. What- 867
ever he says will come about. If you do not possess one 787
of the spirits from whom to obtain strength and power, 721
you will be of no consequence socially and those around [626]
you will show you little respect. Indeed they will jeer at
you.

My son, it is not good to die in the village; in your 159*
homes. Above all, do not let women journey to the spirit 867
land ahead of you. It is not done. To prevent this from 761
happening do we speak to our sons and encourage them to 785
fast. Some day in life you will find yourself traveling along 787
a road filled with obstacles and then you will wish you had
fasted. When such an event confronts you, that you may
not find it necessary to reproach yourself, I counsel you
to fast. If you have not obtained any knowledge from the
spirits, why it may happen that some day, in later life,
warriors will be returning from the warpath and as they [593]
distribute the war prizes to their sisters,[18] your own sisters [727]
will stand there empty-handed envying the rest. But if
you obtain blessings from the war-controllers, your sisters
will be happy. How proud they will be to receive the
prizes, to wear them, and to dance the victory dance! Your
sisters too will be strengthened thereby and you will be
content and happy.

Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to 000

[18] Among the Winnebago a man's sisters, especially his elder sisters, were very highly respected and all war prizes, such as wampum-belts, wampum necklaces, etc., were always given to them [562] whenever a man returned from a successful war-party in which he had secured some honor. These war honors were of various kinds. The greatest was considered to be the feat of having struck the body [721] of a dead enemy first.

*159 765 [775] [539] [537]

I have control will carry for him, and they will lead him by the hand until he reaches his destination. I greet you all.

Then he narrated his war exploit. He went into great detail. He told as accurately as it was possible how he had killed a man, broken his collar bone and [727] then flayed him; how he had then chopped and cut up the body and mutilated him in such a fashion that he could not be identified; how finally he had stolen his dogs. All night he spoke in this strain. He went on to tell how he had killed and utterly destroyed an entire village so that no one was left to tell of the massacre. All night he told of his war exploits. Sometimes such an account may last two to three hours. When he finished the people all went to sleep.

For three nights the same thing was repeated. Throughout this time a burning ember was placed at the grave. When the spirit was ready to start his [775] journey he took this ember, it is believed.

For the fourth night all the brave men as well as everybody else in the neighborhood were invited. A great quantity of food was prepared and the relatives [524] of the mourners brought objects to be used in the games that are always played at the wake. They tried to comfort the main mourners as much as possible. On the fourth night a burning ember was also placed at the grave of the deceased.

As soon as the attendants prepared the food the chief mourner got up and spoke:

*159 Thus I spoke. However, they made me an offering
72 of tobacco as they asked me, and I accepted the to-
[701] bacco saying that I would at least make an offering
[787] of tobacco for them. Then I offered tobacco to the
[776] Thunderbirds and asked them for rain, that we might
walk in the protection and power of rain. This offering we made in the morning and it rained all that day. Then we went to the place where we knew that we could find horses. When we got there we met the owner of the horses and spoke to him. We accompanied him to a carpenter shop nearby, and there killed him. I struck his dead body, counted coup[56] first,
[555] and announced my new name, as I gave a war-whoop.
[551] I shouted '*Big-Winnebago* has counted coup on his man.' Then the others counted coup also. We searched his pockets and found medicine and money
[727] in them. The money we divided among ourselves. After that we cut out his heart, for we had heard that
[826] hearts were used for medicine. That is why we cut out his heart. He had a gun and that we took away from him and hid."

Then my father said to me, "My son, it is good. Your life is no longer an effeminate one. This is the manner in which our ancestors encouraged us to live. It is the will of the spirits in control of war that has led

[56] The first four war honors enumerated above are called "counting coup" by the Whites. *Coup* is the French for *strike* and the expression owes its origin to the custom of warriors counting the number of people they have killed or honors they have obtained by striking the post at the grave of the particular person for whose benefit they are recounting their achievements.
[555]

## *We Kill a Pottawattomie*

you to do this. Of your own initiative you could not 159*
possibly have done it. However, we had better not 721
have a Victory Dance as yet. We have the honor any- [720]
how. We must be careful about the Whites. In the
old days we were at liberty to live in our own way, and [648]
when such a deed as yours became known, your sisters
would rejoice and dance, we are told. Now, however,
the law of the Whites is to be feared. In due time you
will get a chance to announce your feat and then you
can wear a head ornament for you have earned that [554]
right for yourself."

[P. 151]

## §23. *I Take a Trip to Nebraska*

*159 597 Shortly after this I had to go to Nebraska. It was in connection with a child I once had, a boy who had died when he was two years old. His mother's father then adopted another one in his place. This child belonged to the Menominee tribe. I had to go there for I was the adopted father of the child and he was thus my son, the one who was taking my dead son's place. [431] I gave the boy a horse at the ceremony performed to fill the dead child's place. The ceremony itself was the [796] Sore Eye Dance.[37] The relatives of the mother gave me some beaded bags, two boxes of maple sugar, etc. Before I had started out for Nebraska, when I was still living in Wittenberg, the boy came to me. I was then living with a woman, and she gave me many things that I was to take along with me to Nebraska and for which she hoped I would get horses in return.

*159 When I started, I stopped at Black River Falls. I went to a woman with whom I had once lived, in order to take her along with me, but she refused. I had gone

[575] [37] The Sore Eye Dance, called more correctly the Society-of-those-who-have-been-blessed-by-the-Night-Spirits, is a secret society organized something like that of the Medicine Dance but quite different in object. It is primarily a war ceremony and its nickname of Sore Eye Dance arose out of the fact that it was so frequently given [727] after the return of a successful war party that the people attending [796] it, got sore eyes from staying up so long.

## §26. *I Am Arrested for Murder and Confess*

Two years elapsed. At about that time we heard 159* that the men who were responsible for the disappearance of the Pottawattomie had been discovered. One of those who had taken part in his murder had been to Nebraska and had there announced his deed in recounting his acts of bravery at a Warrior Dance. Such [727] was the rumor. This same man had also announced it at a funeral wake. It was in this way that the facts had come out.

That same winter, while I was living in the forest [201] cutting wood, two men came to me one night. They were officers. They mentioned a man's name to me and asked me if I knew him. I said, "Yes." "Well," said they, "let us go to town. We want to ask you some things." They told me to get ready. I did so and rode in a wagon they possessed. Then the men asked me, "Did Peter kill this man? Do you know?" "I do not know," I said to them. Then they told me from what source they had obtained the information and again asked me, "Did you ever hear anything about it?" "No," I answered. "Did you know that this man was missing?" "I did hear that a man had been missing, but as I had not known him, I did not give the matter much thought," I said to them. Then

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12



124 838 of prophecy. The name dejáŋčowiŋga was given as applying to the story told by S.S., and this berdache was described as a "bachelor," who at one time had acted as a foster mother to several children belonging to his sister or half-sister. One of the nieces reared by dejáŋčowiŋga was still living near Black River Falls in 1946, but it was impossible to obtain any direct information from her. She was about fifty-five years old in 1946.

At the Wisconsin Dells two Winnebago men overheard M.M. and the writer discussing dejáŋčowiŋga and one of them, a contemporary of M.M., recalled that he had heard of dejáŋčowiŋga whose brothers had threatened to kill him if he "put on the skirt." The other man, who was born in 1898 or 1899, said that he would try to obtain more information for the writer from his maternal and paternal uncles, two elderly men who lived near Tomah, Wisconsin. J.S.'s uncles merely substantiated as much as was already known of the dejáŋčowiŋga story without clarifying the term applied to berdaches generally. However, J.S. believed that an old man who lived near Victory, Wisconsin could supply more data, and some time later had an interview with him. This was reported several months later, in March, 1947. J.S. said that the old man had considered the matter a "bad story" and only agreed to tell it because J.S. had done him several favors. At one time, the old man had explained, a band of Winnebago returned from a war expedition with several Sioux captives, among them a chief. Under ordinary circumstances the warrior (hawk) clan would have taken charge of the ultimate fate of the prisoners, but in this village the only members of the warrior clan were a very small boy and his grandmother. The grandmother was called upon to speak for the grandson because, while the decision should have rested with the male members of the clan, the only male member present was a child. What became of the chief's followers is not known, but the grandmother decreed that the leader was to remain in the village unharmed, but had to dress, act, work and generally conduct himself as a woman as long as he lived. This took place many years ago and no one knows why the grandmother took such a harsh stand except that possibly she had some old grudge against the Sioux. J.S. reported that the old man told him this was the "first dejáŋčowiŋga," and, as far as could be determined, the term liáŋge was not used.

727 838

838 124 Upon further questioning by J.S., the old man qualified the foregoing story by saying that other men, who were members of the Winnebago tribe, dressed and acted like women because they had been told to do so by the moon at the time of their vision quest. These men were highly respected, were prophets, could do women's work better than women, and sometimes even married other men.

The fact that transvestites who conducted themselves as women were not always true berdaches is illustrated in another story collected from M.R. in the winter of 1945. M.R. died in 1946 at the age of fifty years and he was never questioned as to the relationship of the following story to cases of true berdaches because the significance of the matter was not then clear to the writer.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12



Clans are likewise referred to by names indicative of respect. 614
Thus, the Water-spirit is referred to as *hunge*, male members of the Bear clan as *haga*, and female members of the same clan as *warowiṇa*. It was claimed that these names were employed to avoid using the others. *Degoni* (meaning unknown, perhaps "lake-people") was also applied to the Bear; and *iconaṇke* (meaning unknown) to the Wolf.

Referring to the two village diagrams, we notice that according to Figure 1, four clans have their lodges definitely located— [621] the Thunderbird, Warrior, Buffalo, and Bear; but that according to Figure 2 only two clans have definite location of lodges— the Thunderbird, and Bear. In addition there is, however, [554] a special lodge for the men who have especially distinguished [729] themselves in war, not necessarily to be identified with the members of the Warrior clan. The significance of the clan names has been discussed before.

The meaning of *iconaṇke* is unknown to-day, but it may be 614
of interest as an example of the manner in which the name of 192
a clan may possibly be reinterpreted that, when pressed for a meaning, *iconaṇke* was translated blue-back, which is a literal translation of *ico* and *naṇke*, but which unquestionably represents a folk etymology, for, according to Winnebago grammar, *blue-back* would have to be *naṇke ico*.

### *Legendary Grouping of Clans.*

According to many clan legends, the clans originated in 614
a definite order. As might be expected, this differs according 773
to each clan, but the order of origin of the important ones seems to be constant. That is, practically all clan origin myths speak of the bird-clans as having originated first, and the Bear clan as having followed next. Yet even this did not hold true for all informants.

J., of the Bear clan, gave the following list:

Good Thunders (Thunderbird)
Bad Thunders (Warrior)
Eagle
Pigeon
Bear

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
NP12 Winnebago NP12



178 where the majority of Indian workers live in a separate camp,
722 and the camp itself is somewhat divided according to the different tribes located there.

However, the war will undoubtedly have its social affect when the Indian soliders return from an existence of strict discipline to the semi-nomadic life of the Winnebago group. [729] Even the veterans present at this summer's cherry camp showed a sense of dissatisfaction and a feeling of estrangement from the society.

178 In brief summary of the general picture of cultural change;
182 we have wide variations in attitude toward the cultural situation between the older and younger generations in a group representative of many Wisconsin Winnebago communities. In this group, cultural changed in intensity from complete cultural shift of Indian to white traits, to various stages of cultural transition and modification. Finally, there remain a considerable quantity of old Indian traits preserved intact.

From the observation of past and present cultural trends, it appears safe to predict the continuance of now recognized types of cultural change, but we must bear in mind possible future developments brought about by the present war.

000 As a final note it is important to remark that this study is far from complete, and is but a basis for future research.

The writer would like to thank her Winnebago friends, particularly Mr. John C. Decora of Wittenberg, Mr. Mitchell Redcloud of Merrillan, and Mr. Nat Long of Wausau, who made this article possible.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



175 Perrot also gives an account of the relentless war waged against them:

[839 This nation was a populous one, very redoubtable and spared no one; they violated
[266 all the laws of nature; they were Sodomites, and even had intercourse with beasts.
648] If a stranger came among them, he was cooked in their kettles. The Malhominis (Menominees) were the only tribe who maintained relations with them; they did not dare even to complain of their tyranny.

Lawson goes on to say:

175 So aggressive were the Winnebago that although their only arms "were stone
648 hatchets and knives," they declared war on all the other tribes. Envoys sent to them by the Ottawa were eaten, which cruel deed so incensed the surrounding tribes that they formed an alliance and sent frequent war expeditions against the common enemy; and greatly harassed them. As a result of disagreements among themselves
[669 and the continued troublesome activities of the allied tribes, civil wars broke out
162 among the Winnebago. For better protection against the tribes they were finally
164 forced "to unite all their forces in one village, where they numbered four or five thousand men," but an epidemic occurred which soon reduced their number to 1,500.
731] "Despite all these misfortunes, they sent a party of 500 warriors against the Outagamis (Fox), who dwelt on the other shore of the lake; but all those men perished, while making that journey, by a tempest that arose."

We suppose that this disaster occurred on Little Lake Butte des Morts, as it has been stated that the Winnebago resided on an island, which we suppose was Doty Island. The Winnebago being now greatly reduced by despair and famine, the other tribes were moved to pity by their condition and ceased to make war, and the Illinois sent 500 men, including "50 of the most prominent persons in their nation," to carry to them a supply of provisions. These the Winnebago received "with the utmost gratitude;" but at the same time meditated sacrificing the Illinois to the shades of their dead. A large cabin was erected to lodge their guests, and arrangements made for a dance in their honor. While the Illinois were dancing their bowstrings were
[266 cut, and the Winnebago "flung themselves upon the Illinois, massacred them, not sparing one man, and made a general feast of their flesh."

Reproaching themselves for this dastardly deed, and fearing the vengeance of the allied tribes when it should become known to them, the Winnebago "resolved to abandon the place which they were occupying," and "took refuge on an island, which has since been swept away by ice floes." There they considered themselves safe, as the Illinois did not use canoes. The Illinois, finding that their people did not return, investigated the place and found only their bones. In order to allow a proper period for mourning for the dead:

"They deferred hostilities until the second year, when they assembled a large body of men from all Nations who were interested in the undertaking; and they set out in the winter season, in order not to fall therein. Having reached the Island over the ice, they found only the cabins in which there still remained some fire, the Puans (Winnebago) had gone to their Hunt on the day before, and were traveling in a body, that they might not, in an emergency, be surprised by the Illinois."

They followed the hunters in the dead of winter, coming up to them on the sixth day and attacking their camp.

"So vigorous was their attack that they killed, wounded, or made prisoners all the Puans, except a few who escaped, and who reached the Malhominis' village, but severely wounded by arrows."

He [Perrot] again refers to these traditional events as those of "the ancestors" of the tribe as he knew them, and which we judge to refer to ancestors of the Winnebago

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



of possibly the year 1669. There is no record to say how many years before, though it was doubtless several years, for 50 years before La Potherie published his history Allouez had told the same story of the destruction of the Winnebago by the Illinois: 175 648

"About 30 years ago all the people of this nation were killed or taken captive by the Illinoek with the exception of a single man, who escaped, shot through the body with an arrow."

This would place the event in about the year 1640.

He adds that when the captives were permitted to return to their homes this one was made a "Captain of his Nation," as having never been a slave. Shea commenting on this disastrous defeat of the Winnebago says, "If this strange event took place at all, we must ascribe it to an earlier date than 1638 (1634), when visited by Nicolet, who "found them prosperous, and we can hardly suppose a tribe almost annihilated and then restored to its former numbers in 30 years." . . . Nicolet, it will be remembered, was sent to this then unknown region for the purpose of "making peace" between the Winnebago and the Hurons. As the Winnebago were strong enough to command that attention from Governor Champlain, Dorter Shea is quite correct in supposing the Winnebago to have been "a prosperous tribe" in 1634. The events mentioned in the foregoing accounts are not historical, but traditional, for assuredly they did not take place after the coming of Nicolet, as he was followed by other white men in such short periods as to make it impossible for the occurrence of these stirring events to go unrecorded by others.

Charlevoix visited the tribe in 1720, and though a historian of note in old Canada, records the occurrence as history, though we have shown it to have taken place, if at all, more than a century before he went among them. He possibly got the story from the records of Allouez, made a half century before, though it may have been a riverside or cabin story heard by him at the time of his visit to this frontier of New France. He says:

"The Ochagras, who are commonly called Puans, formerly lived on the shores of the bay . . . but they were attacked by the Illinois, who slew great numbers of them; the rest took refuge on the river of the Outagamis (Fox River), which empties into the end of the bay. They settled upon the shores of a sort of lake (Lake Winnebago)." [131]

Charlevoix . . . adds another disaster not mentioned by the other old writers. In this same narrative he records that "sometime after" the Winnebago had settled on Lake Winnebago:

"They undertook to revenge the defeat which they had suffered from the Illinois. Six hundred of their best men embarked to seek their enemy; but while they were crossing Lake Michigan they were surprised by a furious gale, which caused them all to perish."* [73]

The Winnebago still tell of these events and practically in the same words as Perrot obtained them, as can be learned from the following versions obtained in 1910. 173

*a.* When the Winnebago first originated, they were holy and clever. They were equal to the spirits. In those days there lived a Winnebago who could fly like a bird, one who could fly as far as four days' journey from the village. There was another Winnebago who could scent anything as far away as four days' journey from the village. Then there was one man who could talk with the trees. They told him many things. Finally there was one who could transform himself into a buffalo. On account of these four men, it was

* Op. cit., pp. 99-00.

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Shortly after this he traveled again and came to a band of Indians who were eating peyote. It was his custom to try everything when he went visiting. He did not realize what he was doing when he ate this medicine, but he did it anyhow. After a while he began to think of his manner of life, and he felt that he was doing wrong. All the evil he had done he remembered. Then he prayed to God. Suddenly it occurred to him, "Perhaps I am the only one doing this." Then he looked around and watched the others, and he saw them praying in the same manner. [59 794 276 484]

Not long after that he came home, taking with him some of this medicine. He knew it was holy. At home he offered tobacco to it and kept on eating it. Soon it cured him of a disease he had. He tried to induce some of the others to try it, but they refused. After a while a few tried it, and the peyote movement began to spread. All the old customs that they had been accustomed to observe they abandoned. They gave up the medicine dance and the ceremonies connected with the clans. For that reason, therefore, the conservative people hated them; their own brothers and sisters hated them, for they had abandoned what were considered holy ceremonies. [177 755]

## Albert Hensley's Account of the Peyote[1]

(Pls. 8, 9, 6)

I am 37 years old. It was 37 years ago that my mother gave birth to me in an old-fashioned reed lodge. When I was a year old she died and my grandmother took care of me. I had come into the world a healthy child, but bad luck was apparently to pursue me, for when I was 7 years old my grandmother died. Then my father took care of me. At that time he began to be a bad man; he was a drunkard and a horse thief. He would frequently get into trouble and run away, always taking me along with him, however. On one occasion we fled to Wisconsin, and there we stayed two years. We got along pretty well, and there my father married again. By his second wife he had three children. [59

After a while he got into trouble again, and misfortune followed misfortune. People were killing each other, and I was left alone. If at any time of my life I was in trouble it was then. I was never happy. Once I did not have anything to eat for four days. We had fled to the wilderness, and it was raining continually. The country was flooded with high water, and we sat on the top of a tree. It was impossible to sleep, for if we went to sleep we would fall off into the water, which was very deep. The shore was quite far away. As we were prominent people, we soon heard that my [731]

[1] This account is of great importance, because Hensley introduced a large number of Christian elements into the ceremony, the principal one being the Bible.

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867 787 the warpath.[7] So they say. If you do not become an individual warranted to lead a war party, yet mistaking yourself for one although really an ordinary warrior, you "throw away a man," your act will [686 be considered most disgraceful. A mourner might harm you in 627] revenge for the fact that you have caused him to mourn, and burn you with embers. Your people will all be sad, both on account of your disgrace and on account of the pain inflicted upon you.

787 My son, not with the blessing of one of the spirits merely, nor with 867 the blessing of twenty, for that matter, can you go on the warpath. 776 You must have the blessing of all the spirits above the earth, and of all those on the earth, and of all those who are pierced through the earth;[8] of all those under the earth; of all those who are under the water; of all those that are on the sides of the earth, i. e., all the four winds; of the Disease-giver;[9] of the Sun; of the Daylight;[10] of the Moon; of the Earth; and of all those who are in control of war powers—with the blessings of all these deities must you be provided before you can lead a successful war party.

867 My son, if you cast off dress[11] men will be benefited by your deeds. 554 You will be an aid to all your people. If your people honor you, it will be good. And they will like you even the more if you obtain a

721 787 701 686 [622]

[7] Among the Winnebago any individual who has been blessed with the necessary powers to lead a warpath may do so, but it is absolutely essential that his blessing covering him be of such a nature that every possible contingency is included therein. Such complete blessings are, of course, not common nor can they be obtained except through unusual exertions. If you are blessed with just the ordinary or incomplete war powers and you nevertheless undertake to lead a war party, you may either be defeated or perhaps only partially successful, and, what is worse, you may lose some of the warriors who started with you. Your misfortune has thus caused the death of some of your fellow tribesmen. It is understood that every warrior before starting on the warpath turn his "blessing" over to the chief of the tribe for examination, and if the chief considers it complete the warrior is not held responsible for the lack of success or loss of life. If the chief does not consider an individual's blessing sufficient to justify the objects he has in view and forbids the warrior to go, and if the latter nevertheless goes, or, practically the same by doing not even submit his "blessing" to the chief for scrutiny, and succeeds, then he is held directly responsible for any mishap on the warpath. The relatives of any individual thus killed may hold the war leader responsible and demand compensation, or, as is indicated by [illegible] a few lines later, a mourner of a man who has been placed in mourning by the criminal inefficiency of the war leader) might attack, perhaps kill him, without being held guilty of any crime. It must of course be understood that such occurrences would seldom take place. We must, however, remember throughout these "teachings" that one of the objects of the old men was to draw the most alluring pictures of the rewards that would fall to the lot of those who followed in the footsteps of their ancestors, and, on the other hand, to draw the most lurid pictures of the vicissitudes that befell those who deviated, no matter in what details, from the customs sanctioned by age.

773 776

[8] According to the Winnebago creation myth, when Earthmaker, the creator of the earth, first began to generalize and begin creating life the earth on which we were to live was in continual motion, and nothing that the former could do seemed to be able to stop it. From above he threw down grass, trees, etc., but all was of no avail. Finally he hit upon the happy expedient of pinning the earth down on the four corners by means of four enormous snakes, or, as some say, by means of four mythical animals known as water spirits. It is to these that the old man is referring here. According to the story, even these were of no avail, and it was only when he finally placed four mythical beings known as "Island Weights" on the four corners that our planet stopped spinning. These "Island Weights" seem to be identical with the spirits of the four cardinal points, but they are not to be confused with the four winds mentioned later.

776

[9] A deity conceived of as dealing out life-giving powers from one half of his body and death-giving powers from the other half. He is also supposed to disseminate disease. Disease-giver is a literal translation of the Winnebago word, but this probably does not convey the exact meaning. There seems to be no parallel to this peculiar deity among the other Siouan tribes or among the Algonquins.

822

[10] Daylight or light is conceived of as something different and distinct from the sun.

735

[11] That is, if you give away things frequently, especially to your people.

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The soldier dance is a hop up and down with both feet and in no particular order, anywhere around the singers. It is held in the open air. 796 614 [535]

SOLDIER DANCE SONGS

I

Manaap'ᵉ'ra ma°ji°winą.
Soldiers get up.

II

Waja°nija° tcwągi'jl ma°ji°a°niją.
Something difficult get ready.
(I. e., whenever there is anything difficult to do you must get ready.)

III

Manaap'ᵉ'ra nowinᵉ'na° hu'nągiredra.
Soldiers I am he whom they spoke of.

IV

Manaap'ᵉ'ra hi'ja° winᵉ'na°.
Soldier one I am.
(I. e., I am a soldier, and if there is anything to do I'll do it.)

796 614 533 539

## Ceremony of Uanoeri'

(BEGINNING CEREMONY)

A dummy is made of grass and dressed with whatever objects the maker wants to get. If he wants a horse he puts a bridle crosswise around the body of the dummy; if he wants clothes, he dresses him up in Indian clothes. Then the man places this dummy anywhere near a gathering, or where he expects a gathering to take place. He sits near it. As soon as any warrior sees the dummy he goes over to it and either kicks or strikes the man who made it, giving him at the same time one of the objects he wanted. Any person may do the same. They may not stop kicking the man until some warrior who had at some time or another cut up an enemy in war cuts up the dummy. Then all stop, and as soon as his bruises permitted him, the man would get up and pick up the gifts brought to him. 735 [532]

## Feast to Buffalo Tail

A grandfather of mine called Cokeboka fasted at Neceda, Wis. There he was blessed by a young buffalo bull calf belonging to a herd. The calf said, as the herd went by, "Father, keep going in the road; mother, keep going in the road." He meant a warpath instead of the road they were going in. The man was to go on a warpath, from which he would return victorious. 787

They used to make offerings to this tail alone, apart from the war bundle. The braided grass was to be used for smoking. The feast is given in spring after the grass grows up, and in midwinter. Ground corn is boiled in making the feast. [782 778] 527

## Kikre Waci and Tcwąkona°k Dances

There is a pleasure dance called *kikre waci* and a dance called *tcwąkona°k* (wearing buffalo headdresses). The latter is of Sioux origin. 535 177

701 Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to
* 159 be a leader of men. To become one, however, is very
867 difficult, the old people used to say. It may happen that
787 you merely pretend to be a leader of men, that you are but
a mere warrior in the ranks and yet take it upon yourself to
[686] lead a war-party and thus cause a needless waste of life,
that you do what is called "throwing away a life." That
is the most shameful of all acts. The relatives of the person
[627] whom you have thus sacrificed would then have the right
to make you suffer, to torture you with burning embers.
And then your relatives would have to stand by, sad and
humiliated. Not with the blessing of one, not with the
blessings of twenty spirits, can you go on the warpath.
* 159 For that the blessings of all the spirits are necessary—those
867 on this earth, those under it and those who lie pinned
776 through it, the Island Weights; those in the waters and
787 those on the side of the earth, the winds, all four of them.
You need the blessings of the spirit who dispenses life from
one side of his body and death from the other, the blessings of the Sun, the Moon, the Daylight, and the Earth.
All these Earthmaker has made controllers of war and by
787 all these must you be blessed in order to lead a war-party.
* 159 My son, if you cast off your dress for many people, that
867 is, if you give to the needy, your people will be benefited
• [735] by your deeds. It is good thus to be honored by many
people. And even more will they honor you if you return
[554] victorious from the warpath with one of the four limbs, that
is, one of the four war honors. But if you obtain two, or
three, or perhaps even four limbs, then all the greater will
be the honor. Then whenever a war feast is given you will
receive part of the deer that is boiled, either part of its
ooo body or part of the head.[18] When on some other occasion,

[18] The meat of a deer at such a feast is given only to great warriors. The head is regarded as the choicest piece.

the young girls not to maltreat a man. Hope with all your heart that you do not fall into such a predicament. I really mean what I say. 867 584

Do not be haughty with your husband. Do whatever he says. Kindness will be returned to you and he will treat you in the same way as you treat him. 867 593

If you have a child and it is naughty, do not strike it. In olden times when a child was naughty, the parents did not strike it, but instead made the child fast. Then when he is quite hungry he will reflect upon his disobedience. If you hit the child you will merely be putting more naughtiness in him. It has also been said that mothers should not lecture their children, that they merely make them bad by admonishing them. If your husband scolds them, do not take their part for then they will become bad indeed. If a stranger makes your children cry, do not speak to the stranger in your children's presence and take their part, If you wish to take the children's part, prevent such a thing from happening and keep your children home, and there at home, take good care of them and think of the best means of letting your children get to know you. When you are bringing up children, do not imagine you are taking their part if you just speak about loving them. Let them see it for themselves. Let them see what love is by observing you give things away to the poor. Then they will see your good deeds and then they will know whether you have been speaking the truth or not. 867 [861] 593 858 [735]

Do not show your love for other children so that other people notice it. Love them but let your love for them be different from your love for your own. The children of other people are different from your own and if they were to be taken to some other place they would become estranged from you; they would no longer belong to you.

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832 fulfill all the conditions I dig them out and mix them together with
278 their own roots. Then I take the blossom of the male and mix it together with the center leaf of the female flower. After that both are ground together thoroughly. Then I go to the woman I wish to court and, at night, when she is asleep, I touch first any part of her body, then a place not far from her heart, and finally the top of her head with this mixture. Finally I make her smell it. I then wake her up and go home. The girl will wonder who had touched her and she will think a good deal about the incident and never forget it. The next time I see her she will like me and she will do whatever I ask of her. The medicine would be working. If I did not see her for a long time, she would get lonesome, and the only thing that would cure her would be to marry me.

There is another medicine which I am now going to describe. When it first sprouts, which is in the spring, it is quite white. This must be taken and dried. Then one must chew it and go near the woman with whom one desires to talk. Approach her on the side from which the wind is blowing so that she can smell the medicine. As soon as she smells it, even although the man chewing it is one whom she has hitherto disliked, she will get to like him. This is the way in which the medicine works.

755 A man who was blessed was told of all these things. He cured all
[752] diseases. If a person had been shot and one blessed with the stench-earth medicine was called, he could be cured. In the same manner, if one is stabbed in what would generally be considered a fatal way and if a man blessed with stench-earth was called in time he would save him. The same cure is effected in cases of broken arms and of
[752] patients who are on the point of death. It is for this reason that those blessed with the stench-earth medicines are always praised, and that the people say "They surely are in charge of life; for their blessings really come from the spirits, just as they claim."[1]

756 [The "stench-earth" medicine men could undoubtedly cure the
[754] sick, but they also used it to poison people. The courting medicine was a poison medicine, and therefore it was not good. These people cured the body, but they killed the soul. It would have been much better had they saved their souls. They were really working for the devil. It is from him that they got all the bad medicines. Whenever they were offended, they would go and get poisons to kill the
754 774 offender. Thus the devil[2] was really causing them to kill their own souls and the souls of those they poisoned. It is the same with all

[1] The following portion in brackets is the comment of our informant, who is a member of the Peyote cult.

[2] Although he really means the Christian devil many of the traits of the old Winnebago deity Hareg'aina, the chief of the bad spirits, are clearly discernible.

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him from killing game. In the particular case mentioned above the spell was the following: A man killed a deer, and a pregnant woman ate a piece of the intestine. From that time on the man was unable to kill any more deer. 755 278 [224 843]

The above medicine is used to break the spell of ill luck in hunting caused by the following actions: If a man cohabits with a widow, or if one who is a widower eats together with another person, or if he smokes out of the same pipe as another person. Not only would the medicine free him from his ill luck in hunting, but it would give him good luck in cards and speed in running. [589]

Here is an astringent medicine. It is compounded of a mixture of the "clear" medicine and the "plant that spreads itself on the ground." It is used for the following purposes. As an application for swellings, for illness after childbirth, and for general sores and eruptions of the skin. In case of illness after childbirth it is injected. For sores, etc., it is taken internally. 757 278 [844]

Here is another medicine, called bladder medicine. It is made of the roots of a certain weed. These roots are boiled and then drunk. If one is troubled with stricture, the drinking of this medicine will enable him to pass water immediately. The same medicine is used to alleviate a toothache and to stop too profuse a menstrual flow. [841]

Now this is another medicine. It is made of the leaves of a certain plant. These leaves are rolled up and then drunk down with water. The medicine is used for all stomach complaints.

Here is another medicine used for diarrhea and dysentery. It is made from the roots of a plant that has many thorns and beautiful white blossoms. The roots are scraped and the scrapings boiled and gulped down. At least a pint of this concoction must be taken. It can also be used as a mouth wash for those troubled with sore mouths.

We have another medicine used to rid a person of superfluous bile. This acts as a strong physic and not only cures a person of his indisposition but also gives him a great appetite.

Here is another medicine. It is called the medicine for burns. It consists of the leaves of a certain weed that is dried. If anyone has a burn, he chews some of this dried weed and then applies it to the burn. [752]

Here is also a medicine for private diseases, compounded of the following:

1. Doxieu'tekera hara, red willow bark.
2. Ma"sixu'tekeda hara, English unknown.
3. Nap'a'hira hara, sharp tree.

These barks are pulverized and mixed together with skunk oil.

The next medicine I am going to describe is used in poisoning. It is called small-part-of-a-black-root-tree. It is used for many pur- 754 278

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 867 773 776

powers that the creator gave them. So it will be. Earthmaker made it thus.

My son, you must fast. If you breathe upon sick people,[17] I mean if you are blessed with that kind of power, you will be able to restore people to health. You will be of help to your people. If you can, in addition, draw out the pain from within the body of an individual, you will indeed be a help to your people. They will respect you. You will not even have to work for all your necessities, for those whom you treat will cheerfully support you as long as you live. If you should die, your name will be held in great respect and people will frequently talk about you. Ah, that man he had indeed great power! 867 756

My son, if you are not able to fast,[18] try at least to obtain some plants that are powerful. There are people who know the qualities of the different plants, who have been blessed by the spirits with this knowledge. It is pitiable enough that you could obtain nothing through fasting, so ask those that are in possession of these plants at least to have pity upon you. If they have pity upon you, they will bless you with one of the plants they possess, and you will thus have something to help you in life and to encourage you. One plant will not be enough. Of all the plants that cover the earth and lie like a fringe of hair upon the body of our grandmother, try and obtain knowledge of these, that you may be strengthened in life. Then you will have reason to feel encouraged. A real medicine man has even more justification for feeling encouraged than an ordinary one, because such a one has been blessed with life by the Water-spirits. If, therefore, you wish to obtain the real powers of curing people, so that you will have the power of making them arise from their sick beds, you must long and patiently wait and labor. If, however, you obtain the true powers—that is, if you obtain blessings from the Water-spirits—then some day, when your children are in need of medicine, you will not have to go and look for a medicine man, but you will only have to look into your medicine bundle. Whatever trouble your children have you will be able to cure it. Should anything be the matter with the people of your tribe they will call upon you. You can then open your medicine bundle and the individual who is wanting in life will be benefited from the stock of medicines 867 787 756

[17] Sickness is due to the presence of some object within the body. Illness can therefore only be cured if this object is extracted. This is generally accomplished by the shaman sucking it out through a bone tube. Among the Winnebago the shaman before applying the tube spirits sups water upon the afflicted person and breathes upon him. This is what the "breathing" refers to. [753 755]

[18] Not everyone who fasts is blessed with power. For those who are thus unable to obtain blessings directly from the spirits there is only one method of protection against evils left—the purchase of plants with magical properties from those who have been blessed with them. These can be obtained by any individual no matter how unsuccessful he has been in obtaining blessings through personal fasting. All that is needed is sufficient riches for purchasing them. Of course it goes without saying that those who have been blessed with power may and do also provide themselves with these medicines. [425]

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to Christian influence. The one place where he plays an important 776
rôle, the myth of the twins, shows definite indications of European 177
influence. The only thing that militates against such an assumption is the fact that there does not seem to be any particular reason why the existence of a chief evil spirit should have been doubted, even if we were to grant that Christian influence extended the belief. The French of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had a very definite idea of the devil and made it a point to tell the Indians that all their former habits were due to deceptions the devil had practiced upon them. To-day such an answer is the first that a Christianized Winnebago or a member of the new Peyote cult will give an ethnologist. Perhaps, after all, it is a very old Winnebago conception, a confirmation of the view promulgated before, that in former times the Winnebago had a very definite conception of evil spirits taking an active part in the affairs of man to his detriment. The figure of 776
*Hereegu'nina* is well defined and it would be ridiculous, in our 756
opinion, to believe that the shamans would have done anything to develop it. We have clear indications of what the shamans were trying to do with this conception. They were attempting to bring it into some relation with the concept of Earthmaker, a beneficent All-Father, and to do so they were even willing to claim that *Hereegu'nina* was the first attempt of Earthmaker to create a spirit; that Earthmaker was dissatisfied with his work and threw it away; that then *Hereegu'nina* watched Earthmaker create spirits and imitated him, the evil spirits representing these imitations. The shamans, we should expect, would have done all in their power to lessen the importance of *Hereegu'nina*, even to deny his existence, and, in this connection, it may be of significance that one Winnebago interpreted his name to mean, "He-who-seems-to-exist-but-who-does-not."

Whatever the case may be, this much is clear, that in the twin myth he is represented as a deity as powerful as Earthmaker, whom [773]
Earthmaker can not destroy; upon whom the twins play jokes but whom they cannot really harm.

*The concept of disease.*—Disease is rarely ascribed to the spirits. 753
Like lack of success, it is regarded as a fact of existence, and when 776
it is explained it is believed to be due either to the carelessness of man in trying to pass through life without the aid of the spirits or to the evil machinations of other men.

The deity known as Disease-giver is the one exception to the rule that the Winnebago spirits do not directly cause disease, for he is sometimes described as scattering death broadcast over the earth.

*The concepts of death, after-life, and reincarnation.*—Death is rarely, 761
if ever, ascribed to the spirits. It likewise is a fact of existence and, 776

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159 Now I know that it was because the evil spirit possessed me that I felt that
755 way. I was suffering from a disease. I even desired to kill myself:
794 I did not care to live. That feeling, too, was caused by this evil
276 spirit living within me. Then I ate this medicine and everything
[753] changed. The brother and sister I wanted to kill before I became attached to and I wanted them to live. The medicine had accomplished this.

### O. L.'s Description of the Peyote Cult

(Pl. 33, a)

159 John Rave belongs to the Bear clan, the members of which had
614 the functions of what might be called sergeants-at-arms. He and
[692 his ancestors used to be in charge of the *manuptei* (i. e., the ser-
681] geants-at-arms lodge), to which all malefactors would be brought for punishment.

159 Rave, although he belonged to this highly respected class of people,
794 was a bad man. He roamed from place to place. He has participated in all the ceremonies of the Winnebago, the medicine dance alone excepted. He had been married many times. Up to 1901 he was a heavy drinker. In that year he went to Oklahoma and while there ate the peyote. He then returned to the Winnebago and tried to introduce it among them, but none with the exception of a few
[177] relatives would have anything to do with it. This did not in any way discourage him, however, and he continued using the peyote, now and then getting a few converts.

159 There was not very much religion connected with it in the beginning
794 and the reason people drank it was on account of the peculiar effects
177 it had upon them. Nevertheless these Peyote people preached good things and gradually lost all desire for intoxicating drinks or for participating in the old Winnebago ceremonies. Then Rave began to do away with the old Indian customs. About four or five years ago the membership in the Peyote religion began to increase, for many people now noticed that those connected with the Peyote cult were the only people in the tribe leading a Christian life.

At this time the Bible was introduced by a young man named Albert Hensley (pls. 8, *d*; 9, *d*). He, too, had been a bad person, although he had been educated at Carlisle. Like Rave, he was a heavy drinker and fond of wandering.

During the last few years our members have increased so fast that now almost half the tribe belong to our religion. We all make efforts to lead a Christian life and we are succeeding very well.

794 We use the New Testament, especially the Revelations.

796 Our meetings take place at any time. We gather together in the
159 evening, and as soon as everything is in readiness the leader arises
[782] and offers a prayer called, "Turning themselves over to the care of the Trinity."

## *A War-Bundle Feast*

O Grandfathers, spirits of the night, walkers in darkness, to you I offer tobacco and ask for the fireplaces which my ancestor received. If you smoke this tobacco see to it that I never become a weakling. 159* 796 182 539 726

To you who live in the south, you who look like a man, you who are invulnerable, you who deal out life from one side of your body and death from the other, you whom we call Disease-Giver, to you I offer tobacco. In daylight, in broad daylight, did you bless my ancestor. With food you blessed him; you told him that he would never fail in anything, you told him that you would avoid his home; you placed animals in front of him that he should have no trouble in obtaining them. An offering of tobacco I make to you that you may smoke it and that I may not be troubled in life. [953]

Then they offered prayers to the Black Hawk, the Sun, the Moon, the South Wind, the Earth, and the Eagle. Many speeches were given, for every guest who was invited to impersonate a spirit delivered one. The man who was impersonating the Thunderbird spoke as follows: 159* 796 [182] 539 726

Host and relatives, all you who are seated here, to all I send forth my greetings. All those present have given me good advice and even the women and children here have pleaded in my behalf with the spirits. What love that was! And of what does life consist of but love! The clan counselor is repeating the songs that were obtained when the sacred bundle was made, so that when the time for the tobacco offering to the spirits came, the specially prepared tobacco would be ready. Now indeed that time has arrived

726 *159 but to all those present. In the olden days the old people
796 used to say to the young boys, "You are not able to fast
537 as yet and to offer up proper food to the spirits so as to
clear away the weapons held against you." Now just as
726 these older people would have liked, so you are doing.
*159 Even I, who am of no consequence, have nevertheless been
796 permitted to impersonate a great spirit. This you have
796 done for me—allowed me to impersonate that spirit[1] who
537 is the bravest of them all, the one who is in control of
● [053] power whereby an enemy can be killed outright! One side
of this spirit's body controls life and the other death. Now
they are about to offer to this spirit, the food of a white
[782] animal, of a male animal, the dog, as well as a white buck-
skin, feathers and tobacco—all of them objects that please
him very much. To Disease-Giver they are about to extend
these things so that therewith they may ask him for war
power and life. It is an awe-inspiring spirit to whom they
have been making offerings. Surely I, who have been listen-
ing only by virtue of the host's generosity, do not have to
say anything in his behalf. He thought of his ancestor
[782] when he asked me to impersonate this spirit. Of all the
spirits his is the name which one cannot speak lightly,
it is said. If nevertheless I greet his name and speak about
this spirit, may I not be weakened by uttering it. Those
who are about to offer you food, grandfather Disease-Giver,
send you their greetings. To you, O host, do I send my
greetings, as well as to all the war-bundle owners seated
here.

*159 The feasters sang dancing songs throughout all this
796 time. At dawn we were to pass the deerskin offerings
726 through the roof of the lodge. My older brother took
the lead. I followed and the others came up behind



1. [i.e., Disease Giver -- Analyst]

796 says there is no sham about this falling down
575 of the person on the floor in a swoon in the
828 manner described. That this is the precise
158 shock of the system to produce which the fasting and the steaming process is resorted to, and all the other ceremonies of the initiation, including the dance.

755 When a person is sick and incurable by
158 the simple remedies known to the Indians, and the friends become apprehensive for the life of the person, then the medicine men are called in and they go through certain ceremonies, all of which operate upon the nervous system already enfeebled and excited by disease, and tend to bring about that shock or prostration of the nervous system, which when produced is supposed also to relax the hold and power of the disease at the same time. In a word it kills the disease, or breaks the disease, or destroys
● [753] the evil spirit then in the body which causes the disease, and then if there is constitutional strength enough left to raise up the body from its utter prostration, the patient recovers.

753 It would seem that they regarded the
755 nervous system or the sensitive part of our
828 nature as the seat of the disease, and addressed their remedies to the sensitive part, that is to the mind rather than to the body, to the spirit rather than to the organs of the
[171] body. The medicine system prevails very generally among our Indian races. In fact it is universal so far as we have found out the customs of the remote tribes.

755 I asked Walker about the cheats prac-
756 ticed by the medicine men upon the credulity of their patients, that is, pretending to take out of a man's back a tooth or a bone. He says that in their practice they want to make money, and the greater the feat they perform the greater the charge they make. Sometimes they charge a horse etc.

[P 61 (B)]
[pp 62 - 209 not processed]

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If one wishes to make a person crazy, there is a medicine for that purpose. 867 754

If some one had made another one sad at heart and he wished to revenge himself, he would use a medicine that would make that person crazy. Thus he would poison him.

If a person wished to marry a certain girl and she did not want him, he would poison her with a medicine that would make her become a harlot. All the men would fall in love with her by reason of the medicine he gave her. 867 584 832

If they wished a man to be continually running after a woman, they had a medicine for that purpose. All these medicines they possessed. You can obtain any of them you like if you ask for them in the proper way. 867 832

Some people have knowledge of plants that will cause a person to sleep all the time. Others again have medicines that will cause them to stay awake all the time. Some know how to overcome the viciousness of dogs that watch over women by means of medicines; some again have medicines that will make people single them out even in crowds. If this person uses his medicine in a crowd of people, the one on whom it is used will consider him a great man no matter how many there should be in the crowd. Some have a medicine to be used for preventing an individual from getting tired. Others have a medicine to be used when they have dog contests. 867 789

Whatever they did, for that they would have medicines.

Whenever they plant a field they protect it with medicine tied on to a stick. No one will then go through that field without suffering for it. If you did not have that protection, people could go through your field whenever they wished. In short, try to obtain as many medicines as you possibly can, for you will need them all. People should always look out for themselves so that they may learn what is necessary to make life comfortable and happy. If you try to obtain the knowledge of these things you will get along in life well. You will need nothing; and whenever you need a certain medicine, instead of being compelled to buy it, you will have it in your own possession. If you act in this manner and keep on fasting you will never be caught offguard during your life. If you have a home, it will always look nice and you will be lacking in nothing. So, do what I tell you and you will never regret it in after life. Try and learn the way in which your ancestors lived and follow in their footsteps. 867 789 787

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867 be able to retain your hold on men. If you do your work to the
593 satisfaction of your husband, he will never leave you. I say again,
832 it is not proper to use medicine. Above all, do not use medicine until you have passed your youth. You will otherwise merely make yourself weak. You will lead a weak life. It may even happen that you will cause yourself to become foolish.

[581] Do not use a medicine in order to marry. If you marry remain faithful to your husband. Do not act as though you are married to a number of men at the same time. Lead a chaste life. If you do not listen to what I am telling you and you are unfaithful to your
[626] husband, all the men will jeer at you. They will say whatever they wish to (and no one will interfere). Every man will treat you as though he were on the "joking relationship" with you. If you do not listen to me, therefore, you will injure yourself.

867 Thus the old people used to talk to one another. Thus they would
584 warn one another against certain actions. They used to instruct the young girls as they grew up (just as I am doing to you now). That is why I am telling of these things now.

My daughter, as you grow older and grow up to be a young woman, the young men will begin to court you. Never strike a man, my
[683] daughter. It is forbidden. If you dislike a man very much, tell him gently to go away. If you do not do this and instead strike him, remember that it frequently happens that men know of medicines; or if they themselves have none they may know from whom to
[754] get them. If you make a man feel bad by striking him, he may use this medicine and cause you to run away with him and become a bad woman. It is for this reason that the old men used to warn the young girls not to strike the men who are courting them, but whom they dislike. Pray with all your heart that you do not become such a woman.

867 Do not act haughtily to your husband. Whatever he tells you
593 to do, do it. Kindness will be returned to you if you obey your husband, for he will treat you in the same manner.

858 If you ever have a child, do not strike it. In the olden times when a child misbehaved the parents did not strike it, but they made it fast. When a child gets hungry, he will soon see the error of his ways. If you hit a child, you will be merely knocking the
[861] wickedness into him. Women should likewise never scold the children because children are merely made wicked by scoldings. If your husband scolds the children, do not take their part, for that will merely make them bad. In the same way, if a stranger makes your children cry, do not say anything to the stranger in the presence of the children, nor take their part in his presence. If you wish to prevent a stranger from scolding your children, keep them home and teach them how to behave by setting them a good example. Do not imagine that you do the best for your children by

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# CHAPTER X

## SHAMANISTIC AND MEDICINAL PRACTICES

### Introduction

756 The shamanistic and medicinal practices of the Winnebago differ
[171] in no respect from those found all over the woodland area and there is consequently no need for discussing them at length. The stories told about *Midjistegu* and old Lincoln are the famous tricks and sleight-of-hand performances known all over America. There does not seem to be as much said about the conjuring lodge as is the case among the Ojibwa. This apparently is identical with the Winnebago *wauuka'na*, "exerting one's powers." The lack of specific information relating to this subject obtained by the author may, however, be due to accident.

278 The Winnebago make a fourfold classification of their medicines:
●754 Those that affect a person by direct administration; those that affect him by their odor, like love and racing medicines; those that affect
[787] him at a distance; and those that are shot at an individual. Most of the medicines are obtained by fasting, although they can also be bought. The most important of these medicines are those called the stench-earth medicine (see p. 259) and the black-earth medicine.

[788] Medicine may be used in a number of ways, but principally as offerings or as means of killing animals or men. It is often chewed.
[789] In order to make arrows or guns unerring, medicine is frequently rubbed upon them.

754 Sympathetic magic is of course well known. The procedure is the common one. A picture of the man to be harmed is drawn on the ground and shot at, stabbed, etc. The man is then certain to die a short time after, in the same manner as the figure has been mutilated.

There are two general magical ceremonies. *Wauuka'na*, to know something by exerting one's powers; *wana'tcere*, to hypnotize in the distance. (For description of latter, see p. 111.)

787 *Example of wauuka'na.*—J.'s older brother and a friend had failed to return home and so J.'s grandfather went to a man called C. English and, offering him some tobacco, asked him to find out something about his son i. e., to exert his powers. English did so and told the old man that they were camping and making sugar and that if

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Then Mid-
648 jistega said, "I can also make some sugar. If you don't believe it,
789 give me some more flour." However, the trader said, "There is no
791 need of your proving it: I believe you now." However, he sent one of his employees after some more flour and out of this *Midjistega* made some maple sugar. He made it in the following way. He sprinkled some water on the flour and said, "This shall be the size of pheasants' dung." Then it formed into little round lumps. Then the trader said, "*Midjistega*, my store is worth several times the value of your furs, and you have made me a poor man. However, I wish to ask you for one thing—this sugar—so that I can eat some of it once in a while." Then *Midjistega* gave it to him. *Midjistega* and his friend carried the contents of the store home. They had to make several trips. All the people at home got a blanket.

Then the trader said, "*Midjistega*, there is not a white man living who would believe that you can do this and if, therefore, I ever call on you to do it again, I hope that you will come with your friends (and do it). This is the only way I can ever win any of my money back again." However, no one ever heard of the trader after that.

*Midjistega* also made all the different varieties of corn at the Potawatomi meeting.

789 Old Lincoln had always heard of the remarkable power the Winne-
791 bago were supposed to possess in these matters but he had never actually witnessed any exhibition of it until he saw *Midjistega* perform (these tricks).

A man named Young Rogue, a brother of Robert Lincoln, could roll up a piece of clay about the size of a marble and then roll it on the ground and it would change into a toad and jump away. He was also able to shoot a blade of grass right into a leg.

### Lincoln's Grandfather

754 Lincoln's grandfather was the leader of the medicine dance and every time any relation of his died he would tell the daughters of his relative to stop their crying and that he would avenge the death of their father and kill four people. Shortly after he said this the four whom he had picked out died.

If there was a man with great wealth in the tribe he would make a wooden snake and send it toward the man. Immediately after this it always happened that the rich man would be bitten by a snake. The latter would then send for the medicine man and give him all that he possessed. Then the former would ask him, "When do you want to get well?" If the sick man said "In three to four days," the medicine man would say, "You must like to suffer."

For this reason the children of Lincoln's grandfather always had plenty of wealth.

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The Crow (i. e., Menominee) Indians knew what a wonderful man he was and whenever he went to visit them they gave him many presents. He would be invited to a feast as soon as he arrived. 648 791 754

On one occasion when they had a feast in a lodge (in his honor) one of the Menominee marked the ground in front of him and dared Lincoln's grandfather to come over, saying that if he did he would injure him. When the Winnebago crossed the mark he was pushed in all directions and finally shoved into a pit, bruising himself a great deal. When he came out, the old man said, "You have probably never heard of me. To-morrow noon, soldiers will hit you." Then the Menominee asked, "If soldiers hit me, what will be the result?" "You will die." Then the Menominee said, "You have nothing to do with my life," and made a jump at him.

The Menominee who had been told that he was going to die said the next morning to his nephew, "Nephew, let us go to the lake and look around. I can't forget what the old man told me yesterday." So they took their spears for fishing and went out. While they were on the lake they saw a deer drinking at the edge of the water. The man took a shot at the deer, and the deer ran back into the timber. The man and his nephew pursued it. After a while the man gave a yell and then all was quiet. The nephew went over to the place and there the man was found dead. At his side a very large snake, with hair on its back, was standing.

The next morning one could hear the mourning songs all over the woods. Then they went to look for the Winnebago, for they believed that it was his fault. They told him not to worry about it and gave him a horse to appease him. The day after they all had left the camp, the Winnebago pointed to some hawks that were circling around and told the Menominee to watch the foremost one. Then he pointed his finger at that one and made a sound with his mouth and the bird fell down dead. This Winnebago had the power to do this to all birds. He always told the Winnebago not to eat these birds because they were not good. [765 533] [789]

### The Uses of the Stench-Earth Medicine[1]

There once was a man who had consumption and who knew that he was going to die soon. His relatives were about to move him to some other place and so he told them just to build him a separate lodge and leave him alone—that he wanted to die there. He asked them likewise not to come back to see him. They obeyed him and left him to die alone. 763 [764]

One day he decided to go out into the wilderness and die there. He went to the top of a hill and lay down. He noticed many birds

[1] This is the literal translation. What plant is meant the writer was not able to determine.

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Toads are used, but only for poison medicines. The quail's heart 825
is used for the same purpose. If a person is killed outright, his heart 756
is used as a medicine, as the human heart is regarded as having great 826
efficacy in such medicines. It is used in war, for compelling people to give you presents, and for courting women. The bear likewise is used for a variety of purposes. Its liver is especially powerful. It is rubbed over the body whenever in pain. It is often used by women who have injured themselves in childbirth, or in the form of tonics, poultices, and emetic; or for toothaches, bathing sore eyes, ear- [757]
aches, headaches; as snuff, as a physic, for burns, strictures, boils, hemorrhages, injections in the rectum, consumption, measles, dysentery, chills, nosebleed, pains in the stomach, and headaches caused by poisoning.

Sometimes a woman would take a hair of her husband and stick 832
it into some bad medicine. In such a case he would never leave her for he would become very much enamored of her. If ever she went away, he would miss her very much. However, he always had a headache. Finally he would get sick and lose his appetite and then his eyesight. That is why it is forbidden to use this medicine, although some still do it.

Many Winnebago are blind, because there is a medicine that 754
causes blindness. If one person offends another who possesses such a medicine, the latter would cause the offender to become blind.

The Winnebago have medicines for every purpose; for courting, [832]
for becoming rich, for obtaining good looks; etc. Even if a person is very holy, these poisoners can poison him. If a man was a good hunter or if he was wise and good, these bad shamans would poison him. If an individual was a great medicine man and these bad shamans got jealous, they would poison him. Indeed, only if a person was poor and lowly would they like him. Such a man they would never poison for they had no reason for being jealous of him. A bad shaman is always treated with the greatest respect and honor, because he kills many people.

A warrior is also greatly respected and flattered. It is the Indian's 554
greatest desire to become a warrior. All desire that, and they also 156
wish to become great medicine men and bad shamans. [756]

This is the way they prepare and use their courting medicines. 832
The courting medicine known to me is a plant of apparently two 278
varieties, one of which has a blue blossom and the other no blossom at all. Otherwise they are alike. The one with the blue blossom is the male and the one without the blossom is the female. When I go out to dig this plant, I do not dig for these two specimens unless I can find them growing together closely. Even then I do not dig any two [824]
specimens unless the male is found growing on the east side. For that reason it is very hard to find them. As soon as I find two that

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832 fulfill all the conditions I dig them out and mix them together with
278 their own roots. Then I take the blossom of the male and mix it together with the center leaf of the female flower. After that both are ground together thoroughly. Then I go to the woman I wish to court and, at night, when she is asleep, I touch first any part of her body, then a place not far from her heart, and finally the top of her head with this mixture. Finally I make her smell it. I then wake her up and go home. The girl will wonder who had touched her and she will think a good deal about the incident and never forget it. The next time I see her she will like me and she will do whatever I ask of her. The medicine would be working. If I did not see her for a long time, she would get lonesome, and the only thing that would cure her would be to marry me.

There is another medicine which I am now going to describe. When it first sprouts, which is in the spring, it is quite white. This must be taken and dried. Then one must chew it and go near the woman with whom one desires to talk. Approach her on the side from which the wind is blowing so that she can smell the medicine. As soon as she smells it, even although the man chewing it is one whom she has hitherto disliked, she will get to like him. This is the way in which the medicine works.

755 A man who was blessed was told of all these things. He cured all
[752] diseases. If a person had been shot and one blessed with the stench-earth medicine was called, he could be cured. In the same manner, if one is stabbed in what would generally be considered a fatal way and if a man blessed with stench-earth was called in time he would save him. The same cure is effected in cases of broken arms and of
[752] patients who are on the point of death. It is for this reason that those blessed with the stench-earth medicines are always praised, and that the people say "They surely are in charge of life; for their blessings really come from the spirits, just as they claim."[1]

756 [The "stench-earth" medicine men could undoubtedly cure the
[754] sick, but they also used it to poison people. The courting medicine was a poison medicine, and therefore it was not good. These people cured the body, but they killed the soul. It would have been much better had they saved their souls. They were really working for the devil. It is from him that they got all the bad medicines. Whenever they were offended, they would go and get poisons to kill the
754 774 offender. Thus the devil[2] was really causing them to kill their own souls and the souls of those they poisoned. It is the same with all

[1] The following portion in brackets is the comment of our informant, who is a member of the Peyote sect.

[2] Although he really means the Christian devil many of the traits of the old Winnebago deity Hareg'uine, the chief of the bad spirits, are clearly discernible.

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the other medicines, like the courting medicine, etc. The Indians 754
were destroying their own souls. So Earthmaker decided to give 774
them a new medicine. We have now all broken away from the old things. We have broken away from the devil and are earning our salvation through Earthmaker. For this reason I am thankful both for my sake and that of my people.]

This is a medicine that is good for consumption, for stomach 757
trouble, for a cold, for a sore throat, and for general illnesses. It 278
consists of the following ingredients:

1. Waraxa'dax hoke'rera, English unknown.
2. Waraxa'dax ma"ŋap'a'rara, English unknown.
3. Enai'"teox maŋk'a'"na, English unknown.
4. Niru'trera, red water.
5. Maŋk'a'"skaka, white medicine.
6. Maŋk'a'" niyetro'trera, medicine of the water.
7. Ci'xuk'uniŋa, English unknown.
8. Maŋk'a"ŋe'xeda, English unknown.

If a woman has any trouble with her womb this medicine will cure her immediately. She must not, however, drink it, but inject it. It makes no difference how severe her illness is, this medicine will always effect a cure. This man was blessed with the knowledge of its efficacy.

This is another medicine:

1. Maŋk'a'" manup'ara'ra, medicine that spreads over the ground.
2. Xa"wiwingi'rkera, medicine to tie with.
3. Maŋk'a'" p'orop'orora, round medicine.
4. Hap'o'skra, English unknown.
5. Maŋk'a'" kero'xera, sweet flag.
6. Na"p'ara'k'onaŋk' hura, English unknown.
7. Hunte p'istara, bear liver.

This is all ground together and mixed with water. When thoroughly mixed it is put into a bladder and injected by means of a wing bone.

This is a medicine for diarrhea:

1. K'etcê'ŋk'sire tro'ra, English unknown.
2. Aseni ho-ap hodô'p'iricera, curled sumac leaves.
3. Maŋk'a'ni tetro'trera, medicine of the water.
4. Waraxadax skaka', English unknown.
5. Na"da'nicara, maple sugar.

These are all ground together into a fine powder and sweetened with maple sugar. Otherwise no one would take it, for it does not taste good. It is called hasawa'kemaŋk'.

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757 This is medicine used by women when their menstrual flow is not
278 very good:
841
1. Tremanank'e, English unknown.
2. Wazi p'ara'ske abera, pine with flat leaves (?).
3. Wacutei abera, red cedar leaves.
4. Mank'a p'orop'oro abera, round medicine leaves.

All four of these ingredients are ground, mixed together, and then mixed with water. They are then drunk by any woman having trouble with her menstrual flow. After she has taken it she makes knots in the belt and ties it around her waist. As many knots as she makes that many days will it take her to get well. She also smokes herself with cedar leaves.

757 The next medicine that I wish to speak of is compounded as follows:
278
1. K'ewaxgu'ⁿuⁿsera, scent of a toad.
2. Waninken'te na'ntekera, heart of a red bird.
3. Hactee'kera, strawberries.
4. Wankeik na'ntekera, human heart.
5. Xawiⁿjaⁿ, a plant.

278 If this medicine were mixed with whisky and given to any person,
[754] the latter would surely die within a year. The frog that is used in this medicine becomes alive in the stomach of the person who drinks it and kills him. If he took the same medicine and mixed it with
[832] paint and then rubbed it over his face, all who looked at him would take a liking to him and give him presents, and the women would fall in love with him and want to marry him. The reason that the women become smitten is because they can not resist the sight of a ripe strawberry. The human heart in the mixture is the object that makes the medicine so powerful, and the red bird heart strengthens it.
[826] Whenever these two, the human heart and the heart of the red bird, are used in medicines, the medicine is always remarkably efficacious.

832 If a woman makes fun of you and you feel hurt about it and want to revenge yourself, get one of her hairs and dip the root into this medicine and then tie it up. Hang the medicine bag in the woods and whenever the wind blows the woman will get lonesome for you and her head will ache. Finally she will get crazy. She will never cease talking about you. This is one of the medicines this man was blessed with. Some of them die from the effects of it. It is not a good thing, but the Winnebago thought that it was a very great thing. (Now that they know the Creator, they know that it is bad.)

755 Here is another medicine that we have, and it is prepared in the
278 following way: Four trees of a certain species are peeled near the roots lying on the east side. Then the second bark is also peeled. Then these are taken and boiled together with a square-stemmed weed. The whole mixture is used to induce vomiting. This vomiting would rid a person of a spell cast upon him which was preventing

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him from killing game. In the particular case mentioned above the spell was the following: A man killed a deer, and a pregnant woman ate a piece of the intestine. From that time on the man was unable to kill any more deer. 755 278 [224 843]

The above medicine is used to break the spell of ill luck in hunting caused by the following actions: If a man cohabits with a widow, or if one who is a widower eats together with another person, or if he smokes out of the same pipe as another person. Not only would the medicine free him from his ill luck in hunting, but it would give him good luck in cards and speed in running. [589]

Here is an astringent medicine. It is compounded of a mixture of the "clear" medicine and the "plant that spreads itself on the ground." It is used for the following purposes As an application for swellings, for illness after childbirth, and for general sores and eruptions of the skin. In case of illness after childbirth it is injected. For sores, etc., it is taken internally. 757 278 [844]

Here is another medicine, called bladder medicine. It is made of the roots of a certain weed. These roots are boiled and then drunk. If one is troubled with stricture, the drinking of this medicine will enable him to pass water immediately. The same medicine is used to alleviate a toothache and to stop too profuse a menstrual flow. [841]

Now this is another medicine. It is made of the leaves of a certain plant. These leaves are rolled up and then drunk down with water. The medicine is used for all stomach complaints.

Here is another medicine used for diarrhea and dysentery. It is made from the roots of a plant that has many thorns and beautiful white blossoms. The roots are scraped and the scrapings boiled and gulped down. At least a pint of this concoction must be taken. It can also be used as a mouth wash for those troubled with sore mouths.

We have another medicine used to rid a person of superfluous bile. This acts as a strong physic and not only cures a person of his indisposition but also gives him a great appetite.

Here is another medicine. It is called the medicine for burns. It consists of the leaves of a certain weed that is dried. If anyone has a burn, he chews some of this dried weed and then applies it to the burn. [752]

Here is also a medicine for private diseases, compounded of the following:

1. Doxicu'tckera hara, red willow bark.
2. Ma"sixu'tckeda hara, English unknown.
3. Nap'a'hira hara, sharp tree.

These barks are pulverized and mixed together with skunk oil.

The next medicine I am going to describe is used in poisoning. It is called small-part-of-a-black-root-tree. It is used for many pur- 754 278

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754 278 poses. If, for instance, I wish a person to become blind or if I dislike him or were jealous of him because he was better off than myself, I would do the following: I would get a small part of a black root and pulverize it. Then I would mix it with ghost snuff and put it into my medicine bag. When I am ready to shoot the person I shake my bag and make the medicine fly out, and it would enter his eyes and make them sore. Soon he would become blind. I also use this medicine when I go on the warpath. I wrap it in a piece of buckskin and wear it around my neck. As long as I wear it in this manner I will never be shot.

This medicine is also used as a poultice. If a man has a pain anywhere, he makes four incisions in his body at that place, with the point of a knife, and applies the medicine.

754 [788] Here is another medicine. It is kept in a large bundle. It is used in the following way: At a medicine dance a person may put an eagle feather on the nose of an otter-skin bag and then open the bundle containing his medicine and bring the medicine in contact with the nose of the otter-skin bag. The individual then enters the medicine-dance lodge. He makes note of the place where the person whom he dislikes is sitting. After a while he gets up and makes a circuit of the lodge four times and shoots at this person. He sees to it that one of the feathers attached to the otter-skin bag lodges just where he wishes it. Either he wishes to kill the man outright or to make him suffer for a long time. Should the victim die, the man who does the shooting must be very careful for he might easily injure himself. He must know, for instance, exactly when his victim is going to die and then as soon as he is dead he must open his medicine bundle and let the feather return, which it does as soon as the person at whom it was shot is dead. A black hawk is then heard in the distance. As soon as it approaches the man utters curious sounds and the feather alights right in the medicine bundle. When the feather returns, however, it is always black, though when it started it was red. One might imagine that there had been two distinct feathers.

If the man who shot the feather does not know when his victim dies and consequently does not make the necessary preparations for opening his medicine bundle, such as imitating the cry of a black hawk, or if, worse still, he is asleep, the feather will land upon him and he would likewise die.

This same medicine is also used for the following purpose: If a person offends you and you wish to take revenge by killing him, take your medicine bundle and whenever you come across the footprints of your prospective victim then open your medicine bundle and take out a striped feather from it and sing a song. When you are finished, make certain sounds and stab the footprints. You can

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arrange to have your victim die immediately, or, if you wish, to 734
have him suffer for a long time, by becoming paralyzed.

This same medicine is used in a similar way in times of scarcity of food. The people offer a shaman tobacco and he would do the following: He would take his medicine bundle and walk till he came to the footprints of a bear. Then he would follow the tracks of the bear till he came to his lair. Here he would open his medicine bag, dip the striped feather in the medicine, and sing for some time. When he has finished he makes certain sounds and stabs the bear's footprints. Wherever the bear happened to be at that time, he would not be able to walk, and the people would soon overtake him. For that reason this medicine is valued very highly.

This medicine is also used when one desires something belonging to another. All that is necessary to do in such a case is to use the songs accompanying the medicine. Then all the things one has coveted would immediately be brought. For this reason they thought a good deal of this medicine.

If ever anyone uses it in gambling, he will win. [525]

If again he casts his thoughts upon women, then the power of this medicine would go in their direction, and he will lose while gambling. All the women will, however, like him. He can marry whomsoever he wishes. The same thing will occur when a woman uses this medicine. If she casts her thoughts upon men, she will become foolishly enamored of them. For that reason the old people used to forbid women to use it.

This medicine bundle is also used on the warpath. If a man uses 778
it upon himself and rushes upon the enemy, all those who are in 726
front of him will suddenly find themselves unable to move. A 789
person who goes on a warpath, after he has carefully applied the medicine to himself, is invulnerable. It is impossible to kill him, for no bullets can penetrate his body.

This medicine was likewise used in hunting for bear, and deer 778
could easily be killed with it. Even those who are not accustomed 224
to hunting could kill game easily if they used it.

Many of the medicines mentioned above were obtained from the 756
man who was blessed with the stench-earth medicine. Everyone believed that the cures effected by him with this medicine were real. They believed that this medicine could cure them, and, indeed, it did cure them. It was this man, too, who originated the stench-earth medicine feast. It is a very sacred feast, considered more 756
sacred than any other feast among the Winnebago. When the 796
feast is given, an entire deer is boiled and cut into pieces much larger than any one person could eat. Nevertheless the host orders those whom he has invited to leave nothing upon the plate. Should [264]
any guest leave anything upon his plate, the host would give him a

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761 when explained, is laid at the door of some evil man. Death at old
776 age is clearly taken for granted. Where explanations are advanced,
[754] they are always for the deaths of individuals before their time, or at least before what the Winnebago consider their time.

761 The Winnebago look at death in two ways as being, first, a different kind of consciousness from that possessed in life, and, secondly, as being a cessation of certain kinds of intercourse between individuals. Death is regarded as a "stumbling," after which the individual goes right on as if nothing had happened. He does not know he is dead until he sees his body. The individual is divested of all his corporeal investment and desires. In the myth of the journey of the soul to spirit land the ghost is not entirely a spirit until the old woman
[775] whom he meets brains him, thus, by destroying the seat of consciousness, depriving him of all corporeality and carnal desires. The ghost then becomes a spirit, in some cases of the same type as the true spirits.

761 Although the Winnebago know that after death they will never see
775 people again, they do not feel that all kinds of intercourse have ceased. The deceased may appear to a living individual in dreams or visions; he may talk to him or make his presence felt in a multitude of ways; and since, as we pointed out before, the test of existence is the consciousness of some kind of contact, such intercourse may be of a very intense type.

This lack of a feeling of discontinuity between the living and the dead is emphasized by the Winnebago concept of after-life and reincarnation.

775 After-life is but life on earth, only idealized. Everything is provided. All carnal desires have been done away with and men and women spend their time in one long round of enjoyment and bliss. Something of the fear of ghosts lingers here, however, for when living individuals try to reach spirit land—and a number of such instances are mentioned in the myths, particularly in the origin myth of the Ghost dance—these spirits are likely to be harmful.

By the belief in reincarnation the Winnebago entirely bridge the gulf between life and death. In other words, we seem to have a cycle consisting of life (consciousness), after-life (unconsciousness from a corporeal viewpoint), and life (reincarnation). To live again is the greatest desire of the Winnebago, and practically every secret society holds this out as the lure to the outsider. If you join the Medicine Lodge you will become reincarnated, they say, and the other ritualistic organizations make the same claim. But not only by joining an organization is it possible to be reincarnated; if you live an upright life, if you die on the battlefield, reincarnation also awaits you.

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Once a medicine-dance man and a night-blessed man became jealous and the medicine-dance man said that he would play tricks on the night-blessed man. The night-blessed man said he was quite willing to have a contest. So the two came and sat opposite each other and began their contest. Whatever the medicine-dance man did the night-blessed man did too, but always a little better. The medicine-dance man was defeated, so from that time on the medicine-dance men are afraid of the former. The medicine-dance men shot the night-blessed men with claws, but they could not kill them. Therefore they were afraid of them. The night-blessed men could kill the medicine-dance men at pleasure. The medicine-dance men were inferior. That is all. 756 575 578 [754]

## Society of Those Who Have Been Blessed By the Herok'a

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The feast of those who have been blessed by the Herok'a is given at any time of the year. Anyone may be invited. The feast is held in a long lodge and is generally given by a number of members at the same time (or by all). Each person brings a deer and his bow and arrows. The bows and arrows are painted different colors, depending upon the color (paint) with which the individual has been blessed. The bows are all stuck in the ground between the first two fireplaces and the arrows in a row just behind them. 796 575

During the ceremony and feast the members all sing the songs with which they have been blessed. The ceremony is held before the feast and is conducted by one of the members of the society. He leads, holding a bow in one hand. The others follow, holding arrows in their hands. Only men are permitted to dance. There are certain songs, to the accompaniment of which women are permitted to dance. But the women must have passed their climacteric.

They do not use gourd rattles as at the other dances. Instead a number of deer hoofs are strung together and used in place of them. (They do not eat with their hands or with the ordinary sticks) but use instead forked sticks, whittled down at one end. The leader wears a headdress to which a horn is attached, and paints his body with the same color as his arrows. Whoever leads the dance carries a flute, which he plays before and after each song. Those following him hit their mouth with the palm of their hands and whoop. [556]

When the dance is over, each one of the feasters takes his plate and dances out.[17]

[17] This account of the Herok'a Society is unfortunately merely fragmentary, but from a few additional notes obtained there seems to be little doubt that it represents the same type of organization as the other religious fraternities.

## *My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud*

You said that I could use all the best herbs that grow upon you, and that I would always be able to effect cures with them. I beseech you for those herbs now and I ask you to help me to cure this sick man. 159* 155 182 216 218 [534]

Then Thunder Cloud breathed upon me and squirted some water on my chest. "What I have said is very true and very holy, I believe," he said. "Indeed now you will get well."

Thunder Cloud knew all the good medicines that exist and he used them in order to heal me and so that I might recover from my illness. I got well. Indeed Thunder Cloud was holy.

Thunder Cloud was also what we call a poisoner. He used to travel at dead of night, it was said. One night at about eleven o'clock he got ready to poison a family by the name of B. We were all listening, sitting in our lodge. Then outside we heard him make some noise. We were afraid of him because we knew he was a poisoner. Indeed he claimed to be in control of our household. My family would do nothing without first consulting him, for we were afraid of him. We believed that he had come from the spirits, that he was a reincarnated man and, if displeased, would poison us. So whatever he asked we did. 159* 154

He had been married to my eldest sister and after her death wished to marry the second sister. Where he had come from at the dwelling-place of Earth-maker,* my elder sister was now staying, he said. But now he claimed that the second sister resembled the 159* 156

* Circumlocution for saying that she was dead.

[195]

*159 first. "She must be the one I left behind when I came
756 from my spirit home," he thought. So up above, to
Earthmaker's village, he went to see whether his first
*159 wife was still there. He found her there. "How is
756 this? I thought I saw you among the human beings
775 and that is why I have come to see if you were still
787 here," he said. And the woman answering said, "Why, where was I to go? Here you left me when you went away and here I have remained up to the present time. What kind of woman is she who resembles me? Bring her up here to me." Thus my dead sister spoke.

However since he was a bad shaman, a poisoner, we
● [754] let him marry the second sister. We were afraid that if we didn't he would poison us.

*159 He told my brother that he had come from the place
756 where Earthmaker* lives, that Earthmaker had told
[776] him that he was to bring back with him four men.
[787] He was to examine them carefully, for they were to be virtuous men, not quick tempered nor of change-
[577] able ideas, but really virtuous, men of conservative tendencies. Such was he to take back with him.

*159 My brother loved Thunder Cloud for these reasons. Never did he show any disrespect to him. Whatever he was asked to do he did. Zealously and painstakingly did he perform all the actions demanded, for he hoped that if, in return, our brother-in-law loved him and blessed him, he would take him back to Earthmaker. Wholeheartedly did he wish to be like him. This was always in his mind and he served him to the best of

[776] *Earthmaker is the supreme deity of the Winnebago.

*Crashing Thunder*

*159 nothing to eat, but I did not mind that. In the summer,
●754 when people pick berries, they generally go out in
[361] bands and settle here and there. Some would be living
at a great distance from the others.

[P. 32]

ishes very much and which he will offer you. If it is a 159*
bulb-medicine keep it to protect your house. Your home 867
will never then be molested by anything evil and nothing [886]
evil will enter your house, neither bad spirits, ghosts, dis- [778]
ease, nor unhappiness. Now such will be your life if you
do as I tell you. Witches will keep away from you. Thus [754]
by fasting will you benefit yourself and your fellowmen. [785]

You know that Earthmaker created all the spirits, those 159*
that live above the earth, those who live on the earth, those 773
who live under the earth, those who live in the water—all 776
these he created and placed in control of powers. Even
the minor spirits Earthmaker placed in control of something. In this fashion he created them and after that, he created us and because we were created last and no further powers were left, he could not put us in control of anything. Then, however, did Earthmaker create a weed and this he placed us in control of. He further told us that none of [276] the spirits he had created would have the power to take this weed away from us without giving us something in exchange. He told us that if we offered him a pipeful of this weed, which we call tobacco, he too would grant us whatever we asked for. Now it so happened that all the spirits came to long for this weed as intensely as they longed for anything in creation and for that reason if, at any time, with tobacco in our hands we make our prayer [782] to the spirits, they will take pity upon us and bestow upon us the blessings which Earthmaker gave them. Indeed so it is, for Earthmaker created it thus.

Fast, my son. If you are blessed by the spirits and then 159*
blow your breath upon people who are ill, they will become 756
well. Thus will you help your fellowmen. If you can cure 787
any of your fellowmen of disease, then you will be of even 867
more than ordinary help to them. If you can draw dis-

## *Crashing Thunder*

Say, you wish to obtain the paint medicine. For that you
*159 would have to put yourself in the most abject condition
787 before the spirits. If you smear yourself with your paint
789 medicine it will irresistibly attract the enemy; it will
867 paralyze him, deprive him of all power of movement and utterly overpower him. Keep it in your home and then you will never be in want of riches. People will give you their most valued possessions owing to the influence of this paint medicine. The paint medicine is made from the
[776] blood of the waterspirits and that is why it is so holy. People obtain it by fasting and thirsting themselves to death and then receiving a blessing from the waterspirit. Earthmaker placed the waterspirits in possession of these powers so that they could then, in turn, bestow them on us.

*159 Some people succeeded in obtaining a medicine that will
789 enable a person to outdistance another in running. It might
●759 perhaps be well for you to learn something about this.
867 There are medicines to be used in courting; medicines to prevent married people from separating; medicines for getting rich; medicines for causing people to become crazy. Should you, for instance, wish to make a person feel very sad at heart, then you can poison him with this last-named medicine and even make him crazy. It is also possible to make a woman who has refused you become a harlot, for this medicine will make her fall in love with every man she sees. Indeed any kind of medicine you desire can you obtain from certain individuals. Some are acquainted with medicines that put one to sleep, others with those that keep one awake and give one insomnia. Some have medicines enabling one to overcome the viciousness of dogs who are put to watch over women; others again have medicines that make people single out the possessor in a crowd. Every one will look at him and consider him a great man.

867 will be ruining a man. It is equivalent to killing him. Do
593 not do it. It is forbidden. If you marry a man and want
832 to live with him permanently, work for him in order to hold him. When you marry a man, listen to what he says. If you do your work properly and the man likes you, he will never leave you. By working for him must you make your husband love you. Now remember it is not good to use medicines on him. At least before you are fairly mature in years do not use any, for you will thereby merely weaken yourself and your life will be of no consequence. Indeed you may cause the medicine to work on yourself and then become demented in consequence.

867 Marry only one man at a time. Be good and virtuous
581 in your married life. If you do not listen to what I am
[626] telling you, you will become bad and men will make fun of you. They will do whatever they wish with you; joke with you familiarly on any subject. If you do not listen to me you will injure yourself. Thus did the old people
867 speak to one another and thus did they hand down these precepts from one generation to another, warning young girls against committing wrong actions. They also said that when a girl is growing up, one should admonish her and that is why I am now speaking to you.

867 As you grow older, when you get to be a young woman,
584 the men will begin to court you. Never hit a man. It is
[683] forbidden. If you dislike a man very much tell him to go away gently. If instead, you hit him, remember that fre-
● [759] quently young men possess certain injurious medicines which they may use against you. Even if a particular person does not possess them, he knows where to get them. Then this man whom you have humiliated, will use it and transform you from a chaste and nice woman to a loose one, to a harlot. That is why the old people used to warn

## §17. *A Woman Bewitches Me*

Once when I returned to the camp I found some other people there. There I also found my grandfather. He had brought along with him one of the two women with whom I had been living, the older one. I did not like it at all. My grandfather asked me to live with her and I did so during the hunting season. When it was over this woman remained there and I returned to my home with another one. My former wife stayed there a long time, but when she got tired of waiting for me to return, she left. 159* 837 588

Just about this time I heard that this former wife of mine, before going away, had used some magical medicine on me. A medicine feast was immediately given me and my scalp treated to counteract the evil effect of what she had used. It was said that she had taken one of my hairs and dipped it into her medicine bundle. This she did in order to prevent me from ever leaving her. If then I left her I would suffer from a headache and perhaps even die. Such was the belief. Fortunately the matter was discovered, my scalp treated and the hair she had taken recovered and washed with medicine. Nothing therefore happened to me. 159* 754 755

From that time on I began to live with as many women as I could, for I had developed the idea that I was a lady-killer. 159* 156 837

## *Crashing Thunder*

* 159 wanted immediately to fight with those who protested.
828 Whenever a person tried to buy one of them, he would
? ask an extravagant price, and whenever a horse was caught in depredations and he was asked to pay damages, he threatened to shoot the people concerned. He was accustomed to go around barefooted with his gun, it was said. For all these reasons his brothers disliked
[593] him and asked some Winnebago to shoot him. These brothers also told the Winnebago how it would be possible to kill him, for he belonged to that group of people
• [154] who were regarded as invulnerable. It is said that
[185] when he fasted, he had gone without food for a whole winter; that he had not resumed eating until spring.
[411] In order to kill him, a wooden knife was required. This should be painted red. Then he was to be stabbed. This was the only way of killing him.

Now we thought that with all this evidence against him, we would surely be acquitted.

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powers that the creator gave them. So it will be. Earthmaker made it thus. 773 776

My son, you must fast. If you breathe upon sick people,[17] I mean if you are blessed with that kind of power, you will be able to restore people to health. You will be of help to your people. If you can, in addition, draw out the pain from within the body of an individual, you will indeed be a help to your people. They will respect you. You will not even have to work for all your necessities, for those whom you treat will cheerfully support you as long as you live. If you should die, your name will be held in great respect and people will frequently talk about you. Ah, that man he had indeed great power! 867 756

My son, if you are not able to fast,[18] try at least to obtain some plants that are powerful. There are people who know the qualities of the different plants, who have been blessed by the spirits with this knowledge. It is pitiable enough that you could obtain nothing through fasting, so ask those that are in possession of these plants at least to have pity upon you. If they have pity upon you, they will bless you with one of the plants they possess, and you will thus have something to help you in life and to encourage you. One plant will not be enough. Of all the plants that cover the earth and lie like a fringe of hair upon the body of our grandmother, try and obtain knowledge of these, that you may be strengthened in life. Then you will have reason to feel encouraged. A real medicine man has even more justification for feeling encouraged than an ordinary one, because such a one has been blessed with life by the Water-spirits. If, therefore, you wish to obtain the real powers of curing people, so that you will have the power of making them arise from their sick beds, you must long and patiently wait and labor. If, however, you obtain the true powers—that is, if you obtain blessings from the Water-spirits—then some day, when your children are in need of medicine, you will not have to go and look for a medicine man, but you will only have to look into your medicine bundle. Whatever trouble your children have you will be able to cure it. Should anything be the matter with the people of your tribe they will call upon you. You can then open your medicine bundle and the individual who is wanting in life will be benefited from the stock of medicines 867 787 756

[17] Reference is due to the presence of some object within the body. Illness can therefore only be cured if this object is extracted. This is generally accomplished by the shaman sucking it out through a bone tube. Among the Winnebago the shaman before applying the tube spits some water upon the afflicted person and breathes upon him. This is what the "breathing" refers to. [753] 755

[18] Not everyone who fasts is blessed with power. For those who are thus unable to obtain blessings directly from the spirits there is only one method of protection against evil luck: the purchase of plants with magical properties from those who have been blessed with them. These can be obtained by any individual no matter how unsuccessful he has been in obtaining blessings through personal fasting. All that is needed is sufficient riches for purchasing them. Of course it goes without saying that those who have been blessed with power may and do also provide themselves with these medicines. [425]

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the council lodge. According to another informant, the Bear clan is the Deer's friend, and therefore they bury one another.

Burial, as was the case for all members of the lower phratry, was in the ground. Opinions varied as to what clan was supposed to bury a Bear man, some people claiming that it would have to belong to the upper phratry, others that it was incumbent upon the Wolf clan. It seems that the latter custom is the one followed at the present time and one which is considered old, to judge from the account of an actual funeral (cf. p. 148). The body was always buried with a miniature Bear clan war bundle. According to one informant, a bow and arrows were occasionally placed in the hands of the corpse, in addition to some tobacco. According to another informant, the facial marks were charcoal across the forehead and red marks under the lips in direct imitation of the bear.

The facial decoration for the corpse consisted of two parallel marks across the forehead, the upper one red and the lower one black, and the painting of the entire chin red (pl. 46). The red paint on the chin was interpreted as a smile, for the Bear clansmen were supposed to greet death with a smile, as they were returning to their clan ancestors. The statement was also made that Bear clansmen should not mourn the death of any of their comrades.

There is a specific Bear clan feast at which no one is permitted to laugh or talk, nor is anyone allowed to make any noise while drinking soup. The feasters must eat with their left hand.

One of the most interesting of the ceremonies associated with the Bear clan is the so-called bear or soldier dance (*manxᵃpe waci*). It was described to the author as follows:

> When *sickness* comes upon a Winnebago village the people go to the chief and say "*Sickness* has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!" And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks as follows: "My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease." Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well.

It is quite clear that this "healing" function of the clan is intimately associated with the powers supposed to be bestowed upon individuals by Bear spirits. In fact, we are really dealing with a society possessing the power of healing disease in which membership, however, is restricted to members of the Bear clan.

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763 of prey hovering around the hill and he felt certain that they were
there so that they could devour him as soon as he was dead. How-
825 ever, the birds told him they had come to cure not to devour him.
●755 Many carnivorous birds and many wolves were there. The turtle
756 also came because he was the owner of some medicines.

Then the animals who had gathered on the hill began to doctor him. The raven began first. He ejaculated *e-he-al e-he-al* gave him some medicine and began to exert his powers until he felt better. Then the wolf began. He walked around ejaculating certain sounds and spitting medicine on him. The man became much better. He was almost completely restored to health. Then the turtle began to exert his powers, ejaculating at the same time *ahil ahil ahil ahil* and walking around the man and giving him some boiled medicine to drink. Now he was almost entirely cured. Finally a black hawk began to doctor the man. He put some medicine on the place where the man's pains seemed to be situated and he was immediately cured. Then all those who had cured him said, "Human! In a similar way you shall cure your fellowmen." They then gave him as much medicine as he would need. The raven gave him his "medicine chest," consisting of a flute and a gourd. With these things he blessed him. He also gave him a song which he was to sing. Then the wolf gave him his medicine chest, consisting of a gourd and a flute, and told him that he would not fail to cure any sick person he treated and that if the sick people offered the proper amount of tobacco, red eagle feathers, and food, no matter how serious their disease was he would be able to cure it. Then he told the man that Earthmaker had placed him in charge of these things and that he in turn would bless him with them for all eternity. As long as any of his posterity was left they would enjoy the benefit of these blessings.

825 And this is true, for even to the present day his descendants use
756 this medicine.

Then Black Hawk said, "I, also, bless you. Earthmaker placed me
[782] in charge of some medicines and with these I bless you. If you are
careful in offering tobacco and food to these medicines they will always help you to the utmost of their power. Whatever you ask they will accomplish for you. They will be able to understand you. So, if anyone is sick, you will be able to help him. In this way I bless you. If you are ever in any difficulty, think of me and I will help you." (What he meant is that if he ever was in any difficulty, he should think of the medicines with which Black Hawk had blessed him, and that that would be the same as if he thought of him.)

Then the Buffalo said, "My grandson, Earthmaker placed me in charge of certain medicines. Why should you then wish to die? Your condition is 'pitiable,' and therefore I want to bless you.

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All those spirits whom Earthmaker made with his own hands were placed in charge of certain things. All these spirits have had compassion upon you. All those whom Earthmaker created as holy have blessed you. Earthmaker has placed me in charge of certain medicines and I am so completely in control of these that I can do what I please with them. There exist no beings either on the earth or under the earth whom I can not cure. With all these do I bless you. All your previous blessings were from spirits who live either on earth or in the heavens. The medicinal plants I bless you with are called Buffalo medicines. The other medicines are called 'stench-earth medicines.' As long as you and your descendants live these medicines will be efficacious. The owners of the stench-earth medicines they will be called. In this manner I bless you." 825 756

Then the hitcara said, "I bless you with those things that Earthmaker placed me in charge of. I was created by Earthmaker. Medicines, grass, trees, and bushes (for use in the making of medicines), with these I bless you. I bless you with my utterance. With my mouth, I bless you. If a human is suffering and places tobacco in your hands, then you may mention my name and pour a pipeful of tobacco into the fire. I will grant whatever you request. All the medicinal plants with which I bless you shall belong to you and your descendants as long as the earth endures. Your children can use them, and they will protect them. If any part of their body is weak from disease they can heal themselves with them. Many things will you gain through these medicines. You may also eat them. Human! you have dreamed, not only for yourself but for all your descendants. As long as this earth endures, so long will your descendants use these medicines with which I have blessed you. In this way I bless you."

Then the wildcat said, "Grandson, Earthmaker placed me in control of medicines also. I bless you. The other spirits have blessed you with certain medicines, and to these I now add my own. I can not tell you anything about the heavenly blessings. The spirits above have already bestowed these upon you. I will, however, tell you this: There is nothing either upon this earth or under it that I can not accomplish. I bless you with the power to do the same. With the blessings I give you, you will be able to accomplish anything you wish whenever you put these medicines to use. If a person were dying, and his relatives offered tobacco and food to you, you would be able to cure him. When you use my name, concentrate your mind upon me, and offer me tobacco. If I smoke the tobacco you will then know that your request has been granted. All the medical plants that I am giving to you, all the herbs that I am blessing you with, to all these, make an offering of tobacco. Whatever you ask they will grant you. All the animals that tread upon the air, all those [755]

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832 278 fulfill all the conditions I dig them out and mix them together with their own roots. Then I take the blossom of the male and mix it together with the center leaf of the female flower. After that both are ground together thoroughly. Then I go to the woman I wish to court and, at night, when she is asleep, I touch first any part of her body, then a place not far from her heart, and finally the top of her head with this mixture. Finally I make her smell it. I then wake her up and go home. The girl will wonder who had touched her and she will think a good deal about the incident and never forget it. The next time I see her she will like me and she will do whatever I ask of her. The medicine would be working. If I did not see her for a long time, she would get lonesome, and the only thing that would cure her would be to marry me.

There is another medicine which I am now going to describe. When it first sprouts, which is in the spring, it is quite white. This must be taken and dried. Then one must chew it and go near the woman with whom one desires to talk. Approach her on the side from which the wind is blowing so that she can smell the medicine. As soon as she smells it, even although the man chewing it is one whom she has hitherto disliked, she will get to like him. This is the way in which the medicine works.

● 755 [752] A man who was blessed was told of all these things. He cured all diseases. If a person had been shot and one blessed with the stench-earth medicine was called, he could be cured. In the same manner, if one is stabbed in what would generally be considered a fatal way and if a man blessed with stench-earth was called in time he would save him. The same cure is effected in cases of broken arms and of [752] patients who are on the point of death. It is for this reason that those blessed with the stench-earth medicines are always praised, and that the people say "They surely are in charge of life; for their blessings really come from the spirits, just as they claim."[1]

756 [754] [The "stench-earth" medicine men could undoubtedly cure the sick, but they also used it to poison people. The courting medicine was a poison medicine, and therefore it was not good. These people cured the body, but they killed the soul. It would have been much better had they saved their souls. They were really working for the devil. It is from him that they got all the bad medicines. Whenever they were offended, they would go and get poisons to kill the 754 774 offender. Thus the devil[2] was really causing them to kill their own souls and the souls of those they poisoned. It is the same with all

[1] The following portion in brackets is the statement of our informant, who is a member of the Pigeon gens.

[2] Although he really means the Christian devil many of the gods of the old Winnebago deity Hawgi'nina, the chief of the bad spirits, are clearly diaboliic.

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757 This is medicine used by women when their menstrual flow is not
278 very good:
841
1. Tremanank'e, English unknown.
2. Wazi p'ara'ske ahera, pine with flat leaves (?).
3. Waruttei ahera, red cedar leaves.
4. Mank'a p'oup'oro ahera, round medicine leaves.

All four of these ingredients are ground, mixed together, and then mixed with water. They are then drunk by any woman having trouble with her menstrual flow. After she has taken it she makes knots in the belt and ties it around her waist. As many knots as she makes that many days will it take her to get well. She also smokes herself with cedar leaves.

757 The next medicine that I wish to speak of is compounded as follows:
278
1. K'ewaxgu'u'wera, scent of a toad.
2. Waninkru'te na'ntekera, heart of a red bird.
3. Hartre'kera, strawberries.
4. Wankrik na'ntekera, human heart.
5. Xawi'ja', a plant.

278 If this medicine were mixed with whisky and given to any person,
[754] the latter would surely die within a year. The frog that is used in this medicine becomes alive in the stomach of the person who drinks it and kills him. If he took the same medicine and mixed it with
[832] paint and then rubbed it over his face, all who looked at him would take a liking to him and give him presents, and the women would fall in love with him and want to marry him. The reason that the women become smitten is because they can not resist the sight of a ripe strawberry. The human heart in the mixture is the object that makes the medicine so powerful, and the red bird heart strengthens it.
[826] Whenever these two, the human heart and the heart of the red bird, are used in medicines, the medicine is always remarkably efficacious.

832 If a woman makes fun of you and you feel hurt about it and want to revenge yourself, get one of her hairs and dip the root into this medicine and then tie it up. Hang the medicine bag in the woods and whenever the wind blows the woman will get lonesome for you and her head will ache. Finally she will get crazy. She will never cease talking about you. This is one of the medicines this man was blessed with. Some of them die from the effects of it. It is not a good thing, but the Winnebago thought that it was a very great thing. (Now that they know the Creator, they know that it is bad.)

● 755 Here is another medicine that we have, and it is prepared in the
278 following way: Four trees of a certain species are peeled near the roots lying on the east side. Then the second bark is also peeled. Then these are taken and boiled together with a square-stemmed weed. The whole mixture is used to induce vomiting. This vomiting would rid a person of a spell cast upon him which was preventing

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him from killing game. In the particular case mentioned above the spell was the following: A man killed a deer, and a pregnant woman ate a piece of the intestine. From that time on the man was unable to kill any more deer. 755 278 [224 843]

The above medicine is used to break the spell of ill luck in hunting caused by the following actions: If a man cohabits with a widow, or if one who is a widower eats together with another person, or if he smokes out of the same pipe as another person. Not only would the medicine free him from his ill luck in hunting, but it would give him good luck in cards and speed in running. [589]

Here is an astringent medicine. It is compounded of a mixture of the "clear" medicine and the "plant that spreads itself on the ground." It is used for the following purposes. As an application for swellings, for illness after childbirth, and for general sores and eruptions of the skin. In case of illness after childbirth it is injected. For sores, etc., it is taken internally. 757 278 [844]

Here is another medicine, called bladder medicine. It is made of the roots of a certain weed. These roots are boiled and then drunk. If one is troubled with stricture, the drinking of this medicine will enable him to pass water immediately. The same medicine is used to alleviate a toothache and to stop too profuse a menstrual flow. [841]

Now this is another medicine. It is made of the leaves of a certain plant. These leaves are rolled up and then drunk down with water. The medicine is used for all stomach complaints.

Here is another medicine used for diarrhea and dysentery. It is made from the roots of a plant that has many thorns and beautiful white blossoms. The roots are scraped and the scrapings boiled and gulped down. At least a pint of this concoction must be taken. It can also be used as a mouth wash for those troubled with sore mouths.

We have another medicine used to rid a person of superfluous bile. This acts as a strong physic and not only cures a person of his indisposition but also gives him a great appetite.

Here is another medicine. It is called the medicine for burns. It consists of the leaves of a certain weed that is dried. If anyone has a burn, he chews some of this dried weed and then applies it to the burn. [752]

Here is also a medicine for private diseases, compounded of the following:

1. Doxcu'tckera hara, red willow bark.
2. Ma"sixu'tekeda hara, English unknown.
3. Nap'a'hira hara, sharp tree.

These barks are pulverized and mixed together with skunk oil.

The next medicine I am going to describe is used in poisoning. It is called small-part-of-a-black-root-tree. It is used for many pur- 754 278

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"'You will live (this is addressed to the patient), so help yourself as much as you can and try to make yourself strong. Now as I offer this tobacco to the spirits you must listen and if you know that I am telling the truth, you will be strengthened by it.'" 755 782 776 539

(What follows is the shaman's offering of tobacco to the spirits.)

"*Ha' hol* Here is the tobacco, Fire. You promised me that if I offered you tobacco you would grant me whatever request I made. Now I am placing tobacco on your head as you told me to, when I fasted for four days and you blessed me. I am sending you the plea of a human being who is ill. He wishes to live. This tobacco is for you and I pray that the one who is ill be restored to health within four days.

"To you too, Buffalo, I offer tobacco. A person who is ill is offering tobacco to you and asking you to restore him to health. So add that power which I obtained from you at the time I fasted for six days and you sent your spirits after me who took me to your lodge which lies in the center of this earth and which is absolutely white. There you blessed me, you Buffaloes, of four different colors. Those blessings that you bestowed upon me then, I ask of you now. The power of breathing with which you blessed me, I am in need of now. Add your power to mine, as you promised. The people have given me plenty of tobacco for you.

"To you, Grizzly-bear, I also offered tobacco. At a place called Pointed Hill lives a spirit who is in charge of a ceremonial lodge and to this all the other grizzly-bears belong. You all blessed me and you said that I would be able to kill whomsoever I wished, and that at the same time I would be able to restore any person to life. Now, I have a chance to enable a person to live and I wish to aid him. So here is some tobacco for you. You took my spirit to your home after I had fasted for ten days and you blessed me there. The powers with which you blessed me there I ask of you now. Here is some tobacco, grandfathers, that the people are offering to you.

"To you, the Chief of the Eels, you who live in the center of the ocean, I offer tobacco. You blessed me after I had fasted for eight days. With your power of breathing and with your inexhaustible supply of water, you blessed me. You told me that I could use my blessing whenever I tried to cure a patient. You told me that I could use all the water in the ocean, and you blessed me with all the things that are in the water. A person has come to me and asked me for life; and as I wish him to live, I am addressing you. When I spit upon the patient may the power of my saliva be the same as yours. Therefore I offer you tobacco; here it is.

"To you, the Turtle, you who are in charge of a shaman lodge, you who blessed me after I had fasted seven days and carried my spirit to your home, where I found many birds of prey (literally, birds

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755 with sharp claws). There you blessed me and you told me that
782 should, at any time, any human being have a pain I would be able
776 to drive it out of him. For that reason you called me One-who-
539 drives-out-pains. Now before me is a person with a bad pain and I wish to take it out of him. That is what the spirits told me when they blessed me, before I came down to earth. Therefore I am going to heal him. Here is the tobacco.

"To you, who are in charge of the snake lodge, you who are perfectly white, Rattlesnake, I pray. You blessed me with your rattles to wrap around my gourd and you told me after I had fasted for four days that you could help me. You said that I would never fail in anything that I attempted. So now, when I offer you tobacco and shake my gourd, may my patient live and may life (an additional number of years) be opened to him. That is what you promised me, grandfather.

"I greet you, too, Night Spirits. You blessed me after I had fasted for nine days, and you took my spirit to your village which lies in the east, where you gave me your flutes which you told me were holy. You made my flute holy likewise. For these I ask you now, for you know that I am speaking the truth. A sick person has come to me and has asked me to cure him; and because I want him to live I am speaking to you. You promised to accept my tobacco at all times; here it is.

"To you, Disease-giver, I offer tobacco. After I had fasted two days you let me know that you were the one who gives diseases and that if I desired to heal anyone it would be easy for me to do so were I blessed by you. So, Disease-giver, I am offering you tobacco, and I ask that this sick person who has come to me be restored to health again as you promised when you bestowed your blessing upon me.

"To you, Thunderbirds, I offer tobacco too. When you blessed me you said that you would help me whenever I needed you. A person has come to me and asked me to cure him, and as I want him to live, I wish to remind you of your promise. Grandfathers, here is some tobacco.

"To you, the Sun, I offer tobacco too; here it is. You blessed me after I had fasted for five days and you told me that you would come to my aid whenever I had something difficult to do. Now, someone has come to me and pleaded for life, and he has brought good offerings of tobacco to me because he knows that you have blessed me.

"To you, grandmother, the Moon, I also offer tobacco. You blessed me and said that whenever I needed your power you would aid me. A person has come to me and asked for life, and I therefore call upon you to help me with your power as you promised. Grandmother, here is some tobacco.

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"To you, grandmother, the Earth, I too offer tobacco. You 755
blessed me and promised to help me whenever I needed you. You 782
said that I could use all the best herbs that grow upon you, and that 776
I would always be able to effect cures with them. Those herbs I ask 539
of you now, and I ask you to help me cure this sick person. Make my medicine powerful, grandmother.

"To you, Chief of the Spirits, I offer tobacco. You who blessed me and said that you would help me. I offer you tobacco and ask you to let this sick person live, and if his spirit is about to depart, I ask you to prevent it.

"I offer tobacco to all of you who have blessed me."

Then the shaman blew upon his flute, breathed upon the sick man and sang four times. Then he walked around the lodge and spat water upon the patient. After this he sang four times and stopped. The spirits would now let him know whether the patient was to live or die.

In this manner a shaman treats his patients for four days, and after that takes his offerings and goes away. If the sick person happens to recover, the shaman would tell him that he would never be sick again.

### Thundercloud's Fasting Experience

Then he (Thundercloud) told of his fasting experience. "At 756
the very beginning, those above taught me (the following). A 776
doctor's village existed there; and all the various spirits that lived up in the clouds came after me, and instructed me in what I was to do. In the beginning they taught me, and did the following for me. 'Human, let us try it,' they said to me. There, in the middle of the lodge, lay a dead, rottening log, almost completely covered with weeds. There they tried to make me treat (the sick person). Then once he breathed, and all those that were in the lodge also breathed; then the second time he breathed, and all breathed with him; then for the third time he breathed; and then for the fourth time he breathed. As a young man he, the dead log, arose and walked away. After the fourth breathing, he arose and walked away. 'Human, very holy he is,' they said to me.

"There, from the middle of the ocean, they (the spirits) came after me, for there, in the middle of the ocean, is a shamans' village. There they blessed me—as many (spirits) as there are in the middle of the ocean—they all blessed me. There they made me try my power. As many waves as there are, all of them as large as the ocean, they asked me to blow upon; and as I blew upon them, everything became (as quiet) as (water) in a small saucer. So it became. Then I blew for the third time, and again it was that way. The fourth time they made the ocean choppy, and had (the waves) piled

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the newer deities. He is both a great deity and a guardian spirit. 776
That he developed out of the indefinite "folklore-spirits" is abundantly attested by the rôle he plays in the myths.

Morning Star is preeminently associated with war.

*Disease-giver.* This is but an approximate translation of his name in Winnebago, which is *hucre'u' wakiru*. He is a very peculiar figure, being described as an anthropomorphic figure, dealing out death from one side of his body and life from the other. He is preeminently a guardian spirit who only appears to the bravest and [726
holiest fasters. His specific blessings seem to be connected with war 755]
and the curing of disease.

He appears in none of the myths and in but few of the ceremonies. He plays a very important rôle in the war-bundle feasts.

It is rather difficult to explain his origin. He seems hardly to be a deity of the people and can best be understood, it seems, if we regard him as largely a construction of the shaman. Certain of his characteristics may have been borrowed from some neighboring tribe.

*Thunderbird.* Thunderbird is another of the older folkloristic conceptions that has been remodeled and reinterpreted by the shamans. He might be said to be the most popular of Winnebago deities. He is found everywhere—in the oldest myths, the clan origin myths, and the newest myths; he is a clan ancestor, a popular guardian spirit, and a popular deity. In contradistinction to practically all of the other deities, he is regarded as easily approachable by man.

To the popular mind he is distinctly theromorphic in form, causing lightning by the flashes of his eyes and thunder by the flapping of his wings. In some of the versions of the clan origin myth we still find this conception. In the hands of the shamans he became an anthropomorphic deity, characterized by baldness and the wearing [756]
of bay wreathes. Something of the older conception still clings to him, however, for he frequently acts as a bird and the flashing of his eyes still causes lightning. His baldness itself is an archaic feature, because the Thunderbird originally was supposed to be a kind of eagle.

Many representations of the Thunderbird can be found on various articles and in the effigy mounds.

He blesses men with practically everything, but particularly with [726]
victory on the warpath.

*Water-spirit.*—The meaning of the Winnebago word for this deity, *wak'teri*, is unknown. The translation "Water-spirit" does not claim to have anything to do with the real meaning of the word, but it was preferred by the Winnebago because this deity is always pictured as a water monster.

He is one of the older folkloristic conceptions and has not been [756]
very greatly reinterpreted by the shamans. The Thunderbird is sup-

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I would like to be. I would like to be able to treat people the way he does, and I have for that reason blackened my face and fasted for eight days." Then I was blessed and they (the messengers of the spirits) came after me. Up above, to a shaman spirit-lodge they took me. There I saw the chief, and he said to me, "What you desire, what you are thirsting yourself to death for, that you are to be blessed with. For that reason these people have brought you here. Here you are to give an exhibition of your powers. I am the one who has caused you to be brought here (i. e., blessed you), I am the ruler of this village and I sent for you to give you the following powers:

"If ever an Indian is sick, even if he is so sick that he is practically dead, I give you the power of restoring him to life. Now you are to show your powers. Here is a log so rotten and decayed that it is practically falling apart.[10] Upon this you are to exert your power and show that you have been blessed. This is what the spirits meant when they blessed you." Then he walked around the log, breathed upon it, and spat water upon it, and it became human. Then he walked around it again and again spat water upon it, and it began to move. Then for the third time he spat water upon it and walked around it and it began to groan. Then he walked around it for the fourth time, and again spat water upon the log, and it got up and walked away. He had restored the log to life. Then the spirit said to him, "Man, with this power you are blessed. That for which you longed, that for which you fasted, you are blessed with. Giving-humans-life, thus the people will call you."

Then all the spirits who are above said as follows: "Brother-in-law," that you may live I am telling you this story."

In the wilderness I went, and there near an oval hill I sat down and wept. Below the hill lay a round lake and there I saw the rising dew coming in a fog. This first spread itself out over us, and then, in turn, shrank and became small. All this time I sat there weeping. There was something moving in the lake, but although I was looking in that direction I did not see anything. They (evidently the spirits) were sneaking up on me. Two (flames of) fire suddenly burst forth extending from above to the lake. Then a report like

[10] This log is supposed to represent a human being in a similar condition—that is, practically on the verge of dissolution.

[11] The account is suddenly interrupted here to tell the listener why Aratuge'in is telling the story of his fasting. The personal religious experiences were very sacred and rarely told even to near relatives. As far as I know, they were only told before death or when a person was very ill, as in the present case. The purpose seems to have been to transfer the benefits of the blessing to the sick person and cure him in much the same way as is done when an accredited shaman goes through his entire performance. Of course, Aratuge'in's blessing related directly to the curing of disease. But evidently it was believed that blessings connected with other powers were equally efficacious.

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756 that of a gun sounded. The two (spirits) were causing it. Suddenly
159 a great noise was heard. I kept right on crying, for I was trying
787 to be blessed. I sat there with staring eyes looking at the spirits.
776 "I must be receiving a blessing," I thought. I continued crying and after a short time it began to rain very much. "How is this," I thought to myself, "only a little time before it was so nice and now it is raining." Yet in spite of the rain no water seemed to fall upon me. "How is it," I thought, "here it is raining and yet no rain is falling upon me." Then I looked above and I saw that it was very cloudy, yet straight above me in a direct line the sky was blue. This blue spot was like a round object covering me as though it were an umbrella. The Thunderbirds were blessing me. With the blue sky, they were blessing me. Soon the noise stopped, and when I looked above I saw four (men) standing with packs upon their backs. These (the spirits) killed. Then they blessed me with the power of killing. They spoke to me and said, "Stop your crying. What you have longed for and fasted for, with that we have blessed you. Just as these four men have been killed, so you will be able to kill people. But you will also be able to restore them to life again. Upon your body now we will make a mark and those whom you wish to bless will be given an opportunity of selecting life for themselves,[14] so that, even when a person be practically dead he will be restored to health. What is above you, the blue sky, that we place on one of your fingers,[15] and with that we bless you. If the patient picks the finger with the mark upon it, he will live."

The Thunderbirds were the spirits speaking to me. They had spears and little war-clubs in their hands and (wreaths) made of flat cedar leaves upon their heads. Thus did four Thunderbirds bless me.

"Well, brother-in-law, I want you to live and I want you to pick life for yourself—i. e., pick the finger with the blue mark upon it. Do it carefully and do not attempt it when you are tired. Here are my four fingers and one of them has the blue sky upon it (i. e., the blue mark that betokens life). If you choose that, you will certainly live. You are the second person (to whom I have offered my fingers). Now do not miss it, for if you miss it you will surely die. Be careful, then, in picking it."

[155] Then the brother-in-law picked the little finger and Aratege'ka said, "Brother-in-law, it is good. You will live." Then he turned his little finger around and there a circular blue mark was visible.

ACCOUNT OF X.'S FASTING

159 The spirits can bless you with everything. My father used to
787 tell me how much he loved me and how much he wished me to fast.

[14] That is, a sick person will have to guess at the part of the body that has been blessed by the Thunderbirds, and if he guesses correctly he will become well.

[15] That is, we will place a mark made with blue clay upon your finger.

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unsatisfactory. Apparently his statement is based upon the occurrence of four mythical ancestors. The similarity of the Winnebago social organization with that of the Dhegiha and Teiwere branches of the Siouan family, in which subclans seem to be found, appears to have influenced Dorsey considerably in making this assumption. 796 614 [114]

It is true that in their account of origins the Warrior clan speak of themselves as having sprung from the second of the birds mentioned in the origin myth of the Thunderbird clan and this statement permits us to infer that the other two clans bear a similar relationship to those four ancestral birds who, according to legend, alit on a tree near Red Banks. But this is, of course, merely a mythical account, and the data imbedded in the clan myths must be used with the greatest caution in so far as they can be expected to throw any light on early conditions of social organization.

All that we can say now is that the chief feast will have to be considered as belonging to all the four bird clans. But this is not to be interpreted to mean that an amalgamation of four historically distinct feasts has taken place, nor that, on the other hand, the four clans were originally subdivisions of one unit.

*The Chief feast.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:[4] The chief of the tribe is at the head of all the different bands and groups of people that exist among the Winnebago. As chief he has full charge of them. All the others are, so to say, his attendants and servants. When his people wish anything they go to him and ask him to obtain a blessing for them. Thus all the members of the tribe, the children as well as the mature men, go to him, and to help them the chief gives the feast known as the chief feast. He sacrifices to Earthmaker, and all who are present offer up some little gift in thankfulness, as this is a thing of supreme sacredness. All those who are present—the children, the women, the middle-aged, and the old men—in fact, whosoever attends the feast, see to it that they eat some of the food distributed. 796 622

As this feast is given in honor of their chief, all the members of the tribe, but most particularly the members of the Bird clan, prepare large offerings, so that there should be abundant food to eat. They bring all kinds of food—different kinds of meat, different kinds of vegetables, all manner of berries—in short, all sorts of edibles. These are to be offered to the spirits, and by means of these offerings they expect that their life will be filled with all that is good. It is to obtain these blessings that the feast is given. [614] [782]

When his people get sick, when it appears that an epidemic is likely, then the chief also gives the chief feast. It is for the purpose [755]

[4] Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain a full and detailed account of this feast. As in type, however, all the other feasts are identical, this deficiency can be made up in part by comparing it with those feasts like the snake, bear, and buffalo that have been obtained in considerable detail.

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796 575 [787] in the center and at the four points. Only people who had been blessed by the grizzly bear were permitted to sing and dance. The dancing itself took place both around the lodge and around the ma*warap'uru. The dancers are supposed to imitate the motions and the cries of the grizzly bear. Sometimes they whirl themselves round and round, like a grizzly bear, but their principal motion consists in stretching out their hands. In this position they will take tobacco from the ma*warap'uru and eat it. They believe that they are representing the bears when they do this.

The dancers are selected by the one giving the dance. Those taking part vie with each other in exhibiting the powers with which they have been blessed, because in this way those present could see who possessed the greatest powers.

The purpose of the dance was to thank the grizzly bears for the blessings they had bestowed upon the people. (However, there seemed to be many other special occasions for which the dance was performed.)

If sick people are present at the dance they are told to put some tobacco on the ma*warap'uru and ask for life.

There is a description of the grizzly-bear dance in the account of Little Priest's life which it might be well to append here in view of the brevity of the above description.

796 755 575 "Little Priest had been wounded in so many places that he was practically dead. He was, of course, entirely unconscious when his relatives arrived. They decided to perform the grizzly-bear dance for him. He himself had been blessed by the grizzly bears when he was young.

"The dance was to be given at the lodge of an Indian named Good Soldier. They carried Little Priest to the lodge in a blanket, so that they could sing for him and permit him to show the powers he possessed. He was unable to move on account of the wounds and the bruises he had gotten. The man who sang for him at that time was South-Wind. There were all in all ten Indians, entirely naked, except for their breechclouts. Little Priest had told South-Wind that he was a grizzly bear and that he could heal himself (no matter how badly he had been wounded).

"As soon as the songs and dancing commenced Little Priest began to move his little fingers. Soon he was able to move his arm as far as his forearm, and gradually he regained the power of moving the entire arm. Finally he sat up and began to keep time on the drum. Then he tried to stand on his feet, but owing to his weakness it was only with the greatest difficulty that he could straighten out his body. Finally he stood erect. Then he started to walk around the lodge very slowly. The second circuit he made more easily, and by the time he had made the fourth circuit he was dancing just as the

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other dancers were with all his strength restored. Then he walked to the ma"warup'uru, took some earth, rubbed it on his wounds, and they were healed immediately. There was only one wound that he could not heal, which was situated on a part of his back that he could not reach with his hands." 796 755 575

He sang many songs while dancing. These songs were the ones that the spirits had taught him when they blessed him.

GRIZZLY BEAR SONGS

1

Newine'na newine'na ha"pira"nê. [533
I am he, I am he, the day it is I. 539]

2

Ha'na"niągu"ne'h'tce hiniągai'rê nink'tra'i"niąkara d,anągą'gra.
That you would be you were by the children as many as there are.
listened to told

3

Ma"ire'ja" he'dadjahi'rera.
The grizzly bear was starting to roam.

4

Wa'wonatra"ri" nihe'ha.
Shouting you can hear him.
Ha'naira"ri" nihe'ha.
His voice you can hear.

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that I may not say and do evil things. To you, O God, I am trying to 159
pray. Do thou, O Son of God, help me, too. This religion, let me 794
know. Help me, O medicine, grandfather, help me! Let me know 276
this religion!" Thus I spoke and sat very quiet. And then I beheld 786
the morning star and it was good to look upon. The light was good to look upon. I had been frightened during the night but now I was happy. Now as the light appeared, it seemed to me that nothing would be invisible to me. I seemed to see everything clearly. Then I thought of my home and as I looked around, there I saw the house in which I lived far away among the Winnebago, quite close to me. There at the window I saw my children playing. Then I saw a man going to my house carrying a jug of whisky. Then he gave them something to drink and the one that had brought the whisky got drunk and bothered my people. Finally he ran away. "So, that is what they are doing," I thought to myself. Then I beheld my wife come and stand outside of the door, wearing a red blanket. She was thinking of going to the flagpole and was wondering which road she should take. "If I take this road I am likely to meet some people, but if I take the other road, I am not likely to meet anyone."

Indeed, it is good. They are all well—my brother, my sister, my father, my mother. I felt very good indeed. O medicine, grandfather, most assuredly you are holy! All that is connected with you, that I would like to know and that I would like to understand. Help me! I give myself up to you entirely!

For three days and three nights I had been eating medicine, and for three days and three nights I had not slept. Throughout all the years that I had lived on earth, I now realized that I had never known anything holy. Now, for the first time, I knew it. Would that some of the Winnebagoes might also know it!

Many years ago I had been sick and it looked as if this illness 159
were going to kill me. I tried all the Indian doctors and then I 794
tried all of the white man's medicines, but they were of no avail. 276
"I am doomed. I wonder whether I will be alive next year." Such 755
were the thoughts that came to me. As soon as I ate the peyote, however, I got over my sickness. After that I was not sick again. My wife had suffered from the same disease, and I told her that if she ate this medicine it would surely cure her. But she was afraid, although she had never seen it before. She knew that I used it, but nevertheless she was afraid of it. Her sickness was getting worse and worse and one day I said to her, "You are sick. It is going to be very difficult, but try this medicine anyhow. It will ease you." Finally she ate it. I had told her to eat it and then to wash herself and comb her hair and she would get well, and now she is well. Then I painted her face and took my gourd and began singing very much. Then I stopped. "Indeed, you are right,"

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she said, "for now I am well." From that day on to the present time she has been well. Now she is very happy.

Black Water-spirit at about that time was having a hemorrhage and I wanted him to eat the peyote. "Well, I am not going to live anyhow," he said. "Well, eat this medicine soon then and you will get cured." Consumptives never were cured before this and now for the first time one was cured. Black Water-spirit is living to-day and is very well.

There was a man named Walking-Priest and he was very fond of whisky; he chewed and he smoked and he gambled. He was very fond of women. He did everything that was bad. Then I gave him some of the peyote and he ate it and he gave up all the bad things he was doing. He had had a very dangerous disease and had even had murder in his heart. But to-day he is living a good life. That is his desire.

Whoever has any bad thoughts, if he will eat this peyote he will abandon all his bad habits. It is a cure for everything bad.

To-day the Indians say that only God is holy. One of the Winnebagoes has told me, "Really, the life that I led was a very bad one. Never again will I do it. This medicine is good and I will always use it." John Harrison and Squeaking-Wings were prominent members of the medicine dance; they thought much of themselves as did all the members of the medicine dance. They knew everything connected with this medicine dance. Both of them were gamblers and were rich because they had won very much in gambling. Their parents had acquired great possessions by giving medicines to the people. They were rich and they believed that they had a right to be selfish with their possessions. Then they ate peyote and ever since that time they have been followers of this medicine. They were really very ill and now they have been cured of it. Now if there are any men that might be taken as examples of the peyote, it is these three. Even if a man were blind and only heard about them he would realize that if any medicine were good, it is this medicine. It is a cure for all evil. Before, I had thought that I knew something but I really knew nothing. It is only now that I have real knowledge. In my former life I was like one blind and deaf. My heart ached when I thought of what I had been doing. Never again will I do it. This medicine alone is holy and has made me good and has rid me of all evil. The one whom they call God has given me this. That I know positively. Let them all come here; men and women; let them bring with them all that they desire; let them bring with them their diseases. If they come here they will get well. This is all true; it is all true. Bring whatever desires you possess along with you and then come and eat or drink this medicine. This is life, the only life. Then you will learn

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something about yourself, so come. Even if you are not told anything about yourself, nevertheless you will learn something of yourself. Come with your disease, for this medicine will cure it. Whatever you have, come and eat this medicine and you will have true knowledge once and for all. Learn of this medicine yourself through actual experience. 755 159 794 276

If you just hear about it you are not likely to try it. If you desire real knowledge about it try it yourself, for then you will learn of things that you had never known before. In no other way will you ever be happy. I know that all sorts of excuses will run through your mind for not partaking of it, but if you wish to learn of something good, try this. Perhaps you will think to yourself that it will be too difficult and this will seem an excuse to you for not trying it. But why should you act thus? If you partake of it, even if you feel some uncertainty about its accomplishing all the good that has been said of it, I know that you will say to yourself, "Well, this life is good enough." After you have taken it for the first time, it will seem as if they are digging a grave for you, that you are about to die; and you will not want to take it again. "It is bad," you will think to yourself. You will believe that you are going to die and you will want to know what is going to happen to you. The coffin will be set before you and then you will see your body. If you wish to inquire further about where you are going then you will learn something you have not known. Two roads there are, one leading to a hole in the earth and the other extending up above. You will learn something that you had not known before. Of the two roads, one is dark and the other is light. You must choose one of these while you are alive and so must you decide whether you wish to continue in your evil ways or whether you will abandon them. These are the two roads. The Peyote people see them. They claim that only if you weep and repent will you be able to obtain knowledge. Do not, as I said before, listen to others talking about it, but try the medicine yourself. That is the only way to find out. No other medicine can accomplish what this has done. If, therefore, you make use of it, you will live. After they have eaten peyote people throw aside all the (evil) ceremonies that they were accustomed to perform before. Only by eating the peyote will you learn what is truly holy. That is what I am trying to learn myself.

It is now 23 years since I first ate peyote, and I am still doing it (1912). Before that my heart was filled with murderous thoughts. I wanted to kill my brother and my sister. It seemed to me that my heart would not feel good until I killed one of them. All my thoughts were fixed on the warpath. This is all I thought of. Now

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159 Now I know that it was because the evil spirit possessed me that I felt that
●755 way. I was suffering from a disease. I even desired to kill myself;
794 I did not care to live. That feeling, too, was caused by this evil
276 spirit living within me. Then I ate this medicine and everything
[753] changed. The brother and sister I wanted to kill before I became attached to and I wanted them to live. The medicine had accomplished this.

### O. L.'s Description of the Peyote Cult

(pl. xx, a)

159 John Rave belongs to the Bear clan, the members of which had
614 the functions of what might be called sergeants-at-arms. He and
[692 his ancestors used to be in charge of the *manupiei* (i. e., the ser-
681] geants-at-arms lodge), to which all malefactors would be brought for punishment.

159 Rave, although he belonged to this highly respected class of people,
794 was a bad man. He roamed from place to place. He has participated in all the ceremonies of the Winnebago, the medicine dance alone excepted. He had been married many times. Up to 1901 he was a heavy drinker. In that year he went to Oklahoma and while there ate the peyote. He then returned to the Winnebago and tried to introduce it among them, but none with the exception of a few
[77] relatives would have anything to do with it. This did not in any way discourage him, however, and he continued using the peyote, now and then getting a few converts.

159 There was not very much religion connected with it in the beginning
794 and the reason people drank it was on account of the peculiar effects
177 it had upon them. Nevertheless these Peyote people preached good things and gradually lost all desire for intoxicating drinks or for participating in the old Winnebago ceremonies. Then Rave began to do away with the old Indian customs. About four or five years ago the membership in the Peyote religion began to increase, for many people now noticed that those connected with the Peyote cult were the only people in the tribe leading a Christian life.

At this time the Bible was introduced by a young man named Albert Hensley (pls. 8, *d*; 9, *d*). He, too, had been a bad person, although he had been educated at Carlisle. Like Rave, he was a heavy drinker and fond of wandering.

During the last few years our members have increased so fast that now almost half the tribe belong to our religion. We all make efforts to lead a Christian life and we are succeeding very well.

794 We use the New Testament, especially the Revelations.

796 Our meetings take place at any time. We gather together in the
159 evening, and as soon as everything is in readiness the leader arises
[782] and offers a prayer called, "Turning themselves over to the care of the Trinity."

l:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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Shortly after this he traveled again and came to a band of Indians who were eating peyote. It was his custom to try everything when he went visiting. He did not realize what he was doing when he ate this medicine, but he did it anyhow. After a while he began to think of his manner of life, and he felt that he was doing wrong. All the evil he had done he remembered. Then he prayed to God. Suddenly it occurred to him, "Perhaps I am the only one doing this." Then he looked around and watched the others, and he saw them praying in the same manner. 159 794 276 [484]

Not long after that he came home, taking with him some of this medicine. He knew it was holy. At home he offered tobacco to it and kept on eating it. Soon it cured him of a disease he had. He tried to induce some of the others to try it, but they refused. After a while a few tried it, and the peyote movement began to spread. All the old customs that they had been accustomed to observe they abandoned. They gave up the medicine dance and the ceremonies connected with the clans. For that reason, therefore, the conservative people hated them; their own brothers and sisters hated them, for they had abandoned what were considered holy ceremonies. [177 765]

### Albert Hensley's Account of the Peyote[1]

(Pls. 3, 4; 9, 4)

I am 37 years old. It was 37 years ago that my mother gave birth to me in an old-fashioned reed lodge. When I was a year old she died and my grandmother took care of me. I had come into the world a healthy child, but bad luck was apparently to pursue me, for when I was 7 years old my grandmother died. Then my father took care of me. At that time he began to be a bad man; he was a drunkard and a horse thief. He would frequently get into trouble and run away, always taking me along with him, however. On one occasion we fled to Wisconsin, and there we stayed two years. We got along pretty well, and there my father married again. By his second wife he had three children. 159

After a while he got into trouble again, and misfortune followed misfortune. People were killing each other, and I was left alone. If at any time of my life I was in trouble it was then. I was never happy. Once I did not have anything to eat for four days. We had fled to the wilderness, and it was raining continually. The country was flooded with high water, and we sat on the top of a tree. It was impossible to sleep, for if we went to sleep we would fall off into the water, which was very deep. The shore was quite far away. As we were prominent people, we soon heard that my [731]

[1] This account is of great importance, because Hensley introduced a large number of Christian elements into the ceremony, the principal one being the Bible.

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The first and foremost virtue predicated by Rave for the peyote was its curative power. He gives a number of instances in which hopeless venereal diseases and consumption were cured by its use, and this was the first thing one heard about it as late as 1913. In the early days of the Peyote cult it appears that Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote. The main point apparently was to induce people to try it. No amount of preaching of its direct effects, such as the hyperstimulation induced, the glorious visions, and the feeling of relaxation following, would ever have induced prominent members of the old Winnebago religious societies to try it. For that reason it is highly significant that all the old members of the Peyote cult speak of the diseases of which it cured them. Along this line lay unquestionably its appeal for the most converts. Its subsequent spread was due to a large number of interacting factors. One informant claims that there was little religion connected with it at first, and that the people drank the peyote on account of its peculiar effects.

The manner in which it spread at the beginning was simple and significant viz, along family lines. As soon as an individual had become a peyote eater he devoted all his energies to converting other members of his family. From instances that have come to our notice this lay in an insistent appeal to family ties and personal affection. A man showed unusual courtesy, showered innumerable favors upon relatives he was anxious to convert, and thereby earned the gratitude of the recipient, who at some critical moment, let us say, such as illness or mental depression, showed it by partaking of the peyote. The same methods were employed in the more general propaganda. The author knows of Peyote people who drove many miles in order to be present at the bedside of some old conservative who was ill, perhaps neglected by his relatives; bring him food, and spend the night with him in the most affectionate solicitude. They always had sufficient tact and understanding of human nature not to obtrude their purpose on the sick man too much. To the casual observer their object seemed simply that of a Samaritan. They would hardly have admitted that behind all their solicitude lay the desire to obtain a new convert. They would have claimed that their only purpose, over and above their sincere desire to comfort the sick man, was to demonstrate to their fellow Winnebago what changes the peyote had wrought in them. In this way the patient drew the inference, an inference that was likely to be drawn all the more quickly and forcibly when he contrasted the behavior of these Peyote nurses with that of his pagan relatives. The author was fortunate enough to obtain a fairly complete account of a conversion, illustrating both these features.

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"Host and members of his clan who are sitting here, I greet you. 539 You seated here who have impersonated the spirits, I send forth my 796 greetings to you."

Then the second person for whom they had put on a kettle spoke.

*Speech of ninth guest.*—"Host and members of his clan who are seated here, I greet you. To you, seated here, impersonating the spirits, I send my greetings. It is good. The host has tried to make us live. All those present here have been pleading to the spirits who are in control of life and war powers. If any Indians are sick and the [755] keepers of the war bundle give this feast then their illness will be overcome; they will recover from their disease, it is said. My father said that the people used to add more fuel to the fireplace of our chiefs when they do this. My grandfather told me that even if I (insignificant as I am) who speak were to make an offering of food to the [782] spirits it would be good. I knew that he always spoke the truth, yet I know that such as I could not do anything. (Thus grandfather spoke to me), 'Some day when you are in the presence of war and the rush is about to be made, you will not be frightened for you can say to the spirits, "Grandfathers, I always gave you something to smoke, boiled food for you, and gave you the material for moccasins. Now [724] I wish to go to the fight that is to take place." If you speak to them thus, though you do not hear them answering you, (you will recognize their answer in the fact) that without any effort you will be victorious.' They told the truth to one another, for they were certain of these things. That is why they encouraged one another. This is what the host and the members of his band are doing. It is good. A laudable thing they have done. They have boiled food for our [782] grandmother, the Earth. They have offered her tobacco and buckskins and have as a reward received war powers. It is good. Our grandmother whom they made me impersonate, I greet. Host and all those who are seated within this lodge, I send forth my greetings to you."

Then the third one whom they called on for a kettle rose to thank them and said:

*Speech of tenth guest.*—"Host and members of his clan who are seated here, I send my greetings toward you. It is good. The host has given the tobacco offerings to the various spirits at the proper time. They (host and clan members) have accomplished very much. Once long ago, four generations back, a man like a spirit in power had told them what to do and since then they have been repeating it. It is good. Their ancestors long, long ago first gave (this feast) and yet even to-day we have seen it. They (host and his relatives) listened attentively to what they said and they have repeated it exactly. We, ourselves, could not accomplish anything if we gave a feast. When in former times they had feasts in honor of our grandfathers,

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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let us say, some individual who has killed a member of the tribe and who refuses to make atonement of any kind, is pursued, he defiantly sings his clan songs.

As a last element in the clan-complex may be mentioned the specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

We have now completed the discussion of clan organization. As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary associations that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that the complex has grown around a strong social-political unit.

## THE CLAN AS A SOCIO-CEREMONIAL COMPLEX.

Up to the present our attention has been directed entirely to the clan as a socio-political complex and only passing mention has been made of those religious or ceremonial associations that may also have clustered around it. Among the Omaha, as we have frequently pointed out, these latter associations were of paramount importance and probably dwarfed the development of the political functions. Among the Winnebago, on the whole, they were unimportant. This very fact makes the solitary instance in which a fairly marked development took place of all the greater value, quite apart from the fact that it happens to give, on the one hand, an exceptionally instructive illustration of the secondary association of a ceremonial function with a social unit, and, on the other, a similarly instructive illustration of the association of a function generally belonging to an individual shaman with a social unit. Such an association has taken place with the Bear clan, and, owing to its importance, we will quote the data in extenso. The ceremony is known as "soldiers' dance" (*manype waci*).

"When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village, the people go to the chief and say, 'Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!' And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks

2. Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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as follows, 'My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease.' Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit, they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick, they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well." 614 755 796

Here the Bear clan behaves at the same time like a ceremonial organization associated with shamanistic practices and like an individual shaman. That, to the minds of the Winnebago, this ceremonial function of the Bear clan on this occasion was regarded as a real ceremony is indicated by the term *many pe waci*. For the moment, the Bear clan as a social unit is entirely lost sight of. Nevertheless, it is the Bear clan as such a unit around which the ceremony has crystallized. This case is all the more instructive for the very reason that this ceremonial association does not form an inextricable element in the clan complex, but is merely an aspect that it assumes on certain occasions, to the exclusion of its socio-political nature. The ceremonial function of the clan is, therefore, not as firmly fixed as is the political function. This may merely be an expression of the fact that among the Winnebago it had become customary to associate ceremonial functions with religious societies. 614 796 182

With regard to the analogy with the individual shaman, it might be said that treating a social unit like an individual must have been quite common wherever the former was strongly marked off by specific functions such as the Bear clan. The association of the shamanistic function with this clan may have occurred just because of the police functions the clan already possessed. On the other hand, it might be pointed out that the bear, both black and grizzly, was intimately [776] [825] [756]

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 Once when I was sick he[1] treated me. As soon as he
● 755 came my father arose with tobacco in his hands and
[782] made him an offering, greeting him as follows:

"My son-in-law, tobacco do I offer you and I make offerings to your spirits. You have made your hat[1] become holy, for the various spirits made it sacred. I greet you."

*159 Before treating me Thunder Cloud told of his fasting
755 experience:
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[776] At the very beginning those above taught me the following. All the various spirits who live up above in the clouds, in a doctor's village, came after me and instructed me in what I was to do. They taught me and told me the following. "Here let us try it," they said to me. There in the middle of the lodge lay a rotten log, almost entirely covered with weeds. They tried to make me treat this log. I breathed upon it and all those who were in this spirit lodge also breathed upon it. Then for the second time I breathed upon it and they with me. Then for the third and the fourth time I did it. After the fourth time the rotten log arose and walked away. Then the spirits said to me, "Human being, very holy indeed are you."

There from the middle of the ocean, from the shaman's village, they came after me. They blessed me, all the spirits in the middle of the ocean. They made me try my power. As many waves as exist, all of them as large as the ocean, upon these they asked me to blow; and as I blew upon them everything became as quiet as the water in a small saucer. So they became. Then I blew for the

[195] [1] Symbolical expression for the various objects and blessings bestowed upon him by the spirits.



1 [i.e., his brother-in-law Thunder Cloud who was a shaman--analyst]

third time and it was the same. The fourth time the spirits made the ocean very choppy and the waves were piled, one upon the other. Then they told me to blow again and show my power. I blew, and the ocean, mighty indeed as it was, became very quiet again. "Now this, human being, is what you will have to do," they said to me. "Not anything will there be that you cannot accomplish. Whatever be the illness a person may have, you will be able to cure him." 159* 755 787 756

All the spirits on the earth blessed me. "If any human being who is suffering from pain, makes an offering of tobacco to you, then whatever you demand, that we will do for you," the spirits told me. [782]

Now at Blue Clay Bank (St. Paul) there lives one who is a dancing grizzly-bear spirit. Whenever I am in great trouble I was to pour tobacco, as much as I thought necessary, and he would help me. This grizzly bear gave me songs and the power of beholding a holy thing; he gave me his claws, claws that are holy. Then the grizzly bear danced and performed while he danced. He tore his abdomen open and, making himself holy, healed himself again. This he repeated. One grizzly bear shot claws at the other and the wounded one became badly choked with blood. Then both made themselves holy again and cured themselves. They had a front paw disappear in the earth and after a while pulled out a prairie turnip. Finally they grabbed hold of a small plum tree, breathed upon it and shook it, and many plums began to fall. [776]

This was only the first part of the treatment. 159*

After recounting his fasting experience Thunder Cloud addressed the spirits and said, "Spirits, here is a person who is sick and who offers tobacco to me. I 755 782

*159 am on earth to accept it; to try and cure him." He
●755 then turned to me and said, "You will live, so help
782 yourself as much as you can. Try to make yourself strong. Now as I offer this tobacco to the spirits you must listen and if you know that I am telling the truth, you will be strengthened thereby."

Then he prayed to the spirits:

### *The Prayers to the Spirits*

*159 Here, O Fire, is the tobacco for you. You promised that
755 if I offered you some, you would grant me whatever re-
782 quest I made. Now I am placing tobacco on your head as
776 you told me to do when I fasted for four days and you
539 blessed me. I am sending you the plea of a human being who is ill. He wishes to live. This tobacco is for you and I pray that the one who is ill be restored to health within four days.

To you too, O Buffalo, I offer tobacco. A person is ill and is offering tobacco to you and asking you to restore him to health. So add that power which I obtained from you at the time I fasted for six days and you sent your spirits after me. They took me to your lodge which lies in the center of the earth and which is absolutely white. There you blessed me, you Buffaloes of four different colors. Those blessings that you bestowed upon me then, I am now in need of. The power of breathing with which you blessed me, I am now in need of. Add your power to mine as you promised.

To you, Grizzly Bear, I also offer tobacco. At a place called Pointed Hill there lives a spirit who is in charge of a ceremonial lodge, and to this all the other grizzly bears

# *My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud*

belong. You all blessed me and you said that I would be able to kill whomsoever I wished and that I would be able to restore any person to life. Now I have a chance to enable a person to live and I wish to aid him. So here is some tobacco for you. You took my spirit to your home after I had fasted for ten days and you blessed me there. The power with which you blessed me there I ask of you now. Here is some tobacco that the people are offering you, grandfathers.

To you, O Chief of the Eels, you who live in the center of the ocean, I offer tobacco. You blessed me after I had fasted for eight days. With your power of breathing and with your inexhaustible supply of water, you blessed me. You told me that I could use my blessing whenever I tried to cure a patient, you told me that I could use the water of the ocean and you blessed me with all the things that are in the water. A person has come to me and asked me for life. As I wish him to live I am addressing you. When I spit upon the patient may the power of my saliva be the same as yours. Therefore do I offer you tobacco. Here it is.

To you, O Turtle, you who are in charge of a shaman's lodge, you who blessed me after I had fasted for seven days, you who carried my spirit to your home, to the home of birds of prey, to you I offer tobacco. You blessed me and you told me that should, at any time, human beings suffer from pain I would be able to drive it out of them. You gave me the name of *He-who-drives-out-pain*. Now I have before me a patient with a bad pain and I wish to drive it out of him. This the spirit told me I would have the power to do, when they blessed me before I was reborn. Here is tobacco.

To you, O Rattlesnake, you who are perfectly white,

*159 you who are in charge of the snake lodge, to you I pray.
●755 You blessed me with rattles to wrap around my gourd;
782 you told me after I had fasted for four days that you
776 would help me. You said that I would never fail in any-
539 thing I attempted. So now when I offer you tobacco and shake my gourd, may my patient live and may life be opened out before him. That is what you promised to me, grandfather.

O Night Spirits, you also, I greet. You blessed me after I had fasted for nine days. You took my spirit to your village lying in the east, and there you gave me your flutes. You told me they were holy. My flute likewise you made holy. For your flutes I now ask you, since you know that I am speaking the truth. A sick person has come to me and has asked me to cure him. I want him to live and so I am speaking to you. You promised to accept my tobacco at all times. Here it is.

To you, too, O Disease-Giver, I offer tobacco. After I had fasted for two days you informed me that you were the one who gave disease; that if I desired to heal any one it would be easy to do so if I were blessed by you. So, Disease-Giver, I am offering tobacco to you and I ask that this sick person who has come to me, be restored to health again.

To you, O Sun, I offer tobacco. Here it is. You blessed me after I had fasted for five days and you told me you would come to my aid whenever I had something difficult to do. Now, some one is here who has pleaded for life. He has brought good offerings of tobacco to me, because he knows that you have blessed me.

To you, grandmother Earth, I also offer tobacco. You blessed me and promised to help me whenever I needed
000 you. You said that I could use all the best herbs that

## *My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud*

You said that I could use all the best herbs that grow upon you, and that I would always be able to effect cures with them. I beseech you for those herbs now and I ask you to help me to cure this sick man. 159* 755 [182] [216] [218] [534]

Then Thunder Cloud breathed upon me and squirted some water on my chest. "What I have said is very true and very holy, I believe," he said. "Indeed now you will get well."

Thunder Cloud knew all the good medicines that exist and he used them in order to heal me and so that I might recover from my illness. I got well. Indeed Thunder Cloud was holy.

Thunder Cloud was also what we call a poisoner. He used to travel at dead of night, it was said. One night at about eleven o'clock he got ready to poison a family by the name of B. We were all listening, sitting in our lodge. Then outside we heard him make some noise. We were afraid of him because we knew he was a poisoner. Indeed he claimed to be in control of our household. My family would do nothing without first consulting him, for we were afraid of him. We believed that he had come from the spirits, that he was a reincarnated man and, if displeased, would poison us. So whatever he asked we did. 159* 754

He had been married to my eldest sister and after her death wished to marry the second sister. Where he had come from at the dwelling-place of Earth-maker,* my elder sister was now staying, he said. But now he claimed that the second sister resembled the 159* 756

* Circumlocution for saying that she was dead.

[195]

Search there and you will undoubt-
edly be able to find the medicines necessary for curing your 159*
children. Indeed after a while you will be called upon to 756
cure your fellow men. Then you can open your medicine 867
bundle without embarrassment, for you will have the knowledge necessary for treating the sick. You will know where the disease is lodged and your treatment will be successful, for it was only after the greatest efforts on your part that you succeeded in obtaining the requisite blessings. If you declare to the patient that he will live, then he will live. If you make proper offerings to the medicine and speak to [932] your medicine in the proper manner, it will exert all the [778] power it possesses to cure the patient. Now you must make good offerings to these medicines; you must give many feasts in their honor and then if, in addition, you address them as if they were human beings, they assuredly will help you and do what you ask. You may accordingly accept the payments offered to you by your patients in good conscience and your children will wear these payments in the form of wampum necklaces and thus gain renewed strength. They will be well and happy. These are the reasons why I want you to be extremely careful in your attitude. Medicines are good for all purposes; that is why [773] they were given to us. Earthmaker gave them to us so that [755] we could cure ourselves from disease.

If any one tries to obtain these staffs of life, these medicines and inflicts sufferings upon himself in acquiring them, [787] then assuredly will our grandmother Earth have cognizance of it. She knows all that you have lost in obtaining them and in the long run what you have lost, will be returned to you. You made your offerings for the future and it is good for people to look forward to their [577] future.

Say, you wish to obtain the paint medicine. For that you

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## §17. *A Woman Bewitches Me*

Once when I returned to the camp I found some other people there. There I also found my grandfather. He had brought along with him one of the two women with whom I had been living, the older one. I did not like it at all. My grandfather asked me to live with her and I did so during the hunting season. When it was over this woman remained there and I returned to my home with another one. My former wife stayed there a long time, but when she got tired of waiting for me to return, she left. 159* 837 588

Just about this time I heard that this former wife of mine, before going away, had used some magical medicine on me. A medicine feast was immediately given me and my scalp treated to counteract the evil effect of what she had used. It was said that she had taken one of my hairs and dipped it into her medicine bundle. This she did in order to prevent me from ever leaving her. If then I left her I would suffer from a headache and perhaps even die. Such was the belief. Fortunately the matter was discovered, my scalp treated and the hair she had taken recovered and washed with medicine. Nothing therefore happened to me. 159* 754 755

From that time on I began to live with as many women as I could, for I had developed the idea that I was a lady-killer. 159* 156 837

## *The Effect of a Pretended Blessing*

Once when I was on one of my drinking sprees I visited the lodge of a relative of mine. There I found a woman whom I had the right to call niece and whom I could therefore tease. Just in jest I used to call her "mother" and "sister." Now on this particular occasion after food had been offered me, I began teasing her as usual when one of the women sitting around there said, "My younger brother, your niece is really in a condition to excite your compassion and not to fool with. She is in fact about to face death, for she is going to be confined soon and she generally manages barely to escape death then." "Oh, is that so?" answered I. "Well, elder sister, this time my niece is not going to suffer. Up above, in the heavens, there exist four women, sisters, and these blessed me, telling me that if I ever called upon them for help they would help me. Now to these I shall offer tobacco and when my niece is about to be delivered, she, too, must ask for help." Thus I spoke to her. The woman thanked me. I had told a terrible falsehood. I said all this because I was very hungry and I knew that I would then receive enough to appease my hunger. I had nothing else to say.

Some time after this I saw the women in town. The older woman ran over to me and said, "My younger brother, all is well. Your niece is in wonderful condition; she is very well indeed. She has just given birth to a child and within three days of its birth she was able to chop wood. Never before has such a thing happened to her. It is good. As soon as the annuity payment is made you may have the child's portion for drink.

159* 755 [273] [602] [845] [577] [657]

*159 ● 755 1056 drink." Thus she spoke. I was surprised. Perhaps I am really holy, after all, I thought.

After this incident, of course, I boasted of my powers *159 even more, for now I was really convinced that I pos- 156 sessed sacred power. I talked as do those who have 787 knowledge of blessings obtained from all the spirits in creation; I spoke with all the authority of a great medicine man. I used to do the singing for my band during the performance of the Medicine Dance, and as I had a deep bass voice, everybody liked it. Sometimes I would be given offerings of food in a kettle.

*159 I always drank a great deal whenever a Medicine 273 Dance was given and frequently I would knock people 796 unconscious when I was drunk, even those in the vicinity of the camp.

[P.138]

## *My Release from Prison*

They were glad to see me. Then we all walked to their 159*
home. My father and I walked by ourselves and he 195
told me about the peyote. "It does not amount to anything, all this that they are doing. Yet those who partake, stop their drinking. Sick people also get well. [155]
We were told these things and therefore joined. What they claimed is true and your mother is practically well now, and so am I. They claim to offer prayers to Earthmaker, to God." He stopped and then continued, "The peyote people are rather foolish for they cry when they feel very happy about anything. They throw away all the medicines that they possess and whose virtues they know. They give up all the blessings they received while fasting, give up all the spirits who blessed them. They stop giving feasts and making offerings of tobacco. They burn up all their holy things, destroy the war-bundles. They stop smoking and chewing tobacco. They are bad people. They burn up their medicine pouches, give up the Medicine Dance and even cut up their otter-skin bags.[81] They say they are praying to Earthmaker, to God, and do so standing and crying. They claim to hold nothing holy except Earthmaker, God; that everything they are giving up comes from the bad spirits, that the bad spirits deceived them. They claim that there are no spirits with [176]
the power of bestowing blessings and that there is no other spirit except Earthmaker, God." Then I said,

[81] The most sacred object of the Medicine Dance. It is within the otter-skin bag that the shell is concealed with which the newly initiated members of the dance, as well as the regular members, are shot. [178] [196]

7; Radin F-5 (ca. 1912) T928 NP12 Winnebago NP12



*159 795 786 Medicine, grandfather, most assuredly you are holy! All that is connected with you, that I would like to know and that I would like to understand. Help me! I give myself up to you entirely!

For three days and for three nights I had been eating the peyote and not slept at all. Now I realized that throughout all the years that I had lived, I had never once known a truly holy thing. Now, for the first time, I knew it. Would that some of the Winnebago might also know it!

*159 795 755 Many years ago I had been sick and it looked as if this sickness were going to kill me. I tried all the Winnebago doctors and then I tried all of the white man's medicines, all were of no avail. I thought to myself, "You are doomed. I wonder whether you will be alive next year?" Such were the thoughts that came to me. As soon as I ate the peyote, however, I got over my sickness. After that I was not sick again. My wife suffered from the same disease and I told her that if she ate the peyote it would cure her. She was afraid although she had never seen it before. She knew that I had used it and yet was afraid. Her sickness, however, got worse and worse and one day I said to her, "You are sick. It is going to be very difficult but try the peyote anyhow. It will ease you." Finally she ate it. I had told her to eat it and then wash herself and comb her hair and that she would get well. She got entirely well. I painted her face and took my gourd and began singing to her very much. Then I stopped. "Indeed, you are right," she said, "for now I am well." From that day to the present she has been well. Now she is very happy.

[551] A man named *Black-waterspirit* was having a hemorrhage at about that time and I wanted him to eat the peyote.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## *The Effects of the Peyote*

"Well," said he, "I am not going to live anyhow." "Eat the peyote nevertheless," I said, "and you will get cured." Before that consumptives never were cured and now for the first time one was cured. *Black-waterspirit* is living to-day and is very well. 159 * 795 755

Then there was a man named *Walking-priest*. He was very fond of whisky, chewed, smoked, and gambled. He was also terribly addicted to women. Indeed he did everything bad. I gave him some of the peyote and he gave up all the bad things he was doing. He had a very dangerous disease. He even had murder in his heart. To-day he is living a good life. Such is his desire. [551]

Whoever has any evil thoughts, let him eat the peyote and he will lose all his bad habits. It is a cure for everything bad.

To-day the Winnebago say that only God is holy. One of the Winnebago told me this: "Really the life that I led was a very bad one. Never again will I do it. This medicine is good and always will I use it." *John Harrison* and *Squeaking-wings* were prominent members of the Medicine Dance; they thought much of themselves, as did all the members of the Medicine Dance. They knew all the secrets of the ritual. Both of them were gamblers and were rich because they were gamblers. Their parents had acquired great wealth by giving medicines to the Winnebago. These two men were very rich and believed that they had a right to be selfish with their possessions. Then they ate the peyote and ever since that time they have been followers of the peyote. They were very ill at one time and now they have been cured of their illness. Now if there are any men who can be taken as examples of the workings of the peyote, it is these three I have mentioned. Even if a man were blind and had only heard of these three men he [551]

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



*159 795 755 would realize that if any medicine is good it is this one. It is a cure for all evil.

Before I thought that I knew something but really I knew nothing. It is only now that I have real knowledge. In my former life I was like one blind and deaf. My heart ached when I thought of what I had done. Never again will I do it. This medicine alone is holy, has made me good and rid me of all evil. The one whom we call God has given me this. That I know positively. Let them all come here; men and women; let them bring with them all that they desire; let them bring with them their diseases. If they come here they will get well. This is all true; it is all true. Bring whatever desires you possess along with you and then come and eat or drink this medicine. This is life, the only life. Then you will learn something of yourself. Come with your disease for this medicine will cure it. Whatever you have, come and eat this medicine and you will have true knowledge once and for all. Learn of this medicine yourself through actual experience.

*159 795 If you just hear about it you are not likely to try it. If you desire real knowledge you must partake of it for then you will learn of things that you had never known before. In no other way can you ever get happy. I know that all sorts of excuses will run through your head for not partaking of it, but if you wish to learn of something good, try it. Perhaps you will think to yourself that it will be too difficult and this will seem a good excuse for not trying it. Why, however, should you do this? Even if you partake of only part of the good claimed, yet I know that you will say to yourself, "Well, this life is good enough." After you have taken it for the first time, it will seem as if you were digging a grave for yourself with it, that you were about to die. Indeed you will be wondering what was going

## Crashing Thunder

159 Once we had a meeting at the home of a member who
[155] was sick. The sick would always get well when a meet-
795 ing was held in their home and that is why we used to
786 hold them there. At this particular meeting I got into the shaking condition again. My body told us how our religion was an affair of God's and how even if one knew only a portion of it, one could still partake of it. Thus it spoke. "God, His Son, and His Holiness, these are the three ways of saying it. Even if you know one of these three, it means all. Every one of you has the means of opening the road to Earthmaker. It is given to all of you. With belief you can open the door to God. You cannot open it with knowledge alone. How many letters are there to the *key*, to the road? Three. What are they? "There were many educated people present, but none of them said anything. "The first letter must be *K*." If, therefore, a person said *K*, that would be the whole of it. "But let me look into the Bible and see what it means," said the body. Then the body took the Bible and began turning the leaves. The body did not know where the passage was itself. Finally in Matthew, Chapter 16, it stopped. There it speaks about it. "Peter did not give himself up," it says. "For a long time he could not give up his own knowledge." There, in that passage, it says Key. That is the work of God. At least, so I understand it. He made use of my body and acted in this manner in the case of the peyote.

795 At one meeting O. L. spoke about the old stories.
539 He spoke as follows:



[i.e., a peyote meeting.—Analyst]

796 out design. There he lay without motion or
575 sign of life, and the dance was resumed
158 around them. After a time he was brought out of this mesmeric or clairvoyant state, a medicine bag was put in his hands and he at once had power to strike any one down as he had been. The person who stayed by the Judge was thus struck down. He felt of his arm and wrist and found them perfectly rigid.

796 They told the Judge before they admitted
575 him to this ceremony that while he was
783 there he must think no evil thought. If he did, his life would be in danger from the spirits. No impure person is admitted to
[841] witness these ceremonies, no woman in the
[843] menstrual period, no woman pregnant or recently delivered, no intoxicated or intem-
[273] perate person that is under the influence of liquor is allowed to attend. The proceedings
[756] in the sweat lodge were not seen by him as none but medicine men were allowed there.
796 The ceremonies commenced at 8 in the eve-
575 ning and lasted until day break next morning. The Judge confirms my former opinion that this is purely a religious rite, and a religious organization, having but little to do with the uses of medicine proper. The roots and herbs are one thing, but the ceremonies
[755] and incantations which are the real remedies are quite another. They call it the Spirit Dance, or the Divine Dance. The
[171] Judge informs me that he has witnessed the same thing among the Sauks and Foxes.

[*Winnebago Burial*]

764 He also mentioned the fact that he witnessed the burial of a Winnebago some years ago. He was set upon a natural mound and house made over him, food and some personal articles laid by his side, after which the whole was covered over with earth, ex-
[775] cept a small hole or chimney was kept open from the top down into the house. When

[P. 60 (C)]

764 the Judge asked what this meant they told
775 him that it was for the spirit to pass through in going out and in.

771 He never found among them during the long period of his intercourse any evidence of sun worship, and thinks it fell far short of that in which I agree with him.

115 This morning I had a further conversation with Judge Walker, who is a regular medicine man of the Wyandottes. He says
776 the name of the Spirit of Medicine among
171 the Wyandottes is Mon-ane-tow, who is the same as the Manitou of the Ojibways etc. That this spirit of Medicine is a good spirit etc. He says that the initiations described
796 by Judge Williams are in the presence only
575 of medicine men and women. The people of the tribe are not allowed to be present. That both men and women are members, and are regularly initiated before they can become members. That no oath of secrecy is required, as the Indian knows nothing about oaths, but they initiate on the honor of the man and of the woman, choosing such only as are known to be of good character for integrity. That the Society and its pro-
[755] ceedings are secret, except these ceremonies which medicine men perform on patients for their cure.

796 Walker says that these ceremonies pro-
575 ceed upon the idea that a violent shock of the nervous system, which prostrates it en-
828 tirely will also prostrate or relax the hold of
158 the disease. They know by experience that by fasting and steaming they so arouse and excite a well person as to produce a shock which will throw him to the earth. This is done at the ceremony of initiation which Judge Williams described. It is done by nervous excitement, and Indian faith in these ceremonies, and is repeated over every initiate as a proof of the possession by medicine men of this marvellous power. He

[P 61 (A)]

796 says there is no sham about this falling down
575 of the person on the floor in a swoon in the
828 manner described. That this is the precise
158 shock of the system to produce which the fasting and the steaming process is resorted to, and all the other ceremonies of the initiation, including the dance.

755 When a person is sick and incurable by
158 the simple remedies known to the Indians, and the friends become apprehensive for the life of the person, then the medicine men are called in and they go through certain ceremonies, all of which operate upon the nervous system already enfeebled and excited by disease, and tend to bring about that shock or prostration of the nervous system, which when produced is supposed also to relax the hold and power of the disease at the same time. In a word it kills the disease, or breaks the disease, or destroys
[753] the evil spirit then in the body which causes the disease, and then if there is constitutional strength enough left to raise up the body from its utter prostration, the patient recovers.

753 It would seem that they regarded the
755 nervous system or the sensitive part of our
828 nature as the seat of the disease, and addressed their remedies to the sensitive part, that is to the mind rather than to the body, to the spirit rather than to the organs of the
[171] body. The medicine system prevails very generally among our Indian races. In fact it is universal so far as we have found out the customs of the remote tribes.

755 I asked Walker about the cheats prac-
756 ticed by the medicine men upon the credulity of their patients, that is, pretending to take out of a man's back a tooth or a bone. He says that in their practice they want to make money, and the greater the feat they perform the greater the charge they make. Sometimes they charge a horse etc.

[P 61 (B)]
[pp 62-209 not processed]

succeed and evil was already upon the tribe, then his attention was directed toward alleviating the suffering caused by it and toward preventing any violence that might come in its wake. His function was to be protective and constructive. As one Winnebago told me, 'The chief of the tribe is like a motherbird feeding its young ones.'

The chief of the lower division, by contrast, went out to meet evil, attacked it ferociously when encountered, and paid little attention to the violent mood it developed among the defender-assailants. The important thing was to attack, fight and gain the victory.

The two opposing approaches to the problem can best be illustrated by the attitudes of the two chiefs toward sickness and murder. The tribal chief meets the first by giving a feast of conciliation and making direct appeals to Earthmaker. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, immediately starts in pursuit of it. With his assistants he makes the circuit of the village four times to look for its cause. He is on the warpath and should a dog cross his path, he is immediately killed. Then he pays a visit to the sick people, dances before them and lays his hands upon them.

If a murder has been committed, the tribal chief not only intercedes for the life of the murderer but actually, if need be, offers to take the place of the malefactor. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, seizes the murderer and conducts him to the family of the murdered person to be punished.

The objects associated with the two chiefs are typical and symbolical of their activities. For the first it is the peace-pipe, the emblem of conciliation and humility; for the second, a curiously formed baton, the emblem of punishment and pain, with which, when need be, he strikes those who transgress.

The recognition of these two aspects of social life and reality, contradictory, colliding, complementary, had its counterpart in the Winnebago analysis of human nature. There too, they insisted, good and evil, the spiritual and the material, the sacred and the profane, seemed forever at strife and forever striving for reconciliation, neutralization or fusion. This philosophy, we shall now see, is reflected, particularly, in mythology, religion and ritualism.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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 867

powers that the creator gave them. So it will be. Earthmaker 773 776 made it thus.

My son, you must fast. If you breathe upon sick people,[1] I mean 867 if you are blessed with that kind of power, you will be able to restore 756 people to health. You will be of help to your people. If you can, in addition, draw out the pain from within the body of an individual, you will indeed be a help to your people. They will respect you. You will not even have to work for all your necessities, for those whom you treat will cheerfully support you as long as you live. If you should die, your name will be held in great respect and people will frequently talk about you. Ah, that man he had indeed great power!

My son, if you are not able to fast,[2] try at least to obtain some 867 plants that are powerful. There are people who know the qualities 787 of the different plants, who have been blessed by the spirits with 756 this knowledge. It is pitiable enough that you could obtain nothing through fasting, so ask those that are in possession of these plants at least to have pity upon you. If they have pity upon you, they will bless you with one of the plants they possess, and you will thus have something to help you in life and to encourage you. One plant will not be enough. Of all the plants that cover the earth and lie like a fringe of hair upon the body of our grandmother, try and obtain knowledge of these, that you may be strengthened in life. Then you will have reason to feel encouraged. A real medicine man has even more justification for feeling encouraged than an ordinary one, because such a one has been blessed with life by the Water-spirits. If, therefore, you wish to obtain the real powers of curing people, so that you will have the power of making them arise from their sick beds, you must long and patiently wait and labor. If, however, you obtain the true powers—that is, if you obtain blessings from the Water-spirits—then some day, when your children are in need of medicine, you will not have to go and look for a medicine man, but you will only have to look into your medicine bundle. Whatever trouble your children have you will be able to cure it. Should anything be the matter with the people of your tribe they will call upon you. You can then open your medicine bundle and the individual who is wanting in life will be benefited from the stock of medicines

[1] Sickness is due to the presence of some object within the body. Illness can therefore only be cured if this object is extracted. This is generally accomplished by the shaman sucking it out through a bone tube. Among the Winnebago the shaman before applying the tube spurts some water upon the afflicted person and breathes upon him. This is what the "breathing" refers to. [753 755]

[2] Not everyone who fasts is blessed with power. For those who are thus unable to obtain blessings directly from the spirits there is only one method of protection against evils left: the purchase of plants with magical properties from those who have been blessed with them. These can be obtained by any individual no matter how unsuccessful he has been in obtaining blessings through personal fasting. All that is needed is sufficient riches for purchasing them. Of course it goes without saying that those who have been blessed with power may and do also provide themselves with these medicines. [425]

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867 that are in your possession. You will indeed never be embarrassed.
787 You will know just wherein his ailment lies. As you have obtained
● 756 your power with great effort, therefore what you say will be so. If you say he will live, he will live. If the relatives of the patient make you good payments, you may perform what you are accustomed to in your treatment of people. Then you can ask your medicine to put forth its strength for you and it will do so. If you make good
[782] offerings of tobacco to the plants and if you make feasts in their honor, if, indeed, you make much of your medicine, if you talk to it as though it were a human being, then when you ask it to put forth its strength it will do so. The payments that you receive you can take with a good conscience and your children will wear them and will be strengthened thereby. So be very diligent in the care you bestow upon them. The medicines were placed here by Earthmaker for a good purpose. We are to use them to heal ourselves. For that purpose Earthmaker gave them to us. If anyone tries to obtain the life sustainers—that is, the medicines and inflicts suffering upon
[776] himself in order to obtain them, our grandmother will know about it. So whatever you spend upon it, be it in labor or in goods, she will know about it. All that you gave in obtaining your medicines she will know. They will be returned to you. The people will thus be providing themselves with something for the future. The people always look forward to the future and for all possible happenings they will have some medicine provided. You must try to obtain some of the medicines that most people possess. If you want
867 paint-medicine, make yourself pitiable. If your paint-medicine
789 overcomes your enemy and you keep it in your home, you will never
756 be wanting in wealth. The most valued possessions of the people will be given to you. The people will love you and the paint-medicine will be the cause of it. Whatever you receive will be in consequence of the possession of the paint-medicine. The paint-medicine
[776] is made of the blood of the Water-spirits, and therefore it is holy. People used to fast and thirst themselves to death and a Water-spirit would appear to them and bestow his blessings upon them. Whatever he told them would come true. The Earthmaker put the
867 Water-spirit in charge of these things so that he would bless the
789 people with them. That was his purpose.

Some people who wished to find good medicines obtained the
[525 race medicine. Try and learn of it. Others had gambling medicine,
224] and still others again had hunting medicine. There are medicines for very purpose.

[832] There is a courting medicine and a medicine to prevent married people from wishing to separate, and there is a medicine for making one rich.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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# CHAPTER X

## SHAMANISTIC AND MEDICINAL PRACTICES

### Introduction

756 The shamanistic and medicinal practices of the Winnebago differ
[171] in no respect from those found all over the woodland area and there is consequently no need for discussing them at length. The stories told about *Midjistega* and old Lincoln are the famous tricks and sleight-of-hand performances known all over America. There does not seem to be as much said about the conjuring lodge as is the case among the Ojibwa. This apparently is identical with the Winnebago *warukʌ'na*, "exerting one's powers." The lack of specific information relating to this subject obtained by the author may, however, be due to accident.

278 The Winnebago make a fourfold classification of their medicines:
754 Those that affect a person by direct administration; those that affect him by their odor, like love and racing medicines; those that affect
[187] him at a distance; and those that are shot at an individual. Most of the medicines are obtained by fasting, although they can also be bought. The most important of these medicines are those called the stench-earth medicine (see p. 259) and the black-earth medicine.

[182] Medicine may be used in a number of ways, but principally as offerings or as means of killing animals or men. It is often chewed.
[189] In order to make arrows or guns unerring, medicine is frequently rubbed upon them.

754 Sympathetic magic is of course well known. The procedure is the common one. A picture of the man to be harmed is drawn on the ground and shot at, stabbed, etc. The man is then certain to die a short time after, in the same manner as the figure has been mutilated.

There are two general magical ceremonies. *Warukʌ'na*, to know something by exerting one's powers; *wana'teere*, to hypnotize in the distance. (For description of latter, see p. 111.)

787 *Example of warukʌ'na.* J.'s older brother and a friend had failed to return home and so J.'s grandfather went to a man called C. English and, offering him some tobacco, asked him to find out something about his son i. e., to exert his powers. English did so and told the old man that they were camping and making sugar and that if

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763 of prey hovering around the hill and he felt certain that they were
there so that they could devour him as soon as he was dead. How-
825 ever, the birds told him they had come to cure not to devour him.
755 Many carnivorous birds and many wolves were there. The turtle
756 also came because he was the owner of some medicines.

Then the animals who had gathered on the hill began to doctor him. The raven began first. He ejaculated *e-he-al e-he-al* gave him some medicine and began to exert his powers until he felt better. Then the wolf began. He walked around ejaculating certain sounds and spitting medicine on him. The man became much better. He was almost completely restored to health. Then the turtle began to exert his powers, ejaculating at the same time *ahil ahil ahil ahil* and walking around the man and giving him some boiled medicine to drink. Now he was almost entirely cured. Finally a black hawk began to doctor the man. He put some medicine on the place where the man's pains seemed to be situated and he was immediately cured. Then all those who had cured him said, "Human! In a similar way you shall cure your fellowmen." They then gave him as much medicine as he would need. The raven gave him his "medicine chest," consisting of a flute and a gourd. With these things he blessed him. He also gave him a song which he was to sing. Then the wolf gave him his medicine chest, consisting of a gourd and a flute, and told him that he would not fail to cure any sick person he treated and that if the sick people offered the proper amount of tobacco, red eagle feathers, and food, no matter how serious their disease was he would be able to cure it. Then he told the man that Earthmaker had placed him in charge of these things and that he in turn would bless him with them for all eternity. As long as any of his posterity was left they would enjoy the benefit of these blessings.

825 And this is true, for even to the present day his descendants use
756 this medicine.

Then Black Hawk said, "I, also, bless you. Earthmaker placed me
[782] in charge of some medicines and with these I bless you. If you are
careful in offering tobacco and food to these medicines they will always help you to the utmost of their power. Whatever you ask they will accomplish for you. They will be able to understand you. So, if anyone is sick, you will be able to help him. In this way I bless you. If you are ever in any difficulty, think of me and I will help you." (What he meant is that if he ever was in any difficulty, he should think of the medicines with which Black Hawk had blessed him, and that that would be the same as if he thought of him.)

Then the Buffalo said, "My grandson, Earthmaker placed me in charge of certain medicines. Why should you then wish to die? Your condition is 'pitiable,' and therefore I want to bless you.

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All those spirits whom Earthmaker made with his own hands were placed in charge of certain things. All these spirits have had compassion upon you. All those whom Earthmaker created as holy have blessed you. Earthmaker has placed me in charge of certain medicines and I am so completely in control of these that I can do what I please with them. There exist no beings either on the earth or under the earth whom I can not cure. With all these do I bless you. All your previous blessings were from spirits who live either on earth or in the heavens.' The medicinal plants I bless you with are called Buffalo medicines. The other medicines are called 'stench-earth medicines.' As long as you and your descendants live these medicines will be efficacious. The owners of the stench-earth medicines they will be called. In this manner I bless you." 825 756

Then the hitcara said, "I bless you with those things that Earthmaker placed me in charge of. I was created by Earthmaker. Medicines, grass, trees, and bushes (for use in the making of medicines), with these I bless you. I bless you with my utterance. With my mouth, I bless you. If a human is suffering and places tobacco in your hands, then you may mention my name and pour a pipeful of tobacco into the fire. I will grant whatever you request. All the medicinal plants with which I bless you shall belong to you and your descendants as long as the earth endures. Your children can use them, and they will protect them. If any part of their body is weak from disease they can heal themselves with them. Many things will you gain through these medicines. You may also eat them. Human! you have dreamed, not only for yourself but for all your descendants. As long as this earth endures, so long will your descendants use these medicines with which I have blessed you. In this way I bless you."

Then the wildcat said, "Grandson, Earthmaker placed me in control of medicines also. I bless you. The other spirits have blessed you with certain medicines, and to these I now add my own. I can not tell you anything about the heavenly blessings. The spirits above have already bestowed these upon you. I will, however, tell you this: There is nothing either upon this earth or under it that I can not accomplish. I bless you with the power to do the same. With the blessings I give you, you will be able to accomplish anything you wish whenever you put these medicines to use. If a person were dying, and his relatives offered tobacco and food to you, you would be [755] able to cure him. When you use my name, concentrate your mind upon me, and offer me tobacco. If I smoke the tobacco you will then know that your request has been granted. All the medical plants that I am giving to you, all the herbs that I am blessing you with, to all these, make an offering of tobacco. Whatever you ask they will grant you. All the animals that tread upon the air, all those

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●756 on the earth, have medicines that you are to use on earth. Whatever you say on earth it will be so. You have been blessed with all the things that are on and under the earth."

All the fowls and insects of the air, all the beings that have wings, blessed him and gave him medicines, which he was to mix with other medicines. He was told to make use of all the insects of the earth and air, some of which we never see. All those who live on earth, all the fishes in the water, and all the different kinds of water-spirits blessed him with medicines. He was blessed with, and told to use as medicines, all those plants that live in the water. He was blessed with the leech, one of the animals that lives in the water, and he was to use it in medicine mixing. They say that it is good to mix the leech with other medicines to relieve pain. He was blessed with all the trees, that we see to-day, which he was to use as medicines. Their bark, leaves, and roots are considered very good for such purposes. He was blessed also with all the small undergrowth, whose leaves, bark, inner bark, blossoms, and roots he was to use for medicine. He was blessed with all the weeds, and he was to use their heads and leaves for medicine, but their roots were to be used for other purposes.

Thus all the different kinds of plants that grow on this earth blessed him. The earth also blessed him and said to him, "Grandson, as the other spirits are blessing you, I, also, will bless you. Earthmaker has placed me here, and I therefore bless you with all plants that grow upon me, and all the trees and woods and animals that exist on this earth, and lastly, with life and myself (i. e., earth). You may use me, and especially the blue clay that you derive from me, for medicines. Should you use as medicine all these things with which I have blessed you, especially if you use me, as medicine, you will be able to accomplish all that you attempt.

"If a person who is sick offers you tobacco (i. e., asks you to cure him), remember that I also would like to smoke and that it is for that reason that I have blessed you."[1]

[826] Birds, especially eagles, are used in the making of medicines. The entire body of a raven, including the heart and brains, are used, and also the following snakes: The gray snake, the black snake, the blue snake, the yellow snake, the bull snake, and the snake that [844 278] breaks itself in two. The rattlesnake is used in a mixture given to women when in labor. If a woman hurts herself during pregnancy [845] and kills the child within her womb, she can be made to deliver the embryo if she uses the medicine mentioned above.

[1] According to general belief the spirits are supposed to have entered into a sort of "bargain" with the human beings by which they were to bestow their blessings upon them in exchange for tobacco, buckskin, and feathers. Of course, it must be understood that individuals must have the necessary requirements, such as a certain attitude of mind, fasting, etc., before their offering of tobacco has any meaning to the spirits. [776 782]

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Toads are used, but only for poison medicines. The quail's heart 825
is used for the same purpose. If a person is killed outright, his heart 756
is used as a medicine, as the human heart is regarded as having great 826
efficacy in such medicines. It is used in war, for compelling people to give you presents, and for courting women. The bear likewise is used for a variety of purposes. Its liver is especially powerful. It is rubbed over the body whenever in pain. It is often used by women who have injured themselves in childbirth, or in the form of tonics, poultices, and emetic; or for toothaches, bathing sore eyes, ear- [757]
aches, headaches; as snuff, as a physic, for burns, strictures, boils, hemorrhages, injections in the rectum, consumption, measles, dysentery, chills, nosebleed, pains in the stomach, and headaches caused by poisoning.

Sometimes a woman would take a hair of her husband and stick 832
it into some bad medicine. In such a case he would never leave her for he would become very much enamored of her. If ever she went away, he would miss her very much. However, he always had a headache. Finally he would get sick and lose his appetite and then his eyesight. That is why it is forbidden to use this medicine, although some still do it.

Many Winnebago are blind, because there is a medicine that 754
causes blindness. If one person offends another who possesses such a medicine, the latter would cause the offender to become blind.

The Winnebago have medicines for every purpose; for courting, [832]
for becoming rich, for obtaining good looks, etc. Even if a person is very holy, these poisoners can poison him. If a man was a good hunter or if he was wise and good, these bad shamans would poison him. If an individual was a great medicine man and these bad shamans got jealous, they would poison him. Indeed, only if a person was poor and lowly would they like him. Such a man they would never poison for they had no reason for being jealous of him. A bad shaman is always treated with the greatest respect and honor, because he kills many people.

A warrior is also greatly respected and flattered. It is the Indian's 554
greatest desire to become a warrior. All desire that, and they also 156
wish to become great medicine men and bad shamans. [756]

This is the way they prepare and use their courting medicines. 832
The courting medicine known to me is a plant of apparently two 278
varieties, one of which has a blue blossom and the other no blossom at all. Otherwise they are alike. The one with the blue blossom is the male and the one without the blossom is the female. When I go out to dig this plant, I do not dig for these two specimens unless I can find them growing together closely. Even then I do not dig any two [824]
specimens unless the male is found growing on the east side. For that reason it is very hard to find them. As soon as I find two that

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832 fulfill all the conditions I dig them out and mix them together with
278 their own roots. Then I take the blossom of the male and mix it together with the center leaf of the female flower. After that both are ground together thoroughly. Then I go to the woman I wish to court and, at night, when she is asleep, I touch first any part of her body, then a place not far from her heart, and finally the top of her head with this mixture. Finally I make her smell it. I then wake her up and go home. The girl will wonder who had touched her and she will think a good deal about the incident and never forget it. The next time I see her she will like me and she will do whatever I ask of her. The medicine would be working. If I did not see her for a long time, she would get lonesome, and the only thing that would cure her would be to marry me.

There is another medicine which I am now going to describe. When it first sprouts, which is in the spring, it is quite white. This must be taken and dried. Then one must chew it and go near the woman with whom one desires to talk. Approach her on the side from which the wind is blowing so that she can smell the medicine. As soon as she smells it, even although the man chewing it is one whom she has hitherto disliked, she will get to like him. This is the way in which the medicine works.

755 A man who was blessed was told of all these things. He cured all
[752] diseases. If a person had been shot and one blessed with the stench-earth medicine was called, he could be cured. In the same manner, if one is stabbed in what would generally be considered a fatal way and if a man blessed with stench-earth was called in time he would save him. The same cure is effected in cases of broken arms and of
[752] patients who are on the point of death. It is for this reason that those blessed with the stench-earth medicines are always praised, and that the people say "They surely are in charge of life; for their blessings really come from the spirits, just as they claim."[3]

756 [The "stench-earth" medicine men could undoubtedly cure the
[754] sick, but they also used it to poison people. The courting medicine was a poison medicine, and therefore it was not good. These people cured the body, but they killed the soul. It would have been much better had they saved their souls. They were really working for the devil. It is from him that they got all the bad medicines. Whenever they were offended, they would go and get poisons to kill the
754 774 offender. Thus the devil[4] was really causing them to kill their own souls and the souls of those they poisoned. It is the same with all

[3] The following portion in brackets is the comment of our informant, who is a member of the Peyote cult.

[4] Although he really means the Christian devil many of the traits of the old Winnebago deity Herecgu'nima, the chief of the bad spirits, are clearly discernible.

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arrange to have your victim die immediately, or, if you wish, to 754
have him suffer for a long time, by becoming paralyzed.

This same medicine is used in a similar way in times of scarcity of food. The people offer a shaman tobacco and he would do the following: He would take his medicine bundle and walk till he came to the footprints of a bear. Then he would follow the tracks of the bear till he came to his lair. Here he would open his medicine bag, dip the striped feather in the medicine, and sing for some time. When he has finished he makes certain sounds and stabs the bear's footprints. Wherever the bear happened to be at that time, he would not be able to walk, and the people would soon overtake him. For that reason this medicine is valued very highly.

This medicine is also used when one desires something belonging to another. All that is necessary to do in such a case is to use the songs accompanying the medicine. Then all the things one has coveted would immediately be brought. For this reason they thought a good deal of this medicine.

If ever anyone uses it in gambling, he will win. [525]

If again he casts his thoughts upon women, then the power of this medicine would go in their direction, and he will lose while gambling. All the women will, however, like him. He can marry whomsoever he wishes. The same thing will occur when a woman uses this medicine. If she cast her thoughts upon men, she will become foolishly enamored of them. For that reason the old people used to forbid women to use it.

This medicine bundle is also used on the warpath. If a man uses 778
it upon himself and rushes upon the enemy, all those who are in 726
front of him will suddenly find themselves unable to move. A 789
person who goes on a warpath, after he has carefully applied the medicine to himself, is invulnerable. It is impossible to kill him, for no bullets can penetrate his body.

This medicine was likewise used in hunting for bear, and deer 778
could easily be killed with it. Even those who are not accustomed 224
to hunting could kill game easily if they used it.

Many of the medicines mentioned above were obtained from the 756
man who was blessed with the stench-earth medicine. Everyone believed that the cures effected by him with this medicine were real. They believed that this medicine could cure them, and, indeed, it did cure them. It was this man, too, who originated the stench-earth medicine feast. It is a very sacred feast, considered more 756
sacred than any other feast among the Winnebago. When the 796
feast is given, an entire deer is boiled and cut into pieces much larger than any one person could eat. Nevertheless the host orders those whom he has invited to leave nothing upon the plate. Should [264]
any guest leave anything upon his plate, the host would give him a

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756 small piece of a root and tell him to chew and eat it. This the guest
796 would have to do, and from that time on he would never know when
[264] he had had enough to eat. He would never get satiated. Whenever the man who had been blessed gave the feast personally, no one was ever known to leave anything upon his plate. While eating the guests kept time. They never shook their plates, for if anyone did so the others would immediately give him whatever remained on their plates. They would assume that anyone who shook his plate was the possessor of the stench-earth himself and that he intended to eat up these extra portions with the aid of this medicine. If, however, the shaking was done unintentionally and he failed to eat up the extra portions placed on his plate, then he would make a noise like a raven, and those who wished to help him consume this food would also cry like the raven, approach him, and flap their arms as the birds do their wings. Then all would eat.

When the man who obtained these blessings died, he left all these medicines that he had been the first one to use to another person. With the medicines he of course left all the songs. All that he used to do when he doctored a sick person he bequeathed to his successor. The last man who had these medicines was not a holy man but he knew all their uses and for that reason he was considered a powerful and holy man. To-day only the poison medicines are remembered; the good medicines are all gone.

This is the end.

### How an Indian Shaman Cures His Patients*

756 "I came from above and I am holy. This is my second life on
775 earth. Many years before my present existence, I lived on this
539 earth. At that time everyone seemed to be on the warpath. I also was a warrior, a brave man. Once when I was on the warpath I was killed. It seemed to me, however, as if I had merely stumbled. I rose and went right ahead until I reached my home. At home I found my wife and children, but they would not look at me. Then I spoke to my wife but she seemed to be quite unaware of my presence. 'What can be the matter,' I thought to myself, 'that they pay no attention to me and that they do not even answer when I speak to them.' All at once it occurred to me that I might, in reality, be dead. So I immediately started out for the place where I had presumably been killed and surely enough, there I saw my body. Then I knew positively that I had been killed. I tried to return to the place where I had lived as a human being but for four years I was unsuccessful.

[825] "At one time I became transformed into a fish. However, the life of the fish is much worse than ours. They are very frequently

* The shaman is represented as in the lodge of the patient and as speaking to him and his relatives

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in lack of food. They are nevertheless very happy beings and have many dances.[a] [825]

At another time I became transformed into a little bird. When the weather is good the life of the birds is very pleasant. But when it is cold they are compelled to undergo many hardships on account of the weather as well as on account of lack of food. When it was very cold I used to go to the camp of some people who were living in the neighborhood and try to steal some meat from their racks. A little boy used to stand near these racks and we were very much afraid of him because he carried something in his hands with which he shot and which made a dreadful noise. Whenever he shot it we would all fly away. What the boy was using was a bow and arrow. At night we slept in a hollow tree. If I entered the tree first and the others came in behind me I would be almost squeezed to death. If, on the other hand, I waited until the last I would sometimes have to stay outside and when the weather was cold I might have frozen to death.

At another time I became a buffalo. The cold weather and the food did not worry me much then, but as buffaloes, we would always have to be on the alert for hunters. [825]

From my buffalo existence I was permitted to go to my higher spirit-home, from which I originally came. The one in charge of that spirit-home is my grandfather. I asked him for permission to return to this earth again. At first he refused, but then after I had asked him for the fourth time, he consented. He said to me, 'Grandson, you had better fast before you go and if any of the spirits take pity upon you (i. e., bless you), you may go and live in peace upon earth.' So I fasted for four years and all the spirits above, even to the fourth heaven,[b] approved of my coming. They blessed me. [772] Then I fasted 10 days more and then 20 and then 30. Finally all the spirits blessed me, even those under the earth. When I was ready to come to this earth, the spirits gathered together in a council-lodge and 'counciled' about me. All the spirits were present. They told me that I would never fail in anything that I wished to do. Then they decided to make a trial of my powers. They placed an invulnerable spirit-grizzly bear at one end of the lodge and sang the songs that I was to use when I returned to earth. Then I walked around the lodge holding a live coal in the palm of my hand and danced around the fireplace saying *wahi-!* and striking the hand containing the coal with my other hand. The invulnerable bear fell forward prone upon the ground and a black substance flowed

[a] This is commonly postulated of both the life of the fishes and that of the snakes.

[b] He is probably referring to the four earths, although it is, of course, possible that there were four heavens. However, I never obtained the slightest indication of such a belief. [772]

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756 from his mouth. Then they said to me, 'You have killed him.
715 Even so great a spirit as this you have been able to kill. Indeed,
539 nothing will ever be able to cross your path.' Then they took the 'bear' I had killed and cut him into small pieces with a knife, piled these in the center of the lodge, and covered them with some dark material. 'Now,' they said, 'you must again try your powers.' I asked them for the articles that I would have to use and they gave me a flute and a gourd. Then I made myself holy. All those who had blessed me were present. I walked around the object that lay piled up in the center of the lodge and breathed upon it. This I did for the second time and all those within the lodge breathed together with me. Four times I did this and then the spirit-grizzly bear got up and walked away in the shape of a human being. 'It is good,' they said. 'He has restored him to life again. Surely he is holy.' After a while they said to me again, 'Just as you have done here, will you always do below. Whenever you wish to, you will be able to kill a person or restore him to life. Most assuredly you have been blessed.'

"Then they placed a black stone in the shamans' lodge that stood above. There again they made a trial of my powers. There I blew four times on the stone and I blew a hole through it. For that reason, if any person has a pain and he lets me blow upon it, I can blow it away. It makes no difference what kind of a pain it is. My breath was made holy by the spirits.

"The spirits on the earth and those under the earth also gave me a trial of my powers. They placed an old rotten log before me. I breathed upon it four times, and spat water upon it and it got up in the shape of a human being and walked away.

"My ability to spit water upon the people whom I am treating I received from an eel; from the chief among the eels, one who lives in the center and in the deepest part of the ocean. He is absolutely white and he is the one who blessed me. Whenever I spit water it is inexhaustible, because it comes from him, the eel.

"Then I came to this earth again. They, the spirits, all gave me advice before I left them. When I came upon this earth I entered a lodge and there I was born again. As I said, I thought that I was entering a lodge, but in reality I was entering my mother's womb. Even in my prenatal existence, I never lost consciousness. Then I grew up and fasted again and again, and all those spirits who had blessed me before sent me their blessings again. I can dictate to all the spirits that exist. Whatever I say will come to pass. The
[782] tobacco you (the patients) offer me is not to be used by myself. It is really intended for the spirits.

"Spirits, a person is sick and he offers me tobacco. I am on earth to accept it and to try to cure him.

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"To you, grandmother, the Earth, I too offer tobacco. You 755
blessed me and promised to help me whenever I needed you. You 782
said that I could use all the best herbs that grow upon you, and that 776
I would always be able to effect cures with them. Those herbs I ask 539
of you now, and I ask you to help me cure this sick person. Make my medicine powerful, grandmother.

"To you, Chief of the Spirits, I offer tobacco. You who blessed me and said that you would help me. I offer you tobacco and ask you to let this sick person live, and if his spirit is about to depart, I ask you to prevent it.

"I offer tobacco to all of you who have blessed me."

Then the shaman blew upon his flute, breathed upon the sick man and sang four times. Then he walked around the lodge and spat water upon the patient. After this he sang four times and stopped. The spirits would now let him know whether the patient was to live or die.

In this manner a shaman treats his patients for four days, and after that takes his offerings and goes away. If the sick person happens to recover, the shaman would tell him that he would never be sick again.

### Thundercloud's Fasting Experience

Then he (Thundercloud) told of his fasting experience. "At 756
the very beginning, those above taught me (the following). A 776
doctor's village existed there; and all the various spirits that lived up in the clouds came after me, and instructed me in what I was to do. In the beginning they taught me, and did the following for me. 'Human, let us try it,' they said to me. There, in the middle of the lodge, lay a dead, rottening log, almost completely covered with weeds. There they tried to make me treat (the sick person). Then once he breathed, and all those that were in the lodge also breathed; then the second time he breathed, and all breathed with him; then for the third time he breathed; and then for the fourth time he breathed. As a young man he, the dead log, arose and walked away. After the fourth breathing, he arose and walked away. 'Human, very holy he is,' they said to me.

"There, from the middle of the ocean, they (the spirits) came after me, for there, in the middle of the ocean, is a shamans' village. There they blessed me—as many (spirits) as there are in the middle of the ocean—they all blessed me. There they made me try my power. As many waves as there are, all of them as large as the ocean, they asked me to blow upon; and as I blew upon them, everything became (as quiet) as (water) in a small saucer. So it became. Then I blew for the third time, and again it was that way. The fourth time they made the ocean choppy, and had (the waves) piled

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756 one upon the other; and they told me to blow again and show my power.
776 And I blew, and the ocean, mighty as it was, became quiet again.

" 'This, human, is the way you will have to do,' they said to me. 'Not anything will there be that you can't accomplish. Whatever illness all (the people) may have, you will be able to cure it,' they told me. All those who are on earth (the spirits) blessed me. 'If any human being who has suffered, pours tobacco for you, then, whatever you demand, that we will do for you,' they said to me. At Blue-Clay-Bank (St. Paul) there is one who is a dancing grizzly-bear (spirit), and there they came and blessed me. If ever I should meet with some great trouble, they would help me, they said. I should pour as much tobacco as I think (necessary) for them, and they will smoke it, they told me. Songs they gave to me; and the power of beholding them, a holy thing, they permitted me, they told me; and their claws, which are holy, they gave to me, they told me. Then the grizzly-bears danced, performing while they danced. Their abdomen they would tear open, and making themselves holy, they would then heal themselves. Then they did it again, and shot bear-claws at each other, and they were badly choking with blood. Then they made themselves holy, and cured themselves. Now, again, they did the following: they made a front paw disappear in the dirt, and after a while they pulled out a prairie-turnip. Then, again, they grabbed a hold of a small plum tree that stood there, and breathed upon it, and shook it, and many plums began to fall.

"Then all sorts of 'shells' they gave. 'All of this, human, we bless you with; and if you do (what we desire), you will obtain (what you desire),' they said. Then he sang, and breathed (upon me), and squirted some water on my chest. 'Very true this is; very holy it is, I believe,' he said. 'You will get well,' he said to me."

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776 rather high conception was shared by all the Winnebago. Our
782 impression is that many Winnebago believed the offering would
771 be mechanically followed by the blessing. Take, for instance, the following example: A middle-aged Winnebago while hunting was suddenly surprised by the enemy. He succeeded in making his escape into a cave. All hope of final delivery seemed to be gone, for the enemy stationed themselves before the entrance. Now this man had never been blessed in his youth and knew little about the proper procedure to observe when making offerings to the spirits. In this terrible crisis he turned instinctively to the spirits. He took some tobacco and put some in the different nooks of the cave, and said: "Spirits, whoever you are, and wherever you are, it is said that you love tobacco and that in return for it you bless people. Here is some tobacco, and I ask that I may return to my people." There was, as far as we know, no promise made that in return he would make further offerings to them or that he would thereafter love them and honor them. He escaped and unquestionably believed that it was due to the intervention of the spirits, but the spirits were, quite clearly, constrained to act because they had received tobacco.

There can be little doubt that many Winnebago felt as this man did. We find an expression of the same attitude in a myth. The Winnebago are represented as making offerings to the buffalo spirits, and the smoke is ascending to the home of these spirits through a hole in the sky. The younger buffalos can not resist the temptation of approaching the opening to catch a few whiffs of their favorite tobacco. They are thereupon warned by the older buffalos not to go too close, for the tobacco fumes might tempt them too strongly; and should they succumb to the temptation and accept the offerings, they would then have to appear on earth and be killed by man.
776 As might have been expected, there is in the relation of the spirits
782 to man something similar to the securing of the food animal by some
771 such ceremony as the *wana°kere*. The spirits are dazzled, hypnotized
825 by the offerings, and accept.

In the second of the examples given above we were dealing with a food animal—the buffalo. If there is any plausibility in the explanation we advanced before that the Winnebago interprets religion in terms of life, the relation of the spirits to the food supply ought to show it. Now, it is characteristic of the Winnebago religion that the great generalized spirit deities, like Earthmaker, Sun, Moon, etc., have little to do with the securing of specific kinds of food. As a rule, some generalized spirit-animal presides over the various species of animals, and he gladly permits the animals to appear on earth to be killed by man when the proper offerings are made. This seems to have been a secondary interpretation, however, developed probably
[756] under the influence of the shamans as a substitute for the purely mechanical attitude mentioned above. To picture the food animals

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ceremonies as the war-bundle feasts, buffalo dance, sore-eye dance, 776
etc. We will enumerate but a few of them here.

The principal deities of the Winnebago are: Earthmaker, Sun, Moon, Earth, Morning Star, Disease-giver, Thunderbird, Water-spirit, etc.

*Earthmaker.* He is known to the Winnebago under three names: *Ma"una*, earthmaker; *waja"ge"zera*, he-who-makes-something; and *wax-pa'ai zedera*, the great spirit. Of these the last is the most archaic, which might imply that originally Earthmaker was merely the great spirit. In the hands of the shamans, to whom the development and elaboration of the great Winnebago ceremonies like the medicine dance and the war-bundle feasts were due, he became [756] almost a true monotheistic deity, benevolent but unapproachable. In the older myths, like the trickster and hero cycles (cf. for instance, the *wak'djuk'aga* and hare-cycle), he is hardly mentioned except as a clear afterthought. In another cycle, like that of the twins, where he is definitely mentioned, he is treated like a spirit similar to the other spirits, although superior to them, but in no way resembling the benevolent deity that we find in the origin myth of the medicine dance (p. 350). How and when this development took place, and whether the introduction of Christianity had anything to do with it, it is difficult to say. All indications seem to be overwhelmingly against the latter assumption, although it can not be entirely dismissed. As we have indicated in a previous paper,[8] there appears to have been a well-developed pre-Columbian belief in a good and bad spirit among the woodland Indians. The Winnebago shared in this belief and Earthmaker developed his present position through the displacement of the chief bad spirit called *Hereguniua*.

The older conception of Earthmaker seems to crop out also in the [787] occasional attempts of individuals to obtain blessings from him. (Cf. the tale of Wegi'ceka, p. 201.)

Little can be learned as to the actual appearance of Earthmaker In the origin myth of the medicine dance he is described as though he were clearly anthropomorphic. The symbol associated with him [796 in the war-bundle feasts, the cross, is unquestionably supposed to 823] represent the four cardinal points.

Earthmaker is not supposed to bestow any definite blessings on man. He is, in a general way, expected to give them life. There is but little real worship of him because he is far removed from man and is supposed to come into relation with them only through his intermediaries, the spirits. According to the cosmological myths he

[8] The Religion of the North American Indians, Journ. Am. Folklore, vol. 27, no. 106.

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[776] created everything with the definite purpose of benefiting mankind in contrast to the creative acts of the old Trickster. It is very instructive to notice how he gradually usurped the place formerly held by the older spirit-deities and clan ancestors. In the clan origin myths there are a number of versions where he directs certain spirit animals, the ancestors of the clan, to go down to earth, while in other apparently older versions nothing is said of him.

*Sun.* The sun is known to the Winnebago generally as *ha*hwira*, orb of day, and ceremonially as *ha*horadjara*, day-wanderer. He does not occupy to-day the position he formerly held. There are a number of indications that seem to point to the fact that his worship diminished when that of Earthmaker began to assert itself. Many of his functions and powers were likewise taken over by the Thunderbirds, who, although they distinctly belong to the older strata of Winnebago beliefs, have yet assumed their present importance apparently in connection with the development of the Earthmaker belief.

[773] The sun is occasionally spoken of in myths, but rarely as a culture hero. In only one myth collected was he the hero of the myth. There he appears as the husband of the moon and as an anthropomorphic being who possesses an all-powerful disk (the sun).

[782] Offerings are frequently made to him, but he rarely blesses an individual. In other words, he is not a true guardian spirit. He only blesses men and upon them he always confers success in war.

*Moon.* The moon, like the sun, probably formerly occupied a more important place in the Winnebago pantheon. She is a female deity and blesses women, although, like the sun, she is not a true guardian spirit.

*Earth.* Earth, like the moon, is a female deity. She is one of the oldest deities of the Winnebago and appears as the grandmother in some of the oldest myth cycles, like that of the hare. Offerings are [782] made to her at the various ceremonies, particularly at the medicine dance and the war-bundle feasts. She never appears as a guardian spirit.

● [756] The earth is one of the deities who has received considerable reinterpretation at the hands of the shamans. In the myths she is a purely folk-mythological figure in no way interested in furthering the welfare of mankind. On the contrary, she is spoken of as the sister of those bad spirits who are bent on destroying the human race. Her rôle as a beneficent deity probably developed in connection with that of the hare, her grandchild, according to the old folklore notions, transformed when he became associated with the founding of the medicine dance or its older Winnebago predecessor from a typical trickster to an heroic animal deity.

*Morning Star.*—This is one of the spirits belonging to the older strata of Winnebago beliefs, who apparently was not displaced by

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the newer deities. He is both a great deity and a guardian spirit. 776
That he developed out of the indefinite "folklore-spirits" is abundantly attested by the rôle he plays in the myths.

Morning Star is preeminently associated with war.

*Disease-giver.* This is but an approximate translation of his name in Winnebago, which is *hocere'ąⁿ wakira*. He is a very peculiar figure, being described, as an anthropomorphic figure, dealing out death from one side of his body and life from the other. He is preeminently a guardian spirit who only appears to the bravest and holiest fasters. His specific blessings seem to be connected with war [726] and the curing of disease. [755]

He appears in none of the myths and in but few of the ceremonies. He plays a very important rôle in the war-bundle feasts.

It is rather difficult to explain his origin. He seems hardly to be a deity of the people and can best be understood, it seems, if we regard him as largely a construction of the shaman. Certain of his characteristics may have been borrowed from some neighboring tribe.

*Thunderbird.* Thunderbird is another of the older folkloristic conceptions that has been remodeled and reinterpreted by the shamans. He might be said to be the most popular of Winnebago deities. He is found everywhere—in the oldest myths, the clan origin myths, and the newest myths; he is a clan ancestor, a popular guardian spirit, and a popular deity. In contradistinction to practically all of the other deities, he is regarded as easily approachable by man.

To the popular mind he is distinctly theromorphic in form, causing lightning by the flashes of his eyes and thunder by the flapping of his wings. In some of the versions of the clan origin myth we still find this conception. In the hands of the shamans he became an anthropomorphic deity, characterized by baldness and the wearing [756] of bay wreathes. Something of the older conception still clings to him, however, for he frequently acts as a bird and the flashing of his eyes still causes lightning. His baldness itself is an archaic feature, because the Thunderbird originally was supposed to be a kind of eagle.

Many representations of the Thunderbird can be found on various articles and in the effigy mounds.

He blesses men with practically everything, but particularly with [726] victory on the warpath.

*Water-spirit.*—The meaning of the Winnebago word for this deity, *wak'teeri*, is unknown. The translation "Water-spirit" does not claim to have anything to do with the real meaning of the word, but it was preferred by the Winnebago because this deity is always pictured as a water monster.

He is one of the older folkloristic conceptions and has not been very greatly reinterpreted by the shamans. The Thunderbird is sup- [756]

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or success on the warpath to the most insignificant trifles. Practically any spirit, no matter how indefinitely conceived, can bestow generalized blessings. On the whole, however, these powers are conceived of as being in the hands of a comparatively small number, and the same powers are frequently possessed by different spirits. This will become clear after a careful perusal of the fasting experiences. 776

As to the prevalence of the belief in the localization of spirits, not only among the Winnebago but over all North America, there can no longer be any doubt. Among the Winnebago there are as many spirits as there are lakes, hills, rivers, etc., and all these are looked upon from two points of view, first as the bestowers of certain blessings and, secondly, as the protectors of their own precincts. In the first case they are generally identical with the guardian spirits. In the second case they are simply vague, indistinct spirits to whom offerings are made for temporary protection. So when a Winnebago crossed a river or lake he poured tobacco into the water as a recompense for trespassing, and uttered the prayer that no storms should arise or that he should not come to grief. [171] [782]

As to whether the spirits here are the lakes, rivers, hills, etc., or some being inhabiting them, the answer is, unquestionably the latter.

### The Twofold Interpretation of the Relation of the Spirits to Man

We mentioned before (p. 279) that the interpretation of the relationship between the spirits and man was largely mechanical, blessings being secured apparently independent of any volition on the part of the spirits, for if the Winnebago make the requisite offerings to the Thunderbirds they must accept them and bestow on the suppliant the powers they possess. While this interpretation was undoubtedly the popular one, the shamans tried to develop another explanation what might be called a "contract" theory. The spirits possessed the various powers without which man could achieve only a modicum of success; and man possessed tobacco, corn, eagle feathers, buckskin, etc. His principal possession, however, was tobacco, and this had been given him directly by Earthmaker. The contract was definite and distinct: man was to give the spirits tobacco, etc.; and the spirits were to give man the powers they controlled. Accompanying this change of interpretation, there was a difference of attitude, the principal characteristic of which was a heightened religious feeling. This change of interpretation is clearly shown in the concept of the guardian spirit. [756]

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This I know now. The whole thing is untrue. Therefore I stopped using these supernatural powers some time ago.[a] 159 787

The old people made me fast so that I might obtain blessings, and that I might lead a life similar to that led by my ancestors. My father asked me to fast so that I might be of some help to my fellow-men as I grew up. It is through fasting that individuals obtain the power of curing disease and restoring a person to health again. [756]

Spirits from above also came to me. They took me to the spirit-shaman village. As the shamans gathered around me they said that the blessing would be very difficult to give me. Then the shaman sitting far in front made himself holy and breathed upon me (i. e., performed the actions of a shaman when treating a patient). When he was finished, then he began to sing and all those in the lodge began to breathe, helping him. Then the second shaman made himself holy and began to breathe and sing. In this way four of them made themselves holy. They were showing me what to do when I came back to earth. If a person on earth is sick (this is what they meant), and is in an almost hopeless condition where no one else could cure him, then they would call for me and offer me tobacco with which I was to sacrifice to the spirits who had taught me. 159 756 775

Indeed I am holy. If a man is sick I can restore him to health. That is what I used to think. I really (had it been true) should have felt it, for I labored earnestly and honestly to be a holy person. Yet in spite of all my exertions I was very unfortunate. I had married twice and both of my wives and all my children died. Indeed, how could I ever consider myself a holy man (i. e., if I couldn't even cure my own wife and children of what value were my "supernatural powers")? For a long time I knew that, at least I should have known it.[b] (I was not holy.) Then I ate the peyote and now I really see myself as I am. Indeed I am not holy. My body is without a soul. I thought myself holy. So I have stopped the practice of the shaman. 156 756 156 [795]

[a] The informant had become a convert to the Peyote belief only a short time before he wrote down this account of his fasting, and it is interesting to see that, although he no longer believes in the efficacy of the supernatural powers, he still believes that they exist. Two years after this, however, the same informant explained them, as all the older members of the Peyote cult explain them, namely, as delusions, either caused by the abnormal condition of the youth while fasting or as snares of the devil.

[b] In the words "I should have known it" are summed up the essential change of attitude between the Peyote Winnebago and the older Winnebagoes. The latter, too, had observed the apparent failure of the supernatural powers on many occasions, but instead of attributing them to any diminution of efficacy in the "powers," attributed them, on the contrary, to a lack of something in the individual trying to use the "power," in so far as they thought about it at all. But the essential difference between the two cults, the older one and the Peyote, lies not so much in the logical conclusions their adherents have drawn from the failure of the "supernatural powers" to behave as they were expected to, as in the fact that the Peyote people make the failure of the "power" the subject of discussion and the old Winnebagoes accept the whole concept of "supernatural power" as such, and do not permit it to rise into their consciousness. [182]

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### R.'S FASTING.

(R. WAS A MEMBER OF THE BEAR CLAN)

159 There was a village near Big Lake (Lake Winnebago), and at this
787 village the upper people and the earth people played lacrosse.[10] The
776 Bear was the chief clan of the lower people, and those representing that side in the game defeated the representatives of the other side by sheer strength. Then one of the upper people said, "What effeminate fellows those Bear people are. They are very strong, but it would be much better if instead of being so strong in playing lacrosse they were strong when on the warpath." Thus he spoke. Then one of the Bear people (the one whose fasting is about to be described) felt very much grieved and went out into the wilderness to fast. His desire was to be blessed by those spirits who are in control of war, and in his longing to be blessed by them he cried bitterly. Soon he heard some one saying, "Do not cry any more, we have come after you from above. The spirits have blessed you. You are going to be taken to the lodge of your friends." When the young man got there he saw four men. They were called cannibals, and they were brothers. "Our friends have blessed you and we also bless you," said the four spirits. These four spirits were catfish. Then some white crane spirits said, "Our friends have blessed you. With spears they have blessed you. Indeed, for good reason was your heart sad (i. e., did you make yourself suffer while fasting). With victory on the warpath do we bless you. Here is your bundle. Here also are your spears and your bow and arrows. This bundle you must use when you go on the warpath. Here also are some songs to use when you start out and when you return. With these songs I bless you. Here they are:

[533]

SONGS

Ho'sto k'ine'djaᵊe'dja rahi'jê?
Where they gathered, there did you go?
K'âro' hitcak'âro' ha'gixewi're.
Well, my friend, shout at it for him.

[789] "When the enemy is close upon you and aim their guns at you, if you sing these songs they will not be able to hit you. If you sing these songs then, those who gave you a name will honor you." Thus
776 we bless you. With life also we bless you."

### ARATCGE'KA'S FASTING[11]

756
159
787
[526]

Aratcge'ka, Left-handed-one, went out to fast. "A spirit I wish to bless me. I am fasting because I was told to do so. A shaman

[10] In playing lacrosse the upper and lower divisions were always pitted against one another.

[11] The sense is not quite clear here, but it is believed that he means that by singing one of these songs he will be victorious and be able to count coup or distinguish himself in some such way, and thus be worthy of being honored by his elders.

[12] This account of a fasting has been cast in a literary mold. It evidently relates to the fasting experiences of a well-known man.

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I would like to be. I would like to be able to treat people the way he does, and I have for that reason blackened my face and fasted for eight days." Then I was blessed and they (the messengers of the spirits) came after me. Up above, to a shaman spirit-lodge they took me. There I saw the chief, and he said to me, "What you desire, what you are thirsting yourself to death for, that you are to be blessed with. For that reason these people have brought you here. Here you are to give an exhibition of your powers. I am the one who has caused you to be brought here (i. e., blessed you), I am the ruler of this village and I sent for you to give you the following powers:

"If ever an Indian is sick, even if he is so sick that he is practically dead, I give you the power of restoring him to life. Now you are to show your powers. Here is a log so rotten and decayed that it is practically falling apart.[13] Upon this you are to exert your power and show that you have been blessed. This is what the spirits meant when they blessed you." Then he walked around the log, breathed upon it, and spat water upon it, and it became human. Then he walked around it again and again spat water upon it, and it began to move. Then for the third time he spat water upon it and walked around it and it began to groan. Then he walked around it for the fourth time, and again spat water upon the log, and it got up and walked away. He had restored the log to life. Then the spirit said to him, "Man, with this power you are blessed. That for which you longed, that for which you fasted, you are blessed with. Giving-humans-life, thus the people will call you."

Then all the spirits who are above said as follows: "Brother-in-law,[14] that you may live I am telling you this story."

In the wilderness I went, and there near an oval hill I sat down and wept. Below the hill lay a round lake and there I saw the rising dew coming in a fog. This first spread itself out over us, and then, in turn, shrank and became small. All this time I sat there weeping. There was something moving in the lake, but although I was looking in that direction I did not see anything. They (evidently the spirits) were sneaking up on me. Two (flames of) fire suddenly burst forth extending from above to the lake. Then a report like

[13] This log is supposed to represent a human being in a similar condition—that is, practically on the verge of dissolution.

[14] The account is suddenly interrupted here to tell the listener why Aratege'ka is telling the story of his fasting. The personal religious experiences were very sacred and rarely told even to near relatives. As far as I know, they were only told before death or when a person was very ill, as in the present case. The purpose seems to have been to transfer the benefits of the blessing to the sick person and cure him in much the same way as is done when an accredited shaman goes through his entire performance. Of course, Aratege'ka's blessing related directly to the curing of disease. But evidently it was believed that blessings connected with other powers were equally efficacious.

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756 that of a gun sounded. The two (spirits) were causing it. Suddenly
159 a great noise was heard. I kept right on crying, for I was trying
787 to be blessed. I sat there with staring eyes looking at the spirits.
776 "I must be receiving a blessing," I thought. I continued crying and after a short time it began to rain very much. "How is this," I thought to myself, "only a little time before it was so nice and now it is raining." Yet in spite of the rain no water seemed to fall upon me. "How is it," I thought, "here it is raining and yet no rain is falling upon me." Then I looked above and I saw that it was very cloudy, yet straight above me in a direct line the sky was blue. This blue spot was like a round object covering me as though it were an umbrella. The Thunderbirds were blessing me. With the blue sky, they were blessing me. Soon the noise stopped, and when I looked above I saw four (men) standing with packs upon their backs. These (the spirits) killed. Then they blessed me with the power of killing. They spoke to me and said, "Stop your crying. What you have longed for and fasted for, with that we have blessed you. Just as these four men have been killed, so you will be able to kill people. But you will also be able to restore them to life again. Upon your body now we will make a mark and those whom you wish to bless will be given an opportunity of selecting life for themselves,[15] so that, even when a person be practically dead he will be restored to health. What is above you, the blue sky, that we place on one of your fingers,[16] and with that we bless you. If the patient picks the finger with the mark upon it, he will live."

The Thunderbirds were the spirits speaking to me. They had spears and little war-clubs in their hands and (wreathes) made of flat cedar leaves upon their heads. Thus did four Thunderbirds bless me.

"Well, brother-in-law, I want you to live and I want you to pick life for yourself—i. e., pick the finger with the blue mark upon it. Do it carefully and do not attempt it when you are tired. Here are my four fingers and one of them has the blue sky upon it (i. e., the blue mark that betokens life). If you choose that, you will certainly live. You are the second person (to whom I have offered my fingers). Now do not miss it, for if you miss it you will surely die. Be careful, then, in picking it."

[155] Then the brother-in-law picked the little finger and Aratege'ka said, "Brother-in-law, it is good. You will live." Then he turned his little finger around and there a circular blue mark was visible.

ACCOUNT OF X.'S FASTING

159 The spirits can bless you with everything. My father used to
787 tell me how much he loved me and how much he wished me to fast.

[15] That is, a sick person will have to guess at the part of the body that has been blessed by the Thunderbirds, and if he guesses correctly he will become well.

[16] That is, we will place a mark made with blue clay upon your finger.

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He wanted me to fast all the time. I would therefore, to please him, 159 787
fast off and on through the winter. The longest I ever fasted at any one time was six days. I was blessed by a yellow snake who lived near Medway, Wis. It was at that place that I fasted one 159
winter. The spirit-snake that lives there blessed me with life and 787
the right to draw bad blood from sick people (i. e., "cup blood"). 776
These blessings are truly efficacious, but after they have been handed 756
down to the next generation they lose their power (unless renewed). That same winter, not long before the beginning of spring, I fasted again for four days and early on the morning of the fourth day as I was walking along a ravine, crying and putting myself in a "pitiable condition," so that the spirits might take pity upon me, some one came to meet me. Up to this time, in spite of all my exertions and fastings, I had not been blessed by any of the spirits. The one who was coming toward me was walking very fast and when I stopped to look at him I saw that he was a man. His entire body was painted red and he wore an eagle feather on his head and garters around his legs. When he came near to me he said: "Human, I bless you. You may now go home and eat (i. e., break your fast). Every day I will bring the blessing of life to you. This also (I wish to tell you), if you think of me when you are in any difficulty, you will pass through it safely. The sick you will be able to heal through the blessing I give you. I am the Sun. Even if a day is cloudy, then know that I am keeping life for you beyond the clouds."

### HOW Y. FASTED AND WAS BLESSED WITH A WAR-BUNDLE [17]

Our war-bundle is eight generations old. In the beginning my 614
clansmen had no war-bundles. Whenever they had war, they had 778
nothing from which to receive strength. The only powerful possession they had was fire. That was the only thing they carried when on the warpath. Soon they discovered that other clans had war-bundles and that they received them by fasting for them. So 787
K'erex u"'sak'a started to fast for one. He fasted from early 778
autumn until summer and he received a blessing. Then he went to his father and told him, "Father, you told me to fast. Let us now go and see with what I have been blessed." So the old man accompanied his son.[18] When the old man got there he found a snake dried and dressed up and standing in an upright position. The snake had long hairs on its back, scattered here and there. The father on seeing it said, "My son, this is really too great. If you accept this and carry it with you on the warpath, you will not leave any human beings alive (i. e., you will always want to go on the

[17] This is the account of the origin of a war-bundle claimed to be eight generations old.
[18] Evidently the spirit had told him to go to a certain place and that there he would find certain objects, namely, the material objects with which he had been blessed.

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So he spoke to him. "Thus will your life be. Look at yourself." 787
So he looked at himself and his hair was very white. As one who 159
had attained a full life he saw himself. "All that are within this 776
lodge bless you," the spirit continued. "You have come to the Buffalo village." This he was told, so he looked at the lodge full of people. And those whom he had seen up to that time as human beings now were buffaloes.

"Human, they bless you is why they went after you. Human, if anyone is weighted with life and a reasonable amount of tobacco is given, such a one would be able to do the following":

A dead man was placed in the middle of the lodge, and all of 787
those in the lodge tried their power, but none succeeded in restoring 159
him to life. At last the spirits let the man try it. So he tried. 776
When he arose, all those in the lodge began to make sounds and 756
when he began to exert his powers he sang buffalo songs. When he was through with these songs, he walked toward the dead man, in the middle of the lodge. He blew on him once, then again and again. Now the man began to open his eyes. Then he blew on him for the fourth time and he caused him to rise.

"Human, you have overcome all of us," said the buffalo chief. "Human, thus shall you ever do to people. If anyone is sick and the proper offerings are made to you, send some tobacco to our council lodge and I will remember you. You must send all the [782]
tobacco that is offered to you. I will remember it. This council lodge is given to you and to your posterity as long as it lasts. As long as the earth lasts that long your posterity will have occasions on which to pour tobacco. Whatever blessing they ask, we will bestow upon them while we smoke their tobacco. As many as are the kettles that they offer to us, we will never accept one without giving them a blessing. We are in control of wars: the Earthmaker has given us control of them, and if you ask for it we will give it to you. And if you ask for life we will bestow that blessing upon you and accept your offerings."

They also blessed him with plants for medicine. This is the way they did it. Each of the spirits caused him to see a plant and to [278]
know the purposes to which it could be put. They told him to make offerings to the plants whenever he gave a feast, so that the plants [782]
would become more powerful. They also blessed him with a drum. "This you must beat when you give a feast and it will tell us your [534]
wants. We will understand the drum. We will make your drum holy for you, and you must treat it as such," they told him. "You must keep it holy. Whenever you are on the warpath you must take it with you and it will help you. Human, your enemies you will [726]
overcome; your weapons only will be sharp if your posterity will never give up this ceremony." So they spoke to him. "Whenever 000

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ask of me I will always take it into consideration. If they ask for war or if they ask for life, remember that I have been given control of these things." Thus spoke the buffalo-ghost. There he received all the things with which he was blessed. 159 787 776

In the course of his life he made use of all his blessings. His first victory occurred when he went on the warpath for the first time. He had joined a war party and a fight occurred toward the evening of the same day. As he was walking along he suddenly saw a gun directed against him at close range. He jumped right and left and in that way escaped being shot. Then the enemy tried to capture the one who had been blessed by the buffalo, holding him tightly by the arm. But he struck the enemy twice against an object and tore his stomach open. Then he walked away. As he was going he thought to himself, "Why did I not kill him outright?" So he went back with the intention of doing this, but as he approached the man the latter directed a gun against him. Thinking, however, that it was not loaded, he did not dodge, and he was shot. His breast was filled with shot and he was killed. But he did not remain dead long. He soon came to consciousness and sat up, uttering sounds like a buffalo. 159 787 776 726

Then he remembered that a buffalo ghost had blessed him. He had indeed said to him, "When you are about to fight do not forget me." He remembered this, so he exerted his power. All the blood that was in his stomach he vomited forth and felt better. Just then one of his relatives came along and asked him, "How have you been getting along?" and he answered, "I have killed one. There lies his body. Take his scalp for me." "All right," said his relative, and did what he had been told, and brought it to him, saying, "Here it is." A horse was there also, and this the relative likewise led away and started back to (the camp). When he met the war leader, the latter asked him, "How have you been making out?" He answered, "I give you these trophies," and handed the leader the scalp and the horse. "Ah, it is good," he said, and put a wampum belt on him. Then the war leader sang a song and started to run, and the buffalo-blessed one reminded himself of his blessing and went back also. He was all shot to pieces. But he did not die, for he had been blessed with power, so how could he die? The buffalo ghost he had seen with flattened bullets in his belt had fulfilled his promise, and the wampum belt that he had seen in his fasting had now become true. [727]

He went to many wars after this, but he was never harmed. He doctored many people and caused them to have more life. After a while he made a war bundle consisting of a flute that he had constructed himself, a buffalo tail, and a buffalo head. Then he made offerings to them. These many things he made sacred. Since then buffalo feasts have been given. [756] [778]

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J. R.'S FASTING EXPERIENCE

159 787 I fasted all the time. We moved back to a place where all the leaders used to give their feasts. Near the place where we lived there were three lakes and a black hawk's nest. Right near the tree where the nest was located they built a lodge and the war-bundle that we possessed was placed in the lodge. We were to pass the night there, my older brother and myself. It was said that if anyone [756] fasted at such a place for four nights he would always be blessed with victory and the power to cure the sick. All the spirits would bless him.

159 787 776 "The first night spent there one imagined himself surrounded by spirits whose whisperings were heard outside of the lodge," they said. The spirits would even whistle. I would be frightened and nervous, and if I remained there I would be molested by large monsters, fearful to look upon. Even (the bravest) might be frightened, I was told. Should I, however, get through that night, I would on the following night be molested by ghosts whom I would hear speaking outside. They would say things that might cause me to run away. Toward morning they would even take my blanket away from me. They would grab hold of me and drive me out of the lodge, and they would not stop until the sun rose. If I was able to endure the third night, on the fourth night I would really be addressed by spirits, it was said, who would bless me, saying, "I bless you. We had turned you over to the (monsters, etc.) and that is why they approached you, but you overcame them and now they will not be able to take you away. Now you may go home, for with victory and long life we bless you and also with the power of healing the sick. Nor shall you lack wealth (literally, 'people's possessions'). So go home and eat, for a large war-party is soon to fall upon you and as soon as the sun rises in the morning they will give the war whoop, and if you do not go home now they will kill you."

Thus the spirits would speak to me. However, if I did not do the bidding of this particular spirit, then another one would address me and say very much the same thing. So the spirits would speak until the break of day, and just before sunrise a man in warrior's regalia would come and peep in. He would be a scout. Then I would surely think a war party had come upon me, I was told.

Then another spirit would come and say, "Well, grandson, I have taken pity upon you and I bless you with all the good things that the earth holds. Go home now, for the war-party is about to rush upon you." And if I then went home, as soon as the sun rose the war-whoop would be given. The members of the war-party would give the war-whoop all at the same time. They would rush upon me and capture me and after the fourth one had counted coup, then

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to Christian influence. The one place where he plays an important 776
rôle, the myth of the twins, shows definite indications of European 177
influence. The only thing that militates against such an assumption is the fact that there does not seem to be any particular reason why the existence of a chief evil spirit should have been doubted, even if we were to grant that Christian influence extended the belief. The French of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had a very definite idea of the devil and made it a point to tell the Indians that all their former habits were due to deceptions the devil had practiced upon them. To-day such an answer is the first that a Christianized Winnebago or a member of the new Peyote cult will give an ethnologist. Perhaps, after all, it is a very old Winnebago conception, a confirmation of the view promulgated before, that in former times the Winnebago had a very definite conception of evil spirits taking an active part in the affairs of man to his detriment. The figure of 776
*Hereegu'nina* is well defined and it would be ridiculous, in our 756
opinion, to believe that the shamans would have done anything to develop it. We have clear indications of what the shamans were trying to do with this conception. They were attempting to bring it into some relation with the concept of Earthmaker, a beneficent All-Father, and to do so they were even willing to claim that *Hereegu'nina* was the first attempt of Earthmaker to create a spirit; that Earthmaker was dissatisfied with his work and threw it away; that then *Hereegu'nina* watched Earthmaker create spirits and imitated him, the evil spirits representing these imitations. The shamans, we should expect, would have done all in their power to lessen the importance of *Hereegu'nina*, even to deny his existence, and, in this connection, it may be of significance that one Winnebago interpreted his name to mean, "He-who-seems-to-exist-but-who-does-not."

Whatever the case may be, this much is clear, that in the twin myth he is represented as a deity as powerful as Earthmaker, whom [773]
Earthmaker can not destroy; upon whom the twins play jokes but whom they cannot really harm.

*The concept of disease.*—Disease is rarely ascribed to the spirits. 753
Like lack of success, it is regarded as a fact of existence, and when 776
it is explained it is believed to be due either to the carelessness of man in trying to pass through life without the aid of the spirits or to the evil machinations of other men.

The deity known as Disease-giver is the one exception to the rule that the Winnebago spirits do not directly cause disease, for he is sometimes described as scattering death broadcast over the earth.

*The concepts of death, after-life, and reincarnation.*—Death is rarely, 761
if ever, ascribed to the spirits. It likewise is a fact of existence and, 776

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Once a medicine-dance man and a night-blessed man became jealous and the medicine-dance man said that he would play tricks on the night-blessed man. The night-blessed man said he was quite willing to have a contest. So the two came and sat opposite each other and began their contest. Whatever the medicine-dance man did the night-blessed man did too, but always a little better. The medicine-dance man was defeated, so from that time on the medicine-dance men are afraid of the former. The medicine-dance men shot the night-blessed men with claws, but they could not kill them. Therefore they were afraid of them. The night-blessed men could kill the medicine-dance men at pleasure. The medicine-dance men were inferior. That is all. 756 575 578 [754]

## Society of Those Who Have Been Blessed By the Herok'a

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The feast of those who have been blessed by the Herok'a is given at any time of the year. Anyone may be invited. The feast is held in a long lodge and is generally given by a number of members at the same time (or by all). Each person brings a deer and his bow and arrows. The bows and arrows are painted different colors, depending upon the color (paint) with which the individual has been blessed. The bows are all stuck in the ground between the first two fireplaces and the arrows in a row just behind them. 796 575

During the ceremony and feast the members all sing the songs with which they have been blessed. The ceremony is held before the feast and is conducted by one of the members of the society. He leads, holding a bow in one hand. The others follow, holding arrows in their hands. Only men are permitted to dance. There are certain songs, to the accompaniment of which women are permitted to dance. But the women must have passed their climacteric.

They do not use gourd rattles as at the other dances. Instead a number of deer hoofs are strung together and used in place of them. (They do not eat with their hands or with the ordinary sticks) but use instead forked sticks, whittled down at one end. The leader wears a headdress to which a horn is attached, and paints his body with the same color as his arrows. Whoever leads the dance carries a flute, which he plays before and after each song. Those following him hit their mouth with the palm of their hands and whoop. [534]

When the dance is over, each one of the feasters takes his plate and dances out.[11]

[11] This account of the Herok'a Society is unfortunately merely fragmentary, but from a few additional notes obtained there seems to be little doubt that it represents the same type of organization as the other religious fraternities.

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● 756 There are two ways in which a man can join the medicine dance. He may simply apply for admission to any of the five leaders, or he may take the place of a deceased relative. In the former case, if his payment is satisfactory, and he has the other qualifications, he is accepted. In the other case, his relatives decide to have him take the place of a deceased relative. This latter form of candidacy is by far the more common. At the present day initiation requires the payment of about $300 or $400, in the form of goods and tobacco. Of this, a portion is given to the leader of the ancestor host's band during the four nights' preparation, and the rest to the leaders of the other four bands during the ceremony proper.

Exactly how much information an individual obtains on entering can not be determined. Much depends on the amount of the payment. The minimum knowledge would amount to an acquaintance with the bare externals of the ceremony, its general significance, and such knowledge of the legendary origin of the lodge as a single recital could give. The new member is not initiated into the symbolism of the ritualistic myths, and consequently a large portion of the same must be unintelligible to him. What he obtains is practically only the right to hold the otter-skin bag and to use it in a certain way. He may not take part in any of the forms of dancing or singing, nor may he even shoot at will. He very rarely remains in this condition long, but takes the first opportunity to purchase additional knowledge and privileges.

There are three kinds of members—mature men, women, and children. The privileges of women differ from those of the men, in that the women do not have to take the sweat bath, may never become assistants, and are allowed to dance only in a certain way. In other respects they have the same privileges as men. In practice there are certain privileges that women never have, but this is due to the fact that either they do not care for them or they are not in a position to buy them. Children belong to a quite different category. Although they possess an otter skin, they have not even the power of making it effective. There does not seem to be any evidence indicating that women were ever excluded from membership.

621 756 *Prescribed duties of the bands.*—The duties of the host, called the ancestor-host, are as follows:

1. To rehearse the songs and rituals with his band four nights previous to the ceremony proper. At this rehearsal the candidate is always present and is instructed in the ceremony.

[202] 2. To send out invitation sticks and tobacco to the leaders of the other four bands. The messengers are always his sisters' sons.

3. To begin the four nights' ceremony preceding the ceremony proper.

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4. To receive the leaders and assistants of the other four bands before the sweat-lodge ritual, and to begin the same. 621 756

5. To begin the ceremony proper.

6. To take part in the main portion of the ceremony proper:

(a) To welcome the four bands.

(b) To lead the candidate to the secret brush and instruct him in certain precepts.

(c) To act as preceptor of the candidate before he is shot with the sacred shell.

(d) To turn the candidate over to the charge of the leaders of the east and north bands.

(e) To relate certain of the myths.

(f) To deliver specific speeches and to perform the actions that constitute the basic ritual of the ceremony proper. This will be discussed later.

The east is known as Those-who-sit-first, Where-the-day-comes-from, Where-the-sun-rises. All these terms are used frequently. The duties of the leader are:

1. To assist the ancestor host in passing upon the eligibility of a candidate.

2. To take part in the following portions of the ceremony proper:

(a) Accompanied by his two assistants, to take part in the brush ritual.

(b) To take charge of the candidate after he has been handed over to him by the ancestor host.

(c) To shoot the sacred shell into the candidate's body.

(d) To relate certain of the myths.

(e) To perform the basic ritual.

The north band is known as Where-the-cold-comes-from. The leader has the same duties as those of the east leader. The myths recited are of course different.

The west band is known as Where-the-sun-goes-down. The leader has the duty of reciting certain myths and performing the basic ritual.

The south band is known as He-who-sits-at-the-end-of-the-road or Where-the-sun-straightens. The duties of the leader are the same as those of the leader of the west band, except that the myths he recites are different.

The distribution of the gifts to the different bands is as follows: The leader of the east band receives one-half of the number of blankets, the upper half of the new suit worn by the candidate, and one-quarter of the food. 621 756 431

The leader of the north band receives one-half of the blankets, the lower half of the suit, the moccasins, and one-quarter of the food.

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621 The leaders of the west and south bands receive each 3½ yards
756 of calico and a fourth of the food.
431 The ancestor host receives various gifts of food and tobacco from the leaders of the other bands. He receives his payment from the candidate before the ceremony proper.

756 The candidate is present at the four nights' ceremony of the an-
796 cestor host's band, preliminary to the ceremony proper. At the latter ceremony he sits to the right of the ancestor host's band. He is not dressed in his new suit until after the secret ceremonies in the brush.

302 There are facial decorations distinctive of the different bands:
621 The host's band and the candidate paint a blue circle on each cheek, but its significance is unknown to the writer.

The regalia used are simple and few. They consist of eagle, hawk, squirrel, beaver, and otter-skin bags (pls. 51-53), a drum, gourd rattles, and invitation sticks. The otter-skin bags are always beaded and contain the sacred shell and various medicines. A few red feathers are always inserted in the mouth of the otter-skin bag. The gourds contain buckshot at the present time and are painted with blue finger marks.

*Division of the ceremony.*—The medicine dance is divided into five well-marked parts. The first part (I) consists of the two nights' preparation preceding the sending out of the invitation sticks. This takes place at the home of the ancestor host in the presence of the members of his band and the candidate. The second part (II) consists of the four nights' preparation preceding the sweat-lodge ritual. Each band has its own four nights' preparation, although that of the ancestor host begins before the others. The third part (III) consists of the rites held in a sweat lodge, specially constructed for this purpose near the medicine lodge, on the morning after the four nights' preparation. The participants are the ancestor host, the leaders of the east, west, north, and south bands, each with his two assistants, and the candidate. The fourth part (IV) consists of the ceremony proper, which in turn must be divided into the night ceremony (*a*) and the day ceremony (*b*). The fifth part (V) consists of the rites held in the brush, at which the secrets of the society are imparted to the candidate. Special guards are placed on all sides of the brush to prevent the intrusion of outsiders. The participants,
[625] besides the candidate, are the ancestor host, the leaders of the east and north bands, each with his two assistants, and all other individuals who have bought the privilege of attending. These ceremonies take place at dawn preceding the day ceremony.

Two feasts and one intermission interrupt the main ceremony. The feasts always take place at the end of the ritual of the east
[621] band—i. e., generally at noon and at midnight. The intermission

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generally lasts from dawn preceding the day ceremony until 7 or 8 a. m. The intermission begins as soon as the drum and gourds have been returned to the ancestor host and ends as soon as the people return from the brush ritual. 756 796

The first and second parts are concerned entirely with a recital of certain ritualistic myths and a rehearsal of the songs and the specific ritual of each band used during the remaining parts.

*Types and component elements of the ceremony.* For purposes of greater clarity, the speeches, songs, and types of action will be carefully differentiated and referred to by some designation characterizing their essential traits. These speeches, songs, and types of action together form combinations which may be regarded as units, and they will therefore also be referred to by some designation characteristic of their function.

1. Types of speeches (1) Salutations: No formal salutation is used during Parts I and II, the individuals being addressed by their relationship terms. In Parts III, IV and V the salutations are invariably the same. The ancestor host and his band are addressed as follows: "The-one-occupying-the-seat-of-a-relative (deceased) and you-who-sit-with-him, do I salute." The east is addressed, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-sun-rises"; the north, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-cold-comes-from"; the west, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-sun-straightens," or (preferably) "You-who-represent-the-end-of-the-road." 756 796 537 576

The appellations of the bands, as before stated, refer to the creation myth and the four guardian spirits whom Hare visited for the purpose of inquiring into the necessity and meaning of death. Hare was compelled to travel around the earth, which is conceived of as an island, and received no answer until he came to the spirit at the end of the road. In the dramatic performance of the medicine dance the lodge typifies the earth and the four bands and their leaders typify the four spirits. The ancestor host's band typifies the ancestor of the Winnebago. 773 756 796 621 [772]

(2) Speeches: Under this head will be treated (*a*) speeches of welcome; (*b*) speeches of acceptation; (*c*) speeches of presentation; (*d*) speeches explanatory of the significance of the ritual; and (*e*) speeches of admonition, addressed exclusively to the candidate. This does not exhaust all. There are many others, generally short, that can hardly be classified. In their content, as well as in the order of their succession, the speeches must follow a traditionally determined sequence. In practice this is certainly not always true, but to the mind of the Winnebago these speeches appear as old as the ceremony. It is their firm belief that any departure from the accepted type will interfere with the efficacy of the ceremony. 796 537 756

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796 (a) Speeches of welcome: When the leader of the east band enters
756 after the ancestor host has begun the ceremony (IV, b), he addresses
537 the latter as follows: "It was good of you to condescend to invite me
576 to this dance. I am a poor pitiable man and you believed me to be a medicine man. However, I know you will show me the true manner of living, which I thought I possessed, but which I in reality did not." In this strain he continues, weaving into his speech references to the ritual connected with his band and offering thanks for the beautiful weather (should it be a clear day). In concluding he thanks all again, and informs them that he will sing a song. With slight alterations the leaders of the other bands address the ancestor host similarly. The ancestor host's answer of welcome is as follows: "Whatever I desired you have done for me. All night have you stayed with me and by your presence helped me in the proper performance of this ceremony. I am ready with a dancing song, and when I have finished and sit down I shall pass to you tobacco and other means of blessing (the gourds and the drum). All who are present do I greet."

(b) Speeches of acceptation: After the ancestor host has been presented with food he thanks the donors as follows: "You have had pity on me. You have been good to me and have given me to the full whatever I desired. You have filled my heart with the blessing of thankfulness. In return I give you a blessing. Here is some food for you. It is not anything special, nor is it as much as it ought to be, and I know you will remain hungry. It was prepared for the spirits of the four quarters (whom you represent), but it is lacking in all those qualities which would have made it acceptable to them. Such as it is, however, may its presentation be a means of blessing to you."

796 (c) Speech of presentation: East presents the food to the ancestor
756 host with the following words: "I have not very much to tell you,
537 because I am too poor, but our ancestors told us to give you food. This little that I give is all that I can, being a person of so little importance."

(d) Explanatory speeches: These are of so specific a nature that no single one can be considered typical.

(e) Speeches of admonition: "Nephew, now I shall tell you the path you must walk, the life you must lead. This is the life Hare obtained for us. This is the only kind of life—this that our ancestors followed. Listen to me. If you will always help yourself, then you
[867] will attain to the right life. Never do anything wrong. Never steal, never tell an untruth, and never fight. If you meet a woman on the left side of the road, turn to the right. Never accost her nor speak familiarly with a person whom you are not permitted thus to address. If you do all these things, then you will be acting correctly. This is what I desire of you."

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2. Types of songs: The songs may be divided into two groups (1) Those that are sung in connection with myths and after the speeches of a more general nature, and (2) those that are sung to accompany definite and specific actions. These latter can therefore be most conveniently divided into (*a*) minor dance songs, (*b*) major dance songs, (*c*) initial songs, (*d*) terminal songs, (*e*) loading songs, and (*f*) shooting songs. The medicine men distinguish only between four kinds of songs major and minor dance, terminal, and shooting songs. Each has a different rhythm and music. For purposes of description, however, the above division is more convenient. 796 756 533

3. Types of action (1) Blessing: Either hand is held outstretched, palm downward, and moved horizontally through the air. It is always used when entering and leaving the lodge and on any occasion where an individual has to pass from one part of the lodge to another. 756 788

It is always rendered as "blessing" by the Indians, and they particularly insist upon the fact that the "blessing" was not conveyed by any words used in connection with the action, but by the action itself. Each person who is thus passed answers with a long-drawn-out "*ho . o o*" and with an obeisance of the head.

A modification of the above is the "blessing of the head," which consists of a simple laying of the hand upon the head, both the giver and the recipient keeping their eyes fixed upon the ground, the recipient slightly bending his head. A few mumbled words accompany this action.

(2) Direction of walking in the lodge: Individuals always walk contrary to the hands of the clock. A person in the east band must make the entire circuit of the lodge in order to pass out. In only exceptional cases can this rule of passing be broken, and that is when an old and especially privileged member crosses from his seat to that directly opposite him during the shooting ceremony. I was given to understand that this was an extremely expensive privilege. 756 796 823

4. Types of ritual: Parts III, IV, and V can be so analyzed that they fall into a fairly well-defined number of units, consisting of speeches, songs, and movements. These units are nine in number. Artificial distinctions have been avoided in this division, as far as possible. The units are (1) entrance ritual; (2) exit ritual; (3) fire ritual; (4) presentation-of-food ritual; (5) shooting ritual; (6) initiation ritual; (7) sweat-lodge ritual; (8) smoking ritual; (9) basic ritual. 796 756

Of these, (3), (5), (7), (8), and (9) are found in Part III; all except (7) and (6) in Part IV (*a*); and all except (7) in Part IV (*b*). (5) does not actually occur in Part III, but is described in detail in the myth related there. The order in which we will discuss these ceremonial units is not the order in which they follow one another in the ritual. Some are interwoven with one another. Both these factors will, however, be considered in the description of the entire ritual, following the description of each ceremonial unit.

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756 796 (1) Entrance ritual: The band enters the tent, makes one complete circuit, and stops. The leader now delivers a short speech, followed by a song. The band then continues to the west end, where another speech is delivered and another song sung. After this the band continues again, and stops at the east end, where the leader talks and sings. Now all sit down. After a short pause the leader again rises and walking over to the ancestor host, talks to him, gives him some tobacco, and returns to his seat. Each band entering repeats the same ritual. This applies, however, only to Part IV (*a*) and (*b*).

(2) Exit ritual (Part IV (*a*) and (*b*)): The east leader rises and speaks, followed by north, west, and south. Each one then speaks again and, all singing, all walk toward the entrance in such a way that the south, north, and west bands make complete circuits of the lodge, thus enabling the east band to precede them. Near the entrance all stop singing and say "*wu-hi-hi-hi*" four times and pass out. This exit ceremony differs slightly in the two divisions of IV.

(3) Fire ritual, Part III: The ancestor host rises and goes to the leaders of the four other bands individually; and after he has blessed them they respond; then all rise, make four circuits of the lodge, and sit down again. The leader of the east band now rises, holding in his hand the invitation sticks and some tobacco, delivers a speech, then goes to the fireplace and kindles the new fire.

[782 276] (8) Smoking ritual: The leader of the east band pours tobacco into the fire, first at the east, and then at the north, west, and south corners. He then lights his pipe, puffs first toward the east, then toward the north, west, and south, after which he passes his pipe to the leader of the north band, who takes a few whiffs and in turn passes it around to the next member of the lodge. When the pipe has made the complete circuit it is placed in front of the fireplace. In the meantime the ancestor host has returned to his seat, and after a short pause, rises, speaks, and sings again. This smoking ceremony occurs after each entrance ceremony, IV (*a*) and (*b*), and before both feasts of IV (*a*) and (*b*).

*Presentation-of-food ritual* (Part IV (*a* and *b*).—The leader of the east band rises and brings meat, berries, wild potatoes, etc., to the ancestor host, delivering a minor speech at the same time. Each of the other leaders repeats the same ceremony. When all have finished, the ancestor host rises and thanks them.

(5) General shooting ritual (Part IV (*a* and *b*): The leaders of the east, north, west, and south bands, holding their otter skins in their hands, rise and, accompanied by three men, make a complete circuit of the lodge. They first speak in undertones to these three men, giving them directions. At each end the leader of the east band speaks, and then, singing, walks toward the west end, saying "yoko—

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o—oyu—o" three times, and ending with a long-drawn-out "yo—ho." At the west end both he and the leader of the south band speak. Then chanting "yo—ho" again, they all walk toward the east end. Here the leader of the east band speaks twice. All now place their otter skins on the ground in front of them, and east speaks again. At the conclusion of his speech, all kneel in front of the otter skins and cough, at which the sacred shell drops from their mouths upon the otter skins. They thereupon pick it up, and holding the shell in one hand and the otter skins in the other, make a circuit of the lodge four times, increasing their speed each time, and singing. All this time the shell is held in full view of the spectators, on the outstretched palm of the right hand. As they near the east end of the lodge, at the end of the fourth circuit, standing in front of the ancestor host's band, they supposedly swallow the shell, and fall down, instantaneously, head foremost, as if dead. Finally they come to, and coughing up the shell they put it into their otter-skin bags, and then making the circuit of the tent, shoot four members of the ancestor host's band, four of the east, four of the north, two of the west, and two of the south band. Each person as he is shot falls prostrate upon the ground, but recovering after a few moments, joins those making the circuit of the tent. Each leader now takes his drum and gourds to the fireplace. Then the general shooting commences. Each person possessing the right shoots one individual, until all the members have been shot. As each person is shot he falls to the ground, feigns unconsciousness, and then slowly recovers. The slowness or speed of his recovery depends exclusively upon the privileges he possesses and the number of years he has belonged to the society. As soon as each person shot recovers he falls in line immediately after the last one shot. While all are thus walking around a half dozen people at the fireplace sing shooting songs to the accompaniment of drums and gourds. The amount of noise at this point is quite considerable.

(5) Initiation ritual (Part IV, 5): All the members of the ancestor host's band and the candidate make one circuit of the lodge, taking their otter skins with them. As they pass around they gently touch the heads of the members with the mouth of the otter skin, saying "*Y'oke—o—o*", to which the members respond with "*Ho—o—o.*" After the circuit, all return to their seats, with the exception of the candidate, who remains at the east end in front of the fireplace. After a pause the ancestor host joins the latter and delivers a speech of the admonition type. The candidate first faces the south and then the north. During the speech the ancestor host touches him on his head and on his chest and makes him face first south and then north. When the speech is over the ancestor host sings and takes the candidate to the west end of the tent.

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756 796 The tent is now prepared for the initiation proper. Two long strips of calico are stretched from the west to the east end of the lodge. They are about a foot and a half wide and are separated from each other by the fireplace. At the west end a much shorter strip of the same material is stretched along the width of the lodge across the two long strips. Upon this the candidate is placed. When these preparations are completed the ancestor host arises and going to each of the four leaders speaks to them in an undertone. He then returns to his seat. The leaders of the east and north bands now arise and make the complete circuit of the lodge. First the former and then the latter speaks. Then the former speaks twice. After that the leader of the north band delivers another speech and, together with his partner, walks to the west end of the lodge, where the candidate is kneeling. The two leaders here speak again. Both now take their sacred shells, swallow them, and walk to the east end (pls. 52, 53).

Here they speak again and hold their otter skins in readiness for the shooting, but first jerk them forward twice toward the four cardinal points, saying "*dje-ho-hi, dje-ho-hi,*" and concluding with "*e-ho-ho-ho.*" Standing upon the two calico strips in a slightly bent position and holding the otter skin tightly in their hands, they now run rapidly toward the reclining form of the candidate, making loud threatening sounds in a quavering voice, and strike his body twice with the mouth of the otter skin, emitting two short sounds as of an animal who has succeeded in capturing his prey. The candidate falls prostrate to the ground instantaneously. He is immediately covered with a blanket upon which are placed the otter skins of the two leaders. A number of people especially privileged now gather around the covered figure, dance, sing, and shout to the accompaniment of the shouts of the other members of the society, all of whom seem in a frenzy of excitement. When the noise has somewhat abated the blanket is removed and the figure of the candidate is shown, still apparently unconscious. He comes to slowly and finally succeeds in raising himself and sitting up. He then coughs violently, and the shell which has apparently been shot through his body falls out of his mouth. After this his recovery is rapid. He is then undressed and the finery and new buckskin suit, moccasins, etc., are distributed to those to whom it is customary to give them. He now returns to his seat, to the right of the ancestor host's band, where some female relative, generally his mother, dresses him in an ordinary suit.

(7) Sweat-lodge ritual (Part III): The east leader rises and with his two assistants makes the circuit of the sweat lodge, while the north, west, and south leaders each with two assistants join him. At the east end the leader makes four steps with his right foot, each

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time saying, "*Wa-hi-hi*." He then makes the circuit of the lodge four times. After the third circuit he goes directly to the heating stone, "in defiance of the rule," as he himself says, but with the hope that through this defiance he will gain additional strength. After he has made the fourth circuit he seizes the two entrance lodge poles and, shaking them gently, shouts "*e-ho-ho-ho*." All now sit down. The ancestor host now takes four sticks and smears them with a special kind of greenish clay and hands them to the leader of the east band. The latter seizes them and holds them tightly with both hands. By this action he is supposed to obtain strength. The sticks are then passed in rotation to the leaders of the north, west, and south bands, all of whom repeat the same ceremony.

(9) Basic ritual (Part IV, *a* and *b*): This ritual is that upon which the ritual for the ceremony proper (Part IV, *a* and *b*) is built. In a certain sense it may be justifiable to consider all the above ritualistic complexes with the exception of the entrance and exit rituals as parts of this basic ritual. The important religious function of the medicine dance is the "passing" of the blessing, consisting of speeches, songs, and the blessings, going from one band to the other, for the greater benefit of both the host and his guests. These blessings are symbolized by the drum, the gourds, the songs, the speeches, and the specific actions in which each band participates. The ceremony begins when the ancestor host delivers his first speech and ends when drum and gourds are returned to him. All that takes place between the ancestor host's first speech up to the time that the drum and gourds are placed before the members of the east band constitutes the unit that I have called the basic ritual. Into it are thrust as intrusive elements other rituals, so that it is at times extremely difficult to discern the basic ritual itself. But it is there and remains intact, for as soon as an intrusive ritual is finished it is taken up and continued to the end. Such a ritual as the general shooting or the initiation, or such myths as the origin myth, require hours; and yet as soon as they are over the basic ceremony continues from the point where it has been interrupted.

The east leader rises, speaks, then sits down, and, together with the other members of his band, sings a song (initial song). When this is finished he rises and speaks again, sits down, and commences a song called the minor dancing song. While he and a few others are singing, drumming, and using the gourd rattles, other members of his band, as well as members of the other bands who so desire, and who have bought the privilege, come to his seat and join in the dancing. When this is over he and a few others, either from his own or from some other band, go to the fireplace, where the leader delivers a speech, and begin the major dancing songs, in which the privileged members participate. After this the drum is tied to one of the

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756 796 privileged members, generally the one who has been drumming, and the circuit is made twice, the leader and his two assistants at the head, followed by the other members of his band. Two stops are made at the west and two at the east end, where songs, called completion songs, are sung. Then the circuit is made four times, all chanting "*Wo-hi-hi*," slowly at first, then faster, the speed of the walking corresponding to that of the chanting. Then with a final strong "*e—ho—ho*" drum and gourds are deposited in front of the next band. All now return to their seats, where before sitting down the leaders deliver a short speech.

This basic ritual is repeated by each band in the manner described. As it is so often broken up by the intrusion of other rituals it will be best to divide it into four parts. These parts are never broken up. Whenever intrusive elements occur, they either precede or follow.

The first part consists of all that takes place between the first speech of the leader and the completion of the initial song. The speech referred to is the one that follows the smoking ritual, which may, on the whole, be reckoned as belonging to the introductory ritual, such as the entrance ritual. The second part consists of all that transpires between the second speech and the conclusion of the minor dancing song. The third part consists of all that happens between the speech at the fireplace and the completion of the major dancing songs. The fourth part includes everything between the completion of the major dancing songs and the last speech the leader makes, after he has passed the drum and gourds to the next band.

The most bewildering intrusion is that which follows the second part. Before the leader and his assistants go to the fireplace the elaborate general shooting ritual takes place. After the specially designated men of each band have been shot, those privileged proceed to the fireplace. Here they sing the shooting songs until the ritual is over. The first set of drummers and gourd rattle holders are often relieved by a second set. It is only when the shooting songs have been completed that the leader and his assistants proceed to the fireplace to begin the third portion of the basic ritual.

Ceremony as a whole: As stated before, there are certain speeches and types of action that can not be fitted into the above description. This is especially true of myths; and these, with the exception of the content of the myth, will now be considered in connection with the description of the entire ritual as related to me by B. The ceremony begins with an account of the manner in which B. was induced to join the society. Upon his acceptance and payment of the required amount of material, the ceremony began.

The first two nights consisted of an informal salutation, two explanatory speeches, and four myths, the latter in no way connected with any part of the medicine dance. The last three myths

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dealt with the legendary account of the origin of the Winnebago medicine dance and its dissemination among the tribes. 756 796

At sunset the leader of the band to which the candidate has applied for admission gathers together the members of his band and all retire to a little lodge near his home, in order to begin the four nights' preparation. What actually takes place during these four nights is not as stereotyped as the other rituals connected with the medicine dance. There is a general rehearsal of songs, speeches, and other elements of the ceremony. The speeches are not actually rehearsals of those to be delivered during the ceremony proper, but refer to the purpose of the medicine dance much in the same way as do some of the speeches in the ceremony proper. A large number of miscellaneous myths are likewise related. The candidate who is present in the lodge of his future ancestor host is likewise instructed in as many things as an uninitiated member is allowed to know. This instruction consists in the teaching of certain myths and types of action.

On the morning after the last of the four nights the candidate is given some sacrifical tobacco and told to go in search of a stone for the sweat bath. He selects a stone that he can carry on his back easily. Before picking it up he pours tobacco on it. As soon as the stone is brought to the lodge of the host it is heated. The candidate is now dispatched for some oak branches, four pieces of oak wood about 2½ feet in length, and some grass. The grass is used for improvised seats; the oak wood for the four construction poles of the sweat lodge. They are placed in the east, north, west, and south points, respectively. It is not permitted to trim the tops of the oak wood. When all the bands have gathered near the medicine lodge and retired to their improvised lodges, the ancestor host and the candidate go to the lodge of the east leader, that is, to the lodge of the band first invited, and greet him by touching his head with their hands.

He answers with "*Ho—o—o.*" The leader of the first band rises and, accompanied by his two assistants, goes to the sweat lodge. The ancestor host then goes to the lodges of the other bands and greets the leaders in a similar manner. After the leader and assistants of the band last invited have entered the sweat lodge the ancestor host, the candidate, and his assistants enter, and the ceremony is begun.

After the ceremonial salutation and an introductory speech the ancestor host, as the leader of the band giving the medicine dance may now be called, rises, and taking his invitation stick and some tobacco, approaches the leader of each band, and blessing him, thanks him for coming, assuring him at the same time to how great a degree his presence will contribute toward the success of the performance of the ritual. He then returns to his seat. The leaders thank him in turn. Now follow the fire and smoking ritual, which in turn are

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796 followed by twelve speeches of a general and explanatory character. Then comes the "strengthening" ritual, and immediately after two exceedingly long myths, describing the initiation of the first man into the secrets of the lodge, as well as the symbolic meaning of the shoot-
[515] ing ritual. All now undress and take a sweat bath. Female candidates are excluded. A number of short speeches follow, and the whole concludes with the exit ritual.

[534] The drum and gourds are used to accompany the songs. The basic ritual is perhaps present to a certain extent. The writer, however, was not permitted to witness the ritual, and for this reason the procedure seemed somewhat hazy to him.

When the ritual and the sweat baths are over there is a slight pause. The candidate, the ancestor host, and his band enter the medicine lodge, and after taking their seats sing a few songs. When the last song is concluded the other bands enter in the order of their invitation. Now comes the entrance ritual, followed by the smoking ritual. Thereupon the ancestor host rises and delivers the opening speech of the basic ritual. The ancestor host does not go through the entire basic ritual at this time, because he is not permitted to begin the shooting ritual. Soon after the beginning of the basic ritual by the ancestor host, generally after the second speech, gourds and drums are passed to the leader of the east band. This one rises and begins the basic ritual, which he interrupts at the end of the second part, in order to begin the general shooting ritual. When that is finished he continues the third and fourth parts of the basic ritual. Then drum and gourds are passed to the north band. Its leader now in turn begins his basic ritual, but stops after the second part, where the presentation-of-food and the smoking rituals intervene. It is now about midnight, and the feast is given. As soon as the feast is finished and the lodge has been cleared of food and eating utensils, the leader of the north band continues up to the third and fourth parts of the basic ritual. The leaders of the west and south bands perform the basic rituals without any interruption, except, of course, that of the general shooting ritual between the second and third parts. The drum and gourds have now reached the ancestor host, who goes through the third and fourth parts of the basic ritual. There is, however, some doubt as to whether this is always done. Then follows the exit ritual and all pass out to rest for a few hours.

A short time preceding dawn the candidate and the leaders of the east and north bands and the ancestor host, each with two assistants and all other members who are privileged to do so, leave the lodge and walk to the brush where the candidate is to be initiated into the mysteries of the sacred shell and the shooting. Each band must have one or more of its members present at this ritual. When they are near the place set aside for the secret ritual the order of marching,

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which up to this time has been of no consequence, changes into that of single file, the leader of the east band leading. When they have arrived at the proper place, all stop. The east leader now informs those present that he is going to make a road for the candidate symbolical of the path of life, which forms the basis of the sweat bath and medicine dance. Singing, he circles the spot four times. At the end of the fourth circuit he stops and all turn around and face east. The leader of the north band has also the right to go through this ritual, but he does not always do it. Repeating the ceremony is, in all probability, connected with extra expense. All now sit down and the specific rites of the brush ritual begin.

The ancestor host rises and, taking the candidate with him, goes to the leader of the east band and speaks to him. Then he and the candidate return to their seats. The east leader now relates to the candidate a portion of the story of the journey to the land of the spirits and to the lodge of Earthmaker. When this is finished the two leaders teach the candidate how to go through the actions incidental to the shooting, the swallowing of the shell, and the recovery from its effects. When they think that he is sufficiently adept in all these actions they dress him in his new suit, put on a new pair of moccasins, decorate him with finery, and return to the medicine lodge.

The rites generally last until about 8 in the morning, so that when those who have participated in the brush ritual are returning the other members of the medicine dance are also about ready to begin the day ceremony, the principal one of the entire medicine dance. The ancestor host again precedes the other leaders in entering the lodge. Then follows the entrance ritual. During this ritual the drum is struck four times at stated intervals. The smoking ritual now follows. When it is concluded the ancestor host rises to begin the basic ritual, which is interrupted at the end of the second part. Gourds and drum are passed to the east band, whose basic ritual is also interrupted at the end of the second part. Now follows first the initiation of the candidate into the medicine dance and then the general shooting ritual. When the east leader has concluded, drum and gourds are passed to the north band, whose basic ritual is not interrupted as on the preceding day. At the conclusion of the basic ritual of the north band the food-presentation ritual follows, then the smoking ritual, and finally the feast. After the feast the leader of the west band narrates the origin myth of the medicine dance, which is continued by the leader of the south band. The presents are then distributed. After this, the basic ritual is continued by the leader of the west band, followed by that of the south band, and finally the drum and gourds go to the fireplace. The exit ritual now begins, and at about sunset the entire ceremony of the medicine dance is over.

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●756 796 On the whole, it must be said that the main difference between (a) and (b) of Part IV, setting aside the initiation, lies simply in the number of myths told and the greater length of the speeches.

PERSONAL ACCOUNTS OF INITIATION

159 756 1. J. B.'s account: I was about 13 years and over when they told me that they would make me a member of the medicine dance. I liked it very much. Some people do not like it at all when they are asked to join the medicine dance. I, however, liked it very much. The medicine dance I am going to join, they told me. Very much did my parents desire me to do it. If I wished to live a holy life, that is what I should do, they told me.

Then, when everything was in readiness for my initiation, we moved on to the village where the ceremony was to take place. At night they were to sing at the medicine dance, and they, my relatives, were to join in the singing with them. There they also preached to me. They told me that this rite, the medicine dance, was a good thing. I did not even then think that those who were to initiate me into the medicine dance would kill me when they shot at me, as was the popular belief.

Never had there been such a life, they said, as the one I was going to live, now that I was about to join the medicine dance. Never at any time would I have thought of such a life. Those who were about to make me join the medicine dance told me that the Indians, when they hear of it, will expect me to do great things, that they will speak well of me, and like me. That is all I can now think of concerning that matter.

Now, those who are about to make me join the medicine dance are preparing to show me the shells, and for this purpose they are taking me into the brush. There they, the elders, preached to me. I was not the least bit frightened when, after this, they prepared to shoot me with the sacred shell. Indeed, I was not the least bit worried about it, nor did I think to myself, "I wonder how it is going to be!" Then those who already belonged to the medicine dance, those whom I had dreamed of all this time, shot me. When they shot me I didn't die. That thought was in my mind; but when they shot me, as a matter of fact, I didn't even lose consciousness. Almost immediately I knew how to do it (i. e., to shoot). They liked it very much. Everything they told me to do I did immediately, nor was I backward about anything. The shaman liked it. Never had anyone learned as quickly as I had, they were saying. "That augurs well for him," they say. I thought then that the medicine dance was true.

When we returned from the brush I entered the lodge. Not in any direction did I look, not once did I speak, not once did I move around, not once did I change my position. Just as they told me

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to sit, that way I remained sitting. As many Indians as were gathered in the lodge, all of them, I failed to notice. Not once did I, by chance, permit my glance to wander from side to side. I was doing everything exactly as I was told. The shaman liked it. 159 756

Whenever thereafter a medicine dance was given I attended it. Whenever I went in at night I remained there until it was all over, not going out once. And during the day ceremony not once did I permit my glance to wander outside. Never did I permit myself to lie down from fatigue; nor did I permit my glances to wander outside, because there was much noise there, or because some people were doing funny things. Not even within the lodge did I glance. Indeed, I never allowed my glances to wander in any direction. All the holy things I was told to do, I did. This is a holy ceremony, and I was bashful in its presence.

If at any time any of my leaders in the medicine dance wished to give the ceremony I would stay in his house together with those who had been invited. I would do all the work for him, sing the medicine dance songs, etc. All the different things he was supposed to do, all that I would do for him.

When his wife cooked, I carried the water for her, I made the fire, and helped her with the dishes. All the work she liked to have done in the house, I did for her.

All the clothes I possessed I gave to him. Money I gave to him, and the food he needed I procured for him. Whenever he gave a feast, in addition to what he cooked, I would put a special pail of food on the fire for him. When he ate it he was thankful.

"My son, what do you think I possess, that you are doing all this for me?" But I continued; and when I killed a medium-sized buck I made a feast in his honor, and all the clothing he needed, I gave him. Then I also gave him a costly repeating rifle, the one I used in hunting. All these things I offered him. Then I gave him an eagle, so that he could make a medicine pouch out of it. Money I also gave him, and gourds. Thus I acted, feasting him and offering him gifts all the time. I worked for him all the time.

One day he said to me, "My son, you have been treating me very well. Even my own brothers never treated me the way you have been doing. I thank you. All my relations hate you, but don't pay any attention to them. You are from a different family and I am teaching you various things (that belong to them), they say. They want me to stop instructing you. My father left the medicine dance for me to take care of. I am in complete control of it. Not one of these people, my kindred, has ever done anything for me in their lives. My ancestors said that you are my relative for what you have done. I can not teach my relatives the details of this ceremony, as I would have done had they acted correctly. My knowledge of this ceremony belongs to you, for you have paid for it. My remote

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159 ancestors told their descendants, as it has passed down from mouth
● 756 to mouth to us, that whosoever pays careful attention to all that pertains to this ceremony, that whosoever has a good memory, he is the one to whom it should be taught. Thus they spoke.

"My son, you alone have been good to me," he said. "This ceremony you will learn. Our son, He-who-stands-on-a-cloud, and you have been kind to me. Both of you will live a long life. Never divide this ceremony in two. Never keep anything separate, but do, the two of you, counsel about everything. If one of you knows anything, tell it to the other. Two people are necessary to make the ceremony truly efficacious for either one. Never dislike one another.

"My younger brother, you are going to be a chief. No one else pays attention to this ceremony. You alone are doing it. If at any time I should leave your presence, when I am about to go I know that you, oh my son and brother, I will leave behind me, peacefully traveling along. Thus I will think as I am about to depart. Thus my ancestors told me."

Thus in trying to obtain information I made myself pitiable. I tried to be blessed. I performed all kinds of work. Even woman's work I did. Thus I kept myself in a pitiable condition, and for that reason my brother-in-law blessed me. He blessed me with the ceremony of his ancestors. He told it to no one else but to me; and if anyone else, at the present time, narrates the ceremony as told by our band, he is not telling you the truth. Up to the present time this ceremony was an Indian ceremony, and not a second time will I tell it to a member of the white race.

This ceremony molded me. I paid the most careful attention to it; I worshiped it in the best way I knew how. I was careful about everything in my life. I never drank. A holy life it was that I sought and most earnestly did I pray that I might live over again. That is what I yearned for. If I do everything that this ceremony enjoins upon me well, I will return to Earthmaker, they told me. This is what I wished. I was doing well as a medicine man and everyone loved me. This ceremony was made with love.

I knew all the songs. Indeed, the leader of the dance would make me sing the songs for him. As many medicine men as there were, they all liked me. I was not overbearing, but modestly did I comport myself right along. All the medicine men told me that I was doing very well, and they offered thanks in my behalf.

2. J. C.'s account of how he came to join the medicine dance: This
[113] is how it was. A grandmother of mine was the cause of it. She said that the Creator's son[31] was called the Hare; that he came on earth and brought life, she said. She said that whoever did this would live well, that their souls would always return to the place where the

[31] J. C. is a prominent member of the Peyote cult and, in common with other members of this cult, he has identified the Hare with Christ.

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Creator sits. The first thing that they did to me was this: They took me to a lodge at night; there they talked and sang. Then the second night the tobacco bundles were made; then the great old medicine men were given tobacco. After this came the four nights' preparation. Then came the great medicine dance. Then they went after those that were going to join, one at a time. They, the medicine men, were repeating what the Hare had done. When the Hare came on earth he performed certain actions, and that is what they were repeating now. Hare had visited the different spirits, it is said, looking for a means of life, it is said. The old medicine men possessed the good tidings that Hare had brought to this earth. That is what the people desired of Hare, it is said. 159 756

When they entered, the first person to whom tobacco had been given, i. e., the one first invited, entered first. Then the others followed in turn. Then he talked; then the one who initiated me expressed his thanks, saying, "You medicine men, this affair the Hare has given you, you are repeating in order to bless us. For that reason you have come. We ask you to give to this person whom we are about to initiate the life you have obtained for us. We ask that the newly initiated one travel along that road."

Then the first person spoke, and after that they all ate. When he was through they heated a stone. After that they all entered in regular order and I was asked to go in with them. Thus I entered the sweat-bath lodge. When I was inside they told me that the stone which they had heated was a spirit. "The life that he brought I should ask for," they told me. After that we went out again.

At night we entered again. Then at about 2 o'clock they took me out to the brush. Not until then was I to learn what the medicine men really did. When we got to the brush they made me sit down and the man who was initiating me turned me over to the others. He said, "I turn him over to you. Whatever the elders have taught you, that we desire you to tell him." When he finished the first one began to talk, saying, "It is good that you are such a person. Earthmaker must have willed it so. In the olden times if a person wanted to join the medicine lodge he could not do it until he was quite old." Then he continued preaching to me. When Earthmaker first came into the world and what happened after that, how he created all things: that he told me. He told me that Earthmaker created four worlds, in each of which he placed men and women; that the heavens we see represent the last man he created and the earth we are living on the last woman he created. Then he told how *Herregunina* was created. The story is as follows: Earthmaker created man, whom he wished to put at the head of the world, but he did not make one of his legs quite right. Then he threw him down to the earth because when Earthmaker made anything wrong 159 756 881 868 [773]

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159 he never did it over again. *Hereegunina* lived on earth from that
756 time on, and it is said that he also created things. Indeed, it is said
881 that he was almost the equal of the Earthmaker. He made the people
868 very miserable. Then Earthmaker sent four of his sons (to save the
773 people). Hare alone, of all the four, accomplished what he had been sent out for. All the rest failed. Hare obtained life for the people upon this earth.

Then the man told how the medicine lodge had been founded; how all the spirits upon the earth and all those under the earth and all those above the earth gathered together. They brought life with them. Then the medicine bags began to come. First came the eagle. He came from above. Next came the hawk, and then the squirrel, etc. The otter was the last one. Then the old man stopped talking to me and another person began to admonish me. He told me how I was to conduct myself. Then he spoke to me of the medicine-lodge road (i. e., of life) and what happens after life.

159 The first thing that I would meet on the road would be bad birds
756 making a lot of noise. "Do not look at them," he told me. They
868 would let fly at me bad-smelling saliva and phlegm, but I was not
776 to turn around, he said. Then the road would become thickly covered with thorn bushes. It would seem almost impossible to untangle them. I was, however, not to pay any attention to them, he told me. On the road, fires would send their sparks toward me, but I was to pay no attention to them. After a while I would lose one of my relatives, but I was to keep right on. I was not to get angry nor to give up, and after a while the road would become thickly covered with poplars growing on each side. Then the hair on my temples would become gray. This is what would happen to me, he told me, if I paid close attention to this ceremony. After a while it would become foggy (i. e., my eyesight would grow dim. Then I would come to a hill, one of four hills. When I came to the last hill there I would see red cedar trees. This is what would happen to me if I paid close attention to this ceremony, he told me. My soul would return to Earthmaker and I would then be allowed to come back to this earth if I wanted to.

159 Then they gave me the object with which they shot themselves
756 the shell. They shot me. After that they made me try to do it,
796 and when I was able to shoot well, we all came back. It was now
881 daylight. Now they put clothes on themselves and arose. Those who were initiating me then spread upon the ground the things which had been brought. Then the leader spoke. He told me that he would put me on the medicine-dance road. Then they sat me down there and shot me. Then the clothes that I had on were taken off and I was given other clothes. I was now told that I was standing on the medicine-dance road. After that they danced all day. In the evening they stopped. Now this is what I did; this is all I can say. I greet you, my friends.

2. Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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as follows, 'My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease.' Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit, they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick, they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well." 614 755 796

Here the Bear clan behaves at the same time like a ceremonial organization associated with shamanistic practices and like an individual shaman. That, to the minds of the Winnebago, this ceremonial function of the Bear clan on this occasion was regarded as a real ceremony is indicated by the term *many pe waci*. For the moment, the Bear clan as a social unit is entirely lost sight of. Nevertheless, it is the Bear clan as such a unit around which the ceremony has crystallized. This case is all the more instructive for the very reason that this ceremonial association does not form an inextricable element in the clan complex, but is merely an aspect that it assumes on certain occasions, to the exclusion of its socio-political nature. The ceremonial function of the clan is, therefore, not as firmly fixed as is the political function. This may merely be an expression of the fact that among the Winnebago it had become customary to associate ceremonial functions with religious societies. 614 796 182

With regard to the analogy with the individual shaman, it might be said that treating a social unit like an individual must have been quite common wherever the former was strongly marked off by specific functions such as the Bear clan. The association of the shamanistic function with this clan may have occurred just because of the police functions the clan already possessed. On the other hand, it might be pointed out that the bear, both black and grizzly, was intimately [776 825 756]

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614 796 182 associated with the treatment of disease and was the especial guardian spirit of the Indian doctors.

[776] [825] [756]

## INFLUENCE OF THE CLAN UPON CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION.

Perhaps the most characteristic trait of Winnebago culture is the existence of two strong socialized units, that of the clan and that of the secret society. Historically both are old, and even if we are of the opinion that the clan is historically younger, the political unit upon which it is superimposed is probably an ultimate historical fact. From the earliest times one would have supposed reciprocal influences to have occurred repeatedly. The nature of these influences, insofar as they are not conditioned by chance, would depend on the respective centre of gravity in either unit. It is evident that for the clan the organization was of paramount importance, and that the addition of cultural associations probably tended to strengthen its stability from the point of view of organization. On the other hand, the absence of political or governmental functions in the religious societies, and the clustering of the most multitudinous religious and shamanistic ideas within them, rendered the emotional complex of the latter the centre from which influences would radiate. At the same time, the ceremonial unit of organization seems to have been so firmly fixed, that any influence of the clan unit of organization upon it does not seem likely. As a matter of fact, in the typical schematic, religious society, like the medicine dance, grizzly-bear dance, and night-spirit dance, no influence is perceptible. But these religious societies may be regarded as presenting no possible points of contact. Where, however, the bond of union is supernatural communication with a guardian spirit who subsequently became the clan animal, an obvious point of contact is given, and this brings to mind a very suggestive fact of Winnebago culture—there are, strictly speaking, no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in many respects are absolutely identical with the religious societies, and which furnish, it seems to us, an example

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[796]

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



177 539 795 —Amen. For the sake of those who think all Indians speak alike, we append in a footnote the Lord's Prayer in Menomini."

The Winnebago have a syllabary which all of them use in writing. 194 It is an arbitrary system and has nothing to do with the ethnologist's way of recording their sounds. It was thus set down by Fred Mallory [212] The first letter always has the sound of a as in arm and the pronunciation of the first line would be ha, he, hi, ho.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | ae | ai | ao | | k | ke | ki | ko | |
| w | we | wi | wo | | a | e | i | o | |
| m | me | mi | mo | | l | le | li | lo | |
| n | ne | ni | no | | t | te | ti | to | (explosive) |
| l | le | li | lo | (ja) | tt | tte | tti | tto | (cha chay chi cho) |
| y | ye | yi | yo | (ga) | | | | | |
| r | reke | reki | roko | (ska ske ski sko) | | | | | |
| s | se | si | so | | | | | | |
| h | he | hi | ho | | | | | | |
| g | ge | gi | go | | | | | | |

Indian syllabaries are interesting but of no ethnological value.

539 575 756 Fred Mallory's wife was initiated into the medicine lodge when she was thirteen years old, but since both are now peyote followers, they said there is nothing wrong in their telling the writer about their early history. Their story is as follows: In the early days, there were two brothers, Konuga, the eldest, and Henaka. (These names still apply to the order of birth,—the third son is *Hagaga*, and the fourth, *Nahiga*. The same with girls, the first is *Hinuga*, second, *Wihunga*, third, *Hinahega*, fourth, *Hakasiaga*.) The two brothers were at Kilbourn on an island in the Wisconsin River—*Nikusa*. One, Konuga, told the other he saw a spirit in the water and Henaka also saw a spirit, but Konuga saw it first, so it was *his* spirit. It was purple in color and rose from the depths of the water and sank down again. A sort of quarrel developed between them as to whose spirit should be followed, but when Hagaga, the third son entered the argument, they both united against him. Hagaga was as wise as an owl, and knew more than the other

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"*Nocbnenan* *kesekok* *apeon.* *Nas ta kat kes* *achpechtanechton*
"Our Father in heaven who dwells. Let it be honored

*kiwichnwon.* *Nas ta kat pimikat* *kitokemawin.* *Ananechtamon* *nas ta*
thy name. Let it come thy kingdom. As the Lord wishes it to

*kat esekemakat* *tepa* *kesekok* *misik* *ios* *achkibe.* *Meseech*
be done like heaven so here (on earth) the same. Give us

*iochpe as kesekok* *nepakinigenemenan* *achtanachkin* *kesegaton.* *Ponikutatewesch*
now as in heaven bread our daily and every day as we live. Forgive us

*minin kais* *nachkebekaon* *asis* *ponikitatewakichtos* *kais*
and those we had angered you, as we forgive those

*nachkibiamachtos.* *Pon* *minin* *ishinesech* *kakitzipanichtoanr.*
that trespassed against us. Lead us not into temptation.

*Miakonamowesch* *ta mata.* *Amen.*
Take it away from us. Amen."

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



brothers, though they were his elders. The two older brothers made up their minds to do away with Hagaga. They went into the forest together and drew an image of Hagaga on the ground, painting his heart with red earth. They were preparing to thrust a spear into the heart of the image and thus kill Hagaga but he was on the limb of a tree watching them and yelled at them as they were ready to strike—"Hey, what are you about to do?" They looked up, discovered him, and were so scared at their detection that they ran away without stabbing the figure. He followed them to Trempealeau Mountain where the spirits live. 539 575 756

This mountain is supposed by the Winnebago to be hollow and they think all the powers of the medicine lodge reside therein. In the center of this mountain, the medicine lodge is supposed to be laid out, with the cardinal points of the compass indicated by poles. The poles represent serpents and the tie pieces are serpents, because to the Winnebago medicine lodge members the serpent is sacred.[24] [823] 575 756 [825]

The various animal deities came into the center of the lodge. They were, in order of entrance, the otter, the loon, the crane, the turtle, the fox, and a number of others. Nowadays when the medicine lodge ceremony is in progress, the Indians make song imitations of these various animal spirits coming into the lodge. In the main, they agree with the conception of creation held by the Menomini.[25] The writer related the Menomini story to Henry Dick, who said it was almost the same as the Winnebago. Their initiation ceremony starts at an earlier age which coincides with the age of puberty for both boys and girls and their medicine lodge ceremony requires more time than that of the Menomini; —four days for the lodge ceremony and two days for the testing of the initiate. While the ceremony is in progress, the candidate must not go to sleep. If he does, one of the members will shake him. The first two days and nights, the ceremony is mostly chanting and explanations, while the final two days and nights are given over to active floor work. The candidate must learn to do exactly as he is told and to obey instantly. The members, during the ceremony, tweak his ears and do various things to him in imitation of the animal deities. He is then shot with medicine bags to demonstrate their power. That is, the otter skin bag is grasped by the head between the fingers of the left hand of the medicine lodge member, and touched to his own lips; then having given it his power as a medicine man, he extends it toward the initiate, crying "Hui hui" and the initiate must drop his head immediately and fall over or backward. He is shot four times in the course of the ceremony. 575 756 796

On the fifth and sixth days, two or three of the older members take

[24] Fred Mallory's children killed a large puffing adder a day or two previous to the relating of this story and the local Winnebago did not like it, prophesying all sorts of dire disasters that would visit them.

[25] See Milw. Publ. Mus. Bull., Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 14, note 2.

4;Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



575 the candidate into the woods, where none will see them and put him
756 through tests, such as falling immediately when he is shot with a medi-
796 cine bag. They also teach him to sing the ritual of the medicine lodge, being sure that no one hears.

824 The Winnebago observe the same precautions in gathering plants and place as great stress upon the manner of this gathering as do other Wisconsin Indians.

126 Most of the summer was spent among the Winnebago collecting their various economic and medicinal plants, about which copious notes were taken. On August 16, a trip was made to a Winnebago religious
123 feast given by A. White and his son, Frank, with two other relatives,
551 at which the writer was given a Winnebago name. As is the Indian custom, no more than one Indian name can be given and a name in a second language must mean the same as the original one. It happens that the first name given the writer was by the Menomini at Keshena; namely *"Onawonik"* meaning "Flying Squirrel." Hence the Ojibwe followed suit with *"Shagashkandawe"* also meaning "Flying Squirrel," and the Winnebago took their word *"Kashingra"* meaning the same.

dances of a lively kind. From that place we went up to where Earthmaker lives and I saw him and talked to him, face to face, even as I am talking to you now. I saw the spirits too and, indeed, I was like one of them. 159* 775 [776]

Thence I came to this earth for the third time and here I am. I am going through the same that I knew before.

Thus my brother-in-law had lived long ago, had joined the Medicine Dance* and adhered strictly to its precepts. He was a good man; he disliked no one; he never stole and never did he fight. He made offerings of tobacco to the spirits and was always giving feasts. He could always be relied upon. 159* 577 [782]

When Thunder Cloud was in spirit land, just before he was to come to this earth, he fasted. He only ate once a month. All the different spirits who live on high, all those who live under the earth, indeed all those whom Earthmaker had created, they all blessed him. Then he came to the earth and was born here as a human being again. When he came to the earth he fasted. All the various spirits who had blessed him before, now blessed him again. Thus did he become a holy man. When he came here, he became a shaman for he was very holy. Indeed he was the North Spirit. 756 775 [776]

* The Medicine Dance is a secret society which with the preliminary ceremonies lasts five days. Members of this society are supposed to possess the secret of being able to kill one another and then to restore one another to life again. The "killing" is done by "shooting" a shell from a pouch made out of an otter skin. The shell is supposed to enter the body of the person shot at and to render him unconscious. He regains consciousness gradually after spitting out the shell. The ceremony is described in detail on pp. 103 ff. of this autobiography. [575] [789]

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 755 [782] Once when I was sick he[1] treated me. As soon as he came my father arose with tobacco in his hands and made him an offering, greeting him as follows:

"My son-in-law, tobacco do I offer you and I make offerings to your spirits. You have made your hat[1] become holy, for the various spirits made it sacred. I greet you."

*159 755 787 Before treating me Thunder Cloud told of his fasting experience:

●756 [776] At the very beginning those above taught me the following. All the various spirits who live up above in the clouds, in a doctor's village, came after me and instructed me in what I was to do. They taught me and told me the following. "Here let us try it," they said to me. There in the middle of the lodge lay a rotten log, almost entirely covered with weeds. They tried to make me treat this log. I breathed upon it and all those who were in this spirit lodge also breathed upon it. Then for the second time I breathed upon it and they with me. Then for the third and the fourth time I did it. After the fourth time the rotten log arose and walked away. Then the spirits said to me, "Human being, very holy indeed are you."

There from the middle of the ocean, from the shaman's village, they came after me. They blessed me, all the spirits in the middle of the ocean. They made me try my power. As many waves as exist, all of them as large as the ocean, upon these they asked me to blow; and as I blew upon them everything became as quiet as the water in a small saucer. So they became. Then I blew for the

[195] [1] Symbolical expression for the various objects and blessings bestowed upon him by the spirits.



[1] [i.e., his brother-in-law Thunder Cloud who was a shaman--analyst]

third time and it was the same. The fourth time the spirits 159*
made the ocean very choppy and the waves were piled, one 755
upon the other. Then they told me to blow again and show 787
my power. I blew, and the ocean, mighty indeed as it 756
was, became very quiet again. "Now this, human being, is what you will have to do," they said to me. "Not anything will there be that you cannot accomplish. Whatever be the illness a person may have, you will be able to cure him."

All the spirits on the earth blessed me. "If any human being who is suffering from pain, makes an offering of tobacco to you, then whatever you demand, that we will [782] do for you," the spirits told me.

Now at Blue Clay Bank (St. Paul) there lives one who is a dancing grizzly-bear spirit. Whenever I am in great [776] trouble I was to pour tobacco, as much as I thought necessary, and he would help me. This grizzly bear gave me songs and the power of beholding a holy thing; he gave me his claws, claws that are holy. Then the grizzly bear danced and performed while he danced. He tore his abdomen open and, making himself holy, healed himself again. This he repeated. One grizzly bear shot claws at the other and the wounded one became badly choked with blood. Then both made themselves holy again and cured themselves. They had a front paw disappear in the earth and after a while pulled out a prairie turnip. Finally they grabbed hold of a small plum tree, breathed upon it and shook it, and many plums began to fall.

This was only the first part of the treatment. 159*

After recounting his fasting experience Thunder 755
Cloud addressed the spirits and said, "Spirits, here is 782
a person who is sick and who offers tobacco to me. I

## *My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud*

You said that I could use all the best herbs that grow upon you, and that I would always be able to effect cures with them. I beseech you for those herbs now and I ask you to help me to cure this sick man. 159* 155 182 216 218 [534]

Then Thunder Cloud breathed upon me and squirted some water on my chest. "What I have said is very true and very holy, I believe," he said. "Indeed now you will get well."

Thunder Cloud knew all the good medicines that exist and he used them in order to heal me and so that I might recover from my illness. I got well. Indeed Thunder Cloud was holy.

Thunder Cloud was also what we call a poisoner. He used to travel at dead of night, it was said. One night at about eleven o'clock he got ready to poison a family by the name of B. We were all listening, sitting in our lodge. Then outside we heard him make some noise. We were afraid of him because we knew he was a poisoner. Indeed he claimed to be in control of our household. My family would do nothing without first consulting him, for we were afraid of him. We believed that he had come from the spirits, that he was a reincarnated man and, if displeased, would poison us. So whatever he asked we did. 159* 154

He had been married to my eldest sister and after her death wished to marry the second sister. Where he had come from at the dwelling-place of Earth-maker,* my elder sister was now staying, he said. But now he claimed that the second sister resembled the 159* 156

* Circumlocution for saying that she was dead.

[195]

*159 first. "She must be the one I left behind when I came
●756 from my spirit home," he thought. So up above, to
Earthmaker's village, he went to see whether his first
*159 wife was still there. He found her there. "How is
756 this? I thought I saw you among the human beings
775 and that is why I have come to see if you were still
787 here," he said. And the woman answering said, "Why,
where was I to go? Here you left me when you went
away and here I have remained up to the present time.
What kind of woman is she who resembles me?
Bring her up here to me." Thus my dead sister spoke.

However since he was a bad shaman, a poisoner, we
[754] let him marry the second sister. We were afraid that
if we didn't he would poison us.

*159 He told my brother that he had come from the place
756 where Earthmaker* lives, that Earthmaker had told
[776] him that he was to bring back with him four men.
[787] He was to examine them carefully, for they were to
be virtuous men, not quick tempered nor of change-
[577] able ideas, but really virtuous, men of conservative
tendencies. Such was he to take back with him.

*159 My brother loved Thunder Cloud for these reasons.
Never did he show any disrespect to him. Whatever he
was asked to do he did. Zealously and painstakingly
did he perform all the actions demanded, for he hoped
that if, in return, our brother-in-law loved him and
blessed him, he would take him back to Earthmaker.
Wholeheartedly did he wish to be like him. This was
always in his mind and he served him to the best of

[776] *Earthmaker is the supreme deity of the Winnebago.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



ishes very much and which he will offer you. If it is a 159*
bulb-medicine keep it to protect your house. Your home 867
will never then be molested by anything evil and nothing [888]
evil will enter your house, neither bad spirits, ghosts, dis- [778]
ease, nor unhappiness. Now such will be your life if you
do as I tell you. Witches will keep away from you. Thus [754]
by fasting will you benefit yourself and your fellowmen. [085]

You know that Earthmaker created all the spirits, those 159*
that live above the earth, those who live on the earth, those
who live under the earth, those who live in the water—all 773
these he created and placed in control of powers. Even 776
the minor spirits Earthmaker placed in control of something. In this fashion he created them and after that, he created us and because we were created last and no further powers were left, he could not put us in control of anything. Then, however, did Earthmaker create a weed and this he [276]
placed us in control of. He further told us that none of the spirits he had created would have the power to take this weed away from us without giving us something in exchange. He told us that if we offered him a pipeful of this weed, which we call tobacco, he too would grant us whatever we asked for. Now it so happened that all the spirits came to long for this weed as intensely as they longed for anything in creation and for that reason if, at [782]
any time, with tobacco in our hands we make our prayer to the spirits, they will take pity upon us and bestow upon us the blessings which Earthmaker gave them. Indeed so it is, for Earthmaker created it thus.

Fast, my son. If you are blessed by the spirits and then 159*
blow your breath upon people who are ill, they will become 756●
well. Thus will you help your fellowmen. If you can cure 787
any of your fellowmen of disease, then you will be of even 867
more than ordinary help to them. If you can draw dis-

*159 ease from out the body, people will greatly respect you.
●756 If then you happen to be without work, all that you need
787 for your support they will give you. For as long a time as
867 you live they will do this for you. After your death people will speak about your deeds for all time. During your lifetime they will say, "Yes, he really has power."

778 If you are not able to fast, do at least try to obtain some
824 power from those individuals who know the virtues and powers of certain plants. It is sad enough, of course, if you will have to admit to yourself that you could not obtain blessings during fasting; but if you could not, at least try to have those who possess the plants I have mentioned, take pity on you. If they take pity on you, they will present you with one of the good plants that give life to man. Now it will not suffice for you to possess merely one plant. You should try to obtain all those plants that grow among the hairy covering of our grandmother, the Earth—all those that give us life—until you have a complete medicine bundle. Then will you truly have reason to feel encouraged.

Some of the medicine men, the shamans, were blessed
[776] by the waterspirits.[10] If you wish to obtain really powerful blessings and gain the power of curing many people, you will have to fast a long time and sincerely. If four, or say ten, of the truly powerful spirits bless you, then some day when you have children and anything happens to one of them, you will not have to look around for a medicine man, but all you will have to do will be to look into your
ooo own medicine bundle. Search there and you will undoubt-

[10] Waterspirits are mythical animals generally described as having
[776] the shape of a lynx or wild-cat and provided with long tails that completely encircle their bodies. Their gifts to man are ambivalent and it depends upon the man whether he cares to make good or bad medicines from their bodies. Their so-called "bones" generally consist of semi- or completely fossilized objects.

# *The Teachings of My Father*

Search there and you will undoubt-
edly be able to find the medicines necessary for curing your 159 *
children. Indeed after a while you will be called upon to 756 ●
cure your fellow men. Then you can open your medicine 87
bundle without embarrassment, for you will have the knowledge necessary for treating the sick. You will know where the disease is lodged and your treatment will be successful, for it was only after the greatest efforts on your part that you succeeded in obtaining the requisite blessings. If you declare to the patient that he will live, then he will live. If you make proper offerings to the medicine and speak to [782] your medicine in the proper manner, it will exert all the [778] power it possesses to cure the patient. Now you must make good offerings to these medicines; you must give many feasts in their honor and then if, in addition, you address them as if they were human beings, they assuredly will help you and do what you ask. You may accordingly accept the payments offered to you by your patients in good conscience and your children will wear these payments in the form of wampum necklaces and thus gain renewed strength. They will be well and happy. These are the reasons why I want you to be extremely careful in your attitude. Medicines are good for all purposes; that is why [773] they were given to us. Earthmaker gave them to us so that [755] we could cure ourselves from disease.

If any one tries to obtain these staffs of life, these medicines and inflicts sufferings upon himself in acquiring them, [787] then assuredly will our grandmother Earth have cognizance of it. She knows all that you have lost in obtaining them and in the long run what you have lost, will be returned to you. You made your offerings for the future and it is good for people to look forward to their [577] future.

Say, you wish to obtain the paint medicine. For that you ooo

## §12. *My Grandfather Adopts Me*

Once my father gave me away. Once on my return 159*
home I found my father talking to my grandfather 590
and after a while I saw the old man weep. He had just lost a son, a young man and the last of his children. They had all died. It was this that they were talking about. I heard my grandfather say finally that he was tired of life. Then my father, weeping, called him by his relationship term and said: "I sympathize with you for you indeed speak the truth, yet in spite of it all I wish you to live. Here is my son, my own, and of all my children the one I love best. He is obedient. He is present here listening to me. He shall be your companion and as long as you live he will take you by the hand." Thus did he speak and the old man thanked him profusely.

After that I stayed with my grandfather. He thought a great deal of me and I got along very well in every way. He was a great man, one who doctored and who [756] ●
had great knowledge of medicine. This he used to give to the sick. He was also a great Medicine Dance man and an old soldier.

About this time a school was built at Tomah, Wis- 159*
consin, and I wanted very badly to go to it. My grand- [871]
father consented and I went there for a winter. In the

seat in the main lodge stopped singing and the specially invited people entered the regular ceremonial lodge. 159* 096

The older people took charge of me for the whole night. Whenever they referred to me they would say, "In the morning when he-for-whom-we-desire-life becomes like us." They meant me and they meant that I would be a member in the morning. So I was extremely anxious for the morning to dawn. All night they danced. This part of the ceremony is called the rehearsal or trial performance.

The next morning, just before day, even while the dance was still going on, the leader of the first and second band, those of the east end and some others, took me to a secret place in the brush. When we got there we found a place where the ground had been cleared in the outline of the dance lodge. There the older people preached to me and told me that the most fearful things imaginable would happen if I made public any of the affair, *i.e.*, told the secrets of the Medicine Dance. The world would come to an end, they said. They told me that if I didn't keep everything secret I would die. [626]

It was in the brush that the leader told me of the road that all medicine men travel. [956] ●

### *The Road of Life*

My son, as you travel along this road do not doubt it. If you do you'll be unhappy; you'll injure yourself. But if you do everything that I tell you well it will benefit you greatly. 159* 956 539

## *Crashing Thunder*

#159
● 756
539

My son, the first thing you will come to as you travel along, will be a ravine extending to the very ends of the world on both sides. It will look as though it could not possibly be crossed. When you get there you will think to yourself, "Grandfather said that I was nevertheless to pass across." Plunge right through and you will get to the other side.

Now this ravine means that sometimes in life you will lose a child and thoughts of death will come to you. But if you pay attention to my teachings you will be able to go right on and find the road of the lodge on the other side. If you don't try to go beyond, if you get frightened and dwell upon your hardship too much, this will be your grave.

After you have crossed the ravine you will see the footsteps of the medicine men who have gone before you, marked very plainly in the road. Step into them and you will feel good. Then as you go along you will come to an impenetrable brushwood of stickers, thorns, and weeds. You will not see how you can possibly get around them. Then you will remember that your grandfather said that you would be able to penetrate them. This too, you will pass.

The impenetrable brushwood means death. Some one you have loved greatly, but not your wife, will die. You must try to get through this obstacle, not get frightened and not dwell upon your hardship too much. Otherwise this will be your grave.

As you pass along this road, evil little birds will continually din into your ears and will cast their excrement upon you. It will stick to your body. Now don't try to brush it off and don't pay any attention to it. If you pay attention to it you might forget yourself and brush it off and that is not right, and life is not obtainable in this manner.

## *The Medicine Dance*

The evil birds signify the following. The fact that you have joined the medicine lodge means that your intentions are to lead a good life. Now as soon as you join, the work of evil tattlers will begin and they will say that you have done things contrary to the teachings of the lodge. Perhaps a piece of bird's excrement will fall on you. What of it? Don't brush it off without thought. Some will claim that you had said that the lodge was no good. Yet even then you must not blurt out, "Who said that?" and get angry. Keep quiet and hold your peace. 159* 156 539 [626]

As you go along you will come to a great fire encircling the earth and practically impossible to cross. It will be so near that it will scorch you. Remember then that your grandfather had said that you would be able to pass it. Plunge through it. Soon you will find yourself on the other side and nothing will have happened to you.

Now this great fire means death. Your wife will die. Go through this as well as you can; don't get discouraged. This fire will be the worst thing you have to go through. You will have been living happily and then without warning your wife will die. There you will be with your children. Remember, however, what your grandfather said and plunge straight through. On the other side you will find the footprints of the medicine men.

After a while you will come to tremendous perpendicular bluffs which hardly seem passable. Think, however, of what your grandfather said and soon you will find yourself on the other side quite safe.

Now these bluffs mean death. As you travel along the road of life you will find yourself alone. All your relatives, all your loved ones, are dead. You yourself will begin to think to yourself, "Why, after all, am I living?" You will want to die. Now this, my grandson, is the place

*159 ●756 539 where most encouragement is given for it is most necessary. This is the most difficult of all the places you will come to. Keep in the footprints of the Medicine Dance-man and you will be safe. The teachings of the lodge are the only road; they alone will enable you to pass this point safely.

Soon you will come to a hill and when you reach the foot of the hill you will sit down to rest and eat. You will eat dried ribs of bear meat mixed with spirit-food and this spirit-food will vibrate with life. When you are finished you must climb to the top of the hill and look behind you. There will be no one. But in front of you, you will see many people.

Now this hill means that you have reached that period of life where, because you have always done things correctly, you will be continually partaking of feasts. You will always be invited. The road full of people in front of you represents the members of the lodge who have passed before you. There is no one behind you because you are just beginning to enter on that road.

Soon you will come to another hill. It will look like a nice country full of red stone. There you will find food and you will eat out of a very greasy kettle. When you're finished, climb to the top of the hill and you'll see that some people are now following you and that the number in front will be smaller.

You'll be traveling through better country now, i.e., you'll be taken better care of.

Then as you go along, another hill will loom in sight. You must go toward it and there you will find yourself in a country of red willows and bulrushes. Many presents will you find scattered all along this most pleasing of lands. There you will find your food and when you have partaken of it, ascend as far as the middle of the hill. There as you

rest you will see a reddish haze across the land. Then go to the top of the hill. As you look behind you will see many people following you and only a few in front. 159* 956 539

Halfway up the hill, we have said, the land will be covered with a red haze. This is the Indian summer and this means that you will now have reached that period in life where your eyes have become dim. The red willows, etc., signify that your hair has become grizzled. The men in front of you are the older members of the lodge who will assist you by inviting you to the lodge and those in back of you are the younger members who will give you feasts in order to obtain increased knowledge.

Then finally you will come to a fourth hill. This will be a very beautiful country with white poplars everywhere. There, after having eaten at the foot of this hill, you'll climb it and look around. You will see not one ahead of you and very many people following. The place from which you had started, apparently a long time ago, will seem very near. You will have to rest four times before you get to the top of this hill.

This means that when you get to the fourth hill, you will be so feeble that you will have to rest four times before you succeed in getting to the top. The fact that you see no one in front of you on the road means that you have now become the oldest member of the lodge.

As you walk along you'll come to an oval lodge. There you will find a man who will ask you, "Grandson, how have you acted in life?" You must answer, "I don't know." He will answer and say, "Grandson, I know. Take some food." You'll find four dishes and you must take a spoonful of each. When you have swallowed the fourth spoonful your body will be like that of a dog or a flea, i.e., you will be so old that your body will not only be flat but your ribs will

* 159 ● 756 539 be caved in. The man talking to you will be the one in charge of the medicine-lodge road. You will now become unconscious but not for a long time, i.e., although you will die, you'll go right on in the spirit. Near you, you will find the medicine man's staffs or ladders. The ladders reach to heaven. On the right side you will find a tree, all twisted and slippery from incessant rubbing. On the left you will see a red cedar tree, all smoothed down from wear and dirty from incessant handling. You must grab these trees, and then when you have ascended them you'll come to a country situated right below the place where Earthmaker lives. This country has been especially provided for those who have adhered to the ritual of the Medicine Dance. You will be told that this is your home and, after a while you'll be directed to a long lodge where you will find all those of your relatives who have adhered to the teachings of the lodge. Although you are a grown-up person you will nevertheless be taken on each one's lap in turn. This country is a very happy one to live in. No one is ever in want; no bad clouds float over it; there is no night and there is no work.

After a while the attendants of Earthmaker will come to you and take you to him. There you'll see him face to face. He will tell you that you have done well and that [715] you can become reincarnated in whatever tribe you desire. Those that perform the ritual properly believe that they can come to the world again after death.

* 159 756 796 After the old man had finished telling about the road of the Medicine Dance Lodge I was shown how to fall down and lie quivering on the ground and how to appear dead. I was very much disappointed for I had

had a far more exalted idea of the shooting. "Why, it amounts to nothing," I thought. "I have been deceived. They only do this to make money." I also thought then that many of the sacred things about which they had spoken to me were not true either. However I kept on and did as I was told for I had been taught to deceive in the ceremony in the brush. As soon as I was proficient in the act of feigning death, we started back to the main lodge. 159* 756● 796

The older people told me that I would become like them in body as soon as I became a member of the lodge, but I did not experience any change within me. All that I felt was that I had become a deceiver in one of Earthmaker's creations.

During the day, at the regular meeting, I did as I had been taught. Many speeches and many songs were sung and then, at about ten o'clock, the leader of the north band arose and told the story of the origin of the world and of the Medicine Dance.

### *The Story of the Origin of the World*

What it was our father sat on when he came to consciousness we do not know. His tears flowed and he began to cry. Not long was he sunk in thought. He saw nothing and nothing was there anywhere. He took something from the thing on which he was lying and out of it made a portion of our earth. This he sent to the space below him and from where he lay he could see that what he had created had become similar in shape to our earth. Yet nothing grew upon it and it was entirely without a cover- 539 796

## *The Medicine Dance*

"Well, grandmother, this is what I meant when I said that you were to help me. My uncles and aunts have now received all that I desired for them. I thank you." 539 776

Now throughout the ceremony I felt all the time that we were merely deceiving the spectators. When it was all over the members of my band told me that in two years I would be able to imitate the sounds of animals to my heart's content for I had taken the place of a great medicine man. Those who have the privilege of dancing obtain it by making gifts to the older members and thus buying the right. Those who do not buy this right or are not given permission to use it, are not allowed to dance. It is the same way with the shooting. Unless, for instance, a man buys the right, he is not allowed to extend his arms at full length when he shoots, but he must hold them close to his breast. The right to drum as well as the right to shake the gourd rattles, all these things must be bought. In fact, almost everything must be bought. I was told, however, that I would not have to go through all this training but would become a great medicine man immediately. That pleased me. I was given a gray squirrel-skin to use as a medicine pouch and I was told that it was really alive and that I had the power to make it cry aloud. I had seen people doing this and I had always envied them. This was another of the things I was anxious to do. Indeed I wondered greatly how it could be done. 159* 156 796 [424]

When the dance was over my father went away and left me at that place alone. He left me at the home of the deceased person's wife. I did not go back to 159*

*159 school but, instead, stayed near the old woman and did various jobs for her. There I stayed all spring.

*159 I had been told that if a person initiated into the
● 756 Medicine Dance did not regard the affair as sacred this
761 was a sign that he would die soon. This frightened
796 me a good deal for I had been thinking of the whole matter in a very light-hearted fashion and I now felt that this was an indication that I would soon die. I did my best therefore to consider it a sacred ceremony. In spite of all this, however, I did not succeed.

*159 About this time I left for Tomah. It was about the middle of the summer. I stayed and lived with my
[869] grandfather and from that time on was taught by him many of the details of the Medicine Dance. For instance, when I prepared a sweat-bath for him he would teach me some of the songs. I accordingly prepared the bath for him frequently. He would always be grateful and that is another of the reasons why I was glad to do it. Before long I had learned all the songs he knew so that when I was invited to a Medicine Dance I would do all the singing and he would only do the talking. From that time on I said that it was a sacred affair, and from then on I participated in the ceremony for the greatness inhering in it. I boasted
[156] of its greatness in the presence of women, in order to make a good impression upon them.

[P. 126]

796
575
[787] and clairvoyance, and thinks they have had them for centuries. They use a long and
[346] large lodge a [blank] prepared for the purpose, in which all those allowed to witness the ceremonies are assembled. Adjoin-
[343] ing this house is a bark tent built in a conical form as a steam house. They excavate a hole in the ground, heat large stones in a fire to a great heat, and then put them in this hole, and cover them over and seat the initiate over them. He is then covered around with blankets so that none of the steam may escape, after which water is poured on the stones and the neophyte is
[783] enveloped in a roasting steam bath. This is
[776] the first act, and the object is to steam all evil spirits out of him.

He is then led in to the house, after the steaming process in some instances has been repeated once or twice. He is then blindfolded and led around the house. Pres-
[534] ently the singers beat the drum, shake the rattles, and commence singing a tune; then commences the dance, which is joined in by all present who wish to do so. The wom-
[562] en are members of the medicine lodge as well as the men, and they join in the songs and in the dance. After the dancing is done, or perhaps he may have stood in the midst of it there is a suspension of all sing-
[756] ing and dancing. Several medicine men then advance towards the neophyte, pointing their medicine bags at him, then drawing them back. This advancing and receding and ejaculating certain words calculated to work up the mind of the novitiate into a regular phrenzy.

Presently they reach him when they hit their medicine bags against his body, he still being blindfolded and at the same time uttering a shrill exclamation. The Judge
[158] said the novitiate jumped up and fell flat on his face as if dead and that apparently with-

[P. 60(B)]

796 out design. There he lay without motion or
575 sign of life, and the dance was resumed
158 around them. After a time he was brought out of this mesmeric or clairvoyant state, a medicine bag was put in his hands and he at once had power to strike any one down as he had been. The person who stayed by the Judge was thus struck down. He felt of his arm and wrist and found them perfectly rigid.

796 They told the Judge before they admitted
575 him to this ceremony that while he was
789 there he must think no evil thought. If he did, his life would be in danger from the spirits. No impure person is admitted to
[841] witness these ceremonies, no woman in the
[843] menstrual period, no woman pregnant or
[273] recently delivered, no intoxicated or intemperate person that is under the influence of liquor is allowed to attend. The proceedings
• [756] in the sweat lodge were not seen by him as none but medicine men were allowed there.

796 The ceremonies commenced at 8 in the eve-
575 ning and lasted until day break next morning. The Judge confirms my former opinion that this is purely a religious rite, and a religious organization, having but little to do with the uses of medicine proper. The roots and herbs are one thing, but the ceremonies
[755] and incantations which are the real remedies are quite another. They call it the Spirit Dance, or the Divine Dance. The
[171] Judge informs me that he has witnessed the same thing among the Sauks and Foxes.

[*Winnebago Burial*]

764 He also mentioned the fact that he witnessed the burial of a Winnebago some years ago. He was set upon a natural mound and house made over him, food and some personal articles laid by his side, after which the whole was covered over with earth, ex-
[775] cept a small hole or chimney was kept open from the top down into the house. When

[P. 60 (C)]

796 says there is no sham about this falling down
575 of the person on the floor in a swoon in the
828 manner described. That this is the precise
158 shock of the system to produce which the fasting and the steaming process is resorted to, and all the other ceremonies of the initiation, including the dance.

755 When a person is sick and incurable by
158 the simple remedies known to the Indians, and the friends become apprehensive for the life of the person, then the medicine men are called in and they go through certain ceremonies, all of which operate upon the nervous system already enfeebled and excited by disease, and tend to bring about that shock or prostration of the nervous system, which when produced is supposed also to relax the hold and power of the disease at the same time. In a word it kills the disease, or breaks the disease, or destroys
[753] the evil spirit then in the body which causes the disease, and then if there is constitutional strength enough left to raise up the body from its utter prostration, the patient recovers.

753 It would seem that they regarded the
755 nervous system or the sensitive part of our
828 nature as the seat of the disease, and addressed their remedies to the sensitive part, that is to the mind rather than to the body, to the spirit rather than to the organs of the
[171] body. The medicine system prevails very generally among our Indian races. In fact it is universal so far as we have found out the customs of the remote tribes.

755 I asked Walker about the cheats prac-
● 756 ticed by the medicine men upon the credulity of their patients, that is, pretending to take out of a man's back a tooth or a bone. He says that in their practice they want to make money, and the greater the feat they perform the greater the charge they make. Sometimes they charge a horse etc.

[P 61 (B)]
[pp 62-209 not processed]

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Toads are used, but only for poison medicines. The quail's heart 825
is used for the same purpose. If a person is killed outright, his heart 756
is used as a medicine, as the human heart is regarded as having great 826
efficacy in such medicines. It is used in war, for compelling people to give you presents, and for courting women. The bear likewise is used for a variety of purposes. Its liver is especially powerful. It is rubbed over the body whenever in pain. It is often used by women who have injured themselves in childbirth, or in the form of tonics, poultices, and emetic; or for toothaches, bathing sore eyes, ear- [757]
aches, headaches; as snuff, as a physic, for burns, strictures, boils, hemorrhages, injections in the rectum, consumption, measles, dysentery, chills, nosebleed, pains in the stomach, and headaches caused by poisoning.

Sometimes a woman would take a hair of her husband and stick 832
it into some bad medicine. In such a case he would never leave her for he would become very much enamored of her. If ever she went away, he would miss her very much. However, he always had a headache. Finally he would get sick and lose his appetite and then his eyesight. That is why it is forbidden to use this medicine, although some still do it.

Many Winnebago are blind, because there is a medicine that 754
causes blindness. If one person offends another who possesses such a medicine, the latter would cause the offender to become blind.

The Winnebago have medicines for every purpose; for courting, [832]
for becoming rich, for obtaining good looks, etc. Even if a person is very holy, these poisoners can poison him. If a man was a good hunter or if he was wise and good, these bad shamans would poison him. If an individual was a great medicine man and these bad shamans got jealous, they would poison him. Indeed, only if a person was poor and lowly would they like him. Such a man they would never poison for they had no reason for being jealous of him. A bad shaman is always treated with the greatest respect and honor, because he kills many people.

A warrior is also greatly respected and flattered. It is the Indian's 554
greatest desire to become a warrior. All desire that, and they also 156
wish to become great medicine men and bad shamans. [756]

This is the way they prepare and use their courting medicines. 832
The courting medicine known to me is a plant of apparently two 278
varieties, one of which has a blue blossom and the other no blossom at all. Otherwise they are alike. The one with the blue blossom is the male and the one without the blossom is the female. When I go out to dig this plant, I do not dig for these two specimens unless I can find them growing together closely. Even then I do not dig any two [824]
specimens unless the male is found growing on the east side. For that reason it is very hard to find them. As soon as I find two that

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the other medicines, like the courting medicine, etc. The Indians were destroying their own souls. So Earthmaker decided to give them a new medicine. We have now all broken away from the old things. We have broken away from the devil and are earning our salvation through Earthmaker. For this reason I am thankful both for my sake and that of my people.] 754 774

This is a medicine that is good for consumption, for stomach trouble, for a cold, for a sore throat, and for general illnesses. It consists of the following ingredients: 757 278

1. Waraxa'dax hoake'rera, English unknown.
2. Waraxa'dax ma"ŋap'a'rara, English unknown.
3. Enai'"teox maŋk'a'"na, English unknown.
4. Nicu'teera, red water.
5. Maŋk'a'"skaka, white medicine.
6. Maŋk'a'" niyetco'teera, medicine of the water.
7. Gi'xuk'uniŋa, English unknown.
8. Maŋk'a"ŋe'xeda, English unknown.

If a woman has any trouble with her womb this medicine will cure her immediately. She must not, however, drink it, but inject it. It makes no difference how severe her illness is, this medicine will always effect a cure. This man was blessed with the knowledge of its efficacy.

This is another medicine:

1. Maŋk'a'" manup'ara'ra, medicine that spreads over the ground.
2. Xa"wiwingi'ckera, medicine to tie with.
3. Maŋk'a'" p'orop'orora, round medicine.
4. Hap'o'skra, English unknown.
5. Maŋk'a'" kere'xera, sweet flag.
6. Na"p'aca'k'onaŋk' hura, English unknown.
7. Hunte p'istara, bear liver.

This is all ground together and mixed with water. When thoroughly mixed it is put into a bladder and injected by means of a wing bone.

This is a medicine for diarrhea:

1. K'etcû'ŋk'aire teo'ra, English unknown.
2. Aseni ho-ap hodô'p'iricera, curled sumac leaves.
3. Maŋk'a'ni tetco'teera, medicine of the water.
4. Waraxadax skaka', English unknown.
5. Na"da'nicura, maple sugar.

These are all ground together into a fine powder and sweetened with maple sugar. Otherwise no one would take it, for it does not taste good. It is called hasawaŋ'kemaŋk'.

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757 This is medicine used by women when their menstrual flow is not
278 very good:
841
1. Teemanank'e, English unknown.
2. Wazi p'ara'ske abera, pine with flat leaves (?).
3. Wacuici abera, red cedar leaves.
4. Mank'a p'orop'oro abera, round medicine leaves.

All four of these ingredients are ground, mixed together, and then mixed with water. They are then drunk by any woman having trouble with her menstrual flow. After she has taken it she makes knots in the belt and ties it around her waist. As many knots as she makes that many days will it take her to get well. She also smokes herself with cedar leaves.

757 The next medicine that I wish to speak of is compounded as follows:
278
1. K'ewaxgu'u"sera, scent of a toad.
2. Waninkcu'te na'ntekera, heart of a red bird.
3. Hactee'kera, strawberries.
4. Wankcik na'ntekera, human heart.
5. Xawi"ja", a plant.

278 If this medicine were mixed with whisky and given to any person,
[754] the latter would surely die within a year. The frog that is used in this medicine becomes alive in the stomach of the person who drinks it and kills him. If he took the same medicine and mixed it with
[832] paint and then rubbed it over his face, all who looked at him would take a liking to him and give him presents, and the women would fall in love with him and want to marry him. The reason that the women become smitten is because they can not resist the sight of a ripe strawberry. The human heart in the mixture is the object that makes the medicine so powerful, and the red bird heart strengthens it.
[826] Whenever these two, the human heart and the heart of the red bird, are used in medicines, the medicine is always remarkably efficacious.

832 If a woman makes fun of you and you feel hurt about it and want to revenge yourself, get one of her hairs and dip the root into this medicine and then tie it up. Hang the medicine bag in the woods and whenever the wind blows the woman will get lonesome for you and her head will ache. Finally she will get crazy. She will never cease talking about you. This is one of the medicines this man was [illegible]ed with. Some of them die from the effects of it. It is not a good thing, but the Winnebago thought that it was a very great thing. (Now that they know the Creator, they know that it is bad.)

755 Here is another medicine that we have, and it is prepared in the
278 following way: Four trees of a certain species are peeled near the roots lying on the east side. Then the second bark is also peeled. Then these are taken and boiled together with a square-stemmed weed. The whole mixture is used to induce vomiting. This vomiting would rid a person of a spell cast upon him which was preventing

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him from killing game. In the particular case mentioned above the spell was the following: A man killed a deer, and a pregnant woman ate a piece of the intestine. From that time on the man was unable to kill any more deer. 755 278 [224 843]

The above medicine is used to break the spell of ill luck in hunting caused by the following actions: If a man cohabits with a widow, or if one who is a widower eats together with another person, or if he smokes out of the same pipe as another person. Not only would the medicine free him from his ill luck in hunting, but it would give him good luck in cards and speed in running. [589]

Here is an astringent medicine. It is compounded of a mixture of the "clear" medicine and the "plant that spreads itself on the ground." It is used for the following purposes. As an application for swellings, for illness after childbirth, and for general sores and eruptions of the skin. In case of illness after childbirth it is injected. For sores, etc., it is taken internally. 757 278 [844]

Here is another medicine, called bladder medicine. It is made of the roots of a certain weed. These roots are boiled and then drunk. If one is troubled with stricture, the drinking of this medicine will enable him to pass water immediately. The same medicine is used to alleviate a toothache and to stop too profuse a menstrual flow. [841]

Now this is another medicine. It is made of the leaves of a certain plant. These leaves are rolled up and then drunk down with water. The medicine is used for all stomach complaints.

Here is another medicine used for diarrhea and dysentery. It is made from the roots of a plant that has many thorns and beautiful white blossoms. The roots are scraped and the scrapings boiled and gulped down. At least a pint of this concoction must be taken. It can also be used as a mouth wash for those troubled with sore mouths.

We have another medicine used to rid a person of superfluous bile. This acts as a strong physic and not only cures a person of his indisposition but also gives him a great appetite.

Here is another medicine. It is called the medicine for burns. It consists of the leaves of a certain weed that is dried. If anyone has a burn, he chews some of this dried weed and then applies it to the burn. [752]

Here is also a medicine for private diseases, compounded of the following:

1. Doxicu'tekera hara, red willow bark.
2. Ma'sixu'tekeda hara, English unknown.
3. Nap'a'hira hara, sharp tree.

These barks are pulverized and mixed together with skunk oil.

The next medicine I am going to describe is used in poisoning. It is called small-part-of-a-black-root-tree. It is used for many pur- 754 278

*159 stand up and he prayed to God. He asked God to
195 forgive me my sins.

The next morning I was taken home. My eyes were sore and I could not see. They took me back to my
[197] house and there they put a solution of the peyote in my eyes and I got well in a week.

One night when I was asleep I dreamed that the
[187] world had come to an end. Some people God took while some belonged to the bad spirit. I belonged to the bad spirit. Although I had become a peyote man I had not as yet been baptized. That was why God did not take me. All those who belonged to God were marked, but I was not. I felt very bad about it when I woke up, even although I had only dreamed it. I felt very bad indeed. I wanted them to hurry and have another peyote meeting soon. I could hardly wait until I reached the place where the next meeting was to take place. I immediately told the leader what I wanted and asked him to baptize me and he baptized me in the morning. After that I felt better.

*159 Then I went to work and I worked with a railroad
[464] work gang. I was still working when the time for the midsummer celebration approached. I always went to the peyote meeting on Saturday nights.

*159 The old man was right in what he had told me. The
584 girl students returned in the summer. Shortly after they returned, a man, a friend of mine, who had gone around with me, asked me if I wanted to get married. "Yes, I do," I answered. Then he said, "Listen, I have been thinking of something. What kind of a woman do

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you will be able to obtain these and in addition glory and the war honors.[4] If, in truth, you thirst yourself to death,[5] our grandfathers who are in control of wars to whom all the war powers that exist in this world belong they will assuredly bless you.

My son, if you do not wear out your feet through ceaseless activity (in fasting), if you do not blacken your face for fasting, it will be all in vain that you inflict sufferings upon yourself. Blessings are not obtained through mere desire alone; they are not obtained without making the proper sacrifices or without putting yourself time and again in proper mental condition. Indeed, my son, they are not to be obtained without effort on your part. So see to it that, of all those spirits whom Earthmaker created, one at least has pity upon you and blesses you. Whatever such a spirit says to you that will unquestionably happen.

Now, my son, if you do not obtain a spirit to strengthen you, you will not amount to anything in the estimation of your fellowmen. They will show you little respect. Perhaps they will make fun of you.

Do not die in the village. It is not good to die there. Whenever a person is grown up that is what is told him. Nor is it good, my son, to let women journey ahead of you from amidst the village. It is not good thus to let women die before you.[6] Therefore, in order to prevent this, our ancestors encouraged one another to fast. Some day you will travel in a difficult road; there will be some crisis in your life, and then when it is too late you will begin to reproach yourself for not having fasted at the proper time. So that you may not have occasion to blame yourself at such a time I counsel you to fast. If you do not obtain a blessing when the other women are dividing the war prizes brought home from the warpath by their brothers, your sisters will stand aside envying them. If, however, you are blessed by the spirits in control of war power, and if you then return victorious, how proud your sisters will be to receive the war honors and to wear them around their necks and participate with them in the victory dance! And in this way your sisters likewise will be strengthened by your war deeds. You will keep well, in health.

My son, it will indeed be good if you obtain war powers, but our ancestors say it is difficult. Especially difficult is it to be leader on

[4] There are four war honors, the highest going to the Indian who first touches a dead enemy, the second belonging to the one who kills him, and the last two to those who touch him second and third. The war prizes generally consisted of necklaces of weapons which were given to those who had obtained the first war honors. The victor also would be given the privilege of first smoking the pipe on his return to his home. The prize of the weapons necklace was always given by the victor to his elder sisters.

[5] That is, fast.

[6] That is, obtain war power so that you can go on the warpath and prevent yourself from dying in the village or have women die before you.

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614 533 Associated with every clan was also four clan songs. These were supposed to be the four songs sung by the ancestors of each clan when they came to this earth. They were always sung on the death of an individual, and were supposed to serve as a mark of identification in the journey of the soul to the land of the spirits. The use of these [761] songs was so intimately associated with death that when some hardened offender, let us say, some individual who had killed a [627] member of the tribe and who refused to make atonement of any kind, was pursued, he defiantly sang his clan songs.

614 [302] As a last element in the clan complex may be mentioned the specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

We have now completed the discussion of clan organization. As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary association that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that it had grown around a strong social-political unit.

### INFLUENCE OF THE CLAN UPON CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

614 575 Perhaps the most characteristic trait of Winnebago culture is the existence of two strong socialized units, that of the clan and that of the secret society. Historically both are old, and even if we are of the opinion that the clan is historically younger, the political unit upon which it is superimposed is probably an ultimate historical fact. From the earliest times one would have supposed reciprocal influences to have occurred repeatedly. The nature of these influences, in so far as they are not conditioned by chance, would depend upon the respective center of gravity in either unit. It is evident that for the clan the organization was of paramount importance, and that the addition of cultural associations probably tended to strengthen its stability in this respect. On the other hand, the absence of political or governmental functions in the religious societies, and the clustering of the most multitudinous religious and shamanistic ideas within them, rendered the emotional unit of the latter the center from which influences would radiate. At the same time, the ceremonial unit of organization seems to have been so firmly fixed that any influence of the clan unit of organization upon it does not seem likely. As a matter of fact, in the typical schematic, religious society like the Medicine Dance, the Grizzly-Bear Dance, and Night-Spirit Dance, no influence is perceptible. However, these religious societies may be regarded as presenting no possible points of contact. Where, however, the bond of union is supernatural communication with a guardian spirit who subsequently became the clan animal, an obvious point of contact is given, and this brings to mind a very suggestive

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the council lodge. According to another informant, the Bear clan is the Deer's friend, and therefore they bury one another.

Burial, as was the case for all members of the lower phratry, was in the ground. Opinions varied as to what clan was supposed to bury a Bear man, some people claiming that it would have to belong to the upper phratry, others that it was incumbent upon the Wolf clan. It seems that the latter custom is the one followed at the present time and one which is considered old, to judge from the account of an actual funeral (cf. p. 148). The body was always buried with a miniature Bear clan war bundle. According to one informant, a bow and arrows were occasionally placed in the hands of the corpse, in addition to some tobacco. According to another informant, the facial marks were charcoal across the forehead and red marks under the lips in direct imitation of the bear.

The facial decoration for the corpse consisted of two parallel marks across the forehead, the upper one red and the lower one black, and the painting of the entire chin red (pl. 46). The red paint on the chin was interpreted as a smile, for the Bear clansmen were supposed to greet death with a smile, as they were returning to their clan ancestors. The statement was also made that Bear clansmen should not mourn the death of any of their comrades.

There is a specific Bear clan feast at which no one is permitted to laugh or talk, nor is anyone allowed to make any noise while drinking soup. The feasters must eat with their left hand.

One of the most interesting of the ceremonies associated with the Bear clan is the so-called bear or soldier dance (*manu*pe waci*). It was described to the author as follows:

> When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village the people go to the chief and say "Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!" And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks as follows: "My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease." Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well.

It is quite clear that this "healing" function of the clan is intimately associated with the powers supposed to be bestowed upon individuals by Bear spirits. In fact, we are really dealing with a society possessing the power of healing disease in which membership, however, is restricted to members of the Bear clan.

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867 782 276 Thus he made the tobacco so that humans may ask life with it, and he will grant them their desires. This is all."

### CLAN NAMES

#### TCE HIK'IK'ARANJERA (BUFFALO CLAN)

614 551

| | |
|---|---|
| Moratcega | He who travels the land. |
| Tcanimaniwinga | She who walks ahead. |
| Tceninksiga | Suckling buffalo calf. |
| Tcega | Buffalo. |
| Tcep'anu"pga | Two buffalo heads. |
| Tcetca"iwinga | First buffalo. |
| Tcelojeninik'a | Buffalo yearling. |
| Tcelonink'a | Young buffalo bull. |
| Tcewinxedega | Big female buffalo. |
| Wirukanangs | He who is in control. |
| Hehekmaniga? | Shaggy walker. |
| Tcehatcewinga | Buffalo hide blue. |
| Mangiksuntcga | Shakes the earth by striking. |
| Tcep'aga | Buffalo head. |
| Manok'azuhiga | Kicking up the earth. |

## THE DEER CLAN

### INTRODUCTION

614 173 The first version of the origin myth of the Deer clan is in part like that of version 6 of the Bear clan origin myth and in part like that of version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth. It is the only myth that shares with version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth the account of the origin of death.

614 The Deer clan does not seem to have had any important functions, although in myth 1, it is stated that they claimed a "partial" chieftainship, whatever that may mean.

[571] It was considered an insult to tell a member of this clan that he resembled a deer.

[202] The facial painting is the same as that used for the Elk clan. (Pl. 46.)

[826 761] The Deer clan people tell one another not to sing their clan song very loudly, and also not to make any sudden movement of their limbs, for each movement might cause the death of a human being. For the same reason they are told not to weep too loudly, as each deer's limb is a symbol of one of the four directions. When, therefore, a Deer clansman moves a limb too hard when he is weeping over the decease of a member of his clan, he might be "putting some human being in the earth," and the wind would blow hard.

[552] The dog names obtained were *uankcigohonigs* and *na"natcgisga*.

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to Christian influence. The one place where he plays an important 776
rôle, the myth of the twins, shows definite indications of European 777
influence. The only thing that militates against such an assumption is the fact that there does not seem to be any particular reason why the existence of a chief evil spirit should have been doubted, even if we were to grant that Christian influence extended the belief. The French of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had a very definite idea of the devil and made it a point to tell the Indians that all their former habits were due to deceptions the devil had practiced upon them. To-day such an answer is the first that a Christianized Winnebago or a member of the new Peyote cult will give an ethnologist. Perhaps, after all, it is a very old Winnebago conception, a confirmation of the view promulgated before, that in former times the Winnebago had a very definite conception of evil spirits taking an active part in the affairs of man to his detriment. The figure of 776
*Hereegu'nina* is well defined and it would be ridiculous, in our 756
opinion, to believe that the shamans would have done anything to develop it. We have clear indications of what the shamans were trying to do with this conception. They were attempting to bring it into some relation with the concept of Earthmaker, a beneficent All-Father, and to do so they were even willing to claim that *Hereegu'nina* was the first attempt of Earthmaker to create a spirit; that Earthmaker was dissatisfied with his work and threw it away; that then *Hereegu'nina* watched Earthmaker create spirits and imitated him, the evil spirits representing these imitations. The shamans, we should expect, would have done all in their power to lessen the importance of *Hereegu'nina*, even to deny his existence, and, in this connection, it may be of significance that one Winnebago interpreted his name to mean, "He-who-seems-to-exist-but-who-does-not."

Whatever the case may be, this much is clear, that in the twin myth he is represented as a deity as powerful as Earthmaker, whom [773]
Earthmaker can not destroy; upon whom the twins play jokes but whom they cannot really harm.

*The concept of disease.*—Disease is rarely ascribed to the spirits. 753
Like lack of success, it is regarded as a fact of existence, and when 776
it is explained it is believed to be due either to the carelessness of man in trying to pass through life without the aid of the spirits or to the evil machinations of other men.

The deity known as Disease-giver is the one exception to the rule that the Winnebago spirits do not directly cause disease, for he is sometimes described as scattering death broadcast over the earth.

*The concepts of death, after-life, and reincarnation.*—Death is rarely, 761
if ever, ascribed to the spirits. It likewise is a fact of existence and, 776

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761 776 [754] when explained, is laid at the door of some evil man. Death at old age is clearly taken for granted. Where explanations are advanced, they are always for the deaths of individuals before their time, or at least before what the Winnebago consider their time.

761 The Winnebago look at death in two ways as being, first, a different kind of consciousness from that possessed in life, and, secondly, as being a cessation of certain kinds of intercourse between individuals. Death is regarded as a "stumbling," after which the individual goes right on as if nothing had happened. He does not know he is dead until he sees his body. The individual is divested of all his corporeal investment and desires. In the myth of the journey of the soul to spirit land the ghost is not entirely a spirit until the old woman [775] whom he meets brains him, thus, by destroying the seat of consciousness, depriving him of all corporeality and carnal desires. The ghost then becomes a spirit, in some cases of the same type as the true spirits.

761 775 Although the Winnebago know that after death they will never see people again, they do not feel that all kinds of intercourse have ceased. The deceased may appear to a living individual in dreams or visions; he may talk to him or make his presence felt in a multitude of ways; and since, as we pointed out before, the test of existence is the consciousness of some kind of contact, such intercourse may be of a very intense type.

This lack of a feeling of discontinuity between the living and the dead is emphasized by the Winnebago concept of after-life and reincarnation.

775 After-life is but life on earth, only idealized. Everything is provided. All carnal desires have been done away with and men and women spend their time in one long round of enjoyment and bliss. Something of the fear of ghosts lingers here, however, for when living individuals try to reach spirit land—and a number of such instances are mentioned in the myths, particularly in the origin myth of the Ghost dance—these spirits are likely to be harmful.

By the belief in reincarnation the Winnebago entirely bridge the gulf between life and death. In other words, we seem to have a cycle consisting of life (consciousness), after-life (unconsciousness from a corporeal viewpoint), and life (reincarnation). To live again is the greatest desire of the Winnebago, and practically every secret society holds this out as the lure to the outsider. If you join the Medicine Lodge you will become reincarnated, they say, and the other ritualistic organizations make the same claim. But not only by joining an organization is it possible to be reincarnated; if you live an upright life, if you die on the battlefield, reincarnation also awaits you.

inflict this suffering upon yourself. Not without constant 159*
effort are these blessings procurable. Try to have one of 776
the spirits created by Earthmaker take pity on you. Whatever he says will come about. If you do not possess one 867 787
of the spirits from whom to obtain strength and power, 721
you will be of no consequence socially and those around [626]
you will show you little respect. Indeed they will jeer at you.

My son, it is not good to die in the village; in your 159*
homes. Above all, do not let women journey to the spirit 867
land ahead of you. It is not done. To prevent this from 761●
happening do we speak to our sons and encourage them to 785
fast. Some day in life you will find yourself traveling along 787
a road filled with obstacles and then you will wish you had fasted. When such an event confronts you, that you may not find it necessary to reproach yourself, I counsel you to fast. If you have not obtained any knowledge from the spirits, why it may happen that some day, in later life, warriors will be returning from the warpath and as they [593]
distribute the war prizes to their sisters,[18] your own sisters [727]
will stand there empty-handed envying the rest. But if you obtain blessings from the war-controllers, your sisters will be happy. How proud they will be to receive the prizes, to wear them, and to dance the victory dance! Your sisters too will be strengthened thereby and you will be content and happy.

Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to 000

[18] Among the Winnebago a man's sisters, especially his elder sisters, were very highly respected and all war prizes, such as wampum-belts, wampum necklaces, etc., were always given to them whenever a man returned from a successful war-party in which he had secured some honor. These war honors were of various kinds. The greatest was considered to be the feat of having struck the body of a dead enemy first. [562] [721]

*Crashing Thunder*

*159 school but, instead, stayed near the old woman and did various jobs for her. There I stayed all spring.

*159 756 ● 761 796 I had been told that if a person initiated into the Medicine Dance did not regard the affair as sacred this was a sign that he would die soon. This frightened me a good deal for I had been thinking of the whole matter in a very light-hearted fashion and I now felt that this was an indication that I would soon die. I did my best therefore to consider it a sacred ceremony. In spite of all this, however, I did not succeed.

*159 About this time I left for Tomah. It was about the middle of the summer. I stayed and lived with my [869] grandfather and from that time on was taught by him many of the details of the Medicine Dance. For instance, when I prepared a sweat-bath for him he would teach me some of the songs. I accordingly prepared the bath for him frequently. He would always be grateful and that is another of the reasons why I was glad to do it. Before long I had learned all the songs he knew so that when I was invited to a Medicine Dance I would do all the singing and he would only do the talking. From that time on I said that it was a sacred affair, and from then on I participated in the ceremony for the greatness inhering in it. I boasted [156] of its greatness in the presence of women, in order to make a good impression upon them.

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765 Then all the other people answer *ho-ho-o-o-o*. Now someone lights
184 a pipe and passes it around so that everyone can take a puff. All
614 take a puff, children and women as well as men. After that water
775 is passed around. Then all eat. A little portion of everything served is put aside and thrown out for the spirit to eat. Then a warrior, the person who has charge of the wake, speaks:

[539] I greet you all. I first wish to pour some of the tobacco that you have offered me for our grandfather who is in control of war-giving powers. (Probably the Thunder-birds are meant.) I will tell the spirit as carefully as I can all that I know about the road he must travel. My father impressed upon me very earnestly the need of being very truthful in speaking to the spirit of one recently deceased, for if I were a bad man I would cause the spirit to stumble. For that reason I always feel that I ought not to speak very much whenever I am called upon to talk.

Then a warrior was called upon to tell of his war exploits. He told as accurately as it was possible how he had killed a man, broken his collar bone, and then flayed him; how he had then chopped and cut up his body and mutilated him in such a way that he could not be identified; and how finally he had stolen his dogs. All night he spoke in this strain. He went on to tell how he had killed and utterly destroyed an entire village so that no one was left to tell of the massacre. All night he told of his war exploits. Thus they lighted the road for the spirit (i. e., held the Four Nights' Wake).

The second and third nights were just the same as the first, only that different warriors spoke and different war exploits were told. They are very proud of their war exploits and they would try to tell of their bravest deeds, those that had been most dangerous and which had required the greatest heroism. When the mourners listen to the narrative of such an exploit they become strengthened. All those people on whom the warrior had counted first coup and all those whom he had killed would carry the light for the spirit of the deceased. Those on whom he had counted second coup were commanded to clear the road, and a woman whom the warrior had captured was ordered to carry along the food. The ceremonies of the fourth night are the same as those of the first three nights.

### Death and Funeral Customs of the Bear Clan[9]

765 Informant, member of the clan. Mr. J. M. died in June, 1911. In
184 accordance with the old Winnebago customs, the first individual to
614 be notified of the death was Mr. J. F., a member of the Wolf clan.
[763] To Mr. F. fell the lot of taking charge of all the funeral rites—dressing the deceased, laying his body in the casket, burying him, and, finally, conducting the elaborate funeral wake.

[9] This is practically a reprint of "Description of a Winnebago Funeral," by Lemuel and Radin, Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. 15, no. 3, 1913.

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The Crow (i. e., Menominee) Indians knew what a wonderful man he was and whenever he went to visit them they gave him many presents. He would be invited to a feast as soon as he arrived. 648 791 754

On one occasion when they had a feast in a lodge (in his honor) one of the Menominee marked the ground in front of him and dared Lincoln's grandfather to come over, saying that if he did he would injure him. When the Winnebago crossed the mark he was pushed in all directions and finally shoved into a pit, bruising himself a great deal. When he came out, the old man said, "You have probably never heard of me. To-morrow noon, soldiers will hit you." Then the Menominee asked, "If soldiers hit me, what will be the result?" "You will die." Then the Menominee said, "You have nothing to do with my life," and made a jump at him.

The Menominee who had been told that he was going to die said the next morning to his nephew, "Nephew, let us go to the lake and look around. I can't forget what the old man told me yesterday." So they took their spears for fishing and went out. While they were on the lake they saw a deer drinking at the edge of the water. The man took a shot at the deer, and the deer ran back into the timber. The man and his nephew pursued it. After a while the man gave a yell and then all was quiet. The nephew went over to the place and there the man was found dead. At his side a very large snake, with hair on its back, was standing.

The next morning one could hear the mourning songs all over the woods. Then they went to look for the Winnebago, for they believed that it was his fault. They told him not to worry about it and gave him a horse to appease him. The day after they all had left the camp, the Winnebago pointed to some hawks that were circling around and told the Menominee to watch the foremost one. Then he pointed his finger at that one and made a sound with his mouth and the bird fell down dead. This Winnebago had the power to do this to all birds. He always told the Winnebago not to eat these birds because they were not good. [765 573] [789]

### The Uses of the Stench-Earth Medicine[1]

There once was a man who had consumption and who knew that he was going to die soon. His relatives were about to move him to some other place and so he told them just to build him a separate lodge and leave him alone—that he wanted to die there. He asked them likewise not to come back to see him. They obeyed him and left him to die alone. 763 [64]

One day he decided to go out into the wilderness and die there. He went to the top of a hill and lay down. He noticed many birds

[1] This is the literal translation. What plant is meant the writer was not able to determine.

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763 of prey hovering around the hill and he felt certain that they were
there so that they could devour him as soon as he was dead. How-
825 ever, the birds told him they had come to cure not to devour him.
755 Many carnivorous birds and many wolves were there. The turtle
756 also came because he was the owner of some medicines.

Then the animals who had gathered on the hill began to doctor him. The raven began first. He ejaculated *e-he-al e-he-al* gave him some medicine and began to exert his powers until he felt better. Then the wolf began. He walked around ejaculating certain sounds and spitting medicine on him. The man became much better. He was almost completely restored to health. Then the turtle began to exert his powers, ejaculating at the same time *ahi! ahi! ahi! ahi!* and walking around the man and giving him some boiled medicine to drink. Now he was almost entirely cured. Finally a black hawk began to doctor the man. He put some medicine on the place where the man's pains seemed to be situated and he was immediately cured. Then all those who had cured him said, "Human! In a similar way you shall cure your fellowmen." They then gave him as much medicine as he would need. The raven gave him his "medicine chest," consisting of a flute and a gourd. With these things he blessed him. He also gave him a song which he was to sing. Then the wolf gave him his medicine chest, consisting of a gourd and a flute, and told him that he would not fail to cure any sick person he treated and that if the sick people offered the proper amount of tobacco, red eagle feathers, and food, no matter how serious their disease was he would be able to cure it. Then he told the man that Earthmaker had placed him in charge of these things and that he in turn would bless him with them for all eternity. As long as any of his posterity was left they would enjoy the benefit of these blessings.

825 And this is true, for even to the present day his descendants use
756 this medicine.

Then Black Hawk said, "I, also, bless you. Earthmaker placed me
[784] in charge of some medicines and with these I bless you. If you are
careful in offering tobacco and food to these medicines they will always help you to the utmost of their power. Whatever you ask they will accomplish for you. They will be able to understand you. So, if anyone is sick, you will be able to help him. In this way I bless you. If you are ever in any difficulty, think of me and I will help you." (What he meant is that if he ever was in any difficulty, he should think of the medicines with which Black Hawk had blessed him, and that that would be the same as if he thought of him.)

Then the Buffalo said, "My grandson, Earthmaker placed me in charge of certain medicines. Why should you then wish to die? Your condition is 'pitiable,' and therefore I want to bless you.

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a. BURIAL IN A MOUND AT BORCHER'S BEACH
(From Wisconsin Archeologist)

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b. CONICAL MOUND, CUTLER PARK, WAUKESHA, WIS.

[Facing p. 91 (A)]

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# CHAPTER V

## BURIAL AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

764 There appear to have been two distinct methods of burial among the Winnebago—simple inhumation and platform burial. Within recent times, owing to the influence of their Algonquian neighbors, [177] platform burial has entirely disappeared and inhumation alone is practiced. It has even become customary to erect a typical Algonquian burial-hut over the grave (see pl. 54, *b*).

[615] When the old culture was still intact inhumation was definitely associated with the lower phratry and platform burial with the upper phratry. Whether this marked difference in burial customs was merely another example of that specialization in function so characteristic of these two divisions of the tribe, or whether it was due to distinct historical origins, it is difficult to determine. I am, however, inclined to regard the latter interpretation as by far the most probable.

[614 184] All the customs are described in full detail in the various accounts that follow and in Chapters VII and VIII. Each clan seems to have had a few details peculiar to itself, but, in the main, the rights were identical. They may briefly be divided into the following sections: 1. Preparation of the body for burial. 2. Rites in the house of the deceased, consisting mainly of speeches of consolation to the bereaved. 3. Speeches addressed to the deceased and the narration of the myth of the journey to spirit land. 4. Rites at the grave. 5. The recounting of war exploits by specially invited warriors, at the grave. 6. The elaborate four nights wake at the home of the deceased.

### Description of Funeral Customs and Wake

[115 64] Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:[1] When an individual dies his relatives get some one to bury him and the chief mourner will also invite some person to talk to the corpse before it is buried. The person addressing the dead man or woman tells the deceased how he is to go (to spirit land) and what he is to do on the way there. The body is then dressed by the person who is going to bury it. All the relatives come to the lodge and the deceased is dressed in his best clothes; beads are put around his neck, bracelets on his wrist, rings

[1] This description is a generalized one.

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on his fingers, and earrings in his ears. The body is then put in the 764
casket.

By the time this is all finished the gravediggers have about completed their work. Then the mourners blacken their faces with [765]
charcoal and the corpse is taken up by the man to whom this duty is delegated. The mourners follow behind, weeping. Thus they proceed to the grave. When they get there the corpse is laid in the grave. Then the chief mourner steps across the center of the grave and the others do the same. When they start back, they are told under no circumstance to turn around and look in the direction of the grave.

The grave is then filled in.

Then the overseer goes around to the various people in the village 765
and invites them all to come to (the wake). The brave men and warriors are especially welcomed.

The mourners prepare food and when the sun goes down the chief mourner takes a stick made of hard wood and lights it and carries it to the grave, placing it at the east end. It is supposed to be still burning when placed there. After this is done (the man returns) and the overseer gets everything in readiness for the feast. When all is ready the chief mourner speaks as follows:

All my relatives who are sitting here, I greet you. I have done nothing of any con- 765
sequence which could justify you to come here and honor me, yet being relatives of 539
mine, you have (in the kindness of your hearts) come to comfort me. I have prepared 775
cooked food and boiled water for my child (the dead person), and tobacco is also handy, all of which the attendant when he is ready will pass around to all and give to whomsoever he pleases. That is why I am greeting you.

Then the attendant takes the water and tobacco and gives it to the one who is to speak to the soul of the departed person. This one then rises and greets all those present and speaks as follows:

To-night we are greeting you not for the sake of jollification, but because we are afflicted (with grief). Now, it is the custom to speak to the soul of the departed. It is a sacred action, yet even I, they tell me, can do it, provided no worthier person can be found. They [2] even tell me that my words will not cause the spirit of the departed to lose his way in his journey (to spirit land).[2] For that reason I will speak to the departed and say the best I can. I greet you all.

Then he takes some tobacco in one hand and passing it behind him through the lodge says:

Here it is, the tobacco. I am certain that you, O ghost, are not very far away, that in fact you are standing right in back of me, waiting for me to reach you the pipe and tobacco, that you might take it along with you, that likewise, you are waiting for your food to take on your journey. However, four nights you will have to remain here.

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[1] This and what follows is the customary ceremonial modesty.

[2] It is believed that if the chief speaker makes a mistake or exaggerates while thus addressing the spirit of the deceased, the latter will lose his way in his journey to spirit land.

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765 "They told me to follow the four steps that would be imprinted with blue marks,
539 grandmother." "Well, grandson, you are young but you are wise. It is good. I will now boil some food for you."

775 Thus she will speak to you and then put a kettle on the fire and boil some rice for you. If you eat it you will have a headache. Then she will say, "Grandson, you have a headache, let me cup it for you." Then she will break open your skull and take out your brains and you will forget all about your people on earth and where you came from. You will not worry about your relatives. You will become like a holy spirit. Your thoughts will not go as far as the earth, as there will be nothing carnal about you.

Now the rice that the old woman will boil will really be lice. For that reason you will be finished with everything evil. Then you will go on stepping in the four footsteps mentioned before and that were imprinted with blue earth. You are to take the four steps because the road will fork there. All your relatives (who died before you) will be there. As you journey on you will come to a fire running across the earth from one end to the other. There will be a bridge across it but it will be difficult to cross because it is continually swinging. However, you will be able to cross it safely, for you have all the guides about whom the warriors spoke to you. They will take you over and take care of you.

Well, we have told you a good road (to take). If anyone tells a falsehood in speaking of the spirit road, you will fall off the bridge and be burned. However (you need not worry) for you will pass over safely. As you proceed from that place the spirits will come to meet you and take you to the village where the chief lives. There you will give him the tobacco and ask for those objects of which we spoke to you, the same you asked of the old woman. There you will meet all the relatives that died before you. They will be living in a large lodge. This you must enter. Ho-o-o, ha-a-a.

## 764 Generalized Description of Funeral Customs and Wake

[115 614] Informant, member of Bear clan. When a person died a member of his friend (*hitcakdro*) clan was immediately sent for, who took charge of the body and of all the funeral arrangements. The overseer dressed the deceased in his best clothes and all his finery, for it was said that he was going on a long journey. Then some clansman painted the dead man's face with the clan markings and delivered a speech to the corpse. When he concluded the clan songs were sung and the body was carried to the grave. All the mourners marched in single file. After the body had been buried or placed on a scaffold, as the case might be, a post was placed at the head of the grave, and the warriors among the mourners counted their coups and drew representations of their victories on the posts. [775] The purpose of the warriors in counting coups at the grave was to put at the disposal of the deceased the spirits of all the enemies they had killed, and also to give him additional strength for overcoming the obstacles on the road to the spirit land. Food was placed on the little shelf in front of the window of the grave-house, to be used by the spirit during the four days that he hovered around this earth before departing on his journey. Then a light was lighted and finally, toward evening, all departed for their homes, returning as they had come, in single file,

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and being very careful not to look back toward the grave after they had first started. 764

The same evening the four nights' wake began. The overseer, who was in full charge, had everything prepared. Before the wake formally commenced the chief mourner made a short speech. Then the overseer lighted a pipe and passed it around to all, who took a puff each and returned it to him. Then sweetened water was passed around, of which all partook. The feast followed. Taking on a plate a small portion of all the food to be eaten, the overseer threw it outside for the spirit of the deceased. In the case of a nursing the mother added a small quantity of milk from her breast to the other food on the plate. After the feast the chief mourner made another speech, explaining why the rites were performed and how they had been handed down for many generations. He concluded by thanking the people for all they had done for him. 765 [776] [782]

There was always an abundance of tobacco at a wake. Most of it was given to the warriors, a number of whom were invited, for they played a very important rôle on such an occasion. It was believed that every warrior was in control of the spirit of an enemy he had slain and he was supposed always to be willing to put the spirit at the service of any member of his tribe who had just died, if the proper offerings were made. At the proper time tobacco was given to the warrior, who, rising, narrated his war exploits, at the conclusion of which he ordered the spirit of the enemy he had slain to take charge of the deceased. Then tobacco was given to another warrior, who followed the same procedure, which was continued until midnight. Then most of the people departed to their homes, but some stayed overnight in the lodge in which the wake was held. [431] [276] [775]

The proceedings of the second and third nights of the wake were exactly the same as those of the first, but somewhat longer. The beginning of the ceremony on the fourth night was the same as on the three preceding nights; after a while, however, it deviated in the following manner.

J. F., rising, tells the spirit of the departed the road he is to take in his journey to spirit land, the obstacles he is to meet, and how he is to overcome them. After he has finished the warriors begin to tell some more war exploits, and this continues generally until 3 o'clock in the morning, depending entirely upon the amount of gifts given to the warriors. The gifts generally consist either of 12 pieces of calico each 3 yards, or of beads, or of 12 quarter dollars. The warriors always gamble for these gifts and play the favorite game of the deceased. If a man had died they generally play moccasins; if a woman, ka'su. When all the presents have been exhausted, then the relatives of the deceased comb the [775] [431] [525] [524]

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765 mourner's hair, give him presents, and tell him that he is now free to cease mourning and to marry if he wishes.

In former times the period of mourning is supposed to have lasted four years.

[302] When a person is in mourning he always cuts his hair short and does not comb his hair. In former times people often mutilated themselves by cutting off either entire fingers or finger joints.

[304] The overseer always takes all the belongings of the deceased, but he must give the latter's relatives an equal amount of new material.

### Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(first version)

764 184 614 Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the clan dies they send after a man of the Thunderbird clan who is to speak to the corpse, paint it, and give him a war club to take along with him (to the land of the spirits). Then they go after a man from the [615] lower phratry to bury him, for these clans (of the lower phratry) belong on earth and they have the right to dig into the ground and bury people.

When the one who is to be the general overseer arrives and arranges everything, he prepares the corpse, putting a sack of tobacco in one hand and a war club in the other. Then he paints him. He paints the forehead with a red and a black mark and paints the lower part of the face to the end of the nose with scattered dots. He paints the jaw red and he makes a red mark across the mouth and the throat. Then he speaks as follows:

You have departed at this (young) age. You have taken your relatives by surprise and have left them a long part of your life (i. e., you have lived but a small part of your apportioned share of years). As you go to spirit land, you will find on the [775 539] road many feathers, many good plants, and many good kinds of clay, scattered around, the blue clay, the red clay, and the white clay. You will also find the sweet-smelling plants and good life. For all these things do you ask. If anything comes across your path, throw it behind you without looking around. In four days you will depart and objects with which to mediate between us and the spirits will soon be furnished you. For four nights your people will tell you what to do and when they hear you singing on the road they will know that it is you. There (in spirit land) you will go to live and the songs that I will sing you will sing as you travel on your road.

Then he sings (the four clan songs).

When the gravediggers are finished they take the body and carry it to the grave, the mourners following. They take the body to the grave and there lower it.

### Death and Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(second version)

Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan dies, the clansmen discuss what is to be done for the spirit

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of the deceased. Then they go and call the leader of their band and he comes and addresses the body as follows: 764 184 614

You are about to leave all your relatives. They will remain on earth, objects of pity to all. You will proceed on your road, turning to your left after you start until you come to him who is in charge of the spirits. Whenever you see him, the following request do we wish you to make of him, namely, that he bestow upon us all that you fell short of in your life on this earth. The means of offering, the tobacco, which Earthmaker gave us, we have given you some to take along. As you go along the road you will come to a place where the road branches off. Do not turn to the right, for that road leads to the bad spirits. Turn to the left and soon you will come to a guard. Point your pipe at him and he will be thankful. This man will have a complete suit of clothes and he will look terror-inspiring. He will smoke with you and then you may speak to him as follows: "Grandfather, before I left the earth, the people told me to ask you to point out to me which road I should travel in." Then he will tell you and you will pass ahead and after a while you will come to a fire-girdle. The man who is in charge of it will have a complete suit of clothes just like the first man. Point the stem of your pipe toward him and he will be very thankful and smoke with you. Then make your request, namely, to be permitted to pass, and he will grant it. As you go along after that you will come to a round lodge in which you will find an old woman. Point your pipe at her and she will be thankful and smoke it, and then ask her to let you pass and she will permit you to go ahead. Your hair will now be white but you will not be unconscious. On the contrary, you will have complete possession of all your senses. Then you will come to where he who is in control of spirits sits. Go to him and point your pipe toward him. Then when he is smoking it, ask him to show you the road to Earthmaker, our father, and he will point it out to you. Then you must proceed until you come to Earthmaker. When you get to him, point the stem of your pipe toward him and, if he takes it and smokes it, then you must say, "Earthmaker, my father, you know very well what kind of a life I have led." And he will answer, "You have done well, my son." 764 184 614 539 775

The informant then skips to the opening night of the four nights' wake. The address to the spirit that follows is probably delivered by the chief mourner before the formal opening of the wake. 765 184 614 539 775

*Address to the spirit.*[1]—Ha ho-o-o-o, I want you to listen, you who have become like a spirit. You have made those of your relatives who remained behind on earth miserable and lonely. They have given you much food to take along with you and they have given you a pipe and some tobacco so that you may offer them to the spirits you meet on your road and make some requests of them. The first request that they wish you to make is to ask the spirits to distribute to your clan all the successful warpaths which would have fallen to your share had you lived your normal quota of years; and that all the food, etc., that you have not used be bestowed upon those whom you left behind on earth. The last request you should make of those on the road is to pray that a long time may elapse before any of your relatives traverse this road.

Now follows a description of the obstacles to be met on the road.

When you reach Earthmaker, offer him your pipe, and if he accepts it speak to him as follows: "Grandfather, as I was leaving the earth my relatives asked me to request of you humbly that you bestow upon the clansmen that I left behind me all that I would have accomplished had I lived longer. Now this is what I wished to ask of you, grandfather." Thus you should speak: "Ha ho-o-o-o."

[1] Spirit here is *wanp'ini*, spirit, deity, not *ap-pidub'*, ghost, unincorporeal embodiment. What is meant is that the deceased has become like one of the spirits, in that he lives, enjoys consciousness, etc., without at the same time having any corporeal existence.

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765 Then all the other people answer *ha-ho-o-o-o*. Now someone lights
184 a pipe and passes it around so that everyone can take a puff. All
614 take a puff, children and women as well as men. After that water
775 is passed around. Then all eat. A little portion of everything served is put aside and thrown out for the spirit to eat. Then a warrior, the person who has charge of the wake, speaks:

[539] I greet you all. I first wish to pour some of the tobacco that you have offered me for our grandfather who is in control of war-giving powers. (Probably the Thunder-birds are meant.) I will tell the spirit as carefully as I can all that I know about the road he must travel. My father impressed upon me very earnestly the need of being very truthful in speaking to the spirit of one recently deceased, for if I were a bad man I would cause the spirit to stumble. For that reason I always feel that I ought not to speak very much whenever I am called upon to talk.

Then a warrior was called upon to tell of his war exploits. He told as accurately as it was possible how he had killed a man, broken his collar bone, and then flayed him; how he had then chopped and cut up his body and mutilated him in such a way that he could not be identified; and how finally he had stolen his dogs. All night he spoke in this strain. He went on to tell how he had killed and utterly destroyed an entire village so that no one was left to tell of the massacre. All night he told of his war exploits. Thus they lighted the road for the spirit (i. e., held the Four Nights' Wake).

The second and third nights were just the same as the first, only that different warriors spoke and different war exploits were told. They are very proud of their war exploits and they would try to tell of their bravest deeds, those that had been most dangerous and which had required the greatest heroism. When the mourners listen to the narrative of such an exploit they become strengthened. All those people on whom the warrior had counted first coup and all those whom he had killed would carry the light for the spirit of the deceased. Those on whom he had counted second coup were commanded to clear the road, and a woman whom the warrior had captured was ordered to carry along the food. The ceremonies of the fourth night are the same as those of the first three nights.

### Death and Funeral Customs of the Bear Clan[8]

764 Informant, member of the clan. Mr. J. M. died in June, 1911. In
184 accordance with the old Winnebago customs, the first individual to
614 be notified of the death was Mr. J. F., a member of the Wolf clan.
[763] To Mr. F. fell the lot of taking charge of all the funeral rites—dressing the deceased, laying his body in the casket, burying him, and, finally, conducting the elaborate funeral wake.

[8] This is practically a reprint of "Description of a Winnebago Funeral," by Lowie and Radin, Amer. Anthrop., n. s., vol. 15, no. 3, 1913.

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One of Mr. F.'s most important duties was to invite the warriors to extend invitations to all those who wish to participate in the feast. After the body has been buried the overseer goes to the home of the deceased and takes away all those things with which the deceased had been in daily contact. 764 184 614

In addition to F., another man was sent for, Mr. A. W., also a member of the Bear clan. He went through the Bear clan ceremony, which was as follows: When the deceased was fully dressed, just before he was to be laid in the casket, A. W. walked up to him and, taking some paint from a little bundle he carried, he painted a red mark across his forehead, then a black one immediately below this one, and finally daubed the whole chin red. When he was through with this preliminary work he addressed those present as follows:

You relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. This ceremony is not anything that we have originated ourselves, but it was known to be the proper thing to do by our ancestors. It is for that reason that I have made the markings upon the face of my son in order that he may be recognized by his relatives in spirit land, and I have also given him the material with which he may talk, i. e., tobacco, that with it he may entreat the spirits to bestow all those years that he fell short of upon his relatives still living. [539]

Now, it is said that the members of the Bear clan hold death as a blessing and not as anything to mourn about. I do not mean that I do not feel sorry for the children of the deceased and that I rejoice in his death, but it is the belief of the members of the Bear clan that the same happiness comes to them at death that comes to us during life when a bear is killed and brought to the village for food.

For now, indeed, my son will walk in a road that has been cleared of all obstacles and his claws will be sharp, and his teeth will be sharp, and nothing, indeed, will cross his path. And in this, his walk to the spirit land, may he tread down upon us the life that he has fallen short of on this earth. And he will walk just as the original Bear clansmen walked when they originated and when they approached the earth. And now I will sing him the songs that they sang as they came on earth, so that he may take them along with him on his journey to the spirit land. It is said that there is no other place besides this prepared for us in the hereafter.

Then he sang the four clan songs.

When the songs had been sung, it was just about noon and, as dinner was ready, we all sat down and A. W. filled a pipe and when he was ready to smoke it began to speak again to the following effect:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. It is good that this many of you have come here, and it is said that the soul of the deceased remains hovering around about this place four days and that we should partake of food with him for that period. It is for that reason that we act in this way. And it is good that this many of you have come here and have helped us out with food and dress. [539]

He then mentioned the things that had been given by different individuals. Then he lit a pipe and took a few puffs and sent it around to all the others in the lodge. Then a pitcher of water was passed around from which we all took a sip.

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764 184 614 539 During the morning Mrs. R. came in and combed the hair of the deceased's wife and gave her some presents, telling her at the same time that she hoped that she would dry her tears as a sign of appreciation of the gifts. Another person came in in the morning bringing a pair of leggings and a blanket for the deceased. He also brought the casket. While the body of the deceased was being prepared this same person spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. If my nephews will come here and sit near me, I will talk to them.

Then the sons of the deceased came and sat near their mother and sisters and the man continued:

My sister, it is said that it is best for a person not to weep, and that a widow should not mourn too much, for then the people would make fun of her, as well as for the fact that having children she must for their sake look forward to life and live for them. And it is also said that we should keep up this mourning for at least four years. Now there is nothing amusing about what I am going to say (although it may sound so—namely, that we should not cry on such an occasion as to-day, but, on the contrary, keep up a good spirit. I do not mean that I am glad that my brother-in-law is dead. But if you were to weep some one might come in and say that it behooves you more to show him your teeth than your tears. They mean that you should smile.

And again it is said that one should not cry, for when a body is laid in the ground there is no more hope of its ever returning to this earth again. My nephew, the one that had been advising you in your daily affairs, is gone and you are left alone to look after yourself, your little brothers, and your mother; and therefore I want you all to love one another and remember your mother.

While we were eating C. P. came in and spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. It is good that you all have come here and are comforting this house of mourning. It is good that J. H. has brought a casket and clothing for the deceased and food for the wake. And indeed he has also promised a hog for the feast. I know that he did not do this in order to have some one speak of it in public, but how can I refrain from expressing my thanks? My brother also came with the intention of furnishing some of these things, but inasmuch as [431] J. H. has furnished them beforehand he placed ten dollars in the hands of the wife of the deceased. He did not, however, tell her for what purpose he gave her the money and I therefore take the liberty of telling her that the gift is meant for anything that she may desire to buy. Now, my relatives, this is no time for happiness, but I am glad, nevertheless, that so many have come and I am thankful for what you have done. I greet you all.

Then the casket was put in the spring wagon and taken to the Winnebago Cemetery. When we got there the casket was lowered into the grave. When this was over, A. W. spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. This many of you have followed my son to his last resting place. Further than this place he will not walk in this life. Truly this many of you have felt sorry for him. All the rites that were taught me in this connection I have already performed. I have given the deceased the emblem (i. e., the whittled stick known as nomoxi(nizin)) and the material to talk with (the tobacco), so that he may plead for us, his relatives, when he gets to the end of the [775] journey, that we may live the life he fell short of upon this earth, and that he may

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768 the midst of her tears, of the one she is going to marry next. The people will then tell one another not to put themselves out too much as the widow will soon forget her mourning and show no respect to the memory of the dead, but instead look after her own pleasures.

### Funeral Customs of the Buffalo Clan

764 Told by a member of the clan.* If a Buffalo clan man dies some
184 members of his clan who are called upon would speak as follows:
614
539 To-day when you ceased to breathe we were aware of it. Therefore relatives who are present, I greet you. Here my brother's life has ended, and for the last time I will talk to him about the road he is to take.

Ha'ho, my brother, the place at which we originated was called Bad Lake. There were four buffaloes there and from the youngest one are we descended. They lived holy lives, and we hope you will walk in their path. That you may strike everything (you meet on your journey) you must take along with you a war club. You shall walk armed with sharp teeth: and it will be impossible for bad spirits to walk back and forth across your path. And your sight shall be holy as you walk.

Then the speaker painted the face of the deceased. On the right side of his forehead he painted a rainbow with blue and red paint. After that he sang the clan songs. When he was through singing, a member of the Water-spirit clan spoke as follows:

Relatives, I greet you. When one of you passes away and you ask me to work, I am always willing to be of service. And I shall do it all the more willingly now because I am certain that I shall obtain some of the years that the deceased left "unlived." I do it with that belief, and furthermore I pray that no bad animals abuse the deceased on his journey. It is said that one cheers the soul of the dead in thinking thus. Therefore I do it and also that I myself may be strengthened thereby. I came back willingly when I was asked to work and I am doing this so that no bad animals should abuse the soul of the deceased.

Then one of the callers would talk to the mourners, saying as follows:

Relatives, I greet you. To-day one of your relatives has disappeared. You must, however, keep up your courage and not cry, for Earthmaker above has ordained that we should disappear. If a piece of earth caves in, it disappears, and when a rock crumbles it is disappearing. Thus, it is said, it must be.

### Origin Myth of the Four Nights' Wake

539 Two friends went out to cut arrow-sticks, and were surprised by a
765 war party and killed. When they were shot they thought they had stumbled and went right on (in the spirit). After the enemy had killed the first one they chased the second one and killed him, and so their bodies lay apart. Then the war party left and the two spirits started to follow them. Soon they came to where their bodies were lying. Then they said, "Let us follow the enemy a little." Soon they caught up to the war party and one of the spirits pushed one of the

* This account is quite fragmentary and was obtained in connection with the clan myth. It is given here on account of the speeches.

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men on the back of his head. He immediately became paralyzed 539
from the touch. Then they pushed another man and he could not 765
walk. So they laughed and turned back in order to return to their home.

They had not yet learned that they were dead. One went to his camp and told his wife that he was hungry but she paid no attention to him. The other had the same experience. Then each man started to go to the other man's lodge and they met midway. The first man said, "I came back hungry and asked for food, but they would not give me any, so I thought that I would go to your place." The second one said the same thing. Then they said, "Let us lie down a while." Just then the people began to cry, for they had brought back the bodies of the two dead men. Then one of the men said, "My friend, we have been killed." The other one began to cry.

So the people gathered together and had a meal. One of the ghosts said, "We must try and get something from the meal that they are having, for the people said, 'We are giving this meal in honor of the departed.'" Then the other friend said, "Now we are going to eat, for they are cooking for us."

These two were born again and told about this, and that is how we know it. This is the origin of the Four Nights' Wake. It is claimed that the spirits of the spirit land have a four nights' feast before they start.

## Grave-post Marks 764 532

(Drawings by Indians)

(Fig. 28)

Warrior has been on the warpath (homani'na).
Warrior was a leader of a warpath (sak'i').
Warrior was a helper on a warpath (wagixô'na) (rek'i').
Warrior counted one of the three coup (wa'ngonank).
Warrior had made a captive (wangini).
Warrior had killed a horse on the warpath or stolen one from the enemy.
If a person had killed a man and cut off his head, he is allowed to paint the top (upper part!) of the grave-post red.

Fig. 28.—Grave-post marks: 1, Has been on the warpath; 2, has been leader on warpath; 3, has been helper on warpath; 4, has counted one of the coup; 5, has made a captive; 6, has killed horse on warpath or stolen one from enemy; 7, has killed a man and cut off his head.

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*manegi* divisions, we, of course, know that the characteristics of the 614
animal in question have nothing to do with the matter. We must 825
then realize that we are dealing with reciprocal influences—of the religio-mythical conception of animals on the one hand, and of political functions of social units on the other. In some cases, such as the specific associations with the water-spirit, it is probable that the religio-mythological conception of the animal is dominant. The association of the thunderbird with fire has likewise not been due to any activity of the social unit; and thus examples might be multiplied. In this connection, the fact that animals with whom a multitude of associations have already been established are subsequently associated with social units is fundamental. From this point of view, the animal names of social organization are intrusive features, and we will consequently expect to find historical adjustments. This, we think, is what has taken place here. The animal name with its religio-mythological conceptions was a remarkably strong unit, and as a result reciprocal influences took place. Although the religio-mythological influence must thus have been marked, it appears to have changed none of the marital and other functions of the two divisions nor the political functions of the clans. What it did change, and change fundamentally, was the interpretation of the social organization.

### Functions of the Twofold Division

The only function that the *waggeregi* and *manegi* divisions seem 616
to have had was the regulation of marriage. A *waggeregi* man 582
had to marry a *manegi* woman, and vice versa. The only other function was, according to some informants, reciprocal burial. [764]
Here the religio-mythological interpretations seem in part to have determined this relation, for a *manegi* man buried a *waggeregi* man because, as a "land division," it pertained to him to place a corpse in the earth. This, however, seems to be a doubtful function, for earth burial seems in olden times to have been characteristic only 616
of the *manegi* division, the *waggeregi* clans employing scaffold burial. 614
In addition, the burial relation was one of the many reciprocal duties of the "friend-clan," and if it was ever postulated of the *waggeregi* and *manegi*, this was likely due to the fact that the "friendship" relation seems also to have existed between two clans belonging to the two different divisions. According to one myth, however, the four clans of the *waggeregi* paired off as "friends" with four clans of the *manegi*. This would then be practically equivalent to saying that the *manegi* buried the *waggeregi*.

Thus far we have spoken only of the socio-political functions. The two divisions, however, play a part in a number of social and

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An old Winne-
bago told the author that long ago a young man wanted to marry a 614
girl belonging to his phratry and refused to listen to the entreaties 615
of his father and mother. Finally the father, in desperation, went 582
over to the lodge of a man belonging to one of the clans into which 778
the young man could marry and asked for one of the sacred possessions. It was, of course, refused, and when the man was asked what other requests he wished to make, he asked that the host's daughter be allowed to marry his son. This was, of course, granted, and thus the boy was compelled to marry into the proper phratry.

One Winnebago interpreted the custom in an entirely different 614
way. Exactly how much importance is to be attached to this 372
explanation it is hard to say. According to this informant, the 689
insult lay not in going to the fireplace or taking a firebrand, but in asking for it. The insult apparently consists in not taking it for granted that anyone entering the lodge was permitted to do what [576]
he wished. In other words, his asking was a breach of etiquette.

The typical method of burial in the Thunderbird clan was scaffold burial. It has long since been discontinued.

The burial customs seem to have been the same for all the clans. 614
It may, however, be that in former times there were slight differences. 764
For instance, in the first version of the Thunderbird clan [184]
origin myth the statement is made that the branch of a tree was placed at the grave and a small stick, painted red, attached to it. The author has no recollection of ever hearing the same statement made in connection with any other of the clans.

There are four songs associated with the Thunderbird clan. 614
These are supposed to have been sung by the clan ancestors when [533]
they came to this earth, and are now always sung when a member of the clan dies, and on a few other occasions.

According to one informant, members of the Elk, Warrior, Deer, and Buffalo clans acted as servants to the Thunderbird clan on [554]
various occasions. The same informant also claimed that the Warrior clansmen took specific orders from the Thunderbird clansmen when on the warpath.

According to another informant, Thunderbird marks at death are a half circle on the forehead, made with charcoal. The proper [765]
marking is, however, that shown in plate 46.

Two dog names used in the Thunderbird clan are obtained—*pi°zakirutega; ka-iwakitca°ga.*

The only feast specifically connected with the Thunderbird clan was the so-called chief feast, of which a description will be found on [796]
page 318. One of the divisions of the war-bundle feast is often considered as sacred to the thunderbird, but this is always the deity [776]
thunderbird, not the ancestor of the clan.

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the council lodge. According to another informant, the Bear clan is the Deer's friend, and therefore they bury one another.

Burial, as was the case for all members of the lower phratry, was in the ground. Opinions varied as to what clan was supposed to bury a Bear man, some people claiming that it would have to belong to the upper phratry, others that it was incumbent upon the Wolf clan. It seems that the latter custom is the one followed at the present time and one which is considered old, to judge from the account of an actual funeral (cf. p. 148). The body was always buried with a miniature Bear clan war bundle. According to one informant, a bow and arrows were occasionally placed in the hands of the corpse, in addition to some tobacco. According to another informant, the facial marks were charcoal across the forehead and red marks under the lips in direct imitation of the bear.

The facial decoration for the corpse consisted of two parallel marks across the forehead, the upper one red and the lower one black, and the painting of the entire chin red (pl. 46). The red paint on the chin was interpreted as a smile, for the Bear clansmen were supposed to greet death with a smile, as they were returning to their clan ancestors. The statement was also made that Bear clansmen should not mourn the death of any of their comrades.

There is a specific Bear clan feast at which no one is permitted to laugh or talk, nor is anyone allowed to make any noise while drinking soup. The feasters must eat with their left hand.

One of the most interesting of the ceremonies associated with the Bear clan is the so-called bear or soldier dance (*manu*pe waci*). It was described to the author as follows:

> When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village the people go to the chief and say "Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!" And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks as follows: "My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease." Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well.

It is quite clear that this "healing" function of the clan is intimately associated with the powers supposed to be bestowed upon individuals by Bear spirits. In fact, we are really dealing with a society possessing the power of healing disease in which membership, however, is restricted to members of the Bear clan.

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their clan names is *Wave*. They first appeared as wolves and later on they became humans. After swimming to the shore they lay on their backs to dry themselves; and that also is a name, a female name, *She-who-spreads-herself-out-to-dry*, and another name is *He-who-comes-up-first*. When they became human they built themselves a lodge and lived in it, but they had no fire. Then the Thunders came down and alit on a big oak tree that stood near their lodge. At first the Thunders were afraid of the Wolf people and they would not enter their lodge. That is why we have a name *He-who-is-afraid*. They asked the Thunders to come into their lodge and they had great difficulty in persuading them. After they entered the Wolf lodge they wanted to go home again immediately, but the Wolf clan people asked them to stay over for four days. From that fact a name has originated, *One-who-is-waited-for-by-the-Thunders*. The Thunders stayed, but not in the lodge of the Wolf people. They built themselves one just outside their door. Then they built a fire in it. After the four days were over the Thunders went home. 614 539 776 [551]

When a Wolf clansman dies the relatives paint his forehead blue (pl. 46) and the soul of the deceased is supposed to go west, and it never looks back as it goes on its journey, as this would be an indication of its longing for something in this world, and it should not do that. When the soul gets to the spirit home the relatives already there would ask the newcomer, "What did our relatives say when you were about to come?" And the deceased would answer, "They said that they would not come for some time." [764 775]

The food that is prepared at the four nights' wake is supposed to last them forever.

This is the end of the story of the creation.

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

All people claim to have come from some animal, and all are supposed to come from Earthmaker.

Four married wolves had a lodge in the middle of the ocean. They had four colors. The wolves all had children. One of them had 10, and the youngest one of these 10 is the one that came to this earth. When they came to this island, the first thing they saw was the footprint of the bear, and they said, "Our friend has gone by." There (at the place of gathering) they saw human beings and they liked their ways. Therefore they went home again and asked to come to earth and live with the human beings, and they were given permission to do so. Wherefore the two (man and wife) came here again the second time. When they were about to come everything was calm, and there were no waves on the ocean. They started out swimming, and they caused two waves to go before them. When they came to the humans they both got married. When they came to this land

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614 [764] Members of the clan were buried by members of the Thunderbird clan.

[823 576] Water was sacred to the Water-spirits. It was considered an insult for a stranger to peep into a pail standing in one of their lodges. One informant explained the custom as follows:

"If one enters a Water-spirit clan lodge and looks into a pail and there should be no water in it, the person will turn away and this action of his will be construed as begging. It would be proper to take a drink of water if some were there."

[302] A round spot is painted with blue clay on the forehead of a Water-spirit man (pl. 46).

The Water-spirit feast is held in the fall and spring. Cracked or ground corn is used. Water-spirit people partake before anyone else at this feast.

### ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 539 776 In the beginning, when the clans began to form, the Bird clans came upon the earth first and alit upon an oak tree at Red Banks; and when they alit upon the oak tree they became human as we are now. Then the Water-spirit clan was to appear at Within Lake; and the waters began to whirl around in the lake and all the bad things that inhabited the waters began to appear. Just before the Water-spirits appeared some burned embers came up from the waters and the whirling became faster and deeper. As all the great things began to appear it always seemed as if the Water-spirits were the next to appear, but not until the last did they come up. Thereupon the waters began to quiet down. Then a white Water-spirit appeared with its horns curved toward each other, and when it came upon the earth it became human and walked. Then the other clans said, "Now, then, this is the chief. This is all that we have been waiting for. Now we shall divide ourselves" (into groups). Then they started for the lodge of the Thunderbird clan and entered it. There they named one another and divided one another into clans and there they counciled with one another.

### CLAN NAMES

WAKUCEXI HE'IK'ARAINERA (WATER-SPIRIT CLAN)

614 551
Ho-adaja'jaṋk'a.....Shining horns.
Hena'pga.....Two horns.
Hop'i'winga.....Handsome horn.
Hematcaṋk'a.....Five-horned.
Hadjopga.....Four-horned.
Maṋk'a'ojuga.....He who plants medicines.
Maṋk'a'hodja'pga.....He who looks at medicines.
Ma'i'ainip'i'winga.....Good cold spring.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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Ma"jiwinga.....Yellowish-red earth (refers to deposits from iron springs). 614 551
Ma"nunp'aga.....Second earth person.
Ni-acgadjewinga.....She who plays on the water.
Ni amaniwinga.....She who walks on the water.
Ni-a"p'"winga.....She who makes water good.
Ni-a"lagewinga.....Still water.
Niranaga.....Stream person.
Nihuga.....He who discharges water.
Ni-ot'a"pwinga.....She who jumps into the water.
Nidjobega.....Four streams.
Niwak'itcanga.....Selects (?) water.
Wakdjexicicik'a.....Bad Water-spirit.
Wakdjexihunga.....Chief of the Water-spirits.
Wakdjeximaniga.....Walking Water-spirit.
Wakdjexip'inga.....Good Water-spirit.
Wakdjexise"winga.....White Water-spirit.
Hep'inga.....Good horn.
Wadjxedega.....Big boat.
Hip'ahiga.....Sharp tooth.
Rabawinga.....Beaverskin woman.
Rabewinga.....Beaver.
Hejipga.....Short horn.

## The Buffalo Clan

### INTRODUCTION

The first version of the origin myth of the Buffalo clan is of considerable interest because it gives us an idea of the manner in which a myth had to be bought. It is one of the few origin myths that gives a precise location for the origin of a particular clan. What lake is meant by *de cicik* it is impossible to say. Considerable importance should be attached, however, to the fact that their place of origin differed from that of most of the other clans, because it may indicate that the people who came to be known under the name Buffalo joined the tribe after the other clans. 614 173

The Buffalo clansmen seem to have had the function of acting as the public criers and in general of being an intermediary between the chief and the tribe. This, however, has been denied by some informants, one of them a member of the clan. Their lodge was at the southeast corner of the village. Some informants deny that they had a special lodge, however. [624 203] [361]

The Buffalo and Water-spirit clans are friends and are supposed to bury each other's members. [764]

### ORIGIN MYTH[21]

Informant, member of the clan: "Listen, my grandson. Those who originated from the buffaloes and the way in which they origi- 614 173

[21] The following myth is given in the precise manner in which the individual who told it to me obtained the information from one of the old men who was privileged to narrate it. Unfortunately it was impossible to obtain any other clan origin myth in the same way. 539

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"My son, we first originated in human form at Bad Lake (*de cicik*).* From four buffalo spirits who are there, did we originate. The youngest one was clever and from him did we originate. The buffaloes asked one another what they were to do, and they then began to exert their powers, and the youngest one obtained the knowledge that there was to be a gathering of all the animals. So they all landed at a place called Red Banks. So it is said. And to the elk was given the charge of the seating arrangements. 614 539 776

"Thus did we originate. And then they counciled with one another as to how they should travel along the road of life. And as they arrived at Red Banks, each one would ask the other to do some work. And there they made a sacred (covenant)—that they would never fail to grant one another's requests. Likewise they agreed that when they died they would bury one another. The Buffalo clan and the Water-spirit clan were to bury one another, and they were to ask one another to work." [764]

CLAN SONGS

614 533

*Song 1*

Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.

*Song 2*

This earth you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

*Song 3*

This day you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

"My son, here is some more information that one in your position should seek. This should be the second thing to ask for: 'What should one say when one gives a feast?' This you should ask for, and you should boil food for the informant and then you will be taught the proper speeches. Afterwards, when anyone boils food (i. e., gives a winter feast) a kettle should first be put on for Earthmaker and one should ask him for life; that the people may live to be strong and good. Include tobacco in your offering, for although Earthmaker made the tobacco he will not take any of it of his own accord. Not until it is offered to him by humans will he take it. 867 [783] [276]

* The name *de cicik* is applied to-day to Lake Michigan. However, our informant in this case applied it to Devils Lake in Sauk County, Wis. [103]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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they gave one another. Thus they have the names *White-hair, Fast-one, Little-white-teeth, Diffident-one, Horn, Pronged-horn*, etc.; and for dogs they have names also. That is the way the deer people lived in the beginning at Red Banks, Within Lake. Bands of people gathered together there, and all the clans that exist now originated there. 539 776 614

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

The Deer clan people came up at the beginning of the earth. Only one is spoken of as appearing at the beginning. He started forth but returned again that he might look for a companion. For that reason a name exists in the tribe, *He-who-comes-back*, and another is *He-who-appears-first*. After they had appeared on earth the deer blew on the original fire, which was only smoldering, and made it blaze up. For that reason they claim a partial chieftainship. The first one that appeared had a chief's medal around his neck. [551]

CLAN SONG. 614 533

I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions
I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.

CLAN NAMES

TCA HIE'IE'ARADIERA (DEER CLAN) 614 551

Tcaephûnk'a.....Black deer chief.
Wagizena'pi'ga.....Wears shells around neck.
Tcanûnka'pi'wings.....Deer vagina.
Mank'ingayeqa.....Appears in the middle of earth
Tcatconiwings.....First deer woman.

## The Elk Clan

INTRODUCTION

In the Elk clan origin myth we find the clear statement that Earth-maker created the ancestors of the clan, and that they were human beings. The myth resembles a village origin myth more than it does a clan origin myth. 614 [773 776]

The Elk clan seems to have had certain functions relative to the distribution of fire through the village and in camp. It was never a very large clan.

The Elk people claim half of the fire, and thus half of the chieftainship. They never hold fire toward any one. [372]

Elks are buried by the Snake, Water-spirit, and Eagle clans, although the first has the preference. [622] [764]

White clay is used in painting the dead.

According to another informant, the facial painting consisted of white and blue dots on the face (pl. 46). [302]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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A. PEYOTE LEADERS

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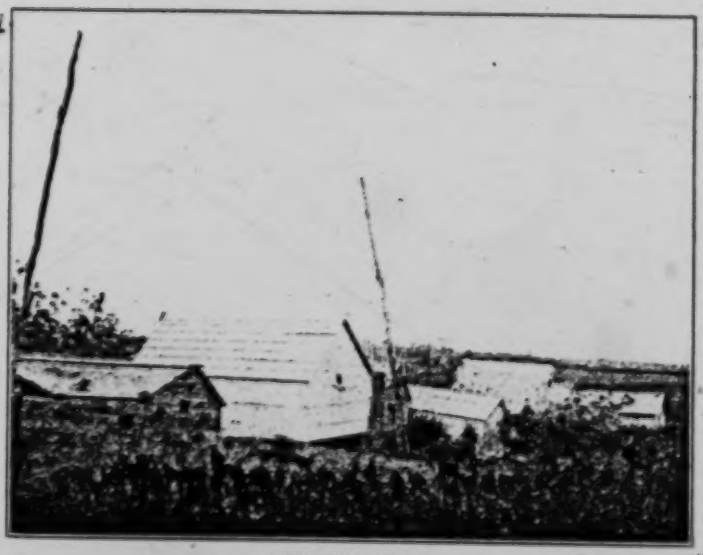

A. BURIAL HUTS

[Facing p. 388]

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12



174 the characteristic feature of the organization, and this being the
614 case, the probability of associations of warlike and peace attributes
with animals may as much be ascribed to the influence of the so-
616 cial unit as vice versa. As regards such functions as the exogamy
825 of the two divisions or that of the clans, or of the reciprocal burial relationship of the *waŋgeregi* and *maŋegi* divisions, we, of course, know that the characteristics of the animal in question have nothing to do with the matter. We must, then, realize that we are dealing with reciprocal influences, of the religio-mythological conception of animals on the one hand, and of political functions of social units on the other. In some cases, such as the specific associations of the water spirit, it is probable that the religio-mythological conception of the animal is dominant. The association of the thunderbird with fire has likewise not been due to any activity of the social unit; and thus examples might be multiplied. In this connexion, the fact that animals with whom a multitude of associations have already been established are subsequently associated with social units, is fundamental. From this point of view, the animal names of social organization are intrusive features, and we will consequently expect to find historical adjustments. This, we think, is what has taken place here. The animal name with its religio-mythological conceptions was a remarkably strong unit, even as compared with the political unit, and as a result reciprocal influences took place. Although the religio-mythological influence must have been marked, it appears to have changed none of the marital and other functions of the two divisions, nor the political functions of the clans. What it did change, and change fundamentally, was the interpretation of the social organization.

## FUNCTIONS OF THE TWOFOLD DIVISION.

614 The only function that the *waŋgeregi* and *maŋegi* divisions
616 seem to have had was the regulation of marriage. A *waŋgeregi*
[582] man had to marry a *maŋegi* woman, and vice versa. The only
other function exercised by these divisions was, according to
[764] some informants, reciprocal burial. Here the religio-mythological interpretations seem in part to have determined this relation for a *maŋegi* man buried a *waŋgeregi* man because, as a "land

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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division," it pertains to him to place a corpse in the earth. This, however, seems to be a doubtful function, for earth burial seems in olden times to have been characteristic only of the *mąnegi* division, the *wąngeregi* clans having had scaffold burial. In addition, the burial relation was one of the many reciprocal duties of the "friend-clan," and if it was ever postulated of the *wąngeregi* and *mąnegi*, this was likely due to the fact that the "friendship" relation seems also to have existed between two clans belonging to the two different divisions. According to one myth, however, the four clans of the *wąngeregi* paired off as "friends" with four clans of the *mąnegi*. This would then be practically equivalent to saying that the *mąnegi* buried the *wąngeregi*.

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[621]

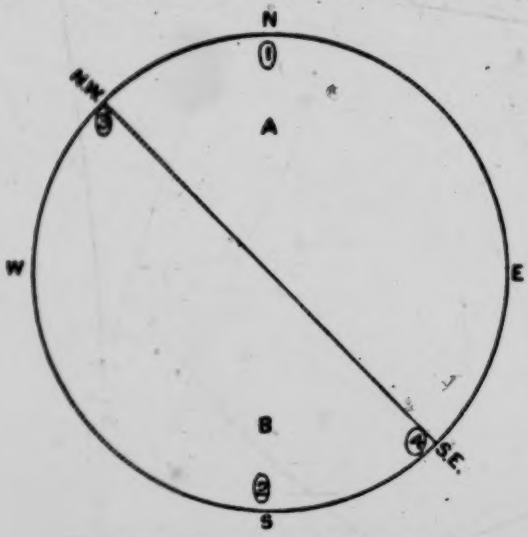


Figure 1. A, *Mąnegi* side; B, *Wąngeregi* side.
1, Lodge of Bear clan; 2, Lodge of Thunderbird clan;
3, Lodge of Warrior clan; 4, Lodge of Buffalo clan.

Thus far we have spoken only of the socio-political functions. The two divisions, however, play a part in a number of social and ceremonial connexions: first, in the organization of the village; second, in the arrangement of the clans while on the war-path; third, as the basis of organization at the "chief" feast; and lastly, as the basis of organization of the ceremonial lacrosse game.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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Bear, the doorway of his lodge; for the Wolf and Water-spirit, water. They were not obtained for all the clans. We indicated before that these "possessions" may have been primarily connected with the animals associated with the clan, upon which an additional socio-religious interpretation has been superimposed. The whole subject is, however, closely related to that of clan etiquette, for which no explanations can, of course, be given now. 614 [778]

### *The Clan Marks of Identification.*

As if more fully to set off the social unit of the clan, there have come to be associated with it definite marks of identification, such as symbols, property marks, facial decorations, and songs.

The symbols of only two clans were obtained, although a number of other clans seem to have possessed them. There were the war club (*nqmqtce*) of the Thunderbird clan, and the peculiarly whittled stick (*namqxinixini*) of the Bear clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan died, a miniature war club was buried with him. Whether the *namqxinixini* was buried with a member of the Bear clan, we do not know. [778] [764]

The property mark consisted of the effigy of the clan animal, and was woven on such objects as bags, tobacco pouches, etc. It was also frequently engraved on wooden objects. Its most peculiar uses, however, were the emblematic earthen effigy mounds, in the shape of the clan animal, which were erected near the habitation of each clan in the village and in the centre of clan squash fields, corn fields, etc.[1] 614 421 [532] [361]

Associated with every clan are also four clan songs. These are supposed to be the four songs sung by the ancestors of each clan when they came to this earth. They are always sung on the death of an individual, and are supposed to serve as a mark of identification in the journey of the soul to the land of the spirits. The use of these songs is so intimately associated with death, that when some hardened offender, 614 533 764 [775] [627]

[1] For a fuller discussion of these, see Radin, *Some Aspects of Winnebago Archæology*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 13, 1911, pp. 517-538.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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614 let us say, some individual who has killed a member of the
[533] tribe and who refuses to make atonement of any kind, is pursued,
764 he defiantly sings his clan songs.
[627] As a last element in the clan-complex may be mentioned the specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

174 We have now completed the discussion of clan organization.
614 As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary associations that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that the complex has grown around a strong social-political unit.

## THE CLAN AS A SOCIO-CEREMONIAL COMPLEX.

614 Up to the present our attention has been directed entirely
796 to the clan as a socio-political complex and only passing mention has been made of those religious or ceremonial associations
182 that may also have clustered around it. Among the Omaha,
[171] as we have frequently pointed out, these latter associations were of paramount importance and probably dwarfed the development of the political functions. Among the Winnebago, on the whole, they were unimportant. This very fact makes the solitary instance in which a fairly marked development took place of all the greater value, quite apart from the fact that it happens to give, on the one hand, an exceptionally instructive illustration of the secondary association of a ceremonial function with a social unit, and, on the other, a similarly instructive illustration of the association of a function generally belonging to an individual shaman with a social unit. Such an association has taken place with the Bear clan, and, owing to its importance, we will quote the data in extenso. The ceremony is known as "soldiers' dance" (*manype waci*).

614 "When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village, the people
755 go to the chief and say, 'Sickness has come upon us, O chief!
796 See that your soldiers arise!' And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks

*159 a matter of fact only thought of it yet he knew what I
775 wanted. Then he said to me, "You can go but you must ask our chief first." Then I went and told the chief of the village of my desire, and he said to me, "You may go and obtain your revenge upon the people who killed your relatives."

Then I was brought down to earth. I did not enter a woman's womb but I was taken into a room. There I remained conscious at all times. One day I heard the noise of little children so I thought I would go outside. Then it seemed to me that I was going through a door but I was really being born again from a woman's womb. As I walked out I was struck by a sudden gust of cold air and I began to cry.

At the place where I was brought up I was taught to fast a great deal. Afterwards I did nothing but go to war and I certainly took my revenge for my own death and that of my relatives, thus justifying the purpose for which I had come to this earth again.

There I lived until I died of old age. All at once my bones became unjointed, my ribs fell in and I died a second time. I felt no more pain at death then that I had felt the first time.

This time I was buried in the manner used then. I was
[964] wrapped in a blanket and laid in the grave. Sticks were placed in the grave first. There I rotted. I watched the people as they buried me.

As I was lying there some one said to me, "Come, let us go away." So then we went toward the land of the setting sun. There we came to a village where we met all the dead. I was told that I would have to stop there for four nights, but, in reality, I stayed there four years. The people enjoy themselves here. They have all sorts of

## *Crashing Thunder*

*776 159 787 539 [787] After a while a child was born to him. It was a boy. He addressed his wife and asked her advice, saying that they ought to sacrifice their child to Earthmaker. She consented. To Earthmaker therefore they prepared to sacrifice their child. They constructed a platform and placed their child upon it.[11] Then both of them wept bitterly. In the nighttime when the man slept, Earthmaker took pity on him and appeared to him. The man looked at him. He thought, "This, most certainly, is Earthmaker." He wore a soldier's uniform and carried a high cocked hat on his head. He had a very pleasing appearance. Weshgishega looked at him and wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. The figure took one step, then another, and finally disappeared, uttering a cry. It was not Earthmaker; it was a pigeon. The bad spirits were fooling Weshgishega.

Now even more than before did his heart ache, even more than before was his heart wound up in the desire to be blessed by Earthmaker. Now again he fasted and again apparently Earthmaker appeared to him. "Human being, I bless you. Long have you made your cry for a blessing. I am Earthmaker." When Weshgishega looked at him, he saw that he was pleasing in appearance. He looked very handsome and his dress was nice to look upon. He wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. As he looked at the figure it became smaller and smaller and when finally he looked, he noticed that it was a bird.

Then his heart ached even more than before. Bitterly did he cry. Now, for the third time, Earthmaker blessed him saying, "Human being, you have tried to be blessed by Earthmaker and you have caused yourself great suf-

[769] [614] [11] That is, they killed the child and then placed his body upon a platform, this being the customary mode of burial of the clan to which Weshgishega belonged.

## §13. *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

My grandfather was buried in the manner customary in the Thunderbird clan. His relatives got some one to bury him and the chief mourner invited a distinguished person to talk to the corpse before it was dressed for burial. The person addressed the body as follows: 159* 764 ● [767]

You are about to leave your relatives. They will remain on earth, objects of pity to all. You must proceed on your road and turn to your left after you start. Continue until you come to the one who is in charge of spirits. When you see him, make the following request—that he bestow upon us all that you fell short of in this world. The means of offering, the tobacco, which Earthmaker gave us, we have given you to take along. As you go along you will come to a place where the road branches off. Do not turn to the right for that leads to the bad spirits. Turn to the left and soon you will come to a guard. Point your pipe at him and he will be thankful. This man will wear a complete suit of clothes and he will be terrible to look upon. He will smoke with you and you must address him as follows: "Grandfather, before I left earth the people told me to ask you to point out which road I was to travel it." Then he will tell you and you will pass ahead and come after a while to a fire on both sides of the earth. The man in charge of it will wear a complete suit of clothes 159* 764 775 537

*159 ● 764 775 531 just like the former one. Point the stem of your pipe toward him and he will be very thankful and smoke your pipe. Then make your request—that you be permitted to pass—and he will grant it. As you continue you will come to a round lodge where you will find an old woman. Point your pipe at her and she will permit you to go ahead. Your hair will now have become white but you will not be unconscious. On the contrary you will be in complete possession of your senses. Then you will come to the place where he who is in control of all the souls sits. Go toward him and [776] point your pipe at him. When he is smoking it ask him to show you the road to Earthmaker, our father, and he will point it out to you. Then you must proceed until you come to Earthmaker. When you get to him, point the stem of your pipe toward him and if he takes it and smokes it you must say, "Earthmaker, our father, you know very well what kind of a life I have led." Then he will answer, "My son, you have done well."

*159 764 [767] [301] [767] After this speech the body was dressed by the person who was to do the actual burying. The best clothes of the deceased were put on, beads placed around his neck, bracelets on his wrist, rings on his fingers and earrings in his ears. It was then placed in the casket. When the grave-diggers completed their work, the mourners blackened their faces with charcoal and the corpse was taken up by the man to whom this duty was assigned. The mourners followed behind weeping. Thus they proceeded to the grave. When they got there the corpse was immediately placed in it. Then the chief mourner stepped across the center of the grave and the others did the same. When they started

## *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

back for home they were told under no circumstances 159*
to turn around and look in the direction of the grave. 764 ●

As soon as they returned home the man in charge
of the funeral arrangements went around the village 159*
and invited every one to come to the wake. Brave men 765
and warriors are especially welcome.

The mourners prepared food and when the sun went down the chief mourner took a stick made of hard wood, lit it, and carried it to the grave, placing it at the east end. It must be still burning when put there. After this the man returned and the funeral manager prepared everything for the feast. When all were gathered around he rose and addressed the people as follows:

Relatives, all you who are gathered around here, I greet 159*
you. I have done nothing of any consequence which could 765
justify you in coming here and thus honoring me, but being 537
relatives of mine, you came in the kindness of your hearts 539
to comfort me. I have prepared cooked food and boiled water for the dead person. Tobacco is also handy and as soon as the attendant is ready he will pass this around to those who wish any.

It is good that so many of you have come to-night. You know that we are not creating any new ceremony but are simply following what our ancestors found to be true and good. And as it is said that we should not weep aloud, [152]
you will not hear any of us making utterings of sorrow. And even though we weep silently, should any one come to us we will look upon them smiling. We therefore beg of you, should you find us happy in mood, not to think the worst of us.

796 out design. There he lay without motion or
575 sign of life, and the dance was resumed
158 around them. After a time he was brought out of this mesmeric or clairvoyant state, a medicine bag was put in his hands and he at once had power to strike any one down as he had been. The person who stayed by the Judge was thus struck down. He felt of his arm and wrist and found them perfectly rigid.

796 They told the Judge before they admitted
575 him to this ceremony that while he was
789 there he must think no evil thought. If he did, his life would be in danger from the spirits. No impure person is admitted to
[841] witness these ceremonies, no woman in the
[843] menstrual period, no woman pregnant or
[273] recently delivered, no intoxicated or intemperate person that is under the influence of liquor is allowed to attend. The proceedings
[756] in the sweat lodge were not seen by him as none but medicine men were allowed there.
796 The ceremonies commenced at 8 in the eve-
575 ning and lasted until day break next morning. The Judge confirms my former opinion that this is purely a religious rite, and a religious organization, having but little to do with the uses of medicine proper. The roots and herbs are one thing, but the ceremonies
[755] and incantations which are the real remedies are quite another. They call it the Spirit Dance, or the Divine Dance. The
[171] Judge informs me that he has witnessed the same thing among the Sauks and Foxes.

[*Winnebago Burial*]

764 He also mentioned the fact that he witnessed the burial of a Winnebago some years ago. He was set upon a natural mound and house made over him, food and some personal articles laid by his side, after which the whole was covered over with earth, except a small hole or chimney was kept open
[775] from the top down into the house. When
[P. 60 (C)]

764 the Judge asked what this meant they told
775 him that it was for the spirit to pass through in going out and in.

771 He never found among them during the long period of his intercourse any evidence of sun worship, and thinks it fell far short of that in which I agree with him.

115 This morning I had a further conversation with Judge Walker, who is a regular medicine man of the Wyandottes. He says
776 the name of the Spirit of Medicine among
171 the Wyandottes is Mon-ane-tow, who is the same as the Manitou of the Ojibways etc. That this spirit of Medicine is a good spirit etc. He says that the initiations described
796 by Judge Williams are in the presence only
575 of medicine men and women. The people of the tribe are not allowed to be present. That both men and women are members, and are regularly initiated before they can become members. That no oath of secrecy is required, as the Indian knows nothing about oaths, but they initiate on the honor of the man and of the woman, choosing such only as are known to be of good character for integrity. That the Society and its pro-
[755] ceedings are secret, except these ceremonies which medicine men perform on patients for their cure.

796 Walker says that these ceremonies pro-
575 ceed upon the idea that a violent shock of the nervous system, which prostrates it en-
828 tirely will also prostrate or relax the hold of
158 the disease. They know by experience that by fasting and steaming they so arouse and excite a well person as to produce a shock which will throw him to the earth. This is done at the ceremony of initiation which Judge Williams described. It is done by nervous excitement, and Indian faith in these ceremonies, and is repeated over every initiate as a proof of the possession by medicine men of this marvellous power. He

[P.61(A)]

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his father's lodge, where his seat had always been kept for him. 591
With his own folks he stayed as long as he wished, leaving it generally as soon as he decided to live alone—a decision that was usually reached as soon as he had one child or a number of children. However, he did not always build his own lodge, especially in the olden times, when it was customary for those Winnebago who lived in permanent villages to occupy the long gable-roofed lodges, that frequently were large enough to house as many as 40 people. In such cases a man and his family generally alternated between his parents-in-law and his own parents.

## Adoption

Adoption of individuals was quite frequent in former times. As 597
far as the writer knows, however, it always took the form of replacing of a deceased child by some other child physically resembling the one lost. I do not know whether there were any additional considerations if the child adopted happened to be a prisoner. As the name for adoption (*wanayze'rek'inayk*) indicates, it is closely connected with the common belief in reincarnation, meaning either the [775]
exchange of one spirit for another or the replacing of the spirit. A special feast could be given for adoption or it could be done at one of the regular feasts. As the child adopted was often the "friend" (*hitcak'd'ro*) of the deceased and in any case had parents living, presents were always given to his parents.

Perhaps a better idea of the nature of adoption can be obtained from the following few words of an informant:

When a child dies, then the father mourns for many years, and if during that time [765]
he happens to meet a child that resembles his dead child he asks to be allowed to adopt him. The parents of the child can hardly object to such a request.*

* There is no doubt in my mind that quite a number of parents believe that such a person is really their reincarnated child.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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on his fingers, and earrings in his ears. The body is then put in the 764
casket.

By the time this is all finished the gravediggers have about completed their work. Then the mourners blacken their faces with charcoal and the corpse is taken up by the man to whom this duty is [765] delegated. The mourners follow behind, weeping. Thus they proceed to the grave. When they get there the corpse is laid in the grave. Then the chief mourner steps across the center of the grave and the others do the same. When they start back, they are told under no circumstance to turn around and look in the direction of the grave.

The grave is then filled in.

Then the overseer goes around to the various people in the village 765
and invites them all to come to (the wake). The brave men and warriors are especially welcomed.

The mourners prepare food and when the sun goes down the chief mourner takes a stick made of hard wood and lights it and carries it to the grave, placing it at the east end. It is supposed to be still burning when placed there. After this is done (the man returns) and the overseer gets everything in readiness for the feast. When all is ready the chief mourner speaks as follows:

All my relatives who are sitting here, I greet you. I have done nothing of any con- 765
sequence which could justify you to come here and honor me, yet being relatives of 539
mine, you have (in the kindness of your hearts) come to comfort me. I have prepared 775
cooked food and boiled water for my child (the dead person), and tobacco is also handy, all of which the attendant when he is ready will pass around to all and give to whomsoever he pleases. That is why I am greeting you.

Then the attendant takes the water and tobacco and gives it to the one who is to speak to the soul of the departed person. This one then rises and greets all those present and speaks as follows:

To-night we are greeting you not for the sake of jollification, but because we are afflicted (with grief). Now, it is the custom to speak to the soul of the departed. It is a sacred action, yet even I, they tell me, can do it, provided no worthier person can be found. They [1] even tell me that my words will not cause the spirit of the departed to lose his way in his journey (to spirit land).[2] For that reason I will speak to the departed and say the best I can. I greet you all.

Then he takes some tobacco in one hand and passing it behind him through the lodge says:

Here it is, the tobacco. I am certain that you, O ghost, are not very far away, that in fact you are standing right in back of me, waiting for me to reach you the pipe and tobacco, that you might take it along with you, that likewise, you are waiting for your food to take on your journey. However, four nights you will have to remain here.

[1] This and what follows is the customary ceremonial modesty.

[2] It is believed that if the chief speaker makes a mistake or exaggerates while thus addressing the spirit of the deceased, the latter will lose his way in his journey to spirit land.

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765 539 775 Now here are three things, and in return we ask you to act as mediator (between the spirits and us). You have made us long for you, and therefore do you see to it that all those things that belonged to you and that you would have enjoyed had you lived longer—such as victories on the warpath, earthly possessions, and life—that all these you leave behind for us to enjoy. This do you ask for as you travel along. This also I ask of you, do not cause us to follow you soon; do not cause your brothers any fear. I have now lit the pipe for you.

Then the pipe is passed on to all those present. After that he drinks a little water and passes it around again. It is only after the pipe and water have passed all the way around that the people begin to eat. When the meal is over, the attendant takes the pipe and some tobacco and places it before a warrior and tells him to talk to the spirit and tell him the route to take.

Then the warrior rises and speaks as follows:

Ho, I greet you all. We are not greeting one another because we are happy (as in the case of an ordinary feast), but because it is the custom to do it. Now I will tell the soul of the departed one the route to take and the care he must observe in his journey. I shall tell them (the ghosts) over whom I have control to guide him safely to his destination. I will not exaggerate when I relate my war exploits, but tell only those things that really happened to me. It has been said that if, in talking, I tell falsehoods the spirit of the departed would stumble on the road.[6] So, therefore, I will tell only the truth, and I will tell the chief of the spirits to guide our dead one safely over all the obstacles. Now I am not going to speak of anybody else's exploits, but only of my own. Only those over whom I have control will I put at the disposal of our dead one to guide him. The spirit-tobacco, the spirit-food and fire, they will carry for him, and they will lead him by the hand until he reaches his destination. I greet you all.

765 539 Then he begins an account of his war exploits. He tells all that he did in detail. Sometimes the account of a war exploit would last two to three hours. When he is through, the people retire for the night.

For three nights they do this and every evening they place a burning ember at the grave. This is supposed to be taken by the spirit of the dead man on his journey.

The fourth night they invite all the brave men in the neighborhood and everybody else. They prepare plenty of food, and the relatives of the mourners bring objects for the mourning games and try to comfort the mourners as best they can. The fourth night, likewise, they place a burning ember at the grave of the dead man.

As soon as the attendant prepares the food the chief mourner gets up and speaks as follows:

I greet you all. I know that I am not performing any great action in greeting you,[6] but I was in trouble, and all my relatives have come to comfort me. I feel strengthened by their actions. You all have asked me to live (not to succumb to my sorrows),

[5] It is believed that a warrior is in control of the spirits of all the people he has killed. His function at this wake is to put these spirits at the disposal of the dead man, to guide him, and to take care of him.

[6] I. e., if I were a great man and this were a ceremony of rejoicing, then a greeting would mean something. This is another example of ceremonial modesty.

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and I shall try to overcome my grief and sorrow. I will not forget all the good you have done for me. You have been a comfort to me and you have helped me in many things. Now this is the last night, and I am glad that it is a good night for the warriors to relate their experiences. If they should say anything funny I hope that you will not hold back your laughter. I, too, will laugh with you. You are free to make all the noise you care to, for I will feel all the better if you do it. This is what I want you to remember. I greet you all who are present here. 765 539

Then the one who is to address the spirit speaks:

I greet you all. We have come to this (wake) for a purpose, much as we would wish that the occasion for it had never happened. Now I will tell the spirit of the departed the route he is to take, nor will I, by my words, cause him to go astray. On an occasion like this not everyone can talk to spirits (spirits of departed people); not everyone can do it. My grandfather obtained the right to speak to them and handed it down to my father, and he in turn gave it to me. Now I will tell the spirit of the departed the right road to take and I will not cause him to stumble. I shall breathe upon the spirit of the departed, and I wish all those present to do the same. It is said that for those who do not make this sound it is a sign that they will die soon. Now all of you say it. 765 539 775

Then he says "*ha-a*" and "*ha-a*," and all join with him in repeating it.

Then he speaks again (addressing the spirit of the departed):

I suppose you are not far away, that indeed you are right behind me. Here is the tobacco and here is the pipe which you must keep in front of you as you go along. Here also is the fire and the food which your relatives have prepared for your journey. In the morning when the sun rises you are to start. You will not have gone very far before you come to a wide road. That is the road you must take. As you go along you will notice something on your road. Take your war club and strike it and throw it behind you. Then go on without looking back. As you go farther you will again come across (some obstacle). Strike it and throw it behind you and do not look back. Farther on you will come across some animals, and these also you must strike and throw behind you. Then go on and do not look back. The objects you throw behind you will come to those relatives whom you have left behind on earth. They will represent victory in war, riches, and animals for food. When you have gone but a short distance from the last place where you threw objects behind, you will come to a round lodge and there you will find an old woman. She is the one who is to give you further information. She will ask you, "Grandson, what is your name?" This you must tell her. Then (you must say), "Grandmother, when I was about to start from the earth I was given the following objects with which I was to act as mediator between you and the human beings (i. e., the pipe, tobacco, and food)." Then you must put the stem of the pipe in the old woman's mouth and say, "Grandmother, I have made all my relatives lonesome, my parents, my brothers, and all the others. I would therefore like to have them obtain victory in war and honors. That was my desire as I left them downhearted upon the earth. I would that they could have all that life which I left behind me on earth.[8] This is what they asked. This likewise they asked me, that they should not have to travel on this road for some time to come. They also asked to be blessed with those things that people are accustomed to have on earth. All this they wanted me to ask of you when I started from the earth.

[8] The deceased had apparently died young, and what he desires is that the difference between his years and the normal length of life be distributed among his relatives. He means not only the actual years but also whatever he would have accomplished in those years.

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765 539 "They told me to follow the four steps that would be imprinted with blue marks, grandmother." "Well, grandson, you are young but you are wise. It is good. I will now boil some food for you."

775 Thus she will speak to you and then put a kettle on the fire and boil some rice for you. If you eat it you will have a headache. Then she will say, "Grandson, you have a headache, let me cup it for you." Then she will break open your skull and take out your brains and you will forget all about your people on earth and where you came from. You will not worry about your relatives. You will become like a holy spirit. Your thoughts will not go as far as the earth, as there will be nothing carnal about you.

Now the rice that the old woman will boil will really be lice. For that reason you will be finished with everything evil. Then you will go on stepping in the four footsteps mentioned before and that were imprinted with blue earth. You are to take the four steps because the road will look there. All your relatives (who died before you) will be there. As you journey on you will come to a fire running across the earth from one end to the other. There will be a bridge across it but it will be difficult to cross because it is continually swinging. However, you will be able to cross it safely, for you have all the guides about whom the warriors spoke to you. They will take you over and take care of you.

Well, we have told you a good road (to take). If anyone tells a false-head in speaking of the spirit road, you will fall off the bridge and be burned. However (you need not worry) for you will pass over safely. As you proceed from that place the spirits will come to meet you and take you to the village where the chief lives. There you will give him the tobacco and ask for those objects of which we spoke to you, the same you asked of the old woman. There you will meet all the relatives that died before you. They will be living in a large lodge. This you must enter. Ho-o-o, ha-a-a.

764 [115 614] GENERALIZED DESCRIPTION OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS AND WAKE

Informant, member of Bear clan. When a person died a member of his friend (*Aitcakdro*) clan was immediately sent for, who took charge of the body and of all the funeral arrangements. The overseer dressed the deceased in his best clothes and all his honors, for it was said that he was going on a long journey. Then some lansman painted the dead man's face with the clan markings and delivered a speech to the corpse. When he concluded the clan songs were sung and the body was carried to the grave. All the mourners marched in single file. After the body had been buried or placed on a scaffold, as the case might be, a post was placed at the head of the grave, and the warriors among the mourners counted their coups and drew representations of their victories on the posts. [775] The purpose of the warriors in counting coups at the grave was to put at the disposal of the deceased the spirits of all the enemies they had killed, and also to give him additional strength for overcoming the obstacles on the road to the spirit land. Food was placed on the little shelf in front of the window of the grave-house, to be used by the spirit during the four days that he hovered around this earth before departing on his journey. Then a light was lighted and finally, toward evening, all departed for their homes, returning as they had come, in single file,

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and being very careful not to look back toward the grave after they had first started. 764

The same evening the four nights' wake began. The overseer, who was in full charge, had everything prepared. Before the wake formally commenced the chief mourner made a short speech. Then the overseer lighted a pipe and passed it around to all, who took a puff each and returned it to him. Then sweetened water was passed around, of which all partook. The feast followed. Taking on a plate a small portion of all the food to be eaten, the overseer threw it outside for the spirit of the deceased. In the case of a nursling the mother added a small quantity of milk from her breast to the other food on the plate. After the feast the chief mourner made another speech, explaining why the rites were performed and how they had been handed down for many generations. He concluded by thanking the people for all they had done for him. 765 [775] [782]

There was always an abundance of tobacco at a wake. Most of it was given to the warriors, a number of whom were invited, for they played a very important rôle on such an occasion. It was believed that every warrior was in control of the spirit of an enemy he had slain and he was supposed always to be willing to put the spirit at the service of any member of his tribe who had just died, if the proper offerings were made. At the proper time tobacco was given to the warrior, who, rising, narrated his war exploits, at the conclusion of which he ordered the spirit of the enemy he had slain to take charge of the deceased. Then tobacco was given to another warrior, who followed the same procedure, which was continued until midnight. Then most of the people departed to their homes, but some stayed overnight in the lodge in which the wake was held. [431] [276] [775]

The proceedings of the second and third nights of the wake were exactly the same as those of the first, but somewhat longer. The beginning of the ceremony on the fourth night was the same as on the three preceding nights; after a while, however, it deviated in the following manner.

J. F., rising, tells the spirit of the departed the road he is to take in his journey to spirit land, the obstacles he is to meet, and how he is to overcome them. After he has finished the warriors begin to tell some more war exploits, and this continues generally until 3 o'clock in the morning, depending entirely upon the amount of gifts given to the warriors. The gifts generally consist either of 12 pieces of calico each 3 yards, or of beads, or of 12 quarter dollars. The warriors always gamble for these gifts and play the favorite game of the deceased. If a man had died they generally play moccasins; if a woman, *ka'su*. When all the presents have been exhausted, then the relatives of the deceased comb the [775] [431] [525] [524]

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765 mourner's hair, give him presents, and tell him that he is now free to cease mourning and to marry if he wishes.

In former times the period of mourning is supposed to have lasted four years.

[302] When a person is in mourning he always cuts his hair short and does not comb his hair. In former times people often mutilated themselves by cutting off either entire fingers or finger joints.

[304] The overseer always takes all the belongings of the deceased, but he must give the latter's relatives an equal amount of new material.

## Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(first version)

764 184 614 Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the clan dies they send after a man of the Thunderbird clan who is to speak to the corpse, paint it, and give him a war club to take along with him (to the land of the spirits). Then they go after a man from the [615] lower phratry to bury him, for these clans (of the lower phratry) belong on earth and they have the right to dig into the ground and bury people.

When the one who is to be the general overseer arrives and arranges everything, he prepares the corpse, putting a sack of tobacco in one hand and a war club in the other. Then he paints him. He paints the forehead with a red and a black mark and paints the lower part of the face to the end of the nose with scattered dots. He paints the jaw red and he makes a red mark across the mouth and the throat. Then he speaks as follows:

You have departed at this (young) age. You have taken your relatives by surprise and have left them a long part of your life (i. e., you have lived but a small part of your apportioned share of years). As you go to spirit land, you will find on the [775 539] road many feathers, many good plants, and many good kinds of clay, scattered around, the blue clay, the red clay, and the white clay. You will also find the sweet-smelling plants and good life. For all these things do you ask. If anything comes across your path, throw it behind you without looking around. In four days you will depart and objects with which to mediate between us and the spirits will soon be furnished you. For four nights your people will tell you what to do and when they hear you singing on the road they will know that it is you. There (in spirit land) you will go to live and the songs that I will sing you will sing as you travel on your road.

Then he sings (the four clan songs).

When the gravediggers are finished they take the body and carry it to the grave, the mourners following. They take the body to the grave and there lower it.

## Death and Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(second version)

Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan dies, the clansmen discuss what is to be done for the spirit

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of the deceased. Then they go and call the leader of their band 764 184 614
and he comes and addresses the body as follows:

You are about to leave all your relatives. They will remain on earth, objects of pity to all. You will proceed on your road, turning to your left after you start until you come to him who is in charge of the spirits. Whenever you see him, the following 764
request do we wish you to make of him, namely, that he bestow upon us all that 184
you fell short of in your life on this earth. The means of offering, the tobacco, which 614
Earthmaker gave us, we have given you some to take along. As you go along the road you will come to a place where the road branches off. Do not turn to the right, 539
for that road leads to the bad spirits. Turn to the left and soon you will come to a 775
guard. Point your pipe at him and he will be thankful. This man will have a complete suit of clothes and he will look terror-inspiring. He will smoke with you and then you may speak to him as follows: "Grandfather, before I left the earth, the people told me to ask you to point out to me which road I should travel in." Then he will tell you and you will pass ahead and after a while you will come to a fire-girdle. The man who is in charge of it will have a complete suit of clothes just like the first man. Point the stem of your pipe toward him and he will be very thankful and smoke with you. Then make your request, namely, to be permitted to pass, and he will grant it. As you go along after that you will come to a round lodge in which you will find an old woman. Point your pipe at her and she will be thankful and smoke it, and then ask her to let you pass and she will permit you to go ahead. Your hair will now be white but you will not be unconscious. On the contrary, you will have complete possession of all your senses. Then you will come to where he who is in control of spirits sits. Go to him and point your pipe toward him. Then when he is smoking it, ask him to show you the road to Earthmaker, our father, and he will point it out to you. Then you must proceed until you come to Earthmaker. When you get to him, point the stem of your pipe toward him and, if he takes it and smokes it, then you must say, "Earthmaker, my father, you know very well what kind of a life I have led." And he will answer, "You have done well, my son."

The informant then skips to the opening night of the four nights' 765
wake. The address to the spirit that follows is probably delivered 184
by the chief mourner before the formal opening of the wake. 614

*Address to the spirit.*[1]—Ha ho-o-o-o, I want you to listen, you who have become 539
like a spirit. You have made those of your relatives who remained behind on earth 775
miserable and lonely. They have given you much food to take along with you and they have given you a pipe and some tobacco so that you may offer them to the spirits you meet on your road and make some requests of them. The first request that they wish you to make is to ask the spirits to distribute to your clan all the successful warpaths which would have fallen to your share had you lived your normal quota of years; and that all the food, etc., that you have not used be bestowed upon those whom you left behind on earth. The last request you should make of those on the road is to pray that a long time may elapse before any of your relatives traverse this road.

Now follows a description of the obstacles to be met on the road.

When you reach Earthmaker, offer him your pipe, and if he accepts it speak to him as follows: "Grandfather, as I was leaving the earth my relatives asked me to request of you humbly that you bestow upon the clansmen that I left behind me all that I would have accomplished had I lived longer. Now this is what I wished to ask of you, grandfather." Thus you should speak: "Ha ho-o-o-o."

[1] Spirit here is *wanp'ini*, spirit, deity, not *wapyúhi*, ghost, incorporeal embodiment. What is meant is that the deceased has become like one of the spirits, in that he lives, enjoys remembrances, etc., without at the same time having any corporeal existence.

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765 184 614 715 Then all the other people answer *ha-ho-o-o-o*. Now someone lights a pipe and passes it around so that everyone can take a puff. All take a puff, children and women as well as men. After that water is passed around. Then all eat. A little portion of everything served is put aside and thrown out for the spirit to eat. Then a warrior, the person who has charge of the wake, speaks:

[539] I greet you all. I first wish to pour some of the tobacco that you have offered me for our grandfather who is in control of war-giving powers. (Probably the Thunderbirds are meant.) I will tell the spirit as carefully as I can all that I know about the road he must travel. My father impressed upon me very earnestly the need of being very truthful in speaking to the spirit of one recently deceased, for if I were a bad man I would cause the spirit to stumble. For that reason I always feel that I ought not to speak very much whenever I am called upon to talk.

Then a warrior was called upon to tell of his war exploits. He told as accurately as it was possible how he had killed a man, broken his collar bone, and then flayed him; how he had then chopped and cut up his body and mutilated him in such a way that he could not be identified; and how finally he had stolen his dogs. All night he spoke in this strain. He went on to tell how he had killed and utterly destroyed an entire village so that no one was left to tell of the massacre. All night he told of his war exploits. Thus they lighted the road for the spirit (i. e., held the Four Nights' Wake).

The second and third nights were just the same as the first, only that different warriors spoke and different war exploits were told. They are very proud of their war exploits and they would try to tell of their bravest deeds, those that had been most dangerous and which had required the greatest heroism. When the mourners listen to the narrative of such an exploit they become strengthened. All those people on whom the warrior had counted first coup and all those whom he had killed would carry the light for the spirit of the deceased. Those on whom he had counted second coup were commanded to clear the road, and a woman whom the warrior had captured was ordered to carry along the food. The ceremonies of the fourth night are the same as those of the first three nights.

### Death and Funeral Customs of the Bear Clan[8]

764 184 614 [763] Informant, member of the clan. Mr. J. M. died in June, 1911. In accordance with the old Winnebago customs, the first individual to be notified of the death was Mr. J. F., a member of the Wolf clan. To Mr. F. fell the lot of taking charge of all the funeral rites—dressing the deceased, laying his body in the casket, burying him, and, finally, conducting the elaborate funeral wake.

[8] This is practically a reprint of "Description of a Winnebago Funeral," by Lamere and Radin, Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. 23, no. 2, 1921.

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tread firmly upon us as he walks to the spirit land. All that I know I have said before. I was taught nothing that I was to do or say at this place except that we should step over the grave just as our forefathers did when they originated. They were holy and they entered this life on a perfect day just as this day to-day, and, inasmuch as they were holy, all the ground that they touched was holy. It is for that reason that we should step over the grave. 765 184 614 539 [775]

Then we stepped over the grave. After that we went to our homes.

The same evening the wake began. When all the invited guests had arrived and were seated, the feast was spread before them. Then A. W. spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. It is good that this many of you have come to-night. You know that we are not creating any new ceremony, but are simply following up what our forefathers have learned to be true and good. And, as it is said that we should not weep aloud, therefore you will not hear any of us making any utterings of sorrow. And even though we weep silently should anyone come to us we will look upon them smiling. We therefore beg of you, should you find us happy in mood, not to think the worse of us. And now I am ready to turn over the tobacco and water to J. F. Thus I express my thanks to you all that are present.

Then J. F. took the tobacco and water and spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. It is good that so many of you have come to our humble affair and, as our ancestors said that this was the proper way to do, so I am glad that it was given to me to handle the corpse, as I am certain that I will be strengthened by it. I will now pass the tobacco to Mr. X. He is a brave man and he will light the pipe and pass the water before we eat and after supper he will tell the deceased a route to the spirit land. Now I thank you and I greet you.

Then the brave man took the tobacco and filled the pipe and after taking a few puffs from it, passed it to the left and it thus went round, each person taking a puff from the pipe and a sip from the pitcher of water. Then the feast began. When it was over and all the dishes were cleared away, and everyone was properly seated, then the brave man greeted them again:

Relatives, I greet you. As we are not creating anything new, and as our ancestors knew it to be good, and as it is said that if anyone exaggerates a story in a case like this it will cause the soul to stumble, therefore I will tell my war exploits to my relative (the deceased) exactly as I remember them. I greet you all.

He then proceeded to tell his war exploits. When he had finished he again spoke as follows:

Relatives that are present, I greet you. As I said before, I do not wish to cause the soul of my recently deceased relative to stumble and I have tried to tell my story as accurately as I could. It is said that the souls of the ones killed in a battle are at the mercy of the victor, and I therefore command the souls of the ones I have killed to lead and guide my relative safely through the spirit land. I greet you all. [775]

He then passed the tobacco to another brave man present who in his turn greeted those present and related his war exploits. After two warriors had told their war exploits they stopped for the night, 765 184 614

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765 184 614 to continue on the second night. The second and third nights were the same as the first. About the evening of the fourth night, when all the people invited were present, A. W. spoke in the same strain as on the first night, and when he had finished he passed the management of the feast to J. F. The latter then passed it to F. F. now lit the pipe and passed it around, together with the water. Then all partook of the feast. After supper A. W. reported all the donations that were made to them, naming each giver and the amount of the gift and thanking them and praising them for their generous gifts. Then F. told the following story:

### THE JOURNEY OF THE SOUL TO SPIRIT LAND[9]

539 775 765 Ho! Ho! Are you all ready? I am going to speak about the four nights during which you listened to your relatives and to the words they had to say. I am placing the sacrificial tobacco in the rear part of the lodge for you. As you go home do not look back. Before you are far away you will come to a lodge. You may enter this lodge. A door faces the rising sun and a door faces the setting sun. As you enter you will find a woman on your right. Go and sit down opposite her. Then your great-grandmother will say to you, "My great-grandchild, what did they say to you when you were leaving, when your life was over?" "My great-grandmother, as I listened to my beloved relatives they said very little indeed. They said that I was breaking their hearts (in leaving them), and that they hoped that none would follow me soon. Then they asked me to make four requests:

"First. I was to ask for life, that the flames from the lodge fires might go straight upward. Yet they were satisfied if at my departure the flames swayed to and fro.

"Second. Whatever fruit had been predestined for me and that I did not taste, my relatives should hereafter not be deprived of.

"Third. They also mentioned nuts, all manner of herbs, all serviceable hides and skins, all medicinal roots and grasses. They commanded me to make a request for all things that exist in the earth.

"Fourth. That if anyone has a friend his weapon might have a keen edge on one side. Now, my great-grandmother, this is the number of requests they commanded me to make."

"My great-grandchild, although you are young, you are wise. My great-grandchild, my lodge is a place where all who enter must pass an examination. Earthmaker looks upon it as a keen-edged instrument. No clouds of ill omen ever pass over it. Now, my grandchild, as to those four requests you put to me, it shall be as you say. The nuts and herbs you have requested shall be given you. There will be nothing of that food predestined for you that your relatives will not taste. The hides and skins, the grasses they will possess in plenty. And if they have friends their weapons will be keen on one side. All that they have requested through you shall be given them. Here is the food set before you in this wooden bowl."

Then you are to answer to her, "My grandmother, this was what my relatives begged for. These are the things I was to leave behind me for those on earth."

Now, be sure that you only take a taste and push the dish away from you. For then the old woman will say, "My great-grandchild, all that you have left behind you in that dish represents the vegetable kingdom on this earth. Many who are older than you have eaten all that I gave them, my great-grandchild. You have a wise head on young shoulders. All that you have left in the dish shall grow on the face of the earth. Earthmaker is waiting for you in great expectation. There is the door to

[9] Obtained from Henry Cloud.

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the setting sun. On your way stands the lodge of Hereegu'nina, and his fire. Those who have come (the souls of brave men) from the land of the souls to take you back will touch you. There the road will branch off toward your right and you will see the footprints of the day on the blue sky before you. These footprints represent the footprints of those who have passed into life again. Step into the places where they have stepped and plant your feet into their footprints, but be careful you do not miss any. Before you have gone very far, you will come into a forest of wake'ja' broken by open prairies here and there. Here, in this beautiful country, those souls whose duty it is to gather other souls will come to meet you. Walking on each side of you they will take you safely home. As you enter the lodge of the Earthmaker you must hand to him the sacrificial offerings. Here the inquiry that took place in the first lodge will be repeated and answered in the same manner. Then he will say to you, "All that your grandmother has told you is true. Your relatives are waiting for you in great expectation. Your home is waiting for you. Its door will be facing the mid-day sun. Here you will find your relatives gathered. Inasmuch, then, as our ruler will nod assent and express his approval by word of mouth, so shall we now do the same." 539 775 765

At this word all those assembled at the wake shout, *Ho-ha!*

Then a warrior told his war experiences and after thanking the people passed the tobacco to the next warrior, who in turn related his war experiences. 765 184 614

The amount of gifts was then figured out and they tried to arrange matters so that the warriors were through with their stories about midnight. At midnight games were played with the donations as prizes. The gifts generally consisted of twelve 3-yard pieces of calico or money equal to that amount of calico; twelve strings of beads, etc. These were the gifts used as prizes. Other donations of food were made for the four nights' feast. A. W was in charge of the games and he likewise designated what games were to be played. As they generally play the games the deceased was fond of so in this case they played the moccasin game and cards. After the donations were exhausted and the games finished a brave man was called upon to give a war whoop in thankfulness for the sun, and also to all the spirits above and below. Then A. W. greeted and thanked the guests again for coming, and the wake was over. [431] [524]

In olden times the widow was supposed to continue single for four years. She is strongly admonished, nevertheless, not to continue in low spirits, and to consider herself free to act in any way that will make her happy. She is told to play games or dance, or in fact do anything that will make her forget her sorrow, and she is told that no one will hold her conduct against her as disrespectful to the deceased. As this admonition is given to her by the sister or aunt of the deceased's husband, the only people who could properly reproach her—namely, the members of her husband's clan—it has all the more weight. The prohibition of weeping is furtner strengthened by the fact that it is customary to say that any woman who weeps too profusely at the death of her husband is in reality thinking, in 768

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768 the midst of her tears, of the one she is going to marry next. The people will then tell one another not to put themselves out too much as the widow will soon forget her mourning and show no respect to the memory of the dead, but instead look after her own pleasures.

### Funeral Customs of the Buffalo Clan

764 Told by a member of the clan.* If a Buffalo clan man dies some
184 members of his clan who are called upon would speak as follows:
614
539 To-day when you ceased to breathe we were aware of it. Therefore relatives who are present, I greet you. Here my brother's life has ended, and for the last time I will talk to him about the road he is to take.

Ha"ho, my brother, the place at which we originated was called Bad Lake. There were four buffaloes there and from the youngest one are we descended. They lived holy lives, and we hope you will walk in their path. That you may strike everything (you meet on your journey) you must take along with you a war club. You shall walk armed with sharp teeth; and it will be impossible for bad spirits to walk back and forth across your path. And your sight shall be holy as you walk.

Then the speaker painted the face of the deceased. On the right side of his forehead he painted a rainbow with blue and red paint. After that he sang the clan songs. When he was through singing, a member of the Water-spirit clan spoke as follows:

Relatives, I greet you. When one of you passes away and you ask me to work, I am always willing to be of service. And I shall do it all the more willingly now because I am certain that I shall obtain some of the years that the deceased left "unlived." I do it with that belief, and furthermore I pray that no bad animals abuse the deceased on his journey. It is said that one chooses the soul of the dead in thinking thus. Therefore I do it and also that I myself may be strengthened thereby. I came back willingly when I was asked to work and I am doing this so that no bad animals should abuse the soul of the deceased.

Then one of the callers would talk to the mourners, saying as follows:

Relatives, I greet you. To-day one of your relatives has disappeared. You must, however, keep up your courage and not cry, for Earthmaker above has ordained that we should disappear. If a piece of earth caves in, it disappears, and when a rock crumbles it is disappearing. Thus, it is said, it must be.

### Origin Myth of the Four Nights' Wake

539 Two friends went out to cut arrow-sticks, and were surprised by a
765 war party and killed. When they were shot they thought they had stumbled and went right on (in the spirit). After the enemy had killed the first one they chased the second one and killed him, and so their bodies lay apart. Then the war party left and the two spirits started to follow them. Soon they came to where their bodies were lying. Then they said, "Let us follow the enemy a little." Soon they caught up to the war party and one of the spirits pushed one of the

* This account is quite fragmentary and was obtained in connection with the clan myth. It is given here on account of the speeches.

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men on the back of his head. He immediately became paralyzed from the touch. Then they pushed another man and he could not walk. So they laughed and turned back in order to return to their home. 539 765

They had not yet learned that they were dead. One went to his camp and told his wife that he was hungry but she paid no attention to him. The other had the same experience. Then each man started to go to the other man's lodge and they met midway. The first man said, "I came back hungry and asked for food, but they would not give me any, so I thought that I would go to your place." The second one said the same thing. Then they said, "Let us lie down a while." Just then the people began to cry, for they had brought back the bodies of the two dead men. Then one of the men said, "My friend, we have been killed." The other one began to cry.

So the people gathered together and had a meal. One of the ghosts said, "We must try and get something from the meal that they are having, for the people said, 'We are giving this meal in honor of the departed.'" Then the other friend said, "Now we are going to eat, for they are cooking for us."

These two were born again and told about this, and that is how we know it. This is the origin of the Four Nights' Wake. It is claimed that the spirits of the spirit land have a four nights' feast before they start.

764
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## Grave-post Marks

(Drawings by informant)

(Fig. 28)

Warrior has been on the warpath (homani'na).

Warrior was a leader of a warpath (sak'i').

Warrior was a helper on a warpath (wagixô'na) (rek'i').

Warrior counted one of the three coup (wa'ngwanąk).

Warrior had made a captive (wangini).

Warrior had killed a horse on the warpath or stolen one from the enemy.

If a person had killed a man and cut off his head, he is allowed to paint the top (upper part!) of the grave-post red.

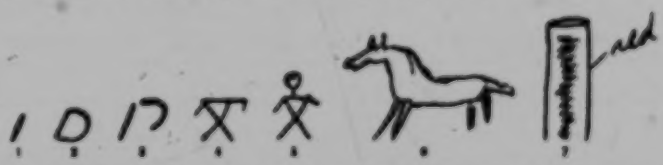


Fig. 28.—Grave-post marks: 1, Has been on the warpath; 2, has been leader on warpath; 3, has been helper on warpath; 4, has counted one of the coup; 5, has made a captive; 6, has killed horse on warpath or stolen one from enemy; 7, has killed a man and cut off his head.

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limb.[12] They will indeed like you very much if you obtain a limb, 867
or, even better, two or three. If you do thus, wherever people boil 554
an animal with a head [13] you will always be able to eat.

If on account of your bravery you are permitted to tell of your 867
war exploits during the Four Nights' Wake for the benefit of the 765
soul of the deceased, do not try to add to your glory by exaggerat- 554
ing any exploit, for by so doing you will cause the soul to stumble on its journey to the spirit land.[14] If you do this and add an untruth to the account of your war exploit, you will die soon after. The war spirits always hear you. Tell a little less. The old men say it is wise.

My son, it is good to die in war. If you die in war, your soul will 867
not be unconscious. You will have complete disposal of your soul 721
and it will always be happy.[15] If you should ever desire to return 775
to this earth and live here again, you will be able to do so. A second life as a human being you may live, or, if you prefer, as an inhabitant of the air (a bird) you may live, or you may roam the earth as an animal. Thus it is to him who dies in battle.

My son, fast for an honorable place among your fellowmen. Fast, 867
so that when you are married you may have plenty of food; that 785
you may be happy and that you may not have to worry about your 787
children. If in your fastings you have a vision of your future home, the members of your family will be lacking in nothing during their life. Fast for the food that you may need. If you fast a sufficiently large number of times, when in after life you have children and they cry for food you will be able to offer a piece of deer or moose meat without any difficulty. Your children will never be hungry.

[12] That is, a war honor, but more specifically if you "count coup" first. The honor of killing an enemy [535]
and the three honors connected with first touching his dead body are always spoken of as "the four limbs" of the body.

[13] That is, whenever people give a Winter Feast. At this feast a deer, bread and oil, is served to the [527,
invited guests. The bread may only be eaten by brave warriors. 262]

[14] At the death of a chieftain an elaborate wake takes place. To this wake, as the principal participants, three or four warriors who have counted "coup" are always invited. It is believed that the souls of all the enemies one has killed become the slaves of the victor and he may command them to do his bidding at any time. If the victor tells his exploit and then commands the enslaved soul to take care of the recently 765
departed person in whose honor the wake is being given, the soul of the conquered enemy will be of considerable aid in overcoming the obstacles that are supposed to infest the path between this earth and the land of the spirits. These can not be overcome by the merits of the individual alone. If, however, a warrior becomes victorious, the soul of the recently departed individual will fall into the abyss of fire which surrounds one of the heavenly earths through which he must pass. That is what is meant by "stumbling." 775

[15] It must be remembered that the Winnebago believe that all that constitutes "life," "consciousness," 774
continues to exist after death, the only difference being that in the former case an envelope, the body, is present and, in the latter case, it is not. Winnebago philosophy does not concern itself with what happens 775
when a soul becomes "unconscious" at death, which would, of course, be the case with all those who do not die in battle, but it does insist that to him who dies on the warpath the moment of death does not even deprive of consciousness. He goes right on living, as if he were still an inhabitant of this earth, the only difference being that the corporeal envelope has fallen off his soul and that, although he can and hears human beings, he himself is not visible nor his voice audible.

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taking their part, or that you love them if you talk merely about 867
loving them. Show them that you love them by your actions. 593
Let them see that you are generous with donations. In such ac- 858
tions they will see your good work and then they will be able to judge for themselves whether your actions equal your words.

My daughter, do not show your love for other children so that strangers notice it. You may, of course, love other children, but love them with a different love from that which you bestow on your own children. The children of other people are different from your own children, and if you were to take them to some other place after you had been lavishing so much love upon them they would not act as your children would under the same circumstances. You can always depend upon your own children. They are of your own body. Love them, therefore. This is what our ancestors taught us to do.

If a wife has no real interest in her husband's welfare and posses- 867
sions she will be to him no more than any other woman, and the 593
world will ridicule her. If, on the other hand, you pay more attention to your husband than to your parents, your parents will leave you. Let your husband likewise take care of your parents, for they depend on him. Your parents were instrumental in getting you your husband, so remember that they expect some recompense for it, as likewise for the fact that they raised you.

My daughter, the old people used to teach us never to hurt the [602
feelings of our relatives. If you hurt their feelings, you will cause 606
your brothers-in-law to feel ashamed of themselves. Do not ever 837]
wish for any other man but your husband. It is enough to have one husband. Do not let anyone have the right to call you a prostitute.

Do not hit your relatives at any time. For if you did that or if 867
you were on bad terms with one of them, it may chance that he will 602
die, and then the people will say that you are glad that he is dead. Then, indeed, you will feel sad at heart and you will think to yourself, "What can I best do" (to make up for my conduct). Even if you were to give a Medicine Dance in his honor or donate gifts for the Four Nights' Wake, many people will still say, "She used to be partial and jealous when he was alive. Now that he is dead she loves him. Why does she act this way? She is wasting her wealth. (She really does not love him and therefore), and she ought not to spend so much money upon him now." Then, indeed, my daughter, will your heart ache; then, indeed, will you get angry. That is why the old people would tell their children to love one another. If you love a person and that person dies, then you will have a right to mourn for him, and everyone will think that your mourning is [765
sincere. Not only will your own relatives love you, but everyone else will love you likewise. If, then, in the course of your life you

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An old Winne-
bago told the author that long ago a young man wanted to marry a girl belonging to his phratry and refused to listen to the entreaties of his father and mother. Finally the father, in desperation, went over to the lodge of a man belonging to one of the clans into which the young man could marry and asked for one of the sacred possessions. It was, of course, refused, and when the man was asked what other requests he wished to make, he asked that the host's daughter be allowed to marry his son. This was, of course, granted, and thus the boy was compelled to marry into the proper phratry. 614 615 582 778

One Winnebago interpreted the custom in an entirely different way. Exactly how much importance is to be attached to this explanation it is hard to say. According to this informant, the insult lay not in going to the fireplace or taking a firebrand, but in asking for it. The insult apparently consists in not taking it for granted that anyone entering the lodge was permitted to do what he wished. In other words, his asking was a breach of etiquette. 614 372 689 [576]

The typical method of burial in the Thunderbird clan was scaffold burial. It has long since been discontinued.

The burial customs seem to have been the same for all the clans. It may, however, be that in former times there were slight differences. For instance, in the first version of the Thunderbird clan origin myth the statement is made that the branch of a tree was placed at the grave and a small stick, painted red, attached to it. The author has no recollection of ever hearing the same statement made in connection with any other of the clans. 614 764 [184]

There are four songs associated with the Thunderbird clan. These are supposed to have been sung by the clan ancestors when they came to this earth, and are now always sung when a member of the clan dies, and on a few other occasions. 614 [533]

According to one informant, members of the Elk, Warrior, Deer, and Buffalo clans acted as servants to the Thunderbird clan on various occasions. The same informant also claimed that the Warrior clansmen took specific orders from the Thunderbird clansmen when on the warpath. [554]

According to another informant, Thunderbird marks at death are a half circle on the forehead, made with charcoal. The proper marking is, however, that shown in plate 46. [765]

Two dog names used in the Thunderbird clan are obtained—*pi'zakirutega; ka-iwakitca'ga.*

The only feast specifically connected with the Thunderbird clan was the so-called chief feast, of which a description will be found on page 318. One of the divisions of the war-bundle feast is often considered as sacred to the thunderbird, but this is always the deity thunderbird, not the ancestor of the clan. [796] [776]

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005 614 764 the council lodge. According to another informant, the Bear clan is the Deer's friend, and therefore they bury one another.

Burial, as was the case for all members of the lower phratry, was in the ground. Opinions varied as to what clan was supposed to bury a Bear man, some people claiming that it would have to belong to the upper phratry, others that it was incumbent upon the Wolf clan. It seems that the latter custom is the one followed at the present time and one which is considered old, to judge from the account of an actual funeral (cf. p. 148). The body was always buried with a miniature Bear clan war bundle. According to one informant, a bow and arrows were occasionally placed in the hands of the corpse, in addition to some tobacco. According to another [765 302] informant, the facial marks were charcoal across the forehead and red marks under the lips in direct imitation of the bear.

The facial decoration for the corpse consisted of two parallel marks across the forehead, the upper one red and the lower one black, and the painting of the entire chin red (pl. 46). The red paint on the [761] chin was interpreted as a smile, for the Bear clansmen were supposed to greet death with a smile, as they were returning to their clan ancestors. The statement was also made that Bear clansmen should not mourn the death of any of their comrades.

614 [796 264] There is a specific Bear clan feast at which no one is permitted to laugh or talk, nor is anyone allowed to make any noise while drinking soup. The feasters must eat with their left hand.

One of the most interesting of the ceremonies associated with the Bear clan is the so-called bear or soldier dance (*manaᵃpe wuci*). It was described to the author as follows:

614 796 755 When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village the people go to the chief and say "Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!" And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks as follows: "My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease." Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well.

It is quite clear that this "healing" function of the clan is intimately associated with the powers supposed to be bestowed upon individuals by Bear spirits. In fact, we are really dealing with a society possessing the power of healing disease in which membership, however, is restricted to members of the Bear clan.

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The Crow (i. e., Menominee) Indians knew what a wonderful man he was and whenever he went to visit them they gave him many presents. He would be invited to a feast as soon as he arrived. 648 791 754

On one occasion when they had a feast in a lodge (in his honor) one of the Menominee marked the ground in front of him and dared Lincoln's grandfather to come over, saying that if he did he would injure him. When the Winnebago crossed the mark he was pushed in all directions and finally shoved into a pit, bruising himself a great deal. When he came out, the old man said, "You have probably never heard of me. To-morrow noon, soldiers will hit you." Then the Menominee asked, "If soldiers hit me, what will be the result?" "You will die." Then the Menominee said, "You have nothing to do with my life," and made a jump at him.

The Menominee who had been told that he was going to die said the next morning to his nephew, "Nephew, let us go to the lake and look around. I can't forget what the old man told me yesterday." So they took their spears for fishing and went out. While they were on the lake they saw a deer drinking at the edge of the water. The man took a shot at the deer, and the deer ran back into the timber. The man and his nephew pursued it. After a while the man gave a yell and then all was quiet. The nephew went over to the place and there the man was found dead. At his side a very large snake, with hair on its back, was standing.

The next morning one could hear the mourning songs all over the woods. Then they went to look for the Winnebago, for they believed that it was his fault. They told him not to worry about it and gave him a horse to appease him. The day after they all had left the camp, the Winnebago pointed to some hawks that were circling around and told the Menominee to watch the foremost one. Then he pointed his finger at that one and made a sound with his mouth and the bird fell down dead. This Winnebago had the power to do this to all birds. He always told the Winnebago not to eat these birds because they were not good. [765 533] [789]

### The Uses of the Stench-Earth Medicine[1]

There once was a man who had consumption and who knew that he was going to die soon. His relatives were about to move him to some other place and so he told them just to build him a separate lodge and leave him alone—that he wanted to die there. He asked them likewise not to come back to see him. They obeyed him and left him to die alone. 763 [64]

One day he decided to go out into the wilderness and die there. He went to the top of a hill and lay down. He noticed many birds

[1] This is the liverwort medicine. Which plant is meant the writer was not able to determine.

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upon the soul of our friend (the scalp) and you have tried to gain 727
additional life. I also desire life. Our ancestors were equal to the 796
spirits in their power and they asked each other to help one another in obtaining life. I will try to ask for that which you have asked. I greet you all."

Then all the war-bundle owners in the lodge greeted each other, and the drum was passed around until every one in the lodge had sung. Then they danced the *hok'ize're* dance until early dawn and when the sun was about to appear they took the drum to the post and danced the victory dance until the sun was high in the heavens. Then they went to sleep. All day they slept, and toward evening of the fourth night, when the sun was low, they began the victory dance again. When it was dark they entered the lodge and placed the drum in the center. Then the attendants put dog meat in the [262]
kettles. When all was in readiness and all the feasters had entered the lodge the host offered tobacco to the spirits for whom food was being prepared and spoke as follows:

"After we have sung four songs the meal will be ready to be served. The attendants, it is true, have not cooked very much and it will doubtless not be enough for all, but I think that there will be a little portion for every one. When I have finished the four songs, then the donor for whom this ceremony is being given will select the people who are to eat with him. Then the attendants will distribute the portions of meat, in addition to the heads, and then we will all start to eat."

Then all ate. The donor after first eating with his friends ate alone with the scalp. Then some of the men arose and gave thanks. Finally the host rose again and said, "Whatever little it was in my power to do, I tried to do. All have tried to help me. It is really good. I am really unable to say what I wanted, but it is good. As the drum passes around, may it be of some help to every one."

Then the drum is passed to the one who had first counted coup. He sings and then it is passed to the other three who counted coup, who likewise sing. From them it is passed to all the other people in the lodge who have not sung yet. Then all dance the *hok'ize're* dance and toward dawn the drum is taken outside to the post and the victory dance is given. If the donor had lost a child the others [765]
now wipe off his tears and tell him not to cry any more; and they make the mourner feel joyful again. When it became (full) daylight they danced the victory dance and walked four times around the pole. Then they went to the grave of the child that had died and danced the victory dance there and stuck the scalp in the ground, for the soul of the child. There it would wither and the father would feel happy. This is the end.

ing site, but then picking them up started for the home of his own father. 539

Thus, with the eight heads, he came to his father's lodge, but he did not enter it until late at night. Then when all his people were asleep, he blackened his face and entering the lodge, sat down in the place he had occupied before he had married. The old man suddenly saw some one sitting in his son's accustomed seat and awakening his wife he said to her, "There is some one sitting in our son's seat who looks exactly like our son." Both of them then sat up and soon they discovered that it really was their son and that he was in mourning, his face all blackened with charcoal. [965]

Then the old man spoke, "My son, what is the matter?" And the son answered, "Father, a war-party came upon my camp while I was out hunting, took my wife prisoner, and killed my children." "My son, if you had any respect for yourself, why did you not die with your children?" "Father, let me explain to you how it happened. While I was out hunting they fell upon my lodge, killed my two children and took my wife prisoner. When I came back I felt very miserable but I laughed and cooked my own meal, fed the children and ate with them for the last time. Then I pursued the war party and on that very night I killed eight of them, whose heads and war clubs I have brought home with me. Near the spring I have hidden them. There I placed the heads in a row and there I planted the war clubs in the ground, one near each head." "My son," said the father, "you have done well and the souls of your children will certainly reach the spirit land safely. For us, too, you have brought some nice heads, so that we might derive some amusement from them. I am very thankful to you." [927]

In the morning the father sent the crier around the vil-

## *Crashing Thunder*

They all came to the Four

539 Nights' Wake and they all played the mourning games
775 with him. Then on the morning after the fourth night they
[765] all went home and the young man was left alone.

Immediately he made preparations to journey toward the west, for it is said that the soul of the deceased goes in that direction. In the direction of the west did he therefore chase the soul of his wife. As he trudged along the road he became worn out with exertion and fatigue and finally found it necessary to support himself on a cane. Even for that, however, his strength was not adequate and after a while all he could do was to barely creep along. Soon his knees were worn out from the incessant crawling and he tied some basswood bark around them. Thus he continued until all his strength deserted him. He was just strong enough to crawl to a pleasant-looking knoll. "This," he said, "is pleasant and nice and here I am willing to die." He rolled over until he finally reached the coveted spot and there lay awaiting death with his eyes closed.

Suddenly, much to his surprise, he heard some one talking to him, saying, "Come let us go home. I live here." The young man opened his eyes and looked about him and there before him he saw a fearful-looking person whose body was entirely covered with hair. The young man was unable to get up but the stranger spoke to him and said, "Come on!" At this the young man jumped up and followed him around the lodge. There the old man said to him, "Grandson, you are indeed in a most pitiable condition and I wish I could help you. But I do not know how. The little knowledge I possess I will tell you." Then he gave him something to eat and spoke to him again, "My son, you must keep straight on and at some distance from here you will come to a body of water over which you must jump. Then you must proceed straight on."

When on some other occasion 787 159* such as the Four Nights' Wake, you are called upon to 867 recount your war exploits in behalf of the departed souls, [765] be careful, however, not to claim more than you actually accomplished. If you do, you will cause the soul of the [775] man in whose behalf you are telling it, to stumble [17] in his journey to spirit land. If you tell a falsehood then and exaggerate, you will die before your time, for the spirits, [577] the war-controllers, will hear you. It is indeed a sacred duty to tell the truth on such an occasion. Tell less than you did. The old men say it is wiser.

My son, it is good to die on the warpath. If you die on [721] the warpath, you will not lose consciousness at death. You [775] will be able to do what you please with your soul and it will always remain in a happy condition. If afterwards you wish to become reincarnated as human being, you may do so, or you may take the form of those-who-walk-upon-the-light, the birds, or the form of any animal you please, in short. All these benefits will you obtain if you die on the warpath.

## II

My son, if you cannot obtain war-blessings, fast at least 159* for position in life. If you fast then, when you get married 867 you will get along well. You will then not have to worry 785 about your having children and your life will be a happy 787 one. If you fast and have the spirits bless you with all that concerns the happiness of your home, then throughout life

[17] According to Winnebago belief the soul of a deceased individual in his journey to spirit land must cross a very slippery, swinging bridge and it is thought that if, during the wake following the man's burial, any of the invited warriors exaggerate their achievements the unfortunate soul will not be able to cross this bridge and will stumble and fall into the abyss of fire over which it is thrown. [775]

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 spring of the year my father came after me and asked the superintendent whether I could go home for two weeks and he consented to let me go.

*159 765 Then my father spoke to me, "My son, your grandfather[1] is dead and they are going to have a memorial ceremony in his honor to take place at a performance of the Medicine Dance. Some one, you know, must take his place in the ceremony and they have decided that I am to be the one. Now, my son, of all the children I possess I have most control over you. I have never kept anything from you and you have never willfully disobeyed me. I want you therefore to do me the favor and take my place. I am getting old and [203] besides cannot control my desire for drink any longer. Under these circumstances I would not be able to live up to the teachings of the lodge. I wish therefore to turn my right over to you. Do you take your grandfather's place." Thus my father spoke to me.

[P. 90]

[1] [i.e., his father's uncle. See category 116, p. 102 --analyst]

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back for home they were told under no circumstances 159*
to turn around and look in the direction of the grave. 764

As soon as they returned home the man in charge of the funeral arrangements went around the village 159*
and invited every one to come to the wake. Brave men 765
and warriors are especially welcome.

The mourners prepared food and when the sun went down the chief mourner took a stick made of hard wood, lit it, and carried it to the grave, placing it at the east end. It must be still burning when put there. After this the man returned and the funeral manager prepared everything for the feast. When all were gathered around he rose and addressed the people as follows:

Relatives, all you who are gathered around here, I greet 159*
you. I have done nothing of any consequence which could 765
justify you in coming here and thus honoring me, but being 539
relatives of mine, you came in the kindness of your hearts 539
to comfort me. I have prepared cooked food and boiled water for the dead person. Tobacco is also handy and as soon as the attendant is ready he will pass this around to those who wish any.

It is good that so many of you have come to-night. You know that we are not creating any new ceremony but are simply following what our ancestors found to be true and good. And as it is said that we should not weep aloud, [152]
you will not hear any of us making utterings of sorrow. And even though we weep silently, should any one come to us we will look upon them smiling. We therefore beg of you, should you find us happy in mood, not to think the worst of us.

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 Then the attendant took the water and tobacco and
765 gave it to the one who was to speak to the soul of the
775 departed person. This one then rose and spoke as
539 follows:

537 To-night we have come together not for the sake of amusement but because we are afflicted with grief. Now it is the custom to speak to the soul of the departed. It is a sacred action yet even I, they tell me, can do it provided no worthier person can be found. I have even been told that my words will not cause the spirit of the departed to lose his way on his journey to spirit-land. For that reason I am going to speak to the soul of the departed and say the best I can. I greet you all.

Then he takes some tobacco in his hand and passing it behind him through the lodge says:

Here it is, the tobacco. I am certain that you, O ghost, are not very far away, that in fact you are standing right in back of me, waiting for me to reach you the pipe and tobacco, that you might take it along with you; that you are waiting for the food to take with you on your journey. For four nights, however, you will have to wait here. Now here are the things that you desire. In return we ask you to act as mediator between the spirits and us. You have made us long for you and therefore do you see to it that all those things that belonged to you, all those things that you would have enjoyed had you lived longer—the victories on the warpath, earthly possessions, life—that all these you leave behind for your relatives to enjoy. This do you ask for us as you travel along. One thing more do I ask of you: do not cause us to follow you, do not cause your
[182] relatives any fear. I have now lit the pipe for you.

## *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

Then the pipe is passed on to all those present. After that the leader drinks a little water and passes this around too. It is only after pipe and water have passed all the way around that the people begin to eat. When the meal is over the attendant takes the pipe and some tobacco and places it before some distinguished warrior who has been invited to the wake. The latter is then asked to speak to the soul of the deceased and tell him the route to take on the journey to the spirit land. This warrior then rises and speaks:

159 * 765 ● 775 539 537

Ho, I greet you all. We are not greeting one another because we are happy as on ordinary occasions but because it is the custom to come together at a wake. Now I shall show the soul of the departed the route he is to take and the care he must observe on his journey. I shall announce to him the ghosts over whom I have control and who are to conduct him safely to his destination. I will not exaggerate [22] when I speak of my war exploits but relate only what really happened to me. It is said that if a person exaggerates and tells falsehoods in recounting his exploits on such an occasion, the soul of the departed will stumble on his journey. I shall therefore only tell the truth and I shall tell the chief of the spirits to guide our dead one safely over all obstacles. Now I am not going to speak of anybody else's exploits but only of my own. Only those over whom I have control will I put at the disposal of our dead one to act as his guide. The spirit-tobacco, the spirit-food, and the fire, these things the ghosts over whom [577]

[22] For the dangers of exaggeration on such an occasion see note 15. It was also believed to cause the death of the warrior who indulged in it. 1



1 [The author apparently means note 17. See Category 116, p. 59 -- analyst]

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159
765
[775]
[539]
[537]

I have control will carry for him, and they will lead him by the hand until he reaches his destination. I greet you all.

Then he narrated his war exploit. He went into great detail. He told as accurately as it was possible how he had killed a man, broken his collar bone and then flayed him; how he had then chopped and cut up the body and mutilated him in such a fashion that he could not be identified; how finally he had stolen his dogs. All night he spoke in this strain. He went on to tell how he had killed and utterly destroyed an entire village so that no one was left to tell of the massacre. All night he told of his war exploits. Sometimes such an account may last two to three hours. When he finished the people all went to sleep.

[727]

For three nights the same thing was repeated. Throughout this time a burning ember was placed at the grave. When the spirit was ready to start his journey he took this ember, it is believed.

[775]

For the fourth night all the brave men as well as everybody else in the neighborhood were invited. A great quantity of food was prepared and the relatives of the mourners brought objects to be used in the games that are always played at the wake. They tried to comfort the main mourners as much as possible. On the fourth night a burning ember was also placed at the grave of the deceased.

[524]

As soon as the attendants prepared the food the chief mourner got up and spoke:

## *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

I greet you all. I know that I am not performing any great action in greeting you. I was in trouble and all my relatives have come to comfort me. You have all asked me to live and not to succumb to my sorrows and I shall therefore try to overcome my grief and sorrow. I will not forget all the good you have done for me. You have been a comfort to me and you have helped me in many things. Now we have come to the last night and I am glad that it is a nice night for the warriors to relate their experiences. If they should say something funny I hope that you will not hold back laughter. I, too, will laugh with you. You are free to make all the noise you care to for I shall feel all the better if you do. This is what I want you to remember. I greet all those who are present here. 159* 765 537 539

Then the one who is to address the spirits speaks: 159*

I greet you all. We have come to this wake for a purpose, much as I would wish that the occasion for it had never happened. Now I am going to tell the soul of the departed the road he is to take, nor will I, by my words, cause him to go astray. On an occasion like this not every one is qualified to speak to the souls of the dead; not every one can do it. My grandfather obtained the right to do it and handed it down to my father, who in turn, turned it over to me. Now I am going to breathe upon the soul of the departed and I wish all those present to do the same. It is said that for those who do not make this breathing it is a sign that they will die. So do all of you breathe with me. 765 775 537 539 [424]

Then he said *ha-a* and all joined with him in repeating it. He now began his address to the spirit of the deceased:

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 Ho-o! Are you ready? I am going to speak of the
● 165 Four Nights' Wake during which you listened to your
175 relatives and to the words they had to say. I am placing
537 the sacrificial tobacco in the rear of the lodge.
539 I suppose you are not far away, that indeed you are right behind me. Here is the tobacco and here is the pipe which you must keep in front of you as you go along. Here also is the fire and the food which your relatives have prepared for your journey. In the morning when the sun rises, you are to start. You will not have gone very far before you come to a wide road. This is the road you must take. As you walk along you will notice something on your road. Take your war club and strike it and throw it behind you. Then go on without looking back. As you proceed you will again come across some obstacle. Strike it and throw it behind you and do not look back. Still farther, you will come across some animals and these also you must strike and throw behind you. Go on right along and do not turn back. The objects you have thrown behind you will go to the relatives whom you left behind on earth. They will symbolize victory in war, riches, and food-animals. When you have gone but a short distance from the last place where you threw an object behind you, you will come to a lodge. This lodge you may enter. One of its doors faces the rising sun. As you enter you will find an old woman on your right. Go and sit opposite her. Then your great-grandmother will say to you, "My great-grandchild, what did the people say to you when you were leaving, when your life was over." And you must answer, "My great-grandmother, as I listened to my beloved relatives they said very little indeed. They said that I was breaking their hearts in leaving them and that they hoped that none

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



would follow me soon. Then they asked me to make the following four requests: 159 * 765 ●

First: I was to ask for life; that the flames from the lodge fire rise straight upward. Yet they would be satisfied, they said, if at my departure the flames only swayed to and fro. 775 539 539

Second: Whatever fruit had been predestined for me and that I did not taste, my relatives were not to be deprived of.

Third: They also mentioned nuts, all kinds of herbs, all serviceable hides and skins, all medicinal roots and grasses. They asked me to make a request for all the things that grow on the earth.

Fourth: That if any one had a friend his weapon might have a keen edge on one side.

Now, my great-grandmother, these are the requests my relatives commanded me to make."

Then she will answer you and say, "My great-grandchild, you are wise beyond your years. My great-grandchild, my lodge is a place where all who enter must pass an examination. Earthmaker looks upon it as a keen-edged instrument. No clouds of ill omen ever pass over it. The four requests you have made will be granted. The nuts and herbs you have asked for shall be given to you. There will be nothing of that food predestined for you that your relatives will not taste. The hides and skins, all the grasses, they shall possess in plenty. And if they have friends their weapons will be keen on one side. All that they have requested through you will be granted. Now, great-grandson, here is some food for you in this wooden bowl."

If you eat it you will have a headache. She will say,

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*159
● 765
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537
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"Great-grandson, you have a headache. Let me cup it for you." Then she will break open your skull and take out your brains and you will forget all about your people. You will become like a holy spirit. Your thoughts will not extend as far as the earth, as there will be nothing carnal about you.

Now be sure that you only take a taste and push the dish away from you for then the old woman will say, "My great-grandchild, all that you have left behind you in that dish represents the vegetable kingdom on the earth. Many who are older than you ate all that I gave them. You have a wise head on young shoulders. All that you have left on the plate will grow on the face of the earth. Now Earthmaker is waiting for you in great expectation. There is the door to the setting sun." On your way you will come to the lodge of the chief of the bad spirits and his fire. Those who come, the souls of the brave men who have come from the land of the spirits, will meet you here and touch you. There the road will branch off toward your right and you will see the footprints representing the footprints of those who have passed into life again. Step into their steps and plant your feet upon their footprints, but be careful that you do not miss any. Before you have gone very far you will come into a forest of bushes alternating with prairies. Here in this beautiful country the souls whose duty it is to gather together the other souls, will come to meet you. Walking on each side of you they will conduct you safely home, to Earthmaker. Here the inquiry that took place in the first lodge will be repeated and answered in the same manner. Then Earthmaker will say to you, "All that your great-grandmother has told you is true. Your relatives are waiting for you in great expectation. Your home is waiting for you."

## *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

The door of your home will be facing the midday sun. Here you will find your relatives gathered. Then, inasmuch as our ruler will nod assent and express his approval by word of mouth, so shall we do the same. [59] [65] [75] [537] [539]

Then all those assembled at the wake shout *Ho-ha*.

[P. 101]

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 796 537 I beg of you to try with all your powers for I wish you to lead a happy life. This truly is our sincere wish.

Ancestors, we greet you. Our ancestors long since departed, performed the ceremony just as we do to-day. We are to have a tear-pouring ceremony for the spirit of the [765] one who has died. All those who are here will mourn for him. Whatever it is that his ghost can obtain for us by his requests,—all that he left behind him in this world—beseechingly we shall ask him to obtain. It is said that this is always procurable. What we mean is additional life. All that our ancestors desired, that we too earnestly desire. So it is when the ceremony was first established. Now we shall sing a mourning song. We must sing it with sincerity and when we cry we must not allow our voices to quaver. It has been said that if a man is bad his crying will be insincere. Ancestors, we greet you.

*159 796 The first night they kept me up all night and I heard a good deal about sacred affairs. I was not sleepy at any time during the night and I remained this way until morning. I enjoyed it all so much that I did not even go to sleep the next day. The next night they kept me up again but as before I did not get sleepy. On this night they told me even more things. Throughout three successive nights I did not sleep at all. On the fourth night they sang till morning. On the fifth night they were to have what is called the rehearsal. During the day many people began to gather. In the afternoon only the old men and myself went to the sweat lodge. Only the men who had received special invitations were allowed. When we came out it was sundown. Then those occupying the eastern

## §13. *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

My grandfather was buried in the manner customary in the Thunderbird clan. His relatives got some one to bury him and the chief mourner invited a distinguished person to talk to the corpse before it was dressed for burial. The person addressed the body as follows: 159* 764 [769]

You are about to leave your relatives. They will remain on earth, objects of pity to all. You must proceed on your road and turn to your left after you start. Continue until you come to the one who is in charge of spirits. When you see him, make the following request—that he bestow upon us all that you fell short of in this world. The means of offering, the tobacco, which Earthmaker gave us, we have given you to take along. As you go along you will come to a place where the road branches off. Do not turn to the right for that leads to the bad spirits. Turn to the left and soon you will come to a guard. Point your pipe at him and he will be thankful. This man will wear a complete suit of clothes and he will be terrible to look upon. He will smoke with you and you must address him as follows: "Grandfather, before I left earth the people told me to ask you to point out which road I was to travel in." Then he will tell you and you will pass ahead and come after a while to a fire on both sides of the earth. The man in charge of it will wear a complete suit of clothes 159* 764 775 539

*159 764 775 537 just like the former one. Point the stem of your pipe toward him and he will be very thankful and smoke your pipe. Then make your request—that you be permitted to pass—and he will grant it. As you continue you will come to a round lodge where you will find an old woman. Point your pipe at her and she will permit you to go ahead. Your hair will now have become white but you will not be unconscious. On the contrary you will be in complete possession of your senses. Then you will come to the place where he who is in control of all the souls sits. Go toward him and [996] point your pipe at him. When he is smoking it ask him to show you the road to Earthmaker, our father, and he will point it out to you. Then you must proceed until you come to Earthmaker. When you get to him, point the stem of your pipe toward him and if he takes it and smokes it you must say, "Earthmaker, our father, you know very well what kind of a life I have led." Then he will answer, "My son, you have done well."

*159 764 [067] [301] [067] After this speech the body was dressed by the person who was to do the actual burying. The best clothes of the deceased were put on, beads placed around his neck, bracelets on his wrist, rings on his fingers and earrings in his ears. It was then placed in the casket. When the grave-diggers completed their work, the mourners blackened their faces with charcoal and the corpse was taken up by the man to whom this duty was assigned. The mourners followed behind weeping. Thus they proceeded to the grave. When they got there the corpse was immediately placed in it. Then the chief mourner stepped across the center of the grave and the others did the same. When they started

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the setting sun. On your way stands the lodge of Hereegu'nina, and his fire. Those who have come (the souls of brave men) from the land of the souls to take you back will touch you. There the road will branch off toward your right and you will see the footprints of the day on the blue sky before you. These footprints represent the footprints of those who have passed into life again. Step into the places where they have stepped and plant your feet into their footprints, but be careful you do not miss any. Before you have gone very far, you will come into a forest of wa'ke'je' broken by open prairies here and there. Here, in this beautiful country, those souls whose duty it is to gather other souls will come to meet you. Walking on each side of you they will take you safely home. As you enter the lodge of the Earthmaker you must hand to him the sacrificial offerings. Here the inquiry that took place in the first lodge will be repeated and answered in the same manner. Then he will say to you, "All that your grandmother has told you is true. Your relatives are waiting for you in great expectation. Your home is waiting for you. Its door will be facing the mid-day sun. Here you will find your relatives gathered. Inasmuch, then, as our ruler will nod assent and express his approval by word of mouth, so shall we now do the same." 539 775 765

At this word all those assembled at the wake shout, *Ho-ho!*

Then a warrior told his war experiences and after thanking the people passed the tobacco to the next warrior, who in turn related his war experiences. 765 184 614

The amount of gifts was then figured out and they tried to arrange matters so that the warriors were through with their stories about midnight. At midnight games were played with the donations as prizes. The gifts generally consisted of twelve 3-yard pieces of calico or money equal to that amount of calico; twelve strings of beads, etc. These were the gifts used as prizes. Other donations of food were made for the four nights' feast. A. W was in charge of the games and he likewise designated what games were to be played. As they generally play the games the deceased was fond of so in this case they played the moccasin game and cards. After the donations were exhausted and the games finished a brave man was called upon to give a war whoop in thankfulness for the sun, and also to all the spirits above and below. Then A. W. greeted and thanked the guests again for coming, and the wake was over. [431] [524]

In olden times the widow was supposed to continue single for four years. She is strongly admonished, nevertheless, not to continue in low spirits, and to consider herself free to act in any way that will make her happy. She is told to play games or dance, or in fact do anything that will make her forget her sorrow, and she is told that no one will hold her conduct against her as disrespectful to the deceased. As this admonition is given to her by the sister or aunt of the deceased's husband, the only people who could properly reproach her—namely, the members of her husband's clan—it has all the more weight. The prohibition of weeping is further strengthened by the fact that it is customary to say that any woman who weeps too profusely at the death of her husband is in reality thinking, in 768

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768 the midst of her tears, of the one she is going to marry next. The people will then tell one another not to put themselves out too much as the widow will soon forget her mourning and show no respect to the memory of the dead, but instead look after her own pleasures.

### Funeral Customs of the Buffalo Clan

764 Told by a member of the clan.[10] If a Buffalo clan man dies some
184 members of his clan who are called upon would speak as follows:
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539 To-day when you ceased to breathe we were aware of it. Therefore relatives who are present, I greet you. Here my brother's life has ended, and for the last time I will talk to him about the trail he is to take.

Ha'ho, my brother, the place at which we originated was called Bad Lake. There were four buffaloes there and from the youngest one are we descended. They lived holy lives, and we hope you will walk in their path. That you may strike everything (you meet on your journey) you must take along with you a war club. You shall walk armed with sharp teeth: and it will be impossible for bad spirits to walk back and forth across your path. And your sight shall be holy as you walk.

Then the speaker painted the face of the deceased. On the right side of his forehead he painted a rainbow with blue and red paint. After that he sang the clan songs. When he was through singing, a member of the Water-spirit clan spoke as follows:

Relatives, I greet you. When one of you passes away and you ask me to work, I am always willing to be of service. And I shall do it all the more willingly now because I am certain that I shall obtain some of the years that the deceased left "unlived." I do it with that belief, and furthermore I pray that no bad animals abuse the deceased on his journey. It is said that one cheers the soul of the dead in thinking thus. Therefore I do it and also that I myself may be strengthened thereby. I came back willingly when I was asked to work and I am doing this so that no bad animals should abuse the soul of the deceased.

Then one of the callers would talk to the mourners, saying as follows:

Relatives, I greet you. To-day one of your relatives has disappeared. You must, however, keep up your courage and not cry, for Earthmaker above has ordained that we should disappear. If a piece of earth caves in, it disappears, and when a rock crumbles it is disappearing. Thus, it is said, it must be.

### Origin Myth of the Four Nights' Wake

534 Two friends went out to cut arrow-sticks, and were surprised by a
765 war party and killed. When they were shot they thought they had stumbled and went right on (in the spirit). After the enemy had killed the first one they chased the second one and killed him, and so their bodies lay apart. Then the war party left and the two spirits started to follow them. Soon they came to where their bodies were lying. Then they said, "Let us follow the enemy a little." Soon they caught up to the war party and one of the spirits pushed one of the

[10] This account is quite fragmentary and was obtained in connection with the clan myth. It is given here on account of the question.

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# CHAPTER XI

## RELIGION

### Introduction

We know that in all religions there are two factors to be considered a specific feeling and certain beliefs, conceptions, customs, and acts associated with that feeling; that the belief most inextricably connected with that religious feeling is the one in spirits more powerful than man and controlling everything in life which he values. 771

The beliefs themselves play an important part with all people, but the importance of the specific feeling varies with each individual. A perusal of the fasting experiences (see pp. 293-308) will make this quite clear. It is because we do not separate the actions and testimony of the religious man from that of the intermittently religious and the nonreligious man that most presentations of the subject are so confused and vague. It is, of course, extremely difficult to obtain the real attitude of the intermittently religious and the nonreligious man, because it is the religious individual and leader who gives form to the expressions which religion assumes in ceremony and prayer. Yet we must recognize that there is a difference and that it is often this difference that accounts for certain contradictions in the information obtained. The one place where it is possible, at least among the Winnebago, to obtain some idea of the emotional make-up and attitude of the intermittently religious man, is the fasting ordeal, and from a comparison of those experiences it is quite clear that a sufficiently large number of people were not able to obtain that thrill which they had been taught to expect. It is also clear that the shamans and religious leaders recognized this fact and provided for it by advising such people to buy the requisite protection against the trials and misfortunes of life, or as they put it, "the crises or narrow places of life." Such a person would certainly not be regarded as one of the leaders of the tribe. [789]

The ideal that the parent held before the eyes of his children is quite eloquently put in the system of instructions (see p. 166). 867 787

My son, when you grow up, you should try to be of some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in which this can be done, and that is to fast . . . If you thirst to death, the spirits who are in control of wars will bless you . . . But, my son, if you do not fast repeatedly it will be all in vain that you inflict sufferings upon your-

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867
787 self. Blessings are not obtained except by making the proper offerings to the spirits and by putting yourself, time and again, in the proper mental condition . . . If you do not obtain a spirit to strengthen you, you will amount to nothing in the estimation of your fellowmen, and they will show you little respect . . . My son, as you travel along life's path, you will find many narrow passages (i. e., risks), and you can never tell when you will come to them. Try to anticipate them, so that you will be endowed with sufficient strength (by obtaining powers from the spirits) to pass safely through these narrow passages.

● 771 Among the Winnebago religion is definitely connected with the preservation of life values. It is not a phenomenon distinct from mundane life, but one of the most important means of maintaining social ideals. What these are can be gleaned from practically every prayer; they are success, happiness, and long life. The vast majority of investigators are often surprised at the intense religious life which, among the North American Indians, exists side by side with an intense realism and with a clear understanding and appreciation of the materialistic basis of life. The explanation, to judge from the Winnebago data, is simple enough. The Indian does not interpret life in terms of religion, but religion in terms of life. In other words, he exalts the world around him and the multifarious desires and necessities of the day, so that they appear to him bathed in a religious thrill. At least that is what the devoutly religious man does and most of the religious data presented in this volume emanates from him. Still we are convinced that for the vast majority of Winnebago, in other words, for the intermittently religious, there are many moments in life and many actions which are seen through this pleasurable religious thrill.

224 Every Winnebago will admit that to perform the *wanu°ice're* cere-
796 mony (p. 111) and, on the following day, to agree to start at a certain hour, would not necessarily result in killing a bear. The bear tracks are to be followed and a person is to persevere until the bear is captured, in spite of the fact that the *wanu°ice're* ceremony is supposed to insure the capture of the animal.

726 Or again let us take the following example. No man can hope to
787 go on a warpath and kill an enemy unless he is authorized to do so by a definite blessing received during fasting. If we were to accept this statement as such, we might be led to believe that the Winnebago were willing to risk their young men on so dangerous an undertaking as a warpath, on the sole strength of a fasting experience. It does not stand to reason that they would, and a careful inquiry into the subject has shown that they never did. What actually happened was that the prospective war leader translated into religious terms the exact conditions and requirements of every particular war party. That is why the chief of the tribe and the shamans insisted that only such a person who had been blessed with the most specific kind of knowledge, such as the number of men he must take

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along, the amount of food required, the number of moccasins necessary, the number and strength of the enemy, where he was to meet them, etc.—that only such a man might start on a warpath. If an individual failed to give the proper assurances and guarantees to the chief, his expedition was not countenanced. If, nevertheless, he went, any mishap was directly chargeable to him. 726 737

In other words, we are dealing here with a more or less fixed way of describing the mundane happenings of life. The terminology is religious, but does that mean that there is always a religious feeling attached to it? That is the crucial question to determine. We believe that the religious element in such a happening depends upon the religious susceptibility of the individual concerned. It is quite possible that a devoutly religious man may think of the religious aspect of a rite or action more than one who is but indifferently religious, but he will never for one moment forget that the questions involved here are of a purely human nature. The most that can be said of the religious element of the two particular cases mentioned above is that they will spur the person on. Perhaps it is the realization that such is the case that often prompts the more matter-of-fact individuals to lay such stress on fasting preparatory to starting on a warpath. There, indeed, seems to have been a matter-of-fact movement in the tribe, for the members of the Warrior clan claimed that they could dispense with the fasting, and that mere membership in that particular clan gave them the right to go on a warpath whenever they wished to. This we know was vigorously denied by other individuals. 771 614 787

The Winnebago has no disinterested, unselfish love for the spirit or deity to whom he prays, except in so far as every man is likely to develop such an attitude at some crisis or when his mind is fixed intently on the attainment of some personal advantage. Then, naturally enough, the spirits who are to bestow these blessings are addressed in the most laudatory terms. To show how intimately these spirits are bound up with the worldly affairs of man and how little they mean to him apart from this we have but to point out that, for the vast majority of Winnebago, the spirits' freedom of action is conceived of as definitely restricted. There seems to be a purely mechanical relation of cause and effect between the offerings of men and their acceptance by the spirits. The latter are not free to reject them except in theory. Was it not ordained by Earthmaker, when the earth was created, that in return for tobacco the spirits were to bestow blessings on man? So every Winnebago believes. The religious leaders insisted that only when the proper offerings were made in the proper way would the spirits bestow their blessings. But after all is said and done, the chances that the proper conditions would not be fulfilled were negligible And we doubt whether this 776 782 771

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776 rather high conception was shared by all the Winnebago. Our
782 impression is that many Winnebago believed the offering would
●771 be mechanically followed by the blessing. Take, for instance, the following example: A middle-aged Winnebago while hunting was suddenly surprised by the enemy. He succeeded in making his escape into a cave. All hope of final delivery seemed to be gone, for the enemy stationed themselves before the entrance. Now this man had never been blessed in his youth and knew little about the proper procedure to observe when making offerings to the spirits. In this terrible crisis he turned instinctively to the spirits. He took some tobacco and put some in the different nooks of the cave, and said: "Spirits, whoever you are, and wherever you are, it is said that you love tobacco and that in return for it you bless people. Here is some tobacco, and I ask that I may return to my people." There was, as far as we know, no promise made that in return he would make further offerings to them or that he would thereafter love them and honor them. He escaped and unquestionably believed that it was due to the intervention of the spirits, but the spirits were, quite clearly, constrained to act because they had received tobacco.

There can be little doubt that many Winnebago felt as this man did. We find an expression of the same attitude in a myth. The Winnebago are represented as making offerings to the buffalo spirits, and the smoke is ascending to the home of these spirits through a hole in the sky. The younger buffalos can not resist the temptation of approaching the opening to catch a few whiffs of their favorite tobacco. They are thereupon warned by the older buffalos not to go too close, for the tobacco fumes might tempt them too strongly; and should they succumb to the temptation and accept the offerings, they would then have to appear on earth and be killed by man.
776 As might have been expected, there is in the relation of the spirits
782 to man something similar to the securing of the food animal by some
771 such ceremony as the *wana"kere*. The spirits are dazzled, hypnotized
825 by the offerings, and accept.

In the second of the examples given above we were dealing with a food animal—the buffalo. If there is any plausibility in the explanation we advanced before that the Winnebago interprets religion in terms of life, the relation of the spirits to the food supply ought to show it. Now, it is characteristic of the Winnebago religion that the great generalized spirit deities, like Earthmaker, Sun, Moon, etc., have little to do with the securing of specific kinds of food. As a rule, some generalized spirit-animal presides over the various species of animals, and he gladly permits the animals to appear on earth to be killed by man when the proper offerings are made. This seems to have been a secondary interpretation, however, developed probably
[756] under the influence of the shamans as a substitute for the purely mechanical attitude mentioned above. To picture the food animals

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



as desirous of being killed and eaten by man is, however, but another way of saying that the food animals were killed and eaten, and were secondarily and weakly brought into the general religious life, because everything was seen through a religious vista. It is by no means certain that this was always the case, and there seem to be innumerable indications in the myths that there was a time when the securing of the food animals was not connected with religion as such. 776 782 771 825

Just as the securing of food animals is to-day connected with certain spirits, so are the various activities of man during his life. But characteristically it is not a generalized conception of life, but life as consisting of a prescribed number of years, with so many war honors, so much wealth, so much food consumed, so many children, etc. The spirits are exhorted to give to every man his allotted number of years, food, etc. These are apparently his by right, and if he dies before his time the ghost of the deceased is asked to beg the spirits to distribute among his relatives the "unused" years, food, etc. So here, too, we have a clear example of the explanation of purely materialistic conception of life in terms of religion. 771 782 776

It will be best to discuss the main features of Winnebago religion under the following heads: 771

I. The religious concepts:
   1. The concept of supernatural power.
   2. The concept and nature of the spirits.
   3. The power and localization of the spirits.

II: 1. The twofold interpretation of the relation of the spirits to man.
   2. The guardian spirits.
   3. Personal religious experiences.

III. Methods of bringing the spirits into relation with man:
   1. Fasting.
   2. Mental concentration.
   4. Offerings and sacrifices.
   5. Prayers.

IV. The folkloristic concepts:
   1. The concept of evil.
   2. The concept of disease.
   3. The concepts of death, after-life, and reincarnation.
   4. The concept of the soul.

V. The cosmological ideas.

## The Concept of Supernatural Power[1]

The Winnebago have no such belief in a "magic power" as Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt and Mr. W. Jones would have us believe exists among [114]

[1] For a general discussion of this concept in North America cf. my paper on the "Religion of the North American Indians," Journal of American Folklore, vol. 27, no. 106, pp. 344-361.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



T71 the Iroquois and Fox.[3] In the article mentioned above we have
[114] given our reasons for believing that these ethnologists were mistaken in their interpretation.

T76 In the Winnebago language the four words most commonly used
192 in speaking of the spirits are *wak'a*ª, *wak'a'ndja*, *xop*, and *waxop'i'ni*. *Wak'a*ª seems exactly equivalent to our word "sacred," while *wak'a'ndja*, which is identical with the Omaha word *wakonda*, means thunderbird. In all likelihood it originally meant "he who is sacred" or something like that. It has nothing to do with the word "thunder," which is *k'oire* in Winnebago. The word *wak'a*ª also means snake, for the snake is a holy animal among the Winnebago, the messenger of the spirits. The word *xop*, identical with the Omaha *xube*, is more difficult to define. It means sacred and awe-inspiring and seems to be associated, in the eyes of the Winnebago, with the intensely emotional aspects of religion, where self is completely forgotten. Those ceremonies, in which the performers work
[786] themselves into a frenzy of excitement and dance naked, are always referred to as *xop*. The word *waxop'i'ni* is clearly a noun compounded of the indefinite prefix *wa-* and the suffix *-ni*, which possibly is an old agentive nominalizer, or, more probably, an old stem meaning "man." It occurs also in the word *manka'ni*, medicine-man. In other words it means "he who" or "that which is holy." *Waxop'i'ni* is the only Winnebago word for spirit. Both the words *wak'andja* and *waxop'i'ni* are very definite terms referring to individualized spirits.

T76 As to the use of the adjectives *wak'a*ª and *xop*, there seems to be
T71 little mystery about them. They are used much as our words "holy" and "sacred." Anything in any way connected with the
192 spirits is either *wak'a*ª or *xop*. If a Winnebago were to come across some unusually shaped object he might offer tobacco to it, and upon being questioned he would undoubtedly say that the object is *wak'a*ª. What is it that he means by *wak'a*ª? From my experience in the field he simply means that it is "sacred," and if pressed for a more definite answer he would probably say that it has the power of

[3] According to Mr. Hewitt, *orenda* is a "magic power which was assumed . . . to be inherent in every body . . . and in every personified attribute, property, or activity . . . This hypothetic principle was conceived to be immaterial, occult, impersonal, mysterious in mode of action . . . The possession of orenda . . . is the distinctive characteristic of all the gods, and these gods in earlier time were all the bodies and beings of nature in any manner affecting the weal or woe of man." (Article "Orenda" in the Handbook of American Indians, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, pt. 2.) According to W. Jones, the *manitu* "is an unsystematic belief in a cosmic, mysterious property, which is believed to be existing everywhere in nature . . . The conception of this something wavers between that of a communicable property, that of a mobile, invisible substance, and that of a latent transferable energy; . . . this substance, property, or energy is conceived as being widely diffused amongst natural objects and human beings . . . the presence of it is promptly assigned as the explanation of any unusual power or efficacy which any object or person is found to possess; . . . It is a distinct and rather abstract conception of a diffused, all-pervasive, invisible, manipulable, and transferable life-energy, or universal force . . . (Finally) all success, strength, or prosperity is conceived to depend upon the possession of (this force)."—"The Algonkin Manitou" (Journal of American Folklore, vol. 18, no. LXX, pp. 183-189, 1905).

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



bestowing blessings upon him in other words, of acting like a spirit, 776
a *warop'i'ni*. That is why he offers tobacco to it. We would be 771
inclined to say that the individual finding such an object has created 192
a new spirit. Such a new spirit may be forever confined to the particular family to which the individual belongs. It might die with him, or, on the other hand, it might acquire great importance and popularity and become a tribal spirit. What seems to have happened, in the vast majority of cases, however, among the Winnebago, is that owing to the marked development of the spirit-deities and cosmogonic myths, such "sacred" objects were interpreted as being either some manifestation of a spirit, some transformation which he had assumed, or as inhabited by a spirit.

The reason why, in our opinion, so many ethnologists have apparently misinterpreted the nature of *wak'a** is due to the fact that 771
when something that, from the European viewpoint, is immaterial 114
and inanimate, like vapor, light, movement, etc., is called *wak'a**, then it seems difficult for them to imagine that it can be so except by virtue of some intimate connection with a definite spirit, and if that can not be demonstrated, then the only solution left is to fall back upon the "magic power" idea. By doing this they clearly show that for them the test of individualization is corporeality of a fairly definite kind, dependent mainly upon visual sensations. This brings us to a fundamental problem, not only for Winnebago religion, but for North American religion in general.

### The Concept and Nature of the Spirits

Those Indians who have never spent any time thinking upon the 776
nature of spirits can not truly be said to have any concept of their 124
nature, whether vague or definite. They simply repeat what they have heard from the more religiously inclined. An answer prompted by a moment's consideration, as is often the case when an ethnologist interrogates them, does not necessarily reflect the current view of the subject, nor, for that matter, even the same Indian's belief after he has given the matter some thought. Many Winnebago, with whom the author was fairly well acquainted, refused to answer certain questions offhand and asked for time to reflect about them. It seems justified, when we are studying a subject like religion, to ask for information from those who have, in all probability, formulated the beliefs the shamans. It is from them that we must strive to learn whether the spirits are conceived of as anthropomorphic, theromorphic, dream-phantasms, or indefinite entities in general.

In trying to discover this the author found, not only that he was asking a leading question, but that he was asking an unnecessary question. It was soon quite clear that the Winnebago did not

764 the Judge asked what this meant they told
775 him that it was for the spirit to pass through in going out and in.

●771 He never found among them during the long period of his intercourse any evidence of sun worship, and thinks it fell far short of that in which I agree with him.

115 This morning I had a further conversation with Judge Walker, who is a regular medicine man of the Wyandottes. He says
776 the name of the Spirit of Medicine among
171 the Wyandottes is Mon-ane-tow, who is the same as the Manitou of the Ojibways etc. That this spirit of Medicine is a good spirit etc. He says that the initiations described
796 by Judge Williams are in the presence only
575 of medicine men and women. The people of the tribe are not allowed to be present. That both men and women are members, and are regularly initiated before they can become members. That no oath of secrecy is required, as the Indian knows nothing about oaths, but they initiate on the honor of the man ar . of the woman, choosing such only as are known to be of good character for integrity. That the Society and its pro-
[755] ceedings are secret, except these ceremonies which medicine men perform on patients for their cure.

796 Walker says that these ceremonies pro-
575 ceed upon the idea that a violent shock of the nervous system, which prostrates it en-
828 tirely will also prostrate or relax the hold of
158 the disease. They know by experience that by fasting and steaming they so arouse and excite a well person as to produce a shock which will throw him to the earth. This is done at the ceremony of initiation which Judge Williams described. It is done by nervous excitement, and Indian faith in these ceremonies, and is repeated over every initiate as a proof of the possession by medicine men of this marvellous power. He

[P.61(A)]

105 538 773 If Hare succeeds, it is because all his antecedents fit him better for the task. In the original Hare cycle he is born of a human woman and brought up by grandmother Earth herself. Although, at the beginning, his benefactions to mankind are all accidental, they do, at the end, give man the complete quota of his needs. It was comparatively easy to transform him into a hero without blemish. His one fault is demanding too much for man.

It is at this point that the problem of order versus disorder again presents itself. Not content with destroying evil on earth Hare demands immortality for his uncles and his nieces. Thus, like the Twins, he disrupts the world order through excess of constructive powers. But the difference between the Twins and Hare is that the former do it out of a kind of power drive while Hare does it in the supposed interests of man.

According to the story Hare, of course, fails. So obstinately, however, does he refuse to accept the inevitable that Earthmaker consents to an apparent revision of the world order in one respect. He will grant man the possibility of transcending death, by means of successive reincarnations, on condition that he agrees to face life and its vicissitudes in accordance with a specific ethical code. This is, of course, the theme of the Medicine Rite. For man, then, an exception to the law of birth, growth and death is permitted to this extent—he can repeat the cycle of birth, growth and decay an indefinite number of times.

But it is naturally in religion and ritualism that we must expect to find the best illustrations of the basic principles we have so far discussed in connection with social organization and mythology and to these we shall now turn.

## 4. RELIGION

105 121 771 Because of the highly complex character of Winnebago religion I shall confine myself primarily to an analysis of the nature of the powers the spirits and deities are supposed to possess, the relationship postulated between them and man, and the requests man makes

to them. To understand properly these three problems we must, at the outset, try to distinguish between the layman's and the priest's conception, between the exoteric and the esoteric viewpoint although, to be sure, the two are never mutually exclusive. 105 /21/ 771

For the ordinary man, the lay Winnebago, the primary powers of the vast majority of the deities have always inhered in the deities themselves. They are their own possessions and have not been bestowed upon them from without. Moreover these powers relate to the actual natural functions these deities perform. The prayers of man to the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Night-spirits, the Thunderbirds, etc. are, primarily, that they continue their functions and do not deviate from them. But man recognizes that they also have secondary functions, that, for instance, the sun, the morning and evenings stars, the thunderbirds, the night-spirits, all possess the power to give man long life and victory on the warpath; that the grizzly bear spirits have curative powers to bestow upon him and the waterspirits have special powers in connection with death-dealing medicines, etc. This socialization of the spirits and deities brings them that much closer to man. By bringing them this much closer to man they are deprived, however, of something of their independence and freedom of action. They have now become more specifically oriented toward mankind than toward their functioning in the universe at large. This change in orientation did not come about mechanically or accidentally. It represents the priest-thinker's conception, his attempt to establish linkages and meaningful relationships between men and the world of spirits. This attempt, from the nature of things, can never completely succeed for the simple reason that the primary functions of most of the nature gods—and they are the important ones—cannot be eliminated, must, in fact, not be eliminated. In the case, however, of animal deities, their older primary functions can be attenuated to a very marked extent and deities can be developed who never possessed functions other than those we have designated as secondary, that is, deities who function only in relation to man. 105 771 776 [782]

Since the nature gods, however, were the great gods, they served as patterns for all the others and the marked split in their orienta-

105 tion became, more or less, the characteristic of all spirits and deities.
771 The older condition, where the god concerned himself with his pri-
776 mary functioning and where relations to man were strictly neutral, was set off against his later condition where he was specifically enmeshed in man and man in him. These older deities—the waterspirits, for instance, belong here—never bestowed upon man either good or evil blessings. Like the waterspirits, they gave man the materials out of which he could prepare his own good or evil. That, I think, was always the lay point of view. Manifestly this led at times, to extreme individualism and clearly did not make for organization. The priest-thinker in seeking to bring more order into the various functions of the deities introduced new evaluations and new distinctions. For example, the earlier functioning of most of the deities was now interpreted as essentially evil or at least of no positive relation to man. In their later status, on the contrary, they generously brought man good blessings and they themselves became beneficent and friendly deities.

This socialization of the deities was entirely the work of the priest-thinkers. It succeeded completely, only in the case of Earthmaker and in their masterpiece, the Medicine Rite. In all other instances the lay interpretation was still largely dominant: man could never be certain what he would receive from the spirit to whom he was praying and making offerings, nor feel that he could always guard himself adequately against the dangers inherent in the approach to the supernatural. This uncertainty was expressed in a number of ways. One of them is very typical for the Winnebago. Every youth, during his puberty vision-quest, was warned by his elders against accepting too generous a gift of power from the deities. This was the matter-of-fact parent's euphemistic way of saying, 'Do not let them deceive you or work evil upon you.' The thinker, of course, interpreted this in an entirely different fashion. For him, a faster who accepted more from the gods than he could fulfill was the victim of his own overreaching and lack of that sense of proportion which, alone, can save man from destruction.

This recognition, then, of the ambivalent or, at least, veiled nature of the deity's attitude toward him is something that man must learn to accept and which he must also learn to meet in such fashion that

the spirit or deity will be constrained, willingly or otherwise, to grant him his request. How can this be done? The answer will depend upon who is speaking, a Winnebago layman or a Winnebago priest-thinker. The layman's view is embodied in the myth of the origin and function of tobacco. There the deities are mechanically constrained to give the powers they possess to any human being who comes with an offering of tobacco. Here the human suppliant theoretically determines what he is to receive and how he is to employ it. In actual practice, of course, the situation is never so simple even in the case of the most matter-of-fact individual or the most matter-of-fact deity. Both are swayed by contradictory and conflicting emotions. Man wishes a maximum of power but is held back from making the maximum request for fear that it will be too dangerous for him to do so. The deities wish to be sustained by the tobacco for which they have an almost uncontrolled craving but dread the loss of power it entails. As a result man is prone to ask too little or too much and the deities to give too little or too much. Both lead to disorder and result in evil.

To restore order in such a situation where, on the one hand, you are dealing with human nature with its ceaseless changes, its impermanence and its inability to foresee the future and the consequences of its demands and, on the other, with divine nature, with its unchangeability, its permanence and its foreknowledge, was a problem of extreme difficulty and delicacy. The added fact that, according to the universally accepted Winnebago belief, the spirits and deities depended for their happiness and much of their functioning upon the sustenance they obtained from man, further complicated it. The problem, of course, existed primarily for the priest-thinker.

To a large degree it was of the latter's own making. To the matter-of-fact man, the man of action, the relationship between the deities and man was, as has already been pointed out, direct, mechanical and constraining for both. It was but an extension of the theory of exchange of goods which prevailed on earth between men, to the world of spirits. That theory of exchange insisted that the receiver of a gift should always make a return gift of greater value than that which he had received. Of the spirits who had so much, man could

105 at least, demand an equal exchange. The crux of the question then
771 was, who is to evaluate the human gift? The answer of the mat-
776 ter-of-fact man was both, the spirits and man. For that reason, he contended, risk and danger must always inhere in the human-god relationship and there was little that could be done about it except to take every precaution one could. This must be accepted. Such was life. Suffering and tragedy loomed large there and the relationship between the deities and man was part of it. The gods could, at best, only help man to keep his balance and maintain his sense of proportion. It had always been a human problem and always would remain one. A whole class of literature, the worak, dealt with this theme. The picture it painted was not too optimistic.

105 It was the priest-thinker who was the optimist. He attempted a
771 time-honored solution of philosophers, that of giving man some of
776 the attributes of divinity, in other words, a greater sense of fixity and
812 security, a greater degree of permanence, and some possibility of foreknowledge.

Winnebago philosophers seem to have attacked this problem repeatedly and suggested a number of solutions. According to one theory, gods and men had been equal in the beginning. At that time all existent beings could transform themselves at will into the one or the other *ad infinitum*. When, however, the world was to take its present shape, all the beings had to transform themselves permanently into the one or the other, into gods or into human beings.

Thus, at one time, man had actually partaken of the divine. This was, of course, only divinity in retrospect, and was not of great
105 importance in developing divine stature for man now. Winnebago
771 thinkers, instead, fell back upon two universally accepted folkloris-
775 tic beliefs, that in the immortality of the soul and that in reincarnation. The first, however, implied a complete and irretrievable separation from the earth and human beings. To be of any value in the task of developing divine traits for man, the soul, the permanent component of man which left him at death had to be bound, in some way, to the earth. This could best be done by reinterpreting the nature of death. This was done by having it merely imply no loss of personal consciousness at all but simply a temporary stumbling.

There existed an unbroken continuum. No more, however, could be done in the way of reinterpretation. The philosopher could not do away with the palpable fact that the body of a deceased person remained motionless and decayed. The ghost, conscious though he remained and fully aware of what was going on around him, was unable to establish contact with the living or they with him and he always remained jealous of the living and not too kindly disposed to them. The continuum predicated was, consequently, reduced to a mere shadow. 105 771 775

With the belief in reincarnation, the priest-thinker could do much more. Here a kind of continuum already existed. The priest-thinker had merely to develop the concept of a continuing consciousness. Thus the first attribute of divinity, permanence, was on its way to accomplishment. This permanence was further enhanced and fixed by having an individual born again into the very same family and reliving, in every detail, his previous existence.

In the myth giving the origin of the Four Nights' Wake over the body of the dead, this is the main and insistent theme. Thus the second attribute of divinity, unchangeability, was on its way to accomplishment. The two other traits of divinity, foreknowledge and omnipresence, presented greater difficulties for their attainment. The latter, however, was not of great significance in the Winnebago concept of divinity. The former was. Here the belief in reincarnation offered little help. Recourse had therefore to be made to shamanistic practices and magic proper where both beliefs were quite common. On the whole the Winnebago priest-thinker, particularly in his greatest triumph, the Medicine Rite, eschewed magical practices and that is why little really is ever said about foretelling events. Yet it is significant that the very first story in the Medicine Rite and the one which purports to be the account of how the Rite was begun by a man, makes this foreknowledge of the future, the basic gift that a prospective member received. How fundamental it remained is proved by the fact that when the Peyote Cult was introduced among the Winnebago, the two gifts the peyote bestowed were the foretelling of the future and the ability to transport oneself anywhere by mere thought. 105 771 [795]

105 The priest-thinker thus contended that man could be made to
771 approximate to the deities by simply manipulating powers and
776 attributes which some individuals, at least, already possessed. Was it, however, wise to leave it to the individual himself to attempt this approximation? There had always been individuals in the community who essayed it but the net results of their attempts had spelled misfortune for them and misfortune for the community. They were generally the practitioners of evil magic, the poisoners. The Medicine Rite is replete with stories about them. Apparently, then, this was not a matter to be left to the discretion of an individual or for that matter to human beings at all. Man was to be educated to divinity by the deities themselves. For this purpose both were to be transformed into more disciplined, more responsible, more ethical and more profoundly realistic beings. Just as in the attainment of the goods of life, so now in the attainment of the benefits flowing from divinity, he was to face the problem bravely and realistically and endure stoically and understandingly the hardships and sufferings involved. In short, divinity had to be achieved. It could not be thrust upon one. The deities, likewise, had to be educated and be made to realize that nothing was due them as such and that they could expect no sustenance from man unless their own way of life was organized and ethically ordered and unless their blessings were given in good faith and in gratitude.

The poet-philosophers composed many a worak to bring out just
105 these points. To give an example. A child is fasting and refuses one
771 gift after another from the deities. Perturbed, they turn to the father
776 and ask him to discover what the boy wants that has not already been
538 granted him. In answer to his father's question, the boy says he does not wish to die. Neither the entreaties of the father or the spirits avail. And so the boy must die although he is rewarded by being transformed into a pine tree.

Now this is actually a completely transformed version of a well-known story, *The Child Who Fasted Too Long*. In the original version he dies because he has overreached himself. In such stories the spirits are neutral, that is, where they are not actually inciting

the young faster to overreach and destroy himself. Thus we see along what lines the reinterpretations of the priest-thinker were made. 105 771

This was the theory that the priest-thinker tried to impress upon his fellowmen in order to introduce a greater sense of confidence and security in the relationship between man and the deities. Because of the very high demands it made upon the worshipper, it remained largely a philosophical-ethical ideal and the fairly sharp line of demarcation between human beings and the spirits continued in force as the popular theory. Some there were who even insisted that it was, not only the courageous, but the morally justifiable thing to do, to coerce the deities into acquiescing in man's demands. That was the proper way to meet divinity, to challenge the gods, accept what they granted and, then, to attempt to fulfill the conditions imposed even if they meant death. Few individuals in the community, for instance, had greater prestige than the few who had secured a blessing from the much dreaded deity, *Disease-giver*. He had two faces, one dealing life and the other death. No suppliant knew which side would be turned toward him when he made his offerings, at noon, in the full blaze of day, contrary to what held for all the other deities, namely, that they must be approached at night. 776 [538] [554] [782]

This, of course, is the warrior's creed and, in a civilization like that of the Winnebago where the highest ambition as a man was to achieve distinction on the warpath, it naturally was very important. Yet to this, the chief of the tribe might well retort: such courage and such risks have their moral justification only when one is fighting the enemy or avenging the death of a kinsman. They are inapplicable when approaching a god. The taking of great risks concerns not only oneself but the whole community and must be subject to the sanctions of the community. A person must be carefully and properly educated before he dare take them. To exhibit fearlessness and heroic courage is, in itself, no virtue. Indeed, in the wrong place or on the wrong occasion, they can and do lead to death and destruction. 105 771 577

And so, in the realm of religion as in that of social organization and mythology, the problem to be faced is depicted as being the same. How are we to resolve the differences between the 'earth' interpre- 105 771

105 tation with its insistence upon warding off evil by force and obtain-
771 ing good by force, and the 'sky' interpretation, with its emphasis on
conciliation and appeasement and its attempts at the resolution of the opposites? The rituals take up the same question.

## 5. RITUALISM

105 There are two fundamental types of ritualistic organization among
575 the Winnebago, those based on clan membership and those based
571 on blessings from the same spirits. In other words, the bond is either
796 a social one, membership in the same clan, or a spiritual one, a common religious experience. The clan rituals have one major extension, a ceremony where those members of each clan who are the guardians of the warbundle of that particular clan, gather together in a feast for all the main deities. At this ceremony they ask for the renewal of the powers of these warbundles and for the promise of success on the warpath. Set off, apparently, from these two types of ritual there is a third, the Medicine Rite, with but one example, where membership is based upon personal conduct and achievement other than war and where, usually, one can only enter when there is a vacancy caused by death. In those cases where a person became a member through personal achievement he was, in the old days, generally, a man in middle age because of the rigorous and difficult entrance requirements. When taking the place of a deceased member a person could, however, even be under twenty.

An individual is consequently either born with the right of membership in a ceremony, like the clan feasts and the warbundle feasts, or he has to achieve it, as in the ritual societies based on blessings from the same spirits and the Medicine Rite.

The clan feasts which are in honor of the ancestral clan animals need not detain us here. Nor do we have to dwell upon the ritual societies based on common supernatural experiences. For membership in the latter there are really no requirements except willingness to endure the comparatively light hardships of fasting. The spirits or deities rarely, if ever, failed to grant the suppliant a vision. Formerly,

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But to come now to the Medicine Rite. It is only superficially that its organization is really unique, for both in the snake clan feast and in the Night-spirit ritual society there are four positions just as in the Medicine Rite. The resemblances between the latter two are, in fact, so marked that we can well understand why some Winnebago regarded the Night-spirit society as the model for the Medicine Rite. In a sense it is true that the Medicine Rite could be interpreted as the society of those who have been blessed by Earthmaker. Yet, in spite of these similarities, it was regarded as something *sui generis*. What is, then, the specific character of its organization that gives it this unique position in the Winnebago ritualistic system?

The answer is simple—two traits, the method of admission and the fact that a large part of the tribe belongs to it. While the size of the membership at the beginning of the nineteenth century was unquestionably larger than a hundred years before, still it must always have been very large. Moreover, there were no restrictions as to sex. Compared to any of the other ceremonies, the Medicine Rite thus stood out as a completely democratic organization where, theoretically, the only requirement was membership in the tribe.

This uniqueness in certain fundamental traits of its organization was matched by its purpose and much of its content. Its avowed purpose was, not only, to ensure man a long and happy life on earth but to ensure his return to it after death. Of course all ceremonies were concerned with the first of these two purposes. And the belief in reincarnation had always, as we have pointed out, been well-known and accepted. The uniqueness lay in the method of attaining it. That method had two parts, a magical-symbolical and an ethical-philosophical. Admission to the Rite entailed being shot and 'killed' by a missile and coming to life again. This is the magical-symbolical part. The ethical-philosophical part consisted in strict adherence to a high code of behavior laid down for you and enforced by the older members of the Rite. Only by adherence to it can you surmount death.

Yet admission is only a preliminary to your real task. It only sets your feet, so to speak, in the proper road. You must steel yourself to being shot and 'killed' innumerable times and you must obtain

mastery over death by shooting and 'killing' others innumerable times, so that death, when it finally comes, will be as familiar to you as life. Then, when full of years, you actually die, the passage from life to death will become a mere incident and, being born again will, for yourself, constitute no break with your former existence. 105 575 796 771

It is quite clear that we are dealing here with the vision of a poet-philosopher and this will become more evident when we recognize the original nature and meaning of the shooting ritual. Shooting missiles into a person was an old and well-recognized shamanistic device. The missiles were generally animal claws and they were meant to kill. Your only protection was to provide yourself with magical counter measures or, to obtain some specific blessing from a spirit. That you could convert what was meant to be a death-dealing missile into a life-giving one by leading a virtuous life was something new when applied, for instance, on the grand scale to be seen in the reinterpretation of the myth of the *Journey to Spiritland* as found in the Medicine Rite (cf. pages 257 ff.). To express it, required a particular language, with new extensions of meaning for words and in which metaphor, symbolism and mysticism ruled supreme, in short, the language of a poet and a philosopher. Myths were reinterpreted in an entirely new fashion and put to entirely new uses. To understand and comprehend it a special and difficult kind of education and training was needed.

Yet, in spite of its esoteric character, one thing was never forgotten, that the ceremony was to serve concrete purposes. It was not the vision of a Road of Perfection to be rewarded by eternal peace and happiness in heaven but, on the contrary, the vision of a Road of Perfection which was to be rewarded by a return to earth and to the vicissitudes of living. It was life that was to be faced, with all its imperfections, trials, and with all the comedies and tragedies that often played such havoc with ideals of perfection.

Indeed the imperfections of life intruded themselves into the poet-philosopher's vision, despite his attempts to exclude them. It was impossible, for instance, for individuals to forget that they were not only members of the Medicine Rite but, likewise, warriors and often shaman. Thunder, as the idealists might well do against the presence

105 of shamanistic practices in the Rite, they could never quite exclude
575 them and the only answer they possessed was to condemn them and
771 show how they led to dishonor, death and destruction.
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This interweaving of the concrete and the symbolic and mystical led to a double, at times even a triple, set of significances for every action and word and which, occasionally, reached incredible heights of complication, intricacy and subtlety.

105 Since no other ceremony resembles the Medicine Rite in the
174 respects just mentioned, we may well stop and ask ourselves what
796 could have led to its creation? What is the cultural meaning of this new mode of expression, this new type of reinterpretation of ancient beliefs and attitudes? Allowing for the natural creative impulses of our Winnebago poet-philosophers, it is not unreasonable to suspect that some particular circumstance or circumstances must have called them forth.

Ordinarily, any attempt to determine such a matter among the American Indians, in the absence of an authentic historic record, would mean mere speculation. Fortunately this does not hold true for the case in point. There are indications within the text of the Rite itself and some historical evidence which proves pretty conclusively that, in its present form, the Medicine Rite is a development late in Winnebago history and after the coming of the French in 1632. We can, in fact, date it more precisely. The otterskin pouch and the shell used in the shooting ceremony come from the *midewiwin* ceremony of the Ojibwa. The Winnebago obtained them from the Fox and this could not possibly have been before 1680-1690.

Now, the Winnebago between 1650-1900 were passing through a very serious crisis. Their numbers had been seriously decimated by ferocious struggles between them and the Illinois and Fox and by the diseases introduced by the Europeans. The influence of the French, as well as the new conditions resulting from French encroachment, were playing havoc with the old order of things. Nor must we underrate the influence of the French missionaries.

That a new type of ceremony should have appeared among the
[182] Winnebago just then cannot be ascribed to mere chance. It must bear some relation to the crisis. The moment we put the two to-

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| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | H T | K-A | Ko | Com | Ko | Ab S | Do I | Do S | Wa | No C | Cr I | Cr S | WHS | Da | Gu | W-P | Tem |
| 239. Feast follows meeting | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible | | − | − | − | − | •− | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | |
| 241. Staff, rattle, and feathers | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 242. Whistle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + |
| 243. "Chief peyote" | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 244. Crescent of earth | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 245. Crescent of ash | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 246. Fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 247. Fire stick | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 248. Water | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 249. Person blessing water | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 250. Peyote breakfast | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit) | + | | + | − | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + |
| 252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God | + | | + | | (−) | + | + | + | + | | | | + | + | •+ | + | |
| 253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 254. Peyote's function is medicinal | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | + |
| 256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication | + | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | |
| 257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | | + | + | + | | + | + |
| 259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | | + | |
| 260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify | + | + | + | + | (+) | •+ | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | |
| 261. Modifications permitted by new revelations | + | | + | | | | − | + | | | | | − | + | | •− | + |
| 262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble | + | + | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | | | + | + | | + | |
| 263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | + | + | | + | |
| 264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road | | + | •+ | − | | − | + | + | | + | | | + | + | | + | + |
| 265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road | | + | •+ | + | •+ | − | − | + | + | − | | | + | + | •• | + | |
| 265a. (See note) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

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in lack of food. They are nevertheless very happy beings and have many dances.[a] [825]

"At another time I became transformed into a little bird. When the weather is good the life of the birds is very pleasant. But when it is cold they are compelled to undergo many hardships on account of the weather as well as on account of lack of food. When it was very cold I used to go to the camp of some people who were living in the neighborhood and try to steal some meat from their racks. A little boy used to stand near these racks and we were very much afraid of him because he carried something in his hands with which he shot and which made a dreadful noise. Whenever he shot it we would all fly away. What the boy was using was a bow and arrow. At night we slept in a hollow tree. If I entered the tree first and the others came in behind me I would be almost squeezed to death. If, on the other hand, I waited until the last I would sometimes have to stay outside and when the weather was cold I might have frozen to death.

"At another time I became a buffalo. The cold weather and the food did not worry me much then, but as buffaloes, we would always have to be on the alert for hunters. [825]

"From my buffalo existence I was permitted to go to my higher spirit-home, from which I originally came. The one in charge of that spirit-home is my grandfather. I asked him for permission to return to this earth again. At first he refused, but then after I had asked him for the fourth time, he consented. He said to me, 'Grandson, you had better fast before you go and if any of the spirits take pity upon you (i. e., bless you), you may go and live in peace upon earth.' So I fasted for four years and all the spirits above, even to the fourth heaven,[b] approved of my coming. They blessed me. [772] Then I fasted 10 days more and then 20 and then 30. Finally all the spirits blessed me, even those under the earth. When I was ready to come to this earth, the spirits gathered together in a council-lodge and 'counciled' about me. All the spirits were present. They told me that I would never fail in anything that I wished to do. Then they decided to make a trial of my powers. They placed an invulnerable spirit-grizzly bear at one end of the lodge and sang the songs that I was to use when I returned to earth. Then I walked around the lodge holding a live coal in the palm of my hand and danced around the fireplace saying *wahi-!* and striking the hand containing the coal with my other hand. The invulnerable bear fell forward prone upon the ground and a black substance flowed

[a] This is commonly postulated of both the life of the fisher and that of the muskrat.

[b] He is probably referring to the four earths, although it is, of course, possible that there were four heavens. However, I never obtained the slightest indication of such a belief. [772]

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775 of a lively kind all the time. From that place we went up to the
539 place where Earthmaker lived and there I saw him and talked to him, face to face, even as I am talking to you now. I saw the spirits too, and, indeed, I was like one of them.

From that place I came to this earth again for the third time, and here I am. I am going through the same that I knew before.

774 *The concept of the soul.* This concept is not clearly developed as a
775 separate entity among the Winnebago on account of their strong belief in reincarnation. Their notion of the soul is merged in that of the noncorporeal ghost who eventually comes to earth again.

## THE COSMOLOGICAL IDEAS

772 The cosmological ideas are of two types: those that are clearly of
773 a folkloristic origin and those that have been developed by shamanistic reinterpretations. To the former class belong all the creative acts of the tricksters and culture heroes, like *Wak'djapk'aga* and Hare, and to the latter the systematic creation of the world by Earthmaker.

What is probably the oldest form of the Winnebago cosmological notions is that concerned with the general destruction of the bad spirits by Hare and by such spirits as the Thunderbirds, Morning Star, etc., and the removal of obstacles. Often the present characteristics of the earth are formed accidentally, as, for instance, the origin of the valleys, mountains, and lakes, as given in the myth of "Holy One." Even in the thoroughly remodeled general origin myth, Earthmaker is not conceived of as having purposely created the world.

772 The Winnebago believed that there were four worlds, one beneath the other, presided over, respectively, by Earthmaker, Trickster (*Wak'djapk'aga*), Turtle, and Hare. Hare rules over the world on which man lives. There seems to be some confusion as to who rules over the last earth, because it is also definitely stated that Traveler (a Water-spirit) is in control of it.

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generally lasts from dawn preceding the day ceremony until 7 or 8 a. m. The intermission begins as soon as the drum and gourds have been returned to the ancestor host and ends as soon as the people return from the brush ritual. 756 796

The first and second parts are concerned entirely with a recital of certain ritualistic myths and a rehearsal of the songs and the specific ritual of each band used during the remaining parts.

*Types and component elements of the ceremony.* For purposes of greater clarity, the speeches, songs, and types of action will be carefully differentiated and referred to by some designation characterizing their essential traits. These speeches, songs, and types of action together form combinations which may be regarded as units, and they will therefore also be referred to by some designation characteristic of their function.

1. Types of speeches. (1) Salutations: No formal salutation is used during Parts I and II, the individuals being addressed by their relationship terms. In Parts III, IV and V the salutations are invariably the same. The ancestor host and his band are addressed as follows: "The-one-occupying-the-seat-of-a-relative (deceased) and you-who-sit-with-him, do I salute." The east is addressed, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-sun-rises"; the north, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-cold-comes-from"; the west, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-sun-straightens," or (preferably) "You-who-represent-the-end-of-the-road." 756 796 537 576

The appellations of the bands, as before stated, refer to the creation myth and the four guardian spirits whom Hare visited for the purpose of inquiring into the necessity and meaning of death. Hare was compelled to travel around the earth, which is conceived of as an island, and received no answer until he came to the spirit at the end of the road. In the dramatic performance of the medicine dance the lodge typifies the earth and the four bands and their leaders typify the four spirits. The ancestor host's band typifies the ancestor of the Winnebago. 773 756 796 621 [772]

(2) Speeches: Under this head will be treated (*a*) speeches of welcome; (*b*) speeches of acceptation; (*c*) speeches of presentation; (*d*) speeches explanatory of the significance of the ritual; and (*e*) speeches of admonition, addressed exclusively to the candidate. This does not exhaust all. There are many others, generally short, that can hardly be classified. In their content, as well as in the order of their succession, the speeches must follow a traditionally determined sequence. In practice this is certainly not always true, but to the mind of the Winnebago these speeches appear as old as the ceremony. It is their firm belief that any departure from the accepted type will interfere with the efficacy of the ceremony. 796 537 756

succeed and evil was already upon the tribe, then his attention was directed toward alleviating the suffering caused by it and toward preventing any violence that might come in its wake. His function was to be protective and constructive. As one Winnebago told me, 'The chief of the tribe is like a motherbird feeding its young ones.' 105 616 622 182 577

The chief of the lower division, by contrast, went out to meet evil, attacked it ferociously when encountered, and paid little attention to the violent mood it developed among the defender-assailants. The important thing was to attack, fight and gain the victory.

The two opposing approaches to the problem can best be illustrated by the attitudes of the two chiefs toward sickness and murder. The tribal chief meets the first by giving a feast of conciliation and making direct appeals to Earthmaker. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, immediately starts in pursuit of it. With his assistants he makes the circuit of the village four times to look for its cause. He is on the warpath and should a dog cross his path, he is immediately killed. Then he pays a visit to the sick people, dances before them and lays his hands upon them. 105 622 755 182

If a murder has been committed, the tribal chief not only intercedes for the life of the murderer but actually, if need be, offers to take the place of the malefactor. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, seizes the murderer and conducts him to the family of the murdered person to be punished. 105 182 622 [682]

The objects associated with the two chiefs are typical and symbolical of their activities. For the first it is the peace-pipe, the emblem of conciliation and humility; for the second, a curiously formed baton, the emblem of punishment and pain, with which, when need be, he strikes those who transgress.

The recognition of these two aspects of social life and reality, contradictory, colliding, complementary, had its counterpart in the Winnebago analysis of human nature. There too, they insisted, good and evil, the spiritual and the material, the sacred and the profane, seemed forever at strife and forever striving for reconciliation, neutralization or fusion. This philosophy, we shall now see, is reflected, particularly, in mythology, religion and ritualism. 105 772 182

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Nicollet's time, some even within the recollection of Winnebago still 172
living. All were unquestionably erected by the Winnebago, and since there is no reason for believing that this tribe entered Wisconsin many centuries before the first appearance of Europeans in America, it is quite erroneous to state, as Mr. Stout does, that the evidence at [114]
hand justifies us in dividing the occupancy of Wisconsin into two principal periods, the effigy mound-building era and the time that has elapsed since that period.

The use of copper by the Winnebago prior to their contact with Europeans is another of the rather baffling questions connected with Winnebago archeology. There are references to its use in the myth [173
of the Twins, but the sections of the myth where it is mentioned 177]
show marked evidences of European influence and can hardly be accepted as reflecting the original mode of life of the Winnebago. Copper is found in a number of mounds, but we have no way of determining whether these mounds are pre-Columbian or not.

In all likelihood, almost all the copper found in Wisconsin comes [316]
from the original copper workings at Isle Royale, Keweenaw, Ontonagon, and elsewhere, in the Lake Superior district. "A provisional description of the territory in which the greatest number of such artifacts have been recovered up to the present time may be given as extending from about the middle of Milwaukee County, northward along the west shore of Lake Michigan to Door County, thence westward to the Wisconsin River or slightly beyond, thence southward along this stream to Dane County and eastward to Milwaukee County, the starting point. Embraced within this territory are the extensive lake shore village sites, from which thousands of articles have already been recovered, and certain well-known sites in Green Lake and adjoining counties, the Rush Lake and similarly productive regions."[11]

The region thus described embraces the Winnebago territory and that subsequently occupied by the Central Algonquian tribes. It does not follow the line of Winnebago migrations farther than the Wisconsin River to the west or farther than the southern boundary of Dane County to the south or southwest. As far as the writer knows no one has ever been able to obtain any information from the Winnebago that would in any manner connect them with the authorship of the copper implements found associated with their old village sites. All Indians questioned denied that their ancestors had ever [177]
used copper before the arrival of the early French traders. For the Winnebago, it seems to the writer, the problem connected with the occurrence of copper implements is not whether the Winnebago made them, but how they came to obtain them. The solution of this problem would be immensely facilitated if we had accurate knowledge

[11] Brown, in The Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 3, no. 3, p. 88.

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867 787 the warpath.[7] So they say. If you do not become an individual warranted to lead a war party, yet mistaking yourself for one although really an ordinary warrior, you "throw away a man," your act will [686 be considered most disgraceful. A mourner might harm you in 627] revenge for the fact that you have caused him to mourn, and burn you with embers. Your people will all be sad, both on account of your disgrace and on account of the pain inflicted upon you.

787 My son, not with the blessing of one of the spirits merely, nor with 867 the blessing of twenty, for that matter, can you go on the warpath. 776 You must have the blessing of all the spirits above the earth, and of all those on the earth, and of all those who are pierced through the earth;[8] of all those under the earth; of all those who are under the water; of all those that are on the sides of the earth, i. e., all the four winds; of the Disease-giver;[9] of the Sun; of the Daylight;[10] of the Moon; of the Earth; and of all those who are in control of war powers—with the blessings of all these deities must you be provided before you can lead a successful war party.

867 My son, if you cast off dress[11] men will be benefited by your deeds. 554 You will be an aid to all your people. If your people honor you, it will be good. And they will like you even the more if you obtain a

721 787 701 686 [622

[7] Among the Winnebago any individual who has been blessed with the necessary powers to lead a warpath may do so, but it is absolutely essential that his blessing directing him be of such a nature that every possible contingency is included therein. Such complete blessings are, of course, not common nor can they be obtained except through unusual exertions. If you are blessed with just the ordinary or incomplete war powers and you nevertheless undertake to lead a war party, you may either be defeated or perhaps only partially successful, and, what is worse, you may lose some of the warriors who started with you. Your restlessness has thus caused the death of some of your fellow tribesmen. It is understood that every warrior before starting on the warpath turn his "blessing" over to the chief of the tribe for examination, and if the chief considers it complete the warrior is not held responsible for the lack of success or loss of life. If the chief does not consider an individual's blessing sufficient to justify the object he has in view and forbids the warrior to go, and if the latter nevertheless goes, or, granted the case he does not even submit his "blessing" to the chief for scrutiny, and succeeds not, then he is held directly responsible for any mishap on the warpath. The relatives of any individual thus killed may hold the war leader responsible and demand compensation; or, as is indicated by 8, a few lines later, a mourner (i. e., one who has been placed in mourning by the criminal foolhardiness of the war leader) might attack, perhaps kill him, without being held guilty of any crime. It must of course be understood that such occurrences would seldom take place. We must, however, remember throughout these "teachings" that one of the objects of the old men was to draw the most alluring pictures of the rewards that would fall to the lot of those who followed in the footsteps of their ancestors, and, on the other hand, to draw the most lurid pictures of the wretchedness that befell those who deviated, no matter in what details, from the customs sanctioned by age.

773 776 [8] According to the Winnebago creation myth, when Earthmaker, the creator of the earth, first came to consciousness and began creating life the earth on which we now to live was in continual motion, and nothing that the former could do seemed to be able to stop it. From above he threw down grass, trees, etc., but all was of no avail. Finally he hit upon the happy expedient of pinning the earth down at the four corners by means of four enormous snakes, or, as some say, by means of four mythical animals known as water spirits. It is to these that the old man is referring here. According to the story, even these were of no avail, and it was only when he finally placed four mythical beings known as "Island Wrights" at the four corners that our planet stopped spinning. These "Island Wrights" seem to be identical with the spirits of the four cardinal points, but they are not to be confused with the four winds mentioned later.

776 [9] A deity conceived of as dealing out life-giving powers from one half of his body and death-giving powers from the other half. He is also supposed to disseminate disease. Disease-giver is a literal translation of the Winnebago word, but this probably does not convey the exact meaning. There seems to be no 822 parallel to this peculiar deity among the other Siouan tribes or among the Algonquins.

[10] Daylight or light is conceived of as something different and distinct from the sun.

735 [11] That is, if you give away things frequently, especially to poor people.

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867 My son, never abuse your wife. The women are sacred. If you
593 abuse your wife and make her life miserable, you will die early.
562 Our grandmother, the earth, is a woman, and in mistreating your
776 wife you will be mistreating her. Most assuredly will you be abusing our grandmother if you act thus. And as it is she that is taking care of us you will really be killing yourself by such behavior.

867 My son, when you keep house, should anyone enter your house,
574 no matter who it is, be sure to offer him whatever you have in the house. Any food that you withhold at such a time will most assuredly become a source of death to you. If you are stingy about giving food the people will kill you on this account. They will poison you. If you hear of a traveler who is visiting your people and you wish to see him, prepare your table for him and have him sent for. In this manner you will be acting correctly. It is always good to act correctly and do good, the old people used to say.

867 If you see an old, helpless person, help him with whatever you
888 possess. Should you happen to possess a home and you take him there, he might suddenly say abusive things about you during the middle of the meal. You will be strengthened by such words. This same traveler may, on the contrary, give you something that
[778] he carries under his arms and which he treasures very highly. If it is an object without a stem,[48] keep it to protect your house. If you thus keep it within your house, your home will never be molested by any bad spirits. Nothing will be able to enter your house unexpectedly. Thus you will live. Witches, instead of entering your house, will pass around it. If, in addition to possessing this medicine, you also fast, your people will be benefited by it greatly.

867 Earthmaker made spirits up above and some he made to live on
●773 this earth; and again some he made to live under the water and
776 some to live in the water; and all these he put in charge of something. Even the small animals that move about this earth the creator put in charge of some power. Thus he created them. Afterwards he created us human beings and as he had exhausted all the powers to be disposed of we were not in control of anything. Then he made a weed and placed it in our charge. And he said that no matter how powerful are the spirits that exist they would not be able to take this weed from us without giving something in return.
[276] He himself, Earthmaker, would not be able to demand it for nothing. So he spoke. This weed was the tobacco plant. Earthmaker said that if we would offer a pipeful of tobacco to him, whatever we should ask of him he would immediately grant. Not only he, but all the
[782] spirits created, longed to have some of this tobacco. It is for this reason that when we fast and cry piteously for some spirit to take pity on us, if we give them tobacco they will bless us with those

[48] A plant without a stem, presumably some root, used for warding off danger.

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powers that the creator gave them. So it will be. Earthmaker made it thus. 773 776

My son, you must fast. If you breathe upon sick people,[17] I mean if you are blessed with that kind of power, you will be able to restore people to health. You will be of help to your people. If you can, in addition, draw out the pain from within the body of an individual, you will indeed be a help to your people. They will respect you. You will not even have to work for all your necessities, for those whom you treat will cheerfully support you as long as you live. If you should die, your name will be held in great respect and people will frequently talk about you. Ah, that man he had indeed great power! 867 756

My son, if you are not able to fast,[18] try at least to obtain some plants that are powerful. There are people who know the qualities of the different plants, who have been blessed by the spirits with this knowledge. It is pitiable enough that you could obtain nothing through fasting, so ask those that are in possession of these plants at least to have pity upon you. If they have pity upon you, they will bless you with one of the plants they possess, and you will thus have something to help you in life and to encourage you. One plant will not be enough. Of all the plants that cover the earth and lie like a fringe of hair upon the body of our grandmother, try and obtain knowledge of these, that you may be strengthened in life. Then you will have reason to feel encouraged. A real medicine man has even more justification for feeling encouraged than an ordinary one, because such a one has been blessed with life by the Water-spirits. If, therefore, you wish to obtain the real powers of curing people, so that you will have the power of making them arise from their sick beds, you must long and patiently wait and labor. If, however, you obtain the true powers—that is, if you obtain blessings from the Water-spirits—then some day, when your children are in need of medicine, you will not have to go and look for a medicine man, but you will only have to look into your medicine bundle. Whatever trouble your children have you will be able to cure it. Should anything be the matter with the people of your tribe they will call upon you. You can then open your medicine bundle and the individual who is wanting in life will be benefited from the stock of medicines 867 787 756

[17] Sickness is due to the presence of some object within the body. Illness can therefore only be cured if this object is extracted. This is generally accomplished by the shaman sucking it out through a bone tube. Among the Winnebago the shaman before applying the tube spits sage water upon the afflicted person and breathe upon him. This is what the "breathing" refers to. [753 755]

[18] Not everyone who fasts is blessed with power. For those who are thus unable to obtain blessings directly from the spirits there is only one method of protection against evils left: the purchase of plants with magical properties from those who have been blessed with them. These can be obtained by any individual no matter how unsuccessful he has been in obtaining blessings through personal fasting. All that is needed is sufficient riches for purchasing them. Of course it goes without saying that those who have been blessed with power may and do also provide themselves with these medicines. [1425]

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616 As the basis of organization in a game, the twofold division finds
526 expression in ceremonial lacrosse. There the *waŋgerεgi* are always pitted against the *manεgi*. A well-known myth is associated with
[173] this arrangement, according to which the animal ancestors of the *waŋgerεgi* and *manεgi* decided their respective rank by playing a game in which they were organized on this basis. The *waŋgerεgi* won and for that reason the chiefs of the tribe have been selected from this division. A division into two halves when playing ceremonial lacrosse is characteristic not only of the Winnebago but of
[171] the Omaha, Menominee, Sauk, Fox, and other tribes. Among the former two, these sides are identical with the two aforementioned political divisions of the tribe, but among the latter two, where no such division exists, the tribe seems to divide itself into two halves merely on this occasion.

616 Up to the present we have treated the two divisions as social units
614 per se, but now, before entering on the discussion of the clans, it may be well to point out the fact that the *waŋgirεgi* people are sometimes spoken of as the Bird clan (*waniŋk hokik'aradjera*), and that the four clans composing this side are so intimately related, and their clan origin myths so similar, that the assumption of the four clans representing one clan that subsequently split up into a number of divisions is not outside the realm of historical possibility. This is, however, quite immaterial, for whether we have one bird clan opposed to eight other animal clans is of little consequence, for historically it is not the bird clan that is opposing the other clans, but one social unit, the division, set off against another. The numerical equality that exists between these two sides, in spite of the disparity in the number of clans, is perhaps another confirmation of the fundamental character of the twofold structure.

## Clan Organization

614 There are 12 clans among the Winnebago with the following names:

A. *Waŋgerεgi herera* (those who are above):[1]

1. *wakandja*, thunderbird.
2. *wonaγira waŋkcik*, war-people.
3. *teazcep*, eagle.
4. *rutcge*, pigeon (extinct).

B. *manεgi herera* (those who are on earth):

5. *hunte*, bear.
6. *cuŋktcuŋk'*, wolf.
7. *waktεrεi*, water spirit.
8. *tεa*, deer.
9. *hu^wεa^a*, elk.

[1] All the clans of the upper phratry are also called *ninaxera*, "Thunder-bird-wings." This name is found in ceremonies.

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614 According to the majority of our informants only one of these classifications seems to be generally present in the minds of the Winnebago to-day—that commemorating incidents relating to the origin of each clan. Thus, for instance, because the first thunder-bird alit on a tree the name *He-who-alights-on-a-tree* is given; because a wave swept over the shore as the wolf arrived at Green Bay the name *Wave* is given, etc. However, the most representative names of this type are *Gives-forth-fruit-as-he-walks*, *Makes-the-day-tremble*, *He-who-comes-singing*, *Judge-of-the-contest*, etc. The vast majority of the names, although many of them can doubtless be interpreted as referring to incidents that occurred during the various origins of the clan, clearly belong to the first seven divisions mentioned above. Yet the Winnebago interpret them all in terms of category VIII.

As an example of the Winnebago viewpoint let me give the following:[1]

614 ●773 *Four men* [the clan eponymous ancestors] Earth-Maker sent here from above; and when they came, all their various characteristics were used for making proper names. Thus at the present day, the characteristics of the thunder-birds, all of their actions, are used as proper names. (At the beginning), four men came from above. And from that fact there is a name, He-who-comes-from-Above. . . From above, four men Earth-Maker sent down. And since they came like spirits, there is a name, *Spirit-Men*. . . And as there was a drizzling fog when the four men came from above, so there are names, *Walking-in-Mist*, *Comes-in-Mist*, and a woman they would call, *Drizzling-Rain-Woman*. It is said that when they first came to Dréñk, they alit upon some brushes, and bent them down; and from this fact there is a name, *She-who-bends-the-Brushes*. On the limb of an oak-tree that stood there, they alit; and they bent it down as they alit on its branches. From this there is a name, *She-who-bends-the-Branches-down*. And since they alit on the tree, there is a name, *He-who-alights-on-a-Tree;* . . . and from the tree itself there is the name, *Oak-Woman*. . . And because they stepped from the oak-tree to the ground, . . . there is a name, *He-who-alights-on-the-Ground*. . . And since they came with the thunder-birds, there is a name, *Thunder-bird* . . . and *White-Thunder-bird* . . . and *Black-Thunder-bird* . . . And since the thunder-birds thunder, there is a name, *He-who-thunders* . . . And since they make the noise *tritrit*, people are called *He-who-makes-Tritrit* . . . When the thunder-birds walk, rain accompanies them; and from this fact we have a name, *He-who-walks-with-Rain* . . . And since the thunder-birds romp walking, we have a name, *Walking-Thunder;* and since the thunder-birds walk with a mighty tread when they start out, there is a name, *He-who-comes walking-with-a-Mighty-Tread;* . . . and since the earth shakes when they commence walking, there is a name, *He-who-shakes-the-earth-with-force* . . . And since there is always wind and hail when the thunder-birds come, we have a name, *He-who-comes-with-Wind-and-Hail*. Now, since one of the thunder-birds came first, there is a name, *He-who-walks-First;* and since one of them was the leader, therefore, there is the name *Thunder-bird-Leader* . . . Now since the thunder-birds flash (their eyes) in every direction, so we have the name *Flashes-in-every-Direction* . . . Now, we don't see the thunder-birds, but we see their flashes only; and thus there is a female name, *Only-a-flash-of-Lightning-Woman;* and since the thunder-birds (flash) streaks of lightning, there is a name, *Streak-of-Lightning;* and since cloudiness is caused by the thunder-birds

[1] "Personal Reminiscences of a Winnebago Indian," by P. Radin, Journal of American Folklore, vol. 26, no. cii, pp. 289-302.

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walking in the clouds, there is a name, *He-who-walks-in-the-Clouds*. Now since the thunder-birds have long wings, there is a name, *He-who-has-Long-Wings* . . . Now when the thunder-birds come, they come with terrible thunder-crashes, it is said; and as many people as there are on this earth, . . . and as many plants as there are on the earth, indeed, everything, the earth itself, they deluge with rain, and thunder-crashes (are heard); for all this they have a name; they call him *Wirudjdanga*. 614 773

The point at issue in this interpretation of names is can we accept it as historically primary? We do not think so, for the following reasons: A large number of the names are clearly descriptive of animal habits, others express the influence of social organization, and others refer to personal achievements, etc. Secondly, the interpretation is of too specific a nature to be regarded as one that could possibly have dictated an original system of naming; and, thirdly, in spite of its prevalence, other systems of interpretation are present. As a matter of fact in the above quotation, our informant distinctly mentions the fact that the characteristics of thunderbirds were used for names, although he insists that the names referred specifically to the ancestors of the Thunderbird clan. According to J. O. Dorsey the interpretations obtained by him were largely symbolical. He makes no mention of the interpretation obtained by the author, although this may be due to the fact that he was but imperfectly acquainted with Winnebago ethnology. It seems best, therefore, to regard the ancestor-episode type of name as but one, perhaps the last, that developed among the Winnebago.* 614

### ATTITUDE TOWARD CLAN ANIMALS

When the animal names became associated with the social groups they were accompanied by the specific associations clustering around these animals. These associations were probably of the same type, if not indeed identical with those grouped around the animals as guardian spirits. The clan animals are among the principal guardian spirits to-day, and we must expect to find an explanation of the attitude toward them as clan animals in the attitude exhibited toward the guardian spirit. To a certain extent it would be quite correct to say that the guardian became the clan animal. This does not, however, mean, in the slightest degree, that the guardian spirit of the individual became the clan animal, but merely that the concept of the guardian spirit became associated with a local group. 614 825 776

The guardian spirit is at the present time conceived of as an immaterial being in control of an animal species. The attitude toward this spirit is a purely religious one, and exhibits a marked absence of taboo of any kind. It is an open question whether a vision must be attested by obtaining some part of the animal "embodiment" of

* For fuller discussion cf. P. Radin, The Social Organization of the Winnebago Indians, Museum Bulletin 53, Anthropological Series 5, Geological Survey of Canada, 1923.

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the origin myths. Part of the oral data is merely a reflex of the origin myths, but part is not. The value of this "unwritten" material lies in the fact that it represents the popular, exoteric attitude, the attitude that, on the whole, is not the result of conscious rationalization, and that this exoteric view may very likely have been the basis for the priestly esoteric interpretation. 000 614 825 [114]

The prevalent conception of the relationship of the individual to his clan animal is that of descent from an animal transformed at the origin of the present human race into human beings. This view is expressed in some of the origin myths and the general statements of individuals. Direct descent from an animal was never postulated. The definition of the term "animal" is, however, very difficult. The Indians themselves seem to make a distinction between the animal of to-day and the animal of the heroic age. The main characteristics of the animal of the latter was his power of transformation into human form and vice versa. Although the animals have lost this to-day, they are nevertheless descended from this animal. The human beings are, however, descended from precisely the same "animals," so that it might be well to bear in mind that descent from the transformed animal does not mean descent from the animal of to-day. This view is more systematically expressed in some places. According to one miscellaneous myth, the existing human beings and animals were descended from the same being, who once possessed infinite powers of transformation now into human and now into animal shape. At one time, presumably the beginning of our present creation, these "beings" either consciously or unconsciously exhausted all their "transforming" power, and the form into which they changed themselves, human or animal, remained fixed for all time. The existing animals have never succeeded in regaining their power of transformation. Among human beings this power has only been vouchsafed to those few who have obtained it as a special gift from some spirit. Even then, however, it is ludicrously incomplete as compared with the same powers of primordial "beings." This conception of the animal-human archetype must not be regarded as at all flavoring of a philosophy developed after contact with Europeans. The error that has always been committed in discussions upon the nature of descent from the animal lies in confusing our concept of animal species with the term "animal" as used by primitive people, and in the lack of discrimination between the possible connotations of that same term, as applied to animals of to-day and as applied to those animals that were brought into intimate contact with the clan ancestor. [773]

There is no reason for regarding the specific descent from the totem as a development of this older Winnebago idea of the origin

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614 of human and animal forms. The latter conception is entirely a
825 religious one, the former merely an extension of the genealogical tendency prevalent in many types of social organization. Instead of being simply descended from an individual in a given social unit, the bond of membership within this unit has been strengthened by the postulation of blood relationship to the clan animal. The idea of descent may thus be looked upon as one of the elements necessary for the stability of a political unit and may be far older than its
614 specific extension to those clan animals. A very illuminating ex-
825 ample of a case in point can be selected from the history of the war bundle in the Thunderbird clan. This bundle, like the others, was
778 obtained as a gift from the thunderbird in his capacity as a guardian spirit. The ceremony connected with it has, however, been markedly influenced by the clan organization and as a result we find descent
[776] from the thunderbird and night-spirit, the two most important spirits in the ceremony, postulated of the original owner of the war bundle. The same tendency is exhibited in the numerous stories of the relation of an individual of the heroic age to a village. Here
[773] the individual, generally a transformed guardian spirit or animal, comes to the aid of the people in their struggle against cannibals, defeats the latter and marries into the village, becoming thus the eponymous ancestor of the subsequent village group.

614 At the same time no strong correlation apparently exists between a totemic organization and the extension of descent to include the clan animal, this seemingly being a peculiarity of certain cultures only. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest coast, among the
[771] Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves, in addition to the above, we find the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact of its members imitating the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reasons at all for the name, while in others an animal is killed, becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, and the group takes its name from the fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation.

## THE CLAN TIE

614 In intimate relation with the attitude toward the clan animal is the
602 conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the tie between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal.
[582] Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as is

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# CHAPTER IX

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—SPECIFIC CLANS

### The Thunderbird Clan

#### INTRODUCTION

The Thunderbird clan was unquestionably the most important of 614
all the Winnebago clans. In numbers it seems to have equaled the three other clans of its phratry, and, since the upper phratry had about as many individuals as the lower phratry, the Thunderbird clan must have comprised about one-fourth of the entire tribe. How are we to explain this? Historical data are, of course, missing, so that any explanation reached is entirely hypothetical, but still it seems justifiable to hazard some interpretation. The most plausible hypothesis is to assume that the Winnebago were originally [174]
organized on a village basis and that the largest of these villages and the earliest to adopt the clan organization were those that took the thunderbird as their totem.

In the origin myths, the origin of the Thunderbird clan is always 614
given as Green Bay, and in contradistinction to the accounts of 773
other clans, the ancestors of the clan are supposed to have originated at Green Bay and not to have traveled there from some other place. How much credence is to be given to such a localization it is hard to say, but assuredly it should not be dismissed as entirely worthless.

The origin myths of the Thunderbird clan possess some inter- 614
esting features which deserve a few words of comment. In the 773
first version we have an account of the creation of the world which 114
is almost identical with that given in the origin myth of the Medicine Dance (p. 350). None of the other clan origin myths contain it. How are we to explain this? As a secondary accretion or as an original and archaic feature? On internal evidence we suspect that it is a secondary accretion and that the original version began with the second paragraph. There seems to be no intelligible reason for having Earthmaker create two sets of individuals. If we suppose that the original version began with the second paragraph and that the general account of the creation was subsequently added, we would have a satisfactory explanation of this feature. Only one of the three versions obtained contains this general ac-

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614 count of creation, and thus we have another reason for doubting
773 its age.
114 There are other indications of an assimilation with the general origin myth in our versions, such as the absence of animals on the earth and the ascription of certain geographical features to the activity of the thunderbirds. Throughout, however, we are always confronted with the possibility that we may be dealing with an old village origin myth. There seems to be no doubt but that the episode of the origin of death, so distinct from that given in the general origin myth, is archaic. Other features, on the other hand, like the description of the origin of fire, are clearly reflections of certain possessions always associated with the Thunderbird clan.

A perusal of the following versions and the versions of the other clan origin myths indicates clearly how personal the accounts are. The members of the Thunderbird clan, as we shall subsequently show for the members of the other clans too, make claims of power and importance for their clans that are hardly justified by what we know of their actual power. As sources of information, therefore, we must be extremely cautious in our use of these origin myths.

Before leaving this subject it might be well to point out the number of different explanations given in these myths of the relations of the members of the clan to their eponymous clan ancestor. If a Winnebago were asked what this relation was he would answer offhand that the members of the different clans were descended from certain spirit-thunderbirds who were transformed into human beings at Green Bay.

In the first version the ancestors of the Thunderbird clan are created by Earthmaker and brought down to earth by the four spirit-thunderbirds the first Earthmaker had created. They are apparently human beings and not heroic birds, as most of the members of the clan assure you. To complicate the situation we have even the mention of the fact that the second set of people who came to visit them were members of the Thunderbird clan.

In the second version we have the customary identification of the ancestors of this clan with birds. At the end of this version we have the distinct statement, which is, however, clearly not part of the myth but an explanation by the informant, that the members of the clan call themselves thunderbirds because they, like the true thunderbirds, caused a drizzling rain and fog when they went about.

It is only in the myth of the origin of the Warrior clan that we have what can be interpreted as an account identical with that given offhand by the Winnebago. Here we are told that the warriors or hawks when they entered the lodge at Green Bay began to look different and that their feathers were worn off.

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From these facts it is quite clear that, as far as the Thunderbird clan is concerned, the prevailing belief as to the relation of the members of the clan to the clan ancestor is but feebly substantiated by the origin myths. 614 773 114

As mentioned before, the chief of the tribe was selected from the Thunderbird clan, although the selection was apparently restricted to certain families. The functions of the chief of the tribe were connected with peace. He could not lead a war party, although, according to some, he could accompany one. His lodge stood either in the center of the village or at the south end, according to which of the two descriptions one cares to accept, and contained a sacred fireplace, around which only members of the Thunderbird clan could sit. This lodge was an asylum for all wrongdoers. No one could be killed there, and a prisoner who succeeded in making his escape to it was spared. Even a dog destined for a sacrifice at the war-bundle feast was freed if he took refuge in it. The Thunderbird chief always acted as intercessor between wrongdoers and their avengers. Even in so extreme a case as the murder of a clansman, he would always attempt a reconciliation by which the life of the murderer might be spared. If necessary, the chief would mortify himself, and with skewers inserted in his back have himself led through the village to the home of the nearest kinspeople of the murdered person. 614 622 [778] [682 304]

The chief seems to have had some other miscellaneous functions, the most important of which was, perhaps, his right to prevent an unauthorized war party to depart from the village. If he, as an older man and guardian of peace and the best interests of the tribe, felt that a war party was taking too many risks, he would take his pipe and place it across the path of the one contemplating an unwarranted expedition and thus signify his disapproval. If then the war party chose to go, any mishap was directly chargeable to the leader who disobeyed. Should anyone be killed, the leader was regarded almost in the same light as a willful murderer, and the kinsmen of the deceased warrior could demand redress. 622 721 [686]

Our main informant for the Thunderbird clan summarized the functions as follows: 622 614

The chief is chosen from one of the "greater" Thunderbird clans[1] and must be a man of well balanced temper, not easily provoked, and of good habits. The one sacred object he possesses is his pipe. He must be a peacemaker and love all the people in the tribe, the little children included. [156]

If he saw a man, woman, or child passing by, he was to call them in and give them food to eat, for they were his brothers and sisters. All the relatives he has are to look after his peacehouse and keep him well supplied, for he was supposed to give away things constantly. If any person came to borrow some object from him, he would tell [431]

[1] He divided the Thunderbird clans into two groups, the real Thunderbird and the Warrior clans. This latter he indeed was identical with the thunderbirds who caused the rain and who were quite different from the other thunderbirds.

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they gave one another. Thus they have the names *White-hair*, *Fast-one*, *Little-white-teeth*, *Diffident-one*, *Horn*, *Pronged-horn*, etc.; and for dogs they have names also. That is the way the deer people lived in the beginning at Red Banks, Within Lake. Bands of people gathered together there, and all the clans that exist now originated there. 539 776 614

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

The Deer clan people came up at the beginning of the earth. Only one is spoken of as appearing at the beginning. He started forth but returned again that he might look for a companion. For that reason a name exists in the tribe, *He-who-comes-back*, and another is *He-who-appears-first*. After they had appeared on earth the deer blew on the original fire, which was only smoldering, and made it blaze up. For that reason they claim a partial chieftainship. The first one that appeared had a chief's medal around his neck. [551]

CLAN SONG. 614 533

I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions
I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.

CLAN NAMES

TCA HIK'IK'ARADJERA (DEER CLAN)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tcaephûnk'a | Black deer chief. | 614 |
| Wagizena°pi°ga | Wears shells around neck. | 551 |
| Tcanûnkca°pi°wings | Deer vagina. | |
| Mank'ingayepga | Appears in the middle of earth | |
| Tcatconiwings | First deer woman. | |

## The Elk Clan

INTRODUCTION

In the Elk clan origin myth we find the clear statement that Earth-maker created the ancestors of the clan, and that they were human beings. The myth resembles a village origin myth more than it does a clan origin myth. 614 [773 776]

The Elk clan seems to have had certain functions relative to the distribution of fire through the village and in camp. It was never a very large clan.

The Elk people claim half of the fire, and thus half of the chieftainship. They never hold fire toward any one. [372]

Elks are buried by the Snake, Water-spirit, and Eagle clans, although the first has the preference. [622] [764]

White clay is used in painting the dead.

According to another informant, the facial painting consisted of white and blue dots on the face (pl. 46). [302]

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776 created everything with the definite purpose of benefiting mankind in contrast to the creative acts of the old Trickster. It is very instructive to notice how he gradually usurped the place formerly held by the older spirit-deities and clan ancestors. In the clan origin myths there are a number of versions where he directs certain spirit animals, the ancestors of the clan, to go down to earth, while in other apparently older versions nothing is said of him.

*Sun.* The sun is known to the Winnebago generally as *ha"hwira*, orb of day, and ceremonially as *ha"horadjera*, day-wanderer. He does not occupy to-day the position he formerly held. There are a number of indications that seem to point to the fact that his worship diminished when that of Earthmaker began to assert itself. Many of his functions and powers were likewise taken over by the Thunderbirds, who, although they distinctly belong to the older strata of Winnebago beliefs, have yet assumed their present importance apparently in connection with the development of the Earthmaker belief.

[773] The sun is occasionally spoken of in myths, but rarely as a culture hero. In only one myth collected was he the hero of the myth. There he appears as the husband of the moon and as an anthropomorphic being who possesses an all-powerful disk (the sun).

[782] Offerings are frequently made to him, but he rarely blesses an individual. In other words, he is not a true guardian spirit. He only blesses men and upon them he always confers success in war.

*Moon.* The moon, like the sun, probably formerly occupied a more important place in the Winnebago pantheon. She is a female deity and blesses women, although, like the sun, she is not a true guardian spirit.

*Earth.* Earth, like the moon, is a female deity. She is one of the oldest deities of the Winnebago and appears as the grandmother in some of the oldest myth cycles, like that of the hare. Offerings are [782] made to her at the various ceremonies, particularly at the medicine dance and the war-bundle feasts. She never appears as a guardian spirit.

[756] The earth is one of the deities who has received considerable reinterpretation at the hands of the shamans. In the myths she is a purely folk-mythological figure in no way interested in furthering the welfare of mankind. On the contrary, she is spoken of as the sister of those bad spirits who are bent on destroying the human race. Her rôle as a beneficent deity probably developed in connection with that of the hare, her grandchild, according to the old folklore notions, transformed when he became associated with the founding of the medicine dance or its older Winnebago predecessor from a typical trickster to an heroic animal deity.

*Morning Star.*—This is one of the spirits belonging to the older strata of Winnebago beliefs, who apparently was not displaced by

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776 is but a faint survival of former times. The older myths are full of references to the evil spirits, and the cosmological myths represent [773] the world as infested with evil spirits who are on the point of exterminating the human race until the culture heroes come to the rescue. It would almost seem as if, from a purely matter-of-fact point of view, these early culture heroes had destroyed all the evil spirits. Certainly they are not regarded as of great consequence, for if they were we ought to find a certain number of prayers addressed to them asking them not to harm anyone. They seem to be mere bogies, personifications of fear, and that is perhaps why they are so intimately connected with darkness.

812 At the present time the vast majority of Winnebago ascribe evil, in so far as they explain it at all, to three causes either to some [688 782] failure on their part to perform a rite in the prescribed way, to the fact that they have not invoked the spirits for protection (i. e., attempted to pass through life without the aid of the spirits), or to the evil machinations of other men. Often one derives the impression that they accept evil and do not try to explain it. It seems to be a trait characteristic of the Winnebago, and perhaps characteristic of other North American tribes, that explanations are developed for the positive aspects of things. Certainly it would require some thought on the part of a Winnebago to explain why a war party that had, in the opinion of the chief, all the necessary requirements for victory, should nevertheless be defeated. He would doubtless find some reason, after a while, but it would be an afterthought and would probably vary from individual to individual. In some cases lack of success would be ascribed to the fact that an individual had been misled by an evil spirit, but this is clearly a secondary explanation because the individual, when questioned, would admit that he had no way of telling whether this was so until he had failed in something. We base this statement on an actual instance.

776 There is some evidence to show that there may have originally existed among the Winnebago a belief that the spirits were neither good nor bad; that they could be either at different times. In two notable instances, that of Disease-giver and Water-spirit, this is true at the present time. The former deity is the only one to whom prayers are addressed beseeching him not to present to man his death-dealing side.

In the myths we find a definite incarnation of evil in the case of [192] a spirit called *Herregu'nina*. The meaning of this word as given by a Winnebago, and which seems to be justified, is "he whose existence is doubtful." If this is an old Winnebago word it would confirm the view advanced above, that the Winnebago were not very much concerned about the evil spirits. There is, however, a possibility [177] that *Herregu'nina* is, in part, a post-Columbian development due

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to Christian influence. The one place where he plays an important 776
rôle, the myth of the twins, shows definite indications of European 177
influence. The only thing that militates against such an assumption is the fact that there does not seem to be any particular reason why the existence of a chief evil spirit should have been doubted, even if we were to grant that Christian influence extended the belief. The French of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had a very definite idea of the devil and made it a point to tell the Indians that all their former habits were due to deceptions the devil had practiced upon them. To-day such an answer is the first that a Christianized Winnebago or a member of the new Peyote cult will give an ethnologist. Perhaps, after all, it is a very old Winnebago conception, a confirmation of the view promulgated before, that in former times the Winnebago had a very definite conception of evil spirits taking an active part in the affairs of man to his detriment. The figure of 776
*Hereegu'nina* is well defined and it would be ridiculous, in our 756
opinion, to believe that the shamans would have done anything to develop it. We have clear indications of what the shamans were trying to do with this conception. They were attempting to bring it into some relation with the concept of Earthmaker, a beneficent All-Father, and to do so they were even willing to claim that *Hereegu'nina* was the first attempt of Earthmaker to create a spirit; that Earthmaker was dissatisfied with his work and threw it away; that then *Hereegu'nina* watched Earthmaker create spirits and imitated him, the evil spirits representing these imitations. The shamans, we should expect, would have done all in their power to lessen the importance of *Hereegu'nina*, even to deny his existence, and, in this connection, it may be of significance that one Winnebago interpreted his name to mean, "He-who-seems-to-exist-but-who-does-not."

Whatever the case may be, this much is clear, that in the twin myth he is represented as a deity as powerful as Earthmaker, whom [773]
Earthmaker can not destroy; upon whom the twins play jokes but whom they cannot really harm.

*The concept of disease.*—Disease is rarely ascribed to the spirits. 753
Like lack of success, it is regarded as a fact of existence, and when 776
it is explained it is believed to be due either to the carelessness of man in trying to pass through life without the aid of the spirits or to the evil machinations of other men.

The deity known as Disease-giver is the one exception to the rule that the Winnebago spirits do not directly cause disease, for he is sometimes described as scattering death broadcast over the earth.

*The concepts of death, after-life, and reincarnation.*—Death is rarely, 761
if ever, ascribed to the spirits. It likewise is a fact of existence and, 776

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159 775 of a lively kind all the time. From that place we went up to the 539 place where Earthmaker lived and there I saw him and talked to him, face to face, even as I am talking to you now. I saw the spirits too, and, indeed, I was like one of them.

From that place I came to this earth again for the third time, and here I am. I am going through the same that I knew before.

774 775 *The concept of the soul.* This concept is not clearly developed as a separate entity among the Winnebago on account of their strong belief in reincarnation. Their notion of the soul is merged in that of the noncorporeal ghost who eventully comes to earth again.

## The Cosmological Ideas

772 773 The cosmological ideas are of two types those that are clearly of a folkloristic origin and those that have been developed by shamanistic reinterpretations. To the former class belong all the creative acts of the tricksters and culture heroes, like *Wak'djupk'aga* and Hare, and to the latter the systematic creation of the world by Earthmaker.

What is probably the oldest form of the Winnebago cosmological notions is that concerned with the general destruction of the bad spirits by Hare and by such spirits as the Thunderbirds, Morning Star, etc., and the removal of obstacles. Often the present characteristics of the earth are formed accidentally, as, for instance, the origin of the valleys, mountains, and lakes, as given in the myth of "Holy One." Even in the thoroughly remodeled general origin myth, Earthmaker is not conceived of as having purposely created the world.

772 The Winnebago believed that there were four worlds, one beneath the other, presided over, respectively, by Earthmaker, Trickster (*Wak'djupk'aga*), Turtle, and Hare. Hare rules over the world on which man lives. There seems to be some confusion as to who rules over the last earth, because it is also definitely stated that Traveler (a Water-spirit) is in control of it.

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to give it had their menses and were fasting. When the feast was about to be held there was no food and their mother gave the girls some of the sacred food and the unclean girls boiled it and ate it. 614 796 841

The following spring when the girls were out helping their mother tan some hide a bear approached them and tried to kill the girls. The old woman fought the bear off as best she could, but he paid no attention to her and tried to get at the girls. Finally he killed the girls. Then the old woman attacked the bear and finally threw him down and killed him, using her tanning stick as a weapon.

Now this bear was not an ordinary bear such as live on this earth, but his body was covered with blue clay. He had come out of a spring of water shortly before he came to this place. The girls had eaten sacred food when they were unclean, and that is why this bear came and killed them. [776 688]

Since then that particular band has stopped giving this bear feast.

THE SNAKE CLAN FEAST

When a person wishes to give a snake feast, four chickens must be obtained. The nephew of the feast giver is then told to prepare these chickens and make the general preparations. 796 614

The feast is given in the fall, just as the snakes are supposed to go into their winter quarters and close their doors. The winter is their night, and then they go to sleep. [825]

Shortly before the feast begins the host takes out a bundle containing four snake skins—a yellow-snake skin, a rattlesnake skin, a blow-snake skin, and a bull-snake skin. In honor of these he gives his feast and makes his offerings.

As the fall of the year is to the snakes the same as our evening, the Winnebago give this feast in their honor then, in much the same way as we have our supper before retiring for the night. The snake skins are representatives of the first four snakes Earthmaker made and which he pierced through the earth in the direction of the east. The snake skins are kept to represent the four original snake-beings and to keep evil away from homes. That is why offerings are made to them. Four men only are invited to this feast (as main participants), and they must each eat a chicken. [773]

The host himself opens the door for the snakes. In front of him, next to the fireplace, he makes four holes in the ground, thus opening the door for them. There he likewise places tobacco for them. First he pours tobacco in the fire, for the fire is the mediator between the people and the spirit. The fire tells the spirit the wishes of the people and is, in general, in charge of the members of the tribe. For that reason they always pour tobacco upon it. [782]

Now the host rises and speaks. "Grandfather (fire), you who stand in the center of the lodge, I offer you tobacco, for you are the interpreter (between the spirits and human beings), and I know that 796 614 537 372

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# CHAPTER XIV

## THE MEDICINE DANCE

(Pls. 48, 50)

### Origin Myth

● 773 What it was our father sat on when he came to consciousness is uncertain. Then his tears flowed and he began to cry. Not long did he think. He saw nothing and nothing was there anywhere. He took something from the seat on which he was sitting and made a portion of our earth.

Then he sent the earth below him. From where he sat and as he looked at his own creation, it became similar to our earth. However, nothing grew upon it and it was entirely without a covering. It had not become quiet but was spinning around.

Suddenly he thought, "If I do this, it will become quiet." Then he made a covering (hair) for it. He took a weed from his seat to make grass for the earth and earthward he sent it. That he did and then looked at his own creation. It was not quiet but still kept on turning. "This way I will do again," he thought. He took a tree and toward the earth he sent it and again looked at his creation, but still it kept spinning around. Then he sent four men, brothers, and placed one in the east, one in the west, one in the south, and one in the north, and again looked at his creation. It was, however, still spinning around. "Perhaps it will become quiet in the following way," he thought. So he made four of what are called water-spirits and below the earth he placed them, and for that reason they are called island-weights. Then he scattered a female spirit over the earth, by which stones are meant. Finally he looked at his creation and he saw that the earth had become quiet.

He had sent the stones clear through the earth, throughout its extent, and only the heads remained uncovered. He looked at his creation and saw that it had become quiet. No clouds appeared anywhere, the light of day appearing motionless, and the vibrations of heat seemed to be like spider webs going past, floating.

All the birds that were to roam over the sky, all the quadrupeds that were to be on this earth and those called subterranean animals, he placed in houses that he had made for them and scattered here and there. Then he made all those insects that were destined to live on the earth. Finally, at the end of his thinking he made us,

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the human beings. However, we were not even equal in strength to a fly. We were the weakest of all. Then he looked at what he had created and he liked it and sat filled with happy thoughts. 773

He was proud of us and gazed again on what he had created. He had, however, not made the human beings equal in strength to the others and they were on the point of being destroyed. Then he formed a human being, like ourselves, and when he had finished him, he named him the Foolish-One. "Foolish-One, to the earth you are to go. Weakly (pitiable), in every respect, I made the human beings. I made them as my last thought. Now this creation of mine, they, the evil spirits, are likely to injure, so do you, O Foolish-One, go and put things in order." 773 776

Then he sent him to the earth, but when he came on earth he did not do what he had been told. He went around the earth and accomplished nothing. (As useless) as a child crawling on all fours he was. He really amounted to nothing. Though sent by Earthmaker, he amounted to nothing. He did no good and injured the creation of Earthmaker, so Earthmaker took him back and had him sit at the right of his own seat.

Then he made another (man) and when he was finished called him the Turtle. "The two-legged walkers (human beings) whom I created as the last of my thoughts, (evil spirits) are about to exterminate Do you go and put the earth in order." Turtle went and (took along) a knife that he had been given. When he came on earth he led people on the warpath, but he did not look after the (welfare) of (Earthmaker's) creation. Earthmaker therefore took back the second man, too, and placed him on his left side.

Then he made a third (man), and when he finished him, he named him Bladder, and said, "You are to go to the earth. As my last thought, I created the two-legged walkers and they were pitiful in every way. They are now about to be exterminated and you are to rescue them. Try with all your strength."

When he came on earth he made a long lodge and created twenty men. That many younger brothers he had. Then they all started to go around this entire island and all the younger brothers were killed. Thus he failed in his mission. The work his father had sent him to do, he failed in, so (Earthmaker) took him back and placed him on his left side.

Then he made a fourth (man) and when he finished he named him He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings.

Then he made the last one, Hare, his body just like ours. "You are the last one I am going to create, so try with all your strength, Hare, try." He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings, the fourth one, failed. He therefore took him back. Hare was the last that Earthmaker, our father, wished to create. He (had created) him entirely by the force of his thoughts.

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773 776 "Hare, what I am doing, you also will be able to accomplish. Try with all your power. If (the evil spirits) injure my creation, it will not be good on earth, life will not be good." Thus he encouraged him; thus he spoke to him. "Try and overcome these (evil spirits)."

So Hare was sent to the earth, and when he came on earth he said to himself, "My brothers acted in a (certain) way and failed." Hare had come up to a certain oval lodge and from this (same) house came a young woman with a little pail. She was going toward the river. "Now they (Foolish-One, etc.), were not able to do (what I am going to do)," he said. There he entered the body of the young woman in order to become a human being. There he sat in the abdomen (of the young woman), yet he heard their (human being's) cry.

He heard them crying. "My father sent me to give them advice, and here, for so very long a time, I have been sitting." Crying, shrieking, he heard them (the human beings). "So long have I been sitting here that (the evil spirits) will in the end destroy them." Seven months had he been waiting when he spoke thus. Finally, when the proper time had elapsed, he went out through an opening. Not four days after, the woman died.

He always left the house in which they lived, at night, and would roam around. Whenever he walked inside the house he would reflect much light. As soon as daylight appeared he became quiet, it is said. As soon as the sun went down, he went out. He traveled all around the earth, for its entire extent, and just before sunrise returned and became quiet. Throughout the day he sat thinking of all the work he was to do.

For the third time he again started out, at sunset, and traveled over half the extent of the earth, and all the bad spirits that were growing wild he put an end to. "Not again will they (the bad spirits) live; not for a second time will they kill any of my uncles or aunts." Just before daylight appeared, he went toward the house, and as he approached it, his heart felt good. Then he entered the house and all day he sat there wrapped in thought.

When the sun went down he went out and over to the very edge of the earth, as large as it is, he roamed, and all the bad spirits that exist he killed. Just about daylight he went up into the heavens and bang! he pursued all the bad birds that were living there and driving them together in the west, he killed them all. Very early in the morning he went to the house thinking pleasant thoughts. "The work my father sent me to do I have accomplished. The life of my uncles and aunts will now be like mine, from now on." Thus he thought as he entered the house.

"Well, Grandmother, the work my father sent me to do, I have accomplished. He sent me to look after his creation and all that I have accomplished. My uncles' and aunts' lives will hereafter be the

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same as my own." "But, Grandson, how can your uncles' lives be the same as yours? It is not so. The (world) is as our father created it. Not different can it be made." "The old woman must be related to them and therefore does not like it that I killed (the evil spirits)." "No, Grandson, our father has ordained thay my body (the earth) should fall in two. Lest they should cause a shortage in food (by overpopulation) he ordained that there should be death, otherwise they would crowd each other too much on earth. So, therefore, he arranged that they have a place to die." 773 776

Hare didn't like it. "Surely, Grandmother does not like it because she was related to them. She is taking their (evil spirits) part." Thus he thought. "No, Grandson, that is not so. Your heart, at present, feels sore. Your uncles and aunts will obtain enough of life; they will live to a normal old age," she told him. "Now, Grandson, get up. Your uncles and aunts will follow you. Try with all your strength (to do what I am going to tell you). You are a man, so do not look back."

Around (the earth) they started. "Not to look back," grandmother said. "I wonder why she said it." Thus he thought. So he looked back just the least bit to his left. The place he had started from caved in instantaneously. "O my! O my! A man I thought you were, a person of prominence, and I had encouraged you very much. But now, Grandson, decay, death can, in no way, be taken back." That is what she meant, it is said.

Around (the earth) they went and to the edge of the fire (that encircles the earth) they traveled, it is said. They united it (the fire) so that they (the uncles and aunts) would attain old age, so she said.

"To look back, she forbade me. But I have already made up my mind (as to the immortality of my uncles and aunts). When they become like me, then only will I be happy. Such is my thought." Then he went out and there, where the sun rises, to the east, he went and entered the house. Opposite the occupants he sat himself. What he had come for (the occupants) knew, it is said, "Well, Hare, there is nothing I can say to you. If the one ahead has anything he wishes to say to you, he will undoubtedly do so." Then he (Hare) greeted him and went out.

Toward the west he traveled. Even then not any (other) thought he had. "I can do it," he thought on the way. When he arrived at the house he entered and sat himself opposite the (occupant). "Hare, what you have come for, I know, I believe, but I will not tell you anything. The one ahead, he it is that can tell you, he it is." So he (Hare) saluted him and went out.

Toward the house of the fourth one, in the south, he went and entered, and sat himself opposite (the occupant). "Hare, what you

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773 776 have come for, I know, but if even those ahead could not say anything to you, how can I, the very last, say anything?"

Then he saluted him and went out in the same way that he went in. He started for his house and came there crying, it is said. "My aunts and uncles must not die!" "To all things death will come," he thought. Then he cast his thoughts upon the precipices and they began to fall, to crumble. Upon the rocks he cast his thoughts and they crumbled. Under the earth he cast his thoughts and all beings that were living under the earth stopped moving and their limbs stiffened (in death).

Up above also he cast his thoughts and the birds began to fall down (dead).

Then when he entered the house he took his blanket and wrapping himself in it, lay down crying, it is said. "Not the entire earth will suffice for us," he thought, "and in some places there will not even be enough earth."

After a while the news reached our father. "To utterly destroy us they will try" (the people were saying). That Hare was not feeling well, was the news that reached him. Then he (Earthmaker) said to the first man he had created, "Hare is not feeling well and you are to go after him." Toward the earth he came. "Hare, I have come here to fetch you." But he did not answer him and he did not even move his blanket. So the man (Foolish-One) returned. Then he (Earthmaker) said to the second one, "Hare you are to go after and bring him back here. Try very hard to (accomplish) it, for he is not feeling well." When he arrived there (he said), "Hare, I have come after you to take you back." But Hare did not even (answer). When he returned, he said, "Hare did not say anything." (Then to the third one he said), "Hare you are to go after, for he is not feeling well." When he came (to where Hare was, he said), "Hare, I have come after you, to take you home." But Hare did not even answer him. Hare was indeed not feeling well.

Then he (Earthmaker) told the fourth one, "You are to go after Hare. Be sure and bring him. Be sure and bring him. Try with all your strength." "No matter how hard it is, I will bring him" (said the fourth one). He started out and when he came to Hare (he said), "Indeed, for a very long time has your heart been sad, Hare. But let us go home now. Get up!" Then he took him back, it is said, to Earthmaker he took him. But not to Earthmaker's house did he take him, but to that opposite where the chief of the Thunderbirds lived. At his side, there they placed him. In front of the Thunderbird chief's (house) there was a mound and also a little war club painted red on one side. Thunderbird chief took the little war club and holding it lightly, shook it gently. So great

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was the noise (it made) that Hare got frightened and almost ran out, it is said. Then they freed him from the sad thoughts he had had on earth and restored his spirits. 773 776

Soon after that they took him to Earthmaker and (when) he had come there (Earthmaker said), "Hare, your heart must have been very sad. Indeed, for your uncles it was, that your heart felt sad. Now that their lives may be benefited, a holy teaching you are to take back to them. "Here, look at it," he said, and pointed toward the south. There a long lodge stood (revealed). At this he looked and there were old people with hair all white. "Thus your uncles and aunts will be. They will make very much noise (in this ceremony). Now look down! Some help is to be given them. Not one bad spirit will I put there." Then he (Earthmaker) pointed in that direction and said, "You are to go back there (to earth) and put this (ceremony) before them. Not alone are you to do it, but with the aid of your own friends, Foolish-One, Turtle, Bladder, and He-who-wears-heads-as-earrings." These he meant. "Your grandmother (the earth) will help you and if one of your uncles and aunts performs everything properly he will have more than one life. I will always keep the door (through which he may return to earth) open to him. When he becomes reincarnated he can live wherever he wishes. He can return (to the earth) as a human being or he can join the different bands of spirits, or finally he can become (a being) below the earth." All this he (Earthmaker) did for us.

Then Hare returned to the earth and to his grandmother. "What I have tried to obtain for my uncles and aunts, that now I have brought back with me." "Grandson, how was it possible for you to make them immortal like ourselves! As the world was created, so must it remain." "Grandmother, I say that my uncles will choose their lives for themselves, and grandmother, you are to help me." "All right, grandson, it is good," she said, thanking him. "When the time comes, my friend the Foolish-One will come," he thought. Then he struck his drum and sang all the songs. All of a sudden, Foolish-One came in. "That you would come, my friend, I thought, and thus you have come." "Indeed, my friend, I knew your thoughts and, for that reason, I came." Then they went out together and outside of the village they sat and discussed what they were to do. This is what they were doing. All day they discussed on the outskirts of the village. When they came to the house they entered it and sat down. "My friend Turtle will come," he (Hare) thought. Then Turtle did come. "My friend, I knew you would come, and for that reason, you have come." "Yes, indeed, your thought I knew, and for that reason I have come." Soon Bladder came. He (Hare) thought he would come and for that reason he came. Then Hare centered his thoughts on He-who-wears-heads-as-earrings, and he also came.

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773 776 Their grandmother listened to them quietly, but she could not understand them. Then (after a while) Hare said, "Grandmother, what I have been trying to obtain for my uncles I have succeeded (in accomplishing). You are now going to hear of it. Come here toward the fireplace and sit down and you will hear of it. (I know) that you are anxious to help them, Grandmother." "Indeed, grandson, it is good," she said, and got up. Then she took her work and sat down near the five of them and laid her hands upon their heads. In front of her nephew, Hare, she placed her work. "If you get this for them (i. e., the medicine dance) your uncles will live well. This way they are to do forever," she said. In front of him she put her work and said, "For this thing, indeed, I thank our father." Thus she said and went back and sat down. "Grandson, what the nature of my help for you was to be, you asked? Well, look at me, grandson. For your uncles and your aunts, our father had me bring the following. I have for them that with which they will always be able to ask for life." Then she opened that part of her body where her heart was situated and very green leaves were to be seen, like an ear in shape. It was as white as a blossom. Then she opened her breast on the right side and said, "Grandson, look at me." Then unexpectedly corn was visible. "For your uncles and aunts, our father let me bring corn." A stalk became visible whose leaves were very green and whose tassels were white. These were the ears of corn that we were to eat.

Then the five of them got up and Hare said, "Our grandmother, let us greet." So they walked up and laid their hands upon her head. Then they greeted her and went around again. "It is good, grandmother, this is what I meant when I said you were to help them. You were going to help us, grandmother," I said. "You may now fix your breast."

Then he went out, proceeding toward the east, and when he got there he stopped. Then he turned toward the west. Grandmother closed her breast and entered the house. "Well, grandson, I have done it." "It is good, grandmother," said Hare. Then he went out, and when he got to the door he stopped there and thought, "This is the way it will be." And where he stood, eight yellow female snakes he threw. They became the side-poles of the lodge. Their heads he turned toward the east, and their tails he turned toward the west. The strings he used with which to tie them were rattlesnakes. The doorway was made of a black female and a male snake, the latter placed at the right. At the rear end of the house, in the west, he also made doors of blue female snakes. Then he took a reed-grass, which he had brought with him, under whose covering we were to live, and threw it over the lodge and the lodge was wrapped in it entirely. Then he took another piece of reed-

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grass and inside the house, at the right side, he threw it and it became 773
white mats spread out. Then he threw a bear-skin hide in the house 776
on the right side, and it extended along the length of the lodge. Then he made a white deer-hide extend along the entire length of the lodge, on the right side. A door he made of a real living mountain lion. This he did in order to prevent bad spirits from entering. At the door, on the west side, he placed a buffalo bull, and when this all was completed, he looked inside the lodge and then he heard these animals bellowing and roaring, it is said. Inside of the lodge, it was light.

Then he started for the lodge, first going for his friends. "Well, my friends, I am through; the house I have finished. Grandmother, stand up, for we are going to follow." He walked behind and when they came to the door, the fear-inspiring lion snapped his teeth, as he stood there. Then they went in and walked around the lodge until they came to the place where they had entered and they sat down. Then Hare sent a number of public criers, a bear and a wolf, to traverse the entire length of the earth. Along with them were sent the winged messengers, the common crow and the shrieking crow.

When the animals that had started first returned, their bodies were old and devoid of hair, and they supported themselves on staffs. When the birds who had gone returned, their wings were worn out, their eyebrows lapped over their eyes, and they looked very old indeed. They came in front of Hare's seat and said to him, "Your uncles and aunts, when they speak of you, will speak of you forever in praise. We have placed many life-giving objects within the lodge." "Well, my friends, it is good. This is what I meant. I thank you in the name of my uncles and aunts."

Then all the messengers who had been above on the earth, etc., all of them came. The four very first men he had created also came. They all stood at the door ready to enter. The oldest one started in, but he turned back, being afraid of the animals within. Three of them were afraid and therefore failed to enter. Then the youngest opened the door for them and led them in. After he entered, they, in turn, walked around the lodge, and when they got to the door, Hare placed the eldest one there and said, "My elder brother, this is your seat, the east one." Then he walked around again and at the north end he stopped and made the second one sit down. Then he walked around and, stopping in the west, made the third one sit there. Then, finally, he put the fourth one in the south seat, and went to his own seat and sat down.

Now all the other spirits began to enter the lodge. Then the first people came in and four were made to sit in the east and four were made to sit with each of the four seats. The people were of the

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The people were of the
Bird clan, the Bear clan, the Wolf clan, and the Snake clan. The fourth one was the one they were to teach, to initiate.

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[614]

Then Hare got up and spoke as follows: "My friends, I have had you come together, for my uncles and aunts had been living a most pitiable life. You are to teach them the life they are to live and which they are to hand down from generation to generation. That is what I ask of you. What I want, you have heard. I leave everything to be done and said by those in the east."

Then he, the one in the east, arose and spoke, "Our friends, the uncles and aunts of the Hare, we are to teach the meaning of life, so that they may hand it down from one generation to the other. Only today, for the first time, have we discussed this thing for them. Life (all that life consists of—wealth, honor, and happiness) they shall have from now on." The four of them said, "What the one ahead said (we say)." When they finished, they returned.

Now Hare got up again and said, "My friends, that is what I wished for my uncles and aunts. This council-lodge I made for them, and as long as they follow the precepts taught in the creation-lodge they will be invulnerable. For that reason this seat has been made for them, that whosoever desires may sit therein."

All day long the spirits taught him, and when the sun was on the treetops, when it was time to stop, the spirits dispersed, taking with them as they went half the light within the lodge. They rubbed against the door-poles as they went out. They pushed them in deeply so they would not fall.

Then Hare spoke, "Grandmother, I will be sitting ready for any one of my uncles and aunts who will perform this ceremony that we have taught them well. With tears my uncles and aunts will come to me and my heart will feel sore. I will go above and sit down and if any person performs this ceremony that we taught him well, then he will be as I am, if you will but look at me, grandmother. Look at my body, grandmother." And behold, like a very small boy he was. "If any one repeats what we have done here, this is the way he will appear."

"Look at me," Hare said for the second time; "Look at me!" There he stood a full-grown man. Then, for the third time, he said, "Grandmother, look at me." There he stood a man in middle age; his hair was interspersed half-and-half with gray. Then she looked at him for the fourth time, and his hair was covered as if by a swan (i. e., it was all white), and he leaned tremblingly on his staff, standing in the east. "Well, grandmother, if any of my uncles and aunts performs this ceremony properly this way they will live."

"It is good, grandson. However, not only your uncles but your aunts, likewise, will be that way if any of the latter performs the ceremony properly. "Look at me," she said, and when he looked at

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her, there stood a very young woman, her hair like a shawl. "It is good, grandmother, and I thank you in the name of my aunts. Then for the second time she said, "Look at me." He looked at her and there stood a woman in middle age, her hair almost gray. "Well, grandmother, it is good, that is what I meant." Then for the fourth time she said, "Grandson, look at me." He looked at her. Her hair was entirely dried up, in the nape of her neck there was a hollow, and like a duck looking at the sun, she appeared. Her chin, like a wooden poker, burnt short, there she stood trembling. "Well, grandmother, this is what I meant when I said that you were to help me. My uncles and aunts that is what I wished for them, and I thank you." 773 776

## Organization of the Bands

The medicine dance of the Winnebago consists of five bands. A sixth band is temporarily formed whenever the ceremony is given in honor of a deceased member. 796 621

For purposes of description it will be best to divide each band into three parts—the leader, his two assistants, and the rest of the band. Leadership depends upon a thorough knowledge of the ceremony and its complete esoteric significance, which is in the possession of only a few individuals in each band. This knowledge can be obtained solely by purchase and religious qualifications. These religious qualifications, to which might be added moral as well, play little part at the present day, but there can be no doubt that they were essential in the past. The leader likewise often possessed other characteristics, such as those of warrior and shaman.

The two assistants were generally men who had purchased sufficient information and privileges to entitle them to help the leader in certain details of the ceremony. The drummers, rattle holders, dancers, etc., were always recruited from their ranks. Eventually they might become the leaders. Those who were neither leaders nor assistants possessed a knowledge varying from that of elementary information, required for admission, to that entitling them to the position of assistant.

There is a priority of position in the lodge, depending on priority of invitation. The band invited first occupies the east position; that invited second, the north; that invited third, the west; and that invited fourth, the south. The east is the position of highest honor; the south, that of the lowest. Between the bands there exists an order of invitation based on tradition, the exact nature of which is unknown. According to one informant, if one band invited another, the latter in turn would be obliged to give it the position of honor; but as there are five bands, this can apply only to special cases. Whatever may be the order, it is certain that each band has ample occasion to occupy all five positions. [554]

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generally lasts from dawn preceding the day ceremony until 7 or 8 a. m. The intermission begins as soon as the drum and gourds have been returned to the ancestor host and ends as soon as the people return from the brush ritual. 756 796

The first and second parts are concerned entirely with a recital of certain ritualistic myths and a rehearsal of the songs and the specific ritual of each band used during the remaining parts.

*Types and component elements of the ceremony.* For purposes of greater clarity, the speeches, songs, and types of action will be carefully differentiated and referred to by some designation characterizing their essential traits. These speeches, songs, and types of action together form combinations which may be regarded as units, and they will therefore also be referred to by some designation characteristic of their function.

1. Types of speeches. (1) Salutations: No formal salutation is used during Parts I and II, the individuals being addressed by their relationship terms. In Parts III, IV and V the salutations are invariably the same. The ancestor host and his band are addressed as follows: "The-one-occupying-the-seat-of-a-relative (deceased) and you-who-sit-with-him, do I salute." The east is addressed, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-sun-rises"; the north, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-cold-comes-from"; the west, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-sun-straightens," or (preferably) "You-who-represent-the-end-of-the-road." 756 796 537 576

The appellations of the bands, as before stated, refer to the creation myth and the four guardian spirits whom Hare visited for the purpose of inquiring into the necessity and meaning of death. Hare was compelled to travel around the earth, which is conceived of as an island, and received no answer until he came to the spirit at the end of the road. In the dramatic performance of the medicine dance the lodge typifies the earth and the four bands and their leaders typify the four spirits. The ancestor host's band typifies the ancestor of the Winnebago. 773 756 796 621 [772]

(2) Speeches: Under this head will be treated (*a*) speeches of welcome; (*b*) speeches of acceptation; (*c*) speeches of presentation; (*d*) speeches explanatory of the significance of the ritual; and (*e*) speeches of admonition, addressed exclusively to the candidate. This does not exhaust all. There are many others, generally short, that can hardly be classified. In their content, as well as in the order of their succession, the speeches must follow a traditionally determined sequence. In practice this is certainly not always true, but to the mind of the Winnebago these speeches appear as old as the ceremony. It is their firm belief that any departure from the accepted type will interfere with the efficacy of the ceremony. 796 537 756

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159 ancestors told their descendants, as it has passed down from mouth
156 to mouth to us, that whosoever pays careful attention to all that pertains to this ceremony, that whosoever has a good memory, he is the one to whom it should be taught. Thus they spoke.

"My son, you alone have been good to me," he said. "This ceremony you will learn. Our son, He-who-stands-on-a-cloud, and you have been kind to me. Both of you will live a long life. Never divide this ceremony in two. Never keep anything separate, but do, the two of you, counsel about everything. If one of you knows anything, tell it to the other. Two people are necessary to make the ceremony truly efficacious for either one. Never dislike one another.

"My younger brother, you are going to be a chief. No one else pays attention to this ceremony. You alone are doing it. If at any time I should leave your presence, when I am about to go I know that you, oh my son and brother, I will leave behind me, peacefully traveling along. Thus I will think as I am about to depart. Thus my ancestors told me."

Thus in trying to obtain information I made myself pitiable. I tried to be blessed. I performed all kinds of work. Even woman's work I did. Thus I kept myself in a pitiable condition, and for that reason my brother-in-law blessed me. He blessed me with the ceremony of his ancestors. He told it to no one else but to me; and if anyone else, at the present time, narrates the ceremony as told by our band, he is not telling you the truth. Up to the present time this ceremony was an Indian ceremony, and not a second time will I tell it to a member of the white race.

This ceremony molded me. I paid the most careful attention to it; I worshiped it in the best way I knew how. I was careful about everything in my life. I never drank. A holy life it was that I sought and most earnestly did I pray that I might live over again. That is what I yearned for. If I do everything that this ceremony enjoins upon me well, I will return to Earthmaker, they told me. This is what I wished. I was doing well as a medicine man and everyone loved me. This ceremony was made with love.

I knew all the songs. Indeed, the leader of the dance would make me sing the songs for him. As many medicine men as there were, they all liked me. I was not overbearing, but modestly did I comport myself right along. All the medicine men told me that I was doing very well, and they offered thanks in my behalf.

2. J. C.'s account of how he came to join the medicine dance: This
[113] is how it was. A grandmother of mine was the cause of it. She said that the Creator's son[a] was called the Hare; that he came on earth and brought life, she said. She said that whoever did this would live well, that their souls would always return to the place where the

[a] J. C. is a prominent member of the Peyote cult and, in common with other members of this cult, he has identified the Hare with Christ.

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Creator sits. The first thing that they did to me was this: They took me to a lodge at night; there they talked and sang. Then the second night the tobacco bundles were made; then the great old medicine men were given tobacco. After this came the four nights' preparation. Then came the great medicine dance. Then they went after those that were going to join, one at a time. They, the medicine men, were repeating what the Hare had done. When the Hare came on earth he performed certain actions, and that is what they were repeating now. Hare had visited the different spirits, it is said, looking for a means of life, it is said. The old medicine men possessed the good tidings that Hare had brought to this earth. That is what the people desired of Hare, it is said. 159 756

When they entered, the first person to whom tobacco had been given, i. e., the one first invited, entered first. Then the others followed in turn. Then he talked; then the one who initiated me expressed his thanks, saying, "You medicine men, this affair the Hare has given you, you are repeating in order to bless us. For that reason you have come. We ask you to give to this person whom we are about to initiate the life you have obtained for us. We ask that the newly initiated one travel along that road."

Then the first person spoke, and after that they all ate. When he was through they heated a stone. After that they all entered in regular order and I was asked to go in with them. Thus I entered the sweat-bath lodge. When I was inside they told me that the stone which they had heated was a spirit. "The life that he brought I should ask for," they told me. After that we went out again.

At night we entered again. Then at about 2 o'clock they took me out to the brush. Not until then was I to learn what the medicine men really did. When we got to the brush they made me sit down and the man who was initiating me turned me over to the others. He said, "I turn him over to you. Whatever the elders have taught you, that we desire you to tell him." When he finished the first one began to talk, saying, "It is good that you are such a person. Earthmaker must have willed it so. In the olden times if a person wanted to join the medicine lodge he could not do it until he was quite old." Then he continued preaching to me. When Earthmaker first came into the world and what happened after that, how he created all things: that he told me. He told me that Earthmaker created four worlds, in each of which he placed men and women; that the heavens we see represent the last man he created and the earth we are living on the last woman he created. Then he told how *Hereguninc* was created. The story is as follows: Earthmaker created man, whom he wished to put at the head of the world, but he did not make one of his legs quite right. Then he threw him down to the earth because when Earthmaker made anything wrong 159 756 881 868 [773]

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159 he never did it over again. *Hereguniu* lived on earth from that
756 time on, and it is said that he also created things. Indeed, it is said
881 that he was almost the equal of the Earthmaker. He made the people
868 very miserable. Then Earthmaker sent four of his sons (to save the
●773 people). Hare alone, of all the four, accomplished what he had been sent out for. All the rest failed. Hare obtained life for the people upon this earth.

Then the man told how the medicine lodge had been founded; how all the spirits upon the earth and all those under the earth and all those above the earth gathered together. They brought life with them. Then the medicine bags began to come. First came the eagle. He came from above. Next came the hawk, and then the squirrel, etc. The otter was the last one. Then the old man stopped talking to me and another person began to admonish me. He told me how I was to conduct myself. Then he spoke to me of the medicine-lodge road (i. e., of life) and what happens after life.

159 The first thing that I would meet on the road would be bad birds
756 making a lot of noise. "Do not look at them," he told me. They
868 would let fly at me bad-smelling saliva and phlegm, but I was not
775 to turn around, he said. Then the road would become thickly covered with thorn bushes. It would seem almost impossible to untangle them. I was, however, not to pay any attention to them, he told me. On the road, fires would send their sparks toward me, but I was to pay no attention to them. After a while I would lose one of my relatives, but I was to keep right on. I was not to get angry nor to give up, and after a while the road would become thickly covered with poplars growing on each side. Then the hair on my temples would become gray. This is what would happen to me, he told me, if I paid close attention to this ceremony. After a while it would become foggy—i. e., my eyesight would grow dim. Then I would come to a hill, one of four hills. When I came to the last hill there I would see red cedar trees. This is what would happen to me if I paid close attention to this ceremony, he told me. My soul would return to Earthmaker and I would then be allowed to come back to this earth if I wanted to.

159 Then they gave me the object with which they shot themselves
756 the shell. They shot me. After that they made me try to do it,
776 and when I was able to shoot well, we all came back. It was now
881 daylight. Now they put clothes on themselves and arose. Those who were initiating me then spread upon the ground the things which had been brought. Then the leader spoke. He told me that he would put me on the medicine-dance road. Then they sat me down there and shot me. Then the clothes that I had on were taken off and I was given other clothes. I was now told that I was standing on the medicine-dance road. After that they danced all day. In the evening they stopped. Now this is what I did; this is all I can say. I greet you, my friends.

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## What the Converts Introduced

798 177 It is quite impossible to establish now what these converts introduced individually. For that matter it is not necessary to assume that they brought any specific additions to the cult. What they did bring were Winnebago; and with that, the emotional and cultural setting of the old pagan background. To one, the eating of the peyote gave the same magical powers that were formerly associated with membership in the medicine dance; to another, the visions were direct blessings from God, directing him to perform certain actions; to a third, faithfulness to the teachings of the Peyote cult became associated with a certainty of reaching God, of being able to take the right road in the journey to the spirit land. Even a man so thoroughly saturated with Christian doctrines as Hensley himself felt it necessary to introduce an origin myth; and although we know that he borrowed it from a southern tribe, it is quite clear that in Hensley's narrative it has already assumed all the characteristics of a Winnebago fasting experience and ritualistic myth, similar to those connected with the founders of the old Winnebago cult societies. In its totality the atmosphere of the Peyote cult became thus charged with the old Winnebago background. In 1911 it can not be said that they had displaced the distinctive Christian elements. Among the younger members, especially those who had been trained in the east and could read and write English, the influence of the Christian ideas in the interpretation of the old pagan features is, as was pointed out before, so strong to-day that it threatens to displace the others.

The following homily will show how the old myths were used by the younger Peyote members to point a tale.

794 773 The old people often spoke of the Trickster, but we never knew what they meant. They told us how he wrapped a coon-skin blanket around himself and went to a place where all the people were dancing. There he danced until evening and then he stopped and turned around. No one was to be seen anywhere, and then he realized that he had mistaken for people dancing the noise made by the wind blowing through the reeds.

[381 829] So do we Winnebagoes act. We dance and make a lot of noise, but in the end, we accomplish nothing.

Once, as the Trickster was going toward a creek, he saw a man standing on the other side, dressed in a black suit, and pointing his finger at him. He spoke to the man but the latter would not answer. Then he spoke again and again, but without receiving any reply. Finally he got angry and said, "See here! I can do that too." He put on the black coat and pointed his finger across the creek. Thus both of them stood all day. Toward evening, when he looked around again, he noticed that the man across the creek, pointing his finger at him, was really just a tree stump. "O my! what have I been doing all

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this time! Why did I not look before I began? No wonder the 774
people call me the Foolish One." 773

So are we Winnebagoes. We never look before we act. We do everything without thinking. We think we know all about it.

The Trickster was walking around with a pack on his back. As he walked along, someone called to him. "Say, we want you to sing." "All right," said he. "I am carrying songs in my pack, and if you wish to dance, build a large lodge for me with a small hole at the end for an entrance." When it was finished, they all went in, and the Trickster followed them. Those who had spoken to him were birds. He told them that while dancing they were not to open their eyes, for if they did their eyes would become red. Whenever a fat bird passed the Trickster he would choke it to death, and if it cried out, he would say, "That's it! That's it! Give a whoop!"

After a while one of the birds got somewhat suspicious and opened its eyes just the least little bit. He saw that the Trickster was choking all the birds. "He is killing us all," said the bird. "Let all who can run for their lives." Then he flew out through the top of the house. The Trickster took the birds he had killed and roasted them; but he did not get a chance to eat them, for they were taken away from him by somebody.

So are we Winnebagoes. We like all that is forbidden. We say that we like the medicine dance; we say that it is good and yet we keep it secret and forbid people to witness it. We tell members of the dance not to speak about it until the world shall come to an end. They are afraid to speak of it. We, the Winnebago, are the birds, and the Trickster is satan.

Once, as the Trickster was going along the road, some one spoke to him. He listened, and he heard it say, "If anyone eats me all bad things will come out of him." Then the trickster went up to the one talking, and said, "What is your name?" "My name is 'Blows-himself-away.'" The Trickster would not believe it; so he ate it. After a while, he blew himself away. He laughed. "Oh, pshaw! I suppose this is what it meant." As he went along it grew worse and worse, and it was only after the greatest hardship that he succeeded in returning home.

So are we Winnebagoes. We travel on this earth all our lives, and then when one of us tastes something that makes him unconscious we look upon this thing with suspicion when he regains consciousness.

### The Attitude of the Conservatives

At every phase of the cult's development Rave had to contend with 794
the hostility of the conservative members of the tribe. It would be 578
interesting to know in what manner and degree this hostility mani-

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when he appears to an individual. The Thunderbirds are conceived 776
of theoretically as birds, but always appear to human beings in human shape. As it is believed by the shaman that the spirits are a *tertium quid*, neither animal nor man, but possessing infinite powers of transformation now into the one, now into the other, it is rather difficult to indicate their precise nature except in this negative way. For the ordinary individual doubtless their anthropomorphic nature stands out most prominently.

According to shamanistic cosmology, although the greater spirits are given control of various powers, still, in general, each spirit is given control of some specific power. The shamanistic account goes on to say that, upon the creation of man, Earthmaker, realizing that he had no powers to bestow upon him, decided to give him at least the means of obtaining those powers he had given the spirits [773] ●
and presented him with tobacco, telling him that if he offered it in the proper manner the spirits would feel constrained to accept it and give him, in exchange, whatever powers they possessed. The popular account of the origin of tobacco was quite different. However, it was on the shamanistic theory that offerings were made. The arrangement between the spirits and man was in the nature of a contract, with this peculiarity, that the spirits did not have to accept the offerings. The prayers are generally couched in this manner: "If you, the spirits, accept my offerings, then grant me your blessings or a continuance [782]
of those my ancestors received." They were, however, theoretically always left the alternative of refusing. In practice it was not believed that the spirits exercised their prerogative of refusal, but that in certain cases the offerings were not made in the proper fashion. The moment the tobacco was accepted, the blessing followed of itself, almost without the will of the spirit. This purely mechanical relation between acceptance of the tobacco and bestowal of power comes out excellently in one of the myths. The Winnebago are sacrificing to the Buffalo Spirits and the smoke of their tobacco offering is ascending to the spirit-land where the Buffalo Spirits dwell. The chief of the spirits warns the younger ones not to approach too closely to the ascending fumes, for they are but spirits and the desire for tobacco [773]
might get the better of their discretion and induce them to accept it. If they do, they are lost, for they will then have to go down to the earth and be killed. No power they possess, nor any power the chief possesses, can save them. This "mechanical" explanation seems to me quite significant, for it probably embodies the older point of view and the point of view of the less enlightened Winnebago. As such, it is to be contrasted with the later shamanistic development with its contract and the shifting of the spirit's rôle from one of passive acceptance to that of a spirit-deity who withholds his approbation unless the offering is properly made.

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Earthmaker has all the characteristics of a supreme deity. He is 776
conceived of as formless and as never being visible to man. He is
a benevolent deity, but apart from the interest he manifested in creating the world and all that exists upon it and in sending the great Transformer heroes, Trickster, Turtle, and Hare, he has taken little active interest in the affairs of humankind. It is only as a tour de force that one can receive blessings from him. An instance of the
kind will be found on page 291,[6] which is to be taken not as a myth [787]
but as, at most, a true fasting experience, which has been cast into a literary form.

The conception of Earthmaker we have been discussing is found most prominently developed in the rituals and the ritualistic myths. In how far it represents an exoteric point of view it would be difficult to determine now. A study of the nonritualistic myths, however, makes it seem plausible that Earthmaker, among the people in general, was the vague Waxōp'j'nj Xe'tera, Great Spirit, typical of the woodland area; and what appears to strengthen this view is the fact that there exists, side by side with him, that other great spirit common among the woodland peoples, the Great Bad Spirit, known among the Winnebago as Hereregū'nipa, of doubtful etymology. The coexistence of these two spirits and their equal rank comes out clearly in the cycle of the Twins. The ritualistic myths have
attempted to interpret this old Hereregū'nipa as Earthmaker's first [773]
attempt to create man, which ended in failure. He thereupon threw him away, but Hereregū'nipa imitated the creations of the former and thus brought into existence the many evil spirits that infest the earth.

Only in the older traditions is this conception of the dual deities still to be found. In practical life the more systematic conception developed in the rituals has entirely displaced it, just as the older conception of the Transformers as heroes working in obedience to no one and changing the world until it assumed its present appearance out of mere whim, has given place to a well-ordered creation in which the Transformers play the rôle of deities saving the human race at the command of Earthmaker.

*Thunderbirds* (Wak'ą'ndja). They are always represented as appearing to men as bald-headed individuals wearing a wreath made of the branches of the arbor vitæ. They are in control of almost all the powers that man can imagine, but they generally bless him with success on the warpath and with a long and honorable life. They are represented as having a spirit village in the west and as intermarrying with the Night Spirits who have a village in the east. Powerful
shamans and warriors not infrequently claim that they are merely [775]
reincarnated Thunderbirds. Such is the claim of the man who is

[6] Cf. the Jour. Amer. Folklore, vol. 26, pp. [illegible] 316, 1913.

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*Host's offering to Earthmaker.*—"Hearken, Father who dwells above,[28] all things you have created. Yet if we would make an offering of tobacco you would accept it with thankfulness" (you said). So it has been said. I am about to offer a handful of tobacco and a buckskin for moccasins with it and a white-haired animal[29] to be cooked so that (you may have) a holy feast. These things I turn over to you. If you accept them, the first thing I wish to ask for will be (the honor of) killing (an enemy) outright, of leading warpaths, and of obtaining life honors.[30] That is what we would like to lead (i. e., a war party). That is what I would ask of you. My relatives, as many as are sitting around here, even that many ask the same things of you."

*Host's offering to the Thunderbirds.*—"Those in the west, our grandfather, Thunderbird Chief, you blessed grandfather, and I am now going to offer you a handful of tobacco. With thanks you will accept it (it has been said). Buckskin for moccasins, also, I am sending over to you. A feast made from one whom we regard as one of yourselves, whose body we are like.[31] I am sending along for you. Indeed a sacred feast I am offering you; that I am now sending toward you. As many of our clan members as are here, they (all) desire to make these requests: To kill an enemy outright, to lead a war party, and—O grant it to us!—a life honor. Life, that is what I pray for to you—that we ask of you. Our clan has put itself in a pitiable condition,[32] so that we may live a good life. That we ask of you."

*Host's offering to the Night Spirits.*—"You who live in the east, you who walk in darkness, you directed your minds toward grandfather, and for that I will pour tobacco for you, now and forever, so that you may bless me. A handful of tobacco, if we pour for you, we know it will make you thankful, and for that reason do I offer you some. A buckskin for moccasins and, together with it, a sacred feast that I am about to send toward you. With whatever you blessed grandfather, that I and all my clansmen who are here ask of you. This request, that one of us lead the war party you

[28] No Christian influence is to be suspected in this form of address.

[29] According to shamanistic cosmology, Earthmaker first created all the various spirits and bestowed upon each one of them certain powers. When finally he created man he noticed that he had nothing left to give him, so he decided to give him tobacco. This was to remain his exclusive possession, and not even he, Earthmaker, would be able to take it away from him. It was finally agreed that man would offer it to Earthmaker and the other spirits and receive in return thunder sportic blessings.

[30] Ritualistic name for deer.

[31] "Killing an enemy outright" means killing him in the midst of his own people and without the assistance of anyone else. It was the highest war honor that a Winnebago could obtain and entitled him to wear an eagle feather in his hair. "Life honors" always refer to war honors.

[32] The whole phrase from "ndjerʼuge" to "rdiñʼra hiñʼhiñ-ñ-ñjera," in the ritualistic expression for dog. The dog is referred to as "the one of ourselves" in deference to the fact that one of the clans is called wolf or dog. Thus in offering up the dog they wish to imply that they are offering up themselves.

[33] I. e., a condition which calls for pity.

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## The War-bundle Feast of the Thunderbird Clan

(SECOND VERSION)

X 796 614 ●773 [776] Informant, member of Thunderbird clan:[1] There were originally four warriors. The youngest one was the bravest and the most powerful. He claimed that his father was a Thunderbird and his mother a Night Spirit. He is the one who made the bundle about which we are going to speak.

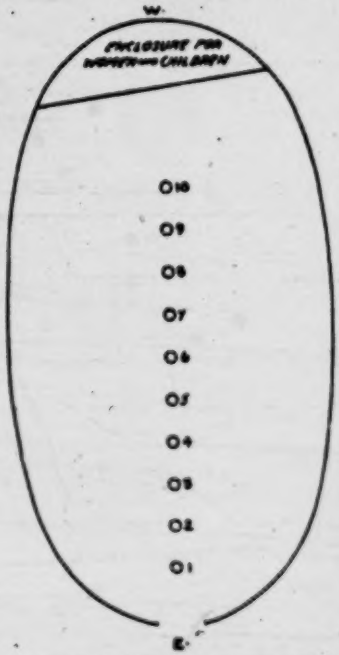


FIG. 38.—Plan of Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast. 1, Buckskin for earthmaker. 2, Buckskin for dream-giver. 3, Buckskin for thunderbirds. 4, Buckskin for night-spirits. 5, Buckskin for morning star. 6, Buckskin for men. 7, Buckskin for moon. 8, Buckskin for water-spirit. 9, Buckskin for earth. 10, Buckskin for herbs.

X 796 [604] [574 281] [886] X 796 782 776

The lodge (fig. 38) is prepared by the nephews and the women relatives of the host, generally his nieces and wives. The invited guests arrive toward evening, while the women are still preparing the buckskins. These buckskins are to be made as perfectly white as possible. Only those women who have passed their climacteric are permitted to do this. As soon as the buckskins are prepared the kettles are put on the fire. The buckskins are taken by the host and marked with the specific symbols associated with the different spirits. (For the markings, see pls. 47, 48.) These buckskins are then tied to a stick. That for Earthmaker is attached to the stick with the head pointing upward; that for the Thunderbird has the stick and the head of the buckskin facing the west; that for the Night has the stick and head of the buckskin facing east; that for the Star also faces east, as do all the others not mentioned. When the sticks have been prepared and the buckskins attached to them, the latter are rolled up upon the sticks. Whosoever of the guests is the oldest feast-giver then arises and pours tobacco, first for the fire and then for all the other spirits. When they start the fire for the first time they use the old ceremonial fire sticks. With that the ceremony begins. When the old man is

X 796 782 [372 778]

[1] This is a generalized account.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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tribe over the large area once occupied in Wisconsin. That the 174
4,000 odd individuals composing the tribe at the advent of 616
the whites lived together is extremely doubtful. The nature of
the woodland of Wisconsin and the fairly extensive territory [161]
over which they (Winnebago) were found scattered not long
after Nicollet's first visit are facts that practically exclude such
a hypothesis. The myth that speaks of a village that at one [773]
time was so long that those living at one end did not know what
was transpiring at the other, contains too many literary touches
to justify its use as an historical document.

The question of village groups is of considerable importance, 174
because there may have been, cutting across the gentle organiza- 621
tion, another smaller, perhaps looser social unit, that of "band"
or village setting off (to the minds of the people) one group
against another. Systematic questioning has elicited from 174
various individuals the information, also corroborated by
historical records, that the villages were generally known accord- 621
ing to geographical location or were descriptive of the haunts of 103
certain animals. Even to-day the group scattered over the
Nebraska Winnebago reservation are commonly known under
similar designations. There we find, for instance, the following
names: *kozo-atcira*, "those living on the peninsula"; or *k'yhą'tc-ira*, "those living below," i.e., in the timber; *niwą'hatcira*, "those living near the dirty water"; *hytcxedegominangera*, "where big bear settles," etc. If we may, then, suppose this to have been a customary association, we may quite properly ask whether the name of the village had any influence on the social organization, whether there is even a hint at a genetic relation between these two types of group names. The only hint of such a relation is the fact that formerly *koni* "band" seems to have been used instead of *hokik'aradjora;* that an archaic name of the Wolf clan, *regoni* or *degoni*, may mean Lake-band; and that the villages all had geographical names. All of which, however, is, I realize, hardly sufficient evidence.

No satisfactory demonstration has as yet been made indicat- 174
ing that the clan organization was ever associated with an histor- 614
ically simple social structure, whereas quite a number of reasons
lead us to suspect that it was in all cases preceded by other

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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of these two types of arrangements quite difficult. There can be no question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital regulations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in definite villages. When on the warpath, the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fire-places, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe, can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, cannot be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Tciwere. In the subsequent discussion of the clan, we will touch on this subject again. 614 616 621

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fire-places when on the warpath, each division having two fire-places, whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. If they were going west, for instance, the two fire-places for the *waŋgeregi* would be on the south and the two for the *mąŋegi* would be on the north side. On the other hand, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the divisions exists. 726 616

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the Chief feast (*huŋk'wohą*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name (*huŋk'wohą*) would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Huŋk'* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the *waŋgeregi* division. 614 616 574

As the basis of organization in a game the twofold division finds expression in ceremonial lacrosse. There the *waŋgeregi* are always pitted against the *mąŋegi*. A well-known myth is associated with this arrangement, according to which the animal ancestors of the *waŋgeregi* and *mąŋegi* decided their respective rank by playing a game where they were organized on this basis. The *waŋgeregi* won, and it is for this reason that the chiefs of the tribe have been selected from that division. The division of the 616 526 773 [622] 000

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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Clans are likewise referred to by names indicative of respect. 614
Thus, the Water-spirit is referred to as *hunge*, male members of the Bear clan as *haga*, and female members of the same clan as *warowiṇa*. It was claimed that these names were employed to avoid using the others. *Degoni* (meaning unknown, perhaps "lake-people") was also applied to the Bear; and *iconaṇke* (meaning unknown) to the Wolf.

Referring to the two village diagrams, we notice that according to Figure 1, four clans have their lodges definitely located— [621] the Thunderbird, Warrior, Buffalo, and Bear; but that according to Figure 2 only two clans have definite location of lodges— the Thunderbird, and Bear. In addition there is, however, [554] a special lodge for the men who have especially distinguished [729] themselves in war, not necessarily to be identified with the members of the Warrior clan. The significance of the clan names has been discussed before.

The meaning of *iconaṇke* is unknown to-day, but it may be 614 of interest as an example of the manner in which the name of 192 a clan may possibly be reinterpreted that, when pressed for a meaning, *iconaṇke* was translated blue-back, which is a literal translation of *ico* and *naṇke*, but which unquestionably represents a folk etymology, for, according to Winnebago grammar, *blue-back* would have to be *naṇke ico*.

### *Legendary Grouping of Clans.*

According to many clan legends, the clans originated in 614 a definite order. As might be expected, this differs according 773 to each clan, but the order of origin of the important ones seems to be constant. That is, practically all clan origin myths speak of the bird-clans as having originated first, and the Bear clan as having followed next. Yet even this did not hold true for all informants.

J., of the Bear clan, gave the following list:

Good Thunders (Thunderbird)
Bad Thunders (Warrior)
Eagle
Pigeon
Bear

.2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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773

Wolf
Water-spirit (?)
Buffalo
Deer
Elk
Snake

The same order was given by a number of other informants. In the Bear clan legend the order is water-spirit, birds, bears, and in practically all the versions of the Bear clan legends the bear always finds the footprints of the wolf, which would indicate that the latter had preceded him. Nevertheless, in the versions of the Wolf clan myth, the bear footprints are found by the Wolf people, and, strangely enough, in the same version the Wolf people are represented as the last clan, whereas in another version of the myth they are represented as being the first clan. In still another myth, the Water-spirit is represented as first, etc. [174] These discrepancies can be explained in only one way, one that was to be expected, namely, that each clan tried to augment its own importance by insisting that it was one of the first, if not the first, to have originated. About one thing all seem to be agreed—that the Snake clan was the last. The Fish clan is rarely mentioned and, in general, appears to be a very late addition.

It is thus clear that no historical importance can be attached 174 to the order of the clans. More significance must, however, 614 be attached to the statements that certain clans have originated 773 at special places. Thus, while the majority trace their origin to Green bay, the members of the Warrior and Buffalo clan claim certain lakes far to the south of Green bay as their original home. Here the literary tendency to associate the origin of the clans with a lake of a definite character makes any discussion practically futile. It is, of course, quite plain that the tribe as a unit, localized in a definite place, did not adopt animal names for their various clans, but that a type of name gradually spread over all the local groups. One of these local groups may have become associated with a definite place of origin. Perhaps the association of Green bay as the place of origin is precisely such an instance. The local associations of the Warrior and Buffalo clans can also be taken as suggestive of an historical past. That the prevalent association of Green bay as the

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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origin of the tribe is due to the literary-legendary tendency towards uniformity, is, on the whole, quite likely. This seems illustrated by the fact that the Warrior and Buffalo clans in some of the versions of their clan myths claim specific places, while others claim Green bay as their ancestral home. Green bay must, therefore, be considered as one of probably many local associations, connected with a prominent clan, which came to be accepted in the course of time by most of the others. 174 614 773

*Arrangement of Clans in Village.*

As in Figure 1, all the clans of the *waŋgeregi* division except the Thunderbird and Warrior, could occupy any position in the half-circle, and the same was true of those of the *maŋegi* division except the Bear clan. The Buffalo clan seems to have been grouped on the *waŋgeregi* side. However, in both divisions the members of each clan had to be grouped together, a segregation that was further emphasized by the erection near each clan of an earthen effigy of the clan animal. According to all informants, each village was inhabited by members of various clans; in no case did a village merely include members of the same clan, as seems to have been the case among the Menomini. Among the latter, village exogamy probably existed, while no trace of this is found among the Winnebago. This clan segregation in every Winnebago village became, after a while, practically identical with blood relationship, although the close relationship existing between members of the same clan may also partially represent the persistence of a local group consciousness. 614 621 [616] [532] [171]

This distribution of the same clan over many villages would, indeed, seem to militate against the local group origin of the clans, but it must be remembered that the clan organization was of considerable age and there is no reason to suppose that the local groups could have had any influence now discernible. The village arrangement must, of course, not be pushed too hard, for we should expect a tendency on the part of informants whose knowledge was entirely hearsay, to cast their information in a more or less schematic mould. The old village sites seem to indicate that the bird effigy was dominant in some places and 174 614 621.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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part in discussions of totemism. There are two distinct sources for the determination of this relationship, data obtained in reply to direct questioning, and that contained in some miscellaneous myths and in the origin myths. Part of the oral data is merely a reflex of the origin myths, but part is not. The value of this "unwritten" material lies in the fact that it represents the popular, exoteric attitude, the attitude that, on the whole, is not the result of conscious rationalization, and also in the fact that this exoteric view may very likely have been the basis for the esoteric interpretation. 174 614 825

The most prevalent view of the relationship of the individual to his clan animal is that of descent from an animal, transformed at the origin of the human race into human beings. This view is expressed in some of the origin myths and reflects the general conversation with individuals. Direct descent from an animal was never postulated. The definition of the term "animal" is, however, very difficult. The Indians themselves seem to make a distinction between the animal of to-day and the animal of the heroic age. The main characteristic of the animal of the heroic age was his power of transformation into human form and vice versa. Although he has lost this to-day, he is nevertheless descended from this animal. The human beings are, however, descended from precisely the same "animals," so that it might be well to bear in mind that descent from the transformed animal does not mean descent from the animal of to-day. This view is more systematically expressed in some places. According to one miscellaneous myth, the existing human beings and animals were descended from the same being, who once possessed infinite powers of transformation now into human, now into animal shape. At one time, presumably the beginning of our present creation, these "beings" either consciously or unconsciously exhausted all their "transforming" power, and the form into which they changed themselves, human or animal, remained fixed for all time. The existing animals have never succeeded in regaining their power of transformation, and among human beings this power has only been vouchsafed to those few who have obtained it as a special gift from some spirit. Even then, however, it is ludicrously incomplete, as compared 174 614 773 825

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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174 614 773 825

with the same powers of the primordial "beings." This conception of the animal-human archetype must not be regarded as at all flavouring of a philosophy, developed after contact with Europeans. The error that has always been committed in discussions as to the nature of descent from the animal lies in confusing our concept of animal species with the term "animal" as used by primitive people, and also in lack of discrimination between the possible connotations of that same term, as applied to animals of to-day and those animals which are brought into intimate contact with the clan ancestor.

There is no reason for regarding the specific descent from the totem as a transformation of this Winnebago idea of the origin of human and animal forms. The latter conception is entirely a religious one, whereas the former is merely an extension of the genealogical tendency prevalent in many types of social organization. Instead of being merely descended from an individual in a given social unit, the bond of membership within this unit has been strengthened by the postulation of blood relationship to the clan animal. Descent may thus be looked upon as one of the elements necessary for the stability of a political unit, and is far older than its specific extension to those clan animals. A very illuminating example of a case in point can be selected from the history of the war bundle in the Thunderbird clan. This bundle, like the others, was obtained as a gift from the thunderbird in his capacity as a guardian spirit. The Winter Feast has, however, been markedly influenced by the clan organization and as a result, we find descent from the thunderbird and night spirit, the two most important spirits in the ceremony, postulated of the original owner of the war bundle. The same tendency is exhibited in the numerous stories of the connexion of an individual of the heroic age with a village. Here the individual, generally a transformed guardian spirit or animal, comes to the aid of the people in their struggle against cannibals, defeats the latter, and marries into the village, becoming the ancestor of the subsequent village group.

At the same time no strong correlation apparently exists between a totemic organization and the extension of descent to include the clan animal, for this seems to be a peculiarity of

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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individual cultures. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest Coast, among the Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves we find, in addition to the above, the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact that its members imitate the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reason at all for the name, while according to others an animal is killed and becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, the group taking its name from this fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation. 174 614 773 825

### *The Clan Tie.*

In intimate relation to the attitude toward the clan animal is the conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the bond between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal. Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as is brought out by the word for clan (*hokikʼaradjɔra*). This concept of blood relationship was extended to the mother's clan generation. As we have pointed out, there is no reason for assuming that blood relationship is the primary explanation. The number of explanations for exogamy existing between one clan and another, and that of the clans of one side as opposed to those of another, indicate clearly how readily interpretations of this phenomenon change. The Bear does not marry into the Wolf clan because they are friends (*hitcakʼɔro*), and does not marry into the Buffalo clan because it belongs to the same side, or no reason is assigned at all. Before the question of the clan tie can be thoroughly understood, the kind of blood relationship that is here meant must be more carefully defined. This is not a general but a very definite notion, and may be said not to extend beyond four generations, in fact, not beyond the direct knowledge of some living individual. 602 614 582

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



ishes very much and which he will offer you. If it is a 159* bulb-medicine keep it to protect your house. Your home 867 will never then be molested by anything evil and nothing [888] evil will enter your house, neither bad spirits, ghosts, dis- [778] ease, nor unhappiness. Now such will be your life if you do as I tell you. Witches will keep away from you. Thus [754] by fasting will you benefit yourself and your fellowmen. [085]

You know that Earthmaker created all the spirits, those that live above the earth, those who live on the earth, those 159* who live under the earth, those who live in the water—all 773 these he created and placed in control of powers. Even 776 the minor spirits Earthmaker placed in control of something. In this fashion he created them and after that, he created us and because we were created last and no further powers were left, he could not put us in control of anything. Then, however, did Earthmaker create a weed and this he placed us in control of. He further told us that none of [276] the spirits he had created would have the power to take this weed away from us without giving us something in exchange. He told us that if we offered him a pipeful of this weed, which we call tobacco, he too would grant us whatever we asked for. Now it so happened that all the spirits came to long for this weed as intensely as they longed for anything in creation and for that reason if, at any time, with tobacco in our hands we make our prayer [782] to the spirits, they will take pity upon us and bestow upon us the blessings which Earthmaker gave them. Indeed so it is, for Earthmaker created it thus.

Fast, my son. If you are blessed by the spirits and then 159* blow your breath upon people who are ill, they will become 756 well. Thus will you help your fellowmen. If you can cure 787 any of your fellowmen of disease, then you will be of even 867 more than ordinary help to them. If you can draw dis-

# *The Teachings of My Father*

Search there and you will undoubt-
edly be able to find the medicines necessary for curing your 159*
chihlren. Indeed after a while you will be called upon to 756
cure your fellow men. Then you can open your medicine 869
bundle without embarrassment, for you will have the knowledge necessary for treating the sick. You will know where the disease is lodged and your treatment will be successful, for it was only after the greatest efforts on your part that you succeeded in obtaining the requisite blessings. If you declare to the patient that he will live, then he will live. [982]
If you make proper offerings to the medicine and speak to [998]
your medicine in the proper manner, it will exert all the power it possesses to cure the patient. Now you must make good offerings to these medicines; you must give many feasts in their honor and then if, in addition, you address them as if they were human beings, they assuredly will help you and do what you ask. You may accordingly accept the payments offered to you by your patients in good conscience and your children will wear these payments in the form of wampum necklaces and thus gain renewed strength. They will be well and happy. These are the reasons why I want you to be extremely careful in your attitude. Medicines are good for all purposes; that is why [993]
they were given to us. Earthmaker gave them to us so that [755]
we could cure ourselves from disease.

If any one tries to obtain these staffs of life, these medicines and inflicts sufferings upon himself in acquiring them, [787]
then assuredly will our grandmother Earth have cognizance of it. She knows all that you have lost in obtaining them and in the long run what you have lost, will be returned to you. You made your offerings for the future and it is good for people to look forward to their [577]
future.

Say, you w[illegible] to obtain the paint medicine. For that you

## §20. *I Have a Fight*

Once we went out hunting game in the fall of the year. We used to sell the hindquarters and sometimes ship them as far as Chicago. We were of course only permitted to hunt for thirty days. The law was that if any one hunted longer than that he would be arrested. Yet in spite of all we hunted for a longer time because we felt that the law was meant only for the Whites. One day, however, in shipping deer away, we were detected. One of my brothers and myself were arrested, taken to court and convicted. We had to spend sixty days in jail. During my imprisonment I never had my hair cut and from that time on, I always wore it long. I told the people that a spirit called *Foolish-one*[24] had instructed me to do this and that he had blessed me. I also told my older brother, the one who was still living, to do the same thing and that if he, too, let his hair grow, *Foolish-one* would bless him with long life. From that time on I wore long hair.

After that I joined a show of the Whites. People liked me very much on account of my long hair and I was well paid. I kept on drinking all the time. I there learned to ride a bicycle and mount and ride wild

[24] The clown of Winnebago mythology. He is, however, regarded as having some of the characteristics of a spirit and, very occasionally, blessing an individual.

10:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1945
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## 3. MYTHOLOGY

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Running through the whole of Winnebago mythology-literature, is the distinction between two types of narrative, the worak and the waikā. The first, literally translated, means *what-is-recounted*, and the second *what-is-sacred*. The worak belongs to the realm of what is regarded as true and humanly possible and attainable, as pertaining to the present workaday world as we know it. The hero must be a human being and the plot must end tragically. The waikā, on the other hand, belongs to the past that is irretrievably gone, to the realm of things no longer possible or attainable by man. It pertains to the world of spirits and deities, to the world of wish fulfillment. The hero must be a divine personage and immortal and the end can never be tragic. A waikā can become a worak by the simple device of bringing the plot into relationship with the contemporary human scene. The divine being has then become, for the time being, a human one. But there is no tragic *dénouement*. A worak, however, can never become a waikā.

As an example of the change from waikā to worak, let me take the cycle concerning the favorite heroes of the Winnebago, the Twins. Their adventures constitute real happenings and not, what one might have supposed far-off divine events, for one simple reason, namely, their resting-place is on earth and they, and this resting-place, have actually been seen by the fathers of present-day Indians.

It seems to have been one of the persistent endeavors of those Winnebago who reflected on such matters, to emphasize not only the distinctions mentioned above but, likewise, for them to link together the various adventures of their more important heroes into reasonably well-integrated epics, each one possessing its own developmental scheme. There are four such major cycles, that of Trickster, that of Hare, that of the battles of the good deities against the evil ones, and that of the Twins.

The theme of the Trickster epic is the unconscious, yet purposive, evolution of the hero from a grotesque, chaotic figure knowing neither good nor evil, to one with the lineaments of man. He symbolizes the gradual evolution from irresponsibility to responsibility.

Where Trickster stops Hare begins. He is a combination of a trickster and a culture-hero. His benefactions, for instance, are all accidental. But from the start, he possesses the lineaments of a human being and his orientation is toward man. He is no longer the supreme egoist that Trickster was. At the end of his adventures the earth has been transformed into a place where human beings can live and operate. 105 538 773

It is the function of the heroes of the third cycle to prevent this order which Hare has established from being again disrupted and returning to chaos. The function of the Twins is to continue the struggles of the heroes of the third cycle and to attempt to stabilize this order for all time.

Now although the theme of all these epics is the struggle against chaos and the introduction of order, each one of the great heroes of the last three epics, attempts to disrupt the order he has himself established. Hare brings death into the universe, Storms-as-he-walks, one of the heroes of the third cycle, kills wantonly and unnecessarily and the Twins kill one of the deities who hold our earth in place. In the case of the Twins it is important to stress the fact that, as we shall see, their attack on the world order is the result of exuberance of energy which is, in itself, constructive.

This same theme of the necessity for intelligent order and the establishment of stability runs, like a guiding thread, through the Origin Myth given on pages 17 ff. and pages 252 ff.[1] There, the first problem of Earthmaker after he has, so to say, given himself a fixed orientation in the universe at large and brought about order within himself, is to stop the earth he has created from continuing its ceaseless motion. This he achieves by anchoring it at the four cardinal points and then weighing it down by means of vegetation and mountains. The anchorage, significantly enough, is brought about by pinning the island-earth down by four waterspirits and four snakes. Now [825] snakes are the specifically sacred animals of the Winnebago, the intermediaries between the deities and man. Waterspirits, on the other [776] hand, are, essentially, the most productively evil and dangerous of all the deities for man, fascinating him, confusing him, and placing in his hands the means for his own destruction and the destruction

1 [Not processed.—Analyst]

105 538 773 [776] of his fellowmen. By giving to the waterspirits the positive and constructive function of helping to stop the earth from spinning around and then holding it in place, part of their primary and ancient danger has thus been neutralized. Yet it can, at best—in fact, it must—only be neutralized. To destroy it completely would be equivalent to saying that man has ceased to err, overcome all temptation and become one of the deities. Such a condition, the Winnebago insist, neither the deities nor man desire.

According to the esoteric view, the ambivalent but fundamentally evil and disruptive nature of the blessings of the waterspirit have never ceased. It is one of the subtle and symbolic features of the final adventure of the Twins, namely, the destruction of one of the waterspirits, the anchorers of the earth, that they are, after all, only doing in a human fashion what Earthmaker himself found it necessary to do, prevent the waterspirits from harming man. They kill the waterspirit and feed on its body. They do not understand that disruption and disintegration represent one half of the process of living and can, at best, be neutralized and delayed, never eliminated and destroyed. It is the symbol for motion and change without which life not only ceases to exist but is indeed inconceivable. Earthmaker, of course, recognizes this and he must, therefore, put a stop to the activities of the Twins and he punishes them. Their punishment is a symbol for the error they have committed. They became fixed, motionless and permanent, both of them traits that, according to Winnebago beliefs, are forms of death. In the puberty vision-quest one of the signs that foreshadows death is to dream of rocks or stones.

I cannot think of a closer parallel to what has here happened to the waterspirits than that of the transformation, in the Oresteia of Aeschylus, of the Furies into beneficent creatures.

But to continue with the Origin Myth. Having created order within himself and established it for the stage on which man is to play, Earthmaker proceeds to create the first beings who are to people the universe, the spirits and deities. To each one he assigns a fixed and specific amount of power, to some more, to some less. In a nature religion like that of the Winnebago, this is, of course, only another way of giving the objects and forces of nature their

various attributes. A definite gradation of power is thus established with no one spirit possessing powers even measurably comparable to those which Earthmaker has reserved for himself. 105 538 773

This principle of gradation and subordination is part of the order that Earthmaker is represented as introducing into the universe so that it can advantageously function. The instant it is changed there is danger and the threat of disruption. This is the theme of the first part of the Twin cycle, for instance. The plot is clear. The hero, one of the eight great Winnebago deities, Morning Star, has been decapitated by his enemy, a waterspirit. The body of the hero still remains alive and is being taken care of by his sister. The waterspirit, by keeping the head of Morning Star, has added the latter's power to his own. So formidable is this combination of powers that none of the deities, individually or in combination, are a match for him now. In fact only Earthmaker is his equal. Here is a threat of the first magnitude to the order ordained by Earthmaker and it must be met lest destruction overtake the world. Manifestly, the only manner of coping with the situation is to find some hero who can conquer the waterspirit, deprive him of the head of Morning Star and restore it to its owner.

But where is such a hero to be found? Nowhere. Consequently he must be newly created. This can be accomplished either by Earthmaker creating him directly as he has already done others or by his being born of some spirit. The days of special creation, however, are over. He must, therefore, be born as all creatures are now born, divine or human. But how can it be arranged that the hero, so born, has the requisite powers to achieve victory? The answer must be by such a hero being endowed for the task with enough power by all the deities, including Earthmaker.

This is accordingly done and these powers which will make its possessor greater than all the deities in existence and the equal of Earthmaker are delivered to the Sun with instructions that he impregnate the sister of Morning Star. The children born of Sun and the sister of Morning Star, who is herself a deity, are the Twins. They vanquish the waterspirit and restore the head of their uncle to his body. Thus the original order ordained by Earthmaker has been

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reestablished. Earthmaker, however, faced with the necessity of reestablishing it, has laid the seeds for further disruption by contravening the basic principle of limited and graded powers. The danger entering in such an act makes itself felt immediately; for the Twins, after completing their proper mission of destroying whatever evil spirits still exist on earth, or at least neutralizing them, destroy, as we have seen, one of the foundations of the earth. They do so in conformity with the Winnebago realistic conception that the possession of power necessitates its exercise.

Earthmaker, however, has no powers, within himself, to stop them. If, in the end, he does succeed, it is by a device which, on first blush, must strike us as puerile yet which is actually quite profound. He frightens them. The unafraid are made to be afraid, something that comes from within themselves. They try to hide and seek shelter, without success because, of course, they cannot hide from themselves. Finally, in desperation, they flee for protection to Earthmaker. This is, of course, what he is seeking. The moment they are in his possession and have come as suppliants, he has gained contact with them and thereby attained ascendancy over them. He can then speak to them and point out the nature of their transgression as well as its dangers. They recognize both and acquiesce cheerfully in the punishment meted out. Thus, for the time being, order and responsibility have again been reestablished in their rights.

We have so far dealt with the problem of order and disorder in its general, cosmological aspects. We must now take it up in its relation to man.

It is only after the spirits and deities have been created and endowed with the powers they are to have that Earthmaker, according to the Origin Myth, creates man. As the Winnebago say this happened at the end of Earthmaker's thoughts. Man is thus in the position of the orphan of Winnebago story: he possesses nothing. Earthmaker has nothing to give him. Accordingly, man is both weak and defenseless.

This depiction of man as completely unprovided for the vicissitudes of life, has a number of important implications. First of all, it is a well-recognized literary device, indeed almost a *cliché*, to have

the last and least qualified of the personages in a myth or tale, become the true hero. Secondly, it is the cardinal ethical principle of the Winnebago that the lowly shall be raised to high estate. That is the reward for humility. Thirdly, a hero or a virtuous man must show a development, must bring about order within himself. We have seen that hold true for Trickster, for Hare and for Earthmaker himself.

In both versions of the Origin Myth, man is projected naked into an atmosphere over which he has no control whatsoever and where he is immediately attacked by evil spirits. This is in flat contradiction with the accounts of his original state in the exoteric myths. There he is almost immediately placed in possession of tobacco, the intermediary between man and the deities, as well as of flint, corn, etc.

If this is not mentioned in the Origin Myth that is because he is not to save himself or receive the wherewithal of life through the accidental benefactions of culture-heroes. On the contrary, he is to be in dire straits and saved. Earthmaker is represented as withholding tobacco from the spirits in order to present it to man and as endowing these same spirits with an overpowering craving for it. In short, it is to be the mechanism for an exchange between man and the deities. He will give them tobacco; they will give him powers to meet life and overcome obstacles. Yet the deities cannot, by themselves, save him. They are at strife with one another. This can only be done by Earthmaker. For this purpose he dispatches the great primordial culture-heroes, Trickster, Bladder, Turtle and Hare to the earth.

This is a completely new role for all three. Naturally they do not succeed. They cannot be saviours. Their antecedents are against them. Trickster is the supreme egoist, the chaotic buffoon hero, a kind of Priapus, without any sense of responsibility and without purpose as far as man is concerned. His most positive contribution is to point out the stupidity, the cupidity, the vanities and foibles of creatures. He cannot help anyone. With man he has never had any connection. Turtle is not much better. He is the embodiment of cowardice, braggadocio and unabashed sensualism. The best he can do is to participate in warfare and, then, never as a hero.

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105 538 773 If Hare succeeds, it is because all his antecedents fit him better for the task. In the original Hare cycle he is born of a human woman and brought up by grandmother Earth herself. Although, at the beginning, his benefactions to mankind are all accidental, they do, at the end, give man the complete quota of his needs. It was comparatively easy to transform him into a hero without blemish. His one fault is demanding too much for man.

It is at this point that the problem of order versus disorder again presents itself. Not content with destroying evil on earth Hare demands immortality for his uncles and his nieces. Thus, like the Twins, he disrupts the world order through excess of constructive powers. But the difference between the Twins and Hare is that the former do it out of a kind of power drive while Hare does it in the supposed interests of man.

According to the story Hare, of course, fails. So obstinately, however, does he refuse to accept the inevitable that Earthmaker consents to an apparent revision of the world order in one respect. He will grant man the possibility of transcending death, by means of successive reincarnations, on condition that he agrees to face life and its vicissitudes in accordance with a specific ethical code. This is, of course, the theme of the Medicine Rite. For man, then, an exception to the law of birth, growth and death is permitted to this extent—he can repeat the cycle of birth, growth and decay an indefinite number of times.

But it is naturally in religion and ritualism that we must expect to find the best illustrations of the basic principles we have so far discussed in connection with social organization and mythology and to these we shall now turn.

## 4. RELIGION

105 121 771 Because of the highly complex character of Winnebago religion I shall confine myself primarily to an analysis of the nature of the powers the spirits and deities are supposed to possess, the relationship postulated between them and man, and the requests man makes

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limb.[13] They will indeed like you very much if you obtain a limb, 867
or, even better, two or three. If you do thus, wherever people boil 554
an animal with a head[14] you will always be able to eat.

If on account of your bravery you are permitted to tell of your 867
war exploits during the Four Nights' Wake for the benefit of the 765
soul of the deceased, do not try to add to your glory by exaggerat- 554
ing any exploit, for by so doing you will cause the soul to stumble on its journey to the spirit land.[15] If you do this and add an untruth to the account of your war exploit, you will die soon after. The war spirits always hear you. Tell a little less. The old men say it is wise.

My son, it is good to die in war. If you die in war, your soul will 867
not be unconscious. You will have complete disposal of your soul 721
and it will always be happy.[16] If you should ever desire to return 775
to this earth and live here again, you will be able to do so. A second life as a human being you may live, or, if you prefer, as an inhabitant of the air (a bird) you may live, or you may roam the earth as an animal. Thus it is to him who dies in battle.

My son, fast for an honorable place among your fellowmen. Fast, 867
so that when you are married you may have plenty of food; that 785
you may be happy and that you may not have to worry about your 787
children. If in your fastings you have a vision of your future house, the members of your family will be lacking in nothing during their life. Fast for the food that you may need. If you fast a sufficiently large number of times, when in after life you have children and they cry for food you will be able to offer a piece of deer or moose meat without any difficulty. Your children will never be hungry.

[13] That is, a war honor, but more specifically if you "count coup" first. The honor of killing an enemy [555]
and the three honors connected with first touching his dead body are always spoken of as "the four limbs of the body."

[14] That is, whenever people give a Winter Feast. At this feast a deer, head and all, is served to the [527]
invited guests. The head may only be eaten by brave warriors.

[15] At the death of a chieftain an elaborate wake takes place. To this wake, as the principal participants, 262]
three or four warriors who have counted "coup" are always invited. It is believed that the souls of all the enemies one has killed become the slaves of the victor and he may command them to do his bidding at any time. If the victor tells his exploit and then commands the enslaved soul to take care of the recently 765
departed person in whose honor the wake is being given, the soul of the conquered enemy will be of considerable aid in overcoming the obstacles that are supposed to infest the path between this earth and the land of the spirits. These can not be overcome by the merits of the individual alone. If, however, a warrior becomes voluptuous, the soul of the recently departed individual will fall into the abyss of fire which surrounds one of the heavenly earths through which he must pass. That is what is meant by "stumbling." 775

[16] It must be remembered that the Winnebagos believe that all that constitutes "life," "consciousness," 774
continues to exist after death, the only difference being that in the former case an envelope, the body, is present and, in the latter case, it is not. Winnebago philosophy does not concern itself with what happens 775
when a soul becomes "unconscious" at death, which would, of course, be the case with all those who do not die in battle; but it does insist that to him who dies on the warpath the moment of death does not even deprive of consciousness. He goes right on living, as if he were still an inhabitant of this earth, the only difference being that the conquered envelope has fallen off his soul and that, although he can and hears human beings, he himself is not visible nor his voice audible.

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832 fulfill all the conditions I dig them out and mix them together with
278 their own roots. Then I take the blossom of the male and mix it together with the center leaf of the female flower. After that both are ground together thoroughly. Then I go to the woman I wish to court and, at night, when she is asleep, I touch first any part of her body, then a place not far from her heart, and finally the top of her head with this mixture. Finally I make her smell it. I then wake her up and go home. The girl will wonder who had touched her and she will think a good deal about the incident and never forget it. The next time I see her she will like me and she will do whatever I ask of her. The medicine would be working. If I did not see her for a long time, she would get lonesome, and the only thing that would cure her would be to marry me.

There is another medicine which I am now going to describe. When it first sprouts, which is in the spring, it is quite white. This must be taken and dried. Then one must chew it and go near the woman with whom one desires to talk. Approach her on the side from which the wind is blowing so that she can smell the medicine. As soon as she smells it, even although the man chewing it is one whom she has hitherto disliked, she will get to like him. This is the way in which the medicine works.

755 A man who was blessed was told of all these things. He cured all
[752] diseases. If a person had been shot and one blessed with the stench-earth medicine was called, he could be cured. In the same manner, if one is stabbed in what would generally be considered a fatal way and if a man blessed with stench-earth was called in time he would save him. The same cure is effected in cases of broken arms and of
[752] patients who are on the point of death. It is for this reason that those blessed with the stench-earth medicines are always praised, and that the people say "They surely are in charge of life; for their blessings really come from the spirits, just as they claim."[3]

[The "stench-earth" medicine men could undoubtedly cure the
756 sick, but they also used it to poison people. The courting medicine
[754] was a poison medicine, and therefore it was not good. These people cured the body, but they killed the soul. It would have been much better had they saved their souls. They were really working for the devil. It is from him that they got all the bad medicines. Whenever they were offended, they would go and get poisons to kill the
754 offender. Thus the devil[4] was really causing them to kill their own
●774 souls and the souls of those they poisoned. It is the same with all

[3] The following portion in brackets is the comment of our informant, who is a member of the Peyote sect.

[4] Although he really means the Christian devil many of the traits of the old Winnebago deity Thunger'nina, the chief of the bad spirits, are clearly discernible.

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the other medicines, like the courting medicine, etc. The Indians were destroying their own souls. So Earthmaker decided to give them a new medicine. We have now all broken away from the old things. We have broken away from the devil and are earning our salvation through Earthmaker. For this reason I am thankful both for my sake and that of my people.] 754 774

This is a medicine that is good for consumption, for stomach trouble, for a cold, for a sore throat, and for general illnesses. It consists of the following ingredients: 757 278

1. Waraxa'dax hoake'rera, English unknown.
2. Waraxa'dax ma$^{n}$ŋap'a'rara, English unknown.
3. Enai'$^{n}$teox maŋk'a'$^{n}$na, English unknown.
4. Nicu'teera, red water.
5. Maŋk'a'$^{n}$skaka, white medicine.
6. Maŋk'a'$^{n}$ niyeteo'teera, medicine of the water.
7. Ci'xuk'uniŋa, English unknown.
8. Maŋk'a$^{n}$ŋe'xeda, English unknown.

If a woman has any trouble with her womb this medicine will cure her immediately. She must not, however, drink it, but inject it. It makes no difference how severe her illness is, this medicine will always effect a cure. This man was blessed with the knowledge of its efficacy.

This is another medicine:

1. Maŋk'a$^{n}$ manup'ara'ra, medicine that spreads over the ground.
2. Xa$^{n}$wiwingi'ekera, medicine to tie with.
3. Maŋk'a'$^{n}$ p'orop'orora, round medicine.
4. Hap'o'skra, English unknown.
5. Maŋk'a'$^{n}$ kere'xera, sweet flag.
6. Na$^{n}$p'aca'k'onaŋk' hura, English unknown.
7. Hunte p'istara, bear liver.

This is all ground together and mixed with water. When thoroughly mixed it is put into a bladder and injected by means of a wing bone.

This is a medicine for diarrhea:

1. K'etcô'ŋk'sire teo'ra, English unknown.
2. Aseni ho-ap hodô'p'iricera, curled sumac leaves.
3. Maŋk'a'ni teteo'teera, medicine of the water.
4. Waraxadax skaka', English unknown.
5. Na$^{n}$da'nicura, maple sugar.

These are all ground together into a fine powder and sweetened with maple sugar. Otherwise no one would take it, for it does not taste good. It is called hasawaŋ'kemaŋk'.

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775 of a lively kind all the time. From that place we went up to the
539 place where Earthmaker lived and there I saw him and talked to him, face to face, even as I am talking to you now. I saw the spirits too, and, indeed, I was like one of them.

From that place I came to this earth again for the third time, and here I am. I am going through the same that I knew before.

●774 *The concept of the soul.* This concept is not clearly developed as a
775 separate entity among the Winnebago on account of their strong belief in reincarnation. Their notion of the soul is merged in that of the noncorporeal ghost who eventully comes to earth again.

## The Cosmological Ideas

772 The cosmological ideas are of two types: those that are clearly of
773 a folkloristic origin and those that have been developed by shamanistic reinterpretations. To the former class belong all the creative acts of the tricksters and culture heroes, like *Wak'djuyk'aga* and Hare, and to the latter the systematic creation of the world by Earthmaker.

What is probably the oldest form of the Winnebago cosmological notions is that concerned with the general destruction of the bad spirits by Hare and by such spirits as the Thunderbirds, Morning Star, etc., and the removal of obstacles. Often the present characteristics of the earth are formed accidentally, as, for instance, the origin of the valleys, mountains, and lakes, as given in the myth of "Holy One." Even in the thoroughly remodeled general origin myth, Earthmaker is not conceived of as having purposely created the world.

772 The Winnebago believed that there were four worlds, one beneath the other, presided over, respectively, by Earthmaker, Trickster (*Wak'djuyk'aga*), Turtle, and Hare. Hare rules over the world on which man lives. There seems to be some confusion as to who rules over the last earth, because it is also definitely stated that Traveler (a Water-spirit) is in control of it.

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head eating. Then the donor selected his partners. The host then began to sing. The scalp was taken down from the post and placed in a dish near the door. The soul of the scalp still remained within it, so they tried again to make it less powerful and to conquer it, for they knew that if they succeeded in conquering it all the life that was still coming to the possessor of the scalp at his death would be obtained for themselves. Then the dancers and the feasters, indeed all who had counted coup, tried to obtain some of the dead enemy's residuary life. All tried to add some new life to their own. 727 796 [774]

When the meal was over, then the host offered tobacco to the spirits, and all those present prayed for was to the spirits to whom offerings had been made. They asked that if it be their good fortune to kill a number of people on the warpath, when they returned home they would be as thankful as they are now. All these warriors who were taking part in this dance liked it very much. [782]

Then the host struck the drum that had been placed in front of him and sang. When he finished, he had the drum placed in front of the man who had counted first coup. Then this man sang and the drum was passed to the next man, and so on until each man had sung. After all had sung and spoken the men and women together danced around the lodge. The woman who had received the presents led the dance, carrying the scalp. The people believed that the scalp was dancing with them. All night they danced the *hok'-ix're* dance without resting at any time, and when the sun appeared they took the drum outside to the post and danced the victory dance. Then when the sun was high in the heavens they stopped and went to sleep. In the evening when the sun was low they danced the victory dance again, and then when it was pretty dark, singing slow songs, they slowly entered the lodge again. Then they made a circuit of the lodge and placed the drum in the middle of the lodge.

The feast was now ready. All that they were to eat—deer, bear, dog were placed in front of the feasters. Food was brought to the donor and all those who were sitting together with him, as well as all those who had counted coup and all the women who had received presents. Head eating is holy, and if one eats part of the head it is thought that it will help him greatly. [263] [264]

Then the host rose and spoke as follows:

"The servants who are carrying the food around here will probably not have enough to go around, but you must remember that not the men but the women are furnishing the food. Although it is little, I hope you will eat it. We will now sing four songs." Then he sang two war-bundle songs and two night songs. Before they ate the host rose and spoke, "This is a small feast and we will try to give food to our grandfather (some spirit) who is in charge of this

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159 Earthmaker forbids us to commit sins. When this was over they
794 sang again.
796 After midnight, every once in a while (I heard) someone cry. In
276 some cases they would go up to the leader and talk with him. He would stand up and pray with them. They told me what they were saying. They said that they were asking (people) to pray for them, as they were sorry for their sins and that they might be prevented from committing them again. That is what they were saying. They cried very loudly. I was rather frightened. (I noticed also) that when I closed my eyes and sat still, I began to see strange things. I did not get sleepy in the least. Thus the light (of morning) came upon me. In the morning, as the sun rose, they stopped. They all got up and prayed to Earthmaker (God) and then they stopped.

159 During the daytime I did not get sleepy in the least. My actions
276 were a little different (from my usual ones). Then they said, "To-
794 night they are going to have another meeting. Let us go over. They say that is the best (thing) to do and thus you can learn it (the ceremony) right away. It is said that their spirits wander
● [794] over all the earth and the heavens also. All this you will learn and see," they said. "At times they die and remain dead all night and all day. When in this condition they sometimes see Earthmaker (God), it is said." One would also be able to see where the bad spirit lived, it was said.

So we went there again. I doubted all this. I thought that what they were saying was untrue. However, I went along anyhow. When we got there, I had already eaten some peyote, for I had taken three during the day. Now near the peyote meeting an (Indian) feast was being given and I went there instead. When I reached the place, I saw a long lodge. The noise was terrific. They were beating an enormous drum. The sound almost raised me in the air, so (pleasurably) loud did it sound to me. Not so (pleasurable) had things appeared at those affairs (peyote meetings) that I had lately been attending. There I danced all night and I flirted with the women. About day I left and when I got back the peyote meeting was still going on. When I got back they told me to sit down at a certain place. They treated me very kindly. There I again ate peyote. I heard that they were going to have another meeting near by on the evening of the same day. We continued eating peyote the whole day at the place where we were staying. We were staying at the house of one of my relatives. Some of the boys there taught me a few songs. "Say, when you learn how to sing, you will be the best singer, for you are a good singer as it is. You have a good voice," they said to me. I thought so myself.

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X796 539 [782] After the speeches were all over the offerings were taken down and thrown outside through the opening in the roof of the lodge and then night songs were sung. Before throwing the offerings out they marched around the lodge carrying them in their hands. At the approach of dawn the drum, gourds, etc., have about made the entire circuit of the lodge, and as soon as they reach the host he begins to sing the night [533] songs. After these he sings turtle songs, and then the songs are over. The host now calls upon some one to give the war whoop, so that the spirits in the west may hear their voices. Nanhi'tcogs gave the war whoop. All joined in, and the feast was over.

X796 805 [776] *Descriptive notes on the Bear clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant, member of clan: About the middle of winter, in the month called deer-breeding month, the Winnebago used to go out hunting, and they gave a feast to all the spirits who had blessed them.

[774] They are very careful not to have the kettles boil over, because they believe that a man's soul (*na-yi'rak'*) might be wandering about and is likely to come down along the chain of the kettle. If it doesn't boil over, the man is likely to conquer the possessions of this spirit (of an enemy) in the next battle.

202 554] The invitation sticks are sent out only to men who own a war bundle, and the clans are invited in the following fashion: First the Wolf, then the Hawk, and then any order.

778 The contents of the war bundle represent the following: The crow means strength in running. The turtle and the spear, the blessings which enable one to get out of difficulties, the former referring especially to difficulties in crossing water; they also enable their possessor to foretell when enemies are approaching and to tell an individual how many enemies he is going to conquer. The flute represents the 789 voices of musical birds. When an enemy hears them it paralyzes him and he can not run.

that Earthmaker was good and that the peyote was 159*
good, and that whosoever ate the peyote would be able 795
to free himself from the bad spirit. They said that 796
Earthmaker forbids us to commit sins. When this was
over they sang again.

After midnight I would every now and then hear 159*
some one cry. In some cases I saw a person go up to 795
the leader and talk to him. He would stand up and 786
pray with him. I was told what these people were
saying. I was told that these people were asking others
to pray for them for they were sorry for the sins they
had committed and wished to be prevented from com-
mitting them again. They cried very loudly. I was
rather frightened, especially when I noticed that when
I closed my eyes and sat still, strange things began to
appear before me. I was not in the least sleepy. Then
the light of morning came upon me. In the morning,
when the sun rose, the ceremony stopped. All got up
and prayed to Earthmaker and left.

During the daytime I did not get sleepy in the least. 159*
My actions, however, were a little different from my 795
usual ones. Then the people said, "To-night they are
going to have another meeting. Let us go over. They
say that this is the best thing to do for then, you can
learn the ceremony immediately. It is said that the
souls of the members of the peyote ceremony wander [774]
all over the earth and the heavens. All this you will
learn and see." They continued, "At times the mem-
bers die and remain dead all night and day. When in
this condition they sometimes see Earthmaker, it is

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his father's lodge, where his seat had always been kept for him. 591
With his own folks he stayed as long as he wished, leaving it generally as soon as he decided to live alone—a decision that was usually reached as soon as he had one child or a number of children. However, he did not always build his own lodge, especially in the olden times, when it was customary for those Winnebago who lived in permanent villages to occupy the long gable-roofed lodges, that frequently were large enough to house as many as 40 people. In such cases a man and his family generally alternated between his parents-in-law and his own parents.

## Adoption

Adoption of individuals was quite frequent in former times. As 597
far as the writer knows, however, it always took the form of replacing of a deceased child by some other child physically resembling the one lost. I do not know whether there were any additional considerations if the child adopted happened to be a prisoner. As the name for adoption (*wanayze'rek'inayk*) indicates, it is closely connected with the common belief in reincarnation, meaning either the [775] exchange of one spirit for another or the replacing of the spirit. A special feast could be given for adoption or it could be done at one of the regular feasts. As the child adopted was often the "friend" (*hiteak'd'ro*) of the deceased and in any case had parents living, presents were always given to his parents.

Perhaps a better idea of the nature of adoption can be obtained from the following few words of an informant:

When a child dies, then the father mourns for many years, and if during that time [765] he happens to meet a child that resembles his dead child he asks to be allowed to adopt him. The parents of the child can hardly object to such a request.[8]

[8] There is no doubt in my mind that quite a number of parents believe that such a person is really their reincarnated child.

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on his fingers, and earrings in his ears. The body is then put in the 764
casket.

By the time this is all finished the gravediggers have about completed their work. Then the mourners blacken their faces with charcoal and the corpse is taken up by the man to whom this duty is [765] delegated. The mourners follow behind, weeping. Thus they proceed to the grave. When they get there the corpse is laid in the grave. Then the chief mourner steps across the center of the grave and the others do the same. When they start back, they are told under no circumstance to turn around and look in the direction of the grave.

The grave is then filled in.

Then the overseer goes around to the various people in the village 765
and invites them all to come to (the wake). The brave men and warriors are especially welcomed.

The mourners prepare food and when the sun goes down the chief mourner takes a stick made of hard wood and lights it and carries it to the grave, placing it at the east end. It is supposed to be still burning when placed there. After this is done (the man returns) and the overseer gets everything in readiness for the feast. When all is ready the chief mourner speaks as follows:

All my relatives who are sitting here, I greet you. I have done nothing of any con- 765
sequence which could justify you to come here and honor me, yet being relatives of 539
mine, you have (in the kindness of your hearts) come to comfort me. I have prepared 775
cooked food and boiled water for my child (the dead person), and tobacco is also handy, all of which the attendant when he is ready will pass around to all and give to whomsoever he pleases. That is why I am greeting you.

Then the attendant takes the water and tobacco and gives it to the one who is to speak to the soul of the departed person. This one then rises and greets all those present and speaks as follows:

To-night we are greeting you not for the sake of jollification, but because we are afflicted (with grief). Now, it is the custom to speak to the soul of the departed. It is a sacred action, yet even I, they tell me, can do it, provided no worthier person can be found. They[1] even tell me that my words will not cause the spirit of the departed to lose his way in his journey (to spirit land).[2] For that reason I will speak to the departed and say the best I can. I greet you all.

Then he takes some tobacco in one hand and passing it behind him through the lodge says:

Here it is, the tobacco. I am certain that you, O ghost, are not very far away, that in fact you are standing right in back of me, waiting for me to reach you the pipe and tobacco, that you might take it along with you, that likewise, you are waiting for your food to take on your journey. However, four nights you will have to remain here.

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[1] This and what follows is the customary ceremonial modesty.

[2] It is believed that if the chief speaker makes a mistake or exaggerates while thus addressing the spirit of the deceased, the latter will lose his way in his journey to spirit land.

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765 539 775 Now here are these things, and in return we ask you to act as mediator (between the spirits and us). You have made us long for you, and therefore do you see to it that all these things that belonged to you and that you would have enjoyed had you lived longer—such as victories on the warpath, earthly possessions, and life—that all these you leave behind for us to enjoy. This do you ask for as you travel along. This also I ask of you, do not cause us to follow you soon; do not cause your brothers any fear. I have now lit the pipe for you.

Then the pipe is passed on to all those present. After that he drinks a little water and passes it around again. It is only after the pipe and water have passed all the way around that the people begin to eat. When the meal is over, the attendant takes the pipe and some tobacco and places it before a warrior and tells him to talk to the spirit and tell him the route to take.

Then the warrior rises and speaks as follows:

He, I greet you all. We are not greeting one another because we are happy (as in the case of an ordinary feast), but because it is the custom to do it. Now I will tell the soul of the departed one the route to take and the care he must observe in his journey. I shall tell them (the ghosts) over whom I have control to guide him safely to his destination. I will not exaggerate when I relate my war exploits, but tell only those things that really happened to me. It has been said that if, in talking, I tell falsehoods the spirit of the departed would stumble on the road.[5] So, therefore, I will tell only the truth, and I will tell the chief of the spirits to guide our dead one safely over all the obstacles. Now I am not going to speak of anybody else's exploits, but only of my own. Only those over whom I have control will I put at the disposal of our dead one to guide him. The spirit-tobacco, the spirit-food and fire, they will carry for him, and they will lead him by the hand until he reaches his destination. I greet you all.

765 539 Then he begins an account of his war exploits. He tells all that he did in detail. Sometimes the account of a war exploit would last two to three hours. When he is through, the people retire for the night.

For three nights they do this and every evening they place a burning ember at the grave. This is supposed to be taken by the spirit of the dead man on his journey.

The fourth night they invite all the brave men in the neighborhood and everybody else. They prepare plenty of food, and the relatives of the mourners bring objects for the mourning games and try to comfort the mourners as best they can. The fourth night, likewise, they place a burning ember at the grave of the dead man.

As soon as the attendant prepares the food the chief mourner gets up and speaks as follows:

I greet you all. I know that I am not performing any great action in greeting you,[6] but I was in trouble, and all my relatives have come to comfort me. I feel strengthened by their actions. You all have asked me to live (not to succumb to my sorrows),

[5] It is believed that a warrior is in control of the spirits of all the people he has killed. His function at the wake is to put these spirits at the disposal of the dead man, to guide him, and to take care of him.

[6] I. e., if I were a great man and this were a ceremony of rejoicing, then a greeting would mean something. This is another example of ceremonial modesty.

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and I shall try to overcome my grief and sorrow. I will not forget all the good you have done for me. You have been a comfort to me and you have helped me in many things. Now this is the last night, and I am glad that it is a good night for the warriors to relate their experiences. If they should say anything funny I hope that you will not hold back your laughter. I, too, will laugh with you. You are free to make all the noise you care to, for I will feel all the better if you do it. This is what I want you to remember. I greet you all who are present here. 765 539

Then the one who is to address the spirit speaks:

I greet you all. We have come to this (wake) for a purpose, much as we would wish that the occasion for it had never happened. Now I will tell the spirit of the departed the route he is to take, nor will I, by my words, cause him to go astray. On an occasion like this not everyone can talk to spirits (spirits of departed people); not everyone can do it. My grandfather obtained the right to speak to them and handed it down to my father, and he in turn gave it to me. Now I will tell the spirit of the departed the right road to take and I will not cause him to stumble. I shall breathe upon the spirit of the departed, and I wish all those present to do the same. It is said that for those who do not make this sound it is a sign that they will die soon. Now all of you say it. 765 539 775

Then he says "Ao-a" and "Ao-a," and all join with him in repeating it.

Then he speaks again (addressing the spirit of the departed):

I suppose you are not far away, that indeed you are right behind me. Here is the tobacco and here is the pipe which you must keep in front of you as you go along. Here also is the fire and the food which your relatives have prepared for your journey. In the morning when the sun rises you are to start. You will not have gone very far before you come to a wide road. That is the road you must take. As you go along you will notice something on your road. Take your war club and strike it and throw it behind you. Then go on without looking back. As you go farther you will again come across (some obstacle). Strike it and throw it behind you and do not look back. Farther on you will come across some animals, and these also you must strike and throw behind you. Then go on and do not look back. The objects you throw behind you will come to those relatives whom you have left behind you on earth. They will represent victory in war, riches, and animals for food. When you have gone but a short distance from the last place where you threw objects behind, you will come to a round lodge and there you will find an old woman. She is the one who is to give you further information. She will ask you, "Grandson, what is your name?" This you must tell her. Then (you must say), "Grandmother, when I was about to start from the earth I was given the following objects with which I was to act as mediator between you and the human beings (i. e., the pipe, tobacco, and food)." Then you must put the stem of the pipe in the old woman's mouth and say, "Grandmother, I have made all my relatives lonesome, my parents, my brothers, and all the others. I would therefore like to have them obtain victory in war and honors. That was my desire as I left them downhearted upon the earth. I would that they could have all that life which I left behind me on earth.[4] This is what they asked. This likewise they asked me, that they should not have to travel on this road for some time to come. They also asked to be blessed with those things that people are accustomed to have on earth. All this they wanted me to ask of you when I started from the earth.

[4] The deceased had apparently died young, and what he desires is that the difference between his years and the normal length of life be distributed among his relatives. He means not only the actual years but also whatever he would have accomplished in those years.

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765 "They told me to follow the four steps that would be imprinted with blue marks,
539 grandmother." "Well, grandson, you are young but you are wise. It is good. I will now boil some food for you."

775 Then she will speak to you and then put a bottle on the fire and boil some rice for you. If you eat it you will have a headache. Then she will say, "Grandson, you have a headache, let me cup it for you." Then she will break open your skull and take out your brains and you will forget all about your people on earth and where you came from. You will not worry about your relatives. You will become like a holy spirit. Your thoughts will not go as far as the earth, as there will be nothing carnal about you.

Now the rice that the old woman will boil will really be lice. For that reason you will be finished with everything evil. Then you will go on stepping in the four footsteps mentioned before and that were imprinted with blue earth. You are to take the four steps because the road will fork there. All your relatives (who died before you) will be there. As you journey on you will come to a fire running across the earth from one end to the other. There will be a bridge across it but it will be difficult to cross because it is continually swinging. However, you will be able to cross it safely, for you have all the guides about whom the warriors spoke to you. They will take you over and take care of you.

Well, we have told you a good road (to take). If anyone tells a falsehood in speaking of the spirit road, you will fall off the bridge and be burned. However (you need not worry) for you will pass over safely. As you proceed from that place the spirits will come to meet you and take you to the village where the chief lives. There you will give him the tobacco and ask for those objects of which we spoke to you, the same you asked of the old woman. There you will meet all the relatives that died before you. They will be living in a large lodge. This you must enter. Ho-o-o, ha-a-a.

764 GENERALIZED DESCRIPTION OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS AND WAKE

[115 614] Informant, member of Bear clan. When a person died a member of his friend (*hitcukdro*) clan was immediately sent for, who took charge of the body and of all the funeral arrangements. The overseer dressed the deceased in his best clothes and all his finery, for it was said that he was going on a long journey. Then some clansman painted the dead man's face with the clan markings and delivered a speech to the corpse. When he concluded the clan songs were sung and the body was carried to the grave. All the mourners marched in single file. After the body had been buried or placed on a scaffold, as the case might be, a post was placed at the head of the grave, and the warriors among the mourners counted their coups and drew representations of their victories on the posts. [775] The purpose of the warriors in counting coups at the grave was to put at the disposal of the deceased the spirits of all the enemies they had killed, and also to give him additional strength for overcoming the obstacles on the road to the spirit land. Food was placed on the little shelf in front of the window of the grave-house, to be used by the spirit during the four days that he hovered around this earth before departing on his journey. Then a light was lighted and finally, toward evening, all departed for their homes, returning as they had come, in single file,

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and being very careful not to look back toward the grave after they had first started. 764

The same evening the four nights' wake began. The overseer, who was in full charge, had everything prepared. Before the wake formally commenced the chief mourner made a short speech. Then the overseer lighted a pipe and passed it around to all, who took a puff each and returned it to him. Then sweetened water was passed around, of which all partook. The feast followed. Taking on a plate a small portion of all the food to be eaten, the overseer threw it outside for the spirit of the deceased. In the case of a nursling the mother added a small quantity of milk from her breast to the other food on the plate. After the feast the chief mourner made another speech, explaining why the rites were performed and how they had been handed down for many generations. He concluded by thanking the people for all they had done for him. 765 [776] [782]

There was always an abundance of tobacco at a wake. Most of it was given to the warriors, a number of whom were invited, for they played a very important rôle on such an occasion. It was believed that every warrior was in control of the spirit of an enemy he had slain and he was supposed always to be willing to put the spirit at the service of any member of his tribe who had just died, if the proper offerings were made. At the proper time tobacco was given to the warrior, who, rising, narrated his war exploits, at the conclusion of which he ordered the spirit of the enemy he had slain to take charge of the deceased. Then tobacco was given to another warrior, who followed the same procedure, which was continued until midnight. Then most of the people departed to their homes, but some stayed overnight in the lodge in which the wake was held. [431] [276] [775]

The proceedings of the second and third nights of the wake were exactly the same as those of the first, but somewhat longer. The beginning of the ceremony on the fourth night was the same as on the three preceding nights; after a while, however, it deviated in the following manner.

J. F., rising, tells the spirit of the departed the road he is to take in his journey to spirit land, the obstacles he is to meet, and how he is to overcome them. After he has finished the warriors begin to tell some more war exploits, and this continues generally until 3 o'clock in the morning, depending entirely upon the amount of gifts given to the warriors. The gifts generally consist either of 12 pieces of calico each 3 yards, or of beads, or of 12 quarter dollars. The warriors always gamble for these gifts and play the favorite game of the deceased. If a man had died they generally play moccasins; if a woman, *ku'ru*. When all the presents have been exhausted, then the relatives of the deceased comb the [775] [431] [525] [524]

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765 mourner's hair, give him presents, and tell him that he is now free to cease mourning and to marry if he wishes.

In former times the period of mourning is supposed to have lasted four years.

[302] When a person is in mourning he always cuts his hair short and does not comb his hair. In former times people often mutilated themselves by cutting off either entire fingers or finger joints.

[304] The overseer always takes all the belongings of the deceased, but he must give the latter's relatives an equal amount of new material.

### Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(first version)

764 184 614 [615] Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the clan dies they send after a man of the Thunderbird clan who is to speak to the corpse, paint it, and give him a war club to take along with him (to the land of the spirits). Then they go after a man from the lower phratry to bury him, for these clans (of the lower phratry) belong on earth and they have the right to dig into the ground and bury people.

When the one who is to be the general overseer arrives and arranges everything, he prepares the corpse, putting a sack of tobacco in one hand and a war club in the other. Then he paints him. He paints the forehead with a red and a black mark and paints the lower part of the face to the end of the nose with scattered dots. He paints the jaw red and he makes a red mark across the mouth and the throat. Then he speaks as follows:

[775 539] You have departed at this (young) age. You have taken your relatives by surprise and have left them a long part of your life (i. e., you have lived but a small part of your apportioned share of years). As you go to spirit land, you will find on the road many feathers, many good plants, and many good kinds of clay, scattered around, the blue clay, the red clay, and the white clay. You will also find the sweet-smelling plants and good life. For all these things do you ask. If anything comes across your path, throw it behind you without looking around. In four days you will depart and objects with which to mediate between us and the spirits will soon be furnished you. For four nights your people will tell you what to do and when they hear you singing on the road they will know that it is you. There (in spirit land) you will go to live and the songs that I will sing you will sing as you travel on your road.

Then he sings (the four clan songs).

When the gravediggers are finished they take the body and carry it to the grave, the mourners following. They take the body to the grave and there lower it.

### Death and Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(second version)

Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan dies, the clansmen discuss what is to be done for the spirit

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of the deceased. Then they go and call the leader of their band and he comes and addresses the body as follows: 764 184 614

You are about to leave all your relatives. They will remain on earth, objects of pity to all. You will proceed on your road, turning to your left after you start until you come to him who is in charge of the spirits. Whenever you see him, the following request do we wish you to make of him, namely, that he bestow upon us all that you fell short of in your life on this earth. The means of offering, the tobacco, which Earthmaker gave us, we have given you some to take along. As you go along the road you will come to a place where the road branches off. Do not turn to the right, for that road leads to the bad spirits. Turn to the left and soon you will come to a guard. Point your pipe at him and he will be thankful. This man will have a complete suit of clothes and he will look terror-inspiring. He will smoke with you and then you may speak to him as follows: "Grandfather, before I left the earth, the people told me to ask you to point out to me which road I should travel in." Then he will tell you and you will pass ahead and after a while you will come to a fire-gizzle. The man who is in charge of it will have a complete suit of clothes just like the first man. Point the stem of your pipe toward him and he will be very thankful and smoke with you. Then make your request, namely, to be permitted to pass, and he will grant it. As you go along after that you will come to a round lodge in which you will find an old woman. Point your pipe at her and she will be thankful and smoke it, and then ask her to let you pass and she will permit you to go ahead. Your hair will now be white but you will not be uncomfortable. On the contrary, you will have complete possession of all your senses. Then you will come to where he who is in control of spirits sits. Go to him and point your pipe toward him. Then when he is smoking it, ask him to show you the road to Earthmaker, our father, and he will point it out to you. Then you must proceed until you come to Earthmaker. When you get to him, point the stem of your pipe toward him and, if he takes it and smokes it, then you must say, "Earthmaker, my father, you know very well what kind of a life I have led." And he will answer, "You have done well, my son." 764 184 614 539 775

The informant then skips to the opening night of the four nights' wake. The address to the spirit that follows is probably delivered by the chief mourner before the formal opening of the wake. 765 184 614

*Address to the spirit.*[1]—Ha ho-o-o-o, I want you to listen, you who have become like a spirit. You have made those of your relatives who remained behind on earth miserable and lonely. They have given you much food to take along with you and they have given you a pipe and some tobacco so that you may offer them to the spirits you meet on your road and make some requests of them. The first request that they wish you to make is to ask the spirits to distribute to your clan all the successful surpaths which would have fallen to your share had you lived your normal quota of years; and that all the food, etc., that you have not used be bestowed upon those whom you left behind on earth. The last request you should make of them on the road is to pray that a long time may elapse before any of your relatives traverse this road. 539 775

Now follows a description of the obstacles to be met on the road.

When you reach Earthmaker, offer him your pipe, and if he accepts it speak to him as follows: "Grandfather, as I was leaving the earth my relatives asked me to request of you humbly that you bestow upon the claimers that I left behind me all that I would have accomplished had I lived longer. Now this is what I wished to ask of you, grandfather." Then you should speak: "Ha ho-o-o-o."

[1] Spirit here is *wanp'ini*, spirit, deity, not *wap'ahi'*, ghost, unembodied embodiment. What is meant is that the deceased has become like one of the spirits, in that he lives, enjoys remembrances, etc., without at the same time having any corporeal existence.

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765 Then all the other people answer *ha-ho-o-o-o*. Now someone lights
184 a pipe and passes it around so that everyone can take a puff. All
614 take a puff, children and women as well as men. After that water
735 is passed around. Then all eat. A little portion of everything served is put aside and thrown out for the spirit to eat. Then a warrior, the person who has charge of the wake, speaks:

[539] I greet you all. I first wish to pour some of the tobacco that you have offered me for our grandfather who is in control of war-giving powers. (Probably the Thunder-birds are meant.) I will tell the spirit as carefully as I can all that I know about the road he must travel. My father impressed upon me very earnestly the need of being very truthful in speaking to the spirit of one recently deceased, for if I were a bad man I would cause the spirit to stumble. For that reason I always feel that I ought not to speak very much whenever I am called upon to talk.

Then a warrior was called upon to tell of his war exploits. He told as accurately as it was possible how he had killed a man, broken his collar bone, and then flayed him; how he had then chopped and cut up his body and mutilated him in such a way that he could not be identified; and how finally he had stolen his dogs. All night he spoke in this strain. He went on to tell how he had killed and utterly destroyed an entire village so that no one was left to tell of the massacre. All night he told of his war exploits. Thus they lighted the road for the spirit (i. e., held the Four Nights' Wake).

The second and third nights were just the same as the first, only that different warriors spoke and different war exploits were told. They are very proud of their war exploits and they would try to tell of their bravest deeds, those that had been most dangerous and which had required the greatest heroism. When the mourners listen to the narrative of such an exploit they become strengthened. All those people on whom the warrior had counted first coup and all those whom he had killed would carry the light for the spirit of the deceased. Those on whom he had counted second coup were commanded to clear the road, and a woman whom the warrior had captured was ordered to carry along the food. The ceremonies of the fourth night are the same as those of the first three nights.

## Death and Funeral Customs of the Bear Clan[9]

764 Informant, member of the clan. Mr. J. M. died in June, 1911. In
184 accordance with the old Winnebago customs, the first individual to
614 be notified of the death was Mr. J. F., a member of the Wolf clan.
[763] To Mr. F. fell the lot of taking charge of all the funeral rites—dressing the deceased, laying his body in the casket, burying him, and, finally, conducting the elaborate funeral wake.

[9] This is practically a reprint of "Description of a Winnebago Funeral," by Lowie and Radin, Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. 13, no. 2, 1911.

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764 184 614 539 During the morning Mrs. R. came in and combed the hair of the deceased's wife and gave her some presents, telling her at the same time that she hoped that she would dry her tears as a sign of appreciation of the gifts. Another person came in in the morning bringing a pair of leggings and a blanket for the deceased. He also brought the casket. While the body of the deceased was being prepared this same person spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. If my nephews will come here and sit near me, I will talk to them.

Then the sons of the deceased came and sat near their mother and sisters and the man continued:

My sister, it is said that it is best for a person not to weep; and that a widow should not mourn too much, for then the people would make fun of her; as well as for the fact that having children she must for their sake look forward to life and live for them. And it is also said that we should keep up this mourning for at least four years. Now there is nothing amusing about what I am going to say (although it may sound so) — namely, that we should not cry on such an occasion as to-day, but, on the contrary, keep up a good spirit. I do not mean that I am glad that my brother-in-law is dead. But if you were to weep some one might come in and say that it behooves you more to show him your teeth than your tears. They mean that you should smile.

And again it is said that one should not cry, for when a body is laid in the ground there is no more hope of its ever returning to this earth again. My nephew, the one that had been advising you in your daily affairs, is gone and you are left alone to look after yourself, your little brothers, and your mother; and therefore I want you all to love one another and remember your mother

While we were eating C. P. came in and spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. It is good that you all have come here and are comforting this house of mourning. It is good that J. H. has brought a casket and clothing for the deceased and food for the wake. And indeed he has also promised a hog for the feast. I know that he did not do this in order to have some one speak of it in public, but how can I refrain from expressing my thanks? My brother also came with the intention of furnishing some of these things, but inasmuch as [431] J. H. has furnished them beforehand he placed ten dollars in the hands of the wife of the deceased. He did not, however, tell her for what purpose he gave her the money and I therefore take the liberty of telling her that the gift is meant for anything that she may desire to buy. Now, my relatives, this is no time for happiness, but I am glad, nevertheless, that so many have come and I am thankful for what you have done. I greet you all.

Then the casket was put in the spring wagon and taken to the Winnebago Cemetery. When we got there the casket was lowered into the grave. When this was over, A. W. spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. This many of you have followed my son to his last resting place. Further than this place he will not walk in this life. Truly this many of you have felt sorry for him. All the rites that were taught me in this connection I have already performed. I have given the deceased the emblem (i. e., the whittled stick known as wamaxrisizini) and the material to talk with (the tobacco), so that he may plead for us, his relatives, when he gets to the end of the [775] journey, that we may live the life he fell short of upon this earth, and that he may

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765
tread firmly upon us as he walks to the spirit land. All that I know I have said 184
before. I was taught nothing that I was to do or say at this place except that we 614
should step over the grave just as our forefathers did when they originated. They 539
were holy and they entered this life on a perfect day just as this day to-day, and. [775]
inasmuch as they were holy, all the ground that they touched was holy. It is for that reason that we should step over the grave.

Then we stepped over the grave. After that we went to our homes.

The same evening the wake began. When all the invited guests had arrived and were seated, the feast was spread before them. Then A. W. spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. It is good that this many of you have come to-night. You know that we are not creating any new ceremony, but are simply following up what our forefathers have learned to be true and good. And, as it is said that we should not weep aloud, therefore you will not hear any of us making any utterings of sorrow. And even though we weep silently should anyone come to us we will look upon them smiling. We therefore beg of you, should you find us happy in mood, not to think the worse of us. And now I am ready to turn over the tobacco and water to J. F. Thus I express my thanks to you all that are present.

Then J. F. took the tobacco and water and spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. It is good that so many of you have come to our humble affair and, as our ancestors said that this was the proper way to do, so I am glad that it was given to me to handle the corpse, as I am certain that I will be strengthened by it. I will now pass the tobacco to Mr. X. He is a brave man and he will light the pipe and pass the water before we eat and after supper he will tell the deceased a route to the spirit land. Now I thank you and I greet you.

Then the brave man took the tobacco and filled the pipe and after taking a few puffs from it, passed it to the left and it thus went round, each person taking a puff from the pipe and a sip from the pitcher of water. Then the feast began. When it was over and all the dishes were cleared away, and everyone was properly seated, then the brave man greeted them again:

Relatives, I greet you. As we are not creating anything new, and as our ancestors knew it to be good, and as it is said that if anyone exaggerates a story in a case like this it will cause the soul to stumble, therefore I will tell my war exploits to my relative (the deceased) exactly as I remember them. I greet you all.

He then proceeded to tell his war exploits. When he had finished he again spoke as follows:

Relatives that are present, I greet you. As I said before, I do not wish to cause the soul of my recently deceased relative to stumble and I have tried to tell my story as accurately as I could. It is said that the souls of the ones killed in a battle are at the mercy of the victor, and I therefore command the souls of the ones I have killed to lead and guide my relative safely through the spirit land. I greet you all. [775]

He then passed the tobacco to another brave man present who in 765
his turn greeted those present and related his war exploits. After 184
two warriors had told their war exploits they stopped for the night, 614

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765 to continue on the second night. The second and third nights were
184 the same as the first. About the evening of the fourth night, when
614 all the people invited were present, A. W. spoke in the same strain as on the first night, and when he had finished he passed the management of the feast to J. F. The latter then passed it to F. F. now lit the pipe and passed it around, together with the water. Then all partook of the feast. After supper A. W. reported all the donations that were made to them, naming each giver and the amount of the gift and thanking them and praising them for their generous gifts. Then F. told the following story:

THE JOURNEY OF THE SOUL TO SPIRIT LAND[9]

539 Ho! Ho! Are you all ready? I am going to speak about the four nights during
●775 which you listened to your relatives and to the words they had to say. I am placing
765 the sacrificial tobacco in the rear part of the lodge for you. As you go home do not look back. Before you are far away you will come to a lodge. You may enter this lodge. A door faces the rising sun and a door faces the setting sun. As you enter you will find a woman on your right. Go and sit down opposite her. Then your great-grandmother will say to you, "My great-grandchild, what did they say to you when you were leaving, when your life was over?" "My great-grandmother, as I listened to my beloved relatives they said very little indeed. They said that I was breaking their hearts (in leaving them), and that they hoped that none would follow me soon. Then they asked me to make four requests:

"First. I was to ask for life, that the flames from the lodge fire might go straight upward. Yet they were satisfied if at my departure the flames swayed to and fro.

"Second. Whatever fruit had been predestined for me and that I did not taste, my relatives should hereafter not be deprived of.

"Third. They also mentioned nuts, all manner of herbs, all serviceable hides and skins, all medicinal roots and grasses. They commanded me to make a request for all things that exist in the earth.

"Fourth. That if anyone has a friend his weapon might have a keen edge on one side. Now, my great-grandmother, this is the number of requests they commanded me to make."

"My great-grandchild, although you are young, you are wise. My great-grandchild, my lodge is a place where all who enter must pass an examination. Earthmaker looks upon it as a keen-edged instrument. No clouds of ill omen ever pass over it. Now, my grandchild, as to those four requests you put to me, it shall be as you say. The nuts and herbs you have requested shall be given you. There will be nothing of that food predestined for you that your relatives will not taste. The hides and skins, the grasses they will possess in plenty. And if they have friends their weapons will be keen on one side. All that they have requested though you shall be given them. Here is the food set before you in this wooden bowl."

Then you are to answer to her, "My grandmother, this was what my relatives longed for. These are the things I was to leave behind me for those on earth."

Now, be sure that you only take a taste and push the dish away from you. For then the old woman will say, "My great-grandchild, all that you have left behind you in that dish represents the vegetable kingdom on this earth. Many who are older than you have eaten all that I gave them, my great-grandchild. You have a wise head on young shoulders. All that you have left in the dish shall grow on the face of the earth. Earthmaker is waiting for you in great expectation. There is the door to

[9] Obtained from Henry Cloud.

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the setting sun. On your way stands the bulge of Hereegu'nina, and his fire. Those who have come (the souls of brave men) from the land of the souls to take you back will touch you. There the road will branch off toward your right and you will see the footprints of the day on the blue sky before you. These footprints represent the footprints of those who have passed into life again. Step into the places where they have stepped and plant your feet into their footprints, but be careful you do not miss any. Before you have gone very far, you will come into a forest of wa'ke'ja' broken by open prairies here and there. Here, in this beautiful country, these souls whose duty it is to gather other souls will come to meet you. Walking on each side of you they will take you safely home. As you enter the bulge of the Earthmaker you must hand to him the sacrificial offerings. Here the inquiry that took place in the first bulge will be repeated and answered in the same manner. Then he will say to you, "All that your grandmother has told you is true. Your relatives are waiting for you in great expectation. Your home is waiting for you. It door will be facing the mid-day sun. Here you will find your relatives gathered. Inasmuch, then, as our ruler will not assent and express his approval by word of mouth, so shall we now do the same." 539 775 765

At this word all those assembled at the wake shout, *Ho-ha!*

Then a warrior told his war experiences and after thanking the people passed the tobacco to the next warrior, who in turn related his war experiences. 765 184 614

The amount of gifts was then figured out and they tried to arrange matters so that the warriors were through with their stories about midnight. At midnight games were played with the donations as prizes. The gifts generally consisted of twelve 3-yard pieces of calico or money equal to that amount of calico; twelve strings of beads, etc. These were the gifts used as prizes. Other donations of food were made for the four nights' feast. A. W was in charge of the games and he likewise designated what games were to be played. As they generally play the games the deceased was fond of so in this case they played the moccasin game and cards. After the donations were exhausted and the games finished a brave man was called upon to give a war whoop in thankfulness for the sun, and also to all the spirits above and below. Then A. W. greeted and thanked the guests again for coming, and the wake was over. [431] [524]

In olden times the widow was supposed to continue single for four years. She is strongly admonished, nevertheless, not to continue in low spirits, and to consider herself free to act in any way that will make her happy. She is told to play games or dance, or in fact do anything that will make her forget her sorrow, and she is told that no one will hold her conduct against her as disrespectful to the deceased. As this admonition is given to her by the sister or aunt of the deceased's husband, the only people who could properly reproach her—namely, the members of her husband's clan—it has all the more weight. The prohibition of weeping is further strengthened by the fact that it is customary to say that any woman who weeps too profusely at the death of her husband is in reality thinking, in 768

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limb.[12] They will indeed like you very much if you obtain a limb, 867
or, even better, two or three. If you do thus, wherever people boil 554
an animal with a head [13] you will always be able to eat.

If on account of your bravery you are permitted to tell of your 867
war exploits during the Four Nights' Wake for the benefit of the 765
soul of the deceased, do not try to add to your glory by exaggerat- 554
ing any exploit, for by so doing you will cause the soul to stumble on its journey to the spirit land.[14] If you do this and add an untruth to the account of your war exploit, you will die soon after. The war spirits always hear you. Tell a little less. The old men say it is wise.

My son, it is good to die in war. If you die in war, your soul will 867
not be unconscious. You will have complete disposal of your soul- 721
and it will always be happy.[15] If you should ever desire to return 775
to this earth and live here again, you will be able to do so. A second life as a human being you may live, or, if you prefer, as an inhabitant of the air (a bird) you may live, or you may roam the earth as an animal. Thus it is to him who dies in battle.

My son, fast for an honorable place among your fellowmen. Fast, 867
so that when you are married you may have plenty of food; that 785
you may be happy and that you may not have to worry about your 787
children. If in your fastings you have a vision of your future home, the members of your family will be lacking in nothing during their life. Fast for the food that you may need. If you fast a sufficiently large number of times, when in after life you have children and they cry for food you will be able to offer a piece of deer or moose meat without any difficulty. Your children will never be hungry.

[12] That is, a war honor, but more specifically if you "count coup" first. The honor of killing an enemy [555]
and the three honors connected with first touching his dead body are always spoken of as "the four limbs of the body."

[13] That is, wherever people give a Winter Feast. At this feast a deer, head and all, is served to the [527
invited guests. The head may only be eaten by brave warriors. 262]

[14] At the death of a clansman an elaborate wake takes place. To this wake, as the principal participants, 765
three or four warriors who have counted "coup" are always invited. It is believed that the souls of all 775
the enemies one has killed become the slaves of the victor and he may command them to do his bidding at any time. If the victor tells his exploit and then commands the enslaved soul to take care of the recently departed person in whose honor the wake is being given, the soul of the conquered enemy will be of considerable aid in overcoming the obstacles that are supposed to infest the path between this earth and the land of the spirits. These can not be overcome by the merits of the individual alone. If, however, a warrior becomes vainglorious, the soul of the recently departed individual will fall into the abyss of fire which surrounds one of the heavenly earths through which he must pass. That is what is meant by "stumbling."

[15] It must be remembered that the Winnebago believe that all that constitutes "life," "consciousness," 774
continues to exist after death, the only difference being that in the former case an envelope, the body, is 775
present and, in the latter case, it is not. Winnebago philosophy does not concern itself with what happens when a soul becomes "unconscious" at death, which would, of course, be the case with all those who do not die in battle; but it does insist that in him who dies on the warpath the moment of death does not even deprive of consciousness. He goes right on living, as if he were still an inhabitant of this earth, the only difference being that the corporal envelope has fallen off his soul and that, although he can and hears human beings, he himself is not visible nor his voice audible.

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their clan names is *Wave*. They first appeared as wolves and later on they became humans. After swimming to the shore they lay on their backs to dry themselves; and that also is a name, a female name, *She-who-spreads-herself-out-to-dry*, and another name is *He-who-comes-up-first*. When they became human they built themselves a lodge and lived in it, but they had no fire. Then the Thunders came down and alit on a big oak tree that stood near their lodge. At first the Thunders were afraid of the Wolf people and they would not enter their lodge. That is why we have a name *He-who-is-afraid*. They asked the Thunders to come into their lodge and they had great difficulty in persuading them. After they entered the Wolf lodge they wanted to go home again immediately, but the Wolf clan people asked them to stay over for four days. From that fact a name has originated, *One-who-is-waited-for-by-the-Thunders*. The Thunders stayed, but not in the lodge of the Wolf people. They built themselves one just outside their door. Then they built a fire in it. After the four days were over the Thunders went home. 614 539 776 [551]

When a Wolf clansman dies the relatives paint his forehead blue (pl. 46) and the soul of the deceased is supposed to go west, and it never looks back as it goes on its journey, as this would be an indication of its longing for something in this world, and it should not do that. When the soul gets to the spirit home the relatives already there would ask the newcomer, "What did our relatives say when you were about to come?" And the deceased would answer, "They said that they would not come for some time." [764 775]

The food that is prepared at the four nights' wake is supposed to last them forever.

This is the end of the story of the creation.

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

All people claim to have come from some animal, and all are supposed to come from Earthmaker.

Four married wolves had a lodge in the middle of the ocean. They had four colors. The wolves all had children. One of them had 10, and the youngest one of these 10 is the one that came to this earth. When they came to this island, the first thing they saw was the footprint of the bear, and they said, "Our friend has gone by." There (at the place of gathering) they saw human beings and they liked their ways. Therefore they went home again and asked to come to earth and live with the human beings, and they were given permission to do so. Wherefore the two (man and wife) came here again the second time. When they were about to come everything was calm, and there were no waves on the ocean. They started out swimming, and they caused two waves to go before them. When they came to the humans they both got married. When they came to this land

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756 small piece of a root and tell him to chew and eat it. This the guest
796 would have to do, and from that time on he would never know when
[264] he had had enough to eat. He would never get satiated. Whenever the man who had been blessed gave the feast personally, no one was ever known to leave anything upon his plate. While eating the guests kept time. They never shook their plates, for if anyone did so the others would immediately give him whatever remained on their plates. They would assume that anyone who shook his plate was the possessor of the stench-earth himself and that he intended to eat up these extra portions with the aid of this medicine. If, however, the shaking was done unintentionally and he failed to eat up the extra portions placed on his plate, then he would make a noise like a raven, and those who wished to help him consume this food would also cry like the raven, approach him, and flap their arms as the birds do their wings. Then all would eat.

When the man who obtained these blessings died, he left all these medicines that he had been the first one to use to another person. With the medicines he of course left all the songs. All that he used to do when he doctored a sick person he bequeathed to his successor. The last man who had these medicines was not a holy man but he knew all their uses and for that reason he was considered a powerful and holy man. To-day only the poison medicines are remembered; the good medicines are all gone.

This is the end.

### How an Indian Shaman Cures His Patients[4]

756 "I came from above and I am holy. This is my second life on
775 earth. Many years before my present existence, I lived on this
539 earth. At that time everyone seemed to be on the warpath. I also was a warrior, a brave man. Once when I was on the warpath I was killed. It seemed to me, however, as if I had merely stumbled. I rose and went right ahead until I reached my home. At home I found my wife and children, but they would not look at me. Then I spoke to my wife but she seemed to be quite unaware of my presence. 'What can be the matter,' I thought to myself, 'that they pay no attention to me and that they do not even answer when I speak to them.' All at once it occurred to me that I might, in reality, be dead. So I immediately started out for the place where I had presumably been killed and surely enough, there I saw my body. Then I knew positively that I had been killed. I tried to return to the place where I had lived as a human being but for four years I was unsuccessful.

[825] "At one time I became transformed into a fish. However, the life of the fish is much worse than ours. They are very frequently

[4] The shaman is represented as in the lodge of the patient and as speaking to him and his relatives

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in lack of food. They are nevertheless very happy beings and have many dances.[a] [825]

"At another time I became transformed into a little bird. When the weather is good the life of the birds is very pleasant. But when it is cold they are compelled to undergo many hardships on account of the weather as well as on account of lack of food. When it was very cold I used to go to the camp of some people who were living in the neighborhood and try to steal some meat from their racks. A little boy used to stand near these racks and we were very much afraid of him because he carried something in his hands with which he shot and which made a dreadful noise. Whenever he shot it we would all fly away. What the boy was using was a bow and arrow. At night we slept in a hollow tree. If I entered the tree first and the others came in behind me I would be almost squeezed to death. If, on the other hand, I waited until the last I would sometimes have to stay outside and when the weather was cold I might have frozen to death.

"At another time I became a buffalo. The cold weather and the food did not worry me much then, but as buffaloes, we would always have to be on the alert for hunters. [825]

"From my buffalo existence I was permitted to go to my higher spirit-home, from which I originally came. The one in charge of that spirit-home is my grandfather. I asked him for permission to return to this earth again. At first he refused, but then after I had asked him for the fourth time, he consented. He said to me, 'Grandson, you had better fast before you go and if any of the spirits take pity upon you (i. e., bless you), you may go and live in peace upon earth.' So I fasted for four years and all the spirits above, even to the fourth heaven,[b] approved of my coming. They blessed me. [772] Then I fasted 10 days more and then 20 and then 30. Finally all the spirits blessed me, even those under the earth. When I was ready to come to this earth, the spirits gathered together in a council-lodge and 'counciled' about me. All the spirits were present. They told me that I would never fail in anything that I wished to do. Then they decided to make a trial of my powers. They placed an invulnerable spirit-grizzly bear at one end of the lodge and sang the songs that I was to use when I returned to earth. Then I walked around the lodge holding a live coal in the palm of my hand and danced around the fireplace saying *wahi-!* and striking the hand containing the coal with my other hand. The invulnerable bear fell forward prone upon the ground and a black substance flowed

[a] This is commonly postulated of both the life of the fishes and that of the snakes.

[b] He is probably referring to the four earths, although it is, of course, possible that there were four heavens. However, I never obtained the slightest indication of such a belief. [772]

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from his mouth. Then they said to me, 'You have killed him. Even so great a spirit as this you have been able to kill. Indeed, nothing will ever be able to cross your path.' Then they took the 'bear' I had killed and cut him into small pieces with a knife, piled these in the center of the lodge, and covered them with some dark material. 'Now,' they said, 'you must again try your powers.' I asked them for the articles that I would have to use and they gave me a flute and a gourd. Then I made myself holy. All those who had blessed me were present. I walked around the object that lay piled up in the center of the lodge and breathed upon it. This I did for the second time and all those within the lodge breathed together with me. Four times I did this and then the spirit-grizzly bear got up and walked away in the shape of a human being. 'It is good,' they said. 'He has restored him to life again. Surely he is holy.' After a while they said to me again, 'Just as you have done here, will you always do below. Whenever you wish to, you will be able to kill a person or restore him to life. Most assuredly you have been blessed.'

"Then they placed a black stone in the shamans' lodge that stood above. There again they made a trial of my powers. There I blew four times on the stone and I blew a hole through it. For that reason, if any person has a pain and he lets me blow upon it, I can blow it away. It makes no difference what kind of a pain it is. My breath was made holy by the spirits.

"The spirits on the earth and those under the earth also gave me a trial of my powers. They placed an old rotten log before me. I breathed upon it four times, and spat water upon it and it got up in the shape of a human being and walked away.

"My ability to spit water upon the people whom I am treating I received from an eel, from the chief among the eels, one who lives in the center and in the deepest part of the ocean. He is absolutely white and he is the one who blessed me. Whenever I spit water it is inexhaustible, because it comes from him, the eel.

"Then I came to this earth again. They, the spirits, all gave me advice before I left them. When I came upon this earth I entered a lodge and there I was born again. As I said, I thought that I was entering a lodge, but in reality I was entering my mother's womb. Even in my prenatal existence, I never lost consciousness. Then I grew up and fasted again and again, and all those spirits who had blessed me before sent me their blessings again. I can dictate to all the spirits that exist. Whatever I say will come to pass. The [782] tobacco you (the patients) offer me is not to be used by myself. It is really intended for the spirits.

"Spirits, a person is sick and he offers me tobacco. I am on earth to accept it and to try to cure him.

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159 If he (my father) blessed a man he would do as follows: He would
789 take his bow and arrows and, holding them in both of his hands,
776 take the man around the hill and then into the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There he and the man he wished to bless let their breath pass into the middle of the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There stood a stone pillar and upon this stone pillar, at about arm's length, he drew the pictures of different animals. My father had only one arrow, but that arrow was a holy one. Then my father danced around the stone pillar and sang some songs, and when he was finished he began to breathe upon the stone pillar; and, walking around it, he shot it. When he looked at it, he saw that the stone had turned into a deer with large horns. This deer fell dead at his feet. He repeated this a number of times and the little spirits who were following him breathed with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you wish to kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done here. Then
[782] offer tobacco to us and you will be able to obtain whatever you wish."

159 "Now, my son, I want you to be able to do as I do. I want you
867 to be able to kill deer whenever you wish, and at any particular time." My father was a very good hunter and I wanted to be very much like him. I knew that what he was saying was true and that it would be good to follow his advice. I was also told that if I traveled around the hill where these spirits lived, then all earthly things would agree with me and that I would be the gainer thereby. If I did this, they told me, then I would never suffer any pains in my body and I would never be troubled in any way.

159 And this they told me about the ghost village—that when I go
787 there I will be able to steal a costly shawl from the spirits and be able to escape with it; that then all the inhabitants of the ghost
●775 village would chase me, but that they would not be able to overtake me and would be compelled to turn back as soon as I reached the earth. In this ghost village there are no grown-up children.[1]

Now, all that I have spoken of, I dreamed. I really dreamed that I was stealing a costly shawl and that I would have plenty of them all the time. I dreamed that I would obtain ten or even more
787 shawls in one year and that I would not have to pay anything for
159 them. What the spirits meant by shawls was supplies. However, all this took place before I ate the peyote. Since then I know that
745 these things were not true, and that what I must depend upon is not supernatural power, but myself, and my own endeavors. Super-
[783] natural powers do not come from anywhere. They do not exist at all. The blessings I had received were not holy and I am not holy.

[1] He is evidently referring to the spirit home of the Hawk's, or Those-who-try-like-babies.

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This I know now. The whole thing is untrue. Therefore I stopped using these supernatural powers some time ago.[8] 159 787

The old people made me fast so that I might obtain blessings, and that I might lead a life similar to that led by my ancestors. My father asked me to fast so that I might be of some help to my fellow-men as I grew up. It is through fasting that individuals obtain the power of curing disease and restoring a person to health again. [756]

Spirits from above also came to me. They took me to the spirit-shaman village. As the shamans gathered around me they said that the blessing would be very difficult to give me. Then the shaman sitting far in front made himself holy and breathed upon me (i. e., performed the actions of a shaman when treating a patient). When he was finished, then he began to sing and all those in the lodge began to breathe, helping him. Then the second shaman made himself holy and began to breathe and sing. In this way four of them made themselves holy. They were showing me what to do when I came back to earth. If a person on earth is sick (this is what they meant), and is in an almost hopeless condition where no one else could cure him, then they would call for me and offer me tobacco with which I was to sacrifice to the spirits who had taught me. 159 756 775

Indeed I am holy. If a man is sick I can restore him to health. That is what I used to think. I really (had it been true) should have felt it, for I labored earnestly and honestly to be a holy person. Yet in spite of all my exertions I was very unfortunate. I had married twice and both of my wives and all my children died. Indeed, how could I ever consider myself a holy man (i. e., if I couldn't even cure my own wife and children of what value were my "supernatural powers")? For a long time I knew that, at least I should have known it.[9] (I was not holy.) Then I ate the peyote and now I really see myself as I am. Indeed I am not holy. My body is without a soul. I thought myself holy. So I have stopped the practice of the shaman. 156 756 156 [795]

[8] The informant had become a convert to the Peyote belief only a short time before he wrote down this account of his fasting, and it is interesting to see that, although he no longer believes in the efficacy of the supernatural powers, he still believes that they exist. Two years after this, however, the same informant explained them, as all the older members of the Peyote cult explain them, namely, as delusions, either caused by the abnormal condition of the youth while fasting or as snares of the devil.

[9] In the words "I should have known it" are summed up the essential change of attitude between the Peyote Winnebago and the older Winnebagoes. The latter, too, had observed the apparent failure of the supernatural powers on many occasions, but instead of attributing them to any diminution of efficacy in the "powers," attributed them, on the contrary, to a lack of something in the individual trying to use the "power," in so far as they thought about it at all. But the essential difference between the two cults, the older one and the Peyote, lies not so much in the logical conclusions their adherents have drawn from the failure of the "supernatural powers" to behave as they were expected to, as in the fact that the Peyote people make the failure of the "power" the subject of discussion and the old Winnebagoes accept the whole concept of "supernatural power" as such, and do not permit it to rise into their consciousness. [182]

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778 warpath)." The son therefore refused it, and went out to fast
[776] again. Then the spirits blessed him again and again he went to his father and asked to accompany him to the wilderness and see what blessings he had obtained. When they came to the wilderness[19] they found two wild cats (already stuffed) standing there and facing in opposite directions. Then the old man told his son again not to accept this blessing because it would be too powerful,[20] but the young man said, "This is the last blessing that I am going to get," and accepted it.

(What follows was obtained at a later time from the same informant and relating to the same blessing.)

The first blessing K'erex'u"'sak'a received was from the Thunderbirds. They dropped a flute and two feathers from heaven. But these he refused. The second blessing was also from the Thunderbirds. This time they told him to go to a certain place where he could see them himself. He went there and found four men sitting there broiling meat. They gave him a piece of meat. It was only when he fasted for the fourth time that he was blessed with a war-bundle.

WHAT G. OBTAINED IN HIS FAST

159 I never fasted much. I only fasted three times and I don't believe
776 that I ever fasted for more than two days at a time. However, I
787 never was blessed with anything (i. e., any object). I knew, however, that I came from the home of the Thunderbirds (i. e., that I was
[775] a reincarnated Thunderbird). My spirit father and mother[21] were Thunderbirds. The Thunderbirds are beings whose glance can penetrate any object. For that reason I also can do it. For instance, I have seen a man through a tree. This I did once during a thunderstorm when a man had sought shelter behind a tree.

[19] Wherever the word "wilderness" is used all that is meant is an uninhabited place far away from the village.

[20] By "too powerful" the old man means that the feasts, offerings, etc., that would be necessary for so great a blessing would be quite beyond the means or the ability of the young man. It is to be remembered that the bestowal of a blessing does not in itself insure its efficacy, but that this can only be secured if the
[782] proper offerings and the proper emotional attitude accompany its subsequent use. Evidently the old man did not feel that the young fellow would be equal to the task. I have been told by many of the older Winnebagos that when the old system was still intact the older people always made it a point to warn impetuous youths against taking upon themselves responsibilities that they might possibly not be able
[686] to fulfill, a very excellent device, it seems to me, for not multiplying the chances of failure and consequently the necessity of explaining them. However, one need not believe that this was the reason for the caution.

[21] He says "spirit father and mother" because when he lived with the Thunderbirds he was, of course, a spirit. It is quite impossible to determine whether he means that he was a human being who was living among the spirits or a spirit or whether he was a spirit who had desired to become reincarnated as a human
[776 being. Originally, of course, there were no human beings, but only spirits, of whom a portion became
775] permanently transformed into human beings. However, even very powerful shamans never claim more than three reincarnations, so that he can obviously not be referring to this primitive condition and is either referring to the fact that he is a Thunderbird residing temporarily on this earth, or, and this would be the more common form, a human being who lived for some time as a Thunderbird and then returned to earth. In the latter case one would expect him to obtain great blessings in his fast, and the fact that he did not and had nevertheless such great powers suggests that he is really a reincarnated Thunderbird.

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776 In the fall of the year in which the man said this the people, as
787 usual, went out hunting and the man got lost and was forced to camp out in the wilderness overnight. So he built a fire and sat alongside of it. Suddenly he saw a man coming toward him. As soon as the stranger came up to him he took a seat on the opposite side of the fireplace. Then the stranger said, "I am the one whom you threatened to kick off this earth whenever you met him. You, furthermore, boasted that I could not kill you." Then he pointed his finger in a line with the man's heart. But the man remained seated near the fireplace without moving. Then he did this again, yet the man still remained in his former position. Then the third time he did it and said, "In the center of the heart." The man, however, remained seated just as before. Then the stranger exclaimed, "Who are you anyhow?" and pointed his finger at him. But the man did not move. Then the stranger (Disease-giver) pleaded with the man to die so that it might not be said that he had failed in the "mission" for which he had been created. He promised the man that if he would oblige him and die he could come back to earth again within four days. Finally the man consented. He went home and told his folks that he was going to a certain place to
787 die for the space of four days and that they should, under no con-
● 775 ditions, go to see him there, for in that case he would surely die. Then he dressed himself in his best clothes and went to the place where he was to meet Disease-giver. (He rested his head against a tree and died.) However, on the third day his wife could not resist the desire to see him, so she went to the place where her husband was leaning against the tree. Then he really died. After his death a red spot was visible upon his forehead.[a]

### Methods of Bringing the Spirits into Relation with Man

785 *Fasting.*—Fasting has been discussed before. There are two things to be remembered in connection with it—first, that it is a method of superinducing a religious feeling; and, secondly, that this religious feeling in turn is bound up with the desire for preserving and perpetuating socio-economic life values. Among the Winnebago the desirability of the conditions superinduced by fasting lay not so much in the emotional pleasure it gave, although this is not to be underestimated, as in the belief which the shamans had developed, that such a state was essential for placing people in a position enabling them to overcome certain crises in life, which it was reasonable to believe might take place.

787 *Mental concentration.*—To the religiously inclined Winnebago the
153 efficacy of a blessing, of a ceremony, etc., depended upon what they

[a] This is not supposed to be a myth but the real experience of a man named James Smith.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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761 776 when explained, is laid at the door of some evil man. Death at old age is clearly taken for granted. Where explanations are advanced, [754] they are always for the deaths of individuals before their time, or at least before what the Winnebago consider their time.

761 The Winnebago look at death in two ways as being, first, a different kind of consciousness from that possessed in life, and, secondly, as being a cessation of certain kinds of intercourse between individuals. Death is regarded as a "stumbling," after which the individual goes right on as if nothing had happened. He does not know he is dead until he sees his body. The individual is divested of all his corporeal investment and desires. In the myth of the journey of the soul to spirit land the ghost is not entirely a spirit until the old woman [775] whom he meets brains him, thus, by destroying the seat of consciousness, depriving him of all corporeality and carnal desires. The ghost then becomes a spirit, in some cases of the same type as the true spirits.

761 775 Although the Winnebago know that after death they will never see people again, they do not feel that all kinds of intercourse have ceased. The deceased may appear to a living individual in dreams or visions; he may talk to him or make his presence felt in a multitude of ways; and since, as we pointed out before, the test of existence is the consciousness of some kind of contact, such intercourse may be of a very intense type.

This lack of a feeling of discontinuity between the living and the dead is emphasized by the Winnebago concept of after-life and reincarnation.

775 After-life is but life on earth, only idealized. Everything is provided. All carnal desires have been done away with and men and women spend their time in one long round of enjoyment and bliss. Something of the fear of ghosts lingers here, however, for when living individuals try to reach spirit land—and a number of such instances are mentioned in the myths, particularly in the origin myth of the Ghost dance—these spirits are likely to be harmful.

By the belief in reincarnation the Winnebago entirely bridge the gulf between life and death. In other words, we seem to have a cycle consisting of life (consciousness), after-life (unconsciousness from a corporeal viewpoint), and life (reincarnation). To live again is the greatest desire of the Winnebago, and practically every secret society holds this out as the lure to the outsider. If you join the Medicine Lodge you will become reincarnated, they say, and the other ritualistic organizations make the same claim. But not only by joining an organization is it possible to be reincarnated; if you live an upright life, if you die on the battlefield, reincarnation also awaits you.

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The author was fortunate enough to obtain an account by a well-known Winnebago shaman of his various reincarnations. 159 775 539

*T. C.'s account of his two reincarnations.*—I once lived in a party that numbered about 20 camps. When I had grown up to be a lad, although one not large enough to handle a gun, a war party attacked us and killed us all. I did not know, however, that I had been killed. I thought that I was running about as usual until I saw a heap of bodies on the ground and mine among them. No one was there to bury us, so there we lay and rotted.

I (i. e., my ghost) was taken to the place where the sun sets (the west). There I lived with an old couple. This place (spirit land) is an excellent place and the people have the best of times. If you desire to go anywhere, all that you have to do is to wish yourself there and you reach it. While at that place I thought I would come back to earth again, and the old man with whom I was staying said to me, "My son, did you not speak about wanting to go to the earth again?" I had, as a matter of fact, only thought of it, yet he knew what I wanted. Then he said to me, "You can go, but you must ask the chief first."

Then I went and told the chief of the village of my desire, and he said to me, "You may go and obtain your revenge (upon the people who killed your relatives and you)."

Then I was brought down to earth. I did not enter a woman's womb, but I was taken into a room. There I remained, conscious at all times. One day I heard the noise of little children outside and some other sounds, so I thought I would go outside. Then it seemed to me that I went through a door, but I was really being born again from a woman's womb. As I walked out I was struck with the sudden rush of cold air and I began to cry.

At that place I was brought up and I was taught to fast a great deal. Afterwards I did nothing but go to war, and I certainly took revenge for the death of myself and my relatives, that being the purpose for which I had come to earth.

There I lived until I died of old age. All at once my bones became unjointed, my ribs fell in, and I died the second time. I felt no more pain at death, then, than I had felt the first time.

This time I was buried in the manner used at that time. I was wrapped in a blanket and then laid in the grave. Sticks were placed in the grave first. There in the grave I rotted. I watched the people as they buried me.

As I was lying there, some one said to me, "Come, let us go away." So then we went toward the setting of the sun. There we came to a village where we met all the dead. I was told that I would have to stop there for four nights, but in reality I stayed there four years. The people enjoy themselves there. They have all sorts of dances

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775 of a lively kind all the time. From that place we went up to the
539 place where Earthmaker lived and there I saw him and talked to him, face to face, even as I am talking to you now. I saw the spirits too, and, indeed, I was like one of them.

From that place I came to this earth again for the third time, and here I am. I am going through the same that I knew before.

774 *The concept of the soul.* This concept is not clearly developed as a
775 separate entity among the Winnebago on account of their strong belief in reincarnation. Their notion of the soul is merged in that of the noncorporeal ghost who eventually comes to earth again.

## The Cosmological Ideas

772 The cosmological ideas are of two types: those that are clearly of
773 a folkloristic origin and those that have been developed by shamanistic reinterpretations. To the former class belong all the creative acts of the tricksters and culture heroes, like *Wak'djapk'aga* and Hare, and to the latter the systematic creation of the world by Earthmaker.

What is probably the oldest form of the Winnebago cosmological notions is that concerned with the general destruction of the bad spirits by Hare and by such spirits as the Thunderbirds, Morning Star, etc., and the removal of obstacles. Often the present characteristics of the earth are formed accidentally, as, for instance, the origin of the valleys, mountains, and lakes, as given in the myth of "Holy One." Even in the thoroughly remodeled general origin myth, Earthmaker is not conceived of as having purposely created the world.

772 The Winnebago believed that there were four worlds, one beneath the other, presided over, respectively, by Earthmaker, Trickster (*Wak'djapk'aga*), Turtle, and Hare. Hare rules over the world on which man lives. There seems to be some confusion as to who rules over the last earth, because it is also definitely stated that Traveler (a Water-spirit) is in control of it.

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159 he never did it over again. *Hereegunina* lived on earth from that
756 time on, and it is said that he also created things. Indeed, it is said
881 that he was almost the equal of the Earthmaker. He made the people
868 very miserable. Then Earthmaker sent four of his sons (to save the
773 people). Hare alone, of all the four, accomplished what he had been sent out for. All the rest failed. Hare obtained life for the people upon this earth.

Then the man told how the medicine lodge had been founded: how all the spirits upon the earth and all those under the earth and all those above the earth gathered together. They brought life with them. Then the medicine bags began to come. First came the eagle. He came from above. Next came the hawk, and then the squirrel, etc. The otter was the last one. Then the old man stopped talking to me and another person began to admonish me. He told me how I was to conduct myself. Then he spoke to me of the medicine-lodge road (i. e., of life) and what happens after life.

159 The first thing that I would meet on the road would be bad birds
756 making a lot of noise. "Do not look at them," he told me. They
868 would let fly at me bad-smelling saliva and phlegm, but I was not
776 to turn around, he said. Then the road would become thickly covered with thorn bushes. It would seem almost impossible to untangle them. I was, however, not to pay any attention to them, he told me. On the road, fires would send their sparks toward me, but I was to pay no attention to them. After a while I would lose one of my relatives, but I was to keep right on. I was not to get angry nor to give up, and after a while the road would become thickly covered with poplars growing on each side. Then the hair on my temples would become gray. This is what would happen to me, he told me, if I paid close attention to this ceremony. After a while it would become foggy—i. e., my eyesight would grow dim. Then I would come to a hill, one of four hills. When I came to the last hill there I would see red cedar trees. This is what would happen to me if I paid close attention to this ceremony, he told me. My soul would return to Earthmaker and I would then be allowed to come back to this earth if I wanted to.

159 Then they gave me the object with which they shot themselves
756 the shell. They shot me. After that they made me try to do it,
776 and when I was able to shoot well, we all came back. It was now
881 daylight. Now they put clothes on themselves and arose. Those who were initiating me then spread upon the ground the things which had been brought. Then the leader spoke. He told me that he would put me on the medicine-dance road. Then they sat me down there and shot me. Then the clothes that I had on were taken off and I was given other clothes. I was now told that I was standing on the medicine-dance road. After that they danced all day. In the evening they stopped. Now this is what I did; this is all I can say. I greet you, my friends.

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794 578 fested itself upon the first introduction of the peyote. As we have seen, there was in the beginning little difference between the beliefs relating to the peyote and those connected with the old Winnebago medicinal plants. Nevertheless the author was assured that hostility was exhibited to the new cult from the very start. Would the same hostility have been exhibited had this new feature represented some development from within the tribe? In other words, what it would be interesting to know, is whether the fact that the peyote was derived from without led to a hostility different in kind from that exhibited toward an innovation developing within the culture itself. No evidence could be obtained that would justify us in explaining the hostility felt by the older conservative Winnebago as due in any part to the fact that it was alien in origin. Certain elements that to-day form an integral part of the most popular of all Winnebago ceremonies were borrowed from the Sauk and Iowa, and the Winnebago [177] realize this and mention it in the introductory myths told in connection with the preparatory rites of the medicine dance. The explanation obtained was always the same—that the hostility was due to the fact that the teachings of the Peyote people departed from those of their ancestors and that the Peyote were simply aping the habits and customs of the whites. What seems to have met with the greatest [775 177] opposition from the older shamans was the denial of the doctrine of reincarnation. The Christian doctrine of the immortality of the soul does not seem to have been felt as a substitute at all. One old conservative assured the author that he had long ago prophesied the appearance of the peyote among the Winnebago. He told the author the following:

[776] "This medicine is one of the four spirits from below, and for that reason it is a bad thing. These spirits have always longed for human beings and now they are getting hold of them. Those who use this medicine claim that when they die they will only be going on a long journey. But that is not the truth, for when they eat peyote they [775] destroy their spirits, and death to them will mean extermination. If I spit upon the floor, the sputum will soon dry up and nothing will remain of it. So death will be for them. I might go out and preach against this doctrine, but it would be of no avail, for I certainly would not be able to draw more than one or two people away from this spirit. Many will be taken in by this medicine; they will not be able to help themselves in any way. The bad spirit will certainly seize them."

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Earthmaker has all the characteristics of a supreme deity. He is 776
conceived of as formless and as never being visible to man. He is
a benevolent deity, but apart from the interest he manifested in creating the world and all that exists upon it and in sending the great Transformer heroes, Trickster, Turtle, and Hare, he has taken little active interest in the affairs of humankind. It is only as a tour de force that one can receive blessings from him. An instance of the
kind will be found on page 291,* which is to be taken not as a myth [787]
but as, at most, a true fasting experience, which has been cast into a literary form.

The conception of Earthmaker we have been discussing is found most prominently developed in the rituals and the ritualistic myths. In how far it represents an exoteric point of view it would be difficult to determine now. A study of the nonritualistic myths, however, makes it seem plausible that Earthmaker, among the people in general, was the vague Waxōp'i'nj Xe'tera, Great Spirit, typical of the woodland area; and what appears to strengthen this view is the fact that there exists, side by side with him, that other great spirit common among the woodland peoples, the Great Bad Spirit, known among the Winnebago as Hereegū'nīna, of doubtful etymology. The coexistence of these two spirits and their equal rank comes out clearly in the cycle of the Twins. The ritualistic myths have
attempted to interpret this old Hereegū'nīna as Earthmaker's first [773]
attempt to create man, which ended in failure. He thereupon threw him away, but Hereegū'nīna imitated the creations of the former and thus brought into existence the many evil spirits that infest the earth.

Only in the older traditions is this conception of the dual deities still to be found. In practical life the more systematic conception developed in the rituals has entirely displaced it, just as the older conception of the Transformers as heroes working in obedience to no one and changing the world until it assumed its present appearance out of mere whim, has given place to a well-ordered creation in which the Transformers play the rôle of deities saving the human race at the command of Earthmaker.

*Thunderbirds* (Wak'a'ndja). They are always represented as appearing to men as bald-headed individuals wearing a wreath made of the branches of the arbor vitæ. They are in control of almost all the powers that man can imagine, but they generally bless him with success on the warpath and with a long and honorable life. They are represented as having a spirit village in the west and as intermarrying with the Night Spirits who have a village in the east. Powerful
shamans and warriors not infrequently claim that they are merely [775]
reincarnated Thunderbirds. Such is the claim of the man who is

* Cf. also Jour. Amer. Folklore, vol. 26, pp. 350 sq., 1913.

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in the lodge, that many talked of what was to happen to you. And I, I am the chief of the Night Spirits. This creation-lodge just as you see it (i. e., with all it contains) I give to you." You will never be in want of food. You are to offer as many buckskins as you see here and tobacco for all time. Thus it shall be. The "creation-lodge" of the village of the Night Spirits I give to you. You can go on as many war parties as you wish and obtain as much life. As many tobacco offerings as they (i. e., you and your descendants) continue to give, all the tobacco, food, buckskin offerings, red feathers, as many as there are, they will all come to the "creation-lodge" that you see, and we will accept them.' 796x 539x 787 776 [782]

"Thus did they speak to grandfather Djôhenagwi'ąxga. So he said. We will do this that we may ask (blessings) for our relatives and sing songs. Even if we do not perform everything in just the manner that the spirits in the east (told) our grandfather Djôhenągiwiąxga, we know that our grandfathers (the spirits) will not be offended. So they say. Even if you know only one song, if you bring yourself to the point of crying in your efforts (it will be all right). Thus we mean to say it. War-bundle owners, who are seated here, I greet you." (Night Spirit song.) 796x 539x

THE FEAST

*Host's speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. Every spirit that the Creator created he made for us,[a] but whatever food he made for us all these things we were to offer up (to the spirits) together with tobacco and the sacred feast. What we are to do, what I can do to make these things known to them, that is what we should think of and talk about. (This is what the Creator said): Let (the host) call upon a warrior, a young man present at the feast. For the one who lives in the west he should make offerings of tobacco and attempt to be like (the spirits), so that one of our own members should be considered (by the spirits) as the same as themselves.[b] A sacred feast and tobacco together with it we are about to offer to the chief of the Thunderbirds in the west. What can I do that they might have knowledge of these (offerings)? Thus we should be thinking, (the Creator) said. A war-bundle owner who is present we should call upon (to take charge of) a kettle."[c] [782]

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[a] The lodges of the spirits are always called "creation lodges" in reference to the fact that it was by the assembled spirits in these lodges that at the beginning of the world everything was set in order. The prototypal "creation lodge" was that of Earthmaker, to which the soul of a dead individual wandered after death and from which he was sent to the world again if he chose to take human form once more. [776 775]

[b] I. e., that they might give us blessings.

[c] I. e., impersonate the spirits. It will be remembered (cf. Introduction) that such guest is supposed to impersonate a spirit.

[d] Host's speech ends here. What follows is description.

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*Offering to Big Black Hawk.*—"To the Big Black Hawk we also offer a handful of tobacco." 539x 796x

*Offering to Disease-giver.*—"To you, grandfather Disease-giver, I also send tobacco." 776 782

*Offering to South Wind.*—"To you, also, grandfather South Wind, I send tobacco. You would consider it foremost, you said, it is said."

*Offering to the Sun.*—"Here I place tobacco for you, too, grandfather Sun. A handful of tobacco here I place here for you."

BASIC RITUAL

*Heat's first speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are sitting here, I greet you. The songs that the Night Spirits placed within the reach of grandfather Tcîwoit'e'higa,[108] those he tried to learn. He fasted and thirsted himself to death for the blessings our grandfathers (the Night Spirits) gave him (spread) over the length of the earth. Our grandfather Tcîwoit'e'higa said that he had come from somewhere in the east and that a Night Spirit chieftainess was his mother and that the son of the chief of the Thunderbirds was his father; that his parents lived beyond the confines of this earth.[109] When he fasted to be blessed by (these spirits) over again,[110] they blessed him. If at any time he should die he would be able to visit the earth again, he said, it is said.[111] The song he was taught, the Night Spirit song, that we will try to sing. Even if you know only one song, you will not bore them (the spirits) with it; for if you bring yourself to the state of weeping in your efforts, it will be (acceptable). If you do not put on any embellishments when you pray (literally, cry) for war and life (it will be acceptable), it is said. Thus we should say it. 539x 796x 787 776

"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." (Night Spirit song.)

*Heat's second speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. When we finish (our part of the ceremony), may you help us by repeating the spirit songs your ancestors gave you to be handed down (from one generation to another). That we ask of you. Now we will start a dance song and when we are finished singing, our 539x 796x [424]

[108] Literal translation, "Kills whilst the lodge."

[109] What Tcîwoit'e'higa means by saying that these spirits were his parents is that he is a reincarnated spirit that has chosen to be born of human parents. Such claims were by no means rare even in late Winnebago history and there is, as a matter of fact, a powerful shaman living in Wisconsin now who claims that he is the reincarnated Hare (Wa'ąąą

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Bear, the doorway of his lodge; for the Wolf and Water-spirit, water. They were not obtained for all the clans. We indicated before that these "possessions" may have been primarily connected with the animals associated with the clan, upon which an additional socio-religious interpretation has been superimposed. The whole subject is, however, closely related to that of clan etiquette, for which no explanations can, of course, be given now. 614 [778]

### *The Clan Marks of Identification.*

As if more fully to set off the social unit of the clan, there have come to be associated with it definite marks of identification, such as symbols, property marks, facial decorations, and songs.

The symbols of only two clans were obtained, although a number of other clans seem to have possessed them. There were the war club (*nąmąicc*) of the Thunderbird clan, and the peculiarly whittled stick (*namąxinixini*) of the Bear clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan died, a miniature war club was buried with him. Whether the *namąxinixini* was buried with a member of the Bear clan, we do not know. [778] [764]

The property mark consisted of the effigy of the clan animal, and was woven on such objects as bags, tobacco pouches, etc. It was also frequently engraved on wooden objects. Its most peculiar uses, however, were the emblematic earthen effigy mounds, in the shape of the clan animal, which were erected near the habitation of each clan in the village and in the centre of clan squash fields, corn fields, etc.[1] 614 421 [532] [361]

Associated with every clan are also four clan songs. These are supposed to be the four songs sung by the ancestors of each clan when they came to this earth. They are always sung on the death of an individual, and are supposed to serve as a mark of identification in the journey of the soul to the land of the spirits. The use of these songs is so intimately associated with death, that when some hardened offender, 614 533 764 [775] [627]

[1] For a fuller discussion of these, see Radin, *Some Aspects of Winnebago Archæology*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 13, 1911, pp. 517-538.

## §2. *My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud*

159 *
275 ●
[551]

My brother-in-law was named Thunder Cloud. It is said that he was living his third life as a human being.[8]

This is his account:

I once lived with a small group of Indians numbering about twenty camps. When I had grown up to be a lad, although still not large enough to handle a gun, a war-party attacked us and killed us all. I did not know, however, that I had been killed. I thought that I was running about as usual until I saw a heap of bodies on the ground and mine among them. No one was there to bury us, so there we lay and rotted.

My ghost was taken to the place where the sun sets. There I lived with an old couple. The land of the spirits is an excellent place and the people have the best of times. If you desire to go anywhere all that you have to do is to wish yourself there and you reach it. While there I thought I would like to come to the earth again so the old man with whom I was staying said to me, "My son, did you not speak about wanting to go to the earth again?" I had as

[8] The belief in reincarnation is very widespread among the Winnebago. It is generally believed that if any child resembles some deceased individual he is that individual reincarnated. Not every person, however, can become reincarnated. This is a privilege that belongs only to the more prominent people and to the members of the most sacred of Winnebago ceremonies, the Medicine Dance. [554] [996]

*159 775 a matter of fact only thought of it yet he knew what I wanted. Then he said to me, "You can go but you must ask our chief first." Then I went and told the chief of the village of my desire, and he said to me, "You may go and obtain your revenge upon the people who killed your relatives."

Then I was brought down to earth. I did not enter a woman's womb but I was taken into a room. There I remained conscious at all times. One day I heard the noise of little children so I thought I would go outside. Then it seemed to me that I was going through a door but I was really being born again from a woman's womb. As I walked out I was struck by a sudden gust of cold air and I began to cry.

At the place where I was brought up I was taught to fast a great deal. Afterwards I did nothing but go to war and I certainly took my revenge for my own death and that of my relatives, thus justifying the purpose for which I had come to this earth again.

There I lived until I died of old age. All at once my bones became unjointed, my ribs fell in and I died a second time. I felt no more pain at death then that I had felt the first time.

[964] This time I was buried in the manner used then. I was wrapped in a blanket and laid in the grave. Sticks were placed in the grave first. There I rotted. I watched the people as they buried me.

As I was lying there some one said to me, "Come, let us go away." So then we went toward the land of the setting sun. There we came to a village where we met all the dead. I was told that I would have to stop there for four nights, but, in reality, I stayed there four years. The people enjoy themselves here. They have all sorts of

# *My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud*

dances of a lively kind. From that place we went up to where Earthmaker lives and I saw him and talked to him, face to face, even as I am talking to you now. I saw the spirits too and, indeed, I was like one of them. 159* 775 [776]

Thence I came to this earth for the third time and here I am. I am going through the same that I knew before.

Thus my brother-in-law had lived long ago, had joined the Medicine Dance* and adhered strictly to its precepts. He was a good man; he disliked no one; he never stole and never did he fight. He made offerings of tobacco to the spirits and was always giving feasts. He could always be relied upon. 159* 577 [782]

When Thunder Cloud was in spirit land, just before he was to come to this earth, he fasted. He only ate once a month. All the different spirits who live on high, all those who live under the earth, indeed all those whom Earthmaker had created, they all blessed him. Then he came to the earth and was born here as a human being again. When he came to the earth he fasted. All the various spirits who had blessed him before, now blessed him again. Thus did he become a holy man. When he came here, he became a shaman for he was very holy. Indeed he was the North Spirit. 756 775 [776]

* The Medicine Dance is a secret society which with the preliminary ceremonies lasts five days. Members of this society are supposed to possess the secret of being able to kill one another and then to restore one another to life again. The "killing" is done by "shooting" a shell from a pouch made out of an otter skin. The shell is supposed to enter the body of the person shot at and to render him unconscious. He regains consciousness gradually after spitting out the shell. The ceremony is described in detail on pp. 103 ff. of this autobiography. [575] [789]

*159 first. "She must be the one I left behind when I came
756 from my spirit home," he thought. So up above, to
Earthmaker's village, he went to see whether his first
*159 wife was still there. He found her there. "How is
756 this? I thought I saw you among the human beings
•775 and that is why I have come to see if you were still
787 here," he said. And the woman answering said, "Why,
where was I to go? Here you left me when you went
away and here I have remained up to the present time.
What kind of woman is she who resembles me?
Bring her up here to me." Thus my dead sister spoke.

However since he was a bad shaman, a poisoner, we
[754] let him marry the second sister. We were afraid that
if we didn't he would poison us.

*159 He told my brother that he had come from the place
756 where Earthmaker[9] lives, that Earthmaker had told
[776] him that he was to bring back with him four men.
[787] He was to examine them carefully, for they were to
be virtuous men, not quick tempered nor of change-
[577] able ideas, but really virtuous, men of conservative
tendencies. Such was he to take back with him.

*159 My brother loved Thunder Cloud for these reasons.
Never did he show any disrespect to him. Whatever he
was asked to do he did. Zealously and painstakingly
did he perform all the actions demanded, for he hoped
that if, in return, our brother-in-law loved him and
blessed him, he would take him back to Earthmaker.
Wholeheartedly did he wish to be like him. This was
always in his mind and he served him to the best of

[776] [9] Earthmaker is the supreme deity of the Winnebago.

There my elder
*159 brother and myself were to pass the night. It was
787 said that if any one fasted at such a place for four nights, he would be blessed with victory and the power to cure the sick. All the spirits would bless him.

We were told the following would happen to us. On the first night we would imagine ourselves surrounded by spirits whose whisperings we would hear outside of the lodge. The spirits would even whistle. I was told that I would be frightened and nervous and that if I
[776] still remained there, I would be molested by large monsters, fearful to look upon. Even the bravest man might well be frightened. Should I, however, manage to get through that night I would then on the following night be molested by ghosts whom I would hear speak-
● [775] ing outside. These ghosts would say things that might well cause me to run away. Towards morning I was told these ghosts would even take my blanket away from me. They would grab hold of me and drive me out of the lodge and not stop until the sun rose. If I
[776] was able to endure a third night, then I would be addressed by the true spirits. They would bless me and say, "We bless you. We had really intended to turn you over to the monsters and bad spirits and that is why these approached you first, but you overcame them and now they will not be able to take you away. Now you may go home for we bless you with victory

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[619] individual esteemed for his bravery. The power of this war-bundle
[841] was such that it would kill anything or anybody who approached
[562] it, the only exception being a menstruating woman. For this reason the war-bundle was always carefully guarded and protected and women were not allowed to see it or come anywhere near it.

*Crashing Thunder*

My father had control of them and when
*159 he wished to bless a man he would take his bow and
787 arrows and, holding them in his hands, lead the man
788 around the hill and into the lodge (*i.e.*, into the hill). There he would look for a stone pillar, and upon it, at about arm's length, he drew the pictures of a number of different animals. My father possessed only one arrow, but that one was a holy one. Then dancing around the stone pillar and singing some songs, he finished by breathing upon the pillar. Finally he walked around and shot at it and when he looked at the
[789] stone, it had turned into a deer with large horns which fell dead at his feet. He repeated this a number of times. The little spirits living in the hill breathed
[776] with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you wish to
[782] kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done, and offer us tobacco and you will be able to obtain whatever you wish."

*159 This was the power my father wished my brother
787 to obtain. My father was a very famous hunter and my brother wished to be like him.

Now of all these things my brother dreamed; with all these powers he was blessed. He also had a vision
[775] of visiting the village of the ghosts. There he was able to steal a costly shawl and escape with it. He dreamed that all the inhabitants of the ghost village chased him but that they were unable to overtake him and were compelled to return back when my brother reached the earth.

The night after we had stopped fasting we gave our feast. There, however, our pride received a fall, for

539 [927] his wife gone and the children dead. The bodies of the children had been placed in a standing posture against the door. Their lips were parted so that they might thus convey to their father on his return, the impression of smiling at him. This was an old custom and it was done because the enemy thought that, in this way, they could cause a father the most pain.

When the man returned and saw all this, he quietly attended to the fire, prepared his meal and then addressed the children saying to them, "Come, this is the last meal that we will take together." Then he pried open their mouths and put a piece of meat in their throats. After he had fed them, he himself sat down to eat. When he was through he painted his body in two colors, one side from head to foot white and the other from head to foot black. Then he again spoke to the children, "My dear children, I believe I can go on a few warpaths myself and [925] I shall endeavor to send your spirits to the spirit land as properly as I know how. I shall kill the people who have slain you and many more to boot."

Then he put some arrows in his quiver and buried his children. Starting out he soon found himself in a trail and by carefully scrutinizing the footprints he discovered those of his wife, and thus knew that she had been taken prisoner. Now he transformed himself into a ghost and following the trail, found the enemy not far away. He ran ahead of them and waited, and as one of the enemy who was carrying the medicine pouch approached, he gave a whoop and killed him, cutting off his head as far as the neck. Then he disappeared in the brush, hid the head and ran anead again. So he killed one after another, eight in all. When [927] day dawned he returned to the camp with his eight heads and eight war clubs. These he first placed around his camp-

they will kill you!" "I shall try," said the woman. Then 539
the man returned to his followers and told them that everything was well and cautioned them about the woman, telling the brothers also to see that she was not killed.

When day dawned they fell upon the village and surprised it. They fought nearly half a day and killed practically every one except the head chiefs and their sons, [727]
whom they took prisoners. They then returned home. When they reached the village they took both the prisoners and the captured scalps to their war lodge where they were guarded. The next morning they tied the prisoners to posts, danced around them and tortured them till they died.

Now such is the story of a man who was faithful to the spirit from whom he had received war blessings. He gave [782]
feasts and he made offerings in their honor. He fasted and his prayers were answered.

### *The Story of the Man Who Rescued His Wife from Spirit-land*

In a certain village there once lived two young married 539
people. The woman was very beautiful and her husband 775
loved her very much. Always he was thinking of something that he could do for her.

One day the young woman got ill. They called for a shaman but he could do nothing for her. Many were the holy men the young husband called, but it was all of no avail and the young woman died. They buried her. On the evening of the funeral many friends came to the grave to place lights there, so that the soul of the departed might find its way through spirit land. The young man was very good and every one liked him. They all came to the Four 000

## *Crashing Thunder*

They all came to the Four

539 Nights' Wake and they all played the mourning games
775 with him. Then on the morning after the fourth night they
[765] all went home and the young man was left alone.

Immediately he made preparations to journey toward the west, for it is said that the soul of the deceased goes in that direction. In the direction of the west did he therefore chase the soul of his wife. As he trudged along the road he became worn out with exertion and fatigue and finally found it necessary to support himself on a cane. Even for that, however, his strength was not adequate and after a while all he could do was to barely creep along. Soon his knees were worn out from the incessant crawling and he tied some basswood bark around them. Thus he continued until all his strength deserted him. He was just strong enough to crawl to a pleasant-looking knoll. "This," he said, "is pleasant and nice and here I am willing to die." He rolled over until he finally reached the coveted spot and there lay awaiting death with his eyes closed.

Suddenly, much to his surprise, he heard some one talking to him, saying, "Come let us go home. I live here." The young man opened his eyes and looked about him and there before him he saw a fearful-looking person whose body was entirely covered with hair. The young man was unable to get up but the stranger spoke to him and said, "Come on!" At this the young man jumped up and followed him around the lodge. There the old man said to him, "Grandson, you are indeed in a most pitiable condition and I wish I could help you. But I do not know how. The little knowledge I possess I will tell you." Then he gave him something to eat and spoke to him again, "My son, you must keep straight on and at some distance from here you will come to a body of water over which you must jump. Then you must proceed straight on."

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## *Stories*

Then the young man arose and continued on his journey. Soon he came to a large body of water that had a very swift current, the water whirling around at a terrific speed. He was afraid to jump across because the land on the other side seemed so small. It looked like the merest speck of green, so small that it had the appearance of a man's eyebrows. Indeed it seemed impossible to jump across but he remembered what the old man had told him and he decided to attempt it. "After all," he thought, "what if anything does happen," and so he closed his eyes and jumped. He landed on the other side and then looked back to see the water. But he could not find it. It was only after looking very carefully that he noticed a very small creek. What he had seen before as a large body of water whirling along at a terrific speed, appeared now as a very small creek. Then he thought to himself: "Perhaps everything that looks difficult to me will in reality be easy," and from this he took courage. Now he felt that he would be able to accomplish what he was seeking.

As he walked along he came to a lodge and in it he found the old man of the previous day with another person just like him. They gave him something to eat and said to him, "Grandson, we will concentrate our attention on the object you have in mind. It is very difficult but since your resolve is so strong you will undoubtedly accomplish it. So go right on and in the next place you will find a friend of ours who will help you. We too shall assist you." Thus they spoke to him.

Then the young man started out again and after a time came to another lodge where he found three old men, two of whom he had seen before, and another. The third one gave him something to eat and spoke to him saying, "Grandson, we are going to help you. You are doing very

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well. Now do all that we have told you for otherwise you will fail in your quest."

Then the young man started out again and after a while came to a knoll where he found a large gathering. Indeed the place was evidently a large village and there seemed to be no end to it. But strangely enough no people were to be seen; not a person was there anywhere. There were many bark lodges and he peeped into them but they were all empty. Finally he entered one and there he found four old men, three of whom he had met before and a fourth one. The fourth one spoke to him, "Grandson, you have come to the place you have been seeking. Your wife, however, you will not be able to see. Now do what I tell you if you ever wish to see her. To-night there is going to be a big dance which you will attend. Now remember, never turn around. We will take care of you."

In the evening he heard a drum beaten followed by some noise, then a shout here and there. Again he heard the drum beaten and ever greater was the noise. The four men arose and said, "Come, it is about time to start, for otherwise the lodge will be too crowded when we arrive."

They proceeded to the center of the village where they found a long lodge which they entered. The young man they placed in the middle. As he sat there he heard some whispering, "Wakisha has come; he has followed his wife as far as this; he is here. Yet his is a fruitless task, for never will he attain his quest." Then the voice began to annoy him and tease him. "Why his wife is married. Indeed I am the one she has married."

Soon after, the singing started. It was wonderful. All his relatives came and sang their songs. They were singing about him. They were saying, "Wakisga has come for his wife; Wakisga has come for his wife!" Thus they

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teased him. All night they did this but when the sun rose they all disappeared. His wife did not know anything about it. He returned with the four men to their lodge and there he was congratulated profusely. "You have done well grandson, you have done well, but to-morrow the test will be more difficult. Try your best."

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The next evening he heard the drum beat again and after the fourth time, he entered the lodge with the four men. That whole night he was teased and annoyed. The ghosts did everything in their power to make him talk. All sang and the young man thought it was wonderful, more wonderful and exciting than on the previous night. Finally the ghosts began putting their hands on his head, pulling him down and doing all sorts of things to him. He endured it as best he could and finally the day dawned and they all disappeared. He returned with the four men and they cautioned him against the next night.

The third evening had now come. The drum was beaten and the ghosts responded by cheering. At first it was not loud but then it became louder and louder. They entered the lodge. Immediately the ghosts began to tease him and even the six attendants that had been placed at his disposal to help him by the four old men, could do nothing. The singing began again. The young man sat there covered with the blanket and it was hard for him to resist the temptation of turning around. The force of the drumming was simply terrific; it shook the earth with its vibrations. The ghosts tugged at the blanket of the young man, tried to pull him down and fell all about him. At last morning dawned and as the sun rose, they all disappeared. He went home and the old men said to him, "You have done very well. To-morrow will be the last night. It is going to be very hard. There will be eight of us to help you. But

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even then we will be of no avail unless you too do your best."

Toward evening the drum was beaten again and soon the young man walked to the dancing lodge accompanied by the old men. The village had grow rapidly overnight. There were far more ghosts there than on the previous night for they increased just as the number of deaths on earth increased. The dancing-lodge was already crowded when they got there and they were literally almost trodden upon by the ghosts as they entered. As soon as the young man entered, he heard the voice of his wife saying to him, "Well, if you are going to be indifferent to me there was no need of your coming." He almost turned in her direction as he heard this. Then they began to sing. It was glorious. The earth shook from the vibration of their singing. He was pulled down. His wife was most active in this and always he heard her voice. Wrapped in his blanket he sat there. It was jerked off of him again and again, in spite of all that the eight attendants could do Finally toward morning he grew tired and weakened. The ghosts grabbed him by the ankles and pulled him along the floor. It seemed almost impossible to endure. At last the sun came up and every one disappeared.

"Come let us go now." It was the voice of one of the old men. "Grandson, you have conquered. From now on, however, this shall never happen again, for Earthmaker has not ordained it so. It is only because I and my friends blessed you that you have been successful. Go now and bring his wife," they said to one of the attendants. She was brought to the young man and the old people spoke to them, "I have blessed you both. Go to your homes now." Then he gave them a drum painted with blue clay. "If any one dies, this drum will bring his soul to you and if a

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soul is about to leave the earth, during illness, this drum will bring it back to you. If you pour tobacco for me and my friends, we will always remember you. Now go home. The ghosts will chase you, for they are wicked. Eight attendants will take you home." Then he gave them some ashes and told them to throw them behind them if necessary. 539 975

On their way home they were chased by the ghosts. "Alas, Alas! He has taken our wife away. Let us rescue her!" they shouted. Close they came to the two people but then the young man took the ashes and threw them behind him and the ghosts called to one another saying, "Run away, the ashes will ruin our clothes." They retreated. Again and again this happened but finally the two young people were able to reach the earth.

### *Coyote Goes on the Warpath*

"Come, let us go on the warpath and take Coyote along. He is always up to something foolish, always exaggerating everything he does. Let some one go for him." Then someone went to get him saying, "Coyote, we are going on the warpath. Why don't you come along too?" "Good. Of course I'll go along," and he accompanied the man back to the others. Then each one in turn sang his death song and when it was Coyote's turn he too sang:— 539

"Wiyayoho! Wiyayoho!
The little coyote, if he dies, if he dies,
Who will weep for him?
Wiyayoho! Wiyayoho!
The little coyote, if he dies, if he dies,
Who will weep for him?"

[P.55]

## *The Teachings of My Father*

787 When on some other occasion 159* such as the Four Nights' Wake, you are called upon to 867 recount your war exploits in behalf of the departed souls, [765] be careful, however, not to claim more than you actually accomplished. If you do, you will cause the soul of the [775] man in whose behalf you are telling it, to stumble [17] in his journey to spirit land. If you tell a falsehood then and exaggerate, you will die before your time, for the spirits, [577] the war-controllers, will hear you. It is indeed a sacred duty to tell the truth on such an occasion. Tell less than you did. The old men say it is wiser.

My son, it is good to die on the warpath. If you die on [72] the warpath, you will not lose consciousness at death. You [775] will be able to do what you please with your soul and it will always remain in a happy condition. If afterwards you wish to become reincarnated as human being, you may do so, or you may take the form of those-who-walk-upon-the-light, the birds, or the form of any animal you please, in short. All these benefits will you obtain if you die on the warpath.

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My son, if you cannot obtain war-blessings, fast at least [59*] for position in life. If you fast then, when you get married 867 you will get along well. You will then not have to worry 785 about your having children and your life will be a happy 787 one. If you fast and have the spirits bless you with all that concerns the happiness of your home, then throughout life

[17] According to Winnebago belief the soul of a deceased individual in his journey to spirit land must cross a very slippery, swinging bridge and it is thought that if, during the wake following the man's burial, any of the invited warriors exaggerate their achievements the unfortunate soul will not be able to cross this bridge and will stumble and fall into the abyss of fire over which it is thrown. [775]

## §13. *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

My grandfather was buried in the manner customary in the Thunderbird clan. His relatives got some one to bury him and the chief mourner invited a distinguished person to talk to the corpse before it was dressed for burial. The person addressed the body as follows: 159* 764 [767]

You are about to leave your relatives. They will remain on earth, objects of pity to all. You must proceed on your road and turn to your left after you start. Continue until you come to the one who is in charge of spirits. When you see him, make the following request—that he bestow upon us all that you fell short of in this world. The means of offering, the tobacco, which Earthmaker gave us, we have given you to take along. As you go along you will come to a place where the road branches off. Do not turn to the right for that leads to the bad spirits. Turn to the left and soon you will come to a guard. Point your pipe at him and he will be thankful. This man will wear a complete suit of clothes and he will be terrible to look upon. He will smoke with you and you must address him as follows: "Grandfather, before I left earth the people told me to ask you to point out which road I was to travel in." Then he will tell you and you will pass ahead and come after a while to a fire on both sides of the earth. The man in charge of it will wear a complete suit of clothes 159* 764 775 537

*159 764 775 537 just like the former one. Point the stem of your pipe toward him and he will be very thankful and smoke your pipe. Then make your request—that you be permitted to pass—and he will grant it. As you continue you will come to a round lodge where you will find an old woman. Point your pipe at her and she will permit you to go ahead. Your hair will now have become white but you will not be unconscious. On the contrary you will be in complete possession of your senses. Then you will come to the place where he who is in control of all the souls sits. Go toward him and [776] point your pipe at him. When he is smoking it ask him to show you the road to Earthmaker, our father, and he will point it out to you. Then you must proceed until you come to Earthmaker. When you get to him, point the stem of your pipe toward him and if he takes it and smokes it you must say, "Earthmaker, our father, you know very well what kind of a life I have led." Then he will answer, "My son, you have done well."

*159 764 [967] [301] [967] After this speech the body was dressed by the person who was to do the actual burying. The best clothes of the deceased were put on, beads placed around his neck, bracelets on his wrist, rings on his fingers and earrings in his ears. It was then placed in the casket. When the grave-diggers completed their work, the mourners blackened their faces with charcoal and the corpse was taken up by the man to whom this duty was assigned. The mourners followed behind weeping. Thus they proceeded to the grave. When they got there the corpse was immediately placed in it. Then the chief mourner stepped across the center of the grave and the others did the same. When they started

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 765 ● 775 539 537 Then the attendant took the water and tobacco and gave it to the one who was to speak to the soul of the departed person. This one then rose and spoke as follows:

To-night we have come together not for the sake of amusement but because we are afflicted with grief. Now it is the custom to speak to the soul of the departed. It is a sacred action yet even I, they tell me, can do it provided no worthier person can be found. I have even been told that my words will not cause the spirit of the departed to lose his way on his journey to spirit-land. For that reason I am going to speak to the soul of the departed and say the best I can. I greet you all.

Then he takes some tobacco in his hand and passing it behind him through the lodge says:

Here it is, the tobacco. I am certain that you, O ghost, are not very far away, that in fact you are standing right in back of me, waiting for me to reach you the pipe and tobacco, that you might take it along with you; that you are waiting for the food to take with you on your journey. For four nights, however, you will have to wait here. Now here are the things that you desire. In return we ask you to act as mediator between the spirits and us. You have made us long for you and therefore do you see to it that all those things that belonged to you, all those things that you would have enjoyed had you lived longer—the victories on the warpath, earthly possessions, life—that all these you leave behind for your relatives to enjoy. This do you ask for us as you travel along. One thing more do I ask of you: do not cause us to follow you, do not cause your relatives any fear. I have now lit the pipe for you. [182]

## *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

Then the pipe is passed on to all those present. After that the leader drinks a little water and passes this around too. It is only after pipe and water have passed all the way around that the people begin to eat. When the meal is over the attendant takes the pipe and some tobacco and places it before some distinguished warrior who has been invited to the wake. The latter is then asked to speak to the soul of the deceased and tell him the route to take on the journey to the spirit land. This warrior then rises and speaks: 159* 165 175 529 537

Ho, I greet you all. We are not greeting one another because we are happy as on ordinary occasions but because it is the custom to come together at a wake. Now I shall show the soul of the departed the route he is to take and the care he must observe on his journey. I shall announce to him the ghosts over whom I have control and who are to conduct him safely to his destination. I will not exaggerate [19] when I speak of my war exploits but relate only what really happened to me. It is said that if a person exaggerates and tells falsehoods in recounting his exploits on such an occasion, the soul of the departed will stumble on his journey. I shall therefore only tell the truth and I shall tell the chief of the spirits to guide our dead one safely over all obstacles. Now I am not going to speak of anybody else's exploits but only of my own. Only those over whom I have control will I put at the disposal of our dead one to act as his guide. The spirit-tobacco, the spirit-food, and the fire, these things the ghosts over whom [577]

[19] For the dangers of exaggeration on such an occasion see note 15. It was also believed to cause the death of the warrior who indulged in it.



[The author apparently means note 17. See category 116, p. 59 -- analyst]

*159 765 [115] [539] [537] I have control will carry for him, and they will lead him by the hand until he reaches his destination. I greet you all.

Then he narrated his war exploit. He went into great detail. He told as accurately as it was possible how he had killed a man, broken his collar bone and [137] then flayed him; how he had then chopped and cut up the body and mutilated him in such a fashion that he could not be identified; how finally he had stolen his dogs. All night he spoke in this strain. He went on to tell how he had killed and utterly destroyed an entire village so that no one was left to tell of the massacre. All night he told of his war exploits. Sometimes such an account may last two to three hours. When he finished the people all went to sleep.

For three nights the same thing was repeated. Throughout this time a burning ember was placed at the grave. When the spirit was ready to start his [115] journey he took this ember, it is believed.

For the fourth night all the brave men as well as everybody else in the neighborhood were invited. A great quantity of food was prepared and the relatives [524] of the mourners brought objects to be used in the games that are always played at the wake. They tried to comfort the main mourners as much as possible. On the fourth night a burning ember was also placed at the grave of the deceased.

As soon as the attendants prepared the food the chief mourner got up and spoke:

## *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

I greet you all. I know that I am not performing any great action in greeting you. I was in trouble and all my relatives have come to comfort me. You have all asked me to live and not to succumb to my sorrows and I shall therefore try to overcome my grief and sorrow. I will not forget all the good you have done for me. You have been a comfort to me and you have helped me in many things. Now we have come to the last night and I am glad that it is a nice night for the warriors to relate their experiences. If they should say something funny I hope that you will not hold back laughter. I, too, will laugh with you. You are free to make all the noise you care to for I shall feel all the better if you do. This is what I want you to remember. I greet all those who are present here. 159* 765 537 539

Then the one who is to address the spirits speaks: 159*

I greet you all. We have come to this wake for a purpose, much as I would wish that the occasion for it had never happened. Now I am going to tell the soul of the departed the road he is to take, nor will I, by my words, cause him to go astray. On an occasion like this not every one is qualified to speak to the souls of the dead; not every one can do it. My grandfather obtained the right to do it and handed it down to my father, who in turn, turned it over to me Now I am going to breathe upon the soul of the departed and I wish all those present to do the same. It is said that for those who do not make this breathing it is a sign that they will die. So do all of you breathe with me. 765 775 537 539 [424]

Then he said *ha-a* and all joined with him in repeating it. He now began his address to the spirit of the deceased:

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## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 Ho-o! Are you ready? I am going to speak of the
165 Four Nights' Wake during which you listened to your
● 175 relatives and to the words they had to say. I am placing
537 the sacrificial tobacco in the rear of the lodge.
539 I suppose you are not far away, that indeed you are right behind me. Here is the tobacco and here is the pipe which you must keep in front of you as you go along. Here also is the fire and the food which your relatives have prepared for your journey. In the morning when the sun rises, you are to start. You will not have gone very far before you come to a wide road. This is the road you must take. As you walk along you will notice something on your road. Take your war club and strike it and throw it behind you. Then go on without looking back. As you proceed you will again come across some obstacle. Strike it and throw it behind you and do not look back. Still farther, you will come across some animals and these also you must strike and throw behind you. Go on right along and do not turn back. The objects you have thrown behind you will go to the relatives whom you left behind on earth. They will symbolize victory in war, riches, and food-animals. When you have gone but a short distance from the last place where you threw an object behind you, you will come to a lodge. This lodge you may enter. One of its doors faces the rising sun. As you enter you will find an old woman on your right. Go and sit opposite her. Then your great-grandmother will say to you, "My great-grandchild, what did the people say to you when you were leaving, when your life was over." And you must answer, "My great-grandmother, as I listened to my beloved relatives they said very little indeed. They said that I was breaking their hearts in leaving them and that they hoped that none

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would follow me soon. Then they asked me to make the following four requests: 159 * 765

First: I was to ask for life; that the flames from the lodge fire rise straight upward. Yet they would be satisfied, they said, if at my departure the flames only swayed to and fro. 775 ● 539 539

Second: Whatever fruit had been predestined for me and that I did not taste, my relatives were not to be deprived of.

Third: They also mentioned nuts, all kinds of herbs, all serviceable hides and skins, all medicinal roots and grasses. They asked me to make a request for all the things that grow on the earth.

Fourth: That if any one had a friend his weapon might have a keen edge on one side.

Now, my great-grandmother, these are the requests my relatives commanded me to make."

Then she will answer you and say, "My great-grandchild, you are wise beyond your years. My great-grandchild, my lodge is a place where all who enter must pass an examination. Earthmaker looks upon it as a keen-edged instrument. No clouds of ill omen ever pass over it. The four requests you have made will be granted. The nuts and herbs you have asked for shall be given to you. There will be nothing of that food predestined for you that your relatives will not taste. The hides and skins, all the grasses, they shall possess in plenty. And if they have friends their weapons will be keen on one side. All that they have requested through you will be granted. Now, great-grandson, here is some food for you in this wooden bowl."

If you eat it you will have a headache. She will say,

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*159 765 775 537 539

"Great-grandson, you have a headache. Let me cup it for you." Then she will break open your skull and take out your brains and you will forget all about your people. You will become like a holy spirit. Your thoughts will not extend as far as the earth, as there will be nothing carnal about you.

Now be sure that you only take a taste and push the dish away from you for then the old woman will say, "My great-grandchild, all that you have left behind you in that dish represents the vegetable kingdom on the earth. Many who are older than you ate all that I gave them. You have a wise head on young shoulders. All that you have left on the plate will grow on the face of the earth. Now Earthmaker is waiting for you in great expectation. There is the door to the setting sun." On your way you will come to the lodge of the chief of the bad spirits and his fire. Those who come, the souls of the brave men who have come from the land of the spirits, will meet you here and touch you. There the road will branch off toward your right and you will see the footprints representing the footprints of those who have passed into life again. Step into their steps and plant your feet upon their footprints, but be careful that you do not miss any. Before you have gone very far you will come into a forest of bushes alternating with prairies. Here in this beautiful country the souls whose duty it is to gather together the other souls, will come to meet you. Walking on each side of you they will conduct you safely home, to Earthmaker. Here the inquiry that took place in the first lodge will be repeated and answered in the same manner. Then Earthmaker will say to you, "All that your great-grandmother has told you is true. Your relatives are waiting for you in great expectation. Your home is waiting for you."

## *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

The door of your home will be facing the midday sun. Here you will find your relatives gathered. Then, inasmuch as our ruler will nod assent and express his approval by word of mouth, so shall we do the same. 159k 165 175 [537] [539]

Then all those assembled at the wake shout *Ho-ha*.

[p. 101]

## *The Medicine Dance*

I, of course, thought that it must indeed be a marvelous thing and I was very happy about it. What I was most eager to see was myself killed and then brought to life again in the lodge, as it was believed happened to the members of the Medicine Dance. I also realized that a member of the Medicine Dance, whether man or woman, was different from a person not belonging to it and I was quite anxious not to be an ordinary person any longer but to be a medicine man. 159* 796 [775] [554]

As soon as we finished building the ceremonial lodge the ceremony began, and the first thing the people did was to sing. Then the leader of the band that was giving the dance arose and delivered a speech: 159* 796 537

All those who are sitting here I greet. We are waiting for all of you to have compassion upon us. Nephew,[38] I shall now tell you the road you are to travel. He whom we call nephew, the hare, the founder of the Medicine Dance, obtained this life-ensuring ceremony for us. This is the only life; no other exists. Exert yourself to follow in the road of your ancestors and adhere to the ceremony that represented their mode of life. I know you will hearken to what I say. Assuredly you will listen, for thereby you will help and benefit yourself and, at the same time, attain the good life.

Never do anything wrong. Do not steal. Do not quarrel. If on any occasion you meet a woman on the road, turn to the right, never to the left. No matter who the woman is, do not take liberties with her. This is what the old people taught us and if you perform the rites of this ceremony you will obtain the life that we desire for you. [577]

[38] The person to be initiated is always called nephew. [608]

*159 756 539 be caved in. The man talking to you will be the one in charge of the medicine-lodge road. You will now become unconscious but not for a long time, i.e., although you will die, you'll go right on in the spirit. Near you, you will find the medicine man's staffs or ladders. The ladders reach to heaven. On the right side you will find a tree, all twisted and slippery from incessant rubbing. On the left you will see a red cedar tree, all smoothed down from wear and dirty from incessant handling. You must grab these trees, and then when you have ascended them you'll come to a country situated right below the place where Earthmaker lives. This country has been especially provided for those who have adhered to the ritual of the Medicine Dance. You will be told that this is your home and, after a while you'll be directed to a long lodge where you will find all those of your relatives who have adhered to the teachings of the lodge. Although you are a grown-up person you will nevertheless be taken on each one's lap in turn. This country is a very happy one to live in. No one is ever in want; no bad clouds float over it; there is no night and there is no work.

After a while the attendants of Earthmaker will come to you and take you to him. There you'll see him face to face. He will tell you that you have done well and that [715] you can become reincarnated in whatever tribe you desire. Those that perform the ritual properly believe that they can come to the world again after death.

*159 756 796 After the old man had finished telling about the road of the Medicine Dance Lodge I was shown how to fall down and lie quivering on the ground and how to appear dead. I was very much disappointed for I had

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



ran out. Then they freed him from the sorrowful thoughts that he had had on earth and restored his spirits. 539 776

Soon after that he was taken to Earthmaker. When he came there Earthmaker said, "*Hare*, your heart must have been very sad. Full of sorrow, indeed, must your heart have been for your uncles and your aunts. Now that their lives may be benefited, a holy teaching you are to take back to them. Come, look at this!" There the sky was parted and below on earth toward the south, a long lodge stood revealed. He gazed upon it and as he looked he saw old people with very white hair. "Thus your uncles and aunts are going to be. They will make very much noise in this ceremony. Now look down again! Some help is to be given them. Not one bad spirit will I put there." Then Earthmaker pointed toward the earth again and said, "You are to go back to the earth and put this ceremony before them. Not alone are you to do it but with the aid of your own friends, *Foolish-one*, *Turtle*, *Bladder*, and *He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings*. Your grandmother, the Earth, will help you too. If one of your uncles and aunts performs the ceremony properly he will have more than one life. I shall always keep the door through which he may return to earth open to him. When he becomes reincarnated he can live wherever he wishes. He can return to the earth as a human being, or join the various bands of spirits, or finally become an animal under earth." Now all this Earthmaker did for us. [715]

Then *Hare* returned to the earth and to his grandmother. "What I have tried to obtain for my uncles and my aunts, that now I have brought back with me," he said. "Grandson, how is it possible to make them immortal as ourselves? As the world was created so it must remain." "Grandmother, I say that my uncles and aunts will choose their

## §19. *The Effect of a Pretended Blessing*

*159 I was now drinking heavily all the time and I began
273 to boast of being a holy man. I claimed that I had
787 been blessed by certain spirits and I made this claim
156 again and again. Of course this was all a lie, for I had
577 never felt a stirring of any kind within me. I made the claim because I had heard others doing it. Generally I made this claim when I was just about drunk, just on the verge of getting boisterous but still vaguely conscious of what I was saying. Then I would say, for instance, that I had been blessed by a Grizzly-spirit, that he had blessed me with the power of being uncontrollable, that he had taught me certain songs. These I would then sing at the top of my voice. I used to exert all the power I had to imitate a grizzly bear. The bystanders would try to hold me but it always required a large number of men to do so. Now I thought this exhibition of mine an act worthy of praise.

*159 After that I began to claim that I had been blessed
156 by many spirits. I made the claim at one time that I
577 was really the reincarnation of one of the benevolent
787 giant spirits and that my name was *Good-heart*, that I
775 was now living as a human being among men. Such
776 was my claim and people believed me.

000 Once when I was on one of my drinking sprees I

*159 795 [795] long journey. But that is not the truth, for when they eat peyote, they destroy their souls, and death to them will mean complete extermination. If I spit upon the floor, the saliva will soon dry up and nothing will remain of it. This is what death will mean to them. I might go out and preach against this doctrine, but it would be of no avail, for I certainly would not be able to draw more than one or two people away from this spirit who lives below. Many will be taken in by this medicine; they will not be able to help themselves in any way. This bad spirit will certainly seize them."

For all these reasons none of us liked it. However, my parents sent me the money for the trip, and my brother and sisters told me to go. Just before I started, my youngest sister, the one to whom we always listened [593] most attentively, said to me, "Older brother, do not you indulge in this medicine eating, in this peyote." I promised, and then started out for Nebraska.

When I arrived in Nebraska I met some people who had not joined the peyote eaters, and they said to me, "Your relatives are eating the peyote and that is why they sent for you, that you too might eat. Your mother, your father, and your younger sister, they are all eating it." Thus they spoke to me. They also told me of a number of other bad things these peyote people were supposed to have done. I felt ashamed, and I wished I had not come in the first place. Immediately after that I told these people that I was going to eat the peyote.

Soon after that I met my father, mother and sister.

796 out design. There he lay without motion or
575 sign of life, and the dance was resumed
158 around them. After a time he was brought out of this mesmeric or clairvoyant state, a medicine bag was put in his hands and he at once had power to strike any one down as he had been. The person who stayed by the Judge was thus struck down. He felt of his arm and wrist and found them perfectly rigid.

796 They told the Judge before they admitted
575 him to this ceremony that while he was
783 there he must think no evil thought. If he did, his life would be in danger from the spirits. No impure person is admitted to
[841] witness these ceremonies, no woman in the
[843] menstrual period, no woman pregnant or
[273] recently delivered, no intoxicated or intemperate person that is under the influence of liquor is allowed to attend. The proceedings
[756] in the sweat lodge were not seen by him as none but medicine men were allowed there.
796 The ceremonies commenced at 8 in the eve-
575 ning and lasted until day break next morning. The Judge confirms my former opinion that this is purely a religious rite, and a religious organization, having but little to do with the uses of medicine proper. The roots and herbs are one thing, but the ceremonies
[755] and incantations which are the real remedies are quite another. They call it the Spirit Dance, or the Divine Dance. The
[171] Judge informs me that he has witnessed the same thing among the Sauks and Foxes.

[*Winnebago Burial*]

764 He also mentioned the fact that he witnessed the burial of a Winnebago some years ago. He was set upon a natural mound and house made over him, food and some personal articles laid by his side, after which the whole was covered over with earth, ex-
[775] cept a small hole or chimney was kept open from the top down into the house. When

764 the Judge asked what this meant they told
775 him that it was for the spirit to pass through in going out and in.

771 He never found among them during the long period of his intercourse any evidence of sun worship, and thinks it fell far short of that in which I agree with him.

115 This morning I had a further conversation with Judge Walker, who is a regular medicine man of the Wyandottes. He says
776 the name of the Spirit of Medicine among
171 the Wyandottes is Mon-ane-tow, who is the same as the Manitou of the Ojibways etc. That this spirit of Medicine is a good spirit etc. He says that the initiations described
796 by Judge Williams are in the presence only
575 of medicine men and women. The people of the tribe are not allowed to be present. That both men and women are members, and are regularly initiated before they can become members. That no oath of secrecy is required, as the Indian knows nothing about oaths, but they initiate on the honor of the man and of the woman, choosing such only as are known to be of good character for integrity. That the Society and its pro-
[755] ceedings are secret, except these ceremonies which medicine men perform on patients for their cure.

796 Walker says that these ceremonies pro-
575 ceed upon the idea that a violent shock of the nervous system, which prostrates it en-
828 tirely will also prostrate or relax the hold of
158 the disease. They know by experience that by fasting and steaming they so arouse and excite a well person as to produce a shock which will throw him to the earth. This is done at the ceremony of initiation which Judge Williams described. It is done by nervous excitement, and Indian faith in these ceremonies, and is repeated over every initiate as a proof of the possession by medicine men of this marvellous power. He

[P.61(A)]

105 at least, demand an equal exchange. The crux of the question then
771 was, who is to evaluate the human gift? The answer of the mat-
776 ter-of-fact man was both, the spirits and man. For that reason, he contended, risk and danger must always inhere in the human-god relationship and there was little that could be done about it except to take every precaution one could. This must be accepted. Such was life. Suffering and tragedy loomed large there and the relationship between the deities and man was part of it. The gods could, at best, only help man to keep his balance and maintain his sense of proportion. It had always been a human problem and always would remain one. A whole class of literature, the worak, dealt with this theme. The picture it painted was not too optimistic.

105 It was the priest-thinker who was the optimist. He attempted a
771 time-honored solution of philosophers, that of giving man some of
776 the attributes of divinity, in other words, a greater sense of fixity and
812 security, a greater degree of permanence, and some possibility of foreknowledge.

Winnebago philosophers seem to have attacked this problem repeatedly and suggested a number of solutions. According to one theory, gods and men had been equal in the beginning. At that time all existent beings could transform themselves at will into the one or the other *ad infinitum*. When, however, the world was to take its present shape, all the beings had to transform themselves permanently into the one or the other, into gods or into human beings.

Thus, at one time, man had actually partaken of the divine. This was, of course, only divinity in retrospect, and was not of great
105 importance in developing divine stature for man now. Winnebago
771 thinkers, instead, fell back upon two universally accepted folkloris-
775 tic beliefs, that in the immortality of the soul and that in reincarnation. The first, however, implied a complete and irretrievable separation from the earth and human beings. To be of any value in the task of developing divine traits for man, the soul, the permanent component of man which left him at death had to be bound, in some way, to the earth. This could best be done by reinterpreting the nature of death. This was done by having it merely imply no loss of personal consciousness at all but simply a temporary stumbling.

There existed an unbroken continuum. No more, however, could be done in the way of reinterpretation. The philosopher could not do away with the palpable fact that the body of a deceased person remained motionless and decayed. The ghost, conscious though he remained and fully aware of what was going on around him, was unable to establish contact with the living or they with him and he always remained jealous of the living and not too kindly disposed to them. The continuum predicated was, consequently, reduced to a mere shadow.

With the belief in reincarnation, the priest-thinker could do much more. Here a kind of continuum already existed. The priest-thinker had merely to develop the concept of a continuing consciousness. Thus the first attribute of divinity, permanence, was on its way to accomplishment. This permanence was further enhanced and fixed by having an individual born again into the very same family and reliving, in every detail, his previous existence.

In the myth giving the origin of the Four Nights' Wake over the body of the dead, this is the main and insistent theme. Thus the second attribute of divinity, unchangeability, was on its way to accomplishment. The two other traits of divinity, foreknowledge and omnipresence, presented greater difficulties for their attainment. The latter, however, was not of great significance in the Winnebago concept of divinity. The former was. Here the belief in reincarnation offered little help. Recourse had therefore to be made to shamanistic practices and magic proper where both beliefs were quite common. On the whole the Winnebago priest-thinker, particularly in his greatest triumph, the Medicine Rite, eschewed magical practices and that is why little really is ever said about foretelling events. Yet it is significant that the very first story in the Medicine Rite and the one which purports to be the account of how the Rite was begun by a man, makes this foreknowledge of the future, the basic gift that a prospective member received. How fundamental it remained is proved by the fact that when the Peyote Cult was introduced among the Winnebago, the two gifts the peyote bestowed were the foretelling of the future and the ability to transport oneself anywhere by mere thought.

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There are a large number of effigies that, for want of a better name, most Wisconsin archeologists have called "turtle" mounds. No explanations can be offered of these peculiar effigies unless they are attempts to picture fish or are altered water-spirit mounds. The Winnebago had no turtle clan, but the turtle plays an important part in their mythology. 172 825 [614]

Perhaps the most peculiar effigy mounds are the famous "Man" mounds, of which only two examples are in existence, and the so-called "intaglios." Good descriptions of both types have been given.[1] 172

The two "Man" mounds have generally been regarded as inexplicable or connected with some prehistoric rite, and it seemed useless to attempt any explanation. As there seemed to be no reason why these mounds might not fall into the same category as the clan mounds, the writer took the opportunity of inquiring about them among the older Winnebago. A number of the people asked knew nothing about them, but, fortunately, two very old members of the tribe interpreted them, as soon as they were described, as representations of the Warrior or Hawk clan. As this clan belonged to the Bird phratry, no one had ever looked for any but bird emblems. [614 615]

No information has been obtained from living Winnebago that could throw any light on the "intaglio" mounds. We wish, however, to hazard a suggestion as to their possible meaning. "The intaglio effigies," to quote Mr. Brown, "may be described as being the reverse of the ordinary effigy mounds. They are excavated out of the soil instead of erected upon it, the earth removed from the shallow excavation being heaped up with care along the edges, giving form and prominence to the animal shapes depicted."[2] The Winnebago frequently placed symbols referring to water deities under water, and, as 10 of the 12 intaglios that have been described belong unquestionably to the Water-spirit clan, it may have been customary to keep these "intaglios" filled with water. The discovery of two supposedly Bear "intaglios" militates against this suggestion. However, according to the Bear clan legends, the ancestors of that clan came from the water, as did likewise those of the Wolf and Buffalo clans. [776 614] [614]

We now come to the most unsatisfactory problem of our area—namely, the nature and significance of the linear mounds. The various types have been best described by Mr. A. B. Stout and we will do best to quote him in extenso:

The principal classes of linear mounds are as follows:

The pure linear type is a straight wall-like mound of uniform width and height. They are usually about 2½ feet in height and from 10 to 20 feet in width. Some are as

[1] "The Preservation of the Man Mound," in vol. 7, no. 4, of the Wisconsin Archeologist, and "The Intaglio Mounds of Wisconsin," in vol 8, no. 1, of the same journal; both papers by C. Brown.

[2] Cf. Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 8, no. 1, p. 6.

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172 of the distribution of copper among the Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo, and if we were in a position to tell whether or not these tribes had copper before their arrival in Wisconsin. We might then be in a better position to decide whether the Winnebago obtained their copper from these tribes or from some northern tribe, presumably the Potawatomi or Menominee. It is generally supposed that they actually did obtain their copper implements through the intermediation of these two last-mentioned tribes, although there is no really conclusive evidence for it. That opportunities for their transmission through the Menominee or Potawatomi were plentiful is unquestioned, and the only problem is whether the systematic exchange was not conditioned by the appearance of the white traders.

The last problem connected with Winnebago archeology is the authorship of the numerous flint arrowheads. They are found all over Wisconsin, in every nook and corner of Winnebago territory, in every stage of manufacture, and yet the Winnebago of to-day regard them as having been made by some other tribe. The most common explanation of their origin is the legendary one that they were made by worms. In the few cases where the old men were of a different opinion, the writer was assured that they were the "bones" of the water-spirits, and consequently holy. Numerous myths speak of them in connection with the water-spirit. The Indians admit that they had at times used them as arrow points, but insist that in every case they were found in the earth; that in fact people were generally blessed with them. Mr. Skinner informs me that the Menominee, on the other hand, remember very well how they were made. Among the Winnebago, until recently, three kinds of arrow points were in use: one, properly not an arrow point at all but simply a sharpened arrow, the second consisting of sharpened portions of pieces of antlers, and the third consisting of a turtle claw that had been softened and straightened. It has generally been maintained that the presence of regular "quarries" absolutely clinched the hypothesis of a Winnebago origin for the flint arrow points, but it seems to us that we would first have to prove that in every case where such quarries are found no tribe but the Winnebago had ever occupied that territory, because had any Algonquian tribe been there they might be held as much responsible for these quarries as the Winnebago. That they were not used within the recollection of the oldest men among the Winnebago there can be no doubt, because this question was repeatedly put to them, with negative results.

173 825 776

It seems best, therefore, to attach some significance to current belief as to the origin of the flint arrow points and to assume for the present that they were either the work of the prehistoric ancestors of the Winnebago or that of some tribe that had occupied the terri-

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### Mother-in-law and Father-in-law Taboo

In former times the mother-in-law and father-in-law taboo was in full force. No man was allowed to talk directly to his mother-in-law or to look at her, and the same rule held with regard to the attitude of a woman toward her father-in-law. Even accidental meetings of these relatives, as on the road, were attended with great embarrassment. The author never learned of any way in which either the mother-in-law or the father-in-law taboo could be relaxed even temporarily, much less done away with entirely. 606

### Puberty Customs

From the age of five, children, male and female, were taught the customs of their ancestors in a series of talks always delivered by an elderly male relative, perhaps the father. The specific training differed, of course, for boys and girls and for individuals. Personal training ceased at the age of puberty, when all, both boys and girls, were sent out to fast. For boys this fasting constituted the only puberty rite. After their faces had been blackened with charcoal they were sent to some neighboring hill with the injunction not to return till dawn. Gradually they would be sent out for two, then three, nights; if after that trial they were not blessed they would be advised either to desist entirely or exhorted to fast until they were blessed, no matter how long the time required to secure the desired result. While fasting the boys and girls used the following formula: 867 881 785 787

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Waxop' inixjiwina | hina'djire na"dje'je | wahadjex. |
| Spirits | am I likely to be blessed? | that is why I am praying. |

[539 782]

One old Indian informed the author that in former times the young boys and girls were offered either bread or charcoal for their fast. If they took the charcoal, well and good; but if they took the bread, they were unceremoniously kicked out of the house and the charcoal was thrown after them. From the other statements of this informant one might gather that the young boys and girls generally took the bread, because, he said, after they had been kicked out, they would always resolve to go to the wilderness (in that way running the risk of being captured or killed by an enemy), in order to spite their parents. My informant was of the opinion that the parents purposely treated their children roughly, so that they might feel all the more miserable while fasting and thus pray all the more intensely.

A faster is always told to be careful as to what kind of spirits bless him, as he might be blessed by a bad spirit. Therefore a faster's blessings are always reviewed by the elders. J.'s old grandmother used to call the children in at dusk, as the evil spirits are around then. [776]

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# CHAPTER VII

## SYSTEM OF EDUCATION[1]

871 The Winnebago seem to have had a more or less formal system of instruction. This consisted of a series of precepts on different aspects of life, such as the duty of fasting, of being a warrior, of behavior to one's parents and relatives, how to treat one's wife and women in general, how to bring up children, how to behave to strangers, etc. These formal teachings were called *kak'i'ku*[2], which means "precepts" or "teachings." Doubtless those obtained do not constitute all the different types existing, but they seem fairly representative.

### My Father's Teaching to His Sons and Daughters

#### SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION TO SON

867 My son, when you grow up you should see to it that you are of
●776 some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in which you
787 can begin to be of any aid to them, and that is to fast. So, my son, see to it that you fast. Our grandfather, the fire, who stands at all times in the center of our dwelling, sends forth all kinds of blessings.[2] Be sure that you make an attempt to obtain his blessings.

My son, do you remember to have our grandfathers, the war chiefs, bless you. See to it that they pity you.[3] Some day when you go on the warpath their blessings will enable you to have specific foreknowledge of all that will happen to you on that occasion. This will likewise enable you to accomplish what you desire without the danger of anything interfering with your plans. Without the slightest trouble you will then be able to obtain the prizes of war. Without any trouble

[1] This chapter was originally intended for special publication and the notes prepared for it then have been retained.

[372] [2] The fire (p'ra) is regarded as a spirit by the Winnebago. As a spirit he possesses many gifts that are of use to human beings in their sojourn on earth, and in order to obtain them, mortals must make offerings of tobacco to him. He may also appear to them during their fastings and bless them with a number of powers. In addition to his other powers, it is believed that he is the messenger of Earthmaker and the other spirits and that he transmits both the messages, as well as the offerings that mortals make to them, by means of the smoke that rises upward. The old man speaks of the fire first, because being always around them it is a comparatively easy task to make offerings to it.

[3] This is the regular expression used for blessing. The idea seems to be that through fasting and crying you are to put yourself in a "pitiable" condition and that then the spirits, seeing your state, will pity you and grant you what you have asked. The word "grandfathers" is used in the sense of ancestral spirits, the thunderbirds, who are regarded as the dispensers of war power, not only by members of this clan but by all Winnebago.

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you will be able to obtain these and in addition glory and the war 867
honors.[4] If, in truth, you thirst yourself to death,[5] our grandfathers 776
who are in control of wars to whom all the war powers that exist in 787
this world belong they will assuredly bless you.

My son, if you do not wear out your feet through ceaseless activity (in fasting), if you do not blacken your face for fasting, it will be all in vain that you inflict sufferings upon yourself. Blessings are not obtained through mere desire alone; they are not obtained without making the proper sacrifices or without putting yourself time and again in proper mental condition. Indeed, my son, they are not to be obtained without effort on your part. So see to it that, of all those spirits whom Earthmaker created, one at least has pity upon you and blesses you. Whatever such a spirit says to you that will unquestionably happen.

Now, my son, if you do not obtain a spirit to strengthen you, you will not amount to anything in the estimation of your fellowmen. They will show you little respect. Perhaps they will make fun of you.

Do not die in the village. It is not good to die there. Whenever a [761]
person is grown up that is what is told him. Nor is it good, my son, to let women journey ahead of you from amidst the village. It is not good thus to let women die before you.[6] Therefore, in order to prevent this, our ancestors encouraged one another to fast. Some day you will travel in a difficult road; there will be some crisis in your life, and then when it is too late you will begin to reproach yourself for not having fasted at the proper time. So that you may not have occasion to blame yourself at such a time I counsel you to fast. If you do not obtain a blessing when the other women are dividing the war prizes brought home from the warpath by their brothers, [593
your sisters will stand aside envying them. If, however, you are 727]
blessed by the spirits in control of war power, and if you then return victorious, how proud your sisters will be to receive the war honors and to wear them around their necks and participate with them in the victory dance! And in this way your sisters likewise will be strengthened by your war deeds. You will keep well, in health.

My son, it will indeed be good if you obtain war powers, but our 867
ancestors say it is difficult. Especially difficult is it to be leader on 787

[4] There are four war honors, the highest going to the Indian who first touches a dead enemy, the second belonging to the one who kills him, and the last two to those who touch him second and third. The war prizes generally consisted of necklaces of wampum which were given to those who had obtained the first war honors. The victor also would be given the privilege of first smoking the pipe on his return to his home. The prize of the wampum necklace was always given by the victor to his elder sisters. [554]

[5] That is, fast.

[6] That is, obtain war power so that you can go on the warpath and prevent yourself from dying in the village or have women die before you.

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867 787 the warpath.[7] So they say. If you do not become an individual warranted to lead a war party, yet mistaking yourself for one although really an ordinary warrior, you "throw away a man," your act will [686 be considered most disgraceful. A mourner might harm you in 627] revenge for the fact that you have caused him to mourn, and burn you with embers. Your people will all be sad, both on account of your disgrace and on account of the pain inflicted upon you.

787 My son, not with the blessing of one of the spirits merely, nor with 867 the blessing of twenty, for that matter, can you go on the warpath. 776 You must have the blessing of all the spirits above the earth, and of all those on the earth, and of all those who are pierced through the earth;[8] of all those under the earth; of all those who are under the water; of all those that are on the sides of the earth, i. e., all the four winds; of the Disease-giver;[9] of the Sun; of the Daylight;[10] of the Moon; of the Earth; and of all those who are in control of war powers—with the blessings of all these deities must you be provided before you can lead a successful war party.

867 My son, if you cast off dress[11] men will be benefited by your deeds. 554 You will be an aid to all your people. If your people honor you, it will be good. And they will like you even the more if you obtain a

721 787 701 686 [622]

[7] Among the Winnebago any individual who has been blessed with the necessary powers to lead a warpath may do so, but it is absolutely essential that his blessing directing him be of such a nature that every possible contingency is included therein. Such complete blessings are, of course, not common nor can they be obtained except through unusual exertions. If you are blessed with just the ordinary or incomplete war powers and you nevertheless undertake to lead a war party, you may either be defeated or perhaps only partially successful, and, what is worse, you may lose some of the warriors who started with you. Your recklessness has thus caused the death of some of your fellow tribesmen. It is understood that every warrior before starting on the warpath turn his "blessing" over to the chief of the tribe for examination, and if the chief considers it complete the warrior is not held responsible for the lack of success or loss of life. If the chief does not consider an individual's blessing sufficient to justify the object he has in view and forbids the warrior to go, and if the latter nevertheless goes, or granted the case he does not even submit his "blessing" to the chief for scrutiny, and speaks out, then he is held directly responsible for any mishap on the warpath. The relatives of any individual thus killed may hold the war leader responsible and demand compensation; or, as is indicated by 11 a few lines later, a mourner (i. e., one who has been placed in mourning by the criminal foolhardiness of the war leader) might attack, perhaps kill him, without being held guilty of any crime. It must of course be understood that such occurrences would seldom take place. We must, however, remember throughout these "teachings" that one of the objects of the old men was to draw the most alluring pictures of the rewards that would fall to the lot of those who followed in the footsteps of their ancestors, and, on the other hand, to draw the most horrid pictures of the wretchedness that befell those who deviated, no matter in what details, from the customs sanctioned by age.

773 776

[8] According to the Winnebago creation myth, when Earthmaker, the creator of the earth, first came to consciousness and began creating life the earth on which we were to live was in continual motion, and nothing that the former could do seemed to be able to stop it. From above he threw down grass, trees, etc., but all was of no avail. Finally he hit upon the happy expedient of pinning the earth down at the four corners by means of four enormous snakes, or, as some say, by means of four mythical animals known as water spirits. It is to these that the old man is referring here. According to the story, even these were of no avail, and it was only when he finally placed four mythical beings known as "Island Weights" at the four corners that our planet stopped spinning. These "Island Weights" seem to be identical with the spirits of the four cardinal points, but they are not to be confused with the four winds mentioned later.

776

[9] A deity conceived of as dealing out life-giving powers from one half of his body and death-giving powers from the other half. He is also supposed to disseminate disease. Disease-giver is a literal translation of the Winnebago word, but this probably does not convey the exact meaning. There seems to be no parallel to this peculiar deity among the other Siouan tribes or among the Algonquian.

822

[10] Daylight or light is conceived of as something different and distinct from the sun.

735

[11] That is, if you give away things frequently, especially to poor people.

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867 My son, never abuse your wife. The women are sacred. If you
593 abuse your wife and make her life miserable, you will die early.
562 Our grandmother, the earth, is a woman, and in mistreating your
776 wife you will be mistreating her. Most assuredly will you be abusing our grandmother if you act thus. And as it is she that is taking care of us you will really be killing yourself by such behavior.

867 My son, when you keep house, should anyone enter your house,
574 no matter who it is, be sure to offer him whatever you have in the house. Any food that you withhold at such a time will most assuredly become a source of death to you. If you are stingy about giving food the people will kill you on this account. They will poison you. If you hear of a traveler who is visiting your people and you wish to see him, prepare your table for him and have him sent for. In this manner you will be acting correctly. It is always good to act correctly and do good, the old people used to say.

867 If you see an old, helpless person, help him with whatever you
888 possess. Should you happen to possess a home and you take him there, he might suddenly say abusive things about you during the middle of the meal. You will be strengthened by such words. This same traveler may, on the contrary, give you something that
[778] he carries under his arms and which he treasures very highly. If it is an object without a stem,[18] keep it to protect your house. If you thus keep it within your house, your home will never be molested by any bad spirits. Nothing will be able to enter your house unexpectedly. Thus you will live. Witches, instead of entering your house, will pass around it. If, in addition to possessing this medicine, you also fast, your people will be benefited by it greatly.

867 Earthmaker made spirits up above and some he made to live on
773 this earth; and again some he made to live under the water and
776 some to live in the water; and all these he put in charge of something. Even the small animals that move about this earth the creator put in charge of some power. Thus he created them. Afterwards he created us human beings and as he had exhausted all the powers to be disposed of we were not in control of anything. Then he made a weed and placed it in our charge. And he said that no matter how powerful are the spirits that exist they would not be able to take this weed from us without giving something in return.
[276] He himself, Earthmaker, would not be able to demand it for nothing. So he spoke. This weed was the tobacco plant. Earthmaker said that if we would offer a pipeful of tobacco to him, whatever we should ask of him he would immediately grant. Not only he, but all the
[782] spirits created, longed to have some of this tobacco. It is for this reason that when we fast and cry piteously for some spirit to take pity on us, if we give them tobacco they will bless us with those

[18] A plant without a stem, presumably some root, used for warding off danger.

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 867

powers that the creator gave them. So it will be. Earthmaker made it thus. 773 776

My son, you must fast. If you breathe upon sick people,[11] I mean if you are blessed with that kind of power, you will be able to restore people to health. You will be of help to your people. If you can, in addition, draw out the pain from within the body of an individual, you will indeed be a help to your people. They will respect you. You will not even have to work for all your necessities, for those whom you treat will cheerfully support you as long as you live. If you should die, your name will be held in great respect and people will frequently talk about you. Ah, that man he had indeed great power! 867 756

My son, if you are not able to fast,[12] try at least to obtain some plants that are powerful. There are people who know the qualities of the different plants, who have been blessed by the spirits with this knowledge. It is pitiable enough that you could obtain nothing through fasting, so ask those that are in possession of these plants at least to have pity upon you. If they have pity upon you, they will bless you with one of the plants they possess, and you will thus have something to help you in life and to encourage you. One plant will not be enough. Of all the plants that cover the earth and lie like a fringe of hair upon the body of our grandmother, try and obtain knowledge of these, that you may be strengthened in life. Then you will have reason to feel encouraged. A real medicine man has even more justification for feeling encouraged than an ordinary one, because such a one has been blessed with life by the Water-spirits. If, therefore, you wish to obtain the real powers of curing people, so that you will have the power of making them arise from their sick beds, you must long and patiently wait and labor. If, however, you obtain the true powers—that is, if you obtain blessings from the Water-spirits—then some day, when your children are in need of medicine, you will not have to go and look for a medicine man, but you will only have to look into your medicine bundle. Whatever trouble your children have you will be able to cure it. Should anything be the matter with the people of your tribe they will call upon you. You can then open your medicine bundle and the individual who is wanting in life will be benefited from the stock of medicines 867 787 756

[11] Sickness is due to the presence of some object within the body. Illness can therefore only be cured if this object is extracted. This is generally accomplished by the shaman sucking it out through a bone tube. Among the Winnebago the shaman before applying the tube spits some water upon the afflicted person and breathes upon him. This is what the "breathing" refers to. [753 755]

[12] Not everyone who fasts is blessed with power. For those who are thus unable to obtain blessings directly from the spirits there is only one method of protection against evils left—the purchase of plants with magical properties from those who have been blessed with them. These can be obtained by any individual no matter how unsuccessful he has been in obtaining blessings through personal fasting. All that is needed is sufficient riches for purchasing them. Of course it goes without saying that those who have been blessed with power may and do also provide themselves with these medicines. [425]

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867 that are in your possession. You will indeed never be embarrassed.
787 You will know just wherein his ailment lies. As you have obtained
756 your power with great effort, therefore what you say will be so. If you say he will live, he will live. If the relatives of the patient make you good payments, you may perform what you are accustomed to in your treatment of people. Then you can ask your medicine to put forth its strength for you and it will do so. If you make good
[782] offerings of tobacco to the plants and if you make feasts in their honor, if, indeed, you make much of your medicine, if you talk to it as though it were a human being, then when you ask it to put forth its strength it will do so. The payments that you receive you can take with a good conscience and your children will wear them and will be strengthened thereby. So be very diligent in the care you bestow upon them. The medicines were placed here by Earthmaker for a good purpose. We are to use them to heal ourselves. For that purpose Earthmaker gave them to us. If anyone tries to obtain the life sustainers—that is, the medicines and inflicts suffering upon
[776] himself in order to obtain them, our grandmother will know about it. So whatever you spend upon it, be it in labor or in goods, she will know about it. All that you gave in obtaining your medicines she will know. They will be returned to you. The people will thus be providing themselves with something for the future. The people always look forward to the future and for all possible happenings they will have some medicine provided. You must try to obtain some of the medicines that most people possess. If you want
867 paint-medicine, make yourself pitiable. If your paint-medicine
789 overcomes your enemy and you keep it in your home, you will never
756 be wanting in wealth. The most valued possessions of the people will be given to you. The people will love you and the paint-medicine will be the cause of it. Whatever you receive will be in consequence of the possession of the paint-medicine. The paint-medicine
[776] is made of the blood of the Water-spirits, and therefore it is holy. People used to fast and thirst themselves to death and a Water-spirit would appear to them and bestow his blessings upon them. Whatever he told them would come true. The Earthmaker put the
867 Water-spirit in charge of these things so that he would bless the
789 people with them. That was his purpose.

Some people who wished to find good medicines obtained the
[525 race medicine. Try and learn of it. Others had gambling medicine,
224] and still others again had hunting medicine. There are medicines for very purpose.

[832] There is a courting medicine and a medicine to prevent married people from wishing to separate, and there is a medicine for making one rich.

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walking in the clouds, there is a name, *He-who-walks-in-the-Clouds*. Now since the thunder-birds have long wings, there is a name, *He-who-has-Long-Wings* . . . Now when the thunder-birds come, they come with terrible thunder-crashes, it is said; and as many people as there are on this earth, . . . and as many plants as there are on the earth, indeed, everything, the earth itself, they deluge with rain, and thunder-crashes (are heard); for all this they have a name; they call him *Warudjizega*. 614 T73

The point at issue in this interpretation of names is can we accept it as historically primary? We do not think so, for the following reasons: A large number of the names are clearly descriptive of animal habits, others express the influence of social organization, and others refer to personal achievements, etc. Secondly, the interpretation is of too specific a nature to be regarded as one that could possibly have dictated an original system of naming; and, thirdly, in spite of its prevalence, other systems of interpretation are present. As a matter of fact in the above quotation, our informant distinctly mentions the fact that the characteristics of thunderbirds were used for names, although he insists that the names referred specifically to the ancestors of the Thunderbird clan. According to J. O. Dorsey the interpretations obtained by him were largely symbolical. He makes no mention of the interpretation obtained by the author, although this may be due to the fact that he was but imperfectly acquainted with Winnebago ethnology. It seems best, therefore, to regard the ancestor-episode type of name as but one, perhaps the last, that developed among the Winnebago.[8] 614

### ATTITUDE TOWARD CLAN ANIMALS

When the animal names became associated with the social groups they were accompanied by the specific associations clustering around these animals. These associations were probably of the same type, if not indeed identical with those grouped around the animals as guardian spirits. The clan animals are among the principal guardian spirits to-day, and we must expect to find an explanation of the attitude toward them as clan animals in the attitude exhibited toward the guardian spirit. To a certain extent it would be quite correct to say that the guardian became the clan animal. This does not, however, mean, in the slightest degree, that the guardian spirit of the individual became the clan animal, but merely that the concept of the guardian spirit became associated with a local group. 614 825 T76

The guardian spirit is at the present time conceived of as an immaterial being in control of an animal species. The attitude toward this spirit is a purely religious one, and exhibits a marked absence of taboo of any kind. It is an open question whether a vision must be attested by obtaining some part of the animal "embodiment" of

[8] For fuller discussion cf. P. Radin, The Social Organization of the Winnebago Indians, Museum Bulletin 53, Anthropological Series 5, Geological Survey of Canada, 1913.

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614 the spirit, but there is no doubt that every vision is symbolized by
825 a special gift from the "spirit." The guardian spirit unit may
776 thus be said to consist of a special religious attitude plus a symbol.

The attitude toward the clan animal differs from that toward the guardian spirit in this characteristic respect, that more emphasis is laid upon identification with the animal itself than with the "spirit." As far as could be determined, the clan animal is the thunderbird with his characteristics of lightning and thunder, of the bear who likes honey and raisins, etc. The animal is engraved as clan symbol [423] and used as a property mark, and he is brought into intimate contact with the group by the postulation of descent. Naturally, descent is not from the "spirit" animal but from the living animal species. Nevertheless the clan animal has, at the same time, retained its place as a guardian spirit, and in a most suggestive way, for the blessing of a clan animal is more easily obtained by a member of the clan than by an outsider. The clan animal is, in short, a clan protector.

In this change of attitude two considerations seem pertinent: first, the possibility of the "spirit" of the guardian spirit being a product of the esoteric elaboration connected with religious societies, and that its apparent absence in the clan animal represents an exoteric conception; secondly, under the influence of the social functions of the clan, an originally strong religious conception of the clan animal gave place to an identification with the animal species itself. It might be objected that there is no inherent correlation between social organization and animal species as contrasted with spirit animals. It seems certain, however, that descent could only be reckoned from the animal, and as long as descent is postulated it must be from the animal. With regard to the historical priority of the "spirit" conception, little can be definitely said except that the systematization it has undergone suggests the influence of esoteric societies, and that the visions obtained during fasting appear to speak of the guardian "spirit" as an animal. On general psychological considerations we are inclined to believe in the contrast of the material and spiritual conception of the animal as a real fact, although it would be hazardous to say whether one or the other lies at the basis of the attitude of the individual toward his clan animal.

### RELATIONSHIP TO CLAN ANIMALS

614 The question of descent from the animal brings us to the con-
825 sideration of the whole intricate relationship of the individual to the clan animal, a subject that has played so prominent a part in discussions of totemism. There are two distinct sources for the de-
[124 174] termination of this relationship—data obtained in reply to direct questioning, and that contained in some miscellaneous myths and in the origin myths.

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614 of human and animal forms. The latter conception is entirely a
825 religious one, the former merely an extension of the genealogical tendency prevalent in many types of social organization. Instead of being simply descended from an individual in a given social unit, the bond of membership within this unit has been strengthened by the postulation of blood relationship to the clan animal. The idea of descent may thus be looked upon as one of the elements necessary for the stability of a political unit and may be far older than its
614 specific extension to those clan animals. A very illuminating ex-
825 ample of a case in point can be selected from the history of the war
778 bundle in the Thunderbird clan. This bundle, like the others, was obtained as a gift from the thunderbird in his capacity as a guardian spirit. The ceremony connected with it has, however, been markedly influenced by the clan organization and as a result we find descent
[776] from the thunderbird and night-spirit, the two most important spirits in the ceremony, postulated of the original owner of the war bundle. The same tendency is exhibited in the numerous stories of the relation of an individual of the heroic age to a village. Here
[773] the individual, generally a transformed guardian spirit or animal, comes to the aid of the people in their struggle against cannibals, defeats the latter and marries into the village, becoming thus the eponymous ancestor of the subsequent village group.

614 At the same time no strong correlation apparently exists between a totemic organization and the extension of descent to include the clan animal, this seemingly being a peculiarity of certain cultures only. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest coast, among the
[771] Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves, in addition to the above, we find the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact of its members imitating the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reasons at all for the name, while in others an animal is killed, becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, and the group takes its name from the fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation.

### THE CLAN TIE

614 In intimate relation with the attitude toward the clan animal is the
602 conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the tie between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal.
[582] Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as is

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gifts from one spirit, the thunderbird, and a secondarily associated night-spirit (*hghe*). The Winter Feast might thus be interpreted as a society of those who have obtained blessings from the thunderbird. The bundle remains in the possession of a certain family, however, and cannot pass out of the clan. The war bundle may therefore be said to be primarily the personal possession of a family which has become associated with all the members of the clan to such an extent that it is almost regarded as a clan possession.

In the possession of the two crooks by the Bear clan we have an example of specific clan property. The crooks are in the nature of emblems and are used on the warpath to indicate the extreme line of advance. They are thus of tribal significance. When not in use they are kept in the lodge of the Bear clan.

### IMMATERIAL POSSESSIONS OF THE CLAN

Although there are no specific material possessions, each clan has certain "immaterial" possessions. They all have the added connotation of sacredness. For the Bird clans, it is the possession of fire; for the Bear, the doorway of his lodge; for the Wolf and Water-spirit, water. They were not obtained for all the clans. We indicated before that these "possessions" may have been primarily connected with the animals associated with the clan, upon which an additional socio-religious interpretation has been superimposed. The whole subject is, however, closely related to that of clan etiquette, for which, of course, no explanations can be given now.

### THE CLAN MARKS OF IDENTIFICATION

As if more fully to set off the social unit of the clan, there have come to be associated with it definite marks of identification, such as symbols, property marks, facial decorations, and songs.

The symbols of only two clans were obtained, although a number of other clans seem to have possessed them. These were the war club (*namątce*) of the Thunderbird clan and the peculiarly whittled stick (*namazinizini*) of the Bear clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan died a miniature war club was buried with him. Whether the *namazinizini* was buried with a member of a Bear clan we do not know.

The property mark consisted of the effigy of the clan animal, and was woven on such objects as bags, tobacco pouches, etc. It was also frequently engraved on wooden objects. Its most peculiar uses, however, were the emblematic earthen effigy mounds, in the shape of the clan animal, which were erected near the habitation of each clan in the village and in the center of clan squash fields, cornfields, etc.

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fact of Winnebago culture, namely, that there are, strictly speaking, no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in many respects, are absolutely identical with the religious societies, and which furnish, it seems to us, an example of just those two kinds of influence that we wished to point out, one radiating from the clan as an organization, the other from the entire clan unit. 614 575 [796]

In the Winter Feasts the unit of organization is the clan. Generally all the clans were represented in the person of the owner of each specific clan war bundle. The order of invitation was traditionally fixed, but it seems that in a number of cases the "friend" clan always had the position of honor. The war-bundle owner was not, however, supposed to represent the clan at all, but the spirits to whom offerings were being made. In every case, although the participants were supposed to represent a fairly large number of animals, the main blessings that were contained in the war bundle were from the thunderbird and night-spirit and the main offerings were indeed made to them. There seem thus to have been two separate ceremonies involved, one to the thunderbird and the other to the night-spirits. 614 796 [782 776]

The question arising with regard to the clan basis of these ceremonial organizations is whether we are to imagine that the ceremonial unit of organization was displaced by the clan unit, or whether we are to suppose that the ceremony is of comparatively recent origin, let us say at least long after the clan organization had been perfected, and that a number of things combined to determine the acceptance of the clan as a unit of organization, as opposed to the traditional ceremonial one. To the foregoing we must also add the fact that the Winter Feast seems to be related to similar ceremonies of the Central Algonquian, whose influence on the Winnebago must first be determined. If, then, we are not in a position at present to suggest the course of development, there can be no doubt that the content of the ceremony is strictly comparable to that of the religious societies, and that there are hints that the ceremonial unit of organization had begun to assert itself. If this could be definitely established, it would indicate that the clan basis of organization is historically primary. [171]

The clan unit of organization is found in no other Winnebago ceremony, although the specific clan feasts show marked influences radiating from the clan unit. The clan feast is a typical ceremonial complex, both in type of organization and in content. The difference between it and a society like that of the night-spirit lies in the fact that although the five principal participants must have specific blessings (bundles), they must at the same time belong to the clan. To what extent a member of one clan who has obtained a bundle

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An old Winne-
bago told the author that long ago a young man wanted to marry a 614
girl belonging to his phratry and refused to listen to the entreaties 615
of his father and mother. Finally the father, in desperation, went 582
over to the lodge of a man belonging to one of the clans into which 778
the young man could marry and asked for one of the sacred possessions. It was, of course, refused, and when the man was asked what other requests he wished to make, he asked that the host's daughter be allowed to marry his son. This was, of course, granted, and thus the boy was compelled to marry into the proper phratry.

One Winnebago interpreted the custom in an entirely different 614
way. Exactly how much importance is to be attached to this 372
explanation it is hard to say. According to this informant, the 689
insult lay not in going to the fireplace or taking a firebrand, but in asking for it. The insult apparently consists in not taking it for granted that anyone entering the lodge was permitted to do what [576]
he wished. In other words, his asking was a breach of etiquette.

The typical method of burial in the Thunderbird clan was scaffold burial. It has long since been discontinued.

The burial customs seem to have been the same for all the clans. 614
It may, however, be that in former times there were slight differ- 764
ences. For instance, in the first version of the Thunderbird clan [184]
origin myth the statement is made that the branch of a tree was placed at the grave and a small stick, painted red, attached to it. The author has no recollection of ever hearing the same statement made in connection with any other of the clans.

There are four songs associated with the Thunderbird clan. 614
These are supposed to have been sung by the clan ancestors when [533]
they came to this earth, and are now always sung when a member of the clan dies, and on a few other occasions.

According to one informant, members of the Elk, Warrior, Deer, and Buffalo clans acted as servants to the Thunderbird clan on [554]
various occasions. The same informant also claimed that the Warrior clansmen took specific orders from the Thunderbird clansmen when on the warpath.

According to another informant, Thunderbird marks at death are a half circle on the forehead, made with charcoal. The proper [765]
marking is, however, that shown in plate 46.

Two dog names used in the Thunderbird clan are obtained—*pi°zakirutega; ka-iwakitca°ga.*

The only feast specifically connected with the Thunderbird clan was the so-called chief feast, of which a description will be found on [796]
page 318. One of the divisions of the war-bundle feast is often considered as sacred to the thunderbird, but this is always the deity [776]
thunderbird, not the ancestor of the clan.

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## CLAN MYTHS AND NAMES

### ORIGIN MYTH (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)[3]

539 614 776 In the beginning, Earthmaker was sitting in space when he came to consciousness, and there was nothing else anywhere.[4] He began to think of what he should do, and finally he began to cry and tears began to flow from his eyes and fall down below him. After a while he looked down below him and saw something bright. The bright objects were hidden tears that had flowed below and formed the present waters. When the tears flowed below they became the seas as they are now. Earthmaker began to think again. He thought, "It is thus, if I wish anything; it will become as I wish, just as my tears have become seas." Thus he thought. So he wished for light and it became light. Then he thought, "It is as I have supposed; the things that I wished for have come into existence as I desired." Then he again thought and wished for the earth, and this earth came into existence. Earthmaker looked on the earth and he liked it, but it was not quiet. It moved about as do the waves of the sea. Then he made the trees and he saw that they were good, but they did not make the earth quiet. Then he made the grass to grow, but still the earth was not yet quiet. Then he made the rocks and stones, but still the earth was not quiet. However, it was nearly quiet. Then he made the four directions (cardinal points) and the four winds. On the four corners of the earth he placed them as great and powerful people, to act as island weights. Yet the earth was not quiet. Then he made four large beings and threw them down toward the earth, and they pierced through the earth with their heads eastward. They were snakes. Then the earth became very still and quiet. Then he looked upon the earth and he saw that it was good. Then he thought again of how things came into existence just as he desired. Then he first began to talk. He said, "As things are just as I wish them, I shall make one being in my own likeness." So he took a piece of clay (earth) and made it like himself. Then he talked to what he had created, but it did not answer. He looked upon it and saw that it had no mind or thought. So he made a mind for it. Again he talked to it, but it did not answer. So he looked upon it again and saw that it had no tongue. Then he made it a tongue. Then he talked to it again, but it did not answer. So he looked upon it again and saw that it had no soul. So he made it a soul. He talked to it again, and it very nearly said something. But it did not make itself intelligible. So Earthmaker breathed into its mouth and talked to it, and it answered.

[3] Told in connection with the origin of the Thunderbird waka.

[4] This myth is reprinted from Radin, Winnebago tales, Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. XXII, no LXXXV, 1909. It has apparently been somewhat influenced by the Bible.

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As the newly created being was in his own likeness, Earthmaker felt quite proud of him, so he made three more just like him. He made them powerful so that they might watch over the earth. These first four he made chiefs of the Thunderbirds. And he thought, "Some will I make to live upon the earth of those I have created." So he made four more beings in his own likeness. Just like the others he made them. They were brothers—Kunuga, Henanga, Hagaga, and Nanyiga. He talked to them and said, "Look down upon the earth." So saying, he opened the heavens in front of where they sat and there they saw the earth (spread out below them). He told them that they were to go down there to live. "And this I shall send with you," he added, and he gave them a plant. "I myself shall not have any power to take this from you, as I have given it to you; but when of your own free will you make me an offering of some of it, I shall gladly accept it and give you what you ask. This shall you hold foremost in your lives." It was a tobacco plant that he had given them. He said, also, "All the spirits that I create will not be able to take this from you unless you desire to give it, by calling upon them during fasts and offering it to them. Thus only can the spirits get any of it. And this also I send with you that you may use it in life. When you offer anything it shall be your mediator. It shall take care of you through life. It shall stand in the center of your dwellings and it shall be your grandfather." Thus he spoke to them. What he meant was the fire. And then he gave them the earth to live upon.

So the four Thunder spirits brought the four brothers down to the earth. The oldest one, Kunuga, said, while on their way down, "Brother, when we get to the earth and the first child is born to me I shall call him *Chief-of-the-Thunders*, if it be a boy." On they came down toward the earth. When they got near the earth it began to get very dark. Then the second brother said, "Brother, when we get to the earth and a child is born to me, if it is a girl it shall be called *Dark*." They came to a place called Within Lake[4] at Red Banks, a lake near Green Bay. On an oak tree south of the lake is the place where they alighted. The branch they alighted on bent down from their weight. Then said the third brother to his brothers, "The first daughter born to me shall be called *She-is-so-weighs-the-tree-down-woman*." Then they alighted on the earth, but the Thunder spirits did not touch the earth. Then said the fourth and last brother to his brothers, "Brothers, the first son that is born to me shall be called *He-who-alights-on-the-earth*." The first thing they did on earth was to start their fire.

Then Earthmaker looked down upon them and saw that he had not prepared any food for them, so he made the animals that they

[4] This lake is probably Green Bay itself.

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539 614 776 might have something to eat. The oldest brother said, "What are we going to eat?" Then the youngest two took the bow and arrows that Earthmaker had given them and started toward the east. Not long after the third brother came into view with a young deer on his back and the youngest brother also came with a young deer about 2 years old on his back. The deer that were killed, and those that killed them, were also brothers. They were very much delighted that they had obtained food. Then said they, "Let us give our grandfather the first taste." Saying thus, they cut off the ends of the tongues and the heart and threw them into the fire with some fat. The first people to call on them were the War clan people. They came from the west. Then came four others. They were the thunders. Thus they were called the youngest brothers. Then came those of the earth. Then came those of the Deer clan. Then those of the Snake clan. Then came those of the Elk clan. Then came those of the Bear clan. Then came those of the Fish clan. Then came those of the Water-spirit clan and all the other clans that exist. Then there appeared on the lake a very white bird swan they called it. And after that, all the other water birds that exist came. And they named them in the order of their coming until the lake was quite full. Then the people began to dress the deer meat. Suddenly something came and alighted on the deer meat. "What is that?" they said. Then said Kunuga, the eldest brother, "It is a wasp, and the first dog that I possess, if it is black, *Wasp* I shall call it." Thus he spoke. "And as the wasp scented and knew of the deer dressing so shall the dog be toward other animals, and wherever the dog is, and animals are in the windward, he shall scent them." They made a feast with the deer for Earthmaker and threw tobacco into the fire and offered it to him. And to the other clans they showed how fire was to be made and gave them some, "For," they said, "each of you must now make fire for yourselves, as we shall not always lend you some." There the people made their home. It was just the time of the year when the grass comes as far as the knee.

One day they reported that something very strange was near the camp; but they said to themselves, "We will leave it alone." In a little while it moved nearer. Thus it moved toward the camp and soon it began to eat deer bones. They allowed it to become one of their clans and took it into their house. It was the dog or wolf. They killed one and made a feast to Earthmaker, telling him all about what they had done.

In the beginning the Thunder clansmen were as powerful as the Thunder spirits themselves. It was the Thunder people who made the ravines and the valleys. While wandering around the earth the Thunder people struck the earth with their clubs and made dents in [554] the hills. That is the reason that the upper clans are chiefs of all the others and that the least of all are the dog people. So it was.

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One day the oldest of the brothers lay down and did not rise again, 539
and he did not breathe and he became cold. "What is the matter 614
with our oldest brother?" the three others said. Four days they 776
waited for him, but still he did not arise. So the second brother was asked by his youngest brother what the trouble was; but he did not know anything about it and told him to ask his third brother; but this one did not know either. Then the two older brothers asked the youngest one, but he did not know either. Then they began to mourn for him, not knowing what to do or think. They fasted and blackened their faces, as we do now when we are in mourning. They made a platform and laid him on it. When the snow fell knee-deep the three brothers filled their pipe and went toward the place of the coming of daylight the east. There they came to the first being that Earthmaker had placed in the east, the *Island-weight*, as he was called. They came to him weeping and went into his tent, turning the stem of the pipe in his mouth. They said, "Grandfather, our brother Kunuga has fallen and is not able to rise again. Earthmaker made you great and endowed you with all knowledge, and thus you know all things." He answered and said, "My dear grandsons, I am sorry, but I do not know anything about it; but as you have started to find out I would refer you to the one ahead of me (the north). Perhaps he can tell you."

So, weeping, they started for the next one. When they got there and told him their troubles, he told them he could not help them; "but," he said, "perhaps the one ahead of me knows." So they started for the third one (the west), but from him likewise they could learn nothing. He also referred them to the one ahead (the south). When they reached the fourth and last one, they entered the lodge, and behold there sat the three to whom they had gone before. Here they asked the last one for help, and not only he but the other three also answered them: "Grandsons, thus Earthmaker has willed it. Your brother will not rise again. He will be with you no more in this world, and as long as this world lasts so will it be with human beings. Whenever one reaches the age of death one shall die, and those that wish to live long will have to attain that age by good actions. Thus they will live long. Into your bodies Earthmaker has placed part of himself. That will return to him if you do the proper things. This world will come to an end sometime. Your brother shall keep a village in the west for all the souls of your clan, and there he shall be in full charge of all of you, and when this world is ended your brother shall take all the souls back to Earthmaker—at least all those who have acted properly. Thus it is. Now you may go home and bury your brother in the proper manner." The Thunder people thanked the four spirits and left the tent. When they got home they took their brother's body,

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539 614 776 dressed him in his best clothes, and painted his face. Then they told him where he was to go and buried him with his head toward the west and with his war club. They placed the branch of a tree at his grave, and painted a little stick red and tied it to the tree, so that nothing should cross his path on his journey to the spirit abode. If any object or animal should cross his path on that journey, he must strike it with his club and throw it behind him, so that those relatives he had left behind on earth might derive blessings in war and attain long life. He must have his pipe and food along with him on his journey, and thus the things that he throws behind him will be a blessing for those still remaining on earth. Also the life he leaves behind him (i. e., the years that, had he lived to a normal age, are still due him) and the victories that he might have gained, all these he is to give to his relatives. The riches he might have had or, in fact, anything that he could possibly have had, he is asked to give to these relatives. Then they will not feel so unhappy and lonesome.

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

In the beginning four brothers started from above and came toward this world. They came to a country called (*ni jahe*, cliff place?), and there they alighted on a tree. From there they started around the world, going from left to right.* The first time they went around they went through space, but the second time they went along this earth, at a place called *derok* (Within Lake). There they built lodges for themselves. While doing this the oldest suddenly became quiet, as if stricken. Finally, he asked the second brother what he should do, and the second brother said to him, "You are the oldest and ought to know what to do. How can I, who am younger, know anything? Perhaps the third-born brother might know." So he asked the third-born, but he said, "You are the older and ought to know. How can I, being the younger, know? Perhaps the youngest brother will know." So they asked that one and he said, "Yes, I know something." The thing about which they did not know anything was the making of the fire. The younger one, saying he knew something, took a piece of an oak tree and began twisting it until it began to smoke, and then the fire started. Then he placed it on the ground. After the fire began to blaze and seemed well started they finished building their lodge. From that time on whenever they saw anything new the brothers would give it a name. Animals and all the things that exist were thus named. And then they were to prepare a meal, and the second brother reached out his hand and produced the food that they wanted (i. e., he seemingly reached out from where he was seated and brought in deer's meat, etc.). Not having

* The ceremonial manner of passing around a lodge. Supposed to be comparable to the path of the sun.

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any cooking utensils they broiled their meat on sharp sticks. Then the oldest one began making utensils for cooking. He took clay and slippery elm bark, mixed them together, and made a pot out of it, which was then heated over a fire. 539 614 776

Within Lake was their main stopping place during their wanderings. Now the members of the other clans began gathering at this place and all the other clans got to this place and obtained their fire from the Thunderers. From that time on they also began intermarrying. The rule was that the upper clansmen married the women of the lower clans and vice versa. The oldest one of the brothers made friends with the Water-spirit clan and the second brother made friends with the Bear clan. The reason why the upper clans and the lower clans intermarried was to prevent their marrying their own relatives. The second brother is the ancestor of the War clan people.

The Thunderers do not say that they were descended from the Thunderbirds, but they claim that in wandering about there was always a drizzling rain and fog which they caused and on account of the similarity of this to the actions of the Thunderbirds they called themselves the Thunderers.[1]

From the gathering at Green Bay the clan names originated. The names were taken from incidents of their journey to this place. The older brother kept on naming everything; the different parts of our body; the different parts of animals, etc. When he finished, he suddenly stopped breathing and died. His death occurred at dawn. The brothers did not know that he had died. For a long time they waited for him to come to life again, but he never came to life again. Thus death originated. His body died, but his spirit traveled west toward the setting of the sun, making a road for all who were to come after him. He was the chief of the village of the spirits.

THIRD VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN—FRAGMENTARY)[2]

"Well, my younger brother, what shall we speak of? Let us speak of the Winnebagoes. You are right. Of them we will speak. What shall we eat? If we see an animal let us eat him. I will go and look. See I have brought a deer. We will eat him." So they built a fire and broiled that deer. They cooked it and then ate it. Then they heard something. They listened and two persons came into the tent. They took a seat opposite. "Ha, ha, you that sit opposite, what relation will you be to me?" "What relation should I be to you?" "You shall be my chief." "Listen, some are saying

[1] The word Thunderers is the same as Thunderbirds. One and the same being is meant.
[2] This account seems to begin after the Thunderbirds have reached Green Bay and are sitting in the lodge waiting for the other clans to arrive.

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539 something. Ha ha, our friends have come Sit opposite (those
614 opposite said). As long as we live we will attend to the fire for
●776 you." "Listen, our friends, they are speaking." "Ha, ha, sit opposite me" (a new clan has entered). They sat down. "You Water-spirit clan, what relation, my friend, will you be to me?" "What relation shall I be to you? You will be my chief." "Good. Now listen, a dog is howling. Let us wait for him." So the Thunderbirds waited for him. "Let us call him." "Ha, ha, my friend, we wish to teach the two-legged walkers something As we say so will the Winnebagoes ever be." Again the Thunderbirds spoke, "Listen, some one has said something. Two people have come. We will call them the Buffalo clan."

## The Warrior Clan

### INTRODUCTION

614 There are not many members of this clan left, although it seems to have been quite important in the old days, to judge from the number of effigy mounds all over Wisconsin There seems little doubt but that those bird effigies with unsplit tail are supposed to represent this clan.

Only one version of the origin myth was obtained. There is little to be said about it except that it mentions the fact that it was custo-
[552 mary to have names for dogs. One statement seems to point toward
266] cannibalism. As was pointed out in the preceding discussion, there is a boastful claim that they were chiefs.

614 Although, at the present time, this clan is known only as the
178 *wonayire da'ɣkek* (fear-inspiring men), its older name was hawk, and as such it was still known to J. O. Dorsey. When the present name began to be popular, it is impossible to say, but we feel confident that it has been in partial use for a considerable length of time. The change is quite in line with the rather common habit of referring to the Thunderbird clan as the chief clan and the Bear clan as the soldier clan. In other words, we have a name indicative of the functions of a clan superseding the older animal name. It is only in the case of the Warrior clan, however, that this substitution has been complete.

614 There is no indication in the myth that the Warrior clan was ever localized. A number of informants stated that the clan was but a division of a general bird phratry. In version 2 of the Thunderbird clan origin myth it is stated that the second of the two brothers was the ancestor of the Warrior clan. Dorsey, as we have seen,
[361] obtained the same information.

The Warrior clan seems to have had a lodge in the northwest corner of the village. In this lodge they claimed that prisoners were

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In this lodge they claimed that prisoners were 614
confined and certain tribal regalia deposited. The informants were 727
not, however, at all clear about these facts, some even denying that there was a Warrior lodge and insisting that prisoners were confined in the Bear or Soldier lodge.

According to one informant the Warrior and Bear clans could give 614
each other orders that had to be obeyed.

The members of the Warrior clan claimed that all the members of the clan were warriors and did not have to fast in order to obtain [785]
the right of starting out on a war party. This was vigorously denied by the members of the other clans, who referred to this claim with derision. There seems, however, to be no reason for questioning the fact that the clan had a special lodge and that it was intimately connected with war functions. Exactly what these were it is quite impossible to state; as they have not been exercised for a very long time.

The first two clan songs are given on page 220. The clan facial decoration, used only at burial, and which were supposed to be [302]
marks of recognition in the spirit land, are as follows: A red line alternating with a black and another red line across the forehead, and a red line around the mouth. One informant claimed that only the three marks on the forehead were necessary, and that in times of war blood was used for the red marks (pl. 46).

According to an informant of the Thunderbird clan, the Warrior clan functions were as follows:

The Warrior clan's position in the tribe is that of general warrior. He can kill an enemy at any time without breaking any of the rules of the tribe. Every other [721]
clansman who wishes to go on the warpath must fast and be blessed by the spirits with specific blessings before he can do this.

There may have been a special feast associated with the Warrior clan, but the author never heard of it. The clan possessed a number [778]
of war bundles.

### ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

In the beginning, Earthmaker made four men. Then he sent 614
them to the earth. Within Lake, there, they landed and they alit 539
on the branch of a tree. There were four branches and each one alit 776
on one branch. And then on the earth they jumped and started walking toward the east. There they erected a camping place. There they started the fire. It was the principal fire. Then they started to look for food, but they were unable to find any. So the second brother was sent, but he was not able to get any animal, but he brought a man. Because he brought it, for that reason, the first male child we have shall be called *He-who-eats-humans*. Then the second one, him whom they called the warrior, was sent. Thus it

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614 was. And then all of them went toward the chief's lodge. They
539 walked as chiefs, all four of them. The four of them went there.
●776 The chief's lodge was an oval lodge, and there they entered.

The Snake clansman was the one appointed to get the food. He went after the food. It was an Eagle-people feast. Two fish the Snake clansman brought, and with these the Eagle chief gave a feast. The Deer clan acted as attendants. Thus they ate the fish. And when they were finished with the eating, on either side, they left the head and the tail of the fish. This they left of their meal. "And if we have a dog we will call him *Leaves-fish-on-both-ends*," they said. Then they sat down. As they were sitting some one peeped in. It was the dog. Only his nose he stuck in. Then they said, "Whose nose does it look like?" So the chief spoke. "If we ever have a dog and if we wish to keep it permanently, *Whose-nose-does-it-look-like*, we will call it.

Then all of a sudden their bodies began to be different and their feathers began to look as if they were worn off. They were about to enter the chief's lodge. Then the chief passed the fire to the Deer clan and when they were through the lodge was purified with
[783] the incense of smoking cedar leaves. Then again into the very long lodge they entered. This was at Red Banks. Then the upper people taught the lower people the things to make them good. Thus Earth-maker ordained everything, and as he ordered so it was. That is the way they were. Holy they were. And all (of my clan?) lived as chiefs. This is all that I was taught.

CLAN SONGS

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*First song*

The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.

*Second song*

The fire they started.
The fire they started.
The fire they started.
The fire they started.

## Eagle and Pigeon Clans

614 No information was obtained about either of these clans. The Pigeon clan has been extinct for some time and only a few survivors of the Eagle clan are left. Neither of these clans seems ever
[778 to have been of great importance. They had war bundles and an
796] Eagle feast is mentioned.

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The following dog names were obtained: 614

A black dog with yellow eyebrows and breast is called *hesiga'ruxega*, 231
Opens-beehives; black female dog, *hotekihiga*, Picks-acorns; black 552
dog with white around the neck, *hote hagawanuga*, Runs-for-acorns. The chief also had the privilege of calling a dog *noruxuga*, to show his superiority over the other members of the Bear clan. From another informant the following were obtained: *Teapiracoiega*, Eats-everything-except-hide; *teahorawcka*, Pulls-out-deer-liver.

### ORIGIN MYTHS

#### FIRST VERSION [15]

Informant, member of the clan: In the beginning a bear came 614
walking on the ocean. When he got to the shore he flew off as a 539
raven and alit on the shore. The first being he saw was a Dog clans- 776
man. Then he entered the lodge and sat opposite him. That is

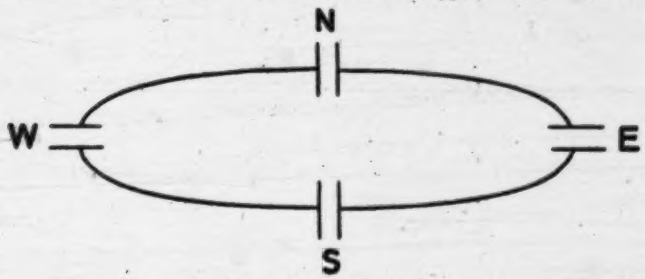


FIG. 35.—Diagram of Bear lodge.

why they call one another friends, or "he who sits opposite me." From the fact that he flew off as a raven we have a name (*kazijigaga*). The lodge had four doors, one on each end and one on each side (fig. 35). They landed at Green Bay, where a great gathering was held of all the clans. The other Bear clansmen claim that it was water foam that flew from the water, and it is from that fact that they obtained so much life. The fact that he (the bear) changed himself twice is the reason for his greatness among his fellow clansmen. Originally it was the fourth born who was sent from across the ocean.

#### SECOND VERSION

Informant, father of above: In the beginning 10 brothers started from across the ocean to the great clan meeting. When they got near, four waves came ashore and a raven flew from the waves, but when it alit (on land) it was a bear that walked. They were the greatest

[15] There are so many versions of the origin of the Bear clan that I think it best to give all I obtained. They are all discussed on p. 235.

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614 in power, as they had changed themselves twice. There they crossed
539 the tracks of the Wolf clan, and they said, "Our friends have gone
●776 by." Then they went and sat opposite the Wolf people. The Wolf and Bear clans must bury one another.

The 10 men left their father and mother across the ocean.

The Bears should paint their faces with charcoal from burnt basswood and red paint. The face should be painted red and black alternately crosswise in stripes, or black on the upper half and red on the mouth and chin. Women are painted with red markings on each cheek and with charcoal markings in the center of the cheek.

THIRD VERSION

Informant, member of the Bear clan: It is supposed that Earthmaker ordered a meeting of all the animals to take place at Green Bay, and that the Soldiers (another name for the Bear clan) were also to attend.

In the beginning Earthmaker created all things in the form of animals, but at this gathering they (the originators of the various clans!) were to become human. When all was in readiness to start, it was decided that the families of those animals who were to become the ancestors of the Winnebago clans were each to send one representative, and that the one who was thus chosen, accompanied by his wife, was to become transformed on that occasion. Of the soldiers (i. e., the bears) the youngest was sent. He had three brothers, of whom the eldest had black hair, the second dark red hair, and the third blue or green hair. They were the chiefs of the villages from which they had started.[14] Only the youngest, however, was sent to the earth to attend the meeting. When he emerged at a place to the north of Green Bay he came from out the earth. When they emerged (the bear and his wife) it was a very fine day. As they were coming they heard voices in the distance saying, "The soldiers are coming." As they started to walk their footprints seemed imprinted with the blue of the sky i. e., with daylight. A name has originated from this fact (*ha"hamanina*, "He-who-walks-with-the-day"). As his wife was with him, he immediately started to hunt. (It seems that by this time the bear had some followers, for some would from time to time ask whether they were going to eat, and he would answer yes and tell them to hunt for food.)

When the youngest of the brothers started, the brothers who remained behind told him "to remember them" with regard to tobacco, red feathers, and food, and therefore after he had started he told some of his followers to go ahead and bring food of such and such a kind, so that when he arrived at certain camping places those sent

[114] [14] It must be remembered that all this is taking place in the heavens, in the spirit abode of the bears. The other translations are only opposite sis.

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ahead would be there before him ready with the food. After the first meal they started out again, and soon they came across the track of a member of some other clan, and they said, "Our friend has gone by." The latter clan had also said in coming, "Our friend must have come by." Then they came to the place where a large lodge had been constructed. When all were inside, the animal-beings wished to start a camp fire, and they called upon all those present to start it; but no one except the Thunderbirds could do it, so they made the Thunderbirds chiefs of the tribe. As, however, they were to have a number of chiefs, they called upon the Water-spirits to be chiefs of the lower division. Of the third division, the soldiers were to be the chiefs. The latter were to be in charge of discipline. That is the origin of the Bear or Soldier clan.

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FOURTH VERSION

Informant, member of the clan [so-called "true" version]: Earthmaker made all things, and then he created man and woman, and he placed them in the south. He gave them charge of some of the day or life. All the creatures on the earth and all the birds of the air he was in charge of. He was going to start up from below and walk toward the north. All the creatures went with him. He walked forth with all the creatures. When he arrived on earth all the other clans had already gathered at one place. When he arrived they said, "Our soldiers have come. Make room for them." So it was said. And he said to them, "The things Earthmaker created me for, those I will do. Therefore, wherever you live or wherever you gather together I will look after your village; even to the edge of the clearing, that far I will make it sacred for you; and if you are ever overcome by sickness and you ask me to arise and help you, your sickness will leave you. And while he spoke of his power for four days the weather had been good, and no wind blew from any direction. The soldier was thus in charge of affairs. And as he spoke thus all birds with sharp claws flew above him in a circle.

On the fourth day all the clans left for their respective homes. Now even to this day he, the bear, is still in charge of the people.

FIFTH VERSION

Informant, same as of fourth version [so-called "minor" version]: In the south, where he emerged and came upon our earth, there was a spring which gave forth white water. When he was about to come out, the hill in which he was confined shook and the spring shook also. He was not the first to come out, for his attendants preceded him. Then he came out. There were 11 men. The oldest one told him to go and look around at the fields. He sent out four to look at the fields (the raspberries and all other fruits). The

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614 acorns and nuts they called beans. The four that emerged soon
539 came upon the footprints of human beings.

776 And then they returned from the fields where they had been searching for food. "Oh, my; oh, my," they said, "over there we came across the foorprints of human beings." So they spoke. "Go again," he said, "go around a larger circle." So they went farther than before, and there they saw the people who had made the footprints. "Our friends are going about here," said the ones who had made the footprints and who were wolves. "Never shall we disobey one another's word, my friends," said the bear. And the wolf answered, "It shall be so."

[627] If one of the Bear clansmen had been killed and it was reported to the Wolf clan, the latter would revenge him. The Bear clan would act similarly. Then the bear said to the wolf, "My friend, whenever you die I shall put you away so that your soul may not be bothered by bad insects." And the wolf answered, "My friend, it shall be so, and when you die I will likewise put you away so that the bad spirits may not abuse your soul." Then they parted, after shaking each other's hands. The bears returned to their home in the south. The next time they came, it was to stay. They scattered themselves all over the earth, seeking newly ripened fruit of all kinds. In this manner they are still living on earth.

SIXTH VERSION [1]

Informant, member of the clan: Earthmaker made us and as he created us thus the story has come down. The story of our creation is told as follows:

"Get ready. We will converse together over this affair." So spoke the one in the south. He was but one of those whom Earthmaker had created. There were four brothers. The name of the oldest one was Black Person, that of the second Red Person. (Indeed he was very red.) The third one was called Blue Person, and the fourth one White Person.

"Younger brother, how is it going to be? I (the oldest), who am speaking, not fitted do I feel myself for the task. My temperament is indeed not fitted for the task. Perhaps you might have something to tell them. Try, therefore, to say something to them. They are about to have a gathering and it is time to start. Try to say something to them." "Older brother, the truth do you speak. I also feel even as you have said; I am not fitted for it. I really don't consider myself equal to the task. My younger brother only is the one fitted for it. He is clever. Our younger brother, he only must be the one." "The truth you have spoken, my brother. Our youngest brother only is fitted for the task. The announcement of the gathering has already been made, so let us council over it imme-

[1] Told as the origin myth of the Bear fast.

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diately. Let us get ready. Our younger brother, he is patient and strong-minded. On the earth he must go and we will remain here. To take care of the home we will remain here. Whatever he says it shall be so. In that wise will we think. Earthmaker has ordained that the gathering shall take place and that we are to live our lives there (on earth). Our younger brother he will go and live on the earth. As he is about to go to the earth, we will ask him to remember us.

"Younger brother, when you arrive on earth, whatever offerings you obtain, send them back to us as you walk along. When you start out you will appear with life. This you will take with you. This will be your task. Be careful that you perform everything correctly. When you arrive there, it will be necessary to give names to the human beings and to their dogs.

"Younger brother, when you start out toward the earth you will be holy. And when you are on earth and your first boy is born, call him He-who-is-very-black, and call the second one (*wajiga*) Brown-bear, the third one Blue-bear, and the fourth one White-bear. And if girls are born to you, call the first one Night-walking-woman, the second one Daylight-as-she-walks, the third one She-who-thrusts-herself-within-a-lodge, and the fourth one Visible-footprint-woman. And if your daughters have dogs which they wish to keep let them give them the following names (*wadogega*, untranslatable): Dog-pair, Third-born-girl, and Red-female-dog. Thus let it be."

When they (the bears) started, those at the gathering place listened: "Our soldiers have started; their whoops are audible." When the bear came on earth, he came across some tracks. "Our friends have gone by," he said. Finally the bears (man and woman) arrived at the gathering place; there they found all the clans assembled. The Water-spirit was the first one to come; then came the birds and then the bears. When all were assembled, they began to construct a large lodge. When it was finished, the one who had arrived first, the Water-spirit, was addressed by some of the other people. "Our chief, how are we going to make fire? Had you not better start?" "True you speak, but I do not know how. I am unable. Let some one else try it." But they all regretted and declined, saying they did not know how. So it was decided that he who made a fire would be chief. All thereupon tried, but only the Thunderbird succeeded. So he became the chief and the others all thanked him. Then the fire was distributed and all the clan fireplaces were made. Thus it was at the creation council. Now all things were finished and arranged. The Thunderbirds were the rulers of the village. The other people measured their acts by him. When the chief said do so and so, they would obey. Then the chief went out to look for food for himself and for his people, and they began to bring back

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food in the form of their relatives—i. e., in the form of the animals after whom they were named. Then the Bear people made a rule that they were to have a feast at which offerings would be made to their clan animal. And it was for him that they placed a shallow kettle at the feast. This is all.

SEVENTH VERSION

Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

At a large spring sat a male bear. He looked upon his body and it was very blue. It was even bluer than the blue of the sky. As the blue from the sky illuminated, so he was. He sat as though he was part of the day. He was a chief and his name was Blue-chief. Toward one side he looked and there stood twelve men. Then the earth began to quake and something came out from the spring. Because something had come out from under the earth that is why the earth quaked. Blue-bear named him Earth-shaker. Then the earth began to quake again and now it was worse than before and Blue-chief named the one who emerged Earth-quaker. And then for the third time the earth began to tremble, even much more than before. So much did it tremble that the day itself trembled; and those that were not solidly attached to the earth came to the top and all manner of fruit was scattered over the earth. When he came out Blue-chief named him Gives-forth-fruit-as-he-walks. And again for the fourth time the earth began to roar and tremble and even the day trembled. Then one came out. So he was named, Makes-the-day-tremble. Thus they were all named as they came out. Then Blue-bear was told by Earthmaker, "This is all that remains to be done; your friends are waiting for you." There Blue-bear talked with Earthmaker, the latter telling him what he was to do. Then they started to the place where all the other clans were gathering, at Red Banks. As they came, all the leaves that had rough edges became human and all the trees that had prickers became human, and all the birds that had sharp claws and were able to claw anything, they all became human, and the snakes that had sharp fangs became human. Thus they went. Those of the air went in the air and those of the earth went on the earth, and nothing could cross their path. Even the earth trembled as they walked.

When they got to the gathering place they were told that seats were reserved for their friends (meaning them). But, said Blue-bear, "We did not come for that purpose, so we will not sit down. We were intended for something else by Earthmaker. As long as this world exists we will take care of you within the confines of your villages. We will not permit any evil spirits to enter these confines. The seats you offered us will remain as they are, so that if at any time the clans are gathered again our place will be reserved. Then the

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crowd dispersed and went home. Blue-bear said that he would go home but that the rest were to live on this earth and that they would be the soldiers of this earth. That is the origin of the Bear clan. 614 539 776

When a bear is killed on earth, the Bear clansmen do not mind it, but they laugh and feel good. When one of the Bear clan dies, they say, "Don't cry, for he has gone home." Then they paint his jaws red to give him the appearance of laughing.

When a bear is killed on earth the spirit returns to Blue-bear, and so it is with the Bear clansmen. This is the story of the Bear clan.

All the birds, trees, snakes, and everything of its kind have soldiers. [825] The sharp-clawed birds are soldiers of the birds and all the snakes that have fangs and all the trees that have prickers are soldiers of their kind. All the animals and living things of the earth have soldiers among them. The ugliest tempered ones of their kind are soldiers of whatever class they belong to. Oftentimes when a person gets angry on earth they would say, "The soldier; it is because he has a soldier nature." (Whoever has the power of hurting one of his fellow-beings and does it has a soldier nature.) This is the story of the Soldier clan.

If they had said in the beginning, "This or that clan will never do anything wrong," then the rest of the clans would never have done so. The Soldier clan opens the way for anyone, of any clan, at any time, to take up his soldier nature. 614 533

## CLAN SONGS

*Song 1*

Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.

*Song 2*

Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.

*Song 3*

Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?

*Song 4*

Who can be above?
Who can be above?
Who can be above?
Who can be above?

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## The Wolf Clan

### INTRODUCTION

614 173 Three versions of the origin myth of this clan were obtained. The second is the most interesting, for it gives the popular account of descent from the clan animal-ancestor, although it claims that he, in turn, was created by Earthmaker. One other important characteristic is the statement that the original clan ancestor married a human being and that from them the present members of the clan trace their descent. A similar type of descent is mentioned in a number of myths that can best be interpreted as village origin myths. The ownership of war bundles has also at times been linked up with descent from some spirit.

614 Very little is known at the present time about the functions of the Wolf clan. It is quite clear, however, that the clan once possessed powers of considerable importance. From the fact that the Wolf people are still occasionally called "minor soldiers" and that they are so closely linked with the Bear clansmen it is likely that their functions were similar in nature to those of the Bear people. They probably assisted the latter.

[823] Water was sacred to the Wolf clan as it also was to the Water-spirit clan. A person was not allowed to tell a Wolf clansman that he looked like a wolf nor allowed to sit on a log in a Wolf clan lodge. [682] If a man kills a Wolf clansman accidentally and then sits on the log in a Wolf lodge, he has to be freed.

According to one informant, the Wolf clan at one time possessed four sticks, which they would use and with which they kept time while the drum was beaten.

[582] According to one informant, the Wolf clansmen were the only people who were allowed to intermarry.

The Wolf clansmen give a feast when a Bear child is born, to show respect for their friend. They give the child a name of their own clan.

[796] The Wolf feast is held in the spring of the year, when the ice melts from the creeks and everything begins to grow. At the feast the [262 clan origin myth is told and the members of the other clans are 252] allowed to hear it. The food used is boiled rice.

### ORIGIN MYTHS

#### FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 539 776 [823] In the beginning the Wolf clan people came from the water. Therefore their bodies are of water—i. e., their sacred possession is water. There were four male wolves and four female wolves, and as they came up from the sea and swam toward the shore, one after the other, they caused waves to go before them. Therefore one of

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their clan names is *Wave*. They first appeared as wolves and later on they became humans. After swimming to the shore they lay on their backs to dry themselves; and that also is a name, a female name, *She-who-spreads-herself-out-to-dry*, and another name is *He-who-comes-up-first*. When they became human they built themselves a lodge and lived in it, but they had no fire. Then the Thunders came down and alit on a big oak tree that stood near their lodge. At first the Thunders were afraid of the Wolf people and they would not enter their lodge. That is why we have a name *He-who-is-afraid*. They asked the Thunders to come into their lodge and they had great difficulty in persuading them. After they entered the Wolf lodge they wanted to go home again immediately, but the Wolf clan people asked them to stay over for four days. From that fact a name has originated, *One-who-is-waited-for-by-the-Thunders*. The Thunders stayed, but not in the lodge of the Wolf people. They built themselves one just outside their door. Then they built a fire in it. After the four days were over the Thunders went home. 614 539 776 [551]

When a Wolf clansman dies the relatives paint his forehead blue (pl. 46) and the soul of the deceased is supposed to go west, and it never looks back as it goes on its journey, as this would be an indication of its longing for something in this world, and it should not do that. When the soul gets to the spirit home the relatives already there would ask the newcomer, "What did our relatives say when you were about to come?" And the deceased would answer, "They said that they would not come for some time." [764 775]

The food that is prepared at the four nights' wake is supposed to last them forever.

This is the end of the story of the creation.

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

All people claim to have come from some animal, and all are supposed to come from Earthmaker.

Four married wolves had a lodge in the middle of the ocean. They had four colors. The wolves all had children. One of them had 10, and the youngest one of these 10 is the one that came to this earth. When they came to this island, the first thing they saw was the footprint of the bear, and they said, "Our friend has gone by." There (at the place of gathering) they saw human beings and they liked their ways. Therefore they went home again and asked to come to earth and live with the human beings, and they were given permission to do so. Wherefore the two (man and wife) came here again the second time. When they were about to come everything was calm, and there were no waves on the ocean. They started out swimming, and they caused two waves to go before them. When they came to the humans they both got married. When they came to this land

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614 they sang songs, but I do not know them. I was not taught them.
539 Finally children were born to both of them, and they gave them
● 776 names. They called one of them *Ware* on account of the wave coming before them on their starting out. Because the four original
[551] wolves in the middle of the ocean had four different colors, therefore they have names *White Wolf*, *Green Hair*, *Gray Wolf*, and *Black Wolf*. When the clan began to get larger they taught their children these names.

When a large number of different clansmen are traveling and they have to cross some large stream and the wind is high, they call upon some Wolf clansman to calm the wind. This clan holds the water
[823] very sacred. They do not even die in the water.

It was at this first meeting that they made friends with the Bear clan. Therefore these two clans love one another.

THIRD VERSION—TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN (FRAGMENTARY)

The original wolf brothers appeared from the bottom of the ocean. When they got to the top of the water they started for the shore singing. When they got to the shore they saw footprints of bears who had just gone by. They said, "Our friends have just gone by." That is why they are the friends of the Bear clan. They were going to the meeting place. There a black hawk was gathering together all the different clans. Finally he finished and he said, "It is done." When he said this a wolf howled. They had forgotten him. They said, "We have forgotten him. Let some one go after him." So some one went after him . . .

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CLAN SONGS

*First song*

This body of mine that I am walking.
This body of mine that I am walking.
This body of mine that I am walking.
On the earth I am speaking.

*Second song*

This body of mine that I am walking
This body of mine that I am walking
This body of mine that I am walking.
In the waters am I speaking.

CLAN NAMES

CÛNKTCÛE' HIK'IE'ARAIWERA (WOLF CLAN)*

614 Onagewahoga.....Hunting dog.
551 Cûnktcagh'a.....Wolf.
Ragoaiwiga.....Wolf (archaic name).

* The following names are from the Dorsey Mss.

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614 Members of the clan were buried by members of the Thunderbird
[764] clan.

[823 Water was sacred to the Water-spirits. It was considered an
576] insult for a stranger to peep into a pail standing in one of their lodges. One informant explained the custom as follows:

"If one enters a Water-spirit clan lodge and looks into a pail and there should be no water in it, the person will turn away and this action of his will be construed as begging. It would be proper to take a drink of water if some were there."

[302] A round spot is painted with blue clay on the forehead of a Water-spirit man (pl. 46).

The Water-spirit feast is held in the fall and spring. Cracked or ground corn is used. Water-spirit people partake before anyone else at this feast.

### ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 In the beginning, when the clans began to form, the Bird clans
539 came upon the earth first and alit upon an oak tree at Red Banks;
776 and when they alit upon the oak tree they became human as we are now. Then the Water-spirit clan was to appear at Within Lake; and the waters began to whirl around in the lake and all the bad things that inhabited the waters began to appear. Just before the Water-spirits appeared some burned embers came up from the waters and the whirling became faster and deeper. As all the great things began to appear it always seemed as if the Water-spirits were the next to appear, but not until the last did they come up. Thereupon the waters began to quiet down. Then a white Water-spirit appeared with its horns curved toward each other, and when it came upon the earth it became human and walked. Then the other clans said, "Now, then, this is the chief. This is all that we have been waiting for. Now we shall divide ourselves" (into groups). Then they started for the lodge of the Thunderbird clan and entered it. There they named one another and divided one another into clans and there they counciled with one another.

### CLAN NAMES

WAKUCHI HE'IK'ARANJERA (WATER-SPIRIT CLAN)

614 Ho-ahja'jank'a.....Shining horns.
539 Hona'pga.....Two horns.
Hoq'i'winga.....Handsome horn.
Honteagk'a.....Five-horned.
Hodjopga.....Four-horned.
Mank'a'ujaga.....He who plants medicines.
Mank'a'hodja'pga.....He who looks at medicines.
Ma'hinip'i'winga.....Good cold spring.

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"My son, we first originated in human form at Bad Lake (*de cicik*).[a] From four buffalo spirits who are there, did we originate. The youngest one was clever and from him did we originate. The buffaloes asked one another what they were to do, and they then began to exert their powers, and the youngest one obtained the knowledge that there was to be a gathering of all the animals. So they all landed at a place called Red Banks. So it is said. And to the elk was given the charge of the seating arrangements. 614 539 776

"Thus did we originate. And then they counciled with one another as to how they should travel along the road of life. And as they arrived at Red Banks, each one would ask the other to do some work. And there they made a sacred (covenant)—that they would never fail to grant one another's requests. Likewise they agreed that when they died they would bury one another. The Buffalo clan and the Water-spirit clan were to bury one another, and they were to ask one another to work." [764]

CLAN SONGS 614 533

*Song 1*

Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.

*Song 2*

This earth you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

*Song 3*

This day you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

"My son, here is some more information that one in your position should seek. This should be the second thing to ask for: 'What should one say when one gives a feast?' This you should ask for, and you should boil food for the informant and then you will be taught the proper speeches. Afterwards, when anyone boils food (i. e., gives a winter feast) a kettle should first be put on for Earthmaker and one should ask him for life; that the people may live to be strong and good. Include tobacco in your offering, for although Earthmaker made the tobacco he will not take any of it of his own accord. Not until it is offered to him by humans will he take it. 867 [783] [276] [103]

[a] The name *de cicik* is applied to-day to Lake Michigan. However, our informant in this case applied it to Devils Lake in Sauk County, Wis.

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## ORIGIN MYTHS

### FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

This is the origin story of the Deer people. In the beginning a 614
black deer accompanied by an elk appeared in the center of the 539
earth, and they went in the direction of the east. There they were 776
going. Then the black deer said, "My dear younger brother, I am heavy on account of my excessive fatness, go you alone and I will remain here." So he remained there and did not go; and then to the center of the earth, to the place from which they started, he returned. Then he came back to the earth, and again they asked him. Four times they asked. There the necklace of money ornaments he recognized, the black deer did.[34] Thus the Deer clan beat them, and therefore they have the name *Black-Deer-chief*. As they [551]
went so they returned again. Again the necklace made of money he (the black deer)[35] recognized. The earth they went around. Then again the black deer went to the east. It was a large one who went ahead, and as he was going along, to his astonishment, they reached the place from which they had started.

"My younger brother," said Black-deer, "you try to do it."[36] And the second-born went ahead and the others followed, and again they were drawn back to the place from which they started. Then the third-born went first and the others followed and the same thing happened. Then they told the fourth-born to go first, and he went in front and suddenly he struck his horn, the one on the right, upon the earth, and, behold, grass suddenly appeared. It was a very white bud that he had caused to appear. Then he struck his left horn on the earth, and he made a tree appear and the fruit of this tree was meant to be eaten. Then they ate the fruit of the tree. The top of the tree there they ate. Thus they said. And they
call a woman even to-day *She-who-eats-the-top-of-the-tree*. And then [551]
they began to walk and the earth trembled from their walking. Toward the east side they went. From this fact they have a name, *He-who-shakes-the-earth*. And again as some of the brothers were small they have the name *Small-deer*. They also have the name *Walking-leader*. And they also have names *She-who-comes-back* and *He-who-comes-back*, because in the beginning they always came back to the place from which they started. Whatever actions they went through, from these they derived their names.

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[34] The thought is not quite clear here, due to the fact that something has probably been omitted by the narrator.

[35] There seems to be a contest between the deer and the elk as to who would be able to see the "money-necklace" first. Under the term "money-necklace" they evidently mean the medallions distributed by the American Government to those whom they recognized as chiefs. The recognition of the "money-necklace" is evidently going to decide the chieftainship between the deer and the elk. [554 301]

[36] Some power is evidently drawing them back to the place from which they started.

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539 776 614 [823] [789] [551]

The four cardinal points and the winds that are there, they are in control of. If on a very nice day a deer's voice is heard, that day will become bad, and if on a very bad day a deer's voice is heard, that day will become nice. The deer people are those who are in control of the weather. And they also have a name, *He-who-plays-with-the-winds*, and a woman is called *She-who-goes-with-the-wind*. The deer would always sit with the wind back of them. Thus they roamed all over the earth. Not one place on this earth did they miss.

Once, when they had come home, their eldest brother suddenly fell down (dead). "What is the matter?" they said. And the second-born said, "Our oldest brother is not saying anything. I don't know what the matter is." And then they asked their youngest brother and he said, "Our oldest brother is dead. That is the way Earthmaker arranged things." And then he talked to the dead brother and he said, "Earthmaker has made a place for you to go to now that you are dead. You have not attained a large share of life and you have left us who remain on the earth in a pitiable condition. But now that you are going home I want to ask you something. Those years that are still coming to you, distribute among your relatives. This I beg of you. And this is the second request: May the warpaths that you did not go on (by reason of your death), may the war honors that you did not obtain, may all these things be distributed among us. This I ask of you, my dear brother. And this is the third request: May the food that you did not eat, the nuts, the sweet fruits, etc., all that you liked on earth, may it all be distributed among us. This is what I ask of you. And this is the fourth request, my dear older brother: May all the wearing apparel that belonged to you as well as all the materials that you stored in back of your tent, never to be touched by you, but may we who are left behind use it all. This I ask of you. Wherever you are going, may these requests of those whom you left here behind on earth be before you."

Then the younger brother took some red paint and he said, "Brother, I am going to paint you. Thus they will recognize you at home. That is the way we will always do it hereafter. Those who are to live after us will paint us in the same way. Now this is the manner of painting. The forehead and the corners of the eye are to be painted in black and red streaks, respectively, and the chin and the front part of the throat are to be painted red." Then he dug a grave. Then they buried him. Then they sang the songs and when they were finished with this, they traveled around the earth and came to the gathering place of the clans. When they came to that place they were people—i. e., human beings. They lived their own life just as they had as deers. All the incidents of their traveling as well as all the characteristics of deers were used in the names

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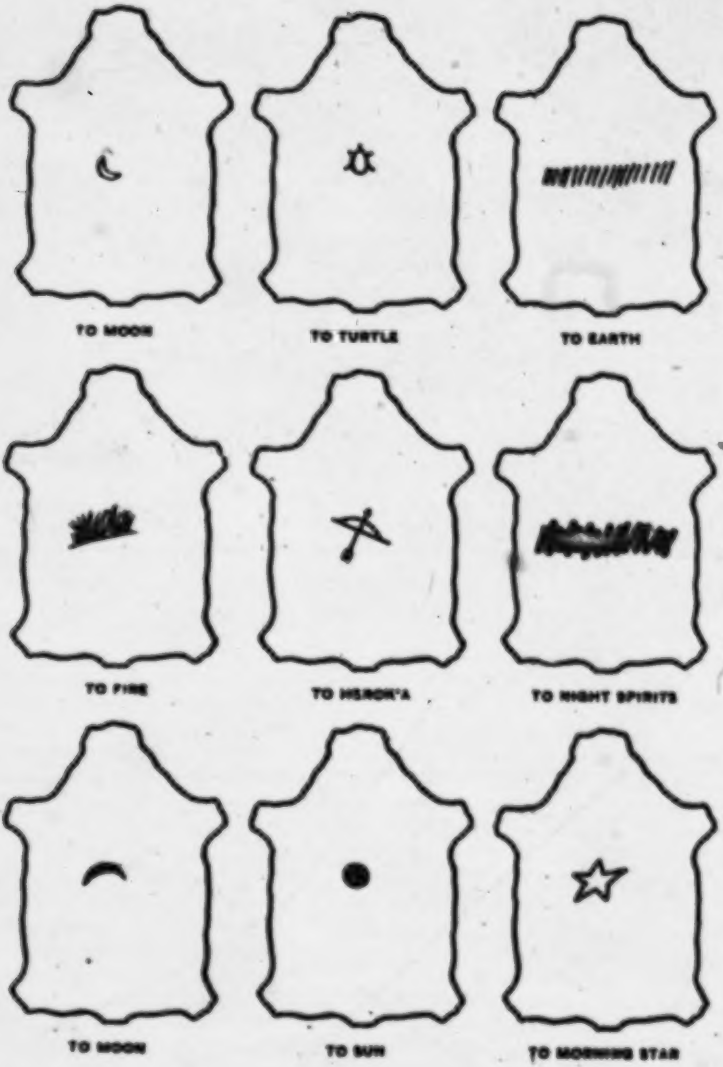


BUCKSKIN OFFERINGS

[Facing p. 248 (8)]

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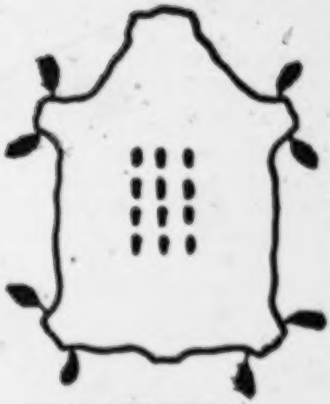

FOR DISEASE GIVER

FOR EARTHMAKER

FOR NIGHT SPIRITS

FOR THUNDERBIRD

DUCKSKIN OFFERINGS.

[facing p. 248 sq.]

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they gave one another. Thus they have the names *White-hair, Fast-one, Little-white-teeth, Diffident-one, Horn, Pronged-horn*, etc.; and for dogs they have names also. That is the way the deer people lived in the beginning at Red Banks, Within Lake. Bands of people gathered together there, and all the clans that exist now originated there. 539 776 614

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

The Deer clan people came up at the beginning of the earth. Only one is spoken of as appearing at the beginning. He started forth but returned again that he might look for a companion. For that reason a name exists in the tribe, *He-who-comes-back*, and another is *He-who-appears-first*. After they had appeared on earth the deer blew on the original fire, which was only smoldering, and made it blaze up. For that reason they claim a partial chieftainship. The first one that appeared had a chief's medal around his neck. [551]

CLAN SONG. 614 533

I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions
I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.

CLAN NAMES

TCA HIK'IK'ARAHJERA (DEER CLAN) 614

Tcaseph'ûnk'a. . . . . .Black deer chief. 551
Wagizena'pi'ga. . . . . .Wears shells around neck.
Tcanûnkra'pi'wings. . . . . .Deer vagina.
Mank'isagaveqga. . . . . .Appears in the middle of earth
Tcatcenikings. . . . . .First deer woman.

## The Elk Clan

INTRODUCTION

In the Elk clan origin myth we find the clear statement that Earth-maker created the ancestors of the clan, and that they were human beings. The myth resembles a village origin myth more than it does a clan origin myth. 614 [773 776]

The Elk clan seems to have had certain functions relative to the distribution of fire through the village and in camp. It was never a very large clan.

The Elk people claim half of the fire, and thus half of the chieftainship. They never hold fire toward any one. [372]

Elks are buried by the Snake, Water-spirit, and Eagle clans, although the first has the preference. [622] [764]

White clay is used in painting the dead.

According to another informant, the facial painting consisted of white and blue dots on the face (pl. 46). [302]

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### ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 539 ●776 Earthmaker created all human beings. When he was about to create them, then he thought it would be good to see something moving. So he made a man and he was very good. But Earthmaker thought he ought to have company, so he made a woman. Then he thought to himself, "How should they know one another." So some one came to life through the water and this one was an animal. He made a village in the west for the human beings, and he thought about it and then he thought he would ask the humans what they would like to live through (i. e., become reincarnated), and they said the elk, because the elk never committed any crime. The humans were not to commit any crime. So the four elks started for the meeting place at Green Bay, Red Banks. They had up to that time supposed that they were the only living things, but Earthmaker let the oldest of the elks know of the existence of the other clans. So there they came and lived as Winnebagos. Thus it is said. This is all that they ever tell.

### CLAN NAMES

HU"WA" HIK'IK'ARANJERA (ELK CLAN)

614 551
Roka"manîwinga.....Many walking.
Rok'ûhumanîwinga.....She who walks with the wind.
Tratchiruxewinga.....She who pursues the wind.

## Snake and Fish Clans

614 No information of any consequence was obtained about these two clans. Almost all the informants claimed that they were recent additions to the tribe. Only a very few survivors of either clan are still living.

### CLAN NAMES

WAK'A" HIK'IK'ARANJERA (SNAKE CLAN)

614 551
Hanhcimîh'a.....Lying snake.
Hip'ahiga.....He who has sharp teeth.
Hirodiga.....She who has attained her full growth.
K'ik'urodiwinga.....She who crawls.
K'irixmîanh'a.....Site coiled up.
Gîawek'îanh'a.....Site quiet in her (home).
Hokrîga.....High snake.

HO HIK'IK'ARANJERA (FISH CLAN)

Ho-epcudjewinga.....Red fish scale woman.

### CLAN APPELLATIONS NOT OBTAINED

Ha"bagawinga.....East woman.
Hanhmîanh'a.....Sitting chief.

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825
756 on the earth, have medicines that you are to use on earth. Whatever you say on earth it will be so. You have been blessed with all the things that are on and under the earth."

All the fowls and insects of the air, all the beings that have wings, blessed him and gave him medicines, which he was to mix with other medicines. He was told to make use of all the insects of the earth and air, some of which we never see. All those who live on earth, all the fishes in the water, and all the different kinds of water-spirits blessed him with medicines. He was blessed with, and told to use as medicines, all those plants that live in the water. He was blessed with the leech, one of the animals that lives in the water, and he was to use it in medicine mixing. They say that it is good to mix the leech with other medicines to relieve pain. He was blessed with all the trees, that we see to-day, which he was to use as medicines. Their bark, leaves, and roots are considered very good for such purposes. He was blessed also with all the small undergrowth, whose leaves, bark, inner bark, blossoms, and roots he was to use for medicine. He was blessed with all the weeds, and he was to use their heads and leaves for medicine, but their roots were to be used for other purposes.

Thus all the different kinds of plants that grow on this earth blessed him. The earth also blessed him and said to him, "Grandson, as the other spirits are blessing you, I, also, will bless you. Earthmaker has placed me here, and I therefore bless you with all plants that grow upon me, and all the trees and weeds and animals that exist on this earth, and lastly, with life and myself (i. e., earth). You may use me, and especially the blue clay that you derive from me, for medicines. Should you use as medicine all these things with which I have blessed you, especially if you use me, as medicine, you will be able to accomplish all that you attempt.

"If a person who is sick offers you tobacco (i. e., asks you to cure him), remember that I also would like to smoke and that it is for that reason that I have blessed you."[1]

[826] Birds, especially eagles, are used in the making of medicines. The entire body of a raven, including the heart and brains, are used, and also the following snakes: The gray snake, the black snake, the blue snake, the yellow snake, the bull snake, and the snake that [844 278 845] breaks itself in two. The rattlesnake is used in a mixture given to women when in labor. If a woman hurts herself during pregnancy and kills the child within her womb, she can be made to deliver the embryo if she uses the medicine mentioned above.

[776 782]

[1] According to general belief the spirits are supposed to have entered into a sort of "bargain" with the human beings by which they were to bestow their blessings upon them in exchange for tobacco, burnt-skin, and feathers. Of course, it must be understood that individuals must have the necessary requirements, such as a certain ability in of mind, feeling, etc., before their offering of tobacco has any meaning to the spirits.

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"'You will live (this is addressed to the patient), so help yourself as much as you can and try to make yourself strong. Now as I offer this tobacco to the spirits you must listen and if you know that I am telling the truth, you will be strengthened by it.'" 755 782 776 539

(What follows is the shaman's offering of tobacco to the spirits.)

"*Ha*" *ho!* Here is the tobacco, Fire. You promised me that if I offered you tobacco you would grant me whatever request I made. Now I am placing tobacco on your head as you told me to, when I fasted for four days and you blessed me. I am sending you the plea of a human being who is ill. He wishes to live. This tobacco is for you and I pray that the one who is ill be restored to health within four days.

"To you too, Buffalo, I offer tobacco. A person who is ill is offering tobacco to you and asking you to restore him to health. So add that power which I obtained from you at the time I fasted for six days and you sent your spirits after me who took me to your lodge which lies in the center of this earth and which is absolutely white. There you blessed me, you Buffaloes, of four different colors. Those blessings that you bestowed upon me then, I ask of you now. The power of breathing with which you blessed me, I am in need of now. Add your power to mine, as you promised. The people have given me plenty of tobacco for you.

"To you, Grizzly-bear, I also offered tobacco. At a place called Pointed Hill lives a spirit who is in charge of a ceremonial lodge and to this all the other grizzly-bears belong. You all blessed me and you said that I would be able to kill whomsoever I wished, and that at the same time I would be able to restore any person to life. Now, I have a chance to enable a person to live and I wish to aid him. So here is some tobacco for you. You took my spirit to your home after I had fasted for ten days and you blessed me there. The powers with which you blessed me there I ask of you now. Here is some tobacco, grandfathers, that the people are offering to you.

"To you, the Chief of the Eels, you who live in the center of the ocean, I offer tobacco. You blessed me after I had fasted for eight days. With your power of breathing and with your inexhaustible supply of water, you blessed me. You told me that I could use my blessing whenever I tried to cure a patient. You told me that I could use all the water in the ocean, and you blessed me with all the things that are in the water. A person has come to me and asked me for life; and as I wish him to live, I am addressing you. When I spit upon the patient may the power of my saliva be the same as yours. Therefore I offer you tobacco; here it is.

"To you, the Turtle, you who are in charge of a shaman lodge, you who blessed me after I had fasted seven days and carried my spirit to your home, where I found many birds of prey (literally, birds

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755 with sharp claws). There you blessed me and you told me that
782 should, at any time, any human being have a pain I would be able
● 776 to drive it out of him. For that reason you called me One-who-
539 drives-out-pains. Now before me is a person with a bad pain and I wish to take it out of him. That is what the spirits told me when they blessed me, before I came down to earth. Therefore I am going to heal him. Here is the tobacco.

"To you, who are in charge of the snake lodge, you who are perfectly white, Rattlesnake, I pray. You blessed me with your rattles to wrap around my gourd and you told me after I had fasted for four days that you could help me. You said that I would never fail in anything that I attempted. So now, when I offer you tobacco and shake my gourd, may my patient live and may life (an additional number of years) be opened to him. That is what you promised me, grandfather.

"I greet you, too, Night Spirits. You blessed me after I had fasted for nine days, and you took my spirit to your village which lies in the east, where you gave me your flutes which you told me were holy. You made my flute holy likewise. For these I ask you now, for you know that I am speaking the truth. A sick person has come to me and has asked me to cure him; and because I want him to live I am speaking to you. You promised to accept my tobacco at all times; here it is.

"To you, Disease-giver, I offer tobacco. After I had fasted two days you let me know that you were the one who gives diseases and that if I desired to heal anyone it would be easy for me to do so were I blessed by you. So, Disease-giver, I am offering you tobacco, and I ask that this sick person who has come to me be restored to health again as you promised when you bestowed your blessing upon me.

"To you, Thunderbirds, I offer tobacco too. When you blessed me you said that you would help me whenever I needed you. A person has come to me and asked me to cure him, and as I want him to live, I wish to remind you of your promise. Grandfathers, here is some tobacco.

"To you, the Sun, I offer tobacco too; here it is. You blessed me after I had fasted for five days and you told me that you would come to my aid whenever I had something difficult to do. Now, someone has come to me and pleaded for life, and he has brought good offerings of tobacco to me because he knows that you have blessed me.

"To you, grandmother, the Moon, I also offer tobacco. You blessed me and said that whenever I needed your power you would aid me. A person has come to me and asked for life, and I therefore call upon you to help me with your power as you promised. Grandmother, here is some tobacco.

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"To you, grandmother, the Earth, I too offer tobacco. You 755
blessed me and promised to help me whenever I needed you. You 782
said that I could use all the best herbs that grow upon you, and that 776
I would always be able to effect cures with them. Those herbs I ask 539
of you now, and I ask you to help me cure this sick person. Make my medicine powerful, grandmother.

"To you, Chief of the Spirits, I offer tobacco. You who blessed me and said that you would help me. I offer you tobacco and ask you to let this sick person live, and if his spirit is about to depart, I ask you to prevent it.

"I offer tobacco to all of you who have blessed me."

Then the shaman blew upon his flute, breathed upon the sick man and sang four times. Then he walked around the lodge and spat water upon the patient. After this he sang four times and stopped. The spirits would now let him know whether the patient was to live or die.

In this manner a shaman treats his patients for four days, and after that takes his offerings and goes away. If the sick person happens to recover, the shaman would tell him that he would never be sick again.

### Thundercloud's Fasting Experience

Then he (Thundercloud) told of his fasting experience. "At 756
the very beginning, those above taught me (the following). A 776
doctor's village existed there; and all the various spirits that lived up in the clouds came after me, and instructed me in what I was to do. In the beginning they taught me, and did the following for me. 'Human, let us try it,' they said to me. There, in the middle of the lodge, lay a dead, rottening log, almost completely covered with weeds. There they tried to make me treat (the sick person). Then once he breathed, and all those that were in the lodge also breathed; then the second time he breathed, and all breathed with him; then for the third time he breathed; and then for the fourth time he breathed. As a young man he, the dead log, arose and walked away. After the fourth breathing, he arose and walked away. 'Human, very holy he is,' they said to me.

"There, from the middle of the ocean, they (the spirits) came after me, for there, in the middle of the ocean, is a shamans' village. There they blessed me—as many (spirits) as there are in the middle of the ocean—they all blessed me. There they made me try my power. As many waves as there are, all of them as large as the ocean, they asked me to blow upon; and as I blew upon them, everything became (as quiet) as (water) in a small saucer. So it became. Then I blew for the third time, and again it was that way. The fourth time they made the ocean choppy, and had (the waves) piled

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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756 one upon the other; and they told me to blow again and show my power.
776 And I blew, and the ocean, mighty as it was, became quiet again.

" 'This, human, is the way you will have to do,' they said to me. 'Not anything will there be that you can't accomplish. Whatever illness all (the people) may have, you will be able to cure it,' they told me. All those who are on earth (the spirits) blessed me. 'If any human being who has suffered, pours tobacco for you, then, whatever you demand, that we will do for you,' they said to me. At Blue-Clay-Bank (St. Paul) there is one who is a dancing grizzly-bear (spirit), and there they came and blessed me. If ever I should meet with some great trouble, they would help me, they said. I should pour as much tobacco as I think (necessary) for them, and they will smoke it, they told me. Songs they gave to me; and the power of beholding them, a holy thing, they permitted me, they told me; and their claws, which are holy, they gave to me, they told me. Then the grizzly-bears danced, performing while they danced. Their abdomen they would tear open, and making themselves holy, they would then heal themselves. Then they did it again, and shot bear-claws at each other, and they were badly choking with blood. Then they made themselves holy, and cured themselves. Now, again, they did the following: they made a front paw disappear in the dirt, and after a while they pulled out a prairie-turnip. Then, again, they grabbed a hold of a small plum tree that stood there, and breathed upon it, and shook it, and many plums began to fall.

"Then all sorts of 'shells' they gave. 'All of this, human, we bless you with; and if you do (what we desire), you will obtain (what you desire),' they said. Then he sang, and breathed (upon me), and squirted some water on my chest. 'Very true this is; very holy it is, I believe,' he said. 'You will get well,' he said to me."

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along, the amount of food required, the number of moccasins necessary, the number and strength of the enemy, where he was to meet them, etc.—that only such a man might start on a warpath. If an individual failed to give the proper assurances and guarantees to the chief, his expedition was not countenanced. If, nevertheless, he went, any mishap was directly chargeable to him. 726 737

In other words, we are dealing here with a more or less fixed way of describing the mundane happenings of life. The terminology is religious, but does that mean that there is always a religious feeling attached to it? That is the crucial question to determine. We believe that the religious element in such a happening depends upon the religious susceptibility of the individual concerned. It is quite possible that a devoutly religious man may think of the religious aspect of a rite or action more than one who is but indifferently religious, but he will never for one moment forget that the questions involved here are of a purely human nature. The most that can be said of the religious element of the two particular cases mentioned above is that they will spur the person on. Perhaps it is the realization that such is the case that often prompts the more matter-of-fact individuals to lay such stress on fasting preparatory to starting on a warpath. There, indeed, seems to have been a matter-of-fact movement in the tribe, for the members of the Warrior clan claimed that they could dispense with the fasting, and that mere membership in that particular clan gave them the right to go on a warpath whenever they wished to. This we know was vigorously denied by other individuals. 771 [614 787]

The Winnebago has no disinterested, unselfish love for the spirit or deity to whom he prays, except in so far as every man is likely to develop such an attitude at some crisis or when his mind is fixed intently on the attainment of some personal advantage. Then, naturally enough, the spirits who are to bestow these blessings are addressed in the most laudatory terms. To show how intimately these spirits are bound up with the worldly affairs of man and how little they mean to him apart from this we have but to point out that, for the vast majority of Winnebago, the spirits' freedom of action is conceived of as definitely restricted. There seems to be a purely mechanical relation of cause and effect between the offerings of men and their acceptance by the spirits. The latter are not free to reject them except in theory. Was it not ordained by Earthmaker, when the earth was created, that in return for tobacco the spirits were to bestow blessings on man? So every Winnebago believes. The religious leaders insisted that only when the proper offerings were made in the proper way would the spirits bestow their blessings. But after all is said and done, the chances that the proper conditions would not be fulfilled were negligible And we doubt whether this 776 782 771

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776 rather high conception was shared by all the Winnebago. Our
782 impression is that many Winnebago believed the offering would
771 be mechanically followed by the blessing. Take, for instance, the following example: A middle-aged Winnebago while hunting was suddenly surprised by the enemy. He succeeded in making his escape into a cave. All hope of final delivery seemed to be gone, for the enemy stationed themselves before the entrance. Now this man had never been blessed in his youth and knew little about the proper procedure to observe when making offerings to the spirits. In this terrible crisis he turned instinctively to the spirits. He took some tobacco and put some in the different nooks of the cave, and said: "Spirits, whoever you are, and wherever you are, it is said that you love tobacco and that in return for it you bless people. Here is some tobacco, and I ask that I may return to my people." There was, as far as we know, no promise made that in return he would make further offerings to them or that he would thereafter love them and honor them. He escaped and unquestionably believed that it was due to the intervention of the spirits, but the spirits were, quite clearly, constrained to act because they had received tobacco.

There can be little doubt that many Winnebago felt as this man did. We find an expression of the same attitude in a myth. The Winnebago are represented as making offerings to the buffalo spirits, and the smoke is ascending to the home of these spirits through a hole in the sky. The younger buffalos can not resist the temptation of approaching the opening to catch a few whiffs of their favorite tobacco. They are thereupon warned by the older buffalos not to go too close, for the tobacco fumes might tempt them too strongly; and should they succumb to the temptation and accept the offerings, they would then have to appear on earth and be killed by man.
776 As might have been expected, there is in the relation of the spirits
782 to man something similar to the securing of the food animal by some
771 such ceremony as the *wana'kere*. The spirits are dazzled, hypnotized
825 by the offerings, and accept.

In the second of the examples given above we were dealing with a food animal—the buffalo. If there is any plausibility in the explanation we advanced before that the Winnebago interprets religion in terms of life, the relation of the spirits to the food supply ought to show it. Now, it is characteristic of the Winnebago religion that the great generalized spirit deities, like Earthmaker, Sun, Moon, etc., have little to do with the securing of specific kinds of food. As a rule, some generalized spirit-animal presides over the various species of animals, and he gladly permits the animals to appear on earth to be killed by man when the proper offerings are made. This seems to have been a secondary interpretation, however, developed probably
[756] under the influence of the shamans as a substitute for the purely mechanical attitude mentioned above. To picture the food animals

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as desirous of being killed and eaten by man is, however, but another way of saying that the food animals were killed and eaten, and were secondarily and weakly brought into the general religious life, because everything was seen through a religious vista. It is by no means certain that this was always the case, and there seem to be innumerable indications in the myths that there was a time when the securing of the food animals was not connected with religion as such. 776 782 771 825

Just as the securing of food animals is to-day connected with certain spirits, so are the various activities of man during his life. But characteristically it is not a generalized conception of life, but life as consisting of a prescribed number of years, with so many war honors, so much wealth, so much food consumed, so many children, etc. The spirits are exhorted to give to every man his allotted number of years, food, etc. These are apparently his by right, and if he dies before his time the ghost of the deceased is asked to beg the spirits to distribute among his relatives the "unused" years, food, etc. So here, too, we have a clear example of the explanation of purely materialistic conception of life in terms of religion. 771 782 776

It will be best to discuss the main features of Winnebago religion under the following heads: 771

I. The religious concepts:
   1. The concept of supernatural power.
   2. The concept and nature of the spirits.
   3. The power and localization of the spirits.

II: 1. The twofold interpretation of the relation of the spirits to man.
   2. The guardian spirits.
   3. Personal religious experiences.

III. Methods of bringing the spirits into relation with man:
   1. Fasting.
   2. Mental concentration.
   4. Offerings and sacrifices.
   5. Prayers.

IV. The folkloristic concepts:
   1. The concept of evil.
   2. The concept of disease.
   3. The concepts of death, after-life, and reincarnation.
   4. The concept of the soul.

V. The cosmological ideas.

## The Concept of Supernatural Power[1]

The Winnebago have no such belief in a "magic power" as Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt and Mr. W. Jones would have us believe exists among [114]

[1] For a general discussion of this concept in North America cf. my paper on the "Religion of the North American Indians," Journal of American Folklore, vol. 27, no. 106, pp. 335-373.

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T71 the Iroquois and Fox.[1] In the article mentioned above we have
[114] given our reasons for believing that these ethnologists were mistaken in their interpretation.

T76 In the Winnebago language the four words most commonly used
192 in speaking of the spirits are *wak'a*ⁿ, *wak'a'ndja*, *xop*, and *wazop'i'ni*. *Wak'a*ⁿ seems exactly equivalent to our word "sacred," while *wak'a'ndja*, which is identical with the Omaha word *wakonda*, means thunderbird. In all likelihood it originally meant "he who is sacred" or something like that. It has nothing to do with the word "thunder," which is *k'oire* in Winnebago. The word *wak'a*ⁿ also means snake, for the snake is a holy animal among the Winnebago, the messenger of the spirits. The word *xop*, identical with the Omaha *xube*, is more difficult to define. It means sacred and awe-inspiring and seems to be associated, in the eyes of the Winnebago, with the intensely emotional aspects of religion, where self is completely forgotten. Those ceremonies, in which the performers work
[786] themselves into a frenzy of excitement and dance naked, are always referred to as *xop*. The word *wazop'i'ni* is clearly a noun compounded of the indefinite prefix *wa-* and the suffix *-ni*, which possibly is an old agentive nominalizer, or, more probably, an old stem meaning "man." It occurs also in the word *manka'ni*, medicine-man. In other words it means "he who" or "that which is holy." *Wazop'i'ni* is the only Winnebago word for spirit. Both the words *wak'andja* and *wazop'i'ni* are very definite terms referring to individualized spirits.

T76 As to the use of the adjectives *wak'a*ⁿ and *xop*, there seems to be
T71 little mystery about them. They are used much as our words
192 "holy" and "sacred." Anything in any way connected with the spirits is either *wak'a*ⁿ or *xop*. If a Winnebago were to come across some unusually shaped object he might offer tobacco to it, and upon being questioned he would undoubtedly say that the object is *wak'a*ⁿ. What is it that he means by *wak'a*ⁿ? From my experience in the field he simply means that it is "sacred," and if pressed for a more definite answer he would probably say that it has the power of

[1] According to Mr. Hewitt, *orenda* is a "magic power which was assumed . . . to be inherent in every holy . . . and in every personified attribute, property, or activity . . . This hypothetic principle was conceived to be immaterial, occult, impersonal, mysterious in mode of action . . . The possession of orenda . . . is the distinctive characteristic of all the gods, and these gods in earlier time were all the bodies and beings of nature in any manner affecting the weal or woe of man." (Article "Orenda" in the Handbook of American Indians, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, pt. 2.) According to W. Jones, the mana "is an unsystematic belief in a cosmic, impersonal property, which is believed to be existing everywhere in nature . . . The conception of this something wavers between that of a communicable property, that of a mobile, invisible substance, and that of a latent transferable energy: . . . this substance, property, or energy is conceived as being widely diffused amongst natural objects and human beings . . . the presence of it is promptly assigned as the explanation of any unusual power or efficacy which any object or person is found to possess: . . . It is a distinct and rather abstract conception of a diffused, all-pervasive, invisible, manipulable, and transferable life-energy, or universal force . . . (Finally) all success, strength, or prosperity is conceived to depend upon the possession of (this force)."—"The Algonkin Manitou" (Journal of American Folklore, vol. 18, no. LXX, pp. 183-190, 1905).

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bestowing blessings upon him in other words, of acting like a spirit, a *wazop'i'ni*. That is why he offers tobacco to it. We would be inclined to say that the individual finding such an object has created a new spirit. Such a new spirit may be forever confined to the particular family to which the individual belongs. It might die with him, or, on the other hand, it might acquire great importance and popularity and become a tribal spirit. What seems to have happened, in the vast majority of cases, however, among the Winnebago, is that owing to the marked development of the spirit-deities and cosmogonic myths, such "sacred" objects were interpreted as being either some manifestation of a spirit, some transformation which he had assumed, or as inhabited by a spirit. 776 771 192

The reason why, in our opinion, so many ethnologists have apparently misinterpreted the nature of *wak'a*ⁿ is due to the fact that when something that, from the European viewpoint, is immaterial and inanimate, like vapor, light, movement, etc., is called *wak'a*ⁿ, then it seems difficult for them to imagine that it can be so except by virtue of some intimate connection with a definite spirit, and if that can not be demonstrated, then the only solution left is to fall back upon the "magic power" idea. By doing this they clearly show that for them the test of individualization is corporeality of a fairly definite kind, dependent mainly upon visual sensations. This brings us to a fundamental problem, not only for Winnebago religion, but for North American religion in general. 771 114

### The Concept and Nature of the Spirits

Those Indians who have never spent any time thinking upon the nature of spirits can not truly be said to have any concept of their nature, whether vague or definite. They simply repeat what they have heard from the more religiously inclined. An answer prompted by a moment's consideration, as is often the case when an ethnologist interrogates them, does not necessarily reflect the current view of the subject, nor, for that matter, even the same Indian's belief after he has given the matter some thought. Many Winnebago, with whom the author was fairly well acquainted, refused to answer certain questions offhand and asked for time to reflect about them. It seems justified, when we are studying a subject like religion, to ask for information from those who have, in all probability, formulated the beliefs the shamans. It is from them that we must strive to learn whether the spirits are conceived of as anthropomorphic, theromorphic, dream-phantasms, or indefinite entities in general. 776 124

In trying to discover this the author found, not only that he was asking a leading question, but that he was asking an unnecessary question. It was soon quite clear that the Winnebago did not

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[124] base their test of the existence of a spirit on the presence or absence of corporeality; in other words, upon such sense perceptions as sight and hearing. It is because we Europeans do insist that the presence or absence of corporeality is the test of reality or unreality that we have been led to make the classification into personal and impersonal. But the Winnebago apparently does not insist that existence depends upon sense perceptions alone. He claims that what is thought of, what is felt, and what is spoken, in fact, anything that is brought before his consciousness, is a sufficient indication of its existence and it is the question of the existence and reality of these spirits in which he is interested. The question of their corporeality is of comparative unimportance and most of the questions connected with the personal or impersonal nature of the spirits do not exist.

It is clear that if comparatively little stress has been laid by the Winnebago on the personality of the spirits, it will be difficult to define them precisely except by their names, by their attributes, and by the nature of the blessings which they bestow on man. What seems to stand out most prominently in the attitude of the Winnebago toward their spirits is the intense belief in the reality of their existence, which is due first to what might be called the "emotional authority" for their existence, and secondly, to the fact that the life values of man are intensely real and the spirits are theoretically in control of these life values.

To the average Winnebago the world is peopled by an indefinite number of spirits who manifest their existence in many ways, being either visible, audible, felt emotionally, or manifesting themselves by some sign or result. From a certain point of view, all the spirits demonstrate their existence by the result, by the fact that the blessings they bestow upon man enable him to be successful, and this holds just as much for the spirit who manifests himself in the most intangible, emotional manner as for that one who is visible to man.

In all those areas where a well-developed ritualistic organization exists a fairly large number of theromorphic and anthropomorphic spirits is found. In many cases these are real deities. This is true for the Winnebago. Exactly how definite and distinct this theromorphic and anthropomorphic nature of the spirits is will depend largely on the individual history that the spirit has undergone. Where tricksters and animal heroes have become spirits or deities their theromorphic nature is marked. Other deities, like Earthmaker, Disease-giver, the Thunderbirds, etc., have become markedly anthropomorphic, owing to the reinterpretations and remodeling of the shamans. Often enough the reinterpretations are not thorough and we find deities of an apparently mixed type.

Those who care to get a detailed description of the various deities of the Winnebago should read the various prayers found in such

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ceremonies as the war-bundle feasts, buffalo dance, sage-eye dance, 776
etc. We will enumerate but a few of them here.

The principal deities of the Winnebago are: Earthmaker, Sun, Moon, Earth, Morning Star, Disease-giver, Thunderbird, Water-spirit, etc.

*Earthmaker.* He is known to the Winnebago under three names: *Ma'una*, earthmaker; *waja'gu'zera*, he-who-makes-something; and *wazepa'ni zedera*, the great spirit. Of these the last is the most archaic, which might imply that originally Earthmaker was merely the great spirit. In the hands of the shamans, to whom the development and elaboration of the great Winnebago ceremonies like the medicine dance and the war-bundle feasts were due, he became [756] almost a true monotheistic deity, benevolent but unapproachable. In the older myths, like the trickster and hero cycles (cf. for instance, the *wak'djuk'aga* and hare cycle), he is hardly mentioned except as a clear afterthought. In another cycle, like that of the twins, where he is definitely mentioned, he is treated like a spirit similar to the other spirits, although superior to them, but in no way resembling the benevolent deity that we find in the origin myth of the medicine dance (p. 350). How and when this development took place, and whether the introduction of Christianity had anything to do with it, it is difficult to say. All indications seem to be overwhelmingly against the latter assumption, although it can not be entirely dismissed. As we have indicated in a previous paper,[3] there appears to have been a well-developed pre-Columbian belief in a good and bad spirit among the woodland Indians. The Winnebago shared in this belief and Earthmaker developed his present position through the displacement of the chief bad spirit called *Herregunina*.

The older conception of Earthmaker seems to crop out also in the [787] occasional attempts of individuals to obtain blessings from him. (Cf. the tale of Wegi'ceka, p. 291.)

Little can be learned as to the actual appearance of Earthmaker In the origin myth of the medicine dance he is described as though he were clearly anthropomorphic. The symbol associated with him [796 in the war-bundle feasts, the cross, is unquestionably supposed to 823] represent the four cardinal points.

Earthmaker is not supposed to bestow any definite blessings on man. He is, in a general way, expected to give them life. There is but little real worship of him because he is far removed from man and is supposed to come into relation with them only through his intermediaries, the spirits. According to the cosmological myths he

[3] The Religion of the North American Indians, Journ. Am. Folklore, vol. 27, no. 106.

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[776] created everything with the definite purpose of benefiting mankind in contrast to the creative acts of the old Trickster. It is very instructive to notice how he gradually usurped the place formerly held by the older spirit-deities and clan ancestors. In the clan origin myths there are a number of versions where he directs certain spirit animals, the ancestors of the clan, to go down to earth, while in other apparently older versions nothing is said of him.

*Sun.* The sun is known to the Winnebago generally as *ha*hwira*, orb of day, and ceremonially as *ha*hwandjera*, day-wanderer. He does not occupy to-day the position he formerly held. There are a number of indications that seem to point to the fact that his worship diminished when that of Earthmaker began to assert itself. Many of his functions and powers were likewise taken over by the Thunderbirds, who, although they distinctly belong to the older strata of Winnebago beliefs, have yet assumed their present importance apparently in connection with the development of the Earthmaker belief.

[773] The sun is occasionally spoken of in myths, but rarely as a culture hero. In only one myth collected was he the hero of the myth. There he appears as the husband of the moon and as an anthropomorphic being who possesses an all-powerful disk (the sun).

[782] Offerings are frequently made to him, but he rarely blesses an individual. In other words, he is not a true guardian spirit. He only blesses men and upon them he always confers success in war.

*Moon.* The moon, like the sun, probably formerly occupied a more important place in the Winnebago pantheon. She is a female deity and blesses women, although, like the sun, she is not a true guardian spirit.

*Earth.* Earth, like the moon, is a female deity. She is one of the oldest deities of the Winnebago and appears as the grandmother in some of the oldest myth cycles, like that of the hare. Offerings are [782] made to her at the various ceremonies, particularly at the medicine dance and the war-bundle feasts. She never appears as a guardian spirit.

[756] The earth is one of the deities who has received considerable reinterpretation at the hands of the shamans. In the myths she is a purely folk-mythological figure in no way interested in furthering the welfare of mankind. On the contrary, she is spoken of as the sister of those bad spirits who are bent on destroying the human race. Her rôle as a beneficent deity probably developed in connection with that of the hare, her grandchild, according to the old folklore notions, transformed when he became associated with the founding of the medicine dance or its older Winnebago predecessor from a typical trickster to an heroic animal deity.

*Morning Star.*—This is one of the spirits belonging to the older strata of Winnebago beliefs, who apparently was not displaced by

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the newer deities. He is both a great deity and a guardian spirit. 776
That he developed out of the indefinite "folklore-spirits" is abundantly attested by the rôle he plays in the myths.

Morning Star is preeminently associated with war.

*Disease-giver.* This is but an approximate translation of his name in Winnebago, which is *hoere'u' wahira*. He is a very peculiar figure, being described as an anthropomorphic figure, dealing out death from one side of his body and life from the other. He is preeminently a guardian spirit who only appears to the bravest and [726
holiest fasters. His specific blessings seem to be connected with war 755]
and the curing of disease.

He appears in none of the myths and in but few of the ceremonies. He plays a very important rôle in the war-bundle feasts.

It is rather difficult to explain his origin. He seems hardly to be a deity of the people and can best be understood, it seems, if we regard him as largely a construction of the shaman. Certain of his characteristics may have been borrowed from some neighboring tribe.

*Thunderbird.* Thunderbird is another of the older folkloristic conceptions that has been remodeled and reinterpreted by the shamans. He might be said to be the most popular of Winnebago deities. He is found everywhere—in the oldest myths, the clan origin myths, and the newest myths; he is a clan ancestor, a popular guardian spirit, and a popular deity. In contradistinction to practically all of the other deities, he is regarded as easily approachable by man.

To the popular mind he is distinctly theromorphic in form, causing lightning by the flashes of his eyes and thunder by the flapping of his wings. In some of the versions of the clan origin myth we still find this conception. In the hands of the shamans he became an anthropomorphic deity, characterized by baldness and the wearing [756]
of bay wreaths. Something of the older conception still clings to him, however, for he frequently acts as a bird and the flashing of his eyes still causes lightning. His baldness itself is an archaic feature, because the Thunderbird originally was supposed to be a kind of eagle.

Many representations of the Thunderbird can be found on various articles and in the effigy mounds.

He blesses men with practically everything, but particularly with [726]
victory on the warpath.

*Water-spirit.*—The meaning of the Winnebago word for this deity, *wak'teri*, is unknown. The translation "Water-spirit" does not claim to have anything to do with the real meaning of the word, but it was preferred by the Winnebago because this deity is always pictured as a water monster.

He is one of the older folkloristic conceptions and has not been [756]
very greatly reinterpreted by the shamans. The Thunderbird is sup-

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●776 posed to be at eternal enmity with him, and for that reason he is regarded by most of the Winnebago as a sort of a mixed deity, partly evil and partly good, but always to be feared and capable of bestowing great blessings on man. Owing to the fact that he has become [614] identified as the clan ancestor of one of the most important Winnebago clans, he has undergone a partial rehabilitation.

The Water-spirit is an important figure in the older myths, and in them seems to be identified with the bad spirits. The attitude of the Winnebago toward him is full of inconsistencies. He is evil, yet his [778] "bones" are the most prized possessions of man on account of the remarkable power with which they are endowed. He is an evil spirit, yet according to an apparently old myth (the Traveler) one of the Water-spirits is the spirit deity in control of the earth.

In addition to these marked anthropomorphic and theromorphic spirit deities, the Winnebago, as mentioned before, have a large number of vague spirits, like fire, light, etc., and a legion of animal spirits. The latter show some interesting transitions extending all the way from purely nonspirit heroic animals to distinct spirits, conceived of as animal in shape but noncorporeal. In many cases it is, of course, [825] quite impossible to say how marked the "spirit" nature of the animal is, because it often depends on who is looking at it. To the ordinary nonreligious Winnebago the hare is mainly an heroic animal; to the religious Winnebago or a member of the medicine dance he is a spirit-animal or even a spirit-deity. In the same way different conceptions are held about the nature of the animal clan ancestors, some thinking of them as heroic animals and others as generalized noncorporeal spirit-animals and spirit-deities. Wherever guardian spirits are animals they also become noncorporeal spirit-animals. One of the reasons given by the Winnebago for the fact that the different guardian spirit-animals do not object to the killing of animals of their own species is because, in killing a bear a Winnebago is not killing his guardian spirit, the bear, for the latter is a generalized spirit-bear in control of all the bears who appear on earth.

In a number of cases it is not at all difficult to trace the development of a trickster hero, an anthropomorphic hero, or an heroic animal, into a spirit to whom offerings are made. Thus, for instance, [782] kettles and often buckskins are offered to *wak'djvgk'a'ga*, hare, and the twins, at the war-bundle feasts.

## The Power and Localization of the Spirits

According to the Winnebago, spirits possess the power of bestowing upon man all those things that are of socio-economic value to him. These may vary from such very important economic things as rain

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or success on the warpath to the most insignificant trifles. Practically any spirit, no matter how indefinitely conceived, can bestow generalized blessings. On the whole, however, these powers are conceived of as being in the hands of a comparatively small number, and the same powers are frequently possessed by different spirits. This will become clear after a careful perusal of the fasting experiences. 776

As to the prevalence of the belief in the localization of spirits, not only among the Winnebago but over all North America, there can no longer be any doubt. Among the Winnebago there are as many spirits as there are lakes, hills, rivers, etc., and all these are looked upon from two points of view, first as the bestowers of certain blessings and, secondly, as the protectors of their own precincts. In the first case they are generally identical with the guardian spirits. In the second case they are simply vague, indistinct spirits to whom offerings are made for temporary protection. So when a Winnebago crossed a river or lake he poured tobacco into the water as a recompense for trespassing, and uttered the prayer that no storms should arise or that he should not come to grief. [171] [782]

As to whether the spirits here are the lakes, rivers, hills, etc., or some being inhabiting them, the answer is, unquestionably the latter.

## The Twofold Interpretation of the Relation of the Spirits to Man

We mentioned before (p. 279) that the interpretation of the relationship between the spirits and man was largely mechanical, blessings being secured apparently independent of any volition on the part of the spirits, for if the Winnebago make the requisite offerings to the Thunderbirds they must accept them and bestow on the suppliant the powers they possess. While this interpretation was undoubtedly the popular one, the shamans tried to develop another explanation what might be called a "contract" theory. The spirits possessed the various powers without which man could achieve only a modicum of success; and man possessed tobacco, corn, eagle feathers, buckskin, etc. His principal possession, however, was tobacco, and this had been given him directly by Earthmaker. The contract was definite and distinct: man was to give the spirits tobacco, etc.; and the spirits were to give man the powers they controlled. Accompanying this change of interpretation, there was a difference of attitude, the principal characteristic of which was a heightened religious feeling. This change of interpretation is clearly shown in the concept of the guardian spirit. [756]

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THE GUARDIAN SPIRITS

776 In the concept of the guardian spirits we have a mixture of both the "mechanical" and the "contract" theories. The guardian spirits themselves are, to our mind, but the transformed localized spirits; in other words, the *genii loci*. They are supposed to protect the individual to whom they appear in the same way as the *genii loci* protected their precinct. While theoretically every Winnebago could have his own guardian spirit, there seems to have been a marked [428 424] tendency for certain guardian spirits to be inherited. This was so, not because there was any distinct development of the idea of inheritance, but because certain definite powers were associated with the spirits, like success in hunting, fishing, etc. In terms of everyday life this simply meant that a good hunter would try to make his sons and near relatives good hunters; in religious terminology it meant that a son was blessed by the same guardian spirit as the father. (Cf. the fasting experience on p. 293.)

The following fasting experiences will show clearly what powers are supposed to be possessed by the various guardian spirits. The attitude with which the faster approaches the ordeal clearly varies from that of childish playfulness to one of considerable religious intensity, always remembering that we are dealing with boys and girls before the adolescent stage. Perhaps the best way of putting it would be to say that we are dealing with a stereotyped expression of life, reading as follows: "I am a successful hunter; I am a prominent warrior, etc.; and I am told that I have become such because I have done what my elders told me, have practiced these professions diligently, and made offerings to the spirits." Such a formula might be put in the mouth of the youthful faster, but it meant nothing until it was interpreted much later in terms of each man's experience in life.

[787] The youth's fasting experience is carefully tested by the elders, and if found wanting in any respect the youth has either to try again or give up.

The guardian spirit is not supposed to be in permanent attendance upon man. It is only when he is needed, in the crises of life, that he is brought into relation with man; and it is quite characteristic of the markedly materialistic basis of the belief that the spirit is only called into aid for the particular needs of the case.

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## Personal Religious Experiences[1]

### HOW WEGI'CEKA TRIED TO SEE EARTHMAKER[2]

Once there was a Winnebago whose name was Wegi'ceka. As soon as he was grown up his father begged him to fast. The old man told his son that Earthmaker, when he created this earth, made many good spirits and that he put each one of them in control of powers with which they could bless human beings. Some he placed in control of war powers. If these spirits bless an individual, he will always be victorious on the warpath. Earthmaker told the human beings to fast for these powers and then they would be rich and powerful. Now, my son, if Earthmaker has put all these spirits in charge of something, he himself must be in charge of much more power. Thus the old man reasoned and the son thought the same. So he tried to "dream" of Earthmaker. "I wonder what sort of blessings Earthmaker bestows on people," he thought to himself.

None of the spirits blessed Wegi'ceka during his fastings. He was always thinking of Earthmaker and asking him to bless him. Wegi'ceka made himself extremely "pitiable" and wept. He could not stop. "Perhaps I will be able to see Earthmaker if I weep," he thought to himself. "Indeed, if Earthmaker does not bless me I will die during my fast."

He fasted continuously without stopping. Verily, he fasted for Earthmaker. First he fasted for 4 nights, and then for 6 nights, and then for 8 nights, for 10, and finally for 12 nights. Yet he received no blessing of any kind. After fasting 12 nights he stopped and ate something. He kept fasting on until he had grown to be a fully developed man. Then he stopped and married and, accompanied by his wife, he moved away from his village to some uninhabited place. There he lived alone with his wife. There again he fasted and his wife helped him. As before, he tried to have Earthmaker bestow a blessing upon him. This time he made up

[1] Some religious experiences belonging to Winnebagos well known to the tribe have been cast, in a literary form and handed down from one generation to another. The literary mold in which they have been cast does not in the least interfere with their value as excellent examples of personal experiences, and for that reason I will include one of them here.

[2] Earthmaker is supposed never to bless any human being, but there are a number of accounts of individuals who tried without success, nevertheless, to have him bless them. What the people, however, meant by lack of success was not so much a total lack of success as an incomplete blessing. So, for instance, Wegi'ceka does really receive a curse as a blessing from Earthmaker, and he has the right to call upon him afterwards in the same way as he calls upon other "guardian spirits." Earthmaker does not, however, appear to him in the way an ordinary spirit would—that is, he neither appears to him as a man nor in the form of a voice uttering some blessing, but as a flash of light.

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776 his mind once and for all that if Earthmaker did not bless him he
787 would die during his fast. "It is true," he said to himself, "that no
539 one has ever heard of anyone being blessed by Earthmaker, but nevertheless I will either obtain a blessing from him or die in the attempt."

As time passed on his wife gave birth to a male child. Then the man said, "We will offer up our son to Earthmaker," and the woman consented. So they sacrificed their son to Earthmaker. Then they placed the body of the child on a scaffold and wept bitterly. "Surely," he said to himself, "Earthmaker will bless us to-night." And indeed during the night he came to him. Wegi'ceka felt positive that it was he. He wore a soldier's uniform and a cocked hat and he was pleasing to the sight. Wegi'ceka looked and wondered whether it was really Earthmaker. Then this person took a step forward toward Wegi'ceka. "Indeed it must be," he thought. Then he took another step in his direction and uttered something. Wegi'ceka looked and saw that it was not Earthmaker but a pigeon. The spirits had fooled him. His heart ached, but, undaunted, he again fasted, and after a while Earthmaker seemed to come to him and say, "Man, I bless you. For a long time you have wept and made yourself pitiable. I am indeed Earthmaker." When Wegi'ceka looked again he beheld something pleasing to the sight and he liked it. The clothing the man wore was pleasing and Wegi'ceka now felt certain that this person was Earthmaker. He looked at him again and it seemed to him as if Earthmaker was getting smaller and smaller, and as he looked for the fourth time he saw that he had been looking at a little bird all the time. Then his heart ached all the more, and he cried even more bitterly than before. Then for the third time Earthmaker blessed him and spoke to him. "You have tried to 'dream' of Earthmaker and you have worried yourself to death. Behold, I am Earthmaker and I will bless you and you will never be in want of anything. You will be able to understand the language spoken by strange tribes and you will never be wanting in the goods of life." Then he looked up for the first time, but when he saw the individual who had spoken to him he thought that there was something wrong. Soon he saw that the one who had spoken to him was a bird.

Then for the last time he tried to "dream" of Earthmaker. He did not eat anything and positively resolved to die if Earthmaker did not appear to him. He felt bad, for he thought that all the bad birds (spirits) were laughing at him.

He fasted, and soon Earthmaker, far above, heard his voice and said, "Wegi'ceka, you are weeping bitterly. For your sake, I will come to the earth." Then Earthmaker told Wegi'ceka that when he (Wegi'ceka) looked at him he would see a ray of light extending from

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above far down to his camp. That far it would reach. "Only thus, 776
Wegi'ceka, can you see me. What you ask of me (to see me face to 787
face) I can not grant you. But, nevertheless, you may tell (your 539
fellowmen) that you saw me." Thus he spoke to him. He did not bless him with war powers. Only with life did he bless him.

Then Wegi'ceka tried to draw a picture of the flash of light extending from the heavens to his camp, just as he had seen it, upon a cane. To that cane he sacrificed. The descendants of Wegi'ceka are using cane even to the present day.

ACCOUNT OF J.'S FASTING

When I reached the age of puberty my father called me aside and 159
told me to fast. He told me that it was his fervent wish that I should 787
begin to fast, so that I might become holy and invincible and invul- 867
nerable in war. I would become like one of those Winnebagoes of whom stories are told. In future generations the people would speak of me often. For these reasons he wished me to fast. He assured me that if I fasted I would really be holy and that nothing on this earth would be able to harm me. I would also live a very long life, he told me. I would be able to treat the sick and cure them. That holy I would be, he told me. If I acted in this way, my father told me, no person would dare to make fun of me and they would always be careful of the manner in which they addressed me, both because they respected me and because they were afraid of incurring my enmity. For these reasons my father counseled me to fast and to continue fasting from the late fall until spring. During that time I should fast without stopping. In the spring, however, I was to stop, because many bad spirits are about at that time and they might deceive me. If he thought that I was not doing enough fasting he would urge me on with words, saying, "My son, fast, because if you receive knowledge of anything (i. e., if you have been blessed repeatedly), nothing will be able to harm you. You will live long; and I want you to live long." In this way my father used to speak to me and in this way he used to plead with me in a piteous manner. "Remember," he used to say to me repeatedly, "that if you do not fast none of the spirits will bless you."

There was a hill near our place called the Place-where-they-keep- 159
weapons. This hill was very high and it looked steep and rocky. 787
It must have been a very holy place. There my father had lived 776
(when he was blessed by the spirits). Within this hill lived the spirits that we call Those-who-cry-like-babies.[6] These spirits were supposed to have arrows and bows. There were supposed to be twenty of them in this hill. My father had control of these spirits.

[6] These spirits are the same as those generally known as the Hawk's, or Those-without-horns.

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159 If he (my father) blessed a man he would do as follows: He would
789 take his bow and arrows and, holding them in both of his hands,
776 take the man around the hill and then into the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There he and the man he wished to bless let their breath pass into the middle of the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There stood a stone pillar and upon this stone pillar, at about arm's length, he drew the pictures of different animals. My father had only one arrow, but that arrow was a holy one. Then my father danced around the stone pillar and sang some songs, and when he was finished he began to breathe upon the stone pillar; and, walking around it, he shot it. When he looked at it, he saw that the stone had turned into a deer with large horns. This deer fell dead at his feet. He repeated this a number of times and the little spirits who were following him breathed with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you wish to kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done here. Then
[782] offer tobacco to us and you will be able to obtain whatever you wish."

159 "Now, my son, I want you to be able to do as I do. I want you
867 to be able to kill deer whenever you wish, and at any particular time." My father was a very good hunter and I wanted to be very much like him. I knew that what he was saying was true and that it would be good to follow his advice. I was also told that if I traveled around the hill where these spirits lived, then all earthly things would agree with me and that I would be the gainer thereby. If I did this, they told me, then I would never suffer any pains in my body and I would never be troubled in any way.

159 And this they told me about the ghost village—that when I go
787 there I will be able to steal a costly shawl from the spirits and be
775 able to escape with it; that then all the inhabitants of the ghost village would chase me, but that they would not be able to overtake me and would be compelled to turn back as soon as I reached the earth. In this ghost village there are no grown-up children.[1]

Now, all that I have spoken of, I dreamed. I really dreamed that I was stealing a costly shawl and that I would have plenty of them all the time. I dreamed that I would obtain ten or even more
787 shawls in one year and that I would not have to pay anything for
159 them. What the spirits meant by shawls was supplies. However,
795 all this took place before I ate the peyote. Since then I know that these things were not true, and that what I must depend upon is not supernatural power, but myself, and my own endeavors. Super-
[783] natural powers do not come from anywhere. They do not exist at all. The blessings I had received were not holy and I am not holy.

[1] He is evidently referring to the spirit home of the Herd's, or Thunderbird's nest.

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## R.'S FASTING.

(R. WAS A MEMBER OF THE BEAR CLAN)

159 There was a village near Big Lake (Lake Winnebago), and at this
787 village the upper people and the earth people played lacrosse.* The
●776 Bear was the chief clan of the lower people, and those representing that side in the game defeated the representatives of the other side by sheer strength. Then one of the upper people said, "What effeminate fellows these Bear people are. They are very strong, but it would be much better if instead of being so strong in playing lacrosse they were strong when on the warpath." Thus he spoke. Then one of the Bear people (the one whose fasting is about to be described) felt very much grieved and went out into the wilderness to fast. His desire was to be blessed by those spirits who are in control of war, and in his longing to be blessed by them he cried bitterly. Soon he heard some one saying, "Do not cry any more, we have come after you from above. The spirits have blessed you. You are going to be taken to the lodge of your friends." When the young man got there he saw four men. They were called cannibals, and they were brothers. "Our friends have blessed you and we also bless you," said the four spirits. These four spirits were catfish. Then some white crane spirits said, "Our friends have blessed you. With spears they have blessed you. Indeed, for good reason was your heart sad (i. e., did you make yourself suffer while fasting). With victory on the warpath do we bless you. Here is your bundle. Here also are your spears and your bow and arrows. This bundle you must use when you go on the warpath. Here also are some songs to use when you start out and when you return. With these songs I bless you. Here they are:

[533]

SONGS

Ho'ato k'ᵊnar'djaᵊ'dja ruhi'jā?
Where they gathered, there did you go?
K'ho' hitcak'ᵊar' ha'gizewi'ᵊe.
Well, my friend, shout at it for him.

[789] "When the enemy is close upon you and aim their guns at you, if you sing these songs they will not be able to hit you. If you sing these songs then, those who gave you a name will honor you.[11] Thus
776 we bless you. With life also we bless you."
756
159

ARATOGE'KA'S FASTING[12]

787 Arategs'ka, Left-handed-one, went out to fast. "A spirit I wish
[526] to bless me. I am fasting because I was told to do so. A shaman

* In playing lacrosse the upper and lower divisions were always pitted against one another.

[11] The sense is not quite clear here, but it is believed that he means that by singing one of these songs he will be victorious and be able to sound soup or distinguish himself in some such way, and thus be worthy of being honored by his elders.

[12] This account of a fasting has been cast in a literary mode. It evidently relates to the fasting experiences of a well-known man.

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I would like to be. I would like to be able to treat people the way he does, and I have for that reason blackened my face and fasted for eight days." Then I was blessed and they (the messengers of the spirits) came after me. Up above, to a shaman spirit-lodge they took me. There I saw the chief, and he said to me, "What you desire, what you are thirsting yourself to death for, that you are to be blessed with. For that reason these people have brought you here. Here you are to give an exhibition of your powers. I am the one who has caused you to be brought here (i. e., blessed you), I am the ruler of this village and I sent for you to give you the following powers:

"If ever an Indian is sick, even if he is so sick that he is practically dead, I give you the power of restoring him to life. Now you are to show your powers. Here is a log so rotten and decayed that it is practically falling apart."[10] Upon this you are to exert your power and show that you have been blessed. This is what the spirits meant when they blessed you." Then he walked around the log, breathed upon it, and spat water upon it, and it became human. Then he walked around it again and again spat water upon it, and it began to move. Then for the third time he spat water upon it and walked around it and it began to groan. Then he walked around it for the fourth time, and again spat water upon the log, and it got up and walked away. He had restored the log to life. Then the spirit said to him, "Man, with this power you are blessed. That for which you longed, that for which you fasted, you are blessed with. Giving-humans-life, thus the people will call you."

Then all the spirits who are above said as follows: "Brother-in-law,[11] that you may live I am telling you this story."

In the wilderness I went, and there near an oval hill I sat down and wept. Below the hill lay a round lake and there I saw the rising dew coming in a fog. This first spread itself out over us, and then, in turn, shrank and became small. All this time I sat there weeping. There was something moving in the lake, but although I was looking in that direction I did not see anything. They (evidently the spirits) were sneaking up on me. Two (flames of) fire suddenly burst forth extending from above to the lake. Then a report like

[10] This log is supposed to represent a human being in a similar condition—that is, practically on the verge of dissolution.

[11] The account is suddenly interrupted here to tell the listener why Aratage'ka is telling the story of his fasting. The personal religious experiences were very sacred and rarely told even to near relatives. As far as I know, they were only told before death or when a person was very ill, as in the present case. The purpose seems to have been to transfer the benefits of the blessing to the sick person and cure him in much the same way as is done when an accredited shaman goes through his entire performance. Of course, Aratage'ka's blessing related directly to the curing of disease. But evidently it was believed that blessings connected with other powers were equally efficacious.

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756 that of a gun sounded. The two (spirits) were causing it. Suddenly
159 a great noise was heard. I kept right on crying, for I was trying
787 to be blessed. I sat there with staring eyes looking at the spirits.
● 776 "I must be receiving a blessing," I thought. I continued crying and after a short time it began to rain very much. "How is this," I thought to myself, "only a little time before it was so nice and now it is raining." Yet in spite of the rain no water seemed to fall upon me. "How is it," I thought, "here it is raining and yet no rain is falling upon me." Then I looked above and I saw that it was very cloudy, yet straight above me in a direct line the sky was blue. This blue spot was like a round object covering me as though it were an umbrella. The Thunderbirds were blessing me. With the blue sky, they were blessing me. Soon the noise stopped, and when I looked above I saw four (men) standing with packs upon their backs. These (the spirits) killed. Then they blessed me with the power of killing. They spoke to me and said, "Stop your crying. What you have longed for and fasted for, with that we have blessed you. Just as these four men have been killed, so you will be able to kill people. But you will also be able to restore them to life again. Upon your body now we will make a mark and those whom you wish to bless will be given an opportunity of selecting life for themselves,[14] so that, even when a person be practically dead he will be restored to health. What is above you, the blue sky, that we place on one of your fingers,[15] and with that we bless you. If the patient picks the finger with the mark upon it, he will live."

The Thunderbirds were the spirits speaking to me. They had spears and little war-clubs in their hands and (wreathes) made of flat cedar leaves upon their heads. Thus did four Thunderbirds bless me.

"Well, brother-in-law, I want you to live and I want you to pick life for yourself—i. e., pick the finger with the blue mark upon it. Do it carefully and do not attempt it when you are tired. Here are my four fingers and one of them has the blue sky upon it (i. e., the blue mark that betokens life). If you choose that, you will certainly live. You are the second person (to whom I have offered my fingers). Now do not miss it, for if you miss it you will surely die. Be careful, then, in picking it."

[155] Then the brother-in-law picked the little finger and Aratege'ka said, "Brother-in-law, it is good. You will live." Then he turned his little finger around and there a circular blue mark was visible.

ACCOUNT OF X.'S FASTING

159 The spirits can bless you with everything. My father used to
787 tell me how much he loved me and how much he wished me to fast.

[14] That is, a sick person will have to guess at the part of the body that has been blessed by the Thunderbirds, and if he guesses correctly he will become well.

[15] That is, we will place a mark made with bluish clay upon your finger.

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He wanted me to fast all the time. I would therefore, to please him, 159 787
fast off and on through the winter. The longest I ever fasted at any one time was six days. I was blessed by a yellow snake who lived near Medway, Wis. It was at that place that I fasted one 159
winter. The spirit-snake that lives there blessed me with life and 787
the right to draw bad blood from sick people (i. e., "cup blood"). 776
These blessings are truly efficacious, but after they have been handed 756
down to the next generation they lose their power (unless renewed). That same winter, not long before the beginning of spring, I fasted again for four days and early on the morning of the fourth day as I was walking along a ravine, crying and putting myself in a "pitiable condition," so that the spirits might take pity upon me, some one came to meet me. Up to this time, in spite of all my exertions and fastings, I had not been blessed by any of the spirits. The one who was coming toward me was walking very fast and when I stopped to look at him I saw that he was a man. His entire body was painted red and he wore an eagle feather on his head and garters around his legs. When he came near to me he said: "Human, I bless you. You may now go home and eat (i. e., break your fast). Every day I will bring the blessing of life to you. This also (I wish to tell you), if you think of me when you are in any difficulty, you will pass through it safely. The sick you will be able to heal through the blessing I give you. I am the Sun. Even if a day is cloudy, then know that I am keeping life for you beyond the clouds."

### HOW Y. FASTED AND WAS BLESSED WITH A WAR-BUNDLE [17]

Our war-bundle is eight generations old. In the beginning my 614
clansmen had no war-bundles. Whenever they had war, they had 778
nothing from which to receive strength. The only powerful possession they had was fire. That was the only thing they carried when on the warpath. Soon they discovered that other clans had war-bundles and that they received them by fasting for them. So 787
K'erex u"'sak'a started to fast for one. He fasted from early 778
autumn until summer and he received a blessing. Then he went to his father and told him, "Father, you told me to fast. Let us now go and see with what I have been blessed." So the old man accompanied his son.[18] When the old man got there he found a snake dried and dressed up and standing in an upright position. The snake had long hairs on its back, scattered here and there. The father on seeing it said, "My son, this is really too great. If you accept this and carry it with you on the warpath, you will not leave any human beings alive (i. e., you will always want to go on the

[17] This is the account of the origin of a war-bundle claimed to be eight generations old.

[18] Evidently the spirit had told him to go to a certain place and that there he would find certain objects, namely, the material objects with which he had been blessed.

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787 warpath)." The son therefore refused it, and went out to fast
778 again. Then the spirits blessed him again and again he went to
[776] his father and asked to accompany him to the wilderness and see what blessings he had obtained. When they came to the wilderness[19] they found two wild cats (already stuffed) standing there and facing in opposite directions. Then the old man told his son again not to accept this blessing because it would be too powerful,[20] but the young man said, "This is the last blessing that I am going to get," and accepted it.

(What follows was obtained at a later time from the same informant and relating to the same blessing.)

The first blessing K'erex'u"'sak'a received was from the Thunderbirds. They dropped a flute and two feathers from heaven. But these he refused. The second blessing was also from the Thunderbirds. This time they told him to go to a certain place where he could see them himself. He went there and found four men sitting there broiling meat. They gave him a piece of meat. It was only when he fasted for the fourth time that he was blessed with a war-bundle.

WHAT G. OBTAINED IN HIS FAST

159 I never fasted much. I only fasted three times and I don't believe
776 that I ever fasted for more than two days at a time. However, I
787 never was blessed with anything (i. e., any object). I knew, however, that I came from the home of the Thunderbirds (i. e., that I was
[775] a reincarnated Thunderbird). My spirit father and mother[21] were Thunderbirds. The Thunderbirds are beings whose glance can penetrate any object. For that reason I also can do it. For instance, I have seen a man through a tree. This I did once during a thunderstorm when a man had sought shelter behind a tree.

[19] Whenever the word "wilderness" is used all that is meant is an uninhabited place far away from the village.

[20] By "too powerful" the old man means that the feasts, offerings, etc., that would be necessary for so great a blessing would be quite beyond the means or the ability of the young man. It is to be remembered
[782] that the bestowal of a blessing does not in itself insure its efficacy, but that this can only be secured if the proper offerings and the proper emotional attitude accompany its subsequent use. Evidently the old man did not feel that the young fellow would be equal to the task. I have been told by many of the older
[786] Winnebagoes that when the old system was still intact the older people always made it a point to warn impetuous youths against taking upon themselves responsibilities that they might possibly not be able to fulfill, a very excellent device, it seems to me, for not multiplying the chance of failure and consequently the necessity of explaining them. However, one need not believe that this was the reason for this custom.

[21] He says "spirit father and mother" because when he lived with the Thunderbirds he was, of course, a spirit. It is quite impossible to determine whether he means that he was a human being who was living among the spirits as a spirit or whether he was a spirit who had decided to become reincarnated as a human
[776 being. Originally, of course, there were no human beings, but only spirits, of whom a portion became
775] permanently transformed into human beings. However, even very powerful shamans never claim more than three reincarnations, so that he can obviously not be referring to this primitive condition and is either referring to the fact that he is a Thunderbird residing temporarily on this earth, or, and this would be the more common form—a human being who lived for some time as a Thunderbird and then returned to earth. In the latter case one would expect him to obtain great blessings in his fast, and the fact that he did not and had nevertheless such great powers suggests that he is really a reincarnated Thunderbird.

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When I was ready to go down among the human beings (i. e., when I became reincarnated) I was given the power to overcome my enemies in battle. And this I have actually done. All the Thunderbirds have small war-clubs. I also had one when I came. Whenever I went on the warpath I made myself a war-club and used that only in battle. I believe that I was invulnerable. Whenever I got tired of living among human beings I knew I could return to the Thunderbirds. I thought I knew all this and that I had these powers. For that reason when I ate peyote I still held on to these beliefs for a long time, thinking that when I returned to the Thunderbirds inasmuch as they are above it would be the same as going to everlasting life, as the Peyote people said. Finally, one night, at a peyote meeting, in thinking over these things, I resolved to give them up. I could, nevertheless, not bring myself to do it. Then the peyote began to strangle me;[22] at least I thought so. 159 776 787 726 [795]

I also had the power of causing or stopping rain. All that I had to do was to offer tobacco to the Thunderbirds and make my request. [789 782]

### HOW A BEAR BLESSED A MAN[23]

Once a band of Winnebagoes used to give a feast to the bears. A bear had blessed one of their number with life and victory on the warpath. 825 776 787

It was a spirit-bear that had blessed him. The man was fasting and the spirit blessed him and said, "Human, I bless you. In war you will be able to do as you wish (i. e., you will be able to kill an enemy whenever you desire). The first time you go on the warpath you will come back with the fourth war honor; the second time you go on a warpath you will return with the third war honor; the third time you will return with the second war honor; and the fourth time you will return with the first war honor and receive the first prize, which you are to give to your sister." This is what the man "dreamed." He believed it and was happy. Then the spirit-bear said again, "Human, I said that I blessed you and I really mean it. Earthmaker created me and gave me control of many things. Human, I bless you. As many years as Earthmaker bestowed upon you, that number I also bless you with. You will reach the limit of the years that were granted you. With my body I also bless you. Whenever you are hungry and wish to kill a bear, pour a pipeful of tobacco for me. If then you go out hunting, you will be successful. Don't abuse the bears. I am the chief of the bears. I bless you. Never before have I blessed a human being, as long as I have lived here. As long as your descendants live on this earth, so long will this [224 782]

[22] According to the Peyote people, if a member does not wish to do or tell something that he ought to, the peyote begins to strangle him and he finds no relief until he tells what is on his mind. [795]

[23] This is really the "origin myth" of a bear feast.

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825
776 blessing last. Should your descendants perform the feasts in my
787 honor well, I will bless them with life and victory on the warpath. Whenever you offer me tobacco I will smoke it. If you put on a kettle of food for me I will be thankful to you. When you put this [84] kettle of food on the fire and offer me tobacco see to it that you keep away menstruating women . . ."

HOW THE DAUGHTER OF MANK'EREXKA REFUSED A BLESSING FROM DISEASE-GIVER [*]

787 The daughter of Mank'erexka was fasting. She was his third
159 daughter. She decided to fast during the summer. In her fast she
776 was told that she was blessed and that on the following day a big deer would come across the waters for her to eat. Then she went to her father and said, "Father, I have been told to eat a big deer, and that to-morrow very early in the morning it will come out of the water." "It is good, my daughter. That deer has been given to you by the spirits and you may eat it."

Early the next morning a big deer came across the waters. "Let it be," the people said (to her). "As soon as it comes near we will chase it." So they got into a boat and chased it. Then they killed it and gave it to some other person instead of the young woman. "My daughter, what are you going to do? Are you going to eat the deer?" "No, father, if I were to eat the deer I would have killed it myself. But you people have killed it, so I will not eat any of it."

Then she rubbed some charcoal on her face and went to the place of fasting and said, "What you (the spirits) gave me others have taken away and eaten." Early in the morning she looked around toward the water. She was very weak, for she had not eaten for a long time. Nine days she fasted. She was saying to herself, "As soon as I see a deer I will tell the others and call my father." In the morning she went out in search of the deer. She was so weak that she could hardly crawl along. But she managed to reach the edge of the waters and, as she looked across, she saw a deer coming. So she immediately went to her father and told him. He got up immediately and, taking a spear, jumped into a boat, pursued, and speared it. Then the girl said, "Now I will eat." So they called her uncles, Wolf and Elk.[*] When they came she put tobacco in their hands [782] and said, "My uncles, I have offered tobacco to the different spirits and asked them to bless me. Now I am about to eat and I would

[*] The rest of the story is a description of a bear feast and how, in spite of the warning of the spirit-bear two menstruating women took part in the feast; how, thereupon, two bears suddenly appeared and killed them, and how for that reason the bear feast was given up. [114]

[*] This account has been cast in a literary mold, but there is no doubt that it represents a real fasting experience. It is included here principally because it contains a number of extremely interesting features.

[*] These are the names of individuals.

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like to have you put some food in your mouths."[27] "My niece, it is good. You have indeed made yourself 'pitiable.' You have thirsted yourself to death and I, too, pity you. If any spirit has blessed you, he has done so with good reason. I, too, once thirsted myself to death and the spirits blessed me with life. With this life, my niece, I also bless you. I will gladly partake of your feast." Thus spoke Wolf. Then Elk said, "My niece, I, too, was told to fast: and in my fast the spirits blessed me with the power of having complete control over all my actions. This dream (i. e., the blessings I obtained) I now give to you.[28] With these blessings you will be able to live as you desire. I will now gladly partake of your food."

787 159 776

When they were through eating, she also ate, and then they all went home. After a while her father said to her, "My daughter, I am going to ask you a question. It is said that those who have been blessed might tell their dreams if they were asked." "All right," said the daughter, "I will tell you. Eight days I fasted and then the spirits blessed me. They told me that if at the end of four days I should place offerings south of the place known as the Big Eddy and situated down the stream the powers with which I had been blessed would be shown to me. The one who blessed me was the chief of the Wakaiteû, the spirits who live in the earth. He said that Earthmaker had created him and given him great power; that he had placed him in charge of 'life.' In four days he told me, 'I will appear to you. The day on which I appear to you will be a perfect day. Whatever you wish to make for yourself, you may do. You will never be in want of anything, for you can make implements for yourself out of my body. With these I bless you, for you

[27] The feast referred to here is the feast called Hachgunte Wadu-Hranera or faster's feast. It is given whenever a man or woman who has been blessed is about to break his fast. At this feast it is customary, according to ancient custom, for the faster to narrate his blessing. However, these feasts have now been discontinued for so long a time that it is extremely difficult to obtain any accurate information.

[28] The transference of certain blessings is very common, but, to my knowledge, it is rarely done in this manner. As a rule if a person was unable to obtain blessings, he sought to offset this handicap in life by purchasing supernatural powers from some of his more successful fellow-men. However, these powers seem to be connected almost exclusively with medicines. That blessings such as those bestowed upon individuals during their fast, such as long life, luck, hunting powers, etc., were transferred, does not seem probable, although it is, of course, possible. The writer was told of a number of cases where this seemed to have been the case, but on closer study it was conclusively shown that no real transference had taken place, but that in these instances where a person had said, "I transfer this and that dream to you," the transferee had no validity unless the individual to whom the dream had been transferred actually fasted and obtained the same dream. An individual would in such a case always be careful to select as his "dream-body" one who would in all likelihood obtain the same dream. It is only in this sense that one might actually speak of a transference. In those instances where a man is blessed with supernatural powers that are to extend to all his posterity (this what is really meant, namely, an infinite repetition of the same blessing, one that has, however, become so certain within definite limits that it might be considered automatic.

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787 have made yourself suffer very much[28] and my heart has been rent
159 with pity for you. I bless you, therefore, with life, and this you
●776 may transmit to your descendants.' All this, father, the spirit said to me." "My daughter, it is not good. These spirits are trying to deceive you. Do not accept it. They will never bestow upon you what they have promised." "All right, father, but let me at least give them the offerings of deerskin, red feathers, and tobacco. I will not accept these blessings, for you forbid it."

Then after four days she took her offerings to the place where she was to meet the spirit and told him that her father had forbidden her to accept the blessing. "'You are not a good spirit,' he said." "He is right, for one side of my body is not good but the other is," answered the spirit. "That is the way in which Earthmaker created me." Thus the wak'ai"teu" spoke.[29] Then the woman looked toward the lake and she saw a tree standing in the water. The spirit climbed upon this tree and wrapped himself around it. Then he took a tooth and shot the tree and knocked it down.[30] "This is what you would have been able to do," said the spirit. "The people would have respected you very much. You would have been able to cure weak or nervous people. But you did not listen to what I told you. You refused it."

### FASTING EXPERIENCE

(INFORMANT, CLAN UNKNOWN)

A man fasted and was finally blessed. When he was to be blessed a spirit came after him. He came from the south. "Human," he said, "I was told to come after you." Then the man looked at him and he saw that it was a man speaking to him. So he went along with him. He did not go far before he came to a village and in the middle of this village he saw a long lodge. There he was taken and there he was blessed. The one that was in charge of the village blessed him first.

"I bless you with victory in wars. Whenever you go on the war-
[726 path and when you are about to make the rush, do not forget me.
782] If you pour some tobacco for me and then fight, the enemy will not be able to kill you. I am in charge of wars."

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[28] When people are blessed by the Water-spirits they make medicines from the bones of the spirits. They are also supposed to make what the Winnebagoes call "implements." What is actually meant by this term it is very difficult to state precisely. But it seems that they meant sharpened bones, etc., used in connection with the administration of magical medicines in painting the body, and in connection with shamanistic practices of all sorts. It is not common for other spirits beside the Water-spirits to bless an individual with the use of "his bones," but this is occasionally met with. In the trickster cycle the trickster, in one of his escapades, is squeezed into the skull of an elk, and he persuades the people that he is an elk-spirit and blesses them and permits them to use his bones.

[29] This characteristic would seem to identify the wak'ai"teu" with the disease-giver, although it is possible that a number of Winnebago deities had such characteristics.

[30] This is a symbolistic representation of the powers she was given.

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So he spoke to him. "Thus will your life be. Look at yourself." 787
So he looked at himself and his hair was very white. As one who 159
had attained a full life he saw himself. "All that are within this 776
lodge bless you," the spirit continued. "You have come to the Buffalo village." This he was told, so he looked at the lodge full of people. And those whom he had seen up to that time as human beings now were buffaloes.

"Human, they bless you is why they went after you. Human, if anyone is weighted with life and a reasonable amount of tobacco is given, such a one would be able to do the following":

A dead man was placed in the middle of the lodge, and all of 787
those in the lodge tried their power, but none succeeded in restoring 159
him to life. At last the spirits let the man try it. So he tried. 776
When he arose, all those in the lodge began to make sounds and 756
when he began to exert his powers he sang buffalo songs. When he was through with these songs, he walked toward the dead man, in the middle of the lodge. He blew on him once, then again and again. Now the man began to open his eyes. Then he blew on him for the fourth time and he caused him to rise.

"Human, you have overcome all of us," said the buffalo chief. "Human, thus shall you ever do to people. If anyone is sick and the proper offerings are made to you, send some tobacco to our council lodge and I will remember you. You must send all the [782] tobacco that is offered to you. I will remember it. This council lodge is given to you and to your posterity as long as it lasts. As long as the earth lasts that long your posterity will have occasions on which to pour tobacco. Whatever blessing they ask, we will bestow upon them while we smoke their tobacco. As many as are the kettles that they offer to us, we will never accept one without giving them a blessing. We are in control of wars: the Earthmaker has given us control of them, and if you ask for it we will give it to you. And if you ask for life we will bestow that blessing upon you and accept your offerings."

They also blessed him with plants for medicine. This is the way they did it. Each of the spirits caused him to see a plant and to [278] know the purposes to which it could be put. They told him to make offerings to the plants whenever he gave a feast, so that the plants [782] would become more powerful. They also blessed him with a drum. "This you must beat when you give a feast and it will tell us your [534] wants. We will understand the drum. We will make your drum holy for you, and you must treat it as such," they told him. "You must keep it holy. Whenever you are on the warpath you must take it with you and it will help you. Human, your enemies you will [726] overcome; your weapons only will be sharp if your posterity will never give up this ceremony." So they spoke to him. "Whenever 080

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159 So they spoke to him. "Whenever
787 you give this ceremony, no matter what blessing you ask, we will
776 bestow it upon you, when you offer tobacco. A flute you must also
[534 keep holy. You must make it yourself, so that it remains sacred."
[778 They also told him to make a war bundle. The Buffalo chief told
825] him this. So he made one out of a buffalo head and a buffalo tail. These he made sacred so that people might offer tobacco to them. This was done long ago and yet they still do it.

Then they told him that four differently colored buffaloes would bless him—a white one, a black one, a red one, and a yellow one.

After a while he was blessed the second time. This time the spirits came after him from above and took him to the home of a spirit buffalo. This is the one that blessed him.

"Earthmaker has placed me here," said the spirit, "and he has
[726 given me control of many things. Grandson, I bless you. I am in
782] control of war power, and if you ever go on the warpath don't forget me. If you pour a pipeful of tobacco for me before you go into battle, the enemy will only be able to shoot your shadow." Thus he spoke to him. "I will take your body, and in that way it will only be your shadow that the enemy will try to shoot with all their strength. You will be without a body, and how then can they hit you, being without a body?" This is what the spirit told him. So, therefore, whenever he went on the warpath it was impossible to kill him. For the spirit had said, "I am also in control of life and I will give you your life back, that you may control it. The spirits
[796 have given you a tobacco-pouring feast and whenever you give it,
782] remember that I wish to smoke also. When you pour tobacco for me I will grant you whatever you ask. If you ask for war, or if you ask for life, I will accept your tobacco. As long as this earth lasts I will smoke your tobacco and accept the kettle of food that you place on the fire for me."

Thus he spoke to him. The man, however, still kept on fasting, and finally the spirits came for him again. There in the middle of the earth lived a buffalo-ghost. There he went and the buffalo-ghost said to him: "I also bless you. You were given counsel and I who am a buffalo also counsel you. I am in control of many things. Earthmaker placed me here to live and he put me in control of many things. Human, look at me," he said. The man looked at him. Then he saw that his body was covered with flattened bullets. "Thus you will be," said the ghost to him. "It will be impossible to kill you, and you will attain to old age, and when you get tired of living you may do as you please. I give you the privilege of controlling yourself." Then he gave him a song and he caused him to see a war prize, a wampum. After a while he spoke to him as follows:

"I also will always smoke at your feast, and if a kettle is ever put on the fire for me, I will be thankful to you. Whatever the people

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ask of me I will always take it into consideration. If they ask for war or if they ask for life, remember that I have been given control of these things." Thus spoke the buffalo-ghost. There he received all the things with which he was blessed. 159 787 776

In the course of his life he made use of all his blessings. His first victory occurred when he went on the warpath for the first time. He had joined a war party and a fight occurred toward the evening of the same day. As he was walking along he suddenly saw a gun directed against him at close range. He jumped right and left and in that way escaped being shot. Then the enemy tried to capture the one who had been blessed by the buffalo, holding him tightly by the arm. But he struck the enemy twice against an object and tore his stomach open. Then he walked away. As he was going he thought to himself, "Why did I not kill him outright?" So he went back with the intention of doing this, but as he approached the man the latter directed a gun against him. Thinking, however, that it was not loaded, he did not dodge, and he was shot. His breast was filled with shot and he was killed. But he did not remain dead long. He soon came to consciousness and sat up, uttering sounds like a buffalo. 159 787 776 726

Then he remembered that a buffalo ghost had blessed him. He had indeed said to him, "When you are about to fight do not forget me." He remembered this, so he exerted his power. All the blood that was in his stomach he vomited forth and felt better. Just then one of his relatives came along and asked him, "How have you been getting along?" and he answered, "I have killed one. There lies his body. Take his scalp for me." "All right," said his relative, and did what he had been told, and brought it to him, saying, "Here it is." A horse was there also, and this the relative likewise led away and started back to (the camp). When he met the war leader, the latter asked him, "How have you been making out?" He answered, "I give you these trophies," and handed the leader the scalp and the horse. "Ah, it is good," he said, and put a wampum belt on him. Then the war leader sang a song and started to run, and the buffalo-blessed one reminded himself of his blessing and went back also. He was all shot to pieces. But he did not die, for he had been blessed with power, so how could he die? The buffalo ghost he had seen with flattened bullets in his belt had fulfilled his promise, and the wampum belt that he had seen in his fasting had now become true. [727]

He went to many wars after this, but he was never harmed. He doctored many people and caused them to have more life. After a while he made a war bundle consisting of a flute that he had constructed himself, a buffalo tail, and a buffalo head. Then he made offerings to them. These many things he made sacred. Since then buffalo feasts have been given. [756] [778]

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J. B.'S FASTING EXPERIENCE

159 787 I fasted all the time. We moved back to a place where all the leaders used to give their feasts. Near the place where we lived there were three lakes and a black hawk's nest. Right near the tree where the nest was located they built a lodge and the war-bundle that we possessed was placed in the lodge. We were to pass the night there, my older brother and myself. It was said that if anyone [754] fasted at such a place for four nights he would always be blessed with victory and the power to cure the sick. All the spirits would bless him.

159 787 776 "The first night spent there one imagined himself surrounded by spirits whose whisperings were heard outside of the lodge," they said. The spirits would even whistle. I would be frightened and nervous, and if I remained there I would be molested by large monsters, fearful to look upon. Even (the bravest) might be frightened, I was told. Should I, however, get through that night, I would on the following night be molested by ghosts whom I would hear speaking outside. They would say things that might cause me to run away. Toward morning they would even take my blanket away from me. They would grab hold of me and drive me out of the lodge, and they would not stop until the sun rose. If I was able to endure the third night, on the fourth night I would really be addressed by spirits, it was said, who would bless me, saying, "I bless you. We had turned you over to the (monsters, etc.) and that is why they approached you, but you overcame them and now they will not be able to take you away. Now you may go home, for with victory and long life we bless you and also with the power of healing the sick. Nor shall you lack wealth (literally, 'people's possessions'). So go home and eat, for a large war-party is soon to fall upon you and as soon as the sun rises in the morning they will give the war whoop, and if you do not go home now they will kill you."

Thus the spirits would speak to me. However, if I did not do the bidding of this particular spirit, then another one would address me and say very much the same thing. So the spirits would speak until the break of day, and just before sunrise a man in warrior's regalia would come and peep in. He would be a scout. Then I would surely think a war party had come upon me, I was told.

Then another spirit would come and say, "Well, grandson, I have taken pity upon you and I bless you with all the good things that the earth holds. Go home now, for the war-party is about to rush upon you." And if I then went home, as soon as the sun rose the war-whoop would be given. The members of the war-party would give the war-whoop all at the same time. They would rush upon me and capture me and after the fourth one had counted coup, then

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they would say, "Now then, grandson, this we did to teach you. 159
Thus you shall act. You have completed your fasting." Thus they 787
would talk to me, I was told. This war-party was composed entirely 776
of spirits, I was told, spirits from the heavens and from the earth; indeed, all the spirits that exist would be there. These would all bless me. They also told me that it would be a very difficult thing to accomplish this particular fasting.

So there I fasted, at the black hawk's nest where a lodge had been built for me. The first night I stayed there I wondered when things would happen; but nothing took place. The second night, rather late in the night, my father came and opened the war-bundle and taking a gourd out, began to sing. I stood beside him without any clothing on me except the breech-clout, and holding tobacco in each hand I uttered my cry to the spirits as my father sang. He sang war-bundle songs and he wept as he sang. I also wept as I uttered my cry to the spirits. When he was finished he told me some sacred stories, and then went home.

When I found myself alone I began to think that something ought to happen to me soon, yet nothing occurred, so I had to pass another day there. On the third night I was still there. My father visited me again and we repeated what we had done the night before. In the morning, just before sunrise, I uttered my cry to the spirits. The fourth night found me still there. Again my father came and we did the same things, but in spite of it all, I experienced nothing unusual. Soon another day dawned upon us. That morning I told my elder brother that I had been blessed by spirits and that I was going home to eat. However, I was not telling the truth. I was hungry and I also knew that on the following night we were going to have a feast and that I would have to utter my cry to the spirits again. I dreaded that. So I went home. When I got there I told my people the story I had told my brother; that I had been blessed and that the spirits had told me to eat. I was not speaking the truth, yet they gave me the food that is carefully prepared for those who have been blessed. Just then my older brother came home and they objected to his return, for he had not been blessed. However, he took some food and ate it.

That night we gave our feast. There, however, our pride received a fall, for although it was supposedly given in our honor, we were placed on one side (of the main participants). After the kettles of food had been put on twice, it became daylight.

### HOW A MAN DEFIED DISEASE-GIVER

Once a man said, "Why do you always make offerings and feasts 776
to the Disease-giver? What benefit has he ever been to you that 787
you do it? If I were ever to see him, I would kick him off the earth. The only thing he can give you is disease."

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776 In the fall of the year in which the man said this the people, as
787 usual, went out hunting and the man got lost and was forced to camp out in the wilderness overnight. So he built a fire and sat alongside of it. Suddenly he saw a man coming toward him. As soon as the stranger came up to him he took a seat on the opposite side of the fireplace. Then the stranger said, "I am the one whom you threatened to kick off this earth whenever you met him. You, furthermore, boasted that I could not kill you." Then he pointed his finger in a line with the man's heart. But the man remained seated near the fireplace without moving. Then he did this again, yet the man still remained in his former position. Then the third time he did it and said, "In the center of the heart." The man, however, remained seated just as before. Then the stranger exclaimed, "Who are you anyhow?" and pointed his finger at him. But the man did not move. Then the stranger (Disease-giver) pleaded with the man to die so that it might not be said that he had failed in the "mission" for which he had been created. He promised the man that if he would oblige him and die he could come back to earth again within four days. Finally the man consented. He went home and told his folks that he was going to a certain place to
787 die for the space of four days and that they should, under no con-
775 ditions, go to see him there, for in that case he would surely die. Then he dressed himself in his best clothes and went to the place where he was to meet Disease-giver. (He rested his head against a tree and died.) However, on the third day his wife could not resist the desire to see him, so she went to the place where her husband was leaning against the tree. Then he really died. After his death a red spot was visible upon his forehead.*

### Methods of Bringing the Spirits into Relation with Man

785 *Fasting.*—Fasting has been discussed before. There are two things to be remembered in connection with it—first, that it is a method of superinducing a religious feeling; and, secondly, that this religious feeling in turn is bound up with the desire for preserving and perpetuating socio-economic life values. Among the Winnebago the desirability of the conditions superinduced by fasting lay not so much in the emotional pleasure it gave, although this is not to be underestimated, as in the belief which the shamans had developed, that such a state was essential for placing people in a position enabling them to overcome certain crises in life, which it was reasonable to believe might take place.

787 *Mental concentration.*—To the religiously inclined Winnebago the
153 efficacy of a blessing, of a ceremony, etc., depended upon what they

* This is not supposed to be a myth but the real experience of a man named James Smith.

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called "concentrating one's mind" upon the spirits, upon the details 787
of the ritual, or upon the precise purpose to be accomplished. All 153
other thoughts were to be rigidly excluded, they believed. This was the insistent admonition of the Winnebago elders to the youth who was fasting. He was to center his mind completely on the spirits, for his blessing would be in direct proportion to the power of concentration he was capable of. The Winnebago believed that the relation between man and the spirits was established by this concentration and that no manner of care in ritualistic detail could take its place. Very frequently failure on a warpath or lack of efficacy of a ritual was attributed to the fact that the Indian or Indians had been lacking in [154] the intensity of their "concentration."

*Offerings and sacrifices.*—The theory of offering and sacrifice held 782
by the Winnebago has been discussed before. To the important 776
deities offerings were made at the great ceremonies. These offerings consisted of tobacco preeminently, buckskins, and whatever the particular spirit was supposed to like. The animal spirits were given their favorite foods—honey to the bear, for instance. Dogs were offered to Disease-giver at the war-bundle feasts. Whether human sacrifices ever existed it is difficult to say. In the tale of *Wegi'cake* a child is offered to Earthmaker, and there is reason to believe that this may represent a survival of human sacrifice.

Tobacco could be offered at any time and was so offered to the various *genii loci* whenever an individual passed their precincts.

*Prayers.*—For examples of prayers reference must be made to the descriptions of the ceremonies. Among the Winnebago, and doubtless everywhere else, the objects of the prayer are always the socio-economic life values. What in these values is stressed depends upon the ambitions of the individual, and consequently it happens that individuals may pray for abstract blessings or ideal objects, although this is rare. Prayers are undoubtedly always accompanied by a religious feeling when made by the religious man, but frequently become mere formulas in the hands of the lay Indian.

## The Folkloristic Concepts

*The concept of evil.*—It is extremely difficult to understand exactly 776
what the Winnebago concept of evil is. They undoubtedly postu- [912]
late the existence of evil and they have theoretically a host of evil spirits, the *wawpi'ni cicik*. Youths will be warned not to fast at certain times and children will carefully be kept at home after dark for fear of the evil spirits. Yet in spite of all this, no even fairly definite idea of what these evil spirits are and what they look like can be obtained. One almost gets the impression that the notion of evil spirits belongs to an older strata of Winnebago beliefs and that what we find to-day

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776 is but a faint survival of former times. The older myths are full of references to the evil spirits, and the cosmological myths represent [773] the world as infested with evil spirits who are on the point of exterminating the human race until the culture heroes come to the rescue. It would almost seem as if, from a purely matter-of-fact point of view, these early culture heroes had destroyed all the evil spirits. Certainly they are not regarded as of great consequence, for if they were we ought to find a certain number of prayers addressed to them asking them not to harm anyone. They seem to be mere logics, personifications of fear, and that is perhaps why they are so intimately connected with darkness.

812 At the present time the vast majority of Winnebago ascribe evil, in so far as they explain it at all, to three causes either to some [688 failure on their part to perform a rite in the prescribed way, to 782] the fact that they have not invoked the spirits for protection (i. e., attempted to pass through life without the aid of the spirits), or to the evil machinations of other men. Often one derives the impression that they accept evil and do not try to explain it. It seems to be a trait characteristic of the Winnebago, and perhaps characteristic of other North American tribes, that explanations are developed for the positive aspects of things. Certainly it would require some thought on the part of a Winnebago to explain why a war party that had, in the opinion of the chief, all the necessary requirements for victory, should nevertheless be defeated. He would doubtless find some reason, after a while, but it would be an afterthought and would probably vary from individual to individual. In some cases lack of success would be ascribed to the fact that an individual had been misled by an evil spirit, but this is clearly a secondary explanation because the individual, when questioned, would admit that he had no way of telling whether this was so until he had failed in something. We base this statement on an actual instance.

76 There is some evidence to show that there may have originally existed among the Winnebago a belief that the spirits were neither good nor bad; that they could be either at different times. In two notable instances, that of Disease-giver and Water-spirit, this is true at the present time. The former deity is the only one to whom prayers are addressed beseeching him not to present to man his death-dealing side.

In the myths we find a definite incarnation of evil in the case of [192] a spirit called *Hereegu'sina*. The meaning of this word as given by a Winnebago, and which seems to be justified, is "he whose existence is doubtful." If this is an old Winnebago word it would confirm the view advanced above, that the Winnebago were not very much concerned about the evil spirits. There is, however, a possibility [177] that *Hereegu'sina* is, in part, a post-Columbian development due

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to Christian influence. The one place where he plays an important 776
rôle, the myth of the twins, shows definite indications of European 777
influence. The only thing that militates against such an assumption is the fact that there does not seem to be any particular reason why the existence of a chief evil spirit should have been doubted, even if we were to grant that Christian influence extended the belief. The French of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had a very definite idea of the devil and made it a point to tell the Indians that all their former habits were due to deceptions the devil had practiced upon them. To-day such an answer is the first that a Christianized Winnebago or a member of the new Peyote cult will give an ethnologist. Perhaps, after all, it is a very old Winnebago conception, a confirmation of the view promulgated before, that in former times the Winnebago had a very definite conception of evil spirits taking an active part in the affairs of man to his detriment. The figure of 776
*Hereegu'nina* is well defined and it would be ridiculous, in our 756
opinion, to believe that the shamans would have done anything to develop it. We have clear indications of what the shamans were trying to do with this conception. They were attempting to bring it into some relation with the concept of Earthmaker, a beneficent All-Father, and to do so they were even willing to claim that *Hereegu'nina* was the first attempt of Earthmaker to create a spirit; that Earthmaker was dissatisfied with his work and threw it away; that then *Hereegu'nina* watched Earthmaker create spirits and imitated him, the evil spirits representing these imitations. The shamans, we should expect, would have done all in their power to lessen the importance of *Hereegu'nina*, even to deny his existence, and, in this connection, it may be of significance that one Winnebago interpreted his name to mean, "He-who-seems-to-exist-but-who-does-not."

Whatever the case may be, this much is clear, that in the twin myth he is represented as a deity as powerful as Earthmaker, whom [773]
Earthmaker can not destroy; upon whom the twins play jokes but whom they cannot really harm.

*The concept of disease.*—Disease is rarely ascribed to the spirits. 753
Like lack of success, it is regarded as a fact of existence, and when 776
it is explained it is believed to be due either to the carelessness of man in trying to pass through life without the aid of the spirits or to the evil machinations of other men.

The deity known as Disease-giver is the one exception to the rule that the Winnebago spirits do not directly cause disease, for he is sometimes described as scattering death broadcast over the earth.

*The concepts of death, after-life, and reincarnation.*—Death is rarely, 761
if ever, ascribed to the spirits. It likewise is a fact of existence and, 776

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761 when explained, is laid at the door of some evil man. Death at old
776 age is clearly taken for granted. Where explanations are advanced,
[754] they are always for the deaths of individuals before their time, or at least before what the Winnebago consider their time.

761 The Winnebago look at death in two ways as being, first, a different kind of consciousness from that possessed in life, and, secondly, as being a cessation of certain kinds of intercourse between individuals. Death is regarded as a "stumbling," after which the individual goes right on as if nothing had happened. He does not know he is dead until he sees his body. The individual is divested of all his corporeal investment and desires. In the myth of the journey of the soul to spirit land the ghost is not entirely a spirit until the old woman
[715] whom he meets brains him, thus, by destroying the seat of consciousness, depriving him of all corporeality and carnal desires. The ghost then becomes a spirit, in some cases of the same type as the true spirits.

761 Although the Winnebago know that after death they will never see
775 people again, they do not feel that all kinds of intercourse have ceased. The deceased may appear to a living individual in dreams or visions; he may talk to him or make his presence felt in a multitude of ways; and since, as we pointed out before, the test of existence is the consciousness of some kind of contact, such intercourse may be of a very intense type.

This lack of a feeling of discontinuity between the living and the dead is emphasized by the Winnebago concept of after-life and reincarnation.

775 After-life is but life on earth, only idealized. Everything is provided. All carnal desires have been done away with and men and women spend their time in one long round of enjoyment and bliss. Something of the fear of ghosts lingers here, however, for when living individuals try to reach spirit land—and a number of such instances are mentioned in the myths, particularly in the origin myth of the Ghost dance—these spirits are likely to be harmful.

By the belief in reincarnation the Winnebago entirely bridge the gulf between life and death. In other words, we seem to have a cycle consisting of life (consciousness), after-life (unconsciousness from a corporeal viewpoint), and life (reincarnation). To live again is the greatest desire of the Winnebago, and practically every secret society holds this out as the lure to the outsider. If you join the Medicine Lodge you will become reincarnated, they say, and the other ritualistic organizations make the same claim. But not only by joining an organization is it possible to be reincarnated; if you live an upright life, if you die on the battlefield, reincarnation also awaits you.

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PART III

# CHAPTER XII

## CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

### INTRODUCTION

The Winnebago had four types of ceremonies: clan ceremonies, 796
in which only members of the clan could participate; religious societies, for which only people who had obtained blessings from the same spirits were eligible; the Medicine Dance, in which only initiated individuals could take part; and a semipermanent organization like the *hak'ize're* dance, in which only individuals who were returning from a war party and had counted coup could participate. In this grouping we do not include ordinary feasts, such as the feasts connected with different medicines and the pleasure dances.

Every clan seems to have had a clan war-bundle feast (often called 796
winter feast) and also a specific clan feast. We have reason to suspect 614
that the war-bundle feasts were originally private feasts given by 778
the owner of a war bundle. Then as the war bundles became of great importance to the clan to which the owners belonged, they were after a while regarded as clan possessions. But even at the present time, while many would contend that the war bundle belonged to the clan as such and could not be alienated, everyone realizes that it is the property, whether held in trust or not, of a certain individual, and that he can, up to a certain point, do what he wishes with it. For a detailed analysis of a winter or war-bundle feast see page 427.

The clan feasts were specific feasts at which offerings were made to 796
the clan animal. A good description of one is that of the Snake 614
clan on page 325. [782]

Perhaps the most characteristic ceremonies of the Winnebago were those of secret societies in which membership was dependent upon blessings from one and the same spirit. There were at least four of 575
these—the society of those who have been blessed by the night spirits, 796
the society of those who have been blessed by the buffaloes, the society [776]
of those who have been blessed by ghosts, and the society of those who have been blessed by grizzly bears.

In order to prevent any misunderstanding with regard to the buffalo societies, it might be well to point out that there were three of them—

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to give it had their menses and were fasting. When the feast was 614
about to be held there was no food and their mother gave the girls 796
some of the sacred food and the unclean girls boiled it and ate it. 841

The following spring when the girls were out helping their mother tan some hide a bear approached them and tried to kill the girls. The old woman fought the bear off as best she could, but he paid no attention to her and tried to get at the girls. Finally he killed the girls. Then the old woman attacked the bear and finally threw him down and killed him, using her tanning stick as a weapon.

Now this bear was not an ordinary bear such as live on this earth, but his body was covered with blue clay. He had come out of a [776 ●
spring of water shortly before he came to this place. The girls had 688]
eaten sacred food when they were unclean, and that is why this bear came and killed them.

Since then that particular band has stopped giving this bear feast.

THE SNAKE CLAN FEAST

When a person wishes to give a snake feast, four chickens must be 796
obtained. The nephew of the feast giver is then toal to prepare those 614
chickens and make the general preparations.

The feast is given in the fall, just as the snakes are supposed to go into their winter quarters and close their doors. The winter is [825]
their night, and then they go to sleep.

Shortly before the feast begins the host takes out a bundle containing four snake skins—a yellow-snake skin, a rattlesnake skin, a blow-snake skin, and a bull-snake skin. In honor of these he gives his feast and makes his offerings.

As the fall of the year is to the snakes the same as our evening, the Winnebago give this feast in their honor then, in much the same way as we have our supper before retiring for the night. The snake skins are representatives of the first four snakes Earthmaker made and [773]
which he pierced through the earth in the direction of the east. The snake skins are kept to represent the four original snake-beings and to keep evil away from homes. That is why offerings are made to them. Four men only are invited to this feast (as main participants), and they must each eat a chicken.

The host himself opens the door for the snakes. In front of him, next to the fireplace, he makes four holes in the ground, thus opening the door for them. There he likewise places tobacco for them. First he pours tobacco in the fire, for the fire is the mediator be- [782]
tween the people and the spirit. The fire tells the spirit the wishes of the people and is, in general, in charge of the members of the tribe. For that reason they always pour tobacco upon it. 796

Now the host rises and speaks. "Grandfather (fire), you who 614
stand in the center of the lodge, I offer you tobacco, for you are the 537
interpreter (between the spirits and human beings), and I know that 372

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796
539 The host at the same time puts himself in readiness to receive the guests.

[534] The two drums to be used are placed in the proper position with tobacco on top as an offering. The two gourds to be used are arranged in the same way, with offerings of tobacco on top. These four articles are placed in a row in front of the host, who pours tobacco upon them again and asks them for life.

[782] The host now rises and speaks as follows (first, however, offering tobacco to the fire, and telling the people of his own band how he had obtained his blessing, and from what source it had come):

796 "Grandfathers, when you blessed my grandfather with life you
●776 promised that as often as we would boil food for you and offer you a
539 pipeful of tobacco, you would smoke it. So it has been said. Boiled
575 water from an animal whom you considered the same as our own body, and spirit food he extended to you, as well as a pipeful of tobacco. This we also are sending you. And what could we ask of you in return but war? That it may be directed toward us, we pray you. Grandfathers, you who are called Happy Nights, when you blessed our grandfather you blessed him with endless war. So it has been said. That is what we ask for, that as you blessed our grandfather, so you bless us. We ask for the same things. You, likewise, grandfather, you who are called The-one-with-rounded-wood, when you blessed my grandfather you blessed him with life. That is what he said, and you asked him in return to make offerings of tobacco. Here is the tobacco. This night we are going to ask life of you. We desire that you give us and all who will be here to-night, life. As many people as will be seated here, we ask life for all of them."

Then all who are present rise and, holding tobacco in each hand, walk around the lodge, pouring tobacco on the drums and the
[782] gourds, and some of it into the fire. They pour tobacco into the fire for the Night Spirits. For the Beings-with-rounded-wood they offer tobacco by pouring it upon the drums. The offering is made both to the drums and to the gourds directly. The tobacco bundles tied to the invitation sticks are offered to the four cardinal points and the four specially invited guests smoke this tobacco, because they are supposed to represent the four cardinal points. Behind the respective invited guests are placed two women, next to the wall, so that they might lead in the dance. When the invited guests come to the front these women remain outside until the starting songs have been begun.

[533] The host sings these songs first and when he has finished the first invited guest enters the lodge, ejaculating peculiar sounds (that are probably meant as greetings). Continuing these sounds, he walks around the lodge until he comes to the place from which he has started. There he stops and speaks. "You who obtain life, you

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that council, relatives, all who are seated here, I greet you. It is 786
good that you have taken pity upon me. All those that I have 776
along with me, my relatives, you have caused them to think that 539
they were to obtain life; that a great life was to come to us through 575
you. And all this you have done when we were leading worthless lives. It is good. If such an invitation were to be extended to people when they are sick and weakly, it would heal them; it would overcome their illness, it is said. It is good. When I think that our sick people will get well by reason of this feast, I am thankful. Up to the present our children have all been sickly, but from now on we will have no cause to worry. I am thankful. The principal tree of the night-soldiers, standing in front of their doorway and which is in full bloom, has not a dead leaf upon it, not one that has dried. It is beautiful to look upon. They obtained it for us and caused it to come down to us, and we feel grateful. It will strengthen our families. This lodge that we have entered is like the first lodge (the night-soldiers' lodge), and just as we were strengthened by it, so will we surely be strengthened by entering this lodge to-day. In the night-soldiers' lodge fine white feathers are scattered all over the ground, ankle deep, it is said. As we are about to go over the past, we certainly will be strengthened thereby. The lodge of the night-soldiers was fair to behold from the inside, we are told. We will consider ourselves blest with life to-day, even although we are not children of the night-blessed ones, and even although we will not be able to conduct ourselves as it is meet. We will, however, do what we can in order to obtain life. You children of the night-blessed ones, who are seated around here, I greet you."

Then he sings the entrance songs and walks around the lodge. [533]
His singing is generally finished at about the time that he has made the complete circuit of the lodge. Then he starts around the lodge again uttering the peculiar sounds mentioned before, until he comes to the seat of the host. There he stops and makes a circle in the air (with his hand) and addresses him as follows:

"I greet you. A great day has come to me and all my relatives have tasted thereof in the hope that they might thereby be strengthened. I have also brought along with me a pipeful of tobacco to be given to you, that we may all be strengthened. So it is said. It is for that reason that I am acting thus and am greeting you."

With these words he concluded and walked to the place that had been assigned him in the lodge, opposite the host and, still standing, he said the following: "Children of the night-blessed spirits who are seated here around me, I greet you all. The councilor, I mean the host, has seen fit to give me and my relatives a seat. We will sit in it so that we may be strengthened thereby. We will now take our seats, but before that let me send forth my greetings to all."

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796 776 539 575 Then the second invited guest enters. He utters the same sounds as his predecessors and makes the circuit of the lodge. When he reaches the place from which he started he stops and addresses the host as follows:

"Councilor, you who obtain life, relatives who are seated here, I greet you all, and your seats do I greet likewise. You that are seated in the first place, I greet you, too. All you children of the night-blest spirits who are in this lodge, I greet you. It is good that you wish me to live; that I am here. I am not a child of a night blest one, that this invitation should have been extended to me, but you probably knew the nature of my life and that is why, I suppose, you extended this honor to me. My relatives are even greater weaklings in the properties and goods of life than I am. That happens to be our manner of life. It is good. Henceforth we shall be stronger as we journey through life. Our men, women, and children shall all live in peace. As many of us as are living to-day, that many shall continue to live (on account of my participation in this ceremony). I am thankful.

"Of all the spirits that exist, these truly are in control of most life. So it is said of the Night Spirits. This is a great thing. These spirits have given us the occasion for a great conciling. Many of us are not able to take part in it, especially the one now speaking. The songs that have been used by our fathers we will not be able to sing, but whatever we say I know will be acceptable to you, children of the night-blest spirits. I send forth greetings to you all."

Then he sang an entrance song, and after he had made the circuit of the lodge, he sang another one. Then he went around the lodge again making his strange utterances, until he came in front of the host. Here he made a circle (with his hand) and stopped. Then he greeted the host as follows:

"A great day has come upon us, both upon me and upon all of my relatives. We all have tasted thereof so that we might live thereby. We have all brought you a pipeful of tobacco, just as we were told. It is said that we would thus strengthen one another, and that is why we have done it. I greet you all."

Then he went to his seat, the second one in the lodge, and sat down. Then all the members of his band sat down, each sending forth a greeting as they took their seats. When they were all seated the third man invited prepared to enter.

The third one invited now entered, uttering strange sounds, and made the circuit of the lodge, when he paused and addressed the host as follows:

"Councilors, life-obtainers, relatives who are seated in your respective seats, I greet you all. Here I have been blessed, although I am not worthy of it. My grandfather, and my father, too, once said to

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me, 'Some day when there is a dearth of people, some night-blest one will take pity on you. Submit to it.' Thus he spoke to me and what he referred to was this feast. These feasts are all sacred, but this is the most sacred one. That is what he used to tell me. It is not to be trifled with, even in respect to the rituals within the lodge. Never should one cross the lodge directly. If you trifle with this rule you will bring sorrow upon yourselves. The so-called night-soldiers are not to be trifled with. So he told me. The so-called night-soldiers, like soldiers on this earth, are stern. Truly they are stern, said my father. If we were to slight one of them we would most assuredly be punished for it, and punishment by them means death. So he spoke to me. But, said he, 'if, on the other hand, any one attends to all that pertains to this ceremony it will be a means of obtaining life. It will be a good thing to do, and one would thereby obtain a good life. Therefore, I have always looked upon the Night dance with awe, for it is a very holy thing.' So spoke my father. For that reason, consequently, whenever my father gave a Night feast he would encourage us to pay careful attention to it, and that is why I have always tried to do so. Remember, however, that I am not a child of the night-blest ones, and that, therefore, I have very little to say. However, I will start a song, which will be a greeting to this lodge, and I will sing it as I am passing around the lodge. Children of the night-blest ones, who are seated here, I greet you."

Then he sang an entrance song, first at the west end of the lodge and then near the position occupied by the host. When he had finished the circuit of the lodge he went around again, making the accustomed peculiar utterances, until he came in front of the host. There he stopped and addressed the host as follows:

"I greet you. You have caused this day to come upon me and all my relatives. We have all tasted thereof and we have all felt ourselves in connection with life. We are thankful. We have thought of this blessing of life in connection with ourselves. I greet you."

Then he walks to the place assigned to him in the west end of the tent and sits down. The other members of his band do the same, one after the other, greeting the people in the lodge at the same time.

When they are all seated the fourth one comes in. He repeats the utterances of the former guests and then starts around the lodge until he reaches the entrance. There he stops and addresses the host:

"Councilors and life-obtainers, I greet your seats. I likewise greet you, host. You who are seated in the north and you who are seated in the west, your seats I greet. Children of the night-blessed spirits who are within this lodge, all of you I greet. It is good. As far as I understand this Night ceremony is considered a life-giving one. The so-called happy Night Spirits alone are in control of most of life. So I was told, and that is why this ceremony is called a life-giving

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796 one. If I participated in this ceremony, I would be able to call it life,
776 I was told. But I did not pay any attention to it. They told me it
539 was good and that I would at the same time be making offerings to
575 Those-with-the-rounded-wood, and that thus I would be able to make use of all the plants that these spirits control, so that I would never be embarrassed when I wished to use them. I have caused people who were ill to become well by means of this ceremony. All of the [824] plants that these spirits control are good ones, and it is easy to obtain life with them. In this ceremony we may also obtain life by dancing. But we must dance earnestly. The leaders of this ceremony have held council over everything, and yet they have selected us for a seat of honor, so that we might greet them in this lodge and that we might be able to use this song while greeting them. You children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you all."

Then he sang an entrance song, and when he finished he repeated the utterances used in entering and gradually made the circuit of the lodge singing. When he was through singing, he again continued the utterances until he came to the place of the host, where he made the circle (with his hands) and stopped. Then he addressed the host as follows:

"I greet you. You wish me to live, and therefore caused a great day to come upon me and upon all my relatives. We have all received a taste of it, and we have all thought of ourselves in connection with life. We are also bringing you a pipeful of tobacco, so that we may strengthen one another. That is what we thought and that is why we are doing it. I greet you."

Then he walked around the lodge until he came to his seat. There he stopped and addressed his seat as follows:

"Seat that is reserved for me and for my relatives, we are about to sit in you; we will do it, and we will think that our lives have been helped thereby. I greet you." Thus he spoke and sat down. Then all the other members of his band sat down one by one.

When they were all seated the lodge was full. Then the host rose and spoke as follows:

"You who are seated in the first position, I greet you; you who are seated in the north position, I greet you; you who are seated in the west position, I greet you; and you who are seated at the end of the
539 road, I greet you. Children of the night-blessed ones who are here, I
796 greet you. My father and my grandfather spoke to me of this cere-
776 mony, and they told me it was good. They told me that the one
787 who first obtained it was named 'Little Red Turtle.' He fasted and
575 was blessed by those whom he called the Beings-with-round-wood. By these was he blessed at the noon hour, and he was taught what to do. There they taught him all. At a place where the stars [825] touched land they caused it to become night, and there they blessed

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him and taught him how to make four circles and also certain songs. 539
Since then this ceremony has been performed. He was really blessed, 776
and he was told exactly how everything should be performed. So it is 776
said. As he was very fond of the Night feast, he spoke in its behalf, 787
and told of all the medicines that were associated with it and of 575
the use to which they could be put. I myself know that these medicines are good to live on. If anyone uses them he will receive benefits therefrom and his children will receive life. I know that they are good. I would not have you think that I am one of those blessed by the Night Spirits because I say this. But I know that all the medicines of which I have personal charge and to which I make offerings of tobacco, for whom I boiled food, always make the individual to whom I offer them the better for it, provided that I do everything correctly. I was told to do this, and that is why I do it. I am now going to sing some songs audibly, and all these songs will be songs about medicines. I know that we will cause you to fan your faces (from perspiration brought on by making you work too hard), but forgive us for it. Children o' the night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you, and to take the place of their sister whom they always place ahead of them so we also will have our sisters lead the dance for us."

Two women now rise and stand side by side in front of the men and 776
hold, one in each hand, the invitation sticks that had been returned. 575
These two women lead in the dance. The men who shake the gourds 539
stand with their backs to the women, facing the drummers. All sing together and all the dancers have partners at their sides. It is a very interesting dance. Then all get up and start around the lodge, making strange utterances. When they have made the complete circuit of the lodge they stop and sing. When they finish this song they start around the lodge again, repeating the utterances. They stop at the west end of the tent, where they sing again. They thus sing at both ends of the lodge. They use all the songs they intend to. When the last song is over the individual who has sung it makes four circles and then takes the drum, gourd, tobacco, etc., and places them in front of the guest who occupies the first seat of honor. Then all sit down. Then the east leader rises and speaks as follows:[16]

"Councilors and life-obtainers, relatives who are seated here, I send you all greetings; and to you who are on the north side, and you who are on the west side, and you who are at the end of the road, your seats I greet. Our host has passed over to me the means of our meditation, the instruments through which we ask life. This instrument for asking life is the foremost thing we possess, so the old people said. We are thankful for it. We know that Earthmaker

[16] From now on we will use the terms East Leader, North Leader, West Leader, and South Leader to designate, respectively, the first, second, third, and fourth guests in the order of their invitation.

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575 did not put us in charge of anything, and that for that reason the
539 tobacco we received is our greatest and foremost thing. So the old people said. We were told that we should use it to ask for life. This must have been what they meant. This, the instrument with which to ask life, is, I feel sure, sufficient to attract them and they will surely take notice of it. We may also follow him who is taking the place of the spirits, and we will consider all those who are in the lodge blest. Those whom we call Nights have been offered tobacco, and the same has been offered to the four cardinal points, and to all the life-giving plants. To this many tobacco has been offered. It will strengthen us. This is what we call imitating the spirits, and that is why we are doing it. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you all. The song we will now start is a pipe-lighting song."

When he finished singing he greeted all those in the lodge and then he lit his pipe. Then he took a number of puffs. First he inhaled some smoke and blew it toward the east, then toward the north, then toward the west, then toward the south. Then he passed
[782] it around and all smoked, except the host, who is not permitted to do so. Then the east leader spoke again as follows:

"Night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you. The instrument with which to ask life I will now place here, and if any of you want to fill your pipes you may do so."

Then the leader of the north band rose and spoke as follows:

"Councilors and life-obtainers, you who sit in the direction where the day comes from, you who sit on the other side, in the west, and you who sit at the end of the road, your seats I all greet. We, too, have been anxious to obtain the instrument whereby we ask life, and therefore we fill a pipe for ourselves. I greet you."

Then the leader of the south band rose and said as follows:

"If the leader of the north band has finished his greeting, I also would very much like to have the instrument with which we ask life brought to me. We will immediately go and fill a pipe. I am speaking now because I wish to tell you what I intend to do. I greet you."

The leader of the north band did not pass the pipe that he had filled all around the lodge, but merely passed it to the members of his band. Only they smoked from it. In the same way the leaders of the other bands, with the exception of the host's band, passed the pipe only to members of their individual band. Only the host passed his pipe all around the lodge. When the smoking was over the leader of the east band rose and greeted everyone. Then he spoke as follows:

[787 "Our grandfathers used to carry on this ceremony, I have been
● 776 told. They told me that if at any time the giver of this ceremony

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can not find enough people to invite he would take pity on me. This is what I should say, my father told me. In the direction from which the day comes, there where the Nights are, live the night-soldiers, who blessed my grandfather and who made him try his powers in the middle of the ocean—there where it is deepest. They placed a round object of wood before him, and the night-soldiers said that they would not take it away, and that every time my grandfather tried to seize it he would not miss. 'You have done well, human, you have won,' they said to him. For this reason it was considered an instrument of war, he told me. If you do your utmost in offering tobacco, it will be an instrument of war, he said.

And he also said the following: "All the plants with which I have been blessed are useful and a person can receive life through them if he takes good care of them. These plants can be very powerful and some of them can even be used in playing jokes, we are told. But we have never used any of them in such a manner, for if we did our plants would surely lose their strength. I have been told that should I frequently use any of my plants for the purpose of playing jokes and then for the purpose of curing a sick person, they would have no power at all. If, however, I never used them in jokes my medicine would always be powerful. Therefore I have never used them in that manner. Nor have I ever poisoned anyone with them. I never considered myself great or used a Night's trick-medicine or used fire, although I was told I could do so. This I never did. When I use one of the plants I like to have it do its work. I am saying this, although I am not a child of the night-blest ones. It is now about time to permit our sisters to get hold of the 'chief sticks' and to permit them to sit here and sing together with us."

The women are then permitted to take two sticks apiece and sing wherever they are sitting. As soon as the men sing the women join in.

"This is the way to do, I was told, and that is why I am doing it. Children of the night-blessed ones, who are seated here in this lodge, I send you all greeting."

When he is through with his starting song he stands up and speaks to them again, as follows:

"Night-blest ones who are within this lodge, I greet you. I was not invited to take this seat because I was a wise man. I do not for a moment imagine that, but it was done in order to help me obtain life. We will now rise and go forth and we will brush against your faces, but you must take pity on us. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you. We will not remain seated here but we will rise and go forth in order to obtain the round stick. That is why I am making this announcement to you. I greet you."

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the human beings. However, we were not even equal in strength to 773
a fly. We were the weakest of all. Then he looked at what he had created and he liked it and sat filled with happy thoughts.

He was proud of us and gazed again on what he had created. He 773
had, however, not made the human beings equal in strength to the 776
others and they were on the point of being destroyed. Then he formed a human being, like ourselves, and when he had finished him, he named him the Foolish-One. "Foolish-One, to the earth you are to go. Weakly (pitiable), in every respect, I made the human beings. I made them as my last thought. Now this creation of mine, they, the evil spirits, are likely to injure, so do you, O Foolish-One, go and put things in order."

Then he sent him to the earth, but when he came on earth he did not do what he had been told. He went around the earth and accomplished nothing. (As useless) as a child crawling on all fours he was. He really amounted to nothing. Though sent by Earthmaker, he amounted to nothing. He did no good and injured the creation of Earthmaker, so Earthmaker took him back and had him sit at the right of his own seat.

Then he made another (man) and when he was finished called him the Turtle. "The two-legged walkers (human beings) whom I created as the last of my thoughts, (evil spirits) are about to exterminate Do you go and put the earth in order." Turtle went and (took along) a knife that he had been given. When he came on earth he led people on the warpath, but he did not look after the (we)fare) of (Earthmaker's) creation. Earthmaker therefore took back the second man, too, and placed him on his left side.

Then he made a third (man), and when he finished him, he named him Bladder, and said, "You are to go to the earth. As my last thought, I created the two-legged walkers and they were pitiful in every way. They are now about to be exterminated and you are to rescue them. Try with all your strength."

When he came on earth he made a long lodge and created twenty men. That many younger brothers he had. Then they all started to go around this entire island and all the younger brothers were killed. Thus he failed in his mission. The work his father had sent him to do, he failed in, so (Earthmaker) took him back and placed him on his left side.

Then he made a fourth (man) and when he finished he named him He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings.

Then he made the last one, Hare, his body just like ours. "You are the last one I am going to create, so try with all your strength, Hare, try." He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings, the fourth one, failed. He therefore took him back. Hare was the last that Earthmaker, our father, wished to create. He (had created) him entirely by the force of his thoughts.

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773 "Hare, what I am doing, you also will be able to accomplish.
● 776 Try with all your power. If (the evil spirits) injure my creation, it will not be good on earth, life will not be good." Thus he encouraged him; thus he spoke to him. "Try and overcome these (evil spirits)."

So Hare was sent to the earth, and when he came on earth he said to himself, "My brothers acted in a (certain) way and failed." Hare had come up to a certain oval lodge and from this (same) house came a young woman with a little pail. She was going toward the river. "Now they (Foolish-One, etc.), were not able to do (what I am going to do)," he said. There he entered the body of the young woman in order to become a human being. There he sat in the abdomen (of the young woman), yet he heard their (human being's) cry.

He heard them crying. "My father sent me to give them advice, and here, for so very long a time, I have been sitting." Crying, shrieking, he heard them (the human beings). "So long have I been sitting here that (the evil spirits) will in the end destroy them." Seven months had he been waiting when he spoke thus. Finally, when the proper time had elapsed, he went out through an opening. Not four days after, the woman died.

He always left the house in which they lived, at night, and would roam around. Whenever he walked inside the house he would reflect much light. As soon as daylight appeared he became quiet, it is said. As soon as the sun went down, he went out. He traveled all around the earth, for its entire extent, and just before sunrise returned and became quiet. Throughout the day he sat thinking of all the work he was to do.

For the third time he again started out, at sunset, and traveled over half the extent of the earth, and all the bad spirits that were growing wild he put an end to. "Not again will they (the bad spirits) live; not for a second time will they kill any of my uncles or aunts." Just before daylight appeared, he went toward the house, and as he approached it, his heart felt good. Then he entered the house and all day he sat there wrapped in thought.

When the sun went down he went out and over to the very edge of the earth, as large as it is, he roamed, and all the bad spirits that exist he killed. Just about daylight he went up into the heavens and bang! he pursued all the bad birds that were living there and driving them together in the west, he killed them all. Very early in the morning he went to the house thinking pleasant thoughts. "The work my father sent me to do I have accomplished. The life of my uncles and aunts will now be like mine, from now on." Thus he thought as he entered the house.

"Well, Grandmother, the work my father sent me to do, I have accomplished. He sent me to look after his creation and all that I have accomplished. My uncles' and aunts' lives will hereafter be the

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same as my own." "But, Grandson, how can your uncles' lives be the same as yours? It is not so. The (world) is as our father created it. Not different can it be made." "The old woman must be related to them and therefore does not like it that I killed (the evil spirits)." "No, Grandson, our father has ordained thay my body (the earth) should fall in two. Lest they should cause a shortage in food (by overpopulation) he ordained that there should be death, otherwise they would crowd each other too much on earth. So, therefore, he arranged that they have a place to die."

Hare didn't like it. "Surely, Grandmother does not like it because she was related to them. She is taking their (evil spirits) part." Thus he thought. "No, Grandson, that is not so. Your heart, at present, feels sore. Your uncles and aunts will obtain enough of life; they will live to a normal old age," she told him. "Now, Grandson, get up. Your uncles and aunts will follow you. Try with all your strength (to do what I am going to tell you). You are a man, so do not look back."

Around (the earth) they started. "Not to look back," grandmother said. "I wonder why she said it." Thus he thought. So he looked back just the least bit to his left. The place he had started from caved in instantaneously. "O my! O my! A man I thought you were, a person of prominence, and I had encouraged you very much. But now, Grandson, decay, death can, in no way, be taken back." That is what she meant, it is said.

Around (the earth) they went and to the edge of the fire (that encircles the earth) they traveled, it is said. They united it (the fire) so that they (the uncles and aunts) would attain old age, so she said.

"To look back, she forbade me. But I have already made up my mind (as to the immortality of my uncles and aunts). When they become like me, then only will I be happy. Such is my thought." Then he went out and there, where the sun rises, to the east, he went and entered the house. Opposite the occupants he sat himself. What he had come for (the occupants) knew, it is said, "Well, Hare, there is nothing I can say to you. If the one ahead has anything he wishes to say to you, he will undoubtedly do so." Then he (Hare) greeted him and went out.

Toward the west he traveled. Even then not any (other) thought he had. "I can do it," he thought on the way. When he arrived at the house he entered and sat himself opposite the (occupant). "Hare, what you have come for, I know, I believe, but I will not tell you anything. The one ahead, he it is that can tell you, he it is." So he (Hare) saluted him and went out.

Toward the house of the fourth one, in the south, he went and entered, and sat himself opposite (the occupant). "Hare, what you

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773 have come for, I know, but if even those ahead could not say any-
● 776 thing to you, how can I, the very last, say anything!"

Then he saluted him and went out in the same way that he went in. He started for his house and came there crying, it is said. "My aunts and uncles must not die!" "To all things death will come," he thought. Then he cast his thoughts upon the precipices and they began to fall, to crumble. Upon the rocks he cast his thoughts and they crumbled. Under the earth he cast his thoughts and all beings that were living under the earth stopped moving and their limbs stiffened (in death).

Up above also he cast his thoughts and the birds began to fall down (dead).

Then when he entered the house he took his blanket and wrapping himself in it, lay down crying, it is said. "Not the entire earth will suffice for us," he thought, "and in some places there will not even be enough earth."

After a while the news reached our father. "To utterly destroy us they will try" (the people were saying). That Hare was not feeling well, was the news that reached him. Then he (Earthmaker) said to the first man he had created, "Hare is not feeling well and you are to go after him." Toward the earth he came. "Hare, I have come here to fetch you." But he did not answer him and he did not even move his blanket. So the man (Foolish-One) returned. Then he (Earthmaker) said to the second one, "Hare you are to go after and bring him back here. Try very hard to (accomplish) it, for he is not feeling well." When he arrived there (he said), "Hare, I have come after you to take you back." But Hare did not even (answer). When he returned, he said, "Hare did not say anything." (Then to the third one he said), "Hare you are to go after, for he is not feeling well." When he came (to where Hare was, he said), "Hare, I have come after you, to take you home." But Hare did not even answer him. Hare was indeed not feeling well.

Then he (Earthmaker) told the fourth one, "You are to go after Hare. Be sure and bring him. Be sure and bring him. Try with all your strength." "No matter how hard it is, I will bring him" (said the fourth one). He started out and when he came to Hare (he said), "Indeed, for a very long time has your heart been sad, Hare. But let us go home now. Get up!" Then he took him back, it is said, to Earthmaker he took him. But not to Earthmaker's house did he take him, but to that opposite where the chief of the Thunderbirds lived. At his side, there they placed him. In front of the Thunderbird chief's (house) there was a mound and also a little war club painted red on one side. Thunderbird chief took the little war club and holding it lightly, shook it gently. So great

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was the noise (it made) that Hare got frightened and almost ran out, it is said. Then they freed him from the sad thoughts he had had on earth and restored his spirits. 773 776

Soon after that they took him to Earthmaker and (when) he had come there (Earthmaker said), "Hare, your heart must have been very sad. Indeed, for your uncles it was, that your heart felt sad. Now that their lives may be benefited, a holy teaching you are to take back to them. "Here, look at it," he said, and pointed toward the south. There a long lodge stood (revealed). At this he looked and there were old people with hair all white. "Thus your uncles and aunts will be. They will make very much noise (in this ceremony). Now look down! Some help is to be given them. Not one bad spirit will I put there." Then he (Earthmaker) pointed in that direction and said, "You are to go back there (to earth) and put this (ceremony) before them. Not alone are you to do it, but with the aid of your own friends, Foolish-One, Turtle, Bladder, and He-who-wears-heads-as-earrings." These he meant. "Your grandmother (the earth) will help you and if one of your uncles and aunts performs everything properly he will have more than one life. I will always keep the door (through which he may return to earth) open to him. When he becomes reincarnated he can live wherever he wishes. He can return (to the earth) as a human being or he can join the different bands of spirits, or finally he can become (a being) below the earth." All this he (Earthmaker) did for us.

Then Hare returned to the earth and to his grandmother. "What I have tried to obtain for my uncles and aunts, that now I have brought back with me." "Grandson, how was it possible for you to make them immortal like ourselves! As the world was created, so must it remain." "Grandmother, I say that my uncles will choose their lives for themselves, and grandmother, you are to help me." "All right, grandson, it is good," she said, thanking him. "When the time comes, my friend the Foolish-One will come," he thought. Then he struck his drum and started the songs. All of a sudden, Foolish-One came in. "That you would come, my friend, I thought, and thus you have come." "Indeed, my friend, I knew your thoughts and, for that reason, I came." Then they went out together and outside of the village they sat and discussed what they were to do. This is what they were doing. All day they discussed on the outskirts of the village. When they came to the house they entered it and sat down. "My friend Turtle will come," he (Hare) thought. Then Turtle did come. "My friend, I knew you would come, and for that reason, you have come." "Yes, indeed, your thought I know, and for that reason I have come." Soon Bladder came. He (Hare) thought he would come and for that reason he came. Then Hare centered his thoughts on He-who-wears-heads-as-earrings, and he also came.

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773 776 Their grandmother listened to them quietly, but she could not understand them. Then (after a while) Hare said, "Grandmother, what I have been trying to obtain for my uncles I have succeeded (in accomplishing). You are now going to hear of it. Come here toward the fireplace and sit down and you will hear of it. (I know) that you are anxious to help them, Grandmother." "Indeed, grandson, it is good," she said, and got up. Then she took her work and sat down near the five of them and laid her hands upon their heads. In front of her nephew, Hare, she placed her work. "If you get this for them (i. e., the medicine dance) your uncles will live well. This way they are to do forever," she said. In front of him she put her work and said, "For this thing, indeed, I thank our father." Thus she said and went back and sat down. "Grandson, what the nature of my help for you was to be, you asked? Well, look at me, grandson. For your uncles and your aunts, our father had me bring the following. I have for them that with which they will always be able to ask for life." Then she opened that part of her body where her heart was situated and very green leaves were to be seen, like an ear in shape. It was as white as a blossom. Then she opened her breast on the right side and said, "Grandson, look at me." Then unexpectedly corn was visible. "For your uncles and aunts, our father let me bring corn." A stalk became visible whose leaves were very green and whose tassels were white. These were the ears of corn that we were to eat.

Then the five of them got up and Hare said, "Our grandmother, let us greet." So they walked up and laid their hands upon her head. Then they greeted her and went around again. "It is good, grandmother, this is what I meant when I said you were to help them. You were going to help us, grandmother," I said. "You may now fix your breast."

Then he went out, proceeding toward the east, and when he got there he stopped. Then he turned toward the west. Grandmother closed her breast and entered the house. "Well, grandson, I have done it." "It is good, grandmother," said Hare. Then he went out, and when he got to the door he stopped there and thought, "This is the way it will be." And where he stood, eight yellow female snakes he threw. They became the side-poles of the lodge. Their heads he turned toward the east, and their tails he turned toward the west. The strings he used with which to tie them were rattlesnakes. The doorway was made of a black female and a male snake, the latter placed at the right. At the rear end of the house, in the west, he also made doors of blue female snakes. Then he took a reed-grass, which he had brought with him, under whose covering we were to live, and threw it over the lodge and the lodge was wrapped in it entirely. Then he took another piece of reed-

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grass and inside the house, at the right side, he threw it and it became white mats spread out. Then he threw a bear-skin hide in the house on the right side, and it extended along the length of the lodge. Then he made a white deer-hide extend along the entire length of the lodge, on the right side. A door he made of a real living mountain lion. This he did in order to prevent bad spirits from entering. At the door, on the west side, he placed a buffalo bull, and when this all was completed, he looked inside the lodge and then he heard these animals bellowing and roaring, it is said. Inside of the lodge, it was light.

Then he started for the lodge, first going for his friends. "Well, my friends, I am through; the house I have finished. Grandmother, stand up, for we are going to follow." He walked behind and when they came to the door, the fear-inspiring lion snapped his teeth, as he stood there. Then they went in and walked around the lodge until they came to the place where they had entered and they sat down. Then Hare sent a number of public criers, a bear and a wolf, to traverse the entire length of the earth. Along with them were sent the winged messengers, the common crow and the shrieking crow.

When the animals that had started first returned, their bodies were old and devoid of hair, and they supported themselves on staffs. When the birds who had gone returned, their wings were worn out, their eyebrows lapped over their eyes, and they looked very old indeed. They came in front of Hare's seat and said to him, "Your uncles and aunts, when they speak of you, will speak of you forever in praise. We have placed many life-giving objects within the lodge." "Well, my friends, it is good. This is what I meant. I thank you in the name of my uncles and aunts."

Then all the messengers who had been above on the earth, etc., all of them came. The four very first men he had created also came. They all stood at the door ready to enter. The oldest one started in, but he turned back, being afraid of the animals within. Three of them were afraid and therefore failed to enter. Then the youngest opened the door for them and led them in. After he entered, they, in turn, walked around the lodge, and when they got to the door, Hare placed the eldest one there and said, "My elder brother, this is your seat, the east one." Then he walked around again and at the north end he stopped and made the second one sit down. Then he walked around and, stopping in the west, made the third one sit there. Then, finally, he put the fourth one in the south seat, and went to his own seat and sat down.

Now all the other spirits began to enter the lodge. Then the first people came in and four were made to sit in the east and four were made to sit with each of the four seats. The people were of the

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The people were of the
773
776
[614]
Bird clan, the Bear clan, the Wolf clan, and the Snake clan. The fourth one was the one they were to teach, to initiate.

Then Hare got up and spoke as follows: "My friends, I have had you come together, for my uncles and aunts had been living a most pitiable life. You are to teach them the life they are to live and which they are to hand down from generation to generation. That is what I ask of you. What I want, you have heard. I leave everything to be done and said by those in the east."

Then he, the one in the east, arose and spoke, "Our friends, the uncles and aunts of the Hare, we are to teach the meaning of life, so that they may hand it down from one generation to the other. Only today, for the first time, have we discussed this thing for them. Life (all that life consists of—wealth, honor, and happiness) they shall have from now on." The four of them said, "What the one ahead said (we say)." When they finished, they returned.

Now Hare got up again and said, "My friends, that is what I wished for my uncles and aunts. This council-lodge I made for them, and as long as they follow the precepts taught in the creation-lodge they will be invulnerable. For that reason this seat has been made for them, that whosoever desires may sit therein."

All day long the spirits taught him, and when the sun was on the treetops, when it was time to stop, the spirits dispersed, taking with them as they went half the light within the lodge. They rubbed against the door-poles as they went out. They pushed them in deeply so they would not fall.

Then Hare spoke, "Grandmother, I will be sitting ready for any one of my uncles and aunts who will perform this ceremony that we have taught them well. With tears my uncles and aunts will come to me and my heart will feel sore. I will go above and sit down and if any person performs this ceremony that we taught him well, then he will be as I am, if you will but look at me, grandmother. Look at my body, grandmother." And behold, like a very small boy he was. "If any one repeats what we have done here, this is the way he will appear."

"Look at me," Hare said for the second time; "Look at me!" There he stood a full-grown man. Then, for the third time, he said, "Grandmother, look at me." There he stood a man in middle age; his hair was interspersed half-and-half with gray. Then she looked at him for the fourth time, and his hair was covered as if by a swan (i. e., it was all white), and he leaned tremblingly on his staff, standing in the east. "Well, grandmother, if any of my uncles and aunts performs this ceremony properly this way they will live."

"It is good, grandson. However, not only your uncles but your aunts, likewise, will be that way if any of the latter performs the ceremony properly. "Look at me," she said, and when he looked at

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her, there stood a very young woman, her hair like a shawl. "It is good, grandmother, and I thank you in the name of my aunts. Then for the second time she said, "Look at me." He looked at her and there stood a woman in middle age, her hair almost gray. "Well, grandmother, it is good, that is what I meant." Then for the fourth time she said, "Grandson, look at me." He looked at her. Her hair was entirely dried up, in the nape of her neck there was a hollow, and like a duck looking at the sun, she appeared. Her chin, like a wooden poker, burnt short, there she stood trembling. "Well, grandmother, this is what I meant when I said that you were to help me. My uncles and aunts that is what I wished for them, and I thank you." 773 776

## Organization of the Bands

The medicine dance of the Winnebago consists of five bands. A sixth band is temporarily formed whenever the ceremony is given in honor of a deceased member. 796 621

For purposes of description it will be best to divide each band into three parts—the leader, his two assistants, and the rest of the band. Leadership depends upon a thorough knowledge of the ceremony and its complete esoteric significance, which is in the possession of only a few individuals in each band. This knowledge can be obtained solely by purchase and religious qualifications. These religious qualifications, to which might be added moral as well, play little part at the present day, but there can be no doubt that they were essential in the past. The leader likewise often possessed other characteristics, such as those of warrior and shaman.

The two assistants were generally men who had purchased sufficient information and privileges to entitle them to help the leader in certain details of the ceremony. The drummers, rattle holders, dancers, etc., were always recruited from their ranks. Eventually they might become the leaders. Those who were neither leaders nor assistants possessed a knowledge varying from that of elementary information, required for admission, to that entitling them to the position of assistant.

There is a priority of position in the lodge, depending on priority of invitation. The band invited first occupies the east position; that invited second, the north; that invited third, the west; and that invited fourth, the south. The east is the position of highest honor; the south, that of the lowest. Between the bands there exists an order of invitation based on tradition, the exact nature of which is unknown. According to one informant, if one band invited another, the latter in turn would be obliged to give it the position of honor; but as there are five bands, this can apply only to special cases. Whatever may be the order, it is certain that each band has ample occasion to occupy all five positions. [554]

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794 578 fested itself upon the first introduction of the peyote. As we have seen, there was in the beginning little difference between the beliefs relating to the peyote and those connected with the old Winnebago medicinal plants. Nevertheless the author was assured that hostility was exhibited to the new cult from the very start. Would the same hostility have been exhibited had this new feature represented some development from within the tribe? In other words, what it would be interesting to know, is whether the fact that the peyote was derived from without led to a hostility different in kind from that exhibited toward an innovation developing within the culture itself. No evidence could be obtained that would justify us in explaining the hostility felt by the older conservative Winnebago as due in any part to the fact that it was alien in origin. Certain elements that to-day form an integral part of the most popular of all Winnebago cere-
[177] monies were borrowed from the Sauk and Iowa, and the Winnebago realize this and mention it in the introductory myths told in connection with the preparatory rites of the medicine dance. The explanation obtained was always the same—that the hostility was due to the fact that the teachings of the Peyote people departed from those of their ancestors and that the Peyote were simply aping the habits and customs of the whites. What seems to have met with the greatest
[175 177] opposition from the older shamans was the denial of the doctrine of reincarnation. The Christian doctrine of the immortality of the soul does not seem to have been felt as a substitute at all. One old conservative assured the author that he had long ago prophesied the appearance of the peyote among the Winnebago. He told the author the following:

[176] "This medicine is one of the four spirits from below, and for that reason it is a bad thing. These spirits have always longed for human beings and now they are getting hold of them. Those who use this medicine claim that when they die they will only be going on a long journey. But that is not the truth, for when they eat peyote they
[175] destroy their spirits, and death to them will mean extermination. If I spit upon the floor, the sputum will soon dry up and nothing will remain of it. So death will be for them. I might go out and preach against this doctrine, but it would be of no avail, for I certainly would not be able to draw more than one or two people away from this spirit. Many will be taken in by this medicine; they will not be able to help themselves in any way. The bad spirit will certainly seize them."

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X 796 themselves; and, lastly, the order in which the guests are invited (pls. 56, 57, 58).

X 796 121 It follows from the above remarks that in order to get a really complete account of the entire ceremony information should be obtained from each clan. The account given by any one clan will only contain the origin myth and the songs belonging to the war bundle of that clan, for although it is part of the ceremony to relate the origin myths of the various war bundles and sing the specific songs connected with them, no individual would take it upon himself to tell any but those relating to the war bundle of his own clan. Thus it will be seen that any single account is defective in some rather important particulars.

## ANALYTICAL PRESENTATION OF THE CEREMONY

X 796 The ceremony falls into three well-defined parts: I, the Sweat Lodge; II, the First Division, generally known either as the Feast in honor of Earthmaker or the Feast in honor of the Thunderbirds; and III, the Second Division, known as the Feast in honor of the Night Spirits.

[782] There is little to be said about the Sweat Lodge, for it consists exclusively of offerings of tobacco and prayers to the spirits, on the part of the one giving the ceremony, whom we will call the host.

The first division can be divided into the following component elements: (1) The preparation of the buckskins; (2) the dog sacrifice; (3) the filling of the ceremonial pipe and the smoking ritual; (4) the tobacco offering to the spirits; (5) the buckskin offerings to the spirits; (6) the feast; (7) the fast-eating contest; and (8) the basic ritual.

The second division can be divided into the following component elements: (4) The tobacco offering to the spirits; (9) the throwing out of the buckskins; (6) the feast; (10) the episode of the "Night-crazed" warrior; (11) the terminal dog ritual; and (8) the basic ritual.

[887] (1) *The preparation of the buckskins.*—The buckskins, made as white as possible by old women, are taken into the lodge by the host and there marked in the manner prescribed for each spirit. They are then tied to a framework and rolled to the top of this frame.

[782, 825] (2) *The dog sacrifice.*—The dog is strangled and a pouch of tobacco is tied to each limb, and another pouch and red feathers are tied around his neck. The body is then laid in front of the war bundle, facing south, this being the direction in which Disease-giver, the spirit to whom the dog is specially sacrificed, lives.

● [776] Before strangling, a short speech is addressed to the dog in which the slayer apologizes for killing him, and assures him that in the

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place to which he is going he will live far more happily than here among men. 796x

(3) *Filling of the ceremonial pipe and the smoking ritual.*—Before the basic ritual of the first division is begun the attendants take some tobacco and, filling the ceremonial pipe, place it near the war bundle. As the first pipeful is intended for Earthmaker, the stem is directed vertically. Then as soon as the appropriate songs have been sung the attendant lights the pipe and passes it around the lodge, so that all the men may smoke. When the pipe returns to the host it is again filled. 796x 782 [276 782]

This procedure is repeated three more times, but as in each case the offering is to a different spirit, the arrangement of the pipestem is different. At the second filling of the pipe the stem is turned to the west for the Thunderbirds; at the third, it is turned to the south for Disease-giver; and at the fourth, it is turned toward the earth for the earth and the spirits that live under the earth. [782] [776]

(4) *Tobacco offerings to the spirits.*—This occurs in two forms, (*a*) and (*b*).

(*a*) When the buckskins have been prepared and rolled up on the frameworks, then all those participating march around the lodge to the place where the war bundle is lying and pour tobacco upon it. Then they offer tobacco to all the spirits worshiped. The spirits mentioned specifically are, however, few in number, the offerings being really directed to the six cardinal points, east, north, west, south, above, and below. [823]

(*b*) This is a more specific offering and all the spirits are mentioned by name and short addresses are made to them. It is repeated three times once in the Sweat-Lodge ritual, then in the first, and lastly in the second division

In the Sweat-Lodge ritual the offering of tobacco is made to the following spirits: Earthmaker, Thunderbirds, Great Black Hawk, Night Spirits, Disease-giver, Sun, Moon, South Wind, and Eagle. 796x 776 782

In the first division the order is different and more spirits are sacrificed to. The spirits to whom tobacco is offered are the following: Earthmaker, Thunderbirds, Night Spirits, Disease-giver, Sun, Earth, Moon, Eagle Chief, Day, South Wind, North Wind, Black Hawk, Wonavi're Ūąkcik, and Great Black Hawk.

In the second division the following spirits receive tobacco offerings: Night Spirits, Earth, Water, Pigeon Hawk, Moon, Earthmaker, Thunderbird, Great Black Hawk, Disease-giver, South Wind, and Sun.

Each spirit is addressed by name and then a handful of tobacco is poured into the fire.

(5) *The buckskin offering to the spirits.*—Short prayers are addressed to those spirits who are to receive buckskins and requests for power

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are made to them. Only the following spirits receive buckskins: Thunderbird, Night Spirits, Disease-giver, South Wind, Sun, Earth-maker, Moon, Morning Star, Earth, and Water.

(6) *The feasts.* There are two feasts, the one in the first division of the ceremony being generally known as the Thunderbird and that in the second division as the Night Spirit feast.

The guests are always divided into two divisions, the owners of war bundles and their male followers, and the women. The former, who are always warriors of repute, get the choice pieces of the deer, i. e., the heads, and the rest get the other pieces generally referred to as "the common pieces." The heads are eaten after those eating the common pieces have finished.

The host never eats at the feast he gives, but while the others are eating he plays on his reed flute.

(7) *The fast-eating contest.* Before the heads are eaten two men belonging to the upper phratry and two belonging to the lower (i. e., generally two members of the Thunderbird clan and two members of the Bear clan) are selected to take part in the fast-eating contest. This consists of consuming an equal amount of food. The one who finishes first is considered the greater warrior. Both contestants start at a given signal and continue the contest to the accompaniment of songs sung by the other guests.

When a member of the upper phratry gives the ceremony his side always wins, and vice versa.

(8) *The basic ritual.*—After the buckskin ritual has been finished the host begins what is unquestionably the fundamental part of the ceremony, which I have called the "basic ritual." It consists of four speeches, each speech followed by a different set of songs. The first speech is followed by a set of war-bundle songs; the second by a paint set; the third by a Disease-giver set; and the last by a Night Spirit set. The last speech also contains a fasting experience of the first owner of the war bundle. When he is finished, the general feast and the fast-eating contest take place, and the basic ritual is for the time interrupted. It is continued as soon as these are finished, but not in the same manner as performed by the host. Instead of four speeches there is only one. As soon as one guest finishes speaking the other begins, and so on until all have finished.[1]

In the second division of the ceremony the basic ritual is performed in a slightly different manner. In the first place there seem to be two parts to it, the first one quite different from the basic ritual as given in the first division, and the second identical with it except that instead of seven there are only four guests called upon to speak.

In the first part of the basic ritual, as given here, the host delivers three speeches. After the first one a set of Night Spirit songs are

[1] Additional information on the Winter Feasts might lead me to an alteration of this last statement. In addition to the present, three more accounts of Winter Feasts were received.

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sung; after the second one a dance song is sung and all the guests who so desire dance around the war bundle; after the third one the host passes the drum and other paraphernalia to the guest who is in charge of the buckskin destined for Earthmaker. This guest repeats the ritual in exactly the same manner as the host has done and then passes the drum, etc., to the second guest, and when the time comes he passes the drum, etc., to the third guest. Then the ritual of the throwing out of the buckskins intervenes, and after that the feast of the Night Spirits and the rite of those who have been crazed by the Night Spirits. Then, when these are finished, the basic ritual is continued. The continuation is, however, quite different from the first part and is identical with the basic ritual as given in the first part of the ceremony. 796x

(9) *The throwing out of the buckskins.*—A warrior of great reputation is selected to begin the rites preparatory to the throwing out of the buckskins. One who has been blessed by the Night Spirits is preferably selected. He delivers a speech, and when he is finished the guests sing songs called "terminal Night Spirit" songs. Then the host prepares to sing a dance song, but before that he delivers a speech. Then, as the oldest men present sing, the host and the guests impersonating the spirits to whom tobacco is sacrificed take the buckskins and make the circuit of the lodge four times. An attendant precedes and another follows the procession, scattering incense consisting of branches of the arbor vitæ. Just before the fourth circuit is begun all the children smoke their hands and then touch the buckskin dedicated to Earthmaker. After the fourth circuit has been completed the buckskins are unrolled and thrown out through the top of the lodge, where the spirits are supposed to come and take them. After this, all holding tobacco in their hands walk to the fireplace and throw it in. Then, as a conclusion, all, even the women, rise in their respective seats and dance. [554] 776 [857]

(10) *The episode of those who have been crazed by the Night Spirits.*—This is plainly an intrusive feature and does not take place at every performance of the ceremony. An individual who has brought himself to a state of religious frenzy strips himself entirely and behaves generally like one bereft of his senses. He sticks his hands into the boiling soup and makes a wild rush for the pot where the heads are being cooked and tries to bite them. It is believed that whoever gets the first bite will, at some future time, obtain a war honor. Then he takes the pipe placed in the center of the lodge, smokes it, and relates some war exploits. He then tells the assembled guests that in his trance he communicated with the spirits, and they told him that they had accepted all the offerings made.[1] 796x 786 [787]

[1] There can be no doubt that we are dealing with an extremely specialized and interesting behavior, that is other tribes, and for that matter among the Winnebago themselves on other occasions, has an entirely different connotation.

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X 796 (11) *Terminal dog ritual.*—This consists simply of a speech by the host to the assembled guests, telling them that the dog is to be sent to Disease-giver as an offering, and that he will pray to Disease-giver to preserve them from disease.

ANALYSIS OF TYPES OF ACTION AND SPEECHES

*Circuit of the lodge.*—This is always made in a direction contrary to that of the hands of a clock. The reason given for this method is [776] that it is supposed to represent the journey of the Night Spirits around the earth.

*Method of greeting.*—This is the same as that which exists in all Winnebago ceremonies and is accurately described in my article on the Winnebago Medicine dance.[9]

X 796 537 *Types of speeches.*—This subject is of great importance because, while it is true that a certain freedom is allowed in the method of delivery and the choice of words, on the other hand, their content and to a large extent their symbolism and imagery are stereotyped. The speeches might perhaps best be divided into the following groups:

(a) *General addresses.*—These are generally delivered by the host to his guests and always contain expressions of gratitude for the kindness shown by the guests in condescending to accept his invitation.

(b) *Speeches of thankfulness.*—These are generally delivered by the guests and always contain complimentary references to the zealousness of the host in attending to his religious duties, expressions of gratitude for the invitation extended to them, and protestations, couched in the strongest terms, of their unworthiness for the honor thrust upon them and their utter inability to do aught that might insure the acceptance by the spirits of the offerings extended to them.

(c) *Speeches of admonition.*—These are plainly exhortations by the host to his band and by the leaders of the guests' bands to their bands, beseeching them to do their utmost to insure the success of the ceremony.

(d) *Speeches to the spirits.*—These are prayers varying in length and content.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST AND ITS PLACE IN THE CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE WINNEBAGO

X 796 571 The ceremonial organization of the Winnebago can be divided into three types, according to the unit of organization that prevails. We find societies either based on common religious qualifications, such as being blessed by the same spirit, or those based on a fixed unit, as the five bands of the Medicine dance; organizations based on the clan, as the clan feasts; or, finally, temporary organizations based on war exploits, such as the Hôk'ixe're dance, in which the

[9] Jour. Amer. Folklore, vol. 26, pp. 149-[illegible], 1913.

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four warriors who have counted coup on the last warpath form the units of organization. The peculiarity of the War-bundle Feast is that it belongs not merely to one of these types but to two of them. 796x 571

The war bundles were originally family possessions and were, in the opinion of the writer, only secondarily associated with the clan as such. They represent a complex of blessings received from various spirits who are supposed to control the fortunes of war. They were handed down from one generation to another in the same family, but not necessarily to the eldest son, and could as a matter of default pass out of the hands of the immediate family. The individual who received the war bundle was that one who had by his interest, knowledge, character, and accomplishments demonstrated to the full satisfaction of the elder generation, more specifically to the elder generation represented by his father and close male relatives of his father's generation, that he was capable of continuing the ceremonials in a proper manner. It follows from this that he would have to be a well-known warrior. Now, it is customary among all the woodland tribes for a warrior who is about to start on a warpath to give a feast to which he invites all the other warriors, from among whom he, of course, has to draw his recruits; and at this feast he explains the nature of the contemplated warpath and his warrant – i. e., the thoroughness of the specific blessings he has received – for starting it. 778 [422] [78] [428] 554 778 [721 527]

In other words, we will have to picture to ourselves the war-bundle feast as originally a gathering of warriors preparatory to the starting out of a war party, in which the part of the host was always taken by the leader of the prospective war party. All of the well-known warriors were likely to have war bundles, and thus the basis for the development of what is, to all intents and purposes, a society of those who had war bundles was always present potentially. It is believed, however, that at the time the Winnebago culture was still in the formative stage this aspect of the gathering was entirely secondary, and that primarily it was a gathering of warriors for the immediate purpose of going on a warpath. 796x 721 575

It may perhaps be interesting to go into some details of how this "society" aspect of a gathering of warriors developed. This development probably took two lines, first, a religious one, and secondly, one of definite organization. It would be quite erroneous to say that it took these lines of evolution, because it is in the nature of societies thus to develop. This originally temporary organization took these lines of development because of the presence in the war-bundle ritual of two factors—first, fasting experiences associated with the same spirits, and, second, the influence of the clan organization.

Only a small number of spirits were specifically associated with success in war, and these were Disease-giver, Thunderbirds, Sun, and the Night Spirits. [776]

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614 this twofold interpretation really represents the war bundle in a two-
778 fold aspect, first apart from its association with the war-bundle feast and second from its association therewith.

That the clan is the unit of organization comes out clearly from the following facts: First, there are as many buckskins offered as there are clans; secondly, the order in which the guests are invited
[554] is determined by the reciprocal relations existing between the different clans; and, thirdly, by references in the speeches. That the clan unit, on the other hand, has influenced the ceremonial aspect of the feast is apparent from the fact that offerings are made to the clan animals. For example, in the following ceremony offerings are made to the Eagle and Wona'yire Uaskrik, who seem to be of slight importance apart from their association with the clan.

x 796 The ceremonial unit in all Winnebago societies consists of four
[801] bands, four representing the sacred number, and the ritual consists of the passing of the paraphernalia from one to the other unit until
621 it returns to the host. The war-bundle feast corresponds to the
571 other societies in every respect, except that instead of four there are ten bands (with the band of the host, representing the eleven existing clans of the tribe). Had not the consciousness of the relation of the war bundle to the clan been so strong the ceremonial unit would probably have been found here, as it is found in all the other ceremonies.

x 796 Summing up, then, we may say that the war-bundle feasts represent a mixed type corresponding exactly to no other Winnebago ceremony, and that beginning as a war feast it developed in addi-
[575 tion some of the features of a secret society of the type exemplified
614] by the Night Spirit society, with a unit of organization based on the clan; and that finally it became a general feast of thanksgiving to the entire Winnebago pantheon.[5]

### CHARACTERIZATION OF THE SPIRITS MENTIONED IN THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST

776 All the spirits to whom offerings are made in the war-bundle feast are guardian spirits, with the exception of Earthmaker. Some of them are conceived of as being human, while others have animal forms, and still others have an indeterminate body. The peculiar spirit, Disease-giver, has a form of his own, his body being divided into two halves, one half dispensing death and the other life. Earthmaker has no form, and in the few cases that he has been known to bless individuals he always lets his presence be known by some sign. There is generally a difference between the conception of the spirit as such and the form that he is supposed to assume

[5] The order in which these aspects are enumerated is not to be taken as representing a direct line of evolution.

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when he appears to an individual. The Thunderbirds are conceived of theoretically as birds, but always appear to human beings in human shape. As it is believed by the shaman that the spirits are a *tertium quid*, neither animal nor man, but possessing infinite powers of transformation now into the one, now into the other, it is rather difficult to indicate their precise nature except in this negative way. For the ordinary individual doubtless their anthropomorphic nature stands out most prominently. 776

According to shamanistic cosmology, although the greater spirits are given control of various powers, still, in general, each spirit is given control of some specific power. The shamanistic account goes on to say that, upon the creation of man, Earthmaker, realizing that he had no powers to bestow upon him, decided to give him at least the means of obtaining those powers he had given the spirits and presented him with tobacco, telling him that if he offered it in the proper manner the spirits would feel constrained to accept it and give him, in exchange, whatever powers they possessed. The popular account of the origin of tobacco was quite different. However, it was on the shamanistic theory that offerings were made. The arrangement between the spirits and man was in the nature of a contract, with this peculiarity, that the spirits did not have to accept the offerings. The prayers are generally couched in this manner: "If you, the spirits, accept my offerings, then grant me your blessings or a continuance of those my ancestors received." They were, however, theoretically always left the alternative of refusing. In practice it was not believed that the spirits exercised their prerogative of refusal, but that in certain cases the offerings were not made in the proper fashion. The moment the tobacco was accepted, the blessing followed of itself, almost without the will of the spirit. This purely mechanical relation between acceptance of the tobacco and bestowal of power comes out excellently in one of the myths. The Winnebago are sacrificing to the Buffalo Spirits and the smoke of their tobacco offering is ascending to the spirit-land where the Buffalo Spirits dwell. The chief of the spirits warns the younger ones not to approach too closely to the ascending fumes, for they are but spirits and the desire for tobacco might get the better of their discretion and induce them to accept it. If they do, they are lost, for they will then have to go down to the earth and be killed. No power they possess, nor any power the chief possesses, can save them. This "mechanical" explanation seems to me quite significant, for it probably embodies the older point of view and the point of view of the less enlightened Winnebago. As such, it is to be contrasted with the later shamanistic development with its contract and the shifting of the spirit's rôle from one of passive acceptance to that of a spirit-deity who withholds his approbation unless the offering is properly made.

[773] [782] [773]

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776 The elements necessary to the acceptance of offerings are two-
787 fold—the specified amount of material and the proper state of
782 mind. The first is quite clear, but the second needs some explanation. To the Winnebago the emotional condition of a suppliant for power from the spirits is all important, and the proper emotional condition is one which they call "concentration of mind," by which they signify a complete absorption of the individual in the prayer he is making. Theoretically even the slightest interest in any other object is liable to destroy the entire efficacy of the prayer. I say theoretically, for if the prayer seems to be answered a consciousness of failure to come up to the ideal never obtrudes itself. If, however, there is reason to believe that the prayer has not been answered, then the explanation would always be that there had been either a shift of attention or a lack of emotional intensity. This is not the only explanation given for lack of success in the case of a ceremony, for there, by an extension of the principle of the "concentration of mind" to all those who participated, failure might be attributable to a large number of causes.

The popular explanation was, I believe, different. Failure was either not discussed at all and looked upon from the common-sense point of view as one of life's accidents or, if explanation was necessary, regarded as a sign that the spirits had not been tempted to accept the alluring offers.

It would, however, be erroneous to believe that much philosophizing took place over failure. Failure that entailed the death of an individual was likely to call forth not explanations as to what the failure was attributable, but desire for revenge.

776 With the exception of food and tobacco, which were extended to
782 all, the offerings to the various spirits differed in nature. To the eleven great deities (i. e., including Hi'rok'a, who is not mentioned in the following account) tobacco, food (i. e., both soup and meat), and buckskins were offered. There was, however, further differentiation. To the great war deities red eagle feathers were offered in addition; to Disease-giver and Thunderbird two dogs were sacrificed; to Earth and Sun herbs and maple sugar were given; and to the Moon, bear ribs.

Having thus briefly sketched the general nature of the spirits connected with the war-bundle feast and the general theory of the offering, we will turn to a specific enumeration of the spirits.

776 *Earthmaker.*—Variously known in Winnebago as Ma'ʊʊa, Earthmaker, Wajagu'xera, Creator, and Waxopi'ni Xe'tera, Great Spirit. Ma'ʊʊa is, by far, the most usual appellation; Wajagy'xera is found only in rituals, and Waxop'jnj Xe'tera is more or less obsolete, although not within the popular cycles relating to the Trickster, Hare, Turtle, Red-Horn, and the Twins.

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Earthmaker has all the characteristics of a supreme deity. He is 776
conceived of as formless and as never being visible to man. He is a benevolent deity, but apart from the interest he manifested in creating the world and all that exists upon it and in sending the great Transformer heroes, Trickster, Turtle, and Hare, he has taken little active interest in the affairs of humankind. It is only as a tour de force that one can receive blessings from him. An instance of the kind will be found on page 291,* which is to be taken not as a myth [787]
but as, at most, a true fasting experience, which has been cast into a literary form.

The conception of Earthmaker we have been discussing is found most prominently developed in the rituals and the ritualistic myths. In how far it represents an exoteric point of view it would be difficult to determine now. A study of the nonritualistic myths, however, makes it seem plausible that Earthmaker, among the people in general, was the vague Waxõp'i'nj Xe'tera, Great Spirit, typical of the woodland area; and what appears to strengthen this view is the fact that there exists, side by side with him, that other great spirit common among the woodland peoples, the Great Bad Spirit, known among the Winnebago as Hereregũ'nijna, of doubtful etymology. The coexistence of these two spirits and their equal rank comes out clearly in the cycle of the Twins. The ritualistic myths have attempted to interpret this old Hereregũ'nijna as Earthmaker's first [773]
attempt to create man, which ended in failure. He thereupon threw him away, but Hereregũ'nijna imitated the creations of the former and thus brought into existence the many evil spirits that infest the earth.

Only in the older traditions is this conception of the dual deities still to be found. In practical life the more systematic conception developed in the rituals has entirely displaced it, just as the older conception of the Transformers as heroes working in obedience to no one and changing the world until it assumed its present appearance out of mere whim, has given place to a well-ordered creation in which the Transformers play the rôle of deities saving the human race at the command of Earthmaker.

*Thunderbirds* (Wak'a'ndja). They are always represented as appearing to men as bald-headed individuals wearing a wreath made of the branches of the arbor vitæ. They are in control of almost all the powers that man can imagine, but they generally bless him with success on the warpath and with a long and honorable life. They are represented as having a spirit village in the west and as intermarrying with the Night Spirits who have a village in the east. Powerful shamans and warriors not infrequently claim that they are merely [775]
reincarnated Thunderbirds. Such is the claim of the man who is

*Cf. also Jour. Amer. Folklore, vol. 26, pp. 209-218, 1913.

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76 reputed to have first received the war bundle of the Thunderbird clan, as we shall subsequently see.

*Night Spirits.*—They are known under two names, one used generally signifying literally "night" (*ḥąk'*) and the other used only in rituals signifying "Those-who-walk-in-darkness" (Hõk'ą'was manī'ąa). They are in control of war powers specifically and appear to men in the form of human beings. They are supposed to cause the darkness of night.

*Disease-giver* (Hõ'cere'ą'wahj).—This is a spirit whose counterpart does not seem to exist in any other tribe. He, like the Thunderbird and Night Spirits, is a great war deity, but as his name implies, he also presides over life and death by being the source of disease. His twofold nature has been touched on before. When prayers are offered to him he is besought to turn away his "death" side and present only his "life" side.

*Great Black Hawk.*—Always known as K'eredjy'sep xa'tera. A powerful war deity.

*The Sun.*—The Sun is known generally as wī'ra, and in rituals as Hąbani'ndjera, Light-wanderer; or as Hąbanjhą'ra, He-who-brings-the-light-of-day. There seems little doubt but that in the earlier history of Winnebago culture he played a far greater rôle than he does to-day or did when the culture of the tribe was still intact. According to one informant he and Fire were dispatched as Transformers to rid the world of the bad spirits. As in the older conception of Earthmaker, his former rôle comes out most prominently in the nonritualistic myths, especially in the Twin cycle. In none of the many rituals of the tribe was his cult developed. He was regarded as one of the greatest war deities.

*The Morning Star.*—He is always known as Wirągõ'ege xetera, the great star. He, like the Sun, seems to have enjoyed a greater popularity before the rise of the complex rituals. He is purely and simply a war deity.

*The Moon.*—Generally known as Hąhe'wira, night-sun, but in rituals as Hąhe'regi hąrą'djone, You-who-come-at-night. The Moon is a female deity in control of many powers, but apparently of no very specific ones. She is not supposed to be one of the preeminent war deities but to be more closely associated with blessings referring to long life.

*The South Wind.*—Known as Rek'ą'hąhj, Wind-going-with-the-stream. He is a war deity, but not on a par with the others.

*The Earth.*—Generally known either as ma"na, earth, or simply as k'ą'nik'a, grandmother, a female deity connected almost exclusively with peace. She played a far greater rôle in the earlier phases of Winnebago religious development than she did in the later and is found as an important figure in all the nonritualistic Transformer cycles, especially in that of the Hare. Her rôle in the ritualistic

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myths is quite important, too, but there she has been changed from a rather indifferent and at times hostile deity to a beneficent, all-loving Mother-earth. 776

*The Water.* Generally known as nipa, water, but ritualistically as hunge', chief. There is some doubt as to whether water or the Water Spirit is meant here. This is a deity in no way connected with war. He is most commonly associated with medicines, especially the famous "paint" medicines (wāse'). [789]

These are the more important spirits and the only ones to whom buckskins are offered in the following ceremony. The following are, however, also of considerable importance:

*Eagle.*—Always known as Teaxcep, eagle. A powerful war deity and a clan animal. [614]

*Pigeon Hawk.* Always known as K'īrjk'irī'sgera, pigeon hawk. A powerful war deity.

*Wānaji're Caskcik.*—A term difficult to translate, but meaning, in general, a terror-inspiring man. It refers, however, not to a human deity but to a bird that is supposed to be almost identical with the hawk. It is the name of one of the Winnebago clans. A powerful war deity.

*North Wind.*—Known as Wazī'regj hūhī'ra, Wind-that-is-in-the-pine-region. He is associated with war, but is not a very important deity.

*Black Hawk.*—Known as k'eredjū sep. What difference there is between this spirit and Great Black Hawk is not clear.

*Day.*—Known as hap, day or light. The term is used in rituals, especially in the medicine dance, with the meaning of life. He is very rarely sacrificed to and his mention in this particular performance of the Thunderbird war-bundle feast is merely an illustration of the fact that offerings could be made to any spirit.

In addition to the spirits mentioned above, offerings were made at different performances of the war-bundle feast to all the other spirits and even to heroes, like Trickster, Turtle, Hare, Bladder, Red-Horn, and the Twins. In the performance as given in the following account one great spirit is omitted, Hō'rok'a, meaning, literally, "Without horns." A buckskin is always offered to him, on which is painted a small bow and arrow. He is one of the important Winnebago deities, is supposed to be a Lilliputian, and controls many of the powers relating to hunting. [782]

In order to avoid offending any spirit they always leave a portion of tobacco as an offering to those whose names they can not for the moment think of.

### DESCRIPTION OF THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST

The present war bundle has been in the family of B. for a number of generations. Our informant obtained it directly from his father. 778

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FIRST DIVISION OF THE CEREMONY—IN HONOR OF THE THUNDER-BIRDS

*Introductory remarks by Blowsnake, informant.*—In winter, in mid-winter, then it was that I used to pour tobacco.[9] That was the time I would go out and hunt for game. 539x 796x

Well, to-night, a vapor bath I shall take, and if I can secure food for boiling, that kind of a feast I shall give. As many of the leaders as have come, that many shall be with me as I take a vapor bath in the sweat lodge. We are now about to enter the sweat lodge, for everything is in readiness.[10] [515]

SWEAT-LODGE RITUAL

We entered the sweat lodge and undressed, and after we had entered they (the outsiders) closed the lodge covering. I took both the tobacco and the other things I was to use as offerings with me.[11] [782]

*Host's salutation and initial speech to participants.*—"I greet you; I greet you all, war-bundle owners.[12] My grandparents, especially my grandfather,[13] had concentrated their minds upon this for me. The fireplace with which they blessed my grandfather,[14] that I am going to ask for myself. However weakly I may wobble about,[15] my elders will aid me. I am now going to pour a little tobacco and offer, my elders, whatever feast I am able to. War-bundle owners, I send forth my greetings to you. War-bundle owners, I greet you. Ye elders, I am about to pour tobacco for them (the spirits)." 796x 539x 782

*Host's offering to Earthmaker.*—"Hearken, Earthmaker, our father, I am about to offer you a handful of tobacco.[16] My ancestor Djō-benągwi'ąxga[17] concentrated his mind upon you. The fireplaces with which you blessed him;[18] the small amount of life you granted to him; all, four times the blessings you bestowed upon my ancestor, that I ask of you directly. Also that I may have no troubles (in life)." 539x 793 782 776

*Host's offering to the chief of the Thunderbirds.*—"To you, who live in the west, our grandfather, chief of the Thunderbirds, a handful of

[9] "Pouring tobacco" is the ritualistic term for giving a feast.

[10] The informant has passed to the present tense now, for he is actually giving an account of the last War-bundle Feast he gave and imagining that the writer is present.

[11] The word tobacco in Winnebago rituals is used as a generic expression for an offering. Thus the word ąnirwąp'ąn means, literally, "What we are to offer as tobacco."

[12] Literally, "Children of the bundle."

[13] He does not really mean grandparents, but elders.

[14] The word here used for fireplace is a ritualistic one. It means, literally, "That one throws within something, i. e., an offering." It also has here the secondary meaning of food.

[15] Used metaphorically.

[16] I. e., the regular offering.

[17] An ancestor of the informant.

[18] Here "fireplace" mean blessings, for only those who had blessings could own fireplaces, and as a fireplace was erected for each separate spirit, the greater their number the greater the number of blessings. In all rituals it is customary to speak of blessings received, as well as of personal accomplishments, with an exaggerated modesty.

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tobacco I am about to offer you. My grandfather Djönenagiwi'ąxga 776X you strengthened. The food, the deer-couple you gave him for his 539X fireplaces, that I ask of you directly. May it be a fact that you 782 accept this tobacco from me and may I not meet with troubles (in 776 life)."

*Host's offering to the Great Black Hawk.*—"You also blessed my grandfather, Great Black Hawk. Whatever food you blessed him with that I ask of you directly. Tobacco I am about to pour for you that you may smoke it. May troubles not come upon me; that I ask."

*Host's offering to the Night Spirits.*—"You on the other side, who live in the east, who walk in darkness,[29] tobacco I am about to offer you to smoke. Whatever you blessed my ancestor with, whatever fireplaces you blessed him with, those I ask of you. If you smoke this tobacco never will I be a weakling."

*Host's offering to Disease-giver.*—"You who live in the south; you who look like a man; who art invulnerable; who on one side of your body present death and on the other life, Disease-giver, as they call you. My ancestor in the daytime, in broad daylight, did you bless. With food you blessed him. You told him that he would never fail in anything. You told him that you would avoid his home.[30] You placed animals (i. e., food) in front of him that he should not be troubled about obtaining them. An offering of tobacco I make to you that you may smoke it and that I may not be troubled by anything (in life)."

*Host's offering to the Sun.*—"To you, Light-Wanderer, an offering of tobacco I make. May it be my good fortune that you accept it. Whatever fireplaces you blessed him (i. e., my ancestor) with, those I ask of you directly. May I not be troubled by anything in life."

*Host's offering to the Moon.*—"You also, Grandmother Moon, blessed my ancestor with food. With whatever you blessed him, that I ask of you now directly. An offering of tobacco I am about to make for you now, so that you may smoke. Whatever blessings you bestowed upon my grandfather, I pray you to give me now, so that by reason of it I may never become a weakling."

*Host's offering to the South Wind.*—"To you, too, South Wind, I offer a handful of tobacco, that you may smoke it. May it so happen that you accept it and that I am spared troubles (in life). With whatsoever you blessed my ancestor, that I ask of you."

*Host's offering to Earth.*—"For you likewise, Grandmother Earth, will I pour tobacco. With whatever blessings you blessed my grandfather, those I ask of you. May I in that way never become a weakling."

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[29] Hiñ'ĕwra Maskun, "those who walk in darkness," is the ritualistic name of the Night Spirits.

[30] I. e., that you would not pursue disease and death to enter it.

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*Host's offering to the Eagle.*—"To you, a pair of Eagles, my ancestor prayed. The blessings you bestowed upon him, those I ask of you. I am about to pour a handful of tobacco for you. May you accept it and ward off trouble from me." 539X 796X 782

*Host's general offering to the spirits.*—"Hearken, all ye spirits to whom my ancestor prayed; to all of ye, I offer tobacco. My ancestor Djō-henagiw'xaga gave a feast to all those who had blessed him.[28] However, as it is about time to proceed to the next part (we will ask you once again) to bestow upon us all the blessings you gave our ancestor. That we may not become weaklings, I ask of you. I greet you all." 776

### The Dog Ritual

When they decide to use a dog (as a sacrifice) they take the greatest care of it from its infancy upward. With great kindness do they rear it. They never strike it when rearing it. Just like their own child do they treat it. They take great care of its food. They love it very much, just as they love their own children. Thus is the dog loved. If they are going to sacrifice it, then before they kill the dog they make the following preparation and the man who is to make the sacrifice speaks thus: 539X 796X 231 782

"My younger brother, you are to go to the south; to the Disease-giver you are to go. There you will live better than here. War powers and life we wish to have and that you should ask for."

The dog is not to be killed by striking, but a rope is to be used and he is to be strangled to death, so that there will not be any blood. It is forbidden to shed blood. Thus they tried to make an offering to one of the great spirits.

When the dog is to be killed, the one who is to do it prepares him. A pouch of tobacco and red feathers are tied around the neck of the dog to be offered. Then the man made another pouch of tobacco and another, till he had four, and these with (eagle) feathers he tied to the four limbs, one pouch to each limb of the dog. Then the war bundle was opened and purified with cedar leaves. Then they laid the dog in front of the war bundle, making him face south. [783]

### General Placing of the Tobacco

When they have finished arranging the buckskins and are about ready to start the singing, then the feasters mix tobacco and strew it over the war bundle. They offer this tobacco for all the spirits who exist. Even the man who originally obtained the war bundle 796X 539X 776 782

[28] "And we are repeating this now," should be added. The word for feast here means literally, "to-have-passing."

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will be present to smoke with them, it is said. And lest (through forgetfulness) they do not think of certain spirits they have some tobacco ready for these, that they may also smoke it. Wherever it is that the spirits have their gathering places there it is that the tobacco goes. The Thunderbirds have a tobacco-gathering place, it is said. The Night Spirits have one also, it is said. The place that I spoke of as the one where Djobenäągiwi'ąxga was blessed, that is the tobacco-gathering place of the Night Spirits, Grandfather Djobenäągiwi'ąxga said. Up above there is also a tobacco-gathering place, it is said. And, again, on the earth there is a gathering place somewhere, it is said. Under the earth there is a gathering place somewhere also, it is said. The mixed tobacco is placed in the center of the long lodge, and though this is not pure tobacco there is plenty of it. The feasters try to consume all of it. They would smoke very much, for they desired (certain things from the spirits). Thus the feasters would encourage one another, for they, the spirits, loved holy tobacco. "Try to make them smoke as much tobacco as possible that you may obtain war powers, it is said."

He (the host) smoked for them (the spirits). He also encouraged the feasters (to smoke) and had the attendants go repeatedly to fill the pipe of the guests seated in the lodge. "Be diligent," he told them "and try to smoke as much as you can." All night he offered them tobacco to smoke, it is said.[29]

### The Tobacco Offering to the Spirits

*Host's initial speech.* "Six white buckskins, with enough material for as many pairs of moccasins, I am going to send to our grandparents. They will be able to recognize (the buckskins) by the marks upon them.[30] If (spirits) you recognize them, it is our desire that you take these buckskins. That is why I am doing this. I hope, also, that our grandfathers will accept our food offerings. That is why I am making them. Many are the war-bundle owners who are sitting here; the lodge tent is full of them. I am thankful for it. I am going to make you very tired; I am going to make you very hungry; but I know you never thought of that.[31] You are thinking only of our grandfathers, the spirits, and that is why you have permitted my lodge to become filled up with people. It is good. All ye war-bundle owners who are seated here within, I greet you. I am now going to pour tobacco."

[29] This was omitted in the account as first obtained and was told afterwards. For this reason it partakes more of a general description than of a detailed narrative.

[30] Every buckskin is marked with a symbol carved to the particular spirit to whom it is offered.

[31] It is one of the cardinal traits of Winnebago ritualistic oratory that everything that the speaker does is to be depreciated and that any honor or consideration shown to him by his guests is to be ascribed more to a feeling of pity in their breasts than to his worth.

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*Host's offering to Earthmaker.*—"Hearken, Father who dwells above,[28] all things you have created. Yet if we would make an offering of tobacco you would accept it with thankfulness" (you said). So it has been said. I am about to offer a handful of tobacco and a buckskin for moccasins with it and a white-haired animal[29] to be cooked so that (you may have) a holy feast. These things I turn over to you. If you accept them, the first thing I wish to ask for will be (the honor of) killing (an enemy) outright, of leading warpaths, and of obtaining life honors.[30] That is what we would like to lead (i. e., a war party). That is what I would ask of you. My relatives, as many as are sitting around here, even that many ask the same things of you." 796X 539X 782 776

*Host's offering to the Thunderbirds.*—"Those in the west, our grandfather, Thunderbird Chief, you blessed grandfather, and I am now going to offer you a handful of tobacco. With thanks you will accept it (it has been said). Buckskin for moccasins, also, I am sending over to you. A feast made from one whom we regard as one of yourselves, whose body we are like.[31] I am sending along for you. Indeed a sacred feast I am offering you; that I am now sending toward you. As many of our clan members as are here, they (all) desire to make these requests: To kill an enemy outright, to lead a war party, and—O grant it to us!—a life honor. Life, that is what I pray for to you—that we ask of you. Our clan has put itself in a pitiable condition,[32] so that we may live a good life. That we ask of you."

*Host's offering to the Night Spirits.*—"You who live in the east, you who walk in darkness, you directed your minds toward grandfather, and for that I will pour tobacco for you, now and forever, so that you may bless me. A handful of tobacco, if we pour for you, we know it will make you thankful, and for that reason do I offer you some. A buckskin for moccasins and, together with it, a sacred feast that I am about to send toward you. With whatever you blessed grandfather, that I and all my clansmen who are here ask of you. This request, that one of us lead the war party you

[28] No Christian influence is to be suspected in this form of address.

[29] According to shamanistic cosmology, Earthmaker first created all the various spirits and bestowed upon each one of them certain powers. When finally he created man he noticed that he had nothing left to give him, so he decided to give him tobacco. This was to remain his exclusive possession, and not even he, Earthmaker, would be able to take it away from him. It was finally agreed that man would offer it to Earthmaker and the other spirits and receive in return thereby specific blessings. [773]

[30] Ritualistic name for deer.

[31] "Killing an enemy outright" means killing him in the midst of his own people and without the assistance of anyone else. It was the highest war honor that a Winnebago could obtain and entitled him to wear an eagle feather in his hair. "Life honors" always refer to war honors. [554]

[32] The whole phrase from "ratcéwiqe" to "réléi'ra hk'ketki-ś/djara," is the ritualistic expression for dog. The dog is referred to as "like one of ourselves" in deference to the fact that one of the clans is called wolf or dog. Thus in offering up the dog they wish to imply that they are offering up themselves.

[32] I. e., a condition which calls for pity.

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have predestined for us (we make).[29] Pitiable we are making ourselves in life, that we may live a good life (by obtaining blessings from you). That we ask of you." 796x 534x

*Host's offering to Disease-giver.*—"For you who live in the south, Disease-giver, my grandfather Djobenąągiwi'xga thirsted himself to death[30] and put himself in a pitiable condition. Then you who are in charge of great war powers blessed him. For you control a greater amount of war powers than any other spirit. A great amount of life you also control, for you are said (to possess two sides), one side of your body containing life and the other death. You told grandfather Djobenąągiwi'ąxga that you would bless him at noon, in broad daylight,[31] and thus indeed you met him. There you blessed him with war powers; and with whatever you blessed him, that we ask of you now. Whosoever of my clan are present they all pour an offering of tobacco for you and also (give you) soup.[32] The Creator made animals for us, white-haired animals for food, and these we send to you; together with buckskins, that you may have moccasins. We also send toward you a head ornament (of eagle feathers), that also. We offer you tobacco and we ask of you to bestow upon us that with which you blessed our grandfather Djōbenąągiwi'ąxga. Grandfather Djōbenąągiwi'ąxga had had war powers and life, it is said; and those we ask of you. And it is said that you told grandfather that whenever you go on your warpath you will not walk upon the descendants of Djōbenąągiwi'ąxga wherever they breathe.[33]

*Host's offering to the Sun.*—"You, grandfather Who-bring-day, who come every day, you blessed grandfather Djōbenąągiwi'ąxga with war power and life and I am therefore offering you a handful of tobacco. All the (war power) the Creator controls he delegated to you and for all of that which you blessed our grandfather, as many of my clansmen as are present, we are about to pour tobacco to obtain. Tobacco, here it is."

Host then pours tobacco into the fire.

"It is said that you will do what we ask of you. You yourself told that to grandfather, it is said. War powers and life, that we ask of you. Tobacco, food, and feathers, we sacrifice to you and

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[29] A person may be blessed with victory on the warpath directly or he may be entitled to war bundles to which near relatives were destined but which they were deprived of by an early death. The present prayer is directed toward both things, that he may enjoy the "unused" blessings of his relatives and that he may not be cut off by an untimely death from the fulfillment of his vow.

[30] Figurative expression for fasting.

[31] To be blessed in the daytime, especially at noon, was considered as particularly holy. Generally a person was blessed at night. [787]

[32] Literally, "hot water."

[33] I. e., when Disease-giver deals out death he will avoid all the descendants of Djōbenąągiwi'ąxga. "Mand'ne" is the technical word for warpath. The word for descendants really means "roots."

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if you accept them, then we will assuredly wear war honors (some day). That we may pass through life without any troubles and that we may live long, we ask of you and offer you tobacco, grandfather." 796x 539x 776 782

*Host's offering to Earth.*—"Grandmother, you blessed Djôbenagiwi'ąxga with whatever the Creator delegated to you. With everything that exists on the earth, for all eternity, did you tell grandfather you would bless him, and this is what we ask of you and for which we will forever offer you tobacco. You will do it, he told us you had said. A handful of tobacco we are about to send toward you, we, as many of our clansmen as are here. Tobacco do you accept from us, grandmother. A handful of tobacco there, upon him who stands in the middle of the lodge,[27] do we pour. Give us war powers and life; for these we beseech you. Here it is, the tobacco."

The host then pours some tobacco into the fire.

"Soup, vegetables, together with maple sugar we are about to send you.[28] If you accept them, life we will obtain; that we ask of you."

*Host's offering to the Moon.*—"Grandmother, You-Who-Come-at-Night,[29] grandmother, you blessed grandfather Djôbenagjwi'ąxga and now all his descendants, as many as there are, are about to offer you tobacco. Now when we come to a tobacco offering we will certainly offer some to you. And you will be cognizant of it, you assured us yourself, it is said. Whatever you are in control of and with which you blessed our grandfather Djôbenagjwi'ąxga for all eternity, that we are to ask for at all times, they told us you had said and you will assuredly give it to us. The tobacco, here it is."

He pours tobacco into the fire.

"I am using the tobacco as a means of obtaining life for myself and my relatives.[30] The Creator gave it to me and I am offering it to you. As many of our clansmen as are here we beg of you war powers; and that if we ever go on a warpath[31] there we will obtain the war honors. Soup and the animals the Creator made for me,[32] the black-furred one[33] we are about to hold for you; soup of bear ribs. A sacred feast we are about to hold for you. A buckskin for moccasins we are about to send out to you. War powers and life we ask of you; that you give us life, so that our days may be happy. Truly, grandmother, did you bless our grandfather Djobenagjwi'ąxga with what-

[27] "He who stands in the middle of the lodge" is the ritualistic name for the fireplace. He is always personified and the tobacco is generally conceived of as being poured upon his head.

[28] As the offerings are made to the earth, vegetables and maple sugar are selected.

[29] Ritualistic name for the moon. The regular name is "hake wira" (night sun).

[30] The term "ma,hoigiwi k'ereš," literally meaning "a life bestowher," is used only in rituals and is generally taken to include any offering.

[31] "Nągą," is the regular word for warpath. Literally it means simply "road."

[32] I. e., what the Creator had placed in his way and permitted him to catch and prepare for this feast. It is in this specific significance that it is meant here.

[33] "Hi'nakera" is both the ritualistic and colloquial name for the bear.

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ever powers the Creator put in your control. That with which you 796x
blessed grandfather it is said you would give us, too, when in the 539x
course of time we would pray to you to bestow them upon us. So it 776
is reported our grandfather Djōbenagjwi'ąxga said. A handful of 782
tobacco we place for you in the fire. You would smoke it, it is said that you, yourself, told grandfather. Tobacco, you told him you would always accept, it is said. Here it is, the tobacco."

He pours tobacco into the fire.

"If you smoke the tobacco for us, war powers and happiness in life we will ask of you. Soup, vegetables, rice, and maple sugar we send out to you, and buckskin for moccasins likewise. If you accept these things from us, it will be ours to use, war power and life. That we ask of you, grandmother."

*Host's offering to the chief of the Eagles.* "Chief of the Eagles, you who walk on light [44] up above. You, yourself, said that only you are the greatest one in control of war powers. That you are thus, you said of yourself. Life also you are in charge of. You blessed our grandfather Djōbenagjwi'ąxga with whatever powers the Creator put you in control. You blessed grandfather for all eternity,[45] and for those powers we are now about to offer you tobacco. It is for that purpose you told grandfather we should have a tobacco pouring. So grandfather told us, it is said. Grandfather also made a sacred bundle [46] and to this you also added your power, grandfather said, it is said. The tobacco, here it is."

He pours tobacco into the fire.

"To you, chief of the Eagles, grandfather, do we pour tobacco. With whatever you blessed grandfather, that we ask of you. All the members of the clan offer you tobacco that you may have knowledge of it (i. e., the tobacco) and bestow upon us who dwell on the earth war powers and life. That is what we ask of you, grandfather."

*Host's offering to the Day.*—"To the Day [47] I pour tobacco, also soup, and a rib of a white-haired animal (i. e., a deer). A sacred meal we are about to offer to you. Grandfather Djōbenagjwi'ąxga you blessed and you also added your thoughts,[48] it is said. If you accept tobacco and the feast, war powers and life we assuredly are going to obtain. For that we ask, grandfather."

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[44] "Hąhamanī' ga," is the ritualistic name for any bird. Although rarely used except in rituals, it is yet generally known among the people, a fact that does not hold for most of the other ritualistic appellations.

[45] The set phrase which from now on we will translate by "eternity," is literally "as long as the earth lasts, that long."

[46] "Wąnąp'ī' ąj wąnąj'ī'rągī' hąj" means literally, "He tied up the spirit mind or manifestation," i. e., he made a bundle of the blessings he received from the various spirits. Djōbenagjwi'ąxga is the individual who is supposed to have first received the clan bundle. The word "wąnąj" is a very difficult one to render accurately in English.

[47] Although, according to the Winnebago conception, the light of day is associated with the sun, yet the sun is not regarded as causing the light any more than the absence of the sun is thought to be the cause of darkness, but both light (daylight) and darkness are associated with special deities.

[48] "Wīnā'nąj" is not to be thought of in an abstract sense but as something quite as tangible as a material object.

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*Hoot's offering to the South Wind.*—"South Wind, to the humble grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga made you added your power, so grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga said, it is said. That which the Creator put in charge of you, and with which you blessed grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga, as long as the earth lasts, we are about to pour tobacco for, as you yourself told us. The tobacco, here it is."

He pours tobacco into the fire.

"A four-legged animal,[40] a coon, that the Creator made for us, we are going to give you in the form of a soup. If you accept the soup and likewise smoke the tobacco, then the first request (we wish to make) is that it might be our fortune to obtain war powers and travel safely (on the path) of life. This is what we ask."

*Hoot's offering to the North Wind.*—"Wind who lives in the north, you said 'I am the equal of (the spirit of the north)';[41] so grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga said, it is said. Tobacco, soup, vegetables, what a tree bears, fruit, as we call it, and maple sugar, that also we send toward you. If you accept them, the request (we make) is for war power and life; that we ask of you. To kill a person outright is an excellent power to have, grandfather Porcupine,[42] you said of yourself. So grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga said, it is said."

*Hoot's offering to the Black Hawk.*—"Black Hawk, you also added your powers for grandfather, it is said; and a handful of tobacco I am pouring for you for that reason. Whatever war powers and life the Creator put in your control, that I ask of you. You blessed grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga for as long a period as the world would last, and you said that you would always smoke tobacco, it is said. If you are cognizant of this tobacco, let us obtain life and war power. For these we ask."

*Hoot's offering to the Wōna'ŋjre Ūa'ąkcik.*[43]—"Grandfather Thunderbird, Wōna'ŋjre Ūa'ąkcik, as they call you, you added your power also, it is said. Tobacco we are about to pour for you. Tobacco only (we are giving you), so that we may obtain war powers and life; that with which you blessed grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga for all eter-

[40] A ritualistic manner of speaking of a quadruped, just as it is customary in rituals to speak of human beings as "the two-legged-walkers."

[41] I. e., cold does not affect me. The North Wind and the spirit of cardinal point north are of course entirely distinct.

[42] No reason is known why the spirit is here addressed as porcupine.

[43] The "Wōnā'ŋjre Ūa'ąkcik" are birds living in the empyrean generally identified with the hawk. Here they seem to be identified with a kind of Thunderbird. Whoever is blessed by them becomes a great warrior. The term really means "a terror-inspiring man," by reason of his great war powers. One of the Winnebago clans has this name. The explanation for the identification of the Wōna'ŋjre Ūa'ąkcik with the Thunderbirds is probably the following: The Thunderbird is not regarded as belonging to any particular bird species, but any bird can be either a normal bird or a Thunderbird. When used in this sense, the appellation Thunderbird is generic, and the term used in the text, "Wąk'ąkąja Wōna'ŋjre Ūa,kcik," is then best translated by "Thunderbird—Wōnā'ŋjre Ūa,kcik." Thunderbird specifically is understood to be in reality not a bird but a being in human shape. Cf. Introduction. The general conception of Thunderbird given here is founded upon also by J. O. Dorsey in his "Siouan Cults."

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nity, may we obtain from you. If you accept the tobacco may I and my relatives live well by reason thereof; that we ask of you. That is all." 776x 539x 776 782

*Host's offering to Big Black Hawk.*[58]—"You, Big Black Hawk, who are in charge of war powers,[59] blessed grandfather Djôbenągiwi'ąxga with war powers and life, and these we are to ask of you, you told grandfather, and pour tobacco at the same time. As many tobacco offerings as he (grandfather) would have liked to have had and as many (buckskin) offerings as he would have desired, that many there will be for you. If you accept the tobacco and feast and all the offerings, you will assuredly give (us blessings). Thus you told grandfather Djôbenągiwi'ąxga. Tobacco, here it is."

He pours tobacco into the fire.

"If we extend toward you a handful of tobacco, you said you would always smoke it. If, at a tobacco offering, you smoked the tobacco, the requests we might make are these—war powers and life. A feast of one whom you look upon in the same way as ourselves (i. e., a dog), one whom I have been treating like a brother, with whom the children have eaten the soup of such a one, we are giving you. An offering of buckskin for moccasins and of one like ourselves (a dog), whose body is well prepared, do they offer you. Food they are offering you, asking in return for life.[60] You are the only one in control of great war powers. The Creator placed you in charge of life; above the Creator created you. With that you blessed grandfather Djôbenągiwi'ąxga for all eternity. We will have a tobacco pouring, that you may give us (these things). If you take cognizance of the feast offerings, the buckskin offerings; if you will take them, then we will obtain the war honors and then we will obtain life. We, as many older people as we are here, beseech you for those powers you added to the spirit bundle of our grandfather Djôbenągiwi'ąxga. We will not have enough food to go around,[61] but if we offer you tobacco, it will not be an offense (thus to act to you) (we have been told)."

This is what they used to say at the tobacco pouring. This it is. (Song.)

### The Buckskin Offerings to the Spirits

(Host speaks again.) "War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. We are endeavoring to prepare footwear for our grandfathers,[62] but we did not really accomplish it. Spirit footwear we tried to make, that is what we were doing, but our work was lacking

[58] A deity apparently distinct from Black Hawk. He is the one to whom offerings are always made.
[59] Literally "in control of great bundles."
[60] "Life" is the ritualistic name for life. Literally it means "light."
[61] A ritualistic expression of modesty.
[62] I. e., offer buckskins for moccasins to the spirits.

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in every respect. However, our grandfathers (the spirits) would not take offense at the (inadequacy) of our work, it is said. That we may not be weakened, for that reason it is that we are preparing the moccasins for our grandfathers. Up above we are going to send them." 796 X 539 X 776 782

*Offering to the Thunderbird.*—"Grandfather Thunderbird, our clan is sending you moccasins. War powers and life are the requests we make in turn."

*Offering to Night Spirits.*—"You who live in the east, moccasins do we send you, and the request we make, is war power and life. That we ask for."

*Offering to Disease-giver.*—"Disease-giver, grandfather, moccasins we send you. Grandfather, life you possess on one side of your body, and death you are in control of on the other side of your body, so our grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga told us, it is said. War power and life, that is the request we make."

*Offering to South Wind.*—"To you, grandfather South Wind, here is the tobacco for our grandfathers. You blessed grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga with war powers and life and you said yourself that you would bless (his descendants) whenever they offered you a handful of tobacco and you accepted it. Moccasins we are sending you. Food we are about to offer you. Whatever you blessed grandfather with that we ask of you."

*Offering to the Sun.*—"Grandfather Light-Wanderer, you said that if at any time we poured a handful of tobacco for you and smoked tobacco as an offering (you would give us) that with which you blessed grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga whenever we ask for it. So it is said. Moccasins we are sending you. Soup, vegetables, and maple sugar also we are about to send you. Tobacco is what we think of in connection with you. If you take cognizance of it, war honors we will assuredly obtain. Life, that is what we would like to obtain."

*Offering to Earthmaker.*—"You who are above, our Father, we ask life of you, extending tobacco. You made this for us; you let us have it. Indeed it is you that made it and yet you will take a handful of it that we extend to you and accept it as an offering. That is what you said to us. So grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga said, it is said. You blessed grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga with war powers and life. Bless us in turn now that we are about to offer you a handful of tobacco. We, as many clansmen as there are here, are about to send to you moccasins so that we may obtain life from you. Tobacco, deerskins as offerings, food of the white-haired animal, of a male animal, we are about to offer you."

*Offering to the Moon.*—"Grandmother, the Moon, moccasins, soup and tobacco, these we are about to offer you. Our request is for the

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things with which you blessed grandfather Djôhenagjwi'ąxga. That we ask of you." 796x 539x

*Offering to the Morning Star.*—"You who are above, Morning Star, our request is that you bless us with that with which you blessed grandfather Djôhenagjwi'ąxga. Tobacco and food and a buckskin offering we are about to send you." [a] 782 776

*Offering to Earth.*—"Grandmother Earth, you also added your power to the spirit bundle that grandfather Djôhenagjwi'ąxga made. The powers Earthmaker put you in control of, and with which you blessed grandfather Djôhenagjwi'ąxga, those we ask of you. Tobacco, soup, and a buckskin offering we are about to send to you and the request that we make of you, is war power and life."

*Offering to the Water-spirit.*—"Water-spirit, grandfather whose body is of water,[b] tobacco, food, and a buckskin offering for moccasins, we are about to offer you. I and my relatives desire to lay our hands on war and life."

*General prayer to the spirits.*—"Grandfathers, we have probably been very remiss in what we have done, but do not hold it against us, grandfathers. We greet you, war-bundle owners. The life (blessings) that those who have gone before us had, the songs that they handed down to us, not in their manner will we be able to sing, but still, however it be, it will be (our best). It has been said that nothing will provoke you,[c] grandfathers. Well, however, that is the way we will do it. I greet you." (Song.)

FILLING OF THE CEREMONIAL PIPE AND SMOKING RITUAL

*First filling of the pipe.*—After they have sung the first war-bundle song, then they get a pipeful of tobacco ready and place it near the war bundle, speaking as follows: "Our father who art above, for you the pipe is extended; up straight above it is placed." Up straight above it is extended to Earthmaker, they say. For that reason do they arrange the pipe in that way. Then when the songs are finished the attendant takes the pipe, lights it, and takes it with him to the left side, giving all the men in the lodge an opportunity to smoke. Women are not allowed to smoke. The tobacco in the pipe is entirely consumed as the pipe makes the circuit of the lodge and it is then filled again. 796x 539x 782 276 [562]

*Second filling of the pipe.*—Then there at the feast for the second time do they place (the pipe). When they are about to sing the

[a] That this spirit was not mentioned before is an oversight on the part of the informant.

[b] Informal and ritualistic name for the Water-Spirit. It may mean rivid. The general name which we loosely translate "Water-spirit" is "Wak'ąjwi."

[c] I. e., that no unnecessary neglectness on their part will anger the spirits and cause them to refrain from bestowing their blessings. This is, of course, an expression of ritualistic modesty, but I suspect that there is also a reference intended here to the fact that in these degenerate days not only are individuals no longer blessed as of yore, but certain details of the ceremony have been forgotten. I see no reason for giving too much weight to this last fact, but it may be best to have it in mind.

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are finished then it will be time for us to eat." Warriors who are sitting within the lodge, we send forth our greetings to you." (War-bundle song.) 796x 539x

Then a man sitting opposite the seat of the host gets up and speaks.

*First guest's address to the young people.*—"War-bundle owners, young men, those who are the proxies of spirits, are about to use a song for you and start a dance in your behalf; and when they do it, get up and try to obtain war powers by dancing. Women, you should also try to obtain war powers for your brothers by dancing. Now we are not able to obtain (the number of men) that our ancestors used to obtain in the beginning. Then, if in a speech they asked for them, as many men as there were around would immediately begin to dance. Not one of them would remain in his seat. Young women, they used to act in that way in order to obtain life also. All night they would dance and not a single one would tire of it. We encourage you to do thus; that is why I am saying this. That the obtaining of life may be easy, is the reason they told us this. Because I believe it (likewise) is the reason I am telling it to you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you all."

*Host's second speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are sitting here, I greet you all.

"Our grandfathers knew that one of a different tribe[a] had had a vision and obtained material for use (in life). They tried to obtain it and (finally) asked him to pity them. The medicine was called hinuŋgwá'ronj.[b] They made the heart of the man of this other tribe (Hit'e'nuŋk'e) sad.[c] (He had obtained it in the following manner): A woman fasted[d] and one of the Water-spirits whom the Creator had placed there for all eternity, a Water-spirit for keeping (the earth) quiet,[e] blessed her with the power he had been placed in charge of. The Water-spirit had himself die and the woman there 796x 539x 787 [776] [789]

[a] Literally, "last successor" in reference to the last-eating contest that takes place during the feast.

[b] This is not a Winnebago term.

[c] My interpreter could not translate the name of this medicine into English. He thought that it might mean "wished a woman medicine," but this is extremely doubtful.

[d] I.e., at the time of parting with it. What tribe is meant by "Hit'e'nuŋk'e," it has been impossible to find out. The word, I believe, means "those whom we can speak with" in reference to the fact that their language was intelligible to the Winnebago. I was definitely assured that neither the Otoe, Iowa, or Missouri were meant. I have sometimes surmised that the Winnebago may be referring to the Mandan, whose language, from the little I have seen of it, is surprisingly close to that of the former. All that the older Winnebago could tell me about the Hit'e'nuŋk'e was the fact that many years ago they had been in contact with a tribe speaking a language similar to their own. [114]

[e] Literally, "to thirst oneself to death," the ritualistic expression for fasting.

[f] He is referring to one of the four beings whom Earthmaker had placed at the four ends of the world to prevent it from moving and locally, as related in the origin myth of the Medicine Dance and of the Thunder-bird clan.

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took the material (the remains of the Water-spirit).[70] That it is good, they knew. Then she tried her medicine. The first time she did the following: Up above, almost near the sky, a hawk stood whirling around. The woman dipped her forefinger into the medicine and then she pointed it at the hawk and it fell dead; she made it fall through the top of a house; right in front of the woman it landed. She wanted to use it as a medicine bag. Then she dreamed that they had taken a man from his home that he might fast. She said to the man, "Put forth all your strength and don't try to come here." She also told his relatives to watch him. "To-night I am going to sing a paint song and if he comes he will die. Take care of him that he doesn't come." That night she sang a paint song and the man came running to her. She forbade him but he came anyhow and he died dancing. This medicine is called hit'ç'nuṣk'e medicine, referring to the name of another tribe, and that is how it acted. 796X 539X 787 789

"They (our ancestors) knew that it was good paint and he (one of them) tried to get him (the Hit'ç'nuṣk'e) to bless him with the paint (the latter had obtained from the woman). When they obtained it, they never used it in their own midst (i. e., among themselves). They made a medicine-bundle of it. The paint-medicine, it is good to use in war. That they knew very well. They were very sparing in their use of it (because it was so valuable). They placed it in their war-bundle. Paint-songs we are about to use, yet we are singing for the war-bundle. If, indeed we had paint medicine we would amount to something. We are not going to sing as if we thought ourselves in possession of paint-medicines nor will we sing them correctly. Yet if we knew only one, if we could (in singing this one) bring ourselves to the state of crying (it would be all right), it is said, "That is why we say it."[71] (Paint song.) [778]

*Host's third speech.* "War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. I know that I am causing you to famish with hunger, but we are doing this in an attempt to get the attention (of the spirits). One in control of death who dwells in the south[72] and who of himself possesses greater war power than all the other spirits that exist, blessed grandfather Djōbenagjwi'ṣxga. He is in control of life and in control of death. He met grandfather in the middle of the day and blessed him with war powers and life. He said (to our grandfather when he blessed him), "If I should ever go on the warpath, your descendants, as many as they are and wherever they live, I will not tread upon, should they get sick." However, your posterity never will get sick. Should they ever have a bad illness, 796X 539X [776]

[70] The Winnebago believe that the "bones" of the mythical "Water-spirits" possess the most magical qualities when pounded and mixed up into medicine. All "paint medicines" are made of "Water-spirit bones." [776]

[71] All these sentences are, of course, expressions of ritualistic modesty.

[72] I. e., Disease-ghost.

[73] Cf. note 56, p. 457, for explanation of these words.

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Should they ever have a bad illness
they have the means of obtaining life by praying for it,[a] by offering 796X 539X
tobacco and a flute.[b]

"Disease-giver himself made these things holy. Thus they would 782
obtain life, if they had any illness, by offering you reed flutes, food, 776
tobacco, feathers, a white dog, and by making you at the same time an offering of buckskin hides. (Thus Disease-giver spoke to our grandfather when he blessed him:) 'A holy flute I made for you, and I forbade you to blow upon it, yet you did it. Now, hereafter, if you offer me a sufficient number of buckskins, you may blow upon it. A different life from that of others will you lead, if you do that. You will be able to cut off (stop) a bad disease caused by someone else. Nor will this one (who was ill) ever have another disease.'[c]

"Thus Disease-giver spoke. This is what the one who causes disease said. That is how they blessed our grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga. A song I am now about to start. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." (Disease-giver song.)

*Heat's fourth speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, 796X
I greet you. The last (song) we will now finish. You who are in the 539X
east, Night Spirits, you also added your blessing to the spirit bundle 787
of grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga. So that he might know (he 776
blessed by) the spirits, grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga starved and thirsted himself to death[d] and made himself pitiable. At first he fasted four nights and the Night Spirits came to him; with mighty sounds they came.[e] There they stood (and said), 'Human, you have thirsted yourself to death and we bless you (for that reason). We who speak are the spirits who are called Night Spirits.' They blessed him with war power and life, they said. Then he looked and (said to himself), 'I wonder whether these really are the Night Spirits that speak.' So he looked at them and they were small birds called *hcē'pge*.[f] They had fooled him. Then once again was his heart sore. 'Well! I will die,' he thought (fasting). So he fasted again and once again he rubbed on (the charcoal). For six nights he continued to fast. And again from the east the Night Spirits came. They came making a great noise and they stood near him (and said), 'Human, we bless you. You have thirsted yourself to death and you have made your heart sore. We felt sad on your account. With

[a] A rather curious expression used only in elevated language and meaning, literally, "to obtain with the mouth"—i. e., either by speeches, prayers, or singing. The expression would hardly be permitted in ordinary Winnebago. [95]

[b] He does not mean by offering flutes, but by playing on them. Reed flutes are generally contained in the bundles of most spirits, but they seem to be more closely connected with the Disease-giver and the Buffalo. [534]

[c] This, I believe, is the meaning of the last three sentences. They are somewhat obscure, and I do not guarantee the correctness of the rendering.

[d] Literalistic expression for fasting.

[e] All powerful spirits are supposed to approach with loud noises. This is also characteristic of the Ojibway spirits. [171]

[f] English equivalent unknown.

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war power and life we bless you,' they said. Then he looked at them. 796x
'I wonder whether they really are the Night Spirits?' he thought. 539x
They were not the Night Spirits who were speaking to him. The 787
birds that spoke were the *kawt'ege*, *tcūzdji*, and *ci'k'ok'ok'*.[80] They 776●
were the ones that spoke and they were the ones that fooled him. Instead of feeling sad this time, however (he said), 'I don't care what happens: I am willing to die (in order to get the blessing),' he thought to himself. Then he began fasting again. He rubbed the (charcoal) over (his face) again. Seven nights he fasted. And once again from the east the Night Spirits came singing. They came and stood (before him) and they said, 'Nephew, we bless you. So long have you been sad and cried to us piteously (that we will bless you). No one did we ever bless before. In war and life you shall do just as you wish,' they said. Then he looked again. 'I wonder whether those speaking are really the Night Spirits?' he thought. But they were not the Night Spirits. They were the bluebird, *gi'ege*,[81] and duck, and as many of them as there were, their breasts were dark. As many birds as there were, they were bad. 'My, O my! How they abuse me!' he cried. At first Djōhenągjwi'ąxga had thought in his fastings that just to spite them he would fast again. Now he rubbed (charcoal on his face) again and wept bitterly.[82] Both hands contained tobacco and he stood in the direction from which the Night Spirits came and weeping, put himself in the most abject condition.

"Now, indeed, to its very depths did his heart ache. Ten nights did he fast. Finally they (the Night Spirits) came after him. 'Human, I have come after you.' He followed (the spirits) and they took him to the east; to the site of a Night Spirit village they took him. The chief of the Night Spirits had sent this one to go after him. In the village was a long lodge standing in the east. There they took him. As many Night Spirits as there were in control of powerful blessings, of that many the lodge was full. When he entered he walked in white feathers up to his knees.[83] Many kettles and much food he saw stretched right across (the lodge). On the outside, a buffalo hide stretched almost across the entire lodge. Then they said to him, 'Human, without giving up, long you have suffered; your heart has, indeed, been sad. They, as many spirits as there are

[80] English equivalents for the first two unknown. The last is probably the robin.

[81] English equivalent unknown.

[82] He wept bitterly not so much on account of his disappointment as for the purpose of bringing himself into a state of religious ecstasy. The change of attitude from one of spite to realization that not in such a way were blessings from deities like the Night Spirits to be obtained is very well brought out here. It was a cardinal tenet of the religion of the devout shamans that your success in obtaining blessings was in direct proportion to the motives and intensity of feeling you brought to your prayer. To throw away your life through mere disappointment was deemed absolutely unethical, (a thought that) is brought out quite distinctly in the systematic teachings given to the young. [786]

[83] The lodge of the Night Spirits are supposed to be strewn with white feathers as a sign of holiness. As far as known no symbolism is attached to it.

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in the lodge, that many talked of what was to happen to you. And I, I am the chief of the Night Spirits. This creation-lodge just as you see it (i. e., with all it contains) I give to you.[88] You will never be in want of food. You are to offer as many buckskins as you see here and tobacco for all time. Thus it shall be. The "creation-lodge" of the village of the Night Spirits I give to you. You can go on as many war parties as you wish and obtain as much life. As many tobacco offerings as they (i. e., you and your descendants) continue to give, all the tobacco, food, buckskin offerings, red feathers, as many as there are, they will all come to the "creation-lodge" that you see, and we will accept them.'

"Thus did they speak to grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga. So he said. We will do this that we may ask (blessings) for our relatives and sing songs. Even if we do not perform everything in just the manner that the spirits in the east (told) our grandfather Djōbenągiwiąxga, we know that our grandfathers (the spirits) will not be offended. So they say. Even if you know only one song, if you bring yourself to the point of crying in your efforts (it will be all right). Thus we mean to say it. War-bundle owners, who are seated here, I greet you." (Night Spirit song.)

### The Feast

*Host's speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. Every spirit that the Creator created he made for us,[89] but whatever food he made for us all those things we were to offer up (to the spirits) together with tobacco and the sacred feast. What we are to do, what I can do to make these things known to them, that is what we should think of and talk about. (This is what the Creator said): Let (the host) call upon a warrior, a young man present at the feast. For the one who lives in the west he should make offerings of tobacco and attempt to be like (the spirits), so that one of our own members should be considered (by the spirits) as the same as themselves.[90] A sacred feast and tobacco together with it we are about to offer to the chief of the Thunderbirds in the west. What can I do that they might have knowledge of these (offerings)? Thus we should be thinking, (the Creator) said. A war-bundle owner who is present we should call upon (to take charge of) a kettle."[91]

[88] The lodges of the spirits are always called "creation lodges" in reference to the fact that it was by the assembled spirits in these lodges that at the beginning of the world everything was set in order. The principal "creation lodge" was that of Earthmaker, to which the soul of a dead individual wandered after death and from which he was sent to the world again if he chose to take human form once more.

[89] I. e., that they might give us blessings.

[90] I. e., impersonate the spirits. It will be remembered (cf. Introduction) that such guest is supposed to impersonate a spirit.

[91] Host's speech ends here. What follows is description.

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And a war-bundle owner for the second kettle should be called upon a kettle offered in connection with him whom we call Great Black Hawk. 796x 539x 782

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle placed for Disease-giver. 776

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the spirit whom they call South Wind.

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the Sun.

Then they also select another man to be in charge of a kettle put on for the Morning Star.[29]

Then the first one who had been called upon for a kettle takes as many pieces of food as there are individuals in his band who eat with him. The second one who had been called upon also takes enough pieces (for his band). 796x 539x 262

Those who are going to eat the head have to wait.[30]

Then all took enough pieces to suffice for their band.

Then they (the attendants) put the pieces of meat in plates and cut them up into small portions. Now all are in readiness for the meal. Only some of those in the lodge are called upon to eat the head. The plate of the others is filled with ordinary cuts (of meat). As many men and women as are present, for that many do they cut up the pieces of meat evenly and place them in the plate.

Only warriors are head eaters. Not to warriors do they give common pieces. Women and men who are not warriors can not take part in this head eating. Only men can take part in the head eating. They would not permit women to eat the head. However, those of the feasters who were warriors and had brought home war trophies would speak a good word for the trophy bearers, their sisters, their neices, and their aunts,[31] and these would be allowed to sit in the midst of the head eaters. The sisters or the aunts, whatever women were allowed to sit among the head eaters, considered it a very great honor. Thus all were encouraged to do. [554 562] [602]

Now (the preparations being finished) all are waiting for the meal and the host gets up and speaks.[32]

"I greet you all. When it (the meat) gets into the plate, then it is the time to try to get the spirit's attention by singing. War-bundle owners, who are seated here, I greet you all." (Eating song.)

[29] In the first division of the ritual seven kettles are prepared; in the second division, four.

[30] The eating of the deer's head is the greatest honor that one can obtain in this ceremony, and only warriors are permitted to take part in it. [554 262]

[31] When a warrior returned from a successful war party with the first war honor, i. e., if he had counted coup first, he was given a wampum necklace, and this he presented to his oldest sister or to the daughters of his father's brother or mother's sister or to his mother's sister.

[32] This is the continuation of his speech that had been interrupted by the preparations for the meal. [131]

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Even if a feaster gets satiated, he must continue to eat until everything is finished. They tell one another that it is not good for any one to fail (and leave any food). Whatever food there is they must finish it all. All that is cooked must they eat. 796x 539x 264

### Continuation of the Basic Ritual

Then the one who was called upon for the first kettle thanked them and said: 796x 539x

*Speech of first guest.*—"Councilors[109] and relatives who are seated here, I greet you all. As many war-bundle owners as are seated here, I greet you all. The councilors of the clans have enjoined upon us earnestly to offer up sincere prayers to all the different spirits who are seated here (in the persons of the guests). It is good that our war-bundle owners offer up prayers in this way. It is for this reason that we are still living. Some of us can not accomplish much in that line and that is why so many of us are gone already (i. e., are dead). This ritual was made for one who is the very greatest of all the spirits, for whom they have offered tobacco and food and offerings of buckskin. Thus they have done. Earthmaker, who dwells above, they have asked for war power and life. Indeed, how would it be possible for (the spirits) not to take cognizance and accept (these offerings).[110] If we follow the preaching (of our host), life (we will obtain); life we will feel ourselves in connection with through the holy food that they (the host and the members of his band) have offered up. We have (had the honor too) of impersonating the spirits, I and my relatives. The meal likewise was excellent. It is good that they have brought us in connection with so much life and it is to thank them that I am saying this. That one of their ancestors whom they called grandfather (and whose place I am taking) was not one to speak foolishly, it is said, and still his place they thought of for me (unworthy as I am). They have given me (the part) of a councilor of their own clan and (the privilege) of impersonating a spirit. It is good. Earthmaker they have prayed to. [776 782]

I greet him. To the enjoiner (host) I send my greetings; to all the war-bundle owners who are seated here, I send forth my greetings.

Then the second one who was called upon for a kettle gets ready to thank them and says:

*Speech of second guest.*—"Host and relatives, as many as are seated here, I send forth my greetings to you. War-bundle owners that

[109] The word means, literally, "enjoiners" and refers to the injunctions and instructions the elder people give to the young. [367]

[110] I. e., the offerings are so wonderful that the spirits would have to be blind not to see them. This and the following sentences are formulae compliments always paid to the host by the invited guests.

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song. Very good have they been to us. It is good. This is what I have longed for, what we have been doing and all the good they have said about us. It is good when you give a feast to do just what you wish. The war-bundle owners, as many as there are here, have spoken for me. It is good to obtain something when asking for it. Very well have they spoken. It is good; it is very good. You have eaten (the food) in my behalf; very carefully have you eaten it up for me. All the sacred speeches that they blessed him (our grandfather) with you have repeated so that you might obtain real life, you said. It is good and I thank you, for we have done here exactly what I have longed for. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." 539x 796x

### SECOND DIVISION OF THE CEREMONY—IN HONOR OF THE NIGHT SPIRITS

*Introductory remarks.*—Then the attendants get ready to put on the kettles for the second feast. When they are finished arranging the food that is to be turned over to the spirits the host prepares his tobacco and gets ready to pour it. Then he speaks the following: 539x 796x 776 782

### THE TOBACCO OFFERING

*Offering to the Night Spirits.*—"To you, grandfather Djobenąągiwi'ąąga, does the council lodge of the Chief of the Night Spirits, standing in the east, belong. Holy you have kept it. You (Chief of the Night Spirits) were the one who blessed him with it, he said. When the time comes for the tobacco pouring we will offer you a handful of tobacco. War power he liked to obtain by doing this. With what you blessed him, that we ask you to give us in return. Grandfather, Chief of the Night Spirits, tobacco, here it is.

"Here in the fire I shall place tobacco for you at all times. Tobacco, holy food, and buckskin for moccasins, all those things I will send to your sacred creation lodge." [276]

*Offering to Earth.*—"You who are our grandmother, Earth, you blessed grandfather Djobenąągiwi'ąąga with life and war powers. As far as you extend, that far, O grandmother, do we spread out for you tobacco and food and moccasins. Here is the tobacco. Here in the fire shall I place tobacco; and food and offerings of buckskin will we send to you at all times. You will always accept them, grandfather said, it is said, so that our clansmen may travel in a straight path of war and life." [10]

[10] That is, may nothing intervene to prevent them from enjoying all the blessings they have received in war and life.

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782

*Offering to the Moon.*—"This we ask, grandmother, of you also. You added your power to (the other blessings) of grandfather Djobenąǫgiwi'ąxga and you said that as long as the world lasts you would willingly accept the offerings of tobacco that his posterity extended to you. Thus you yourself said, we are told. Here is the tobacco.

"As many of our clansmen as are here living in an abject condition (spiritually), may they all follow in the direct path of war. For that we are now extending to you tobacco, food, and moccasins. And may we in the future travel in the path of war and life."

*Offering to the Water.*—"You likewise, Chief of the Water, whose body is water, blessed grandfather Djõbenąǫgiwi'ąxga. Here it is (the tobacco). If we poured tobacco into the fire, you said you would always smoke it, it is said. Food and buckskin for moccasins we are about to extend to you. War powers and life, that we ask from you in return, for you said that you would always accept (our offerings), we are told. When you blessed grandfather Djõbenąǫgiwi'ąxga you said that we should pour tobacco for you at all times, it is said. Here it is.

"You would recognize the offering of tobacco and the tobacco with the food that we sent forth to you, you said, it is said. We desire war powers and life for our kinsmen."

*Offering to North Wind.*—"You likewise, Porcupine,[128] told grandfather, 'For killing an enemy outright, I am useful, it is said. I am even the equal of the one who blows from the north!' Thus you told grandfather, it is said. When the proper time has arrived we should pour tobacco. Tobacco, here it is.

"Our first request is for war power and life."

*Offering to the Pigeon-Hawk.*—"Here is tobacco for you, too, Pigeon-Hawk. You blessed grandfather with war and life and it is said you told him that you would always give him what we asked of you."

*Offering to Earthmaker.*—"For Earthmaker, who is the foremost, you said we should pour tobacco, so for him we (pour) tobacco.[129] A handful of tobacco we are about to offer to you (Earthmaker)."

*Offering to the Thunderbird.*—"To you, also, Thunderbird, I am about to pour tobacco. It will be one of the foremost offerings, you said, it is said. Tobacco we pour to you."

[825]

[128] Porcupine is also associated with the North Wind in the first division of the ceremony.

[129] I. e., we even have the effrontery to offer him tobacco as if people like ourselves could ever obtain a blessing from so great a deity as Earthmaker! The order in which the offerings to the various spirits are made is rather peculiar, for that to Earthmaker should, I believe, come first. I suspect that my informant was probably in error in the arrangement given above, a fact easily explained when it is remembered that he tried to visualize a ceremony he had not given for some time.

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*Offering to Big Black Hawk.*—"To the Big Black Hawk we also offer a handful of tobacco." 539x 796x

*Offering to Disease-giver.*—"To you, grandfather Disease-giver, I also send tobacco." 776 782

*Offering to South Wind.*—"To you, also, grandfather South Wind, I send tobacco. You would consider it foremost, you said, it is said."

*Offering to the Sun.*—"Here I place tobacco for you, too, grandfather Sun. A handful of tobacco here I place here for you."

BASIC RITUAL

*Host's first speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are sitting here, I greet you. The songs that the Night Spirits placed within the reach of grandfather Teiwoit'e'higa,[108] those he tried to learn. He fasted and thirsted himself to death for the blessings our grandfathers (the Night Spirits) gave him (spread) over the length of the earth. Our grandfather Teiwoit'e'higa said that he had come from somewhere in the east and that a Night Spirit chieftainess was his mother and that the son of the chief of the Thunderbirds was his father; that his parents lived beyond the confines of this earth.[109] When he fasted to be blessed by (these spirits) over again,[110] they blessed him. If at any time he should die he would be able to visit the earth again, he said, it is said.[110] The song he was taught, the Night Spirit song, that we will try to sing. Even if you know only one song, you will not bore them (the spirits) with it; for if you bring yourself to the state of weeping in your efforts, it will be (acceptable). If you do not put on any embellishments when you pray (literally, cry) for war and life (it will be acceptable), it is said. Thus we should say it. 539x x 796 787 776

"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." (Night Spirit song.)

*Host's second speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. When we finish (our part of the ceremony), may you help us by repeating the spirit songs your ancestors gave you to be handed down (from one generation to another). That we ask of you. Now we will start a dance song and when we are finished singing, our 539x 796x [424]

[108] Literal translation, "Kills within the lodge."

[109] What Teiwoit'e'higa means by saying that these spirits were his parents is that he is a reincarnated spirit that has chosen to be born of human parents. Such claims were by no means rare even in late Winnebago history and there is, as a matter of fact, a powerful shaman living in Wisconsin now who claims that he is the reincarnated Hare (Wanéjaga'pi). [775]

[110] Before coming to the earth as a human being, he had of course been told that he would receive certain blessings, but nevertheless he had to fast for them just as a human being does. However, shamans who obtained their powers in this way were always supposed to obtain them more easily than other people. For an illustration of this cf. the account of a shaman's blessing in the "Reminiscences of a Winnebago Indian" by myself in Amer. Jour. Folklore, XXVI, 1913.

[111] That is, become reincarnated.

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796x

annoyed it. Host, I greet you. You who are impersonating the spirits, all of you, do I greet."

### The Throwing Out of the Buckskins

539x
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[554]

Then the attendants give that war-bundle owner who is regarded as the foremost, as an expert, tobacco, for it is about time now that the various spirits should accept (the offerings).[130] Therefore they select a man who is proficient, one who has very likely been blessed by the Night Spirits and one therefore to whom they are likely to listen, a holy person, a man who has attained war honors. He is likely to be the best one to make the spirits cognizant of the buckskins. So they brought the drum for him to his place, and placed tobacco in his hand. Then he spoke as follows:

*Speech of prominent guest.*—"Host and members of his clan who are seated here, I greet you. You seated in this lodge who are impersonating the spirits, I greet you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. It is good that the war-bundle owners have done so much for the host. He has brought us the means of blessing and caused us to come into this lodge and has fed us. He has permitted us to offer tobacco. It is good! Not insincerely should we speak on such an occasion, our father told us. If at any time the spirits pay any attention to a human being and permit him to offer them moccasins, rest assured that they will not let a weakling do this. If you are of any importance the spirits will accept the moccasins you have offered them. Indeed, my son, our grandfathers on both ends of the earth will have knowledge of these offerings,[131] they told each other."

For the Night Spirits they sang and alternately they would start up a song for the Thunderbird as they sat there.

After finishing a Night Spirit song, then they would start up one for the Thunderbird, and then they would sing Night Spirit songs and Thunderbird songs together. "If at any time they consider you a man and accept the moccasins you have offered them, use your power. Above all, be careful that you do not say anything in a frivolous manner. The host putting himself in a pitiable condition has with copious dropping of tears besought the spirits for war power. For life he has also besought them and has prayed to them with offerings of tobacco, food, buckskins, and feathers. Putting himself in a pitiable condition he has hunted for the spirits,[132] weakened himself through exposure to cold, and caused himself untold sufferings. Oh that I could have done similarly! It is for this (these laudable rea-

[785]

[130] I. e., that the buckskins should be placed where the spirits can get them.
[131] I. e., the Night Spirits living in the east and the Thunderbirds living in the west.
[132] I. e., hunted the deer that are used at the feast both for eating and for the buckskin offerings.

[776]

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some) that they (the host and his band) have done this. Do not say 539x
anything frivolously, for the host has offered in your behalf tobacco 796x
and tears. Cry that you may obtain life, even as the host and his 782
people have done. Act thus so that you may be of help to one another even as our ancestors of old were. If people act together they will accomplish their purpose. That is what they did in the beginning and that is why they lived like spirits at that time. They cried and made offerings of tobacco, grandfather said. For the Night Spirits shall you pour tobacco here. I send forth my greetings to you." (Terminal Night Spirit song.)

After they have finished the terminal Night Spirit song then (the host) gets ready to use the dance song, but (first) speaks as follows:

*Speech of host.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. The dance song they are about to use and then they will get ready to throw out the offerings of buckskin to the spirits. Now let us put them above. This is what I wished to tell you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you."

The host and the others now take the buckskins and dance around the lodge four times.

When he (the host) starts the oldest men sing the dance songs. Then the feasters take the buckskin offerings down and all, one by one, dance around the lodge four times. An attendant precedes them carrying cedar incense and one follows them carrying the same. After they have made the circuit of the lodge for the third time, just before they begin the fourth circuit, those carrying the buckskin that is to be thrown out for Earthmaker and who march at the head of the procession, let the children, after they have smoked their hands, touch the buckskin. After that all touch it for (they believe) that if they touch this buckskin they will obtain long life thereby.

After they have made the fourth circuit they roll up the buckskins and throw them out through the top of the lodge. They hold tobacco in both hands when they do this and this tobacco they pour into the fire. Then all the feasters, those who had buckskins and the others who were within the lodge, the children, the women, indeed, all the people, rise and standing near their seats dance. Thus they did. 796x 539x

Before throwing the buckskins through the top of the lodge they [513
would tell the people not to sleep, for otherwise some of the old
Night Spirits who are about at the approach of day might strike them 776]

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796X
[513
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with their canes, and if they did this such a person would surely die.[140] For that reason do they warn them not to sleep. However, as soon as the men have thrown the buckskins outside then any child who desires may sleep without danger.

After the song had been sung he (first guest) speaks as follows:

*Speech of first guest.*—"Host and members of his band who are seated here, I greet you. By coming in connection with the drum I and my relatives have been strengthened. It is good. To such an extent have we annoyed the drum. Host and members of his band who are seated here, I greet you. As many as there are [who are seated within the lodge] impersonating the spirits, I send forth my greetings to you."

Then the attendant takes the drum and places it in the middle of the lodge.

The host rises and speaks as follows:

*Speech of host.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. It is good. What I have longed for, that you have completed for me. All night have you prayed for me. It is good. Blessings did the spirits give your grandfathers. What you were to say to the spirits that they (your ancestors) told you and that you have repeated here all night. It is good. You weren't selfish in your actions. You wished to obtain something for all of us. It is good. I am thankful to you, for you must have inconvenienced yourselves greatly by sitting here all night and you must in addition have suffered from hunger. Now in addition to the kettle that has been placed in honor of those who live in the east, the Night Spirits, the last band to sing will also receive a head. A kettle is also to be placed in honor of the Earth."

Then he said that food was to be placed in honor of the Moon, as well as a kettle (for soup). Then they named a person to be in charge of a kettle in honor of the Water. Then they called upon one to take charge of the kettle in honor of the Eagle. Then they placed one in charge of the kettle for Porcupine. Then he (the host) spoke again.

*Second speech of host.*—"I realize that our grandfathers did not bless me much and that I have hardly enough food to go around, but we will nevertheless do it, for it is said that our grandfathers will not be insulted thereby, grandfather said. That is why we give this feast, however little it be that we obtain. And I am not the only one, for all my relatives are doing the best in their power that we may obtain (blessings). That is why we give the feast. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you."

[140] They speak of the Night Spirits appearing toward dawn as old in reference to the gray light of morning which they compare to the white hair of an old person. For the same reason these old Night Spirits have canes just as an old man has a cane.

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## The War-bundle Feast of the Thunderbird Clan

(SECOND VERSION)

Informant, member of Thunderbird clan:[1] There were originally four warriors. The youngest one was the bravest and the most powerful. He claimed that his father was a Thunderbird and his mother a Night Spirit. He is the one who made the bundle about which we are going to speak.

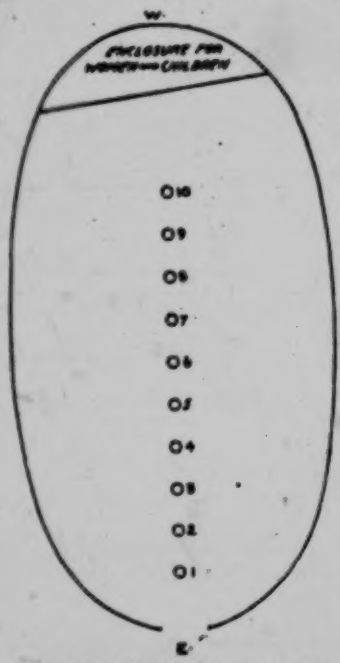


Fig. 38.—Plan of Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast. 1, Buckskin for earthmaker. 2, Buckskin for disease-giver. 3, Buckskin for thunderbirds. 4, Buckskin for night-spirits. 5, Buckskin for morning star. 6, Buckskin for sun. 7, Buckskin for moon. 8, Buckskin for water-spirit. 9, Buckskin for earth. 10, Buckskin for herbs.

The lodge (fig. 38) is prepared by the nephews and the women relatives of the host, generally his nieces and wives. The invited guests arrive toward evening, while the women are still preparing the buckskins. These buckskins are to be made as perfectly white as possible. Only those women who have passed their climacteric are permitted to do this. As soon as the buckskins are prepared the kettles are put on the fire. The buckskins are taken by the host and marked with the specific symbols associated with the different spirits. (For the markings, see pls. 47, 48.) These buckskins are then tied to a stick. That for Earthmaker is attached to the stick with the head pointing upward; that for the Thunderbird has the stick and the head of the buckskin facing the west; that for the Night has the stick and head of the buckskin facing east; that for the Star also faces east, as do all the others not mentioned. When the sticks have been prepared and the buckskins attached to them, the latter are rolled up upon the sticks. Whosoever of the guests is the oldest feast-giver then arises and pours tobacco, first for the fire and then for all the other spirits. When they start the fire for the first time they use the old ceremonial fire sticks. With that the ceremony begins. When the old man is

[1] This is a generalized account.

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X796 When the songs of the Night Spirit are sung the stem of the pipe is
[276] pointed eastward.

Four songs are sung before the cooking is finished, in honor of the Thunderbird. The feast is then spread, and all those in the lodge smoke and dance. The attendants take the kettles down and take the food out. While the kettles are still on, however, branches of
[783 cedar are carried around the lodge to purify it. Before distributing
824] the food, while the singing is still going on, the attendants count the number of people in the lodge and cut the meat into a corresponding number of pieces. As each kettle is supposed to suffice for any one band, a number of small sticks about the size of a toothpick, corresponding to the number of people present in each band, is placed in each kettle. After the last four songs are used the host arises and calls for the kettle that is to be given to the person opposite him. The attendant brings it and tells him how many pieces of meat there are in the kettle. The host then speaks about his intentions in offering the kettle to the spirits; that he is seeking life and victory in war, and that he begs all those present to intercede for him. He then calls for the other kettles. There are generally one or two kettles for the women and children. When the feast is spread out and they all have their food, the host tells them that they may now
[534] eat whenever they think proper. He himself does not eat anything, but merely sings, shaking the gourds that he holds in his hand.

[776] The Disease-giver is considered the most sacred of all the spirits, and for that reason all the bones and the plates that have been used
[783] in connection with his particular kettle are purified with cedar branches. The host carries these bones out of the lodge himself and
[824] buries them under the foot of some tree. He also takes tobacco and red feathers along with him on this occasion. As the other spirits
[776] are not considered to be as sacred as the Disease-giver, the bones from the kettles offered to them can be buried anywhere, provided the ground has been purified.

[576] After the first invited guest has finished his meal he rises and thanks the host. He then tells the story of how he, or his ancestor, obtained the war bundle, and assures the host that he feels confident that so great a feast as this in which he is taking part will most certainly be recognized by the spirits. He also adds that inasmuch as he and the other invited guests have partaken of this feast they also hope to receive life and strength in proportion to the blessings bestowed upon the host. The other invited guests, in turn, speak in the same way.

[783] While this is going on the attendants are preparing the kettles for another lot of meat. The whole tent is swept again and purified and the kettles are once more placed upon the fireplaces. The host now rises and, holding tobacco in his hand, informs each spirit of the par-

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ticular kettle assigned to him. Then he pours out tobacco. Now one of the attendants goes around the lodge and scatters small swan feathers in every direction, even putting some near the kettles. [782]

The host then prepares to sing night songs, but before doing so he takes down the buckskin assigned to the Nights, blackens his face with the ember used for marking that buckskin, and puts swan feathers upon his head. It is said that those who during their fasting time visited the land of the Night Spirits saw swan feathers scattered all over the land, and that is why they use them now. The host now has the pipe turned toward the east and before singing the night songs tells the origin of these songs. He asks all the other invited guests present to help him with his songs and apologizes for asking so much of them. He now uses two sets of songs. When the dancing songs are sung all the men who so desire may come around the war bundle and dance, and some may even dance near the places where they sit. When he has finished his songs he passes the drum, gourds, flute, and tobacco to the invited guest opposite him. This one now arises, pours out tobacco, and tells the origin of his particular war bundle and sings the night song connected with it for the benefit of the host. He then repeats the same actions that the host has done. The drum, etc., are now passed to the next man, and so on until daylight. Some one especially selected is given the honor of singing those songs that are connected with the taking down of the buckskins, and when this one starts his song all the invited guests in whose honor kettles have been put on the fireplace take down their buckskins and, holding them in their hands, walk around the lodge four times. An attendant precedes them, walking backward and purifying the path. The buckskin with the cross marked on it is generally carried first. The fourth time they make the circuit all those in the lodge first hold their hands over the cedar incense and then touch the buckskin, because Earthmaker is going to use it for moccasins, so that, by touching it, they might become strengthened. After they had made the circuit for the fourth time they rolled up the buckskins and threw them through the openings in the roof of the lodge, so that the spirits for whom they were intended might receive them. [787] 776 [788] [782]

After the buckskins have been thrown out tobacco is poured into the fireplace and all the people take their places and dance. When the drum has made the entire circuit of the lodge—that is, when it has again returned to the host—the latter rises and sings the so-called paint songs. A short time before that a number of kettles had been put on the fireplace for the so-called lower spirits. The host then declares that the feast is ready and that whenever they wish to the guests may begin to eat. The rites of the preceding feast are now repeated. Toward the end of the feast the host takes his bundle,

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"And thou, grandfather, Earthmaker, I offer tobacco to you. 776 X
I offer tobacco to you. It was you who made the tobacco, yet we 537 X
were told that even you cannot take it from us unless we offer it 776 ●
to you willingly, because you ordained it thus. I offer tobacco to 782
you, that I may become a warrior and have long life. This I ask of you. A white-furred animal, a deer, with its hide, the buckskin, and its meat as food, do I offer to you together with tobacco. The hide you may use for moccasins. Here it is.

"And you, Big Black Hawk, you who are in charge of war weapons, I offer tobacco to you, that my prowess as a warrior, if I be blessed with any, may be great and audacious. Even if it is only a single enemy (that I encounter), may I be the victor. May we go through battle without injury. A kettle containing half of a deer, with its hide for moccasins, we offer to you. Here it is. Tobacco we offer to you. Here it is.

"You who live in the place of the setting of the sun, Thunder-chief, tobacco I offer to you. When my grandfather made his war bundle you added your power; and whatever knowledge of warcraft you possessed you taught him. For that we now ask you. One of our members[8] whom we fed like a baby, we offer to you together with tobacco. Here it is.

"You who live in the east, who walk in darkness, tobacco we offer to you. When our grandfather, Kills-Within-Lodge, made the spirit bundle you added your war power. We ask that when we take this bundle up we may be able to gain victory without any effort on our part. This we ask of you. As our children become big enough to go on the warpath may you see to it, in your mysterious manner, that we have war. We offer you tobacco and also a kettle containing a female deer with hide for moccasins. These we offer you. Here it is.

"You who live in the south, you who give us sickness, to that part of your body which contains life, we offer tobacco. In the bundle that our grandfather made you added your war power. That power we now ask of you. In the middle of the day you blessed our grandfather. That blessing we ask of you again. One of our members who wears a headdress,[9] do we offer to you, and likewise a deerskin for moccasins. All these together with tobacco we offer you. Here it is.

"To you, grandfather, the Sun, I offer tobacco. You blessed my grandfather, Kills-Within-Lodge, with your power when he made his war bundle. The blessing that you gave him, that do I ask of you. Let that be your first gift. May we have victory in war: and in the presence of the weapons of our enemies, make us safe. If there be any men (enemies) to whom death has been ordained, may we be

[8] He is referring to the dogs eaten at this feast.
[9] I. e., a deer.

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X 796 the ones who will be the victors. It is said of you that even if a
X 539 prayer be offered to you in silence, along with the tobacco, you will
● 776 hear it. Here we offer you tobacco, deer for food, and buckskin
782 for moccasins. This, grandfather, is our prayer and our offering.

"To you, grandmother, the Moon, do we offer tobacco. We desire to have victory in battle. The blessings you bestowed upon our grandfather, Kills-Within-Lodge, when you blessed him with the powers of a warrior, those give to us now. The blessings that were not fulfilled by him (that is, all those blessings that death prevented him from using) we ask that they may be fulfilled by us. Tobacco and deer for food and buckskin, all those we offer to you. Here it is. Here it is.

"To you, Morning Star, do we offer tobacco. When my grandfather was blessed with your power, while he was making his war bundle, he was to give you tobacco for smoking and food at midnight. That is what we are trying to do, although we are lacking in all the essentials necessary for success. However, we wish to be prepared in times of trouble and that is why we ask, grandfather, that we be blessed with life. A kettle with tobacco, enough buckskin for moccasins, and tobacco we offer to you.

"To you, grandmother, the Earth, do we offer tobacco also. We pray for victory in war and for all the medicines that are necessary to obtain it, so that we may bind ourselves with medicine; that we may use the flowers of the earth for paint—all that is red and all that is blue—this we ask of you. Should there be anything better, we ask that you arrange it so that we obtain it. Tobacco and corn for food do we offer to you, and should you need more tobacco we will send it along. Here it is.

"To you, Eagle Chief, you who blessed our grandfather with power to conquer in war while he was making his bundle of spirit-power, do we offer tobacco. For all that he told us to retain and which he said was powerful in the bundle, I am making this feast. I am
X 796 trying to-night to make a feast in honor of the spirits. To you and
X 539 to the hawk I offer this kettle."

782 All the kettles which are to be used at this feast have by this time
[604] been put on. The nephews act as attendants and place the kettles on the fireplaces. Those spirits for whom no kettles are placed on the fire receive tobacco as an offering. After the host has offered tobacco to these latter spirits, he returns to his place and sits down. Then the war-bundle owners to whom tobacco had been given get up in turn and with one hand pour tobacco into the fire and with the other upon the war bundle. The host then rises and speaks as follows:

"Sons of war, and you who stand in the footsteps of the spirits, all you who are in this lodge, I greet you. We are boiling hot water for

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X 796 "Sons of war, I greet you."
X 539 After these songs are sung the host speaks again.

"Sons of wars, I greet you. We will sing the dancing songs. If anyone cares to dance he may do so. They say that through dancing, also, we may obtain victory in war. Therefore you women may dance and help your brothers. Dancing also is a means of obtaining life. We will now sing about four songs if we can remember them."

When the songs are over the leader says:

"Warriors, I greet you. We will sing another lot of songs and then we will have our feast. This lot of songs was sung by our grandfather, who obtained victory with them, so he added them to his bundle. So we are told. These songs can also be sung by watchmen in the camp, or on the warpath, or before the rush for the enemy, as well as while crossing rivers and in scouting. We will now try to sing them. Warriors all, who are seated here, I greet you."

The host then sings the slow songs and then the dancing songs. Then he continues:

X 796 "Warriors, I greet you. The next four songs we sing will be for
X 539 all the spirits for whom we have placed these kettles of tobacco and
● 776 buckskin for moccasins. The first kettle over the first fireplace is a
782 big deer head, which our chief will partake of. This kettle is in honor of Earthmaker. The kettle will be placed for our chief. We know that he has been attentive to the spirits and that he has the right to forbid us to do wrong.

"The next kettle will be put on in honor of the war spirits who live in the place of the setting of the sun. It will be placed before the Thunderbird clan people. It is our desire that the spirits remember us for these our offerings. For that reason we will turn over to them a kettle with tobacco and enough buckskin for moccasins.

"The kettle on the second fireplace we intend to offer to the war spirit, the Big Black Hawk. Together with the kettle, we are offering tobacco and buckskin. It will be placed before Strikes-the-Tree. He understands this affair better than we do. He understands what our intentions toward the spirits are and he can therefore best make them understand us. Another kettle on the same fireplace we intend for the sun. We have already made known our intentions to him by offerings of tobacco and buckskin. That kettle will be placed for our grandfather, who understands and can perform these things better than we can.

"On the third fireplace there is a kettle for our grandmother who comes up after the dark the Moon. That will be placed before my nephew. He knows how to take care of a war bundle. That we wish should be made known to the moon he will make it known, as he knows how to do it.

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"The next kettle is in honor of the Morning Star. We offer tobacco, buckskin, and food to him. This kettle is to be placed before my uncle, as he knows how to make offerings to spirits better than we do. All that we wish is that the spirits should know that we have done this; and he understands how to make this known to the spirits. Warriors, I greet you. The kettles have now all been put on by the attendants and we offer to you all that they can hold. It will be lacking in every way, but, warriors, you understand how to divide it. Knowing this, we know that you will all get some. Whenever you get ready you can start eating. In the meantime we will sing." 796X 539X 776 782

After singing four songs those present partake of the feast. When the feast is over, the guest who received the first kettle rises and speaks: 796X 539X 782

"Elders and you who are mere participants, who have partaken of our feast, and you warriors, I greet. It is truly good. Who would not say it is good? Relatives, a lesson this has been to me, the fact that I have been invited. It is indeed a real pleasure for me to be here, but I have been accorded an even greater honor in that I have been given a kettle, and especially that it should be just that kettle that we offer to the greatest spirit, Earthmaker. For him have I eaten and for him have I smoked the tobacco that was offered. We will be strengthened by the blessing that it brings us. All our relatives that had anything to do with this offering will be strengthened. How can the spirits help recognizing such an offering? It is said that if we wish anything of the spirits and we offer tobacco to them they would accept and recognize it. Surely such an offering as this (in which we have participated) will be received by the spirits, and assuredly they will bless our host with victory, just as he has wished it. I am thankful that I had something to do with it. I consider that my life has been renewed. I therefore greet him, Earthmaker, and I greet the host and the warriors who are representing the spirits. I greet them all."

Then the guest who had received the second kettle rises and speaks:

"Hosts and relatives who are sitting around me, I greet you all. It is good. Who would not say that it is good? I do not intend this as mere imitation of the preceding speaker, but my grandfather taught me to be thankful at all times for such an affair as this. I did not gain honor in war, and (for my presence here) I am consequently all the more thankful. It is good. He has honored me together with the spirits when he offered to them tobacco, buckskin, and food and when he asked them for victory and life. How could such a one go unblessed? Do not the spirits even know our thoughts? I thank all the relatives that have partaken of this spirit food, through which they will be strengthened. Again I say, it is good. In my

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x 776 x 539 782 thoughts I greet you, feasters. Spirits of war, elders, warriors, I greet you."

Then the third speaker rises and speaks:

"Elders and relatives, I greet you. Warriors within this lodge, I greet you also. It is good. Who would not say it is good? Many times have they done this to us in the past. They understand and know how to make examples for us to follow. They have made offerings of tobacco, of food, and buckskin for moccasins to all the spirits. They have gathered us together and given us places of honor that we may obtain life thereby. They have given us spirit-food to eat in the presence of our relatives. The blessings they receive will also strengthen us in life. With these thoughts we have partaken of the feast. While boiling the water, the attendants have burned their hands, and surely they will for this reason take part in war, with honor. It is good that it is thus. What spirit could overlook such an offering? It must surely be known to them. Again I say it is good. You feasters, host, and warriors, I greet you all."

Then the fourth speaker rises and speaks:

"Elders and relatives, I greet you. Host and feasters, I greet you. It is good, the previous speakers have told me. Most certainly it is good. The chiefs have up to now asked blessings for the Winnebago fireplaces. Our host has also made offerings to all the spirits and asked victory and life for our women and children. I hope we minor ones will also receive blessings. A spirit named Kills-Within-Lodge [776] came upon earth in the flesh and caused this (feast) to be made, and to this day it is so. It is good. With war he was blessed, we all [242] have heard it told. It is good that we have partaken of this food, for we have been told that all meat partaken in feasts/strengthens us with spirit blessings. I want to thank all of the relatives and feasters who are here, and for that reason I am speaking. Feasters, I greet you all; I greet you all."

Then he speaks again:

[776] "It is good, my relatives, that the spirits have been given offerings of food, tobacco to light their pipes, and buckskin to use for moccasins. Now it is the midnight of the spirits, and we have all heard that at this time they turn over in their beds in spirit land, and whoever offers tobacco to them now can be assured that they will smoke it. For this reason the people have added food and moccasins. They will surely bless them with the victory and life for which they have asked. We believe that those who have partaken of the feast will be blessed, for it is said that the spirits even know our thoughts. This is what I think. I am sure I have been strengthened by it. Feasters, I greet you all. You likewise, Grandmother Moon, I greet."

The kettles are now put on again.

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Now the host speaks again:

"Warriors, I greet you. It is good that you have told one another my wishes and spoken about the things that are usually discussed at this ceremony. I say again that it is good to hear such words from you. We are making you suffer, but the attendants are putting on the kettles again. I will therefore give all the spirits for whom kettles have been prepared smoking material again. I greet you all."

Then he begins to pour out tobacco for the spirits. As often as he calls upon a spirit so often does he pour tobacco into the fire, saying as follows in each case:

"Here it is, the tobacco, grandfather, who are in the middle of the lodge. We have been told that you said you were the mediator between (the spirits and human beings). It is said that if we place on your head tobacco for the spirits you would see to it that our offering had not been made in vain. So I pour tobacco for you. Here it is.

"To you, in the South, the Disease-giver, grandfather, I offer tobacco. A four-legged animal,[8] one of our own members, we have put in the kettle for you. Tobacco, food, feathers, and buckskin we offer you. You blessed our grandfather and met him in the middle of the day. With the blessing with which you blessed him do you now bless us. This we ask of you—that fever (disease) may not come upon us, and that we may have victory and life. This we ask of you because you claim that you are in charge of these things. Grandfather, in return for all the things that we ask you, we offer tobacco for your pipe. The same we offer to your grandfathers, those under the light, those who walk in darkness.[9] My grandfather you blessed. The things that you taught him we ask for. Our offerings are poorly given, and not of the best kind, but it is said that your feelings can not be hurt since you permitted our grandfather to enter your spirit-home. We pour tobacco for you, Nights, that victory may come our way, and that you might walk faster so that day may come to us sooner. Men's tobacco, food, and buckskin we offer you. Here it is.

"Morning Star, tobacco we offer you, with buckskin and food. When our grandfather made a bundle of spirit-powers, you added your blessing of warrior prowess. That is what I ask of you—that we may have victory whenever we meet the enemy. It is said that if we wait till then we might not receive your blessing. That is why we ask it now. We pour tobacco for you.

"To you, the chief of the Eagles, I offer tobacco. In our grandfather's fasting you blessed him with victory in war. That which he

[8] Cf. note 5.
[9] I. e., the Night Spirits.

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would have used were he alive do I ask of you. And if we take the feathers that are in this war bundle on the warpath, may it so happen that even if we see only one enemy we may be the ones to have the war honor. This is what we ask of you and for this we offer tobacco to you.

"To you, Hare, do we offer tobacco. Here it is. The blessing you bestowed on our grandfather, that we ask of you, the so-called nephew. Victory in war and life we ask, should we ever go on the warpath; that we may conquer without effort and that we may be safe in the midst of the weapons of our enemies.

"To you, the Turtle, we offer tobacco. Here it is. Men's tobacco we offer you that you may fill your pipe. Our offerings are lacking in every respect, for we have no kettle for you. But we can not offend you, it is said. You have, in truth, power in war and that is why we ask you for victory in war. Grandfather, we offer you tobacco.

"To you, grandmother, the Earth, do we offer tobacco. We offer you men's tobacco. We ask victory in war from you. When our grandfather made a bundle of spirit-power, you added your power. For that reason we have been keeping tobacco for you. Here it is. Grandmother, we offer tobacco to you.

"To all those who have blessed our grandfather with spirit-power—for we do not know you all—we offer tobacco to those on earth and to those above. It is our desire that you bless us with the blessings you conferred upon our grandfather. Grandfathers, warriors, I greet you all. I am sorry that I have been boring you with my talk, and that I have perhaps made you smoke too much. But we wish to obtain victory and life, and it is said that patience gains both of these. Knowing this, you have faithfully sat through this whole ceremony. I thank you, and yet I must ask more of you. I must ask that the drum and songs be sent around the lodge as soon as I get through singing. As the Nights go around the earth at night so will the drum go around this lodge. I will now use the songs of the Nights, that is what I mean. Warriors, I greet you."

[533] After singing slow songs he sings dancing songs, and then he speaks again:

"Warriors, I greet you. As I said before, you may sing the songs of the Nights. Your songs are certainly more spirit-like, and they have the power of obtaining life. I now send the drum to you."

Then the attendants take the drum, together with some tobacco, and carry it across the lodge, to a place opposite the host, and place it in front of one of the guests belonging to another clan. He also puts some tobacco in the hands of this person. Then the one about to sing rises and speaks as follows:

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O warriors, the food will be lacking in every respect, but try, nevertheless, to have it pass around. 796X

"We also have a kettle on the fireplace for the Nights, which the attendants will put on in honor of the father of my wife and my own father. We offer, likewise, tobacco and deerskin along with this kettle, to the Night Spirits, so that we may obtain victory and life. That is what we wish. As I said before, I will not have any too much food for you. But they say the spirits are merciful. 539X 782

"To the Morning Star we will also offer a kettle. We will have it put on for Ku'nu, as he understands these affairs better than we do and knows better than we how to ask the spirits for blessings. We offer, in addition to the kettle, tobacco and buckskin, asking victory and life from the spirits in return. As I said before, warriors, our grandfather never failed when he had this bundle. That is why we have kettles put on the fire in honor of it.

"To our fourth brother we will offer another kettle, in honor of the chief of the Eagles, praying for life and victory. Warriors who are seated here, I greet you all. Whenever you get ready to eat you may do so, and we will, during that time, sing some of our songs."

Then they sing Earthmaker songs. These songs were songs that a certain person called Wegi'ceka obtained in his blessings from all the spirits, but they were taught to him by Earthmaker. [787]

After Wegi'ceka had been blessed by all the spirits there was just one lacking, and that was Earthmaker. So he fasted more and more, almost to the point of death, crying and longing for a blessing from Earthmaker. Finally he was told that he was to be blessed by him. At the appointed place and time a being wearing dark clothes and carrying a cane that looked fear-inspiring stood before him, like the blue of the sky. "Wegi'ceka," he said, "I bless you. You have inflicted suffering upon yourself and have hungered and thirsted on my account. With everything that I possess do I bless you; with victory and with the power to heal the sick, with riches and with good fortune as a hunter, and even with the power of having women become enamored of you—with all these things I bless you." Then he turned and walked away and Wegi'ceka saw that it was a bluejay. He felt very much humbled and so he fasted again. Four times was he treated thus. Finally he even sacrificed one of his own children, and then he was told that at a certain time and place, about the hour of noon, he would meet Earthmaker. When he came there some one said, "Wegi'ceka, I bless you. You have humbled yourself and cried unto me. I bless you. Heretofore I have blessed nobody. You are the first one." Thus he spoke, and he gave him the cane and four songs. Those are the songs which we use at the end of our feast. 796X 539X 787 776

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X796 539 [758] After the speeches were all over the offerings were taken down and thrown outside through the opening in the roof of the lodge and then night songs were sung. Before throwing the offerings out they marched around the lodge carrying them in their hands. At the approach of dawn the drum, gourds, etc., have about made the entire circuit of the lodge, and as soon as they reach the host he begins to sing the night [533] songs. After these he sings turtle songs, and then the songs are over. The host now calls upon some one to give the war whoop, so that the spirits in the west may hear their voices. Nanhi'tcoga gave the war whoop. All joined in, and the feast was over.

X796 805 [776] *Descriptive notes on the Bear clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant, member of clan: About the middle of winter, in the month called deer-breeding month, the Winnebago used to go out hunting, and they gave a feast to all the spirits who had blessed them.

[774] They are very careful not to have the kettles boil over, because they believe that a man's soul (*nayi'rak'*) might be wandering about and is likely to come down along the chain of the kettle. If it doesn't boil over, the man is likely to conquer the possessions of this spirit (of an enemy) in the next battle.

202 554] The invitation sticks are sent out only to men who own a war bundle, and the clans are invited in the following fashion: First the Wolf, then the Hawk, and then any order.

778 The contents of the war bundle represent the following: The crow means strength in running. The turtle and the spear, the blessings which enable one to get out of difficulties, the former referring especially to difficulties in crossing water; they also enable their possessor to foretell when enemies are approaching and to tell an individual how many enemies he is going to conquer. The flute represents the 789 voices of musical birds. When an enemy hears them it paralyzes him and he can not run.

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meaning of "blue-back," it has been interpreted as "first," from *tconi*. In the same way *degoni* has been interpreted as *re* "to go" and *honi*, "to hunt"; and *hotcangera* has been subjected to a multitude of interpretations. This folk-etymology not only overrides the grammatical peculiarities of Winnebago, but even makes faulty compounds conform to the Winnebago principles of grammar. Inquiry into the origin of the clan names will, for these various reasons, have to be regarded as one of the most unprofitable of investigations. 614 551 174

### *Attitude Toward Clan Animals.*

We mentioned before that when the animal names became associated with the social groups, they were accompanied by the specific associations clustering around these animals. These associations were probably of the same type, if not indeed identical with those grouped around the animals as guardian spirits. The clan animals are among the principal guardian spirits to-day, and we must expect to find an explanation of the attitude toward them as clan animals in the attitude the Winnebago exhibit toward the guardian spirit. To a certain extent it would be quite correct to say that the guardian spirit became the clan animal. This does not, however, mean, in the slightest degree, that the guardian spirit of the individual became the clan animal, but merely that the concept of the guardian spirit became associated with a local group. 614 776 825 [174]

The guardian spirit is at the present time conceived as an immaterial being in control of an animal species. The attitude toward this spirit is a purely religious one, and exhibits a marked absence of taboo of any kind. It is an open question whether a vision must be attested by obtaining some part of the animal "embodiment" of the spirit, but there is no doubt that every vision is symbolized by a special gift from the "spirit." The guardian spirit complex may thus be said to consist of a special religious attitude plus symbol. [784] [787]

The attitude toward the clan animal is characteristically different in this respect, that more emphasis is laid upon identification with the animal itself, as contrasted with the "spirit,"

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614 As far as could be determined, the clan animal is the thunder-
776 bird with his characteristics of lightning and thunder, of the bear
825 who likes honey and raisins, etc. The animal is engraved as clan
[421] symbol and used as a property mark, and he is brought in intimate contact with the group by the postulation of descent. Naturally, descent is not from the "spirit" animal but from the animal. Nevertheless the clan animal has, at the same time, retained its place as a guardian spirit, and in a most suggestive way. The blessing of a clan animal is more easily obtained by a member of the clan than by an outsider. The clan animal is a sort of clan protector.

174 In this change of attitude two considerations seem pertinent:
614 first, the possibility of the "spirit" nature of the guardian
776 spirit being a product of the esoteric elaboration of the religious
825 societies, and that its apparent absence in the clan animal represents an exoteric conception; and, secondly, that under the influence of the social functions of the clan, an originally strong religious conception of the clan animal gave place to an identification with the animal species itself. It might be objected that there is no inherent correlation between social organization and animal species as contrasted with spirit animals. It seems certain, however, that descent could only be reckoned from the animal, and as long as it is postulated it must be from the animal. With regard to the historical priority of the "spirit" conception, little can be definitely said except, first, that the systematization it has undergone suggests the influence of the esoteric societies, and secondly, that the visions obtained during fasting appear to speak of the guardian "spirit" as an animal. On general psychological considerations we are inclined to believe in the contrast of the material and spiritual conception of the animal as a real fact, although it would be hazardous to say whether one or the other lies at the basis of the attitude of the individual toward his clan animal.

### *Relationship to Clan Animals.*

174 The question of descent from the animal brings us to the
614 consideration of the whole intricate relationship of the individual
825 to the clan animal, a subject that has played so prominent a

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as follows, 'My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease.' Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit, they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick, they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well." 614 755 796

Here the Bear clan behaves at the same time like a ceremonial organization associated with shamanistic practices and like an individual shaman. That, to the minds of the Winnebago, this ceremonial function of the Bear clan on this occasion was regarded as a real ceremony is indicated by the term *many pe waci*. For the moment, the Bear clan as a social unit is entirely lost sight of. Nevertheless, it is the Bear clan as such a unit around which the ceremony has crystallized. This case is all the more instructive for the very reason that this ceremonial association does not form an inextricable element in the clan complex, but is merely an aspect that it assumes on certain occasions, to the exclusion of its socio-political nature. The ceremonial function of the clan is, therefore, not as firmly fixed as is the political function. This may merely be an expression of the fact that among the Winnebago it had become customary to associate ceremonial functions with religious societies. 614 796 182

With regard to the analogy with the individual shaman, it might be said that treating a social unit like an individual must have been quite common wherever the former was strongly marked off by specific functions such as the Bear clan. The association of the shamanistic function with this clan may have occurred just because of the police functions the clan already possessed. On the other hand, it might be pointed out that the bear, both black and grizzly, was intimately [776 825 756]

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12



associated with the treatment of disease and was the especial guardian spirit of the Indian doctors.

## INFLUENCE OF THE CLAN UPON CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION.

Perhaps the most characteristic trait of Winnebago culture is the existence of two strong socialized units, that of the clan and that of the secret society. Historically both are old, and even if we are of the opinion that the clan is historically younger, the political unit upon which it is superimposed is probably an ultimate historical fact. From the earliest times one would have supposed reciprocal influences to have occurred repeatedly. The nature of these influences, insofar as they are not conditioned by chance, would depend on the respective centre of gravity in either unit. It is evident that for the clan the organization was of paramount importance, and that the addition of cultural associations probably tended to strengthen its stability from the point of view of organization. On the other hand, the absence of political or governmental functions in the religious societies, and the clustering of the most multitudinous religious and humanistic ideas within them, rendered the emotional complex of the latter the centre from which influences would radiate. At the same time, the ceremonial unit of organization seems to have been so firmly fixed, that any influence of the clan unit of organization upon it does not seem likely. As a matter of fact, in the typical schematic, religious society, like the medicine dance, grizzly-bear dance, and night-spirit dance, no influence is perceptible. But these religious societies may be regarded as presenting no possible points of contact. Where, however, the bond of union is supernatural communication with a guardian spirit who subsequently became the clan animal, an obvious point of contact is given, and this brings to mind a very suggestive fact of Winnebago culture—there are, strictly speaking, no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in many respects are absolutely identical with the religious societies, and which furnish, it seems to us, an example

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12



114 people attend as a matter of courtesy, or to keep peace in the family.
796 It was my good fortune to attend such a meeting, a war-bundle cere-
mony, in October, 1927. Mr. A. White, whose Indian name is *Teas-*
[795 *tca-he-de-ga* (Big Wave), figure 120, is custodian of the war-bundle
778] of the Thunderbird clan of the Wisconsin Rapids band of Winnebago.
614] Word came to me through his son-in-law, Mr. U. S. White of Milwau-
kee, that a war-bundle feast would be held shortly, and that I was
specially invited to attend.

As Mr. White and his family also wished to make the trip, we drafted a Museum car into service and joined forces. In addition to Mr. White and his wife and two children, Mr. Alton Fisher was persuaded, without much difficulty, to join me in representing the Department of Anthropology.

We arrived at Wisconsin Rapids late at night, and were up early on the following morning and on our way to the site selected for the
[574] ceremony. Upon arriving at his home, we were courteously received by the custodian of the bundle, and privileged to meet his family and many others who were in the midst of preparations for the feast.

796 The regular war bundle ceremony of the Thunderbird clan is a feast
[776] and dance given in honor of various spirits, chiefly the Thunderbirds,
614] who are the spiritual directors of war, and the Night Spirits. It is
held in an oblong wigwam shaped like the medicine lodge of the Winne-
bago and neighboring Algonkin groups, figure 121, and similarly con-
[346] structed of a frame-work of bent poles covered with birch bark or mats, or more recently with canvas or other cloth. Big Wave had directed the construction of the lodge for this particular ceremony in an area immediately adjoining his dwelling lodge, figure 122. The single door was placed at the end of the lodge, facing east.

The lodge was small, made so to accommodate the limited number
[252] expected to attend, and consequently it was decided to cook the feast over outside fires, an irregular, though not unusual procedure. Therefore, only a single fire was built in the lodge, centrally situated at the
796 eastern end not more than three paces from the door. Since the fire
372 was to be new, sacred fire, the ceremonial fire-making equipment from
778 the war bundle was employed. This consisted of a flat, rectangular base of oak, nearly perforated in many places with charred drill holes, and a drilling element of softer wood. Big Wave himself officiated in the fire making, figure 123. Kneeling, he placed the basepiece between his knees, with tinder conveniently near. Then one end of the drill was fitted into one of the holes in the base, and the shaft was rapidly rotated between his hands. Soon smoke curled up from the point of friction. The bits of glowing wood dust so produced were quickly applied to the tinder and carefully blown to a small flame. Then light kindling was applied, followed by heavier sticks until the fire was be-

## §1. *Early Childhood*

Father and mother had four children and after I was born. An uncle of my mother named White Cloud spoke to her before I was born and told her, "You are about to give birth to a child who will not be an ordinary individual." These were the words he addressed to her. It was then that my mother gave birth to me. As soon as I was born, indeed as I was being washed—as my neck was being washed—I laughed out loudly. 159* [551] [787] [844]

I have been told [1] that I was a good-tempered child.

During childhood my father told me to fast and I obeyed him. Throughout the winter, every morning, I would get up very early, crush charcoal, and then blacken my face with it. As soon as the sun rose would I go outside and there gazing steadily at the sun, make my prayer to the spirits, crying.[2] [787]

[1] Whenever the writer refers to events that happened before his time or before he could remember things, he always uses the quotative, "it is said." [114] [195]

[2] This refers to the custom of fasting of which many examples will be found later on. Among the Winnebago and many culturally related tribes, every person, male and female, was expected, between the ages of five and twelve, to seek communion with some supernatural spirit and the spirit so obtained was supposed to grant the suppliant certain powers and in general preside over his destinies throughout life. The proper manner of approaching this ordeal was to blacken one's face with charcoal and retire at night to some semi-deserted place at some distance from the house and there pray- [716]

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



dances of a lively kind. From that place we went up to where Earthmaker lives and I saw him and talked to him, face to face, even as I am talking to you now. I saw the spirits too and, indeed, I was like one of them. 159* 775 [776]

Thence I came to this earth for the third time and here I am. I am going through the same that I knew before.

Thus my brother-in-law had lived long ago, had joined the Medicine Dance* and adhered strictly to its precepts. He was a good man; he disliked no one; he never stole and never did he fight. He made offerings of tobacco to the spirits and was always giving feasts. He could always be relied upon. 159* 577 [782]

When Thunder Cloud was in spirit land, just before he was to come to this earth, he fasted. He only ate once a month. All the different spirits who live on high, all those who live under the earth, indeed all those whom Earthmaker had created, they all blessed him. Then he came to the earth and was born here as a human being again. When he came to the earth he fasted. All the various spirits who had blessed him before, now blessed him again. Thus did he become a holy man. When he came here, he became a shaman for he was very holy. Indeed he was the North Spirit. 756 775 [776]

*The Medicine Dance is a secret society which with the preliminary ceremonies lasts five days. Members of this society are supposed to possess the secret of being able to kill one another and then to restore one another to life again. The "killing" is done by "shooting" a shell from a pouch made out of an otter skin. The shell is supposed to enter the body of the person shot at and to render him unconscious. He regains consciousness gradually after spitting out the shell. The ceremony is described in detail on pp. 103 ff. of this autobiography. [575] [789]

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 755 [782] Once when I was sick he[1] treated me. As soon as he came my father arose with tobacco in his hands and made him an offering, greeting him as follows:

"My son-in-law, tobacco do I offer you and I make offerings to your spirits. You have made your hat* become holy, for the various spirits made it sacred. I greet you."

*159 755 787 756 [776] Before treating me Thunder Cloud told of his fasting experience:

At the very beginning those above taught me the following. All the various spirits who live up above in the clouds, in a doctor's village, came after me and instructed me in what I was to do. They taught me and told me the following. "Here let us try it," they said to me. There in the middle of the lodge lay a rotten log, almost entirely covered with weeds. They tried to make me treat this log. I breathed upon it and all those who were in this spirit lodge also breathed upon it. Then for the second time I breathed upon it and they with me. Then for the third and the fourth time I did it. After the fourth time the rotten log arose and walked away. Then the spirits said to me, "Human being, very holy indeed are you."

There from the middle of the ocean, from the shaman's village, they came after me. They blessed me, all the spirits in the middle of the ocean. They made me try my power. As many waves as exist, all of them as large as the ocean, upon these they asked me to blow; and as I blew upon them everything became as quiet as the water in a small saucer. So they became. Then I blew for the

[195] * Symbolical expression for the various objects and blessings bestowed upon him by the spirits.



1 [i.e., his brother-in-law Thunder Cloud who was a shaman--analyst]

# *My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud*

third time and it was the same. The fourth time the spirits 159*
made the ocean very choppy and the waves were piled, one 755
upon the other. Then they told me to blow again and show 787
my power. I blew, and the ocean, mighty indeed as it 756
was, became very quiet again. "Now this, human being, is what you will have to do," they said to me. "Not anything will there be that you cannot accomplish. Whatever be the illness a person may have, you will be able to cure him."

All the spirits on the earth blessed me. "If any human being who is suffering from pain, makes an offering of [782]
tobacco to you, then whatever you demand, that we will do for you," the spirits told me.

Now at Blue Clay Bank (St. Paul) there lives one who [776]
is a dancing grizzly-bear spirit. Whenever I am in great trouble I was to pour tobacco, as much as I thought necessary, and he would help me. This grizzly bear gave me songs and the power of beholding a holy thing; he gave me his claws, claws that are holy. Then the grizzly bear danced and performed while he danced. He tore his abdomen open and, making himself holy, healed himself again. This he repeated. One grizzly bear shot claws at the other and the wounded one became badly choked with blood. Then both made themselves holy again and cured themselves. They had a front paw disappear in the earth and after a while pulled out a prairie turnip. Finally they grabbed hold of a small plum tree, breathed upon it and shook it, and many plums began to fall.

This was only the first part of the treatment. 159*
After recounting his fasting experience Thunder 755
Cloud addressed the spirits and said, "Spirits, here is 782
a person who is sick and who offers tobacco to me. I

*159 755 782 am on earth to accept it; to try and cure him." He then turned to me and said, "You will live, so help yourself as much as you can. Try to make yourself strong. Now as I offer this tobacco to the spirits you must listen and if you know that I am telling the truth, you will be strengthened thereby."

Then he prayed to the spirits:

### *The Prayers to the Spirits*

*159 755 782 ●776 539 Here, O Fire, is the tobacco for you. You promised that if I offered you some, you would grant me whatever request I made. Now I am placing tobacco on your head as you told me to do when I fasted for four days and you blessed me. I am sending you the plea of a human being who is ill. He wishes to live. This tobacco is for you and I pray that the one who is ill be restored to health within four days.

To you too, O Buffalo, I offer tobacco. A person is ill and is offering tobacco to you and asking you to restore him to health. So add that power which I obtained from you at the time I fasted for six days and you sent your spirits after me. They took me to your lodge which lies in the center of the earth and which is absolutely white. There you blessed me, you Buffaloes of four different colors. Those blessings that you bestowed upon me then, I am now in need of. The power of breathing with which you blessed me, I am now in need of. Add your power to mine as you promised.

To you, Grizzly Bear, I also offer tobacco. At a place called Pointed Hill there lives a spirit who is in charge of a ceremonial lodge, and to this all the other grizzly bears

## *My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud*

belong. You all blessed me and you said that I would be able to kill whomsoever I wished and that I would be able to restore any person to life. Now I have a chance to enable a person to live and I wish to aid him. So here is some tobacco for you. You took my spirit to your home after I had fasted for ten days and you blessed me there. The powers with which you blessed me there I ask of you now. Here is some tobacco that the people are offering you, grandfathers.

159* 755 782 776 539

To you, O Chief of the Eels, you who live in the center of the ocean, I offer tobacco. You blessed me after I had fasted for eight days. With your power of breathing and with your inexhaustible supply of water, you blessed me. You told me that I could use my blessing whenever I tried to cure a patient; you told me that I could use the water of the ocean and you blessed me with all the things that are in the water. A person has come to me and asked me for life. As I wish him to live I am addressing you. When I spit upon the patient may the power of my saliva be the same as yours. Therefore do I offer you tobacco. Here it is.

To you, O Turtle, you who are in charge of a shaman's lodge, you who blessed me after I had fasted for seven days, you who carried my spirit to your home, to the home of birds of prey, to you I offer tobacco. You blessed me and you told me that should, at any time, human beings suffer from pain I would be able to drive it out of them. You gave me the name of *He-who-drives-out-pain*. Now I have before me a patient with a bad pain and I wish to drive it out of him. This the spirit told me I would have the power to do, when they blessed me before I was reborn. Here is tobacco.

To you, O Rattlesnake, you who are perfectly white,

you who are in charge of the snake lodge, to you I pray. You blessed me with rattles to wrap around my gourd; you told me after I had fasted for four days that you would help me. You said that I would never fail in anything I attempted. So now when I offer you tobacco and shake my gourd, may my patient live and may life be opened out before him. That is what you promised to me, grandfather.

O Night Spirits, you also, I greet. You blessed me after I had fasted for nine days. You took my spirit to your village lying in the east, and there you gave me your flutes. You told me they were holy. My flute likewise you made holy. For your flutes I now ask you, since you know that I am speaking the truth. A sick person has come to me and has asked me to cure him. I want him to live and so I am speaking to you. You promised to accept my tobacco at all times. Here it is.

To you, too, O Disease-Giver, I offer tobacco. After I had fasted for two days you informed me that you were the one who gave disease; that if I desired to heal any one it would be easy to do so if I were blessed by you. So, Disease-Giver, I am offering tobacco to you and I ask that this sick person who has come to me, be restored to health again.

To you, O Sun, I offer tobacco. Here it is. You blessed me after I had fasted for five days and you told me you would come to my aid whenever I had something difficult to do. Now, some one is here who has pleaded for life. He has brought good offerings of tobacco to me, because he knows that you have blessed me.

To you, grandmother Earth, I also offer tobacco. You blessed me and promised to help me whenever I needed you. You said that I could use all the best herbs that

## *My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud*

You said that I could use all the best herbs that grow upon you, and that I would always be able to effect cures with them. I beseech you for those herbs now and I ask you to help me to cure this sick man. 159* 755 782 816 818 539

Then Thunder Cloud breathed upon me and squirted some water on my chest. "What I have said is very true and very holy, I believe," he said. "Indeed now you will get well."

Thunder Cloud knew all the good medicines that exist and he used them in order to heal me and so that I might recover from my illness. I got well. Indeed Thunder Cloud was holy.

Thunder Cloud was also what we call a poisoner. He used to travel at dead of night, it was said. One night at about eleven o'clock he got ready to poison a family by the name of B. We were all listening, sitting in our lodge. Then outside we heard him make some noise. We were afraid of him because we knew he was a poisoner. Indeed he claimed to be in control of our household. My family would do nothing without first consulting him, for we were afraid of him. We believed that he had come from the spirits, that he was a reincarnated man and, if displeased, would poison us. So whatever he asked we did. 159* 754

He had been married to my eldest sister and after her death wished to marry the second sister. Where he had come from at the dwelling-place of Earth-maker,* my elder sister was now staying, he said. But now he claimed that the second sister resembled the 159* 756

* Circumlocution for saying that she was dead.

*159 first. "She must be the one I left behind when I came
756 from my spirit home," he thought. So up above, to
Earthmaker's village, he went to see whether his first
*159 wife was still there. He found her there. "How is
756 this? I thought I saw you among the human beings
775 and that is why I have come to see if you were still
787 here," he said. And the woman answering said, "Why,
where was I to go? Here you left me when you went
away and here I have remained up to the present time.
What kind of woman is she who resembles me?
Bring her up here to me." Thus my dead sister spoke.

However since he was a bad shaman, a poisoner, we
[754] let him marry the second sister. We were afraid that
if we didn't he would poison us.

*159 He told my brother that he had come from the place
756 where Earthmaker* lives, that Earthmaker had told
[776] him that he was to bring back with him four men.
● [787] He was to examine them carefully, for they were to
be virtuous men, not quick tempered nor of change-
[577] able ideas, but really virtuous, men of conservative
tendencies. Such was he to take back with him.

*159 My brother loved Thunder Cloud for these reasons.
Never did he show any disrespect to him. Whatever he
was asked to do he did. Zealously and painstakingly
did he perform all the actions demanded, for he hoped
that if, in return, our brother-in-law loved him and
blessed him, he would take him back to Earthmaker.
Wholeheartedly did he wish to be like him. This was
always in his mind and he served him to the best of

[776] *Earthmaker is the supreme deity of the Winnebago.

There my elder
*159 brother and myself were to pass the night. It was
787 said that if any one fasted at such a place for four nights, he would be blessed with victory and the power to cure the sick. All the spirits would bless him.

We were told the following would happen to us. On the first night we would imagine ourselves surrounded by spirits whose whisperings we would hear outside of the lodge. The spirits would even whistle. I was told that I would be frightened and nervous and that if I
[776] still remained there, I would be molested by large monsters, fearful to look upon. Even the bravest man might well be frightened. Should I, however, manage to get through that night I would then on the following
[775] night be molested by ghosts whom I would hear speaking outside. These ghosts would say things that might well cause me to run away. Towards morning I was told these ghosts would even take my blanket away from me. They would grab hold of me and drive me out of the lodge and not stop until the sun rose. If I
[776] was able to endure a third night, then I would be addressed by the true spirits. They would bless me and say, "We bless you. We had really intended to turn you over to the monsters and bad spirits and that is why these approached you first, but you overcame them and now they will not be able to take you away. Now you may go home for we bless you with victory

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[619] individual esteemed for his bravery. The power of this war-bundle
[841] was such that it would kill anything or anybody who approached
[565] it, the only exception being a menstruating woman. For this reason the war-bundle was always carefully guarded and protected and women were not allowed to see it or come anywhere near it.

and long life; we bless you with the power of healing the sick. Nor shall you lack wealth. So go home and eat, for a large war-party is soon to fall upon you. As soon as the sun rises the war whoops will be given so that if you do not go home now you will be killed." 159* 787

Thus the spirits would speak to me. I was told that if I did not care to do the bidding of one particular spirit, then some other would address me and repeat very much the same thing. So the spirits would speak alternately until the break of day. Then, just before sunrise, a man wearing a warrior's costume, would come and peep into the lodge. He would be a scout. I was told that when this happened, then I would surely believe that a war-party had come upon me. Soon another spirit would come and say, "Grandson, I have taken pity upon you and I will bless you with all the good things that the earth holds. Go home now for a war-party is about to rush upon you." If then I went home the war-whoops would be given just as the sun rose. The members of this war party would give the whoop all at the same time. They would rush upon me and capture me and after *coup* had been counted upon me (*i.e.*, after I had been struck) they would say, "Now, grandson, we have acted thus in order to teach you. Thus shall you act. You have completed your fasting."

Thus would the spirits talk to me, I was told. Now this war-party was really composed of spirits, spirits from the heaven and the earth. Indeed all the spirits that exist would be there. These would all bless me. [776]

7:Radin E-8 (ca.1912) 1928 NP12 Winnebago NP12



*159 787 I was also told that it would be a very difficult thing to obtain this particular blessing.

So there I fasted at the black-hawk's nest, where a lodge had been built for me. The first night I stayed there I wondered when something would happen. But nothing took place. The second night, rather late in the night, my father came and opened the war-bundle and then taking out a gourd, began to sing. I stood beside him without any clothing except my breech-clout and, holding tobacco in each hand, I uttered my cry to the spirits:

[787] "O spirits, here humble in heart I stand beseeching you."

My father sang war-bundle songs and wept as he sang. I also wept as I uttered my cry to the spirits. When he was finished he told me some sacred stories; [551] he told me about my ancestor Weshgishega:

### *The Story of My Ancestor Weshgishega*

*159 787 539 ●776 When Weshgishega was growing up his father coaxed him to fast. He told him that when Earthmaker had created the various spirits, all the good ones he had created, were placed in charge of something. The gift of bestowing upon man life and victory in war he gave to some; to others, the gift of hunting-powers. Whatever powers the Indians needed in order to live, these he placed in the hands of various spirits. These blessings Weshgishega's father told Weshgishega to attempt to obtain from the spirits.

Thus Weshgishega fasted and tried to obtain something

## *Fasting*

from the spirits. But as he fasted he kept thinking to himself, "Long ago Earthmaker created all the different spirits and he put every one of them in control of something, so people say. He himself must therefore be much more powerful than all the others. As holy as these spirits are, so assuredly, Earthmaker must be mightier, holier." So he thought. He tried to be blessed by Earthmaker. He thought to himself, "What kind of being is he?" As he fasted Weshgishega thought to himself, "Not even any of the spirits whom Earthmaker created has really known Earthmaker as he actually is; not one of the spirits has he he even blessed. I wonder, however, whether Earthmaker would bless me? This is what I am thinking of." So he put himself into a most pitiable condition and uttered his cry to the spirits. He could not stop. "From Earthmaker do I wish to obtain knowledge. If he does not bless me during my fasting I shall assuredly die." So, to the utmost of his power, did he fast. He wished to be blessed only by Earthmaker. 159* 787 539 776

At first he fasted four days; then six; then eight; then ten and finally twelve days. After that he broke his fast. Yet it was quite clear that he had obtained no knowledge, quite clear that he had not been blessed. So he gave up his fasting and when he reached the age of early manhood he married.

He took his wife, and the two of them moved to an out-of-the-way place. There they lived, he and his wife. 159* 539

Here again he commenced to fast, his wife with him. He wished to be blessed by Earthmaker. This time he felt that most assuredly would he die if Earthmaker did not appear before him in his fasting. "Never has it been told that such a thing could happen, that Earthmaker would bless any one. Yet I shall continue even if I have to die." 787

## *Crashing Thunder*

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*759
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[787]

After a while a child was born to him. It was a boy. He addressed his wife and asked her advice, saying that they ought to sacrifice their child to Earthmaker. She consented. To Earthmaker therefore they prepared to sacrifice their child. They constructed a platform and placed their child upon it.[11] Then both of them wept bitterly. In the nighttime when the man slept, Earthmaker took pity on him and appeared to him. The man looked at him. He thought, "This, most certainly, is Earthmaker." He wore a soldier's uniform and carried a high cocked hat on his head. He had a very pleasing appearance. Weshgishega looked at him and wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. The figure took one step, then another, and finally disappeared, uttering a cry. It was not Earthmaker; it was a pigeon. The bad spirits were fooling Weshgishega.

Now even more than before did his heart ache, even more than before was his heart wound up in the desire to be blessed by Earthmaker. Now again he fasted and again apparently Earthmaker appeared to him. "Human being, I bless you. Long have you made your cry for a blessing. I am Earthmaker." When Weshgishega looked at him, he saw that he was pleasing in appearance. He looked very handsome and his dress was nice to look upon. He wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. As he looked at the figure it became smaller and smaller and when finally he looked, he noticed that it was a bird.

Then his heart ached even more than before. Bitterly did he cry. Now, for the third time, Earthmaker blessed him saying, "Human being, you have tried to be blessed by Earthmaker and you have caused yourself great suf-

[769]
[614]

[11] That is, they killed the child and then placed his body upon a platform, this being the customary mode of burial of the clan to which Weshgishega belonged.

## *Fasting*

fering. I am Earthmaker and I bless you. You will never be in want of anything; you will be able to understand the languages of your neighbors; you will have a long life; indeed, with everything do I bless you." But, from the very first, this figure did not inspire Weshgishega with confidence and he thought to himself, "Somebody must be fooling me." And so it was; it was a bird. 159* 776 787 539

Then most assuredly did he think that he wished to die for he felt that all the bad birds in the world were trying to make fun of him.

Earthmaker, above where he sits, knew of all this. He heard the man's voice and he said, "O Weshgishega, you are crying. I shall come to the earth for you. Your father has told me all." Then when Weshgishega looked, he saw a ray of light extending very distinctly from the sky down to the earth. To the camp it extended. "Weshgishega, you said that you wanted to see me. That, however, cannot be. But I am the ray of light. You have seen me."

Not with any war powers did Earthmaker bless him; only with life.

After telling me about Weshgishega, father left me. When I found myself alone I began to think that something ought to happen soon, yet nothing occurred so I had to pass another day there. On the third night I was still there. My father visited me again and we repeated what we had done on the night before. He told me about my grandfather Jobenangiwinxga: 159* 787 [551]

### *My Ancestor Jobenangiwinxga*

Once Jobenangiwinxga fasted. So that he might be blessed by the spirits he starved and thirsted himself to 159* 539 787 [785]

*159 539 787 death; he made himself pitiable in their sight. At first he fasted four nights and the Night Spirits came to him; with mighty sounds they came. There they stood before him and said, "Human being, you have thirsted yourself to death and we are going to bless you for that reason. We who speak are the Night Spirits." They blessed him with life and with success on the warpath. Then he looked at them and said to himself, "I wonder whether these really are the Night Spirits speaking to me?" Then he looked at them and he saw that they were small birds called heshepga. They had fooled him.

[785] Then once again was his heart sore. In despair he said, "Well, if I have to, I'll die fasting." So he fasted again and once again he rubbed charcoal on his face. For six nights he continued to fast. And then, once again, from the east the Night Spirits came. They came making a great noise and they stood near him and said, "Human being, we bless you. You have thirsted yourself to death and you have made your heart sore. We feel sad on your account. With life and success on the warpath we bless you." Then he looked at them and again he wondered in his heart whether they really were the Night Spirits.[12] Indeed they were not the Night Spirits who were speaking to him. They were birds called the kawishge, choxjin and shikokkok. They were fooling him. Instead of feeling sad this time, however, he said, "I don't care what happens; I am willing to die in order to get a blessing." So he thought to himself.

Then again he began fasting. He rubbed charcoal over

[12] The Night Spirits were mythical spirits whose precise nature is never described in detail. They are supposed to cause darkness and the night. They possess a cane with which they strike those of their worshipers who are not properly attentive to their ceremonies.

[976]

## *Fasting*

his face again. Seven nights he fasted and once again from the east the Night Spirits came singing. They came and stood before him and said, "Nephew, we bless you. So long have you been sad and so piteously have you cried to us that we bless you. No one did we ever bless before. Both in war and in life you shall be able to do as you wish." Then again he looked in their direction and thought to himself, "I wonder whether those speaking are really the Night Spirits?" But indeed they were not the Night Spirits They were the bluebird and the duck and as many as there were of them, their breasts were dark; as many as there were of them, they were bad. "O my! O my! How they abuse me," Jobenangiwinxga cried. 159* 539 787 [785]

He had at first thought in his fastings that just to spite the spirits he would fast again but now he rubbed charcoal on his face and wept bitterly. Both hands contained tobacco, and he stood in the direction from which the Night Spirits came and, weeping, put himself in the most abject condition.

Now indeed to its very depths did his heart ache. Ten nights did he fast. Finally the Night Spirits came after him. "Human being, I have come after you." He followed the spirits and they took him to the east; to the site of a Night Spirit village they took him. In the village there was a long lodge standing in the east. There they took him. All the Night Spirits in control of the most powerful blessings were there. When he entered he had to wade through white feathers up to his knees. Many kettles and much food did he see in the lodge. On the outside a buffalo hide was stretched almost across the entire lodge. Then these spirits said to him, "Human being, without giving up, long have you suffered; your heart has indeed been sad. All of the spirits in this lodge have talked about what is to 159* 539 787 776

* 159 539 787 776 happen to you. I, myself, am the chief of the Night Spirits. This creation lodge, just as you see it, with all that it contains, I give to you. Never shall you be in want of food. Offer up to us as many buckskins as you see here in the lodge. Thus it shall be. The creation lodge of the village of the Night Spirits I give to you. You can go on as many war-parties as you wish and you will obtain everything that you demand of life. All the offerings of tobacco, of food, [782] of buckskins, and of red feathers, that you and your descendants offer to us, they all will come here to our creation lodge and we will accept them."

Now thus did the Night Spirits speak to grandfather Jobenangiwinxga.

* 159 787 In the morning, just before sunrise, I uttered my cry to the spirits:

[782] "O spirits, here humble in heart I stand beseeching you."

The fourth night found me still there. Again my father came and we did the same thing, but in spite of it all I experienced nothing unusual. Soon another day dawned upon us. That morning I told my elder brother [577] that I had been blessed by the spirits and that I was going home to eat. I was not speaking the truth. I was hungry and I also knew that on the following night we were going to have a feast, and that we would have to utter our cry to the spirits again. I dreaded that. So I went home. When I got there I told my people the story I had told my brother; that I had been blessed and that the spirits had told me to eat. I was not speaking the truth, yet I was given the food that is carefully prepared for those who have been blessed.

## *Fasting*

Just then my older brother came home and they objected to his return for he had not been blessed. However, he took some food and ate it. 159* 787

My brother J., however, obtained a blessing. When he reached the age of puberty my father called him aside and told him to fast. He told him that it was his fervent wish that he should begin to fast in order to become holy, to become invincible and invulnerable in war. He wished him to become like one of those Winnebago of whom stories are told. He assured him that if he fasted he would really be holy and that nothing that exists on this earth would be able to molest him; that he would live a very long life and that he would be able to cure the sick. He told him that if he were blessed no one would dare to make fun of him and that they would be very careful how they addressed him; first, because they really respected him and secondly, because they were afraid of getting him angry. He was to fast until spring and then he was to stop, for there are many bad spirits about in the spring who are likely to deceive a faster. 159* 785 554 787 [576] [576]

Near our village there was a hill called *Place-where-they-keep-weapons*. This hill was very high, steep and rocky. It was a very holy place. There it was that my father wished my brother to fast for it was the place where he himself had fasted. Within this hill lived the spirits whom we call *Those-who-cry-like-babies*. These spirits are supposed to possess arrows and bows. Twenty of them were supposed to be in this hill. My father had control of them and when [578] [576]

My father had control of them and when
*159 he wished to bless a man he would take his bow and
787 arrows and, holding them in his hands, lead the man
788 around the hill and into the lodge (*i.e.*, into the hill).
There he would look for a stone pillar, and upon it, at about arm's length, he drew the pictures of a number of different animals. My father possessed only one arrow, but that one was a holy one. Then dancing around the stone pillar and singing some songs, he finished by breathing upon the pillar. Finally he walked around and shot at it and when he looked at the
[789] stone, it had turned into a deer with large horns which fell dead at his feet. He repeated this a number of times. The little spirits living in the hill breathed
[776] with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you wish to
[782] kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done, and offer us tobacco and you will be able to obtain whatever you wish."

*159 This was the power my father wished my brother
787 to obtain. My father was a very famous hunter and my brother wished to be like him.

Now of all these things my brother dreamed; with all these powers he was blessed. He also had a vision
[775] of visiting the village of the ghosts. There he was able to steal a costly shawl and escape with it. He dreamed that all the inhabitants of the ghost village chased him but that they were unable to overtake him and were compelled to return back when my brother reached the earth.

The night after we had stopped fasting we gave our feast. There, however, our pride received a fall, for

## §5. *Names*

Whenever they think highly of any individual in a family they give him the means for obtaining a happy life. If the older people think highly of any one they prearrange the kind of life he is to lead afterwards. With this object in view, my uncles told my brother the story of how human beings first came into this world, the story of the origin of our clan. 159 * 593 [554]

### *The Story of the Origin of Our Clan*

Earthmaker was sitting in space when he came to consciousness. Nothing was to be found anywhere. He began to think of what he was to do and finally he cried. Tears flowed from his eyes and fell below where he was sitting. After a while he looked below and saw something bright. The bright objects were tears, of which he had not been aware and, which falling below, had formed the present waters. They became the seas of to-day. 539 614 776

Then Earthmaker began to think again. He thought, "Thus it is whenever I wish anything. Everything will become as I wish it just as my tears have become the water of the seas." So he wished for light and it became light. Then he thought, "It is as I have supposed; the things that I wished for, come into existence as I desired." Then he again thought and wished for this earth and this earth came into existence. Earthmaker looked at the earth and

539 614 776 he liked it, but it was not quiet. It moved about as do the waves of the seas. Then he made the trees and he saw that they were good. But even these did not make the earth quiet. Then he made the grass grow and still the earth was not quiet. It was however almost quiet. Then he created [823] the four cardinal points and the four winds. At the four corners of the earth he placed them as four great and powerful spirits, to act as weights holding down this island earth of ours. Yet still the earth was not quiet. Then he made four large beings and threw them down toward the earth and they were pierced through the earth with their heads eastward. They were really snake-beings. Then it was that the earth became still and quiet. Now he looked upon the earth and he liked it.

Again he thought of how things came into existence just as he desired. Then it was that he first spoke and said, "As everything happens just as I wish it, I shall make a man like myself in appearance." So he took a piece of earth and made it like himself. Then he talked to what he had created but it did not answer. He looked at it and he saw that it had no mind or thought. So he made a mind for it. Again he talked to it but it did not answer. So he looked at it again and he saw that it had no tongue. Then he made it a tongue. Then he talked to it again but it did not answer. So he looked at it and he saw that it had no soul. So he made it a soul. He talked to it again and then it very nearly said something but could not make itself intelligible. So Earthmaker breathed into its mouth and talked to it and it answered.

As the newly created being was very much like Earthmaker in appearance, he felt quite proud of him, so he made three more exactly similar. He made them powerful so that they might watch over the earth. These four he

made chiefs of the Thunderbirds. Then he thought, "I will have some beings live on the earth." So he made four more like himself. Just like the others he made them. They were brothers—*Kunuga, Henuga, Hagaga* and *Nangiga*. He talked to them and said, "Look down upon the earth.' So saying he opened the heavens in the place where they were standing and there they saw this earth spread out before them. He told them that they were to go down there to live. "And this I shall send down with you," he added giving them a plant. "Even I shall never have the power of taking this away from you, for I have given it to you exclusively; but when, of your own free will, you make me an offering of some of it, I shall be glad to accept it and give you in return whatever you ask. This shall you hold foremost in your lives." What he had given them was the tobacco-plant. Then again he spoke and said, "All the spirits that I have created will not be able to take this away from you unless you desire to give it to them, by calling upon them during fasts. Thus only can the spirits get some. And another thing I send with you that you may use it in life, to be a mediator between you and us, whenever you offer anything to the spirits. It shall take care of you throughout life, stand in the center of your dwellings, and be your grandfather." This was the Fire.

Then the four Thunderbirds brought the brothers down to the earth. On their journey down *Kunuga*, the oldest of the four, said, "Brother, when we get to earth and the first child is born to me, I shall call him *Chief-of-the-Thunderbirds*, if he is a boy." On and on they came, down toward the earth. As they got near the earth it began to get very dark and then the second brother said, "Brother, when we get to the earth and a child is born to me, if it is a girl, I shall call her *Dark*." Then they came to a place called

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



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***Within-lake*** at Red Banks, a lake near Green Bay (Wisconsin). On an oak tree south of the lake is the place where they alighted. The branch on which they alighted was bent down by their weight. Then spoke the third brother, "Brother, the first daughter born to me I shall call *She-who-weighs-the-tree-down.*" Then they alighted on the earth. Then said the fourth brother, "Brother, the first son born to me I shall call *He-who-alights-on-the-earth.*" Then the brothers alighted on the earth. But the thunder-birds did not touch the earth. The first thing the brothers did on earth was to start fire.

Then Earthmaker looked down upon them and saw that he had not prepared any food, so he created animals that they might have something to eat. The oldest brother suddenly said, "What are we going to eat?" Thereupon [411] the youngest two took a bow and arrow Earthmaker had given them and started toward the east. Shortly after, the third brother came into sight with a young deer on his back and then the youngest appeared with a two years' old deer. The two deer killed and those who had killed them, were brothers.

The men were very much delighted that they had obtained food. Then they said, "Let us give our grandfather the first taste." So saying they cut off the ends of the tongues, cut out the heart and together with some fat, threw both into the fire.

The first people to call on them were the Warrior clan people. Then came those from the west, four of them, the Pigeon clan people. Then came those of the earth, the Deer people, the Snake people, the Elk people, the Bear people, the Fish people, the Waterspirit people and all the other clans that exist among the Winnebago.

## *Names*

Finally there appeared on the lake a very white bird, the swan. After that all the other birds in the world appeared. They were named in the order of their coming until the lake was quite full. Then the people began to dress the deer meat. Suddenly something came and alighted on the meat and one of the brothers asked, "What is that?" Then said *Kunuga* the eldest, "It is a wasp and the first black dog that I possess, I shall call *Wasp*." "Just as the wasp scented and became aware of the deer meat as it was being dressed, so shall the dog be toward other animals. Whenever an animal is on the windward the dog will scent it," *Kunuga* continued. 539 614 776

Then they made a feast for Earthmaker with the deer meat, threw tobacco into the fire and gave some to him. They showed the other clans how to make fire and gave a little to each adding, "Each of you must now learn how to make fire for yourselves for we shall not always lend you some." Here then it was that the first people who lived made their homes. They had come at the time of the year when the grass grows as far as the knee.

One day it was reported that a very strange object was nearing the camp. The men thought at first that they would leave it alone. It came nearer and nearer and as it moved toward the camp it began to eat the bones it found there. They allowed this animal to become the founder of one of their clans and took it to their homes. It was the dog. Then they killed one of these dogs and offered it up to Earthmaker telling him all they had done. [231]

In the beginning the Thunderbird clansmen were as powerful as the Thunderbird spirits themselves. It was they who made the ravines and the valleys. While wandering about the earth they struck the earth with their clubs and

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



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thus created dents in the hills. That is why the Thunderbird clansmen are the chiefs. The Dog-clan people are the least in importance.

One day the oldest of the brothers lay down and did not rise again. He did not breathe and his body became cold. "What is the matter with our oldest brother?" the other three said. Four days they waited for him but he did not get up. They tried to find out from one another what the trouble was but did not succeed. Then they began to mourn for him not knowing what to do or think. They fasted and blackened their faces as we do now when we are mourning. They made a burial platform and placed him upon it. When the snow fell and it was knee-deep then, filling their pipe, the three brothers walked in the direction of the coming of daylight. They came to the first spirit Earthmaker had placed in the east, the *Island Weight* as he was called. Weeping they entered his lodge and extended the stem of their pipe toward him and spoke, "Grandfather, our brother *Kunuga* has fallen down and is not able to rise again. Earthmaker made you great and endowed you with all knowledge so that you know all things. Tell us what has happened to our brother?" Then he answered, "My grandsons, I am indeed sorry but I know nothing about this. Since, however, you have started on this quest you had better go to the one ahead of me, the north *Island Weight*. Perhaps he can tell you."

So weeping they started for the next one. When they got there and told him their troubles he told them he could not help and referred them to his third brother in the west. Thus in turn they were referred to the last of the *Island Weights*, the one in the south. There they found all four of the *Island Weights* assembled and the south one answered and spoke, "Grandsons, thus Earthmaker has

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



willed it. Your brother will never rise again. He will be with you no more on this world and so it will be with human beings as long as the world exists. Whenever a person reaches the age of death, he will die. Those that wish to live long will have to attain old age through good actions. Thus only will they succeed in living long. Into your bodies Earthmaker has placed a part of himself and that will return to him if you do the proper things. This world will at sometime come to an end. Your brother is to keep a village in the west for all the souls of your clan and there he is going to be in complete charge. When this world comes to an end then your brother will take all the souls back to Earthmaker—at least all those who have acted properly." Then the Thunderbird clansmen thanked the four spirits and left the lodge.

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When they got home they took their brother's body, dressed him in his best clothes and painted his face. Then they addressed the dead person and told him where he was to go. They buried him with his war club, his head toward the west. At the grave they placed the branch of a tree and to this branch they tied a small red stick in order to prevent anything from crossing his path, in his journey to spirit-land. He was told that if any animal crossed his path or was found on his path during the journey, he was to strike it with his club and throw it behind him, so that those of his relatives whom he had left behind on earth might derive blessings for the warpath, and attain long life. He must take his pipe and his food along with him. Whatever years he was deprived of when he died, all the victories he might have gained had he lived to a normal old age, all these he was to bestow upon his relatives. The wealth he might have gained, in fact anything he could possibly have obtained, all this he was asked to

539 614 •776 give to his relatives. Then they would not feel so unhappy and lonesome.

*159 614 553 Now in our clan whenever a child was to be named it was my father who did it. That right he now transmitted to my brother.

*159 551 Earthmaker, in the beginning, sent four men from above and when they came to this earth everything that happened to them was utilized in making proper names. This is what our father told us. As they had come from above so from that fact has originated a name *Comes-from-above;* and since they came like spirits we have a name *Spirit-man.* When they came, there was a drizzling rain and hence the names *Walking-in-mist, Comes-in-mist, Drizzling-rain.* It is said that when they came to *Within-lake* they alighted upon a small shrub and hence the name *Bends-the-shrub;* and since they alighted on an oak tree, the name *Oak-tree.* Since our ancestors came with the thunderbirds we have a name *Thunderbird* and since these are the animals who cause thunder, we have the name *He-who-thunders.* Similarly we have *Walks-with-a-mighty-tread, Shakes-the-earth-down-with-his-force, Comes-with-wind-and-hail, Flashes-in-every-direction, Only-a-flash-of-lightning, Streak-of-lightning, Walks-in-the-clouds, He-who-has-long-wings, Strikes-the-tree.*

Now the thunderbirds come with terrible thunder-crashes. Everything on the earth, animals, plants, everything, is deluged with rain. Terrible thunder-crashes resound everywhere. From all this a name is derived and that is my name—*Crashing Thunder.*

[P. 40]

## §7. *The Teachings of My Father*

*159 My father used to keep up the old habit of teaching
[867] us the customs of the Winnebago. He would wake
[593] us up early in the morning and, seated around the fire-
place, speak to us. The girls would be taught sepa-
[562] rately. Now this is what my father told me:

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787 I

*159 My son, when you grow up, see to it that you are of
867 some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in
[785] which you can aid them and that is by fasting. Our
[776] grandfather, the Fire, he who stands at all times in the
[379] center of our dwelling, sends forth all kinds of blessings.
Be sure that you make an attempt to obtain his.

My son, do you remember to have our grandfathers, the
*159 war chiefs,[14] bless you. See to it that they have compassion
776 upon you. Then some day as you travel along the road of
867 life, you will know what to do and encounter no obstacles.
787 Without any effort will you then be able to gain the prize
721 you desire. The honor will be yours to glory in, yours
without exertion. All the disposable war-blessings belong
to our grandfathers, the war-controllers, and if reverently
you fast and thirst yourself to death, then these will be
bestowed upon you. Yet if you do not wear out your feet
in frequent journeyings to and fro, if you do not blacken
your face with charcoal, it will be all for naught that you

[195] [14] Symbolical name for all those spirits who were supposed to be in control of war powers.

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inflict this suffering upon yourself. Not without constant effort are these blessings procurable. Try to have one of the spirits created by Earthmaker take pity on you. Whatever he says will come about. If you do not possess one of the spirits from whom to obtain strength and power, you will be of no consequence socially and those around you will show you little respect. Indeed they will jeer at you.

My son, it is not good to die in the village; in your homes. Above all, do not let women journey to the spirit land ahead of you. It is not done. To prevent this from happening do we speak to our sons and encourage them to fast. Some day in life you will find yourself traveling along a road filled with obstacles and then you will wish you had fasted. When such an event confronts you, that you may not find it necessary to reproach yourself, I counsel you to fast. If you have not obtained any knowledge from the spirits, why it may happen that some day, in later life, warriors will be returning from the warpath and as they distribute the war prizes to their sisters,[18] your own sisters will stand there empty-handed envying the rest. But if you obtain blessings from the war-controllers, your sisters will be happy. How proud they will be to receive the prizes, to wear them, and to dance the victory dance! Your sisters too will be strengthened thereby and you will be content and happy.

Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to

[18] Among the Winnebago a man's sisters, especially his elder sisters, were very highly respected and all war prizes, such as wampum-belts, wampum necklaces, etc., were always given to them whenever a man returned from a successful war-party in which he had secured some honor. These war honors were of various kinds. The greatest was considered to be the feat of having struck the body of a dead enemy first.

*Crashing Thunder*

701 Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to
* 159 be a leader of men. To become one, however, is very
867 difficult, the old people used to say. It may happen that
787 you merely pretend to be a leader of men, that you are but
a mere warrior in the ranks and yet take it upon yourself to
[686] lead a war-party and thus cause a needless waste of life,
that you do what is called "throwing away a life." That
is the most shameful of all acts. The relatives of the person
[627] whom you have thus sacrificed would then have the right
to make you suffer, to torture you with burning embers.
And then your relatives would have to stand by, sad and
humiliated. Not with the blessing of one, not with the
blessings of twenty spirits, can you go on the warpath.
* 159 For that the blessings of all the spirits are necessary—those
867 on this earth, those under it and those who lie pinned
● 776 through it, the Island Weights; those in the waters and
787 those on the side of the earth, the winds, all four of them.
You need the blessings of the spirit who dispenses life from
one side of his body and death from the other, the bless-
ings of the Sun, the Moon, the Daylight, and the Earth.
All these Earthmaker has made controllers of war and by
787 all these must you be blessed in order to lead a war-party.
* 159 My son, if you cast off your dress for many people, that
867 is, if you give to the needy, your people will be benefited
[735] by your deeds. It is good thus to be honored by many
people. And even more will they honor you if you return
[554] victorious from the warpath with one of the four limbs, that
is, one of the four war honors. But if you obtain two, or
three, or perhaps even four limbs, then all the greater will
be the honor. Then whenever a war feast is given you will
receive part of the deer that is boiled, either part of its
ooo body or part of the head.[16] When on some other occasion,

[16] The meat of a deer at such a feast is given only to great warriors. The head is regarded as the choicest piece.

*159 867 785 787 you will never be in need of anything. Fast for the food you are to receive. If you fast frequently enough for these things then some day when your children ask for food they will be able to obtain a piece of deer meat without difficulty; they may indeed be able to obtain a piece of moose meat. It lies within your power to prevent your children from ever going hungry.

*159 867 593 [562] [776] Now again, my son, let me enjoin you. Do not abuse your wife. Women are sacred. If you make your wife suffer, then you will die in a short time. Our grandmother Earth is a woman, and in abusing your wife you are abusing her. Most certainly will you be abusing your grandmother if you act thus. Since after all it is she who is taking care of us, by your action you will be practically killing yourself.

*159 867 574 When you have your home, see to it that whoever enters your lodge obtain something to eat, no matter how little you yourself may have. Such food will be a source of death to you if withheld. If you are stingy about giving food, some one might kill you in consequence; some one may poison you. If you ever hear of a stranger passing through your country and you want to see him, prepare food for him and have him brought to you. In this manner you will be doing good and it is always good to do good, it is said. [577]

*159 867 [578] If you see a helpless old person, help him if you have anything at all. If you happen to possess a home take him there, and feed him, for he may suddenly make uncomplimentary remarks about you.[18] You will be strengthened thereby. Or perhaps when he comes, he may bring with him under his arms a medicine bundle, something he cher-

[574] [576] [18] It is considered exceedingly bad form for a guest to admire anything in the house he is visiting.

ishes very much and which he will offer you. If it is a 159*
bulb-medicine keep it to protect your house. Your home 867
will never then be molested by anything evil and nothing [888]
evil will enter your house, neither bad spirits, ghosts, dis- [778]
ease, nor unhappiness. Now such will be your life if you
do as I tell you. Witches will keep away from you. Thus [754]
by fasting will you benefit yourself and your fellowmen. [085]

You know that Earthmaker created all the spirits, those
that live above the earth, those who live on the earth, those 159*
who live under the earth, those who live in the water—all 773
these he created and placed in control of powers. Even 776
the minor spirits Earthmaker placed in control of something. In this fashion he created them and after that, he created us and because we were created last and no further powers were left, he could not put us in control of anything. Then, however, did Earthmaker create a weed and this he
placed us in control of. He further told us that none of [276]
the spirits he had created would have the power to take this weed away from us without giving us something in exchange. He told us that if we offered him a pipeful of this weed, which we call tobacco, he too would grant us whatever we asked for. Now it so happened that all the spirits came to long for this weed as intensely as they longed for anything in creation and for that reason if, at
any time, with tobacco in our hands we make our prayer [782]
to the spirits, they will take pity upon us and bestow upon us the blessings which Earthmaker gave them. Indeed so it is, for Earthmaker created it thus.

Fast, my son. If you are blessed by the spirits and then 159*
blow your breath upon people who are ill, they will become 756
well. Thus will you help your fellowmen. If you can cure 787
any of your fellowmen of disease, then you will be of even 867
more than ordinary help to them. If you can draw dis-

*159 ease from out the body, people will greatly respect you.
756 If then you happen to be without work, all that you need
787 for your support they will give you. For as long a time as
867 you live they will do this for you. After your death people will speak about your deeds for all time. During your lifetime they will say, "Yes, he really has power."

778 If you are not able to fast, do at least try to obtain some
824 power from those individuals who know the virtues and powers of certain plants. It is sad enough, of course, if you will have to admit to yourself that you could not obtain blessings during fasting; but if you could not, at least try to have those who possess the plants I have mentioned, take pity on you. If they take pity on you, they will present you with one of the good plants that give life to man. Now it will not suffice for you to possess merely one plant. You should try to obtain all those plants that grow among the hairy covering of our grandmother, the Earth—all those that give us life—until you have a complete medicine bundle. Then will you truly have reason to feel encouraged.

Some of the medicine men, the shamans, were blessed
[776] by the waterspirits.[19] If you wish to obtain really powerful blessings and gain the power of curing many people, you will have to fast a long time and sincerely. If four, or say ten, of the truly powerful spirits bless you, then some day when you have children and anything happens to one of them, you will not have to look around for a medicine man, but all you will have to do will be to look into your
000 own medicine bundle. Search there and you will undoubt-

[19] Waterspirits are mythical animals generally described as having
[776] the shape of a lynx or wild-cat and provided with long tails that completely encircle their bodies. Their gifts to man are ambivalent and it depends upon the man whether he cares to make good or bad medicines from their bodies. Their so-called "bones" generally consist of semi- or completely fossilized objects.

## *Crashing Thunder*

Say, you wish to obtain the paint medicine. For that you
*159 would have to put yourself in the most abject condition
787 before the spirits. If you smear yourself with your paint
789 medicine it will irresistibly attract the enemy; it will
867 paralyze him, deprive him of all power of movement and utterly overpower him. Keep it in your home and then you will never be in want of riches. People will give you their most valued possessions owing to the influence of this paint medicine. The paint medicine is made from the
● [776] blood of the waterspirits and that is why it is so holy. People obtain it by fasting and thirsting themselves to death and then receiving a blessing from the waterspirit. Earthmaker placed the waterspirits in possession of these powers so that they could then, in turn, bestow them on us.

*159 Some people succeeded in obtaining a medicine that will
789 enable a person to outdistance another in running. It might
754 perhaps be well for you to learn something about this.
867 There are medicines to be used in courting; medicines to prevent married people from separating; medicines for getting rich; medicines for causing people to become crazy. Should you, for instance, wish to make a person feel very sad at heart, then you can poison him with this last-named medicine and even make him crazy. It is also possible to make a woman who has refused you become a harlot, for this medicine will make her fall in love with every man she sees. Indeed any kind of medicine you desire can you obtain from certain individuals. Some are acquainted with medicines that put one to sleep, others with those that keep one awake and give one insomnia. Some have medicines enabling one to overcome the viciousness of dogs who are put to watch over women; others again have medicines that make people single out the possessor in a crowd. Every one will look at him and consider him a great man.

*159 helped will then really know what kind of a man you are.
577 For the good you do people will love you.
867 It is not good to win at gambling. You may possibly
[525] become rich thereby but that is no life to lead. If you are blessed with luck in cards, if you are blessed with luck at gambling, you will perhaps win things and have plenty of wealth, but none of your children will live.

Now if you do all that I have told you, you will lead a happy and prosperous life. That is why we Winnebago preach to a child we love so that it should never become acquainted with the things that are not right, and never do anything wrong. Then if, in later life, a person does anything wrong, he will do it with a clear knowledge of the consequences of his actions.

III

*159 My son, when you get married, do not make an idol of
581 the woman you marry; do not worship her. If you worship
867 a woman she will insist upon greater and greater worship as time goes on. This is what the old people used to say.
562 They always preached against those men who hearken too
593 strongly to the words of women; who are the slaves of women. Now it may happen that a man has received many warnings as to his behavior in this regard and that he pays no attention to them. It may go so far that when he is asked to attend a war-bundle feast[30] he will refuse to go; it may be that when he is married he will listen to the voice

[926] [30] The war-bundle feast was the great war ceremony of the Winne-
[796] bago. It was given by all those individuals who possessed a war-
[614] bundle and since theoretically there was only one war-bundle in each clan, the basis of the organization of the ceremony was the clan.
[916] The ceremony consisted largely of prayers, songs and speeches in honor of the spirits more definitely associated with war. For each

of his wife and refuse to go on a warpath. He might as well have been brought up as a girl. Men who are real men perform the deeds of men, but such a man will never perform a real man's deed. If he should actually attend a war-bundle feast he will be given the leanest piece of meat, only given to a man of no account. Why should any one run the risk of being thus jeered at? Now when a really brave man attends a war-bundle feast he is given a deer's head. This other man gets a lean piece! It will dry up in his throat, so humiliated and disgraced will he feel. After a while he will not be allowed to go to any feast; his wife will not let him. He will listen to the voice of his wife. His relatives will scold him, his sisters will think nothing of him. They will tell people never to go to visit him. Finally when he has become a real slave of his wife he will even hit his relatives if she asks him to. It is for these reasons that I warn you not to listen to women. You will be considered different from others. It is not good.

Remember this too, that women cannot be watched. If you try to watch them and are jealous about them, then your female relatives will also be jealous of them. Finally when your jealousy has developed to the highest pitch, your wife will leave you and run away with some one else. You have allowed her to see by your actions that you worship a woman, and one alone, and, in addition, you have been watching her all the time. Because of this incessant annoyance she will run away from you. If you think that

of these spirits, a buckskin decorated with the symbol sacred to the spirit, was prepared and then at the most dramatic moment of the ceremony these buckskins were thrown out of the ceremonial lodge and it was believed that the spirits came down in person to fetch them. The war-bundle feast was specifically a man's ceremony.

## §9. *My Brother-in-Law's Fasting Experience*

* 159 Just about this time we moved to the hunting-grounds
[78] and I began to fast again. I began to take sweat baths
[183] and caused myself to vomit in order to be purged. My
[82] father was a good hunter; he was always able to kill many deer and occasionally a bear.

My brother-in-law thought a good deal of me. He was a holy man and a shaman. One day he said to me, "Brother-in-law, I am going to bless you although you will have to fast for it. I was once blessed by four
[176] spirits, brothers, called *Good giant-cannibals*. They said that they had never before blessed any one. They promised me that if I ever got into any difficulties they would help me. They blessed me with long life. Now this blessing I will give you. If, for four nights, you fast without a break, these giants will speak to you." Thus he spoke to me. Then he continued, "These four brothers are called *Good-giant, Good-heart, Good-as-he-walks-about, Good-where-he-lifts-his-foot-from*. They lived toward the east, where you will find a promontory. Nothing across the large body of water is too difficult for them to accomplish."

So when I fasted I always offered tobacco to these
[78] spirits first. I would cry to these spirits, but I never
[216] fasted over night.

*159 796 537 726 and they are all sitting here prepared to pray to all the various spirits. Long before, when in their visions they were vouchsafed a warpath, the soul of the man they were to kill would be already in their possession when they performed this ceremony. It is to attract his soul that this ceremony is performed. You are going to have a good and prosperous warpath. When you are actually in the midst of the warpath and are about to rush upon the enemy, pour tobacco to the various spirits who are in control of war, say, [782] "Thus, grandfathers, were we accustomed to offer tobacco to you." Although you may not know by any word or direct sign whether the war-controllers have answered you, you will know it as soon as the rush upon the enemy takes place, for although you walk where the bullets rain hardest you will pass out of their range and come through in safety. Then when you return to your people every one will rush out to bestow the war honors upon you. If you give this [782] sacred feast in the proper way, if you burn up much tobacco and food, then the various spirits, especially the Thunder- [776] birds who are the greatest war-controllers, will bless you for the excellent way in which you prayed to him. Whenever they pass your way they will remember you. They will even call you by name and say, "Let us smoke here."

This is the way in which young men are encouraged to act, but only a few succeed. It is good. The host has preached to us and pleaded for all those who are present. He has made offerings of food to our grandfathers who [782] live in the west; pleasing offerings of tobacco and buckskin has he sent to them. I have been permitted to impersonate this great spirit and have thus obtained life for myself and my unimportant clansmen, for all of us who have been living in so lowly a condition. With real life have we felt ourselves connected through your actions. We have felt our-

726 *159 but to all those present. In the olden days the old people
796 used to say to the young boys, "You are not able to fast
537 as yet and to offer up proper food to the spirits so as to
clear away the weapons held against you." Now just as
726 these older people would have liked, so you are doing.
*159 Even I, who am of no consequence, have nevertheless been
796 permitted to impersonate a great spirit. This you have
● 796 done for me—allowed me to impersonate that spirit[1] who
537 is the bravest of them all, the one who is in control of
[953] power whereby an enemy can be killed outright! One side
of this spirit's body controls life and the other death. Now
they are about to offer to this spirit, the food of a white
[782] animal, of a male animal, the dog, as well as a white buck-
skin, feathers and tobacco—all of them objects that please
him very much. To Disease-Giver they are about to extend
these things so that therewith they may ask him for war
power and life. It is an awe-inspiring spirit to whom they
have been making offerings. Surely I, who have been listen-
ing only by virtue of the host's generosity, do not have to
say anything in his behalf. He thought of his ancestor
when he asked me to impersonate this spirit. Of all the
[782] spirits his is the name which one cannot speak lightly,
it is said. If nevertheless I greet his name and speak about
this spirit, may I not be weakened by uttering it. Those
who are about to offer you food, grandfather Disease-Giver,
send you their greetings. To you, O host, do I send my
greetings, as well as to all the war-bundle owners seated
here.

*159 The feasters sang dancing songs throughout all this
796 time. At dawn we were to pass the deerskin offerings
726 through the roof of the lodge. My older brother took
the lead. I followed and the others came up behind



1. [i.e., Disease Giver -- Analyst]

## *A War-Bundle Feast*

me. We all had a deerskin apiece. Only those who were giving the feast had the right to hold one of the ten deerskins. A man playing a flute taken from a war-bundle marched ahead, and behind came the people carrying the incense of the burning cedar leaves. We thus marched around the lodge and my brother and I again made our cry to the spirits. At that time we were naked apart from our breech-clouts and moccasins. Four times did we make the circuit. Then we passed the deerskins up through the roof of the lodge. 159* 796 726 [534] [782] 159*

Now the feasters were to eat again. A separate kettle had been put on for us boys and we were to eat first. They then called upon a man to eat out of our plate with us. His name was *Blue-sitter*. He was a holy man, a shaman, a brave man, one who had obtained many war honors. Four deer ribs were dished out to me in a wooden bowl. Then the one who was to eat out of my plate came and sat near my dish and began to handle the food. He tore it into small pieces and began telling me of the blessing he had received from the spirits. He told me how all the great spirits had blessed him—the Sun, the Moon, the Thunder-birds, the Earth, the Sky, the Daylight, and all the spirits that exist in the heavens. The spirits on the earth and those under the waters, all these talked to him, he said. While partaking of my food he would think of this power, he told me. I would go through battle unharmed and I was to obtain war honors. My children, if I had any, were to enjoy a good and happy life. Thus he spoke. 796 787 726 [776] ●

*159 764 775 537 just like the former one. Point the stem of your pipe toward him and he will be very thankful and smoke your pipe. Then make your request—that you be permitted to pass—and he will grant it. As you continue you will come to a round lodge where you will find an old woman. Point your pipe at her and she will permit you to go ahead. Your hair will now have become white but you will not be unconscious. On the contrary you will be in complete possession of your senses. Then you will come to the place where he who is in control of all the souls sits. Go toward him and point your pipe at him. When he is smoking it ask him [776] to show you the road to Earthmaker, our father, and he will point it out to you. Then you must proceed until you come to Earthmaker. When you get to him, point the stem of your pipe toward him and if he takes it and smokes it you must say, "Earthmaker, our father, you know very well what kind of a life I have led." Then he will answer, "My son, you have done well."

*159 764 After this speech the body was dressed by the person who was to do the actual burying. The best clothes [067] of the deceased were put on, beads placed around his neck, bracelets on his wrist, rings on his fingers and [301] earrings in his ears. It was then placed in the casket. [067] When the grave-diggers completed their work, the mourners blackened their faces with charcoal and the corpse was taken up by the man to whom this duty was assigned. The mourners followed behind weeping. Thus they proceeded to the grave. When they got there the corpse was immediately placed in it. Then the chief mourner stepped across the center of the grave and the others did the same. When they started

had a far more exalted idea of the shooting. "Why, it amounts to nothing," I thought. "I have been deceived. They only do this to make money." I also thought then that many of the sacred things about which they had spoken to me were not true either. However I kept on and did as I was told for I had been taught to deceive in the ceremony in the brush. As soon as I was proficient in the act of feigning death, we started back to the main lodge. 159* 756 796

The older people told me that I would become like them in body as soon as I became a member of the lodge, but I did not experience any change within me. All that I felt was that I had become a deceiver in one of Earthmaker's creations.

During the day, at the regular meeting, I did as I had been taught. Many speeches and many songs were sung and then, at about ten o'clock, the leader of the north band arose and told the story of the origin of the world and of the Medicine Dance.

### *The Story of the Origin of the World*

What it was our father sat on when he came to consciousness we do not know. His tears flowed and he began to cry. Not long was he sunk in thought. He saw nothing and nothing was there anywhere. He took something from the thing on which he was lying and out of it made a portion of our earth. This he sent to the space below him and from where he lay he could see that what he had created had become similar in shape to our earth. Yet nothing grew upon it and it was entirely without a cover- 539 796

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ing. It was not quiet and kept spinning around continually.

Suddenly he thought, "Now if I do the following it will stop." So he made a covering of hair for it. He took something that was like a weed and made grass, and this he sent earthward. Then again he looked at what he had created. It was not quiet but kept spinning around and around. Then he thought to himself, "Well, I must try another way." He took a tree and sent it earthward and again looked at his creation but it was still spinning around and around. Then he made four men and these he sent to the earth, placing one in the east, one in the north, one in the west, and one in the south. Again he looked at his creation. It was still spinning around and around. "Perhaps it will become quiet in the following way," he thought. So he made four beings that we call the *Island Weights*. They were waterspirits. Then he scattered a female spirit over the earth. By this we mean stones. Then finally he looked at his creation and he saw that the earth had become quiet.

He had sent the stones clear through the earth, throughout its whole extent. Only the heads, the tops of the stones, were visible above the ground. He looked at his creation and he saw that the earth had indeed become quiet. No clouds appeared anywhere, the light of day appeared motionless, and the vibrations of heat seemed like floating spider webs drifting past.

All the birds that were to roam over the sky, all the four-footed animals that were to live on this earth, all the animals who were to live below the surface of the earth, all these he placed in lodges that he constructed for them. Then he created the various insects that were destined to live on the earth. Finally at the very end of his thinking

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he created us human beings. We were not however even equal in strength to a fly. We were the weakest of all. Then Earthmaker looked at what he had created and liked it and sat filled with happy thoughts.

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He was proud of us and gazed again and again at what he had created. He had, however, made the human beings not equal in strength to the other beings and they were on the point of being destroyed by the bad spirits. Then he formed a being in our likeness and when he finished him he called him Foolish-one. Him he addressed as follows: "*Foolish-one*, to the earth you are to go. Weak, pitiable in all respects, have I made the human beings. I made them as my last thought. Now this creation of mine, they the evil spirits are likely to injure. So do you, O *Foolish-one*, go and put things in order."

Then he sent him to the earth. But when *Foolish-one* came there he did not do what he had been told. Indeed he went around the earth doing nothing. He was as useless as a child crawling around on all fours. He really amounted to nothing. Though sent by Earthmaker he amounted to nothing. He did no good and injured the creation of Earthmaker, so Earthmaker took him back and placed him to the right of himself.

Then he made another being in human semblance and when he finished him he called him *Turtle*. "The two-legged-walkers whom I created as the last of my thoughts, evil spirits are about to exterminate. Do you, O *Turtle*, go and put the earth in order." Turtle went and took along with him a knife. When he came on earth he led people on the warpath and he did not look after Earthmaker's creation. So Earthmaker took back the second man and placed him at his left.

Then he made a third being in human semblance and

539 776 when he finished him he named him *Bladder*. To him he spoke, "*Bladder*, you are to go to the earth. As my last thought I created the two-legged-walkers and they were pitiful to behold in every way. They are now on the point of being exterminated and you must save them. Try with all your strength.

When *Bladder* came to the earth he made a long lodge and he created twenty men. That many younger brothers he thus had. Then they all started to go around the entire island, this earth, and all the younger brothers were killed. [823] Thus he too failed in his mission. The work his father had sent him to do he failed to accomplish and so Earthmaker took him back and placed him on his left side.

Then Earthmaker made a fourth being and when he finished him he called him *He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings*.

Finally he created the last one, *Hare*. He made his body exactly like ours. He spoke to him: "You are the last one I am going to create, so try with all your strength, *Hare*." *He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings* had failed, so *Hare* was created. He was to be the last one. Earthmaker had created *Hare* entirely by the force of his thoughts.

Then he spoke to *Hare* and said, "*Hare*, what I am doing you will also be able to accomplish. Try with all your power. If the evil spirits injure my creation it will not be good on earth; life will not be good. Try to overcome these evil spirits." Thus he encouraged him.

When *Hare* came to this earth he said to himself, "My brothers acted in a certain way and failed." He walked along until he came to an oval lodge. From this lodge there emerged, at the time, a young woman carrying a pail. She was going toward the river. Then *Hare* said to himself, "Now my brothers were not able to do what I

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am going to do." There he entered the body of the young woman in order to become a human being. There in her womb he remained and yet from there he heard the shrieks and cries of the human beings. "My father sent me to help them and here I am sitting for so long time already," he thought to himself. Shrieking and crying he heard the human beings. "Too long have I been sitting here. In the end the evil spirits will destroy the human beings completely," he thought to himself. Seven months had he been waiting when he said this. Finally when the proper time had come he entered the world through an opening. Four days after that his mother died.

He lived with his grandmother. He would only leave his lodge at night. Then he would roam all around. Whenever he walked inside the lodge, light radiated from him in all directions. As soon as daylight appeared he became quiet. Throughout the day he sat thinking of the work he was to do.

The third time he left the lodge it was sunset. He traveled over half the extent of the earth and he put an end to all the bad spirits who were doing harm. "Not again will any of these live, not again will they harm my uncles and aunts, the human beings." Just before daylight appeared he returned home and there his heart would feel good. He stayed in the lodge wrapped in thought.

On the fourth day when the sun went down he left the lodge and traveled to the very ends of the earth, killing all the bad spirits he met. At about daylight he went up to the sky and pursued all the bad spirits found there, driving them to the west and killing them. Very early in the morning he walked toward his lodge filled with pleasant thoughts. "The work for which my father sent me I have now accomplished. The life of my uncles and my aunts

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will now be like mine," he thought to himself as he entered the lodge.

"Well, grandmother, the work my father sent me to do I have now accomplished. He sent me to look after his creation and that I have now attended to. The life of my uncles and my aunts will from now on be like mine." "But, grandson, how can that be, how can the life of your uncles and your aunts be like yours? The world is as our father created it and it cannot be altered." "The old woman must be related to the evil spirits I have killed and that is why she does not like it," he thought. "No, grandson, our father has ordained that my body, the earth shall fall in two. He ordained death lest there be a shortage of food on this earth because of surplus of people; he ordained death lest people crowd each other too much on this earth. He has therefore arranged a place for people to go to when they die."

*Hare* did not like it. "Surely grandmother is angry because she was related to these spirits. She is taking the part of the evil spirits." Thus he thought. "No, grandson, that is not so. At present your heart feels sore. Your uncles and aunts, however, will obtain ample life, they will live to a normal old age." So she spoke to him. "Now, grandson, get up. Your uncles and aunts will follow you in this. Try to do what I am now going to tell you. Be a man and do not look back after you have started with me."

Then they traveled around the earth. "I wonder why grandmother told me not to turn back," he thought to himself. So he looked back just the least little bit; just the least little bit he turned to the left. Immediately the place from which he had started caved in. "Oh my! Oh my! A

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man I thought you were, a person of prominence, and I encouraged you so much! Now, grandson, decay and death can in no way be taken back." 539 776

Around the earth they went, to the edge of the fire that stretches on each side of the earth. They united these two lines of fire so that human beings might attain old age. [823]

"To look back she forbade me. But I have already made up my mind as to the immortality of my uncles and my aunts. When they become like me then only will I be happy. Such is my thought."

Then he went out and walked to the lodge of the spirit who lives in the east where the sun rises. Opposite him he sat down. "Well, *Hare*, there is nothing I can do for you. If the spirit ahead of me has anything he wishes to tell you, undoubtedly he will do so." Then *Hare* greeted him and went out.

He traveled toward the west. Even then he had no other thought in his head except that he would succeed. When he arrived at the lodge of the second spirit, the latter spoke to him and said, "*Hare*, what you have come for I know, but if the spirits ahead of me could say nothing how can I, the least of all of them, do so?"

Then *Hare* greeted him and left. He started for his home and arrived there crying, "My aunts and uncles must not die, they must not die!" And then he thought, "To all things death will come." He cast his thoughts upon the precipices, and they began to crumble and cave in. He cast his thoughts upon the rocks, and they began to crumble. Under the earth he cast his thoughts, and all the beings that were living there stopped moving and their limbs stiffened in death. Up above he cast his thoughts and the birds fell down dead.

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Then after he had entered his lodge he took his blanket and, wrapping himself in it, he lay down crying. "Not the entire earth will suffice us when we die and in some places there will not even be enough room!"

After a while the news reached our father. He heard the human beings saying that the evil spirits would now try to utterly destroy them. The news reached him that *Hare* was not feeling well. Then Earthmaker said to the first man he had created, "*Hare* is not feeling well. Go after him." *Foolish-one* came to the earth. "*Hare*, I have come to fetch you," he said. But *Hare* did not even answer him; he did not even move in his blanket. So *Foolish-one* returned to Earthmaker. Then Earthmaker sent the second one, *Turtle*, and told him, "Do you go now after *Hare* and bring him here. Try very hard to accomplish it for he is not feeling very well." When *Turtle* came to *Hare* he told him, "*Hare*, I have come to take you back with me." But *Hare* did not even answer. Then he returned and said that *Hare* would not even answer.

Finally Earthmaker sent the fourth one he had created and said, "You are to go for *Hare* and bring him back here. Try with all your strength to accomplish this." "No matter how difficult it is I will accomplish it," he said. He reached the earth and said to *Hare*, "Indeed, for a long time has your heart been sad, *Hare*. Come, let us go home now. Get up!" Then he took him back to Earthmaker. He did not, however, take him to Earthmaker's lodge but to the one opposite, where the chief of the Thunderbirds lived. They placed him near the chief. In front of this lodge there was a mound and also a little war club painted red on one side. Thunderbird chief took the little war club and holding it lightly shook it gently. So great, however, was the noise that it made that *Hare* got frightened and almost

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ran out. Then they freed him from the sorrowful thoughts that he had had on earth and restored his spirits. 539 776

Soon after that he was taken to Earthmaker. When he came there Earthmaker said, "*Hare*, your heart must have been very sad. Full of sorrow, indeed, must your heart have been for your uncles and your aunts. Now that their lives may be benefited, a holy teaching you are to take back to them. Come, look at this!" There the sky was parted and below on earth toward the south, a long lodge stood revealed. He gazed upon it and as he looked he saw old people with very white hair. "Thus your uncles and aunts are going to be. They will make very much noise in this ceremony. Now look down again! Some help is to be given them. Not one bad spirit will I put there." Then Earthmaker pointed toward the earth again and said, "You are to go back to the earth and put this ceremony before them. Not alone are you to do it but with the aid of your own friends, *Foolish-one*, *Turtle*, *Bladder*, and *He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings*. Your grandmother, the Earth, will help you too. If one of your uncles and aunts performs the ceremony properly he will have more than one life. I shall always keep the door through which he may return to earth open to him. When he becomes reincarnated he can live wherever he wishes. He can return to the earth as a human being, or join the various bands of spirits, or finally become an animal under earth." Now all this Earthmaker did for us. [775]

Then *Hare* returned to the earth and to his grandmother. "What I have tried to obtain for my uncles and my aunts, that now I have brought back with me," he said. "Grandson, how is it possible to make them immortal as ourselves? As the world was created so it must remain." "Grandmother, I say that my uncles and aunts will choose their

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lives for themselves, and, grandmother, you are to help me." "Good, grandson, that I will do," said grandmother thanking him.

"When the time comes my friend *Foolish-one* will come," he thought. Then *Hare* struck the drum and started his songs. All of a sudden *Foolish-one* came in. "I thought of your coming, *Foolish-one*, and you are here." "Indeed, my friend, I knew your thoughts and that is why I came." Then they went out together and outside the village they sat down to discuss what they were to do. When they returned to the lodge *Hare* thought, "My friend, *Turtle*, will come." Then *Turtle* immediately appeared. Said *Hare*, "I thought of your coming and you are here." "Yes, my friend, I knew your thoughts and that is why I came." In the same way *Bladder* came. Finally *Hare* fixed his thoughts on *He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings* and he came.

Grandmother listened to them very quietly but she could not understand what they were saying. Then after a while *Hare said*, "What I tried to obtain for my uncles and my aunts I have accomplished. You are now going to hear what it is. Come near the fireplace and sit down and then you will hear about it. I know that you too, grandmother, will be anxious to help the human beings." "Indeed, grandson, I am." She got up, took her handiwork, sat down near the five of them and laid her hands upon their head. She placed her work in front of her grandson, *Hare*. Then she spoke and said, "If you get this ceremony, the Medicine Dance, for your uncles and your aunts, they will live happily. Forever are they to do this." Then she asked, "Grandson, what is the nature of the work that I am to do for you? Well, this is it. Now look at me. Earth-maker, our father, had me bring the following things for your uncles and your aunts. I am going to give them

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that with which they can always obtain life." Then she opened her dress and there where the heart is, on the left, green leaves became visible and a stalk like an ear. The stalk was white as a blossom. It was corn. "For your uncles and aunts, Earthmaker, our father has permitted me to bring corn." Thus did a stalk become visible whose leaves were very green and whose tassels were very white.

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Then the five of them arose and said, "Let us greet our grandmother." So they walked up to her and laid their hands upon her head. "It is good, grandmother," said *Hare*. "This is what I meant when I said you were to help the human beings."

Then *Hare* went out and when he got to a place in the east he stopped. Then he turned to the west. Then he thought, "This is the way it will be." He took eight yellow female snakes and threw them in the air. As they fell they became transformed into the side-poles of the lodge. He turned their heads toward the east and their tails toward the west. He used rattlesnakes to tie them with. The doorway he made of two snakes, a black female snake on the left and a male snake on the right. The doors at the rear end of the lodge he made of blue female snakes. Then he took some reed-grass and threw it over the lodge so that it was completely covered. He took another piece of reed-grass and threw it inside the lodge where it became the white mats on which we stand. A bearskin hide he threw in on the right side and it extended along the whole length of the lodge. On the other side he threw a deerskin hide. Then he made a door of a real living mountain lion. This he did in order to prevent any bad spirits from entering. At the west door he placed a buffalo bull. When he had completed all these things, he looked inside the lodge and

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there he heard these animals bellowing and roaring at each other. Light radiated all over the lodge.

He now started for the lodge, he first and his friends following. "Well, my friends, I am through; the lodge is finished. Grandmother, stand up and come with us!" She walked first and after her they all came. When they arrived at the door, the fear-inspiring lion snapped his teeth. But they entered and walked around the lodge until they came to the place where they had first come in. Then *Hare* sent a number of public criers, a bear and a wolf, to traverse the entire length of the earth and invite the spirits to the ceremony. Along with them were also sent winged messengers, the crow and the swan.

When these started they all looked young but when they returned their bodies had become old and devoid of hair and they had to support themselves on staffs. The birds too when they returned, came back with wings exhausted, with eyebrows hanging over their eyes, looking very old indeed. In front of *Hare's* seat they stopped and said to him, "Your uncles and aunts, when they speak of you, will forever praise you. We have placed many life-giving objects within this lodge." "Well, my friends," said *Hare*, "it is good. This is what I wanted. I thank you in the names of my uncles and aunts."

Then all the messengers who had been sent out returned. The first four beings created by Earthmaker also came. They stood at the door ready to enter. The oldest one started but turned back frightened by the animals he saw within. The next two also tried but recoiled back afraid. Finally the youngest opened the door and led them in. They made the circuit of the lodge and at the door *Hare* took the eldest and placed him in the seat at the east. Then he walked around and placed the next one at

the north, then one at the west and one at the south. Then *Hare* took his own seat. 539 776

Now the various spirits who had been invited began to enter. Then came the human beings, those of the bird clan, of the bear clan, the wolf clan, the snake clan, etc. Last came the one they were to initiate.

Then *Hare* rose and spoke, "My friends, I have had you come together because my uncles and aunts had been living a very pitiable life. You are to teach them the life they are to live and which is to be handed down from one generation to the other. That is what I ask of you. You have now heard what it is I want. I leave everything else to be done and said by those in the east."

Then the one in the east seat arose and said, "We are to teach our friends, the uncles and aunts of *Hare*, the meaning of life. This they may hand down from generation to generation. To-day for the first time has this thing been discussed. All that life consists of—wealth, honor and happiness—they shall have from now on." [181] The other three spirits, the one in the north, the west, and the south, all said the same thing. When they finished each one returned to his own seat.

Now *Hare* got up again and said, "This is what I desired for my uncles and aunts. This lodge I made for them and as long as they follow the precepts taught in this lodge of creation, they will be invulnerable. For that reason have these seats been made for them, that whosoever so desires may sit therein."

All day long the spirits taught the one who was to be initiated and when the sun was on the treetops and when it was time to stop, the spirits dispersed. As they left they took with them half of the light that had been radiated in the lodge. As they went out they rubbed against the door-

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



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posts. They pushed these deep into the ground so that they would not fall over.

*Hare* now rose and spoke again, "Grandmother, I shall ever be sitting ready for any of my uncles and aunts who will perform this ceremony that has been taught them. With tears my uncles and aunts will come to me and my heart will ache for them. I will go above and sit down, and if any person performs this ceremony, then he will become as I am. Now look at me, grandmother, look at my body!" The old woman looked and behold! he had become a small boy. "Grandmother," said *Hare*, "if any one repeats this ceremony properly, he will become just like this. Now look at me again," *Hare* said. She looked at him and he had become a full-grown man. When she looked for the third time he had become middle-aged, his hair was interspersed with gray. When she looked for the fourth time, his head was covered as if he were wearing a swan as a headdress and he leaned tremblingly on his staff, standing in the east. "Well, grandmother," said *Hare*, "if any of my uncles perform this ceremony properly this is the way they will live."

"It is good, grandson," said the old woman. "However not only your uncles will live like that if they perform the ceremony properly. The same will apply to your aunts. Now look at me, grandson." *Hare* looked and there stood a very young woman, her hair like a smooth shawl. "It is good," said *Hare*; "in the name of my aunts I thank you." Then again he was asked to look and he saw a woman in middle age, her hair almost gray. When he looked the fourth time, her hair was entirely dried up, there was a hollow in the nape of her neck, her chin protruded trembling, like a wooden poker burnt short, and her whole appearance was that of duck looking at the sun.

## *The Medicine Dance*

'Well, grandmother, this is what I meant when I said that you were to help me. My uncles and aunts have now received all that I desired for them. I thank you." 539 776

Now throughout the ceremony I felt all the time that we were merely deceiving the spectators. When it was all over the members of my band told me that in two years I would be able to imitate the sounds of animals to my heart's content for I had taken the place of a great medicine man. Those who have the privilege of dancing obtain it by making gifts to the older members and thus buying the right. Those who do not buy this right or are not given permission to use it, are not allowed to dance. It is the same way with the shooting. Unless, for instance, a man buys the right, he is not allowed to extend his arms at full length when he shoots, but he must hold them close to his breast. The right to drum as well as the right to shake the gourd rattles, all these things must be bought. In fact, almost everything must be bought. I was told, however, that I would not have to go through all this training but would become a great medicine man immediately. That pleased me. I was given a gray squirrel-skin to use as a medicine pouch and I was told that it was really alive and that I had the power to make it cry aloud. I had seen people doing this and I had always envied them. This was another of the things I was anxious to do. Indeed I wondered greatly how it could be done. 159* 156 796 [424]

When the dance was over my father went away and left me at that place alone. He left me at the home of the deceased person's wife. I did not go back to 159*

## §19. *The Effect of a Pretended Blessing*

*159 I was now drinking heavily all the time and I began
273 to boast of being a holy man. I claimed that I had
787 been blessed by certain spirits and I made this claim
156 again and again. Of course this was all a lie, for I had
577 never felt a stirring of any kind within me. I made the claim because I had heard others doing it. Generally I made this claim when I was just about drunk, just on the verge of getting boisterous but still vaguely conscious of what I was saying. Then I would say, for instance, that I had been blessed by a Grizzly-spirit, that he had blessed me with the power of being uncontrollable, that he had taught me certain songs. These I would then sing at the top of my voice. I used to exert all the power I had to imitate a grizzly bear. The bystanders would try to hold me but it always required a large number of men to do so. Now I thought this exhibition of mine an act worthy of praise.

*159 After that I began to claim that I had been blessed
156 by many spirits. I made the claim at one time that I
577 was really the reincarnation of one of the benevolent
787 giant spirits and that my name was *Good-heart*, that I
775 was now living as a human being among men. Such
776 was my claim and people believed me.
000 Once when I was on one of my drinking sprees I

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*159 Thus I spoke. However, they made me an offering
721 of tobacco as they asked me, and I accepted the to-
[701] bacco saying that I would at least make an offering
[781] of tobacco for them. Then I offered tobacco to the
[776] Thunderbirds and asked them for rain, that we might
walk in the protection and power of rain. This offering we made in the morning and it rained all that day. Then we went to the place where we knew that we could find horses. When we got there we met the owner of the horses and spoke to him. We accompanied him to a carpenter shop nearby, and there killed him. I struck his dead body, counted coup[26] first,
[555] and announced my new name, as I gave a war-whoop.
[551] I shouted '*Big-Winnebago* has counted coup on his man.' Then the others counted coup also. We searched his pockets and found medicine and money
[727] in them. The money we divided among ourselves. After that we cut out his heart, for we had heard that
[826] hearts were used for medicine. That is why we cut out his heart. He had a gun and that we took away from him and hid."

Then my father said to me, "My son, it is good. Your life is no longer an effeminate one. This is the manner in which our ancestors encouraged us to live. It is the will of the spirits in control of war that has led

[26] The first four war honors enumerated above are called "counting coup" by the Whites. *Coup* is the French for *strike* and the ex-
[555] pression owes its origin to the custom of warriors counting the number of people they have killed or honors they have obtained by striking the post at the grave of the particular person for whose benefit they are recounting their achievements.

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to them for me to use. Later on, in the fall, when the cranberry season had started, I lived with three women. I never did any work, but simply went from woman to woman. Then the annuity payment was made, and I went around chasing the payment. I sold my horses and spent the money I had.

About this time my father and mother asked me to come to Nebraska. I had been told that my father and mother had joined the peyote people and were eating peyote, and I did not like it. These peyote eaters were doing wrong, were wicked, and that is why I disliked them. Old Thunder Cloud, my brother-in-law, told us the following about them:

"This medicine, the peyote,[30] is one of the four spirits from below. That is why it is bad. These four spirits have always longed for human beings, and now they are getting ahold of them. Those who use the peyote claim that when they die, they will only be going on a

[30] The peyote is a small cactus common in the state of Chihuahua, Mexico, out of which from time immemorial an intoxicating drink has been prepared. The ancient Mexicans were well acquainted with it. For a number of centuries it has been the center of various cults all of which contained marked Christian features. It is only within the last fifty to seventy-five years, however, that some of these cults have spread into the United States. It is from some of the tribes now living in Oklahoma that the Winnebago borrowed it.

The Winnebago either eat the peyote button in its dried state or drink a concoction prepared from it. The effects are various. Every one, however, seems to be agreed upon its causing wonderful color visions. The after effects vary with the individual. I have seen some practically in a state of stupor after eating a large quantity of the buttons, while others seem entirely unaffected and go on with their day's work as though nothing had happened.

The use of the Bible is an entirely new element introduced by the Winnebago.

## *My Release from Prison*

They were glad to see me. Then we all walked to their 159* home My father and I walked by ourselves and he 795 told me about the peyote. "It does not amount to anything, all this that they are doing. Yet those who partake, stop their drinking. Sick people also get well. [755] We were told these things and therefore joined. What they claimed is true and your mother is practically well now, and so am I. They claim to offer prayers to Earthmaker, to God." He stopped and then continued, "The peyote people are rather foolish for they cry when they feel very happy about anything. They throw away all the medicines that they possess and whose virtues they know. They give up all the blessings they received while fasting, give up all the spirits who blessed them. They stop giving feasts and making offerings of tobacco. They burn up all their holy things, destroy the war-bundles. They stop smoking and chewing tobacco. They are bad people. They burn up their medicine pouches, give up the Medicine Dance and even cut up their otter-skin bags.[81] They say they are praying to Earthmaker, to God, and do so standing and crying. They claim to hold nothing holy except Earthmaker, God; that everything they are giving up comes from the bad spirits, that the bad spirits deceived them. They claim that there are no spirits with [776] the power of bestowing blessings and that there is no other spirit except Earthmaker, God." Then I said,

[81] The most sacred object of the Medicine Dance. It is within the otter-skin bag that the shell is concealed with which the newly initiated members of the dance, as well as the regular members, are shot. [798] [796]

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 795 claimed." Some say that the home of the bad spirit can also be visited when in this state.

[796] So that night we went to a meeting again. I doubted all their claims, of course, and thought that they were untrue. Nevertheless I went along. When we got near I had already eaten some peyote for I had taken three in the day. Now near the place where the peyote meeting was to be held there was a regular Winnebago feast [527] and to that I went instead. I found a long lodge and heard a terrific noise. An enormous drum was being beaten. The sound almost raised me in the air so pleasurably loud did it sound to me. Not so pleasurable had things appeared at the peyote meetings that I had lately been attending. There I danced all night and I flirted with the women. I left about day and when I reached the peyote meeting it was still going on. When I got back I was told to sit in a certain place and I was treated very kindly. There I again ate peyote. I also heard that they were going to have another meeting nearby on the evening of the same day. We continued eating peyote at the place where we were staying, which was the house of one of my relatives. Some of the boys taught me a few songs and [533] they said, "Say, when you learn how to sing you will be the best singer, for you are a good singer as it is. You have a good voice." I thought so myself.

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## *The Effects of the Peyote*

Then my suffering stopped. "As long as the earth shall last, that long will I make use of you, O Medicine!" 159* 795

This had lasted a night and a day. For a whole night I had not slept. 786

Then we breakfasted and when we were through I said, "Let us eat peyote again to-night." That evening I ate eight peyote.

In the middle of the night I saw God. To God living up above, our father, I prayed. "Have mercy upon me! Give me knowledge that I may not say and do evil things. To you, O God, I am trying to pray. Do thou, O Son of God, help me too. This religion, let me know this religion!" Thus I spoke and sat very quiet. Then I beheld the morning star and it was good to look upon; the light was good to look upon. I had been frightened during the night but now I was happy. Now as the light appeared it seemed to me that nothing would be invisible to me. I seemed to see everything clearly. Then I thought of my home and as I looked around there I saw the house in which I lived far away among the Winnebago. It was quite close to me. There at the window I saw my children at play and I saw a man going to my house carrying a jug of whisky. Then he gave them something to drink and the one who had brought the whisky got drunk and annoyed the people. Finally he ran away. "So this is what they are doing?" I thought to myself Then I beheld my wife. She came out and stood outside the door wearing a red blanket. She was thinking of going to the flag pole and was wondering which road to take. "If I take this road I am likely to meet some people, but if I take the other, I am not likely to encounter any one." [776]

Indeed it is good. They are all well—my brother, my sister, my father, my mother. I felt very good indeed. O

## *The Effects of the Peyote*

I gave to my brother-in-law. Then I cried and my brother-in-law also cried. He thanked me, told me that I understood and that I had done well. He told me that Earthmaker alone was holy; that all the blessings and medicine I possessed were false; that I had been fooled by the bad spirit. He told me that I had now freed myself from much of this bad influence. My relatives expressed their thanks fervently. 159* 795 [176]

On the fourth night of my stay they had another meeting and I went to it again. There I again ate peyote. I enjoyed it and sang along with the others. I wanted to be able to sing immediately. Some young men were singing and I enjoyed it so I prayed to Earthmaker and asked him to let me learn to sing right away. That was all I asked for. My brother-in-law was with me all the time. At that meeting all the things I had given my brother-in-law were burnt up. [533]

Now the fact that my brother-in-law had told me that I understood, had pleased me and I felt good when daylight came. As a matter of fact, I had not received any knowledge at all. I thought, however, that this was the proper way to act, so I did it. After that, I would attend meetings occasionally and I looked around for a woman whom I cared to marry permanently. Before long that was the only thing that I would think of when I attended the meetings. [156]

[P. 187]

## §33. *I See God*

*159 795 786 As I looked again I saw a flag. I looked more carefully and I saw the house full of flags. They had the most beautiful marks on them. In the middle of the room there was a large flag, a living one. It was moving. In the doorway there was another one not entirely visible. I had never seen anything so beautiful in all my life before.

Again I prayed to God. I bowed my head and closed my eyes and began to speak. I said many things that I would ordinarily never have spoken about. As I prayed I was aware of something above me and there He was, He to whom I was speaking, God. That which [796] we call the soul, that it is which is God. This is what I felt and saw. The one called Earthmaker, God, is a spirit and He it was I felt and saw. At least this is what I learned. I instantly became their spirit; I was their spirit or soul. Whatever they thought of I immediately knew. I did not have to speak to them and get an answer to know what their thoughts were. Then I thought of a certain place far away, and immediately I was there. I was my thought.

I looked about and watched the people around me and then when I opened my eyes I was myself in body again. From now on thus it shall be, I felt. This is

796
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and clairvoyance, and thinks they have had
[787] them for centuries. They use a long and
[346] large lodge a [blank] prepared for the
purpose, in which all those allowed to witness the ceremonies are assembled. Adjoin-
[343] ing this house is a bark tent built in a conical form as a steam house. They excavate a hole in the ground, heat large stones in a fire to a great heat, and then put them in this hole, and cover them over and seat the initiate over them. He is then covered around with blankets so that none of the steam may escape, after which water is poured on the stones and the neophyte is
[783] enveloped in a roasting steam bath. This is
[776] the first act, and the object is to steam all evil spirits out of him.

He is then led in to the house, after the steaming process in some instances has been repeated once or twice. He is then blindfolded and led around the house. Pres-
[534] ently the singers beat the drum, shake the rattles, and commence singing a tune; then commences the dance, which is joined in by all present who wish to do so. The wom-
[562] en are members of the medicine lodge as well as the men, and they join in the songs and in the dance. After the dancing is done, or perhaps he may have stood in the midst of it there is a suspension of all sing-
[756] ing and dancing. Several medicine men then advance towards the neophyte, pointing their medicine bags at him, then drawing them back. This advancing and receding and ejaculating certain words calculated to work up the mind of the novitiate into a regular phrenzy.

Presently they reach him when they hit their medicine bags against his body, he still being blindfolded and at the same time uttering a shrill exclamation. The Judge
[158] said the novitiate jumped up and fell flat on his face as if dead and that apparently with-

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764 the Judge asked what this meant they told
775 him that it was for the spirit to pass through in going out and in.

771 He never found among them during the long period of his intercourse any evidence of sun worship, and thinks it fell far short of that in which I agree with him.

115 This morning I had a further conversation with Judge Walker, who is a regular medicine man of the Wyandottes. He says
776 the name of the Spirit of Medicine among
171 the Wyandottes is Mon-ane-tow, who is the same as the Manitou of the Ojibways etc. That this spirit of Medicine is a good spirit etc. He says that the initiations described
796 by Judge Williams are in the presence only
575 of medicine men and women. The people of the tribe are not allowed to be present. That both men and women are members, and are regularly initiated before they can become members. That no oath of secrecy is required, as the Indian knows nothing about oaths, but they initiate on the honor of the man and of the woman, choosing such only as are known to be of good character for integrity. That the Society and its pro-
[755] ceedings are secret, except these ceremonies which medicine men perform on patients for their cure.

796 Walker says that these ceremonies pro-
575 ceed upon the idea that a violent shock of the nervous system, which prostrates it en-
828 tirely will also prostrate or relax the hold of
158 the disease. They know by experience that by fasting and steaming they so arouse and excite a well person as to produce a shock which will throw him to the earth. This is done at the ceremony of initiation which Judge Williams described. It is done by nervous excitement, and Indian faith in these ceremonies, and is repeated over every initiate as a proof of the possession by medicine men of this marvellous power. He

Where Trickster stops Hare begins. He is a combination of a trickster and a culture-hero. His benefactions, for instance, are all accidental. But from the start, he possesses the lineaments of a human being and his orientation is toward man. He is no longer the supreme egoist that Trickster was. At the end of his adventures the earth has been transformed into a place where human beings can live and operate. 105 538 773

It is the function of the heroes of the third cycle to prevent this order which Hare has established from being again disrupted and returning to chaos. The function of the Twins is to continue the struggles of the heroes of the third cycle and to attempt to stabilize this order for all time.

Now although the theme of all these epics is the struggle against chaos and the introduction of order, each one of the great heroes of the last three epics, attempts to disrupt the order he has himself established. Hare brings death into the universe, Storms-as-he-walks, one of the heroes of the third cycle, kills wantonly and unnecessarily and the Twins kill one of the deities who hold our earth in place. In the case of the Twins it is important to stress the fact that, as we shall see, their attack on the world order is the result of exuberance of energy which is, in itself, constructive.

This same theme of the necessity for intelligent order and the establishment of stability runs, like a guiding thread, through the Origin Myth given on pages 17 ff. and pages 252 ff. There, the first problem of Earthmaker after he has, so to say, given himself a fixed orientation in the universe at large and brought about order within himself, is to stop the earth he has created from continuing its ceaseless motion. This he achieves by anchoring it at the four cardinal points and then weighing it down by means of vegetation and mountains. The anchorage, significantly enough, is brought about by pinning the island-earth down by four waterspirits and four snakes. Now [825] snakes are the specifically sacred animals of the Winnebago, the intermediaries between the deities and man. Waterspirits, on the other [776] hand, are, essentially, the most productively evil and dangerous of all the deities for man, fascinating him, confusing him, and placing in his hands the means for his own destruction and the destruction

[Not processed. - Analyst]

105 of his fellowmen. By giving to the waterspirits the positive and con-
538 structive function of helping to stop the earth from spinning around
773 and then holding it in place, part of their primary and ancient dan-
[776] ger has thus been neutralized. Yet it can, at best—in fact, it must—only be neutralized. To destroy it completely would be equivalent to saying that man has ceased to err, overcome all temptation and become one of the deities. Such a condition, the Winnebago insist, neither the deities nor man desire.

According to the esoteric view, the ambivalent but fundamentally evil and disruptive nature of the blessings of the waterspirit have never ceased. It is one of the subtle and symbolic features of the final adventure of the Twins, namely, the destruction of one of the waterspirits, the anchorers of the earth, that they are, after all, only doing in a human fashion what Earthmaker himself found it necessary to do, prevent the waterspirits from harming man. They kill the waterspirit and feed on its body. They do not understand that disruption and disintegration represent one half of the process of living and can, at best, be neutralized and delayed, never eliminated and destroyed. It is the symbol for motion and change without which life not only ceases to exist but is indeed inconceivable. Earthmaker, of course, recognizes this and he must, therefore, put a stop to the activities of the Twins and he punishes them. Their punishment is a symbol for the error they have committed. They became fixed, motionless and permanent, both of them traits that, according to Winnebago beliefs, are forms of death. In the puberty vision-quest one of the signs that foreshadows death is to dream of rocks or stones.

I cannot think of a closer parallel to what has here happened to the waterspirits than that of the transformation, in the Oresteia of Aeschylus, of the Furies into beneficent creatures.

But to continue with the Origin Myth. Having created order within himself and established it for the stage on which man is to play, Earthmaker proceeds to create the first beings who are to people the universe, the spirits and deities. To each one he assigns a fixed and specific amount of power, to some more, to some less. In a nature religion like that of the Winnebago, this is, of course, only another way of giving the objects and forces of nature their

to them. To understand properly these three problems we must, at the outset, try to distinguish between the layman's and the priest's conception, between the exoteric and the esoteric viewpoint although, to be sure, the two are never mutually exclusive. 105 121 771

For the ordinary man, the lay Winnebago, the primary powers of the vast majority of the deities have always inhered in the deities themselves. They are their own possessions and have not been bestowed upon them from without. Moreover these powers relate to the actual natural functions these deities perform. The prayers of man to the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Night-spirits, the Thunderbirds, etc. are, primarily, that they continue their functions and do not deviate from them. But man recognizes that they also have secondary functions, that, for instance, the sun, the morning and evenings stars, the thunderbirds, the night-spirits, all possess the power to give man long life and victory on the warpath; that the grizzly bear spirits have curative powers to bestow upon him and the waterspirits have special powers in connection with death-dealing medicines, etc. This socialization of the spirits and deities brings them that much closer to man. By bringing them this much closer to man they are deprived, however, of something of their independence and freedom of action. They have now become more specifically oriented toward mankind than toward their functioning in the universe at large. This change in orientation did not come about mechanically or accidentally. It represents the priest-thinker's conception, his attempt to establish linkages and meaningful relationships between men and the world of spirits. This attempt, from the nature of things, can never completely succeed for the simple reason that the primary functions of most of the nature gods—and they are the important ones—cannot be eliminated, must, in fact, not be eliminated. In the case, however, of animal deities, their older primary functions can be attenuated to a very marked extent and deities can be developed who never possessed functions other than those we have designated as secondary, that is, deities who function only in relation to man. 105 771 776 [782]

Since the nature gods, however, were the great gods, they served as patterns for all the others and the marked split in their orienta-

105 tion became, more or less, the characteristic of all spirits and deities.
771 The older condition, where the god concerned himself with his pri-
776 mary functioning and where relations to man were strictly neutral, was set off against his later condition where he was specifically enmeshed in man and man in him. These older deities—the waterspirits, for instance, belong here—never bestowed upon man either good or evil blessings. Like the waterspirits, they gave man the materials out of which he could prepare his own good or evil. That, I think, was always the lay point of view. Manifestly this led at times, to extreme individualism and clearly did not make for organization. The priest-thinker in seeking to bring more order into the various functions of the deities introduced new evaluations and new distinctions. For example, the earlier functioning of most of the deities was now interpreted as essentially evil or at least of no positive relation to man. In their later status, on the contrary, they generously brought man good blessings and they themselves became beneficent and friendly deities.

This socialization of the deities was entirely the work of the priest-thinkers. It succeeded completely, only in the case of Earthmaker and in their masterpiece, the Medicine Rite. In all other instances the lay interpretation was still largely dominant: man could never be certain what he would receive from the spirit to whom he was praying and making offerings, nor feel that he could always guard himself adequately against the dangers inherent in the approach to the supernatural. This uncertainty was expressed in a number of ways. One of them is very typical for the Winnebago. Every youth, during his puberty vision-quest, was warned by his elders against accepting too generous a gift of power from the deities. This was the matter-of-fact parent's euphemistic way of saying, 'Do not let them deceive you or work evil upon you.' The thinker, of course, interpreted this in an entirely different fashion. For him, a faster who accepted more from the gods than he could fulfill was the victim of his own overreaching and lack of that sense of proportion which, alone, can save man from destruction.

This recognition, then, of the ambivalent or, at least, veiled nature of the deity's attitude toward him is something that man must learn to accept and which he must also learn to meet in such fashion that

the spirit or deity will be constrained, willingly or otherwise, to grant him his request. How can this be done? The answer will depend upon who is speaking, a Winnebago layman or a Winnebago priest-thinker. The layman's view is embodied in the myth of the origin and function of tobacco. There the deities are mechanically constrained to give the powers they possess to any human being who comes with an offering of tobacco. Here the human suppliant theoretically determines what he is to receive and how he is to employ it. In actual practice, of course, the situation is never so simple even in the case of the most matter-of-fact individual or the most matter-of-fact deity. Both are swayed by contradictory and conflicting emotions. Man wishes a maximum of power but is held back from making the maximum request for fear that it will be too dangerous for him to do so. The deities wish to be sustained by the tobacco for which they have an almost uncontrolled craving but dread the loss of power it entails. As a result man is prone to ask too little or too much and the deities to give too little or too much. Both lead to disorder and result in evil.

To restore order in such a situation where, on the one hand, you are dealing with human nature with its ceaseless changes, its impermanence and its inability to foresee the future and the consequences of its demands and, on the other, with divine nature, with its unchangeability, its permanence and its foreknowledge, was a problem of extreme difficulty and delicacy. The added fact that, according to the universally accepted Winnebago belief, the spirits and deities depended for their happiness and much of their functioning upon the sustenance they obtained from man, further complicated it. The problem, of course, existed primarily for the priest-thinker.

To a large degree it was of the latter's own making. To the matter-of-fact man, the man of action, the relationship between the deities and man was, as has already been pointed out, direct, mechanical and constraining for both. It was but an extension of the theory of exchange of goods which prevailed on earth between men, to the world of spirits. That theory of exchange insisted that the receiver of a gift should always make a return gift of greater value than that which he had received. Of the spirits who had so much, man could

105 at least, demand an equal exchange. The crux of the question then
771 was, who is to evaluate the human gift? The answer of the mat-
776 ter-of-fact man was both, the spirits and man. For that reason, he contended, risk and danger must always inhere in the human-god relationship and there was little that could be done about it except to take every precaution one could. This must be accepted. Such was life. Suffering and tragedy loomed large there and the relationship between the deities and man was part of it. The gods could, at best, only help man to keep his balance and maintain his sense of proportion. It had always been a human problem and always would remain one. A whole class of literature, the worak, dealt with this theme. The picture it painted was not too optimistic.

105 It was the priest-thinker who was the optimist. He attempted a
771 time-honored solution of philosophers, that of giving man some of
776 the attributes of divinity, in other words, a greater sense of fixity and
812 security, a greater degree of permanence, and some possibility of foreknowledge.

Winnebago philosophers seem to have attacked this problem repeatedly and suggested a number of solutions. According to one theory, gods and men had been equal in the beginning. At that time all existent beings could transform themselves at will into the one or the other *ad infinitum*. When, however, the world was to take its present shape, all the beings had to transform themselves permanently into the one or the other, into gods or into human beings.

Thus, at one time, man had actually partaken of the divine. This was, of course, only divinity in retrospect, and was not of great
105 importance in developing divine stature for man now. Winnebago
771 thinkers, instead, fell back upon two universally accepted folklorist-
775 tic beliefs, that in the immortality of the soul and that in reincarnation. The first, however, implied a complete and irretrievable separation from the earth and human beings. To be of any value in the task of developing divine traits for man, the soul, the permanent component of man which left him at death had to be bound, in some way, to the earth. This could best be done by reinterpreting the nature of death. This was done by having it merely imply no loss of personal consciousness at all but simply a temporary stumbling.

105 The priest-thinker thus contended that man could be made to
771 approximate to the deities by simply manipulating powers and
776 attributes which some individuals, at least, already possessed. Was it, however, wise to leave it to the individual himself to attempt this approximation? There had always been individuals in the community who essayed it but the net results of their attempts had spelled misfortune for them and misfortune for the community. They were generally the practitioners of evil magic, the poisoners. The Medicine Rite is replete with stories about them. Apparently, then, this was not a matter to be left to the discretion of an individual or for that matter to human beings at all. Man was to be educated to divinity by the deities themselves. For this purpose both were to be transformed into more disciplined, more responsible, more ethical and more profoundly realistic beings. Just as in the attainment of the goods of life, so now in the attainment of the benefits flowing from divinity, he was to face the problem bravely and realistically and endure stoically and understandingly the hardships and sufferings involved. In short, divinity had to be achieved. It could not be thrust upon one. The deities, likewise, had to be educated and be made to realize that nothing was due them as such and that they could expect no sustenance from man unless their own way of life was organized and ethically ordered and unless their blessings were given in good faith and in gratitude.

The poet-philosophers composed many a worak to bring out just
105 these points. To give an example. A child is fasting and refuses one
771 gift after another from the deities. Perturbed, they turn to the father
776 and ask him to discover what the boy wants that has not already been
538 granted him. In answer to his father's question, the boy says he does not wish to die. Neither the entreaties of the father or the spirits avail. And so the boy must die although he is rewarded by being transformed into a pine tree.

Now this is actually a completely transformed version of a well-known story, *The Child Who Fasted Too Long*. In the original version he dies because he has overreached himself. In such stories the spirits are neutral, that is, where they are not actually inciting

the young faster to overreach and destroy himself. Thus we see along 105
what lines the reinterpretations of the priest-thinker were made. 771

This was the theory that the priest-thinker tried to impress upon 776
his fellowmen in order to introduce a greater sense of confidence and [538]
security in the relationship between man and the deities. Because of the very high demands it made upon the worshipper, it remained largely a philosophical-ethical ideal and the fairly sharp line of demarcation between human beings and the spirits continued in force as the popular theory. Some there were who even insisted that it was, not only the courageous, but the morally justifiable thing to do, to coerce the deities into acquiescing in man's demands. That was the proper way to meet divinity, to challenge the gods, accept what they granted and, then, to attempt to fulfill the conditions imposed even if they meant death. Few individuals in the community, for instance, [554]
had greater prestige than the few who had secured a blessing from the much dreaded deity, *Disease-giver*. He had two faces, one dealing life and the other death. No suppliant knew which side would be [782]
turned toward him when he made his offerings, at noon, in the full blaze of day, contrary to what held for all the other deities, namely, that they must be approached at night.

This, of course, is the warrior's creed and, in a civilization like that 105
of the Winnebago where the highest ambition as a man was to 771
achieve distinction on the warpath, it naturally was very important. 577
Yet to this, the chief of the tribe might well retort: such courage and such risks have their moral justification only when one is fighting the enemy or avenging the death of a kinsman. They are inapplicable when approaching a god. The taking of great risks concerns not only oneself but the whole community and must be subject to the sanctions of the community. A person must be carefully and properly educated before he dare take them. To exhibit fearlessness and heroic courage is, in itself, no virtue. Indeed, in the wrong place or on the wrong occasion, they can and do lead to death and destruction.

And so, in the realm of religion as in that of social organization and 105
mythology, the problem to be faced is depicted as being the same. 771
How are we to resolve the differences between the 'earth' interpre-

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172 the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, a territory in which the Winnebago have no recollection of ever having lived. The first question is very difficult to answer. There is always the possibility that some mounds may yet be discovered and again it is possible that all have been leveled considerably. The apparent persistency with which the Winnebago held to the custom of mound building during their forced migration since the eighteenth century, even when they lived in [174] places for only a short time, and the absence of any mounds in their legendary home, suggest the possibility that they never lived permanently near Green Bay.[8] This inference has not been drawn from a study of the archeological but from a study of the historical sources, by Mr. P. V. Lawson.[9] In this paper the writer tries to prove that all the old sources point to Doty Island situated in Fox River, at the foot of Lake Winnebago, as the place where Nicollet first met the Winnebago. Whatever the merits of the case may be, it is certain that, according to the Winnebago themselves, their original home was Green Bay. Into this tradition many legendary details have, of course, been woven, and it seems to us that the presumption of evidence favors Green Bay, although the complete absence of what seems to have been such a characteristic feature of Winnebago culture as effigy mounds suggests a possibility that the Green Bay settlement represented just the northernmost extension of the tribe. The large settlements found along Lake Winnebago so soon after Nicollet's landing make it reasonably certain that the Winnebago had been there before his arrival in Wisconsin.

We will also have to assume that the Winnebago erected the effigy mounds along the western shore of Lake Michigan, in an area that, since the coming of the whites, has been occupied successively by the Miami and Potawatomi. This would indicate that the Winnebago [174] originally came in a compact mass from the south. They, however, have no recollection of this fact and it must indeed have taken place a long time ago. This is, of course, only an hypothesis.

172 The effigy mounds are unquestionably supposed to represent the ●778 eponymous clan animals of the Winnebago. It seems, however, as if three clan animals were never represented—namely, the wolf, the buffalo, and the fish. It is possible that the mound found near the asylum grounds at Madison, Wis., is intended to represent a wolf, but, even if this could be established, it would not explain the apparent absence of any more examples of one of the most important Winnebago clans.

[8] The absence of any mention of them in early records has no significance, for even in the nineteenth century, in regions where it seems incredible that they should have escaped notice no mention is ever made of them by travelers.

[9] "The Habitat of the Winnebago," in the Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1908. Mr. A. C. Neville in a previous paper published in the Proceedings of 1906, sought to establish the thesis of a Green Bay home from the same data.

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241 [778] In the middle of the field was usually placed an earthen representation of the clan animal. As to how squash and beans were planted, no reliable information is available. The corn was planted in small circular mounds which, to judge from those near Madison, Wis., were arranged in remarkably straight rows.

[442 177] The author is unable to say what type of implements was used, as the Winnebago have been using those of European manufacture for many years and have no recollection of any other kind.

If anyone had more corn planted than he could take care of he
241 gave a feast, to which he invited all who had hoes. At this feast
527 dried corn was used. On this occasion the people sacrificed tobacco
782 to their hoes, so that they might not cut themselves with these implements or have other accidents. Then they all joined in helping their host cultivate his corn.

249 In addition to the above-mentioned patches, most Winnebago had small fields of tobacco, which were regarded as very sacred. The tobacco grown on these was used only for sacrificial purposes. Sacred gourds also were planted in these fields.

222 *Berry picking.*—From the earliest times the Winnebago were known for their bountiful supply of berries. Every fall parties of men, women, and children went out to pick cranberries and whortleberries.

*Customs when berries are ripening.*—If a man has a son whom he
222 loves very much, he has him fast as soon as the berries and other things
787 begin to ripen. If this boy dreams of something good, then he (the father) gives a feast with the newly ripened food and the boy eats. If the boy does not dream of anything good after four days, the father makes him eat and has him try again.

222 *Rice gathering.*—In common with the Central Algonquian tribes, with whom they have come in contact, especially the Menominee, the Winnebago spent a number of weeks every year gathering wild rice. The following description of the manner in which this is done is taken from a newspaper article published by Prof. A. E. Jenks of the University of Minnesota:

> Fox River from its source to Lake Winnebago was for hundreds of years a very productive field for this aquatic cereal, and along this river the Winnebago lived in plenty and peace with several wild rice eating tribes of the Algonkin stock. Probably a few families still gather their annual crop in that old domain; but most of the wild rice which the tribe now gathers is obtained in the sloughs of the Mississippi River near Lacrosse, Wis., and on the Iowa side of that river
>
> The Winnebago gather the grain by running their canoes into the tall standing stalks before the grain is ripe. A stick is held in each hand of the harvester, one being used to draw the standing stalks over the edge of the canoe, while the other one is employed in tapping or striking the heads of the stalks, thus knocking the grain out of the fruit head into the canoe. After the canoe is full it is taken to the shore and emptied.

252 *Preparation of foods.*—Meats were prepared by broiling, in three
262 ways—on stakes, over a rack, or under hot ashes. Only the ribs

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881 All boys do not seem to have approached the ordeal of fasting with
785 the proper religious feeling. One instance in particular showed any-
787 thing but a reverent attitude; this is so amusing that it is here given in the exact words of the Indian:

When I was a young boy, my folks made me fast together with a boy named Modudjeka. We were supposed to go to the hills and cry until the spirits blessed us. However, whenever we looked at each other and at our charcoal-blackened faces we could not refrain from bursting out laughing. Whenever we made up our minds to cry, something or other would induce us to look at each other and the laughing would begin all over again. When the time for our return to the house came, we didn't present the slightest indication of having cried, so we took some saliva and made long streaks on our faces.

Young girls and women are also encouraged to fast to obtain the war honors.

881 *Menstrual lodges.*—Fasting at puberty by girls was inseparably con-
785 nected with their retirement to menstrual lodges. Sometimes there was only one girl in each menstrual lodge, sometimes there were as many as three. From the time of her first menstrual flow to her climacteric a woman retired to a menstrual lodge every month for
841 a few days. An excellent account of Winnebago customs in this respect was obtained in a text from a male informant, and, although somewhat discursive, it is given in full here:

As soon as a woman begins to have her menstrual flow she has to retire to a menstrual lodge and to be careful never to come in contact with any sacred objects. If she did, these objects would all lose their power. Everything that is holy would immediately lose its power if a menstruating woman came near it. A holy woman or a holy man or even a holy child would be affected by the proximity of a menstruating woman. Their holy condition would immediately disappear. In a similar way, if food were served to a sick person from the same dish used for a menstruating woman the sick person would become far more sick.

The food for a menstruating person is always cooked separately. Special dishes are used and special fireplaces are made.

If a person possessed any medicines, they would lose all their power if a menstruating woman came in contact with them. If any person should enter a menstrual lodge, in after life, whenever he fasted, he would not be blessed by any spirit. However, there is one thing that a menstruating woman is afraid of, and that is the
[778] war bundle. These war bundles are kept in cedar [leaves?] mixed with medicine to prevent danger from just such a source. If a menstruating woman comes near a war bundle, her flow would increase and never cease, and after a while she would die,[6] and only if the owner of the war bundle personally attends to her can she be cured. For that reason whenever a war-bundle feast is being given a woman is very careful, and even if it is a few days before her menstrual flow she will not go.

[6] This explains what puzzled the author for some time—namely, the fact that although contact with a menstruating woman destroyed the efficacy of everything holy, in the case of the war bundle the reverse was true and the woman was destroyed. Many of the Indians who spoke of this matter also seemed to believe it was the war bundle that killed the woman. From this account, however, it is perfectly clear that it is not the war bundle at all that killed the woman, but the poison in which the war bundle was wrapped. The war bundle is therefore no exception to the general rule, and it is only on account of the serious consequences that would accrue to so many people from any impairment of its powers, and the care taken to prevent this by surrounding it with special medicines, that it offers externally an exception to the bad effects of contact with a menstruating woman.

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867 My son, never abuse your wife. The women are sacred. If you
593 abuse your wife and make her life miserable, you will die early.
562 Our grandmother, the earth, is a woman, and in mistreating your
776 wife you will be mistreating her. Most assuredly will you be abusing our grandmother if you act thus. And as it is she that is taking care of us you will really be killing yourself by such behavior.

867 My son, when you keep house, should anyone enter your house,
574 no matter who it is, be sure to offer him whatever you have in the house. Any food that you withhold at such a time will most assuredly become a source of death to you. If you are stingy about giving food the people will kill you on this account. They will poison you. If you hear of a traveler who is visiting your people and you wish to see him, prepare your table for him and have him sent for. In this manner you will be acting correctly. It is always good to act correctly and do good, the old people used to say.

867 If you see an old, helpless person, help him with whatever you
888 possess. Should you happen to possess a home and you take him there, he might suddenly say abusive things about you during the middle of the meal. You will be strengthened by such words. This same traveler may, on the contrary, give you something that
[778] he carries under his arms and which he treasures very highly. If it is an object without a stem,[18] keep it to protect your house. If you thus keep it within your house, your home will never be molested by any bad spirits. Nothing will be able to enter your house unexpectedly. Thus you will live. Witches, instead of entering your house, will pass around it. If, in addition to possessing this medicine, you also fast, your people will be benefited by it greatly.

867 Earthmaker made spirits up above and some he made to live on
773 this earth; and again some he made to live under the water and
776 some to live in the water; and all these he put in charge of something. Even the small animals that move about this earth the creator put in charge of some power. Thus he created them. Afterwards he created us human beings and as he had exhausted all the powers to be disposed of we were not in control of anything. Then he made a weed and placed it in our charge. And he said that no matter how powerful are the spirits that exist they would not be able to take this weed from us without giving something in return.
[276] He himself, Earthmaker, would not be able to demand it for nothing. So he spoke. This weed was the tobacco plant. Earthmaker said that if we would offer a pipeful of tobacco to him, whatever we should ask of him he would immediately grant. Not only he, but all the
[782] spirits created, longed to have some of this tobacco. It is for this reason that when we fast and cry piteously for some spirit to take pity on us, if we give them tobacco they will bless us with those

[18] A plant without a stem, presumably some root, used for warding off danger.

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Another irregularity that has grown up within recent times is the occasional transmission of the clan war-bundle in the female line. In olden times it could only be transmitted in the male line, so as to prevent its passing out of the clan. It was, however, not always passed to the eldest son, but to that one who, by his actions and the interest he manifested in learning the legends and songs pertaining to the ceremony, showed himself capable of properly providing for the bundle. Now it happened occasionally that a man either possessed no son or that his son did not show sufficient interest in all that pertained to the bundle. In such a case the father had the alternative of giving it to some near relative in the male line, and if there were none of either giving it to some distant relative in the male line or the son of his sister or daughter. This, of course, happened very rarely, and in all probability the female line would eventually have to return it to the clan to which it originally belonged.

We have described these two instances of transmission in the female line in some detail in order to show how simply they can be explained without the intervention of any theory that the Winnebago reckoned descent in the female line originally. Such a claim has been made by Morgan and reiterated by Frazer. It seems to be based on the fact that Carver found the daughter of a Winnebago chief, known to the whites as Glory-of-the-Morning, and her children occupying an exceptional position among the tribe, or at least among the division of the Winnebago living at the upper end of Lake Winnebago, Wis. Her position and that of her children, one of whom has become well known in Winnabago legends, *Teap'ocagac*, was, however, due to the fact that she married a Frenchman named Decora. She was not the chieftainess of the tribe nor were any of her children, strictly speaking, chiefs of the tribe. In any case her position had nothing to do with female descent and at best but illustrates what we have said before about the clan to which children of such a union belong.

### INDIVIDUAL NAMES

Before turning to the specific study of each clan a few words must be said about the individual names. From a purely descriptive point of view the names can be arranged in nine classes:

I. Color.
II. Physiological characteristics.
III. Social functions.
IV. Animal and plant forms.
V. Animal characteristics.
VI. Natural phenomena.
VII. Quality.
VIII. Episodes of a legendary character.
IX. Personal achievement.

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614 of human and animal forms. The latter conception is entirely a
825 religious one, the former merely an extension of the genealogical tendency prevalent in many types of social organization. Instead of being simply descended from an individual in a given social unit, the bond of membership within this unit has been strengthened by the postulation of blood relationship to the clan animal. The idea of descent may thus be looked upon as one of the elements necessary for the stability of a political unit and may be far older than its
614 specific extension to those clan animals. A very illuminating ex-
825 ample of a case in point can be selected from the history of the war bundle in the Thunderbird clan. This bundle, like the others, was
778 obtained as a gift from the thunderbird in his capacity as a guardian spirit. The ceremony connected with it has, however, been markedly influenced by the clan organization and as a result we find descent
[776] from the thunderbird and night-spirit, the two most important spirits in the ceremony, postulated of the original owner of the war bundle. The same tendency is exhibited in the numerous stories of the relation of an individual of the heroic age to a village. Here
[773] the individual, generally a transformed guardian spirit or animal, comes to the aid of the people in their struggle against cannibals, defeats the latter and marries into the village, becoming thus the eponymous ancestor of the subsequent village group.

614 At the same time no strong correlation apparently exists between a totemic organization and the extension of descent to include the clan animal, this seemingly being a peculiarity of certain cultures only. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest coast, among the
[771] Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves, in addition to the above, we find the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact of its members imitating the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reasons at all for the name, while in others an animal is killed, becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, and the group takes its name from the fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation.

## THE CLAN TIE

614 In intimate relation with the attitude toward the clan animal is the
602 conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the tie between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal.
[582] Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as is

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614 572 The relation of *hitcak'oro* or "friend clan" is thus strictly analogous to that which exists between two individuals who are *hitcak'oro* to each other. It is one of the characteristic traits of Siouan culture that two individuals often form a strong, inextricable friendship. Not only are they always together but the death of one on the war-path involves that of the other. The same intimate relationship [604] seems to exist between an uncle (*hidek'*) and his nephew (*hitcycge*). There is, however, one fundamental difference between such relation as that existing between *hidek'* and *hitcycge*, the members of the family group, and the members of the same clan, on the one hand, and clan *hitcak'oro*, on the other. In the former there is the bond of blood, real or fictitious; in the latter, only that of mutual service. On the other hand, while the *hidek'-hitcycge* relation, the individual *hitcak'oro* and the clan *hitcak'oro* all may be of different historical origin, they are psychologically the same. The postulation of even a fictitious blood bond between the different individual *hitcak'oro* and the clan *hitcak'oro* is not unheard of. For the *hitcak'oro* relation of individuals this is always possible, for if one individual dies, his *hitcak'oro* is generally adopted to fill his place. On the other hand, the myths seem to indicate that no blood bond was regarded as existing between them, for they generally married each other's sisters.

What historical relation the clan *hitcak'oro* bears to the individual *hitcak'oro* relation, it is impossible to state, but the remarks made before are pertinent here, and no genetic relationship need be postulated.

### THE SPECIFIC POSSESSIONS OF THE CLAN

614 778 Among the Omaha a number of clans have in their possession certain objects around which not merely the clan but also the tribal reverence is centered. Historically, we believe that these were originally possessions of an individual clan, which subsequently became identified with the entire tribe. Among the Winnebago nothing remotely comparable to these clan possessions exists, and the few specific objects possessed by the clan have never become of real tribal significance.

The specific material possessions of the clan consist of certain war bundles, one in each clan; and two crooks in the possession of the Bear clan. There also exist war clubs, of which there are two types, one found among the *waggeregi*, the other among the *manegi* divisions. In connection with the clan bundles there are certain ceremonials known as clan-bundle or war-bundle feasts, popularly as Winter Feasts. The distribution of the clan bundle differentiates [771] these from the specific possessions of the Omaha clans, and suggests a hint as to their historical associations. To all intents and purposes, as their individual history shows, these bundles are merely

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gifts from one spirit, the thunderbird, and a secondarily associated night-spirit (*hghe*). The Winter Feast might thus be interpreted as a society of those who have obtained blessings from the thunderbird. The bundle remains in the possession of a certain family, however, and cannot pass out of the clan. The war bundle may therefore be said to be primarily the personal possession of a family which has become associated with all the members of the clan to such an extent that it is almost regarded as a clan possession.

In the possession of the two crooks by the Bear clan we have an example of specific clan property. The crooks are in the nature of emblems and are used on the warpath to indicate the extreme line of advance. They are thus of tribal significance. When not in use they are kept in the lodge of the Bear clan.

### IMMATERIAL POSSESSIONS OF THE CLAN

Although there are no specific material possessions, each clan has certain "immaterial" possessions. They all have the added connotation of sacredness. For the Bird clans, it is the possession of fire; for the Bear, the doorway of his lodge; for the Wolf and Water-spirit, water. They were not obtained for all the clans. We indicated before that these "possessions" may have been primarily connected with the animals associated with the clan, upon which an additional socio-religious interpretation has been superimposed. The whole subject is, however, closely related to that of clan etiquette, for which, of course, no explanations can be given now.

### THE CLAN MARKS OF IDENTIFICATION

As if more fully to set off the social unit of the clan, there have come to be associated with it definite marks of identification, such as symbols, property marks, facial decorations, and songs.

The symbols of only two clans were obtained, although a number of other clans seem to have possessed them. These were the war club (*samptee*) of the Thunderbird clan and the peculiarly whittled stick (*samarinirini*) of the Bear clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan died a miniature war club was buried with him. Whether the *samarinirini* was buried with a member of a Bear clan we do not know.

The property mark consisted of the effigy of the clan animal, and was woven on such objects as bags, tobacco pouches, etc. It was also frequently engraved on wooden objects. Its most peculiar uses, however, were the emblematic earthen effigy mounds, in the shape of the clan animal, which were erected near the habitation of each clan in the village and in the center of clan squash fields, cornfields, etc.

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From these facts it is quite clear that, as far as the Thunderbird clan is concerned, the prevailing belief as to the relation of the members of the clan to the clan ancestor is but feebly substantiated by the origin myths. 614 773 114

As mentioned before, the chief of the tribe was selected from the Thunderbird clan, although the selection was apparently restricted to certain families. The functions of the chief of the tribe were connected with peace. He could not lead a war party, although, according to some, he could accompany one. His lodge stood either in the center of the village or at the south end, according to which of the two descriptions one cares to accept, and contained a sacred fireplace, around which only members of the Thunderbird clan could sit. This lodge was an asylum for all wrongdoers. No one could be killed there, and a prisoner who succeeded in making his escape to it was spared. Even a dog destined for a sacrifice at the war-bundle feast was freed if he took refuge in it. The Thunderbird chief always acted as intercessor between wrongdoers and their avengers. Even in so extreme a case as the murder of a clansman, he would always attempt a reconciliation by which the life of the murderer might be spared. If necessary, the chief would mortify himself, and with skewers inserted in his back have himself led through the village to the home of the nearest kinspeople of the murdered person. 614 622 [778] [682 304]

The chief seems to have had some other miscellaneous functions, the most important of which was, perhaps, his right to prevent an unauthorized war party to depart from the village. If he, as an older man and guardian of peace and the best interests of the tribe, felt that a war party was taking too many risks, he would take his pipe and place it across the path of the one contemplating an unwarranted expedition and thus signify his disapproval. If then the war party chose to go, any mishap was directly chargeable to the leader who disobeyed. Should anyone be killed, the leader was regarded almost in the same light as a willful murderer, and the kinsmen of the deceased warrior could demand redress. 622 721 [686]

Our main informant for the Thunderbird clan summarized the functions as follows: 622 614

The chief is chosen from one of the "greater" Thunderbird clans[1] and must be a man of well balanced temper, not easily provoked, and of good habits. The one sacred object he possesses is his pipe. He must be a peacemaker and love all the people in the tribe, the little children included. [156]

If he saw a man, woman, or child passing by, he was to call them in and give them food to eat, for they were his brothers and sisters. All the relatives he has are to look after his possessions and keep him well supplied, for he was supposed to give away things constantly. If any person came to borrow some object from him, he would tell [431]

[1] He divided the Thunderbird clans into two groups, the real Thunderbird and the Warrior clans. This latter he indeed was identical with the thunderbirds who caused the rain and who were quite different from the other thunderbirds.

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622 614 the man that, since he was without this particular thing, to keep it and use it for all time.

[203 624] The public crier, a member of the Buffalo clan, was supposed to report to the chief early every morning and receive instructions. The crier would then go all around the village making the chief's desires known.

The chief had a representative at every council, generally his brother.

623 The chief of the village is a peacemaker, and if two members of the tribe ever get into difficulties (i. e., quarrel) he is supposed to intercede. If in a quarrel a person should be killed, the chief would go to the murderer and tell the latter to permit himself to be tied up—i. e., to give himself up to the relatives of the murdered man. If [682] the murderer consents to do so, then his arms are tied behind him and the chief walks in front of him carrying his sacred pipe. Thus they would go to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives. When they got there the chief would extend the stem of the pipe toward them. They might refuse to accept the pipe thus extended, but if any member of the family, even if it be a small child, were to take a puff from it, then the murderer would be forgiven and turned free.

This is the capacity of a Winnebago chief.

622 614 682 Another description of the chief's rôle as intercessor for a murderer is as follows:

When the Thunderbird chief wishes to save a murderer they take one of their own chiefs, one who is well beloved, paint his back blue, and put skewers in his back, to which they tie cords. Thus he is taken to the lodge of the murdered person's relatives. The chief, when he gets there, holds his pipe of tobacco in both hands. Should the relatives not wish to accept the peace offering they close the door in his face. Then he returns.

614 778 [411] The Thunderbird clan possessed a type of war club called a bald-headed war club, which was sacred to this clan alone, and a miniature of which was always buried with a dead body. The only other possessions were the clan war bundles. The Winnebago often speak as though each clan had but one of these palladiums, but there seems to be little doubt but that there were at least two and probably more in each clan. These war bundles must be regarded as the common possession of the clan at the present time, for they can not be alienated from the clan.[1] For all practical purposes, however, they are the private property of certain individuals or families.

614 372 Fire was considered a sacred possession of the Thunderbird clan. As mentioned before, an individual was supposed never to ask for a firebrand from the fire of any member of the clan and was never permitted to sit near such a fireplace. If, nevertheless, anyone should be immodest enough to ask for one of these objects, he would be refused, but he would be permitted to ask for any conceivable thing else. The following incident will serve as an example of the definite way in which this peculiar custom works. An old Winne-

[1] This point was very forcibly impressed upon the author when he tried to obtain the war bundle of a man who had become a member of the Peyote cult. The man was perfectly willing to part with it, but after repeated requests to those who happened to possess it at that particular time, he admitted that it belonged to the clan, although they could not have taken it away from him had he remained a believer in the old faith.

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An old Winne-
bago told the author that long ago a young man wanted to marry a girl belonging to his phratry and refused to listen to the entreaties of his father and mother. Finally the father, in desperation, went over to the lodge of a man belonging to one of the clans into which the young man could marry and asked for one of the sacred possessions. It was, of course, refused, and when the man was asked what other requests he wished to make, he asked that the host's daughter be allowed to marry his son. This was, of course, granted, and thus the boy was compelled to marry into the proper phratry. 614 615 582 778

One Winnebago interpreted the custom in an entirely different way. Exactly how much importance is to be attached to this explanation it is hard to say. According to this informant, the insult lay not in going to the fireplace or taking a firebrand, but in asking for it. The insult apparently consists in not taking it for granted that anyone entering the lodge was permitted to do what he wished. In other words, his asking was a breach of etiquette. 614 372 689 [576]

The typical method of burial in the Thunderbird clan was scaffold burial. It has long since been discontinued.

The burial customs seem to have been the same for all the clans. It may, however, be that in former times there were slight differences. For instance, in the first version of the Thunderbird clan origin myth the statement is made that the branch of a tree was placed at the grave and a small stick, painted red, attached to it. The author has no recollection of ever hearing the same statement made in connection with any other of the clans. 614 764 [184]

There are four songs associated with the Thunderbird clan. These are supposed to have been sung by the clan ancestors when they came to this earth, and are now always sung when a member of the clan dies, and on a few other occasions. 614 [533]

According to one informant, members of the Elk, Warrior, Deer, and Buffalo clans acted as servants to the Thunderbird clan on various occasions. The same informant also claimed that the Warrior clansmen took specific orders from the Thunderbird clansmen when on the warpath. [554]

According to another informant, Thunderbird marks at death are a half circle on the forehead, made with charcoal. The proper marking is, however, that shown in plate 46. [765]

Two dog names used in the Thunderbird clan are obtained—*pi*nkirutega; ka-iwakitca*ga.*

The only feast specifically connected with the Thunderbird clan was the so-called chief feast, of which a description will be found on page 318. One of the divisions of the war-bundle feast is often considered as sacred to the thunderbird, but this is always the deity thunderbird, not the ancestor of the clan. [796] [776]

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In this lodge they claimed that prisoners were 614
confined and certain tribal regalia deposited. The informants were 727
not, however, at all clear about these facts, some even denying that there was a Warrior lodge and insisting that prisoners were confined in the Bear or Soldier lodge.

According to one informant the Warrior and Bear clans could give 614
each other orders that had to be obeyed.

The members of the Warrior clan claimed that all the members of the clan were warriors and did not have to fast in order to obtain [785]
the right of starting out on a war party. This was vigorously denied by the members of the other clans, who referred to this claim with derision. There seems, however, to be no reason for questioning the fact that the clan had a special lodge and that it was intimately connected with war functions. Exactly what these were it is quite impossible to state, as they have not been exercised for a very long time.

The first two clan songs are given on page 220. The clan facial decoration, used only at burial, and which were supposed to be [302]
marks of recognition in the spirit land, are as follows: A red line alternating with a black and another red line across the forehead, and a red line around the mouth. One informant claimed that only the three marks on the forehead were necessary, and that in times of war blood was used for the red marks (pl. 46).

According to an informant of the Thunderbird clan, the Warrior clan functions were as follows:

The Warrior clan's position in the tribe is that of general warrior. He can kill an enemy at any time without breaking any of the rules of the tribe. Every other [721]
clansman who wishes to go on the warpath must fast and be blessed by the spirits with specific blessings before he can do this.

There may have been a special feast associated with the Warrior clan, but the author never heard of it. The clan possessed a number [778]
of war bundles.

### ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

In the beginning, Earthmaker made four men. Then he sent 614
them to the earth. Within Lake, there, they landed and they alit 539
on the branch of a tree. There were four branches and each one alit 776
on one branch. And then on the earth they jumped and started walking toward the east. There they erected a camping place. There they started the fire. It was the principal fire. Then they started to look for food, but they were unable to find any. So the second brother was sent, but he was not able to get any animal, but he brought a man. Because he brought it, for that reason, the first male child we have shall be called *He-who-eats-humans*. Then the second one, him whom they called the warrior, was sent. Thus it

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614 539 776 was. And then all of them went toward the chief's lodge. They walked as chiefs, all four of them. The four of them went there. The chief's lodge was an oval lodge, and there they entered.

The Snake clansman was the one appointed to get the food. He went after the food. It was an Eagle-people feast. Two fish the Snake clansman brought, and with these the Eagle chief gave a feast. The Deer clan acted as attendants. Thus they ate the fish. And when they were finished with the eating, on either side, they left the head and the tail of the fish. This they left of their meal. "And if we have a dog we will call him *Leaves-fish-on-both-ends*," they said. Then they sat down. As they were sitting some one peeped in. It was the dog. Only his nose he stuck in. Then they said, "Whose nose does it look like?" So the chief spoke. "If we ever have a dog and if we wish to keep it permanently, *Whose-nose-does-it-look-like*, we will call it.

Then all of a sudden their bodies began to be different and their feathers began to look as if they were worn off. They were about to enter the chief's lodge. Then the chief passed the fire to the Deer clan and when they were through the lodge was purified with [783] the incense of smoking cedar leaves. Then again into the very long lodge they entered. This was at Red Banks. Then the upper people taught the lower people the things to make them good. Thus Earth-maker ordained everything, and as he ordered, so it was. That is the way they were. Holy they were. And all (of my clan!) lived as chiefs. This is all that I was taught.

614 533

CLAN SONGS

*First song*

The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.

*Second song*

The fire they started.
The fire they started.
The fire they started.
The fire they started.

## EAGLE AND PIGEON CLANS

614 No information was obtained about either of these clans. The Pigeon clan has been extinct for some time and only a few survivors of the Eagle clan are left. Neither of these clans seems ever [778 796] to have been of great importance. They had war bundles and an Eagle feast is mentioned.

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614 have been subjected to literary and shamanistic remodeling. Only
173 the shorter accounts show in their subject matter and presentation certain affinities to the origin myths of the other clans, the longer ones being entirely different. Another cause for these marked differences may lie in the circumstance that since the longer accounts were associated with semi-esoteric ceremonies, the war-bundle feasts, they were known to but few individuals in the clan, whereas the shorter legends could be learned by anyone who chose to pay for
614 them. To this must also be added the fact that presumably some of the accounts current were based on hearsay knowledge.

[554] The Bear clan was, next to the Thunderbird clan, the most im-
[361] portant in the tribe. Its lodge was either in the center of the village, opposite that of the Thunderbird clan, or at the extreme end, depending upon the scheme of village organization accepted as
[727] correct. In it were confined the prisoners of war and the insignia of office possessed by the clan, such as the so-called standards, really crooks, and the so-called *namazinizini*. Some individuals also claimed
[513] that unmarried men were allowed to sleep in the lodge, although they
345] were not clear as to whether they did this in order to guard the prisoners confined there or simply used it as a club house.

The clan songs are given on page 235. The same songs are used
[533] when gathering the clansmen together to select soldiers.

Apart from the war bundle or war bundles, the Bear clan possessed
614 three insignia—a war club of a definite shape, the curiously whittled
●778 baton of authority called *namazinizini*, and the crooks used in battle called *hoke're'u*. Whenever the clan was exercising any of its functions the leader would always hold in his hands the *namazinizini*.

The functions of the clan were probably the most important in the tribe and were entirely disciplinary. The author obtained the following description from an old Winnebago:

614 The Bear clansmen are the soldiers or sergeants-at-arms of the tribe. They have
625 complete control of everything concerning discipline. Whenever the Winnebago are traveling or moving (i. e., on their various seasonal moves), the Bear clansmen lead, and wherever they decide to stop, there the leader would put his stick in the ground and the other Bear clansmen would do the same, arranging them all in a row pointing toward the direction in which they were going. The main body of the tribe would follow at a certain distance. No member of the tribe would dare pass ahead of the row of sticks. If, for instance, the tribe was on the fall move and traveling toward a country in which there was plenty of game, should any individual go back and around the sticks in order to kill game on his own account, the soldiers (Bear clansmen) would, as soon as he was detected, go over to his lodge and burn it up with all its contents and break all his dishes. The only thing they would spare would be his life and that of the other members of his family. If the one who had transgressed the rules made any attempt at resistance he would be severely whipped. If he refused to submit to this and took up his fire arms to fight, the soldiers would stand there calmly, but the moment he made an attempt to shoot they would kill him. In such a case nothing would be said either by the rest of the tribe or his relatives about

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arrange to have your victim die immediately, or, if you wish, to 734
have him suffer for a long time, by becoming paralyzed.

This same medicine is used in a similar way in times of scarcity of food. The people offer a shaman tobacco and he would do the following: He would take his medicine bundle and walk till he came to the footprints of a bear. Then he would follow the tracks of the bear till he came to his lair. Here he would open his medicine bag, dip the striped feather in the medicine, and sing for some time. When he has finished he makes certain sounds and stabs the bear's footprints. Wherever the bear happened to be at that time, he would not be able to walk, and the people would soon overtake him. For that reason this medicine is valued very highly.

This medicine is also used when one desires something belonging to another. All that is necessary to do in such a case is to use the songs accompanying the medicine. Then all the things one has coveted would immediately be brought. For this reason they thought a good deal of this medicine.

If ever anyone uses it in gambling, he will win. [525]

If again he casts his thoughts upon women, then the power of this medicine would go in their direction, and he will lose while gambling. All the women will, however, like him. He can marry whomsoever he wishes. The same thing will occur when a woman uses this medicine. If she casts her thoughts upon men, she will become foolishly enamored of them. For that reason the old people used to forbid women to use it.

This medicine bundle is also used on the warpath. If a man uses 778
it upon himself and rushes upon the enemy, all those who are in 726
front of him will suddenly find themselves unable to move. A 789
person who goes on a warpath, after he has carefully applied the medicine to himself, is invulnerable. It is impossible to kill him, for no bullets can penetrate his body.

This medicine was likewise used in hunting for bear, and deer 778
could easily be killed with it. Even those who are not accustomed 224
to hunting could kill game easily if they used it.

Many of the medicines mentioned above were obtained from the 756
man who was blessed with the stench-earth medicine. Everyone believed that the cures effected by him with this medicine were real. They believed that this medicine could cure them, and, indeed, it did cure them. It was this man, too, who originated the stench-earth medicine feast. It is a very sacred feast, considered more 756
sacred than any other feast among the Winnebago. When the 796
feast is given, an entire deer is boiled and cut into pieces much larger than any one person could eat. Nevertheless the host orders those whom he has invited to leave nothing upon the plate. Should [264]
any guest leave anything upon his plate, the host would give him a

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776 posed to be at eternal enmity with him, and for that reason he is regarded by most of the Winnebago as a sort of a mixed deity, partly evil and partly good, but always to be feared and capable of bestowing great blessings on man. Owing to the fact that he has become [614] identified as the clan ancestor of one of the most important Winnebago clans, he has undergone a partial rehabilitation.

The Water-spirit is an important figure in the older myths, and in them seems to be identified with the bad spirits. The attitude of the Winnebago toward him is full of inconsistencies. He is evil, yet his [778] "bones" are the most priized possessions of man on account of the remarkable power with which they are endowed. He is an evil spirit, yet according to an apparently old myth (the Traveler) one of the Water-spirits is the spirit deity in control of the earth.

In addition to these marked anthropomorphic and theromorphic spirit deities, the Winnebago, as mentioned before, have a large number of vague spirits, like fire, light, etc., and a legion of animal spirits. The latter show some interesting transitions extending all the way from purely nonspirit heroic animals to distinct spirits, conceived of as animal in shape but noncorporeal. In many cases it is, of course, [825] quite impossible to say how marked the "spirit" nature of the animal is, because it often depends on who is looking at it. To the ordinary nonreligious Winnebago the hare is mainly an heroic animal; to the religious Winnebago or a member of the medicine dance he is a spirit-animal or even a spirit-deity. In the same way different conceptions are held about the nature of the animal clan ancestors, some thinking of them as heroic animals and others as generalized noncorporeal spirit-animals and spirit-deities. Wherever guardian spirits are animals they also become noncorporeal spirit-animals. One of the reasons given by the Winnebago for the fact that the different guardian spirit-animals do not object to the killing of animals of their own species is because, in killing a bear a Winnebago is not killing his guardian spirit, the bear, for the latter is a generalized spirit-bear in control of all the bears who appear on earth.

In a number of cases it is not at all difficult to trace the development of a trickster hero, an anthropomorphic hero, or an heroic animal, into a spirit to whom offerings are made. Thus, for instance, [782] kettles and often buckskins are offered to *wak'djepk'a'ga*, hare, and the twins, at the war-bundle feasts.

### The Power and Localization of the Spirits

According to the Winnebago, spirits possess the power of bestowing upon man all those things that are of socio-economic value to him. These may vary from such very important economic things as rain

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He wanted me to fast all the time. I would therefore, to please him, 159 787
fast off and on through the winter. The longest I ever fasted at any one time was six days. I was blessed by a yellow snake who lived near Medway, Wis. It was at that place that I fasted one 159
winter. The spirit-snake that lives there blessed me with life and 787
the right to draw bad blood from sick people (i. e., "cup blood"). 776
These blessings are truly efficacious, but after they have been handed 756
down to the next generation they lose their power (unless renewed). That same winter, not long before the beginning of spring, I fasted again for four days and early on the morning of the fourth day as I was walking along a ravine, crying and putting myself in a "pitiable condition," so that the spirits might take pity upon me, some one came to meet me. Up to this time, in spite of all my exertions and fastings, I had not been blessed by any of the spirits. The one who was coming toward me was walking very fast and when I stopped to look at him I saw that he was a man. His entire body was painted red and he wore an eagle feather on his head and garters around his legs. When he came near to me he said: "Human, I bless you. You may now go home and eat (i. e., break your fast). Every day I will bring the blessing of life to you. This also (I wish to tell you), if you think of me when you are in any difficulty, you will pass through it safely. The sick you will be able to heal through the blessing I give you. I am the Sun. Even if a day is cloudy, then know that I am keeping life for you beyond the clouds."

### HOW Y. FASTED AND WAS BLESSED WITH A WAR-BUNDLE [a]

Our war-bundle is eight generations old. In the beginning my 614
clansmen had no war-bundles. Whenever they had war, they had 778
nothing from which to receive strength. The only powerful possession they had was life. That was the only thing they carried when on the warpath. Soon they discovered that other clans had war-bundles and that they received them by fasting for them. So 787
K'erex u"'sak'a started to fast for one. He fasted from early 778
autumn until summer and he received a blessing. Then he went to his father and told him, "Father, you told me to fast. Let us now go and see with what I have been blessed." So the old man accompanied his son.[b] When the old man got there he found a snake dried and dressed up and standing in an upright position. The snake had long hairs on its back, scattered here and there. The father on seeing it said, "My son, this is really too great. If you accept this and carry it with you on the warpath, you will not leave any human beings alive (i. e., you will always want to go on the

[a] This is the account of the origin of a war-bundle claimed to be eight generations old.

[b] Evidently the spirit had told him to go to a certain place and that there he would find certain objects, namely, the material objects with which he had been blessed.

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787
778 warpath)." The son therefore refused it, and went out to fast
[776] again. Then the spirits blessed him again and again he went to his father and asked to accompany him to the wilderness and see what blessings he had obtained. When they came to the wilderness[9] they found two wild cats (already stuffed) standing there and facing in opposite directions. Then the old man told his son again not to accept this blessing because it would be too powerful,[10] but the young man said, "This is the last blessing that I am going to get," and accepted it.

(What follows was obtained at a later time from the same informant and relating to the same blessing.)

The first blessing K'erex'u'ʼsak'a received was from the Thunderbirds. They dropped a flute and two feathers from heaven. But these he refused. The second blessing was also from the Thunderbirds. This time they told him to go to a certain place where he could see them himself. He went there and found four men sitting there broiling meat. They gave him a piece of meat. It was only when he fasted for the fourth time that he was blessed with a war-bundle.

WHAT G. OBTAINED IN HIS FAST

159 I never fasted much. I only fasted three times and I don't believe
776 that I ever fasted for more than two days at a time. However, I
777 never was blessed with anything (i. e., any object). I knew, however, that I came from the home of the Thunderbirds (i. e., that I was
[775] a reincarnated Thunderbird). My spirit father and mother[11] were Thunderbirds. The Thunderbirds are beings whose glance can penetrate any object. For that reason I also can do it. For instance, I have seen a man through a tree. This I did once during a thunderstorm when a man had sought shelter behind a tree.

[9] Wherever the word "wilderness" is used all that is meant is an uninhabited place far away from the village.

[10] By "too powerful" the old man means that the feasts, offerings, etc., that would be necessary for so great a blessing would be quite beyond the means or the ability of the young man. It is to be remembered
[782] that the bestowal of a blessing does not in itself insure its efficacy, but that this can only be secured if the proper offerings and the proper emotional attitude accompany its subsequent use. Evidently the old man did not feel that the young fellow would be equal to the task. I have been told by many of the older Winnebagoes that when the old system was still intact the older people always made it a point to warn
[786] impetuous youths against taking upon themselves responsibilities that they might possibly not be able to fulfill, a very excellent device, it seems to me, for not multiplying the chance of failure and consequently the necessity of explaining them. However, one need not believe that this is the rule for the old customs.

[11] He says "spirit father and mother" because when he lived with the Thunderbirds he was, of course, a spirit. It is quite impossible to determine whether he means that he was a human being who was living among the spirits as a spirit or whether he was a spirit who had desired to be born or reincarnated as a human
[776 being. Originally, of course, there were no human beings, but only spirits, of whom a portion became
775 permanently transformed into human beings. However, from very ancient times some claim more than these reincarnations, so that he can obviously not be referring to the primitive condition and is either referring to the fact that he is a Thunderbird residing temporarily on this earth, or, and this would be the more common form, a human being who lived for some time as a Thunderbird and then returned to earth. In the latter case one would expect him to obtain great blessings in his fast, and the fact that he did not and had nevertheless such great powers suggests that he is really a reincarnated Thunderbird.

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159 So they spoke to him: "Whenever
787 you give this ceremony, no matter what blessing you ask, we will
776 bestow it upon you, when you offer tobacco. A flute you must also
[534 keep holy. You must make it yourself, so that it remains sacred."
[778 They also told him to make a war bundle. The Buffalo chief told
825] him this. So he made one out of a buffalo head and a buffalo tail. These he made sacred so that people might offer tobacco to them. This was done long ago and yet they still do it.

Then they told him that four differently colored buffaloes would bless him— a white one, a black one, a red one, and a yellow one.

After a while he was blessed the second time. This time the spirits came after him from above and took him to the home of a spirit buffalo. This is the one that blessed him.

"Earthmaker has placed me here," said the spirit, "and he has
[726 given me control of many things. Grandson, I bless you. I am in
782] control of war power, and if you ever go on the warpath don't forget me. If you pour a pipeful of tobacco for me before you go into battle, the enemy will only be able to shoot your shadow." Thus he spoke to him. "I will take your body, and in that way it will only be your shadow that the enemy will try to shoot with all their strength. You will be without a body, and how then can they hit you, being without a body?" This is what the spirit told him. So, therefore, whenever he went on the warpath it was impossible to kill him. For the spirit had said, "I am also in control of life and I will give you your life back, that you may control it. The spirits
[796 have given you a tobacco-pouring feast and whenever you give it,
782] remember that I wish to smoke also. When you pour tobacco for me I will grant you whatever you ask. If you ask for war, or if you ask for life, I will accept your tobacco. As long as this earth lasts I will smoke your tobacco and accept the kettle of food that you place on the fire for me."

Thus he spoke to him. The man, however, still kept on fasting, and finally the spirits came for him again. There in the middle of the earth lived a buffalo-ghost. There he went and the buffalo-ghost said to him: "I also bless you. You were given counsel and I who am a buffalo also counsel you. I am in control of many things. Earthmaker placed me here to live and he put me in control of many things. Human, look at me," he said. The man looked at him. Then he saw that his body was covered with flattened bullets. "Thus you will be," said the ghost to him. "It will be impossible to kill you, and you will attain to old age, and when you get tired of living you may do as you please. I give you the privilege of controlling yourself." Then he gave him a song and he caused him to see a war prize, a wampum. After a while he spoke to him as follows:

"I also will always smoke at your feast, and if a kettle is ever put on the fire for me, I will be thankful to you. Whatever the people

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ask of me I will always take it into consideration. If they ask for 159
war or if they ask for life, remember that I have been given control 787
of these things." Thus spoke the buffalo-ghost. There he received 776
all the things with which he was blessed.

In the course of his life he made use of all his blessings. His first 159
victory occurred when he went on the warpath for the first time. 787
He had joined a war party and a fight occurred toward the evening 776
of the same day. As he was walking along he suddenly saw a gun 726
directed against him at close range. He jumped right and left and in that way escaped being shot. Then the enemy tried to capture the one who had been blessed by the buffalo, holding him tightly by the arm. But he struck the enemy twice against an object and tore his stomach open. Then he walked away. As he was going he thought to himself, "Why did I not kill him outright?" So he went back with the intention of doing this, but as he approached the man the latter directed a gun against him. Thinking, however, that it was not loaded, he did not dodge, and he was shot. His breast was filled with shot and he was killed. But he did not remain dead long. He soon came to consciousness and sat up, uttering sounds like a buffalo.

Then he remembered that a buffalo ghost had blessed him. He had indeed said to him, "When you are about to fight do not forget me." He remembered this, so he exerted his power. All the blood that was in his stomach he vomited forth and felt better. Just then one of his relatives came along and asked him, "How have you been getting along?" and he answered, "I have killed one. There lies his body. Take his scalp for me." "All right," said his relative, and did what he had been told, and brought it to him, saying, "Here it is." A [727] horse was there also, and this the relative likewise led away and started back to (the camp). When he met the war leader, the latter asked him, "How have you been making out?" He answered, "I give you these trophies," and handed the leader the scalp and the horse. "Ah, it is good," he said, and put a wampum belt on him. Then the war leader sang a song and started to run, and the buffalo-blessed one reminded himself of his blessing and went back also. He was all shot to pieces. But he did not die, for he had been blessed with power, so how could he die? The buffalo ghost he had seen with flattened bullets in his belt had fulfilled his promise, and the wampum belt that he had seen in his fasting had now become true.

He went to many wars after this, but he was never harmed. He [756] doctored many people and caused them to have more life. After a while he made a war bundle consisting of a flute that he had con- [778] structed himself, a buffalo tail, and a buffalo head. Then he made offerings to them. These many things he made sacred. Since then buffalo feasts have been given.

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PART III

# CHAPTER XII

## CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

### INTRODUCTION

The Winnebago had four types of ceremonies: clan ceremonies, 796
in which only members of the clan could participate; religious societies, for which only people who had obtained blessings from the same spirits were eligible; the Medicine Dance, in which only initiated individuals could take part; and a semipermanent organization like the *hok'ire're* dance, in which only individuals who were returning from a war party and had counted coup could participate. In this grouping we do not include ordinary feasts, such as the feasts connected with different medicines and the pleasure dances.

Every clan seems to have had a clan war-bundle feast (often called 796
winter feast) and also a specific clan feast. We have reason to suspect 614
that the war-bundle feasts were originally private feasts given by 778
the owner of a war bundle. Then as the war bundles became of great importance to the clan to which the owners belonged, they were after a while regarded as clan possessions. But even at the present time, while many would contend that the war bundle belonged to the clan as such and could not be alienated, everyone realizes that it is the property, whether held in trust or not, of a certain individual, and that he can, up to a certain point, do what he wishes with it. For a detailed analysis of a winter or war-bundle feast see page 427.

The clan feasts were specific feasts at which offerings were made to 796
the clan animal. A good description of one is that of the Snake 614
clan on page 325. [782]

Perhaps the most characteristic ceremonies of the Winnebago were those of secret societies in which membership was dependent upon blessings from one and the same spirit. There were at least four of 575
these—the society of those who have been blessed by the night spirits, 796
the society of those who have been blessed by the buffaloes, the society [776]
of those who have been blessed by ghosts, and the society of those who have been blessed by grizzly bears.

In order to prevent any misunderstanding with regard to the buffalo societies, it might be well to point out that there were three of them—

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614 796 782 the members of my clan, sufficient blessings to guide us all safely through life, and to make our lives pleasant. I will not tell the [537] origin myth (of our clan) because it is sacred and it must not be told without the proper ceremony, for the telling would then injure an individual. Besides there are many clans beside our own represented here and it is not proper that these should hear it."

614 796 He then speaks of the four ancestral bear-beings who were created in the beginning.

When the feast is ready one of the Wolf clansmen gives four soldier whoops. Then the fire is allowed to die out, and as soon as the lodge is in complete darkness the feasters begin to eat. Before [533] eating, the host sings four songs. These are the clan songs and are only sung at these feasts or on the occasion of the death of a clansman.

Those who partake of food at the feast may be members of any clan except the Bear clan. The members of the latter clan do not eat at their own feast.

[764 415] Everyone attending must bring his own wooden spoon and must use it with his left hand. There are four wooden dishes in which the food is served. These are arranged in the lodge in a certain manner.

The guests sit around these dishes and eat with their own spoons.

[805] The feast is given in the first bear month. Some one generally watches the moon and as soon as the new moon is visible the feast begins. The feathers and the tobacco to be offered are placed in four little troughs made of basswood bark, each about 1 foot long. These are then placed on the south side of the fireplace.

When the meal is over the attendant or Wolf clansman generally says a few words of thanks to the host and then the host in turn thanks those who have participated and tells them that the feast is now over. All now pass out, the one next to the host leaving first and the rest in succession, the host himself remaining until the end.

[778 782] When the feast is over the tobacco and the feathers are taken away from the lodge and carried in a southern direction to a place (under a tree) that has been especially cleared and sanctified. Any person may thereafter go there, offer tobacco, and ask for long life.

614 796 537 782 Informant, member of the clan (male): "Well, soldiers, your moon is about to appear. It is good. So come forth, for it is at this time that the spirits asked to be remembered. Let us send, on this occasion, to the place at which we all originated, whatever we possess of wealth. This is what the spirits asked of old. Let us therefore put the kettle on and prepare the feast.

"This is the way in which we prepare the feast. I offer only one small kettle. Here is my offering. I pray that what I offer may suffice and bring enough blessings from the spirits to include all the

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The soldier dance is a hop up and down with both feet and in no 796
particular order, anywhere around the singers. It is held in the 614
open air. [535]

SOLDIER DANCE SONGS

I 796
Manaap'e'ra na"ji"winâ. 614
Soldiers get up.

II 533
Waja"nija" tcesigi'ji na"ji"a"ijâ. 539
Something difficult get ready.
(I. e., whenever there is anything difficult to do you must get ready.)

III
Manaap'e'ra newine'na" hu'nagiredra.
Soldiers I am he whom they spoke of.

IV
Manaap'e'ra hi'ja" wine'na".
Soldier one I am.
(I. e., I am a soldier, and if there is anything to do I'll do it.)

## Ceremony of Uangeru

(BROOING CEREMONY)

A dummy is made of grass and dressed with whatever objects the 735
maker wants to get. If he wants a horse he puts a bridle crosswise
around the body of the dummy; if he wants clothes, he dresses him [532]
up in Indian clothes. Then the man places this dummy anywhere near a gathering, or where he expects a gathering to take place. He sits near it. As soon as any warrior sees the dummy he goes over to it and either kicks or strikes the man who made it, giving him at the same time one of the objects he wanted. Any person may do the same. They may not stop kicking the man until some warrior who had at some time or another cut up an enemy in war cuts up the dummy. Then all stop, and as soon as his bruises permitted him, the man would get up and pick up the gifts brought to him.

## Feast to Buffalo Tail

A grandfather of mine called Cokeboka fasted at Neceda, Wis. 787
There he was blessed by a young buffalo bull calf belonging to a herd. The calf said, as the herd went by, "Father, keep going in the road; mother, keep going in the road." He meant a warpath instead of the road they were going in. The man was to go on a warpath, from which he would return victorious.

They used to make offerings to this tail alone, apart from the war [782
bundle. The braided grass was to be used for smoking. The feast 778]
is given in spring after the grass grows up, and in midwinter. Ground 527
corn is boiled in making the feast.

## Kikre Waci and Tcebokona"k Dances

There is a pleasure dance called *kikre waci* and a dance called 535
*tcebokona"k* (wearing buffalo headdresses). The latter is of Sioux 177
origin.

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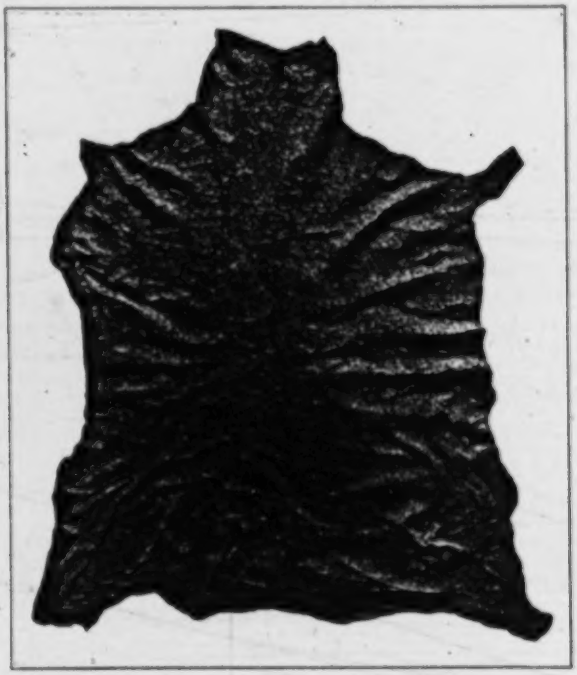
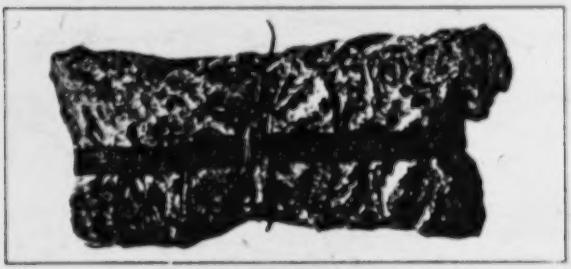


a. THUNDERBIRD WAR BUNDLE



b. HAWK WAR BUNDLE

[Facing p. 428 (A)]

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CONTENTS OF THUNDERBIRD WAR BUNDLE

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CONTENTS OF HAWK WAR BUNDLE

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four warriors who have counted coup on the last warpath form the units of organization. The peculiarity of the War-bundle Feast is that it belongs not merely to one of these types but to two of them. 796x 571

The war bundles were originally family possessions and were, in the opinion of the writer, only secondarily associated with the clan as such. They represent a complex of blessings received from various spirits who are supposed to control the fortunes of war. They were handed down from one generation to another in the same family, but not necessarily to the eldest son, and could as a matter of default pass out of the hands of the immediate family. The individual who received the war bundle was that one who had by his interest, knowledge, character, and accomplishments demonstrated to the full satisfaction of the elder generation, more specifically to the elder generation represented by his father and close male relatives of his father's generation, that he was capable of continuing the ceremonials in a proper manner. It follows from this that he would have to be a well-known warrior. Now, it is customary among all the woodland tribes for a warrior who is about to start on a warpath to give a feast to which he invites all the other warriors, from among whom he, of course, has to draw his recruits; and at this feast he explains the nature of the contemplated warpath and his warrant – i. e., the thoroughness of the specific blessings he has received – for starting it. 778 [422] [787] [428] 554 778 [721 527]

In other words, we will have to picture to ourselves the war-bundle feast as originally a gathering of warriors preparatory to the starting out of a war party, in which the part of the host was always taken by the leader of the prospective war party. All of the well-known warriors were likely to have war bundles, and thus the basis for the development of what is, to all intents and purposes, a society of those who had war bundles was always present potentially. It is believed, however, that at the time the Winnebago culture was still in the formative stage this aspect of the gathering was entirely secondary, and that primarily it was a gathering of warriors for the immediate purpose of going on a warpath. 796x 721 575

It may perhaps be interesting to go into some details of how this "society" aspect of a gathering of warriors developed. This development probably took two lines first, a religious one, and secondly, one of definite organization. It would be quite erroneous to say that it took these lines of evolution, because it is in the nature of societies thus to develop. This originally temporary organization took these lines of development because of the presence in the war-bundle ritual of two factors—first, fasting experiences associated with the same spirits, and, second, the influence of the clan organization.

Only a small number of spirits were specifically associated with success in war, and these were Disease-giver, Thunderbirds, Sun, and the Night Spirits. [776]

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the Night Spirits. All the warriors who possessed war bundles would of necessity have to receive blessings from these, although in different cases one or the other may have bestowed the more important powers.

The prominence given to the Thunderbird in the first and to the Night Spirits in the second division give the ceremony a most marked resemblance to societies like the Night Spirit society. In the second division it is even essential to have been blessed by the Night Spirits in order to play a certain rôle. There would thus develop the consciousness of community of interest due to the fact that as individuals they were bound together by blessings received from the same spirits, a feeling that was certain to be still further strengthened since, in all likelihood, most of the possessors of war bundles belonged to societies where this actually was the common bond. The religious and ceremonial aspect would thus of necessity be reinforced. The prayers for success on the warpath of course always existed, but as the extraneous religious and ceremonial influences became stronger and more insistent and as—and this should never be forgotten—the pursuit of war became less and less important, owing to the breaking down of the culture consequent upon the advent of the whites, these extraneous factors became, if not dominant at least almost equal in importance to the historically older aspect; and our original gathering of warriors, while still remaining a gathering of warriors, also became a ceremonial organization, in which offerings were made to the entire Winnebago pantheon of spirits. The great war spirits were still all-important, but their position was contested by so distinctive a peace deity as Earthmaker and such deities as Earth, Moon, and Water. The prayers for success in war were perhaps still the most insistent, but prayers for life, not life merely that success in war may be longer, but prayers for the whole content of life, were offered up. Disease-giver was appealed to not merely to bestow upon man the greatest of all war honors, killing an enemy right in the midst of his tribesmen, but also to ward off disease from the supplicants.

Still, as great as have been these extraneous influences, the character of the feast as originally one purely connected with war comes out in numerous ways in the association, for instance, of war powers with Earthmaker, Moon, and Earth, and significantly enough, in the absence of the more specific religious associations such as are met with in the Medicine dance.

Let us turn now to the development of the organization of the feast. The development of a fixed type of organization is not absolutely necessary. Societies may exist only for certain occasions, such as the return from a warpath, like the Hôk'ixe're dance or preparatory to the starting of a war party, and be practically nonexistent afterwards. Such are the temporary war feasts of the Ojibway, for instance. However, one all important circumstance prevented this

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among the Winnebago, and that was the strong development of clan consciousness among them. A man was first and foremost a member of his clan, and whatever he did redounded to the credit of his clan. This clan consciousness was due to the strong individuality the more important clans possessed. They had their own traditions, functions, and customs, and each clan was quite ignorant of the customs of the other. This clan organization was extremely old and, for that reason, it is not very likely that the war bundle developed before the clan organization had matured, and from being originally the private possession of a family, became subsequently associated with the clan. It is more likely that the war bundle developed after the clan organization had fully matured, but that it remained personal property. However, owing to the fact that the possessor was always an important man, there must always have been a consciousness of a certain proprietary ownership on the part of the clan in the particular war bundle within its midst. This perhaps accounts for the fact that while the bundle can pass out of the hands of a certain family, it can not pass into the hands of another clan. Subsequently the idea developed that a family was merely the custodian of the bundle for the clan. Such seems to be the popular conception among the Winnebago to-day, and it may have represented the popular conception when the Winnebago culture was still intact. I do not believe, however, that such a view would have been accepted by the family in possession of the war bundle or by the learned class in general.

The fact that there was as a rule but one war bundle in each clan does not mean that it was developed originally through the influence of clan consciousness, although there is reason to believe that some of the war bundles arose in this way, in imitation of "clan" bundles that already existed. The reason for the small number of war bundles is to be sought in the fact that there was a very small number of individuals possessed of the necessary qualifications, and that it was probably originally associated with villages or groups of villages.[4] Whatever were the reasons for the limitation in the number of war bundles in each clan, it unquestionably strengthened the idea of clan ownership. This idea must have been powerfully reinforced again by those war bundles that actually arose out of a clan-ownership impulse. If, therefore, the actual owners resent this claim of clan proprietorship both by reason of actual possession, of inheritance and consciousness of the sacrifices and expense they and their ancestors have incurred in maintaining the ceremonies connected with these bundles it is nevertheless a fact that their viewpoint is probably wrong in so far as it is supposed to represent the entire truth, either now or in the past. The actual unit of organization found at the feast is the clan and there, at any rate, the war bundle is a clan palladium. Perhaps

[4] This statement is made provisionally.

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614 this twofold interpretation really represents the war bundle in a two-
778 fold aspect, first apart from its association with the war-bundle feast and second from its association therewith.

That the clan is the unit of organization comes out clearly from the following facts: First, there are as many buckskins offered as there are clans; secondly, the order in which the guests are invited
[554] is determined by the reciprocal relations existing between the different clans; and, thirdly, by references in the speeches. That the clan unit, on the other hand, has influenced the ceremonial aspect of the feast is apparent from the fact that offerings are made to the clan animals. For example, in the following ceremony offerings are made to the Eagle and Wona'yire Uaąkcik, who seem to be of slight importance apart from their association with the clan.

x 796 The ceremonial unit in all Winnebago societies consists of four
[801] bands, four representing the sacred number, and the ritual consists of the passing of the paraphernalia from one to the other unit until
621 it returns to the host. The war-bundle feast corresponds to the
571 other societies in every respect, except that instead of four there are ten bands (with the band of the host, representing the eleven existing clans of the tribe). Had not the consciousness of the relation of the war bundle to the clan been so strong the ceremonial unit would probably have been found here, as it is found in all the other ceremonies.

x 796 Summing up, then, we may say that the war-bundle feasts represent a mixed type corresponding exactly to no other Winnebago ceremony, and that beginning as a war feast it developed in addi-
[575 tion some of the features of a secret society of the type exemplified
614] by the Night Spirit society, with a unit of organization based on the clan; and that finally it became a general feast of thanksgiving to the entire Winnebago pantheon.[1]

### CHARACTERIZATION OF THE SPIRITS MENTIONED IN THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST

776 All the spirits to whom offerings are made in the war-bundle feast are guardian spirits, with the exception of Earthmaker. Some of them are conceived of as being human, while others have animal forms, and still others have an indeterminate body. The peculiar spirit, Disease-giver, has a form of his own, his body being divided into two halves, one half dispensing death and the other life. Earthmaker has no form, and in the few cases that he has been known to bless individuals he always lets his presence be known by some sign. There is generally a difference between the conception of the spirit as such and the form that he is supposed to assume

[1] The order in which these aspects are enumerated is not to be taken as representing a direct line of evolution.

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myths is quite important, too, but there she has been changed from 776
a rather indifferent and at times hostile deity to a beneficent, all-loving Mother-earth.

*The Water.*—Generally known as nipa, water, but ritualistically as huŋge', chief. There is some doubt as to whether water or the Water Spirit is meant here. This is a deity in no way connected with war. He is most commonly associated with medicines, especially the [789]
famous "paint" medicines (wāse').

These are the more important spirits and the only ones to whom buckskins are offered in the following ceremony. The following are, however, also of considerable importance:

*Eagle.*—Always known as Traxcep, eagle. A powerful war deity [614]
and a clan animal.

*Pigeon Hawk.*—Always known as K'īrjk'īrī'sgera, pigeon hawk. A powerful war deity.

*Wōnayi're Čaŋkcik.*—A term difficult to translate, but meaning, in general, a terror-inspiring man. It refers, however, not to a human deity but to a bird that is supposed to be almost identical with the hawk. It is the name of one of the Winnebago clans. A powerful war deity.

*North Wind.*—Known as Waāī'regi hūhī'ra, Wind-that-is-in-the-pine-region. He is associated with war, but is not a very important deity.

*Black Hawk.*—Known as k'eredjŋ sep. What difference there is between this spirit and Great Black Hawk is not clear.

*Day.*—Known as hap, day or light. The term is used in rituals, especially in the medicine dance, with the meaning of life. He is very rarely sacrificed to and his mention in this particular performance of the Thunderbird war-bundle feast is merely an illustration of the fact that offerings could be made to any spirit.

In addition to the spirits mentioned above, offerings were made at different performances of the war-bundle feast to all the other spirits [782]
and even to heroes, like Trickster, Turtle, Hare, Bladder, Red-Horn, and the Twins. In the performance as given in the following account one great spirit is omitted, Hō'rok'a, meaning, literally, "Without horns." A buckskin is always offered to him, on which is painted a small bow and arrow. He is one of the important Winnebago deities, is supposed to be a Lilliputian, and controls many of the powers relating to hunting.

In order to avoid offending any spirit they always leave a portion of tobacco as an offering to those whose names they can not for the moment think of.

### DESCRIPTION OF THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST

The present war bundle has been in the family of B. for a number 778
of generations. Our informant obtained it directly from his father.

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●778 B. was not the eldest son, but, as mentioned before, the war bundle was always given to that son who manifested the greatest interest in it. When B. and his brothers were quite young their father took them aside one day and told them the stories connected with the war bundle and told them, in addition, that the one manifesting the [869] greatest interest would receive it. B. immediately started getting material for a feast, and this he would give to his father, who would then give a feast. This was repeated over and over again until B.'s father felt that B. knew enough about the ceremony to conduct it himself, after which he allowed him to take entire charge of it.

The war bundle contained the following objects:

The body of an eagle (teaxce'p).
The body of a hawk (k'eredjy'sep).
The body of an unidentified bird (waninkʻhlwjteakʻTʻzọkʻe).
The body of a pigeon hawk (kʻtrjkʻTʻrisge).
A deer-tail headdress (teasinte wakʻeʻre).
Eagle feathers (teaxce'p maçû').
Medicines (wase').
Flutes (hijû'jụk).
War club (namạ'tee).

[825] The birds' bodies were supposed to give the possessor, in times of war, the characteristics of these animals. The flutes were associated with different spirits and used to accompany certain songs during the ceremony proper. When blown during a fight, they were sup- [789 posed to paralyze the running powers of the enemy and thus make 726] him an easy prey. The deer-tail headdress, the eagle feathers, and the war club were all war paraphernalia and were always worn when on the warpath.

X 796 When the custodian of a war bundle decides to give a feast he has his nephews go out and kill as many deer as they can, for the larger the number of deer obtained the larger will be the number of spirits to whom they can make offerings. As a rule ten to eleven deer are killed, so that all the clans, or at least all that are still in existence, can be invited.

[202] After the deer have been killed active preparations are begun, the invitation sticks (nạnô'γọpa) are sent out, and the wood for the ceremonial lodge is gathered; and, lastly, old women who have [886] passed their climacteric are set to work on the buckskins and ordered to make them as white as possible. In the preparation of the lodge only the nephews, nieces, and wives of the participating men take part.

The night before the ceremony proper, the Sweat-Lodge ritual takes place.

When the buckskins have been thoroughly bleached they are brought into the lodge and given to the host, who proceeds to mark them in the following manner:

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The buckskin to be offered to Earthmaker is marked with a cross in green. It is quite possible that the association of the cross with Earthmaker is due to Christian influence. But if this actually has been the case it is far more likely that the Christian influence led not to the actual borrowing of the Christian cross, but rather to the identification of an old Winnebago ceremonial symbol, namely, the crossed lines representing the cardinal points, with the cross, and its association with Earthmaker (pl. 48). 796x 778 782 [77]

The buckskin to be offered to the Thunderbirds is marked with three semicircular lines, the first red, the second white, and the third blue, to represent a rainbow (pl. 48).

The buckskin to be offered to the Night Spirits is marked with four parallel lines in charcoal (pl. 48).

The buckskin to be offered to Disease-giver is marked by dipping the three middle fingers in red paint and impressing them 12 times upon the buckskin in three vertical columns, with four impressions in each column. In addition to this an eagle feather is tied to each corner of the buckskin (pl. 48).

The buckskin to be offered to the Sun is marked with an image of the sun in red (pl. 47).

The buckskin to be offered to the Moon is marked with an image of the moon in any of its phases in green (pl. 47).

The buckskin to be offered to South Wind is marked in the same way as that to Disease-giver, except that green paint is used. A red eagle feather is attached to each end of the buckskin (pl. 47).

The buckskin to be offered to the Morning Star is marked with an image of a star in black outline (pl. 47).

These are the spirits to whom buckskins are offered in the ceremony about to be described, but the other clans seem to show variations in some offerings. Thus, for example, the spirit called "Without-horns" (Hō'rok'a) receives the offering of a buckskin in some cases. The marking for him is always a bow and arrow in charcoal. In another case Fire and Turtle receive buckskin offerings. Their markings are pictures of fire and turtle.

While the host is busy thus marking the buckskins the attendants put the meat in the kettles and place the same on the various fireplaces. There are always one or two extra kettles prepared for the women and children. 796x

The lodge extends from east to west and has only one entrance, on the east end. The host sits to the left as you enter and opposite him sits the guest of honor, who is, of course, different in each clan, but in the ceremony to be described he belongs to the Bear clan. Then, in definite order, sit the other guests, each one opposite a fireplace. The women and children sit separated from the others at the extreme western end of the lodge (see fig. 38). [554]

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796 After the buckskins have been marked the host arranges them on
778 frames. The buckskin to Earthmaker is so arranged on its frame
782 that the head points upward; that to the Thunderbirds is so arranged that its head points toward the west; that to the Night Spirits, that its head points to the east; that to the Morning Star, that its head points to the east; and those to the Earth and Water, that their heads point downward. After they have been attached to the frame they are rolled up, and the ceremony can be said to have begun. Then the guests enter, no order being observed in the manner of entering. As soon as they have all taken their places, the oldest warrior belonging to the host's band is called upon to offer tobacco to the spirits. This he does by going to the main fireplace, offering up brief prayers, and at the conclusion of each one pouring tobacco into the fire. The first prayer is always to the fire itself.[9] When he is finished, the host takes the buckskins, unrolls them, and distributes them to the various guests. The buckskin for the Thunderbirds is always given to the guest of honor, and the others are given in the following rotation: Great Black Hawk, Disease-giver, South Wind, Earthmaker, Sun, Morning Star, Night Spirits, Moon, Earth, and Water. The buckskin to Earthmaker is assigned to the middle guest, but as he is the first guest to speak, the buckskin itself is hung on the center pole that is erected in the front portion of the lodge.

After the guests have received their buckskins they stand in their respective positions, holding the buckskin in one hand and some tobacco in the other. The host concludes his remarks, and then taking his flute, blows upon it. After this he sings two songs, accompanying himself with his gourd rattles. Then the buckskins are rolled up again, but in such a way that the markings still remain visible, and hung up just west of the first fireplace, with the exception of the Earthmaker's buckskin. The host now takes the war bundle, opens it, and places it at the foot of the center pole. He then makes the circuit of the lodge, pouring some tobacco into the hands of each invited guest. When this is finished, he pours some tobacco upon the war bundle and some into the fire and proceeds to offer prayers to all the spirits, asking each in turn for life and victory on the warpath. When he is through all the guests pour tobacco on the war
[358] bundle and into the fire. Children are often allowed to pour tobacco also, the attendants bringing them from the western portion of the lodge. After the offerings of tobacco are finished the offerings of buckskin are made. Then the basic ritual is started by the host. He takes the flutes, drum, and gourds and sings in his own place. There are many different sets of songs, and every time he starts a
[573] different set he first blows upon his flute. The songs for the Thunderbird have eight starting songs and six dancing songs. When the

[9] This prayer, for some unknown reason, is omitted in the following account. It was obtained, however, in connection with another account of the same ceremony.

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dancing songs are begun, all the men go to the war bundle and dance around it. The flute is continually blown during the dancing. Women may dance at their end of the lodge. The basic ritual is then continued. 796x 778 782 [534]

When the last starting song is finished the host rises and, ejaculating *ho* o—o, pours tobacco into the fireplace four times. Just when the food is about cooked four special songs are sung. Then the Thunderbird feast takes place. All the bones that have been left on the plate of the guest impersonating the Disease-giver are taken out by the host himself, carried in an eastward direction, and placed very carefully at the foot of some tree that has been especially selected. Tobacco and red feathers are poured upon these bones. The plates used by the same person are purified with arbor vitæ. The bones left on the plates of the other guests may be thrown anywhere, provided the ground on which they are scattered has been purified. When the feast is over the basic ritual is continued. When this is finished the first division of the ceremony is concluded. [783 824]

During the interval between the first and second divisions the attendants sweep the lodge and purify it with branches of arbor vitæ; and new kettles with meat are placed on the fireplaces. Then the host and guests enter. The host rises and distributes the buckskins again, and while he is doing this an attendant goes around the lodge and scatters swan feathers all over it. Some are even placed on the suspended kettles. The host, because he is going to sing Night Spirit songs, takes down the buckskin intended for that spirit, blackens his face with the embers of charcoal used in marking the buckskin, and puts some swan feathers on his head. Before the host starts singing the Night Spirit songs the pipestem is turned toward the east and the origin of the songs in question is told. Then the basic ritual is begun. When the dancing songs are being sung the guests may either go to where the war bundle lies and dance there or stay in their own places and dance. When the host has finished his part of the basic ritual, drum, gourds, flute, and tobacco are passed to the first guest, and when he is finished they are passed to the second and third guests. After that the basic ritual is for the time being discontinued and the ritual connected with throwing out of the buckskins intervenes, this in turn being followed by the Night Spirit feast. However, before the feast, as the drum, gourds, and flute are returned to the host, he has a kettle placed on the fire for the spirits living beneath the surface of the earth, and when the food in it has cooked he rises and sings paint songs (*wase'*). After the feast is over the basic ritual is continued. Some time before this ritual is finished the host takes his war bundle, wraps it up, and hangs it behind the place where he is sitting. When finally all the songs with the exception of four have been sung, the host calls upon some one with a very strong voice to give the war whoop four times. This the latter does, and after the last whoop all the guests join in. Then rising, all the guests dance out of the lodge and the ceremony is over. 796x 778 [783]

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took the material (the remains of the Water-spirit).[75] That it is good, they knew. Then she tried her medicine. The first time she did the following: Up above, almost near the sky, a hawk stood whirling around. The woman dipped her forefinger into the medicine and then she pointed it at the hawk and it fell dead; she made it fall through the top of a house; right in front of the woman it landed. She wanted to use it as a medicine bag. Then she dreamed that they had taken a man from his home that he might fast. She said to the man, "Put forth all your strength and don't try to come here." She also told his relatives to watch him. "To-night I am going to sing a paint song and if he comes he will die. Take care of him that he doesn't come." That night she sang a paint song and the man came running to her. She forbade him but he came anyhow and he died dancing. This medicine is called hit'ç'nuṇk'e medicine, referring to the name of another tribe, and that is how it acted. 796X 539X 787 789

"They (our ancestors) knew that it was good paint and he (one of them) tried to get him (the Hit'ç'nuṇk'e) to bless him with the paint (the latter had obtained from the woman). When they obtained it, they never used it in their own midst (i. e., among themselves). They made a medicine-bundle of it. The paint-medicine, it is good to use in war. That they knew very well. They were very sparing in their use of it (because it was so valuable). They placed it in their war-bundle. Paint-songs we are about to use, yet we are singing for the war-bundle. If, indeed we had paint medicine we would amount to something. We are not going to sing as if we thought ourselves in possession of paint-medicines nor will we sing them correctly. Yet if we knew only one, if we could (in singing this one) bring ourselves to the state of crying (it would be all right), it is said. That is why we say it."[76] (Paint song.) [778]

*Hoat's third speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. I know that I am causing you to famish with hunger, but we are doing this in an attempt to get the attention (of the spirits). One in control of death who dwells in the south[77] and who of himself possesses greater war power than all the other spirits that exist, blessed grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ṇxga. He is in control of life and in control of death. He met grandfather in the middle of the day and blessed him with war powers and life. He said (to our grandfather when he blessed him), "If I should ever go on the warpath, your descendants, as many as they are and wherever they live, I will not tread upon, should they get sick."[78] However, your posterity never will get sick. Should they ever have a bad illness, 796X 539X [776]

[75] The Winnebago believe that the "bones" of the mythical "Water-spirits" possess the most magical qualities when powdered and mixed up into medicines. All "paint medicines" are made of "Water-spirit bones." [776]

[76] All these sentences are, of course, expressions of ritualistic modesty.

[77] I. e., Dream-giver.

[78] Cf. note 38, p. 467, for explanation of these words.

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## The War-bundle Feast of the Thunderbird Clan

(SECOND VERSION)

x 796 614 773 [776] Informant, member of Thunderbird clan:[1] There were originally four warriors. The youngest one was the bravest and the most powerful. He claimed that his father was a Thunderbird and his mother a Night Spirit. He is the one who made the bundle about which we are going to speak.

x 796 [604] [574 281] [886] x 796 782 776

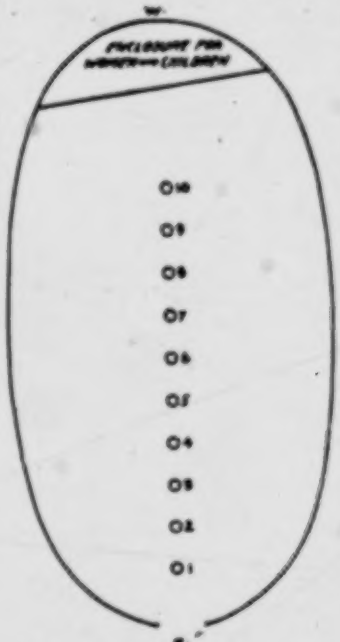


Fig. 38.—Plan of Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast. 1, Buckskin for earthmaker. 2, Buckskin for thunder-giver. 3, Buckskin for thunderbirds. 4, Buckskin for night-spirits. 5, Buckskin for morning star. 6, Buckskin for sun. 7, Buckskin for moon. 8, Buckskin for water-spirit. 9, Buckskin for earth. 10, Buckskin for bones.

The lodge (fig. 38) is prepared by the nephews and the women relatives of the host, generally his nieces and wives. The invited guests arrive toward evening, while the women are still preparing the buckskins. These buckskins are to be made as perfectly white as possible. Only those women who have passed their climacteric are permitted to do this. As soon as the buckskins are prepared the kettles are put on the fire. The buckskins are taken by the host and marked with the specific symbols associated with the different spirits. (For the markings, see pls. 47, 48.) These buckskins are then tied to a stick. That for Earthmaker is attached to the stick with the head pointing upward; that for the Thunderbird has the stick and the head of the buckskin facing the west; that for the Night has the stick and head of the buckskin facing east; that for the Star also faces east, as do all the others not mentioned. When the sticks have been prepared and the buckskins attached to them, the latter are rolled up upon the sticks. Whoever of the guests is the oldest feast-giver then arises and pours tobacco, first for the fire and then for all the other spirits. When they start the fire for the first time they use the old ceremonial fire sticks. With that the ceremony begins. When the old man is

x 796 782 [372 778]

[1] This is a generalized account.

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you can do so, and the women likewise can join, because we have 796x
538x
782
[562]
[231]
[554]
[778]
726
789
[224]
[325]
[534]
[262]

make up our bundle. To the dog that we have here, an offering of tobacco can be made." Thus speaking, he sings. After he has finished the song, someone specially called upon gives the war whoop, in which the rest join. In this manner they sing four times, and the ceremony ends. They have a dog around whose neck they tie a red rag, together with a bundle of tobacco, and to each of whose limbs they also tie a bundle of tobacco. This dead dog is to be placed wherever the bones that remain of the feast are buried, generally under some tree. It is supposed that the dog will go directly to the Disease-giver together with the tobacco and there be taken over by him.

*Notes on the Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant, member of the clan: Place of honor at the feast is given to the bravest man present. Scalps, etc., are always brought to those keeping the war bundle.

Contents of bundle: Black hawk (main thing), two wolf tails, buffalo tail, snake, weasel, three flutes—one red, one black, and one blue.

Black hawk used in time of war. If I were leading the war party I would carry it and it would be able to fly. It had a small bundle of medicine tied around the neck, on each wing and each leg. A red flute always went with it.

The two wolf tails could be taken on any warpath. It gives an individual the power of running. The medicine tied to it is to be smeared over the body in order to prevent fatigue. It is also used in hunting.

Buffalo tail gives fleetness and indicates that the man received strength from the buffalo spirit.

Weasel and snake could be put around the neck and worn over the shoulders in times of war. Gives the power of these respective animals in wiggling.

Flutes, blue in connection with the buffalo, red in connection with the black hawk, and black in connection with the night spirits

### The War-bundle Feast of the Bear Clan

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The people were about to go on a hunt, it is said. They returned. Four deer had been killed. And again they went, and this time three deer were killed. But it was not sufficient, so they went out again, and when they returned it was found that they had killed only three deer. "Well," they said, "this will be all right. We have ten deer. Perhaps they will last as food until dawn."

They told the attendants to get ready the lodge and to build the fireplaces. They told them also to have the wood and the buck-

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x796 539 [758] After the speeches were all over the offerings were taken down and thrown outside through the opening in the roof of the lodge and then night songs were sung. Before throwing the offerings out they marched around the lodge carrying them in their hands. At the approach of dawn the drum, gourds, etc., have about made the entire circuit of the lodge, and as soon as they reach the host he begins to sing the night [533] songs. After these he sings turtle songs, and then the songs are over. The host now calls upon some one to give the war whoop, so that the spirits in the west may hear their voices. Nanhi'tcoga gave the war whoop. All joined in, and the feast was over.

x796 805 [776] *Descriptive notes on the Bear clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant, member of clan: About the middle of winter, in the month called deer-breeding month, the Winnebago used to go out hunting, and they gave a feast to all the spirits who had blessed them.

[774] They are very careful not to have the kettles boil over, because they believe that a man's soul (*nayi'ruk'*) might be wandering about and is likely to come down along the chain of the kettle. If it doesn't boil over, the man is likely to conquer the possessions of this spirit (of an enemy) in the next battle.

202 554] The invitation sticks are sent out only to men who own a war bundle, and the clans are invited in the following fashion: First the Wolf, then the Hawk, and then any order.

● 778 The contents of the war bundle represent the following: The crow means strength in running. The turtle and the spear, the blessings which enable one to get out of difficulties, the former referring especially to difficulties in crossing water; they also enable their possessor to foretell when enemies are approaching and to tell an individual how many enemies he is going to conquer. The flute represents the 789 voices of musical birds. When an enemy hears them it paralyzes him and he can not run.

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lodge of the Buffalo clan is on the *waŋgeregi* side of the village 614
circle, although the Buffalo clan is one of the *maŋegi* clans. In 621
explanation of this fact we might, on the one hand, assume that its 174
relationship to the chief clan influenced its position in the village, or that it always was there. The latter seems rather improbable, in the face of the unanimity of agreement as to its inclusion among the *maŋegi* clans, and we may, therefore, provisionally accept the hypothesis of a shifting of position from one side to the other. As this might entail a possible readjustment of the Buffalo clan, as regards exogamy, we tried to obtain as many instances of Buffalo intermarriages as possible. No case of intermarriage with the *waŋgeregi* clans was found. However, as only eight cases were instanced, no safe inference can be drawn.

The "servant" relation of the Elk clan to the Thunderbird 614
expresses itself in the fact that the former takes care of the fire-places of the latter while on the warpath, etc., and that the members are supposed to distribute the fire to the other [372]
clans. In the social customs this relationship is perhaps shown by a certain preference of the Elk to intermarry with the Thunder- 614
bird clan. This preference is not reciprocal. The word prefer- 582
ence is used with the added significance of being consciously expressed, and differs from a tendency to intermarriage which may exist between the clans, but which is not present in their consciousness. Some Winnebago informants even went so far as to postulate a *hitcak'ɔ'ro* relation between the Elk and Thunder- 614
bird clan.

Among the Osage a marked development of the "servant" [171]
relationship is found.

Viewed from a broad point of view, the reciprocal social 614
and religious services of one clan toward another in the *hitcak'ɔ'ro* 182
and "servant" relations are similar in nature to the political functions of the clan, and they may be taken as another indication of the association of political, social, and religious functions with a strongly individualized social unit.

### *The Specific Possessions of the Clan.*

Among the Omaha, a number of clans have in their possession certain objects, around which not merely the clan but also 171 614 778

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171 the tribal reverence is centred. Historically, we believe that
614 these were originally possessions of an individual clan, which
778 subsequently became identified with the entire tribe. Among the Winnebago nothing in the remotest manner comparable to these clan possessions exists, and the few specific objects possessed by the clan have never become of real tribal significance.

614 The specific material possessions of the clan consist of
778 certain war-bundles, one in each clan; and two crooks in the possession of the Bear clan. Of more general possession are the
[616] war clubs, of which there are two types, one found among the *waygeregi*, the other among the *mąyegi* divisions. In connexion
[796] with the clan-bundles there are certain ceremonials known as clan-bundle or war-bundle feasts, popularly as winter feasts.
[171] The distribution of the clan-bundle differentiates these from the specific possessions of the Omaha clans, and suggests a hint as to their historical associations. To all intents and purposes, as their individual history shows, these bundles are merely gifts from one spirit, the thunderbird, and a secondarily associated
[575] night-spirit (*hąhe*). The winter feast might thus be interpreted as a society of those who have obtained blessings from the thunderbird. The bundle remains in the possession of a certain family, however, and cannot pass out of the clan. The war-bundle may, therefore, be said to be primarily the personal possession of a family which has become associated with all the members of the clan to such an extent that it is almost regarded as a clan possession.

In the possession of the two crooks by the Bear clan we have an example of specific clan property. The crooks are in the
[726] nature of emblems and are used on the warpath to indicate the extreme line of advance. They are thus of tribal significance. When not in use, they are kept in the lodge of the Bear clan.

### *Immaterial Possessions of the Clan.*

Although there are no specific material possessions, each clan possesses a type of what might be called "immaterial" possessions. These all have the added connotation of sacredness. For the bird clans, this is the possession of fire; for the

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Bear, the doorway of his lodge; for the Wolf and Water-spirit, water. They were not obtained for all the clans. We indicated before that these "possessions" may have been primarily connected with the animals associated with the clan, upon which an additional socio-religious interpretation has been superimposed. The whole subject is, however, closely related to that of clan etiquette, for which no explanations can, of course, be given now. 614 [778]

### *The Clan Marks of Identification.*

As if more fully to set off the social unit of the clan, there have come to be associated with it definite marks of identification, such as symbols, property marks, facial decorations, and songs.

The symbols of only two clans were obtained, although a number of other clans seem to have possessed them. There were the war club (*nąmątcc*) of the Thunderbird clan, and the peculiarly whittled stick (*namąxɪnixɪni*) of the Bear clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan died, a miniature war club was buried with him. Whether the *namąxɪnixɪni* was buried with a member of the Bear clan, we do not know. [778] [764]

The property mark consisted of the effigy of the clan animal, and was woven on such objects as bags, tobacco pouches, etc. It was also frequently engraved on wooden objects. Its most peculiar uses, however, were the emblematic earthen effigy mounds, in the shape of the clan animal, which were erected near the habitation of each clan in the village and in the centre of clan squash fields, corn fields, etc.[1] 614 421 [532] [361]

Associated with every clan are also four clan songs. These are supposed to be the four songs sung by the ancestors of each clan when they came to this earth. They are always sung on the death of an individual, and are supposed to serve as a mark of identification in the journey of the soul to the land of the spirits. The use of these songs is so intimately associated with death, that when some hardened offender, 614 533 764 [775] [627]

[1] For a fuller discussion of these, see Radin, *Some Aspects of Winnebago Archæology*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 13, 1911, pp. 517-538.

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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114 people attend as a matter of courtesy, or to keep peace in the family.
796 It was my good fortune to attend such a meeting, a war-bundle ceremony, in October, 1927. Mr. A. White, whose Indian name is *Teas-*
[795 *tea-he-de-ga* (Big Wave), figure 120, is custodian of the war-bundle
778] of the Thunderbird clan of the Wisconsin Rapids band of Winnebago.
614] Word came to me through his son-in-law, Mr. U. S. White of Milwaukee, that a war-bundle feast would be held shortly, and that I was specially invited to attend.

As Mr. White and his family also wished to make the trip, we drafted a Museum car into service and joined forces. In addition to Mr. White and his wife and two children, Mr. Alton Fisher was persuaded, without much difficulty, to join me in representing the Department of Anthropology.

We arrived at Wisconsin Rapids late at night, and were up early on the following morning and on our way to the site selected for the
[574] ceremony. Upon arriving at his home, we were courteously received by the custodian of the bundle, and privileged to meet his family and many others who were in the midst of preparations for the feast.

796 The regular war bundle ceremony of the Thunderbird clan is a feast and dance given in honor of various spirits, chiefly the Thunderbirds,
[776] who are the spiritual directors of war, and the Night Spirits. It is
[614] held in an oblong wigwam shaped like the medicine lodge of the Winnebago and neighboring Algonkin groups, figure 121, and similarly con-
[346] structed of a frame-work of bent poles covered with birch bark or mats, or more recently with canvas or other cloth. Big Wave had directed the construction of the lodge for this particular ceremony in an area immediately adjoining his dwelling lodge, figure 122. The single door was placed at the end of the lodge, facing east.

[252] The lodge was small, made so to accommodate the limited number expected to attend, and consequently it was decided to cook the feast over outside fires, an irregular, though not unusual procedure. Therefore, only a single fire was built in the lodge, centrally situated at the
796 eastern end not more than three paces from the door. Since the fire
372 was to be new, sacred fire, the ceremonial fire-making equipment from
778 the war bundle was employed. This consisted of a flat, rectangular base of oak, nearly perforated in many places with charred drill holes, and a drilling element of softer wood. Big Wave himself officiated in the fire making, figure 123. Kneeling, he placed the basepiece between his knees, with tinder conveniently near. Then one end of the drill was fitted into one of the holes in the base, and the shaft was rapidly rotated between his hands. Soon smoke curled up from the point of friction. The bits of glowing wood dust so produced were quickly applied to the tinder and carefully blown to a small flame. Then light kindling was applied, followed by heavier sticks until the fire was be-

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yond the need of further nursing. Standing alone above this altar, Big Wave then offered, in his native tongue, a prayer to be carried upward by the fire to Creator. In a low voice he thanked Creator who taught the use of fire to the Indians, that it might live with them forever and watch over them. He expressed satisfaction that new fire had been started on this occasion, so that all present might enjoy the benefits of life. He described the fire as an interpreter, conveying to the spirit world the prayers of men. He then sprinkled tobacco upon the fire, saying: "This tobacco I offer you (the spirits) that you may do that which I ask of you, that you may grant to all here, our wives and children, and all our relatives, good fortune and all the benefits of life. This prayer is for others who will also give tobacco."

Later, when the meeting was convened and the guests filed into the ceremonial lodge, many silently sprinkled tobacco on the fire, thereby sharing the benefit of this prayer. This tobacco sacrifice is called, filling the spirits' pipe.

As soon as the new fire was burning well, coals were removed therefrom with which to start the cooking fires outside the lodge, for the feast must be cooked over sacred fire. Two short poles were placed on either side of the fire, topped by a crosspiece from which the pots were suspended on chains. Water was boiled, with which all the pots were thoroughly washed. Then the meat (fowl, beef and pork) was prepared for cooking. The fowls had to be singed over the sacred fire. A definite number of equal portions were placed in each pot, since each participating family was to share the contents of a single pot which, therefore, must contain a portion for every member of the invited group.

While the war-bundle owner's helpers, the waiters, selected from his paternal nephews when possible, were preparing the feast, he himself entered the lodge, took down the war-bundle from where it hung on the north wall opposite the fire and spread it out on the ground immediately west of the fire. Although much of the contents of the bundle appeared to be very old, the cover-piece was of cloth. The bundle was unrolled and spread out upon this rectangular piece of goods. The inner wrapper was of matting. Upon this a variety of fetishes and elements of ceremonial equipment was displayed. These included various bird skins, reed whistles and an old fire drill set which had long been out of use due to the fact that the base piece was entirely covered with holes, without interval, and as deep as the thickness of the piece would permit.

Two beaded snake-skin fetishes were suspended from the top of a peeled stake set up between the bundle and the fire. Adjoining this a sharpened stick, later to be used as a meat fork in distributing the meat, was placed, the handle thrust into the ground. Two fine old war clubs from the bundle were also placed between fire and bundle, their handles thrust into the ground. Two bowls, one containing tobacco and the

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796 other mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik, were respectively placed at the
●778 northeast and southeast corners of the bundle.

A peeled stake, forked at the top, was set up at the central western margin of the bundle wrapper. The ceremonial pipe, of Siouan type
[276] with a catlinite bowl, was then filled by the leader from the bowl of mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik and placed with the stem end resting in the fork of the stake, the stem slanting diagonally downward across the bundle and the bowl, in upright position, resting on the central eastern margin of the bundle wrapper.

[824 The leader then placed some live coals from the fire in a small stove-
783] shovel. On these coals he placed white cedar leaves. With the smoke of the burning cedar leaves he purified the contents of the bundle, his own person, and even the walls of the lodge.

796 Shortly before the ceremony was to start, some of the waiters pre-
534 pared the drum. What had probably been originally designed to serve as a pickle keg, served as the body of the drum. This was partly filled with water. A buckskin head was then placed over the open end and drawn taut by means of cords attached to the base of the body. This was done by means of stick tourniquets in each of the cords. The proper degree of tautness was determined by tipping the drum bottom side up, to permit the water to wet the drum head, and testing the tone quality with the drum stick. After the drum had been thus properly tuned, more hot coals were placed in the censer, cedar leaves applied and
[783] the drum and stick turned over and over in the resulting smoke. Then the drum was placed just north of the war-bundle.

A small pot containing two portions of cooked meat was suspended from the roof of the house immediately west of the bundle.

796 Early in the afternoon, all preparations having been completed, the ceremony began. The guests in little groups filed into the lodge and were seated by the head waiter, squatting on mats with their backs to the wall. The most important guests, owners of war-bundles in other clans,
[562] were placed nearest the door. The eastern two-thirds of the lodge was occupied by men only. The women were clustered at the western end. Mr. Fisher and I were seated immediately south of the bundle. The leader and three assistants, elected to serve as musicians, were grouped just north of the fireplace.

Although the rites associated with the war-bundle are kept up by
[182] a few of these Winnebago, the ritual has sadly degenerated. Aside from the host, no man made any serious attempt to equip himself properly in costume. Many important elements were omitted such as the preliminary sweat bath ceremony, the sacrifice of white buckskins to the spirits, the dog sacrifice, and many minor details left out of the ceremonies attempted. When all were assembled, the leader opened the
[537] ceremony with a speech to those assembled. The formal dignity of the speaker and the unhesitating flow of his words were impressive. He

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12



796 The shrine about which this ceremony centers is also a bundle, in
778 this instance owned by one of the waiters, but not necessarily so. Its
535 setting up followed a definite procedure. A small mound of sand was first heaped up on the grassy floor of the lodge. A wooden bowl was placed on the top center of the mound, and a tin bowl directly west of the mound. These were both filled with maple syrup. Four men placed handsful of tobacco at the base of each of the syrup containers. Then the bowl of syrup was removed from the mound, to be placed adjacent to the tin vessel, and from the open buffalo bundle a number of buffalo tai's were taken and placed upon the mound. Four small
[823] eagle feathers, dyed red, were inserted in the margins of the mound to point in the four cardinal directions.

123 The leader, accompanied by musicians with rattles and one drummer,
535 then sang one set of four songs. A dance song followed, practically
796 everyone present joining in the dance, forming in line behind the leader and circling the lodge in a counter-clockwise direction. All the men were in the forepart of the line; the women followed the men. As the line was forming, several of the men urged the humble subscriber to this account to join the dance. Never before having witnessed the particular performance, I was entirely ignorant of the correct procedure, but realizing that this was a common dance in which anyone could participate without special preparation or careful observance of conduct, I, to my downfall, consented. I joined the line where it was forming immediately in front of me. The dance started before I became aware of my embarassing position; for whereas all the other men were grouped to comprise the leading half of the line, I was far back in the formation, distantly removed from the other representatives of my sex —dancing with the squaws. The shouts of merriment arising from both the men and women satisfied me, however, that I had not committed the unpardonable sin. Nevertheless, as soon as it was convenient, I corrected the error of my position.

796 As the line passed the bowls of syrup, the dancers each drank of
535 the contents; the men from one bowl, the women from the other. The singing and dancing was continued until all the syrup was gone. Finally, the wooden bowl having been replaced on the sand altar, the leader approached it on hands and knees, mimicking the grunts and actions of a buffalo. He then proceeded to butt the bowl with his head, turning it over.

796 Speeches by the leader and by other prominent men brought the cere-
152 mony to a close.

781 My general reactions to the performance were two-fold. In the first place, I could not but be impressed by the exalted fervor of the older participants; at times tears coursed down the cheeks of Big Wave as he sang the spirit songs of his ancestors, and other participants
000 showed the effect of strong emotion. Secondly, I beheld the ancient

## *Fasting*

Whenever these girls went out to get wood my older 159*
brother and I would play around with them a great 785
deal. We did this even although we were fasting at
the time. Of course we had to do it in secret. When-
ever our parents found out we got a scolding and so [861]
did the girls. At home we were warned to keep away
from menstruating women, but we ourselves always [841]
sought them.

After a while some of the people living in the lodges 159*
moved away and we were left alone. They moved far
ahead of us. We ourselves were to move only a short
distance at a time. My father and my brother-in-law
went out hunting and killed seventy deer between [224]
them, so that we had plenty of meat.

When the girls with whom I used to play moved
away I became very lonesome. In the evenings I used
to cry. I longed for them greatly and they had moved
far away!

Soon we got fairly well started on our way back.
We moved to a place where all the leaders used to give
their feasts. Near the place where we lived there
were three lakes and a black-hawk's nest. Right near
the tree where the nest was located, they built a lodge
and our war-bundle [10] was placed in it. There my elder [787]

[10] The war-bundle was the most sacred object among the Winne- 778 ●
bago. It consisted of dried animal skins, other parts of animals, reed
flutes, etc., all of which had some symbolical meaning. The various
animal remains, for instance, were supposed to give the owner the [825]
powers of these animals, the sound of the reed flutes was sup-
posed to paralyze his enemy and make it impossible for him to walk.
Each clan possessed at least one such bundle and whenever the tribe [614]
went on the warpath, this bundle was carried on the back of some

*Crashing Thunder*

There my elder

*159 brother and myself were to pass the night. It was
787 said that if any one fasted at such a place for four nights, he would be blessed with victory and the power to cure the sick. All the spirits would bless him.

We were told the following would happen to us. On the first night we would imagine ourselves surrounded by spirits whose whisperings we would hear outside of the lodge. The spirits would even whistle. I was told that I would be frightened and nervous and that if I
[776] still remained there, I would be molested by large monsters, fearful to look upon. Even the bravest man might well be frightened. Should I, however, manage to get through that night I would then on the following
[775] night be molested by ghosts whom I would hear speaking outside. These ghosts would say things that might well cause me to run away. Towards morning I was told these ghosts would even take my blanket away from me. They would grab hold of me and drive me out of the lodge and not stop until the sun rose. If I
[776] was able to endure a third night, then I would be addressed by the true spirits. They would bless me and say, "We bless you. We had really intended to turn you over to the monsters and bad spirits and that is why these approached you first, but you overcame them and now they will not be able to take you away. Now you may go home for we bless you with victory

● 778
[614] individual esteemed for his bravery. The power of this war-bundle
[841] was such that it would kill anything or anybody who approached
[562] it, the only exception being a menstruating woman. For this reason the war-bundle was always carefully guarded and protected and women were not allowed to see it or come anywhere near it.

## *Fasting*

Just then my older brother came home and they objected to his return for he had not been blessed. However, he took some food and ate it. 159* 787

My brother J., however, obtained a blessing. When he reached the age of puberty my father called him aside and told him to fast. He told him that it was his fervent wish that he should begin to fast in order to become holy, to become invincible and invulnerable in war. He wished him to become like one of those Winnebago of whom stories are told. He assured him that if he fasted he would really be holy and that nothing that exists on this earth would be able to molest him; that he would live a very long life and that he would be able to cure the sick. He told him that if he were blessed no one would dare to make fun of him and that they would be very careful how they addressed him; first, because they really respected him and secondly, because they were afraid of getting him angry. He was to fast until spring and then he was to stop, for there are many bad spirits about in the spring who are likely to deceive a faster. 159* 785 554 787 [576] [776]

Near our village there was a hill called *Place-where-they-keep-weapons*. This hill was very high, steep and rocky. It was a very holy place. There it was that my father wished my brother to fast for it was the place where he himself had fasted. Within this hill lived the spirits whom we call *Those-who-cry-like-babies*. These spirits are supposed to possess arrows and bows. Twenty of them were supposed to be in this hill. My father had control of them and when [778] [776] σσο

although the feast was supposedly given in our honor, we were placed on one side of the main participants. After the kettles containing the food had been put on twice, it became daylight and the feast was over.

The following spring we moved to the Mississippi in order to trap. I was still fasting and ate only at night. My brothers used to flatter me, telling me that I was the cleverest of them all and, in consequence, I used to continue fasting although I was often very hungry. In spite of my desire to fast, however, I could not resist the temptation of being around the girls. I wanted always to be near them. They were generally in their menstrual lodges [18] when I looked for them. My parents did not wish me to go near the girls then but I went nevertheless.

My parents told me that only those boys who had no connection with women would be blessed by the spirits. Throughout this time my sole wish was to appear great in the sight of the people. To be praised by my fellowmen was all I desired. And I certainly received what I sought. I stood high in their estimation. That the women might like me was another of the reasons why I wanted to fast. But as to being blessed, I learned nothing about it, although I went around with the air of one who had received many blessings and talked as such a one would talk.

[18] Any contact with menstruating women, or even with objects in any way connected with them, will, it is the firm belief of the Winnebago, destroy the power of sacred objects or individuals temporarily sacred. Fasting youths were regarded as such.

*159 867 785 787 you will never be in need of anything. Fast for the food you are to receive. If you fast frequently enough for these things then some day when your children ask for food they will be able to obtain a piece of deer meat without difficulty; they may indeed be able to obtain a piece of moose meat. It lies within your power to prevent your children from ever going hungry.

*159 867 593 [562] [776] Now again, my son, let me enjoin you. Do not abuse your wife. Women are sacred. If you make your wife suffer, then you will die in a short time. Our grandmother Earth is a woman, and in abusing your wife you are abusing her. Most certainly will you be abusing your grandmother if you act thus. Since after all it is she who is taking care of us, by your action you will be practically killing yourself.

*159 867 574 When you have your home, see to it that whoever enters your lodge obtain something to eat, no matter how little you yourself may have. Such food will be a source of death to you if withheld. If you are stingy about giving food, some one might kill you in consequence; some one may poison you. If you ever hear of a stranger passing through your country and you want to see him, prepare food for him and have him brought to you. In this manner [577] you will be doing good and it is always good to do good, it is said.

*159 867 888 If you see a helpless old person, help him if you have anything at all. If you happen to possess a home take him there, and feed him, for he may suddenly make uncomplimentary remarks about you.[18] You will be strengthened thereby. Or perhaps when he comes, he may bring with ● [978] him under his arms a medicine bundle, something he cher-

[574] [576] [18] It is considered exceedingly bad form for a guest to admire anything in the house he is visiting.

ishes very much and which he will offer you. If it is a 159*
bulb-medicine keep it to protect your house. Your home 867
will never then be molested by anything evil and nothing [888]
evil will enter your house, neither bad spirits, ghosts, dis- [778]
ease, nor unhappiness. Now such will be your life if you
do as I tell you. Witches will keep away from you. Thus [754]
by fasting will you benefit yourself and your fellowmen. [085]

You know that Earthmaker created all the spirits, those
that live above the earth, those who live on the earth, those 159*
who live under the earth, those who live in the water—all 773
these he created and placed in control of powers. Even 776
the minor spirits Earthmaker placed in control of something. In this fashion he created them and after that, he created us and because we were created last and no further powers were left, he could not put us in control of anything. Then, however, did Earthmaker create a weed and this he
placed us in control of. He further told us that none of [276]
the spirits he had created would have the power to take this weed away from us without giving us something in exchange. He told us that if we offered him a pipeful of this weed, which we call tobacco, he too would grant us whatever we asked for. Now it so happened that all the spirits came to long for this weed as intensely as they longed for anything in creation and for that reason if, at
any time, with tobacco in our hands we make our prayer [782]
to the spirits, they will take pity upon us and bestow upon us the blessings which Earthmaker gave them. Indeed so it is, for Earthmaker created it thus.

Fast, my son. If you are blessed by the spirits and then 159*
blow your breath upon people who are ill, they will become 756
well. Thus will you help your fellowmen. If you can cure 787
any of your fellowmen of disease, then you will be of even 867
more than ordinary help to them. If you can draw dis-

*159 ease from out the body, people will greatly respect you.
756 If then you happen to be without work, all that you need
787 for your support they will give you. For as long a time as
867 you live they will do this for you. After your death people will speak about your deeds for all time. During your lifetime they will say, "Yes, he really has power."

●778 If you are not able to fast, do at least try to obtain some
824 power from those individuals who know the virtues and powers of certain plants. It is sad enough, of course, if you will have to admit to yourself that you could not obtain blessings during fasting; but if you could not, at least try to have those who possess the plants I have mentioned, take pity on you. If they take pity on you, they will present you with one of the good plants that give life to man. Now it will not suffice for you to possess merely one plant. You should try to obtain all those plants that grow among the hairy covering of our grandmother, the Earth—all those that give us life—until you have a complete medicine bundle. Then will you truly have reason to feel encouraged.

Some of the medicine men, the shamans, were blessed
[776] by the waterspirits.[19] If you wish to obtain really powerful blessings and gain the power of curing many people, you will have to fast a long time and sincerely. If four, or say ten, of the truly powerful spirits bless you, then some day when you have children and anything happens to one of them, you will not have to look around for a medicine man, but all you will have to do will be to look into your
ooo own medicine bundle. Search there and you will undoubt-

[19] Waterspirits are mythical animals generally described as having
[776] the shape of a lynx or wild-cat and provided with long tails that completely encircle their bodies. Their gifts to man are ambivalent and it depends upon the man whether he cares to make good or bad medicines from their bodies. Their so-called "bones" generally consist of semi- or completely fossilized objects.

Search there and you will undoubt-
edly be able to find the medicines necessary for curing your 159 *
children. Indeed after a while you will be called upon to 156
cure your fellow men. Then you can open your medicine 867
bundle without embarrassment, for you will have the knowledge necessary for treating the sick. You will know where the disease is lodged and your treatment will be successful, for it was only after the greatest efforts on your part that you succeeded in obtaining the requisite blessings. If you declare to the patient that he will live, then he will live. If you make proper offerings to the medicine and speak to [782] your medicine in the proper manner, it will exert all the [778] power it possesses to cure the patient. Now you must make good offerings to these medicines; you must give many feasts in their honor and then if, in addition, you address them as if they were human beings, they assuredly will help you and do what you ask. You may accordingly accept the payments offered to you by your patients in good conscience and your children will wear these payments in the form of wampum necklaces and thus gain renewed strength. They will be well and happy. These are the reasons why I want you to be extremely careful in your attitude. Medicines are good for all purposes; that is why [773] they were given to us. Earthmaker gave them to us so that [755] we could cure ourselves from disease.

If any one tries to obtain these staffs of life, these medicines and inflicts sufferings upon himself in acquiring them, [787] then assuredly will our grandmother Earth have cognizance of it. She knows all that you have lost in obtaining them and in the long run what you have lost, will be returned to you. You made your offerings for the [577] future and it is good for people to look forward to their future.

Say, you wish to obtain the paint medicine. For that you

## *My Release from Prison*

They were glad to see me. Then we all walked to their 159* home. My father and I walked by ourselves and he 195 told me about the peyote. "It does not amount to anything, all this that they are doing. Yet those who partake, stop their drinking. Sick people also get well. [155] We were told these things and therefore joined. What they claimed is true and your mother is practically well now; and so am I. They claim to offer prayers to Earthmaker, to God." He stopped and then continued, "The peyote people are rather foolish for they cry when they feel very happy about anything. They throw away all the medicines that they possess and whose virtues they know. They give up all the blessings they received while fasting, give up all the spirits who blessed them. They stop giving feasts and making offerings of tobacco. They burn up all their holy things, destroy the war-bundles. They stop smoking and chewing tobacco. They are bad people. They burn up their medicine pouches, give up the Medicine Dance and even cut up their otter-skin bags.[81] They say they are praying to Earthmaker, to God, and do so standing and crying. They claim to hold nothing holy except Earthmaker, God; that everything they are giving up comes from the bad spirits, that the bad spirits deceived them. They claim that there are no spirits with [176] the power of bestowing blessings and that there is no other spirit except Earthmaker, God." Then I said,

[81] The most sacred object of the Medicine Dance. It is within the otter-skin bag that the shell is concealed with which the newly initiated members of the dance, as well as the regular members, are shot. [178] [196]

*159 Earthmaker and then eat the peyote." I, however, ate
795 the peyote immediately for I did not know what to ask
796 for and I did not know what to say in a prayer to Earthmaker. I therefore ate the peyote buttons just as they were. They were very bitter and had a taste difficult for me to describe. After eating them I wondered a good deal about what was going to happen to me. Soon I was given five more peyote buttons and these also I ate. They tasted rather bitter. I was now very quiet for the peyote had somewhat weakened me. I listened attentively to the singing and liked it very much. I felt as though I were partly asleep and quite different from my normal self. When I looked around and examined myself, however, I saw nothing wrong. I certainly felt different from my normal self. Before this I used to dislike the songs but now I liked them very much, particularly those the leader was singing. I liked listening to him very much.

They were all sitting very quietly and doing nothing
[533] except singing. Each man sang four songs and then
[198] passed the sacred objects to the next person. Each man held a stick and an eagle's feather in one hand and a small gourd rattle, which he would shake when singing, in the other. One of the participants did the drumming. In this manner the sacred objects would be passed along until they came back to the leader. The leader would then sing four songs and when he had finished these, place the sacred objects on the ground and rise and pray to Earthmaker. Then he called upon one or two to speak. These people all said

## *I Have a Strange Experience*

self doing it and I could not see it. At last it stood up. 159* The eagle feathers and the gourds, these it said, were 795 holy. They also had a large book there. What was 786 contained in that book, my body saw. It was the Bible. [778] The sacred objects were not holy, but they were good ornaments. My body said that if any one paid attention to God's ceremony, he would be hearkening to what the Bible said. God's Son said that He was the only way. This means that one can only live from the word. My body spoke of many things and it spoke of what was true. It spoke of all the things that were being done by the Winnebago and that were evil. It spoke a long time and then stopped. Not I, but my body standing there, had done the talking. I should be confessing myself a fool if I were to think that I had said all this, my body told me.

After a while I returned to my normal condition. 159* Some of the people present had been frightened thinking that I had gone crazy. Others, on the other hand, liked it. It was discussed a good deal; they called it the "shaking" state. It was claimed that the condition in which I had been was not part of God's religion. I was told that whoever ate a lot of peyote would, through the peyote, be taught the teachings of God. God's ways and man's ways are different. Whoever therefore wished to help this religion must give himself up to it. If you eat a good deal of the peyote and believed that it could teach you something, then it assuredly would do so. That, at least, is the way in which I understand this matter.

105 thunderbird. He is the representative of peace, par excellence. He
614 cannot go to war or have anything to do with the many war cere-
616 monies of the tribe. Be it remembered that victory on the warpath is
622 the highest honor a Winnebago can attain. He must succour the needy and plead for clemency in all cases of infractions of tribal law and custom, even in case of murder. His lodge is a sacred asylum and [778] absolutely inviolate. Not only is a prisoner of war safe if he manages to take refuge there, but even a dog, about to be sacrificed, must be spared, should he manage to run into it. Naturally all the other male members of the thunderbird clan as well as all the male members of the other clans in the upper phratry, go on the warpath and seek prestige through war. But, after all, this warfare is waged against people who have no status within the tribe. Acquiescence in it does not constitute approval of violence nor is it regarded as a resort to violence. And it is this condemnation of violence for which the tribal chief and his phratry stands.

105 In contrast to this is the attitude of the chief of the lower division,
614 who always belongs to the bear clan. In him are centered pre-
616 eminently the police, the disciplinary and the war functions. He and
622 his associates police and guard the village, inflict punishment for
625 transgressions of law and custom, take charge of the whole tribe when it is on a communal warpath or engaged in hunting, etc. It is in the official lodge of the bear chief that prisoners are confined before being killed and it is in the same lodge where the sacred warbundles are stored and guarded against contamination.

105 We are dealing here with a very old and persistent classification
616 of the two opposing forces in society and one which reflects the
622 answer to a question asked repeatedly, namely, how are we to meet
182 the two aspects of life and of reality with which we are being con-
577 tinually confronted, the protective, constructive and positive, and the repelling, destructive and negative? Winnebago thinkers seemed to have been particularly fond of posing this problem.

It is not strange then, that they should have felt the contrast between the functions of the two phratries to lie, fundamentally, in their attitude toward evil. For the tribal chief evil was to be warded off before it came and always by passive methods. If that did not

Comanche NO6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12

G6
Cr
D
W
171
745
716
783
719



PAIUTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(Continued)

| Element | Northern | Southern | Gosiute | Ute | Shoshoni | Kiowa | Comanche | Kiowa-Apache | Cheyenne | Arapaho | Crow | Hidatsa | Mandan | Arikara | Pawnee | Wichita | Osage | Kansas | Oto | Iowa | Winnebago | Menomini |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 91. Replenishes fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 92. Cleans up and arranges ashes | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 93. Conducts people in and out | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | •+ | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + |
| 94. All baths before attending meeting | + | + | •+ | – | | (–) | | •– | | •– | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + |
| 95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi) | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 96. In open | | | •– | – | – | (–) | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + |
| 97. Entrance or opening toward east | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •– | •– | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 99. Concave side toward east | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 100. Line on top of moon | + | + | + | + | + | (–) | + | •– | •– | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 101. Fire east of leader's place | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 102. East of moon | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 103. Sticks placed to form right angle | + | + | + | •– | + | + | + | | – | – | – | + | + | •– | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 104. Old methods used to start fire | | – | •+ | – | | + | + | + | | – | – | + | + | •– | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + |
| 105. 4 sticks on fire | | | (+) | •– | (–) | + | •– | •– | – | •– | – | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 106. Special fire stick (poker) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 107. Worshippers congregate outside | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | – | – | – | •– | + | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + |
| 109. Meeting starts in evening | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 110. Leader prays before entering meeting | + | + | •+ | + | | •(–) | | – | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 111. Order of entrance: chief first | + | + | + | + | | + | + | •+ | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 112. Chief drummer second | | + | + | + | | + | + | •+ | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 113. Cedarman third | | – | + | + | | – | + | – | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 114. Men (before women and children) | | – | + | + | + | (+) | | – | | | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 115. Women and children allowed | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 116. Fire chief last | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + |
| 118. Men, either side, near leader | + | – | + | + | + | + | | | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | + |
| 119. Women, either side, near entrance | | – | •+ | + | + | + | | | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | |
| 120. Separation of men and women | | – | – | + | (–) | – | •+ | •+ | + | | + | + | + | •– | + | + | – | + | – | | | |

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ1D
Winnebago NP12



Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf). C W

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre). 171

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99. 795

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Prans). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf). 796 W [779]

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 50, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons). C [29]

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget). C [562]

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon). C [352]

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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796 The shrine about which this ceremony centers is also a bundle, in
778 this instance owned by one of the waiters, but not necessarily so. Its
535 setting up followed a definite procedure. A small mound of sand was first heaped up on the grassy floor of the lodge. A wooden bowl was placed on the top center of the mound, and a tin bowl directly west of the mound. These were both filled with maple syrup. Four men placed handsful of tobacco at the base of each of the syrup containers. Then the bowl of syrup was removed from the mound, to be placed adjacent to the tin vessel, and from the open buffalo bundle a number of buffalo tai's were taken and placed upon the mound. Four small
[823] eagle feathers, dyed red, were inserted in the margins of the mound to point in the four cardinal directions.

123 The leader, accompanied by musicians with rattles and one drummer,
535 then sang one set of four songs. A dance song followed, practically
796 everyone present joining in the dance, forming in line behind the leader and circling the lodge in a counter-clockwise direction. All the men were in the forepart of the line; the women followed the men. As the line was forming, several of the men urged the humble subscriber to this account to join the dance. Never before having witnessed the particular performance, I was entirely ignorant of the correct procedure, but realizing that this was a common dance in which anyone could participate without special preparation or careful observance of conduct, I, to my downfall, consented. I joined the line where it was forming immediately in front of me. The dance started before I became aware of my embarassing position; for whereas all the other men were grouped to comprise the leading half of the line, I was far back in the formation, distantly removed from the other representatives of my sex —dancing with the squaws. The shouts of merriment arising from both the men and women satisfied me, however, that I had not committed the unpardonable sin. Nevertheless, as soon as it was convenient, I corrected the error of my position.

796 As the line passed the bowls of syrup, the dancers each drank of
535 the contents; the men from one bowl, the women from the other. The singing and dancing was continued until all the syrup was gone. Finally, the wooden bowl having been replaced on the sand altar, the leader approached it on hands and knees, mimicking the grunts and actions of a buffalo. He then proceeded to butt the bowl with his head, turning it over.

796 Speeches by the leader and by other prominent men brought the cere-
152 mony to a close.

781 My general reactions to the performance were two-fold. In the first place, I could not but be impressed by the exalted fervor of the older participants; at times tears coursed down the cheeks of Big Wave as he sang the spirit songs of his ancestors, and other participants showed the effect of strong emotion. Secondly, I beheld the ancient

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## *Preface*

There is only one way—to have a native himself give the account in his own mother tongue. The problem then resolves itself into finding the native. That is the task I set myself and through a piece of good luck I succeeded in accomplishing it. As the manner of its accomplishment is an interesting and illuminating story in itself, I hope I shall be excused for telling it in some detail. 114 121

In the year 1909 I commenced field investigations among the Winnebago Indians living on the Nebraska side of the Missouri River, about twenty-five miles south of Sioux City, Iowa. These Indians had the reputation of being fairly conservative. Perhaps the fact that a Presbyterian mission had in seventeen years succeeded in converting only one family, and a family which then unkindly died without leaving issue, may bear this out. 114 [131] 997 [187]

Among these Indians there lived a family named Blow Snake, consisting of a father and a fair number of children all grown up. Two of these were men quite well known in the tribe for a variety of reasons. These two became my principal informants. They had lived the most exciting of lives, for to the usual round of adventures that fall to the lot of most Indians of that region now, they had added a murder and a conversion, the murder first and the conversion afterwards. The older of the two seemed to be by far the more gifted. His memory was simply prodigious. He recounted to me a ceremony which took him two months, working practically six hours a day, to tell 124 [115]

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173 They fasted and became holy. The greatest honor was to be a
[183] brave man, and for that reason they did nothing but go to war. They were prepared for war at all times. They tried to obtain war honors. They wished to go to war all the time and kill many enemies. If a person fasted and went without food for a long time, gave offerings of tobacco often, and was then blessed by the spirits, then it would be very hard to kill such a person in battle. The people knew that such powers could be obtained, and that is why they did these things all the time.

[782] They gave many feasts. When a person gives a feast, then he offers the spirits tobacco and asks in return that their weapons be sharper than those of their enemies (i. e., that he kill an enemy and escape unharmed). That is why they used to give so many feasts, that they might be victorious in war. They make offerings to the war spirits, and if these then bless them they will become great warriors. They desired greatly to obtain these blessings.

173 Tobacco is the greatest possession they have. After Earthmaker
276 created all things he created man. Man was the last of the created objects. Those created before were spirits, and he put them all in charge of something. Even the smallest insects are able to foresee things four days ahead. The human beings were the least of all Earthmaker's creations. They were put in charge of nothing, and they could not even foresee one day ahead. They were the last created and they were the poorest. Then Earthmaker created a weed with a pleasant odor and all the spirits wanted it. Some were almost certain that it would be given to them. They would each think to themselves, "I am going to be put in charge of that, for I am one of the greatest spirits in the world." Then the Creator said, "To all of you (spirits) I have given something valuable. Now you all like this weed and I myself like it. Now this is the way it is going to be used." Then he took one of the leaves and mashed it up. Then making a pipe he smoked it and the odor was pleasant to smell. All of the spirits longed for it. Then he gave each one of them a puff. "Now, whatever (the human beings) ask from me and for which they offer tobacco, I will not be able to refuse it. I myself will not be in control of this weed. If they give me a pipeful of this and make a request I will not be able to refuse it. This weed will be called tobacco. The human beings are the only ones of my creation who are poor. I did not give them anything, so therefore this will be their foremost possession and from them we will have to obtain it. If a human being gives a pipeful and makes a request we will always grant it." Thus spoke Earthmaker.

For that reason the human beings are in control of tobacco; it is their natural possession. This is the story that was handed down to us. The Winnebago made war and made many offerings of tobacco. It is said that the Winnebago were the bravest of all the Indians.

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*The bear hunt.* Bears were hunted by individuals or by the tribe. 224 Before a man started on a bear hunt he went through the following 796 ceremony, known as *wana"tee're*, literally "concentration of the 782 mind." He either built a special lodge or used his own for the ceremony. A kettle containing food was placed on the fireplace; this was intended for the particular bear the man wished to kill. The food generally consisted of corn or dried fruit; tobacco and red feathers also were offered, the former in small bark vessels. All these offerings were made not only as sacrifices to the bear but in order to make the feast as tempting as possible. When everything was in readiness, the host rubbed two sticks having rough surfaces against each other, called *nai'"rarax* or *nai"waidja'k'ere*. The host never ate. He continued his singing and rubbing until he attracted the attention of the bear, as indicated by the appearance of a little streak of flame passing from the fire toward the gifts he brought for him.

The same ceremony was performed before starting on a deer or a raccoon hunt. In addition to this ceremony, individuals always used the special hunting medicines that they obtained during their fasts. This was frequently chewed and then rubbed into the arrow (nowadays into the gun).[9] [789]

There is a time of the year called *hiruci'e*, when bear break hickory 224 or oak branches for the nuts or the acorns. It seems they are then very easy to approach. If a man killed a bear he would always [825] refer to it in terms of respect.

The tribal bear hunt always took place in summer. As enemies [721 were generally encountered on the way a winter or war feast was 527] always given before the party started. This had nothing to do, however, with the hunt proper. Following is a fairly close translation of an account of a Winnebago bear hunt and buffalo hunt secured by the author:

*Description of a bear hunt.*—When the Winnebago went on the bear hunt they 224 always traveled in large numbers. They would always be able to find bears in the 825 groves of red timber-oak, and it would be very easy to kill them. Nevertheless the old people considered it a very dangerous affair, especially if the hunters came upon breeding bear. If anyone killed a breeding bear he would cause very much trouble. The male bear would get very angry and chase the man who had done the killing, and if it ever happened that he was out of ammunition, the man surely would be killed. The bear would jump upon him and tear him to pieces. It is said that when bears kill a human being they always eat him. Another way of getting at the bears was to clear away the ground for them. It is very easy to kill them then. This generally takes place at the time of the year when the acorns fall to the ground. The bears gather in the cleared spaces and lie down there. They lie in the timber under the trees. They look like black objects in the distance. It is customary to shoot at them from some distance, but care is always taken not to shoot all of them, nor to shoot when the wind was with them, for then they would scent the hunters

[9] Numerous descriptions of the *wanaxa'ra* are given in the Hare Trickster cycle.

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241 [778] In the middle of the field was usually placed an earthen representation of the clan animal. As to how squash and beans were planted, no reliable information is available. The corn was planted in small circular mounds which, to judge from those near Madison, Wis., were arranged in remarkably straight rows.

[412 177] The author is unable to say what type of implements was used, as the Winnebago have been using those of European manufacture for many years and have no recollection of any other kind.

If anyone had more corn planted than he could take care of he
241 gave a feast, to which he invited all who had hoes. At this feast
527 dried corn was used. On this occasion the people sacrificed tobacco
782 to their hoes, so that they might not cut themselves with these implements or have other accidents. Then they all joined in helping their host cultivate his corn.

249 In addition to the above-mentioned patches, most Winnebago had small fields of tobacco, which were regarded as very sacred. The tobacco grown on these was used only for sacrificial purposes. Sacred gourds also were planted in these fields.

222 *Berry picking.*—From the earliest times the Winnebago were known for their bountiful supply of berries. Every fall parties of men, women, and children went out to pick cranberries and whortleberries.

222 *Customs when berries are ripening.*—If a man has a son whom he
787 loves very much, he has him fast as soon as the berries and other things begin to ripen. If this boy dreams of something good, then he (the father) gives a feast with the newly ripened food and the boy eats. If the boy does not dream of anything good after four days, the father makes him eat and has him try again.

222 *Rice gathering.*—In common with the Central Algonquian tribes, with whom they have come in contact, especially the Menominee, the Winnebago spent a number of weeks every year gathering wild rice. The following description of the manner in which this is done is taken from a newspaper article published by Prof. A. E. Jenks of the University of Minnesota:

> Fox River from its source to Lake Winnebago was for hundreds of years a very productive field for this aquatic cereal, and along this river the Winnebago lived in plenty and peace with several wild rice eating tribes of the Algonkin stock. Probably a few families still gather their annual crop in that old domain; but most of the wild rice which the tribe now gathers is obtained in the sloughs of the Mississippi River near Lacrosse, Wis., and on the Iowa side of that river
>
> The Winnebago gather the grain by running their canoes into the tall standing stalks before the grain is ripe. A stick is held in each hand of the harvester, one being used to draw the standing stalks over the edge of the canoe, while the other one is employed in tapping or striking the heads of the stalks, thus knocking the grain out of the fruit head into the canoe. After the canoe is full it is taken to the shore and emptied.

252 *Preparation of foods.*—Meats were prepared by broiling, in three
262 ways—on stakes, over a rack, or under hot ashes. Only the ribs

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# CHAPTER IV

## GENERAL SOCIAL CUSTOMS

843 *Birth.*—During pregnancy a woman had to observe carefully certain restrictions. She was not allowed to roam the woods alone for fear of meeting snakes or other animals, the sight of which was believed to forebode ill luck to a pregnant woman. She was not permitted to have dogs or cats around her nor to sleep during the day. Every morning during her pregnancy she had to take a cold bath. Among the restrictions may have been food taboos, but no information on this phase of the subject was obtained.

844 When the time for delivery came, it was the custom for the woman to occupy a small lodge erected especially for her use. None of her male relatives were permitted to be present and her husband was not even permitted to stay at home. He was supposed to travel continually until the child was born, in the belief that by his movements he would help his wife in her delivery. According to one informant the husband had to hunt game, the supposition being that this procedure on his part would cause his wife to have enough milk for the child. This traveling of the husband was called, therefore, "Looking-for-milk." It was considered improper for a woman to cry out during labor pains, and by doing so she subjected herself to the [854] jests of her elder female relatives. The cradle-board was always made before the child was born (pls. 41, *c*, 42, *a*).

The positions commonly assumed by women in delivery may be described thus: Supported by the arms, which were passed over a pole held in the crotches of two forked sticks driven into the ground; suspended between two stakes; or flat on the back.

The infant's navel string was cut off and sewed into a small bag, which was attached to the head of the cradle-board.

844 607 On the birth of a child the sisters of the husband were supposed to show his wife especial marks of courtesy. They always gave her valuable gifts, such as goods or a pony. They were glad that he had offspring, the people said, and even permitted their brother's wife [431] to give the presents received from them to her own relatives. The presentation of these gifts was called "Cradling-the-infant." Gifts 844 were presented also to the wife's brothers.

562 527 Some time after the birth of a child, if a boy, the father always gave a feast to Earthmaker and thanked him.

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### Mother-in-law and Father-in-law Taboo

In former times the mother-in-law and father-in-law taboo was in full force. No man was allowed to talk directly to his mother-in-law or to look at her, and the same rule held with regard to the attitude of a woman toward her father-in-law. Even accidental meetings of these relatives, as on the road, were attended with great embarrassment. The author never learned of any way in which either the mother-in-law or the father-in-law taboo could be relaxed even temporarily, much less done away with entirely. 606

### Puberty Customs

From the age of five, children, male and female, were taught the customs of their ancestors in a series of talks always delivered by an elderly male relative, perhaps the father. The specific training differed, of course, for boys and girls and for individuals. Personal training ceased at the age of puberty, when all, both boys and girls, were sent out to fast. For boys this fasting constituted the only puberty rite. After their faces had been blackened with charcoal they were sent to some neighboring hill with the injunction not to return till dawn. Gradually they would be sent out for two, then three, nights; if after that trial they were not blessed they would be advised either to desist entirely or exhorted to fast until they were blessed, no matter how long the time required to secure the desired result. While fasting the boys and girls used the following formula: 867 881 785 787

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Waxop' inixjiwine | hina'djire na^djo'je | yahadjex. |
| Spirits | am I likely to be blessed? | that is why I am praying. |

[839] 782 ●

One old Indian informed the author that in former times the young boys and girls were offered either bread or charcoal for their fast. If they took the charcoal, well and good; but if they took the bread, they were unceremoniously kicked out of the house and the charcoal was thrown after them. From the other statements of this informant one might gather that the young boys and girls generally took the bread, because, he said, after they had been kicked out, they would always resolve to go to the wilderness (in that way running the risk of being captured or killed by an enemy), in order to spite their parents. My informant was of the opinion that the parents purposely treated their children roughly, so that they might feel all the more miserable while fasting and thus pray all the more intensely.

A faster is always told to be careful as to what kind of spirits bless him, as he might be blessed by a bad spirit. Therefore a faster's blessings are always reviewed by the elders. J.'s old grandmother used to call the children in at dusk, as the evil spirits are around then. [776]

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and being very careful not to look back toward the grave after they had first started. 764

The same evening the four nights' wake began. The overseer, who was in full charge, had everything prepared. Before the wake formally commenced the chief mourner made a short speech. Then the overseer lighted a pipe and passed it around to all, who took a puff each and returned it to him. Then sweetened water was passed around, of which all partook. The feast followed. Taking on a plate a small portion of all the food to be eaten, the overseer threw it outside for the spirit of the deceased. In the case of a nursing the mother added a small quantity of milk from her breast to the other food on the plate. After the feast the chief mourner made another speech, explaining why the rites were performed and how they had been handed down for many generations. He concluded by thanking the people for all they had done for him. 765 [775] [782]

There was always an abundance of tobacco at a wake. Most of it was given to the warriors, a number of whom were invited, for they played a very important rôle on such an occasion. It was believed that every warrior was in control of the spirit of an enemy he had slain and he was supposed always to be willing to put the spirit at the service of any member of his tribe who had just died, if the proper offerings were made. At the proper time tobacco was given to the warrior, who, rising, narrated his war exploits, at the conclusion of which he ordered the spirit of the enemy he had slain to take charge of the deceased. Then tobacco was given to another warrior, who followed the same procedure, which was continued until midnight. Then most of the people departed to their homes, but some stayed overnight in the lodge in which the wake was held. [431] [276] [775]

The proceedings of the second and third nights of the wake were exactly the same as those of the first, but somewhat longer. The beginning of the ceremony on the fourth night was the same as on the three preceding nights; after a while, however, it deviated in the following manner.

J. F., rising, tells the spirit of the departed the road he is to take in his journey to spirit land, the obstacles he is to meet, and how he is to overcome them. After he has finished the warriors begin to tell some more war exploits, and this continues generally until 3 o'clock in the morning, depending entirely upon the amount of gifts given to the warriors. The gifts generally consist either of 12 pieces of calico each 3 yards, or of beads, or of 12 quarter dollars. The warriors always gamble for these gifts and play the favorite game of the deceased. If a man had died they generally play moccasins; if a woman, *ka'su*. When all the presents have been exhausted, then the relatives of the deceased comb the [775] [431] [525] [524]

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# CHAPTER VI

## WARFARE AND THE COUNCIL LODGE

### Warfare

721 War was one of the most important elements in the life of the [183] Winnebago. The life of the warrior was the ideal toward which all men strove. It not only satisfied certain emotional needs but it [554] was so inextricably interwoven with social standing in the community and with individual prestige that Winnebago life is unthinkable without it. It is not surprising, then, that the prayer for [782] success on the warpath was the most important prayer that men offered up to the spirits and that it was reechoed in almost all the ceremonies. (Pls. 43, 44, 45.)

An element of culture fraught with so much significance to the individual and the social group was bound to be surrounded by innumerable customs, regulations, and restrictions. It was a life that was at stake every time an individual went on the warpath, and remembering the value of each life to a small community, it is not to be wondered at if there is a definite attempt on the part of the social group to restrict individual activity in this particular regard. An individual might go on the warpath either alone or in company with a few people, but the community, in the person of the chief, insisted that he show some warrant for his action. If no warrant of [626] any kind could be given, he subjected himself to the only restrictive measures the chief and the community could adopt, disapproval, jeers, and temporary loss of social standing and prestige. So much, as far as his own person was concerned. If his action jeopardized the life or lives of other members of the tribe he had then to face [636] the relatives of these people, just as any individual who had committed some wrong. It is hardly likely that many men would willingly run any risks of unnecessarily antagonizing their fellow tribesmen when the proper means of preparing for the warpath was open to all. A careful perusal of the system of education given on page 166 makes it clear that a sufficiently large number of methods for obtaining consent to lead a party were given, and that it was possible for every male individual to go on the warpath frequently if he so desired. Certain requirements were, however, necessary. It was not left to each individual to decide for himself [622] whether he possessed these, but the final decision always lay in the hands of the chief.

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eating. Then the war leader asked for food, and it was brought to him. Now the 721
female relatives of the men came to the camp, bringing with them moccasins for the journey. After that the chief asked some man to tell stories and some to take care of the fireplace, while two brave warriors were put in charge of the camp. Toward morning a number of warriors who had not been asked to join this particular war party might stray in (*hatru'ggiže*).

Before the war leader enters the *higipara* he places his war bundle crosswise in front of the entrance of the *higipara* and sings some songs. When he is finished, his attendants place the war bundle on his back, and only then does he really enter the *higipara*, followed by all the other members of the war party.[1]

When they approached the place where they expected to find the enemy, two dis- 726
tinguished warriors were appointed to reconnoiter, and they proceeded ahead of the war party until they saw the enemy. Then they returned to the camp and reported to the war leader. From that time on they would practice their various individual powers (*waruxs'p nagigiže'jā*).[2]

When the two warriors sent out to reconnoiter return, the attendant offers them the pipe that he had prepared for the war leader. They smoke it and say, "Those whom we are after are entirely unaware of our presence." Then the members of the war party would thank them for their information. All would now start out against 726
the enemy. When near the enemy, they practice their powers again and paint 782
themselves with their war paints. To those spirits who have bestowed blessings upon the various members of the war party offerings are now made. Especially to the spirits who are in control of war powers are offerings made. To them they also pray for life and for war honors in the coming encounter. They even offer tobacco to those spirits from whom they have not received blessings, asking them for aid because of their careful observance of all the customs and precepts they were taught. Some offered tobacco to a medicine they possessed and asked the medicine to remember them in the coming encounter. Others boiled water (for a spirit) and asked him to assist them in obtaining a war honor, while others again offered tobacco to their war bundles and prayed that the powers contained therein might be strong and that they might kill some of the enemy and obtain war honors. All prayed that the enemy might not kill them and that they might finally return home safe. Those who had no supernatural powers to fall back upon would get frightened at such a time and they would say, "Alas! how will I fare! I should have fasted. I should have given feasts. I should have offered good medicines to the spirits and fasted until I was blessed, so that I, too, might now have some powerful medicine to use. Had I fasted and obtained a blessing from the spirits who are in control of war powers, had I given feasts, this all would have been a source of strength to me now and I would know positively whether or not I am going to be killed in the coming encounter."

When everything is in readiness the war leader rises and appoints four warriors to 726
give the war whoop. Then, as soon as the war whoop has been given, they would rush upon the enemy, imitating as they ran the sounds of the spirits who had blessed [555]
them. The first four to kill and count coup obtained the corresponding four war honors. Those who captured a man also obtained war honors. Beside these principal ones there were minor war honors. Those who obtained no honors at all would return home crying. After they had killed all those in the village of the enemy they would burn it to the ground and then start for their homes in the best of spirits.

When they were near their home they sent a messenger ahead to inform their rela- 727
tives to put on mourning, for all those who had started out on the warpath had been killed; that he who had in reality obtained the first war honor had been killed first,

[1] *Higipara* is the special arrangement of the camp used on individual warpaths.

[2] When a war party has located the enemy, they prepare for the attack and run ahead, practicing their individual magical powers. "The war-club running" (*waruxs'p nagigiže'jā*) referred to in the practice of running ahead in preparation for the attack upon the enemy so that they may not get tired out too easily. [789]

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727 etc. Then the war leader would secretly tell some one to select a stake (for the Victory Dance) and after a short time all the members of the war party would rush in and march around the entire village striking the scalps that they had tied to sticks. Then they would all go to the place where the stake had been put up and there they would distribute the war prizes to the sisters of the men who had won them and the women would walk around proudly with the prizes around their necks. Then, in the daytime 701 they would dance the Victory Dance and in the evening they would dance the 721 Hok'ixere Dance for four nights.

[115] *Description of a war party.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

[78] If a man wishes to go on the warpath he must fast and be blessed by the spirits in a specific manner. If a man is thus blessed, he gives a feast and announces his intention of leading a war party. The chief always has a representative at such a feast (a member of the Buffalo clan), and as soon as it is over this man goes to the former and reports to him. If the chief thinks that the blessing is insufficient and might cause the death [622] of many men he takes the war leader's pipe and lays it across his path and the war leader is then compelled to abandon his undertaking. This action on the part of the chief is sacred and must be accepted as final. The war leader dare not step across the pipe. Should the chief, however, not do this, then the war leader knew that there was no objection. Usually some members of every clan go along, but especially members of the Thunderbird, Warrior, and Bear clans.

The action of the war leader is controlled by many rules. He must be the one who has fasted and been blessed with all that is essential for conducting a war party. He must have his food provided for him by the spirits, know the exact location of the enemy, their numbers, and their sex.

726 After the war party has traveled for about four days, the men offer tobacco to the 701 leader and he tells them where he is going, the number of the enemy, etc. If, after that, any of the members of the war party do not approve of the undertaking then they place a pipe across his path and the war leader is compelled to return. If nothing is said, then all is well. The war leader always goes ahead of his party and his attendants behind him, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever the chief stops his attendants run to his side, take his war bundle and place it in front of him. Then the leader sits down, neither turning to the right nor to the left but looking straight ahead. The attendants get two poles and place them on each side of him, bend the ends over to form an arch, on each side of which are placed small oak sticks arranged in a row. Under this structure the war leader stays. Here he sleeps and is [614] fed by his attendants. No one is permitted to go ahead of this improvised structure. On each side of him two fireplaces are placed, two for the Upper clans and two for the Lower clans. If the war party is traveling westward the two fireplaces on the north side belong to the Lower clans and the two on the south side to the Upper clans. If a man is going on a warpath for the first time, he stays in the rear of the party and has a little fire of his own. He remains in the rear in this way until the battle begins. Then he joins the others.

A member of the Warrior clan is selected by the war leader to act as guard and he goes back and forth behind him encouraging the men and telling them not to steal away alone or go too far ahead of the party, since that always results in the loss of life. It is for this reason that it is not considered correct for a man to try and steal away and perhaps obtain a war honor in this selfish manner. Whenever the war leader stops he tells his companions what they must do in order to obtain food, all this information having been provided for in his blessing. If he tells some one to go to a certain place and kill a deer, he is certain to find a deer at the place specified. Whenever the war leader gets up and steps over his war bundle the attendants come and place his war [782] bundle on his back and he then proceeds on his march, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever he comes to a river he takes some of the tobacco which is

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always kept on hand and offers it to the spirit who controls this particular war party. 726 701
The others do the same. Then he would cross the river. Whenever he drank any water the others would also do so, and if he refrained so would the others. If at any [182] time during the night when they are camping the war leader should wake up and sing some songs, be they grizzly bear, black root paint, or night songs, all those others who [533] know similar songs would likewise begin to sing.

*Miscellaneous war customs.* There were, in former times, many 726
miscellaneous customs connected with warfare, most of which have now been forgotten. However, in myths and accounts of war parties a number of them are still mentioned.

When a war party surprised a lodge, all the occupants were killed or captured and the poles that were spliced together to form the arches were released so that they sprang back to either side and assumed a vertical position.

When a war party surprised a lodge in which there were children they generally killed them, cut off their heads, pried open their [127] mouths so as to give them the appearance of laughing, and then placed the heads on their bodies again and arranged them against the door, so that when their father came home he would find them greeting him as usual. A brave warrior would never flinch at such a sight, but would prepare a meal as usual and speak to the children as if they were alive and offer them something to eat. Only then would he bury them. Immediately after they had been buried he would go on the warpath to revenge them.

Frequently the skulls of slain enemies are used as lodge weights and 727
their skin is taken off and used as mats, door-flaps, etc.

*War honors.*—"It is the ideal of every Winnebago youth," says an 726
informant, "to kill an enemy in full sight of his friends and thus to [183] gain for himself a headdress and an eagle feather." Most deeds considered valorous, according to Winnebago ideas, have associated with 554
them certain insignia which are always worn in public, giving evidence to all that so-and-so has performed such and such a valorous deed.

These insignia consist of the following:

*Headdress and feather.*—Denote that an individual has scalped and killed a man and torn off his scalp still bleeding. He is entitled to a red headdress and eagle feather. This also includes the man who has counted first coup (*sarinfgrahi'ra*).

*Red headdress.*—If he has killed the enemy and not scalped him (*tcad'ate wak'e'rd.*)

*Eagle feather.*—Worn by one who has counted second coup.

*Hanging eagle feather.*—Worn by one who has counted third coup.

*Eagle feather stuck crosswise in hair.*—Worn by one who has counted fourth coup.

*Waggirusgite.*—Consists of a rope worn around the neck. It is worn by the leader of that warpath who has captured an enemy.

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867 My son, never abuse your wife. The women are sacred. If you
593 abuse your wife and make her life miserable, you will die early.
563 Our grandmother, the earth, is a woman, and in mistreating your
776 wife you will be mistreating her. Most assuredly will you be abusing our grandmother if you act thus. And as it is she that is taking care of us you will really be killing yourself by such behavior.

867 My son, when you keep house, should anyone enter your house,
574 no matter who it is, be sure to offer him whatever you have in the house. Any food that you withhold at such a time will most assuredly become a source of death to you. If you are stingy about giving food the people will kill you on this account. They will poison you. If you hear of a traveler who is visiting your people and you wish to see him, prepare your table for him and have him seat for. In this manner you will be acting correctly. It is always good to act correctly and do good, the old people used to say.

867 If you see an old, helpless person, help him with whatever you
838 possess. Should you happen to possess a home and you take him there, he might suddenly say abusive things about you during the middle of the meal. You will be strengthened by such words. This same traveler may, on the contrary, give you something that
[778] he carries under his arms and which he treasures very highly. If it is an object without a stem,* keep it to protect your house. If you thus keep it within your house, your home will never be molested by any bad spirits. Nothing will be able to enter your house unexpectedly. Thus you will live. Witches, instead of entering your house, will pass around it. If, in addition to possessing this medicine, you also fast, your people will be benefited by it greatly.

867 Earthmaker made spirits up above and some he made to live on
773 this earth; and again some he made to live under the water and
776 some to live in the water; and all these he put in charge of something. Even the small animals that move about this earth the creator put in charge of some power. Thus he created them. Afterwards he created us human beings and as he had exhausted all the powers to be disposed of we were not in control of anything. Then he made a weed and placed it in our charge. And he said that no matter how powerful are the spirits that exist they would not be able to take this weed from us without giving something in return.
[274] He himself, Earthmaker, would not be able to demand it for nothing. So he spoke. This weed was the tobacco plant. Earthmaker said that if we would offer a pipeful of tobacco to him, whatever we should ask of him he would immediately grant. Not only he, but all the
[782] spirits created, longed to have some of this tobacco. It is for this reason that when we fast and cry piteously for some spirit to take pity on us, if we give them tobacco they will bless us with those

* A pipe without a stem, presumably some root, used for warding off danger.

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867 that are in your possession. You will indeed never be embarrassed.
787 You will know just wherein his ailment lies. As you have obtained
756 your power with great effort, therefore what you say will be so. If you say he will live, he will live. If the relatives of the patient make you good payments, you may perform what you are accustomed to in your treatment of people. Then you can ask your medicine to put forth its strength for you and it will do so. If you make good
[782] offerings of tobacco to the plants and if you make feasts in their honor, if, indeed, you make much of your medicine, if you talk to it as though it were a human being, then when you ask it to put forth its strength it will do so. The payments that you receive you can take with a good conscience and your children will wear them and will be strengthened thereby. So be very diligent in the care you bestow upon them. The medicines were placed here by Earthmaker for a good purpose. We are to use them to heal ourselves. For that purpose Earthmaker gave them to us. If anyone tries to obtain the life sustainers—that is, the medicines—and inflicts suffering upon
[776] himself in order to obtain them, our grandmother will know about it. So whatever you spend upon it, be it in labor or in goods, she will know about it. All that you gave in obtaining your medicines she will know. They will be returned to you. The people will thus be providing themselves with something for the future. The people always look forward to the future and for all possible happenings they will have some medicine provided. You must try to obtain some of the medicines that most people possess. If you want
867 paint-medicine, make yourself pitiable. If your paint-medicine
789 overcomes your enemy and you keep it in your home, you will never
756 be wanting in wealth. The most valued possessions of the people will be given to you. The people will love you and the paint-medicine will be the cause of it. Whatever you receive will be in consequence of the possession of the paint-medicine. The paint-medicine
[776] is made of the blood of the Water-spirits, and therefore it is holy. People used to fast and thirst themselves to death and a Water-spirit would appear to them and bestow his blessings upon them. Whatever he told them would come true. The Earthmaker put the
867 Water-spirit in charge of these things so that he would bless the
789 people with them. That was his purpose.

Some people who wished to find good medicines obtained the
[525 race medicine. Try and learn of it. Others had gambling medicine.
224] and still others again had hunting medicine. There are medicines for very purpose.

[832] There is a courting medicine and a medicine to prevent married people from wishing to separate, and there is a medicine for making one rich.

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fact of Winnebago culture, namely, that there are, strictly speaking, no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in many respects, are absolutely identical with the religious societies, and which furnish, it seems to us, an example of just those two kinds of influence that we wished to point out, one radiating from the clan as an organization, the other from the entire clan unit. 614 575 [796]

In the Winter Feasts the unit of organization is the clan. Generally all the clans were represented in the person of the owner of each specific clan war bundle. The order of invitation was traditionally fixed, but it seems that in a number of cases the "friend" clan always had the position of honor. The war-bundle owner was not, however, supposed to represent the clan at all, but the spirits to whom offerings were being made. In every case, although the participants were supposed to represent a fairly large number of animals, the main blessings that were contained in the war bundle were from the thunderbird and night-spirit and the main offerings were indeed made to them. There seem thus to have been two separate ceremonies involved, one to the thunderbird and the other to the night-spirits. 614 796 [782 776]

The question arising with regard to the clan basis of these ceremonial organizations is whether we are to imagine that the ceremonial unit of organization was displaced by the clan unit, or whether we are to suppose that the ceremony is of comparatively recent origin, let us say at least long after the clan organization had been perfected, and that a number of things combined to determine the acceptance of the clan as a unit of organization, as opposed to the traditional ceremonial one. To the foregoing we must also add the fact that the Winter Feast seems to be related to similar ceremonies of the Central Algonquian, whose influence on the Winnebago must first be determined. If, then, we are not in a position at present to suggest the course of development, there can be no doubt that the content of the ceremony is strictly comparable to that of the religious societies, and that there are hints that the ceremonial unit of organization had begun to assert itself. If this could be definitely established, it would indicate that the clan basis of organization is historically primary. [171]

The clan unit of organization is found in no other Winnebago ceremony, although the specific clan feasts show marked influences radiating from the clan unit. The clan feast is a typical ceremonial complex, both in type of organization and in content. The difference between it and a society like that of the night-spirit lies in the fact that although the five principal participants must have specific blessings (bundles), they must at the same time belong to the clan. To what extent a member of one clan who has obtained a bundle

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"My son, we first originated in human form at Bad Lake (*de-ciciк*).* From four buffalo spirits who are there, did we originate. The youngest one was clever and from him did we originate. The buffaloes asked one another what they were to do, and they then began to exert their powers, and the youngest one obtained the knowledge that there was to be a gathering of all the animals. So they all landed at a place called Red Banks. So it is said. And to the elk was given the charge of the seating arrangements. 614 533 776

"Thus did we originate. And then they councilled with one another as to how they should travel along the road of life. And as they arrived at Red Banks, each one would ask the other to do some work. And there they made a sacred (covenant)—that they would never fail to grant one another's requests. Likewise they agreed that when they died they would bury one another. The Buffalo clan and the Water-spirit clan were to bury one another, and they were to ask one another to work." [764]

CLAN SONGS

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533

*Song 1*

Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.

*Song 2*

This earth you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

*Song 3*

This day you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

"My son, here is some more information that one in your position should seek. This should be the second thing to ask for: 'What should one say when one gives a feast?' This you should ask for, and you should boil food for the informant and then you will be taught the proper speeches. Afterwards, when anyone boils food (i. e., gives a winter feast) a kettle should first be put on for Earth-maker and one should ask him for life; that the people may live to be strong and good. Include tobacco in your offering, for although Earthmaker made the tobacco he will not take any of it of his own accord. Not until it is offered to him by humans will he take it. 567 [782] [276]

* The name *de-ciciк* is applied to-day to Lake Michigan. However, our informant in this case applied it to Devils Lake in Sauk County, Wis. [103]

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867 782 276 Thus he made the tobacco so that humans may ask life with it, and he will grant them their desires. This is all."

### CLAN NAMES

THE HIR'IR'ARAIJURA (BUFFALO CLAN)

614 551

| | |
|---|---|
| Hoestrega | He who travels the land. |
| Teenimonkwinga | She who walks ahead. |
| Teenighsiga | Sparkling buffalo calf. |
| Teega | Buffalo. |
| Teep'eer'ega | Two buffalo heads. |
| Teetra'iwinga | First buffalo. |
| Teedegenigh'a | Buffalo yearling. |
| Teedenigh'a | Young buffalo bull. |
| Teewiganderga | Big female buffalo. |
| Wirukanenga | He who is in control. |
| Hohokanenga? | Shaggy walker. |
| Teehatewinga | Buffalo hide blue. |
| Ma'ghkeenteega | Shakes the earth by striking |
| Teep'ega | Buffalo head. |
| Manok'arahiga | Kicking up the earth |

## THE DEER CLAN

### INTRODUCTION

614 173 The first version of the origin myth of the Deer clan is in part like that of version 6 of the Bear clan origin myth and in part like that of version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth. It is the only myth that shares with version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth the account of the origin of death.

614 The Deer clan does not seem to have had any important functions, although in myth I, it is stated that they claimed a "partial" chieftainship, whatever that may mean.

[577] It was considered an insult to tell a member of this clan that he resembled a deer.

[826] The facial painting is the same as that used for the Elk clan. (Pl. 48.)

[826 761] The Deer clan people tell one another not to sing their clan song very loudly, and also not to make any sudden movement of their limbs, for each movement might cause the death of a human being. For the same reason they are told not to weep too loudly, as each deer's limb is a symbol of one of the four directions. When, therefore, a Deer clansman moves a limb too hard when he is weeping over the decease of a member of his clan, he might be "putting some human being in the earth," and the wind would blow hard.

[552] The dog names obtained were *wanderighonigs* and *na"natrgiega*.

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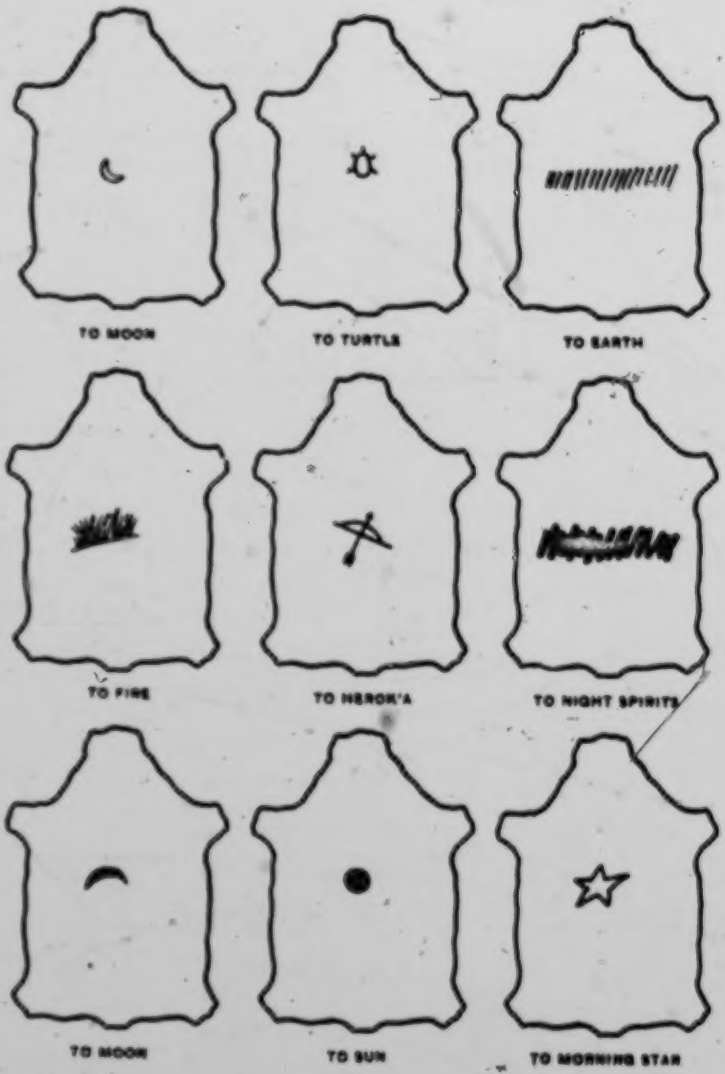


BUCKSKIN OFFERINGS

[Facing p. 248 (8)]

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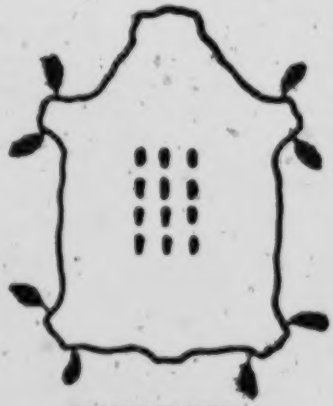

FOR DISEASE GIVER

FOR EARTHMAKER

FOR NIGHT SPIRITS

FOR THUNDERBIRD

BUCKSKIN OFFERINGS.

[Facing p. 248 ⅜)]

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# CHAPTER X

## SHAMANISTIC AND MEDICINAL PRACTICES

### Introduction

756 The shamanistic and medicinal practices of the Winnebago differ
[171] in no respect from those found all over the woodland area and there is consequently no need for discussing them at length. The stories told about *Midjitega* and old Lincoln are the famous tricks and sleight-of-hand performances known all over America. There does not seem to be as much said about the conjuring lodge as is the case among the Ojibwa. This apparently is identical with the Winnebago *waruka'na*, "exerting one's powers." The lack of specific information relating to this subject obtained by the author may, however, be due to accident.

278 The Winnebago make a fourfold classification of their medicines:
754 Those that affect a person by direct administration; those that affect him by their odor, like love and racing medicines; those that affect
[187] him at a distance; and those that are shot at an individual. Most of the medicines are obtained by fasting, although they can also be bought. The most important of these medicines are those called the stench-earth medicine (see p. 259) and the black-earth medicine.

[782] Medicine may be used in a number of ways, but principally as offerings or as means of killing animals or men. It is often chewed.
[789] In order to make arrows or guns unerring, medicine is frequently rubbed upon them.

754 Sympathetic magic is of course well known. The procedure is the common one. A picture of the man to be harmed is drawn on the ground and shot at, stabbed, etc. The man is then certain to die a short time after, in the same manner as the figure has been mutilated.

There are two general magical ceremonies. *Waruka'na*, to know something by exerting one's powers; *wana'terre*, to hypnotize in the distance. (For description of latter, see p. 111.)

787 *Example of waruka'na.*—J.'s older brother and a friend had failed to return home and so J.'s grandfather went to a man called C. English and, offering him some tobacco, asked him to find out something about his son i. e., to exert his powers. English did so and told the old man that they were camping and making sugar and that if

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763 of prey hovering around the hill and he felt certain that they were
there so that they could devour him as soon as he was dead. How-
825 ever, the birds told him they had come to cure not to devour him.
755 Many carnivorous birds and many wolves were there. The turtle
756 also came because he was the owner of some medicines.

Then the animals who had gathered on the hill began to doctor him. The raven began first. He ejaculated *e-he-al e-he-al* gave him some medicine and began to exert his powers until he felt better. Then the wolf began. He walked around ejaculating certain sounds and spitting medicine on him. The man became much better. He was almost completely restored to health. Then the turtle began to exert his powers, ejaculating at the same time *ahil ahil ahil ahil* and walking around the man and giving him some boiled medicine to drink. Now he was almost entirely cured. Finally a black hawk began to doctor the man. He put some medicine on the place where the man's pains seemed to be situated and he was immediately cured. Then all those who had cured him said, "Human! In a similar way you shall cure your fellowmen." They then gave him as much medicine as he would need. The raven gave him his "medicine chest," consisting of a flute and a gourd. With these things he blessed him. He also gave him a song which he was to sing. Then the wolf gave him his medicine chest, consisting of a gourd and a flute, and told him that he would not fail to cure any sick person he treated and that if the sick people offered the proper amount of tobacco, red eagle feathers, and food, no matter how serious their disease was he would be able to cure it. Then he told the man that Earthmaker had placed him in charge of these things and that he in turn would bless him with them for all eternity. As long as any of his posterity was left they would enjoy the benefit of these blessings.

825 And this is true, for even to the present day his descendants use
756 this medicine.

Then Black Hawk said, "I, also, bless you. Earthmaker placed me
[782] in charge of some medicines and with these I bless you. If you are
careful in offering tobacco and food to these medicines they will always help you to the utmost of their power. Whatever you ask they will accomplish for you. They will be able to understand you. So, if anyone is sick, you will be able to help him. In this way I bless you. If you are ever in any difficulty, think of me and I will help you." (What he meant is that if he ever was in any difficulty, he should think of the medicines with which Black Hawk had blessed him, and that that would be the same as if he thought of him.)

Then the Buffalo said, "My grandson, Earthmaker placed me in charge of certain medicines. Why should you then wish to die? Your condition is 'pitiable,' and therefore I want to bless you.

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756 on the earth, have medicines that you are to use on earth. Whatever you say on earth it will be so. You have been blessed with all the things that are on and under the earth."

All the fowls and insects of the air, all the beings that have wings, blessed him and gave him medicines, which he was to mix with other medicines. He was told to make use of all the insects of the earth and air, some of which we never see. All those who live on earth, all the fishes in the water, and all the different kinds of water-spirits blessed him with medicines. He was blessed with, and told to use as medicines, all those plants that live in the water. He was blessed with the leech, one of the animals that lives in the water, and he was to use it in medicine mixing. They say that it is good to mix the leech with other medicines to relieve pain. He was blessed with all the trees, that we see to-day, which he was to use as medicines. Their bark, leaves, and roots are considered very good for such purposes. He was blessed also with all the small undergrowth, whose leaves, bark, inner bark, blossoms, and roots he was to use for medicine. He was blessed with all the weeds, and he was to use their heads and leaves for medicine, but their roots were to be used for other purposes.

Thus all the different kinds of plants that grow on this earth blessed him. The earth also blessed him and said to him, "Grandson, as the other spirits are blessing you, I, also, will bless you. Earthmaker has placed me here, and I therefore bless you with all plants that grow upon me, and all the trees and woods and animals that exist on this earth, and lastly, with life and myself (i. e., earth). You may use me, and especially the blue clay that you derive from me, for medicines. Should you use as medicine all these things with which I have blessed you, especially if you use me, as medicine, you will be able to accomplish all that you attempt.

"If a person who is sick offers you tobacco (i. e., asks you to cure him), remember that I also would like to smoke and that it is for that reason that I have blessed you."[9]

[826] Birds, especially eagles, are used in the making of medicines. The entire body of a raven, including the heart and brains, are used, and also the following snakes: The gray snake, the black snake, the blue snake, the yellow snake, the bull snake, and the snake that breaks itself in two. The rattlesnake is used in a mixture given to women when in labor. If a woman hurts herself during pregnancy and kills the child within her womb, she can be made to deliver the embryo if she uses the medicine mentioned above.

[844 278 845]

[776 782]

[9] According to general belief the spirits are supposed to have entered into a sort of "bargain" with the human beings by which they were to bestow their blessings upon them in exchange for tobacco, buckskin, and feathers. Of course, it must be understood that individuals must have the necessary requirements, such as a certain skills in of mind, fasting, etc., before their offering of tobacco has any meaning to the spirits.

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from his mouth. Then they said to me, 'You have killed him. Even so great a spirit as this you have been able to kill. Indeed, nothing will ever be able to cross your path.' Then they took the 'bear' I had killed and cut him into small pieces with a knife, piled these in the center of the lodge, and covered them with some dark material. 'Now,' they said, 'you must again try your powers.' I asked them for the articles that I would have to use and they gave me a flute and a gourd. Then I made myself holy. All those who had blessed me were present. I walked around the object that lay piled up in the center of the lodge and breathed upon it. This I did for the second time and all those within the lodge breathed together with me. Four times I did this and then the spirit-grizzly bear got up and walked away in the shape of a human being. 'It is good,' they said. 'He has restored him to life again. Surely he is holy.' After a while they said to me again, 'Just as you have done here, will you always do below. Whenever you wish to, you will be able to kill a person or restore him to life. Most assuredly you have been blessed.'

"Then they placed a black stone in the shamans' lodge that stood above. There again they made a trial of my powers. There I blew four times on the stone and I blew a hole through it. For that reason, if any person has a pain and he lets me blow upon it, I can blow it away. It makes no difference what kind of a pain it is. My breath was made holy by the spirits.

"The spirits on the earth and those under the earth also gave me a trial of my powers. They placed an old rotten log before me. I breathed upon it four times, and spat water upon it and it got up in the shape of a human being and walked away.

"My ability to spit water upon the people whom I am treating I received from an eel, from the chief among the eels, one who lives in the center and in the deepest part of the ocean. He is absolutely white and he is the one who blessed me. Whenever I spit water it is inexhaustible, because it comes from him, the eel.

"Then I came to this earth again. They, the spirits, all gave me advice before I left them. When I came upon this earth I entered a lodge and there I was born again. As I said, I thought that I was entering a lodge, but in reality I was entering my mother's womb. Even in my prenatal existence, I never lost consciousness. Then I grew up and fasted again and again, and all those spirits who had blessed me before sent me their blessings again. I can dictate to all the spirits that exist. Whatever I say will come to pass. The [782] tobacco you (the patients) offer me is not to be used by myself. It is really intended for the spirits.

"Spirits, a person is sick and he offers me tobacco. I am on earth to accept it and to try to cure him.

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"'You will live (this is addressed to the patient), so help yourself as much as you can and try to make yourself strong. Now as I offer this tobacco to the spirits you must listen, and if you know that I am telling the truth, you will be strengthened by it.'" 755 782 776 539

(What follows is the shaman's offering of tobacco to the spirits.)

"*Ha' ho!* Here is the tobacco, Fire. You promised me that if I offered you tobacco you would grant me whatever request I made. Now I am placing tobacco on your head as you told me to, when I fasted for four days and you blessed me. I am sending you the plea of a human being who is ill. He wishes to live. This tobacco is for you and I pray that the one who is ill be restored to health within four days.

"To you too, Buffalo, I offer tobacco. A person who is ill is offering tobacco to you and asking you to restore him to health. So add that power which I obtained from you at the time I fasted for six days and you sent your spirits after me who took me to your lodge which lies in the center of this earth and which is absolutely white. There you blessed me, you Buffaloes, of four different colors. Those blessings that you bestowed upon me then, I ask of you now. The power of breathing with which you blessed me, I am in need of now. Add your power to mine, as you promised. The people have given me plenty of tobacco for you.

"To you, Grizzly-bear, I also offered tobacco. At a place called Pointed Hill lives a spirit who is in charge of a ceremonial lodge and to this all the other grizzly-bears belong. You all blessed me and you said that I would be able to kill whomsoever I wished, and that at the same time I would be able to restore any person to life. Now I have a chance to enable a person to live and I wish to aid him. So here is some tobacco for you. You took my spirit to your home after I had fasted for ten days and you blessed me there. The powers with which you blessed me there I ask of you now. Here is some tobacco, grandfathers, that the people are offering to you.

"To you, the Chief of the Eels, you who live in the center of the ocean, I offer tobacco. You blessed me after I had fasted for eight days. With your power of breathing and with your inexhaustible supply of water, you blessed me. You told me that I could use my blessing whenever I tried to cure a patient. You told me that I could use all the water in the ocean, and you blessed me with all the things that are in the water. A person has come to me and asked me for life; and as I wish him to live, I am addressing you. When I spit upon the patient may the power of my saliva be the same as yours. Therefore I offer you tobacco; here it is.

"To you, the Turtle, you who are in charge of a shaman lodge, you who blessed me after I had fasted seven days and carried my spirit to your home, where I found many birds of prey (literally, birds

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755 with sharp claws). There you blessed me and you told me that
782 should, at any time, any human being have a pain I would be able
776 to drive it out of him. For that reason you called me (One-who-
539 drives-out-pains. Now before me is a person with a bad pain and I wish to take it out of him. That is what the spirits told me when they blessed me, before I came down to earth. Therefore I am going to heal him. Here is the tobacco.

"To you, who are in charge of the snake lodge, you who are perfectly white, Rattlesnake, I pray. You blessed me with your rattles to wrap around my gourd and you told me after I had fasted for four days that you could help me. You said that I would never fail in anything that I attempted. So now, when I offer you tobacco and shake my gourd, may my patient live and may life (an additional number of years) be opened to him. That is what you promised me, grandfather.

"I greet you, too, Night Spirits. You blessed me after I had fasted for nine days, and you took my spirit to your village which lies in the east, where you gave me your flutes which you told me were holy. You made my flute holy likewise. For these I ask you now, for you know that I am speaking the truth. A sick person has come to me and has asked me to cure him; and because I want him to live I am speaking to you. You promised to accept my tobacco at all times; here it is.

"To you, Disease-giver, I offer tobacco. After I had fasted two days you let me know that you were the one who gives diseases and that if I desired to heal anyone it would be easy for me to do so were I blessed by you. So, Disease-giver, I am offering you tobacco, and I ask that this sick person who has come to me be restored to health again as you promised when you bestowed your blessing upon me.

"To you, Thunderbirds, I offer tobacco too. When you blessed me you said that you would help me whenever I needed you. A person has come to me and asked me to cure him, and as I want him to live, I wish to remind you of your promise. Grandfathers, here is some tobacco.

"To you, the Sun, I offer tobacco too; here it is. You blessed me after I had fasted for five days and you told me that you would come to my aid whenever I had something difficult to do. Now, someone has come to me and pleaded for life, and he has brought good offerings of tobacco to me because he knows that you have blessed me.

"To you, grandmother, the Moon, I also offer tobacco. You blessed me and said that whenever I needed your power you would aid me. A person has come to me and asked for life, and I therefore call upon you to help me with your power as you promised. Grandmother, here is some tobacco.

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"To you, grandmother, the Earth, I too offer tobacco. You 755
blessed me and promised to help me whenever I needed you. You 782
said that I could use all the best herbs that grow upon you, and that 776
I would always be able to effect cures with them. Those herbs I ask 539
of you now, and I ask you to help me cure this sick person. Make my medicine powerful, grandmother.

"To you, Chief of the Spirits, I offer tobacco. You who blessed me and said that you would help me. I offer you tobacco and ask you to let this sick person live, and if his spirit is about to depart, I ask you to prevent it.

"I offer tobacco to all of you who have blessed me."

Then the shaman blew upon his flute, breathed upon the sick man and sang four times. Then he walked around the lodge and spat water upon the patient. After this he sang four times and stopped. The spirits would now let him know whether the patient was to live or die.

In this manner a shaman treats his patients for four days, and after that takes his offerings and goes away. If the sick person happens to recover, the shaman would tell him that he would never be sick again.

### Thundercloud's Fasting Experience

Then he (Thundercloud) told of his fasting experience. "At 756
the very beginning, those above taught me (the following). A 776
doctor's village existed there; and all the various spirits that lived up in the clouds came after me, and instructed me in what I was to do. In the beginning they taught me, and did the following for me. 'Human, let us try it,' they said to me. There, in the middle of the lodge, lay a dead, rottening log, almost completely covered with weeds. There they tried to make me treat (the sick person). Then once he breathed, and all those that were in the lodge also breathed; then the second time he breathed, and all breathed with him; then for the third time he breathed; and then for the fourth time he breathed. As a young man he, the dead log, arose and walked away. After the fourth breathing, he arose and walked away. 'Human, very holy he is,' they said to me.

"There, from the middle of the ocean, they (the spirits) came after me, for there, in the middle of the ocean, is a shamans' village. There they blessed me—as many (spirits) as there are in the middle of the ocean—they all blessed me. There they made me try my power. As many waves as there are, all of them as large as the ocean, they asked me to blow upon; and as I blew upon them, everything became (as quiet) as (water) in a small saucer. So it became. Then I blew for the third time, and again it was that way. The fourth time they made the ocean choppy, and had (the waves) piled

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along, the amount of food required, the number of moccasins necessary, the number and strength of the enemy, where he was to meet them, etc.—that only such a man might start on a warpath. If an individual failed to give the proper assurances and guarantees to the chief, his expedition was not countenanced. If, nevertheless, he went, any mishap was directly chargeable to him. 726 737

In other words, we are dealing here with a more or less fixed way of describing the mundane happenings of life. The terminology is religious, but does that mean that there is always a religious feeling attached to it? That is the crucial question to determine. We believe that the religious element in such a happening depends upon the religious susceptibility of the individual concerned. It is quite possible that a devoutly religious man may think of the religious aspect of a rite or action more than one who is but indifferently religious, but he will never for one moment forget that the questions involved here are of a purely human nature. The most that can be said of the religious element of the two particular cases mentioned above is that they will spur the person on. Perhaps it is the realization that such is the case that often prompts the more matter-of-fact individuals to lay such stress on fasting preparatory to starting on a warpath. There, indeed, seems to have been a matter-of-fact movement in the tribe, for the members of the Warrior clan claimed that they could dispense with the fasting, and that mere membership in that particular clan gave them the right to go on a warpath whenever they wished to. This we know was vigorously denied by other individuals. 771 [614 787]

The Winnebago has no disinterested, unselfish love for the spirit or deity to whom he prays, except in so far as every man is likely to develop such an attitude at some crisis or when his mind is fixed intently on the attainment of some personal advantage. Then, naturally enough, the spirits who are to bestow these blessings are addressed in the most laudatory terms. To show how intimately these spirits are bound up with the worldly affairs of man and how little they mean to him apart from this we have but to point out that, for the vast majority of Winnebago, the spirits' freedom of action is conceived of as definitely restricted. There seems to be a purely mechanical relation of cause and effect between the offerings of men and their acceptance by the spirits. The latter are not free to reject them except in theory. Was it not ordained by Earthmaker, when the earth was created, that in return for tobacco the spirits were to bestow blessings on man? So every Winnebago believes. The religious leaders insisted that only when the proper offerings were made in the proper way would the spirits bestow their blessings. But after all is said and done, the chances that the proper conditions would not be fulfilled were negligible And we doubt whether this 776 782 771

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776 rather high conception was shared by all the Winnebago. Our
782 impression is that many Winnebago believed the offering would
771 be mechanically followed by the blessing. Take, for instance, the following example: A middle-aged Winnebago while hunting was suddenly surprised by the enemy. He succeeded in making his escape into a cave. All hope of final delivery seemed to be gone, for the enemy stationed themselves before the entrance. Now this man had never been blessed in his youth and knew little about the proper procedure to observe when making offerings to the spirits. In this terrible crisis he turned instinctively to the spirits. He took some tobacco and put some in the different nooks of the cave, and said: "Spirits, whoever you are, and wherever you are, it is said that you love tobacco and that in return for it you bless people. Here is some tobacco, and I ask that I may return to my people." There was, as far as we know, no promise made that in return he would make further offerings to them or that he would thereafter love them and honor them. He escaped and unquestionably believed that it was due to the intervention of the spirits, but the spirits were, quite clearly, constrained to act because they had received tobacco.

There can be little doubt that many Winnebago felt as this man did. We find an expression of the same attitude in a myth. The Winnebago are represented as making offerings to the buffalo spirits, and the smoke is ascending to the home of these spirits through a hole in the sky. The younger buffalos can not resist the temptation of approaching the opening to catch a few whiffs of their favorite tobacco. They are thereupon warned by the older buffalos not to go too close, for the tobacco fumes might tempt them too strongly; and should they succumb to the temptation and accept the offerings, they would then have to appear on earth and be killed by man.
776 As might have been expected, there is in the relation of the spirits
782 to man something similar to the securing of the food animal by some
771 such ceremony as the *wasa'kere*. The spirits are dazzled, hypnotized
825 by the offerings, and accept.

In the second of the examples given above we were dealing with a food animal—the buffalo. If there is any plausibility in the explanation we advanced before that the Winnebago interprets religion in terms of life, the relation of the spirits to the food supply ought to show it. Now, it is characteristic of the Winnebago religion that the great generalized spirit deities, like Earthmaker, Sun, Moon, etc., have little to do with the securing of specific kinds of food. As a rule, some generalized spirit-animal presides over the various species of animals, and he gladly permits the animals to appear on earth to be killed by man when the proper offerings are made. This seems to have been a secondary interpretation, however, developed probably
[756] under the influence of the shamans as a substitute for the purely mechanical attitude mentioned above. To picture the food animals

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as desirous of being killed and eaten by man is, however, but another way of saying that the food animals were killed and eaten, and were secondarily and weakly brought into the general religious life, because everything was seen through a religious vista. It is by no means certain that this was always the case, and there seem to be innumerable indications in the myths that there was a time when the securing of the food animals was not connected with religion as such.

Just as the securing of food animals is to-day connected with certain spirits, so are the various activities of man during his life. But characteristically it is not a generalized conception of life, but life as consisting of a prescribed number of years, with so many war honors, so much wealth, so much food consumed, so many children, etc. The spirits are exhorted to give to every man his allotted number of years, food, etc. These are apparently his by right, and if he dies before his time the ghost of the deceased is asked to beg the spirits to distribute among his relatives the "unused" years, food, etc. So here, too, we have a clear example of the explanation of purely materialistic conception of life in terms of religion.

It will be best to discuss the main features of Winnebago religion under the following heads:

I. The religious concepts:
   1. The concept of supernatural power.
   2. The concept and nature of the spirits.
   3. The power and localization of the spirits.

II. 1. The twofold interpretation of the relation of the spirits to man.
   2. The guardian spirits.
   3. Personal religious experiences.

III. Methods of bringing the spirits into relation with man:
   1. Fasting.
   2. Mental concentration.
   4. Offerings and sacrifices.
   5. Prayers.

IV. The folkloristic concepts:
   1. The concept of evil.
   2. The concept of disease.
   3. The concepts of death, after-life, and reincarnation.
   4. The concept of the soul.

V. The cosmological ideas.

## The Concept of Supernatural Power[1]

The Winnebago have no such belief in a "magic power" as Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt and Mr. W. Jones would have us believe exists among [114]

[1] For a general discussion of this concept in North America cf. my paper on the "Religion of the North American Indians," Journal of American Folklore, vol. 27, no. 108, pp. 350-381.

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T16 created everything with the definite purpose of benefiting mankind in contrast to the creative acts of the old Trickster. It is very instructive to notice how he gradually usurped the place formerly held by the older spirit-deities and clan ancestors. In the clan origin myths there are a number of versions where he directs certain spirit animals, the ancestors of the clan, to go down to earth, while in other apparently older versions nothing is said of him.

*Sun.* The sun is known to the Winnebago generally as *ha*hwira*, orb of day, and ceremonially as *ha*horadjera*, day-wanderer. He does not occupy to-day the position he formerly held. There are a number of indications that seem to point to the fact that his worship diminished when that of Earthmaker began to assert itself. Many of his functions and powers were likewise taken over by the Thunderbirds, who, although they distinctly belong to the older strata of Winnebago beliefs, have yet assumed their present importance apparently in connection with the development of the Earthmaker belief.

[773] The sun is occasionally spoken of in myths, but rarely as a culture hero. In only one myth collected was he the hero of the myth. There he appears as the husband of the moon and as an anthropomorphic being who possesses an all-powerful disk (the sun).

[782] Offerings are frequently made to him, but he rarely blesses an individual. In other words, he is not a true guardian spirit. He only blesses men and upon them he always confers success in war.

*Moon.* The moon, like the sun, probably formerly occupied a more important place in the Winnebago pantheon. She is a female deity and blesses women, although, like the sun, she is not a true guardian spirit.

*Earth.* Earth, like the moon, is a female deity. She is one of the oldest deities of the Winnebago and appears as the grandmother in some of the oldest myth cycles, like that of the hare. Offerings are

[782] made to her at the various ceremonies, particularly at the medicine dance and the war-bundle feasts. She never appears as a guardian spirit.

[756] The earth is one of the deities who has received considerable reinterpretation at the hands of the shamans. In the myths she is a purely folk-mythological figure in no way interested in furthering the welfare of mankind. On the contrary, she is spoken of as the sister of those bad spirits who are bent on destroying the human race. Her rôle as a beneficent deity probably developed in connection with that of the hare, her grandchild, according to the old folklore notions, transformed when he became associated with the founding of the medicine dance or its older Winnebago predecessor from a typical trickster to an heroic animal deity.

*Morning Star.*—This is one of the spirits belonging to the older strata of Winnebago beliefs, who apparently was not displaced by

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776 posed to be at eternal enmity with him, and for that reason he is regarded by most of the Winnebago as a sort of a mixed deity, partly evil and partly good, but always to be feared and capable of bestowing great blessings on man. Owing to the fact that he has become [614] identified as the clan ancestor of one of the most important Winnebago clans, he has undergone a partial rehabilitation.

The Water-spirit is an important figure in the older myths, and in them seems to be identified with the bad spirits. The attitude of the Winnebago toward him is full of inconsistencies. He is evil, yet his [778] "bones" are the most prized possessions of man on account of the remarkable power with which they are endowed. He is an evil spirit, yet according to an apparently old myth (the Traveler) one of the Water-spirits is the spirit deity in control of the earth.

In addition to these marked anthropomorphic and theromorphic spirit deities, the Winnebago, as mentioned before, have a large number of vague spirits, like fire, light, etc., and a legion of animal spirits. The latter show some interesting transitions extending all the way from purely nonspirit heroic animals to distinct spirits, conceived of as animal in shape but noncorporeal. In many cases it is, of course, [825] quite impossible to say how marked the "spirit" nature of the animal is, because it often depends on who is looking at it. To the ordinary nonreligious Winnebago the hare is mainly an heroic animal; to the religious Winnebago or a member of the medicine dance he is a spirit-animal or even a spirit-deity. In the same way different conceptions are held about the nature of the animal clan ancestors, some thinking of them as heroic animals and others as generalized noncorporeal spirit-animals and spirit-deities. Wherever guardian spirits are animals they also become noncorporeal spirit-animals. One of the reasons given by the Winnebago for the fact that the different guardian spirit-animals do not object to the killing of animals of their own species is because, in killing a bear a Winnebago is not killing his guardian spirit, the bear, for the latter is a generalized spirit-bear in control of all the bears who appear on earth.

In a number of cases it is not at all difficult to trace the development of a trickster hero, an anthropomorphic hero, or an heroic animal, into a spirit to whom offerings are made. Thus, for instance, [782] kettles and often buckskins are offered to *wak'djuak'a'ga*, hare, and the twins, at the war-bundle feasts.

### The Power and Localization of the Spirits

According to the Winnebago, spirits possess the power of bestowing upon man all those things that are of socio-economic value to him. These may vary from such very important economic things as rain

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or success on the warpath to the most insignificant trifles. Practically any spirit, no matter how indefinitely conceived, can bestow generalized blessings. On the whole, however, these powers are conceived of as being in the hands of a comparatively small number, and the same powers are frequently possessed by different spirits. This will become clear after a careful perusal of the fasting experiences. 776

As to the prevalence of the belief in the localization of spirits, not only among the Winnebago but over all North America, there can no longer be any doubt. Among the Winnebago there are as many spirits as there are lakes, hills, rivers, etc., and all these are looked upon from two points of view, first as the bestowers of certain blessings and, secondly, as the protectors of their own precincts. In the first case they are generally identical with the guardian spirits. In the second case they are simply vague, indistinct spirits to whom offerings are made for temporary protection. So when a Winnebago crossed a river or lake he poured tobacco into the water as a recompense for trespassing, and uttered the prayer that no storms should arise or that he should not come to grief. [171] [182]

As to whether the spirits here are the lakes, rivers, hills, etc., or some being inhabiting them, the answer is, unquestionably the latter.

### The Twofold Interpretation of the Relation of the Spirits to Man

We mentioned before (p. 279) that the interpretation of the relationship between the spirits and man was largely mechanical, blessings being secured apparently independent of any volition on the part of the spirits, for if the Winnebago make the requisite offerings to the Thunderbirds they must accept them and bestow on the suppliant the powers they possess. While this interpretation was undoubtedly the popular one, the shamans tried to develop another explanation what might be called a "contract" theory. The spirits possessed the various powers without which man could achieve only a modicum of success; and man possessed tobacco, corn, eagle feathers, buckskin, etc. His principal possession, however, was tobacco, and this had been given him directly by Earthmaker. The contract was definite and distinct: man was to give the spirits tobacco, etc.; and the spirits were to give man the powers they controlled. Accompanying this change of interpretation, there was a difference of attitude, the principal characteristic of which was a heightened religious feeling. This change of interpretation is clearly shown in the concept of the guardian spirit. [756]

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159 If he (my father) blessed a man he would do as follows: He would
789 take his bow and arrows and, holding them in both of his hands,
776 take the man around the hill and then into the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There he and the man he wished to bless let their breath pass into the middle of the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There stood a stone pillar and upon this stone pillar, at about arm's length, he drew the pictures of different animals. My father had only one arrow, but that arrow was a holy one. Then my father danced around the stone pillar and sang some songs, and when he was finished he began to breathe upon the stone pillar; and, walking around it, he shot it. When he looked at it, he saw that the stone had turned into a deer with large horns. This deer fell dead at his feet. He repeated this a number of times and the little spirits who were following him breathed with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you wish to kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done here. Then
[782] offer tobacco to us and you will be able to obtain whatever you wish."

159 "Now, my son, I want you to be able to do as I do. I want you
867 to be able to kill deer whenever you wish, and at any particular time." My father was a very good hunter and I wanted to be very much like him. I knew that what he was saying was true and that it would be good to follow his advice. I was also told that if I traveled around the hill where these spirits lived, then all earthly things would agree with me and that I would be the gainer thereby. If I did this, they told me, then I would never suffer any pains in my body and I would never be troubled in any way.

159 And this they told me about the ghost village—that when I go
787 there I will be able to steal a costly shawl from the spirits and be
775 able to escape with it; that then all the inhabitants of the ghost village would chase me, but that they would not be able to overtake me and would be compelled to turn back as soon as I reached the earth. In this ghost village there are no grown-up children.[1]

Now, all that I have spoken of, I dreamed. I really dreamed that I was stealing a costly shawl and that I would have plenty of them all the time. I dreamed that I would obtain ten or even more
787 shawls in one year and that I would not have to pay anything for
159 them. What the spirits meant by shawls was supplies. However,
795 all this took place before I ate the peyote. Since then I know that these things were not true, and that what I must depend upon is not supernatural power, but myself, and my own endeavors. Super-
[783] natural powers do not come from anywhere. They do not exist at all. The blessings I had received were not holy and I am not holy.

[1] He is evidently referring to the spirit home of the Hawk's, or Those-who-my-like-habits.

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unsatisfactory. Apparently his statement is based upon the occurrence of four mythical ancestors. The similarity of the Winnebago social organization with that of the Dhegiha and Teiwere branches of the Siouan family, in which subclans seem to be found, appears to have influenced Dorsey considerably in making this assumption. 796 614 [114]

It is true that in their account of origins the Warrior clan speak of themselves as having sprung from the second of the birds mentioned in the origin myth of the Thunderbird clan and this statement permits us to infer that the other two clans bear a similar relationship to those four ancestral birds who, according to legend, alit on a tree near Red Banks. But this is, of course, merely a mythical account, and the data imbedded in the clan myths must be used with the greatest caution in so far as they can be expected to throw any light on early conditions of social organization.

All that we can say now is that the chief feast will have to be considered as belonging to all the four bird clans. But this is not to be interpreted to mean that an amalgamation of four historically distinct feasts has taken place, nor that, on the other hand, the four clans were originally subdivisions of one unit.

*The Chief feast.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:[a] The chief of the tribe is at the head of all the different bands and groups of people that exist among the Winnebago. As chief he has full charge of them. All the others are, so to say, his attendants and servants. When his people wish anything they go to him and ask him to obtain a blessing for them. Thus all the members of the tribe, the children as well as the mature men, go to him, and to help them the chief gives the feast known as the chief feast. He sacrifices to Earthmaker, and all who are present offer up some little gift in thankfulness, as this is a thing of supreme sacredness. All those who are present—the children, the women, the middle-aged, and the old men—in fact, whosoever attends the feast, see to it that they eat some of the food distributed. 796 622

As this feast is given in honor of their chief, all the members of the tribe, but most particularly the members of the Bird clan, prepare large offerings, so that there should be abundant food to eat. They bring all kinds of food—different kinds of meat, different kinds of vegetables, all manner of berries—in short, all sorts of edibles. These are to be offered to the spirits, and by means of these offerings they expect that their life will be filled with all that is good. It is to obtain these blessings that the feast is given. [614] [782]

When his people get sick, when it appears that an epidemic is likely, then the chief also gives the chief feast. It is for the purpose [755]

[a] Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain a full and detailed account of this feast. As in type, however, all the clan feasts are identical, this deficiency can be made up in part by comparing it with those feasts like the snake, bear, and buffalo that have been obtained in considerable detail.

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787 warpath)." The son therefore refused it, and went out to fast
778 again. Then the spirits blessed him again and again he went to
[776] his father and asked to accompany him to the wilderness and see what blessings he had obtained. When they came to the wilderness[18] they found two wild cats (already stuffed) standing there and facing in opposite directions. Then the old man told his son again not to accept this blessing because it would be too powerful,[19] but the young man said, "This is the last blessing that I am going to get," and accepted it.

(What follows was obtained at a later time from the same informant and relating to the same blessing.)

The first blessing K'ereX'u"'sak'a received was from the Thunderbirds. They dropped a flute and two feathers from heaven. But these he refused. The second blessing was also from the Thunderbirds. This time they told him to go to a certain place where he could see them himself. He went there and found four men sitting there broiling meat. They gave him a piece of meat. It was only when he fasted for the fourth time that he was blessed with a war-bundle.

WHAT G. OBTAINED IN HIS FAST

159 I never fasted much. I only fasted three times and I don't believe
776 that I ever fasted for more than two days at a time. However, I
787 never was blessed with anything (i. e., any object). I knew, however, that I came from the home of the Thunderbirds (i. e., that I was
[775] a reincarnated Thunderbird). My spirit father and mother[21] were Thunderbirds. The Thunderbirds are beings whose glance can penetrate any object. For that reason I also can do it. For instance, I have seen a man through a tree. This I did once during a thunderstorm when a man had sought shelter behind a tree.

[18] Wherever the word "wilderness" is used all that is meant is an uninhabited place far away from the village.

[19] By "too powerful" the old man means that the feasts, offerings, etc., that would be necessary for so great a blessing would be quite beyond the means or the ability of the young man. It is to be remembered that the bestowal of a blessing does not in itself insure its efficacy, but that this can only be assured if the proper offerings and the proper emotional attitude accompany its subsequent use. Evidently the old man did not feel that the young fellow would be equal to the task. I have been told by many of the older Winnebagos that when the old system was still intact the older people always advised a young man or woman against taking upon themselves responsibilities that they might possibly not be able to fulfill, a very excellent design, it seems to me, for not multiplying the chance of failures and consequently the necessity of explaining them. However, one need not believe that this was the reason for the caution.

[782] [686]

[21] He says "spirit father and mother" because when he lived with the Thunderbirds he was, of course, a spirit. It is quite impossible to determine whether he means that he was a human being who was living among the spirits as a spirit or whether he was a spirit who had desired to be once reincarnated as a human being. Originally, of course, there were no human beings, but only spirits, of whom a portion became permanently transformed into human beings. However, even very powerful shamans never claim more than three reincarnations, so that he can obviously not be referring to this primitive condition and is either referring to the fact that he is a Thunderbird passing temporarily on this earth, or—and this would be the more common form—a human being who lived for some time as a Thunderbird and then returned to earth. In the latter case one would expect him to obtain great blessings in his fast, and the fact that he did not and had nevertheless such great powers suggests that he is really a reincarnated Thunderbird.

[776] 775

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When I was ready to go down among the human beings (i. e., when I became reincarnated) I was given the power to overcome my enemies in battle. And this I have actually done. All the Thunderbirds have small war-clubs. I also had one when I came. Whenever I went on the warpath I made myself a war-club and used that only in battle. I believe that I was invulnerable. Whenever I got tired of living among human beings I knew I could return to the Thunderbirds. I thought I knew all this and that I had these powers. For that reason when I ate peyote I still held on to these beliefs for a long time, thinking that when I returned to the Thunderbirds inasmuch as they are above it would be the same as going to everlasting life, as the Peyote people said. Finally, one night, at a peyote meeting, in thinking over these things, I resolved to give them up. I could, nevertheless, not bring myself to do it. Then the peyote began to strangle me;[*] at least I thought so. 159 776 787 726 [795]

I also had the power of causing or stopping rain. All that I had to do was to offer tobacco to the Thunderbirds and make my request. [789 782]

HOW A BEAR BLESSED A MAN[**]

Once a band of Winnebagoes used to give a feast to the bears. A bear had blessed one of their number with life and victory on the warpath. 825 776 787

It was a spirit-bear that had blessed him. The man was fasting and the spirit blessed him and said, "Human, I bless you. In war you will be able to do as you wish (i. e., you will be able to kill an enemy whenever you desire). The first time you go on the warpath you will come back with the fourth war honor; the second time you go on a warpath you will return with the third war honor; the third time you will return with the second war honor; and the fourth time you will return with the first war honor and receive the first prize, which you are to give to your sister." This is what the man "dreamed." He believed it and was happy. Then the spirit-bear said again, "Human, I said that I blessed you and I really mean it. Earthmaker created me and gave me control of many things. Human, I bless you. As many years as Earthmaker bestowed upon you, that number I also bless you with. You will reach the limit of the years that were granted you. With my body I also bless you. Whenever you are hungry and wish to kill a bear, pour a pipeful of tobacco for me. If then you go out hunting, you will be successful. Don't abuse the bears. I am the chief of the bears. I bless you. Never before have I blessed a human being, as long as I have lived here. As long as your descendants live on this earth, so long will this [224 782]

[*] According to the Peyote people, if a member does not wish to do or tell something that he ought to, the peyote begins to strangle him and he finds no relief until he tells what is on his mind. [795]

[**] This is really the "origin myth" of a bear feast.

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825 776 787 blessing last. Should your descendants perform the feasts in my honor well, I will bless them with life and victory on the warpath. Whenever you offer me tobacco I will smoke it. If you put on a kettle of food for me I will be thankful to you. When you put this [841] kettle of food on the fire and offer me tobacco see to it that you keep away menstruating women . . ."

HOW THE DAUGHTER OF MANK'EREXKA REFUSED A BLESSING FROM DISEASE-GIVER[*]

787 159 776 The daughter of Mank'erexka was fasting. She was his third daughter. She decided to fast during the summer. In her fast she was told that she was blessed and that on the following day a big deer would come across the waters for her to eat. Then she went to her father and said, "Father, I have been told to eat a big deer, and that to-morrow very early in the morning it will come out of the water." "It is good, my daughter. That deer has been given to you by the spirits and you may eat it."

Early the next morning a big deer came across the waters. "Let it be," the people said (to her). "As soon as it comes near we will chase it." So they got into a boat and chased it. Then they killed it and gave it to some other person instead of the young woman. "My daughter, what are you going to do? Are you going to eat the deer?" "No, father, if I were to eat the deer I would have killed it myself. But you people have killed it, so I will not eat any of it."

Then she rubbed some charcoal on her face and went to the place of fasting and said, "What you (the spirits) gave me others have taken away and eaten." Early in the morning she looked around toward the water. She was very weak, for she had not eaten for a long time. Nine days she fasted. She was saying to herself, "As soon as I see a deer I will tell the others and call my father." In the morning she went out in search of the deer. She was so weak that she could hardly crawl along. But she managed to reach the edge of the waters and, as she looked across, she saw a deer coming. So she immediately went to her father and told him. He got up immediately and, taking a spear, jumped into a boat, pursued, and speared it. Then the girl said, "Now I will eat." So they called her uncles, Wolf and Elk.[*] When they came she put tobacco in their hands [782] and said, "My uncles, I have offered tobacco to the different spirits and asked them to bless me. Now I am about to eat and I would

[*] The rest of the story is a description of a bear feast and how, in spite of the warning of the spirit-bear two menstruating women took part in the feast; how, thereupon, two bears suddenly appeared and killed them, and how for that reason the bear feast was given up.

[114] [*] This account has been cast in a literary mold, but there is no doubt that it represents a real fasting experience. It is included here principally because it contains a number of extremely interesting features.

[*] These are the names of individuals.

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787 have made yourself suffer very much[28] and my heart has been rent
159 with pity for you. I bless you, therefore, with life, and this you
776 may transmit to your descendants.' All this, father, the spirit said to me." "My daughter, it is not good. These spirits are trying to deceive you. Do not accept it. They will never bestow upon you what they have promised." "All right, father, but let me at least give them the offerings of deerskin, red feathers, and tobacco. I will not accept these blessings, for you forbid it."

Then after four days she took her offerings to the place where she was to meet the spirit and told him that her father had forbidden her to accept the blessing. "'You are not a good spirit,' he said." "He is right, for one side of my body is not good but the other is," answered the spirit. "That is the way in which Earthmaker created me." Thus the wak'ai"teu" spoke.[29] Then the woman looked toward the lake and she saw a tree standing in the water. The spirit climbed upon this tree and wrapped himself around it. Then he took a tooth and shot the tree and knocked it down.[30] "This is what you would have been able to do," said the spirit. "The people would have respected you very much. You would have been able to cure weak or nervous people. But you did not listen to what I told you. You refused it."

### FASTING EXPERIENCE

(INFORMANT, CLAN UNKNOWN)

A man fasted and was finally blessed. When he was to be blessed a spirit came after him. He came from the south. "Human," he said, "I was told to come after you." Then the man looked at him and he saw that it was a man speaking to him. So he went along with him. He did not go far before he came to a village and in the middle of this village he saw a long lodge. There he was taken and there he was blessed. The one that was in charge of the village blessed him first.

"I bless you with victory in wars. Whenever you go on the war-path and when you are about to make the rush, do not forget me.
[726 If you pour some tobacco for me and then fight, the enemy will not
● 782] be able to kill you. I am in charge of wars."

[28] When people are blessed by the Water-spirits they make medicines from the bones of the spirits. They are also supposed to make what the Winnebagoes call "implements." What is actually meant by this term it is very difficult to state precisely. But it seems that they meant sharpened bones, etc., used in connection with the administration of magical medicines in painting the body, and in connection with shamanistic practices of all sorts. It is not common for other spirits beside the Water-spirits to bless an individual with the use of "his bones," but this is occasionally met with. In the trickster cycle the trickster, in one of his escapades, is squeezed into the skull of an elk, and he persuades the people that he is an elk-spirit and blesses them and permits them to use his bones.

[29] This characteristic would seem to identify the wak'ai"teu" with the disease-giver, although it is possible that a number of Winnebago deities had such characteristics.

[30] This is a symbolistic representation of the powers she was given.

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So he spoke to him. "Thus will your life be. Look at yourself." 787
So he looked at himself and his hair was very white. As one who 159
had attained a full life he saw himself. "All that are within this 776
lodge bless you," the spirit continued. "You have come to the Buffalo village." This he was told, so he looked at the lodge full of people. And those whom he had seen up to that time as human beings now were buffaloes.

"Human, they bless you is why they went after you. Human, if anyone is weighted with life and a reasonable amount of tobacco is given, such a one would be able to do the following":

A dead man was placed in the middle of the lodge, and all of 787
those in the lodge tried their power, but none succeeded in restoring 159
him to life. At last the spirits let the man try it. So he tried. 776
When he arose, all those in the lodge began to make sounds and 756
when he began to exert his powers he sang buffalo songs. When he was through with these songs, he walked toward the dead man, in the middle of the lodge. He blew on him once, then again and again. Now the man began to open his eyes. Then he blew on him for the fourth time and he caused him to rise.

"Human, you have overcome all of us," said the buffalo chief. "Human, thus shall you ever do to people. If anyone is sick and the proper offerings are made to you, send some tobacco to our council lodge and I will remember you. You must send all the [782] tobacco that is offered to you. I will remember it. This council lodge is given to you and to your posterity as long as it lasts. As long as the earth lasts that long your posterity will have occasions on which to pour tobacco. Whatever blessing they ask, we will bestow upon them while we smoke their tobacco. As many as are the kettles that they offer to us, we will never accept one without giving them a blessing. We are in control of wars: the Earthmaker has given us control of them, and if you ask for it we will give it to you. And if you ask for life we will bestow that blessing upon you and accept your offerings."

They also blessed him with plants for medicine. This is the way they did it. Each of the spirits caused him to see a plant and to [278] know the purposes to which it could be put. They told him to make offerings to the plants whenever he gave a feast, so that the plants [782] would become more powerful. They also blessed him with a drum. "This you must beat when you give a feast and it will tell us your [534] wants. We will understand the drum. We will make your drum holy for you, and you must treat it as such," they told him. "You must keep it holy. Whenever you are on the warpath you must take it with you and it will help you. Human, your enemies you will [726] overcome; your weapons only will be sharp if your posterity will never give up this ceremony." So they spoke to him. "Whenever 080

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159 So they spoke to him. "Whenever
787 you give this ceremony, no matter what blessing you ask, we will
776 bestow it upon you, when you offer tobacco. A flute you must also
[534 keep holy. You must make it yourself, so that it remains sacred."
[778] They also told him to make a war bundle. The Buffalo chief told
825] him this. So he made one out of a buffalo head and a buffalo tail. These he made sacred so that people might offer tobacco to them. This was done long ago and yet they still do it.

Then they told him that four differently colored buffaloes would bless him—a white one, a black one, a red one, and a yellow one.

After a while he was blessed the second time. This time the spirits came after him from above and took him to the home of a spirit buffalo. This is the one that blessed him.

"Earthmaker has placed me here," said the spirit, "and he has
[726 given me control of many things. Grandson, I bless you. I am in
782] control of war power, and if you ever go on the warpath don't forget me. If you pour a pipeful of tobacco for me before you go into battle, the enemy will only be able to shoot your shadow." Thus he spoke to him. "I will take your body, and in that way it will only be your shadow that the enemy will try to shoot with all their strength. You will be without a body, and how then can they hit you, being without a body?" This is what the spirit told him. So, therefore, whenever he went on the warpath it was impossible to kill him. For the spirit had said, "I am also in control of life and I will give you your life back, that you may control it. The spirits
[796 have given you a tobacco-pouring feast and whenever you give it,
782] remember that I wish to smoke also. When you pour tobacco for me I will grant you whatever you ask. If you ask for war, or if you ask for life, I will accept your tobacco. As long as this earth lasts I will smoke your tobacco and accept the kettle of food that you place on the fire for me."

Thus he spoke to him. The man, however, still kept on fasting, and finally the spirits came for him again. There in the middle of the earth lived a buffalo-ghost. There he went and the buffalo-ghost said to him: "I also bless you. You were given counsel and I who am a buffalo also counsel you. I am in control of many things. Earthmaker placed me here to live and he put me in control of many things. Human, look at me," he said. The man looked at him. Then he saw that his body was covered with flattened bullets. "Thus you will be," said the ghost to him. "It will be impossible to kill you, and you will attain to old age, and when you get tired of living you may do as you please. I give you the privilege of controlling yourself." Then he gave him a song and he caused him to see a war prize, a wampum. After a while he spoke to him as follows:

"I also will always smoke at your feast, and if a kettle is ever put on the fire for me, I will be thankful to you. Whatever the people

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called "concentrating one's mind" upon the spirits, upon the details 787
of the ritual, or upon the precise purpose to be accomplished. All 153
other thoughts were to be rigidly excluded, they believed. This was the insistent admonition of the Winnebago elders to the youth who was fasting. He was to center his mind completely on the spirits, for his blessing would be in direct proportion to the power of concentration he was capable of. The Winnebago believed that the relation between man and the spirits was established by this concentration and that no manner of care in ritualistic detail could take its place. Very frequently failure on a warpath or lack of efficacy of a ritual was attributed to the fact that the Indian or Indians had been lacking in [154]
the intensity of their "concentration."

*Offerings and sacrifices.*—The theory of offering and sacrifice held 782
by the Winnebago has been discussed before. To the important 776
deities offerings were made at the great ceremonies. These offerings consisted of tobacco preeminently, buckskins, and whatever the particular spirit was supposed to like. The animal spirits were given their favorite foods—honey to the bear, for instance. Dogs were offered to Disease-giver at the war-bundle feasts. Whether human sacrifices ever existed it is difficult to say. In the tale of *Wegi'cka* a child is offered to Earthmaker, and there is reason to believe that this may represent a survival of human sacrifice.

Tobacco could be offered at any time and was so offered to the various *genii loci* whenever an individual passed their precincts.

*Prayers.*—For examples of prayers reference must be made to the descriptions of the ceremonies. Among the Winnebago, and doubtless everywhere else, the objects of the prayer are always the socio-economic life values. What in these values is stressed depends upon the ambitions of the individual, and consequently it happens that individuals may pray for abstract blessings or ideal objects, although this is rare. Prayers are undoubtedly always accompanied by a religious feeling when made by the religious man, but frequently become mere formulas in the hands of the lay Indian.

## The Folkloristic Concepts

*The concept of evil.*—It is extremely difficult to understand exactly 776
what the Winnebago concept of evil is. They undoubtedly postu- [812]
late the existence of evil and they have theoretically a host of evil spirits, the *wampi'si cicik*. Youths will be warned not to fast at certain times and children will carefully be kept at home after dark for fear of the evil spirits. Yet in spite of all this, no even fairly definite idea of what these evil spirits are and what they look like can be obtained. One almost gets the impression that the notion of evil spirits belongs to an older strata of Winnebago beliefs and that what we find to-day

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776 is but a faint survival of former times. The older myths are full of references to the evil spirits, and the cosmological myths represent [773] the world as infested with evil spirits who are on the point of exterminating the human race until the culture heroes come to the rescue. It would almost seem as if, from a purely matter-of-fact point of view, these early culture heroes had destroyed all the evil spirits. Certainly they are not regarded as of great consequence, for if they were we ought to find a certain number of prayers addressed to them asking them not to harm anyone. They seem to be mere bogies, personifications of fear, and that is perhaps why they are so intimately connected with darkness.

812 At the present time the vast majority of Winnebago ascribe evil, in so far as they explain it at all, to three causes either to some [688 failure on their part to perform a rite in the prescribed way, to 782] the fact that they have not invoked the spirits for protection (i. e., attempted to pass through life without the aid of the spirits), or to the evil machinations of other men. Often one derives the impression that they accept evil and do not try to explain it. It seems to be a trait characteristic of the Winnebago, and perhaps characteristic of other North American tribes, that explanations are developed for the positive aspects of things. Certainly it would require some thought on the part of a Winnebago to explain why a war party that had, in the opinion of the chief, all the necessary requirements for victory, should nevertheless be defeated. He would doubtless find some reason, after a while, but it would be an afterthought and would probably vary from individual to individual. In some cases lack of success would be ascribed to the fact that an individual had been misled by an evil spirit, but this is clearly a secondary explanation because the individual, when questioned, would admit that he had no way of telling whether this was so until he had failed in something. We base this statement on an actual instance.

776 There is some evidence to show that there may have originally existed among the Winnebago a belief that the spirits were neither good nor bad; that they could be either at different times. In two notable instances, that of Disease-giver and Water-spirit, this is true at the present time. The former deity is the only one to whom prayers are addressed beseeching him not to present to man his death-dealing side.

In the myths we find a definite incarnation of evil in the case of [192] a spirit called *Hereegu'nina*. The meaning of this word as given by a Winnebago, and which seems to be justified, is "he whose existence is doubtful." If this is an old Winnebago word it would confirm the view advanced above, that the Winnebago were not very much concerned about the evil spirits. There is, however, a possibility [777] that *Hereegu'nina* is, in part, a post-Columbian development due

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PART III

# CHAPTER XII

## CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

### INTRODUCTION

The Winnebago had four types of ceremonies: clan ceremonies, 796
in which only members of the clan could participate; religious societies, for which only people who had obtained blessings from the same spirits were eligible; the Medicine Dance, in which only initiated individuals could take part; and a semipermanent organization like the *hok'ire're* dance, in which only individuals who were returning from a war party and had counted coup could participate. In this grouping we do not include ordinary feasts, such as the feasts connected with different medicines and the pleasure dances.

Every clan seems to have had a clan war-bundle feast (often called 796
winter feast) and also a specific clan feast. We have reason to suspect 614
that the war-bundle feasts were originally private feasts given by 778
the owner of a war bundle. Then as the war bundles became of great importance to the clan to which the owners belonged, they were after a while regarded as clan possessions. But even at the present time, while many would contend that the war bundle belonged to the clan as such and could not be alienated, everyone realizes that it is the property, whether held in trust or not, of a certain individual, and that he can, up to a certain point, do what he wishes with it. For a detailed analysis of a winter or war-bundle feast see page 427.

The clan feasts were specific feasts at which offerings were made to 796
the clan animal. A good description of one is that of the Snake 614
clan on page 325. [783]

Perhaps the most characteristic ceremonies of the Winnebago were those of secret societies in which membership was dependent upon blessings from one and the same spirit. There were at least four of 575
these—the society of those who have been blessed by the night spirits, 796
the society of those who have been blessed by the buffaloes, the society [776]
of those who have been blessed by ghosts, and the society of those who have been blessed by grizzly bears.

In order to prevent any misunderstanding with regard to the buffalo societies, it might be well to point out that there were three of them—

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796
622 of stopping the spread of the sickness, whatever it may be, and for repairing the ravages caused thereby. For this the feasters pray "May our people recover and thrive," they say. "May they never get sick." Then they make all those present offer up tobacco. As [782] each one offers tobacco Earthmaker is aware of it and accepts. Thereby do we live and become strengthened. If Earthmaker smokes the tobacco offered him he will give life in return. The people offer tobacco that they may obtain life.

[614] They call the Thunderbird people chiefs, and it is from among
622 their ranks that they select the chief of the tribe.[5]

It is the duty of the chief to ward off all evils. This is one of their missions in life. They preach only what is good.

"Chief," they used to say to him, "try to do something for your people. Try to accomplish something difficult for them. Try to accomplish something difficult for your village. If you accomplish such a thing for the benefit of your people they will look up to you and respect you. Have pity on your people and love them. If a man is very poor, help him. Give him and his family food. Whatever they ask, give it to them. If your people get into trouble with one another, take your pipe and, walking in front, die for them, if necessary. From actions like these they will know that you are really their chief. There, in front of them, with your pipe in your hands, you will be lying on the ground, dead.

"If your people are about to sacrifice a dog and he gets loose and runs into your tent, you must let them have something in place of this dog for their feast. Do not let them kill the dog in your lodge. This would be sacrilegious. Grant the dog his life. Similarly, if an individual who has murdered a person escapes and takes refuge in your lodge, give him his life. Use all the wealth you have and give it to him, that he may employ it to make peace with the relatives of the person he has killed. Help these people who are in need. Do not think of your wealth. When that is gone you will get some more. Do your duty. Do not pass anyone unnoticed, not even a child. If people have come and asked you for something, do not let them go away without attempting to do something for them. You are a chief. Do some good for your people. In that way you will show that you are a chief. 'Our chief,' they will all call you. The children that see you will call you chief. Whoever talks to you will call you chief. If you are good to your people, they will show their respect by being bashful in your presence. If you are not good to them they will not think you a chief and they will not be bashful in your presence. So, at all times, do as a chief ought to do. Be good-natured to all the people and in this way you will show that

[5] What follows is a typical speech delivered by a member of the Thunderbird clan.

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you are indeed a chief. And then even the people of other tribes 622
will say that such and such people have a good chief."

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The Indians always cele- 796
brated in summer. It was a season of rejoicing because the chief 622
fed the tribe. It somewhat symbolized a mother bird feeding her young ones. The Thunderbird clan is in charge of the tribe, [614]
and when the chief feeds the tribe all rejoice and the standard is raised.

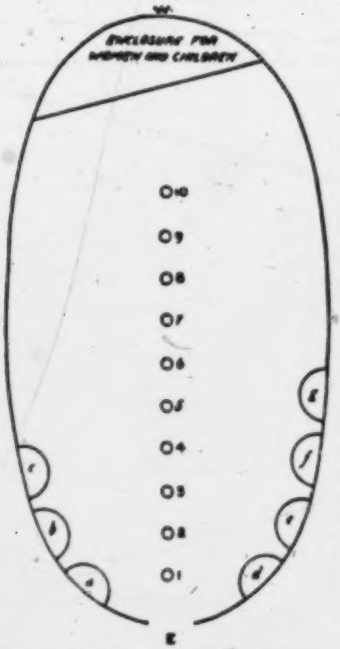


FIG. 36. Plan of Bear clan war-bundle feast as given by John Rave. *a*, Host. *b*, Relatives of host. *c*, Warrior clan. *d*, Wolf clan. *e*, Thunderbird clan. *f*, Eagle clan. *g*, Buffalo clan. 1, Bark-skin for earthmaker. 2, Bark-skin for turtle. 3, Bark-skin for thunderbird. 4, Bark-skin for sun. 5, Bark-skin for moon. 6, Bark-skin for morning star. 7, Bark-skin for earth. 8, Bark-skin for fire. 9, Bark-skin for bears. 10, Bark-skin for night spirits.

THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (FIRST VERSION)

Two versions of the Bear clan 614
feast (fig. 36) were obtained, for- 796
tunately both from a man and a 782
woman. The feast was generally given during the month called *Hundjwi'ra* (i. e., bear month), corresponding roughly to our [805]
January.

Informant, member of the clan (female): The host tells his sister's son, or, if he should not happen to have any, a member of the Wolf clan, to build a long lodge. This attendant then fills kettles either with blueberries or raspberries or any other fruit that the bears are fond of, and places them on the fireplace. Sometimes dried corn is also brought.

The participants enter the lodge at dusk. The host precedes the invited guests. In entering they proceed in a direction contrary to the hands of the clock. The host always sits at the southeast end of the lodge and the guests occupy seats next to him, proceeding from the southeast to the northwest.

When all are seated the host rises and addresses his guests as follows:

"Members of my clan who are seated here, I greet you all. To those from whom I have sprung I make these offerings of tobacco [537]
and this headdress (i. e., red feathers). I was told by my ancestors that if I did this I would obtain for myself, for my relatives, and for

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614 796 782 the members of my clan, sufficient blessings to guide us all safely through life, and to make our lives pleasant. I will not tell the [537] origin myth (of our clan) because it is sacred and it must not be told without the proper ceremony, for the telling would then injure an individual. Besides there are many clans beside our own represented here and it is not proper that these should hear it."

614 796 He then speaks of the four ancestral bear-beings who were created in the beginning.

When the feast is ready one of the Wolf clansmen gives four soldier whoops. Then the fire is allowed to die out, and as soon as the lodge is in complete darkness the feasters begin to eat. Before [533] eating, the host sings four songs. These are the clan songs and are only sung at these feasts or on the occasion of the death of a clansman.

Those who partake of food at the feast may be members of any clan except the Bear clan. The members of the latter clan do not eat at their own feast.

[264 415] Everyone attending must bring his own wooden spoon and must use it with his left hand. There are four wooden dishes in which the food is served. These are arranged in the lodge in a certain manner.

The guests sit around these dishes and eat with their own spoons.

[805] The feast is given in the first bear month. Some one generally watches the moon and as soon as the new moon is visible the feast begins. The feathers and the tobacco to be offered are placed in four little troughs made of basswood bark, each about 1 foot long. These are then placed on the south side of the fireplace.

When the meal is over the attendant or Wolf clansman generally says a few words of thanks to the host and then the host in turn thanks those who have participated and tells them that the feast is now over. All now pass out, the one next to the host leaving first and the rest in succession, the host himself remaining until the end.

[778 782] When the feast is over the tobacco and the feathers are taken away from the lodge and carried in a southern direction to a place (under a tree) that has been especially cleared and sanctified. Any person may thereafter go there, offer tobacco, and ask for long life.

614 796 537 782 Informant, member of the clan (male): "Well, soldiers, your moon is about to appear. It is good. So come forth, for it is at this time that the spirits asked to be remembered. Let us send, on this occasion, to the place at which we all originated, whatever we possess of wealth. This is what the spirits asked of old. Let us therefore put the kettle on and prepare the feast.

"This is the way in which we prepare the feast. I offer only one small kettle. Here is my offering. I pray that what I offer may suffice and bring enough blessings from the spirits to include all the

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Indians who exist and especially those who are present at this feast. 614
For that reason do we deliver these speeches. We were told that 796
at the place where we originated our ancestors now remain, regard- 537
ing it as their home. There they expectantly await us. So our 782
ancestors spoke. Our offering at this feast is intended for that purpose. Let us pour tobacco for them. Let us place at the edge of the fire the four bark receptacles. Now listen to me for I am going to pour tobacco.

(He now addresses the four original clan beings.)

"On the north side, Earthmaker created you. Four brothers he placed there (you being one of them). And when one of them started for the earth those remaining asked to be remembered at this feast. These are the objects they asked to be given as offerings—tobacco, feathers, and boiled food. Earthmaker gave you that kind of life-giving material. We, in turn, ask you for this, so that when you take our offerings you will grant us what we ask. Here they are, the offerings with which you wished to be remembered. The spirits promised to give them. We are praying now not only for our own, but for all the clans. Our life will be strengthened, it was said. These words that I am telling you now, they used. We must act very cautiously in this, they said.

"If you place a portion of boiled food away as an offering, you must use it only in that particular place. Do not do otherwise. This way only is the correct way to do it."

Then he spoke to the attendant and said, "Are you ready? Go and get all these people who are to eat. They must bring their spoons with them."

Then the attendant brought the people into the lodge and put some food in their plates.

"Place the people around the plate and let them be seated," the host said. "Now turn the fire down and get ready. Hold your spoons in your left hand, for with that only are you allowed to eat. None of you must talk nor laugh. You must do what I tell you. Before the meal begins let us sing. Let us do it now." (They then sing the four clan songs.)

"Thus they have told us. That way it was at the place where we 614 796
began life.

"Now the meal is over. We have had a minor council. We have acted correctly. It is good that you who are present have come at our request. You have eaten very well, and we thank you for it. This is what those from whom we originated told us to do. This council-feast they pleaded for. 'We should act very cautiously,' they said. That you have done. It is good that you have eaten for our benefit. Now is about time for us to finish. I greet you all."

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THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (SECOND VERSION)

614 796 Informant, member of Bear clan: As soon as the first bear month is visible they have their feast. They do not use meat but products [805] of the earth. The feast is held at night, never in the daytime. The people always save up food some time before giving the feast. The [825] favorite dishes of the bear are sugar and blueberries. When they can not obtain these they use other vegetables. Indeed, any product of the earth is all right.

When they prepare to give the feast they get the food ready and have some tobacco on hand. On the first day of the first bear month they put on the fire some kettles with dried corn mixed with fruit and others containing green corn. The latter is boiled. They also have [203] ground sugar. When these are ready the feast attendant goes around the village to invite the people. When all have entered the lodge and taken their proper seats, then the host rises and addresses them:

614 796 537 "All my relatives who are seated here, I greet you. It is not through blessings of our own that we can always make offerings of tobacco. My grandfather was blessed by a spirit called Black Fur, a spirit who is in command of all the other spirits. This spirit told us that we could perform the ceremony in this way. It is for that reason we have made an effort to heat water for him.[6] The first request we make is that if we ever go on the warpath, we may conquer. Our grandfather was also blessed with life by the bear spirit[7] and he told him that he would grant him and his posterity whatever they asked. [782] We shall therefore send to this spirit a pipeful of tobacco, two kettles full of food, and some tree sap.[8] So much will we send him, accompanied by an offering of tobacco.

"As soon as the attendant gets everything ready the feasting will begin."

Then the attendant puts food in every plate, and when he has finished the host speaks again.

"Relatives, it is said that when the plates are supplied to you [264] filled with food, then you should begin to eat. Do not, however, use your right hands in eating."

The host tells the feasters to use their left hands in eating, and they obey him. Before starting to eat all the fires are put out and the people eat in the dark.

614 796 In the spring of the year this feast is given again. Twice a year it is given.

The feast[9] was always given with some choice dried corn that had been put away for this event. Once when it was time to give the [841] feast in the first bear month, the two daughters of the man who was

[6] Boil soup and prepare food in general.
[7] Black Fur is apparently a ceremonial expression for bear.
[8] Ceremonial name for maple sugar.
[9] What follows is an account of why this particular feast was discontinued.

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to give it had their menses and were fasting. When the feast was about to be held there was no food and their mother gave the girls some of the sacred food and the unclean girls boiled it and ate it. 614 796 841

The following spring when the girls were out helping their mother tan some hide a bear approached them and tried to kill the girls. The old woman fought the bear off as best she could, but he paid no attention to her and tried to get at the girls. Finally he killed the girls. Then the old woman attacked the bear and finally threw him down and killed him, using her tanning stick as a weapon.

Now this bear was not an ordinary bear such as live on this earth, but his body was covered with blue clay. He had come out of a spring of water shortly before he came to this place. The girls had eaten sacred food when they were unclean, and that is why this bear came and killed them. [776 688]

Since then that particular band has stopped giving this bear feast.

THE SNAKE CLAN FEAST

When a person wishes to give a snake feast, four chickens must be obtained. The nephew of the feast giver is then told to prepare these chickens and make the general preparations. 796 614

The feast is given in the fall, just as the snakes are supposed to go into their winter quarters and close their doors. The winter is their night, and then they go to sleep. [825]

Shortly before the feast begins the host takes out a bundle containing four snake skins—a yellow-snake skin, a rattlesnake skin, a blow-snake skin, and a bull-snake skin. In honor of these he gives his feast and makes his offerings.

As the fall of the year is to the snakes the same as our evening, the Winnebago give this feast in their honor then, in much the same way as we have our supper before retiring for the night. The snake skins are representatives of the first four snakes Earthmaker made and which he pierced through the earth in the direction of the east. The snake skins are kept to represent the four original snake-beings and to keep evil away from homes. That is why offerings are made to them. Four men only are invited to this feast (as main participants), and they must each eat a chicken. [773]

The host himself opens the door for the snakes. In front of him, next to the fireplace, he makes four holes in the ground, thus opening the door for them. There he likewise places tobacco for them. First he pours tobacco in the fire, for the fire is the mediator between the people and the spirit. The fire tells the spirit the wishes of the people and is, in general, in charge of the members of the tribe. For that reason they always pour tobacco upon it. [782] 796

Now the host rises and speaks. "Grandfather (fire), you who stand in the center of the lodge, I offer you tobacco, for you are the interpreter (between the spirits and human beings), and I know that 614 537 372

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537 you will deliver the requests I address to our grandfather-who-crawls
[372] (the snake), just as I have said them. I offer you tobacco.

"To you likewise, grandfathers, you whom Earthmaker created first and placed within the earth; you whom Earthmaker placed in control of abundance of life and whose war clubs were made heavy, so that nothing could miss them; to you we offer these things. Whatever you can give us, we ask of you in return. Here are our offerings [782] of food, tobacco, and eagle feathers. We place them here at your door. We ask that you bless us with victory in war. We know that the weapons you carry make you invulnerable, and we wish likewise to be invulnerable. You never fail to obtain what you desire with your clubs, and we ask that the same power be bestowed upon us. As the years pass may the blessing we obtain increase in power. When you look out upon the world life emanates from your eyes. May this life be given to our posterity. As we strut about in the short number of days allotted to us may you keep out of our path, so that we may not be frightened. Yet should we cross any of your paths may we be strengthened thereby. It is said that you are the grass, and that is why we ask you to bless us. Bless us because you are in possession of the life which we desire. For these reasons do we offer you tobacco, feathers, and food."

796 Then the host poured tobacco into the four holes that he had made
614 in the ground and placed feathers there. Then he took a little food
[782] from each of the kettles and poured it into the four holes. After that he greased the heads of the snake skins which were lying before him with kettle grease and poured tobacco on the heads of the snakes. He asked all his relatives to offer tobacco likewise and he put tobacco into the holes again and poured some upon the heads of the snakes.

When those invited have arrived, someone who is a good speaker sits near the entrance, while another good speaker sits near the farthest end. After all have entered, the leader of the four participants makes the circuit of the fireplace four times. He then sits down, and the host greets each one in turn, as follows:

796 "I greet you all. It is good. How could I say aught but that it
614 is good? I am a poor worthless fellow, yet you have remembered
537 me. It is good. You did not look upon my unworthiness and think within your hearts he is a worthless fellow, but you thought of the spirits, and therefore you came to sit with me so that I might see your face. It is good. I have obtained four chickens, and the attendant is now cooking them. I suppose he has cooked them by this time, and we will soon be able to eat them.

"I am attempting to cook water for the beings first created, so that we might be blessed with victory in war, and with life. That is what we are asking and what we would like to obtain from them before they (the spirits) retire for the night. It is our desire to be blessed year in, year out.

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"Your plates will be filled soon, so let me greet you again, you (humans) who are taking the place of the spirits. All you who are present I greet." 796 614 537

The attendant now takes the kettles from the fire and takes the plate of the first of those sitting in the row. Then he takes the sharp stick that he holds in his hand, sticks it through one of the four chickens, and puts it in the plate of the first man. He passes the plate around the kettle four times, going from right to left, and finally he places it before the feaster. The feaster then says, "I thank you all," and the attendant passes on to the next one, and so in succession until he comes to the last person. Then the one first invited rises and says, "All those present, the host and the three other guests, do I greet." Then the speaker addresses the one sitting next to him, who greets him in return. In the same way he greets the third and the fourth one. Then he speaks as follows:

"It is good. Who would not be thankful for this? The host and his relatives present here are praying for life and victory, to the four greatest spirits Earthmaker ever made, to those spirits whom he pierced through the earth so that it might hold together. All the snakes whom we see on the earth are ruled by these four. From them have they asked blessings. The first human beings on earth saw these spirits face to face and, we are told, they used them for protection. These we see before us as the host has laid them out. We are told that blessings can be obtained by the use of these snakes.

"I am indeed not a fit person to be invited to such a gathering as this, but the host has kindly overlooked my faults. My grandfather fasted and thirsted himself to death and he was blessed and his spirit taken to a spirit-home. That is what happened to my grandfather, for he told me this himself. The place where he was [787] blessed was at Red Banks at a place where a creek flows into the sea (Green Bay). At the fork of this creek there was a hill lying east and west. It is there that the yellow snake-chief lives. To the home of this snake-chief my grandfather was taken. This snake was at this place gathering tobacco for all the spirits. There my grandfather was even blessed with their bodies. For this reason I always pour tobacco for them. And I have been given to understand that the spirits do not overlook the least fault (in the performance of the feast). They are always in our midst just as even the grass and the dust represent snakes. They know everything, they say. It is not safe to cross their path. As, however, the host is now making an offering to them, should we cross their path now it would even strengthen us. It is good. These clubs are heavy and they will not fail to strike everything within their reach. The host has asked for that power so that he might have victory (in war). They, the spirits, also have life to dispose of and that we ask of them also, giving them these offerings of tobacco, [782] feathers, and food.

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796 feathers, and food. They will bless us I am certain, for I am told
614 that they even know our thoughts and wishes (before we express
537 them), and are willing to grant them if we pour tobacco while making
[782] them. However, to-day we have done more. We have openly made a great offering to them. How could any spirit fail to see such an offering? For that reason (I know) they will surely bless us. And the blessings asked for the posterity will surely be granted. I feel that when I go home and talk to my children afterwards, they will be strengthened by the fact that I have taken part in the feast. All who are present, I greet. You, the host, I also greet. I greet you all."

Then the second one invited rises and speaks. He thanks the host for the privilege of having been invited and encourages him and assures every one that they will surely be blessed, telling them why they should be blessed.

Then the third one rises and says approximately the same as his predecessor. He also tells how his grandfather was blessed by the snakes, etc.

Then the fourth one speaks, telling what the snakes do and that he himself was a member of the Snake clan and was consequently descended from the snakes. Inasmuch as he had partaken of the feast, all who were present would surely be blessed by the snakes. He assured them that what they asked would surely be granted. Then he greeted them and concluded.

After that, all the four participants greet each other in turn again and when this is over they sit down and begin the feast. Each person must eat a chicken apiece. They must not leave anything on the plate, for it is a sacred feast. After they have eaten the chicken they are given soup to drink.

When the feast is over the host throws cedar branches into the fire and the plates and the spoons are held over the smoke in order to purify them. The host then rises and says:

"You, the first invited, and you, the second invited, etc., I greet you all. It is good that you have come and occupied seats at my request and I am grateful to you for it. Even were that all the blessing I was to receive, it would (be enough). But you have assured me that I would receive the blessings I longed for. You truly encouraged me. You told me of your grandfathers' blessings, so that I feel positive that I am blessed, for your grandfathers' blessings were surely great and I am sure everything could be obtained with them. Surely your grandfathers' blessings were equal to those of the spirits. It is good that you have indeed partaken of my feast. This must be what the older people said: 'Your life is (naturally) weak and you can only be strengthened by the counsel and advice of brave men.' Truly you have conciled with me and given me enough to live on. I thank you for the speeches you have delivered, for it is life to me. It is good. I greet you all."

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539 The host at the same time puts himself in readiness to receive the guests.

[534] The two drums to be used are placed in the proper position with tobacco on top as an offering. The two gourds to be used are arranged in the same way, with offerings of tobacco on top. These four articles are placed in a row in front of the host, who pours tobacco upon them again and asks them for life.

[782] The host now rises and speaks as follows (first, however, offering tobacco to the fire, and telling the people of his own band how he had obtained his blessing, and from what source it had come):

796 "Grandfathers, when you blessed my grandfather with life you
776 promised that as often as we would boil food for you and offer you a
539 pipeful of tobacco, you would smoke it. So it has been said. Boiled
575 water from an animal whom you considered the same as our own body, and spirit food he extended to you, as well as a pipeful of tobacco. This we also are sending you. And what could we ask of you in return but war? That it may be directed toward us, we pray you. Grandfathers, you who are called Happy Nights, when you blessed our grandfather you blessed him with endless war. So it has been said. That is what we ask for, that as you blessed our grandfather, so you bless us. We ask for the same things. You, likewise, grandfather, you who are called The-one-with-rounded-wood, when you blessed my grandfather you blessed him with life. That is what he said, and you asked him in return to make offerings of tobacco. Here is the tobacco. This night we are going to ask life of you. We desire that you give us and all who will be here to-night, life. As many people as will be seated here, we ask life for all of them."

Then all who are present rise and, holding tobacco in each hand, walk around the lodge, pouring tobacco on the drums and the [782] gourds, and some of it into the fire. They pour tobacco into the fire for the Night Spirits. For the Beings-with-rounded-wood they offer tobacco by pouring it upon the drums. The offering is made both to the drums and to the gourds directly. The tobacco bundles tied to the invitation sticks are offered to the four cardinal points and the four specially invited guests smoke this tobacco, because they are supposed to represent the four cardinal points. Behind the respective invited guests are placed two women, next to the wall, so that they might lead in the dance. When the invited guests come to the feast these women remain outside until the starting songs have been begun.

[533] The host sings these songs first and when he has finished the first invited guest enters the lodge, ejaculating peculiar sounds (that are probably meant as greetings). Continuing these sounds, he walks around the lodge until he comes to the place from which he has started. There he stops and speaks. "You who obtain life, you

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575 did not put us in charge of anything, and that for that reason the
539 tobacco we received is our greatest and foremost thing. So the old people said. We were told that we should use it to ask for life. This must have been what they meant. This, the instrument with which to ask life, is, I feel sure, sufficient to attract them and they will surely take notice of it. We may also follow him who is taking the place of the spirits, and we will consider all those who are in the lodge blest. Those whom we call Nights have been offered tobacco, and the same has been offered to the four cardinal points, and to all the life-giving plants. To this many tobacco has been offered. It will strengthen us. This is what we call imitating the spirits, and that is why we are doing it. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you all. The song we will now start is a pipe-lighting song."

When he finished singing he greeted all those in the lodge and then he lit his pipe. Then he took a number of puffs. First he inhaled some smoke and blew it toward the east, then toward the north, then toward the west, then toward the south. Then he passed
[782] it around and all smoked, except the host, who is not permitted to do so. Then the east leader spoke again as follows

"Night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you. The instrument with which to ask life I will now place here, and if any of you want to fill your pipes you may do so."

Then the leader of the north band rose and spoke as follows:

"Councilors and life-obtainers, you who sit in the direction where the day comes from, you who sit on the other side, in the west, and you who sit at the end of the road, your seats I all greet. We, too, have been anxious to obtain the instrument whereby we ask life, and therefore we fill a pipe for ourselves. I greet you."

Then the leader of the south band rose and said as follows:

"If the leader of the north band has finished his greeting, I also would very much like to have the instrument with which we ask life brought to me. We will immediately go and fill a pipe. I am speaking now because I wish to tell you what I intend to do. I greet you."

The leader of the north band did not pass the pipe that he had filled all around the lodge, but merely passed it to the members of his band. Only they smoked from it. In the same way the leaders of the other bands, with the exception of the host's band, passed the pipe only to members of their individual band. Only the host passed his pipe all around the lodge. When the smoking was over the leader of the east band rose and greeted everyone. Then he spoke as follows:

[787 "Our grandfathers used to carry on this ceremony, I have been
776] told. They told me that if at any time the giver of this ceremony

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plant and blessed him with long life and with victorious warpaths. He asked to be remembered by Hodja'noka in his offerings. The buffalo-spirit told him that if he would pour tobacco for him, and give feasts and make offerings of eagle feathers, the blessings he had given him would last forever.

"All these blessings were handed down to my father. These I also was taught. This life do we pray for and we have asked you all to come and help us. We thank you for it. As soon as the attendants are finished with the preparation of the food then we will eat. Our servants may perhaps burn their hands while preparing the food, but they will obtain life by so doing. Those who possess war bundles are always told to help one another and I know that you have come here for that reason. Life I am seeking and that is why I am giving this feast. Help me, all you owners of bundles who are present here. I will now sing some of the songs that Hodja'noka taught us. You who have obtained blessings, I greet you."

Then he sang the following songs:

*Song 1*

Nangura homa'ni hiwiiê. (Repeat.)
In the road walk let him do.

*Song 2*

Hodja'noka hamani'winê. (Repeat.)
Hodjanoka Walk by.

*Song 3*

Kâra Hodja'noka hamani'winê.
Say, Hodjanoka Walk by.

*Dancing song*

Hodja'noka trawawi're. (Repeat.)
Hodjanoka go toward.
Erehu'ne. (Repeat twice.) Wiga'rê. (Repeat twice.)
It is coming say to them.

As soon as Hodja'noka finished his songs, then all the objects (drum, gourds, etc.) were passed to He-who-strikes-the-earth-with-his-wings, and he rose and spoke:

"Brother-in-law, councilors, relatives, all who are seated here, I greet you. You who have been blessed with bundles, I greet likewise. You are taking the place of the spirits. It is good. We are trying to encourage one another and we have come to help you. We have brought you food for the feast. We also are desirous of obtaining long life and that is why we have brought our offerings, for we know the buffalo-spirits will accept them, as they are very tempting. You who are taking the place of the spirits, I greet you."

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796 Then he sings some songs and dances and passes the drum, etc.,
575 to the next guest and so it, in turn, is passed on until the fourth invited guest is reached. Then the drum is replaced in the center of the lodge.[18]

[782] Informant, unknown clan:[19] Buffalo feasts are given in spring, in fall, and in midwinter. No meat is offered, but only vegetables. The buffaloes said that maple sugar is their favorite food, so when this feast is given they always have some maple sugar along with the other things. The buffalo feast always takes place in a long lodge. The attendants make the lodge and boil all the food. When the kettles have been placed on the fire those giving the feast enter. The earth mound is now constructed and tobacco offered to it. All those giving the feast pour tobacco on the earth mound, asking for victory in war. When this is finished they sing buffalo songs, starting with the initial songs. When they are ready to sing the dancing songs the feast-giver rises and speaks as follows:

"The dancing songs that we are about to sing we use because we believe that our offering will thus be accepted. It is generally the custom to do this."

He now calls on some one to lead in the dance. This individual is always taken from the Buffalo clan. He comes forward, placing the buffalo head on his own head and carrying the buffalo tail attached to himself. He leads in all the dances, the others following him. A plate of maple sugar is placed at the buffalo mound. When he approaches the buffalo mound he makes a noise like a buffalo, sticks his tongue to the plate of sugar, and licks up some of it. Those following do the same. This they do without even holding the dish, just as buffaloes eat. When they finish their dancing they pass the drum on to another person, and when it has made the circuit of the lodge they eat. Each person has his own dish. Then the leader in the dance is told that the dish of wild rice standing in the center of the lodge is meant for him, and that he can invite whomsoever he likes to help him. When all in the lodge are ready they start eating all at the same time. When those in the center of the lodge get through and the dish is empty it is thrown over their heads, and they do not stop this until the dish has been turned upside down. While they are engaged in doing this they bellow like buffaloes. They are not allowed to use their hands in turning the dish over. They must do it with their heads, for it is a sacred thing and that is the way the buffaloes used to do it. When they are all through eating the feast-giver sings a dancing song and all those within the lodge rise, take their plates, and dance out of the lodge.

[18] In this account it is not quite clear whether the drum is merely passed to the four principal guests or to all. At the buffalo dance witnessed by the writer in the summer of 1908 it was passed only to the four principal guests. This was also corroborated by a number of informants.

[19] The origin myth of this feast is given on page 343.

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*Description of buffalo dance and its origin.*—Informant, member of Bear clan: The buffalo dance can be given by anybody who has been blessed by the buffalo spirits. In the beginning the Winnebago had animal forms, and they could obtain all the power they wanted, but since they left that stage of life they can obtain power only by fasting. John's buffalo feast is of recent origin. It originated with his grandfather. 796 575 [787]

A long lodge is prepared and in the center there is a pile of loose dirt. John's grandfather's name was Hodjanaga, Young-man-just-maturing. In fasting he found out that he was blessed with powers to cure the sick and be victorious in battle. While fasting, the spirits told him that he would receive what he was longing for. They told him that he would know what to do, for they would come after him. Soon they came after him and took him into camp (i. e., spirit country). When he got there, he saw an old man and a child, and he was told that it was on account of the child that he had been brought there; that the child had heard his prayers while fasting and had blessed him. Then they showed him a certain herb and told him, "This is what we give you. It will give you strength in running. Use it in time of war, and use it also as medicine for life. I have blessed you and given you what you desired and do you, in turn, make me a dog feast and give me red feathers, tobacco, and food." Then they taught him the songs and gave him a buffalo tail and a flute. 796 575 787

No invitation sticks are used. They go around and invite those whom they want. 796 575

When the grasses are well developed, then the Buffalo clan people make a feast to their life or clan; also in midwinter, for that is the time when all the spirits awaken from their night's sleep and turn over on the other side. [203]

## Society of Those Who Have Been Blessed By the Grizzly Bear

Informant, member of Bear clan: The grizzly-bear dance was given by those who had been blessed during their fasting by the grizzly bear. Women were never so blessed, and for that reason they never could participate in the dance. Different people received different blessings. We were blessed with two grizzly-bear heads, grizzly-bear hides, and paws. In the lodge constructed for the dance was placed a mound of earth called ma"warap'uru. The ma"warap'uru is supposed to represent a bear's cave, the four points of the cross representing the entrances to the cave and the four lines running to the center, the paths along which the grizzly bear travels when he scents a man. The place in the middle is supposed to be the habitation of the bear himself. Tobacco and red feathers are placed both in the center and at the four points. 796 575 787 [569] [782]

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756 796 (1) Entrance ritual: The band enters the tent, makes one complete circuit, and stops. The leader now delivers a short speech, followed by a song. The band then continues to the west end, where another speech is delivered and another song sung. After this the band continues again, and stops at the east end, where the leader talks and sings. Now all sit down. After a short pause the leader again rises and walking over to the ancestor host, talks to him, gives him some tobacco, and returns to his seat. Each band entering repeats the same ritual. This applies, however, only to Part IV (*a*) and (*b*).

(2) Exit ritual (Part IV (*a*) and (*b*)): The east leader rises and speaks, followed by north, west, and south. Each one then speaks again and, all singing, all walk toward the entrance in such a way that the south, north, and west bands make complete circuits of the lodge, thus enabling the east band to precede them. Near the entrance all stop singing and say "*wa-hi-hi-hi*" four times and pass out. This exit ceremony differs slightly in the two divisions of IV.

(3) Fire ritual, Part III: The ancestor host rises and goes to the leaders of the four other bands individually; and after he has blessed them they respond; then all rise, make four circuits of the lodge, and sit down again. The leader of the east band now rises, holding in his hand the invitation sticks and some tobacco, delivers a speech, then goes to the fireplace and kindles the new fire.

[782 276] (8) Smoking ritual: The leader of the east band pours tobacco into the fire, first at the east, and then at the north, west, and south corners. He then lights his pipe, puffs first toward the east, then toward the north, west, and south, after which he passes his pipe to the leader of the north band, who takes a few whiffs and in turn passes it around to the next member of the lodge. When the pipe has made the complete circuit it is placed in front of the fireplace. In the meantime the ancestor host has returned to his seat, and after a short pause, rises, speaks, and sings again. This smoking ceremony occurs after each entrance ceremony, IV (*a*) and (*b*), and before both feasts of IV (*a*) and (*b*).

*Presentation-of-food ritual* (Part IV, *a* and *b*).—The leader of the east band rises and brings meat, berries, wild potatoes, etc., to the ancestor host, delivering a minor speech at the same time. Each of the other leaders repeats the same ceremony. When all have finished, the ancestor host rises and thanks them.

(5) General shooting ritual (Part IV, *a* and *b*): The leaders of the east, north, west, and south bands, holding their otter skins in their hands, rise and, accompanied by three men, make a complete circuit of the lodge. They first speak in undertones to these three men, giving them directions. At each end the leader of the east band speaks, and then, singing, walks toward the west end, saying "*yoho*—

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# CHAPTER XV

## MISCELLANEOUS DANCES

### The Hok'ixe're Dance.

Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan: This is the way in which people used to bring scalps to one another. When a man returns from the warpath with a scalp he leaves it outside of the village and the warriors run out with their clubs and strike it and count coup (just as on the battlefield). As they count coup they call out their names. Then they are told what ceremonial dress they are to wear. They then send a messenger to the person to whom the scalp is to be presented to tell him to select a pole (for the victory dance). He thanks them and says, "It is good." Then the warriors who are returning arrange themselves in a circle around this pole and dance around it. He who has obtained the first war honor leads. 727 [555]

The one to whom they present the scalp thanks the spirits who are in control of war powers and then raising his hand prays to the Sun. Then he sings a song and when that is finished sits down, beats the drum, and sings a dancing song, while the others dance. [782]

Then the owner of the scalp, turning toward the spirits who are in control of war, gives the victory whoop four times. After each whoop all the other people in the lodge strike their mouths with their hands and yell. After the victory whoops have been given, all dance the victory dance. [201]

Then the man who has received the scalp lets his sisters, his aunts, and his nieces select the war presents which are always bestowed upon them. With these tied around their necks they dance. Toward evening they finish the victory dance and then all enter the (dancing) lodge. He to whom the scalp is given is the host and he sits down first. Then comes the donor and then in a row the four who have counted coup. [43]

The ceremony begins with songs sung by the host. He first sings two war-bundle songs (*waruza'p na"wa"*) and then two night songs (*ha"he' na"wa"*). When these are finished the meal is eaten. Before eating, all the animal heads are placed in front of the donor of the scalp and he selects those men with whom he wishes to share them. 727 796

Then the host rises and says, "War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you all. Our warrior (the donor) will eat together with

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head eating. Then the donor selected his partners. The host then began to sing. The scalp was taken down from the post and placed in a dish near the door. The soul of the scalp still remained within it, so they tried again to make it less powerful and to conquer it, for they knew that if they succeeded in conquering it all the life that was still coming to the possessor of the scalp at his death would be obtained for themselves. Then the dancers and the feasters, indeed all who had counted coup, tried to obtain some of the dead enemy's residuary life. All tried to add some new life to their own. 727 796 [774]

When the meal was over, then the host offered tobacco to the spirits, and all those present prayed for war to the spirits to whom offerings had been made. They asked that if it be their good fortune to kill a number of people on the warpath, when they returned home they would be as thankful as they are now. All these warriors who were taking part in this dance liked it very much. [782]

Then the host struck the drum that had been placed in front of him and sang. When he finished, he had the drum placed in front of the man who had counted first coup. Then this man sang and the drum was passed to the next man, and so on until each man had sung. After all had sung and spoken the men and women together danced around the lodge. The woman who had received the presents led the dance, carrying the scalp. The people believed that the scalp was dancing with them. All night they danced the *hok'-ire're* dance without resting at any time, and when the sun appeared they took the drum outside to the post and danced the victory dance. Then when the sun was high in the heavens they stopped and went to sleep. In the evening when the sun was low they danced the victory dance again, and then when it was pretty dark, singing slow songs, they slowly entered the lodge again. Then they made a circuit of the lodge and placed the drum in the middle of the lodge.

The feast was now ready. All that they were to eat—deer, bear, dog were placed in front of the feasters. Food was brought to the donor and all those who were sitting together with him, as well as all those who had counted coup and all the women who had received presents. Head eating is holy, and if one eats part of the head it is thought that it will help him greatly. [263] [264]

Then the host rose and spoke as follows:

"The servants who are carrying the food around here will probably not have enough to go around, but you must remember that not the men but the women are furnishing the food. Although it is little, I hope you will eat it. We will now sing four songs." Then he sang two war-bundle songs and two night songs. Before they ate the host rose and spoke, "This is a small feast and we will try to give food to our grandfather (some spirit) who is in charge of this

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The soldier dance is a hop up and down with both feet and in no 796
particular order, anywhere around the singers. It is held in the 614
open air. [535]

SOLDIER DANCE SONGS

I 796
Manaap'e'ra na"ji"winâ. 614
Soldiers get up.

II 533
Waja"nija" tcwaigi'jî na"jî'a"ijâ. 539
Something difficult get ready.
(I. e., whenever there is anything difficult to do you must get ready.)

III
Manaap'e'ra newine'na" hu'nagirdra.
Soldiers—I am he whom they spoke of.

IV
Manaap'e'ra hi'ja" wine'na".
Soldier one I am.
(I. e., I am a soldier, and if there is anything to do I'll do it.)

## Ceremony of Uangeru

(BROOING CEREMONY)

A dummy is made of grass and dressed with whatever objects the 735
maker wants to get. If he wants a horse he puts a bridle crosswise [532]
around the body of the dummy; if he wants clothes, he dresses him
up in Indian clothes. Then the man places this dummy anywhere
near a gathering, or where he expects a gathering to take place. He
sits near it. As soon as any warrior sees the dummy he goes over
to it and either kicks or strikes the man who made it, giving him at
the same time one of the objects he wanted. Any person may do
the same. They may not stop kicking the man until some warrior
who had at some time or another cut up an enemy in war cuts up
the dummy. Then all stop, and as soon as his bruises permitted him,
the man would get up and pick up the gifts brought to him.

## Feast to Buffalo Tail.

A grandfather of mine called Cokeboka fasted at Neceda, Wis. 787
There he was blessed by a young buffalo bull calf belonging to a herd.
The calf said, as the herd went by, "Father, keep going in the road;
mother, keep going in the road." He meant a warpath instead of
the road they were going in. The man was to go on a warpath, from
which he would return victorious.

They used to make offerings to this tail alone, apart from the war [782]
bundle. The braided grass was to be used for smoking. The feast 778
is given in spring after the grass grows up, and in midwinter. Ground 527
corn is boiled in making the feast.

## Kikre Waci and Tcebokona"k Dances

There is a pleasure dance called *kikre waci* and a dance called 535
*tcebokona"k* (wearing buffalo headdresses). The latter is of Sioux 177
origin.

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159 Now I know that it was because the evil spirit possessed me that I felt that
755 way. I was suffering from a disease. I even desired to kill myself:
794 I did not care to live. That feeling, too, was caused by this evil
276 spirit living within me. Then I ate this medicine and everything
[753] changed. The brother and sister I wanted to kill before I became attached to and I wanted them to live. The medicine had accomplished this.

### O. L.'s Description of the Peyote Cult

(Pl. 35, e)

159 John Rave belongs to the Bear clan, the members of which had
614 the functions of what might be called sergeants-at-arms. He and
[692 his ancestors used to be in charge of the *manupeni* (i. e., the ser-
68] geants-at-arms lodge), to which all malefactors would be brought for punishment.

159 Rave, although he belonged to this highly respected class of people,
794 was a bad man. He roamed from place to place. He has participated in all the ceremonies of the Winnebago, the medicine dance alone excepted. He had been married many times. Up to 1901 he was a heavy drinker. In that year he went to Oklahoma and while there ate the peyote. He then returned to the Winnebago and tried to introduce it among them, but none with the exception of a few
[77] relatives would have anything to do with it. This did not in any way discourage him, however, and he continued using the peyote, now and then getting a few converts.

159 There was not very much religion connected with it in the beginning
794 and the reason people drank it was on account of the peculiar effects
177 it had upon them. Nevertheless these Peyote people preached good things and gradually lost all desire for intoxicating drinks or for participating in the old Winnebago ceremonies. Then Rave began to do away with the old Indian customs. About four or five years ago the membership in the Peyote religion began to increase, for many people now noticed that those connected with the Peyote cult were the only people in the tribe leading a Christian life.

At this time the Bible was introduced by a young man named Albert Hensley (pls. 8, *d*; 9, *d*). He, too, had been a bad person, although he had been educated at Carlisle. Like Rave, he was a heavy drinker and fond of wandering.

During the last few years our members have increased so fast that now almost half the tribe belong to our religion. We all make efforts to lead a Christian life and we are succeeding very well.

794 We use the New Testament, especially the Revelations.

796 Our meetings take place at any time. We gather together in the
159 evening, and as soon as everything is in readiness the leader arises
[782] and offers a prayer called, "Turning themselves over to the care of the Trinity."

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our meetings at night. We searched the Bible and asked many ministers for any evidence for Christ's ever having held any meetings in the daytime, but we could find nothing to that effect. We did, however, find evidence that he had been out all night in prayer. As it is our desire to follow as closely as we can in the footsteps of Christ, we hold our meetings at night. Then, too, when we pray we wish to get as far away as possible from earthly things, and the night is the best time, for then we are not likely to be bothered by anything.

We have made earnest efforts to become Christians since we began drinking and eating this peyote, but many people say sarcastically that we have drunk ourselves into Christianity, and that we are demented. I am a peyote eater, but I have never found a demented person among them. We claim that there is virtue in the peyote. To you who do not believe and desire to find out let me quote the fourth chapter of the First Epistle of St. John:

"Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world.

"Hereby know ye the spirit of God. Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God."

We claim that you can not find out anything by standing off at a distance and only talking about it. We claim that some earthly things can have the virtue of God, for instance, the Bible, which is entirely made up of earthly material—the ink, the paper, the cover—yet it has survived the ages.

### J. B.'s Account of the Leader of the Peyote[1]

(Pl. 2)

Among the Winnebago there is a man named Little-Red-Bird, and when he reached middle age he began to travel around the world and learn different Indian languages. He used to travel inland a good deal. Once he joined a circus and crossed the ocean. He felt so ill while crossing that he wanted to die. Suddenly a wind came up and he got very frightened. He did not know what to do. Then he prayed to Earthmaker. When he came to the other side of the ocean there he saw a big island and a big city (London), and in this last place they held their circus. The chief of that country (the king) he met there.

When he came back to his own people he told them that on the other side of the ocean the Thunderbirds did not thunder. All they did was to drizzle. There was no lightning either. As he crossed the ocean on his return it thundered and lightened.

When he came home he was very glad to see his relatives and he offered tobacco in thanksgiving.

[1] The narrator was a very interesting fellow.

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Therefore I sat inside the meeting place with them. One man 159
acted as leader. We were to do whatever he ordered. The regalia 794
were placed before him. I wanted to sit in some place on the side 276
because I thought I might get to crying like the others. I felt 796
ashamed of myself.

Then the leader arose and talked. He said that this was an affair of Earthmaker's (God's), and that he (the leader) could do nothing on his own initiative; that Earthmaker (God) was going to conduct the ceremony. Then he said that the medicine (peyote) was holy and that he would turn us all over to it; that he had turned himself over to it and wished now to turn all of us over to it. He said further, "I am a very pitiable (figure) in this ceremony, so when you pray to Earthmaker, pray also for me. Now let us all rise and pray to Earthmaker (God)." We all rose. Then he prayed. He prayed for the [782] sick, and he prayed for those who did not yet know Earthmaker. He said that they were to be pitied. When he had finished we sat down. Then the peyote was passed around. They gave me five. My brother-in-law said to me, "If you speak to this medicine (peyote), it will give you whatever you ask of it. Then you must pray to Earthmaker, and then you must eat the medicine." However, I ate them (the peyote) immediately, for I did not know what to ask for and I did not know what to say in a prayer to Earthmaker (God). So I ate the peyote just as they were. They were very bitter and had a taste difficult to describe. I wondered what would happen to me. After a while I was given five more and I also ate them. They tasted rather bitter. Now I was very quiet. The peyote rather weakened me. Then I listened very attentively to the singing. I liked it very much. I felt as though I were partly asleep. I felt different from (my normal self), but when I (looked around) and examined myself, I saw nothing wrong about myself. However, I felt different from (my normal self). Before this I used to dislike the songs. Now I liked the leader's singing very much. I liked to listen to him.

They were all sitting very quietly. They were doing nothing except singing. Each man sang four songs and then passed the regalia to the next one. (Each one) held a stick and an eagle's tail feather in one hand and a small gourd rattle, which they used to shake while singing, in the other. One of (those) present used to do the drumming. Thus objects would pass around until they came back to the leader, who would then sing four songs. When these were finished, he would place the various (things) on the ground, rise, and pray to Earthmaker (God). Then he called upon one or two to speak. They said that Earthmaker (God) was good and that the peyote was good, and that whosoever ate this medicine (peyote) would be able to free himself from the bad spirit (the devil); for they said that

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x 796 themselves; and, lastly, the order in which the guests are invited (pls. 56, 57, 58).

x 796 121 It follows from the above remarks that in order to get a really complete account of the entire ceremony information should be obtained from each clan. The account given by any one clan will only contain the origin myth and the songs belonging to the war bundle of that clan, for although it is part of the ceremony to relate the origin myths of the various war bundles and sing the specific songs connected with them, no individual would take it upon himself to tell any but those relating to the war bundle of his own clan. Thus it will be seen that any single account is defective in some rather important particulars.

## ANALYTICAL PRESENTATION OF THE CEREMONY

x 796 The ceremony falls into three well-defined parts: I, the Sweat Lodge; II, the First Division, generally known either as the Feast in honor of Earthmaker or the Feast in honor of the Thunderbirds; and III, the Second Division, known as the Feast in honor of the Night Spirits.

[782] There is little to be said about the Sweat Lodge, for it consists exclusively of offerings of tobacco and prayers to the spirits, on the part of the one giving the ceremony, whom we will call the host.

The first division can be divided into the following component elements: (1) The preparation of the buckskins; (2) the dog sacrifice; (3) the filling of the ceremonial pipe and the smoking ritual; (4) the tobacco offering to the spirits; (5) the buckskin offerings to the spirits; (6) the feast; (7) the fast-eating contest; and (8) the basic ritual.

The second division can be divided into the following component elements: (4) The tobacco offering to the spirits; (9) the throwing out of the buckskins; (6) the feast; (10) the episode of the "Night-crazed" warrior; (11) the terminal dog ritual; and (8) the basic ritual.

[887] (1) *The preparation of the buckskins.*—The buckskins, made as white as possible by old women, are taken into the lodge by the host and there marked in the manner prescribed for each spirit. They are then tied to a framework and rolled to the top of this frame.

[782 825] (2) *The dog sacrifice.*—The dog is strangled and a pouch of tobacco is tied to each limb, and another pouch and red feathers are tied around his neck. The body is then laid in front of the war bundle, facing south, this being the direction in which Disease-giver, the spirit to whom the dog is specially sacrificed, lives.

[776] Before strangling, a short speech is addressed to the dog in which the slayer apologizes for killing him, and assures him that in the

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place to which he is going he will live far more happily than here among men. 796x

(3) *Filling of the ceremonial pipe and the smoking ritual.*—Before the basic ritual of the first division is begun the attendants take some tobacco and, filling the ceremonial pipe, place it near the war bundle. As the first pipeful is intended for Earthmaker, the stem is directed vertically. Then as soon as the appropriate songs have been sung the attendant lights the pipe and passes it around the lodge, so that all the men may smoke. When the pipe returns to the host it is again filled. 796x 782 [276 782]

This procedure is repeated three more times, but as in each case the offering is to a different spirit, the arrangement of the pipestem is different. At the second filling of the pipe the stem is turned to the west for the Thunderbirds; at the third, it is turned to the south for Disease-giver; and at the fourth, it is turned toward the earth for the earth and the spirits that live under the earth. [782] [776]

(4) *Tobacco offerings to the spirits.*—This occurs in two forms, (*a*) and (*b*).

(*a*) When the buckskins have been prepared and rolled up on the frameworks, then all those participating march around the lodge to the place where the war bundle is lying and pour tobacco upon it. Then they offer tobacco to all the spirits worshiped. The spirits mentioned specifically are, however, few in number, the offerings being really directed to the six cardinal points, east, north, west, south, above, and below. [823]

(*b*) This is a more specific offering and all the spirits are mentioned by name and short addresses are made to them. It is repeated three times once in the Sweat-Lodge ritual, then in the first, and lastly in the second division

In the Sweat-Lodge ritual the offering of tobacco is made to the following spirits: Earthmaker, Thunderbirds, Great Black Hawk, Night Spirits, Disease-giver, Sun, Moon, South Wind, and Eagle. 796x 776 782

In the first division the order is different and more spirits are sacrificed to. The spirits to whom tobacco is offered are the following: Earthmaker, Thunderbirds, Night Spirits, Disease-giver, Sun, Earth, Moon, Eagle Chief, Day, South Wind, North Wind, Black Hawk, Wonavi'ce Ūankcik, and Great Black Hawk.

In the second division the following spirits receive tobacco offerings: Night Spirits, Earth, Water, Pigeon Hawk, Moon, Earthmaker, Thunderbird, Great Black Hawk, Disease-giver, South Wind, and Sun.

Each spirit is addressed by name and then a handful of tobacco is poured into the fire.

(5) *The buckskin offering to the spirits.*—Short prayers are addressed to those spirits who are to receive buckskins and requests for power

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[796] are made to them. Only the following spirits receive buckskins: [782] Thunderbird, Night Spirits, Disease-giver, South Wind, Sun, Earth-[774] maker, Moon, Morning Star, Earth, and Water.

(6) *The feasts.* There are two feasts, the one in the first division of the ceremony being generally known as the Thunderbird and that in the second division as the Night Spirit feast.

The guests are always divided into two divisions, the owners of war bundles and their male followers, and the women. The former, [654] who are always warriors of repute, get the choice pieces of the deer, i. e., the heads, and the rest get the other pieces generally referred to as "the common pieces." The heads are eaten after those eating the common pieces have finished.

The host never eats at the feast he gives, but while the others are eating he plays on his reed flute.

(7) *The fast-eating contest.* Before the heads are eaten two men [264] belonging to the upper phratry and two belonging to the lower (i. e., generally two members of the Thunderbird clan and two members of the Bear clan) are selected to take part in the fast-eating contest. This consists of consuming an equal amount of food. The one who finishes first is considered the greater warrior. Both contestants start at a given signal and continue the contest to the accompaniment of songs sung by the other guests.

When a member of the upper phratry gives the ceremony his side always wins, and vice versa.

(8) *The basic ritual.* After the buckskin ritual has been finished the host begins what is unquestionably the fundamental part of the ceremony, which I have called the "basic ritual." It consists of four speeches, each speech followed by a different set of songs. The first speech is followed by a set of war-bundle songs; the second by a paint set; the third by a Disease-giver set; and the last by a Night Spirit set. The last speech also contains a fasting experience of the first owner of the war bundle. When he is finished, the general feast and the fast-eating contest take place, and the basic ritual is for the time interrupted. It is continued as soon as these are finished, but not in the same manner as performed by the host. Instead of four speeches there is only one. As soon as one guest finishes speaking the other begins, and so on until all have finished.[1]

In the second division of the ceremony the basic ritual is performed in a slightly different manner. In the first place there seem to be two parts to it, the first one quite different from the basic ritual as given in the first division, and the second identical with it except that instead of seven there are only four guests called upon to speak.

In the first part of the basic ritual, as given here, the host delivers three speeches. After the first one a set of Night Spirit songs are

[1] Additional information on the Winter Feasts might lead me to an alteration of this last statement. In addition to the present, three more accounts of Winter Feasts were received.

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the Night Spirits. All the warriors who possessed war bundles would of necessity have to receive blessings from these, although in different cases one or the other may have bestowed the more important powers. The prominence given to the Thunderbird in the first and to the Night Spirits in the second division give the ceremony a most marked resemblance to societies like the Night Spirit society. In the second division it is even essential to have been blessed by the Night Spirits in order to play a certain rôle. There would thus develop the consciousness of community of interest due to the fact that as individuals they were bound together by blessings received from the same spirits, a feeling that was certain to be still further strengthened since, in all likelihood, most of the possessors of war bundles belonged to societies where this actually was the common bond. The religious and ceremonial aspect would thus of necessity be reinforced. The prayers for success on the warpath of course always existed, but as the extraneous religious and ceremonial influences became stronger and more insistent and as—and this should never be forgotten—the pursuit of war became less and less important, owing to the breaking down of the culture consequent upon the advent of the whites, these extraneous factors became, if not dominant at least almost equal in importance to the historically older aspect; and our original gathering of warriors, while still remaining a gathering of warriors, also became a ceremonial organization, in which offerings were made to the entire Winnebago pantheon of spirits. The great war spirits were still all-important, but their position was contested by so distinctive a peace deity as Earthmaker and such deities as Earth, Moon, and Water. The prayers for success in war were perhaps still the most insistent, but prayers for life, not life merely that success in war may be longer, but prayers for the whole content of life, were offered up. Disease-giver was appealed to not merely to bestow upon man the greatest of all war honors, killing an enemy right in the midst of his tribesmen, but also to ward off disease from the supplicants.

Still, as great as have been these extraneous influences, the character of the feast as originally one purely connected with war comes out in numerous ways in the association, for instance, of war powers with Earthmaker, Moon, and Earth, and significantly enough, in the absence of the more specific religious associations such as are met with in the Medicine dance.

Let us turn now to the development of the organization of the feast. The development of a fixed type of organization is not absolutely necessary. Societies may exist only for certain occasions, such as the return from a warpath, like the Hôk'txe're dance or preparatory to the starting of a war party, and be practically nonexistent afterwards. Such are the temporary war feasts of the Ojibway, for instance. However, one all important circumstance prevented this

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when he appears to an individual. The Thunderbirds are conceived 776
of theoretically as birds, but always appear to human beings in human shape. As it is believed by the shaman that the spirits are a *tertium quid*, neither animal nor man, but possessing infinite powers of transformation now into the one, now into the other, it is rather difficult to indicate their precise nature except in this negative way. For the ordinary individual doubtless their anthropomorphic nature stands out most prominently.

According to shamanistic cosmology, although the greater spirits are given control of various powers, still, in general, each spirit is given control of some specific power. The shamanistic account goes on to say that, upon the creation of man, Earthmaker, realizing that he had no powers to bestow upon him, decided to give him at least the means of obtaining those powers he had given the spirits [773]
and presented him with tobacco, telling him that if he offered it in the proper manner the spirits would feel constrained to accept it and give him, in exchange, whatever powers they possessed. The popular account of the origin of tobacco was quite different. However, it was on the shamanistic theory that offerings were made. The arrangement between the spirits and man was in the nature of a contract, with this peculiarity, that the spirits did not have to accept the offerings. The prayers are generally couched in this manner: "If you, the spirits, accept my offerings, then grant me your blessings or a continuance [782]
of those my ancestors received." They were, however, theoretically always left the alternative of refusing. In practice it was not believed that the spirits exercised their prerogative of refusal, but that in certain cases the offerings were not made in the proper fashion. The moment the tobacco was accepted, the blessing followed of itself, almost without the will of the spirit. This purely mechanical relation between acceptance of the tobacco and bestowal of power comes out excellently in one of the myths. The Winnebago are sacrificing to the Buffalo Spirits and the smoke of their tobacco offering is ascending to the spirit-land where the Buffalo Spirits dwell. The chief of the spirits warns the younger ones not to approach too closely to the ascending fumes, for they are but spirits and the desire for tobacco [773]
might get the better of their discretion and induce them to accept it. If they do, they are lost, for they will then have to go down to the earth and be killed. No power they possess, nor any power the chief possesses, can save them. This "mechanical" explanation seems to me quite significant, for it probably embodies the older point of view and the point of view of the less enlightened Winnebago. As such, it is to be contrasted with the later shamanistic development with its contract and the shifting of the spirit's rôle from one of passive acceptance to that of a spirit-deity who withholds his approbation unless the offering is properly made.

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776 The elements necessary to the acceptance of offerings are two-
787 fold—the specified amount of material and the proper state of
782 mind. The first is quite clear, but the second needs some explanation. To the Winnebago the emotional condition of a suppliant for power from the spirits is all important, and the proper emotional condition is one which they call "concentration of mind," by which they signify a complete absorption of the individual in the prayer he is making. Theoretically even the slightest interest in any other object is liable to destroy the entire efficacy of the prayer. I say theoretically, for if the prayer seems to be answered a consciousness of failure to come up to the ideal never obtrudes itself. If, however, there is reason to believe that the prayer has not been answered, then the explanation would always be that there had been either a shift of attention or a lack of emotional intensity. This is not the only explanation given for lack of success in the case of a ceremony, for there, by an extension of the principle of the "concentration of mind" to all those who participated, failure might be attributable to a large number of causes.

The popular explanation was, I believe, different. Failure was either not discussed at all and looked upon from the common-sense point of view as one of life's accidents or, if explanation was necessary, regarded as a sign that the spirits had not been tempted to accept the alluring offers.

It would, however, be erroneous to believe that much philosophizing took place over failure. Failure that entailed the death of an individual was likely to call forth not explanations as to what the failure was attributable, but desire for revenge.

776 With the exception of food and tobacco, which were extended to
782 all, the offerings to the various spirits differed in nature. To the eleven great deities (i. e., including Hō'rok'a, who is not mentioned in the following account) tobacco, food (i. e., both soup and meat), and burkskins were offered. There was, however, further differentiation. To the great war deities red eagle feathers were offered in addition; to Disease-giver and Thunderbird two dogs were sacrificed; to Earth and Sun herbs and maple sugar were given; and to the Moon, bear ribs.

Having thus briefly sketched the general nature of the spirits connected with the war-bundle feast and the general theory of the offering, we will turn to a specific enumeration of the spirits.

776 *Earthmaker.*—Variously known in Winnebago as Ma'ʊʊa, Earthmaker, Wajągu'xra, Creator, and Waxǫpi'ni Xe'tera, Great Spirit. Ma'ʊʊa is, by far, the most usual appellation; Wajągy'xra is found only in rituals, and Waxǫp'jnj Xe'tera is more or less obsolete, although not within the popular cycles relating to the Trickster, Hare, Turtle, Red-Horn, and the Twins.

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myths is quite important, too, but there she has been changed from 776
a rather indifferent and at times hostile deity to a beneficent, all-loving Mother-earth.

*The Water.*—Generally known as nīpa, water, but ritualistically as hunge', chief. There is some doubt as to whether water or the Water Spirit is meant here. This is a deity in no way connected with war. He is most commonly associated with medicines, especially the [789]
famous "paint" medicines (wāse').

These are the more important spirits and the only ones to whom buckskins are offered in the following ceremony. The following are, however, also of considerable importance:

*Eagle.*—Always known as Traxcep, eagle. A powerful war deity [614]
and a clan animal.

*Pigeon Hawk.*—Always known as K'īrjk'īrī'sgera, pigeon hawk. A powerful war deity.

*Wōnaji'ce Caskcik.*—A term difficult to translate, but meaning, in general, a terror-inspiring man. It refers, however, not to a human deity but to a bird that is supposed to be almost identical with the hawk. It is the name of one of the Winnebago clans. A powerful war deity.

*North Wind.*—Known as Wazī'regj hūhī'ra, Wind-that-is-in-the-pine-region. He is associated with war, but is not a very important deity.

*Black Hawk.*—Known as k'eredju sep. What difference there is between this spirit and Great Black Hawk is not clear.

*Day.*—Known as hap, day or light. The term is used in rituals, especially in the medicine dance, with the meaning of life. He is very rarely sacrificed to and his mention in this particular performance of the Thunderbird war-bundle feast is merely an illustration of the fact that offerings could be made to any spirit.

In addition to the spirits mentioned above, offerings were made at different performances of the war-bundle feast to all the other spirits [782]
and even to heroes, like Trickster, Turtle, Hare, Bladder, Red-Horn, and the Twins. In the performance as given in the following account one great spirit is omitted, Hā'rok'a, meaning, literally, "Without horns." A buckskin is always offered to him, on which is painted a small bow and arrow. He is one of the important Winnebago deities, is supposed to be a Lilliputian, and controls many of the powers relating to hunting.

In order to avoid offending any spirit they always leave a portion of tobacco as an offering to those whose names they can not for the moment think of.

### DESCRIPTION OF THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST

The present war bundle has been in the family of B. for a number 778
of generations. Our informant obtained it directly from his father.

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The buckskin to be offered to Earthmaker is marked with a cross in green. It is quite possible that the association of the cross with Earthmaker is due to Christian influence. But if this actually has been the case it is far more likely that the Christian influence led not to the actual borrowing of the Christian cross, but rather to the identification of an old Winnebago ceremonial symbol, namely, the crossed lines representing the cardinal points, with the cross, and its association with Earthmaker (pl. 48). 796x 778 782 [177]

The buckskin to be offered to the Thunderbirds is marked with three semicircular lines, the first red, the second white, and the third blue, to represent a rainbow (pl. 48).

The buckskin to be offered to the Night Spirits is marked with four parallel lines in charcoal (pl. 48).

The buckskin to be offered to Disease-giver is marked by dipping the three middle fingers in red paint and impressing them 12 times upon the buckskin in three vertical columns, with four impressions in each column. In addition to this an eagle feather is tied to each corner of the buckskin (pl. 48).

The buckskin to be offered to the Sun is marked with an image of the sun in red (pl. 47).

The buckskin to be offered to the Moon is marked with an image of the moon in any of its phases in green (pl. 47).

The buckskin to be offered to South Wind is marked in the same way as that to Disease-giver, except that green paint is used. A red eagle feather is attached to each end of the buckskin (pl. 47).

The buckskin to be offered to the Morning Star is marked with an image of a star in black outline (pl. 47).

These are the spirits to whom buckskins are offered in the ceremony about to be described, but the other clans seem to show variations in some offerings. Thus, for example, the spirit called "Without-horns" (Hō'rok'a) receives the offering of a buckskin in some cases. The marking for him is always a bow and arrow in charcoal. In another case Fire and Turtle receive buckskin offerings. Their markings are pictures of fire and turtle.

While the host is busy thus marking the buckskins the attendants put the meat in the kettles and place the sauce on the various fireplaces. There are always one or two extra kettles prepared for the women and children. 796x

The lodge extends from east to west and has only one entrance, on the east end. The host sits to the left as you enter and opposite him sits the guest of honor, who is, of course, different in each clan, but in the ceremony to be described he belongs to the Bear clan. Then, in definite order, sit the other guests, each one opposite a fireplace. The women and children sit separated from the others at the extreme western end of the lodge (see fig. 38). [554]

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×796 After the buckskins have been marked the host arranges them on
778 frames. The buckskin to Earthmaker is so arranged on its frame
●782 that the head points upward; that to the Thunderbirds is so arranged that its head points toward the west; that to the Night Spirits, that its head points to the east; that to the Morning Star, that its head points to the east; and those to the Earth and Water, that their heads point downward. After they have been attached to the frame they are rolled up, and the ceremony can be said to have begun. Then the guests enter, no order being observed in the manner of entering. As soon as they have all taken their places, the oldest warrior belonging to the host's band is called upon to offer tobacco to the spirits. This he does by going to the main fireplace, offering up brief prayers, and at the conclusion of each one pouring tobacco into the fire. The first prayer is always to the fire itself.[8] When he is finished, the host takes the buckskins, unrolls them, and distributes them to the various guests. The buckskin for the Thunderbirds is always given to the guest of honor, and the others are given in the following rotation: Great Black Hawk, Disease-giver, South Wind, Earthmaker, Sun, Morning Star, Night Spirits, Moon, Earth, and Water. The buckskin to Earthmaker is assigned to the middle guest, but as he is the first guest to speak, the buckskin itself is hung on the center pole that is erected in the front portion of the lodge.

After the guests have received their buckskins they stand in their respective positions, holding the buckskin in one hand and some tobacco in the other. The host concludes his remarks, and then taking his flute, blows upon it. After this he sings two songs, accompanying himself with his gourd rattles. Then the buckskins are rolled up again, but in such a way that the markings still remain visible, and hung up just west of the first fireplace, with the exception of the Earthmaker's buckskin. The host now takes the war bundle, opens it, and places it at the foot of the center pole. He then makes the circuit of the lodge, pouring some tobacco into the hands of each invited guest. When this is finished, he pours some tobacco upon the war bundle and some into the fire and proceeds to offer prayers to all the spirits, asking each in turn for life and victory on the war-
path. When he is through all the guests pour tobacco on the war
[358] bundle and into the fire. Children are often allowed to pour tobacco also, the attendants bringing them from the western portion of the lodge. After the offerings of tobacco are finished the offerings of buckskin are made. Then the basic ritual is started by the host. He takes the flutes, drum, and gourds and sings in his own place. There are many different sets of songs, and every time he starts a
[523] different set he first blows upon his flute. The songs for the Thunderbird have eight starting songs and six dancing songs. When the

[8] This prayer, for some unknown reason, is omitted in the following account. It was obtained, however, in connection with another account of the same ceremony.

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dancing songs are begun, all the men go to the war bundle and dance around it. The flute is continually blown during the dancing. Women may dance at their end of the lodge. The basic ritual is then continued. 796 778 782 [534]

When the last starting song is finished the host rises and, ejaculating *ho o—o*, pours tobacco into the fireplace four times. Just when the food is about cooked four special songs are sung. Then the Thunderbird feast takes place. All the bones that have been left on the plate of the guest impersonating the Disease-giver are taken out by the host himself, carried in an eastward direction, and placed very carefully at the foot of some tree that has been especially selected. Tobacco and red feathers are poured upon these bones. The plates used by the same person are purified with arbor vitæ. The bones left on the plates of the other guests may be thrown anywhere, provided the ground on which they are scattered has been purified. When the feast is over the basic ritual is continued. When this is finished the first division of the ceremony is concluded. [783 824]

During the interval between the first and second divisions the attendants sweep the lodge and purify it with branches of arbor vitæ; and new kettles with meat are placed on the fireplaces. Then the host and guests enter. The host rises and distributes the buckskins again, and while he is doing this an attendant goes around the lodge and scatters swan feathers all over it. Some are even placed on the suspended kettles. The host, because he is going to sing Night Spirit songs, takes down the buckskin intended for that spirit, blackens his face with the embers of charcoal used in marking the buckskin, and puts some swan feathers on his head. Before the host starts singing the Night Spirit songs the pipestem is turned toward the east and the origin of the songs in question is told. Then the basic ritual is begun. When the dancing songs are being sung the guests may either go to where the war bundle lies and dance there or stay in their own places and dance. When the host has finished his part of the basic ritual, drum, gourds, flute, and tobacco are passed to the first guest, and when he is finished they are passed to the second and third guests. After that the basic ritual is for the time being discontinued and the ritual connected with throwing out of the buckskins intervenes, this in turn being followed by the Night Spirit feast. However, before the feast, as the drum, gourds, and flute are returned to the host, he has a kettle placed on the fire for the spirits living beneath the surface of the earth, and when the food in it has cooked he rises and sings paint songs (*wase'*). After the feast is over the basic ritual is continued. Some time before this ritual is finished the host takes his war bundle, wraps it up, and hangs it behind the place where he is sitting. When finally all the songs with the exception of four have been sung, the host calls upon some one with a very strong voice to give the war whoop four times. This the latter does, and after the last whoop all the guests join in. Then rising, all the guests dance out of the lodge and the ceremony is over. 796 778 [783]

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FIRST DIVISION OF THE CEREMONY—IN HONOR OF THE THUNDER-BIRDS

*Introductory remarks by Blowsnake, informant.*—In winter, in mid-winter, then it was that I used to pour tobacco.[9] That was the time I would go out and hunt for game. 539x 796x

Well, to-night, a vapor bath I shall take, and if I can secure food for boiling, that kind of a feast I shall give. As many of the leaders as have come, that many shall be with me as I take a vapor bath in the sweat lodge. We are now about to enter the sweat lodge, for everything is in readiness.[10] [515]

SWEAT-LODGE RITUAL

We entered the sweat lodge and undressed, and after we had entered they (the outsiders) closed the lodge covering. I took both the tobacco and the other things I was to use as offerings with me.[11] [782]

*Host's salutation and initial speech to participants.*—"I greet you; I greet you all, war-bundle owners.[12] My grandparents, especially my grandfather,[13] had concentrated their minds upon this for me. The fireplace with which they blessed my grandfather,[14] that I am going to ask for myself. However weakly I may wobble about,[15] my elders will aid me. I am now going to pour a little tobacco and offer, my elders, whatever feast I am able to. War-bundle owners, I send forth my greetings to you. War-bundle owners, I greet you. Ye elders, I am about to pour tobacco for them (the spirits)." 796x 539x 782

*Host's offering to Earthmaker.*—"Hearken, Earthmaker, our father, I am about to offer you a handful of tobacco.[16] My ancestor Djô-henagwi'ŋxga[17] concentrated his mind upon you. The fireplaces with which you blessed him;[18] the small amount of life you granted to him; all, four times the blessings you bestowed upon my ancestor, that I ask of you directly. Also that I may have no troubles (in life)." 539x 793 782 776

*Host's offering to the chief of the Thunderbirds.*—"To you, who live in the west, our grandfather, chief of the Thunderbirds, a handful of

[9] "Pouring tobacco" is the ritualistic term for giving a feast.

[10] The informant has passed to the present tense now, for he is actually giving an account of the last War-bundle Feast he gave and imagining that the writer is present.

[11] The word tobacco in Winnebago rituals is used as a generic expression for an offering. Thus the word *ŋaxtcrapi'ja* means, literally, "What we are to offer as tobacco."

[12] Literally, "Children of the bundle."

[13] He does not really mean grandparents, but elders.

[14] The word here used for fireplace is a ritualistic one. It means, literally, "That one throws within something, i. e., an offering." It also has here the secondary meaning of food.

[15] Used metaphorically.

[16] I. e., the regular offering.

[17] An ancestor of the informant.

[18] Here "fireplaces" mean blessings, for only those who had blessings could erect fireplaces, and as a fireplace was erected for each separate spirit, the greater their number the greater the number of blessings. In all rituals it is customary to speak of blessings received, as well as of personal accomplishments, with an exaggerated modesty.

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tobacco I am about to offer you. My grandfather Djōnenagiwi'ąąga you strengthened. The food, the deer-couple you gave him for his fireplaces, that I ask of you directly. May it be a fact that you accept this tobacco from me and may I not meet with troubles (in life)."

*Host's offering to the Great Black Hawk.*—"You also blessed my grandfather, Great Black Hawk. Whatever food you blessed him with that I ask of you directly. Tobacco I am about to pour for you that you may smoke it. May troubles not come upon me; that I ask."

*Host's offering to the Night Spirits.*—"You on the other side, who live in the east, who walk in darkness,[8] tobacco I am about to offer you to smoke. Whatever you blessed my ancestor with, whatever fireplaces you blessed him with, those I ask of you. If you smoke this tobacco never will I be a weakling."

*Host's offering to Disease-giver.*—"You who live in the south; you who look like a man; who art invulnerable; who on one side of your body present death and on the other life, Disease-giver, as they call you. My ancestor in the daytime, in broad daylight, did you bless. With food you blessed him. You told him that he would never fail in anything. You told him that you would avoid his home.[9] You placed animals (i. e., food) in front of him that he should not be troubled about obtaining them. An offering of tobacco I make to you that you may smoke it and that I may not be troubled by anything (in life)."

*Host's offering to the Sun.*—"To you, Light-Wanderer, an offering of tobacco I make. May it be my good fortune that you accept it. Whatever fireplaces you blessed him (i. e., my ancestor) with, those I ask of you directly. May I not be troubled by anything in life."

*Host's offering to the Moon.*—"You also, Grandmother Moon, blessed my ancestor with food. With whatever you blessed him, that I ask of you now directly. An offering of tobacco I am about to make for you now, so that you may smoke. Whatever blessings you bestowed upon my grandfather, I pray you to give me now, so that by reason of it I may never become a weakling."

*Host's offering to the South Wind.*—"To you, too, South Wind, I offer a handful of tobacco, that you may smoke it. May it so happen that you accept it and that I am spared troubles (in life). With whatsoever you blessed my ancestor, that I ask of you."

*Host's offering to Earth.*—"For you likewise, Grandmother Earth, will I pour tobacco. With whatever blessings you blessed my grandfather, those I ask of you. May I in that way never become a weakling."

[8] Hīk'ewa Maxina, "those who walk in darkness," is the ritualistic name of the Night Spirits.
[9] I. e., that you would not permit disease and death to enter it.

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*Host's offering to the Eagle.*—"To you, a pair of Eagles, my ancestor prayed. The blessings you bestowed upon him, those I ask of you. I am about to pour a handful of tobacco for you. May you accept it and ward off trouble from me." 539X 796X 782

*Hosts general offering to the spirits.*—"Hearken, all ye spirits to whom my ancestor prayed: to all of ye, I offer tobacco. My ancestor Djō-benagiw'ąxga gave a feast to all those who had blessed him.[a] However, as it is about time to proceed to the next part (we will ask you once again) to bestow upon us all the blessings you gave our ancestor. That we may not become weaklings, I ask of you. I greet you all." 776

### The Dog Ritual

When they decide to use a dog (as a sacrifice) they take the greatest care of it from its infancy upward. With great kindness do they rear it. They never strike it when rearing it. Just like their own child do they treat it. They take great care of its food. They love it very much, just as they love their own children. Thus is the dog loved. If they are going to sacrifice it, then before they kill the dog they make the following preparation and the man who is to make the sacrifice speaks thus: 539X 796X 231 782

"My younger brother, you are to go to the south: to the Disease-giver you are to go. There you will live better than here. War powers and life we wish to have and that you should ask for."

The dog is not to be killed by striking, but a rope is to be used and he is to be strangled to death, so that there will not be any blood. It is forbidden to shed blood. Thus they tried to make an offering to one of the great spirits.

When the dog is to be killed, the one who is to do it prepares him. A pouch of tobacco and red feathers are tied around the neck of the dog to be offered. Then the man made another pouch of tobacco and another, till he had four, and these with (eagle) feathers he tied to the four limbs, one pouch to each limb of the dog. Then the war bundle was opened and purified with cedar leaves. Then they laid the dog in front of the war bundle, making him face south. [783]

### General Placing of the Tobacco

When they have finished arranging the buckskins and are about ready to start the singing, then the feasters mix tobacco and strew it over the war bundle. They offer this tobacco for all the spirits who exist. Even the man who originally obtained the war bundle 796X 539X 776 782

[a] "And we are repeating this now," should be added. The word for feast here means literally, "tobacco pouring."

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will be present to smoke with them, it is said. And lest (through forgetfulness) they do not think of certain spirits they have some tobacco ready for these, that they may also smoke it. Wherever it is that the spirits have their gathering places there it is that the tobacco goes. The Thunderbirds have a tobacco-gathering place, it is said. The Night Spirits have one also, it is said. The place that I spoke of as the one where Djobenąągjwi'ąxga was blessed, that is the tobacco-gathering place of the Night Spirits, Grandfather Djobenąągjwi'ąxga said. Up above there is also a tobacco-gathering place, it is said. And, again, on the earth there is a gathering place somewhere, it is said. Under the earth there is a gathering place somewhere also, it is said. The mixed tobacco is placed in the center of the long lodge, and though this is not pure tobacco there is plenty of it. The feasters try to consume all of it. They would smoke very much, for they desired (certain things from the spirits). Thus the feasters would encourage one another, for they, the spirits, loved holy tobacco. "Try to make them smoke as much tobacco as possible that you may obtain war powers, it is said."

He (the host) smoked for them (the spirits). He also encouraged the feasters (to smoke) and had the attendants go repeatedly to fill the pipe of the guests seated in the lodge. "Be diligent," he told them "and try to smoke as much as you can." All night he offered them tobacco to smoke, it is said.[28]

### The Tobacco Offering to the Spirits

*Host's initial speech.* "Six white buckskins, with enough material for as many pairs of moccasins, I am going to send to our grandparents. They will be able to recognize (the buckskins) by the marks upon them.[29] If (spirits) you recognize them, it is our desire that you take these buckskins. That is why I am doing this. I hope, also, that our grandfathers will accept our food offerings. That is why I am making them. Many are the war-bundle owners who are sitting here; the lodge tent is full of them. I am thankful for it. I am going to make you very tired; I am going to make you very hungry; but I know you never thought of that.[30] You are thinking only of our grandfathers, the spirits, and that is why you have permitted my lodge to become filled up with people. It is good. All ye war-bundle owners who are seated here within, I greet you. I am now going to pour tobacco."

[28] This was omitted in the account as first obtained and was told afterwards. For this reason it partakes more of a general description than of a detailed narrative.

[29] Every buckskin is marked with a symbol sacred to the particular spirit to whom it is offered.

[30] It is one of the cardinal traits of Winnebago ritualistic oratory that everything that the speaker does is to be depreciated and that any honor or consideration shown to him by his guests is to be ascribed more to a feeling of pity in their breasts than to his worth.

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*Host's offering to Earthmaker.* "Hearken, Father who dwells above,[28] all things you have created. Yet if we would make an offering of tobacco you would accept it with thankfulness" (you said). So it has been said. I am about to offer a handful of tobacco and a buckskin for moccasins with it and a white-haired animal[29] to be cooked so that (you may have) a holy feast. These things I turn over to you. If you accept them, the first thing I wish to ask for will be (the honor of) killing (an enemy) outright, of leading warpaths, and of obtaining life honors.[30] That is what we would like to lead (i. e., a war party). That is what I would ask of you. My relatives, as many as are sitting around here, even that many ask the same things of you."

796X 539X 782● 776

*Host's offering to the Thunderbirds.* "Those in the west, our grandfather, Thunderbird Chief, you blessed grandfather, and I am now going to offer you a handful of tobacco. With thanks you will accept it (it has been said). Buckskin for moccasins, also, I am sending over to you. A feast made from one whom we regard as one of yourselves, whose body we are like.[31] I am sending along for you. Indeed a sacred feast I am offering you; that I am now sending toward you. As many of our clan members as are here, they (all) desire to make these requests: To kill an enemy outright, to lead a war party, and—O grant it to us! a life honor. Life, that is what I pray for to you—that we ask of you. Our clan has put itself in a pitiable condition,[32] so that we may live a good life. That we ask of you."

*Host's offering to the Night Spirits.*—"You who live in the east, you who walk in darkness, you directed your minds toward grandfather, and for that I will pour tobacco for you, now and forever, so that you may bless me. A handful of tobacco, if we pour for you, we know it will make you thankful, and for that reason do I offer you some. A buckskin for moccasins and, together with it, a sacred feast that I am about to send toward you. With whatever you blessed grandfather, that I and all my clansmen who are here ask of you. This request, that one of us lead the war party you

[773]

[554]

[28] No Christian influence is to be suspected in this form of address.

[29] According to shamanistic cosmology, Earthmaker first created all the various spirits and bestowed upon each one of them certain powers. When finally he created man he noticed that he had nothing left to give him, so he decided to give him tobacco. This was to remain his exclusive possession, and not even he, Earthmaker, would be able to take it away from him. It was finally agreed that man would offer it to Earthmaker and the other spirits and receive in return thereby specific blessings.

[30] Ritualistic name for deer.

[31] "Killing an enemy outright" means killing him in the midst of his own people and without the assistance of anyone else. It was the highest war honor that a Winnebago could obtain and entitled him to wear an eagle feather in his hair. "Life honors" always refer to war honors.

[32] The whole phrase from "rah|wi'ego" to "rôhi'ra hîk'lehi-ê-'djara," is the ritualistic expression for dog. The dog is referred to as "like one of ourselves" in deference to the fact that one of the clans is called wolf or dog. Thus in offering up the dog they wish to imply that they are offering up themselves.

[32] I. e., a condition which calls for pity.

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have predestined for us (we make).[32] Pitiable we are making ourselves in life, that we may live a good life (by obtaining blessings from you). That we ask of you." 796X 534X 782 776

*Host's offering to Disease-giver.*—"For you who live in the south, Disease-giver, my grandfather Djobenäŋgiwi'xga thirsted himself to death[33] and put himself in a pitiable condition. Then you who are in charge of great war powers blessed him. For you control a greater amount of war powers than any other spirit. A great amount of life you also control, for you are said (to possess two sides), one side of your body containing life and the other death. You told grandfather Djobenaŋgiwi'ŋxga that you would bless him at noon, in broad daylight,[34] and thus indeed you met him. There you blessed him with war powers; and with whatever you blessed him, that we ask of you now. Whosoever of my clan are present they all pour an offering of tobacco for you and also (give you) soup.[35] The Creator made animals for us, white-haired animals for food, and these we send to you; together with buckskins, that you may have moccasins. We also send toward you a head ornament (of eagle feathers), that also. We offer you tobacco and we ask of you to bestow upon us that with which you blessed our grandfather Djōbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga. Grandfather Djōbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga had had war powers and life, it is said; and those we ask of you. And it is said that you told grandfather that whenever you go on your warpath you will not walk upon the descendants of Djōbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga wherever they breathe.[36]

*Host's offering to the Sun.*—"You, grandfather Who-bring-day, who come every day, you blessed grandfather Djōbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga with war power and life and I am therefore offering you a handful of tobacco. All the (war power) the Creator controls he delegated to you and for all of that which you blessed our grandfather, as many of my clansmen as are present, we are about to pour tobacco to obtain. Tobacco, here it is."

Host then pours tobacco into the fire.

"It is said that you will do what we ask of you. You yourself told that to grandfather, it is said. War powers and life, that we ask of you. Tobacco, food, and feathers, we sacrifice to you and

[32] A person may be blessed with victory on the warpath directly or he may be entitled to war blessings to which near relatives were destined but which they were deprived of by an early death. The present prayer is directed toward both things, that he may enjoy the "unused" blessings of his relatives and that he may not be cut off by an untimely death from the fulfillment of his own.

[33] Ritualistic expression for fasting.

[34] To be blessed in the daytime, especially at noon, was considered as particularly holy. Generally a person was blessed at night. [787]

[35] Literally, "hot water."

[36] I. e., when Disease-giver deals out death he will avoid all the descendants of Djobenaŋgiwi'ŋxga. "Mani'na" is the technical word for warpath. The word for descendants really means "roots."

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if you accept them, then we will assuredly wear war honors (some day). That we may pass through life without any troubles and that we may live long, we ask of you and offer you tobacco, grandfather." 796x 539x 776

*Host's offering to Earth.*—"Grandmother, you blessed Djōbenagi-wi'ąxga with whatever the Creator delegated to you. With everything that exists on the earth, for all eternity, did you tell grandfather you would bless him, and this is what we ask of you and for which we will forever offer you tobacco. You will do it, he told us you had said. A handful of tobacco we are about to send toward you, we, as many of our clansmen as are here. Tobacco do you accept from us, grandmother. A handful of tobacco there, upon him who stands in the middle of the lodge,[27] do we pour. Give us war powers and life; for these we beseech you. Here it is, the tobacco." 782

The host then pours some tobacco into the fire.

"Soup, vegetables, together with maple sugar we are about to send you.[28] If you accept them, life we will obtain; that we ask of you."

*Host's offering to the Moon.*—"Grandmother, You-Who-Come-at-Night,[29] grandmother, you blessed grandfather Djōbenągjwi'ąxga and now all his descendants, as many as there are, are about to offer you tobacco. Now when we come to a tobacco offering we will certainly offer some to you. And you will be cognizant of it, you assured us yourself, it is said. Whatever you are in control of and with which you blessed our grandfather Djōbenągjwi'ąxga for all eternity, that we are to ask for at all times, they told us you had said and you will assuredly give it to us. The tobacco, here it is."

He pours tobacco into the fire.

"I am using the tobacco as a means of obtaining life for myself and my relatives.[30] The Creator gave it to me and I am offering it to you. As many of our clansmen as are here we beg of you war powers; and that if we ever go on a warpath[31] there we will obtain the war honors. Soup and the animals the Creator made for me,[32] the black-furred one[33] we are offering you; soup of bear ribs. A sacred feast we are about to hold for you. A buckskin for moccasins we are about to send out to you. War powers and life we ask of you; that you give us life, so that our days may be happy. Truly, grandmother, did you bless our grandfather Djobenągjwi'ąxga with what-

[27] "He who stands in the middle of the lodge" is the ritualistic name for the fireplace. He is always personified and the tobacco is generally conceived of as being poured upon his head. [354]

[28] As the offerings are made to the earth, vegetables and maple sugar are selected.

[29] Ritualistic name for the moon. The regular name is "hahe wira" (night sun).

[30] The term "ma,higanl k'ereš," literally meaning "a life beseecher," is used only in rituals and is generally taken to include any offering.

[31] "Nąpš," is the regular word for warpath. Literally it means simply "road."

[32] I. e., what the Creator had placed in his way and permitted him to catch and prepare for this feast. It is in this specific significance that it is meant here.

[33] "Hi'ešdema" is both the ritualistic and deferential name for the bear.

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ever powers the Creator put in your control. That with which you 796x
blessed grandfather it is said you would give us, too, when in the 539x
course of time we would pray to you to bestow them upon us. So it 776
is reported our grandfather Djōbenagjwi'ąxga said. A handful of 782
tobacco we place for you in the fire. You would smoke it, it is said that you, yourself, told grandfather. Tobacco, you told him you would always accept, it is said. Here it is, the tobacco."

He pours tobacco into the fire.

"If you smoke the tobacco for us, war powers and happiness in life we will ask of you. Soup, vegetables, rice, and maple sugar we send out to you, and buckskin for moccasins likewise. If you accept these things from us, it will be ours to use, war power and life. That we ask of you, grandmother."

*Host's offering to the chief of the Eagles.* "Chief of the Eagles, you who walk on light [46] up above. You, yourself, said that only you are the greatest one in control of war powers. That you are thus, you said of yourself. Life also you are in charge of. You blessed our grandfather Djōbenagjwi'ąxga with whatever powers the Creator put you in control. You blessed grandfather for all eternity,[48] and for those powers we are now about to offer you tobacco. It is for that purpose you told grandfather we should have a tobacco pouring. So grandfather told us, it is said. Grandfather also made a sacred bundle [49] and to this you also added your power, grandfather said, it is said. The tobacco, here it is."

He pours tobacco into the fire.

"To you, chief of the Eagles, grandfather, do we pour tobacco. With whatever you blessed grandfather, that we ask of you. All the members of the clan offer you tobacco that you may have knowledge of it (i. e., the tobacco) and bestow upon us who dwell on the earth war powers and life. That is what we ask of you, grandfather."

*Host's offering to the Day.*—"To the Day [50] I pour tobacco, also soup, and a rib of a white-haired animal (i. e., a deer). A sacred meal we are about to offer to you. Grandfather Djōbenagjwi'ąxga you blessed and you also added your thoughts,[51] it is said. If you accept tobacco and the feast, war powers and life we assuredly are going to obtain. For that we ask, grandfather."

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[46] "Hąhumanī'pa," is the ritualistic name for any bird. Although rarely used except in rituals, it is yet generally known among the people, a fact that does not hold for most of the other ritualistic appellations.

[48] The set phrase which from now on we will translate by "eternity," is literally "as long as the earth lasts, that long."

[49] "WazopT'ą[wanąj'ąpąj' trąj" means literally, "He tied up the spirit mind or manifestation," i. e., he made a bundle of the blessings he received from the various spirits. Djōbenagjwi'ąxga is the individual who is supposed to have first received the clan bundle. The word "wanąj" is a very difficult one to render accurately in English.

[50] Although, according to the Winnebago conception, the light of day is associated with the sun, yet the sun is not regarded as causing the light any more than the absence of the sun is thought to be the cause of darkness, but both light (daylight) and darkness are associated with special deities.

[51] "Wiwō'wą" is not to be thought of in an abstract sense but as something quite as tangible as a material object.

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*Host's offering to the South Wind.*—"South Wind, to the bundle grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga made you added your power, so grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga said, it is said. That which the Creator put in charge of you, and with which you blessed grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga, as long as the earth lasts, we are about to pour tobacco for, as you yourself told us. The tobacco, here it is." 796X 539X 776 782

He pours tobacco into the fire.

"A four-legged animal,[29] a coon, that the Creator made for us, we are going to give you in the form of a soup. If you accept the soup and likewise smoke the tobacco, then the first request (we wish to make) is that it might be our fortune to obtain war powers and travel safely (on the path) of life. This is what we ąsk."

*Host's offering to the North Wind.*—"Wind who lives in the north, you said 'I am the equal of (the spirit of the north)';[30] so grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga said, it is said. Tobacco, soup, vegetables, what a tree bears, fruit, as we call it, and maple sugar, that also we send toward you. If you accept them, the request (we make) is for war power and life; that we ask of you. To kill a person outright is an excellent power to have, grandfather Porcupine,[31] you said of yourself. So grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga said, it is said."

*Host's offering to the Black Hawk.*—"Black Hawk, you also added your powers for grandfather, it is said; and a handful of tobacco I am pouring for you for that reason. Whatever war powers and life the Creator put in your control, that I ask of you. You blessed grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga for as long a period as the world would last, and you said that you would always smoke tobacco, it is said. If you are cognizant of this tobacco, let us obtain life and war power. For these we ask."

*Host's offering to the Wōna'ŋjre Ūa'ąkcik.*[32]—"Grandfather Thunderbird, Wōna'ŋjre Ūa'ąkcik, as they call you, you added your power also, it is said. Tobacco we are about to pour for you. Tobacco only (we are giving you), so that we may obtain war powers and life; that with which you blessed grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga for all eter-

[29] A ritualistic manner of speaking of a quadruped, just as it is common in rituals to speak of human beings as "the two-legged-walkers."

[30] I. e., cold does not affect me. The North Wind and the spirit of cardinal point north are of course entirely distinct.

[31] No reason is known why the spirit is here addressed as porcupine.

[32] The "Wōnā'ŋjre Ūa'ąkcik" are birds living in the empyrean generally identified with the hawk. Here they seem to be identified with a kind of Thunderbird. Whoever is blessed by them becomes a great warrior. The term really means "a terror-inspiring man," by reason of his great war powers. One of the Winnebago clans has this name. The explanation for the identification of the Wōna'ŋjre Ūa'ąkcik with the Thunderbirds is probably the following: The Thunderbird is not regarded as belonging to any particular bird species, but any bird can be either a normal bird or a Thunderbird. When used in this sense, the appellation Thunderbird is generic, and the term used in the text, "Wak'ā'ndja Wōna'ŋjre Ūa'ąkcik," is then best translated by "Thunderbird—Wōnā'ŋjre Ūa'ąkcik." Thunderbird specifically is understood to be in reality not a bird but a being in human shape. Cf. Introduction. The general conception of Thunderbird given here is touched upon also by J. O. Dorsey in his "Siouan Cults."

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nity, may we obtain from you. If you accept the tobacco may 1796x
and my relatives live well by reason thereof; that we ask of you. 539x
That is all." 776
782

*Host's offering to Big Black Hawk.*[53]—"You, Big Black Hawk, who are in charge of war powers,[54] blessed grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga with war powers and life, and these we are to ask of you, you told grandfather, and pour tobacco at the same time. As many tobacco offerings as he (grandfather) would have liked to have had and as many (buckskin) offerings as he would have desired, that many there will be for you. If you accept the tobacco and feast and all the offerings, you will assuredly give (us blessings). Thus you told grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga. Tobacco, here it is."

He pours tobacco into the fire.

"If we extend toward you a handful of tobacco, you said you would always smoke it. If, at a tobacco offering, you smoked the tobacco, the requests we might make are these—war powers and life. A feast of one whom you look upon in the same way as ourselves (i. e., a dog), one whom I have been treating like a brother, with whom the children have eaten the soup of such a one, we are giving you. An offering of buckskin for moccasins and of one like ourselves (a dog), whose body is well prepared, do they offer you. Food they are offering you, asking in return for life.[55] You are the only one in control of great war powers. The Creator placed you in charge of life; above the Creator created you. With that you blessed grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga for all eternity. We will have a tobacco pouring, that you may give us (these things). If you take cognizance of the feast offerings, the buckskin offerings; if you will take them, then we will obtain the war honors and then we will obtain life. We, as many older people as we are here, beseech you for those powers you added to the spirit bundle of our grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga. We will not have enough food to go around,[56] but if we offer you tobacco, it will not be an offense (thus to act to you) (we have been told)."

This is what they used to say at the tobacco pouring. This it is. (Song.)

### The Buckskin Offerings to the Spirits

(Host speaks again.) "War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. We are endeavoring to prepare footwear for our grandfathers,[57] but we did not really accomplish it. Spirit footwear we tried to make, that is what we were doing, but our work was lacking

[53] A deity apparently distinct from Black Hawk. He is the one to whom offerings are always made.
[54] Literally "in control of great bundles."
[55] "Hąp" is the ritualistic name for life. Literally it means "light."
[56] A ritualistic expression of modesty.
[57] I. e., offer buckskins for moccasins to the spirits.

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in every respect. However, our grandfathers (the spirits) would not take offense at the (inadequacy) of our work, it is said. That we may not be weakened, for that reason it is that we are preparing the moccasins for our grandfathers. Up above we are going to send them." 796x 539x 776 782

*Offering to the Thunderbird.*—"Grandfather Thunderbird, our clan is sending you moccasins. War powers and life are the requests we make in turn."

*Offering to Night Spirits.*—"You who live in the east, moccasins do we send you, and the request we make, is war power and life. That we ask for."

*Offering to Disease-giver.*—"Disease-giver, grandfather, moccasins we send you. Grandfather, life you possess on one side of your body, and death you are in control of on the other side of your body, so our grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ŋxga told us, it is said. War power and life, that is the request we make."

*Offering to South Wind.*—"To you, grandfather South Wind, here is the tobacco for our grandfathers. You blessed grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ŋxga with war powers and life and you said yourself that you would bless (his descendants) whenever they offered you a handful of tobacco and you accepted it. Moccasins we are sending you. Food we are about to offer you. Whatever you blessed grandfather with that we ask of you."

*Offering to the Sun.*—"Grandfather Light-Wanderer, you said that if at any time we poured a handful of tobacco for you and smoked tobacco as an offering (you would give us) that with which you blessed grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ŋxga whenever we ask for it. So it is said. Moccasins we are sending you. Soup, vegetables, and maple sugar also we are about to send you. Tobacco is what we think of in connection with you. If you take cognizance of it, war honors we will assuredly obtain. Life, that is what we would like to obtain."

*Offering to Earthmaker.*—"You who are above, our Father, we ask life of you, extending tobacco. You made this for us; you let us have it. Indeed it is you that made it and yet you will take a handful of it that we extend to you and accept it as an offering. That is what you said to us. So grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ŋxga said, it is said. You blessed grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ŋxga with war powers and life. Bless us in turn now that we are about to offer you a handful of tobacco. We, as many clansmen as there are here, are about to send to you moccasins so that we may obtain life from you. Tobacco, deerskins as offerings, food of the white-haired animal, of a male animal, we are about to offer you."

*Offering to the Moon.*—"Grandmother, the Moon, moccasins, soup and tobacco, these we are about to offer you. Our request is for the

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things with which you blessed grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ŋxga. That we ask of you." 796x 539x

*Offering to the Morning Star.*—"You who are above, Morning Star, our request is that you bless us with that with which you blessed grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ŋxga. Tobacco and food and a buckskin offering we are about to send you." [88] 782 776

*Offering to Earth.* "Grandmother Earth, you also added your power to the spirit bundle that grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ŋxga made. The powers Earthmaker put you in control of, and with which you blessed grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ŋxga, those we ask of you. Tobacco, soup, and a buckskin offering we are about to send to you and the request that we make of you, is war power and life."

*Offering to the Water-spirit.*—"Water-spirit, grandfather whose body is of water,[89] tobacco, food, and a buckskin offering for moccasins, we are about to offer you. I and my relatives desire to lay our hands on war and life."

*General prayer to the spirits.*—"Grandfathers, we have probably been very remiss in what we have done, but do not hold it against us, grandfathers. We greet you, war-bundle owners. The life (blessings) that those who have gone before us had, the songs that they handed down to us, not in their manner will we be able to sing, but still, however it be, it will be (our best). It has been said that nothing will provoke you,[90] grandfathers. Well, however, that is the way we will do it. I greet you." (Song.)

FILLING OF THE CEREMONIAL PIPE AND SMOKING RITUAL

*First filling of the pipe.*—After they have sung the first war-bundle song, then they get a pipeful of tobacco ready and place it near the war bundle, speaking as follows: "Our father who art above, for you the pipe is extended; up straight above it is placed." Up straight above it is extended to Earthmaker, they say. For that reason do they arrange the pipe in that way. Then when the songs are finished the attendant takes the pipe, lights it, and takes it with him to the left side, giving all the men in the lodge an opportunity to smoke. Women are not allowed to smoke. The tobacco in the pipe is entirely consumed as the pipe makes the circuit of the lodge and it is then filled again. 796x 539x 782 276 [562]

*Second filling of the pipe.*—Then there at the feast for the second time do they place (the pipe). When they are about to sing the

[88] That this spirit was not mentioned before is an oversight on the part of the informant.

[89] Ceremonial and ritualistic name for the Water-Spirit. It may mean chief. The general name which we loosely translate "Water-spirit" is "Wak'djesi."

[90] I. e., that no inaccuracy nor ignorance on their part will anger the spirits and cause them to refrain from bestowing their blessings. This is, of course, an expression of ritualistic modesty, but I suspect that there is also a reference intended here to the fact that in these degenerate days not only are individuals no longer blessed as of yore, but certain details of the ceremony have been forgotten. I see no reason for giving too much weight to this last fact, but it may be best to have it in mind.

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war-bundle songs then they fill the pipe and place it in front of the war bundle, in the path of the Thunderbirds, extending the mouth-piece in that direction (i. e., the west). Then they would sing some songs and when these were finished, the Thunderbirds would come as feasters to where the pipe lay extended and smoke. That is why they place the pipes there. The Thunderbirds do this (i. e., smoke) as a sign of acceptance of the tobacco, food, and buckskins. So that a Thunderbird might smoke, do the feasters place the pipe there. 796X 539X 782 276

*Third filling of the pipe.*—Then the host asked the others, "In what direction shall I place this pipe?" and one of the feasters said, "Toward the south, place it." Then they sang the songs of the Disease-giver. Then when they were finished they carried around the pipe.

*Fourth filling of the pipe.*—Then the host fills the pipe again and again asks, "In what direction shall I place the pipe?" (and some one answers), "Place it toward the earth." So he placed it toward the ground. For those under the ground, the Water-spirits, they also place the pipe by standing it on the ground. Then they sing paint songs and when they are finished they pass the pipe around so that all may smoke. When it returns (to the host) it is not filled again but placed empty on the ground.

### Basic Ritual[29]

*Host's first speech.*—"War-bundle owners, who are sitting here, I send forth my greeting to you. It is good that you have come (in response to my invitation). It is my purpose to make you tired from sitting, but do not for that reason think any the worse of us. We will make you hungry, hungry to the point of starvation,[30] but (we know) you came for the sake of the spirits (not for our sake). It is good. We are not going to do anything in the correct manner, but our grandfathers who live in the west taught our grandfather Djôbenagiwi'ąxga some songs and these we are going to try and repeat. We will now sing the songs just as they taught it to grandfather. We may perhaps sing only one song. However, if you know only one song and take pains about it, it will suffice (to propitiate the spirits); so grandfather said, it is said. Anyhow, if we try to cry, in our efforts of singing,[31] our grandfathers will take cognizance of it, it is said. That is what we are thinking of when we try to get the spirits' attention by singing.[32] We will do our best to sing the songs,[33] and we will sing four of them; and when we 796X 539X

[29] For explanation see Introduction.
[30] Ritualistic depreciation.
[31] I. e., if you put yourself into a state of religious fervor, a state that I have generally rendered by the word "pitiable."
[32] The word "hîk'k'ręga" means, literally, "by voice to attract attention." "Hî" is not an instrumental particle but the word for voice, speech.
[33] Literally, "to make one's breath visible in the form of song or speech," a ritualistic circumlocution for song.

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Should they ever have a bad illness
they have the means of obtaining life by praying for it,[a] by offering 796X 539X
tobacco and a flute.[b]

"Disease-giver himself made these things holy. Thus they would 782
obtain life, if they had any illness, by offering you reed flutes, food, 776
tobacco, feathers, a white dog, and by making you at the same time an offering of buckskin hides. (Thus Disease-giver spoke to our grandfather when he blessed him:) 'A holy flute I made for you, and I forbade you to blow upon it, yet you did it. Now, hereafter, if you offer me a sufficient number of buckskins, you may blow upon it. A different life from that of others will you lead, if you do that. You will be able to cut off (stop) a bad disease caused by someone else. Nor will this one (who was ill) ever have another disease.'[c]

"Thus Disease-giver spoke. This is what the one who causes disease said. That is how they blessed our grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ąxga. A song I am now about to start. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." (Disease-giver song.)

*Hest's fourth speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, 796X
I greet you. The last (song) we will now finish. You who are in the 539X
east, Night Spirits, you also added your blessing to the spirit bundle 787
of grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ąxga. So that he might know (he 776
blessed by) the spirits, grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ąxga starved and thirsted himself to death[d] and made himself pitiable. At first he fasted four nights and the Night Spirits came to him; with mighty sounds they came.[e] There they stood (and said), 'Human, you have thirsted yourself to death and we bless you (for that reason). We who speak are the spirits who are called Night Spirits.' They blessed him with war power and life, they said. Then he looked and (said to himself), 'I wonder whether these really are the Night Spirits that speak.' So he looked at them and they were small birds called *hecē'pge*.[f] They had fooled him. Then once again was his heart sore. 'Well! I will die,' he thought (fasting). So he fasted again and once again he rubbed on (the charcoal). For six nights he continued to fast. And again from the east the Night Spirits came. They came making a great noise and they stood near him (and said), 'Human, we bless you. You have thirsted yourself to death and you have made your heart sore. We felt sad on your account. With

[a] A rather curious expression used only in elevated language and meaning, literally, "to obtain with the mouth"; i. e., either by speeches, prayers, or singing. The expression would hardly be permitted in ordinary Winnebago. [195]

[b] He does not mean by offering flutes, but by playing on them. Reed flutes are generally contained in the bundles of most spirits, but they seem to be more closely connected with the Disease-giver and the Buffalo. [534]

[c] This, I believe, is the meaning of the last three sentences. They are somewhat obscure, and I do not guarantee the correctness of the rendering.

[d] Ritualistic expression for fasting.

[e] All powerful spirits are supposed to approach with loud noises. This is also characteristic of the Ojibway spirits. [171]

[f] English equivalent unknown.

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in the lodge, that many talked of what was to happen to you. And I, I am the chief of the Night Spirits. This creation-lodge just as you see it (i. e., with all it contains) I give to you.[87] You will never be in want of food. You are to offer as many buckskins as you see here and tobacco for all time. Thus it shall be. The "creation-lodge" of the village of the Night Spirits I give to you. You can go on as many war parties as you wish and obtain as much life. As many tobacco offerings as they (i. e., you and your descendants) continue to give, all the tobacco, food, buckskin offerings, red feathers, as many as there are, they will all come to the "creation-lodge" that you see, and we will accept them.' 796x 539x 787 776 [782]

"Thus did they speak to grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga. So he said. We will do this that we may ask (blessings) for our relatives and sing songs. Even if we do not perform everything in just the manner that the spirits in the east (told) our grandfather Djōbenągiwiąxga, we know that our grandfathers (the spirits) will not be offended. So they say. Even if you know only one song, if you bring yourself to the point of crying in your efforts (it will be all right). Thus we mean to say it. War-bundle owners, who are seated here, I greet you." (Night Spirit song.) 796x 539x

### The Feast

*Host's speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. Every spirit that the Creator created he made for us,[88] but whatever food he made for us all those things we were to offer up (to the spirits) together with tobacco and the sacred feast. What we are to do, what I can do to make these things known to them, that is what we should think of and talk about. (This is what the Creator said): Let (the host) call upon a warrior, a young man present at the feast. For the one who lives in the world he should make offerings of tobacco and attempt to be like (the spirits), so that one of our own members should be considered (by the spirits) as the same as themselves.[89] A sacred feast and tobacco together with it we are about to offer to the chief of the Thunderbirds in the west. What can I do that they might have knowledge of these (offerings)? Thus we should be thinking, (the Creator) said. A war-bundle owner who is present we should call upon (to take charge of) a kettle."[90] [782]

[87] The lodges of the spirits are always called "creation lodges" in reference to the fact that it was by the assembled spirits in these lodges that at the beginning of the world everything was set in order. The principal "creation lodge" was that of Earthmaker, to which the soul of a dead individual wandered after death and from which he was sent to the world again if he chose to take human form once more. [776 775]

[88] I. e., that they might give us blessings.

[89] I. e., impersonate the spirits. It will be remembered (cf. Introduction) that each guest is supposed to impersonate a spirit.

[90] Host's speech ends here. What follows is description.

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And a war-bundle owner for the second kettle should be called upon a kettle offered in connection with him whom we call Great Black Hawk. 796x 539x 782

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle placed for Disease-giver. 776

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the spirit whom they call South Wind.

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the Sun.

Then they also select another man to be in charge of a kettle put on for the Morning Star.[53]

Then the first one who had been called upon for a kettle takes as many pieces of food as there are individuals in his band who eat with him. The second one who had been called upon also takes enough pieces (for his band). 796x 539x 262

Those who are going to eat the head have to wait.[54]

Then all took enough pieces to suffice for their band.

Then they (the attendants) put the pieces of meat in plates and cut them up into small portions. Now all are in readiness for the meal. Only some of those in the lodge are called upon to eat the head. The plate of the others is filled with ordinary cuts (of meat). As many men and women as are present, for that many do they cut up the pieces of meat evenly and place them in the plate.

Only warriors are head eaters. Not to warriors do they give common pieces. Women and men who are not warriors can not take part in this head eating. Only men can take part in the head eating. They would not permit women to eat the head. However, those of the feasters who were warriors and had brought home war trophies would speak a good word for the trophy bearers, their sisters, their neices, and their aunts,[55] and these would be allowed to sit in the midst of the head eaters. The sisters or the aunts, whatever women were allowed to sit among the head eaters, considered it a very great honor. Thus all were encouraged to do. [554 562] [602]

Now (the preparations being finished) all are waiting for the meal and the host gets up and speaks.[56]

"I greet you all. When it (the meat) gets into the plate, then it is the time to try to get the spirit's attention by singing. War-bundle owners, who are seated here, I greet you all." (Eating song.)

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[53] In the first division of the ritual seven kettles are prepared; in the second division, four.

[54] The eating of the deer's head is the greatest honor that one can obtain in this ceremony, and only warriors are permitted to take part in it. [554

[55] When a warrior returned from a successful war party with the first war honor, i. e., if he had counted coup first, he was given a wampum necklace, and this he presented to his oldest sister or to the daughters of his father's brother or mother's sister or to his mother's sister. 262]

[56] This is the continuation of his speech that had been interrupted by the preparations for the meal [731]

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796x 539x 264

Even if a feaster gets satiated, he must continue to eat until everything is finished. They tell one another that it is not good for any one to fail (and leave any food). Whatever food there is they must finish it all. All that is cooked must they eat.

### Continuation of the Basic Ritual

796x 539x

Then the one who was called upon for the first kettle thanked them and said:

*Speech of first guest.*—"Councilors[109] and relatives who are seated here, I greet you all. As many war-bundle owners as are seated here, I greet you all. The councilors of the clans have enjoined upon us earnestly to offer up sincere prayers to all the different spirits who are seated here (in the persons of the guests). It is good that our war-bundle owners offer up prayers in this way. It is for this reason that we are still living. Some of us can not accomplish much in that line and that is why so many of us are gone already (i. e., are dead). This ritual was made for one who is the very greatest of all the spirits, for whom they have offered tobacco and food and offerings of buckskin. Thus they have done. Earthmaker, who dwells above, they have asked for war power and life. Indeed, how would it be possible for (the spirits) not to take cognizance and accept (these offerings).[110] If we follow the preaching (of our host), life (we will obtain); life we will feel ourselves in connection with through the holy food that they (the host and the members of his band) have offered up. We have (had the honor too) of impersonating the spirits, I and my relatives. The meal likewise was excellent. It is good that they have brought us in connection with so much life and it is to thank them that I am saying this. That one of their ancestors whom they called grandfather (and whose place I am taking) was not one to speak foolishly, it is said, and still his place they thought of for me (unworthy as I am). They have given me (the part) of a councilor of their own clan and (the privilege) of impersonating a spirit. It is good. Earthmaker they have prayed to.

[776 782]

I greet him. To the enjoiner (host) I send my greetings; to all the war-bundle owners who are seated here, I send forth my greetings.

Then the second one who was called upon for a kettle gets ready to thank them and says:

*Speech of second guest.*—"Host and relatives, as many as are seated here, I send forth my greetings to you. War-bundle owners that

[367]

[109] The word means, literally, "enjoiners" and refers to the injunctions and instructions the older people give to the young.

[110] I. e., the offerings are so wonderful that the spirits would have to be blind not to see them. This and the following sentences are formulaic compliments always paid to the host by the invited guests.

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are here, I send forth my greetings to you. Those of the various clans (present) have counseled me repeatedly and all the women and children have pleaded in my behalf (with the spirits). What love that was! And what does life consist of but love? The clan councilor is repeating the songs (that were obtained) when the sacred bundle was made, so that when the time for the tobacco offering to the spirits came, they would have the tobacco that they have kept all this time (ready). Now, sure enough, the time has arrived and they are sitting prepared to pray to all the various spirits. Long ago when they saw war they cooked the man they were to go after.[96] That is why they did it. A good (prosperous) warpath they will surely have. When they are actually in the midst of their warpath and are about to rush for one another (i. e., the Winnebago and his enemy), let him pour tobacco to the various spirits who are in control of war. If you say 'Grandfather, thus we used to offer you,' although you may not know (by any word or direct sign) whether those in control of war have answered you, (you will know it) as soon as the rush upon the enemy takes place and, although you go where the bullets and arrows rain hardest, you will pass out of the reach of the bullets and will pass safely out (of all danger). If the people rush for a man to bestow the war honors upon,[97] you will be the one. If you give the sacred feast in the proper way, if you burn up much tobacco and food, then the various spirits, especially the Thunderbirds, who are in control of the greatest war power, (will bless you) for the excellent way in which you have (prayed to them). Whenever the Thunderbirds come they will remember you; and when they come they will even call you by name and say, 'Let us smoke here.'[98] When the young begin to grow up, one of the men encourages them. Only a few, however, are like this. It is good. He (the host) has preached and pleaded for as many men as are present. They (the host and his band) have made offerings of food to our grandfathers who live in the west (the Thunderbirds) and pleasing offerings of tobacco and buckskin have they sent out to them. They have permitted me to impersonate (this spirit) and have thus given life to myself and my unimportant clansmen, who have been living in so lowly a condition. With real life have we felt ourselves connected (through your actions). With life have we felt ourselves connected by means of that vessel which the Creator gave me as a

796X 539X [782] [782] [727]

[96] Here the literal translation is tasteless. The real meaning is that the spirit of the enemy they are to kill on the warpath is present in the food offered up at this feast. This is a characteristic Winnebago conception. For another example, see a version of the origin myth of the Thunderbird clan bundle, where the hero, by drinking a certain liquid, has not only a vision of the people he is going to kill, but even hears their dying groans.

[97] This refers to the custom of running out to greet the returning warriors in order to conduct them into the village and bestow the war honors upon those who have counted coup.

[98] I. e., if a person makes it a habit to offer tobacco, the spirits will say, "Let us stop at such and such a man's place as we go along and have a smoke."

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has done so well. The members of the clan have been sincerely 539x
worshiping the spirits. He who made the war-bundle ritual was 796
like a spirit in power and what he told them to do they are doing in every detail. It is a good work that they are doing. Sufficient food they are offering to those who are in control of war powers that they might easily be cognizant of it. They have placed plenty of tobacco and different offerings of buckskin within their reach. A pleasing [782] ●
white buckskin they have strung out and offered to you; a pleasing red feather as a hair ornament (have they also offered to you). They have offered these things, so that they might ask for war from those who are in control of war. How, indeed, would it be possible (for the spirits) not to recognize these offerings? And if they recognize them, then we who are impersonating (the spirits) will also receive the benefit of the blessings of war and life (intended for the host).

"Long ago our ancestors asked (the spirits) to bless them so that, having been blessed with life, they might live happily. Here we are (sitting around) a fireplace and the life that they (host and his band) have asked for, the spirits not only are extending to them but to every one. In the early times the old men said, 'You are not able to fast and offer up proper food to the spirits so as to clear away the weapons (held) against you.'[110] Thus they spoke to them (the younger people). Just as (the older people would have liked it) so they are doing. I, who do not amount to anything, have nevertheless been permitted to take the place of a spirit to whom food is offered. This they have done for me, (given me the place) of that very spirit who is the very bravest of them all, the one who is in control of the power whereby one can kill (an enemy) outright! One side of his body controls life and the other death. Now they are about to offer him the food of a white animal, of a male animal (i. e., a dog), a white buckskin, [782]
feathers, and tobacco, all objects that please him very much. To Disease-giver they are about to extend these things, so that therewith they may ask him for war power and life. It is a fear-inspiring spirit that they have been making offerings to. I, who have listened to the spirits (through the host's kindness), surely don't have to say anything in their behalf.[111] They thought of their grandfather when they asked me to impersonate this spirit. Of all the spirits, his is the name that one can not speak of lightly, it is said. If I great the name and speak about this spirit whom they have asked me to impersonate, may I not be weakened by uttering (his name). Those who are about to offer food to you, grandfather Disease-giver, send forth their greetings. To the host do I send forth my greetings. To the war-bundle owners who are seated here do I send forth my greetings."

[110] By denying that they can do it he tries to spur the young people to redoubled efforts. The weapons are the obstacles encountered in life.

[111] I. e., this food will speak for them, more than any words I can utter.

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Then another man to whom a kettle has been given gets ready to express his thankfulness and says: 539X 796X

*Speech of sixth guest.* "Host and members of your clan who are seated here, I send forth my greetings to you. To you also, war-bundle owners who are seated here, do I send forth my greetings. The members of this clan have often preached to me. My grandfather once told me the following: 'Some day there will be a dearth of people (for a feast). There they will offer tobacco to the spirits and as many pieces of meat as they cut that many will be holy. There also they will cook heads. Heads are not to be eaten by those wearing dresses (i. e., women). Women are not permitted to scatter their food in eating, we are told.'[118] Some day if they boil these holy pieces, the heads, they will be in need of people to invite to the feast. If they call upon you for one of the sacred pieces, even if at that time you had not yet obtained a war honor, if you had not counted coup,[119] still if you offer up thanks to the spirits for anything; still more so, of course, if you had been able to count coup and you thanked them for all this, they will listen to you.'[120] My grandfather told me, 'Thus they spoke to me,' he said, it is said, 'Little grandfather, the spirits up above gave (your ancestor) a war bundle to those of the Earth phratry. They gave them a mouth for speaking (in offering thanks), but they told him that it was forbidden to speak to outsiders about this matter. They gave them a mouth that they might speak to one another (i. e., members of the same clan)'. [562 262]

"My father gave the information to me. For that reason, they told me, I am in a position to thank the spirits. One of the greatest of the spirits they have offered tobacco to, to one of the greatest of the spirits they have prayed. Tobacco, food, a sacred white buckskin, pleasing to their eyes, they have extended to them. With offerings of life[121] they have asked for life. We have been asked to impersonate (the spirits), even although there are plenty of war-bundle owners. But the host is a relative of ours and therefore wishes me to live. A pitiable existence we had been living (until they saw to it) that we were brought into connection with life. Proud we are of it. For if they (the spirits) accept their gifts, we also will be able to utilize the life (obtained). Clan members, we did as we pleased here. It is good. Those preached to, the Morning Star, [782]

[118] In eating the deer head and in the fat eating contest the meat is devoured so fast that the fat is literally scattered in the process of eating. Whether there is an implied warning that a man should not be found in the same class as the women I do not know positively, but it is quite likely.

[119] Literally, "a limb." The four coup counts are likened to the four limbs of the human body. As such they are always referred to.

[120] The whole meaning of the speech up to the present is the following: Should they in the future want to give a feast and lack of the proper people cause them to call upon you, even if you had counted coup only once, the spirits would listen to you. And yet here I am and haven't even counted coup once and yet I have the effrontery to expect them to listen to me.

[121] I. e., with offerings of deer and dogs.

[264] [826 555]

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I send forth my greetings. To the host and all the clansmen sitting with him, do I send forth my greetings. To those who are impersonating the spirits I also send forth my greetings."

Then the sixth one for whom a kettle has been placed, the last one, speaks.[128]

*Speech of seventh guest.*—"Host and your relatives who are seated here, I greet you all. I am not able to say anything (i. e., I don't amount to anything), but I can at least thank for the body.[129] It is no harm to do so, we are told.[130] That is what I mean and why I say it. To speak of life is surely no harm, we are told.[131] Thus I thought. If ever I obtained the position of one who impersonated (a spirit) and (partook) of a sacred piece of food, I felt that I would be beside myself with thankfulness and gratitude. Not of war power will such as I be able to speak. In spite of that, they have seen to it that I came in connection with life. They have permitted me to impersonate one of the spirits who is among the greatest in the control of war power. It is good to thank the spirits and at the same time to preach to one another, it is said. To speak to one another of life and of the body(?) certainly there is no harm in it. Thus I thought, and that is why I am saying this. I am very thankful. If I could only say something (that would be of any value) to the spirits I would say it. You, grandfather, who come every day, you who are in control of great war power and life, tobacco, food, an offering of a white buckskin pleasing to the spirits, and a head ornament—that is about to be sent toward you. I was to be one of those impersonating the spirits at the feast, they told me. I am deeply grateful for the honor, to all those of the various clans that are gathered together here with offerings and who are impersonating the spirits. It is good. Even had I eaten a common piece of meat I would have considered myself well repaid, but I have actually been put in charge of a spirit who controls something. We are thankful. To those to whom we preached (i. e., the Sun) I send forth my greetings. To the host I send forth my greetings. To those who are sitting in the lodge impersonating the spirits I send forth my greetings."

When they are through greeting each other, at the end, the host rises and thanks them, saying:

*Terminal speech of host.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you all. What I long for is exactly what we have been doing. All the members of the various clans have pleaded for us in

[128] This is a mistake of the informant. It should be the seventh one. He means, however, not to be omitting the person who partakes of food offered to Earthmaker.

[129] I. e., the dog(?).

[130] I. e., there is no harm done if even a worthless person like myself thanks for the food of the dog, even although by doing this he is actually taking part in the feast.

[131] I. e., there is no harm in obtaining life for one another by delivering speeches and offering up prayers to the spirits.

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song. Very good have they been to us. It is good. This is what I have longed for, what we have been doing and all the good they have said about us. It is good when you give a feast to do just what you wish. The war-bundle owners, as many as there are here, have spoken for me. It is good to obtain something when asking for it. Very well have they spoken. It is good; it is very good. You have eaten (the food) in my behalf; very carefully have you eaten it up for me. All the sacred speeches that they blessed him (our grandfather) with you have repeated so that you might obtain real life, you said. It is good and I thank you, for we have done here exactly what I have longed for. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." 539x 796x

### SECOND DIVISION OF THE CEREMONY—IN HONOR OF THE NIGHT SPIRITS

*Introductory remarks.*—Then the attendants get ready to put on the kettles for the second feast. When they are finished arranging the food that is to be turned over to the spirits the host prepares his tobacco and gets ready to pour it. Then he speaks the following: 539x 796x 776 782

#### THE TOBACCO OFFERING

*Offering to the Night Spirits.*—"To you, grandfather Djobenaggiwi'gxga, does the council lodge of the Chief of the Night Spirits, standing in the east, belong. Holy you have kept it. You (Chief of the Night Spirits) were the one who blessed him with it, he said. When the time comes for the tobacco pouring we will offer you a handful of tobacco. War power he liked to obtain by doing this. With what you blessed him, that we ask you to give us in return. Grandfather, Chief of the Night Spirits, tobacco, here it is.

"Here in the fire I shall place tobacco for you at all times. Tobacco, holy food, and buckskin for moccasins, all these things I will send to your sacred creation lodge." [276]

*Offering to Earth.*—"You who are our grandmother, Earth, you blessed grandfather Djobenaggiwi'gxga with life and war powers. As far as you extend, that far, O grandmother, do we spread out for you tobacco and food and moccasins. Here is the tobacco. Here in the fire shall I place tobacco; and food and offerings of buckskin will we send to you at all times. You will always accept them, grandfather said, it is said, so that our clansmen may travel in a straight path of war and life." [17]

[17] That is, may nothing intervene to prevent them from enjoying all the blessings they have received in war and life.

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539X
796X
776
782

*Offering to the Moon.*—"This we ask, grandmother, of you also. You added your power to (the other blessings) of grandfather Djōbenąągiwi'ąągą and you said that as long as the world lasts you would willingly accept the offerings of tobacco that his posterity extended to you. Thus you yourself said, we are told. Here is the tobacco.

"As many of our clansmen as are here living in an abject condition (spiritually), may they all follow in the direct path of war. For that we are now extending to you tobacco, food, and moccasins. And may we in the future travel in the path of war and life."

*Offering to the Water.*—"You likewise, Chief of the Water, whose body is water, blessed grandfather Djōbenąągiwi'ąągą. Here it is (the tobacco). If we poured tobacco into the fire, you said you would always smoke it, it is said. Food and buckskin for moccasins we are about to extend to you. War powers and life, that we ask from you in return, for you said that you would always accept (our offerings), we are told. When you blessed grandfather Djōbenąągiwi'ąągą you said that we should pour tobacco for you at all times, it is said. Here it is.

"You would recognize the offering of tobacco and the tobacco with the food that we sent forth to you, you said, it is said. We desire war powers and life for our kinsmen."

*Offering to North Wind.*—"You likewise, Porcupine,[108] told grandfather, 'For killing an enemy outright, I am useful, it is said. I am even the equal of the one who blows from the north!' Thus you told grandfather, it is said. When the proper time has arrived we should pour tobacco. Tobacco, here it is.

"Our first request is for war power and life."

*Offering to the Pigeon-Hawk.*—"Here is tobacco for you, too, Pigeon-Hawk. You blessed grandfather with war and life and it is said you told him that you would always give him what we asked of you."

*Offering to Earthmaker.*—"For Earthmaker, who is the foremost, you said we should pour tobacco, so for him we (pour) tobacco.[109] A handful of tobacco we are about to offer to you (Earthmaker)."

*Offering to the Thunderbird.*—"To you, also, Thunderbird, I am about to pour tobacco. It will be one of the foremost offerings, you said, it is said. Tobacco we pour to you."

[525]

[108] Porcupine is also associated with the North Wind in the first division of the ceremony.

[109] I. e., we even have the ceremony to offer him tobacco as if people like ourselves could ever obtain a blessing from so great a deity as Earthmaker! The order in which the offerings to the various spirits are made is rather peculiar, for that to Earthmaker should, I believe, come first. I suspect that my informant was probably in error in the arrangement given above, a fact easily explained when it is remembered that he tried to remember a ceremony he had not given for some time.

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*Offering to Big Black Hawk.*—"To the Big Black Hawk we also offer a handful of tobacco." 539x 796x

*Offering to Disease-giver.*—"To you, grandfather Disease-giver, I also send tobacco." 776

*Offering to South Wind.*—"To you, also, grandfather South Wind, I send tobacco. You would consider it foremost, you said, it is said." 782

*Offering to the Sun.*—"Here I place tobacco for you, too, grandfather Sun. A handful of tobacco here I place here for you."

BASIC RITUAL

*Host's first speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are sitting here, I greet you. The songs that the Night Spirits placed within the reach of grandfather Tetwoit'e'higa,[180] those he tried to learn. He fasted and thirsted himself to death for the blessings our grandfathers (the Night Spirits) gave him (spread) over the length of the earth. Our grandfather Tetwoit'e'higa said that he had come from somewhere in the east and that a Night Spirit chieftainess was his mother and that the son of the chief of the Thunderbirds was his father; that his parents lived beyond the confines of this earth.[181] When he fasted to be blessed by (these spirits) over again,[182] they blessed him. If at any time he should die he would be able to visit the earth again, he said, it is said.[183] The song he was taught, the Night Spirit song, that we will try to sing. Even if you know only one song, you will not bore them (the spirits) with it; for if you bring yourself to the state of weeping in your efforts, it will be (acceptable). If you do not put on any embellishments when you pray (literally, cry) for war and life (it will be acceptable), it is said. Thus we should say it. 539x 796x 787 776

"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." (Night Spirit song.)

*Host's second speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. When we finish (our part of the ceremony), may you help us by repeating the spirit songs your ancestors gave you to be handed down (from one generation to another). That we ask of you. Now we will start a dance song and when we are finished singing, our 539x 796x [424]

[180] Literal translation, "Kills within the lodge."

[181] What Tetwoit'e'higa means by saying that these spirits were his parents is that he is a reincarnated spirit that has chosen to be born of human parents. Such claims were by no means rare even in late Winnebago history and there is, as a matter of fact, a powerful shaman living in Wisconsin now who claims that he is the reincarnated Hare (Wa'ąąą

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539X
796X

annoyed it. Host, I greet you. You who are impersonating the spirits, all of you, do I greet."

### The Throwing Out of the Buckskins

539X
796X
782●
[554]

Then the attendants give that war-bundle owner who is regarded as the foremost, as an expert, tobacco, for it is about time now that the various spirits should accept (the offerings).[143] Therefore they select a man who is proficient, one who has very likely been blessed by the Night Spirits and one therefore to whom they are likely to listen, a holy person, a man who has attained war honors. He is likely to be the best one to make the spirits cognizant of the buckskins. So they brought the drum for him to his place, and placed tobacco in his hand. Then he spoke as follows:

*Speech of prominent guest.*—"Host and members of his clan who are seated here, I greet you. You seated in this lodge who are impersonating the spirits, I greet you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. It is good that the war-bundle owners have done so much for the host. He has brought us the means of blessing and caused us to come into this lodge and has fed us. He has permitted us to offer tobacco. It is good. Not insincerely should we speak on such an occasion, our father told us. If at any time the spirits pay any attention to a human being and permit him to offer them moccasins, rest assured that they will not let a weakling do this. If you are of any importance the spirits will accept the moccasins you have offered them. Indeed, my son, our grandfathers on both ends of the earth will have knowledge of these offerings,[144] they told each other."

For the Night Spirits they sang and alternately they would start up a song for the Thunderbird as they sat there.

After finishing a Night Spirit song, then they would start up one for the Thunderbird, and then they would sing Night Spirit songs and Thunderbird songs together. "If at any time they consider you a man and accept the moccasins you have offered them, use your power. Above all, be careful that you do not say anything in a frivolous manner. The host putting himself in a pitiable condition has with copious dropping of tears besought the spirits for war power. For life he has also besought them and has prayed to them with offerings of tobacco, food, buckskins, and feathers. Putting himself in a pitiable condition he has hunted for the spirits,[145] weakened himself through exposure to cold, and caused himself untold sufferings. Oh that I could have done similarly! It is for this (these laudable rea-

[785]

[776]

[143] I. e., that the buckskins should be placed where the spirits can get them.
[144] I. e., the Night Spirits living in the east and the Thunderbirds living in the west.
[145] I. e., hunted the deer that are used at the feast both for eating and for the buckskin offerings.

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sons) that they (the host and his band) have done this. Do not say anything frivolously, for the host has offered in your behalf tobacco and tears. Cry that you may obtain life, even as the host and his people have done. Act thus so that you may be of help to one another even as our ancestors of old were. If people act together they will accomplish their purpose. That is what they did in the beginning and that is why they lived like spirits at that time. They cried and made offerings of tobacco, grandfather said. For the Night Spirits shall you pour tobacco here. I send forth my greetings to you." (Terminal Night Spirit song.) 539x 796x 782

After they have finished the terminal Night Spirit song then (the host) gets ready to use the dance song, but (first) speaks as follows:

*Speech of host.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. The dance song they are about to use and then they will get ready to throw out the offerings of buckskin to the spirits. Now let us put them above. This is what I wished to tell you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you."

The host and the others now take the buckskins and dance around the lodge four times.

When he (the host) starts the oldest men sing the dance songs. Then the feasters take the buckskin offerings down and all, one by one, dance around the lodge four times. An attendant precedes them carrying cedar incense and one follows them carrying the same. After they have made the circuit of the lodge for the third time, just before they begin the fourth circuit, those carrying the buckskin that is to be thrown out for Earthmaker and who march at the head of the procession, let the children, after they have smoked their hands, touch the buckskin. After that all touch it for (they believe) that if they touch this buckskin they will obtain long life thereby.

After they have made the fourth circuit they roll up the buckskins and throw them out through the top of the lodge. They hold tobacco in both hands when they do this and this tobacco they pour into the fire. Then all the feasters, those who had buckskins and the others who were within the lodge, the children, the women, indeed, all the people, rise and standing near their seats dance. Thus they did.

796x
539x

Before throwing the buckskins through the top of the lodge they would tell the people not to sleep, for otherwise some of the old Night Spirits who are about at the approach of day might strike them [513 776]

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CONTINUATION OF THE BASSU RITUAL

*Speech of eighth guest.*[180]—"Host and relatives, I send my greetings toward you. You seated here who are impersonating the spirits, I send my greetings toward you. It is good that there are so many war-bundle owners here. It is good that they have given me the opportunity of impersonating the spirits, by placing me in charge of the food that they offer to them. Though I am not related to the host, he has done this for me. That I may grope for war powers, feel myself in connection with life, that is why we do it. It is good. As many of my relatives as are here, they all worked splendidly so that we might be connected with life. He who is the leader of our grandfathers who dwell in the east (the Night Spirits), who is in control of all things, who is in control of war powers, he blessed our grandfather and he caused him to swallow as many people of other tribes as had been preordained for him. Within his stomach our grandfather heard their cries, he said, it is said. Thus thinking of my grandfather they asked me to impersonate the spirits. How could the spirits do anything but accept the offerings of tobacco, food, and buckskin! They have had a very great feast, and surely if the spirits take cognizance of it, all those who have been impersonating the spirits will also be permitted to participate (in the blessings) to follow. Our ancestors handed down to us from generation to generation the following: 'When you offer food to the spirits, sit down to your undertaking with the greatest possible attention and care. Try to smoke as much tobacco as possible, for if you smoke much tobacco then all the spirits who are in control of war powers will pay attention to you, it is said. If a man smokes very much tobacco in one night, then he will be able to obtain a war honor, it is said. Try your hardest. Young men, it is easy to obtain war powers, the old men used to say. If the spirits accept the offerings of food and tobacco and buckskins, then afterwards those who have impersonated them will participate in the blessings that follow.'

"We feel that we have been connected with life and war power. It is for that reason that I say these words of thanks. If you give the feast for the war bundle well, if you pour tobacco well, then, if at some time or another you have a chance to kill an enemy outright, the war bundle will strengthen you greatly. No one will be able to kill you.

[180] I. e., eighth guest to receive the buckskins, continuing the numeration from the first division of the ceremony.

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"Host and members of his clan who are sitting here, I greet you. 539x
You seated here who have impersonated the spirits, I send forth my 796x
greetings to you."

Then the second person for whom they had put on a kettle spoke.

*Speech of ninth guest.*—"Host and members of his clan who are seated here, I greet you. To you, seated here, impersonating the spirits, I send my greetings. It is good. The host has tried to make us live. All those present here have been pleading to the spirits who are in control of life and war powers. If any Indians are sick and the [755] keepers of the war bundle give this feast then their illness will be overcome; they will recover from their disease, it is said. My father said that the people used to add more fuel to the fireplace of our chiefs [782] when they do this. My grandfather told me that even if I (insignificant as I am) who speak were to make an offering of food to the spirits it would be good. I knew that he always spoke the truth, yet I knew that such as I could not do anything. (Thus grandfather spoke to me), 'Some day when you are in the presence of war and the rush is about to be made, you will not be frightened for you can say to the spirits, "Grandfathers, I always gave you something to smoke, boiled food for you, and gave you the material for moccasins. Now [726] I wish to go to the fight that is to take place." If you speak to them thus, though you do not hear them answering you, (you will recognize their answer in the fact) that without any effort you will be victorious.' They told the truth to one another, for they were certain of these things. That is why they encouraged one another. This is what the host and the members of his band are doing. It is good. A laudable thing they have done. They have boiled food for our [782] grandmother, the Earth. They have offered her tobacco and buckskins and have as a reward received war powers. It is good. Our grandmother whom they made me impersonate, I greet. Host and all those who are seated within this lodge, I send forth my greetings to you."

Then the third one whom they called on for a kettle rose to thank them and said:

*Speech of tenth guest.*—"Host and members of his clan who are seated here, I send my greetings toward you. It is good. The host has given the tobacco offerings to the various spirits at the proper time. They (host and clan members) have accomplished very much. Once long ago, four generations back, a man like a spirit in power had told them what to do and since then they have been repeating it. It is good. Their ancestors long, long ago first gave (this feast) and yet even to-day we have seen it. They (host and his relatives) listened attentively to what they said and they have repeated it exactly. We, ourselves, could not accomplish anything if we gave a feast. When in former times they had feasts in honor of our grandfathers,

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539×
796×

given). We feel ourselves connected with life, for surely one of the great spirits will take cognizance of the tobacco, food, and buckskins that we who are impersonating the spirits have offered. Surely they (the spirits) will not care to see (these offerings) lost nor let us cause ourselves to suffer in vain. Thus the Creator said. As counseled ones do, I greet you.[180] Host, I send my greetings toward you. You seated here impersonating the spirits, I send my greetings toward you."

Then the host arose and thanked his guests.

*Host's terminal speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. It is good. We were living in an abject condition, so you performed this ceremony most carefully for us. All night have you been sitting here. It is good. With the greatest care have you eaten. It is good. That is what those who are in charge of feasts, who are in charge of war powers, counseled us, it is said. I shall now call on a man who can make himself heard by all the spirits who are in control of war power, including those who live above where the Creator lives, to those who live on the earth, and those who live under the earth. I will now sing four songs and when I begin them that will be the end (of the ceremony). Then the man is to give the war whoop four times."

This he said to them. Then the victory whoop was given four times.

### Terminal Address to the Dog

Then the dog is sent forth as an offering to Disease-giver. There at the place where the last guest has been(?) the host rises and greets all. [782]

*Host's speech to Disease-giver.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. In the beginning one of my grandfathers told me that the man in the south is the greatest one in control of war powers. One side controls death and the other life, he said. He blessed our grandfather and his descendants wherever they might be and he said that he would at all times remember them. Whenever we pour tobacco, then those who offer tobacco will not take sick, he said, it is said. That is the reason they pour tobacco, they said. We are extending to you one like ourselves (the dog), and we have told all, that all who wish to pour tobacco may do so. I greet you all."

When the time has come, then all pour tobacco, the men, the women, and the children. Not one was there left of those who had poured tobacco. They had all scattered. [782]

[180] Apparently the name of the spirit he is impersonating has been omitted here. It is the Water.

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## The War-bundle Feast of the Thunderbird Clan

(SECOND VERSION)

X 796 614 773 [776] Informant, member of Thunderbird clan:[1] There were originally four warriors. The youngest one was the bravest and the most powerful. He claimed that his father was a Thunderbird and his mother a Night Spirit. He is the one who made the bundle about which we are going to speak.

FIG. 38.—Plan of Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast. 1, Buckskin for earthmaker. 2, Buckskin for dress-giver. 3, Buckskin for thunderbirds. 4, Buckskin for night-spirits. 5, Buckskin for morning star. 6, Buckskin for sun. 7, Buckskin for moon. 8, Buckskin for water-spirit. 9, Buckskin for earth. 10, Buckskin for bevies.

X 796 [604] [574 281] [886] X 796 782 776

The lodge (fig. 38) is prepared by the nephews and the women relatives of the host, generally his nieces and wives. The invited guests arrive toward evening, while the women are still preparing the buckskins. These buckskins are to be made as perfectly white as possible. Only those women who have passed their climacteric are permitted to do this. As soon as the buckskins are prepared the kettles are put on the fire. The buckskins are taken by the host and marked with the specific symbols associated with the different spirits. (For the markings, see pls. 47, 48.) These buckskins are then tied to a stick. That for Earthmaker is attached to the stick with the head pointing upward; that for the Thunderbird has the stick and the head of the buckskin facing the west; that for the Night has the stick and head of the buckskin facing east; that for the Star also faces east, as do all the others not mentioned. When the sticks have been prepared and the buckskins attached to them, the latter are rolled up upon the sticks. Whosoever of the guests is the oldest feast-giver then arises and pours tobacco, first for the fire and then for all the other spirits. When they start the fire for the first time they use the old ceremonial fire sticks. With that the ceremony begins. When the old man is

X 796 782 [372 778]

[1] This is a generalized account.

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through, the buckskin is taken down, unrolled, and the thunder-buckskin given to the band sitting opposite the host. The other buckskins are then distributed in rotation, except that the buckskin to Earthmaker is given to the guest who occupies the middle position in the lodge. All the guests remain standing with their unrolled buckskins, holding them by the sticks and keeping tobacco in their other hand, while the old man speaks to them and blows first upon a flute. Then, to the accompaniment of a gourd, he sings two songs. After that the buckskins are rolled up again in such a way that the markings remain visible, and hung up again on sticks that are placed near the individual invited guests, just west of the first fireplace. There they have a pole for Earthmaker, at whose foot the war bundle is placed and opened. Tobacco is then poured into the hands of each of the invited guests by the host. He offers tobacco especially for those individuals for whom he has prepared buckskins and kettles, asking each of them in turn for life and for victory on the warpath. When he finishes he pours some tobacco into the fire and some upon the war bundle. All the persons invited then, in turn, do the same. If the host has any children present in the lodge, he has them do the same. Children are always escorted by the attendant. The host now takes the gourds, drum, etc., and, remaining in his own place, sings different sets of songs. As often as he starts a new set, he blows upon his flute. The songs of the Thunderbird consist of eight starting songs, sung slowly, six dancing songs, etc. As soon as the dancing songs are begun, all the men in the lodge come around the war bundle and dance, blowing the flute, etc. Women may dance likewise, but they must remain in that part of the tent especially assigned to them.

Before the contents of the kettle are cooked the host sings four sets of songs. As soon as the first set has been started the attendants get as many pipes as possible and bring them to the war bundle. They also place there a large pipe with stem directed toward the west and a large pile of tobacco. These pipes are then passed back to the various guests in order to be smoked.

After the first set of songs is over the large pipe is taken and lit by one of the attendants and passed around the lodge, in ceremonial manner, each member taking a puff and passing it to the next one. When the songs to the Disease-giver are sung, the pipe is placed against the center pole with stem directed south. Before the Disease-giver songs are sung the story of their origin is told. At the end of the last of the initial songs the old man with tobacco in each hand says *Ho—o —o —o—!* He then pours tobacco into the fireplace. He is really presenting it to the Disease-giver. Then dancing songs are used as before. Usually dog meat is put in the kettle designed for the Disease-giver.

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 796k

ticular kettle assigned to him. Then he pours out tobacco. Now one of the attendants goes around the lodge and scatters small swan [782] feathers in every direction, even putting some near the kettles.

The host then prepares to sing night songs, but before doing so he takes down the buckskin assigned to the Nights, blackens his face with the ember used for marking that buckskin, and puts swan feathers upon his head. It is said that those who during their fasting time visited the land of the Night Spirits saw swan feathers [787 scattered all over the land, and that is why they use them now. The 776] host now has the pipe turned toward the east and before singing the night songs tells the origin of these songs. He asks all the other invited guests present to help him with his songs and apologizes for asking so much of them. He now uses two sets of songs. When the dancing songs are sung all the men who so desire may come around the war bundle and dance, and some may even dance near the places where they sit. When he has finished his songs he passes the drum, gourds, flute, and tobacco to the invited guest opposite him. This one now arises, pours out tobacco, and tells the origin of his particular war bundle and sings the night song connected with it for the benefit of the host. He then repeats the same actions that the host has done. The drum, etc., are now passed to the next man, and so on until daylight. Some one especially selected is given the honor of singing those songs that are connected with the taking down of the buckskins, and when this one starts his song all the invited guests in whose honor kettles have been put on the fireplace take down their buckskins and, holding them in their hands, walk around the lodge four times. An attendant precedes them, walking backward and purifying the path. The buckskin with the cross marked on it is generally carried first. The fourth time they make the circuit all those in the lodge first hold their hands over the cedar incense and then touch the buckskin, because Earthmaker is going to [788] use it for moccasins, so that, by touching it, they might become strengthened. After they had made the circuit for the fourth time they rolled up the buckskins and threw them through the openings in [782] the roof of the lodge, so that the spirits for whom they were intended might receive them.

After the buckskins have been thrown out tobacco is poured into the fireplace and all the people take their places and dance. When the drum has made the entire circuit of the lodge—that is, when it has again returned to the host—the latter rises and sings the so-called paint songs. A short time before that a number of kettles had been put on the fireplace for the so-called lower spirits. The host then declares that the feast is ready and that whenever they wish to the guests may begin to eat. The rites of the preceding feast are now repeated. Toward the end of the feast the host takes his bundle,

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x 796 wraps it up, and hangs it behind him in the lodge, but he keeps the flute unpacked. When all but the last four songs have been finished he calls upon some one who has a rather strong voice to give the war whoop, which he does, at the end of the song. This war whoop is given so that all the spirits might hear it. When he is through all the other guests give war whoops four times, and the feast is over.

### The War-bundle Feast of the Thunderbird Clan

(THIRD VERSION)

Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan: When the feast is ready, the buckskin prepared, and the kettles of meat put on to boil, then the host rises and says as follows:

x 796 x 539 "Warriors and sons of warriors who are present here, I greet you all. You have put aside all the wrongs I have done you and accepted my invitation. I am glad of it. You have filled my lodge. It is good. Our four great ancestral fathers were all warriors. The oldest one was called Whirling-Four, the second one Sitting-Chief, the third one Wabanansaka, and the fourth one Kills-Within-Lodge. When in battle, Kills-Within-Lodge was bullet-proof. He used to wear a belt which when full of shot he would loosen and his blanket-belt would be full of bullets. He is the one that made this bundle. With it one can obtain victory and blessings.

"The blessing we ask of you is war; for ourselves and for all who are present. We have offered kettles to all the spirits and we will also pour tobacco for them. This is why I am speaking to you, warriors, and you taking the place of the spirits. All in this lodge I greet. I greet you all."

He takes tobacco and gives some to each of those who have been especially invited. Then he goes to the fireplace and throws some tobacco into the fire, saying: "Here it is. Here it is. To you who stand in the center of the lodge, to you I offer tobacco. You encouraged us to believe that when we call upon some of your fellow-spirits, it would be only necessary to put tobacco upon your head, and that you would deliver the message.

"This is the first blessing we ask—namely, that our weapons and not those of our enemies be made sharp. And if in a vision we be directed to go on the warpath, may we receive the complete blessing, even though we be in the midst of the battle. Therefore do we lay all these birdskins that are used in war here in the center of our lodge. We pray that if we use one of them we will be able to avoid danger and that we be granted long life. For that reason, [782] grandfather, Fire, do I pour tobacco to you. Here it is. Here it is.

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"And thou, grandfather, Earthmaker, I offer tobacco to you. I offer tobacco to you. It was you who made the tobacco, yet we were told that even you cannot take it from us unless we offer it to you willingly, because you ordained it thus. I offer tobacco to you, that I may become a warrior and have long life. This I ask of you A white-furred animal, a deer, with its hide, the buckskin, and its meat as food, do I offer to you together with tobacco. The hide you may use for moccasins. Here it is.

"And you, Big Black Hawk, you who are in charge of war weapons, I offer tobacco to you, that my prowess as a warrior, if I be blessed with any, may be great and audacious. Even if it is only a single enemy (that I encounter), may I be the victor. May we go through battle without injury. A kettle containing half of a deer, with its hide for moccasins, we offer to you. Here it is. Tobacco we offer to you. Here it is.

"You who live in the place of the setting of the sun, Thunder-chief, tobacco I offer to you. When my grandfather made his war bundle you added your power; and whatever knowledge of warcraft you possessed you taught him. For that we now ask you. One of our members[2] whom we feed like a baby, we offer to you together with tobacco. Here it is.

"You who live in the east, who walk in darkness, tobacco we offer to you. When our grandfather, Kills-Within-Lodge, made the spirit bundle you added your war power. We ask that when we take this bundle up we may be able to gain victory without any effort on our part. This we ask of you. As our children become big enough to go on the warpath may you see to it, in your mysterious manner, that we have war. We offer you tobacco and also a kettle containing a female deer with hide for moccasins. These we offer you. Here it is.

"You who live in the south, you who give us sickness, to that part of your body which contains life, we offer tobacco. In the bundle that our grandfather made you added your war power. That power we now ask of you. In the middle of the day you blessed our grandfather. That blessing we ask of you again. One of our members who wears a headdress,[3] do we offer to you, and likewise a deerskin for moccasins. All these together with tobacco we offer you. Here it is.

"To you, grandfather, the Sun, I offer tobacco. You blessed my grandfather, Kills-Within-Lodge, with your power when he made his war bundle. The blessing that you gave him, that do I ask of you. Let that be your first gift. May we have victory in war: and in the presence of the weapons of our enemies, make us safe. If there be any men (enemies) to whom death has been ordained, may we be

[2] He is referring to the dogs eaten at this feast.
[3] I. e., a deer.

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X 796 the ones who will be the victors. It is said of you that even if a
X 539 prayer be offered to you in silence, along with the tobacco, you will
776 hear it. Here we offer you tobacco, deer for food, and buckskin
● 782 for moccasins. This, grandfather, is our prayer and our offering.

"To you, grandmother, the Moon, do we offer tobacco. We desire to have victory in battle. The blessings you bestowed upon our grandfather, Kills-Within-Lodge, when you blessed him with the powers of a warrior, those give to us now. The blessings that were not fulfilled by him (that is, all those blessings that death prevented him from using) we ask that they may be fulfilled by us. Tobacco and deer for food and buckskin, all these we offer to you. Here it is. Here it is.

"To you, Morning Star, do we offer tobacco. When my grandfather was blessed with your power, while he was making his war bundle, he was to give you tobacco for smoking and food at midnight. That is what we are trying to do, although we are lacking in all the essentials necessary for success. However, we wish to be prepared in times of trouble and that is why we ask, grandfather, that we be blessed with life. A kettle with tobacco, enough buckskin for moccasins, and tobacco we offer to you.

"To you, grandmother, the Earth, do we offer tobacco also. We pray for victory in war and for all the medicines that are necessary to obtain it, so that we may bind ourselves with medicine; that we may use the flowers of the earth for paint—all that is red and all that is blue—this we ask of you. Should there be anything better, we ask that you arrange it so that we obtain it. Tobacco and corn for food do we offer to you, and should you need more tobacco we will send it along. Here it is.

"To you, Eagle Chief, you who blessed our grandfather with power to conquer in war while he was making his bundle of spirit-power, do we offer tobacco. For all that he told us to retain and which he said was powerful in the bundle, I am making this feast. I am
X 796 trying to-night to make a feast in honor of the spirits. To you and
X 539 to the hawk I offer this kettle."
782 All the kettles which are to be used at this feast have by this time
[604] been put on. The nephews act as attendants and place the kettles on the fireplaces. Those spirits for whom no kettles are placed on the fire receive tobacco as an offering. After the host has offered tobacco to these latter spirits, he returns to his place and sits down. Then the war-bundle owners to whom tobacco had been given get up in turn and with one hand pour tobacco into the fire and with the other upon the war bundle. The host then rises and speaks as follows:

"Sons of war, and you who stand in the footsteps of the spirits, all you who are in this lodge, I greet you. We are boiling hot water for

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the spirits. We will try also to use some of the songs that were taught to the owner of the bundle when he was blessed. We will perhaps make you smoke poor tobacco and tire you out by making you sit too long, and we will probably keep you hungry too long, but we know that you have served at these feasts and that this ceremony is good and that you know how to carry it on. It is good that you act thus. They say that if we sit up all night at a feast we will be able to obtain victory in war and long life. For this purpose you have come here and intend to sit with us. We are very glad. We will be at your service and as soon as the attendants have the food ready you shall receive some. To those sitting in the place of the setting of the sun, the Thunderers, we will sing the songs they taught our grandfather. We will attempt to sing them for you. If we can remember them, we will use about four."

After he has concluded, the members of his band sing the Thunderbird songs and when they are finished they sing the dancing songs. [533]

When these are over the host speaks again.

"Sons of wars, I greet you. We are delivering our speeches as fast as possible. When our grandfather was blessed he fasted, denying himself water. He suffered much. It was then that the spirits had compassion upon him. One of the spirits met him in broad daylight, one day, at noon. He blessed him with victory in war and with the life, or good half, of his body,[4] and with the right to hand on this blessing for generations. As long as the people offer red feathers and tobacco and make feasts in his honor, so long will he not trouble them with disease. He said that these were the things he liked—dog, red feathers, and tobacco. These are the things that we accordingly offer him. We will now use his songs, which are in another language. I suppose we will make a great many mistakes, but it is said that even if a person knows only one song he should try and use it, for through it victory in war and long life can be obtained. With this thought before us we will try. We were also told that we must leave nothing undone.

"Sons of wars, and you who represent the spirits, I greet you." [533]

Now the slow songs are sung, and after they are finished, the dance songs. Then the host rises and speaks again.

"Sons of war, I greet you. After we have used four lots of songs we will have the feast. The attendants will have the food ready about that time. The songs that we will attempt to sing will be Thunderbird songs and the songs of the different spirits that accompany this bundle, the Sun, the Moon, the Morning Star, the Earth, the Water, the Daylight, and the Eagle. The songs of all of these spirits we will try to use and sing.

[4] Evidently it was the Dream-giver who blessed him.

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X 796 "Sons of war, I greet you."
X 539 After these songs are sung the host speaks again.

"Sons of wars, I greet you. We will sing the dancing songs. If anyone cares to dance he may do so. They say that through dancing, also, we may obtain victory in war. Therefore you women may dance and help your brothers. Dancing also is a means of obtaining life. We will now sing about four songs if we can remember them."

When the songs are over the leader says

"Warriors, I greet you. We will sing another lot of songs and then we will have our feast. This lot of songs was sung by our grandfather, who obtained victory with them, so he added them to his bundle. So we are told. These songs can also be sung by watchmen in the camp, or on the warpath, or before the rush for the enemy, as well as while crossing rivers and in scouting. We will now try to sing them. Warriors all, who are seated here, I greet you."

The host then sings the slow songs and then the dancing songs. Then he continues:

X 796 "Warriors, I greet you. The next four songs we sing will be for
X 539 all the spirits for whom we have placed these kettles of tobacco and
776 buckskin for moccasins. The first kettle over the first fireplace is a
782 big deer head, which our chief will partake of. This kettle is in honor of Earthmaker. The kettle will be placed for our chief. We know that he has been attentive to the spirits and that he has the right to forbid us to do wrong.

"The next kettle will be put on in honor of the war spirits who live in the place of the setting of the sun. It will be placed before the Thunderbird clan people. It is our desire that the spirits remember us for these our offerings. For that reason we will turn over to them a kettle with tobacco and enough buckskin for moccasins.

"The kettle on the second fireplace we intend to offer to the war spirit, the Big Black Hawk. Together with the kettle, we are offering tobacco and buckskin. It will be placed before Strikes-the-Tree. He understands this affair better than we do. He understands what our intentions toward the spirits are and he can therefore best make them understand us. Another kettle on the same fireplace we intend for the sun. We have already made known our intentions to him by offerings of tobacco and buckskin. That kettle will be placed for our grandfather, who understands and can perform these things better than we can.

"On the third fireplace there is a kettle for our grandmother who comes up after the dark—the Moon. That will be placed before my nephew. He knows how to take care of a war bundle. That we wish should be made known to the moon he will make it known, as he knows how to do it.

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"The next kettle is in honor of the Morning Star. We offer tobacco, buckskin, and food to him. This kettle is to be placed before my uncle, as he knows how to make offerings to spirits better than we do. All that we wish is that the spirits should know that we have done this; and he understands how to make this known to the spirits. Warriors, I greet you. The kettles have now all been put on by the attendants and we offer to you all that they can hold. It will be lacking in every way, but, warriors, you understand how to divide it. Knowing this, we know that you will all get some. Whenever you get ready you can start eating. In the meantime we will sing." 796x 539x 776 782

After singing four songs those present partake of the feast. When the feast is over, the guest who received the first kettle rises and speaks: 796x 539x 782

"Elders and you who are mere participants, who have partaken of our feast, and you warriors, I greet. It is truly good. Who would not say it is good? Relatives, a lesson this has been to me, the fact that I have been invited. It is indeed a real pleasure for me to be here, but I have been accorded an even greater honor in that I have been given a kettle, and especially that it should be just that kettle that we offer to the greatest spirit, Earthmaker. For him have I eaten and for him have I smoked the tobacco that was offered. We will be strengthened by the blessing that it brings us. All our relatives that had anything to do with this offering will be strengthened How can the spirits help recognizing such an offering? It is said that if we wish anything of the spirits and we offer tobacco to them they would accept and recognize it. Surely such an offering as this (in which we have participated) will be received by the spirits, and assuredly they will bless our host with victory, just as he has wished it. I am thankful that I had something to do with it. I consider that my life has been renewed. I therefore greet him, Earthmaker, and I greet the host and the warriors who are representing the spirits. I greet them all."

Then the guest who had received the second kettle rises and speaks:

"Hosts and relatives who are sitting around me, I greet you all. It is good. Who would not say that it is good? I do not intend this as mere imitation of the preceding speaker, but my grandfather taught me to be thankful at all times for such an affair as this. I did not gain honor in war, and (for my presence here) I am consequently all the more thankful. It is good. He has honored me together with the spirits when he offered to them tobacco, buckskin, and food and when he asked them for victory and life. How could such a one go unblessed? Do not the spirits even know our thoughts? I thank all the relatives that have partaken of this spirit food, through which they will be strengthened. Again I say, it is good. In my

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x 796 x 539 782 thoughts I greet you, feasters. Spirits of war, elders, warriors, I greet you."

Then the third speaker rises and speaks:

"Elders and relatives, I greet you. Warriors within this lodge, I greet you also. It is good. Who would not say it is good? Many times have they done this to us in the past. They understand and know how to make examples for us to follow. They have made offerings of tobacco, of food, and buckskin for moccasins to all the spirits. They have gathered us together and given us places of honor that we may obtain life thereby. They have given us spirit-food to eat in the presence of our relatives. The blessings they receive will also strengthen us in life. With these thoughts we have partaken of the feast. While boiling the water, the attendants have burned their hands, and surely they will for this reason take part in war, with honor. It is good that it is thus. What spirit could overlook such an offering? It must surely be known to them. Again I say it is good. You feasters, host, and warriors, I greet you all."

Then the fourth speaker rises and speaks:

"Elders and relatives, I greet you. Host and feasters, I greet you. It is good, the previous speakers have told me. Most certainly it is good. The chiefs have up to now asked blessings for the Winnebago fireplaces. Our host has also made offerings to all the spirits and asked victory and life for our women and children. I hope we minor ones will also receive blessings. A spirit named Kills-Within-Lodge [776] came upon earth in the flesh and caused this (feast) to be made, and to this day it is so. It is good. With war he was blessed, we all [262] have heard it told. It is good that we have partaken of this food, for we have been told that all meat partaken in feasts strengthens us with spirit blessings. I want to thank all of the relatives and feasters who are here, and for that reason I am speaking. Feasters, I greet you all; I greet you all."

Then he speaks again:

"[illegible] good, my relatives, that the spirits have been given offerings [776] of food, tobacco to light their pipes, and buckskin to use for moccasins. Now it is the midnight of the spirits, and we have all heard that at this time they turn over in their beds in spirit land, and whoever offers tobacco to them now can be assured that they will smoke it. For this reason the people have added food and moccasins. They will surely bless them with the victory and life for which they have asked. We believe that those who have partaken of the feast will be blessed, for it is said that the spirits even know our thoughts. This is what I think. I am sure I have been strengthened by it. Feasters, I greet you all. You likewise, Grandmother Moon, I greet."

The kettles are now put on again.

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Now the host speaks again:

"Warriors, I greet you. It is good that you have told one another my wishes and spoken about the things that are usually discussed at this ceremony. I say again that it is good to hear such words from you. We are making you suffer, but the attendants are putting on the kettles again. I will therefore give all the spirits for whom kettles have been prepared smoking material again. I greet you all."

Then he begins to pour out tobacco for the spirits. As often as he calls upon a spirit so often does he pour tobacco into the fire, saying as follows in each case:

"Here it is, the tobacco, grandfather, who are in the middle of the lodge. We have been told that you said you were the mediator between (the spirits and human beings). It is said that if we place on your head tobacco for the spirits you would see to it that our offering had not been made in vain. So I pour tobacco for you. Here it is.

"To you, in the South, the Disease-giver, grandfather, I offer tobacco. A four-legged animal,[8] one of our own members, we have put in the kettle for you. Tobacco, food, feathers, and buckskin we offer you. You blessed our grandfather and met him in the middle of the day. With the blessing with which you blessed him do you now bless us. This we ask of you—that fever (disease) may not come upon us, and that we may have victory and life. This we ask of you because you claim that you are in charge of these things. Grandfather, in return for all the things that we ask you, we offer tobacco for your pipe. The same we offer to your grandfathers, those under the light, those who walk in darkness.[9] My grandfather you blessed. The things that you taught him we ask for. Our offerings are poorly given, and not of the best kind, but it is said that your feelings can not be hurt since you permitted our grandfather to enter your spirit-home. We pour tobacco for you, Nights, that victory may come our way, and that you might walk faster so that day may come to us sooner. Men's tobacco, food, and buckskin we offer you. Here it is.

"Morning Star, tobacco we offer you, with buckskin and food. When our grandfather made a bundle of spirit-powers, you added your blessing of warrior prowess. That is what I ask of you—that we may have victory whenever we meet the enemy. It is said that if we wait till then we might not receive your blessing. That is why we ask it now. We pour tobacco for you.

"To you, the chief of the Eagles, I offer tobacco. In our grandfather's fasting you blessed him with victory in war. That which he

[8] Cf. Note 2.
[9] I. e., the Night Spirits.

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would have used were he alive do I ask of you. And if we take the feathers that are in this war bundle on the warpath, may it so happen that even if we see only one enemy we may be the ones to have the war honor. This is what we ask of you and for this we offer tobacco to you.

"To you, Hare, do we offer tobacco. Here it is. The blessing you bestowed on our grandfather, that we ask of you, the so-called nephew. Victory in war and life we ask, should we ever go on the warpath; that we may conquer without effort and that we may be safe in the midst of the weapons of our enemies.

"To you, the Turtle, we offer tobacco. Here it is. Men's tobacco we offer you that you may fill your pipe. Our offerings are lacking in every respect, for we have no kettle for you. But we can not offend you, it is said. You have, in truth, power in war and that is why we ask you for victory in war. Grandfather, we offer you tobacco.

"To you, grandmother, the Earth, do we offer tobacco. We offer you men's tobacco. We ask victory in war from you. When our grandfather made a bundle of spirit-power, you added your power. For that reason we have been keeping tobacco for you. Here it is. Grandmother, we offer tobacco to you.

"To all those who have blessed our grandfather with spirit-power—for we do not know you all—we offer tobacco to those on earth and to those above. It is our desire that you bless us with the blessings you conferred upon our grandfather. Grandfathers, warriors, I greet you all. I am sorry that I have been boring you with my talk, and that I have perhaps made you smoke too much. But we wish to obtain victory and life, and it is said that patience gains both of these. Knowing this, you have faithfully sat through this whole ceremony. I thank you, and yet I must ask more of you. I must ask that the drum and songs be sent around the lodge as soon as I get through singing. As the Nights go around the earth at night so will the drum go around this lodge. I will now use the songs of the Nights, that is what I mean. Warriors, I greet you."

[533] After singing slow songs he sings dancing songs, and then he speaks again:

"Warriors, I greet you. As I said before, you may sing the songs of the Nights. Your songs are certainly more spirit-like, and they have the power of obtaining life. I now send the drum to you."

Then the attendants take the drum, together with some tobacco, and carry it across the lodge, to a place opposite the host, and place it in front of one of the guests belonging to another clan. He also puts some tobacco in the hands of this person. Then the one about to sing rises and speaks as follows:

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"Feast-givers and relatives, as well as you guests who are present, I greet you all. It is good that I have been honored by being placed in the path of the drum. It is said that so great is the sacredness attached to this affair that one must not refuse to accept the drum as it passes around the lodge. I also feel honored at the offering of tobacco. Indeed I feel saved, and I pray that whosoever comes in contact with these things may be strengthened thereby. As soon as I have offered the tobacco I will use the songs of our fathers. We do not know them as well as we ought to, but we will try nevertheless. It is said that if you only know one song, you must try to use it even to the point of tears; just as it is said, that if you cry after a victory you must put aside all sense of shame. Thinking of these things I will now try to sing. Tobacco I offer you." 796X 539X 782

He throws it into the fire, saying at the same time, "Grandfathers, Night Spirits, I offer you tobacco. I know that we will spoil your songs, but it is said that you are merciful and that you will sing them again to yourselves correctly. If we make any mistakes have pity on us, grandfathers, and we ask you to walk faster so that daylight may come soon. Here is the tobacco. We offer it to you."

Then he sings slow songs, and then dancing songs. One of the attendants now comes forward with tobacco in his hand, and takes the drum and moves it to another of the invited guests. He also gives this person some tobacco. This one then rises and thanks all the other people in general and says approximately the same as the man before him, praising them for all the things he could think of, accepting the tobacco, and then offering it to the spirits and to the fire. He particularly asks the Nights to walk faster so that morning might come to them sooner. After he sings his songs, which like the others are Night songs, the drum is taken and moved to another of the invited guests. Thus it passes from one to another until it has made the entire circuit of the lodge. Generally at about dawn it reaches the place of the host, from where it had started on the previous day. He sings certain songs which are called the old night songs, because the old nights are not supposed to come until approaching daylight and because their hair is white from age. When they come they bring light. All those who may perhaps have fallen asleep at this time either wake up or are awakened, for the Nights who now come are old and carry canes which, when directed toward a sleeping person, causes him to die. After the host has finished the old night songs he sings the dancing songs. [533] [533]

The buckskins are then taken down and carried around the lodge. All those present now arise and dance in their special places, as the buckskin passes them. The host and his invited guests now take their buckskins in one hand, holding tobacco at the same time, and pass around the lodge in single file. Thus they go around the lodge

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X-796 X539 ●782 four times. The fourth time they make the circuit they stop at the first fireplace and throw the buckskins through the holes of the lodge. It is supposed that the old Night Spirits seize them at this moment and carry them up to the sky with them. The singing now ceases, and all the people take their seats again. The drum is now taken and placed in front of the host's place. He thereupon rises and speaks as follows:

"Ye warriors, as many as you are who are sitting here, I greet. It is good that you have complied with my wishes and that the spirits have already taken their buckskins and their food, and that they have left our presence. But nevertheless we will sing our last song, even if it appears that they are being sung into empty space. I know that you have already had compassion upon me, even although I am making you suffer with hunger, but let us, nevertheless, sing one more song, and then we can rest. My grandfather used these songs in time of war, and never did he miss a war honor when using them. These we will now use. You, warriors, and those of you who possess holy paints, it must seem shameful to you for me to speak this way. For we have no holy paint. However, we will not sing them with the intention of making people believe that we have holy paints, but simply because we have used them in war and found them good. That is why I am about to use them now, and that is why they belong to this bundle. Warriors, you may hear. Know you that I will use these songs in seeking victory and life. Nor will the dancing be limited merely to those who possess paint, but to anyone of the warriors here present. This will be the last dancing song. I greet you all."

[539] Then he sings some songs, both the slow and the dancing songs. After that he rises and says the following:

"Warriors who are seated here, I greet you. I suppose it is enough that I have made you suffer with hunger all night. As soon as the attendants can get around to it the food will be placed before you again. I know that it will be lacking in every respect, but let me appeal to your good natures. On this first fireplace there is going to be a kettle for the Disease-giver. A four-legged animal, one of his own members, we will offer to him, together with tobacco and deerskins. We are also going to send to him a little four-legged animal, one with whom our children have been fond of playing. He is now in front of us. Whoever wishes to offer tobacco to the Disease-giver can do so now, and as soon as the feast is over and the bones are gathered, we will take them and, strewing tobacco upon them, place them outside. Let me tell you again that anyone who wishes may offer tobacco and ask of the Disease-giver that he keep illness away from him. Women are not permitted to partake of this kettle, so see to it that only men eat of it. As I said before,

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O warriors, the food will be lacking in every respect, but try, nevertheless, to have it pass around. 796x

"We also have a kettle on the fireplace for the Nights, which the attendants will put on in honor of the father of my wife and my own father. We offer, likewise, tobacco and deerskin along with this kettle, to the Night Spirits, so that we may obtain victory and life. That is what we wish. As I said before, I will not have any too much food for you. But they say the spirits are merciful. 539x 782

"To the Morning Star we will also offer a kettle. We will have it put on for Ku'nu, as he understands these affairs better than we do and knows better than we how to ask the spirits for blessings. We offer, in addition to the kettle, tobacco and buckskin, asking victory and life from the spirits in return. As I said before, warriors, our grandfather never failed when he had this bundle. That is why we have kettles put on the fire in honor of it.

"To our fourth brother we will offer another kettle, in honor of the chief of the Eagles, praying for life and victory. Warriors who are seated here, I greet you all. Whenever you get ready to eat you may do so, and we will, during that time, sing some of our songs."

Then they sing Earthmaker songs. These songs were songs that a certain person called Wegi'ceka obtained in his blessings from all the spirits, but they were taught to him by Earthmaker. [787]

After Wegi'ceka had been blessed by all the spirits there was just one lacking, and that was Earthmaker. So he fasted more and more, almost to the point of death, crying and longing for a blessing from Earthmaker. Finally he was told that he was to be blessed by him. At the appointed place and time a being wearing dark clothes and carrying a cane that looked fear-inspiring stood before him, like the blue of the sky. "Wegi'ceka," he said, "I bless you. You have inflicted suffering upon yourself and have hungered and thirsted on my account. With everything that I possess do I bless you, with victory and with the power to heal the sick, with riches and with good fortune as a hunter, and even with the power of having women become enamored of you—with all these things I bless you." Then he turned and walked away and Wegi'ceka saw that it was a bluejay. He felt very much humbled and so he fasted again. Four times was he treated thus. Finally he even sacrificed one of his own children, and then he was told that at a certain time and place, about the hour of noon, he would meet Earthmaker. When he came there some one said, "Wegi'ceka, I bless you. You have humbled yourself and cried unto me. I bless you. Heretofore I have blessed nobody. You are the first one." Thus he spoke, and he gave him the cane and four songs. These are the songs which we use at the end of our feast. 796x 539x 787 776

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×796 After these songs are finished and the invited guests and the others
×539 present have finished eating, the feast is practically over, with the exception of a few remarks. The host rises and speaks as follows:

"Warriors and guests, I greet you all. It is good that we have this life-power to use in our travels through life. The spirits caused us to make offering and have also given us a chance to sing the songs
● [782] of our forefathers. This they made us do. It is good. Our guests have shown us a great example in that they have offered enough buckskin for all the spirits and enough food and tobacco. What spirit could let such an offering pass unnoticed, without bestowing a blessing? It is said that even if you wish something and do not express it in words, still if you pour tobacco into the fire you will obtain what you wish. If that is the case, how much greater must the efficacy of the offerings be that were made here! You Feast-givers and relatives, I consider it a blessing that I was permitted to be present here. But that blessing was even increased when I was called upon to partake from a kettle offered to one of the greatest spirits. I feel that now I will surely be able to live. They say that the one called Disease-giver has victory and life in one half of his body. Therefore I greet the Disease-giver. Feast-givers, warriors, all you who are present, I greet you."

The second singer now speaks.

"Elders and ye other guests who are present, I greet you all. It is good. It is good. Who could say otherwise? Relatives, a great example has been set us. We have seen buckskins for moccasins, tobacco, and food offered to the spirits, and we ourselves have been permitted to represent these spirits by proxy, that we also might live and be strengthened; that if we should ever chance upon the enemy we might remain safe and unharmed. Such, in substance,
[782] were the tearful prayers of our leaders to-night. They prayed for victory and life, and made their offerings to the Nights, of deerskin, tobacco, and food. Most assuredly have the Nights accepted these offerings, for they have walked fast as we asked, and the night has been very short. They certainly have answered our prayers. It is good. We likewise feel that the fact that we have been here with our relatives and partaken of everything will strengthen us in life. Feast-givers and guests, I greet you all. Warriors and singers, I greet you."

Then the third one rises and speaks. He says about the same thing as the former. The fourth one does the same. When they are finished, the host rises and thanks them because they have said and done the things that he had most at heart. He speaks as follows:

"Warriors, as it is the custom, so we will now sing four more dancing songs and then we will call upon someone to make his
[782] voice known to the war-spirits. If any of you wish to offer tobacco,

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796x
539x
782

you can do so, and the women likewise can join, because we have rolled up our bundle. To the dog that we have here, an offering of tobacco can be made." Thus speaking, he sings. After he has [562] finished the song, someone specially called upon gives the war whoop, in which the rest join. In this manner they sing four times, and the ceremony ends. They have a dog around whose neck they [231] tie a red rag, together with a bundle of tobacco, and to each of whose limbs they also tie a bundle of tobacco. This dead dog is to be placed wherever the bones that remain of the feast are buried, generally under some tree. It is supposed that the dog will go directly to the Disease-giver together with the tobacco and there be taken over by him.

*Notes on the Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant, member of the clan: Place of honor at the feast is given to the bravest [554] man present. Scalps, etc., are always brought to those keeping the war bundle.

Contents of bundle: Black hawk (main thing), two wolf tails, 778 buffalo tail, snake, weasel, three flutes—one red, one black, and one 726 blue. 789

Black hawk used in time of war. If I were leading the war party I would carry it and it would be able to fly. It had a small bundle of medicine tied around the neck, on each wing and each leg. A red flute always went with it.

The two wolf tails could be taken on any warpath. It gives an individual the power of running. The medicine tied to it is to be smeared over the body in order to prevent fatigue. It is also used [224] in hunting.

Buffalo tail gives fleetness and indicates that the man received strength from the buffalo spirit.

Weasel and snake could be put around the neck and worn over the shoulders in times of war. Gives the power of these respective [225] animals in wiggling.

Flutes, blue in connection with the buffalo, red in connection [534] with the black hawk, and black in connection with the night spirits

## The War-bundle Feast of the Bear Clan

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The people were about to go 796x on a hunt, it is said. They returned. Four deer had been killed. 539x And again they went, and this time three deer were killed. But it was not sufficient, so they went out again, and when they returned it was found that they had killed only three deer. "Well," they said, "this [262] will be all right. We have ten deer. Perhaps they will last as food until dawn."

They told the attendants to get ready the lodge and to build the fireplaces. They told them also to have the wood and the buck-

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x796
x539 skins ready. Then they told them to make some invitation sticks. Only four invitation sticks were to be made, and they were to tie tobacco to each of them. The lodge was now ready (fig. 36). They had fixed the vertical poles and had tied them with prickly cedar sinews. The vertical poles they painted blue.

[202] Then he who was to be the host told the attendants to take the invitation sticks to certain people. "Bring the first one to my friend, Manuba'ga. See that you give it to him. I am sure that he will be here soon after. The second stick you may give to Ka-o'saga. The third one you may give to Mazihimain'jga. Be sure that you bring them to all those who possess war bundles."

The attendant did as he was told and returned and told the host that it was done. "I have seen all of them and told them to make ready. They will soon come and sit down."

All were now in the lodge and were seated. The old man, Kari'ga, was the host. All his posterity were there. He had placed meat in the kettles over the fireplaces. The first kettle was for Earthmaker and the second for Turtle. "Put them on," he said to the attendants. "Put the third one on for the Thunderbird, and the fourth one for the Fire, the fifth one for the Earth, the sixth one for the Morning Star, the seventh one for Without Horn, and the eighth one for the Nights. Then put on a small kettle for Disease-giver and a full kettle for the Ruce'we.

"*Hao*, we will pour tobacco for them my friend, Manuba'ga. Whenever we can obtain a 'counciling' we always do this, for in that way we help one another. You who are sitting here for me, bundle owners, as many of you as there are within this lodge who are taking the place of the spirits, all of you I greet. War-bundle owners, all of us are thus. When you obtain a council feast for yourselves, then you will help one another. We are putting ourselves in a very pitiable condition, so you must have thought of us, and that is why you came at our bidding. It is good. And we are going to make you fearfully tired. But I beg of you, nevertheless, to continue until the end. We are now going to sing."

They get up and the guests hold tobacco in their hands. Then they sing and weep. The one who was fasting at that time stood at the war bundle crying. Then they sang the following songs:

[533]

Human, four chunks of meat I give you.
Human, four chunks of meat you will eat.
I made it for you, for you who carry the war bundle.

[782] Thus they spoke standing and weeping, pouring tobacco upon the war bundle. This they did. Then Turtle songs were used. That is what they call them. After that they used Thunderbird songs, and then what are called friends' songs. Finally they used the songs [533] they obtained when Disease-giver blessed them. Four songs they

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x796 After the speeches were all over the offerings were taken down and
539 thrown outside through the opening in the roof of the lodge and then
[782] night songs were sung. Before throwing the offerings out they marched around the lodge carrying them in their hands. At the approach of dawn the drum, gourds, etc., have about made the entire circuit of the lodge, and as soon as they reach the host he begins to sing the night
[533] songs. After these he sings turtle songs, and then the songs are over. The host now calls upon some one to give the war whoop, so that the spirits in the west may hear their voices. Nanhi'tcoga gave the war whoop. All joined in, and the feast was over.

x796 *Descriptive notes on the Bear clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant,
805 member of clan: About the middle of winter, in the month called
[776] deer-breeding month, the Winnebago used to go out hunting, and they gave a feast to all the spirits who had blessed them.

They are very careful not to have the kettles boil over, because
[774] they believe that a man's soul (*naγi'rak'*) might be wandering about and is likely to come down along the chain of the kettle. If it doesn't boil over, the man is likely to conquer the possessions of this spirit (of an enemy) in the next battle.

202 The invitation sticks are sent out only to men who own a war
554] bundle, and the clans are invited in the following fashion: First the Wolf, then the Hawk, and then any order.

778 The contents of the war bundle represent the following: The crow means strength in running. The turtle and the spear, the blessings which enable one to get out of difficulties, the former referring especially to difficulties in crossing water; they also enable their possessor to foretell when enemies are approaching and to tell an individual how many enemies he is going to conquer. The flute represents the
789 voices of musical birds. When an enemy hears them it paralyzes him and he can not run.

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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yond the need of further nursing. Standing alone above this altar, Big Wave then offered, in his native tongue, a prayer to be carried upward by the fire to Creator. In a low voice he thanked Creator who taught the use of fire to the Indians, that it might live with them forever and watch over them. He expressed satisfaction that new fire had been started on this occasion, so that all present might enjoy the benefits of life. He described the fire as an interpreter, conveying to the spirit world the prayers of men. He then sprinkled tobacco upon the fire, saying: "This tobacco I offer you (the spirits) that you may do that which I ask of you, that you may grant to all here, our wives and children, and all our relatives, good fortune and all the benefits of life. This prayer is for others who will also give tobacco."

Later, when the meeting was convened and the guests filed into the ceremonial lodge, many silently sprinkled tobacco on the fire, thereby sharing the benefit of this prayer. This tobacco sacrifice is called, filling the spirits' pipe.

As soon as the new fire was burning well, coals were removed therefrom with which to start the cooking fires outside the lodge, for the feast must be cooked over sacred fire. Two short poles were placed on either side of the fire, topped by a crosspiece from which the pots were suspended on chains. Water was boiled, with which all the pots were thoroughly washed. Then the meat (fowl, beef and pork) was prepared for cooking. The fowls had to be singed over the sacred fire. A definite number of equal portions were placed in each pot, since each participating family was to share the contents of a single pot which, therefore, must contain a portion for every member of the invited group.

While the war-bundle owner's helpers, the waiters, selected from his paternal nephews when possible, were preparing the feast, he himself entered the lodge, took down the war-bundle from where it hung on the north wall opposite the fire and spread it out on the ground immediately west of the fire. Although much of the contents of the bundle appeared to be very old, the cover-piece was of cloth. The bundle was unrolled and spread out upon this rectangular piece of goods. The inner wrapper was of matting. Upon this a variety of fetishes and elements of ceremonial equipment was displayed. These included various bird skins, reed whistles and an old fire drill set which had long been out of use due to the fact that the base piece was entirely covered with holes, without interval, and as deep as the thickness of the piece would permit.

Two beaded snake-skin fetishes were suspended from the top of a peeled stake set up between the bundle and the fire. Adjoining this a sharpened stick, later to be used as a meat fork in distributing the meat, was placed, the handle thrust into the ground. Two fine old war clubs from the bundle were also placed between fire and bundle, their handles thrust into the ground. Two bowls, one containing tobacco and the

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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announced that he was about to give a feast in honor of Creator, all the spirits of the world above, all the spirits of the world below, and all those spirits who had appeared in dreams to any of those present. In this way, as determined by his grandfathers, should long life, and happiness, and health and success in warfare be assured to those participating. He cited the giving of tobacco to various spirits; the dedication of the cooking meat to various spirits. He called upon other custodians of war-bundles and their waiters, who might be present, to assist in the singing, speaking, and dancing. "O! O!", assented the custodians of other war-bundles who were present. 796 537 [201]

The drum was now placed before the leader, who passed it to one of his three musicians. The other two and the leader were equipped with gourd rattles. The leader then took a reed whistle and on it actually played a tune very like a bugle call. Three distinct notes were produced by varying the force with which he blew it. He then started a song, his eyes closed as if in prayer, his face stamped with serious devotion. His assistants joined in, to the accompaniment of drum and rattles. A short rest intervalled the completion of this song and the start of the next. Three other songs followed in like manner. All of this music was relatively slow in time and not designed to be accompanied by dancing. A fifth song, of like character, was accompanied by the leader's throwing several pinches of tobacco over the war-bundle. 796 [534] [533] [782 276]

The next musical contribution was a dancing song and all the men who so desired gathered about the war-bundle, selecting therefrom reed whistles, and danced in place while blowing the whistles. There being not enough whistles to go around, some took fetishes which they held reverently in their hands while dancing. At the same time, the women at the west end of the lodge rose and danced in place. With slight pauses between, four dance songs were so rendered. At the end of each song, the male dancers participated in a series of war whoops. Everyone present apparently experienced a keen delight in this. One old man, blind and so feeble that he could not rise to his feet without assistance, insisted on dancing, without moving from his allotted place by the wall, and added his quavering voice to feebly swell the volume of each battle cry. 796 533 535 [887]

When the set of dancing songs was finished, whistles and fetishes were replaced on the bundle and all took their allotted places. Then the leader again spoke, his voice at times quavering with emotion, practically repeating his first speech. Again the honored guests answered with, "O! O!". 796 [537] [201]

The head waiter then took the pipe from its position over the war bundle, and carried it to the guest seated nearest the door on the south side. While this old man puffed, the waiter lit the contents of the bowl with a stick, placed beside the fireplace for that purpose and lighted [276]

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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I permit him to forget his bargain when the squash was served later in the day. 574 114

Big Wave did not participate in the feast, nor did he smoke ceremoniously or otherwise during the entire performance. During the feast he sang several songs without drum. These were his war-bundle songs, obtained in a dream by the original owner of the bundle and descending to his successors. 796 574

The bones from the feast were gathered up by the waiters and placed in a single vessel. Tobacco was added to the bones, and the vessel taken out to a place where no people were in view and where no dogs could molest the contents. This was a sacrifice to Disease Giver. [782]

After the meat had been entirely consumed, the leader announced that they would now have night spirit dancing. An old bow and four arrows were brought out and planted in the floor to stand erect in a row just west of the fireplace, where the war-bundle had formerly been displayed. Big Wave appointed one to lead the dance. The dancers aligned themselves in single file on the south side of the lodge, facing west, and were led by the dance leader carrying the bow and arrows and blowing a reed whistle, followed by the other dancers. The singers began singing and the dancers circled several times about the lodge counter-clockwise. With short pauses between, several songs and dances were so executed. When the set of songs was finished, the bowl of tobacco dedicated to the use of the guests was then given by one of the waiters to the most honored guest. The head waiter lifted the stove shovel containing the remains of the burned cedar leaves and poured the contents in the fire. Then the singing was resumed and they danced once more about the fire, joyously. 796 [574]

When the singing stopped, the leader for this dance returned the whistle to Big Wave, and the latter, as soon as all were again seated, addressed his guests. He said that this was the way they worshipped the spirits of their fathers. He thanked those participating for their assistance in the singing and dancing and solicited their further help. So they should enjoy health, long life and success. Everyone responded with a series of confirmative "O's". The feast of boiled squash was now served. It was the duty of the waiters to eat any scraps left by the feasters, since food uneaten is considered an affront to the spirits to whom the food is dedicated. [201] [261]

The ceremonies described above were followed by a buffalo dance. It seems that the spirit of the buffalo was especially noted for his speed in running, and could imbue his devotees with his skill. Inasmuch as speed in running was of prime importance in primitive warfare, where the desired procedure was to come quickly upon the enemy, strike decisively and disappear from the scene, the buffalo dance is considered an altogether proper adjunct to the war-bundle ceremony, and regularly follows in. [825] [726] [535]

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



dances of a lively kind. From that place we went up to where Earthmaker lives and I saw him and talked to him, face to face, even as I am talking to you now. I saw the spirits too and, indeed, I was like one of them. 159* 775 [776]

Thence I came to this earth for the third time and here I am. I am going through the same that I knew before.

Thus my brother-in-law had lived long ago, had joined the Medicine Dance* and adhered strictly to its precepts. He was a good man; he disliked no one; he never stole and never did he fight. He made offerings of tobacco to the spirits and was always giving feasts. He could always be relied upon. 159* 577 [782]

When Thunder Cloud was in spirit land, just before he was to come to this earth, he fasted. He only ate once a month. All the different spirits who live on high, all those who live under the earth, indeed all those whom Earthmaker had created, they all blessed him. Then he came to the earth and was born here as a human being again. When he came to the earth he fasted. All the various spirits who had blessed him before, now blessed him again. Thus did he become a holy man. When he came here, he became a shaman for he was very holy. Indeed he was the North Spirit. 756 775 [776]

* The Medicine Dance is a secret society which with the preliminary ceremonies lasts five days. Members of this society are supposed to possess the secret of being able to kill one another and then to restore one another to life again. The "killing" is done by "shooting" a shell from a pouch made out of an otter skin. The shell is supposed to enter the body of the person shot at and to render him unconscious. He regains consciousness gradually after spitting out the shell. The ceremony is described in detail on pp. 103 ff. of this autobiography. [575] [789]

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 755 [282] Once when I was sick he[1] treated me. As soon as he came my father arose with tobacco in his hands and made him an offering, greeting him as follows:

"My son-in-law, tobacco do I offer you and I make offerings to your spirits. You have made your hat[7] become holy, for the various spirits made it sacred. I greet you."

*159 755 787 756 [776] Before treating me Thunder Cloud told of his fasting experience:

At the very beginning those above taught me the following. All the various spirits who live up above in the clouds, in a doctor's village, came after me and instructed me in what I was to do. They taught me and told me the following. "Here let us try it," they said to me. There in the middle of the lodge lay a rotten log, almost entirely covered with weeds. They tried to make me treat this log. I breathed upon it and all those who were in this spirit lodge also breathed upon it. Then for the second time I breathed upon it and they with me. Then for the third and the fourth time I did it. After the fourth time the rotten log arose and walked away. Then the spirits said to me, "Human being, very holy indeed are you."

There from the middle of the ocean, from the shaman's village, they came after me. They blessed me, all the spirits in the middle of the ocean. They made me try my power. As many waves as exist, all of them as large as the ocean, upon these they asked me to blow; and as I blew upon them everything became as quiet as the water in a small saucer. So they became. Then I blew for the

[195] [7] Symbolical expression for the various objects and blessings bestowed upon him by the spirits.



[1] [i.e., his brother-in-law Thunder Cloud who was a shaman--analyst]

third time and it was the same. The fourth time the spirits 159*
made the ocean very choppy and the waves were piled, one 755
upon the other. Then they told me to blow again and show 787
my power. I blew, and the ocean, mighty indeed as it 756
was, became very quiet again. "Now this, human being, is what you will have to do," they said to me. "Not anything will there be that you cannot accomplish. Whatever be the illness a person may have, you will be able to cure him."

All the spirits on the earth blessed me. "If any human being who is suffering from pain, makes an offering of tobacco to you, then whatever you demand, that we will do for you," the spirits told me. [782]

Now at Blue Clay Bank (St. Paul) there lives one who is a dancing grizzly-bear spirit. Whenever I am in great trouble I was to pour tobacco, as much as I thought necessary, and he would help me. This grizzly bear gave me songs and the power of beholding a holy thing; he gave me his claws, claws that are holy. Then the grizzly bear danced and performed while he danced. He tore his abdomen open and, making himself holy, healed himself again. This he repeated. One grizzly bear shot claws at the other and the wounded one became badly choked with blood. Then both made themselves holy again and cured themselves. They had a front paw disappear in the earth and after a while pulled out a prairie turnip. Finally they grabbed hold of a small plum tree, breathed upon it and shook it, and many plums began to fall. [776]

This was only the first part of the treatment. 159*
After recounting his fasting experience Thunder 755
Cloud addressed the spirits and said, "Spirits, here is 782
a person who is sick and who offers tobacco to me. I

*159 755 782 am on earth to accept it; to try and cure him." He then turned to me and said, "You will live, so help yourself as much as you can. Try to make yourself strong. Now as I offer this tobacco to the spirits you must listen and if you know that I am telling the truth, you will be strengthened thereby."

Then he prayed to the spirits:

### *The Prayers to the Spirits*

*159 755 782 776 539 Here, O Fire, is the tobacco for you. You promised that if I offered you some, you would grant me whatever request I made. Now I am placing tobacco on your head as you told me to do when I fasted for four days and you blessed me. I am sending you the plea of a human being who is ill. He wishes to live. This tobacco is for you and I pray that the one who is ill be restored to health within four days.

To you too, O Buffalo, I offer tobacco. A person is ill and is offering tobacco to you and asking you to restore him to health. So add that power which I obtained from you at the time I fasted for six days and you sent your spirits after me. They took me to your lodge which lies in the center of the earth and which is absolutely white. There you blessed me, you Buffaloes of four different colors. Those blessings that you bestowed upon me then, I am now in need of. The power of breathing with which you blessed me, I am now in need of. Add your power to mine as you promised.

To you, Grizzly Bear, I also offer tobacco. At a place called Pointed Hill there lives a spirit who is in charge of a ceremonial lodge, and to this all the other grizzly bears

# *My Brother-in-Law Thunder-Cloud*

belong. You all blessed me and you said that I would be able to kill whomsoever I wished and that I would be able to restore any person to life. Now I have a chance to enable a person to live and I wish to aid him. So here is some tobacco for you. You took my spirit to your home after I had fasted for ten days and you blessed me there. The power with which you blessed me there I ask of you now. Here is some tobacco that the people are offering you, grandfathers.

To you, O Chief of the Eels, you who live in the center of the ocean, I offer tobacco. You blessed me after I had fasted for eight days. With your power of breathing and with your inexhaustible supply of water, you blessed me. You told me that I could use my blessing whenever I tried to cure a patient; you told me that I could use the water of the ocean and you blessed me with all the things that are in the water. A person has come to me and asked me for life. As I wish him to live I am addressing you. When I spit upon the patient may the power of my saliva be the same as yours. Therefore do I offer you tobacco. Here it is.

To you, O Turtle, you who are in charge of a shaman's lodge, you who blessed me after I had fasted for seven days, you who carried my spirit to your home, to the home of birds of prey, to you I offer tobacco. You blessed me and you told me that should, at any time, human beings suffer from pain I would be able to drive it out of them. You gave me the name of *He-who-drives-out-pain*. Now I have before me a patient with a bad pain and I wish to drive it out of him. This the spirit told me I would have the power to do, when they blessed me before I was reborn. Here is tobacco.

To you, O Rattlesnake, you who are perfectly white,

*159 you who are in charge of the snake lodge, to you I pray.
755 You blessed me with rattles to wrap around my gourd;
●782 you told me after I had fasted for four days that you
776 would help me. You said that I would never fail in any-
539 thing I attempted. So now when I offer you tobacco and shake my gourd, may my patient live and may life be opened out before him. That is what you promised to me, grandfather.

O Night Spirits, you also, I greet. You blessed me after I had fasted for nine days. You took my spirit to your village lying in the east, and there you gave me your flutes. You told me they were holy. My flute likewise you made holy. For your flutes I now ask you, since you know that I am speaking the truth. A sick person has come to me and has asked me to cure him. I want him to live and so I am speaking to you. You promised to accept my tobacco at all times. Here it is.

To you, too, O Disease-Giver, I offer tobacco. After I had fasted for two days you informed me that you were the one who gave disease; that if I desired to heal any one it would be easy to do so if I were blessed by you. So, Disease-Giver, I am offering tobacco to you and I ask that this sick person who has come to me, be restored to health again.

To you, O Sun, I offer tobacco. Here it is. You blessed me after I had fasted for five days and you told me you would come to my aid whenever I had something difficult to do. Now, some one is here who has pleaded for life. He has brought good offerings of tobacco to me, because he knows that you have blessed me.

To you, grandmother Earth, I also offer tobacco. You blessed me and promised to help me whenever I needed
000 you. You said that I could use all the best herbs that

## *My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud*

You said that I could use all the best herbs that grow upon you, and that I would always be able to effect cures with them. I beseech you for those herbs now and I ask you to help me to cure this sick man. 159* 155 [182] [216] [218] [539]

Then Thunder Cloud breathed upon me and squirted some water on my chest. "What I have said is very true and very holy, I believe," he said. "Indeed now you will get well."

Thunder Cloud knew all the good medicines that exist and he used them in order to heal me and so that I might recover from my illness. I got well. Indeed Thunder Cloud was holy.

Thunder Cloud was also what we call a poisoner. He used to travel at dead of night, it was said. One night at about eleven o'clock he got ready to poison a family by the name of B. We were all listening, sitting in our lodge. Then outside we heard him make some noise. We were afraid of him because we knew he was a poisoner. Indeed he claimed to be in control of our household. My family would do nothing without first consulting him, for we were afraid of him. We believed that he had come from the spirits, that he was a reincarnated man and, if displeased, would poison us. So whatever he asked we did. 159* 154

He had been married to my eldest sister and after her death wished to marry the second sister. Where he had come from at the dwelling-place of Earth-maker,[8] my elder sister was now staying, he said. But now he claimed that the second sister resembled the 159* 156

[8] Circumlocution for saying that she was dead.

[195]

*159 787 I was also told that it would be a very difficult thing to obtain this particular blessing.

So there I fasted at the black-hawk's nest, where a lodge had been built for me. The first night I stayed there I wondered when something would happen. But nothing took place. The second night, rather late in the night, my father came and opened the war-bundle and then taking out a gourd, began to sing. I stood beside him without any clothing except my breech-clout and, holding tobacco in each hand, I uttered my cry to the spirits:

●[782] "O spirits, here humble in heart I stand beseeching you."

My father sang war-bundle songs and wept as he sang. I also wept as I uttered my cry to the spirits. When he was finished he told me some sacred stories; [551] he told me about my ancestor Weshgishega:

### *The Story of My Ancestor Weshgishega*

*159 787 539 776 When Weshgishega was growing up his father coaxed him to fast. He told him that when Earthmaker had created the various spirits, all the good ones he had created, were placed in charge of something. The gift of bestowing upon man life and victory in war he gave to some; to others, the gift of hunting-powers. Whatever powers the Indians needed in order to live, these he placed in the hands of various spirits. These blessings Weshgishega's father told Weshgishega to attempt to obtain from the spirits.

Thus Weshgishega fasted and tried to obtain something

## *Crashing Thunder*

*776 159 787 539 After a while a child was born to him. It was a boy. He addressed his wife and asked her advice, saying that they ought to sacrifice their child to Earthmaker. She consented. To Earthmaker therefore they prepared to sacrifice [787] their child. They constructed a platform and placed their child upon it.[11] Then both of them wept bitterly. In the nighttime when the man slept, Earthmaker took pity on him and appeared to him. The man looked at him. He thought, "This, most certainly, is Earthmaker." He wore a soldier's uniform and carried a high cocked hat on his head. He had a very pleasing appearance. Weshgishega looked at him and wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. The figure took one step, then another, and finally disappeared, uttering a cry. It was not Earthmaker; it was a pigeon. The bad spirits were fooling Weshgishega.

Now even more than before did his heart ache, even more than before was his heart wound up in the desire to be blessed by Earthmaker. Now again he fasted and again apparently Earthmaker appeared to him. "Human being, I bless you. Long have you made your cry for a blessing. I am Earthmaker." When Weshgishega looked at him, he saw that he was pleasing in appearance. He looked very handsome and his dress was nice to look upon. He wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. As he looked at the figure it became smaller and smaller and when finally he looked, he noticed that it was a bird.

Then his heart ached even more than before. Bitterly did he cry. Now, for the third time, Earthmaker blessed him saying, "Human being, you have tried to be blessed by Earthmaker and you have caused yourself great suf-

[769] [614] [11] That is, they killed the child and then placed his body upon a platform, this being the customary mode of burial of the clan to which Weshgishega belonged.

* 159 539 787 776 happen to you. I, myself, am the chief of the Night Spirits. This creation lodge, just as you see it, with all that it contains, I give to you. Never shall you be in want of food. Offer up to us as many buckskins as you see here in the lodge. Thus it shall be. The creation lodge of the village of the Night Spirits I give to you. You can go on as many war-parties as you wish and you will obtain everything that you demand of life. All the offerings of tobacco, of food, [782] of buckskins, and of red feathers, that you and your descendants offer to us, they all will come here to our creation lodge and we will accept them."

Now thus did the Night Spirits speak to grandfather Jobenangiwinxga.

* 159 787 [782] In the morning, just before sunrise, I uttered my cry to the spirits:

"O spirits, here humble in heart I stand beseeching you."

The fourth night found me still there. Again my father came and we did the same thing, but in spite of it all I experienced nothing unusual. Soon another day dawned upon us. That morning I told my elder brother [577] that I had been blessed by the spirits and that I was going home to eat. I was not speaking the truth. I was hungry and I also knew that on the following night we were going to have a feast, and that we would have to utter our cry to the spirits again. I dreaded that. So I went home. When I got there I told my people the story I had told my brother; that I had been blessed and that the spirits had told me to eat. I was not speaking the truth, yet I was given the food that is carefully prepared for those who have been blessed.

*Crashing Thunder*

My father had control of them and when
*159 he wished to bless a man he would take his bow and
787 arrows and, holding them in his hands, lead the man
788 around the hill and into the lodge (*i.e.*, into the hill).
There he would look for a stone pillar, and upon it, at
about arm's length, he drew the pictures of a number
of different animals. My father possessed only one
arrow, but that one was a holy one. Then dancing
around the stone pillar and singing some songs, he
finished by breathing upon the pillar. Finally he
walked around and shot at it and when he looked at the
[789] stone, it had turned into a deer with large horns which
fell dead at his feet. He repeated this a number of
times. The little spirits living in the hill breathed
[776] with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you wish to
kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done, and
● [782] offer us tobacco and you will be able to obtain what-
ever you wish."

*159 This was the power my father wished my brother
787 to obtain. My father was a very famous hunter and
my brother wished to be like him.

Now of all these things my brother dreamed; with
all these powers he was blessed. He also had a vision
[775] of visiting the village of the ghosts. There he was able
to steal a costly shawl and escape with it. He dreamed
that all the inhabitants of the ghost village chased him
but that they were unable to overtake him and were
compelled to return back when my brother reached the
earth.

The night after we had stopped fasting we gave our
feast. There, however, our pride received a fall, for

## *Names*

made chiefs of the Thunderbirds. Then he thought, "I will have some beings live on the earth." So he made four more like himself. Just like the others he made them. They were brothers—*Kunuga, Henuga, Hagaga* and *Nangiga*. He talked to them and said, "Look down upon the earth.' So saying he opened the heavens in the place where they were standing and there they saw this earth spread out before them. He told them that they were to go down there to live. "And this I shall send down with you," he added giving them a plant. "Even I shall never have the power of taking this away from you, for I have given it to you exclusively; but when, of your own free will, you make me an offering of some of it, I shall be glad to accept it and give you in return whatever you ask. This shall you hold foremost in your lives." What he had given them was the tobacco-plant. Then again he spoke and said, "All the spirits that I have created will not be able to take this away from you unless you desire to give it to them, by calling upon them during fasts. Thus only can the spirits get some. And another thing I send with you that you may use it in life, to be a mediator between you and us, whenever you offer anything to the spirits. It shall take care of you throughout life, stand in the center of your dwellings, and be your grandfather." This was the Fire.

Then the four Thunderbirds brought the brothers down to the earth. On their journey down *Kunuga*, the oldest of the four, said, "Brother, when we get to earth and the first child is born to me, I shall call him *Chief-of-the-Thunderbirds*, if he is a boy." On and on they came, down toward the earth. As they got near the earth it began to get very dark and then the second brother said, "Brother, when we get to the earth and a child is born to me, if it is a girl, I shall call her *Dark*." Then they came to a place called

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



they will kill you!" "I shall try," said the woman. Then the man returned to his followers and told them that everything was well and cautioned them about the woman, telling the brothers also to see that she was not killed. 539

When day dawned they fell upon the village and surprised it. They fought nearly half a day and killed practically every one except the head chiefs and their sons, whom they took prisoners. They then returned home. [727] When they reached the village they took both the prisoners and the captured scalps to their war lodge where they were guarded. The next morning they tied the prisoners to posts, danced around them and tortured them till they died.

Now such is the story of a man who was faithful to the spirit from whom he had received war blessings. He gave feasts and he made offerings in their honor. He fasted and his prayers were answered. [782]

### *The Story of the Man Who Rescued His Wife from Spirit-land*

In a certain village there once lived two young married people. The woman was very beautiful and her husband loved her very much. Always he was thinking of something that he could do for her. 539 775

One day the young woman got ill. They called for a shaman but he could do nothing for her. Many were the holy men the young husband called, but it was all of no avail and the young woman died. They buried her. On the evening of the funeral many friends came to the grave to place lights there, so that the soul of the departed might find its way through spirit land. The young man was very good and every one liked him. They all came to the Four 000

## *The Teachings of My Father*

lshes very much and which he will offer you. If it is a [159* bulb-medicine keep it to protect your house. Your home 867 will never then be molested by anything evil and nothing [888] evil will enter your house, neither bad spirits, ghosts, dis- [778] ease, nor unhappiness. Now such will be your life if you do as I tell you. Witches will keep away from you. Thus [754] by fasting will you benefit yourself and your fellowmen. [085]

You know that Earthmaker created all the spirits, those that live above the earth, those who live on the earth, those 159* who live under the earth, those who live in the water—all 773 these he created and placed in control of powers. Even 776 the minor spirits Earthmaker placed in control of something. In this fashion he created them and after that, he created us and because we were created last and no further powers were left, he could not put us in control of anything. Then, however, did Earthmaker create a weed and this he placed us in control of. He further told us that none of [876] the spirits he had created would have the power to take this weed away from us without giving us something in exchange. He told us that if we offered him a pipeful of this weed, which we call tobacco, he too would grant us whatever we asked for. Now it so happened that all the spirits came to long for this weed as intensely as they longed for anything in creation and for that reason if, at any time, with tobacco in our hands we make our prayer [782] to the spirits, they will take pity upon us and bestow upon us the blessings which Earthmaker gave them. Indeed so it is, for Earthmaker created it thus.

Fast, my son. If you are blessed by the spirits and then 159* blow your breath upon people who are ill, they will become 756 well. Thus will you help your fellowmen. If you can cure 787 any of your fellowmen of disease, then you will be of even 867 more than ordinary help to them. If you can draw dis-

Search there and you will undoubt-
edly be able to find the medicines necessary for curing your 159 *
children. Indeed after a while you will be called upon to 156
cure your fellow men. Then you can open your medicine 87
bundle without embarrassment, for you will have the knowledge necessary for treating the sick. You will know where the disease is lodged and your treatment will be successful, for it was only after the greatest efforts on your part that you succeeded in obtaining the requisite blessings. If you declare to the patient that he will live, then he will live. If you make proper offerings to the medicine and speak to [982] your medicine in the proper manner, it will exert all the [978] power it possesses to cure the patient. Now you must make good offerings to these medicines; you must give many feasts in their honor and then if, in addition, you address them as if they were human beings, they assuredly will help you and do what you ask. You may accordingly accept the payments offered to you by your patients in good conscience and your children will wear these payments in the form of wampum necklaces and thus gain renewed strength. They will be well and happy. These are the reasons why I want you to be extremely careful in your attitude. Medicines are good for all purposes; that is why [973] they were given to us. Earthmaker gave them to us so that [955] we could cure ourselves from disease.

If any one tries to obtain these staffs of life, these medicines and inflicts sufferings upon himself in acquiring them, [987] then assuredly will our grandmother Earth have cognizance of it. She knows all that you have lost in obtaining them and in the long run what you have lost, will be returned to you. You made your offerings for the [577] future and it is good for people to look forward to their future.

Say, you wish to obtain the paint medicine. For that you ooo

## §9. *My Brother-in-Law's Fasting Experience*

*159 [78] [183] [82] Just about this time we moved to the hunting-grounds and I began to fast again. I began to take sweat baths and caused myself to vomit in order to be purged. My father was a good hunter; he was always able to kill many deer and occasionally a bear.

My brother-in-law thought a good deal of me. He was a holy man and a shaman. One day he said to me, "Brother-in-law, I am going to bless you although you will have to fast for it. I was once blessed by four [176] spirits, brothers, called *Good giant-cannibals*. They said that they had never before blessed any one. They promised me that if I ever got into any difficulties they would help me. They blessed me with long life. Now this blessing I will give you. If, for four nights, you fast without a break, these giants will speak to you." Thus he spoke to me. Then he continued, "These four brothers are called *Good-giant, Good-heart, Good-as-he-walks-about, Good-where-he-lifts-his-foot-from*. They lived toward the east, where you will find a promontory. Nothing across the large body of water is too difficult for them to accomplish."

● [182] [216] So when I fasted I always offered tobacco to these spirits first. I would cry to these spirits, but I never fasted over night.

## §10. *A War-Bundle Feast*

When the hunting was over my father selected ten 159* deer with which to give a war-bundle feast. Those who 796 had been selected as attendants then transferred these 726 deer to the place where the people always give their feasts.

I was fasting at the time and only broke my fast at 159* evening. Every night I went out to make my appeal to 787 the spirits before I ate. Five days before the feast 796 was to be given I commenced to fast through the night 726 also. On the fifth night, together with my older brother, I went to the feast. During the day I had spent the time in the wilderness uttering my cry to the spirits:

"O spirits, here humble in heart I stand, beseeching [787] ● you."

I was far more thirsty than hungry. I don't believe that either my tongue or mouth were even moist.

That night we held aloft the deerskins that were to be offered to the spirits and we stood there crying [787] piteously. There we wept humbly and those who were to give the feast wept with us, as they extended their holy compassion to us. Then, at midnight, we stood near the war weapons and again raised our appeal to the spirits.

Our feast was given in a lodge that had eight fire- ooo

## *Crashing Thunder*

726 *159 Our feast was given in a lodge that had eight fire-
796 places. The host always sits near the last fireplace, at
789 the east end. There we stood crying to the spirits.
[346] My older brother fell to the ground from fatigue and
[354] exhaustion. We were stark naked except for our
[291] breech-clouts. When this prayer was finished we put on our moccasins. Then the host greeted the participants as follows:

"I greet you; I greet you all, war-bundle possessors. My grandparents, especially my grandfather, concentrated their minds upon this ceremony for me. The fireplace, the food, the offerings, with which the spirits blessed my grandfather, that I am going to ask for myself to-day. However weakly I may wobble about in trying to do the proper thing to-day, I know that my elders present here will extend their aid to me. I am now going to offer some tobacco to you all. War-bundles possessors, I greet you all."

*159 Following the speech came the prayers to the various
796 spirits:
182
539
726

Hearken O Earthmaker, our father, I am about to offer tobacco to you. My ancestor concentrated his mind upon you and that with which you blessed him I now ask of you directly. I ask for the small amount of life you granted him, aye for four times the blessings you bestowed upon him. May I never meet with trouble in life.

O Grandfather, chief of the Thunderbirds, you who live in the west, here is a handful of tobacco. Extend to me the deer with which you blessed my ancestor. I pray you to accept this tobacco from me. May I never meet with trouble in life.

## *A War-Bundle Feast*

O Grandfathers, spirits of the night, walkers in darkness, to you I offer tobacco and ask for the fireplaces which my ancestor received. If you smoke this tobacco see to it that I never become a weakling. 159* 796 182 539 726

To you who live in the south, you who look like a man, you who are invulnerable, you who deal out life from one side of your body and death from the other, you whom we call Disease-Giver, to you I offer tobacco. In daylight, in broad daylight, did you bless my ancestor. With food you blessed him; you told him that he would never fail in anything, you told him that you would avoid his home; you placed animals in front of him that he should have no trouble in obtaining them. An offering of tobacco I make to you that you may smoke it and that I may not be troubled in life. [753]

Then they offered prayers to the Black Hawk, the Sun, the Moon, the South Wind, the Earth, and the Eagle. Many speeches were given, for every guest who was invited to impersonate a spirit delivered one. The man who was impersonating the Thunderbird spoke as follows: 159* 796 [182] 539 726

Host and relatives, all you who are seated here, to all I send forth my greetings. All those present have given me good advice and even the women and children here have pleaded in my behalf with the spirits. What love that was! And of what does life consist of but love! The clan counselor is repeating the songs that were obtained when the sacred bundle was made, so that when the time for the tobacco offering to the spirits came, the specially prepared tobacco would be ready. Now indeed that time has arrived

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 and they are all sitting here prepared to pray to all the
796 various spirits. Long before, when in their visions they
537 were vouchsafed a warpath, the soul of the man they were
726 to kill would be already in their possession when they performed this ceremony. It is to attract his soul that this ceremony is performed. You are going to have a good and prosperous warpath. When you are actually in the midst of the warpath and are about to rush upon the enemy, pour tobacco to the various spirits who are in control of war, say,
● [782] "Thus, grandfathers, were we accustomed to offer tobacco to you." Although you may not know by any word or direct sign whether the war-controllers have answered you, you will know it as soon as the rush upon the enemy takes place, for although you walk where the bullets rain hardest you will pass out of their range and come through in safety. Then when you return to your people every one will rush out to bestow the war honors upon you. If you give this
[782] sacred feast in the proper way, if you burn up much tobacco and food, then the various spirits, especially the Thunder-
[796] birds who are the greatest war-controllers, will bless you for the excellent way in which you prayed to him. Whenever they pass your way they will remember you. They will even call you by name and say, "Let us smoke here."

This is the way in which young men are encouraged to act, but only a few succeed. It is good. The host has preached to us and pleaded for all those who are present. He has made offerings of food to our grandfathers who
[782] live in the west; pleasing offerings of tobacco and buckskin has he sent to them. I have been permitted to impersonate this great spirit and have thus obtained life for myself and my unimportant clansmen, for all of us who have been living in so lowly a condition. With real life have we felt ourselves connected through your actions. We have felt our-

selves connected with life by means of that organ which Earthmaker gave us as a measure of things.[21] I send forth my greetings to you all. 159* 796 537 726

Then he who was impersonating the Disease-Giver spoke:

War-bundle owners, relatives seated around here, I greet you all. This is indeed a marvelous performance that we have witnessed and he who was able to do it must surely be a marvelous man. Very few people listen to the advice of their parents but he must have been one who did and that is why he has done so well. [593] The members of his clan have been sincerely worshiping the spirits. He who originally made this war-bundle ritual was like a spirit in power and what he told them to do they are doing in every detail. It is good work they are doing. Sufficient food are they offering to those in control of war powers for the spirits easily to take cognizance of it. They have placed ample tobacco and different kinds of buckskin within reach of the spirits. To you, O Disease-Giver, a pleasing white [782] buckskin has been strung out in offering and with it a pleasing red feather as a hair ornament. [301] How indeed would it be possible for the spirits not to recognize these offerings? And if they recognize them then we who are impersonating the spirits, will also receive the benefit of the blessings of war and life, extended to the host.

Long ago our ancestors asked the spirits to bless them so that then they might live happily. Here we are sitting around the fireplace and the life that the host and his friends have asked for, the spirits are not merely extending to them

[21] A very curious circumlocution for stomach. He means, of course, all the food that has been eaten. [195]

726 *159 but to all those present. In the olden days the old people
796 used to say to the young boys, "You are not able to fast
537 as yet and to offer up proper food to the spirits so as to
clear away the weapons held against you." Now just as
726 these older people would have liked, so you are doing.
*159 Even I, who am of no consequence, have nevertheless been
796 permitted to impersonate a great spirit. This you have
776 done for me—allowed me to impersonate that spirit[1] who
537 is the bravest of them all, the one who is in control of
[053] power whereby an enemy can be killed outright! One side
of this spirit's body controls life and the other death. Now
they are about to offer to this spirit, the food of a white
[782] animal, of a male animal, the dog, as well as a white buck-
skin, feathers and tobacco—all of them objects that please
him very much. To Disease-Giver they are about to extend
these things so that therewith they may ask him for war
power and life. It is an awe-inspiring spirit to whom they
have been making offerings. Surely I, who have been listen-
ing only by virtue of the host's generosity, do not have to
say anything in his behalf. He thought of his ancestor
•[782] when he asked me to impersonate this spirit. Of all the
spirits his is the name which one cannot speak lightly,
it is said. If nevertheless I greet his name and speak about
this spirit, may I not be weakened by uttering it. Those
who are about to offer you food, grandfather Disease-Giver,
send you their greetings. To you, O host, do I send my
greetings, as well as to all the war-bundle owners seated
here.

*159 The feasters sang dancing songs throughout all this
796 time. At dawn we were to pass the deerskin offerings
726 through the roof of the lodge. My older brother took
the lead. I followed and the others came up behind



1. [i.e., Disease Giver -- Analyst]

## *A War-Bundle Feast*

me. We all had a deerskin apiece. Only those who were giving the feast had the right to hold one of the ten deerskins. A man playing a flute taken from a war-bundle marched ahead, and behind came the people carrying the incense of the burning cedar leaves. We thus marched around the lodge and my brother and I again made our cry to the spirits. At that time we were naked apart from our breech-clouts and moccasins. Four times did we make the circuit. Then we passed the deerskins up through the roof of the lodge. 159* 796 726 [534] [782]

Now the feasters were to eat again. A separate kettle had been put on for us boys and we were to eat first. They then called upon a man to eat out of our plate with us. His name was *Blue-sitter*. He was a holy man, a shaman, a brave man, one who had obtained many war honors. Four deer ribs were dished out to me in a wooden bowl. Then the one who was to eat out of my plate came and sat near my dish and began to handle the food. He tore it into small pieces and began telling me of the blessing he had received from the spirits. He told me how all the great spirits had blessed him—the Sun, the Moon, the Thunder-birds, the Earth, the Sky, the Daylight, and all the spirits that exist in the heavens. The spirits on the earth and those under the waters, all these talked to him, he said. While partaking of my food he would think of this power, he told me. I would go through battle unharmed and I was to obtain war honors. My children, if I had any, were to enjoy a good and happy life. Thus he spoke. 159* 796 787 726 [776]

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 Then the attendant took the water and tobacco and
765 gave it to the one who was to speak to the soul of the
775 departed person. This one then rose and spoke as
539 follows:
537 To-night we have come together not for the sake of amusement but because we are afflicted with grief. Now it is the custom to speak to the soul of the departed. It is a sacred action yet even I, they tell me, can do it provided no worthier person can be found. I have even been told that my words will not cause the spirit of the departed to lose his way on his journey to spirit-land. For that reason I am going to speak to the soul of the departed and say the best I can. I greet you all.

Then he takes some tobacco in his hand and passing it behind him through the lodge says:

Here it is, the tobacco. I am certain that you, O ghost, are not very far away, that in fact you are standing right in back of me, waiting for me to reach you the pipe and tobacco, that you might take it along with you; that you are waiting for the food to take with you on your journey. For four nights, however, you will have to wait here. Now here are the things that you desire. In return we ask you to act as mediator between the spirits and us. You have made us long for you and therefore do you see to it that all those things that belonged to you, all those things that you would have enjoyed had you lived longer—the victories on the warpath, earthly possessions, life—that all these you leave behind for your relatives to enjoy. This do you ask for us as you travel along. One thing more do I ask of you: do not cause us to follow you, do not cause your
● [182] relatives any fear. I have now lit the pipe for you.

*159 Thus I spoke. However, they made me an offering
721 of tobacco as they asked me, and I accepted the to-
[701] bacco saying that I would at least make an offering
[781] of tobacco for them. Then I offered tobacco to the
[776] Thunderbirds and asked them for rain, that we might walk in the protection and power of rain. This offering we made in the morning and it rained all that day. Then we went to the place where we knew that we could find horses. When we got there we met the owner of the horses and spoke to him. We accompanied him to a carpenter shop nearby, and there killed him. I struck his dead body, counted coup[36] first,
[555] and announced my new name, as I gave a war-whoop.
[551] I shouted '*Big-Winnebago* has counted coup on his man.' Then the others counted coup also. We searched his pockets and found medicine and money
[727] in them. The money we divided among ourselves. After that we cut out his heart, for we had heard that
[826] hearts were used for medicine. That is why we cut out his heart. He had a gun and that we took away from him and hid."

Then my father said to me, "My son, it is good. Your life is no longer an effeminate one. This is the manner in which our ancestors encouraged us to live. It is the will of the spirits in control of war that has led

[36] The first four war honors enumerated above are called "counting coup" by the Whites. *Coup* is the French for *strike* and the expression owes its origin to the custom of warriors counting the number of people they have killed or honors they have obtained by striking the post at the grave of the particular person for whose benefit they are recounting their achievements.
[555]

## §30. *I Eat the Peyote*

I sat inside the lodge with them. One man acted as leader and we were to do whatever he ordered. The various objects belonging to the ceremony—the two peyote buttons, the drum, the eagle-wing fan, and the small gourd rattle—were all placed before him. I wanted to sit in some place on the side for I felt that I might get to crying like the others. I felt quite ashamed of myself. 159* 795 796

The leader arose and talked. He said that this was an affair of Earthmaker's and that he, the leader, could do nothing of his own initiative; that God was going to conduct the ceremony. He said the medicine, the peyote, was holy and that he would turn us all over to it. [824] He further said, "I am a very pitiful figure in this ceremony so that when you pray to Earthmaker, pray also for me. Now let us all rise and pray to Earthmaker." [782] We all rose. Then he prayed. He prayed for the sick and he prayed for those who did not yet know Earthmaker. He said that they were to be pitied. When he had finished we sat down. The peyote was then passed around. They gave me five buttons and my brother-in-law spoke to me, "If you speak to this medicine, the peyote, it will give you whatever you ask of it. After that you must pray to

to them. To understand properly these three problems we must, at 105
the outset, try to distinguish between the layman's and the priest's 121
conception, between the exoteric and the esoteric viewpoint al- 771
though, to be sure, the two are never mutually exclusive.

For the ordinary man, the lay Winnebago, the primary powers of 105
the vast majority of the deities have always inhered in the deities 771
themselves. They are their own possessions and have not been be- 776
stowed upon them from without. Moreover these powers relate to
the actual natural functions these deities perform. The prayers of [782]
man to the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Night-spirits, the Thunderbirds, etc. are, primarily, that they continue their functions and do not deviate from them. But man recognizes that they also have secondary functions, that, for instance, the sun, the morning and evenings stars, the thunderbirds, the night-spirits, all possess the power to give man long life and victory on the warpath; that the grizzly bear spirits have curative powers to bestow upon him and the waterspirits have special powers in connection with death-dealing medicines, etc. This socialization of the spirits and deities brings them that much closer to man. By bringing them this much closer to man they are deprived, however, of something of their independence and freedom of action. They have now become more specifically oriented toward mankind than toward their functioning in the universe at large. This change in orientation did not come about mechanically or accidentally. It represents the priest-thinker's conception, his attempt to establish linkages and meaningful relationships between men and the world of spirits. This attempt, from the nature of things, can never completely succeed for the simple reason that the primary functions of most of the nature gods—and they are the important ones—cannot be eliminated, must, in fact, not be eliminated. In the case, however, of animal deities, their older primary functions can be attenuated to a very marked extent and deities can be developed who never possessed functions other than those we have designated as secondary, that is, deities who function only in relation to man.

Since the nature gods, however, were the great gods, they served as patterns for all the others and the marked split in their orienta-

the young faster to overreach and destroy himself. Thus we see along 105
what lines the reinterpretations of the priest-thinker were made. 771

This was the theory that the priest-thinker tried to impress upon 776
his fellowmen in order to introduce a greater sense of confidence and [538]
security in the relationship between man and the deities. Because of the very high demands it made upon the worshipper, it remained largely a philosophical-ethical ideal and the fairly sharp line of demarcation between human beings and the spirits continued in force as the popular theory. Some there were who even insisted that it was, not only the courageous, but the morally justifiable thing to do, to coerce the deities into acquiescing in man's demands. That was the proper way to meet divinity, to challenge the gods, accept what they granted and, then, to attempt to fulfill the conditions imposed even if they meant death. Few individuals in the community, for instance, [554]
had greater prestige than the few who had secured a blessing from the much dreaded deity, *Disease-giver*. He had two faces, one dealing life and the other death. No suppliant knew which side would be [782]
turned toward him when he made his offerings, at noon, in the full blaze of day, contrary to what held for all the other deities, namely, that they must be approached at night.

This, of course, is the warrior's creed and, in a civilization like that 105
of the Winnebago where the highest ambition as a man was to 771
achieve distinction on the warpath, it naturally was very important. 577
Yet to this, the chief of the tribe might well retort: such courage and such risks have their moral justification only when one is fighting the enemy or avenging the death of a kinsman. They are inapplicable when approaching a god. The taking of great risks concerns not only oneself but the whole community and must be subject to the sanctions of the community. A person must be carefully and properly educated before he dare take them. To exhibit fearlessness and heroic courage is, in itself, no virtue. Indeed, in the wrong place or on the wrong occasion, they can and do lead to death and destruction.

And so, in the realm of religion as in that of social organization and 105
mythology, the problem to be faced is depicted as being the same. 771
How are we to resolve the differences between the 'earth' interpre-

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ1D
Winnebago NP12



| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ur | Wi | Ch | Ow | Sh | Ar | Ut | Pa | Sp | Ok | Lo | Co | Wh | Gr | Ow | Ar | Tot. |
| 181. Water bearer spills water on ground | + | − | + | | + | + | + | − | − | | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 182. Basket passed clockwise, all drink | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | +°+ | + | + | + |
| 183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled | + | − | | + | | | − | − | − | + | + | − | + | + | | + | |
| 185. Water bearer takes water outside | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water | + | | + | + | + | + | − | − | − | + | +°(+) | | − | + | + | + | + |
| 187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight | + | | + | + | + | ° | − | − | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | °− | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | |
| 190. Prays to cardinal directions | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 191. Leader incensed upon return | + | | + | | | + | + | − | − | | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 192. Replaces whistle near moon | + | | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | |
| 193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used | + | | + | + | °+ | − | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible | | °− | °+ | | + | + | + | + | | | °(+) | + | − | +°(+) | + | + | + |
| 195. Urged not to eat too much | | | °+ | − | | − | − | − | | − | (+) | + | − | °+ | − | − | |
| 196. Individual prayers aloud, by men | + | + | °+ | + | + | − | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 197. By women | | | °+ | − | °+ | − | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | − | + | |
| 198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + |
| 199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + |
| 200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start | + | | + | + | + | − | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | | + | |
| 201. Butt handed to leader | | | + | + | (−) | − | | °+ | − | − | + | °− | + | + | + | + | |
| 202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar | | | + | − | (−) | − | | − | − | °− | + | − | + | + | | − | |
| 203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar | | | + | − | (−) | − | | − | − | − | + | − | + | + | + | − | |
| 204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar | | | + | − | (−) | − | | + | − | + | + | − | + | + | + | − | |
| 205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader | | | °+ | + | (−) | − | − | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | °− | |
| 206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | °+ | + | + | °+ | + | + |
| 207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual) | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | + | °+ | °− | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | − | + |
| 208. Water brought in | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + |
| 209. By woman | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °− | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + |

(Concluded on next page)

C W
171
745
746
[876]
[912]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



look for food." When they returned the leader of the Waŋgare'gi said again, "We are the fleeter and will therefore win from our opponents. In addition to that we are holy and for that reason we will be strengthened in the coming contest." Then the leader of the Mage'gi said, "I will first pour tobacco and then I will arise with the blessing of life which was bestowed upon me and through which I know my men will be strengthened." Then they arranged the goals, i. e., the *wak'a'rani*, and arranged for the prints. Then they took an emetic and went into a vapor-bath in order to strengthen themselves. The goals were now standing far apart from each other. Then the people who were to play gathered on the field and two men from each side began to tell their war exploits. First, one of the Waŋgare'gi men told how he had cut off an enemy's head; how proud his sisters had been at receiving the gifts and how they had danced in the Victory Dance. "With such a man you will have to play," he shouted to those on the other side. Then a man from the Mage'gi side said, "I also am a brave man. I did with the enemy as I pleased. Once when an enemy had been killed between the firing lines, I rushed for him and in the midst of bullets I cut off his head. With such a man you will have to fight," he shouted to those on the other side. Then he gave a whoop and the ball was thrown into the air and they began to play lacrosse. Those who first succeeded in putting the ball through the *wak'a'rani* four times would be declared the winners. All day they played and in the evening they stopped. Lacrosse was the favorite game among the Winnebago. This is all. 526 [783]

*Women's lacrosse.*—The women's game was called *naiyaca'radji wak'isik'*. Ten women took part on each side; they all stood in front of the goal, which consisted merely of a line drawn on the surface of the ground, called *wak'a'rani* as in the men's game. The lacrosse stick (*trabenoga*) was straight. The "ball" consisted of two balls tied together by a string (*naiyaca'radji'u* *wa'i'ina*). This was put into play by being thrown from a point midway between the goals straight up into the air. The side that hit over the goal four times won. 526 462

*Football.*—Football was played by men. The *wak'a'rani* was merely a line drawn on the surface of the ground. The 16 or 20 men who took part on each side arranged themselves in front of either *wak'a'rani*. The ball used was a fairly large one made of deer's hair, covered with hide from the same animal. It was put in play in the middle of the field and the side that kicked the ball over the goal four times won the game. 526 [462]

*Hit-the-tree game* (*tcihonnoogis nai'djd hap'a-na'i*).—This consisted merely of a test of marksmanship. A tree (*na' hadjina*) about 8 feet high and 8 inches in diameter was selected and the one who hit it from a certain distance received a prize. Any number of people could participate.

*The kicking game.*—This was a very rough sport in which men only took part. Two men took turns in kicking each other as hard as they could, the one who held out the longer being the winner. [462]

*The moccasin game.*—One of the favorite games of the Winnebago. Five men took positions directly opposite their five opponents. Between the two rows of players, in front of each man was a recep- 524

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



614 539 776 was. And then all of them went toward the chief's lodge. They walked as chiefs, all four of them. The four of them went there. The chief's lodge was an oval lodge, and there they entered.

The Snake clansman was the one appointed to get the food. He went after the food. It was an Eagle-people feast. Two fish the Snake clansman brought, and with these the Eagle chief gave a feast. The Deer clan acted as attendants. Thus they ate the fish. And when they were finished with the eating, on either side, they left the head and the tail of the fish. This they left of their meal. "And if we have a dog we will call him *Leaves-fish-on-both-ends*," they said. Then they sat down. As they were sitting some one peeped in. It was the dog. Only his nose he stuck in. Then they said, "Whose nose does it look like?" So the chief spoke. "If we ever have a dog and if we wish to keep it permanently, *Whose-nose-does-it-look-like*, we will call it.

Then all of a sudden their bodies began to be different and their feathers began to look as if they were worn off. They were about to enter the chief's lodge. Then the chief passed the fire to the Deer clan and when they were through the lodge was purified with [783] the incense of smoking cedar leaves. Then again into the very long lodge they entered. This was at Red Banks. Then the upper people taught the lower people the things to make them good. Thus Earth-maker ordained everything, and as he ordered so it was. That is the way they were. Holy they were. And all (of my clan?) lived as chiefs. This is all that I was taught.

614 533

CLAN SONGS

*First song*

The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.

*Second song*

The fire they started.
The fire they started.
The fire they started.
The fire they started.

## Eagle and Pigeon Clans

614 No information was obtained about either of these clans. The Pigeon clan has been extinct for some time and only a few survivors of the Eagle clan are left. Neither of these clans seems ever [778 796] to have been of great importance. They had war bundles and an Eagle feast is mentioned.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



159 If he (my father) blessed a man he would do as follows: He would
789 take his bow and arrows and, holding them in both of his hands,
776 take the man around the hill and then into the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There he and the man he wished to bless let their breath pass into the middle of the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There stood a stone pillar and upon this stone pillar, at about arm's length, he drew the pictures of different animals. My father had only one arrow, but that arrow was a holy one. Then my father danced around the stone pillar and sang some songs, and when he was finished he began to breathe upon the stone pillar; and, walking around it, he shot it. When he looked at it, he saw that the stone had turned into a deer with large horns. This deer fell dead at his feet. He repeated this a number of times and the little spirits who were following him breathed with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you wish to kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done here. Then
[782] offer tobacco to us and you will be able to obtain whatever you wish."

159 "Now, my son, I want you to be able to do as I do. I want you
867 to be able to kill deer whenever you wish and at any particular time." My father was a very good hunter and I wanted to be very much like him. I knew that what he was saying was true and that it would be good to follow his advice. I was also told that if I traveled around the hill where these spirits lived, then all earthly things would agree with me and that I would be the gainer thereby. If I did this, they told me, then I would never suffer any pains in my body and I would never be troubled in any way.

159 And this they told me about the ghost village—that when I go
787 there I will be able to steal a costly shawl from the spirits and be
775 able to escape with it; that then all the inhabitants of the ghost village would chase me, but that they would not be able to overtake me and would be compelled to turn back as soon as I reached the earth. In this ghost village there are no grown-up children.[1]

Now, all that I have spoken of, I dreamed. I really dreamed that I was stealing a costly shawl and that I would have plenty of them all the time. I dreamed that I would obtain ten or even more
787 shawls in one year and that I would not have to pay anything for
159 them. What the spirits meant by shawls was supplies. However,
795 all this took place before I ate the peyote. Since then I know that these things were not true, and that what I must depend upon is not supernatural power, but myself, and my own endeavors. Supe-
[783] natural powers do not come from anywhere. They do not exist at all. The blessings I had received were not holy and I am not holy.

[1] He is evidently referring to the spirit home of the Hawk's, or Those-who-are-like-holes.

# CHAPTER XVI

## THE PEYOTE CULT

### General Description

794 Owing to the great importance of one of the modern cults found among the Winnebago, the so-called Mescal or Peyote, it will be discussed here in some detail. Not only is this cult of great prominence in the life of the modern Winnebago, but as its inception and progress can be followed out in considerable detail it is of great significance for the study of their religion.

[346] The ceremony is generally held in a building called by the Peyote worshipers a church, although it frequently takes place in the open also. In the early days of its organization as many meetings as possible were held. In 1910 there was a tendency to restrict the number and to have them generally take place on Saturday night. In 1913, after the first enthusiasm of the new converts had died out, the author was informed that the meetings were rarely held more than once a week. Around Christmas and beginning with July a series of meetings was held, lasting from a week to 10 days, as a rule. The Christmas meetings were not prominent in 1910, but the July ones seem to have been held from the beginning. They represent, of course, merely a substitution for the older pagan ceremonies and games that were held about that time.

796 In the early days the ceremony was opened by a prayer from the
794 founder, and this was followed by an introductory speech. Thereupon the leader sang a Peyote song, to the accompaniment of a drum.
[533] Then another speech was delivered, and when it was finished the drum and other regalia were passed to the man to the right. This man, in turn, delivered a speech and sang a song, and when he was finished, passed the regalia to the third man, who subsequently passed it to the fourth one. The fourth man, when he was finished, returned it to the leader. In this way the regalia passed from one person to another throughout the night. It not infrequently happens that one of these four gets tired and gives up his place temporarily to some other member of the cult. At intervals they stopped to eat
[576] or drink peyote. At about midnight the peyote, as a rule, begins to affect some people. These generally arise and deliver self-accusatory
[583] speeches, and make more or less formal confessions, after which they go around shaking hands with everyone and asking forgiveness.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



In 1910 the cult already had a rather definite organization. There 794
was, at every performance, one leader (pl. 54, *a*) and four principal
participants. John Rave (pls. 5, *b*; 55, *b*), the Winnebago who intro-
duced the peyote, was always the leader whenever he was present.
On other occasions leadership devolved upon some older member. The
four other principal participants changed from meeting to meeting,
although there was a tendency to ask certain individuals whenever it
was possible. The ritualistic unit, in short, is a very definite one, con- [796]
sisting of a number of speeches and songs and in the passing of the
regalia from one to the other of the four participants.

During the early hours of the evening, before the peyote has begun
to have any appreciable effect, a number of apparently intrusive
features are found. These, for the most part, consist of speeches by [276]
people in the audience and the reading and explanation of parts of
the Bible. After the peyote has begun to have an appreciable effect,
however, the ceremony consists exclusively of a repetition of the [783]
ritualistic unit and confessions.

There is an initiation consisting of a baptism, always performed
by John Rave. It is of a very simple nature. Rave dips his fingers
in a peyote infusion and then passes them over the forehead of the [788]
new member, muttering at the same time the following prayer:

"God, his holiness."

This is what the Winnebago words mean, although some of the
younger members who have been strongly permeated with Christian [177]
teachings translate the prayer into, "God, the Son, and the Holy
Ghost."

Whenever the ceremony is performed in the open a fireplace in 794
the shape of a horseshoe is made. At one end of this fireplace is 788
placed a very small mound of earth, called by Rave "Mount Sinai,"
and in front of this a cross is traced in the earth. Upon the small
earth mound are placed the two "chief" peyote, the Bible and the
staff. The latter, called by Rave the shepherd's crook, is always
covered with beadwork, and generally has a number of evenly cut
tufts of deer hair on the end and at intervals along its length. The
sacred peyote, known as *hupka* (i. e., "chief") are exceptionally
large and beautiful specimens. They are regarded by a number of
people, certainly by Rave, with undisguised veneration.

In addition to the above, there is found a large eagle feather fan,
a small drum, and a peculiar small type of rattle. To my knowledge,
this type was unknown among the Winnebago before its introduction
by the peyote eaters.

JOHN RAVE'S ACCOUNT OF THE PEYOTE CULT AND OF HIS CONVERSION 159

During 1893-94 I was in Oklahoma with peyote eaters. 794
In the middle of the night we were to eat peyote. We ate it and 276
I also did. It was the middle of the night when I got frightened, for 786

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



the Trinity." Then all sit down and the leader makes the regular announcements. The peyote is then passed around, either in the dry condition or steeped. The leader thereupon starts the singing. These are some of the songs: 794 796 159 [276]

1. Ask God for life and he will give it to us.
2. God created us so pray to him.
3. To the house of Jesus we are going, so pray to him.
4. Come ye to the road of the Son of God; come ye to the road.

[533]

Then Albert Hensley calls upon 12 educated members to translate and interpret certain portions of the Bible for the nonreading members. He arranges with the leader to have the singing stop at certain places so that some of these young men can speak. When these are finished, other individuals are called upon to give testimony. Hensley always talks and so does Rave. 794 177 796 159

John Rave baptizes by dipping his hand in a diluted infusion of peyote and rubbing it across the forehead of a new member, saying, "I baptize thee in the name of God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which is called God's Holiness." [788]

The peyote eaters wanted to get baptized and unite with the church in Winnebago, but the clergyman in charge would not permit them, so they went and did their own baptizing through their leader, John Rave, who, though he is not educated, is full of real intelligence and religion.

If a person who is truly repentant eats peyote for the first time, he does not suffer at all from its effects. But if an individual is bullheaded, does not believe in its virtue, he is likely to suffer a good deal. This I know from my own experience. After eating peyote I grasped the meaning of the Bible, which before had been meaningless to me. 794 276 159

If a person eats peyote and does not repent openly, he has a guilty conscience, which leaves him as soon as the public repentance has been made. [783]

Old men and women who had been brought up to worship animals and all kinds of spirits have cast them all away and in many instances burned their idols, not because they were told to do so but because they felt that way.

Whenever at our meetings a person wishes to pray, he does so; when he wishes to cry, he does so. Indeed, we show no timidity about worshiping God in the right way. In the Bible one often reads of Christ casting out the devils and of the people shouting, etc. So does the peyote act on us in the beginning, although afterwards its effects abate.

If a peyote eater relapses into his old way of living, then the peyote causes him great suffering.

At first our meetings were started without any rule laid down by the Bible, but afterwards we found a very good reason for holding [177]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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dancing songs are begun, all the men go to the war bundle and dance around it. The flute is continually blown during the dancing. Women may dance at their end of the lodge. The basic ritual is then continued. 796x 778 782 [534]

When the last starting song is finished the host rises and ejaculating *ho—o—o*, pours tobacco into the fireplace four times. Just when the food is about cooked four special songs are sung. Then the Thunderbird feast takes place. All the bones that have been left on the plate of the guest impersonating the Disease-giver are taken out by the host himself, carried in an eastward direction, and placed very carefully at the foot of some tree that has been especially selected. Tobacco and red feathers are poured upon these bones. The plates used by the same person are purified with arbor vitæ. The bones left on the plates of the other guests may be thrown anywhere, provided the ground on which they are scattered has been purified. When the feast is over the basic ritual is continued. When this is finished the first division of the ceremony is concluded. [783 824]

During the interval between the first and second divisions the attendants sweep the lodge and purify it with branches of arbor vitæ; and new kettles with meat are placed on the fireplaces. Then the host and guests enter. The host rises and distributes the buckskins again, and while he is doing this an attendant goes around the lodge and scatters swan feathers all over it. Some are even placed on the suspended kettles. The host, because he is going to sing Night Spirit songs, takes down the buckskin intended for that spirit, blackens his face with the embers of charcoal used in marking the buckskin, and puts some swan feathers on his head. Before the host starts singing the Night Spirit songs the pipestem is turned toward the east and the origin of the songs in question is told. Then the basic ritual is begun. When the dancing songs are being sung the guests may either go to where the war bundle lies and dance there or stay in their own places and dance. When the host has finished his part of the basic ritual, drum, gourds, flute, and tobacco are passed to the first guest, and when he is finished they are passed to the second and third guests. After that the basic ritual is for the time being discontinued and the ritual connected with throwing out of the buckskins intervenes, this in turn being followed by the Night Spirit feast. However, before the feast, as the drum, gourds, and flute are returned to the host, he has a kettle placed on the fire for the spirits living beneath the surface of the earth, and when the food in it has cooked he rises and sings paint songs (*wase'*). After the feast is over the basic ritual is continued. Some time before this ritual is finished the host takes his war bundle, wraps it up, and hangs it behind the place where he is sitting. When finally all the songs with the exception of four have been sung, the host calls upon some one with a very strong voice to give the war whoop four times. This the latter does, and after the last whoop all the guests join in. Then rising, all the guests dance out of the lodge and the ceremony is over. 796x 778 [783]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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*Host's offering to the Eagle.*—"To you, a pair of Eagles, my ancestor prayed. The blessings you bestowed upon him, those I ask of you. I am about to pour a handful of tobacco for you. May you accept it and ward off trouble from me." 539X 796X 782

*Hosts general offering to the spirits.*—"Hearken, all ye spirits to whom my ancestor prayed: to all of ye, I offer tobacco. My ancestor Djō-henagiw'axga gave a feast to all those who had blessed him.[a] However, as it is about time to proceed to the next part (we will ask you once again) to bestow upon us all the blessings you gave our ancestor. That we may not become weaklings, I ask of you. I greet you all." 776

### The Dog Ritual

When they decide to use a dog (as a sacrifice) they take the greatest care of it from its infancy upward. With great kindness do they rear it. They never strike it when rearing it. Just like their own child do they treat it. They take great care of its food. They love it very much, just as they love their own children. Thus is the dog loved. If they are going to sacrifice it, then before they kill the dog they make the following preparation and the man who is to make the sacrifice speaks thus: 539X 796X 231 782

"My younger brother, you are to go to the south: to the Disease-giver you are to go. There you will live better than here. War powers and life we wish to have and that you should ask for."

The dog is not to be killed by striking, but a rope is to be used and he is to be strangled to death, so that there will not be any blood. It is forbidden to shed blood. Thus they tried to make an offering to one of the great spirits.

When the dog is to be killed, the one who is to do it prepares him. A pouch of tobacco and red feathers are tied around the neck of the dog to be offered. Then the man made another pouch of tobacco and another, till he had four, and these with (eagle) feathers he tied to the four limbs, one pouch to each limb of the dog. Then the war bundle was opened and purified with cedar leaves. Then they laid the dog in front of the war bundle, making him face south. [783]

### General Placing of the Tobacco

When they have finished arranging the buckskins and are about ready to start the singing, then the feasters mix tobacco and strew it over the war bundle. They offer this tobacco for all the spirits who exist. Even the man who originally obtained the war bundle 796X 539X 776 782

[a] "And we are repeating this now," should be added. The word for feast here means literally, "tobacco pouring."

k:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



X796 When the songs of the Night Spirit are sung the stem of the pipe is
[276] pointed eastward.

Four songs are sung before the cooking is finished, in honor of the Thunderbird. The feast is then spread, and all those in the lodge smoke and dance. The attendants take the kettles down and take the food out. While the kettles are still on, however, branches of cedar are carried around the lodge to purify it. Before distributing the food, while the singing is still going on, the attendants count the number of people in the lodge and cut the meat into a corresponding number of pieces. As each kettle is supposed to suffice for any one band, a number of small sticks about the size of a toothpick, corresponding to the number of people present in each band, is placed in each kettle. After the last four songs are used the host arises and calls for the kettle that is to be given to the person opposite him. The attendant brings it and tells him how many pieces of meat there are in the kettle. The host then speaks about his intentions in offering the kettle to the spirits; that he is seeking life and victory in war, and that he begs all those present to intercede for him. He then calls for the other kettles. There are generally one or two kettles for the women and children. When the feast is spread out and they all have their food, the host tells them that they may now eat whenever they think proper. He himself does not eat anything, but merely sings, shaking the gourds that he holds in his hand.

[783 824]

[534]

The Disease-giver is considered the most sacred of all the spirits, and for that reason all the bones and the plates that have been used in connection with his particular kettle are purified with cedar branches. The host carries these bones out of the lodge himself and buries them under the foot of some tree. He also takes tobacco and red feathers along with him on this occasion. As the other spirits are not considered to be as sacred as the Disease-giver, the bones from the kettles offered to them can be buried anywhere, provided the ground has been purified.

[776] [783] [824] [776]

After the first invited guest has finished his meal he rises and thanks the host. He then tells the story of how he, or his ancestor, obtained the war bundle, and assures the host that he feels confident that so great a feast as this in which he is taking part will most certainly be recognized by the spirits. He also adds that inasmuch as he and the other invited guests have partaken of this feast they also hope to receive life and strength in proportion to the blessings bestowed upon the host. The other invited guests, in turn, speak in the same way.

[576]

While this is going on the attendants are preparing the kettles for another lot of meat. The whole tent is swept again and purified and the kettles are once more placed upon the fireplaces. The host now rises and, holding tobacco in his hand, informs each spirit of the par-

[783]

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12



796 other mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik, were respectively placed at the
778 northeast and southeast corners of the bundle.

A peeled stake, forked at the top, was set up at the central western margin of the bundle wrapper. The ceremonial pipe, of Siouan type
[276] with a catlinite bowl, was then filled by the leader from the bowl of mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik and placed with the stem end resting in the fork of the stake, the stem slanting diagonally downward across the bundle and the bowl, in upright position, resting on the central eastern margin of the bundle wrapper.

[824 The leader then placed some live coals from the fire in a small stove-shovel. On these coals he placed white cedar leaves. With the smoke
783] of the burning cedar leaves he purified the contents of the bundle, his own person, and even the walls of the lodge.

796 Shortly before the ceremony was to start, some of the waiters pre-
534 pared the drum. What had probably been originally designed to serve as a pickle keg, served as the body of the drum. This was partly filled with water. A buckskin head was then placed over the open end and drawn taut by means of cords attached to the base of the body. This was done by means of stick tourniquets in each of the cords. The proper degree of tautness was determined by tipping the drum bottom side up, to permit the water to wet the drum head, and testing the tone quality with the drum stick. After the drum had been thus properly tuned, more hot coals were placed in the censer, cedar leaves applied and
[783] the drum and stick turned over and over in the resulting smoke. Then the drum was placed just north of the war-bundle.

A small pot containing two portions of cooked meat was suspended from the roof of the house immediately west of the bundle.

796 Early in the afternoon, all preparations having been completed, the ceremony began. The guests in little groups filed into the lodge and were seated by the head waiter, squatting on mats with their backs to the wall. The most important guests, owners of war-bundles in other clans, were placed nearest the door. The eastern two-thirds of the lodge was
[562] occupied by men only. The women were clustered at the western end. Mr. Fisher and I were seated immediately south of the bundle. The leader and three assistants, elected to serve as musicians, were grouped just north of the fireplace.

Although the rites associated with the war-bundle are kept up by
[182] a few of these Winnebago, the ritual has sadly degenerated. Aside from the host, no man made any serious attempt to equip himself properly in costume. Many important elements were omitted such as the preliminary sweat bath ceremony, the sacrifice of white buckskins to the spirits, the dog sacrifice, and many minor details left out of the ceremonies attempted. When all were assembled, the leader opened the
[537] ceremony with a speech to those assembled. The formal dignity of the speaker and the unhesitating flow of his words were impressive. He

## §9. *My Brother-in-Law's Fasting Experience*

*159 Just about this time we moved to the hunting-grounds
[78] and I began to fast again. I began to take sweat baths
[183] and caused myself to vomit in order to be purged. My
[82] father was a good hunter; he was always able to kill
many deer and occasionally a bear.

My brother-in-law thought a good deal of me. He was a holy man and a shaman. One day he said to me, "Brother-in-law, I am going to bless you although you will have to fast for it. I was once blessed by four
[176] spirits, brothers, called *Good giant-cannibals*. They said that they had never before blessed any one. They promised me that if I ever got into any difficulties they would help me. They blessed me with long life. Now this blessing I will give you. If, for four nights, you fast without a break, these giants will speak to you." Thus he spoke to me. Then he continued, "These four brothers are called *Good-giant, Good-heart, Good-as-he-walks-about, Good-where-he-lifts-his-foot-from*. They lived toward the east, where you will find a promontory. Nothing across the large body of water is too difficult for them to accomplish."

So when I fasted I always offered tobacco to these
[182] spirits first. I would cry to these spirits, but I never
[216] fasted over night.

796
575
[787] and clairvoyance, and thinks they have had them for centuries. They use a long and
[346] large lodge a [blank] prepared for the purpose, in which all those allowed to witness the ceremonies are assembled. Adjoin-
[343] ing this house is a bark tent built in a conical form as a steam house. They excavate a hole in the ground, heat large stones in a fire to a great heat, and then put them in this hole, and cover them over and seat the initiate over them. He is then covered around with blankets so that none of the steam may escape, after which water is poured on the stones and the neophyte is
[783] enveloped in a roasting steam bath. This is
[776] the first act, and the object is to steam all evil spirits out of him.

He is then led in to the house, after the steaming process in some instances has been repeated once or twice. He is then blindfolded and led around the house. Pres-
[534] ently the singers beat the drum, shake the rattles, and commence singing a tune; then commences the dance, which is joined in by all present who wish to do so. The wom-
[562] en are members of the medicine lodge as well as the men, and they join in the songs and in the dance. After the dancing is done, or perhaps he may have stood in the midst of it there is a suspension of all sing-
[756] ing and dancing. Several medicine men then advance towards the neophyte, pointing their medicine bags at him, then drawing them back. This advancing and receding and ejaculating certain words calculated to work up the mind of the novitiate into a regular phrenzy.

Presently they reach him when they hit their medicine bags against his body, he still being blindfolded and at the same time uttering a shrill exclamation. The Judge
[158] said the novitiate jumped up and fell flat on his face as if dead and that apparently with-

[P. 60(B)]

796 out design. There he lay without motion or
575 sign of life, and the dance was resumed
158 around them. After a time he was brought out of this mesmeric or clairvoyant state, a medicine bag was put in his hands and he at once had power to strike any one down as he had been. The person who stayed by the Judge was thus struck down. He felt of his arm and wrist and found them perfectly rigid.

796 They told the Judge before they admitted
575 him to this ceremony that while he was
789 there he must think no evil thought. If he did, his life would be in danger from the spirits. No impure person is admitted to
[841] witness these ceremonies, no woman in the
[843] menstrual period, no woman pregnant or
[273] recently delivered, no intoxicated or intemperate person that is under the influence of liquor is allowed to attend. The proceedings
[756] in the sweat lodge were not seen by him as none but medicine men were allowed there.
796 The ceremonies commenced at 8 in the eve-
575 ning and lasted until day break next morning. The Judge confirms my former opinion that this is purely a religious rite, and a religious organization, having but little to do with the uses of medicine proper. The roots and herbs are one thing, but the ceremonies
[755] and incantations which are the real remedies are quite another. They call it the Spirit Dance, or the Divine Dance. The
[171] Judge informs me that he has witnessed the same thing among the Sauks and Foxes.

[*Winnebago Burial*]

764 He also mentioned the fact that he witnessed the burial of a Winnebago some years ago. He was set upon a natural mound and house made over him, food and some personal articles laid by his side, after which the whole was covered over with earth, ex-
[775] cept a small hole or chimney was kept open from the top down into the house. When

[P. 60 (C)]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12 ●
G6
Cr
D
W
171
795
796
783
778



PAYUTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

| Element | Owens | Mono | Kern | Coso | East | Kaw | Tub | Pah | Wan | Chem | Lov | Cos | Wind | Pau | Gos | Sar | Tim |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 91. Replenishes fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 92. Cleans up and arranges ashes | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 93. Conducts people in and out | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | •+ | •+ | + | + | – | + | + |
| 94. All bathe before attending meeting | + | + | •+ | – | | (–) | | •– | | •– | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | •+ | |
| 95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi) | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | + |
| 96. In open | | | •– | – | – | (–) | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | + | – | + | + |
| 97. Entrance or opening toward east | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •– | •– | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + |
| 99. Concave side toward east | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 100. Line on top of moon | + | + | + | + | + | (–) | + | •– | •– | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 101. Fire east of leader's place | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + |
| 102. East of moon | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 103. Sticks placed to form right angle | + | + | + | •– | + | + | + | | – | – | + | •+ | •– | + | + | + | + |
| 104. Old methods used to start fire | | – | •+ | – | | + | + | + | | – | •– | •– | – | + | + | – | |
| 105. 4 sticks on fire | | | (+) | •– | (–) | + | •– | •– | – | •– | + | •+ | – | + | + | + | •– |
| 106. Special fire stick (poker) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | |
| 107. Worshippers congregate outside | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | – | – | •– | •– | – | + | – | + | •– |
| 109. Meeting starts in evening | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | – | + | + | + | + |
| 110. Leader prays before entering meeting | + | + | •+ | + | | •(–) | | – | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + |
| 111. Order of entrance: chief first | + | + | + | + | | + | + | •+ | | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + |
| 112. Chief drummer second | | + | + | + | | + | + | •+ | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 113. Cedarman third | | – | + | + | | – | + | – | | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + |
| 114. Men (before women and children) | | – | + | + | + | (+) | | – | | + | •+ | •– | + | + | + | + | + |
| 115. Women and children allowed | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + |
| 116. Fire chief last | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + |
| 118. Men, either side, near leader | + | – | + | + | + | + | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + |
| 119. Women, either side, near entrance | | – | •+ | + | + | + | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | |
| 120. Separation of men and women | | – | – | + | (–) | – | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | •– | •+ | + | – | – | |

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche ND6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Wind River NP2

*Stewart: Washo–Northern Paiute Peyotism* 108[A]

| Element | Ute | Ute | Ute

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



224 hunted, very few animals being tabooed. So far as the author
[784] knows, the following animals only were not eaten: Skunk, mink,
[262] marten, otter, horse, the weasel, gophers of all kinds, crows (northern ravens?), and eagles.

411 *Bow.*—The bow and arrow and traps were used in hunting. The bow is of a very simple type, having ends more or less pointed by rubbing them on stones. In former times the bowstring was made of sinew.

*Arrows.*—There were five types of arrows, distinguished both by the nature of the arrowhead and by their use: *Ma⁰ p'aze'dera*, bird arrow; *ma⁰sanle p'a⁰'u⁰*, rabbit, or small mammal, arrow; *ma⁰ k'ctcûnk cako'k'ere*, deer and large mammal arrow; *mai⁰ su'ra*, or *mai⁰so'k'ere*, used in battle; and the *ma⁰ p'a⁰'una*, also used in battle. The first two and the last were made entirely of wood, generally hickory, the last being merely a pointed stick. The third and the fourth were the only ones that had separate heads attached. The
[237] head of the third was, as the name implies, a turtle claw, and that of the fourth a fragment of flint. The Winnebago have no recollection of ever having made flint arrowheads and claim that those they used were found in the ground (pl. 31).

224 *Traps.*—One of the principal traps consisted of a heavy timber supported very slightly by an upright, to which a piece of wood was attached bearing bait at the end. No sooner does the animal—wolf, bear, fox, or raccoon—touch the bait than the heavy timber falls upon his head, killing him instantly. Another trap commonly used for rabbits may be described thus: The head of a post is hollowed out to receive the knob-shaped end of a long pliable piece of wood that fits into it very lightly. To the latter is attached a noose, so arranged that it draws away the knob-shaped head at the slightest touch. The rabbit must put his head into the noose in order to get at the bait; in so doing he invariably moves the lever, which springs back, jerking him into the air and strangling him.

For trapping deer a very ingenious method is used. Taking advantage of the animal's habit of following repeatedly the same trail, the hunter at some point of a deer trail piles across it a mass of brush to a height of about 4 feet. Behind this he plants a pointed stake so that it can not be seen by the animal. On encountering the obstruction the deer leaps over it and is impaled on the stake.

Knowledge of the habits of beavers and otters is utilized in the following way: Many of these animals live along winding creeks, and in proceeding from one place to another, instead of following all the meanderings of the streams, they cut across the land. The Winnebago hunter digs deep holes in these cut-offs and covers them with hay. Into these the animals fall and are unable to get out.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



224 *Regulation of the tribal hunt.*—It can not be said that there were
[721] many special regulations during the tribal hunt. The rules applying to the regulation of war parties held here too. (For a description of these, see p. 158.)

Individuals were strictly prohibited from taking the initiative except by permission. For instance, a man was not allowed to proceed beyond a certain point, or shoot before a certain time; in short, not to do anything by which he might endanger his own life, the safety of his companions, or the success of the hunt, such as scaring away the animals or causing them to stampede.

625 It is during the tribal hunts that the power of the Bear clan is at
224 its height. For this reason it may perhaps be most appropriate to
614 include here a description* of these powers, although this really
484 belongs in the section on Social Organization:

Whenever the Winnebago are on their tribal hunt or whenever they move from one place to another, the soldiers (i. e., the Bear people) take the lead. Whenever they decide to stop at some place, the leader of the Bear people places his stick in the ground and the other soldiers do the same. The line of sticks is a slanting one. The main tribe follows behind at some distance and always camps a little behind them. None of the members of the tribe dare pass ahead of these sticks. If, for instance, during the fall move the tribe were passing through a country in which much game abounded, and if after the tribe had stopped at a certain place anyone should take it upon himself to go ahead and kill game on his own initiative, and he
[686] was discovered, the soldiers would go to his camp and burn it and everything it contained, destroy any supplies he had, and break his dishes. They would spare only his life and the lives of his family. If he resisted he would get a severe whipping. If even after that he resisted them and took his gun and attempted to shoot, the soldiers would not do anything but stand ready. But the moment he made an attempt to shoot, they would kill him and nothing would be said of the matter, for they would be putting into effect the law of the tribe. If, on the other hand, the man submitted to the action of the soldiers and apologized they would make him a better lodge and would give him more and better things than those they had taken away.

## Fishing and Agriculture

226 *Fishing.*—In former times fishing seems to have been done exclusively by spearing or by shooting. The spear (wocu') consisted of a long stick provided with a bone or a horn point. Spearing was done preferably at night with the aid of torches made of pine pitch. In shooting fish a long arrowlike stick (ma'nuxlairlai) with a pointed end, whittled and frayed at the base like the ceremonial staff of the Bear clan, was discharged from an ordinary bow.

227 The most commonly used trap for fishing was a triangular weir loaded with a stone at its base and placed at the head of a waterfall caused by artificial damming of a stream.

● 784 Very few fish were taboo, the principal ones being the dogfish
226 and the eel.

* By Thunder Cloud.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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the matter. If, on the other hand, he submitted to whatever punishment the Bear clansmen inflicted on him without resistance and apologized to them, then they would build him a new lodge and supply it with better goods than those which they had been compelled to destroy. 614 625

This is the way in which the soldiers act when they are on duty. They never jest and their word is a command. If it is not immediately obeyed, their next move is to punish. For that reason one generally listens to them and their commands. When they are not on duty they are the same as other people. Different members of the tribe are on duty at different times, for the leader changes them about frequently.

If a field of rice is found in some swamp or lake the Bear clan people are informed and they go over and keep watch over it and give every person an equal chance at picking it. If a person sneaks away and takes advantage of the others, the Bear clan people punish him. [222 262] [685]

The Bear clansmen guard the village almost all the time. When a council is held they guard the council lodge, and when a person is tried for some crime, particularly that of murder, a trial which generally takes place in the Thunderbird clan lodge, then they carefully guard this lodge, lest the prisoner try to escape or his relatives or confederates try to rescue him. [623 692] 682

Certain actions and remarks are not permitted in the Bear clan lodge. They are the following: 614 625 784

To peep into the lodge.

To make the remark that they live in a nice lodge.

To sit in the doorway.

To give a deep sigh or snort inside the lodge.

Should any person do one of these forbidden things, the Bear clansmen would be compelled to give the most valued thing in the lodge to the offender.

If a man seduced a woman, he was brought to the lodge of the Bear clan and severely whipped. If the soldier whipped him too severely, he in turn was whipped. 614 625 [684]

If a murderer was brought to the Bear clan lodge and the chief of the tribe asked that the man be freed, the rest of the tribe would beg the relatives of the murdered man to relent; but if the murderer was turned over to the soldiers, they would take him to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives and let one of them kill him. [622] 682

According to one informant, the Deer clansmen acted as servants to the Bear clan. 614

The Bear and the Wolf clans are friends, and although, as we indicated on page 201, each clan is paired off with another, the relationship of the Bear and Wolf clans is particularly intimate. It was even claimed that a Bear clansman would revenge the death of a Wolf clansman. For no other clans did the author hear this statement made. The women are addressed by the men and by each other as "my opposite," referring unquestionably to the positions in the council lodge. [551]

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meaning of "blue-back," it has been interpreted as "first," from *tconi*. In the same way *degoni* has been interpreted as *re* "to go" and *honi*, "to hunt"; and *hoicangera* has been subjected to a multitude of interpretations. This folk-etymology not only overrides the grammatical peculiarities of Winnebago, but even makes faulty compounds conform to the Winnebago principles of grammar. Inquiry into the origin of the clan names will, for these various reasons, have to be regarded as one of the most unprofitable of investigations. 614 551 174

### *Attitude Toward Clan Animals.*

We mentioned before that when the animal names became associated with the social groups, they were accompanied by the specific associations clustering around these animals. These associations were probably of the same type, if not indeed identical with those grouped around the animals as guardian spirits. The clan animals are among the principal guardian spirits to-day, and we must expect to find an explanation of the attitude toward them as clan animals in the attitude the Winnebago exhibit toward the guardian spirit. To a certain extent it would be quite correct to say that the guardian spirit became the clan animal. This does not, however, mean, in the slightest degree, that the guardian spirit of the individual became the clan animal, but merely that the concept of the guardian spirit became associated with a local group. 614 776 825 [174]

The guardian spirit is at the present time conceived as an immaterial being in control of an animal species. The attitude toward this spirit is a purely religious one, and exhibits a marked absence of taboo of any kind. It is an open question whether a vision must be attested by obtaining some part of the animal "embodiment" of the spirit, but there is no doubt that every vision is symbolized by a special gift from the "spirit." The guardian spirit complex may thus be said to consist of a special religious attitude plus symbol. [784] [787]

The attitude toward the clan animal is characteristically different in this respect, that more emphasis is laid upon identification with the animal itself, as contrasted with the "spirit."

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### Mother-in-law and Father-in-law Taboo

In former times the mother-in-law and father-in-law taboo was in full force. No man was allowed to talk directly to his mother-in-law or to look at her, and the same rule held with regard to the attitude of a woman toward her father-in-law. Even accidental meetings of these relatives, as on the road, were attended with great embarrassment. The author never learned of any way in which either the mother-in-law or the father-in-law taboo could be relaxed even temporarily, much less done away with entirely. 606

### Puberty Customs

From the age of five, children, male and female, were taught the customs of their ancestors in a series of talks always delivered by an elderly male relative, perhaps the father. The specific training differed, of course, for boys and girls and for individuals. Personal training ceased at the age of puberty, when all, both boys and girls, were sent out to fast. For boys this fasting constituted the only puberty rite. After their faces had been blackened with charcoal they were sent to some neighboring hill with the injunction not to return till dawn. Gradually they would be sent out for two, then three, nights; if after that trial they were not blessed they would be advised either to desist entirely or exhorted to fast until they were blessed, no matter how long the time required to secure the desired result. While fasting the boys and girls used the following formula: 867 881 785 787

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Waxop' inixjiwina | hina'djire na^dje'je | wahadjex. |
| Spirits | am I likely to be blessed? | that is why I am praying. |

[739 782]

One old Indian informed the author that in former times the young boys and girls were offered either bread or charcoal for their fast. If they took the charcoal, well and good; but if they took the bread, they were unceremoniously kicked out of the house and the charcoal was thrown after them. From the other statements of this informant one might gather that the young boys and girls generally took the bread, because, he said, after they had been kicked out, they would always resolve to go to the wilderness (in that way running the risk of being captured or killed by an enemy), in order to spite their parents. My informant was of the opinion that the parents purposely treated their children roughly, so that they might feel all the more miserable while fasting and thus pray all the more intensely.

A faster is always told to be careful as to what kind of spirits bless him, as he might be blessed by a bad spirit. Therefore a faster's blessings are always reviewed by the elders. J.'s old grandmother used to call the children in at dusk, as the evil spirits are around then. [776]

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831 All boys do not seem to have approached the ordeal of fasting with
785 the proper religious feeling. One instance in particular showed any-
787 thing but a reverent attitude; this is so amusing that it is here given in the exact words of the Indian:

When I was a young boy, my folks made me fast together with a boy named Hahadjeka. We were supposed to go to the hills and cry until the spirits blessed us. However, whenever we looked at each other and at our charcoal-blackened faces we could not refrain from bursting out laughing. Whenever we made up our minds to cry, something or other would induce us to look at each other and the laughing would begin all over again. When the time for our return to the house came, we didn't present the slightest indication of having cried, so we took some saliva and made long streaks on our faces.

Young girls and women are also encouraged to fast to obtain the war honors.

831 *Menstrual lodges.*—Fasting at puberty by girls was inseparably con-
785 nected with their retirement to menstrual lodges. Sometimes there was only one girl in each menstrual lodge, sometimes there were as many as three. From the time of her first menstrual flow to her climacteric a woman retired to a menstrual lodge every month for
841 a few days. An excellent account of Winnebago customs in this respect was obtained in a text from a male informant, and, although somewhat discursive, it is given in full here:

As soon as a woman begins to have her menstrual flow she has to retire to a menstrual lodge and to be careful never to come in contact with any sacred objects. If she did, those objects would all lose their power. Everything that is holy would immediately lose its power if a menstruating woman came near it. A holy woman or a holy man or even a holy child would be affected by the proximity of a menstruating woman. Their holy condition would immediately disappear. In a similar way, if food were served to a sick person from the same dish used for a menstruating woman the sick person would become far more sick.

The food for a menstruating person is always cooked separately. Special dishes are used and special fireplaces are made.

If a person possessed any medicines they would lose all their power if a menstruating woman came in contact with them. If any person should enter a menstrual lodge, in after life, whenever he fasted, he would not be blessed by any spirit. However, there is one thing that a menstruating woman is afraid of, and that is the
[778] war bundle. These war bundles are kept in cedar [leaves*] mixed with medicine to prevent danger from just such a source. If a menstruating woman comes near a war bundle, her flow would increase and never cease and after a while she would die,* and only if the owner of the war bundle personally attends to her can she be cured. For that reason whenever a war-bundle feast is being given a woman is very careful, and even if it is a few days before her menstrual flow she will not go.

* This explains what puzzled the author for some time—namely, the fact that although contact with a menstruating woman destroyed the efficacy of everything holy, in the case of the war bundle the reverse was true and the woman was destroyed. Many of the Indians who spoke of this matter also seemed to believe it was the war bundle that killed the woman. From this account, however, it is perfectly clear that it is not the war bundle at all that killed the woman, but the potency in which the war bundle was wrapped. The war bundle is therefore no exception to the general rule, and it is only on account of the serious consequences that would accrue to so many people from any impairment of its powers, and the care taken to prevent this by surrounding it with special medicines, that it offers externally an exception to the fatal effects of contact with a menstruating woman.

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limb.[13] They will indeed like you very much if you obtain a limb, 867
or, even better, two or three. If you do thus, wherever people boil 554
an animal with a head [14] you will always be able to eat.

If on account of your bravery you are permitted to tell of your 867
war exploits during the Four Nights' Wake for the benefit of the 765
soul of the deceased, do not try to add to your glory by exaggerat- 554
ing any exploit, for by so doing you will cause the soul to stumble on its journey to the spirit land.[15] If you do this and add an untruth to the account of your war exploit, you will die soon after. The war spirits always hear you. Tell a little less. The old men say it is wise.

My son, it is good to die in war. If you die in war, your soul will 867
not be unconscious. You will have complete disposal of your soul 721
and it will always be happy.[16] If you should ever desire to return 775
to this earth and live here again, you will be able to do so. A second life as a human being you may live, or, if you prefer, as an inhabitant of the air (a bird) you may live, or you may roam the earth as an animal. Thus it is to him who dies in battle.

My son, fast for an honorable place among your fellowmen. Fast, 867
so that when you are married you may have plenty of food; that 785
you may be happy and that you may not have to worry about your 787
children. If in your fastings you have a vision of your future home, the members of your family will be lacking in nothing during their life. Fast for the food that you may need. If you fast a sufficiently large number of times, when in after life you have children and they cry for food you will be able to offer a piece of deer or moose meat without any difficulty. Your children will never be hungry.

[13] That is, a war honor, but more specifically it was "count coup" first. The honor of killing an enemy [535]
and the three honors connected with first touching his dead body are always spoken of as "the four limbs" of the body.

[14] That is, whenever people give a Winter Feast. At this feast a deer, head and all, is served to the 597
invited guests. The head may only be eaten by brave warriors.

[15] At the death of a chieftain an elaborate wake takes place. To this wake, as the principal participants, 262
three or four warriors who have counted "coup" are always invited. It is believed that the souls of all the enemies one has killed become the slaves of the victor and he may command them to do his bidding at any time. If the victor tells his exploit and then commands the enslaved soul to take care of the recently 765
departed person in whose honor the wake is being given, the soul of the conquered enemy will be of considerable aid in overcoming the obstacles that are supposed to infest the path between this earth and the 775
land of the spirits. These can not be overcome by the efforts of the individual alone. If, however, a warrior becomes vainglorious, the soul of the recently departed individual will fall into the abyss of the which surrounds one of the heavenly earths through which he must pass. This is what is meant by "stumbling."

[16] It must be remembered that the Winnebago believe that all that constitutes "life," "consciousness," 774
continues to exist after death, the only difference being that in the former case an envelope, the body, is present and, in the latter case, it is not. Winnebago philosophy does not concern itself with what happens 775
when a soul becomes "unconscious" at death, which would, of course, be the case with all those who do not die in battle, but it does insist that to him who dies on the warpath the moment of death does not even deprive of consciousness. He goes right on living, as if he were still an inhabitant of this earth, the only difference being that the corporeal envelope has fallen off his soul and that, although he can and bears human beings, he himself is not visible nor his voice audible.

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867 My son, whenever people go on the warpath go along with them.
721 It is good to die on the warpath. You may perhaps say so, because you are unhappy that your wife has left you. My son, not for such reasons, however, must you go on the warpath. You will be merely throwing away a human life. If you want to go on the warpath, do so because you feel that you are courageous enough, not because you are unhappy at the loss of your wife. If you go on the warpath you will enjoy yourself. Do not go, however, unless you have fasted,
[785] and unless you have fasted for that particular warpath. If you have not fasted and attempt nevertheless to go on the warpath, a bullet will surely seek you out and kill you. This is what will happen to you if you do not fast.

[593 If you exert yourself in fasting you will assuredly perform some
[604 brave war exploit. You must tell your sisters and sister's children
605] and your mother's sisters all about your exploit. Remember, also, that the keepers of the war-bundles can give you good advice in all that pertains to war. For their deeds they will be given a good dish of meat.[34] This they will give you to eat.

Of such things did my ancestors speak; and I would wish you to do as they did. That is why I am telling you all these things. I myself never asked for any of this instruction, but my father did. All human beings ought to ask for it. Never let anybody be in a position to puzzle you in regard to what is right. Ask for this instruction, my son, for it is not an ordinary thing. In the olden
867 times if a person loved his child very much, he would only give him instruction after he had begun fasting all day for the first time. When a young boy has just matured, those who have been preaching to him always ask him one question, namely, whether he had begun
[881] to fast. And this the young boy must always answer truthfully, for if he has begun his fast the instruction would stop. The old men do not preach to men, but only to boys.

881 (What follows is apparently an illustration of how a young man
887 asks his instructor for information of how to conduct himself in life.)
867 The young man will go to an old man and say, "Grandfather, I would like to know how I am to conduct myself in life. Bless me and if you can really give me any information, do so." Then the old man was very thankful and said, "It is good; you speak correctly." Now the one who was asking something of the old man had taken very good care of the old man's body and had led a good life. He had no scars of any kind; that is, he had never done anything shameful. The young man brought all sorts of food and placed it in the lodge of the old man. Then he also brought him a fine horse. Only then did he ask him again about the life that his ancestors had led, and what kind of a life he ought to live. He asked

[34] I. e., you will be given a position at the Winter Feast and offered some of the choice pieces of meat.

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him what the old people do when they give a child a name, and 881
what they say. All these things the old man told him. "It is good," 887
he said, "for you to know these things so that if anyone comes to 867
you and asks you for information you will be able to tell them something and will not have to behave like a fool. If you are asked to give a little child a name, this little child will really be a means of increasing your power. That is why you ought to give a feast for it and smoke the child's tobacco. You must also give the child a name for his dog. Give him the name Yellow-Tree for a male dog. The name Yellow-Tree is given for the following reason. When the Thunderbirds strike at a tree it looks yellow. Just as leaves wither so do trees wither when the Thunderbirds strike them. They then begin to rot and become very much discolored. That is why they give a dog this name. If you ever have to give a dog-name for a female child call it She-Who-Stays-In-Her-Own-Place. This is all that I wish to tell you."

SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION TO DAUGHTER

This is the way the old men used to speak to the little girls: 867
My daughter, as you go along the path of life, always listen to 593
your parents. Do not permit your mother to work. Attend to your father's wants. All the work in the house belongs to you. Never be idle. Chop the wood, carry it home, look after the vegetables and gather them, and cook the food. When in the spring [462]
of the year you move back to your permanent settlements, plant your fields immediately. Never get lazy. Earthmaker created you [221]
for these tasks.

When you have your menses, do not ask those in your lodge to give you any food, but leave the lodge and fast and do not begin [841]
eating again until you return to your own lodge. Thus will you help yourself. If you always fast, when you marry, even if your husband had amounted to nothing before, he will become an excellent hunter. It will be on account of your fasting that he will have [785]
changed so much. You will never fail in anything and you will always be well and happy. If, on the contrary, you do not do as I tell you—that is, if you do not fast—when you marry he will become very weak, and this will be due to you. Finally he will get very sick.

My daughter, do not use medicine. If you marry a man and 867
place medicine on his head he will become very weak and will not 593
amount to anything. It may be that you do not want to have your 832
husband leave you and this may induce you to use medicine to keep him. Do not do that, however, for it is not good. You will be ruining a man. It is the same as killing him. Do not do it, for it is forbidden. If you marry a man and you want to be certain of always retaining him, work for him. With work you will always

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In this lodge they claimed that prisoners were 614
confined and certain tribal regalia deposited. The informants were 727
not, however, at all clear about these facts, some even denying that there was a Warrior lodge and insisting that prisoners were confined in the Bear or Soldier lodge.

According to one informant the Warrior and Bear clans could give 614
each other orders that had to be obeyed.

The members of the Warrior clan claimed that all the members of the clan were warriors and did not have to fast in order to obtain [785] the right of starting out on a war party. This was vigorously denied by the members of the other clans, who referred to this claim with derision. There seems, however, to be no reason for questioning the fact that the clan had a special lodge and that it was intimately connected with war functions. Exactly what these were it is quite impossible to state, as they have not been exercised for a very long time.

The first two clan songs are given on page 220. The clan facial decoration, used only at burial, and which were supposed to be [302] marks of recognition in the spirit land, are as follows: A red line alternating with a black and another red line across the forehead, and a red line around the mouth. One informant claimed that only the three marks on the forehead were necessary, and that in times of war blood was used for the red marks (pl. 46).

According to an informant of the Thunderbird clan, the Warrior clan functions were as follows:

The Warrior clan's position in the tribe is that of general warrior. He can kill an enemy at any time without breaking any of the rules of the tribe. Every other clansman who wishes to go on the warpath must fast and be blessed by the spirits [721] with specific blessings before he can do this.

There may have been a special feast associated with the Warrior clan, but the author never heard of it. The clan possessed a number [778] of war bundles.

## ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

In the beginning, Earthmaker made four men. Then he sent 614
them to the earth. Within Lake, there, they landed and they alit 539
on the branch of a tree. There were four branches and each one alit 776
on one branch. And then on the earth they jumped and started walking toward the east. There they erected a camping place. There they started the fire. It was the principal fire. Then they started to look for food, but they were unable to find any. So the second brother was sent, but he was not able to get any animal, but he brought a man. Because he brought it, for that reason, the first male child we have shall be called *He-who-eats-humans*. Then the second one, him whom they called the warrior, was sent. Thus it

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776 In the fall of the year in which the man said this the people, as
787 usual, went out hunting and the man got lost and was forced to camp out in the wilderness overnight. So he built a fire and sat alongside of it. Suddenly he saw a man coming toward him. As soon as the stranger came up to him he took a seat on the opposite side of the fireplace. Then the stranger said, "I am the one whom you threatened to kick off this earth whenever you met him. You, furthermore, boasted that I could not kill you." Then he pointed his finger in a line with the man's heart. But the man remained seated near the fireplace without moving. Then he did this again, yet the man still remained in his former position. Then the third time he did it and said, "In the center of the heart." The man, however, remained seated just as before. Then the stranger exclaimed, "Who are you anyhow?" and pointed his finger at him. But the man did not move. Then the stranger (Disease-giver) pleaded with the man to die so that it might not be said that he had failed in the "mission" for which he had been created. He promised the man that if he would oblige him and die he could come back to earth again within four days. Finally the man consented. He went home and told his folks that he was going to a certain place to
787 die for the space of four days and that they should, under no con-
775 ditions, go to see him there, for in that case he would surely die. Then he dressed himself in his best clothes and went to the place where he was to meet Disease-giver. (He rested his head against a tree and died.) However, on the third day his wife could not resist the desire to see him, so she went to the place where her husband was leaning against the tree. Then he really died. After his death a red spot was visible upon his forehead.*

### Methods of Bringing the Spirits into Relation with Man

●785 *Fasting.*—Fasting has been discussed before. There are two things to be remembered in connection with it—first, that it is a method of superinducing a religious feeling; and, secondly, that this religious feeling in turn is bound up with the desire for preserving and perpetuating socio-economic life values. Among the Winnebago the desirability of the conditions superinduced by fasting lay not so much in the emotional pleasure it gave, although this is not to be underestimated, as in the belief which the shamans had developed, that such a state was essential for placing people in a position enabling them to overcome certain crises in life, which it was reasonable to believe might take place.

787 *Mental concentration.*—To the religiously inclined Winnebago the
153 efficacy of a blessing, of a ceremony, etc., depended upon what they

* This is not supposed to be a myth but the real experience of a man named James Smith.

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## The Herucka Dance

535 The *Herucka* is a social dance and is frequently given when visitors
574 from other tribes are present, presents being given on this occasion. Men and women take part in it and are generally dressed in their best clothes. A few customs that were noticed at a performance in 1908 might be mentioned here.

If a man drops anything during the dance he himself may not pick it up. Only a warrior who has been wounded has the right to do so. The object dropped is returned to the owner, who, however, must always give it to his sister or niece.

It is at times customary for a man to dress himself in rags and beg for food, etc. He generally represents himself as an extremely poor man and pictures his destitution in a manner best calculated to amuse everyone.

[525] Wagers of horses are very commonly made at this dance.

The dances indulged in are mainly victory dances and the songs
[533] known as *Herucka* songs are always victory songs. Many borrowed songs are sung at this dance.

A large drum is always used, around which sometimes as many as
[534] 10 drummers sit. The drum consists of an ordinary tub over which skin has been tightly drawn. It is supported by two carved sticks, to which it is firmly attached, so that the bottom is about a foot from the ground. It is painted in the following manner: Two rather
[531] narrow lines of paint across the center of the drum, one blue and the other green. The portion of the drum next to the yellow line is painted blue, and that next to the blue line red. No meanings for the colors were obtained.

## Watcunaje'ewe Feast
(afraid-to-eat-greens feast)

241 Informant, member of Beaver clan: Just about roasting-ear month
785 people would commence to fast and continue until the green corn is
262 ripe enough to be eaten. They fast so that all the plants may strengthen the tribe.

The fast generally takes place in a special lodge, from under which all the grass has been cut, for the faster must not come in contact with anything that is green. When the fasting is over a feast is given at which all those present eat "greens" for the first time.

## The Captive's Death Dance

727 Before putting a captive to death it is customary to tie his arms
535 behind him in such a manner that his hands have a little freedom. Then they put a gourd in his right hand and a lance in his left hand

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539x
796x

annoyed it. Host, I greet you. You who are impersonating the spirits, all of you, do I greet."

### The Throwing Out of the Buckskins

Then the attendants give that war-bundle owner who is regarded as the foremost, as an expert, tobacco, for it is about time now that the various spirits should accept (the offerings).[108] Therefore they select a man who is proficient, one who has very likely been blessed by the Night Spirits and one therefore to whom they are likely to listen, a holy person, a man who has attained war honors. He is likely to be the best one to make the spirits cognizant of the buckskins. So they brought the drum for him to his place, and placed tobacco in his hand. Then he spoke as follows:

539x
796x
782
[554]

*Speech of prominent guest.*—"Host and members of his clan who are seated here, I greet you. You seated in this lodge who are impersonating the spirits, I greet you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. It is good that the war-bundle owners have done so much for the host. He has brought us the means of blessing and caused us to come into this lodge and has fed us. He has permitted us to offer tobacco. It is good. Not insincerely should we speak on such an occasion, our father told us. If at any time the spirits pay any attention to a human being and permit him to offer them moccasins, rest assured that they will not let a weakling do this. If you are of any importance the spirits will accept the moccasins you have offered them. Indeed, my son, our grandfathers on both ends of the earth will have knowledge of these offerings,[109] they told each other."

For the Night Spirits they sang and alternately they would start up a song for the Thunderbird as they sat there.

After finishing a Night Spirit song, then they would start up one for the Thunderbird, and then they would sing Night Spirit songs and Thunderbird songs together. "If at any time they consider you a man and accept the moccasins you have offered them, use your power. Above all, be careful that you do not say anything in a frivolous manner. The host putting himself in a pitiable condition has with copious dropping of tears besought the spirits for war power. For life he has also besought them and has prayed to them with offerings of tobacco, food, buckskins, and feathers. Putting himself in a pitiable condition he has hunted for the spirits,[110] weakened himself through exposure to cold, and caused himself untold sufferings. Oh that I could have done similarly! It is for this (these laudable rea-

[785]

[108] I. e., that the buckskins should be placed where the spirits can get them.
[109] I. e., the Night Spirits living in the east and the Thunderbirds living in the west.
[110] I. e., hunted the deer that are used at the feast both for eating and for the buckskin offerings.

[776]

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[For information on fasting in relation to vision quests, see category 787.]

## *Early Childhood*

In the fall of the year we would pick cranberries. 159* When the hunting season was open, I would begin to [221] fast again. [222]

This was my life for a number of years. [787]

After a while we bought a pony on which we used to pack all our belongings whenever we moved our [231] camp. In addition three of us would ride on top of [492] the pack. Sometimes my mother and sometimes my father drove the pony.

After I had grown a little older and taller all of us 159* brothers would fast together. My father would indeed 785 repeatedly urge us to fast. "Do not be afraid of the burnt remains of the lodge center-pole," he would say to us.[5] "Whatever are the true possessions of men, the apparel of men and the gift of doctoring—all these things that are spread out before you—do try and obtain one of them."[6] Thus he would speak to us.

I would then take a piece of charcoal, crush it and blacken my face and he would be very grateful to me

I would at first break my fast at noon but then gradually I began to fast all night. From the fall of the year until spring I would fast until nightfall and then eat. After a while I trained myself to pass the night without eating and after that I was able to go two nights and days without taking any food. Then my mother went to the woods at some distance from the

[5] Symbolical manner of describing the crushed charcoal with which fasters must blacken their faces. [195]

[6] By "possessions of men" he means mainly that knowledge which will make a man honored and respected in his community; and by "apparel of men," he means power and ability. [554]

## §3. *Fasting*

*159 At this stage of life I secretly got the desire to make myself pleasing to the opposite sex.

[342] The Indians then lived in their old-fashioned lodges. Women, however, whenever they had their menses, [343] were placed in special huts. There the young men [841] would go to court them at night when their parents were *159 asleep. I used to go along with the men on such occa- 84 sions, for even although I did not enter any lodges but [584] merely accompanied the older men, I enjoyed it.

My parents were greatly in fear of my coming into contact with menstruating women so therefore I went with these men secretly. My parents were even afraid of having me cross the path over which a menstruating woman had passed. They worried so much about it at that time, because I was to fast as soon as autumn came. They did not wish me to be near menstruating women, for were I to grow up in their midst I would assuredly be weak and of little account. Such was their reason.

*159 Before long I started to fast again together with an •785 older brother of mine, both day and night. It was [221] during the fall moving, and several lodges of people were living near us. There it was that my elder brother and I fasted. Among the people of the other lodges [883] were four girls whose duty it was to carry wood.

## *Fasting*

Whenever these girls went out to get wood my older 159*
brother and I would play around with them a great 785
deal. We did this even although we were fasting at
the time. Of course we had to do it in secret. When-
ever our parents found out we got a scolding and so [861]
did the girls. At home we were warned to keep away
from menstruating women, but we ourselves always [841]
sought them.

After a while some of the people living in the lodges 159*
moved away and we were left alone. They moved far
ahead of us. We ourselves were to move only a short
distance at a time. My father and my brother-in-law
went out hunting and killed seventy deer between [224]
them, so that we had plenty of meat.

When the girls with whom I used to play moved
away I became very lonesome. In the evenings I used
to cry. I longed for them greatly and they had moved
far away!

Soon we got fairly well started on our way back.
We moved to a place where all the leaders used to give
their feasts. Near the place where we lived there
were three lakes and a black-hawk's nest. Right near
the tree where the nest was located, they built a lodge
and our war-bundle [10] was placed in it. There my elder [787]

[10] The war-bundle was the most sacred object among the Winne- 778
bago. It consisted of dried animal skins, other parts of animals, reed
flutes, etc., all of which had some symbolical meaning. The various
animal remains, for instance, were supposed to give the owner the [825]
powers of these animals, the sound of the reed flutes was sup-
posed to paralyze his enemy and make it impossible for him to walk.
Each clan possessed at least one such bundle and whenever the tribe [614]
went on the warpath, this bundle was carried on the back of some

## *Fasting*

fering. I am Earthmaker and I bless you. You will never be in want of anything; you will be able to understand the languages of your neighbors; you will have a long life; indeed, with everything do I bless you." But, from the very first, this figure did not inspire Weshgishega with confidence and he thought to himself, "Somebody must be fooling me." And so it was; it was a bird. 159* 776 787 539

Then most assuredly did he think that he wished to die for he felt that all the bad birds in the world were trying to make fun of him.

Earthmaker, above where he sits, knew of all this. He heard the man's voice and he said, "O Weshgishega, you are crying. I shall come to the earth for you. Your father has told me all." Then when Weshgishega looked, he saw a ray of light extending very distinctly from the sky down to the earth. To the camp it extended. "Weshgishega, you said that you wanted to see me. That, however, cannot be. But I am the ray of light. You have seen me."

Not with any war powers did Earthmaker bless him; only with life.

After telling me about Weshgishega, father left me. When I found myself alone I began to think that something ought to happen soon, yet nothing occurred so I had to pass another day there. On the third night I was still there. My father visited me again and we repeated what we had done on the night before. He told me about my grandfather Jobenangiwinxga: 159* 787 [551]

### *My Ancestor Jobenangiwinxga*

Once Jobenangiwinxga fasted. So that he might be blessed by the spirits he starved and thirsted himself to 159* 539 787 [785]

*159 539 787 death; he made himself pitiable in their sight. At first he fasted four nights and the Night Spirits came to him; with mighty sounds they came. There they stood before him and said, "Human being, you have thirsted yourself to death and we are going to bless you for that reason. We who speak are the Night Spirits." They blessed him with life and with success on the warpath. Then he looked at them and said to himself, "I wonder whether these really are the Night Spirits speaking to me?" Then he looked at them and he saw that they were small birds called heshepga. They had fooled him.

Then once again was his heart sore. In despair he said, [785] "Well, if I have to, I'll die fasting." So he fasted again and once again he rubbed charcoal on his face. For six nights he continued to fast. And then, once again, from the east the Night Spirits came. They came making a great noise and they stood near him and said, "Human being, we bless you. You have thirsted yourself to death and you have made your heart sore. We feel sad on your account. With life and success on the warpath we bless you." Then he looked at them and again he wondered in his heart whether they really were the Night Spirits.[13] Indeed they were not the Night Spirits who were speaking to him. They were birds called the kawishge, choxjin and shikokkok. They were fooling him. Instead of feeling sad this time, however, he said, "I don't care what happens; I am willing to die in order to get a blessing." So he thought to himself.

Then again he began fasting. He rubbed charcoal over

[13] The Night Spirits were mythical spirits whose precise nature [786] is never described in detail. They are supposed to cause darkness and the night. They possess a cane with which they strike those of their worshipers who are not properly attentive to their ceremonies.

## *Fasting*

his face again. Seven nights he fasted and once again from the east the Night Spirits came singing. They came and stood before him and said, "Nephew, we bless you. So long have you been sad and so piteously have you cried to us that we bless you. No one did we ever bless before. Both in war and in life you shall be able to do as you wish." Then again he looked in their direction and thought to himself, "I wonder whether those speaking are really the Night Spirits?" But indeed they were not the Night Spirits They were the bluebird and the duck and as many as there were of them, their breasts were dark; as many as there were of them, they were bad. "O my! O my! How they abuse me," Johenangiwinxga cried.

He had at first thought in his fastings that just to spite the spirits he would fast again but now he rubbed charcoal on his face and wept bitterly. Both hands contained tobacco, and he stood in the direction from which the Night Spirits came and, weeping, put himself in the most abject condition.

Now indeed to its very depths did his heart ache. Ten nights did he fast. Finally the Night Spirits came after him. "Human being, I have come after you." He followed the spirits and they took him to the east; to the site of a Night Spirit village they took him. In the village there was a long lodge standing in the east. There they took him. All the Night Spirits in control of the most powerful blessings were there. When he entered he had to wade through white feathers up to his knees. Many kettles and much food did he see in the lodge. On the outside a buffalo hide was stretched almost across the entire lodge. Then these spirits said to him, "Human being, without giving up, long have you suffered; your heart has indeed been sad. All of the spirits in this lodge have talked about what is to

## *Fasting*

Just then my older brother came home and they objected to his return for he had not been blessed. However, he took some food and ate it. 159* 787

My brother J., however, obtained a blessing. When he reached the age of puberty my father called him aside and told him to fast. He told him that it was his fervent wish that he should begin to fast in order to become holy, to become invincible and invulnerable in war. He wished him to become like one of those Winnebago of whom stories are told. He assured him that if he fasted he would really be holy and that nothing that exists on this earth would be able to molest him; that he would live a very long life and that he would be able to cure the sick. He told him that if he were blessed no one would dare to make fun of him and that they would be very careful how they addressed him; first, because they really respected him and secondly, because they were afraid of getting him angry. He was to fast until spring and then he was to stop, for there are many bad spirits about in the spring who are likely to deceive a faster. 159* 785 554 787 [576] [776]

Near our village there was a hill called *Place-where-they-keep-weapons*. This hill was very high, steep and rocky. It was a very holy place. There it was that my father wished my brother to fast for it was the place where he himself had fasted. Within this hill lived the spirits whom we call *Those-who-cry-like-babies*. These spirits are supposed to possess arrows and bows. Twenty of them were supposed to be in this hill. My father had control of them and when [778] [776] ooo

## *Fasting*

although the feast was supposedly given in our honor, we were placed on one side of the main participants. After the kettles containing the food had been put on twice, it became daylight and the feast was over. [159] [78] *

The following spring we moved to the Mississippi in order to trap. I was still fasting and ate only at night. My brothers used to flatter me, telling me that I was the cleverest of them all and, in consequence, I used to continue fasting although I was often very hungry. In spite of my desire to fast, however, I could not resist the temptation of being around the girls. I wanted always to be near them. They were generally in their menstrual lodges [18] when I looked for them. My parents did not wish me to go near the girls then but I went nevertheless. [221] [224] [152] [185] [865]

My parents told me that only those boys who had no connection with women would be blessed by the spirits. Throughout this time my sole wish was to appear great in the sight of the people. To be praised by my fellowmen was all I desired. And I certainly received what I sought. I stood high in their estimation. That the women might like me was another of the reasons why I wanted to fast. But as to being blessed, I learned nothing about it, although I went around with the air of one who had received many blessings and talked as such a one would talk. [156]

[18] Any contact with menstruating women, or even with objects in any way connected with them, will, it is the firm belief of the Winnebago, destroy the power of sacred objects or individuals temporarily sacred. Fasting youths were regarded as such. [841] [178] [185]

* 159 §4. *Reminiscences of Childhood*

[785] The following spring I stopped fasting.

[501] In those days we used to travel in canoes. My
[226] father used to spear fish and always took me along
[593] with him, and this I enjoyed very much. He kept a club in the canoe and after he had speared a fish, I would kill it with the club as it was jumping around. Sometimes my mother accompanied us. She sat in the stern of the boat and rowed while my father stood in the prow and speared the fish. I killed all those thrown in the canoe.

[865] Sometimes my parents would start out without me, but I would then cry so bitterly that I, in the long run, induced them to take me along. Sometimes they whipped me and told me to go home, but I would follow them so far that they were then afraid to let me go back alone and I would thus be permitted to ride with them. Indeed I exerted myself greatly in crying and as I cried, ran after them and followed them very far, I was always taken along in the end.

[342] In those days we lived in the old-fashioned Indian lodges. In winter our fire was placed in the center of
[354] the lodge and my father used to keep it burning all night. When he placed a large log in the fire it would burn a long time.

## §7. *The Teachings of My Father*

*159 My father used to keep up the old habit of teaching
[867] us the customs of the Winnebago. He would wake
[593] us up early in the morning and, seated around the fire-
place, speak to us. The girls would be taught sepa-
[562] rately. Now this is what my father told me:

721
787 I

*159 My son, when you grow up, see to it that you are of
867 some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in
●985 which you can aid them and that is by fasting. Our
[776] grandfather, the Fire, he who stands at all times in the
[372] center of our dwelling, sends forth all kinds of blessings.
Be sure that you make an attempt to obtain his.

My son, do you remember to have our grandfathers, the
*159 war chiefs,[14] bless you. See to it that they have compassion
776 upon you. Then some day as you travel along the road of
867 life, you will know what to do and encounter no obstacles.
787 Without any effort will you then be able to gain the prize
721 you desire. The honor will be yours to glory in, yours
without exertion. All the disposable war-blessings belong
to our grandfathers, the war-controllers, and if reverently
you fast and thirst yourself to death, then these will be
bestowed upon you. Yet if you do not wear out your feet
in frequent journeyings to and fro, if you do not blacken
your face with charcoal, it will be all for naught that you

[195] [14] Symbolical name for all those spirits who were supposed to be in control of war powers.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



inflict this suffering upon yourself. Not without constant effort are these blessings procurable. Try to have one of the spirits created by Earthmaker take pity on you. Whatever he says will come about. If you do not possess one of the spirits from whom to obtain strength and power, you will be of no consequence socially and those around you will show you little respect. Indeed they will jeer at you.

My son, it is not good to die in the village; in your homes. Above all, do not let women journey to the spirit land ahead of you. It is not done. To prevent this from happening do we speak to our sons and encourage them to fast. Some day in life you will find yourself traveling along a road filled with obstacles and then you will wish you had fasted. When such an event confronts you, that you may not find it necessary to reproach yourself, I counsel you to fast. If you have not obtained any knowledge from the spirits, why it may happen that some day, in later life, warriors will be returning from the warpath and as they distribute the war prizes to their sisters,[18] your own sisters will stand there empty-handed envying the rest. But if you obtain blessings from the war-controllers, your sisters will be happy. How proud they will be to receive the prizes, to wear them, and to dance the victory dance! Your sisters too will be strengthened thereby and you will be content and happy.

Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to

[18] Among the Winnebago a man's sisters, especially his elder sisters, were very highly respected and all war prizes, such as wampum-belts, wampum necklaces, etc., were always given to them whenever a man returned from a successful war-party in which he had secured some honor. These war honors were of various kinds. The greatest was considered to be the feat of having struck the body of a dead enemy first.

* 159 867 ● 785 787 you will never be in need of anything. Fast for the food you are to receive. If you fast frequently enough for these things then some day when your children ask for food they will be able to obtain a piece of deer meat without difficulty; they may indeed be able to obtain a piece of moose meat. It lies within your power to prevent your children from ever going hungry.

* 159 867 593 [562] [776] Now again, my son, let me enjoin you. Do not abuse your wife. Women are sacred. If you make your wife suffer, then you will die in a short time. Our grandmother Earth is a woman, and in abusing your wife you are abusing her. Most certainly will you be abusing your grandmother if you act thus. Since after all it is she who is taking care of us, by your action you will be practically killing yourself.

* 159 867 574 When you have your home, see to it that whoever enters your lodge obtain something to eat, no matter how little you yourself may have. Such food will be a source of death to you if withheld. If you are stingy about giving food, some one might kill you in consequence; some one may poison you. If you ever hear of a stranger passing through your country and you want to see him, prepare food for him and have him brought to you. In this manner you will be doing good and it is always good to do good, it is said. [577]

* 159 867 888 If you see a helpless old person, help him if you have anything at all. If you happen to possess a home take him there, and feed him, for he may suddenly make uncomplimentary remarks about you.[18] You will be strengthened thereby. Or perhaps when he comes, he may bring with him under his arms a medicine bundle, something he cher- [778]

[18] It is considered exceedingly bad form for a guest to admire anything in the house he is visiting. [574] [576]

lshes very much and which he will offer you. If it is a bulb-medicine keep it to protect your house. Your home will never then be molested by anything evil and nothing evil will enter your house, neither bad spirits, ghosts, disease, nor unhappiness. Now such will be your life if you do as I tell you. Witches will keep away from you. Thus by fasting will you benefit yourself and your fellowmen. 159* 867 [888] [778] [754] [785]

You know that Earthmaker created all the spirits, those that live above the earth, those who live on the earth, those who live under the earth, those who live in the water—all these he created and placed in control of powers. Even the minor spirits Earthmaker placed in control of something. In this fashion he created them and after that, he created us and because we were created last and no further powers were left, he could not put us in control of anything. Then, however, did Earthmaker create a weed and this he placed us in control of. He further told us that none of the spirits he had created would have the power to take this weed away from us without giving us something in exchange. He told us that if we offered him a pipeful of this weed, which we call tobacco, he too would grant us whatever we asked for. Now it so happened that all the spirits came to long for this weed as intensely as they longed for anything in creation and for that reason if, at any time, with tobacco in our hands we make our prayer to the spirits, they will take pity upon us and bestow upon us the blessings which Earthmaker gave them. Indeed so it is, for Earthmaker created it thus. 159* 773 776 [276] [782]

Fast, my son. If you are blessed by the spirits and then blow your breath upon people who are ill, they will become well. Thus will you help your fellowmen. If you can cure any of your fellowmen of disease, then you will be of even more than ordinary help to them. If you can draw dis- 159* 756 787 867

*159 your wife is the only one to love, you have humbled yourself
[581] and she will be taken from you. You have likewise made
867 the woman suffer; you have made her unhappy. The whole
562 world will hear about it. No other woman will want to
593 marry you and you will have the reputation of being a bad man.

[577] Now you may act in the following way: You see people
[921] starting on a warpath and you join them knowing that it is an honor to die on the warpath. But you will join them because you feel unhappy at your wife's flight Now this is not the proper way to act. You are throwing away your life; you are causing the leader of the war-party to throw away a life. If you want to go on the warpath, do not go because your wife has been taken away from you, go because you feel courageous enough to do so.

It is on the warpath that a man has fun! Do not go,
[785] however, unless you have fasted adequately. You must
[926] fast for each specific warpath. If you do not and yet join a war-party, then in the midst of the fight, a bullet will come your way and kill you. That will happen because you did not fast. If you have performed any deeds of valor, recount them to your sisters and to your sister's children. Those in charge of war-bundles are good to listen to in such matters. Those to whom such people give advice will eat an excellent dish; they will have the
[554] honor of sitting near a great warrior in the middle of the lodge.

*159 These are the things of which the old people spoke and
861 this also is the advice I give you. I myself never asked
577 for these things, but my father did. Your grandfather did. He asked for the information relating to the manner in which people are to behave. Never, when you are older, should you allow yourself to get in the predicament of not

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



knowing what is the right thing to do. Ask for this instruction, my son. It is not a matter requiring a few moments; it is something that must be thoroughly learned. You, too, must learn it. 159 * 867 577

To a girl the following was told:

My daughter, as you travel along the path of life, listen to your parents. Do not let your mother work. Attend to the wants of your father. All the work in the house belongs to you. Do not shirk it. Chop wood, pack it; look after the gardens; gather the vegetables and cook them. When you come back to the village in the spring, plant your fields immediately. Never get lazy, for Earthmaker created you to do these things. 867 593 [462] [221]

My daughter, when you get your menses, do not ask those in the house to give you any food. Fast and do not eat until you get back to the family lodge. If you act thus, you will be fasting for your seat, for your position in life. You can only keep this seat by fasting. Then when you marry, even if your husband has been a good-for-nothing before, he will become a good hunter. You will have accomplished this for him. You will not fail in anything and you will be happy and contented. If, on the contrary, you do not do as I tell you, then when you marry, you will weaken your husband. After a while he will become sickly and it will be your fault. [841] [785]

It is not good to use medicine. If you marry a man and place medicine upon his head, you will weaken him and he will not amount to anything. It may happen that you do not want your husband to leave you and that after reflecting on the matter, you place some medicine on his head, to prevent him from leaving you. This is not good. You 867 593 832

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 828 wanted immediately to fight with those who protested. Whenever a person tried to buy one of them, he would ask an extravagant price, and whenever a horse was caught in depredations and he was asked to pay damages, he threatened to shoot the people concerned. He was accustomed to go around barefooted with his gun, it was said. For all these reasons his brothers disliked [593] him and asked some Winnebago to shoot him. These brothers also told the Winnebago how it would be possible to kill him, for he belonged to that group of people [1154] who were regarded as invulnerable. It is said that [1185] when he fasted, he had gone without food for a whole winter; that he had not resumed eating until spring. [411] In order to kill him, a wooden knife was required. This should be painted red. Then he was to be stabbed. This was the only way of killing him.

Now we thought that with all this evidence against him, we would surely be acquitted.

[P. 164]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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T71 the Iroquois and Fox.[1] In the article mentioned above we have
[114] given our reasons for believing that these ethnologists were mistaken in their interpretation.

T76 In the Winnebago language the four words most commonly used
192 in speaking of the spirits are *wak'a*ⁿ, *wak'a'ndja*, *xop*, and *waxop'i'ni*. *Wak'a*ⁿ seems exactly equivalent to our word "sacred," while *wak'a'ndja*, which is identical with the Omaha word *wakonda*, means thunderbird. In all likelihood it originally meant "he who is sacred" or something like that. It has nothing to do with the word "thunder," which is *k'oire* in Winnebago. The word *wak'a*ⁿ also means snake, for the snake is a holy animal among the Winnebago, the messenger of the spirits. The word *xop*, identical with the Omaha *xube*, is more difficult to define. It means sacred and awe-inspiring and seems to be associated, in the eyes of the Winnebago, with the intensely emotional aspects of religion, where self is completely forgotten. Those ceremonies, in which the performers work
[786] themselves into a frenzy of excitement and dance naked, are always referred to as *xop*. The word *waxop'i'ni* is clearly a noun compounded of the indefinite prefix *wa-* and the suffix *-ni*, which possibly is an old agentive nominalizer, or, more probably, an old stem meaning "man." It occurs also in the word *manka'ni*, medicine-man. In other words it means "he who" or "that which is holy." *Waxop'i'ni* is the only Winnebago word for spirit. Both the words *wak'andja* and *waxop'i'ni* are very definite terms referring to individualized spirits.

T76 As to the use of the adjectives *wak'a*ⁿ and *xop*, there seems to be
T71 little mystery about them. They are used much as our words "holy" and "sacred." Anything in any way connected with the
192 spirits is either *wak'a*ⁿ or *xop*. If a Winnebago were to come across some unusually shaped object he might offer tobacco to it, and upon being questioned he would undoubtedly say that the object is *wak'a*ⁿ. What is it that he means by *wak'a*ⁿ? From my experience in the field he simply means that it is "sacred," and if pressed for a more definite answer he would probably say that it has the power of

[1] According to Mr. Hewitt, *orenda* is a "magic power which was assumed . . . to be inherent in every body . . . and in every personified attribute, property, or activity . . . This hypothetic principle was conceived to be immaterial, occult, impersonal, mysterious in mode of action . . . The possession of *orenda* . . . is the distinctive characteristic of all the gods, and these gods in earlier time were all the bodies and beings of nature in any manner affecting the weal or woe of man." (Article "Orenda" in the Handbook of American Indians, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, pt. 2.) According to W. Jones, the mexin "is an unsystematic belief in a cosmic, mysterious property, which is believed to be existing everywhere in nature . . . The conception of this something wavers between that of a communicable property, that of a mobile, invisible substance, and that of a latent transferable energy: . . . this substance, property, or energy is conceived as being widely diffused amongst natural objects and human beings . . . the presence of it is promptly assigned as the explanation of any unusual power or efficacy which any object or person is found to possess: . . . It is a distinct and rather abstract conception of a diffused, all-pervasive, invisible, manipulable, and transferable life-energy, or universal force . . . (Finally) all success, strength, or prosperity is conceived to depend upon the possession of (this force)."—"The Algonkin Manitou" (Journal of American Folklore, vol. 18, no. LXX, pp. 183-190, 1905).

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



In 1910 the cult already had a rather definite organization. There 794
was, at every performance, one leader (pl. 54, *a*) and four principal participants. John Rave (pls. 5, *b*; 55, *b*), the Winnebago who introduced the peyote, was always the leader whenever he was present. On other occasions leadership devolved upon some older member. The four other principal participants changed from meeting to meeting, although there was a tendency to ask certain individuals whenever it was possible. The ritualistic unit, in short, is a very definite one, consisting of a number of speeches and songs and in the passing of the [796]
regalia from one to the other of the four participants.

During the early hours of the evening, before the peyote has begun to have any appreciable effect, a number of apparently intrusive features are found. These, for the most part, consist of speeches by [276]
people in the audience and the reading and explanation of parts of the Bible. After the peyote has begun to have an appreciable effect, however, the ceremony consists exclusively of a repetition of the [783]
ritualistic unit and confessions.

There is an initiation consisting of a baptism, always performed by John Rave. It is of a very simple nature. Rave dips his fingers in a peyote infusion and then passes them over the forehead of the [788]
new member, muttering at the same time the following prayer:

"God, his holiness."

This is what the Winnebago words mean, although some of the younger members who have been strongly permeated with Christian [177]
teachings translate the prayer into, "God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

Whenever the ceremony is performed in the open a fireplace in 794
the shape of a horseshoe is made. At one end of this fireplace is 788
placed a very small mound of earth, called by Rave "Mount Sinai," and in front of this a cross is traced in the earth. Upon the small earth mound are placed the two "chief" peyote, the Bible and the staff. The latter, called by Rave the shepherd's crook, is always covered with beadwork, and generally has a number of evenly cut tufts of deer hair on the end and at intervals along its length. The sacred peyote, known as *hunka* (i. e., "chief") are exceptionally large and beautiful specimens. They are regarded by a number of people, certainly by Rave, with undisguised veneration.

In addition to the above, there is found a large eagle feather fan, a small drum, and a peculiar small type of rattle. To my knowledge, this type was unknown among the Winnebago before its introduction by the peyote eaters.

### John Rave's Account of the Peyote Cult and of His Conversion 159

During 1893–94 I was in Oklahoma with peyote eaters. 794
In the middle of the night we were to eat peyote. We ate it and 276
I also did. It was the middle of the night when I got frightened, for 786

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159 a live thing seemed to have entered me. "Why did I do it?" I thought
794 to myself. I should not have done it, for right at the beginning I
276 have harmed myself. Indeed, I should not have done it. I am sure
786 it will injure me. The best thing will be for me to vomit it up. Well, now, I will try it. After a few attempts I gave up. I thought to myself, "Well, now you have done it. You have been going around trying everything and now you have done something that has harmed you. What is it? It seems to be alive and moving around in my stomach. If only some of my own people were here! That would have been better. Now no one will know what has happened to me. I have killed myself."

Just then the object was about to come out. It seemed almost out and I put out my hand to feel it, but then it went back again. "O, my, I should never have done it from the beginning. Never again will I do it. I am surely going to die."

As we continued it became day and we laughed. Before that I had been unable to laugh.

The following night we were to eat peyote again. I thought to myself, "Last night it almost harmed me." "Well, let us do it again," they said. "All right, I'll do it." So there we ate seven peyote apiece.

Suddenly I saw a big snake. I was very much frightened. Then another one came crawling over me. "My God! where are these coming from?" There at my back there seemed to be something. So I looked around and I saw a snake about to swallow me entirely. It had legs and arms and a long tail. The end of this tail was like a spear. "O, my God! I am surely going to die now," I thought. Then I looked again in another direction and I saw a man with horns and long claws and with a spear in his hand. He jumped for me and I threw myself on the ground. He missed me. Then I looked back and this time he started back, but it seemed to me that he was directing his spear at me. Again I threw myself on the ground and he missed me. There seemed to be no possible escape for me. Then suddenly it occurred to me, "Perhaps it is this peyote that is doing this thing to me?" "Help me, O medicine, help me! It is you who are doing this and you are holy! It is not these frightful visions that are causing this. I should have known that you were doing it. Help me!" Then my suffering stopped. "As long as the earth shall last, that long will I make use of you, O medicine!"

This had lasted a night and a day. For a whole night I had not slept at all.

Then we breakfasted. Then I said, when we were through, "Let us eat peyote again to-night." That evening I ate eight peyote.

In the middle of the night I saw God. To God living up above, our Father, I prayed. "Have mercy upon me! Give me knowledge

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that I may not say and do evil things. To you, O God, I am trying to 159
pray. Do thou, O Son of God, help me, too. This religion, let me 794
know. Help me, O medicine, grandfather, help me! Let me know 276
this religion!" Thus I spoke and sat very quiet. And then I beheld 786
the morning star and it was good to look upon. The light was good to look upon. I had been frightened during the night but now I was happy. Now as the light appeared, it seemed to me that nothing would be invisible to me. I seemed to see everything clearly. Then I thought of my home and as I looked around, there I saw the house in which I lived far away among the Winnebago, quite close to me. There at the window I saw my children playing. Then I saw a man going to my house carrying a jug of whisky. Then he gave them something to drink and the one that had brought the whisky got drunk and bothered my people. Finally he ran away. "So, that is what they are doing," I thought to myself. Then I beheld my wife come and stand outside of the door, wearing a red blanket. She was thinking of going to the flagpole and was wondering which road she should take. "If I take this road I am likely to meet some people, but if I take the other road, I am not likely to meet anyone."

Indeed, it is good. They are all well—my brother, my sister, my father, my mother. I felt very good indeed. O medicine, grandfather, most assuredly you are holy! All that is connected with you, that I would like to know and that I would like to understand. Help me! I give myself up to you entirely!

For three days and three nights I had been eating medicine, and for three days and three nights I had not slept. Throughout all the years that I had lived on earth, I now realized that I had never known anything holy. Now, for the first time, I knew it. Would that some of the Winnebagoes might also know it!

Many years ago I had been sick and it looked as if this illness 159
were going to kill me. I tried all the Indian doctors and then I 794
tried all of the white man's medicines, but they were of no avail. 276
"I am doomed. I wonder whether I will be alive next year." Such 755
were the thoughts that came to me. As soon as I ate the peyote, however, I got over my sickness. After that I was not sick again. My wife had suffered from the same disease, and I told her that if she ate this medicine it would surely cure her. But she was afraid, although she had never seen it before. She knew that I used it, but nevertheless she was afraid of it. Her sickness was getting worse and worse and one day I said to her, "You are sick. It is going to be very difficult, but try this medicine anyhow. It will ease you." Finally she ate it. I had told her to eat it and then to wash herself and comb her hair and she would get well, and now she is well. Then I painted her face and took my gourd and began singing very much. Then I stopped. "Indeed, you are right,"

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159 The fact that he (my brother-in-law) told me that I understood
794 pleased me, and I felt good when daylight came. (As a matter of
276 fact) I had not received any knowledge.

After that I would attend meetings every once in a while, and I looked around for a woman whom I might marry permanently. Before long that was the only thing I thought of when I attended the meetings.

On one occasion we were to have a meeting of men and I went to the meeting with a woman, with whom I thought of going around the next day. That was (the only) reason I went with her. When we arrived, the one who was to lead asked me to sit near him. There he placed me. He urged me to eat a lot of peyote, so I did. The leaders (of the ceremony) always place the regalia in front of themselves; they also had a peyote placed there. The leader placed a very small one in front of himself this time. "Why does he have a very small one there?" I thought to myself. I did not think much about it.

159 It was now late at night and I had eaten a lot of peyote and felt
794 rather tired. I suffered considerably. After a while I looked at the
786 peyote and there stood an eagle with outspread wings. It was as
276 beautiful a sight as one could behold. Each of the feathers seemed to have a mark. The eagle stood looking at me. I looked around thinking that perhaps there was something the matter with my sight. Then I looked again and it was really there. I then looked in a different direction and it disappeared. (Only the small peyote remained. I looked around at the other people but they all had their heads bowed and were singing. I was very much surprised.

Some time after this (I saw) a lion lying in the same place (where I had seen the eagle). I watched it very closely. It was alive and looking at me. I looked at it very closely, and when I turned my eyes away just the least little bit it disappeared. "I suppose they all know this and I am just beginning to know of it," I thought. Then I saw a small person (at the same place). He wore blue clothes and a shining brimmed cap. He had on a soldier's uniform. He was sitting on the arm of the person who was drumming, and he looked at every one. He was a little man, perfect (in all proportions). Finally I lost sight of him. I was very much surprised indeed. I sat very quietly. "This is what it is," I thought, "this is what they all probably see and I am just beginning to find out."

Then I prayed to Earthmaker (God) "This, your ceremony, let me hereafter perform."

As I looked again, I saw a flag. I looked more carefully and (I saw) the house full of flags. They had the most beautiful marks on them. In the middle (of the room) there was a very large flag and it was a live one; it was moving. In the doorway there was another

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one not entirely visible. I had never seen anything so beautiful in all my life before. 159 794

Then again I prayed to Earthmaker (God). I bowed my head and closed my eyes and began (to speak). I said many things that I would ordinarily never have spoken about. As I prayed, I was aware of something above me and there he was; Earthmaker (God) to whom I was praying, he it was. That which is called the soul, that is it, that is what one calls Earthmaker (God). Now this is what I felt and saw. The one called Earthmaker (God) is a spirit and that is what I felt and saw. All of us sitting there, we had all together one spirit or soul; at least that is what I learned. I instantly became the spirit and I was their spirit or soul. Whatever they thought of, I (immediately) knew. I did not have to speak to them and get an answer to know what their thoughts had been. Then I thought of a certain place, far away, and immediately I was there; I was my thought. 786 276

I looked around and noticed how everything seemed about me, and when I opened my eyes I was myself in the body again. From this time on, I thought, thus I shall be. This is the way they are, and I am only beginning to be that way. "All those that heed Earthmaker (God) must be thus," I thought. "I would not need any more food," I thought, "for was I not my spirit? Nor would I have any more use of my body," I felt. "My corporeal affairs are over," I felt.

Then they stopped and left, for it was just dawning. Then someone spoke to me. I did not answer, for I thought they were just fooling, and that they were all like myself, and that (therefore) it was unnecessary for me to talk to them. So when they spoke to me I only answered with a smile. "They are just saying this to me because (they realize) that I have just found out," I thought. That was why I did not answer. I did not speak to anyone until noon. Then I had to leave the house to perform one of nature's duties and someone followed me. It was my friend. He said, "My friend, what troubles you that makes you act as you do?" "Well, there's no need of your saying anything, for you know it beforehand," I said. 159 794 276

Then I immediately got over my trance and again got into my (normal) condition, so that he would have to speak to me before I knew his thoughts. I became like my former self. It became necessary for me to speak to him.

Then I spoke to him and said, "My friend, let us hitch up these horses and then I will go wherever you like, for you wish to speak to me and I also want to go around and talk to you." Thus I spoke to him. "If I were to tell you all that I have learned, I would never be able to stop at all, so much have I learned," I said to him. "However, I would enjoy telling some of it." "Good," said he. He liked

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159 it (what I told him) very much. "That is what I am anxious to
794 hear," said he. Then we went after the horses. We caught one of
276 them but we could not get the other. He got away from us and we could not find him. We hunted everywhere for the horse but could not discover where he had run to. Long afterwards we found it among the whites.

Now since that time (of my conversion) no matter where I am, I always think of this religion. I still remember it and I think I will remember it as long as I live. It is the only holy thing I have been aware of in all my life.

After that whenever I heard of a peyote meeting, I went to it. However, my thoughts were always fixed on women. "If I were married (legally) perhaps these thoughts will leave me," I thought. Whenever I went to a meeting now I tried to eat as many peyote as possible, for I was told that it was good to eat them. For that reason I ate them. As I sat there I would always pray to Earthmaker (God). Now these were my thoughts. If I were married, I thought as I sat there, I could then put all my thoughts on this ceremony. I sat with my eyes closed and was very quiet.

159 Suddenly I saw something. This was tied up. The rope with
794 which this object was tied up was long. The object itself was run-
● 786 ning around and around (in a circle). There was a pathway there
276 in which it ought to go, but it was tied up and unable to get there. The road was an excellent one. Along its edge bluegrass grew and on each side there grew many varieties of pretty flowers. Sweet-smelling flowers sprang up all along this road. Far off in the distance appeared a bright light. There a city was visible of a beauty indescribable by tongue. A cross was in full sight. The object that was tied up would always fall just short of reaching the road. It seemed to lack sufficient strength to break loose (of what was holding it). (Near it) lay something which would have given it sufficient strength to break its fastenings, if it were only able to get hold of it.

I looked at what was so inextricably tied up and I saw that it was myself. I was forever thinking of women. "This it is to which I am tied," I thought. "Were I married, I would have strength enough to break my fastening and be able to travel in the good road," I thought. Then daylight came upon us and we stopped.

159 Then I thought of a man I used to know who was an old peyote-
794 man. He always spoke to me very kindly. I went over to see him.
276 I thought I would tell him what had happened to me. When I arrived there he was quite delighted. It was about noon and he fed my horses and asked me to eat with him. Then when we were through eating, I told him what had happened to me. He was very glad and told me that I was speaking of a very good thing. Then (finally) he said, "Now I shall tell you what I think is a good thing

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though I were going to die. I was very thirsty but I feared to ask for water. I thought that I was certainly going to die. I began to totter over. 159 794 276

I died, and my body was moved by another life. It began to move about; to move about and make signs. It was not I and I could not see it. At last it stood up. The regalia—eagle feathers and gourds—these were holy, they said. They also had a large book there (the Bible). These my body took and what is contained in that (book) my body saw. It was a Bible. The regalia were not holy, but they were good ornaments. My body told them that; and that if any person paid attention to Earthmaker's (God's) ceremony, he would be hearkening to what the Bible said; that, likewise, my body told them. Earthmaker's son (God's son) said that he was the only way. This means that one can only get life from the Word. (My) body spoke of many things and it spoke of what was true. Indeed it spoke of many things. It spoke of all the things that were being done (by the pagan Indians) and which were evil A long time it spoke. At last it stopped. Not I, but my body standing there, had done the talking. Earthmaker (God) had done his own talking. I would be confessing myself a fool if I were to think that I had said all this, it (my body) told me. 786 159 794 276

After a while I returned to my normal human condition. Some of those there had been frightened, thinking that I had gone crazy. Others had liked it. It was discussed a good deal. They called it the "shaking" state. It was said that the condition in which I was, was not part of Earthmaker's (God's) religion. I was told that whoever ate a lot of peyote would, through the peyote, be taught the teachings of Earthmaker (God). Earthmaker's (God's) ways and man's ways were different. Whoever, therefore, wished to help this religion must give himself up (to it). If you ate a good deal of this peyote and believed that it could teach you something, then it assuredly would do so. That, at least, is the way in which I understand the matter. 159 794 276

Once we had a meeting at the home of a member who was sick. The sick would always get well when a meeting was held in their home, and that is why we did it. At that meeting I got into the "shaking" condition again. My body told (us) how our religion (peyote) was an affair of Earthmaker's (God's) and even if one knew only a portion of it, one could still see (partake of) Earthmaker's (God's) religion.

Thus it went on talking. "Earthmaker (God), His Son (Christ) and His Holiness (the Holy Ghost), these are the three ways of saying it. Even if you know one (of these three), it means all. Every one of you has the means of opening (the road) to Earthmaker (God). It is given to you. With that (your belief) you can open (the door

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sung; after the second one a dance song is sung and all the guests 796x
who so desire dance around the war bundle; after the third one the host passes the drum and other paraphernalia to the guest who is in charge of the buckskin destined for Earthmaker. This guest repeats the ritual in exactly the same manner as the host has done and then passes the drum, etc., to the second guest, and when the time comes he passes the drum, etc., to the third guest. Then the ritual of the throwing out of the buckskins intervenes, and after that the feast of the Night Spirits and the rite of those who have been crazed by the Night Spirits. Then, when these are finished, the basic ritual is continued. The continuation is, however, quite different from the first part and is identical with the basic ritual as given in the first part of the ceremony.

(9) *The throwing out of the buckskins.*—A warrior of great reputation is selected to begin the rites preparatory to the throwing out of [554
the buckskins. One who has been blessed by the Night Spirits is 776]
preferably selected. He delivers a speech, and when he is finished the guests sing songs called "terminal Night Spirit" songs. Then the host prepares to sing a dance song, but before that he delivers a speech. Then, as the oldest men present sing, the host and the guests impersonating the spirits to whom tobacco is sacrificed take the buckskins and make the circuit of the lodge four times. An attendant precedes and another follows the procession, scattering incense consisting of branches of the arbor vitæ. Just before the fourth circuit is begun [857]
all the children smoke their hands and then touch the buckskin dedicated to Earthmaker. After the fourth circuit has been completed the buckskins are unrolled and thrown out through the top of the lodge, where the spirits are supposed to come and take them. After this, all holding tobacco in their hands walk to the fireplace and throw it in. Then, as a conclusion, all, even the women, rise in their respective seats and dance.

(10) *The episode of those who have been crazed by the Night Spirits.*— 796x
This is plainly an intrusive feature and does not take place at every 786
performance of the ceremony. An individual who has brought himself to a state of religious frenzy strips himself entirely and behaves generally like one bereft of his senses. He sticks his hands into the boiling soup and makes a wild rush for the pot where the heads are being cooked and tries to bite them. It is believed that whoever gets the first bite will, at some future time, obtain a war honor. Then he takes the pipe placed in the center of the lodge, smokes it, and relates some war exploits. He then tells the assembled guests that in his [787]
trance he communicated with the spirits, and they told him that they had accepted all the offerings made.[9]

[9] There can be no doubt that we are dealing with an extremely specialized and interesting behavior, that in other tribes, and for that matter among the Winnebago themselves in other ceremonies, has an entirely different connotation.

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war power and life we bless you,' they said. Then he looked at them. 796x
'I wonder whether they really are the Night Spirits?' he thought. 539x
They were not the Night Spirits who were speaking to him. The 787
birds that spoke were the *kawi'cge*, *tcōnji*, and *ci'k'ok'ok'*.[86] They 776
were the ones that spoke and they were the ones that fooled him. Instead of feeling sad this time, however (he said), 'I don't care what happens; I am willing to die (in order to get the blessing),' he thought to himself. Then he began fasting again. He rubbed the (charcoal) over (his face) again. Seven nights he fasted. And once again from the east the Night Spirits came singing. They came and stood (before him) and they said, 'Nephew, we bless you. So long have you been sad and cried to us piteously (that we will bless you). No one did we ever bless before. In war and life you shall do just as you wish,' they said. Then he looked again. 'I wonder whether those speaking are really the Night Spirits?' he thought. But they were not the Night Spirits. They were the bluebird, *gi'sge*,[87] and duck, and as many of them as there were, their breasts were dark. As many birds as there were, they were bad. 'My, O my! How they abuse me!' he cried. At first Djōbenągiwi'ąxga had thought in his fastings that just to spite them he would fast again. Now he rubbed (charcoal on his face) again and wept bitterly.[88] Both hands contained tobacco and he stood in the direction from which the Night Spirits came and weeping, put himself in the most abject condition.

"Now, indeed, to its very depths did his heart ache. Ten nights did he fast. Finally they (the Night Spirits) came after him. 'Human, I have come after you.' He followed (the spirits) and they took him to the east; to the site of a Night Spirit village they took him. The chief of the Night Spirits had sent this one to go after him. In the village was a long lodge standing in the east. There they took him. As many Night Spirits as there were in control of powerful blessings, of that many the lodge was full. When he entered he walked in white feathers up to his knees.[89] Many kettles and much food he saw stretched right across (the lodge). On the outside, a buffalo hide stretched almost across the entire lodge. Then they said to him, 'Human, without giving up, long you have suffered; your heart has, indeed, been sad. They, as many spirits as there are

[86] English equivalents for the first two unknown. The last is probably the robin.

[87] English equivalent unknown.

[88] He wept bitterly not so much on account of his disappointment as for the purpose of bringing himself into a state of religious ecstacy. The change of attitude from one of spite to realization that not in such a way were blessings from deities like the Night Spirits to be obtained is very well brought out here. It was a cardinal tenet of the religion of the devout shamans that your success in obtaining blessings was in direct proportion to the motives and intensity of feeling you brought to your prayer. To throw away your life through mere disappointment was deemed absolutely unethical, (a thought that) is brought out quite distinctly in the systematic teachings given to the young. [786]

[89] The lodge of the Night Spirits are supposed to be strewn with white feathers as a sign of holiness. As far as known no symbolism is attached to it.

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### Feast to the Night Spirits

539x 796x

Those who were called on for kettles now took the pieces of meat that had been counted for them (by the attendants). The attendants divided the pieces evenly for all those who did not eat heads. As soon as the distribution was finished then the host started playing his flute and all began to eat at the same time. The feasters are careful that they spill nothing and that the utmost precautions are taken. It is not proper to scatter the bones. They are afterwards gathered up and thrown in a consecrated place. Never do they talk frivolously throughout the night. Those who had obtained war honors as they sat near the fire would now tell of their war exploits—how many warpaths they had been on and how many fights they had been in. All night do they talk in this way. All night would the boys listen, it is said. They are asking for war powers; that war might come their way—that is why they do this (recount their war exploits). [264]

### Rite of Those Who Have Been Crazed by the Night Spirits

539x 796x 786

As they do this some become crazed by the Night Spirits.[147] A religious frenzy comes over them.[148] All their clothes would be cast off, it is said. All naked, without any apparel, would the man dance around the lodge. All would sit waiting. They (these crazed ones) would not be in ignorance about the place where food was being boiled for the Night Spirits, and they would go toward it. Even if the kettle was boiling over the crazed ones would stick their hand in it. Similarly, as soon as the head was taken out from the place where it was being boiled, then these men would make a rush for it and try to get the first bite. Whoever was able to get the first bite would surely, at some later time, receive war honors. When they are finished with the rush for the head, then the feaster (i. e., the successful one) takes the pipe placed in the center of the lodge and smokes it. When he has finished he would tell of his war exploits and also tell them what offerings had been accepted by the spirits. That the one who has just come out of his trance would tell them. They (the spirits) told the feaster (i. e., the crazed one) that they had accepted all the things that had been offered—the tobacco, the food, and the buckskins; that the feasters had done well.[149] However, not at every feast would a man become crazed, it is said. A holy person he would have to be. When the feasting is over and all have finished their meal, then the first one to whom a head had been apportioned and for whom a kettle had been placed rises and speaks.

[147] I. e., they get into a state of religious ecstasy through worship of the Night Spirits.

[148] Literally, "holiness comes over him."

[149] Apparently the one supposed to be crazed by the Night Spirits sees them in his ecstatic vision and finds out whether they are satisfied or not with the offerings. [787]

that Earthmaker was good and that the peyote was 159*
good, and that whosoever ate the peyote would be able 795
to free himself from the bad spirit. They said that 796
Earthmaker forbids us to commit sins. When this was over they sang again.

After midnight I would every now and then hear 159*
some one cry. In some cases I saw a person go up to 795
the leader and talk to him. He would stand up and 786
pray with him. I was told what these people were saying. I was told that these people were asking others to pray for them for they were sorry for the sins they had committed and wished to be prevented from committing them again. They cried very loudly. I was rather frightened, especially when I noticed that when I closed my eyes and sat still, strange things began to appear before me. I was not in the least sleepy. Then the light of morning came upon me. In the morning, when the sun rose, the ceremony stopped. All got up and prayed to Earthmaker and left.

During the daytime I did not get sleepy in the least. 159*
My actions, however, were a little different from my 795
usual ones. Then the people said, "To-night they are going to have another meeting. Let us go over. They say that this is the best thing to do for then, you can learn the ceremony immediately. It is said that the souls of the members of the peyote ceremony wander [794]
all over the earth and the heavens. All this you will learn and see." They continued, "At times the members die and remain dead all night and day. When in this condition they sometimes see Earthmaker, it is

## §31. *The Effects of the Peyote*

That night we went to the place where the peyote meeting was to be given. I was given a place to sit down and treated very kindly. "Well, he has come," they even said to me when I came, "make room for him." I thought they regarded me as a great man. John Rave, the leader, was to conduct the ceremony. He told of his conversion: 159* 995

### *John Rave's Conversion to the Peyote Religion*

159* 995 786

During the years 1893 and 1894 I was in Oklahoma among the peyote eaters.

There one night, in the middle of the night, we were to eat peyote. I also ate some. Then later on in the night I got frightened for a living thing seemed to have entered me "Why did I do it?" I thought. "I should not have done it for right at the beginning I have harmed myself. Indeed I should not have done it; I am sure it will injure me. The best thing for me to do will be to vomit it up. Well, now I am going to try it." After a few attempts I gave up. I thought to myself, "Well, now you have done it! You have been going around trying everything and now you have succeeded in doing something that will harm you. What is it? It seems to be alive and moving around in my stomach. If only some of my people were here! That

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¥159 would have been much better. Now, no one will know
195 what became of me; I have killed myself."
786 Just then the object within me seemed to be coming out. It seemed almost out and I put my hand in my mouth to feel it, but then it went back again. "Oh my! I should never have done it at the very start. Never again will I do it. I am surely going to die!"

So we continued and then day dawned and I laughed. Before that I had been unable to laugh.

The following night we were to eat the peyote again. I thought to myself, "Last night it almost harmed me." "Well, let us eat the peyote again," the people said and I answered, "All right, I'll do it." So we ate seven peyote apiece.

Suddenly I saw a big snake. I was very much frightened. Then another one came crawling over me. "My God! Where are these snakes coming from?" There at my back there seemed to be something also. So I looked around and saw a snake about to swallow me entirely. It had legs and arms and a long tail. The end of its tail was like a spear. "O God! I am surely going to die now," I thought. Then I turned in another direction and I saw a man with horns and long claws and with a spear in his hand. He jumped for me and I threw myself on the ground. He missed me. Then I looked back. This time he started back but it seemed to me that he was directing his spear at me. Again I threw myself on the ground and he missed me. There seemed to be no possible escape for me. Then it suddenly occurred to me, "Perhaps it is the peyote that is doing this to me? Help me, O Medicine, help me! It is you who are doing this and you who are holy! Not these frightful visions are causing this. I should have known that it was you, indeed, who were doing it! Help me!"

## *The Effects of the Peyote*

Then my suffering stopped. "As long as the earth shall last, that long will I make use of you, O Medicine!" 159* 995

This had lasted a night and a day. For a whole night I had not slept. 986

Then we breakfasted and when we were through I said, "Let us eat peyote again to-night." That evening I ate eight peyote.

In the middle of the night I saw God. To God living up above, our father, I prayed. "Have mercy upon me! Give me knowledge that I may not say and do evil things. To you, O God, I am trying to pray. Do thou, O Son of God, help me too. This religion, let me know this religion!" Thus I spoke and sat very quiet. Then I beheld the morning star and it was good to look upon; the light was good to look upon. I had been frightened during the night but now I was happy. Now as the light appeared it seemed to me that nothing would be invisible to me. I seemed to see everything clearly. Then I thought of my home and as I looked around there I saw the house in which I lived far away among the Winnebago. It was quite close to me. There at the window I saw my children at play and I saw a man going to my house carrying a jug of whisky. Then he gave them something to drink and the one who had brought the whisky got drunk and annoyed the people. Finally he ran away. "So this is what they are doing?" I thought to myself. Then I beheld my wife. She came out and stood outside the door wearing a red blanket. She was thinking of going to the flag pole and was wondering which road to take. "If I take this road I am likely to meet some people, but if I take the other, I am not likely to encounter any one." [996]

Indeed it is good. They are all well—my brother, my sister, my father, my mother. I felt very good indeed. O

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 Medicine, grandfather, most assuredly you are holy! All
795 that is connected with you, that I would like to know and
● 786 that I would like to understand. Help me! I give myself up to you entirely!

For three days and for three nights I had been eating the peyote and not slept at all. Now I realized that throughout all the years that I had lived, I had never once known a truly holy thing. Now, for the first time, I knew it. Would that some of the Winnebago might also know it!

*159 Many years ago I had been sick and it looked as if this
795 sickness were going to kill me. I tried all the Winnebago
755 doctors and then I tried all of the white man's medicines, all were of no avail. I thought to myself, "You are doomed. I wonder whether you will be alive next year?" Such were the thoughts that came to me. As soon as I ate the peyote, however, I got over my sickness. After that I was not sick again. My wife suffered from the same disease and I told her that if she ate the peyote it would cure her. She was afraid although she had never seen it before. She knew that I had used it and yet was afraid. Her sickness, however, got worse and worse and one day I said to her, "You are sick. It is going to be very difficult but try the peyote anyhow. It will ease you." Finally she ate it. I had told her to eat it and then wash herself and comb her hair and that she would get well. She got entirely well. I painted her face and took my gourd and began singing to her very much. Then I stopped. "Indeed, you are right," she said, "for now I am well." From that day to the present she has been well. Now she is very happy.

[551] A man named *Black-waterspirit* was having a hemorrhage at about that time and I wanted him to eat the peyote.

## §32. *I Am Converted*

*159 795 On one occasion we were to have a meeting of men and women and I went to it with a woman, the one with whom I thought I would go around the next day. That was the only reason I went with her. When we arrived at the meeting, the leader asked me to sit near him and there I was placed. He urged me to eat many peyote and I did so. Now the leaders of the ceremony always place the sacred objects in front of themselves. The sacred peyote was also placed there. Now the one this particular leader placed in front of himself this time was a very small one. "Why does he have a very small one?" I thought to myself. However, I did not think of this matter long.

*159 795 ● 786 It was now late at night. I had eaten a lot of peyote and felt rather tired. I suffered considerably. After a while I looked at the peyote, and there I saw an eagle standing with outspread wings. It was as beautiful a sight as could well be observed. Each of the feathers seemed to have a mark. The eagle stood there looking at me. I turned my gaze, thinking that perhaps there was something the matter with my sight, but then when I looked again the eagle was still present. Again I turned around and when I looked at the spot where the eagle had stood, it was gone and only the small

## *I Am Converted*

peyote remained. I then watched the other people, but they all had their heads bowed and were praying. 159* 795 786

Suddenly I saw a lion lying in the same place where before I had seen the eagle. I watched it very closely and when I turned my eyes for the least little bit, it disappeared. "I suppose all those present are aware of this and I am just beginning to find out," I thought. Then I saw a small person at the same place. He wore blue clothes and a shining brimmed cap. He had on a soldier's uniform and was sitting on the arm of the person who was drumming, scrutinizing everybody. He was a little man but perfect in all proportions. Finally I lost sight of him. I was very much surprised indeed. I sat very quietly. "So this is what it is," I thought. "This is what they all probably see and which I am just now beginning to find out."

Then I prayed to Earthmaker, to God:

"This, your ceremony, let me hereafter perform!"

[P.189]

## §33. *I See God*

*159 795 786 As I looked again I saw a flag. I looked more carefully and I saw the house full of flags. They had the most beautiful marks on them. In the middle of the room there was a large flag, a living one. It was moving. In the doorway there was another one not entirely visible. I had never seen anything so beautiful in all my life before.

Again I prayed to God. I bowed my head and closed my eyes and began to speak. I said many things that I would ordinarily never have spoken about. As I prayed I was aware of something above me and there He was, He to whom I was speaking, God. That which [796] we call the soul, that it is which is God. This is what I felt and saw. The one called Earthmaker, God, is a spirit and He it was I felt and saw. At least this is what I learned. I instantly became their spirit; I was their spirit or soul. Whatever they thought of I immediately knew. I did not have to speak to them and get an answer to know what their thoughts were. Then I thought of a certain place far away, and immediately I was there. I was my thought.

I looked about and watched the people around me and then when I opened my eyes I was myself in body again. From now on thus it shall be, I felt. This is

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



the way they are and I am only now beginning to find 159* out. "All those who heed God must be thus. I shall 795 not need any more food for am I not my spirit? I shall 786 have no more use of my body; my corporeal affairs are over." Thus I felt.

Then all stopped and left the lodge, for it had begun 159* to dawn. Some one spoke to me. I did not answer, 795 for I thought they were just fooling and that they were like myself, that therefore it would be unnecessary for me to speak to them. So instead of speaking I answered with a smile. "They are just saying this to me because they realize that I have only now found out," I thought. That was why I didn't answer. I did not speak to any one until noon. Then I had to leave the house to urinate and some one followed me. It was my friend. He said, "My friend, what troubles you that makes you act as you do?" "Well, there's no need of your saying anything, for you know it beforehand," I said. After saying this I got over my trance and was restored to my normal condition. My friend had to speak to me before I knew his thoughts. I became like my former self.

Then I spoke to him and said, "My friend, let us hitch up the horses and then I will go wherever you like, for you wish to speak to me and I also want to speak to you." I continued, "If I were to tell you all that I have learned, I should never be able to stop, so much have I learned. Yet I shall gladly tell some of it." "Good," said he. He liked what I told him very much. "I am anxious to hear what you have seen," he

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## §34. *Visions*

Now ever since that time, no matter where I am, I always think of this religion. I still remember it and I think I shall remember it as long as I live. It is the only holy thing that I have become aware of in all my life. 159* 795

After that, whenever I heard of a peyote meeting, I went to it.

My thoughts, however, were still always fixed on women. "If I were married legally, perhaps these thoughts would leave me," I thought. Whenever I went to a meeting, therefore, I tried to eat as many peyote as possible, for I was told that it was good to do that. I always prayed to Earthmaker as I sat there. Such were my thoughts. "If I were married," I thought, "then I should be able to put all my thoughts on this ceremony." I sat with my eyes closed, very quiet.

Suddenly I saw something. It was an object all tied up. The rope with which this object was tied up was long and the object itself was running around and around in a circle. A road was present in which it ought to have gone, but the object was so tied up that it was unable to reach it. The road was an excellent one. Along its edge grew blue grass and on each side 159* 795 786

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



*159 795 786 grew many varieties of pretty flowers. Sweet-smelling flowers sprang up all along its path. Far off in the distance appeared a bright light. There a city was visible, of beauty indescribable. A cross was in full sight. The object tied up would always just fall short of reaching the road. It seemed to lack sufficient strength to break loose from whatever it was that was holding it. Nearby lay something that would have given it sufficient strength to break its fastenings if it were only able to get there.

I looked at what was so inextricably tied up and I saw that it was myself. I was forever thinking of woman. "This it is with which I am tied," I thought to myself. "Were I married I would have strength enough to break my fastenings and be able to travel in the good road." Then daylight came upon us and the ceremony stopped.

*159 795 Then I thought of a man I used to know, an old peyote man. He always spoke kindly to me. I went over to see him. I thought that I would tell him what had happened to me. He was very glad and told me that I was speaking of a very good thing. Then finally he said, "Now I shall tell you what I think is a good thing for you to do. You know that if an old horse is balky, you cannot break him of this habit; even if you had bought him and tried to break him, you would not succeed. If, indeed, you had succeeded, it would only be after very hard work. However, if you had a young horse, you could train it in any way you wished. So it is in everything. If you marry a woman who has

## §35. *I Have a Strange Experience*

*159 795 ● 786 Many things are said under the influence of the peyote. The members get into a kind of trance and speak many things. On one occasion they had a peyote meeting which lasted two nights. I ate many peyote. The next morning I tried to sleep. I suffered a great deal. I lay down in a very comfortable position. After a while a fear arose in me. I could not remain in that place, so I went out into the prairie, but here again I was seized with this fear. Finally I returned to a lodge near the one in which the peyote meeting was being held, and there I lay down alone. I feared that I might do something foolish to myself if I remained there alone, and I hoped that some one would come and talk to me. Then some one did come and talk to me, but I did not feel any better. I went inside the lodge where the meeting was taking place. "I am going inside," I told him. He laughed, "All right, go in." I went in and sat down. It was very hot and I felt as though I was going to die. I was very thirsty, but I feared to ask for water. I thought that I was certainly going to die. I began to totter over.

I died and my body was moved by another life. I began to move about and make signs. It was not my-

## *I Have a Strange Experience*

self doing it and I could not see it. At last it stood up. 159* The eagle feathers and the gourds, these it said, were 795 holy. They also had a large book there. What was 786 contained in that book, my body saw. It was the Bible. [798] The sacred objects were not holy, but they were good ornaments. My body said that if any one paid attention to God's ceremony, he would be hearkening to what the Bible said. God's Son said that He was the only way. This means that one can only live from the word. My body spoke of many things and it spoke of what was true. It spoke of all the things that were being done by the Winnebago and that were evil. It spoke a long time and then stopped. Not I, but my body standing there, had done the talking. I should be confessing myself a fool if I were to think that I had said all this, my body told me.

After a while I returned to my normal condition. 159* Some of the people present had been frightened thinking that I had gone crazy. 795 Others, on the other hand, liked it. It was discussed a good deal; they called it the "shaking" state. It was claimed that the condition in which I had been was not part of God's religion. I was told that whoever ate a lot of peyote would, through the peyote, be taught the teachings of God. God's ways and man's ways are different. Whoever therefore wished to help this religion must give himself up to it. If you eat a good deal of the peyote and believed that it could teach you something, then it assuredly would do so. That, at least, is the way in which I understand this matter.

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 [155] 795 786 Once we had a meeting at the home of a member who was sick. The sick would always get well when a meeting was held in their home and that is why we used to hold them there. At this particular meeting I got into the shaking condition again. My body told us how our religion was an affair of God's and how even if one knew only a portion of it, one could still partake of it. Thus it spoke. "God, His Son, and His Holiness, these are the three ways of saying it. Even if you know one of these three, it means all. Every one of you has the means of opening the road to Earthmaker. It is given to all of you. With belief you can open the door to God. You cannot open it with knowledge alone. How many letters are there to the *key*, to the road? Three. What are they? "There were many educated people present, but none of them said anything. "The first letter must be *K*." If, therefore, a person said *K*, that would be the whole of it. "But let me look into the Bible and see what it means," said the body. Then the body took the Bible and began turning the leaves. The body did not know where the passage was itself. Finally in Matthew, Chapter 16, it stopped. There it speaks about it. "Peter did not give himself up," it says. "For a long time he could not give up his own knowledge." There, in that passage, it says Key. That is the work of God. At least, so I understand it. He made use of my body and acted in this manner in the case of the peyote.

795 539 At one meeting[1] O. L. spoke about the old stories. He spoke as follows:

[200]

[1.e., a peyote meeting.—Analyst]

so many Winnebago informed me, the most sacred and important 105
of the ritual societies of this type was the Night-spirit one. It was 575
practically gone when I first visited the tribe in 1909. In none of 796
these rituals was there any control of membership or insistence upon 571
a special code of conduct either before or after admission.

The warbundle ceremonies require a few words. Each perform- 105
ance is divided into two parts, the first presided over by the Thunder- 721
bird spirits and the second by the Night-spirits. However, all the 796
great spirits of the Winnebago pantheon have their place in it and, to all, offerings are made. Although in the eyes of the Winnebago, the warbundle ritual is devoted entirely to the glorification of war, it is interesting and significant to see that, besides the great patrons of war, the Thunderbird spirits, Night-spirits, Sun, Morning Star, Evening Star, Disease-giver, Eagle, Black Hawk, specific peace deities like Earthmaker, Earth, Moon and Water are also included and, at times, even the hero-deities, Trickster, Turtle and Hare. From this we can infer that even in a ceremony devoted preeminently to the enhancement of the importance of the warrior and of warfare, deities symbolizing peace and the antithesis of violence and force, could not be entirely left out. Admittedly their inclusion had little effect upon the one and insistent prayer of the participants, war. Even Earthmaker is represented as bestowing success on the warpath, something completely new. Yet the mere fact that Earthmaker was included did act as a reminder that the pursuit of war was not everything.

The warbundle rituals represent the classic and most complete expression of the war spirit, the glorification of the viewpoint of the chief of the lower division of the tribe, namely, that one goes out to combat evil, militantly and with violence. In fact, you must pre-enact the enemy's attack, your method of coping with it, and the manner in which the enemy is to be defeated and overwhelmed. Even orgies, where all self-control is abandoned, are permitted, some- [786]
thing that was always abhorrent to the normal Winnebago and greatly dreaded. The remark made to me by the Indian who translated the text, relative to such orgies is quite illuminating here. 'It is good to have one Indian work himself into a paroxysm of enthusiasm but it must never be more than one!'

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792 along nevertheless, and whenever you wish to walk like the thunder-
173 birds and walk above the earth, then I can turn back. I will go along."

There were eleven who went along. When they got to the place where the Shawnee prophet was staying they found all the other tribes (represented) there except the Winnebago.

Then the prophet said, "It is good, my younger brothers." He called the Winnebago younger brothers. "There are many tribes here, but I wanted to see you here especially. It is good you have come. I want to talk to you, but it is impossible (because I can not speak your language)." Now the old man who had come along against the wishes of the chief could speak any Indian language, so the leader said to Dog-Head, "Older brother, you used to speak almost any language; can you still do it?" Then Dog-Head said, "My younger brother, I can understand what he is saying, but I don't know whether I could talk the language myself. I may or may not be able to speak it (enough to make myself understood). I don't know." Then the leader said, "It is good, older brother. Try to talk to him, and whatever you do will be better than nothing." Then Dog-Head said to the Shawnee prophet, "I can understand what you are saying, but I am afraid to talk to you because I don't know whether I could make myself clear to you." The prophet thanked him and said, "It is good. I want to talk to you Winnebago."

Then they had a long conversation and this is what he said, "Younger brothers, we are not doing the right thing and that is why we are not getting along very well in life."

792 At that time they (the other tribes) were having their night dances,
● 787 so the Winnebago moved over to them. There they heard the
173 prophet speak. He said that he had been sent by the Creator because the Indians were wandering away from their old customs. For that reason the Creator had sent him to tell them of it. He at first forgot all about it, for the devil misrepresented things to him and he believed him. The devil had told him that he would go to heaven and that he could not be killed. He had told him that he had given him a holy belt. He was a bad person. Whenever he got angry he would throw his belt down on the ground and it would change into a yellow rattlesnake and rattle. When he did this the rest of the people were afraid of him. He was very mean when drunk. They were afraid of him, not only on account of his belt, which he could turn into a yellow rattlesnake, but also because of the fact that he was very strong. If, when he was drunk, a number of people jumped on him, afterwards he would find out about it and hit them. If they would resist he would kill them.

It was utterly impossible for him to be killed. He was unkind to the women. They would go with him not because they liked him

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but because they were afraid of him. It was a dangerous thing to say anything about him. Whenever he wished to drink he would take some person's valuables and buy drink with it. These are the things he did. The Creator had sent him on a mission to the earth, but the devil had misled him. 172 787 173

On one occasion (when he was drunk) quite a number of people jumped on him and nearly killed him. When he awoke the next morning he asked his wife who had done it and she told him. "Well, they will hear of me soon. However, I want to go and take a bath first and cool off and then take my revenge, when I get back." When he was in bathing a man came to him and said, "They have told me to come after you, so let us go." Then he went back with him and he took him to the place from which he had originally started. Then the Creator said, "How are you getting on with the work which you were to do?" Then he remembered what he had been doing. Then the Creator said, "Is it for this that I created you?" Then he took his mouth and showed it to him and he saw that it was crooked and sticking out in all directions. Then he took his understanding (and showing it to him), he said, "Did I create you thus?" Then he looked into his ears and they were crooked and ragged. Thus he made him see all his bad characteristics and his evil mind. Then he took out his heart and showed it to him. It was all furrowed up and bad to look upon. "Did I create you thus?" said the Creator.

"Now, then, you will do better the next time," and he sent him back. This time, however, he (the prophet) did not come here to get revenge. He came to tell of the mysteries, but no one would believe him. "He is just getting crazier all the time," they said of him. Then he told all to gather in one place and he promised to say nothing but the truth. Then he made a small flat war club, cleared a piece of ground and laid it there. Then he said to those assembled, "If anyone can lift this, then I will not say it (i. e., talk about my mission)."

Now he (the prophet) was one of triplets. The third one was teased a good deal and one day he said, "I am getting tired of this teasing and am going home." Then he died. They had been teasing him about his head, which was very narrow. There were thus two left. The brother who was left was a powerful man. Bullets could not penetrate him, and indeed it was impossible to kill him in any way. It was this brother who had told him not to talk (about his mission). Then the prophet said to him, "Well, if you can lift this war club I will not speak about it any more." Then he tried to lift the little war club and failed. After that the brother made no more remarks about it.

Then he had them make a long lodge and they were told to go after a number of bears. As many as he told them to get, that many

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they would bring home with them. Thus they knew that he was telling the truth. All the people in the country listened to him and what he prophesied came true, so they believed him holy.

One day they told him that the whites were coming. After a short time they said, "They are still coming. There are very many of them." The lookouts were always watching and they saw them coming. Then the prophet said, "When they come, listen to them, and when they sleep we will attend to them." Now the whites had come; they had to cut through the roads to come. When they were near one of their number came over to ask where they could camp and they were told to camp right there. In the night, when they were asleep, they shot at them. They were half asleep and they ran away without their weapons. A tribe of Indians was just then going down the stream and these shot at the whites, too. Then they turned back and the commander had the bugle blow and called them to themselves. Then they took their guns and fought. Many Indians were killed. The one who had led the Winnebago over was killed in this battle.

Then his son started back home. His name was Small-Snake. As they were returning, unprepared for danger, a boat came down the stream and passed very close to them. The women (he was the only man among them) cried out. He was without any ammunition except two shots. Just as he got ready to shoot they were recognized. The people in the boat were not Americans but Frenchmen and they were very hungry. Thus they were saved, and the Frenchmen gave them plenty of ammunition. Then they passed safely on.

The Indians had scattered in every direction and no one knew who was alive. Then Dog-Head blessed them with a powerful medicine that he possessed. "My son (he was addressing Small-Snake), if I were to induce you to join the Medicine Dance, why that honor would perish with your death. Now they say that a man named Large-Walker had a vision in which he was blessed by a loon. The loon blessed him, saying, 'Large-Walker, I also bless you with this (medicine). When I work for the chief and when I sweep his lodge, I sweep all the bad things outside. It will be the same with this medicine. If a person partakes of something bad, he will not die, no matter how bad it is, but, on the contrary, he will live. Now when you wish to use this medicine, pour some tobacco for me and I will smoke it.' Then he looked at the loon and the loon had something growing out of his back. That is what he was referring to. Then the loon said again, 'When you want to dig it, don't dig it right away (i. e., without performing the proper rites). You must offer a white feather, a white deerskin, red feathers, and tobacco. Then you can dig it. If you make these offerings, you will never fail in

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anything. With this I bless you (this herb), and no one else in the world will know it.'" 792 787

This is what Dog-Head told Small-Snake: "As long as your posterity lasts, so long can you use this medicine. If I had given you clothes, when they were worn out, that would be the end of them. Your father spoke to me in your behalf and that is why I am giving you this medicine." Dog-Head told the truth, for even to the present day this medicine is being used. It is a purgative and a valuable medicine. 173

When the Winnebago returned the possessor of the medicine was careless and placed it in a hole in a cliff. When he came back for it it could not be found. He looked all over for it but it was apparently gone. Then they said, "We should not have done this. We should look before acting." Indeed, nowhere did they ever find it afterwards.

Now, it is four generations since the Shawnee prophet prophesied, and from that time there have been many prophets among us, as he is said to have told the people. Many have prophesied, but none have told anything that seemed reasonable. The Shawnee prophet was good, but those who have come after him have prophesied so that people might praise them, or just for the sake of talking. 792 787

It is said that the Shawnee prophet said that there would come a time when a woman would prophesy and that she should be immediately killed. The end of the world would be near then. Then he is said to have said that a little boy would prophesy and that one was to give ear to what he said.

The Peyote people claim that their ceremony is the fulfillment of this prophesy and that it is true. The Shawnee prophet had said that there would be springs of water in front of the people's lodges and it is so at the present time, for the water is at our very doors. His prophesy was correct and he told the truth. Then he said that trees would travel and this is happening to-day, for trees are loaded into trains and are carried all around the country. He told the truth and he knew what was going to happen. He said that one day we would be able to write our own language and we are doing that to-day, for we have a Bible in Winnebago and we are able to write to one another in our own language. All these things he was able to foretell four generations ago. [794]

A Winnebago by the name of Noise-Thunder had also prophesied that we would be able to write our own language. One thing that he said, however, was not correct. He said that the bad thing that has come upon us will make us forget our own ways. He meant that we should not take up with the white man's ways. "Don't do [77]

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792 it, for if you do, we will all die." Now, he was mistaken in that.
787 "The Creator has given two plates and they are getting empty. He gave the men a plate for them to fill and the women a plate for them to fill. The women's plate is empty." He meant that the Creator
[462] had made men to hunt and the women to dig the soil and raise vegetables, and that the latter were not doing it. That is what he meant by saying that their plates were empty. Noise-Thunder insisted that this was the white man's fault; he thought that we were being weakened by the white man's food. Quite a number of people believed him. "The birds eat what was provided for them to eat, game and vegetables, and the whites eat what was provided for them. Why should we not eat what was provided for us?" He was right, but then the Creator also created the food that the whites are eating. We are now getting accustomed to it and are getting stronger on this food.

[161] The Winnebago were decreasing in number, so the Creator gave them a medicine which would enable them to get accustomed to the white man's food; that, also, they might know the Creator and that he is the true bread and food. This they found out by using this medicine. They are going into it deeper and deeper all the time, they who had been lost, and this has all been accomplished by the medicine (the peyote).

The following notes were also obtained concerning other prophets:

"There was a prophet among the Winnebago recently named George Wilkinson. He claimed that he was the Trickster; that there were two worlds; that he had been to the first and that he was now on the second. After a while he was to return to ma'una (Earth-maker). He told all the Winnebago to plant their tobacco and cornfields again. (This is what he was ordered to say.) He said that the power of the war bundles was entirely exhausted, but that it could be restored if a person were to fast for four days. When the spirits addressed him by name they called him "He-Who-Stands-Blue." This happened fifteen years ago.

"Thundercloud claims to be the Hare."

Another man named Xuga prophesied the same, led them on a warpath, and lost a lot of people.

[668] The most important religious revival of the last century among the Winnebago is the Peyote or Mescal religion. It is described in detail on page 388.

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241 [778] In the middle of the field was usually placed an earthen representation of the clan animal. As to how squash and beans were planted, no reliable information is available. The corn was planted in small circular mounds which, to judge from those near Madison, Wis., were arranged in remarkably straight rows.

[442 177] The author is unable to say what type of implements was used, as the Winnebago have been using those of European manufacture for many years and have no recollection of any other kind.

If anyone had more corn planted than he could take care of he
241 gave a feast, to which he invited all who had hoes. At this feast
527 dried corn was used. On this occasion the people sacrificed tobacco
782 to their hoes, so that they might not cut themselves with these implements or have other accidents. Then they all joined in helping their host cultivate his corn.

249 In addition to the above-mentioned patches, most Winnebago had small fields of tobacco, which were regarded as very sacred. The tobacco grown on these was used only for sacrificial purposes. Sacred gourds also were planted in these fields.

222 *Berry picking.*—From the earliest times the Winnebago were known for their bountiful supply of berries. Every fall parties of men, women, and children went out to pick cranberries and whortleberries.

222 *Customs when berries are ripening.*—If a man has a son whom he
787 loves very much, he has him fast as soon as the berries and other things begin to ripen. If this boy dreams of something good, then he (the father) gives a feast with the newly ripened food and the boy eats. If the boy does not dream of anything good after four days, the father makes him eat and has him try again.

222 *Rice gathering.*—In common with the Central Algonquian tribes, with whom they have come in contact, especially the Menominee, the Winnebago spent a number of weeks every year gathering wild rice. The following description of the manner in which this is done is taken from a newspaper article published by Prof. A. E. Jenks of the University of Minnesota:

> Fox River from its source to Lake Winnebago was for hundreds of years a very productive field for this aquatic cereal, and along this river the Winnebago lived in plenty and peace with several wild rice eating tribes of the Algonkin stock. Probably a few families still gather their annual crop in that old domain; but most of the wild rice which the tribe now gathers is obtained in the sloughs of the Mississippi River near Lacrosse, Wis., and on the Iowa side of that river
>
> The Winnebago gather the grain by running their canoes into the tall standing stalks before the grain is ripe. A stick is held in each hand of the harvester, one being used to draw the standing stalks over the edge of the canoe, while the other one is employed in tapping or striking the heads of the stalks, thus knocking the grain out of the fruit head into the canoe. After the canoe is full it is taken to the shore and emptied.

252 *Preparation of foods.*—Meats were prepared by broiling, in three
262 ways—on stakes, over a rack, or under hot ashes. Only the ribs

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### Mother-in-law and Father-in-law Taboo

In former times the mother-in-law and father-in-law taboo was in full force. No man was allowed to talk directly to his mother-in-law or to look at her, and the same rule held with regard to the attitude of a woman toward her father-in-law. Even accidental meetings of these relatives, as on the road, were attended with great embarrassment. The author never learned of any way in which either the mother-in-law or the father-in-law taboo could be relaxed even temporarily, much less done away with entirely. 606

### Puberty Customs

From the age of five, children, male and female, were taught the customs of their ancestors in a series of talks always delivered by an elderly male relative, perhaps the father. The specific training differed, of course, for boys and girls and for individuals. Personal training ceased at the age of puberty, when all, both boys and girls, were sent out to fast. For boys this fasting constituted the only puberty rite. After their faces had been blackened with charcoal they were sent to some neighboring hill with the injunction not to return till dawn. Gradually they would be sent out for two, then three, nights; if after that trial they were not blessed they would be advised either to desist entirely or exhorted to fast until they were blessed, no matter how long the time required to secure the desired result. While fasting the boys and girls used the following formula: 867 881 785 787

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Waxop' inixjiwine | hina'djire na^dje'je | wahadjex. |
| Spirits | am I likely to be blessed? | that is why I am praying. |

[539 782]

One old Indian informed the author that in former times the young boys and girls were offered either bread or charcoal for their fast. If they took the charcoal, well and good; but if they took the bread, they were unceremoniously kicked out of the house and the charcoal was thrown after them. From the other statements of this informant one might gather that the young boys and girls generally took the bread, because, he said, after they had been kicked out, they would always resolve to go to the wilderness (in that way running the risk of being captured or killed by an enemy), in order to spite their parents. My informant was of the opinion that the parents purposely treated their children roughly, so that they might feel all the more miserable while fasting and thus pray all the more intensely.

A faster is always told to be careful as to what kind of spirits bless him, as he might be blessed by a bad spirit. Therefore a faster's blessings are always reviewed by the elders. J.'s old grandmother used to call the children in at dusk, as the evil spirits are around then. [776]

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881 All boys do not seem to have approached the ordeal of fasting with
785 the proper religious feeling. One instance in particular showed any-
787 thing but a reverent attitude; this is so amusing that it is here given in the exact words of the Indian:

> When I was a young boy, my folks made me fast together with a boy named Hodudjeka. We were supposed to go to the hills and cry until the spirits blessed us. However, whenever we looked at each other and at our charcoal-blackened faces we could not refrain from bursting out laughing. Whenever we made up our minds to cry, something or other would induce us to look at each other and the laughing would begin all over again. When the time for our return to the house came, we didn't present the slightest indication of having cried, so we took some saliva and made long streaks on our faces.

Young girls and women are also encouraged to fast to obtain the war honors.

881 *Menstrual lodges.*—Fasting at puberty by girls was inseparably con-
785 nected with their retirement to menstrual lodges. Sometimes there was only one girl in each menstrual lodge, sometimes there were as many as three. From the time of her first menstrual flow to her climacteric a woman retired to a menstrual lodge every month for
841 a few days. An excellent account of Winnebago customs in this respect was obtained in a text from a male informant, and, although somewhat discursive, it is given in full here:

> As soon as a woman begins to have her menstrual flow she has to retire to a menstrual lodge and to be careful never to come in contact with any sacred objects. If she did, these objects would all lose their power. Everything that is holy would immediately lose its power if a menstruating woman came near it. A holy woman or a holy man or even a holy child would be affected by the proximity of a menstruating woman. Their holy condition would immediately disappear. In a similar way, if food were served to a sick person from the same dish used for a menstruating woman the sick person would become far more sick.
>
> The food for a menstruating person is always cooked separately. Special dishes are used and special fireplaces are made.
>
> If a person possessed any medicines, they would lose all their power if a menstruating woman came in contact with them. If any person should enter a menstrual lodge, in after life, whenever he fasted, he would not be blessed by any spirit. However, there is one thing that a menstruating woman is afraid of, and that is the
> [778] war bundle. These war bundles are kept in cedar [leaves?] mixed with medicine to prevent danger from just such a source. If a menstruating woman comes near a war bundle, her flow would increase and never cease and after a while she would die,[1] and only if the owner of the war bundle personally attends to her can she be cured. For that reason whenever a war-bundle feast is being given a woman is very careful, and even if it is a few days before her menstrual flow she will not go.

[1] This explains what puzzled the author for some time—namely, the fact that although contact with a menstruating woman destroyed the efficacy of everything holy, in the case of the war bundle the reverse was true and the woman was destroyed. Many of the Indians who spoke of this matter also seemed to believe it was the war bundle that killed the woman. From this account, however, it is perfectly clear that it is not the war bundle at all that killed the woman, but the poison in which the war bundle was wrapped. The war bundle is therefore no exception to the general rule, and it is only on account of the serious consequences that would accrue to so many people from any impairment of its powers, and the care taken to prevent this by surrounding it with special medicines, that it offers externally an exception to the fatal effects of contact with a menstruating woman.

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Any man who has been specially blessed with war powers may go on the warpath. Such a man must not merely be blessed with those general war powers that individuals obtain during their puberty fast, but must likewise be blessed with a definite enemy to kill or capture, as the case may be, immediately before he starts out. In practice this meant that whenever a person wished to go on the warpath he fasted in order to obtain the necessary guarantees of success. [787] An account of the powers granted by the spirit or spirits was then placed before the chief and if, in his opinion, they justified the undertaking, the man was permitted to go. If they were insufficient the chief expressed his disapproval and the contemplated undertaking had either to be given up or the man would be compelled to fast again for increased powers. There were a number of men who were unable to obtain the requisite powers. To them one of two alternatives was left open: they might either purchase sufficient powers to go on a warpath or they might volunteer to join a large warpath. A volunteer needed no special blessing. If he had one, it would certainly benefit him, but it was not necessary except as an additional precaution, for the leader of the war party (*dotca'hunka*) was supposed to be blessed specifically with every element necessary for a successful undertaking. As the Winnebago express it, he was blessed "with a complete road." In a war leader's blessing, everything must be provided sufficient food, a definite number of enemies to kill, the exact place where they are to be killed, the exact time when they are to be killed, the exact manner in which they are to be killed, the exact manner in which the participants are to return to their homes, the safe return of all participants, and an infinite number of other minor points. As a volunteer went at the request of another man, the latter, and not he, took upon himself entire responsibility and the chief dealt directly with him. The chief would, in such a case, be particularly careful to see that every life that was risked was amply safeguarded. Otherwise the war party would not be permitted to start.

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A man may go on the warpath for two reasons: either to revenge a slain relative or in a general way because he thinks he has received sufficient power and wishes to obtain glory. If the incentive was revenge, he might pursue one of two methods. He might go to the shaman with offerings of tobacco and presents and tell him about the death of his relative and his desire for revenge; or he might take the matter in his own hand, fast, and after having stealthily prepared for [628] the necessities of the warpath inform a friend and steal out with him in the middle of the night. Were he to take the first method, it would be the shaman who would fast and who would afterwards lead the party, taking along with him as many men as would follow him.

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727 etc. Then the war leader would secretly tell some one to select a stake (for the Victory Dance) and after a short time all the members of the war party would rush in and march around the entire village striking the scalps that they had tied to sticks. Then they would all go to the place where the stake had been put up and there they would distribute the war prizes to the sisters of the men who had won them and the women would walk around proudly with the prizes around their necks. Then, in the daytime 701 they would dance the Victory Dance and in the evening they would dance the 721 Hok'ixere Dance for four nights.

[115] *Description of a war party.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

[787] If a man wishes to go on the warpath he must fast and be blessed by the spirits in a specific manner. If a man is thus blessed, he gives a feast and announces his intention of leading a war party. The chief always has a representative at such a feast (a member of the Buffalo clan), and as soon as it is over this man goes to the former and reports to him. If the chief thinks that the blessing is insufficient and might cause the death [622] of many men he takes the war leader's pipe and lays it across his path and the war leader is then compelled to abandon his undertaking. This action on the part of the chief is sacred and must be accepted as final. The war leader dare not step across the pipe. Should the chief, however, not do this, then the war leader knew that there was no objection. Usually some members of every clan go along, but especially members of the Thunderbird, Warrior, and Bear clans.

The action of the war leader is controlled by many rules. He must be the one who has fasted and been blessed with all that is essential for conducting a war party. He must have his food provided for him by the spirits, know the exact location of the enemy, their numbers, and their sex.

726 After the war party has traveled for about four days, the men offer tobacco to the 701 leader and he tells them where he is going, the number of the enemy, etc. If, after that, any of the members of the war party do not approve of the undertaking then they place a pipe across his path and the war leader is compelled to return. If nothing is said, then all is well. The war leader always goes ahead of his party and his attendants behind him, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever the chief stops his attendants run to his side, take his war bundle and place it in front of him. Then the leader sits down, neither turning to the right nor to the left but looking straight ahead. The attendants get two poles and place them on each side of him, bend the ends over to form an arch, on each side of which are placed small oak sticks arranged in a row. Under this structure the war leader stays. Here he sleeps and is [614] fed by his attendants. No one is permitted to go ahead of this improvised structure. On each side of him two fireplaces are placed, two for the Upper clans and two for the Lower clans. If the war party is traveling westward the two fireplaces on the north side belong to the Lower clans and the two on the south side to the Upper clans. If a man is going on a warpath for the first time, he stays in the rear of the party and has a little fire of his own. He remains in the rear in this way until the battle begins. Then he joins the others.

A member of the Warrior clan is selected by the war leader to act as guard and he goes back and forth behind him encouraging the men and telling them not to steal away alone or go too far ahead of the party, since that always results in the loss of life. It is for this reason that it is not considered correct for a man to try and steal away and perhaps obtain a war honor in this selfish manner. Whenever the war leader stops he tells his companions what they must do in order to obtain food, all this information having been provided for in his blessing. If he tells some one to go to a certain place and kill a deer, he is certain to find a deer at the place specified. Whenever the war leader gets up and steps over his war bundle the attendants come and place his war bundle on his back and he then proceeds on his march, followed by the other members [782] of the party. Whenever he comes to a river he takes some of the tobacco which is

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# CHAPTER VII

## SYSTEM OF EDUCATION[1]

871 The Winnebago seem to have had a more or less formal system of instruction. This consisted of a series of precepts on different aspects of life, such as the duty of fasting, of being a warrior, of behavior to one's parents and relatives, how to treat one's wife and women in general, how to bring up children, how to behave to strangers, etc. These formal teachings were called *hol'i'ka*[2], which means "precepts" or "teachings." Doubtless those obtained do not constitute all the different types existing, but they seem fairly representative.

### My Father's Teaching to His Sons and Daughters

#### SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION TO SON

867 My son, when you grow up you should see to it that you are of
776 some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in which you
787 can begin to be of any aid to them, and that is to fast. So, my son, see to it that you fast. Our grandfather, the fire, who stands at all times in the center of our dwelling, sends forth all kinds of blessings.[3] Be sure that you make an attempt to obtain his blessings.

My son, do you remember to have our grandfathers, the war chiefs, bless you. See to it that they pity you.[3] Some day when you go on the warpath their blessings will enable you to have specific foreknowledge of all that will happen to you on that occasion. This will likewise enable you to accomplish what you desire without the danger of anything interfering with your plans. Without the slightest trouble you will then be able to obtain the prizes of war. Without any trouble

[1] This chapter was originally intended for special publication and the notes prepared for it then have been retained.

[372] [2] The fire (*p'ric*) is regarded as a spirit by the Winnebago. As a spirit he possesses many gifts that are of use to human beings in their sojourn on earth, and in order to obtain them, mortals must make offerings of tobacco to him. He may also appear to them during their fastings and bless them with a number of powers. In addition to his other powers, it is believed that he is the messenger of Earthmaker and the other spirits and that he transmits both the messages, as well as the offerings that mortals make to them, by means of the smoke that rises upward. The old man speaks of the fire first, because being always around them it is a comparatively easy task to make offerings to it.

[3] This is the regular expression used for blessing. The idea seems to be that through fasting and crying you are to put yourself in a "pitiable" condition and that then the spirits, seeing your state, will pity you and grant you what you have asked. The word "grandfathers" is used in the sense of ancestral spirits, the thunderbirds, who are regarded as the dispensers of war power, not only by members of this clan but by all Winnebago.

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you will be able to obtain these and in addition glory and the war honors.[4] If, in truth, you thirst yourself to death,[5] our grandfathers who are in control of wars to whom all the war powers that exist in this world belong they will assuredly bless you. 867 776 787

My son, if you do not wear out your feet through ceaseless activity (in fasting), if you do not blacken your face for fasting, it will be all in vain that you inflict sufferings upon yourself. Blessings are not obtained through mere desire alone; they are not obtained without making the proper sacrifices or without putting yourself time and again in proper mental condition. Indeed, my son, they are not to be obtained without effort on your part. So see to it that, of all those spirits whom Earthmaker created, one at least has pity upon you and blesses you. Whatever such a spirit says to you that will unquestionably happen.

Now, my son, if you do not obtain a spirit to strengthen you, you will not amount to anything in the estimation of your fellowmen. They will show you little respect. Perhaps they will make fun of you.

Do not die in the village. It is not good to die there. Whenever a person is grown up that is what is told him. Nor is it good, my son, to let women journey ahead of you from amidst the village. It is not good thus to let women die before you.[6] Therefore, in order to prevent this, our ancestors encouraged one another to fast. Some day you will travel in a difficult road; there will be some crisis in your life, and then when it is too late you will begin to reproach yourself for not having fasted at the proper time. So that you may not have occasion to blame yourself at such a time I counsel you to fast. If you do not obtain a blessing when the other women are dividing the war prizes brought home from the warpath by their brothers, your sisters will stand aside envying them. If, however, you are blessed by the spirits in control of war power, and if you then return victorious, how proud your sisters will be to receive the war honors and to wear them around their necks and participate with them in the victory dance! And in this way your sisters likewise will be strengthened by your war deeds. You will keep well, in health. [761] [593 727]

My son, it will indeed be good if you obtain war powers, but our ancestors say it is difficult. Especially difficult is it to be leader on 867 787

[4] There are four war honors, the highest going to the Indian who first touches a dead enemy, the second belonging to the one who kills him, and the last two to those who touch him second and third. The war prizes generally consisted of necklaces of wampum which were given to those who had obtained the first war honors. The victor also would be given the privilege of first smoking the pipe on his return to his home. The prize of the wampum necklace was always given by the victor to his elder sisters. [554]

[5] That is, fast.

[6] That is, obtain war power so that you can go on the warpath and prevent yourself from dying in the village or have women die before you.

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867 the warpath.[7] So they say. If you do not become an individual
787 warranted to lead a war party, yet mistaking yourself for one although
really an ordinary warrior, you "throw away a man," your act will
[686 be considered most disgraceful. A mourner might harm you in
627] revenge for the fact that you have caused him to mourn, and burn
you with embers. Your people will all be sad, both on account of
your disgrace and on account of the pain inflicted upon you.

787 My son, not with the blessing of one of the spirits merely, nor with
867 the blessing of twenty, for that matter, can you go on the warpath.
776 You must have the blessing of all the spirits above the earth, and of
all those on the earth, and of all those who are pierced through the
earth;[8] of all those under the earth; of all those who are under the
water; of all those that are on the sides of the earth, i. e., all the four
winds; of the Disease-giver;[9] of the Sun; of the Daylight;[10] of the
Moon; of the Earth; and of all those who are in control of war
powers—with the blessings of all these deities must you be provided
before you can lead a successful war party.

867 My son, if you cast off dress[11] men will be benefited by your deeds.
554 You will be an aid to all your people. If your people honor you, it
will be good. And they will like you even the more if you obtain a

721 [7] Among the Winnebago any individual who has been blessed with the necessary powers to lead a
787 warpath may do so, but it is absolutely essential that his blessing directing him be of such a nature that
701 every possible contingency is included therein. Such complete blessings are, of course, not common nor
686 can they be obtained except through unusual exertions. If you are blessed with just the ordinary or
incomplete war powers and you nevertheless undertake to lead a war party, you may either be defeated
or perhaps only partially successful, and, what is worse, you may lose some of the warriors who started
with you. Your recklessness has thus caused the death of some of your fellow tribesmen. It is understood that every warrior before starting on the warpath turn his "blessing" over to the chief of the tribe
[622 for examination, and if the chief considers it complete the warrior is not held responsible for the lack of
success or loss of life. If the chief does not consider an individual's blessing sufficient to justify the object
he has in view and forbids the warrior to go, and if the latter nevertheless goes, or granted the case he does
not even submit his "blessing" to the chief for scrutiny, and sneaks out, then he is held directly responsible
for any mishap on the warpath. The relatives of any individual thus killed may hold the war leader
responsible and demand compensation; or, as is indicated by ll. a few lines later, a mourner (lit., one who
has been placed in mourning by the criminal foolhardiness of the war leader) might attack, perhaps kill
him, without being held guilty of any crime. It must of course be understood that such occurrences would
seldom take place. We must, however, remember throughout these "teachings" that one of the objects
of the old men was to draw the most alluring pictures of the rewards that would fall to the lot of those who
followed in the footsteps of their ancestors, and, on the other hand, to draw the most lurid pictures of the
wretchedness that befell those who deviated, no matter in what details, from the customs sanctioned by
age.

773 [8] According to the Winnebago creation myth, when Earthmaker, the creator of the earth, first came to
776 consciousness and began creating life the earth on which we were to live was in continual motion, and
nothing that the former could do seemed to be able to stop it. From above he threw down grass, trees,
etc., but all was of no avail. Finally he hit upon the happy expedient of pinning the earth down at the
four corners by means of four enormous snakes, or, as some say, by means of four mythical animals known
as water spirits. It is to these that the old man is referring here. According to the story, even these were
of no avail, and it was only when he finally placed four mythical beings known as "Island Weights" at
the four corners that our planet stopped spinning. These "Island Weights" seem to be identical with
the spirits of the four cardinal points, but they are not to be confused with the four winds mentioned later.

776 [9] A deity conceived of as dealing out life-giving powers from one half of his body and death-giving powers
from the other half. He is also supposed to disseminate disease. (Disease-giver is a literal translation
822 of the Winnebago word, but this probably does not convey the exact meaning. There seems to be no
parallel to this peculiar deity among the other Siouan tribes or among the Algonquins.

[10] Daylight or light is conceived of as something different and distinct from the sun.

735 [11] That is, if you give away things frequently, especially to poor people

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limb.[12] They will indeed like you very much if you obtain a limb, or, even better, two or three. If you do thus, wherever people boil an animal with a head [13] you will always be able to eat. 867 554

If on account of your bravery you are permitted to tell of your war exploits during the Four Nights' Wake for the benefit of the soul of the deceased, do not try to add to your glory by exaggerating any exploit, for by so doing you will cause the soul to stumble on its journey to the spirit land.[14] If you do this and add an untruth to the account of your war exploit, you will die soon after. The war spirits always hear you. Tell a little less. The old men say it is wise. 867 765 554

My son, it is good to die in war. If you die in war, your soul will not be unconscious. You will have complete disposal of your soul and it will always be happy.[15] If you should ever desire to return to this earth and live here again, you will be able to do so. A second life as a human being you may live, or, if you prefer, as an inhabitant of the air (a bird) you may live, or you may roam the earth as an animal. Thus it is to him who dies in battle. 867 721 775

My son, fast for an honorable place among your fellowmen. Fast, so that when you are married you may have plenty of food; that you may be happy and that you may not have to worry about your children. If in your fastings you have a vision of your future home, the members of your family will be lacking in nothing during their life. Fast for the food that you may need. If you fast a sufficiently large number of times, when in after life you have children and they cry for food you will be able to offer a piece of deer or moose meat without any difficulty. Your children will never be hungry. 867 785 787

[12] That is, a war honor, but more specifically if you "count coup" first. The honor of killing an enemy and the three honors accorded with first touching his dead body are always spoken of as "the four limbs of the body." [535]

[13] That is, wherever people give a Winter Feast. At this feast a deer, head and all, is served to the invited guests. The head may only be eaten by brave warriors. [527]

[14] At the death of a clansman an elaborate wake takes place. To this wake, as the principal participants, three or four warriors who have counted "coup" are always invited. It is believed that the souls of all the enemies one has killed become the slaves of the victor and he may command them to do his bidding at any time. If the victor tells his exploit and then commands the enslaved soul to take care of the recently departed person in whose honor the wake is being given, the soul of the conquered enemy will be of considerable aid in overcoming the obstacles that are supposed to infest the path between this earth and the land of the spirits. These can not be overcome by the merits of the individual alone. If, however, a warrior becomes vainglorious, the soul of the recently departed individual will fall into the abyssm of fire which surrounds one of the heavenly earths through which he must pass. That is what is meant by "stumbling." [262] 765 775

[15] It must be remembered that the Winnebago believe that all that constitutes "life," "consciousness," continues to exist after death, the only difference being that in the former case an envelope, the body, is present and, in the latter case, it is not. Winnebago philosophy does not concern itself with what happens when a soul becomes "unconscious" at death, which would, of course, be the case with all those who do not die in battle; but it does insist that to him who dies on the warpath the moment of death does not even deprive of consciousness. He goes right on living, as if he were still an inhabitant of this earth, the only difference being that the corporeal envelope has fallen off his soul and that, although he sees and hears human beings, he himself is not visible nor his voice audible. 774 775

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powers that the creator gave them. So it will be. Earthmaker made it thus.

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My son, you must fast. If you breathe upon sick people,[11] I mean if you are blessed with that kind of power, you will be able to restore people to health. You will be of help to your people. If you can, in addition, draw out the pain from within the body of an individual, you will indeed be a help to your people. They will respect you. You will not even have to work for all your necessities, for those whom you treat will cheerfully support you as long as you live. If you should die, your name will be held in great respect and people will frequently talk about you. Ah, that man he had indeed great power!

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My son, if you are not able to fast,[12] try at least to obtain some plants that are powerful. There are people who know the qualities of the different plants, who have been blessed by the spirits with this knowledge. It is pitiable enough that you could obtain nothing through fasting, so ask those that are in possession of these plants at least to have pity upon you. If they have pity upon you, they will bless you with one of the plants they possess, and you will thus have something to help you in life and to encourage you. One plant will not be enough. Of all the plants that cover the earth and lie like a fringe of hair upon the body of our grandmother, try and obtain knowledge of these, that you may be strengthened in life. Then you will have reason to feel encouraged. A real medicine man has even more justification for feeling encouraged than an ordinary one, because such a one has been blessed with life by the Water-spirits. If, therefore, you wish to obtain the real powers of curing people, so that you will have the power of making them arise from their sick beds, you must long and patiently wait and labor. If, however, you obtain the true powers—that is, if you obtain blessings from the Water-spirits—then some day, when your children are in need of medicine, you will not have to go and look for a medicine man, but you will only have to look into your medicine bundle. Whatever trouble your children have you will be able to cure it. Should anything be the matter with the people of your tribe they will call upon you. You can then open your medicine bundle and the individual who is wanting in life will be benefited from the stock of medicines

[11] Sickness is due to the presence of some object within the body. Illness can therefore only be cured if this object is extracted. This is generally accomplished by the shaman sucking it out through a bone tube. Among the Winnebago the shaman before applying the tube spirits sups water upon the afflicted person and breathes upon him. This is what the "breathing" refers to. [753 755]

[12] Not everyone who fasts is blessed with power. For those who are thus unable to obtain blessings directly from the spirits there is only one method of protection against evils left—the purchase of plants with magical properties from those who have been blessed with them. These can be obtained by any individual no matter how unsuccessful he has been in obtaining blessings through personal fasting. All that is needed is sufficient riches for purchasing them. Of course it goes without saying that those who have been blessed with power may and do also provide themselves with these medicines. [425]

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867 787 756 that are in your possession. You will indeed never be embarrassed. You will know just wherein his ailment lies. As you have obtained your power with great effort, therefore what you say will be so. If you say he will live, he will live. If the relatives of the patient make you good payments, you may perform what you are accustomed to in your treatment of people. Then you can ask your medicine to put forth its strength for you and it will do so. If you make good [782] offerings of tobacco to the plants and if you make feasts in their honor, if, indeed, you make much of your medicine, if you talk to it as though it were a human being, then when you ask it to put forth its strength it will do so. The payments that you receive you can take with a good conscience and your children will wear them and will be strengthened thereby. So be very diligent in the care you bestow upon them. The medicines were placed here by Earthmaker for a good purpose. We are to use them to heal ourselves. For that purpose Earthmaker gave them to us. If anyone tries to obtain the life sustainers—that is, the medicines and inflicts suffering upon [776] himself in order to obtain them, our grandmother will know about it. So whatever you spend upon it, be it in labor or in goods, she will know about it. All that you gave in obtaining your medicines she will know. They will be returned to you. The people will thus be providing themselves with something for the future. The people always look forward to the future and for all possible happenings they will have some medicine provided. You must try to obtain some of the medicines that most people possess. If you want 867 paint-medicine, make yourself pitiable. If your paint-medicine 789 overcomes your enemy and you keep it in your home, you will never 756 be wanting in wealth. The most valued possessions of the people will be given to you. The people will love you and the paint-medicine will be the cause of it. Whatever you receive will be in consequence of the possession of the paint-medicine. The paint-medicine [776] is made of the blood of the Water-spirits, and therefore it is holy. People used to fast and thirst themselves to death and a Water-spirit would appear to them and bestow his blessings upon them. Whatever he told them would come true. The Earthmaker put the 867 Water-spirit in charge of these things so that he would bless the 789 people with them. That was his purpose.

Some people who wished to find good medicines obtained the [525 224] race medicine. Try and learn of it. Others had gambling medicine, and still others again had hunting medicine. There are medicines for very purpose.

[832] There is a courting medicine and a medicine to prevent married people from wishing to separate, and there is a medicine for making one rich.

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If one wishes to make a person crazy, there is a medicine for that purpose. 867 754

If some one had made another one sad at heart and he wished to revenge himself, he would use a medicine that would make that person crazy. Thus he would poison him.

If a person wished to marry a certain girl and she did not want him, he would poison her with a medicine that would make her become a harlot. All the men would fall in love with her by reason of the medicine he gave her. 867 584 832

If they wished a man to be continually running after a woman, they had a medicine for that purpose. All these medicines they possessed. You can obtain any of them you like if you ask for them in the proper way. 867 832

Some people have knowledge of plants that will cause a person to sleep all the time. Others again have medicines that will cause them to stay awake all the time. Some know how to overcome the viciousness of dogs that watch over women by means of medicines; some again have medicines that will make people single them out even in crowds. If this person uses his medicine in a crowd of people, the one on whom it is used will consider him a great man no matter how many there should be in the crowd. Some have a medicine to be used for preventing an individual from getting tired. Others have a medicine to be used when they have dog contests. 867 789

Whatever they did, for that they would have medicines.

Whenever they plant a field they protect it with medicine tied on to a stick. No one will then go through that field without suffering for it. If you did not have that protection, people could go through your field whenever they wished. In short, try to obtain as many medicines as you possibly can, for you will need them all. People should always look out for themselves so that they may learn what is necessary to make life comfortable and happy. If you try to obtain the knowledge of these things you will get along in life well. You will need nothing; and whenever you need a certain medicine, instead of being compelled to buy it, you will have it in your own possession. If you act in this manner and keep on fasting you will never be caught offguard during your life. If you have a home, it will always look nice and you will be lacking in nothing. So, do what I tell you and you will never regret it in after life. Try and learn the way in which your ancestors lived and follow in their footsteps. 867 789 787

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867 787 If you thus travel in the road of the good people, it will be good and other people will not consider your life a source of amusement.[19]

If you can not obtain a blessing from the spirits try also to have some good plant take pity on you. This I am telling you and if you do not do it, you will suffer for it. All that I am saying will be of great benefit to you if you pay heed to me. for (you will need 867 medicines for) whatever you do in life, if you are not fortunate 789 enough to obtain blessings from the spirits. If you are ever on the 726 warpath, you will need medicine in order to escape being hit or in order to prevent yourself from getting exhausted or from feeling famished. If you manage to be fortunate in all these things you may be certain that the medicines have caused it.

867 My son, help yourself as you go along life's path, for this earth has 577 many narrow passages and you can never tell when you will come to one. If, however, you have something with which to strengthen yourself you will come safely through the passages you meet.

Let every one think you a desirable person to know. Associate with people. If you act in this manner, every one will like you. (You will live) a contented life. Never do anything wrong to your children. Whatever your children ask you to do, do not hesitate to do it for them. If you act thus people will say you are good-natured. If you ever lose a friend by death and if you have riches cover[20] the expenses of the funeral of the deceased. Help the mourners to feed the people at the wake. If you act thus you will be acting well. Then you will be truly a helper of the people and they will know you as such. Indeed, all of them will know you. For the good you do, all will love you.

867 My son, do not become a gambler. You might, it is true, become 525 rich, but in spite of your wealth all your children will die. No gambler ever had children. It is an affair of the bad spirits entirely. Now if you do all that I have told you, you will unquestionably lead a happy and contented life.

867 Thus would the old people speak to a child whom they loved very much, that he might obtain the means of warding off what is not good. Anyone who acted contrary to these teachings would have himself to blame for the consequences.

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[19] This dislike of being made fun of, or of being the laughing stock, plays an important rôle among the Winnebago. It is not at all comparable to the same feeling as found at the present day among civilized people of Western Europe, for it is infinitely deeper and closely associated with social ostracism. The dependency caused by being made fun of, would frequently drive a person away from home or lead him to embark on any undertaking that would bring death. Owing to the social consequences coming in its train, a man would consequently do most anything in his power to ward it off. Correlated with this negative aspect of the use of "fun-poking," there is a positive one. There are certain relatives who have the privilege of making fun of or playing practical jokes on you. This "joking relationship" exists among many tribes in America, but the relatives between whom it is permitted differ in every case. Among the Winnebago it exists between uncles and nieces and nephews and between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

[20] That is, buy the funeral apparel for the deceased.

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# CHAPTER X

## SHAMANISTIC AND MEDICINAL PRACTICES

### Introduction

756 The shamanistic and medicinal practices of the Winnebago differ
[17] in no respect from those found all over the woodland area and there is consequently no need for discussing them at length. The stories told about *Midjistega* and old Lincoln are the famous tricks and sleight-of-hand performances known all over America. There does not seem to be as much said about the conjuring lodge as is the case among the Ojibwa. This apparently is identical with the Winnebago *waruka'na*, "exerting one's powers." The lack of specific information relating to this subject obtained by the author may, however, be due to accident.

278 The Winnebago make a fourfold classification of their medicines:
754 Those that affect a person by direct administration; those that affect him by their odor, like love and racing medicines; those that affect
[787] him at a distance; and those that are shot at an individual. Most of the medicines are obtained by fasting, although they can also be bought. The most important of these medicines are those called the stench-earth medicine (see p. 259) and the black-earth medicine.

[782] Medicine may be used in a number of ways, but principally as offerings or as means of killing animals or men. It is often chewed.
[789] In order to make arrows or guns unerring, medicine is frequently rubbed upon them.

754 Sympathetic magic is of course well known. The procedure is the common one. A picture of the man to be harmed is drawn on the ground and shot at, stabbed, etc. The man is then certain to die a short time after, in the same manner as the figure has been mutilated.

There are two general magical ceremonies. *Waruka'na*, to know something by exerting one's powers; *wana"teere*, to hypnotize in the distance. (For description of latter, see p. 111.)

787 *Example of waruka'na.*—J.'s older brother and a friend had failed to return home and so J.'s grandfather went to a man called C. English and, offering him some tobacco, asked him to find out something about his son—i. e., to exert his powers. English did so and told the old man that they were camping and making sugar and that if

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the old man went to a certain place he would find them. He went and found it was so. 787

TALES CONCERNING MIDJISTEGA

Recently the Potawatomi were going on the warpath and a number of other tribes were going along with them. As they were making their preparations they spent the evenings exhibiting the various powers they possessed and which they had obtained during their 'asta. 648 789 796 726 791

One day Robert Lincoln's father heard that a Winnebago was going to come and give a grizzly bear dance. Old Lincoln and a few other Potawatomi decided to go over and watch him. When they arrived at the lodge they were told that the name of the Winnebago was *Midjistega*. They were also told that this *Midjistega* was going to make some gunpowder (in a magical manner). When they heard this, the Potawatomi said that if he could make his teeth protrude from his mouth he might be able to make gunpowder, but that otherwise he could not.

In the middle of the lodge where this performance was to be held there was a wooden dish filled with charcoal near which *Midjistega* was sitting. He had beautiful hair and he had marks made by white clay in the corners of his eyes and mouth. When the singers in the lodge began to sing for him he ran around the lodge on all fours, four times. Then he took up the dish of charcoal and shook it. While doing this he made a noise like a grizzly bear. Then his teeth began to protrude. When he had gone around the lodge four times the charcoal turned into gunpowder. Then he took a handful of it and threw it into the fire and it exploded. The members of the different tribes present took some of it and put it in their war-bundles. It is only a short time ago that a Winnebago war-bundle that was supposed to have some of this gunpowder was stolen. It belonged to a man named Buchanan.

Old man Lincoln had never seen any Winnebago before this, but he could understand their language and he interpreted all that *Midjistega* said. The Potawatomi around him asked whether he had learned the language from some of his Winnebago relatives but he said he had not.

After showing that he could make gunpowder in this way, *Midjistega* made some plug tobacco. He cut the bark of some walnut trees into the shape of plug chewing tobacco and put it in a white deerskin on top of which was placed a piece of real plug tobacco. Then *Midjistega* said, "Now since I have made gunpowder I will also make some plug tobacco." Then he took the bundle and danced around the lodge with it and by the time he had danced around the lodge the third time the odor of tobacco became very

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# CHAPTER XI

## RELIGION

### Introduction

We know that in all religions there are two factors to be considered—a specific feeling and certain beliefs, conceptions, customs, and acts associated with that feeling; that the belief most inextricably connected with that religious feeling is the one in spirits more powerful than man and controlling everything in life which he values. 771

The beliefs themselves play an important part with all people, but the importance of the specific feeling varies with each individual. A perusal of the fasting experiences (see pp. 293-308) will make this quite clear. It is because we do not separate the actions and testimony of the religious man from that of the intermittently religious and the nonreligious man that most presentations of the subject are so confused and vague. It is, of course, extremely difficult to obtain the real attitude of the intermittently religious and the nonreligious man, because it is the religious individual and leader who gives form to the expressions which religion assumes in ceremony and prayer. Yet we must recognize that there is a difference and that it is often this difference that accounts for certain contradictions in the information obtained. The one place where it is possible, at least among the Winnebago, to obtain some idea of the emotional make-up and attitude of the intermittently religious man, is the fasting ordeal, and from a comparison of those experiences it is quite clear that a sufficiently large number of people were not able to obtain that thrill which they had been taught to expect. It is also clear that the shamans and religious leaders recognized this fact and provided for it by advising such people to buy the requisite protection against the trials and misfortunes of life, or as they put it, "the crises or narrow places of life." Such a person would certainly not be regarded as one of the leaders of the tribe. 787

The ideal that the parent held before the eyes of his children is quite eloquently put in the system of instructions (see p. 166). 867 787

My son, when you grow up, you should try to be of some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in which this can be done, and that is to fast . . . If you thirst to death, the spirits who are in control of wars will bless you . . . But, my son, if you do not fast repeatedly it will be all in vain that you inflict sufferings upon your-

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867
787 self. Blessings are not obtained except by making the proper offerings to the spirits and by putting yourself, time and again, in the proper mental condition . . . If you do not obtain a spirit to strengthen you, you will amount to nothing in the estimation of your fellowmen, and they will show you little respect . . . My son, as you travel along life's path, you will find many narrow passages (i. e. crises), and you can never tell when you will come to them. Try to anticipate them, so that you will be endowed with sufficient strength (by obtaining powers from the spirits) to pass safely through these narrow passages.

771 Among the Winnebago religion is definitely connected with the preservation of life values. It is not a phenomenon distinct from mundane life, but one of the most important means of maintaining social ideals. What these are can be gleaned from practically every prayer; they are success, happiness, and long life. The vast majority of investigators are often surprised at the intense religious life which, among the North American Indians, exists side by side with an intense realism and with a clear understanding and appreciation of the materialistic basis of life. The explanation, to judge from the Winnebago data, is simple enough. The Indian does not interpret life in terms of religion, but religion in terms of life. In other words, he exalts the world around him and the multifarious desires and necessities of the day, so that they appear to him bathed in a religious thrill. At least that is what the devoutly religious man does and most of the religious data presented in this volume emanates from him. Still we are convinced that for the vast majority of Winnebago, in other words, for the intermittently religious, there are many moments in life and many actions which are seen through this pleasurable religious thrill.

224 Every Winnebago will admit that to perform the *wanaⁿtce're* cere-
796 mony (p. 111) and, on the following day, to agree to start at a certain hour, would not necessarily result in killing a bear. The bear tracks are to be followed and a person is to persevere until the bear is captured, in spite of the fact that the *wanaⁿtce're* ceremony is supposed to insure the capture of the animal.

726 Or again let us take the following example. No man can hope to
787 go on a warpath and kill an enemy unless he is authorized to do so by a definite blessing received during fasting. If we were to accept this statement as such, we might be led to believe that the Winnebago were willing to risk their young men on so dangerous an undertaking as a warpath, on the sole strength of a fasting experience. It does not stand to reason that they would, and a careful inquiry into the subject has shown that they never did. What actually happened was that the prospective war leader translated into religious terms the exact conditions and requirements of every particular war party. That is why the chief of the tribe and the shamans insisted that only such a person who had been blessed with the most specific kind of knowledge, such as the number of men he must take

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along, the amount of food required, the number of moccasins necessary, the number and strength of the enemy, where he was to meet them, etc.—that only such a man might start on a warpath. If an individual failed to give the proper assurances and guarantees to the chief, his expedition was not countenanced. If, nevertheless, he went, any mishap was directly chargeable to him. 726 787

In other words, we are dealing here with a more or less fixed way of describing the mundane happenings of life. The terminology is religious, but does that mean that there is always a religious feeling attached to it? That is the crucial question to determine. We believe that the religious element in such a happening depends upon the religious susceptibility of the individual concerned. It is quite possible that a devoutly religious man may think of the religious aspect of a rite or action more than one who is but indifferently religious, but he will never for one moment forget that the questions involved here are of a purely human nature. The most that can be said of the religious element of the two particular cases mentioned above is that they will spur the person on. Perhaps it is the realization that such is the case that often prompts the more matter-of-fact individuals to lay such stress on fasting preparatory to starting on a warpath. There, indeed, seems to have been a matter-of-fact movement in the tribe, for the members of the Warrior clan claimed that they could dispense with the fasting, and that mere membership in that particular clan gave them the right to go on a warpath whenever they wished to. This we know was vigorously denied by other individuals. 771 614 787

The Winnebago has no disinterested, unselfish love for the spirit or deity to whom he prays, except in so far as every man is likely to develop such an attitude at some crisis or when his mind is fixed intently on the attainment of some personal advantage. Then, naturally enough, the spirits who are to bestow these blessings are addressed in the most laudatory terms. To show how intimately these spirits are bound up with the worldly affairs of man and how little they mean to him apart from this we have but to point out that, for the vast majority of Winnebago, the spirits' freedom of action is conceived of as definitely restricted. There seems to be a purely mechanical relation of cause and effect between the offerings of men and their acceptance by the spirits. The latter are not free to reject them except in theory. Was it not ordained by Earthmaker, when the earth was created, that in return for tobacco the spirits were to bestow blessings on man? So every Winnebago believes. The religious leaders insisted that only when the proper offerings were made in the proper way would the spirits bestow their blessings. But after all is said and done, the chances that the proper conditions would not be fulfilled were negligible And we doubt whether this 776 782 771

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ceremonies as the war-bundle feasts, buffalo dance, sore-eye dance, 776
etc. We will enumerate but a few of them here.

The principal deities of the Winnebago are: Earthmaker, Sun, Moon, Earth, Morning Star, Disease-giver, Thunderbird, Water-spirit, etc.

*Earthmaker.* He is known to the Winnebago under three names: *Ma'una*, earthmaker; *wajaⁿgeⁿzera*, he-who-makes-something; and *wazepa'si zedera*, the great spirit. Of these the last is the most archaic, which might imply that originally Earthmaker was merely the great spirit. In the hands of the shamans, to whom the development and elaboration of the great Winnebago ceremonies like the medicine dance and the war-bundle feasts were due, he became [756] almost a true monotheistic deity, benevolent but unapproachable. In the older myths, like the trickster and hero cycles (cf. for instance, the *wak'djek'ago* and hare cycle), he is hardly mentioned except as a clear afterthought. In another cycle, like that of the twins, where he is definitely mentioned, he is treated like a spirit similar to the other spirits, although superior to them, but in no way resembling the benevolent deity that we find in the origin myth of the medicine dance (p. 350). How and when this development took place, and whether the introduction of Christianity had anything to do with it, it is difficult to say. All indications seem to be overwhelmingly against the latter assumption, although it can not be entirely dismissed. As we have indicated in a previous paper,[1] there appears to have been a well-developed pre-Columbian belief in a good and bad spirit among the woodland Indians. The Winnebago shared in this belief and Earthmaker developed his present position through the displacement of the chief bad spirit called *Hereguniuc*.

The older conception of Earthmaker seems to crop out also in the [787] occasional attempts of individuals to obtain blessings from him. (Cf. the tale of Wegi'ceka, p. 291.)

Little can be learned as to the actual appearance of Earthmaker In the origin myth of the medicine dance he is described as though he were clearly anthropomorphic. The symbol associated with him [796 in the war-bundle feasts, the cross, is unquestionably supposed to 823] represent the four cardinal points.

Earthmaker is not supposed to bestow any definite blessings on man. He is, in a general way, expected to give them life. There is but little real worship of him because he is far removed from man and is supposed to come into relation with them only through his intermediaries, the spirits. According to the cosmological myths he

[1] The Religion of the North American Indians, Journ. Am. Folklore, vol. 27, no. 106.

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THE GUARDIAN SPIRITS

776 In the concept of the guardian spirits we have a mixture of both the "mechanical" and the "contract" theories. The guardian spirits themselves are, to our mind, but the transformed localized spirits; in other words, the *genii loci*. They are supposed to protect the individual to whom they appear in the same way as the *genii loci* protected their precinct. While theoretically every Winnebago could have his own guardian spirit, there seems to have been a marked [428 424] tendency for certain guardian spirits to be inherited. This was so, not because there was any distinct development of the idea of inheritance, but because certain definite powers were associated with the spirits, like success in hunting, fishing, etc. In terms of everyday life this simply meant that a good hunter would try to make his sons and near relatives good hunters; in religious terminology it meant that a son was blessed by the same guardian spirit as the father. (Cf. the fasting experience on p. 293.)

The following fasting experiences will show clearly what powers are supposed to be possessed by the various guardian spirits. The attitude with which the faster approaches the ordeal clearly varies from that of childish playfulness to one of considerable religious intensity, always remembering that we are dealing with boys and girls before the adolescent stage. Perhaps the best way of putting it would be to say that we are dealing with a stereotyped expression of life, reading as follows: "I am a successful hunter; I am a prominent warrior, etc.; and I am told that I have become such because I have done what my elders told me, have practiced these professions diligently, and made offerings to the spirits." Such a formula might be put in the mouth of the youthful faster, but it meant nothing until it was interpreted much later in terms of each man's experience in life.

[787] The youth's fasting experience is carefully tested by the elders, and if found wanting in any respect the youth has either to try again or give up.

The guardian spirit is not supposed to be in permanent attendance upon man. It is only when he is needed, in the crises of life, that he is brought into relation with man; and it is quite characteristic of the markedly materialistic basis of the belief that the spirit is only called into aid for the particular needs of the case.

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## Personal Religious Experiences[4]

### HOW WEGI'CEKA TRIED TO SEE EARTHMAKER[5]

Once there was a Winnebago whose name was Wegi'ceka. As soon as he was grown up his father begged him to fast. The old man told his son that Earthmaker, when he created this earth, made many good spirits and that he put each one of them in control of powers with which they could bless human beings. Some he placed in control of war powers. If these spirits bless an individual, he will always be victorious on the warpath. Earthmaker told the human beings to fast for these powers and then they would be rich and powerful. Now, my son, if Earthmaker has put all these spirits in charge of something, he himself must be in charge of much more power. Thus the old man reasoned and the son thought the same. So he tried to "dream" of Earthmaker. "I wonder what sort of blessings Earthmaker bestows on people," he thought to himself.

None of the spirits blessed Wegi'ceka during his fastings. He was always thinking of Earthmaker and asking him to bless him. Wegi'ceka made himself extremely "pitiable" and wept. He could not stop. "Perhaps I will be able to see Earthmaker if I weep," he thought to himself. "Indeed, if Earthmaker does not bless me I will die during my fast."

He fasted continuously without stopping. Verily, he fasted for Earthmaker. First he fasted for 4 nights, and then for 6 nights, and then for 8 nights, for 10, and finally for 12 nights. Yet he received no blessing of any kind. After fasting 12 nights he stopped and ate something. He kept fasting on until he had grown to be a fully developed man. Then he stopped and married and, accompanied by his wife, he moved away from his village to some uninhabited place. There he lived alone with his wife. There again he fasted and his wife helped him. As before, he tried to have Earthmaker bestow a blessing upon him. This time he made up

[4] Some religious experiences belonging to Winnebagoes well known to the tribe have been set down in a literary form and handed down from one generation to another. The literary mold in which they have been cast does not in the least interfere with their value as excellent examples of personal experiences, and for that reason I will include one of them here.

[5] Earthmaker is supposed never to bless any human being, but there are a number of accounts of individuals who tried without success, nevertheless, to have him bless them. What the people, however, meant by lack of success was not so much a total lack of success as an incomplete blessing. So, for instance, Wegi'ceka does really receive a curse as a blessing from Earthmaker, and he has the right to call upon him afterwards in the same way as he calls upon other "guardian spirits." Earthmaker does not, however, appear to him in the way an ordinary spirit would—that is, he neither appears to him as a man nor in the form of a voice uttering some blessing, but as a flash of light.

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776 his mind once and for all that if Earthmaker did not bless him he
787 would die during his fast. "It is true," he said to himself, "that no
539 one has ever heard of anyone being blessed by Earthmaker, but nevertheless I will either obtain a blessing from him or die in the attempt."

As time passed on his wife gave birth to a male child. Then the man said, "We will offer up our son to Earthmaker," and the woman consented. So they sacrificed their son to Earthmaker. Then they placed the body of the child on a scaffold and wept bitterly. "Surely," he said to himself, "Earthmaker will bless us to-night." And indeed during the night he came to him. Wegi'ceka felt positive that it was he. He wore a soldier's uniform and a cocked hat and he was pleasing to the sight. Wegi'ceka looked and wondered whether it was really Earthmaker. Then this person took a step forward toward Wegi'ceka. "Indeed it must be," he thought. Then he took another step in his direction and uttered something. Wegi'ceka looked and saw that it was not Earthmaker but a pigeon. The spirits had fooled him. His heart ached, but, undaunted, he again fasted, and after a while Earthmaker seemed to come to him and say, "Man, I bless you. For a long time you have wept and made yourself pitiable. I am indeed Earthmaker." When Wegi'ceka looked again he beheld something pleasing to the sight and he liked it. The clothing the man wore was pleasing and Wegi'ceka now felt certain that this person was Earthmaker. He looked at him again and it seemed to him as if Earthmaker was getting smaller and smaller, and as he looked for the fourth time he saw that he had been looking at a little bird all the time. Then his heart ached all the more, and he cried even more bitterly than before. Then for the third time Earthmaker blessed him and spoke to him. "You have tried to 'dream' of Earthmaker and you have worried yourself to death. Behold, I am Earthmaker and I will bless you and you will never be in want of anything. You will be able to understand the language spoken by strange tribes and you will never be wanting in the goods of life." Then he looked up for the first time, but when he saw the individual who had spoken to him he thought that there was something wrong. Soon he saw that the one who had spoken to him was a bird.

Then for the last time he tried to "dream" of Earthmaker. He did not eat anything and positively resolved to die if Earthmaker did not appear to him. He felt bad, for he thought that all the bad birds (spirits) were laughing at him.

He fasted, and soon Earthmaker, far above, heard his voice and said, "Wegi'ceka, you are weeping bitterly. For your sake, I will come to the earth." Then Earthmaker told Wegi'ceka that when he (Wegi'ceka) looked at him he would see a ray of light extending from

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above far down to his camp. That far it would reach. "Only thus, 776
Wegi'ceka, can you see me. What you ask of me (to see me face to 787
face) I can not grant you. But, nevertheless, you may tell (your 539
fellowmen) that you saw me." Thus he spoke to him. He did not bless him with war powers. Only with life did he bless him.

Then Wegi'ceka tried to draw a picture of the flash of light extending from the heavens to his camp, just as he had seen it, upon a cane. To that cane he sacrificed. The descendants of Wegi'ceka are using cane even to the present day.

ACCOUNT OF J.'S FASTING

When I reached the age of puberty my father called me aside and 159
told me to fast. He told me that it was his fervent wish that I should 787
begin to fast, so that I might become holy and invincible and invul- 867
nerable in war. I would become like one of those Winnebagoes of whom stories are told. In future generations the people would speak of me often. For these reasons he wished me to fast. He assured me that if I fasted I would really be holy and that nothing on this earth would be able to harm me. I would also live a very long life, he told me. I would be able to treat the sick and cure them. That holy I would be, he told me. If I acted in this way, my father told me, no person would dare to make fun of me and they would always be careful of the manner in which they addressed me, both because they respected me and because they were afraid of incurring my enmity. For these reasons my father counseled me to fast and to continue fasting from the late fall until spring. During that time I should fast without stopping. In the spring, however, I was to stop, because many bad spirits are about at that time and they might deceive me. If he thought that I was not doing enough fasting he would urge me on with words, saying, "My son, fast, because if you receive knowledge of anything (i. e., if you have been blessed repeatedly), nothing will be able to harm you. You will live long; and I want you to live long." In this way my father used to speak to me and in this way he used to plead with me in a piteous manner. "Remember," he used to say to me repeatedly, "that if you do not fast none of the spirits will bless you."

There was a hill near our place called the Place-where-they-keep- 159
weapons. This hill was very high and it looked steep and rocky. 787
It must have been a very holy place. There my father had lived 776
(when he was blessed by the spirits). Within this hill lived the spirits that we call Those-who-cry-like-babies.[4] These spirits were supposed to have arrows and bows. There were supposed to be twenty of them in this hill. My father had control of these spirits.

[4] These spirits are the same as those generally known as the Hawk's, or Those-without-horns.

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159 If he (my father) blessed a man he would do as follows: He would
789 take his bow and arrows and, holding them in both of his hands,
776 take the man around the hill and then into the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There he and the man he wished to bless let their breath pass into the middle of the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There stood a stone pillar and upon this stone pillar, at about arm's length, he drew the pictures of different animals. My father had only one arrow, but that arrow was a holy one. Then my father danced around the stone pillar and sang some songs, and when he was finished he began to breathe upon the stone pillar; and, walking around it, he shot it. When he looked at it, he saw that the stone had turned into a deer with large horns. This deer fell dead at his feet. He repeated this a number of times and the little spirits who were following him breathed with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you wish to kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done here. Then
[782] offer tobacco to us and you will be able to obtain whatever you wish."

159 "Now, my son, I want you to be able to do as I do. I want you
867 to be able to kill deer whenever you wish, and at any particular time." My father was a very good hunter and I wanted to be very much like him. I knew that what he was saying was true and that it would be good to follow his advice. I was also told that if I traveled around the hill where these spirits lived, then all earthly things would agree with me and that I would be the gainer thereby. If I did this, they told me, then I would never suffer any pains in my body and I would never be troubled in any way.

159 And this they told me about the ghost village—that when I go
● 787 there I will be able to steal a costly shawl from the spirits and be
775 able to escape with it; that then all the inhabitants of the ghost village would chase me, but that they would not be able to overtake me and would be compelled to turn back as soon as I reached the earth. In this ghost village there are no grown-up children.[1]

Now, all that I have spoken of, I dreamed. I really dreamed that I was stealing a costly shawl and that I would have plenty of them all the time. I dreamed that I would obtain ten or even more
787 shawls in one year and that I would not have to pay anything for
159 them. What the spirits meant by shawls was supplies. However,
795 all this took place before I ate the peyote. Since then I know that these things were not true, and that what I must depend upon is not supernatural power, but myself, and my own endeavors. Super-
[783] natural powers do not come from anywhere. They do not exist at all. The blessings I had received were not holy and I am not holy.

[1] He is evidently referring to the spirit home of the Hawk's, or Those-who-cry-like-hawks.

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This I know now. The whole thing is untrue. Therefore I stopped using these supernatural powers some time ago.[a] 159 787

The old people made me fast so that I might obtain blessings, and that I might lead a life similar to that led by my ancestors. My father asked me to fast so that I might be of some help to my fellow-men as I grew up. It is through fasting that individuals obtain the power of curing disease and restoring a person to health again. [756]

Spirits from above also came to me. They took me to the spirit-shaman village. As the shamans gathered around me they said that the blessing would be very difficult to give me. Then the shaman sitting far in front made himself holy and breathed upon me (i. e., performed the actions of a shaman when treating a patient). When he was finished, then he began to sing and all those in the lodge began to breathe, helping him. Then the second shaman made himself holy and began to breathe and sing. In this way four of them made themselves holy. They were showing me what to do when I came back to earth. If a person on earth is sick (this is what they meant), and is in an almost hopeless condition where no one else could cure him, then they would call for me and offer me tobacco with which I was to sacrifice to the spirits who had taught me. 159 756 775

Indeed I am holy. If a man is sick I can restore him to health. That is what I used to think. I really (had it been true) should have felt it, for I labored earnestly and honestly to be a holy person. Yet in spite of all my exertions I was very unfortunate. I had married twice and both of my wives and all my children died. Indeed, how could I ever consider myself a holy man (i. e., if I couldn't even cure my own wife and children of what value were my "supernatural powers")? For a long time I knew that, at least I should have known it.[b] (I was not holy.) Then I ate the peyote and now I really see myself as I am. Indeed I am not holy. My body is without a soul. I thought myself holy. So I have stopped the practice of the shaman. 156 756 156 [795]

[a] The informant had become a convert to the Peyote belief only a short time before he wrote down this account of his fasting, and it is interesting to see that, although he no longer believes in the efficacy of the supernatural powers, he still believes that they exist. Two years after this, however, the same informant explained them, as all the older members of the Peyote cult explain them, namely, as delusions, either caused by the abnormal condition of the youth while fasting or as snares of the devil.

[b] In the words "I should have known it" are summed up the essential change of attitude between the Peyote Winnebago and the older Winnebagoes. The latter, too, had observed the apparent failure of the supernatural powers on many occasions, but instead of attributing them to any diminution of efficacy in the "powers," attributed them, on the contrary, to a lack of something in the individual trying to use the "power," in so far as they thought about it at all. But the essential difference between the two cults, the older one and the Peyote, lies not so much in the logical conclusions their adherents have drawn from the failure of the "supernatural powers" to behave as they were expected to, as in the fact that the Peyote people make the failure of the "power" the subject of discussion and the old Winnebagoes accept the whole concept of "supernatural power" as such, and do not permit it to rise into their consciousness. [182]

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### B.'S FASTING.

(B. WAS A MEMBER OF THE BEAR CLAN)

159 787 776 There was a village near Big Lake (Lake Winnebago), and at this village the upper people and the earth people played lacrosse.[10] The Bear was the chief clan of the lower people, and those representing that side in the game defeated the representatives of the other side by sheer strength. Then one of the upper people said, "What effeminate fellows those Bear people are. They are very strong, but it would be much better if instead of being so strong in playing lacrosse they were strong when on the warpath." Thus he spoke. Then one of the Bear people (the one whose fasting is about to be described) felt very much grieved and went out into the wilderness to fast. His desire was to be blessed by those spirits who are in control of war, and in his longing to be blessed by them he cried bitterly. Soon he heard some one saying, "Do not cry any more, we have come after you from above. The spirits have blessed you. You are going to be taken to the lodge of your friends." When the young man got there he saw four men. They were called cannibals, and they were brothers. "Our friends have blessed you and we also bless you," said the four spirits. These four spirits were catfish. Then some white crane spirits said, "Our friends have blessed you. With spears they have blessed you. Indeed, for good reason was your heart sad (i. e., did you make yourself suffer while fasting). With victory on the warpath do we bless you. Here is your bundle. Here also are your spears and your bow and arrows. This bundle you must use when you go on the warpath. Here also are some songs to use when you start out and when you return. With these songs I bless you. Here they are:

[533]

SONGS

Ho'sto k'ᵃinc'djaᵃe'dja rahi'jō?
Where they gathered, there did you go?
K'āro' hitcak'āro' ha'gixewi're.
Well, my friend, shout at it for him.

[789] "When the enemy is close upon you and aim their guns at you, if you sing these songs they will not be able to hit you. If you sing these songs then, those who gave you a name will honor you." Thus
776 we bless you. With life also we bless you."
756

### ARATCGE'KA'S FASTING[11]

159 787 Aratcge'ka, Left-handed-one, went out to fast. "A spirit I wish
[526] to bless me. I am fasting because I was told to do so. A shaman

[10] In playing lacrosse the upper and lower divisions were always pitted against one another.

[11] The sense is not quite clear here, but it is believed that he means that by singing one of these songs he will be victorious and be able to count coup or distinguish himself in some such way, and thus be worthy of being honored by his elders.

[12] This account of a fasting has been cast in a literary mold. It evidently relates to the fasting experience of a well-known man.

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I would like to be. I would like to be able to treat people the way he does, and I have for that reason blackened my face and fasted for eight days." Then I was blessed and they (the messengers of the spirits) came after me. Up above, to a shaman spirit-lodge they took me. There I saw the chief, and he said to me, "What you desire, what you are thirsting yourself to death for, that you are to be blessed with. For that reason these people have brought you here. Here you are to give an exhibition of your powers. I am the one who has caused you to be brought here (i. e., blessed you), I am the ruler of this village and I sent for you to give you the following powers:

"If ever an Indian is sick, even if he is so sick that he is practically dead, I give you the power of restoring him to life. Now you are to show your powers. Here is a log so rotten and decayed that it is practically falling apart.[10] Upon this you are to exert your power and show that you have been blessed. This is what the spirits meant when they blessed you." Then he walked around the log, breathed upon it, and spat water upon it, and it became human. Then he walked around it again and again spat water upon it, and it began to move. Then for the third time he spat water upon it and walked around it and it began to groan. Then he walked around it for the fourth time, and again spat water upon the log, and it got up and walked away. He had restored the log to life. Then the spirit said to him, "Man, with this power you are blessed. That for which you longed, that for which you fasted, you are blessed with. Giving-humans-life, thus the people will call you."

Then all the spirits who are above said as follows: "Brother-in-law,[11] that you may live I am telling you this story."

In the wilderness I went, and there near an oval hill I sat down and wept. Below the hill lay a round lake and there I saw the rising dew coming in a fog. This first spread itself out over us, and then, in turn, shrank and became small. All this time I sat there weeping. There was something moving in the lake, but although I was looking in that direction I did not see anything. They (evidently the spirits) were sneaking up on me. Two (flames of) fire suddenly burst forth extending from above to the lake. Then a report like

[10] This log is supposed to represent a human being in a similar condition—that is, practically on the verge of dissolution.

[11] The account is suddenly interrupted here to tell the listener why Aranga'ha is telling the story of his fasting. The personal religious experiences were very sacred and rarely told even to near relatives. As far as I know, they were only told before death or when a person was very ill, as in the present case. The purpose seems to have been to transfer the benefits of the blessing to the sick person and cure him in much the same way as is done when an accredited shaman goes through his entire performance. Of course, Aranga'ha's blessing related directly to the curing of disease. But evidently it was believed that blessings connected with other powers were equally efficacious.

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756 that of a gun sounded. The two (spirits) were causing it. Suddenly
159 a great noise was heard. I kept right on crying, for I was trying
787 to be blessed. I sat there with staring eyes looking at the spirits.
776 "I must be receiving a blessing," I thought. I continued crying and after a short time it began to rain very much. "How is this," I thought to myself, "only a little time before it was so nice and now it is raining." Yet in spite of the rain no water seemed to fall upon me. "How is it," I thought, "here it is raining and yet no rain is falling upon me." Then I looked above and I saw that it was very cloudy, yet straight above me in a direct line the sky was blue. This blue spot was like a round object covering me as though it were an umbrella. The Thunderbirds were blessing me. With the blue sky, they were blessing me. Soon the noise stopped, and when I looked above I saw four (men) standing with packs upon their backs. These (the spirits) killed. Then they blessed me with the power of killing. They spoke to me and said, "Stop your crying. What you have longed for and fasted for, with that we have blessed you. Just as these four men have been killed, so you will be able to kill people. But you will also be able to restore them to life again. Upon your body now we will make a mark and those whom you wish to bless will be given an opportunity of selecting life for themselves,[14] so that, even when a person be practically dead he will be restored to health. What is above you, the blue sky, that we place on one of your fingers,[15] and with that we bless you. If the patient picks the finger with the mark upon it, he will live."

The Thunderbirds were the spirits speaking to me. They had spears and little war-clubs in their hands and (wreathes) made of flat cedar leaves upon their heads. Thus did four Thunderbirds bless me.

"Well, brother-in-law, I want you to live and I want you to pick life for yourself—i. e., pick the finger with the blue mark upon it. Do it carefully and do not attempt it when you are tired. Here are my four fingers and one of them has the blue sky upon it (i. e., the blue mark that betokens life). If you choose that, you will certainly live. You are the second person (to whom I have offered my fingers). Now do not miss it, for if you miss it you will surely die. Be careful, then, in picking it."

[155] Then the brother-in-law picked the little finger and Aratege'ka said, "Brother-in-law, it is good. You will live." Then he turned his little finger around and there a circular blue mark was visible.

ACCOUNT OF X.'S FASTING

159 The spirits can bless you with everything. My father used to
787 tell me how much he loved me and how much he wished me to fast.

[14] That is, a sick person will have to guess at the part of the body that has been blessed by the Thunderbirds, and if he guesses correctly he will become well.

[15] That is, we will place a mark made with blue clay upon your finger.

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He wanted me to fast all the time. I would therefore, to please him, 159 787
fast off and on through the winter. The longest I ever fasted at any one time was six days. I was blessed by a yellow snake who lived near Medway, Wis. It was at that place that I fasted one 159
winter. The spirit-snake that lives there blessed me with life and 787
the right to draw bad blood from sick people (i. e., "cup blood"). 776
These blessings are truly efficacious, but after they have been handed 756
down to the next generation they lose their power (unless renewed). That same winter, not long before the beginning of spring, I fasted again for four days and early on the morning of the fourth day as I was walking along a ravine, crying and putting myself in a "pitiable condition," so that the spirits might take pity upon me, some one came to meet me. Up to this time, in spite of all my exertions and fastings, I had not been blessed by any of the spirits. The one who was coming toward me was walking very fast and when I stopped to look at him I saw that he was a man. His entire body was painted red and he wore an eagle feather on his head and garters around his legs. When he came near to me he said: "Human, I bless you. You may now go home and eat (i. e., break your fast). Every day I will bring the blessing of life to you. This also (I wish to tell you), if you think of me when you are in any difficulty, you will pass through it safely. The sick you will be able to heal through the blessing I give you. I am the Sun. Even if a day is cloudy, then know that I am keeping life for you beyond the clouds."

### HOW Y. FASTED AND WAS BLESSED WITH A WAR-BUNDLE [17]

Our war-bundle is eight generations old. In the beginning my 614
clansmen had no war-bundles. Whenever they had war, they had 778
nothing from which to receive strength. The only powerful possession they had was fire. That was the only thing they carried when on the warpath. Soon they discovered that other clans had war-bundles and that they received them by fasting for them. So 787
K'erex u"'sak'a started to fast for one. He fasted from early 778
autumn until summer and he received a blessing. Then he went to his father and told him, "Father, you told me to fast. Let us now go and see with what I have been blessed." So the old man accompanied his son.[18] When the old man got there he found a snake dried and dressed up and standing in an upright position. The snake had long hairs on its back, scattered here and there. The father on seeing it said, "My son, this is really too great. If you accept this and carry it with you on the warpath, you will not leave any human beings alive (i. e., you will always want to go on the

[17] This is the account of the origin of a war-bundle claimed to be eight generations old.
[18] Evidently the spirit had told him to go to a certain place and that there he would find certain objects, namely, the material objects with which he had been blessed.

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787 778 [776] warpath)." The son therefore refused it, and went out to fast again. Then the spirits blessed him again and again he went to his father and asked to accompany him to the wilderness and see what blessings he had obtained. When they came to the wilderness[30] they found two wild cats (already stuffed) standing there and facing in opposite directions. Then the old man told his son again not to accept this blessing because it would be too powerful,[31] but the young man said, "This is the last blessing that I am going to get," and accepted it.

(What follows was obtained at a later time from the same informant and relating to the same blessing.)

The first blessing K'erex'u"'sak'a received was from the Thunderbirds. They dropped a flute and two feathers from heaven. But these he refused. The second blessing was also from the Thunderbirds. This time they told him to go to a certain place where he could see them himself. He went there and found four men sitting there broiling meat. They gave him a piece of meat. It was only when he fasted for the fourth time that he was blessed with a war-bundle.

### WHAT G. OBTAINED IN HIS FAST

159 776 787 [775] I never fasted much. I only fasted three times and I don't believe that I ever fasted for more than two days at a time. However, I never was blessed with anything (i. e., any object). I knew, however, that I came from the home of the Thunderbirds (i. e., that I was a reincarnated Thunderbird). My spirit father and mother[32] were Thunderbirds. The Thunderbirds are beings whose glance can penetrate any object. For that reason I also can do it. For instance, I have seen a man through a tree. This I did once during a thunderstorm when a man had sought shelter behind a tree.

[30] Whenever the word "wilderness" is used all that is meant is an uninhabited place far away from the village.

[31] By "too powerful" the old man means that the feasts, offerings, etc., that would be necessary for so great a blessing would be quite beyond the means or the ability of the young man. It is to be remembered that the bestowal of a blessing does not in itself insure its efficacy, but that this can only be secured if the proper offerings and the proper emotional attitude accompany its subsequent use. Evidently the old man did not feel that the young fellow would be equal to the task. I have been told by many of the older Winnebagos that when the old system was still intact the older people always made it a point to warn impetuous youths against taking upon themselves responsibilities that they might possibly not be able to fulfill, a very excellent device, it seems to me, for not multiplying the chances of failure and consequently the necessity of explaining them. [782] [686] However, one need not believe that this was the reason for the caution.

[32] He says "spirit father and mother" because when he lived with the Thunderbirds he was, of course, a spirit. It is quite impossible to determine whether he means that he was a human being, being who was living among the spirits as a spirit or whether he was a spirit who had desired to be once reincarnated as a human being. Originally, of course, there were no human beings, but only spirits, of whom a portion became permanently transformed into human beings. However, even very powerful shamans never claim more than three reincarnations, so that he can obviously not be referring to this primitive condition and is either referring to the fact that he is a Thunderbird residing temporarily on this earth, or, and this would be the more common form, a human being who lived for some time as a Thunderbird and then returned to earth. In the latter case one would expect him to obtain great blessings in his fast, and the fact that he did not and had nevertheless such great powers suggests that he is really a reincarnated Thunderbird. [776] 775

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When I was ready to go down among the human beings (i. e., when I became reincarnated) I was given the power to overcome my enemies in battle. And this I have actually done. All the Thunderbirds have small war-clubs. I also had one when I came. Whenever I went on the warpath I made myself a war-club and used that only in battle. I believe that I was invulnerable. Whenever I got tired of living among human beings I knew I could return to the Thunderbirds. I thought I knew all this and that I had these powers. For that reason when I ate peyote I still held on to these beliefs for a long time, thinking that when I returned to the Thunderbirds inasmuch as they are above it would be the same as going to everlasting life, as the Peyote people said. Finally, one night, at a peyote meeting, in thinking over these things, I resolved to give them up. I could, nevertheless, not bring myself to do it. Then the peyote began to strangle me;[29] at least I thought so.

I also had the power of causing or stopping rain. All that I had to do was to offer tobacco to the Thunderbirds and make my request.

### HOW A BEAR BLESSED A MAN[30]

Once a band of Winnebagoes used to give a feast to the bears. A bear had blessed one of their number with life and victory on the warpath.

It was a spirit-bear that had blessed him. The man was fasting and the spirit blessed him and said, "Human, I bless you. In war you will be able to do as you wish (i. e., you will be able to kill an enemy whenever you desire). The first time you go on the warpath you will come back with the fourth war honor; the second time you go on a warpath you will return with the third war honor; the third time you will return with the second war honor; and the fourth time you will return with the first war honor and receive the first prize, which you are to give to your sister." This is what the man "dreamed." He believed it and was happy. Then the spirit-bear said again, "Human, I said that I blessed you and I really mean it. Earthmaker created me and gave me control of many things. Human, I bless you. As many years as Earthmaker bestowed upon you, that number I also bless you with. You will reach the limit of the years that were granted you. With mybody I also bless you. Whenever you are hungry and wish to kill a bear, pour a pipeful of tobacco for me. If then you go out hunting, you will be successful. Don't abuse the bears. I am the chief of the bears. I bless you. Never before have I blessed a human being, as long as I have lived here. As long as your descendants live on this earth, so long will this

[29] According to the Peyote people, if a member does not wish to do or tell something that he ought to, the peyote begins to strangle him and he finds no relief until he tells what is on his mind.

[30] This is really the "origin myth" of a bear feast.

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825 776 787 blessing last. Should your descendants perform the feasts in my honor well, I will bless them with life and victory on the warpath. Whenever you offer me tobacco I will smoke it. If you put on a kettle of food for me I will be thankful to you. When you put this [841] kettle of food on the fire and offer me tobacco see to it that you keep away menstruating women . . ."

HOW THE DAUGHTER OF MANK'EREXKA REFUSED A BLESSING FROM DISEASE-GIVER[29]

787 159 776 The daughter of Mank'erexka was fasting. She was his third daughter. She decided to fast during the summer. In her fast she was told that she was blessed and that on the following day a big deer would come across the waters for her to eat. Then she went to her father and said, "Father, I have been told to eat a big deer, and that to-morrow very early in the morning it will come out of the water." "It is good, my daughter. That deer has been given to you by the spirits and you may eat it."

Early the next morning a big deer came across the waters. "Let it be," the people said (to her). "As soon as it comes near we will chase it." So they got into a boat and chased it. Then they killed it and gave it to some other person instead of the young woman. "My daughter, what are you going to do? Are you going to eat the deer?" "No, father, if I were to eat the deer I would have killed it myself. But you people have killed it, so I will not eat any of it."

Then she rubbed some charcoal on her face and went to the place of fasting and said, "What you (the spirits) gave me others have taken away and eaten." Early in the morning she looked around toward the water. She was very weak, for she had not eaten for a long time. Nine days she fasted. She was saying to herself, "As soon as I see a deer I will tell the others and call my father." In the morning she went out in search of the deer. She was so weak that she could hardly crawl along. But she managed to reach the edge of the waters and, as she looked across, she saw a deer coming. So she immediately went to her father and told him. He got up immediately and, taking a spear, jumped into a boat, pursued, and speared it. Then the girl said, "Now I will eat." So they called her uncles, [782] Wolf and Elk.[30] When they came she put tobacco in their hands and said, "My uncles, I have offered tobacco to the different spirits and asked them to bless me. Now I am about to eat and I would

[29] The rest of the story is a description of a bear feast and how, in spite of the warning of the spirit-bear two menstruating women took part in the feast; how, thereupon, two bears suddenly appeared and killed them, and how for that reason the bear feast was given up.

[114] [28] This account has been cast in a literary mold, but there is no doubt that it represents a real fasting experience. It is included here principally because it contains a number of extremely interesting features.

[30] These are the names of individuals.

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like to have you put some food in your mouths."* "My niece, it is good. You have indeed made yourself 'pitiable.' You have thirsted yourself to death and I, too, pity you. If any spirit has blessed you, he has done so with good reason. I, too, once thirsted myself to death and the spirits blessed me with life. With this life, my niece, I also bless you. I will gladly partake of your feast." Thus spoke Wolf. Then Elk said, "My niece, I, too, was told to fast: and in my fast the spirits blessed me with the power of having complete control over all my actions. This dream (i. e., the blessings I obtained) I now give to you.* With these blessings you will be able to live as you desire. I will now gladly partake of your food."

787 159 776

When they were through eating, she also ate, and then they all went home. After a while her father said to her, "My daughter, I am going to ask you a question. It is said that those who have been blessed might tell their dreams if they were asked." "All right," said the daughter, "I will tell you. Eight days I fasted and then the spirits blessed me. They told me that if at the end of four days I should place offerings south of the place known as the Big Eddy and situated down the stream the powers with which I had been blessed would be shown to me. The one who blessed me was the chief of the Wak'ai'teĉ', the spirits who live in the earth. He said that Earthmaker had created him and given him great power; that he had placed him in charge of 'life.' In four days he told me, 'I will appear to you. The day on which I appear to you will be a perfect day. Whatever you wish to make for yourself, you may do. You will never be in want of anything, for you can make implements for yourself out of my body. With these I bless you, for you

* The feast referred to here is the feast called Hanhaguanie Waiin-ikranenge or foster's feast. It is given whenever a man or woman who has been blessed is about to break his fast. At the feast it is customary, according to one of informants, for the father to narrate his blessing. However, these feasts have now been discontinued for so long a time that it is extremely difficult to obtain any accurate information. [527]

* The transference of certain blessings is very common, but, to my knowledge, it is rarely done in this manner. As a rule if a person was unable to obtain blessings, he sought to offset this handicap in life by purchasing supernatural powers from some of his more successful fellow-men. However, these powers seem to be connected almost exclusively with medicines. That blessings such as those bestowed upon individuals during their fast, such as long life, intelligence, hunting powers, etc., were transferred, does not seem probable, although it is, of course, possible. The writer was told of a number of cases where this seemed to have been the case, but on closer study it was conclusively shown that no real transference had taken place, but that in those instances where a person had said, "I transfer this and that dream to you," the transference had no validity unless the individual to whom the dream had been transferred actually fasted and obtained the same dream. An individual would in such a case always be careful to select as his "dream-boy" one who would in all likelihood obtain the same dream. It is only in this sense that one might actually speak of a transference. In those instances where a man is blessed with supernatural powers that are to extend to all his posterity this is what is really meant, namely, an infinite repetition of the same blessing, one that has, however, become so certain within definite families that it might be considered automatic. [796] [425] [424]

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787 have made yourself suffer very much" and my heart has been rent
159 with pity for you. I bless you, therefore, with life, and this you
776 may transmit to your descendants.' All this, father, the spirit said to me." "My daughter, it is not good. These spirits are trying to deceive you. Do not accept it. They will never bestow upon you what they have promised." "All right, father, but let me at least give them the offerings of deerskin, red feathers, and tobacco. I will not accept these blessings, for you forbid it."

Then after four days she took her offerings to the place where she was to meet the spirit and told him that her father had forbidden her to accept the blessing. "'You are not a good spirit,' he said." "He is right, for one side of my body is not good but the other is," answered the spirit. "That is the way in which Earthmaker created me." Thus the wak'ai"teu" spoke." Then the woman looked toward the lake and she saw a tree standing in the water. The spirit climbed upon this tree and wrapped himself around it. Then he took a tooth and shot the tree and knocked it down." "This is what you would have been able to do," said the spirit. "The people would have respected you very much. You would have been able to cure weak or nervous people. But you did not listen to what I told you. You refused it."

### FASTING EXPERIENCE

(INFORMANT, CLAN UNKNOWN)

A man fasted and was finally blessed. When he was to be blessed a spirit came after him. He came from the south. "Human," he said, "I was told to come after you." Then the man looked at him and he saw that it was a man speaking to him. So he went along with him. He did not go far before he came to a village and in the middle of this village he saw a long lodge. There he was taken and there he was blessed. The one that was in charge of the village blessed him first.

"I bless you with victory in wars. Whenever you go on the war-path and when you are about to make the rush, do not forget me.
[726 If you pour some tobacco for me and then fight, the enemy will not
782] be able to kill you. I am in charge of wars."

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* When people are blessed by the Water-spirits they make medicines from the bones of the spirits. They are also supposed to make what the Winnebagoes call "implements." What is actually meant by this term it is very difficult to state precisely. But it seems that they meant charmed bones, etc., used in connection with the administration of magical medicines in painting the body, and in connection with shamanistic practices of all sorts. It is not common for other spirits beside the Water-spirits to bless an individual with the use of "his bones," but this is occasionally met with. In the trickster cycle the trickster, in one of his escapades, is squeezed into the skull of an elk, and he persuades the people that he is an elk-spirit and blesses them and permits them to use his bones.

* This characteristic would seem to identify the wak'ai"teu" with the thunder-giver, although it is possible that a number of Winnebago deities had such characteristics.

* This is a symbolistic representation of the powers she was given.

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So he spoke to him. "Thus will your life be. Look at yourself." 787
So he looked at himself and his hair was very white. As one who 159
had attained a full life he saw himself. "All that are within this 776
lodge bless you," the spirit continued. "You have come to the Buffalo village." This he was told, so he looked at the lodge full of people. And those whom he had seen up to that time as human beings now were buffaloes.

"Human, they bless you is why they went after you. Human, if anyone is weighted with life and a reasonable amount of tobacco is given, such a one would be able to do the following":

A dead man was placed in the middle of the lodge, and all of 787
those in the lodge tried their power, but none succeeded in restoring 159
him to life. At last the spirits let the man try it. So he tried. 776
When he arose, all those in the lodge began to make sounds and 756
when he began to exert his powers he sang buffalo songs. When he was through with these songs, he walked toward the dead man, in the middle of the lodge. He blew on him once, then again and again. Now the man began to open his eyes. Then he blew on him for the fourth time and he caused him to rise.

"Human, you have overcome all of us," said the buffalo chief. "Human, thus shall you ever do to people. If anyone is sick and the proper offerings are made to you, send some tobacco to our council lodge and I will remember you. You must send all the [782] tobacco that is offered to you. I will remember it. This council lodge is given to you and to your posterity as long as it lasts. As long as the earth lasts that long your posterity will have occasions on which to pour tobacco. Whatever blessing they ask, we will bestow upon them while we smoke their tobacco. As many as are the kettles that they offer to us, we will never accept one without giving them a blessing. We are in control of wars; the Earthmaker has given us control of them, and if you ask for it we will give it to you. And if you ask for life we will bestow that blessing upon you and accept your offerings."

They also blessed him with plants for medicine. This is the way they did it. Each of the spirits caused him to see a plant and to [278] know the purposes to which it could be put. They told him to make offerings to the plants whenever he gave a feast, so that the plants [782] would become more powerful. They also blessed him with a drum. "This you must beat when you give a feast and it will tell us your [534] wants. We will understand the drum. We will make your drum holy for you, and you must treat it as such," they told him. "You must keep it holy. Whenever you are on the warpath you must take it with you and it will help you. Human, your enemies you will [726] overcome; your weapons only will be sharp if your posterity will never give up this ceremony." So they spoke to him. "Whenever 000

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159 So they spoke to him. "Whenever
787 you give this ceremony, no matter what blessing you ask, we will
776 bestow it upon you, when you offer tobacco. A flute you must also
[534 keep holy. You must make it yourself, so that it remains sacred."
[778] They also told him to make a war bundle. The Buffalo chief told
825] him this. So he made one out of a buffalo head and a buffalo tail. These he made sacred so that people might offer tobacco to them. This was done long ago and yet they still do it.

Then they told him that four differently colored buffaloes would bless him— a white one, a black one, a red one, and a yellow one.

After a while he was blessed the second time. This time the spirits came after him from above and took him to the home of a spirit buffalo. This is the one that blessed him.

"Earthmaker has placed me here," said the spirit, "and he has
[726 given me control of many things. Grandson, I bless you. I am in
782] control of war power, and if you ever go on the warpath don't forget me. If you pour a pipeful of tobacco for me before you go into battle, the enemy will only be able to shoot your shadow." Thus he spoke to him. "I will take your body, and in that way it will only be your shadow that the enemy will try to shoot with all their strength. You will be without a body, and how then can they hit you, being without a body?" This is what the spirit told him. So, therefore, whenever he went on the warpath it was impossible to kill him. For the spirit had said, "I am also in control of life and I will give you your life back, that you may control it. The spirits
[796 have given you a tobacco-pouring feast and whenever you give it,
782] remember that I wish to smoke also. When you pour tobacco for me I will grant you whatever you ask. If you ask for war, or if you ask for life, I will accept your tobacco. As long as this earth lasts I will smoke your tobacco and accept the kettle of food that you place on the fire for me."

Thus he spoke to him. The man, however, still kept on fasting, and finally the spirits came for him again. There in the middle of the earth lived a buffalo-ghost. There he went and the buffalo-ghost said to him: "I also bless you. You were given counsel and I who am a buffalo also counsel you. I am in control of many things. Earthmaker placed me here to live and he put me in control of many things. Human, look at me," he said. The man looked at him. Then he saw that his body was covered with flattened bullets. "Thus you will be," said the ghost to him. "It will be impossible to kill you, and you will attain to old age, and when you get tired of living you may do as you please. I give you the privilege of controlling yourself." Then he gave him a song and he caused him to see a war prize, a wampum. After a while he spoke to him as follows:

"I also will always smoke at your feast, and if a kettle is ever put on the fire for me, I will be thankful to you. Whatever the people

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ask of me I will always take it into consideration. If they ask for 159
war or if they ask for life, remember that I have been given control 787
of these things." Thus spoke the buffalo-ghost. There he received 776
all the things with which he was blessed.

In the course of his life he made use of all his blessings. His first 159
victory occurred when he went on the warpath for the first time. 787
He had joined a war party and a fight occurred toward the evening 776
of the same day. As he was walking along he suddenly saw a gun 726
directed against him at close range. He jumped right and left and in that way escaped being shot. Then the enemy tried to capture the one who had been blessed by the buffalo, holding him tightly by the arm. But he struck the enemy twice against an object and tore his stomach open. Then he walked away. As he was going he thought to himself, "Why did I not kill him outright?" So he went back with the intention of doing this, but as he approached the man the latter directed a gun against him. Thinking, however, that it was not loaded, he did not dodge, and he was shot. His breast was filled with shot and he was killed. But he did not remain dead long. He soon came to consciousness and sat up, uttering sounds like a buffalo.

Then he remembered that a buffalo ghost had blessed him. He had indeed said to him, "When you are about to fight do not forget me." He remembered this, so he exerted his power. All the blood that was in his stomach he vomited forth and felt better. Just then one of his relatives came along and asked him, "How have you been getting along?" and he answered, "I have killed one. There lies his body. Take his scalp for me." "All right," said his relative, and did what he had been told, and brought it to him, saying, "Here it is." A [727]
horse was there also, and this the relative likewise led away and started back to (the camp). When he met the war leader, the latter asked him, "How have you been making out?" He answered, "I give you these trophies," and handed the leader the scalp and the horse. "Ah, it is good," he said, and put a wampum belt on him. Then the war leader sang a song and started to run, and the buffalo-blessed one reminded himself of his blessing and went back also. He was all shot to pieces. But he did not die, for he had been blessed with power, so how could he die? The buffalo ghost he had seen with flattened bullets in his belt had fulfilled his promise, and the wampum belt that he had seen in his fasting had now become true.

He went to many wars after this, but he was never harmed. He [756]
doctored many people and caused them to have more life. After
a while he made a war bundle consisting of a flute that he had con- [778]
structed himself, a buffalo tail, and a buffalo head. Then he made offerings to them. These many things he made sacred. Since then buffalo feasts have been given.

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J. R.'S FASTING EXPERIENCE

159 787 I fasted all the time. We moved back to a place where all the leaders used to give their feasts. Near the place where we lived there were three lakes and a black hawk's nest. Right near the tree where the nest was located they built a lodge and the war-bundle that we possessed was placed in the lodge. We were to pass the night there, my older brother and myself. It was said that if anyone [756] fasted at such a place for four nights he would always be blessed with victory and the power to cure the sick. All the spirits would bless him.

159 787 776 "The first night spent there one imagined himself surrounded by spirits whose whisperings were heard outside of the lodge," they said. The spirits would even whistle. I would be frightened and nervous, and if I remained there I would be molested by large monsters, fearful to look upon. Even (the bravest) might be frightened, I was told. Should I, however, get through that night, I would on the following night be molested by ghosts whom I would hear speaking outside. They would say things that might cause me to run away. Toward morning they would even take my blanket away from me. They would grab hold of me and drive me out of the lodge, and they would not stop until the sun rose. If I was able to endure the third night, on the fourth night I would really be addressed by spirits, it was said, who would bless me, saying, "I bless you. We had turned you over to the (monsters, etc.) and that is why they approached you, but you overcame them and now they will not be able to take you away. Now you may go home, for with victory and long life we bless you and also with the power of healing the sick. Nor shall you lack wealth (literally, 'people's possessions'). So go home and eat, for a large war-party is soon to fall upon you and as soon as the sun rises in the morning they will give the war whoop, and if you do not go home now they will kill you."

Thus the spirits would speak to me. However, if I did not do the bidding of this particular spirit, then another one would address me and say very much the same thing. So the spirits would speak until the break of day, and just before sunrise a man in warrior's regalia would come and peep in. He would be a scout. Then I would surely think a war party had come upon me, I was told.

Then another spirit would come and say, "Well, grandson, I have taken pity upon you and I bless you with all the good things that the earth holds. Go home now, for the war-party is about to rush upon you." And if I then went home, as soon as the sun rose the war-whoop would be given. The members of the war-party would give the war-whoop all at the same time. They would rush upon me and capture me and after the fourth one had counted coup, then

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they would say, "Now then, grandson, this we did to teach you. 159
Thus you shall act. You have completed your fasting." Thus they 787
would talk to me, I was told. This war-party was composed entirely 776
of spirits, I was told, spirits from the heavens and from the earth; indeed, all the spirits that exist would be there. These would all bless me. They also told me that it would be a very difficult thing to accomplish this particular fasting.

So there I fasted, at the black hawk's nest where a lodge had been built for me. The first night I stayed there I wondered when things would happen; but nothing took place. The second night, rather late in the night, my father came and opened the war-bundle and taking a gourd out, began to sing. I stood beside him without any clothing on me except the breech-clout, and holding tobacco in each hand I uttered my cry to the spirits as my father sang. He sang war-bundle songs and he wept as he sang. I also wept as I uttered my cry to the spirits. When he was finished he told me some sacred stories, and then went home.

When I found myself alone I began to think that something ought to happen to me soon, yet nothing occurred, so I had to pass another day there. On the third night I was still there. My father visited me again and we repeated what we had done the night before. In the morning, just before sunrise, I uttered my cry to the spirits. The fourth night found me still there. Again my father came and we did the same things, but in spite of it all, I experienced nothing unusual. Soon another day dawned upon us. That morning I told my elder brother that I had been blessed by spirits and that I was going home to eat. However, I was not telling the truth. I was hungry and I also knew that on the following night we were going to have a feast and that I would have to utter my cry to the spirits again. I dreaded that. So I went home. When I got there I told my people the story I had told my brother; that I had been blessed and that the spirits had told me to eat. I was not speaking the truth, yet they gave me the food that is carefully prepared for those who have been blessed. Just then my older brother came home and they objected to his return, for he had not been blessed. However, he took some food and ate it.

That night we gave our feast. There, however, our pride received a fall, for although it was supposedly given in our honor, we were placed on one side (of the main participants). After the kettles of food had been put on twice, it became daylight.

### HOW A MAN DEFIED DISEASE-GIVER

Once a man said, "Why do you always make offerings and feasts 776
to the Disease-giver? What benefit has he ever been to you that 787
you do it? If I were ever to see him, I would kick him off the earth. The only thing he can give you is disease."

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776 In the fall of the year in which the man said this the people, as
787 usual, went out hunting and the man got lost and was forced to camp out in the wilderness overnight. So he built a fire and sat alongside of it. Suddenly he saw a man coming toward him. As soon as the stranger came up to him he took a seat on the opposite side of the fireplace. Then the stranger said, "I am the one whom you threatened to kick off this earth whenever you met him. You, furthermore, boasted that I could not kill you." Then he pointed his finger in a line with the man's heart. But the man remained seated near the fireplace without moving. Then he did this again, yet the man still remained in his former position. Then the third time he did it and said, "In the center of the heart." The man, however, remained seated just as before. Then the stranger exclaimed, "Who are you anyhow!" and pointed his finger at him. But the man did not move. Then the stranger (Disease-giver) pleaded with the man to die so that it might not be said that he had failed in the "mission" for which he had been created. He promised the man that if he would oblige him and die he could come back to earth again within four days. Finally the man consented. He went home and told his folks that he was going to a certain place to
787 die for the space of four days and that they should, under no con-
775 ditions, go to see him there, for in that case he would surely die. Then he dressed himself in his best clothes and went to the place where he was to meet Disease-giver. (He rested his head against a tree and died.) However, on the third day his wife could not resist the desire to see him, so she went to the place where her husband was leaning against the tree. Then he really died. After his death a red spot was visible upon his forehead.*

### Methods of Bringing the Spirits into Relation with Man

785 *Fasting.*—Fasting has been discussed before. There are two things to be remembered in connection with it—first, that it is a method of superinducing a religious feeling; and, secondly, that this religious feeling in turn is bound up with the desire for preserving and perpetuating socio-economic life values. Among the Winnebago the desirability of the conditions superinduced by fasting lay not so much in the emotional pleasure it gave, although this is not to be underestimated, as in the belief which the shamans had developed, that such a state was essential for placing people in a position enabling them to overcome certain crises in life, which it was reasonable to believe might take place.

787 *Mental concentration.*—To the religiously inclined Winnebago the
153 efficacy of a blessing, of a ceremony, etc., depended upon what they

* This is not supposed to be a myth but the real experience of a man named James Smith.

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called "concentrating one's mind" upon the spirits, upon the details 787
of the ritual, or upon the precise purpose to be accomplished. All 153
other thoughts were to be rigidly excluded, they believed. This was the insistent admonition of the Winnebago elders to the youth who was fasting. He was to center his mind completely on the spirits, for his blessing would be in direct proportion to the power of concentration he was capable of. The Winnebago believed that the relation between man and the spirits was established by this concentration and that no manner of care in ritualistic detail could take its place. Very frequently failure on a warpath or lack of efficacy of a ritual was attributed to the fact that the Indian or Indians had been lacking in [154] the intensity of their "concentration."

*Offerings and sacrifices.*—The theory of offering and sacrifice held 782
by the Winnebago has been discussed before. To the important 776
deities offerings were made at the great ceremonies. These offerings consisted of tobacco preeminently, buckskins, and whatever the particular spirit was supposed to like. The animal spirits were given their favorite foods—honey to the bear, for instance. Dogs were offered to Disease-giver at the war-bundle feasts. Whether human sacrifices ever existed it is difficult to say. In the tale of *Wegi'cka* a child is offered to Earthmaker, and there is reason to believe that this may represent a survival of human sacrifice.

Tobacco could be offered at any time and was so offered to the various *genii loci* whenever an individual passed their precincts.

*Prayers.*—For examples of prayers reference must be made to the descriptions of the ceremonies. Among the Winnebago, and doubtless everywhere else, the objects of the prayer are always the socio-economic life values. What in these values is stressed depends upon the ambitions of the individual, and consequently it happens that individuals may pray for abstract blessings or ideal objects, although this is rare. Prayers are undoubtedly always accompanied by a religious feeling when made by the religious man, but frequently become mere formulas in the hands of the lay Indian.

## The Folkloristic Concepts

*The concept of evil.*—It is extremely difficult to understand exactly 776
what the Winnebago concept of evil is. They undoubtedly postu- [812]
late the existence of evil and they have theoretically a host of evil spirits, the *wanp'i'ni cicik*. Youths will be warned not to fast at certain times and children will carefully be kept at home after dark for fear of the evil spirits. Yet in spite of all this, no even fairly definite idea of what these evil spirits are and what they look like can be obtained. One almost gets the impression that the notion of evil spirits belongs to an older strata of Winnebago beliefs and that what we find to-day

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"Your plates will be filled soon, so let me greet you again, you (humans) who are taking the place of the spirits. All you who are present I greet." 796 614 537

The attendant now takes the kettles from the fire and takes the plate of the first of those sitting in the row. Then he takes the sharp stick that he holds in his hand, sticks it through one of the four chickens, and puts it in the plate of the first man. He passes the plate around the kettle four times, going from right to left, and finally he places it before the feaster. The feaster then says, "I thank you all," and the attendant passes on to the next one, and so in succession until he comes to the last person. Then the one first invited rises and says, "All those present, the host and the three other guests, do I greet." Then the speaker addresses the one sitting next to him, who greets him in return. In the same way he greets the third and the fourth one. Then he speaks as follows:

"It is good. Who would not be thankful for this! The host and his relatives present here are praying for life and victory, to the four greatest spirits Earthmaker ever made, to those spirits whom he pierced through the earth so that it might hold together. All the snakes whom we see on the earth are ruled by these four. From them have they asked blessings. The first human beings on earth saw these spirits face to face and, we are told, they used them for protection. These we see before us as the host has laid them out. We are told that blessings can be obtained by the use of these snakes.

"I am indeed not a fit person to be invited to such a gathering as this, but the host has kindly overlooked my faults. My grandfather fasted and thirsted himself to death and he was blessed and his spirit taken to a spirit-home. That is what happened to my grandfather, for he told me this himself. The place where he was [787] blessed was at Red Banks at a place where a creek flows into the sea (Green Bay). At the fork of this creek there was a hill lying east and west. It is there that the yellow snake-chief lives. To the home of this snake-chief my grandfather was taken. This snake was at this place gathering tobacco for all the spirits. There my grandfather was even blessed with their bodies. For this reason I always pour tobacco for them. And I have been given to understand that the spirits do not overlook the least fault (in the performance of the feast). They are always in our midst just as even the grass and the dust represent snakes. They know everything, they say. It is not safe to cross their path. As, however, the host is now making an offering to them, should we cross their path now it would even strengthen us. It is good. These clubs are heavy and they will not fail to strike everything within their reach. The host has asked for that power so that he might have victory (in war). They, the spirits, also have life to dispose of and that we ask of them also, giving them these offerings of tobacco, [782] feathers, and food.

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796 one. If I participated in this ceremony, I would be able to call it life,
776 I was told. But I did not pay any attention to it. They told me it
539 was good and that I would at the same time be making offerings to
575 Those-with-the-rounded-wood, and that thus I would be able to make use of all the plants that these spirits control, so that I would never be embarrassed when I wished to use them. I have caused people who were ill to become well by means of this ceremony. All of the [824] plants that these spirits control are good ones, and it is easy to obtain life with them. In this ceremony we may also obtain life by dancing. But we must dance earnestly. The leaders of this ceremony have held council over everything, and yet they have selected us for a seat of honor, so that we might greet them in this lodge and that we might be able to use this song while greeting them. You children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you all."

Then he sang an entrance song, and when he finished he repeated the utterances used in entering and gradually made the circuit of the lodge singing. When he was through singing, he again continued the utterances until he came to the place of the host, where he made the circle (with his hands) and stopped. Then he addressed the host as follows:

"I greet you. You wish me to live, and therefore caused a great day to come upon me and upon all my relatives. We have all received a taste of it, and we have all thought of ourselves in connection with life. We are also bringing you a pipeful of tobacco, so that we may strengthen one another. That is what we thought and that is why we are doing it. I greet you."

Then he walked around the lodge until he came to his seat. There he stopped and addressed his seat as follows:

"Seat that is reserved for me and for my relatives, we are about to sit in you; we will do it, and we will think that our lives have been helped thereby. I greet you." Thus he spoke and sat down. Then all the other members of his band sat down one by one.

When they were all seated the lodge was full. Then the host rose and spoke as follows:

"You who are seated in the first position, I greet you; you who are seated in the north position, I greet you; you who are seated in the west position, I greet you; and you who are seated at the end of the
539 road, I greet you. Children of the night-blessed ones who are here, I
796 greet you. My father and my grandfather spoke to me of this cere-
776 mony, and they told me it was good. They told me that the one
●787 who first obtained it was named 'Little Red Turtle.' He fasted and
575 was blessed by those whom he called the Beings-with-round-wood. By these was he blessed at the noon hour, and he was taught what to do. There they taught him all. At a place where the stars [825] touched land they caused it to become night, and there they blessed

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him and taught him how to make four circles and also certain songs. 539
Since then this ceremony has been performed. He was really blessed, 796
and he was told exactly how everything should be performed. So it is 776
said. As he was very fond of the Night feast, he spoke in its behalf, 787
and told of all the medicines that were associated with it and of 575
the use to which they could be put. I myself know that these medicines are good to live on. If anyone uses them he will receive benefits therefrom and his children will receive life. I know that they are good. I would not have you think that I am one of those blessed by the Night Spirits because I say this. But I know that all the medicines of which I have personal charge and to which I make offerings of tobacco, for whom I boiled food, always make the individual to whom I offer them the better for it, provided that I do everything correctly. I was told to do this, and that is why I do it. I am now going to sing some songs audibly, and all these songs will be songs about medicines. I know that we will cause you to fan your faces (from perspiration brought on by making you work too hard), but forgive us for it. Children o' the night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you, and to take the place of their sister whom they always place ahead of them so we also will have our sisters lead the dance for us."

Two women now rise and stand side by side in front of the men and 796
hold, one in each hand, the invitation sticks that had been returned. 575
These two women lead in the dance. The men who shake the gourds 539
stand with their backs to the women, facing the drummers. All sing together and all the dancers have partners at their sides. It is a very interesting dance. Then all get up and start around the lodge, making strange utterances. When they have made the complete circuit of the lodge they stop and sing. When they finish this song they start around the lodge again, repeating the utterances. They stop at the west end of the tent, where they sing again. They thus sing at both ends of the lodge. They use all the songs they intend to. When the last song is over the individual who has sung it makes four circles and then takes the drum, gourd, tobacco, etc., and places them in front of the guest who occupies the first seat of honor. Then all sit down. Then the east leader rises and speaks as follows:*

"Councilors and life-obtainers, relatives who are seated here, I send you all greetings; and to you who are on the north side, and you who are on the west side, and you who are at the end of the road, your seats I greet. Our host has passed over to me the means of our meditation, the instruments through which we ask life. This instrument for asking life is the foremost thing we possess, so the old people said. We are thankful for it. We know that Earthmaker

* From now on we will use the terms East Leader, North Leader, West Leader, and South Leader to designate, respectively, the first, second, third, and fourth guests in the order of their invitations.

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539 did not put us in charge of anything, and that for that reason the tobacco we received is our greatest and foremost thing. So the old people said. We were told that we should use it to ask for life. This must have been what they meant. This, the instrument with which to ask life, is, I feel sure, sufficient to attract them and they will surely take notice of it. We may also follow him who is taking the place of the spirits, and we will consider all those who are in the lodge blest. Those whom we call Nights have been offered tobacco, and the same has been offered to the four cardinal points, and to all the life-giving plants. To this many tobacco has been offered. It will strengthen us. This is what we call imitating the spirits, and that is why we are doing it. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you all. The song we will now start is a pipe-lighting song."

When he finished singing he greeted all those in the lodge and then he lit his pipe. Then he took a number of puffs. First he inhaled some smoke and blew it toward the east, then toward the north, then toward the west, then toward the south. Then he passed [782] it around and all smoked, except the host, who is not permitted to do so. Then the east leader spoke again as follows:

"Night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you. The instrument with which to ask life I will now place here, and if any of you want to fill your pipes you may do so."

Then the leader of the north band rose and spoke as follows:

"Councilors and life-obtainers, you who sit in the direction where the day comes from, you who sit on the other side, in the west, and you who sit at the end of the road, your seats I all greet. We, too, have been anxious to obtain the instrument whereby we ask life, and therefore we fill a pipe for ourselves. I greet you."

Then the leader of the south band rose and said as follows:

"If the leader of the north band has finished his greeting, I also would very much like to have the instrument with which we ask life brought to me. We will immediately go and fill a pipe. I am speaking now because I wish to tell you what I intend to do. I greet you."

The leader of the north band did not pass the pipe that he had filled all around the lodge, but merely passed it to the members of his band. Only they smoked from it. In the same way the leaders of the other bands, with the exception of the host's band, passed the pipe only to members of their individual band. Only the host passed his pipe all around the lodge. When the smoking was over the leader of the east band rose and greeted everyone. Then he spoke as follows:

[787 "Our grandfathers used to carry on this ceremony, I have been 776 told. They told me that if at any time the giver of this ceremony

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can not find enough people to invite he would take pity on me. 796
This is what I should say, my father told me. In the direction from 776
which the day comes, there where the Nights are, live the night-sol- 787
diers, who blessed my grandfather and who made him try his powers 575
in the middle of the ocean—there where it is deepest. They placed 539
a round object of wood before him, and the night-soldiers said that they would not take it away, and that every time my grandfather tried to seize it he would not miss. 'You have done well, human, you have won,' they said to him. For this reason it was considered an instrument of war, he told me. If you do your utmost in offering tobacco, it will be an instrument of war, he said.

And he also said the following: "All the plants with which I have been blessed are useful and a person can receive life through them if he takes good care of them. These plants can be very powerful and some of them can even be used in playing jokes, we are told. But we have never used any of them in such a manner, for if we did our plants would surely lose their strength. I have been told that should I frequently use any of my plants for the purpose of playing jokes and then for the purpose of curing a sick person, they would have no power at all. If, however, I never used them in jokes my medicine would always be powerful. Therefore I have never used them in that manner. Nor have I ever poisoned anyone with them. I never considered myself great or used a Night's trick-medicine or used fire, although I was told I could do so. This I never did. When I use one of the plants I like to have it do its work. I am saying this, although I am not a child of the night-blest ones. It is now about time to permit our sisters to get hold of the 'chief sticks' and to permit them to sit here and sing together with us."

The women are then permitted to take two sticks apiece and sing wherever they are sitting. As soon as the men sing the women join in.

"This is the way to do, I was told, and that is why I am doing it. Children of the night-blessed ones, who are seated here in this lodge, I send you all greeting."

When he is through with his starting song he stands up and speaks to them again, as follows:

"Night-blest ones who are within this lodge, I greet you. I was not invited to take this seat because I was a wise man. I do not for a moment imagine that, but it was done in order to help me obtain life. We will now rise and go forth and we will brush against your faces, but you must take pity on us. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you. We will not remain seated here but we will rise and go forth in order to obtain the round stick. That is why I am making this announcement to you. I greet you."

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## Society of Those Who Have Been Blessed By the Buffalo Spirits

796 575 539 Informant, member of the Bear clan: "Come, it is the time for giving the Buffalo Feast," said my father, "so tell the attendants to get ready; and you, third-born, if you see anyone, tell him about the feast that we are going to give."

So I went to Fire-starter and said, "Nephew, my father is about to give a feast, and he wants his attendants to get ready. You are to go over to his lodge and get a few more attendants to help you. We also will get ready right away." Then I greeted him and he said, "All right, I will go and get some to help me." I returned to my father and told him what I had done. He told me to go and inform those who were to take part in the feast that they were to bring food. This I likewise did and returned with the information that they would all do as desired.

Now the attendants arrived and asked what was expected of them. They were told to haul the wood and cut the poles to be used in building the lodge, prepare the fireplaces, and put the kettles on the fire. After that they were to go and tell the young women to get the food ready. When the drum was fixed and the food prepared, then the feast would begin, they were told.

"Well, Green-hair, my nephew, it is about time for you to go down toward the timber and invite the people. You, my nephew, Fire-starter, may go to those who possess war bundles and invite them. Go especially to Strikes-the-earth-with-his-wings and tell him that he must come immediately. When you come back, Green-hair, get the earth mound (*ma"warup'urura*) ready. Construct two of them in the lodge. Then place upon them all the things that we are going to use in the dance."

The drum, the flute, the buffalo tails, the buffalo heads were all painted and placed there.

Then the feasters arrived. He-who-strikes-with-his-wings was to sit opposite Fleet-one. When all had entered and were seated Hodja'noka arose and spoke:

"War-bundle owners, all you who have been blessed by the buffalo-spirits and are seated here, you who are taking the place of the spirits and giving counsel like them, I thank you and greet you all. You are taking the place of the spirits. Just as we ask for long life from the spirits, so do we ask the same of you. Relatives, I know I am going to tire you all out, but do not take it amiss. What we long for, aid us in obtaining. Life is what I wish.

"What I am doing now I did not originate, for my ancestor [787] Hodja'noka was the one blessed by the buffalo-spirits. When he was a child he was blessed by them and they gave him a certain

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plant and blessed him with long life and with victorious warpaths. He asked to be remembered by Hodja'noka in his offerings. The buffalo-spirit told him that if he would pour tobacco for him, and give feasts and make offerings of eagle feathers, the blessings he had given him would last forever.

"All these blessings were handed down to my father. These I also was taught. This life do we pray for and we have asked you all to come and help us. We thank you for it. As soon as the attendants are finished with the preparation of the food then we will eat. Our servants may perhaps burn their hands while preparing the food, but they will obtain life by so doing. Those who possess war bundles are always told to help one another and I know that you have come here for that reason. Life i am seeking and that is why I am giving this feast. Help me, all you owners of bundles who are present here. I will now sing some of the songs that Hodja'noka taught us. You who have obtained blessings, I greet you."

Then he sang the following songs:

*Song 1*

Nangura homa'ni hiwiłê. (Repeat.)
In the road walk let him do.

*Song 2*

Hodja'noka hamani'winê. (Repeat.)
Hodjanoka Walk by.

*Song 3*

Kâra Hodja'noka hamani'winê.
Say, Hodjanoka Walk by.

*Dancing song*

Hodja'noka trawawi're. (Repeat.)
Hodjanoka go toward.
Erehu'ns. (Repeat twice.) Wiga'rê. (Repeat twice.)
It is coming say to them.

As soon as Hodja'noka finished his songs, then all the objects (drum, gourds, etc.) were passed to He-who-strikes-the-earth-with-his-wings, and he rose and spoke:

"Brother-in-law, councilors, relatives, all who are seated here, I greet you. You who have been blessed with bundles, I greet likewise. You are taking the place of the spirits. It is good. We are trying to encourage one another and we have come to help you. We have brought you food for the feast. We also are desirous of obtaining long life and that is why we have brought our offerings, for we know the buffalo-spirits will accept them, as they are very tempting. You who are taking the place of the spirits, I greet you."

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*Description of buffalo dance and its origin.* Informant, member of Bear clan: The buffalo dance can be given by anybody who has been blessed by the buffalo spirits. In the beginning the Winnebago had animal forms, and they could obtain all the power they wanted, but since they left that stage of life they can obtain power only by fasting. John's buffalo feast is of recent origin. It originated with his grandfather. 796 575 [787]

A long lodge is prepared and in the center there is a pile of loose dirt. John's grandfather's name was Hodjanaga, Young-man-just-maturing. In fasting he found out that he was blessed with powers to cure the sick and be victorious in battle. While fasting, the spirits told him that he would receive what he was longing for. They told him that he would know what to do, for they would come after him. Soon they came after him and took him into camp (i. e., spirit country). When he got there, he saw an old man and a child, and he was told that it was on account of the child that he had been brought there; that the child had heard his prayers while fasting and had blessed him. Then they showed him a certain herb and told him, "This is what we give you. It will give you strength in running. Use it in time of war, and use it also as medicine for life. I have blessed you and given you what you desired and do you, in turn, make me a dog feast and give me red feathers, tobacco, and food." Then they taught him the songs and gave him a buffalo tail and a flute. 796 575 787

No invitation sticks are used. They go around and invite those whom they want. 796 575

When the grasses are well developed, then the Buffalo clan people make a feast to their life or clan; also in midwinter, for that is the time when all the spirits awaken from their night's sleep and turn over on the other side. [203]

## Society of Those Who Have Been Blessed By the Grizzly Bear

Informant, member of Bear clan: The grizzly-bear dance was given by those who had been blessed during their fasting by the grizzly bear. Women were never so blessed, and for that reason they never could participate in the dance. Different people received different blessings. We were blessed with two grizzly-bear heads, grizzly-bear hides, and paws. In the lodge constructed for the dance was placed a mound of earth called ma$^{n}$warap'uru. The ma$^{n}$warap'uru is supposed to represent a bear's cave, the four points of the cross representing the entrances to the cave and the four lines running to the center, the paths along which the grizzly bear travels when he scents a man. The place in the middle is supposed to be the habitation of the bear himself. Tobacco and red feathers are placed both in the center and at the four points. 796 575 787 [562] [782]

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796 in the center and at the four points. Only people who had been
575 blessed by the grizzly bear were permitted to sing and dance. The
[787] dancing itself took place both around the lodge and around the ma"warap'uru. The dancers are supposed to imitate the motions and the cries of the grizzly bear. Sometimes they whirl themselves round and round, like a grizzly bear, but their principal motion consists in stretching out their hands. In this position they will take tobacco from the ma"warap'uru and eat it. They believe that they are representing the bears when they do this.

The dancers are selected by the one giving the dance. Those taking part vie with each other in exhibiting the powers with which they have been blessed, because in this way those present could see who possessed the greatest powers.

The purpose of the dance was to thank the grizzly bears for the blessings they had bestowed upon the people. (However, there seemed to be many other special occasions for which the dance was performed.)

If sick people are present at the dance they are told to put some tobacco on the ma"warap'uru and ask for life.

There is a description of the grizzly-bear dance in the account of Little Priest's life which it might be well to append here in view of the brevity of the above description.

796 "Little Priest had been wounded in so many places that he was
755 practically dead. He was, of course, entirely unconscious when his
575 relatives arrived. They decided to perform the grizzly-bear dance for him. He himself had been blessed by the grizzly bears when he was young.

"The dance was to be given at the lodge of an Indian named Good Soldier. They carried Little Priest to the lodge in a blanket, so that they could sing for him and permit him to show the powers he possessed. He was unable to move on account of the wounds and the bruises he had gotten. The man who sang for him at that time was South-Wind. There were all in all ten Indians, entirely naked, except for their breechclouts. Little Priest had told South-Wind that he was a grizzly bear and that he could heal himself (no matter how badly he had been wounded).

"As soon as the songs and dancing commenced Little Priest began to move his little fingers. Soon he was able to move his arm as far as his forearm, and gradually he regained the power of moving the entire arm. Finally he sat up and began to keep time on the drum. Then he tried to stand on his feet, but owing to his weakness it was only with the greatest difficulty that he could straighten out his body. Finally he stood erect. Then he started to walk around the lodge very slowly. The second circuit he made more easily, and by the time he had made the fourth circuit he was dancing just as the

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The soldier dance is a hop up and down with both feet and in no particular order, anywhere around the singers. It is held in the open air. 796 614 [535]

SOLDIER DANCE SONGS

I 796

Manaap'e'ra na"ji"winą. 614
Soldiers get up.

II 533

Waja"nija" teexigi'ji na"ji"a"ąją. 539
Something difficult get ready.
(I. e., whenever there is anything difficult to do you must get ready.)

III

Manaap'e'ra newine'na" hu'nagiredra.
Soldiers I am he whom they spoke of.

IV

Manaap'e'ra hi'ja" wine'na".
Soldier one I am.
(I. e., I am a soldier, and if there is anything to do I'll do it.)

## Ceremony of Uanokru

(BEGGING CEREMONY)

A dummy is made of grass and dressed with whatever objects the maker wants to get. If he wants a horse he puts a bridle crosswise around the body of the dummy; if he wants clothes, he dresses him up in Indian clothes. Then the man places this dummy anywhere near a gathering, or where he expects a gathering to take place. He sits near it. As soon as any warrior sees the dummy he goes over to it and either kicks or strikes the man who made it, giving him at the same time one of the objects he wanted. Any person may do the same. They may not stop kicking the man until some warrior who had at some time or another cut up an enemy in war cuts up the dummy. Then all stop, and as soon as his bruises permitted him, the man would get up and pick up the gifts brought to him. 735 [532]

## Feast to Buffalo Tail

A grandfather of mine called Cokeboka fasted at Neceda, Wis. There he was blessed by a young buffalo bull calf belonging to a herd. The calf said, as the herd went by, "Father, keep going in the road; mother, keep going in the road." He meant a warpath instead of the road they were going in. The man was to go on a warpath, from which he would return victorious. 787

They used to make offerings to this tail alone, apart from the war bundle. The braided grass was to be used for smoking. The feast is given in spring after the grass grows up, and in midwinter. Ground corn is boiled in making the feast. [782 778] 527

## Kikre Waci and Tcebokona"k Dances

There is a pleasure dance called *kikre waci* and a dance called *tcebokona"k* (wearing buffalo headdresses). The latter is of Sioux origin. 535 177

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sung; after the second one a dance song is sung and all the guests who so desire dance around the war bundle; after the third one the host passes the drum and other paraphernalia to the guest who is in charge of the buckskin destined for Earthmaker. This guest repeats the ritual in exactly the same manner as the host has done and then passes the drum, etc., to the second guest, and when the time comes he passes the drum, etc., to the third guest. Then the ritual of the throwing out of the buckskins intervenes, and after that the feast of the Night Spirits and the rite of those who have been crazed by the Night Spirits. Then, when these are finished, the basic ritual is continued. The continuation is, however, quite different from the first part and is identical with the basic ritual as given in the first part of the ceremony. 796x

(9) *The throwing out of the buckskins.*—A warrior of great reputation is selected to begin the rites preparatory to the throwing out of the buckskins. One who has been blessed by the Night Spirits is preferably selected. He delivers a speech, and when he is finished the guests sing songs called "terminal Night Spirit" songs. Then the host prepares to sing a dance song, but before that he delivers a speech. Then, as the oldest men present sing, the host and the guests impersonating the spirits to whom tobacco is sacrificed take the buckskins and make the circuit of the lodge four times. An attendant precedes and another follows the procession, scattering incense consisting of branches of the arbor vitæ. Just before the fourth circuit is begun all the children smoke their hands and then touch the buckskin dedicated to Earthmaker. After the fourth circuit has been completed the buckskins are unrolled and thrown out through the top of the lodge, where the spirits are supposed to come and take them. After this, all holding tobacco in their hands walk to the fireplace and throw it in. Then, as a conclusion, all, even the women, rise in their respective seats and dance. [554 776] [857]

(10) *The episode of those who have been crazed by the Night Spirits.*—This is plainly an intrusive feature and does not take place at every performance of the ceremony. An individual who has brought himself to a state of religious frenzy strips himself entirely and behaves generally like one bereft of his senses. He sticks his hands into the boiling soup and makes a wild rush for the pot where the heads are being cooked and tries to bite them. It is believed that whoever gets the first bite will, at some future time, obtain a war honor. Then he takes the pipe placed in the center of the lodge, smokes it, and relates some war exploits. He then tells the assembled guests that in his trance he communicated with the spirits, and they told him that they had accepted all the offerings made.[1] 796x 786 [787]

[1] There can be no doubt that we are dealing with an extremely specialized and interesting behavior, that in other tribes, and for that matter among the Winnebago themselves in other ceremonies, has an entirely different connotation.

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four warriors who have counted coup on the last warpath form the units of organization. The peculiarity of the War-bundle Feast is that it belongs not merely to one of these types but to two of them. 796x 571

The war bundles were originally family possessions and were, in the opinion of the writer, only secondarily associated with the clan as such. They represent a complex of blessings received from various spirits who are supposed to control the fortunes of war. They were handed down from one generation to another in the same family, but not necessarily to the eldest son, and could as a matter of default pass out of the hands of the immediate family. The individual who received the war bundle was that one who had by his interest, knowledge, character, and accomplishments demonstrated to the full satisfaction of the elder generation, more specifically to the elder generation represented by his father and close male relatives of his father's generation, that he was capable of continuing the ceremonials in a proper manner. It follows from this that he would have to be a well-known warrior. Now, it is customary among all the woodland tribes for a warrior who is about to start on a warpath to give a feast to which he invites all the other warriors, from among whom he, of course, has to draw his recruits; and at this feast he explains the nature of the contemplated warpath and his warrant—i. e., the thoroughness of the specific blessings he has received—for starting it. 778 [422] [787] [428] 554 778 [721 527]

In other words, we will have to picture to ourselves the war-bundle feast as originally a gathering of warriors preparatory to the starting out of a war party, in which the part of the host was always taken by the leader of the prospective war party. All of the well-known warriors were likely to have war bundles, and thus the basis for the development of what is, to all intents and purposes, a society of those who had war bundles was always present potentially. It is believed, however, that at the time the Winnebago culture was still in the formative stage this aspect of the gathering was entirely secondary, and that primarily it was a gathering of warriors for the immediate purpose of going on a warpath. 796x 721 575

It may perhaps be interesting to go into some details of how this "society" aspect of a gathering of warriors developed. This development probably took two lines—first, a religious one, and secondly, one of definite organization. It would be quite erroneous to say that it took these lines of evolution, because it is in the nature of societies thus to develop. This originally temporary organization took these lines of development because of the presence in the war-bundle ritual of two factors—first, fasting experiences associated with the same spirits, and, second, the influence of the clan organization.

Only a small number of spirits were specifically associated with success in war, and these were Disease-giver, Thunderbirds, Sun, and the Night Spirits. [776]

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the Night Spirits. All the warriors who possessed war bundles would of necessity have to receive blessings from these, although in different cases one or the other may have bestowed the more important powers.

The prominence given to the Thunderbird in the first and to the Night Spirits in the second division give the ceremony a most marked resemblance to societies like the Night Spirit society. In the second division it is even essential to have been blessed by the Night Spirits in order to play a certain rôle. There would thus develop the consciousness of community of interest due to the fact that as individuals they were bound together by blessings received from the same spirits, a feeling that was certain to be still further strengthened since, in all likelihood, most of the possessors of war bundles belonged to societies where this actually was the common bond. The religious and ceremonial aspect would thus of necessity be reinforced. The prayers for success on the warpath of course always existed, but as the extraneous religious and ceremonial influences became stronger and more insistent and as—and this should never be forgotten—the pursuit of war became less and less important, owing to the breaking down of the culture consequent upon the advent of the whites, these extraneous factors became, if not dominant at least almost equal in importance to the historically older aspect; and our original gathering of warriors, while still remaining a gathering of warriors, also became a ceremonial organization, in which offerings were made to the entire Winnebago pantheon of spirits. The great war spirits were still all-important, but their position was contested by so distinctive a peace deity as Earthmaker and such deities as Earth, Moon, and Water. The prayers for success in war were perhaps still the most insistent, but prayers for life, not life merely that success in war may be longer, but prayers for the whole content of life, were offered up. Disease-giver was appealed to not merely to bestow upon man the greatest of all war honors, killing an enemy right in the midst of his tribesmen, but also to ward off disease from the supplicants.

Still, as great as have been these extraneous influences, the character of the feast as originally one purely connected with war comes out in numerous ways in the association, for instance, of war powers with Earthmaker, Moon, and Earth, and significantly enough, in the absence of the more specific religious associations such as are met with in the Medicine dance.

Let us turn now to the development of the organization of the feast. The development of a fixed type of organization is not absolutely necessary. Societies may exist only for certain occasions, such as the return from a warpath, like the Hōk'txe're dance or preparatory to the starting of a war party, and be practically nonexistent afterwards. Such are the temporary war feasts of the Ojibway, for instance. However, one all important circumstance prevented this

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776 The elements necessary to the acceptance of offerings are two-
● 787 fold—the specified amount of material and the proper state of
782 mind. The first is quite clear, but the second needs some explanation. To the Winnebago the emotional condition of a suppliant for power from the spirits is all important, and the proper emotional condition is one which they call "concentration of mind," by which they signify a complete absorption of the individual in the prayer he is making. Theoretically even the slightest interest in any other object is liable to destroy the entire efficacy of the prayer. I say theoretically, for if the prayer seems to be answered a consciousness of failure to come up to the ideal never obtrudes itself. If, however, there is reason to believe that the prayer has not been answered, then the explanation would always be that there had been either a shift of attention or a lack of emotional intensity. This is not the only explanation given for lack of success in the case of a ceremony, for there, by an extension of the principle of the "concentration of mind" to all those who participated, failure might be attributable to a large number of causes.

The popular explanation was, I believe, different. Failure was either not discussed at all and looked upon from the common-sense point of view as one of life's accidents or, if explanation was necessary, regarded as a sign that the spirits had not been tempted to accept the alluring offers.

It would, however, be erroneous to believe that much philosophizing took place over failure. Failure that entailed the death of an individual was likely to call forth not explanations as to what the failure was attributable, but desire for revenge.

776 With the exception of food and tobacco, which were extended to
782 all, the offerings to the various spirits differed in nature. To the eleven great deities (i. e., including Hā'rok'a, who is not mentioned in the following account) tobacco, food (i. e., both soup and meat), and buckskins were offered. There was, however, further differentiation. To the great war deities red eagle feathers were offered in addition; to Disease-giver and Thunderbird two dogs were sacrificed; to Earth and Sun herbs and maple sugar were given; and to the Moon, bear ribs.

Having thus briefly sketched the general nature of the spirits connected with the war-bundle feast and the general theory of the offering, we will turn to a specific enumeration of the spirits.

776 *Earthmaker.*—Variously known in Winnebago as Ma'ụṇa, Earthmaker, Wajagy'xra, Creator, and Waxọpt'ni Xe'tera, Great Spirit, Ma'ụṇa is, by far, the most usual appellation; Wajagy'xra is found only in rituals, and Waxọp'ṇi Xe'tera is more or less obsolete, although not within the popular cycles relating to the Trickster, Hare, Turtle, Red-Horn, and the Twins.

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Earthmaker has all the characteristics of a supreme deity. He is 776
conceived of as formless and as never being visible to man. He is
a benevolent deity, but apart from the interest he manifested in cre-
ating the world and all that exists upon it and in sending the great
Transformer heroes, Trickster, Turtle, and Hare, he has taken little
active interest in the affairs of humankind. It is only as a tour de
force that one can receive blessings from him. An instance of the
kind will be found on page 291,* which is to be taken not as a myth [787]
but as, at most, a true fasting experience, which has been cast into
a literary form.

The conception of Earthmaker we have been discussing is found most prominently developed in the rituals and the ritualistic myths. In how far it represents an exoteric point of view it would be difficult to determine now. A study of the nonritualistic myths, however, makes it seem plausible that Earthmaker, among the people in general, was the vague Waxõp'j'nj Xe'tera, Great Spirit, typical of the woodland area; and what appears to strengthen this view is the fact that there exists, side by side with him, that other great spirit common among the woodland peoples, the Great Bad Spirit, known among the Winnebago as Hereegũ'nịna, of doubtful etymology. The coexistence of these two spirits and their equal rank comes out clearly in the cycle of the Twins. The ritualistic myths have attempted to interpret this old Hereegũ'nịna as Earthmaker's first [773]
attempt to create man, which ended in failure. He thereupon threw him away, but Hereegũ'nịna imitated the creations of the former and thus brought into existence the many evil spirits that infest the earth.

Only in the older traditions is this conception of the dual deities still to be found. In practical life the more systematic conception developed in the rituals has entirely displaced it, just as the older conception of the Transformers as heroes working in obedience to no one and changing the world until it assumed its present appearance out of mere whim, has given place to a well-ordered creation in which the Transformers play the rôle of deities saving the human race at the command of Earthmaker.

*Thunderbirds* (Wak'ą'ndja). They are always represented as appearing to men as bald-headed individuals wearing a wreath made of the branches of the arbor vitæ. They are in control of almost all the powers that man can imagine, but they generally bless him with success on the warpath and with a long and honorable life. They are represented as having a spirit village in the west and as intermarrying with the Night Spirits who have a village in the east. Powerful shamans and warriors not infrequently claim that they are merely [775]
reincarnated Thunderbirds. Such is the claim of the man who is

* Cf. also Jour. Amer. Folklore, vol. 26, pp. 113 ff., 1913.

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have predestined for us (we make).[32] Pitiable we are making ourselves in life, that we may live a good life (by obtaining blessings from you). That we ask of you." 796X 534X

*Host's offering to Disease-giver.*—"For you who live in the south, Disease-giver, my grandfather Djobenäŋgiwi'xga thirsted himself to death[33] and put himself in a pitiable condition. Then you who are in charge of great war powers blessed him. For you control a greater amount of war powers than any other spirit. A great amount of life you also control, for you are said (to possess two sides), one side of your body containing life and the other death. You told grandfather Djobenaŋgiwi'ŋxga that you would bless him at noon, in broad daylight,[34] and thus indeed you met him. There you blessed him with war powers; and with whatever you blessed him, that we ask of you now. Whosoever of my clan are present they all pour an offering of tobacco for you and also (give you) soup.[35] The Creator made animals for us, white-haired animals for food, and these we send to you; together with buckskins, that you may have moccasins. We also send toward you a head ornament (of eagle feathers), that also. We offer you tobacco and we ask of you to bestow upon us that with which you blessed our grandfather Djōbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga. Grandfather Djōbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga had had war powers and life, it is said; and those we ask of you. And it is said that you told grandfather that whenever you go on your warpath you will not walk upon the descendants of Djōbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga wherever they breathe.[36] 782 776

*Host's offering to the Sun.*—"You, grandfather Who-bring-day, who come every day, you blessed grandfather Djōbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga with war power and life and I am therefore offering you a handful of tobacco. All the (war power) the Creator controls he delegated to you and for all of that which you blessed our grandfather, as many of my clansmen as are present, we are about to pour tobacco to obtain. Tobacco, here it is."

Host then pours tobacco into the fire.

"It is said that you will do what we ask of you. You yourself told that to grandfather, it is said. War powers and life, that we ask of you. Tobacco, food, and feathers, we sacrifice to you and

[32] A person may be blessed with victory on the warpath directly or he may be entitled to war blessings to which near relatives were destined but which they were deprived of by an early death. The present prayer is directed toward both things, that he may enjoy the "unused" blessings of his relatives and that he may not be cut off by an untimely death from the fulfilment of his own.

[33] Ritualistic expression for fasting.

[34] To be blessed in the daytime, especially at noon, was considered as particularly holy. Generally a person was blessed at night. [787]

[35] Literally, "hot water."

[36] I. e., when Disease-giver deals out death he will avoid all the descendants of Djobenaŋgiwi'ŋxga. "Mad'an" is the technical word for warpath. The word for descendants really means "roots."

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are finished then it will be time for us to eat." Warriors who are sitting within the lodge, we send forth our greetings to you." (War-bundle song.) 796* 539*

Then a man sitting opposite the seat of the host gets up and speaks.

*First guest's address to the young people.*—"War-bundle owners, young men, those who are the proxies of spirits, are about to use a song for you and start a dance in your behalf; and when they do it, get up and try to obtain war powers by dancing. Women, you should also try to obtain war powers for your brothers by dancing. Now we are not able to obtain (the number of men) that our ancestors used to obtain in the beginning. Then, if in a speech they asked for them, as many men as there were around would immediately begin to dance. Not one of them would remain in his seat. Young women, they used to act in that way in order to obtain life also. All night they would dance and not a single one would tire of it. We encourage you to do thus; that is why I am saying this. That the obtaining of life may be easy, is the reason they told us this. Because I believe it (likewise) is the reason I am telling it to you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you all."

*Host's second speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are sitting here, I greet you all.

"Our grandfathers knew that one of a different tribe[66] had had a vision and obtained material for use (in life). They tried to obtain it and (finally) asked him to pity them. The medicine was called hinuṇgwā'ronj.[67] They made the heart of the man of this other tribe (Hit'e'nuṇk'e) sad.[68] (He had obtained it in the following manner): A woman fasted[69] and one of the Water-spirits whom the Creator had placed there for all eternity, a Water-spirit for keeping (the earth) quiet,[70] blessed her with the power he had been placed in charge of The Water-spirit had himself die and the woman there 796* 539* 787 [776] [789]

[66] Literally, "had nonconsent" in reference to the fast-eating contest that takes place during the feast.

[67] This is not a Winnebago tale.

[68] My interpreter could not translate the name of this medicine into English. He thought that it might mean "wicked woman medicine," but this is extremely doubtful.

[69] I. e., at the idea of parting with it. What tribe is meant by "Hit'e'nuṇk'e," it has been impossible to find out. The word, I believe, means "those whom we can speak with" in reference to the fact that their language was intelligible to the Winnebago. I was definitely assured that neither the Otoe, Iowa, or Missouri were meant. I have sometimes surmised that the Winnebago may be referring to the Mandan, whose language, from the little I have seen of it, is surprisingly close to that of the former. All that the older Winnebago could tell me about the Hit'e'nuṇk'e was the fact that many years ago they had been in contact with a tribe speaking a language similar to their own. [114]

[70] Literally, "to thirst oneself to death," the ritualistic expression for fasting.

[70] He is referring to one of the four beings whom Earthmaker had placed at the four ends of the world to prevent it from moving continually, as related in the origin myth of the Medicine Dance and of the Thunder-bird clan.

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took the material (the remains of the Water-spirit).[29] That it is good, they knew. Then she tried her medicine. The first time she did the following: I'p above, almost near the sky, a hawk stood whirling around. The woman dipped her forefinger into the medicine and then she pointed it at the hawk and it fell dead; she made it fall through the top of a house; right in front of the woman it landed. She wanted to use it as a medicine bag. Then she dreamed that they had taken a man from his home that he might fast. She said to the man, "Put forth all your strength and don't try to come here." She also told his relatives to watch him. "To-night I am going to sing a paint song and if he comes he will die. Take care of him that he doesn't come." That night she sang a paint song and the man came running to her. She forbade him but he came anyhow and he died dancing. This medicine is called hit'ç'nuŋk'e medicine, referring to the name of another tribe, and that is how it acted. 796x 539x 787 789

"They (our ancestors) knew that it was good paint and he (one of them) tried to get him (the Hit'ç'nuŋk'e) to bless him with the paint (the latter had obtained from the woman). When they obtained it, they never used it in their own midst (i. e., among themselves). They made a medicine-bundle of it. The paint-medicine, it is good to use in war. That they knew very well. They were very sparing in their use of it (because it was so valuable). They placed it in their war-bundle. Paint-songs we are about to use, yet we are singing for the war-bundle. If, indeed we had paint medicine we would amount to something. We are not going to sing as if we thought ourselves in possession of paint-medicines nor will we sing them correctly. Yet if we knew only one, if we could (in singing this one) bring ourselves to the state of crying (it would be all right), it is said. That is why we say it."[30] (Paint song.) [778]

*Host's third speech.* "War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. I know that I am causing you to famish with hunger, but we are doing this in an attempt to get the attention (of the spirits). One in control of death who dwells in the south[31] and who of himself possesses greater war power than all the other spirits that exist, blessed grandfather Djôbenagjwi'ŋxga. He is in control of life and in control of death. He met grandfather in the middle of the day and blessed him with war powers and life. He said (to our grandfather when he blessed him), "If I should ever go on the warpath, your descendants, as many as they are and wherever they live, I will not tread upon, should they get sick.[32] However, your posterity never will get sick. Should they ever have a bad illness, 796x 539x [776]

[29] The Winnebago believe that the "bones" of the mythical "Water-spirits" possess the most magical qualities when powdered and mixed up into medicines. All "paint medicines" are made of "Water-spirit bones." [776]

[30] All these sentiments are, of course, expressions of ritualistic modesty.

[31] I. e., Dîŋnan-gîwe.

[32] Cf. note 28, p. 467, for explanation of these words.

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Should they ever have a bad illness

they have the means of obtaining life by praying for it," by offering 796X 539X
tobacco and a flute."[28]

"Disease-giver himself made these things holy. Thus they would 782
obtain life, if they had any illness, by offering you reed flutes, food, 776
tobacco, feathers, a white dog, and by making you at the same time an offering of buckskin hides. (Thus Disease-giver spoke to our grandfather when he blessed him:) 'A holy flute I made for you, and I forbade you to blow upon it, yet you did it. Now, hereafter, if you offer me a sufficient number of buckskins, you may blow upon it. A different life from that of others will you lead, if you do that. You will be able to cut off (stop) a bad disease caused by someone else. Nor will this one (who was ill) ever have another disease.'[29]

"Thus Disease-giver spoke. This is what the one who causes disease said. That is how they blessed our grandfather Djôbenągiwi'ąxga. A song I am now about to start. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." (Disease-giver song.)

*Hest's fourth speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, 796X
I greet you. The last (song) we will now finish. You who are in the 539X
east, Night Spirits, you also added your blessing to the spirit bundle 787
of grandfather Djôbenągiwi'ąxga. So that he might know (he 776
blessed by) the spirits, grandfather Djôbenągiwi'ąxga starved and thirsted himself to death[30] and made himself pitiable. At first he fasted four nights and the Night Spirits came to him; with mighty sounds they came.[31] There they stood (and said), 'Human, you have thirsted yourself to death and we bless you (for that reason). We who speak are the spirits who are called Night Spirits.' They blessed him with war power and life, they said. Then he looked and (said to himself), 'I wonder whether these really are the Night Spirits that speak.' So he looked at them and they were small birds called *hcrā'pge*.[32] They had fooled him. Then once again was his heart sore. 'Well! I will die,' he thought (fasting). So he fasted again and once again he rubbed on (the charcoal). For six nights he continued to fast. And again from the east the Night Spirits came. They came making a great noise and they stood near him (and said), 'Human, we bless you. You have thirsted yourself to death and you have made your heart sore. We felt sad on your account. With

[28] A rather curious expression used only in elevated language and meaning, literally, "to obtain with the mouth"—i. e., either by speeches, prayers, or singing. The expression would hardly be permitted in ordinary Winnebago. [95]

[29] He does not mean by offering flutes, but by playing on them. Reed flutes are generally contained in the bundles of most spirits, but they seem to be more closely connected with the Disease-giver and the Buffalo. [534]

[30] This, I believe, is the meaning of the last three sentences. They are somewhat obscure, and I do not guarantee the correctness of the rendering.

[31] Ritualistic expression for fasting.

[32] All powerful spirits are supposed to approach with loud noises. This is also characteristic of the Ojibway spirits. [171]

[33] English equivalent unknown.

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war power and life we bless you,' they said. Then he looked at them. 796x
'I wonder whether they really are the Night Spirits!' he thought. 539x
They were not the Night Spirits who were speaking to him. The 787
birds that spoke were the *kawt'ege*, *teōndji*, and *ci'k'ok'ok'*.[56] They 776
were the ones that spoke and they were the ones that fooled him. Instead of feeling sad this time, however (he said), 'I don't care what happens: I am willing to die (in order to get the blessing),' he thought to himself. Then he began fasting again. He rubbed the (charcoal) over (his face) again. Seven nights he fasted. And once again from the east the Night Spirits came singing. They came and stood (before him) and they said, 'Nephew, we bless you. So long have you been sad and cried to us piteously (that we will bless you). No one did we ever bless before. In war and life you shall do just as you wish,' they said. Then he looked again. 'I wonder whether those speaking are really the Night Spirits!' he thought. But they were not the Night Spirits. They were the bluebird, *gi'ege*,[57] and duck, and as many of them as there were, their breasts were dark. As many birds as there were, they were bad. 'My, O my! How they abuse me!' he cried. At first Djōbenągiwi'ąxga had thought in his fastings that just to spite them he would fast again. Now he rubbed (charcoal on his face) again and wept bitterly.[58] Both hands contained tobacco and he stood in the direction from which the Night Spirits came and weeping, put himself in the most abject condition.

"Now, indeed, to its very depths did his heart ache. Ten nights did he fast. Finally they (the Night Spirits) came after him. 'Human, I have come after you.' He followed (the spirits) and they took him to the east; to the site of a Night Spirit village they took him. The chief of the Night Spirits had sent this one to go after him. In the village was a long lodge standing in the east. There they took him. As many Night Spirits as there were in control of powerful blessings, of that many the lodge was full. When he entered he walked in white feathers up to his knees.[59] Many kettles and much food he saw stretched right across (the lodge). On the outside, a buffalo hide stretched almost across the entire lodge. Then they said to him, 'Human, without giving up, long you have suffered: your heart has, indeed, been sad. They, as many spirits as there are

[56] English equivalents for the first two unknown. The last is probably the robin.

[57] English equivalent unknown.

[58] He wept bitterly not so much on account of his disappointment as for the purpose of bringing himself into a state of religious ecstasy. The change of attitude from one of spite to realization that not in such a way were blessings from deities like the Night Spirits to be obtained is very well brought out here. It was a cardinal tenet of the religion of the decent shamans that your success in obtaining blessings was in direct proportion to the motives and intensity of feeling you brought to your prayer. To throw away your life through mere disappointment was deemed absolutely unethical, (a thought that) is brought out quite distinctly in the systematic teachings given to the young. [786]

[59] The lodge of the Night Spirits are supposed to be strewn with white feathers as a sign of holiness. As far as known no symbolism is attached to it.

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796x
539x
787
776

in the lodge, that many talked of what was to happen to you. And I, I am the chief of the Night Spirits. This creation-lodge just as you see it (i. e., with all it contains) I give to you.[97] You will never be in want of food. You are to offer as many buckskins as you see here and tobacco for all time. Thus it shall be. The "creation-lodge" of the village of the Night Spirits I give to you. You can go on as many war parties as you wish and obtain as much life. As many tobacco offerings as they (i. e., you and your descendants) continue to give, all the tobacco, food, buckskin offerings, red feathers, as many as there are, they will all come to the "creation-lodge" that you see, and we will accept them.' [782]

796x
539x

"Thus did they speak to grandfather Djôbenągiwi'ąxga. So he said. We will do this that we may ask (blessings) for our relatives and sing songs. Even if we do not perform everything in just the manner that the spirits in the east (told) our grandfather Djôbenągiwiąxga, we know that our grandfathers (the spirits) will not be offended. So they say. Even if you know only one song, if you bring yourself to the point of crying in your efforts (it will be all right). Thus we mean to say it. War-bundle owners, who are seated here, I greet you." (Night Spirit song.)

### The Feast

*Host's speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. Every spirit that the Creator created he made for us,[98] but whatever food he made for us all those things we were to offer up (to the spirits) together with tobacco and the sacred feast. What we are to do, what I can do to make these things known to them, that is what we should think of and talk about. (This is what the Creator said): Let (the host) call upon a warrior, a young man present at the feast. For the one who lives in the west he should make offerings of tobacco and attempt to be like (the spirits), so that one of our own members should be considered (by the spirits) as the same as themselves.[99] A sacred feast and tobacco together with it we are about to offer to the chief of the Thunderbirds in the west. What can I do that they might have knowledge of these (offerings)? Thus we should be thinking, (the Creator) said. A war-bundle owner who is present we should call upon (to take charge of) a kettle."[100] [782]

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[97] The lodges of the spirits are always called "creation lodges" in reference to the fact that it was by the assembled spirits in these lodges that at the beginning of the world everything was set in order. The principal "creation lodge" was that of Earthmaker, to which the soul of a dead individual wandered after death and from which he was sent to the world again if he chose to take human form once more. [776 775]

[98] I. e., that they might give us blessings.

[99] I. e., impersonate the spirits. It will be remembered (cf. Introduction) that each guest is supposed to impersonate a spirit.

[100] Host's speech ends here. What follows is description.

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*Offering to Big Black Hawk.*—"To the Big Black Hawk we also offer a handful of tobacco." 539X 796X

*Offering to Disease-giver.*—"To you, grandfather Disease-giver, I also send tobacco." 776 782

*Offering to South Wind.*—"To you, also, grandfather South Wind, I send tobacco. You would consider it foremost, you said, it is said."

*Offering to the Sun.*—"Here I place tobacco for you, too, grandfather Sun. A handful of tobacco here I place here for you."

BASIC RITUAL

*Host's first speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are sitting here, I greet you. The songs that the Night Spirits placed within the reach of grandfather Tetwoit'e'higa,[108] those he tried to learn. He fasted and thirsted himself to death for the blessings our grandfathers (the Night Spirits) gave him (spread) over the length of the earth. Our grandfather Tetwoit'e'higa said that he had come from somewhere in the east and that a Night Spirit chieftainess was his mother and that the son of the chief of the Thunderbirds was his father; that his parents lived beyond the confines of this earth.[109] When he fasted to be blessed by (these spirits) over again,[110] they blessed him. If at any time he should die he would be able to visit the earth again, he said, it is said.[110] The song he was taught, the Night Spirit song, that we will try to sing. Even if you know only one song, you will not bore them (the spirits) with it; for if you bring yourself to the state of weeping in your efforts, it will be (acceptable). If you do not put on any embellishments when you pray (literally, cry) for war and life (it will be acceptable), it is said. Thus we should say it. 539X 796X 787● 776

"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." (Night Spirit song.)

*Host's second speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. When we finish (our part of the ceremony), may you help us by repeating the spirit songs your ancestors gave you to be handed down (from one generation to another). That we ask of you. Now we will start a dance song and when we are finished singing, our 539X 796X [424]

[108] Literal translation, "Kills within the lodge."

[109] When Tetwoit'e'higa means by saying that these spirits were his parents is that he is a reincarnated spirit that has chosen to be born of human parents. Such claims were by no means rare even in late Winnebago history and there is, as a matter of fact, a powerful shaman living in Wisconsin now who claims that he is the reincarnated Hare (Wa'ejage'ga). [775]

[110] Before coming to the earth as a human being, he had of course been told that he would receive certain blessings, but nevertheless he had to fast for them just as a human being does. However, shamans who obtained their powers in this way were always supposed to obtain them more easily than other people. For an illustration of this of, the account of a shaman's blessing in the "Reminiscences of a Winnebago Indian" by myself in Amer. Jour. Folklore, XXVI, 1912.

[111] That is, become reincarnated.

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### Feast to the Night Spirits

539x 796x

Those who were called on for kettles now took the pieces of meat that had been counted for them (by the attendants). The attendants divided the pieces evenly for all those who did not eat heads. As soon as the distribution was finished then the host started playing his flute and all began to eat at the same time. The feasters are careful that they spill nothing and that the utmost precautions are taken. It is not proper to scatter the bones. They are afterwards gathered up and thrown in a consecrated place. Never do they talk frivolously throughout the night. Those who had obtained war honors as they sat near the fire would now tell of their war exploits—how many warpaths they had been on and how many fights they had been in. All night do they talk in this way. All night would the boys listen, it is said. They are asking for war powers; that war might come their way—that is why they do this (recount their war exploits). [264]

### How or Those Who Have Been Crazed by the Night Spirits

539x 796x 786

As they do this some become crazed by the Night Spirits.[127] A religious frenzy comes over them.[128] All their clothes would be cast off, it is said. All naked, without any apparel, would the man dance around the hulge. All would sit waiting. They (those crazed ones) would not be in ignorance about the place where food was being boiled for the Night Spirits, and they would go toward it. Even if the kettle was boiling over the crazed ones would stick their hand in it. Similarly, as soon as the head was taken out from the place where it was being boiled, then those men would make a rush for it and try to get the first bite. Whoever was able to get the first bite would surely, at some later time, receive war honors. When they are finished with the rush for the head, then the feaster (i. e., the successful one) takes the pipe placed in the center of the hulge and smokes it. When he has finished he would tell of his war exploits and also tell them what offerings had been accepted by the spirits. That the one who has just come out of his trance would tell them. They (the spirits) told the feaster (i. e., the crazed one) that they had accepted all the things that had been offered—the tobacco, the food, and the buckskins; that the feasters had done well.[129] However, not at *every* feast would a man become crazed, it is said. A holy person he would have to be. When the feasting is over and all have finished their meal, then the first one to whom a head had been apportioned and for whom a kettle had been placed rises and speaks.

[127] I. e., they get into a state of religious ecstasy through worship of the Night Spirits.
[128] Literally, "Delirium comes over him."
[129] Apparently the one supposed to be crazed by the Night Spirits sees there in his ecstatic vision and finds out whether they are satisfied or not with the offerings. [787]

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 796k

ticular kettle assigned to him. Then he pours out tobacco. Now one of the attendants goes around the lodge and scatters small swan feathers in every direction, even putting some near the kettles. [782]

The host then prepares to sing night songs, but before doing so he takes down the buckskin assigned to the Nights, blackens his face with the ember used for marking that buckskin, and puts swan feathers upon his head. It is said that those who during their fasting time visited the land of the Night Spirits saw swan feathers scattered all over the land, and that is why they use them now. The host now has the pipe turned toward the east and before singing the night songs tells the origin of these songs. He asks all the other invited guests present to help him with his songs and apologizes for asking so much of them. He now uses two sets of songs. When the dancing songs are sung all the men who so desire may come around the war bundle and dance, and some may even dance near the places where they sit. When he has finished his songs he passes the drum, gourds, flute, and tobacco to the invited guest opposite him. This one now arises, pours out tobacco, and tells the origin of his particular war bundle and sings the night song connected with it for the benefit of the host. He then repeats the same actions that the host has done. The drum, etc., are now passed to the next man, and so on until daylight. Some one especially selected is given the honor of singing these songs that are connected with the taking down of the buckskins, and when this one starts his song all the invited guests in place honor kettles have been put on the fireplace take down their buckskins and, holding them in their hands, walk around the lodge four times. An attendant precedes them, walking backward and purifying the path. The buckskin with the cross marked on it is generally carried first. The fourth time they make the circuit all those in the lodge first hold their hands over the cedar incense and then touch the buckskin, because Earthmaker is going to use it for moccasins, so that, by touching it, they might become strengthened. After they had made the circuit for the fourth time they rolled up the buckskins and threw them through the openings in the roof of the lodge, so that the spirits for whom they were intended might receive them. [787 776] [788] [782]

After the buckskins have been thrown out tobacco is poured into the fireplace and all the people take their places and dance. When the drum has made the entire circuit of the lodge—that is, when it has again returned to the host—the latter rises and sings the so-called paint songs. A short time before that a number of kettles had been put on the fireplace for the so-called lower spirits. The host then declares that the feast is ready and that whenever they wish to the guests may begin to eat. The rites of the preceding feast are now repeated. Toward the end of the feast the host takes his bundle,

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



O warriors, the food will be lacking in every respect, but try, nevertheless, to have it pass around. 796X

"We also have a kettle on the fireplace for the Nights, which the attendants will put on in honor of the father of my wife and my own father. We offer, likewise, tobacco and deerskin along with this kettle, to the Night Spirits, so that we may obtain victory and life. That is what we wish. As I said before, I will not have any too much food for you. But they say the spirits are merciful. 539X 782

"To the Morning Star we will also offer a kettle. We will have it put on for Ku'nu, as he understands these affairs better than we do and knows better than we how to ask the spirits for blessings. We offer, in addition to the kettle, tobacco and buckskin, asking victory and life from the spirits in return. As I said before, warriors, our grandfather never failed when he had this bundle. That is why we have kettles put on the fire in honor of it.

"To our fourth brother we will offer another kettle, in honor of the chief of the Eagles, praying for life and victory. Warriors who are seated here, I greet you all. Whenever you get ready to eat you may do so, and we will, during that time, sing some of our songs."

Then they sing Earthmaker songs. These songs were songs that a certain person called Wegi'ceka obtained in his blessings from all the spirits, but they were taught to him by Earthmaker. [787]

After Wegi'ceka had been blessed by all the spirits there was just one lacking, and that was Earthmaker. So he fasted more and more, almost to the point of death, crying and longing for a blessing from Earthmaker. Finally he was told that he was to be blessed by him. At the appointed place and time a being wearing dark clothes and carrying a cane that looked fear-inspiring stood before him, like the blue of the sky. "Wegi'ceka," he said, "I bless you. You have inflicted suffering upon yourself and have hungered and thirsted on my account. With everything that I possess do I bless you, with victory and with the power to heal the sick, with riches and with good fortune as a hunter, and even with the power of having women become enamored of you—with all these things I bless you." Then he turned and walked away and Wegi'ceka saw that it was a bluejay. He felt very much humbled and so he fasted again. Four times was he treated thus. Finally he even sacrificed one of his own children, and then he was told that at a certain time and place, about the hour of noon, he would meet Earthmaker. When he came there some one said, "Wegi'ceka, I bless you. You have humbled yourself and cried unto me. I bless you. Heretofore I have blessed nobody. You are the first one." Thus he spoke, and he gave him the cane and four songs. Those are the songs which we use at the end of our feast. 796X 539X 787 776

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12



meaning of "blue-back," it has been interpreted as "first," 614
from *iconi*. In the same way *degoni* has been interpreted as
*re* "to go" and *honi*, "to hunt"; and *hotcangera* has been subjected 551
to a multitude of interpretations. This folk-etymology not 174
only overrides the grammatical peculiarities of Winnebago, but even makes faulty compounds conform to the Winnebago principles of grammar. Inquiry into the origin of the clan names will, for these various reasons, have to be regarded as one of the most unprofitable of investigations.

### *Attitude Toward Clan Animals.*

We mentioned before that when the animal names became 614
associated with the social groups, they were accompanied
by the specific associations clustering around these animals. 776
These associations were probably of the same type, if not indeed 825
identical with those grouped around the animals as guardian spirits. The clan animals are among the principal guardian spirits to-day, and we must expect to find an explanation of the attitude toward them as clan animals in the attitude the Winnebago exhibit toward the guardian spirit. To a certain extent it would be quite correct to say that the guardian spirit became the clan animal. This does not, however, mean, in the slightest [174] degree, that the guardian spirit of the individual became the clan animal, but merely that the concept of the guardian spirit became associated with a local group.

The guardian spirit is at the present time conceived as an immaterial being in control of an animal species. The attitude toward this spirit is a purely religious one, and exhibits a marked [784] absence of taboo of any kind. It is an open question whether a vision must be attested by obtaining some part of the animal "embodiment" of the spirit, but there is no doubt that every [787] vision is symbolized by a special gift from the "spirit." The guardian spirit complex may thus be said to consist of a special religious attitude plus symbol.

The attitude toward the clan animal is characteristically different in this respect, that more emphasis is laid upon identification with the animal itself, as contrasted with the "spirit."

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12



796 from the sacred fire. When the pipe was well lit, the waiter carried
276 it to the next man, and so on, passing clockwise about the lodge. Each man puffed several times at the pipe before passing it on. The women
[562] were excluded from participating in this ceremony, as were the leader and his three musicians. The waiters did not actually participate in any part of the entire ceremony, other than in their official capacity.

Before the next song was started, the head waiter carefully cleaned out the pipe, refilled it and placed it again over the bundle. All the tobacco cleaned from the bowl was disposed of in the sacred fire.

This same procedure, from speech to pipe, was repeated four times, although each group of songs was different.

796 Two men were now selected, one representing that group of clans
615 comprising the upper world phratry, the other the lower world phratry. They seated themselves in the center of the lodge with a wooden bowl
264 between them. In this bowl were placed the two portions of meat from the pots suspended from the lodge ceiling. At a given signal, each began to devour his allotted share of the meat as rapidly as possible. The phratry whose side wins in this eating contest will have good luck when next it takes the warpath.

796 The leader then told the dream experience of the original bundle
787 holder and said a few words thanking all for their participation. One of the waiters then proceeded to replace the contents of the bundle, roll it up, tie it and place it against the wall just back of the leader.

796 It was now time for the war-bundle feast, which consisted solely of
574 meat boiled with a few beans. Each pot had been dedicated to a certain spirit or order of spirits, but since these were not materially present to do proper justice to the occasion, the honored guests had to represent them in receiving and disposing of the food. One pot was placed before each of these leaders, and the contents were distributed under his direction to the men of his party. Other meat was supplied for the women and children of the group which he represented. The chief honored guest received the pot dedicated to Creator. On such occasions, one must eat all that is set before him, since the food is consecrated.

574 It should be noted here that Mr. Fisher has certain marked tastes in
114 food. He is not particularly fond of meat of any kind, dislikes beef particularly and dislikes boiled beef the most of all. His predicament can well be imagined, therefore, when a large portion of boiled beef was placed before him with the understanding that none must be wasted. Fortunately, one may broadcast a call for outside help on such occasions without trespassing against the rules of the ceremony. Very piteously, then, did Fisher make his plea to me. Knowing that the night spirit dance with a vegetable feast was to follow, he promised to eat the greater share of the vegetables apportioned to us if I would agree to do double duty on the meat. Out of the kindness of my heart, and also because I prefer boiled beef to boiled dried squash, I agreed to do this. Nor did

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



121 trays his companions who had participated in a murder
*159 which he had planned and for which he got all the glory. The question of good and bad simply does not present itself to him, because the task he had set himself did not entail the passing of judgments but the giving of as an accurate account of his life as was possible for him to give.

It would be both incorrect and stupid to imagine that he was either morally blunted or unintelligent or that he did not have many of those half-mystical strivings that so many of us have. All his life, in fact, can be said to have been spent in the search of an experience which his marked non-suggestibility when a child prevented him from then obtaining. The fundamental religious experience of every member of the tribe to
[187] which he belonged was obtained in early youth. It consisted of fasting, of retiring at night to some lonely and inaccessible spot where one could commune undisturbed with the deities. Most youths got it. It was something of a disgrace not to. Yet he did not. In spite of his dishonestly persuading his father that he had been properly blessed, he never deluded himself about the matter. He always felt the stigma attached to his failure to experience what all the others had obtained, and in his inconsistent fashion he tried to find some substitute. When he finally got the experience he had been seeking, although it had come to him in the most devious and unexpected manner, he recognized it at once, was satisfied, and became a good man even from the normal Christian standpoint.

## §1. *Early Childhood*

Father and mother had four children and after I was born. An uncle of my mother named White Cloud spoke to her before I was born and told her, "You are about to give birth to a child who will not be an ordinary individual." These were the words he addressed to her. It was then that my mother gave birth to me. As soon as I was born, indeed as I was being washed—as my neck was being washed—I laughed out loudly.

I have been told [1] that I was a good-tempered child.

During childhood my father told me to fast and I obeyed him. Throughout the winter, every morning, I would get up very early, crush charcoal, and then blacken my face with it. As soon as the sun rose would I go outside and there gazing steadily at the sun, make my prayer to the spirits, crying.[2]

[1] Whenever the writer refers to events that happened before his time or before he could remember things, he always uses the quotative, "It is said."

[2] This refers to the custom of fasting of which many examples will be found later on. Among the Winnebago and many culturally related tribes, every person, male and female, was expected, between the ages of five and twelve, to seek communion with some supernatural spirit and the spirit so obtained was supposed to grant the suppliant certain powers and in general preside over his destinies throughout life. The proper manner of approaching this ordeal was to blacken one's face with charcoal and retire at night to some semi-deserted place at some distance from the house and there pray-

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 Thus I acted up to the time that I have memory of things.

*159 In those days there were not many white people
221 living near us as to-day. My father went out hunt-
[224] ing continually. The lodge in which we lived was cov-
[342] ered with rush mattings, with reed mattings spread over
[352] the floor. After hunting for some time in one place we would move to another. My father, mother, older sisters, and older brothers, all carried the packs. Thus we would spend our time until the spring of the year and then in the spring we would again move in order
[224] to live near some stream where father could hunt
[136] muskrats, mink, otter, and beaver.

In the summer we always returned to Black River Falls, Wisconsin. Here all the Indians gathered after
[222] they had given their feasts. Then we picked berries. When picking berries my father used to buy me gum
*159 so that I should not be able to eat any of the berries.
[261] I managed however to eat berries and chew gum at the same time. After a while I learned to chew tobacco and then I did not eat the berries while picking them.
[276] Later on I got to like tobacco very much and I probably used up more money in buying tobacco than would have been the value of the berries had I eaten them.

ing and crying to await the coming of the spirit. Among the Winne-
[780] bago, and probably among many other tribes, it was customary
[593] for the parents or grandparents, to prepare the children specifically
[603] for what was likely to happen; [i.e., during their quest for a guardian spirit, see P.1, Category 116 -- Analyst] to inform them how to recognize the approach of the spirit and, what was more to the point, to teach them how to distinguish a good from a bad spirit.

[2]

## *Early Childhood*

In the fall of the year we would pick cranberries. 159*
When the hunting season was open, I would begin to [221]
fast again. [222]

This was my life for a number of years. [787]

After a while we bought a pony on which we used
to pack all our belongings whenever we moved our [231]
camp. In addition three of us would ride on top of [992]
the pack. Sometimes my mother and sometimes my
father drove the pony.

After I had grown a little older and taller all of us 159*
brothers would fast together. My father would indeed 785
repeatedly urge us to fast. "Do not be afraid of the
burnt remains of the lodge center-pole," he would say
to us.[5] "Whatever are the true possessions of men, the
apparel of men and the gift of doctoring—all these
things that are spread out before you—do try and ob-
tain one of them."[6] Thus he would speak to us.

I would then take a piece of charcoal, crush it and
blacken my face and he would be very grateful to me

I would at first break my fast at noon but then grad-
ually I began to fast all night. From the fall of the
year until spring I would fast until nightfall and then
eat. After a while I trained myself to pass the night
without eating and after that I was able to go two
nights and days without taking any food. Then my
mother went to the woods at some distance from the

[5] Symbolical manner of describing the crushed charcoal with which fasters must blacken their faces. [195]

[6] By "possessions of men" he means mainly that knowledge which will make a man honored and respected in his community; and by "apparel of men," he means power and ability. [554]

*159 village and there she built me a small lodge in which I
•787 and my elder brother were to remain whenever we had
to fast through the whole night. At this fasting-place
we used to play and before we were really able to spend
a night at this particular place we moved away.

*159 After a time I passed from this stage of childhood
857 to another. I now began to use a bow and arrow and
I spent my day at play, shooting arrows.

It was at about this time also that I found out that
my mother had been told just before I was born that
[156] she was about to give birth to a child who would not
be an ordinary being, and from then on I felt that I
must be an uncommon person.

*159 At about the same time my elder sister married a
very holy man. My parents gave her in marriage to
him. He was a shaman and he thought a great deal
of me.

[P. 4]

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 755 [782] Once when I was sick he[1] treated me. As soon as he came my father arose with tobacco in his hands and made him an offering, greeting him as follows:

"My son-in-law, tobacco do I offer you and I make offerings to your spirits. You have made your hat[1] become holy, for the various spirits made it sacred. I greet you."

*159 755 ●787 756 [796] Before treating me Thunder Cloud told of his fasting experience:

At the very beginning those above taught me the following. All the various spirits who live up above in the clouds, in a doctor's village, came after me and instructed me in what I was to do. They taught me and told me the following. "Here let us try it," they said to me. There in the middle of the lodge lay a rotten log, almost entirely covered with weeds. They tried to make me treat this log. I breathed upon it and all those who were in this spirit lodge also breathed upon it. Then for the second time I breathed upon it and they with me. Then for the third and the fourth time I did it. After the fourth time the rotten log arose and walked away. Then the spirits said to me, "Human being, very holy indeed are you."

There from the middle of the ocean, from the shaman's village, they came after me. They blessed me, all the spirits in the middle of the ocean. They made me try my power. As many waves as exist, all of them as large as the ocean, upon these they asked me to blow; and as I blew upon them everything became as quiet as the water in a small saucer. So they became. Then I blew for the

[95] [1] Symbolical expression for the various objects and blessings bestowed upon him by the spirits.



[1] [i.e., his brother-in-law Thunder Cloud who was a shaman--analyst]

third time and it was the same. The fourth time the spirits 159*
made the ocean very choppy and the waves were piled, one 755
upon the other. Then they told me to blow again and show 787
my power. I blew, and the ocean, mighty indeed as it 756
was, became very quiet again. "Now this, human being, is what you will have to do," they said to me. "Not anything will there be that you cannot accomplish. Whatever be the illness a person may have, you will be able to cure him."

All the spirits on the earth blessed me. "If any human being who is suffering from pain, makes an offering of [782]
tobacco to you, then whatever you demand, that we will do for you," the spirits told me.

Now at Blue Clay Bank (St. Paul) there lives one who [776]
is a dancing grizzly-bear spirit. Whenever I am in great trouble I was to pour tobacco, as much as I thought necessary, and he would help me. This grizzly bear gave me songs and the power of beholding a holy thing; he gave me his claws, claws that are holy. Then the grizzly bear danced and performed while he danced. He tore his abdomen open and, making himself holy, healed himself again. This he repeated. One grizzly bear shot claws at the other and the wounded one became badly choked with blood. Then both made themselves holy again and cured themselves. They had a front paw disappear in the earth and after a while pulled out a prairie turnip. Finally they grabbed hold of a small plum tree, breathed upon it and shook it, and many plums began to fall.

This was only the first part of the treatment. 159*

After recounting his fasting experience Thunder 755
Cloud addressed the spirits and said, "Spirits, here is 782
a person who is sick and who offers tobacco to me. I

*159 first. "She must be the one I left behind when I came
756 from my spirit home," he thought. So up above, to
Earthmaker's village, he went to see whether his first
*159 wife was still there. He found her there. "How is
756 this? I thought I saw you among the human beings
775 and that is why I have come to see if you were still
●787 here," he said. And the woman answering said, "Why,
where was I to go? Here you left me when you went
away and here I have remained up to the present time.
What kind of woman is she who resembles me?
Bring her up here to me." Thus my dead sister spoke.

However since he was a bad shaman, a poisoner, we
[754] let him marry the second sister. We were afraid that
if we didn't he would poison us.

*159 He told my brother that he had come from the place
756 where Earthmaker* lives, that Earthmaker had told
[776] him that he was to bring back with him four men.
[787] He was to examine them carefully, for they were to
be virtuous men, not quick tempered nor of change-
[577] able ideas, but really virtuous, men of conservative
tendencies. Such was he to take back with him.

*159 My brother loved Thunder Cloud for these reasons.
Never did he show any disrespect to him. Whatever he
was asked to do he did. Zealously and painstakingly
did he perform all the actions demanded, for he hoped
that if, in return, our brother-in-law loved him and
blessed him, he would take him back to Earthmaker.
Wholeheartedly did he wish to be like him. This was
always in his mind and he served him to the best of

[776] *Earthmaker is the supreme deity of the Winnebago.

## *Fasting*

Whenever these girls went out to get wood my older 159*
brother and I would play around with them a great 785
deal. We did this even although we were fasting at
the time. Of course we had to do it in secret. When-
ever our parents found out we got a scolding and so [861]
did the girls. At home we were warned to keep away
from menstruating women, but we ourselves always [841]
sought them.

After a while some of the people living in the lodges 159*
moved away and we were left alone. They moved far
ahead of us. We ourselves were to move only a short
distance at a time. My father and my brother-in-law
went out hunting and killed seventy deer between [224]
them, so that we had plenty of meat.

When the girls with whom I used to play moved
away I became very lonesome. In the evenings I used
to cry. I longed for them greatly and they had moved
far away!

Soon we got fairly well started on our way back.
We moved to a place where all the leaders used to give
their feasts. Near the place where we lived there
were three lakes and a black-hawk's nest. Right near
the tree where the nest was located, they built a lodge
and our war-bundle [10] was placed in it. There my elder [787]

[10] The war-bundle was the most sacred object among the Winne- 778
bago. It consisted of dried animal skins, other parts of animals, reed
flutes, etc., all of which had some symbolical meaning. The various
animal remains, for instance, were supposed to give the owner the [825]
powers of these animals, the sound of the reed flutes was sup-
posed to paralyze his enemy and make it impossible for him to walk.
Each clan possessed at least one such bundle and whenever the tribe [614]
went on the warpath, this bundle was carried on the back of some

*159 787 brother and myself were to pass the night. It was said that if any one fasted at such a place for four nights, he would be blessed with victory and the power to cure the sick. All the spirits would bless him.

We were told the following would happen to us. On the first night we would imagine ourselves surrounded by spirits whose whisperings we would hear outside of the lodge. The spirits would even whistle. I was told that I would be frightened and nervous and that if I [776] still remained there, I would be molested by large monsters, fearful to look upon. Even the bravest man might well be frightened. Should I, however, manage to get through that night I would then on the following [775] night be molested by ghosts whom I would hear speaking outside. These ghosts would say things that might well cause me to run away. Towards morning I was told these ghosts would even take my blanket away from me. They would grab hold of me and drive me out of the lodge and not stop until the sun rose. If I [776] was able to endure a third night, then I would be addressed by the true spirits. They would bless me and say, "We bless you. We had really intended to turn you over to the monsters and bad spirits and that is why these approached you first, but you overcame them and now they will not be able to take you away. Now you may go home for we bless you with victory

778 [619] [841] [562] individual esteemed for his bravery. The power of this war-bundle was such that it would kill anything or anybody who approached it, the only exception being a menstruating woman. For this reason the war-bundle was always carefully guarded and protected and women were not allowed to see it or come anywhere near it.

## *Fasting*

and long life; we bless you with the power of healing the sick. Nor shall you lack wealth. So go home and eat, for a large war-party is soon to fall upon you. As soon as the sun rises the war whoops will be given so that if you do not go home now you will be killed." 159* 780

Thus the spirits would speak to me. I was told that if I did not care to do the bidding of one particular spirit, then some other would address me and repeat very much the same thing. So the spirits would speak alternately until the break of day. Then, just before sunrise, a man wearing a warrior's costume, would come and peep into the lodge. He would be a scout. I was told that when this happened, then I would surely believe that a war-party had come upon me. Soon another spirit would come and say, "Grandson, I have taken pity upon you and I will bless you with all the good things that the earth holds. Go home now for a war-party is about to rush upon you." If then I went home the war-whoops would be given just as the sun rose. The members of this war party would give the whoop all at the same time. They would rush upon me and capture me and after *coup* had been counted upon me (*i.e.*, after I had been struck) they would say, "Now, grandson, we have acted thus in order to teach you. Thus shall you act. You have completed your fasting."

Thus would the spirits talk to me, I was told. Now this war-party was really composed of spirits, spirits from the heaven and the earth. Indeed all the spirits that exist would be there. These would all bless me. [776]

*159 787 I was also told that it would be a very difficult thing to obtain this particular blessing.

So there I fasted at the black-hawk's nest, where a lodge had been built for me. The first night I stayed there I wondered when something would happen. But nothing took place. The second night, rather late in the night, my father came and opened the war-bundle and then taking out a gourd, began to sing. I stood beside him without any clothing except my breech-clout and, holding tobacco in each hand, I uttered my cry to the spirits:

[782] "O spirits, here humble in heart I stand beseeching you."

My father sang war-bundle songs and wept as he sang. I also wept as I uttered my cry to the spirits. When he was finished he told me some sacred stories; [551] he told me about my ancestor Weshgishega:

### *The Story of My Ancestor Weshgishega*

*159 787 539 776 When Weshgishega was growing up his father coaxed him to fast. He told him that when Earthmaker had created the various spirits, all the good ones he had created, were placed in charge of something. The gift of bestowing upon man life and victory in war he gave to some; to others, the gift of hunting-powers. Whatever powers the Indians needed in order to live, these he placed in the hands of various spirits. These blessings Weshgishega's father told Weshgishega to attempt to obtain from the spirits.

Thus Weshgishega fasted and tried to obtain something

## *Fasting*

from the spirits. But as he fasted he kept thinking to himself, "Long ago Earthmaker created all the different spirits and he put every one of them in control of something, so people say. He himself must therefore be much more powerful than all the others. As holy as these spirits are, so assuredly, Earthmaker must be mightier, holier." So he thought. He tried to be blessed by Earthmaker. He thought to himself, "What kind of being is he?" As he fasted Weshgishega thought to himself, "Not even any of the spirits whom Earthmaker created has really known Earthmaker as he actually is; not one of the spirits has he he even blessed. I wonder, however, whether Earthmaker would bless me? This is what I am thinking of." So he put himself into a most pitiable condition and uttered his cry to the spirits. He could not stop. "From Earthmaker do I wish to obtain knowledge. If he does not bless me during my fasting I shall assuredly die." So, to the utmost of his power, did he fast. He wished to be blessed only by Earthmaker. 159* 787 539 776

At first he fasted four days; then six; then eight; then ten and finally twelve days. After that he broke his fast. Yet it was quite clear that he had obtained no knowledge, quite clear that he had not been blessed. So he gave up his fasting and when he reached the age of early manhood he married.

He took his wife, and the two of them moved to an out-of-the-way place. There they lived, he and his wife. 159* 539

Here again he commenced to fast, his wife with him. He wished to be blessed by Earthmaker. This time he felt that most assuredly would he die if Earthmaker did not appear before him in his fasting. "Never has it been told that such a thing could happen, that Earthmaker would bless any one. Yet I shall continue even if I have to die." 787

## *Crashing Thunder*

*776 159 ●787 539 [782] After a while a child was born to him. It was a boy. He addressed his wife and asked her advice, saying that they ought to sacrifice their child to Earthmaker. She consented. To Earthmaker therefore they prepared to sacrifice their child. They constructed a platform and placed their child upon it.[11] Then both of them wept bitterly. In the nighttime when the man slept, Earthmaker took pity on him and appeared to him. The man looked at him. He thought, "This, most certainly, is Earthmaker." He wore a soldier's uniform and carried a high cocked hat on his head. He had a very pleasing appearance. Weshgishega looked at him and wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. The figure took one step, then another, and finally disappeared, uttering a cry. It was not Earthmaker; it was a pigeon. The bad spirits were fooling Weshgishega.

Now even more than before did his heart ache, even more than before was his heart wound up in the desire to be blessed by Earthmaker. Now again he fasted and again apparently Earthmaker appeared to him. "Human being, I bless you. Long have you made your cry for a blessing. I am Earthmaker." When Weshgishega looked at him, he saw that he was pleasing in appearance. He looked very handsome and his dress was nice to look upon. He wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. As he looked at the figure it became smaller and smaller and when finally he looked, he noticed that it was a bird.

Then his heart ached even more than before. Bitterly did he cry. Now, for the third time, Earthmaker blessed him saying, "Human being, you have tried to be blessed by Earthmaker and you have caused yourself great suf-

[769] [614] [11] That is, they killed the child and then placed his body upon a platform, this being the customary mode of burial of the clan to which Weshgishega belonged.

## *Fasting*

fering. I am Earthmaker and I bless you. You will never be in want of anything; you will be able to understand the languages of your neighbors; you will have a long life; indeed, with everything do I bless you." But, from the very first, this figure did not inspire Weshgishega with confidence and he thought to himself, "Somebody must be fooling me." And so it was; it was a bird. 159* 776 787 539

Then most assuredly did he think that he wished to die for he felt that all the bad birds in the world were trying to make fun of him.

Earthmaker, above where he sits, knew of all this. He heard the man's voice and he said, "O Weshgishega, you are crying. I shall come to the earth for you. Your father has told me all." Then when Weshgishega looked, he saw a ray of light extending very distinctly from the sky down to the earth. To the camp it extended. "Weshgishega, you said that you wanted to see me. That, however, cannot be. But I am the ray of light. You have seen me."

Not with any war powers did Earthmaker bless him; only with life.

After telling me about Weshgishega, father left me. When I found myself alone I began to think that something ought to happen soon, yet nothing occurred so I had to pass another day there. On the third night I was still there. My father visited me again and we repeated what we had done on the night before. He told me about my grandfather Jobenangiwinxga: 159* 787 [551]

### *My Ancestor Jobenangiwinxga*

Once Jobenangiwinxga fasted. So that he might be blessed by the spirits he starved and thirsted himself to 159* 539 787 [785]

*159 539 787 death; he made himself pitiable in their sight. At first he fasted four nights and the Night Spirits came to him; with mighty sounds they came. There they stood before him and said, "Human being, you have thirsted yourself to death and we are going to bless you for that reason. We who speak are the Night Spirits." They blessed him with life and with success on the warpath. Then he looked at them and said to himself, "I wonder whether these really are the Night Spirits speaking to me?" Then he looked at them and he saw that they were small birds called heshepga. They had fooled him.

[785] Then once again was his heart sore. In despair he said, "Well, if I have to, I'll die fasting." So he fasted again and once again he rubbed charcoal on his face. For six nights he continued to fast. And then, once again, from the east the Night Spirits came. They came making a great noise and they stood near him and said, "Human being, we bless you. You have thirsted yourself to death and you have made your heart sore. We feel sad on your account. With life and success on the warpath we bless you." Then he looked at them and again he wondered in his heart whether they really were the Night Spirits.[13] Indeed they were not the Night Spirits who were speaking to him. They were birds called the kawishge, chexjin and shikokkok. They were fooling him. Instead of feeling sad this time, however, he said, "I don't care what happens; I am willing to die in order to get a blessing." So he thought to himself.

Then again he began fasting. He rubbed charcoal over

[13] The Night Spirits were mythical spirits whose precise nature is never described in detail. They are supposed to cause darkness and the night. They possess a cane with which they strike those of their worshipers who are not properly attentive to their ceremonies. [786]

## *Fasting*

his face again. Seven nights he fasted and once again from the east the Night Spirits came singing. They came and stood before him and said, "Nephew, we bless you. So long have you been sad and so piteously have you cried to us that we bless you. No one did we ever bless before. Both in war and in life you shall be able to do as you wish." Then again he looked in their direction and thought to himself, "I wonder whether those speaking are really the Night Spirits?" But indeed they were not the Night Spirits They were the bluebird and the duck and as many as there were of them, their breasts were dark; as many as there were of them, they were bad. "O my! O my! How they abuse me," Jobenangiwinxga cried. 159* 539 787 [785]

He had at first thought in his fastings that just to spite the spirits he would fast again but now he rubbed charcoal on his face and wept bitterly. Both hands contained tobacco, and he stood in the direction from which the Night Spirits came and, weeping, put himself in the most abject condition.

Now indeed to its very depths did his heart ache. Ten nights did he fast. Finally the Night Spirits came after him. "Human being, I have come after you." He followed the spirits and they took him to the east; to the site of a Night Spirit village they took him. In the village there was a long lodge standing in the east. There they took him. All the Night Spirits in control of the most powerful blessings were there. When he entered he had to wade through white feathers up to his knees. Many kettles and much food did he see in the lodge. On the outside a buffalo hide was stretched almost across the entire lodge. Then these spirits said to him, "Human being, without giving up, long have you suffered; your heart has indeed been sad. All of the spirits in this lodge have talked about what is to 159* 539 787 776

* 159 539 787 776 happen to you. I, myself, am the chief of the Night Spirits. This creation lodge, just as you see it, with all that it contains, I give to you. Never shall you be in want of food. Offer up to us as many buckskins as you see here in the lodge. Thus it shall be. The creation lodge of the village of the Night Spirits I give to you. You can go on as many war-parties as you wish and you will obtain everything that you demand of life. All the offerings of tobacco, of food, [782] of buckskins, and of red feathers, that you and your descendants offer to us, they all will come here to our creation lodge and we will accept them."

Now thus did the Night Spirits speak to grandfather Jobenangiwinxga.

* 159 787 [782] In the morning, just before sunrise, I uttered my cry to the spirits:

"O spirits, here humble in heart I stand beseeching you."

The fourth night found me still there. Again my father came and we did the same thing, but in spite of it all I experienced nothing unusual. Soon another day dawned upon us. That morning I told my elder brother [577] that I had been blessed by the spirits and that I was going home to eat. I was not speaking the truth. I was hungry and I also knew that on the following night we were going to have a feast, and that we would have to utter our cry to the spirits again. I dreaded that. So I went home. When I got there I told my people the story I had told my brother; that I had been blessed and that the spirits had told me to eat. I was not speaking the truth, yet I was given the food that is carefully prepared for those who have been blessed.

## *Fasting*

Just then my older brother came home and they ob- 159 *
jected to his return for he had not been blessed. How- 787 ●
ever, he took some food and ate it.

My brother J., however, obtained a blessing. When 159 *
he reached the age of puberty my father called him 785
aside and told him to fast. He told him that it was 554
his fervent wish that he should begin to fast in order 787
to become holy, to become invincible and invulnerable in war. He wished him to become like one of those Winnebago of whom stories are told. He assured him that if he fasted he would really be holy and that nothing that exists on this earth would be able to molest him; that he would live a very long life and that he would be able to cure the sick. He told him that if he were blessed no one would dare to make fun of him [576] and that they would be very careful how they addressed him; first, because they really respected him and secondly, because they were afraid of getting him angry. He was to fast until spring and then he was to stop, for there are many bad spirits about in the spring who [776] are likely to deceive a faster.

Near our village there was a hill called *Place-where-they-keep-weapons*. This hill was very high, steep and [778] rocky. It was a very holy place. There it was that my father wished my brother to fast for it was the place where he himself had fasted. Within this hill lived the spirits whom we call *Those-who-cry-like-babies*. [776] These spirits are supposed to possess arrows and bows. Twenty of them were supposed to be in this hill. My father had control of them and when ooo

My father had control of them and when
*159 he wished to bless a man he would take his bow and
787 arrows and, holding them in his hands, lead the man
788 around the hill and into the lodge (*i.e.*, into the hill).
There he would look for a stone pillar, and upon it, at
about arm's length, he drew the pictures of a number
of different animals. My father possessed only one
arrow, but that one was a holy one. Then dancing
around the stone pillar and singing some songs, he
finished by breathing upon the pillar. Finally he
walked around and shot at it and when he looked at the
[789] stone, it had turned into a deer with large horns which
fell dead at his feet. He repeated this a number of
times. The little spirits living in the hill breathed
[776] with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you wish to
[782] kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done, and
offer us tobacco and you will be able to obtain what-
ever you wish."

*159 This was the power my father wished my brother
787 to obtain. My father was a very famous hunter and
my brother wished to be like him.

Now of all these things my brother dreamed; with
all these powers he was blessed. He also had a vision
[775] of visiting the village of the ghosts. There he was able
to steal a costly shawl and escape with it. He dreamed
that all the inhabitants of the ghost village chased him
but that they were unable to overtake him and were
compelled to return back when my brother reached the
earth.

The night after we had stopped fasting we gave our
feast. There, however, our pride received a fall, for

## *Fasting*

although the feast was supposedly given in our honor, we were placed on one side of the main participants. After the kettles containing the food had been put on twice, it became daylight and the feast was over. [159] * [787] ●

The following spring we moved to the Mississippi in order to trap. I was still fasting and ate only at night. My brothers used to flatter me, telling me that I was the cleverest of them all and, in consequence, I used to continue fasting although I was often very hungry. In spite of my desire to fast, however, I could not resist the temptation of being around the girls. I wanted always to be near them. They were generally in their menstrual lodges [13] when I looked for them. My parents did not wish me to go near the girls then but I went nevertheless. [221] [224] [152] [785] [865]

My parents told me that only those boys who had no connection with women would be blessed by the spirits. Throughout this time my sole wish was to appear great in the sight of the people. To be praised by my fellowmen was all I desired. And I certainly received what I sought. I stood high in their estimation. That the women might like me was another of the reasons why I wanted to fast. But as to being blessed, I learned nothing about it, although I went around with the air of one who had received many blessings and talked as such a one would talk. [156]

[13] Any contact with menstruating women, or even with objects in any way connected with them, will, it is the firm belief of the Winnebago, destroy the power of sacred objects or individuals temporarily sacred. Fasting youths were regarded as such. [841] [778] [785]

## §7. *The Teachings of My Father*

*159 My father used to keep up the old habit of teaching
[867] us the customs of the Winnebago. He would wake
[593] us up early in the morning and, seated around the fire-
place, speak to us. The girls would be taught sepa-
[562] rately. Now this is what my father told me:

721
787

### I

*159 My son, when you grow up, see to it that you are of
867 some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in
[785] which you can aid them and that is by fasting. Our
grandfather, the Fire, he who stands at all times in the
[776] center of our dwelling, sends forth all kinds of blessings.
[372] Be sure that you make an attempt to obtain his.

My son, do you remember to have our grandfathers, the
*159 war chiefs,[14] bless you. See to it that they have compassion
776 upon you. Then some day as you travel along the road of
867 life, you will know what to do and encounter no obstacles.
787 Without any effort will you then be able to gain the prize
721 you desire. The honor will be yours to glory in, yours
without exertion. All the disposable war-blessings belong
to our grandfathers, the war-controllers, and if reverently
you fast and thirst yourself to death, then these will be
bestowed upon you. Yet if you do not wear out your feet
in frequent journeyings to and fro, if you do not blacken
your face with charcoal, it will be all for naught that you

[195] [14] Symbolical name for all those spirits who were supposed to be in control of war powers.

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



inflict this suffering upon yourself. Not without constant 159*
effort are these blessings procurable. Try to have one of 776
the spirits created by Earthmaker take pity on you. What- 867
ever he says will come about. If you do not possess one 787
of the spirits from whom to obtain strength and power, 721
you will be of no consequence socially and those around [626]
you will show you little respect. Indeed they will jeer at
you.

My son, it is not good to die in the village; in your 159*
homes. Above all, do not let women journey to the spirit 867
land ahead of you. It is not done. To prevent this from 761
happening do we speak to our sons and encourage them to 785
fast. Some day in life you will find yourself traveling along 787
a road filled with obstacles and then you will wish you had
fasted. When such an event confronts you, that you may
not find it necessary to reproach yourself, I counsel you
to fast. If you have not obtained any knowledge from the
spirits, why it may happen that some day, in later life,
warriors will be returning from the warpath and as they [593]
distribute the war prizes to their sisters,[18] your own sisters [727]
will stand there empty-handed envying the rest. But if
you obtain blessings from the war-controllers, your sisters
will be happy. How proud they will be to receive the
prizes, to wear them, and to dance the victory dance! Your
sisters too will be strengthened thereby and you will be
content and happy.

Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to 000

[18] Among the Winnebago a man's sisters, especially his elder sisters, were very highly respected and all war prizes, such as wampum-belts, wampum necklaces, etc., were always given to them whenever a man returned from a successful war-party in which he had secured some honor. These war honors were of various kinds. The greatest was considered to be the feat of having struck the body of a dead enemy first. [562] [721]

701 Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to
* 159 be a leader of men. To become one, however, is very
867 difficult, the old people used to say. It may happen that
● 787 you merely pretend to be a leader of men, that you are but
a mere warrior in the ranks and yet take it upon yourself to
[686] lead a war-party and thus cause a needless waste of life,
that you do what is called "throwing away a life." That
is the most shameful of all acts. The relatives of the person
[627] whom you have thus sacrificed would then have the right
to make you suffer, to torture you with burning embers.
And then your relatives would have to stand by, sad and
humiliated. Not with the blessing of one, not with the
blessings of twenty spirits, can you go on the warpath.
* 159 For that the blessings of all the spirits are necessary—those
867 on this earth, those under it and those who lie pinned
776 through it, the Island Weights; those in the waters and
787 those on the side of the earth, the winds, all four of them.
You need the blessings of the spirit who dispenses life from
one side of his body and death from the other, the bless-
ings of the Sun, the Moon, the Daylight, and the Earth.
All these Earthmaker has made controllers of war and by
787 all these must you be blessed in order to lead a war-party.
* 159 My son, if you cast off your dress for many people, that
867 is, if you give to the needy, your people will be benefited
[735] by your deeds. It is good thus to be honored by many
people. And even more will they honor you if you return
[554] victorious from the warpath with one of the four limbs, that
is, one of the four war honors. But if you obtain two, or
three, or perhaps even four limbs, then all the greater will
be the honor. Then whenever a war feast is given you will
receive part of the deer that is boiled, either part of its
ooo body or part of the head.[14] When on some other occasion,

[14] The meat of a deer at such a feast is given only to great warriors. The head is regarded as the choicest piece.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



787 When on some other occasion 159* such as the Four Nights' Wake, you are called upon to 867 recount your war exploits in behalf of the departed souls, [765] be careful, however, not to claim more than you actually accomplished. If you do, you will cause the soul of the [775] man in whose behalf you are telling it, to stumble [17] in his journey to spirit land. If you tell a falsehood then and exaggerate, you will die before your time, for the spirits, [577] the war-controllers, will hear you. It is indeed a sacred duty to tell the truth on such an occasion. Tell less than you did. The old men say it is wiser.

My son, it is good to die on the warpath. If you die on [721] the warpath, you will not lose consciousness at death. You [775] will be able to do what you please with your soul and it will always remain in a happy condition. If afterwards you wish to become reincarnated as human being, you may do so, or you may take the form of those-who-walk-upon-the-light, the birds, or the form of any animal you please, in short. All these benefits will you obtain if you die on the warpath.

## II

My son, if you cannot obtain war-blessings, fast at least 159* for position in life. If you fast then, when you get married 867 you will get along well. You will then not have to worry 785 about your having children and your life will be a happy 787 one. If you fast and have the spirits bless you with all that concerns the happiness of your home, then throughout life

[17] According to Winnebago belief the soul of a deceased individual in his journey to spirit land must cross a very slippery, swinging bridge and it is thought that if, during the wake following the man's burial, any of the invited warriors exaggerate their achievements the unfortunate soul will not be able to cross this bridge and will stumble and fall into the abyss of fire over which it is thrown. [775]

* 159 867 785 787 you will never be in need of anything. Fast for the food you are to receive. If you fast frequently enough for these things then some day when your children ask for food they will be able to obtain a piece of deer meat without difficulty; they may indeed be able to obtain a piece of moose meat. It lies within your power to prevent your children from ever going hungry.

* 159 867 593 [562] [776] Now again, my son, let me enjoin you. Do not abuse your wife. Women are sacred. If you make your wife suffer, then you will die in a short time. Our grandmother Earth is a woman, and in abusing your wife you are abusing her. Most certainly will you be abusing your grandmother if you act thus. Since after all it is she who is taking care of us, by your action you will be practically killing yourself.

* 159 867 574 When you have your home, see to it that whoever enters your lodge obtain something to eat, no matter how little you yourself may have. Such food will be a source of death to you if withheld. If you are stingy about giving food, some one might kill you in consequence; some one may poison you. If you ever hear of a stranger passing through your country and you want to see him, prepare food for him and have him brought to you. In this manner you will be doing good and it is always good to do good, it is said. [577]

* 159 867 [578] If you see a helpless old person, help him if you have anything at all. If you happen to possess a home take him there, and feed him, for he may suddenly make uncomplimentary remarks about you.[18] You will be strengthened thereby. Or perhaps when he comes, he may bring with him under his arms a medicine bundle, something he cher-

[18] It is considered exceedingly bad form for a guest to admire anything in the house he is visiting. [574] [576]

ishes very much and which he will offer you. If it is a bulb-medicine keep it to protect your house. Your home will never then be molested by anything evil and nothing evil will enter your house, neither bad spirits, ghosts, disease, nor unhappiness. Now such will be your life if you do as I tell you. Witches will keep away from you. Thus by fasting will you benefit yourself and your fellowmen.

You know that Earthmaker created all the spirits, those that live above the earth, those who live on the earth, those who live under the earth, those who live in the water—all these he created and placed in control of powers. Even the minor spirits Earthmaker placed in control of something. In this fashion he created them and after that, he created us and because we were created last and no further powers were left, he could not put us in control of anything. Then, however, did Earthmaker create a weed and this he placed us in control of. He further told us that none of the spirits he had created would have the power to take this weed away from us without giving us something in exchange. He told us that if we offered him a pipeful of this weed, which we call tobacco, he too would grant us whatever we asked for. Now it so happened that all the spirits came to long for this weed as intensely as they longed for anything in creation and for that reason if, at any time, with tobacco in our hands we make our prayer to the spirits, they will take pity upon us and bestow upon us the blessings which Earthmaker gave them. Indeed so it is, for Earthmaker created it thus.

Fast, my son. If you are blessed by the spirits and then blow your breath upon people who are ill, they will become well. Thus will you help your fellowmen. If you can cure any of your fellowmen of disease, then you will be of even more than ordinary help to them. If you can draw dis-

*159 ease from out the body, people will greatly respect you.
756 If then you happen to be without work, all that you need
● 787 for your support they will give you. For as long a time as
867 you live they will do this for you. After your death people will speak about your deeds for all time. During your lifetime they will say, "Yes, he really has power."

If you are not able to fast, do at least try to obtain some
778 power from those individuals who know the virtues and
824 powers of certain plants. It is sad enough, of course, if you will have to admit to yourself that you could not obtain blessings during fasting; but if you could not, at least try to have those who possess the plants I have mentioned, take pity on you. If they take pity on you, they will present you with one of the good plants that give life to man. Now it will not suffice for you to possess merely one plant. You should try to obtain all those plants that grow among the hairy covering of our grandmother, the Earth—all those that give us life—until you have a complete medicine bundle. Then will you truly have reason to feel encouraged.

Some of the medicine men, the shamans, were blessed
[776] by the waterspirits.[10] If you wish to obtain really powerful blessings and gain the power of curing many people, you will have to fast a long time and sincerely. If four, or say ten, of the truly powerful spirits bless you, then some day when you have children and anything happens to one of them, you will not have to look around for a medicine man, but all you will have to do will be to look into your
ooo own medicine bundle. Search there and you will undoubt-

[10] Waterspirits are mythical animals generally described as having
[776] the shape of a lynx or wild-cat and provided with long tails that completely encircle their bodies. Their gifts to man are ambivalent and it depends upon the man whether he cares to make good or bad medicines from their bodies. Their so-called "bones" generally consist of semi- or completely fossilized objects.

# *The Teachings of My Father*

Search there and you will undoubt-
edly be able to find the medicines necessary for curing your 159*
chiklren. Indeed after a while you will be called upon to 756
cure your fellow men. Then you can open your medicine 867
bundle without embarrassment, for you will have the knowledge necessary for treating the sick. You will know where the disease is lodged and your treatment will be successful, for it was only after the greatest efforts on your part that you succeeded in obtaining the requisite blessings. If you declare to the patient that he will live, then he will live. If you make proper offerings to the medicine and speak to [532] your medicine in the proper manner, it will exert all the [998] power it possesses to cure the patient. Now you must make good offerings to these medicines; you must give many feasts in their honor and then if, in addition, you address them as if they were human beings, they assuredly will help you and do what you ask. You may accordingly accept the payments offered to you by your patients in good conscience and your children will wear these payments in the form of wampum necklaces and thus gain renewed strength. They will be well and happy. These are the reasons why I want you to be extremely careful in your attitude. Medicines are good for all purposes; that is why [993] they were given to us. Earthmaker gave them to us so that [755] we could cure ourselves from disease.

If any one tries to obtain these staffs of life, these medicines and inflicts sufferings upon himself in acquiring them, [787] then assuredly will our grandmother Earth have cognizance of it. She knows all that you have lost in obtaining them and in the long run what you have lost, will be returned to you. You made your offerings for the [577] future and it is good for people to look forward to their future.

Say, you wish to obtain the paint medicine. For that you 000

## *Crashing Thunder*

Say you wish to obtain the paint medicine. For that you
*159 would have to put yourself in the most abject condition
789 before the spirits. If you smear yourself with your paint
789 medicine it will irresistibly attract the enemy; it will
867 paralyze him, deprive him of all power of movement and utterly overpower him. Keep it in your home and then you will never be in want of riches. People will give you their most valued possessions owing to the influence of this paint medicine. The paint medicine is made from the
[116] blood of the waterspirits and that is why it is so holy. People obtain it by fasting and thirsting themselves to death and then receiving a blessing from the waterspirit. Earthmaker placed the waterspirits in possession of these powers so that they could then, in turn, bestow them on us.

*159 Some people succeeded in obtaining a medicine that will
789 enable a person to outdistance another in running. It might
754 perhaps be well for you to learn something about this.
867 There are medicines to be used in courting; medicines to prevent married people from separating; medicines for getting rich; medicines for causing people to become crazy. Should you, for instance, wish to make a person feel very sad at heart, then you can poison him with this last-named medicine and even make him crazy. It is also possible to make a woman who has refused you become a harlot, for this medicine will make her fall in love with every man she sees. Indeed any kind of medicine you desire can you obtain from certain individuals. Some are acquainted with medicines that put one to sleep, others with those that keep one awake and give one insomnia. Some have medicines enabling one to overcome the viciousness of dogs who are put to watch over women; others again have medicines that make people single out the possessor in a crowd. Every one will look at him and consider him a great man.

## §9. *My Brother-in-Law's Fasting Experience*

*159 ●[78] [183] [82] Just about this time we moved to the hunting-grounds and I began to fast again. I began to take sweat baths and caused myself to vomit in order to be purged. My father was a good hunter; he was always able to kill many deer and occasionally a bear.

My brother-in-law thought a good deal of me. He was a holy man and a shaman. One day he said to me, "Brother-in-law, I am going to bless you although you will have to fast for it. I was once blessed by four [176] spirits, brothers, called *Good giant-cannibals*. They said that they had never before blessed any one. They promised me that if I ever got into any difficulties they would help me. They blessed me with long life. Now this blessing I will give you. If, for four nights, you fast without a break, these giants will speak to you." Thus he spoke to me. Then he continued, "These four brothers are called *Good-giant, Good-heart, Good-as-he-walks-about, Good-where-he-lifts-his-foot-from*. They lived toward the east, where you will find a promontory. Nothing across the large body of water is too difficult for them to accomplish."

[182] [216] So when I fasted I always offered tobacco to these spirits first. I would cry to these spirits, but I never fasted over night.

## §10. *A War-Bundle Feast*

When the hunting was over my father selected ten deer with which to give a war-bundle feast. Those who had been selected as attendants then transferred these deer to the place where the people always give their feasts. 159* 796 726

I was fasting at the time and only broke my fast at evening. Every night I went out to make my appeal to the spirits before I ate. Five days before the feast was to be given I commenced to fast through the night also. On the fifth night, together with my older brother, I went to the feast. During the day I had spent the time in the wilderness uttering my cry to the spirits: 159* 787● 796 726

"O spirits, here humble in heart I stand, beseeching you." [782]

I was far more thirsty than hungry. I don't believe that either my tongue or mouth were even moist.

That night we held aloft the deerskins that were to be offered to the spirits and we stood there crying piteously. There we wept humbly and those who were to give the feast wept with us, as they extended their holy compassion to us. Then, at midnight, we stood near the war weapons and again raised our appeal to the spirits. [782]

Our feast was given in a lodge that had eight fire- ooo

## *Crashing Thunder*

726 *159 Our feast was given in a lodge that had eight fire-
796 places. The host always sits near the last fireplace, at
●787 the east end. There we stood crying to the spirits.
[340 My older brother fell to the ground from fatigue and
354] exhaustion. We were stark naked except for our
[391] breech-clouts. When this prayer was finished we put on our moccasins. Then the host greeted the participants as follows:

"I greet you; I greet you all, war-bundle possessors. My grandparents, especially my grandfather, concentrated their minds upon this ceremony for me. The fireplace, the food, the offerings, with which the spirits blessed my grandfather, that I am going to ask for myself to-day. However weakly I may wobble about in trying to do the proper thing to-day, I know that my elders present here will extend their aid to me. I am now going to offer some tobacco to you all. War-bundles possessors, I greet you all."

*159 Following the speech came the prayers to the various
796 spirits:
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Hearken O Earthmaker, our father, I am about to offer tobacco to you. My ancestor concentrated his mind upon you and that with which you blessed him I now ask of you directly. I ask for the small amount of life you granted him, aye for four times the blessings you bestowed upon him. May I never meet with trouble in life.

O Grandfather, chief of the Thunderbirds, you who live in the west, here is a handful of tobacco. Extend to me the deer with which you blessed my ancestor. I pray you to accept this tobacco from me. May I never meet with trouble in life.

## *A War-Bundle Feast*

me. We all had a deerskin apiece. Only those who were giving the feast had the right to hold one of the ten deerskins. A man playing a flute taken from a war-bundle marched ahead, and behind came the people carrying the incense of the burning cedar leaves. We thus marched around the lodge and my brother and I again made our cry to the spirits. At that time we were naked apart from our breech-clouts and moccasins. Four times did we make the circuit. Then we passed the deerskins up through the roof of the lodge. 159* 796 726 [534] [782] 159*

Now the feasters were to eat again. A separate kettle had been put on for us boys and we were to eat first. They then called upon a man to eat out of our plate with us. His name was *Blue-sitter*. He was a holy man, a shaman, a brave man, one who had obtained many war honors. Four deer ribs were dished out to me in a wooden bowl. Then the one who was to eat out of my plate came and sat near my dish and began to handle the food. He tore it into small pieces and began telling me of the blessing he had received from the spirits. He told me how all the great spirits had blessed him—the Sun, the Moon, the Thunder-birds, the Earth, the Sky, the Daylight, and all the spirits that exist in the heavens. The spirits on the earth and those under the waters, all these talked to him, he said. While partaking of my food he would think of this power, he told me. I would go through battle unharmed and I was to obtain war honors. My children, if I had any, were to enjoy a good and happy life. Thus he spoke. 796 787 ● 726 [776]

## *Crashing Thunder*

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●787

Then he took a piece of my food in his mouth and placed some in my mouth four times. I continued eating as the rest of the feasters began their meal. For quite some time I was not able to eat much.

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Through it all I was not in the least conscious of any dreams or blessings. All that I was aware of was that all the people around me were taking pity upon me. Throughout it all I had my mind fixed on women. In doing these things I imagined that I had accomplished something great and that I had risen greatly in women's estimation. Even though I tried to render myself pitiable in the sight of the spirits, yet through it all, my thoughts were centered upon them. I was never lowly at heart and never really desired the blessing of the spirits. All that I thought of was that I was a great man and that the women would regard me as a great man.

[P.86]

## §19. *The Effect of a Pretended Blessing*

*159 I was now drinking heavily all the time and I began
273 to boast of being a holy man. I claimed that I had
● 787 been blessed by certain spirits and I made this claim
156 again and again. Of course this was all a lie, for I had
577 never felt a stirring of any kind within me. I made the claim because I had heard others doing it. Generally I made this claim when I was just about drunk, just on the verge of getting boisterous but still vaguely conscious of what I was saying. Then I would say, for instance, that I had been blessed by a Grizzly-spirit, that he had blessed me with the power of being uncontrollable, that he had taught me certain songs. These I would then sing at the top of my voice. I used to exert all the power I had to imitate a grizzly bear. The bystanders would try to hold me but it always required a large number of men to do so. Now I thought this exhibition of mine an act worthy of praise.

*159 After that I began to claim that I had been blessed
156 by many spirits. I made the claim at one time that I
577 was really the reincarnation of one of the benevolent
787 giant spirits and that my name was *Good-heart*, that I
775 was now living as a human being among men. Such
776 was my claim and people believed me.

000 Once when I was on one of my drinking sprees I

*159 drink." Thus she spoke. I was surprised. Perhaps
755 I am really holy, after all, I thought.
[156]

After this incident, of course, I boasted of my powers
*159 even more, for now I was really convinced that I pos-
156 sessed sacred power. I talked as do those who have
● 787 knowledge of blessings obtained from all the spirits in creation; I spoke with all the authority of a great medicine man. I used to do the singing for my band during the performance of the Medicine Dance, and as I had a deep bass voice, everybody liked it. Sometimes I would be given offerings of food in a kettle.

*159 I always drank a great deal whenever a Medicine
273 Dance was given and frequently I would knock people
796 unconscious when I was drunk, even those in the vicinity of the camp.

[P.138]

## §20. *I Have a Fight*

Once we went out hunting game in the fall of the year. We used to sell the hindquarters and sometimes ship them as far as Chicago. We were of course only permitted to hunt for thirty days. The law was that if any one hunted longer than that he would be arrested. Yet in spite of all we hunted for a longer time because we felt that the law was meant only for the Whites. One day, however, in shipping deer away, we were detected. One of my brothers and myself were arrested, taken to court and convicted. We had to spend sixty days in jail. During my imprisonment I never had my hair cut and from that time on, I always wore it long. I told the people that a spirit called *Foolish-one*[24] had instructed me to do this and that he had blessed me. I also told my older brother, the one who was still living, to do the same thing and that if he, too, let his hair grow, *Foolish-one* would bless him with long life. From that time on I wore long hair.

After that I joined a show of the Whites. People liked me very much on account of my long hair and I was well paid. I kept on drinking all the time. I there learned to ride a bicycle and mount and ride wild

[24] The clown of Winnebago mythology. He is, however, regarded as having some of the characteristics of a spirit and, very occasionally, blessing an individual.

## §22. *We Kill a Pottawattomie*

*159 588 839 I never married any woman permanently. I would live with one for awhile, and then with another. Sometimes upon my return after an absence I would find my temporary wife living with another man. This is the way in which I acted.

*159 787 921 My father had brought me up and had encouraged me to fast, so that I might be blessed by all the spirits that exist, and thus live in comfort. My father had raised me so that I should desire to obtain war honors,[*] so that I should not be like one who wears skirts. That was the reason he had me join the Medicine Dance so [626] that people should not be able to ridicule me. My father taught me to lead a sober and sane life and my [867] grandfather, during the time I lived with him, had told me the same. They both encouraged me to give feasts and to ask the spirits for war honors.

*159 721 At that time I had a comrade, and one day he said to me, "We have been thinking of something, have we not, friend? We ought to try and obtain some external emblem of our bravery. Do we not always try to wear feathers at a Warrior Dance? Well, then, let us try

[*] "These war honors were the following: touching the body of a [554] slain enemy first, killing an enemy, touching the body second, touching it third, stealing a horse. All of them entitled the possessor [301] to wear an eagle feather in his hair."

*159 795 stand up and he prayed to God. He asked God to forgive me my sins.

The next morning I was taken home. My eyes were sore and I could not see. They took me back to my [1957] house and there they put a solution of the peyote in my eyes and I got well in a week.

One night when I was asleep I dreamed that the ● [1987] world had come to an end. Some people God took while some belonged to the bad spirit. I belonged to the bad spirit. Although I had become a peyote man I had not as yet been baptized. That was why God did not take me. All those who belonged to God were marked, but I was not. I felt very bad about it when I woke up, even although I had only dreamed it. I felt very bad indeed. I wanted them to hurry and have another peyote meeting soon. I could hardly wait until I reached the place where the next meeting was to take place. I immediately told the leader what I wanted and asked him to baptize me and he baptized me in the morning. After that I felt better.

*159 [964] Then I went to work and I worked with a railroad work gang. I was still working when the time for the midsummer celebration approached. I always went to the peyote meeting on Saturday nights.

*159 584 The old man was right in what he had told me. The girl students returned in the summer. Shortly after they returned, a man, a friend of mine, who had gone around with me, asked me if I wanted to get married. "Yes, I do," I answered. Then he said, "Listen, I have been thinking of something. What kind of a woman do

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12

# Winnebago Berdache

By NANCY OESTREICH LURIE

114 THE following account draws attention to the fact that the berdache role
838 was still evident in Winnebago culture until close to the turn of the cen-
[177] tury, and adds somewhat to the data of certain clear cultural parallels between
[171] this Woodland Siouan group and such Plains Siouan tribes as the Omaha, Oto, Iowa and Ponca. The description is not complete and certain points are equivocal. Thus, all of the available ethnographic documentation will be presented so that anyone intending to use the information will be able to assess its value. The description given here agrees, Dr. Raul Radin said in a conversation, with his unpublished Winnebago data.

124 During the course of general field investigations conducted from time to
838 time during the years 1945 to 1947, it was apparent that Winnebago informants in Wisconsin tended to be reticent to discuss the matter of the berdache. Their embarrassment may indicate that knowledge of the subject was withheld. However, even where excellent rapport existed and individuals became sufficiently interested in the topic to question people who might not speak directly to an ethnographer, some details remain uncertain. Furthermore,
[177] while the last berdache died somewhat over fifty years ago, the picture is confused by the former tendency of Winnebago culture to invest given forms of traits with opposite meanings and functions when used under different circumstances. At the present time, the recollections of many informants reveal that they know only half of the total function of given forms, or that they attempt to synthesize features which now appear as contradictory.

[184] While it was noted in 1950 that the Nebraska Winnebago were quite willing to speak of matters that in Wisconsin are still considered sacred or as things to be kept secret from whites, the Nebraska Winnebago simply knew less about older traditions.

838 It was agreed generally that the berdache was a man who had taken on
[787] this role because he had been directed to do so by the moon, a female spirit,
[821] at the time of his vision quest. The berdache dressed as a woman, performed
[791] women's tasks better than any normal woman could perform them, and had
[588] the ability to foretell future events. However, not all Winnebago prophets
[554] were berdaches. One informant mentioned that berdaches sometimes married other men, but no data were obtained concerning the attitude of the society toward the husband of a berdache. Most informants felt that the berdache was at one time a highly honored and respected person, but that the Winnebago had become ashamed of the custom because the white people thought it
177 was amusing or evil. By the time the last known berdache attempted to ful-
838 fill the role, his brothers threatened to kill him if he "put on the skirt." This
[626] berdache then affected a combination of male and female clothing, fearing that he would die if he did not at least attempt to follow the directions given him in his vision of the moon.

9: Morgan E-5 (1859) 1959 NP12 Winnebago NP12

5

[*Winnebago*] *Medicine Dance*

115 I met Judge Williams[97] this evening and listened among other things to a very fine description of a medicine dance among the Winnebagoes. He is District Judge of Kansas, and has held the same office in Iowa and been with the Indians for 25 years. He superintended the removal of the Sauks and Foxes etc.

He was invited by the Winnebagoes as a compliment to attend a medicine dance, or the Spirit Dance.[98] This is a religious organization which the Judge likens to our church. They initiate with forms and ceremonies each neophyte, and at that time go through with their high religious performances. The Judge says they have mesmerism

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●[787]

[P.60(A)]
[pp. 1-59 not processed]
97 ^ 98 ^ [see category 116 - p210. Analyst]

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and clairvoyance, and thinks they have had
[787] them for centuries. They use a long and
[346] large lodge a [blank] prepared for the
purpose, in which all those allowed to witness the ceremonies are assembled. Adjoin-
[343] ing this house is a bark tent built in a conical form as a steam house. They excavate a hole in the ground, heat large stones in a fire to a great heat, and then put them in this hole, and cover them over and seat the initiate over them. He is then covered around with blankets so that none of the steam may escape, after which water is poured on the stones and the neophyte is
[783] enveloped in a roasting steam bath. This is
[776] the first act, and the object is to steam all evil spirits out of him.

He is then led in to the house, after the steaming process in some instances has been repeated once or twice. He is then blindfolded and led around the house. Pres-
[534] ently the singers beat the drum, shake the rattles, and commence singing a tune; then commences the dance, which is joined in by all present who wish to do so. The wom-
[562] en are members of the medicine lodge as well as the men, and they join in the songs and in the dance. After the dancing is done, or perhaps he may have stood in the midst of it there is a suspension of all sing-
[756] ing and dancing. Several medicine men then advance towards the neophyte, pointing their medicine bags at him, then drawing them back. This advancing and receding and ejaculating certain words calculated to work up the mind of the novitiate into a regular phrenzy.

Presently they reach him when they hit their medicine bags against his body, he still being blindfolded and at the same time uttering a shrill exclamation. The Judge
[158] said the novitiate jumped up and fell flat on his face as if dead and that apparently with-

[P 60(B)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



754 278 poses. If, for instance, I wish a person to become blind or if I dislike him or were jealous of him because he was better off than myself, I would do the following: I would get a small part of a black root and pulverize it. Then I would mix it with ghost snuff and put it into my medicine bag. When I am ready to shoot the person I shake my bag and make the medicine fly out, and it would enter his eyes and make them sore. Soon he would become blind. I also use this medicine when I go on the warpath. I wrap it in a piece of buckskin and wear it around my neck. As long as I wear it in this manner I will never be shot.

This medicine is also used as a poultice. If a man has a pain anywhere, he makes four incisions in his body at that place, with the point of a knife, and applies the medicine.

754 [788] Here is another medicine. It is kept in a large bundle. It is used in the following way: At a medicine dance a person may put an eagle feather on the nose of an otter-skin bag and then open the bundle containing his medicine and bring the medicine in contact with the nose of the otter-skin bag. The individual then enters the medicine-dance lodge. He makes note of the place where the person whom he dislikes is sitting. After a while he gets up and makes a circuit of the lodge four times and shoots at this person. He sees to it that one of the feathers attached to the otter-skin bag lodges just where he wishes it. Either he wishes to kill the man outright or to make him suffer for a long time. Should the victim die, the man who does the shooting must be very careful for he might easily injure himself. He must know, for instance, exactly when his victim is going to die and then as soon as he is dead he must open his medicine bundle and let the feather return, which it does as soon as the person at whom it was shot is dead. A black hawk is then heard in the distance. As soon as it approaches the man utters curious sounds and the feather alights right in the medicine bundle. When the feather returns, however, it is always black, though when it started it was red. One might imagine that there had been two distinct feathers.

If the man who shot the feather does not know when his victim dies and consequently does not make the necessary preparations for opening his medicine bundle, such as imitating the cry of a black hawk, or if, worse still, he is asleep, the feather will land upon him and he would likewise die.

This same medicine is also used for the following purpose: If a person offends you and you wish to take revenge by killing him, take your medicine bundle and whenever you come across the footprints of your prospective victim then open your medicine bundle and take out a striped feather from it and sing a song. When you are finished, make certain sounds and stab the footprints. You can

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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2. Types of songs: The songs may be divided into two groups 796
(1) Those that are sung in connection with myths and after the 756
speeches of a more general nature, and (2) those that are sung to 533
accompany definite and specific actions. These latter can therefore be most conveniently divided into (*a*) minor dance songs, (*b*) major dance songs, (*c*) initial songs, (*d*) terminal songs, (*e*) leading songs, and (*f*) shooting songs. The medicine men distinguish only between four kinds of songs major and minor dance, terminal, and shooting songs. Each has a different rhythm and music. For purposes of description, however, the above division is more convenient.

3. Types of action (1) Blessing: Either hand is held outstretched, 756
palm downward, and moved horizontally through the air. It is 788
always used when entering and leaving the lodge and on any occasion where an individual has to pass from one part of the lodge to another.

It is always rendered as "blessing" by the Indians, and they particularly insist upon the fact that the "blessing" was not conveyed by any words used in connection with the action, but by the action itself. Each person who is thus passed answers with a long-drawn-out "*ho o o*" and with an obeisance of the head.

A modification of the above is the "blessing of the head," which consists of a simple laying of the hand upon the head, both the giver and the recipient keeping their eyes fixed upon the ground, the recipient slightly bending his head. A few mumbled words accompany this action.

(2) Direction of walking in the lodge: Individuals always walk con- 756
trary to the hands of the clock. A person in the east hand must 796
make the entire circuit of the lodge in order to pass out. In only 823
exceptional cases can this rule of passing be broken, and that is when an old and especially privileged member crosses from his seat to that directly opposite him during the shooting ceremony. I was given to understand that this was an extremely expensive privilege.

4. Types of ritual: Parts III, IV, and V can be so analyzed that 796
they fall into a fairly well-defined number of units, consisting of 756
speeches, songs, and movements. These units are nine in number. Artificial distinctions have been avoided in this division, as far as possible. The units are (1) entrance ritual; (2) exit ritual; (3) fire ritual; (4) presentation-of-food ritual; (5) shooting ritual; (6) initiation ritual; (7) sweat-lodge ritual; (8) smoking ritual; (9) basic ritual.

Of these, (3), (5), (7), (8), and (9) are found in Part III; all except (7) and (6) in Part IV (*a*); and all except (7) in Part IV (*b*). (5) does not actually occur in Part III, but is described in detail in the myth related there. The order in which we will discuss these ceremonial units is not the order in which they follow one another in the ritual. Some are interwoven with one another. Both these factors will, however, be considered in the description of the entire ritual, following the description of each ceremonial unit.

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In 1910 the cult already had a rather definite organization. There was, at every performance, one leader (pl. 54, *a*) and four principal participants. John Rave (pls. 5, *b*; 55, *b*), the Winnebago who introduced the peyote, was always the leader whenever he was present. On other occasions leadership devolved upon some older member. The four other principal participants changed from meeting to meeting, although there was a tendency to ask certain individuals whenever it was possible. The ritualistic unit, in short, is a very definite one, consisting of a number of speeches and songs and in the passing of the regalia from one to the other of the four participants. 794 [796]

During the early hours of the evening, before the peyote has begun to have any appreciable effect, a number of apparently intrusive features are found. These, for the most part, consist of speeches by people in the audience and the reading and explanation of parts of the Bible. After the peyote has begun to have an appreciable effect, however, the ceremony consists exclusively of a repetition of the ritualistic unit and confessions. [276] [783]

There is an initiation consisting of a baptism, always performed by John Rave. It is of a very simple nature. Rave dips his fingers in a peyote infusion and then passes them over the forehead of the new member, muttering at the same time the following prayer: [788]

"God, his holiness."

This is what the Winnebago words mean, although some of the younger members who have been strongly permeated with Christian teachings translate the prayer into, "God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." [177]

Whenever the ceremony is performed in the open a fireplace in the shape of a horseshoe is made. At one end of this fireplace is placed a very small mound of earth, called by Rave "Mount Sinai," and in front of this a cross is traced in the earth. Upon the small earth mound are placed the two "chief" peyote, the Bible and the staff. The latter, called by Rave the shepherd's crook, is always covered with beadwork, and generally has a number of evenly cut tufts of deer hair on the end and at intervals along its length. The sacred peyote, known as *hunka* (i. e., "chief") are exceptionally large and beautiful specimens. They are regarded by a number of people, certainly by Rave, with undisguised veneration. 794 788

In addition to the above, there is found a large eagle feather fan, a small drum, and a peculiar small type of rattle. To my knowledge, this type was unknown among the Winnebago before its introduction by the peyote eaters.

### John Rave's Account of the Peyote Cult and of His Conversion 159

During 1893–94 I was in Oklahoma with peyote eaters. 794

In the middle of the night we were to eat peyote. We ate it and I also did. It was the middle of the night when I got frightened, for 276 786

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the Trinity." Then all sit down and the leader makes the regular announcements. The peyote is then passed around, either in the dry condition or steeped. The leader thereupon starts the singing. These are some of the songs: 794 796 159 [276]

1. Ask God for life and he will give it to us.
2. God created us so pray to him.
3. To the home of Jesus we are going, so pray to him. [533]
4. Come ye to the road of the Son of God; come ye to the road.

Then Albert Hensley calls upon 12 educated members to translate and interpret certain portions of the Bible for the nonreading members. He arranges with the leader to have the singing stop at certain places so that some of these young men can speak. When these are finished, other individuals are called upon to give testimony. Hensley always talks and so does Rave. 794 177 796 159

John Rave baptizes by dipping his hand in a diluted infusion of peyote and rubbing it across the forehead of a new member, saying, "I baptize thee in the name of God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which is called God's Holiness." [783]

The peyote eaters wanted to get baptized and unite with the church in Winnebago, but the clergyman in charge would not permit them, so they went and did their own baptizing through their leader, John Rave, who, though he is not educated, is full of real intelligence and religion.

If a person who is truly repentant eats peyote for the first time, he does not suffer at all from its effects. But if an individual is bullheaded, does not believe in its virtue, he is likely to suffer a good deal. This I know from my own experience. After eating peyote I grasped the meaning of the Bible, which before had been meaningless to me. 794 276 159

If a person eats peyote and does not repent openly, he has a guilty conscience, which leaves him as soon as the public repentance has been made. [783]

Old men and women who had been brought up to worship animals and all kinds of spirits have cast them all away and in many instances burned their idols, not because they were told to do so but because they felt that way.

Whenever at our meetings a person wishes to pray, he does so; when he wishes to cry, he does so. Indeed, we show no timidity about worshiping God in the right way. In the Bible one often reads of Christ casting out the devils and of the people shouting, etc. So does the peyote act on us in the beginning, although afterwards its effects abate.

If a peyote eater relapses into his old way of living, then the peyote causes him great suffering.

At first our meetings were started without any rule laid down by the Bible, but afterwards we found a very good reason for holding [177]

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159 794 276 soon. I could hardly wait until I reached the place where the next meeting was to take place. I immediately told the leader (what I wanted) and asked him to baptize me and he baptized me in the morning. After that morning I felt better.

[788]

Then I went to work and I worked with a railroad work-gang. I was still working when the time for the mid-summer celebration approached. I always went to the peyote meeting on Saturday nights.

The old man was right in what he had told me. The girl students returned in the summer. Shortly (after they returned) a man, a friend of mine who had gone around with me, asked me if I wanted to get married. "Yes, I do," I answered. Then he said, "Listen, I have been thinking of something. What kind of a woman do you wish to marry?" I told him what I had in mind. Then he said, "Come home with me. I have a younger sister. I want her to marry a good man; I would like to have her marry you," he said. Then I went home with him. When we got there (and discussed the matter) the girl gave her consent. The parents also consented.

[584]

So there I got married and what I expected has taken place and I have lived with her ever since. On one occasion, after she was used to me, she told me this. (Before she had married she had determined that) if she ever got married, she would not care to marry a very young man. "I wanted a man who ate peyote and who paid attention to the ceremony." Such a man she desired and such a man was I, she said. She loved me, she said, and she was glad that she had married me. This is what she had asked Earthmaker (God) in prayer. "And indeed it has happened as I wished," she said. She believed it was the will of Earthmaker (God) that we had done this, she said. She was therefore glad (that she had married me). Together we gave ourselves up (to the peyote) at a peyote meeting. From that time on we have remained members of the peyote (ceremony).

Many things are said under the influence of the peyote. The members (would) get into a kind of trance and speak of many things. On one occasion they had a peyote meeting which lasted two nights. I ate a good deal of peyote. The next morning I tried to sleep. I suffered a great deal. I lay down in a very comfortable position. After a while a (nameless) fear arose in me. I could not remain in that place, so I went out into the prairie, but here again I was seized with this fear. Finally I returned to a lodge near the lodge in which the peyote meeting was being held and lay down alone. I feared that I might do something foolish to myself (if I remained there alone), and I hoped that someone would come and talk to me. Then someone did come and talk to me, but I did not feel better, so I thought I would go inside where the meeting was going on. "I am going inside," I said to him. He laughed. "Alright, do so," said he. I went in and sat down. It was very hot and I felt as

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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794 and, going to his seat, where all the other objects are spread out, he
796 sits down and prays. He prays that all the participants may be
276 strengthened by the prospective meeting. He offers up thanks for
177 the peyote and prays that all may be in the proper spirit that night. Then he throws the needles in the fire and holds the peyote over the smoke of the cedar. When this has been finished he returns to his seat, eats one peyote, and gives one to the drummer. After they have eaten these he passes four peyote in turn to those on his left until the peyote comes to the one sitting nearest the door. Four peyote are given to the one nearest the door that he, in turn, may pass them to those on the other side of the door and so on until the leader is reached again. Before the peyote is eaten, the leader gets up and talks. He instructs the people as to the nature of the meeting and tells them that those who wish to go out must do so after the midnight water is drunk and not until after the leader returns from outside. No one is to go out while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote. He then speaks of the special prayers that are to be offered up and asks them to offer general prayers for all nonmembers and even for their enemies. After that the leader again offers up a prayer and smokes all the objects he had spread before his seat. Then the songs are to start, all, however, first eating peyote.

(When the fire first starts and thereafter, throughout the night, it is supposed to represent light, just as God said, "Let there be light.")

[533] The first song is always the same and is called the starting song. Those that follow are peyote songs. When he has finished these songs he passes the singing staff to the right of the drummer. When this one has finished the staff is returned to the leader, who passes it on to the left, and then in rotation it goes to the one sitting near the door. The drum, when it is handed on, is always passed under the staff. The fire is always replenished, but toward midnight special care is taken in this regard and the coals are placed in the shape of a crescent between the fire and the earth crescent, and the fireman sweeps first around the left and then around the right side. Then exactly at midnight the leader calls for his singing staff and his drum, no matter where they happen to be, and, taking the singing
[533] staff and sending the drum to the drummer, he blows his flute and sings. The song he sings then is called the midnight song. After that three peyote songs are sung, it making no difference which they are. As the leader starts his midnight song the fireman takes up his position at the doorway opposite the fireplace and the leader. When the second song is started the fireman turns around to the right and goes out and gets water and soon comes back with it.
[788] When he reenters he makes the figure of a cross on the ground where he stood just before he left and places water on it. Then he squats down on his knees.

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ticular kettle assigned to him. Then he pours out tobacco. Now one of the attendants goes around the lodge and scatters small swan feathers in every direction, even putting some near the kettles. [782]

The host then prepares to sing night songs, but before doing so he takes down the buckskin assigned to the Nights, blackens his face with the ember used for marking that buckskin, and puts swan feathers upon his head. It is said that those who during their fasting time visited the land of the Night Spirits saw swan feathers scattered all over the land, and that is why they use them now. The host now has the pipe turned toward the east and before singing the night songs tells the origin of these songs. He asks all the other invited guests present to help him with his songs and apologizes for asking so much of them. He now uses two sets of songs. When the dancing songs are sung all the men who so desire may come around the war bundle and dance, and some may even dance near the places where they sit. When he has finished his songs he passes the drum, gourds, flute, and tobacco to the invited guest opposite him. This one now arises, pours out tobacco, and tells the origin of his particular war bundle and sings the night song connected with it for the benefit of the host. He then repeats the same actions that the host has done. The drum, etc., are now passed to the next man, and so on until daylight. Some one especially selected is given the honor of singing those songs that are connected with the taking down of the buckskins, and when this one starts his song all the invited guests in whose honor kettles have been put on the fireplace take down their buckskins and, holding them in their hands, walk around the lodge four times. An attendant precedes them, walking backward and purifying the path. The buckskin with the cross marked on it is generally carried first. The fourth time they make the circuit all those in the lodge first hold their hands over the cedar incense and then touch the buckskin, because Earthmaker is going to use it for moccasins, so that, by touching it, they might become strengthened. After they had made the circuit for the fourth time they rolled up the buckskins and threw them through the openings in the roof of the lodge, so that the spirits for whom they were intended might receive them. [787 776] [788] [782]

After the buckskins have been thrown out tobacco is poured into the fireplace and all the people take their places and dance. When the drum has made the entire circuit of the lodge—that is, when it has again returned to the host—the latter rises and sings the so-called paint songs. A short time before that a number of kettles had been put on the fireplace for the so-called lower spirits. The host then declares that the feast is ready and that whenever they wish to the guests may begin to eat. The rites of the preceding feast are now repeated. Toward the end of the feast the host takes his bundle,

My father had control of them and when
*159 he wished to bless a man he would take his bow and
787 arrows and, holding them in his hands, lead the man
788 around the hill and into the lodge (*i.e.*, into the hill).
There he would look for a stone pillar, and upon it, at about arm's length, he drew the pictures of a number of different animals. My father possessed only one arrow, but that one was a holy one. Then dancing around the stone pillar and singing some songs, he finished by breathing upon the pillar. Finally he walked around and shot at it and when he looked at the
[789] stone, it had turned into a deer with large horns which fell dead at his feet. He repeated this a number of times. The little spirits living in the hill breathed
[776] with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you wish to
[782] kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done, and offer us tobacco and you will be able to obtain whatever you wish."

*159 This was the power my father wished my brother
787 to obtain. My father was a very famous hunter and my brother wished to be like him.

Now of all these things my brother dreamed; with all these powers he was blessed. He also had a vision
[775] of visiting the village of the ghosts. There he was able to steal a costly shawl and escape with it. He dreamed that all the inhabitants of the ghost village chased him but that they were unable to overtake him and were compelled to return back when my brother reached the earth.

The night after we had stopped fasting we gave our feast. There, however, our pride received a fall, for

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*The bear hunt.* Bears were hunted by individuals or by the tribe. 224
Before a man started on a bear hunt he went through the following 796
ceremony, known as *wanaᵒkee'ee*, literally "concentration of the 782
mind." He either built a special lodge or used his own for the ceremony. A kettle containing food was placed on the fireplace; this was intended for the particular bear the man wished to kill. The food generally consisted of corn or dried fruit; tobacco and red feathers also were offered, the former in small bark vessels. All these offerings were made not only as sacrifices to the bear but in order to make the feast as tempting as possible. When everything was in readiness, the host rubbed two sticks having rough surfaces against each other, called *nai'ᵒwax* or *naiᵒwaidjo'k'ee*. The host never ate. He continued his singing and rubbing until he attracted the attention of the bear, as indicated by the appearance of a little streak of flame passing from the fire toward the gifts he brought for him.

The same ceremony was performed before starting on a deer or a raccoon hunt. In addition to this ceremony, individuals always used the special hunting medicines that they obtained during their fasts. [789]
This was frequently chewed and then rubbed into the arrow (nowadays into the gun).[1]

There is a time of the year called *hiruci'e*, when bear break hickory 224
or oak branches for the nuts or the acorns. It seems they are then very easy to approach. If a man killed a bear he would always [825]
refer to it in terms of respect.

The tribal bear hunt always took place in summer. As enemies [721
were generally encountered on the way a winter or war feast was 527]
always given before the party started. This had nothing to do, however, with the hunt proper. Following is a fairly close translation of an account of a Winnebago bear hunt and buffalo hunt secured by the author:

*Description of a bear hunt.*—When the Winnebago went on the bear hunt they 224
always traveled in large numbers. They would always be able to find bears in the 825
groves of red timber-oak, and it would be very easy to kill them. Nevertheless the old people considered it a very dangerous affair, especially if the hunters came upon breeding bear. If anyone killed a breeding bear he would cause very much trouble. The male bear would get very angry and chase the man who had done the killing, and if it ever happened that he was out of ammunition, the man surely would be killed. The bear would jump upon him and tear him to pieces. It is said that when bears kill a human being they always eat him. Another way of getting at the bears was to clear away the ground for them. It is very easy to kill them then. This generally takes place at the time of the year when the acorns fall to the ground. The bears gather in the cleared spaces and lie down there. They lie in the timber under the trees. They look like black objects in the distance. It is customary to shoot at them from some distance, but care is always taken not to shoot all of them, nor to shoot when the wind was with them, for then they would scent the hunters

[1] Numerous descriptions of the *waiwai'ra* are given in the Hare Trickster cycle.

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eating. Then the war leader asked for food, and it was brought to him. Now the 721
female relatives of the men came to the camp, bringing with them moccasins for the journey. After that the chief asked some man to tell stories and some to take care of the fireplace, while two brave warriors were put in charge of the camp. Toward morning a number of warriors who had not been asked to join this particular war party might stay in (*hoire'gaite*).

Before the war leader enters the *hipjere* he places his war bundle crosswise in front of the entrance of the *hipjere* and sings some songs. When he is finished, his attendants place the war bundle on his back, and only then does he really enter the *hipjere*, followed by all the other members of the war party.[1]

When they approached the place where they expected to find the enemy, two distinguished warriors were appointed to reconnoiter, and they proceeded ahead of the 726
war party until they saw the enemy. Then they returned to the camp and reported to the war leader. From that time on they would practice their various individual powers (*ownxa'p waphipir'ji*).[2]

When the two warriors went out to reconnoiter return, the attendant offers them the pipe that he had prepared for the war leader. They smoke it and say, "Those whom we are after are entirely unaware of our presence." Then the members of the war party would thank them for their information. All would now start out against 726
the enemy. When near the enemy, they practice their powers again and paint 782
themselves with their war paints. To those spirits who have bestowed blessings upon the various members of the war party offerings are now made. Especially to the spirits who are in control of war powers are offerings made. To them they also pray for life and for war honors in the coming encounter. They even offer tobacco to those spirits from whom they have not received blessings, asking them for aid because of their careful observance of all the customs and precepts they were taught. Some offered tobacco to a medicine they possessed and asked the medicine to remember them in the coming encounter. Others boiled water (for a spirit) and asked him to assist them in obtaining a war honor, while others again offered tobacco to their war bundles and prayed that the powers contained therein might be strong and that they might kill some of the enemy and obtain war honors. All prayed that the enemy might not kill them and that they might finally return home safe. Those who had no supernatural powers to fall back upon would get frightened at such a time and they would say, "Alas! how will I fare! I should have fasted. I should have given feasts. I should have offered good medicines to the spirits and fasted until I was blessed, so that I, too, might now have some powerful medicine to use. Had I fasted and obtained a blessing from the spirits who are in control of war powers, had I given feasts, this all would have been a source of strength to me now and I would know positively whether or not I am going to be killed in the coming encounter."

When everything is in readiness the war leader rises and appoints four warriors to 726
give the war whoop. Then, as soon as the war whoop has been given, they would rush upon the enemy, imitating as they ran the sounds of the spirits who had blessed [55]
them. The first four to kill and count coup obtained the corresponding four war honors. Those who captured a man also obtained war honors. Beside these principal ones there were minor war honors. Those who obtained no honors at all would return home crying. After they had killed all those in the village of the enemy they would burn it to the ground and then start for their homes in the host of spirits.

When they were near their home they sent a messenger ahead to inform their relatives to put on mourning, for all those who had started out on the warpath had been 727
killed; that he who had in reality obtained the first war honor had been killed first,

[1] *Hipjere* is the special arrangement of the camp and an individual warpaint.

[2] When a war party has located the enemy, they prepare for the attack and run about, practicing their individual magical powers. "The war-club running" (*ownxa'p waphipir'ji*) referred to in the practice of running about in preparation for the attack upon the enemy so that they may not get tired out too easily. [789]

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867 787 756 that are in your possession. You will indeed never be embarrassed. You will know just wherein his ailment lies. As you have obtained your power with great effort, therefore what you say will be so. If you say he will live, he will live. If the relatives of the patient make you good payments, you may perform what you are accustomed to in your treatment of people. Then you can ask your medicine to put forth its strength for you and it will do so. If you make good [782] offerings of tobacco to the plants and if you make feasts in their honor, if, indeed, you make much of your medicine, if you talk to it as though it were a human being, then when you ask it to put forth its strength it will do so. The payments that you receive you can take with a good conscience and your children will wear them and will be strengthened thereby. So be very diligent in the care you bestow upon them. The medicines were placed here by Earthmaker for a good purpose. We are to use them to heal ourselves. For that purpose Earthmaker gave them to us. If anyone tries to obtain the life sustainers—that is, the medicines and inflicts suffering upon [776] himself in order to obtain them, our grandmother will know about it. So whatever you spend upon it, be it in labor or in goods, she will know about it. All that you gave in obtaining your medicines she will know. They will be returned to you. The people will thus be providing themselves with something for the future. The people always look forward to the future and for all possible happenings they will have some medicine provided. You must try to obtain some of the medicines that most people possess. If you want 867 paint-medicine, make yourself pitiable. If your paint-medicine ● 789 overcomes your enemy and you keep it in your home, you will never be wanting in wealth. The most valued possessions of the people 756 will be given to you. The people will love you and the paint-medicine will be the cause of it. Whatever you receive will be in consequence of the possession of the paint-medicine. The paint-medicine [776] is made of the blood of the Water-spirits, and therefore it is holy. People used to fast and thirst themselves to death and a Water-spirit would appear to them and bestow his blessings upon them. Whatever he told them would come true. The Earthmaker put the 867 Water-spirit in charge of these things so that he would bless the 789 people with them. That was his purpose.

Some people who wished to find good medicines obtained the [525 224] rare medicine. Try and learn of it. Others had gambling medicine, and still others again had hunting medicine. There are medicines for very purpose.

[832] There is a courting medicine and a medicine to prevent married people from wishing to separate, and there is a medicine for making one rich.

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If one wishes to make a person crazy, there is a medicine for that purpose. 867 754

If some one had made another one sad at heart and he wished to revenge himself, he would use a medicine that would make that person crazy. Thus he would poison him.

If a person wished to marry a certain girl and she did not want him, he would poison her with a medicine that would make her become a harlot. All the men would fall in love with her by reason of the medicine he gave her. 867 584 832

If they wished a man to be continually running after a woman, they had a medicine for that purpose. All these medicines they possessed. You can obtain any of them you like if you ask for them in the proper way. 867 832

Some people have knowledge of plants that will cause a person to sleep all the time. Others again have medicines that will cause them to stay awake all the time. Some know how to overcome the viciousness of dogs that watch over women by means of medicines; some again have medicines that will make people single them out even in crowds. If this person uses his medicine in a crowd of people, the one on whom it is used will consider him a great man no matter how many there should be in the crowd. Some have a medicine to be used for preventing an individual from getting tired. Others have a medicine to be used when they have dog contests. 867 789

Whatever they did, for that they would have medicines.

Whenever they plant a field they protect it with medicine tied on to a stick. No one will then go through that field without suffering for it. If you did not have that protection, people could go through your field whenever they wished. In short, try to obtain as many medicines as you possibly can, for you will need them all. People should always look out for themselves so that they may learn what is necessary to make life comfortable and happy. If you try to obtain the knowledge of those things you will get along in life well. You will need nothing; and whenever you need a certain medicine, instead of being compelled to buy it, you will have it in your own possession. If you act in this manner and keep on fasting you will never be caught offguard during your life. If you have a home, it will always look nice and you will be lacking in nothing. So, do what I tell you and you will never regret it in after life. Try and learn the way in which your ancestors lived and follow in their footsteps. 867 789 787

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867 787 If you thus travel in the road of the good people, it will be good and other people will not consider your life a source of amusement.[19]

If you can not obtain a blessing from the spirits try also to have some good plant take pity on you. This I am telling you and if you do not do it, you will suffer for it. All that I am saying will be of great benefit to you if you pay heed to me, for (you will need 867 medicines for) whatever you do in life, if you are not fortunate ● 789 enough to obtain blessings from the spirits. If you are ever on the 726 warpath, you will need medicine in order to escape being hit or in order to prevent yourself from getting exhausted or from feeling famished. If you manage to be fortunate in all these things you may be certain that the medicines have caused it.

867 My son, help yourself as you go along life's path, for this earth has 577 many narrow passages and you can never tell when you will come to one. If, however, you have something with which to strengthen yourself you will come safely through the passages you meet.

Let every one think you a desirable person to know. Associate with people. If you act in this manner, every one will like you. (You will live) a contented life. Never do anything wrong to your children. Whatever your children ask you to do, do not hesitate to do it for them. If you act thus people will say you are good-natured. If you ever lose a friend by death and if you have riches cover[20] the expenses of the funeral of the deceased. Help the mourners to feed the people at the wake. If you act thus you will be acting well. Then you will be truly a helper of the people and they will know you as such. Indeed, all of them will know you. For the good you do, all will love you.

867 My son, do not become a gambler. You might, it is true, become 525 rich, but in spite of your wealth all your children will die. No gambler ever had children. It is an affair of the bad spirits entirely. Now if you do all that I have told you, you will unquestionably lead a happy and contented life.

867 Thus would the old people speak to a child whom they loved very much, that he might obtain the means of warding off what is not good. Anyone who acted contrary to these teachings would have himself to blame for the consequences.

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[96 e] [19] This dislike of being made fun of, or of being the laughing-stock, plays an important rôle among the Winnebago. It is not at all comparable to the same feeling as found at the present day among civilized people of Western Europe, for it is infinitely deeper and closely associated with social ostracism. The despondency caused by being made fun of, would frequently drive a person away from home or lead him to embark on any undertaking that would bring death. Owing to the social consequences coming in its train, a man would consequently do most anything in his power to ward it off. Correlated with this negative aspect of the use of "fun-poking," there is a positive one. There are certain relatives who have the privilege [602] of making fun of or playing practical jokes on you. This "joking relationship" exists among many tribes in America, but the relatives between whom it is permitted differ in every case. Among the Winnebago it exists between uncles and nieces and nephews and between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

[20] That is, buy the funeral apparel for the deceased.

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The four cardinal points and the winds that are there, they are in control of. If on a very nice day a deer's voice is heard, that day will become bad, and if on a very bad day a deer's voice is heard, that day will become nice. The deer people are those who are in control of the weather. And they also have a name, *He-who-plays-with-the-winds*, and a woman is called *She-who-goes-with-the-wind*. The deer would always sit with the wind back of them. Thus they roamed all over the earth. Not one place on this earth did they miss.

Once, when they had come home, their eldest brother suddenly fell down (dead). "What is the matter?" they said. And the second-born said, "Our oldest brother is not saying anything. I don't know what the matter is." And then they asked their youngest brother and he said, "Our oldest brother is dead. That is the way Earthmaker arranged things." And then he talked to the dead brother and he said, "Earthmaker has made a place for you to go to now that you are dead. You have not attained a large share of life and you have left us who remain on the earth in a pitiable condition. But now that you are going home I want to ask you something. Those years that are still coming to you, distribute among your relatives. This I beg of you. And this is the second request: May the warpaths that you did not go on (by reason of your death), may the war honors that you did not obtain, may all these things be distributed among us. This I ask of you, my dear brother. And this is the third request: May the food that you did not eat, the nuts, the sweet fruits, etc., all that you liked on earth, may it all be distributed among us. This is what I ask of you. And this is the fourth request, my dear older brother: May all the wearing apparel that belonged to you as well as all the materials that you stored in back of your tent, never to be touched by you, but may we who are left behind use it all. This I ask of you. Wherever you are going, may these requests of those whom you left here behind on earth be before you."

Then the younger brother took some red paint and he said, "Brother, I am going to paint you. Thus they will recognize you at home. That is the way we will always do it hereafter. Those who are to live after us will paint us in the same way. Now this is the manner of painting. The forehead and the corners of the eye are to be painted in black and red streaks, respectively, and the chin and the front part of the throat are to be painted red." Then he dug a grave. Then they buried him. Then they sang the songs and when they were finished with this, they traveled around the earth and came to the gathering place of the clans. When they came to that place they were people—i. e., human beings. They lived their own life just as they had as deers. All the incidents of their traveling as well as all the characteristics of deers were used in the names

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# CHAPTER X

## SHAMANISTIC AND MEDICINAL PRACTICES

### Introduction

756 The shamanistic and medicinal practices of the Winnebago differ
[171] in no respect from those found all over the woodland area and there is consequently no need for discussing them at length. The stories told about *Midjistega* and old Lincoln are the famous tricks and sleight-of-hand performances known all over America. There does not seem to be as much said about the conjuring lodge as is the case among the Ojibwa. This apparently is identical with the Winnebago *waruka'na*, "exerting one's powers." The lack of specific information relating to this subject obtained by the author may, however, be due to accident.

278 The Winnebago make a fourfold classification of their medicines:
754 Those that affect a person by direct administration; those that affect him by their odor, like love and racing medicines; those that affect
[787] him at a distance; and those that are shot at an individual. Most of the medicines are obtained by fasting, although they can also be bought. The most important of these medicines are those called the stench-earth medicine (see p. 259) and the black-earth medicine.

[782] Medicine may be used in a number of ways, but principally as offerings or as means of killing animals or men. It is often chewed.
[789] In order to make arrows or guns unerring, medicine is frequently rubbed upon them.

754 Sympathetic magic is of course well known. The procedure is the common one. A picture of the man to be harmed is drawn on the ground and shot at, stabbed, etc. The man is then certain to die a short time after, in the same manner as the figure has been mutilated.

There are two general magical ceremonies. *Waruka'na*, to know something by exerting one's powers; *wana"terre*, to hypnotize in the distance. (For description of latter, see p. 111.)

787 *Example of waruka'na.*—J.'s older brother and a friend had failed to return home and so J.'s grandfather went to a man called C. English and, offering him some tobacco, asked him to find out something about his son—i. e., to exert his powers. English did so and told the old man that they were camping and making sugar and that if

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the old man went to a certain place, he would find them. He went and found it was so. 787

TALES CONCERNING MIDJISTEGA

Recently the Potawatomi were going on the warpath and a number of other tribes were going along with them. As they were making their preparations they spent the evenings exhibiting the various powers they possessed and which they had obtained during their 'asta. 648 789 796 726 791

One day Robert Lincoln's father heard that a Winnebago was going to come and give a grizzly bear dance. Old Lincoln and a few other Potawatomi decided to go over and watch him. When they arrived at the lodge they were told that the name of the Winnebago was *Midjistega*. They were also told that this *Midjistega* was going to make some gunpowder (in a magical manner). When they heard this, the Potawatomi said that if he could make his teeth protrude from his mouth he might be able to make gunpowder, but that otherwise he could not.

In the middle of the lodge where this performance was to be held there was a wooden dish filled with charcoal near which *Midjistega* was sitting. He had beautiful hair and he had marks made by white clay in the corners of his eyes and mouth. When the singers in the lodge began to sing for him he ran around the lodge on all fours, four times. Then he took up the dish of charcoal and shook it. While doing this he made a noise like a grizzly bear. Then his teeth began to protrude. When he had gone around the lodge four times the charcoal turned into gunpowder. Then he took a handful of it and threw it into the fire and it exploded. The members of the different tribes present took some of it and put it in their war-bundles. It is only a short time ago that a Winnebago war-bundle that was supposed to have some of this gunpowder was stolen. It belonged to a man named Buchanan.

Old man Lincoln had never seen any Winnebago before this, but he could understand their language and he interpreted all that *Midjistega* said. The Potawatomi around him asked whether he had learned the language from some of his Winnebago relatives but he said he had not.

After showing that he could make gunpowder in this way, *Midjistega* made some plug tobacco. He cut the bark of some walnut trees into the shape of plug chewing tobacco and put it in a white deerskin on top of which was placed a piece of real plug tobacco. Then *Midjistega* said, "Now since I have made gunpowder I will also make some plug tobacco." Then he took the bundle and danced around the lodge with it and by the time he had danced around the lodge the third time the odor of tobacco became very

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789 strong. After he had danced around for the fourth time he opened
796 up his package and there was the tobacco. Then he spoke to the
726 people, "You people of different tribes, the one that is dancing
791 with me will obtain the first war-honor on the warpath that you are planning now, for I am giving him that honor and that power."

After this he told them that he would make them some paint, as they seemed to be short of it then. He took a wooden dish and filled it full of ashes and covered it up with a white deerskin. Then he danced around the lodge. As he was dancing around for the third time, old Lincoln thought he noticed yellow-colored paint. The fourth time he danced around, the paint turned into a red color. When, finally, *Midjistega* took the cover off, there was red paint of a very fine quality. Then the members of the different tribes distributed it among one another.

After this he made some axes. He molded some clay into the shape of axes and put them into a deerskin. On top of this bundle he put a real metal ax. Then taking this bundle he started to dance around the lodge. As he went around the lodge the third time, old Lincoln thought he noticed something shining. After he had gone around the fourth time he took the cover off and there were some real axes. They were all new and bright.

Then he decided to make some hoes, and then some awls. All of these he made of clay. Then he made some needles of deer hair. Then, noticing some boys playing with some basswood bark, he asked them to give him some, and out of it he made ribbons of four different colors, blue, white, red, and black.

Then he said, "As I have made almost everything, I will now try and make some whisky. If I fail there will be no harm done anyhow." Old Lincoln told his people what *Midjistega* was saying. Then they placed a new pail full of water before him. He took a flute and began to dance around the lodge. After he had made the first circuit of the lodge he held the flute near the pail, almost sticking it into the water. The second time he approached the pail he stuck the flute into the water just a little bit. The third time he came near it he stuck the flute into the water and stirred it around. By that time Old Lincoln could smell the odor of whisky pretty strongly. Then *Midjistega* went around the lodge for the fourth time and finally stirred the water with his flute for a long time, and taking a drink from the pail said, "It is whisky." Then he passed it around and everyone present took a drink. Old Lincoln, however, did not touch it. Then his father told him to drink it, as it was holy and had been made by a spirit. Then Old Lincoln drank some, and, sure enough, it was whisky, although it was colorless.

726 After that, all the people went on a warpath. However, the per-
555 son to whom *Midjistega* had promised the first war honor only obtained

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726 the second one, Old Lincoln himself obtaining the first. The first 556
war honor was a quantity of wampum beads and the second a wam-
pum belt. Both the one who got the second prize and Old Lincoln [727]
brought back with them an enemy's head.

From that time on *Midjistega* stayed with the Winnebago and he 648
and Old Lincoln became great friends, living together, one of the [572]
reasons being that Old Lincoln could understand Winnebago.

One day they ran short of corn meal, so they decided to go and 648
trade some furs for corn meal. They had plenty of furs because they
spent most of their time hunting. When they got to the trader's 437
store *Midjistega* said, "Say, trader, the boys have been out of paint 791
for some time and you ought to give them some." "No, *Midjistega*,
I can't do that." Then *Midjistega* again said, "Well, the paint
boxes are small and aren't of much value anyhow, and you ought to
make them a present of some. However, I always knew you were
very stingy." Then the trader said, "My business is to trade you
my wares for your furs and I will not give you any paint for noth-
ing." Then *Midjistega* said, "If I had some flour I could make some
paint myself. However, I am short of flour, too." Then the trader
said, "*Midjistega*, you can not do it, for even the whites do not know
how to make paint (in that way), so how could you, who are only an
Indian, do it?" Thus they spoke to and fro and finally the trader
said, "*Midjistega*, I will bet you my store against your furs that if I [525]
give you some flour you can not make paint out of it. If I win you
are to give me your furs, and if you win I will give you my store."
Then the bet was agreed upon.

Then a lodge was prepared and *Midjistega's* drum and flute were 648
carried into it. Then the trader had some flour carried over to the 789
lodge and it was poured into a dish. The trader, suspecting that 386
there might be some trick, stirred up the flour thoroughly. He sat-
isfied himself that there was nothing at the bottom of the dish. 791
*Midjistega*, in the meantime, painted the corners of his mouth and
eyes with ashes and then the singers sang for him. Then he handed
the flute over to Old Lincoln and told him to blow it for him every
now and then. The trader sat near the entrance of the lodge with
his employees. Then *Midjistega* jumped up and ran all around the
lodge on all fours. Then he took the dish with the flour and shaking
it, began to dance around the lodge with it. After he had danced
around for the third time it suddenly turned into a yellow color, and
Old Lincoln noticed the change in the expression on the trader's face.
As he went around for the fourth time it suddenly changed to a
red color. When he got back to his starting place it was quite red
and was an excellent quality of paint. Then he said, "Well, trader, [525]
I have won your store," and the trader answered, "You have won
my store. I did not think that an Indian could do it." Then *Mid-* 000

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Then Mid-
648 *jistega* said, "I can also make some sugar. If you don't believe it,
789 give me some more flour." However, the trader said, "There is no
791 need of your proving it: I believe you now." However, he sent one of his employees after some more flour and out of this *Midjistega* made some maple sugar. He made it in the following way. He sprinkled some water on the flour and said, "This shall be the size of pheasants' dung." Then it formed into little round lumps. Then the trader said, "*Midjistega*, my store is worth several times the value of your furs, and you have made me a poor man. However, I wish to ask you for one thing—this sugar—so that I can eat some of it once in a while." Then *Midjistega* gave it to him. *Midjistega* and his friend carried the contents of the store home. They had to make several trips. All the people at home got a blanket.

Then the trader said, "*Midjistega*, there is not a white man living who would believe that you can do this and if, therefore, I ever call on you to do it again, I hope that you will come with your friends (and do it). This is the only way I can ever win any of my money back again." However, no one ever heard of the trader after that.

*Midjistega* also made all the different varieties of corn at the Potawatomi meeting.

789 Old Lincoln had always heard of the remarkable power the Winne-
791 bago were supposed to possess in these matters but he had never actually witnessed any exhibition of it until he saw *Midjistega* perform (these tricks).

A man named Young Rogue, a brother of Robert Lincoln, could roll up a piece of clay about the size of a marble and then roll it on the ground and it would change into a toad and jump away. He was also able to shoot a blade of grass right into a log.

### Lincoln's Grandfather

754 Lincoln's grandfather was the leader of the medicine dance and every time any relation of his died he would tell the daughters of his relative to stop their crying and that he would avenge the death of their father and kill four people. Shortly after he said this the four whom he had picked out died.

If there was a man with great wealth in the tribe he would make a wooden snake and send it toward the man. Immediately after this it always happened that the rich man would be bitten by a snake. The latter would then send for the medicine man and give him all that he possessed. Then the former would ask him, "When do you want to get well?" If the sick man said "In three to four days," the medicine man would say, "You must like to suffer."

For this reason the children of Lincoln's grandfather always had plenty of wealth.

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The Crow (i. e., Menominee) Indians knew what a wonderful man he was and whenever he went to visit them they gave him many presents. He would be invited to a feast as soon as he arrived. 648 791 754

On one occasion when they had a feast in a lodge (in his honor) one of the Menominee marked the ground in front of him and dared Lincoln's grandfather to come over, saying that if he did he would injure him. When the Winnebago crossed the mark he was pushed in all directions and finally shoved into a pit, bruising himself a great deal. When he came out, the old man said, "You have probably never heard of me. To-morrow noon, soldiers will hit you." Then the Menominee asked, "If soldiers hit me, what will be the result?" "You will die." Then the Menominee said, "You have nothing to do with my life," and made a jump at him.

The Menominee who had been told that he was going to die said the next morning to his nephew, "Nephew, let us go to the lake and look around. I can't forget what the old man told me yesterday." So they took their spears for fishing and went out. While they were on the lake they saw a deer drinking at the edge of the water. The man took a shot at the deer, and the deer ran back into the timber. The man and his nephew pursued it. After a while the man gave a yell and then all was quiet. The nephew went over to the place and there the man was found dead. At his side a very large snake, with hair on its back, was standing.

The next morning one could hear the mourning songs all over the woods. Then they went to look for the Winnebago, for they believed that it was his fault. They told him not to worry about it and gave him a horse to appease him. The day after they all had left the camp, the Winnebago pointed to some hawks that were circling around and told the Menominee to watch the foremost one. Then he pointed his finger at that one and made a sound with his mouth and the bird fell down dead. This Winnebago had the power to do this to all birds. He always told the Winnebago not to eat these birds because they were not good. [765 533] [789]

## The Uses of the Stench-Earth Medicine[1]

There once was a man who had consumption and who knew that he was going to die soon. His relatives were about to move him to some other place and so he told them just to build him a separate lodge and leave him alone—that he wanted to die there. He asked them likewise not to come back to see him. They obeyed him and left him to die alone. 763 [164]

One day he decided to go out into the wilderness and die there. He went to the top of a hill and lay down. He noticed many birds

[1] This is the literal translation. What plant is meant the writer was not able to determine.

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arrange to have your victim die immediately, or, if you wish, to 734
have him suffer for a long time, by becoming paralyzed.

This same medicine is used in a similar way in times of scarcity of food. The people offer a shaman tobacco and he would do the following: He would take his medicine bundle and walk till he came to the footprints of a bear. Then he would follow the tracks of the bear till he came to his lair. Here he would open his medicine bag, dip the striped feather in the medicine, and sing for some time. When he has finished he makes certain sounds and stabs the bear's footprints. Wherever the bear happened to be at that time, he would not be able to walk, and the people would soon overtake him. For that reason this medicine is valued very highly.

This medicine is also used when one desires something belonging to another. All that is necessary to do in such a case is to use the songs accompanying the medicine. Then all the things one has coveted would immediately be brought. For this reason they thought a good deal of this medicine.

If ever anyone uses it in gambling, he will win. [525]

If again he casts his thoughts upon women, then the power of this medicine would go in their direction, and he will lose while gambling. All the women will, however, like him. He can marry whomsoever he wishes. The same thing will occur when a woman uses this medicine. If she casts her thoughts upon men, she will become foolishly enamored of them. For that reason the old people used to forbid women to use it.

This medicine bundle is also used on the warpath. If a man uses 778
it upon himself and rushes upon the enemy, all those who are in 726
front of him will suddenly find themselves unable to move. A 789
person who goes on a warpath, after he has carefully applied the medicine to himself, is invulnerable. It is impossible to kill him, for no bullets can penetrate his body.

This medicine was likewise used in hunting for bear, and deer 778
could easily be killed with it. Even those who are not accustomed 224
to hunting could kill game easily if they used it.

Many of the medicines mentioned above were obtained from the 756
man who was blessed with the stench-earth medicine. Everyone believed that the cures effected by him with this medicine were real. They believed that this medicine could cure them, and, indeed, it did cure them. It was this man, too, who originated the stench-earth medicine feast. It is a very sacred feast, considered more 756
sacred than any other feast among the Winnebago. When the 796
feast is given, an entire deer is boiled and cut into pieces much larger than any one person could eat. Nevertheless the host orders those whom he has invited to leave nothing upon the plate. Should [264]
any guest leave anything upon his plate, the host would give him a

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# CHAPTER XI

## RELIGION

### Introduction

We know that in all religions there are two factors to be considered: a specific feeling and certain beliefs, conceptions, customs, and acts associated with that feeling; that the belief most inextricably connected with that religious feeling is the one in spirits more powerful than man and controlling everything in life which he values. 771

The beliefs themselves play an important part with all people, but the importance of the specific feeling varies with each individual. A perusal of the fasting experiences (see pp. 293-308) will make this quite clear. It is because we do not separate the actions and testimony of the religious man from that of the intermittently religious and the nonreligious man that most presentations of the subject are so confused and vague. It is, of course, extremely difficult to obtain the real attitude of the intermittently religious and the nonreligious man, because it is the religious individual and leader who gives form to the expressions which religion assumes in ceremony and prayer. Yet we must recognize that there is a difference and that it is often this difference that accounts for certain contradictions in the information obtained. The one place where it is possible, at least among the Winnebago, to obtain some idea of the emotional make-up and attitude of the intermittently religious man, is the fasting ordeal, and from a comparison of those experiences it is quite clear that a sufficiently large number of people were not able to obtain that thrill which they had been taught to expect. It is also clear that the shamans and religious leaders recognized this fact and provided for it by advising such people to buy the requisite protection against the trials and misfortunes of life, or as they put it, "the crises or narrow places of life." Such a person would certainly not be regarded as one of the leaders of the tribe. [789]

The ideal that the parent held before the eyes of his children is quite eloquently put in the system of instructions (see p. 166). 867 787

My son, when you grow up, you should try to be of some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in which this can be done, and that is to fast . . . If you thirst to death, the spirits who are in control of wars will bless you . . . But, my son, if you do not fast repeatedly it will be all in vain that you inflict sufferings upon your-

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159 If he (my father) blessed a man he would do as follows: He would
789 take his bow and arrows and, holding them in both of his hands,
776 take the man around the hill and then into the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There he and the man he wished to bless let their breath pass into the middle of the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There stood a stone pillar and upon this stone pillar, at about arm's length, he drew the pictures of different animals. My father had only one arrow, but that arrow was a holy one. Then my father danced around the stone pillar and sang some songs, and when he was finished he began to breathe upon the stone pillar; and, walking around it, he shot it. When he looked at it, he saw that the stone had turned into a deer with large horns. This deer fell dead at his feet. He repeated this a number of times and the little spirits who were following him breathed with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you wish to kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done here. Then
[782] offer tobacco to us and you will be able to obtain whatever you wish."

159 "Now, my son, I want you to be able to do as I do. I want you
867 to be able to kill deer whenever you wish, and at any particular time." My father was a very good hunter and I wanted to be very much like him. I knew that what he was saying was true and that it would be good to follow his advice. I was also told that if I traveled around the hill where these spirits lived, then all earthly things would agree with me and that I would be the gainer thereby. If I did this, they told me, then I would never suffer any pains in my body and I would never be troubled in any way.

159 And this they told me about the ghost village—that when I go
781 there I will be able to steal a costly shawl from the spirits and be
775 able to escape with it; that then all the inhabitants of the ghost village would chase me, but that they would not be able to overtake me and would be compelled to turn back as soon as I reached the earth. In this ghost village there are no grown-up children.[7]

Now, all that I have spoken of, I dreamed. I really dreamed that I was stealing a costly shawl and that I would have plenty of them all the time. I dreamed that I would obtain ten or even more
781 shawls in one year and that I would not have to pay anything for
159 them. What the spirits meant by shawls was supplies. However,
795 all this took place before I ate the peyote. Since then I know that these things were not true, and that what I must depend upon is not supernatural power, but myself, and my own endeavors. Super-
[783] natural powers do not come from anywhere. They do not exist at all. The blessings I had received were not holy and I am not holy.

[7] He is evidently referring to the spirit home of the Herok'a, or Those-who-cry-like-babies.

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### B.'S FASTING.

(B. WAS A MEMBER OF THE BEAR CLAN)

159 There was a village near Big Lake (Lake Winnebago), and at this
787 village the upper people and the earth people played lacrosse.[10] The
776 Bear was the chief clan of the lower people, and those representing that side in the game defeated the representatives of the other side by sheer strength. Then one of the upper people said, "What effeminate fellows those Bear people are. They are very strong, but it would be much better if instead of being so strong in playing lacrosse they were strong when on the warpath." Thus he spoke. Then one of the Bear people (the one whose fasting is about to be described) felt very much grieved and went out into the wilderness to fast. His desire was to be blessed by those spirits who are in control of war, and in his longing to be blessed by them he cried bitterly. Soon he heard some one saying, "Do not cry any more, we have come after you from above. The spirits have blessed you. You are going to be taken to the lodge of your friends." When the young man got there he saw four men. They were called cannibals, and they were brothers. "Our friends have blessed you and we also bless you," said the four spirits. These four spirits were catfish. Then some white crane spirits said, "Our friends have blessed you. With spears they have blessed you. Indeed, for good reason was your heart sad (i. e., did you make yourself suffer while fasting). With victory on the warpath do we bless you. Here is your bundle. Here also are your spears and your bow and arrows. This bundle you must use when you go on the warpath. Here also are some songs to use when you start out and when you return. With these songs I bless you. Here they are:

[533]

SONGS

Ho'sto k'ᵃine'djaᵃe'dja rahi'jê?
Where they gathered, there did you go?
K'ãro' hitcak'ãro' ha'gixewi're.
Well, my friend, shout at it for him.

[789] "When the enemy is close upon you and aim their guns at you, if you sing these songs they will not be able to hit you. If you sing these songs then, those who gave you a name will honor you." Thus
776 we bless you. With life also we bless you."
756
159

### ARATCGE'KA'S FASTING[11]

787 Aratcge'ka, Left-handed-one, went out to fast. "A spirit I wish
[526] to bless me. I am fasting because I was told to do so. A shaman

[10] In playing lacrosse the upper and lower divisions were always pitted against one another.

[11] The sense is not quite clear here, but it is believed that he means that by singing one of these songs he will be victorious and be able to count coup or distinguish himself in some such way, and thus be worthy of being honored by his elders.

[12] This account of a fasting has been cast in a literary mold. It evidently relates to the fasting experience of a well-known man.

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When I was ready to go down among the human beings (i. e., when I became reincarnated) I was given the power to overcome my enemies in battle. And this I have actually done. All the Thunderbirds have small war-clubs. I also had one when I came. Whenever I went on the warpath I made myself a war-club and used that only in battle. I believe that I was invulnerable. Whenever I got tired of living among human beings I knew I could return to the Thunderbirds. I thought I knew all this and that I had these powers. For that reason when I ate peyote I still held on to these beliefs for a long time, thinking that when I returned to the Thunderbirds inasmuch as they are above it would be the same as going to everlasting life, as the Peyote people said. Finally, one night, at a peyote meeting, in thinking over these things, I resolved to give them up. I could, nevertheless, not bring myself to do it. Then the peyote began to strangle me;[*] at least I thought so.

I also had the power of causing or stopping rain. All that I had to do was to offer tobacco to the Thunderbirds and make my request.

### HOW A BEAR BLESSED A MAN[**]

Once a band of Winnebagoes used to give a feast to the bears. A bear had blessed one of their number with life and victory on the warpath.

It was a spirit-bear that had blessed him. The man was fasting and the spirit blessed him and said, "Human, I bless you. In war you will be able to do as you wish (i. e., you will be able to kill an enemy whenever you desire). The first time you go on the warpath you will come back with the fourth war honor; the second time you go on a warpath you will return with the third war honor; the third time you will return with the second war honor; and the fourth time you will return with the first war honor and receive the first prize, which you are to give to your sister." This is what the man "dreamed." He believed it and was happy. Then the spirit-bear said again, "Human, I said that I blessed you and I really mean it. Earthmaker created me and gave me control of many things. Human, I bless you. As many years as Earthmaker bestowed upon you, that number I also bless you with. You will reach the limit of the years that were granted you. With my body I also bless you. Whenever you are hungry and wish to kill a bear, pour a pipeful of tobacco for me. If then you go out hunting, you will be successful. Don't abuse the bears. I am the chief of the bears. I bless you. Never before have I blessed a human being, as long as I have lived here. As long as your descendants live on this earth, so long will this

[*] According to the Peyote people, if a member does not wish to do or tell something that he ought to, the peyote begins to strangle him and he finds no relief until he tells what is on his mind.

[**] This is really the "origin myth" of a bear feast.

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796 Then the leader of the north band said: "I also will start a song.
575 I greet you."

Then the leader of the west band said: "I also will start a song.
539 I greet you."

Then the leader of the south band said: "I also will start a song. I greet you."

Then the leader of the east band sang a song, and the other leaders sang their songs. Each band sang its own songs, not paying any attention to the songs of the others. Each band sang different songs. This they do in order to drown the voices of the others. Should one band overcome the other, it means that that particular band would be blessed with victory in war. What they were really saying is that their songs were more powerful than the others, and that their grandfathers' songs were the holiest. Then they all danced around the lodge, single file, and made their exit from the lodge. While they were dancing, the host sat still singing and beating his drum. They carry their kettles outside. Wherever they wish to eat, there they go and dance around the kettle of food first. Then they eat their meal. They dance in different bands.

796 The ceremony finishes with this feast. It is customary, however,
575 for the one who has been given the seat of honor, that is, the east
[554] seat, to give a feast immediately afterwards. Then the one who has been invited first would do the same thing, so that all four would in this manner give dances in rotation. For this reason it generally took five nights before the ceremony was over. During those five nights no one could sleep. It is from this fact that the word, "Sore-eye Dance," which is the general term used for this ceremony, originated. If a person does not sleep for five nights, his eyes generally get sore, and that is why they call this ceremony the "Sore-eye Dance."

796 Sometimes they perform night-spirit tricks. These would be of
● 789 the following nature: A kettle is put on to boil and some individual
575 fishes out a piece of meat bare-handed without getting burned. At other times they shoot a hole into a drum covering, using a wild-cat claw as a missile. Then they immediately mend it.

When a man is very bad they shoot him with an object and kill him. They used to be very much afraid of such people. Sometimes they take a handful of live coals and embers from the fire, put them into their mouth and then spit them out without getting burned. It is for this reason that they are called holy. Sometimes they take burnt portions of a tree that had been struck by lightning, put them in the fire, and then when they are red hot take them out again and put them in their mouths without extinguishing them. They then spit them out, and it would look like lightning. Or they would shoot one another with cold charcoal. This is all that I know.

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myths is quite important, too, but there she has been changed from 776
a rather indifferent and at times hostile deity to a beneficent, all-loving Mother-earth.

*The Water.* Generally known as nąą, water, but ritualistically as hunge', chief. There is some doubt as to whether water or the Water Spirit is meant here. This is a deity in no way connected with war. He is most commonly associated with medicines, especially the [789]
famous "paint" medicines (wâse').

These are the more important spirits and the only ones to whom buckskins are offered in the following ceremony. The following are, however, also of considerable importance:

*Eagle.*—Always known as Traxcep, eagle. A powerful war deity [614]
and a clan animal.

*Pigeon Hawk.* Always known as K'ŋk'ŋt'sgera, pigeon hawk. A powerful war deity.

*Wônayi'ce Časkrik.*—A term difficult to translate, but meaning, in general, a terror-inspiring man. It refers, however, not to a human deity but to a bird that is supposed to be almost identical with the hawk. It is the name of one of the Winnebago clans. A powerful war deity.

*North Wind.*—Known as Wazi'regi hûhi'ra, Wind-that-is-in-the-pine-region. He is associated with war, but is not a very important deity.

*Black Hawk.*—Known as k'eredjy sep. What difference there is between this spirit and Great Black Hawk is not clear.

*Day.*—Known as hąp, day or light. The term is used in rituals, especially in the medicine dance, with the meaning of life. He is very rarely sacrificed to and his mention in this particular performance of the Thunderbird war-bundle feast is merely an illustration of the fact that offerings could be made to any spirit.

In addition to the spirits mentioned above, offerings were made at different performances of the war-bundle feast to all the other spirits [782]
and even to heroes, like Trickster, Turtle, Hare, Bladder, Red-Horn, and the Twins. In the performance as given in the following account one great spirit is omitted, Hê'rok'a, meaning, literally, "Without horns." A buckskin is always offered to him, on which is painted a small bow and arrow. He is one of the important Winnebago deities, is supposed to be a Lilliputian, and controls many of the powers relating to hunting.

In order to avoid offending any spirit they always leave a portion of tobacco as an offering to those whose names they can not for the moment think of.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST

The present war bundle has been in the family of B. for a number 778
of generations. Our informant obtained it directly from his father.

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778 B. was not the eldest son, but, as mentioned before, the war bundle was always given to that son who manifested the greatest interest in it. When B. and his brothers were quite young their father took them aside one day and told them the stories connected with the war bundle and told them, in addition, that the one manifesting the [869] greatest interest would receive it. B. immediately started getting material for a feast, and this he would give to his father, who would then give a feast. This was repeated over and over again until B.'s father felt that B. knew enough about the ceremony to conduct it himself, after which he allowed him to take entire charge of it

The war bundle contained the following objects;
The body of an eagle (teaxce'p).
The body of a hawk (k'eredjy'sep).
The body of an unidentified bird (wanink'hlwjteak'l'zok'e).
The body of a pigeon hawk (k'lrjk'l'risge).
A deer-tail headdress (teasinte wak'e're).
Eagle feathers (teaxce'p macû').
Medicines (wase').
Flutes (hljû'juk).
War club (nama'tce).

[825] The birds' bodies were supposed to give the possessor, in times of war, the characteristics of these animals. The flutes were associated with different spirits and used to accompany certain songs during the ceremony proper. When blown during a fight, they were sup- [789 posed to paralyze the running powers of the enemy and thus make 726] him an easy prey. The deer-tail headdress, the eagle feathers, and the war club were all war paraphernalia and were always worn when on the warpath.

x 796 When the custodian of a war bundle decides to give a feast he has his nephews go out and kill as many deer as they can, for the larger the number of deer obtained the larger will be the number of spirits to whom they can make offerings. As a rule ten to eleven deer are killed, so that all the clans, or at least all that are still in existence, can be invited.

[202] After the deer have been killed active preparations are begun; the invitation sticks (nanô'ronа) are sent out, and the wood for the ceremonial lodge is gathered; and, lastly, old women who have [886] passed their climacteric are set to work on the buckskins and ordered to make them as white as possible. In the preparation of the lodge only the nephews, nieces, and wives of the participating men take part.

The night before the ceremony proper, the Sweat-Lodge ritual takes place.

When the buckskins have been thoroughly bleached they are brought into the lodge and given to the host, who proceeds to mark them in the following manner:

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are finished then it will be time for us to eat." Warriors who are sitting within the lodge, we send forth our greetings to you." (War-bundle song.) 796x 539x

Then a man sitting opposite the seat of the host gets up and speaks.

*First guest's address to the young people.*—"War-bundle owners, young men, those who are the proxies of spirits, are about to use a song for you and start a dance in your behalf; and when they do it, get up and try to obtain war powers by dancing. Women, you should also try to obtain war powers for your brothers by dancing. Now we are not able to obtain (the number of men) that our ancestors used to obtain in the beginning. Then, if in a speech they asked for them, as many men as there were around would immediately begin to dance. Not one of them would remain in his seat. Young women, they used to act in that way in order to obtain life also. All night they would dance and not a single one would tire of it. We encourage you to do thus; that is why I am saying this. That the obtaining of life may be easy, is the reason they told us this. Because I believe it (likewise) is the reason I am telling it to you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you all."

*Host's second speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are sitting here, I greet you all.

"Our grandfathers knew that one of a different tribe[66] had had a vision and obtained material for use (in life). They tried to obtain it and (finally) asked him to pity them. The medicine was called hinuŋgwā'ronj.[68] They made the heart of the man of this other tribe (Hit'e'nuŋk'e) sad.[69] (He had obtained it in the following manner): A woman fasted[70] and one of the Water-spirits whom the Creator had placed there for all eternity, a Water-spirit for keeping (the earth) quiet,[71] blessed her with the power he had been placed in charge of. The Water-spirit had himself die and the woman there 796x 539x 787 [776] [789]

[66] Literally, "last movements" in reference to the last-eating contest that takes place during the feast.

[67] This is not a Winnebago tale.

[68] My interpreter could not translate the name of this medicine into English. He thought that it might mean "wicked woman medicine," but this is extremely doubtful.

[69] I. e., at the idea of parting with it. What tribe is meant by "Hit'e'nuŋk'e," it has been impossible to find out. The word, I believe, means "those whom we can speak with" in reference to the fact that their language was intelligible to the Winnebago. I was definitely assured that neither the Otoe, Iowa, or Missouri were meant. I have sometimes surmised that the Winnebago may be referring to the Mandan, whose language, from the little I have seen of it, is surprisingly close to that of the former. All that the older Winnebago could tell me about the Hit'e'nuŋk'e was the fact that many years ago they had been in contact with a tribe speaking a language similar to their own. [114]

[70] Literally, "to thirst oneself to death," the ritualistic expression for fasting.

[71] He is referring to one of the four beings whom Earthmaker had placed at the four ends of the world to prevent it from moving continually, as related in the origin myth of the Medicine Dance and of the Thunder-bird clan.

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took the material (the remains of the Water-spirit).[72] That it is good, they knew. Then she tried her medicine. The first time she did the following: U'p above, almost near the sky, a hawk stood whirling around. The woman dipped her forefinger into the medicine and then she pointed it at the hawk and it fell dead; she made it fall through the top of a house; right in front of the woman it landed. She wanted to use it as a medicine bag. Then she dreamed that they had taken a man from his home that he might fast. She said to the man, "Put forth all your strength and don't try to come here." She also told his relatives to watch him. "To-night I am going to sing a paint song and if he comes he will die. Take care of him that he doesn't come." That night she sang a paint song and the man came running to her. She forbade him but he came anyhow and he died dancing. This medicine is called hit'ç'nuŋk'e medicine, referring to the name of another tribe, and that is how it acted. 796X 539X 787 789

"They (our ancestors) knew that it was good paint and he (one of them) tried to get him (the Hit'ç'nuŋk'e) to bless him with the paint (the latter had obtained from the woman). When they obtained it, they never used it in their own midst (i. e., among themselves). They made a medicine-bundle of it. The paint-medicine, it is good to use in war. That they knew very well. They were very sparing in their use of it (because it was so valuable). They placed it in their war-bundle. Paint-songs we are about to use, yet we are singing for the war-bundle. If, indeed we had paint medicine we would amount to something. We are not going to sing as if we thought ourselves in possession of paint-medicines nor will we sing them correctly. Yet if we knew only one, if we could (in singing this one) bring ourselves to the state of crying (it would be all right), it is said. That is why we say it."[74] (Paint song.) [778]

*Host's third speech.* "War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. I know that I am causing you to famish with hunger, but we are doing this in an attempt to get the attention (of the spirits). One in control of death who dwells in the south[75] and who of himself possesses greater war power than all the other spirits that exist, blessed grandfather Djôhenagiwi'ŋxga. He is in control of life and in control of death. He met grandfather in the middle of the day and blessed him with war powers and life. He said (to our grandfather when he blessed him), "If I should ever go on the warpath, your descendants, as many as they are and wherever they live, I will not tread upon, should they get sick."[76] However, your posterity never will get sick. Should they ever have a bad illness, 796X 539X [776]

[72] The Winnebago believe that the "bones" of the mythical "Water-spirits" possess the most magical qualities when powdered and mixed up into medicines. All "paint medicines" are made of "Water-spirit bones." [776]

[74] All these sentences are, of course, expressions of ritualistic modesty.

[75] I. e., Disease-giver.

[76] Cf. note 36, p. 437, for explanation of these words.

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CONTINUATION OF THE BASIC RITUAL

*Speech of eighth guest.*[159]—"Host and relatives, I send my greetings toward you. You seated here who are impersonating the spirits, I send my greetings toward you. It is good that there are so many war-bundle owners here. It is good that they have given me the opportunity of impersonating the spirits, by placing me in charge of the food that they offer to them. Though I am not related to the host, he has done this for me. That I may grope for war powers, feel myself in connection with life, that is why we do it. It is good. As many of my relatives as are here, they all worked splendidly so that we might be connected with life. He who is the leader of our grandfathers who dwell in the east (the Night Spirits), who is in control of all things, who is in control of war powers, he blessed our grandfather and he caused him to swallow as many people of other tribes as had been preordained for him. Within his stomach our grandfather heard their cries, he said, it is said. Thus thinking of my grandfather they asked me to impersonate the spirits. How could the spirits do anything but accept the offerings of tobacco, food, and buckskin! They have had a very great feast, and surely if the spirits take cognizance of it, all those who have been impersonating the spirits will also be permitted to participate (in the blessings) to follow. Our ancestors handed down to us from generation to generation the following: 'When you offer food to the spirits, sit down to your undertaking with the greatest possible attention and care. Try to smoke as much tobacco as possible, for if you smoke much tobacco then all the spirits who are in control of war powers will pay attention to you, it is said. If a man smokes very much tobacco in one night, then he will be able to obtain a war honor, it is said. Try your hardest. Young men, it is easy to obtain war powers, the old men used to say. If the spirits accept the offerings of food and tobacco and buckskins, then afterwards those who have impersonated them will participate in the blessings that follow.'

"We feel that we have been connected with life and war power. It is for that reason that I say these words of thanks. If you give the feast for the war bundle well, if you pour tobacco well, then, if at some time or another you have a chance to kill an enemy outright, the war bundle will strengthen you greatly. No one will be able to kill you.

[159] I. e., eighth guest to receive the buckskins, continuing the numeration from the first division of the ceremony.

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you can do so, and the women likewise can join, because we have rolled up our bundle. To the dog that we have here, an offering of tobacco can be made." Thus speaking, he sings. After he has finished the song, someone specially called upon gives the war whoop, in which the rest join. In this manner they sing four times, and the ceremony ends. They have a dog around whose neck they tie a red rag, together with a bundle of tobacco, and to each of whose limbs they also tie a bundle of tobacco. This dead dog is to be placed wherever the bones that remain of the feast are buried, generally under some tree. It is supposed that the dog will go directly to the Disease-giver together with the tobacco and there be taken over by him.

*Notes on the Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant, member of the clan: Place of honor at the feast is given to the bravest man present. Scalps, etc., are always brought to those keeping the war bundle.

Contents of bundle: Black hawk (main thing), two wolf tails, buffalo tail, snake, weasel, three flutes—one red, one black, and one blue.

Black hawk used in time of war. If I were leading the war party I would carry it and it would be able to fly. It had a small bundle of medicine tied around the neck, on each wing and each leg. A red flute always went with it.

The two wolf tails could be taken on any warpath. It gives an individual the power of running. The medicine tied to it is to be smeared over the body in order to prevent fatigue. It is also used in hunting.

Buffalo tail gives fleetness and indicates that the man received strength from the buffalo spirit.

Weasel and snake could be put around the neck and worn over the shoulders in times of war. Gives the power of these respective animals in wiggling.

Flutes, blue in connection with the buffalo, red in connection with the black hawk, and black in connection with the night spirits

## The War-bundle Feast of the Bear Clan

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The people were about to go on a hunt, it is said. They returned. Four deer had been killed. And again they went, and this time three deer were killed. But it was not sufficient, so they went out again, and when they returned it was found that they had killed only three deer. "Well," they said, "this will be all right. We have ten deer. Perhaps they will last as food until dawn."

They told the attendants to get ready the lodge and to build the fireplaces. They told them also to have the wood and the buck-

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X796 539 [782] After the speeches were all over the offerings were taken down and thrown outside through the opening in the roof of the lodge and then night songs were sung. Before throwing the offerings out they marched around the lodge carrying them in their hands. At the approach of dawn the drum, gourds, etc., have about made the entire circuit of the lodge, and as soon as they reach the host he begins to sing the night [533] songs. After these he sings turtle songs, and then the songs are over. The host now calls upon some one to give the war whoop, so that the spirits in the west may hear their voices. Nanhi'tcoga gave the war whoop. All joined in, and the feast was over.

X796 805 [776] *Descriptive notes on the Bear clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant, member of clan: About the middle of winter, in the month called deer-breeding month, the Winnebago used to go out hunting, and they gave a feast to all the spirits who had blessed them.

They are very careful not to have the kettles boil over, because [774] they believe that a man's soul (*na-ri'rak'*) might be wandering about and is likely to come down along the chain of the kettle. If it doesn't boil over, the man is likely to conquer the possessions of this spirit (of an enemy) in the next battle.

202 554] The invitation sticks are sent out only to men who own a war bundle, and the clans are invited in the following fashion: First the Wolf, then the Hawk, and then any order.

778 The contents of the war bundle represent the following: The crow means strength in running. The turtle and the spear, the blessings which enable one to get out of difficulties, the former referring especially to difficulties in crossing water; they also enable their possessor to foretell when enemies are approaching and to tell an individual how many enemies he is going to conquer. The flute represents the ● 789 voices of musical birds. When an enemy hears them it paralyzes him and he can not run.

dances of a lively kind. From that place we went up to where Earthmaker lives and I saw him and talked to him, face to face, even as I am talking to you now. I saw the spirits too and, indeed, I was like one of them. 159* 775 [776]

Thence I came to this earth for the third time and here I am. I am going through the same that I knew before.

Thus my brother-in-law had lived long ago, had joined the Medicine Dance* and adhered strictly to its precepts. He was a good man; he disliked no one; he never stole and never did he fight. He made offerings of tobacco to the spirits and was always giving feasts. He could always be relied upon. 159* 577 [782]

When Thunder Cloud was in spirit land, just before he was to come to this earth, he fasted. He only ate once a month. All the different spirits who live on high, all those who live under the earth, indeed all those whom Earthmaker had created, they all blessed him. Then he came to the earth and was born here as a human being again. When he came to the earth he fasted. All the various spirits who had blessed him before, now blessed him again. Thus did he become a holy man. When he came here, he became a shaman for he was very holy. Indeed he was the North Spirit. 756 775 [776]

* The Medicine Dance is a secret society which with the preliminary ceremonies lasts five days. Members of this society are supposed to possess the secret of being able to kill one another and then to restore one another to life again. The "killing" is done by "shooting" a shell from a pouch made out of an otter skin. The shell is supposed to enter the body of the person shot at and to render him unconscious. He regains consciousness gradually after spitting out the shell. The ceremony is described in detail on pp. 103 ff. of this autobiography. [575] [789]

*Crashing Thunder*

My father had control of them and when
*159 he wished to bless a man he would take his bow and
787 arrows and, holding them in his hands, lead the man
788 around the hill and into the lodge (*i.e.*, into the hill).
There he would look for a stone pillar, and upon it, at
about arm's length, he drew the pictures of a number
of different animals. My father possessed only one
arrow, but that one was a holy one. Then dancing
around the stone pillar and singing some songs, he
finished by breathing upon the pillar. Finally he
walked around and shot at it and when he looked at the
● [789] stone, it had turned into a deer with large horns which
fell dead at his feet. He repeated this a number of
times. The little spirits living in the hill breathed
[776] with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you wish to
[782] kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done, and
offer us tobacco and you will be able to obtain what-
ever you wish."

*159 This was the power my father wished my brother
787 to obtain. My father was a very famous hunter and
my brother wished to be like him.

Now of all these things my brother dreamed; with
all these powers he was blessed. He also had a vision
[775] of visiting the village of the ghosts. There he was able
to steal a costly shawl and escape with it. He dreamed
that all the inhabitants of the ghost village chased him
but that they were unable to overtake him and were
compelled to return back when my brother reached the
earth.

The night after we had stopped fasting we gave our
feast. There, however, our pride received a fall, for

## *Crashing Thunder*

Say, you wish to obtain the paint medicine. For that you
*159 would have to put yourself in the most abject condition
787 before the spirits. If you smear yourself with your paint
789 medicine it will irresistibly attract the enemy; it will
867 paralyze him, deprive him of all power of movement and utterly overpower him. Keep it in your home and then you will never be in want of riches. People will give you their most valued possessions owing to the influence of this paint medicine. The paint medicine is made from the
[776] blood of the waterspirits and that is why it is so holy. People obtain it by fasting and thirsting themselves to death and then receiving a blessing from the waterspirit. Earthmaker placed the waterspirits in possession of these powers so that they could then, in turn, bestow them on us.

*159 Some people succeeded in obtaining a medicine that will
789 enable a person to outdistance another in running. It might
759 perhaps be well for you to learn something about this.
867 There are medicines to be used in courting; medicines to prevent married people from separating; medicines for getting rich; medicines for causing people to become crazy. Should you, for instance, wish to make a person feel very sad at heart, then you can poison him with this last-named medicine and even make him crazy. It is also possible to make a woman who has refused you become a harlot, for this medicine will make her fall in love with every man she sees. Indeed any kind of medicine you desire can you obtain from certain individuals. Some are acquainted with medicines that put one to sleep, others with those that keep one awake and give one insomnia. Some have medicines enabling one to overcome the viciousness of dogs who are put to watch over women; others again have medicines that make people single out the possessor in a crowd. Every one will look at him and consider him a great man.

## *The Teachings of My Father*

There are medicines to prevent people from getting tired 159 *
when walking and medicines to cause a dog fight to take 789 ●
place. In short there are medicines for everything. 867

Every one must take care of himself and try to obtain
that knowledge which will enable him to live in comfort and 159 *
happiness. Try therefore to learn about the things you will 597
need. If you know them, then as you travel along in life, 867
you will not have to go to the expense of buying them from
others, but you will have your own medicines. If you act
in this way and if, in addition, you fast properly, you will
never be caught off guard in life. Should you possess a
home, it will look beautiful and you will never be in want.
That is why I know you will never regret this that I am
telling you. So you shall travel on your journey though
life, along the virtuous road taken by all your fellowmen, [626]
and your actions and behavior will never become the butt
of your neighbor's sarcasm.

Help yourself as you travel along the road of life. The
earth has many narrow passages scattered over it. If
you have something with which to strengthen yourself, then
when you get to these narrow turns you will be able to pass
through them safely and your fellow men will respect you.
See to it that people like you. Be on friendly terms with
every one and then every one will like you. You will be
happy and prosperous.

Never do any wrong to your children. Whatever your [593]
children ask of you, do it for them. If you act thus people
will then say that you are good natured.

If any one in the village loses a friend through death,
should you at all be wealthy, cover the expenses of the
funeral of the deceased, if you can. Help the mourners like-
wise in defraying the expenses of feeding the departed. If
you act thus, you will do well. All the people you have

*Crashing Thunder*

I ran away from the two
*159 women with whom I had been living. We spent some
324 time hunting. Every morning we would get up very
[839] early, stay out the whole day and not return until the
night. Often although we had been on our feet all
[264] day we would not find time to have our noon meal. At
night, regularly, we would take our sweat-baths. We
took these sweat-baths because they are supposed to
● [789] act as magical charms to ensure success in hunting. It
[515] was always very refreshing to take them and then
plunge into cold water, whether at night or in the
morning.

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the old man went to a certain place he would find them. He went and found it was so. 787

TALES CONCERNING MIDJISTEGA

Recently the Potawatomi were going on the warpath and a number of other tribes were going along with them. As they were making their preparations they spent the evenings exhibiting the various powers they possessed and which they had obtained during their 'asts. 648 789 796 726

One day Robert Lincoln's father heard that a Winnebago was going to come and give a grizzly bear dance. Old Lincoln and a few other Potawatomi decided to go over and watch him. When they arrived at the lodge they were told that the name of the Winnebago was *Midjistega*. They were also told that this *Midjistega* was going to make some gunpowder (in a magical manner). When they heard this, the Potawatomi said that if he could make his teeth protrude from his mouth he might be able to make gunpowder, but that otherwise he could not. 791

In the middle of the lodge where this performance was to be held there was a wooden dish filled with charcoal near which *Midjistega* was sitting. He had beautiful hair and he had marks made by white clay in the corners of his eyes and mouth. When the singers in the lodge began to sing for him he ran around the lodge on all fours, four times. Then he took up the dish of charcoal and shook it. While doing this he made a noise like a grizzly bear. Then his teeth began to protrude. When he had gone around the lodge four times the charcoal turned into gunpowder. Then he took a handful of it and threw it into the fire and it exploded. The members of the different tribes present took some of it and put it in their war-bundles. It is only a short time ago that a Winnebago war-bundle that was supposed to have some of this gunpowder was stolen. It belonged to a man named Buchanan.

Old man Lincoln had never seen any Winnebago before this, but he could understand their language and he interpreted all that *Midjistega* said. The Potawatomi around him asked whether he had learned the language from some of his Winnebago relatives but he said he had not.

After showing that he could make gunpowder in this way, *Midjistega* made some plug tobacco. He cut the bark of some walnut trees into the shape of plug chewing tobacco and put it in a white deerskin on top of which was placed a piece of real plug tobacco. Then *Midjistega* said, "Now since I have made gunpowder I will also make some plug tobacco." Then he took the bundle and danced around the lodge with it and by the time he had danced around the lodge the third time the odor of tobacco became very

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648 strong. After he had danced around for the fourth time he opened
789 up his package and there was the tobacco. Then he spoke to the
796 people, "You people of different tribes, the one that is dancing
726 with me will obtain the first war-honor on the warpath that you
●791 are planning now, for I am giving him that honor and that power."

After this he told them that he would make them some paint, as they seemed to be short of it then. He took a wooden dish and filled it full of ashes and covered it up with a white deerskin. Then he danced around the lodge. As he was dancing around for the third time, old Lincoln thought he noticed yellow-colored paint. The fourth time he danced around, the paint turned into a red color. When, finally, *Midjistega* took the cover off, there was red paint of a very fine quality. Then the members of the different tribes distributed it among one another.

After this he made some axes. He molded some clay into the shape of axes and put them into a deerskin. On top of this bundle he put a real metal ax. Then taking this bundle he started to dance around the lodge. As he went around the lodge the third time, old Lincoln thought he noticed something shining. After he had gone around the fourth time he took the cover off and there were some real axes. They were all new and bright.

Then he decided to make some hoes, and then some awls. All of these he made of clay. Then he made some needles of deer hair. Then, noticing some boys playing with some basswood bark, he asked them to give him some, and out of it he made ribbons of four different colors, blue, white, red, and black.

Then he said, "As I have made almost everything, I will now try and make some whisky. If I fail there will be no harm done anyhow." Old Lincoln told his people what *Midjistega* was saying. Then they placed a new pail full of water before him. He took a flute and began to dance around the lodge. After he had made the first circuit of the lodge he held the flute near the pail, almost sticking it into the water. The second time he approached the pail he stuck the flute into the water just a little bit. The third time he came near it he stuck the flute into the water and stirred it around. By that time Old Lincoln could smell the odor of whisky pretty strongly. Then *Midjistega* went around the lodge for the fourth time and finally stirred the water with his flute for a long time, and taking a drink from the pail said, "It is whisky." Then he passed it around and everyone present took a drink. Old Lincoln, however, did not touch it. Then his father told him to drink it, as it was holy and had been made by a spirit. Then Old Lincoln drank some, and, sure enough, it was whisky, although it was colorless.

726 After that, all the people went on a warpath. However, the per-
555 son to whom *Midjistega* had promised the first war honor only obtained

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the second one, Old Lincoln himself obtaining the first. The first war honor was a quantity of wampum beads and the second a wampum belt. Both the one who got the second prize and Old Lincoln brought back with them an enemy's head.

From that time on *Midjistega* stayed with the Winnebago and he and Old Lincoln became great friends, living together, one of the reasons being that Old Lincoln could understand Winnebago.

One day they ran short of corn meal, so they decided to go and trade some furs for corn meal. They had plenty of furs because they spent most of their time hunting. When they got to the trader's store *Midjistega* said, "Say, trader, the boys have been out of paint for some time and you ought to give them some." "No, *Midjistega*, I can't do that." Then *Midjistega* again said, "Well, the paint boxes are small and aren't of much value anyhow, and you ought to make them a present of some. However, I always knew you were very stingy." Then the trader said, "My business is to trade you my wares for your furs and I will not give you any paint for nothing." Then *Midjistega* said, "If I had some flour I could make some paint myself. However, I am short of flour, too." Then the trader said, "*Midjistega*, you can not do it, for even the whites do not know how to make paint (in that way), so how could you, who are only an Indian, do it?" Thus they spoke to and fro and finally the trader said, "*Midjistega*, I will bet you my store against your furs that if I give you some flour you can not make paint out of it. If I win you are to give me your furs, and if you win I will give you my store." Then the bet was agreed upon.

Then a lodge was prepared and *Midjistega's* drum and flute were carried into it. Then the trader had some flour carried over to the lodge and it was poured into a dish. The trader, suspecting that there might be some trick, stirred up the flour thoroughly. He satisfied himself that there was nothing at the bottom of the dish. *Midjistega*, in the meantime, painted the corners of his mouth and eyes with ashes and then the singers sang for him. Then he handed the flute over to Old Lincoln and told him to blow it for him every now and then. The trader sat near the entrance of the lodge with his employees. Then *Midjistega* jumped up and ran all around the lodge on all fours. Then he took the dish with the flour and shaking it, began to dance around the lodge with it. After he had danced around for the third time it suddenly turned into a yellow color, and Old Lincoln noticed the change in the expression on the trader's face. As he went around for the fourth time it suddenly changed to a red color. When he got back to his starting place it was quite red and was an excellent quality of paint. Then he said, "Well, trader, I have won your store," and the trader answered, "You have won my store. I did not think that an Indian could do it." Then *Mid-*

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Then Mid-
648 *jistega* said, "I can also make some sugar. If you don't believe it,
789 give me some more flour." However, the trader said, "There is no
791 need of your proving it: I believe you now." However, he sent one of his employees after some more flour and out of this *Midjistega* made some maple sugar. He made it in the following way. He sprinkled some water on the flour and said, "This shall be the size of pheasants' dung." Then it formed into little round lumps. Then the trader said, "*Midjistega*, my store is worth several times the value of your furs, and you have made me a poor man. However, I wish to ask you for one thing—this sugar—so that I can eat some of it once in a while." Then *Midjistega* gave it to him. *Midjistega* and his friend carried the contents of the store home. They had to make several trips. All the people at home got a blanket.

Then the trader said, "*Midjistega*, there is not a white man living who would believe that you can do this and if, therefore, I ever call on you to do it again, I hope that you will come with your friends (and do it). This is the only way I can ever win any of my money back again." However, no one ever heard of the trader after that.

*Midjistega* also made all the different varieties of corn at the Potawatomi meeting.

789 Old Lincoln had always heard of the remarkable power the Winne-
791 bago were supposed to possess in these matters but he had never actually witnessed any exhibition of it until he saw *Midjistega* perform (these tricks).

A man named Young Rogue, a brother of Robert Lincoln, could roll up a piece of clay about the size of a marble and then roll it on the ground and it would change into a toad and jump away. He was also able to shoot a blade of grass right into a log.

### Lincoln's Grandfather

754 Lincoln's grandfather was the leader of the medicine dance and every time any relation of his died he would tell the daughters of his relative to stop their crying and that he would avenge the death of their father and kill four people. Shortly after he said this the four whom he had picked out died.

If there was a man with great wealth in the tribe he would make a wooden snake and send it toward the man. Immediately after this it always happened that the rich man would be bitten by a snake. The latter would then send for the medicine man and give him all that he possessed. Then the former would ask him, "When do you want to get well?" If the sick man said "In three to four days," the medicine man would say, "You must like to suffer."

For this reason the children of Lincoln's grandfather always had plenty of wealth.

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The Crow (i. e., Menominee) Indians knew what a wonderful man he was and whenever he went to visit them they gave him many presents. He would be invited to a feast as soon as he arrived. 648 791 754

On one occasion when they had a feast in a lodge (in his honor) one of the Menominee marked the ground in front of him and dared Lincoln's grandfather to come over, saying that if he did he would injure him. When the Winnebago crossed the mark he was pushed in all directions and finally shoved into a pit, bruising himself a great deal. When he came out, the old man said, "You have probably never heard of me. To-morrow noon, soldiers will hit you." Then the Menominee asked, "If soldiers hit me, what will be the result?" "You will die." Then the Menominee said, "You have nothing to do with my life," and made a jump at him.

The Menominee who had been told that he was going to die said the next morning to his nephew, "Nephew, let us go to the lake and look around. I can't forget what the old man told me yesterday." So they took their spears for fishing and went out. While they were on the lake they saw a deer drinking at the edge of the water. The man took a shot at the deer, and the deer ran back into the timber. The man and his nephew pursued it. After a while the man gave a yell and then all was quiet. The nephew went over to the place and there the man was found dead. At his side a very large snake, with hair on its back, was standing.

The next morning one could hear the mourning songs all over the woods. Then they went to look for the Winnebago, for they believed that it was his fault. They told him not to worry about it and gave him a horse to appease him. The day after they all had left the camp, the Winnebago pointed to some hawks that were circling around and told the Menominee to watch the foremost one. Then he pointed his finger at that one and made a sound with his mouth and the bird fell down dead. This Winnebago had the power to do this to all birds. He always told the Winnebago not to eat these birds because they were not good. [765 533] [789]

### The Uses of the Stench-Earth Medicine[1]

There once was a man who had consumption and who knew that he was going to die soon. His relatives were about to move him to some other place and so he told them just to build him a separate lodge and leave him alone—that he wanted to die there. He asked them likewise not to come back to see him. They obeyed him and left him to die alone. 763 [164]

One day he decided to go out into the wilderness and die there. He went to the top of a hill and lay down. He noticed many birds

[1] This is the literal translation. What plant is meant the writer was not able to determine.

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12

# Winnebago Berdache

*By* NANCY OESTREICH LURIE

114 THE following account draws attention to the fact that the berdache role
838 was still evident in Winnebago culture until close to the turn of the cen-
[177] tury, and adds somewhat to the data of certain clear cultural parallels between
[171] this Woodland Siouan group and such Plains Siouan tribes as the Omaha, Oto, Iowa and Ponca. The description is not complete and certain points are equivocal. Thus, all of the available ethnographic documentation will be presented so that anyone intending to use the information will be able to assess its value. The description given here agrees, Dr. Raul Radin said in a conversation, with his unpublished Winnebago data.

124 During the course of general field investigations conducted from time to
838 time during the years 1945 to 1947, it was apparent that Winnebago informants in Wisconsin tended to be reticent to discuss the matter of the berdache. Their embarrassment may indicate that knowledge of the subject was withheld. However, even where excellent rapport existed and individuals became sufficiently interested in the topic to question people who might not speak directly to an ethnographer, some details remain uncertain. Furthermore,
[177] while the last berdache died somewhat over fifty years ago, the picture is confused by the former tendency of Winnebago culture to invest given forms of traits with opposite meanings and functions when used under different circumstances. At the present time, the recollections of many informants reveal that they know only half of the total function of given forms, or that they attempt to synthesize features which now appear as contradictory.

[184] While it was noted in 1950 that the Nebraska Winnebago were quite willing to speak of matters that in Wisconsin are still considered sacred or as things to be kept secret from whites, the Nebraska Winnebago simply knew less about older traditions.

838 It was agreed generally that the berdache was a man who had taken on
[787] this role because he had been directed to do so by the moon, a female spirit,
[821] at the time of his vision quest. The berdache dressed as a woman, performed
[741] women's tasks better than any normal woman could perform them, and had
[588] the ability to foretell future events. However, not all Winnebago prophets
[554] were berdaches. One informant mentioned that berdaches sometimes married other men, but no data were obtained concerning the attitude of the society toward the husband of a berdache. Most informants felt that the berdache was at one time a highly honored and respected person, but that the Winnebago had become ashamed of the custom because the white people thought it
177 was amusing or evil. By the time the last known berdache attempted to ful-
838 fill the role, his brothers threatened to kill him if he "put on the skirt." This
[626] berdache then affected a combination of male and female clothing, fearing that he would die if he did not at least attempt to follow the directions given him in his vision of the moon.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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as the descendants of that family and the object that he said was 173
sacred (the drum) is indeed sacred. It is powerful to the present 648
day. His descendants are the most intelligent of all the people and they are becoming more intelligent all the time. What they did was the best that could be done. The ways of the white man are the best. This is the way they were brought up.

This is the end of the history of the Decoras.

One of the interesting developments resulting from the Indian con- 792
tact with the whites has been the appearance of prophets. In almost [177]
all cases these prophets were concerned with attempts to so adapt the life of their fellow-Indians to the new conditions that they would be better able to cope with the invaders who were sweeping all before them. Whether prophets sprang up only in response to the peculiar conditions resulting from the presence of the whites it is impossible to say, but there seems no reason to believe that such had always been the case. It is quite possible that conditions similar to those developing from the occupancy of America by Europeans had occurred in pre-Columbian times when one tribe was hard pressed by another.

The Winnebago seem to have had their share of prophets, and seem likewise to have been influenced by some of the great prophets of other tribes, like the Shawnee prophet. An interesting account of what he told the Winnebago has been preserved and we will give it at length.

One of the suggestive things about the following account is the way in which the informant, who is evidently a devout Peyote follower, [794]
connects the teachings of the Shawnee prophet with the modern Peyote movement, thus evincing a remarkable feeling for historical continuity.

### WHAT THE SHAWNEE PROPHET TOLD THE WINNEBAGO

Now this is what the Winnebago heard from the Shawnee prophet; 792
this is what he said, it is said, by those who heard him: 173

"Let the people give up the customs they are now observing and I will give them new ones." This is what he said.

Some of the Winnebago did this and threw away their war bundles. But he had meant their bad customs. Some also threw away their good medicines. At last they decided to go over to where he was. A man named Smoke-Walker led a number of young men over. "We will walk as the thunderbirds do," said the leader. Then a great and holy man called Dog-Head said that he also was going along. He was then an old man. The leader said, "You had better not come along for we are going to walk as the thunderbirds do, and for that reason I wish only young men." But Dog-Head said, "I am going

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792 173 along nevertheless, and whenever you wish to walk like the thunder-birds and walk above the earth, then I can turn back. I will go along."

There were eleven who went along. When they got to the place where the Shawnee prophet was staying they found all the other tribes (represented) there except the Winnebago.

Then the prophet said, "It is good, my younger brothers." He called the Winnebago younger brothers. "There are many tribes here, but I wanted to see you here especially. It is good you have come. I want to talk to you, but it is impossible (because I can not speak your language)." Now the old man who had come along against the wishes of the chief could speak any Indian language, so the leader said to Dog-Head, "Older brother, you used to speak almost any language; can you still do it?" Then Dog-Head said, "My younger brother, I can understand what he is saying, but I don't know whether I could talk the language myself. I may or may not be able to speak it (enough to make myself understood). I don't know." Then the leader said, "It is good, older brother. Try to talk to him, and whatever you do will be better than nothing." Then Dog-Head said to the Shawnee prophet, "I can understand what you are saying, but I am afraid to talk to you because I don't know whether I could make myself clear to you." The prophet thanked him and said, "It is good. I want to talk to you Winnebago."

Then they had a long conversation and this is what he said, "Younger brothers, we are not doing the right thing and that is why we are not getting along very well in life."

792 787 173 At that time they (the other tribes) were having their night dances, so the Winnebago moved over to them. There they heard the prophet speak. He said that he had been sent by the Creator because the Indians were wandering away from their old customs. For that reason the Creator had sent him to tell them of it. He at first forgot all about it, for the devil misrepresented things to him and he believed him. The devil had told him that he would go to heaven and that he could not be killed. He had told him that he had given him a holy belt. He was a bad person. Whenever he got angry he would throw his belt down on the ground and it would change into a yellow rattlesnake and rattle. When he did this the rest of the people were afraid of him. He was very mean when drunk. They were afraid of him, not only on account of his belt, which he could turn into a yellow rattlesnake, but also because of the fact that he was very strong. If, when he was drunk, a number of people jumped on him, afterwards he would find out about it and hit them. If they would resist he would kill them.

It was utterly impossible for him to be killed. He was unkind to the women. They would go with him not because they liked him

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but because they were afraid of him. It was a dangerous thing to say anything about him. Whenever he wished to drink he would take some person's valuables and buy drink with it. These are the things he did. The Creator had sent him on a mission to the earth, but the devil had misled him. 792 787 173

On one occasion (when he was drunk) quite a number of people jumped on him and nearly killed him. When he awoke the next morning he asked his wife who had done it and she told him. "Well, they will hear of me soon. However, I want to go and take a bath first and cool off and then take my revenge, when I get back." When he was in bathing a man came to him and said, "They have told me to come after you, so let us go." Then he went back with him and he took him to the place from which he had originally started. Then the Creator said, "How are you getting on with the work which you were to do?" Then he remembered what he had been doing. Then the Creator said, "Is it for this that I created you?" Then he took his mouth and showed it to him and he saw that it was crooked and sticking out in all directions. Then he took his understanding (and showing it to him), he said, "Did I create you thus?" Then he looked into his ears and they were crooked and ragged. Thus he made him see all his bad characteristics and his evil mind. Then he took out his heart and showed it to him. It was all furrowed up and bad to look upon. "Did I create you thus?" said the Creator.

"Now, then, you will do better the next time," and he sent him back. This time, however, he (the prophet) did not come here to get revenge. He came to tell of the mysteries, but no one would believe him. "He is just getting crazier all the time," they said of him. Then he told all to gather in one place and he promised to say nothing but the truth. Then he made a small flat war club, cleared a piece of ground and laid it there. Then he said to those assembled, "If anyone can lift this, then I will not say it (i. e., talk about my mission)."

Now he (the prophet) was one of triplets. The third one was teased a good deal and one day he said, "I am getting tired of this teasing and am going home." Then he died. They had been teasing him about his head, which was very narrow. There were thus two left. The brother who was left was a powerful man. Bullets could not penetrate him, and indeed it was impossible to kill him in any way. It was this brother who had told him not to talk (about his mission). Then the prophet said to him, "Well, if you can lift this war club I will not speak about it any more." Then he tried to lift the little war club and failed. After that the brother made no more remarks about it.

Then he had them make a long lodge and they were told to go after a number of bears. As many as he told them to get, that many

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782 they would bring home with them. Thus they knew that he was
787 telling the truth. All the people in the country listened to him and
173 what he prophesied came true, so they believed him holy.

One day they told him that the whites were coming. After a short time they said, "They are still coming. There are very many of them." The lookouts were always watching and they saw them coming. Then the prophet said, "When they come, listen to them, and when they sleep we will attend to them." Now the whites had come; they had to cut through the roads to come. When they were near one of their number came over to ask where they could camp and they were told to camp right there. In the night, when they were asleep, they shot at them. They were half asleep and they ran away without their weapons. A tribe of Indians was just then going down the stream and these shot at the whites, too. Then they turned back and the commander had the bugle blow and called them to themselves. Then they took their guns and fought. Many Indians were killed. The one who had led the Winnebago over was killed in this battle.

Then his son started back home. His name was Small-Snake. As they were returning, unprepared for danger, a boat came down the stream and passed very close to them. The women (he was the only man among them) cried out. He was without any ammunition except two shots. Just as he got ready to shoot they were recognized. The people in the boat were not Americans but Frenchmen and they were very hungry. Thus they were saved, and the Frenchmen gave them plenty of ammunition. Then they passed safely on.

The Indians had scattered in every direction and no one knew who was alive. Then Dog-Head blessed them with a powerful medicine that he possessed. "My son (he was addressing Small-Snake), if I were to induce you to join the Medicine Dance, why that honor would perish with your death. Now they say that a man named Large-Walker had a vision in which he was blessed by a loon. The loon blessed him, saying, 'Large-Walker, I also bless you with this (medicine). When I work for the chief and when I sweep his lodge, I sweep all the bad things outside. It will be the same with this medicine. If a person partakes of something bad, he will not die, no matter how bad it is, but, on the contrary, he will live. Now when you wish to use this medicine, pour some tobacco for me and I will smoke it.' Then he looked at the loon and the loon had something growing out of his back. That is what he was referring to. Then the loon said again, 'When you want to dig it, don't dig it right away (i. e., without performing the proper rites). You must offer a white feather, a white deerskin, red feathers, and tobacco. Then you can dig it. If you make these offerings, you will never fail in

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anything. With this I bless you (this herb), and no one else in the world will know it.'" 792 787

This is what Dog-Head told Small-Snake: "As long as your posterity lasts, so long can you use this medicine. If I had given you clothes, when they were worn out, that would be the end of them. Your father spoke to me in your behalf and that is why I am giving you this medicine." Dog-Head told the truth, for even to the present day this medicine is being used. It is a purgative and a valuable medicine. 173

When the Winnebago returned the possessor of the medicine was careless and placed it in a hole in a cliff. When he came back for it it could not be found. He looked all over for it but it was apparently gone. Then they said, "We should not have done this. We should look before acting." Indeed, nowhere did they ever find it afterwards.

Now, it is four generations since the Shawnee prophet prophesied, and from that time there have been many prophets among us, as he is said to have told the people. Many have prophesied, but none have told anything that seemed reasonable. The Shawnee prophet was good, but those who have come after him have prophesied so that people might praise them, or just for the sake of talking. 792 787

It is said that the Shawnee prophet said that there would come a time when a woman would prophesy and that she should be immediately killed. The end of the world would be near then. Then he is said to have said that a little boy would prophesy and that one was to give ear to what he said.

The Peyote people claim that their ceremony is the fulfillment of this prophesy and that it is true. The Shawnee prophet had said that there would be springs of water in front of the people's lodges and it is so at the present time, for the water is at our very doors. His prophesy was correct and he told the truth. Then he said that trees would travel and this is happening to-day, for trees are loaded into trains and are carried all around the country. He told the truth and he knew what was going to happen. He said that one day we would be able to write our own language and we are doing that to-day, for we have a Bible in Winnebago and we are able to write to one another in our own language. All these things he was able to foretell four generations ago. [794]

A Winnebago by the name of Noise-Thunder had also prophesied that we would be able to write our own language. One thing that he said, however, was not correct. He said that the bad thing that has come upon us will make us forget our own ways. He meant that we should not take up with the white man's ways. "Don't do [77]

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742 it, for if you do, we will all die." Now, he was mistaken in that.
787 "The Creator has given two plates and they are getting empty. He gave the men a plate for them to fill and the women a plate for them to fill. The women's plate is empty." He meant that the Creator
[462] had made men to hunt and the women to dig the soil and raise vegetables, and that the latter were not doing it. That is what he meant by saying that their plates were empty. Noise-Thunder insisted that this was the white man's fault; he thought that we were being weakened by the white man's food. Quite a number of people believed him. "The birds eat what was provided for them to eat, game and vegetables, and the whites eat what was provided for them. Why should we not eat what was provided for us?" He was right, but then the Creator also created the food that the whites are eating. We are now getting accustomed to it and are getting stronger on this food.

[161] The Winnebago were decreasing in number, so the Creator gave them a medicine which would enable them to get accustomed to the white man's food; that, also, they might know the Creator and that he is the true bread and food. This they found out by using this medicine. They are going into it deeper and deeper all the time, they who had been lost, and this has all been accomplished by the medicine (the peyote).

The following notes were also obtained concerning other prophets:

"There was a prophet among the Winnebago recently named George Wilkinson. He claimed that he was the Trickster; that there were two worlds; that he had been to the first and that he was now on the second. After a while he was to return to ma'vna (Earth-maker). He told all the Winnebago to plant their tobacco and cornfields again. (This is what he was ordered to say.) He said that the power of the war bundles was entirely exhausted, but that it could be restored if a person were to fast for four days. When the spirits addressed him by name they called him "He-Who-Stands-Blue." This happened fifteen years ago.

"Thundercloud claims to be the Hare."

Another man named Xuga prophesied the same, led them on a warpath, and lost a lot of people.

[668] The most important religious revival of the last century among the Winnebago is the Peyote or Mescal religion. It is described in detail on page 388.

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of specific clans in different villages. When on the warpath the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fireplaces, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, can not be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Tciwere. In the subsequent discussion of the clan we will touch on this subject again.

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fireplaces when on the warpath, each division having two fireplaces,

Fig. 34. Plan of village according to John Rave, of Bear clan. A, Lodge of chief of tribe (Thunderbird clan). B, Lodge of chief of Bear clan. C, Lodge of Warrior clan. D, Lodge of Buffalo clan.

whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. When going west, for instance, the two fireplaces for the *waggeregi* are on the south, and the two for the *manegi* on the north side. However, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the division exists.

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the chief feast (*hwąk wakę*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name *hwąk wakę* would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Hwąk* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the *waggeregi* division.

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794 throughout, both from his own testimony and from that of others,
159 seems to have been practically the attitude of the Winnebago shaman. He even offered tobacco to the peyote.

We have, then, at the beginning the introduction of apparently only one new element—the peyote, with possibly a few Christian
[177] teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned there was hardly anything new at all. This view does not, of course, interfere in the least with the fact that to the Winnebago themselves the presence of the peyote represented the introduction of a new element.

The elaboration of the peyote practices at Rave's hands is the most difficult problem to trace on account of the lack of data. In the account that he gives of his conversion there is no evidence whatsoever of any antagonistic attitude toward the old Winnebago manner of living. When the author met him, however, for the first time, in 1908, this passive attitude had changed to one of violent hatred for the old Winnebago customs. Why and under what circumstances
[182] this change took place we do not know. It probably represented the interaction of many elements, the hostility of the tribe, the drawing of lines sharply around certain points, and the gradual
[792] assumption on the part of Rave of the rôle of a prophet who had solved the problem of the adjustment of the Winnebago to the surrounding white civilization. Offhand, one might be inclined to believe that Rave's insistence upon breaking with the past was due entirely to the influence of the Christian elements incorporated in his new religion. It is, however, extremely doubtful whether such an assumption is necessary. There seem to have been comparatively
[177] few Christian elements in the religion before Albert Hensley's influence had made itself felt, yet many of the old war bundles had been destroyed long before that time, and the peyote eaters were looked upon with cordial dislike by the conservative members of the tribe. The admonition that only a complete break with the past could save the Winnebagoes and enable them to compete successfully with the white intruders had been given to the Winnebagoes once before by the famous Shawnee prophet. What the latter claimed, however, was that the various sacred objects used by the Winnebago had lost their power, and that that power must now be renewed. This he
[182] thought could only be done by returning to the old manner of living which he claimed the Winnebago were no longer following. Such a claim was, after all, not revolutionary. It is not, therefore, the break with the Winnebago present-day viewpoint that characterizes Rave's attitude, but the fact that instead of returning to the older, purer

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FIRST DIVISION OF THE CEREMONY—IN HONOR OF THE THUNDER-BIRDS

*Introductory remarks by Blowsnake, informant.*—In winter, in mid-winter, then it was that I used to pour tobacco.[9] That was the time I would go out and hunt for game. 539x 796x

Well, to-night, a vapor bath I shall take, and if I can secure food for boiling, that kind of a feast I shall give. As many of the leaders as have come, that many shall be with me as I take a vapor bath in the sweat lodge. We are now about to enter the sweat lodge, for everything is in readiness.[10] [515]

SWEAT-LODGE RITUAL

We entered the sweat lodge and undressed, and after we had entered they (the outsiders) closed the lodge covering. I took both the tobacco and the other things I was to use as offerings with me.[11] [782]

*Host's salutation and initial speech to participants.*—"I greet you; I greet you all, war-bundle owners.[12] My grandparents, especially my grandfather,[13] had concentrated their minds upon this for me. The fireplace with which they blessed my grandfather,[14] that I am going to ask for myself. However weakly I may wobble about,[15] my elders will aid me. I am now going to pour a little tobacco and offer, my elders, whatever feast I am able to. War-bundle owners, I send forth my greetings to you. War-bundle owners, I greet you. Ye elders, I am about to pour tobacco for them (the spirits)." 796x 539x 782

*Host's offering to Earthmaker.* "Hearken, Earthmaker, our father, I am about to offer you a handful of tobacco.[17] My ancestor Djō-benagiwi'ŋxga[18] concentrated his mind upon you. The fireplaces with which you blessed him;[19] the small amount of life you granted to him; all, four times the blessings you bestowed upon my ancestor, that I ask of you directly. Also that I may have no troubles (in life)." 539x 793● 782 776

*Host's offering to the chief of the Thunderbirds.*—"To you, who live in the west, our grandfather, chief of the Thunderbirds, a handful of

[9] "Pouring tobacco" is the ritualistic term for giving a feast.

[10] The informant has passed to the present tense now, for he is actually giving an account of the last War-bundle Feast he gave and imagining that the writer is present.

[11] The word tobacco in Winnebago rituals is used as a generic expression for an offering. Thus the word *tastwiraqi'ja* means, literally, "What we are to offer as tobacco."

[12] Literally, "Children of the bundle."

[13] He does not really mean grandparents, but elders.

[14] The word here used for fireplace is a ritualistic one. It means, literally, "That one throws within something, i. e., an offering." It also has here the secondary meaning of food.

[15] Used metaphorically.

[16] I. e., the regular offering.

[17] An ancestor of the informant.

[18] Here "fireplaces" mean blessings, for only those who had blessings could erect fireplaces, and as a fireplace was erected for each separate spirit, the greater their number the greater the number of blessings. In all rituals it is customary to speak of blessings received, as well as of personal accomplishments, with an exaggerated modesty.

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as the descendants of that family and the object that he said was sacred (the drum) is indeed sacred. It is powerful to the present day. His descendants are the most intelligent of all the people and they are becoming more intelligent all the time. What they did was the best that could be done. The ways of the white man are the best. This is the way they were brought up. 173 648

This is the end of the history of the Decorse.

One of the interesting developments resulting from the Indian contact with the whites has been the appearance of prophets. In almost all cases these prophets were concerned with attempts to so adapt the life of their fellow-Indians to the new conditions that they would be better able to cope with the invaders who were sweeping all before them. Whether prophets sprang up only in response to the peculiar conditions resulting from the presence of the whites it is impossible to say, but there seems no reason to believe that such had always been the case. It is quite possible that conditions similar to those developing from the occupancy of America by Europeans had occurred in pre-Columbian times when one tribe was hard pressed by another. 792 [177]

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This is what Dog-Head told Small-Snake: "As long as your posterity lasts, so long can you use this medicine. If I had given you clothes, when they were worn out, that would be the end of them. Your father spoke to me in your behalf and that is why I am giving you this medicine." Dog-Head told the truth, for even to the present day this medicine is being used. It is a purgative and a valuable medicine. 173

When the Winnebago returned the possessor of the medicine was careless and placed it in a hole in a cliff. When he came back for it it could not be found. He looked all over for it but it was apparently gone. Then they said, "We should not have done this. We should look before acting." Indeed, nowhere did they ever find it afterwards.

Now, it is four generations since the Shawnee prophet prophesied, and from that time there have been many prophets among us, as he is said to have told the people. Many have prophesied, but none have told anything that seemed reasonable. The Shawnee prophet was good, but those who have come after him have prophesied so that people might praise them, or just for the sake of talking. 792 787

It is said that the Shawnee prophet said that there would come a time when a woman would prophesy and that she should be immediately killed. The end of the world would be near then. Then he is said to have said that a little boy would prophesy and that one was to give ear to what he said.

The Peyote people claim that their ceremony is the fulfillment of this prophesy and that it is true. The Shawnee prophet had said that there would be springs of water in front of the people's lodges and it is so at the present time, for the water is at our very doors. His prophesy was correct and he told the truth. Then he said that trees would travel and this is happening to-day, for trees are loaded into trains and are carried all around the country. He told the truth and he knew what was going to happen. He said that one day we would be able to write our own language and we are doing that to-day, for we have a Bible in Winnebago and we are able to write to one another in our own language. All these things he was able to foretell four generations ago. [79]

A Winnebago by the name of Noise-Thunder had also prophesied that we would be able to write our own language. One thing that he said, however, was not correct. He said that the bad thing that has come upon us will make us forget our own ways. He meant that we should not take up with the white man's ways. "Don't do [77]

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# CHAPTER XVI

## THE PEYOTE CULT

### General Description

● 794 Owing to the great importance of one of the modern cults found among the Winnebago, the so-called Mescal or Peyote, it will be discussed here in some detail. Not only is this cult of great prominence in the life of the modern Winnebago, but as its inception and progress can be followed out in considerable detail it is of great significance for the study of their religion.

[346] The ceremony is generally held in a building called by the Peyote worshipers a church, although it frequently takes place in the open also. In the early days of its organization as many meetings as possible were held. In 1910 there was a tendency to restrict the number and to have them generally take place on Saturday night. In 1913, after the first enthusiasm of the new converts had died out, the author was informed that the meetings were rarely held more than once a week. Around Christmas and beginning with July a series of meetings was held, lasting from a week to 10 days, as a rule. The Christmas meetings were not prominent in 1910, but the July ones seem to have been held from the beginning. They represent, of course, merely a substitution for the older pagan ceremonies and games that were held about that time.

796 In the early days the ceremony was opened by a prayer from the
794 founder, and this was followed by an introductory speech. There-
[533] upon the leader sang a Peyote song, to the accompaniment of a drum. Then another speech was delivered, and when it was finished the drum and other regalia were passed to the man to the right. This man, in turn, delivered a speech and sang a song, and when he was finished, passed the regalia to the third man, who subsequently passed it to the fourth one. The fourth man, when he was finished, returned it to the leader. In this way the regalia passed from one person to another throughout the night. It not infrequently happens that one of these four gets tired and gives up his place temporarily to some other member of the cult. At intervals they stopped to eat
[276] or drink peyote. At about midnight the peyote, as a rule, begins to affect some people. These generally arise and deliver self-accusatory
[783] speeches, and make more or less formal confessions, after which they go around shaking hands with everyone and asking forgiveness.

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a. PEYOTE LEADERS

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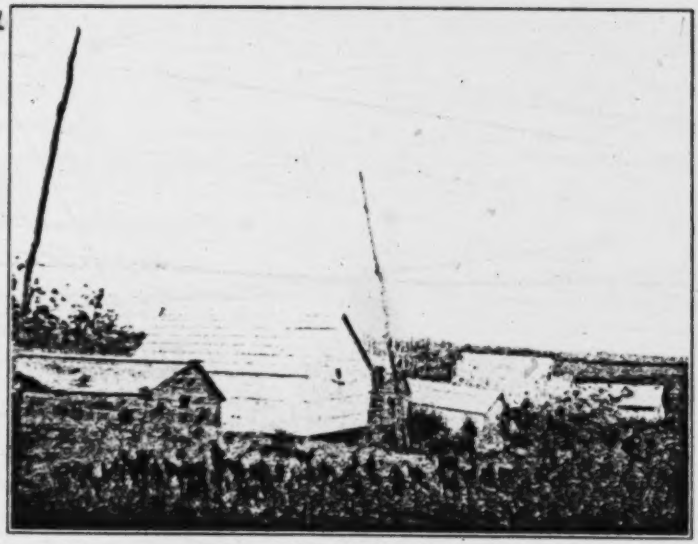

b. BURIAL HUTS

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In 1910 the cult already had a rather definite organization. There was, at every performance, one leader (pl. 54, *a*) and four principal participants. John Rave (pls. 5, *b*; 55, *b*), the Winnebago who introduced the peyote, was always the leader whenever he was present. On other occasions leadership devolved upon some older member. The four other principal participants changed from meeting to meeting, although there was a tendency to ask certain individuals whenever it was possible. The ritualistic unit, in short, is a very definite one, consisting of a number of speeches and songs and in the passing of the regalia from one to the other of the four participants. 794 [796]

During the early hours of the evening, before the peyote has begun to have any appreciable effect, a number of apparently intrusive features are found. These, for the most part, consist of speeches by people in the audience and the reading and explanation of parts of the Bible. After the peyote has begun to have an appreciable effect, however, the ceremony consists exclusively of a repetition of the ritualistic unit and confessions. [276] [783]

There is an initiation consisting of a baptism, always performed by John Rave. It is of a very simple nature. Rave dips his fingers in a peyote infusion and then passes them over the forehead of the new member, muttering at the same time the following prayer: [788]

"God, his holiness."

This is what the Winnebago words mean, although some of the younger members who have been strongly permeated with Christian teachings translate the prayer into, "God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." [177]

Whenever the ceremony is performed in the open a fireplace in the shape of a horseshoe is made. At one end of this fireplace is placed a very small mound of earth, called by Rave "Mount Sinai," and in front of this a cross is traced in the earth. Upon the small earth mound are placed the two "chief" peyote, the Bible and the staff. The latter, called by Rave the shepherd's crook, is always covered with beadwork, and generally has a number of evenly cut tufts of deer hair on the end and at intervals along its length. The sacred peyote, known as *hunka* (i. e., "chief") are exceptionally large and beautiful specimens. They are regarded by a number of people, certainly by Rave, with undisguised veneration. 794 788

In addition to the above, there is found a large eagle feather fan, a small drum, and a peculiar small type of rattle. To my knowledge, this type was unknown among the Winnebago before its introduction by the peyote eaters.

## John Rave's Account of the Peyote Cult and of His Conversion 159

During 1893-94 I was in Oklahoma with peyote eaters. 794

In the middle of the night we were to eat peyote. We ate it and I also did. It was the middle of the night when I got frightened, for 276 786

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a. OLIVER LAMERE

b. JOHN RAVE

[Facing p. 389]

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159 a live thing seemed to have entered me. "Why did I do it?" I thought
794 to myself. I should not have done it, for right at the beginning I
276 have harmed myself. Indeed, I should not have done it. I am sure
786 it will injure me. The best thing will be for me to vomit it up. Well, now, I will try it. After a few attempts I gave up. I thought to myself, "Well, now you have done it. You have been going around trying everything and now you have done something that has harmed you. What is it? It seems to be alive and moving around in my stomach. If only some of my own people were here! That would have been better. Now no one will know what has happened to me. I have killed myself."

Just then the object was about to come out. It seemed almost out and I put out my hand to feel it, but then it went back again. "O, my, I should never have done it from the beginning. Never again will I do it. I am surely going to die."

As we continued it became day and we laughed. Before that I had been unable to laugh.

The following night we were to eat peyote again. I thought to myself, "Last night it almost harmed me." "Well, let us do it again," they said. "All right, I'll do it." So there we ate seven peyote apiece.

Suddenly I saw a big snake. I was very much frightened. Then another one came crawling over me. "My God! where are these coming from?" There at my back there seemed to be something. So I looked around and I saw a snake about to swallow me entirely. It had legs and arms and a long tail. The end of this tail was like a spear. "O, my God! I am surely going to die now," I thought. Then I looked again in another direction and I saw a man with horns and long claws and with a spear in his hand. He jumped for me and I threw myself on the ground. He missed me. Then I looked back and this time he started back, but it seemed to me that he was directing his spear at me. Again I threw myself on the ground and he missed me. There seemed to be no possible escape for me. Then suddenly it occurred to me, "Perhaps it is this peyote that is doing this thing to me!" "Help me, O medicine, help me! It is you who are doing this and you are holy! It is not these frightful visions that are causing this. I should have known that you were doing it. Help me!" Then my suffering stopped. "As long as the earth shall last, that long will I make use of you, O medicine!"

This had lasted a night and a day. For a whole night I had not slept at all.

Then we breakfasted. Then I said, when we were through, "Let us eat peyote again to-night." That evening I ate eight peyote.

In the middle of the night I saw God. To God living up above, our Father, I prayed. "Have mercy upon me! Give me knowledge

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that I may not say and do evil things. To you, O God, I am trying to 159
pray. Do thou, O Son of God, help me, too. This religion, let me 794
know. Help me, O medicine, grandfather, help me! Let me know 276
this religion!" Thus I spoke and sat very quiet. And then I beheld 786
the morning star and it was good to look upon. The light was good to look upon. I had been frightened during the night but now I was happy. Now as the light appeared, it seemed to me that nothing would be invisible to me. I seemed to see everything clearly. Then I thought of my home and as I looked around, there I saw the house in which I lived far away among the Winnebago, quite close to me. There at the window I saw my children playing. Then I saw a man going to my house carrying a jug of whisky. Then he gave them something to drink and the one that had brought the whisky got drunk and bothered my people. Finally he ran away. "So, that is what they are doing," I thought to myself. Then I beheld my wife come and stand outside of the door, wearing a red blanket. She was thinking of going to the flagpole and was wondering which road she should take. "If I take this road I am likely to meet some people, but if I take the other road, I am not likely to meet anyone."

Indeed, it is good. They are all well—my brother, my sister, my father, my mother. I felt very good indeed. O medicine, grandfather, most assuredly you are holy! All that is connected with you, that I would like to know and that I would like to understand. Help me! I give myself up to you entirely!

For three days and three nights I had been eating medicine, and for three days and three nights I had not slept. Throughout all the years that I had lived on earth, I now realized that I had never known anything holy. Now, for the first time, I knew it. Would that some of the Winnebagoes might also know it!

Many years ago I had been sick and it looked as if this illness 159
were going to kill me. I tried all the Indian doctors and then I 794
tried all of the white man's medicines, but they were of no avail. 276
"I am doomed. I wonder whether I will be alive next year." Such 755
were the thoughts that came to me. As soon as I ate the peyote, however, I got over my sickness. After that I was not sick again. My wife had suffered from the same disease, and I told her that if she ate this medicine it would surely cure her. But she was afraid, although she had never seen it before. She knew that I used it, but nevertheless she was afraid of it. Her sickness was getting worse and worse and one day I said to her, "You are sick. It is going to be very difficult, but try this medicine anyhow. It will ease you." Finally she ate it. I had told her to eat it and then to wash herself and comb her hair and she would get well, and now she is well. Then I painted her face and took my gourd and began singing very much. Then I stopped. "Indeed, you are right,"

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she said, "for now I am well." From that day on to the present time she has been well. Now she is very happy.

Black Water-spirit at about that time was having a hemorrhage and I wanted him to eat the peyote. "Well, I am not going to live anyhow," he said. "Well, eat this medicine soon then and you will get cured." Consumptives never were cured before this and now for the first time one was cured. Black Water-spirit is living to-day and is very well.

There was a man named Walking-Priest and he was very fond of whisky; he chewed and he smoked and he gambled. He was very fond of women. He did everything that was bad. Then I gave him some of the peyote and he ate it and he gave up all the bad things he was doing. He had had a very dangerous disease and had even had murder in his heart. But to-day he is living a good life. That is his desire.

Whoever has any bad thoughts, if he will eat this peyote he will abandon all his bad habits. It is a cure for everything bad.

To-day the Indians say that only God is holy. One of the Winnebagoes has told me, "Really, the life that I led was a very bad one. Never again will I do it. This medicine is good and I will always use it." John Harrison and Squeaking-Wings were prominent members of the medicine dance; they thought much of themselves as did all the members of the medicine dance. They knew everything connected with this medicine dance. Both of them were gamblers and were rich because they had won very much in gambling. Their parents had acquired great possessions by giving medicines to the people. They were rich and they believed that they had a right to be selfish with their possessions. Then they ate peyote and ever since that time they have been followers of this medicine. They were really very ill and now they have been cured of it. Now if there are any men that might be taken as examples of the peyote, it is these three. Even if a man were blind and only heard about them he would realize that if any medicine were good, it is this medicine. It is a cure for all evil. Before, I had thought that I knew something but I really knew nothing. It is only now that I have real knowledge. In my former life I was like one blind and deaf. My heart ached when I thought of what I had been doing. Never again will I do it. This medicine alone is holy and has made me good and has rid me of all evil. The one whom they call God has given me this. That I know positively. Let them all come here; men and women; let them bring with them all that they desire; let them bring with them their diseases. If they come here they will get well. This is all true; it is all true. Bring whatever desires you possess along with you and then come and eat or drink this medicine. This is life, the only life. Then you will learn

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something about yourself, so come. Even if you are not told anything about yourself, nevertheless you will learn something of yourself. Come with your disease, for this medicine will cure it. Whatever you have, come and eat this medicine and you will have true knowledge once and for all. Learn of this medicine yourself through actual experience. 755 159 794 276

If you just hear about it you are not likely to try it. If you desire real knowledge about it try it yourself, for then you will learn of things that you had never known before. In no other way will you ever be happy. I know that all sorts of excuses will run through your mind for not partaking of it, but if you wish to learn of something good, try this. Perhaps you will think to yourself that it will be too difficult and this will seem an excuse to you for not trying it. But why should you act thus? If you partake of it, even if you feel some uncertainty about its accomplishing all the good that has been said of it, I know that you will say to yourself, "Well, this life is good enough." After you have taken it for the first time, it will seem as if they are digging a grave for you, that you are about to die; and you will not want to take it again. "It is bad," you will think to yourself. You will believe that you are going to die and you will want to know what is going to happen to you. The coffin will be set before you and then you will see your body. If you wish to inquire further about where you are going then you will learn something you have not known. Two roads there are, one leading to a hole in the earth and the other extending up above. You will learn something that you had not known before. Of the two roads, one is dark and the other is light. You must choose one of these while you are alive and so must you decide whether you wish to continue in your evil ways or whether you will abandon them. These are the two roads. The Peyote people see them. They claim that only if you weep and repent will you be able to obtain knowledge. Do not, as I said before, listen to others talking about it, but try the medicine yourself. That is the only way to find out. No other medicine can accomplish what this has done. If, therefore, you make use of it, you will live. After they have eaten peyote people throw aside all the (evil) ceremonies that they were accustomed to perform before. Only by eating the peyote will you learn what is truly holy. That is what I am trying to learn myself.

It is now 23 years since I first ate peyote, and I am still doing it (1912). Before that my heart was filled with murderous thoughts. I wanted to kill my brother and my sister. It seemed to me that my heart would not feel good until I killed one of them. All my thoughts were fixed on the warpath. This is all I thought of. Now

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159 Now I know that it was because the evil spirit possessed me that I felt that
755 way. I was suffering from a disease. I even desired to kill myself:
794 I did not care to live. That feeling, too, was caused by this evil
276 spirit living within me. Then I ate this medicine and everything
[753] changed. The brother and sister I wanted to kill before I became attached to and I wanted them to live. The medicine had accomplished this.

### O. L.'s Description of the Peyote Cult

(pl. 8, c)

159 John Rave belongs to the Bear clan, the members of which had
614 the functions of what might be called sergeants-at-arms. He and
[692 his ancestors used to be in charge of the *manupeki* (i. e., the ser-
681] geants-at-arms lodge), to which all malefactors would be brought for punishment.

159 Rave, although he belonged to this highly respected class of people,
794 was a bad man. He roamed from place to place. He has participated in all the ceremonies of the Winnebago, the medicine dance alone excepted. He had been married many times. Up to 1901 he was a heavy drinker. In that year he went to Oklahoma and while there ate the peyote. He then returned to the Winnebago and tried to introduce it among them, but none with the exception of a few
[177] relatives would have anything to do with it. This did not in any way discourage him, however, and he continued using the peyote, now and then getting a few converts.

159 There was not very much religion connected with it in the beginning
794 and the reason people drank it was on account of the peculiar effects
177 it had upon them. Nevertheless these Peyote people preached good things and gradually lost all desire for intoxicating drinks or for participating in the old Winnebago ceremonies. Then Rave began to do away with the old Indian customs. About four or five years ago the membership in the Peyote religion began to increase, for many people now noticed that those connected with the Peyote cult were the only people in the tribe leading a Christian life.

At this time the Bible was introduced by a young man named Albert Hensley (pls. 8, *d*; 9, *d*). He, too, had been a bad person, although he had been educated at Carlisle. Like Rave, he was a heavy drinker and fond of wandering.

During the last few years our members have increased so fast that now almost half the tribe belong to our religion. We all make efforts to lead a Christian life and we are succeeding very well.

794 We use the New Testament, especially the Revelations.

796 Our meetings take place at any time. We gather together in the
159 evening, and as soon as everything is in readiness the leader arises
[782] and offers a prayer called, "Turning themselves over to the care of the Trinity."

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the Trinity." Then all sit down and the leader makes the regular 794
announcements. The peyote is then passed around, either in the dry 796
condition or steeped. The leader thereupon starts the singing. 159
These are some of the songs: [276]

1. Ask God for life and he will give it to us.
2. God created us so pray to him. [523]
3. To the home of Jesus we are going, so pray to him.
4. Come ye to the road of the Son of God; come ye to the road.

Then Albert Hensley calls upon 12 educated members to translate 794
and interpret certain portions of the Bible for the nonreading mem- 177
bers. He arranges with the leader to have the singing stop at cer- 796
tain places so that some of these young men can speak. When these 159
are finished, other individuals are called upon to give testimony. Hensley always talks and so does Rave.

John Rave baptizes by dipping his hand in a diluted infusion of peyote and rubbing it across the forehead of a new member, saying, "I baptize thee in the name of God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, [788] which is called God's Holiness."

The peyote eaters wanted to get baptized and unite with the church in Winnebago, but the clergyman in charge would not permit them, so they went and did their own baptizing through their leader, John Rave, who, though he is not educated, is full of real intelligence and religion.

If a person who is truly repentant eats peyote for the first time, 794
he does not suffer at all from its effects. But if an individual is 276
bullheaded, does not believe in its virtue, he is likely to suffer a good 159
deal. This I know from my own experience. After eating peyote I grasped the meaning of the Bible, which before had been meaningless to me.

If a person eats peyote and does not repent openly, he has a guilty [783] conscience, which leaves him as soon as the public repentance has been made.

Old men and women who had been brought up to worship animals and all kinds of spirits have cast them all away and in many instances burned their idols, not because they were told to do so but because they felt that way.

Whenever at our meetings a person wishes to pray, he does so; when he wishes to cry, he does so. Indeed, we show no timidity about worshiping God in the right way. In the Bible one often reads of Christ casting out the devils and of the people shouting, etc. So does the peyote act on us in the beginning, although afterwards its effects abate.

If a peyote eater relapses into his old way of living, then the peyote causes him great suffering.

At first our meetings were started without any rule laid down by [177] the Bible, but afterwards we found a very good reason for holding

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our meetings at night. We searched the Bible and asked many ministers for any evidence for Christ's ever having held any meetings in the daytime, but we could find nothing to that effect. We did, however, find evidence that he had been out all night in prayer. As it is our desire to follow as closely as we can in the footsteps of Christ, we hold our meetings at night. Then, too, when we pray we wish to get as far away as possible from earthly things, and the night is the best time, for then we are not likely to be bothered by anything.

We have made earnest efforts to become Christians since we began drinking and eating this peyote, but many people say sarcastically that we have drunk ourselves into Christianity, and that we are demented. I am a peyote eater, but I have never found a demented person among them. We claim that there is virtue in the peyote. To you who do not believe and desire to find out let me quote the fourth chapter of the First Epistle of St. John:

"Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world.

"Hereby know ye the spirit of God. Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God."

We claim that you can not find out anything by standing off at a distance and only talking about it. We claim that some earthly things can have the virtue of God, for instance, the Bible, which is entirely made up of earthly material—the ink, the paper, the cover—yet it has survived the ages.

### J. B.'s Account of the Leader of the Peyote[1]

(PL. 3)

Among the Winnebago there is a man named Little-Red-Bird, and when he reached middle age he began to travel around the world and learn different Indian languages. He used to travel inland a good deal. Once he joined a circus and crossed the ocean. He felt so ill while crossing that he wanted to die. Suddenly a wind came up and he got very frightened. He did not know what to do. Then he prayed to Earthmaker. When he came to the other side of the ocean there he saw a big island and a big city (London), and in this last place they held their circus. The chief of that country (the king) he met there.

When he came back to his own people he told them that on the other side of the ocean the Thunderbirds did not thunder. All they did was to drizzle. There was no lightning either. As he crossed the ocean on his return it thundered and lightened.

When he came home he was very glad to see his relatives and he offered tobacco in thanksgiving.

[1] The narrator was a very intoxicated fellow.

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Shortly after this he traveled again and came to a band of Indians who were eating peyote. It was his custom to try everything when he went visiting. He did not realize what he was doing when he ate this medicine, but he did it anyhow. After a while he began to think of his manner of life, and he felt that he was doing wrong. All the evil he had done he remembered. Then he prayed to God. Suddenly it occurred to him, "Perhaps I am the only one doing this." Then he looked around and watched the others, and he saw them praying in the same manner. 159 794 276 [484]

Not long after that he came home, taking with him some of this medicine. He knew it was holy. At home he offered tobacco to it and kept on eating it. Soon it cured him of a disease he had. He tried to induce some of the others to try it, but they refused. After a while a few tried it, and the peyote movement began to spread. All the old customs that they had been accustomed to observe they abandoned. They gave up the medicine dance and the ceremonies connected with the clans. For that reason, therefore, the conservative people hated them; their own brothers and sisters hated them, for they had abandoned what were considered holy ceremonies. [177 755]

## Albert Hensley's Account of the Peyote[1]

(Pls. 3, 4, 5, 6)

I am 37 years old. It was 37 years ago that my mother gave birth to me in an old-fashioned reed lodge. When I was a year old she died and my grandmother took care of me. I had come into the world a healthy child, but bad luck was apparently to pursue me, for when I was 7 years old my grandmother died. Then my father took care of me. At that time he began to be a bad man; he was a drunkard and a horse thief. He would frequently get into trouble and run away, always taking me along with him, however. On one occasion we fled to Wisconsin, and there we stayed two years. We got along pretty well, and there my father married again. By his second wife he had three children. 159

After a while he got into trouble again, and misfortune followed misfortune. People were killing each other, and I was left alone. If at any time of my life I was in trouble it was then. I was never happy. Once I did not have anything to eat for four days. We had fled to the wilderness, and it was raining continually. The country was flooded with high water, and we sat on the top of a tree. It was impossible to sleep, for if we went to sleep we would fall off into the water, which was very deep. The shore was quite far away. As we were prominent people, we soon heard that my [731]

[1] This account is of great importance, because Hensley introduced a large number of Christian elements into the ceremony, the principal one being the Bible.

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159 father had been freed. We were very happy, and went back to our people.

At that time a young man named Young-Bear was starting for Nebraska, and he said that he would take me along. I was very happy. So in that manner I was brought to this country. Here I have had only happy days. When my father got married everyone disliked me. When I worked I was working for my father, and all the money I earned I had to give to him.

After a while I went to school, and although I liked it I ran away and then went to school at Carlisle. I wanted to lead a good life. At school I knew that they would take care of me and love me. I was very shy and lacked a strong character at that time. If a person told me to do anything I would always obey immediately. Everybody loved me. I stayed there six months. I was also taught [177] Christianity there. When I came back to my country the Episcopalian people told me that they wanted me to be diligent in religious matters and never to forsake the religion of the Son of God. I also desired to do that. I entered the church that we had in our country and I stayed with them six years.

At that time the Winnebago with whom I associated were heavy [273] drinkers, and after a while they induced me to drink also. I became as wicked as they. I learned how to gamble and I worked for the devil all the time. I even taught the Winnebago how to be bad.

159 After a while they began eating peyote, and as I was in the habit 276 of doing everything I saw, I thought I would do it, too. I asked them whether I could join, and they permitted me. At that time I ● 794 had a position at the county commissioner's office. I ate the peyote and liked it very much. Then the authorities tried to stop the Indians from eating peyote, and I was supposed to see that the law was enforced. I continued eating peyote and enjoying it. All the evil that was in me I forgot. From that time to the present my actions have been quite different from what they used to be. I am only working for what is good; not that I mean to say that I am good.

After that I married and now I have three children, and it would not have been right for me to continue in my wickedness. I resolved that thereafter I would behave as a grown-up man ought to behave. I resolved never to be idle again and to work so that I could supply my wife and children with food and necessities, that I would be ready to help them whenever they were in need. Here in my own country would I remain till I died. This (peyote) religion was good. All the evil is gone and hereafter I will choose my path carefully.

I know the story about the origin of the peyote. It is as follows:

794 Once in the south, an Indian belonging to the tribe called Mes-
539 caliero Apache was roaming in the country called Mexico, and went hunting in the high hills and got lost. For three days he went with-

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out water and without food. He was about to die of thirst but he continued until he reached the foot of a certain hill, on top of which he could find shade under a tree that was growing there. There he desired to die. It was with the greatest difficulty that he reached the place and when he got there, he fell over on his back and lay thus, with his body stretched toward the south, his head pillowed against something. He extended his right arm to the west and his left arm to the east, and as he did this, he felt something cool touch his hands. "What is it?" he thought to himself. So he took the one that was close to his right hand and brought it to his mouth and ate it. There was water in it, although it also contained food. Then he took the one close to his left hand and brought it to his mouth and ate it. Then as he lay on the ground a holy spirit entered him and taking the spirit of the Indian carried it away to the regions above. There he saw a man who spoke to him. "I have caused you to go through all this suffering, for had I not done it, you would never have heard of the proper (religion). It was for that reason that I placed holiness in what you have eaten. My Father gave it to me and I was permitted to place it on the earth. I was also permitted to take it back again and give it to some other Indians.

"At present this religion exists in the south but now I wish to have it extended to the north. You Indians are now fighting one another, and it is for the purpose of stopping this, that you might shake hands and partake of food together, that I am giving you this peyote. Now you should love one another. Earthmaker is my father. Long ago I sent this gospel across the ocean but you did not know of it. Now I am going to teach you to understand it." Then he led him into a lodge where they were eating peyote. There he taught him the songs and all that belonged to this ceremony. Then he said to him, "Now go to your people and teach them all that I have told you. Go to your people in the north and teach them. I have placed my holiness in this that you eat. What my father gave me, that I have placed therein."

Then he told him to go home. He thought he had been dead, but it was really his spirit that had left him. After a while the man got well again.

There were many peyote near the place where he was lying and these he picked before he started. Then he went back to his lodge. He thought he had been lost, but it seemed hardly possible to him that this was the case. His being lost in the hills seemed to symbolize to him the condition of the people before they had eaten the peyote; they would be lost and then find their way again.

On his return he built a peyote lodge and for four nights he taught the people how to eat peyote. He did not, however, teach it as he was told, nor did he teach it thoroughly. Those to whom he taught

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794 539 it used it for a purpose different from what it was intended.[1] They used it for war and for horse stealing. They, however, continued to eat the peyote, but they really ate too much of it. After a while the leader began thinking that the medicine might harm them, so he told them to hide it. The man did not know that even at that time a big war party was coming upon them. This tribe was almost destroyed.

They lost the peyote. One day, however, it was taught to a Comanche. He ate it and prayed to Earthmaker. Then it was taught to the Cheyenne and to the Arapaho and to the Caddo. The Tonkawa, the Apache, and the Mesallero Apache were the ones who had lost the medicine. When these other tribes began to eat this medicine they heard about it and they remembered that they also had long ago eaten it.

There was an old man in Oklahoma who knew the mescal country very well and he went down to old Mexico and stayed there for a year. When he returned he taught it to the Oto and the Oto taught it to us.

794 276 It is a true religion. The peyote is fulfilling the work of God and the Son of God. When the Son of God came to the earth he was poor, yet people spoke of him; he was abused. It is the same now with the peyote. The plant itself is not much of a growth, yet the people are talking about it a good deal; they are abusing it, they are trying to stop its use. When the Son of God came to earth the preachers of that time were called Pharisees and Scribes. They doubted what the Son of God said and claimed that he was an ordinary man. So it is to-day with the Christian Church; they are the Pharisees and Scribes, they are the doubters. They say that this is merely a plant, that it is the work of the devil. They are trying to stop its use and they are calling it an intoxicant, but this is a lie. If they will but come and see this ceremony they will realize this.

### J. B.'s Peyote Experiences

159 794 276 When my father and mother asked me to come to the Missouri River (Nebraska) I knew they had eaten peyote and I did not like it. I had been told that these peyote eaters were doing wrong, and therefore I disliked them; I had heard that they were doing everything that was wicked. For these reasons we did not like them. About this time they sent me money for my ticket, and since my brothers and sisters told me to go, I went. Just as I was about to start my youngest sister, the one to whom we always listened most attentively, said to me, "Older brother, do not you indulge in this medicine eating (peyote) of which so much is said." I promised. Then I started out.

[1] This is clearly Hensley's interpretation.

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As soon as I arrived (in Nebraska) I met some people who had not joined the peyote eaters and who said to me, "Your relatives are eating the peyote and they sent for you that you also might eat it. Your mother, your father, and your younger sister, they are all eating it." Thus they spoke to me. Then they told me of some of the bad things it was reported that these people had done. I felt ashamed and I wished I had not come in the first place. Then I said that I was going to eat the medicine. 159 794 276

After that I saw my father, mother, and sister. They were glad. Then we all went to where they were staying. My father and I walked (alone). Then he told me about the peyote eating. "It does not amount to anything, all this that they are doing, although they do stop drinking. It is also said that sick people get well. We were told about this and so we joined, and, sure enough, we are practically well, your mother as well as I. It is said that they offer prayers to Earthmaker (God)," he said. He kept on talking. "They are rather foolish. They cry when they feel very happy about anything. They throw away all of the medicines that they possess and know. They give up all the blessings they received while fasting and they give up all the spirits that blessed them in their fasts. They also stop smoking and chewing tobacco. They stop giving feasts, and they stop making offerings of tobacco. Indeed, they burn up their holy things. They burn up their war bundles. They are bad people. They give up the Medicine Dance. They burn up their medicine bags and even cut up their otter-skin bags. They say they are praying to Earthmaker (God) and they do so standing and crying. They claim that they hold nothing holy except Earthmaker (God). They claim that all the things that they are stopping are those of the bad spirit (the devil), and that the bad spirit (the devil) has deceived them; that there are no spirits who can bless; that there is no other spirit except Earthmaker (God)." Then I said, "Say, they certainly speak foolishly." I felt very angry toward them. "You will hear them, for they are going to have a meeting tonight. Their songs are very strange. They use a very small drum," said he. Then I felt a very strong desire to see them. [182]

After a while we arrived. At night they had their ceremony. At first I sat outside and listened to them. I was rather fond of them. I stayed in that country and the young peyote eaters were exceedingly friendly to me. They would give me a little money now and then and they treated me with tender regard. They did everything that they thought would make me feel good, and in consequence I used to speak as though I liked their ceremony. However, I was only deceiving them. I only said it because they were so good to me. I thought they acted in this way because (the peyote) was deceiving them.

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159 Soon after that my parents returned to Wisconsin, but when they
● 794 left they said they would come back in a little while. So I was left
276 there with my relatives, who were all peyote followers. For that reason they left me there. Whenever I went among the nonpeyote people I used to say all sorts of things about the peyote people, and when I returned to the peyote people I used to say all sorts of things about the others.

I had a friend who was a peyote man and he said to me, "My friend, I wish very much that you should eat the peyote." Thus he spoke and I answered him, "My friend, I will do it, but not until I get accustomed to the people of this country. Then I will do it. The only thing that worries me is the fact that they are making fun of you. And in addition, I am not quite used to them." I spoke dishonestly.

I was staying at the place where my sister lived. She had gone to Oklahoma; she was a peyote follower. After a while she returned. I was then living with a number of women. This was the second time (there) and from them I obtained some money. Once I got drunk there and was locked up for six days. After my sister returned she and the others paid more attention than ever to me. Especially was this true of my brother-in-law. They gave me horses and a vehicle. They really treated me very tenderly. I knew that they did all this because they wished me to eat the peyote. I, in my turn, was very kind to them. I thought that I was fooling them and they thought that they were converting me. I told them that I believed in the peyote because they were treating me so nicely.

After a while we moved to a certain place where they were to have a large peyote meeting. I knew they were doing this in order to get me to join. Then I said to my younger sister, "I would be quite willing to eat this peyote (ordinarily), but I don't like the woman with whom I am living just now and I think I will leave her. That is why I do not want to join now, for I understand that when married people eat medicine (peyote) they will always have to stay together. Therefore I will join when I am married to some woman permanently." Then my brother-in-law came and she told him what I had said, and he said to me, "You are right in what you say. The woman with whom you are staying is a married woman and you can not continue living with her. It is null and void (this marriage) and we know it. You had better join now. It will be the same as if you were single. We will pray for you as though you were single. After you have joined this ceremony, then you can marry any woman whom you have a right to marry (legally). So, do join tonight. It is best. For some time we have been desirous of your joining but we have not said anything to you. It is Earthmaker's (God's) blessing to you that you have been thinking of this," said he.

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Therefore I sat inside the meeting place with them. One man acted as leader. We were to do whatever he ordered. The regalia were placed before him. I wanted to sit in some place on the side because I thought I might get to crying like the others. I felt ashamed of myself. 159 794 276 796

Then the leader arose and talked. He said that this was an affair of Earthmaker's (God's), and that he (the leader) could do nothing on his own initiative; that Earthmaker (God) was going to conduct the ceremony. Then he said that the medicine (peyote) was holy and that he would turn us all over to it; that he had turned himself over to it and wished now to turn all of us over to it. He said further, "I am a very pitiable (figure) in this ceremony, so when you pray to Earthmaker, pray also for me. Now let us all rise and pray to Earthmaker (God)." We all rose. Then he prayed. He prayed for the sick, and he prayed for those who did not yet know Earthmaker. He said that they were to be pitied. When he had finished we sat down. Then the peyote was passed around. They gave me five. My brother-in-law said to me, "If you speak to this medicine (peyote), it will give you whatever you ask of it. Then you must pray to Earthmaker, and then you must eat the medicine." However, I ate them (the peyote) immediately, for I did not know what to ask for and I did not know what to say in a prayer to Earthmaker (God). So I ate the peyote just as they were. They were very bitter and had a taste difficult to describe. I wondered what would happen to me. After a while I was given five more and I also ate them. They tasted rather bitter. Now I was very quiet. The peyote rather weakened me. Then I listened very attentively to the singing. I liked it very much. I felt as though I were partly asleep. I felt different from (my normal self), but when I (looked around) and examined myself, I saw nothing wrong about myself. However, I felt different from (my normal self). Before this I used to dislike the songs. Now I liked the leader's singing very much. I liked to listen to him. [782]

They were all sitting very quietly. They were doing nothing except singing. Each man sang four songs and then passed the regalia to the next one. (Each one) held a stick and an eagle's tail feather in one hand and a small gourd rattle, which they used to shake while singing, in the other. One of (those) present used to do the drumming. Thus objects would pass around until they came back to the leader, who would then sing four songs. When these were finished, he would place the various (things) on the ground, rise, and pray to Earthmaker (God). Then he called upon one or two to speak. They said that Earthmaker (God) was good and that the peyote was good, and that whosoever ate this medicine (peyote) would be able to free himself from the bad spirit (the devil); for they said that

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159 Earthmaker forbids us to commit sins. When this was over they
794 sang again.

796 After midnight, every once in a while (I heard) someone cry. In
276 some cases they would go up to the leader and talk with him. He would stand up and pray with them. They told me what they were saying. They said that they were asking (people) to pray for them, as they were sorry for their sins and that they might be prevented from committing them again. That is what they were saying. They cried very loudly. I was rather frightened. (I noticed also) that when I closed my eyes and sat still, I began to see strange things. I did not get sleepy in the least. Thus the light (of morning) came upon me. In the morning, as the sun rose, they stopped. They all got up and prayed to Earthmaker (God) and then they stopped.

159 During the daytime I did not get sleepy in the least. My actions
276 were a little different (from my usual ones). Then they said, "To-
794 night they are going to have another meeting. Let us go over. They say that is the best (thing) to do and thus you can learn it (the ceremony) right away. It is said that their spirits wander
[794] over all the earth and the heavens also. All this you will learn and see," they said. "At times they die and remain dead all night and all day. When in this condition they sometimes see Earthmaker (God), it is said." One would also be able to see where the bad spirit lived, it was said.

So we went there again. I doubted all this. I thought that what they were saying was untrue. However, I went along anyhow. When we got there, I had already eaten some peyote, for I had taken three during the day. Now near the peyote meeting an (Indian) feast was being given and I went there instead. When I reached the place, I saw a long lodge. The noise was terrific. They were beating an enormous drum. The sound almost raised me in the air, so (pleasurably) loud did it sound to me. Not so (pleasurable) had things appeared at those affairs (peyote meetings) that I had lately been attending. There I danced all night and I flirted with the women. About day I left and when I got back the peyote meeting was still going on. When I got back they told me to sit down at a certain place. They treated me very kindly. There I again ate peyote. I heard that they were going to have another meeting near by on the evening of the same day. We continued eating peyote the whole day at the place where we were staying. We were staying at the house of one of my relatives. Some of the boys there taught me a few songs. "Say, when you learn how to sing, you will be the best singer, for you are a good singer as it is. You have a good voice," they said to me. I thought so myself.

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That night we went to the place where the peyote meeting was to take place. They gave me a place to sit and treated me very kindly. "Well, he has come," they even said when I got there, "make a place for him." I thought they regarded me as a great man. John Rave, the leader, was to conduct the (ceremony). I ate five peyote. Then my brother-in-law and my sister came and gave themselves up. They asked me to stand there with them. I did not like it, but I did it nevertheless. "Why should I give myself up? I am not in earnest, and I intend to stop this as soon as I get back to Wisconsin. I am only doing this because they have given me presents," I thought. "I might just as well get up, since it doesn't mean anything to me." So I stood up. The leader began to talk and I (suddenly) began to feel sick. It got worse and worse and finally I lost consciousness entirely. When I recovered, I was lying flat on my back. Those with whom I had been standing were still standing there. I had (as a matter of fact) regained consciousness as soon as I fell down. I felt like leaving the place that night, but I did not do it. I was quite tired out. "Why have I done this?" I said to myself. "I promised (my sister) that I would not do it." So I thought and then I tried to leave, but I could not. I suffered intensely. At last daylight came upon me. Now I thought that they regarded me as one who had a trance and found out something. 159 276 794

Then we went home and they showed me a passage in the Bible where it said that it was a shame for any man to wear long hair. That is what it said, they told me. I looked at the passage. I was not a man learned in books, but I wanted to give the impression that I knew how to read, so I told them to cut my hair, for I wore it long at that time. After my hair was cut I took out a lot of medicine that I happened to have in my pockets. These were courting medicines. There were many small bundles of them. All these, together with my hair, I gave to my brother-in-law. Then I cried and my brother-in-law also cried. Then he thanked me. He told me that I understood and that I had done well. He told me that Earthmaker (God) alone was holy; that all the things (blessings and medicines) that I possessed were false; that I had been fooled by the bad spirit (devil). He told me that I had now freed myself from much of this (bad influence). My relatives expressed their thanks fervently. [302] [832]

On the fourth night they had another meeting and I went to it again. There I again ate (peyote). I enjoyed it and I sang along with them. I wanted to be able to sing immediately. Some young men were singing and I enjoyed it, so I prayed to Earthmaker, asking him to let me learn to sing right away. That was all I asked for. My brother-in-law was with me all the time. At that meeting all the things I had given my brother-in-law were burned up.

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159 The fact that he (my brother-in-law) told me that I understood
794 pleased me, and I felt good when daylight came. (As a matter of
276 fact) I had not received any knowledge.

After that I would attend meetings every once in a while, and I looked around for a woman whom I might marry permanently. Before long that was the only thing I thought of when I attended the meetings.

On one occasion we were to have a meeting of men and I went to the meeting with a woman, with whom I thought of going around the next day. That was (the only) reason I went with her. When we arrived, the one who was to lead asked me to sit near him. There he placed me. He urged me to eat a lot of peyote, so I did. The leaders (of the ceremony) always place the regalia in front of themselves; they also had a peyote placed there. The leader placed a very small one in front of himself this time. "Why does he have a very small one there?" I thought to myself. I did not think much about it.

159 It was now late at night and I had eaten a lot of peyote and felt
794 rather tired. I suffered considerably. After a while I looked at the
786 peyote and there stood an eagle with outspread wings. It was as
276 beautiful a sight as one could behold. Each of the feathers seemed to have a mark. The eagle stood looking at me. I looked around thinking that perhaps there was something the matter with my sight. Then I looked again and it was really there. I then looked in a different direction and it disappeared. Only the small peyote remained. I looked around at the other people but they all had their heads bowed and were singing. I was very much surprised.

Some time after this (I saw) a lion lying in the same place (where I had seen the eagle). I watched it very closely. It was alive and looking at me. I looked at it very closely, and when I turned my eyes away just the least little bit it disappeared. "I suppose they all know this and I am just beginning to know of it," I thought. Then I saw a small person (at the same place). He wore blue clothes and a shining brimmed cap. He had on a soldier's uniform. He was sitting on the arm of the person who was drumming, and he looked at every one. He was a little man, perfect (in all proportions). Finally I lost sight of him. I was very much surprised indeed. I sat very quietly. "This is what it is," I thought, "this is what they all probably see and I am just beginning to find out."

Then I prayed to Earthmaker (God) "This, your ceremony, let me hereafter perform."

As I looked again, I saw a flag. I looked more carefully and (I saw) the house full of flags. They had the most beautiful marks on them. In the middle (of the room) there was a very large flag and it was a live one; it was moving. In the doorway there was another

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one not entirely visible. I had never seen anything so beautiful in all my life before. 159 794

Then again I prayed to Earthmaker (God). I bowed my head and closed my eyes and began (to speak). I said many things that I would ordinarily never have spoken about. As I prayed, I was aware of something above me and there he was; Earthmaker (God) to whom I was praying, he it was. That which is called the soul, that is it, that is what one calls Earthmaker (God). Now this is what I felt and saw. The one called Earthmaker (God) is a spirit and that is what I felt and saw. All of us sitting there, we had all together one spirit or soul; at least that is what I learned. I instantly became the spirit and I was their spirit or soul. Whatever they thought of, I (immediately) knew. I did not have to speak to them and get an answer to know what their thoughts had been. Then I thought of a certain place, far away, and immediately I was there; I was my thought. 786 276

I looked around and noticed how everything seemed about me, and when I opened my eyes I was myself in the body again. From this time on, I thought, thus I shall be. This is the way they are, and I am only beginning to be that way. "All those that heed Earthmaker (God) must be thus," I thought. "I would not need any more food," I thought, "for was I not my spirit? Nor would I have any more use of my body," I felt. "My corporeal affairs are over," I felt.

Then they stopped and left, for it was just dawning. Then someone spoke to me. I did not answer, for I thought they were just fooling, and that they were all like myself, and that (therefore) it was unnecessary for me to talk to them. So when they spoke to me I only answered with a smile. "They are just saying this to me because (they realize) that I have just found out," I thought. That was why I did not answer. I did not speak to anyone until noon. Then I had to leave the house to perform one of nature's duties and someone followed me. It was my friend. He said, "My friend, what troubles you that makes you act as you do?" "Well, there's no need of your saying anything, for you know it beforehand," I said. 159 794 276

Then I immediately got over my trance and again got into my (normal) condition, so that he would have to speak to me before I knew his thoughts. I became like my former self. It became necessary for me to speak to him.

Then I spoke to him and said, "My friend, let us hitch up these horses and then I will go wherever you like, for you wish to speak to me and I also want to go around and talk to you." Thus I spoke to him. "If I were to tell you all that I have learned, I would never be able to stop at all, so much have I learned," I said to him. "However, I would enjoy telling some of it." "Good," said he. He liked

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159 it (what I told him) very much. "That is what I am anxious to
794 hear," said he. Then we went after the horses. We caught one of
276 them but we could not get the other. He got away from us and we could not find him. We hunted everywhere for the horse but could not discover where he had run to. Long afterwards we found it among the whites.

Now since that time (of my conversion) no matter where I am, I always think of this religion. I still remember it and I think I will remember it as long as I live. It is the only holy thing I have been aware of in all my life.

After that whenever I heard of a peyote meeting, I went to it. However, my thoughts were always fixed on women. "If I were married (legally) perhaps these thoughts will leave me," I thought. Whenever I went to a meeting now I tried to eat as many peyote as possible, for I was told that it was good to eat them. For that reason I ate them. As I sat there I would always pray to Earthmaker (God). Now these were my thoughts. If I were married, I thought as I sat there, I could then put all my thoughts on this ceremony. I sat with my eyes closed and was very quiet.

159 Suddenly I saw something. This was tied up. The rope with
794 which this object was tied up was long. The object itself was run-
786 ning around and around (in a circle). There was a pathway there
276 in which it ought to go, but it was tied up and unable to get there. The road was an excellent one. Along its edge bluegrass grew and on each side there grew many varieties of pretty flowers. Sweet-smelling flowers sprang up all along this road. Far off in the distance appeared a bright light. There a city was visible of a beauty indescribable by tongue. A cross was in full sight. The object that was tied up would always fall just short of reaching the road. It seemed to lack sufficient strength to break loose (of what was holding it). (Near it) lay something which would have given it sufficient strength to break its fastenings, if it were only able to get hold of it.

I looked at what was so inextricably tied up and I saw that it was myself. I was forever thinking of women. "This it is to which I am tied," I thought. "Were I married, I would have strength enough to break my fastening and be able to travel in the good road," I thought. Then daylight came upon us and we stopped.

159 Then I thought of a man I used to know who was an old peyote-
794 man. He always spoke to me very kindly. I went over to see him.
276 I thought I would tell him what had happened to me. When I arrived there he was quite delighted. It was about noon and he fed my horses and asked me to eat with him. Then when we were through eating, I told him what had happened to me. He was very glad and told me that I was speaking of a very good thing. Then (finally) he said, "Now I shall tell you what I think is a good thing

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(for you to do). You know that if an old horse is balky, you cannot break him of (this habit); even if you bought him and tried to break him (of this habit) you would not succeed. If, indeed, you succeeded it would only be after very hard work. However, if you had a very young horse, you could train it in any way you wished. So it is in everything. If you marry a woman who has been in the habit of marrying frequently, it would be difficult for her to break herself of a habit she loves. You are not the one she loves. If you marry her you will lead a hard life. If you wish to get married, take your time. There are plenty of good women. Many of them are at (government) schools and have never been married. I think you would do best if you waited for some of these before marrying. They will return in the middle of the summer. So, don't think of any of these women you see around here, but wait until then and pray to Earthmaker patiently. That would be the best, I think." I liked what he told me and thanked him. I decided to accept his advice, and I did not look around for women after that. I was to wait about three months and (during that time) I paid strict attention to the peyote ceremony.

On one occasion while at a meeting, I suffered (great pain). My eyes were sore and I was thinking of many things. "Now I do nothing but pay attention to this ceremony, for it is good." Then I called the leader over to me and said to him, "My elder brother, hereafter only Earthmaker (God) shall I regard as holy. I will make no more offerings of tobacco. I will not use any more tobacco. I will not smoke and I will not chew tobacco. I have no further interest in these. Earthmaker (God) alone do I desire (to serve). I will not take part in the Medicine Dance again. I give myself up (to you). I intend to give myself up to Earthmaker's (God's) cause." Thus I spoke to him. "It is good, younger brother," he said to me. Then he had me stand up and he prayed to Earthmaker (God). He asked Earthmaker (God) to forgive me my sins.

The next morning I was taken home. My eyes were sore and I could not see. They took me back to a house and there they put a solution of the peyote into my eyes and I got well in a week.

One night, when I was asleep, I dreamed that the world had come to an end. Some people Earthmaker (God) took, while some belonged to the bad spirit (the devil). I belonged to the bad spirit (the devil). Although I had given myself up (become a peyote-man), I had not as yet been baptized. That was why Earthmaker (God) did not take me. All those who belonged to Earthmaker (God) were marked, but I was not. I felt very bad about it when I woke up, although I had only dreamed about it. I felt very bad indeed. I wanted them to hurry and have another peyote meeting

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soon. I could hardly wait until I reached the place where the next meeting was to take place. I immediately told the leader (what I wanted) and asked him to baptize me and he baptized me in the morning. After that morning I felt better.

Then I went to work and I worked with a railroad work-gang. I was still working when the time for the midsummer celebration approached. I always went to the peyote meeting on Saturday nights.

The old man was right in what he had told me. The girl students returned in the summer. Shortly (after they returned) a man, a friend of mine who had gone around with me, asked me if I wanted to get married. "Yes, I do," I answered. Then he said, "Listen, I have been thinking of something. What kind of a woman do you wish to marry?" I told him what I had in mind. Then he said, "Come home with me. I have a younger sister. I want her to marry a good man; I would like to have her marry you," he said. Then I went home with him. When we got there (and discussed the matter) the girl gave her consent. The parents also consented.

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So there I got married and what I expected has taken place and I have lived with her ever since. On one occasion, after she was used to me, she told me this. (Before she had married she had determined that) if she ever got married, she would not care to marry a very young man. "I wanted a man who ate peyote and who paid attention to the ceremony." Such a man she desired and such a man was I, she said. She loved me, she said, and she was glad that she had married me. This is what she had asked Earthmaker (God) in prayer. "And indeed it has happened as I wished," she said. She believed it was the will of Earthmaker (God) that we had done this, she said. She was therefore glad (that she had married me). Together we gave ourselves up (to the peyote) at a peyote meeting. From that time on we have remained members of the peyote (ceremony).

Many things are said under the influence of the peyote. The members (would) get into a kind of trance and speak of many things. On one occasion they had a peyote meeting which lasted two nights. I ate a good deal of peyote. The next morning I tried to sleep. I suffered a great deal. I lay down in a very comfortable position. After a while a (nameless) fear arose in me. I could not remain in that place, so I went out into the prairie, but here again I was seized with this fear. Finally I returned to a lodge near the lodge in which the peyote meeting was being held and lay down alone. I feared that I might do something foolish to myself (if I remained there alone), and I hoped that someone would come and talk to me. Then someone did come and talk to me, but I did not feel better, so I thought I would go inside where the meeting was going on. "I am going inside," I said to him. He laughed. "Alright, do so," said he. I went in and sat down. It was very hot and I felt as

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though I were going to die. I was very thirsty but I feared to ask for water. I thought that I was certainly going to die. I began to totter over. 159 794 276

I died, and my body was moved by another life. It began to move about; to move about and make signs. It was not I and I could not see it. At last it stood up. The regalia—eagle feathers and gourds—these were holy, they said. They also had a large book there (the Bible). These my body took and what is contained in that (book) my body saw. It was a Bible. The regalia were not holy, but they were good ornaments. My body told them that; and that if any person paid attention to Earthmaker's (God's) ceremony, he would be hearkening to what the Bible said; that, likewise, my body told them. Earthmaker's son (God's son) said that he was the only way. This means that one can only get life from the Word. (My) body spoke of many things and it spoke of what was true. Indeed it spoke of many things. It spoke of all the things that were being done (by the pagan Indians) and which were evil A long time it spoke. At last it stopped. Not I, but my body standing there, had done the talking. Earthmaker (God) had done his own talking. I would be confessing myself a fool if I were to think that I had said all this, it (my body) told me. 786 159 794 276

After a while I returned to my normal human condition. Some of those there had been frightened, thinking that I had gone crazy. Others had liked it. It was discussed a good deal. They called it the "shaking" state. It was said that the condition in which I was, was not part of Earthmaker's (God's) religion. I was told that whoever ate a lot of peyote would, through the peyote, be taught the teachings of Earthmaker (God). Earthmaker's (God's) ways and man's ways were different. Whoever, therefore, wished to help this religion must give himself up (to it). If you ate a good deal of this peyote and believed that it could teach you something, then it assuredly would do so. That, at least, is the way in which I understand the matter. 159 794 276

Once we had a meeting at the home of a member who was sick. The sick would always get well when a meeting was held in their home, and that is why we did it. At that meeting I got into the "shaking" condition again. My body told (us) how our religion (peyote) was an affair of Earthmaker's (God's) and even if one knew only a portion of it, one could still see (partake of) Earthmaker's (God's) religion.

Thus it went on talking. "Earthmaker (God), His Son (Christ) and His Holiness (the Holy Ghost), these are the three ways of saying it. Even if you know one (of these three), it means all. Every one of you has the means of opening (the road) to Earthmaker (God). It is given to you. With that (your belief) you can open (the door

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159 to God). You can not open it with knowledge (alone). How many
● 794 letters are there to the key (the road to God)? Three. What are
276 they?" There were many educated people (there), but none of them said anything. "The first (letter) must be a K, so if a person said K, that would be the whole of it. But let me look in the book (the Bible) and see what that means," said the body. Then it (the body) took the Bible and began to turn the leaves. The body did not know where it was itself, for it was not learned in books. Finally in Matthew, chapter 16, it stopped. There it speaks about it. "Peter did not give himself up" (it says). "For a long time he could not give up his own knowledge. There (in that passage) it says Key." That is the work of Earthmaker (God). At least so I understand it. He made use of my body and acted in this manner, in the case of the peyote.

Then I go about telling (every one) that this religion is good. Many other people at home said the same thing. Many, likewise, have joined this religion and are getting along nicely.

On one occasion, after I had eaten a good deal of peyote, I learned the following from it: that all I had done in the past, that it had all been evil. This was plainly revealed to me. What I thought was holy, and (by thus thinking) was lost, that I now know was false. (It is false), this giving of (pagan) feasts, of holding (the old) things holy, the Medicine Dance, and all the Indian customs.

### J. B.'s Account of His Conversion

I was at the old agency. There they were to try me for murder. At night, as I sat in jail, certain people came to me and told me that they had a gallon jug of whisky, and that if I was free that night, I should come and drink with them. They would wait for me. That same night there was a peyote meeting at John Rave's house and my brother Sam invited me to go there. Sam stood around there waiting for me. He was very low in spirits. He knew of the other invitation I had received and he told me that he would go with me wherever I went. I wanted very badly to go to the place where they had the liquor, and should have done so if Sam had given me the least chance. However, I could not get rid of him, so I decided to go to the peyote meeting. When I arrived there, we found just enough room in the center for myself and Sam. Sam sat at the right of me and John Bear at the left. In front of me there was some peyote infusion, and some peyote ground up and dampened.

As we sat there Sam began to cry and I began to think. I knew why Sam was crying; he wanted me to take some of the peyote. After a while I began to think of my own troubles. But I thought it wasn't the proper way of taking it just because I was in trouble.

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Then I thought of the other peyote eaters, how much they must be wanting me to take it. After a while I spoke to Sam and said, "I am going to eat this medicine, but . . ." Then I began to cry. After a while he tried to get me to say the balance, but I couldn't. I drank some of the solution. As the others saw that I was willing to take it they gave me a big ball of dampened peyote. However, I didn't like that and I asked for some more peyote in the dry state. I sat there asking for more and more peyote. This I kept up all night. When morning came I stopped. Just then Harry Rave got up to speak, and no sooner did he get up than I knew exactly what he was going to say. This must be the way of all peyote eaters, I thought. I looked around me; and suddenly I realized that all those within the room knew my thoughts and that I knew the thoughts of all the others. Harry Rave spoke and finished his speech; but I had known it all before he said a word. Then A. Priest, who was leading the meeting, arose and asked the rest to get up, so that they might turn themselves over to Christ. I also rose; but when I got up I was seized with a choking sensation. I couldn't breathe. I wanted to grab hold of Bear and Sam, but I didn't, thinking that I was going to stand whatever was coming to me. When I made up my mind to that, I felt relieved. Then I knew what the real meaning of turning one's self over to Christ meant.

In the morning they stopped the meeting and everyone seemed happy and glad. I, however, was very serious and wondered why they were all laughing. Every once in a while they would come and talk to me. I wondered why they did it, when they knew what was going on within me. For that reason I wouldn't answer them.

That week there were four meetings, and I went to all of them and ate very much peyote. The fourth meeting was at the usual place, John Rave's house. I sat with Sam as usual. At night I became filled with peyote. All at once I heard a voice saying, "You are the one who is to tell of the medicine dance." And I thought that Sam was speaking to me, so I turned around and looked at him, but he hadn't said a word. Soon I realized that nobody near me had said anything, and I began to think, "Why should it be I? Why not one of the others?" I rather pushed the idea from me; but no sooner had I done so than I began to have a tired and depressed sensation. This passed all over me. I knew that if I got up with the sincere purpose of giving in to the power that was wanting me to speak of the medicine dance I should be relieved. However, for some reason, I know not why, I felt like resisting.

The next morning I asked to be baptized, and said that I would thereafter have nothing more to do with offerings to the spirits;

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159 that I would not give any more feasts; and that I would not have
● 794 any more to do with the medicine dance. From that day on I
276 quit all my old beliefs. I did not feel like saying all this, for indeed my heart was turned just the other way, but I couldn't help it, for I was filled with the peyote.

From that time on, at every meeting that I attended, I could not rid myself of the idea that I must tell of the medicine dance. At all such times a feeling of heaviness would come over me. There I would be with but one thing on my mind: should I, or should I not, tell of it? I did not want to, and thought of all sorts of excuses that I was not a member of the Nebraska division, etc.

I was in this frame of mind while living with John Walker. There I received word that I would be wanted to tell of the medicine dance. From that moment I could not rest easy. I went to the barn and prayed and wept, asking that God might direct me. I went about but could not sit quiet. My wife stayed around me crying. As I stood there, someone drove up with a white team. Then I thought of all the unhappiness I would cause to members of the medicine lodge if I told the secrets of the medicine dance; and I asked myself if it really would not be a sin to cause so much misery. The man who was driving the white team was John Baptiste, and he told me that I was wanted to tell of the medicine dance. I got ready and entered the buggy. I was still crying and praying. Then it occurred to me that I would like to see John Rave. No sooner had I thought of this than John Rave appeared in the road. I got out and shook hands with him and told him where I was going and for what purpose, and asked him what he thought of the matter. He began to thank me for the work I was going to do and said, "This is what we should try to do, to help one another and to work for our Creator." Then he thanked me again. Perfect happiness now came over me and I went to Sioux City and got married legally. From now on I was entirely filled with the desire to tell all that I knew about the medicine dance. "This must be the work assigned to me by the Creator," I thought; and yet I have rejected the idea all the time.

On Paul's last trip, although I had not finished the translation, I didn't care to have any more to do with it, and said that somebody else should finish the work, my excuse being that I was busy. So, as soon as I heard that Paul had come, I packed up and hurried out west as quickly as possible, for I knew that he would bother the life out of me if he found me. However, no sooner had I reached the home of my friend than I was seized with an attack of rheumatism, with which I had never been afflicted before, and the next morning Paul appeared with a wagon to take me back to Winnebago. Now I know that the telling and the translation of the medicine dance is my mission in life, and I am willing to tell all to the full extent of my knowledge.

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JESSE CLAY'S ACCOUNT OF THE ARAPAHO MANNER OF GIVING THE PEYOTE CEREMONY WHICH HE INTRODUCED AMONG THE WINNEBAGO IN 1912

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I went to Oklahoma once as the guest of an Arapaho Indian. While there I witnessed the Arapaho manner of holding a peyote meeting and was very much impressed with it. A year later this Arapaho came to visit me in Winnebago, and while he was with us a few of my friends urged me to hold the peyote ceremony according to the Arapaho method. I held several meetings at which my Arapaho friend led.

Now these are the instructions that Arapaho Bull gave me.

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The person giving the ceremony must get up at sunrise so that he can tell exactly where the sun is going to rise. He must place a stick and make the drawing of a cross on the earth just in that direction from which the sun is about to rise. He does this in order to get the correct location for the tipi and the fireplace. Then he marks a circle around the cross. Then he makes a diagonal mark through the center of the circle, thus making the circle resemble a star. The circle is the outline of the tipi. Then another diagonal mark is made so that the drawing resembles, to their minds, a peyote. A fireplace which resembles a half-moon is placed right in the center of the lodge. After that the tipi poles are raised, 12 in number. Finally the whole is inclosed in canvas. When finished it is supposed to represent the earth. It is then ready to be entered. Special preparations are made for entering. The drummer with his drum and the leader and those behind him with all their regalia march up to the door. Before these enter, however, an attendant, called the fireman, spreads sage all over the lodge, from the seat of the leader to the door and back again. Then he starts a fire, always placing the left fire sticks first. When they are all thus lined up outside of the door the leader offers a prayer.

"May the Creator be with us when we enter this lodge."

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The leader now enters and, proceeding along the left side of the lodge, marches to his seat, and there he stands with his drum until the lodge is filled. After all have entered they sit down. Then the fireman who sits to the right rekindles the fire. The leader now spreads out his articles—a gourd, a drumstick, a staff, and the feather. He then takes 12 sage leaves and lays them out in the form of a star, first making a cross-shaped object and then filling this into the desired form. On top he places the peyote, and, leaning against that, he places a flute made of an eagle bone, the mouth of the flute resting against the peyote. Then he puts an otter-skin cap at the foot of the flute. After a while the leader takes the peyote he is going to use in one hand and some cedar needles in the other,

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794 and, going to his seat, where all the other objects are spread out, he
796 sits down and prays. He prays that all the participants may be
276 strengthened by the prospective meeting. He offers up thanks for
177 the peyote and prays that all may be in the proper spirit that night. Then he throws the needles in the fire and holds the peyote over the smoke of the cedar. When this has been finished he returns to his seat, eats one peyote, and gives one to the drummer. After they have eaten these he passes four peyote in turn to those on his left until the peyote comes to the one sitting nearest the door. Four peyote are given to the one nearest the door that he, in turn, may pass them to those on the other side of the door and so on until the leader is reached again. Before the peyote is eaten, the leader gets up and talks. He instructs the people as to the nature of the meeting and tells them that those who wish to go out must do so after the midnight water is drunk and not until after the leader returns from outside. No one is to go out while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote. He then speaks of the special prayers that are to be offered up and asks them to offer general prayers for all nonmembers and even for their enemies. After that the leader again offers up a prayer and smokes all the objects he had spread before his seat. Then the songs are to start, all, however, first eating peyote.

(When the fire first starts and thereafter, throughout the night, it is supposed to represent light, just as God said, "Let there be light.")

[533] The first song is always the same and is called the starting song. Those that follow are peyote songs. When he has finished these songs he passes the singing staff to the right of the drummer. When this one has finished the staff is returned to the leader, who passes it on to the left, and then in rotation it goes to the one sitting near the door. The drum, when it is handed on, is always passed under the staff. The fire is always replenished, but toward midnight special care is taken in this regard and the coals are placed in the shape of a crescent between the fire and the earth crescent, and the fireman sweeps first around the left and then around the right side. Then exactly at midnight the leader calls for his singing staff and his drum, no matter where they happen to be, and, taking the singing
[533] staff and sending the drum to the drummer, he blows his flute and sings. The song he sings then is called the midnight song. After that three peyote songs are sung, it making no difference which they are. As the leader starts his midnight song the fireman takes up his position at the doorway opposite the fireplace and the leader. When the second song is started the fireman turns around to the right and goes out and gets water and soon comes back with it. When he reenters he makes the figure of a cross on the ground where
[788] he stood just before he left and places water on it. Then he squats down on his knees.

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When the leader stops singing he walks to the crescent by the fireplace and begins praying again. After the prayer he burns some more cedar needles. The reason for drinking water at midnight is because Christ was born at midnight and because of the good tidings that he brought to the earth, for water is one of the best things in life and Christ is the savior of mankind. After the leader has made his prayer and the cedar is burned, then the fireman reaches over toward the smoke and makes a motion with his body as if he were drawing the smoke over himself. He then takes the water and brings it over to the leader. The leader takes a bunch of feathers and, dipping it into the water, sprinkles it on the peyote, then on the fire, on the sage, and finally all over the lodge, beginning with the doorway and then going around. The water is then drunk in a regular order, first by the leader, then by the drummer, and then by all the other people. After all these things have been done the leader returns the staff to the man from whom he had taken it at midnight. As soon as this man starts the singing again the leader takes his flute and goes outside. He goes toward the east for a short distance, and there he sits down and offers up a prayer for the people. Then he blows his flute, and going to the south of the lodge repeats the same procedure. This is also repeated for the west and the north. When the singing within the lodge has stopped, he returns and takes his seat. 794 796 177

The purpose of going to the four directions and blowing the flute is to announce the birth of Christ to all the world.

After the leader has reentered the singing continues as before. At daybreak the fireman fixes the fire in the same way as at midnight. The staff, drum, etc., is now passed to the leader, who as soon as he has received everything takes his flute and blows on it. Before doing this, however, he puts on his otter-skin cap. The purpose of blowing the flute just at that time is to represent the trumpet of the Day of Judgment, when Christ will appear wearing His crown in all glory. The putting on of the otter-skin cap represents the crown.

The song used on this occasion is called the water song. After the first song is finished the fireman opens the door and a woman enters carrying water, which she pours over the cross which the fireman had sprinkled at midnight. The fireman then spreads something for her to sit on, between the water and the door. [533]

When the leader has finished his four songs, he lays down his staff, etc., and, taking some cedar needles, offers up a prayer of thanks, and as he finishes he throws the cedar into the fire and sits down while the woman gathers the smoke toward her in the same way as the fireman had done on the previous night. Then the leader takes a drinking cup and sends it toward the woman. The

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794 fireman now rises and pours water on the impressions he had made
796 when drawing the cross on the earth, and the woman drinks some
177 water from the cup, which she then returns to the leader. The water is then returned to her and she passes it around the lodge, beginning at the left. When it reaches the leader again, he takes out the same cup which he had handed to the woman and drinks out of it. The water, however, is passed on until it reaches the door. The fireman would then take it and bring it back to where it had been placed when first brought in. The woman rises and goes around the fireplace from left to right, taking the water with her. Finally the leader takes his singing staff and sings four songs. When these songs are finished, the woman places some food just outside the door. The fireman goes outside and brings in this food, placing it in a line between the fire and the door. Four things are brought in—water,
[262] corn with sweetened water, fruit, and meat. When the food is brought in the leader puts away all the objects he had spread out before him, which the fireman takes out of the lodge. The leader then offers up a prayer of thanks and says grace. The four kinds of food are passed around the lodge, beginning with the entrance, from left to right. After they are returned they are placed in line again, only in the reverse order from that used before. The fireman then takes them outside. While the people are eating the door remains open.

(During the evening the leader represents the first created man, the woman dressed up is the New Jerusalem, the bride waiting for the bridegroom. The cup used by the leader and the woman is supposed to symbolize the fact that they are to become one; the water represents the God's gift, His Holiness. The corn represents the feast to be partaken of on the Day of Judgment and the fruit represents the fruit of the tree of life. The meat represents the message of Christ and those who accept it will be saved.)[4]

794 The above descriptions represent the Peyote cult as it was given between 1908 and 1913. It is quite clear that a definite organization exists consisting of a unit of five positions occupied by the leader and four helpers. No specific requirements, with the exception, of course, of that of being a peyote eater, are associated with the right to occupy these positions.

No specialized features have become associated with the positions of the four helpers. As indicated before, John Rave is always the leader when he is present, but the position of leadership can be delegated to others. This is always of a temporary nature. It may be significant to note that whenever delegated the leadership is always delegated to men who have been among the first of the converts, outside of Rave's immediate family, and who were leaders in the old

[4] J. C.'s account ends here.

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pagan ceremonies. In 1910 this delegation of leadership was clearly a recent tendency, conditioned, on the one hand, by the size of the reservation and the impossibility of Rave's being everywhere, and, on the other hand, by Rave's frequent absence on proselytizing missions. In 1913 it had already become customary for a number of men to hold the position of leader even when Rave was present. A further complication was introduced when Jesse Clay began giving the peyote ceremonies in the Arapaho manner, for he then stood in the same relation to his method of giving the ceremony as Rave stood to the older form. As we shall see, there was, even in 1908, a separatist movement led by Albert Hensley, which, if it had succeeded, would have given Hensley the same leadership that Rave enjoyed before him and that Clay subsequently acquired.

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## Development of the Ritualistic Complex

From the accounts given by various members of the Peyote cult it is quite clear that Rave became interested in the peyote on one of his many trips to Oklahoma. According to the verbal account he gave, which differs in some respects from the account he subsequently dictated on the particular visit which resulted in his first eating the peyote, he was in a most distressed and unhappy condition of mind owing to the loss of his wife and children.[8] He went away from Winnebago with the intention of staying away as long as possible from the scene of his loss.

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Rave's account of his conversion gives a sufficiently dramatic picture of how he first ate the peyote and its immediate effects. In response to numerous questions as to how he was first induced to eat the peyote he always said that it was because he had been so frequently asked. It is, however, far more likely that he was passing through an emotional crisis at that particular time, and the requests that he partake of it and the inducements held out to him, made it easier for him to succumb then than on his previous visits.

To judge from Rave's remarks, his first belief in the peyote had nothing of the nature of a conversion to a new religion. It seems to have been similar to the average Winnebago attitude toward a medicinal plant obtained either as a gift or through purchase. There is only one new note—stimulation by a narcotic.

Rave states that the peyote cured him of a disease with which he had been afflicted for a long time. After repeated requests his wife also consents to being treated; so he paints her face and, taking the rattle, sings peyote songs while she eats the peyote. His attitude

[8] In the account Rave himself gives he speaks of seeing his wife and children. As his verbal statement was corroborated by other people, we are inclined to believe that in his dictated account of his conversion he had forgotten the actual state of affairs. It may, of course, be that in his ardent desire to show the marvelous effects of the peyote he permitted his memory to play him false.

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● 794 159 throughout, both from his own testimony and from that of others, seems to have been practically the attitude of the Winnebago shaman. He even offered tobacco to the peyote.

We have, then, at the beginning the introduction of apparently only one new element—the peyote, with possibly a few Christian [177] teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned there was hardly anything new at all. This view does not, of course, interfere in the least with the fact that to the Winnebago themselves the presence of the peyote represented the introduction of a new element.

The elaboration of the peyote practices at Rave's hands is the most difficult problem to trace on account of the lack of data. In the account that he gives of his conversion there is no evidence whatsoever of any antagonistic attitude toward the old Winnebago manner of living. When the author met him, however, for the first time, in 1908, this passive attitude had changed to one of violent hatred for the old Winnebago customs. Why and under what circumstances [182] this change took place we do not know. It probably represented the intersection of many elements, the hostility of the tribe, the drawing of issues sharply around certain points, and the gradual assumption on the part of Rave of the rôle of a prophet who had [192] solved the problem of the adjustment of the Winnebago to the surrounding white civilization. Offhand, one might be inclined to believe that Rave's insistence upon breaking with the past was due entirely to the influence of the Christian elements incorporated in his new religion. It is, however, extremely doubtful whether such an assumption is necessary. There seem to have been comparatively [177] few Christian elements in the religion before Albert Hensley's influence had made itself felt, yet many of the old war bundles had been destroyed long before that time, and the peyote eaters were looked upon with cordial dislike by the conservative members of the tribe. The admonition that only a complete break with the past could save the Winnebagoes and enable them to compete successfully with the white intruders had been given to the Winnebagoes once before by the famous Shawnee prophet. What the latter claimed, however, was that the various sacred objects used by the Winnebago had lost their power, and that that power must now be renewed. This he [182] thought could only be done by returning to the old manner of living which he claimed the Winnebago were no longer following. Such a claim was, after all, not revolutionary. It is not, therefore, the break with the Winnebago present-day viewpoint that characterizes Rave's attitude, but the fact that instead of returning to the older, purer

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life as the Shawnee prophet proposed to do, he substituted an alien 794 159
religion. It was because he was introducing an alien religion, not [177
because he was introducing a new religion, that he was so intensely 156]
hated by the conservative members of the tribe.

When this hostility was at its height a new convert, Albert Hensley, 794
revolutionized the entire cult by introducing the reading of the Bible, 177
postulating the dogma that the peyote opened the Bible to the under- 159
standing of the people, and also adding a number of Christian practices. He, like Rave, had been in Oklahoma. He brought back with him many peyote songs, generally in other languages, dealing with Christian ideas, upon which subsequently Winnebago songs were modeled. He also introduced either baptism itself or an interpretation of baptism, and induced Rave to attempt a union with the Christian Church. He seems to have been the only prominent man connected with the peyote who was subject to epileptic fits. He had [158]
the most glorious visions of heaven and hell while in his trance, and these he expounded afterwards in terms of Revelation and the mystical portions of the New Testament. Hensley's additions represent a second stratum of borrowed elements, all of which are in the nature of accretions as far as the peyote itself is concerned. The Bible is explained in terms of the peyote. Neither Hensley nor his followers ever interpreted the peyote in terms of the Bible, although other elements of the old Winnebago culture were so interpreted. These elements, however, represented features that even in the old Winnebago cults exhibited a great variability in interpretation.

Rave's attitude toward the innovations of Hensley seems to have been that of a benevolent acquiescence. He himself could neither read nor write. Yet he immediately accepted the Bible and added it to his other regalia. As such it always seems to have remained. To Rave, after all, the peyote was the principal element, and if Hensley chose to insist that the Bible was only intelligible to those who partook of the peyote why that naturally fell within its magical powers. From the entire omission in Rave's account of the Peyote cult of the more important things that Hensley introduced and from the fact that whenever Hensley's influence was not dominant there seems to have been little Bible reading, it seems justifiable to say that Rave's attitude toward these innovations was merely passive.

There never was any rivalry between Rave and Hensley. The 578
latter was, however, a much younger man, quick-tempered, con- [157]
ceited, dogmatic, and withal having a strong mixture of Puritan 794
Protestant ideas. A conflict developed after a while and in a very 159
interesting manner. Rave had allowed a man with an extremely bad reputation, who had been admitted as a member of the Peyote cult, to occupy one of the four positions. Hensley violently pro-

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578 tested, on the ground that a man of X.'s character could not properly
794 perform the rites associated with that position. Rave, however,
159 retorted that the efficacy of the peyote, of any position connected with its cult, was in no way connected with the character of the performer, and that it was inherent in the peyote and in the Peyote ritual. Thereupon, after much parleying to and fro, Hensley formally seceded, taking with him a number of followers. The bulk of the peyote eaters, however, remained with Rave, and within a comparatively short time a number of Hensley's followers returned to Rave, so that in 1911 Hensley had merely a handful of people. Since then he has ceased to be a force, although his innovations have been retained by a number of the younger Peyote members, especially by those who read English.

In 1911 there was no unification of the ideas of Rave and Hensley. Since then, strange to say, although Hensley's attempt to set up his
[177] own religion failed utterly, his ideas and Christain innovations seemed to have triumphed completely. This, however, has gone hand in
[178] hand with a marked dropping off of enthusiasm. It appears now as if the Peyote cult has run its course. Some of the members have recently returned to the old pagan customs, others have practically become Christians, and many have become indifferent.

794 Unquestionably the most interesting of recent innovations is that
177 introduced by Jesse Clay, the account of which has been given be-
159 fore. This is, of course, the Arapaho manner of conducting the ceremony. At the present time it has none of the characteristics of the Winnebago ceremonial. Whether in the next few years it will develop any depends upon the interest manifested in it by the Peyote worshipers and upon the vitality of the Peyote movement in general.

It is extremely suggestive to compare what Rave introduced with the ceremony borrowed by Clay. The former introduced an isolated element, the peyote and its worship, and clothed it almost immediately in characteristic Winnebago forms. It can truly be said that although the peyote is an alien element, from the Winnebago viewpoint, everything else in the ceremony is and was from the beginning typically Winnebago. Clay's method of conducting the Peyote ceremonies, on the other hand, is entirely alien. For it ever to become popular with the large mass of Winnebago it will have to become thoroughly assimilated with the Winnebago background.

### Dissemination of the Doctrine

Let us now see how the ideas of Rave and Hensley were transmitted in the tribe itself, who the first and the later converts were, in what the nature of their conversion consisted, and what they, in turn, brought to the new cult.

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The first and foremost virtue predicated by Rave for the peyote was its curative power. He gives a number of instances in which hopeless venereal diseases and consumption were cured by its use; and this was the first thing one heard about it as late as 1913. In the early days of the Peyote cult it appears that Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote. The main point apparently was to induce people to try it. No amount of preaching of its direct effects, such as the hyperstimulation induced, the glorious visions, and the feeling of relaxation following, would ever have induced prominent members of the old Winnebago religious societies to try it. For that reason it is highly significant that all the old members of the Peyote cult speak of the diseases of which it cured them. Along this line lay unquestionably its appeal for the most converts. Its subsequent spread was due to a large number of interacting factors. One informant claims that there was little religion connected with it at first, and that the people drank the peyote on account of its peculiar effects. 794 159 755 276

The manner in which it spread at the beginning was simple and significant viz, along family lines. As soon as an individual had become a peyote eater he devoted all his energies to converting other members of his family. From instances that have come to our notice this lay in an insistent appeal to family ties and personal affection. A man showed unusual courtesy, showered innumerable favors upon relatives he was anxious to convert, and thereby earned the gratitude of the recipient, who at some critical moment, let us say, such as illness or mental depression, showed it by partaking of the peyote. The same methods were employed in the more general propaganda. The author knows of Peyote people who drove many miles in order to be present at the bedside of some old conservative who was ill, perhaps neglected by his relatives; bring him food, and spend the night with him in the most affectionate solicitude. They always had sufficient tact and understanding of human nature not to obtrude their purpose on the sick man too much. To the casual observer their object seemed simply that of a Samaritan. They would hardly have admitted that behind all their solicitude lay the desire to obtain a new convert. They would have claimed that their only purpose, over and above their sincere desire to comfort the sick man, was to demonstrate to their fellow Winnebago what changes the peyote had wrought in them. In this way the patient drew the inference, an inference that was likely to be drawn all the more quickly and forcibly when he contrasted the behavior of these Peyote nurses with that of his pagan relatives. The author was fortunate enough to obtain a fairly complete account of a conversion, illustrating both these features. 794 159 593 276

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## WHAT THE CONVERTS INTRODUCED

794 177 It is quite impossible to establish now what these converts introduced individually. For that matter it is not necessary to assume that they brought any specific additions to the cult. What they did bring were Winnebago; and with that, the emotional and cultural setting of the old pagan background. To one, the eating of the peyote gave the same magical powers that were formerly associated with membership in the medicine dance; to another, the visions were direct blessings from God, directing him to perform certain actions; to a third, faithfulness to the teachings of the Peyote cult became associated with a certainty of reaching God, of being able to take the right road in the journey to the spirit land. Even a man so thoroughly saturated with Christian doctrines as Hensley himself felt it necessary to introduce an origin myth; and although we know that he borrowed it from a southern tribe, it is quite clear that in Hensley's narrative it has already assumed all the characteristics of a Winnebago fasting experience and ritualistic myth, similar to those connected with the founders of the old Winnebago cult societies. In its totality the atmosphere of the Peyote cult became thus charged with the old Winnebago background. In 1911 it can not be said that they had displaced the distinctive Christian elements. Among the younger members, especially those who had been trained in the east and could read and write English, the influence of the Christian ideas in the interpretation of the old pagan features is, as was pointed out before, so strong to-day that it threatens to displace the others.

The following homily will show how the old myths were used by the younger Peyote members to point a tale.

794 773 The old people often spoke of the Trickster, but we never knew what they meant. They told us how he wrapped a coon-skin blanket around himself and went to a place where all the people were dancing. There he danced until evening and then he stopped and turned around. No one was to be seen anywhere, and then he realized that he had mistaken for people dancing the noise made by the wind blowing through the reeds.

[381 829] So do we Winnebagoes act. We dance and make a lot of noise, but in the end, we accomplish nothing.

Once, as the Trickster was going toward a creek, he saw a man standing on the other side, dressed in a black suit, and pointing his finger at him. He spoke to the man but the latter would not answer. Then he spoke again and again, but without receiving any reply. Finally he got angry and said, "See here! I can do that too." He put on the black coat and pointed his finger across the creek. Thus both of them stood all day. Toward evening, when he looked around again, he noticed that the man across the creek, pointing his finger at him, was really just a tree stump. "O my! what have I been doing all

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this time! Why did I not look before I began? No wonder the people call me the Foolish One." 794 773

So are we Winnebagoes. We never look before we act. We do everything without thinking. We think we know all about it.

The Trickster was walking around with a pack on his back. As he walked along, someone called to him. "Say, we want you to sing." "All right," said he. "I am carrying songs in my pack, and if you wish to dance, build a large lodge for me with a small hole at the end for an entrance." When it was finished, they all went in, and the Trickster followed them. Those who had spoken to him were birds. He told them that while dancing they were not to open their eyes, for if they did their eyes would become red. Whenever a fat bird passed the Trickster he would choke it to death, and if it cried out, he would say, "That's it! That's it! Give a whoop!"

After a while one of the birds got somewhat suspicious and opened its eyes just the least little bit. He saw that the Trickster was choking all the birds. "He is killing us all," said the bird. "Let all who can run for their lives." Then he flew out through the top of the house. The Trickster took the birds he had killed and roasted them; but he did not get a chance to eat them, for they were taken away from him by somebody.

So are we Winnebagoes. We like all that is forbidden. We say that we like the medicine dance; we say that it is good and yet we keep it secret and forbid people to witness it. We tell members of the dance not to speak about it until the world shall come to an end. They are afraid to speak of it. We, the Winnebago, are the birds, and the Trickster is satan.

Once, as the Trickster was going along the road, some one spoke to him. He listened, and he heard it say, "If anyone eats me all bad things will come out of him." Then the trickster went up to the one talking, and said, "What is your name?" "My name is 'Blows-himself-away.'" The Trickster would not believe it; so he ate it. After a while, he blew himself away. He laughed. "Oh, pshaw! I suppose this is what it meant." As he went along it grew worse and worse, and it was only after the greatest hardship that he succeeded in returning home.

So are we Winnebagoes. We travel on this earth all our lives, and then when one of us tastes something that makes him unconscious we look upon this thing with suspicion when he regains consciousness.

### The Attitude of the Conservatives

At every phase of the cult's development Rave had to contend with the hostility of the conservative members of the tribe. It would be interesting to know in what manner and degree this hostility mani- 794 578

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794 578 fested itself upon the first introduction of the peyote. As we have seen, there was in the beginning little difference between the beliefs relating to the peyote and those connected with the old Winnebago medicinal plants. Nevertheless the author was assured that hostility was exhibited to the new cult from the very start. Would the same hostility have been exhibited had this new feature represented some development from within the tribe? In other words, what it would be interesting to know, is whether the fact that the peyote was derived from without led to a hostility different in kind from that exhibited toward an innovation developing within the culture itself. No evidence could be obtained that would justify us in explaining the hostility felt by the older conservative Winnebago as due in any part to the fact that it was alien in origin. Certain elements that to-day form an integral part of the most popular of all Winnebago ceremonies were borrowed from the Sauk and Iowa, and the Winnebago [177] realize this and mention it in the introductory myths told in connection with the preparatory rites of the medicine dance. The explanation obtained was always the same—that the hostility was due to the fact that the teachings of the Peyote people departed from those of their ancestors and that the Peyote were simply aping the habits and customs of the whites. What seems to have met with the greatest [775 177] opposition from the older shamans was the denial of the doctrine of reincarnation. The Christian doctrine of the immortality of the soul does not seem to have been felt as a substitute at all. One old conservative assured the author that he had long ago prophesied the appearance of the peyote among the Winnebago. He told the author the following:

[776] "This medicine is one of the four spirits from below, and for that reason it is a bad thing. These spirits have always longed for human beings and now they are getting hold of them. Those who use this medicine claim that when they die they will only be going on a long journey. But that is not the truth, for when they eat peyote they [775] destroy their spirits, and death to them will mean extermination. If I spit upon the floor, the sputum will soon dry up and nothing will remain of it. So death will be for them. I might go out and preach against this doctrine, but it would be of no avail, for I certainly would not be able to draw more than one or two people away from this spirit. Many will be taken in by this medicine; they will not be able to help themselves in any way. The bad spirit will certainly seize them."

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159 If he (my father) blessed a man he would do as follows: He would
789 take his bow and arrows and, holding them in both of his hands,
776 take the man around the hill and then into the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There he and the man he wished to bless let their breath pass into the middle of the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There stood a stone pillar and upon this stone pillar, at about arm's length, he drew the pictures of different animals. My father had only one arrow, but that arrow was a holy one. Then my father danced around the stone pillar and sang some songs, and when he was finished he began to breathe upon the stone pillar; and, walking around it, he shot it. When he looked at it, he saw that the stone had turned into a deer with large horns. This deer fell dead at his feet. He repeated this a number of times and the little spirits who were following him breathed with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you wish to kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done here. Then
[782] offer tobacco to us and you will be able to obtain whatever you wish."

159 "Now, my son, I want you to be able to do as I do. I want you
867 to be able to kill deer whenever you wish, and at any particular time." My father was a very good hunter and I wanted to be very much like him. I knew that what he was saying was true and that it would be good to follow his advice. I was also told that if I traveled around the hill where these spirits lived, then all earthly things would agree with me and that I would be the gainer thereby. If I did this, they told me, then I would never suffer any pains in my body and I would never be troubled in any way.

159 And this they told me about the ghost village—that when I go
787 there I will be able to steal a costly shawl from the spirits and be
775 able to escape with it; that then all the inhabitants of the ghost village would chase me, but that they would not be able to overtake me and would be compelled to turn back as soon as I reached the earth. In this ghost village there are no grown-up children.[7]

Now, all that I have spoken of, I dreamed. I really dreamed that I was stealing a costly shawl and that I would have plenty of them all the time. I dreamed that I would obtain ten or even more
787 shawls in one year and that I would not have to pay anything for
159 them. What the spirits meant by shawls was supplies. However,
● 795 all this took place before I ate the peyote. Since then I know that these things were not true, and that what I must depend upon is not supernatural power, but myself, and my own endeavors. Super-
[783] natural powers do not come from anywhere. They do not exist at all. The blessings I had received were not holy and I am not holy.

[7] He is evidently referring to the spirit home of the Hawk's, or Those-who-cry-like-babies.

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This I know now. The whole thing is untrue. Therefore I stopped using these supernatural powers some time ago.[9] 159 787

The old people made me fast so that I might obtain blessings, and that I might lead a life similar to that led by my ancestors. My father asked me to fast so that I might be of some help to my fellow-men as I grew up. It is through fasting that individuals obtain the power of curing disease and restoring a person to health again. [756]

Spirits from above also came to me. They took me to the spirit-shaman village. As the shamans gathered around me they said that the blessing would be very difficult to give me. Then the shaman sitting far in front made himself holy and breathed upon me (i. e., performed the actions of a shaman when treating a patient). When he was finished, then he began to sing and all those in the lodge began to breathe, helping him. Then the second shaman made himself holy and began to breathe and sing. In this way four of them made themselves holy. They were showing me what to do when I came back to earth. If a person on earth is sick (this is what they meant), and is in an almost hopeless condition where no one else could cure him, then they would call for me and offer me tobacco with which I was to sacrifice to the spirits who had taught me. 159 756 775

Indeed I am holy. If a man is sick I can restore him to health. That is what I used to think. I really (had it been true) should have felt it, for I labored earnestly and honestly to be a holy person. Yet in spite of all my exertions I was very unfortunate. I had married twice and both of my wives and all my children died. Indeed, how could I ever consider myself a holy man (i. e., if I couldn't even cure my own wife and children of what value were my "supernatural powers")? For a long time I knew that, at least I should have known it.[9] (I was not holy.) Then I ate the peyote and now I really see myself as I am. Indeed I am not holy. My body is without a soul. I thought myself holy. So I have stopped the practice of the shaman. 156 756 156 [795]

[9] The informant had become a convert to the Peyote belief only a short time before he wrote down this account of his fasting, and it is interesting to see that, although he no longer believes in the efficacy of the supernatural powers, he still believes that they exist. Two years after this, however, the same informant explained them, as all the older members of the Peyote cult explain them, namely, as delusions, either caused by the abnormal condition of the youth while fasting or as snares of the devil.

[9] In the words "I should have known it" are summed up the essential change of attitude between the Peyote Winnebago and the older Winnebagoes. The latter, too, had observed the apparent failure of the supernatural powers on many occasions, but instead of attributing them to any diminution of efficacy in the "powers," attributed them, on the contrary, to a lack of something in the individual trying to use the "power," in so far as they thought about it at all. But the essential difference between the two cults, the older one and the Peyote, lies not so much in the logical conclusions their adherents have drawn from the failure of the "supernatural powers" to behave as they were expected to, as in the fact that the Peyote people make the failure of the "power" the subject of discussion and the old Winnebagoes accept the whole concept of "supernatural power" as truth, and do not permit it to rise into their consciousness. [182]

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When I was ready to go down among the human beings (i. e., when I became reincarnated) I was given the power to overcome my enemies in battle. And this I have actually done. All the Thunderbirds have small war-clubs. I also had one when I came. Whenever I went on the warpath I made myself a war-club and used that only in battle. I believe that I was invulnerable. Whenever I got tired of living among human beings I knew I could return to the Thunderbirds. I thought I knew all this and that I had these powers. For that reason when I ate peyote I still held on to these beliefs for a long time, thinking that when I returned to the Thunderbirds inasmuch as they are above it would be the same as going to everlasting life, as the Peyote people said. Finally, one night, at a peyote meeting, in thinking over these things, I resolved to give them up. I could, nevertheless, not bring myself to do it. Then the peyote began to strangle me;[29] at least I thought so.

I also had the power of causing or stopping rain. All that I had to do was to offer tobacco to the Thunderbirds and make my request.

### HOW A BEAR BLESSED A MAN[30]

Once a band of Winnebagoes used to give a feast to the bears. A bear had blessed one of their number with life and victory on the warpath.

It was a spirit-bear that had blessed him. The man was fasting and the spirit blessed him and said, "Human, I bless you. In war you will be able to do as you wish (i. e., you will be able to kill an enemy whenever you desire). The first time you go on the warpath you will come back with the fourth war honor; the second time you go on a warpath you will return with the third war honor; the third time you will return with the second war honor; and the fourth time you will return with the first war honor and receive the first prize, which you are to give to your sister." This is what the man "dreamed." He believed it and was happy. Then the spirit-bear said again, "Human, I said that I blessed you and I really mean it. Earthmaker created me and gave me control of many things. Human, I bless you. As many years as Earthmaker bestowed upon you, that number I also bless you with. You will reach the limit of the years that were granted you. With my body I also bless you. Whenever you are hungry and wish to kill a bear, pour a pipeful of tobacco for me. If then you go out hunting, you will be successful. Don't abuse the bears. I am the chief of the bears. I bless you. Never before have I blessed a human being, as long as I have lived here. As long as your descendants live on this earth, so long will this

[29] According to the Peyote people, if a member does not wish to do or tell something that he ought to, the peyote begins to strangle him and he finds no relief until he tells what is on his mind.

[30] This is really the "origin myth" of a bear feast.

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114 junction with the Mississippi. Dr. Evan D. Pierce, of Trempealeau,
126 who was in charge of the park, was much interested in the native flora as well as in archeology, and we made a collection of ninety species then in bloom. Mr. Towne L. Miller, of Fairwater, Wisconsin, Honorary Curator of Archeology of the Museum collected the plants of the region throughout the season, for the Department of Botany.

The Winnebago Indians are found today scattered over the central
131 part of Wisconsin, principally in Marquette, Waushara, Portage, Sauk,
361 Juneau, Adams, Marathon, Wood, Clark, Jackson, and Monroe counties. Wood County with permanent settlements in Arpin, Vesper, Pittsville, Walker, Elm Lake, Dexterville, and Babcock, contains the largest number, about 750. Along the Hemlock River, not far from Pittsville, are found other large settlements of farming Winnebago. In other counties good-sized settlements are located at Neillsville, Wittenberg, Wyeville, Black River Falls, Hatfield, and Tomah. Their Indian agency and school are located at the last mentioned city.

114 Our chief location during the summer was at A. White's farm, on
the Walker Road, six and a half miles south of Wisconsin Rapids.
123 When we arrived, Mr. White was at Kilbourn where many of the Winnebago camp during the tourist season, making baskets and bead work, and taking part in dances and entertainments. Jim Henniger and his wife, our pageant friends, were there, caring for her father, Dave Dekorah, a prominent man in the medicine lodge, who was sick. He afterwards died and was buried in their community graveyard, with Indian ceremony. The Whites made us welcome and we pitched our tent in a grove of white pines not far from their spring. There were
115 several other Winnebago Indians near at hand, including Henry Dick,
● 795 from Briggsville. Henry is important in the medicine society and im-
184 mediately made friends with us and started to teach us the Winne-
276 bago language. He was especially bitter against the peyote cult, which many Winnebago have embraced, declaring that peyote was worse than whiskey, because a man drunk on whiskey, would be sober the next morning and able to go to work, whereas with peyote, he became "crazy", and would not work for four or five days while under its influence. He further said that the peyote cult worshippers never possess anything, but live on their industrious neighbors who belong to the medicine lodge. These medicine lodge Indians raise potatoes, corn, beans, carrots, hay, grain, hogs and chickens, according to Henry, and would not let their own people starve, but did not like the shiftlessness of the peyote worshippers. He wished he could see the President of the United States to tell him not to let any Indian have peyote. He
276 thinks bad days are coming to the peyote-eating Indians. A few years
435 ago, this cactus drug, most of which comes from Texas, sold for $4.00 a thousand buttons, but the current prices in 1928 were $25 per thou-
795 sand of number one size; $30.00 per thousand for number two size; and

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP 12 Winnebago NP 12



$35 per thousand for number three size. The "buttons" are really branches of the Peyote Cactus (*Lophophora williamsii*), a small compact cactus growing from southern Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico down into old Mexico. The peyote religion was introduced to the Indians of the United States by peyote cults, among the Indians of Mexico. The Government strictly forbids possession of or traffic in these buttons, but the number of converts to the cult is on the increase. 276 435 795 276 795

On the other hand, the peyote Indians among the Winnebago have little regard for the medicine lodge Indians. They consider them benighted, old-fashioned and unwise. When an Indian joins peyote, according to them, he sees the error of his ways and the sacred, ceremonial objects of his past become of no value to him. In such cases, the field collector of some museum finds it easy to acquire excellent specimens of sacred objects. While still in use, an Indian would not part with his medicine bundle for money, but once it has been superseded by a change in faith, he becomes glad to realize almost anything for it. Such a bundle is valued by anthropologists according to the sacred objects it contains. 178

The peyote people that we met near Wisconsin Rapids did not bear out the poor name given them by the old pagans. They were industrious and proud of their religion. The peyote cult, there, shows considerable Christian missionary influence, in their acceptance of Jesus Christ as their deity. The medicine lodge people have never been interested in the translation of the Lord's Prayer but the Winnebago peyote followers use it as a chanted peyote song. It is called *Hilukanala gikaraj hanila*, (Lord prayer his). It follows thus: 795 177 539

*Hionjinwila wagregi shanggre, lash hashinila wakajak nigigidek•jena.*

"Our Father in heaven who dwells your name holy (let us) keep it. *Hunkma hashini'a hilaijik•jawina. W'oshga hashinila manegi* Kingdom your come down (on earth). Doing yours on earth *uinek•jena wagregi jaske hinaki sheske manegi hilek•jena. Hampdec* should in heaven like doing same on earth should be. This day *waiskapduc haniwila hunkuwianje. Egi wazawoishana waniwila* bread daily ours give us. And then sins ours *waigitunawila wazahigishana waniwila waigitunawila sheke. Egi inke* forgive us sins yours and yours forgive us same. And then don't *wazawoishana uwahieja hinutiwinine Ezi wowak•jega egi hingijilawige* (into) temptations deliver us. Our Lord and help us *kishipuiwine. Hunkmara nehashinigaja Egi homashjala nehashinigaja* get away Kingdom thy and power thy *Egi hoishagra nehashinigaja manegus•la jeskek•jena.* and glory thy forever Amen."

It will be noted that the Winnebago even have a word for "Amen," meaning to some extent "let it be that way," whereas among the Menomini Indians they have not translated it but articulate it as we do — Amen. [192]

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



177 539 795 —Amen. For the sake of those who think all Indians speak alike, we append in a footnote the Lord's Prayer in Menomini."

The Winnebago have a syllabary which all of them use in writing. 194 It is an arbitrary system and has nothing to do with the ethnologist's way of recording their sounds. It was thus set down by Fred Mallory [212] The first letter always has the sound of a as in arm and the pronunciation of the first line would be ha, he, hi, ho.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | ae | ai | ao | | k | ke | ki | ko | |
| w | we | wi | wo | | a | e | i | o | |
| m | me | mi | mo | | l | le | li | lo | |
| n | ne | ni | no | | t | te | ti | to | (explosive) |
| l | le | li | lo | (ja) | tt | tte | tti | tto | (cha chay chi cho) |
| y | ye | yi | yo | (ga) | | | | | |
| r | reke | reki | roko | (ska ske ski sko) | | | | | |
| s | se | si | so | | | | | | |
| h | he | hi | ho | | | | | | |
| g | ge | gi | go | | | | | | |

Indian syllabaries are interesting but of no ethnological value.

539 575 756 Fred Mallory's wife was initiated into the medicine lodge when she was thirteen years old, but since both are now peyote followers, they said there is nothing wrong in their telling the writer about their early history. Their story is as follows: In the early days, there were two brothers, Konuga, the eldest, and Henaka. (These names still apply to the order of birth,—the third son is *Hagaga*, and the fourth, *Nahiga*. The same with girls, the first is *Hinuga*, second, *Wihunga*, third, *Hinahega*, fourth, *Hakasiaga*.) The two brothers were at Kilbourn on an island in the Wisconsin River—*Nikusa*. One, Konuga, told the other he saw a spirit in the water and Henaka also saw a spirit, but Konuga saw it first, so it was *his* spirit. It was purple in color and rose from the depths of the water and sank down again. A sort of quarrel developed between them as to whose spirit should be followed, but when Hagaga, the third son entered the argument, they both united against him. Hagaga was as wise as an owl, and knew more than the other

---

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *"Nochuenun* | *kriekok* | *apron.* | *Nas ta kat kaz* | *achpechtonrchton* | |
| "Our Father | in heaven | who dwells. | Let it be | honored | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *kiwichnwon.* | *Nas ta kat pimikat* | *kitokrmawin.* | *Anenrchtamon* | *nas ta* | |
| thy name. | Let it come | thy kingdom. | As the Lord wishes | it to | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *kat rickemakat* | *tepa* | *kriekok* | *minik* | *iot* | *achkibe.* | *Mrieach* |
| be done | like | heaven | so | here | (on earth) the same. | Give us |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *iochpe as kriekok* | *nepakisiganemenan* | *achtonachkin* | *kesegaton.* | *Ponikstatawesch* |
| now as in heaven | bread our daily | and every day | as we live. | Forgive us |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *minin kairi* | *nachkrkrkaon* | *asin* | *ponikitatawakichtos* | *kairi* |
| and those | we had angered you, | as | we forgive | those |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *nachkibiamachtos.* | *Pon* | *minin* | *ishiaseach* | *kakitzipanichtosnr.* |
| that trespassed against us. | Lead | us | not into | temptation. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Mishosamowesch* | *ta mata.* | *Amen.* |
| Take it away | from us. | Amen." |

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12

[p. 146]

# A WINNEBAGO WAR-BUNDLE CEREMONY

By W. C. McKern*

182 The primitive religious ceremonies of the Winnebago Indians are
796 not destined long to survive. Not only is the new generation forgetting or deliberately neglecting the traditions of the old order, due to the
[177 growing influence of encroaching white civilization, but the conversion
276] of many of the older members of the tribe to the Peyote faith has
795] thinned the ranks of the Medicine Lodge to a marked extent. Many of those responsible for introducing this new Christian cult among the Winnebago are still alive. Its unabated ascendency in the favor of the Indians is proportionate to the decline of ancient religious practices.

114 However, meetings of the old order still are held, and are in some
796 measure successful, due largely to the fact that many of the Peyote

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5: McKern . E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12



114 people attend as a matter of courtesy, or to keep peace in the family. It was my good fortune to attend such a meeting, a war-bundle cere-
796 mony, in October, 1927. Mr. A. White, whose Indian name is *Tous-*
[795 *tcu-he-de-ga* (Big Wave), figure 120, is custodian of the war-bundle
[778 of the Thunderbird clan of the Wisconsin Rapids band of Winnebago.
614] Word came to me through his son-in-law, Mr. U. S. White of Milwaukee, that a war-bundle feast would be held shortly, and that I was specially invited to attend.

As Mr. White and his family also wished to make the trip, we drafted a Museum car into service and joined forces. In addition to Mr. White and his wife and two children, Mr. Alton Fisher was persuaded, without much difficulty, to join me in representing the Department of Anthropology.

We arrived at Wisconsin Rapids late at night, and were up early on the following morning and on our way to the site selected for the
[574] ceremony. Upon arriving at his home, we were courteously received by the custodian of the bundle, and privileged to meet his family and many others who were in the midst of preparations for the feast.

796 The regular war bundle ceremony of the Thunderbird clan is a feast and dance given in honor of various spirits, chiefly the Thunderbirds,
[776 who are the spiritual directors of war, and the Night Spirits. It is
614] held in an oblong wigwam shaped like the medicine lodge of the Winnebago and neighboring Algonkin groups, figure 121, and similarly con-
[346] structed of a frame-work of bent poles covered with birch bark or mats, or more recently with canvas or other cloth. Big Wave had directed the construction of the lodge for this particular ceremony in an area immediately adjoining his dwelling lodge, figure 122. The single door was placed at the end of the lodge, facing east.

The lodge was small, made so to accommodate the limited number
[252] expected to attend, and consequently it was decided to cook the feast over outside fires, an irregular, though not unusual procedure. Therefore, only a single fire was built in the lodge, centrally situated at the
796 eastern end not more than three paces from the door. Since the fire was to be new, sacred fire, the ceremonial fire-making equipment from
372 the war bundle was employed. This consisted of a flat, rectangular
778 base of oak, nearly perforated in many places with charred drill holes, and a drilling element of softer wood. Big Wave himself officiated in the fire making, figure 123. Kneeling, he placed the basepiece between his knees, with tinder conveniently near. Then one end of the drill was fitted into one of the holes in the base, and the shaft was rapidly rotated between his hands. Soon smoke curled up from the point of friction. The bits of glowing wood dust so produced were quickly applied to the tinder and carefully blown to a small flame. Then light kindling was applied, followed by heavier sticks until the fire was be-

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
NP12 Winnebago NP12



mode. The older women still prefer to wear this type of dress, and very often the ensemble includes moccasins rather than shoes on their feet and a blanket draped about their shoulders. Most of the young women, however, dress very much as white women of their own age. 178

3. Another type of cultural change is found in the Indians modifying some aspect of white culture with elements of their original culture to suit their own needs and tastes. This is best illustrated by the trend that religion has followed among a large proportion of the tribe. Some of the Winnebago who have been enticed away from their old religion, and yet were not satisfied with orthodox forms of Christianity, have adopted the Peyote or Mescal Religion which they prefer to call The Native American Church. This did not originate among the Winnebago, but came in from the southwestern tribes about 50 years ago, and has even undergone changes among the Winnebago group. The Peyote religion is basically Christian, stressing the literal acceptance of the Bible and the strict following of Christ's teachings. It, however, embodies the use of a fairly harmless drug, peyote, which when taken in large enough quantities produces visions, so familiar in Indian religions. The use of a small drum, eagle feathers, and ornate rattles, as well as the burning of cedar leaves are included in the night-long ceremonies. This religion might be considered a transitional form between the so-called pagan religion and Christianity, but though it embodies characteristics of both religions, it appears to have reached a definite stabilized form and will probably undergo few changes in the future. 178 795 [276]

4. We also have change completely within the society from old Indian to new Indian traits. The old Indians tell of an original Winnebago language, very ancient and now almost completely forgotten, which has been replaced by a newer, but still very Indian type of language. In recent years the language has undergone other changes, but this is due to white contact. It is strange that the Winnebago of Wisconsin who have been forced to live in scattered groups and in close contact with whites, have maintained their language to a much greater extent than some of the Wisconsin Chippewa or Me- 178 191 [171]

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



to them for me to use. Later on, in the fall, when the cranberry season had started, I lived with three women. I never did any work, but simply went from woman to woman. Then the annuity payment was made, and I went around chasing the payment. I sold my horses and spent the money I had.

About this time my father and mother asked me to come to Nebraska. I had been told that my father and mother had joined the peyote people and were eating peyote, and I did not like it. These peyote eaters were doing wrong, were wicked, and that is why I disliked them. Old Thunder Cloud, my brother-in-law, told us the following about them:

"This medicine, the peyote,[80] is one of the four spirits from below. That is why it is bad. These four spirits have always longed for human beings, and now they are getting ahold of them. Those who use the peyote claim that when they die, they will only be going on a

[80] The peyote is a small cactus common in the state of Chihuahua, Mexico, out of which from time immemorial an intoxicating drink has been prepared. The ancient Mexicans were well acquainted with it. For a number of centuries it has been the center of various cults all of which contained marked Christian features. It is only within the last fifty to seventy-five years, however, that some of these cults have spread into the United States. It is from some of the tribes now living in Oklahoma that the Winnebago borrowed it.

The Winnebago either eat the peyote button in its dried state or drink a concoction prepared from it. The effects are various. Every one, however, seems to be agreed upon its causing wonderful color visions. The after effects vary with the individual. I have seen some practically in a state of stupor after eating a large quantity of the buttons, while others seem entirely unaffected and go on with their day's work as though nothing had happened.

The use of the Bible is an entirely new element introduced by the Winnebago.

7; Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



*159 long journey. But that is not the truth, for when they
● 795 eat peyote, they destroy their souls, and death to them
[795] will mean complete extermination. If I spit upon the floor, the saliva will soon dry up and nothing will remain of it. This is what death will mean to them. I might go out and preach against this doctrine, but it would be of no avail, for I certainly would not be able to draw more than one or two people away from this spirit who lives below. Many will be taken in by this medicine; they will not be able to help themselves in any way. This bad spirit will certainly seize them."

For all these reasons none of us liked it. However, my parents sent me the money for the trip, and my brother and sisters told me to go. Just before I started, my youngest sister, the one to whom we always listened
[593] most attentively, said to me, "Older brother, do not you indulge in this medicine eating, in this peyote." I promised, and then started out for Nebraska.

When I arrived in Nebraska I met some people who had not joined the peyote eaters, and they said to me, "Your relatives are eating the peyote and that is why they sent for you, that you too might eat. Your mother, your father, and your younger sister, they are all eating it." Thus they spoke to me. They also told me of a number of other bad things these peyote people were supposed to have done. I felt ashamed, and I wished I had not come in the first place. Immediately after that I told these people that I was going to eat the peyote.

Soon after that I met my father, mother and sister.

They were glad to see me. Then we all walked to their 159*
home My father and I walked by ourselves and he 195
told me about the peyote. "It does not amount to anything, all this that they are doing. Yet those who partake, stop their drinking. Sick people also get well. [755]
We were told these things and therefore joined. What they claimed is true and your mother is practically well now, and so am I. They claim to offer prayers to Earthmaker, to God." He stopped and then continued, "The peyote people are rather foolish for they cry when they feel very happy about anything. They throw away all the medicines that they possess and whose virtues they know. They give up all the blessings they received while fasting, give up all the spirits who blessed them. They stop giving feasts and making offerings of tobacco. They burn up all their holy things, destroy the war-bundles. They stop smoking and chewing tobacco. They are bad people. They burn up their medicine pouches, give up the Medicine Dance and even cut up their otter-skin bags.[81] They say they are praying to Earthmaker, to God, and do so standing and crying. They claim to hold nothing holy except Earthmaker, God; that everything they are giving up comes from the bad spirits, that the bad spirits deceived them. They claim that there are no spirits with the power of bestowing blessings and that there is no other spirit except Earthmaker, God." Then I said, [776]

[81] The most sacred object of the Medicine Dance. It is within the otter-skin bag that the shell is concealed with which the newly initiated members of the dance, as well as the regular members, are shot. [708] [796]

*159 "Say, they certainly talk foolishly." I felt very angry
•795 at them. "You will hear them yourself for they are going to have a meeting to-night. Their songs are very strange. They use a small drum," said my father. Then I felt a strong desire to see them.

Finally we reached our home. That night there was to be a peyote meeting. At first I sat outside and listened to them. I grew very fond of them. I was a stranger in their country and the young members of the peyote religion were exceedingly friendly to me. They lent me money occasionally and treated me with tender regard. They did everything that they thought would make me feel good and in consequence I used
[577] to speak as though I really liked the ceremony. I was, however, only deceiving them. I only said it because they were so good to me. I thought they acted in this way because the peyote was deceiving them.

Soon after that my parents returned to Wisconsin telling me that they would return in a short time. I was thus left alone with those of my relatives who were peyote followers. That is why they left me there. Whenever I went among the non-peyote people I used
[577] to say all sorts of things about the peyote people and when I returned to the peyote people I used to say all sorts of things about the others.

I had a friend who was a peyote man and he said to me, "My friend, I wish very much that you would eat the peyote." Then I answered him, "My friend, I will do it but not until I get accustomed to the people of this country. Then I will do it. What worries me

## *My Release from Prison*

most is the fact that they are making fun of you. 159 *
Quite apart from that, however, I am not used to them." 795 ●
I was speaking quite dishonestly.

I was then staying at my sister's place. She was a peyote follower and had gone on a visit to Oklahoma. After a while she returned. At that time I was staying [588] with a number of women and from them I obtained money. Once I got drunk and was locked up for six [273] days. After my sister returned she and her friends paid more attention to me than ever before. This was particularly true of her husband. I was given horses [431] and a wagon. I was really treated very tenderly. I told them I believed in the peyote because they treated me so nicely. I knew that they did this because they wished me to eat the peyote. I, in my turn, was very kind to them. I thought I was fooling them and they [156] thought they were converting me.

We moved after a while to a place where there was to be a large peyote gathering. I knew that they had arranged for this in order to get me to join. Accordingly I spoke to my younger sister and said, "Sister, I would be quite willing to eat this peyote ordinarily, but I don't like the woman with whom I am living just [588] now and I think I shall leave her. Now I have been given to understand that among you, when married people eat the peyote they will always have to stay together. I shall therefore join you as soon as I have married a woman with whom I wish to stay permanently." Then my brother-in-law came in and my sister told him what I had said and he spoke to me,

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 "You are right in what you say. However, the woman
●795 with whom you are staying is a married woman and
[588] you cannot stay with her any longer. This marriage of yours is null and void and we know that this is so. You had better join now. You are the same as if you were single, and we will pray for you as though you were single. After you have joined the peyote religion you may marry any woman you wish and whom you have a right to marry legally. So, do join to-night. It is best. For some time already have we been desirous of your joining us but we never said anything to you about it. It is Earthmaker's blessing, God's will, that has made you think of this." So he spoke to me.

[p. 194]

## §30. *I Eat the Peyote*

I sat inside the lodge with them. One man acted as leader and we were to do whatever he ordered. The various objects belonging to the ceremony—the two peyote buttons, the drum, the eagle-wing fan, and the small gourd rattle—were all placed before him. I wanted to sit in some place on the side for I felt that I might get to crying like the others. I felt quite ashamed of myself. 159 * 795 ● 796

The leader arose and talked. He said that this was an affair of Earthmaker's and that he, the leader, could do nothing of his own initiative; that God was going to conduct the ceremony. He said the medicine, the peyote, was holy and that he would turn us all over to it. [874] He further said, "I am a very pitiful figure in this ceremony so that when you pray to Earthmaker, pray also for me. Now let us all rise and pray to Earthmaker." [782] We all rose. Then he prayed. He prayed for the sick and he prayed for those who did not yet know Earthmaker. He said that they were to be pitied. When he had finished we sat down. The peyote was then passed around. They gave me five buttons and my brother-in-law spoke to me, "If you speak to this medicine, the peyote, it will give you whatever you ask of it. After that you must pray to

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



*159 Earthmaker and then eat the peyote." I, however, ate
● 795 the peyote immediately for I did not know what to ask
796 for and I did not know what to say in a prayer to Earthmaker. I therefore ate the peyote buttons just as they were. They were very bitter and had a taste difficult for me to describe. After eating them I wondered a good deal about what was going to happen to me. Soon I was given five more peyote buttons and these also I ate. They tasted rather bitter. I was now very quiet for the peyote had somewhat weakened me. I listened attentively to the singing and liked it very much. I felt as though I were partly asleep and quite different from my normal self. When I looked around and examined myself, however, I saw nothing wrong. I certainly felt different from my normal self. Before this I used to dislike the songs but now I liked them very much, particularly those the leader was singing. I liked listening to him very much.

They were all sitting very quietly and doing nothing
[533] expect singing. Each man sang four songs and then
[798] passed the sacred objects to the next person. Each man held a stick and an eagle's feather in one hand and a small gourd rattle, which he would shake when singing, in the other. One of the participants did the drumming. In this manner the sacred objects would be passed along until they came back to the leader. The leader would then sing four songs and when he had finished these, place the sacred objects on the ground and rise and pray to Earthmaker. Then he called upon one or two to speak. These people all said

## *I Eat the Peyote*

that Earthmaker was good and that the peyote was 159*
good, and that whosoever ate the peyote would be able 795
to free himself from the bad spirit. They said that 796
Earthmaker forbids us to commit sins. When this was over they sang again.

After midnight I would every now and then hear 159*
some one cry. In some cases I saw a person go up to 795
the leader and talk to him. He would stand up and 786
pray with him. I was told what these people were saying. I was told that these people were asking others to pray for them for they were sorry for the sins they had committed and wished to be prevented from committing them again. They cried very loudly. I was rather frightened, especially when I noticed that when I closed my eyes and sat still, strange things began to appear before me. I was not in the least sleepy. Then the light of morning came upon me. In the morning, when the sun rose, the ceremony stopped. All got up and prayed to Earthmaker and left.

During the daytime I did not get sleepy in the least. 159*
My actions, however, were a little different from my 795
usual ones. Then the people said, "To-night they are going to have another meeting. Let us go over. They say that this is the best thing to do for then, you can learn the ceremony immediately. It is said that the souls of the members of the peyote ceremony wander [774]
all over the earth and the heavens. All this you will learn and see." They continued, "At times the members die and remain dead all night and day. When in this condition they sometimes see Earthmaker, it is

×159 ●795 claimed." Some say that the home of the bad spirit can also be visited when in this state.

[516] So that night we went to a meeting again. I doubted all their claims, of course, and thought that they were untrue. Nevertheless I went along. When we got near I had already eaten some peyote for I had taken three in the day. Now near the place where the peyote meeting was to be held there was a regular Winnebago feast [527] and to that I went instead. I found a long lodge and heard a terrific noise. An enormous drum was being beaten. The sound almost raised me in the air so pleasurably loud did it sound to me. Not so pleasurable had things appeared at the peyote meetings that I had lately been attending. There I danced all night and I flirted with the women. I left about day and when I reached the peyote meeting it was still going on. When I got back I was told to sit in a certain place and I was treated very kindly. There I again ate peyote. I also heard that they were going to have another meeting nearby on the evening of the same day. We continued eating peyote at the place where we were staying, which was the house of one of my relatives. Some of the boys taught me a few songs and [533] they said, "Say, when you learn how to sing you will be the best singer, for you are a good singer as it is. You have a good voice." I thought so myself.

[P. 178]

## §31. *The Effects of the Peyote*

That night we went to the place where the peyote meeting was to be given. I was given a place to sit down and treated very kindly. "Well, he has come," they even said to me when I came, "make room for him." I thought they regarded me as a great man. John Rave, the leader, was to conduct the ceremony. He told of his conversion: 159* 795

### *John Rave's Conversion to the Peyote Religion* 159* 795 786

During the years 1893 and 1894 I was in Oklahoma among the peyote eaters.

There one night, in the middle of the night, we were to eat peyote. I also ate some. Then later on in the night I got frightened for a living thing seemed to have entered me "Why did I do it?" I thought. "I should not have done it for right at the beginning I have harmed myself. Indeed I should not have done it; I am sure it will injure me. The best thing for me to do will be to vomit it up. Well, now I am going to try it." After a few attempts I gave up. I thought to myself, "Well, now you have done it! You have been going around trying everything and now you have succeeded in doing something that will harm you. What is it? It seems to be alive and moving around in my stomach. If only some of my people were here! That

¥159 would have been much better. Now, no one will know
● 795 what became of me; I have killed myself."
786 Just then the object within me seemed to be coming out. It seemed almost out and I put my hand in my mouth to feel it, but then it went back again. "Oh my! I should never have done it at the very start. Never again will I do it. I am surely going to die!"

So we continued and then day dawned and I laughed. Before that I had been unable to laugh.

The following night we were to eat the peyote again. I thought to myself, "Last night it almost harmed me." "Well, let us eat the peyote again," the people said and I answered, "All right, I'll do it." So we ate seven peyote apiece.

Suddenly I saw a big snake. I was very much frightened. Then another one came crawling over me. "My God! Where are these snakes coming from?" There at my back there seemed to be something also. So I looked around and saw a snake about to swallow me entirely. It had legs and arms and a long tail. The end of its tail was like a spear. "O God! I am surely going to die now, I thought. Then I turned in another direction and I saw a man with horns and long claws and with a spear in his hand. He jumped for me and I threw myself on the ground. He missed me. Then I looked back. This time he started back but it seemed to me that he was directing his spear at me. Again I threw myself on the ground and he missed me. There seemed to be no possible escape for me. Then it suddenly occurred to me, "Perhaps it is the peyote that is doing this to me? Help me, O Medicine, help me! It is you who are doing this and you who are holy! Not these frightful visions are causing this. I should have known that it was you, indeed, who were doing it! Help me!"

## *The Effects of the Peyote*

Then my suffering stopped. "As long as the earth shall last, that long will I make use of you, O Medicine!" 159* 795

This had lasted a night and a day. For a whole night I had not slept. 786

Then we breakfasted and when we were through I said, "Let us eat peyote again to-night." That evening I ate eight peyote.

In the middle of the night I saw God. To God living up above, our father, I prayed. "Have mercy upon me! Give me knowledge that I may not say and do evil things. To you, O God, I am trying to pray. Do thou, O Son of God, help me too. This religion, let me know this religion!" Thus I spoke and sat very quiet. Then I beheld the morning star and it was good to look upon; the light was good to look upon. I had been frightened during the night but now I was happy. Now as the light appeared it seemed to me that nothing would be invisible to me. I seemed to see everything clearly. Then I thought of my home and as I looked around there I saw the house in which I lived far away among the Winnebago. It was quite close to me. There at the window I saw my children at play and I saw a man going to my house carrying a jug of whisky. Then he gave them something to drink and the one who had brought the whisky got drunk and annoyed the people. Finally he ran away. "So this is what they are doing?" I thought to myself Then I beheld my wife. She came out and stood outside the door wearing a red blanket. She was thinking of going to the flag pole and was wondering which road to take. "If I take this road I am likely to meet some people, but if I take the other, I am not likely to encounter any one." [776]

Indeed it is good. They are all well—my brother, my sister, my father, my mother. I felt very good indeed. O

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 Medicine, grandfather, most assuredly you are holy! All
● 795 that is connected with you, that I would like to know and
786 that I would like to understand. Help me! I give myself up to you entirely!

For three days and for three nights I had been eating the peyote and not slept at all. Now I realized that throughout all the years that I had lived, I had never once known a truly holy thing. Now, for the first time, I knew it. Would that some of the Winnebago might also know it!

*159 Many years ago I had been sick and it looked as if this
795 sickness were going to kill me. I tried all the Winnebago
755 doctors and then I tried all of the white man's medicines, all were of no avail. I thought to myself, "You are doomed. I wonder whether you will be alive next year?" Such were the thoughts that came to me. As soon as I ate the peyote, however, I got over my sickness. After that I was not sick again. My wife suffered from the same disease and I told her that if she ate the peyote it would cure her. She was afraid although she had never seen it before. She knew that I had used it and yet was afraid. Her sickness, however, got worse and worse and one day I said to her, "You are sick. It is going to be very difficult but try the peyote anyhow. It will ease you." Finally she ate it. I had told her to eat it and then wash herself and comb her hair and that she would get well. She got entirely well. I painted her face and took my gourd and began singing to her very much. Then I stopped. "Indeed, you are right," she said, "for now I am well." From that day to the present she has been well. Now she is very happy.

[551] A man named *Black-waterspirit* was having a hemorrhage at about that time and I wanted him to eat the peyote.

## *The Effects of the Peyote*

"Well," said he, "I am not going to live anyhow." "Eat the peyote nevertheless," I said, "and you will get cured." Before that consumptives never were cured and now for the first time one was cured. *Black-waterspirit* is living to-day and is very well. 159 * 795 ● 755

Then there was a man named *Walking-priest*. He was very fond of whisky, chewed, smoked, and gambled. He was also terribly addicted to women. Indeed he did everything bad. I gave him some of the peyote and he gave up all the bad things he was doing. He had a very dangerous disease. He even had murder in his heart. To-day he is living a good life. Such is his desire. [551]

Whoever has any evil thoughts, let him eat the peyote and he will lose all his bad habits. It is a cure for everything bad.

To-day the Winnebago say that only God is holy. One of the Winnebago told me this: "Really the life that I led was a very bad one. Never again will I do it. This medicine is good and always will I use it." *John Harrison* and *Squeaking-wings* were prominent members of the Medicine Dance; they thought much of themselves, as did all the members of the Medicine Dance. They knew all the secrets of the ritual. Both of them were gamblers and were rich because they were gamblers. Their parents had acquired great wealth by giving medicines to the Winnebago. These two men were very rich and believed that they had a right to be selfish with their possessions. Then they ate the peyote and ever since that time they have been followers of the peyote. They were very ill at one time and now they have been cured of their illness. Now if there are any men who can be taken as examples of the workings of the peyote, it is these three I have mentioned. Even if a man were blind and had only heard of these three men he [551]

*159 ● 195 155 would realize that if any medicine is good it is this one. It is a cure for all evil.

Before I thought that I knew something but really I knew nothing. It is only now that I have real knowledge. In my former life I was like one blind and deaf. My heart ached when I thought of what I had done. Never again will I do it. This medicine alone is holy, has made me good and rid me of all evil. The one whom we call God has given me this. That I know positively. Let them all come here; men and women; let them bring with them all that they desire; let them bring with them their diseases. If they come here they will get well. This is all true; it is all true. Bring whatever desires you possess along with you and then come and eat or drink this medicine. This is life, the only life. Then you will learn something of yourself. Come with your disease for this medicine will cure it. Whatever you have, come and eat this medicine and you will have true knowledge once and for all. Learn of this medicine yourself through actual experience.

*159 195 If you just hear about it you are not likely to try it. If you desire real knowledge you must partake of it for then you will learn of things that you had never known before. In no other way can you ever get happy. I know that all sorts of excuses will run through your head for not partaking of it, but if you wish to learn of something good, try it. Perhaps you will think to yourself that it will be too difficult and this will seem a good excuse for not trying it. Why, however, should you do this? Even if you partake of only part of the good claimed, yet I know that you will say to yourself, "Well, this life is good enough." After you have taken it for the first time, it will seem as if you were digging a grave for yourself with it, that you were about to die. Indeed you will be wondering what was going

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



to happen to you. The coffin will be set before you and you will see your own body. If you wish to inquire further about where you are going you will discover something that you had not known before. Two roads there are, one leading to a hole in the earth and the other extending above. You will learn something that you had not known before. Of the two roads, one is dark, the other is light. You must choose one of these while you are alive and you must decide therefore whether you wish to continue in your evil ways or whether you intend to abandon them. These are the two roads. The peyote people see them. They claim that only if you weep and repent will you be able to attain knowledge. Do not, as I said before, listen to others talking about this medicine, but try it yourself. That is the only way to find out. No other medicine can accomplish what this has done. If, therefore, you make use of it, you will live. People who have eaten peyote throw aside all the evil ceremonies that they performed before. Only by eating the peyote will you learn what is truly holy. That is what I am trying to learn myself. 159 * 795

It is now twenty-three years since I ate the peyote and I am still doing it (1912). Before that, my heart had been filled with murderous thoughts. I wanted to kill my brother and my sister. It seemed to me that my heart would not feel good until I killed one of them. All my thoughts were fixed on the warpath. That is all I thought of. Now I know that this was all caused by the evil spirit that possessed me. I was suffering from a disease. I even desired to kill myself; I did not care to live. That feeling too was caused by this evil spirit dwelling within me. Then I ate the peyote and became attached to them and I wanted them to live.

This the medicine had accomplished.

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 ●795 When John Rave had finished I ate five peyote. Then my brother-in-law and my sister came and gave themselves up. They asked me to stand there with them. I did not like it, but I did it nevertheless. "Why should I give myself up? I am not in earnest [577] and I intend to stop this as soon as I get back to Wisconsin. I am only doing this because they have given me presents," I thought. "I might as well get up, however, since it doesn't mean anything to me." So I stood up. The leader began to talk and I suddenly began to feel sick. It got worse and worse and finally I lost consciousness. When I came to, I found myself lying on my back. Those with whom I had been standing were still there. As a matter of fact, I had regained consciousness as soon as I fell down. I felt like leaving the place that night but I did not do it. I was quite tired out. "Why have I done this?" I said to myself. "I promised my sister that I would not do it." So I thought and I tried to leave but I couldn't. I suffered intensely. At last day dawned. Now I thought that they regarded me as one who had had a trance and had seen something.

Then we went home and they showed me a passage in the Bible where it said that it was a shame for any man to wear long hair. I looked at the passage. I was [302] not a man learned in books, but I wanted to give the [156] impression that I knew how to read so I told them to cut my hair. I was still wearing it long at the time. After my hair was cut I took out a lot of medicines, many small bundles of them. These and my shorn hair

## *The Effects of the Peyote*

I gave to my brother-in-law. Then I cried and my brother-in-law also cried. He thanked me, told me that I understood and that I had done well. He told me that Earthmaker alone was holy; that all the blessings and medicine I possessed were false; that I had been fooled by the bad spirit. He told me that I had now freed myself from much of this bad influence. My relatives expressed their thanks fervently. 159* 795 [176]

On the fourth night of my stay they had another meeting and I went to it again. There I again ate peyote. I enjoyed it and sang along with the others. I wanted to be able to sing immediately. Some young men were singing and I enjoyed it so I prayed to Earthmaker and asked him to let me learn to sing right away. That was all I asked for. My brother-in-law was with me all the time. At that meeting all the things I had given my brother-in-law were burnt up. [533]

Now the fact that my brother-in-law had told me that I understood, had pleased me and I felt good when daylight came. As a matter of fact, I had not received any knowledge at all. I thought, however, that this was the proper way to act, so I did it. After that, I would attend meetings occasionally and I looked around for a woman whom I cared to marry permanently. Before long that was the only thing that I would think of when I attended the meetings. [156]

[P. 187]

## §32. *I Am Converted*

*159 795 On one occasion we were to have a meeting of men and women and I went to it with a woman, the one with whom I thought I would go around the next day. That was the only reason I went with her. When we arrived at the meeting, the leader asked me to sit near him and there I was placed. He urged me to eat many peyote and I did so. Now the leaders of the ceremony always place the sacred objects in front of themselves. The sacred peyote was also placed there. Now the one this particular leader placed in front of himself this time was a very small one. "Why does he have a very small one?" I thought to myself. However, I did not think of this matter long.

*159 795 786 It was now late at night. I had eaten a lot of peyote and felt rather tired. I suffered considerably. After a while I looked at the peyote, and there I saw an eagle standing with outspread wings. It was as beautiful a sight as could well be observed. Each of the feathers seemed to have a mark. The eagle stood there looking at me. I turned my gaze, thinking that perhaps there was something the matter with my sight, but then when I looked again the eagle was still present. Again I turned around and when I looked at the spot where the eagle had stood, it was gone and only the small

## *I Am Converted*

peyote remained. I then watched the other people, 159 *
but they all had their heads bowed and were praying. 795 ●
Suddenly I saw a lion lying in the same place where 786
before I had seen the eagle. I watched it very closely and when I turned my eyes for the least little bit, it disappeared. "I suppose all those present are aware of this and I am just beginning to find out," I thought. Then I saw a small person at the same place. He wore blue clothes and a shining brimmed cap. He had on a soldier's uniform and was sitting on the arm of the person who was drumming, scrutinizing everybody. He was a little man but perfect in all proportions. Finally I lost sight of him. I was very much surprised indeed. I sat very quietly. "So this is what it is," I thought. "This is what they all probably see and which I am just now beginning to find out."

Then I prayed to Earthmaker, to God:

"This, your ceremony, let me hereafter perform!"

[P.189]

## §33. *I See God*

*159 ●795 786 As I looked again I saw a flag. I looked more carefully and I saw the house full of flags. They had the most beautiful marks on them. In the middle of the room there was a large flag, a living one. It was moving. In the doorway there was another one not entirely visible. I had never seen anything so beautiful in all my life before.

Again I prayed to God. I bowed my head and closed my eyes and began to speak. I said many things that I would ordinarily never have spoken about. As I prayed I was aware of something above me and there He was, He to whom I was speaking, God. That which [796] we call the soul, that it is which is God. This is what I felt and saw. The one called Earthmaker, God, is a spirit and He it was I felt and saw. At least this is what I learned. I instantly became their spirit; I was their spirit or soul. Whatever they thought of I immediately knew. I did not have to speak to them and get an answer to know what their thoughts were. Then I thought of a certain place far away, and immediately I was there. I was my thought.

I looked about and watched the people around me and then when I opened my eyes I was myself in body again. From now on thus it shall be, I felt. This is

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



the way they are and I am only now beginning to find 159*
out. "All those who heed God must be thus. I shall 795 ●
not need any more food for am I not my spirit? I shall 786
have no more use of my body; my corporeal affairs are
over." Thus I felt.

Then all stopped and left the lodge, for it had begun 159*
to dawn. Some one spoke to me. I did not answer, 795
for I thought they were just fooling and that they were
like myself, that therefore it would be unnecessary for
me to speak to them. So instead of speaking I answered with a smile. "They are just saying this to me because they realize that I have only now found out," I thought. That was why I didn't answer. I did not speak to any one until noon. Then I had to leave the house to urinate and some one followed me. It was my friend. He said, "My friend, what troubles you that makes you act as you do?" "Well, there's no need of your saying anything, for you know it beforehand," I said. After saying this I got over my trance and was restored to my normal condition. My friend had to speak to me before I knew his thoughts. I became like my former self.

Then I spoke to him and said, "My friend, let us hitch up the horses and then I will go wherever you like, for you wish to speak to me and I also want to speak to you." I continued, "If I were to tell you all that I have learned, I should never be able to stop, so much have I learned. Yet I shall gladly tell some of it." "Good," said he. He liked what I told him very much. "I am anxious to hear what you have seen," he

*Crashing Thunder*

* 159 said. We went to look for the horses and caught one of
795 them. The other had wandered far away and we
could not find it. We hunted everywhere but could
not locate it.

[P. 192]

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## §34. *Visions*

Now ever since that time, no matter where I am, I always think of this religion. I still remember it and I think I shall remember it as long as I live. It is the only holy thing that I have become aware of in all my life. 159* 795

After that, whenever I heard of a peyote meeting, I went to it.

My thoughts, however, were still always fixed on women. "If I were married legally, perhaps these thoughts would leave me," I thought. Whenever I went to a meeting, therefore, I tried to eat as many peyote as possible, for I was told that it was good to do that. I always prayed to Earthmaker as I sat there. Such were my thoughts. "If I were married," I thought, "then I should be able to put all my thoughts on this ceremony." I sat with my eyes closed, very quiet.

Suddenly I saw something. It was an object all tied up. The rope with which this object was tied up was long and the object itself was running around and around in a circle. A road was present in which it ought to have gone, but the object was so tied up that it was unable to reach it. The road was an excellent one. Along its edge grew blue grass and on each side 159* 795 786

7: Radin E-6 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



*159 ●795 786 grew many varieties of pretty flowers. Sweet-smelling flowers sprang up all along its path. Far off in the distance appeared a bright light. There a city was visible, of beauty indescribable. A cross was in full sight. The object tied up would always just fall short of reaching the road. It seemed to lack sufficient strength to break loose from whatever it was that was holding it. Nearby lay something that would have given it sufficient strength to break its fastenings if it were only able to get there.

I looked at what was so inextricably tied up and I saw that it was myself. I was forever thinking of woman. "This it is with which I am tied," I thought to myself. "Were I married I would have strength enough to break my fastenings and be able to travel in the good road." Then daylight came upon us and the ceremony stopped.

*159 795 Then I thought of a man I used to know, an old peyote man. He always spoke kindly to me. I went over to see him. I thought that I would tell him what had happened to me. He was very glad and told me that I was speaking of a very good thing. Then finally he said, "Now I shall tell you what I think is a good thing for you to do. You know that if an old horse is balky, you cannot break him of this habit; even if you had bought him and tried to break him, you would not succeed. If, indeed, you had succeeded, it would only be after very hard work. However, if you had a young horse, you could train it in any way you wished. So it is in everything. If you marry a woman who has

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



been in the habit of getting married frequently, it would be difficult for her to break herself of the habit she loved. You are not the one she loves. If you marry her, you will lead a hard life. If you wish to get married take your time. There are plenty of good women. Many of them are at government schools and have never been married. I think you would do best if you waited for some of these girls. They will return in the middle of summer. So don't think of any of these women you see around here, but wait until then and pray to God patiently. That will be the best, I think." I liked what he told me and thanked him. I decided to accept his advice, and I did not look around for women after that. I was to wait for about three months and during that time I paid strict attention to the peyote ceremony. 159* 195

On one occasion while at a meeting, I suffered great pain. My eyes were sore and I was thinking of many things. "Now I do nothing but pay attention to this ceremony, for it is good." Then I called the leader over to me and said to him, "My elder brother, hereafter I shall only regard Earthmaker as holy. I will make no more offerings of tobacco. I will not use any more tobacco. I will not smoke, nor will I chew tobacco. I have no further interest in these things. Earthmaker, God, alone do I desire to serve. Never again shall I take part in the Medicine Dance. To you do I give up myself completely. I intend to give myself up to God's cause." Thus I spoke to him. "It is good, younger brother," he said to me. Then he had me

*159 stand up and he prayed to God. He asked God to
● 795 forgive me my sins.

The next morning I was taken home. My eyes were sore and I could not see. They took me back to my
[157] house and there they put a solution of the peyote in my eyes and I got well in a week.

One night when I was asleep I dreamed that the
[187] world had come to an end. Some people God took while some belonged to the bad spirit. I belonged to the bad spirit. Although I had become a peyote man I had not as yet been baptized. That was why God did not take me. All those who belonged to God were marked, but I was not. I felt very bad about it when I woke up, even although I had only dreamed it. I felt very bad indeed. I wanted them to hurry and have another peyote meeting soon. I could hardly wait until I reached the place where the next meeting was to take place. I immediately told the leader what I wanted and asked him to baptize me and he baptized me in the morning. After that I felt better.

*159 Then I went to work and I worked with a railroad
[464] work gang. I was still working when the time for the midsummer celebration approached. I always went to the peyote meeting on Saturday nights.

*159 The old man was right in what he had told me. The
584 girl students returned in the summer. Shortly after they returned, a man, a friend of mine, who had gone around with me, asked me if I wanted to get married. "Yes, I do," I answered. Then he said, "Listen, I have been thinking of something. What kind of a woman do

*Visions*

you wish to marry?" I told him what I had in mind. 159 *
Then he said, "Come home with me. I have a younger 584
sister; I want her to marry a good man; I would like
to have her marry you." Then I went home with him.
When we reached his home and discussed the matter,
the girl gave her consent. The parents also consented.
So there I got married, and what I expected has taken [585]
place and I have lived with her ever since. On one
occasion, after she was used to me, she told me this: 159 *
Before she had married, she had determined that, if 795 ●
she ever got married, she would not care to marry a 585
very young man. "I wanted a man who ate peyote and
who paid attention to the ceremony." Such a man she
desired and such a person she said I was. She loved
me and she was glad that she had married me. This is
what she had asked God for in her prayers. "And
indeed it has happened as I wished," she said. She be-
lieved that it was the will of God that we had done this.
Together we gave ourselves up to the peyote at a meet-
ing. From that time on we have remained members
of the peyote religion.

[p. 197]

## §35. *I Have a Strange Experience*

*159 ●795 786 Many things are said under the influence of the peyote. The members get into a kind of trance and speak many things. On one occasion they had a peyote meeting which lasted two nights. I ate many peyote. The next morning I tried to sleep. I suffered a great deal. I lay down in a very comfortable position. After a while a fear arose in me. I could not remain in that place, so I went out into the prairie, but here again I was seized with this fear. Finally I returned to a lodge near the one in which the peyote meeting was being held, and there I lay down alone. I feared that I might do something foolish to myself if I remained there alone, and I hoped that some one would come and talk to me. Then some one did come and talk to me, but I did not feel any better. I went inside the lodge where the meeting was taking place. "I am going inside," I told him. He laughed, "All right, go in." I went in and sat down. It was very hot and I felt as though I was going to die. I was very thirsty, but I feared to ask for water. I thought that I was certainly going to die. I began to totter over.

I died and my body was moved by another life. I began to move about and make signs. It was not my-

self doing it and I could not see it. At last it stood up. 159* The eagle feathers and the gourds, these it said, were 795 holy. They also had a large book there. What was 786 contained in that book, my body saw. It was the Bible. [798] The sacred objects were not holy, but they were good ornaments. My body said that if any one paid attention to God's ceremony, he would be hearkening to what the Bible said. God's Son said that He was the only way. This means that one can only live from the word. My body spoke of many things and it spoke of what was true. It spoke of all the things that were being done by the Winnebago and that were evil. It spoke a long time and then stopped. Not I, but my body standing there, had done the talking. I should be confessing myself a fool if I were to think that I had said all this, my body told me.

After a while I returned to my normal condition. 159* Some of the people present had been frightened thinking that I had gone crazy. Others, on the other hand, 795 liked it. It was discussed a good deal; they called it the "shaking" state. It was claimed that the condition in which I had been was not part of God's religion. I was told that whoever ate a lot of peyote would, through the peyote, be taught the teachings of God. God's ways and man's ways are different. Whoever therefore wished to help this religion must give himself up to it. If you eat a good deal of the peyote and believed that it could teach you something, then it assuredly would do so. That, at least, is the way in which I understand this matter.

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 Once we had a meeting at the home of a member who
[155] was sick. The sick would always get well when a meet-
● 795 ing was held in their home and that is why we used to
786 hold them there. At this particular meeting I got into the shaking condition again. My body told us how our religion was an affair of God's and how even if one knew only a portion of it, one could still partake of it. Thus it spoke. "God, His Son, and His Holiness, these are the three ways of saying it. Even if you know one of these three, it means all. Every one of you has the means of opening the road to Earthmaker. It is given to all of you. With belief you can open the door to God. You cannot open it with knowledge alone. How many letters are there to the *key*, to the road? Three. What are they? "There were many educated people present, but none of them said anything. "The first letter must be *K*." If, therefore, a person said *K*, that would be the whole of it. "But let me look into the Bible and see what it means," said the body. Then the body took the Bible and began turning the leaves. The body did not know where the passage was itself. Finally in Matthew, Chapter 16, it stopped. There it speaks about it. "Peter did not give himself up," it says. "For a long time he could not give up his own knowledge." There, in that passage, it says Key. That is the work of God. At least, so I understand it. He made use of my body and acted in this manner in the case of the peyote.

795 At one meeting O. L. spoke about the old stories.
539 He spoke as follows:



[i.e., a peyote meeting.—Analyst]

## *I Have a Strange Experience*

The old people often spoke of the Trickster, but we never knew what they meant. They told us how he wrapped a coonskin blanket around himself and went to a place where all the people were dancing. There he danced until evening and then he stopped and turned around. No one was to be seen anywhere and then he realized that he had mistaken for people dancing the noise made by the wind blowing through the reeds. 795 539

So do we Winnebago act. We never look before we act. We do everything without thinking. We think we know all about it.

The Trickster was walking around with a pack on his back. As he walked along, some one called to him: "Say, we want you to sing." "All right," said he. "I am carrying songs in my pack and if you wish to dance, build a large lodge for me with a small hole at the end for an entrance." When it was finished, they all went in and the Trickster followed them. Those who had spoken to him were birds. He told them that while dancing they were not to open their eyes, for if they did, their eyes would become red. Whenever a fat bird passed the Trickster, he would choke it to death, and if it cried out, he would say, "That's it! That's it! Give a whoop!"

After a while, one of the birds got somewhat suspicious and opened its eyes just the least little bit. He saw that the Trickster was choking all the birds. "He is killing us all," said the bird. "Let all who can, run for their lives." Then he flew out through the top of the house. The Trickster took the birds he had killed and roasted them, but he did not get a chance to eat them, for they were stolen from him.

So are we Winnebago. We like all that is forbidden. We say that we like the Medicine Dance; we say that it

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



• 795 539 is good and yet we keep it secret and forbid people to witness it. We tell members of the dance not to speak of it until the world shall come to an end. They are afraid to speak of it. We, the Winnebago, are the birds, and the Trickster is Satan.

Once, as the Trickster was going along the road, some one spoke to him. He listened and he heard it say, "If any one eats me, all bad things will come out of him." Then the Trickster went up to the one talking and said, "What is your name?" "My name is *Blows-himself-away.*" The Trickster would not believe it; so he ate the thing. After a while he blew himself away. He laughed. "Oh, pshaw! I suppose this is what it meant." As he went along it grew worse and worse and it was only after the greatest hardship that he succeeded in returning home.

So are we Winnebago. We travel on this earth all our lives and then when one of us tastes something that makes him unconscious, we look upon this thing with suspicion when he regains consciousness.

* 159 795 From that time on I go about everywhere telling every one that this religion is good. Many other people at home said the same thing. Many, likewise, have joined this religion and are getting along nicely.

On one occasion after I had eaten a good deal of peyote, I learned the following from it; that all I had done in the past had been evil. This was plainly revealed to me. What I thought was holy, and by thus thinking was lost, that I now know was false. It is false, this giving of pagan feasts, of holding the old Winnebago things holy, such as the Medicine Dance and all the other customs.

There existed an unbroken continuum. No more, however, could be done in the way of reinterpretation. The philosopher could not do away with the palpable fact that the body of a deceased person remained motionless and decayed. The ghost, conscious though he remained and fully aware of what was going on around him, was unable to establish contact with the living or they with him and he always remained jealous of the living and not too kindly disposed to them. The continuum predicated was, consequently, reduced to a mere shadow. 105 771 775

With the belief in reincarnation, the priest-thinker could do much more. Here a kind of continuum already existed. The priest-thinker had merely to develop the concept of a continuing consciousness. Thus the first attribute of divinity, permanence, was on its way to accomplishment. This permanence was further enhanced and fixed by having an individual born again into the very same family and reliving, in every detail, his previous existence.

In the myth giving the origin of the Four Nights' Wake over the body of the dead, this is the main and insistent theme. Thus the second attribute of divinity, unchangeability, was on its way to accomplishment. The two other traits of divinity, foreknowledge and omnipresence, presented greater difficulties for their attainment. The latter, however, was not of great significance in the Winnebago concept of divinity. The former was. Here the belief in reincarnation offered little help. Recourse had therefore to be made to shamanistic practices and magic proper where both beliefs were quite common. On the whole the Winnebago priest-thinker, particularly in his greatest triumph, the Medicine Rite, eschewed magical practices and that is why little really is ever said about foretelling events. Yet it is significant that the very first story in the Medicine Rite and the one which purports to be the account of how the Rite was begun by a man, makes this foreknowledge of the future, the basic gift that a prospective member received. How fundamental it remained is proved by the fact that when the Peyote Cult was introduced among the Winnebago, the two gifts the peyote bestowed were the foretelling of the future and the ability to transport oneself anywhere by mere thought. 105 771 [795]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Pawnee NQ18
Winnebago NP12



N W 171

and Kiowa. Mooney was present at a palaver at which a Kiowa reported upon his visit to Wovoka. The Kiowa was told by the Paiute prophet to stop dancing; consequently, he branded the Plains Ghost Dance leaders as frauds. "Sitting Bull insisted on the truth of his own representations, and when accused by A'peatan of deceiving the Indians in order to obtain their property, he replied that he had never asked them for ponies which they had given him. . . ." (p. 914). Another Arapaho leader, Black Coyote, appeared to Mooney to be a man who "wishes to be a great priest and medicine man. At the same time he keeps a sharp lookout for his temporal affairs and has managed to accumulate considerable property" and three wives. He was leader of the Ghost Dance and other Indian ceremonies, tribal delegate to Washington, captain of Indian police and county deputy sheriff. He repeatedly asked Mooney "to get him a permanent license . . . to enable him to visit the various reservations at will as a general evangel of Indian medicine and ceremony" (pp. 897–898).

P 668 797 P [276] [431] [578]

Lesser's (pp. 60–76) data on the Pawnee Ghost Dance leave no doubt that Frank White, its introducer, used the dance for personal aggrandizement. Some of his special doctrines and practices were the following: he was sole authentic prophet; he demanded payment for use of designs seen in visions; he sold all paraphernalia; he was paid for the privilege of holding dances; a small face painting by him cost $5.00. In spite of his eating peyote and drinking whiskey, the Ghost Dancers lavished gifts, money, and pretty girls on him. The revolt against him seemed to result partly from jealousy of his wealth.

N W 171

The leader of the Caddo Ghost Dance was John Wilson, who was also a shaman and a peyotist.[26] The fact that Wilson later modified the peyote cult in order to collect hundreds of dollars certainly places him in the class of proselyters for gain par excellence. La Barre (p. 158) tells of the wealth he received and makes a classic understatement: "The economic motive seems evident in much of Wilson's behavior."

Except for the case of John Wilson, missionary to the Shawnee, Quapaw, Caddo, Delaware, Osage, Potawatomi, and others, the literature contains but few direct statements suggesting that financial gain motivated agents to spread the peyote cult.[27] However, the very fact that peyote is universally considered to be a cure and that leaders are often looked upon similarly to shamans suggests that carriers of the cult could have been paid for their services. A great many other Indians are known to have proselyted beyond their own tribes.

Wi [795] [797]

The Winnebago, John Rave, went to South Dakota, Minnesota, and Wisconsin to preach the new religion after establishing the cult among his own people in Nebraska. A Kiowa, Jim Aton, a famous peyote doctor, held meetings for the Creek, Yuchi, Shawnee, Kickapoo, Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Kiowa-Apache, Kiowa, Mescalero-Apache, and Quapaw; also whites and Mexicans.[28] Have these men and other famous proselyters spread the gospel of peyote solely out of love for their fellow men? No doctrine of the peyote cult commands members to go forth and convert other tribes.

That believers have gone out to spread the cult because of possible economic gain is established in the case of Ben Lancaster. It is almost impossible to conclude that Leo Okio and Lone Bear had no other ideas than religion when they held meetings in Nevada. My Uintah Ute informants accused the Sioux, Sam Roan Bear, of spreading peyotism for money, and when the members were broke, he did not

[26] Mooney, 1896b, 914–915; La Barre, 1938, 65, 151; Petrullo, 1934, 158.
[27] La Barre; Schultes, 1938.
[28] La Barre, 52, fn. 114.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NM12
Comanche NO6



C
D
W
171
127
128
795

## APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experience with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.* The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

### SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| + | Element present | ( ) | Exactness of data doubtful |
| — | Element absent | B | Recent development |
| Blank | Information lacking | * | Indicates that a note to the element is appended at the end of the list |

### SOURCES AND COLUMN ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

13 T: Composite picture of cult of thirteen tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes, mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Oto, Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony, HU-BML 4:127–152, 1937, with additions made on list by La Barre, 1938.

K-A: Kiowa-Apache. List filled in and notes supplied by J. Gilbert McAllister from information obtained during ethnographic field work performed 1933–1934 (eleven months) under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago.

Kio: Kiowa. List filled in and notes supplied by Weston La Barre. When returning the list La Barre wrote, "I believe that in peyotism tribal affiliation in this inter-tribal religion is far less important than leadership, i.e., what the particular leader's 'way' is, and from what leader he got his meeting." La Barre did field work in Oklahoma under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology (1935), Yale University, and the American Museum of Natural History.

C
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795

Com: Comanche in Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Kic: Kickapoo in the vicinity of McLoud, Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by John A. Noon, who attended a meeting during the summer of 1932. The Kickapoo leaders recognized that they "followed the Kiowa-Comanche 'way'."

Ab S: Absentee Shawnee of central Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by Erminie W. Voegelin. Meeting attended in 1933. Voegelin reports three forms of the cult among the Absentee: (1) The Kiowa-Comanche form (the form which my list records); said to have been introduced about 1900 from the Kickapoo, who learned it from the Comanche; is the most popular form. (2) Caddo-Delaware variant of the "Wilson way," conducted by Ernest Spybuck. (3) Tuchi "way," conducted by Panther; considered by Voegelin's informants to be distinct from the Kiowa-Comanche version, yet probably only slightly variant. Membership in these forms of the cult does not interfere with participation in older Shawnee religious beliefs and ceremonies. The "Cherokee" or "Loyal" Shawnee in northeastern Oklahoma, however, take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways," which is La Barre's Oto "Christianized" version, and this does teach complete withdrawal from older native ceremonies.

D
127
128
795

De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 3–6).

W
127
128
795

Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

* Data for the Ute and Washo–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Tace from published literature, are part of my Ute Peyotism which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Winnebago NR12
Crow NR10



127
128
745
C
127
128
745
080

a meeting in 1939, "sponsored by two Winnebago women . . . 'to thank Jesus' for their recovery from a recent sickness." A visiting Ogalala Sioux was chief drummer.

No C: Northern Cheyenne of Montana. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Cr 1, Cr 2: Montana Crow. Lists filled in and notes furnished by Fred Voget, of Yale University, in the course of ethnographic field work in 1939. Data on Cr 1 were supplied by a lay member; on Cr 2 by the Crow secretary of the Montana Branch of the Native American Church.

WRS: Wind River Shoshone. List filled in and notes supplied by D. Shimkin from observation and inquiry in the course of ethnographic field work, sponsored by the University of California, in Wyoming in 1938.

Ute: Ute of Utah and Colorado. Observation and inquiry by the author in 1937–1939 when doing field work sponsored by the University of California.

Gos: Goshute of Ibapah, Utah. List filled in and notes supplied by Carling Malouf, who attended a "tipi way" (Kiowa-Comanche) meeting in 1939 and talked with Arthur Johnson, an official in the cult. Goshute Indians make trips to Oklahoma. Before the "tipi way" was introduced, the Goshute practiced the old "Ute way" or "Sioux way," but members in either cult will visit meetings of the other. R. V. Chamberlain in conversation states that the Goshute used peyote at the time he made his ethnobotanical study among them in 1910, but the Indians say the ritual came to them from the Ute about 1920. Malouf's information was supplemented by an official "Program of the Native American Church" procured by A. L. Robertson while he was subagent at Ibapah and sent to me (see note 265a).

W-P: Washo-Northern Paiute. Observation and inquiry by the author in 1938. Field work sponsored by the University of California.

Taos: Taos of New Mexico. List abstracted from published accounts: Edward S. Curtis, The North American Indian, 16:53–59, 1926; and Elsie Clews Parsons, Taos Pueblo, GSA 2:64–66, 1936.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ AD
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12 ●

*Stewart: Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism*

105[A]

| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | HT | K-A | Ko | Cos | Ku | Ab | Ze I | Ze | Wi | Ok | Ci | Co | WB | Do | Gu | Ar | Tse |
| 1. Staff of authority of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2. "Cane" 3-5 feet long | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + |
| 3. Tufts of hair at top | + | •+ | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | | •– | + | + | •+ | + | + | – | – | + |
| 4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane | + | + | + | + | – | •+ | – | + | – | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + |
| 5. Passed around | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + |
| 6. Always passed between drum and altar | + | (+) | + | | (–) | + | | | | | (+) | (+) | + | + | + | + | |
| 7. Person holding staff leads singing | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 8. Rattle of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 9. Gourd | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 10. Decorated | + | + | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 11. Handle beaded | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 12. Tufts of hair on top | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + |
| 13. Rattle passed around | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 14. Person singing shakes rattle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 15. Individual rattle also used | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | – | + | + |
| 16. Only after midnight | + | | + | + | – | – | + | •– | – | – | + | + | •– | + | – | + | + |
| 17. To accompany singer holding staff | | | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | + | + |
| 18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers) | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | •+ | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + |
| 19. Each feather tied separately | + | + | + | + | (–) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | + | |
| 20. Binding decorated | | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | + | |
| 21. Passed around | + | | – | + | (–) | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + |
| 22. Held with staff while singing | + | | •+ | + | + | – | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 23. Individual fans also used | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 24. Only after midnight | + | | + | – | (+) | – | + | •– | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body | + | + | (+) | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •– | – | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | – | + |
| 27. Used at special midnight ritual | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | – | + |
| 28. At special morning ritual | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | – | + |
| 29. Placed near altar in front of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + |
| 30. Only leader uses whistle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | •– | + | + | – | |

(Continued on next page)

C
D
W
171
795 ●
796
[534]

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12
C W 171 795 796 [634] [276]



PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(Continued)

| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ut | Ute | Sh | Cheyenne | Ar | Ara | Ind | Pa | Wa | Cro | Io | Ot | Ara | Ni | Gu | Ar | Ma |
| 31. Paraphernalia satchel | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer) | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | °+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 34. Water drum | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 35. Iron kettle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | °+ | + | + |
| 36. Pottery jar | °+ | | − | − | | − | + | + | | − | − | − | | + | | − | |
| 37. Charcoal in water | + | + | + | + | (−) | + | + | + | | + | + | °+ | + | + | °+ | + | |
| 38. Head of deerskin | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | (+) | + | °+ | °+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 39. Skin tied on before meeting | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie | + | + | + | + | °− | °− | °+ | − | + | + | °+ | °+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 41. 7 stones represent days | | | + | − | | − | − | − | | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | |
| 42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 43. Star significant | + | + | + | | | °(+) | | | | | °+ | °+ | + | + | °+ | + | |
| 44. Skin removed at end of meeting | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + |
| 45. Only one drum used | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 46. Drumstick of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °(+) | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 47. Individual drumsticks also used | + | + | + | + | (−) | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | − | + | |
| 48. Only after midnight | + | | + | + | | °− | + | − | − | − | + | + | − | + | − | + | |
| 49. Drum and drumstick passed around | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 50. Separate drummer accompanies singer | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 51. Drummer usually at right of singer | + | °− | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 52. Only men drum | + | + | + | + | − | °− | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | − | + |
| 53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader | + | + | + | + | ° | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 54. Cedar sprinkled on fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 55. Usually by cedarman | + | °− | + | + | + | °− | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 56. Only one bag of cedar used | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | °− | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 57. Tobacco furnished by leader | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | − | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + |
| 58. Rolled in maize husks | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | − | °− | − | + |
| 59. In oak leaves | + | − | + | + | −°(+) | | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | |
| 60. In paper | − | − | − | − | − | | − | − | − | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | |

Crow NA10
Winnebago NM2



| Elements | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ur | Tw | Ep | Cob | Ba | Wa | Ir | Ha | Ag | Ch | Ie | Ot | Wha | Ap | Ow | Ar | Ma |
| 61. Only leader's tobacco used | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | – | + | + | °+ | + | + | (+) | + | + |
| 62. Tobacco lacking from ritual | °(+) | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | °+ | – | – | |
| 63. Peyote furnished by leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °– | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | ++ |
| 64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button" | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | ++ |
| *65. Decorated with white lines | – | – | – | | (–) | | – | – | – | – | – | °– | – | – | – | – | – |
| 66. Placed on altar in front of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ++ |
| 67. Is not eaten | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | ++ |
| 68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote" | + | + | + | + | (–) | + | + | | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | |
| 69. Form cross | + | °+ | (+) | + | | + | + | | | + | + | °+ | °+ | + | | – | – |
| 70. Peyote for eating passed around | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °– | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 71. Only leader's used until after midnight | | °+ | + | | (+)° | – | + | °+ | – | | + | °– | °– | + | °(+)° | – | |
| 72. Leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 73. Called chief or peyote chief | + | + | °+ | + | (+)° | + | °+ | °+ | | + | + | °+ | °+ | + | ° | + | + |
| 74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ++ |
| 75. Has complete charge of meeting | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ++ |
| 76. Assistants | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ++ |
| 77. 2 assistants | | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 78. 3 assistants | + | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | + | – | + | + | + | + |
| 79. 4 or more assistants | | – | °– | – | – | + | + | °+ | – | – | + | – | + | – | – | – | – |
| 80. Chief drummer | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | ++ |
| 81. Sits at leader's right | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °– | °– | + | + | + | + | + | + | ++ |
| 82. Drums for leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °– | + | + | + | + | + | + | ++ |
| 83. Drums for each singer in turn | – | – | – | – | – | – | | °+ | °– | – | °+ | °– | °– | °– | – | °– | ++ |
| 84. Cedarman or cedar chief | + | – | + | + | + | °+ | + | – | °+ | + | + | °+ | °+ | + | + | + | ++ |
| 85. Sits at leader's left | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | °– | °– | + | °– | °– | + | + | + | ++ |
| 86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ++ |
| 87. Offers prayers at specified times | + | – | + | – | (–) | + | + | – | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | |
| 88. Fire chief or fire tender | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ++ |
| 89. Sits at north side of entrance | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ++ |
| 90. Starts fire before meeting | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | |

(Continued on next page)

C W
171
745
746
[276]

Comanche NO6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12 ●

G
Cr
P
W
171
●745
716
F783
F79



PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(Continued)

| Element | Groups | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ute | Paiute | Shoshoni | Gosiute | Bannock | Kiowa | Tonkawa | Pawnee | Wichita | Osage | Ponca | Oto | Iowa | Kansas | Sac and Fox | Menominee | Potawatomi | Ojibwa | Winnebago |
| 91. Replenishes fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 92. Cleans up and arranges ashes | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 93. Conducts people in and out | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | •+ | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + |
| 94. All bathe before attending meeting | + | + | •+ | – | | (–) | | •– | | •– | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | | •+ | |
| 95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi) | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + |
| 96. In open | | | •– | – | – | (–) | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | + | – | + | + | + |
| 97. Entrance or opening toward east | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •– | •– | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + |
| 99. Concave side toward east | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 100. Line on top of moon | + | + | + | + | + | (–) | + | •– | •– | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 101. Fire east of leader's place | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + |
| 102. East of moon | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 103. Sticks placed to form right angle | + | + | + | •– | + | + | + | | – | – | + | •+ | •– | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 104. Old methods used to start fire | | – | •+ | – | | + | + | + | | •– | •– | •– | – | – | + | + | + | – | |
| 105. 4 sticks on fire | | | (+) | •– | (–) | + | •– | •– | – | •– | + | •+ | – | – | + | + | + | + | |
| 106. Special fire stick (poker) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 107. Worshippers congregate outside | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | – | – | •– | •– | – | – | + | – | + | + | + |
| 109. Meeting starts in evening | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + |
| 110. Leader prays before entering meeting | + | + | •+ | + | | •(–) | | – | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 111. Order of entrance: chief first | + | + | + | + | | + | + | •+ | | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + |
| 112. Chief drummer second | | + | + | + | | + | + | •+ | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 113. Cedarman third | | – | + | + | | – | + | – | | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 114. Men (before women and children) | | – | + | + | + | (+) | | – | | + | •+ | •– | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 115. Women and children allowed | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 116. Fire chief last | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + |
| 118. Men, either side, near leader | + | – | + | + | + | + | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | + |
| 119. Women, either side, near entrance | | – | •+ | + | + | + | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 120. Separation of men and women | | – | – | + | (–) | – | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | •– | •+ | + | – | – | | |

14: Stewart E-5 (1936–1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche ND6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12 ●

*Stewart: Washo–Northern Paiute Peyotism*

101[A]

| Element | Comanche | | |

Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12



C
W
171
P45
P46
[533]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | H T | K-A | Ho | Cam | Kin | Ab S | De I | De S | Wis | Mo C | Cr I | Cr F | WRS | Ow | Gos | F-W | Tse |
| 151. 4 times | + | | + | – | | + | | | | – | •– | + | •– | + | | + | |
| 152. Whistle placed near altar | + | | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | – | + |
| 153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 154. Sings fixed opening song | + | + | + | | | + | + | + | | – | + | + | •+ | + | •+ | – | |
| 155. Holds staff in front of him | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 156. Another beats drum | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 157. Chief drummer beats drum | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 159. Each man sings 4 songs | + | + | + | [illegible] | | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left | + | | + | + | | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + |
| 161. Rule against women singing | + | •– | + | + | | (+) | + | + | – | + | + | •– | + | – | •+ | •– | |
| 162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 163. Midnight water call and recess | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •– | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | |
| 164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc. | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent | + | + | + | + | + | | •+ | •– | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 166. Fire replenished | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 167. 4 sticks added | | | | | | | – | | | | (+) | (+) | – | + | | + | |
| 168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 169. Cedar sprinkled on fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | •+ | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | |
| 170. Whistle blown by leader | + | | + | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | + | •+ | + | + | | – | + |
| 171. 4 times | + | | + | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | + | + | •+ | + | | – | + |
| 172. Leader sings fixed water song | + | + | + | | | + | + | •– | | | + | + | + | + | + | – | + |
| 173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | – | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 174. By women | | – | – | •+ | •– | – | – | – | – | •+ | – | – | – | – | – | – | |
| 175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket | + | | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire | + | | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •– | |
| 177. Water bearer draws incense to water | + | | + | + | + | •+ | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 178. Water bearer prays, blesses water | + | | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 179. While smoking cigarette | + | | + | + | + | + | | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays | + | | + | + | + | + | | – | – | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + |

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12

*Stewart: Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism*

111[8]

| Element | Occurrences | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ut | Wi | Ch | Ar | Ba | Ka | Pa | Ba | Ok | Io | Oj | Ma | Ma | Ch | Ar | Tim |
| 181. Water bearer spills water on ground | + | − | + | | + | + | + | − | − | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | |
| 182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptise") selves with water | + | − | + | + | − | − | − | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled | + | − | | + | | | − | − | − | + | + | − | + | | + | | + | | + | |
| 185. Water bearer takes water outside | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + |
| 186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water | + | | + | + | + | + | − | − | − | + | +•(+) | | − | + | + | | + | + | + | + |
| 187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight | + | | + | + | + | • | − | − | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | |
| 188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | •− | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | |
| 189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | | + | + | + | |
| 190. Prays to cardinal directions | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | |
| 191. Leader incensed upon return | + | | + | | | + | + | − | − | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | |
| 192. Replaces whistle near moon | + | | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | | + | + | + | |
| 193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used | + | | + | + | •+ | − | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible | | •− | •+ | | + | + | + | + | | | •(+) | + | − | +• | (+) | + | + | + | + | + |
| 195. Urged not to eat too much | | | •+ | − | | − | − | − | | − | (+) | + | − | •+ | − | − | − | − | − | |
| 196. Individual prayers aloud, by men | + | + | •+ | + | + | − | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 197. By women | | | •+ | − | •+ | − | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | |
| 198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | | •+ | + | | + | + |
| 199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | | | + | | + | + |
| 200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start | + | | + | + | + | − | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | | | + | | + | |
| 201. Butt handed to leader | | | + | + | (−) | − | | •+ | − | − | + | •− | + | + | | + | + | | + | |
| 202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar | | | + | − | (−) | − | | − | − | •− | + | − | + | + | | + | − | | − | |
| 203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar | | | + | − | (−) | − | | − | − | − | + | − | + | + | | + | + | | − | |
| 204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar | | | + | − | (−) | − | | + | − | + | + | − | + | + | | + | + | | − | |
| 205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader | | | •+ | + | (−) | − | − | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | •− | |
| 206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | | •+ | •+ | | + | + |
| 207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual) | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | + | •+ | •− | + | + | + | + | + | | •+ | •+ | | − | + |
| 208. Water brought in | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | − | + |
| 209. By woman | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •− | − | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | − | + |

(Concluded on next page)

C
W
171
745
496
[676]
[712]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche N06
Winnebago N012
C
W
171
●785
796
[264]



**Peyote Element Distribution List—(*Concluded*)**

| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | UT | Ute | Ute | Cheyenne | Ute | Ute | Ute | Dakota | Wind | Kiowa | Ch | Ch | Ch | Wind | Ute | Ute | W-P | Total |
| 210. Who blesses water | + | +. | + | + | | + | + | •– | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + |
| 211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside | + | + | + | | (+) | + | | – | – | | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + |
| 212. Woman returns immediately with food and water | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •– | •– | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 213. "Peyote breakfast" | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •– | •– | + | •+ | + | – | + | + | + | + | + |
| 214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door) | | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat | | – | + | + | – | – | + | – | – | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | •+ | •+ | – | •+ |
| 216. Water, rice, fruit, meat | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | •– | – | – | – | – | •+ | •+ | •+ | |
| 217. Water, maize, fruit, candy | | – | – | – | – | •+ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 218. Water, maize, meat, fruit | | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 219. Parched maize in sweetened water | | + | | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | •+ | + | •+ | + | + | + | – | + |
| 220. Candy also included in the breakfast | + | – | + | – | + | •+ | – | •+ | – | – | •– | – | •+ | – | – | – | – | + |
| 221. Food blessed | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 222. Wash before eating | | | – | – | – | – | | •+ | | – | + | + | + | + | – | – | | |
| 223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing | + | | + | + | + | + | | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | •– | |
| 224. Before eating | + | | + | – | | + | | •+ | •+ | – | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | •• | |
| 225. Drum untied | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | •+ | |
| 226. Water from drum drunk | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | | – | •– | + | + | – | + | + | + | | |
| 227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism" | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | •+ | + | | + | | |
| 228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents | + | + | + | – | + | •+ | | | •+ | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | | |
| 229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body | + | + | + | + | | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | – | + | | – | | |
| 230. All parts of drum passed, handled | + | + | + | + | | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | – | + | | – | | |
| 231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief | + | | + | | | + | | | | | | + | + | + | + | – | | |
| 232. Food passed clockwise | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + |
| 233. Replaced on floor between fire and door | | | ? | + | | + | | | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | | |
| 233a. Order before passing reversed | | | | + | | + | | | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | | |
| 234. Taken out by fire chief | + | + | •+ | + | | + | | | – | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | |
| 235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M. | + | + | + | + | + | + | | •– | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + |
| 236. Sun greeted | + | | •– | – | (–) | – | | •+ | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | | + |
| 237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke | + | + | •+ | – | – | (–) | + | + | | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + |
| 238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting | | •– | •+ | + | – | + | | | | + | •– | – | – | – | – | – | | |

Comanche N06
Winnebago NP12 ●

*Stewart: Washo–Northern Paiute Peyotism* 113[A]

| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ut T | K-A | Ho | Com | Ka | Ah B | Dr I | Dr S | Wa | No C | Cr I | Cr S | WSB | Du | Co | W-P | Tot. | |
| 239. Feast follows meeting | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | |
| 240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible | | − | − | − | − | •− | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | | |
| 241. Staff, rattle, and feathers | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 242. Whistle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | |
| 243. "Chief peyote" | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 244. Crescent of earth | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 245. Crescent of ash | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | |
| 246. Fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 247. Fire stick | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | |
| 248. Water | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 249. Person blessing water | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 250. Peyote breakfast | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit) | + | | + | − | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | |
| 252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God | + | | + | | (−) | + | + | + | + | | | | + | + | •+ | + | | |
| 253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | |
| 254. Peyote's function is medicinal | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | + | |
| 256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication | + | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | | |
| 257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | |
| 258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | | + | + | + | | + | + | |
| 259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | | + | | |
| 260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify | + | + | + | + | (+) | •+ | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | | |
| 261. Modifications permitted by new revelations | + | | + | | | | − | + | | | | | − | + | | •− | + | |
| 262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble | + | + | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | | | + | + | | + | | |
| 263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | + | + | | + | | |
| 264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road | | + | •+ | − | | − | + | + | | + | | | + | + | • | + | + | |
| 265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road | | + | •+ | + | •+ | − | − | + | + | − | | | + | + | • | + | | |
| 265a. (See note) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

C
W
111
245 ●
246
[171]
[574]
[276]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06
Winnebago NP12



C
W
171
795
796

## NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab S: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celloluid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

4. Ab S: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab S: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab S: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab S: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound together is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

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27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).

28. Gos: See note 265a.

30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin). C W 171

32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).

33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget). 795 796

35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).

36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).

37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).

38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).

40. Kie: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).

43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).

44. Gos: See note 265a.

46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).

48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).

50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).

51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).

52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).

53. Kie: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).

55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).

56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus). W [824]

57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).

58. Gos: See note 265a.

59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).

60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).

61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).

62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.

63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wʔgᵊeθi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin). W [276]

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64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not re-decorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

91. Win: See note 162.

92. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

96. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

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Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf). C

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre). W

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99. 171

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Prans). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf). 795 796 W [776]

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 50, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons). C [29]

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget). C [562]

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon). C

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget). [352]

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125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

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165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus). C W 171 795 796

169. De 2: See note 162. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRB: Sometimes twice (Shimkin). W [532]

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173-174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget). C [276] [782]

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free-will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kic: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212-213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

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Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready, she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Wásho-Paiute informants, Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WRS: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WRS: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223-225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WRS: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251-255. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154-58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Práus). WRS: damé apé (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form ní'mé apé (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Maloté).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12



[R]
C
W
171
795
796
600

264. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre).

265. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kie: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Noon). Gos: Simply called the path of life (Malouf).

265a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940.

### Program: Native American Church

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief.

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting it of 5-finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives it woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche NO6
Winnebago NP12
Ojibwa NG6
Dhegiha NQ12
Iroquois NM9



## APPENDIX III. STATISTICAL DATA

Table 1 below contains information about the communities where peyote meetings were held. The numbers at the left side correspond with those on map 1, and indicate the order in which Indians of different villages accepted peyotism. The spread was irregular and some distant villages received the cult before those near its starting point. The columns concerning tribal affiliation of

### TABLE 1

ORDER OF CONVERSION BY COMMUNITIES

| Community | Tribal affiliation of sponsor of meeting | Tribal affiliation of majority of community | Distance in miles to meetings held previously | Total population of community | Total peyote-cult membership in community |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Schurz | Paiute | Paiute | 0 | 440 | 20 |
| 2. Gardnerville | Washo | Washo | 81 | 281[a] | 81 |
| 3. Wellington | Paiute | Paiute | 33 | 57 | 33 |
| 4. Yerington | Paiute | Paiute | 23 | 142 | 28 |
| 5. Coleville | Paiute | Paiute-Washo | 23 | 74 | 34 |
| 6. Fallon Reservation | Paiute | Paiute | 44 | 146 | 25 |
| 7. Mono Lake | Paiute | Paiute | 55 | 133[b] | 27 |
| 8. Bridgeport | Miwok | Paiute | 20 | 55 | 10 |
| 9. Woodfords | Washo | Washo | 15 | 80 | 11 |
| 10. Carson City | Washo | Washo | 17 | 128 | 5 |
| 11. Nixon | Paiute | Paiute | 61 | 159 | 13 |
| 12. Fallon | Shoshone | Paiute | 15 | 112 | 9 |
| 13. Lake Tahoe | Washo | Washo | 25 | —[c] | |
| 14. Bishop | Paiute | Paiute | 63 | 250 | 4 |
| Total | | | | 2257 | 300 |

[a] Including Douglas County.
[b] Including Benton and Lee Vining.
[c] Only summer home; population listed under winter-home town.

sponsors of meetings and of majority of members of the communities reveal that in two instances "foreign" Indians, Miwok and Shoshone, living among Paiute were responsible for first meetings held in their adopted villages. The column headed "Distance in miles to meetings held previously" indicates the extent of travel required of members who attended nearly all of the early meetings and shows the distances that Indian news passes along their grapevine news system. The two

IODWC
162
171
795

### TABLE 2

PARTICIPATION IN PEYOTE CULT BY TRIBES

(From Newberne, pp. 33–35, unless otherwise indicated; cf. table 8.)

| Tribes | Peyotists (percentage) |
|---|---|
| Arapaho, Cheyenne (Cantonment Agency) | 90 |
| Cheyenne, Arapaho (Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency) | 75 |
| Lower Yanktonai Sioux (Crow Agency) | 2 |
| Sioux (Fort Peck Agency) | 0 |
| Sioux (Fort Totten Agency) | 1 |
| Goshute (Goshute Agency) | 45[a] |
| Potawatomi, Winnebago (Grand Rapids Agency) | 35 |
| Menominee (Keshena Agency) | 3 |
| Iowa, Kickapoo, Sac and Fox (Kickapoo Agency) | 40 |
| Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, etc. (Kiowa Agency) | 75 |

[a] Corrected by letter from A. L. Robertson, Subagent, dated at Ibapah, Utah, September 21, 1938.

(Concluded on next page)

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
N. Winnebago NM12
Ojibwa NG6
Dhegiha NQ12
Iroquois NM9



[A]
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162
171
795

TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

| Tribes—(*Continued*) | Peyotists (percentage) |
|---|---|
| Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency) | 5 |
| Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency) | 0 |
| Omaha (Omaha Agency) | 90 |
| Little Osage (Osage Agency) | 50 |
| Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency) | 30 |
| Pawnee (Pawnee Agency) | 20 |
| Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency) | 5 |
| Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency) | 60 |
| Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency) | 16 |
| Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency) | 0.7 |
| Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency) | 2 |
| Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency) | 10 |
| North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency) | 7.5 |
| Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency) | 0 |
| Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency) | 5* |
| Sioux (Standing Rock Agency) | 0 |
| Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency) | 25 |
| Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency) | 50 |
| Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency) | 90* |
| Winnebago (Winnebago Agency) | 36 |
| Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency) | 20 |

* Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 30, 1936, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1936.

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate- 580

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1936
(In percentages)

| Categories | 753 Nonpeyotists | 247 Peyotists | 247 Peyotists | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 80 Active | 150 Inactive |
| Prosperous | 5.3 | 5.7 | 10.2 | 3.8 |
| Poor | 3.4 | 4.1 | 3.4 | 4.4 |
| Energetic | 5.4 | 5.6 | 9.0 | 3.8 |
| Lazy | 2.8 | 3.6 | 4.5 | 3.0 |
| Heavy drinkers | 6.6 | 7.7 | 10.2 | 6.3 |
| Never drink | 1.7 | 2.0 | 3.4 | 1.3 |
| Active Christians | 6.0 | 4.4 | 4.5 | 4.4 |
| Shamans | 1.2 | 2.0 | 2.3 | 1.9 |
| Councilmen | 1.0 | 0.8 | 1.1 | 0.6 |
| Mixed-bloods | 13.1 | 10.9 | 5.7 | 13.8 |

1: Radin
796

NP12 Winnebago NP12

[For detailed information on the various ceremonies associated with the clan war-bundle feasts, see category 116, pp. 427-434, 436, 442-550.]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



*The bear hunt.* Bears were hunted by individuals og by the tribe. 224
Before a man started on a bear hunt he went through the following 796
ceremony, known as *wana"tee're*, literally "concentration of the 782
mind." He either built a special lodge or used his own for the ceremony. A kettle containing food was placed on the fireplace; this was intended for the particular bear the man wished to kill. The food generally consisted of corn or dried fruit; tobacco and red feathers also were offered, the former in small bark vessels. All these offerings were made not only as sacrifices to the bear but in order to make the feast as tempting as possible. When everything was in readiness, the host rubbed two sticks having rough surfaces against each other, called *nai"carax* or *nai"waidjo'k'ere*. The host never ate. He continued his singing and rubbing until he attracted the attention of the bear, as indicated by the appearance of a little streak of flame passing from the fire toward the gifts he brought for him.

The same ceremony was performed before starting on a deer or a raccoon hunt. In addition to this ceremony, individuals always used the special hunting medicines that they obtained during their fasts. This was frequently chewed and then rubbed into the arrow (nowadays into the gun).[2] [789]

There is a time of the year called *hirucí'e*, when bear break hickory 224
or oak branches for the nuts or the acorns. It seems they are then very easy to approach. If a man killed a bear he would always [825]
refer to it in terms of respect.

The tribal bear hunt always took place in summer. As enemies [721
were generally encountered on the way a winter or war feast was 527]
always given before the party started. This had nothing to do, however, with the hunt proper. Following is a fairly close translation of an account of a Winnebago bear hunt and buffalo hunt secured by the author:

*Description of a bear hunt.*—When the Winnebago went on the bear hunt they 224
always traveled in large numbers. They would always be able to find bears in the 825
groves of red timber-oak, and it would be very easy to kill them. Nevertheless the old people considered it a very dangerous affair, especially if the hunters came upon breeding bear. If anyone killed a breeding bear he would cause very much trouble. The male bear would get very angry and chase the man who had done the killing, and if it ever happened that he was out of ammunition, the man surely would be killed. The bear would jump upon him and tear him to pieces. It is said that when bears kill a human being they always eat him. Another way of getting at the bears was to clear away the ground for them. It is very easy to kill them then. This generally takes place at the time of the year when the acorns fall to the ground. The bears gather in the cleared spaces and lie down there. They lie in the timber under the trees. They look like black objects in the distance. It is customary to shoot at them from some distance, but care is always taken not to shoot all of them, nor to shoot when the wind was with them, for then they would scent the hunters

[2] Numerous descriptions of the *wana"tee're* are given in the Hare Trickster cycle.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



616 that, as mentioned before, were a new clan introduced now among the Winnebago its position would depend exclusively upon the nature of the animal associated with it. As similar reasons dictate clan 614 groupings among some of the Central Algonquian tribes, a few words 825 concerning this type of association will not be amiss. The groupings of the fauna into a distinct number of categories is extremely common in North America. Among the Winnebago, a number of other Siouan, and Central Algonquian tribes, there was a fivefold classification: earth animals, sky animals, empyrean animals, aquatic animals, and subaquatic animals. Among the Winnebago the thunderbird belongs to the empyrean; the eagle, hawk, and pigeon, to the sky; the bear and wolf, to the earth; the fish, to the water; and the water-spirit, below the water. This religio-mythological conception has unquestionably received a certain amount of sympathetic elaboration at the hands of shamans, and particularly at the hands of the [796] leaders of such ceremonies as the Winter Feast, the Clan Feast, and the Clan Wake, as well as at the hands of those who had in their keeping the clan origin myths.

The characteristics of the thunderbird, eagle, bear, and water-spirit as clan animals, and as animals connected with a division of fauna, are also related to the general conception of these animals per se. The eagle and hawk are birds of prey; the thunderbird is generally a deity granting long life, and associated with peace, although his connection with war is also common. Similarly, the bear is supposed to have a "soldier" nature, and the water-spirit is intimately associated with rites pertaining to crossing streams, calming the sea, and ownership of water property. This correlation unquestionably indicates an influence of the religio-mythological conception of the animal upon the social group with which it is associated. How far this can go is abundantly attested by the names and behavior of the *waggeregi* and *manegi* divisions.

On the other hand, we may legitimately ask what influence the two divisions had in molding the attributes of these animals, or upon the behavior of the groups with which their name was associated. The functions of a warrior may have determined, as they certainly have accentuated, the "warrior" characteristics of the eagle and hawk, nor is there any easily intelligible reason why the thunderbird should be associated with peace. From our knowledge [174] of the social organization of other Siouan tribes, the political functions of the clan seem to be the characteristic feature of the organization, and this being the case, the possibility of associations of warlike and peaceful attributes with animals may as much be ascribed to the influence of the social unit as vice versa. With regard to such functions as the exogamy of the two divisions or that of the clans, or of the reciprocal burial relationship of the *waggeregi* and

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



gifts from one spirit, the thunderbird, and secondarily associated night-spirit (*hąhe*). The Winter Feast might thus be interpreted as a society of those who have obtained blessings from the thunderbird. The bundle remains in the possession of a certain family, however, and cannot pass out of the clan. The war bundle may therefore be said to be primarily the personal possession of a family which has become associated with all the members of the clan to such an extent that it is almost regarded as a clan possession.

In the possession of the two crooks by the Bear clan we have an example of specific clan property. The crooks are in the nature of emblems and are used on the warpath to indicate the extreme line of advance. They are thus of tribal significance. When not in use they are kept in the lodge of the Bear clan.

### IMMATERIAL POSSESSIONS OF THE CLAN

Although there are no specific material possessions, each clan has certain "immaterial" possessions. They all have the added connotation of sacredness. For the Bird clans, it is the possession of fire; for the Bear, the doorway of his lodge; for the Wolf and Water-spirit, water. They were not obtained for all the clans. We indicated before that these "possessions" may have been primarily connected with the animals associated with the clan, upon which an additional socio-religious interpretation has been superimposed. The whole subject is, however, closely related to that of clan etiquette, for which, of course, no explanations can be given now.

### THE CLAN MARKS OF IDENTIFICATION

As if more fully to set off the social unit of the clan, there have come to be associated with it definite marks of identification, such as symbols, property marks, facial decorations, and songs.

The symbols of only two clans were obtained, although a number of other clans seem to have possessed them. These were the war club (*namątee*) of the Thunderbird clan and the peculiarly whittled stick (*namazinizini*) of the Bear clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan died a miniature war club was buried with him. Whether the *namazinizini* was buried with a member of a Bear clan we do not know.

The property mark consisted of the effigy of the clan animal, and was woven on such objects as bags, tobacco pouches, etc. It was also frequently engraved on wooden objects. Its most peculiar uses, however, were the emblematic earthen effigy mounds, in the shape of the clan animal, which were erected near the habitation of each clan in the village and in the center of clan squash fields, cornfields, etc.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



fact of Winnebago culture, namely, that there are, strictly speaking, no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in many respects, are absolutely identical with the religious societies, and which furnish, it seems to us, an example of just those two kinds of influence that we wished to point out, one radiating from the clan as an organization, the other from the entire clan unit. 614 575 [796]

In the Winter Feasts the unit of organization is the clan. Generally all the clans were represented in the person of the owner of each specific clan war bundle. The order of invitation was traditionally fixed, but it seems that in a number of cases the "friend" clan always had the position of honor. The war-bundle owner was not, however, supposed to represent the clan at all, but the spirits to whom offerings were being made. In every case, although the participants were supposed to represent a fairly large number of animals, the main blessings that were contained in the war bundle were from the thunderbird and night-spirit and the main offerings were indeed made to them. There seem thus to have been two separate ceremonies involved, one to the thunderbird and the other to the night-spirits. 614 796 [782 776]

The question arising with regard to the clan basis of these ceremonial organizations is whether we are to imagine that the ceremonial unit of organization was displaced by the clan unit, or whether we are to suppose that the ceremony is of comparatively recent origin, let us say at least long after the clan organization had been perfected, and that a number of things combined to determine the acceptance of the clan as a unit of organization, as opposed to the traditional ceremonial one. To the foregoing we must also add the fact that the Winter Feast seems to be related to similar ceremonies of the Central Algonquian, whose influence on the Winnebago must first be determined. If, then, we are not in a position at present to suggest the course of development, there can be no doubt that the content of the ceremony is strictly comparable to that of the religious societies, and that there are hints that the ceremonial unit of organization had begun to assert itself. If this could be definitely established, it would indicate that the clan basis of organization is historically primary. [171]

The clan unit of organization is found in no other Winnebago ceremony, although the specific clan feasts show marked influences radiating from the clan unit. The clan feast is a typical ceremonial complex, both in type of organization and in content. The difference between it and a society like that of the night-spirit lies in the fact that although the five principal participants must have specific blessings (bundles), they must at the same time belong to the clan. To what extent a member of one clan who has obtained a bundle

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



614 from some other clan spirit can take part in the specific clan feast
796 of the latter it is difficult to determine, but in the buffalo feast, assuming that this is unquestionably the real Buffalo clan feast, any person who has obtained a bundle from the buffalo can participate, although the leader must always belong to the Buffalo clan. This example may be taken as an indication of the historical origin of these feasts, namely, that they are really religious societies in which the influence of the clan has restricted the number of individuals who are ordinarily supposed to occupy the five places of honor. That this restrictive influence of the clan was caused by the identity of the clan animal with the guardian spirit there can be little doubt.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



An old Winne-
bago told the author that long ago a young man wanted to marry a 614
girl belonging to his phratry and refused to listen to the entreaties 615
of his father and mother. Finally the father, in desperation, went 582
over to the lodge of a man belonging to one of the clans into which 778
the young man could marry and asked for one of the sacred possessions. It was, of course, refused, and when the man was asked what other requests he wished to make, he asked that the host's daughter be allowed to marry his son. This was, of course, granted, and thus the boy was compelled to marry into the proper phratry.

One Winnebago interpreted the custom in an entirely different 614
way. Exactly how much importance is to be attached to this 372
explanation it is hard to say. According to this informant, the 689
insult lay not in going to the fireplace or taking a firebrand, but in asking for it. The insult apparently consists in not taking it for granted that anyone entering the lodge was permitted to do what [576]
he wished. In other words, his asking was a breach of etiquette.

The typical method of burial in the Thunderbird clan was scaffold burial. It has long since been discontinued.

The burial customs seem to have been the same for all the clans. 614
It may, however, be that in former times there were slight differences. 764
For instance, in the first version of the Thunderbird clan [184]
origin myth the statement is made that the branch of a tree was placed at the grave and a small stick, painted red, attached to it. The author has no recollection of ever hearing the same statement made in connection with any other of the clans.

There are four songs associated with the Thunderbird clan. 614
These are supposed to have been sung by the clan ancestors when [333]
they came to this earth, and are now always sung when a member of the clan dies, and on a few other occasions.

According to one informant, members of the Elk, Warrior, Deer, and Buffalo clans acted as servants to the Thunderbird clan on [554]
various occasions. The same informant also claimed that the Warrior clansmen took specific orders from the Thunderbird clansmen when on the warpath.

According to another informant, Thunderbird marks at death are a half circle on the forehead, made with charcoal. The proper [765]
marking is, however, that shown in plate 46.

Two dog names used in the Thunderbird clan are obtained—*pi"zakirutega; ka-iwakitca"ga.*

The only feast specifically connected with the Thunderbird clan was the so-called chief feast, of which a description will be found on [796]
page 318. One of the divisions of the war-bundle feast is often considered as sacred to the thunderbird, but this is always the deity [776]
thunderbird, not the ancestor of the clan.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



614 was. And then all of them went toward the chief's lodge. They
539 walked as chiefs, all four of them. The four of them went there.
776 The chief's lodge was an oval lodge, and there they entered.

The Snake clansman was the one appointed to get the food. He went after the food. It was an Eagle-people feast. Two fish the Snake clansman brought, and with these the Eagle chief gave a feast. The Deer clan acted as attendants. Thus they ate the fish. And when they were finished with the eating, on either side, they left the head and the tail of the fish. This they left of their meal. "And if we have a dog we will call him *Leaves-fish-on-both-ends*," they said. Then they sat down. As they were sitting some one peeped in. It was the dog. Only his nose he stuck in. Then they said, "Whose nose does it look like?" So the chief spoke. "If we ever have a dog and if we wish to keep it permanently, *Whose-nose-does-it-look-like*, we will call it.

Then all of a sudden their bodies began to be different and their feathers began to look as if they were worn off. They were about to enter the chief's lodge. Then the chief passed the fire to the Deer clan and when they were through the lodge was purified with
[783] the incense of smoking cedar leaves. Then again into the very long lodge they entered. This was at Red Banks. Then the upper people taught the lower people the things to make them good. Thus Earth-maker ordained everything, and as he ordered, so it was. That is the way they were. Holy they were. And all (of my clan?) lived as chiefs. This is all that I was taught.

CLAN SONGS

614
533

*First song*

The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.

*Second song*

The fire they started.
The fire they started.
The fire they started.
The fire they started.

EAGLE AND PIGEON CLANS

614 No information was obtained about either of these clans. The Pigeon clan has been extinct for some time and only a few survivors of the Eagle clan are left. Neither of these clans seems ever
[778 to have been of great importance. They had war bundles and an
796] Eagle feast is mentioned.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



the council lodge. According to another informant, the Bear clan is the Deer's friend, and therefore they bury one another.

Burial, as was the case for all members of the lower phratry, was in the ground. Opinions varied as to what clan was supposed to bury a Bear man, some people claiming that it would have to belong to the upper phratry, others that it was incumbent upon the Wolf clan. It seems that the latter custom is the one followed at the present time and one which is considered old, to judge from the account of an actual funeral (cf. p. 148). The body was always buried with a miniature Bear clan war bundle. According to one informant, a bow and arrows were occasionally placed in the hands of the corpse, in addition to some tobacco. According to another informant, the facial marks were charcoal across the forehead and red marks under the lips in direct imitation of the bear.

The facial decoration for the corpse consisted of two parallel marks across the forehead, the upper one red and the lower one black, and the painting of the entire chin red (pl. 46). The red paint on the chin was interpreted as a smile, for the Bear clansmen were supposed to greet death with a smile, as they were returning to their clan ancestors. The statement was also made that Bear clansmen should not mourn the death of any of their comrades.

There is a specific Bear clan feast at which no one is permitted to laugh or talk, nor is anyone allowed to make any noise while drinking soup. The feasters must eat with their left hand.

One of the most interesting of the ceremonies associated with the Bear clan is the so-called bear or soldier dance (*manu*pe vaci*). It was described to the author as follows:

> When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village the people go to the chief and say "Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!" And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks as follows: "My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease." Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well.

It is quite clear that this "healing" function of the clan is intimately associated with the powers supposed to be bestowed upon individuals by Bear spirits. In fact, we are really dealing with a society possessing the power of healing disease in which membership, however, is restricted to members of the Bear clan.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



## The Wolf Clan

### INTRODUCTION

614 173 Three versions of the origin myth of this clan were obtained. The second is the most interesting, for it gives the popular account of descent from the clan animal-ancestor, although it claims that he, in turn, was created by Earthmaker. One other important characteristic is the statement that the original clan ancestor married a human being and that from them the present members of the clan trace their descent. A similar type of descent is mentioned in a number of myths that can best be interpreted as village origin myths. The ownership of war bundles has also at times been linked up with descent from some spirit.

614 Very little is known at the present time about the functions of the Wolf clan. It is quite clear, however, that the clan once possessed powers of considerable importance. From the fact that the Wolf people are still occasionally called "minor soldiers" and that they are so closely linked with the Bear clansmen it is likely that their functions were similar in nature to those of the Bear people. They probably assisted the latter.

[823] Water was sacred to the Wolf clan as it also was to the Water-spirit clan. A person was not allowed to tell a Wolf clansman that he looked like a wolf nor allowed to sit on a log in a Wolf clan lodge. [682] If a man kills a Wolf clansman accidentally and then sits on the log in a Wolf lodge, he has to be freed.

According to one informant, the Wolf clan at one time possessed four sticks, which they would use and with which they kept time while the drum was beaten.

[582] According to one informant, the Wolf clansmen were the only people who were allowed to intermarry.

The Wolf clansmen give a feast when a Bear child is born, to show respect for their friend. They give the child a name of their own clan.

[796] The Wolf feast is held in the spring of the year, when the ice melts from the creeks and everything begins to grow. At the feast the [262 clan origin myth is told and the members of the other clans are 252] allowed to hear it. The food used is boiled rice.

### ORIGIN MYTHS

#### FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 539 776 [823] In the beginning the Wolf clan people came from the water. Therefore their bodies are of water—i. e., their sacred possession is water. There were four male wolves and four female wolves, and as they came up from the sea and swam toward the shore, one after the other, they caused waves to go before them. Therefore one of

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the old man went to a certain place he would find them. He went and found it was so. 787

TALES CONCERNING MIDJISTEGA

Recently the Potawatomi were going on the warpath and a number of other tribes were going along with them. As they were making their preparations they spent the evenings exhibiting the various powers they possessed and which they had obtained during their 'sata. 648 789 796 726 791

One day Robert Lincoln's father heard that a Winnebago was going to come and give a grizzly bear dance. Old Lincoln and a few other Potawatomi decided to go over and watch him. When they arrived at the lodge they were told that the name of the Winnebago was *Midjistega*. They were also told that this *Midjistega* was going to make some gunpowder (in a magical manner). When they heard this, the Potawatomi said that if he could make his teeth protrude from his mouth he might be able to make gunpowder, but that otherwise he could not.

In the middle of the lodge where this performance was to be held there was a wooden dish filled with charcoal near which *Midjistega* was sitting. He had beautiful hair and he had marks made by white clay in the corners of his eyes and mouth. When the singers in the lodge began to sing for him he ran around the lodge on all fours, four times. Then he took up the dish of charcoal and shook it. While doing this he made a noise like a grizzly bear. Then his teeth began to protrude. When he had gone around the lodge four times the charcoal turned into gunpowder. Then he took a handful of it and threw it into the fire and it exploded. The members of the different tribes present took some of it and put it in their war-bundles. It is only a short time ago that a Winnebago war-bundle that was supposed to have some of this gunpowder was stolen. It belonged to a man named Buchanan.

Old man Lincoln had never seen any Winnebago before this, but he could understand their language and he interpreted all that *Midjistega* said. The Potawatomi around him asked whether he had learned the language from some of his Winnebago relatives but he said he had not.

After showing that he could make gunpowder in this way, *Midjistega* made some plug tobacco. He cut the bark of some walnut trees into the shape of plug chewing tobacco and put it in a white deerskin on top of which was placed a piece of real plug tobacco. Then *Midjistega* said, "Now since I have made gunpowder I will also make some plug tobacco." Then he took the bundle and danced around the lodge with it and by the time he had danced around the lodge the third time the odor of tobacco became very

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648 strong. After he had danced around for the fourth time he opened
789 up his package and there was the tobacco. Then he spoke to the
796 people, "You people of different tribes, the one that is dancing
726 with me will obtain the first war-honor on the warpath that you
791 are planning now, for I am giving him that honor and that power."

After this he told them that he would make them some paint, as they seemed to be short of it then. He took a wooden dish and filled it full of ashes and covered it up with a white deerskin. Then he danced around the lodge. As he was dancing around for the third time, old Lincoln thought he noticed yellow-colored paint. The fourth time he danced around, the paint turned into a red color. When, finally, *Midjistega* took the cover off, there was red paint of a very fine quality. Then the members of the different tribes distributed it among one another.

After this he made some axes. He molded some clay into the shape of axes and put them into a deerskin. On top of this bundle he put a real metal ax. Then taking this bundle he started to dance around the lodge. As he went around the lodge the third time, old Lincoln thought he noticed something shining. After he had gone around the fourth time he took the cover off and there were some real axes. They were all new and bright.

Then he decided to make some hoes, and then some awls. All of these he made of clay. Then he made some needles of deer hair. Then, noticing some boys playing with some basswood bark, he asked them to give him some, and out of it he made ribbons of four different colors, blue, white, red, and black.

Then he said, "As I have made almost everything, I will now try and make some whisky. If I fail there will be no harm done anyhow." Old Lincoln told his people what *Midjistega* was saying. Then they placed a new pail full of water before him. He took a flute and began to dance around the lodge. After he had made the first circuit of the lodge he held the flute near the pail, almost sticking it into the water. The second time he approached the pail he stuck the flute into the water just a little bit. The third time he came near it he stuck the flute into the water and stirred it around. By that time Old Lincoln could smell the odor of whisky pretty strongly. Then *Midjistega* went around the lodge for the fourth time and finally stirred the water with his flute for a long time, and taking a drink from the pail said, "It is whisky." Then he passed it around and everyone present took a drink. Old Lincoln, however, did not touch it. Then his father told him to drink it, as it was holy and had been made by a spirit. Then Old Lincoln drank some, and, sure enough, it was whisky, although it was colorless.

726 After that, all the people went on a warpath. However, the per-
555 son to whom *Midjistega* had promised the first war honor only obtained

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arrange to have your victim die immediately, or, if you wish, to 734
have him suffer for a long time, by becoming paralyzed.

This same medicine is used in a similar way in times of scarcity of food. The people offer a shaman tobacco and he would do the following: He would take his medicine bundle and walk till he came to the footprints of a bear. Then he would follow the tracks of the bear till he came to his lair. Here he would open his medicine bag, dip the striped feather in the medicine, and sing for some time. When he has finished he makes certain sounds and stabs the bear's footprints. Wherever the bear happened to be at that time, he would not be able to walk, and the people would soon overtake him. For that reason this medicine is valued very highly.

This medicine is also used when one desires something belonging to another. All that is necessary to do in such a case is to use the songs accompanying the medicine. Then all the things one has coveted would immediately be brought. For this reason they thought a good deal of this medicine.

If ever anyone uses it in gambling, he will win. [525]

If again he casts his thoughts upon women, then the power of this medicine would go in their direction, and he will lose while gambling. All the women will, however, like him. He can marry whomsoever he wishes. The same thing will occur when a woman uses this medicine. If she casts her thoughts upon men, she will become foolishly enamored of them. For that reason the old people used to forbid women to use it.

This medicine bundle is also used on the warpath. If a man uses 778
it upon himself and rushes upon the enemy, all those who are in 726
front of him will suddenly find themselves unable to move. A 789
person who goes on a warpath, after he has carefully applied the medicine to himself, is invulnerable. It is impossible to kill him, for no bullets can penetrate his body.

This medicine was likewise used in hunting for bear, and deer 778
could easily be killed with it. Even those who are not accustomed 224
to hunting could kill game easily if they used it.

Many of the medicines mentioned above were obtained from the 756
man who was blessed with the stench-earth medicine. Everyone believed that the cures effected by him with this medicine were real. They believed that this medicine could cure them, and, indeed, it did cure them. It was this man, too, who originated the stench-earth medicine feast. It is a very sacred feast, considered more 756
sacred than any other feast among the Winnebago. When the 796
feast is given, an entire deer is boiled and cut into pieces much larger than any one person could eat. Nevertheless the host orders those whom he has invited to leave nothing upon the plate. Should [264]
any guest leave anything upon his plate, the host would give him a

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756 796 [264] small piece of a root and tell him to chew and eat it. This the guest would have to do, and from that time on he would never know when he had had enough to eat. He would never get satiated. Whenever the man who had been blessed gave the feast personally, no one was ever known to leave anything upon his plate. While eating the guests kept time. They never shook their plates, for if anyone did so the others would immediately give him whatever remained on their plates. They would assume that anyone who shook his plate was the possessor of the stench-earth himself and that he intended to eat up these extra portions with the aid of this medicine. If, however, the shaking was done unintentionally and he failed to eat up the extra portions placed on his plate, then he would make a noise like a raven, and those who wished to help him consume this food would also cry like the raven, approach him, and flap their arms as the birds do their wings. Then all would eat.

When the man who obtained these blessings died, he left all these medicines that he had been the first one to use to another person. With the medicines he of course left all the songs. All that he used to do when he doctored a sick person he bequeathed to his successor. The last man who had these medicines was not a holy man but he knew all their uses and for that reason he was considered a powerful and holy man. To-day only the poison medicines are remembered; the good medicines are all gone.

This is the end.

### How an Indian Shaman Cures His Patients[4]

756 775 539 "I came from above and I am holy. This is my second life on earth. Many years before my present existence, I lived on this earth. At that time everyone seemed to be on the warpath. I also was a warrior, a brave man. Once when I was on the warpath I was killed. It seemed to me, however, as if I had merely stumbled. I rose and went right ahead until I reached my home. At home I found my wife and children, but they would not look at me. Then I spoke to my wife but she seemed to be quite unaware of my presence. 'What can be the matter,' I thought to myself, 'that they pay no attention to me and that they do not even answer when I speak to them.' All at once it occurred to me that I might, in reality, be dead. So I immediately started out for the place where I had presumably been killed and surely enough, there I saw my body. Then I knew positively that I had been killed. I tried to return to the place where I had lived as a human being but for four years I was unsuccessful.

[825] "At one time I became transformed into a fish. However, the life of the fish is much worse than ours. They are very frequently

[4] The shaman is represented as in the lodge of the patient and as speaking to him and his relatives

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867
787 self. Blessings are not obtained except by making the proper offerings to the spirits and by putting yourself, time and again, in the proper mental condition . . . If you do not obtain a spirit to strengthen you, you will amount to nothing in the estimation of your fellowmen, and they will show you little respect . . . My son, as you travel along life's path, you will find many narrow passages (i. e., crises), and you can never tell when you will come to them. Try to anticipate them, so that you will be endowed with sufficient strength (by obtaining powers from the spirits) to pass safely through these narrow passages.

771 Among the Winnebago religion is definitely connected with the preservation of life values. It is not a phenomenon distinct from mundane life, but one of the most important means of maintaining social ideals. What these are can be gleaned from practically every prayer; they are success, happiness, and long life. The vast majority of investigators are often surprised at the intense religious life which, among the North American Indians, exists side by side with an intense realism and with a clear understanding and appreciation of the materialistic basis of life. The explanation, to judge from the Winnebago data, is simple enough. The Indian does not interpret life in terms of religion, but religion in terms of life. In other words, he exalts the world around him and the multifarious desires and necessities of the day, so that they appear to him bathed in a religious thrill. At least that is what the devoutly religious man does and most of the religious data presented in this volume emanates from him. Still we are convinced that for the vast majority of Winnebago, in other words, for the intermittently religious, there are many moments in life and many actions which are seen through this pleasurable religious thrill.

224
796 Every Winnebago will admit that to perform the *wana"tce're* ceremony (p. 111) and, on the following day, to agree to start at a certain hour, would not necessarily result in killing a bear. The bear tracks are to be followed and a person is to persevere until the bear is captured, in spite of the fact that the *wana"tce're* ceremony is supposed to insure the capture of the animal.

726
787 Or again let us take the following example. No man can hope to go on a warpath and kill an enemy unless he is authorized to do so by a definite blessing received during fasting. If we were to accept this statement as such, we might be led to believe that the Winnebago were willing to risk their young men on so dangerous an undertaking as a warpath, on the sole strength of a fasting experience. It does not stand to reason that they would, and a careful inquiry into the subject has shown that they never did. What actually happened was that the prospective war leader translated into religious terms the exact conditions and requirements of every particular war party. That is why the chief of the tribe and the shamans insisted that only such a person who had been blessed with the most specific kind of knowledge, such as the number of men he must take

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ceremonies as the war-bundle feasts, buffalo dance, sore-eye dance, 776
etc. We will enumerate but a few of them here.

The principal deities of the Winnebago are: Earthmaker, Sun, Moon, Earth, Morning Star, Disease-giver, Thunderbird, Water-spirit, etc.

*Earthmaker.* He is known to the Winnebago under three names: *Ma$^{n}$'una*, earthmaker; *waja$^{n}$gu$^{n}$zera*, he-who-makes-something; and *wazepu'ni zedera*, the great spirit. Of these the last is the most archaic, which might imply that originally Earthmaker was merely the great spirit. In the hands of the shamans, to whom the development and elaboration of the great Winnebago ceremonies like the medicine dance and the war-bundle feasts were due, he became [756] almost a true monotheistic deity, benevolent but unapproachable. In the older myths, like the trickster and hero cycles (cf. for instance, the *wak'djejk'aga* and hare cycle), he is hardly mentioned except as a clear afterthought. In another cycle, like that of the twins, where he is definitely mentioned, he is treated like a spirit similar to the other spirits, although superior to them, but in no way resembling the benevolent deity that we find in the origin myth of the medicine dance (p. 350). How and when this development took place, and whether the introduction of Christianity had anything to do with it, it is difficult to say. All indications seem to be overwhelmingly against the latter assumption, although it can not be entirely dismissed. As we have indicated in a previous paper,[8] there appears to have been a well-developed pre-Columbian belief in a good and bad spirit among the woodland Indians. The Winnebago shared in this belief and Earthmaker developed his present position through the displacement of the chief bad spirit called *Hereegunina*.

The older conception of Earthmaker seems to crop out also in the [787] occasional attempts of individuals to obtain blessings from him. (Cf. the tale of Wegi'ceka, p. 291.)

Little can be learned as to the actual appearance of Earthmaker In the origin myth of the medicine dance he is described as though he were clearly anthropomorphic. The symbol associated with him [796 823] in the war-bundle feasts, the cross, is unquestionably supposed to represent the four cardinal points.

Earthmaker is not supposed to bestow any definite blessings on man. He is, in a general way, expected to give them life. There is but little real worship of him because he is far removed from man and is supposed to come into relation with them only through his intermediaries, the spirits. According to the cosmological myths he

[8] The Religion of the North American Indians, Journ. Am. Folklore, vol. 27, no. 106.

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like to have you put some food in your mouths."* "My niece, it is good. You have indeed made yourself 'pitiable.' You have thirsted yourself to death and I, too, pity you. If any spirit has blessed you, he has done so with good reason. I, too, once thirsted myself to death and the spirits blessed me with life. With this life, my niece, I also bless you. I will gladly partake of your feast." Thus spoke Wolf. Then Elk said, "My niece, I, too, was told to fast; and in my fast the spirits blessed me with the power of having complete control over all my actions. This dream (i. e., the blessings I obtained) I now give to you.* With these blessings you will be able to live as you desire. I will now gladly partake of your food."

When they were through eating, she also ate, and then they all went home. After a while her father said to her, "My daughter, I am going to ask you a question. It is said that those who have been blessed might tell their dreams if they were asked." "All right," said the daughter, "I will tell you. Eight days I fasted and then the spirits blessed me. They told me that if at the end of four days I should place offerings south of the place known as the Big Eddy and situated down the stream the powers with which I had been blessed would be shown to me. The one who blessed me was the chief of the Wak'si'teû', the spirits who live in the earth. He said that Earthmaker had created him and given him great power; that he had placed him in charge of 'life.' In four days he told me, 'I will appear to you. The day on which I appear to you will be a perfect day. Whatever you wish to make for yourself, you may do. You will never be in want of anything, for you can make implements for yourself out of my body. With these I bless you, for you

* The feast referred to here is the feast called Hawlaginante Wadu-Hranenge or faster's feast. It is given whenever a man or woman who has been blessed is about to break his fast. At this feast it is customary, are willing to share in the feast, for the faster to narrate his blessing. However, these feasts have now been discontinued for so long a time that it is extremely difficult to obtain any accurate information.

* The transference of certain blessings is very common, but, to my knowledge, it is rarely done in this manner. As a rule if a person was unable to obtain blessings, he sought to offset this handicap in life by purchasing supernatural powers from some of his more successful fellow-men. However, these powers seem to be connected almost exclusively with medicines. That blessings such as those bestowed upon individuals during their fast, such as long life, invincibility, hunting powers, etc., were transferred, does not seem probable, although it is, of course, possible. The writer was told of a number of cases where this seemed to have been the case, but on closer study it was conclusively shown that no real transference had taken place, but that in those instances where a person had said, "I transfer this and that dream to you," the transference had no validity unless the individual to whom the dream had been transferred actually fasted and obtained the same dream. An individual would in such a case always be careful to select as his "dream-heir" one who would in all likelihood obtain the same dream. It is only in this sense that one might actually speak of a transference. In those instances where a man is blessed with supernatural powers that are to extend to all his posterity this is what is really meant, namely, an infinite repetition of the same blessing, one that has, however, become so certain within definite families that it might be considered automatic.

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159 So they spoke to him. "Whenever
787 you give this ceremony, no matter what blessing you ask, we will
776 bestow it upon you, when you offer tobacco. A flute you must also
[534 keep holy. You must make it yourself, so that it remains sacred."
[778 They also told him to make a war bundle. The Buffalo chief told
825] him this. So he made one out of a buffalo head and a buffalo tail. These he made sacred so that people might offer tobacco to them. This was done long ago and yet they still do it.

Then they told him that four differently colored buffaloes would bless him—a white one, a black one, a red one, and a yellow one.

After a while he was blessed the second time. This time the spirits came after him from above and took him to the home of a spirit buffalo. This is the one that blessed him.

"Earthmaker has placed me here," said the spirit, "and he has
[726 given me control of many things. Grandson, I bless you. I am in
782] control of war power, and if you ever go on the warpath don't forget me. If you pour a pipeful of tobacco for me before you go into battle, the enemy will only be able to shoot your shadow." Thus he spoke to him. "I will take your body, and in that way it will only be your shadow that the enemy will try to shoot with all their strength. You will be without a body, and how then can they hit you, being without a body?" This is what the spirit told him. So, therefore, whenever he went on the warpath it was impossible to kill him. For the spirit had said, "I am also in control of life and I will give you your life back, that you may control it. The spirits
[796 have given you a tobacco-pouring feast and whenever you give it,
782] remember that I wish to smoke also. When you pour tobacco for me I will grant you whatever you ask. If you ask for war, or if you ask for life, I will accept your tobacco. As long as this earth lasts I will smoke your tobacco and accept the kettle of food that you place on the fire for me."

Thus he spoke to him. The man, however, still kept on fasting, and finally the spirits came for him again. There in the middle of the earth lived a buffalo-ghost. There he went and the buffalo-ghost said to him: "I also bless you. You were given counsel and I who am a buffalo also counsel you. I am in control of many things. Earthmaker placed me here to live and he put me in control of many things. Human, look at me," he said. The man looked at him. Then he saw that his body was covered with flattened bullets. "Thus you will be," said the ghost to him. "It will be impossible to kill you, and you will attain to old age, and when you get tired of living you may do as you please. I give you the privilege of controlling yourself." Then he gave him a song and he caused him to see a war prize, a wampum. After a while he spoke to him as follows:

"I also will always smoke at your feast, and if a kettle is ever put on the fire for me, I will be thankful to you. Whatever the people

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PART III

# CHAPTER XII

## CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

### INTRODUCTION

The Winnebago had four types of ceremonies: clan ceremonies, 796
in which only members of the clan could participate; religious societies, for which only people who had obtained blessings from the same spirits were eligible; the Medicine Dance, in which only initiated individuals could take part; and a semipermanent organization like the *hok'ize're* dance, in which only individuals who were returning from a war party and had counted coup could participate. In this grouping we do not include ordinary feasts, such as the feasts connected with different medicines and the pleasure dances.

Every clan seems to have had a clan war-bundle feast (often called 796
winter feast) and also a specific clan feast. We have reason to suspect 614
that the war-bundle feasts were originally private feasts given by 778
the owner of a war bundle. Then as the war bundles became of great importance to the clan to which the owners belonged, they were after a while regarded as clan possessions. But even at the present time, while many would contend that the war bundle belonged to the clan as such and could not be alienated, everyone realizes that it is the property, whether held in trust or not, of a certain individual, and that he can, up to a certain point, do what he wishes with it. For a detailed analysis of a winter or war-bundle feast see page 427.

The clan feasts were specific feasts at which offerings were made to 796
the clan animal. A good description of one is that of the Snake 614
clan on page 325. [723]

Perhaps the most characteristic ceremonies of the Winnebago were those of secret societies in which membership was dependent upon blessings from one and the same spirit. There were at least four of 575
these—the society of those who have been blessed by the night spirits, 796
the society of those who have been blessed by the buffaloes, the society [776]
of those who have been blessed by ghosts, and the society of those who have been blessed by grizzly bears.

In order to prevent any misunderstanding with regard to the buffalo societies, it might be well to point out that there were three of them—

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575 the Buffalo clan feast, the society of those who have been blessed by
●796 the buffaloes, and the society of those who wear buffalo headdresses; the last apparently of Sioux origin.

The medicine dance has been described by the author in some detail,[1] and a general description will be found on page 350.

796 Of the semipermanent societies, the *hok'ize're* dance is given after
727 every successful war party by those four individuals who have counted coup. It has only a temporary existence, for it ceases to be an organization as soon as each individual performance is over. Its main purpose seems to be the desire to transfer to the victor, from the skulls or the scalps of the slain enemies obtained on that particular warpath, the valor and prowess for which the slain person was noted.

527 In addition to the above ceremonies there were a number of pleasure and miscellaneous dances that are described on page 379.

796 There were apparently a number of very important feasts connected
278 with certain medicines, the principal one of which was the Black Earth Medicine feast; but unfortunately no account of this was obtained, owing to lack of time.

## Ceremonies Associated With the Clans

### THE CLAN FEASTS

#### THE THUNDERBIRD CLAN OR CHIEF FEAST

796 *Introduction.*—The chief feast, or, as it may more properly be
614 called, the feast of the bird clans, is generally given once a year, sometimes in late spring. It was also given on certain other occasions for specific purposes. At the present time it is given by the members of the Thunderbird clan and the prevalence of the appellation "chief feast" would seem to indicate that it was at all times the feast of the Thunderbird clan. We ought then to expect to find clan feasts of the other members of the *waŋgeregi* division, namely, of the Warrior, Eagle, and Pigeon clans. No such feasts are given to-day, however, and the members of these latter three clans always speak of the chief or bird feast as their specific clan feast. As such it is also regarded by the members of the *maⁿnegi* division.

In the total absence of historical data it is quite useless to speculate about the significance of one feast sufficing for four clans, where in strict analogy to the feasts of the other clans we would expect to find one for each clan; yet the idea that naturally presents itself is that we are in reality dealing with one clan that has become split up
[114] into four subclans. Such a view has been expressed by J. O. Dorsey,[2] but the data upon which he based his opinion seem to us highly

[1] The Ritual and Significance of the Winnebago Medicine Dance, Journal of American Folklore, vol. XXIV, No. XCII, 1911.

[2] Siouan Sociology, 15th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 241.

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unsatisfactory. Apparently his statement is based upon the occurrence of four mythical ancestors. The similarity of the Winnebago social organization with that of the Dhegiha and Tciwere branches of the Siouan family, in which subclans seem to be found, appears to have influenced Dorsey considerably in making this assumption. 796 614 [114]

It is true that in their account of origins the Warrior clan speak of themselves as having sprung from the second of the birds mentioned in the origin myth of the Thunderbird clan and this statement permits us to infer that the other two clans bear a similar relationship to those four ancestral birds who, according to legend, alit on a tree near Red Banks. But this is, of course, merely a mythical account, and the data imbedded in the clan myths must be used with the greatest caution in so far as they can be expected to throw any light on early conditions of social organization.

All that we can say now is that the chief feast will have to be considered as belonging to all the four bird clans. But this is not to be interpreted to mean that an amalgamation of four historically distinct feasts has taken place, nor that, on the other hand, the four clans were originally subdivisions of one unit.

*The Chief feast.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:[4] The chief of the tribe is at the head of all the different bands and groups of people that exist among the Winnebago. As chief he has full charge of them. All the others are, so to say, his attendants and servants. When his people wish anything they go to him and ask him to obtain a blessing for them. Thus all the members of the tribe, the children as well as the mature men, go to him, and to help them the chief gives the feast known as the chief feast. He sacrifices to Earthmaker, and all who are present offer up some little gift in thankfulness, as this is a thing of supreme sacredness. All those who are present—the children, the women, the middle-aged, and the old men—in fact, whosoever attends the feast, see to it that they eat some of the food distributed. 796 622

As this feast is given in honor of their chief, all the members of the tribe, but most particularly the members of the Bird clan, prepare large offerings, so that there should be abundant food to eat. They bring all kinds of food—different kinds of meat, different kinds of vegetables, all manner of berries—in short, all sorts of edibles. These are to be offered to the spirits, and by means of these offerings they expect that their life will be filled with all that is good. It is to obtain these blessings that the feast is given. [614] [782]

When his people get sick, when it appears that an epidemic is likely, then the chief also gives the chief feast. It is for the purpose [755]

[4] Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain a full and detailed account of this feast. As in type, however, all the clan feasts are identical, this deficiency can be made up in part by comparing it with those feasts like the snake, bear, and buffalo that have been obtained in considerable detail.

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622 of stopping the spread of the sickness, whatever it may be, and for repairing the ravages caused thereby. For this the feasters pray "May our people recover and thrive," they say. "May they never get sick." Then they make all those present offer up tobacco. As [782] each one offers tobacco Earthmaker is aware of it and accepts. Thereby do we live and become strengthened. If Earthmaker smokes the tobacco offered him he will give life in return. The people offer tobacco that they may obtain life.

[614] They call the Thunderbird people chiefs, and it is from among
622 their ranks that they select the chief of the tribe.[8]

It is the duty of the chief to ward off all evils. This is one of their missions in life. They preach only what is good.

"Chief," they used to say to him, "try to do something for your people. Try to accomplish something difficult for them. Try to accomplish something difficult for your village. If you accomplish such a thing for the benefit of your people they will look up to you and respect you. Have pity on your people and love them. If a man is very poor, help him. Give him and his family food. Whatever they ask, give it to them. If your people get into trouble with one another, take your pipe and, walking in front, die for them, if necessary. From actions like these they will know that you are really their chief. There, in front of them, with your pipe in your hands, you will be lying on the ground, dead.

"If your people are about to sacrifice a dog and he gets loose and runs into your tent, you must let them have something in place of this dog for their feast. Do not let them kill the dog in your lodge. This would be sacrilegious. Grant the dog his life. Similarly, if an individual who has murdered a person escapes and takes refuge in your lodge, give him his life. Use all the wealth you have and give it to him, that he may employ it to make peace with the relatives of the person he has killed. Help these people who are in need. Do not think of your wealth. When that is gone you will get some more. Do your duty. Do not pass anyone unnoticed, not even a child. If people have come and asked you for something, do not let them go away without attempting to do something for them. You are a chief. Do some good for your people. In that way you will show that you are a chief. 'Our chief,' they will all call you. The children that see you will call you chief. Whoever talks to you will call you chief. If you are good to your people, they will show their respect by being bashful in your presence. If you are not good to them they will not think you a chief and they will not be bashful in your presence. So, at all times, do as a chief ought to do. Be good-natured to all the people and in this way you will show that

[8] What follows is a typical speech delivered by a member of the Thunderbird clan.

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you are indeed a chief. And then even the people of other tribes 622
will say that such and such people have a good chief."

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The Indians always cele- 796
brated in summer. It was a season of rejoicing because the chief 622
fed the tribe. It somewhat symbolized a mother bird feeding her young ones. The Thunderbird clan is in charge of the tribe, [614]
and when the chief feeds the tribe all rejoice and the standard is raised.

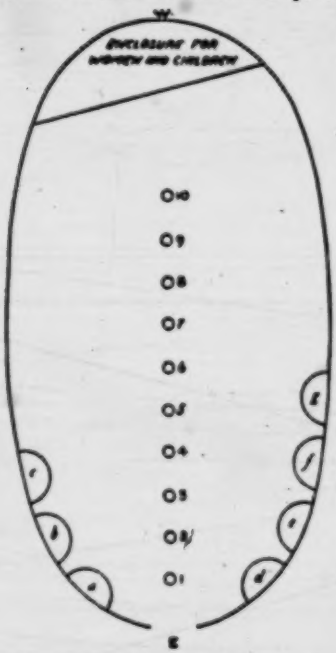


FIG. 36. Plan of Bear clan war-bundle feast as given by John Hare. a, Host. b, Relatives of host. c, Warrior clan. d, Wolf clan. e, Thunderbird clan. f, Eagle clan. g, Buffalo clan. 1, Burkskin for earthmaker. 2, Burkskin for turtle. 3, Burkskin for thunderbird. 4, Burkskin for sun. 5, Burkskin for moon. 6, Burkskin for morning star. 7, Burkskin for earth. 8, Burkskin for fire. 9, Burkskin for heroka. 10, Burkskin for night spirits.

THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (FIRST VERSION)

Two versions of the Bear clan 614
feast (fig. 36) were obtained, for- 796
tunately both from a man and a 782
woman. The feast was generally given during the month called *Hundjui'ra* (i. e., bear month), corresponding roughly to our [805]
January.

Informant, member of the clan (female): The host tells his sister's son, or, if he should not happen to have any, a member of the Wolf clan, to build a long lodge. This attendant then fills kettles either with blueberries or raspberries or any other fruit that the bears are fond of, and places them on the fireplace. Sometimes dried corn is also brought.

The participants enter the lodge at dusk. The host precedes the invited guests. In entering they proceed in a direction contrary to the hands of the clock. The host always sits at the southeast end of the lodge and the guests occupy seats next to him, proceeding from the southeast to the northwest.

When all are seated the host rises and addresses his guests as follows:

"Members of my clan who are seated here, I greet you all. To those from whom I have sprung I make these offerings of tobacco [537]
and this headdress (i. e., red feathers). I was told by my ancestors that if I did this I would obtain for myself, for my relatives, and for

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614 796 782 the members of my clan, sufficient blessings to guide us all safely through life, and to make our lives pleasant. I will not tell the [537] origin myth (of our clan) because it is sacred and it must not be told without the proper ceremony, for the telling would then injure an individual. Besides there are many clans beside our own represented here and it is not proper that these should hear it."

614 796 He then speaks of the four ancestral bear-beings who were created in the beginning.

When the feast is ready one of the Wolf clansmen gives four soldier whoops. Then the fire is allowed to die out, and as soon as the lodge is in complete darkness the feasters begin to eat. Before [533] eating, the host sings four songs. These are the clan songs and are only sung at these feasts or on the occasion of the death of a clansman.

Those who partake of food at the feast may be members of any clan except the Bear clan. The members of the latter clan do not eat at their own feast.

[264 415] Everyone attending must bring his own wooden spoon and must use it with his left hand. There are four wooden dishes in which the food is served. These are arranged in the lodge in a certain manner.

The guests sit around these dishes and eat with their own spoons.

[805] The feast is given in the first bear month. Some one generally watches the moon and as soon as the new moon is visible the feast begins. The feathers and the tobacco to be offered are placed in four little troughs made of basswood bark, each about 1 foot long. These are then placed on the south side of the fireplace.

When the meal is over the attendant or Wolf clansman generally says a few words of thanks to the host and then the host in turn thanks those who have participated and tells them that the feast is now over. All now pass out, the one next to the host leaving first and the rest in succession, the host himself remaining until the end.

[778 782] When the feast is over the tobacco and the feathers are taken away from the lodge and carried in a southern direction to a place (under a tree) that has been especially cleared and sanctified. Any person may thereafter go there, offer tobacco, and ask for long life.

614 796 537 782 Informant, member of the clan (male): "Well, soldiers, your moon is about to appear. It is good. So come forth, for it is at this time that the spirits asked to be remembered. Let us send, on this occasion, to the place at which we all originated, whatever we possess of wealth. This is what the spirits asked of old. Let us therefore put the kettle on and prepare the feast.

"This is the way in which we prepare the feast. I offer only one small kettle. Here is my offering. I pray that what I offer may suffice and bring enough blessings from the spirits to include all the

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Indians who exist and especially those who are present at this feast. 614
For that reason do we deliver these speeches. We were told that 796
at the place where we originated our ancestors now remain, regard- 537
ing it as their home. There they expectantly await us. So our 782
ancestors spoke. Our offering at this feast is intended for that purpose. Let us pour tobacco for them. Let us place at the edge of the fire the four bark receptacles. Now listen to me for I am going to pour tobacco.

(He now addresses the four original clan beings.)

"On the north side, Earthmaker created you. Four brothers he placed there (you being one of them). And when one of them started for the earth those remaining asked to be remembered at this feast. These are the objects they asked to be given as offerings—tobacco, feathers, and boiled food. Earthmaker gave you that kind of life-giving material. We, in turn, ask you for this, so that when you take our offerings you will grant us what we ask. Here they are, the offerings with which you wished to be remembered. The spirits promised to give them. We are praying now not only for our own, but for all the clans. Our life will be strengthened, it was said. These words that I am telling you now, they used. We must act very cautiously in this, they said.

"If you place a portion of boiled food away as an offering, you must use it only in that particular place. Do not do otherwise. This way only is the correct way to do it."

Then he spoke to the attendant and said, "Are you ready? Go and get all these people who are to eat. They must bring their spoons with them."

Then the attendant brought the people into the lodge and put some food in their plates.

"Place the people around the plate and let them be seated," the host said. "Now turn the fire down and get ready. Hold your spoons in your left hand, for with that only are you allowed to eat. None of you must talk nor laugh. You must do what I tell you. Before the meal begins let us sing. Let us do it now." (They then sing the four clan songs.)

"Thus they have told us. That way it was at the place where we 614 796
began life.

"Now the meal is over. We have had a minor council. We have acted correctly. It is good that you who are present have come at our request. You have eaten very well, and we thank you for it. This is what those from whom we originated told us to do. This council-feast they pleaded for. 'We should act very cautiously, they said. That you have done. It is good that you have eaten for our benefit. Now is about time for us to finish. I greet you all."

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THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (SECOND VERSION)

614 796 Informant, member of Bear clan: As soon as the first bear month is visible they have their feast. They do not use meat but products [805] of the earth. The feast is held at night, never in the daytime. The people always save up food some time before giving the feast. The [825] favorite dishes of the bear are sugar and blueberries. When they can not obtain these they use other vegetables. Indeed, any product of the earth is all right.

When they prepare to give the feast they get the food ready and have some tobacco on hand. On the first day of the first bear month they put on the fire some kettles with dried corn mixed with fruit and others containing green corn. The latter is boiled. They also have [203] ground sugar. When these are ready the feast attendant goes around the village to invite the people. When all have entered the lodge and taken their proper seats, then the host rises and addresses them:

614 796 537 "All my relatives who are seated here, I greet you. It is not through blessings of our own that we can always make offerings of tobacco. My grandfather was blessed by a spirit called Black Fur, a spirit who is in command of all the other spirits. This spirit told us that we could perform the ceremony in this way. It is for that reason we have made an effort to heat water for him.[8] The first request we make is that if we ever go on the warpath, we may conquer. Our grandfather was also blessed with life by the bear spirit[7] and he told him that he would grant him and his posterity whatever they asked. [782] We shall therefore send to this spirit a pipeful of tobacco, two kettles full of food, and some tree sap.[9] So much will we send him, accompanied by an offering of tobacco.

"As soon as the attendant gets everything ready the feasting will begin."

Then the attendant puts food in every plate, and when he has finished the host speaks again.

"Relatives, it is said that when the plates are supplied to you [264] filled with food, then you should begin to eat. Do not, however, use your right hands in eating."

The host tells the feasters to use their left hands in eating, and they obey him. Before starting to eat all the fires are put out and the people eat in the dark.

614 796 In the spring of the year this feast is given again. Twice a year it is given.

The feast[9] was always given with some choice dried corn that had been put away for this event. Once when it was time to give the [841] feast in the first bear month, the two daughters of the man who was

[8] Boil soup and prepare food in general.
[7] Black Fur is apparently a ceremonial expression for bear.
[8] Ceremonial name for maple sugar.
[9] What follows is an account of why this particular feast was discontinued.

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to give it had their menses and were fasting. When the feast was about to be held there was no food and their mother gave the girls some of the sacred food and the unclean girls boiled it and ate it. 614 796 841

The following spring when the girls were out helping their mother tan some hide a bear approached them and tried to kill the girls. The old woman fought the bear off as best she could, but he paid no attention to her and tried to get at the girls. Finally he killed the girls. Then the old woman attacked the bear and finally threw him down and killed him, using her tanning stick as a weapon.

Now this bear was not an ordinary bear such as live on this earth, but his body was covered with blue clay. He had come out of a spring of water shortly before he came to this place. The girls had eaten sacred food when they were unclean, and that is why this bear came and killed them. [776 688]

Since then that particular band has stopped giving this bear feast.

### THE SNAKE CLAN FEAST

When a person wishes to give a snake feast, four chickens must be obtained. The nephew of the feast giver is then told to prepare these chickens and make the general preparations. 796 614

The feast is given in the fall, just as the snakes are supposed to go into their winter quarters and close their doors. The winter is their night, and then they go to sleep. [825]

Shortly before the feast begins the host takes out a bundle containing four snake skins—a yellow-snake skin, a rattlesnake skin, a blow-snake skin, and a bull-snake skin. In honor of these he gives his feast and makes his offerings.

As the fall of the year is to the snakes the same as our evening, the Winnebago give this feast in their honor then, in much the same way as we have our supper before retiring for the night. The snake skins are representatives of the first four snakes Earthmaker made and which he pierced through the earth in the direction of the east. The snake skins are kept to represent the four original snake-beings and to keep evil away from homes. That is why offerings are made to them. Four men only are invited to this feast (as main participants), and they must each eat a chicken. [773]

The host himself opens the door for the snakes. In front of him, next to the fireplace, he makes four holes in the ground, thus opening the door for them. There he likewise places tobacco for them. First he pours tobacco in the fire, for the fire is the mediator between the people and the spirit. The fire tells the spirit the wishes of the people and is, in general, in charge of the members of the tribe. For that reason they always pour tobacco upon it. [782] 796

Now the host rises and speaks. "Grandfather (fire), you who stand in the center of the lodge, I offer you tobacco, for you are the interpreter (between the spirits and human beings), and I know that 614 537 372

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614 537 you will deliver the requests I address to our grandfather-who-crawls [372] (the snake), just as I have said them. I offer you tobacco.

"To you likewise, grandfathers, you whom Earthmaker created first and placed within the earth; you whom Earthmaker placed in control of abundance of life and whose war clubs were made heavy, so that nothing could miss them; to you we offer these things. Whatever you can give us, we ask of you in return. [782] Here are our offerings of food, tobacco, and eagle feathers. We place them here at your door. We ask that you bless us with victory in war. We know that the weapons you carry make you invulnerable, and we wish likewise to be invulnerable. You never fail to obtain what you desire with your clubs, and we ask that the same power be bestowed upon us. As the years pass may the blessing we obtain increase in power. When you look out upon the world life emanates from your eyes. May this life be given to our posterity. As we strut about in the short number of days allotted to us may you keep out of our path, so that we may not be frightened. Yet should we cross any of your paths may we be strengthened thereby. It is said that you are the grass, and that is why we ask you to bless us. Bless us because you are in possession of the life which we desire. For these reasons do we offer you tobacco, feathers, and food."

796 614 Then the host poured tobacco into the four holes that he had made in the ground and placed feathers there. Then he took a little food [782] from each of the kettles and poured it into the four holes. After that he greased the heads of the snake skins which were lying before him with kettle grease and poured tobacco on the heads of the snakes. He asked all his relatives to offer tobacco likewise and he put tobacco into the holes again and poured some upon the heads of the snakes.

When those invited have arrived, someone who is a good speaker sits near the entrance, while another good speaker sits near the farthest end. After all have entered, the leader of the four participants makes the circuit of the fireplace four times. He then sits down, and the host greets each one in turn, as follows:

796 614 537 "I greet you all. It is good. How could I say aught but that it is good? I am a poor worthless fellow, yet you have remembered me. It is good. You did not look upon my unworthiness and think within your hearts he is a worthless fellow, but you thought of the spirits, and therefore you came to sit with me so that I might see your face. It is good. I have obtained four chickens, and the attendant is now cooking them. I suppose he has cooked them by this time, and we will soon be able to eat them.

"I am attempting to cook water for the beings first created, so that we might be blessed with victory in war, and with life. That is what we are asking and what we would like to obtain from them before they (the spirits) retire for the night. It is our desire to be blessed year in, year out.

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"Your plates will be filled soon, so let me greet you again, you (humans) who are taking the place of the spirits. All you who are present I greet." 796 614 537

The attendant now takes the kettles from the fire and takes the plate of the first of those sitting in the row. Then he takes the sharp stick that he holds in his hand, sticks it through one of the four chickens, and puts it in the plate of the first man. He passes the plate around the kettle four times, going from right to left, and finally he places it before the feaster. The feaster then says, "I thank you all," and the attendant passes on to the next one, and so in succession until he comes to the last person. Then the one first invited rises and says, "All those present, the host and the three other guests, do I greet." Then the speaker addresses the one sitting next to him, who greets him in return. In the same way he greets the third and the fourth one. Then he speaks as follows:

"It is good. Who would not be thankful for this? The host and his relatives present here are praying for life and victory, to the four greatest spirits Earthmaker ever made, to those spirits whom he pierced through the earth so that it might hold together. All the snakes whom we see on the earth are ruled by these four. From them have they asked blessings. The first human beings on earth saw these spirits face to face and, we are told, they used them for protection. These we see before us as the host has laid them out. We are told that blessings can be obtained by the use of these snakes.

"I am indeed not a fit person to be invited to such a gathering as this, but the host has kindly overlooked my faults. My grandfather fasted and thirsted himself to death and he was blessed and his spirit taken to a spirit-home. That is what happened to my grandfather, for he told me this himself. The place where he was [787] blessed was at Red Banks at a place where a creek flows into the sea (Green Bay). At the fork of this creek there was a hill lying east and west. It is there that the yellow snake-chief lives. To the home of this snake-chief my grandfather was taken. This snake was at this place gathering tobacco for all the spirits. There my grandfather was even blessed with their bodies. For this reason I always pour tobacco for them. And I have been given to understand that the spirits do not overlook the least fault (in the performance of the feast). They are always in our midst just as even the grass and the dust represent snakes. They know everything, they say. It is not safe to cross their path. As, however, the host is now making an offering to them, should we cross their path now it would even strengthen us. It is good. These clubs are heavy and they will not fail to strike everything within their reach. The host has asked for that power so that he might have victory (in war). They, the spirits, also have life to dispose of and that we ask of them also, giving them these offerings of tobacco, [782] feathers, and food.

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796 feathers, and food. They will bless us I am certain, for I am told
614 that they even know our thoughts and wishes (before we express
537 them), and are willing to grant them if we pour tobacco while making
[782] them. However, to-day we have done more. We have openly made a great offering to them. How could any spirit fail to see such an offering? For that reason (I know) they will surely bless us. And the blessings asked for the posterity will surely be granted. I feel that when I go home and talk to my children afterwards, they will be strengthened by the fact that I have taken part in the feast. All who are present, I greet. You, the host, I also greet. I greet you all."

Then the second one invited rises and speaks. He thanks the host for the privilege of having been invited and encourages him and assures every one that they will surely be blessed, telling them why they should be blessed.

Then the third one rises and says approximately the same as his predecessor. He also tells how his grandfather was blessed by the snakes, etc.

Then the fourth one speaks, telling what the snakes do and that he himself was a member of the Snake clan and was consequently descended from the snakes. Inasmuch as he had partaken of the feast, all who were present would surely be blessed by the snakes. He assured them that what they asked would surely be granted. Then he greeted them and concluded.

After that, all the four participants greet each other in turn again and when this is over they sit down and begin the feast. Each person must eat a chicken apiece. They must not leave anything on the plate, for it is a sacred feast. After they have eaten the chicken they are given soup to drink.

When the feast is over the host throws cedar branches into the fire and the plates and the spoons are held over the smoke in order to purify them. The host then rises and says:

"You, the first invited, and you, the second invited, etc., I greet you all. It is good that you have come and occupied seats at my request and I am grateful to you for it. Even were that all the blessing I was to receive, it would (be enough). But you have assured me that I would receive the blessings I longed for. You truly encouraged me. You told me of your grandfathers' blessings, so that I feel positive that I am blessed, for your grandfathers' blessings were surely great and I am sure everything could be obtained with them. Surely your grandfathers' blessings were equal to those of the spirits. It is good that you have indeed partaken of my feast. This must be what the older people said: 'Your life is (naturally) weak and you can only be strengthened by the counsel and advice of brave men.' Truly you have conciled with me and given me enough to live on. I thank you for the speeches you have delivered, for it is life to me. It is good. I greet you all."

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# CHAPTER XIII

## RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES BASED ON BLESSINGS FROM SPIRITS

### Society of Those Who Have Received Blessings From the Night Spirits

Informant, member of Thunderbird clan: Once a man went hunting so that he might be able to get the game with which to give a feast. All of those who were to participate in the feast went along with him. After they had killed some deer they built a lodge. Then all the other feast-givers came into the lodge, bringing something toward the feast, as well as the tobacco which they were to offer. Some brought other things, even dogs, as their contribution to the feast. The dogs would be killed, singed, then boiled, and prepared in the same way as the deer. The meat would then be mixed with dry corn. The attendants, who were generally the nephews of the feast-givers, would look after the boiling of the food. Every time they gave a feast they selected these nephews to do the cooking and the general work connected with this ceremony. 796 539 575 [252] 575 796 604 539

The nephew who acts as attendant accompanies a feast-giver on the warpath, where likewise he has to endure a great deal. Should his uncle be killed, it is his duty to be killed likewise and not to return home. [726]

He acted in this way because of his love for his uncle. The attendants do all the work whenever their uncles give a feast. They also arrange for the place where the feast is to be held; make the four invitation sticks; blacken them with charcoal and decorate them at the ends with fine and fluffy white eagle feathers. Then they prepare a bundle of tobacco containing about a pipeful. After these preparations have been made one of the nephews goes around the village and presents the invitation sticks to every individual who had been blessed by the Night Spirits. These are called the night-blessed children. The night-blessed children thanked the messengers and assured them that they now felt they were obtaining life. Then those to whom the invitation stick had been presented go around asking their relatives to accompany them to the feast. There the guest and his relatives would meet at the appointed time. All those who received invitation sticks do the same. [203]

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539 The host at the same time puts himself in readiness to receive the guests.

[537] The two drums to be used are placed in the proper position with tobacco on top as an offering. The two gourds to be used are arranged in the same way, with offerings of tobacco on top. These four articles are placed in a row in front of the host, who pours tobacco upon them again and asks them for life.

[782] The host now rises and speaks as follows (first, however, offering tobacco to the fire, and telling the people of his own band how he had obtained his blessing, and from what source it had come):

796 "Grandfathers, when you blessed my grandfather with life you
776 promised that as often as we would boil food for you and offer you a
539 pipeful of tobacco, you would smoke it. So it has been said. Boiled
575 water from an animal whom you considered the same as our own body, and spirit food he extended to you, as well as a pipeful of tobacco. This we also are sending you. And what could we ask of you in return but war! That it may be directed toward us, we pray you. Grandfathers, you who are called Happy Nights, when you blessed our grandfather you blessed him with endless war. So it has been said. That is what we ask for, that as you blessed our grandfather, so you bless us. We ask for the same things. You, likewise, grandfather, you who are called The-one-with-rounded-wood, when you blessed my grandfather you blessed him with life. That is what he said, and you asked him in return to make offerings of tobacco. Here is the tobacco. This night we are going to ask life of you. We desire that you give us and all who will be here to-night, life. As many people as will be seated here, we ask life for all of them."

Then all who are present rise and, holding tobacco in each hand, walk around the lodge, pouring tobacco on the drums and the [782] gourds, and some of it into the fire. They pour tobacco into the fire for the Night Spirits. For the Beings-with-rounded-wood they offer tobacco by pouring it upon the drums. The offering is made both to the drums and to the gourds directly. The tobacco bundles tied to the invitation sticks are offered to the four cardinal points and the four specially invited guests smoke this tobacco, because they are supposed to represent the four cardinal points. Behind the respective invited guests are placed two women, next to the wall, so that they might lead in the dance. When the invited guests come to the feast these women remain outside until the starting songs have been begun.

[533] The host sings these songs first and when he has finished the first invited guest enters the lodge, ejaculating peculiar sounds (that are probably meant as greetings). Continuing these sounds, he walks around the lodge until he comes to the place from which he has started. There he stops and speaks. "You who obtain life, you

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that council, relatives, all who are seated here, I greet you. It is 796
good that you have taken pity upon me. All those that I have 776
along with me, my relatives, you have caused them to think that 539
they were to obtain life; that a great life was to come to us through 575
you. And all this you have done when we were leading worthless lives. It is good. If such an invitation were to be extended to people when they are sick and weakly, it would heal them; it would overcome their illness, it is said. It is good. When I think that our sick people will get well by reason of this feast, I am thankful. Up to the present our children have all been sickly, but from now on we will have no cause to worry. I am thankful. The principal tree of the night-soldiers, standing in front of their doorway and which is in full bloom, has not a dead leaf upon it, not one that has dried. It is beautiful to look upon. They obtained it for us and caused it to come down to us, and we feel grateful. It will strengthen our families. This lodge that we have entered is like the first lodge (the night-soldiers' lodge), and just as we were strengthened by it, so will we surely be strengthened by entering this lodge to-day. In the night-soldiers' lodge fine white feathers are scattered all over the ground, ankle deep, it is said. As we are about to go over the past, we certainly will be strengthened thereby. The lodge of the night-soldiers was fair to behold from the inside, we are told. We will consider ourselves blest with life to-day, even although we are not children of the night-blessed ones, and even although we will not be able to conduct ourselves as it is meet. We will, however, do what we can in order to obtain life. You children of the night-blessed ones, who are seated around here, I greet you."

Then he sings the entrance songs and walks around the lodge. [533]
His singing is generally finished at about the time that he has made the complete circuit of the lodge. Then he starts around the lodge again uttering the peculiar sounds mentioned before, until he comes to the seat of the host. There he stops and makes a circle in the air (with his hand) and addresses him as follows:

"I greet you. A great day has come to me and all my relatives have tasted thereof in the hope that they might thereby be strengthened. I have also brought along with me a pipeful of tobacco to be given to you, that we may all be strengthened. So it is said. It is for that reason that I am acting thus and am greeting you."

With these words he concluded and walked to the place that had been assigned him in the lodge, opposite the host and, still standing, he said the following: "Children of the night-blessed spirits who are seated here around me, I greet you all. The councilor, I mean the host, has seen fit to give me and my relatives a seat. We will sit in it so that we may be strengthened thereby. We will now take our seats, but before that let me send forth my greetings to all."

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796 Then the second invited guest enters. He utters the same sounds
776 as his predecessors and makes the circuit of the lodge. When he
539 reaches the place from which he started he stops and addresses the
573 host as follows:

"Councilor, you who obtain life, relatives who are seated here, I greet you all, and your seats do I greet likewise. You that are seated in the first place, I greet you, too. All you children of the night-blest spirits who are in this lodge, I greet you. It is good that you wish me to live; that I am here. I am not a child of a night blest one, that this invitation should have been extended to me, but you probably knew the nature of my life and that is why, I suppose, you extended this honor to me. My relatives are even greater weaklings in the properties and goods of life than I am. That happens to be our manner of life. It is good. Henceforth we shall be stronger as we journey through life. Our men, women, and children shall all live in peace. As many of us as are living to-day, that many shall continue to live (on account of my participation in this ceremony). I am thankful.

"Of all the spirits that exist, these truly are in control of most life. So it is said of the Night Spirits. This is a great thing. These spirits have given us the occasion for a great counciling. Many of us are not able to take part in it, especially the one now speaking. The songs that have been used by our fathers we will not be able to sing, but whatever we say I know will be acceptable to you, children of the night-blest spirits. I send forth greetings to you all."

Then he sang an entrance song, and after he had made the circuit of the lodge, he sang another one. Then he went around the lodge again making his strange utterances, until he came in front of the host. Here he made a circle (with his hand) and stopped. Then he greeted the host as follows:

"A great day has come upon us, both upon me and upon all of my relatives. We all have tasted thereof so that we might live thereby. We have all brought you a pipeful of tobacco, just as we were told. It is said that we would thus strengthen one another, and that is why we have done it. I greet you all."

Then he went to his seat, the second one in the lodge, and sat down. Then all the members of his band sat down, each sending forth a greeting as they took their seats. When they were all seated the third man invited prepared to enter.

The third one invited now entered, uttering strange sounds, and made the circuit of the lodge, when he paused and addressed the host as follows:

"Councilors, life-obtainers, relatives who are seated in your respective seats, I greet you all. Here I have been blessed, although I am not worthy of it. My grandfather, and my father, too, once said to

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me, 'Some day when there is a dearth of people, some night-blest one will take pity on you. Submit to it.' Thus he spoke to me and what he referred to was this feast. These feasts are all sacred, but this is the most sacred one. That is what he used to tell me. It is not to be trifled with, even in respect to the rituals within the lodge. Never should one cross the lodge directly. If you trifle with this rule you will bring sorrow upon yourselves. The so-called night-soldiers are not to be trifled with. So he told me. The so-called night-soldiers, like soldiers on this earth, are stern. Truly they are stern, said my father. If we were to slight one of them we would must assuredly be punished for it, and punishment by them means death. So he spoke to me. But, said he, 'if, on the other hand, any one attends to all that pertains to this ceremony it will be a means of obtaining life. It will be a good thing to do, and one would thereby obtain a good life. Therefore, I have always looked upon the Night dance with awe, for it is a very holy thing.' So spoke my father. For that reason, consequently, whenever my father gave a Night feast he would encourage us to pay careful attention to it, and that is why I have always tried to do so. Remember, however, that I am not a child of the night-blest ones, and that, therefore, I have very little to say. However, I will start a song, which will be a greeting to this lodge, and I will sing it as I am passing around the lodge. Children of the night-blest ones, who are seated here, I greet you."

796 776 539 575 [688]

Then he sang an entrance song, first at the west end of the lodge and then near the position occupied by the host. When he had finished the circuit of the lodge he went around again, making the accustomed peculiar utterances, until he came in front of the host. There he stopped and addressed the host as follows:

"I greet you. You have caused this day to come upon me and all my relatives. We have all tasted thereof and we have all felt ourselves in connection with life. We are thankful. We have thought of this blessing of life in connection with ourselves. I greet you."

Then he walks to the place assigned to him in the west end of the tent and sits down. The other members of his band do the same, one after the other, greeting the people in the lodge at the same time.

When they are all seated the fourth one comes in. He repeats the utterances of the former guests and then starts around the lodge until he reaches the entrance. There he stops and addresses the host:

"Councilors and life-obtainers, I greet your seats. I likewise greet you, host. You who are seated in the north and you who are seated in the west, your seats I greet. Children of the night-blessed spirits who are within this lodge, all of you I greet. It is good. As far as I understand this Night ceremony is considered a life-giving one. The so-called happy Night Spirits alone are in control of most of life. So I was told, and that is why this ceremony is called a life-giving

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796 one. If I participated in this ceremony, I would be able to call it life,
776 I was told. But I did not pay any attention to it. They told me it
539 was good and that I would at the same time be making offerings to
575 Those-with-the-rounded-wood, and that thus I would be able to make use of all the plants that these spirits control, so that I would never be embarrassed when I wished to use them. I have caused people who were ill to become well by means of this ceremony. All of the [824] plants that these spirits control are good ones, and it is easy to obtain life with them. In this ceremony we may also obtain life by dancing. But we must dance earnestly. The leaders of this ceremony have held council over everything, and yet they have selected us for a seat of honor, so that we might greet them in this lodge and that we might be able to use this song while greeting them. You children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you all."

Then he sang an entrance song, and when he finished he repeated the utterances used in entering and gradually made the circuit of the lodge singing. When he was through singing, he again continued the utterances until he came to the place of the host, where he made the circle (with his hands) and stopped. Then he addressed the host as follows:

"I greet you. You wish me to live, and therefore caused a great day to come upon me and upon all my relatives. We have all received a taste of it, and we have all thought of ourselves in connection with life. We are also bringing you a pipeful of tobacco, so that we may strengthen one another. That is what we thought and that is why we are doing it. I greet you."

Then he walked around the lodge until he came to his seat. There he stopped and addressed his seat as follows:

"Seat that is reserved for me and for my relatives, we are about to sit in you; we will do it, and we will think that our lives have been helped thereby. I greet you." Thus he spoke and sat down. Then all the other members of his band sat down one by one.

When they were all seated the lodge was full. Then the host rose and spoke as follows:

"You who are seated in the first position, I greet you; you who are seated in the north position, I greet you; you who are seated in the west position, I greet you; and you who are seated at the end of the
539 road, I greet you. Children of the night-blessed ones who are here, I
796 greet you. My father and my grandfather spoke to me of this cere-
776 mony, and they told me it was good. They told me that the one
787 who first obtained it was named 'Little Red Turtle.' He fasted and
575 was blessed by those whom he called the Beings-with-round-wood. By these was he blessed at the noon hour, and he was taught what to do. There they taught him all. At a place where the stars [825] touched land they caused it to become night, and there they blessed

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him and taught him how to make four circles and also certain songs. 539
Since then this ceremony has been performed. He was really blessed, 796
and he was told exactly how everything should be performed. So it is 776
said. As he was very fond of the Night feast, he spoke in its behalf, 787
and told of all the medicines that were associated with it and of 575
the use to which they could be put. I myself know that these medicines are good to live on. If anyone uses them he will receive benefits therefrom and his children will receive life. I know that they are good. I would not have you think that I am one of those blessed by the Night Spirits because I say this. But I know that all the medicines of which I have personal charge and to which I make offerings of tobacco, for whom I boiled food, always make the individual to whom I offer them the better for it, provided that I do everything correctly. I was told to do this, and that is why I do it. I am now going to sing some songs audibly, and all these songs will be songs about medicines. I know that we will cause you to fan your faces (from perspiration brought on by making you work too hard), but forgive us for it. Children o' the night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you, and to take the place of their sister whom they always place ahead of them so we also will have our sisters lead the dance for us."

Two women now rise and stand side by side in front of the men and 796
hold, one in each hand, the invitation sticks that had been returned. 575
These two women lead in the dance. The men who shake the gourds 539
stand with their backs to the women, facing the drummers. All sing together and all the dancers have partners at their sides. It is a very interesting dance. Then all get up and start around the lodge, making strange utterances. When they have made the complete circuit of the lodge they stop and sing. When they finish this song they start around the lodge again, repeating the utterances. They stop at the west end of the tent, where they sing again. They thus sing at both ends of the lodge. They use all the songs they intend to. When the last song is over the individual who has sung it makes four circles and then takes the drum, gourd, tobacco, etc., and places them in front of the guest who occupies the first seat of honor. Then all sit down. Then the east leader rises and speaks as follows:*

"Councilors and life-obtainers, relatives who are seated here, I send you all greetings; and to you who are on the north side, and you who are on the west side, and you who are at the end of the road, your seats I greet. Our host has passed over to me the means of our meditation, the instruments through which we ask life. This instrument for asking life is the foremost thing we possess, so the old people said. We are thankful for it. We know that Earthmaker

* From now on we will use the terms East Leader, North Leader, West Leader, and South Leader to designate, respectively, the first, second, third, and fourth guests in the order of their invitations.

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575 did not put us in charge of anything, and that for that reason the
539 tobacco we received is our greatest and foremost thing. So the old people said. We were told that we should use it to ask for life. This must have been what they meant. This, the instrument with which to ask life, is, I feel sure, sufficient to attract them and they will surely take notice of it. We may also follow him who is taking the place of the spirits, and we will consider all those who are in the lodge blest. Those whom we call Nights have been offered tobacco, and the same has been offered to the four cardinal points, and to all the life-giving plants. To this many tobacco has been offered. It will strengthen us. This is what we call imitating the spirits, and that is why we are doing it. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you all. The song we will now start is a pipe-lighting song."

When he finished singing he greeted all those in the lodge and then he lit his pipe. Then he took a number of puffs. First he inhaled some smoke and blew it toward the east, then toward the
[782] north, then toward the west, then toward the south. Then he passed it around and all smoked, except the host, who is not permitted to do so. Then the east leader spoke again as follows:

"Night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you. The instrument with which to ask life I will now place here, and if any of you want to fill your pipes you may do so."

Then the leader of the north band rose and spoke as follows:

"Councilors and life-obtainers, you who sit in the direction where the day comes from, you who sit on the other side, in the west, and you who sit at the end of the road, your seats I all greet. We, too, have been anxious to obtain the instrument whereby we ask life, and therefore we fill a pipe for ourselves. I greet you."

Then the leader of the south band rose and said as follows:

"If the leader of the north band has finished his greeting, I also would very much like to have the instrument with which we ask life brought to me. We will immediately go and fill a pipe. I am speaking now because I wish to tell you what I intend to do. I greet you."

The leader of the north band did not pass the pipe that he had filled all around the lodge, but merely passed it to the members of his band. Only they smoked from it. In the same way the leaders of the other bands, with the exception of the host's band, passed the pipe only to members of their individual band. Only the host passed his pipe all around the lodge. When the smoking was over the leader of the east band rose and greeted everyone. Then he spoke as follows:

[787 "Our grandfathers used to carry on this ceremony, I have been
776] told. They told me that if at any time the giver of this ceremony

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can not find enough people to invite he would take pity on me. This is what I should say, my father told me. In the direction from which the day comes, there where the Nights are, live the night-soldiers, who blessed my grandfather and who made him try his powers in the middle of the ocean—there where it is deepest. They placed a round object of wood before him, and the night-soldiers said that they would not take it away, and that every time my grandfather tried to seize it he would not miss. 'You have done well, human, you have won,' they said to him. For this reason it was considered an instrument of war, he told me. If you do your utmost in offering tobacco, it will be an instrument of war, he said.

And he also said the following: "All the plants with which I have been blessed are useful and a person can receive life through them if he takes good care of them. These plants can be very powerful and some of them can even be used in playing jokes, we are told. But we have never used any of them in such a manner, for if we did our plants would surely lose their strength. I have been told that should I frequently use any of my plants for the purpose of playing jokes and then for the purpose of curing a sick person, they would have no power at all. If, however, I never used them in jokes my medicine would always be powerful. Therefore I have never used them in that manner. Nor have I ever poisoned anyone with them. I never considered myself great or used a Night's trick-medicine or used fire, although I was told I could do so. This I never did. When I use one of the plants I like to have it do its work. I am saying this, although I am not a child of the night-blest ones. It is now about time to permit our sisters to get hold of the 'chief sticks' and to permit them to sit here and sing together with us."

The women are then permitted to take two sticks apiece and sing wherever they are sitting. As soon as the men sing the women join in.

"This is the way to do, I was told, and that is why I am doing it. Children of the night-blessed ones, who are seated here in this lodge, I send you all greeting."

When he is through with his starting song he stands up and speaks to them again, as follows:

"Night-blest ones who are within this lodge, I greet you. I was not invited to take this seat because I was a wise man. I do not for a moment imagine that, but it was done in order to help me obtain life. We will now rise and go forth and we will brush against your faces, but you must take pity on us. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you. We will not remain seated here but we will rise and go forth in order to obtain the round stick. That is why I am making this announcement to you. I greet you."

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They then rise and make four circuits of the lodge, first stopping at the first seat, then at the second, then at the third, and lastly at the fourth. When they get back to their starting place they sing dancing songs, first stopping at the west end of the lodge and then at the entrance. This they repeat. By this time all the songs they had intended using have been sung, so they make four circuits of the lodge and then, taking the drum, gourd, etc., place it in front of the north band. When the dancers are all seated the leader of the north band rises, and greeting everyone speaks as follows:

"I was not pitied because I was a child of the night-blest ones, my father told me. Yet if I performed my duties aright I would be able to make the proper speeches when called upon, I was told. That I have been pitied now is due to the fact that these people here wished to have me obtain life. Certainly my invitation to this ceremony has made me think of life, as my father used to tell me. I do not for a moment imagine that they invited me because I was a great man. Nevertheless my father told me to say that it was good; and that if I really meant all that I said, my life would certainly be strengthened thereby. My father knew how to perform this ceremony correctly, but I am not able to do so. Although I was told it was a good thing, nevertheless I was not able to pour tobacco. Those whom we call the Ones-with-the-rounded-wood are in charge of very much life and they are holy. This affair is not a thing to be trifled with, my father told me. Yet in spite of this we will sing some songs, even though we know that we will not be able to sing them as they have been sung heretofore. Perhaps, however, you will be kind enough to be satisfied with whatever we do. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you."

Then he sang the starting song, and when he was finished he rose again and, greeting all, spoke as follows:

"When Those-with-the-rounded-wood start to walk their sisters are placed in front of them. Our sisters we will now place in front of us, so that thereby they may be blest with life and hold the principal sticks and staffs. We will use the toys so that we may be strengthened thereby, we think, and that is why I greet you."

Then they permit the women to lead the procession. These women walk in front, side by side, and are followed by the ones carrying the gourds, who dance with their backs toward them. Then come the drummers and the feast-givers, and after these, all those who desire to join in. They walk around the lodge making strange utterances. Four times do they make the circuit of the lodge and then they come and stop at the east end, where they sing. When they are through here they start around the lodge again and stop at the west end and sing. Then they start again, making the same strange utterances as before, until they come to the east end of the

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lodge, where they sing once more. When they have in this manner sung all the songs that they wish to use the leader of the north band makes the four circles as before and brings the tobacco, gourds, etc., to the west band. Then they all take their seats. Now the leader of the west band rises and speaks as follows:

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"Councilors, life-obtainers, relatives, to you all who are seated here, I send forth my greetings. You who occupy the first seat, you who occupy the north seat, and you who occupy the seat at the end of the road, I greet. I do not mean to say anything of consequence. I was taught this ceremony, but I do not know anything about it. However, I always honored it, for I was told that it was a good thing. Indeed, I knew it, but I could never perform it well. I was told that if I performed it well I would obtain life thereby, just as others have done. Well, some of you are able to do it. It is a very great council feast. How, indeed, can the spirits ignore what you have done for them to-day? If they acknowledge it, we who are representing the directions will receive blessings through the host who is giving the feast. That is what I mean. When we hold our mediators (that is, the drums, tobacco, etc.) we will be strengthened thereby. So with this in our minds, let us take and hold them. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you."

Then he sang the starting song, and when he had finished he rose and spoke again.

"Councilors, I send you greetings, as well as to you who sit in the first seat, to you who sit in the north, and to you who sit at the end of the road. It is said that when the night-soldiers come they walk over the entire extent of the earth. When they blessed my grandfather they blessed him with life. So he used to say of himself. We will now plead for these powers in our songs. We will place our sisters in front and follow them. That is what I wanted to announce to you. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you."

Then they made the complete circuit of the lodge until they came to the place where they had been sitting. There they made a circle. Then they made another circuit of the lodge and stopped in front of the south position and made a circle. Here they made another circuit of the lodge and stopped at the east end and made a circle. Then they made the last circuit of the lodge and stopped in front of the north band and made a circle. By this time all the songs that they were to use had been sung. The leader now made four circuits and brought the gourds, drum, tobacco, etc., in front of the south band. All now took their seats and when they were seated the leader of the south band arose and spoke as follows:

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"Councilors, life-obtainers, I greet you. You who sit in the first seat, you who sit in the north, and you who sit in the west, I greet. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated within this lodge, I greet you all. It is good that to-night you have tried to imitate your grandfathers, that you have tried to take the place of the spirits. You have said enough with which to obtain life. But I am more unfortunate. I can never do what my ancestors did or say what they said, and for that reason I suppose my talk will be quite worthless. I was told that if at any time I should be pitied, not to talk foolishly about this ceremony. If I am a bad man I will act foolishly in this affair, I was told.

"My grandfather was blessed by those whom we call the night-soldiers, who blessed him with certain utterances. As many blackbirds as there are, that many appeared to him as Night Spirits. Our utterances will be an imitation of those he received when he was blessed. We can only guess at these.

"We were told that when we hold the mediators we will be strengthened by them. Night-blessed spirits who are seated here, I greet you."

Then he began the starting songs, and when these were finished he rose and spoke again.

"Councilors, life-obtainers, I greet your seats. You who sit in the east, you who sit in the north, and you who sit in the west, I greet you all. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you. Those whom we call night-soldiers treated their sisters as holy and placed them in front. In imitation of these soldiers we will now put our sisters in front, so that we may be strengthened thereby. I wish to announce that we now place the women at the head of our procession. Let us all come together, so that we may be strengthened. That is our desire and that is what we are pleading for. I greet you."

When they are ready to begin the dancing songs all rise and form in line, having the women lead them. Then the men with the gourds, their backs turned to the women, follow, then the drummers. Then all those join who feel so inclined. When they have finished all the songs they intend to use they bring back the drum, gourd, etc., to the middle of the lodge and stop dancing. Then they return to their seats and then the leader rises and says:

"Councilors, relatives who are seated here, I greet you. You who are seated in the first seat, you who sit in the north, and you who sit in the west, night-blest ones who are within this lodge, I greet you all. Whenever a night-blessed child holds council, when he is invited to a feast and is given the position at the end of the road, the intention of the feast-giver is to enable him to obtain life. So they told me, and that is what they meant. Most assuredly have they caused me to think of life. When I hold the mediators in my

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hand I am holding life, and when I pass them on to the others, to my relatives and to my sisters, I am passing on life to all of them. In this way were we made to think of life. I will not detain you any longer. All that I wish to say is that I am thankful. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you." 796 575 539

Then he sat down and the host rose and spoke as follows:

"You who sit in the east, you who sit in the north, you who sit in the west, and you who sit at the end of the road, I greet you all. It is good. This is what I wanted but have not been able to say. You, however, told it all in my place. It is good. Of all things this is the foremost, it is said. The instruments with which to ask life you have placed before me. That alone is enough to live on and that you have done for me. It is good. Your forefathers dreamed just as the spirits did, and how they obtained life, all of that you have told me to-night. It is good. You have said enough to obtain life. It is good. I say this because I am thankful. If you do anything, do it in the right way, I was told. I understand this ceremony, but nevertheless what I have done is the best I could do. I will now place the food before you. I am an old man, but I have always performed this affair just as I have performed it to-day, and, although I know that I have not done it in the right way, yet it was my turn to do it, and I did it. I am an old man, and for that reason I am not able to procure meat anywhere. My relatives helped me and that is why I have been able to do it. Here are four kettles of hot water. I will place them in the center of the lodge for you. The one in the east and the one in the north and the one in the west and the one at the end of the road; each one may have it. Children of the night-blessed ones, all who are seated here, to all do I send greeting."

Then the leader of the east band rose and said: "Councilors, I greet you. You who sit over there in the north, you who sit in the west, and you who sit at the end of the road, I greet you all. Children of the night-blessed ones who are in this lodge, I greet you. We are all to arise soon and that is why I announce this."

Then the leader of the north band rose and said: "We also will rise, as it is our turn. We greet you all."

Then the leader of the west band rose and said: "The time has come for us to rise. I and my relatives will now rise. We greet you all."

Then the leader of the south band rose and said: "Councilors, I greet you. I greet all who have been blessed by the Night Spirits, each one in turn. We are now going to rise."

Then the leader of the east band said again: "Councilors, I greet you. We will now greet the hot water and I will use a song."

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796 Then the leader of the north band said: "I also will start a song.
575 I greet you."

Then the leader of the west band said: "I also will start a song.
539 I greet you."

Then the leader of the south band said: "I also will start a song. I greet you."

Then the leader of the east band sang a song, and the other leaders sang their songs. Each band sang its own songs, not paying any attention to the songs of the others. Each band sang different songs. This they do in order to drown the voices of the others. Should one band overcome the other, it means that that particular band would be blessed with victory in war. What they were really saying is that their songs were more powerful than the others, and that their grandfathers' songs were the holiest. Then they all danced around the lodge, single file, and made their exit from the lodge. While they were dancing, the host sat still singing and beating his drum. They carry their kettles outside. Wherever they wish to eat, there they go and dance around the kettle of food first. Then they eat their meal. They dance in different bands.

796 The ceremony finishes with this feast. It is customary, however,
575 for the one who has been given the seat of honor, that is, the east
[554] seat, to give a feast immediately afterwards. Then the one who has been invited first would do the same thing, so that all four would in this manner give dances in rotation. For this reason it generally took five nights before the ceremony was over. During those five nights no one could sleep. It is from this fact that the word, "Sore-eye Dance," which is the general term used for this ceremony, originated. If a person does not sleep for five nights, his eyes generally get sore, and that is why they call this ceremony the "Sore-eye Dance."

796 Sometimes they perform night-spirit tricks. These would be of
789 the following nature: A kettle is put on to boil and some individual
575 fishes out a piece of meat bare-handed without getting burned. At other times they shoot a hole into a drum covering, using a wild-cat claw as a missile. Then they immediately mend it.

When a man is very bad they shoot him with an object and kill him. They used to be very much afraid of such people. Sometimes they take a handful of live coals and embers from the fire, put them into their mouth and then spit them out without getting burned. It is for this reason that they are called holy. Sometimes they take burnt portions of a tree that had been struck by lightning, put them in the fire, and then when they are red hot take them out again and put them in their mouths without extinguishing them. They then spit them out, and it would look like lightning. Or they would shoot one another with cold charcoal. This is all that I know.

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Once a medicine-dance man and a night-blessed man became jealous and the medicine-dance man said that he would play tricks on the night-blessed man. The night-blessed man said he was quite willing to have a contest. So the two came and sat opposite each other and began their contest. Whatever the medicine-dance man did the night-blessed man did too, but always a little better. The medicine-dance man was defeated, so from that time on the medicine-dance men are afraid of the former. The medicine-dance men shot the night-blessed men with claws, but they could not kill them. Therefore they were afraid of them. The night-blessed men could kill the medicine-dance men at pleasure. The medicine-dance men were inferior. That is all. 756 575 578 [754]

SOCIETY OF THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN BLESSED BY THE HEROK'A

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The feast of those who have been blessed by the Herok'a is given at any time of the year. Anyone may be invited. The feast is held in a long lodge and is generally given by a number of members at the same time (or by all). Each person brings a deer and his bow and arrows. The bows and arrows are painted different colors, depending upon the color (paint) with which the individual has been blessed. The bows are all stuck in the ground between the first two fireplaces and the arrows in a row just behind them. 776 575

During the ceremony and feast the members all sing the songs with which they have been blessed. The ceremony is held before the feast and is conducted by one of the members of the society. He leads, holding a bow in one hand. The others follow, holding arrows in their hands. Only men are permitted to dance. There are certain songs, to the accompaniment of which women are permitted to dance. But the women must have passed their climacteric.

They do not use gourd rattles as at the other dances. Instead a number of deer hoofs are strung together and used in place of them. (They do not eat with their hands or with the ordinary sticks) but use instead forked sticks, whittled down at one end. The leader wears a headdress to which a horn is attached, and paints his body with the same color as his arrows. Whoever leads the dance carries a flute, which he plays before and after each song. Those following him hit their mouth with the palm of their hands and whoop. [534]

When the dance is over, each one of the feasters takes his plate and dances out.[17]

[17] This account of the Herok'a Society is unfortunately merely fragmentary, but from a few additional notes obtained there seems to be little doubt that it represents the same type of organization as the other religious fraternities.

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## Society of Those Who Have Been Blessed By the Buffalo Spirits

796 575 589 Informant, member of the Bear clan: "Come, it is the time for giving the Buffalo Feast," said my father, "so tell the attendants to get ready; and you, third-born, if you see anyone, tell him about the feast that we are going to give."

So I went to Fire-starter and said, "Nephew, my father is about to give a feast, and he wants his attendants to get ready. You are to go over to his lodge and get a few more attendants to help you. We also will get ready right away." Then I greeted him and he said, "All right, I will go and get some to help me." I returned to my father and told him what I had done. He told me to go and inform those who were to take part in the feast that they were to bring food. This I likewise did and returned with the information that they would all do as desired.

Now the attendants arrived and asked what was expected of them. They were told to haul the wood and cut the poles to be used in building the lodge, prepare the fireplaces, and put the kettles on the fire. After that they were to go and tell the young women to get the food ready. When the drum was fixed and the food prepared, then the feast would begin, they were told.

"Well, Green-hair, my nephew, it is about time for you to go down toward the timber and invite the people. You, my nephew, Fire-starter, may go to those who possess war bundles and invite them. Go especially to Strikes-the-earth-with-his-wings and tell him that he must come immediately. When you come back, Green-hair, get the earth mound (*ma$^{n}$waru$^{p}$'urura*) ready. Construct two of them in the lodge. Then place upon them all the things that we are going to use in the dance."

The drum, the flute, the buffalo tails, the buffalo heads were all painted and placed there.

Then the feasters arrived. He-who-strikes-with-his-wings was to sit opposite Fleet-one. When all had entered and were seated Hodja'noka arose and spoke:

"War-bundle owners, all you who have been blessed by the buffalo-spirits and are seated here, you who are taking the place of the spirits and giving counsel like them, I thank you and greet you all. You are taking the place of the spirits. Just as we ask for long life from the spirits, so do we ask the same of you. Relatives, I know I am going to tire you all out, but do not take it amiss. What we long for, aid us in obtaining. Life is what I wish.

"What I am doing now I did not originate, for my ancestor [787] Hodja'noka was the one blessed by the buffalo-spirits. When he was a child he was blessed by them and they gave him a certain

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plant and blessed him with long life and with victorious warpaths. He asked to be remembered by Hodja'noka in his offerings. The buffalo-spirit told him that if he would pour tobacco for him, and give feasts and make offerings of eagle feathers, the blessings he had given him would last forever.

"All these blessings were handed down to my father. These I also was taught. This life do we pray for and we have asked you all to come and help us. We thank you for it. As soon as the attendants are finished with the preparation of the food then we will eat. Our servants may perhaps burn their hands while preparing the food, but they will obtain life by so doing. Those who possess war bundles are always told to help one another and I know that you have come here for that reason. Life I am seeking and that is why I am giving this feast. Help me, all you owners of bundles who are present here. I will now sing some of the songs that Hodja'noka taught us. You who have obtained blessings, I greet you."

Then he sang the following songs:

*Song 1*

Nangura hona'ni hiwilê. (Repeat.)
In the road walk let him do.

*Song 2*

Hodja'noka hamani'winê. (Repeat.)
Hodjanoka Walk by.

*Song 3*

Kâra Hodja'noka hamani'winê.
Say, Hodjanoka Walk by.

*Dancing song*

Hodja'noka teawawi're. (Repeat.)
Hodjanoka go toward.
Erehu'na. (Repeat twice.) Wiga'rê. (Repeat twice.)
It is coming say to them.

As soon as Hodja'noka finished his songs, then all the objects (drum, gourds, etc.) were passed to He-who-strikes-the-earth-with-his-wings, and he rose and spoke:

"Brother-in-law, councilors, relatives, all who are seated here, I greet you. You who have been blessed with bundles, I greet likewise. You are taking the place of the spirits. It is good. We are trying to encourage one another and we have come to help you. We have brought you food for the feast. We also are desirous of obtaining long life and that is why we have brought our offerings, for we know the buffalo-spirits will accept them, as they are very tempting. You who are taking the place of the spirits, I greet you."

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796 575 Then he sings some songs and dances and passes the drum, etc., to the next guest and so it, in turn, is passed on until the fourth invited guest is reached. Then the drum is replaced in the center of the lodge.[18]

[782] Informant, unknown clan:[19] Buffalo feasts are given in spring, in fall, and in midwinter. No meat is offered, but only vegetables. The buffaloes said that maple sugar is their favorite food, so when this feast is given they always have some maple sugar along with the other things. The buffalo feast always takes place in a long lodge. The attendants make the lodge and boil all the food. When the kettles have been placed on the fire those giving the feast enter. The earth mound is now constructed and tobacco offered to it. All those giving the feast pour tobacco on the earth mound, asking for victory in war. When this is finished they sing buffalo songs, starting with the initial songs. When they are ready to sing the dancing songs the feast-giver rises and speaks as follows:

"The dancing songs that we are about to sing we use because we believe that our offering will thus be accepted. It is generally the custom to do this."

He now calls on some one to lead in the dance. This individual is always taken from the Buffalo clan. He comes forward, placing the buffalo head on his own head and carrying the buffalo tail attached to himself. He leads in all the dances, the others following him. A plate of maple sugar is placed at the buffalo mound. When he approaches the buffalo mound he makes a noise like a buffalo, sticks his tongue to the plate of sugar, and licks up some of it. Those following do the same. This they do without even holding the dish, just as buffaloes eat. When they finish their dancing they pass the drum on to another person, and when it has made the circuit of the lodge they eat. Each person has his own dish. Then the leader in the dance is told that the dish of wild rice standing in the center of the lodge is meant for him, and that he can invite whomsoever he likes to help him. When all in the lodge are ready they start eating all at the same time. When those in the center of the lodge get through and the dish is empty it is thrown over their heads, and they do not stop this until the dish has been turned upside down. While they are engaged in doing this they bellow like buffaloes. They are not allowed to use their hands in turning the dish over. They must do it with their heads, for it is a sacred thing and that is the way the buffaloes used to do it. When they are all through eating the feast-giver sings a dancing song and all those within the lodge rise, take their plates, and dance out of the lodge.

[18] In this account it is not quite clear whether the drum is merely passed to the four principal guests or to all. At the buffalo dance witnessed by the writer in the summer of 1908 it was passed only to the four principal guests. This was also corroborated by a number of informants.

[19] The origin myth of this feast is given on page 362.

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*Description of buffalo dance and its origin.* Informant, member of Bear clan: The buffalo dance can be given by anybody who has been blessed by the buffalo spirits. In the beginning the Winnebago had animal forms, and they could obtain all the power they wanted, but since they left that stage of life they can obtain power only by fasting. John's buffalo feast is of recent origin. It originated with his grandfather. 796 575 [787]

A long lodge is prepared and in the center there is a pile of loose dirt. John's grandfather's name was Hodjanaga, Young-man-just-maturing. In fasting he found out that he was blessed with powers to cure the sick and be victorious in battle. While fasting, the spirits told him that he would receive what he was longing for. They told him that he would know what to do, for they would come after him. Soon they came after him and took him into camp (i. e., spirit country). When he got there, he saw an old man and a child, and he was told that it was on account of the child that he had been brought there; that the child had heard his prayers while fasting and had blessed him. Then they showed him a certain herb and told him, "This is what we give you. It will give you strength in running. Use it in time of war, and use it also as medicine for life. I have blessed you and given you what you desired and do you, in turn, make me a dog feast and give me red feathers, tobacco, and food." Then they taught him the songs and gave him a buffalo tail and a flute. 796 575 787

No invitation sticks are used. They go around and invite those whom they want. 796 575

When the grasses are well developed, then the Buffalo clan people make a feast to their life or clan; also in midwinter, for that is the time when all the spirits awaken from their night's sleep and turn over on the other side. [203]

## Society of Those Who Have Been Blessed By the Grizzly Bear

Informant, member of Bear clan: The grizzly-bear dance was given by those who had been blessed during their fasting by the grizzly bear. Women were never so blessed, and for that reason they never could participate in the dance. Different people received different blessings. We were blessed with two grizzly-bear heads, grizzly-bear hides, and paws. In the lodge constructed for the dance was placed a mound of earth called ma"warap'uru. The ma"warap'uru is supposed to represent a bear's cave, the four points of the cross representing the entrances to the cave and the four lines running to the center, the paths along which the grizzly bear travels when he scents a man. The place in the middle is supposed to be the habitation of the bear himself. Tobacco and red feathers are placed both in the center and at the four points. 796 575 787 [562] [782]

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796 575 [787] in the center and at the four points. Only people who had been blessed by the grizzly bear were permitted to sing and dance. The dancing itself took place both around the lodge and around the ma"warap'uru. The dancers are supposed to imitate the motions and the cries of the grizzly bear. Sometimes they whirl themselves round and round, like a grizzly bear, but their principal motion consists in stretching out their hands. In this position they will take tobacco from the ma"warap'uru and eat it. They believe that they are representing the bears when they do this.

The dancers are selected by the one giving the dance. Those taking part vie with each other in exhibiting the powers with which they have been blessed, because in this way those present could see who possessed the greatest powers.

The purpose of the dance was to thank the grizzly bears for the blessings they had bestowed upon the people. (However, there seemed to be many other special occasions for which the dance was performed.)

If sick people are present at the dance they are told to put some tobacco on the ma"warap'uru and ask for life.

There is a description of the grizzly-bear dance in the account of Little Priest's life which it might be well to append here in view of the brevity of the above description.

796 755 575 "Little Priest had been wounded in so many places that he was practically dead. He was, of course, entirely unconscious when his relatives arrived. They decided to perform the grizzly-bear dance for him. He himself had been blessed by the grizzly bears when he was young.

"The dance was to be given at the lodge of an Indian named Good Soldier. They carried Little Priest to the lodge in a blanket, so that they could sing for him and permit him to show the powers he possessed. He was unable to move on account of the wounds and the bruises he had gotten. The man who sang for him at that time was South-Wind. There were all in all ten Indians, entirely naked, except for their breechclouts. Little Priest had told South-Wind that he was a grizzly bear and that he could heal himself (no matter how badly he had been wounded).

"As soon as the songs and dancing commenced Little Priest began to move his little fingers. Soon he was able to move his arm as far as his forearm, and gradually he regained the power of moving the entire arm. Finally he sat up and began to keep time on the drum. Then he tried to stand on his feet, but owing to his weakness it was only with the greatest difficulty that he could straighten out his body. Finally he stood erect. Then he started to walk around the lodge very slowly. The second circuit he made more easily, and by the time he had made the fourth circuit he was dancing just as the

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other dancers were with all his strength restored. Then he walked to the ma"warup'uru, took some earth, rubbed it on his wounds, and they were healed immediately. There was only one wound that he could not heal, which was situated on a part of his back that he could not reach with his hands."

He sang many songs while dancing. These songs were the ones that the spirits had taught him when they blessed him.

GRIZZLY BEAR SONGS

1

Newine'na newine'na ha"ptra"nê.
I am he, I am he, the day it is I.

2

Ha'na"ninxgu"ne'k'tce hininga'rê nink'tca'i"ninkxra d,anûnga'grê.
That you would be listened to you were told by the children as many as there are.

3

Ma"tcê'ja" ho'dadjehi'rera.
The grizzly bear was starting to roam.

4

Wa'wonatra"t'i" nihe'ka.
Shouting you can hear him.
Ho'ratra"t'i" nihe'ka.
His voice you can hear.

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her, there stood a very young woman, her hair like a shawl. "It is good, grandmother, and I thank you in the name of my aunts. Then for the second time she said, "Look at me." He looked at her and there stood a woman in middle age, her hair almost gray. "Well, grandmother, it is good, that is what I meant." Then for the fourth time she said, "Grandson, look at me." He looked at her. Her hair was entirely dried up, in the nape of her neck there was a hollow, and like a duck looking at the sun, she appeared. Her chin, like a wooden poker, burnt short, there she stood trembling. "Well, grandmother, this is what I meant when I said that you were to help me. My uncles and aunts that is what I wished for them, and I thank you." 773 776

## Organization of the Bands

The medicine dance of the Winnebago consists of five bands. A sixth band is temporarily formed whenever the ceremony is given in honor of a deceased member. 796 621

For purposes of description it will be best to divide each band into three parts—the leader, his two assistants, and the rest of the band. Leadership depends upon a thorough knowledge of the ceremony and its complete esoteric significance, which is in the possession of only a few individuals in each band. This knowledge can be obtained solely by purchase and religious qualifications. These religious qualifications, to which might be added moral as well, play little part at the present day, but there can be no doubt that they were essential in the past. The leader likewise often possessed other characteristics, such as those of warrior and shaman.

The two assistants were generally men who had purchased sufficient information and privileges to entitle them to help the leader in certain details of the ceremony. The drummers, rattle holders, dancers, etc., were always recruited from their ranks. Eventually they might become the leaders. Those who were neither leaders nor assistants possessed a knowledge varying from that of elementary information, required for admission, to that entitling them to the position of assistant.

There is a priority of position in the lodge, depending on priority of invitation. The band invited first occupies the east position; that invited second, the north; that invited third, the west; and that invited fourth, the south. The east is the position of highest honor; the south, that of the lowest. Between the bands there exists an order of invitation based on tradition, the exact nature of which is unknown. According to one informant, if one band invited another, the latter in turn would be obliged to give it the position of honor; but as there are five bands, this can apply only to special cases. Whatever may be the order, it is certain that each band has ample occasion to occupy all five positions. [554]

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621 The leaders of the west and south bands receive each 3½ yards
756 of calico and a fourth of the food.
431 The ancestor host receives various gifts of food and tobacco from the leaders of the other bands. He receives his payment from the candidate before the ceremony proper.

756 The candidate is present at the four nights' ceremony of the an-
● 796 cestor host's band, preliminary to the ceremony proper. At the latter ceremony he sits to the right of the ancestor host's band. He is not dressed in his new suit until after the secret ceremonies in the brush.

302 There are facial decorations distinctive of the different bands:
621 The host's band and the candidate paint a blue circle on each cheek, but its significance is unknown to the writer.

The regalia used are simple and few. They consist of eagle, hawk, squirrel, beaver, and otter-skin bags (pls. 51–53), a drum, gourd rattles, and invitation sticks. The otter-skin bags are always beaded and contain the sacred shell and various medicines. A few red feathers are always inserted in the mouth of the otter-skin bag. The gourds contain buckshot at the present time and are painted with blue finger marks.

*Division of the ceremony.*—The medicine dance is divided into five well-marked parts. The first part (I) consists of the two nights' preparation preceding the sending out of the invitation sticks. This takes place at the home of the ancestor host in the presence of the members of his band and the candidate. The second part (II) consists of the four nights' preparation preceding the sweat-lodge ritual. Each band has its own four nights' preparation, although that of the ancestor host begins before the others. The third part (III) consists of the rites held in a sweat lodge, specially constructed for this purpose near the medicine lodge, on the morning after the four nights' preparation. The participants are the ancestor host, the leaders of the east, west, north, and south bands, each with his two assistants, and the candidate. The fourth part (IV) consists of the ceremony proper, which in turn must be divided into the night ceremony (*a*) and the day ceremony (*b*). The fifth part (V) consists of the rites held in the brush, at which the secrets of the society are imparted to the candidate. Special guards are placed on all sides of the brush to prevent the intrusion of outsiders. The participants,
[625] besides the candidate, are the ancestor host, the leaders of the east and north bands, each with his two assistants, and all other individuals who have bought the privilege of attending. These ceremonies take place at dawn preceding the day ceremony.

Two feasts and one intermission interrupt the main ceremony. The feasts always take place at the end of the ritual of the east
[621] band—i. e., generally at noon and at midnight. The intermission

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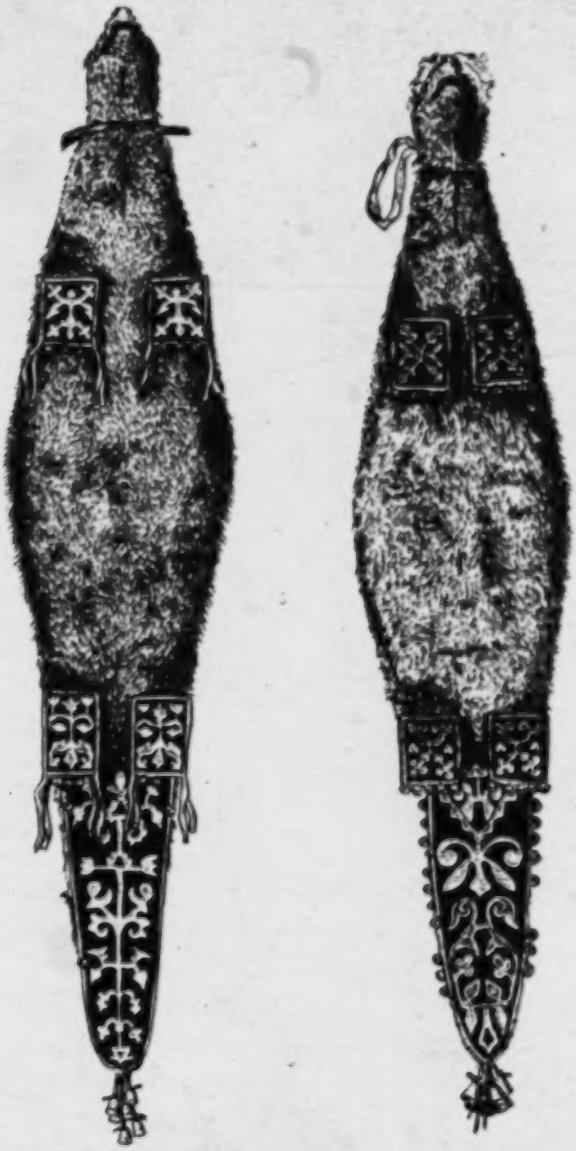

OTTER-SKIN MEDICINE POUCHES USED AT MEDICINE DANCE

[Facing p. 362 (A)]

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POUCHES OF ANIMAL SKINS USED AT MEDICINE DANCE

[Facing p. 362 (B)]

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SKIN POUCHES AND FEATHER FANS USED AT MEDICINE DANCE

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generally lasts from dawn preceding the day ceremony until 7 or 8 a. m. The intermission begins as soon as the drum and gourds have been returned to the ancestor host and ends as soon as the people return from the brush ritual.

The first and second parts are concerned entirely with a recital of certain ritualistic myths and a rehearsal of the songs and the specific ritual of each band used during the remaining parts.

*Types and component elements of the ceremony.* For purposes of greater clarity, the speeches, songs, and types of action will be carefully differentiated and referred to by some designation characterizing their essential traits. These speeches, songs, and types of action together form combinations which may be regarded as units, and they will therefore also be referred to by some designation characteristic of their function.

1. Types of speeches (1) Salutations: No formal salutation is used during Parts I and II, the individuals being addressed by their relationship terms. In Parts III, IV and V the salutations are invariably the same. The ancestor host and his band are addressed as follows: "The-one-occupying-the-seat-of-a-relative (deceased) and you-who-sit-with-him, do I salute." The east is addressed, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-sun-rises"; the north, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-cold-comes-from"; the west, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-sun-straightens," or (preferably) "You-who-represent-the-end-of-the-road."

The appellations of the bands, as before stated, refer to the creation myth and the four guardian spirits whom Hare visited for the purpose of inquiring into the necessity and meaning of death. Hare was compelled to travel around the earth, which is conceived of as an island, and received no answer until he came to the spirit at the end of the road. In the dramatic performance of the medicine dance the lodge typifies the earth and the four bands and their leaders typify the four spirits. The ancestor host's band typifies the ancestor of the Winnebago.

(2) Speeches: Under this head will be treated (*a*) speeches of welcome; (*b*) speeches of acceptation; (*c*) speeches of presentation; (*d*) speeches explanatory of the significance of the ritual; and (*e*) speeches of admonition, addressed exclusively to the candidate. This does not exhaust all. There are many others, generally short, that can hardly be classified. In their content, as well as in the order of their succession, the speeches must follow a traditionally determined sequence. In practice this is certainly not always true, but to the mind of the Winnebago these speeches appear as old as the ceremony. It is their firm belief that any departure from the accepted type will interfere with the efficacy of the ceremony.

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796 (a) Speeches of welcome: When the leader of the east band enters
756 after the ancestor host has begun the ceremony (IV, b), he addresses
537 the latter as follows: "It was good of you to condescend to invite me
576 to this dance. I am a poor pitiable man and you believed me to be a medicine man. However, I know you will show me the true manner of living, which I thought I possessed, but which I in reality did not." In this strain he continues, weaving into his speech references to the ritual connected with his band and offering thanks for the beautiful weather (should it be a clear day). In concluding he thanks all again, and informs them that he will sing a song. With slight alterations the leaders of the other bands address the ancestor host similarly. The ancestor host's answer of welcome is as follows: "Whatever I desired you have done for me. All night have you stayed with me and by your presence helped me in the proper performance of this ceremony. I am ready with a dancing song, and when I have finished and sit down I shall pass to you tobacco and other means of blessing (the gourds and the drum). All who are present do I greet."

(b) Speeches of acceptation: After the ancestor host has been presented with food he thanks the donors as follows: "You have had pity on me. You have been good to me and have given me to the full whatever I desired. You have filled my heart with the blessing of thankfulness. In return I give you a blessing. Here is some food for you. It is not anything special, nor is it as much as it ought to be, and I know you will remain hungry. It was prepared for the spirits of the four quarters (whom you represent), but it is lacking in all those qualities which would have made it acceptable to them. Such as it is, however, may its presentation be a means of blessing to you."

796 (c) Speech of presentation: East presents the food to the ancestor
756 host with the following words: "I have not very much to tell you,
537 because I am too poor, but our ancestors told us to give you food. This little that I give is all that I can, being a person of so little importance."

(d) Explanatory speeches: These are of so specific a nature that no single one can be considered typical.

(e) Speeches of admonition: "Nephew, now I shall tell you the path you must walk, the life you must lead. This is the life Hare obtained for us. This is the only kind of life—this that our ancestors followed. Listen to me. If you will always help yourself, then you
[867] will attain to the right life. Never do anything wrong. Never steal, never tell an untruth, and never fight. If you meet a woman on the left side of the road, turn to the right. Never accost her nor speak familiarly with a person whom you are not permitted thus to address. If you do all these things, then you will be acting correctly. This is what I desire of you."

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2. Types of songs: The songs may be divided into two groups 796
(1) those that are sung in connection with myths and after the 756
speeches of a more general nature, and (2) those that are sung to 533
accompany definite and specific actions. These latter can therefore be most conveniently divided into (a) minor dance songs, (b) major dance songs, (c) initial songs, (d) terminal songs, (e) leading songs, and (f) shooting songs. The medicine men distinguish only between four kinds of songs: major and minor dance, terminal, and shooting songs. Each has a different rhythm and music. For purposes of description, however, the above division is more convenient.

3. Types of action: (1) Blessing: Either hand is held outstretched, 756
palm downward, and moved horizontally through the air. It is 788
always used when entering and leaving the lodge and on any occasion where an individual has to pass from one part of the lodge to another.

It is always rendered as "blessing" by the Indians, and they particularly insist upon the fact that the "blessing" was not conveyed by any words used in connection with the action, but by the action itself. Each person who is thus passed answers with a long-drawn-out "ho o o" and with an obeisance of the head.

A modification of the above is the "blessing of the head," which consists of a simple laying of the hand upon the head, both the giver and the recipient keeping their eyes fixed upon the ground, the recipient slightly bending his head. A few mumbled words accompany this action.

(2) Direction of walking in the lodge: Individuals always walk con- 756
trary to the hands of the clock. A person in the east hand must 776
make the entire circuit of the lodge in order to pass out. In only 823
exceptional cases can this rule of passing be broken, and that is when an old and especially privileged member crosses from his seat to that directly opposite him during the shooting ceremony. I was given to understand that this was an extremely expensive privilege.

4. Types of ritual: Parts III, IV, and V can be so analyzed that 776
they fall into a fairly well-defined number of units, consisting of 756
speeches, songs, and movements. These units are nine in number. Artificial distinctions have been avoided in this division, as far as possible. The units are (1) entrance ritual; (2) exit ritual; (3) fire ritual; (4) presentation-of-food ritual; (5) shooting ritual; (6) initiation ritual; (7) sweat-lodge ritual; (8) smoking ritual; (9) basic ritual.

Of these, (3), (5), (7), (8), and (9) are found in Part III; all except (7) and (8) in Part IV (a); and all except (7) in Part IV (b). (5) does not actually occur in Part III, but is described in detail in the myth related there. The order in which we will discuss these ceremonial units is not the order in which they follow one another in the ritual. Some are interwoven with one another. Both these factors will, however, be considered in the description of the entire ritual, following the description of each ceremonial unit.

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756 (1) Entrance ritual: The band enters the tent, makes one com-
●716 plete circuit, and stops. The leader now delivers a short speech, followed by a song. The band then continues to the west end, where another speech is delivered and another song sung. After this the band continues again, and stops at the east end, where the leader talks and sings. Now all sit down. After a short pause the leader again rises and walking over to the ancestor host, talks to him, gives him some tobacco, and returns to his seat. Each band entering repeats the same ritual. This applies, however, only to Part IV (*a*) and (*b*).

(2) Exit ritual (Part IV (*a*) and (*b*)): The east leader rises and speaks, followed by north, west, and south. Each one then speaks again and, all singing, all walk toward the entrance in such a way that the south, north, and west bands make complete circuits of the lodge, thus enabling the east band to precede them. Near the entrance all stop singing and say "*wu-hi-hi-hi*" four times and pass out. This exit ceremony differs slightly in the two divisions of IV.

(3) Fire ritual, Part III: The ancestor host rises and goes to the leaders of the four other bands individually; and after he has blessed them they respond; then all rise, make four circuits of the lodge, and sit down again. The leader of the east band now rises, holding in his hand the invitation sticks and some tobacco, delivers a speech, then goes to the fireplace and kindles the new fire.

[782 (8) Smoking ritual: The leader of the east band pours tobacco
276] into the fire, first at the east, and then at the north, west, and south corners. He then lights his pipe, puffs first toward the east, then toward the north, west, and south, after which he passes his pipe to the leader of the north band, who takes a few whiffs and in turn passes it around to the next member of the lodge. When the pipe has made the complete circuit it is placed in front of the fireplace. In the meantime the ancestor host has returned to his seat, and after a short pause, rises, speaks, and sings again. This smoking ceremony occurs after each entrance ceremony, IV (*a*) and (*b*), and before both feasts of IV (*a*) and (*b*).

*Presentation-of-food ritual* (Part IV, *a* and *b*).—The leader of the east band rises and brings meat, berries, wild potatoes, etc., to the ancestor host, delivering a minor speech at the same time. Each of the other leaders repeats the same ceremony. When all have finished, the ancestor host rises and thanks them.

(5) General shooting ritual (Part IV, *a* and *b*): The leaders of the east, north, west, and south bands, holding their otter skins in their hands, rise and, accompanied by three men, make a complete circuit of the lodge. They first speak in undertones to these three men, giving them directions. At each end the leader of the east band speaks, and then, singing, walks toward the west end, saying "yoko—

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o—oya—a" three times, and ending with a long-drawn-out "yo—ho." At the west end both he and the leader of the south band speak. Then chanting "yo—ho" again, they all walk toward the east end. Here the leader of the east band speaks twice. All now place their otter skins on the ground in front of them, and east speaks again. At the conclusion of his speech, all kneel in front of the otter skins and cough, at which the sacred shell drops from their mouths upon the otter skins. They thereupon pick it up, and holding the shell in one hand and the otter skins in the other, make a circuit of the lodge four times, increasing their speed each time, and singing. All this time the shell is held in full view of the spectators, on the outstretched palm of the right hand. As they near the east end of the lodge, at the end of the fourth circuit, standing in front of the ancestor host's band, they supposedly swallow the shell, and fall down, instantaneously, head foremost, as if dead. Finally they come to, and coughing up the shell they put it into their otter-skin bags, and then making the circuit of the tent, shoot four members of the ancestor host's band, four of the east, four of the north, two of the west, and two of the south band. Each person as he is shot falls prostrate upon the ground, but recovering after a few moments, joins those making the circuit of the tent. Each leader now takes his drum and gourds to the fireplace. Then the general shooting commences. Each person possessing the right shoots one individual, until all the members have been shot. As each person is shot he falls to the ground, feigns unconsciousness, and then slowly recovers. The slowness or speed of his recovery depends exclusively upon the privileges he possesses and the number of years he has belonged to the society. As soon as each person shot recovers he falls in line immediately after the last one shot. While all are thus walking around a half dozen people at the fireplace sing shooting songs to the accompaniment of drums and gourds. The amount of noise at this point is quite considerable.

(6) Initiation ritual (Part IV, *b*): All the members of the ancestor host's band and the candidate make one circuit of the lodge, taking their otter skins with them. As they pass around they gently touch the heads of the members with the mouth of the otter skin, saying "*Yoho—o—o*", to which the members respond with "*Ho—o—o.*" After the circuit, all return to their seats, with the exception of the candidate, who remains at the east end in front of the fireplace. After a pause the ancestor host joins the latter and delivers a speech of the admonition type. The candidate first faces the south and then the north. During the speech the ancestor host touches him on his head and on his chest and makes him face first south and then north. When the speech is over the ancestor host sings and takes the candidate to the west end of the tent.

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756 The tent is now prepared for the initiation proper. Two long
●796 strips of calico are stretched from the west to the east end of the lodge. They are about a foot and a half wide and are separated from each other by the fireplace. At the west end a much shorter strip of the same material is stretched along the width of the lodge across the two long strips. Upon this the candidate is placed. When these preparations are completed the ancestor host arises and going to each of the four leaders speaks to them in an undertone. He then returns to his seat. The leaders of the east and north bands now arise and make the complete circuit of the lodge. First the former and then the latter speaks. Then the former speaks twice. After that the leader of the north band delivers another speech and, together with his partner, walks to the west end of the lodge, where the candidate is kneeling. The two leaders here speak again. Both now take their sacred shells, swallow them, and walk to the east end (pls. 52, 53).

Here they speak again and hold their otter skins in readiness for the shooting, but first jerk them forward twice toward the four cardinal points, saying "*dje-ha-hi, dje-ha-hi,*" and concluding with "*e-ho-ho-ho.*" Standing upon the two calico strips in a slightly bent position and holding the otter skin tightly in their hands, they now run rapidly toward the reclining form of the candidate, making loud threatening sounds in a quavering voice, and strike his body twice with the mouth of the otter skin, omitting two short sounds as of an animal who has succeeded in capturing his prey. The candidate falls prostrate to the ground instantaneously. He is immediately covered with a blanket upon which are placed the otter skins of the two leaders. A number of people especially privileged now gather around the covered figure, dance, sing, and shout to the accompaniment of the shouts of the other members of the society, all of whom seem in a frenzy of excitement. When the noise has somewhat abated the blanket is removed and the figure of the candidate is shown, still apparently unconscious. He comes to slowly and finally succeeds in raising himself and sitting up. He then coughs violently, and the shell which has apparently been shot through his body falls out of his mouth. After this his recovery is rapid. He is then undressed and the finery and new buckskin suit, moccasins, etc., are distributed to those to whom it is customary to give them. He now returns to his seat, to the right of the ancestor host's band, where some female relative, generally his mother, dresses him in an ordinary suit.

(7) Sweat-lodge ritual (Part III): The east leader rises and with his two assistants makes the circuit of the sweat lodge, while the north, west, and south leaders each with two assistants join him. At the east end the leader makes four steps with his right foot, each

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time saying, "*Wa-hi-hi.*" He then makes the circuit of the lodge four times. After the third circuit he goes directly to the heating stone, "in defiance of the rule," as he himself says, but with the hope that through this defiance he will gain additional strength. After he has made the fourth circuit he seizes the two entrance lodge poles and, shaking them gently, shouts "*e-ho-ho-ho.*" All now sit down. The ancestor host now takes four sticks and smears them with a special kind of greenish clay and hands them to the leader of the east band. The latter seizes them and holds them tightly with both hands. By this action he is supposed to obtain strength. The sticks are then passed in rotation to the leaders of the north, west, and south bands, all of whom repeat the same ceremony. 736 796

(9) Basic ritual (Part IV, *a* and *b*): This ritual is that upon which the ritual for the ceremony proper (Part IV, *a* and *b*) is built. In a certain sense it may be justifiable to consider all the above ritualistic complexes with the exception of the entrance and exit rituals as parts of this basic ritual. The important religious function of the medicine dance is the "passing" of the blessing, consisting of speeches, songs, and the blessings, going from one band to the other, for the greater benefit of both the host and his guests. These blessings are symbolized by the drum, the gourds, the songs, the speeches, and the specific actions in which each band participates. The ceremony begins when the ancestor host delivers his first speech and ends when drum and gourds are returned to him. All that takes place between the ancestor host's first speech up to the time that the drum and gourds are placed before the members of the east band constitutes the unit that I have called the basic ritual. Into it are thrust as intrusive elements other rituals, so that it is at times extremely difficult to discern the basic ritual itself. But it is there and remains intact, for as soon as an intrusive ritual is finished it is taken up and continued to the end. Such a ritual as the general shooting or the initiation, or such myths as the origin myth, require hours; and yet as soon as they are over the basic ceremony continues from the point where it has been interrupted.

The east leader rises, speaks, then sits down, and, together with the other members of his band, sings a song (initial song). When this is finished he rises and speaks again, sits down, and commences a song called the minor dancing song. While he and a few others are singing, drumming, and using the gourd rattles, other members of his band, as well as members of the other bands who so desire, and who have bought the privilege, come to his seat and join in the dancing. When this is over he and a few others, either from his own or from some other band, go to the fireplace, where the leader delivers a speech, and begin the major dancing songs, in which the privileged members participate. After this the drum is tied to one of the

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756 privileged members, generally the one who has been drumming,
796 and the circuit is made twice, the leader and his two assistants at the head, followed by the other members of his band. Two stops are made at the west and two at the east end, where songs, called completion songs, are sung. Then the circuit is made four times, all chanting "*Wa-hi-hi*," slowly at first, then faster, the speed of the walking corresponding to that of the chanting. Then with a final strong "*e—ho—ho*" drum and gourds are deposited in front of the next band. All now return to their seats, where before sitting down the leaders deliver a short speech.

This basic ritual is repeated by each band in the manner described. As it is so often broken up by the intrusion of other rituals it will be best to divide it into four parts. These parts are never broken up. Whenever intrusive elements occur, they either precede or follow.

The first part consists of all that takes place between the first speech of the leader and the completion of the initial song. The speech referred to is the one that follows the smoking ritual, which may, on the whole, be reckoned as belonging to the introductory ritual, such as the entrance ritual. The second part consists of all that transpires between the second speech and the conclusion of the minor dancing song. The third part consists of all that happens between the speech at the fireplace and the completion of the major dancing songs. The fourth part includes everything between the completion of the major dancing songs and the last speech the leader makes, after he has passed the drum and gourds to the next band.

The most bewildering intrusion is that which follows the second part. Before the leader and his assistants go to the fireplace the elaborate general shooting ritual takes place. After the specially designated men of each band have been shot, those privileged proceed to the fireplace. Here they sing the shooting songs until the ritual is over. The first set of drummers and gourd rattle holders are often relieved by a second set. It is only when the shooting songs have been completed that the leader and his assistants proceed to the fireplace to begin the third portion of the basic ritual.

Ceremony as a whole: As stated before, there are certain speeches and types of action that can not be fitted into the above description. This is especially true of myths; and these, with the exception of the content of the myth, will now be considered in connection with the description of the entire ritual as related to me by B. The ceremony begins with an account of the manner in which B. was induced to join the society. Upon his acceptance and payment of the required amount of material, the ceremony began.

The first two nights consisted of an informal salutation, two explanatory speeches, and four myths, the latter in no way connected with any part of the medicine dance. The last three myths

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dealt with the legendary account of the origin of the Winnebago medicine dance and its dissemination among the tribes. 756 796

At sunset the leader of the band to which the candidate has applied for admission gathers together the members of his band and all retire to a little lodge near his home, in order to begin the four nights' preparation. What actually takes place during these four nights is not as stereotyped as the other rituals connected with the medicine dance. There is a general rehearsal of songs, speeches, and other elements of the ceremony. The speeches are not actually rehearsals of those to be delivered during the ceremony proper, but refer to the purpose of the medicine dance much in the same way as do some of the speeches in the ceremony proper. A large number of miscellaneous myths are likewise related. The candidate who is present in the lodge of his future ancestor host is likewise instructed in as many things as an uninitiated member is allowed to know. This instruction consists in the teaching of certain myths and types of action.

On the morning after the last of the four nights the candidate is given some sacrifical tobacco and told to go in search of a stone for the sweat bath. He selects a stone that he can carry on his back easily. Before picking it up he pours tobacco on it. As soon as the stone is brought to the lodge of the host it is heated. The candidate is now dispatched for some oak branches, four pieces of oak wood about 2½ feet in length, and some grass. The grass is used for improvised seats; the oak wood for the four construction poles of the sweat lodge. They are placed in the east, north, west, and south points, respectively. It is not permitted to trim the tops of the oak wood. When all the bands have gathered near the medicine lodge and retired to their improvised lodges, the ancestor host and the candidate go to the lodge of the east leader, that is, to the lodge of the band first invited, and greet him by touching his head with their hands.

He answers with "*He—o—o.*" The leader of the first band rises and, accompanied by his two assistants, goes to the sweat lodge. The ancestor host then goes to the lodges of the other bands and greets the leaders in a similar manner. After the leader and assistants of the band last invited have entered the sweat lodge the ancestor host, the candidate, and his assistants enter, and the ceremony is begun.

After the ceremonial salutation and an introductory speech the ancestor host, as the leader of the band giving the medicine dance may now be called, rises, and taking his invitation stick and some tobacco, approaches the leader of each band, and blessing him, thanks him for coming, assuring him at the same time to how great a degree his presence will contribute toward the success of the performance of the ritual. He then returns to his seat. The leaders thank him in turn. Now follow the fire and smoking ritual, which in turn are

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796 followed by twelve speeches of a general and explanatory character. Then comes the "strengthening" ritual, and immediately after two exceedingly long myths, describing the initiation of the first man into the secrets of the lodge, as well as the symbolic meaning of the shooting ritual. All now undress and take a sweat bath. Female candidates are excluded. A number of short speeches follow, and the whole concludes with the exit ritual.

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[534] The drum and gourds are used to accompany the songs. The basic ritual is perhaps present to a certain extent. The writer, however, was not permitted to witness the ritual, and for this reason the procedure seemed somewhat hazy to him.

When the ritual and the sweat baths are over there is a slight pause. The candidate, the ancestor host, and his band enter the medicine lodge, and after taking their seats sing a few songs. When the last song is concluded the other bands enter in the order of their invitation. Now comes the entrance ritual, followed by the smoking ritual. Thereupon the ancestor host rises and delivers the opening speech of the basic ritual. The ancestor host does not go through the entire basic ritual at this time, because he is not permitted to begin the shooting ritual. Soon after the beginning of the basic ritual by the ancestor host, generally after the second speech, gourds and drums are passed to the leader of the east band. This one rises and begins the basic ritual, which he interrupts at the end of the second part, in order to begin the general shooting ritual. When that is finished he continues the third and fourth parts of the basic ritual. Then drum and gourds are passed to the north band. Its leader now in turn begins his basic ritual, but stops after the second part, where the presentation-of-food and the smoking rituals intervene. It is now about midnight, and the feast is given. As soon as the feast is finished and the lodge has been cleared of food and eating utensils, the leader of the north band continues up to the third and fourth parts of the basic ritual. The leaders of the west and south bands perform the basic rituals without any interruption, except, of course, that of the general shooting ritual between the second and third parts. The drum and gourds have now reached the ancestor host, who goes through the third and fourth parts of the basic ritual. There is, however, some doubt as to whether this is always done. Then follows the exit ritual and all pass out to rest for a few hours.

A short time preceding dawn the candidate and the leaders of the east and north bands and the ancestor host, each with two assistants and all other members who are privileged to do so, leave the lodge and walk to the brush where the candidate is to be initiated into the mysteries of the sacred shell and the shooting. Each band must have one or more of its members present at this ritual. When they are near the place set aside for the secret ritual the order of marching,

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which up to this time has been of no consequence, changes into that of single file, the leader of the east band leading. When they have arrived at the proper place, all stop. The east leader now informs those present that he is going to make a road for the candidate symbolical of the path of life, which forms the basis of the sweat bath and medicine dance. Singing, he circles the spot four times. At the end of the fourth circuit he stops and all turn around and face east. The leader of the north band has also the right to go through this ritual, but he does not always do it. Repeating the ceremony is, in all probability, connected with extra expense. All now sit down and the specific rites of the brush ritual begin.

The ancestor host rises and, taking the candidate with him, goes to the leader of the east band and speaks to him. Then he and the candidate return to their seats. The east leader now relates to the candidate a portion of the story of the journey to the land of the spirits and to the lodge of Earthmaker. When this is finished the two leaders teach the candidate how to go through the actions incidental to the shooting, the swallowing of the shell, and the recovery from its effects. When they think that he is sufficiently adept in all these actions they dress him in his new suit, put on a new pair of moccasins, decorate him with finery, and return to the medicine lodge.

The rites generally last until about 8 in the morning, so that when those who have participated in the brush ritual are returning the other members of the medicine dance are also about ready to begin the day ceremony, the principal one of the entire medicine dance. The ancestor host again precedes the other leaders in entering the lodge. Then follows the entrance ritual. During this ritual the drum is struck four times at stated intervals. The smoking ritual now follows. When it is concluded the ancestor host rises to begin the basic ritual, which is interrupted at the end of the second part. Gourds and drum are passed to the east band, whose basic ritual is also interrupted at the end of the second part. Now follows first the initiation of the candidate into the medicine dance and then the general shooting ritual. When the east leader has concluded, drum and gourds are passed to the north band, whose basic ritual is not interrupted as on the preceding day. At the conclusion of the basic ritual of the north band the food-presentation ritual follows, then the smoking ritual, and finally the feast. After the feast the leader of the west band narrates the origin myth of the medicine dance, which is continued by the leader of the south band. The presents are then distributed. After this, the basic ritual is continued by the leader of the west band, followed by that of the south band, and finally the drum and gourds go to the fireplace. The exit ritual now begins, and at about sunset the entire ceremony of the medicine dance is over.

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756 On the whole, it must be said that the main difference between
796 (a) and (b) of Part IV, setting aside the initiation, lies simply in the number of myths told and the greater length of the speeches.

PERSONAL ACCOUNTS OF INITIATION

159 1. J. B.'s account: I was about 13 years and over when they told me
756 that they would make me a member of the medicine dance. I liked it very much. Some people do not like it at all when they are asked to join the medicine dance. I, however, liked it very much. The medicine dance I am going to join, they told me. Very much did my parents desire me to do it. If I wished to live a holy life, that is what I should do, they told me.

Then, when everything was in readiness for my initiation, we moved on to the village where the ceremony was to take place. At night they were to sing at the medicine dance, and they, my relatives, were to join in the singing with them. There they also preached to me. They told me that this rite, the medicine dance, was a good thing. I did not even then think that those who were to initiate me into the medicine dance would kill me when they shot at me, as was the popular belief.

Never had there been such a life, they said, as the one I was going to live, now that I was about to join the medicine dance. Never at any time would I have thought of such a life. Those who were about to make me join the medicine dance told me that the Indians, when they hear of it, will expect me to do great things, that they will speak well of me, and like me. That is all I can now think of concerning that matter.

Now, those who are about to make me join the medicine dance are preparing to show me the shells, and for this purpose they are taking me into the brush. There they, the elders, preached to me. I was not the least bit frightened when, after this, they prepared to shoot me with the sacred shell. Indeed, I was not the least bit worried about it, nor did I think to myself, "I wonder how it is going to be!" Then those who already belonged to the medicine dance, those whom I had dreamed of all this time, shot me. When they shot me I didn't die. That thought was in my mind; but when they shot me, as a matter of fact, I didn't even lose consciousness. Almost immediately I knew how to do it (i. e., to shoot). They liked it very much. Everything they told me to do I did immediately, nor was I backward about anything. The shaman liked it. Never had anyone learned as quickly as I had, they were saying. "That augurs well for him," they say. I thought then that the medicine dance was true.

When we returned from the brush I entered the lodge. Not in any direction did I look, not once did I speak, not once did I move around, not once did I change my position. Just as they told me

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159 he never did it ever again. *Herecgunine* lived on earth from that
756 time on, and it is said that he also created things. Indeed, it is said
881 that he was almost the equal of the Earthmaker. He made the people
868 very miserable. Then Earthmaker sent four of his sons (to save the
773 people). Hare alone, of all the four, accomplished what he had been sent out for. All the rest failed. Hare obtained life for the people upon this earth.

Then the man told how the medicine lodge had been founded; how all the spirits upon the earth and all those under the earth and all those above the earth gathered together. They brought life with them. Then the medicine bags began to come. First came the eagle. He came from above. Next came the hawk, and then the squirrel, etc. The otter was the last one. Then the old man stopped talking to me and another person began to admonish me. He told me how I was to conduct myself. Then he spoke to me of the medicine-lodge road (i. e., of life) and what happens after life.

159 The first thing that I would meet on the road would be bad birds
756 making a lot of noise. "Do not look at them," he told me. They
868 would let fly at me bad-smelling saliva and phlegm, but I was not
775 to turn around, he said. Then the road would become thickly covered with thorn bushes. It would seem almost impossible to untangle them. I was, however, not to pay any attention to them, he told me. On the road, fires would send their sparks toward me, but I was to pay no attention to them. After a while I would lose one of my relatives, but I was to keep right on. I was not to get angry nor to give up, and after a while the road would become thickly covered with poplars growing on each side. Then the hair on my temples would become gray. This is what would happen to me, he told me, if I paid close attention to this ceremony. After a while it would become foggy—i. e., my eyesight would grow dim. Then I would come to a hill, one of four hills. When I came to the last hill there I would see red cedar trees. This is what would happen to me if I paid close attention to this ceremony, he told me. My soul would return to Earthmaker and I would then be allowed to come back to this earth if I wanted to.

159 Then they gave me the object with which they shot themselves
756 the shell. They shot me. After that they made me try to do it,
796 and when I was able to shoot well, we all came back. It was now
881 daylight. Now they put clothes on themselves and arose. Those who were initiating me then spread upon the ground the things which had been brought. Then the leader spoke. He told me that he would put me on the medicine-dance road. Then they sat me down there and shot me. Then the clothes that I had on were taken off and I was given other clothes. I was now told that I was standing on the medicine-dance road. After that they danced all day. In the evening they stopped. Now this is what I did; this is all I can say. I greet you, my friends.

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# CHAPTER XV

## MISCELLANEOUS DANCES

### The Hok'ixe're Dance.

Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan: This is the way in which people used to bring scalps to one another. When a man returns from the warpath with a scalp he leaves it outside of the village and the warriors run out with their clubs and strike it and count coup (just as on the battlefield). As they count coup they call out their names. Then they are told what ceremonial dress they are to wear. They then send a messenger to the person to whom the scalp is to be presented to tell him to select a pole (for the victory dance). He thanks them and says, "It is good." Then the warriors who are returning arrange themselves in a circle around this pole and dance around it. He who has obtained the first war honor leads. 727 [555]

The one to whom they present the scalp thanks the spirits who are in control of war powers and then raising his hand prays to the Sun. Then he sings a song and when that is finished sits down, beats the drum, and sings a dancing song, while the others dance. [782]

Then the owner of the scalp, turning toward the spirits who are in control of war, gives the victory whoop four times. After each whoop all the other people in the lodge strike their mouths with their hands and yell. After the victory whoops have been given all dance the victory dance. [201]

Then the man who has received the scalp lets his sisters, his aunts, and his nieces select the war presents which are always bestowed upon them. With these tied around their necks they dance. Toward evening they finish the victory dance and then all enter the (dancing) lodge. He to whom the scalp is given is the host and he sits down first. Then comes the donor and then in a row the four who have counted coup. [43]

The ceremony begins with songs sung by the host. He first sings two war-bundle songs (*waruza'p na"wa"*) and then two night songs (*ha"ke' na"wa"*). When these are finished the meal is eaten. Before eating, all the animal heads are placed in front of the donor of the scalp and he selects those men with whom he wishes to share them. 727 796

Then the host rises and says, "War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you all. Our warrior (the donor) will eat together with

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727 our grandfather, the scalp, who is standing in the center of the lodge.
796 Place a plate for the scalp and bring it to that brave man." Then the brave warriors eat the head, and when that is finished the servants distribute meat and food to those present who have not taken part in the head eating. While they are eating the host blows on
[534] his flute and sings some songs until the eating is over. Then he rises and speaks again:

727 "All you who are present to give us counsel and who sit here in
796 the place of others, I greet you. For the warriors who would counsel
537 with us repeatedly and for the sacred speeches of our fathers do we ask. In this ceremony to-day we will select as many war-bundle owners as are present to eat together with our grandfather, who is standing in the center of our lodge (the scalp). And if they select me to eat with the scalp, poor and pitiable as I am, it would be good.

"Should sickness suddenly come upon a village all those who are sick may take part in this ceremony. For our grandfather, who stands in the middle of the lodge, is no weakling, and when they take hold of him they are obtaining supernatural powers, it is said. We are trying to trample upon the soul (*wanagzi'rak*) (of the scalp). If we trample upon it, all the goods of life that were still coming to him when he was killed will be transferred to us. As many as are going to take part in this dance to-night should try to make the soul of our grandfather (the scalp) more amenable to our prayers. So all you women and men see to it that you dance with all your strength. Do not take this matter lightly, for we obtain life thereby, we were told.

"Councilors of the different clans who are seated here with us, I greet you all."

727 Then they sang *hak'ixe're* songs and danced the *hak'ixe're* dance.
796 All night they danced. They did not stop for a moment. Thus they tried to conquer the soul of their grandfather (scalp). They danced till early in the morning and then just as the sun appeared they carried the drum outside of the lodge to the victory post and danced the victory dance. As soon as the sun was high in the heavens they stopped. Then they went to sleep.

*The second day.*—Just before the sun was setting they all came and danced the victory dance again. Then the host got ready to furnish the meal again. All his female relatives who had received presents took charge of the preparation of the food, which the servants had previously obtained. As soon as the victory dance was over they entered the dancing lodge. Then the host spoke, and when he finished he sang four songs, and as soon as these were finished they all got ready to eat. Then the host said that he would give the heads of the animals to the donor and that the latter might select those warriors whom he wished to have as partners in the

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head eating. Then the donor selected his partners. The host then began to sing. The scalp was taken down from the post and placed in a dish near the door. The soul of the scalp still remained within it, so they tried again to make it less powerful and to conquer it, for they knew that if they succeeded in conquering it all the life that was still coming to the possessor of the scalp at his death would be obtained for themselves. Then the dancers and the feasters, indeed all who had counted coup, tried to obtain some of the dead enemy's residuary life. All tried to add some new life to their own. 721 796 [774]

When the meal was over, then the host offered tobacco to the spirits, and all those present prayed for war to the spirits to whom offerings had been made. They asked that if it be their good fortune to kill a number of people on the warpath, when they returned home they would be as thankful as they are now. All those warriors who were taking part in this dance liked it very much. [782]

Then the host struck the drum that had been placed in front of him and sang. When he finished, he had the drum placed in front of the man who had counted first coup. Then this man sang and the drum was passed to the next man, and so on until each man had sung. After all had sung and spoken the men and women together danced around the lodge. The woman who had received the presents led the dance, carrying the scalp. The people believed that the scalp was dancing with them. All night they danced the *hok'-ize're* dance without resting at any time, and when the sun appeared they took the drum outside to the post and danced the victory dance. Then when the sun was high in the heavens they stopped and went to sleep. In the evening when the sun was low they danced the victory dance again, and then when it was pretty dark, singing slow songs, they slowly entered the lodge again. Then they made a circuit of the lodge and placed the drum in the middle of the lodge.

The feast was now ready. All that they were to eat—deer, bear, dog were placed in front of the feasters. Food was brought to the donor and all those who were sitting together with him, as well as all those who had counted coup and all the women who had received presents. Head eating is holy, and if one eats part of the head it is thought that it will help him greatly. [263] [264]

Then the host rose and spoke as follows:

"The servants who are carrying the food around here will probably not have enough to go around, but you must remember that not the men but the women are furnishing the food. Although it is little, I hope you will eat it. We will now sing four songs." Then he sang two war-bundle songs and two night songs. Before they ate the host rose and spoke, "This is a small feast and we will try to give food to our grandfather (some spirit) who is in charge of this

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727 ceremony. All who are going to partake in the head eating will
●796 sit together with the donor. A warrior will eat together with the scalp. This is all I have to say."

Then the feasters who were selected to take part in the head eating went toward the warrior and ate with him. This warrior (the donor) held a long stick in his hands with which he danced, after he had partaken of the head together with his friends. After he had finished dancing, he walked to the center of the lodge and stuck the stick in the ground and (sat there), eating alone with the scalp. Then all the feasters ate again, and when they were finished the host sang a number of songs and passed (the drum) to the donor, who sang whatever songs he desired; either war-bundle songs, night songs, buffalo songs, or sore-eye dance songs. When the songs were over, all danced. Then the drum was passed to the one who had counted coup first and he spoke as follows:

"The spirits blessed our grandfather and taught him many speeches for this occasion. These we will try to repeat to-day. Even if we do not repeat them correctly, the Night Spirits will not take such a mistake amiss, we were told. Indeed, if I only knew one thing (a song or a speech) they would bless me. We wish to trample upon the soul of our friend (the scalp) and if you, my friends, do the same and repeat the holy speeches of your grandfathers, we will surely accomplish our purpose. Life we wish to obtain, so let us start our songs. That is what I wanted to tell you. Now let us beat the drum and sing. I greet you all."

Then the drum and tobacco were taken to the one who had counted coup second. He spoke as follows:

"The songs and speeches that my grandfather used, those I, too, will use. I, too, desire to trample upon the soul of our friend (the scalp). Life I desire, and I will therefore start up some songs. I can not do what my ancestors did, but I will do the little I know. I greet you all."

Then the drum and tobacco were passed to the one who had counted coup third, and he spoke as follows:

"What our grandfather said, that I am trying to say now. I do not know any songs or speeches, however. I did not listen to what my parents told me, so now when I might have asked the spirits for many things, I can not do it. I do not know what to say and my eyes fill with tears at my discomfiture. But I have myself to blame for it. Now I will start up some songs. I greet you all."

Then they brought the drum to the one who had been fourth to count coup and placed tobacco in his hands. Then he spoke as follows:

"It is good. Those in the east have given me tobacco and I will now offer it to the spirits in their behalf. You have helped to trample

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upon the soul of our friend (the scalp) and you have tried to gain 727
additional life. I also desire life. Our ancestors were equal to the 796
spirits in their power and they asked each other to help one another in obtaining life. I will try to ask for that which you have asked. I greet you all."

Then all the war-bundle owners in the lodge greeted each other, and the drum was passed around until every one in the lodge had sung. Then they danced the *hok'ize're* dance until early dawn and when the sun was about to appear they took the drum to the post and danced the victory dance until the sun was high in the heavens. Then they went to sleep. All day they slept, and toward evening of the fourth night, when the sun was low, they began the victory dance again. When it was dark they entered the lodge and placed the drum in the center. Then the attendants put dog meat in the [263]
kettles. When all was in readiness and all the feasters had entered the lodge the host offered tobacco to the spirits for whom food was being prepared and spoke as follows:

"After we have sung four songs the meal will be ready to be served. The attendants, it is true, have not cooked very much and it will doubtless not be enough for all, but I think that there will be a little portion for every one. When I have finished the four songs, then the donor for whom this ceremony is being given will select the people who are to eat with him. Then the attendants will distribute the portions of meat, in addition to the heads, and then we will all start to eat."

Then all ate. The donor after first eating with his friends ate alone with the scalp. Then some of the men arose and gave thanks. Finally the host rose again and said, "Whatever little it was in my power to do, I tried to do. All have tried to help me. It is really good. I am really unable to say what I wanted, but it is good. As the drum passes around, may it be of some help to every one."

Then the drum is passed to the one who had first counted coup. He sings and then it is passed to the other three who counted coup, who likewise sing. From them it is passed to all the other people in the lodge who have not sung yet. Then all dance the *hok'ize're* dance and toward dawn the drum is taken outside to the post and the victory dance is given. If the donor had lost a child the others [765]
now wipe off his tears and tell him not to cry any more; and they make the mourner feel joyful again. When it became (full) daylight they danced the victory dance and walked four times around the pole. Then they went to the grave of the child that had died and danced the victory dance there and stuck the scalp in the ground, for the soul of the child. There it would wither and the father would feel happy. This is the end.

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## The Soldier's Dance

796 614 Informant, member of the Bear or Soldier clan:* The object of performing the soldier dance (fig. 37) is to strengthen the members of the Bear clan. They dance with the emblem of the Bear clan, the whittled stick (*namayzi'nizini*), in their hands. The dance is also given whenever a council in which tribal affairs are discussed is held. On such an occasion the men take their drums to the council lodge and dance there, followed by the women.

Fig. 37.—Plan of Soldiers' dance. a, Leader. b, Assistant.

The principal leader i. e., the chief of the Bear clan (*ma'nanp'e ha'ygera*) appoints a person who is in charge of the ceremony (*ma'nanp'e hak'o'hidak'ôno'na*).

The ceremony begins with the chief of the clan marching around the village with some followers and stopping here and there to dance and give the soldier whoop. The members of the Bear clan are supposed to be strengthened by the blessings of all the animals who have claws. Should anyone be sick in the village, this strength of theirs would be sufficient to cure them. Then they return to their lodge and are put in control of the entire village.

As soon as the time for the dance is at hand the soldiers give their w[illegible] and an old warrior is selected to tell of his war exploits. He always makes it a point to tell of some exploit that seemed at first foolhardy—how he tried to do something that generally meant death, but how he succeeded by reason of his fearlessness. It is with such a heart, he tells them, that they must dance the soldier's dance. Then they all dance and sing. When they are finished, they let the women dance.

* Throughout this work soldier is used to denote something quite different from the word warrior. The Soldier clan is the Bear clan, and the Warrior clan is the Hawk or the War-people clan.

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The soldier dance is a hop up and down with both feet and in no particular order, anywhere around the singers. It is held in the open air. 796 614 [535]

SOLDIER DANCE SONGS

I 796
Manaap'e'ra na"ji"winA. 614
Soldiers get up.

II 533
Wapa"nija" teexigi'ji na"ji"a"ijA. 539
Something difficult get ready.
(I. e., whenever there is anything difficult to do you must get ready.)

III
Manaap'e'ra newine'RA" ha'nagiredra.
Soldiers I am he whom they spoke of.

IV
Manaap'e'ra hi'ja" wine'RA".
Soldier one I am.
(I. e., I am a soldier, and if there is anything to do I'll do it.)

## Ceremony of Uangeru

(BEGGING CEREMONY)

A dummy is made of grass and dressed with whatever objects the maker wants to get. If he wants a horse he puts a bridle crosswise around the body of the dummy; if he wants clothes, he dresses him up in Indian clothes. Then the man places this dummy anywhere near a gathering, or where he expects a gathering to take place. He sits near it. As soon as any warrior sees the dummy he goes over to it and either kicks or strikes the man who made it, giving him at the same time one of the objects he wanted. Any person may do the same. They may not stop kicking the man until some warrior who had at some time or another cut up an enemy in war cuts up the dummy. Then all stop, and as soon as his bruises permitted him, the man would get up and pick up the gifts brought to him. 735 [532]

## Feast to Buffalo Tail

A grandfather of mine called Cokeboka fasted at Neceda, Wis. There he was blessed by a young buffalo bull calf belonging to a herd. The calf said, as the herd went by, "Father, keep going in the road; mother, keep going in the road." He meant a warpath instead of the road they were going in. The man was to go on a warpath, from which he would return victorious. 787

They used to make offerings to this tail alone, apart from the war bundle. The braided grass was to be used for smoking. The feast is given in spring after the grass grows up, and in midwinter. Ground corn is boiled in making the feast. [782] [778] 527

## Kikre Waci and Tcebokona"k Dances

There is a pleasure dance called *kikre waci* and a dance called *tcebokona"k* (wearing buffalo headdresses). The latter is of Sioux origin. 535 177

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# CHAPTER XVI

## THE PEYOTE CULT

### General Description

794 Owing to the great importance of one of the modern cults found among the Winnebago, the so-called Mescal or Peyote, it will be discussed here in some detail. Not only is this cult of great prominence in the life of the modern Winnebago, but as its inception and progress can be followed out in considerable detail it is of great significance for the study of their religion.

[346] The ceremony is generally held in a building called by the Peyote worshipers a church, although it frequently takes place in the open also. In the early days of its organization as many meetings as possible were held. In 1910 there was a tendency to restrict the number and to have them generally take place on Saturday night. In 1913, after the first enthusiasm of the new converts had died out, the author was informed that the meetings were rarely held more than once a week. Around Christmas and beginning with July a series of meetings was held, lasting from a week to 10 days, as a rule. The Christmas meetings were not prominent in 1910, but the July ones seem to have been held from the beginning. They represent, of course, merely a substitution for the older pagan ceremonies and games that were held about that time.

796 In the early days the ceremony was opened by a prayer from the
794 founder, and this was followed by an introductory speech. Thereupon the leader sang a Peyote song, to the accompaniment of a drum.
[533] Then another speech was delivered, and when it was finished the drum and other regalia were passed to the man to the right. This man, in turn, delivered a speech and sang a song, and when he was finished, passed the regalia to the third man, who subsequently passed it to the fourth one. The fourth man, when he was finished, returned it to the leader. In this way the regalia passed from one person to another throughout the night. It not infrequently happens that one of these four gets tired and gives up his place temporarily to some other member of the cult. At intervals they stopped to eat
[276] or drink peyote. At about midnight the peyote, as a rule, begins to affect some people. These generally arise and deliver self-accusatory
[553] speeches, and make more or less formal confessions, after which they go around shaking hands with everyone and asking forgiveness.

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In 1910 the cult already had a rather definite organization. There was, at every performance, one leader (pl. 54, *a*) and four principal participants. John Rave (pls. 5, *b*; 55, *b*), the Winnebago who introduced the peyote, was always the leader whenever he was present. On other occasions leadership devolved upon some older member. The four other principal participants changed from meeting to meeting, although there was a tendency to ask certain individuals whenever it was possible. The ritualistic unit, in short, is a very definite one, consisting of a number of speeches and songs and in the passing of the regalia from one to the other of the four participants.

During the early hours of the evening, before the peyote has begun to have any appreciable effect, a number of apparently intrusive features are found. These, for the most part, consist of speeches by people in the audience and the reading and explanation of parts of the Bible. After the peyote has begun to have an appreciable effect, however, the ceremony consists exclusively of a repetition of the ritualistic unit and confessions.

There is an initiation consisting of a baptism, always performed by John Rave. It is of a very simple nature. Rave dips his fingers in a peyote infusion and then passes them over the forehead of the new member, muttering at the same time the following prayer:

"God, his holiness."

This is what the Winnebago words mean, although some of the younger members who have been strongly permeated with Christian teachings translate the prayer into, "God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

Whenever the ceremony is performed in the open a fireplace in the shape of a horseshoe is made. At one end of this fireplace is placed a very small mound of earth, called by Rave "Mount Sinai," and in front of this a cross is traced in the earth. Upon the small earth mound are placed the two "chief" peyote, the Bible and the staff. The latter, called by Rave the shepherd's crook, is always covered with beadwork, and generally has a number of evenly cut tufts of deer hair on the end and at intervals along its length. The sacred peyote, known as *hupka* (i. e., "chief") are exceptionally large and beautiful specimens. They are regarded by a number of people, certainly by Rave, with undisguised veneration.

In addition to the above, there is found a large eagle feather fan, a small drum, and a peculiar small type of rattle. To my knowledge, this type was unknown among the Winnebago before its introduction by the peyote eaters.

### John Rave's Account of the Peyote Cult and of His Conversion

During 1893-94 I was in Oklahoma with peyote eaters.

In the middle of the night we were to eat peyote. We ate it and I also did. It was the middle of the night when I got frightened, for

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159 Now I know that it was because the evil spirit possessed me that I felt that
755 way. I was suffering from a disease. I even desired to kill myself;
794 I did not care to live. That feeling, too, was caused by this evil
276 spirit living within me. Then I ate this medicine and everything
[753] changed. The brother and sister I wanted to kill before I became attached to and I wanted them to live. The medicine had accomplished this.

## O. L.'s Description of the Peyote Cult

(Pl. 33, c)

159 John Rave belongs to the Bear clan, the members of which had
614 the functions of what might be called sergeants-at-arms. He and
[692 his ancestors used to be in charge of the *manupeti* (*i. e.*, the ser-
68] geants-at-arms lodge), to which all malefactors would be brought for punishment.

159 Rave, although he belonged to this highly respected class of people,
794 was a bad man. He roamed from place to place. He has participated in all the ceremonies of the Winnebago, the medicine dance alone excepted. He had been married many times. Up to 1901 he was a heavy drinker. In that year he went to Oklahoma and while there ate the peyote. He then returned to the Winnebago and tried to introduce it among them, but none with the exception of a few
[11] relatives would have anything to do with it. This did not in any way discourage him, however, and he continued using the peyote, now and then getting a few converts.

159 There was not very much religion connected with it in the beginning
794 and the reason people drank it was on account of the peculiar effects
177 it had upon them. Nevertheless these Peyote people preached good things and gradually lost all desire for intoxicating drinks or for participating in the old Winnebago ceremonies. Then Rave began to do away with the old Indian customs. About four or five years ago the membership in the Peyote religion began to increase, for many people now noticed that those connected with the Peyote cult were the only people in the tribe leading a Christian life.

At this time the Bible was introduced by a young man named Albert Hensley (pls. 8, *d*; 9, *d*). He, too, had been a bad person, although he had been educated at Carlisle. Like Rave, he was a heavy drinker and fond of wandering.

During the last few years our members have increased so fast that now almost half the tribe belong to our religion. We all make efforts to lead a Christian life and we are succeeding very well.

794 We use the New Testament, especially the Revelations.

● 796 Our meetings take place at any time. We gather together in the
159 evening, and as soon as everything is in readiness the leader arises
[782] and offers a prayer called, "Turning themselves over to the care of the Trinity."

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the Trinity." Then all sit down and the leader makes the regular announcements. The peyote is then passed around, either in the dry condition or steeped. The leader thereupon starts the singing. These are some of the songs: 794 796 159 [276]

1. Ask God for life and he will give it to us.
2. God created us so pray to him. [533]
3. To the home of Jesus we are going, so pray to him.
4. Come ye to the road of the Son of God; come ye to the road.

Then Albert Hensley calls upon 12 educated members to translate and interpret certain portions of the Bible for the nonreading members. He arranges with the leader to have the singing stop at certain places so that some of these young men can speak. When these are finished, other individuals are called upon to give testimony. Hensley always talks and so does Rave. 794 177 796 159

John Rave baptizes by dipping his hand in a diluted infusion of peyote and rubbing it across the forehead of a new member, saying, "I baptize thee in the name of God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which is called God's Holiness." [798]

The peyote eaters wanted to get baptized and unite with the church in Winnebago, but the clergyman in charge would not permit them, so they went and did their own baptizing through their leader, John Rave, who, though he is not educated, is full of real intelligence and religion.

If a person who is truly repentant eats peyote for the first time, he does not suffer at all from its effects. But if an individual is bullheaded, does not believe in its virtue, he is likely to suffer a good deal. This I know from my own experience. After eating peyote I grasped the meaning of the Bible, which before had been meaningless to me. 794 276 159

If a person eats peyote and does not repent openly, he has a guilty conscience, which leaves him as soon as the public repentance has been made. [713]

Old men and women who had been brought up to worship animals and all kinds of spirits have cast them all away and in many instances burned their idols, not because they were told to do so but because they felt that way.

Whenever at our meetings a person wishes to pray, he does so; when he wishes to cry, he does so. Indeed, we show no timidity about worshiping God in the right way. In the Bible one often reads of Christ casting out the devils and of the people shouting, etc. So does the peyote act on us in the beginning, although afterwards its effects abate.

If a peyote eater relapses into his old way of living, then the peyote causes him great suffering.

At first our meetings were started without any rule laid down by the Bible, but afterwards we found a very good reason for holding [177]

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Therefore I sat inside the meeting place with them. One man 159
acted as leader. We were to do whatever he ordered. The regalia 794
were placed before him. I wanted to sit in some place on the side 276
because I thought I might get to crying like the others. I felt 796
ashamed of myself.

Then the leader arose and talked. He said that this was an affair of Earthmaker's (God's), and that he (the leader) could do nothing on his own initiative; that Earthmaker (God) was going to conduct the ceremony. Then he said that the medicine (peyote) was holy and that he would turn us all over to it; that he had turned himself over to it and wished now to turn all of us over to it. He said further, "I am a very pitiable (figure) in this ceremony, so when you pray to Earthmaker, pray also for me. Now let us all rise and pray to Earthmaker (God)." We all rose. Then he prayed. He prayed for the [782]
sick, and he prayed for those who did not yet know Earthmaker. He said that they were to be pitied. When he had finished we sat down. Then the peyote was passed around. They gave me five. My brother-in-law said to me, "If you speak to this medicine (peyote), it will give you whatever you ask of it. Then you must pray to Earthmaker, and then you must eat the medicine." However, I ate them (the peyote) immediately, for I did not know what to ask for and I did not know what to say in a prayer to Earthmaker (God). So I ate the peyote just as they were. They were very bitter and had a taste difficult to describe. I wondered what would happen to me. After a while I was given five more and I also ate them. They tasted rather bitter. Now I was very quiet. The peyote rather weakened me. Then I listened very attentively to the singing. I liked it very much. I felt as though I were partly asleep. I felt different from (my normal self), but when I (looked around) and examined myself, I saw nothing wrong about myself. However, I felt different from (my normal self). Before this I used to dislike the songs. Now I liked the leader's singing very much. I liked to listen to him.

They were all sitting very quietly. They were doing nothing except singing. Each man sang four songs and then passed the regalia to the next one. (Each one) held a stick and an eagle's tail feather in one hand and a small gourd rattle, which they used to shake while singing, in the other. One of (those) present used to do the drumming. Thus objects would pass around until they came back to the leader, who would then sing four songs. When these were finished, he would place the various (things) on the ground, rise, and pray to Earthmaker (God). Then he called upon one or two to speak. They said that Earthmaker (God) was good and that the peyote was good, and that whosoever ate this medicine (peyote) would be able to free himself from the bad spirit (the devil); for they said that

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159 Earthmaker forbids us to commit sins. When this was over they
794 sang again.

● 796 After midnight, every once in a while (I heard) someone cry. In
276 some cases they would go up to the leader and talk with him. He would stand up and pray with them. They told me what they were saying. They said that they were asking (people) to pray for them, as they were sorry for their sins and that they might be prevented from committing them again. That is what they were saying. They cried very loudly. I was rather frightened. (I noticed also) that when I closed my eyes and sat still, I began to see strange things. I did not get sleepy in the least. Thus the light (of morning) came upon me. In the morning, as the sun rose, they stopped. They all got up and prayed to Earthmaker (God) and then they stopped.

159 During the daytime I did not get sleepy in the least. My actions
276 were a little different (from my usual ones). Then they said, "To-
794 night they are going to have another meeting. Let us go over. They say that is the best (thing) to do and thus you can learn it (the ceremony) right away. It is said that their spirits wander
[774] over all the earth and the heavens also. All this you will learn and see," they said. "At times they die and remain dead all night and all day. When in this condition they sometimes see Earthmaker (God), it is said." One would also be able to see where the bad spirit lived, it was said.

So we went there again. I doubted all this. I thought that what they were saying was untrue. However, I went along anyhow. When we got there, I had already eaten some peyote, for I had taken three during the day. Now near the peyote meeting an (Indian) feast was being given and I went there instead. When I reached the place, I saw a long lodge. The noise was terrific. They were beating an enormous drum. The sound almost raised me in the air, so (pleasurably) loud did it sound to me. Not so (pleasurable) had things appeared at those affairs (peyote meetings) that I had lately been attending. There I danced all night and I flirted with the women. About day I left and when I got back the peyote meeting was still going on. When I got back they told me to sit down at a certain place. They treated me very kindly. There I again ate peyote. I heard that they were going to have another meeting near by on the evening of the same day. We continued eating peyote the whole day at the place where we were staying. We were staying at the house of one of my relatives. Some of the boys there taught me a few songs. "Say, when you learn how to sing, you will be the best singer, for you are a good singer as it is. You have a good voice," they said to me. I thought so myself.

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JESSE CLAY'S ACCOUNT OF THE ARAPAHO MANNER OF GIVING THE PEYOTE CEREMONY WHICH HE INTRODUCED AMONG THE WINNEBAGO IN 1912

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I went to Oklahoma once as the guest of an Arapaho Indian. While there I witnessed the Arapaho manner of holding a peyote meeting and was very much impressed with it. A year later this Arapaho came to visit me in Winnebago, and while he was with us a few of my friends urged me to hold the peyote ceremony according to the Arapaho method. I held several meetings at which my Arapaho friend led.

Now these are the instructions that Arapaho Bull gave me.

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The person giving the ceremony must get up at sunrise so that he can tell exactly where the sun is going to rise. He must place a stick and make the drawing of a cross on the earth just in that direction from which the sun is about to rise. He does this in order to get the correct location for the tipi and the fireplace. Then he marks a circle around the cross. Then he makes a diagonal mark through the center of the circle, thus making the circle resemble a star. The circle is the outline of the tipi. Then another diagonal mark is made so that the drawing resembles, to their minds, a peyote. A fireplace which resembles a half-moon is placed right in the center of the lodge. After that the tipi poles are raised, 12 in number. Finally the whole is inclosed in canvas. When finished it is supposed to represent the earth. It is then ready to be entered. Special preparations are made for entering. The drummer with his drum and the leader and those behind him with all their regalia march up to the door. Before these enter, however, an attendant, called the fireman, spreads sage all over the lodge, from the seat of the leader to the door and back again. Then he starts a fire, always placing the left fire sticks first. When they are all thus lined up outside of the door the leader offers a prayer.

"May the Creator be with us when we enter this lodge."

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The leader now enters and, proceeding along the left side of the lodge, marches to his seat, and there he stands with his drum until the lodge is filled. After all have entered they sit down. Then the fireman who sits to the right rekindles the fire. The leader now spreads out his articles—a gourd, a drumstick, a staff, and the feathers. He then takes 12 sage leaves and lays them out in the form of a star, first making a cross-shaped object and then filling this into the desired form. On top he places the peyote, and, leaning against that, he places a flute made of an eagle bone, the mouth of the flute resting against the peyote. Then he puts an otter-skin cap at the foot of the flute. After a while the leader takes the peyote he is going to use in one hand and some cedar needles in the other,

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794 and, going to his seat, where all the other objects are spread out, he
796 sits down and prays. He prays that all the participants may be
strengthened by the prospective meeting. He offers up thanks for
276 the peyote and prays that all may be in the proper spirit that night.
177 Then he throws the needles in the fire and holds the peyote over the smoke of the cedar. When this has been finished he returns to his seat, eats one peyote, and gives one to the drummer. After they have eaten these he passes four peyote in turn to those on his left until the peyote comes to the one sitting nearest the door. Four peyote are given to the one nearest the door that he, in turn, may pass them to those on the other side of the door and so on until the leader is reached again. Before the peyote is eaten, the leader gets up and talks. He instructs the people as to the nature of the meeting and tells them that those who wish to go out must do so after the midnight water is drunk and not until after the leader returns from outside. No one is to go out while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote. He then speaks of the special prayers that are to be offered up and asks them to offer general prayers for all nonmembers and even for their enemies. After that the leader again offers up a prayer and smokes all the objects he had spread before his seat. Then the songs are to start, all, however, first eating peyote.

(When the fire first starts and thereafter, throughout the night, it is supposed to represent light, just as God said, "Let there be light.")

[533] The first song is always the same and is called the starting song. Those that follow are peyote songs. When he has finished these songs he passes the singing staff to the right of the drummer. When this one has finished the staff is returned to the leader, who passes it on to the left, and then in rotation it goes to the one sitting near the door. The drum, when it is handed on, is always passed under the staff. The fire is always replenished, but toward midnight special care is taken in this regard and the coals are placed in the shape of a crescent between the fire and the earth crescent, and the fireman sweeps first around the left and then around the right side. Then exactly at midnight the leader calls for his singing staff and his drum, no matter where they happen to be, and, taking the singing
[533] staff and sending the drum to the drummer, he blows his flute and sings. The song he sings then is called the midnight song. After that three peyote songs are sung, it making no difference which they are. As the leader starts his midnight song the fireman takes up his position at the doorway opposite the fireplace and the leader. When the second song is started the fireman turns around to the right and goes out and gets water and soon comes back with it.
[788] When he reenters he makes the figure of a cross on the ground where he stood just before he left and places water on it. Then he squats down on his knees.

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When the leader stops singing he walks to the crescent by the fireplace and begins praying again. After the prayer he burns some more cedar needles. The reason for drinking water at midnight is because Christ was born at midnight and because of the good tidings that he brought to the earth, for water is one of the best things in life and Christ is the savior of mankind. After the leader has made his prayer and the cedar is burned, then the fireman reaches over toward the smoke and makes a motion with his body as if he were drawing the smoke over himself. He then takes the water and brings it over to the leader. The leader takes a bunch of feathers and, dipping it into the water, sprinkles it on the peyote, then on the fire, on the sage, and finally all over the lodge, beginning with the doorway and then going around. The water is then drunk in a regular order, first by the leader, then by the drummer, and then by all the other people. After all these things have been done the leader returns the staff to the man from whom he had taken it at midnight. As soon as this man starts the singing again the leader takes his flute and goes outside. He goes toward the east for a short distance, and there he sits down and offers up a prayer for the people. Then he blows his flute, and going to the south of the lodge repeats the same procedure. This is also repeated for the west and the north. When the singing within the lodge has stopped, he returns and takes his seat. 794 796 177

The purpose of going to the four directions and blowing the flute is to announce the birth of Christ to all the world.

After the leader has reentered the singing continues as before. At daybreak the fireman fixes the fire in the same way as at midnight. The staff, drum, etc., is now passed to the leader, who as soon as he has received everything takes his flute and blows on it. Before doing this, however, he puts on his otter-skin cap. The purpose of blowing the flute just at that time is to represent the trumpet of the Day of Judgment, when Christ will appear wearing His crown in all glory. The putting on of the otter-skin cap represents the crown.

The song used on this occasion is called the water song. After the first song is finished the fireman opens the door and a woman enters carrying water, which she pours over the cross which the fireman had sprinkled at midnight. The fireman then spreads something for her to sit on, between the water and the door. [533]

When the leader has finished his four songs, he lays down his staff, etc., and, taking some cedar needles, offers up a prayer of thanks, and as he finishes he throws the cedar into the fire and sits down while the woman gathers the smoke toward her in the same way as the fireman had done on the previous night. Then the leader takes a drinking cup and sends it toward the woman. The

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794 fireman now rises and pours water on the impressions he had made
796 when drawing the cross on the earth, and the woman drinks some
177 water from the cup, which she then returns to the leader. The water is then returned to her and she passes it around the lodge, beginning at the left. When it reaches the leader again, he takes out the same cup which he had handed to the woman and drinks out of it. The water, however, is passed on until it reaches the door. The fireman would then take it and bring it back to where it had been placed when first brought in. The woman rises and goes around the fireplace from left to right, taking the water with her. Finally the leader takes his singing staff and sings four songs. When these songs are finished, the woman places some food just outside the door. The fireman goes outside and brings in this food, placing it in a line between the fire and the door. Four things are brought in—water, [262] corn with sweetened water, fruit, and meat. When the food is brought in the leader puts away all the objects he had spread out before him, which the fireman takes out of the lodge. The leader then offers up a prayer of thanks and says grace. The four kinds of food are passed around the lodge, beginning with the entrance, from left to right. After they are returned they are placed in line again, only in the reverse order from that used before. The fireman then takes them outside. While the people are eating the door remains open.

(During the evening the leader represents the first created man, the woman dressed up is the New Jerusalem, the bride waiting for the bridegroom. The cup used by the leader and the woman is supposed to symbolize the fact that they are to become one; the water represents the God's gift, His Holiness. The corn represents the feast to be partaken of on the Day of Judgment and the fruit represents the fruit of the tree of life. The meat represents the message of Christ and those who accept it will be saved.)[4]

794 The above descriptions represent the Peyote cult as it was given between 1908 and 1913. It is quite clear that a definite organization exists consisting of a unit of five positions occupied by the leader and four helpers. No specific requirements, with the exception, of course, of that of being a peyote eater, are associated with the right to occupy these positions.

No specialized features have become associated with the positions of the four helpers. As indicated before, John Rave is always the leader when he is present, but the position of leadership can be delegated to others. This is always of a temporary nature. It may be significant to note that whenever delegated the leadership is always delegated to men who have been among the first of the converts, outside of Rave's immediate family, and who were leaders in the old

[4] J. C.'s second code here.

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has done so well. The members of the clan have been sincerely worshiping the spirits. He who made the war-bundle ritual was like a spirit in power and what he told them to do they are doing in every detail. It is a good work that they are doing. Sufficient food they are offering to those who are in control of war powers that they might easily be cognizant of it. They have placed plenty of tobacco and different offerings of buckskin within their reach. A pleasing white buckskin they have strung out and offered to you; a pleasing red feather as a hair ornament (have they also offered to you). They have offered these things, so that they might ask for war from those who are in control of war. How, indeed, would it be possible (for the spirits) not to recognize these offerings? And if they recognize them, then we who are impersonating (the spirits) will also receive the benefit of the blessings of war and life (intended for the host).

"Long ago our ancestors asked (the spirits) to bless them so that, having been blessed with life, they might live happily. Here we are (sitting around) a fireplace and the life that they (host and his band) have asked for, the spirits not only are extending to them but to every one. In the early times the old men said, 'You are not able to fast and offer up proper food to the spirits so as to clear away the weapons (held) against you.'[119] Thus they spoke to them (the younger people). Just as (the older people would have liked it) so they are doing. I, who do not amount to anything, have nevertheless been permitted to take the place of a spirit to whom food is offered. This they have done for me, (given me the place) of that very spirit who is the very bravest of them all, the one who is in control of the power whereby one can kill (an enemy) outright! One side of his body controls life and the other death. Now they are about to offer him the food of a white animal, of a male animal (i. e., a dog), a white buckskin, feathers, and tobacco, all objects that please him very much. To Disease-giver they are about to extend these things, so that therewith they may ask him for war power and life. It is a fear-inspiring spirit that they have been making offerings to. I, who have listened to the spirits (through the host's kindness), surely don't have to say anything in their behalf.[119] They thought of their grandfather when they asked me to impersonate this spirit. Of all the spirits, his is the name that one can not speak of lightly, it is said. If I greet the name and speak about this spirit whom they have asked me to impersonate, may I not be weakened by uttering (his name). Those who are about to offer food to you, grandfather Disease-giver, send forth their greetings. To the host do I send forth my greetings. To the war-bundle owners who are seated here do I send forth my greetings."

[119] By denying that they can do it he tries to spur the young people to redoubled efforts. The weapons are the obstacles encountered in life.

[119] I. e., this food will speak for them, more than any words I can utter.

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Then another man who has been called upon for a kettle rises as the "means of blessing" comes to him and greeting, says to them.[114] 539x 796

*Speech of fifth guest.* "Clan councilors who are seated here, I greet you all. You all within this lodge who are impersonating the spirits, I greet you. It is good. If we say it is good, we mean it.[115] That we are living[116] is because they have done this for us (i. e., asked us to participate in the feast). That we have been able to move about so long (i. e., are still living) is due to the fact that the war bundle owners knew how to offer tobacco to the spirits. It is for that reason likewise that we have not been killed. Expert in their preaching to the youths and maidens, our chiefs have also kept the fireplace for us two-legged walkers.[117] Our chiefs have piled more fuel upon the fire that it may start up.[118] And not for themselves are they doing this. What they are doing is to enable us to obtain life. The name of South Wind they have uttered; he who alone is in control of life. They know that he was a great (spirit). An old man, one who was like a spirit (in his power), called Djōbenagiwi'ŋxga, they are speaking of. As many good spirits as there are, that many added their thoughts (power). Of this they are reminding the spirits whom they are worshiping. Sincerely are they saying it. The life they blessed the old man with, that life they are using. With war powers they blessed him. They did not fool him. Because they have made their requests sincerely is the reason that (the spirits) have given them these things in return. I feared that they might not take cognizance of them (i. e., their offerings). However, now I thank them (the host, etc.), for we have been as though connected with war power and life through South Wind. Tobacco they have poured for him, and white buckskin and red feathers have they extended to him. He will smoke the tobacco and we will follow in the path of life as a consequence. As though we were a member of their clan they have made us by (permitting us) to impersonate the spirits. What we have done will give us plenty of life to live on and for this we are indebted to them. We are thankful for it. Those who have been preached to, the South Wind I greet. Councilor (host), I send forth my greetings to you. You who are seated here and are impersonating the spirits, to you also do I send forth my greetings."

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[114] By "the means of blessing" he means the opportunity to speak and sing.

[115] Literally, "It is not for nothing that we say this."

[116] I. e., have been blessed with life.

[117] The reference to the fireplace is twofold here. First as host it is incumbent for the owner of the Thunderbird clan bundle to take charge of the fireplace; and, secondly, it is his duty to do so because fire is the sacred possession of the clan. "Two-legged walkers" is the ritualistic name for human beings. [614]

[118] To be taken figuratively as meaning "blessings," since in adding fuel they are cooking the sacred food. [615]

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X796 539 [782] After the speeches were all over the offerings were taken down and thrown outside through the opening in the roof of the lodge and then night songs were sung. Before throwing the offerings out they marched around the lodge carrying them in their hands. At the approach of dawn the drum, gourds, etc., have about made the entire circuit of the lodge, and as soon as they reach the host he begins to sing the night [533] songs. After these he sings turtle songs, and then the songs are over. The host now calls upon some one to give the war whoop, so that the spirits in the west may hear their voices. Nanhi'tcoga gave the war whoop. All joined in, and the feast was over.

X796 865 [776] *Descriptive notes on the Bear clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant, member of clan: About the middle of winter, in the month called deer-breeding month, the Winnebago used to go out hunting, and they gave a feast to all the spirits who had blessed them.

[774] They are very careful not to have the kettles boil over, because they believe that a man's soul (*naγi'rak'*) might be wandering about and is likely to come down along the chain of the kettle. If it doesn't boil over, the man is likely to conquer the possessions of this spirit (of an enemy) in the next battle.

202 554] The invitation sticks are sent out only to men who own a war bundle, and the clans are invited in the following fashion: First the Wolf, then the Hawk, and then any order.

778 The contents of the war bundle represent the following: The crow means strength in running. The turtle and the spear, the blessings which enable one to get out of difficulties, the former referring especially to difficulties in crossing water; they also enable their possessor to foretell when enemies are approaching and to tell an individual how many enemies he is going to conquer. The flute represents the 789 voices of musical birds. When an enemy hears them it paralyzes him and he can not run.

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171 the tribal reverence is centred. Historically, we believe that
614 these were originally possessions of an individual clan, which
778 subsequently became identified with the entire tribe. Among the Winnebago nothing in the remotest manner comparable to these clan possessions exists, and the few specific objects possessed by the clan have never become of real tribal significance.

614 The specific material possessions of the clan consist of
778 certain war-bundles, one in each clan; and two crooks in the possession of the Bear clan. Of more general possession are the
[616] war clubs, of which there are two types, one found among the *wangeregi*, the other among the *mąyegi* divisions. In connexion
[796] with the clan-bundles there are certain ceremonials known as clan-bundle or war-bundle feasts, popularly as winter feasts.
[171] The distribution of the clan-bundle differentiates these from the specific possessions of the Omaha clans, and suggests a hint as to their historical associations. To all intents and purposes, as their individual history shows, these bundles are merely gifts from one spirit, the thunderbird, and a secondarily associated night-spirit (*hąhe*). The winter feast might thus be interpreted
[575] as a society of those who have obtained blessings from the thunderbird. The bundle remains in the possession of a certain family, however, and cannot pass out of the clan. The war-bundle may, therefore, be said to be primarily the personal possession of a family which has become associated with all the members of the clan to such an extent that it is almost regarded as a clan possession.

In the possession of the two crooks by the Bear clan we have
[726] an example of specific clan property. The crooks are in the nature of emblems and are used on the warpath to indicate the extreme line of advance. They are thus of tribal significance. When not in use, they are kept in the lodge of the Bear clan.

### *Immaterial Possessions of the Clan.*

Although there are no specific material possessions, each clan possesses a type of what might be called "immaterial" possessions. These all have the added connotation of sacredness. For the bird clans, this is the possession of fire; for the

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614 let us say, some individual who has killed a member of the
[533] tribe and who refuses to make atonement of any kind, is pursued,
[764] he defiantly sings his clan songs.

[627] As a last element in the clan-complex may be mentioned the specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

174 We have now completed the discussion of clan organization.
614 As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary associations that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that the complex has grown around a strong social-political unit.

## THE CLAN AS A SOCIO-CEREMONIAL COMPLEX.

614 Up to the present our attention has been directed entirely
796 to the clan as a socio-political complex and only passing mention has been made of those religious or ceremonial associations
182 that may also have clustered around it. Among the Omaha,
[171] as we have frequently pointed out, these latter associations were of paramount importance and probably dwarfed the development of the political functions. Among the Winnebago, on the whole, they were unimportant. This very fact makes the solitary instance in which a fairly marked development took place of all the greater value, quite apart from the fact that it happens to give, on the one hand, an exceptionally instructive illustration of the secondary association of a ceremonial function with a social unit, and, on the other, a similarly instructive illustration of the association of a function generally belonging to an individual shaman with a social unit. Such an association has taken place with the Bear clan, and, owing to its importance, we will quote the data in extenso. The ceremony is known as "soldiers' dance" (*manype waci*).

614 "When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village, the people
755 go to the chief and say, 'Sickness has come upon us, O chief!
796 See that your soldiers arise!' And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks

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as follows, 'My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease.' Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit, they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick, they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well." 614 755 796

Here the Bear clan behaves at the same time like a ceremonial organization associated with shamanistic practices and like an individual shaman. That, to the minds of the Winnebago, this ceremonial function of the Bear clan on this occasion was regarded as a real ceremony is indicated by the term *many pe waci*. For the moment, the Bear clan as a social unit is entirely lost sight of. Nevertheless, it is the Bear clan as such a unit around which the ceremony has crystallized. This case is all the more instructive for the very reason that this ceremonial association does not form an inextricable element in the clan complex, but is merely an aspect that it assumes on certain occasions, to the exclusion of its socio-political nature. The ceremonial function of the clan is, therefore, not as firmly fixed as is the political function. This may merely be an expression of the fact that among the Winnebago it had become customary to associate ceremonial functions with religious societies. 614 796 182

With regard to the analogy with the individual shaman, it might be said that treating a social unit like an individual must have been quite common wherever the former was strongly marked off by specific functions such as the Bear clan. The association of the shamanistic function with this clan may have occurred just because of the police functions the clan already possessed. On the other hand, it might be pointed out that the bear, both black and grizzly, was intimately [776] [825] [756]

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associated with the treatment of disease and was the especial guardian spirit of the Indian doctors.

## INFLUENCE OF THE CLAN UPON CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION.

Perhaps the most characteristic trait of Winnebago culture is the existence of two strong socialized units, that of the clan and that of the secret society. Historically both are old, and even if we are of the opinion that the clan is historically younger, the political unit upon which it is superimposed is probably an ultimate historical fact. From the earliest times one would have supposed reciprocal influences to have occurred repeatedly. The nature of these influences, insofar as they are not conditioned by chance, would depend on the respective centre of gravity in either unit. It is evident that for the clan the organization was of paramount importance, and that the addition of cultural associations probably tended to strengthen its stability from the point of view of organization. On the other hand, the absence of political or governmental functions in the religious societies, and the clustering of the most multitudinous religious and shamanistic ideas within them, rendered the emotional complex of the latter the centre from which influences would radiate. At the same time, the ceremonial unit of organization seems to have been so firmly fixed, that any influence of the clan unit of organization upon it does not seem likely. As a matter of fact, in the typical schematic, religious society, like the medicine dance, grizzly-bear dance, and night-spirit dance, no influence is perceptible. But these religious societies may be regarded as presenting no possible points of contact. Where, however, the bond of union is supernatural communication with a guardian spirit who subsequently became the clan animal, an obvious point of contact is given, and this brings to mind a very suggestive fact of Winnebago culture--there are, strictly speaking, no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in many respects are absolutely identical with the religious societies, and which furnish, it seems to us, an example

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of just those two kinds of influence that we wished to point out, one radiating from the clan, as a unit of organization, the other from the entire clan complex. 174 575 614 796

In the Winter feasts the unit of organization is the clan. Generally all the clans were represented in the person of the owner of each specific clan war-bundle. The order of invitation was traditionally fixed, but it seems that in a number of cases the "friend" clan always had the position of honour. The war-bundle owner was not, however, supposed to represent the clan at all, but the spirits to whom offerings were being made. In every case, although the participants were supposed to impersonate a fairly large number of animals, the main blessings contained in the bundle were from the thunderbird and night-spirit and the main offerings were made to them. Indeed, there seem to be two separate ceremonies involved, one to the thunder-bird and the other to the night-spirits.

The question that arises with regard to the clan basis of these ceremonial organizations is whether we are to imagine that the ceremonial unit of organization was displaced by the clan unit, or that the ceremony is of comparatively recent origin, let us say at least long after the clan organization had been perfected, and that a number of things combined to determine the acceptance of the clan as a unit of organization, as opposed to the traditional ceremonial one. To the foregoing, we must also add the fact that the Winter feast seems to be related to similar ceremonies of the Central Algonkin, whose influence on the Winnebago must first be determined. If, then, we are not in a position at present to suggest the course of development, there can be no doubt that the content of the ceremony is strictly comparable to that of the religious societies, and that there are hints that the ceremonial unit of organization had begun to assert itself. If this could be definitely established, it would indicate that the clan basis of organization is historically primary. [171]

The clan unit of organization is found in no other Winnebago ceremony, although the specific clan feasts show marked influences radiating from the clan complex. The clan feast is a typical ceremonial complex, both in type of organization

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174 and in content. The difference between it and a society
575 like the night-spirit dance lies in the fact that although the
614 five principal participants must have specific blessings (bundles),
796 they must at the same time belong to the clan. To what extent a member of one clan who has obtained a bundle from some other clan-spirit can take part in the specific clan feast of the latter, it is difficult to determine, but in the buffalo feast, assuming that this is unquestionably the real Buffalo clan feast, and there seems to be little doubt of it, any person who has obtained a bundle from the buffalo can participate, although the leader must always belong to the Buffalo clan. This example may be taken as an indication of the historical origin of these feasts, namely, that they are really religious societies in which the influence of the clan has restricted the number of individuals who are ordinarily supposed to occupy the five places of honour. That this restrictive influence of the clan was caused by the identity of the clan animal with the guardian spirit, there can be little doubt.

### Phonetic Key.

104

a, as in German *Mann*.
e, as in French *été*.
ɛ, as in English *men*.
i, as in English *pique*.
ɪ, as in English *pin*.
o, as in English *note*.
ɔ, as in German *soll*.
u, as in English *food*.
ʊ, as in English *put*.
ə, obscure vowel like *a* of English *idea*.
˛, denotes nasalization of vowel.
ŋ, ng of English *sing*.
ŋ, n pronounced with tip of tongue against upper teeth.
γ, voiced guttural spirant, g of North German *sagen*.
ʿ, denotes aspiration.
ˈ, denotes that preceding vowel is long.
ˊ, denotes main stress.

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brothers, though they were his elders. The two older brothers made up their minds to do away with Hagaga. They went into the forest together and drew an image of Hagaga on the ground, painting his heart with red earth. They were preparing to thrust a spear into the heart of the image and thus kill Hagaga but he was on the limb of a tree watching them and yelled at them as they were ready to strike—"Hey, what are you about to do?" They looked up, discovered him, and were so scared at their detection that they ran away without stabbing the figure. He followed them to Trempealeau Mountain where the spirits live. 539 575 756

This mountain is supposed by the Winnebago to be hollow and they think all the powers of the medicine lodge reside therein. In the center of this mountain, the medicine lodge is supposed to be laid out, with the cardinal points of the compass indicated by poles. The poles represent serpents and the tie pieces are serpents, because to the Winnebago medicine lodge members the serpent is sacred.[24] [823] 575 756 [825]

The various animal deities came into the center of the lodge. They were, in order of entrance, the otter, the loon, the crane, the turtle, the fox, and a number of others. Nowadays when the medicine lodge ceremony is in progress, the Indians make song imitations of these various animal spirits coming into the lodge. In the main, they agree with the conception of creation held by the Menomini.[25] The writer related the Menomini story to Henry Dick, who said it was almost the same as the Winnebago. Their initiation ceremony starts at an earlier age which coincides with the age of puberty for both boys and girls and their medicine lodge ceremony requires more time than that of the Menomini; —four days for the lodge ceremony and two days for the testing of the initiate. While the ceremony is in progress, the candidate must not go to sleep. If he does, one of the members will shake him. The first two days and nights, the ceremony is mostly chanting and explanations, while the final two days and nights are given over to active floor work. The candidate must learn to do exactly as he is told and to obey instantly. The members, during the ceremony, tweak his ears and do various things to him in imitation of the animal deities. He is then shot with medicine bags to demonstrate their power. That is, the otter skin bag is grasped by the head between the fingers of the left hand of the medicine lodge member, and touched to his own lips; then having given it his power as a medicine man, he extends it toward the initiate, crying "Hui hui" and the initiate must drop his head immediately and fall over or backward. He is shot four times in the course of the ceremony. 575 756 796

On the fifth and sixth days, two or three of the older members take

[24] Fred Mallory's children killed a large puffing adder a day or two previous to the relating of this story and the local Winnebago did not like it, prophesying all sorts of dire disasters that would visit them.

[25] See Milw. Publ. Mus. Bull., Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 14, note 2.

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575 the candidate into the woods, where none will see them and put him
756 through tests, such as falling immediately when he is shot with a medi-
796 cine bag. They also teach him to sing the ritual of the medicine lodge, being sure that no one hears.

824 The Winnebago observe the same precautions in gathering plants and place as great stress upon the manner of this gathering as do other Wisconsin Indians.

126 Most of the summer was spent among the Winnebago collecting their various economic and medicinal plants, about which copious notes were taken. On August 16, a trip was made to a Winnebago religious
123 feast given by A. White and his son, Frank, with two other relatives,
551 at which the writer was given a Winnebago name. As is the Indian custom, no more than one Indian name can be given and a name in a second language must mean the same as the original one. It happens that the first name given the writer was by the Menomini at Keshena; namely *"Onawonik"* meaning "Flying Squirrel." Hence the Ojibwe followed suit with *"Shagashkandawe"* also meaning "Flying Squirrel," and the Winnebago took their word *"Kashingra"* meaning the same.

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[p. 146]

# A WINNEBAGO WAR-BUNDLE CEREMONY

By W. C. McKern*

182 The primitive religious ceremonies of the Winnebago Indians are
796 not destined long to survive. Not only is the new generation forgetting or deliberately neglecting the traditions of the old order, due to the
[177 growing influence of encroaching white civilization, but the conversion
276] of many of the older members of the tribe to the Peyote faith has
795 thinned the ranks of the Medicine Lodge to a marked extent. Many of those responsible for introducing this new Christian cult among the Winnebago are still alive. Its unabated ascendency in the favor of the Indians is proportionate to the decline of ancient religious practices.

114 However, meetings of the old order still are held, and are in some
796 measure successful, due largely to the fact that many of the Peyote

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114 people attend as a matter of courtesy, or to keep peace in the family. It was my good fortune to attend such a meeting, a war-bundle cere-
796 mony, in October, 1927. Mr. A. White, whose Indian name is *Teas-*
[795 *teghe-de-ga* (Big Wave), figure 120, is custodian of the war-bundle
778] of the Thunderbird clan of the Wisconsin Rapids band of Winnebago.
614] Word came to me through his son-in-law, Mr. U. S. White of Milwaukee, that a war-bundle feast would be held shortly, and that I was specially invited to attend.

As Mr. White and his family also wished to make the trip, we drafted a Museum car into service and joined forces. In addition to Mr. White and his wife and two children, Mr. Alton Fisher was persuaded, without much difficulty, to join me in representing the Department of Anthropology.

We arrived at Wisconsin Rapids late at night, and were up early on the following morning and on our way to the site selected for the
[574] ceremony. Upon arriving at his home, we were courteously received by the custodian of the bundle, and privileged to meet his family and many others who were in the midst of preparations for the feast.

796 The regular war bundle ceremony of the Thunderbird clan is a feast and dance given in honor of various spirits, chiefly the Thunderbirds,
[776 who are the spiritual directors of war, and the Night Spirits. It is
614] held in an oblong wigwam shaped like the medicine lodge of the Winnebago and neighboring Algonkin groups, figure 121, and similarly con-
[346] structed of a frame-work of bent poles covered with birch bark or mats, or more recently with canvas or other cloth. Big Wave had directed the construction of the lodge for this particular ceremony in an area immediately adjoining his dwelling lodge, figure 122. The single door was placed at the end of the lodge, facing east.

[252] The lodge was small, made so to accommodate the limited number expected to attend, and consequently it was decided to cook the feast over outside fires, an irregular, though not unusual procedure. Therefore, only a single fire was built in the lodge, centrally situated at the
796 eastern end not more than three paces from the door. Since the fire
372 was to be new, sacred fire, the ceremonial fire-making equipment from
778 the war bundle was employed. This consisted of a flat, rectangular base of oak, nearly perforated in many places with charred drill holes, and a drilling element of softer wood. Big Wave himself officiated in the fire making, figure 123. Kneeling, he placed the basepiece between his knees, with tinder conveniently near. Then one end of the drill was fitted into one of the holes in the base, and the shaft was rapidly rotated between his hands. Soon smoke curled up from the point of friction. The bits of glowing wood dust so produced were quickly applied to the tinder and carefully blown to a small flame. Then light kindling was applied, followed by heavier sticks until the fire was be-

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yond the need of further nursing. Standing alone above this altar, Big Wave then offered, in his native tongue, a prayer to be carried upward by the fire to Creator. In a low voice he thanked Creator who taught the use of fire to the Indians, that it might live with them forever and watch over them. He expressed satisfaction that new fire had been started on this occasion, so that all present might enjoy the benefits of life. He described the fire as an interpreter, conveying to the spirit world the prayers of men. He then sprinkled tobacco upon the fire, saying: "This tobacco I offer you (the spirits) that you may do that which I ask of you, that you may grant to all here, our wives and children, and all our relatives, good fortune and all the benefits of life. This prayer is for others who will also give tobacco."

[372 778] 796 782

Later, when the meeting was convened and the guests filed into the ceremonial lodge, many silently sprinkled tobacco on the fire, thereby sharing the benefit of this prayer. This tobacco sacrifice is called, filling the spirits' pipe.

As soon as the new fire was burning well, coals were removed therefrom with which to start the cooking fires outside the lodge, for the feast must be cooked over sacred fire. Two short poles were placed on either side of the fire, topped by a crosspiece from which the pots were suspended on chains. Water was boiled, with which all the pots were thoroughly washed. Then the meat (fowl, beef and pork) was prepared for cooking. The fowls had to be singed over the sacred fire. A definite number of equal portions were placed in each pot, since each participating family was to share the contents of a single pot which, therefore, must contain a portion for every member of the invited group.

796 252 [354] [574]

While the war-bundle owner's helpers, the waiters, selected from his paternal nephews when possible, were preparing the feast, he himself entered the lodge, took down the war-bundle from where it hung on the north wall opposite the fire and spread it out on the ground immediately west of the fire. Although much of the contents of the bundle appeared to be very old, the cover-piece was of cloth. The bundle was unrolled and spread out upon this rectangular piece of goods. The inner wrapper was of matting. Upon this a variety of fetishes and elements of ceremonial equipment was displayed. These included various bird skins, reed whistles and an old fire drill set which had long been out of use due to the fact that the base piece was entirely covered with holes, without interval, and as deep as the thickness of the piece would permit.

796 778

Two beaded snake-skin fetishes were suspended from the top of a peeled stake set up between the bundle and the fire. Adjoining this a sharpened stick, later to be used as a meat fork in distributing the meat, was placed, the handle thrust into the ground. Two fine old war clubs from the bundle were also placed between fire and bundle, their handles thrust into the ground. Two bowls, one containing tobacco and the

[412]

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796 other mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik, were respectively placed at the
778 northeast and southeast corners of the bundle.

A peeled stake, forked at the top, was set up at the central western margin of the bundle wrapper. The ceremonial pipe, of Siouan type
[276] with a catlinite bowl, was then filled by the leader from the bowl of mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik and placed with the stem end resting in the fork of the stake, the stem slanting diagonally downward across the bundle and the bowl, in upright position, resting on the central eastern margin of the bundle wrapper.

[524 The leader then placed some live coals from the fire in a small stove-
783] shovel. On these coals he placed white cedar leaves. With the smoke of the burning cedar leaves he purified the contents of the bundle, his own person, and even the walls of the lodge.

796 Shortly before the ceremony was to start, some of the waiters pre-
534 pared the drum. What had probably been originally designed to serve as a pickle keg, served as the body of the drum. This was partly filled with water. A buckskin head was then placed over the open end and drawn taut by means of cords attached to the base of the body. This was done by means of stick tourniquets in each of the cords. The proper degree of tautness was determined by tipping the drum bottom side up, to permit the water to wet the drum head, and testing the tone quality with the drum stick. After the drum had been thus properly
[783] tuned, more hot coals were placed in the censer, cedar leaves applied and the drum and stick turned over and over in the resulting smoke. Then the drum was placed just north of the war-bundle.

A small pot containing two portions of cooked meat was suspended from the roof of the house immediately west of the bundle.

796 Early in the afternoon, all preparations having been completed, the ceremony began. The guests in little groups filed into the lodge and were seated by the head waiter, squatting on mats with their backs to the wall. The most important guests, owners of war-bundles in other clans,
[562] were placed nearest the door. The eastern two-thirds of the lodge was occupied by men only. The women were clustered at the western end. Mr. Fisher and I were seated immediately south of the bundle. The leader and three assistants, elected to serve as musicians, were grouped just north of the fireplace.

Although the rites associated with the war-bundle are kept up by
[182] a few of these Winnebago, the ritual has sadly degenerated. Aside from the host, no man made any serious attempt to equip himself properly in costume. Many important elements were omitted such as the preliminary sweat bath ceremony, the sacrifice of white buckskins to the spirits, the dog sacrifice, and many minor details left out of the ceremonies attempted. When all were assembled, the leader opened the
[537] ceremony with a speech to those assembled. The formal dignity of the speaker and the unhesitating flow of his words were impressive. He

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announced that he was about to give a feast in honor of Creator, all the spirits of the world above, all the spirits of the world below, and all those spirits who had appeared in dreams to any of those present. In this way, as determined by his grandfathers, should long life, and happiness, and health and success in warfare be assured to those participating. He cited the giving of tobacco to various spirits; the dedication of the cooking meat to various spirits. He called upon other custodians of war-bundles and their waiters, who might be present, to assist in the singing, speaking, and dancing. "O! O!", assented the custodians of other war-bundles who were present. 796 537 [201]

The drum was now placed before the leader, who passed it to one of his three musicians. The other two and the leader were equipped with gourd rattles. The leader then took a reed whistle and on it actually played a tune very like a bugle call. Three distinct notes were produced by varying the force with which he blew it. He then started a song, his eyes closed as if in prayer, his face stamped with serious devotion. His assistants joined in, to the accompaniment of drum and rattles. A short rest intervalled the completion of this song and the start of the next. Three other songs followed in like manner. All of this music was relatively slow in time and not designed to be accompanied by dancing. A fifth song, of like character, was accompanied by the leader's throwing several pinches of tobacco over the war-bundle. 796 [534] [533] [582 276]

The next musical contribution was a dancing song and all the men who so desired gathered about the war-bundle, selecting therefrom reed whistles, and danced in place while blowing the whistles. There being not enough whistles to go around, some took fetishes which they held reverently in their hands while dancing. At the same time, the women at the west end of the lodge rose and danced in place. With slight pauses between, four dance songs were so rendered. At the end of each song, the male dancers participated in a series of war whoops. Everyone present apparently experienced a keen delight in this. One old man, blind and so feeble that he could not rise to his feet without assistance, insisted on dancing, without moving from his allotted place by the wall, and added his quavering voice to feebly swell the volume of each battle cry. 796 533 535 [887]

When the set of dancing songs was finished, whistles and fetishes were replaced on the bundle and all took their allotted places. Then the leader again spoke, his voice at times quavering with emotion, practically repeating his first speech. Again the honored guests answered with, "O! O!". 796 [532] [20]

The head waiter then took the pipe from its position over the war bundle, and carried it to the guest seated nearest the door on the south side. While this old man puffed, the waiter lit the contents of the bowl with a stick, placed beside the fireplace for that purpose and lighted [276]

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796 from the sacred fire. When the pipe was well lit, the waiter carried
276 it to the next man, and so on, passing clockwise about the lodge. Each man puffed several times at the pipe before passing it on. The women
[562] were excluded from participating in this ceremony, as were the leader and his three musicians. The waiters did not actually participate in any part of the entire ceremony, other than in their official capacity.

Before the next song was started, the head waiter carefully cleaned out the pipe, refilled it and placed it again over the bundle. All the tobacco cleaned from the bowl was disposed of in the sacred fire.

This same procedure, from speech to pipe, was repeated four times, although each group of songs was different.

796 Two men were now selected, one representing that group of clans
615 comprising the upper world phratry, the other the lower world phratry.
264 They seated themselves in the center of the lodge with a wooden bowl between them. In this bowl were placed the two portions of meat from the pots suspended from the lodge ceiling. At a given signal, each began to devour his allotted share of the meat as rapidly as possible. The phratry whose side wins in this eating contest will have good luck when next it takes the warpath.

796 The leader then told the dream experience of the original bundle
787 holder and said a few words thanking all for their participation. One of the waiters then proceeded to replace the contents of the bundle, roll it up, tie it and place it against the wall just back of the leader.

796 It was now time for the war-bundle feast, which consisted solely of
574 meat boiled with a few beans. Each pot had been dedicated to a certain spirit or order of spirits, but since these were not materially present to do proper justice to the occasion, the honored guests had to represent them in receiving and disposing of the food. One pot was placed before each of these leaders, and the contents were distributed under his direction to the men of his party. Other meat was supplied for the women and children of the group which he represented. The chief honored guest received the pot dedicated to Creator. On such occasions, one must eat all that is set before him, since the food is consecrated.

574 It should be noted here that Mr. Fisher has certain marked tastes in
114 food. He is not particularly fond of meat of any kind, dislikes beef particularly and dislikes boiled beef the most of all. His predicament can well be imagined, therefore, when a large portion of boiled beef was placed before him with the understanding that none must be wasted. Fortunately, one may broadcast a call for outside help on such occasions without trespassing against the rules of the ceremony. Very piteously, then, did Fisher make his plea to me. Knowing that the night spirit dance with a vegetable feast was to follow, he promised to eat the greater share of the vegetables apportioned to us if I would agree to do double duty on the meat. Out of the kindness of my heart, and also because I prefer boiled beef to boiled dried squash, I agreed to do this. Nor did

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I permit him to forget his bargain when the squash was served later in the day.

Big Wave did not participate in the feast, nor did he smoke ceremoniously or otherwise during the entire performance. During the feast he sang several songs without drum. These were his war-bundle songs, obtained in a dream by the original owner of the bundle and descending to his successors.

The bones from the feast were gathered up by the waiters and placed in a single vessel. Tobacco was added to the bones, and the vessel taken out to a place where no people were in view and where no dogs could molest the contents. This was a sacrifice to Disease Giver.

After the meat had been entirely consumed, the leader announced that they would now have night spirit dancing. An old bow and four arrows were brought out and planted in the floor to stand erect in a row just west of the fireplace, where the war-bundle had formerly been displayed. Big Wave appointed one to lead the dance. The dancers aligned themselves in single file on the south side of the lodge, facing west, and were led by the dance leader carrying the bow and arrows and blowing a reed whistle, followed by the other dancers. The singers began singing and the dancers circled several times about the lodge counter-clockwise. With short pauses between, several songs and dances were so executed. When the set of songs was finished, the bowl of tobacco dedicated to the use of the guests was then given by one of the waiters to the most honored guest. The head waiter lifted the stove shovel containing the remains of the burned cedar leaves and poured the contents in the fire. Then the singing was resumed and they danced once more about the fire, joyously.

When the singing stopped, the leader for this dance returned the whistle to Big Wave, and the latter, as soon as all were again seated, addressed his guests. He said that this was the way they worshipped the spirits of their fathers. He thanked those participating for their assistance in the singing and dancing and solicited their further help. So they should enjoy health, long life and success. Everyone responded with a series of confirmative "O's". The feast of boiled squash was now served. It was the duty of the waiters to eat any scraps left by the feasters, since food uneaten is considered an affront to the spirits to whom the food is dedicated.

The ceremonies described above were followed by a buffalo dance. It seems that the spirit of the buffalo was especially noted for his speed in running, and could imbue his devotees with his skill. Inasmuch as speed in running was of prime importance in primitive warfare, where the desired procedure was to come quickly upon the enemy, strike decisively and disappear from the scene, the buffalo dance is considered an altogether proper adjunct to the war-bundle ceremony, and regularly follows in.

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796 The shrine about which this ceremony centers is also a bundle, in
778 this instance owned by one of the waiters, but not necessarily so. Its
535 setting up followed a definite procedure. A small mound of sand was first heaped up on the grassy floor of the lodge. A wooden bowl was placed on the top center of the mound, and a tin bowl directly west of the mound. These were both filled with maple syrup. Four men placed handsful of tobacco at the base of each of the syrup containers. Then the bowl of syrup was removed from the mound, to be placed adjacent to the tin vessel, and from the open buffalo bundle a number of buffalo tai's were taken and placed upon the mound. Four small
[823] eagle feathers, dyed red, were inserted in the margins of the mound to point in the four cardinal directions.

123 The leader, accompanied by musicians with rattles and one drummer,
535 then sang one set of four songs. A dance song followed, practically
796 everyone present joining in the dance, forming in line behind the leader and circling the lodge in a counter-clockwise direction. All the men were in the forepart of the line; the women followed the men. As the line was forming, several of the men urged the humble subscriber to this account to join the dance. Never before having witnessed the particular performance, I was entirely ignorant of the correct procedure, but realizing that this was a common dance in which anyone could participate without special preparation or careful observance of conduct, I, to my downfall, consented. I joined the line where it was forming immediately in front of me. The dance started before I became aware of my embarassing position; for whereas all the other men were grouped to comprise the leading half of the line, I was far back in the formation, distantly removed from the other representatives of my sex —dancing with the squaws. The shouts of merriment arising from both the men and women satisfied me, however, that I had not committed the unpardonable sin. Nevertheless, as soon as it was convenient, I corrected the error of my position.

796 As the line passed the bowls of syrup, the dancers each drank of
535 the contents; the men from one bowl, the women from the other. The singing and dancing was continued until all the syrup was gone. Finally, the wooden bowl having been replaced on the sand altar, the leader approached it on hands and knees, mimicking the grunts and actions of a buffalo. He then proceeded to butt the bowl with his head, turning it over.

796 Speeches by the leader and by other prominent men brought the cere-
152 mony to a close.

781 My general reactions to the performance were two-fold. In the first place, I could not but be impressed by the exalted fervor of the older participants; at times tears coursed down the cheeks of Big Wave as he sang the spirit songs of his ancestors, and other participants
600 showed the effect of strong emotion. Secondly, I beheld the ancient

## §2. *My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud*

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My brother-in-law was named Thunder Cloud. It is said that he was living his third life as a human being.[a]

This is his account:

I once lived with a small group of Indians numbering about twenty camps. When I had grown up to be a lad, although still not large enough to handle a gun, a war-party attacked us and killed us all. I did not know, however, that I had been killed. I thought that I was running about as usual until I saw a heap of bodies on the ground and mine among them. No one was there to bury us, so there we lay and rotted.

My ghost was taken to the place where the sun sets. There I lived with an old couple. The land of the spirits is an excellent place and the people have the best of times. If you desire to go anywhere all that you have to do is to wish yourself there and you reach it. While there I thought I would like to come to the earth again so the old man with whom I was staying said to me, "My son, did you not speak about wanting to go to the earth again?" I had as

[a] The belief in reincarnation is very widespread among the Winnebago. It is generally believed that if any child resembles some deceased individual he is that individual reincarnated. Not every person, however, can become reincarnated. This is a privilege that belongs only to the more prominent people and to the members of the most sacred of Winnebago ceremonies, the Medicine Dance. [554] [996]

*159 helped will then really know what kind of a man you are.
577 For the good you do people will love you.
869 It is not good to win at gambling. You may possibly
[525] become rich thereby but that is no life to lead. If you are blessed with luck in cards, if you are blessed with luck at gambling, you will perhaps win things and have plenty of wealth, but none of your children will live.

Now if you do all that I have told you, you will lead a happy and prosperous life. That is why we Winnebago preach to a child we love so that it should never become acquainted with the things that are not right, and never do anything wrong. Then if, in later life, a person does anything wrong, he will do it with a clear knowledge of the consequences of his actions.

## III

*159 My son, when you get married, do not make an idol of
581 the woman you marry; do not worship her. If you worship
867 a woman she will insist upon greater and greater worship as time goes on. This is what the old people used to say.
562 They always preached against those men who hearken too
593 strongly to the words of women; who are the slaves of women. Now it may happen that a man has received many warnings as to his behavior in this regard and that he pays no attention to them. It may go so far that when he is asked to attend a war-bundle feast [30] he will refuse to go; it may be that when he is married he will listen to the voice

[926] [30] The war-bundle feast was the great war ceremony of the Winne-
[996] bago. It was given by all those individuals who possessed a war-
[614] bundle and since theoretically there was only one war-bundle in each clan, the basis of the organization of the ceremony was the clan.
[976] The ceremony consisted largely of prayers, songs and speeches in honor of the spirits more definitely associated with war. For each

of his wife and refuse to go on a warpath. He might as well have been brought up as a girl. Men who are real men perform the deeds of men, but such a man will never perform a real man's deed. If he should actually attend a war-bundle feast he will be given the leanest piece of meat, only given to a man of no account. Why should any one run the risk of being thus jeered at? Now when a really brave man attends a war-bundle feast he is given a deer's head. This other man gets a lean piece! It will dry up in his throat, so humiliated and disgraced will he feel. After a while he will not be allowed to go to any feast; his wife will not let him. He will listen to the voice of his wife. His relatives will scold him, his sisters will think nothing of him. They will tell people never to go to visit him. Finally when he has become a real slave of his wife he will even hit his relatives if she asks him to. It is for these reasons that I warn you not to listen to women. You will be considered different from others. It is not good.

Remember this too, that women cannot be watched. If you try to watch them and are jealous about them, then your female relatives will also be jealous of them. Finally when your jealousy has developed to the highest pitch, your wife will leave you and run away with some one else. You have allowed her to see by your actions that you worship a woman, and one alone, and, in addition, you have been watching her all the time. Because of this incessant annoyance she will run away from you. If you think that

of these spirits, a buckskin decorated with the symbol sacred to the spirit, was prepared and then at the most dramatic moment of the ceremony these buckskins were thrown out of the ceremonial lodge and it was believed that the spirits came down in person to fetch them. The war-bundle feast was specifically a man's ceremony.

## §10. *A War-Bundle Feast*

When the hunting was over my father selected ten deer with which to give a war-bundle feast. Those who had been selected as attendants then transferred these deer to the place where the people always give their feasts. 159* 796 ● 926

I was fasting at the time and only broke my fast at evening. Every night I went out to make my appeal to the spirits before I ate. Five days before the feast was to be given I commenced to fast through the night also. On the fifth night, together with my older brother, I went to the feast. During the day I had spent the time in the wilderness uttering my cry to the spirits: 159* 787 796 926

"O spirits, here humble in heart I stand, beseeching you." [787]

I was far more thirsty than hungry. I don't believe that either my tongue or mouth were even moist.

That night we held aloft the deerskins that were to be offered to the spirits and we stood there crying piteously. There we wept humbly and those who were to give the feast wept with us, as they extended their holy compassion to us. Then, at midnight, we stood near the war weapons and again raised our appeal to the spirits. [787]

Our feast was given in a lodge that had eight fire- ooo

## *Crashing Thunder*

726 *159 Our feast was given in a lodge that had eight fire-
● 796 places. The host always sits near the last fireplace, at
782 the east end. There we stood crying to the spirits.
[346 My older brother fell to the ground from fatigue and
354] exhaustion. We were stark naked except for our
[291] breech-clouts. When this prayer was finished we put on our moccasins. Then the host greeted the participants as follows:

"I greet you; I greet you all, war-bundle possessors. My grandparents, especially my grandfather, concentrated their minds upon this ceremony for me. The fireplace, the food, the offerings, with which the spirits blessed my grandfather, that I am going to ask for myself to-day. However weakly I may wobble about in trying to do the proper thing to-day, I know that my elders present here will extend their aid to me. I am now going to offer some tobacco to you all. War-bundles possessors, I greet you all."

*159 Following the speech came the prayers to the various
796 spirits:
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Hearken O Earthmaker, our father, I am about to offer tobacco to you. My ancestor concentrated his mind upon you and that with which you blessed him I now ask of you directly. I ask for the small amount of life you granted him, aye for four times the blessings you bestowed upon him. May I never meet with trouble in life.

O Grandfather, chief of the Thunderbirds, you who live in the west, here is a handful of tobacco. Extend to me the deer with which you blessed my ancestor. I pray you to accept this tobacco from me. May I never meet with trouble in life.

## *A War-Bundle Feast*

O Grandfathers, spirits of the night, walkers in darkness, to you I offer tobacco and ask for the fireplaces which my ancestor received. If you smoke this tobacco see to it that I never become a weakling. 159* 796 1182

To you who live in the south, you who look like a man, you who are invulnerable, you who deal out life from one side of your body and death from the other, you whom we call Disease-Giver, to you I offer tobacco. In daylight, in broad daylight, did you bless my ancestor. With food you blessed him; you told him that he would never fail in anything, you told him that you would avoid his home; you placed animals in front of him that he should have no trouble in obtaining them. An offering of tobacco I make to you that you may smoke it and that I may not be troubled in life. 539 726 [953]

Then they offered prayers to the Black Hawk, the Sun, the Moon, the South Wind, the Earth, and the Eagle. Many speeches were given, for every guest who was invited to impersonate a spirit delivered one. The man who was impersonating the Thunderbird spoke as follows: 159* 796 [782] 539 726

Host and relatives, all you who are seated here, to all I send forth my greetings. All those present have given me good advice and even the women and children here have pleaded in my behalf with the spirits. What love that was! And of what does life consist of but love! The clan counselor is repeating the songs that were obtained when the sacred bundle was made, so that when the time for the tobacco offering to the spirits came, the specially prepared tobacco would be ready. Now indeed that time has arrived

*159 and they are all sitting here prepared to pray to all the
● 796 various spirits. Long before, when in their visions they
537 were vouchsafed a warpath, the soul of the man they were
726 to kill would be already in their possession when they performed this ceremony. It is to attract his soul that this ceremony is performed. You are going to have a good and prosperous warpath. When you are actually in the midst of the warpath and are about to rush upon the enemy, pour tobacco to the various spirits who are in control of war, say,
[782] "Thus, grandfathers, were we accustomed to offer tobacco to you." Although you may not know by any word or direct sign whether the war-controllers have answered you, you will know it as soon as the rush upon the enemy takes place, for although you walk where the bullets rain hardest you will pass out of their range and come through in safety. Then when you return to your people every one will rush out to bestow the war honors upon you. If you give this
[782] sacred feast in the proper way, if you burn up much tobacco and food, then the various spirits, especially the Thunder-
[796] birds who are the greatest war-controllers, will bless you for the excellent way in which you prayed to him. Whenever they pass your way they will remember you. They will even call you by name and say, "Let us smoke here."

This is the way in which young men are encouraged to act, but only a few succeed. It is good. The host has preached to us and pleaded for all those who are present. He has made offerings of food to our grandfathers who
[782] live in the west; pleasing offerings of tobacco and buckskin has he sent to them. I have been permitted to impersonate this great spirit and have thus obtained life for myself and my unimportant clansmen, for all of us who have been living in so lowly a condition. With real life have we felt ourselves connected through your actions. We have felt our-

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



selves connected with life by means of that organ which Earthmaker gave us as a measure of things.[21] I send forth my greetings to you all.

Then he who was impersonating the Disease-Giver spoke:

War-bundle owners, relatives seated around here, I greet you all. This is indeed a marvelous performance that we have witnessed and he who was able to do it must surely be a marvelous man. Very few people listen to the advice of their parents but he must have been one who did and that is why he has done so well. The members of his clan have been sincerely worshiping the spirits. He who originally made this war-bundle ritual was like a spirit in power and what he told them to do they are doing in every detail. It is good work they are doing. Sufficient food are they offering to those in control of war powers for the spirits easily to take cognizance of it. They have placed ample tobacco and different kinds of buckskin within reach of the spirits. To you, O Disease-Giver, a pleasing white buckskin has been strung out in offering and with it a pleasing red feather as a hair ornament. How indeed would it be possible for the spirits not to recognize these offerings? And if they recognize them then we who are impersonating the spirits, will also receive the benefit of the blessings of war and life, extended to the host.

Long ago our ancestors asked the spirits to bless them so that then they might live happily. Here we are sitting around the fireplace and the life that the host and his friends have asked for, the spirits are not merely extending to them

[21] A very curious circumlocution for stomach. He means, of course, all the food that has been eaten.

726 *159 but to all those present. In the olden days the old people
● 796 used to say to the young boys, "You are not able to fast
537 as yet and to offer up proper food to the spirits so as to
clear away the weapons held against you." Now just as
726 these older people would have liked, so you are doing.
*159 Even I, who am of no consequence, have nevertheless been
796 permitted to impersonate a great spirit. This you have
776 done for me—allowed me to impersonate that spirit[1] who
537 is the bravest of them all, the one who is in control of
[053] power whereby an enemy can be killed outright! One side
of this spirit's body controls life and the other death. Now
they are about to offer to this spirit, the food of a white
[782] animal, of a male animal, the dog, as well as a white buck-
skin, feathers and tobacco—all of them objects that please
him very much. To Disease-Giver they are about to extend
these things so that therewith they may ask him for war
power and life. It is an awe-inspiring spirit to whom they
have been making offerings. Surely I, who have been listen-
ing only by virtue of the host's generosity, do not have to
say anything in his behalf. He thought of his ancestor
[782] when he asked me to impersonate this spirit. Of all the
spirits his is the name which one cannot speak lightly,
it is said. If nevertheless I greet his name and speak about
this spirit, may I not be weakened by uttering it. Those
who are about to offer you food, grandfather Disease-Giver,
send you their greetings. To you, O host, do I send my
greetings, as well as to all the war-bundle owners seated
here.

*159 The feasters sang dancing songs throughout all this
796 time. At dawn we were to pass the deerskin offerings
726 through the roof of the lodge. My older brother took
the lead. I followed and the others came up behind



1. [i.e., Disease Giver--Analyst]

## *A War-Bundle Feast*

ne We all had a deerskin apiece. Only those who were giving the feast had the right to hold one of the ten deerskins. A man playing a flute taken from a war-bundle marched ahead, and behind came the people carrying the incense of the burning cedar leaves. We thus marched around the lodge and my brother and I again made our cry to the spirits. At that time we were naked apart from our breech-clouts and moccasins. Four times did we make the circuit. Then we passed the deerskins up through the roof of the lodge. 159* 796 726 [534] [782] 159*

Now the feasters were to eat again. A separate kettle had been put on for us boys and we were to eat first. They then called upon a man to eat out of our plate with us. His name was *Blue-sitter*. He was a holy man, a shaman, a brave man, one who had obtained many war honors. Four deer ribs were dished out to me in a wooden bowl. Then the one who was to eat out of my plate came and sat near my dish and began to handle the food. He tore it into small pieces and began telling me of the blessing he had received from the spirits. He told me how all the great spirits had blessed him—the Sun, the Moon, the Thunder-birds, the Earth, the Sky, the Daylight, and all the spirits that exist in the heavens. The spirits on the earth and those under the waters, all these talked to him, he said. While partaking of my food he would think of this power, he told me. I would go through battle unharmed and I was to obtain war honors. My children, if I had any, were to enjoy a good and happy life. Thus he spoke. 796 787 726 [776]

## *Crashing Thunder*

726
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●796
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Then he took a piece of my food in his mouth and placed some in my mouth four times. I continued eating as the rest of the feasters began their meal. For quite some time I was not able to eat much.

*159
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787

Through it all I was not in the least conscious of any dreams or blessings. All that I was aware of was that all the people around me were taking pity upon me. Throughout it all I had my mind fixed on women. In doing these things I imagined that I had accomplished something great and that I had risen greatly in women's estimation. Even though I tried to render myself pitiable in the sight of the spirits, yet through it all, my thoughts were centered upon them. I was never lowly at heart and never really desired the blessing of the spirits. All that I thought of was that I was a great man and that the women would regard me as a great man.

[P.86]

## §14. *Initiation into the Medicine Dance*

*159 The person who had died and whose place I was to take was an uncle of my father's. I was glad of the opportunity for I had always liked the Medicine Dance whenever I had seen it. I had aways enjoyed watching from the outside what was taking place inside and I had always been filled with envy. So naturally I was very glad to join and anxious as to what would happen. We proceeded to the place where the ceremony was to be held, traveling from Tomah to Wittenberg. Sometimes we would have to walk, but I enjoyed it nevertheless. I was very happy.

Finally we arrived at the place and my father explained to the people that he had turned over his right of membership to me. They were quite satisfied.

*159 346 ●796 We were to build the ceremonial lodge immediately, so we went and cut the poles for it after measuring the length required. Of course, we hunted around and got the kind of poles always used for that purpose. Then we constructed the lodge. We stuck the poles in the earth. We worked together with three old men, brothers of the man who had died. They told me that this ceremony was a holy affair, that it was Earthmaker's play. We made an offering of tobacco at every move we made. I, of course, thought that it must

## *The Medicine Dance*

I, of course, thought that it must indeed be a marvelous thing and I was very happy about it. What I was most eager to see was myself killed and then brought to life again in the lodge, as it was believed happened to the members of the Medicine Dance. I also realized that a member of the Medicine Dance, whether man or woman, was different from a person not belonging to it and I was quite anxious not to be an ordinary person any longer but to be a medicine man. 159* 796 [775] [554]

As soon as we finished building the ceremonial lodge the ceremony began, and the first thing the people did was to sing. Then the leader of the band that was giving the dance arose and delivered a speech: 159* 796 537

All those who are sitting here I greet. We are waiting for all of you to have compassion upon us. Nephew,[28] I shall now tell you the road you are to travel. He whom we call nephew, the hare, the founder of the Medicine Dance, obtained this life-ensuring ceremony for us. This is the only life; no other exists. Exert yourself to follow in the road of your ancestors and adhere to the ceremony that represented their mode of life. I know you will hearken to what I say. Assuredly you will listen, for thereby you will help and benefit yourself and, at the same time, attain the good life.

Never do anything wrong. Do not steal. Do not quarrel. If on any occasion you meet a woman on the road, turn to the right, never to the left. No matter who the woman is, do not take liberties with her. This is what the old people taught us and if you perform the rites of this ceremony you will obtain the life that we desire for you. [577]

[28] The person to be initiated is always called nephew. [608]

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 ● 796 537 I beg of you to try with all your powers for I wish you to lead a happy life. This truly is our sincere wish.

Ancestors, we greet you. Our ancestors long since departed, performed the ceremony just as we do to-day. We [765] are to have a tear-pouring ceremony for the spirit of the one who has died. All those who are here will mourn for him. Whatever it is that his ghost can obtain for us by his requests,—all that he left behind him in this world—beseechingly we shall ask him to obtain. It is said that this is always procurable. What we mean is additional life. All that our ancestors desired, that we too earnestly desire. So it is when the ceremony was first established. Now we shall sing a mourning song. We must sing it with sincerity and when we cry we must not allow our voices to quaver. It has been said that if a man is bad his crying will be insincere. Ancestors, we greet you.

*159 796 The first night they kept me up all night and I heard a good deal about sacred affairs. I was not sleepy at any time during the night and I remained this way until morning. I enjoyed it all so much that I did not even go to sleep the next day. The next night they kept me up again but as before I did not get sleepy. On this night they told me even more things. Throughout three successive nights I did not sleep at all. On the fourth night they sang till morning. On the fifth night they were to have what is called the rehearsal. During the day many people began to gather. In the afternoon only the old men and myself went to the sweat lodge. Only the men who had received special invitations were allowed. When we came out it was sundown. Then those occupying the eastern

seat in the main lodge stopped singing and the specially invited people entered the regular ceremonial lodge. 159* 096

The older people took charge of me for the whole night. Whenever they referred to me they would say, "In the morning when he-for-whom-we-desire-life becomes like us." They meant me and they meant that I would be a member in the morning. So I was extremely anxious for the morning to dawn. All night they danced. This part of the ceremony is called the rehearsal or trial performance.

The next morning, just before day, even while the dance was still going on, the leader of the first and second band, those of the east end and some others, took me to a secret place in the brush. When we got there we found a place where the ground had been cleared in the outline of the dance lodge. There the older people preached to me and told me that the most fearful things imaginable would happen if I made public any of the affair, *i.e.*, told the secrets of the Medicine Dance. The world would come to an end, they said. They told me that if I didn't keep everything secret I would die. [626]

It was in the brush that the leader told me of the road that all medicine men travel. [756]

### *The Road of Life*

My son, as you travel along this road do not doubt it. If you do you'll be unhappy; you'll injure yourself. But if you do everything that I tell you well it will benefit you greatly. 159* 756 539

*159 756 539 be caved in. The man talking to you will be the one in charge of the medicine-lodge road. You will now become unconscious but not for a long time, i.e., although you will die, you'll go right on in the spirit. Near you, you will find the medicine man's staffs or ladders. The ladders reach to heaven. On the right side you will find a tree, all twisted and slippery from incessant rubbing. On the left you will see a red cedar tree, all smoothed down from wear and dirty from incessant handling. You must grab these trees, and then when you have ascended them you'll come to a country situated right below the place where Earthmaker lives. This country has been especially provided for those who have adhered to the ritual of the Medicine Dance. You will be told that this is your home and, after a while you'll be directed to a long lodge where you will find all those of your relatives who have adhered to the teachings of the lodge. Although you are a grown-up person you will nevertheless be taken on each one's lap in turn. This country is a very happy one to live in. No one is ever in want; no bad clouds float over it; there is no night and there is no work.

After a while the attendants of Earthmaker will come to you and take you to him. There you'll see him face to face. He will tell you that you have done well and that [715] you can become reincarnated in whatever tribe you desire. Those that perform the ritual properly believe that they can come to the world again after death.

*159 756 •796 After the old man had finished telling about the road of the Medicine Dance Lodge I was shown how to fall down and lie quivering on the ground and how to appear dead. I was very much disappointed for I had

had a far more exalted idea of the shooting. "Why, it amounts to nothing," I thought. "I have been deceived. They only do this to make money." I also thought then that many of the sacred things about which they had spoken to me were not true either. However I kept on and did as I was told for I had been taught to deceive in the ceremony in the brush. As soon as I was proficient in the act of feigning death, we started back to the main lodge. 159* 756 796

The older people told me that I would become like them in body as soon as I became a member of the lodge, but I did not experience any change within me. All that I felt was that I had become a deceiver in one of Earthmaker's creations.

During the day, at the regular meeting, I did as I had been taught. Many speeches and many songs were sung and then, at about ten o'clock, the leader of the north band arose and told the story of the origin of the world and of the Medicine Dance.

### *The Story of the Origin of the World*

What it was our father sat on when he came to consciousness we do not know. His tears flowed and he began to cry. Not long was he sunk in thought. He saw nothing and nothing was there anywhere. He took something from the thing on which he was lying and out of it made a portion of our earth. This he sent to the space below him and from where he lay he could see that what he had created had become similar in shape to our earth. Yet nothing grew upon it and it was entirely without a cover- 539 796

## *The Medicine Dance*

"Well, grandmother, this is what I meant when I said that you were to help me. My uncles and aunts have now received all that I desired for them. I thank you." 539 776

Now throughout the ceremony I felt all the time that we were merely deceiving the spectators. When it was all over the members of my band told me that in two years I would be able to imitate the sounds of animals to my heart's content for I had taken the place of a great medicine man. Those who have the privilege of dancing obtain it by making gifts to the older members and thus buying the right. Those who do not buy this right or are not given permission to use it, are not allowed to dance. It is the same way with the shooting. Unless, for instance, a man buys the right, he is not allowed to extend his arms at full length when he shoots, but he must hold them close to his breast. The right to drum as well as the right to shake the gourd rattles, all these things must be bought. In fact, almost everything must be bought. I was told, however, that I would not have to go through all this training but would become a great medicine man immediately. That pleased me. I was given a gray squirrel-skin to use as a medicine pouch and I was told that it was really alive and that I had the power to make it cry aloud. I had seen people doing this and I had always envied them. This was another of the things I was anxious to do. Indeed I wondered greatly how it could be done. 159* 156 796 [424]

When the dance was over my father went away and left me at that place alone. He left me at the home of the deceased person's wife. I did not go back to 159*

*Crashing Thunder*

*159 school but, instead, stayed near the old woman and did various jobs for her. There I stayed all spring.

*159 756 761 ●796 I had been told that if a person initiated into the Medicine Dance did not regard the affair as sacred this was a sign that he would die soon. This frightened me a good deal for I had been thinking of the whole matter in a very light-hearted fashion and I now felt that this was an indication that I would soon die. I did my best therefore to consider it a sacred ceremony. In spite of all this, however, I did not succeed.

*159 About this time I left for Tomah. It was about the middle of the summer. I stayed and lived with my [869] grandfather and from that time on was taught by him many of the details of the Medicine Dance. For instance, when I prepared a sweat-bath for him he would teach me some of the songs. I accordingly prepared the bath for him frequently. He would always be grateful and that is another of the reasons why I was glad to do it. Before long I had learned all the songs he knew so that when I was invited to a Medicine Dance I would do all the singing and he would only do the talking. From that time on I said that it was a sacred affair, and from then on I participated in the ceremony for the greatness inhering in it. I boasted [156] of its greatness in the presence of women, in order to make a good impression upon them.

[p. 126]

*159 755 [156] drink." Thus she spoke. I was surprised. Perhaps I am really holy, after all, I thought.

After this incident, of course, I boasted of my powers *159 156 787 even more, for now I was really convinced that I possessed sacred power. I talked as do those who have knowledge of blessings obtained from all the spirits in creation; I spoke with all the authority of a great medicine man. I used to do the singing for my band during the performance of the Medicine Dance, and as I had a deep bass voice, everybody liked it. Sometimes I would be given offerings of food in a kettle.

*159 273 796 I always drank a great deal whenever a Medicine Dance was given and frequently I would knock people unconscious when I was drunk, even those in the vicinity of the camp.

## §23. *I Take a Trip to Nebraska*

*159 597 Shortly after this I had to go to Nebraska. It was in connection with a child I once had, a boy who had died when he was two years old. His mother's father then adopted another one in his place. This child belonged to the Menominee tribe. I had to go there for I was the adopted father of the child and he was thus my son, the one who was taking my dead son's place. [431] I gave the boy a horse at the ceremony performed to fill the dead child's place. The ceremony itself was the [796] Sore Eye Dance.[37] The relatives of the mother gave me some beaded bags, two boxes of maple sugar, etc. Before I had started out for Nebraska, when I was still living in Wittenberg, the boy came to me. I was then living with a woman, and she gave me many things that I was to take along with me to Nebraska and for which she hoped I would get horses in return.

*159 When I started, I stopped at Black River Falls. I went to a woman with whom I had once lived, in order to take her along with me, but she refused. I had gone

[515] [37] The Sore Eye Dance, called more correctly the Society-of-those-who-have-been-blessed-by-the-Night-Spirits, is a secret society organized something like that of the Medicine Dance but quite different in object. It is primarily a war ceremony and its nickname of Sore Eye Dance arose out of the fact that it was so frequently given after the return of a successful war party that the people attending it, got sore eyes from staying up so long. [927] [796]

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



*[159] was over. Indeed, I even got married there. I kept [588] on drinking all the time. It was then that a nephew of [273] mine begged me to give him my buggy. A nephew has [604] the privilege of asking his uncle for anything, and the uncle must give it. In return the uncle can compel the nephew to work for him at any time.

Some time after that I went to visit an uncle of mine. He said, "Nephew, to-morrow they are going to have a Medicine Dance, and to-night they are going to have a trial performance.[28] Your aunt is going to buy provisions for the meal, and you may go along with her." So I went along. When we got to town we drank, and on the following day it was rumored that the woman and myself were missing. The buggy in which we were riding was quite broken, my hat was gone, and my trousers ripped open. I immediately went back to the place I had come from, even though the Medicine Dance was being given. The woman, I heard, was still missing. I then went to the place at which I had been staying, and remained there all day. I got very tired. In the morning I mounted a horse and went to town. [648] There I was arrested. I was asked what I was doing in the town. "I am not doing anything; I am merely visiting around." Then the one in charge of the law said that I was to pay ten dollars and that if I did not do so, he would send me to prison. I therefore sold my horse for twenty dollars, and out of it I paid the ten

[28] The first part of the regular Medicine Dance is supposed to be merely a rehearsal for the following day when the main ceremony is given and is in consequence called the "trial" performance. [196]

## *My Release from Prison*

They were glad to see me. Then we all walked to their 159* home My father and I walked by ourselves and he 795 told me about the peyote. "It does not amount to anything, all this that they are doing. Yet those who partake, stop their drinking. Sick people also get well. [755] We were told these things and therefore joined. What they claimed is true and your mother is practically well now; and so am I. They claim to offer prayers to Earthmaker, to God." He stopped and then continued, "The peyote people are rather foolish for they cry when they feel very happy about anything. They throw away all the medicines that they possess and whose virtues they know. They give up all the blessings they received while fasting, give up all the spirits who blessed them. They stop giving feasts and making offerings of tobacco. They burn up all their holy things, destroy the war-bundles. They stop smoking and chewing tobacco. They are bad people. They burn up their medicine pouches, give up the Medicine Dance and even cut up their otter-skin bags.[81] They say they are praying to Earthmaker, to God, and do so standing and crying. They claim to hold nothing holy except Earthmaker, God; that everything they are giving up comes from the bad spirits, that the bad spirits deceived them. They claim that there are no spirits with [776] the power of bestowing blessings and that there is no other spirit except Earthmaker, God." Then I said,

[81] The most sacred object of the Medicine Dance. It is within the otter-skin bag that the shell is concealed with which the newly initiated members of the dance, as well as the regular members, are shot. [778] [796]

## §30. *I Eat the Peyote*

I sat inside the lodge with them. One man acted as leader and we were to do whatever he ordered. The various objects belonging to the ceremony—the two peyote buttons, the drum, the eagle-wing fan, and the small gourd rattle—were all placed before him. I wanted to sit in some place on the side for I felt that I might get to crying like the others. I felt quite ashamed of myself. 159 * 795 796

The leader arose and talked. He said that this was an affair of Earthmaker's and that he, the leader, could do nothing of his own initiative; that God was going to conduct the ceremony. He said the medicine, the peyote, was holy and that he would turn us all over to it. [874] He further said, "I am a very pitiful figure in this ceremony so that when you pray to Earthmaker, pray also for me. Now let us all rise and pray to Earthmaker." [782] We all rose. Then he prayed. He prayed for the sick and he prayed for those who did not yet know Earthmaker. He said that they were to be pitied. When he had finished we sat down. The peyote was then passed around. They gave me five buttons and my brother-in-law spoke to me, "If you speak to this medicine, the peyote, it will give you whatever you ask of it. After that you must pray to

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



*159 795 796 Earthmaker and then eat the peyote." I, however, ate the peyote immediately for I did not know what to ask for and I did not know what to say in a prayer to Earthmaker. I therefore ate the peyote buttons just as they were. They were very bitter and had a taste difficult for me to describe. After eating them I wondered a good deal about what was going to happen to me. Soon I was given five more peyote buttons and these also I ate. They tasted rather bitter. I was now very quiet for the peyote had somewhat weakened me. I listened attentively to the singing and liked it very much. I felt as though I were partly asleep and quite different from my normal self. When I looked around and examined myself, however, I saw nothing wrong. I certainly felt different from my normal self. Before this I used to dislike the songs but now I liked them very much, particularly those the leader was singing. I liked listening to him very much.

They were all sitting very quietly and doing nothing [533] except singing. Each man sang four songs and then [798] passed the sacred objects to the next person. Each man held a stick and an eagle's feather in one hand and a small gourd rattle, which he would shake when singing, in the other. One of the participants did the drumming. In this manner the sacred objects would be passed along until they came back to the leader. The leader would then sing four songs and when he had finished these, place the sacred objects on the ground and rise and pray to Earthmaker. Then he called upon one or two to speak. These people all said

## *I Eat the Peyote*

that Earthmaker was good and that the peyote was 159*
good, and that whosoever ate the peyote would be able 795
to free himself from the bad spirit. They said that 796
Earthmaker forbids us to commit sins. When this was
over they sang again.

After midnight I would every now and then hear 159*
some one cry. In some cases I saw a person go up to 795
the leader and talk to him. He would stand up and 786
pray with him. I was told what these people were saying. I was told that these people were asking others to pray for them for they were sorry for the sins they had committed and wished to be prevented from committing them again. They cried very loudly. I was rather frightened, especially when I noticed that when I closed my eyes and sat still, strange things began to appear before me. I was not in the least sleepy. Then the light of morning came upon me. In the morning, when the sun rose, the ceremony stopped. All got up and prayed to Earthmaker and left.

During the daytime I did not get sleepy in the least. 150*
My actions, however, were a little different from my 795
usual ones. Then the people said, "To-night they are going to have another meeting. Let us go over. They say that this is the best thing to do for then, you can learn the ceremony immediately. It is said that the souls of the members of the peyote ceremony wander [774]
all over the earth and the heavens. All this you will learn and see." They continued, "At times the members die and remain dead all night and day. When in this condition they sometimes see Earthmaker, it is

9? Morgan E-5 (1859) 1959 NP12 Winnebago NP12

[*Winnebago*] *Medicine Dance*

115 I met Judge Williams[97] this evening and listened among other things to a very fine description of a medicine dance among the Winnebagoes. He is District Judge of Kansas, and has held the same office in Iowa and been with the Indians for 25 years. He superintended the removal of the Sauks and Foxes etc.

He was invited by the Winnebagoes as a compliment to attend a medicine dance, or the Spirit Dance.[98] This is a religious organization which the Judge likens to our church. They initiate with forms and ceremonies each neophyte, and at that time go through with their high religious performances. The Judge says they have mesmerism

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[P.60(A)]
[pp. 1-59 not processed]
97 A 98 A [see category 116 - p210. Analyst]

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[787] and clairvoyance, and thinks they have had them for centuries. They use a long and
[346] large lodge a [blank] prepared for the purpose, in which all those allowed to witness the ceremonies are assembled. Adjoin-
[343] ing this house is a bark tent built in a conical form as a steam house. They excavate a hole in the ground, heat large stones in a fire to a great heat, and then put them in this hole, and cover them over and seat the initiate over them. He is then covered around with blankets so that none of the steam may escape, after which water is poured on the stones and the neophyte is
[783] enveloped in a roasting steam bath. This is
[776] the first act, and the object is to steam all evil spirits out of him.

He is then led in to the house, after the steaming process in some instances has been repeated once or twice. He is then blindfolded and led around the house. Pres-
[534] ently the singers beat the drum, shake the rattles, and commence singing a tune; then commences the dance, which is joined in by all present who wish to do so. The wom-
[562] en are members of the medicine lodge as well as the men, and they join in the songs and in the dance. After the dancing is done, or perhaps he may have stood in the midst of it there is a suspension of all sing-
[756] ing and dancing. Several medicine men then advance towards the neophyte, pointing their medicine bags at him, then drawing them back. This advancing and receding and ejaculating certain words calculated to work up the mind of the novitiate into a regular phrenzy.

Presently they reach him when they hit their medicine bags against his body, he still being blindfolded and at the same time uttering a shrill exclamation. The Judge
[158] said the novitiate jumped up and fell flat on his face as if dead and that apparently with-

[P. 60(B)]

796 out design. There he lay without motion or
575 sign of life, and the dance was resumed
158 around them. After a time he was brought out of this mesmeric or clairvoyant state, a medicine bag was put in his hands and he at once had power to strike any one down as he had been. The person who stayed by the Judge was thus struck down. He felt of his arm and wrist and found them perfectly rigid.

796 They told the Judge before they admitted
575 him to this ceremony that while he was
783 there he must think no evil thought. If he did, his life would be in danger from the spirits. No impure person is admitted to
[841] witness these ceremonies, no woman in the
[843] menstrual period, no woman pregnant or
[273] recently delivered, no intoxicated or intemperate person that is under the influence of liquor is allowed to attend. The proceedings
[756] in the sweat lodge were not seen by him as none but medicine men were allowed there.
796 The ceremonies commenced at 8 in the eve-
575 ning and lasted until day break next morning. The Judge confirms my former opinion that this is purely a religious rite, and a religious organization, having but little to do with the uses of medicine proper. The roots and herbs are one thing, but the ceremonies
[755] and incantations which are the real remedies are quite another. They call it the Spirit Dance, or the Divine Dance. The
[191] Judge informs me that he has witnessed the same thing among the Sauks and Foxes.

[*Winnebago Burial*]

764 He also mentioned the fact that he witnessed the burial of a Winnebago some years ago. He was set upon a natural mound and house made over him, food and some personal articles laid by his side, after which the whole was covered over with earth, ex-
[775] cept a small hole or chimney was kept open from the top down into the house. When

764 the Judge asked what this meant they told
775 him that it was for the spirit to pass through in going out and in.

771 He never found among them during the long period of his intercourse any evidence of sun worship, and thinks it fell far short of that in which I agree with him.

115 This morning I had a further conversation with Judge Walker, who is a regular medicine man of the Wyandottes. He says
776 the name of the Spirit of Medicine among
171 the Wyandottes is Mon-ane-tow, who is the same as the Manitou of the Ojibways etc. That this spirit of Medicine is a good spirit etc. He says that the initiations described
● 796 by Judge Williams are in the presence only
575 of medicine men and women. The people of the tribe are not allowed to be present. That both men and women are members, and are regularly initiated before they can become members. That no oath of secrecy is required, as the Indian knows nothing about oaths, but they initiate on the honor of the man and of the woman, choosing such only as are known to be of good character for integrity. That the Society and its pro-
[755] ceedings are secret, except these ceremonies which medicine men perform on patients for their cure.

796 Walker says that these ceremonies pro-
575 ceed upon the idea that a violent shock of the nervous system, which prostrates it en-
828 tirely will also prostrate or relax the hold of
158 the disease. They know by experience that by fasting and steaming they so arouse and excite a well person as to produce a shock which will throw him to the earth. This is done at the ceremony of initiation which Judge Williams described. It is done by nervous excitement, and Indian faith in these ceremonies, and is repeated over every initiate as a proof of the possession by medicine men of this marvellous power. He

[P.61(A)]

796 says there is no sham about this falling down
575 of the person on the floor in a swoon in the
828 manner described. That this is the precise
158 shock of the system to produce which the fasting and the steaming process is resorted to, and all the other ceremonies of the initiation, including the dance.

755 When a person is sick and incurable by
158 the simple remedies known to the Indians, and the friends become apprehensive for the life of the person, then the medicine men are called in and they go through certain ceremonies, all of which operate upon the nervous system already enfeebled and excited by disease, and tend to bring about that shock or prostration of the nervous system, which when produced is supposed also to relax the hold and power of the disease at the same time. In a word it kills the disease, or breaks the disease, or destroys
[753] the evil spirit then in the body which causes the disease, and then if there is constitutional strength enough left to raise up the body from its utter prostration, the patient recovers.

753 It would seem that they regarded the
755 nervous system or the sensitive part of our
828 nature as the seat of the disease, and addressed their remedies to the sensitive part, that is to the mind rather than to the body, to the spirit rather than to the organs of the
[171] body. The medicine system prevails very generally among our Indian races. In fact it is universal so far as we have found out the customs of the remote tribes.

755 I asked Walker about the cheats prac-
756 ticed by the medicine men upon the credulity of their patients, that is, pretending to take out of a man's back a tooth or a bone. He says that in their practice they want to make money, and the greater the feat they perform the greater the charge they make. Sometimes they charge a horse etc.

[P 61 (B)]
[pp. 62-209 not processed]

9: Morgan E-5 (1859) 1959 NP12 Winnebago NP12

115 97. Joseph Williams, born in Pennsylvania in 1801, served as associate justice in Iowa Territory and state. In 1857 he was appointed associate justice of Kansas Territory by President Buchanan; he served until 1861. He made his home in Ft. Scott; died in 1870. For an account of some of Williams' activities in Kansas in the fall of 1859 and 1860, see *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1915–18*, XIV, 205–6, 230; *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1901–02*, VII, 402.

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●796 575 98. This is probably one of the earliest accounts of the Winnebago Medicine Dance, performed by a secret society in summer only. Its purpose is to prolong life and to cultivate certain nonmartial virtues. The Winnebago Medicine Dance is closely related to the Algonquian Midéwiwin, to the Dakota "Mystery Dance," and to the Omaha "Pebble Ceremony." See "The Ritual and Significance of the Winnebago Medicine Dance," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XXIV (1911): 149–208, and *The Winnebago Tribe* (Bureau of American Ethnology, 37th Annual Report, 1923), both by Dr. Paul Radin; see also "Winnebago," in *Handbook of American Indians*, edited by Hodge.

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[113]

[p. 210]
[pp. 211-233 not processed]

105 tation with its insistence upon warding off evil by force and obtain-
771 ing good by force, and the 'sky' interpretation, with its emphasis on conciliation and appeasement and its attempts at the resolution of the opposites? The rituals take up the same question.

## 5. RITUALISM

105 There are two fundamental types of ritualistic organization among
575 the Winnebago, those based on clan membership and those based
571 on blessings from the same spirits. In other words, the bond is either
796 a social one, membership in the same clan, or a spiritual one, a common religious experience. The clan rituals have one major extension, a ceremony where those members of each clan who are the guardians of the warbundle of that particular clan, gather together in a feast for all the main deities. At this ceremony they ask for the renewal of the powers of these warbundles and for the promise of success on the warpath. Set off, apparently, from these two types of ritual there is a third, the Medicine Rite, with but one example, where membership is based upon personal conduct and achievement other than war and where, usually, one can only enter when there is a vacancy caused by death. In those cases where a person became a member through personal achievement he was, in the old days, generally, a man in middle age because of the rigorous and difficult entrance requirements. When taking the place of a deceased member a person could, however, even be under twenty.

An individual is consequently either born with the right of membership in a ceremony, like the clan feasts and the warbundle feasts, or he has to achieve it, as in the ritual societies based on blessings from the same spirits and the Medicine Rite.

The clan feasts which are in honor of the ancestral clan animals need not detain us here. Nor do we have to dwell upon the ritual societies based on common supernatural experiences. For membership in the latter there are really no requirements except willingness to endure the comparatively light hardships of fasting. The spirits or deities rarely, if ever, failed to grant the suppliant a vision. Formerly,

so many Winnebago informed me, the most sacred and important 105
of the ritual societies of this type was the Night-spirit one. It was 575
practically gone when I first visited the tribe in 1909. In none of 796
these rituals was there any control of membership or insistence upon 571
a special code of conduct either before or after admission.

The warbundle ceremonies require a few words. Each performance is divided into two parts, the first presided over by the Thunderbird spirits and the second by the Night-spirits. However, all the great spirits of the Winnebago pantheon have their place in it and, to all, offerings are made. Although in the eyes of the Winnebago, the warbundle ritual is devoted entirely to the glorification of war, it is interesting and significant to see that, besides the great patrons of war, the Thunderbird spirits, Night-spirits, Sun, Morning Star, Evening Star, Disease-giver, Eagle, Black Hawk, specific peace deities like Earthmaker, Earth, Moon and Water are also included and, at times, even the hero-deities, Trickster, Turtle and Hare. From this we can infer that even in a ceremony devoted preeminently to the enhancement of the importance of the warrior and of warfare, deities symbolizing peace and the antithesis of violence and force, could not be entirely left out. Admittedly their inclusion had little effect upon the one and insistent prayer of the participants, war. Even Earthmaker is represented as bestowing success on the warpath, something completely new. Yet the mere fact that Earthmaker was included did act as a reminder that the pursuit of war was not everything. 105 721 796

The warbundle rituals represent the classic and most complete expression of the war spirit, the glorification of the viewpoint of the chief of the lower division of the tribe, namely, that one goes out to combat evil, militantly and with violence. In fact, you must pre-enact the enemy's attack, your method of coping with it, and the manner in which the enemy is to be defeated and overwhelmed. Even orgies, where all self-control is abandoned, are permitted, something that was always abhorrent to the normal Winnebago and greatly dreaded. The remark made to me by the Indian who translated the text, relative to such orgies is quite illuminating here. 'It is good to have one Indian work himself into a paroxysm of enthusiasm but it must never be more than one!' [786]

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But to come now to the Medicine Rite. It is only superficially that its organization is really unique, for both in the snake clan feast and in the Night-spirit ritual society there are four positions just as in the Medicine Rite. The resemblances between the latter two are, in fact, so marked that we can well understand why some Winnebago regarded the Night-spirit society as the model for the Medicine Rite. In a sense it is true that the Medicine Rite could be interpreted as the society of those who have been blessed by Earthmaker. Yet, in spite of these similarities, it was regarded as something *sui generis*. What is, then, the specific character of its organization that gives it this unique position in the Winnebago ritualistic system?

The answer is simple—two traits, the method of admission and the fact that a large part of the tribe belongs to it. While the size of the membership at the beginning of the nineteenth century was unquestionably larger than a hundred years before, still it must always have been very large. Moreover, there were no restrictions as to sex. Compared to any of the other ceremonies, the Medicine Rite thus stood out as a completely democratic organization where, theoretically, the only requirement was membership in the tribe.

This uniqueness in certain fundamental traits of its organization was matched by its purpose and much of its content. Its avowed purpose was, not only, to ensure man a long and happy life on earth but to ensure his return to it after death. Of course all ceremonies were concerned with the first of these two purposes. And the belief in reincarnation had always, as we have pointed out, been well-known and accepted. The uniqueness lay in the method of attaining it. That method had two parts, a magical-symbolical and an ethical-philosophical. Admission to the Rite entailed being shot and 'killed' by a missile and coming to life again. This is the magical-symbolical part. The ethical-philosophical part consisted in strict adherence to a high code of behavior laid down for you and enforced by the older members of the Rite. Only by adherence to it can you surmount death.

Yet admission is only a preliminary to your real task. It only sets your feet, so to speak, in the proper road. You must steel yourself to being shot and 'killed' innumerable times and you must obtain

mastery over death by shooting and 'killing' others innumerable times, so that death, when it finally comes, will be as familiar to you as life. Then, when full of years, you actually die, the passage from life to death will become a mere incident and, being born again will, for yourself, constitute no break with your former existence.

It is quite clear that we are dealing here with the vision of a poet-philosopher and this will become more evident when we recognize the original nature and meaning of the shooting ritual. Shooting missiles into a person was an old and well-recognized shamanistic device. The missiles were generally animal claws and they were meant to kill. Your only protection was to provide yourself with magical counter measures or, to obtain some specific blessing from a spirit. That you could convert what was meant to be a death-dealing missile into a life-giving one by leading a virtuous life was something new when applied, for instance, on the grand scale to be seen in the reinterpretation of the myth of the *Journey to Spiritland* as found in the Medicine Rite (cf. pages 257 ff.). To express it, required a particular language, with new extensions of meaning for words and in which metaphor, symbolism and mysticism ruled supreme, in short, the language of a poet and a philosopher. Myths were reinterpreted in an entirely new fashion and put to entirely new uses. To understand and comprehend it a special and difficult kind of education and training was needed.

Yet, in spite of its esoteric character, one thing was never forgotten, that the ceremony was to serve concrete purposes. It was not the vision of a Road of Perfection to be rewarded by eternal peace and happiness in heaven but, on the contrary, the vision of a Road of Perfection which was to be rewarded by a return to earth and to the vicissitudes of living. It was life that was to be faced, with all its imperfections, trials, and with all the comedies and tragedies that often played such havoc with ideals of perfection.

Indeed the imperfections of life intruded themselves into the poet-philosopher's vision, despite his attempts to exclude them. It was impossible, for instance, for individuals to forget that they were not only members of the Medicine Rite but, likewise, warriors and often shaman. Thunder, as the idealists might well do against the presence

105 575 771 796 of shamanistic practices in the Rite, they could never quite exclude them and the only answer they possessed was to condemn them and show how they led to dishonor, death and destruction.

This interweaving of the concrete and the symbolic and mystical led to a double, at times even a triple, set of significances for every action and word and which, occasionally, reached incredible heights of complication, intricacy and subtlety.

105 174 796 Since no other ceremony resembles the Medicine Rite in the respects just mentioned, we may well stop and ask ourselves what could have led to its creation? What is the cultural meaning of this new mode of expression, this new type of reinterpretation of ancient beliefs and attitudes? Allowing for the natural creative impulses of our Winnebago poet-philosophers, it is not unreasonable to suspect that some particular circumstance or circumstances must have called them forth.

Ordinarily, any attempt to determine such a matter among the American Indians, in the absence of an authentic historic record, would mean mere speculation. Fortunately this does not hold true for the case in point. There are indications within the text of the Rite itself and some historical evidence which proves pretty conclusively that, in its present form, the Medicine Rite is a development late in Winnebago history and after the coming of the French in 1632. We can, in fact, date it more precisely. The otterskin pouch and the shell used in the shooting ceremony come from the *midewiwin* ceremony of the Ojibwa. The Winnebago obtained them from the Fox and this could not possibly have been before 1680-1690.

Now, the Winnebago between 1650-1900 were passing through a very serious crisis. Their numbers had been seriously decimated by ferocious struggles between them and the Illinois and Fox and by the diseases introduced by the Europeans. The influence of the French, as well as the new conditions resulting from French encroachment, were playing havoc with the old order of things. Nor must we underrate the influence of the French missionaries.

[182] That a new type of ceremony should have appeared among the Winnebago just then cannot be ascribed to mere chance. It must bear some relation to the crisis. The moment we put the two to-

gether much that would otherwise remain inexplicable about the Medicine Rite becomes clear—its nostalgia for the past, the idealistic and idyllic setting, the absence of any reference to war, the insistent condemnation of shamanistic practices. We can then see it for what it is, the attempt of the priest-poet-philosopher to meet the new and hitherto unknown threats to the old way of life by demonstrating, first, what merit and virtue inhered in the Winnebago civilization of the past and, secondly, by showing how it could be recovered and safeguarded against all outside attacks. The creators of this ritual-drama were concerned only with the description of the Road of Perfection, a road that was to lead the Winnebago back to the past and then forward again. Only if we fully realize that we are not dealing here simply with the inward vision of some poet-philosopher but with the spiritual crisis of a people will we be able to explain the burning intensity that animates the participants.

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But, let us forget for the moment the fact that the Medicine Rite is of late appearance in Winnebago history and let us forget the crisis that gave it birth and try to assign it its proper place in Winnebago thought.

We saw before how the warrior ideal received its glorification in the warbundle ceremonies. Nothing comparable to such a eulogy of war and of the warrior's viewpoint existed for the other half of Winnebago life, for the arts of peace. Indications that it was attempted are innumerable but these attempts seem never to have succeeded to any marked degree.

And so the Winnebago, apparently, had to wait until late in their history, until a crisis of major proportions was threatening to disrupt their whole culture, before the ideal which had always been expressed in the symbol of the chief of the tribe could find its full and adequate expression in the present Medicine Rite. That this expression came so late in their history must not obscure the fact that it represents part of a very old struggle between two aspects of Winnebago life that had always been seeking a resolution. It is not only in Winnebago history that a philosophical-ethical ideal has received its highest expression in the midst of a social-economic crisis, as I need hardly point out.

105 174 182 796 Whether, before the coming of the Whites, other crises of equal intensity had ever threatened the security of Winnebago life we do not, of course, know. What we do know, however, is that before Winnebago civilization finally broke up and disintegrated completely, about twenty years ago, a religion of a new type essayed the same task that the Medicine Rite had undertaken and developed a ritual of considerable beauty with a quality all its own. I am, of course, referring to the Peyote Cult.

## 6. THE HISTORY OF THE MEDICINE RITE

105 796 174 The Medicine Rite is clearly the product of a long development. For proof of this we have not only direct historical evidence but fairly convincing internal evidence. I have already called attention to the fact that the otterskin pouch, the shell and, in fact, much of the whole present shooting ritual stems originally from the *midewiwin* ceremony of the Ojibwa. We know that they are the originators of it and that it spread from them to the Pottawattomie, Menominee and Fox and then to the eastern Dakota and Iowa. The eastern Dakota already had it in 1765. The Winnebago were brought into contact with it by the Fox and the Iowa. We must assume that this could not possibly have been earlier than 1690 and, far more likely, it was later, anywhere between 1710 and 1730. To judge from its present form and content, nothing else was borrowed than the shooting ritual and its appurtenances, apart from a number of songs, at least, from the linguistically and culturally distinct Fox. More was probably borrowed from the linguistically and culturally closely related Iowa.

Two introductory narratives (pages 92 f. and 94 f.)[1] profess to tell how some of the pouches were obtained but they can hardly be accepted as too accurate. In so far as any credence can be placed on what they say, it would appear that they were presented to two Winnebago, whose names are given. No mention, however, is made by the givers of these gifts, one an Iowa and the other a Fox Indian, of their be-

 1 [not processed -Analyst]

longing to the *midewiwin*. Nor do the two Winnebago say anything about their having been incorporated into a ceremony of their own. Yet some connection there must once have been between these gifts and the beginnings of our Medicine Rite, for otherwise there would have been no conceivable reason for their inclusion. 105 796 174

Since everything else in the Medicine Rite of today, apart from the shooting ritual, is so completely different from the Ojibwa and Menominee *midewiwin*, the only two we know reasonably well, we must assume either that a new ceremony was created then and there with the shooting ritual as its nucleus or that the shooting ritual was incorporated into an older Winnebago ceremony. All the evidence at our disposal points to the latter alternative. We have also to assume that this older ceremony contained shamanistic practices of the type that were characteristic of the Night-spirits' Rite.

That it was not the Night-spirits' Rite itself upon which the Ojibwa shooting ritual was grafted, of that there can be little doubt. Fortunately, we have a clue from a very unexpected source, the Pawnee. These Indians have a ceremony called *The Ceremony of the Medicine Men*, where we find the following remarkable resemblances to the Medicine Rite: a shooting ritual which causes the individuals shot to fall prostrate to the ground as if dead and then rise again; the conception that the framework of the lodge consists of snakes; a figure called the sacred woman; the importance of Turtle; a membership possessing occult powers strictly guarded and kept secret from the outside world; a highly elaborate symbolism, etc. Chance must be ruled out here. The only thing we have to decide is how the Winnebago happen to possess a ceremony so similar to that of the distant Pawnee with whom they had practically no contact. Direct borrowing is out of the question. 105 171 174 796

To me there seems to be only one possible explanation, namely, that the Winnebago and the Pawnee, the Winnebago to a smaller extent, were members of that larger civilization which we mentioned before and which had its roots in Mexico, and of which the Pawnee have preserved the essential traits whereas the Winnebago have preserved only vague memories of it and some special survivals.

Assuming then that the older ceremony upon which the Ojibwa

105 shooting ritual, plus its appurtenances, the otterskin pouch and the
171 shell, were grafted, was in content very much like the present Pawnee
174 Ceremony of the Medicine Man and, organizationally, like the
796 Night-spirits Society; let us see now what changes were necessary to have this older ceremony approximate to the present Medicine Rite.

105 First, of course, the meaning of the missile shot into the individual
174 being initiated and into the members of the Rite had to be reinter-
796 preted and its overt shamanistic implications removed. The stimulus for that unquestionably came from the Ojibwa shooting ritual. The linkage of the shooting ritual with the doctrine of reincarnation is, however, something entirely new.

The second transformation came about when the Tear-Pouring ritual was grafted upon this older rite. This last named ritual, apparently, was part of the very elaborate ceremonies connected with the dead although, today, it is not found in the official Four Nights' Wake. What is, however, found there is the myth of the *Journey to Spiritland* which has been taken over *in toto* into the Medicine Rite and subjected to a complete and fundamental reinterpretation. I feel that it is the linkage of these elements from the funeral rites with the older form of the Medicine Rite that brought about its basic transformation and gave us the Rite of today, with its stress on reincarnation and on the doctrine of the Road.

The third new trait requiring an explanation is the role of Earth-maker. He is a very old Winnebago deity and was evidently regarded as the supreme deity before the coming of the Europeans. He seems, in fact, to be the counterpart of the well-known Pawnee supreme deity *Tirawa*. Nevertheless, the influence of Christianity in, at least, unifying his characteristics and functions and accentuating his supremacy over the other deities, as well as the theory that he is the creator of all things, must not be excluded. The association of the two crossed lines with him cannot be accidental, even although the symbol itself is very old and is more specifically connected with the cardinal points.

There is, besides, some semihistorical evidence for indirect Christian influence. In a narrative purporting to be an account of the origin of a well-known French half-breed family among the Winne-

bago, named Decora, a statement is made that the son of the French founder of the family by the daughter of the tribal chief, introduced the figure of Earthmaker into the Medicine Rite. Such an individual would, indeed, have been the ideal person to have done just this. According to the narrative, he was taken, while still a very young child, to France and brought up there for a number of years. He was still only a boy when his excessive homesickness forced his father to send him back to Wisconsin and there he was rigorously subjected to the old Winnebago education for youths. 105 174 796

Thus he was almost made to order to symbolize the meeting of the two civilizations and to become one of individuals best qualified to understand the nature of the crisis threatening his people and the need for a new religious and philosophical synthesis to surmount it, at least, spiritually . . .

It is in some such fashion that we must visualize the growth and development of the Medicine Rite. Only if we bear in mind the various strands that have gone into its making and only, when we realize that in its final integrated form, it is a work of art sprung out of the poignant needs of a people facing a soul-trying ordeal, only then, can it be properly understood, evaluated and appreciated.

[pp. 78 ff. not processed]

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ AD
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12

*Stewart: Washo–Northern Paiute Peyotism*

105[A]

| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ute | Kai | Kio | Cho | Kio | Ara | Dej | Ind | Wis | Sac | Ioj | Ioj | Kio | Sac | Cro | Del | Win | Tot |
| 1. Staff of authority of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2. "Cane" 3-5 feet long | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + |
| 3. Tufts of hair at top | + | •+ | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | | •– | + | + | •+ | + | + | – | – | + | + |
| 4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane | + | + | + | + | – | •+ | – | + | – | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 5. Passed around | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 6. Always passed between drum and altar | + | (+) | + | | (–) | + | | | | | (+) | (+) | + | + | + | + | | |
| 7. Person holding staff leads singing | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 8. Rattle of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 9. Gourd | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 10. Decorated | + | + | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 11. Handle beaded | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 12. Tufts of hair on top | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + |
| 13. Rattle passed around | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 14. Person singing shakes rattle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 15. Individual rattle also used | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + |
| 16. Only after midnight | + | | + | + | – | – | + | •– | – | – | + | + | •– | + | – | + | + | + |
| 17. To accompany singer holding staff | | | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | + | + | + |
| 18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers) | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | •+ | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | |
| 19. Each feather tied separately | + | + | + | + | (–) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | + | | |
| 20. Binding decorated | | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | + | | |
| 21. Passed around | + | | – | + | (–) | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | |
| 22. Held with staff while singing | + | | •+ | + | + | – | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | |
| 23. Individual fans also used | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 24. Only after midnight | + | | + | – | (+) | – | + | •– | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body | + | + | (+) | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | | |
| 26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •– | – | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | – | + | |
| 27. Used at special midnight ritual | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | | – | + | |
| 28. At special morning ritual | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | – | + | |
| 29. Placed near altar in front of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | |
| 30. Only leader uses whistle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | •– | + | + | – | | |

(Continued on next page)

C
D
W
171
795
796
[534]

For Noted to Element List see p. 114.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12

CW 171 795 746 [534] [276]



PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ut | Ka | Ute | Cheh | Kio | Ari | Zu | Zu 2 | Wis | Ne C | Cr 1 | Cr 2 | Ess | Ojo | Cro | Ap | Tim |
| 31. Paraphernalia satchel | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer) | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 34. Water drum | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 35. Iron kettle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | + |
| 36. Pottery jar | •+ | | − | − | | − | + | + | | − | − | − | | + | | − | |
| 37. Charcoal in water | + | + | + | + | (−) | + | + | + | | + | + | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | |
| 38. Head of deerskin | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | (+) | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 39. Skin tied on before meeting | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie | + | + | + | + | •− | •− | •+ | − | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 41. 7 stones represent days | | | + | − | | − | − | − | | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | |
| 42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 43. Star significant | + | + | + | | •(+) | | | | | | •+ | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | |
| 44. Skin removed at end of meeting | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + |
| 45. Only one drum used | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 46. Drumstick of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | +•(+) | | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 47. Individual drumsticks also used | + | + | + | + | (−) | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | − | + | |
| 48. Only after midnight | + | | + | + | | •− | + | − | − | − | + | + | − | + | − | + | |
| 49. Drum and drumstick passed around | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 50. Separate drummer accompanies singer | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 51. Drummer usually at right of singer | + | •− | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 52. Only men drum | + | + | + | + | − | •− | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | − | + |
| 53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader | + | + | + | + | • | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 54. Cedar sprinkled on fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 55. Usually by cedarman | + | •− | + | + | + | •− | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 56. Only one bag of cedar used | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | •− | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 57. Tobacco furnished by leader | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | − | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + |
| 58. Rolled in maize husks | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | − | •− | − | |
| 59. In oak leaves | + | − | + | + | −•(+) | | − | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | − | |
| 60. In paper | − | − | − | − | − | | − | − | − | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | |

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP2



| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ut | Ed | Ka | Cos | Ka | Ar | Dr | Ba | Wa | Wo | Ci | Co | Ba | Ha | Ou | Os | Ar | Tse |
| 61. Only leader's tobacco used | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | – | + | + | •+ | + | + | (+) | + | + | |
| 62. Tobacco lacking from ritual | •(+) | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | •+ | – | – | | |
| 63. Peyote furnished by leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •– | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | |
| 64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button" | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | |
| *65. Decorated with white lines | – | – | – | | (–) | | – | – | – | – | – | •– | – | – | – | – | | |
| 66. Placed on altar in front of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 67. Is not eaten | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote" | + | + | + | + | (–) | + | + | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | | |
| 69. Form cross | + | •+ | (+) | + | | + | + | | | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | | – | | |
| 70. Peyote for eating passed around | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •– | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 71. Only leader's used until after midnight | | •+ | + | | (+) | •– | + | •+ | – | | + | •– | •– | + | •(+) | •– | | |
| 72. Leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 73. Called chief or peyote chief | + | + | •+ | + | (+) | •+ | •+ | •+ | | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | • | + | + | |
| 74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 75. Has complete charge of meeting | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 76. Assistants | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 77. 2 assistants | | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | |
| 78. 3 assistants | + | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | + | – | + | + | + | + | |
| 79. 4 or more assistants | | – | •– | – | – | + | + | •+ | – | – | + | – | + | – | – | – | | |
| 80. Chief drummer | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | |
| 81. Sits at leader's right | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •– | •– | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 82. Drums for leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 83. Drums for each singer in turn | – | – | – | – | – | – | | •+ | •– | – | •+ | •– | •– | •+ | – | •– | | |
| 84. Cedarman or cedar chief | + | – | + | + | + | •+ | + | – | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 85. Sits at leader's left | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | •– | •– | + | •– | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 87. Offers prayers at specified times | + | – | + | – | (–) | + | + | – | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | | |
| 88. Fire chief or fire tender | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 89. Sits at north side of entrance | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 90. Starts fire before meeting | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | | |

(Continued on next page)

C
W
171
745
746
[276]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche NO6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12

106[A]





| Element | Groupings | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ute | Mo | Ute | Cheo | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Cheo | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute |
| 91. Replenishes fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 92. Cleans up and arranges ashes | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 93. Conducts people in and out | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | °+ | °+ | + | + | – | + | + | + |
| 94. All bathe before attending meeting | + | + | °+ | – | | (–) | | °– | | °– | °+ | °+ | + | + | + | °+ | | |
| 95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi) | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | °+ | °+ | + | + | °+ | + | + | |
| 96. In open | | | °– | – | – | (–) | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | + | – | + | + | + |
| 97. Entrance or opening toward east | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °– | °– | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | + |
| 99. Concave side toward east | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 100. Line on top of moon | + | + | + | + | + | (–) | + | °– | °– | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 101. Fire east of leader's place | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | + |
| 102. East of moon | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 103. Sticks placed to form right angle | + | + | + | °– | + | + | + | | – | – | + | °+ | °– | + | + | + | + | + |
| 104. Old methods used to start fire | | – | °+ | – | | + | + | + | | – | °– | °– | – | + | + | – | | |
| 105. 4 sticks on fire | | | (+) | °– | (–) | + | °– | °– | | °– | + | °+ | | + | + | + | °– | |
| 106. Special fire stick (poker) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | | |
| 107. Worshippers congregate outside | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | – | – | °– | °– | – | + | – | + | °– | |
| 109. Meeting starts in evening | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | – | + | + | + | + | + |
| 110. Leader prays before entering meeting | + | + | °+ | + | | °(–) | | – | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + |
| 111. Order of entrance: chief first | + | + | + | + | | + | + | °+ | | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | + |
| 112. Chief drummer second | | + | + | + | | + | + | °+ | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 113. Cedarman third | | – | + | + | | – | + | – | | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 114. Men (before women and children) | | – | + | + | + | (+) | | – | | + | °+ | °– | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 115. Women and children allowed | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 116. Fire chief last | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + |
| 118. Men, either side, near leader | + | – | + | + | + | + | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 119. Women, either side, near entrance | | – | °+ | + | + | + | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 120. Separation of men and women | | – | – | + | (–) | – | °+ | °+ | + | + | + | °– | °+ | + | – | – | | |

Comanche ND6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12 ●

*Stewart: Washo–Northern Paiute Peyotism* 105[A]

| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ut | Wa | Ma | Cow | Ma | Ar | Dai | Dai | Wi | Ma C | Co | Co | Ch | Ho | Ho | Pa | Pa | Tem |
| 121. An assistant on each side of leader | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | (+) | + | + | + | + | | |
| 122. Women sit behind men | | − | − | − | •− | − | − | − | − | − | + | − | − | + | − | + | | |
| 123. All pass to south of moon | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + |
| 124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc. | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | R | + | + | + | | + |
| 125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush) | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | − | − | − | | |
| 126. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | | + |
| 127. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •− | − | + | + | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | | + |
| 128. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + |
| 129. Leader prays aloud during smoking | + | + | + | + | + | •− | + | + | − | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | | + |
| 130. Others pray silently | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + |
| 131. Smoke blown toward moon | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | − | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | | + |
| 132. All motion toward moon | + | + | + | + | + | •− | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | | − | | |
| 133. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •− | − | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | | + |
| 134. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise | + | − | + | + | + | + | − | + | − | − | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | | + |
| 135. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | − | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + |
| 136. Chewed | + | − | + | + | + | − | − | + | − | − | − | •− | + | + | + | + | | + |
| 137. Peyote incensed before passing | + | + | + | + | (+) | − | | | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | |
| 138. Peyote passed round circle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + |
| 139. Clockwise | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + |
| 140. All take 4 "buttons" at start | + | •+ | + | + | − | •− | + | + | | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | | + |
| 141. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | − | | | | − | •+ | + | •+ | + | + | + | | + |
| 142. Chest patted during swallowing of button | + | | •+ | + | (−) | − | | | | − | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | | + |
| 143. First peyote eaten before singing starts | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | + | + | | − | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | | + |
| 144. Paraphernalia brought out by chief | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | | |
| 145. Laid on ground between leader and altar | + | + | + | + | + | •− | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | |
| 146. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire | + | | + | − | (+) | •+ | + | − | | − | + | •− | + | + | + | + | | |
| 147. Paraphernalia incensed | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | | − | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | | |
| 148. 4 times | + | + | + | − | | + | + | + | | − | + | + | •− | + | + | + | | |
| 149. Worshippers incensed | + | •+ | + | − | | + | + | + | | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + |
| 150. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

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Co
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171
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796 ●
[276]
[783]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12
C
W
171
P45
P46
[53]



PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

| Element | Ute | Kiowa | Ute | Comanche | Ute | Kiowa | Ute | Ute | Ute | Cheyenne | Ute | Ute | Kiowa | Ute | Ute | Arapaho | Tewa |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 151. 4 times | + | | + | – | | + | | | | – | •– | + | •– | + | | + | + |
| 152. Whistle placed near altar | + | | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | •+ | + | + | | + | – | + |
| 153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 154. Sings fixed opening song | + | + | + | | | + | + | + | | – | + | + | •+ | + | •+ | – | |
| 155. Holds staff in front of him | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 156. Another beats drum | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 157. Chief drummer beats drum | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 159. Each man sings 4 songs | + | + | + | + | | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left | + | | + | + | | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | |
| 161. Rule against women singing | + | •– | + | + | | (+) | + | + | – | + | + | •– | + | – | •+ | •– | |
| 162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 163. Midnight water call and recess | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •– | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | |
| 164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc. | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent | + | + | + | + | + | | •+ | •– | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 166. Fire replenished | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 167. 4 sticks added | | | | | | | – | | | | (+) | (+) | – | + | | + | |
| 168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 169. Cedar sprinkled on fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | •+ | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | |
| 170. Whistle blown by leader | + | | + | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | + | •+ | + | + | | – | + |
| 171. 4 times | + | | + | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | + | + | •+ | + | | – | + |
| 172. Leader sings fixed water song | + | + | + | | | + | + | •– | | | + | + | + | + | + | – | + |
| 173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | – | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 174. By women | | – | – | •+ | •– | – | – | – | – | •+ | – | – | – | – | – | – | |
| 175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket | + | | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire | + | | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •– | |
| 177. Water bearer draws incense to water | + | | + | + | + | •+ | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 178. Water bearer prays, blesses water | + | | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 179. While smoking cigarette | + | | + | + | + | + | | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays | + | | + | + | + | + | | – | – | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + |

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12 ●

**Stewart: Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism**

| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Cre | Cro | Cro | Cro | Ara | Ara | Ara | Ara | Ara | Ara | Ara | Tot |
| 181. Water bearer spills water on ground | + | – | + | | + | + | + | – | – | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + |
| 183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") mives with water | + | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled | + | – | | + | | | – | – | – | | + | + | – | + | + | | | | + | + | + | + |
| 185. Water bearer takes water outside | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water | + | | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | | + | •(+) | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight | + | | + | + | + | • | – | – | •+ | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | •– | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 190. Prays to cardinal directions | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 191. Leader incensed upon return | + | | + | | | + | + | – | – | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 192. Replaces whistle near moon | + | | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used | + | | + | + | •+ | – | + | + | •+ | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible | | •– | •+ | | + | + | + | + | | | | •(+) | + | – | + | •(+) | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 195. Urged not to eat too much | | | •+ | – | | – | – | – | | | – | (+) | | | | | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 196. Individual prayers aloud, by men | + | + | •+ | + | + | – | + | •+ | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 197. By women | | | •+ | – | •+ | – | + | + | – | | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + |
| 198. Supplicant first gets tobacco from leader | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | – | | + | + | + | + | + | + | | •+ | + | + | + | + |
| 199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | – | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start | + | | + | + | + | – | + | + | – | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 201. Butt handed to leader | | | + | + | (–) | – | | •+ | – | | – | + | •– | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar | | | + | – | (–) | – | | – | – | | •– | + | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar | | | + | – | (–) | – | | – | – | | – | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar | | | + | – | (–) | – | | + | – | | + | + | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader | | | •+ | + | (–) | – | – | + | – | | + | + | – | + | + | + | •– | + | + | + | + | + |
| 206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + |
| 207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual) | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | + | •+ | •– | | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 208. Water brought in | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 209. By woman | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •– | – | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |

Totals: 11[8]
C 171
W 745
796
[674]
[712]
(Continued on next page)

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche N06
Winnebago N P12 ●
C
W
171
J85
1946
[264]



PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ute | Kai | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Ute | Cha | Cro | Ara | Ara | Ara | Ara | Ara | Ara | Tot. |
| 210. Who blesses water | + | + | + | + | | + | + | •– | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + |
| 211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside | + | + | + | | (+) | + | | – | – | | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + |
| 212. Woman returns immediately with food and water | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •– | •– | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 213. "Peyote breakfast" | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •– | •– | + | •+ | + | – | + | + | + | + | + |
| 214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door) | | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat | | – | + | + | – | – | + | – | – | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | •+ | + | •+ | + |
| 216. Water, rice, fruit, meat | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | •– | – | – | – | – | •+ | •+ | + | + |
| 217. Water, maize, fruit, candy | | – | – | – | – | •+ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 218. Water, maize, meat, fruit | | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 219. Parched maize in sweetened water | | + | | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | •+ | + | •+ | + | + | + | – | + |
| 220. Candy also included in the breakfast | + | – | + | – | + | •+ | – | •+ | – | – | •– | – | •+ | – | – | – | – | + |
| 221. Food blessed | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 222. Wash before eating | | | – | – | – | – | | •+ | | – | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | |
| 223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing | + | | + | + | + | + | | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | •– |
| 224. Before eating | + | | + | – | | + | | •+ | •+ | – | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | •• |
| 225. Drum untied | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + |
| 226. Water from drum drunk | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | | – | •– | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | |
| 227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism" | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | •+ | + | | + | | |
| 228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents | + | + | + | – | + | •+ | | | •+ | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body | + | + | + | + | | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | – | + | | – | | |
| 230. All parts of drum passed, handled | + | + | + | + | | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | – | + | | – | | |
| 231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief | + | | + | | | + | | | | | | + | + | + | + | – | | |
| 232. Food passed clockwise | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 233. Replaced on floor between fire and door | | | ? | + | | + | | | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | | |
| 233a. Order before passing reversed | | | | + | | + | | | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | | |
| 234. Taken out by fire chief | + | + | •+ | + | | + | | | – | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | |
| 235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M. | + | + | + | + | + | + | | •– | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + |
| 236. Sun greeted | + | | •– | – | (–) | – | | •+ | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | | + |
| 237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke | + | + | •+ | – | – | (–) | + | + | | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + |
| 238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting | | •– | •+ | + | – | + | | | | + | •– | – | – | – | – | – | | |

Comanche N06
Winnebago NP12



| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 15 T | K-A | Kio | Com | Kis | Ab 8 | De 1 | De 2 | Win | No C | Cr 1 | Cr 2 | WHS | Ute | Gos | W-P | Tos |
| 239. Feast follows meeting | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible | | − | − | − | − | •− | − | − | + | − | − | − | − | − | − | − | |
| 241. Staff, rattle, and feathers | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 242. Whistle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + |
| 243. "Chief peyote" | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 244. Crescent of earth | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 245. Crescent of ash | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 246. Fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 247. Fire stick | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 248. Water | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 249. Person blessing water | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 250. Peyote breakfast | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit) | + | | + | − | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + |
| 252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God | + | | + | | (−) | + | + | + | + | | | | + | + | •+ | + | |
| 253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 254. Peyote's function is medicinal | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | + |
| 256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication | + | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | |
| 257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | | + | + | + | | + | + |
| 259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | | + | |
| 260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify | + | + | + | + | (+) | •+ | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | |
| 261. Modifications permitted by new revelations | + | | + | | | | − | + | | | | | − | + | | •− | + |
| 262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble | + | + | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | | | + | + | | + | |
| 263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | + | + | | + | |
| 264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road | | + | •+ | − | | − | + | + | | + | | | + | + | | + | + |
| 265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road | | + | •+ | + | •+ | − | − | + | + | − | | | + | + | | + | |
| 265a. (See note) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

[A] C W 121 [795] 796 [1141] [574] [276]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche N06
Winnebago NP12



## NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

C
W
171
795
796

1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab S: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celloluid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

4. Ab S: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab S: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab S: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab S: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound toegether is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06
Winnebago NP12



27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).

28. Gos: See note 265a.

30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin).

32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).

33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget).

35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).

36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).

37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).

38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).

40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).

43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).

44. Gos: See note 265a.

46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).

48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).

50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).

51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).

52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).

53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).

55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).

56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).

57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).

58. Gos: See note 265a.

59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).

60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).

61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).

62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.

63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔgʷeɔi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin).

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938) 1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ1D

Winnebago NP1R



C W 171 745 796 C [276]

64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not re-decorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

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Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf). C

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre). W

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99. 171

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf). 795 796 W [778]

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 50, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons). C [29]

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget). C [562]

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon). C

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget). [352]

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125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

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165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kic: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kic: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kic: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

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Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready, she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants, Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WRS: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WRS: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223–225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WRS: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251–265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154–58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WRS: damê apê (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form nî'mê apê (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Malouf).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

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264. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre).

265. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kie: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Noon). Gos: Simply called the path of life (Malouf).

265a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940.

### Program: Native American Church

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief.

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting-it of 5-finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## *Preface*

There is only one way—to have a native himself give the account in his own mother tongue. The problem then resolves itself into finding the native. That is the task I set myself and through a piece of good luck I succeeded in accomplishing it. As the manner of its accomplishment is an interesting and illuminating story in itself, I hope I shall be excused for telling it in some detail.

In the year 1909 I commenced field investigations among the Winnebago Indians living on the Nebraska side of the Missouri River, about twenty-five miles south of Sioux City, Iowa. These Indians had the reputation of being fairly conservative. Perhaps the fact that a Presbyterian mission had in seventeen years succeeded in converting only one family, and a family which then unkindly died without leaving issue, may bear this out.

Among these Indians there lived a family named Blow Snake, consisting of a father and a fair number of children all grown up. Two of these were men quite well known in the tribe for a variety of reasons. These two became my principal informants. They had lived the most exciting of lives, for to the usual round of adventures that fall to the lot of most Indians of that region now, they had added a murder and a conversion, the murder first and the conversion afterwards. The older of the two seemed to be by far the more gifted. His memory was simply prodigious. He recounted to me a ceremony which took him two months, working practically six hours a day, to tell

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12



The Winnebago term for berdache is very uncertain. The last known case in Wisconsin was called dejáŋčowiŋga, usually translated as Blue Lake Woman (dejáŋčowiŋga—dejáŋ: lake or sea; čo: blue; wiŋ: female name ending; ga: name referrent suffix). In Nebraska mention was made of another berdache who had lived in Wisconsin and was called čoranažiŋga or Standing Blue (čoranažiŋga—čo: blue; ra: article; naži: to stand; wiŋ: elided with naži as naziŋ, female name ending; ga: name referrent suffix). The term liáŋge was suggested as a general word for berdache by two Wisconsin informants, and it was translated by several people as "a no good," "a eunuch," "an unmanly man." This word was still in common use in Wisconsin in 1947, but was used among young men as an insult or teasing epithet. These young men claimed to know nothing more about the word except that it carried connotations of weakness and effeminateness. 192 838 [195] [578]

The characteristics of the Winnebago berdache agree closely with those reported for the Omaha and Ponca but the word used to designate a berdache in both of these latter tribes was miᵃ-qu-ga, according to Dorsey (378–379). Among the Oglala the berdache had been blessed by a pote wiᵃkte or hermaphroditic buffalo, wiᵃkte being the word for berdache. A certain amount of shame had become attached to the role among these Plains Siouan groups by the time it was reported by Dorsey in 1889 and Wissler in 1912, but Wissler (p. 92) said of the Oglala, "In the old days all the berdaches were very wakan." 171 838

Knowledge of the berdache among the Winnebago was provided in 1946 through a chance conversation with M.M., a woman who was then about thirty years old. Her parents had been the first Christian converts at the Winnebago community near Black River Falls, Wisconsin, and M.M. had once heard her mother mention "Men who dressed as women." When M.M. attempted tc question her mother, at the writer's request, for more information about the berdache, the mother, then a woman in her seventies, became very angry and said in Winnebago, "Why did you ask about that? That is something we want to forget and not talk about." 124 838 [797]

Another woman, S.S., a younger sister of Radin's famous informant Crashing Thunder, was next approached and she offered the following account.

> Yes, I used to hear about that, but I don't know much about it. Once there was a man who fasted and he learned that if he dressed like a woman he would be the richest person in the world, but if he wore men's clothes, he die soon. She wore earrings, and bracelets, and necklaces and a shirt like a woman, but his brothers told him . . . her? . . . if he . . . she? . . . put on a skirt they would kill him. There used to be people like that, not just that one. I think liáŋge is the word for them but I don't know, now it's just a slang word and means a no good. Those people did women's work, and they did it real good, better than even women could. [192]

Later M.M., the original informant, was able to prevail upon her mother to provide more information. Her description included all of the points given above except mention of wealth accruing to the berdache. However, M.M.'s mother added that berdaches had been blessed by the moon and had the gift

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and Kiowa. Mooney was present at a palaver at which a Kiowa reported upon his visit to Wovoka. The Kiowa was told by the Paiute prophet to stop dancing; consequently, he branded the Plains Ghost Dance leaders as frauds. "Sitting Bull insisted on the truth of his own representations, and when accused by A'peatan of deceiving the Indians in order to obtain their property, he replied that he had never asked them for ponies which they had given him. . . ." (p. 914). Another Arapaho leader, Black Coyote, appeared to Mooney to be a man who "wishes to be a great priest and medicine man. At the same time he keeps a sharp lookout for his temporal affairs and has managed to accumulate considerable property" and three wives. He was leader of the Ghost Dance and other Indian ceremonies, tribal delegate to Washington, captain of Indian police and county deputy sheriff. He repeatedly asked Mooney "to get him a permanent license . . . to enable him to visit the various reservations at will as a general evangel of Indian medicine and ceremony" (pp. 897–898).

P 668 797 P [276] [431] [578]

Lesser's (pp. 60–76) data on the Pawnee Ghost Dance leave no doubt that Frank White, its introducer, used the dance for personal aggrandizement. Some of his special doctrines and practices were the following: he was sole authentic prophet; he demanded payment for use of designs seen in visions; he sold all paraphernalia; he was paid for the privilege of holding dances; a small face painting by him cost $5.00. In spite of his eating peyote and drinking whiskey, the Ghost Dancers lavished gifts, money, and pretty girls on him. The revolt against him seemed to result partly from jealousy of his wealth.

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The leader of the Caddo Ghost Dance was John Wilson, who was also a shaman and a peyotist.[26] The fact that Wilson later modified the peyote cult in order to collect hundreds of dollars certainly places him in the class of proselyters for gain par excellence. La Barre (p. 158) tells of the wealth he received and makes a classic understatement: "The economic motive seems evident in much of Wilson's behavior."

Except for the case of John Wilson, missionary to the Shawnee, Quapaw, Caddo, Delaware, Osage, Potawatomi, and others, the literature contains but few direct statements suggesting that financial gain motivated agents to spread the peyote cult.[27] However, the very fact that peyote is universally considered to be a cure and that leaders are often looked upon similarly to shamans suggests that carriers of the cult could have been paid for their services. A great many other Indians are known to have proselyted beyond their own tribes.

W [795] [797]

The Winnebago, John Rave, went to South Dakota, Minnesota, and Wisconsin to preach the new religion after establishing the cult among his own people in Nebraska. A Kiowa, Jim Aton, a famous peyote doctor, held meetings for the Creek, Yuchi, Shawnee, Kickapoo, Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Kiowa-Apache, Kiowa, Mescalero-Apache, and Quapaw; also whites and Mexicans.[28] Have these men and other famous proselyters spread the gospel of peyote solely out of love for their fellow men? No doctrine of the peyote cult commands members to go forth and convert other tribes.

That believers have gone out to spread the cult because of possible economic gain is established in the case of Ben Lancaster. It is almost impossible to conclude that Leo Okio and Lone Bear had no other ideas than religion when they held meetings in Nevada. My Uinta Ute informants accused the Sioux, Sam Roan Bear, of spreading peyotism for money, and when the members were broke, he did not

[26] Mooney, 1896*b*, 914–915; La Barre, 1938, 65, 151; Petrullo, 1934, 158.
[27] La Barre; Schultes, 1938.
[28] La Barre, 52, fn. 114.

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614 this twofold interpretation really represents the war bundle in a two-
778 fold aspect, first apart from its association with the war-bundle feast and second from its association therewith.

That the clan is the unit of organization comes out clearly from the following facts: First, there are as many buckskins offered as there are clans; secondly, the order in which the guests are invited [554] is determined by the reciprocal relations existing between the different clans; and, thirdly, by references in the speeches. That the clan unit, on the other hand, has influenced the ceremonial aspect of the feast is apparent from the fact that offerings are made to the clan animals. For example, in the following ceremony offerings are made to the Eagle and Wona'γire Uagkeik, who seem to be of slight importance apart from their association with the clan.

x 796 The ceremonial unit in all Winnebago societies consists of four bands, four representing the sacred number, and the ritual consists ● [801] of the passing of the paraphernalia from one to the other unit until 621 it returns to the host. The war-bundle feast corresponds to the 571 other societies in every respect, except that instead of four there are ten bands (with the band of the host, representing the eleven existing clans of the tribe). Had not the consciousness of the relation of the war bundle to the clan been so strong the ceremonial unit would probably have been found here, as it is found in all the other ceremonies.

x 796 Summing up, then, we may say that the war-bundle feasts represent a mixed type corresponding exactly to no other Winnebago ceremony, and that beginning as a war feast it developed in addi- [575 tion some of the features of a secret society of the type exemplified 614] by the Night Spirit society, with a unit of organization based on the clan; and that finally it became a general feast of thanksgiving to the entire Winnebago pantheon.[8]

### CHARACTERIZATION OF THE SPIRITS MENTIONED IN THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST

776 All the spirits to whom offerings are made in the war-bundle feast are guardian spirits, with the exception of Earthmaker. Some of them are conceived of as being human, while others have animal forms, and still others have an indeterminate body. The peculiar spirit, Disease-giver, has a form of his own, his body being divided into two halves, one half dispensing death and the other life. Earthmaker has no form, and in the few cases that he has been known to bless individuals he always lets his presence be known by some sign. There is generally a difference between the conception of the spirit as such and the form that he is supposed to assume

[8] The order in which these aspects are enumerated is not to be taken as representing a direct line of evolution.

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## Divisions of Time

192 The Winnebago reckoned time from the beginning of each new
● 805 month (wira). There are slight differences in the names of the
184 months between the Nebraska and the Wisconsin branch of the tribe, as appear below:

*Nebraska*

1. Hundjwi'ra, month when the bears are born.
2. Hûndjwiro-a'gɛnina, last bear month.
3. Wâk'ek' iru'xᵉ, raccoon-breeding month.
4. Hol'doginâ'na, fish become visible (because of the ice clearing away).
5. Maiᵃ da'wus, month that dries the earth.
6. Mank'era, dig-the-earth month (when the crops are sowed).
7. Wixo'teera, the month that makes them gray (the month when the tassels of corn appear and the fields look gray).
8. Wida'djox, when the roasted ears of corn burst.
9. Wiza'zek'e, name of a bird that appears this month.
10. Pea'maiᵃna'xora, when the deer paws the earth; or Huᵃ-waiᵃjukɛra, when the elks shout, or whistle.
11. Teaik'i'ruxe, deer-breeding month.
12. Tea'hewakeu', when the deer shed their horns.

*Wisconsin*—

1. Hu'ndjwi teonina, first bear month.
2. Hu'ndjwiro-a'gɛnina, last bear month.
3. Wâk'e'k'iruxewi'ra, raccoon-breeding month.
4. Hol'doginâna, fish becoming visible.
5. Maiᵃda'wus, drying-of-the-earth month.
6. Mank'e'ra, digging month.
7. Maiᵃnaᵗ 'uᵃna, cultivating month.
8. Wixo'teerera, tasseling month.
9. Huᵃ waiju'kɛra, elk-whistling month.
10. Teo'maiᵃna'xora, when the deer paw the earth.
11. Teaik'iru'xira, deer-breeding month.
12. Teahe'yakeu'na, when the deer shed their horns.

805 According to a member of the Bear clan, the following were the
221 activities throughout the year. The accounts given of these activities differed in certain details, depending upon the clan connection of the informant, because he naturally associated some months with specific activities of his clan, such as clan feasts.

1. Members of the Bear clan give their feast.
2. Month in which the various Winter Feasts are given.
3. Month in which people hunt.
4. Month in which people begin to fish.

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5. Month in which people hunt deer. At this time deer are very tame and frequent the streams. 885 221

6. Month in which people plant corn, squash, and beans.

7. Month in which people hunt deer. At this season deer are very fat. The hunters return to their homes at the beginning of the eighth month.

8. Month in which people dry corn and store it away.

9. Month in which people tie the rice stems into bundles and go through them with their canoes.

10. Month in which the people go on their fall move and hunt the larger animals.

11. Month in which the people go on their fall move and dry their meat.

12. Month in which the people return to their winter quarters.

From this calendar of activities it is apparent that the longest period the Winnebago remained at home continuously was three months, the twelfth, first, and second. They were at home also throughout the sixth and eighth months. Whether they were in their villages at intervals during the fourth and fifth months is hard to determine. It is probable that the fishing or hunting trips consumed a considerable portion of, if not the entire, month. During the ninth, tenth, and eleventh months the Winnebago were undoubtedly away from their villages all the time. 221

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you are indeed a chief. And then even the people of other tribes 622
will say that such and such people have a good chief."

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The Indians always cele- 796
brated in summer. It was a season of rejoicing because the chief 622
fed the tribe. It somewhat symbolized a mother bird feeding her young ones. The Thunderbird clan is in charge of the tribe, [614]
and when the chief feeds the tribe all rejoice and the standard is raised.

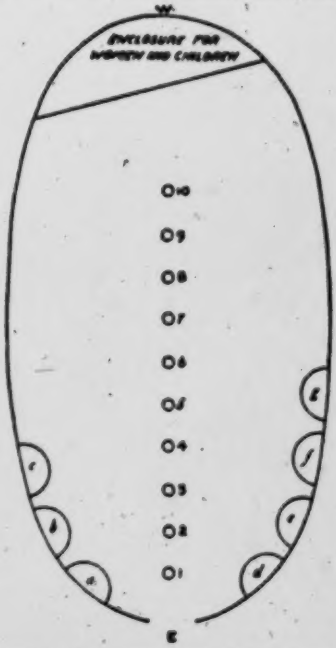


FIG. 36. Plan of Bear clan war-bundle feast as given by John Hare. a, Host. b, Relatives of host. c, Warrior clan. d, Wolf clan. e, Thunderbird clan. f, Eagle clan. g, Buffalo clan. 1, Burkskin for earthmaker. 2, Burkskin for turtle. 3, Burkskin for thunderbird. 4, Burkskin for sun. 5, Burkskin for moon. 6, Burkskin for morning star. 7, Burkskin for earth. 8, Burkskin for fire. 9, Burkskin for heroes. 10, Burkskin for night spirits.

THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (FIRST VERSION)

Two versions of the Bear clan 614
feast (fig. 36) were obtained, for- 796
tunately both from a man and a 782
woman. The feast was generally given during the month called *Hundjui'ra* (i. e., bear month), corresponding roughly to our [805]
January.

Informant, member of the clan (female): The host tells his sister's son, or, if he should not happen to have any, a member of the Wolf clan, to build a long lodge. This attendant then fills kettles either with blueberries or raspberries or any other fruit that the bears are fond of, and places them on the fireplace. Sometimes dried corn is also brought.

The participants enter the lodge at dusk. The host precedes the invited guests. In entering they proceed in a direction contrary to the hands of the clock. The host always sits at the southeast end of the lodge and the guests occupy seats next to him, proceeding from the southeast to the northwest.

When all are seated the host rises and addresses his guests as follows:

"Members of my clan who are seated here, I greet you all. To those from whom I have sprung I make these offerings of tobacco [537]
and this headdress (i. e., red feathers). I was told by my ancestors that if I did this I would obtain for myself, for my relatives, and for

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614 796 782 the members of my clan, sufficient blessings to guide us all safely through life, and to make our lives pleasant. I will not tell the [537] origin myth (of our clan) because it is sacred and it must not be told without the proper ceremony, for the telling would then injure an individual. Besides there are many clans beside our own represented here and it is not proper that these should hear it."

614 796 He then speaks of the four ancestral bear-beings who were created in the beginning.

When the feast is ready one of the Wolf clansmen gives four soldier whoops. Then the fire is allowed to die out, and as soon as the lodge is in complete darkness the feasters begin to eat. Before [533] eating, the host sings four songs. These are the clan songs and are only sung at these feasts or on the occasion of the death of a clansman.

Those who partake of food at the feast may be members of any clan except the Bear clan. The members of the latter clan do not eat at their own feast.

[264 415] Everyone attending must bring his own wooden spoon and must use it with his left hand. There are four wooden dishes in which the food is served. These are arranged in the lodge in a certain manner.

The guests sit around these dishes and eat with their own spoons.

[805] The feast is given in the first bear month. Some one generally watches the moon and as soon as the new moon is visible the feast begins. The feathers and the tobacco to be offered are placed in four little troughs made of basswood bark, each about 1 foot long. These are then placed on the south side of the fireplace.

When the meal is over the attendant or Wolf clansman generally says a few words of thanks to the host and then the host in turn thanks those who have participated and tells them that the feast is now over. All now pass out, the one next to the host leaving first and the rest in succession, the host himself remaining until the end.

[778 782] When the feast is over the tobacco and the feathers are taken away from the lodge and carried in a southern direction to a place (under a tree) that has been especially cleared and sanctified. Any person may thereafter go there, offer tobacco, and ask for long life.

614 796 537 782 Informant, member of the clan (male): "Well, soldiers, your moon is about to appear. It is good. So come forth, for it is at this time that the spirits asked to be remembered. Let us send, on this occasion, to the place at which we all originated, whatever we possess of wealth. This is what the spirits asked of old. Let us therefore put the kettle on and prepare the feast.

"This is the way in which we prepare the feast. I offer only one small kettle. Here is my offering. I pray that what I offer may suffice and bring enough blessings from the spirits to include all the

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THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (SECOND VERSION)

614 796 Informant, member of Bear clan: As soon as the first bear month is visible they have their feast. They do not use meat but products of the earth. The feast is held at night, never in the daytime. The [805] people always save up food some time before giving the feast. The [825] favorite dishes of the bear are sugar and blueberries. When they can not obtain these they use other vegetables. Indeed, any product of the earth is all right.

When they prepare to give the feast they get the food ready and have some tobacco on hand. On the first day of the first bear month they put on the fire some kettles with dried corn mixed with fruit and others containing green corn. The latter is boiled. They also have [203] ground sugar. When these are ready the feast attendant goes around the village to invite the people. When all have entered the lodge and taken their proper seats, then the host rises and addresses them:

614 796 537 "All my relatives who are seated here, I greet you. It is not through blessings of our own that we can always make offerings of tobacco. My grandfather was blessed by a spirit called Black Fur, a spirit who is in command of all the other spirits. This spirit told us that we could perform the ceremony in this way. It is for that reason we have made an effort to heat water for him.[8] The first request we make is that if we ever go on the warpath, we may conquer. Our grandfather was also blessed with life by the bear spirit [7] and he told him that he would grant him and his posterity whatever they asked. [782] We shall therefore send to this spirit a pipeful of tobacco, two kettles full of food, and some tree sap.[9] So much will we send him, accompanied by an offering of tobacco.

"As soon as the attendant gets everything ready the feasting will begin."

Then the attendant puts food in every plate, and when he has finished the host speaks again.

"Relatives, it is said that when the plates are supplied to you [264] filled with food, then you should begin to eat. Do not, however, use your right hands in eating."

The host tells the feasters to use their left hands in eating, and they obey him. Before starting to eat all the fires are put out and the people eat in the dark.

614 796 In the spring of the year this feast is given again. Twice a year it is given.

The feast [6] was always given with some choice dried corn that had been put away for this event. Once when it was time to give the [841] feast in the first bear month, the two daughters of the man who was

[6] Boil soup and prepare food in general.
[7] Black Fur is apparently a ceremonial expression for bear.
[8] Ceremonial name for maple sugar.
[9] What follows is an account of why this particular feast was discontinued.

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After the speeches were all over the offerings were taken down and thrown outside through the opening in the roof of the lodge and then night songs were sung. Before throwing the offerings out they marched around the lodge carrying them in their hands. At the approach of dawn the drum, gourds, etc., have about made the entire circuit of the lodge, and as soon as they reach the host he begins to sing the night songs. After these he sings turtle songs, and then the songs are over. The host now calls upon some one to give the war whoop, so that the spirits in the west may hear their voices. Nanhi'tcoga gave the war whoop. All joined in, and the feast was over.

*Descriptive notes on the Bear clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant, member of clan: About the middle of winter, in the month called deer-breeding month, the Winnebago used to go out hunting, and they gave a feast to all the spirits who had blessed them.

They are very careful not to have the kettles boil over, because they believe that a man's soul (*naγi'rak'*) might be wandering about and is likely to come down along the chain of the kettle. If it doesn't boil over, the man is likely to conquer the possessions of this spirit (of an enemy) in the next battle.

The invitation sticks are sent out only to men who own a war bundle, and the clans are invited in the following fashion: First the Wolf, then the Hawk, and then any order.

The contents of the war bundle represent the following: The crow means strength in running. The turtle and the spear, the blessings which enable one to get out of difficulties, the former referring especially to difficulties in crossing water; they also enable their possessor to foretell when enemies are approaching and to tell an individual how many enemies he is going to conquer. The flute represents the voices of musical birds. When an enemy hears them it paralyzes him and he can not run.

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called "concentrating one's mind" upon the spirits, upon the details 787
of the ritual, or upon the precise purpose to be accomplished. All 153
other thoughts were to be rigidly excluded, they believed. This was the insistent admonition of the Winnebago elders to the youth who was fasting. He was to center his mind completely on the spirits, for his blessing would be in direct proportion to the power of concentration he was capable of. The Winnebago believed that the relation between man and the spirits was established by this concentration and that no manner of care in ritualistic detail could take its place. Very frequently failure on a warpath or lack of efficacy of a ritual was attributed to the fact that the Indian or Indians had been lacking in [154] the intensity of their "concentration."

*Offerings and sacrifices.*—The theory of offering and sacrifice held 782
by the Winnebago has been discussed before. To the important 776
deities offerings were made at the great ceremonies. These offerings consisted of tobacco preeminently, buckskins, and whatever the particular spirit was supposed to like. The animal spirits were given their favorite foods—honey to the bear, for instance. Dogs were offered to Disease-giver at the war-bundle feasts. Whether human sacrifices ever existed it is difficult to say. In the tale of *Wegi'ceka* a child is offered to Earthmaker, and there is reason to believe that this may represent a survival of human sacrifice.

Tobacco could be offered at any time and was so offered to the various *genii loci* whenever an individual passed their precincts.

*Prayers.*—For examples of prayers reference must be made to the descriptions of the ceremonies. Among the Winnebago, and doubtless everywhere else, the objects of the prayer are always the socio-economic life values. What in these values is stressed depends upon the ambitions of the individual, and consequently it happens that individuals may pray for abstract blessings or ideal objects, although this is rare. Prayers are undoubtedly always accompanied by a religious feeling when made by the religious man, but frequently become mere formulas in the hands of the lay Indian.

## The Folkloristic Concepts

*The concept of evil.*—It is extremely difficult to understand exactly 776
what the Winnebago concept of evil is. They undoubtedly postu- [512]
late the existence of evil and they have theoretically a host of evil spirits, the *wanop'i'ni cicik*. Youths will be warned not to fast at certain times and children will carefully be kept at home after dark for fear of the evil spirits. Yet in spite of all this, no even fairly definite idea of what these evil spirits are and what they look like can be obtained. One almost gets the impression that the notion of evil spirits belongs to an older strata of Winnebago beliefs and that what we find to-day

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776 is but a faint survival of former times. The older myths are full of references to the evil spirits, and the cosmological myths represent [773] the world as infested with evil spirits who are on the point of exterminating the human race until the culture heroes come to the rescue. It would almost seem as if, from a purely matter-of-fact point of view, these early culture heroes had destroyed all the evil spirits. Certainly they are not regarded as of great consequence, for if they were we ought to find a certain number of prayers addressed to them asking them not to harm anyone. They seem to be mere bogies, personifications of fear, and that is perhaps why they are so intimately connected with darkness.

● 812 At the present time the vast majority of Winnebago ascribe evil, in so far as they explain it at all, to three causes: either to some [688 782] failure on their part to perform a rite in the prescribed way, to the fact that they have not invoked the spirits for protection (i. e., attempted to pass through life without the aid of the spirits), or to the evil machinations of other men. Often one derives the impression that they accept evil and do not try to explain it. It seems to be a trait characteristic of the Winnebago, and perhaps characteristic of other North American tribes, that explanations are developed for the positive aspects of things. Certainly it would require some thought on the part of a Winnebago to explain why a war party that had, in the opinion of the chief, all the necessary requirements for victory, should nevertheless be defeated. He would doubtless find some reason, after a while, but it would be an afterthought and would probably vary from individual to individual. In some cases lack of success would be ascribed to the fact that an individual had been misled by an evil spirit, but this is clearly a secondary explanation because the individual, when questioned, would admit that he had no way of telling whether this was so until he had failed in something. We base this statement on an actual instance.

776 There is some evidence to show that there may have originally existed among the Winnebago a belief that the spirits were neither good nor bad; that they could be either at different times. In two notable instances, that of Disease-giver and Water-spirit, this is true at the present time. The former deity is the only one to whom prayers are addressed beseeching him not to present to man his death-dealing side.

In the myths we find a definite incarnation of evil in the case of [192] a spirit called *Herecgu'nina*. The meaning of this word as given by a Winnebago, and which seems to be justified, is "he whose existence is doubtful." If this is an old Winnebago word it would confirm the view advanced above, that the Winnebago were not very much concerned about the evil spirits. There is, however, a possibility [177] that *Herecgu'nina* is, in part, a post-Columbian development due

105 at least, demand an equal exchange. The crux of the question then
771 was, who is to evaluate the human gift? The answer of the mat-
776 ter-of-fact man was both, the spirits and man. For that reason, he contended, risk and danger must always inhere in the human-god relationship and there was little that could be done about it except to take every precaution one could. This must be accepted. Such was life. Suffering and tragedy loomed large there and the relationship between the deities and man was part of it. The gods could, at best, only help man to keep his balance and maintain his sense of proportion. It had always been a human problem and always would remain one. A whole class of literature, the worak, dealt with this theme. The picture it painted was not too optimistic.

105 It was the priest-thinker who was the optimist. He attempted a
771 time-honored solution of philosophers, that of giving man some of
776 the attributes of divinity, in other words, a greater sense of fixity and
812 security, a greater degree of permanence, and some possibility of foreknowledge.

Winnebago philosophers seem to have attacked this problem repeatedly and suggested a number of solutions. According to one theory, gods and men had been equal in the beginning. At that time all existent beings could transform themselves at will into the one or the other *ad infinitum*. When, however, the world was to take its present shape, all the beings had to transform themselves permanently into the one or the other, into gods or into human beings.

Thus, at one time, man had actually partaken of the divine. This was, of course, only divinity in retrospect, and was not of great
105 importance in developing divine stature for man now. Winnebago
771 thinkers, instead, fell back upon two universally accepted folklorist-
775 tic beliefs, that in the immortality of the soul and that in reincarnation. The first, however, implied a complete and irretrievable separation from the earth and human beings. To be of any value in the task of developing divine traits for man, the soul, the permanent component of man which left him at death had to be bound, in some way, to the earth. This could best be done by reinterpreting the nature of death. This was done by having it merely imply no loss of personal consciousness at all but simply a temporary stumbling.

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The menstrual lodge is never far from the lodge in which she lives. Indeed, it is within speaking distance, so that the occupants of her parents' lodge can hear her. All the utensils she uses are very small. The women stay from 4 to 10 days in the menstrual lodges. The older women stay out the shorter time because they are over it sooner. 841 343

It is said that if the young girls have any lovers they always come to the menstrual lodges at night. This is therefore the time for wooing. It is said that the girls cohabit with their lovers in these menstrual lodges. These girls who have parents are attended by watchers, so that no unworthy men may visit them. They are especially guarded against ugly men, who are very likely to have love medicines. However, generally it is of no avail to struggle against such men, for they are invincible. [584 836] [832]

The women always take their blankets with them when they go to a menstrual lodge, for they never lie down but remain in a sitting posture, wrapped in their blankets. The women are always watched, so that when their menstrual flow comes everything is in readiness and lodge poles are placed around them and a lodge erected above their heads just about large enough to fit their body. They are not permitted to look upon the daylight nor upon any individual. If they were to look out during the day the weather would become very bad, and if they were to look at the blue sky it would become cloudy and rain. If they looked at anyone that person would become unfortunate. For four days they do not eat or drink anything; not even water do they drink. They fast all the time. Not even their own body do they touch with their hands. If they ever have any need of touching their bodies they use a stick. If they were to use their hands in touching their own body their bones would be attacked with fever. If they were to scratch their hands their heads would ache. After the fourth day they bathe in sight of their home. Then they return to their homes and eat. (This, of course, holds only for those whose menstrual flow ceases in four days.) If any women have to stay longer than four days they have to fast for that entire period. They always fast during this period and often some spirits bless them. When a woman who has stayed in the menstrual lodge for 10 days is ready to return to her lodge, she bathes herself and puts on an entirely new suit of clothes. Then her home is purified with red-cedar leaves and all the sacred bundles and medicines removed. Only then can she enter her parents' lodge. As soon as she returns to her parents' lodge after her first menstrual flow she is regarded as ready to be wooed and married. 841 [921]

Thus the teacher of our customs, the Hare, has willed it. At a feast all the young girls nearing the age of puberty will be absent, but the old women, who have passed their climacteric, sit right next to the men, because they are considered the same as men as they have no menstrual flow any more. [831 581 825 886]

If the Winnebago can be said to be afraid of any one thing it may be said it is this—the menstrual flow of women—for even the spirits die of its effects.

If the above account may be taken as a fairly accurate description of the customs connected with the menstrual lodge as they existed in former times, then one point must be regarded as of great interest, namely, that the women permitted their lovers to meet them there. So far as is known to the author, among other tribes having menstrual lodges it would have been considered a crime for any man to come near them. According to our informant the women were indeed guarded while they were in the menstrual lodges, but not so much to protect them against the intrusion of all men, as against the intrusion of unworthy men. From other information obtained, how- 831 841

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796 one. If I participated in this ceremony, I would be able to call it life,
776 I was told. But I did not pay any attention to it. They told me it
539 was good and that I would at the same time be making offerings to
575 Those-with-the-rounded-wood, and that thus I would be able to make use of all the plants that these spirits control, so that I would never be embarrassed when I wished to use them. I have caused people who were ill to become well by means of this ceremony. All of the [824] plants that these spirits control are good ones, and it is easy to obtain life with them. In this ceremony we may also obtain life by dancing. But we must dance earnestly. The leaders of this ceremony have held council over everything, and yet they have selected us for a seat of honor, so that we might greet them in this lodge and that we might be able to use this song while greeting them. You children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you all."

Then he sang an entrance song, and when he finished he repeated the utterances used in entering and gradually made the circuit of the lodge singing. When he was through singing, he again continued the utterances until he came to the place of the host, where he made the circle (with his hands) and stopped. Then he addressed the host as follows:

"I greet you. You wish me to live, and therefore caused a great day to come upon me and upon all my relatives. We have all received a taste of it, and we have all thought of ourselves in connection with life. We are also bringing you a pipeful of tobacco, so that we may strengthen one another. That is what we thought and that is why we are doing it. I greet you."

Then he walked around the lodge until he came to his seat. There he stopped and addressed his seat as follows:

"Seat that is reserved for me and for my relatives, we are about to sit in you; we will do it, and we will think that our lives have been helped thereby. I greet you." Thus he spoke and sat down. Then all the other members of his band sat down one by one.

When they were all seated the lodge was full. Then the host rose and spoke as follows:

"You who are seated in the first position, I greet you; you who are seated in the north position, I greet you; you who are seated in the west position, I greet you; and you who are seated at the end of the
539 road, I greet you. Children of the night-blessed ones who are here, I
796 greet you. My father and my grandfather spoke to me of this cere-
776 mony, and they told me it was good. They told me that the one
787 who first obtained it was named 'Little Red Turtle.' He fasted and
575 was blessed by those whom he called the Beings-with-round-wood. By these was he blessed at the noon hour, and he was taught what to do. There they taught him all. At a place where the stars [825] touched land they caused it to become night, and there they blessed

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12

# Winnebago Berdache

*By* NANCY OESTREICH LURIE

114 THE following account draws attention to the fact that the berdache role was still evident in Winnebago culture until close to the turn of the century, and adds somewhat to the data of certain clear cultural parallels between this Woodland Siouan group and such Plains Siouan tribes as the Omaha, Oto, Iowa and Ponca. The description is not complete and certain points are equivocal. Thus, all of the available ethnographic documentation will be presented so that anyone intending to use the information will be able to assess its value. The description given here agrees, Dr. Raul Radin said in a conversation, with his unpublished Winnebago data.

124 During the course of general field investigations conducted from time to time during the years 1945 to 1947, it was apparent that Winnebago informants in Wisconsin tended to be reticent to discuss the matter of the berdache. Their embarrassment may indicate that knowledge of the subject was withheld. However, even where excellent rapport existed and individuals became sufficiently interested in the topic to question people who might not speak directly to an ethnographer, some details remain uncertain. Furthermore, while the last berdache died somewhat over fifty years ago, the picture is confused by the former tendency of Winnebago culture to invest given forms of traits with opposite meanings and functions when used under different circumstances. At the present time, the recollections of many informants reveal that they know only half of the total function of given forms, or that they attempt to synthesize features which now appear as contradictory.

While it was noted in 1950 that the Nebraska Winnebago were quite willing to speak of matters that in Wisconsin are still considered sacred or as things to be kept secret from whites, the Nebraska Winnebago simply knew less about older traditions.

It was agreed generally that the berdache was a man who had taken on this role because he had been directed to do so by the moon, a female spirit, at the time of his vision quest. The berdache dressed as a woman, performed women's tasks better than any normal woman could perform them, and had the ability to foretell future events. However, not all Winnebago prophets were berdaches. One informant mentioned that berdaches sometimes married other men, but no data were obtained concerning the attitude of the society toward the husband of a berdache. Most informants felt that the berdache was at one time a highly honored and respected person, but that the Winnebago had become ashamed of the custom because the white people thought it was amusing or evil. By the time the last known berdache attempted to fulfill the role, his brothers threatened to kill him if he "put on the skirt." This berdache then affected a combination of male and female clothing, fearing that he would die if he did not at least attempt to follow the directions given him in his vision of the moon.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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867 787 the warpath.[7] So they say. If you do not become an individual warranted to lead a war party, yet mistaking yourself for one although really an ordinary warrior, you "throw away a man," your act will [686 be considered most disgraceful. A mourner might harm you in 627] revenge for the fact that you have caused him to mourn, and burn you with embers. Your people will all be sad, both on account of your disgrace and on account of the pain inflicted upon you.

787 My son, not with the blessing of one of the spirits merely, nor with 867 the blessing of twenty, for that matter, can you go on the warpath. 776 You must have the blessing of all the spirits above the earth, and of all those on the earth, and of all those who are pierced through the earth;[8] of all those under the earth; of all those who are under the water; of all those that are on the sides of the earth, i. e., all the four winds; of the Disease-giver;[9] of the Sun; of the Daylight;[10] of the Moon; of the Earth; and of all those who are in control of war powers—with the blessings of all these deities must you be provided before you can lead a successful war party.

867 My son, if you cast off dress[11] men will be benefited by your deeds. 554 You will be an aid to all your people. If your people honor you, it will be good. And they will like you even the more if you obtain a

721 787 701 686 [622]

[7] Among the Winnebago any individual who has been blessed with the necessary powers to lead a warpath may do so, but it is absolutely essential that his blessing directing him be of such a nature that every possible contingency is included therein. Such complete blessings are, of course, not common nor can they be obtained except through unusual exertions. If you are blessed with just the ordinary or incomplete war powers and you nevertheless undertake to lead a war party, you may either be defeated or perhaps only partially successful, and, what is worse, you may lose some of the warriors who started with you. Your recklessness has thus caused the death of some of your fellow tribesmen. It is understood that every warrior before starting on the warpath turn his "blessing" over to the chief of the tribe for examination, and if the chief considers it complete the warrior is not held responsible for the lack of success or loss of life. If the chief does not consider an individual's blessing sufficient to justify the object he has in view and forbids the warrior to go, and if the latter nevertheless goes, or granted the case he does not even submit his "blessing" to the chief for scrutiny, and sneaks out, then he is held directly responsible for any mishap on the warpath. The relatives of any individual thus killed may hold the war leader responsible and demand compensation; or, as is indicated by ll. 4 a few lines later, a mourner (i. e., one who has been placed in mourning by the criminal foolhardiness of the war leader) might attack, perhaps kill him, without being held guilty of any crime. It must of course be understood that such occurrences would seldom take place. We must, however, remember throughout these "teachings" that one of the objects of the old men was to draw the most alluring pictures of the rewards that would fall to the lot of those who followed in the footsteps of their ancestors, and, on the other hand, to draw the most lurid pictures of the wretchedness that befell those who deviated, no matter in what details, from the customs established by age.

773 776

[8] According to the Winnebago creation myth, when Earthmaker, the creator of the earth, first came to consciousness and began creating life the earth on which we were to live was in continual motion, and nothing that the former could do seemed to be able to stop it. From above he threw down grass, trees, etc., but all was of no avail. Finally he hit upon the happy expedient of pinning the earth down at the four corners by means of four enormous snakes, or, as some say, by means of four mythical animals known as water spirits. It is to these that the old man is referring here. According to the story, even these were of no avail, and it was only when he finally placed four mythical beings known as "Island Weights" at the four corners that our planet stopped spinning. These "Island Weights" seem to be identical with the spirits of the four cardinal points, but they are not to be confused with the four winds mentioned later.

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[9] A deity conceived of as dealing out life-giving powers from one half of his body and death-giving powers from the other half. He is also supposed to disseminate disease. Disease-giver is a literal translation of the Winnebago word, but this probably does not convey the exact meaning. There seems to be no parallel to this peculiar deity among the other Siouan tribes or among the Algonquins.

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[10] Daylight or light is conceived of as something different and distinct from the sun.

735

[11] That is, if you give away things frequently, especially to your people.

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## The Wolf Clan

### INTRODUCTION

614 173 Three versions of the origin myth of this clan were obtained. The second is the most interesting, for it gives the popular account of descent from the clan animal-ancestor, although it claims that he, in turn, was created by Earthmaker. One other important characteristic is the statement that the original clan ancestor married a human being and that from them the present members of the clan trace their descent. A similar type of descent is mentioned in a number of myths that can best be interpreted as village origin myths. The ownership of war bundles has also at times been linked up with descent from some spirit.

614 Very little is known at the present time about the functions of the Wolf clan. It is quite clear, however, that the clan once possessed powers of considerable importance. From the fact that the Wolf people are still occasionally called "minor soldiers" and that they are so closely linked with the Bear clansmen it is likely that their functions were similar in nature to those of the Bear people. They probably assisted the latter.

[823] Water was sacred to the Wolf clan as it also was to the Water-spirit clan. A person was not allowed to tell a Wolf clansman that he looked like a wolf nor allowed to sit on a log in a Wolf clan lodge. [682] If a man kills a Wolf clansman accidentally and then sits on the log in a Wolf lodge, he has to be freed.

According to one informant, the Wolf clan at one time possessed four sticks, which they would use and with which they kept time while the drum was beaten.

[582] According to one informant, the Wolf clansmen were the only people who were allowed to intermarry.

The Wolf clansmen give a feast when a Bear child is born, to show respect for their friend. They give the child a name of their own clan.

[796] The Wolf feast is held in the spring of the year, when the ice melts from the creeks and everything begins to grow. At the feast the [262 252] clan origin myth is told and the members of the other clans are allowed to hear it. The food used is boiled rice.

### ORIGIN MYTHS

#### FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 539 776 [823] In the beginning the Wolf clan people came from the water. Therefore their bodies are of water—i. e., their sacred possession is water. There were four male wolves and four female wolves, and as they came up from the sea and swam toward the shore, one after the other, they caused waves to go before them. Therefore one of

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614 they sang songs, but I do not know them. I was not taught them.
539 Finally children were born to both of them, and they gave them
776 names. They called one of them *Wave* on account of the wave coming before them on their starting out. Because the four original
[551] wolves in the middle of the ocean had four different colors, therefore they have names *White Wolf*, *Green Hair*, *Gray Wolf*, and *Black Wolf*. When the clan began to get larger they taught their children these names.

When a large number of different clansmen are traveling and they have to cross some large stream and the wind is high, they call upon some Wolf clansman to calm the wind. This clan holds the water
[823] very sacred. They do not even die in the water.

It was at this first meeting that they made friends with the Bear clan. Therefore these two clans love one another.

THIRD VERSION—TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN (FRAGMENTARY)

The original wolf brothers appeared from the bottom of the ocean. When they got to the top of the water they started for the shore singing. When they got to the shore they saw footprints of bears who had just gone by. They said, "Our friends have just gone by." That is why they are the friends of the Bear clan. They were going to the meeting place. There a black hawk was gathering together all the different clans. Finally he finished and he said, "It is done." When he said this a wolf howled. They had forgotten him. They said, "We have forgotten him. Let some one go after him." So some one went after him . . .

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533

CLAN SONGS

*First song*

This body of mine that I am walking.
This body of mine that I am walking.
This body of mine that I am walking.
On the earth I am speaking.

*Second song*

This body of mine that I am walking
This body of mine that I am walking
This body of mine that I am walking.
In the waters am I speaking.

CLAN NAMES

cōgwcōgx' ne'ie'arainera (wolf clan)[a]

614 Cōgwcōgx.....Hunting dog.
551 Cōgtcogh'a.....Wolf.
Ragwiwiga.....Wolf (archaic name).

[a] The following names are from the Dorsey file.

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614 Members of the clan were buried by members of the Thunderbird
[764] clan.

Water was sacred to the Water-spirits. It was considered an
[823 insult for a stranger to peep into a pail standing in one of their lodges.
576] One informant explained the custom as follows:

"If one enters a Water-spirit clan lodge and looks into a pail and there should be no water in it, the person will turn away and this action of his will be construed as begging. It would be proper to take a drink of water if some were there."

[302] A round spot is painted with blue clay on the forehead of a Water-spirit man (pl. 46).

The Water-spirit feast is held in the fall and spring. Cracked or ground corn is used. Water-spirit people partake before anyone else at this feast.

### ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 In the beginning, when the clans began to form, the Bird clans
539 came upon the earth first and alit upon an oak tree at Red Banks;
776 and when they alit upon the oak tree they became human as we are now. Then the Water-spirit clan was to appear at Within Lake; and the waters began to whirl around in the lake and all the bad things that inhabited the waters began to appear. Just before the Water-spirits appeared some burned embers came up from the waters and the whirling became faster and deeper. As all the great things began to appear it always seemed as if the Water-spirits were the next to appear, but not until the last did they come up. Thereupon the waters began to quiet down. Then a white Water-spirit appeared with its horns curved toward each other, and when it came upon the earth it became human and walked. Then the other clans said, "Now, then, this is the chief. This is all that we have been waiting for. Now we shall divide ourselves" (into groups). Then they started for the lodge of the Thunderbird clan and entered it. There they named one another and divided one another into clans and there they counciled with one another.

### CLAN NAMES

WAKUCKÉI HIK'IK'ARANJERA (WATER-SPIRIT CLAN)

614 Ho-adaja"jank'a.....Shining horns.
551 Hena"pga.....Two horns.
Hep'i"winga.....Handsome horn.
Hematank'a.....Five-horned.
Hedjopga.....Four-horned.
Mank'a"ojuga.....He who plants medicines.
Mank'a"hodja"pga.....He who looks at medicines.
Ma"i"dnip'i"winga.....Good cold spring.

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776
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[823]
[789]
[551]



The four cardinal points and the winds that are there, they are in control of. If on a very nice day a deer's voice is heard, that day will become bad, and if on a very bad day a deer's voice is heard, that day will become nice. The deer people are those who are in control of the weather. And they also have a name, *He-who-plays-with-the-winds*, and a woman is called *She-who-goes-with-the-wind*. The deer would always sit with the wind back of them. Thus they roamed all over the earth. Not one place on this earth did they miss.

Once, when they had come home, their eldest brother suddenly fell down (dead). "What is the matter?" they said. And the second-born said, "Our oldest brother is not saying anything. I don't know what the matter is." And then they asked their youngest brother and he said, "Our oldest brother is dead. That is the way Earthmaker arranged things." And then he talked to the dead brother and he said, "Earthmaker has made a place for you to go to now that you are dead. You have not attained a large share of life and you have left us who remain on the earth in a pitiable condition. But now that you are going home I want to ask you something. Those years that are still coming to you, distribute among your relatives. This I beg of you. And this is the second request: May the warpaths that you did not go on (by reason of your death), may the war honors that you did not obtain, may all these things be distributed among us. This I ask of you, my dear brother. And this is the third request: May the food that you did not eat, the nuts, the sweet fruits, etc., all that you liked on earth, may it all be distributed among us. This is what I ask of you. And this is the fourth request, my dear older brother: May all the wearing apparel that belonged to you as well as all the materials that you stored in back of your tent, never to be touched by you, but may we who are left behind use it all. This I ask of you. Wherever you are going, may these requests of those whom you left here behind on earth be before you."

Then the younger brother took some red paint and he said, "Brother, I am going to paint you. Thus they will recognize you at home. That is the way we will always do it hereafter. Those who are to live after us will paint us in the same way. Now this is the manner of painting. The forehead and the corners of the eye are to be painted in black and red streaks, respectively, and the chin and the front part of the throat are to be painted red." Then he dug a grave. Then they buried him. Then they sang the songs and when they were finished with this, they traveled around the earth and came to the gathering place of the clans. When they came to that place they were people—i. e., human beings. They lived their own life just as they had as deers. All the incidents of their traveling as well as all the characteristics of deers were used in the names

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ceremonies as the war-bundle feasts, buffalo dance, sore-eye dance, 776
etc. We will enumerate but a few of them here.

The principal deities of the Winnebago are: Earthmaker, Sun, Moon, Earth, Morning Star, Disease-giver, Thunderbird, Water-spirit, etc.

*Earthmaker.* He is known to the Winnebago under three names: *Ma'una*, earthmaker; *wajo'gu'ere*, he-who-makes-something; and *wa'ga'ni xeere*, the great spirit. Of these the last is the most archaic, which might imply that originally Earthmaker was merely the great spirit. In the hands of the shamans, to whom the development and elaboration of the great Winnebago ceremonies like the medicine dance and the war-bundle feasts were due, he became [756] almost a true monotheistic deity, benevolent but unapproachable. In the older myths, like the trickster and hero cycles (cf. for instance, the *wak'djak'ega* and hare cycle), he is hardly mentioned except as a clear afterthought. In another cycle, like that of the twins, where he is definitely mentioned, he is treated like a spirit similar to the other spirits, although superior to them, but in no way resembling the benevolent deity that we find in the origin myth of the medicine dance (p. 350). How and when this development took place, and whether the introduction of Christianity had anything to do with it, it is difficult to say. All indications seem to be overwhelmingly against the latter assumption, although it can not be entirely dismissed. As we have indicated in a previous paper,[9] there appears to have been a well-developed pre-Columbian belief in a good and bad spirit among the woodland Indians. The Winnebago shared in this belief and Earthmaker developed his present position through the displacement of the chief bad spirit called *Herecgunina*.

The older conception of Earthmaker seems to crop out also in the [781] occasional attempts of individuals to obtain blessings from him. (Cf. the tale of Wegi'ceka, p. 291.)

Little can be learned as to the actual appearance of Earthmaker In the origin myth of the medicine dance he is described as though he were clearly anthropomorphic. The symbol associated with him [776] in the war-bundle feasts, the cross, is unquestionably supposed to 823] represent the four cardinal points.

Earthmaker is not supposed to bestow any definite blessings on man. He is, in a general way, expected to give them life. There is but little real worship of him because he is far removed from man and is supposed to come into relation with them only through his intermediaries, the spirits. According to the cosmological myths he

[9] The Religion of the North American Indians, Journ. Am. Folklore, vol. 27, no. 106.

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2. Types of songs: The songs may be divided into two groups 796
(1) Those that are sung in connection with myths and after the 756
speeches of a more general nature, and (2) those that are sung to 533
accompany definite and specific actions. These latter can therefore be most conveniently divided into (a) minor dance songs, (b) major dance songs, (c) initial songs, (d) terminal songs, (e) loading songs, and (f) shooting songs. The medicine men distinguish only between four kinds of songs major and minor dance, terminal, and shooting songs. Each has a different rhythm and music. For purposes of description, however, the above division is more convenient.

3. Types of action (1) Blessing: Either hand is held outstretched, 756
palm downward, and moved horizontally through the air. It is 788
always used when entering and leaving the lodge and on any occasion where an individual has to pass from one part of the lodge to another.

It is always rendered as "blessing" by the Indians, and they particularly insist upon the fact that the "blessing" was not conveyed by any words used in connection with the action, but by the action itself. Each person who is thus passed answers with a long-drawn-out "ho o o" and with an obeisance of the head.

A modification of the above is the "blessing of the head," which consists of a simple laying of the hand upon the head, both the giver and the recipient keeping their eyes fixed upon the ground, the recipient slightly bending his head. A few mumbled words accompany this action.

(2) Direction of walking in the lodge: Individuals always walk con- 756
trary to the hands of the clock. A person in the east hand must 796
make the entire circuit of the lodge in order to pass out. In only 823
exceptional cases can this rule of passing be broken, and that is when an old and especially privileged member crosses from his seat to that directly opposite him during the shooting ceremony. I was given to understand that this was an extremely expensive privilege.

4. Types of ritual: Parts III, IV, and V can be so analyzed that 796
they fall into a fairly well-defined number of units, consisting of 756
speeches, songs, and movements. These units are nine in number. Artificial distinctions have been avoided in this division, as far as possible. The units are (1) entrance ritual; (2) exit ritual; (3) fire ritual; (4) presentation-of-food ritual; (5) shooting ritual; (6) initiation ritual; (7) sweat-lodge ritual; (8) smoking ritual; (9) basic ritual.

Of these, (3), (5), (7), (8), and (9) are found in Part III; all except (7) and (8) in Part IV (a); and all except (7) in Part IV (b). (8) does not actually occur in Part III, but is described in detail in the myth related there. The order in which we will discuss these ceremonial units is not the order in which they follow one another in the ritual. Some are interwoven with one another. Both these factors will, however, be considered in the description of the entire ritual, following the description of each ceremonial unit.

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place to which he is going he will live far more happily than here among men. 796x

(3) *Filling of the ceremonial pipe and the smoking ritual.*—Before the basic ritual of the first division is begun the attendants take some tobacco and, filling the ceremonial pipe, place it near the war bundle. As the first pipeful is intended for Earthmaker, the stem is directed vertically. Then as soon as the appropriate songs have been sung the attendant lights the pipe and passes it around the lodge, so that all the men may smoke. When the pipe returns to the host it is again filled. 796x 782 [276 782]

This procedure is repeated three more times, but as in each case the offering is to a different spirit, the arrangement of the pipestem is different. At the second filling of the pipe the stem is turned to the west for the Thunderbirds; at the third, it is turned to the south for Disease-giver; and at the fourth, it is turned toward the earth for the earth and the spirits that live under the earth. [782] [776]

(4) *Tobacco offerings to the spirits.*—This occurs in two forms, (*a*) and (*b*).

(*a*) When the buckskins have been prepared and rolled up on the frameworks, then all those participating march around the lodge to the place where the war bundle is lying and pour tobacco upon it. Then they offer tobacco to all the spirits worshiped. The spirits mentioned specifically are, however, few in number, the offerings being really directed to the six cardinal points, east, north, west, south, above, and below. [823]

(*b*) This is a more specific offering and all the spirits are mentioned by name and short addresses are made to them. It is repeated three times once in the Sweat-Lodge ritual, then in the first, and lastly in the second division

In the Sweat-Lodge ritual the offering of tobacco is made to the following spirits: Earthmaker, Thunderbirds, Great Black Hawk, Night Spirits, Disease-giver, Sun, Moon, South Wind, and Eagle. 796x 776 782

In the first division the order is different and more spirits are sacrificed to. The spirits to whom tobacco is offered are the following: Earthmaker, Thunderbirds, Night Spirits, Disease-giver, Sun, Earth, Moon, Eagle Chief, Day, South Wind, North Wind, Black Hawk, Wonavi're Ūankcik, and Great Black Hawk.

In the second division the following spirits receive tobacco offerings: Night Spirits, Earth, Water, Pigeon Hawk, Moon, Earthmaker, Thunderbird, Great Black Hawk, Disease-giver, South Wind, and Sun.

Each spirit is addressed by name and then a handful of tobacco is poured into the fire.

(5) *The buckskin offering to the spirits.*—Short prayers are addressed to those spirits who are to receive buckskins and requests for power

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



brothers, though they were his elders. The two older brothers made up their minds to do away with Hagaga. They went into the forest together and drew an image of Hagaga on the ground, painting his heart with red earth. They were preparing to thrust a spear into the heart of the image and thus kill Hagaga but he was on the limb of a tree watching them and yelled at them as they were ready to strike—"Hey, what are you about to do?" They looked up, discovered him, and were so scared at their detection that they ran away without stabbing the figure. He followed them to Trempealeau Mountain where the spirits live. 539 575 756

This mountain is supposed by the Winnebago to be hollow and they think all the powers of the medicine lodge reside therein. In the center of this mountain, the medicine lodge is supposed to be laid out, with the cardinal points of the compass indicated by poles. The poles represent serpents and the tie pieces are serpents, because to the Winnebago medicine lodge members the serpent is sacred.[a] [823] 575 756 [825]

The various animal deities came into the center of the lodge. They were, in order of entrance, the otter, the loon, the crane, the turtle, the fox, and a number of others. Nowadays when the medicine lodge ceremony is in progress, the Indians make song imitations of these various animal spirits coming into the lodge. In the main, they agree with the conception of creation held by the Menomini.[b] The writer related the Menomini story to Henry Dick, who said it was almost the same as the Winnebago. Their initiation ceremony starts at an earlier age which coincides with the age of puberty for both boys and girls and their medicine lodge ceremony requires more time than that of the Menomini; —four days for the lodge ceremony and two days for the testing of the initiate. While the ceremony is in progress, the candidate must not go to sleep. If he does, one of the members will shake him. The first two days and nights, the ceremony is mostly chanting and explanations, while the final two days and nights are given over to active floor work. The candidate must learn to do exactly as he is told and to obey instantly. The members, during the ceremony, tweak his ears and do various things to him in imitation of the animal deities. He is then shot with medicine bags to demonstrate their power. That is, the otter skin bag is grasped by the head between the fingers of the left hand of the medicine lodge member, and touched to his own lips; then having given it his power as a medicine man, he extends it toward the initiate, crying "Hui hui" and the initiate must drop his head immediately and fall over or backward. He is shot four times in the course of the ceremony. 575 756 796

On the fifth and sixth days, two or three of the older members take

[a] Fred Mallory's children killed a large puffing adder a day or two previous to the relating of this story and the local Winnebago did not like it, prophesying all sorts of dire disasters that would visit them.

[b] See Milw. Publ. Mus. Bull., Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 14, note 2.

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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796 The shrine about which this ceremony centers is also a bundle, in
778 this instance owned by one of the waiters, but not necessarily so. Its
535 setting up followed a definite procedure. A small mound of sand was first heaped up on the grassy floor of the lodge. A wooden bowl was placed on the top center of the mound, and a tin bowl directly west of the mound. These were both filled with maple syrup. Four men placed handsful of tobacco at the base of each of the syrup containers. Then the bowl of syrup was removed from the mound, to be placed adjacent to the tin vessel, and from the open buffalo bundle a number of buffalo tai's were taken and placed upon the mound. Four small
● [823] eagle feathers, dyed red, were inserted in the margins of the mound to point in the four cardinal directions.

123 The leader, accompanied by musicians with rattles and one drummer,
535 then sang one set of four songs. A dance song followed, practically
796 everyone present joining in the dance, forming in line behind the leader and circling the lodge in a counter-clockwise direction. All the men were in the forepart of the line; the women followed the men. As the line was forming, several of the men urged the humble subscriber to this account to join the dance. Never before having witnessed the particular performance, I was entirely ignorant of the correct procedure, but realizing that this was a common dance in which anyone could participate without special preparation or careful observance of conduct, I, to my downfall, consented. I joined the line where it was forming immediately in front of me. The dance started before I became aware of my embarassing position; for whereas all the other men were grouped to comprise the leading half of the line, I was far back in the formation, distantly removed from the other representatives of my sex —dancing with the squaws. The shouts of merriment arising from both the men and women satisfied me, however, that I had not committed the unpardonable sin. Nevertheless, as soon as it was convenient, I corrected the error of my position.

796 As the line passed the bowls of syrup, the dancers each drank of
535 the contents; the men from one bowl, the women from the other. The singing and dancing was continued until all the syrup was gone. Finally, the wooden bowl having been replaced on the sand altar, the leader approached it on hands and knees, mimicking the grunts and actions of a buffalo. He then proceeded to butt the bowl with his head, turning it over.

796 Speeches by the leader and by other prominent men brought the cere-
152 mony to a close.

781 My general reactions to the performance were two-fold. In the first place, I could not but be impressed by the exalted fervor of the older participants; at times tears coursed down the cheeks of Big Wave as he sang the spirit songs of his ancestors, and other participants
000 showed the effect of strong emotion. Secondly, I beheld the ancient

539 614 776 he liked it, but it was not quiet. It moved about as do the waves of the seas. Then he made the trees and he saw that they were good. But even these did not make the earth quiet. Then he made the grass grow and still the earth was not quiet. It was however almost quiet. Then he created [823] the four cardinal points and the four winds. At the four corners of the earth he placed them as four great and powerful spirits, to act as weights holding down this island earth of ours. Yet still the earth was not quiet. Then he made four large beings and threw them down toward the earth and they were pierced through the earth with their heads eastward. They were really snake-beings. Then it was that the earth became still and quiet. Now he looked upon the earth and he liked it.

Again he thought of how things came into existence just as he desired. Then it was that he first spoke and said, "As everything happens just as I wish it, I shall make a man like myself in appearance." So he took a piece of earth and made it like himself. Then he talked to what he had created but it did not answer. He looked at it and he saw that it had no mind or thought. So he made a mind for it. Again he talked to it but it did not answer. So he looked at it again and he saw that it had no tongue. Then he made it a tongue. Then he talked to it again but it did not answer. So he looked at it and he saw that it had no soul. So he made it a soul. He talked to it again and then it very nearly said something but could not make itself intelligible. So Earthmaker breathed into its mouth and talked to it and it answered.

As the newly created being was very much like Earthmaker in appearance, he felt quite proud of him, so he made three more exactly similar. He made them powerful so that they might watch over the earth. These four he

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



539 when he finished him he named him *Bladder*. To him he
996 spoke, "*Bladder*, you are to go to the earth. As my last thought I created the two-legged-walkers and they were pitiful to behold in every way. They are now on the point of being exterminated and you must save them. Try with all your strength.

When *Bladder* came to the earth he made a long lodge and he created twenty men. That many younger brothers he thus had. Then they all started to go around the entire island, this earth, and all the younger brothers were killed. [823] Thus he too failed in his mission. The work his father had sent him to do he failed to accomplish and so Earthmaker took him back and placed him on his left side.

Then Earthmaker made a fourth being and when he finished him he called him *He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings*.

Finally he created the last one, *Hare*. He made his body exactly like ours. He spoke to him: "You are the last one I am going to create, so try with all your strength, *Hare*." *He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings* had failed, so *Hare* was created. He was to be the last one. Earthmaker had created *Hare* entirely by the force of his thoughts.

Then he spoke to *Hare* and said, "*Hare*, what I am doing you will also be able to accomplish. Try with all your power. If the evil spirits injure my creation it will not be good on earth; life will not be good. Try to overcome these evil spirits." Thus he encouraged him.

When *Hare* came to this earth he said to himself, "My brothers acted in a certain way and failed." He walked along until he came to an oval lodge. From this lodge there emerged, at the time, a young woman carrying a pail. She was going toward the river. Then *Hare* said to himself, "Now my brothers were not able to do what I

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



man I thought you were, a person of prominence, and I encouraged you so much! Now, grandson, decay and death can in no way be taken back." 539 776

Around the earth they went, to the edge of the fire that stretches on each side of the earth. They united these two lines of fire so that human beings might attain old age. [823]

"To look back she forbade me. But I have already made up my mind as to the immortality of my uncles and my aunts. When they become like me then only will I be happy. Such is my thought."

Then he went out and walked to the lodge of the spirit who lives in the east where the sun rises. Opposite him he sat down. "Well, *Hare*, there is nothing I can do for you. If the spirit ahead of me has anything he wishes to tell you, undoubtedly he will do so." Then *Hare* greeted him and went out.

He traveled toward the west. Even then he had no other thought in his head except that he would succeed. When he arrived at the lodge of the second spirit, the latter spoke to him and said, "*Hare*, what you have come for I know, but if the spirits ahead of me could say nothing how can I, the least of all of them, do so?"

Then *Hare* greeted him and left. He started for his home and arrived there crying, "My aunts and uncles must not die, they must not die!" And then he thought, "To all things death will come." He cast his thoughts upon the precipices, and they began to crumble and cave in. He cast his thoughts upon the rocks, and they began to crumble. Under the earth he cast his thoughts, and all the beings that were living there stopped moving and their limbs stiffened in death. Up above he cast his thoughts and the birds fell down dead.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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Toads are used, but only for poison medicines. The quail's heart 825
is used for the same purpose. If a person is killed outright, his heart 756
is used as a medicine, as the human heart is regarded as having great 826
efficacy in such medicines. It is used in war, for compelling people to give you presents, and for courting women. The bear likewise is used for a variety of purposes. Its liver is especially powerful. It is rubbed over the body whenever in pain. It is often used by women who have injured themselves in childbirth, or in the form of tonics, poultices, and emetic; or for toothaches, bathing sore eyes, ear- [757]
aches, headaches; as snuff, as a physic, for burns, strictures, boils, hemorrhages, injections in the rectum, consumption, measles, dysentery, chills, nosebleed, pains in the stomach, and headaches caused by poisoning.

Sometimes a woman would take a hair of her husband and stick 832
it into some bad medicine. In such a case he would never leave her for he would become very much enamored of her. If ever she went away, he would miss her very much. However, he always had a headache. Finally he would get sick and lose his appetite and then his eyesight. That is why it is forbidden to use this medicine, although some still do it.

Many Winnebago are blind, because there is a medicine that 754
causes blindness. If one person offends another who possesses such a medicine, the latter would cause the offender to become blind.

The Winnebago have medicines for every purpose; for courting, [832]
for becoming rich, for obtaining good looks, etc. Even if a person is very holy, these poisoners can poison him. If a man was a good hunter or if he was wise and good, these bad shamans would poison him. If an individual was a great medicine man and these bad shamans got jealous, they would poison him. Indeed, only if a person was poor and lowly would they like him. Such a man they would never poison for they had no reason for being jealous of him. A bad shaman is always treated with the greatest respect and honor, because he kills many people.

A warrior is also greatly respected and flattered. It is the Indian's 554
greatest desire to become a warrior. All desire that, and they also 156
wish to become great medicine men and bad shamans. [756]

This is the way they prepare and use their courting medicines. 832
The courting medicine known to me is a plant of apparently two 778
varieties, one of which has a blue blossom and the other no blossom at all. Otherwise they are alike. The one with the blue blossom is the male and the one without the blossom is the female. When I go out to dig this plant, I do not dig for these two specimens unless I can find them growing together closely. Even then I do not dig any two [824]
specimens unless the male is found growing on the east side. For that reason it is very hard to find them. As soon as I find two that

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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796 one. If I participated in this ceremony, I would be able to call it life,
776 I was told. But I did not pay any attention to it. They told me it
539 was good and that I would at the same time be making offerings to
575 Those-with-the-rounded-wood, and that thus I would be able to make use of all the plants that these spirits control, so that I would never be embarrassed when I wished to use them. I have caused people who were ill to become well by means of this ceremony. All of the [824] plants that these spirits control are good ones, and it is easy to obtain life with them. In this ceremony we may also obtain life by dancing. But we must dance earnestly. The leaders of this ceremony have held council over everything, and yet they have selected us for a seat of honor, so that we might greet them in this lodge and that we might be able to use this song while greeting them. You children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you all."

Then he sang an entrance song, and when he finished he repeated the utterances used in entering and gradually made the circuit of the lodge singing. When he was through singing, he again continued the utterances until he came to the place of the host, where he made the circle (with his hands) and stopped. Then he addressed the host as follows:

"I greet you. You wish me to live, and therefore caused a great day to come upon me and upon all my relatives. We have all received a taste of it, and we have all thought of ourselves in connection with life. We are also bringing you a pipeful of tobacco, so that we may strengthen one another. That is what we thought and that is why we are doing it. I greet you."

Then he walked around the lodge until he came to his seat. There he stopped and addressed his seat as follows:

"Seat that is reserved for me and for my relatives, we are about to sit in you; we will do it, and we will think that our lives have been helped thereby. I greet you." Thus he spoke and sat down. Then all the other members of his band sat down one by one.

When they were all seated the lodge was full. Then the host rose and spoke as follows:

"You who are seated in the first position, I greet you; you who are seated in the north position, I greet you; you who are seated in the west position, I greet you; and you who are seated at the end of the
539 road, I greet you. Children of the night-blessed ones who are here, I
796 greet you. My father and my grandfather spoke to me of this cere-
776 mony, and they told me it was good. They told me that the one
787 who first obtained it was named 'Little Red Turtle.' He fasted and
575 was blessed by those whom he called the Beings-with-round-wood. By these was he blessed at the noon hour, and he was taught what to do. There they taught him all. At a place where the stars [825] touched land they caused it to become night, and there they blessed

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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dancing songs are begun, all the men go to the war bundle and dance around it. The flute is continually blown during the dancing. Women may dance at their end of the lodge. The basic ritual is then continued. 796x 778 782 [534]

When the last starting song is finished the host rises and, ejaculating *ho —o—o*, pours tobacco into the fireplace four times. Just when the food is about cooked four special songs are sung. Then the Thunderbird feast takes place. All the bones that have been left on the plate of the guest impersonating the Disease-giver are taken out by the host himself, carried in an eastward direction, and placed very carefully at the foot of some tree that has been especially selected. Tobacco and red feathers are poured upon these bones. The plates used by the same person are purified with arbor vitæ. The bones left on the plates of the other guests may be thrown anywhere, provided the ground on which they are scattered has been purified. When the feast is over the basic ritual is continued. When this is finished the first division of the ceremony is concluded. [783 824]

During the interval between the first and second divisions the attendants sweep the lodge and purify it with branches of arbor vitæ; and new kettles with meat are placed on the fireplaces. Then the host and guests enter. The host rises and distributes the buckskins again, and while he is doing this an attendant goes around the lodge and scatters swan feathers all over it. Some are even placed on the suspended kettles. The host, because he is going to sing Night Spirit songs, takes down the buckskin intended for that spirit, blackens his face with the embers of charcoal used in marking the buckskin, and puts some swan feathers on his head. Before the host starts singing the Night Spirit songs the pipestem is turned toward the east and the origin of the songs in question is told. Then the basic ritual is begun. When the dancing songs are being sung the guests may either go to where the war bundle lies and dance there or stay in their own places and dance. When the host has finished his part of the basic ritual, drum, gourds, flute, and tobacco are passed to the first guest, and when he is finished they are passed to the second and third guests. After that the basic ritual is for the time being discontinued and the ritual connected with throwing out of the buckskins intervenes, this in turn being followed by the Night Spirit feast. However, before the feast, as the drum, gourds, and flute are returned to the host, he has a kettle placed on the fire for the spirits living beneath the surface of the earth, and when the food in it has cooked he rises and sings paint songs (*wase'*). After the feast is over the basic ritual is continued. Some time before this ritual is finished the host takes his war bundle, wraps it up, and hangs it behind the place where he is sitting. When finally all the songs with the exception of four have been sung, the host calls upon some one with a very strong voice to give the war whoop four times. This the latter does, and after the last whoop all the guests join in. Then rising, all the guests dance out of the lodge and the ceremony is over. 796x 778 [783]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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X796 When the songs of the Night Spirit are sung the stem of the pipe is
[276] pointed eastward.

Four songs are sung before the cooking is finished, in honor of the Thunderbird. The feast is then spread, and all those in the lodge smoke and dance. The attendants take the kettles down and take the food out. While the kettles are still on, however, branches of
[783 cedar are carried around the lodge to purify it. Before distributing
824] the food, while the singing is still going on, the attendants count the number of people in the lodge and cut the meat into a corresponding number of pieces. As each kettle is supposed to suffice for any one band, a number of small sticks about the size of a toothpick, corresponding to the number of people present in each band, is placed in each kettle. After the last four songs are used the host arises and calls for the kettle that is to be given to the person opposite him. The attendant brings it and tells him how many pieces of meat there are in the kettle. The host then speaks about his intentions in offering the kettle to the spirits; that he is seeking life and victory in war, and that he begs all those present to intercede for him. He then calls for the other kettles. There are generally one or two kettles for the women and children. When the feast is spread out and they all have their food, the host tells them that they may now
[504] eat whenever they think proper. He himself does not eat anything, but merely sings, shaking the gourds that he holds in his hand.

[776] The Disease-giver is considered the most sacred of all the spirits, and for that reason all the bones and the plates that have been used
[783] in connection with his particular kettle are purified with cedar branches. The host carries these bones out of the lodge himself and
[824] buries them under the foot of some tree. He also takes tobacco and red feathers along with him on this occasion. As the other spirits
[776] are not considered to be as sacred as the Disease-giver, the bones from the kettles offered to them can be buried anywhere, provided the
[576] ground has been purified.

After the first invited guest has finished his meal he rises and thanks the host. He then tells the story of how he, or his ancestor, obtained the war bundle, and assures the host that he feels confident that so great a feast as this in which he is taking part will most certainly be recognized by the spirits. He also adds that inasmuch as he and the other invited guests have partaken of this feast they also hope to receive life and strength in proportion to the blessings bestowed upon the host. The other invited guests, in turn, speak in the same way.

[783] While this is going on the attendants are preparing the kettles for another lot of meat. The whole tent is swept again and purified and the kettles are once more placed upon the fireplaces. The host now rises and, holding tobacco in his hand, informs each spirit of the par-

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



575 the candidate into the woods, where none will see them and put him
756 through tests, such as falling immediately when he is shot with a medi-
796 cine bag. They also teach him to sing the ritual of the medicine lodge, being sure that no one hears.

824 The Winnebago observe the same precautions in gathering plants and place as great stress upon the manner of this gathering as do other Wisconsin Indians.

126 Most of the summer was spent among the Winnebago collecting their various economic and medicinal plants, about which copious notes were taken. On August 16, a trip was made to a Winnebago religious
123 feast given by A. White and his son, Frank, with two other relatives,
551 at which the writer was given a Winnebago name. As is the Indian custom, no more than one Indian name can be given and a name in a second language must mean the same as the original one. It happens that the first name given the writer was by the Menomini at Keshena; namely *"Onawonik"* meaning "Flying Squirrel." Hence the Ojibwe followed suit with *"Shagashkandawe"* also meaning "Flying Squirrel," and the Winnebago took their word *"Kashingra"* meaning the same.

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12



796 other mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik, were respectively placed at the
778 northeast and southeast corners of the bundle.

A peeled stake, forked at the top, was set up at the central western margin of the bundle wrapper. The ceremonial pipe, of Siouan type
[276] with a catlinite bowl, was then filled by the leader from the bowl of mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik and placed with the stem end resting in the fork of the stake, the stem slanting diagonally downward across the bundle and the bowl, in upright position, resting on the central eastern margin of the bundle wrapper.

[824 The leader then placed some live coals from the fire in a small stove-shovel. On these coals he placed white cedar leaves. With the smoke
783] of the burning cedar leaves he purified the contents of the bundle, his own person, and even the walls of the lodge.

796 Shortly before the ceremony was to start, some of the waiters pre-
534 pared the drum. What had probably been originally designed to serve as a pickle keg, served as the body of the drum. This was partly filled with water. A buckskin head was then placed over the open end and drawn taut by means of cords attached to the base of the body. This was done by means of stick tourniquets in each of the cords. The proper degree of tautness was determined by tipping the drum bottom side up, to permit the water to wet the drum head, and testing the tone quality with the drum stick. After the drum had been thus properly tuned, more hot coals were placed in the censer, cedar leaves applied and
[783] the drum and stick turned over and over in the resulting smoke. Then the drum was placed just north of the war-bundle.

A small pot containing two portions of cooked meat was suspended from the roof of the house immediately west of the bundle.

796 Early in the afternoon, all preparations having been completed, the ceremony began. The guests in little groups filed into the lodge and were seated by the head waiter, squatting on mats with their backs to the wall. The most important guests, owners of war-bundles in other clans, were placed nearest the door. The eastern two-thirds of the lodge was
[562] occupied by men only. The women were clustered at the western end. Mr. Fisher and I were seated immediately south of the bundle. The leader and three assistants, elected to serve as musicians, were grouped just north of the fireplace.

Although the rites associated with the war-bundle are kept up by
[182] a few of these Winnebago, the ritual has sadly degenerated. Aside from the host, no man made any serious attempt to equip himself properly in costume. Many important elements were omitted such as the preliminary sweat bath ceremony, the sacrifice of white buckskins to the spirits, the dog sacrifice, and many minor details left out of the ceremonies attempted. When all were assembled, the leader opened the
[537] ceremony with a speech to those assembled. The formal dignity of the speaker and the unhesitating flow of his words were impressive. He

*159 ease from out the body, people will greatly respect you.
756 If then you happen to be without work, all that you need
787 for your support they will give you. For as long a time as
867 you live they will do this for you. After your death people will speak about your deeds for all time. During your lifetime they will say, "Yes, he really has power."

If you are not able to fast, do at least try to obtain some
778 power from those individuals who know the virtues and
824 powers of certain plants. It is sad enough, of course, if you will have to admit to yourself that you could not obtain blessings during fasting; but if you could not, at least try to have those who possess the plants I have mentioned, take pity on you. If they take pity on you, they will present you with one of the good plants that give life to man. Now it will not suffice for you to possess merely one plant. You should try to obtain all those plants that grow among the hairy covering of our grandmother, the Earth—all those that give us life—until you have a complete medicine bundle. Then will you truly have reason to feel encouraged.

Some of the medicine men, the shamans, were blessed
[776] by the waterspirits.[19] If you wish to obtain really powerful blessings and gain the power of curing many people, you will have to fast a long time and sincerely. If four, or say ten, of the truly powerful spirits bless you, then some day when you have children and anything happens to one of them, you will not have to look around for a medicine man, but all you will have to do will be to look into your
000 own medicine bundle. Search there and you will undoubt-

[19] Waterspirits are mythical animals generally described as having
[776] the shape of a lynx or wild-cat and provided with long tails that completely encircle their bodies. Their gifts to man are ambivalent and it depends upon the man whether he cares to make good or bad medicines from their bodies. Their so-called "bones" generally consist of semi- or completely fossilized objects.

## §30. *I Eat the Peyote*

I sat inside the lodge with them. One man acted as leader and we were to do whatever he ordered. The various objects belonging to the ceremony—the two peyote buttons, the drum, the eagle-wing fan, and the small gourd rattle—were all placed before him. I wanted to sit in some place on the side for I felt that I might get to crying like the others. I felt quite ashamed of myself. 159* 795 796

The leader arose and talked. He said that this was an affair of Earthmaker's and that he, the leader, could do nothing of his own initiative; that God was going to conduct the ceremony. He said the medicine, the peyote, was holy and that he would turn us all over to it. [824] ● He further said, "I am a very pitiful figure in this ceremony so that when you pray to Earthmaker, pray also for me. Now let us all rise and pray to Earthmaker." [782] We all rose. Then he prayed. He prayed for the sick and he prayed for those who did not yet know Earthmaker. He said that they were to be pitied. When he had finished we sat down. The peyote was then passed around. They gave me five buttons and my brother-in-law spoke to me, "If you speak to this medicine, the peyote, it will give you whatever you ask of it. After that you must pray to

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06
Winnebago NP12



27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).

28. Gos: See note 265a.

30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin).

32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).

33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget).

35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).

36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).

37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).

38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).

40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).

43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).

44. Gos: See note 265a.

46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).

48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).

50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).

51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).

52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).

53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).

55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).

56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).

57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).

58. Gos: See note 265a.

59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).

60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).

61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).

62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.

63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔgᵊeʔi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin).

C W 171 785 786

W [824]

W [276]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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There are a large number of effigies that, for want of a better name, most Wisconsin archeologists have called "turtle" mounds. No explanations can be offered of these peculiar effigies unless they are attempts to picture fish or are altered water-spirit mounds. The Winnebago had no turtle clan, but the turtle plays an important part in their mythology. 172 825 [614]

Perhaps the most peculiar effigy mounds are the famous "Man" mounds, of which only two examples are in existence, and the so-called "intaglios." Good descriptions of both types have been given.[1] 172

The two "Man" mounds have generally been regarded as inexplicable or connected with some prehistoric rite, and it seemed useless to attempt any explanation. As there seemed to be no reason why these mounds might not fall into the same category as the clan mounds, the writer took the opportunity of inquiring about them among the older Winnebago. A number of the people asked knew nothing about them, but, fortunately, two very old members of the tribe interpreted them, as soon as they were described, as representations of the Warrior or Hawk clan. As this clan belonged to the Bird phratry, no one had ever looked for any but bird emblems. [614 615]

No information has been obtained from living Winnebago that could throw any light on the "intaglio" mounds. We wish, however, to hazard a suggestion as to their possible meaning. "The intaglio effigies," to quote Mr. Brown, "may be described as being the reverse of the ordinary effigy mounds. They are excavated out of the soil instead of erected upon it, the earth removed from the shallow excavation being heaped up with care along the edges, giving form and prominence to the animal shapes depicted."[2] The Winnebago frequently placed symbols referring to water deities under water, and, as 10 of the 12 intaglios that have been described belong unquestionably to the Water-spirit clan, it may have been customary to keep these "intaglios" filled with water. The discovery of two supposedly Bear "intaglios" militates against this suggestion. However, according to the Bear clan legends, the ancestors of that clan came from the water, as did likewise those of the Wolf and Buffalo clans. [776 614] [614]

We now come to the most unsatisfactory problem of our area—namely, the nature and significance of the linear mounds. The various types have been best described by Mr. A. B. Stout and we will do best to quote him *in extenso*:

The principal classes of linear mounds are as follows:

The pure linear type is a straight wall-like mound of uniform width and height. They are usually about 2½ feet in height and from 10 to 20 feet in width. Some are so

[1] "The Preservation of the Man Mound," in vol. 7, no. 4, of the Wisconsin Archæologist, and "The Intaglio Mounds of Wisconsin," in vol 9, no. 1, of the same journal; both papers by C. Brown.

[2] Cf. Wisconsin Archæologist, vol. 9, no. 1, p. 8.

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172 of the distribution of copper among the Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo, and if we were in a position to tell whether or not these tribes had copper before their arrival in Wisconsin. We might then be in a better position to decide whether the Winnebago obtained their copper from these tribes or from some northern tribe, presumably the Potawatomi or Menominee. It is generally supposed that they actually did obtain their copper implements through the intermediation of these two last-mentioned tribes, although there is no really conclusive evidence for it. That opportunities for their transmission through the Menominee or Potawatomi were plentiful is unquestioned, and the only problem is whether the systematic exchange was not conditioned by the appearance of the white traders.

The last problem connected with Winnebago archeology is the authorship of the numerous flint arrowheads. They are found all over Wisconsin, in every nook and corner of Winnebago territory, in every stage of manufacture, and yet the Winnebago of to-day regard them as having been made by some other tribe. The most common explanation of their origin is the legendary one that they were made by worms. In the few cases where the old men were of a different opinion, the writer was assured that they were the "bones" of the water-spirits, and consequently holy. Numerous myths speak of them in connection with the water-spirit. The Indians admit that they had at times used them as arrow points, but insist that in every case they were found in the earth; that in fact people were generally blessed with them. Mr. Skinner informs me that the Menominee, on the other hand, remember very well how they were made. Among the Winnebago, until recently, three kinds of arrow points were in use: one, properly not an arrow point at all but simply a sharpened arrow, the second consisting of sharpened portions of pieces of antlers, and the third consisting of a turtle claw that had been softened and straightened. It has generally been maintained that the presence of regular "quarries" absolutely clinched the hypothesis of a Winnebago origin for the flint arrow points; but it seems to us that we would first have to prove that in every case where such quarries are found no tribe but the Winnebago had ever occupied that territory, because had any Algonquian tribe been there they might be held as much responsible for these quarries as the Winnebago. That they were not used within the recollection of the oldest men among the Winnebago there can be no doubt, because this question was repeatedly put to them, with negative results.

173 825 776

It seems best, therefore, to attach some significance to current belief as to the origin of the flint arrow points and to assume for the present that they were either the work of the prehistoric ancestors of the Winnebago or that of some tribe that had occupied the terri-

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*The bear hunt.*—Bears were hunted by individuals or by the tribe. 224
Before a man started on a bear hunt he went through the following 796
ceremony, known as *wanaᵃtre're*, literally "concentration of the 782
mind." He either built a special lodge or used his own for the ceremony. A kettle containing food was placed on the fireplace; this was intended for the particular bear the man wished to kill. The food generally consisted of corn or dried fruit; tobacco and red feathers also were offered, the former in small bark vessels. All these offerings were made not only as sacrifices to the bear but in order to make the feast as tempting as possible. When everything was in readiness, the host rubbed two sticks having rough surfaces against each other, called *nai'ᵃwaxax* or *nai'ᵃwaidja'k'ere*. The host never ate. He continued his singing and rubbing until he attracted the attention of the bear, as indicated by the appearance of a little streak of flame passing from the fire toward the gifts he brought for him.

The same ceremony was performed before starting on a deer or a raccoon hunt. In addition to this ceremony, individuals always used the special hunting medicines that they obtained during their fasts. [789]
This was frequently chewed and then rubbed into the arrow (nowadays into the gun).[9]

There is a time of the year called *hiruci'e*, when bear break hickory 224
or oak branches for the nuts or the acorns. It seems they are then
very easy to approach. If a man killed a bear he would always [825]
refer to it in terms of respect.

The tribal bear hunt always took place in summer. As enemies [721
were generally encountered on the way a winter or war feast was 527]
always given before the party started. This had nothing to do, however, with the hunt proper. Following is a fairly close translation of an account of a Winnebago bear hunt and buffalo hunt secured by the author:

*Description of a bear hunt.*—When the Winnebago went on the bear hunt they 224
always traveled in large numbers. They would always be able to find bears in the 825
groves of red timber-oak, and it would be very easy to kill them. Nevertheless the old people considered it a very dangerous affair, especially if the hunters came upon breeding bear. If anyone killed a breeding bear he would cause very much trouble. The male bear would get very angry and chase the man who had done the killing, and if it ever happened that he was out of ammunition, the man surely would be killed. The bear would jump upon him and tear him to pieces. It is said that when bears kill a human being they always eat him. Another way of getting at the bears was to clear away the ground for them. It is very easy to kill them then. This generally takes place at the time of the year when the acorns fall to the ground. The bears gather in the cleared spaces and lie down there. They lie in the timber under the trees. They look like black objects in the distance. It is customary to shoot at them from some distance, but care is always taken not to shoot all of them, nor to shoot when the wind was with them, for then they would scent the hunters

[9] Numerous descriptions of the *wanaᵃtre're* are given in the Ho-Chunk cycle.

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224 825 or hear the noise and run away. For this reason the hunters are very careful about these two things—namely, the number of bears shot and the direction of the wind. The method of hunting bears when the acorns fall and they come to the open or cleared spaces is known as the *hiruci'e* method. When the bears eat acorns then only is it easy to find them and kill them without much effort.

224 *Description of a buffalo hunt.*—Whenever the Winnebago went buffalo hunting, they always went in large numbers, for the people used to say that on a buffalo hunt, [721 they are likely to encounter their enemies and a fight might take place. It is even 648 said that some people went purposely for the fighting. They generally went together with the *Homatsa* (Missouri ?), Wazoteera, Iowa, and *Wadpaldpalpa*, the Otu. Many women accompanied them. It is said that they could always tell where the buffalo were by the dust they encountered, for the dust raised by the trampling of the buffalo rose high in the air. They would always start out for the buffalo early in the morning on fast horses and try to ride up along the right side of the female buffalo, for they only killed the bulls afterward. They shot the buffalo with bow and arrows. When riding horseback, the bow is always drawn back with the right hand. The reason they try to kill the female buffalo first is because they always run away while the bulls do not.

While hunting the buffalo they were always bound to meet some of their enemies and a fight would ensue, so that when they returned, they would bring back not only [727 buffalo but also scalps, and immediately after their return the Victory Dance would be celebrated.

224 721 A different account of a buffalo hunt was obtained from another informant (*J. H.*):[4]

Whenever we go on a buffalo hunt we camp in a circle, with the soldiers in front. [342 They always carried long poles to be used in the construction of tipis. [This statement was made by a number of persons whose information was generally accurate. As [237 they were bound for the open prairie where there was a scarcity of wood, buffalo 372 manure was always carried for fuel.]

As soon as the chief decided to go on a hunt he gave a feast [war feast] to which he invited everyone. This was generally in June. As soon as the feast was over a hunting council was held. Then the chief appointed public criers who went around the [203 village announcing the time for starting, etc. Then all went to the lodge of the chief of the Bear clan. There the ten best warriors were selected, who were to go ahead of the main body and reconnoiter for both buffalo and enemies. These started immediately and if they returned with the news that they had found many buffalo and enemy at the same time, fights frequently took place. Ten warriors always went ahead and the old warriors generally stayed in the rear behind the women in order to protect them better. As soon as they came to the place where the buffalo were seen they followed their trail and killed them. The flesh was cut up into large chunks, which were afterwards dried on the grass. Then when they had enough they all returned home, observing, of course, the same order of march as when they started. When they reached their home they gave another war feast at which all thanked the spirits for their successful return.

223 *Pigeon hunt.*—The pigeons are "chief"[5] birds and they would be hunted when- [762 ever the chief decided to give the chief feast. The entire tribe was always invited to participate in the meal served, so that many pigeons were needed. The pigeons generally make their nests near human habitations. Sometimes there would be 20

[4] As his grandfather was a Dakota, *J. H.* may have confused in his account Dakota customs with those of the Winnebago. Apart from this consideration, it should be said that *J. H.* was an exceedingly unreliable informant.

[5] They are called "chief" birds because the pigeon belongs to the same division as does the Thunderbird, or Chief, clan.

[825 614

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The menstrual lodge is never far from the lodge in which she lives. Indeed, it is within speaking distance, so that the occupants of her parents' lodge can hear her. All the utensils she uses are very small. The women stay from 4 to 10 days in the menstrual lodges. The older women stay out the shorter time because they are over it sooner. 841 343

It is said that if the young girls have any lovers they always come to the menstrual lodges at night. This is therefore the time for wooing. It is said that the girls cohabit with their lovers in these menstrual lodges. These girls who have parents are attended by watchers, so that no unworthy men may visit them. They are especially guarded against ugly men, who are very likely to have love medicines. However, generally it is of no avail to struggle against such men, for they are invincible. [584 836] [832]

The women always take their blankets with them when they go to a menstrual lodge, for they never lie down but remain in a sitting posture, wrapped in their blankets. The women are always watched, so that when their menstrual flow comes everything is in readiness and lodge poles are placed around them and a lodge erected above their heads just about large enough to fit their body. They are not permitted to look upon the daylight nor upon any individual. If they were to look out during the day the weather would become very bad, and if they were to look at the blue sky it would become cloudy and rain. If they looked at anyone that person would become unfortunate. For four days they do not eat or drink anything; not even water do they drink. They fast all the time. Not even their own body do they touch with their hands. If they ever have any need of touching their bodies they use a stick. If they were to use their hands in touching their own body their bones would be attacked with fever. If they were to scratch their hands their heads would ache. After the fourth day they bathe in sight of their home. Then they return to their homes and eat. (This, of course, holds only for those whose menstrual flow ceases in four days.) If any women have to stay longer than four days they have to fast for that entire period. They always fast during this period and often some spirits blow them. When a woman who has stayed in the menstrual lodge for 10 days is ready to return to her lodge, she bathes herself and puts on an entirely new suit of clothes. Then her home is purified with red-cedar leaves and all the sacred bundles and medicines removed. Only then can she enter her parents' lodge. As soon as she returns to her parents' lodge after her first menstrual flow she is regarded as ready to be wooed and married. 841 [921] [831]

Thus the teacher of our customs, the Hare, has willed it. At a feast all the young girls nearing the age of puberty will be absent, but the old women, who have passed their climacteric, sit right next to the men, because they are considered the same as men as they have no menstrual flow any more. 581 825 886

If the Winnebago can be said to be afraid of any one thing it may be said it is this—the menstrual flow of women—for even the spirits die of its effects.

If the above account may be taken as a fairly accurate description of the customs connected with the menstrual lodge as they existed in former times, then one point must be regarded as of great interest, namely, that the women permitted their lovers to meet them there. So far as is known to the author, among other tribes having menstrual lodges it would have been considered a crime for any man to come near them. According to our informant the women were indeed guarded while they were in the menstrual lodges, but not so much to protect them against the intrusion of all men, as against the intrusion of unworthy men. From other information obtained, how- 831 841 [illegible]

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616 that, as mentioned before, were a new clan introduced now among the Winnebago its position would depend exclusively upon the nature of the animal associated with it. As similar reasons dictate clan
614 groupings among some of the Central Algonquian tribes, a few words
●825 concerning this type of association will not be amiss. The groupings of the fauna into a distinct number of categories is extremely common in North America. Among the Winnebago, a number of other Siouan, and Central Algonquian tribes, there was a fivefold classification; earth animals, sky animals, empyrean animals, aquatic animals, and subaquatic animals. Among the Winnebago the thunderbird belongs to the empyrean; the eagle, hawk, and pigeon, to the sky; the bear and wolf, to the earth; the fish, to the water; and the water-spirit, below the water. This religio-mythological conception has unquestionably received a certain amount of sympathetic elaboration at the hands of shamans, and particularly at the hands of the
[796] leaders of such ceremonies as the Winter Feast, the Clan Feast, and the Clan Wake, as well as at the hands of those who had in their keeping the clan origin myths.

The characteristics of the thunderbird, eagle, bear, and water-spirit as clan animals, and as animals connected with a division of fauna, are also related to the general conception of these animals per se. The eagle and hawk are birds of prey; the thunderbird is generally a deity granting long life, and associated with peace, although his connection with war is also common. Similarly, the bear is supposed to have a "soldier" nature, and the water-spirit is intimately associated with rites pertaining to crossing streams, calming the sea, and ownership of water property. This correlation unquestionably indicates an influence of the religio-mythological conception of the animal upon the social group with which it is associated. How far this can go is abundantly attested by the names and behavior of the *waggeregi* and *manegi* divisions.

On the other hand, we may legitimately ask what influence the two divisions had in molding the attributes of these animals, or upon the behavior of the groups with which their name was associated. The functions of a warrior may have determined, as they certainly have accentuated, the "warrior" characteristics of the eagle and hawk, nor is there any easily intelligible reason why the thunderbird should be associated with peace. From our knowledge
[174] of the social organization of other Siouan tribes, the political functions of the clan seem to be the characteristic feature of the organization, and this being the case, the possibility of associations of warlike and peaceful attributes with animals may as much be ascribed to the influence of the social unit as vice versa. With regard to such functions as the exogamy of the two divisions or that of the clans, or of the reciprocal burial relationship of the *waggeregi* and

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*manegi* divisions, we, of course, know that the characteristics of the animal in question have nothing to do with the matter. We must then realize that we are dealing with reciprocal influences—of the religio-mythical conception of animals on the one hand, and of political functions of social units on the other. In some cases, such as the specific associations with the water-spirit, it is probable that the religio-mythological conception of the animal is dominant. The association of the thunderbird with fire has likewise not been due to any activity of the social unit; and thus examples might be multiplied. In this connection, the fact that animals with whom a multitude of associations have already been established are subsequently associated with social units is fundamental. From this point of view, the animal names of social organization are intrusive features, and we will consequently expect to find historical adjustments. This, we think, is what has taken place here. The animal name with its religio-mythological conceptions was a remarkably strong unit, and as a result reciprocal influences took place. Although the religio-mythological influence must thus have been marked, it appears to have changed none of the marital and other functions of the two divisions nor the political functions of the clans. What it did change, and change fundamentally, was the interpretation of the social organization. 6/4 825

### Functions of the Twofold Division

The only function that the *waggeregi* and *manegi* divisions seem to have had was the regulation of marriage. A *waggeregi* man had to marry a *manegi* woman, and vice versa. The only other function was, according to some informants, reciprocal burial. Here the religio-mythological interpretations seem in part to have determined this relation, for a *manegi* man buried a *waggeregi* man because, as a "land division," it pertained to him to place a corpse in the earth. This, however, seems to be a doubtful function, for earth burial seems in olden times to have been characteristic only of the *manegi* division, the *waggeregi* clans employing scaffold burial. In addition, the burial relation was one of the many reciprocal duties of the "friend-clan," and if it was ever postulated of the *waggeregi* and *manegi*, this was likely due to the fact that the "friendship" relation seems also to have existed between two clans belonging to the two different divisions. According to one myth, however, the four clans of the *waggeregi* paired off as "friends" with four clans of the *manegi*. This would then be practically equivalent to saying that the *manegi* buried the *waggeregi*. 6/6 582 [764] 6/6 614

Thus far we have spoken only of the socio-political functions. The two divisions, however, play a part in a number of social and

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walking in the clouds, there is a name, *He-who-walks-in-the-Clouds*. Now since the thunder-birds have long wings, there is a name, *He-who-has-Long-Wings* . . . Now when the thunder-birds come, they come with terrible thunder-crashes, it is said; and as many people as there are on this earth, . . . and as many plants as there are on the earth, indeed, everything, the earth itself, they deluge with rain, and thunder-crashes (are heard); for all this they have a name; they call him *Warudjinge*. 614 773

The point at issue in this interpretation of names is can we accept it as historically primary? We do not think so, for the following reasons: A large number of the names are clearly descriptive of animal habits, others express the influence of social organization, and others refer to personal achievements, etc. Secondly, the interpretation is of too specific a nature to be regarded as one that could possibly have dictated an original system of naming; and, thirdly, in spite of its prevalence, other systems of interpretation are present. As a matter of fact in the above quotation, our informant distinctly mentions the fact that the characteristics of thunderbirds were used for names, although he insists that the names referred specifically to the ancestors of the Thunderbird clan. According to J. O. Dorsey the interpretations obtained by him were largely symbolical. He makes no mention of the interpretation obtained by the author, although this may be due to the fact that he was but imperfectly acquainted with Winnebago ethnology. It seems best, therefore, to regard the ancestor-episode type of name as but one, perhaps the last, that developed among the Winnebago.[8] 614

### ATTITUDE TOWARD CLAN ANIMALS

When the animal names became associated with the social groups they were accompanied by the specific associations clustering around these animals. These associations were probably of the same type, if not indeed identical with those grouped around the animals as guardian spirits. The clan animals are among the principal guardian spirits to-day, and we must expect to find an explanation of the attitude toward them as clan animals in the attitude exhibited toward the guardian spirit. To a certain extent it would be quite correct to say that the guardian became the clan animal. This does not, however, mean, in the slightest degree, that the guardian spirit of the individual became the clan animal, but merely that the concept of the guardian spirit became associated with a local group. 614 825 776

The guardian spirit is at the present time conceived of as an immaterial being in control of an animal species. The attitude toward this spirit is a purely religious one, and exhibits a marked absence of taboo of any kind. It is an open question whether a vision must be attested by obtaining some part of the animal "embodiment" of

[8] For fuller discussion cf. P. Radin, The Social Organization of the Winnebago Indians, Museum Bulletin 36, Anthropological Series 5, Geological Survey of Canada, 1923.

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614 the spirit, but there is no doubt that every vision is symbolized by
825 a special gift from the "spirit." The guardian spirit unit may
776 thus be said to consist of a special religious attitude plus a symbol.

The attitude toward the clan animal differs from that toward the guardian spirit in this characteristic respect, that more emphasis is laid upon identification with the animal itself than with the "spirit." As far as could be determined, the clan animal is the thunderbird with his characteristics of lightning and thunder, of the bear who likes honey and raisins, etc. The animal is engraved as clan symbol [423] and used as a property mark, and he is brought into intimate contact with the group by the postulation of descent. Naturally, descent is not from the "spirit" animal but from the living animal species. Nevertheless the clan animal has, at the same time, retained its place as a guardian spirit, and in a most suggestive way, for the blessing of a clan animal is more easily obtained by a member of the clan than by an outsider. The clan animal is, in short, a clan protector.

In this change of attitude two considerations seem pertinent: first, the possibility of the "spirit" of the guardian spirit being a product of the esoteric elaboration connected with religious societies, and that its apparent absence in the clan animal represents an exoteric conception; secondly, under the influence of the social functions of the clan, an originally strong religious conception of the clan animal gave place to an identification with the animal species itself. It might be objected that there is no inherent correlation between social organization and animal species as contrasted with spirit animals. It seems certain, however, that descent could only be reckoned from the animal, and as long as descent is postulated it must be from the animal. With regard to the historical priority of the "spirit" conception, little can be definitely said except that the systematization it has undergone suggests the influence of esoteric societies, and that the visions obtained during fasting appear to speak of the guardian "spirit" as an animal. On general psychological considerations we are inclined to believe in the contrast of the material and spiritual conception of the animal as a real fact, although it would be hazardous to say whether one or the other lies at the basis of the attitude of the individual toward his clan animal.

### RELATIONSHIP TO CLAN ANIMALS

614 The question of descent from the animal brings us to the con-
825 sideration of the whole intricate relationship of the individual to the clan animal, a subject that has played so prominent a part in discussions of totemism. There are two distinct sources for the de- [124 174] termination of this relationship—data obtained in reply to direct questioning, and that contained in some miscellaneous myths and in the origin myths.

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the origin myths. Part of the oral data is merely a reflex of the origin myths, but part is not. The value of this "unwritten" material lies in the fact that it represents the popular, exoteric attitude, the attitude that, on the whole, is not the result of conscious rationalization, and that this exoteric view may very likely have been the basis for the priestly esoteric interpretation. 614 825 [114]

The prevalent conception of the relationship of the individual to his clan animal is that of descent from an animal transformed at the origin of the present human race into human beings. This view is expressed in some of the origin myths and the general statements of individuals. Direct descent from an animal was never postulated. The definition of the term "animal" is, however, very difficult. The Indians themselves seem to make a distinction between the animal of to-day and the animal of the heroic age. The main characteristics of the animal of the latter was his power of transformation into human form and vice versa. Although the animals have lost this to-day, they are nevertheless descended from this animal. The human beings are, however, descended from precisely the same "animals," so that it might be well to bear in mind that descent from the transformed animal does not mean descent from the animal of to-day. This view is more systematically expressed in some places. According to one miscellaneous myth, the existing human beings and animals were descended from the same being, who once possessed infinite powers of transformation now into human and now into animal shape. At one time, presumably the beginning of our present creation, these "beings" either consciously or unconsciously exhausted all their "transforming" power, and the form into which they changed themselves, human or animal, remained fixed for all time. The existing animals have never succeeded in regaining their power of transformation. Among human beings this power has only been vouchsafed to those few who have obtained it as a special gift from some spirit. Even then, however, it is ludicrously incomplete as compared with the same powers of primordial "beings." This conception of the animal-human archetype must not be regarded as at all flavoring of a philosophy developed after contact with Europeans. The error that has always been committed in discussions upon the nature of descent from the animal lies in confusing our concept of animal species with the term "animal" as used by primitive people, and in the lack of discrimination between the possible connotations of that same term, as applied to animals of to-day and as applied to those animals that were brought into intimate contact with the clan ancestor. [773]

There is no reason for regarding the specific descent from the totem as a development of this older Winnebago idea of the origin

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614 of human and animal forms. The latter conception is entirely a
825 religious one, the former merely an extension of the genealogical tendency prevalent in many types of social organization. Instead of being simply descended from an individual in a given social unit, the bond of membership within this unit has been strengthened by the postulation of blood relationship to the clan animal. The idea of descent may thus be looked upon as one of the elements necessary for the stability of a political unit and may be far older than its
614 specific extension to those clan animals. A very illuminating ex-
825 ample of a case in point can be selected from the history of the war
778 bundle in the Thunderbird clan. This bundle, like the others, was obtained as a gift from the thunderbird in his capacity as a guardian spirit. The ceremony connected with it has, however, been markedly influenced by the clan organization and as a result we find descent
[776] from the thunderbird and night-spirit, the two most important spirits in the ceremony, postulated of the original owner of the war bundle. The same tendency is exhibited in the numerous stories of the relation of an individual of the heroic age to a village. Here
[773] the individual, generally a transformed guardian spirit or animal, comes to the aid of the people in their struggle against cannibals, defeats the latter and marries into the village, becoming thus the eponymous ancestor of the subsequent village group.

614 At the same time no strong correlation apparently exists between a totemic organization and the extension of descent to include the clan animal, this seemingly being a peculiarity of certain cultures only. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest coast, among the
[771] Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves, in addition to the above, we find the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact of its members imitating the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reasons at all for the name, while in others an animal is killed, becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, and the group takes its name from the fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation.

### THE CLAN TIE

614 In intimate relation with the attitude toward the clan animal is the
602 conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the tie between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal.
[582] Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as is

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crowd dispersed and went home. Blue-bear said that he would go home but that the rest were to live on this earth and that they would be the soldiers of this earth. That is the origin of the Bear clan. 614 539 776

When a bear is killed on earth, the Bear clansmen do not mind it, but they laugh and feel good. When one of the Bear clan dies, they say, "Don't cry, for he has gone home." Then they paint his jaws red to give him the appearance of laughing.

When a bear is killed on earth the spirit returns to Blue-bear, and so it is with the Bear clansmen. This is the story of the Bear clan.

All the birds, trees, snakes, and everything of its kind have soldiers. The sharp-clawed birds are soldiers of the birds and all the snakes that have fangs and all the trees that have prickers are soldiers of their kind. All the animals and living things of the earth have soldiers among them. The ugliest tempered ones of their kind are soldiers of whatever class they belong to. Oftentimes when a person gets angry on earth they would say, "The soldier; it is because he has a soldier nature." (Whoever has the power of hurting one of his fellow-beings and does it has a soldier nature.) This is the story of the Soldier clan. [825]

If they had said in the beginning, "This or that clan will never do anything wrong," then the rest of the clans would never have done so. The Soldier clan opens the way for anyone, of any clan, at any time, to take up his soldier nature. 614 533

## CLAN SONGS

*Song 1*

Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.

*Song 2*

Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.

*Song 3*

Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?

*Song 4*

Who can be above?
Who can be above?
Who can be above?
Who can be above?

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763 of prey hovering around the hill and he felt certain that they were
there so that they could devour him as soon as he was dead. How-
● 825 ever, the birds told him they had come to cure not to devour him.
735 Many carnivorous birds and many wolves were there. The turtle
756 also came because he was the owner of some medicines.

Then the animals who had gathered on the hill began to doctor him. The raven began first. He ejaculated *e-he-al e-he-al* gave him some medicine and began to exert his powers until he felt better. Then the wolf began. He walked around ejaculating certain sounds and spitting medicine on him. The man became much better. He was almost completely restored to health. Then the turtle began to exert his powers, ejaculating at the same time *ahil ahil ahil ahil* and walking around the man and giving him some boiled medicine to drink. Now he was almost entirely cured. Finally a black hawk began to doctor the man. He put some medicine on the place where the man's pains seemed to be situated and he was immediately cured. Then all those who had cured him said, "Human! In a similar way you shall cure your fellowmen." They then gave him as much medicine as he would need. The raven gave him his "medicine chest," consisting of a flute and a gourd. With these things he blessed him. He also gave him a song which he was to sing. Then the wolf gave him his medicine chest, consisting of a gourd and a flute, and told him that he would not fail to cure any sick person he treated and that if the sick people offered the proper amount of tobacco, red eagle feathers, and food, no matter how serious their disease was he would be able to cure it. Then he told the man that Earthmaker had placed him in charge of these things and that he in turn would bless him with them for all eternity. As long as any of his posterity was left they would enjoy the benefit of these blessings.

825 And this is true, for even to the present day his descendants use
756 this medicine.

Then Black Hawk said, "I, also, bless you. Earthmaker placed me
[782] in charge of some medicines and with these I bless you. If you are
careful in offering tobacco and food to these medicines they will always help you to the utmost of their power. Whatever you ask they will accomplish for you. They will be able to understand you. So, if anyone is sick, you will be able to help him. In this way I bless you. If you are ever in any difficulty, think of me and I will help you." (What he meant is that if he ever was in any difficulty, he should think of the medicines with which Black Hawk had blessed him, and that that would be the same as if he thought of him.)

Then the Buffalo said, "My grandson, Earthmaker placed me in charge of certain medicines. Why should you then wish to die? Your condition is 'pitiable,' and therefore I want to bless you.

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All these spirits whom Earthmaker made with his own hands were placed in charge of certain things. All these spirits have had compassion upon you. All those whom Earthmaker created as holy have blessed you. Earthmaker has placed me in charge of certain medicines and I am so completely in control of these that I can do what I please with them. There exist no beings either on the earth or under the earth whom I can not cure. With all these do I bless you. All your previous blessings were from spirits who live either on earth or in the heavens. The medicinal plants I bless you with are called Buffalo medicines. The other medicines are called 'stench-earth medicines.' As long as you and your descendants live these medicines will be efficacious. The owners of the stench-earth medicines they will be called. In this manner I bless you." 825 756

Then the hitcars said, "I bless you with those things that Earthmaker placed me in charge of. I was created by Earthmaker. Medicines, grass, trees, and bushes (for use in the making of medicines), with these I bless you. I bless you with my utterance. With my mouth, I bless you. If a human is suffering and places tobacco in your hands, then you may mention my name and pour a pipeful of tobacco into the fire. I will grant whatever you request. All the medicinal plants with which I bless you shall belong to you and your descendants as long as the earth endures. Your children can use them, and they will protect them. If any part of their body is weak from disease they can heal themselves with them. Many things will you gain through these medicines. You may also eat them. Human! you have dreamed, not only for yourself but for all your descendants. As long as this earth endures, so long will your descendants use these medicines with which I have blessed you. In this way I bless you."

Then the wildcat said, "Grandson, Earthmaker placed me in control of medicines also. I bless you. The other spirits have blessed you with certain medicines, and to these I now add my own. I can not tell you anything about the heavenly blessings. The spirits above have already bestowed these upon you. I will, however, tell you this: There is nothing either upon this earth or under it that I can not accomplish. I bless you with the power to do the same. With the blessings I give you, you will be able to accomplish anything you wish whenever you put these medicines to use. If a person were dying, and his relatives offered tobacco and food to you, you would be able to cure him. When you use my name, concentrate your mind upon me, and offer me tobacco. If I smoke the tobacco you will then know that your request has been granted. All the medical plants that I am giving to you, all the herbs that I am blessing you with, to all these, make an offering of tobacco. Whatever you ask they will grant you. All the animals that tread upon the air, all those [755]

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825 756 on the earth, have medicines that you are to use on earth. Whatever you say on earth it will be so. You have been blessed with all the things that are on and under the earth."

All the fowls and insects of the air, all the beings that have wings, blessed him and gave him medicines, which he was to mix with other medicines. He was told to make use of all the insects of the earth and air, some of which we never see. All those who live on earth, all the fishes in the water, and all the different kinds of water-spirits blessed him with medicines. He was blessed with, and told to use as medicines, all those plants that live in the water. He was blessed with the leech, one of the animals that lives in the water, and he was to use it in medicine mixing. They say that it is good to mix the leech with other medicines to relieve pain. He was blessed with all the trees, that we see to-day, which he was to use as medicines. Their bark, leaves, and roots are considered very good for such purposes. He was blessed also with all the small undergrowth, whose leaves, bark, inner bark, blossoms, and roots he was to use for medicine. He was blessed with all the weeds, and he was to use their heads and leaves for medicine, but their roots were to be used for other purposes.

Thus all the different kinds of plants that grow on this earth blessed him. The earth also blessed him and said to him, "Grandson, as the other spirits are blessing you, I, also, will bless you. Earthmaker has placed me here, and I therefore bless you with all plants that grow upon me, and all the trees and weeds and animals that exist on this earth, and lastly, with life and myself (i. e., earth). You may use me, and especially the blue clay that you derive from me, for medicines. Should you use as medicine all these things with which I have blessed you, especially if you use me, as medicine, you will be able to accomplish all that you attempt.

"If a person who is sick offers you tobacco (i. e., asks you to cure him), remember that I also would like to smoke and that it is for that reason that I have blessed you."[1]

[826] Birds, especially eagles, are used in the making of medicines. The entire body of a raven, including the heart and brains, are used, and also the following snakes: The gray snake, the black snake, the blue snake, the yellow snake, the bull snake, and the snake that [844 278 845] breaks itself in two. The rattlesnake is used in a mixture given to women when in labor. If a woman hurts herself during pregnancy and kills the child within her womb, she can be made to deliver the embryo if she uses the medicine mentioned above.

[1] According to general belief the spirits are supposed to have entered into a sort of "bargain" with the human beings by which they were to bestow their blessings upon them in exchange for tobacco, bark, skin, and feathers. Of course, it must be understood that individuals must have the necessary requirements, such as a certain attitude of mind, fasting, etc., before their offering of tobacco has any meaning to the spirits. [776 782]

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Tools are used, but only for poison medicines. The quail's heart 825
is used for the same purpose. If a person is killed outright, his heart 756
is used as a medicine, as the human heart is regarded as having great 826
efficacy in such medicines. It is used in war, for compelling people to give you presents, and for courting women. The bear likewise is used for a variety of purposes. Its liver is especially powerful. It is rubbed over the body whenever in pain. It is often used by women who have injured themselves in childbirth, or in the form of tonics, poultices, and emetic; or for toothaches, bathing sore eyes, ear- [757]
aches, headaches; as snuff, as a physic, for burns, strictures, boils, hemorrhages, injections in the rectum, consumption, measles, dysentery, chills, nosebleed, pains in the stomach, and headaches caused by poisoning.

Sometimes a woman would take a hair of her husband and stick 832
it into some bad medicine. In such a case he would never leave her for he would become very much enamored of her. If ever she went away, he would miss her very much. However, he always had a headache. Finally he would get sick and lose his appetite and then his eyesight. That is why it is forbidden to use this medicine, although some still do it.

Many Winnebago are blind, because there is a medicine that 754
causes blindness. If one person offends another who possesses such a medicine, the latter would cause the offender to become blind.

The Winnebago have medicines for every purpose; for courting, [832]
for becoming rich, for obtaining good looks, etc. Even if a person is very holy, these poisoners can poison him. If a man was a good hunter or if he was wise and good, these bad shamans would poison him. If an individual was a great medicine man and these bad shamans got jealous, they would poison him. Indeed, only if a person was poor and lowly would they like him. Such a man they would never poison for they had no reason for being jealous of him. A bad shaman is always treated with the greatest respect and honor, because he kills many people.

A warrior is also greatly respected and flattered. It is the Indian's 554
greatest desire to become a warrior. All desire that, and they also 156
wish to become great medicine men and bad shamans. [756]

This is the way they prepare and use their courting medicines. 832
The courting medicine known to me is a plant of apparently two 278
varieties, one of which has a blue blossom and the other no blossom at all. Otherwise they are alike. The one with the blue blossom is the male and the one without the blossom is the female. When I go out to dig this plant, I do not dig for these two specimens unless I can find them growing together closely. Even then I do not dig any two [824]
specimens unless the male is found growing on the east side. For that reason it is very hard to find them. As soon as I find two that

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756 796 [264] small piece of a root and tell him to chew and eat it. This the guest would have to do, and from that time on he would never know when he had had enough to eat. He would never get satiated. Whenever the man who had been blessed gave the feast personally, no one was ever known to leave anything upon his plate. While eating the guests kept time. They never shook their plates, for if anyone did so the others would immediately give him whatever remained on their plates. They would assume that anyone who shook his plate was the possessor of the stench-earth himself and that he intended to eat up these extra portions with the aid of this medicine. If, however, the shaking was done unintentionally and he failed to eat up the extra portions placed on his plate, then he would make a noise like a raven, and those who wished to help him consume this food would also cry like the raven, approach him, and flap their arms as the birds do their wings. Then all would eat.

When the man who obtained these blessings died, he left all these medicines that he had been the first one to use to another person. With the medicines he of course left all the songs. All that he used to do when he doctored a sick person he bequeathed to his successor. The last man who had these medicines was not a holy man but he knew all their uses and for that reason he was considered a powerful and holy man. To-day only the poison medicines are remembered; the good medicines are all gone.

This is the end.

### How an Indian Shaman Cures His Patients[1]

756 775 539 "I came from above and I am holy. This is my second life on earth. Many years before my present existence, I lived on this earth. At that time everyone seemed to be on the warpath. I also was a warrior, a brave man. Once when I was on the warpath I was killed. It seemed to me, however, as if I had merely stumbled. I rose and went right ahead until I reached my home. At home I found my wife and children, but they would not look at me. Then I spoke to my wife but she seemed to be quite unaware of my presence. 'What can be the matter,' I thought to myself, 'that they pay no attention to me and that they do not even answer when I speak to them.' All at once it occurred to me that I might, in reality, be dead. So I immediately started out for the place where I had presumably been killed and surely enough, there I saw my body. Then I knew positively that I had been killed. I tried to return to the place where I had lived as a human being but for four years I was unsuccessful.

[825] "At one time I became transformed into a fish. However, the life of the fish is much worse than ours. They are very frequently

[1] The shaman is represented as in the lodge of the patient and as speaking to him and his relatives

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in lack of food. They are nevertheless very happy beings and have many dances.[6] [825]

"At another time I became transformed into a little bird. When the weather is good the life of the birds is very pleasant. But when it is cold they are compelled to undergo many hardships on account of the weather as well as on account of lack of food. When it was very cold I used to go to the camp of some people who were living in the neighborhood and try to steal some meat from their racks. A little boy used to stand near these racks and we were very much afraid of him because he carried something in his hands with which he shot and which made a dreadful noise. Whenever he shot it we would all fly away. What the boy was using was a bow and arrow. At night we slept in a hollow tree. If I entered the tree first and the others came in behind me I would be almost squeezed to death. If, on the other hand, I waited until the last I would sometimes have to stay outside and when the weather was cold I might have frozen to death.

"At another time I became a buffalo. The cold weather and the food did not worry me much then, but as buffaloes, we would always have to be on the alert for hunters. [825]

"From my buffalo existence I was permitted to go to my higher spirit-home, from which I originally came. The one in charge of that spirit-home is my grandfather. I asked him for permission to return to this earth again. At first he refused, but then after I had asked him for the fourth time, he consented. He said to me, 'Grandson, you had better fast before you go and if any of the spirits take pity upon you (i. e., bless you), you may go and live in peace upon earth.' So I fasted for four years and all the spirits above, even to the fourth heaven,[7] approved of my coming. They blessed me. [772] Then I fasted 10 days more and then 20 and then 30. Finally all the spirits blessed me, even those under the earth. When I was ready to come to this earth, the spirits gathered together in a council-lodge and 'counciled' about me. All the spirits were present. They told me that I would never fail in anything that I wished to do. Then they decided to make a trial of my powers. They placed an invulnerable spirit-grizzly bear at one end of the lodge and sang the songs that I was to use when I returned to earth. Then I walked around the lodge holding a live coal in the palm of my hand and danced around the fireplace saying *wahi-!* and striking the hand containing the coal with my other hand. The invulnerable bear fell forward prone upon the ground and a black substance flowed

[6] This is commonly postulated of both the life of the fishes and that of the reptiles.

[7] He is probably referring to the four earths, although it is, of course, possible that there were four heavens. However, I never obtained the slightest indication of such a belief. [772]

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776 rather high conception was shared by all the Winnebago. Our
782 impression is that many Winnebago believed the offering would
771 be mechanically followed by the blessing. Take, for instance, the following example: A middle-aged Winnebago while hunting was suddenly surprised by the enemy. He succeeded in making his escape into a cave. All hope of final delivery seemed to be gone, for the enemy stationed themselves before the entrance. Now this man had never been blessed in his youth and knew little about the proper procedure to observe when making offerings to the spirits. In this terrible crisis he turned instinctively to the spirits. He took some tobacco and put some in the different nooks of the cave, and said: "Spirits, whoever you are, and wherever you are, it is said that you love tobacco and that in return for it you bless people. Here is some tobacco, and I ask that I may return to my people." There was, as far as we know, no promise made that in return he would make further offerings to them or that he would thereafter love them and honor them. He escaped and unquestionably believed that it was due to the intervention of the spirits, but the spirits were, quite clearly, constrained to act because they had received tobacco.

There can be little doubt that many Winnebago felt as this man did. We find an expression of the same attitude in a myth. The Winnebago are represented as making offerings to the buffalo spirits, and the smoke is ascending to the home of these spirits through a hole in the sky. The younger buffalos can not resist the temptation of approaching the opening to catch a few whiffs of their favorite tobacco. They are thereupon warned by the older buffalos not to go too close, for the tobacco fumes might tempt them too strongly; and should they succumb to the temptation and accept the offerings, they would then have to appear on earth and be killed by man.
776 As might have been expected, there is in the relation of the spirits
782 to man something similar to the securing of the food animal by some
771 such ceremony as the *wasa'kere*. The spirits are dazzled, hypnotized
●82 by the offerings, and accept.

In the second of the examples given above we were dealing with a food animal—the buffalo. If there is any plausibility in the explanation we advanced before that the Winnebago interprets religion in terms of life, the relation of the spirits to the food supply ought to show it. Now, it is characteristic of the Winnebago religion that the great generalized spirit deities, like Earthmaker, Sun, Moon, etc., have little to do with the securing of specific kinds of food. As a rule, some generalized spirit-animal presides over the various species of animals, and he gladly permits the animals to appear on earth to be killed by man when the proper offerings are made. This seems to have been a secondary interpretation, however, developed probably
[756] under the influence of the shamans as a substitute for the purely mechanical attitude mentioned above. To picture the food animals

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as desirous of being killed and eaten by man is, however, but another way of saying that the food animals were killed and eaten, and were secondarily and weakly brought into the general religious life, because everything was seen through a religious vista. It is by no means certain that this was always the case, and there seem to be innumerable indications in the myths that there was a time when the securing of the food animals was not connected with religion as such.

Just as the securing of food animals is to-day connected with certain spirits, so are the various activities of man during his life. But characteristically it is not a generalized conception of life, but life as consisting of a prescribed number of years, with so many war honors, so much wealth, so much food consumed, so many children, etc. The spirits are exhorted to give to every man his allotted number of years, food, etc. These are apparently his by right, and if he dies before his time the ghost of the deceased is asked to beg the spirits to distribute among his relatives the "unused" years, food, etc. So here, too, we have a clear example of the explanation of purely materialistic conception of life in terms of religion.

It will be best to discuss the main features of Winnebago religion under the following heads:

I. The religious concepts:
   1. The concept of supernatural power.
   2. The concept and nature of the spirits.
   3. The power and localization of the spirits.

II: 1. The twofold interpretation of the relation of the spirits to man.
   2. The guardian spirits.
   3. Personal religious experiences.

III. Methods of bringing the spirits into relation with man:
   1. Fasting.
   2. Mental concentration.
   4. Offerings and sacrifices.
   5. Prayers.

IV. The folkloristic concepts:
   1. The concept of evil.
   2. The concept of disease.
   3. The concepts of death, after-life, and reincarnation.
   4. The concept of the soul.

V. The cosmological ideas.

### The Concept of Supernatural Power[1]

The Winnebago have no such belief in a "magic power" as Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt and Mr. W. Jones would have us believe exists among

[1] For a general discussion of this concept in North America cf. my paper on the "Religion of the North American Indians," Journal of American Folklore, vol. 27, no. 175, pp. 335-351.

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776 posed to be at eternal enmity with him, and for that reason he is regarded by most of the Winnebago as a sort of a mixed deity, partly evil and partly good, but always to be feared and capable of bestowing great blessings on man. Owing to the fact that he has become [614] identified as the clan ancestor of one of the most important Winnebago clans, he has undergone a partial rehabilitation.

The Water-spirit is an important figure in the older myths, and in them seems to be identified with the bad spirits. The attitude of the Winnebago toward him is full of inconsistencies. He is evil, yet his [778] "bones" are the most prized possessions of man on account of the remarkable power with which they are endowed. He is an evil spirit, yet according to an apparently old myth (the Traveler) one of the Water-spirits is the spirit deity in control of the earth.

In addition to these marked anthropomorphic and theromorphic spirit deities, the Winnebago, as mentioned before, have a large number of vague spirits, like fire, light, etc., and a legion of animal spirits. The latter show some interesting transitions extending all the way from purely nonspirit heroic animals to distinct spirits, conceived of as animal in shape but noncorporeal. In many cases it is, of course, [825] quite impossible to say how marked the "spirit" nature of the animal is, because it often depends on who is looking at it. To the ordinary nonreligious Winnebago the hare is mainly an heroic animal; to the religious Winnebago or a member of the medicine dance he is a spirit-animal or even a spirit-deity. In the same way different conceptions are held about the nature of the animal clan ancestors, some thinking of them as heroic animals and others as generalized noncorporeal spirit-animals and spirit-deities. Wherever guardian spirits are animals they also become noncorporeal spirit-animals. One of the reasons given by the Winnebago for the fact that the different guardian spirit-animals do not object to the killing of animals of their own species is because, in killing a bear a Winnebago is not killing his guardian spirit, the bear, for the latter is a generalized spirit-bear in control of all the bears who appear on earth.

In a number of cases it is not at all difficult to trace the development of a trickster hero, an anthropomorphic hero, or an heroic animal, into a spirit to whom offerings are made. Thus, for instance, [702] kettles and often buckskins are offered to *wak'djvgk'a'gu*, hare, and the twins, at the war-bundle feasts.

### The Power and Localization of the Spirits

According to the Winnebago, spirits possess the power of bestowing upon man all those things that are of socio-economic value to him. These may vary from such very important economic things as rain

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When I was ready to go down among the human beings (i. e., when I became reincarnated) I was given the power to overcome my enemies in battle. And this I have actually done. All the Thunderbirds have small war-clubs. I also had one when I came. Whenever I went on the warpath I made myself a war-club and used that only in battle. I believe that I was invulnerable. Whenever I got tired of living among human beings I knew I could return to the Thunderbirds. I thought I knew all this and that I had these powers. For that reason when I ate peyote I still held on to these beliefs for a long time, thinking that when I returned to the Thunderbirds inasmuch as they are above it would be the same as going to everlasting life, as the Peyote people said. Finally, one night, at a peyote meeting, in thinking over these things, I resolved to give them up. I could, nevertheless, not bring myself to do it. Then the peyote began to strangle me;[29] at least I thought so. 159 776 787 726 [795]

I also had the power of causing or stopping rain. All that I had to do was to offer tobacco to the Thunderbirds and make my request. [789 782]

### HOW A BEAR BLESSED A MAN[30]

Once a band of Winnebagoes used to give a feast to the bears. A bear had blessed one of their number with life and victory on the warpath. 825 776 787

It was a spirit-bear that had blessed him. The man was fasting and the spirit blessed him and said, "Human, I bless you. In war you will be able to do as you wish (i. e., you will be able to kill an enemy whenever you desire). The first time you go on the warpath you will come back with the fourth war honor; the second time you go on a warpath you will return with the third war honor; the third time you will return with the second war honor; and the fourth time you will return with the first war honor and receive the first prize, which you are to give to your sister." This is what the man "dreamed." He believed it and was happy. Then the spirit-bear said again, "Human, I said that I blessed you and I really mean it. Earthmaker created me and gave me control of many things. Human, I bless you. As many years as Earthmaker bestowed upon you, that number I also bless you with. You will reach the limit of the years that were granted you. With my body I also bless you. Whenever you are hungry and wish to kill a bear, pour a pipeful of tobacco for me. If then you go out hunting, you will be successful. Don't abuse the bears. I am the chief of the bears. I bless you. Never before have I blessed a human being, as long as I have lived here. As long as your descendants live on this earth, so long will this [224 782]

[29] According to the Peyote people, if a member does not wish to do or tell something that he ought to, the peyote begins to strangle him and he finds no relief until he tells what is on his mind. [795]

[30] This is really the "origin myth" of a bear feast.

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●825 776 787 blessing last. Should your descendants perform the feasts in my honor well, I will bless them with life and victory on the warpath. Whenever you offer me tobacco I will smoke it. If you put on a kettle of food for me I will be thankful to you. When you put this [84] kettle of food on the fire and offer me tobacco see to it that you keep away menstruating women . . ."

### HOW THE DAUGHTER OF MANK'EREXKA REFUSED A BLESSING FROM DISEASE-GIVER[9]

787 159 776 The daughter of Mank'erexka was fasting. She was his third daughter. She decided to fast during the summer. In her fast she was told that she was blessed and that on the following day a big deer would come across the waters for her to eat. Then she went to her father and said, "Father, I have been told to eat a big deer, and that to-morrow very early in the morning it will come out of the water." "It is good, my daughter. That deer has been given to you by the spirits and you may eat it."

Early the next morning a big deer came across the waters. "Let it be," the people said (to her). "As soon as it comes near we will chase it." So they got into a boat and chased it. Then they killed it and gave it to some other person instead of the young woman. "My daughter, what are you going to do? Are you going to eat the deer?" "No, father, if I were to eat the deer I would have killed it myself. But you people have killed it, so I will not eat any of it."

Then she rubbed some charcoal on her face and went to the place of fasting and said, "What you (the spirits) gave me others have taken away and eaten." Early in the morning she looked around toward the water. She was very weak, for she had not eaten for a long time. Nine days she fasted. She was saying to herself, "As soon as I see a deer I will tell the others and call my father." In the morning she went out in search of the deer. She was so weak that she could hardly crawl along. But she managed to reach the edge of the waters and, as she looked across, she saw a deer coming. So she immediately went to her father and told him. He got up immediately and, taking a spear, jumped into a boat, pursued, and speared it. Then the girl said, "Now I will eat." So they called her uncles, [782] Wolf and Elk.[10] When they came she put tobacco in their hands and said, "My uncles, I have offered tobacco to the different spirits and asked them to bless me. Now I am about to eat and I would

[10] The end of the story is a description of a bear feast and how, in spite of the warning of the spirit-bear two menstruating women took part in the feast; how, thereupon, two bears suddenly appeared and killed them, and how for that reason the bear feast was given up.

[114] [9] This account has been cast in a literary model, but there is no doubt that it represents a real fasting experience. It is included here principally because it contains a number of extremely interesting features.

[10] These are the names of individuals.

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159 So they spoke to him. "Whenever
787 you give this ceremony, no matter what blessing you ask, we will
776 bestow it upon you, when you offer tobacco. A flute you must also
[534 keep holy. You must make it yourself, so that it remains sacred."
[778] They also told him to make a war bundle. The Buffalo chief told
● 825] him this. So he made one out of a buffalo head and a buffalo tail.
These he made sacred so that people might offer tobacco to them.
This was done long ago and yet they still do it.

Then they told him that four differently colored buffaloes would bless him—a white one, a black one, a red one, and a yellow one.

After a while he was blessed the second time. This time the spirits came after him from above and took him to the home of a spirit buffalo. This is the one that blessed him.

"Earthmaker has placed me here," said the spirit, "and he has
[726 given me control of many things. Grandson, I bless you. I am in
782] control of war power, and if you ever go on the warpath don't forget me. If you pour a pipeful of tobacco for me before you go into battle, the enemy will only be able to shoot your shadow." Thus he spoke to him. "I will take your body, and in that way it will only be your shadow that the enemy will try to shoot with all their strength. You will be without a body, and how then can they hit you, being without a body?" This is what the spirit told him. So, therefore, whenever he went on the warpath it was impossible to kill him. For the spirit had said, "I am also in control of life and I will give you your life back, that you may control it. The spirits
[796 have given you a tobacco-pouring feast and whenever you give it,
782] remember that I wish to smoke also. When you pour tobacco for me I will grant you whatever you ask. If you ask for war, or if you ask for life, I will accept your tobacco. As long as this earth lasts I will smoke your tobacco and accept the kettle of food that you place on the fire for me."

Thus he spoke to him. The man, however, still kept on fasting, and finally the spirits came for him again. There in the middle of the earth lived a buffalo-ghost. There he went and the buffalo-ghost said to him: "I also bless you. You were given counsel and I who am a buffalo also counsel you. I am in control of many things. Earthmaker placed me here to live and he put me in control of many things. Human, look at me," he said. The man looked at him. Then he saw that his body was covered with flattened bullets. "Thus you will be," said the ghost to him. "It will be impossible to kill you, and you will attain to old age, and when you get tired of living you may do as you please. I give you the privilege of controlling yourself." Then he gave him a song and he caused him to see a war prize, a wampum. After a while he spoke to him as follows:

"I also will always smoke at your feast, and if a kettle is ever put on the fire for me, I will be thankful to you. Whatever the people

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THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (SECOND VERSION)

614 796 Informant, member of Bear clan: As soon as the first bear month is visible they have their feast. They do not use meat but products [805] of the earth. The feast is held at night, never in the daytime. The people always save up food some time before giving the feast. The [825] favorite dishes of the bear are sugar and blueberries. When they can not obtain these they use other vegetables. Indeed, any product of the earth is all right.

When they prepare to give the feast they get the food ready and have some tobacco on hand. On the first day of the first bear month they put on the fire some kettles with dried corn mixed with fruit and others containing green corn. The latter is boiled. They also have [203] ground sugar. When these are ready the feast attendant goes around the village to invite the people. When all have entered the lodge and taken their proper seats, then the host rises and addresses them:

614 796 537 "All my relatives who are seated here, I greet you. It is not through blessings of our own that we can always make offerings of tobacco. My grandfather was blessed by a spirit called Black Fur, a spirit who is in command of all the other spirits. This spirit told us that we could perform the ceremony in this way. It is for that reason we have made an effort to heat water for him.[a] The first request we make is that if we ever go on the warpath, we may conquer. Our grandfather was also blessed with life by the bear spirit [b] and he told him that he would grant him and his posterity whatever they asked. [782] We shall therefore send to this spirit a pipeful of tobacco, two kettles full of food, and some tree sap.[c] So much will we send him, accompanied by an offering of tobacco.

"As soon as the attendant gets everything ready the feasting will begin."

Then the attendant puts food in every plate, and when he has finished the host speaks again.

"Relatives, it is said that when the plates are supplied to you [264] filled with food, then you should begin to eat. Do not, however, use your right hands in eating."

The host tells the feasters to use their left hands in eating, and they obey him. Before starting to eat all the fires are put out and the people eat in the dark.

614 796 In the spring of the year this feast is given again. Twice a year it is given.

The feast [d] was always given with some choice dried corn that had been put away for this event. Once when it was time to give the [841] feast in the first bear month, the two daughters of the man who was

[a] Boil soup and prepare food in general.
[b] Black Fur is apparently a conventional expression for bear.
[c] Conventional name for maple sugar.
[d] What follows is an account of why this particular feast was discontinued.

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to give it had their menses and were fasting. When the feast was about to be held there was no food and their mother gave the girls some of the sacred food and the unclean girls boiled it and ate it. 614 796 841

The following spring when the girls were out helping their mother tan some hide a bear approached them and tried to kill the girls. The old woman fought the bear off as best she could, but he paid no attention to her and tried to get at the girls. Finally he killed the girls. Then the old woman attacked the bear and finally threw him down and killed him, using her tanning stick as a weapon.

Now this bear was not an ordinary bear such as live on this earth, but his body was covered with blue clay. He had come out of a spring of water shortly before he came to this place. The girls had eaten sacred food when they were unclean, and that is why this bear came and killed them. [776 688]

Since then that particular band has stopped giving this bear feast.

THE SNAKE CLAN FEAST

When a person wishes to give a snake feast, four chickens must be obtained. The nephew of the feast giver is then told to prepare these chickens and make the general preparations. 796 614

The feast is given in the fall, just as the snakes are supposed to go into their winter quarters and close their doors. The winter is their night, and then they go to sleep. [825]

Shortly before the feast begins the host takes out a bundle containing four snake skins—a yellow-snake skin, a rattlesnake skin, a blow-snake skin, and a bull-snake skin. In honor of these he gives his feast and makes his offerings.

As the fall of the year is to the snakes the same as our evening, the Winnebago give this feast in their honor then, in much the same way as we have our supper before retiring for the night. The snake skins are representatives of the first four snakes Earthmaker made and which he pierced through the earth in the direction of the east. The snake skins are kept to represent the four original snake-beings and to keep evil away from homes. That is why offerings are made to them. Four men only are invited to this feast (as main participants), and they must each eat a chicken. [773]

The host himself opens the door for the snakes. In front of him, next to the fireplace, he makes four holes in the ground, thus opening the door for them. There he likewise places tobacco for them. First he pours tobacco in the fire, for the fire is the mediator between the people and the spirit. The fire tells the spirit the wishes of the people and is, in general, in charge of the members of the tribe. For that reason they always pour tobacco upon it. [782]

Now the host rises and speaks. "Grandfather (fire), you who stand in the center of the lodge, I offer you tobacco, for you are the interpreter (between the spirits and human beings), and I know that 796 614 537 372

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X 796 themselves; and, lastly, the order in which the guests are invited (pls. 56, 57, 58).

X 796 121 It follows from the above remarks that in order to get a really complete account of the entire ceremony information should be obtained from each clan. The account given by any one clan will only contain the origin myth and the songs belonging to the war bundle of that clan, for although it is part of the ceremony to relate the origin myths of the various war bundles and sing the specific songs connected with them, no individual would take it upon himself to tell any but those relating to the war bundle of his own clan. Thus it will be seen that any single account is defective in some rather important particulars.

## ANALYTICAL PRESENTATION OF THE CEREMONY

X 796 The ceremony falls into three well-defined parts: I, the Sweat Lodge; II, the First Division, generally known either as the Feast in honor of Earthmaker or the Feast in honor of the Thunderbirds; and III, the Second Division, known as the Feast in honor of the Night Spirits.

[782] There is little to be said about the Sweat Lodge, for it consists exclusively of offerings of tobacco and prayers to the spirits, on the part of the one giving the ceremony, whom we will call the host.

The first division can be divided into the following component elements: (1) The preparation of the buckskins; (2) the dog sacrifice; (3) the filling of the ceremonial pipe and the smoking ritual; (4) the tobacco offering to the spirits; (5) the buckskin offerings to the spirits; (6) the feast; (7) the fast-eating contest; and (8) the basic ritual.

The second division can be divided into the following component elements: (4) The tobacco offering to the spirits; (9) the throwing out of the buckskins; (6) the feast; (10) the episode of the "Night-crazed" warrior; (11) the terminal dog ritual; and (8) the basic ritual.

[887] (1) *The preparation of the buckskins.*—The buckskins, made as white as possible by old women, are taken into the lodge by the host and there marked in the manner prescribed for each spirit. They are then tied to a framework and rolled to the top of this frame.

[782 825] (2) *The dog sacrifice.*—The dog is strangled and a pouch of tobacco is tied to each limb, and another pouch and red feathers are tied around his neck. The body is then laid in front of the war bundle, facing south, this being the direction in which Disease-giver, the spirit to whom the dog is specially sacrificed, lives. [776]

Before strangling, a short speech is addressed to the dog in which the slayer apologizes for killing him, and assures him that in the

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778 B. was not the eldest son, but, as mentioned before, the war bundle was always given to that son who manifested the greatest interest in it. When B. and his brothers were quite young their father took them aside one day and told them the stories connected with the war bundle and told them, in addition, that the one manifesting the [869] greatest interest would receive it. B. immediately started getting material for a feast, and this he would give to his father, who would then give a feast. This was repeated over and over again until B.'s father felt that B. knew enough about the ceremony to conduct it himself, after which he allowed him to take entire charge of it.

The war bundle contained the following objects:

The body of an eagle (teaxee'p).
The body of a hawk (k'eredju'sep).
The body of an unidentified bird (wanink'hiwjteak'I'zok'e).
The body of a pigeon hawk (k'Irik'I'risge).
A deer-tail headdress (teasinte wak'e're).
Eagle feathers (teaxee'p macõ').
Medicines (wase').
Flutes (hijõ'juk).
War club (nama'tee).

[825] The birds' bodies were supposed to give the possessor, in times of war, the characteristics of these animals. The flutes were associated with different spirits and used to accompany certain songs during the ceremony proper. When blown during a fight, they were sup- [789 726] posed to paralyze the running powers of the enemy and thus make him an easy prey. The deer-tail headdress, the eagle feathers, and the war club were all war paraphernalia and were always worn when on the warpath.

x 796 When the custodian of a war bundle decides to give a feast he has his nephews go out and kill as many deer as they can, for the larger the number of deer obtained the larger will be the number of spirits to whom they can make offerings. As a rule ten to eleven deer are killed, so that all the clans, or at least all that are still in existence, can be invited.

[202] After the deer have been killed active preparations are begun; the invitation sticks (nanõ'γoηa) are sent out, and the wood for the ceremonial lodge is gathered; and, lastly, old women who have [886] passed their climacteric are set to work on the buckskins and ordered to make them as white as possible. In the preparation of the lodge only the nephews, nieces, and wives of the participating men take part.

The night before the ceremony proper, the Sweat-Lodge ritual takes place.

When the buckskins have been thoroughly bleached they are brought into the lodge and given to the host, who proceeds to mark them in the following manner:

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*Offering to the Moon.*—"This we ask, grandmother, of you also. You added your power to (the other blessings) of grandfather Djobenąągiwi'ąxga and you said that as long as the world lasts you would willingly accept the offerings of tobacco that his posterity extended to you. Thus you yourself said, we are told. Here is the tobacco.

"As many of our clansmen as are here living in an abject condition (spiritually), may they all follow in the direct path of war. For that we are now extending to you tobacco, food, and moccasins. And may we in the future travel in the path of war and life."

*Offering to the Water.*—"You likewise, Chief of the Water, whose body is water, blessed grandfather Djōbenąągiwi'ąxga. Here it is (the tobacco). If we poured tobacco into the fire, you said you would always smoke it, it is said. Food and buckskin for moccasins we are about to extend to you. War powers and life, that we ask from you in return, for you said that you would always accept (our offerings), we are told. When you blessed grandfather Djōbenąągiwi'ąxga you said that we should pour tobacco for you at all times, it is said. Here it is.

"You would recognize the offering of tobacco and the tobacco with the food that we sent forth to you, you said, it is said. We desire war powers and life for our kinsmen."

*Offering to North Wind.*—"You likewise, Porcupine,[108] told grandfather, 'For killing an enemy outright, I am useful, it is said. I am even the equal of the one who blows from the north!' Thus you told grandfather, it is said. When the proper time has arrived we should pour tobacco. Tobacco, here it is.

"Our first request is for war power and life."

*Offering to the Pigeon-Hawk.*—"Here is tobacco for you, too, Pigeon-Hawk. You blessed grandfather with war and life and it is said you told him that you would always give him what we asked of you."

*Offering to Earthmaker.*—"For Earthmaker, who is the foremost, you said we should pour tobacco, so for him we (pour) tobacco.[109] A handful of tobacco we are about to offer to you (Earthmaker)."

*Offering to the Thunderbird.*—"To you, also, Thunderbird, I am about to pour tobacco. It will be one of the foremost offerings, you said, it is said. Tobacco we pour to you."

[825]

[108] Porcupine is also associated with the North Wind in the [illegible] division of the ceremony.

[109] I. e., we even have the effrontery to offer him tobacco as though He ourselves could ever obtain a blessing from so great a deity as Earthmaker! The order in which the offerings to the various spirits are made is rather peculiar, for that to Earthmaker should, I believe, come first. I suspect that my informant was probably in error in the arrangement given above, a fact easily explained when it is remembered that he tried to visualize a ceremony he had not given for some time.

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you can do so, and the women likewise can join, because we have rolled up our bundle. To the dog that we have here, an offering of tobacco can be made." Thus speaking, he sings. After he has finished the song, someone specially called upon gives the war whoop, in which the rest join. In this manner they sing four times, and the ceremony ends. They have a dog around whose neck they tie a red rag, together with a bundle of tobacco, and to each of whose limbs they also tie a bundle of tobacco. This dead dog is to be placed wherever the bones that remain of the feast are buried, generally under some tree. It is supposed that the dog will go directly to the Disease-giver together with the tobacco and there be taken over by him.

*Notes on the Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant, member of the clan: Place of honor at the feast is given to the bravest man present. Scalps, etc., are always brought to those keeping the war bundle.

Contents of bundle: Black hawk (main thing), two wolf tails, buffalo tail, snake, weasel, three flutes—one red, one black, and one blue.

Black hawk used in time of war. If I were leading the war party I would carry it and it would be able to fly. It had a small bundle of medicine tied around the neck, on each wing and each leg. A red flute always went with it.

The two wolf tails could be taken on any warpath. It gives an individual the power of running. The medicine tied to it is to be smeared over the body in order to prevent fatigue. It is also used in hunting.

Buffalo tail gives fleetness and indicates that the man received strength from the buffalo spirit.

Weasel and snake could be put around the neck and worn over the shoulders in times of war. Gives the power of these respective animals in wiggling.

Flutes, blue in connection with the buffalo, red in connection with the black hawk, and black in connection with the night spirits

## The War-bundle Feast of the Bear Clan

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The people were about to go on a hunt, it is said. They returned. Four deer had been killed. And again they went, and this time three deer were killed. But it was not sufficient, so they went out again, and when they returned it was found that they had killed only three deer. "Well," they said, "this will be all right. We have ten deer. Perhaps they will last as food until dawn."

They told the attendants to get ready the lodge and to build the fireplaces. They told them also to have the wood and the buck-

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174 types of organization. In North America there is quite consider-
64 able evidence tending to show that village-group organization often preceded the clan, and for that reason the facts brought out above may be of more than casual significance. That a system of clan names different from that now in use existed is borne out by the archaic names for the Bear and Wolf clans. That another system was making headway against the animal-name type is apparent from the disappearance of the name Hawk and the substitution of the term Warrior clan; and from the common custom of calling the Thunder and Bear clans Chief and Soldier clan respectively. What is especially significant is the fact that these three new names all represent the same type of change, the substitution for animal designations, with the correlated associations of descent or connexion with an animal ancestor, of designations indicative of the function of the clan. If the association of the social unit with a common animal ancestor was preceded by an association of a social unit with geographical location, we would then be able to demonstrate what is so rare in ethnology, the historical succession of types of naming. Having established that, there would be thrown open to us legitimately the historical-psychological question whether any necessary genetic relationship between these three types of naming existed, and whether this succession of names is to be regarded as a reflection of distinct changes in social organization.

## THE TWOFOLD GROUPING—NAMES AND RELIGIO-MYTHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION.

174 The Winnebago are divided into two divisions, one known
614 as the *waŋgeregi herera*, "those who are above," the other as the
616 *maŋegi herera*, "those who are on earth." Descent was reckoned in the paternal line. But these appellations refer to the animals
825 after whom the clans are named, the term *waŋgeregi* covering the birds, the term *maŋegi*, land and water animals. So firmly has this idea of the division of animal forms become associated with the two divisions that, as mentioned before, were a new clan introduced now among the Winnebago its position would depend exclusively upon the nature of the animal associated with it. As similar reasons dictate clan groupings among some of the Cen-

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tral Algonkin tribes, a few words concerning this type of association will not be amiss. The groupings of the fauna into a distinct number of categories is extremely common in North America. Among the Winnebago, a number of other Siouan, and Central Algonkin tribes, there was a fivefold classification: earth animals, sky animals, empyrean animals, aquatic animals, subaquatic animals. Among the Winnebago, the thunderbird belongs to the empyrean; the eagle, hawk, and pigeon, to the sky; the bear and wolf, to the earth; the fish, to the water; and the water spirit, below the water. This religio-mythological conception has unquestionably received a certain amount of sympathetic elaboration at the hands of shamans, and particularly at the hands of the leaders of such ceremonies as the Winter Feast, the Clan Feast, and the Clan Wake, as well as at the hands of those who had in their keeping the clan origin myths.

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The characteristics of the thunderbird, eagle, bear, and water spirit as clan animals, and as animals connected with a division of fauna are related to the general conception of these animals *per se*. The eagle and hawk are birds of prey; the thunderbird is generally a deity granting long life, and associated with peace, although his connexion with war is by no means uncommon. Similarly, the bear is supposed to have a "soldier" nature, and the water spirit is intimately associated with rites pertaining to crossing streams, calming the sea, and ownership of water property. This correlation unquestionably indicates an influence of the religio-mythological conception of the animal upon the social group with which it is associated. How far this can go is abundantly attested by the names and behaviour of the *wangercgi* and *mąnegi* divisions.

On the other hand we may legitimately ask: what influence have the two divisions had upon moulding the attributes of these animals, or upon the behaviour of the groups with which their name is associated? The functions of a warrior may have determined, as they certainly have accentuated, the "warrior" characteristics of the eagle and hawk, nor is there any easily intelligible reason why the thunderbird should be associated with peace. From our knowledge of the social organization of other Siouan tribes, the political functions of the clan seem to be

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174 the characteristic feature of the organization, and this being the
614 case, the probability of associations of warlike and peace attributes
with animals may as much be ascribed to the influence of the so-
616 cial unit as vice versa. As regards such functions as the exogamy
825 of the two divisions or that of the clans, or of the reciprocal burial relationship of the *waŋgeregi* and *maŋegi* divisions, we, of course, know that the characteristics of the animal in question have nothing to do with the matter. We must, then, realize that we are dealing with reciprocal influences, of the religio-mythological conception of animals on the one hand, and of political functions of social units on the other. In some cases, such as the specific associations of the water spirit, it is probable that the religio-mythological conception of the animal is dominant. The association of the thunderbird with fire has likewise not been due to any activity of the social unit; and thus examples might be multiplied. In this connexion, the fact that animals with whom a multitude of associations have already been established are subsequently associated with social units, is fundamental. From this point of view, the animal names of social organization are intrusive features, and we will consequently expect to find historical adjustments. This, we think, is what has taken place here. The animal name with its religio-mythological conceptions was a remarkably strong unit, even as compared with the political unit, and as a result reciprocal influences took place. Although the religio-mythological influence must have been marked, it appears to have changed none of the marital and other functions of the two divisions, nor the political functions of the clans. What it did change, and change fundamentally, was the interpretation of the social organization.

## FUNCTIONS OF THE TWOFOLD DIVISION.

614 The only function that the *waŋgeregi* and *maŋegi* divisions
616 seem to have had was the regulation of marriage. A *waŋgeregi*
[582] man had to marry a *maŋegi* woman, and vice versa. The only
other function exercised by these divisions was, according to
[764] some informants, reciprocal burial. Here the religio-mythological interpretations seem in part to have determined this relation for a *maŋegi* man buried a *waŋgeregi* man because, as a "land

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meaning of "blue-back," it has been interpreted as "first," 614
from *tconi*. In the same way *degoni* has been interpreted as 551
*re* "to go" and *honi*, "to hunt"; and *hotcangera* has been subjected 174
to a multitude of interpretations. This folk-etymology not only overrides the grammatical peculiarities of Winnebago, but even makes faulty compounds conform to the Winnebago principles of grammar. Inquiry into the origin of the clan names will, for these various reasons, have to be regarded as one of the most unprofitable of investigations.

### *Attitude Toward Clan Animals.*

We mentioned before that when the animal names became 614
associated with the social groups, they were accompanied 776
by the specific associations clustering around these animals. 825
These associations were probably of the same type, if not indeed identical with those grouped around the animals as guardian spirits. The clan animals are among the principal guardian spirits to-day, and we must expect to find an explanation of the attitude toward them as clan animals in the attitude the Winnebago exhibit toward the guardian spirit. To a certain extent it would be quite correct to say that the guardian spirit became the clan animal. This does not, however, mean, in the slightest [174] degree, that the guardian spirit of the individual became the clan animal, but merely that the concept of the guardian spirit became associated with a local group.

The guardian spirit is at the present time conceived as an immaterial being in control of an animal species. The attitude toward this spirit is a purely religious one, and exhibits a marked [784] absence of taboo of any kind. It is an open question whether a vision must be attested by obtaining some part of the animal "embodiment" of the spirit, but there is no doubt that every [787] vision is symbolized by a special gift from the "spirit." The guardian spirit complex may thus be said to consist of a special religious attitude plus symbol.

The attitude toward the clan animal is characteristically different in this respect, that more emphasis is laid upon identification with the animal itself, as contrasted with the "spirit."

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614 As far as could be determined, the clan animal is the thunder-
776 bird with his characteristics of lightning and thunder, of the bear
who likes honey and raisins, etc. The animal is engraved as clan
825 symbol and used as a property mark, and he is brought in intimate
[421] contact with the group by the postulation of descent. Naturally, descent is not from the "spirit" animal but from the animal. Nevertheless the clan animal has, at the same time, retained its place as a guardian spirit, and in a most suggestive way. The blessing of a clan animal is more easily obtained by a member of the clan than by an outsider. The clan animal is a sort of clan protector.

174 In this change of attitude two considerations seem pertinent:
first, the possibility of the "spirit" nature of the guardian
614 spirit being a product of the esoteric elaboration of the religious
societies, and that its apparent absence in the clan animal
776 represents an exoteric conception; and, secondly, that under
825 the influence of the social functions of the clan, an originally strong religious conception of the clan animal gave place to an identification with the animal species itself. It might be objected that there is no inherent correlation between social organization and animal species as contrasted with spirit animals. It seems certain, however, that descent could only be reckoned from the animal, and as long as it is postulated it must be from the animal. With regard to the historical priority of the "spirit" conception, little can be definitely said except, first, that the systematization it has undergone suggests the influence of the esoteric societies, and secondly, that the visions obtained during fasting appear to speak of the guardian "spirit" as an animal. On general psychological considerations we are inclined to believe in the contrast of the material and spiritual conception of the animal as a real fact, although it would be hazardous to say whether one or the other lies at the basis of the attitude of the individual toward his clan animal.

### *Relationship to Clan Animals.*

174 The question of descent from the animal brings us to the
614 consideration of the whole intricate relationship of the individual
825 to the clan animal, a subject that has played so prominent a

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part in discussions of totemism. There are two distinct sources for the determination of this relationship, data obtained in reply to direct questioning, and that contained in some miscellaneous myths and in the origin myths. Part of the oral data is merely a reflex of the origin myths, but part is not. The value of this "unwritten" material lies in the fact that it represents the popular, exoteric attitude, the attitude that, on the whole, is not the result of conscious rationalization, and also in the fact that this exoteric view may very likely have been the basis for the esoteric interpretation. 174 614 825

The most prevalent view of the relationship of the individual to his clan animal is that of descent from an animal, transformed at the origin of the human race into human beings. This view is expressed in some of the origin myths and reflects the general conversation with individuals. Direct descent from an animal was never postulated. The definition of the term "animal" is, however, very difficult. The Indians themselves seem to make a distinction between the animal of to-day and the animal of the heroic age. The main characteristic of the animal of the heroic age was his power of transformation into human form and vice versa. Although he has lost this to-day, he is nevertheless descended from this animal. The human beings are, however, descended from precisely the same "animals," so that it might be well to bear in mind that descent from the transformed animal does not mean descent from the animal of to-day. This view is more systematically expressed in some places. According to one miscellaneous myth, the existing human beings and animals were descended from the same being, who once possessed infinite powers of transformation now into human, now into animal shape. At one time, presumably the beginning of our present creation, these "beings" either consciously or unconsciously exhausted all their "transforming" power, and the form into which they changed themselves, human or animal, remained fixed for all time. The existing animals have never succeeded in regaining their power of transformation, and among human beings this power has only been vouchsafed to those few who have obtained it as a special gift from some spirit. Even then, however, it is ludicrously incomplete, as compared 174 614 773 825

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174 with the same powers of the primordial "beings." This con-
614 ception of the animal-human archetype must not be regarded
773 as at all flavouring of a philosophy, developed after contact
825 with Europeans. The error that has always been committed in discussions as to the nature of descent from the animal lies in confusing our concept of animal species with the term "animal" as used by primitive people, and also in lack of discrimination between the possible connotations of that same term, as applied to animals of to-day and those animals which are brought into intimate contact with the clan ancestor.

There is no reason for regarding the specific descent from the totem as a transformation of this Winnebago idea of the origin of human and animal forms. The latter conception is entirely a religious one, whereas the former is merely an extension of the genealogical tendency prevalent in many types of social organization. Instead of being merely descended from an individual in a given social unit, the bond of membership within this unit has been strengthened by the postulation of blood relationship to the clan animal. Descent may thus be looked upon as one of the elements necessary for the stability of a political unit, and is far older than its specific extension to those clan animals. A very illuminating example of a case in point can be selected from the history of the war bundle in the Thunderbird clan. This bundle, like the others, was obtained as a gift from the thunderbird in his capacity as a guardian spirit. The Winter Feast has, however, been markedly influenced by the clan organization and as a result, we find descent from the thunderbird and night spirit, the two most important spirits in the ceremony, postulated of the original owner of the war bundle. The same tendency is exhibited in the numerous stories of the connexion of an individual of the heroic age with a village. Here the individual, generally a transformed guardian spirit or animal, comes to the aid of the people in their struggle against cannibals, defeats the latter, and marries into the village, becoming the ancestor of the subsequent village group.

At the same time no strong correlation apparently exists between a totemic organization and the extension of descent to include the clan animal, for this seems to be a peculiarity of

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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individual cultures. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest Coast, among the Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves we find, in addition to the above, the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact that its members imitate the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reason at all for the name, while according to others an animal is killed and becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, the group taking its name from this fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation.

174 614 773 825

### *The Clan Tie.*

In intimate relation to the attitude toward the clan animal is the conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the bond between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal. Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as is brought out by the word for clan (*hokikʻaradjora*). This concept of blood relationship was extended to the mother's clan generation. As we have pointed out, there is no reason for assuming that blood relationship is the primary explanation. The number of explanations for exogamy existing between one clan and another, and that of the clans of one side as opposed to those of another, indicate clearly how readily interpretations of this phenomenon change. The Bear does not marry into the Wolf clan because they are friends (*hitcakʻoro*), and does not marry into the Buffalo clan because it belongs to the same side, or no reason is assigned at all. Before the question of the clan tie can be thoroughly understood, the kind of blood relationship that is here meant must be more carefully defined. This is not a general but a very definite notion, and may be said not to extend beyond four generations, in fact, not beyond the direct knowledge of some living individual.

602 614 582

2. Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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as follows, 'My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease.' Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit, they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick, they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well." 614 755 796

Here the Bear clan behaves at the same time like a ceremonial organization associated with shamanistic practices and like an individual shaman. That, to the minds of the Winnebago, this ceremonial function of the Bear clan on this occasion was regarded as a real ceremony is indicated by the term *many pe waci*. For the moment, the Bear clan as a social unit is entirely lost sight of. Nevertheless, it is the Bear clan as such a unit around which the ceremony has crystallized. This case is all the more instructive for the very reason that this ceremonial association does not form an inextricable element in the clan complex, but is merely an aspect that it assumes on certain occasions, to the exclusion of its socio-political nature. The ceremonial function of the clan is, therefore, not as firmly fixed as is the political function. This may merely be an expression of the fact that among the Winnebago it had become customary to associate ceremonial functions with religious societies. 614 796 182

With regard to the analogy with the individual shaman, it might be said that treating a social unit like an individual must have been quite common wherever the former was strongly marked off by specific functions such as the Bear clan. The association of the shamanistic function with this clan may have occurred just because of the police functions the clan already possessed. On the other hand, it might be pointed out that the bear, both black and grizzly, was intimately [776 825 756]

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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associated with the treatment of disease and was the especial guardian spirit of the Indian doctors.

## INFLUENCE OF THE CLAN UPON CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION.

Perhaps the most characteristic trait of Winnebago culture is the existence of two strong socialized units, that of the clan and that of the secret society. Historically both are old, and even if we are of the opinion that the clan is historically younger, the political unit upon which it is superimposed is probably an ultimate historical fact. From the earliest times one would have supposed reciprocal influences to have occurred repeatedly. The nature of these influences, insofar as they are not conditioned by chance, would depend on the respective centre of gravity in either unit. It is evident that for the clan the organization was of paramount importance, and that the addition of cultural associations probably tended to strengthen its stability from the point of view of organization. On the other hand, the absence of political or governmental functions in the religious societies, and the clustering of the most multitudinous religious and shamanistic ideas within them, rendered the emotional complex of the latter the centre from which influences would radiate. At the same time, the ceremonial unit of organization seems to have been so firmly fixed, that any influence of the clan unit of organization upon it does not seem likely. As a matter of fact, in the typical schematic, religious society, like the medicine dance, grizzly-bear dance, and night-spirit dance, no influence is perceptible. But these religious societies may be regarded as presenting no possible points of contact. Where, however, the bond of union is supernatural communication with a guardian spirit who subsequently became the clan animal, an obvious point of contact is given, and this brings to mind a very suggestive fact of Winnebago culture—there are, strictly speaking, no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in many respects are absolutely identical with the religious societies, and which furnish, it seems to us, an example

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



brothers, though they were his elders. The two older brothers made up their minds to do away with Hagaga. They went into the forest together and drew an image of Hagaga on the ground, painting his heart with red earth. They were preparing to thrust a spear into the heart of the image and thus kill Hagaga but he was on the limb of a tree watching them and yelled at them as they were ready to strike—"Hey, what are you about to do?" They looked up, discovered him, and were so scared at their detection that they ran away without stabbing the figure. He followed them to Trempealeau Mountain where the spirits live. 539 575 756

This mountain is supposed by the Winnebago to be hollow and they think all the powers of the medicine lodge reside therein. In the center of this mountain, the medicine lodge is supposed to be laid out, with the cardinal points of the compass indicated by poles. The poles represent serpents and the tie pieces are serpents, because to the Winnebago medicine lodge members the serpent is sacred.[24] [823] 575 756 [825]

The various animal deities came into the center of the lodge. They were, in order of entrance, the otter, the loon, the crane, the turtle, the fox, and a number of others. Nowadays when the medicine lodge ceremony is in progress, the Indians make song imitations of these various animal spirits coming into the lodge. In the main, they agree with the conception of creation held by the Menomini.[25] The writer related the Menomini story to Henry Dick, who said it was almost the same as the Winnebago. Their initiation ceremony starts at an earlier age which coincides with the age of puberty for both boys and girls and their medicine lodge ceremony requires more time than that of the Menomini; —four days for the lodge ceremony and two days for the testing of the initiate. While the ceremony is in progress, the candidate must not go to sleep. If he does, one of the members will shake him. The first two days and nights, the ceremony is mostly chanting and explanations, while the final two days and nights are given over to active floor work. The candidate must learn to do exactly as he is told and to obey instantly. The members, during the ceremony, tweak his ears and do various things to him in imitation of the animal deities. He is then shot with medicine bags to demonstrate their power. That is, the otter skin bag is grasped by the head between the fingers of the left hand of the medicine lodge member, and touched to his own lips; then having given it his power as a medicine man, he extends it toward the initiate, crying "Hui hui" and the initiate must drop his head immediately and fall over or backward. He is shot four times in the course of the ceremony. 575 756 796

On the fifth and sixth days, two or three of the older members take

[24] Fred Mallory's children killed a large puffing adder a day or two previous to the relating of this story and the local Winnebago did not like it, prophesying all sorts of dire disasters that would visit them.

[25] See Milw. Publ. Mus. Bull., Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 14, note 3.

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12



I permit him to forget his bargain when the squash was served later in the day. 574 114

Big Wave did not participate in the feast, nor did he smoke ceremoniously or otherwise during the entire performance. 796 During the feast he sang several songs without drum. 574 These were his war-bundle songs, obtained in a dream by the original owner of the bundle and descending to his successors.

The bones from the feast were gathered up by the waiters and placed in a single vessel. Tobacco was added to the bones, and the vessel taken out to a place where no people were in view and where no dogs could [782] molest the contents. This was a sacrifice to Disease Giver.

After the meat had been entirely consumed, the leader announced that they would now have night spirit dancing. 796 An old bow and four arrows were brought out and planted in the floor to stand erect in a row just west of the fireplace, where the war-bundle had formerly been displayed. Big Wave appointed one to lead the dance. The dancers aligned themselves in single file on the south side of the lodge, facing west, and were led by the dance leader carrying the bow and arrows and blowing a reed whistle, followed by the other dancers. The singers began singing and the dancers circled several times about the lodge counter-clockwise. With short pauses between, several songs and dances were so executed. When the set of songs was finished, the bowl of tobacco dedicated to the use of the guests was then given by one of the [574] waiters to the most honored guest. The head waiter lifted the stove shovel containing the remains of the burned cedar leaves and poured the contents in the fire. Then the singing was resumed and they danced once more about the fire, joyously.

When the singing stopped, the leader for this dance returned the whistle to Big Wave, and the latter, as soon as all were again seated, addressed his guests. He said that this was the way they worshipped the spirits of their fathers. He thanked those participating for their assistance in the singing and dancing and solicited their further help. So they should enjoy health, long life and success. Everyone responded [201] with a series of confirmative "O's". The feast of boiled squash was now served. It was the duty of the waiters to eat any scraps left by [261] the feasters, since food uneaten is considered an affront to the spirits to whom the food is dedicated.

The ceremonies described above were followed by a buffalo dance. It seems that the spirit of the buffalo was especially noted for his speed in running, and could imbue his devotees with his skill. Inasmuch as [825] speed in running was of prime importance in primitive warfare, where [726] the desired procedure was to come quickly upon the enemy, strike decisively and disappear from the scene, the buffalo dance is considered [535] an altogether proper adjunct to the war-bundle ceremony, and regularly follows in.

## *Fasting*

Whenever these girls went out to get wood my older 159*
brother and I would play around with them a great 785
deal. We did this even although we were fasting at
the time. Of course we had to do it in secret. When-
ever our parents found out we got a scolding and so [861]
did the girls. At home we were warned to keep away
from menstruating women, but we ourselves always [841]
sought them.

After a while some of the people living in the lodges 159*
moved away and we were left alone. They moved far
ahead of us. We ourselves were to move only a short
distance at a time. My father and my brother-in-law
went out hunting and killed seventy deer between [224]
them, so that we had plenty of meat.

When the girls with whom I used to play moved
away I became very lonesome. In the evenings I used
to cry. I longed for them greatly and they had moved
far away!

Soon we got fairly well started on our way back.
We moved to a place where all the leaders used to give
their feasts. Near the place where we lived there
were three lakes and a black-hawk's nest. Right near
the tree where the nest was located, they built a lodge
and our war-bundle [10] was placed in it. There my elder [787]

[10] The war-bundle was the most sacred object among the Winne- 778
bago. It consisted of dried animal skins, other parts of animals, reed
flutes, etc., all of which had some symbolical meaning. The various
animal remains, for instance, were supposed to give the owner the [825]
powers of these animals, the sound of the reed flutes was sup-
posed to paralyze his enemy and make it impossible for him to walk.
Each clan possessed at least one such bundle and whenever the tribe [614]
went on the warpath, this bundle was carried on the back of some

Where Trickster stops Hare begins. He is a combination of a trickster and a culture-hero. His benefactions, for instance, are all accidental. But from the start, he possesses the lineaments of a human being and his orientation is toward man. He is no longer the supreme egoist that Trickster was. At the end of his adventures the earth has been transformed into a place where human beings can live and operate. 105 538 773

It is the function of the heroes of the third cycle to prevent this order which Hare has established from being again disrupted and returning to chaos. The function of the Twins is to continue the struggles of the heroes of the third cycle and to attempt to stabilize this order for all time.

Now although the theme of all these epics is the struggle against chaos and the introduction of order, each one of the great heroes of the last three epics, attempts to disrupt the order he has himself established. Hare brings death into the universe, Storms-as-he-walks, one of the heroes of the third cycle, kills wantonly and unnecessarily and the Twins kill one of the deities who hold our earth in place. In the case of the Twins it is important to stress the fact that, as we shall see, their attack on the world order is the result of exuberance of energy which is, in itself, constructive.

This same theme of the necessity for intelligent order and the establishment of stability runs, like a guiding thread, through the Origin Myth given on pages 17 ff. and pages 252 ff.[1] There, the first problem of Earthmaker after he has, so to say, given himself a fixed orientation in the universe at large and brought about order within himself, is to stop the earth he has created from continuing its ceaseless motion. This he achieves by anchoring it at the four cardinal points and then weighing it down by means of vegetation and mountains. The anchorage, significantly enough, is brought about by pinning the island-earth down by four waterspirits and four snakes. Now snakes are the specifically sacred animals of the Winnebago, the intermediaries between the deities and man. Waterspirits, on the other hand, are, essentially, the most productively evil and dangerous of all the deities for man, fascinating him, confusing him, and placing in his hands the means for his own destruction and the destruction [825] [776]

[1] [Not processed.—Analyst]

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867 782 276 Thus he made the tobacco so that humans may ask life with it, and he will grant them their desires. This is all."

### CLAN NAMES

#### TCE HIK'IK'ARAIJERA (BUFFALO CLAN)

614 551

| | |
|---|---|
| Hereteqa | He who travels the land. |
| Teanimeniwiqa | She who walks ahead. |
| Teenighdqa | Suckling buffalo calf. |
| Teqa | Buffalo. |
| Teep'ana'pga | Two buffalo heads. |
| Teetca'iwiqa | First buffalo. |
| Teedojanigh'a | Buffalo yearling. |
| Teedonigh'a | Young buffalo bull. |
| Teewiqazedqa | Big female buffalo. |
| Wirukanaqa | He who is in control. |
| Hahekanaiqa? | Shaggy walker. |
| Teehaiewiqa | Buffalo hide blue. |
| Manqikanatqa | Shakes the earth by striking. |
| Teep'aqa | Buffalo head. |
| Manek'arahiqa | Kicking up the earth. |

## The Deer Clan

### INTRODUCTION

614 173 The first version of the origin myth of the Deer clan is in part like that of version 6 of the Beaf clan origin myth and in part like that of version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth. It is the only myth that shares with version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth the account of the origin of death.

614 The Deer clan does not seem to have had any important functions, although in myth 1, it is stated that they claimed a "partial" chieftainship, whatever that may mean.

[571] It was considered an insult to tell a member of this clan that he resembled a deer.

[502] The facial painting is the same as that used for the Elk clan. (Pl. 46.)

[826 761] The Deer clan people tell one another not to sing their clan song very loudly, and also not to make any sudden movement of their limbs, for each movement might cause the death of a human being. For the same reason they are told not to weep too loudly, as each deer's limb is a symbol of one of the four directions. When, therefore, a Deer clansman moves a limb too hard when he is weeping over the decease of a member of his clan, he might be "putting some human being in the earth," and the wind would blow hard.

[552] The dog names obtained were *uankcigohoniga* and *na"natcgisga*.

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825
756 on the earth, have medicines that you are to use on earth. Whatever you say on earth it will be so. You have been blessed with all the things that are on and under the earth."

All the fowls and insects of the air, all the beings that have wings, blessed him and gave him medicines, which he was to mix with other medicines. He was told to make use of all the insects of the earth and air, some of which we never see. All those who live on earth, all the fishes in the water, and all the different kinds of water-spirits blessed him with medicines. He was blessed with, and told to use as medicines, all those plants that live in the water. He was blessed with the leech, one of the animals that lives in the water, and he was to use it in medicine mixing. They say that it is good to mix the leech with other medicines to relieve pain. He was blessed with all the trees, that we see to-day, which he was to use as medicines. Their bark, leaves, and roots are considered very good for such purposes. He was blessed also with all the small undergrowth, whose leaves, bark, inner bark, blossoms, and roots he was to use for medicine. He was blessed with all the weeds, and he was to use their heads and leaves for medicine, but their roots were to be used for other purposes.

Thus all the different kinds of plants that grow on this earth blessed him. The earth also blessed him and said to him, "Grandson, as the other spirits are blessing you, I, also, will bless you. Earthmaker has placed me here, and I therefore bless you with all plants that grow upon me, and all the trees and woods and animals that exist on this earth, and lastly, with life and myself (i. e., earth). You may use me, and especially the blue clay that you derive from me, for medicines. Should you use as medicine all these things with which I have blessed you, especially if you use me, as medicine, you will be able to accomplish all that you attempt.

"If a person who is sick offers you tobacco (i. e., asks you to cure him), remember that I also would like to smoke and that it is for that reason that I have blessed you."[1]

[826] Birds, especially eagles, are used in the making of medicines. The entire body of a raven, including the heart and brains, are used, and also the following snakes: The gray snake, the black snake, the blue snake, the yellow snake, the bull snake, and the snake that [844] breaks itself in two. The rattlesnake is used in a mixture given to [278] women when in labor. If a woman hurts herself during pregnancy [845] and kills the child within her womb, she can be made to deliver the embryo if she uses the medicine mentioned above.

[776 782] [1] According to general belief the spirits are supposed to have entered into a sort of "bargain" with the human beings by which they were to bestow their blessings upon them in exchange for tobacco, buckskin, and feathers. Of course, it must be understood that individuals must have the necessary requirements, such as a certain attitude of mind, fasting, etc., before their offering of tobacco has any meaning to the spirits.

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Toads are used, but only for poison medicines. The quail's heart 825
is used for the same purpose. If a person is killed outright, his heart 756
is used as a medicine, as the human heart is regarded as having great 826
efficacy in such medicines. It is used in war, for compelling people to give you presents, and for courting women. The bear likewise is used for a variety of purposes. Its liver is especially powerful. It is rubbed over the body whenever in pain. It is often used by women who have injured themselves in childbirth, or in the form of tonics, poultices, and emetic; or for toothaches, bathing sore eyes, ear- [757]
aches, headaches; as snuff, as a physic, for burns, strictures, boils, hemorrhages, injections in the rectum, consumption, measles, dysentery, chills, nosebleed, pains in the stomach, and headaches caused by poisoning.

Sometimes a woman would take a hair of her husband and stick 832
it into some bad medicine. In such a case he would never leave her for he would become very much enamored of her. If ever she went away, he would miss her very much. However, he always had a headache. Finally he would get sick and lose his appetite and then his eyesight. That is why it is forbidden to use this medicine, although some still do it.

Many Winnebago are blind, because there is a medicine that 754
causes blindness. If one person offends another who possesses such a medicine, the latter would cause the offender to become blind.

The Winnebago have medicines for every purpose; for courting, [832]
for becoming rich, for obtaining good looks, etc. Even if a person is very holy, these poisoners can poison him. If a man was a good hunter or if he was wise and good, these bad shamans would poison him. If an individual was a great medicine man and these bad shamans got jealous, they would poison him. Indeed, only if a person was poor and lowly would they like him. Such a man they would never poison for they had no reason for being jealous of him. A bad shaman is always treated with the greatest respect and honor, because he kills many people.

A warrior is also greatly respected and flattered. It is the Indian's 554
greatest desire to become a warrior. All desire that, and they also 156
wish to become great medicine men and bad shamans. [756]

This is the way they prepare and use their courting medicines. 832
The courting medicine known to me is a plant of apparently two 278
varieties, one of which has a blue blossom and the other no blossom at all. Otherwise they are alike. The one with the blue blossom is the male and the one without the blossom is the female. When I go out to dig this plant, I do not dig for these two specimens unless I can find them growing together closely. Even then I do not dig any two [824]
specimens unless the male is found growing on the east side. For that reason it is very hard to find them. As soon as I find two that

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757 This is medicine used by women when their menstrual flow is not
278 very good:
841
1. Teemanank'e, English unknown.
2. Wazi p'ara'ske abera, pine with flat leaves (?).
3. Wacutei abera, red cedar leaves.
4. Mank'a p'orop'oro abera, round medicine leaves.

All four of these ingredients are ground, mixed together, and then mixed with water. They are then drunk by any woman having trouble with her menstrual flow. After she has taken it she makes knots in the belt and ties it around her waist. As many knots as she makes that many days will it take her to get well. She also smokes herself with cedar leaves.

757 The next medicine that I wish to speak of is compounded as follows:
278
1. K'ewaxgu'u"sera, scent of a toad.
2. Waninkeu'te na'ntekera, heart of a red bird.
3. Hactee'kera, strawberries.
4. Wankrik na'ntekera, human heart.
5. Xawi"ja", a plant.

278 If this medicine were mixed with whisky and given to any person,
[754] the latter would surely die within a year. The frog that is used in this medicine becomes alive in the stomach of the person who drinks it and kills him. If he took the same medicine and mixed it with
[832] paint and then rubbed it over his face, all who looked at him would take a liking to him and give him presents, and the women would fall in love with him and want to marry him. The reason that the women become smitten is because they can not resist the sight of a ripe strawberry. The human heart in the mixture is the object that makes the medicine so powerful, and the red bird heart strengthens it.
[826] Whenever these two, the human heart and the heart of the red bird, are used in medicines, the medicine is always remarkably efficacious.

832 If a woman makes fun of you and you feel hurt about it and want to revenge yourself, get one of her hairs and dip the root into this medicine and then tie it up. Hang the medicine bag in the woods and whenever the wind blows the woman will get lonesome for you and her head will ache. Finally she will get crazy. She will never cease talking about you. This is one of the medicines this man was blessed with. Some of them die from the effects of it. It is not a good thing, but the Winnebago thought that it was a very great thing. (Now that they know the Creator, they know that it is bad.)

755 Here is another medicine that we have, and it is prepared in the
278 following way: Four trees of a certain species are peeled near the roots lying on the east side. Then the second bark is also peeled. Then these are taken and boiled together with a square-stemmed weed. The whole mixture is used to induce vomiting. This vomiting would rid a person of a spell cast upon him which was preventing

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Then another man to whom a kettle has been given gets ready to express his thankfulness and says: 539* 796*

*Speech of sixth guest.* "Host and members of your clan who are seated here, I send forth my greetings to you. To you also, war-bundle owners who are seated here, do I send forth my greetings. The members of this clan have often preached to me. My grandfather once told me the following: 'Some day there will be a dearth of people (for a feast). There they will offer tobacco to the spirits and as many pieces of meat as they cut that many will be holy. There also they will cook heads. Heads are not to be eaten by those wearing dresses (i. e., women). Women are not permitted to scatter their food in eating, we are told.'[18] Some day if they boil these holy pieces, the heads, they will be in need of people to invite to the feast. If they call upon you for one of the sacred pieces, even if at that time you had not yet obtained a war honor, if you had not counted coup,[19] still if you offer up thanks to the spirits for anything; still more so, of course, if you had been able to count coup and you thanked them for all this, they will listen to you.'[20] My grandfather told me, 'Thus they spoke to me,' he said, it is said, 'Little grandfather, the spirits up above gave (your ancestor) a war bundle to those of the Earth phratry. They gave them a mouth for speaking (in offering thanks), but they told him that it was forbidden to speak to outsiders about this matter. They gave them a mouth that they might speak to one another (i. e., members of the same clan)'. [562 262]

"My father gave the information to me. For that reason, they told me, I am in a position to thank the spirits. One of the greatest of the spirits they have offered tobacco to, to one of the greatest of the spirits they have prayed. Tobacco, food, a sacred white buckskin, pleasing to their eyes, they have extended to them. With offerings of life[21] they have asked for life. We have been asked to impersonate (the spirits), even although there are plenty of war-bundle owners. But the host is a relative of ours and therefore wishes me to live. A pitiable existence we had been living (until they saw to it) that we were brought into connection with life. Proud we are of it. For if they (the spirits) accept their gifts, we also will be able to utilize the life (obtained). Clan members, we did as we pleased here. It is good. Those preached to, the Morning Star, [782]

[18] In eating the deer heart and in the last eating contest the meat is devoured so fast that the food is literally scattered in the process of eating. Whether there is an implied warning that a man should not be found in the same clan as the women I do not know positively, but it is quite likely. [264]

[19] Literally, "a limb." The four coup counts are likened to the four limbs of the human body. As such they are always referred to. [826 555]

[20] The whole meaning of the speech up to the present is the following: Should they in the future want to give a feast and lack of the prayer people come there to call upon you, even if you had counted coup only once, the spirits would listen to you. And yet here I am and haven't even counted coup once and yet I have the effrontery to expect them to listen to me.

[21] I. e., with offerings of deer and dogs.

*159 721 [701] [781] [176] Thus I spoke. However, they made me an offering of tobacco as they asked me, and I accepted the tobacco saying that I would at least make an offering of tobacco for them. Then I offered tobacco to the Thunderbirds and asked them for rain, that we might walk in the protection and power of rain. This offering we made in the morning and it rained all that day. Then we went to the place where we knew that we could find horses. When we got there we met the owner of the horses and spoke to him. We accompanied him to a carpenter shop nearby, and there killed him. I struck his dead body, counted coup[26] first, [555] and announced my new name, as I gave a war-whoop. [551] I shouted '*Big-Winnebago* has counted coup on his man.' Then the others counted coup also. We searched his pockets and found medicine and money [727] in them. The money we divided among ourselves. After that we cut out his heart, for we had heard that [826] hearts were used for medicine. That is why we cut out his heart. He had a gun and that we took away from him and hid."

Then my father said to me, "My son, it is good. Your life is no longer an effeminate one. This is the manner in which our ancestors encouraged us to live. It is the will of the spirits in control of war that has led

[26] The first four war honors enumerated above are called "counting coup" by the Whites. *Coup* is the French for *strike* and the expression owes its origin to the custom of warriors counting the number of people they have killed or honors they have obtained by striking the post at the grave of the particular person for whose benefit they are recounting their achievements. [555]

## §9. *My Brother-in-Law's Fasting Experience*

*159 [787] [783] [807] Just about this time we moved to the hunting-grounds and I began to fast again. I began to take sweat baths and caused myself to vomit in order to be purged. My father was a good hunter; he was always able to kill many deer and occasionally a bear.

My brother-in-law thought a good deal of me. He was a holy man and a shaman. One day he said to me, "Brother-in-law, I am going to bless you although you will have to fast for it. I was once blessed by four [776] spirits, brothers, called *Good giant-cannibals*. They said that they had never before blessed any one. They promised me that if I ever got into any difficulties they would help me. They blessed me with long life. Now this blessing I will give you. If, for four nights, you fast without a break, these giants will speak to you." Thus he spoke to me. Then he continued, "These four brothers are called *Good-giant, Good-heart, Good-as-he-walks-about, Good-where-he-lifts-his-foot-from*. They lived toward the east, where you will find a promontory. Nothing across the large body of water is too difficult for them to accomplish."

[780] [216] So when I fasted I always offered tobacco to these spirits first. I would cry to these spirits, but I never fasted over night.

## §27. *The Character of the Murdered Pottawattomie*

Now it was rumored at this time that the man we had killed had really been somewhat crazy. He was the oldest of three brothers. Their father had been a chief and had possessed much land. Other people had contributed very much money to buy the land. A number of them lived there, and they had put in many crops. Then the father died, and the oldest son drove away all the people. He drove his two brothers away also. There were many horses, and he forcibly kept them as well as many other things. Whenever he heard that any of his brothers was using any of his horses, he used to scold him. When they argued with him, he threatened to shoot them. It was said that he always went around with his gun. For all these reasons his brothers disliked him, it is said, and used to ask the Winnebago to kill him. It was also said that all his white neighbors disliked him. He had over a hundred horses, and they grew wild in the woods. He did nothing all the time but watch them. They were too wild for him ever to get near them. The only use he ever made of them was to own them. Whenever the horses entered a field, they would destroy it completely, and if anything was ever said to him about the matter, he

159* 828 [593]

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 wanted immediately to fight with those who protested.
●828 Whenever a person tried to buy one of them, he would ask an extravagant price, and whenever a horse was caught in depredations and he was asked to pay damages, he threatened to shoot the people concerned. He was accustomed to go around barefooted with his gun, it was said. For all these reasons his brothers disliked
[593] him and asked some Winnebago to shoot him. These brothers also told the Winnebago how it would be possible to kill him, for he belonged to that group of people
[1054] who were regarded as invulnerable. It is said that
[1085] when he fasted, he had gone without food for a whole winter; that he had not resumed eating until spring.
[411] In order to kill him, a wooden knife was required. This should be painted red. Then he was to be stabbed. This was the only way of killing him.

Now we thought that with all this evidence against him, we would surely be acquitted.

[P.164]

764 the Judge asked what this meant they told
775 him that it was for the spirit to pass through in going out and in.

771 He never found among them during the long period of his intercourse any evidence of sun worship, and thinks it fell far short of that in which I agree with him.

115 This morning I had a further conversation with Judge Walker, who is a regular medicine man of the Wyandottes. He says
776 the name of the Spirit of Medicine among
171 the Wyandottes is Mon-ane-tow, who is the same as the Manitou of the Ojibways etc. That this spirit of Medicine is a good spirit etc. He says that the initiations described
796 by Judge Williams are in the presence only
575 of medicine men and women. The people of the tribe are not allowed to be present. That both men and women are members, and are regularly initiated before they can become members. That no oath of secrecy is required, as the Indian knows nothing about oaths, but they initiate on the honor of the man and of the woman, choosing such only as are known to be of good character for integrity. That the Society and its pro-
[755] ceedings are secret, except these ceremonies which medicine men perform on patients for their cure.

796 Walker says that these ceremonies pro-
575 ceed upon the idea that a violent shock of the nervous system, which prostrates it en-
● 828 tirely will also prostrate or relax the hold of
158 the disease. They know by experience that by fasting and steaming they so arouse and excite a well person as to produce a shock which will throw him to the earth. This is done at the ceremony of initiation which Judge Williams described. It is done by nervous excitement, and Indian faith in these ceremonies, and is repeated over every initiate as a proof of the possession by medicine men of this marvellous power. He

[P.61(A)]

796 says there is no sham about this falling down
575 of the person on the floor in a swoon in the
828 manner described. That this is the precise
158 shock of the system to produce which the fasting and the steaming process is resorted to, and all the other ceremonies of the initiation, including the dance.

755 When a person is sick and incurable by
158 the simple remedies known to the Indians, and the friends become apprehensive for the life of the person, then the medicine men are called in and they go through certain ceremonies, all of which operate upon the nervous system already enfeebled and excited by disease, and tend to bring about that shock or prostration of the nervous system, which when produced is supposed also to relax the hold and power of the disease at the same time. In a word it kills the disease, or breaks the disease, or destroys
[753] the evil spirit then in the body which causes the disease, and then if there is constitutional strength enough left to raise up the body from its utter prostration, the patient recovers.

753 It would seem that they regarded the nervous system or the sensitive part of our
755 nature as the seat of the disease, and ad-
828 dressed their remedies to the sensitive part, that is to the mind rather than to the body, to the spirit rather than to the organs of the
[171] body. The medicine system prevails very generally among our Indian races. In fact it is universal so far as we have found out the customs of the remote tribes.

755 I asked Walker about the cheats prac-
756 ticed by the medicine men upon the credulity of their patients, that is, pretending to take out of a man's back a tooth or a bone. He says that in their practice they want to make money, and the greater the feat they perform the greater the charge they make. Sometimes they charge a horse etc.

[P 61 (B)]
[pp 62-209 not processed]

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WHAT THE CONVERTS INTRODUCED

794 177 It is quite impossible to establish now what these converts introduced individually. For that matter it is not necessary to assume that they brought any specific additions to the cult. What they did bring were Winnebago; and with that, the emotional and cultural setting of the old pagan background. To one, the eating of the peyote gave the same magical powers that were formerly associated with membership in the medicine dance; to another, the visions were direct blessings from God, directing him to perform certain actions; to a third, faithfulness to the teachings of the Peyote cult became associated with a certainty of reaching God, of being able to take the right road in the journey to the spirit land. Even a man so thoroughly saturated with Christian doctrines as Hensley himself felt it necessary to introduce an origin myth; and although we know that he borrowed it from a southern tribe, it is quite clear that in Hensley's narrative it has already assumed all the characteristics of a Winnebago fasting experience and ritualistic myth, similar to those connected with the founders of the old Winnebago cult societies. In its totality the atmosphere of the Peyote cult became thus charged with the old Winnebago background. In 1911 it can not be said that they had displaced the distinctive Christian elements. Among the younger members, especially those who had been trained in the east and could read and write English, the influence of the Christian ideas in the interpretation of the old pagan features is, as was pointed out before, so strong to-day that it threatens to displace the others.

The following homily will show how the old myths were used by the younger Peyote members to point a tale.

794 773 The old people often spoke of the Trickster, but we never knew what they meant. They told us how he wrapped a coon-skin blanket around himself and went to a place where all the people were dancing. There he danced until evening and then he stopped and turned around. No one was to be seen anywhere, and then he realized that he had mistaken for people dancing the noise made by the wind blowing through the reeds.

[381 829] So do we Winnebagoes act. We dance and make a lot of noise, but in the end, we accomplish nothing.

Once, as the Trickster was going toward a creek, he saw a man standing on the other side, dressed in a black suit, and pointing his finger at him. He spoke to the man but the latter would not answer. Then he spoke again and again, but without receiving any reply. Finally he got angry and said, "See here! I can do that too." He put on the black coat and pointed his finger across the creek. Thus both of them stood all day. Toward evening, when he looked around again, he noticed that the man across the creek, pointing his finger at him, was really just a tree stump. "O my! what have I been doing all

individually bestowed upon members of the conservative group. 182 551

The list of old Indian traits still found among the Wisconsin Winnebago could be extended at great length to include items of diet, clothing, religion, amusements, healing, social organization, and many other aspects of the culture, but of course cannot all be discussed in this article. There is, nevertheless, one final and important feature, and that is that the Indian definitely considers himself a member of a distinct race, and that differences in white and Indian outlook are inherent in the blood rather than due to societal processes. 182 [829]

## Conclusion

From observation of current trends and from the reminiscences of informants, it seems safe to conclude that the pattern of change outlined above will be followed in coming years with an ever-increasing tendency of the Winnebago to take on more and more of the aspects of white culture. Naturally changes vary from community to community, but the overall picture of the forms of cultural change seems to hold true. 178

There is one important point which may affect the Winnebago in unforseen ways, and that is the present war. As far as influencing cultural change today, it is more of a nuisance than an acting force. True the Indians are notably patriotic in the purchase of war bonds, and Indian boys are in all of the fighting forces; but for the most part, except where tragedy strikes individual families, the Indian thinks of the war as apart from his affairs. Some older people still feel strongly about the irony of Indians fighting for a country they themselves already have lost. 178 722

There is, of course, the inconvenience of tire and gasoline rationing on a people who lead a semi-nomadic life, but in our group, as far as the writer could ascertain, this did not constitute a great problem.

Many Indians have begun working in defense factories since the outbreak of the war, but even then they manage to stay in fairly isolated groups, as witness the Badger Ordnance Plant,

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The menstrual lodge is never far from the lodge in which she lives. Indeed, it is within speaking distance, so that the occupants of her parents' lodge can hear her. All the utensils she uses are very small. The women stay from 4 to 10 days in the menstrual lodges. The older women stay out the shorter time because they are over it sooner. 841 343

It is said that if the young girls have any lovers they always come to the menstrual lodges at night. This is therefore the time for wooing. It is said that the girls cohabit with their lovers in these menstrual lodges. These girls who have parents are attended by watchers, so that no unworthy men may visit them. They are especially guarded against ugly men, who are very likely to have love medicines. However, generally it is of no avail to struggle against such men, for they are invincible. [584 836] [832]

The women always take their blankets with them when they go to a menstrual lodge, for they never lie down but remain in a sitting posture, wrapped in their blankets. The women are always watched, so that when their menstrual flow comes everything is in readiness and lodge poles are placed around them and a lodge erected above their heads just about large enough to fit their body. They are not permitted to look upon the daylight nor upon any individual. If they were to look out during the day the weather would become very bad, and if they were to look at the blue sky it would become cloudy and rain. If they looked at anyone that person would become unfortunate. For four days they do not eat or drink anything; not even water do they drink. They fast all the time. Not even their own body do they touch with their hands. If they ever have any need of touching their bodies they use a stick. If they were to use their hands in touching their own body their bones would be attacked with fever. If they were to scratch their hands their heads would ache. After the fourth day they bathe in sight of their home. Then they return to their homes and eat. (This, of course, holds only for those whose menstrual flow ceases in four days.) If any women have to stay longer than four days they have to fast for that entire period. They always fast during this period and often some spirits blow them. When a woman who has stayed in the menstrual lodge for 10 days is ready to return to her lodge, she bathes herself and puts on an entirely new suit of clothes. Then her home is purified with red-cedar leaves and all the sacred bundles and medicines removed. Only then can she enter her parents' lodge. As soon as she returns to her parents' lodge after her first menstrual flow she is regarded as ready to be wooed and married. 841 [921]

Thus the teacher of our customs, the Hare, has willed it. At a feast all the young girls nearing the age of puberty will be absent, but the old women, who have passed their climacteric, sit right next to the men, because they are considered the same as men as they have no menstrual flow any more. [881 581] 825 886

If the Winnebago can be said to be afraid of any one thing it may be said it is this—the menstrual flow of women—for even the spirits die of its effects.

If the above account may be taken as a fairly accurate description of the customs connected with the menstrual lodge as they existed in former times, then one point must be regarded as of great interest, namely, that the women permitted their lovers to meet them there. So far as is known to the author, among other tribes having menstrual lodges it would have been considered a crime for any man to come near them. According to our informant the women were indeed guarded while they were in the menstrual lodges, but not so much to protect them against the intrusion of all men, as against the intrusion of unworthy men. From other information obtained, how- 831 841 ●

## *Marriage*

there. Shortly after a horse was given to this girl I had married. 159* 585

Some time after, my grandfather had a private talk with me and he said, "Grandson, it is said that this girl you have married is not a virgin and I am not pleased with it, as this is your first marriage and you are a young man. I suppose you know whether this is true or not, whether or not she is a maiden?" "Yes," I answered, "I know." "Well, you do not have to live with her then if you don't care to," he said. So I went away on a visit and from there I went home for good. After some time I learned that she also had gone back to her home. My grandfather was glad that I had not stayed with her and he told me, "You can marry another and a better one, one that I shall choose for you." However I said to him, "Grandfather, you have begged women for me often enough. Don't ever do it again for I don't care to marry a woman who has to be begged for." He was not at all pleased at this for he said that I was not allowing him to tell me what to do.

[831] ● 159* 586 [584] [603]

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867 that are in your possession. You will indeed never be embarrassed.
787 You will know just wherein his ailment lies. As you have obtained
756 your power with great effort, therefore what you say will be so. If you say he will live, he will live. If the relatives of the patient make you good payments, you may perform what you are accustomed to in your treatment of people. Then you can ask your medicine to put forth its strength for you and it will do so. If you make good
[782] offerings of tobacco to the plants and if you make feasts in their honor, if, indeed, you make much of your medicine, if you talk to it as though it were a human being, then when you ask it to put forth its strength it will do so. The payments that you receive you can take with a good conscience and your children will wear them and will be strengthened thereby. So be very diligent in the care you bestow upon them. The medicines were placed here by Earthmaker for a good purpose. We are to use them to heal ourselves. For that purpose Earthmaker gave them to us. If anyone tries to obtain the life sustainers—that is, the medicines—and inflicts suffering upon
[776] himself in order to obtain them, our grandmother will know about it. So whatever you spend upon it, be it in labor or in goods, she will know about it. All that you gave in obtaining your medicines she will know. They will be returned to you. The people will thus be providing themselves with something for the future. The people always look forward to the future and for all possible happenings they will have some medicine provided. You must try to obtain some of the medicines that most people possess. If you want
867 paint-medicine, make yourself pitiable. If your paint-medicine
789 overcomes your enemy and you keep it in your home, you will never
756 be wanting in wealth. The most valued possessions of the people will be given to you. The people will love you and the paint-medicine will be the cause of it. Whatever you receive will be in consequence of the possession of the paint-medicine. The paint-medicine
[776] is made of the blood of the Water-spirits, and therefore it is holy. People used to fast and thirst themselves to death and a Water-spirit would appear to them and bestow his blessings upon them. Whatever he told them would come true. The Earthmaker put the
867 Water-spirit in charge of these things so that he would bless the
789 people with them. That was his purpose.

Some people who wished to find good medicines obtained the
[525 race medicine. Try and learn of it. Others had gambling medicine,
224] and still others again had hunting medicine. There are medicines for very purpose.

[832] There is a courting medicine and a medicine to prevent married people from wishing to separate, and there is a medicine for making one rich.

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If one wishes to make a person crazy, there is a medicine for that purpose. 867 754

If some one had made another one sad at heart and he wished to revenge himself, he would use a medicine that would make that person crazy. Thus he would poison him.

If a person wished to marry a certain girl and she did not want him, he would poison her with a medicine that would make her become a harlot. All the men would fall in love with her by reason of the medicine he gave her. 867 584 832

If they wished a man to be continually running after a woman, they had a medicine for that purpose. All these medicines they possessed. You can obtain any of them you like if you ask for them in the proper way. 867 832

Some people have knowledge of plants that will cause a person to sleep all the time. Others again have medicines that will cause them to stay awake all the time. Some know how to overcome the viciousness of dogs that watch over women by means of medicines; some again have medicines that will make people single them out even in crowds. If this person uses his medicine in a crowd of people, the one on whom it is used will consider him a great man no matter how many there should be in the crowd. Some have a medicine to be used for preventing an individual from getting tired. Others have a medicine to be used when they have dog contests. 867 789

Whatever they did, for that they would have medicines.

Whenever they plant a field they protect it with medicine tied on to a stick. No one will then go through that field without suffering for it. If you did not have that protection, people could go through your field whenever they wished. In short, try to obtain as many medicines as you possibly can, for you will need them all. People should always look out for themselves so that they may learn what is necessary to make life comfortable and happy. If you try to obtain the knowledge of these things you will get along in life well. You will need nothing; and whenever you need a certain medicine, instead of being compelled to buy it, you will have it in your own possession. If you act in this manner and keep on fasting you will never be caught offguard during your life. If you have a home, it will always look nice and you will be lacking in nothing. So, do what I tell you and you will never regret it in after life. Try and learn the way in which your ancestors lived and follow in their footsteps. 867 789 787

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him what the old people do when they give a child a name, and 881
what they say. All these things the old man told him. "It is good," 887
he said, "for you to know these things so that if anyone comes 867
you and asks you for information you will be able to tell them something and will not have to behave like a fool. If you are asked to give a little child a name, this little child will really be a means of increasing your power. That is why you ought to give a feast for it and smoke the child's tobacco. You must also give the child a name for his dog. Give him the name Yellow-Tree for a male dog. The name Yellow-Tree is given for the following reason. When the Thunderbirds strike at a tree it looks yellow. Just as leaves wither so do trees wither when the Thunderbirds strike them. They then begin to rot and become very much discolored. That is why they give a dog this name. If you ever have to give a dog-name for a female child call it She-Who-Stays-In-Her-Own-Place. This is all that I wish to tell you."

### SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION TO DAUGHTER

This is the way the old men used to speak to the little girls: 867
My daughter, as you go along the path of life, always listen to 593
your parents. Do not permit your mother to work. Attend to your father's wants. All the work in the house belongs to you. Never be idle. Chop the wood, carry it home, look after the vegetables and gather them, and cook the food. When in the spring [462]
of the year you move back to your permanent settlements, plant your fields immediately. Never get lazy. Earthmaker created you [221]
for these tasks.

When you have your menses, do not ask those in your lodge to give you any food, but leave the lodge and fast and do not begin [841]
eating again until you return to your own lodge. Thus will you help yourself. If you always fast, when you marry, even if your husband had amounted to nothing before, he will become an excel- [785]
lent hunter. It will be on account of your fasting that he will have changed so much. You will never fail in anything and you will always be well and happy. If, on the contrary, you do not do as I tell you—that is, if you do not fast—when you marry he will become very weak, and this will be due to you. Finally he will get very sick.

My daughter, do not use medicine. If you marry a man and 867
place medicine on his head he will become very weak and will not 593
amount to anything. It may be that you do not want to have your 832
husband leave you and this may induce you to use medicine to keep him. Do not do that, however, for it is not good. You will be ruining a man. It is the same as killing him. Do not do it, for it is forbidden. If you marry a man and you want to be certain of always retaining him, work for him. With work you will always

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867 be able to retain your hold on men. If you do your work to the
593 satisfaction of your husband, he will never leave you. I say again,
832 it is not proper to use medicine. Above all, do not use medicine until you have passed your youth. You will otherwise merely make yourself weak. You will lead a weak life. It may even happen that you will cause yourself to become foolish.

[581] Do not use a medicine in order to marry. If you marry remain faithful to your husband. Do not act as though you are married to a number of men at the same time. Lead a chaste life. If you do not listen to what I am telling you and you are unfaithful to your
[626] husband, all the men will jeer at you. They will say whatever they wish to (and no one will interfere). Every man will treat you as though he were on the "joking relationship" with you. If you do not listen to me, therefore, you will injure yourself.

867 Thus the old people used to talk to one another. Thus they would
584 warn one another against certain actions. They used to instruct the young girls as they grew up (just as I am doing to you now). That is why I am telling of these things now.

My daughter, as you grow older and grow up to be a young woman, the young men will begin to court you. Never strike a man, my
[683] daughter. It is forbidden. If you dislike a man very much, tell him gently to go away. If you do not do this and instead strike him, remember that it frequently happens that men know of medicines; or if they themselves have none they may know from whom to
[754] get them. If you make a man feel bad by striking him, he may use this medicine and cause you to run away with him and become a bad woman. It is for this reason that the old men used to warn the young girls not to strike the men who are courting them, but whom they dislike. Pray with all your heart that you do not become such a woman.

867 Do not act haughtily to your husband. Whatever he tells you
593 to do, do it. Kindness will be returned to you if you obey your husband, for he will treat you in the same manner.

858 If you ever have a child, do not strike it. In the olden times when a child misbehaved the parents did not strike it, but they made it fast. When a child gets hungry, he will soon see the error of his ways. If you hit a child, you will be merely knocking the wickedness into him. Women should likewise never scold the
[861] children because children are merely made wicked by scoldings. If your husband scolds the children, do not take their part, for that will merely make them bad. In the same way, if a stranger makes your children cry, do not say anything to the stranger in the presence of the children, nor take their part in his presence. If you wish to prevent a stranger from scolding your children, keep them home and teach them how to behave by setting them a good example. Do not imagine that you do the best for your children by

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Toads are used, but only for poison medicines. The quail's heart 825
is used for the same purpose. If a person is killed outright, his heart 756
is used as a medicine, as the human heart is regarded as having great 826
efficacy in such medicines. It is used in war, for compelling people to give you presents, and for courting women. The bear likewise is used for a variety of purposes. Its liver is especially powerful. It is rubbed over the body whenever in pain. It is often used by women who have injured themselves in childbirth, or in the form of tonics, poultices, and emetic; or for toothaches, bathing sore eyes, earaches, headaches; as snuff, as a physic, for burns, strictures, boils, hemorrhages, injections in the rectum, consumption, measles, dysentery, chills, nosebleed, pains in the stomach, and headaches caused by poisoning. [757]

Sometimes a woman would take a hair of her husband and stick 832
it into some bad medicine. In such a case he would never leave her for he would become very much enamored of her. If ever she went away, he would miss her very much. However, he always had a headache. Finally he would get sick and lose his appetite and then his eyesight. That is why it is forbidden to use this medicine, although some still do it.

Many Winnebago are blind, because there is a medicine that 754
causes blindness. If one person offends another who possesses such a medicine, the latter would cause the offender to become blind.

The Winnebago have medicines for every purpose; for courting, [832]
for becoming rich, for obtaining good looks, etc. Even if a person is very holy, these poisoners can poison him. If a man was a good hunter or if he was wise and good, these bad shamans would poison him. If an individual was a great medicine man and these bad shamans got jealous, they would poison him. Indeed, only if a person was poor and lowly would they like him. Such a man they would never poison for they had no reason for being jealous of him. A bad shaman is always treated with the greatest respect and honor, because he kills many people.

A warrior is also greatly respected and flattered. It is the Indian's 554
greatest desire to become a warrior. All desire that, and they also 156
wish to become great medicine men and bad shamans. [756]

This is the way they prepare and use their courting medicines. 832
The courting medicine known to me is a plant of apparently two 278
varieties, one of which has a blue blossom and the other no blossom at all. Otherwise they are alike. The one with the blue blossom is the male and the one without the blossom is the female. When I go out to dig this plant, I do not dig for these two specimens unless I can find them growing together closely. Even then I do not dig any two [824]
specimens unless the male is found growing on the east side. For that reason it is very hard to find them. As soon as I find two that

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●832 fulfill all the conditions I dig them out and mix them together with
278 their own roots. Then I take the blossom of the male and mix it together with the center leaf of the female flower. After that both are ground together thoroughly. Then I go to the woman I wish to court and, at night, when she is asleep, I touch first any part of her body, then a place not far from her heart, and finally the top of her head with this mixture. Finally I make her smell it. I then wake her up and go home. The girl will wonder who had touched her and she will think a good deal about the incident and never forget it. The next time I see her she will like me and she will do whatever I ask of her. The medicine would be working. If I did not see her for a long time, she would get lonesome, and the only thing that would cure her would be to marry me.

There is another medicine which I am now going to describe. When it first sprouts, which is in the spring, it is quite white. This must be taken and dried. Then one must chew it and go near the woman with whom one desires to talk. Approach her on the side from which the wind is blowing so that she can smell the medicine. As soon as she smells it, even although the man chewing it is one whom she has hitherto disliked, she will get to like him. This is the way in which the medicine works.

755 A man who was blessed was told of all these things. He cured all
[752] diseases. If a person had been shot and one blessed with the stench-earth medicine was called, he could be cured. In the same manner, if one is stabbed in what would generally be considered a fatal way and if a man blessed with stench-earth was called in time he would save him. The same cure is effected in cases of broken arms and of
[752] patients who are on the point of death. It is for this reason that those blessed with the stench-earth medicines are always praised, and that the people say "They surely are in charge of life; for their blessings really come from the spirits, just as they claim."[3]

756 [The "stench-earth" medicine men could undoubtedly cure the
[754] sick, but they also used it to poison people. The courting medicine was a poison medicine, and therefore it was not good. These people cured the body, but they killed the soul. It would have been much better had they saved their souls. They were really working for the devil. It is from him that they got all the bad medicines. Whenever they were offended, they would go and get poisons to kill the
754 774 offender. Thus the devil[4] was really causing them to kill their own souls and the souls of those they poisoned. It is the same with all

[3] The following portion in brackets is the comment of our informant, who is a member of the Peyote sect.

[4] Although he really means the Christian devil many of the traits of the old Winnebago deity Hare-gu'ninc, the chief of the bad spirits, are clearly discernible.

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757 This is medicine used by women when their menstrual flow is not
278 very good:
841
1. Tremanank'e, English unknown.
2. Wazi p'ara'ske abera, pine with flat leaves (?).
3. Wacutei abera, red cedar leaves.
4. Mank'a p'orop'oro abera, round medicine leaves.

All four of these ingredients are ground, mixed together, and then mixed with water. They are then drunk by any woman having trouble with her menstrual flow. After she has taken it she makes knots in the belt and ties it around her waist. As many knots as she makes that many days will it take her to get well. She also smokes herself with cedar leaves.

757 The next medicine that I wish to speak of is compounded as follows:
278
1. K'ewaxgu'u"sera, scent of a toad.
2. Waninkcu'te na'ntekera, heart of a red bird.
3. Hactce'kera, strawberries.
4. Wankcik na'ntekera, human heart.
5. Xawi"ja", a plant.

278 If this medicine were mixed with whisky and given to any person,
[754] the latter would surely die within a year. The frog that is used in this medicine becomes alive in the stomach of the person who drinks it and kills him. If he took the same medicine and mixed it with
[832] paint and then rubbed it over his face, all who looked at him would take a liking to him and give him presents, and the women would fall in love with him and want to marry him. The reason that the women become smitten is because they can not resist the sight of a ripe strawberry. The human heart in the mixture is the object that makes the medicine so powerful, and the red bird heart strengthens it.
[826] Whenever these two, the human heart and the heart of the red bird, are used in medicines, the medicine is always remarkably efficacious.

832 If a woman makes fun of you and you feel hurt about it and want to revenge yourself, get one of her hairs and dip the root into this medicine and then tie it up. Hang the medicine bag in the woods and whenever the wind blows the woman will get lonesome for you and her head will ache. Finally she will get crazy. She will never cease talking about you. This is one of the medicines this man was blessed with. Some of them die from the effects of it. It is not a good thing, but the Winnebago thought that it was a very great thing. (Now that they know the Creator, they know that it is bad.)

755 Here is another medicine that we have, and it is prepared in the
278 following way: Four trees of a certain species are peeled near the roots lying on the east side. Then the second bark is also peeled. Then these are taken and boiled together with a square-stemmed weed. The whole mixture is used to induce vomiting. This vomiting would rid a person of a spell cast upon him which was preventing

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That night we went to the place where the peyote meeting was to take place. They gave me a place to sit and treated me very kindly. "Well, he has come," they even said when I got there, "make a place for him." I thought they regarded me as a great man. John Rave, the leader, was to conduct the (ceremony). I ate five peyote. Then my brother-in-law and my sister came and gave themselves up. They asked me to stand there with them. I did not like it, but I did it nevertheless. "Why should I give myself up? I am not in earnest, and I intend to stop this as soon as I get back to Wisconsin. I am only doing this because they have given me presents," I thought. "I might just as well get up, since it doesn't mean anything to me." So I stood up. The leader began to talk and I (suddenly) began to feel sick. It got worse and worse and finally I lost consciousness entirely. When I recovered, I was lying flat on my back. Those with whom I had been standing were still standing there. I had (as a matter of fact) regained consciousness as soon as I fell down. I felt like leaving the place that night, but I did not do it. I was quite tired out. "Why have I done this?" I said to myself. "I promised (my sister) that I would not do it." So I thought and then I tried to leave, but I could not. I suffered intensely. At last daylight came upon me. Now I thought that they regarded me as one who had a trance and found out something.

Then we went home and they showed me a passage in the Bible where it said that it was a shame for any man to wear long hair. That is what it said, they told me. I looked at the passage. I was not a man learned in books, but I wanted to give the impression that I knew how to read, so I told them to cut my hair, for I wore it long at that time. After my hair was cut I took out a lot of medicine that I happened to have in my pockets. These were courting medicines. There were many small bundles of them. All these, together with my hair, I gave to my brother-in-law. Then I cried and my brother-in-law also cried. Then he thanked me. He told me that I understood and that I had done well. He told me that Earthmaker (God) alone was holy; that all the things (blessings and medicines) that I possessed were false; that I had been fooled by the bad spirit (devil). He told me that I had now freed myself from much of this (bad influence). My relatives expressed their thanks fervently.

On the fourth night they had another meeting and I went to it again. There I again ate (peyote). I enjoyed it and I sang along with them. I wanted to be able to sing immediately. Some young men were singing and I enjoyed it, so I prayed to Earthmaker, asking him to let me learn to sing right away. That was all I asked for. My brother-in-law was with me all the time. At that meeting all the things I had given my brother-in-law were burned up.

# *The Teachings of My Father*

knowing what is the right thing to do. Ask for this instruction, my son. It is not a matter requiring a few moments; it is something that must be thoroughly learned. You, too, must learn it. 159* 867 577

To a girl the following was told:

My daughter, as you travel along the path of life, listen to your parents. Do not let your mother work. Attend to the wants of your father. All the work in the house belongs to you. Do not shirk it. Chop wood, pack it; look after the gardens; gather the vegetables and cook them. When you come back to the village in the spring, plant your fields immediately. Never get lazy, for Earthmaker created you to do these things. 867 593 [462] [221]

My daughter, when you get your menses, do not ask those in the house to give you any food. Fast and do not eat until you get back to the family lodge. If you act thus, you will be fasting for your seat, for your position in life. You can only keep this seat by fasting. Then when you marry, even if your husband has been a good-for-nothing before, he will become a good hunter. You will have accomplished this for him. You will not fail in anything and you will be happy and contented. If, on the contrary, you do not do as I tell you, then when you marry, you will weaken your husband. After a while he will become sickly and it will be your fault. [841] [185]

It is not good to use medicine. If you marry a man and place medicine upon his head, you will weaken him and he will not amount to anything. It may happen that you do not want your husband to leave you and that after reflecting on the matter, you place some medicine on his head, to prevent him from leaving you. This is not good. You 867 593 832

867 will be ruining a man. It is equivalent to killing him. Do
593 not do it. It is forbidden. If you marry a man and want
to live with him permanently, work for him in order to
832 hold him. When you marry a man, listen to what he says. If you do your work properly and the man likes you, he will never leave you. By working for him must you make your husband love you. Now remember it is not good to use medicines on him. At least before you are fairly mature in years do not use any, for you will thereby merely weaken yourself and your life will be of no consequence. Indeed you may cause the medicine to work on yourself and then become demented in consequence.

867 Marry only one man at a time. Be good and virtuous
581 in your married life. If you do not listen to what I am
[626] telling you, you will become bad and men will make fun of you. They will do whatever they wish with you; joke with you familiarly on any subject. If you do not listen to me you will injure yourself. Thus did the old people speak to one another and thus did they hand down these
867 precepts from one generation to another, warning young girls against committing wrong actions. They also said that when a girl is growing up, one should admonish her and that is why I am now speaking to you.

867 As you grow older, when you get to be a young woman,
584 the men will begin to court you. Never hit a man. It is
[683] forbidden. If you dislike a man very much tell him to go away gently. If instead, you hit him, remember that fre-
[154] quently young men possess certain injurious medicines which they may use against you. Even if a particular person does not possess them, he knows where to get them. Then this man whom you have humiliated, will use it and transform you from a chaste and nice woman to a loose one, to a harlot. That is why the old people used to warn

## §29. *My Release from Prison and First Acquaintance with the Peyote*

*159 When we were released we found our relatives waiting for us. My older brother was there, and with him I went home. We began to drink immediately. I was [273] very happy, although when I was in prison I had felt that I would never drink again. We reached the [837] Winnebago the same day. There I met a woman, and I cohabited with her that very night. I had been [152] desiring that for a long time. Then I began to drink again. After a while I went to Black River Falls and [837] there met my former wife, whom I immediately took back again.

[527] The Indians were just then celebrating their midsummer feasts. I went among them, took part, and drank [156] a great deal. I considered myself a brave man and a medicine man; I thought myself a holy man, a strong one, and a favorite with women. I felt that I was in [832] possession of many courting medicines. A brave man I felt myself; a fleet runner. I was an excellent singer [527] of songs at the Brave Dance; [29] I was a sport, and I [273] wanted whisky every day.

My mother and father had gone to the Missouri River, to the Winnebago living in Nebraska. They left me in charge of two horses and a wagon belonging

[29] A non-sacred war dance whose songs were very popular.

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The menstrual lodge is never far from the lodge in which she lives. Indeed, it is within speaking distance, so that the occupants of her parents' lodge can hear her. All the utensils she uses are very small. The women stay from 4 to 10 days in the menstrual lodges. The older women stay out the shorter time because they are over it sooner. 841 343

It is said that if the young girls have any lovers they always come to the menstrual lodges at night. This is therefore the time for wooing. It is said that the girls cohabit with their lovers in these menstrual lodges. Those girls who have parents are attended by watchers, so that no unworthy men may visit them. They are especially guarded against ugly men, who are very likely to have love medicines. However, generally it is of no avail to struggle against such men, for they are invincible. [584 836] [832]

The women always take their blankets with them when they go to a menstrual lodge, for they never lie down but remain in a sitting posture, wrapped in their blankets. The women are always watched, so that when their menstrual flow comes everything is in readiness and lodge poles are placed around them and a lodge erected above their heads just about large enough to fit their body.* They are not permitted to look upon the daylight nor upon any individual. If they were to look out during the day the weather would become very bad, and if they were to look at the blue sky it would become cloudy and rain. If they looked at anyone that person would become unfortunate. For four days they do not eat or drink anything; not even water do they drink. They fast all the time. Not even their own body do they touch with their hands. If they ever have any need of touching their bodies they use a stick. If they were to use their hands in touching their own body their bones would be attacked with fever. If they were to scratch their hands their heads would ache. After the fourth day they bathe in sight of their home. Then they return to their homes and eat. (This, of course, holds only for those whose menstrual flow ceases in four days.) If any women have to stay longer than four days they have to fast for that entire period. They always fast during this period and often some spirits bless them. When a woman who has stayed in the menstrual lodge for 10 days is ready to return to her lodge, she bathes herself and puts on an entirely new suit of clothes. Then her home is purified with red-cedar leaves and all the sacred bundles and medicines removed. Only then can she enter her parents' lodge. As soon as she returns to her parents' lodge after her first menstrual flow she is regarded as ready to be wooed and married. 841 [921]

Thus the teacher of our customs, the Hare, has willed it. At a feast all the young girls nearing the age of puberty will be absent, but the old women, who have passed their climacteric, sit right next to the men, because they are considered the same as men as they have no menstrual flow any more. [881 581 825 886]

If the Winnebago can be said to be afraid of any one thing it may be said it is this—the menstrual flow of women—for even the spirits die of its effects.

If the above account may be taken as a fairly accurate description of the customs connected with the menstrual lodge as they existed in former times, then one point must be regarded as of great interest, namely, that the women permitted their lovers to meet them there. So far as is known to the author, among other tribes having menstrual lodges it would have been considered a crime for any man to come near them. According to our informant the women were indeed guarded while they were in the menstrual lodges, but not so much to protect them against the intrusion of all men, as against the intrusion of unworthy men. From other information obtained, how- 831 841 [ovr

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taking their part, or that you love them if you talk merely about 867
loving them. Show them that you love them by your actions. 593
Let them see that you are generous with donations. In such ac- 858
tions they will see your good work and then they will be able to judge for themselves whether your actions equal your words.

My daughter, do not show your love for other children so that strangers notice it. You may, of course, love other children, but love them with a different love from that which you bestow on your own children. The children of other people are different from your own children, and if you were to take them to some other place after you had been lavishing so much love upon them they would not act as your children would under the same circumstances. You can always depend upon your own children. They are of your own body. Love them, therefore. This is what our ancestors taught us to do.

If a wife has no real interest in her husband's welfare and posses- 867
sions she will be to him no more than any other woman, and the 593
world will ridicule her. If, on the other hand, you pay more attention to your husband than to your parents, your parents will leave you. Let your husband likewise take care of your parents, for they depend on him. Your parents were instrumental in getting you your husband, so remember that they expect some recompense for it, as likewise for the fact that they raised you.

My daughter, the old people used to teach us never to hurt the [602
feelings of our relatives. If you hurt their feelings, you will cause [606
your brothers-in-law to feel ashamed of themselves. Do not ever 837]
wish for any other man but your husband. It is enough to have one husband. Do not let anyone have the right to call you a prostitute.

Do not hit your relatives at any time. For if you did that or if 867
you were on bad terms with one of them, it may chance that he will 602
die, and then the people will say that you are glad that he is dead. Then, indeed, you will feel sad at heart and you will think to yourself, "What can I best do" (to make up for my conduct). Even if you were to give a Medicine Dance in his honor or donate gifts for the Four Nights' Wake, many people will still say, "She used to be partial and jealous when he was alive. Now that he is dead she loves him. Why does she act this way? She is wasting her wealth. (She really does not love him and therefore), and she ought not to spend so much money upon him now." Then, indeed, my daughter, will your heart ache; then, indeed, will you get angry. That is why the old people would tell their children to love one another. If you love a person and that person dies, then you will have a right to mourn for him, and everyone will think that your mourning is [765] sincere. Not only will your own relatives love you, but everyone else will love you likewise. If, then, in the course of your life you

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chief and his people. The Wolf, Water-spirit, and Elk clans seem also to have possessed minor political-social functions. Thus the Wolf people are regarded as "minor" soldiers; the Water-spirit people are connected with the passage of streams, etc.; and the Elk are connected with the care of the fireplaces while on the hunt and warpath. This accounts for seven of the twelve clans, and it thus seems as if the association of political functions with clans was a type that had found great favor among the Winnebago, and was perhaps being extended to every clan. Among the Dhegiha, associations of ceremonial functions with social units seem to have found corresponding favor, while among the Central Algonquian neither type prevailed. 614 182 [17]

Marked political and ceremonial functions of the clan are thus the distinguishing characteristics of the Siouan social organization and have given an entirely different color to clan structure there.

### THE RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIP OF THE CLANS

We have seen that one of the bonds between the clans was the fact of belonging to the same side. But there is a special bond between certain clans known as "friendship" relation (*hitrak'ere*). This always subsists between two, although it seems occasionally to have been extended to three or four clans. Most informants gave these groups in such a manner that the "friendship" relation was not postulated between clans belonging to different divisions. One individual postulated them just on this basis, i. e., Thunderbird-Bear, Warrior-Wolf, etc. There can, however, be no doubt that the prevalent arrangement is: Thunderbird-Warrior; Eagle-Pigeon; Bear-Wolf; Buffalo-Water-spirit; Elk-Deer; Snake-Fish. Most informants did not claim any pairing for the Snake, while some associated it in a threefold grouping with the Buffalo and Water-spirit. The four clans of the *Waggregi* are generally united in a fourfold group of "friend clan," although some divide them into Thunderbird-Warrior and Eagle-Pigeon. 614

Under the term "friend clan" is included the idea of mutual service. This becomes especially marked on two occasions: first, when a member of one clan visits his "friend clan," and second, when an injustice has been done a member of the "friend clan." On the former occasion every possible privilege is extended to him, even to his occupying the seat and bed of the host. There is no indication of "wife-borrowing," however. On the latter occasion, the "friend clan" will seek to revenge the injustice just as if the wrong had been done one of its own members. The respect shown by one clan to its "friend clan" is again apparent at the naming-feast. There he may be called upon to give the dog names for an individual of the clan with which he is associated, and, at times, to lend one of his clan names to the latter. 614 476 [83]

867 You can, however, always depend upon the love of your own
593 children because they are of your own body. Love them
858 therefore.

If you do not have any real interest in your husband's
867 welfare and affairs, then you will be to him like any other
593 woman. People will ridicule you. On the other hand, if you pay more attention to your husband than to your parents, if you listen to him more than to them, that will be equivalent to deserting them. Let your husband keep your parents and take good care of them for they depend upon him. Your parents saw to it that you married him and
[583] they expect you to make some return for this as well as for the fact that they raised you.

867 Do not hurt the feelings of your relatives, the old people
[602] used to say. If you hurt their feelings you will make your brothers-in-law feel ashamed of themselves on account of the evil things you say about them.

[837] Never desire to have any other man than your husband when you are married. Have only one husband. Do not give any one the right to call you a prostitute.

867 The old people said, "Never hit your relatives." You
602 may be on bad terms with one of them, for instance, and he may die. Then people will say that you used to quarrel with the deceased when he was alive. They may even claim that you are overjoyed at his death, that you want to dance with joy. Then indeed will your heart be sore and you will think to yourself how best you can make amends. Even should you have a performance of the Medicine Dance given in his honor, if you wish to bury him with honor, even then people will say, "What does all this mean? She used to be partial and jealous when he was alive. Now that he is dead she loves him! She should not do such things. She is merely wasting her wealth. She need

## §16. *Shows*

*159 About this time we went to the Sioux country on a visit. There were a number of us. While there I was [579] adopted as a friend and given a pony. When I returned [431] to my home I used to ride around on my pony. That fall a number of Winnebago were going to join a show [541] and I decided to go along with them. I was a good dancer. We went to all the large cities of the country. *159 With us there were two grass widows and after a 273 while I used to go with one of them secretly. This woman used to drink beer. Soon I began to go with the other woman also. They both drank a good deal and often asked me to drink with them, but I always [588] refused. I finally married one of these women, al- [837] though I continued frequenting the other one at the same time. We lived in a tipi. As I said, they both drank beer and gradually I got to drinking it too. Soon I drank a great deal and began to like it. I kept this a secret from my people and told the women to do the same. Finally, however, as I began drinking frequently, a friend of mine found out about it and then the two of us used to drink together. Then the owner of the show discovered that I was drinking. He thought a good deal of me, that my dancing was better than that of the others, and when he learned that

S

*Crashing Thunder*

I ran away from the two
*159 women with whom I had been living. We spent some
224 time hunting. Every morning we would get up very
● [839] early, stay out the whole day and not return until the
night. Often although we had been on our feet all
[264] day we would not find time to have our noon meal. At
night, regularly, we would take our sweat-baths. We
took these sweat-baths because they are supposed to
[789] act as magical charms to ensure success in hunting. It
[515] was always very refreshing to take them and then
plunge into cold water, whether at night or in the
morning.

[P. 132]

## §17. *A Woman Bewitches Me*

Once when I returned to the camp I found some other people there. There I also found my grandfather. He had brought along with him one of the two women with whom I had been living, the older one. I did not like it at all. My grandfather asked me to live with her and I did so during the hunting season. When it was over this woman remained there and I returned to my home with another one. My former wife stayed there a long time, but when she got tired of waiting for me to return, she left. 159* 837 588

Just about this time I heard that this former wife of mine, before going away, had used some magical medicine on me. A medicine feast was immediately given me and my scalp treated to counteract the evil effect of what she had used. It was said that she had taken one of my hairs and dipped it into her medicine bundle. This she did in order to prevent me from ever leaving her. If then I left her I would suffer from a headache and perhaps even die. Such was the belief. Fortunately the matter was discovered, my scalp treated and the hair she had taken recovered and washed with medicine. Nothing therefore happened to me. 159* 754 755

From that time on I began to live with as many women as I could, for I had developed the idea that I was a lady-killer. 159* 156 837

## §21. *Dissipation*

While staying at this woman's lodge I was one day handed a paper by a woman, in which she told me that she was married, that she was living at a certain place, and that if I came over, she would do whatever I said. I told the woman with whom I was living about it, and she said, "Go after her, that I may have her as my companion." Her father had a horse, and on it I rode over to the woman's house. I went there secretly, and watched the people digging potatoes, for their camp was nearby. The man to whom this woman was married was also living with another woman at the same time. The woman I was after was staying in this camp. I approached her secretly and when I reached the place she got herself ready to go with me. The two of us rode on a pony, and it so happened that we had to pass the place where the husband was working. He pursued us, but we managed to get away. In a short time I arrived home, and my wife received the second woman willingly. They would sleep with me on alternate nights. 159* 588 839

After we finished our work there, we went to the place from which we had originally come, and we arrived home just in time for the annuity payment. The superintendent of the Wittenberg school made the 159* 657

*159 payment. At about the same time, one of the two
65 women with whom I was living was taken away from
[588] me. She went to live with another man. When the
●[837] payment was over here, the superintendent went to
[484] Necedah to pay the people there, and I went along,
for I was doing what we called "chasing the payment."
There, and at Red Hill, I deceived many women, and
thus obtained quite a large sum of money. Then I
[203] started off with a number of other young men. By
this time I was spending all my time drinking.

*159 I got on the train at night. We were to change cars
484 at a place called Honsa and from there we were to
ride in a freight car. When we had gone only a short
distance the conductor saw us and put us off. We were
all drinking heavily. One man had lost his hat and
was walking bareheaded. We walked along until we
came to a pasture, and there we found some dry wood
with which we built a fire. We had decided to sleep
there. We had plenty of whisky with us. Late at
night we became thirsty and so we looked around for
water. We found a number of pools scattered around,
and out of these we drank. Then we went to sleep.
The next morning when we woke up we saw a good
well near us, but we ourselves had drunk out of the
water and mud in which pigs had been wallowing.

*159 In the morning when the train arrived we boarded it.
273 Eventually we reached our destination, and there found
many people, drinking and making a lot of noise. That
was exactly the place I had been looking for. When-
[685] ever I saw a person drunk I would steal whatever he

## *Dissipation*

happened to have, for I had become a thief. If I saw a woman drunk, I would steal her, for I was an adulterer. What I was looking for mainly was a woman to cohabit with, for in this way, I was able to get all her money. If any woman wanted to cohabit with me, she would have to give me all the money she had. This is the sort of thing I was doing. In this way I often succeeded in inducing two or three women to live with me at the same time. 159* [685] [273] [837]

After finishing at Necedah the superintendent always went to Tomah to pay the people there, and from Tomah he would proceed to Black River Falls. At Black River Falls the last payment was made, and for that reason it was always an extremely noisy place on such an occasion. All who liked this kind of a life, all who used to chase payments for the fun of it, would be there. Marriages would get badly mixed up here, and there would always be stealing of one another's wives, fighting, robbery, etc. Even those married people who had been faithful to each other up till then, would become unfaithful. Many people would get hurt. When the last payment had been made, all those who had not spent their last cent on drink would begin gambling, the men and women playing poker. Only when our last cent was gone would we stop and settle down. Many of us were generally left without enough money to go home. 159* 657 [837] [579] [684] [525]

[P 147]

## §22. *We Kill a Pottawattomie*

*159 588 ●837 I never married any woman permanently. I would live with one for awhile, and then with another. Sometimes upon my return after an absence I would find my temporary wife living with another man. This is the way in which I acted.

*159 787 721 My father had brought me up and had encouraged me to fast, so that I might be blessed by all the spirits that exist, and thus live in comfort. My father had raised me so that I should desire to obtain war honors,[28] so that I should not be like one who wears skirts. That was the reason he had me join the Medicine Dance so [624] that people should not be able to ridicule me. My father taught me to lead a sober and sane life and my [867] grandfather, during the time I lived with him, had told me the same. They both encouraged me to give feasts and to ask the spirits for war honors.

*159 721 At that time I had a comrade, and one day he said to me, "We have been thinking of something, have we not, friend? We ought to try and obtain some external emblem of our bravery. Do we not always try to wear feathers at a Warrior Dance? Well, then, let us try

[28] These war honors were the following: touching the body of a [554] slain enemy first, killing an enemy, touching the body second, touching it third, stealing a horse. All of them entitled the possessor [301] to wear an eagle feather in his hair.

## § 24. *A Woman Quarrels with Me*

*159 I was met by my father and mother and a woman
● 831 who was living with me before I left. They were very
508 glad to see me. When I got home I found many people
152 camping there. At the camp the woman fixed a bed for me, gave me some food, and told me to lie down with her. Instead, I went out and made inquiries about a woman with whom I had once lived. I found that she was still there. To her lodge I went, and with her I stayed that night. In the morning the other woman was angry. However, I continued staying with this new one. Late on the following night some one woke me up. "Come out," the voice said. I went out with a blanket around me and found my former wife. She it was who was calling me. She said, "In the morning
[650] the annuity payment is to be paid in Necedah. I am going there to-night, and I want you to go with me." "I haven't any money," I answered. "As though you ever had any money of your own when you wanted to do something!" I refused to go with her. She persisted, and finally I went back and lay down. After a while she followed me inside and hit me very hard and called me names. She kicked me and pulled my hair. "If I had anything with which to kill you, I would kill you." Finally I got angry, and she stopped and went away.

*159 648 over until the following spring. It was enough to cause one to say "Oh, my!" in impatience. During the win-
[531] ter we used to make bead work and compete with one
[301] another as to who could do the best. We made beaded finger-rings, and these were always purchased by some
[432] one. By selling these rings we thus made quite a good deal of money. We also made suspenders. I made thirty of them and sold them for seven dollars a pair. We thus had plenty of money and drank all the time. There were some prisoners locked up together with us whose terms were almost over, and these were allowed to go outside. They would buy us the whisky. We
[525] gambled, too, playing for money stakes.

One day my wife came to visit me. I talked to her through the iron grating. I was allowed to talk to her for a long time. All I could do was to desire her. I
[152] wanted her badly. When the wives of the others came, they felt just as I did.

[578] Once we had a fight. We had been drinking and
[273] were disputing about a game. Afterwards we were quite humble about it.

*159 Shortly after this we found out that my wife had
152 married again. I did not feel like eating, but I tried
648 hard to do so, because I thought that the others would
● 837 notice it. Then I said to them, "I am glad to hear about this report that my wife has married again. When I get out of prison I will pay the one who has married her, for he is taking care of her until my release. Indeed I have felt quite uneasy about her for some time. Now I feel quite relieved, for she is being

## *Our Prison Life and the Trial*

provided for." Thus I spoke. But the truth of it was 159*
that I was as angry as I could very well be. I made up 152
my mind that I would take her away from whomsoever 648
she might be living with. Then I thought that I would 839
make her feel as sad as I could; I thought I would disfigure her, cut off her nose, then take her to the wilderness, give her a sound beating, and leave her there. I could not think of anything else all the time, and I believe that for a time I did not even taste food. I often felt like crying. At night I would not be able to sleep, for I could not forget the whole affair. Sometimes I would dream of seeing her, and then in the morning I would tell the others about it and feel better. Throughout all this time I never thought of all those of my relatives who were really concerned for me. Not even that grateful was I. I only thought of the woman.

Now the time for the next session of the court had 159*
arrived. It was the spring session. We were given a 648
trial. They always took us to the court in handcuffs. We had each a lawyer. At the first hearing one of us was freed, the other three remaining in prison. Then the lawyers pleaded the case of the others, and two more were freed, I being one of these. The man who had actually done the killing was the only one who remained in prison.

[P. 167]

## §29. *My Release from Prison and First Acquaintance with the Peyote*

*159 When we were released we found our relatives waiting for us. My older brother was there, and with him I went home. We began to drink immediately. I was [273] very happy, although when I was in prison I had felt that I would never drink again. We reached the [837] Winnebago the same day. There I met a woman, and I cohabited with her that very night. I had been [152] desiring that for a long time. Then I began to drink again. After a while I went to Black River Falls and [837] there met my former wife, whom I immediately took back again.

[527] The Indians were just then celebrating their midsummer feasts. I went among them, took part, and drank [156] a great deal. I considered myself a brave man and a medicine man; I thought myself a holy man, a strong one, and a favorite with women. I felt that I was in [832] possession of many courting medicines. A brave man I felt myself; a fleet runner. I was an excellent singer [527] of songs at the Brave Dance; [99] I was a sport, and I [273] wanted whisky every day.

My mother and father had gone to the Missouri River, to the Winnebago living in Nebraska. They left me in charge of two horses and a wagon belonging

[99] A non-sacred war dance whose songs were very popular.

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12

# Winnebago Berdache

By NANCY OESTREICH LURIE

114 THE following account draws attention to the fact that the berdache role
838 was still evident in Winnebago culture until close to the turn of the cen-
[177] tury, and adds somewhat to the data of certain clear cultural parallels between
[171] this Woodland Siouan group and such Plains Siouan tribes as the Omaha, Oto, Iowa and Ponca. The description is not complete and certain points are equivocal. Thus, all of the available ethnographic documentation will be presented so that anyone intending to use the information will be able to assess its value. The description given here agrees, Dr. Raul Radin said in a conversation, with his unpublished Winnebago data.

124 During the course of general field investigations conducted from time to
838 time during the years 1945 to 1947, it was apparent that Winnebago informants in Wisconsin tended to be reticent to discuss the matter of the berdache. Their embarrassment may indicate that knowledge of the subject was withheld. However, even where excellent rapport existed and individuals became sufficiently interested in the topic to question people who might not speak directly to an ethnographer, some details remain uncertain. Furthermore,
[177] while the last berdache died somewhat over fifty years ago, the picture is confused by the former tendency of Winnebago culture to invest given forms of traits with opposite meanings and functions when used under different circumstances. At the present time, the recollections of many informants reveal that they know only half of the total function of given forms, or that they attempt to synthesize features which now appear as contradictory.

[184] While it was noted in 1950 that the Nebraska Winnebago were quite willing to speak of matters that in Wisconsin are still considered sacred or as things to be kept secret from whites, the Nebraska Winnebago simply knew less about older traditions.

838 It was agreed generally that the berdache was a man who had taken on
[787] this role because he had been directed to do so by the moon, a female spirit,
[821] at the time of his vision quest. The berdache dressed as a woman, performed
[791] women's tasks better than any normal woman could perform them, and had
[588] the ability to foretell future events. However, not all Winnebago prophets
[554] were berdaches. One informant mentioned that berdaches sometimes married other men, but no data were obtained concerning the attitude of the society toward the husband of a berdache. Most informants felt that the berdache was at one time a highly honored and respected person, but that the Winnebago had become ashamed of the custom because the white people thought it
177 was amusing or evil. By the time the last known berdache attempted to ful-
838 fill the role, his brothers threatened to kill him if he "put on the skirt." This
[626] berdache then affected a combination of male and female clothing, fearing that he would die if he did not at least attempt to follow the directions given him in his vision of the moon.

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12



The Winnebago term for berdache is very uncertain. The last known case in Wisconsin was called dejáŋčowiŋga, usually translated as Blue Lake Woman (dejáŋčowiŋga—dejáŋ: lake or sea; čo: blue; wiŋ: female name ending; ga: name referrent suffix). In Nebraska mention was made of another berdache who had lived in Wisconsin and was called čoranažiŋga or Standing Blue (čoranažiŋga—čo: blue; ra: article; naži: to stand; wiŋ: elided with naži as nazin, female name ending; ga: name referrent suffix). The term šiáŋge was suggested as a general word for berdache by two Wisconsin informants, and it was translated by several people as "a no good," "a eunuch," "an unmanly man." This word was still in common use in Wisconsin in 1947, but was used among young men as an insult or teasing epithet. These young men claimed to know nothing more about the word except that it carried connotations of weakness and effeminateness. 192 838 [195] 578

The characteristics of the Winnebago berdache agree closely with those reported for the Omaha and Ponca but the word used to designate a berdache in both of these latter tribes was mi$^{a}$-qu-ga, according to Dorsey (378–379). Among the Oglala the berdache had been blessed by a pote wi$^{a}$kte or hermaphroditic buffalo, wi$^{a}$kte being the word for berdache. A certain amount of shame had become attached to the role among these Plains Siouan groups by the time it was reported by Dorsey in 1889 and Wissler in 1912, but Wissler (p. 92) said of the Oglala, "In the old days all the berdaches were very wakan." 171 838

Knowledge of the berdache among the Winnebago was provided in 1946 through a chance conversation with M.M., a woman who was then about thirty years old. Her parents had been the first Christian converts at the Winnebago community near Black River Falls, Wisconsin, and M.M. had once heard her mother mention "Men who dressed as women." When M.M. attempted to question her mother, at the writer's request, for more information about the berdache, the mother, then a woman in her seventies, became very angry and said in Winnebago, "Why did you ask about that? That is something we want to forget and not talk about." 124 838 [797]

Another woman, S.S., a younger sister of Radin's famous informant Crashing Thunder, was next approached and she offered the following account.

> Yes, I used to hear about that, but I don't know much about it. Once there was a man who fasted and he learned that if he dressed like a woman he would be the richest person in the world, but if he wore men's clothes, he die soon. She wore earrings, and bracelets, and necklaces and a shirt like a woman, but his brothers told him . . . her? . . . if he . . . she? . . . put on a skirt they would kill him. There used to be people like that, not just that one. I think šiáŋge is the word for them but I don't know, now it's just a slang word and means a no good. Those people did women's work, and they did it real good, better than even women could. [192]

Later M.M., the original informant, was able to prevail upon her mother to provide more information. Her description included all of the points given above except mention of wealth accruing to the berdache. However, M.M.'s mother added that berdaches had been blessed by the moon and had the gift

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12



124 838 of prophecy. The name dejáŋčowiŋga was given as applying to the story told by S.S., and this berdache was described as a "bachelor," who at one time had acted as a foster mother to several children belonging to his sister or half-sister. One of the nieces reared by dejáŋčowiŋga was still living near Black River Falls in 1946, but it was impossible to obtain any direct information from her. She was about fifty-five years old in 1946.

At the Wisconsin Dells two Winnebago men overheard M.M. and the writer discussing dejáŋčowiŋga and one of them, a contemporary of M.M., recalled that he had heard of dejáŋčowiŋga whose brothers had threatened to kill him if he "put on the skirt." The other man, who was born in 1898 or 1899, said that he would try to obtain more information for the writer from his maternal and paternal uncles, two elderly men who lived near Tomah, Wisconsin. J.S.'s uncles merely substantiated as much as was already known of the dejáŋčowiŋga story without clarifying the term applied to berdaches generally. However, J.S. believed that an old man who lived near Victory, Wisconsin could supply more data, and some time later had an interview with him. This was reported several months later, in March, 1947. J.S. said that the old man had considered the matter a "bad story" and only agreed to tell it because J.S. had done him several favors. At one time, the old man had explained, a band of Winnebago returned from a war expedition with several Sioux captives, among them a chief. Under ordinary circumstances the warrior (hawk) clan would have taken charge of the ultimate fate of the prisoners, but in this village the only members of the warrior clan were a very small boy and his grandmother. The grandmother was called upon to speak for the grandson because, while the decision should have rested with the male members of the clan, the only male member present was a child. What became of the chief's followers is not known, but the grandmother decreed that the leader was to remain in the village unharmed, but had to dress, act, work and generally conduct himself as a woman as long as he lived. This took place many years ago and no one knows why the grandmother took such a harsh stand except that possibly she had some old grudge against the Sioux. J.S. reported that the old man told him this was the "first dejáŋčowiŋga," and, as far as could be determined, the term liáŋge was not used.

727 838

838 124 Upon further questioning by J.S., the old man qualified the foregoing story by saying that other men, who were members of the Winnebago tribe, dressed and acted like women because they had been told to do so by the moon at the time of their vision quest. These men were highly respected, were prophets, could do women's work better than women, and sometimes even married other men.

The fact that transvestites who conducted themselves as women were not always true berdaches is illustrated in another story collected from M.R. in the winter of 1945. M.R. died in 1946 at the age of fifty years and he was never questioned as to the relationship of the following story to cases of true berdaches because the significance of the matter was not then clear to the writer.

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According to M.R., a party of Winnebago once went on the warpath and were badly beaten. One man, the only survivor according to his claim, returned to his village. There he recounted his valorous deeds at the side of his companions, and said he had escaped only because the enemy had left him for dead. He was accorded great honor until sometime later another member of the party returned and told how the first man had fled and hidden out in the woods when he saw that the battle was going against the Winnebago. The cowardly and dishonest warrior, on the decision of the police (bear) clan, then had to take on the role of a woman and lived in disgrace the rest of his life. 838 687 [625]

Evidence concerning the berdache was even less definite in Nebraska. G.P., a woman about fifty years old in 1950, mentioned that her mother-in-law once told her of a case which agreed in most details with that of dejáŋčowiŋga, but this individual was called čoranaliŋga and was supposed to have lived in Wisconsin. However, G.S., a man born in 1887, who also told of čoranaliŋga, gave an account of a berdache who was his mother's cousin. G.S.'s mother was Iowa and Oto through her maternal line and the berdache cousin, referred to as "sister," was a parallel cousin of Iowa and Oto descent. However, the description G.S. recounted as having come from his mother is almost identical to that regarding the Winnebago berdache. The cousin had been blessed by the moon, feared death if he disobeyed the moon's directions that he dress and act as a woman, even to giving this as the reason for his behavior when G.S.'s mother once remonstrated with him for being, "a shame to us Indians." 838 124 [626]

An attempt was made to discover whether the Winnebago berdache role for men had a parallel Siouan role of "warrior women." Only one very doubtful account was collected in 1946 from S.S. the Wisconsin informant who provided the first extensive description of dejáŋčowiŋga. 171 838 [124]

Once there was a man, kind of high tone, he had two wives. The older one wanted to keep her husband so she had him marry her younger sister too. They used to do that years ago when they wanted to hold their husbands. Anyway, this man and his gang went off to the Civil War. There was a bad woman in the camp. She was a good looker, but she was bad, and this man took the bad woman with him. During the war one time they ran out of bullets, and this woman got on a horse and went through the enemy lines to a big city and came back with a whole lot of bullets and saved them. Another time she warned them when they were all asleep and the enemy was near. When they came back, she was riding on the horse in front of the man, and the men had all given her presents for saving them. Her waist was just covered with ribbons and the man's two wives cried when they saw it. The people made up a song about her because she was a brave woman and sometimes they still sing it. After that they always called her hinugrosisiŋgra which meant that she laughed aloud like a man, shaking her whole body [hinugrosisiŋgra—hinuk:woman; ro:body; sisiŋk:to shake as with laughter; ra: article; k is voiced when followed by r]. They call those giggling girls that nowadays sometimes. [595]

While the above account probably represents an isolated example of a woman who went to war rather than an accepted type of role, it is apparent that 838

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12



838 the formal role of berdache for men was observed within the memory of people born since 1885, at least in Wisconsin. Of particular interest is the fact that the Winnebago utilized the same characteristics of dress and behavior for two entirely different purposes. In the case of a true berdache, the person held an [554] honored and respected position in the society, while a man who was forced to take on a female role without benefit of a blessing by the moon was disgraced and dishonored.

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1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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175 Perrot also gives an account of the relentless war waged against them:

839 This nation was a populous one, very redoubtable and spared no one; they violated
766 all the laws of nature; they were Sodomites, and even had intercourse with beasts.
648 If a stranger came among them, he was cooked in their kettles. The Malhoumins (Menominees) were the only tribe who maintained relations with them; they did not dare even to complain of their tyranny.

Lawson goes on to say:

175 So aggressive were the Winnebago that although their only arms "were stone
648 hatchets and knives," they declared war on all the other tribes. Envoys sent to them by the Ottawa were eaten, which cruel deed so increased the surrounding tribes that they formed an alliance and sent frequent war expeditions against the common enemy, and greatly harassed them. As a result of disagreements among themselves
669 and the continued troublesome activities of the allied tribes, civil wars broke out
162 among the Winnebago. For better protection against the tribes they were finally
104 forced "to unite all their force in one village, where they numbered four or five
731 thousand men," but an epidemic occurred which soon reduced their number to 1,000.

"Despite all these misfortunes, they sent a party of 500 warriors against the Outagamis (Fox), who dwelt on the other shore of the lake; but all these men perished, while making that journey, by a tempest that arose."

We suppose that this disaster occurred on Little Lake Butte des Morts, as it has been stated that the Winnebago resided on an island, which we suppose was Doty Island. The Winnebago being now greatly reduced by despair and famine, the other tribes were moved to pity by their condition and ceased to make war upon the Illinois sent 500 men, including "50 of the most prominent persons in their nation," to carry to them a supply of provisions. These the Winnebago received "with the utmost gratitude;" but at the same time meditated sacrificing the Illinois to the shades of their dead. A large cabin was erected to lodge their guests, and arrangements made for a dance in their honor. While the Illinois were dancing their bowstrings were
266 cut, and the Winnebago "flung themselves upon the Illinois, massacred them, not sparing one man, and made a general feast of their flesh."

Reproaching themselves for this dastardly deed, and fearing the vengeance of the allied tribes when it should become known to them, the Winnebago "resolved to abandon the place which they were occupying," and "took refuge on an island, which has since been swept away by ice floes." There they considered themselves safe, as the Illinois did not use canoes. The Illinois, finding that their people did not return, investigated the place, and found only their bones. In order to allow a proper period for mourning for the dead:

"They deferred hostilities until the second year, when they assembled a large body of men from all Nations who were interested in the undertaking, and they set out in the winter season, in order not to fail therein. Having reached the Island over the ice, they found only the cabins in which there still remained some fire, the Puans (Winnebago) had gone to their Hunt on the day before, and were traveling in a body, that they might not, in an emergency, be surprised by the Illinois."

They followed the hunters in the dead of winter, coming up to them on the sixth day and attacking their camp.

"So vigorous was their attack that they killed, wounded, or made prisoners all the Puans, except a few who escaped, and who reached the Malhouminis' village, but severely wounded by arrows."

He [Perrot] again refers to these traditional events as those of "the ancestors" of the tribe as he knew them, and which we judge to refer to ancestors of the Winnebago

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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881 785 787 All boys do not seem to have approached the ordeal of fasting with the proper religious feeling. One instance in particular showed anything but a reverent attitude; this is so amusing that it is here given in the exact words of the Indian:

When I was a young boy, my folks made me fast together with a boy named Hadudjeka. We were supposed to go to the hills and cry until the spirits blessed us. However, whenever we looked at each other and at our charcoal-blackened faces we could not refrain from bursting out laughing. Whenever we made up our minds to cry, something or other would induce us to look at each other and the laughing would begin all over again. When the time for our return to the house came, we didn't present the slightest indication of having cried, so we took some saliva and made long streaks on our faces.

Young girls and women are also encouraged to fast to obtain the war honors.

881 785 *Menstrual lodges.*—Fasting at puberty by girls was inseparably connected with their retirement to menstrual lodges. Sometimes there was only one girl in each menstrual lodge, sometimes there were as many as three. From the time of her first menstrual flow to her climacteric a woman retired to a menstrual lodge every month for a few days. 841 An excellent account of Winnebago customs in this respect was obtained in a text from a male informant, and, although somewhat discursive, it is given in full here:

As soon as a woman begins to have her menstrual flow she has to retire to a menstrual lodge and to be careful never to come in contact with any sacred objects. If she did, those objects would all lose their power. Everything that is holy would immediately lose its power if a menstruating woman came near it. A holy woman or a holy man or even a holy child would be affected by the proximity of a menstruating woman. Their holy condition would immediately disappear. In a similar way, if food were served to a sick person from the same dish used for a menstruating woman the sick person would become far more sick.

The food for a menstruating person is always cooked separately. Special dishes are used and special fireplaces are made.

If a person possessed any medicines they would lose all their power if a menstruating woman came in contact with them. If any person should enter a menstrual lodge, in after life, whenever he fasted, he would not be blessed by any spirit. However, there is one thing that a menstruating woman is afraid of, and that is the war bundle. These war bundles are kept in cedar [leaves?] mixed with medicine to prevent danger from just such a source.[1] If a menstruating woman comes near a war bundle, her flow would increase and never cease and after a while she would die,[1] and only if the owner of the war bundle personally attends to her can she be cured. For that reason whenever a war-bundle feast is being given a woman is very careful, and even if it is a few days before her menstrual flow she will not go.

[1] This explains what puzzled the author for some time—namely, the fact that although contact with a menstruating woman destroyed the efficacy of everything holy, in the case of the war bundle the reverse was true and the woman was destroyed. Many of the Indians who spoke of this matter also urged to believe it was the war bundle that killed the woman. From this account, however, it is perfectly clear that it is not the war bundle at all that killed the woman, but the poison in which the war bundle was wrapped. The war bundle is therefore no exception to the general rule, and it is only on account of the serious consequences that would accrue to so many people from any impairment of its power, and the care taken to prevent this by surrounding it with special medicines, that it offers externally an exception to the fatal effects of contact with a menstruating woman.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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The menstrual lodge is never far from the lodge in which she lives. Indeed, it is within speaking distance, so that the occupants of her parents' lodge can hear her. All the utensils she uses are very small. The women stay from 4 to 10 days in the menstrual lodges. The older women stay out the shorter time because they are over it sooner. 841 343

It is said that if the young girls have any lovers they always come to the menstrual lodges at night. This is therefore the time for wooing. It is said that the girls cohabit with their lovers in these menstrual lodges. Those girls who have parents are attended by watchers, so that no unworthy men may visit them. They are especially guarded against ugly men, who are very likely to have love medicines. However, generally it is of no avail to struggle against such men, for they are invincible. [584 834] [832]

The women always take their blankets with them when they go to a menstrual lodge, for they never lie down but remain in a sitting posture, wrapped in their blankets. The women are always watched, so that when their menstrual flow comes everything is in readiness and lodge poles are placed around them and a lodge erected above their heads just about large enough to fit their body. They are not permitted to look upon the daylight nor upon any individual. If they were to look out during the day the weather would become very bad, and if they were to look at the blue sky it would become cloudy and rain. If they looked at anyone that person would become unfortunate. For four days they do not eat or drink anything; not even water do they drink. They fast all the time. Not even their own body do they touch with their hands. If they ever have any need of touching their bodies they use a stick. If they were to use their hands in touching their own body their bones would be attacked with fever. If they were to scratch their hands their heads would ache. After the fourth day they bathe in sight of their home. Then they return to their homes and eat. (This, of course, holds only for those whose menstrual flow ceases in four days.) If any women have to stay longer than four days they have to fast for that entire period. They always fast during this period and often some spirits blow them. When a woman who has stayed in the menstrual lodge for 10 days is ready to return to her lodge, she bathes herself and puts on an entirely new suit of clothes. Then her home is purified with red-cedar leaves and all the sacred bundles and medicines removed. Only then can she enter her parents' lodge. As soon as she returns to her parents' lodge after her first menstrual flow she is regarded as ready to be wooed and married. 841 [921]

Thus the law-her of our customs, the Hare, has willed it. At a feast all the young girls nearing the age of puberty will be absent, but the old women, who have passed their climacteric, sit right next to the men, because they are considered the same as men as they have no menstrual flow any more. [881 581 825 886]

If the Winnebago can be said to be afraid of any one thing it may be said it is this—the menstrual flow of women—for even the spirits die of its effects.

If the above account may be taken as a fairly accurate description of the customs connected with the menstrual lodge as they existed in former times, then one point must be regarded as of great interest, namely, that the women permitted their lovers to meet them there. So far as is known to the author, among other tribes having menstrual lodges it would have been considered a crime for any man to come near them. According to our informant the women were indeed guarded while they were in the menstrual lodges, but not so much to protect them against the intrusion of all men, as against the intrusion of unworthy men. From other information obtained, how- 831 841 [832]

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844 From other information obtained here-
584 ever, it appears that women were married to these same lovers after the former left the menstrual lodge, so that the presence of men in these lodges may be taken either as a part of the wooing or as one of the methods of marriage. Some theorists may be inclined to look on this feature of the practices connected with the menstrual lodge as a survival of a "women's house." To those the fact may be emphasized that it is only a few times in the life of a woman that such a feature exists, because she is married shortly after leaving the lodge.[4]

## MARRIAGE

582 Girls were usually married as soon as they reached marriageable age, and the same was probably true of men. In most cases marriage was arranged by the parents of the young people, and it rarely
584 happened that the latter refused to abide by the decision—a fact that seems to have been due not so much to implicit obedience as to the wise precautions taken by the parents in mating their children. If, however, the young people absolutely refused to abide by their parents' choice, the latter always yielded. In former times children were betrothed to each other at an early age. At the betrothal presents were exchanged between the parents of the prospective bride and groom. The girl was said to be *dohere'ra*.

595 Generally a man took but one wife, although he was permitted to marry more than one if he wished. In polygamous marriages the second wife was usually a niece or a sister of the first wife. According to a very reliable informant it was the wife herself who often induced her husband to marry her own niece. This she did if she noticed that he was getting tired of her or losing his interest in her.[1]

585 There was no ceremony connected with marriage. As soon as the customary presents were exchanged, the man came to the woman's lodge and the marriage was consummated.

A man generally lived with his parents-in-law during the first two years after his marriage. During these two years he was practically
591 the servant of his father-in-law, hunting, fishing, and performing
[583] minor services for him. Many Winnebago interpreted these enforced services of a son-in-law as part of his marriage obligations toward his father-in-law. After the first two years he returned to

[4] Were it not for the fact that his informant in this case was exceedingly reliable the writer would be inclined to regard with suspicion the statement as to the use of the menstrual lodge as a rendezvous for lovers. It seems, however, that the very fact that the informant shows so great abhorrence of the matter would have prevented him from attributing to men intimacy with women at this time had there been any doubt in his mind on the subject. Nevertheless his statement on the point under discussion seems peculiar and the author would not be surprised if he had exaggerated greatly the number of men willing to leave the bad luck and weakness incident on contact with women during the menstrual period.

[1] As one of my informants said, "A man can marry a woman and her niece. If the man is not steady and goes around with other women, it is customary for the wife to call her niece, and she would marry her aunt's husband. This is done to steady the man. In this way one or the other will always be with him. The same is true of sisters."

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him what the old people do when they give a child a name, and 881
what they say. All these things the old man told him. "It is good," 887
he said, "for you to know these things so that if anyone comes to 867
you and asks you for information you will be able to tell them something and will not have to behave like a fool. If you are asked to give a little child a name, this little child will really be a means of increasing your power. That is why you ought to give a feast for it and smoke the child's tobacco. You must also give the child a name for his dog. Give him the name Yellow-Tree for a male dog. The name Yellow-Tree is given for the following reason. When the Thunderbirds strike at a tree it looks yellow. Just as leaves wither so do trees wither when the Thunderbirds strike them. They then begin to rot and become very much discolored. That is why they give a dog this name. If you ever have to give a dog-name for a female child call it She-Who-Stays-In-Her-Own-Place. This is all that I wish to tell you."

SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION TO DAUGHTER

This is the way the old men used to speak to the little girls: 867
My daughter, as you go along the path of life, always listen to 593
your parents. Do not permit your mother to work. Attend to your father's wants. All the work in the house belongs to you. Never be idle. Chop the wood, carry it home, look after the vegetables and gather them, and cook the food. When in the spring [462]
of the year you move back to your permanent settlements, plant your fields immediately. Never get lazy. Earthmaker created you [221]
for these tasks.

When you have your menses, do not ask those in your lodge to give you any food, but leave the lodge and fast and do not begin [841] ●
eating again until you return to your own lodge. Thus will you help yourself. If you always fast, when you marry, even if your husband had amounted to nothing before, he will become an excellent hunter. It will be on account of your fasting that he will have [785]
changed so much. You will never fail in anything and you will always be well and happy. If, on the contrary, you do not do as I tell you—that is, if you do not fast—when you marry he will become very weak, and this will be due to you. Finally he will get very sick.

My daughter, do not use medicine. If you marry a man and 867
place medicine on his head he will become very weak and will not 593
amount to anything. It may be that you do not want to have your 832
husband leave you and this may induce you to use medicine to keep him. Do not do that, however, for it is not good. You will be ruining a man. It is the same as killing him. Do not do it, for it is forbidden. If you marry a man and you want to be certain of always retaining him, work for him. With work you will always

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757 This is medicine used by women when their menstrual flow is not
278 very good:
841
1. Teemanank'e, English unknown.
2. Wazi p'ara'ske abera, pine with flat leaves (?).
3. Wacutci abera, red cedar leaves.
4. Mank'a p'orop'oro abera, round medicine leaves.

All four of these ingredients are ground, mixed together, and then mixed with water. They are then drunk by any woman having trouble with her menstrual flow. After she has taken it she makes knots in the belt and ties it around her waist. As many knots as she makes that many days will it take her to get well. She also smokes herself with cedar leaves.

757 The next medicine that I wish to speak of is compounded as follows:
278
1. K'ewaxgu'ᵘᵑsera, scent of a toad.
2. Waninkcu'te na'ntekera, heart of a red bird.
3. Hactce'kera, strawberries.
4. Wankcik na'ntekera, human heart.
5. Xawiᵑjaᵑ, a plant.

278 If this medicine were mixed with whisky and given to any person,
[754] the latter would surely die within a year. The frog that is used in this medicine becomes alive in the stomach of the person who drinks it and kills him. If he took the same medicine and mixed it with
[832] paint and then rubbed it over his face, all who looked at him would take a liking to him and give him presents, and the women would fall in love with him and want to marry him. The reason that the women become smitten is because they can not resist the sight of a ripe strawberry. The human heart in the mixture is the object that makes the medicine so powerful, and the red bird heart strengthens it.
[826] Whenever these two, the human heart and the heart of the red bird, are used in medicines, the medicine is always remarkably efficacious.

832 If a woman makes fun of you and you feel hurt about it and want to revenge yourself, get one of her hairs and dip the root into this medicine and then tie it up. Hang the medicine bag in the woods and whenever the wind blows the woman will get lonesome for you and her head will ache. Finally she will get crazy. She will never cease talking about you. This is one of the medicines this man was blessed with. Some of them die from the effects of it. It is not a good thing, but the Winnebago thought that it was a very great thing. (Now that they know the Creator, they know that it is bad.)

755 Here is another medicine that we have, and it is prepared in the
278 following way: Four trees of a certain species are peeled near the roots lying on the east side. Then the second bark is also peeled. Then these are taken and boiled together with a square-stemmed weed. The whole mixture is used to induce vomiting. This vomiting would rid a person of a spell cast upon him which was preventing

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him from killing game. In the particular case mentioned above the spell was the following: A man killed a deer, and a pregnant woman ate a piece of the intestine. From that time on the man was unable to kill any more deer. 755 278 [224 843]

The above medicine is used to break the spell of ill luck in hunting caused by the following actions: If a man cohabits with a widow, or if one who is a widower eats together with another person, or if he smokes out of the same pipe as another person. Not only would the medicine free him from his ill luck in hunting, but it would give him good luck in cards and speed in running. [589]

Here is an astringent medicine. It is compounded of a mixture of the "clear" medicine and the "plant that spreads itself on the ground." It is used for the following purposes: As an application for swellings, for illness after childbirth, and for general sores and eruptions of the skin. In case of illness after childbirth it is injected. For sores, etc., it is taken internally. 757 278 [844]

Here is another medicine, called bladder medicine. It is made of the roots of a certain weed. These roots are boiled and then drunk. If one is troubled with stricture, the drinking of this medicine will enable him to pass water immediately. The same medicine is used to alleviate a toothache and to stop too profuse a menstrual flow. [847]

Now this is another medicine. It is made of the leaves of a certain plant. These leaves are rolled up and then drunk down with water. The medicine is used for all stomach complaints.

Here is another medicine used for diarrhea and dysentery. It is made from the roots of a plant that has many thorns and beautiful white blossoms. The roots are scraped and the scrapings boiled and gulped down. At least a pint of this concoction must be taken. It can also be used as a mouth wash for those troubled with sore mouths.

We have another medicine used to rid a person of superfluous bile. This acts as a strong physic and not only cures a person of his indisposition but also gives him a great appetite.

Here is another medicine. It is called the medicine for burns. It consists of the leaves of a certain weed that is dried. If anyone has a burn, he chews some of this dried weed and then applies it to the burn. [752]

Here is also a medicine for private diseases, compounded of the following:

1. Doxicu'tckera hara, red willow bark.
2. Ma"sixu'tckeda hara, English unknown.
3. Nap'a'hira hara, sharp tree.

These barks are pulverized and mixed together with skunk oil.

The next medicine I am going to describe is used in poisoning. It is called small-part-of-a-black-root-tree. It is used for many pur- 754 278

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825 776 787 blessing last. Should your descendants perform the feasts in my honor well, I will bless them with life and victory on the warpath. Whenever you offer me tobacco I will smoke it. If you put on a kettle of food for me I will be thankful to you. When you put this [841] kettle of food on the fire and offer me tobacco see to it that you keep away menstruating women . . ."

HOW THE DAUGHTER OF MANK'EREXKA REFUSED A BLESSING FROM DISEASE-GIVER[23]

787 159 776 The daughter of Mank'erexka was fasting. She was his third daughter. She decided to fast during the summer. In her fast she was told that she was blessed and that on the following day a big deer would come across the waters for her to eat. Then she went to her father and said, "Father, I have been told to eat a big deer, and that to-morrow very early in the morning it will come out of the water." "It is good, my daughter. That deer has been given to you by the spirits and you may eat it."

Early the next morning a big deer came across the waters. "Let it be," the people said (to her). "As soon as it comes near we will chase it." So they got into a boat and chased it. Then they killed it and gave it to some other person instead of the young woman. "My daughter, what are you going to do? Are you going to eat the deer?" "No, father, if I were to eat the deer I would have killed it myself. But you people have killed it, so I will not eat any of it."

Then she rubbed some charcoal on her face and went to the place of fasting and said, "What you (the spirits) gave me others have taken away and eaten." Early in the morning she looked around toward the water. She was very weak, for she had not eaten for a long time. Nine days she fasted. She was saying to herself, "As soon as I see a deer I will tell the others and call my father." In the morning she went out in search of the deer. She was so weak that she could hardly crawl along. But she managed to reach the edge of the waters and, as she looked across, she saw a deer coming. So she immediately went to her father and told him. He got up immediately and, taking a spear, jumped into a boat, pursued, and speared it. Then the girl said, "Now I will eat." So they called her uncles, Wolf and Elk.[24] When they came she put tobacco in their hands [782] and said, "My uncles, I have offered tobacco to the different spirits and asked them to bless me. Now I am about to eat and I would

[23] The rest of the story is a description of a bear feast and how, in spite of the warning of the spirit-bear two menstruating women took part in the feast; how, thereupon, two bears suddenly appeared and killed them, and how for that reason the bear feast was given up. [114]

[24] This account has been cast in a literary mold, but there is no doubt that it represents a real fasting experience. It is included here principally because it contains a number of extremely interesting features.

[25] These are the names of individuals.

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THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (SECOND VERSION)

614 796 Informant, member of Bear clan: As soon as the first bear month is visible they have their feast. They do not use meat but products [805] of the earth. The feast is held at night, never in the daytime. The people always save up food some time before giving the feast. The [825] favorite dishes of the bear are sugar and blueberries. When they can not obtain these they use other vegetables. Indeed, any product of the earth is all right.

When they prepare to give the feast they get the food ready and have some tobacco on hand. On the first day of the first bear month they put on the fire some kettles with dried corn mixed with fruit and others containing green corn. The latter is boiled. They also have [203] ground sugar. When these are ready the feast attendant goes around the village to invite the people. When all have entered the lodge and taken their proper seats, then the host rises and addresses them:

614 796 537 "All my relatives who are seated here, I greet you. It is not through blessings of our own that we can always make offerings of tobacco. My grandfather was blessed by a spirit called Black Fur, a spirit who is in command of all the other spirits. This spirit told us that we could perform the ceremony in this way. It is for that reason we have made an effort to heat water for him.[6] The first request we make is that if we ever go on the warpath, we may conquer. Our grandfather was also blessed with life by the bear spirit[7] and he told him that he would grant him and his posterity whatever they asked. [782] We shall therefore send to this spirit a pipeful of tobacco, two kettles full of food, and some tree sap.[8] So much will we send him, accompanied by an offering of tobacco.

"As soon as the attendant gets everything ready the feasting will begin."

Then the attendant puts food in every plate, and when he has finished the host speaks again.

"Relatives, it is said that when the plates are supplied to you [264] filled with food, then you should begin to eat. Do not, however, use your right hands in eating."

The host tells the feasters to use their left hands in eating, and they obey him. Before starting to eat all the fires are put out and the people eat in the dark.

614 796 In the spring of the year this feast is given again. Twice a year it is given.

The feast[9] was always given with some choice dried corn that had been put away for this event. Once when it was time to give the [841] feast in the first bear month, the two daughters of the man who was

[6] Boil soup and prepare food in general.
[7] Black Fur is apparently a ceremonial or a pseudon for bear.
[8] Ceremonial name for maple sugar.
[9] What follows is an account of why this particular feast was discontinued.

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to give it had their menses and were fasting. When the feast was about to be held there was no food and their mother gave the girls some of the sacred food and the unclean girls boiled it and ate it. 614 796 841

The following spring when the girls were out helping their mother tan some hide a bear approached them and tried to kill the girls. The old woman fought the bear off as best she could, but he paid no attention to her and tried to get at the girls. Finally he killed the girls. Then the old woman attacked the bear and finally threw him down and killed him, using her tanning stick as a weapon.

Now this bear was not an ordinary bear such as live on this earth, but his body was covered with blue clay. He had come out of a spring of water shortly before he came to this place. The girls had eaten sacred food when they were unclean, and that is why this bear came and killed them. [776 688]

Since then that particular band has stopped giving this bear feast.

THE SNAKE CLAN FEAST

When a person wishes to give a snake feast, four chickens must be obtained. The nephew of the feast giver is then told to prepare these chickens and make the general preparations. 796 614

The feast is given in the fall, just as the snakes are supposed to go into their winter quarters and close their doors. The winter is their night, and then they go to sleep. [825]

Shortly before the feast begins the host takes out a bundle containing four snake skins—a yellow-snake skin, a rattlesnake skin, a blow-snake skin, and a bull-snake skin. In honor of these he gives his feast and makes his offerings.

As the fall of the year is to the snakes the same as our evening, the Winnebago give this feast in their honor then, in much the same way as we have our supper before retiring for the night. The snake skins are representatives of the first four snakes Earthmaker made and which he pierced through the earth in the direction of the east. The snake skins are kept to represent the four original snake-beings and to keep evil away from homes. That is why offerings are made to them. Four men only are invited to this feast (as main participants), and they must each eat a chicken. [773]

The host himself opens the door for the snakes. In front of him, next to the fireplace, he makes four holes in the ground, thus opening the door for them. There he likewise places tobacco for them. First he pours tobacco in the fire, for the fire is the mediator between the people and the spirit. The fire tells the spirit the wishes of the people and is, in general, in charge of the members of the tribe. For that reason they always pour tobacco upon it. [782] 796

Now the host rises and speaks. "Grandfather (fire), you who stand in the center of the lodge, I offer you tobacco, for you are the interpreter (between the spirits and human beings), and I know that 614 537 372

## §3. *Fasting*

*159 At this stage of life I secretly got the desire to make myself pleasing to the opposite sex.

[342] The Indians then lived in their old-fashioned lodges. Women, however, whenever they had their menses, [343] were placed in special huts. There the young men [841] would go to court them at night when their parents were *159 asleep. I used to go along with the men on such occa- 84 sions, for even although I did not enter any lodges but [584] merely accompanied the older men, I enjoyed it.

My parents were greatly in fear of my coming into contact with menstruating women so therefore I went with these men secretly. My parents were even afraid of having me cross the path over which a menstruating woman had passed. They worried so much about it at that time, because I was to fast as soon as autumn came. They did not wish me to be near menstruating women, for were I to grow up in their midst I would assuredly be weak and of little account. Such was their reason.

*159 Before long I started to fast again together with an 785 older brother of mine, both day and night. It was [221] during the fall moving, and several lodges of people were living near us. There it was that my elder brother and I fasted. Among the people of the other lodges [883] were four girls whose duty it was to carry wood.

## *Fasting*

Whenever these girls went out to get wood my older brother and I would play around with them a great deal. We did this even although we were fasting at the time. Of course we had to do it in secret. Whenever our parents found out we got a scolding and so did the girls. At home we were warned to keep away from menstruating women, but we ourselves always sought them.

After a while some of the people living in the lodges moved away and we were left alone. They moved far ahead of us. We ourselves were to move only a short distance at a time. My father and my brother-in-law went out hunting and killed seventy deer between them, so that we had plenty of meat.

When the girls with whom I used to play moved away I became very lonesome. In the evenings I used to cry. I longed for them greatly and they had moved far away!

Soon we got fairly well started on our way back. We moved to a place where all the leaders used to give their feasts. Near the place where we lived there were three lakes and a black-hawk's nest. Right near the tree where the nest was located, they built a lodge and our war-bundle [10] was placed in it. There my elder

[10] The war-bundle was the most sacred object among the Winnebago. It consisted of dried animal skins, other parts of animals, reed flutes, etc., all of which had some symbolical meaning. The various animal remains, for instance, were supposed to give the owner the powers of these animals, the sound of the reed flutes was supposed to paralyze his enemy and make it impossible for him to walk. Each clan possessed at least one such bundle and whenever the tribe went on the warpath, this bundle was carried on the back of some

There my elder
*159 brother and myself were to pass the night. It was
787 said that if any one fasted at such a place for four nights, he would be blessed with victory and the power to cure the sick. All the spirits would bless him.

We were told the following would happen to us. On the first night we would imagine ourselves surrounded by spirits whose whisperings we would hear outside of the lodge. The spirits would even whistle. I was told that I would be frightened and nervous and that if I
[776] still remained there, I would be molested by large monsters, fearful to look upon. Even the bravest man might well be frightened. Should I, however, manage to get through that night I would then on the following
[775] night be molested by ghosts whom I would hear speaking outside. These ghosts would say things that might well cause me to run away. Towards morning I was told these ghosts would even take my blanket away from me. They would grab hold of me and drive me out of the lodge and not stop until the sun rose. If I
[776] was able to endure a third night, then I would be addressed by the true spirits. They would bless me and say, "We bless you. We had really intended to turn you over to the monsters and bad spirits and that is why these approached you first, but you overcame them and now they will not be able to take you away. Now you may go home for we bless you with victory

778
[614] individual esteemed for his bravery. The power of this war-bundle
[841] was such that it would kill anything or anybody who approached it, the only exception being a menstruating woman. For this reason
[562] the war-bundle was always carefully guarded and protected and women were not allowed to see it or come anywhere near it.

## *Fasting*

although the feast was supposedly given in our honor, we were placed on one side of the main participants. After the kettles containing the food had been put on twice, it became daylight and the feast was over. 159 * 78

The following spring we moved to the Mississippi in order to trap. I was still fasting and ate only at night. My brothers used to flatter me, telling me that I was the cleverest of them all and, in consequence, I used to continue fasting although I was often very hungry. In spite of my desire to fast, however, I could not resist the temptation of being around the girls. I wanted always to be near them. They were generally in their menstrual lodges [18] when I looked for them. My parents did not wish me to go near the girls then but I went nevertheless. [221] [224] [152] [085] [865]

My parents told me that only those boys who had no connection with women would be blessed by the spirits. Throughout this time my sole wish was to appear great in the sight of the people. To be praised by my fellowmen was all I desired. And I certainly received what I sought. I stood high in their estimation. That the women might like me was another of the reasons why I wanted to fast. But as to being blessed, I learned nothing about it, although I went around with the air of one who had received many blessings and talked as such a one would talk. [156]

[18] Any contact with menstruating women, or even with objects in any way connected with them, will, it is the firm belief of the Winnebago, destroy the power of sacred objects or individuals temporarily sacred. Fasting youths were regarded as such. [841] [078] [085]

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knowing what is the right thing to do. Ask for this instruction, my son. It is not a matter requiring a few moments; it is something that must be thoroughly learned. You, too, must learn it. 159* 867 577

To a girl the following was told:

My daughter, as you travel along the path of life, listen to your parents. Do not let your mother work. Attend to the wants of your father. All the work in the house belongs to you. Do not shirk it. Chop wood, pack it; look after the gardens; gather the vegetables and cook them. When you come back to the village in the spring, plant your fields immediately. Never get lazy, for Earthmaker created you to do these things. 867 593 [462] [221]

My daughter, when you get your menses, do not ask those in the house to give you any food. Fast and do not eat until you get back to the family lodge. If you act thus, you will be fasting for your seat, for your position in life. You can only keep this seat by fasting. Then when you marry, even if your husband has been a good-for-nothing before, he will become a good hunter. You will have accomplished this for him. You will not fail in anything and you will be happy and contented. If, on the contrary, you do not do as I tell you, then when you marry, you will weaken your husband. After a while he will become sickly and it will be your fault. [841] ● [785]

It is not good to use medicine. If you marry a man and place medicine upon his head, you will weaken him and he will not amount to anything. It may happen that you do not want your husband to leave you and that after reflecting on the matter, you place some medicine on his head, to prevent him from leaving you. This is not good. You 867 593 832

## §8. *Courting*

*159 584 It was at about this time that I desired and tried to court women. I did not, however, know the proper thing to say. The young men always went around at night to court. During the day I used to mix with the women but when evening came I did not know what to say. I had, however, a brother who was a very handsome man and he offered to take me along so that I could learn. One night therefore I went along with him. We went to a girl who was having her menses [841] at the time, a young girl. At such times the girls are accustomed to live apart from the rest of the family. We were very cautious about the whole matter because these girls were always carefully watched by their relatives. The relatives knew that it was customary for the young men to attempt to court the girls then. Now one of the precautions frequently taken was to pile sticks and branches about the lodge so that it would be difficult to enter. If then a person tried to enter one of these lodges he was likely to make some noise moving the branches and thus awaken the people living in the larger lodges near by. They would, of course, run to see what was the matter.

It was to such a place that we went. After working at the obstacles placed near the entrance for some time,

After a short time she came back all dressed up and
*159 ready. She had on a waist covered with silver buckles
584 and a beautifully colored hair ornament; she wore
301 many strings of beads around her neck and had brace-
lets around her wrists. Her fingers were covered with
[292] rings. She wore a pair of ornamented leggings and
[531] ornamented moccasins with wide flaps. In each ear
she had about a half dozen ear-holes and they were
full of small silver pieces made into ear ornaments.
[300] She was painted, her cheeks red, and the parting of her
hair red. She was all dressed up.

*159 I came to her on horseback. Then we rode together.
584 We were not going to return to the place from which I
had started that night, because I had been previously
asked to sing at a Medicine Feast at a place on our
way home. On the way I therefore hid the girl near
the place where the feast was to be given.

The girl had a red blanket, and I hid her under a
small oak bush. Unfortunately it rained all that night
and the next morning, and when, early in the morning,
I went to where I had hidden the girl I found her still
there, but soaked through and through from the rain.
Her paint was smeared all over her face in such a way
that she could hardly be recognized. When we arrived
*159 home my grandfather's wife came out to meet us. She
585 helped the girl down from the horse and took her into
the lodge. Then we ate and when we were through the
girl took off her clothing and gave it to my grand-
parents who in return gave her other clothing. After
the girl had stayed there three nights she had her
● [841] menses and had to go to her special lodge and sleep
there.

796 out design. There he lay without motion or
575 sign of life, and the dance was resumed
158 around them. After a time he was brought out of this mesmeric or clairvoyant state, a medicine bag was put in his hands and he at once had power to strike any one down as he had been. The person who stayed by the Judge was thus struck down. He felt of his arm and wrist and found them perfectly rigid.

796 They told the Judge before they admitted
575 him to this ceremony that while he was
783 there he must think no evil thought. If he did, his life would be in danger from the spirits. No impure person is admitted to
[841] witness these ceremonies, no woman in the
[843] menstrual period, no woman pregnant or
[273] recently delivered, no intoxicated or intemperate person that is under the influence of liquor is allowed to attend. The proceedings
[756] in the sweat lodge were not seen by him as none but medicine men were allowed there.
796 The ceremonies commenced at 8 in the eve-
575 ning and lasted until day break next morning. The Judge confirms my former opinion that this is purely a religious rite, and a religious organization, having but little to do with the uses of medicine proper. The roots and herbs are one thing, but the ceremonies
[755] and incantations which are the real remedies are quite another. They call it the Spirit Dance, or the Divine Dance. The
[171] Judge informs me that he has witnessed the same thing among the Sauks and Foxes.

[*Winnebago Burial*]

764 He also mentioned the fact that he witnessed the burial of a Winnebago some years ago. He was set upon a natural mound and house made over him, food and some personal articles laid by his side, after which the whole was covered over with earth, except a small hole or chimney was kept open
[775] from the top down into the house. When

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# CHAPTER IV

## GENERAL SOCIAL CUSTOMS

843 *Birth.*—During pregnancy a woman had to observe carefully certain restrictions. She was not allowed to roam the woods alone for fear of meeting snakes or other animals, the sight of which was believed to forebode ill luck to a pregnant woman. She was not permitted to have dogs or cats around her nor to sleep during the day. Every morning during her pregnancy she had to take a cold bath. Among the restrictions may have been food taboos, but no information on this phase of the subject was obtained.

844 When the time for delivery came, it was the custom for the woman to occupy a small lodge erected especially for her use. None of her male relatives were permitted to be present and her husband was not even permitted to stay at home. He was supposed to travel continually until the child was born, in the belief that by his movements he would help his wife in her delivery. According to one informant the husband had to hunt game, the supposition being that this procedure on his part would cause his wife to have enough milk for the child. This traveling of the husband was called, therefore, "Looking-for-milk." It was considered improper for a woman to cry out during labor pains, and by doing so she subjected herself to the [854] jests of her elder female relatives. The cradle-board was always made before the child was born (pls. 41, *e*, 42, *a*).

The positions commonly assumed by women in delivery may be described thus: Supported by the arms, which were passed over a pole held in the crotches of two forked sticks driven into the ground; suspended between two stakes; or flat on the back.

The infant's navel string was cut off and sewed into a small bag, which was attached to the head of the cradle-board.

844 607 On the birth of a child the sisters of the husband were supposed to show his wife especial marks of courtesy. They always gave her valuable gifts, such as goods or a pony. They were glad that he had offspring, the people said, and even permitted their brother's wife [431] to give the presents received from them to her own relatives. The presentation of these gifts was called "Cradling-the-infant." Gifts 844 were presented also to the wife's brothers.

562 527 Some time after the birth of a child, if a boy, the father always gave a feast to Earthmaker and thanked him.

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him from killing game. In the particular case mentioned above the spell was the following: A man killed a deer, and a pregnant woman ate a piece of the intestine. From that time on the man was unable to kill any more deer. 755 278 [224 843]

The above medicine is used to break the spell of ill luck in hunting caused by the following actions: If a man cohabits with a widow, or if one who is a widower eats together with another person, or if he smokes out of the same pipe as another person. Not only would the medicine free him from his ill luck in hunting, but it would give him good luck in cards and speed in running. [589]

Here is an astringent medicine. It is compounded of a mixture of the "clear" medicine and the "plant that spreads itself on the ground." It is used for the following purposes: As an application for swellings, for illness after childbirth, and for general sores and eruptions of the skin. In case of illness after childbirth it is injected. For sores, etc., it is taken internally. 757 278 [844]

Here is another medicine, called bladder medicine. It is made of the roots of a certain weed. These roots are boiled and then drunk. If one is troubled with stricture, the drinking of this medicine will enable him to pass water immediately. The same medicine is used to alleviate a toothache and to stop too profuse a menstrual flow. [841]

Now this is another medicine. It is made of the leaves of a certain plant. These leaves are rolled up and then drunk down with water. The medicine is used for all stomach complaints.

Here is another medicine used for diarrhea and dysentery. It is made from the roots of a plant that has many thorns and beautiful white blossoms. The roots are scraped and the scrapings boiled and gulped down. At least a pint of this concoction must be taken. It can also be used as a mouth wash for those troubled with sore mouths.

We have another medicine used to rid a person of superfluous bile. This acts as a strong physic and not only cures a person of his indisposition but also gives him a great appetite.

Here is another medicine. It is called the medicine for burns. It consists of the leaves of a certain weed that is dried. If anyone has a burn, he chews some of this dried weed and then applies it to the burn. [752]

Here is also a medicine for private diseases, compounded of the following:

1. Doxicu'tckera hara, red willow bark.
2. Ma"sixu"tckeda hara, English unknown.
3. Nap'a'hira hara, sharp tree.

These barks are pulverized and mixed together with skunk oil.

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756 on the earth, have medicines that you are to use on earth. Whatever you say on earth it will be so. You have been blessed with all the things that are on and under the earth."

All the fowls and insects of the air, all the beings that have wings, blessed him and gave him medicines, which he was to mix with other medicines. He was told to make use of all the insects of the earth and air, some of which we never see. All those who live on earth, all the fishes in the water, and all the different kinds of water-spirits blessed him with medicines. He was blessed with, and told to use as medicines, all those plants that live in the water. He was blessed with the leech, one of the animals that lives in the water, and he was to use it in medicine mixing. They say that it is good to mix the leech with other medicines to relieve pain. He was blessed with all the trees, that we see to-day, which he was to use as medicines. Their bark, leaves, and roots are considered very good for such purposes. He was blessed also with all the small undergrowth, whose leaves, bark, inner bark, blossoms, and roots he was to use for medicine. He was blessed with all the weeds, and he was to use their heads and leaves for medicine, but their roots were to be used for other purposes.

Thus all the different kinds of plants that grow on this earth blessed him. The earth also blessed him and said to him, "Grandson, as the other spirits are blessing you, I, also, will bless you. Earthmaker has placed me here, and I therefore bless you with all plants that grow upon me, and all the trees and woods and animals that exist on this earth, and lastly, with life and myself (i. e., earth). You may use me, and especially the blue clay that you derive from me, for medicines. Should you use as medicine all these things with which I have blessed you, especially if you use me, as medicine, you will be able to accomplish all that you attempt.

"If a person who is sick offers you tobacco (i. e., asks you to cure him), remember that I also would like to smoke, and that it is for that reason that I have blessed you."[1]

[826] Birds, especially eagles, are used in the making of medicines. The entire body of a raven, including the heart and brains, are used, and also the following snakes: The gray snake, the black snake, the blue snake, the yellow snake, the bull snake, and the snake that breaks itself in two. The rattlesnake is used in a mixture given to women when in labor. If a woman hurts herself during pregnancy and kills the child within her womb, she can be made to deliver the embryo if she uses the medicine mentioned above.

[844 278 845]

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## §1. *Early Childhood*

Father and mother had four children and after I was born. An uncle of my mother named White Cloud spoke to her before I was born and told her, "You are about to give birth to a child who will not be an ordinary individual." These were the words he addressed to her. It was then that my mother gave birth to me. As soon as I was born, indeed as I was being washed—as my neck was being washed—I laughed out loudly. [159]* [551] [787] [844]

I have been told [1] that I was a good-tempered child.

During childhood my father told me to fast and I obeyed him. Throughout the winter, every morning, I would get up very early, crush charcoal, and then blacken my face with it. As soon as the sun rose would I go outside and there gazing steadily at the sun, make my prayer to the spirits, crying.[2] [787]

[1] Whenever the writer refers to events that happened before his time or before he could remember things, he always uses the quotative, "It is said." [114] [195]

[2] This refers to the custom of fasting of which many examples will be found later on. Among the Winnebago and many culturally related tribes, every person, male and female, was expected, between the ages of five and twelve, to seek communion with some supernatural spirit and the spirit so obtained was supposed to grant the suppliant certain powers and in general preside over his destinies throughout life. The proper manner of approaching this ordeal was to blacken one's face with charcoal and retire at night to some semi-deserted place at some distance from the house and there pray- [916]

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## *The Effect of a Pretended Blessing*

Once when I was on one of my drinking sprees I visited the lodge of a relative of mine. There I found a woman whom I had the right to call niece and whom I could therefore tease. Just in jest I used to call her "mother" and "sister." Now on this particular occasion after food had been offered me, I began teasing her as usual when one of the women sitting around there said, "My younger brother, your niece is really in a condition to excite your compassion and not to fool with. She is in fact about to face death, for she is going to be confined soon and she generally manages barely to escape death then." "Oh, is that so?" answered I. "Well, elder sister, this time my niece is not going to suffer. Up above, in the heavens, there exist four women, sisters, and these blessed me, telling me that if I ever called upon them for help they would help me. Now to these I shall offer tobacco and when my niece is about to be delivered, she, too, must ask for help." Thus I spoke to her. The woman thanked me. I had told a terrible falsehood. I said all this because I was very hungry and I knew that I would then receive enough to appease my hunger. I had nothing else to say.

159* 755 [273] [602] [845] [577]

Some time after this I saw the women in town. The older woman ran over to me and said, "My younger brother, all is well. Your niece is in wonderful condition; she is very well indeed. She has just given birth to a child and within three days of its birth she was able to chop wood. Never before has such a thing happened to her. It is good. As soon as the annuity payment is made you may have the child's portion for drink.

[657]

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and the breast of most animals were considered good portions, but 262
the head of the deer was included. Other portions were eaten, [354]
however. For infants the deer's tail was considered a delicacy. Now, when they eat meat provided by the white man, rib roast of [177]
beef is the favorite meat of the Winnebago.

The Winnebago were very fond of soups of all descriptions. Most of these were meat soups with the addition of vegetables or berries.

Most time was, however, spent in the preparation of vegetable foods, especially in the preparation of wild rice and corn. For the preparation of rice I will again quote Professor Jenks's article:

> At this stage of the harvest when the Winnebago gather the wild rice, the kernel is very like a long oat and has a tenacious hull, which must be removed before the grain can be eaten. The necessity of removing this hull and the unripe condition of the grain make it necessary to dry it artificially. This is usually done by spreading the kernels yet inclosed in the hull upon a rack of lattice work, under which a slow fire is kept burning. The grain is cured and the hull made brittle by the heat and smoke. The next process is the threshing. The Winnebago thrashes the grain by the use of a most primitive flail. He spreads a blanket, rush mat, or deerskin on the ground, upon which he puts the new cured grain. Along three sides of the blanket he erects a screen of similar material. At the open side of this screen the man squats on his knees, and beats the grain with a straight stick in each hand, thus releasing it from the hull. When it has been threshed the woman gathers up the contents of the blanket and winnows the mass by letting it fall from a vessel held high in the air upon a blanket or mat laid on the earth; the wind blows away the chaff from the falling grain and leaves the clean kernels.

The Winnebago distinguished a number of different kinds of corn, 252
the principal ones being *wahi'sereie*, yellow-stalked; *hiwaraiona*, sweet 243
corn; and *warue'teke*, red-colored corn. The cornstalk was called 137
*wahu'*, the corn proper, *witca'ⁿwaⁿs*, and the cob, *wosa'k'*. The corn is pounded on a rack (*waick'*) and then shelled, the grain falling through the rack and the cobs remaining on top. After being shelled the corn is steamed. Then the stones necessary for cooking it are gathered and the corn is picked. When this is finished, a hole is dug in the ground and red-hot stones are put in. Over this the husks are put and upon these the corn; then another layer of husks, etc. The top always is covered with husks. Four holes are made through the husks, into which four pails of water are poured and the whole is covered with a thick layer of earth and the corn left there overnight. The next morning it will be entirely cooked.

In shelling, the outer part of an oyster shell is used. When the [237
shelling is over the corn is spread out and dried. 412]

Squash is prepared as follows: After the skin has been removed the squash is cut into slices and the seeds taken out; the slices of squash are then put on poles to dry. The dried squash is called *hoica'ⁿwaⁿdawus*. There are two varieties of this vegetable—*witca'ⁿwaⁿ*, Hubbard squash, and *witca'ⁿwanik*, small-kernel squash.

Fruit was dried, but by what process the author has not learned. [251]

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142
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301
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a. WINNEBAGO AND DAUGHTER

b. OLD WINNEBAGO WOMAN

142
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854
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c. WOMAN AND CHILD, SHOWING CRADLE-BOARD

d. WOMAN AND CHILD, SHOWING METHOD OF CARRYING INFANT

[Facing p. 126 (A)]

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854
516
301
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a. INFANT WITH ORNAMENTED CRADLE-BOARD

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b. GROUP OF WINNEBAGO

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sung; after the second one a dance song is sung and all the guests who so desire dance around the war bundle; after the third one the host passes the drum and other paraphernalia to the guest who is in charge of the buckskin destined for Earthmaker. This guest repeats the ritual in exactly the same manner as the host has done and then passes the drum, etc., to the second guest, and when the time comes he passes the drum, etc., to the third guest. Then the ritual of the throwing out of the buckskins intervenes, and after that the feast of the Night Spirits and the rite of those who have been crazed by the Night Spirits. Then, when these are finished, the basic ritual is continued. The continuation is, however, quite different from the first part and is identical with the basic ritual as given in the first part of the ceremony. 796x

(9) *The throwing out of the buckskins.*—A warrior of great reputation is selected to begin the rites preparatory to the throwing out of the buckskins. One who has been blessed by the Night Spirits is preferably selected. He delivers a speech, and when he is finished the guests sing songs called "terminal Night Spirit" songs. Then the host prepares to sing a dance song, but before that he delivers a speech. Then, as the oldest men present sing, the host and the guests impersonating the spirits to whom tobacco is sacrificed take the buckskins and make the circuit of the lodge four times. An attendant precedes and another follows the procession, scattering incense consisting of branches of the arbor vitæ. Just before the fourth circuit is begun all the children smoke their hands and then touch the buckskin dedicated to Earthmaker. After the fourth circuit has been completed the buckskins are unrolled and thrown out through the top of the lodge, where the spirits are supposed to come and take them. After this, all holding tobacco in their hands walk to the fireplace and throw it in. Then, as a conclusion, all, even the women, rise in their respective seats and dance. [554] 776] [857]

(10) *The episode of those who have been crazed by the Night Spirits.*—This is plainly an intrusive feature and does not take place at every performance of the ceremony. An individual who has brought himself to a state of religious frenzy strips himself entirely and behaves generally like one bereft of his senses. He sticks his hands into the boiling soup and makes a wild rush for the pot where the heads are being cooked and tries to bite them. It is believed that whoever gets the first bite will, at some future time, obtain a war honor. Then he takes the pipe placed in the center of the lodge, smokes it, and relates some war exploits. He then tells the assembled guests that in his trance he communicated with the spirits, and they told him that they had accepted all the offerings made.[9] 796x 786 [787]

[9] There can be no doubt that we are dealing with an extremely specialized and interesting behavior, that in other tribes, and for that matter among the Winnebago themselves in other ceremonies, has an entirely different connotation.

*159 village and there she built me a small lodge in which I
787 and my elder brother were to remain whenever we had to fast through the whole night. At this fasting-place we used to play and before we were really able to spend a night at this particular place we moved away.

*159 After a time I passed from this stage of childhood
857 to another. I now began to use a bow and arrow and I spent my day at play, shooting arrows.

It was at about this time also that I found out that my mother had been told just before I was born that
[156] she was about to give birth to a child who would not be an ordinary being, and from then on I felt that I must be an uncommon person.

*159 At about the same time my elder sister married a very holy man. My parents gave her in marriage to him. He was a shaman and he thought a great deal of me.

[P. 4]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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867 be able to retain your hold on men. If you do your work to the
593 satisfaction of your husband, he will never leave you. I say again,
832 it is not proper to use medicine. Above all, do not use medicine until you have passed your youth. You will otherwise merely make yourself weak. You will lead a weak life. It may even happen that you will cause yourself to become foolish.

[581] Do not use a medicine in order to marry. If you marry remain faithful to your husband. Do not act as though you are married to a number of men at the same time. Lead a chaste life. If you do not listen to what I am telling you and you are unfaithful to your [626] husband, all the men will jeer at you. They will say whatever they wish to (and no one will interfere). Every man will treat you as though he were on the "joking relationship" with you. If you do not listen to me, therefore, you will injure yourself.

867 Thus the old people used to talk to one another. Thus they would
584 warn one another against certain actions. They used to instruct the young girls as they grew up (just as I am doing to you now). That is why I am telling of these things now.

My daughter, as you grow older and grow up to be a young woman, the young men will begin to court you. Never strike a man, my [683] daughter. It is forbidden. If you dislike a man very much, tell him gently to go away. If you do not do this and instead strike him, remember that it frequently happens that men know of medicines; or if they themselves have none they may know from whom to [754] get them. If you make a man feel bad by striking him, he may use this medicine and cause you to run away with him and become a bad woman. It is for this reason that the old men used to warn the young girls not to strike the men who are courting them, but whom they dislike. Pray with all your heart that you do not become such a woman.

867 Do not act haughtily to your husband. Whatever he tells you
593 to do, do it. Kindness will be returned to you if you obey your husband, for he will treat you in the same manner.

858 If you ever have a child, do not strike it. In the olden times when a child misbehaved the parents did not strike it, but they made it fast. When a child gets hungry, he will soon see the error of his ways. If you hit a child, you will be merely knocking the wickedness into him. Women should likewise never scold the [861] children because children are merely made wicked by scoldings. If your husband scolds the children, do not take their part, for that will merely make them bad. In the same way, if a stranger makes your children cry, do not say anything to the stranger in the presence of the children, nor take their part in his presence. If you wish to prevent a stranger from scolding your children, keep them home and teach them how to behave by setting them a good example. Do not imagine that you do the best for your children by

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taking their part, or that you love them if you talk merely about 867
loving them. Show them that you love them by your actions. 593
Let them see that you are generous with donations. In such ac- 858
tions they will see your good work and then they will be able to judge for themselves whether your actions equal your words.

My daughter, do not show your love for other children so that strangers notice it. You may, of course, love other children, but love them with a different love from that which you bestow on your own children. The children of other people are different from your own children, and if you were to take them to some other place after you had been lavishing so much love upon them they would not act as your children would under the same circumstances. You can always depend upon your own children. They are of your own body. Love them, therefore. This is what our ancestors taught us to do.

If a wife has no real interest in her husband's welfare and posses- 867
sions she will be to him no more than any other woman, and the 593
world will ridicule her. If, on the other hand, you pay more attention to your husband than to your parents, your parents will leave you. Let your husband likewise take care of your parents, for they depend on him. Your parents were instrumental in getting you your husband, so remember that they expect some recompense for it, as likewise for the fact that they raised you.

My daughter, the old people used to teach us never to hurt the [602
feelings of our relatives. If you hurt their feelings, you will cause [606
your brothers-in-law to feel ashamed of themselves. Do not ever 837]
wish for any other man but your husband. It is enough to have one husband. Do not let anyone have the right to call you a prostitute.

Do not hit your relatives at any time. For if you did that or if 867
you were on bad terms with one of them, it may chance that he will 602
die, and then the people will say that you are glad that he is dead. Then, indeed, you will feel sad at heart and you will think to yourself, "What can I best do" (to make up for my conduct). Even if you were to give a Medicine Dance in his honor or donate gifts for the Four Nights' Wake, many people will still say, "She used to be partial and jealous when he was alive. Now that he is dead she loves him. Why does she act this way? She is wasting her wealth. (She really does not love him and therefore), and she ought not to spend so much money upon him now." Then, indeed, my daughter, will your heart ache; then, indeed, will you get angry. That is why the old people would tell their children to love one another. If you love a person and that person dies, then you will have a right to mourn for him, and everyone will think that your mourning is [765] sincere. Not only will your own relatives love you, but everyone else will love you likewise. If, then, in the course of your life you

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×796 After the buckskins have been marked the host arranges them on
778 frames. The buckskin to Earthmaker is so arranged on its frame
782 that the head points upward; that to the Thunderbirds is so arranged that its head points toward the west; that to the Night Spirits, that its head points to the east; that to the Morning Star, that its head points to the east; and those to the Earth and Water, that their heads point downward. After they have been attached to the frame they are rolled up, and the ceremony can be said to have begun. Then the guests enter, no order being observed in the manner of entering. As soon as they have all taken their places, the oldest warrior belonging to the host's band is called upon to offer tobacco to the spirits. This he does by going to the main fireplace, offering up brief prayers, and at the conclusion of each one pouring tobacco into the fire. The first prayer is always to the fire itself.[9] When he is finished, the host takes the buckskins, unrolls them, and distributes them to the various guests. The buckskin for the Thunderbirds is always given to the guest of honor, and the others are given in the following rotation: Great Black Hawk, Disease-giver, South Wind, Earthmaker, Sun, Morning Star, Night Spirits, Moon, Earth, and Water. The buckskin to Earthmaker is assigned to the middle guest, but as he is the first guest to speak, the buckskin itself is hung on the center pole that is erected in the front portion of the lodge.

After the guests have received their buckskins they stand in their respective positions, holding the buckskin in one hand and some tobacco in the other. The host concludes his remarks, and then taking his flute, blows upon it. After this he sings two songs, accompanying himself with his gourd rattles. Then the buckskins are rolled up again, but in such a way that the markings still remain visible, and hung up just west of the first fireplace, with the exception of the Earthmaker's buckskin. The host now takes the war bundle, opens it, and places it at the foot of the center pole. He then makes the circuit of the lodge, pouring some tobacco into the hands of each invited guest. When this is finished, he pours some tobacco upon the war bundle and some into the fire and proceeds to offer prayers to all the spirits, asking each in turn for life and victory on the war-
[858] path. When he is through all the guests pour tobacco on the war bundle and into the fire. Children are often allowed to pour tobacco also, the attendants bringing them from the western portion of the lodge. After the offerings of tobacco are finished the offerings of buckskin are made. Then the basic ritual is started by the host. He takes the flutes, drum, and gourds and sings in his own place. There are many different sets of songs, and every time he starts a
[573] different set he first blows upon his flute. The songs for the Thunderbird have eight starting songs and six dancing-songs. When the

[9] This prayer, for some unknown reason, is omitted in the following account. It was obtained, however, in connection with another account of the same ceremony.

## *The Teachings of My Father*

the young girls not to maltreat a man. Hope with all your heart that you do not fall into such a predicament. I really mean what I say. 867 584

Do not be haughty with your husband. Do whatever he says. Kindness will be returned to you and he will treat you in the same way as you treat him. 867 593

If you have a child and it is naughty, do not strike it. In olden times when a child was naughty, the parents did not strike it, but instead made the child fast. Then when he is quite hungry he will reflect upon his disobedience. If you hit the child you will merely be putting more naughtiness in him. It has also been said that mothers should not lecture their children, that they merely make them bad by admonishing them. If your husband scolds them, do not take their part for then they will become bad indeed. If a stranger makes your children cry, do not speak to the stranger in your children's presence and take their part, If you wish to take the children's part, prevent such a thing from happening and keep your children home, and there at home, take good care of them and think of the best means of letting your children get to know you. When you are bringing up children, do not imagine you are taking their part if you just speak about loving them. Let them see it for themselves. Let them see what love is by observing you give things away to the poor. Then they will see your good deeds and then they will know whether you have been speaking the truth or not. 867 [861] 593 858 [735]

Do not show your love for other children so that other people notice it. Love them but let your love for them be different from your love for your own. The children of other people are different from your own and if they were to be taken to some other place they would become estranged from you; they would no longer belong to you.

867 You can, however, always depend upon the love of your own
593 children because they are of your own body. Love them
858 therefore.

If you do not have any real interest in your husband's
867 welfare and affairs, then you will be to him like any other
593 woman. People will ridicule you. On the other hand, if you pay more attention to your husband than to your parents, if you listen to him more than to them, that will be equivalent to deserting them. Let your husband keep your parents and take good care of them for they depend upon him. Your parents saw to it that you married him and
[583] they expect you to make some return for this as well as for the fact that they raised you.

867 Do not hurt the feelings of your relatives, the old people
[602] used to say. If you hurt their feelings you will make your brothers-in-law feel ashamed of themselves on account of the evil things you say about them.

Never desire to have any other man than your husband
[837] when you are married. Have only one husband. Do not give any one the right to call you a prostitute.

867 The old people said, "Never hit your relatives." You
602 may be on bad terms with one of them, for instance, and he may die. Then people will say that you used to quarrel with the deceased when he was alive. They may even claim that you are overjoyed at his death, that you want to dance with joy. Then indeed will your heart be sore and you will think to yourself how best you can make amends. Even should you have a performance of the Medicine Dance given in his honor, if you wish to bury him with honor, even then people will say, "What does all this mean? She used to be partial and jealous when he was alive. Now that he is dead she loves him! She should not do such things. She is merely wasting her wealth. She need

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867 be able to retain your hold on men. If you do your work to the
593 satisfaction of your husband, he will never leave you. I say again,
832 it is not proper to use medicine. Above all, do not use medicine until you have passed your youth. You will otherwise merely make yourself weak. You will lead a weak life. It may even happen that you will cause yourself to become foolish.

[581] Do not use a medicine in order to marry. If you marry remain faithful to your husband. Do not act as though you are married to a number of men at the same time. Lead a chaste life. If you do not listen to what I am telling you and you are unfaithful to your
[626] husband, all the men will jeer at you. They will say whatever they wish to (and no one will interfere). Every man will treat you as though he were on the "joking relationship" with you. If you do not listen to me, therefore, you will injure yourself.

867 Thus the old people used to talk to one another. Thus they would
584 warn one another against certain actions. They used to instruct the young girls as they grew up (just as I am doing to you now). That is why I am telling of these things now.

My daughter, as you grow older and grow up to be a young woman, the young men will begin to court you. Never strike a man, my
[683] daughter. It is forbidden. If you dislike a man very much, tell him gently to go away. If you do not do this and instead strike him, remember that it frequently happens that men know of medicines; or if they themselves have none they may know from whom to
[754] get them. If you make a man feel bad by striking him, he may use this medicine and cause you to run away with him and become a bad woman. It is for this reason that the old men used to warn the young girls not to strike the men who are courting them, but whom they dislike. Pray with all your heart that you do not become such a woman.

867 Do not act haughtily to your husband. Whatever he tells you
593 to do, do it. Kindness will be returned to you if you obey your husband, for he will treat you in the same manner.

858 If you ever have a child, do not strike it. In the olden times when a child misbehaved the parents did not strike it, but they made it fast. When a child gets hungry, he will soon see the error of his ways. If you hit a child, you will be merely knocking the wickedness into him. Women should likewise never scold the
● [861] children because children are merely made wicked by scoldings. If your husband scolds the children, do not take their part, for that will merely make them bad. In the same way, if a stranger makes your children cry, do not say anything to the stranger in the presence of the children, nor take their part in his presence. If you wish to prevent a stranger from scolding your children, keep them home and teach them how to behave by setting them a good example. Do not imagine that you do the best for your children by

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
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178 bers of the tribe. The older generation does not generally
182 try to resist the change, nor encourage it, but rather the ten-
561 dency is to mourn the past. A few realize that the unhappy plight of the younger generation is but one of the many changes in their society brought on by the breakdown of tribal organization due to contact with white religion, liquor, and government.

[86] [626] Originally the training of the young was in the hands of the elders of the tribe and rules were put into effect by group controls; whereas now these controls have gone, and it is only in recent years and only among a few families that the idea of parental control is stressed in the same manner as in white society.

Consequently we have the picture of a younger generation following their particular whims and an older generation seeing the wrongs of such a situation but feeling powerless to relieve it.

## Types of Cultural Change

178 Having become acquainted with the attitudes of members of a changing society, let us consider cultural change itself. For purposes of simplification we can break down our main heading of cultural change into four types.

1. We are all familiar with the direct Indian-to-white cultural change which is of so long standing, and so obvious that it hardly requires further explanation other than mentioning the Indians' use of white foods, houses, clothing, and the myriad other aspects of white culture which have become a part of the Indians' life.

2. One of the complexities of cultural change is that some customs taken over from the whites remain relatively static in the Indian society, but continue to change at a faster rate in the white group. A good example of this is in the realm of material culture. The women's buckskin dresses were of course long ago exchanged for broadcloth and other fabrics fashioned along Indian styles, but these were later replaced by calico dresses in the last century following the then current

## *Fasting*

Whenever these girls went out to get wood my older 159*
brother and I would play around with them a great 785
deal. We did this even although we were fasting at
the time. Of course we had to do it in secret. When-
ever our parents found out we got a scolding and so [861]
did the girls. At home we were warned to keep away
from menstruating women, but we ourselves always [841]
sought them.

After a while some of the people living in the lodges 159*
moved away and we were left alone. They moved far
ahead of us. We ourselves were to move only a short
distance at a time. My father and my brother-in-law
went out hunting and killed seventy deer between [224]
them, so that we had plenty of meat.

When the girls with whom I used to play moved
away I became very lonesome. In the evenings I used
to cry. I longed for them greatly and they had moved
far away!

Soon we got fairly well started on our way back.
We moved to a place where all the leaders used to give
their feasts. Near the place where we lived there
were three lakes and a black-hawk's nest. Right near
the tree where the nest was located, they built a lodge
and our war-bundle [10] was placed in it. There my elder [787]

[10] The war-bundle was the most sacred object among the Winne- 778
bago. It consisted of dried animal skins, other parts of animals, reed
flutes, etc., all of which had some symbolical meaning. The various
animal remains, for instance, were supposed to give the owner the [825]
powers of these animals, the sound of the reed flutes was sup-
posed to paralyze his enemy and make it impossible for him to walk.
Each clan possessed at least one such bundle and whenever the tribe [614]
went on the warpath, this bundle was carried on the back of some

## *The Teachings of My Father*

the young girls not to maltreat a man. Hope with all 867
your heart that you do not fall into such a predicament. 584
I really mean what I say.

Do not be haughty with your husband. Do whatever he 867
says. Kindness will be returned to you and he will treat 593
you in the same way as you treat him.

If you have a child and it is naughty, do not strike it. 867
In olden times when a child was naughty, the parents did [861]
not strike it, but instead made the child fast. Then when 593
he is quite hungry he will reflect upon his disobedience. 858
If you hit the child you will merely be putting more naughtiness in him. It has also been said that mothers should not lecture their children, that they merely make them bad by admonishing them. If your husband scolds them, do not take their part for then they will become bad indeed. If a stranger makes your children cry, do not speak to the stranger in your children's presence and take their part, If you wish to take the children's part, prevent such a thing from happening and keep your children home, and there at home, take good care of them and think of the best means of letting your children get to know you. When you are bringing up children, do not imagine you are taking their part if you just speak about loving them. Let them see it for themselves. Let them see what love is [735]
by observing you give things away to the poor. Then they will see your good deeds and then they will know whether you have been speaking the truth or not.

Do not show your love for other children so that other people notice it. Love them but let your love for them be different from your love for your own. The children of other people are different from your own and if they were to be taken to some other place they would become estranged from you; they would no longer belong to you.

*159 221 [223] good shot and I was greatly his inferior. He often killed pheasants.

Whenever the older people went to town circulating *159 648 526 petitions for help we youngsters always went along. We always took our bows and arrows with us for the Whites wanted to see how well we could shoot. Often they placed five-cent pieces on some object at a considerable distance and had us shoot at them. We generally hit a number. I would also let my brother shoot at twenty-five cent pieces that I held between my fingers and he never hit my fingers. We would often make as much as five dollars in this way and this money we always gave to our parents.

*159 221 [131] In summer the Winnebago would return to Black River Falls (Wisconsin). We used to go out with our bows and arrows and stay out all day. At evening when we returned we of course always expected to get ● [861] a scolding and we therefore had a good excuse ready. It really would have been much better had we returned earlier in the day, but we were enjoying ourselves so much hunting that night overtook us when we were still a long distance from home. Often we would not eat anything at all all day, but to that we were accustomed. Sometimes we would go fishing on a stream nearby, forget all about the time, and then return home very late. We got a scolding then even although we had a good excuse.

[P. 88]

## *Fasting*

although the feast was supposedly given in our honor, we were placed on one side of the main participants. After the kettles containing the food had been put on twice, it became daylight and the feast was over. 159 * 787

The following spring we moved to the Mississippi in order to trap. I was still fasting and ate only at night. My brothers used to flatter me, telling me that I was the cleverest of them all and, in consequence, I used to continue fasting although I was often very hungry. In spite of my desire to fast, however, I could not resist the temptation of being around the girls. I wanted always to be near them. They were generally in their menstrual lodges [18] when I looked for them. My parents did not wish me to go near the girls then but I went nevertheless. [221] [224] [152] [185] [865] •

My parents told me that only those boys who had no connection with women would be blessed by the spirits. Throughout this time my sole wish was to appear great in the sight of the people. To be praised by my fellowmen was all I desired. And I certainly received what I sought. I stood high in their estimation. That the women might like me was another of the reasons why I wanted to fast. But as to being blessed, I learned nothing about it, although I went around with the air of one who had received many blessings and talked as such a one would talk. [156]

[18] Any contact with menstruating women, or even with objects in any way connected with them, will, it is the firm belief of the Winnebago, destroy the power of sacred objects or individuals temporarily sacred. Fasting youths were regarded as such. [841] [178] [185]

* 159 §4. *Reminiscences of Childhood*

[785] The following spring I stopped fasting.

[501] In those days we used to travel in canoes. My
[226] father used to spear fish and always took me along
[593] with him, and this I enjoyed very much. He kept a club in the canoe and after he had speared a fish, I would kill it with the club as it was jumping around. Sometimes my mother accompanied us. She sat in the stern of the boat and rowed while my father stood in the prow and speared the fish. I killed all those thrown in the canoe.

• [865] Sometimes my parents would start out without me, but I would then cry so bitterly that I, in the long run, induced them to take me along. Sometimes they whipped me and told me to go home, but I would follow them so far that they were then afraid to let me go back alone and I would thus be permitted to ride with them. Indeed I exerted myself greatly in crying and as I cried, ran after them and followed them very far, I was always taken along in the end.

[342] In those days we lived in the old-fashioned Indian lodges. In winter our fire was placed in the center of
[354] the lodge and my father used to keep it burning all night. When he placed a large log in the fire it would burn a long time.

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### Mother-in-law and Father-in-law Taboo

In former times the mother-in-law and father-in-law taboo was in 606
full force. No man was allowed to talk directly to his mother-in-law or to look at her, and the same rule held with regard to the attitude of a woman toward her father-in-law. Even accidental meetings of these relatives, as on the road, were attended with great embarrassment. The author never learned of any way in which either the mother-in-law or the father-in-law taboo could be relaxed even temporarily, much less done away with entirely.

### Puberty Customs

From the age of five, children, male and female, were taught the 867
customs of their ancestors in a series of talks always delivered by an elderly male relative, perhaps the father. The specific training differed, of course, for boys and girls and for individuals. Personal training ceased at the age of puberty, when all, both boys and girls, were sent out to fast. For boys this fasting constituted the 881
only puberty rite. After their faces had been blackened with char- 785
coal they were sent to some neighboring hill with the injunction not 787
to return till dawn. Gradually they would be sent out for two, then three, nights; if after that trial they were not blessed they would be advised either to desist entirely or exhorted to fast until they were blessed, no matter how long the time required to secure the desired result. While fasting the boys and girls used the following formula:

| | | | [539 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Waxop' inixjiwina | hina'djire na"dje'je | 'vahadjex. | 782] |
| Spirits | am I likely to be blessed? | that is why I am praying. | |

One old Indian informed the author that in former times the young boys and girls were offered either bread or charcoal for their fast. If they took the charcoal, well and good; but if they took the bread, they were unceremoniously kicked out of the house and the charcoal was thrown after them. From the other statements of this informant one might gather that the young boys and girls generally took the bread, because, he said, after they had been kicked out, they would always resolve to go to the wilderness (in that way running the risk of being captured or killed by an enemy), in order to spite their parents. My informant was of the opinion that the parents purposely treated their children roughly, so that they might feel all the more miserable while fasting and thus pray all the more intensely.

A faster is always told to be careful as to what kind of spirits bless him, as he might be blessed by a bad spirit. Therefore a faster's blessings are always reviewed by the elders. J.'s old grandmother used to call the children in at dusk, as the evil spirits are [776]
around then.

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# CHAPTER VII

## SYSTEM OF EDUCATION[1]

871 The Winnebago seem to have had a more or less formal system of instruction. This consisted of a series of precepts on different aspects of life, such as the duty of fasting, of being a warrior, of behavior to one's parents and relatives, how to treat one's wife and women in general, how to bring up children, how to behave to strangers, etc. These formal teachings were called *hak'i'ku*[2], which means "precepts" or "teachings." Doubtless those obtained do not constitute all the different types existing, but they seem fairly representative.

### My Father's Teaching to His Sons and Daughters

#### SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION TO SON

867 776 787 My son, when you grow up you should see to it that you are of some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in which you can begin to be of any aid to them, and that is to fast. So, my son, see to it that you fast. Our grandfather, the fire, who stands at all times in the center of our dwelling, sends forth all kinds of blessings.[3] Be sure that you make an attempt to obtain his blessings.

My son, do you remember to have our grandfathers, the war chiefs, bless you. See to it that they pity you.[3] Some day when you go on the warpath their blessings will enable you to have specific foreknowledge of all that will happen to you on that occasion. This will likewise enable you to accomplish what you desire without the danger of anything interfering with your plans. Without the slightest trouble you will then be able to obtain the prizes of war. Without any trouble

[1] This chapter was originally intended for special publication and the notes prepared for it then have been retained.

[372] [2] The fire (*p'ete*) is regarded as a spirit by the Winnebago. As a spirit he possesses many gifts that are of use to human beings in their sojourn on earth, and in order to obtain them, mortals must make offerings of tobacco to him. He may also appear to them during their fastings and bless them with a number of powers. In addition to his other powers, it is believed that he is the messenger of Earthmaker and the other spirits and that he transmits both the messages, as well as the offerings that mortals make to them, by means of the smoke that rises upward. The old man speaks of the fire first, because being always around them it is a comparatively easy task to make offerings to it.

[3] This is the regular expression used for blessing. The idea seems to be that through fasting and crying you are to put yourself in a "pitiable" condition and that then the spirits, seeing your state, will pity you and grant you what you have asked. The word "grandfathers" is used in the sense of ancestral spirits, the thunderbirds, who are regarded as the dispensers of war power, not only by members of this clan but by all Winnebago.

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you will be able to obtain these and in addition glory and the war 867
honors.[4] If, in truth, you thirst yourself to death,[5] our grandfathers 776
who are in control of wars to whom all the war powers that exist in 787
this world belong they will assuredly bless you.

My son, if you do not wear out your feet through ceaseless activity (in fasting), if you do not blacken your face for fasting, it will be all in vain that you inflict sufferings upon yourself. Blessings are not obtained through mere desire alone; they are not obtained without making the proper sacrifices or without putting yourself time and again in proper mental condition. Indeed, my son, they are not to be obtained without effort on your part. So see to it that, of all those spirits whom Earthmaker created, one at least has pity upon you and blesses you. Whatever such a spirit says to you that will unquestionably happen.

Now, my son, if you do not obtain a spirit to strengthen you, you will not amount to anything in the estimation of your fellowmen. They will show you little respect. Perhaps they will make fun of you.

Do not die in the village. It is not good to die there. Whenever a [761]
person is grown up that is what is told him. Nor is it good, my son, to let women journey ahead of you from amidst the village. It is not good thus to let women die before you.[6] Therefore, in order to prevent this, our ancestors encouraged one another to fast. Some day you will travel in a difficult road; there will be some crisis in your life, and then when it is too late you will begin to reproach yourself for not having fasted at the proper time. So that you may not have occasion to blame yourself at such a time I counsel you to fast. If you do not obtain a blessing when the other women are dividing the war prizes brought home from the warpath by their brothers, [593
your sisters will stand aside envying them. If, however, you are 727]
blessed by the spirits in control of war power, and if you then return victorious, how proud your sisters will be to receive the war honors and to wear them around their necks and participate with them in the victory dance! And in this way your sisters likewise will be strengthened by your war deeds. You will keep well, in health.

My son, it will indeed be good if you obtain war powers, but our 967
ancestors say it is difficult. Especially difficult is it to be leader on 787

[4] There are four war honors, the highest going to the Indian who first touches a dead enemy, the second belonging to the one who kills him, and the last two to those who touch him around and third. The war prize generally consisted of necklaces of wampum which were given to those who had obtained the first war honors. The victor also would be given the privilege of first smoking the pipe on his return to his home. The prize of the wampum necklace was always given by the victor to his elder sisters. [354]

[5] That is, fast.

[6] That is, obtain war power so that you can go on the warpath and prevent yourself from dying in the village or have women die before you.

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867 787 the warpath.' So they say. If you do not become an individual warranted to lead a war party, yet mistaking yourself for one although really an ordinary warrior, you "throw away a man," your act will [686 be considered most disgraceful. A mourner might harm you in 627] revenge for the fact that you have caused him to mourn, and burn you with embers. Your people will all be sad, both on account of your disgrace and on account of the pain inflicted upon you.

787 My son, not with the blessing of one of the spirits merely, nor with 867 the blessing of twenty, for that matter, can you go on the warpath. 776 You must have the blessing of all the spirits above the earth, and of all those on the earth, and of all those who are pierced through the earth;[8] of all those under the earth; of all those who are under the water; of all those that are on the sides of the earth, i. e., all the four winds; of the Disease-giver;[9] of the Sun; of the Daylight;[10] of the Moon; of the Earth; and of all those who are in control of war powers—with the blessings of all these deities must you be provided 867 before you can lead a successful war party.

554 My son, if you cast off dress[11] men will be benefited by your deeds. You will be an aid to all your people. If your people honor you, it will be good. And they will like you even the more if you obtain a

721 787 701 686 [622]

[1] Among the Winnebago any individual who has been blessed with the necessary powers to lead a warpath may do so, but it is absolutely essential that his blessing directing him be of such a nature that every possible contingency is included therein. Such complete blessings are, of course, not common nor can they be obtained except through unusual exertions. If you are blessed with just the ordinary or incomplete war powers and you nevertheless undertake to lead a war party, you may either be defeated or perhaps only partially successful, and, what is worse, you may lose some of the warriors who started with you. Your recklessness has thus caused the death of some of your fellow tribesmen. It is understood that every warrior before starting on the warpath turn his "blessing" over to the chief of the tribe for examination, and if the chief considers it complete the warrior is not held responsible for the lack of success or loss of life. If the chief does not consider an individual's blessing sufficient to justify the object he has in view and forbids the warrior to go, and if the latter prevents his so doing, or granted the case he does not even submit his "blessing" to the chief for scrutiny, and sneak out, then he is held directly responsible for any mishap on the warpath. The relatives of any individual thus killed may hold the war leader responsible and demand compensation; or, as is indicated by it a few lines later, a mourner (i. e., one who has been placed in mourning by the criminal foolhardiness of the war leader) might attack, perhaps kill him, without being held guilty of any crime. It must of course be understood that such occurrences would seldom take place. We must, however, remember throughout these "teachings" that one of the objects of the old men was to draw the most alluring pictures of the rewards that would fall to the lot of those who followed in the footsteps of their ancestors, and, on the other hand, to draw the most lurid pictures of the wretchedness that befell those who deviated, no matter in what details, from the customs sanctioned by age.

773 776

[2] According to the Winnebago creation myth, when Earthmaker, the creator of the earth, first came to consciousness and began creating life the earth on which we were to live was in continual motion, and nothing that the former could do seemed to be able to stop it. From above he threw down grass, trees, etc., but all was of no avail. Finally he hit upon the happy expedient of pinning the earth down at the four corners by means of four enormous snakes, or, as some say, by means of four mythical animals known as water spirits. It is to these that the old man is referring here. According to the story, even these were of no avail, and it was only when he finally placed four mythical beings known as "Island Weights" at the four corners that our planet stopped spinning. These "Island Weights" seem to be identical with the spirits of the four cardinal points, but they are not to be confused with the four winds mentioned later.

776

[3] A deity conceived of as dealing out life-giving powers from one half of his body and death-giving powers from the other half. He is also supposed to discriminate disease. Disease-giver is a literal translation of the Winnebago word, but this probably does not convey the exact meaning. There seems to be no parallel to this peculiar deity among the other Siouan tribes or among the Algonquian.

822

[4] Daylight or light is conceived of as something different and distinct from the sun.

735

[5] That is, if you give away things frequently, especially to poor people.

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limb.[12] They will indeed like you very much if you obtain a limb, 867
or, even better, two or three. If you do thus, wherever people boil 554
an animal with a head [13] you will always be able to eat.

If on account of your bravery you are permitted to tell of your 867
war exploits during the Four Nights' Wake for the benefit of the 765
soul of the deceased, do not try to add to your glory by exaggerat- 554
ing any exploit, for by so doing you will cause the soul to stumble on its journey to the spirit land.[14] If you do this and add an untruth to the account of your war exploit, you will die soon after. The war spirits always hear you. Tell a little less. The old men say it is wise.

My son, it is good to die in war. If you die in war, your soul will 867
not be unconscious. You will have complete disposal of your soul 721
and it will always be happy.[15] If you should ever desire to return 775
to this earth and live here again, you will be able to do so. A second life as a human being you may live, or, if you prefer, as an inhabitant of the air (a bird) you may live, or you may roam the earth as an animal. Thus it is to him who dies in battle.

My son, fast for an honorable place among your fellowmen. Fast, 867
so that when you are married you may have plenty of food; that 785
you may be happy and that you may not have to worry about your 787
children. If in your fastings you have a vision of your future home, the members of your family will be lacking in nothing during their life. Fast for the food that you may need. If you fast a sufficiently large number of times, when in after life you have children and they cry for food you will be able to offer a piece of deer or moose meat without any difficulty. Your children will never be hungry.

[12] That is, a war honor, but more specifically if you "count coup" first. The honor of killing an enemy [555]
and the three honors associated with first touching his dead body are always spoken of as "the four limbs of the body."

[13] That is, whenever people give a Winter Feast. At this feast a deer, head and all, is served to the [527]
invited guests. The head may only be eaten by brave warriors.

[14] At the death of a chieftain an elaborate wake takes place. To this wake, as the principal participants, 262]
three or four warriors who have counted "coup" are always invited. It is believed that the souls of all the enemies one has killed become the slaves of the victor and he may command them to do his bidding at any time. If the victor tells his exploit and then commands the enslaved soul to take care of the recently 765
departed person in whose honor the wake is being given, the soul of the conquered enemy will be of considerable aid in overcoming the obstacles that are supposed to infest the path between this earth and the 775
land of the spirits. These can not be overcome by the merits of the individual alone. If, however, a warrior becomes vainglorious, the soul of the recently departed individual will fall into the abyss of fire which surrounds one of the heavenly earths through which he must pass. That is what is meant by "stumbling."

[15] It must be remembered that the Winnebago believe that all that constitutes "life," "consciousness," 774
continues to exist after death, the only difference being that in the former case an envelope, the body, is present and, in the latter case, it is not. Winnebago philosophy does not concern itself with what happens 775
when a soul becomes "unconscious" at death, which would, of course, be the case with all those who do not die in battle; but it does insist that to him who dies on the warpath the moment of death does not even deprive of consciousness. He goes right on living, as if he were still an inhabitant of this earth, the only difference being that the corporeal envelope has fallen off his soul and that, although he can see and hear human beings, he himself is not visible nor his voice audible.

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867 My son, never abuse your wife. The women are sacred. If you
593 abuse your wife and make her life miserable, you will die early.
562 Our grandmother, the earth, is a woman, and in mistreating your
776 wife you will be mistreating her. Most assuredly will you be abusing our grandmother if you act thus. And as it is she that is taking care of us you will really be killing yourself by such behavior.

867 My son, when you keep house, should anyone enter your house,
574 no matter who it is, be sure to offer him whatever you have in the house. Any food that you withhold at such a time will most assuredly become a source of death to you. If you are stingy about giving food the people will kill you on this account. They will poison you. If you hear of a traveler who is visiting your people and you wish to see him, prepare your table for him and have him sent for. In this manner you will be acting correctly. It is always good to act correctly and do good, the old people used to say.

867 If you see an old, helpless person, help him with whatever you
888 possess. Should you happen to possess a home and you take him there, he might suddenly say abusive things about you during the middle of the meal. You will be strengthened by such words. This same traveler may, on the contrary, give you something that
[778] he carries under his arms and which he treasures very highly. If it is an object without a stem,[18] keep it to protect your house. If you thus keep it within your house, your home will never be molested by any bad spirits. Nothing will be able to enter your house unexpectedly. Thus you will live. Witches, instead of entering your house, will pass around it. If, in addition to possessing this medicine, you also fast, your people will be benefited by it greatly.

867 Earthmaker made spirits up above and some he made to live on
773 this earth; and again some he made to live under the water and
776 some to live in the water; and all these he put in charge of something. Even the small animals that move about this earth the creator put in charge of some power. Thus he created them. Afterwards he created us human beings and as he had exhausted all the powers to be disposed of we were not in control of anything. Then he made a weed and placed it in our charge. And he said that no matter how powerful are the spirits that exist they would not be able to take this weed from us without giving something in return.
[276] He himself, Earthmaker, would not be able to demand it for nothing. So he spoke. This weed was the tobacco plant. Earthmaker said that if we would offer a pipeful of tobacco to him, whatever we should ask of him he would immediately grant. Not only he, but all the
[782] spirits created, longed to have some of this tobacco. It is for this reason that when we fast and cry piteously for some spirit to take pity on us, if we give them tobacco they will bless us with those

[18] A plant without a stem, presumably some root, used for warding off danger.

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 867

powers that the creator gave them. So it will be. Earthmaker made it thus. 773 776

My son, you must fast. If you breathe upon sick people,[17] I mean if you are blessed with that kind of power, you will be able to restore people to health. You will be of help to your people. If you can, in addition, draw out the pain from within the body of an individual, you will indeed be a help to your people. They will respect you. You will not even have to work for all your necessities, for those whom you treat will cheerfully support you as long as you live. If you should die, your name will be held in great respect and people will frequently talk about you. Ah, that man he had indeed great power! 867 756

My son, if you are not able to fast,[18] try at least to obtain some plants that are powerful. There are people who know the qualities of the different plants, who have been blessed by the spirits with this knowledge. It is pitiable enough that you could obtain nothing through fasting, so ask those that are in possession of these plants at least to have pity upon you. If they have pity upon you, they will bless you with one of the plants they possess, and you will thus have something to help you in life and to encourage you. One plant will not be enough. Of all the plants that cover the earth and lie like a fringe of hair upon the body of our grandmother, try and obtain knowledge of these, that you may be strengthened in life. Then you will have reason to feel encouraged. A real medicine man has even more justification for feeling encouraged than an ordinary one, because such a one has been blessed with life by the Water-spirits. If, therefore, you wish to obtain the real powers of curing people, so that you will have the power of making them arise from their sick beds, you must long and patiently wait and labor. If, however, you obtain the true powers—that is, if you obtain blessings from the Water-spirits—then some day, when your children are in need of medicine, you will not have to go and look for a medicine man, but you will only have to look into your medicine bundle. Whatever trouble your children have you will be able to cure it. Should anything be the matter with the people of your tribe they will call upon you. You can then open your medicine bundle and the individual who is wanting in life will be benefited from the stock of medicines 867 787 756

[17] Sickness is due to the presence of some object within the body. Illness can therefore only be cured if this object is extracted. This is generally accomplished by the shaman sucking it out through a bone tube. Among the Winnebago the shaman before applying the tube squirts some water upon the afflicted person and breathes upon him. This is what the "breathing" refers to. [753 755]

[18] Not everyone who fasts is blessed with power. For those who are thus unable to obtain blessings directly from the spirits there is only one method of protection against evil luck: the purchase of plants with magical properties from those who have been blessed with them. These can be obtained by any individual no matter how unsuccessful he has been in obtaining blessings through personal fasting. All that is needed is sufficient riches for purchasing them. Of course it goes without saying that those who have been blessed with power may and do also provide themselves with these medicines. [425]

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867 787 756 that are in your possession. You will indeed never be embarrassed. You will know just wherein his ailment lies. As you have obtained your power with great effort, therefore what you say will be so. If you say he will live, he will live. If the relatives of the patient make you good payments, you may perform what you are accustomed to in your treatment of people. Then you can ask your medicine to put forth its strength for you and it will do so. If you make good [782] offerings of tobacco to the plants and if you make feasts in their honor, if, indeed, you make much of your medicine, if you talk to it as though it were a human being, then when you ask it to put forth its strength it will do so. The payments that you receive you can take with a good conscience and your children will wear them and will be strengthened thereby. So be very diligent in the care you bestow upon them. The medicines were placed here by Earthmaker for a good purpose. We are to use them to heal ourselves. For that purpose Earthmaker gave them to us. If anyone tries to obtain the life sustainers—that is, the medicines and inflicts suffering upon [776] himself in order to obtain them, our grandmother will know about it. So whatever you spend upon it, be it in labor or in goods, she will know about it. All that you gave in obtaining your medicines she will know. They will be returned to you. The people will thus be providing themselves with something for the future. The people always look forward to the future and for all possible happenings they will have some medicine provided. You must try to obtain some of the medicines that most people possess. If you want 867 paint-medicine, make yourself pitiable. If your paint-medicine 789 overcomes your enemy and you keep it in your home, you will never 756 be wanting in wealth. The most valued possessions of the people will be given to you. The people will love you and the paint-medicine will be the cause of it. Whatever you receive will be in consequence of the possession of the paint-medicine. The paint-medicine [776] is made of the blood of the Water-spirits, and therefore it is holy. People used to fast and thirst themselves to death and a Water-spirit would appear to them and bestow his blessings upon them. Whatever he told them would come true. The Earthmaker put the 867 Water-spirit in charge of these things so that he would bless the 789 people with them. That was his purpose.

Some people who wished to find good medicines obtained the [525 224] race medicine. Try and learn of it. Others had gambling medicine, and still others again had hunting medicine. There are medicines for very purpose.

[832] There is a courting medicine and a medicine to prevent married people from wishing to separate, and there is a medicine for making one rich.

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If one wishes to make a person crazy, there is a medicine for that purpose. 867 754

If some one had made another one sad at heart and he wished to revenge himself, he would use a medicine that would make that person crazy. Thus he would poison him.

If a person wished to marry a certain girl and she did not want him, he would poison her with a medicine that would make her become a harlot. All the men would fall in love with her by reason of the medicine he gave her. 867 584 832

If they wished a man to be continually running after a woman, they had a medicine for that purpose. All these medicines they possessed. You can obtain any of them you like if you ask for them in the proper way. 867 832

Some people have knowledge of plants that will cause a person to sleep all the time. Others again have medicines that will cause them to stay awake all the time. Some know how to overcome the viciousness of dogs that watch over women by means of medicines; some again have medicines that will make people single them out even in crowds. If this person uses his medicine in a crowd of people, the one on whom it is used will consider him a great man no matter how many there should be in the crowd. Some have a medicine to be used for preventing an individual from getting tired. Others have a medicine to be used when they have dog contests. 867 789

Whatever they did, for that they would have medicines.

Whenever they plant a field they protect it with medicine tied on to a stick. No one will then go through that field without suffering for it. If you did not have that protection, people could go through your field whenever they wished. In short, try to obtain as many medicines as you possibly can, for you will need them all. People should always look out for themselves so that they may learn what is necessary to make life comfortable and happy. If you try to obtain the knowledge of these things you will get along in life well. You will need nothing; and whenever you need a certain medicine, instead of being compelled to buy it, you will have it in your own possession. If you act in this manner and keep on fasting you will never be caught offguard during your life. If you have a home, it will always look nice and you will be lacking in nothing. So, do what I tell you and you will never regret it in after life. Try and learn the way in which your ancestors lived and follow in their footsteps. 867 789 787

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867 787 If you thus travel in the road of the good people, it will be good and other people will not consider your life a source of amusement."

If you can not obtain a blessing from the spirits try also to have some good plant take pity on you. This I am telling you and if you do not do it, you will suffer for it. All that I am saying will be of great benefit to you if you pay heed to me, for (you will need 867 medicines for) whatever you do in life, if you are not fortunate 789 enough to obtain blessings from the spirits. If you are ever on the 726 warpath, you will need medicine in order to escape being hit or in order to prevent yourself from getting exhausted or from feeling famished. If you manage to be fortunate in all these things you may be certain that the medicines have caused it.

867 My son, help yourself as you go along life's path, for this earth has 577 many narrow passages and you can never tell when you will come to one. If, however, you have something with which to strengthen yourself you will come safely through the passages you meet.

Let every one think you a desirable person to know. Associate with people. If you act in this manner, every one will like you. (You will live) a contented life. Never do anything wrong to your children. Whatever your children ask you to do, do not hesitate to do it for them. If you act thus people will say you are good-natured. If you ever lose a friend by death and if you have riches cover[*] the expenses of the funeral of the deceased. Help the mourners to feed the people at the wake. If you act thus you will be acting well. Then you will be truly a helper of the people and they will know you as such. Indeed, all of them will know you. For the good you do, all will love you.

867 My son, do not become a gambler. You might, it is true, become 525 rich, but in spite of your wealth all your children will die. No gambler ever had children. It is an affair of the bad spirits entirely. Now if you do all that I have told you, you will unquestionably lead a happy and contented life.

867 Thus would the old people speak to a child whom they loved very much, that he might obtain the means of warding off what is not good. Anyone who acted contrary to these teachings would have himself to blame for the consequences.

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[466] * This dislike of being made fun of, or of being the laughing stock, plays an important rôle among the Winnebago. It is not at all comparable to the same feeling as found at the present day among civilized people of Western Europe, for it is infinitely deeper and closely associated with social ostracism. The despondency caused by being made fun of, would frequently drive a person away from home or lead him to embark on any undertaking that would bring death. Owing to the social consequences owning in its train, a man would consequently do most anything in his power to ward it off. Correlated with this negative aspect of the use of "fun poking," there is a positive one. There are certain relatives who have the privilege of making fun of or playing practical jokes on you. This "joking relationship" exists among many tribes in America, but the relatives between whom it is permitted differ in every case. Among the Winnebago it exists between uncles and nieces and nephews and between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

[402] * That is, buy the funeral apparel for the deceased.

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If you ever get married, my son, do not make an idol of your wife. 567
The more you worship her, the more will she want to be worshipped. 562
Thus the old people said. They warned the young men against the 581
example of those men who always hearken to what the women say, 543
who are the slaves of women. Often they would speak in the following manner: "You have had many warnings, but it may happen that some day you will not pay any attention to them. Then, when they call upon you to take part in the Winter Feast you may perhaps refuse to go. When a war party is leaving you may listen to the voice of your wife and not join them. Thus you will be as one who has been brought up as a woman.[a] Men of every description do what is demanded of them, you alone do not act as a man should. You never perform a man's deed. If you were to go to a Winter Feast, you would be handed a lean piece of meat.[b] Why should you subject yourself to the danger of being made fun of! A real brave man, when he goes to a Winter Feast, will receive a deer's head, while you will only receive a lean piece of meat. That is all they will give you to eat. It will stick in your throat."[c] [558]

My son, if you keep on listening to your wife, after a while she will never let you go to any feast at all. All your relatives will scold you and your own sisters will think little of you. They will say to one another, "Let us not ever go over to see him. He is of no help to anyone." Finally, when you have become a real slave to your wife, she might tell you to hit your own relatives, and you would do it. For these reasons, my son, I warn you against the words of women. Steel yourself against them. For if you do not do so you will find yourself different from other men. It is not good to be enslaved by a woman.

My son, this also I will tell you. Women can never be watched. If you try to watch them you will merely show your jealousy and your female relatives will also be jealous. After a while you will become so jealous of your wife that she will leave you and run away. First, you worshipped her above everything else, then you became jealous and watched her all the time, and the result will be that she will run away from you. You yourself will be to blame for this. You thought too much of a woman and in worshipping her you humbled yourself, and as a consequence she has been taken away from you. You are making the woman suffer and making her feel unhappy. All the other women will know of this, and no one will want to marry you again. Everyone will consider you a very bad man.

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[a] He may mean a berdash, but it is far more probable that he merely means to call him a woman, an insult sufficiently great.

[b] A man who has distinguished himself as a warrior is always invited to eat the head of the animal, offered at the Winter Feast. There next in distinction are given the fat pieces of meat, and the lean pieces—as the Winnebago, the peanut—are given to those who are of no importance. [554 262]

[c] I. e., the meat will stick in your throat, because you will feel so much ashamed of yourself.

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867 My son, whenever people go on the warpath go along with them.
721 It is good to die on the warpath. You may perhaps say so, because you are unhappy that your wife has left you. My son, not for such reasons, however, must you go on the warpath. You will be merely throwing away a human life. If you want to go on the warpath, do so because you feel that you are courageous enough, not because you are unhappy at the loss of your wife. If you go on the warpath you will enjoy yourself. Do not go, however, unless you have fasted,
[785] and unless you have fasted for that particular warpath. If you have not fasted and attempt nevertheless to go on the warpath, a bullet will surely seek you out and kill you. This is what will happen to you if you do not fast.

[593 If you exert yourself in fasting you will assuredly perform some
[604 brave war exploit. You must tell your sisters and sister's children
605] and your mother's sisters all about your exploit. Remember, also, that the keepers of the war-bundles can give you good advice in all that pertains to war. For their deeds they will be given a good dish of meat.[24] This they will give you to eat.

Of such things did my ancestors speak, and I would wish you to do as they did. That is why I am telling you all these things. I myself never asked for any of this instruction, but my father did. All human beings ought to ask for it. Never let anybody be in a position to puzzle you in regard to what is right. Ask for this instruction, my son, for it is not an ordinary thing. In the olden
867 times if a person loved his child very much, he would only give him instruction after he had begun fasting all day for the first time. When a young boy has just matured, those who have been preaching to him always ask him one question, namely, whether he had begun
[881] to fast. And this the young boy must always answer truthfully, for if he has begun his fast the instruction would stop. The old men do not preach to men, but only to boys.

881 (What follows is apparently an illustration of how a young man
887 asks his instructor for information of how to conduct himself in life.)
867 The young man will go to an old man and say, "Grandfather, I would like to know how I am to conduct myself in life. Bless me and if you can really give me any information, do so." Then the old man was very thankful and said, "It is good; you speak correctly." Now the one who was asking something of the old man had taken very good care of the old man's body and had led a good life. He had no scars of any kind; that is, he had never done anything shameful. The young man brought all sorts of food and placed it in the lodge of the old man. Then he also brought him a fine horse. Only then did he ask him again about the life that his ancestors had led, and what kind of a life he ought to live. He asked

[24] I. e., you will be given a position at the Winter Feast and offered some of the choice pieces of meat.

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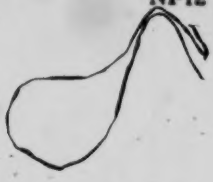



him what the old people do when they give a child a name, and 881
what they say. All these things the old man told him. "It is good," 887
he said, "for you to know these things so that if anyone comes to 867
you and asks you for information you will be able to tell them something and will not have to behave like a fool. If you are asked to give a little child a name, this little child will really be a means of increasing your power. That is why you ought to give a feast for it and smoke the child's tobacco. You must also give the child a name for his dog. Give him the name Yellow-Tree for a male dog. The name Yellow-Tree is given for the following reason. When the Thunderbirds strike at a tree it looks yellow. Just as leaves wither so do trees wither when the Thunderbirds strike them. They then begin to rot and become very much discolored. That is why they give a dog this name. If you ever have to give a dog-name for a female child call it She-Who-Stays-In-Her-Own-Place. This is all that I wish to tell you."

### SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION TO DAUGHTER

This is the way the old men used to speak to the little girls: 867
My daughter, as you go along the path of life, always listen to 593
your parents. Do not permit your mother to work. Attend to your father's wants. All the work in the house belongs to you. Never be idle. Chop the wood, carry it home, look after the vege- [462]
tables and gather them, and cook the food. When in the spring of the year you move back to your permanent settlements, plant your fields immediately. Never get lazy. Earthmaker created you [221]
for these tasks.

When you have your menses, do not ask those in your lodge to give you any food, but leave the lodge and fast and do not begin [841]
eating again until you return to your own lodge. Thus will you help yourself. If you always fast, when you marry, even if your husband had amounted to nothing before, he will become an excel- [785]
lent hunter. It will be on account of your fasting that he will have changed so much. You will never fail in anything and you will always be well and happy. If, on the contrary, you do not do as I tell you—that is, if you do not fast—when you marry he will become very weak, and this will be due to you. Finally he will get very sick.

My daughter, do not use medicine. If you marry a man and 867
place medicine on his head he will become very weak and will not 593
amount to anything. It may be that you do not want to have your 832
husband leave you and this may induce you to use medicine to keep him. Do not do that, however, for it is not good. You will be ruining a man. It is the same as killing him. Do not do it, for it is forbidden. If you marry a man and you want to be certain of always retaining him, work for him. With work you will always

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867 be able to retain your hold on men. If you do your work to the
593 satisfaction of your husband, he will never leave you. I say again,
832 it is not proper to use medicine. Above all, do not use medicine until you have passed your youth. You will otherwise merely make yourself weak. You will lead a weak life. It may even happen that you will cause yourself to become foolish.

[581] Do not use a medicine in order to marry. If you marry remain faithful to your husband. Do not act as though you are married to a number of men at the same time. Lead a chaste life. If you do not listen to what I am telling you and you are unfaithful to your
[626] husband, all the men will jeer at you. They will say whatever they wish to (and no one will interfere). Every man will treat you as though he were on the "joking relationship" with you. If you do not listen to me, therefore, you will injure yourself.

867 Thus the old people used to talk to one another. Thus they would
584 warn one another against certain actions. They used to instruct the young girls as they grew up (just as I am doing to you now). That is why I am telling of these things now.

My daughter, as you grow older and grow up to be a young woman, the young men will begin to court you. Never strike a man, my
[683] daughter. It is forbidden. If you dislike a man very much, tell him gently to go away. If you do not do this and instead strike him, remember that it frequently happens that men know of medicines; or if they themselves have none they may know from whom to
[754] get them. If you make a man feel bad by striking him, he may use this medicine and cause you to run away with him and become a bad woman. It is for this reason that the old men used to warn the young girls not to strike the men who are courting them, but whom they dislike. Pray with all your heart that you do not become such a woman.

867 Do not act haughtily to your husband. Whatever he tells you
593 to do, do it. Kindness will be returned to you if you obey your husband, for he will treat you in the same manner.

858 If you ever have a child, do not strike it. In the olden times when a child misbehaved the parents did not strike it, but they made it fast. When a child gets hungry, he will soon see the error of his ways. If you hit a child, you will be merely knocking the wickedness into him. Women should likewise never scold the
[861] children because children are merely made wicked by scoldings. If your husband scolds the children, do not take their part, for that will merely make them bad. In the same way, if a stranger makes your children cry, do not say anything to the stranger in the presence of the children, nor take their part in his presence. If you wish to prevent a stranger from scolding your children, keep them home and teach them how to behave by setting them a good example. Do not imagine that you do the best for your children by

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taking their part, or that you love them if you talk merely about 867
loving them. Show them that you love them by your actions. 593
Let them see that you are generous with donations. In such ac- 858
tions they will see your good work and then they will be able to judge for themselves whether your actions equal your words.

My daughter, do not show your love for other children so that strangers notice it. You may, of course, love other children, but love them with a different love from that which you bestow on your own children. The children of other people are different from your own children, and if you were to take them to some other place after you had been lavishing so much love upon them they would not act as your children would under the same circumstances. You can always depend upon your own children. They are of your own body. Love them, therefore. This is what our ancestors taught us to do.

If a wife has no real interest in her husband's welfare and posses- 867
sions she will be to him no more than any other woman, and the 593
world will ridicule her. If, on the other hand, you pay more attention to your husband than to your parents, your parents will leave you. Let your husband likewise take care of your parents, for they depend on him. Your parents were instrumental in getting you your husband, so remember that they expect some recompense for it, as likewise for the fact that they raised you.

My daughter, the old people used to teach us never to hurt the [602
feelings of our relatives. If you hurt their feelings, you will cause [606
your brothers-in-law to feel ashamed of themselves. Do not ever [837]
wish for any other man but your husband. It is enough to have one husband. Do not let anyone have the right to call you a prostitute.

Do not hit your relatives at any time. For if you did that or if 867
you were on bad terms with one of them, it may chance that he will 602
die, and then the people will say that you are glad that he is dead. Then, indeed, you will feel sad at heart and you will think to yourself, "What can I best do" (to make up for my conduct). Even if you were to give a Medicine Dance in his honor or donate gifts for the Four Nights' Wake, many people will still say, "She used to be partial and jealous when he was alive. Now that he is dead she loves him. Why does she act this way? She is wasting her wealth. (She really does not love him and therefore), and she ought not to spend so much money upon him now." Then, indeed, my daughter, will your heart ache; then, indeed, will you get angry. That is why the old people would tell their children to love one another. If you love a person and that person dies, then you will have a right to mourn for him, and everyone will think that your mourning is [765]
sincere. Not only will your own relatives love you, but everyone else will love you likewise. If, then, in the course of your life you

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●867 come to a crisis of some kind, all these people will turn their hearts
602 toward you.

My daughter, all that I am trying to tell you relates to your behavior (when you grow up). In your own home the women all understand the work belonging to the household and that relating to camping and hunting. If you understand these and afterwards visit your husband's relatives, you will know what to do and not find yourself in a dilemma from which you can not extricate yourself. When you visit your husband's people do not go around with a haughty air or act as if you considered yourself far above them. Try to get them to like you. If they like you, they will place you in charge of the camp you happen to be visiting. If you are good-
[606] natured, you will be placed in charge of the home at which you happen to be visiting. Then your parents-in-law will tell your husband that their daughter-in-law is acting nicely to them.

SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION TO CHILDREN

867 Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan: I still keep up the old system of teaching my children at the camp fire. In the morning I wake them up early and start to teach them as follows:

My children, as you travel along life's road never harm anyone, nor cause anyone to feel sad. On the contrary, if at any time you can make a person happy, do so. If at any time you meet a woman in the wilderness (i. e., away from your village), and if you are alone and no one can see you, do not scare her or harm her, but turn off to the right and let her pass. Then you will be less tempted to molest her.

My children, if you meet anyone on the road, even though it is only a child, speak a cheering word before you pass on. Fast as much as you can, so that when you grow up you can benefit your fellowmen. If you ever get married you must not sit around your
[602] lodge near your wife, but try and get game for your wife's people. So fast that you may be prepared for your life.

[593] My daughters, if at any time you get married, never let your husband ask for a thing twice. Do it as soon as he asks you. If your husband's folks ever ask their children for something when you are present, assume that they had asked it of you. If there is anything to be done, do not wait till you are asked to do it, but do it immediately. If you act in this way, then they will say that your parents taught you well.

My son, if you find nothing else to do, take an ax and chop down a tree. It will become useful some day. Then take a gun and go out hunting and try to get game for your family.

As soon as I see that the children are showing signs of restlessness then I stop immediately.

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614 nated, they have heretofore told one another thus. This it is.
173 Whenever one asked about it, they would tell him, but they would
539 never tell him unless he brought some present. Even when they
[431] had a child whom they loved very much (and for whom they were accustomed to do everything), even to such a one they would not tell it unless he brought them gifts. Thus they would not even say the least thing about the story of their origin merely because they loved some one. It is really essential to make a gift. And if some one came, carrying a gift, the old man would ask him what he wanted and what he would like to know, as this was not the only thing gifts were made for. Then he would announce his desire. However, he would not be told in public but when he was alone. Then the old man who had the right to tell the origin myth would announce subsequently at some feast that he had told so-and-so the story of the origin of their clan and that if anyone wished to be told of the same he should in the future, when he himself had died, go to this
[867] young man and ask him in the proper way. Remember, he would add, that before everything else it is the duty of an individual to try and learn of the origin of his clan.

"Father,[n] this I give you, a full suit of clothes. This I am giving you." "Thanks, my son. What do you wish? What do you wish to hear?" "Father, what did we originate from?" "My son, you have done well. My son, he who makes the most gifts obtains life therewith." "Well, then, father, you need not tell me now, but later, when I have made a sufficient number of gifts, then you may tell me." "My son, you have spoken well and if you do as you say, you will travel unharmed along the road of life." "Father, these also I give you, some beads and a blanket." "Thanks, my son, it is good. Now, my son, what I told you was true. I did not tell it to you because I coveted anything of yours, but truly because it is true—this, that we must make a sufficient number of presents.
[431] Whoever does as you have done will obtain the possibility of a good life for himself." "Now again, father, I give you these gifts. There is enough food for you in it." "My son, you have done well, very well indeed, for the life that I am to give you is holy; and as you know, even if one was loved very much they would not tell him this merely because they loved him, as it is holy." "Father, this I give you as a gift, a horse, as I desire to know what we originated from." "Now, then, my son, you have done well. This is what I meant when I said it is holy. Therefore, my son, you have done well. Come and sit down here. Listen very carefully so that if afterwards anyone should ask you for this story you will be able to tell it well."

[n] He is now proceeding to give the dialogue that ensued between the old man and himself when he brought the presents.

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"My son, we first originated in human form at Bad Lake (*de cicik*).* From four buffalo spirits who are there, did we originate. The youngest one was clever and from him did we originate. The buffaloes asked one another what they were to do, and they then began to exert their powers, and the youngest one obtained the knowledge that there was to be a gathering of all the animals. So they all landed at a place called Red Banks. So it is said. And to the elk was given the charge of the seating arrangements. 614 539 776

"Thus did we originate. And then they counciled with one another as to how they should travel along the road of life. And as they arrived at Red Banks, each one would ask the other to do some work. And there they made a sacred (covenant)—that they would never fail to grant one another's requests. Likewise they agreed that when they died they would bury one another. The Buffalo clan and the Water-spirit clan were to bury one another, and they were to ask one another to work." [764]

CLAN SONGS 614 533

*Song 1*

Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.

*Song 2*

This earth you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

*Song 3*

This day you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

"My son, here is some more information that one in your position should seek. This should be the second thing to ask for: 'What should one say when one gives a feast?' This you should ask for, and you should boil food for the informant and then you will be taught the proper speeches. Afterwards, when anyone boils food (i. e., gives a winter feast) a kettle should first be put on for Earthmaker and one should ask him for life; that the people may live to be strong and good. Include tobacco in your offering, for although Earthmaker made the tobacco he will not take any of it of his own accord. Not until it is offered to him by humans will he take it. 867 [783] [276]

* The name *de cicik* is applied to-day to Lake Michigan. However, our informant in this case applied it to Devils Lake in Sauk County, Wis. [103]

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867 782 276 Thus he made the tobacco so that humans may ask life with it, and he will grant them their desires. This is all."

## CLAN NAMES

### THE HIR'IR'ARAINERA (BUFFALO CLAN)

614 551

| | |
|---|---|
| Moratcega | He who travels the land. |
| Tcanimaniwinga | She who walks ahead. |
| Tceninksiga | Suckling buffalo calf. |
| Tcega | Buffalo. |
| Tcep'anu"pga | Two buffalo heads. |
| Tcetcu"iwinga | First buffalo. |
| Tceslojeninkʼs | Buffalo yearling. |
| Tcesdoninkʼs | Young buffalo bull. |
| Tcewinxedega | Big female buffalo. |
| Wirukanaxga | He who is in control. |
| Hobekmaniga? | Shaggy walker. |
| Tcehatcowinga | Buffalo hide blue. |
| Mangikuntcga | Shakes the earth by striking |
| Tcep'aga | Buffalo head. |
| Manok'azuhiga | Kicking up the earth |

## THE DEER CLAN

### INTRODUCTION

614 173 The first version of the origin myth of the Deer clan is in part like that of version 6 of the Bear clan origin myth and in part like that of version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth. It is the only myth that shares with version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth the account of the origin of death.

614 The Deer clan does not seem to have had any important functions, although in myth 1, it is stated that they claimed a "partial" chieftainship, whatever that may mean.

[577] It was considered an insult to tell a member of this clan that he resembled a deer.

[302] The facial painting is the same as that used for the Elk clan. (Pl. 46.)

[B26 761] The Deer clan people tell one another not to sing their clan song very loudly, and also not to make any sudden movement of their limbs, for each movement might cause the death of a human being. For the same reason they are told not to weep too loudly, as each deer's limb is a symbol of one of the four directions. When, therefore, a Deer clansman moves a limb too hard when he is weeping over the decease of a member of his clan, he might be "putting some human being in the earth," and the wind would blow hard.

[552] The dog names obtained were *vankcipohonigu* and *na"natcgiuga*.

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# CHAPTER XI

## RELIGION

### Introduction

We know that in all religions there are two factors to be considered—a specific feeling and certain beliefs, conceptions, customs, and acts associated with that feeling; that the belief most inextricably connected with that religious feeling is the one in spirits more powerful than man and controlling everything in life which he values. 771

The beliefs themselves play an important part with all people, but the importance of the specific feeling varies with each individual. A perusal of the fasting experiences (see pp. 293–308) will make this quite clear. It is because we do not separate the actions and testimony of the religious man from that of the intermittently religious and the nonreligious man that most presentations of the subject are so confused and vague. It is, of course, extremely difficult to obtain the real attitude of the intermittently religious and the nonreligious man, because it is the religious individual and leader who gives form to the expressions which religion assumes in ceremony and prayer. Yet we must recognize that there is a difference and that it is often this difference that accounts for certain contradictions in the information obtained. The one place where it is possible, at least among the Winnebago, to obtain some idea of the emotional make-up and attitude of the intermittently religious man, is the fasting ordeal, and from a comparison of those experiences it is quite clear that a sufficiently large number of people were not able to obtain that thrill which they had been taught to expect. It is also clear that the shamans and religious leaders recognized this fact and provided for it by advising such people to buy the requisite protection against the trials and misfortunes of life, or as they put it, "the crises or narrow places of life." Such a person would certainly not be regarded as one of the leaders of the tribe. [787]

The ideal that the parent held before the eyes of his children is quite eloquently put in the system of instructions (see p. 166). 867 787

My son, when you grow up, you should try to be of some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in which this can be done, and that is to fast . . . If you thirst to death, the spirits who are in control of wars will bless you . . . But, my son, if you do not fast repeatedly it will be all in vain that you inflict sufferings upon your-

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867
787 self. Blessings are not obtained except by making the proper offerings to the spirits and by putting yourself, time and again, in the proper mental condition . . . If you do not obtain a spirit to strengthen you, you will amount to nothing in the estimation of your fellowmen, and they will show you little respect . . . My son, as you travel along life's path, you will find many narrow passages (i. e. crises), and you can never tell when you will come to them. Try to anticipate them, so that you will be endowed with sufficient strength (by obtaining powers from the spirits) to pass safely through these narrow passages.

771 Among the Winnebago religion is definitely connected with the preservation of life values. It is not a phenomenon distinct from mundane life, but one of the most important means of maintaining social ideals. What these are can be gleaned from practically every prayer; they are success, happiness, and long life. The vast majority of investigators are often surprised at the intense religious life which, among the North American Indians, exists side by side with an intense realism and with a clear understanding and appreciation of the materialistic basis of life. The explanation, to judge from the Winnebago data, is simple enough. The Indian does not interpret life in terms of religion, but religion in terms of life. In other words, he exalts the world around him and the multifarious desires and necessities of the day, so that they appear to him bathed in a religious thrill. At least that is what the devoutly religious man does and most of the religious data presented in this volume emanates from him. Still we are convinced that for the vast majority of Winnebago, in other words, for the intermittently religious, there are many moments in life and many actions which are seen through this pleasurable religious thrill.

224 Every Winnebago will admit that to perform the *wanu'ter're* cere-
796 mony (p. 111) and, on the following day, to agree to start at a certain hour, would not necessarily result in killing a bear. The bear tracks are to be followed and a person is to persevere until the bear is captured, in spite of the fact that the *wanu'ter're* ceremony is supposed to insure the capture of the animal.

726 Or again let us take the following example. No man can hope to
787 go on a warpath and kill an enemy unless he is authorized to do so by a definite blessing received during fasting. If we were to accept this statement as such, we might be led to believe that the Winnebago were willing to risk their young men on so dangerous an undertaking as a warpath, on the sole strength of a fasting experience. It does not stand to reason that they would, and a careful inquiry into the subject has shown that they never did. What actually happened was that the prospective war leader translated into religious terms the exact conditions and requirements of every particular war party. That is why the chief of the tribe and the shamans insisted that only such a person who had been blessed with the most specific kind of knowledge, such as the number of men he must take

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above far down to his camp. That far it would reach. "Only thus, 776
Wegi'ceka, can you see me. What you ask of me (to see me face to 787
face) I can not grant you. But, nevertheless, you may tell (your 539
fellowmen) that you saw me." Thus he spoke to him. He did not bless him with war powers. Only with life did he bless him.

Then Wegi'ceka tried to draw a picture of the flash of light extending from the heavens to his camp, just as he had seen it, upon a cane. To that cane he sacrificed. The descendants of Wegi'ceka are using cane even to the present day.

ACCOUNT OF J.'S FASTING

When I reached the age of puberty my father called me aside and 159
told me to fast. He told me that it was his fervent wish that I should 787
begin to fast, so that I might become holy and invincible and invul- 867
nerable in war. I would become like one of those Winnebagoes of whom stories are told. In future generations the people would speak of me often. For these reasons he wished me to fast. He assured me that if I fasted I would really be holy and that nothing on this earth would be able to harm me. I would also live a very long life, he told me. I would be able to treat the sick and cure them. That holy I would be, he told me. If I acted in this way, my father told me, no person would dare to make fun of me and they would always be careful of the manner in which they addressed me, both because they respected me and because they were afraid of incurring my enmity. For these reasons my father counseled me to fast and to continue fasting from the late fall until spring. During that time I should fast without stopping. In the spring, however, I was to stop, because many bad spirits are about at that time and they might deceive me. If he thought that I was not doing enough fasting he would urge me on with words, saying, "My son, fast, because if you receive knowledge of anything (i. e., if you have been blessed repeatedly), nothing will be able to harm you. You will live long; and I want you to live long." In this way my father used to speak to me and in this way he used to plead with me in a piteous manner. "Remember," he used to say to me repeatedly, "that if you do not fast none of the spirits will bless you."

There was a hill near our place called the Place-where-they-keep- 159
weapons. This hill was very high and it looked steep and rocky. 787
It must have been a very holy place. There my father had lived 776
(when he was blessed by the spirits). Within this hill lived the spirits that we call Those-who-cry-like-babies.[4] These spirits were supposed to have arrows and bows. There were supposed to be twenty of them in this hill. My father had control of these spirits.

[4] These spirits are the same as those generally known as the Hawk's, or Those-who-shoot-horns.

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159 If he (my father) blessed a man he would do as follows: He would
789 take his bow and arrows and, holding them in both of his hands,
776 take the man around the hill and then into the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There he and the man he wished to bless let their breath pass into the middle of the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There stood a stone pillar and upon this stone pillar, at about arm's length, he drew the pictures of different animals. My father had only one arrow, but that arrow was a holy one. Then my father danced around the stone pillar and sang some songs, and when he was finished he began to breathe upon the stone pillar; and, walking around it, he shot it. When he looked at it, he saw that the stone had turned into a deer with large horns. This deer fell dead at his feet. He repeated this a number of times and the little spirits who were following him breathed with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you wish to kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done here. Then
[782] offer tobacco to us and you will be able to obtain whatever you wish."

159 "Now, my son, I want you to be able to do as I do. I want you
● 867 to be able to kill deer whenever you wish, and at any particular time." My father was a very good hunter and I wanted to be very much like him. I knew that what he was saying was true and that it would be good to follow his advice. I was also told that if I traveled around the hill where these spirits lived, then all earthly things would agree with me and that I would be the gainer thereby. If I did this, they told me, then I would never suffer any pains in my body and I would never be troubled in any way.

159 And this they told me about the ghost village—that when I go
787 there I will be able to steal a costly shawl from the spirits and be
775 able to escape with it; that then all the inhabitants of the ghost village would chase me, but that they would not be able to overtake me and would be compelled to turn back as soon as I reached the earth. In this ghost village there are no grown-up children.[1]

Now, all that I have spoken of, I dreamed. I really dreamed that I was stealing a costly shawl and that I would have plenty of them all the time. I dreamed that I would obtain ten or even more
787 shawls in one year and that I would not have to pay anything for
159 them. What the spirits meant by shawls was supplies. However,
795 all this took place before I ate the peyote. Since then I know that these things were not true, and that what I must depend upon is not supernatural power, but myself, and my own endeavors. Super-
[783] natural powers do not come from anywhere. They do not exist at all. The blessings I had received were not holy and I am not holy.

[1] He is evidently referring to the spirit home of the Hawk's, or Those-who-my-the-lodge.

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796 (a) Speeches of welcome: When the leader of the east band enters
756 after the ancestor host has begun the ceremony (IV, b), he addresses
537 the latter as follows: "It was good of you to condescend to invite me
576 to this dance. I am a poor pitiable man and you believed me to be a medicine man. However, I know you will show me the true manner of living, which I thought I possessed, but which I in reality did not." In this strain he continues, weaving into his speech references to the ritual connected with his band and offering thanks for the beautiful weather (should it be a clear day). In concluding he thanks all again, and informs them that he will sing a song. With slight alterations the leaders of the other bands address the ancestor host similarly. The ancestor host's answer of welcome is as follows: "Whatever I desired you have done for me. All night have you stayed with me and by your presence helped me in the proper performance of this ceremony. I am ready with a dancing song, and when I have finished and sit down I shall pass to you tobacco and other means of blessing (the gourds and the drum). All who are present do I greet."

(b) Speeches of acceptation: After the ancestor host has been presented with food he thanks the donors as follows: "You have had pity on me. You have been good to me and have given me to the full whatever I desired. You have filled my heart with the blessing of thankfulness. In return I give you a blessing. Here is some food for you. It is not anything special, nor is it as much as it ought to be, and I know you will remain hungry. It was prepared for the spirits of the four quarters (whom you represent), but it is lacking in all those qualities which would have made it acceptable to them. Such as it is, however, may its presentation be a means of blessing to you."

796 (c) Speech of presentation: East presents the food to the ancestor
756 host with the following words: "I have not very much to tell you,
537 because I am too poor, but our ancestors told us to give you food. This little that I give is all that I can, being a person of so little importance."

(d) Explanatory speeches: These are of so specific a nature that no single one can be considered typical.

(e) Speeches of admonition: "Nephew, now I shall tell you the path you must walk, the life you must lead. This is the life Hare obtained for us. This is the only kind of life—this that our ancestors followed. Listen to me. If you will always help yourself, then you
[867] will attain to the right life. Never do anything wrong. Never steal, never tell an untruth, and never fight. If you meet a woman on the left side of the road, turn to the right. Never accost her nor speak familiarly with a person whom you are not permitted thus to address. If you do all these things, then you will be acting correctly. This is what I desire of you."

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Even if a feaster gets satiated, he must continue to eat until everything is finished. They tell one another that it is not good for any one to fail (and leave any food). Whatever food there is they must finish it all. All that is cooked must they eat. 796x 539x 264

### Continuation of the Basic Ritual

Then the one who was called upon for the first kettle thanked them and said: 796x 539x

*Speech of first guest.*—"Councilors[105] and relatives who are seated here, I greet you all. As many war-bundle owners as are seated here, I greet you all. The councilors of the clans have enjoined upon us earnestly to offer up sincere prayers to all the different spirits who are seated here (in the persons of the guests). It is good that our war-bundle owners offer up prayers in this way. It is for this reason that we are still living. Some of us can not accomplish much in that line and that is why so many of us are gone already (i. e., are dead). This ritual was made for one who is the very greatest of all the spirits, for whom they have offered tobacco and food and offerings of buckskin. Thus they have done. Earthmaker, who dwells above, they have asked for war power and life. Indeed, how would it be possible for (the spirits) not to take cognizance and accept (these offerings).[106] If we follow the preaching (of our host), life (we will obtain); life we will feel ourselves in connection with through the holy food that they (the host and the members of his band) have offered up. We have (had the honor too) of impersonating the spirits, I and my relatives. The meal likewise was excellent. It is good that they have brought us in connection with so much life and it is to thank them that I am saying this. That one of their ancestors whom they called grandfather (and whose place I am taking) was not one to speak foolishly, it is said, and still his place they thought of for me (unworthy as I am). They have given me (the part) of a councilor of their own clan and (the privilege) of impersonating a spirit. It is good. Earthmaker they have prayed to. [776 782]

I greet him. To the enjoiner (host) I send my greetings; to all the war-bundle owners who are seated here, I send forth my greetings.

Then the second one who was called upon for a kettle gets ready to thank them and says:

*Speech of second guest.*—"Host and relatives, as many as are seated here, I send forth my greetings to you. War-bundle owners that

[105] The word means, literally, "enjoiners" and refers to the injunctions and instructions the elder people give to the young. [867]

[106] I. e., the offerings are so wonderful that the spirits would have to be blind not to see them. This and the following sentences are formulae compliments always paid to the host by the invited guests.

## §7. *The Teachings of My Father*

*159 My father used to keep up the old habit of teaching
[867] us the customs of the Winnebago. He would wake
[593] us up early in the morning and, seated around the fire-
place, speak to us. The girls would be taught sepa-
[562] rately. Now this is what my father told me:

721
787
### I

*159 My son, when you grow up, see to it that you are of
867 some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in
[785] which you can aid them and that is by fasting. Our
[776] grandfather, the Fire, he who stands at all times in the
[372] center of our dwelling, sends forth all kinds of blessings.
Be sure that you make an attempt to obtain his.

My son, do you remember to have our grandfathers, the
*159 war chiefs,[14] bless you. See to it that they have compassion
776 upon you. Then some day as you travel along the road of
867 life, you will know what to do and encounter no obstacles.
787 Without any effort will you then be able to gain the prize
721 you desire. The honor will be yours to glory in, yours
without exertion. All the disposable war-blessings belong
to our grandfathers, the war-controllers, and if reverently
you fast and thirst yourself to death, then these will be
bestowed upon you. Yet if you do not wear out your feet
in frequent journeyings to and fro, if you do not blacken
your face with charcoal, it will be all for naught that you

[195] [14] Symbolical name for all those spirits who were supposed to be in control of war powers.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



inflict this suffering upon yourself. Not without constant effort are these blessings procurable. Try to have one of the spirits created by Earthmaker take pity on you. Whatever he says will come about. If you do not possess one of the spirits from whom to obtain strength and power, you will be of no consequence socially and those around you will show you little respect. Indeed they will jeer at you.

My son, it is not good to die in the village; in your homes. Above all, do not let women journey to the spirit land ahead of you. It is not done. To prevent this from happening do we speak to our sons and encourage them to fast. Some day in life you will find yourself traveling along a road filled with obstacles and then you will wish you had fasted. When such an event confronts you, that you may not find it necessary to reproach yourself, I counsel you to fast. If you have not obtained any knowledge from the spirits, why it may happen that some day, in later life, warriors will be returning from the warpath and as they distribute the war prizes to their sisters,[18] your own sisters will stand there empty-handed envying the rest. But if you obtain blessings from the war-controllers, your sisters will be happy. How proud they will be to receive the prizes, to wear them, and to dance the victory dance! Your sisters too will be strengthened thereby and you will be content and happy.

Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to

[18] Among the Winnebago a man's sisters, especially his elder sisters, were very highly respected and all war prizes, such as wampum-belts, wampum necklaces, etc., were always given to them whenever a man returned from a successful war-party in which he had secured some honor. These war honors were of various kinds. The greatest was considered to be the feat of having struck the body of a dead enemy first.

## Crashing Thunder

701 Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to
* 159 be a leader of men. To become one, however, is very
● 867 difficult, the old people used to say. It may happen that
787 you merely pretend to be a leader of men, that you are but
a mere warrior in the ranks and yet take it upon yourself to
[686] lead a war-party and thus cause a needless waste of life,
that you do what is called "throwing away a life." That
is the most shameful of all acts. The relatives of the person
[627] whom you have thus sacrificed would then have the right
to make you suffer, to torture you with burning embers.
And then your relatives would have to stand by, sad and
humiliated. Not with the blessing of one, not with the
blessings of twenty spirits, can you go on the warpath.
* 159 For that the blessings of all the spirits are necessary—those
867 on this earth, those under it and those who lie pinned
776 through it, the Island Weights; those in the waters and
787 those on the side of the earth, the winds, all four of them.
You need the blessings of the spirit who dispenses life from
one side of his body and death from the other, the blessings of the Sun, the Moon, the Daylight, and the Earth.
All these Earthmaker has made controllers of war and by
787 all these must you be blessed in order to lead a war-party.
* 159 My son, if you cast off your dress for many people, that
867 is, if you give to the needy, your people will be benefited
[135] by your deeds. It is good thus to be honored by many
people. And even more will they honor you if you return
victorious from the warpath with one of the four limbs, that
[554] is, one of the four war honors. But if you obtain two, or
three, or perhaps even four limbs, then all the greater will
be the honor. Then whenever a war feast is given you will
receive part of the deer that is boiled, either part of its
000 body or part of the head.[18] When on some other occasion,

[18] The meat of a deer at such a feast is given only to great warriors. The head is regarded as the choicest piece.

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787
When on some other occasion 159*
such as the Four Nights' Wake, you are called upon to 867
recount your war exploits in behalf of the departed souls, [765]
be careful, however, not to claim more than you actually
accomplished. If you do, you will cause the soul of the [775]
man in whose behalf you are telling it, to stumble [17] in his
journey to spirit land. If you tell a falsehood then and
exaggerate, you will die before your time, for the spirits, [577]
the war-controllers, will hear you. It is indeed a sacred
duty to tell the truth on such an occasion. Tell less than
you did. The old men say it is wiser.

My son, it is good to die on the warpath. If you die on [721]
the warpath, you will not lose consciousness at death. You [775]
will be able to do what you please with your soul and it will
always remain in a happy condition. If afterwards you
wish to become reincarnated as human being, you may
do so, or you may take the form of those-who-walk-upon-
the-light, the birds, or the form of any animal you please,
in short. All these benefits will you obtain if you die on
the warpath.

## II

My son, if you cannot obtain war-blessings, fast at least 159*
for position in life. If you fast then, when you get married 867
you will get along well. You will then not have to worry 785
about your having children and your life will be a happy 787
one. If you fast and have the spirits bless you with all that
concerns the happiness of your home, then throughout life

[17] According to Winnebago belief the soul of a deceased individual in his journey to spirit land must cross a very slippery, swinging bridge and it is thought that if, during the wake following the man's burial, any of the invited warriors exaggerate their achievements the unfortunate soul will not be able to cross this bridge and will stumble and fall into the abyss of fire over which it is thrown. [775]

* 159 you will never be in need of anything. Fast for the food
● 867 you are to receive. If you fast frequently enough for these
785 things then some day when your children ask for food they
787 will be able to obtain a piece of deer meat without difficulty; they may indeed be able to obtain a piece of moose meat. It lies within your power to prevent your children from ever going hungry.

* 159 Now again, my son, let me enjoin you. Do not abuse
867 your wife. Women are sacred. If you make your wife
593 suffer, then you will die in a short time. Our grandmother
[562] Earth is a woman, and in abusing your wife you are abusing
[776] her. Most certainly will you be abusing your grandmother if you act thus. Since after all it is she who is taking care of us, by your action you will be practically killing yourself.

* 159 When you have your home, see to it that whoever enters
867 your lodge obtain something to eat, no matter how little
574 you yourself may have. Such food will be a source of death to you if withheld. If you are stingy about giving food, some one might kill you in consequence; some one may poison you. If you ever hear of a stranger passing through your country and you want to see him, prepare food for him and have him brought to you. In this manner
[577] you will be doing good and it is always good to do good, it is said.

* 159 If you see a helpless old person, help him if you have
867 anything at all. If you happen to possess a home take him
588 there, and feed him, for he may suddenly make uncomplimentary remarks about you.[18] You will be strengthened thereby. Or perhaps when he comes, he may bring with
[578] him under his arms a medicine bundle, something he cher-

[18] It is considered exceedingly bad form for a guest to admire anything in the house he is visiting.
[574] [576]

## *The Teachings of My Father*

ishes very much and which he will offer you. If it is a 159*
bulb-medicine keep it to protect your house. Your home 867●
will never then be molested by anything evil and nothing [888]
evil will enter your house, neither bad spirits, ghosts, dis- [798]
ease, nor unhappiness. Now such will be your life if you
do as I tell you. Witches will keep away from you. Thus [754]
by fasting will you benefit yourself and your fellowmen. [085]

You know that Earthmaker created all the spirits, those
that live above the earth, those who live on the earth, those 159*
who live under the earth, those who live in the water—all 773
these he created and placed in control of powers. Even 776
the minor spirits Earthmaker placed in control of something. In this fashion he created them and after that, he created us and because we were created last and no further powers were left, he could not put us in control of anything. Then, however, did Earthmaker create a weed and this he
placed us in control of. He further told us that none of [276]
the spirits he had created would have the power to take this weed away from us without giving us something in exchange. He told us that if we offered him a pipeful of this weed, which we call tobacco, he too would grant us whatever we asked for. Now it so happened that all the spirits came to long for this weed as intensely as they longed for anything in creation and for that reason if, at
any time, with tobacco in our hands we make our prayer [782]
to the spirits, they will take pity upon us and bestow upon us the blessings which Earthmaker gave them. Indeed so it is, for Earthmaker created it thus.

Fast, my son. If you are blessed by the spirits and then 159*
blow your breath upon people who are ill, they will become 756
well. Thus will you help your fellowmen. If you can cure 787
any of your fellowmen of disease, then you will be of even 867
more than ordinary help to them. If you can draw dis-

*159 ease from out the body, people will greatly respect you.
756 If then you happen to be without work, all that you need
787 for your support they will give you. For as long a time as
you live they will do this for you. After your death people
867 will speak about your deeds for all time. During your life-
time they will say, "Yes, he really has power."

778 If you are not able to fast, do at least try to obtain some
824 power from those individuals who know the virtues and
powers of certain plants. It is sad enough, of course, if
you will have to admit to yourself that you could not obtain
blessings during fasting; but if you could not, at least try
to have those who possess the plants I have mentioned, take
pity on you. If they take pity on you, they will present
you with one of the good plants that give life to man.
Now it will not suffice for you to possess merely one plant.
You should try to obtain all those plants that grow among
the hairy covering of our grandmother, the Earth—all those
that give us life—until you have a complete medicine
bundle. Then will you truly have reason to feel encouraged.

Some of the medicine men, the shamans, were blessed
[nnc] by the waterspirits.[19] If you wish to obtain really powerful
blessings and gain the power of curing many people, you
will have to fast a long time and sincerely. If four, or
say ten, of the truly powerful spirits bless you, then some
day when you have children and anything happens to one
of them, you will not have to look around for a medicine
man, but all you will have to do will be to look into your
own medicine bundle. Search there and you will undoubt-

[19] Waterspirits are mythical animals generally described as having
[nnb] the shape of a lynx or wild-cat and provided with long tails that
completely encircle their bodies. Their gifts to man are ambivalent
and it depends upon the man whether he cares to make good or
bad medicines from their bodies. Their so-called "bones" generally
consist of semi- or completely fossilized objects.

Search there and you will undoubt-
edly be able to find the medicines necessary for curing your 159 *
children. Indeed after a while you will be called upon to 756
cure your fellow men. Then you can open your medicine 867
bundle without embarrassment, for you will have the knowledge necessary for treating the sick. You will know where the disease is lodged and your treatment will be successful, for it was only after the greatest efforts on your part that you succeeded in obtaining the requisite blessings. If you declare to the patient that he will live, then he will live. If you make proper offerings to the medicine and speak to [782] your medicine in the proper manner, it will exert all the [778] power it possesses to cure the patient. Now you must make good offerings to these medicines; you must give many feasts in their honor and then if, in addition, you address them as if they were human beings, they assuredly will help you and do what you ask. You may accordingly accept the payments offered to you by your patients in good conscience and your children will wear these payments in the form of wampum necklaces and thus gain renewed strength. They will be well and happy. These are the reasons why I want you to be extremely careful in your attitude. Medicines are good for all purposes; that is why [773] they were given to us. Earthmaker gave them to us so that [755] we could cure ourselves from disease.

If any one tries to obtain these staffs of life, these medicines and inflicts sufferings upon himself in acquiring them, [787] then assuredly will our grandmother Earth have cognizance of it. She knows all that you have lost in obtaining them and in the long run what you have lost, will be returned to you. You made your offerings for the [577] future and it is good for people to look forward to their future.

Say, you wish to obtain the paint medicine. For that you

## *Crashing Thunder*

Say, you wish to obtain the paint medicine. For that you
*159 would have to put yourself in the most abject condition
787 before the spirits. If you smear yourself with your paint
789 medicine it will irresistibly attract the enemy; it will
867 paralyze him, deprive him of all power of movement and
utterly overpower him. Keep it in your home and then
you will never be in want of riches. People will give you
their most valued possessions owing to the influence of this
paint medicine. The paint medicine is made from the
[776] blood of the waterspirits and that is why it is so holy.
People obtain it by fasting and thirsting themselves to
death and then receiving a blessing from the waterspirit.
Earthmaker placed the waterspirits in possession of these
powers so that they could then, in turn, bestow them
on us.

*159 Some people succeeded in obtaining a medicine that will
780 enable a person to outdistance another in running. It might
759 perhaps be well for you to learn something about this.
867 There are medicines to be used in courting; medicines to
prevent married people from separating; medicines for get-
ting rich; medicines for causing people to become crazy.
Should you, for instance, wish to make a person feel very
sad at heart, then you can poison him with this last-named
medicine and even make him crazy. It is also possible to
make a woman who has refused you become a harlot, for
this medicine will make her fall in love with every man
she sees. Indeed any kind of medicine you desire can you
obtain from certain individuals. Some are acquainted with
medicines that put one to sleep, others with those that keep
one awake and give one insomnia. Some have medicines
enabling one to overcome the viciousness of dogs who are
put to watch over women; others again have medicines
that make people single out the possessor in a crowd.
Every one will look at him and consider him a great man.

## *The Teachings of My Father*

There are medicines to prevent people from getting tired 159 *
when walking and medicines to cause a dog fight to take 789
place. In short there are medicines for everything. 867 ●

Every one must take care of himself and try to obtain
that knowledge which will enable him to live in comfort and 159 *
happiness. Try therefore to learn about the things you will 597
need. If you know them, then as you travel along in life, 867
you will not have to go to the expense of buying them from others, but you will have your own medicines. If you act in this way and if, in addition, you fast properly, you will never be caught off guard in life. Should you possess a home, it will look beautiful and you will never be in want. That is why I know you will never regret this that I am telling you. So you shall travel on your journey though life, along the virtuous road taken by all your fellowmen, [626] and your actions and behavior will never become the butt of your neighbor's sarcasm.

Help yourself as you travel along the road of life. The earth has many narrow passages scattered over it. If you have something with which to strengthen yourself, then when you get to these narrow turns you will be able to pass through them safely and your fellow men will respect you. See to it that people like you. Be on friendly terms with every one and then every one will like you. You will be happy and prosperous.

Never do any wrong to your children. Whatever your [593] children ask of you, do it for them. If you act thus people will then say that you are good natured.

If any one in the village loses a friend through death, should you at all be wealthy, cover the expenses of the funeral of the deceased, if you can. Help the mourners likewise in defraying the expenses of feeding the departed. If you act thus, you will do well. All the people you have

*159 helped will then really know what kind of a man you are.
577 For the good you do people will love you.

● 867 It is not good to win at gambling. You may possibly
[525] become rich thereby but that is no life to lead. If you are blessed with luck in cards, if you are blessed with luck at gambling, you will perhaps win things and have plenty of wealth, but none of your children will live.

Now if you do all that I have told you, you will lead a happy and prosperous life. That is why we Winnebago preach to a child we love so that it should never become acquainted with the things that are not right, and never do anything wrong. Then if, in later life, a person does anything wrong, he will do it with a clear knowledge of the consequences of his actions.

## III

*159 My son, when you get married, do not make an idol of
581 the woman you marry; do not worship her. If you worship
867 a woman she will insist upon greater and greater worship as
562 time goes on. This is what the old people used to say.
593 They always preached against those men who hearken too strongly to the words of women; who are the slaves of women. Now it may happen that a man has received many warnings as to his behavior in this regard and that he pays no attention to them. It may go so far that when he is asked to attend a war-bundle feast[20] he will refuse to go; it may be that when he is married he will listen to the voice

[026] [20] The war-bundle feast was the great war ceremony of the Winne-
[096] bago. It was given by all those individuals who possessed a war-
[614] bundle and since theoretically there was only one war-bundle in each
[016] clan, the basis of the organization of the ceremony was the clan. The ceremony consisted largely of prayers, songs and speeches in honor of the spirits more definitely associated with war. For each

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of his wife and refuse to go on a warpath. He might as well have been brought up as a girl. Men who are real men perform the deeds of men, but such a man will never perform a real man's deed. If he should actually attend a war-bundle feast he will be given the leanest piece of meat, only given to a man of no account. Why should any one run the risk of being thus jeered at? Now when a really brave man attends a war-bundle feast he is given a deer's head. This other man gets a lean piece! It will dry up in his throat, so humiliated and disgraced will he feel. After a while he will not be allowed to go to any feast; his wife will not let him. He will listen to the voice of his wife. His relatives will scold him, his sisters will think nothing of him. They will tell people never to go to visit him. Finally when he has become a real slave of his wife he will even hit his relatives if she asks him to. It is for these reasons that I warn you not to listen to women. You will be considered different from others. It is not good.

Remember this too, that women cannot be watched. If you try to watch them and are jealous about them, then your female relatives will also be jealous of them. Finally when your jealousy has developed to the highest pitch, your wife will leave you and run away with some one else. You have allowed her to see by your actions that you worship a woman, and one alone, and, in addition, you have been watching her all the time. Because of this incessant annoyance she will run away from you. If you think that

of these spirits, a buckskin decorated with the symbol sacred to the spirit, was prepared and then at the most dramatic moment of the ceremony these buckskins were thrown out of the ceremonial lodge and it was believed that the spirits came down in person to fetch them. The war-bundle feast was specifically a man's ceremony.

*159 your wife is the only one to love, you have humbled yourself
[581] and she will be taken from you. You have likewise made
●867 the woman suffer; you have made her unhappy. The whole
562 world will hear about it. No other woman will want to
593 marry you and you will have the reputation of being a
bad man.

[577] Now you may act in the following way: You see people
[921] starting on a warpath and you join them knowing that it
is an honor to die on the warpath. But you will join them
because you feel unhappy at your wife's flight. Now this
is not the proper way to act. You are throwing away your
life; you are causing the leader of the war-party to throw
away a life. If you want to go on the warpath, do not go
because your wife has been taken away from you, go
because you feel courageous enough to do so.

It is on the warpath that a man has fun! Do not go,
[785] however, unless you have fasted adequately. You must
[926] fast for each specific warpath. If you do not and yet
join a war-party, then in the midst of the fight, a bullet
will come your way and kill you. That will happen because
you did not fast. If you have performed any deeds of
valor, recount them to your sisters and to your sister's
children. Those in charge of war-bundles are good to
listen to in such matters. Those to whom such people give
advice will eat an excellent dish; they will have the
[554] honor of sitting near a great warrior in the middle of the
lodge.

*159 These are the things of which the old people spoke and
this also is the advice I give you. I myself never asked
867 for these things, but my father did. Your grandfather
577 did. He asked for the information relating to the manner
in which people are to behave. Never, when you are older,
should you allow yourself to get in the predicament of not

## *The Teachings of My Father*

knowing what is the right thing to do. Ask for this instruction, my son. It is not a matter requiring a few moments; it is something that must be thoroughly learned. You, too, must learn it. 159 * 867 ● 577

To a girl the following was told:

My daughter, as you travel along the path of life, listen to your parents. Do not let your mother work. Attend to the wants of your father. All the work in the house belongs to you. Do not shirk it. Chop wood, pack it; look after the gardens; gather the vegetables and cook them. When you come back to the village in the spring, plant your fields immediately. Never get lazy, for Earthmaker created you to do these things. 867 593 [962] [221]

My daughter, when you get your menses, do not ask those in the house to give you any food. Fast and do not eat until you get back to the family lodge. If you act thus, you will be fasting for your seat, for your position in life. You can only keep this seat by fasting. Then when you marry, even if your husband has been a good-for-nothing before, he will become a good hunter. You will have accomplished this for him. You will not fail in anything and you will be happy and contented. If, on the contrary, you do not do as I tell you, then when you marry, you will weaken your husband. After a while he will become sickly and it will be your fault. [841] [785]

It is not good to use medicine. If you marry a man and place medicine upon his head, you will weaken him and he will not amount to anything. It may happen that you do not want your husband to leave you and that after reflecting on the matter, you place some medicine on his head, to prevent him from leaving you. This is not good. You 867 593 832

867 will be ruining a man. It is equivalent to killing him. Do
593 not do it. It is forbidden. If you marry a man and want
832 to live with him permanently, work for him in order to hold him. When you marry a man, listen to what he says. If you do your work properly and the man likes you, he will never leave you. By working for him must you make your husband love you. Now remember it is not good to use medicines on him. At least before you are fairly mature in years do not use any, for you will thereby merely weaken yourself and your life will be of no consequence. Indeed you may cause the medicine to work on yourself and then become demented in consequence.

867 Marry only one man at a time. Be good and virtuous
581 in your married life. If you do not listen to what I am
[626] telling you, you will become bad and men will make fun of you. They will do whatever they wish with you; joke with you familiarly on any subject. If you do not listen to me you will injure yourself. Thus did the old people
867 speak to one another and thus did they hand down these precepts from one generation to another, warning young girls against committing wrong actions. They also said that when a girl is growing up, one should admonish her and that is why I am now speaking to you.

867 As you grow older, when you get to be a young woman,
584 the men will begin to court you. Never hit a man. It is
[683] forbidden. If you dislike a man very much tell him to go away gently. If instead, you hit him, remember that fre-
[154] quently young men possess certain injurious medicines which they may use against you. Even if a particular person does not possess them, he knows where to get them. Then this man whom you have humiliated, will use it and transform you from a chaste and nice woman to a loose one, to a harlot. That is why the old people used to warn

the young girls not to maltreat a man. Hope with all your heart that you do not fall into such a predicament. I really mean what I say. 867 584

Do not be haughty with your husband. Do whatever he says. Kindness will be returned to you and he will treat you in the same way as you treat him. 867 593

If you have a child and it is naughty, do not strike it. In olden times when a child was naughty, the parents did not strike it, but instead made the child fast. Then when he is quite hungry he will reflect upon his disobedience. If you hit the child you will merely be putting more naughtiness in him. It has also been said that mothers should not lecture their children, that they merely make them bad by admonishing them. If your husband scolds them, do not take their part for then they will become bad indeed. If a stranger makes your children cry, do not speak to the stranger in your children's presence and take their part, If you wish to take the children's part, prevent such a thing from happening and keep your children home, and there at home, take good care of them and think of the best means of letting your children get to know you. When you are bringing up children, do not imagine you are taking their part if you just speak about loving them. Let them see it for themselves. Let them see what love is by observing you give things away to the poor. Then they will see your good deeds and then they will know whether you have been speaking the truth or not. 867 [861] 593 858 [935]

Do not show your love for other children so that other people notice it. Love them but let your love for them be different from your love for your own. The children of other people are different from your own and if they were to be taken to some other place they would become estranged from you; they would no longer belong to you.

867 You can, however, always depend upon the love of your own
593 children because they are of your own body. Love them
858 therefore.

If you do not have any real interest in your husband's
867 welfare and affairs, then you will be to him like any other
593 woman. People will ridicule you. On the other hand, if you pay more attention to your husband than to your parents, if you listen to him more than to them, that will be equivalent to deserting them. Let your husband keep your parents and take good care of them for they depend upon him. Your parents saw to it that you married him and
[583] they expect you to make some return for this as well as for the fact that they raised you.

867 Do not hurt the feelings of your relatives, the old people
[602] used to say. If you hurt their feelings you will make your brothers-in-law feel ashamed of themselves on account of the evil things you say about them.

Never desire to have any other man than your husband
[837] when you are married. Have only one husband. Do not give any one the right to call you a prostitute.

867 The old people said, "Never hit your relatives." You
602 may be on bad terms with one of them, for instance, and he may die. Then people will say that you used to quarrel with the deceased when he was alive. They may even claim that you are overjoyed at his death, that you want to dance with joy. Then indeed will your heart be sore and you will think to yourself how best you can make amends. Even should you have a performance of the Medicine Dance given in his honor, if you wish to bury him with honor, even then people will say, "What does all this mean? She used to be partial and jealous when he was alive. Now that he is dead she loves him! She should not do such things. She is merely wasting her wealth. She need

## *The Teachings of My Father*

not have spent so much." Thus will people speak of you. 867
Then indeed will your heart ache to its very depths. Per- 602
haps you will even get angry when people say these things to you. It is to prevent this from happening that the old people used to say, "Love one another." If you have always loved a person then when he dies you will have the right to feel sorry. All your relatives will love you; indeed every one will love you. If you behave like a true woman you will be beloved by all and then if you meet with some crisis in life, all will turn their hearts to you in your trouble.

It will be good for you if you conduct yourself in the way I have just told you. That is what I wish you to do. In your own home you have doubtless been instructed in all the domestic work, your part in hunting, and in the work around the camp. If you learn about all these matters then some day when you visit your husband's relatives you will not find yourself in an embarrassing position from which you cannot extricate yourself. When you are visiting your husband's people do not walk around in a haughty [602] manner. Do not act as if you were far above them. Try to get them to like you. If they like you they will put you in charge of their camp.

Never think a home is yours unless you make one yourself. If you are living with people and have put them in charge of your household, do not behave as though the home were still yours.

[P. 73]

## §22. *We Kill a Pottawattomie*

*159 588 837 I never married any woman permanently. I would live with one for awhile, and then with another. Sometimes upon my return after an absence I would find my temporary wife living with another man. This is the way in which I acted.

*159 787 721 My father had brought me up and had encouraged me to fast, so that I might be blessed by all the spirits that exist, and thus live in comfort. My father had raised me so that I should desire to obtain war honors,[28] so that I should not be like one who wears skirts. That was the reason he had me join the Medicine Dance so [624] that people should not be able to ridicule me. My father taught me to lead a sober and sane life and my ● [867] grandfather, during the time I lived with him, had told me the same. They both encouraged me to give feasts and to ask the spirits for war honors.

*159 721 At that time I had a comrade, and one day he said to me, "We have been thinking of something, have we not, friend? We ought to try and obtain some external emblem of our bravery. Do we not always try to wear feathers at a Warrior Dance? Well, then, let us try

[28] These war honors were the following: touching the body of a [554] slain enemy first, killing an enemy, touching the body second, touching it third, stealing a horse. All of them entitled the possessor [301] to wear an eagle feather in his hair.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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Creator sits. The first thing that they did to me was this: They took 159
me to a lodge at night; there they talked and sang. Then the second 756
night the tobacco bundles were made; then the great old medicine men were given tobacco. After this came the four nights' preparation. Then came the great medicine dance. Then they went after those that were going to join, one at a time. They, the medicine men, were repeating what the Hare had done. When the Hare came on earth he performed certain actions, and that is what they were repeating now. Hare had visited the different spirits, it is said, looking for a means of life, it is said. The old medicine men possessed the good tidings that Hare had brought to this earth. That is what the people desired of Hare, it is said.

When they entered, the first person to whom tobacco had been given, i. e., the one first invited, entered first. Then the others followed in turn. Then he talked; then the one who initiated me expressed his thanks, saying, "You medicine men, this affair the Hare has given you, you are repeating in order to bless us. For that reason you have come. We ask you to give to this person whom we are about to initiate the life you have obtained for us. We ask that the newly initiated one travel along that road."

Then the first person spoke, and after that they all ate. When he was through they heated a stone. After that they all entered in regular order and I was asked to go in with them. Thus I entered the sweat-bath lodge. When I was inside they told me that the stone which they had heated was a spirit. "The life that he brought I should ask for," they told me. After that we went out again.

At night we entered again. Then at about 2 o'clock they took 159
me out to the brush. Not until then was I to learn what the medicine 756
men really did. When we got to the brush they made me sit down 881
and the man who was initiating me turned me over to the others. 868
He said, "I turn him over to you. Whatever the elders have taught you, that we desire you to tell him." When he finished the first one began to talk, saying, "It is good that you are such a person. Earthmaker must have willed it so. In the olden times if a person wanted to join the medicine lodge he could not do it until he was quite old." Then he continued preaching to me. When Earthmaker first came into the world and what happened after that, how he created all things: that he told me. He told me that Earthmaker created four worlds, in each of which he placed men and women; that the heavens we see represent the last man he created and the earth we are living on the last woman he created. Then he told how *Herecgunina* was created. The story is as follows: Earth- [773]
maker created man, whom he wished to put at the head of the world, but he did not make one of his legs quite right. Then he threw him down to the earth because when Earthmaker made anything wrong

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159 he never did it over again. *Hereguninn* lived on earth from that
756 time on, and it is said that he also created things. Indeed, it is said
881 that he was almost the equal of the Earthmaker. He made the people
868 very miserable. Then Earthmaker sent four of his sons (to save the
773 people). Hare alone, of all the four, accomplished what he had been sent out for. All the rest failed. Hare obtained life for the people upon this earth.

Then the man told how the medicine lodge had been founded; how all the spirits upon the earth and all those under the earth and all those above the earth gathered together. They brought life with them. Then the medicine bags began to come. First came the eagle. He came from above. Next came the hawk, and then the squirrel, etc. The otter was the last one. Then the old man stopped talking to me and another person began to admonish me. He told me how I was to conduct myself. Then he spoke to me of the medicine-lodge road (i. e., of life) and what happens after life.

159 The first thing that I would meet on the road would be bad birds
756 making a lot of noise. "Do not look at them," he told me. They
868 would let fly at me bad-smelling saliva and phlegm, but I was not
776 to turn around, he said. Then the road would become thickly covered with thorn bushes. It would seem almost impossible to untangle them. I was, however, not to pay any attention to them, he told me. On the road, fires would send their sparks toward me, but I was to pay no attention to them. After a while I would lose one of my relatives, but I was to keep right on. I was not to get angry nor to give up, and after a while the road would become thickly covered with poplars growing on each side. Then the hair on my temples would become gray. This is what would happen to me, he told me, if I paid close attention to this ceremony. After a while it would become foggy (i. e., my eyesight would grow dim. Then I would come to a hill, one of four hills. When I came to the last hill there I would see red cedar trees. This is what would happen to me if I paid close attention to this ceremony, he told me. My soul would return to Earthmaker and I would then be allowed to come back to this earth if I wanted to.

159 Then they gave me the object with which they shot themselves
756 the shell. They shot me. After that they made me try to do it,
796 and when I was able to shoot well, we all came back. It was now
881 daylight. Now they put clothes on themselves and arose. Those who were initiating me then spread upon the ground the things which had been brought. Then the leader spoke. He told me that he would put me on the medicine-dance road. Then they sat me down there and shot me. Then the clothes that I had on were taken off and I was given other clothes. I was now told that I was standing on the medicine-dance road. After that they danced all day. In the evening they stopped. Now this is what I did; this is all I can say. I greet you, my friends.

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778 B. was not the eldest son, but, as mentioned before, the war bundle was always given to that son who manifested the greatest interest in it. When B. and his brothers were quite young their father took them aside one day and told them the stories connected with the war bundle and told them, in addition, that the one manifesting the [869] greatest interest would receive it. B. immediately started getting material for a feast, and this he would give to his father, who would then give a feast. This was repeated over and over again until B.'s father felt that B. knew enough about the ceremony to conduct it himself, after which he allowed him to take entire charge of it.

The war bundle contained the following objects:

The body of an eagle (traxce'p).
The body of a hawk (k'eredjụ'sep).
The body of an unidentified bird (waninḳ'hiwjteak'i'ząk'e).
The body of a pigeon hawk (k'irjk'i'risge).
A deer-tail headdress (teasinte wak'e're).
Eagle feathers (traxce'p mącõ').
Medicines (wase').
Flutes (hijõ'jụk).
War club (nama'tce).

[825] The birds' bodies were supposed to give the possessor, in times of war, the characteristics of these animals. The flutes were associated with different spirits and used to accompany certain songs during the ceremony proper. When blown during a fight, they were sup- [789] posed to paralyze the running powers of the enemy and thus make 726 him an easy prey. The deer-tail headdress, the eagle feathers, and the war club were all war paraphernalia and were always worn when on the warpath.

x 796 When the custodian of a war bundle decides to give a feast he has his nephews go out and kill as many deer as they can, for the larger the number of deer obtained the larger will be the number of spirits to whom they can make offerings. As a rule ten to eleven deer are killed, so that all the clans, or at least all that are still in existence, can be invited.

[202] After the deer have been killed active preparations are begun; the invitation sticks (nąnõ'ɣąna) are sent out, and the wood for the ceremonial lodge is gathered; and, lastly, old women who have [886] passed their climacteric are set to work on the buckskins and ordered to make them as white as possible. In the preparation of the lodge only the nephews, nieces, and wives of the participating men take part.

The night before the ceremony proper, the Sweat-Lodge ritual takes place.

When the buckskins have been thoroughly bleached they are brought into the lodge and given to the host, who proceeds to mark them in the following manner:

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 school but, instead, stayed near the old woman and did various jobs for her. There I stayed all spring.

*159 756 761 796 I had been told that if a person initiated into the Medicine Dance did not regard the affair as sacred this was a sign that he would die soon. This frightened me a good deal for I had been thinking of the whole matter in a very light-hearted fashion and I now felt that this was an indication that I would soon die. I did my best therefore to consider it a sacred ceremony. In spite of all this, however, I did not succeed.

*159 About this time I left for Tomah. It was about the middle of the summer. I stayed and lived with my grandfather and from that time on was taught by him [869] many of the details of the Medicine Dance. For instance, when I prepared a sweat-bath for him he would teach me some of the songs. I accordingly prepared the bath for him frequently. He would always be grateful and that is another of the reasons why I was glad to do it. Before long I had learned all the songs he knew so that when I was invited to a Medicine Dance I would do all the singing and he would only do the talking. From that time on I said that it was a sacred affair, and from then on I participated in the ceremony for the greatness inhering in it. I boasted of its greatness in the presence of women, in order to [156] make a good impression upon them.

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# CHAPTER VII

## SYSTEM OF EDUCATION[1]

● 871 The Winnebago seem to have had a more or less formal system of instruction. This consisted of a series of precepts on different aspects of life, such as the duty of fasting, of being a warrior, of behavior to one's parents and relatives, how to treat one's wife and women in general, how to bring up children, how to behave to strangers, etc. These formal teachings were called *hak'i'ka*[2], which means "precepts" or "teachings." Doubtless those obtained do not constitute all the different types existing, but they seem fairly representative.

### My Father's Teaching to His Sons and Daughters

#### SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION TO SON

867 My son, when you grow up you should see to it that you are of
776 some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in which you
787 can begin to be of any aid to them, and that is to fast. So, my son, see to it that you fast. Our grandfather, the fire, who stands at all times in the center of our dwelling, sends forth all kinds of blessings.[3] Be sure that you make an attempt to obtain his blessings.

My son, do you remember to have our grandfathers, the war chiefs, bless you. See to it that they pity you.[4] Some day when you go on the warpath their blessings will enable you to have specific foreknowledge of all that will happen to you on that occasion. This will likewise enable you to accomplish what you desire without the danger of anything interfering with your plans. Without the slightest trouble you will then be able to obtain the prizes of war. Without any trouble

[1] This chapter was originally intended for special publication and the notes prepared for it then have been retained.

[372] [2] The fire (*ge'ra*) is regarded as a spirit by the Winnebago. As a spirit he possesses many gifts that are of use to human beings in their sojourn on earth, and in order to obtain them, mortals must make offerings of tobacco to him. He may also appear to them during their fastings and bless them with a number of powers. In addition to his other powers, it is believed that he is the messenger of Earthmaker and the other spirits and that he transmits both the messages, as well as the offerings that mortals make to them, by means of the smoke that rises upward. The old man speaks of the fire first, because being always around them it is a comparatively easy task to make offerings to it.

[3] This is the regular expression used for blessing. The idea seems to be that through fasting and crying you are to put yourself in a "pitiable" condition and that then the spirits, seeing your state, will pity you and grant you what you have asked. The word "grandfathers" is used in the sense of ancestral spirits, the thunderbirds, who are regarded as the dispensers of war powers, not only by members of this clan but by all Winnebago.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## §12. *My Grandfather Adopts Me*

Once my father gave me away. Once on my return 159*
home I found my father talking to my grandfather 590
and after a while I saw the old man weep. He had just lost a son, a young man and the last of his children. They had all died. It was this that they were talking about. I heard my grandfather say finally that he was tired of life. Then my father, weeping, called him by his relationship term and said: "I sympathize with you for you indeed speak the truth, yet in spite of it all I wish you to live. Here is my son, my own, and of all my children the one I love best. He is obedient. He is present here listening to me. He shall be your companion and as long as you live he will take you by the hand." Thus did he speak and the old man thanked him profusely.

After that I stayed with my grandfather. He thought a great deal of me and I got along very well in every way. He was a great man, one who doctored and who [956]
had great knowledge of medicine. This he used to give to the sick. He was also a great Medicine Dance man and an old soldier.

About this time a school was built at Tomah, Wis- 159*
consin, and I wanted very badly to go to it. My grand- [871]
father consented and I went there for a winter. In the

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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### Mother-in-law and Father-in-law Taboo

In former times the mother-in-law and father-in-law taboo was in full force. No man was allowed to talk directly to his mother-in-law or to look at her, and the same rule held with regard to the attitude of a woman toward her father-in-law. Even accidental meetings of these relatives, as on the road, were attended with great embarrassment. The author never learned of any way in which either the mother-in-law or the father-in-law taboo could be relaxed even temporarily, much less done away with entirely. 606

### Puberty Customs

From the age of five, children, male and female, were taught the customs of their ancestors in a series of talks always delivered by an elderly male relative, perhaps the father. The specific training differed, of course, for boys and girls and for individuals. Personal training ceased at the age of puberty, when all, both boys and girls, were sent out to fast. For boys this fasting constituted the only puberty rite. After their faces had been blackened with charcoal they were sent to some neighboring hill with the injunction not to return till dawn. Gradually they would be sent out for two, then three, nights; if after that trial they were not blessed they would be advised either to desist entirely or exhorted to fast until they were blessed, no matter how long the time required to secure the desired result. While fasting the boys and girls used the following formula: 867 881 785 787

Waxop' inixjiwina hina'djire na°dje'je ·vahadjex. [539
Spirits am I likely to be blessed? that is why I am praying. 782]

One old Indian informed the author that in former times the young boys and girls were offered either bread or charcoal, for their fast. If they took the charcoal, well and good; but if they took the bread, they were unceremoniously kicked out of the house and the charcoal was thrown after them. From the other statements of this informant one might gather that the young boys and girls generally took the bread, because, he said, after they had been kicked out, they would always resolve to go to the wilderness (in that way running the risk of being captured or killed by an enemy), in order to spite their parents. My informant was of the opinion that the parents purposely treated their children roughly, so that they might feel all the more miserable while fasting and thus pray all the more intensely.

A faster is always told to be careful as to what kind of spirits bless him, as he might be blessed by a bad spirit. Therefore a faster's blessings are always reviewed by the elders. J.'s old grandmother used to call the children in at dusk, as the evil spirits are around then. [776]

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881 785 787 All boys do not seem to have approached the ordeal of fasting with the proper religious feeling. One instance in particular showed anything but a reverent attitude; this is so amusing that it is here given in the exact words of the Indian:

When I was a young boy, my folks made me fast together with a boy named Modudjeka. We were supposed to go to the hills and cry until the spirits blessed us. However, whenever we looked at each other and at our charcoal-blackened faces we could not refrain from bursting out laughing. Whenever we made up our minds to cry, something or other would induce us to look at each other and the laughing would begin all over again. When the time for our return to the house came, we didn't present the slightest indication of having cried, so we took some saliva and made long streaks on our faces.

Young girls and women are also encouraged to fast to obtain the war honors.

881 785 *Menstrual lodges.*—Fasting at puberty by girls was inseparably connected with their retirement to menstrual lodges. Sometimes there was only one girl in each menstrual lodge, sometimes there were as many as three. From the time of her first menstrual flow to her climacteric a woman retired to a menstrual lodge every month for a few days. 841 An excellent account of Winnebago customs in this respect was obtained in a text from a male informant, and, although somewhat discursive, it is given in full here:

As soon as a woman begins to have her menstrual flow she has to retire to a menstrual lodge and to be careful never to come in contact with any sacred objects. If she did, those objects would all lose their power. Everything that is holy would immediately lose its power if a menstruating woman came near it. A holy woman or a holy man or even a holy child would be affected by the proximity of a menstruating woman. Their holy condition would immediately disappear. In a similar way, if food were served to a sick person from the same dish used for a menstruating woman the sick person would become far more sick.

The food for a menstruating person is always cooked separately. Special dishes are used and special fireplaces are made.

If a person possessed any medicines, they would lose all their power if a menstruating woman came in contact with them. If any person should enter a menstrual lodge, in after life, whenever he fasted, he would not be blessed by any spirit. However, there is one thing that a menstruating woman is afraid of, and that is the [778] war bundle. These war bundles are kept in cedar [leaves?] mixed with medicine to prevent danger from just such a source. If a menstruating woman comes near a war bundle, her flow would increase and never cease and after a while she would die,[1] and only if the owner of the war bundle personally attends to her can she be cured. For that reason whenever a war-bundle feast is being given a woman is very careful, and even if it is a few days before her menstrual flow she will not go.

[1] This explains what puzzled the author for some time—namely, the fact that although contact with a menstruating woman destroyed the efficacy of everything holy, in the case of the war bundle the reverse was true and the woman was destroyed. Many of the Indians who spoke of this matter also seemed to believe it was the war bundle that killed the woman. From this account, however, it is perfectly clear that it is not the war bundle at all that killed the woman, but the poison in which the war bundle was wrapped. The war bundle is therefore no exception to the general rule, and it is only on account of the serious consequences that would accrue to so many people from any impairment of its powers, and the care taken to prevent this by surrounding it with special medicines, that it offers externally an exception to the fatal effects of contact with a menstruating woman.

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The menstrual lodge is never far from the lodge in which she lives. Indeed, it is within speaking distance, so that the occupants of her parents' lodge can hear her. All the utensils she uses are very small. The women stay from 4 to 10 days in the menstrual lodges. The older women stay out the shorter time because they are over it sooner. 841 343

It is said that if the young girls have any lovers they always come to the menstrual lodges at night. This is therefore the time for wooing. It is said that the girls cohabit with their lovers in these menstrual lodges. Those girls who have parents are attended by watchers, so that no unworthy men may visit them. They are especially guarded against ugly men, who are very likely to have love medicines. However, generally it is of no avail to struggle against such men, for they are invincible. [584 836] [832]

The women always take their blankets with them when they go to a menstrual lodge, for they never lie down but remain in a sitting posture, wrapped in their blankets. The women are always watched, so that when their menstrual flow comes everything is in readiness and lodge poles are placed around them and a lodge erected above their heads just about large enough to fit their body. They are not permitted to look upon the daylight nor upon any individual. If they were to look out during the day the weather would become very bad, and if they were to look at the blue sky it would become cloudy and rain. If they looked at anyone that person would become unfortunate. For four days they do not eat or drink anything; not even water do they drink. They fast all the time. Not even their own body do they touch with their hands. If they ever have any need of touching their bodies they use a stick. If they were to use their hands in touching their own body their bones would be attacked with fever. If they were to scratch their hands their heads would ache. After the fourth day they bathe in sight of their home. Then they return to their homes and eat. (This, of course, holds only for those whose menstrual flow ceases in four days.) If any women have to stay longer than four days they have to fast for that entire period. They always fast during this period and often some spirits bless them. When a woman who has stayed in the menstrual lodge for 10 days is ready to return to her lodge, she bathes herself and puts on an entirely new suit of clothes. Then her home is purified with red-cedar leaves and all the sacred bundles and medicines removed. Only then can she enter her parents' lodge. As soon as she returns to her parents' lodge after her first menstrual flow she is regarded as ready to be wooed and married. 841 [921]

Thus the teacher of our customs, the Hare, has willed it. At a feast all the young girls nearing the age of puberty will be absent, but the old women, who have passed their climacteric, sit right next to the men, because they are considered the same as men as they have no menstrual flow any more. [881 581 825 886]

If the Winnebago can be said to be afraid of any one thing it may be said it is this—the menstrual flow of women—for even the spirits die of its effects.

If the above account may be taken as a fairly accurate description of the customs connected with the menstrual lodge as they existed in former times, then one point must be regarded as of great interest, namely, that the women permitted their lovers to meet them there. So far as is known to the author, among other tribes having menstrual lodges it would have been considered a crime for any man to come near them. According to our informant the women were indeed guarded while they were in the menstrual lodges, but not so much to protect them against the intrusion of all men, as against the intrusion of unworthy men. From other information obtained, how- 831 841

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867 My son, whenever people go on the warpath go along with them.
721 It is good to die on the warpath. You may perhaps say so, because you are unhappy that your wife has left you. My son, not for such reasons, however, must you go on the warpath. You will be merely throwing away a human life. If you want to go on the warpath, do so because you feel that you are courageous enough, not because you are unhappy at the loss of your wife. If you go on the warpath you will enjoy yourself. Do not go, however, unless you have fasted,
[785] and unless you have fasted for that particular warpath. If you have not fasted and attempt nevertheless to go on the warpath, a bullet will surely seek you out and kill you. This is what will happen to you if you do not fast.

[593 If you exert yourself in fasting you will assuredly perform some brave war exploit. You must tell your sisters and sister's children
[604] and your mother's sisters all about your exploit. Remember, also,
605] that the keepers of the war-bundles can give you good advice in all that pertains to war. For their deeds they will be given a good dish of meat.[24] This they will give you to eat.

Of such things did my ancestors speak, and I would wish you to do as they did. That is why I am telling you all these things. I myself never asked for any of this instruction, but my father did. All human beings ought to ask for it. Never let anybody be in a position to puzzle you in regard to what is right. Ask for this instruction, my son, for it is not an ordinary thing. In the olden
867 times if a person loved his child very much, he would only give him instruction after he had begun fasting all day for the first time. When a young boy has just matured, those who have been preaching to him always ask him one question, namely, whether he had begun
[881] to fast. And this the young boy must always answer truthfully, for if he has begun his fast the instruction would stop. The old men do not preach to men, but only to boys.

881 (What follows is apparently an illustration of how a young man
887 asks his instructor for information of how to conduct himself in life.)
867 The young man will go to an old man and say, "Grandfather, I would like to know how I am to conduct myself in life. Bless me and if you can really give me any information, do so." Then the old man was very thankful and said, "It is good; you speak correctly." Now the one who was asking something of the old man had taken very good care of the old man's body and had led a good life. He had no scars of any kind; that is, he had never done anything shameful. The young man brought all sorts of food and placed it in the lodge of the old man. Then he also brought him a fine horse. Only then did he ask him again about the life that his ancestors had led, and what kind of a life he ought to live. He asked

[24] I. e., you will be given a position in the Water Feast and offered some of the choice pieces of meat.

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him what the old people do when they give a child a name, and 881
what they say. All these things the old man told him. "It is good," 887
he said, "for you to know these things so that if anyone comes to 867
you and asks you for information you will be able to tell them something and will not have to behave like a fool. If you are asked to give a little child a name, this little child will really be a means of increasing your power. That is why you ought to give a feast for it and smoke the child's tobacco. You must also give the child a name for his dog. Give him the name Yellow-Tree for a male dog. The name Yellow-Tree is given for the following reason. When the Thunderbirds strike at a tree it looks yellow. Just as leaves wither so do trees wither when the Thunderbirds strike them. They then begin to rot and become very much discolored. That is why they give a dog this name. If you ever have to give a dog-name for a female child call it She-Who-Stays-In-Her-Own-Place. This is all that I wish to tell you."

SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION TO DAUGHTER

This is the way the old men used to speak to the little girls: 867
My daughter, as you go along the path of life, always listen to 593
your parents. Do not permit your mother to work. Attend to your father's wants. All the work in the house belongs to you. Never be idle. Chop the wood, carry it home, look after the vege- [462]
tables and gather them, and cook the food. When in the spring of the year you move back to your permanent settlements, plant your fields immediately. Never get lazy. Earthmaker created you [221]
for these tasks.

When you have your menses, do not ask those in your lodge to give you any food, but leave the lodge and fast and do not begin [841]
eating again until you return to your own lodge. Thus will you help yourself. If you always fast, when you marry, even if your husband had amounted to nothing before, he will become an excel- [785]
lent hunter. It will be on account of your fasting that he will have changed so much. You will never fail in anything and you will always be well and happy. If, on the contrary, you do not do as I tell you—that is, if you do not fast—when you marry he will become very weak, and this will be due to you. Finally he will get very sick.

My daughter, do not use medicine. If you marry a man and 867
place medicine on his head he will become very weak and will not 593
amount to anything. It may be that you do not want to have your 832
husband leave you and this may induce you to use medicine to keep him. Do not do that, however, for it is not good. You will be ruining a man. It is the same as killing him. Do not do it, for it is forbidden. If you marry a man and you want to be certain of always retaining him, work for him. With work you will always

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Creator sits. The first thing that they did to me was this: They took 159
me to a lodge at night; there they talked and sang. Then the second 756
night the tobacco bundles were made; then the great old medicine men were given tobacco. After this came the four nights' preparation. Then came the great medicine dance. Then they went after those that were going to join, one at a time. They, the medicine men, were repeating what the Hare had done. When the Hare came on earth he performed certain actions, and that is what they were repeating now. Hare had visited the different spirits, it is said, looking for a means of life, it is said. The old medicine men possessed the good tidings that Hare had brought to this earth. That is what the people desired of Hare, it is said:

When they entered, the first person to whom tobacco had been given, i. e., the one first invited, entered first. Then the others followed in turn. Then he talked; then the one who initiated me expressed his thanks, saying, "You medicine men, this affair the Hare has given you, you are repeating in order to bless us. For that reason you have come. We ask you to give to this person whom we are about to initiate the life you have obtained for us. We ask that the newly initiated one travel along that road."

Then the first person spoke, and after that they all ate. When he was through they heated a stone. After that they all entered in regular order and I was asked to go in with them. Thus I entered the sweat-bath lodge. When I was inside they told me that the stone which they had heated was a spirit. "The life that he brought I should ask for," they told me. After that we went out again.

At night we entered again. Then at about 2 o'clock they took 159
me out to the brush. Not until then was I to learn what the medicine 756
men really did. When we got to the brush they made me sit down 881
and the man who was initiating me turned me over to the others. 868
He said, "I turn him over to you. Whatever the elders have taught you, that we desire you to tell him." When he finished the first one began to talk, saying, "It is good that you are such a person. Earthmaker must have willed it so. In the olden times if a person wanted to join the medicine lodge he could not do it until he was quite old." Then he continued preaching to me. When Earthmaker first came into the world and what happened after that, how he created all things: that he told me. He told me that Earthmaker created four worlds, in each of which he placed men and women; that the heavens we see represent the last man he created and the earth we are living on the last woman he created. Then he told how *Herregunina* was created. The story is as follows: Earth- [773]
maker created man, whom he wished to put at the head of the world, but he did not make one of his legs quite right. Then he threw him down to the earth because when Earthmaker made anything wrong

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159 he never did it over again. *Herregunina* lived on earth from that
756 time on, and it is said that he also created things. Indeed, it is said
● 881 that he was almost the equal of the Earthmaker. He made the people
868 very miserable. Then Earthmaker sent four of his sons (to save the
773 people). Hare alone, of all the four, accomplished what he had been sent out for. All the rest failed. Hare obtained life for the people upon this earth.

Then the man told how the medicine lodge had been founded; how all the spirits upon the earth and all those under the earth and all those above the earth gathered together. They brought life with them. Then the medicine bags began to come. First came the eagle. He came from above. Next came the hawk, and then the squirrel, etc. The otter was the last one. Then the old man stopped talking to me and another person began to admonish me. He told me how I was to conduct myself. Then he spoke to me of the medicine-lodge road (i. e., of life) and what happens after life.

159 The first thing that I would meet on the road would be bad birds
756 making a lot of noise. "Do not look at them," he told me. They
868 would let fly at me bad-smelling saliva and phlegm, but I was not
775 to turn around, he said. Then the road would become thickly covered with thorn bushes. It would seem almost impossible to untangle them. I was, however, not to pay any attention to them, he told me. On the road, fires would send their sparks toward me, but I was to pay no attention to them. After a while I would lose one of my relatives, but I was to keep right on. I was not to get angry nor to give up, and after a while the road would become thickly covered with poplars growing on each side. Then the hair on my temples would become gray. This is what would happen to me, he told me, if I paid close attention to this ceremony. After a while it would become foggy (i. e., my eyesight would grow dim. Then I would come to a hill, one of four hills. When I came to the last hill there I would see red cedar trees. This is what would happen to me if I paid close attention to this ceremony, he told me. My soul would return to Earthmaker and I would then be allowed to come back to this earth if I wanted to.

159 Then they gave me the object with which they shot themselves
756 the shell. They shot me. After that they made me try to do it,
796 and when I was able to shoot well, we all came back. It was now
881 daylight. Now they put clothes on themselves and arose. Those who were initiating me then spread upon the ground the things which had been brought. Then the leader spoke. He told me that he would put me on the medicine-dance road. Then they sat me down there and shot me. Then the clothes that I had on were taken off and I was given other clothes. I was now told that I was standing on the medicine-dance road. After that they danced all day. In the evening they stopped. Now this is what I did; this is all I can say. I greet you, my friends.

## §3. *Fasting*

*159 At this stage of life I secretly got the desire to make myself pleasing to the opposite sex.

[342] The Indians then lived in their old-fashioned lodges. Women, however, whenever they had their menses, [343] were placed in special huts. There the young men [84] would go to court them at night when their parents were *159 asleep. I used to go along with the men on such occa- 84 sions, for even although I did not enter any lodges but [584] merely accompanied the older men, I enjoyed it.

My parents were greatly in fear of my coming into contact with menstruating women so therefore I went with these men secretly. My parents were even afraid of having me cross the path over which a menstruating woman had passed. They worried so much about it at that time, because I was to fast as soon as autumn came. They did not wish me to be near menstruating women, for were I to grow up in their midst I would assuredly be weak and of little account. Such was their reason.

*159 Before long I started to fast again together with an 785 older brother of mine, both day and night. It was [221] during the fall moving, and several lodges of people were living near us. There it was that my elder brother and I fasted. Among the people of the other lodges ● [883] were four girls whose duty it was to carry wood.

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342 spring and summer. In the spring those who still lived in bark lodges covered the roofs with reed matting, as that material shed water more effectually than bark. The tipi was generally used on the hunt, the grass lodge merely for a shelter overnight.

[462] All the duties connected with the construction of the lodge belonged to the woman. These duties do not seem to have been restricted to any special class of women except in the construction of ceremonial lodges, in which only women who had passed their climacteric could participate.

[886]

## Clothing and Adornment

291 In discussing the personal adornment of men it must be remembered that in former times each costume generally had special significance and could be worn only on certain occasions. Moreover,

Fig. 25.—Pattern of men's buckskin leggings.

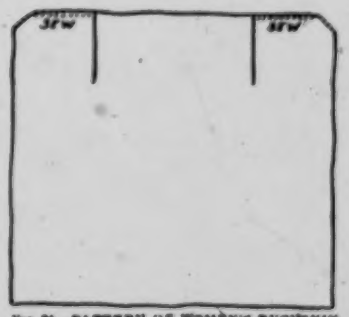


Fig. 26.—Pattern of women's buckskin shirt.

certain articles of dress, as arm bands and garters, could be worn only by certain people. The significance of most of the items comprising a man's costume, as well as the proper occasion for wearing them, has long been forgotten and today everything relating to dress and adornment is hopelessly confused. Illustrations of the various articles of apparel will be found in plates 20–23; figures 23–26.

The men's clothing is thus described by Skinner:[1]

The men's garments obtained in Wisconsin consisted of leggings of ribbon-worked cloth, or of plain buckskin. . . . Some of the latter are made skin-tight, with a broad flap fringed at the edge. The decorated flap of the cloth and the fringe of the buckskin are worn outside. Some are made by folding over a rectangular piece of leather and holding the sides together by means of thongs passing through from side to side, their ends serving in lieu of a fringe. Some little boys' leggings are skin-tight and fringed only at the top. The clout is of three pieces, a strip of plain, cheap material to cover the genitals, supported at each end by a belt, and two beaded breadcloth

[1] In "Notes Concerning New Collections," Anthr. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. 19, part 2, pp. [illegible].

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The menstrual lodge is never far from the lodge in which she lives. Indeed, it is within speaking distance, so that the occupants of her parents' lodge can hear her. All the utensils she uses are very small. The women stay from 4 to 10 days in the menstrual lodges. The older women stay out the shorter time because they are over it sooner. 841 343

It is said that if the young girls have any lovers they always come to the menstrual lodges at night. This is therefore the time for wooing. It is said that the girls cohabit with their lovers in these menstrual lodges. Those girls who have parents are attended by watchers, so that no unworthy men may visit them. They are especially guarded against ugly men, who are very likely to have love medicines. However, generally it is of no avail to struggle against such men, for they are invincible. [584 836] [832]

The women always take their blankets with them when they go to a menstrual lodge, for they never lie down but remain in a sitting posture, wrapped in their blankets. The women are always watched, so that when their menstrual flow comes everything is in readiness and lodge poles are placed around them and a lodge erected above their heads just about large enough to fit their body. They are not permitted to look upon the daylight nor upon any individual. If they were to look out during the day the weather would become very bad, and if they were to look at the blue sky it would become cloudy and rain. If they looked at anyone that person would become unfortunate. For four days they do not eat or drink anything; not even water do they drink. They fast all the time. Not even their own body do they touch with their hands. If they ever have any need of touching their bodies they use a stick. If they were to use their hands in touching their own body their bones would be attacked with fever. If they were to scratch their hands their heads would ache. After the fourth day they bathe in sight of their home. Then they return to their homes and eat. (This, of course, holds only for those whose menstrual flow ceases in four days.) If any women have to stay longer than four days they have to fast for that entire period. They always fast during this period and often some spirits blow them. When a woman who has stayed in the menstrual lodge for 10 days is ready to return to her lodge, she bathes herself and puts on an entirely new suit of clothes. Then her home is purified with red-cedar leaves and all the sacred bundles and medicines removed. Only then can she enter her parents' lodge. As soon as she returns to her parents' lodge after her first menstrual flow she is regarded as ready to be wooed and married. 841 [921] [881]

Thus the teacher of our customs, the Hare, has willed it. At a feast all the young girls nearing the age of puberty will be absent, but the old women, who have passed their climacteric, sit right next to the men, because they are considered the same as men as they have no menstrual flow any more. 581 825 886

If the Winnebago can be said to be afraid of any one thing it may be said it is this—the menstrual flow of women—for even the spirits die of its effects.

If the above account may be taken as a fairly accurate description of the customs connected with the menstrual lodge as they existed in former times, then one point must be regarded as of great interest, namely, that the women permitted their lovers to meet them there. So far as is known to the author, among other tribes having menstrual lodges it would have been considered a crime for any man to come near them. According to our informant the women were indeed guarded while they were in the menstrual lodges, but not so much to protect them against the intrusion of all men, as against the intrusion of unworthy men. From other information obtained, how- 831 841 891

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778 B. was not the eldest son, but, as mentioned before, the war bundle was always given to that son who manifested the greatest interest in it. When B. and his brothers were quite young their father took them aside one day and told them the stories connected with the war bundle and told them, in addition, that the one manifesting the [869] greatest interest would receive it. B. immediately started getting material for a feast, and this he would give to his father, who would then give a feast. This was repeated over and over again until B.'s father felt that B. knew enough about the ceremony to conduct it himself, after which he allowed him to take entire charge of it.

The war bundle contained the following objects:

The body of an eagle (teaxce'p).
The body of a hawk (k'eredjụ'sep).
The body of an unidentified bird (wanink'hiwjteak'I'zọk'e).
The body of a pigeon hawk (k'Irjk'I'rjsge).
A deer-tail headdress (teasinte wak'e're).
Eagle feathers (teaxce'p maçõ').
Medicines (wase').
Flutes (hijõ'jụk).
War club (nama'tce).

[825] The birds' bodies were supposed to give the possessor, in times of war, the characteristics of these animals. The flutes were associated with different spirits and used to accompany certain songs during the ceremony proper. When blown during a fight, they were sup- [789 posed to paralyze the running powers of the enemy and thus make 726] him an easy prey. The deer-tail headdress, the eagle feathers, and the war club were all war paraphernalia and were always worn when on the warpath.

x 796 When the custodian of a war bundle decides to give a feast he has his nephews go out and kill as many deer as they can, for the larger the number of deer obtained the larger will be the number of spirits to whom they can make offerings. As a rule ten to eleven deer are killed, so that all the clans, or at least all that are still in existence, can be invited.

[202] After the deer have been killed active preparations are begun; the invitation sticks (nạnõ'ɣọnạ) are sent out, and the wood for the ceremonial lodge is gathered; and, lastly, old women who have [886] passed their climacteric are set to work on the buckskins and ordered to make them as white as possible. In the preparation of the lodge only the nephews, nieces, and wives of the participating men take part.

The night before the ceremony proper, the Sweat-Lodge ritual takes place.

When the buckskins have been thoroughly bleached they are brought into the lodge and given to the host, who proceeds to mark them in the following manner:

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## The War-bundle Feast of the Thunderbird Clan

(SECOND VERSION)

X 796 614 773 [776] Informant, member of Thunderbird clan:[1] There were originally four warriors. The youngest one was the bravest and the most powerful. He claimed that his father was a Thunderbird and his mother a Night Spirit. He is the one who made the bundle about which we are going to speak.

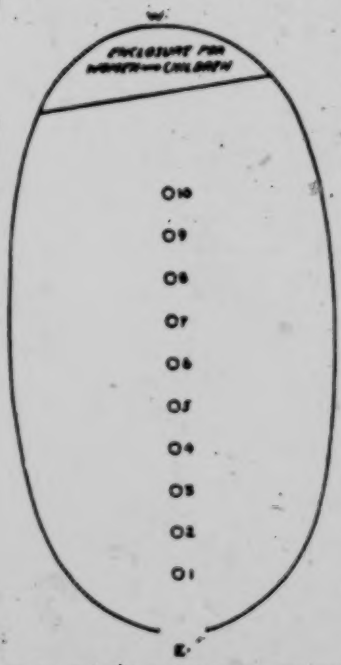


Fig. 38.—Plan of Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast. 1, Buckskin for earthmaker. 2, Buckskin for thunder-giver. 3, Buckskin for thunderbirds. 4, Buckskin for night-spirits. 5, Buckskin for morning star. 6, Buckskin for sun. 7, Buckskin for moon. 8, Buckskin for water-spirit. 9, Buckskin for earth. 10, Buckskin for herbs.

X 796 [604] [574 281] ●[886] X 796 782 776

The lodge (fig. 38) is prepared by the nephews and the women relatives of the host, generally his nieces and wives. The invited guests arrive toward evening, while the women are still preparing the buckskins. These buckskins are to be made as perfectly white as possible. Only those women who have passed their climacteric are permitted to do this. As soon as the buckskins are prepared the kettles are put on the fire. The buckskins are taken by the host and marked with the specific symbols associated with the different spirits. (For the markings, see pls. 47, 48.) These buckskins are then tied to a stick. That for Earthmaker is attached to the stick with the head pointing upward; that for the Thunderbird has the stick and the head of the buckskin facing the west; that for the Night has the stick and head of the buckskin facing east; that for the Star also faces east, as do all the others

X 796 782 not mentioned. When the sticks have been prepared and the buckskins attached to them, the latter are rolled up upon the sticks. Whosoever of the guests is the oldest feast-giver then arises and pours tobacco, first for the fire and then for all the other spirits. [372 When they start the fire for the first time they use the old ceremonial 778] fire sticks. With that the ceremony begins. When the old man is

[1] This is a generalized account.

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867 My son, whenever people go on the warpath go along with them.
721 It is good to die on the warpath. You may perhaps say so, because you are unhappy that your wife has left you. My son, not for such reasons, however, must you go on the warpath. You will be merely throwing away a human life. If you want to go on the warpath, do so because you feel that you are courageous enough, not because you are unhappy at the loss of your wife. If you go on the warpath you will enjoy yourself. Do not go, however, unless you have fasted,
[785] and unless you have fasted for that particular warpath. If you have not fasted and attempt nevertheless to go on the warpath, a bullet will surely seek you out and kill you. This is what will happen to you if you do not fast.

[593 If you exert yourself in fasting you will assuredly perform some brave war exploit. You must tell your sisters and sister's children
[604 and your mother's sisters all about your exploit. Remember, also,
605] that the keepers of the war-bundles can give you good advice in all that pertains to war. For their deeds they will be given a good dish of meat.[34] This they will give you to eat.

Of such things did my ancestors speak, and I would wish you to do as they did. That is why I am telling you all these things. I myself never asked for any of this instruction, but my father did. All human beings ought to ask for it. Never let anybody be in a position to puzzle you in regard to what is right. Ask for this instruction, my son, for it is not an ordinary thing. In the olden
867 times if a person loved his child very much, he would only give him instruction after he had begun fasting all day for the first time. When a young boy has just matured, those who have been preaching to him always ask him one question, namely, whether he had begun
[881] to fast. And this the young boy must always answer truthfully, for if he has begun his fast the instruction would stop. The old men do not preach to men, but only to boys.

881 (What follows is apparently an illustration of how a young man
●887 asks his instructor for information of how to conduct himself in life.)
867 The young man will go to an old man and say, "Grandfather, I would like to know how I am to conduct myself in life. Bless me and if you can really give me any information, do so." Then the old man was very thankful and said, "It is good; you speak correctly." Now the one who was asking something of the old man had taken very good care of the old man's body and had led a good life. He had no scars of any kind; that is, he had never done anything shameful. The young man brought all sorts of food and placed it in the lodge of the old man. Then he also brought him a fine horse. Only then did he ask him again about the life that his ancestors had led, and what kind of a life he ought to live. He asked

[34] I. e., you will be given a position at the Winter Feast and offered some of the choice pieces of meat.

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him what the old people do when they give a child a name, and 881
what they say. All these things the old man told him. "It is good," 887
he said, "for you to know these things so that if anyone comes to 867
you and asks you for information you will be able to tell them something and will not have to behave like a fool. If you are asked to give a little child a name, this little child will really be a means of increasing your power. That is why you ought to give a feast for it and smoke the child's tobacco. You must also give the child a name for his dog. Give him the name Yellow-Tree for a male dog. The name Yellow-Tree is given for the following reason. When the Thunderbirds strike at a tree it looks yellow. Just as leaves wither so do trees wither when the Thunderbirds strike them. They then begin to rot and become very much discolored. That is why they give a dog this name. If you ever have to give a dog-name for a female child call it She-Who-Stays-In-Her-Own-Place. This is all that I wish to tell you."

### SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION TO DAUGHTER

This is the way the old men used to speak to the little girls: 867
My daughter, as you go along the path of life, always listen to 593
your parents. Do not permit your mother to work. Attend to your father's wants. All the work in the house belongs to you. Never be idle. Chop the wood, carry it home, look after the vege- [462]
tables and gather them, and cook the food. When in the spring of the year you move back to your permanent settlements, plant your fields immediately. Never get lazy. Earthmaker created you [221]
for these tasks.

When you have your ménses, do not ask those in your lodge to give you any food, but leave the lodge and fast and do not begin [844]
eating again until you return to your own lodge. Thus will you help yourself. If you always fast, when you marry, even if your husband had amounted to nothing before, he will become an excel- [785]
lent hunter. It will be on account of your fasting that he will have changed so much. You will never fail in anything and you will always be well and happy. If, on the contrary, you do not do as I tell you—that is, if you do not fast—when you marry he will become very weak, and this will be due to you. Finally he will get very sick.

My daughter, do not use medicine. If you marry a man and 867
place medicine on his head he will become very weak and will not 593
amount to anything. It may be that you do not want to have your 832
husband leave you and this may induce you to use medicine to keep him. Do not do that, however, for it is not good. You will be ruining a man. It is the same as killing him. Do not do it, for it is forbidden. If you marry a man and you want to be certain of always retaining him, work for him. With work you will always

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x 796 themselves; and, lastly, the order in which the guests are invited (pls. 56, 57, 58).

x 796 121 It follows from the above remarks that in order to get a really complete account of the entire ceremony information should be obtained from each clan. The account given by any one clan will only contain the origin myth and the songs belonging to the war bundle of that clan, for although it is part of the ceremony to relate the origin myths of the various war bundles and sing the specific songs connected with them, no individual would take it upon himself to tell any but those relating to the war bundle of his own clan. Thus it will be seen that any single account is defective in some rather important particulars.

## ANALYTICAL PRESENTATION OF THE CEREMONY

x 796 The ceremony falls into three well-defined parts: I, the Sweat Lodge; II, the First Division, generally known either as the Feast in honor of Earthmaker or the Feast in honor of the Thunderbirds; and III, the Second Division, known as the Feast in honor of the Night Spirits.

[782] There is little to be said about the Sweat Lodge, for it consists exclusively of offerings of tobacco and prayers to the spirits, on the part of the one giving the ceremony, whom we will call the host.

The first division can be divided into the following component elements: (1) The preparation of the buckskins; (2) the dog sacrifice; (3) the filling of the ceremonial pipe and the smoking ritual; (4) the tobacco offering to the spirits; (5) the buckskin offerings to the spirits; (6) the feast; (7) the fast-eating contest; and (8) the basic ritual.

The second division can be divided into the following component elements: (4) The tobacco offering to the spirits; (9) the throwing out of the buckskins; (6) the feast; (10) the episode of the "Night-crazed" warrior; (11) the terminal dog ritual; and (8) the basic ritual.

[887] (1) *The preparation of the buckskins.*—The buckskins, made as white as possible by old women, are taken into the lodge by the host and there marked in the manner prescribed for each spirit. They are then tied to a framework and rolled to the top of this frame.

[782 825] (2) *The dog sacrifice.*—The dog is strangled and a pouch of tobacco is tied to each limb, and another pouch and red feathers are tied around his neck. The body is then laid in front of the war bundle, facing south, this being the direction in which Disease-giver, the [776] spirit to whom the dog is specially sacrificed, lives.

Before strangling, a short speech is addressed to the dog in which the slayer apologizes for killing him, and assures him that in the

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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announced that he was about to give a feast in honor of Creator, all the spirits of the world above, all the spirits of the world below, and all those spirits who had appeared in dreams to any of those present. In this way, as determined by his grandfathers, should long life, and happiness, and health and success in warfare be assured to those participating. He cited the giving of tobacco to various spirits; the dedication of the cooking meat to various spirits. He called upon other custodians of war-bundles and their waiters, who might be present, to assist in the singing, speaking, and dancing. "O! O!", assented the custodians of other war-bundles who were present. 796 537 [201]

The drum was now placed before the leader, who passed it to one of his three musicians. The other two and the leader were equipped with gourd rattles. The leader then took a reed whistle and on it actually played a tune very like a bugle call. Three distinct notes were produced by varying the force with which he blew it. He then started a song, his eyes closed as if in prayer, his face stamped with serious devotion. His assistants joined in, to the accompaniment of drum and rattles. A short rest intervalled the completion of this song and the start of the next. Three other songs followed in like manner. All of this music was relatively slow in time and not designed to be accompanied by dancing. A fifth song, of like character, was accompanied by the leader's throwing several pinches of tobacco over the war-bundle. 796 [534] [533] [182 276]

The next musical contribution was a dancing song and all the men who so desired gathered about the war-bundle, selecting therefrom reed whistles, and danced in place while blowing the whistles. There being not enough whistles to go around, some took fetishes which they held reverently in their hands while dancing. At the same time, the women at the west end of the lodge rose and danced in place. With slight pauses between, four dance songs were so rendered. At the end of each song, the male dancers participated in a series of war whoops. Everyone present apparently experienced a keen delight in this. One old man, blind and so feeble that he could not rise to his feet without assistance, insisted on dancing, without moving from his allotted place by the wall, and added his quavering voice to feebly swell the volume of each battle cry. 796 533 535 [887]

When the set of dancing songs was finished, whistles and fetishes were replaced on the bundle and all took their allotted places. Then the leader again spoke, his voice at times quavering with emotion, practically repeating his first speech. Again the honored guests answered with, "O! O!". 796 [532] [201]

The head waiter then took the pipe from its position over the war bundle, and carried it to the guest seated nearest the door on the south side. While this old man puffed, the waiter lit the contents of the bowl with a stick, placed beside the fireplace for that purpose and lighted [276]

1;Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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867 My son, never abuse your wife. The women are sacred. If you
593 abuse your wife and make her life miserable, you will die early.
562 Our grandmother, the earth, is a woman, and in mistreating your
776 wife you will be mistreating her. Most assuredly will you be abusing our grandmother if you act thus. And as it is she that is taking care of us you will really be killing yourself by such behavior.

867 My son, when you keep house, should anyone enter your house,
574 no matter who it is, be sure to offer him whatever you have in the house. Any food that you withhold at such a time will most assuredly become a source of death to you. If you are stingy about giving food the people will kill you on this account. They will poison you. If you hear of a traveler who is visiting your people and you wish to see him, prepare your table for him and have him sent for. In this manner you will be acting correctly. It is always good to act correctly and do good, the old people used to say.

867 If you see an old, helpless person, help him with whatever you
888 possess. Should you happen to possess a home and you take him there, he might suddenly say abusive things about you during the middle of the meal. You will be strengthened by such words. This same traveler may, on the contrary, give you something that
[718] he carries under his arms and which he treasures very highly. If it is an object without a stem,[16] keep it to protect your house. If you thus keep it within your house, your home will never be molested by any bad spirits. Nothing will be able to enter your house unexpectedly. Thus you will live. Witches, instead of entering your house, will pass around it. If, in addition to possessing this medicine, you also fast, your people will be benefited by it greatly.

867 Earthmaker made spirits up above and some he made to live on
773 this earth; and again some he made to live under the water and
776 some to live in the water; and all these he put in charge of something. Even the small animals that move about this earth the creator put in charge of some power. Thus he created them. Afterwards he created us human beings and as he had exhausted all the powers to be disposed of we were not in control of anything. Then he made a weed and placed it in our charge. And he said that no matter how powerful are the spirits that exist they would not be able to take this weed from us without giving something in return.
[276] He himself, Earthmaker, would not be able to demand it for nothing. So he spoke. This weed was the tobacco plant. Earthmaker said that if we would offer a pipeful of tobacco to him, whatever we should ask of him he would immediately grant. Not only he, but all the
[782] spirits created, longed to have some of this tobacco. It is for this reason that when we fast and cry piteously for some spirit to take pity on us, if we give them tobacco they will bless us with those

[16] A plant without a stem, presumably some root, used for warding off danger.

*159 867 785 787 you will never be in need of anything. Fast for the food you are to receive. If you fast frequently enough for these things then some day when your children ask for food they will be able to obtain a piece of deer meat without difficulty; they may indeed be able to obtain a piece of moose meat. It lies within your power to prevent your children from ever going hungry.

*159 867 593 [562] [776] Now again, my son, let me enjoin you. Do not abuse your wife. Women are sacred. If you make your wife suffer, then you will die in a short time. Our grandmother Earth is a woman, and in abusing your wife you are abusing her. Most certainly will you be abusing your grandmother if you act thus. Since after all it is she who is taking care of us, by your action you will be practically killing yourself.

*159 867 574 When you have your home, see to it that whoever enters your lodge obtain something to eat, no matter how little you yourself may have. Such food will be a source of death to you if withheld. If you are stingy about giving food, some one might kill you in consequence; some one may poison you. If you ever hear of a stranger passing through your country and you want to see him, prepare food for him and have him brought to you. In this manner you will be doing good and it is always good to do good, it is said. [577]

*159 867 888 If you see a helpless old person, help him if you have anything at all. If you happen to possess a home take him there, and feed him, for he may suddenly make uncomplimentary remarks about you.[18] You will be strengthened thereby. Or perhaps when he comes, he may bring with him under his arms a medicine bundle, something he cher- [578]

[18] It is considered exceedingly bad form for a guest to admire anything in the house he is visiting. [579] [576]

7-Radin F-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



ishes very much and which he will offer you. If it is a bulb-medicine keep it to protect your house. Your home will never then be molested by anything evil and nothing evil will enter your house, neither bad spirits, ghosts, disease, nor unhappiness. Now such will be your life if you do as I tell you. Witches will keep away from you. Thus by fasting will you benefit yourself and your fellowmen.

You know that Earthmaker created all the spirits, those that live above the earth, those who live on the earth, those who live under the earth, those who live in the water—all these he created and placed in control of powers. Even the minor spirits Earthmaker placed in control of something. In this fashion he created them and after that, he created us and because we were created last and no further powers were left, he could not put us in control of anything. Then, however, did Earthmaker create a weed and this he placed us in control of. He further told us that none of the spirits he had created would have the power to take this weed away from us without giving us something in exchange. He told us that if we offered him a pipeful of this weed, which we call tobacco, he too would grant us whatever we asked for. Now it so happened that all the spirits came to long for this weed as intensely as they longed for anything in creation and for that reason if, at any time, with tobacco in our hands we make our prayer to the spirits, they will take pity upon us and bestow upon us the blessings which Earthmaker gave them. Indeed so it is, for Earthmaker created it thus.

Fast, my son. If you are blessed by the spirits and then blow your breath upon people who are ill, they will become well. Thus will you help your fellowmen. If you can cure any of your fellowmen of disease, then you will be of even more than ordinary help to them. If you can draw dis-